



Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study South Coast New South Wales

goulding heritage consulting pty ltd

**Megan Goulding & Kate Waters
March 2005**

**A Report Prepared for the Eurobodalla Shire Council
Department of Environment & Conservation
Batemans Bay Local Aboriginal Land Council
Bodalla Local Aboriginal Land Council
Cobowra Local Aboriginal Land Council
Merrimans Local Aboriginal Land Council
Mogo Local Aboriginal Land Council &
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Project Background

Introduction
Scope of this Investigation
Study Area
Consultation Program
Methodology

Introduction

The history of Aboriginal people in south east New South Wales over the past 200 years is reflected in a wide variety of associations with place. Where and how Aboriginal people have lived, their encounters with European settlers and their places of work and recreation are examples of place-based associations that reflect a diverse and complex social history since colonisation. This report presents the outcomes of the first stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study which aims to better understand this history as it has played out within the Eurobodalla shire.

The Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study is auspiced by the Eurobodalla Shire Council, the Department of Environment and Conservation (DEC - formerly the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service) Far South Coast Region in conjunction with local Aboriginal Land Councils and community groups. The study involves an holistic assessment of Aboriginal heritage values within the Eurobodalla Shire that can be built into local land use planning and Environmental Impact Assessment frameworks.¹

This report presents the outcomes of the first stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage study. The overall study is divided into four stages (Figure 1). The aims of each stage are as follows:

Stage 1 – Research/Data Audit

Brief review of existing reference material in order to identify archival and current research material relevant to this study area and identify Aboriginal places listed in the archives, as well as producing a historical narrative which, collectively, will provide a context for the project (Project Brief Stage 1).

Stage 2 – Field Work

Consultation and survey with Aboriginal communities and individuals to collect, document and map cultural heritage information.

Stage 3 – Aboriginal Values Report and Mapping

Document and make information available to local Aboriginal communities and agencies a final report as determined by agreed protocols.

Stage 4 – Future Planning Report

Investigation of ways that the broad historic and contemporary Aboriginal heritage values arising from stages 1-3 can be integrated into future cultural heritage management and land-use planning and EIA processes.

The Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage study is designed to provide the context from which to better understand the social and historic values of Aboriginal places and landscapes within the study area. It represents a departure from previous work in

¹ Project Brief, Appendix 1.

NSW and a new corporate direction which extends its focus beyond the management of archaeological sites and relics towards the integration of natural and cultural heritage and the consideration of the full range of traditional, historic and contemporary values of Aboriginal communities into the local planning process.

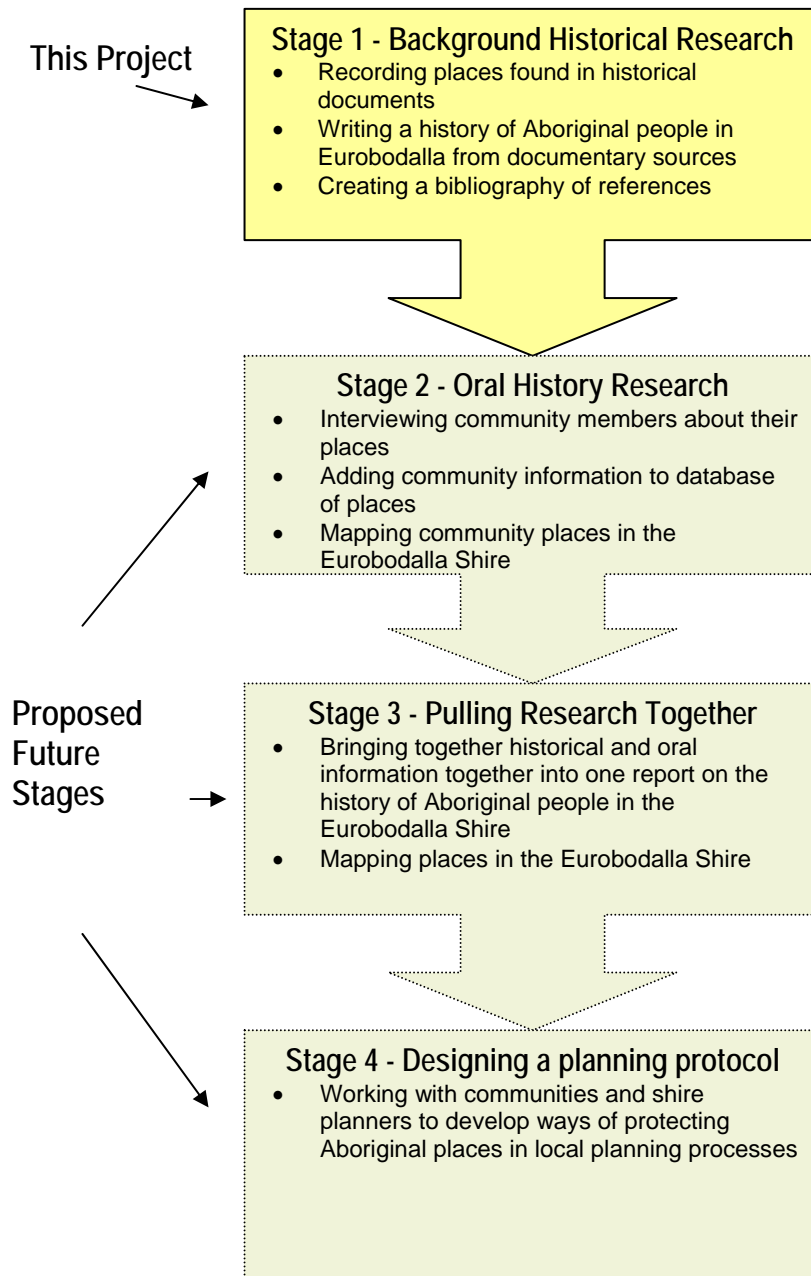


Figure 1: Diagram showing the different stages of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study.

Scope of this Investigation

While information relating to Aboriginal peoples' history in the Eurobodalla Shire exists in a variety of published and unpublished materials this information has not been compiled in a user-friendly and accessible format. The first stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study is designed to contribute to this body of knowledge through a comprehensive survey of the written and visual historical records that refer to Aboriginal people in the study area.

This research has been framed by several different objectives. Firstly, it has provided the basis for the development of an annotated bibliography that can be used to guide future research into Aboriginal history in the study area. Secondly, sources have been examined to establish places associated with local Aboriginal people during the post settlement period that might need to be considered within a planning and development context. Thirdly, the literature review has provided the background information for the development of a brief history of Aboriginal peoples' occupation of the Eurobodalla Shire. This historical narrative has created a context within which to better understand the Aboriginal cultural places recorded (see Figure 2).

In summary, this first stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study has produced the following outcomes:

- an annotated bibliography
- a brief historical narrative for the study area
- a record of places identified during the research, including summary information on Aboriginal associations with each place.
- identification of gaps in information that can be used in structuring further research.

Study Area

The study area is defined by the boundary of the Eurobodalla Shire Council (Figure 3). This large shire is serviced by five Local Aboriginal Land Councils. From north to south these include:

- Batemans Bay Local Aboriginal Land Council (part of Land Council area)
- Mogo Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Cobowra Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Bodalla Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Merrimans Local Aboriginal Land Council (part of Land Council area)

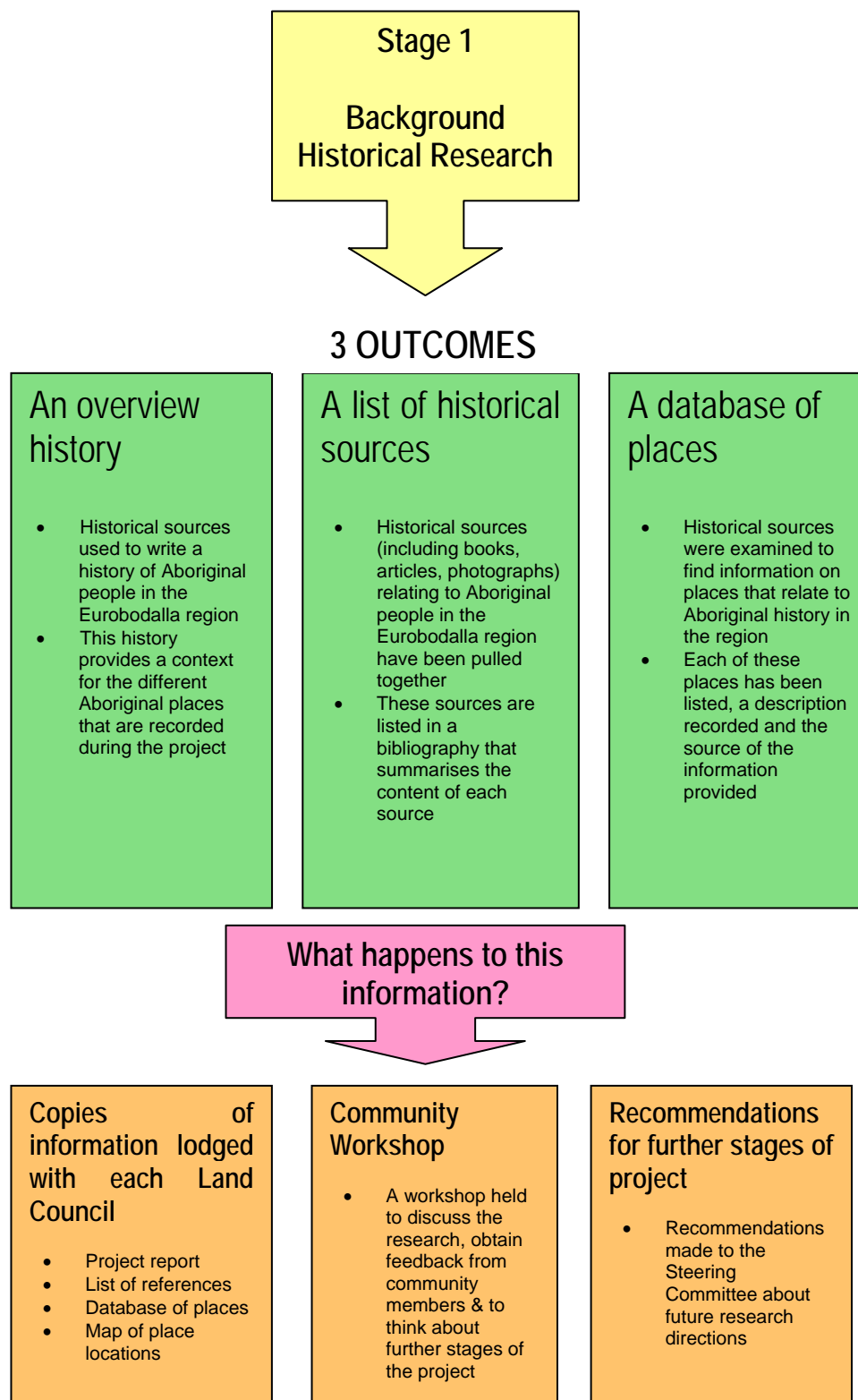


Figure 2: Chart showing the project outcomes.



The Eurobodalla Shire covers an area of over 343,000 square hectares between Batemans Bay to the north and Wallaga Lake to the south. It is characterised by a relatively narrow coastal strip some 110 kilometres long, abutted to the west by lowland forests, rolling hills and the high country of the Great Dividing Range. The study area is dissected by major river valleys including the Clyde, Buckenbowra, Moruya and Tuross Rivers which flow from the high inland ranges to the coast. Rivers and creeks flow into estuaries and tidal lagoons rich in plant and animal life.

Consultation Program

The project was guided by a steering committee made up of representatives from each of the six LALCs involved, representatives of the Eurobodalla Shire Council and staff from DEC. Meetings were held on the following dates:

- Project establishment meeting – 4th May 2004
- Project progress report meeting – 17th August 2004
- Final project presentation meeting/workshop – 23rd November 2004

These meetings provided an opportunity to discuss the aims of this investigation and to clarify its relationship to other stages of the project, particularly Stage 2 oral history collection which commenced towards the end of Stage 1. The steering committee also suggested sources of historical information, highlighted specific Aboriginal place associations and discussed issues to do with community control over information collected.

Over the course of the project telephone contact was made with LALC staff on a number of occasions and as many Land Councils as possible were visited during field trips to the regional collections. These ongoing discussions with LALC members have provided helpful insights into the history of the area.

As a way of informing the wider Aboriginal community about the project copies of an explanatory flier were sent to each Land Council within the Eurobodalla Shire (Appendix 2). This project flier was also published in *Coastal Custodians*.

On 23rd November 2004 a workshop involving community members and agency staff was held at the office of the Cobowra LALC in Moruya. The project outcomes were presented as a follow up to the distribution of the draft report. The workshop provided participants with the opportunity to hear about the findings of the historical research and to provide feedback on the project report before its finalisation. This feedback also extended to participants identifying gaps in current research and in providing guidance on the recommendations for further stages of the project and targeted research possibilities.

The workshop also provided an opportunity for Chris Griffiths to outline his Stage 2 oral information recording process.

Methodology

The tasks listed in the Project Brief required a literature review and documentation of Aboriginal cultural heritage places in the Eurobodalla Shire. The method outlined below has been tailored to meet this objective through an analysis of documentary and visual information that reflect Aboriginal peoples' past and contemporary associations with the Eurobodalla landscape.

Defining Aboriginal Heritage Places for Investigation

The places identified during this research have been recorded because they reflect Aboriginal people's experience within the study area over the past two centuries. As a way of ensuring that a variety of Aboriginal heritage places and values were documented, we worked with the concept of cultural places rather than the more constrained category of sites (which tends to imply archaeological sites).² Place associations from the distant and recent past were also recorded. Places that inform our understanding of this history might relate to the recent past or they can include Aboriginal cultural associations that have a long tradition in the pre-contact period but which were carried on into the post-contact period. The heritage places investigated can therefore relate to the pre-contact or distant past through to the historic period and recent past. This method ensured the capture of a variety of attachments and associations that Aboriginal people had, or continue to have, with the local Eurobodalla landscape.

The kinds of place-based associations that are typically recorded in these investigations include camps, reserves, ceremonial sites, massacres sites, travelling routes, story places, dreaming trails, places where people have worked, places where people collected or continue to collect resources, locations where people have been born and where they have been buried and men's and woman's places. These places might include associations where cultural information has been passed on orally, where traditional information has been recorded in manuscripts and other written and visual sources or as archaeological traces of past human activity.³ Some places may reflect continued use over long periods of time that may show physical traces. Other associations might derive from events that may or may not leave physical traces. In summary, Aboriginal peoples' associations with their local landscape can be conceptualised in the following ways:

Intangible (Non-Physical) Dimension

- non-archaeological places (eg. events/occupation/use associations)
- as places invested with cultural meaning (eg. spiritual places)

Tangible (Physical) Dimension

- as natural features (eg. resource use/procurement places)

² See Goulding, M. 2001. Cultural Places, Contested Spaces: A Study of Aboriginal Peoples' Historical Attachments to Landscape – Coffs Harbour Region Cultural Heritage Study'. Report to the Cultural Heritage Division, NSW NPWS, Sydney and Goulding, M. 1997. 'Placing the Past: Aboriginal Historical Places in East Gippsland, Victoria'. Historic Environment, vol 13, no.2, pp. 40-51

³ The word 'traditional' is used here to refer to pre-contact associations/attachment/stories that continued into the post contact period. It is acknowledged, however, that these associations and stories can and do evolve and will no doubt continue to do so.

- as material traces (eg. archaeological sites, graves, houses)

These manifestations are by no means mutually exclusive (eg. a natural resource use location may be invested with spiritual meaning), but are useful delineations when thinking about the documentation and management of the Aboriginal cultural heritage values attached to a place/landscape.

Collection of Information

In order to accurately document Aboriginal peoples' historical associations with places in the study area and to develop an historical context for understanding those associations, it was essential to record a broad range of associations and to tailor the methods to capturing this information. As outlined in the introduction, this first stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study aimed to record information on Aboriginal history and cultural places in the study area through literature research. A second stage aimed at recording community oral information has recently commenced (Stage 2).⁴ These different steps are shown in Figure 4. Discussion of the approach to Stage 1 is discussed below.

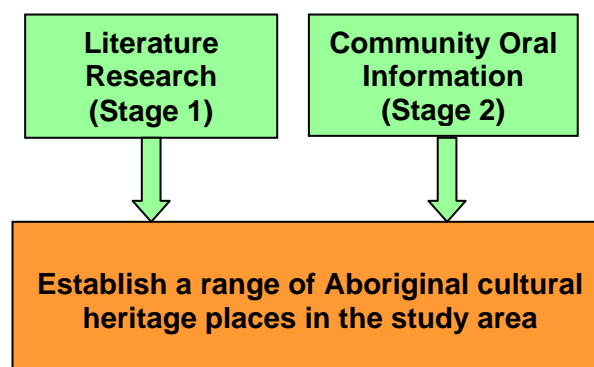


Figure 4: Collecting Information on a Broad Range of Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Places in the Study Area.

Literature Research⁵

The literature research was designed to fulfil three outcomes as stipulated in the project brief:

- the development of a history of Aboriginal associations with place in the study area;

⁴ This second stage of the project is being carried out by Chris 'Snappy' Griffiths, DEC Aboriginal Sites Officer.

⁵ The Aboriginal History in the Eurobodalla Shire was researched and written by Kate Waters with additional research conducted by Korey Moon.

- the creation of an annotated bibliography, and;
- the identification of places in the literature.

The institutions whose collections were accessed for this research include:

- State Library of New South Wales
- Mitchell and Dixon Libraries
- State Records of New South Wales
- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
- National Library of Australia
- Fisher Library, University of Sydney
- Eurobodalla regional libraries
- Picture Australia
- Moruya & District Historical Society
- Clyde River & Batemans Bay Historical Society
- Narooma Historical Society
- National Parks and Wildlife Service collection
- Royal Australian Historical Society collection
- Reports held by Local Aboriginal Land Councils

Annotated Bibliography

An Annotated Bibliography (Appendix 3) of text and visual sources relevant to Aboriginal history in the Eurobodalla region has been developed. This bibliography includes references to Aboriginal people in the study area from a variety of primary and secondary sources and will provide a useful resource for future research into Aboriginal history in the Eurobodalla region.

Historical Context

One of the principle aims of this project has been to produce a history of Aboriginal people in the Eurobodalla shire since European settlement. This history provides an important context for the place associations recorded and the different themes that have come to characterise that history.

Identification of Places in the Literature

For those places connected to Aboriginal people which are no longer part of living memory, historical records can provide an important if sometimes limited source of information. Where available, each written source was read with a view to noting references to Aboriginal places in the study area. Information on each place was then recorded in a data table and allocated a place number. Where possible, cross-checking was carried out to maximise the accuracy of the information recorded but also to ensure that as much information as possible was recorded for each place. The following information was recorded for each place:

- place number
- place name
- description of association/values
- themes
- references
- date/when used
- Land Council area
- grid reference.

Project Results

Aboriginal History in the Eurobodalla Region
Aboriginal Places Documented from Historic Sources

Aboriginal History in the Eurobodalla Region

Yuin Country

The Eurobodalla area is generally accepted as lying within Yuin country. The Yuin cultural area is generally stated to extend from the Shoalhaven River in the north, to the Victorian border in the south and to the eastern edge of the tablelands in the west. Throughout the region there were complex patterns of intermarriage and group movements. The mapping of the smaller groups within Yuin country is problematic for a range of reasons. Two of the major factors are the contradictory nature of the documentary sources and the fact that the documentation occurred many decades after European intrusion and the consequent disruption of group boundaries.⁶ In the case of two of the major anthropological sources for the south coast area, Howitt and Mathews, their writings were based on work done in the area in the 1880s and later, after more than five decades of European impact.⁷

Within the broader context of the south coast it is clear that the Aboriginal people of the region travelled throughout the coastal zone and west into the Monaro tablelands for a variety of reasons. These reasons included resource sharing (e.g. whale meat, fish flushes, bogong moths) and ceremonial purposes, including initiation and warfare. Patterns of movement along the coast and between the coast and the Monaro hinterlands existed long before European arrival in the area.⁸ Such patterns of movement have persisted to the present day although the form and ostensible reasons for the movement have altered over time. Although this history is confined to the area of the Eurobodalla Shire it should be remembered that such boundaries are the product of European institutions and do not relate to the patterns of Aboriginal life. Aboriginal people and communities within the Eurobodalla area continue to operate today, as they did in the past, as part of a broad network of community and kinship extending south and north along the coast and inland to the tablelands.

First European Intrusions

There was no permanent European settlement impacting directly on the lives of the Aboriginal people of the Eurobodalla area until the late 1820s. However, there was a considerable amount of interaction with Europeans travelling along the coast for a variety of reasons in the preceding decades. Some of these encounters have been recorded in the documentary record and they are discussed below. It is undoubtedly

⁶ Within the Aboriginal communities of the south coast area there are individuals who hold detailed knowledge regarding the nature, extent and naming of the smaller groupings within the area here broadly termed as Yuin. It is envisaged that this information will be collected during the next stage of this project focussing on the gathering of oral histories.

⁷ For Howitt see for example A.W. Howitt, *The native tribes of south-east Australia*, Macmillan & Co., London, 1904 and in addition his articles produced in the preceding years. R.H. Mathews wrote a number of relevant articles including: Mathews, 'Initiation ceremonies of Australian tribes', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, No.37, 1898, pp.54-73; Mathews, 'Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, Vol.36, 1902, pp.71-106; Mathews, 'The Thoorga (and Yookumbill) languages', *Queensland Geographical Journal*, Vol.17, 1902, pp.49-73.

⁸ Valerie Attenbrow, *Aboriginal Subsistence Economy on the Far South Coast of New South Wales, Australia*, BA (Honours) Thesis, University of Sydney, 1976, pp.50-69.

the case that other encounters between Europeans and the Aboriginal people of the Eurobodalla area occurred in these early decades of European intrusion but were not recorded in any documents. In particular there was considerable whaling and sealing activity occurring to the south and the ships travelling the coastline as a result of this activity may well have pulled in along the Eurobodalla coast at times.

The first documentary record of the Indigenous people of the Eurobodalla coast was the sighting of a number of individuals on the beach in 1770. In this year Captain James Cook and his crew sailed up the south coast on board the *Endeavour*; they did not land but did record seeing five Aboriginal people standing on the shore in the general vicinity of Bateman's Bay on the 22nd of April of that year.⁹ In the official log book of the *Endeavour* it is simply recorded that the crew, "Saw severell (*sic*) Indians on the beach."¹⁰ In Lieutenant James Cook's private log he recorded only that they, "Saw several people upon the beach."¹¹ The master's mate recorded slightly more detail, stating, "...as we stood along shore we saw four or five of the Indians sitting near the fire ; they appeared to be naked and very black, which was all we could discern at that distance."¹² A number of crew members had recorded the sighting of smoke from fires in the preceding days' travel along the coastline.¹³

The next recorded encounter was in 1797 when the ship the *Sydney Cove* was wrecked, probably around Ninety Mile Beach in Gippsland, and seventeen crew members set out to walk up the coast to Sydney. An account of the journey written by one of the four men who made it back to Sydney, W. Clark, is brief and provides little detail on the exact locations of events. However, during their two month walk up the coast they encountered many groups of Aboriginal people who had a range of reactions to the intruders, some hostile and violent, many extremely helpful, often feeding and otherwise assisting the sailors. It is likely that the following extract refers to a meeting with people somewhere near Tuross on the 11th of April:

Met fourteen natives who conducted us to their miserable abodes in the wood adjoining to a large lagoon and kindly treated us with mussels, for which unexpected civility, we made them some presents. These people seem better acquainted with the laws of hospitality than any of their countrymen... for to their benevolent treat was added an invitation to remain with them for the night... As far as we could understand these natives were of a different tribe from those we had seen [to the south] and were then at war with them. They possessed a

⁹ N. & M. Ellis, *Dear Braidwood: A History of the Braidwood District*, self-published, 1997, p.14.

¹⁰ Lieutenant James Cook, 'Extracts from the Log-Book of the "Endeavour,"... [official log]', entry for 22 April, 1770, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 1, Part 1. – Cook: 1762-1780, Government Printer, Sydney, 1893, p.90.

¹¹ Lieutenant James Cook, 'Extracts from the Log-Book of the "Endeavour,"...[private log]', entry for 22 April, 1770, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 1, Part 1. – Cook: 1762-1780, Government Printer, Sydney, 1893, p. 12.

¹² Richard Pickersgill, 'A Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Bark Endeavour (Lieutenant James Cook, Commander), entry for 22nd April, 1770, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 1, Part 1. – Cook: 1762-1780, Government Printer, Sydney, 1893, p.213. Pickersgill was the master's mate on board the Endeavour.]

¹³ See Pickersgill's journal and also Stephen Forwood, 'A Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Bark Endeavour', entry for 21st and 22nd of April, 1770, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. 1, Part 1. – Cook: 1762-1780, Government Printer, Sydney, 1893, p.192. [Forwood was the gunner on board the Endeavour.]

liberality to which the others were strangers and freely gave us a part of the little they had.¹⁴

In that same year of 1797, during an official journey of exploration down the south coast, George Bass recorded his brief observations of the Eurobodalla area. His descriptions indicate that his concern was with the potential of the area for European settlement and cultivation. Bass did not see any Aboriginal people during this trip but saw signs of their presence. In his report of the journey Bass wrote the following description of Bateman's Bay which he visited on the 14th December 1797:

At 5 we entered Bateman Bay.... The north and south sides are hilly. Grass grows tolerably luxuriant upon them, but they seem only fit for feeding cattle. The land on the west side is low and wet, but a few grassy risings might afford good sites. The vallies (*sic*) and the slopes of several of the little hills at some distance back are capable of cultivation, some of them to great advantage. The only difference remarkable in the vegetable productions is the increased size of the she and swamp oaks.¹⁵

On the 17th of December they were in the Tuross Lake area:

The form of the ground in general is either low and swampy or at once inclining to the mountainous, there being little or none upon a plane. The whole is intersected by extensive salt swamps and the arms of a branching lagoon that comes to the sea about a mile to the northward of the point... The qualities of the soil are but very indifferent. Some of the best of the low ground before you approach the edges of the swamps is thickly covered with long grass and fern, but the soil is sandy and light. A wet salt marsh then leads you down into the swamps. The sides of the hills where they do not rise up from the lake or swamp side very suddenly are really meadows, but these are few in number. The tops of some of the lower hills are well grassed, but the soil is too poor and sandy for cultivation. The country seems to be at all times but sparingly watered, but it is now in a state of drought. In the course of our round of not less than 12 or 14 miles we could not find a drop of fresh water, altho' the heat of the day made us search for it with extreme eagerness. We met with numbers of native huts deserted, the cause of which appeared when we traced down their paths to the dried up waterholes they had dug in the very heart of the largest of the swamps. We saw here the only grey kangaroo we ever met with during our whole absence.¹⁶

The next meeting recorded by Europeans with Aboriginal people in the Eurobodalla area was at Bateman's Bay in 1808. A small vessel, the *Fly*, pulled into the Bay to escape a storm. Five of the sailors went on shore, a party of Aboriginal people met

¹⁴ Clark quoted in H.J. Gibbney, Eurobodalla: History of the Moruya District, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1980, p.14.

¹⁵ 'The Discovery of Bass Strait: Mr. Bass's Journal in the Whaleboat...', Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. III – Hunter: 1796-1799, p.317.

¹⁶ 'The Discovery of Bass Strait: Mr. Bass's Journal in the Whaleboat...', Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol. III – Hunter: 1796-1799, p.317.

them and for reasons that are not recorded there was conflict between the two groups. Three of the five Europeans were killed; it is not recorded if any of the Aboriginal men were injured.¹⁷ The Sydney newspaper of the time recorded the incident in the following terms:

On Tuesday the Resource government vessel came in with coals and cedar from Hunter's River. She brought accounts of the arrival there of the Fly colonial vessel, on Monday the 2d instant, with the loss of three of her crew out of five, who were murdered by the coast natives at Bateman's bay a few days before. The Fly sailed from hence for Kangaroo Island some weeks since ; but being overtaken by bad weather and contrary winds, was obliged to take shelter at Bateman's bay, and then send on shore for water. The three unfortunate persons whose fate it was to fall under the barbarity of the natives, were sent on shore with a cask, having previously arranged a mode of giving an alarm from the vessel, in case of obvious danger, by the discharge of a musket. Shortly after they landed, a body of natives assembled about the boat, and a musket was accordingly discharged from the vessel – the unfortunate men returned precipitately to their boat, without any obstruction from the natives, but had no sooner put off from the shore than a flight of spears was thrown, which was continued until all the three fell from their oars. The savages immediately took and maned (*sic*) the boat, and with a number of canoes prepared to attack the vessel ; which narrowly escaped their fury by cutting the cable, and standing out to sea. The names of the murdered men were, Charles Freeman, Thomas Bly, and Robert Goodlet.¹⁸

In 1821 another ship, this one carrying cedar cutters heading for the Illawarra, took shelter from a storm at Bateman's Bay. The people of Bateman's Bay again met the intruders with violence, killing one man and injuring another and forcing the ship to head back to sea.¹⁹ The following account is taken from the newspaper of the time and was based on the account of one of the cedar cutters, Thomas Whittaker:

Whittaker, from whom we obtain the present account, states, that he left Sydney (in company with [Jas.] Block and [Henry] Thorn) about midnight... and had a fine north-easterly breeze ; that when they came off the place of their destination [the Illawarra], it was discovered they had too great an offing, and, owing to the wind freshening the boat was prevented from bearing up ; they were therefore compelled, having overshot their port, to run to the southward, which they continued to do till they reached Bateman's Bay, between 80 and 100 miles from Illawarra. In this bay they encountered a heavy squall, and after intense difficulty made a small island, on which they landed, kindled a fire, and after refreshing themselves, anchored off the shore. The next morning (Easter Sunday) at daylight, they were suddenly attacked by about twelve natives, with a discharge of 50 or 60 spears, followed up by a continued volley of stones. James Brock was thrice speared ; one

¹⁷ Ellis, *op.cit.*, p.14. ; Gibbney, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15. ; Sydney Gazette, 15th May, 1808, p.2.

¹⁸ Sydney Gazette, 15th May, 1808, p.2.

¹⁹ Ellis, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15.

entered a thigh, another slightly grazed his breast, and the third perforated the chest ; which produced instantaneous death. Whittaker was wounded by a spear in the right thigh ; and the other (Thorn) providentially escaped uninjured. The natives then left the island, at which they had, it was supposed, landed in the night, and made towards the boat in their canoes. The unfortunate men were now in a truly pitiable and forlorn condition ; Block was lying in the boat a corpse ; Whittaker was sorely wounded ; and Thorn beheld nothing but a horrid and cruel death, at the hands of the savages, ready to meet him, or else the dread expectancy of being entombed in the ocean's vast abyss. Whittaker, however, fortunately fired a loaded pistol at the approaching canoes, which had the effect of making them hastily sheer off. Block was then committed to the deep, and the two survivors exerted all their remaining strength to effect their escape into the main ocean, in which act they lost an oar. When clear of the bay, the wind still blowing from the north-east, they were reluctantly compelled to advance more southerly, till they came off Cape Dromedary, where, nearly exhausted, they got to a small island ; and just as they were in the act of lowering the killock, seven or eight natives presented themselves to view. Without a moment's deliberation they continued to bear away along the coast....²⁰

The people of Bateman's Bay had by this time acquired a reputation for fierceness among the Europeans.

Late in 1821 a government party, led by Lieutenant Robert Johnston, set off from Sydney in the *Snapper* to explore the Bateman's Bay area. They travelled 25 miles up the Clyde River and along the river met with a group of Aboriginal people who told them of other Europeans who had been in the area including an escaped convict and another ship's crew.²¹ Lieutenant Robert Johnston's report of the voyage was reproduced in the *Sydney Gazette*:

... having closely examined the Line of Coast in the Snapper's Boat, as far South as Bateman Bay, without succeeding in my Object, I returned on board, and determined upon running into that Bay to examine it... I perceived an Inlet in the Head of the Bay... which I have the Satisfaction to report to Your Excellency, proved to be the Entrance of a fine, clear, capacious River, having a Bar, over which I carried nine feet Water, and then deepened gradually in the Space of half a mile to six Fathoms, from whence I carried regular Soundings... the Distance of twenty-five Miles, and then encamped for the Night on the Western Bank. Considering this to be a Discovery, I named it "River Clyde".

On my Way up I saw several Native Fires near the Banks. At one Place I landed, taking with me the two Natives who accompanied me from Sydney, upon which we were met by a Tribe of them, who shewed (*sic*) no Symptoms of Hostility towards us, but entered freely into Conversation ; and, through my Interpreters, I learnt the Particulars of

²⁰ Sydney Gazette, 26th May, 1821, p.3.

²¹ Sydney Gazette, 15th December, 1821. ; Gibbney, op.cit., pp.14-15.

the melancholy Loss of Mr. Stewart and his Boat's Crew ; as also of a Man by the Name of Briggs, and his Companions, who some Time since deserted from the Colony in a Whale Boat ; viz. Stewart, losing his Boat near Two-fold Bay, was endeavouring to make his Way back by Land, in which Effort he was cut off by the Natives of Two-fold Bay. Briggs, and his Companions, were lost in Bateman Bay, by the Boat having upset ; and being so far from the Land, were not able to reach the Shore. This was the Account received from them ; but, from my own Observations, seeing Knives, Tomahawks, and Part of the Boats' Geer in their Huts, I am induced to think they suffered the same Fate as the unfortunate Stewart.²²

The following year the *Snapper* returned to the Bay to record further information on the possibilities for European settlement in the area.²³ It is further reported that in 1822 a young man by the name of William Kearns travelled, at the instigation of the explorer Charles Throsby, from Lake George to a hill around nine miles south of Bateman's Bay. He is stated to have not gone any further south, "... because of the reputed hostility of the natives in this area"²⁴.

Also in 1821 survivors of the wreck of the ship *Mary* at Twofold Bay travelled north to Sydney by boat:

On the 9th instant, Captain Heany bid farewell to the scene of his calamity, and shortly after reached Montague Island off Mount Dromedary, where they remained a few hours in order to refresh. Provisions soon became exhausted, having been compelled to leave the wreck so suddenly as to preclude the possibility of procuring a sufficient supply, or even thinking of it, when existence seemed to be dubious ; and had abundance been their portion at this critical juncture, the boat was too small to admit any greater bulk than that it contained. So reduced the sufferers became at length, that they were constrained to subsist on shellfish, or any other article that might obtrude itself on the beach ; and what contributed to render their situation the more forlorn and terrific, was that of beholding the shores as they passed lined with the barbarous tribes. On Montague Island some nuts were found in a native hut, recently abandoned ; eagerly and ravenously were they devoured ; but they disagreed with those that partook them, so much so, that Captain Heany declares he has not yet recovered from the pernicious effects produced by them...²⁵

In October of 1826 John Harper, a member of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, travelled by boat down the south coast in search of a suitable location to establish a 'Mission to the Aborigines'. On the 14th of that month the boat put in at Bateman's Bay and remained there for two weeks. Harper recorded the visit in his Journal:

²² Report from Robert Johnson, 10th December, 1821 In Sydney Gazette, 15th December, 1821, p.1.

²³ Gibbney, op.cit., pp.14-15.

²⁴ Primary source accounts of this journey have not been sighted. Account taken from , T.M. Perry, Australia's First Frontier: The spread of settlement in New South Wales 1788-1829, Melbourne University Press in association with Australian National University, 1965, p.100 [originally published 1963].

²⁵ Anon, 'Loss of the Colonial Vessel Mary', Sydney Gazette, 23rd June, 1821.

Oct 14th We arrived at Bateman Bay, it is forty miles from Jervis Bay. A black ran along the beach, setting fire to the grass at about every two hundred yards in order to hail us by the sight of the smoke.

Oct 15th. The black who ran along the beach the preceeding night, came on board, I gave him a blanket and some biscuits and dispatched him to fetch some more blacks ; this I was obliged to do by making signs, as he could not talk one word of English Neither did he understand the Wellington language.

Oct 16th. A number of blacks hailed us from the north side of the Bay ; I immediately sent the boat to fetch some of them off to the Vessel. Five of them came but they knew not one word of English. I took this deficiency as a very good omen, and immediately went on shore to see the rest of them. they appear to be much cleaner than any other blacks I have yet seen in the Colony. One man particularly attracted my notice for his monstrous size ; and another old man for the seeming authority he had over the rest. I was much surprised to find that the latter acted as King or chief among them a circumstance I never knew among the blacks at Wellington. Ships are not in the habit of putting in here ; the consequence is the blacks are uncontaminated. I distributed a few presents among them for which they shewed (*sic*) every token of satisfaction and contentment. If I meet with a good prospect of usefulness here, I shall confine myself to this tribe and proceed no farther.

Oct 17th. I took an excursion with the blacks, whom I saw and conversed with (in the best manner I could) the day before. As we had to pass through a thick Scrub, the blacks went before me and broke down the sticks and (?) that were in my way. They seemed to be highly amused at every trifling thing which I did. No man of pure motives need be afraid of travelling with the blacks, even in the most obscure place. Alltho' this assertion is not credited in the Colony by some people, yet I know from experience more than thousands who would object to it. For my part I never was afraid of meeting blacks who had never seen a white man before : neither will I ever be. Let the whites reform their conduct and they need never be afraid.

Oct 18th. I told the Master of the Vessel to proceed to Twofold Bay as soon as possible.

Oct 20th. We weighed anchor, and were leaving the Bay, when I found myself very much dissatisfied for leaving this place so suddenly; but my reason for leaving was, because I could not meet with a sufficient number of natives to confine my labours to. This was my only objection to this place. But while musing with myself whether I should stay a day or two...²⁶

At this point in the manuscript there is unfortunately a page missing which appears to record the arrival of a large party of Aboriginal men and women at Bateman's Bay. As a result of the arrival of a large group of people Harper decided to remain at the Bay. He went on to describe his first interactions with the newly arrived group:

²⁶ 'Mr. Harper's Journal [October 1826]', transcription in the Wesleyan Mission House Despatches, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, 1824-1829, B.T.53, CY1529, Mitchell Library.

[I] began to converse with them through my interpreter, telling them the object of my visit, and the kindness of the good people in Sydney, in sending me to them. I then distributed my little presents among them, with which act they were highly pleased. I knew several of the words which they spoke, but I knew not whether they bore the same signification. The women made me several presents which consisted of kangaroo teeth, shells, and red ocre (*sic*). The kangaroo teeth are fastened to a string, made from the hair of the Opossum, with gum which answers the purpose of wat (*sic*) or glue. They then began to enclose me round, each endeavouring to lay a hand upon me. They were completely in a state of nudity. This was done out of good humour, but I must own that I was very much disgusted with the smell of them. After the women had left me, and seated themselves at a distance by themselves ; I sat down along with the men and began to converse with them through my interpreter upon various subjects ; after which I wrote down the following observations: -

1st. They are the cleanest blacks that I have yet seen in the Colony: they have no cutaneous sores upon them.

2^{ndly} They are very kind to their women and children; the blankets which I gave to the men they gave to their wives and children. On my first approach to this new tribe I was not a little surprised to see an aged man and woman, walking arm in arm, towards me at the same time the man was pointing his finger at me their hair was nearly white. They were a very venerable pair.

3^{rdly} The men appear to be of the middle size; some of them, however, are rather tall most of them appear to be very athletic. The women are rather short, but, I believe this generally arises from carrying immense burdens. Both men and women are remarkable for their docility; I do not think they are very refractory.

4^{thly} They are not contaminated by the whites.

5^{thly} My interpreter tells me they are on good terms with the rest of the surrounding tribes.

6^{thly} They do not appear to be so vagrant as the tribes at Jervis Bay, Shoals Haven, but it is impossible that they should be free from it, otherwise, they could not get a subsistence. Their principal manner of living is in catching fish, and marine animals (seals) and in procuring the fruits that grow wild in the woods on which they chiefly subsists. They generally repose at about half a mile from the sea coast. They have temporary huts, ornamented with a tuft of grass fastened to a stick, and projecting from the front part of the top.²⁷

In his journal a few days later Harper recorded a brief trip he took around the Bay:

Oct 23rd. I took an excursion with a few blacks to the south side of the Bay. We had not gone far, before we met a black, who, on his first sight of me, began to shew (*sic*) a number of tricks, by dancing, jumping, swinging himself round, and beating himself with a stick;

²⁷ 'Mr. Harper's Journal [October 1826]', transcription in the Wesleyan Mission House Despatches, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, 1824-1829, B.T.53, CY1529, Mitchell Library.

then running backwards and forwards. At last he stood still and began gazing at the sky, with his head quite back, at the same time mouivering (*sic*) his Stick in all Directions. I really thought the man was mad, and more particularly as he had a very ordinary countenance. This man looked very sternly at me, and viewed me till he was almost tired. I went up to him and asked him to shake hands, he then offered me the upper part of his arm. This black was very friendly to me afterwards and brought me a large fish.²⁸

On October the 27th Harper recorded, “I have taken my leave of the blacks, they will anxiously expect my return. Oct 28th. We left Bateman Bay. When we were sailing out, the blacks waved their hands, as much as to say ‘Goodbye’.” However, Harper never did return. The application of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for a land grant at Bateman’s Bay was refused. Governor Darling stated in 1827 that, “I have... lately declined authorizing the Wesleyan Missionary Society to select land, which they had applied for along the Coast of Bateman’s Bay, considering it would have been prejudicial to the interests of the Settlers”.²⁹

Early European Settlement

The late 1820s saw the expansion of European settlement into areas to the north and south of the Eurobodalla region; by the 1830s Europeans had moved into the Eurobodalla region itself. In 1829 the settled area of the colony of New South Wales was divided into nineteen counties. Settlement, including pastoral occupation, was officially forbidden in the area outside the nineteen counties. The boundary of these counties was known as the ‘Limits of Location’, the southern boundary being the Moruya River.³⁰ The Eurobodalla area north of the Moruya River lay within the County of St. Vincent. The area to the south of the Moruya River lay ‘outside the boundaries’ of official settlement. However, the differing land laws for the two sections of Eurobodalla had little impact on the actual process of European settlement in the region.

Gaining control of the process of European settlement beyond the ‘Limits of Location’ was a concern of successive governors of New South Wales. In 1836 Governor Bourke first formalised these attempts in legislation known as the ‘squattling act’.³¹ The Act provided for the creation of ‘Squattling Districts’ in the area beyond the limits of settlement and for a Commissioner for Crown Lands to be appointed to oversee each of these districts.³² Amongst the first Squattling Districts formed was the Maneroo Squattling District, this district covered the area from south of the Moruya River to south of Eden township and west of the Dividing Range. John Lambie, the

²⁸ ‘Mr. Harper’s Journal [October 1826]’, transcription in the Wesleyan Mission House Despatches, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, 1824-1829, B.T.53, CY1529, Mitchell Library.

²⁹ Governor Darling to Earl Bathurst, Despatch No.32, 24th February, 1827, Historic Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.XIII, p.128.

³⁰ Jule Higgins, Pambula’s Colonial Days: a short history of the period 1797 1901, Merimbula-Imlay Historical Society, c.1982/3, p.4.

³¹ An Act to restrain the unauthorised occupation of Crown Lands 1836.

³² Graeme Aplin, S. G. Foster & Michael McKernan (eds.), *Australians: Events and Places*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Assoc., Sydney, 1987, p.49.; Andrew Lang, *Crown Land in New South Wales*, Butterworths, Sydney, 1973, pp. 3-4.; Stephen Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement 1788-1920*, Sydney, Macmillan, 1968 [first edition 1924], p.189.

first Crown Lands Commissioner for the District, took up his position in 1839.³³ One of the duties of the Crown Lands Commissioners was the provision of an annual report on the status of the Aboriginal people within their region. These reports are an important source of information on Aboriginal life in the 1840s and '50s. Although the boundary of the area Lambie covered formally lay at the Moruya River it is evident in his reports and associated census details that he was dealing with Aboriginal people throughout the Eurobodalla area.

The late 1820s saw European settlement begin to be established in the area to the north and south of the Eurobodalla region, in the Bega Valley and Twofold Bay in the south and the Illawarra and Shoalhaven to the north. Europeans also began to settle in the Monaro tablelands in this period, the town of Braidwood developing as a regional centre with 85 non-Indigenous people living there by 1828.³⁴

In 1828 Surveyor Florence surveyed the coastal area from Sydney to Moruya; he reported a deserted hut and stockyards on Runnyford Creek near Bateman's Bay.³⁵ Clearly there had already been some pastoral activity in the region, however, it was scattered and very limited in nature. In the late 1820s a small number of pastoralists and settlers began to move into the area. Throughout the 1830s the extent of European settlement steadily grew. Much of the movement of people and stock into the area came down from the tablelands via Braidwood and Araluen while others came by sea.³⁶ Throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century the sea was the focus of south coast settlement with settlers relying on it for the majority of their transport needs.

By 1830 there were a number of major landholders in the district, including William Morris at Murramarang, Thompson at Bateman's Bay, Captain Raine at Mt. Dromedary and Francis Flanagan and John Hawdon at Moruya.³⁷ In 1833 a drought led the settlers in the Braidwood area to look for further pastures. In the following year John Jauncey, on behalf of the Curlewis brothers of Braidwood, selected the area around Tilba Tilba, from Corunna Lake south to Wallaga Lake and to Mt Dromedary in the west. Two Aboriginal brothers Tom and Dick Toole had led him there. Jauncey named the property 'Tolbedilbo', which is said by some to be a local word for windy. The name Tilba Tilba appears to have derived from 'Tolbedilbo'.³⁸

The first European settler in the Wagonga Inlet area was Francis Hunt, he took up land in 1839 on the south of the inlet. Thomas Forster acquired the land in 1849 and it became known as 'Noorooma'. Forster added land throughout the 1850s and at one stage was said to have held land from the inlet down to Wallaga Lake.³⁹ The Bodalla area was taken up by John Hawdon, who already held land in the Moruya area, in the mid 1830s as he was expanding his land holdings throughout the district.⁴⁰ In an

³³ Alan Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragarang: 1790 to 1840*, Tabletop Press, 1998, p.121.

³⁴ Gwenda Happ, *SE Region Draft Document Resources*, version of report edited by Annie Blackwell, NSW NPWS, C-1316, chapter 2.

³⁵ Frank Johnson, *Where Highways Meet: A History of Bateman's Bay and the Valleys of the Clyde and Tomakin River Valleys*, Clyde River & Batemans Bay Historical Society, 1980, pp.24-25.

³⁶ Gibbney, *op.cit.*, pp.21-28. ; Happ, *op.cit.*, chapter 2.

³⁷ Gibbney, *op.cit.*, pp.21-28.

³⁸ Laurelle Pacey & Norm Hoyer, *Tilba Times*, self-published, Narooma, 1995, p.2.

³⁹ Laurelle Pacey, *Narooma's Past: steamers, sawmills and salmon*, self-published, Narooma, 2001, p.7. ; Laurelle Pacey, *The Story of Wagonga Inlet*, self-published, Narooma, 1990, p.4.

⁴⁰ Gibbney, *op.cit.*, pp.21-28. ; Bayley, *op.cit.*, 14-17.

article based on a series of letters written by John Hawdon to his family in England in the late 1820s and early 1830s there are references to the Aboriginal people of the area who led Hawdon to the rich grasslands of Bodalla:

When the family moved to his grant at Moruya he found the South Coast blacks very friendly. They took the family (the only white family there at the time), as quite good friends from the first, and never altered. The Moruya blacks always called Mrs. Hawdon "My dear." Her husband called her that, so it was evidently her name! It was through their friendship that Mr. Hawdon first took up Bodalla (or Botally as the blacks called it). They told him they knew where there was good grass and water, and took him to see it. He was so impressed with its richness that he took up several thousand acres there. It afterwards passed into other hands.

A great battle was once fought in the Kiora barnyard between the Moruya and the Braidwood blacks. It raged loud and long, much to the terror of the household, but the Braidwood tribe at last retired, evidently beaten, for they left two wounded on the field!⁴¹

Throughout the 1830s and '40s settlement in the region slowly increased with both the granting of more areas of land for the establishment of properties and the movement into the area of labourers and some landless tenant farmers who leased small areas of already existing properties. European settlement in these early decades was patchy in nature as a result of the geography of the area with its rugged mountainous country separating the river valleys.⁴²

Conflict in the First Decades

Throughout Australia as the two conflicting economic systems, of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, collided, resource competition became the focus of conflict. Aboriginal resistance to the taking over of their land took the form primarily of attacks on stock but also of attacks on stockmen and shepherds. The response of the pastoralists to the actions of Aboriginal people was frequently violent. Within the Eurobodalla area there are few records of violent conflict. Although it is not possible to know if this reflects a low level of conflict or is simply a lack of documentary evidence it does appear that violent conflict was essentially confined to the first decade of European intrusion in this area.

In 1830 William Turney Morris, one of the first settlers at Murramarang in the Bateman's Bay area, sent the following letter to the colonial secretary:

I have the honor to inform his Excellency the Governor that several acts of hostility have been committed by the native Blacks in this Country. The grossest of which are killing 6 Cows and Bullocks of Mr Thompson's of Bateman Bay, five belonging to the station at

⁴¹ Madeline Buck, 'Old Colony Days: John Hawdon's Letters: II', Sydney Morning Herald, date unknown, newspaper clipping from Moruya & District Historical Society.

⁴² Gibbney, op.cit., pp.21-28.

Nathangera near Buttawang, two belonging to Mr Flanagan on the Moroyo River, & several on the station of Capt. Raine near Mt. Dromedary, beside numerous others that they have speared & hunted but not killed.

They have also threatened the lives of Mr Thompson & his men and Mr Egan (Mr Flanagan's overseer) and his men, so that they dare not go abroad without a musket. In fact they seem to show greater hostility to Mr Thompson and Mr Egan than to any other persons in the neighbourhood and I consider their lives are in Danger if something is not quickly done... If permission was given to those aggrieved to shoot such Blacks as are known to be ringleaders in these atrocities it would make an Example to the other Blacks and be in my opinion a means of preventing further loss of property & perhaps life.⁴³

Five days later Morris wrote again:

... the native Blacks have committed further hostilities on Mr Thompson's farm at Bateman Bay, having killed since then six head of cattle and attacked horses for the same purpose, threatening at the same time to destroy him & his huts and I am afraid lives will be lost there if a few soldiers are not quickly sent there as he has only three men on the farm.

I have also discovered that three head of cattle belonging to Sydney Stephens Esqr. and four of mine have been killed by Blacks with whom I am well acquainted and I have the honor to request you will let me know what steps I am to take to punish them as I am very certain that until the chief instigators are severely punished these acts of Robbery will be increased among them, who moving about among the mountains are only seldom to be met with by White People.⁴⁴

Further representations were made in October by both Morris and Flanagan requesting the presence of soldiers or permission to shoot the leaders of the resistance. As a result of these requests in November the Executive Council of the government discussed what to do regarding what they termed the 'Aboriginal atrocities' in the County of St Vincent. The Council sent a patrol headed by Lieutenant Lachlan Macalister to the area. Lieutenant Macalister spoke to both European and Aboriginal people in the area and concluded that the coastal peoples were not involved in the conflict, rather that it was people from the mountain regions who were taking issue with not receiving blankets as the coastal peoples did. As a result of his report blankets were subsequently supplied to the mountain groups as well as the coastal groups and the conflict ceased.⁴⁵

There are very few references to conflict between Europeans and the Aboriginal people of the area after this time, in 1845 the settler Francis Flanagan stated that, "...

⁴³ W.T. Morris, Mooramoorang, to Colonial Secretary, 24th September, 1830. Transcription in Allison M. James, Batemans Bay: Story of a Town, self-published, Batemans Bay, 2001, p.5.

⁴⁴ W.T. Morris, Mooramoorang, to Colonial Secretary, 29th September, 1830. Transcription in James, op.cit., p.6.

⁴⁵ James, op.cit., p.7. ; Gibbney, op.cit., pp.21-28.

Some few cattle have been speared, and petty robberies are occasionally committed by them... They frequently fight amongst themselves, upon which occasions, the whites, though often spectators, never interfere... Few are killed in those encounters".⁴⁶

Introduced Diseases

The whaling and sealing vessels travelling the coast during the early 1800s may have transmitted new diseases to the Aboriginal population of the South Coast. The smallpox epidemic that devastated the Sydney coastal peoples in 1789 is likely to have had an impact further down the coast. Harper, on his visit to Bateman's Bay in 1826, before the first European settlement in the area, recorded that the people he saw there had, "... no cutaneous sores upon them".⁴⁷ However, even if the Eurobodalla people had managed to avoid the impact of the earlier smallpox epidemics the epidemic of 1829-31, which affected areas throughout the colony, is almost certain to have had some impact.

In the journal that the Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Port Phillip District, G.A. Robinson, kept during his visit to the Eden-Monaro region in 1844, he referred to the impact of influenza on the area, "Four years ago large numbers of the coast and Maneroo blacks died of influenza".⁴⁸ Although Robinson did not travel into the Eurobodalla area if influenza was active in the areas to the south then it was certainly also present in this region.

In his report on the 'Condition of the Aborigines' for the year 1845 the Commissioner for Crown Lands for the district, Commissioner Lambie, stated:

No material change has taken place in the condition of the Natives during the last year. Some Months ago a few of the Adult Males were attacked with Fever, and, although all received Medical treatment from one or other of the Surgeons who are resident Stock owners, those cases terminated fatally.⁴⁹

Also in 1845 a Select Committee was established to inquire into the 'condition of the Aborigines and the best means of promoting their welfare'.⁵⁰ This committee sent out a circular letter to magistrates, Crown Land Commissioners and 'other Gentleman' with a list of 18 questions regarding the Aboriginal people in their areas. For the area referred to as Broulee (including the areas around Moruya and Bateman's Bay) Francis Flanagan stated in relation to population and the spread of disease that:

⁴⁶ Response to Circular Letter from Francis Flanagan, Esq., J.P., Broulee, Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence and Replies to a Circular Letter, Government Printing Office, Sydney, 1845, p.38.

⁴⁷ 'Mr. Harper's Journal [October 1826]', transcription in the Wesleyan Mission House Despatches, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, 1824-1829, B.T.53, CY1529, Mitchell Library.

⁴⁸ Ian Clark (ed.), The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume 4: 1 January 1844-24 October 1845, Heritage Matters, Ballarat, 2000, p.158.

⁴⁹ 'Annual report on the State of the Aborigines for the year 1845', Commissioner of Crown Lands Lambie to Colonial Secretary Thomson, 1st January, 1846, Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol. XXV, p.13.

⁵⁰ Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence and Replies to a Circular Letter, Government Printing Office, Sydney, 1845, p.2.

The number and description of the aborigines in this district is as follows: - About two hundred and fifty; one hundred and sixty males, sixty females, and thirty children... [They have] Diminished about fifty per cent... Few children are now reared, and many adults have died lately... [From] Cutaneous and venereal diseases principally... About two years back, a virulent cutaneous disorder was raging amongst them, and a surgeon resident in this neighbourhood provided them with medicines at his own expense, for which the Government have since refused to remunerate him. When ill, they generally apply to the white residents in the district, who doctor them according to their ability.⁵¹

In his 'Report on the condition of the Aborigines in the year 1847' Commissioner Lambie stated that:

The Aborigines are fast decreasing in numbers, and it is needless to say that generally they retain their old wandering and unsettled habits and seem as much as ever disinclined to remain long in any particular place. There have been no collisions with the Whites that I have heard of ; but it has been reported to me that five died of Influenza, during the time this disease was so prevalent among the White people a short time ago.⁵²

Three years later Commissioner Lambie was even more explicit in his belief that the Aboriginal population of the area was being decimated by disease:

"They are few in number on the Table Land of Maneroo; somewhat more numerous along the seacoast, but everywhere decreasing rapidly... There is every probability of the few Aborigines belonging to this District soon becoming extinct, from the number that die annually of Influenza, and Consumption."⁵³

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

⁵¹ Response to Circular Letter from Francis Flanagan, Esq., J.P., Broulee, Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence and Replies to a Circular Letter, Government Printing Office, Sydney, 1845, p.38.

⁵² 'Report on the Condition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo District for the year 1844', Commissioner of Crown Lands Mr. J. Lambie to Colonial Secretary Thomson, 6th January, 1848, Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.XXVI, pp.402-403.

⁵³ 'Annual report on the Aborigines of the Maneroo District for the year 1850', Commissioner Lambie to the Chief Commissioner, Crown Lands Office Cooma, 28th January, 1851, Colonial Secretary Papers 'Special Bundles. Annual reports on state of the Aborigines in the various districts, 1851-3', 4/1146.4, State Records of New South Wales.

Helping Hands: the Wreck of the “Rover”

Conflict between Aboriginal people and Europeans in the early period of European intrusion into an area is only one part of the story. Throughout the early decades of settlement, in the Eurobodalla area as elsewhere, Aboriginal people frequently helped the newcomers as the result of kindness or as part of an economic exchange. Aboriginal people provided information on the landscape, guided people to good locations for stock and for timber and fed explorers and early settlers. In the reminiscences of Mrs Celia Rose, who arrived in Moruya as a young child in the early 1830s, she recorded the local Aboriginal people providing food to the settlers:

There was only one sailing vessel... that called at Broulee about once a month, bringing provisions from Sydney, and the shortage was at times acute. Aboriginals saved the settlement several times from starvation by supplying fish and oysters.⁵⁴

They also, as in the case of the wreck of the *Rover* at Broulee, saved the lives of the newcomers in more dramatic situations. In July 1841⁵⁵ the steamer the *Rover* which had anchored in Broulee Bay during a severe storm was wrecked on the shore of the northern entrance of Candalga Creek. Ten people on board the ship were saved, and two bodies brought to shore. In a manuscript written by G.A. Robinson of his 1844 south coast journey he tells of the bravery of the Aboriginal men who acted to save the ships crew:

... I was happy to find that the other Aborigines along the Coast were equally well spoken of several persons by their instrumentality had been saved. The most striking instance (brought under notice) was the Wreck of a Steamer in a Storm at Broole when all hopes of saving the white persons were given up, and when no Individual would venture, two Aboriginal natives at the imminent risk of their own lives boldly plunged into the Breakers and rescued the sufferers who but for them must have perished. For their humane and heroic conduct the Settlers in a Memorial to the Government recommended them for a consideration.⁵⁶

In May 1842 William Oldrey⁵⁷ of Broulee provided to the Colonial Secretary a census of Aboriginal people in the Broulee area. In this census he listed the names of Jerry, Warrekul Tommy, Bowlbay and Browlee Billy. He referred to Jerry as the ‘King of Broulee’ and stated of him that he, “... exerted himself in July last by assisting to save Ten white persons wrecked in the *Rover* at Broulee + aided by the other four following men...”.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Mrs Celia Ann Rose, ‘Recollections of the early days of Moruya’, Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1923, Vol.VIII, pp.375-6.

⁵⁵ Date of wreck from letter accompanying ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Broulee the 6th day of May 1842’, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1837 – 44: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁵⁶ George Mackaness (ed.), Goerge Augustus Robinson’s Journey into South-Eastern Australia – 1844, Australian Historical Monographs, Vol.19 (new series), 1941, p.23.

⁵⁷ Appears to be the same individual referred to in other sources as Captain Oldrey, see below.

⁵⁸ ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Broulee the 6th day of May 1842’, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1837 – 44: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

In 1849, just a few years after the event, the following account was recorded:

Some of the tribe... greatly distinguished themselves, three or four years since, by saving the crew of a schooner which was wrecked in the surf. The white by-standers stood aghast, and could not contrive means to render any assistance; but fifteen of the aborigines formed a line, hand in hand, and went into the surf and saved all on board. A benevolent individual residing near, a captain in the navy, made earnest application to the Governor, for a reward for these daring fellows; but the reply received was, that there were no funds at the disposal of the Government for such a purpose. This seems a hard case, when such immense sums have been realised by the sale of waste lands! But Captain – did all he could to reward these men, by making them frequent presents of little comforts, and he presented to each ‘humanity man’ a brass plate, having attached to it a chain, by which to hang it around the neck. On each plate he caused to be engraved the name of the wearer, and a record of the good deed and his comrades had done. This was the more generous, as the trading vessel that was cast away contained goods and stores belonging to himself, which were all irrevocably lost. The same gentleman is before alluded to as having, at a police office, pleaded the cause of a black held in captivity. He is an old and gallant officer, who has seen a great deal of hard service, and been more than once desperately wounded, and his noble nature ever prompted him to befriend the aborigines.⁵⁹

In recognition of their assistance and bravery Captain Oldrey RN of Broulee, whose cargo the ship was carrying at the time it was wrecked, presented several Aboriginal people with gorgets.⁶⁰ He had asked that the Government provide some form of reward to the individuals but this was refused.⁶¹

A gorget in the collection of the National Museum of Australia appears to be one of those presented on this occasion. The gorget is inscribed with the name ‘Timothy, Chief of Merricumbene’, Merricumbene being one of the station runs in the area. One half of this gorget was found in 1911 in an ash-heap near an old boat building shed at Bateman’s Bay, it had been cut up to repair a boat’s keel. The other part was subsequently found and they have since been rejoined. It was recorded in relation to the gorget when it was recovered that:

Old residents, then alive, remembered the occasion of the presentation of the plate to Timothy for his valour in swimming with a life-line to a stranded merchantman in the vicinity of Bateman’s Bay about 70 years before (that is about 1840).⁶²

⁵⁹ Townsend quoted in Tania Cleary, *Poignant Regalia: 19th Century Aboriginal Breastplates & Images*, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney, c.1993, p.39.

⁶⁰ Also known as ‘king plates’ or ‘brass plates’.

⁶¹ Ron Prior, *The History of Old Mogo Town*, Bateman’s Bay Commercial Printers, 1991, pp.3-4.

⁶² Cleary, *op.cit.* ; Jakelin Troy, *King Plates: A History of Aboriginal Gorgets*, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1993.

⁶² Milne, quoted in Troy, *op.cit.*, p.34.

The man who originally used the king plate to fix his boat's keel stated in a letter that he had also once had a plate given to another man involved in the rescue by the name of Jimmy and that that plate was inscribed with the words, 'Bale Me Jarrad'.⁶³ The term 'bale me jarrad' is New South Wales pidgin for 'I fear not' or more literally 'not I fear'.⁶⁴

Early Involvement in European Economic Activity

During the 1840s and early 1850s the Commissioners for Crown Lands provided annual reports on the 'Condition of the Aborigines' in their districts. The reports of the Commissioners for the Moneroo [Monaro] District show that the Aboriginal people of the coastal zone were, in addition to their involvement in the whaling industry in the far south, working as labourers in European pastoral and agricultural activities. In his report for 1844 Commissioner Lambie stated:

I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, the Substance of what I have on former occasions Stated, namely that no material change has taken place in the condition of the natives during the past year ; they continue to assist the Stockowners, particularly those whose Stations are situated near the Coast, in Sheep washing, hoeing, and reaping; but, Since labor has become more plentiful and consequently a reduction in the rate of Wages, their Services are less in demand than formerly.⁶⁵

In his report on the 'Condition of the Aborigines' for the year 1845 Commissioner Lambie stated:

The Natives, as heretofore, continue, to assist the Stock Owners in Sheep washing, reaping and hoeing, but their desire thus to make themselves useful does not seem to increase, notwithstanding the reward that invariable accompanies such services in articles of food and Clothing.⁶⁶

Working relationships had been formed between some of the Indigenous people of the area and individual Europeans from the earliest days of European intrusion in the late 1820s and early 1830s. An example of one such relationship is that between the local Indigenous people and the European John Hawdon in Moruya around the mid 1800s:

Several of the natives became servants about the place, one, Campbell, being the coachman for many years. The writer can recall being driven in the carriage with Campbell, "got up regardless" in black livery, on the box, while Benson, a faithful servant for many years, always hovered round to see that everything was in good order before a start

⁶³ Cleary, op.cit., p.39. ; Troy, op.cit., p.90.

⁶⁴ This translation is from Troy, op.cit., p.90. Troy is a specialist in early Sydney pidgin/creole languages.

⁶⁵ 'Report on the Condition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo District for the year 1844', Commissioner of Crown Lands Mr. J. Lambie to Colonial Secretary Thomson, 3rd January, 1845, Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.XXIV, pp.269-270.

⁶⁶ 'Annual report on the State of the Aborigines for the year 1845', Commissioner of Crown Lands Lambie to Colonial Secretary Thomson, 1st January, 1846, Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol. XXV, p.13.

was made. Both Campbell and Walker, another aborigine, were called “Mr.” Campbell and “Mr.” Walker by the tribe, after the gentlemen for whom they were named. Evidently “Mister” was regarded as a sort of Christian name.

They always regarded Mr. Hawdon’s word as law, and he was called upon to settle many a dispute. One, who had done him a good turn, he made king of Bergalia, and this fellow assumed for ever afterwards a royal arrogance which was very amusing. A stranger black at one time speared several sheep, and Mr. Hawdon gave orders that he was to be brought to him. As no more sheep were speared, he forgot all about the matter. Not so the blacks. Some weeks later he was surprised to see a crowd of them coming towards him, carrying something, and jabbering loudly. He found that the object they had brought was the stranger’s head. They had tracked him to Captain Mackellar’s estate at Braidwood and told him to come “one time, two time, three time,” but as he did not seem inclined to come, they said they could not wait, so brought his head.⁶⁷

The man referred to in the above quote as Benson is almost certainly Wynoo William Benson. Wynoo William Benson applied for a reservation of land for his use on the shores of Tuross Lake near Turlinjah in 1880, in his application he made reference to having worked for John Hawdon of Kyla Park for many years. The Mr. Campbell referred may be the Campbell for whose use a reserve was formed at Moruya Heads in 1875.⁶⁸

In 1845 in answer to questions from the Select Committee inquiring into the ‘Condition of the Aborigines’ Francis Flanagan provided the following information on labour in the wider Broulee area:

Those who choose to work can obtain plenty of food and clothing, and they seldom have of necessity to depend upon fishing or hunting for subsistence... Both males and females are employed by the settlers in gathering the maize and potatoe (*sic*) crop, and some of them in reaping. They have commonly been remunerated in provisions, clothes, tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., but many of them now insist upon being paid in money. They are always employed for stripping bark... They will only work when the fancy seizes them, and always go off without warning.⁶⁹

Two years later Commissioner Lambie stated:

... no material change has taken place in their condition during the past year. In their disposition and conduct, they continue quite harmless, and live on friendly terms with the settlers. A few of the Blacks

⁶⁷ Madeline Buck, ‘Old Colony Days: John Hawdon’s Letters: III’, Sydney Morning Herald, date unknown, newspaper clipping from Moruya & District Historical Society.

⁶⁸ See ‘Reserve’ section of this report for more detailed discussion.

⁶⁹ Response to Circular Letter from Francis Flanagan, Esq., J.P., Broulee, Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence and Replies to a Circular Letter, Government Printing Office, Sydney, 1845, p.38.

accompanied some Graziers, who removed their stock into Gipps Land, and indeed great numbers now pass the greater part of the year in that District...The Blacks continue as heretofore to assist the Settlers in Hay making, reaping, sheep washing, and other kinds of work ; but they cannot be depended on as the means of supplying labour, the deficiency of which is beginning now to be so severely felt.⁷⁰

For the year 1850 Commissioner Lambie again referred to Aboriginal people being willing to work for Europeans only on a casual basis:

Many of them make themselves useful at several of the Stations, at the periods of sheep washing and harvest, and are always well treated, and well paid by those who employ them. But they still exhibit their old aversion to constant and settled employment.⁷¹

The following year, 1851 saw a change of Commissioner, the new Commissioner being Manning. Commissioner Lambie's comment in the 1850 report that the people were always 'well paid' was directly contradicted by a comment made by Manning in his report for 1852. To the now standard comment that the Aboriginal people of the area continue to act as a labour force for the Europeans Manning adds the recognition that the popularity of Aboriginal labour with the Europeans is a result in part of the inequality of the wages paid to them:

From constant and intimate connection with Europeans their habits are gradually becoming assimilated. Quiet and orderly in their deportment, when not ill used, they are willing to labor for wages so small that their services are in general demand. Their earnings are very generally expended in procuring clothing and other comforts which they begin to regard as necessities. Though in some instances the fruit of their labour is wasted in the purchase of intoxicating liquors, I think the evil is on the decrease – certainly not extending [emphasis original].⁷²

Commissioner Manning, in his first report that was for the year 1851, provided his understanding of the basis for Aboriginal people's willingness to labour for Europeans. He perceived it as being seasonally based, that is that Aboriginal people were willing to work for Europeans only at the harshest time of the year when other resources were few:

The inveterate habit of rambling [emphasis original] in small parties during all the warmer months of the year makes it difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of the number of the Aboriginal natives or to become properly acquainted with their actual condition. It is only during the

⁷⁰ 'Report on the Condition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo District for the year 1844', Commissioner of Crown Lands Mr. J. Lambie to Colonial Secretary Thomson, 6th January, 1848, Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Vol.XXVI, pp.402-403.

⁷¹ 'Annual report on the Aborigines of the Maneroo District for the year 1850', Commissioner Lambie to the Chief Commissioner, Crown Lands Office Cooma, 28th January, 1851, Colonial Secretary Papers 'Special Bundles. Annual reports on state of the Aborigines in the various districts, 1851-3', 4/1146.4, State Records of New South Wales.

⁷² 'Report on the state of the Aborigines in the Maneroo District', Commissioner Manning, 31st December 1853, Colonial Secretary Papers 'Special Bundles. Annual reports on state of the Aborigines in the various districts, 1851-53', 4/713.2, State Records of New South Wales.

severer portion of the winter that they congregate in any numbers in the neighbourhood of towns or large Squatting establishments ; and at that time they are seen under the greatest possible disadvantage. Without clothing to protect them from the inclemency of the Season, and unable to subsist by hunting, fishing, or their other usual modes of gaining food, they swarm to the settlements in the expectation of procuring both, and are generally willing to give such labor as they are capable of in return for what food or portions of raiment they may receive. Cutting wood for the winter supply of the settlers seems to be the general use to which they are put;- both males and females.⁷³

It would appear from this statement that the people of the area were continuing to follow their pre-existing patterns of existence and attempting to incorporate the European presences within this pattern. However, the disruption brought by Europeans, through disease, pastoralism and increasing land alienation, grew dramatically in the following decades.

Population Figures in the early 1800s

As is the case generally in south-eastern Australia estimates of population for the Eurobodalla area are limited in extent and accuracy. The figures that were recorded cannot be considered to reflect the population of the area before the advent of Europeans as the impact of disease had already been felt. The earliest recorded population figure for the Eurobodalla area was recorded by the missionary Harper in his visit to Bateman's Bay in 1826. The figures he gave apply to the single group that he met with at that location:

The number of blacks present is 87 men, 36 women, 23 children ; making in all 146. besides others who are not far distant, as may be seen by the smoke ascending in various places. The land is pretty tolerable in some parts and thickly covered with timber, tho' in some parts it is very mountainous.⁷⁴

In 1839 Commissioner Lambie undertook a census of the Aboriginal and European inhabitants of the Maneroo Squatting District. The census is far from complete in its coverage of either group. Lambie's census identified 173 stations already formed in the District with a non-Indigenous population of 1143 free or freed individuals⁷⁵ and 565 convicts⁷⁶. The Aboriginal population of the area was given as 448⁷⁷ individuals.⁷⁸

⁷³ 'Report on the state of the Aborigines in the Maneroo District', Commissioner Manning, 23rd March, 1852, Colonial Secretary Papers 'Special Bundles. Annual reports on state of the Aborigines in the various districts, 1851-53', 4/713.2, State Records of New South Wales.

⁷⁴ 'Mr. Harper's Journal [October 1826]', transcription in the Wesleyan Mission House Despatches, Bonwick Transcripts Missionary, 1824-1829, B.T.53, CY1529, Mitchell Library.

⁷⁵ 781 males, 151 female, 110 boys, 101 girls.

⁷⁶ 558 males, 7 females.

⁷⁷ 177 men, 142 women, 80 boys and 49 girls.

⁷⁸ Andrews, op.cit., p.123.

In contrast to this figure Mrs Celia Rose, who arrived in Moruya as a young child in the early 1830s and remained there most of her life, remembered a population of almost that many in the Moruya area alone:

I think the Aborigines numbered about four hundred. They were quiet and harmless, and the elders of them were very kind, and would put their hands on our heads and say, "Buderree fellow white picanniny." There were no other white children but my brother and myself, and we used to play with the blacks, and were never frightened of them. My mother was the only white woman here at that time. The first hotel was built on the northern bank of the Moruya River, and when the blacks got drunk there they would fight and kill each other, and now there is not one full-blooded black left in this district.⁷⁹

In 1834 the government distributed blankets to station run holders to in turn distribute to the Aboriginal people in their local area. Blankets were distributed to four stations in the Bateman's Bay area, thirty blankets each to Mr Thomson, Mr Hunt, Mr Flanagan and twenty to Mr Morris.⁸⁰ The return from Walter Thomson, listing the 23 individuals to which he distributed blankets is the only one to have survived. Thomson stated in regard to the list that:

The number of Blankets I received from the Government, were thirty, & you will observe by the list enclosed, that there is only the Names of twenty three of the Blacks given, but among these were several old people, with families, who suffer much more from the inclemency of the weather, than those single men who are not so much advanced in years – I thought it expedient therefore, to give the very old people double Blankets each...⁸¹

In 1839 a total of 117 people were recorded for the Bateman's Bay area, 50 men, 29 women, 24 boys and 14 girls. Unfortunately no further details exist.⁸² In 1842 William Oldrey of Broulee supplied to the Colonial Secretary a list of all individuals taken at the Broulee Police Office at the time of the annual distribution of blankets. There is a total of 194 people listed by name, with estimates of their age and their place of normal residence, in addition there are 36 children with no further information provided.⁸³

⁷⁹ Rose, op.cit., pp.375-6.

⁸⁰ 'List of Stations to which Blankets are to be forwarded for distribution in 1834', Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1833-35: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/6666B.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁸¹ Walter Thompson to Colonial Secretary, 25th November, 1834, Batemans Bay, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1833-35: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/6666B.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁸² 'Return of Aborigines taken at the respective Stations, 1839', Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1833-35: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/6666B.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁸³ 'Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Broulee the 6th day of May 1842', Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1837 – 44: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales. A scanned copy of the original is included as Appendix 4 of this report.

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RETURN of ABORIGINAL NATIVES, taken at Brokenbarr on 12 July 1834

No.	ENGLISH NAMES.	NATIVE NAMES.	Probable Age.	Number of Wives.	CHILDREN.		Designation of Tribe.	Place or District of usual Resort.
					Male.	Female.		
1	Lachey	Jamauagb						
2	Hugh	Bunabga						
3	Beauty	Looindgal						
4	Lachey	Karandina						
5	Bald	Wooindgal						
6	Wandoo	Wandoo						
7	Tommy	Kullandiga						
8	Melking	Billioka						
9	Louis	Wandoo						
10	Ducky	Koodaroo						
11	John	Mabbaring						
12	Tommy	Koolgal						
13	Mr. Daly	Kashooluga						
14	Bobby	Kegard						
15	Henry Billy	Gbranla						
16	Louis	Bunnen						
17	Henry Billy	Woolley						
18	Louis	Buggash						
19	Henry Billy	Woolley						
20	Henry Billy	Woolley						
21	Henry Billy	Woolley						
22	Henry Billy	Woolley						
23	Henry Billy	Woolley						

Walter Thompson

Plate 1: Listing of Individuals to whom blankets were issued at Bateman's Bay in 1834.⁸⁴

Oldrey described the people attending the blanket distribution at Broulee as having come from, "... the Coast, extending 60 Miles to the South, and more than that distance to the North..."⁸⁵

The following day William Oldrey wrote to the Colonial Secretary requesting that he be provided with additional blankets to distribute:

⁸⁴ Walter Thompson to Colonial Secretary, 25th November, 1834, Batemans Bay, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1833-35: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/6666B.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁸⁵ William Oldrey to Colonial Secretary, 29th May, 1842, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines: 1837-44, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

I have the honor to inform you that the Bales of Blankets have been recieved (*sic*) here, containing 170 Single Blankets. The whole were issued on Friday last at the Court House Browlee ; and I regret to state that there are about 100 Aborigines that without Blankets in this District, several of whom are labouring under sickness & Disease: the cold & Wet in this neighbourhood and to the Southward, have been severely felt by them.⁸⁶

Oldrey's request for additional blankets was refused and in his letter of response to the Colonial Secretary Oldrey stated:

I have only to express, the regret, I feel, that after the representations I have had the honor to make, so great a number of Aborigines should still be left to suffer, in this District, from illness, which is principally to be ascribed, to their want of blankets, or some other warm coverings, to shelter them from the effects of the Cold, & Wet weather, prevalent in this quarter at this Season of the year.⁸⁷

In the following year, 1843, Oldrey again supplied a list of those who received blankets at Broulee. There are a total of 136 people listed by name, with estimates of their age and their place of normal residence, in addition there are 20 children with no further information provided.⁸⁸

Records of Ceremonial Life and Stories

There is little documentary material relating to the ceremonial life or stories of Aboriginal people within the Eurobodalla area in the nineteenth century. However, as noted earlier the boundaries of the Eurobodalla Shire do not relate to the realities of Aboriginal groupings and social patterns, or indeed to the social patterns of early European settlers. The people of the Eurobodalla area were, and are, part of the ceremonial life of the broader south coast region. A discussion of such ceremonial networks is beyond the scope of this report.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, it is of interest to note that in the account by the amateur ethnographer A.W. Howitt of the initiation ceremony held on Mumbulla Mountain, just to the south of the Eurobodalla area, in 1883, mention is made of people attending from Moruya and Bateman's Bay in addition to areas further north.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ William Oldrey to Colonial Secretary, 7th May, 1842, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines: 1837-44, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁸⁷ William Oldrey to Colonial Secretary, 29th May, 1842, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines: 1837-44, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

⁸⁸ William Oldrey 'List of Natives in Broulee district who received blankets... Broulee, 1843', Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines: 1837-44, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales. A scanned copy of the original is included as Appendix 5 of this report.

⁸⁹ In relation to this issue see for example: ; Lee Chittick & Terry Fox, *Travelling with Percy: A South Coast Journey*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1997. ; Brian Egloff, Nicolas Peterson & Sue Wesson, *Biamanga National Park and Gulaga National Park Aboriginal Owners Research Report*, Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Lands Rights Act, 2001. ; Deborah Bird Rose, *Gulaga: A Report on the Cultural Significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal People*, Forestry Commission of NSW & NSW NPWS, 1990. ; Deborah Rose, Diana James & Christine Watson, *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in New South Wales*, NSW NPWS, 2003. ; Eileen Morgan, *The Calling of the Spirits*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1994.

⁹⁰ Howitt, *op.cit.*, pp.527,537.

The only first hand documentary account of a ceremonial occasion in the Eurobodalla area that has been located during this study comes from Boat Harbour. In the bush near Boat Harbour in the 1850s Hermann Lau, a German migrant, witnessed a corroboree involving men and women. An Aboriginal woman at that event also provided him with mimosa bark to help with his toothache. Lau's original description is in German and while it has been summarised in English it has not been translated in full:

Near the dockside at Boat Harbour stands a hut which is used by the government surveyor Mr Larmer⁹¹ and his staff when he is in the district. The floor is covered with thick woollen blankets and it is a very comfortable place. Lau was staying there one night with Larmer and, plagued by toothache, was awakened at midnight from a fitful sleep by wild shouts and heavy drum beats. Larmer told him it was a corroboree and they set off to watch it.

They crept into the bush, Lau wearing a heavy bandage round his aching jaw. Larmer was known to the Aborigines and they were given permission to observe the dance. A woman asked Lau "What matter Kobra?" (What's wrong with your head?) and when Lau pointed at his teeth, she said "Me bring you caban Dada" (I'll bring you some excellent bark). She returned with a mimosa twig, rolled the bark into a little ball, and Lau put it against the aching tooth. It gave him immediate relief.

Twelve powerful young men, naked, their arms and legs covered in white stripes, were chanting a monotonous wild song, in time with the beat of the possum drums. With exact regularity, they clashed their weapons together, the boomerang against the spear, the nulla nulla against the shield. One by one, each demonstrated his individual skill. The others threw themselves on the ground, but immediately bounded up again. They were followed by a young girl, in a white shift, who leaped around wildly, but with a curious grace. The dancing lasted until dawn.⁹²

In a newspaper article of 1892 there is an account of a story of the Wagonga people, the author does not state where he heard the story but he was a local of the area and presumably heard a version of it from the Aboriginal people of the area. The style of telling and possibly the details have clearly been modified to suit European sensibilities of the time. The story tells of an expedition by a large proportion of the Wagonga people to Montague Island to collect sea bird eggs in the spring and the disaster that occurred:

The tradition from which we quote tells us that the headlands of Wagonga had in those days a large population, they were men of grand physical proportions and of great activity in the chase, as also in the use

⁹¹ Mr Larmer had surveyed the area as early as 1837 see James, op.cit., p.8.

⁹² John Fletcher, Hermann Lau and his sojourns (1854-1859) in Sydney, Goulburn, Braidwood, Araluen, Moruya and Shoalhaven, Sydney, Book Collectors' Society of Australia, 1991, p.29.

of the spear, in fishing both standing on terra-firma or kneeling in the frail bark canoes.... The season was “the egg feast” one, about September, and the Wagonga tribe had arranged for a monster picnic to Montague Island in search of sea-bird eggs. For days, and days before, new canoes of large size had been constructed, and the greater part of the tribe both men and women intended to go and have a high time of it. Making all allowance for the increase that most traditions are allowed, the number that left for Montague could not have been less than 150 adults, the children and many old women staying behind. It was a lovely morning just at the break of day with the sea as smooth as a sheet of glass and every prospect of a quick return that the young and strong, and elders to advise and guide, stepped into the seventy or eighty canoes at the beach just below Mr. Flanagan’s Hotel that is now.. and so the whole party got out to sea in grand style amid the cheers and dancing of those left behind. Great were the expectations of those left on the land, and the whole remaining camp sat on the southern head-land the live-long day watching the little fleet go and its returning shortly before sun-down. The canoes kept well together both ways and the merry laugh could be heard from shore when they approached within half a mile, and excitement ran very high and speculation too as to who would first land and the number of eggs they would bring. But suddenly a change came over the whole scene, a dark cloud which had for some few hours been seen to the south suddenly came up with great swiftness and burst, “the winds blew and the rain came” and swept down upon our voyagers with terrible force. The poor terror panic stricken watchers knew what must be the issue, they could see one canoe after another disappearing until the night closed in and not a living soul landed to tell the fearful tale. Can the gentle reader imagine the feelings of the helpless band left upon the headlands, scores of young children and many aged mothers left to the mercies of the worked, but if the tradition is to be credited, there was one who rose up and took in the situation at a glance, and by sheer dint of pluck, energy, and determination made provision for those left behind which if it could be all proved would mark the man as one of the most wonderful imergency (*sic*) men ever known. He divided women, old men and children to groupes (*sic*) to seek for food suitable for their ages, &c., himself taking the duty of stalking for large game, being attended by a party of the strongest of the lads to carry it to the camp. In the course of a few years the young had come to manhood, and once more the Wagonga tribe was on its old footing. To those who remember Wagonga a couple of decades ago it may be interesting to learn that this man was the father of “Wagonga Frank,” a true and trusty black who went to his rest some years ago and was buried by his tribe on the sea beach to the south of Mummuga Lake.⁹³

⁹³ R.H.B. [probably Richard Barlow], ‘Wagonga: From an aboriginal tradition’, *Moruya Examiner*, 5th February, 1892, p.2.

Emergence of Small Scale Settlement: 'Locking Out'

At the end of the 1850s gold was discovered at Kiandra in the Snowy Mountains and 'gold fever' hit the south coast. The increased population in the area that resulted from the movement of miners into the area, although a largely transient population, resulted in the development of roads and the establishment of coach services and roadside inns.⁹⁴ The gold rushes also led to an increased demand for agricultural products in order to feed the dramatically increased population. These developments all contributed to increasing mobility within the area and to the growth of European settlement with its concomitant alienation of land from the Aboriginal people of the area. The 'locking out' of the local Aboriginal people from their land through the imposition of small scale European land use patterns had begun.

Within the European community in the years following the gold rushes of the 1850s the issue of access to land rapidly came to dominate the political landscape of New South Wales. A strong popular demand to 'unlock the lands' and allow small selectors access to the vast tracts of land held under pastoral lease emerged. In 1861 two Acts, colloquially known as the Selectors' Acts and Robertson's Acts, attempted to address this demand in New South Wales. The impact of these Acts on landholding patterns was limited, the 1884 Crown Lands Act was the next major legislative attempt to shift the nature of land holdings. Both this Act and the following legislation that culminated in the Closer Settlement Act of 1905 were more effective in altering the nature of land holdings.⁹⁵ The 1861 Acts had an impact on the South Coast with the movement of small scale settlers into the region in the 1860s as the large pastoral leases began to be broken up into small allotments.⁹⁶ In the period from 1860 to 1900 a shift occurred over much of the area under consideration from pastoralism to agriculture, intensive grazing and associated activities (ie. cropping and pig raising) as the primary form of European land use.⁹⁷

The intensification of land use and the associated decrease in property sizes and increase in land enclosure resulted in increasing restrictions on Aboriginal people's capacity to reside on, travel over, and utilise the resources of the country.

Impact of Gold on Growth of European Settlement

Gold has been found in many of the mountains and valleys of the Eurobodalla area and indeed all along the south coast. Throughout the area the gold miners' need for goods and services led to the growth of towns in the second half of the nineteenth

⁹⁴ Higgins, op.cit., p.19. ; Danny Webster, *The Sapphire Coast of N.S.W.: 1788-1901*, self-published, 1989, p.11.

⁹⁵ Lee Godden, 'Wik: Feudalism, Capitalism and the State: A Revision of Land Law in Australia?', *Australian Property Law Journal*, 5 (2&3), 1997, p.177; C.J. King, *An outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales: Part 1, The Sequence of the Land Laws 1788-1956*, Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economic, Department of Agriculture, NSW, 1957, pp.73-77; J.M. Powell, 'Patrimony of the People: the role of government in land settlement', Chapter 2 In R.L. Heathcote (ed.) *The Australian Experience: Essays in Australian Land Settlement and Resource Management*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1988, pp.16-17; J.M. Powell, *Environment Management in Australia 1788-1914*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.82-84.

⁹⁶ Denis Byrne, *The Mountains Call Me Back: A History of the Aborigines and the Forests of the Far South Coast of N.S.W.*, N.S.W. Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs & NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1984, p.18.

⁹⁷ Webster, op.cit., 1989, p.12.

century; these included Mogo, Nerrigundah, Wagonga Inlet (late Narooma) and Tilba Tilba. As discussed above the development of towns and roads to service gold miners provided the infrastructure to support the extension of small scale settlement in the region. The first major gold discovery on the south coast was at Eden in 1852. In the mid 1850s alluvial gold was discovered at Mogo Creek and the township of Mogo developed as a result of the miners' arrival. By 1871 around fifty men were working in the Mogo creek itself. The town grew rapidly as a result of the miners coming in. At its peak in the late 1800s there were more than 17 hotels in the area but by 1913 all the mines in the area had closed. Gold was also found at a number of locations along the creeks around Moruya in the 1850s and the mines established in this area continued to operate until the 1920s.⁹⁸

Alluvial gold was also discovered in the Mt Dromedary area in the 1850s; in 1875 at its peak there were more than 150 men working Dromedary and Punkally Creeks.⁹⁹ Mt Dromedary is more properly known by its Aboriginal name of Gulaga, in a newspaper account from 1879 the mountain is referred to by that name though with an alternative spelling:

... the writer... [visited] the settlements that nestle under the shadow of Cooligah, the big mountain of the blackfellow, Anglicized into the unpoetic name of the Dromedary for the reason it is said that a certain peak in the mountain resembles the hump on the animal's back, surely too lame an excuse for dropping the pretty native name of Cooligah.¹⁰⁰

Gulaga is a major site of significance to Aboriginal people of the south coast. Deborah Bird Rose in her 1990 report asserted the mountain to be primarily a women's site although including some men's ceremonial areas. It is stated to be, along with Mumbulla Mountain, a Bunan ceremonial site.¹⁰¹ One can only presume that the mining of the mountain, and the large population associated with it, would have caused great distress to the site's custodians.

In 1882 reef gold was discovered at Kianga, just to the north of the Wagonga Inlet, and for a time brought many miners to the Wagonga [Narooma] area.¹⁰² One of the major fields of the region was that at Nerrigundah, gold was found there in the 1850s. By 1861 there were around 200-300 miners in the area, and this is said to have increased to 400 in the following years. However, as occurred in all the gold fields in the Eurobodalla region they more or less ceased to function in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁰³

Expansion of European Settlement: Dairying and Timber

Timber getting began along the south coast in the 1840s, with sawmills proliferating in the 1860s. The large forested areas lying between the valleys, in which European

⁹⁸ R.I. Jack & D.N. Jeans, *Regional Histories: Regional Histories of New South Wales*, Heritage Office & Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Sydney, 1996, pp.170-172. ; James, op.cit., p.128. ;Pacey & Hoyer, op.cit., pp.4,9. ; Pacey, op.cit., 1990, p.11.

⁹⁹ Pacey & Hoyer, op.cit., pp.4, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Anon, 'The Tilba Tilba District', *Bega Standard*, 29th November, 1879, p.2.

¹⁰¹ Bird Rose, op.cit., 1990.

¹⁰² Pacey, op.cit., 1990, p.11.

¹⁰³ James, op.cit., p.128. ; Pacey, op.cit., 1990, p.5.

settlement was focused, provided a major resource historically as it continues to do today. The dairying and other agricultural activities that occurred in the valleys involved large scale land clearance.

The late nineteenth century saw a dramatic increase in timber getting on the south coast as contracts to supply sleepers for the state's developing railway network were acquired. By 1883 there were 13 mills operating in the Clyde River area alone. These mills were located in many areas including: Bawley Point, Kioloa, Pebbly Beach, Bateman's Bay, Tomakin, Mogo, Runnyford, Benandarah, Brooman, Shallow Crossing, Currowan Creek, Bridge Creek, and Termiel.¹⁰⁴ Although there are only limited references relating to the involvement of Aboriginal people in the timber industry in the Eurobodalla area, it is undoubtedly the case that Aboriginal people were involved as workers in the timber industry as they were throughout the state.

From the mid 1860s a shift began on the South Coast from beef cattle to dairy cattle. The Bodalla area, at that time the property of Thomas Mort, was one of the early properties intensively developed as a dairy from the mid 1860s onward. The Tilba Tilba area was also developed as a dairying centre early on. By the end of the 1870s, all of the good dairying land in the area had been selected.¹⁰⁵

The 1880s and 1890s saw a large scale move to dairying throughout the region and the development of the butter and cheese industry in the region. While the Bega Valley was the centre of the development of the dairying industry the shift impacted throughout the region.¹⁰⁶

In an article published in the *Moruya Examiner* in 1888 the author wrote of the emergence of the towns of the area:

Nelligen also became a busy little town, as large quantities of wool found its way from the Braidwood district to the steamer at that place, en route for the metropolis. Bateman's Bay, too, sprang into note, by reason of its saw mills; and Mogo kept a small, but steady body of diggers at work, and there are yet very strong indications of a good gold-field being found within its limits. Tomakin, on the shores of Broulee harbour, has supplied Sydney and other ports with a vast quantity of timber, and is still able to do so, if prices would only improve.¹⁰⁷

Speaking of what essentially constitutes the Eurobodalla district the author described the area in 1888:

The district has made great strides within the past few years, and tens of thousands of acres have been selected. As a rule the inhabitants are an exceedingly thrifty body, and not behind any part of the colony. The district is well supplied with schools, and churches are numerous, large sums of money being collected every year for the advancement of

¹⁰⁴ James, op.cit., pp.11-16.

¹⁰⁵ Pacey & Hoyer, op.cit., p.3.

¹⁰⁶ Jack & Jeans, op.cit., pp.166-169.

¹⁰⁷ Wolbar [appears to be Richard Barlow], 'Moruya, Past and Present', *Moruya Examiner*, 26/1/1888, p.4.

religion.... The productions of the district have so far been grain (maize, wheat, oats, and barley), potatoes, hardwood timbers (both sawn and wrought, ironbark girders and sleepers), wattle bark, and dairy produce. The latter has assumed large proportions, but it must be confessed that the quality has sank very low indeed, the consequence being the article is unsaleable.¹⁰⁸

The extent of small scale settlement is clear in the statement in the same article that, "Within a few miles from Nerrigundah we come to the only squatting station left in our district. Cadgee is the property of Mr. Charles Byrne, and comprises a vast amount of country. This portion of the district is exceedingly rugged and difficult to travel."¹⁰⁹ Large pastoral concerns were no longer a common feature of the Eurobodalla landscape.



Plate 2: Aboriginal family outside their house, from the W.H. Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, c.1900.¹¹⁰

The shift to dairying, and associated small cropping, involved an increase in the intensity of European land use and an associated increase in the permanent European population, as opposed to the itinerant population associated with the mining of gold. The impact of such an increase in population and land use by Europeans placed further pressure on the Indigenous people of the area in relation to their access to land and resources. As the picture above illustrates some Aboriginal families were able to acquire access to sufficient land, as share farmers or more rarely lease holders, within the new European land regime to try and adapt to the new situation by themselves becoming small scale farmers. The actions of the Aborigines Protection Board in the

¹⁰⁸ loc.cit.

¹⁰⁹ loc.cit.

¹¹⁰ Photograph TT803, William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia.

late 1800s and early 1900s made it harder for Aboriginal people to maintain or develop economic independence in such ways.

Formation of Aboriginal Reserves

While there were a considerable number of reserves created for the use of Aboriginal people throughout the Eurobodalla region there is limited information available in the documentary record regarding these reserves. Some reserves appear not to have been occupied, many appear to have been occupied by individual families, many were short lived. The table on the following page provides a comprehensive listing of reserves in the area based on the records of the Aborigines Protection Board.

Table 1: Reserves in Eurobodalla Area.¹¹¹

Reserve Gazettal Number	Reserve Name	Location Description	Area of Land	Date Gazetted	Date Revoked
No number. Listed as 'Native Reserve'.	Wagonga Reserve	Situated near the mouth of the Wagonga River, 8 miles from Bodalla and 24 from Moruya.	180 acres	24/12/1861	
246	Moruya (Campbell) Reserve	Situated near Moruya Heads. Parish of Moruya, County of Dampier.	24 acres	13/7/1875	18/12/1886
347	Terouga Lake (Merriman) Reserve, Terouga Lake	On Terouga Lake 5 miles from Bodalla, and 22 from Moruya. Parish of Bodalla, County of Dampier.	40 acres	19/10/1877	23/5/1969
346	Tuross Lake (Bolway) Reserve	Tuross Lake. Parish of Bodalla, County of Dampier.	56 acres	19/10/1877	16/12/1914
345	Yarboro (Yarraro) Reserve	On the sea coast 14 miles from Moruya, and 8 from Bodalla. Parish of Bodalla, County of Dampier.	40 acres	19/10/1877	27/1/1922
378	Tuross Lake (Neddy) Reserve	On the south bank of the Tuross Lake. Situated about 6 miles from Bodalla, and 15 from Moruya.	40 acres	20/5/1878	

¹¹¹ Information obtained from Aborigines Protection Board, Register of Reserves, State Records of New South Wales, Reel 2847, File 2/8349 ; A. McGuigan, Aboriginal Reserves in N.S.W.: A Land Rights Research Aid, Occasional Paper No.4, N.S.W. Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, .n.d. ; Annual Reports of the Aborigines Protection Board, NSW Parliamentary Papers & Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales.

553	Turlinjah (Benson) Reserve	On the shore of Tuross Lake at Turinjah, 11 miles from Moruya and 6 from Bodalla. Parish of Congo, County of Dampier.	32 acres	22/11/1880	7/9/1917
No number	Moruya Heads Reserve	Moruya Heads	320 acres & 24 acres	c.1883/5	
112	Tomago River Reserve near Tomakin	On the Tomago River, Parish of Bateman, County of St Vincent	40 acres	9/1/1884	
13939	Wallaga Lake Reserve	North shore of Wallaga Lake, Parish of Noorooma, County of Dampier.	Approx. 330 acres	13/6/1891	21 acres on 22/11/1963
17546	Currowan (Currawong) Reserve	Situated near Nelligen on Currowan Creek just up from its junction with the Clyde River in the Parish of Currawan, County of St. Vincent.	60 acres	15/4/1893	9/5/1956
34759	Bateman's Bay Reserve	Situated in the Parish of Bateman, County of St. Vincent, Portions 139, 140, 141.	9 acres	19/7/1902	16/9/1927
40698	Snake Island Reserve, Wallaga Lake	Snake Island, Wallaga Lake. In the Parish of Bermagoe, County of Dampier	27 acres	4/7/1906	26/11/1954
43648	Merriman Island Reserve, Wallaga Lake	Merriman's Island, Wallaga Lake. In the Parish of Bermagoe County of Dampier.	2.5 acres	3/3/1909	31/12/1931
49561	Narooma Reserve	Parish of Noorooma, County of Dampier.	14 acres	1913	

Throughout the reports of the Aborigines Protection Board there are very limited and scattered references to the reserves in the region. The Board Station at Wallaga Lake was referred to much more frequently and the material relating to it has been placed in the next section.

The first reserve for Aboriginal people in the Eurobodalla area that has been identified in the research for this report was formed in 1861. It was an area of 180 acres near the mouth of the Wagonga River, lying along the coastline. There are no records to indicate if it was used in the period from its reservation through to the formation of the APB in 1883. The Board recorded that in 1883 it was, "Fairly grassed, not

cultivated, not cleared”.¹¹² In 1890 it was again recorded by the Board as unoccupied.¹¹³

In 1875 an area of 24 acres near the Moruya Heads was reserved. According to records of the APB dating from 1883 it was reserved for, “... Mr. Campbell and road metal”.¹¹⁴

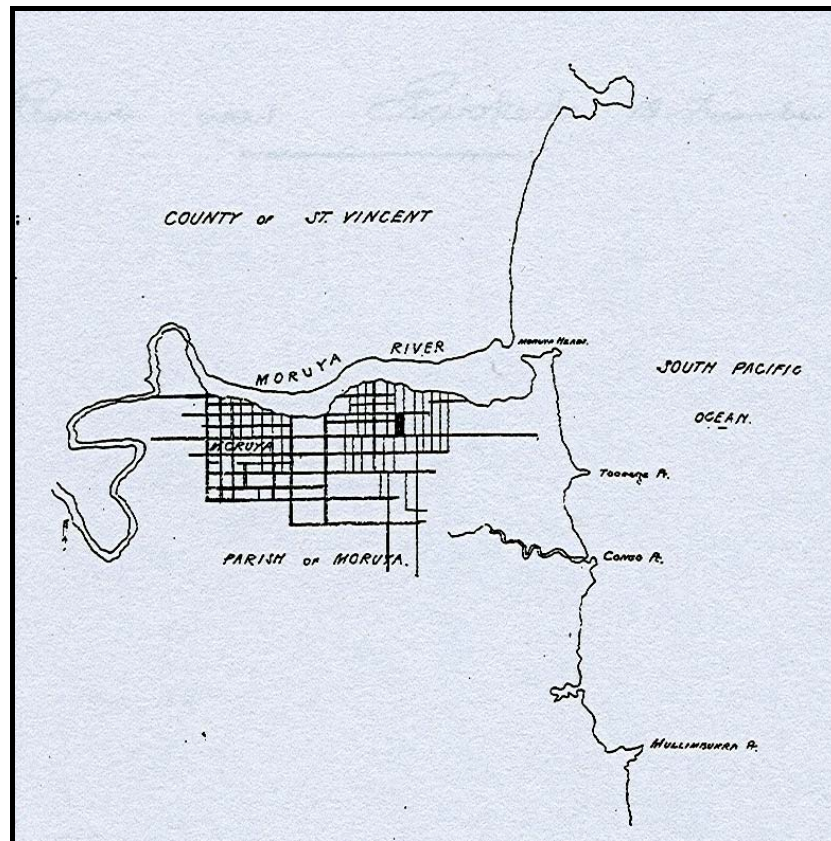


Figure 5: Map of Moruya (Campbell) Reserve 246.¹¹⁵

The report for 1883 also recorded that the area was unoccupied and that, “Neighbours cattle graze on it. Not used by Aborigines. They do not seem to require it”.¹¹⁶

In 1885 the APB recorded that, “Campbell has not resided on this Reserve for many years & is supposed to be living in the Shoalhaven District.”¹¹⁷ The following year the reserve was revoked.¹¹⁸

On the 19th of October 1877 three separate reserves were gazetted for specific individuals, Merriman, Yarboro and Richard Bolway, in the parish of Bodalla.¹¹⁹ The reserve for Merriman was an area of 40 acres at Terouga Lake.

¹¹² Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹¹³ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1

¹¹⁴ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.2.

¹¹⁵ Map from the Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.2.

¹¹⁶ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.2.

¹¹⁷ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.2.

¹¹⁸ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.2.

¹¹⁹ Archival records relating to gazettal, ‘Applications for land and reservation of land, 1877, 1880’, Department of Lands, State Records of New South Wales, File 77/9843-2/1138-2/A/4.

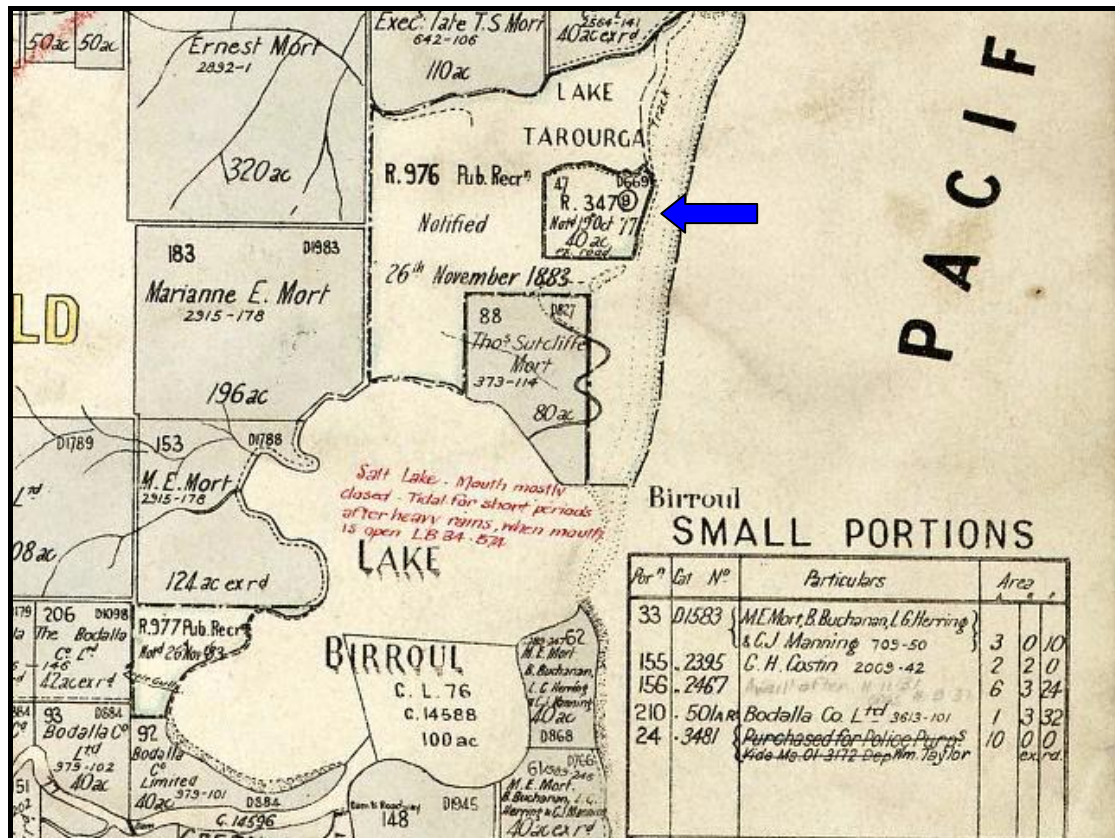


Figure 6: Map of Terouga Lake (Merriman) Reserve 347 (arrow indicates location of reserve).¹²⁰

It is unknown if Merriman lived on it at the time of its formation but certainly by 1880 he didn't do so. In 1883 the APB recorded of the reserve that it had, "Not been resided upon for past 3 years, Merriman always residing at Wallaga Lake, generally working for the settlers in and around Tilba Tilba."¹²¹ The reserve was, however, not revoked until 1969.¹²²

The reserve for Richard Bolway was an area of 56 acres on the Tuross Lake.¹²³ It would appear that in both 1883 and 1890, the two dates on which the APB recorded details for the reserve, it was unoccupied and uncultivated. However, by 1890 two acres had been cleared indicating that some use was probably being made of the area.¹²⁴ This reserve was revoked in 1914.¹²⁵

The reserve for Yarboro was an area of 40 acres on the sea coast around 8 miles from Bodalla and 14 miles from Moruya. It also appears to have been unoccupied in both 1883 and 1890.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Extract from Parish of Bodalla, County of Dampier, 1927, edition 6, Parish Map Preservation Project, Image No: 10353501, Department of Lands (NSW), <http://www.lands.nsw.gov.au/MapsAndPhotos/ParishMaps/default.htm>.

¹²¹ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹²² McGuigan, op.cit., p.16.

¹²³ McGuigan, op.cit., p.16.

¹²⁴ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹²⁵ McGuigan, op.cit., p.16.

¹²⁶ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

In 1878 a reserve of 40 acres was formed on the Tuross Lake for a man named Neddy.¹²⁷ Although by 1890 it was recorded that 3 acres had been cleared it was also stated that it was uncultivated and unoccupied.¹²⁸

A European settler from the area, Richard Dansey, appears to have been involved in the process of acquiring these early reserves. In a letter written in 1880 to the Governor of New South Wales he made some interesting comments on the difficulties encountered by the Aboriginal farmers that highlight some of the reasons that these reserves were unoccupied:

Your Ministers have ever been ready to aid to the utmost of their limited powers, any efforts that are made with a view to bettering the condition of the unfortunate aborigines, and have sanctioned various reserves of Forty Acres each for individuals in this neighbourhood... Two of the Aborigines who had taken up Forty Acres each, have made repeated attempts to cultivate, but insuperable difficulties beset them ; they could not find food for their families while fencing, and the crops they put in were destroyed by trespassing Cattle. If Your Excellency's Ministers could see their way to fencing these reserves, and, in deserving cases, supplying seed and implements, under proper supervision and restrictions, I am persuaded that several of them would prove good and creditable farmers, as most of them know the simple routine of farming generally pursued in the bush. One notable, a half-caste, made three (*sic*) several attempts to cultivate his reserve, but was persecuted and harassed by a vagabond neighbour, and had to abandon the attempt.¹²⁹

In the period from 1883 to 1885 records indicate that two additional reserves were formed in the area of the Moruya Heads, one of 24 acres and the other of 320 acres, however, no further details are known.¹³⁰

A reserve of 32 acres was formed on the shores of Lake Tuross near Turlinjah in 1880.¹³¹ The reserve was formed for, "... the use of the Aboriginal William Benson during his lifetime...".¹³²

¹²⁷ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹²⁸ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹²⁹ Richard Dansey to His Excellency Lord Augustus Loftus, Governor of New South Wales, 20th August, 1880, Turlinjah, Moruya, in 'Applications for land and reservation of land, 1877, 1880', Department of Lands, State Records of New South Wales, File 80/4240-7/6404-15/A/16.

¹³⁰ McGuigan, op.cit., p.36.

¹³¹ McGuigan, op.cit., p.16.

¹³² 'Applications for land and reservation of land, 1877, 1880', Department of Lands, State Records of New South Wales, File 80/4240-7/6404-15/A/16.

suitable land available near to his work and to the Public School except the piece set forth in the rough sketch annexed hereto; and that portion having been offered for sale and being under Forty acres, cannot be applied for in the usual manner.

That as a new Oyster Fisheries Act is almost inevitable, and your Petitioner could make an excellent livelihood by Oyster-gathering, a small boat or dinghy would be necessary to that purpose; and as your Petitioner has always kept himself aloof from the other aboriginals, who have a fine sea-going boat, unfit for oyster-gathering, he would humbly prefer a small boat of his own.¹³⁴

The adjoining European landowner, Ernest Hawdon, wrote to Richard Dansey regarding the attempt to gain a reserve for the use of William Benson:

I have not the slightest objection to your endeavouring to obtain the reservation of the piece of land enclosed between my purchased selection of forty acres... & my two hundred acres... for the aboriginal William Benson as I think he is equally entitled to land with other aboriginals for whom you have obtained reserves and much better qualified to make a good use of it – as I know him to be an honest sober and hardworking man.¹³⁵

As stated in his letter William Benson had worked for the Hawdon family of Kyla Park for many years. In 1883 Benson's reserve was stated to be:

... occupied by 5 males, 3 females, and 6 children some of whom go to the Turlinjah Public School. Fairly grassed, no cultivation. Not cleared. Good fishing station.¹³⁶

In the official report of the Aborigines Protection Board for the year 1890 it was stated that of the 6 reserves in the Moruya area¹³⁷ the Turlinjah reserve was the only one that was occupied:

.... occupied by the aborigines. It consists of good open country, is well grassed, and about 10 acres are suitable for cultivation. About a quarter of an acre is fenced in for a garden, and 2 acres have been cleared. A quantity of seed potatoes were supplied by the Board, and they have been planted by the aborigines. Galvanized-iron has also been furnished for them for roofing, and making them more habitable. They have a fishing boat, which is kept on the Tuross Lake. It is fairly

¹³⁴ William Benson (Wynoo) to His Excellency Lord Augustus Loftus, Governor of New South Wales, 20th August, Turlinjah, Moruya, in 'Applications for land and reservation of land, 1877, 1880', Department of Lands, State Records of New South Wales, File 80/4240-7/6404-15/A/16.

¹³⁵ Ernest Hawdon to Richard Dansey, 19th July 1880, Kyla Park Turlinjah, in 'Applications for land and reservation of land, 1877, 1880', Department of Lands, State Records of New South Wales, File 80/4240-7/6404-15/A/16.

¹³⁶ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹³⁷ The six were R378 near Bodalla, R347 near Bircoul Lake (Terouga), R346 at Tuross/Wagonga, R345 on the coast near Bodalla and R553 at Turlinjah.

well cared for by the aborigines, but they do nothing with it in the way of earning a living.¹³⁸

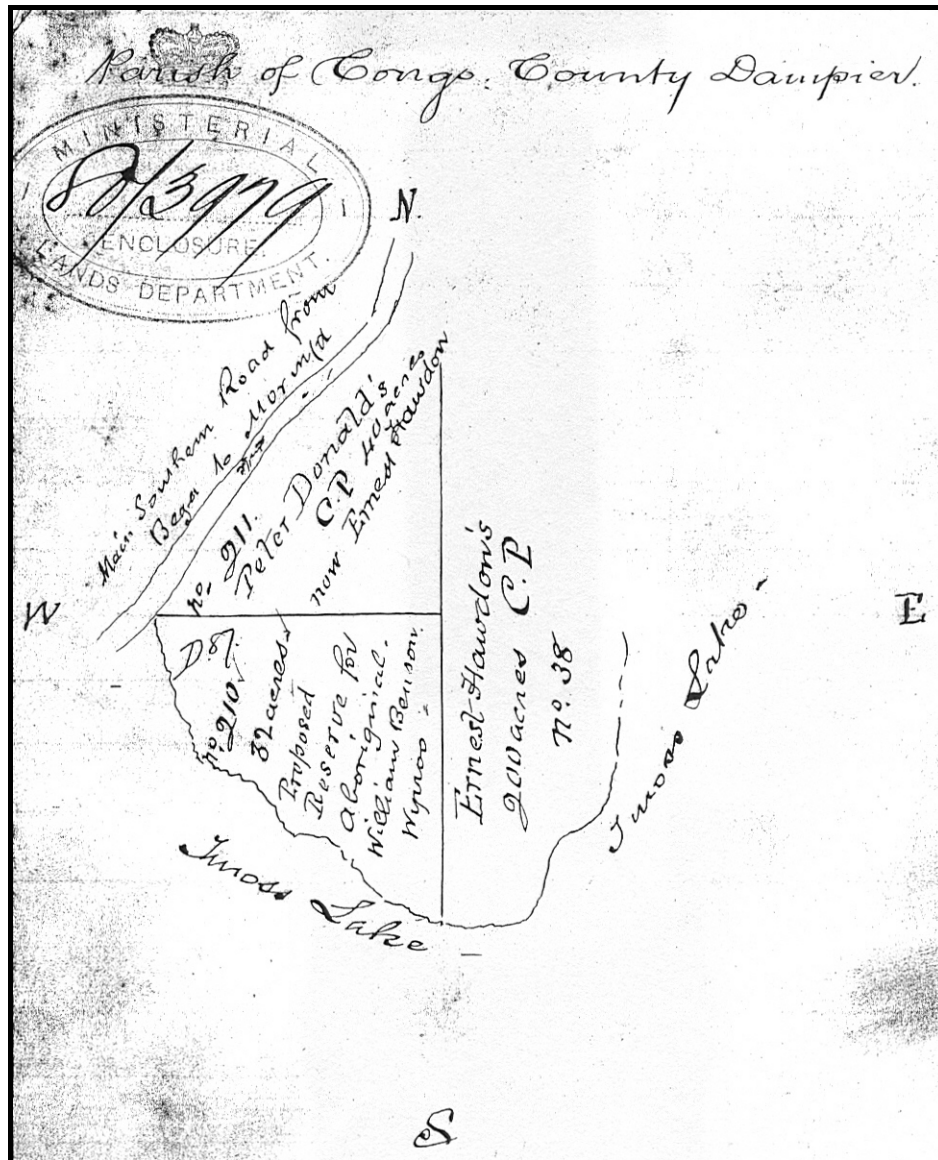


Figure 8: Map of area enclosed in request for reserve for William Benson Wynoo, showing adjoining landholders.¹³⁹

The APB also recorded more informally of the reserve in 1890 that, “All the Aborigines in the Moruya district camp on this Reserve. Only six bark gunyahs erected”.¹⁴⁰ The reserve was revoked in 1917,¹⁴¹ possibly as a result of the death of William Benson under the terms of the original reservation.

The reserves discussed previously were all declared before the formation of the Aborigines Protection Board in 1883. Following its formation the Board largely took

¹³⁸ ‘Report of the Board for Protection of the Aborigines, 1890’, Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1891-2, Vol.7.

¹³⁹ Diagram enclosed with letters in ‘Applications for land and reservation of land, 1877, 1880’, Department of Lands, State Records of New South Wales, File 80/4240-7/6404-15/A/16.

¹⁴⁰ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.1.

¹⁴¹ McGuigan, op.cit., p.16.

control of the existing reserves in addition to being instrumental in the creation of new reserves. The Board was also instrumental in the later revocation of many Aboriginal reserves.

In 1884 a reserve of 40 acres was formed on the Tomago River near Tomakin.¹⁴² The APB's record of its reservation stated that it was, "Occupied by 2 Aborigines "Tommy Bollard" and "Tommy Tinboy" and their gins".¹⁴³

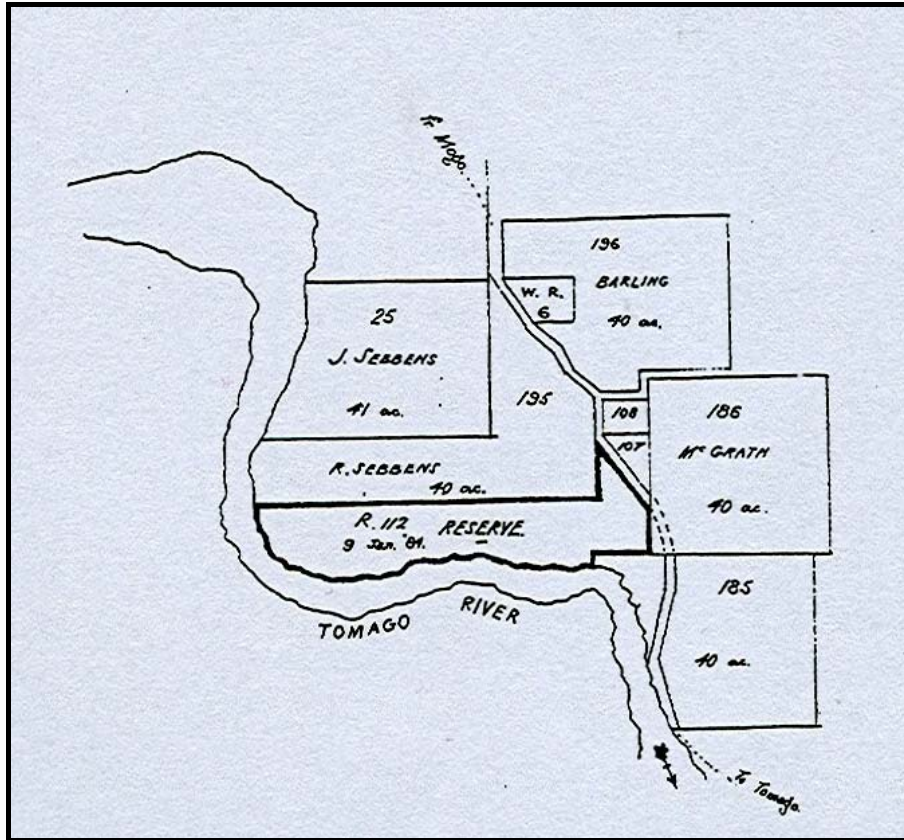


Figure 9: Map of Tomago River (Tomakin) Reserve 112.¹⁴⁴

There is a king plate in the Milne collection in the National Museum of Australia that is inscribed to Thomas Tinboy, King of Nelligen. Milne recorded the following information in relation to the king plate:

This plate was worn by Aborigine King Tommy Tinboy... He was a full-blood black and King of this district for many years. Mr McCarthy states that this black was well known to him for about 35 years... He used to bring fish and wild honey to his house. In return for this he got tea, sugar, flour, and tobacco... This plate was found by Mr W McCarthy buried in an ant hill, in the ranges near Nelligen Creek, Where the King placed it no doubt before he died.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² McGuigan, op.cit., p.14.

¹⁴³ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.12.

¹⁴⁴ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.12.

¹⁴⁵ Milne Collection file 85/310 folio 169 quoted in Troy, op.cit., p.88.

In 1890 the APB recorded only that it was occupied by Tommy Bollard and Rosie.¹⁴⁶
In the APB's official report for 1890 they recorded a more detailed description of the Tomakin reserve:

40 acres, situated about ¼ mile from Tomakin and 13 miles from Bateman's Bay; open country, poorly grassed, part sandy and flat, part suitable for cultivation ; all fenced in, 1 acre cleared, and more being cleared and burnt off ; 1 acre under cultivation – vegetables and maize being planted. It is occupied by an aboriginal and his wife, who have a 2-roomed weatherboard cottage, with shingled roof, and a small kitchen erected on it.¹⁴⁷

In 1891 an area of approximately 330 acres was reserved on the shores of Wallaga Lake with the Board rapidly establishing a managed station on the reserve. This reserve community is discussed in detail in the following section.

In 1893 an area of 60 acres was reserved on the Currowan Creek near Nelligen.¹⁴⁸



Figure 10: Map of Currowan Reserve 17546 (arrows indicate location of reserves).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.12.

¹⁴⁷ 'Report of the Board for Protection of the Aborigines, 1890', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1891-2, Vol.7.

¹⁴⁸ Register of Reserves, op.cit., p.16.

¹⁴⁹ Extract from Parish of Currowan, County of St. Vincent, 1907, edition 2, Parish Map Preservation Project, Department of Lands (NSW), <<http://www.lands.nsw.gov.au/MapsAndPhotos/ParishMaps/default.htm>>.

In the report of the Aborigines Protection Board for 1893 the following report was made:

A fair quantity of timber has been felled to fence in the land, and 3 acres have been enclosed for the cultivation of maize. The tools and farming implements supplied by the Board have proved very acceptable, and are being made good use of. The Aborigines are cultivating wattle, and also purpose growing maize, potatoes, &c. They have built themselves good, substantial dwellings, and it is probable they will soon be independent of Government aid.¹⁵⁰

In 1902 an area of 9 acres was reserved on the edges of Bateman's Bay township.¹⁵¹

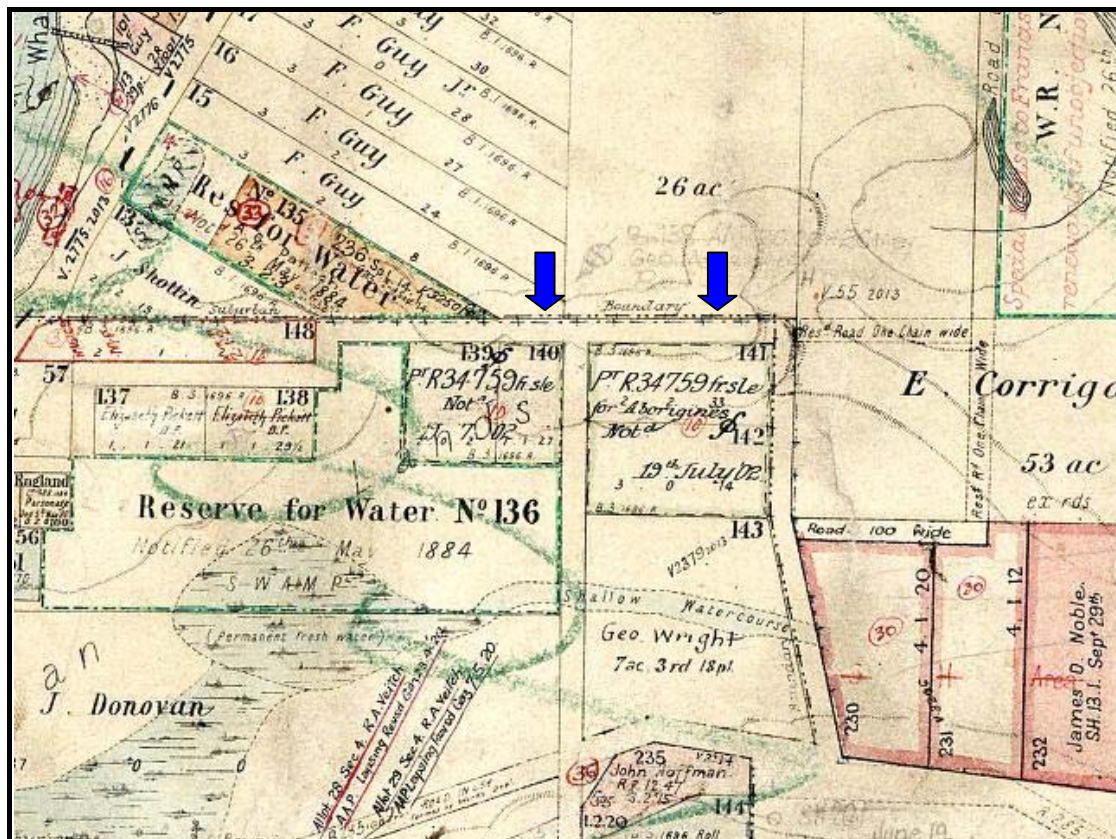


Figure 11: Map of Bateman's Bay Reserve 34759 (arrows indicate location of two parts of reserve).¹⁵²

In her history of the issue of land in New South Wales Indigenous political history Heather Goodall included a brief discussion of the conflict over access to public education and the continuing existence of a town reserve at Bateman's Bay in the early 1900s. Her account is based on archival material from the Aborigines Protection Board and the files of the Departments of Lands and Education:

¹⁵⁰ 'Report of the Board for Protection of the Aborigines, 1893', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1894, Vol.3.

¹⁵¹ McGuigan, op.cit., p.14.

¹⁵² Extract from Township of Bateman's Bay, 1884 edition 3, Parish Map Preservation Project, Image No: 10384001, Department of Lands (NSW), <<http://www.lands.nsw.gov.au/MapsAndPhotos/ParishMaps/default.htm>>.

As early as 1918... the Bateman's Bay Progress Association had informed the Protection Board that the reserve near that town was standing in the way of white residential development and requested its revocation and the removal of its inhabitants. The Board procrastinated until 1922, when it agreed to 'encourage' the reserve residents to move to a newly created reserve some miles out of town. The Koories of the town refused to move from the site where they had built their own houses and from which their children could easily attend the public school.

After further pressure from townspeople, the Board in 1924 agreed to revocation of the town reserve. This did not occur immediately because the Koori residents' total refusal to leave threw some doubt on the proposed development. The Lands Department now put pressure on the Board not simply to formalise the revocation but to remove the Koori community. The Board again capitulated, and issued removal orders in June 1925. The townspeople had by this time decided to take matters into their own hands: the local Parents' and Citizens' Association voted to segregate the school in order to force Koories to leave the town.

School segregation's had become a well-trying tactic in the hands of white townspeople trying to force the removal of whole communities of Aboriginal people.... The Bateman's Bay school segregation left fifteen to twenty Koori children with no schooling at all. Rather than leave the town, however, their families mounted a sustained and well-coordinated campaign to have the segregation rescinded. Numbers of white supporters, who all stressed their ALP affiliation in writing to a Labor ministry, appealed to the government on the issues of the injustice of the segregation and the exploitation of Aboriginal school-age children's labour in sawmills owned by some of the P & C members who had voted for the segregation.

It was the Koori protesters, however, who put the school segregation in its context, linking it with the attempt to revoke the reserve as a means of forcing them out of town. Prominent in this protest was Jane Duren, whose grandchildren were among those excluded from the school... As it did often when a situation became too difficult, the Education Department called in the Child Welfare Department, but in this instance its inspector declined to remove any children from their families and in fact supported Koori demands for readmission to the school. An assurance was given by this inspector to white parents that 'an influx' of Aboriginal children from other areas would not occur and with State Departmental backing withdrawn, the two-year segregation collapsed.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1982*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin in association with Black Books, 1996, pp.147-8.

On the basis of the Lands Department records Goodall concluded that the Bateman's Bay people managed to prevent the revocation of the town reserve in addition to forcing the ending of the school segregation.

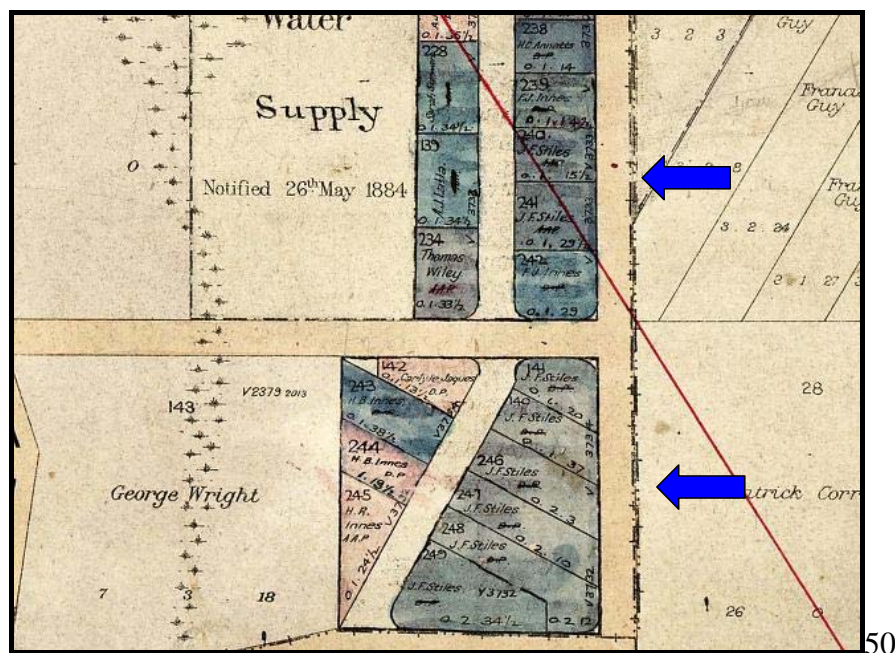


Figure 12: Map from pre 1932, arrows indicate area previously forming the Bateman's Bay Reserve 34759.¹⁵⁴

Parish map records suggest that this may not be the case and that the town reserve was indeed revoked before 1932 (probably in 1927) and the white residential development went ahead.¹⁵⁵

Snake Island, located in Wallaga Lake, was gazetted in 1906, it was revoked in 1954.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Portion numbers indicate that subdivision of previous reserve area has occurred. Extract from Township of Bateman's Bay, 1884 edition 4, cancelled 1932, Parish Map Preservation Project, Image No: 103833301, Department of Lands (NSW), <http://www.lands.nsw.gov.au/MapsAndPhotos/ParishMaps/default.htm>.

¹⁵⁵ Date given by McGuigan, op.cit., p.14 for revocation of Reserve 34759. See also map extract.

¹⁵⁶ McGuigan, op.cit., p.46.

In her account of life on the south coast Yuin Elder Eileen Morgan refers to Merriman Island:

Uncle Andy [Bond] and Aunty Butter used to live in a bark hut over on what they now call Wallaga Lake Heights. He had a place there after he came back from the [first world] war. He was paying two and sixpence to the government to lease it. After a while the government took the land where he was living off him and they gave him Merrimans Island. Fancy giving him that, they never gave him a boat. How did they expect him to live over there: But he did move over there. That's where he built a slab hut. It had a tin roof and a square tank, to catch water.¹⁶⁰

The documents do not indicate if anyone lived on the island before Andy Bond moved on to it. The Island reserve was revoked in 1931.¹⁶¹

In 1913 an area of 14 acres was gazetted as a reserve in the Narooma area. No further details are known.¹⁶²

Creation of the Aborigines Protection Board

The Aborigines Protection Board emerged in the 1880s and soon developed into an agency of government control over the lives of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. The Board's role initially involved overseeing the distribution of blankets, rations and various other goods to 'destitute' Aboriginal people. In later years, the formation and management of reserves became a major part of the Board's functions.¹⁶³ From 1882 onwards the Aborigines Protection Board increasingly intruded into the lives of the Aboriginal communities of New South Wales, dramatically increasing the regulations and limitations governing Aboriginal people's lives.

In the early decades of the twentieth century the Aborigines Protection Board successfully pushed for legislative power to control the lives of Aboriginal people and, in particular, Aboriginal children. In 1909 the first protection legislation was enacted, the *Aborigines Protection Act*. The Act provided the Board with the first of its legislative powers with limited control over the place of residence of Aboriginal people and the lives of Aboriginal children. Its power over Aboriginal children was increased dramatically in 1915 with amendments to the Act which vested in the Board powers to remove Aboriginal children from their families if it considered such removal to be in the child's interest. The Board's powers over the place of residence

¹⁶⁰ Morgan, op.cit., p.14.

¹⁶¹ McGuigan, op.cit., p.46.

¹⁶² 'Report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, for year 1913', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, Session of 1914-15, Vol.2, Part.2.

¹⁶³ John Chesterman & Brian Galligan, *Citizens without rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp.133-139. : Goodall, op.cit., Chapter 10 & 11. : Peter Read, *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*, NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs, 1996, p.10. : 'Minute of Colonial Secretary re Protection of the Aborigines', dated 26th February, 1883, Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1883, Vol.3, p.919.

of Aboriginal people were increased in 1918 and again in 1936.¹⁶⁴ The legislation and increases in the powers of the Board occurred in the context of an increasing Aboriginal population, rising European hysteria regarding miscegenation¹⁶⁵, and a rejuvenated closer settlement movement.

An important factor that led Aboriginal people to live within, or close to, reserve areas despite the resulting heightened European surveillance and interference, was the provision of schooling for their children. While technically Aboriginal children were eligible to attend the Public Schools created in the 1880s, in practice the opposition of European parents frequently led to their exclusion. In response Aboriginal Schools were established on reserves throughout New South Wales. As a result of this situation many Aboriginal people made the decision to reside on, or near, reserves in order to obtain an education for their children.¹⁶⁶ On the south coast the only Aboriginal school was the one established at Wallaga Lake Station in the 1890s.

Population Figures in the late 1800s

In the period from its establishment through to the turn of the twentieth century the Aborigines Protection Board included census figures in its annual reports. The first of these reports was for the year 1882.¹⁶⁷ For Bateman's Bay a population of one male was listed, he was stated to be employed at a saw-mill. For Moruya a population of 67 people was listed.¹⁶⁸ It was stated that there were, "Three half-castes working for wages", that the population in general were not in need of Government aid as they were, "all very well off".¹⁶⁹ It was stated that the Government had provided them with:

Four boats in this portion of district in fair order, and properly cared for. Impossible to say what they earn.... Two aboriginals and two half-castes are instructed by Mr. Bennett, Public School teacher... The half-castes in this district are remarkably well off, and can earn the same wages as Europeans. The half-castes generally use the boats.¹⁷⁰

At Nelligen a population of 21 people was listed and it was stated that:

Tom Brown and family, half-castes, employed in getting timber and wattle bark. Abraham and Donald, with their families, live principally by fishing and bark-stripping, with occasional odd jobs from settlers... Tom Brown (half-caste), wife, and seven children, (ages from 2 to 21 years), living on the Clyde River, are very industrious. Have applied to

¹⁶⁴ Chesterman & Galligan, op.cit., pp.133-139. : Goodall, op.cit., Chapter 10 & 11. : Read, op.cit., p.10.

¹⁶⁵ The term 'miscegenation' refers to parents of different 'races' having children together. The concern with miscegenation reflects European societies obsession with the concept of 'race' and the classification and control of Indigenous people.

¹⁶⁶ Goodall, op.cit., pp. 110-111.

¹⁶⁷ In the Aborigines Protection Board report these people are divided into two classifications with ninety seven identified as 'Aboriginal' (in subsequent census's identified as 'full-bloods'), and twelve identified as 'half-castes'. The terminology used by the Board reflects their concerns with classifying and controlling Aboriginal people rather than any Indigenous social reality.

¹⁶⁸ 'Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, to 31 December, 1882', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1883, Vol.3.

¹⁶⁹ loc.cit.

¹⁷⁰ loc.cit.

Police Magistrate for a Government boat to assist them in getting a living. The others have no settled place of abode for any time.¹⁷¹

In the Board's 1890 report there is the following information on the Moruya district:

Number of aborigines in the district, 16 – 10 full-blood, and 6 half-castes. Only one is working for wages, being employed ploughing ; 7 adults, and 7 children are supported by the Board. The following supplies have been distributed during the year:- 4,171 lb. flour, 130 lb. tea, 1,048 lb. sugar, 9½ lb. raisins, 9½ currants, 9½ lb. suet, 19 lb. beef, 2 pairs trousers, 2 shirts, 5 dresses, 5 petticoats, 3 boys' suits, 20 blankets, 10 cwt. Galvanized-iron for huts, 8 lb. screws, 6 lb. washers, 20 lb. paint for boat, 1 paint brush, 1 pair oars, and 5 cwt. seed potatoes... Four children are receiving instruction at the public school. All are supplied annually with Government blankets. The issue is necessary, and they are in no way misappropriated. Very few are addicted to habits of intemperance. When ill they are attended to by the Government Medical Officer for the district.¹⁷²

In the Board's report for the year 1899 they recorded a population of 16 at Bateman's Bay, 21 at Moruya, 9 at Nelligen, and 116 at Wallaga Lake.¹⁷³

In the 1902 Board report population figures were given for four locations within the Eurobodalla area, at Central Tilba¹⁷⁴ a population of 165 was listed, at Moruya 13 people, 27 at Bateman's Bay and 9 at Nelligen.¹⁷⁵

In the Board report for 1911 a population of 139 was given for Central Tilba, 49 for Bateman's Bay, 16 for Moruya and 8 for Nelligen.¹⁷⁶ Two years later the Board's 1913 report gave a population figure of 128 for Central Tilba, 10 for Moruya, 9 for Nelligen and the considerable increase for Bateman's Bay of 80.¹⁷⁷ The high population at Bateman's Bay appears to have been a temporary situation, by the Board's report of 1915 the Bateman's Bay population was given as 24. Central Tilba continued to be stable at 128, Moruya was listed as having 12 people, Nelligen 17 and Narooma appeared with 2 people listed.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ loc.cit.

¹⁷² 'Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, to 31 December, 1890', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1891-2, Vol.7.

¹⁷³ 'Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, to 31 December, 1899', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1900, Vol.6.

¹⁷⁴ This too included the Wallaga Lake Station population.

¹⁷⁵ 'Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, for 1902', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1903, Vol.2.

¹⁷⁶ 'Report of the Aborigines Protection Board, for 1911', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 1912, Vol.1, Pt.2.

¹⁷⁷ 'Report of the Aborigines Protection Board, for 1913', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 1914-15, Vol.2, Pt.2.

¹⁷⁸ 'Report of the Aborigines Protection Board, for 1915', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 1916.



Plate 3: Aboriginal family including Mr. Jimmy Friday (in car) (known as King of Bateman's Bay) in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁹

Wallaga Lake

A large camp had existed in the Wallaga Lake area, on Merrimans Island, before the creation of the Station. A major Elder for the area, Umbarra also known as King Merriman, was closely associated with the camp and subsequent station.

An extremely condescending reference to King Merriman is contained in an article extolling the beauty of Tilba Tilba in the *Bega Standard* in 1879:

There is a Sunday school also regularly maintained by some of the ladies of the place, and about two dozen children are usually mustered for instruction. It may seem strange, but true it is, that one of the most attentive pupils in this school is an aged aboriginal. The docile old pupil, with an enthusiastic reverence for the truths that have been taught him, tramps, in wet or fine weather, half-a-dozen miles to attend the school, and is supremely happy if he manages to master some simple little hymn which tells of the Saviour's love – a love that he knows extends even to him. Shame on our rulers that they leave these poor souls to chance: shall no crumbs from The Master's table fall for them? No one knows Merriman's age; he does not know it himself, only knows that long, long ago he was a smart young man, and that he "lived along o' Mr. Jauncey down on the point." His eyes sparkled with

¹⁷⁹ The caption on the photograph states that Queen Victoria presented Mr. Jimmy Friday with a shield. The white man in the background is identified as Austin Chapman, the M.P. for the south coast. Photograph from the collection of the Moruya & District Historical Society, No.26A. With thanks to the Moruya & District Historical Society for their kind permission to reproduce this photograph.

delight when, in reply to his enquiry for his old employer, he was told he was well and hearty.¹⁸⁰

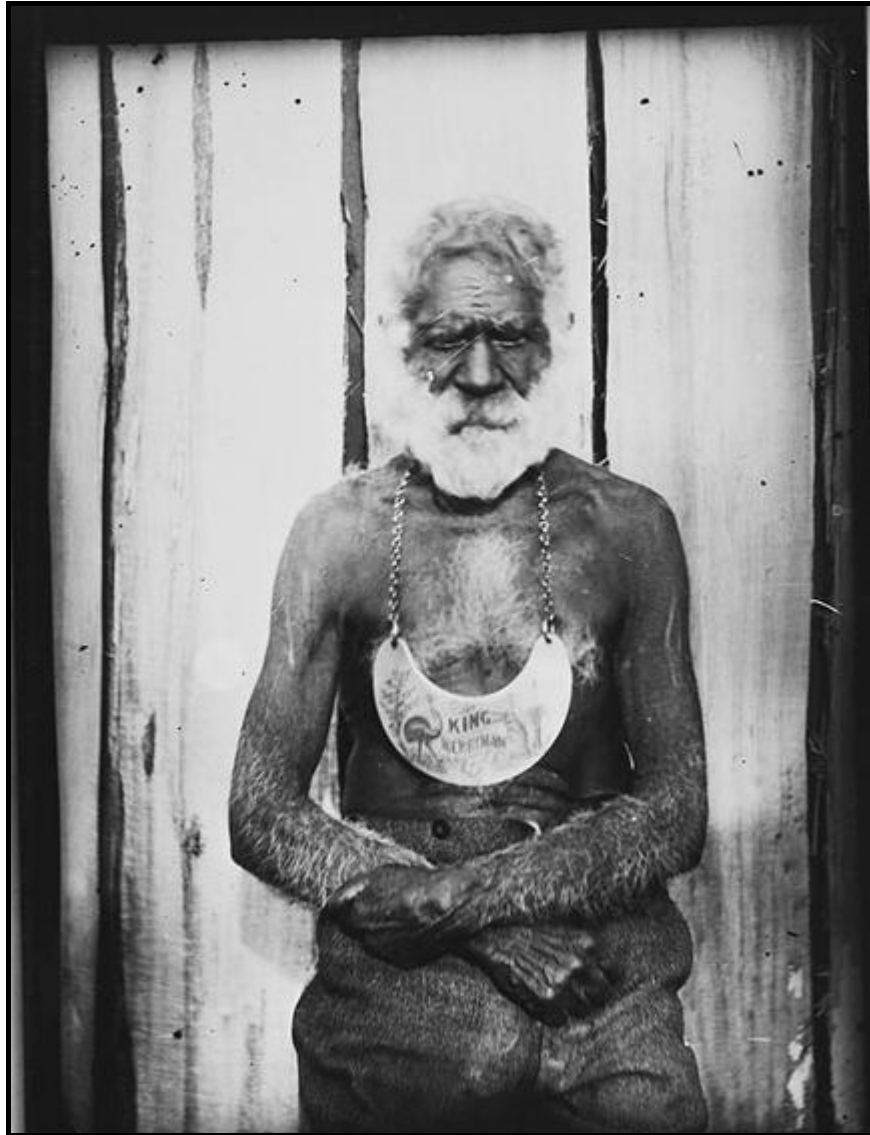


Plate 4: Umbarra, also known as King Merriman, c.1900, photograph from the W.H. Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia.¹⁸¹

The newspaper piece continued the following week with an insulting but nonetheless informative description of a visit to the camp on Merriman Island at Wallaga Lake:

Merriman having given us a cordial invitation to visit the settlement that he “bosses,” we started for Wallaga Lake early on Monday, and passing through part of Mr. Hobbs’ fine property, we came to the edge of the beautiful sheet of water opposite the black’s camp on Merriman Island. A “coo-ee” set the camp on the *qui vive*, and soon the latest gift of the Government in the shape of a boat was at our disposal to ferry us over to the settlement. Arrived there, Merriman and his wife, who

¹⁸⁰ Anon, ‘The Tilba Tilba District’, Bega Standard, 29th November, 1879, p.2.

¹⁸¹ Photograph TT541, William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia.

rejoices in the pretty name of Nerell, with about as fair a share of personal unsightliness as falls to the lot of the average gin of any age, did the honors for us. There were twenty two, or thereabouts, in the settlement, from the patriarchal Hawdon and the ancient Merriman and his spouse, down to the little bright-eyed toddler and the infant in arms. The children have a bright intelligent look, and many have pretensions to beauty from an aboriginal point of view, and it is painful to contemplate what must be in the future for these children, growing up without education, and void of religious training, amid the usual surroundings of an aboriginal camp. These little curly headed “black blossoms” might make presentable flowers if taught and cared for, but, as they are allowed to grow up, what, in all probability, will be their end? We have but to consider the position of several of their dusky sisters of the tribes about here to give an answer to this query. It may be said that there are schools close by at Tilba and at Noorooma that these children might be sent to, but the answer of one of the parents to such a suggestion is a sufficient answer for the whole tribe. A lady of our party, who has acquired an influence among these people by her endeavours to get them within reach of the Sunday School, pressed one of the parents in the writer’s hearing to send his boy to school. He had, we were told, been at school a few months, and exhibited considerable aptitude, and the little fellow himself seemed to rejoice at the notion of school. “Can’t send him,” said his father, “other boys make fun of the little blackfellows; no good to send them to school.” This is a very natural feeling, and presents an objection that can only be overcome by the establishment of special mission schools for the aborigines.¹⁸²

In examining issues of access to education for Aboriginal people in the nineteenth century the focus is usually on the racism of European parents and their active campaigning to remove Aboriginal children from the standard public schools. The quote above gives an insight into the racism amongst the children themselves that also acted as a barrier to Aboriginal children receiving a formal western education.

The same article goes on to give a brief description of some of the economic conditions for the Wallaga Lake people in the late 1870s:

Here at Wallaga are the remains of the coast tribes, some two dozen souls ; all along the shores of the lake are spots admirably suited for forming a mission station ; but these poor people have to live in bark gunyahs and have no right to strip a few sheets of bark without a licence, and have not (*sic*) where to erect their miserable shelter. One of the tribe, Merriman, settled down on a pretty point, cleared a bit of garden ground and built himself a hut. He had no tenure of the land where he could remember his people the sole owners of the soil, and knowing that the land could be selected by anyone with [pound sign]10 in his pocket, Merriman became disheartened and went back to the waters of the lake to supply himself with sustenance. The only thing the Government ever did for these people was to give them a couple of boats. The first was obtained for them by the exertions of Mr. Love of

¹⁸² Anon, ‘Tilba Tilba District II’, Bega Standard, 6th December, 1879, p.2.

Moruya, and the other is the boat that was to have come to Tathra. Merriman acts as skipper of the old one and Hawdon of the latest acquisition. If these people were supplied with a couple of nets they could ensure plenty of fish for their own use, and could probably find the means to purchase flour and other little necessities by the sale of salted fish. We saw some of the women and children doing the Waltonian business, mostly using lines of their own making, and they succeeded in getting a good lot of fish. At times the fish will not bite, and the blacks are dependent on some of the neighbors (*sic*) for meat. By the help of their boats they manage to earn money punting goods across the lake, and if their operations were properly directed, and they were encouraged to cultivate the soil and had some certainty of tenure to encourage them, a mission station could be made self supporting, or nearly so. Here is work for the philanthropic. The Government will do nothing until they are shamed into action.¹⁸³

In the 1870s and '80s Umbarra (King Merriman) had worked for Henry Jefferson Bate at Tilba Tilba.¹⁸⁴ In Mr Henry Jefferson Bate's obituary in the local newspaper in 1892 reference was made to King Merriman:

Amongst those who came to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of their old friend I noticed.... Also his faithful old servant "Merriman," the chief of the Wallaga Lake blacks. Never shall I forget that poor old fellow's grief as I saw him just before the mournful procession started ; he clasped his hands over his bowed head and the tears streamed from his eyes while in broken accents, he cried, "Oh, my poor old master, you've gone away ; you've left me, my good old master".¹⁸⁵

Further along in the obituary it is stated of Mr Bates that:

In 1860 he came to Merimbula and erected a sawmill, and nine years later took up his residence at Tilba Tilba, being one of the first selectors in this district... He interested himself greatly in the aborigines of Tilba, and was after continued and untiring exertions, enabled to obtain for them the reserve on Wallaga Lake that they now occupy, together with the daily ration for the old and infirm and young children. By his death they have indeed lost a good friend.¹⁸⁶

In research conducted with Aboriginal communities in the early 1970s in relation to the issue of land rights Peter Tobin recorded the following account of how Wallaga Lake came to be formed:

What is now the [Wallaga Lake] reserve previously formed a large camp for the old people. They lived along the beach where there was plenty of thick shelter and down near the water there are five different feeding grounds.

¹⁸³ Anon, 'Tilba Tilba District II', Bega Standard, 6th December, 1879, p.2.

¹⁸⁴ Pacey & Hoyer, *op.cit.*, p.5.

¹⁸⁵ Anon, 'Tilba Tilba', Cobargo Watch, 11/11/1892, p.2.

¹⁸⁶ Anon, 'Tilba Tilba', Cobargo Watch, 11/11/1892, p.2.

Old man Bates (the father of Mr. Jeff Bates, MHR who comes from nearby Tilba Tilba) got the old Aborigines from here to clean his farm up. He gave them a big steak, bread and stew as pay, and they cleared all the property. Old Bates then said “You people can keep this land, it belongs to you, its your home ground” meaning the part now known as Wallaga Lake Reserve. Old Bates became ‘guardian’ of the Wallaga Lake Aborigines under the old Protection Board and rumours persist of the existence of a deed or some instrument in writing to evidence the gift.¹⁸⁷

Mr. Bates was a key member of the local committee of the Aborigines Protection Board in the Tilba Tilba area.



Figure 15: Map of Wallaga Lake Reserve 1893.¹⁸⁸

At the urging of local European residents the Aborigines Protection Board established the Wallaga Lake Reserve on the South Coast in 1891. It was formed as a managed station from the start and was the reserve on which the APB attempted to ‘concentrate’ the population of the south coast and Monaro regions.

¹⁸⁷ Peter Tobin, *Aboriginal Land Rights in N.S.W.: demands, law and policy*, Abschol, Carlton Victoria, n.d., p.10

¹⁸⁸ Parish of Noorooma, County of Dampier, c.1890s, Parish Map Preservation Project, Image No: 13815602, Department of Lands (NSW), <<http://www.lands.nsw.gov.au/MapsAndPhotos/ParishMaps/default.htm>>.

A key element in the APB's push to concentrate the population of the region on the Wallaga Lake Station was the fact that the Station provided the only Aboriginal school for the South Coast from the 1890s to the 1960s.¹⁸⁹

In its first year of existence, 1890, the Aborigines Protection Board gave the following report on Wallaga Lake reserve:

Wallaga Lake. Number of aborigines at the settlement, 99 – 45 full-blood, and 54 half-castes.

Mr. J. D. Reece was appointed Superintendent of the station on the 7th November last, the duties to be performed in conjunction with those of teacher at the school built by the Board for the instruction of aboriginal children on their reserve.

Forty children are attending the school... Twenty-seven adults and 33 children are supported by the Board. Some of the men make slight efforts to support themselves by working with farmers in the locality and by fishing. Three females are in private service... There are two boats at Wallaga Lake, one of which is very old and much decayed, but the other is in fair condition. The aborigines at Wagonga River also have a good centre-board boat. The boats are used for fishing purposes, but very irregularly.

All are supplied annually with Government blankets. The issue is necessary, and they are in no way misappropriated.

Very few complaints are made of their drinking habits. Generally speaking, they are much improved in this respect.¹⁹⁰

Ten years later, in 1900, the secretary of the Local Board of the Aborigines Protection Board at Wallaga Lake, Mr. Gilpin of Tilba Tilba, submitted an annual report on the station:

The number of Aborigines in attendance at the Station during the last week of the year was:- Full-blooded men, 24 ; full-blooded women, 12 ; half-caste men, 23 ; half-caste women, 18 ; full-blooded boys, 8 ; full-blooded girls, 4 ; half-caste boys, 19 ; half-caste girls, 13. Total, full-blood, 48 ; half-caste, 73. Births during last six months of the year, 5. Only one death occurred from senile decay, the victim, aged 85, being the last of the Wagonga tribe.

There has been no cultivation of crops on the Station, on account of there being no cleared land available. Forty acres have been felled and partly cleared, a small dam constructed, and two boat-sheds, stock-yard, and cow-bails erected. Sufficient slabs and other timber for the erection of several houses have been obtained, also a large amount of fencing material. A very comfortable cottage of five rooms and kitchen has been built for the accommodation of the Manager. The health of the inmates of the Station has been very good during the six months, there being very few cases of sickness. During the last few months of

¹⁸⁹ Byrne, op.cit., p.19. ; Michael Young, *The Aboriginal People of the Monaro*, NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service, 2000, p.335. ; Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfella's Point: An Australian History of Place*, UNSW Press, 2002, pp.162-168.

¹⁹⁰ 'Report of the Aborigines Protection Board for the year 1890', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1891.

the year there have been no cases of drunkenness reported. The district clergymen are frequent visitors to the Station, and take much interest in the residents. The relations between the local Board and the Manager have been most cordial, and the Manager and Mrs. Hockey deserve much credit for the earnestness displayed in their work. Mrs. Hockey has been having sewing meetings weekly, some of the work done being very creditable. Twenty-eight children attend the school, and appear to be cheerful and attentive.¹⁹¹



Plate 5: The Wallaga Lake Aboriginal cricket team with Mr Hockey, c.1900, photograph from the W.H. Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia.¹⁹²

In the annual report of the Board for 1902 it was stated of Wallaga Lake Station that:

There are now 22 dwelling-houses on the Wallaga Lake Station, all covered with galvanised-iron roofs, the greater part of the timber used having been purchased by aborigines out of their earnings. A storeroom was constructed on the station, which facilitates the issue of rations to the aborigines, besides providing suitable accommodation for medicines and other stores. Additional iron tanks have been provided for water required for domestic purposes, and a new dam constructed, which is capable of holding at least a six months' supply for the cattle

¹⁹¹ 'Report from David Gilpin, Hon.Sec., Local Board, Wallaga Lake from Tilba Tilba, 7th March, 1900 to the Secretary, Board for Protection of Aborigines, Sydney', In 'Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, to 31 December, 1899', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1900, Vol.6.

¹⁹² Photograph TT169, William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia.

and horses. The land being poor, it has not been possible to cultivate anything beyond a few small vegetable gardens, but a large area of bush land has been cleared and suckered, and the grass land freed from briars. The Local Board consider that the work carried out was very satisfactory. Unfortunately, during the year there was a fire on the station and several of the aborigines were burnt out ; but they were granted material to enable them to re-erect their huts, and a number of articles lost through the fire were replaced.

There are 215 names on the station roll. The daily average number of residents throughout the year was 145, of whom 106 are provided with rations, namely, 54 adults and 52 children. There was but little sickness, though an epidemic of influenza carried off two children. The average daily school attendance was 22. There were 9 births (4 full-bloods and 5 half-castes – all males), and 2 deaths (1 full-blood and 1 half-caste). A sewing-class is held one afternoon in each week. On the whole, the conduct of the residents has been good.¹⁹³

By 1907 the number of children attending the school had increased, with 36 on the roll. The daily average population was 140.¹⁹⁴ In the Board's report for 1910 the following information on Wallaga Lake was included:

The residents on the station at 31st December numbered 126 [62 adults and 64 children]... the average number for the year was 100... of whom 86 (30 adults and 56 children) were in receipt of rations, and 126 (62 adults and 64 children) were in receipt of other assistance. There were 6 births... 3 deaths... and no marriages. Of 39 children on the school-roll, the daily average attendance was 12.6.

The poor nature of the soil at this station will not admit of it being self-supporting, the greater part of the land being covered with scrub and timber, which is only useful for firewood. The Angora goats, of which there are a good number, have been keeping down the blackberries in the enclosure. The work done during the year included the erection of a brick chimney to the manager's residence, the pulling down of six old houses, and the rebuilding of one.

The men on the station have been more industrious than formerly, having worked constantly and the able-bodied women do washing and house-cleaning at neighbouring houses when opportunity offers. The health of the aborigines has been better during the past year. The people are happy and contented, and altogether, the general state of the residents on the station during 1910 has improved.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ 'Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, for 1902', Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1903, Vol.2.

¹⁹⁴ 'Report of the Aborigines Protection Board, for 1907', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 1908, Vol.2, Pt.1.

¹⁹⁵ 'Report for the Aborigines Protection Board, for 1910', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 1911, Vol.2, Pt.1.

In the following year, 1911, a member of the Board, Mr. H. Trenchard, visited the Wallaga Lake Station in company with the Board's Secretary M. R.H. Beardsmore. Trenchard provided a report to the Board while Beardsmore compiled notes on each of the residences that they visited on the reserve¹⁹⁶. In his report Trenchard stated that:

I regret having to confirm the opinion of the Board that it is impossible to retain the services of Mr. Hollingsworth. Not only has he neglected his returns and the forwarding of amounts collected monthly as per regulations, but he does not appear to have exercised any control whatever over the Station or people... The people appear fairly contented, and not doing too badly in spite of bad accommodation, the numbers on the Station being much reduced in consequence of there being plenty of work obtainable, and fear of possible action by the Board under the new Act, which has been much exaggerated... It was made very plain to the residents that in future, men must work or leave the Station.¹⁹⁷

In the Board's report for 1913 it was stated that:

The Board very wisely disposed of the Angora goats during the year, thus making more feed available for the milking cows and bullock team, which were in good condition at the close of the year. A permanent man is now employed to look after the cultivation at Snake Island, and it is hoped that results will be more favourable during 1914... Owing to the influx of a number of aborigines from Bateman's Bay, the matter of providing additional accommodation has become urgent and calls for special attention. A better water supply also required. The number of aborigines on the station at 31st December was 104, with an average of 100 for the year, all of whom were in receipt of rations and other assistance. There were 2 births... and 2 deaths. The number of children on the school roll was 26, with an average daily attendance of 22.¹⁹⁸

In the first decades of the twentieth century the Aborigines Protection Board had increasingly intruded on the lives of Aboriginal people and communities. The Board acted to undermine economic self-sufficiency, freedom of movement, and cultural activity of Aboriginal people throughout the state. Despite the impact of the Board Aboriginal people and communities continued to fight for their rights and live their culture(s). Despite the coercive forces that led to residence on the reserve and the repression imposed by the management, Wallaga Lake became an important

¹⁹⁶ The school file includes these notes on each residence on the reserve and also details of a discussion with the Local Board Committee concerning Aboriginal men in the area not living on the reserve at the time. In both instances the individuals names are listed as are additional personal and family details.

¹⁹⁷ Letter of report from Mr. H. Trenchard to the Chairman, Aborigines Protection Board, 18th August, 1911, as an attachment to a letter from the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Board to the Under Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, 8th September, 1911, Wallaga Lake School File 1876-1939, 5/17986.2, State Records of New South Wales.

¹⁹⁸ 'Report for the Aborigines Protection Board, for 1913', New South Wales Parliamentary Papers, 1914-15, Vol.2, Pt.2.

community both for the local Aboriginal people of the South Coast and for others travelling from around the state.¹⁹⁹

Involvement in European Economic Activity

Aboriginal people throughout the south coast were involved in a wide range of economic activities associated with the new economic regime introduced by Europeans. Aboriginal people worked in the fishing industry, the timber trade, as agricultural and domestic labourers, and in some instances as self employed farmers and contractors.

In a journalist's account of a journey down the south coast in 1871 a different way of engaging with the cash economy is evident in an account of a man known as Narrang Charlie agreeing to show the journalist the track he needed in return for a cash payment:

I left Nelligen for Moruya at about 5 p.m., the distance being twenty-eight or thirty miles. There are two roads, viz, via Bateman's Bay, and by the Coast Range. I again chose the Coast Range track, I say track, for I unfortunately found what was called "the Coast Range road" little better than a cattle track... After travelling for about an hour or two, it became quite dark, and when coming down a range, I should think five or six miles from Nelligen, I found that I had got off the track, and was wandering on barren, pebbly ground, with scarcely a blade of grass... After several hours hard climbing (I led my horse), I got to the summit of the opposite range, and down the other side, over gullies, rocks, stones, and fallen timber, and through hundreds of those aggravating zamias, better known as burrawangs. The poor horse patiently followed me, and we arrived at last on a clear open flat, which we followed down for several miles. I then saw a light in the distance, in a scrubby place. I went up to it, feeling sure that I was at last near some habitation, but judge of my surprise when it proved to be a small fire, from around which, as I approached it, there rose a lot of dogs that rushed howling at me, and a most unearthly row and yabber met my ears. When the noise was in a measure quelled, with the exception of the yelps of the smaller brutes, I managed to make out that I had come on a blacks' camp and gunyah, in front of which was an astonished looking old blackfellow and his lubra – personages of by no means prepossessing looks, in the fitful gleams of light cast by their little fire, which gave these native denizens of the wilds a most weird appearance. As I spoke to the old fellow, he kept throwing handfuls of dry grass on the fire – making it blaze up in flashes, in order to have a full and better view of me.

I found him both stubborn and inquisitive, and at intervals he had a dialogue in the native language with his gin, who had retreated under scanty covering into the gunyah. I endeavoured to make an arrangement with him to show me the road to the nearest house, which

¹⁹⁹ See for instance Chittick & Fox, op.cit., passim. : McKenna, op.cit., passim.

he said was four miles, and he modestly asked a pound. I, of course, refused to transact business on such terms. After repeated consultations with his better-half (blacks don't like to stir about at night), he ultimately said, "Well, how much you gib me?" I proposed half-a-crown as a start. The lord of the forest would not hear of such low terms, but ultimately he bargained to go for two half-crowns. I was glad to agree to this, for it was now nearly one o'clock in the morning, so, after considerable preparation and grumbling on his and the lubra's part (for he would not go without her), they prepared a "bush lantern," described on a previous occasion as being made of "stringy bark," They at last collected their movables, and made a start ; and when they did so it was a peculiar sight to see them dashing about and making circles with the blazing stringy bark in order to keep it alight, and perhaps keep away spirits. Travelling for about three-quarters of a mile, we reached a track, which we followed for a mile-and-a-half and arrived at the river bank, which we followed for about half-a-mile to the crossing place. Here my sable guide demanded half-a-crown, and having got it, refused to go any further. I tried bouncing and persuasion by turns without effect. Blacks have a great fear of spirits at night, and the old fellow appeared to have some superstitious dread of crossing this river after dark, which feeling proved more powerful than anything I could say or offer him. They , however, asserted that there was a track on the opposite side of the river which would bring me to "Mitter McCloud's," and that it was only "two mile" distant, so I resolved to again try my luck, and left the blacks, who quickly retraced the way towards their camp. The name of the old blackfellow is "Narrang Charlie," and he is, of course, well-known in the district.²⁰⁰

It is not possible at this distance to know the reason for Narrang Charlie refusing to cross the river, it may have had to do with the spirits or it may have reflected a group boundary. In another article by the same journalist he mentions an Aboriginal man working at bark-stripping in the Moruya area:

... we came to a point of the Polwoombra Mountain, from which opens out in the distance a view of the broad Pacific to the east, with the old township of Broulee at our feet, the Pigeon-house to the north, and the Moruya Heads to the south. The road from this place wound for several miles sidling along the mountain. About five miles from Moruya, we met a blackfellow carrying a long straight stick. He recognized Mr. Flanagan with a grin, and pointed to the notches – about forty in number – quite triumphantly. On enquiry I discovered that the blackfellow is employed bark-stripping, and gets so much per sheet, for all he strips. The notched stick was his account of the number of sheets. He usually brings in this primitive document to Moruya, and then his employer sends out a team to the bush for the bark.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ 'A Tour to the South: From Our Special Correspondent: No. 8 – The Broulee District', Town and Country Journal, Oct. 7, 1871, p.471.

²⁰¹ 'A Tour to the South: From Our Special Correspondent: No. 10 – The Broulee District (continued)', Town and Country Journal, Oct. 21, 1871, pp.522-523.

A local history of the Narooma area refers to the range of work that Aboriginal people were doing in the wider region:

Many worked on local properties at Tilba and Bodalla on a regular basis, including the women doing cooking or cleaning. Some local people travelled to Twofold Bay in the season to work in the shore-based whaling industry, from the early 1840s. Some did seasonal work such as picking beans, stripping bark or woodchopping, while others worked in the local timber industry. Some settled at Bodalla, Turlinjah, Kianga or on the reserve at Wallaga Lake established in 1891. Many of their descendants live in the area today.²⁰²

Scattered amongst the documents are occasional glimpses of the working life of individual Aboriginal people and families in the Eurobodalla area. In the Aborigines Protection Board census of 1882 it was stated that at Nelligen:

Tom Brown and family, half-castes, employed in getting timber and wattle bark. Abraham and Donald, with their families, live principally by fishing and bark-stripping, with occasional odd jobs from settlers.²⁰³

A local history of Tilba Tilba also provides more individual detail:

Many of the Wallaga men worked as farm labourers on local farms alongside Europeans. These included Bob Andy, young Bob Andy, Des Picalla and Andy Bond (veteran World War 1), and Ben Cruse at Corunna. Others were self-employed like William Thomas, a sharefarmer on “Little Farm” in the early 1900s, and Mr Walker who was a contractor. Some of the women were employed as domestics, such as Mary Andy (nee Piety) and her daughter-in-law Lizzie.²⁰⁴

Mr Walker, the contractor, had a bullock team and “... was always referred to as “Mr Walker”. He was a contractor, doing everything from contract ploughing to land clearing. His bullock team was quite famous because of the two “beautiful white bullocks”.²⁰⁵

In his overview of the history of Aboriginal people on the far south coast in the nineteenth century Cameron made the following observation regarding the local people’s capacity to adapt to the impact of European intrusion:

Far from retreating in bewilderment from the new society and its technologies Far South Coast Aborigines, like the Dhan-gadi people, showed astonishing resilience and adaptability. They swiftly acquired a vast range of new skills, including a new language, so that by the

²⁰² Pacey, op.cit., 2001, p.6.

²⁰³ ‘Report of the Protector of the Aborigines, to 31 December, 1882’, Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1883, Vol.3.

²⁰⁴ Pacey & Hoyer, op.cit., p.5.

²⁰⁵ Pacey & Hoyer, op.cit., p.6.

century's end the majority were able to find employment with Whites or, in a few cases, run small farms on their own account.²⁰⁶



Plate 6: Mr Walker with his famous bullock team, c.1900, photograph from W.H. Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia.²⁰⁷

This statement could equally be applied to the central south coast area of Eurobodalla. As elsewhere throughout the state the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century saw the increasing control of the lives of Aboriginal people through the Aborigines Protection Board. The development of economic self-sufficiency, and the resulting freedom of movement and life choices, was rapidly undermined and people were increasingly pushed onto Board managed stations such as Wallaga Lake.

Nonetheless throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Aboriginal people on the south coast continued to work in the fishing and timber industries and in a wide variety of general labouring jobs throughout the Eurobodalla area. Fishing was an important industry for many Aboriginal families and communities all along the south coast:

During the 1870s and 1880s, fishing boats were provided by the government to Aboriginal families on the south coast and fishing seems to have been a widespread activity.... Living memory extends back to shortly before World War II when the Brierly family had a '22 foot' vessel and at first used hand-lines and then employed nets. Initially Walter Brierly worked for a British family in order to get enough money to buy a net.... An arrangement was made with a Sydney firm who supplied the Brierly family with a '45 foot' launch, the *Jean*, with

²⁰⁶ Stuart B. Cameron, *An Investigation of the History of the Aborigines of the Far South Coast of New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, B. Letters, Australian National University, 1987, pp.101-102.

²⁰⁷ Photograph TT829, William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection, National Library of Australia. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia.

the payment for the boat being taken out of the catches... The boat was lost in the big flood which swept away the Moruya Bridge in 1945 to 1946...

After the *Jean* was lost, Ernie Brierly bought a '16 foot' boat... By and large throughout his life, Ernie's livelihood has come from fishing... The Brierly crew regularly fished from Durras to Bermagui, down to the Victorian boarder (*sic*) and occasionally up to Jervis Bay... [Other Aboriginal fishing families were the]... Squires at Eden, Brierlys at Moruya, Nyes at Mogo, Butlers at Bawley Point, Ardlers at Wreck Bay and Connollys at Orient Point.²⁰⁸

However, the major area of employment for Aboriginal people in the area for most of the twentieth century was seasonal crop-picking. The two major centres for south coast crop-picking in the mid twentieth century were Bodalla and Bega:

At the height of the crop-picking season, extending from January till the end of March or April, Bodalla and Bega receive several hundred Aboriginal crop-pickers. These come not only from different parts of the South Coast and New South Wales (e.g. La Perouse, Riverina), but also from Victoria some 200 miles away. A number of Aboriginal people from Wallaga Lack Aboriginal Station temporarily move to nearby Bodalla during the crop-picking season.²⁰⁹

Aboriginal people's involvement in the seasonal picking work, so central for many decades to the rural industries of the south coast, constitutes a major economic contribution to the region. The freedom of movement associated with the availability of seasonal work also played an important role in allowing for the maintenance of wide ranging networks of kinship amongst the Aboriginal people of the south coast and connected regions.

²⁰⁸ Brian Egloff, 'Sea long stretched between': perspectives of Aboriginal fishing on the south coast of New South Wales in the light of Mason v Tritton', *Aboriginal History*, Vol.24, 2000, pp.206-7.

²⁰⁹ J.H. Bell, 'The economic life of mixed-blood Aborigines on the south coast of New South Wales', *Oceania*, 1956, Vol.26, pp.181-199.

Aboriginal Places Documented from Historical Sources

The historical research undertaken for this project has uncovered a wide variety of place associations that reflect Aboriginal history in the Eurobodalla region over the past 200 years. Over 100 places and landscape associations have been recorded and are detailed in Appendix 6. The location of each place is mapped as Figure 16.

These records include Aboriginal cultural places associated with land-use practice pre-dating the contact period that have been recorded in the historical record. They also encompass a variety of landscape associations and attachments that commenced with the first encounters with Europeans in the study area and which extends through to important associations dating to the past 50 years.

The different Aboriginal cultural associations and places recorded during this study reflect the enormous cultural change experienced by Aboriginal people living in the Eurobodalla Shire following European settlement. When Europeans first encroached on Aboriginal land in the region, Aboriginal peoples' connections to country were expressed through creation stories, totems, rituals governing access to places/country, ceremonies, travelling pathways, named features and highly refined subsistence practices. Colonisation brought with it extreme disruption and dislocation to local Aboriginal people which resulted in substantial shifts in the way they were able to maintain the relationship to country. Within a relatively short time span the size of local Aboriginal groups diminished dramatically from violence and disease, important tracts of land became alienated and social structures strained under the weight of this extraordinarily rapid change. The effects of this history have continued into the 20th century and continue to be felt today.

Despite the scale of this change and its impact on all aspects of their lives, Aboriginal people have continued to live in country and to maintain strong attachments to the Eurobodalla region. The cultural associations that have been recorded during this study demonstrate that attachments to country are not static phenomenon but are dynamic and in many ways evolving. This is best illustrated by camping sites. The cultural practice behind traditional camp sites has transformed into many new camping places over the past 200 years that continue to be important foci for community social, cultural and economic activity.

Discussion of Themes

A number of themes reflecting the cultural interests and experiences of Aboriginal people in the post contact period have emerged during the course of this research. A set of themes developed for previous regional studies is used here to highlight the types of places/associations recorded (Table 2). With the exception of the religion theme, each of the themes shown in Table 2 is reflected in the data collected on places/associations in the Eurobodalla area. Many of the places fall within multiple thematic categories although for the purposes of this analysis only the dominant theme has been analysed. Table 3 shows the percentage of places that fall under each major theme. These are further illustrated in the graph below (Figure 7).

1.0 Traditional/Cultural Places mythological place increase site ceremonial place spiritual place named place camp resource-use	9.0 Religion Church Missions
2.0 Contact Places contact with sealers contact with squatters contact – general	10.0 Government Aborigines Protection Board Aborigines Welfare Board Police Court jail
3.0 Conflict attacks on Aboriginal people attacks by Aboriginal people Segregation	11.0 Education child minding schools teaching places
4.0 Living Places Camps Houses Institutions	12.0 Health hospital illness
5.0 Work Manual Domestic Shop Business	13.0 Life Events Birth death marriage
6.0 Resources Plants Animals other materials	14.0 Recreation self with community within broader community
7.0 Travelling Routes Communication routes Resource collection routes Ritual purposes Work related	15.0 Self Determination co-operatives land ownership economic enterprises
8.0 Burials Outside formal cemeteries Within formal cemeteries	16.0 Land permissive occupancy reserve land claim land returned

Table 2: List of Themes (after Goulding 2001).

Theme	No. Places per Theme	%
Living Places	72	46.8
Government	17	11
Land (Reserves)	17	11
Recreation	9	5.8
Contact Places	7	4.5
Traditional/Cultural Places	5	3.2
Work	5	3.2
Resources	5	3.2
Conflict	4	2.6
Self determination	4	2.6
Burials	3	1.9
Education	3	1.9
Travelling Routes	1	0.6
Religion	1	0.6
Life Events	1	0.6
Health	0	0
TOTAL	154	100

Table 3: Number of places per major theme expressed as a percentage of the total number of places per theme.

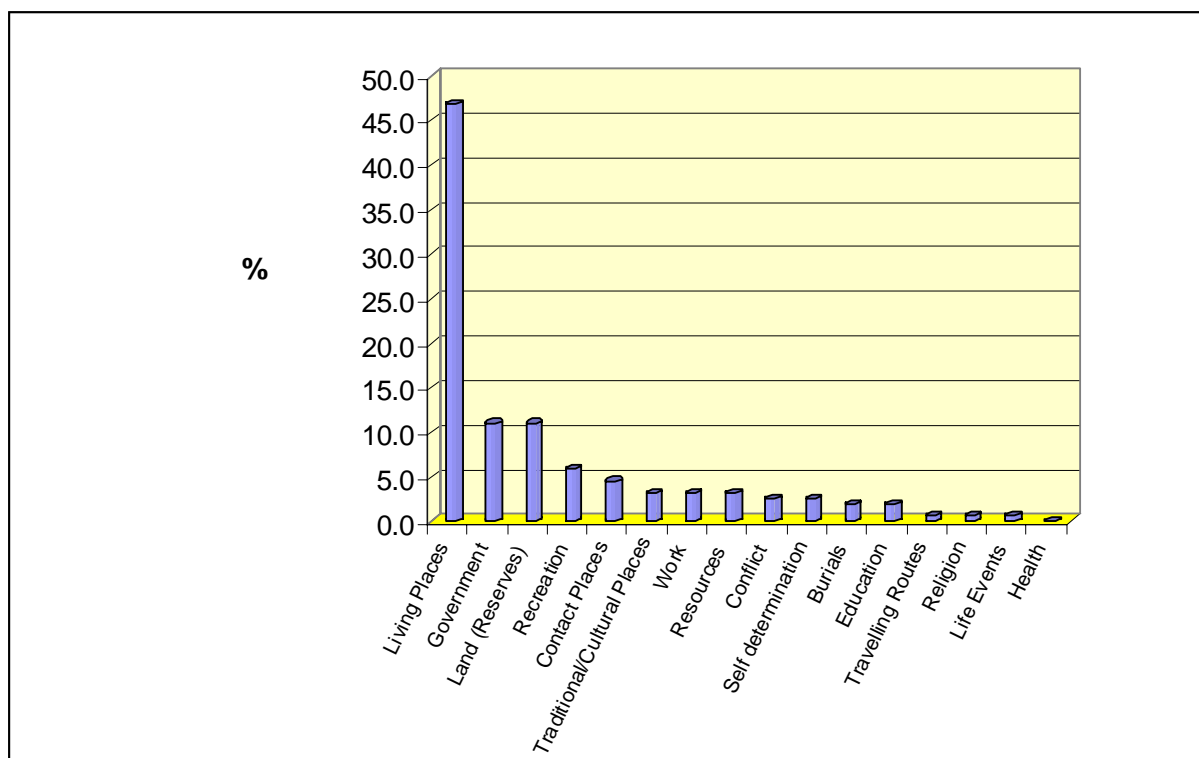


Figure 17: Graph showing the occurrence of themes per place in the Eurobodalla shire.

As this stage of the project relied entirely on documentary sources, it is likely that this has had an effect on the nature of the places recorded. Places recorded by early settlers and government officials do not necessarily reflect the range of activities and attachments to place that was the experience of Aboriginal people. The oral information recording taking place in the next stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study will likely alter the balance of the themes represented. The majority of the places recorded (47%) were living places. Many of the living places recorded relate to the theme of employment. The key themes represented by the places identified are discussed further below.

Contact and Conflict

A number of places have been recorded that are associated with the earliest recorded instances of contact between Europeans and the Aboriginal people of the Eurobodalla area. The nature of the interactions between the local Aboriginal people and Europeans in the early decades of their intrusion varied widely. As is the case in almost all documentary records relating to the nineteenth century the recording of the events was done by Europeans and reflects their perceptions. Some of the earliest interactions were violent as Aboriginal people attempted to repel the intrusion of Europeans. However, in other instances the local Aboriginal people provided food, shelter and assistance to stranded Europeans.

There are very limited records of conflict in the area and these relate to the first decades of European settlement. The conflicts that have been recorded relate to the killing of European stock and threats to pastoralists by the local Aboriginal people. These attacks may be the attempts of the local Aboriginal people to force the European intruders to leave or alternatively may have been an initial response to resource competition. While there are no documented instances of attacks on the Aboriginal people by the Europeans in these early decades there is clear evidence of a willingness, amongst at least some of the early settlers, to use violence and it is probable that such instances did occur but were not documented.

Living Places

A large number of living places were recorded during this project. The living places range from seasonal camps associated with recreation and employment through to permanent settlements on reserve lands and town fringes. The reserves date largely from the late 1800s and, with the exception of Wallaga Lake, were generally occupied during the late 1800s and had small numbers of people living on them. Wallaga Lake was the first managed station established by the Aborigines Protection Board, it was reserved in 1891 but had been a living place for local Aboriginal people before this date.

The camps range from permanent camps in the vicinity of towns through to short term recreation/holiday camps all along the coastline and date from the 1800s through to the late 1900s. The records indicate a pattern of regular movement along the coast from camp to camp for a range of reasons relating to seasons, employment and kin networks. A large number of the camps recorded relate to employment, with seasonal fishing camps along the coast, seasonal work camps on properties and camps associated with employment in sawmills.

Employment

The majority of places associated with employment that have been recorded are the associated camps where people lived, generally on a temporary seasonal basis. The seasonal work camps recorded are primarily fishing camps and picking camps. In addition there are camps associated with sawmills. The camps associated with employment range in date from the late 1800s, primarily land clearing and sawmill camps, through to the late 1900s, primarily seasonal picking and fishing camps. These camps are an indication of the considerable extent to which the Aboriginal people of the Eurobodalla area were involved in the economic development of the region.

The establishment and expansion of European settlement, on the south coast, as throughout Australia, has benefited enormously from the labour and knowledge of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people's contribution has ranged through acting as guides to squatters moving into new areas to participation in the full range of industries established in the region. The labour of Aboriginal people on the south coast has been of importance in the development of the pastoral, agricultural, timber, and fishing industries. Aboriginal women were also employed as domestic labourers. Aboriginal people's involvement in the seasonal picking work, so central for many decades to the rural industries of the south coast, constitutes a major economic contribution to the region. The freedom of movement associated with the availability of seasonal work also played an important role in allowing for the maintenance of wide ranging networks of kinship amongst the Aboriginal people of the south coast and connected regions.

Ceremonial/Spiritual

There are only a very few documentary accounts of ceremonial occasions that provide information as to the place where the ceremony occurred. One ceremonial occasion was recorded in the Boat Harbour area in the 1850s while the exact location of a ceremonial tree was recorded in 1899 along with details of the associated ceremony. In addition there are a few limited places of spiritual/cultural significance recorded. It is highly likely that the recording of places from oral tradition will add to the number of places of spiritual and ceremonial significance.

Recommendations

Discussion

This project has documented many places and associated historical references that date to the history and experience of Aboriginal people in post-European settlement in Eurobodalla Shire however there is still much that can be done to increase our understanding of this history. Future management of Aboriginal heritage values and places in the Eurobodalla Shire would benefit from an ongoing program of research. An obvious gap is the documentation of local Aboriginal people's memories and stories about places associated with their family and community history across the region. This is currently being addressed through the second stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study Oral Information Collection Project being carried out by Chris "Snappy" Griffiths. Previous experience has shown that the combined approach of archival/historical research and oral information collection can produce a well-rounded assessment of tangible and intangible heritage places and values.²¹⁰ In addition to the oral information collection, a number of key gaps in current levels of knowledge of Aboriginal heritage values and history in the Eurobodalla Shire have been identified through the course of this research. These are outlined below along with recommended actions for redressing those gaps.²¹¹

Recommendations for Future Research

Gap Identified (No. 1) – Follow up research into genealogical information in local historical societies and Court and Police holdings

Although genealogical records are usually incomplete, there is great community interest in further researching genealogical holdings that might exist in historical societies in the region. The archival holdings of local Courts and Police Stations relating to individuals may also hold information of use to family history research. These records have the potential to reveal information on the birth date and birthplace of ancestors, to establish and/or strengthen family links and to uncover information on the lives of family members (such as occupation, when and where they were married etc). In addition information currently held by local historical societies may contain inaccuracies that could be corrected by current family members on the basis of their family knowledge.

Recommended Action:

That where possible genealogical records that are situated within the Eurobodalla Shire be investigated to establish Aboriginal family history connections.

²¹⁰ For example see, Goulding, M. 2002. Cultural places, contested spaces: A study of Aboriginal peoples' historical attachments to landscape. Coffs Harbour Region Cultural Heritage Study – Stage 2. Report to the Cultural Heritage Division, National Parks & Wildlife Service, New South Wales, and, Goulding, M. 2001. Cultural places, contested spaces: A study of Aboriginal peoples' historical attachments to landscape. Coffs Harbour Region Cultural Heritage Study. Report to the Cultural Heritage Division, National Parks & Wildlife Service, New South Wales. 5 Volumes. Goulding, M. & Griffiths, C. in prep. Bega Aboriginal Heritage Study Stage 3. A report to the NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service.

²¹¹ A number of these gaps and suggestions for redressing them were raised at the community workshop held on November 23, 2004

That the Aboriginal community be supported in the investigation of these records through community-based research projects.

Gap Identified (No. 2) – Burial Records/ Collections

The exact location of the burial sites of Aboriginal people who died in the post settlement period is in many instances not well documented. As many Aboriginal people in the Eurobodalla shire have ancestors whose burial sites are currently unknown, it is important to identify these burials and where possible, the names of the deceased. Undocumented burials are also vulnerable to disturbance during development processes.

Recommended Action:

That further archival research be carried out into the registers of burials housed in the local Births Deaths and Marriages records, State Records of New South Wales and the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Sydney in order to identify locations of historic burials in formal and informal burial grounds.

That contact be made with local historical societies, many of whom have collected material relating to local burials that may include information on Aboriginal individuals.

Gap Identified (No. 3) – Further Research Aboriginal Labour Contribution to the region

The contribution that Aboriginal men, women and children have made to the rural industry as labourers over the past 200 years is not well documented and is rarely acknowledged in local histories.

Recommended Action:

That the historical importance of the role played by Aboriginal people in early rural, fishing and forest industries and particularly their role in seasonal farm work in the south coast region be recognised through further recording of that history through oral history collection.

That the Aboriginal community be supported in the documentation of this history through community-based research projects.

Gap Identified (No. 4) – Further Investigate Living Places

Living places constituted the dominant theme amongst the places identified during this investigation. The camping places used by Aboriginal people in the Eurobodalla

region are highly significant reminders of their history in the region. While this study has identified a large number of these places, there is a need to systematically survey and record the location and physical remains of camps.

Recommended Action:

That further oral history collection and field surveys be carried out to map, locate and document the physical remains of the many living camps in the Eurobodalla shire and the associated oral history.

Gap Identified (No. 5) – Archaeological Sensitivity Research

Archaeological sites represent an important part of the heritage values that exist within the Eurobodalla shire. The archaeological sensitivity investigation carried out by Ken Heffernan and Phil Boot for the CRA South-east forests project has provided detailed outcomes for archaeological sensitivity modelling in the South East Region of NSW.²¹² An integrated approach to the management of a wide variety of heritage values in local planning processes should consider more detailed testing and refining of the sensitivity model.

Recommended Action:

Consider ways of further refining existing regional archaeological sensitivity modelling in relation to the Eurobodalla Shire.

In addition, further work should be put into integrating the archaeological sensitivity model into local planning processes.

Gap Identified (No.6) – Aboriginal Place Names

There is recognition amongst the project steering committee members that there is little in the way of formal recognition of the Aboriginal names of places in the Eurobodalla shire.

Recommended Action:

Consider further researching Aboriginal place names in the Eurobodalla region with a view to exploring ways of renaming places in the future, particularly when naming new roads in the future.

Gap Identified (No.7) – Cultural Awareness Training

A number of members of the project Steering Committee suggested that Council members who deal with issues relating to Aboriginal heritage should receive cultural

²¹² 2000. Draft Report of the Sefrac Archaeology Project: Aboriginal Archaeological Surveys, Conservation and Management of Aboriginal Sites and Cultural Landscapes in the SFNSW Eden Management Area, South Eastern New South Wales. Report to the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Cultural Heritage Division, Southern Aboriginal Heritage Unit.

awareness training to improve their understanding of Aboriginal culture and management of Aboriginal heritage values.

Recommended Action:

That the Eurobodalla Shire Council consider engaging suitably qualified Aboriginal people to provide cross-cultural awareness training to relevant members of staff.

Concluding Comment

The first stage of the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study has drawn together historical source material in order to better understand the Aboriginal heritage places associated with the history of the region since European settlement. The project has:

- produced an historical narrative of the Eurobodalla region that serves as a background for better understanding the history of local Aboriginal people over the past 200 and more years.
- identified over 100 places/landscape associations that reflect Aboriginal people's occupation and attachment to the Eurobodalla landscape during this time.
- drawn together historical and text-based references to Aboriginal occupation and experience in the Eurobodalla shire, along with an annotated bibliography that can assist with future research.
- identified gaps in current knowledge and approaches to Aboriginal cultural heritage management that can be addressed with further research/actions.

The outcomes of this first stage of the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study, complete with the impending oral information collection phase (Stage 2), will provide a solid foundation from which the Eurobodalla Shire Council, Department of Environment and Conservation and the Local Aboriginal Land Councils can progress their goal to better protect Aboriginal cultural places and values in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Project Brief

BRIEF

EUROBODALLA SHIRE ABORIGINAL HERITAGE STUDY

STAGE 1 TO CONDUCT ABORIGINAL HISTORICAL RESEARCH



EUROBODALLA SHIRE COUNCIL

Good Government, better living

Eurobodalla Shire Council

Brief

Aboriginal Heritage Study – Stage 1 to conduct Aboriginal Historical Research

1. Introduction

The Eurobodalla Shire Council (ESC) in conjunction with the Department of Environment & Conservation (DEC), Local Aboriginal Land Councils (LALCs) and community groups are conducting an Aboriginal Heritage Study of the Eurobodalla Shire.

The study is designed to explore how an holistic assessment of Aboriginal heritage values can be undertaken and then built into land use planning and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The study represents a departure from previous work in NSW and a new corporate direction which extends its focus beyond the management of archaeological sites and relics, towards the integration of natural and cultural heritage and consideration of the full range of traditional, historic and contemporary values of Aboriginal communities.

The project is being managed by Ron Nye (ESC Aboriginal Liaison Officer) and directed by the Project Steering Committee. The steering committee comprises representatives involved in Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management, local government, South East Catchment Management Board (to be the Southern Rivers Catchment Management Authority in 2004) and Local Aboriginal Land Councils and other interested Aboriginal people, and has a majority of Aboriginal members. The project is scoped to run over 3 years. The work stipulated in this contract will be undertaken in 2004 as stage 1 of an overall heritage study project.

2. Scope and Objectives

The aims of the study are to:

- Comprehensively assess and map the historic (post contact) and contemporary Aboriginal cultural heritage values in conjunction with local communities to complement the existing traditional and archaeological values in order to build a more complete picture of the cultural landscape of the study area.
- Begin trialing a holistic approach to integrating Aboriginal cultural heritage into landuse planning and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA).
- Establish effective mechanisms for community involvement in landuse planning in the study area and a basis for communication between Government, landowners and the community about Aboriginal Heritage.

The project encompasses the Eurobodalla Local Government area comprising of Mogo, Cobowra, Bodalla, Wagonga and parts of Batemans Bay and Merrimans Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALCs) areas. Also within the study area are registered Native Title Claimants and Aboriginal people that are represented by Elders and other community groups, as well as individual knowledge holders that have no declared affiliations with representative bodies. These Aboriginal people that reside within the study area live in a mix of urban and rural areas and have potentially varied perspectives on heritage management and access to land for cultural purposes.

The work set out in this contract is designed to provide a context for identifying and understanding the social and historic values of places and significant landscapes and traditional Aboriginal peoples who live within the study area. These can include, but are not restricted to, mission sites, old camps, areas associated with people's working lives and areas used for teaching and recreation. These places are generally not considered during EIA and council Heritage Studies. The research specified in this tender is designed to illustrate the range of post-contact places that need to be identified and factored into heritage management in NSW. The research will be limited to investigating the particular time period since occupation by non-Indigenous people from European contact.

The overall project has four stages, including:

Stage 1 – Research / data audit	2004
Review existing reference material relevant to this study area and identify a list of Aboriginal people on European contact and places, as well as producing an annotated bibliography and historical narrative to provide a context for the project.	ESC (contractor) with LALCs, ESC and DEC rep.
Stage 2 – Field Work	
Undertake consultation and survey with Aboriginal communities and individuals to collect, document and map Cultural Heritage information	
Stage 3 – Aboriginal Values Report and Mapping	
Document and make information available to local Aboriginal communities and agencies as determined by the agreed protocols.	
Stage 4 – Future Planning Report	
Investigate and recommend ways that the broad historic and contemporary Aboriginal Heritage values arising from 1-3 can be integrated into future cultural heritage management and land use planning and EIA procedures. This will involve a review of existing and potential legislative structures, mechanisms and processes (e.g.: MoU's, hand-back leases, ILUA's etc) for formalising Aboriginal Culture and Heritage co-management, which recognize the legal constraints incumbent upon respective land tenures and management agencies.	

3. Study Tasks

1. Participate in a scoping meeting with Project steering committee members in Moruya during the first week of the project to confirm project methodology, tasks, timing, risk and information management issues. Identify contacts in the respective LALCs and other interested people for ongoing liaison and to include local Aboriginal persons in a paid capacity to assist with the project.
2. Develop an annotated bibliography of useful primary and secondary sources that contain information about the Aboriginal history of the study area. Relevant sources can include published journal articles, books, theses, newspapers, autobiographies, Aboriginal Protection Board records and other sources held in historic societies, libraries and research institutions. This search must include local libraries and historic societies, as well as the AIATSIS (Canberra), State and Mitchell Libraries and State Archives in Sydney, also Police records, blanket distribution records and any other information sources.
3. Document information about pre and post contact places from these records in a form which is consistent with the Coffs Harbour Aboriginal Heritage Study, and also the Bega Aboriginal Heritage Study database which will include such things as location, history, potential cultural significance, the source of information and an indication as to whether the place may contain material remains. The contractor will be required to confirm with the steering committee, the types of summary information collected and the mechanism for documenting and managing the information so that it is consistent.

4. Liaise with the LALCs and other relevant local groups to ensure that they have the opportunity to participate in the research of local sources, including sources managed by the LALCs.
5. Assess whether the heritage places identified during the research can be classified against a set of themes, and identify gaps in the information, which may assist the field research.
6. Write a brief (max 30 pages) narrative of the Aboriginal history for the study area based on information collected during the research, which will become a public document.
7. Liaise with the project steering committee to determine how the information and heritage places identified during the research stage will be mapped.
8. Liaise with Eurobodalla Shire Council

4. Information Required

In response to the brief, expressions of interest should include:

- Information relating to the qualifications, experience and role in this project of each member of the study team;
- Demonstrated experience in Aboriginal historical research;
- A detailed timetable for the completion of the project;
- A schedule of the information and services required from Council;
- Details of public liability, workers compensation and professional indemnity insurance;
- A detailed fee proposal giving a breakdown of fees per task, participants and proposed staging of payments, including disbursements.

5. Selection Criteria

The selection criteria that will be used to select the preferred tenderer are as follows (weighted as indicated):

- A demonstrated appropriate method (30%);
- Experience in carrying out similar projects (30%);
- Ability to formulate clear and concise reports (10%);
- Demonstrated successful outcomes for other organisations (10%);
- Project management and the allocation of tasks to study team members based on experience (10%); and
- Fee proposal (10%);

6. Note to Tender

- Council acknowledges the right of the contractor to subcontract or delegate all or part of the work to another party. The contractor will however continue to be responsible to the Council for the quality and timeliness of the work.
- All necessary equipment is to be supplied by the contractor.
- The fee is inclusive and the responsibility for taxation, superannuation, workers, compensation, indemnity insurance, leave and the like is borne by the contractor.
- All fees relating to printing, documentation, travel, communication, project management and the like are the responsibility of the contractor.
- The relation of the contractor to Council is that of independent contractor and principal and it shall perform the Services and all acts and agreements requested by Council in accordance with its own methods;
- Nothing in this agreement shall be construed as restricting Council from entering into other agreements of a similar nature with other parties for the provision of the service or services of a substantially similar nature;
- Any person employed by the Contractor will be the employee of the Contractor and no such person will be or be construed to be the employee of Council by virtue of this Agreement. Nothing contained in this Agreement will cause a relationship between Council and any such person to be construed as one of employer and employee.

- The Contractor will not have the authority to, and will not bind Council to any agreement or otherwise hold itself as being authorised by this Agreement and the Contractor shall indemnify Council in respect of all representations, promises or agreements made in breach of this clause by any representative and/or agent of the Contractor.
- The Consultant must hold a Professional Indemnity Insurance Policy appropriate to the Consultant's activities. This must be a Policy that is not on a standard "claims made" basis. The Consultant should provide to Council evidence of the currency of its insurance cover at the commencement of the project and upon renewal of the insurances through the life of the project. The Consultant must ensure that each subconsultant must have and maintain insurance cover equivalent to that required by the Consultant during their engagement. If a notice of cancellation of the Consultant's insurance is given, the Consultant must cease to operate on the Council contract and immediately notify Council.

7. Fees

An indicative budget of up to \$30,000.00 has been allocated to this project. This includes any disbursements. Fees may be paid in lump sum on completion of the project or in stages as milestones are achieved.

8. Information Available

Council will assist to provide information that is relevant to the project to the successful tenderer. The consultant must also have regard to similar projects carried out in Bega Valley Shire and in Coffs Harbour.

9. Project Management

The project is to be managed and supervised by Ron Nye, Aboriginal Liaison Officer, who may be contacted on (02) 4474 1375.

10. Application

Interested consultancies must submit expressions of interest by close of business Friday, 27 February 2004. Contact Ron Nye, on the above telephone number, to discuss details of the project.

Appendix 2 – Project Flier Distributed to local Aboriginal communities

Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study



Hi Everyone

We have prepared this flier to introduce ourselves - Meg Goulding and Kate Waters - and the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study to you. We are carrying out this project for the Eurobodalla Shire Council, Local Aboriginal Land Councils and the Department of Environment and Conservation (NPWS).

What is the Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study?

The Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study is a three-year project that is being carried out in close consultation with Aboriginal community members and organisations in the Eurobodalla region.

The project has been funded under the Natural Heritage Trust through the South East Catchment Blueprint. The project is being managed by Ron Nye (Aboriginal Liaison Officer, Eurobodalla Shire Council).

The project aims to develop a better understanding of the Aboriginal cultural heritage in the shire through historical research and collection of oral history from Aboriginal people with connections to the Eurobodalla region. The study will record a wide range of heritage values of traditional, historic and contemporary importance to Aboriginal communities. It aims to develop ways of better managing these values in local planning processes.

The study is being managed by a Steering Committee made up of representatives invited from but not restricted to the following organisations:

- Eurobodalla Shire Council
- Department of Environment & Conservation (NPWS)
- Batemans Bay Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Bodalla Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Cobowra Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Merrimans Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Mogo Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Council

What we will be Doing - Stage 1

The first stage of the project involves the following:

- writing an overview history of Aboriginal people in the Eurobodalla region
- producing a bibliography of historical sources that relate to Aboriginal history in the region
- finding references to places in the documentary historical sources that reflect this history.

This research will provide information that can be built upon during the next stage of the project (Stage 2) which will involve oral history collection from local Aboriginal people.

During this first stage of the project we will be working closely with field workers nominated by each Land Council. These field workers will make sure that local Aboriginal people are fully informed about this project. They will also assist with several meetings to be held in the region where we can tell you about the progress of the research we have carried out and which will provide you with the chance to have your say about later stages of the project (eg. the oral history collection stage).

What will happen to Information Recorded?

In the end the information we record will be turned into a report that will be distributed to each Local Aboriginal Land Council involved as well as the Eurobodalla Shire Council and the Department of Environment & Conservation (NPWS). The recommendations made by local Aboriginal people will be used to guide the development of the oral history collection stage of the project (Stage 2).

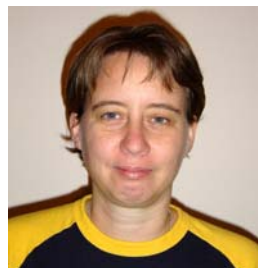
When will we be in the region?

We will be travelling to the Eurobodalla region over the next couple of months (May and June 2004). Kate Waters will be carrying out most of the research into records at the local libraries and historical societies and will spend time visiting each Land Council and meeting with the field workers. This first stage of the project will be finished by September 2004.

About us



Meg Goulding - Meg is a trained archaeologist but works mainly with Aboriginal communities recording oral histories, connections to places and doing cultural mapping. She has worked for the past 15 years in Victoria and NSW. In recent years Meg has worked closely with the Garby Elders at Corindi, Coffs LALC, Bega LALC, Merrimans LALC, Eden LALC, Gunda-ah-mryo Aboriginal Elders Council, Nulla Nulla LALC and Murrumbidgee Aboriginal Language and Culture Centre, Nambucca Heads. Meg has carried out the historical research for the Bega Aboriginal Heritage Study during the past 12 months.



Kate Waters – Kate is a trained historian who works in the area of the history and cultural heritage of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. She has worked with Aboriginal communities and organisations around New South Wales, out in the central west, down the south coast, and up the north coast. Kate's work focuses on recording Aboriginal oral histories, cultural mapping, and tracing the history of Aboriginal people through the documents. Kate has recently completed a series of oral histories of Aboriginal people on Kosciuszko National Park and is currently working on a cultural mapping project with the Nowra community.

Our contact details are:

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Please call any time. We can call you straight back to save costs...

Appendix 3 – Annotated Bibliography

Introduction

This purpose of this bibliography is to draw together the many sources of text and visual information that relate to Aboriginal history of the Eurobodalla Shire. This document, and the annotations given for most of the references, is designed to facilitate access to this information and to provide a resource for ongoing research in the area. This bibliography does not purport to be complete as undoubtedly, new sources will be found. Nevertheless, most of the primary and secondary texts relating to Aboriginal people, their culture and the impact of European settlement since contact in the study area have been included.

The references were sourced from the holdings of the following institutions:

Mitchell Library & State Reference Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
National Library of Australia, Canberra
Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies (AIATSIS), Canberra
State Records of New South Wales, Sydney
South Australian Museum
Cultural Heritage Division, Department of Environment and Conservation, New South Wales, Hurstville Office
Moruya & District Historical Society
Bateman's Bay Historical Society

The bibliography has also been expanded through examination of bibliographies of major studies into Aboriginal people/culture/history in the study area.

Over 250 references have been included and approximately 70% of these have been annotated to provide the reader with an idea of the content of each reference as it relates to Aboriginal people. References are arranged under the following headings:

Acts of Parliament
Parliamentary Proceedings
Manuscripts
Newspapers
Journal Articles
Published Works and Reports
Archaeological Reports/Theses
Photographs and Pictures
Tapes
Further Research Contacts

The bibliography includes both text-based and pictorial sources and in most instances these refer specifically to Aboriginal people/history in the study area. A small number of sources that provide an overall context for Aboriginal history in NSW and Australia as a whole have been included.

To assist researchers using this bibliography each reference has been annotated with a code that indicates the holding where it can be located. The key for these holdings is as follows:

AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies
AO	Archives Office, Sydney
BCF	Bodalla Cheese Factory
BBHS	Bateman's Bay Historical Society
BFHM	Bega Family History Museum
BVGS	Bega Valley Genealogical Society
BVSL	Bega Valley Shire Library
DECHURST	Department of Environment and Conservation, Hurstville (formerly NPWS)
DECMER	Department of Environment and Conservation, Merimbula (formerly NPWS)
MDHS	Moruya & District Historical Society
MERL	Merimbula Library
ML	Mitchell Library
MSL	Mitchell Library Sydney
MSA	Museum of South Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSWAO	New South Wales
PGS	Pambula Genealogical Society
SAM	South Australian Museum
SLV	State Library of Victoria
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SRNSW	State Records of New South Wales

It is anticipated that this Bibliography will be used as an important resource document for future Aboriginal history research projects in the Eurobodalla Shire region. It will therefore be circulated to local historical societies and libraries as a reference for community use. As more resources come to light and as research progresses in the south eastern region of New South Wales, it will be important to continually update the Bibliography. The Eurobodalla Shire Council office will house the electronic copy of the Annotated Bibliography and supervise any future updates in consultation with local Aboriginal communities.

Acts of Parliament

An Act to allow the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales to be received as Competent Witnesses in Criminal Cases 1839.

An attempt by the Colonial government to recognise, where possible, evidence given by Aboriginal people in court.

(MLS)

An Act to Prohibit the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales from having Fire Arms or Ammunition in their possession without the permission of a Magistrate 1840.

An attempt to control Aboriginal peoples' access to weapons.

(MLS)

Crown Lands Alienation Act 1861.

Legislation known colloquially as the Robertson's Act passed in 1861 that meant that larger squatting runs could be broken up into smaller allotments for selection by farmers. This Act had implications for increased land settlement and increased pressure on Aboriginal peoples' access to land.

(MLS)

An Act to prohibit the supply of intoxicating Liquors to Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales 1867.

An Act of Parliament designed to control the supply of alcohol to Aboriginal people.

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection Act 1909.

Act of Parliament that established the Aborigines Protection Board. It specifies membership of the Board, the creation of local committees and guardians who were given the power to distribute goods and food to the Aboriginal people, manage reserves, make decisions about the custody and welfare of children and generally "protect" Aboriginal people, powers of reserve managers, supply of alcohol to Aboriginal people, "wandering" with an Aborigine illegal, employment of Aboriginal girls and removal of infants.

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection Amending Act 1915.

This Act gave the Aborigines Protection Board the right to assume control of an Aboriginal child.

(MLS)

Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918.

This Act excluded Aboriginal people from being on the electoral roll or voting.

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1918.

This Act gave additional powers to the Aborigines Protection Board.

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1936.

This Act gave additional powers to the Aborigines Protection Board. It became known as the Dog Act as it gave the Aborigines protection board the power “to confine people against their will” (Goodall 1996: 193).

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1940.

Act of Parliament that re-constituted the Aborigines Protection Board to the Aborigines Welfare Board. It reflected a shift in government policy towards assimilation and welfare. Amendments to the Act translated powers to managers of reserves and the police. It saw the dissolution of the Aborigines Protection Board and the appointment of the Aborigines Welfare Board and a Superintendent of Aboriginal Welfare.

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1943.

Act of Parliament that provided for the appointment of two Aboriginal people to the Aborigines Welfare Board.

(MLS)

Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948.

Act of Parliament that declared all Aboriginal people British subjects and Australian citizens.

(MLS)

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1963.

Repealed provisions relating to alcohol prohibition, vagrancy and police offences. Medical examinations abolished. Controls remained in relation to child welfare and management of reserves.

(MLS)

Commonwealth Electoral (Amendment) Act 1962.

An amendment of the Electoral Act that gave Aboriginal people the vote.

(MLS)

Aborigines Act 1969.

This Act abolished the Aborigines Welfare Board.

(MLS)

Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983.

The introduction of this NSW Act meant that Aboriginal people could make claims on vacant Crown land not required for an essential public purpose. The Act is administered by the NSW Department of Land and Water Conservation. The Act established the three-tiered system of Land Councils.

(MLS)

Aboriginal Land Rights (Amendment) Act 1986.

This amendment allows Land Councils to sell land granted by the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983.

(MLS)

Native Title Act 1993.

Commonwealth legislation reflecting the High Court’s recognition of the existence of native title (Mabo case).

(MLS)

Native Title (New South Wales) Act 1994.

NSW State legislation to co-ordinate native title processes established in the Commonwealth Native Title Act 1993.

(MLS)

Aboriginal Land Rights (Amendment) Act 1995.

The introduction of this Act in 1983 meant that Aboriginal people could make claims on vacant Crown land not required for an essential public purpose. The Act is administered by the NSW Department of Land and Water Conservation. The Act established the three-tiered system of Land Councils. It has previously been amended (1986).

(MLS)

National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996.

Amends the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983. It establishes a Register of Aboriginal Owners by the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act. This Act allows for the handing back of National Parks and other Service managed lands listed on Schedule 14 of the National Parks and Wildlife Service Act to Aboriginal owners and joint management of the Parks through a lease administered through a Board of Management. The Aboriginal Ownership amendment was an outcome of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Enquiry.

(MLS)

Native Title (Amendment) Act 1998.

Amendment to the Native Title Act to incorporate the Coalition Government's 10 point plan.

(MLS)

National Parks Estate (Southern Region Reservations) Act 2000.

An outcome of the Comprehensive Regional Assessment (CRA) process in NSW that resulted in the dedication of many new Parks in NSW under the Southern Regional Forest Agreement 2001.

(MLS)

Aboriginal Land Rights (Amendment) Act 2001.

The introduction of this Act in 1983 meant that Aboriginal people could make claims on vacant Crown land not required for an essential public purpose. The Act is administered by the NSW Department of Land and Water Conservation. The Act established the three-tiered system of Land Councils. It has previously been amended (1986, 1995).

(MLS)

Parliamentary Papers & Proceedings

NSW Legislative Council Votes & Proceedings.

(MLS)

Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. Parliament of NSW, Sydney.

Annual reports of the Aborigines Protection Board (1883-1938) and the Aborigines Welfare Board (1939-1969), published in the Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly.

(MLS)

1845 Report of Select Committee on the Aborigines.

(MLS)

1994. *Select Parliamentary Committee on the Aborigines.*

This Committee criticized the official government protection policy and instead argued for the assimilation of Aboriginal people into the wider population.

(MLS)

Newspapers (selective examples)

Anon,

1879. 'The Tilba Tilba District', *Bega Standard*, 29th November, 1879, p.2.

Article describing the beauties of Tilba Tilba which includes reference to King Merriman, the reference is extremely condescending in tone.

(SL)

Anon,

1892. 'Tilba Tilba', *Cobargo Watch*, 11/11/1892, p.2.

Obituary of Mr Henry Bates of Tilba Tilba which includes a reference to King Merriman's presence and to Mr Bates involvement in the formation of the Wallaga Lake reserve.

(SL)

Anon,

1858. 'Moruya Police Court report', *Illawarra Mercury*, 22/03/1858, n.p. [From *Aboriginal People of Southeast New South Wales: Readings and Extracts from Primary and Other Sources*, Pambula Genealogical Society]

Includes a reference to an Aboriginal man by the name of Billy Kian who appeared in relation to an employment agreement under the Master and Servants Act.

(SL)

Anon,

1858. 'Moruya Court of Petty Sessions report', *Illawarra Mercury*, 19/04/1858, n.p. [From *Aboriginal People of Southeast New South Wales: Readings and Extracts from Primary and Other Sources*, Pambula Genealogical Society]

Includes a reference to an Aboriginal man by the name of Growling Bobby who was charged with being drunk and disorderly.

(SL)

Anon,

1858. 'Moruya Court of Petty Sessions report', *Illawarra Mercury*, 28/06/1858, n.p. [From *Aboriginal People of Southeast New South Wales: Readings and Extracts from Primary and Other Sources*, Pambula Genealogical Society]

Includes a reference to an Aboriginal man by the name of Paddy Nerang who appeared in relation to an employment agreement under the Master and Servants Act.

(SL)

R.H.B. [probably Richard Barlow]

1892. 'Wagonga: From an aboriginal tradition', *Moruya Examiner*, 5th February, 1892, p.2.

A retelling of a story of the Wagonga people concerning an ill-fated trip to collect sea bird eggs on Montague Island in which many people died as the result of a storm. Includes a description of the making and use of bark canoes on the south coast.

(SL)

Wolbar [appears to be Richard Barlow],
1888. 'Moruya, Past and Present', 26th January, 1888, *Moruya Examiner*, p.4.

Local history of the area which includes a rather florid and exaggerated version of a story stated to have been told to the author by an Aboriginal man named Coorall of his groups first sighting of a European ship at Tuross Point.

(SL)

Journal Articles

Anderson, W.

1890-92. Notes on the Shell-heaps, or kitchen-middens accumulated by the Aborigines of the Southern Coastal District. *Records of the Geological Survey of New South Wales*. Department of Mines, Sydney.

This article describes the shell middens found along the south coast of NSW with a particular emphasis on midden complexes at Pambula River and Wagonga River. It draws conclusions about the different location of middens, their general shape and contents (including burials).

(ML)

Bell, J.H.

1956. The Economic Life of Mixed-Blood Aborigines on the South Coast of New South Wales. *Oceania* 26, pp. 181-199.

This article presents information concerning the economic status of Aborigines living in the south coast region of New South Wales during mid 1950s. It addresses issues of Aboriginal employment, concluding that the demand for labour by the Aborigines is reflected in the decrease in the total number of Aborigines residing on stations in the South Coast region. Overall, the article suggests that the Aboriginal people in this region are dependant upon the employment offered by the white population and on financial assistance provided by the government. From this, the author concludes that the economic assimilation of Aborigines into the general Australian economic system has not been successful.

(ML)

Bell, J.

Official Policies Towards Aborigines in New South Wales. *Mankind* 5.

Paper presenting an overview of government policies towards Aboriginal people in the twentieth century. Examines the policy framework behind the Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1940 and the Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1943 that aimed to shift policy from protection to assimilation and welfare.

(ML)

Bowdler, S.

1976. Hook, line and dilly bag: An interpretation of an Australian coastal shell midden. *Mankind* 10(4), 248-58.

This article presents the results and interpretations of the excavations at the Bass Point midden site, located near Shellharbour. Although this site is much further north than the study area, it provides interesting ethnographic and archaeological information on Aboriginal peoples' activities on the coast.

(ML)

Byrne, Denis

1988. 'Aboriginal Stewardship: The use of the forest environment', *ANZAAS Fifty-eighth Conference Proceedings*.

Conference paper examining the existing evidence for the use of forests by Aboriginal people in eastern New South Wales emphasising their continuing importance up to the present day.

(AIATSIS)

Egloff, Brian.

2000. 'Sea long stretched between': perspective's of Aboriginal fishing on the south coast of New South Wales in the light of Mason v Tritton. *Aboriginal History*, Canberra, Vol.24, pp.200-211.

An discussion of the 1992 case relating to seven Aboriginal men charged with 'shucking abalone' and the nature of the defence case. Includes a discussion of Aboriginal fishing on the south coast focusing on the Thomas families involvement in whaling in the Twofold Bay area and the Brierly families involvement in fishing in the Moruya area.

(AIATSIS)

Elkin, A.P.

1994. The Remaining Aborigines of NSW. *Australian Board of Missions Review* 19 (4), 66-68.

This article deals with the issue of increasing numbers of "mixed-bloods" being born in Australia. Elkin notes that of the 10,000 people of mixed descent in Australia, half of those people were living in NSW. He observes that the "half-castes" are a "problem" and questions whether the "mixed-bloods are capable of becoming part of our social economic and religious system? Discusses co-habitation of white men with Aboriginal women that has led to the "problem". The article is aimed at missionaries and asks for volunteers to fill out a questionnaire. The aim of the questionnaire is to establish information on "the conditions, powers, and capabilities of the mixed-bloods and full-bloods". The groups behind the study include the Association for the Protection of Native Races, the Australian Board of Missions, the United Missionary Council and the Aborigines Protection Board.

(ML)

Goodall, Heather

1990. Land in our own country: The Aboriginal Land Rights Movement in South-Eastern Australia, 1860 to 1914. *Aboriginal History*, Canberra, Vol.14, pp.1-24.

A reinterpretation of the creation of Aboriginal reserves in the period from 1860 to 1914 that highlights the role of Aboriginal people in fighting for their creation.

(AIATSIS)

Howitt, A.W.

1883. On some Australian ceremonies of initiation. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, Vol. 13, pp.432-59.

Provides an account of initiation ceremonies on south eastern Australia.

(ML)

Jauncy, A.B.

1894. Unpublished speech (incomplete) written 17.3.1894 for the opening of the Wallaga Lake Bridge, read by William Henry Corkhill in his stead. Corkhill Papers, copied from the original in 1975.

(ML)

Lampert, R. & P. Hughes.

1994. Sea level change and Aboriginal coastal adaptation in southern New South Wales. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 9(3), 226-35.

This article presents the results of archaeological excavations carried out in the south coast region of New South Wales.

(ML)

Lampert, R. & P. Hughes.

1994. Prehistoric population change in southern coastal New South Wales. In S. Bowdler (ed) *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia: proceedings of the 1980 VALLA conference on Australian Prehistory*, 16-28.

This article discusses the issue of mid-Holocene intensification in relation to the archaeological evidence recovered from sites in the south coast of New South Wales. The authors conclude that the increase in the number of sites occupied during the Mid-Holocene period and the increase in sedimentation rates suggests that occupation of the area intensified during this period. The authors attribute phenomena to a rise in population levels.

(ML)

Lampert, R.

1994. Coastal Aborigines of South East Australia. In D.J. Mulvaney (ed) *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia*, 114-32. Australian National University Press, Canberra.

This article presents the results of excavations carried by Lampert in the South coast region of New South Wales. It discusses technological change through time and subsistence-settlement strategies.

(ML)

Lampert, R.

1971. Burrill Lake and Currarong: coastal sites in Southern New South Wales. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies. The Australian National University. *Terra Australis* 1.

This article presents the result of the excavations carried out at the Burrill Lake and Currarong sites. While somewhat further north than the study area, it provides insights into pre-contact Aboriginal coastal economies, activities and material culture.

(ML)

Mathews, R.H. & M.M. Everitt.

1900. The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of New South Wales. *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of New South Wales*. Vol XXXIV: 262-280.

This article provides a brief overview of the traditional customs of the Aborigines in the south-eastern coastal district of New South Wales. The information concerning social organisation, language and initiation ceremonies was collected from a number of Aboriginal elders from Bega, Cooma, Braidwood, Shoalhaven and Wollongong regions at the turn of the century.

(ML)

Mathews, R.H.

1904. 'Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria: Part 1', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, Vol.38, pp.203-381.

An account of social organisation, language and customs of Aboriginal people from a range of groups in NSW and Victoria. Includes an account of the 'Pirrimbir' avenging expedition collected from elders in the Narooma district.

(ML)

Mathews, R.H.

1902. 'The Thoorga and other Australian Languages', *American Antiquarian*, Vol.24.

(ML)

Mathews, R.H.

1902. 'The Thoorga Language', *Queensland Geographical Journal*, Vol.17, pp.49-73.

Includes detailed information on the Thoorga Language of the south coast and the words and music for several songs associated with initiation ceremonies in the area.

(ML)

Mathews, R.H.

1895. 'The Burbong of the Wiradthuri Tribe', *Royal Anthropological Institute Journal*, Vol.25.

(ML)

Mathews, R.H.

1896. 'The Bunan Ceremony of New South Wales', *American Anthropologist*, Vol.9, pp.327-344.

(ML)

McCarthy, F.D.

1964. "Trade" in Aboriginal Australia, and "Trade" relationships with Torres Strait, New Guinea and Malaya. *Oceania* Vol. IX(4), 405-339.

This journal article identifies Aboriginal trade routes from the ethno-historic literature and archaeological evidence. It identifies trade routes along the south coast of New South Wales and presents a general discussion on the importance of barter and exchange in Aboriginal Australia.

(ML)

McCarthy, F.D.

1952. 'Breast-plates: The Blackfellows' Reward', *Australian Museum Magazine*, June 15, 1952, pp.327-331.

Brief discussion of the historical context of 'King plates' and discussion of the form and style, including some photographs, of examples held by the Australian Museum and other collections. Includes reference to Jemmy Abigail, Chief of the Braidwood Tribe; Pickering, King of the Pigeon House Tribe.

(ML)

Poiner, G.

1976. The process of the year among Aborigines of the central and south coasts of New South Wales. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 11,186-200.

This article presents the results of research into the nature of Aboriginal subsistence-settlement systems in operation in the south coast region of New South Wales during the prehistoric period. The author suggests that the evidence indicates that occupation of the south coast was seasonal.

(ML)

Pose, C.

1923. 'Recollections of the early days of Moruya.' *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.VIII, pp.375-6.

Brief recollections by a European woman who was one of the first European children in the Moruya area in the 1830s.

(ML)

Sullivan, M.E.

1981. 'Ninety years later: A Re-Survey of Shell Middens on Wagonga Inlet and Pambula Lake, N.S.W.', *Archaeology in Oceania*, Vol.16, No.2, pp.81-86.

(ML)

Sullivan, M.E.

1982. 'Exploitation of Offshore Islands along the New South Wales Coastline', *Australian Archaeology*, 15 December, 1982.

Includes in its survey Montague Island.

(AIATSIS)

Thornton, G.1882. Aborigines – Report of the Protector, to 31 December 1882. *NSW Legislative Council Journal*, 1884, vol. 34 (2), pp.309-35.

This report provides census details in the Eurobodalla area for the year 1882. It details general information on the health of Aboriginal people in the district, the rations they receive and their employment. This report represent the first comprehensive census of Aboriginal people in New South Wales since the blanket issue forms of the 1830s.

(ML)

Towle, C.C.

1994. 'An Analysis of the knapped implements from eight elouera industry stations on the South Coast of New South Wales'. *Records of the Australian Museum*, Vol. 21 (3), 127-153.

(ML)

Published Works, Reports & Manuscripts

Anon

1999. *Wallaga Lake National Park, Goura Nature Reserve, Bermaguerie Nature Reserve: Plan of Management*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Anon

n.d. *Montague Island Nature Reserve: Plan of Management*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Anon.

1998. *Murramarang National Park, Brush Island Nature Reserve, Belowla Island Nature Reserve & Tollgate Island Nature Reserve*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Anon

2002. *Cullendulla Creek Nature Reserve: Draft Plan of Management*, NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Anon.

c.1995. *Looking Back: Housing Experiences of Older Aboriginal People in New South Wales*, Older Persons Housing Strategy, Office of Housing Policy, Department of Urban Affairs & Planning.

A collection of short interviews with Aboriginal people from all around the state regarding their experiences of housing in the past and the present, Includes a number of people from the Eurobodalla Shire area.

(AIATSIS)

Andrews, A.

1998. *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang: 1790 to 1840*. Tabletop Press, Palmerston.

A documentary history of the early European exploration and settlement of the Monaro and Burragorang region. Includes limited references to Aboriginal people's presence as recorded in the writings of the early Europeans.

(ML)

Attenbrow, V.

1999. Archaeological research in Coastal Southeastern Australia. In Hall, J. & McNiven, I. (eds.). *Coastal Archaeology*. The Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 195-210.

Provides a detailed overview of current levels of knowledge about Aboriginal archaeology along the south coast of NSW. Attenbrow shows that the long history of research into cultural history of Aboriginal people on the south eastern coast has produced substantial outcomes in terms of better understanding of changes over time. She argues, however, that the proportion of coastal sites such as middens investigated is low and that it is important to preserve as many of these sites as possible.

(ML)

Bass, G.

1797. 'Journal of Whaleboat Trip', *Historical Records of NSW*, Vol.3, pp.312-333.

Account of an exploration journey along the coast including the Eurobodalla area.

(ML)

Bennett, G.

1834. *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China: being the journal of a naturalist in those countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834*. Richard Bentley, London.

(ML)

Bickford, Anne

1981. *Aboriginal Contact History and the Environment on the Far South Coast of New South Wales: Extracts from References*, report to NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service [C-76/2]

A collection of some extracts from original source material relating to Aboriginal people in the far south coast region.

(DECHURST)

Bird Rose, D.

1990. *Guluga: A Report on the Cultural Significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal People*. Presented to the Forestry Commission of NSW and the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Blay, J.

1987. *Trek through the Back Country*. Methuen, Sydney.

(SL)

Boot, P.

1994. Recent research into the prehistory of the hinterland of the south coast of New South Wales. In M. Sullivan, S. Brockwell and A. Webb (eds), *Archaeology in the North. Proceedings of the 1993 Australian Archaeological Association Conference*, North Australia Research unit (ANU), Darwin.

This article presents the results of the archaeological survey and excavation work carried out in the hinterland of the south coast of New South Wales. His work aimed to test existing hypotheses regarding the nature of prehistoric occupation of the hinterland.

(ML)

Byrne, D.

1984. *The Mountains Call Me Back: A History of the Aborigines and the Forests of the Far South Coast of NSW*. NSW Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs.

A summary publication of the Five Forests Study known as *The Five Forests: An Archaeological and Anthropological Investigation* undertaken by Brian Egloff and Denis

Byrne. It provides an overview of the pre-contact and post contact culture of the Yuin along the south coast of NSW. This includes an explanation of occupation patterns, ethnographic information, the Dyiringanj and Walbanja groups, the impact of European settlement, Wallaga Lake Reserve and the importance of Mumbulla Mountain to the Yuin peoples.

(AIATSIS)

Carrillo, Yvonne, Phil Gordon & Peter White.

1996. *Australian Museum's Aboriginal Collections: South Coast Area of New South Wales*, Australian Museum, Division of Anthropology, Sydney.

A catalogue of material culture held by the museum from the south coast region. Many objects are only identified as coming from the general region with no specific information on locality but there are three shield trees identified as coming from the Narooma Forster Bay area (two of these having been either destroyed or transferred to other institutions) and two from the Moruya Kiora Flats area and a number of spears and a spearthrower from Wallaga Lake

(ML)

Chittick, L. and Fox, T.

1997. *Travelling with Percy: A South Coast Journey*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

A collection of oral histories and photographs in honour of the memory of Percy Mumbler. Includes references to Aboriginal peoples' experiences living and working along the south coast of NSW in the 1900s. Very accessible and provides details and insights not found in standard historical texts for the region.

(ML)

Clark, D. (ed.)

1994. *New Holland Journal: November 1833-October 1834*. Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press in Association with the State Library of New South Wales.

An account of the journey by boat and land of Baron Charles von Hugel who traveled to Moruya and Twofold Bay between November 1833 and October 1834. It includes a brief description of the physical characteristics of the people and some cultural practices.

(ML)

Clark, I.D., (ed.)

2000. *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, Volume 4: 1 January 1844 – 24 October 1845. Heritage Matters, Ballarat.

A transcription of the Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, that includes his travels to the south coast of New South Wales

(ML)

Clark, W.

1797. 'Voyage of the Sydney Cove's Longboat from Preservation Island to Port Jackson', *Historical Records of NSW*, Vol.3, pp.760-768.

(ML)

Clark, W.B.

1860. *Researches in the southern gold fields of New South Wales*. Reading and Wellbank, Sydney.

(ML)

Cleary, Tania

c.1993. *Poignant Regalia: 19th Century Aboriginal Breastplates & Images*, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney.

A catalogue of 185 king plates with detailed historical information when possible.

(ML)

Cornell, J.B.

1994. *Most Obedient Servants: One hundred years of education in Government and Non-Government Schools, in the former District of Twofold Bay...*, self-published, Rosebery NSW.

A local history of education in the Twofold Bay District, including the area from Wallaga Lake north to Moruya, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Monaro and south coast regions. Chapter 10 focuses on Aboriginal people with an emphasis on missionaries and the creation of the Wallaga Lake reserve.

(ML)

Creamer, H.

1994. 'Mythical and Religious Sites in New South Wales'. In *The Aborigines of New South Wales*, edited by Christine Haigh and Wendy Goldstein. Sydney, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

An overview of the different types of Aboriginal mythical and religious sites recorded across NSW. Some references are made to the south coast region.

(DECHURST)

Creamer, H.

1994. *A Gift of Dreaming*, Sydney, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Report on Sacred Sites Survey conducted for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Davidson, Daniel Sutherland

1938. *A Preliminary Register of Australian Tribes and Hordes*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

A listing of various names given to Aboriginal groupings with their location when known and a reference to the historical source from which the name was extracted.

(ML)

Eades, D.K.

1976. The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast. *Australian Aboriginal Studies Research and Regional Studies No.8*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

A detailed study of the languages spoken by the South Coast Aboriginal people with the emphasis on the Dharawal and Dhurga languages.

(NLA, AIATSIS)

Egloff, B.J.

1979. *Mumbulla Mountain: an Anthropological and Archaeological Investigation*. An enquiry conducted by Brian Egloff for Aboriginal and Historical Resources, National Parks and Wildlife Service.

This report outlines the results of an anthropological and archaeological investigation into Aboriginal sacred sites at Mumbulla Mountain. It provides information on the location of sacred sites (including archaeological sites), the Aboriginal occupation of the south coast region, the cultural beliefs and practices of the Yuin people, and the contemporary associations and attachments that the Yuin people have with the sacred sites at Mumbulla Mountain and the area as a whole. It contains documentation submitted by Yuin representatives to the NSW Heritage Council requesting an interim conservation order to protect Mumbulla Mountain from further logging activity.

(AIATSIS)

Egloff, B.

1981. Sampling the Five Forests. In Sullivan, S. and S. Bowdler (eds). *Site Surveys and Significance Assessment in Australian Archaeology*, Proceedings of the 1981 Springwood Conference on Australian prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 71-78.

One of the main aims of this study was to establish the impact of forestry activity on Aboriginal cultural sites. It therefore reports principally on sampling strategies and survey outcomes. 18 sites were recorded during the survey.

(ML)

Egloff, B., N. Peterson & S. Wesson.,

2001. *Biamanga National Park and Gulaga National Aboriginal Owners Research Report*. Report to the Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983.

An anthropological and historical research investigation into Aboriginal cultural associations with the Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks. It includes detailed anthropological and archival research that aims to establish the recognition of Aboriginal peoples' ownership of the country under investigation. This report cannot be reproduced, copied or quoted without prior permission from the Registrar, Office of the Registrar, NSW.

(AIATSIS)

Elphick, Don

1994. *Aborigines Mentioned in the Minutes of the Meetings of the New South Wales Aboriginal Protection Board (APB 1890-1939) and the Aboriginal Welfare Board (AWB 1939-1969)*.

This publication lists the minutes of both the Aboriginal Protection Board and the Welfare Boards, which are held on microfilm at the NSW Government Archives Office and at AIATSIS. These minutes date from 25 September 1890 to 29 April 1969. Elphink also lists Aboriginal people who are mentioned in the minutes alphabetically and then according to date, subject matter and location of that person.

(SRNSW; AIATSIS)

Flinders, M.

1814. *Voyage to Terra Australis*. London, pp. cxxxix-cl. In Organ, M. 1990, p.18.

An account by Mathew Flinders of his voyage around the east coast of Australia. It includes a description of their encounter with Aboriginal people at Twofold Bay as they explored the coastline.

(ML)

Fletcher, John

1991. *Hermann Lau and his sojourn (1854-1859) in Sydney, Goulburn, Braidwood, Araluen, Moruya and Shoalhaven*, Sydney, Book Collectors' Society of Australia.

A summary, not a full translation, of Hermann Lau's own book which has been published only in German. Includes a number of sections on Aboriginal people in the area of his travels.

(ML)

Flood, J.

1990. *The Moth Hunters: Aboriginal Prehistory of the Australian Alps*. AIAS, Canberra.

While the principal emphasis of this study is on Aboriginal exploitation of the Australian alps, it does include discussions of the links between south coast tribes and the Monero people and visits by those on the coast to moth harvest areas.

(ML)

Flood, J.

1995. *Archaeology of the Dreamtime: the story of prehistoric Australia and its people*. Harper Collins, Pymble, NSW.

This book presents an overview of the Aboriginal occupation of the Australian continent based on archaeological research. It focuses on a variety of different themes including the antiquity of occupation and rising sea levels and change. It provides information on the archaeology of the south coast region from a regional perspective.

(AIATSIS)

Forestry Commission of New South Wales.

n.d. *Mt Dromaderry: a pretty high mountain*. Forestry Commission of New South Wales, Sydney.

A Forestry Commission publication that briefly outlines the Aboriginal connections to Mt Dromaderry.

(ML)

Fraser, J.

1892. *The Aborigines of New South Wales*. Charles Potter, Government Printer, Sydney.

A detailed description of Aboriginal cultural practice and social structures across New South Wales. It contains general observations with little specific information on Aboriginal people from the south coast of New South Wales.

(ML, NLA)

Gaha, Ron & Judi Hearn.

1994. *Bermagui: A Century of Features and Families*, self-published, Narooma NSW.

A local history of Bermagui including information on local Aboriginal people.

(ML)

Gibbney, H.J.

1989. *Eurobodalla: History of the Moruya District*. Published in association with the Shire of Eurobodalla, Sydney.

A detailed history of the European settlement and development of the Eurobodalla district. It includes information on Aboriginal prehistory and early contact with Europeans.

(ML)

Ginns, Andrew

1999. *Eurobodalla National Park: Draft Plan of Management*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

(DECHURST)

Goodall, H.

1996. *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*. Allen and Unwin, Australia.

Excellent resource on the history of Aboriginal/white politics as expressed through land in New South Wales. Includes detailed analysis of government policy towards Aboriginal people, setting up of government reserves, the Aborigines Protection Board, the Aborigines Welfare Board, land acts, and Aboriginal peoples' fights for their land up until the setting up of the Tent Embassy on Australia Day, 1972. It has a section on Wallaga Lake.

(ML)

Govett, W.R.

1977. *Sketches of New South Wales*, written for the *Saturday Magazine* in 1836-7, Gaston Renard, Melbourne.

(ML)

Haigh, C & Goldstein, W. (eds.)

1980. *The Aborigines of New South Wales*. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.
(DECHURST)

Hall, J. & McNiven, I. (eds.)

1999. *Coastal Archaeology*. The Australian National University, Canberra.

Proceedings of a symposium on Australian coastal archaeology held in 1998. There is a section of papers on the southeast coastline which includes an overview and review of research to date by Val Attenbrow.

(NLA)

Hancock, W. K.

1972. *Discovering Monaro: A study of man's impact on his environment*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

History of the impact of people on the Monaro environment, primarily focused on the impact of early European pastoral settlement.

(ML)

Hardwick, R.J.

2001. *Nature's Larder: A Field Guide to the Native Food Plants of the NSW South Coast*, Homosapien Books, Jerrabomberra NSW.

(ML)

Harper, J.

1826. Journal held in Mitchell Library. In Organ, M. 1990, p.139-42.

John Harper was Wesleyan missionary who planned to establish a mission at Batemans Bay. His journey to that area from October to November 1826 brought him into contact with local Aboriginal people.

(ML)

Hayden, P.

n.d. [197?]. *Tilba Heritage*. Published by the author, Tilba Tilba.

A history of the Tilba district. This publication provides a brief reference to Aboriginal people spearing stock at Mount Dromedary Station in 1829.

(NLA)

Helms, R.

1895. *Anthropological Notes: From vol. X (series 2nd) of the "Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales" (June 26th, 1895)*. S.n., New South Wales.

This paper focuses predominately on the customs and activities of the Omeo and Monero. It refers to an assembly of between 500 to 700 Aboriginal people in the high ranges during the Christmas period hunting moths.

(NLA)

Heritage Office, NSW.

1996. *Regional Histories: Regional Histories of New South Wales*. Heritage Office and Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Sydney.

This publication includes regional histories of the South Coast and Monaro districts. References are made to Aboriginal culture at contact and the impact of European settlement, including violence, disease, employment and population numbers. There are brief references to Aboriginal people employed at whaling stations.

(ML)

Horton, D.

2000. *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*. AIATSIS, Canberra.

A detailed presentation of a wide variety of themes/issues/places/objects relevant to Aboriginal cultural life and cultural history in Australia.

(AIATSIS)

Hosking, A.D.

1984. Discovery of the Far South Coast The Long, Long Walk – 1797. *Tales of the Far South Coast*, Vol.2. Southern Publishers, Bega.

An account of the walk to Sydney by men stranded after the shipwreck of the Sydney Cove in the Furneaux group of islands in Bass Strait in 1797. It includes descriptions of the survivors' encounters with Aboriginal people along the south coast of NSW as they made their way to Sydney by foot including encounters at Twofold Bay and Bermagui. They were well received by the Walbanga people at Wallaga Lake where the Walbanga offered them mussels and invited them to stay for the night.

(MDHS)

Howitt, A.

1904. *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. Macmillan & Co., London.

This book is an important source, providing information on the distribution, social organisation and customs of south eastern Aboriginal groups. This information was drawn from information collected by Howitt over a period of forty years and from other recorded ethnohistoric accounts. It provides extensive information on the Yuin.

(ML)

Howitt, A.W.

n.d. Papers 1049/3b, 1050/2a, 1050/2c, 1050/4d, 1053/3a, 1053/3b, 1053/4a, 1053/5b, 1054/2a, 1054/2c, State Library of Victoria and Museum of Victoria.

Howitt carried out anthropological work in Bega and other places along the south coast of NSW. These papers include details of cultural practices, belief systems, groups structures and language for the south coast region. Some of this information is based on interviews with Merriman (1050/2a) and Jenbin (1050/2a)

(SLV)

Howitt, A.W. & Fison, L.

1991 [1880]. *Kamileroi and Kurnai: Group marriage and relationship, and marriage by elopement drawn chiefly from the usage of the Australian Aborigines; also the Kurnai tribe; their customs in Peace and War*. Facsimile of the 1880 George Robertson edition, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

(NLA, AIATSIS)

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

1996. Bringing Them Home – The Report. Part 6 Contemporary Separations. <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/hreoc/stolen44.html>

Extracts from the National Inquiry into the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families. This link provides some accounts of peoples experiences at being taken from the south coast of NSW.

(NLA)

Johnson, Frank

1980. *Where Highways Meet: A History of Bateman's Bay and the Valleys of the Clyde and Tomakin River Valleys*, Clyde River & Batemans Bay Historical Society.

Local history with very brief references to Aboriginal people in the area.

(BBHS)

Kingsley-Strack, Joan

1908-73. Papers of Joan Kingsley-Strack in the National Library of Australia.

Personal papers of Joan Kingsley-Strack, particular focus on period from 1920-50 when she took a strong interest in Indigenous issues, in particular the welfare of Aboriginal women. Mrs Kingsley-Strack spent part of her childhood at Wallaga Lake and knew Umbarra 'King' Merriman from whom she learnt and recorded some language, stories and traditions.

(NLA)

James, Allison M.

2001. *Batemans Bay: Story of a Town*, self-published, Batemans Bay.

Anecdotal local history of the area which includes a number of brief references to Aboriginal people.

(BBHS)

Lambie, J.

1841-1847 'Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo' for the years 1841-1847, in *Historical Records of Australia, Series One. Despatches from Land Commissioner from Manero to Colonial Secretary*. Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Sydney. Vol 21 pp. 743-44, Vol 22 pp. 649-650, Vol 23 pp. 491-492, Vol 24 pp. 269-270, Vol 25 pp. 13-14, Vol 26 pp.402-403.

Provides regular census' of Aboriginal people in the Manero and south coast, including Cape Howe, Twofold Bay, Pambulla and Biggah (Bega). The census's record the numbers of men and women above 12 years of age and children below.

(SL)

Lambie, J.

1848. 'Report on the condition of the Aborigines in the year 1847', Commissioner of Crown Lands Mr J.Lambie to Colonial Secretary Thomson, 6th January 1848, *Historical Records of Australia, Series One*. Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Sydney. Vol 26 pp.402-403.

A report on Aboriginal people in the Monero district including observations about the decline in population numbers, lack of conflict with white settlers and a proclivity to continue their wandering ways.

(NLA, SL)

Long, J.P.M.

1970. *Aboriginal Settlements: A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia*. Australian National University Press, Canberra.

This book outlines the findings of the Social Science Research Council of Australia's "Aborigines in Australian Society" research project conducted in 1965-6. The aim of the research was to study the large proportion of Aboriginal people living in settlements in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. An analysis of population figures uses the categories "full-blood" and "half-caste". It examines the ratio of Aboriginal people on and off reserves/settlements over different time periods. It also presents a history of administration of Aboriginal Affairs in the state. The New South Wales chapter lists 14 Aboriginal stations managed by the Welfare Board in 1965, including details on Wallaga Lake with a particular emphasis on housing and employment at the station in the twentieth century.

(AIATSIS)

McGuigan, A.

1984. *Aboriginal Reserves in New South Wales: A Land Rights Research Aid*. Occasional Paper No.4, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Sydney.

Summary document that lists Aboriginal reserves in NSW since the first reserve was set aside in 1893. Information has been collated from material held by the then Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, the Records of the Aborigines Welfare Board, Rate Record cards, the holdings of the State Archives of New South Wales including the Aborigines Protection Board and the Aborigines Welfare Board, the Register of Aboriginal Reserves 1884-1904; and the Annual Report of the former Aboriginal Lands Trust. Reserves are listed alphabetically according to location. Some locations have listings for numerous reserves. Listings can include reserve number, when gazetted, total area reserved and when it was revoked. The text is interspersed with several old photographs.

(ML)

McKenna, M.

2002. *Looking for Blackfella's Point: an Australian History of Place*. University of New South Wales Press.

This book provides a detailed history of the Aboriginal occupation of the south coast region of NSW, focusing particularly on the dispossession of Aboriginal people from their lands through the process of European colonisation. It provides information on the Aboriginal struggle for land rights in the region and considers Aboriginal historic associations with places along the south coast.

(ML)

Mackaness, G. ed.

1941. *George Augustus Robinson's Journey into South-Eastern Australia – 1844 with George Henry Haydon's Narrative of Part of the Same Journey*. Review Publications, Dubbo.

An important early transcription of George Augustus Robinson's 1844 journey through the Monero. Includes references to named Aboriginal people, details on cultural practices, named groups, relationships with Europeans and relations between groups.

(AIATSIS, ML)

Morgan, E.

1994. *The calling of the spirits*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

An excellent first hand account of the life and history of an Aboriginal woman, Eileen Morgan (born in 1922) and her family on the south coast of NSW. Eileen discusses the different places where she and her family lived including Jembacumbene, Tilba Tilba, Wallaga Lake and Cobargo. This book provides information on Aboriginal stories and places of cultural importance. It mentions the names of Aboriginal people who have lived along the south coast and provides quite detailed information on the conditions at Wallaga Lake in the mid 1900s.

(ML, AIATSIS)

Mulvaney, D.J.

1989. On Mumbulla Mountain. *Encounters in Place: Outsiders and Aboriginal Australians, 1606-1985*. University of Queensland Press, St.Lucia, pp. 220-24.

(ML)

National Library of Australia.

1977. *Coast and Country: Photos from the William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection*. National Library of Australia, Canberra.

A calendar showing a range of photographs, including those of Aboriginal people, taken by William Corkhill in the Tilba district between 1890 and 1910.

(NLA, ML)

National Library of Australia.

1993. *Taken at Tilba: photographs from the William Henry Corkhill Tilba Tilba Collection*, National Library of Australia. National Library of Australia, Canberra.

A collection of over 800 photographs taken by William Corkhill around the Tilba district between 1890 and 1910. At least 27 of these images are of Aboriginal people from the region including Wallaga Lake.

(NLA, ML)

New South Wales Census Statistics
1891, 1901. (Microfilm AO NSW).

These statistics provide information on population numbers of Aboriginal people on the south coast of NSW.

(SRNSW)

Organ, M.

1990. *A Documentary History of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines*. Aboriginal Education Unit, Wollongong University.

This publication is a compilation of documents describing encounters between European and Aboriginal people along the central and south coast between 1770-1850. The publication is presented as a chronological annotated bibliography with all references to Aboriginal people fully reproduced. A selective annotated bibliography of references regarding Aboriginal people and their cultural heritage from 1850 to 1990 is also included.

(ML)

Pacey, Laurelle.

1990. *The Story of Wagonga Inlet*, self-published, Narooma.

A local history including a brief discussion of Aboriginal occupation before and after European intrusion.

(MDHS)

Pacey, Laurelle,

2001. *Narooma's Past: steamers, sawmills and salmon*, self-published, Narooma.

A local history including a brief discussion of Aboriginal occupation before and after European intrusion.

(MDHS)

Pacey, Laurelle

2001. *The Lure of Montague*, self-published, Narooma.

A local history including a brief discussion of Aboriginal occupation before European intrusion.

(MDHS)

Pacey, Laurelle & Norm Hoyer.

1995. *Tilba Times*, self-published, Narooma.

A local history including a some discussion of Aboriginal occupation before and after European intrusion and a number of photographs from the Corkhill collection.

(MDHS)

Prior, Ron.

1991. *A History of Old Mogo Town*, self-published, Bateman's Bay Commercial Printers.

A local history with brief references to Aboriginal people.

(MDHS)

Qwok, N.

2004. *Aboriginal Camps and Settlements: Southern Region*. Living Places Project NSW NPWS.

A preliminary list of Aboriginal camps, settlements and reserve that includes the south coast region. This investigation is part of a larger study for the whole of NSW.

(DECHURST)

Rae-Ellis, V.

1996. *Black Robinson: Protector of Aborigines*. Melbourne University Press, Carlton.

A biography of George Augustus Robinson, Protector of Aborigines in Tasmania (Van Diemens Land) and later Port Phillip. Includes information on Robinson's journey to Eden in 1844.

(ML)

Read, P.

1982. *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*. Occasional Paper No.1, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Sydney.

This article focuses on the removal of Aboriginal children from their families in New South Wales over a period of eighty-seven years, from 1883-1969. It provides details of the different legislation administered by the Aboriginal Protection/Welfare Board. Over 5,000 children were removed from their families during this period and the article briefly touches upon the ramifications that this had on the children themselves, their families and on Aboriginal culture as a whole.

(ML, AIATSIS)

Reynolds, G.T.

c.1986. *The History of the Port of Nelligen: Part 1*, Clyde River & Batemans Bay Historical Society.

Local history of the Nelligen area, includes very brief references to Aboriginal people in the area.

(BBHS)

Ritter, David

1996. 'Non-revival of native title in Bodalla: Yuin Council of Elders Aboriginal Corporation v State of NSW', *Aboriginal Law Bulletin*, Vol.3, No.78, 1996, p.33.

Brief notes on the case named which centred on the question of extinguishment of native title.

(AIATSIS)

Robinson, G.A.

1844a. Field Journals April 13-May 11 1844, unpublished transcription by I.D. Clark (1998)

A highly significant record of George Augustus Robinson's (Chief Protector Of Aborigines, Port Phillip District) journey through Monero country and down to Twofold Bay and Bega in 1844. It includes references to named Aboriginal people, details on cultural practices, named groups, relationships with Europeans and relations between groups.

(ML)

Robinson, G.A.

1844b. Letterbook Vol. 26 A7047 MLS.

A highly significant record of George Augustus Robinson's (Chief Protector Of Aborigines, Port Phillip District) journey through Monero country and down to Twofold Bay and Bega in 1844. It includes references to named Aboriginal people, details on cultural practices, named groups, relationships with Europeans and relations between groups.

(ML)

Robinson, G.A.
1844c. Great Britain. Colonial Office, 'Papers relative to the Aborigines, Australian Colonies'
1844 p. 287.

A highly significant record of George Augustus Robinson's (Chief Protector Of Aborigines, Port Phillip District) journey through Monero country and down to Twofold Bay and Bega in 1844. It includes references to named Aboriginal people, details on cultural practices, named groups, relationships with Europeans and relations between groups.

(ML)

Robinson, G.A.
1844d. Papers Vol. 65 A7086 MLS

A highly significant record of George Augustus Robinson's (Chief Protector Of Aborigines, Port Phillip District) journey through Monero country and down to Twofold Bay and Bega in 1844. It includes references to named Aboriginal people, details on cultural practices, named groups, relationships with Europeans and relations between groups.

(ML)

Rowley, C.
1971. *Outcasts in White Australia: Aboriginal Policy and Practice*, vol. 2. ANU Press, Canberra.

This book makes reference to Aboriginal housing problems on the south coast of NSW.

(ML)

Sharp, Ian G., and Colin M. Tatz
1966. *Aborigines in the Economy: Employment, Wages and Training*. Jacaranda Press, Melbourne.

Classic study of the economic status of Aboriginal people in the 1960s. The publication emerged from seminar held in 1964 that focused on the following topics: "General Demography and Geography", "Special Problems Relating to the Absorption and Mobility of Aboriginal Labour", "Present Wage Fixation and the Consequences of Future Wage Equality", "The Economic Advancement of Aborigines". Chapter 1 by J.P.M. Long presents an overview of Aboriginal population numbers and distribution across Australia, including references to NSW. Chapter 6 examines the issue of Aboriginal people registered for employment with the Commonwealth Employment Service in NSW.

(ML)

Stephenson, J.G.
1958. Letter from J.G.Stephenson to Bert Egan 18/10/1958 in Wellings Papers MS 3669 NLA.

This letter includes a reference to Aboriginal people from the tablelands [Manero] meeting with coastal Aboriginal people at Blackfellows Point, Towamba in the nineteenth century.

(NLA)

Stiskin, Phyllis & Robert Unwin.
1983. *Moruya: The First 150 Years*, Moruya Historical Society.

Detailed local history of early European settlement, no specific information on Aboriginal people.

(MDHS)

Sullivan, Hilary
1982. *Aboriginal Usage of the Forest Environment: An ethno-historical study of the south coast of N.S.W.*, report to NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, included as Appendix 1 in Denis Byrne *The Five Forests: An archaeological and anthropological investigation: Volume 2*, NSW NPWS.

An investigation of the documentary sources relating to Aboriginal use of the forest environment in the south coast area .

(DECHURST)

Sullivan, M.

1982. *Aboriginal Usage of the Forest Environment. An Ethnohistorical Study of the South Coast of NSW.* A report to the NSW NPWS.

(DECHURST)

Sullivan, S. and S. Bowdler (eds).

1981. *Site Surveys and Significance Assessment in Australian Archaeology.* Proceedings of the 1981 Springwood Conference on Australian Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

An edited volume that includes articles by Byrne and Egloff on archaeological surveys in forested areas in south eastern NSW.

(DECHURST)

Taylor, Jillian.

1994. *Bangu the Flying Fox: A Dreamtime story of the Yuin People of Wallaga Lake : We thank Mervyn Penrith who told his grandfather's story...*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

An illustrated version of the Bangu story as told to Jillian Taylor by Mervyn Penrith and the Umbarra Cultural Tour Group of Wallaga Lake.

(ML, AIATSIS)

State Records of New South Wales.

1998. *A Guide to New South Wales State Archives Relating to Aboriginal People.* State Records of New South Wales, Sydney.

A guide produced by the Archives Authority of New South Wales to assist with accessing records relating to Aboriginal people. Part one comprises a list of the records relating to the work of the Aborigines Protection Board (1883-1939) and the Aborigines Welfare Board (1940-1969). Part Two is a list of records created by other New South Wales Government agencies and which contain significant reference to Aboriginal people. Groupings of records are arranged numerically. Number 34 covers the 'Register of Aboriginal reserves 1875-1904' and includes an explanation of what the archive consists. Number 35 covers 'Particulars of Aboriginal stations and reserves 1962-62'. Some of these records are sensitive and access procedures are stipulated. Other records relate to 'Applications for land and reservation of land 1877, 1880' and 'Tenure Branch. Files re grants and transfers of land to the Aboriginal Lands Trust of New South Wales, 1873-1981'. Reference numbers are noted for all records.

(SRNSW)

Thorpe, W.

1938. *List of NSW Aboriginal Place names and Their Meanings.* The Australian Museum, Sydney.

(ML)

Tindale, N.B.

1938-39. Field Notes, handwritten journal held in the South Australian Museum.

Collection of field notes and journals produced by Tindale, very limited quantity of material referring to the south coast and to Wallaga Lake specifically.

(SAM)

Tindale, N.B.

1974. *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

A study of Australian tribal names, locations and sources of information that includes names and sources for the NSW south coast region.

(ML)

Tobin, Peter.

n.d. *Aboriginal Land Rights in N.S.W.: demands, law and policy*, Abschol, Carlton, Victoria.

A discussion of the legal background to the fight for land rights, focusing on the creation of reserve lands. Includes some limited material from a 1972 survey of views on Land Rights amongst Aboriginal communities including Wallaga Lake.

(AIATSIS)

Wallaga Market Garden Limited & Edward Mack & Associates.

1976. *Wallaga Lake*, submission to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs.

Submission to the national Minister for Aboriginal Affairs detailing a proposal for the economic development of the Wallaga Lake community. Developed by the community in consultation with a range of organisations.

(AIATSIS)

Warry, Noel.

1990. *Sixteen Women of Early Eurobodalla*, Moruya & District Historical Society Inc.

Anecdotal local history of European women of the area, includes some references to Aboriginal people.

(MDHS)

Wesson, S.

1994. *An Overview of the Sources for a Language and Clan Atlas of Eastern Victoria and Southern New South Wales*. Monash Publications in Geography and Environmental Science 11. School of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University, Melbourne.

This monograph presents an overview of the different sources of information for Aboriginal languages and groups spatial distribution across eastern Victoria and southern New South Wales. It provides information on key ethnographic sources, language/group boundaries, Aboriginal place names and the effects of European contact. This monograph provides the basis for Wesson 2000.

(ML)

Wesson, Sue.

2000. *An Historical Atlas of the Aborigines of Eastern Victoria and Far South-eastern New South Wales*. Monash Publications in Geography and Environmental Science 53. School of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University, Melbourne.

This monograph provides a reconstruction of Aboriginal language groups and territorial groupings of Eastern Victoria and Far South East New South Wales. It identifies traditional Aboriginal customs and practices and numerous Aboriginal place names throughout Eastern Victoria and Far South-eastern New South Wales.

(ML)

Wilkie, M.

1985. *Aboriginal Land Rights in NSW*. Blackbooks, Glebe.

A general reference on Aboriginal land rights in NSW, including the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983. It includes a discussion of the land rights battle at Mumbulla Mountain.

(ML)

Young, M., with E. & D.Mundy.

2000. *The Aboriginal People of the Monaro*. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

A collection of historical source material on Aboriginal people living on the Monaro. It includes details on the interactions between Aboriginal people from the Monaro and the south coast. This publication includes extracts from early explorers, government officials, settlers and their encounters with Aboriginal people. It also explores the effects of European settlement on Aboriginal people.

(ML)

Theses

Attenbrow, V.

1976. *Aboriginal subsistence economy on the Far South Coast of New South Wales*. Unpublished B.A. Honours thesis.

This thesis explores the prehistoric subsistence economy on the far south coast of New South Wales from Bermagui south. Overall, Attenbrow concludes that people were mobile throughout the year, though suggests that it is possible that larger groups assembled to exploit local abundances of resources at different times of the year.

(AIATSIS)

Cameron, Stuart

1987. *An Investigation of the History of the Aborigines of the Far South Coast of New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, Unpublished B.Letters thesis, Australian National University.

An examination of the documentary record relating to Aboriginal people in the nineteenth century in the area running from Bateman's Bay to Cape Howe in relation to specific research questions regarding population decline and economic adaptation.

(AIATSIS)

Flood, Josephine.

1973. *The moth-hunters: investigations towards a prehistory of the south eastern highlands of Australia*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis.

(NLA)

Grinbergs, A. M.

1992. *The myth hunters: investigations towards a revised prehistory of the south eastern highlands of Australia*. Unpublished B.A. Honours thesis, Australian National University.

A re-examination of Josephine Flood's model of seasonal migration between the high country and the coastal zone arguing for a more complex model of resource utilisation.

(AIATSIS)

Archaeological Reports

Attenbrow, V.

1976. *Aboriginal Subsistence Economy on the Far South Coast, NSW*.
4028 01/01/1976

(DECHURST)

Barber, M. and Ellis, P.

1998. *The Collection of Five Artefact Scatters from Bergalia Park near Moruya, South Coast, NSW*.
4580 01/11/1998

(DECHURST)

- Barbar, M. and Williams, D.
1997. An Archaeological Investigation of Barlings Beach, Tomakin.
98497 01/04/1997
(DECHURST)
- Barber, M.
1998. An Archaeological Survey of the Mystery Bay Picnic Area, Eurobodalla National Park, South Coast, NSW.
97450 01/08/1998
(DECHURST)
- Barbar, M.
1999. An investigation of archaeological site at "The Moorings: near Tomakin south coast NSW.
4711 01/06/1999
(DECHURST)
- Bickford, A.
1981. Aboriginal Contact History and the Environment on the Far South Coast of New South Wales: Extracts from References.
76 06/01/1981
(DECHURST)
- Boot, P.
1997. Report on Results of Archaeological Field Inspections of Eurobodalla Shire Council Roads Prior to Commencement of Improvement Works.
4140 09/01/1997
(DECHURST)
- Boot, P.
1997. Report on Results of Archaeological Field Inspections of Eurobodalla Shire Council Roads Prior to Commencement of Improvement Works.
4512 30/09/1997
(DECHURST)
- Boot, P.
1997. Report on Results of Archaeological Field Inspections of Eurobodalla Shire Council Roads Prior to Commencement of Improvement Works.
4513 26/09/1997
(DECHURST)
- Byrne, D.
1983. *The Five Forests: An Archaeological and Anthropological Investigation*. Sydney: NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service.
(DECHURST)
- Byrne, D.
1984. Archaeology of the Five Forests. Volumes 1 and 2.
2169 01/01/1984
(DECHURST)
- Byrne, D.
1986. Assessment of Aboriginal Sites in the Vicinity of the Proposed Princes Highway Relocation, Central Tilba, NSW.
1025 07/01/1986
(DECHURST)
- Byrne, D.
1987. The Aboriginal and Archaeological Significance of the NSW Rainforest.
1894 01/01/1987

(DECHURST)

Byrne, D. & Laurajane Smith

1988. *Cultural Resource Overview: Aboriginal Sites in the Southeast Region*.
C-1367.

A review of the material held in the NSW NPWS Site Register for the Southeast Region. The project involved the construction of a database of all existing registered sites and a subsequent review of the reports associated with the sites. This report provides an overview of the archaeological sites and a series of recommendations on site information management.

(DECHURST)

Creamer, Howard

1976. *NSW Aboriginal Sacred Sites Survey - Blueprint for Site Protection Program*. Report to NSW National parks and Wildlife Service.

Report on the outcomes of survey of sacred sites including recommendations for protection.

(DECHURST)

Feary, S.

1992. An Investigation of Aboriginal Sites in the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Reserve.
98547 01/10/1992

(DECHURST)

Hackwell, W. J.

1991. An Archaeological Survey of a Retirement Village Subdivision at Narooma, South Coast, NSW.
98560 01/07/1991

(DECHURST)

Hackwell, W. J.

1991. An Archaeological Survey of Soil Extraction Site at Bedalla, South Coast, NSW.
2099 11/01/1991

(DECHURST)

Happ, G. and Hanrahan, J.

1980. Archaeological Survey of Proposed North Narooma Sewerage Augmentation Scheme.
409 08/01/1980

(DECHURST)

Heffernan, K. & P. Boot.

2000. *Draft Report of the SEFRAC Archaeology Project: Aboriginal Archaeological Surveys, Conservation and Management of Aboriginal Sites and Cultural Landscapes in the SFNSW Eden Management Area, South Eastern New South Wales*. Report to the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Cultural Heritage Division, Southern Aboriginal Heritage Unit.

(DECMER)

Hughes, P.

2001. An Archaeological Investigation of Site BSO 1 at the Bill Smith Oval Reserve, Narooma, NSW.
97489 01/06/2001

(DECHURST)

Kelly, R.

1975. Investigations of Aboriginal Sites in the Wallage Lakes Area of NSW.
98599 01/07/1975

(DECHURST)

- Kelly, R.
1978. Investigation of Sites of Significance to the Descendants of the Yeuin Tribal People in the Area of the Five Forests on the South Coast of NSW.
1438 05/01/1978
(DECHURST)
- Knight, Tom.
1996. *The Batemans Bay Forests Archaeological Project: Site Distribution Analysis*, Canberra, Australian National University.

Synthesis of all archaeological data recorded by ANU students in the Batemans Bay forest region from 1981 and 1994 with pattern analysis and recommendations on research and management.
(DECHURST)
- Kohen, J.
1995. Excavation of a Rock Shelter Site at Mogo Creek, Yengo National Park.
3535 12/01/1995
(DECHURST)
- Kuskie, P.
1998. An Archaeological Assessment of Proposed Works by NPWS (Narooma District) at Precinct 1080, Eurobodalla National Park, South Coast of New South Wales.
4481 01/07/1998
(DECHURST)
- Kuskie, P.
1998. An Archaeological Assessment of Proposed Works by NPWS (Narooma District) at the Cascades Picnic/Camping Area, Wadbilliga National Park, NSW.
98610 01/05/1998
(DECHURST)
- Kuskie, P.
2003. An Aboriginal Heritage Assessment of the Proposed Bangalay Estate Residential Subdivision, Total Survey Lot 2 DP534555, South Head Road, Moruya Heads, South Coast of New South Wales – December 2003.
98811 01/12/2003
(DECHURST)
- Navin, K.
1997. Archaeological Survey for Aboriginal Sites Wagonga Inlet Foreshores, Narooma, NSW.
3903 04/01/1997
(DECHURST)
- Navin Officer Heritage Consultants Pty Ltd.
2000. Proposed School Site at Surfside North Batemans Bay, NSW – Archaeological Survey for Aboriginal Sites.
97504 01/02/2000
(DECHURST)
- Nicholson, A.
1993. Estuarine Archaeology: An Archaeological Survey of the Ringlands Development Site on Wagonga Inlet near Narooma, NSW.
3106 05/01/1993
(DECHURST)
- Moffitt, K. and A. Lance.
2000. A cultural heritage assessment of the proposed Eurobodalla Anglican College Site, Broulee, NSW.

- 97819 01/03/2000
(DECHURST)
- Moffitt, K.
2001. Further investigations of the aboriginal archaeological sites at the proposed Eurobodalla Anglican College Site, Broulee, NSW.
97881 01/03/2001
(DECHURST)
- Oakley, B.
2003. Indigenous Heritage Assessment Mogo to Moruya Stage 4 Princess Highway Widening Project – August 2003.
98778 01/08/2003
(DECHURST)
- Pardoe, C.
1991. A Burial from Batemans Bay, NSW: Technical Report on the Skeleton.
2008 03/01/1991
(DECHURST)
- Paton, R.
1986. An Archaeological Investigation of Moruya to Narooma Water Pipeline Route.
896 01/01/1986
(DECHURST)
- Perrin, K.
1983. A Regional Study of an Area of the South East of NSW.
1137 01/01/1983
(DECHURST)
- Rose, D. B.
1990. Gulaga: A Report on the Cultural Significance of Mt. Dromedary to Aboriginal People.
1884 01/01/1990
(DECHURST)
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The Wallaga Lake Aboriginal cricket team with Mr Hockey, c.1900. PIC PIC TT169

Two Aboriginal men with a musical instrument, c.1895. PIC PIC TT235

Queen Narelle's funeral, c.1895. PIC PIC TT239

Mr Walker with his famous bullock team, c.1900. PIC PIC TT829

Miss Mary Piety, later Mrs Bob Andy, c.1898?. PIC PIC TT746

Portrait of Bob Andy, c.1900. PIC PIC TT231

Man with a group of Aboriginal children, c.1900. PIC PIC TT853

Death of an Aboriginal, c.1895. PIC PIC TT799

Corunna school children, c.1905. PIC PIC TT400

Aborigines with a minister at a funeral, c.1900. PIC PIC TT855

Aboriginal family outside their house, c.1900?. PIC PIC TT803

Aboriginal woman in the Corkhill's back garden, c.1900. PIC PIC TT819

Aboriginal children, c.1895. PIC PIC TT860

King Merriman wearing his badge of office, c.1900. PIC PIC TT541

Young Aboriginal man, c.1905. PIC PIC TT730

Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Welfare Station, manager's residence and store, c.1900. PIC PIC TT696

Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Welfare Station, Manager's residence and store, c.1900. PIC PIC TT695

Man standing with a small Aboriginal boy, c.1905. PIC PIC TT78

Man and a woman, in a horse and cart, in front of the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Welfare Station manager's residence and store 1, c.1900. PIC PIC TT861

Man and a woman, in a horse and cart, in front of the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Welfare Station manager's residence and store 2, c.1900. PIC PIC TT862

Looking east from the Princes Highway towards the mouth of Wallaga Lake, N.S.W., c.1895. PIC PIC TT222

Funeral of Queen Narelle, wife of King Merriman at Wallaga Lake 1, c.1895. PIC PIC TT95

The funeral of Queen Narelle, wife of King Merriman at Wallaga Lake 2, c.1895. PIC PIC TT351

Aboriginals at Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Welfare Station, c.1900. PIC PIC TT800

Manager's residence and part of Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Station, c.1900?. PIC PIC TT450

Looking east over Wallaga Lake, with the bridge and Murunna Point on right from the Aboriginal Station, c.1900. PIC PIC TT808

Aboriginal with a horse, c.1900. PIC PIC TT698

Aboriginal man, c.1905. PIC PIC TT80

Aboriginal child, c.1900. PIC PIC TT818

Young Aboriginal boy on a chair, c.1905. PIC PIC TT380

Aborigines and friends at the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Welfare Station, c.1900?. PIC PIC TT686

Aboriginal woman and child, possibly of the Wallaga Lake mission, c.1905. PIC PIC TT334

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Aborigines at Wallaga Lake Station, c.1898?. PIC PIC TT703

Aborigines at Wallaga Lake, c.1900. PIC PIC TT828

Aboriginals and a group of Europeans at the Aboriginal Station, Wallaga Lake, including the Rev. Goodchild and Dick Piety, n.d. PIC PIC TT96

Mt. Dromedary Falls, N.S.W. from the northern side, c.1900. PIC PIC TT150

Close up of (Joe) Dick Piety, n.d., PIC TT96

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(AIATSIS)

Further Research Contacts

State Records of New South Wales

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Email: srecords@records.nsw.gov.au
Website: <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au>

Aboriginal Liaison Archivist: Kirsten Thorpe on 8247 8612 or
alo@records.nsw.gov.au

State Records are the archival organisation for government, they hold records relating to government in New South Wales. The State's archives appear in all formats - files, photographs, maps, posters, plans, films, sound recordings and electronic records. Records of specific use in Aboriginal history include the records of the New South Wales Aborigines Protection and Welfare Boards and the records of Department of Education Schools.

National Library of Australia

Website: <http://www.nla.gov.au/muragadi/introduction.html>

The National Library of Australia holds books, manuscripts, archives, paintings, drawings, photographs and oral histories relating to Australian history including considerable material relating to Aboriginal people's history. The library has recently developed an online catalogue of their material relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders – Mura Gadi, which is accessible through the web address above.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS)

AIATSIS GPO Box 553 Canberra ACT 2601 Australia
Ph: 02 6246 1111 Fax: 02 6261 4285
Website: <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au>

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AIATSIS is an independent Commonwealth Government statutory authority devoted to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies. It is Australia's premier institution for information about the cultures and lifestyles of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The Aboriginal Family History Unit undertakes family history research for individuals who contact them, they do not . They can search both the Births, Deaths and Marriages records for all of Australia and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Biographical Index (ABI) developed by AIATSIS which lists individuals who are named in the holdings of the Institute. You can also search the ABI yourself by going to the MURA catalogue of AIATSIS's holdings at <http://mura.aiatsis.gov.au>. The Dawn and New Dawn magazines published from 1952 to 1975 by the NSW Aborigines Welfare Board are all viewable online at <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au>.

State Library of New South Wales

Macquarie Street, Sydney, 2000
Ph: 02 9273 1414 Fax: 02 9273 1255
Email: library@sl.nsw.gov.au
Website: <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au>

Indigenous Services Librarian, Ronald Briggs. Contact on Ph: 02 9273 1577, Fax: 02 9273 1245 or Email on infokoori@sl.nsw.gov.au.

The State Library of New South Wales holds a wide range of material relevant to Aboriginal history including published works, manuscripts, archives, language lists and vocabularies, station records, oral histories, photographs and newspapers. The library also holds copies of the Tindale genealogical material from the Museum of South Australia for New South Wales. Assistance with family history research, including accessing the Tindale material, is available to Aboriginal community members through the Koori librarian Ronald Briggs.

South Australian Museum

Adelaide, South Australia
Indigenous Information Centre
Ph: 08 8207 7410 Fax: 08 8207 7560
Email: sam.iic@saugov.sa.gov.au

The South Australian Museum holds the Tindale collection which includes genealogical information relating to Aboriginal people in New South Wales. The information was collected during very brief field trips during the 1930s, including one to Wallaga Lake Station. The Indigenous Information Centre within the museum provides assistance with Aboriginal Family History research.

Appendix 4 – 'Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Broulee the 6th day of May 1842'. Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines 1837 – 44: Papers dealing with the issue of blankets, and including returns of the native population in the various districts, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Murrumbidgee the 6th day of May 1848

No	English Names	Native Names	Age	Children		Designation	District or Tribe	Remarks
				Male	Female			
3	Jenny	Pickles	38	2		Brindley		King of Brindley who entered himself in July last by a party to have then sight the persons wreck ed in the River at Brindley & aided by the other four following then crossing the river
1	Jenny	Gowthe	40			"	"	"
1	Mary	Metungent	40	1		"	"	"
2	Harriet	Tommy	38			"	"	"
2	Bonny	Tangart	40	1		"	"	"
2	Simple	Billy	35			"	"	"
2	Peter	Pickles	27	1		"	"	"
1	Biddy	Lucy	18			"	"	"
1	Paddy	Kammolan	12			"	"	"
1	Dick	Kangomgal	14			Currawan	Currawan	"
1	Jenny	Kangomgal	12			Brindley	Brindley	"
1	Billy	Gost	20			"	"	"
1	Paddy	Farber	25	1		"	"	"
1	Emily	Almebaile	20			"	"	"
1	Dick	Korrer	28	1		Parliament Bay	Parliament Bay	"
1	Mary	Juror	35	1		"	"	"
1	Matia	Stamberg	10			"	"	"
1	Abraham	Pullmy	9			"	"	"

1	Stockyard	Mettygal	30		"	Broulee
1	Cabbage Garden	Eumudale	35	1	"	"
1	Petty	Terrejior	20		"	"
1	Joe	Aupemugale	35	1	"	"
1	Mary	Pundupl	25	2	"	"
1	Sisamah	Kurvelaile	12		"	"
+	Moggy	Chumebale	1		"	"
1	Billy Mya	Borya	25	1	"	"
1	Petty	Shadba	16		"	"
1	Tommy	Pitchumugale	10		"	"
1	Bandicoot	Wamuphan	12		"	"
1	Petty	Subarle	8		"	"
1	Jermy	Kineburr	16	1	"	"
-	Billy				"	Galley Castle
1	Madam Cook	Wambat	30	1	"	"
1	Billy	Wingale	28	1	"	"
-	William	Suehugale	4		"	"
1	Bumell	Purungpur	30		"	"
1	Audie	Purubale	23	1	"	"
1	Mary	Wamugale	50	3	"	"
1	John Landers	Wingale	20		"	"
1	John	Purumyan	13		"	"

Continued

No	English Names	Native Names	Age	No of Wife	Children	Designation of Tribe	District or usual place of abode	Remarks
1	Mr Ben	Bromerianbaile	50	1	1	Boullee	Boullee	
1	Blind Mary	Bombuthulla	40			"	"	
1	Hopping Joe	Numbin	28			"	"	
1	Kitty	Gannulle	12			"	"	
1	Billy	Wadban	19			"	"	
1	Mr Brown	Pamamara	19			"	"	
1	Jack	Kombowya	22			"	"	
1	Gold Rodney	Kudjapalle	40	1		Batemans Bay	Batemans Bay	
1	Mary	Cherlaure	38			"	"	
1	Biddy	Bolgurale	19			"	"	
1	Billy	Mobum	50	1		"	"	
1	John	Indeure	50			"	"	
1	Tommy	Mogya	7			"	"	
1	Immy	Wandiga	15			"	"	
1	Beauty	Two Korregale	28	1		"	"	
1	Ruby	Korilla	25			"	"	
1	Elyza	Seedla	11			"	"	
1	Henry	Moosaree	40	1		"	"	

1	Moanarree	40	1	"	"
1	Mindy			"	"
1	Jenny	30		"	"
-	May Ann	10		"	"
1	Jenny	5		"	"
1	Jack	20		"	"
1	Chenunā	30	2	"	"
1	Warabunga	40	1	"	"
1	Wineyaf	25		"	"
1	Sulby	28	1	"	"
1	Wingy Pungack	45		Currowan	Currowan
1	Ellen	10		"	"
1	May Ann	48	5	"	"
1	Mindy	40	1	Bowlee	Bowlee
1	Jenny	38	1	"	"
1	Kelly	22	1	"	"
1	Frankie	5		"	"
1	Jenny	9		"	"
1	Sal	8		"	"
1	Working Man Jany	42	1	"	"
1	Kelly	45	3	Orya	Orya
1	Sandy	14		"	"
1	Mick	25		"	"
1	Sancho	19		"	"

Continued

No	English Name	Native Name	Age	Sex	Children	Designation of place of birth	Place of birth	Remarks
1	Billy Muck	Pomarrur	40	1		Bendlee	Moroyos River	
1	Ellen	Yerriat	38			"	"	
1	Jolly	Moonclane	22			"	"	
1	Jackie	Chorra	15			"	"	
-	Harland	Mindarle	6			"	"	
1	Indira	Wendera	60	1		Coorowans & Mooroomun	Coorowans & Mooroomun	
1	Henry	Kalloora	47	1	1	"	"	
1	Henry	Hooring	12			"	"	
-	Tommy	Hoondle Karle	4			"	"	
1	Gammungy	Haallert	36			"	"	Half Cattle
1	Mary	Chenbaile	40			"	"	"
-	Barlow	Billan Karle	11			"	"	"
1	Mary Ann	Kommoroo	15			"	"	"
-	Gorge	Moomun	14			"	"	"
1	Hopping Joe	Pinirul	38			"	"	"
1	Wendy	Hooringan	30			"	"	"
1	Paddy	Imbe Karle	40			"	"	"
1	Imoother	Indle Saman	40			"	"	"
1	Mary	Mulingan	42			"	"	"
1	Charles					"	"	"

Continued

No.	English Names	Native Names	Age	Sex	Remarks	Designation of District or usual tribe	Place of birth	Remarks
1	Indie	Thalgaritch	19			Gundaree	Gundaree	
1	John Pita	Mimmeroo	35			"	"	
1	William Dicky	Pulgerina	36			"	"	
1	William Dicky	Alverin	10			"	"	
1	William Dicky	Wollangoro	19			"	"	
1	William Dicky	Pitchauloo	7			"	"	
1	Koorale	Koorale	55	1		Wokongga	Wokongga & Morgob River	Half Cattle
1	William Dicky	Chelumbo	45	2		Wokongga & Gundaree	Gundaree	
1	William Dicky	Koorangwan	23			"	"	
1	William Dicky	Jepunga	19	1		"	"	Half Cattle
1	William Dicky	Argyle	16	1		"	"	"
1	William Dicky	William	2			"	"	"
1	William Dicky	William	1			"	"	"
1	William Dicky	Biddagan	40	1	2	Wokongga & Morgob River	Wokongga & Morgob River	Wife to Koorale
1	William Dicky	Chitun	20			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	12			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	15			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	45			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	45			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	25			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	12			"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	35	1		"	"	
1	William Dicky	William	35	1		"	"	

1	Man	Handoom	33	"	"
1	Judy	Mootuk	15	"	"
1	Judy	Rurunga	42	"	"
1	Mr "	Jurrobo	45	"	"
1	Madhule	Kutthal	20	"	"
1	Kitty	Monyale	14	"	"
1	Sandy Kaban	Willema	15	Bungalee	Bungalee
1	Calby	Pada	13	"	"
1	Kenny	Koolil	7	"	"
1	Shaw Ball	Muththal	45	"	"
1	Maia	Koolindal	22	"	"
1	May the Bat	Yellupale	40	"	"
1	Micky	Koolindal	22	"	"
1	Paddy Kaban	Galung	50	"	"
1	Man	Warreemur	45	Bungalee	Bungalee
1	Grat	Pontirral	12	"	"
1	Paddy Kaban	Myraman	40	"	"
1	Jimmy	Wyalwale	40	"	"
1	Widdeman	Widdeman	12	"	"
1	Blind Toby	Wormumman	27	"	"
1	Maia	Pomdee	21	"	"
1	Water hill Chaly	Warreygan	35	"	"
1	May	Weylian	30	Wokonga	Wokonga
1	Karema	Wokonga	1	"	"
1	Judy	Wokonga	40	"	"
1	Jimmy	Wokonga	45	"	"

Continued

No English Names	Native Names	Age	Children		Designation of District or actual Name of place	Remarks
			Boys	Girls		
1. Billy	Womburja	33	2	—	"	"
—	Sally	22	—	—	"	"
1. Mary Ann	Mungaraltah	21	—	—	"	"
1. Billy Turpie	Wuyebairle	42	1	—	Scrope	Boat-allee
1. Mary	Howial	38	—	1	"	"
—	Billy	10	—	—	"	"
1. Little Wm	Noygale	20	—	—	"	"
1. Mr Badger	Nowban	35	—	—	"	"
1. Mind Jack	Warowol	35	—	—	"	"
1. Jacky	Mumma	22	—	—	"	"
1. Ocky	Yeenunger	42	—	—	"	"
1. Kudgee	Woolbin	30	1	—	Scrope	Boodie
1. Billy	Wucumban	35	—	1	"	"
—	Satan	1	—	—	"	"
1. Laddy	Puddora	35	2	—	Scrope	Scrope
1. Hanton Jack	Robbola	25	—	—	"	"
1. Billy Buallee	Wubchilla	45	—	—	"	"
1. Jimmy	Wingee	26	—	—	"	"

1 William	Mydunjarali	22	"	"
1 Lommy	Shookum	35	"	"
1 Aleck	Wulloo	30	"	"
1 Billy	Didym	14	"	"
1 Mrs Rendlin	Misthan	50	"	"
1	Pmbetha	60	"	"
1	Bivranz	18	"	"
			Keira	Sty Cattle

Appendix 5 – ‘List of Natives in Broulee district who received blankets.... Broulee 1843’. William Oldrey, Colonial Secretary Special Bundles: Aborigines: 1837-44, 4/1133.3, State Records of New South Wales.

43/3844
Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Broulee
on the 1st day of May 1843.

	English Name	Native Name	Age	No. of Vines	Children		Designation of Tribe	Place or District of usual resort
					M	F		
1	Jemmy	Bunnian	35	2	1	1	Mogow	Mogow
2	Nelly	Yorral	26				Do	Do
3	Bob	Ubulala	30	1			Do	Do
4	Mary	Yamber	27				Do	Do
5	Andy	Yorala	30	1			Do	Do
6	Harry	Marala	"	1			Broulee	Broulee
7	Biddy	Beddyan	48				Do	Do
8	Paddy	Co-la	45	1			Do	Do
9	Emily	Allambul	20				"	"
10	Dick	Colongala	30	1			"	"
11	Mary	Melunginich	40		1		"	"
12	Paddy	Uambul	35	1			"	"
13	Biddy	Biddygan	48				Gunday	Gunday
14	Joe	Broulee	40	1	1	1	Broulee	Broulee
15	Mary	Bundan	"				Kina	Kina
16	Billy	Burinel	42	1		1	Do	Do
17		Pangan	36				Mulindury	Mulindury
18	Kitty	Broulee	20				Broulee	Broulee
19	Mary Ann	Umaga	42	0			Mogow	Mogow
20	Henry	Murner	40	1	1		Curruan	Curruan
21	Donald		42	1		1	Do	Do
22	Billy	Lin	36				Do	Do
23	Tom	Broulee	27				Broulee	Broulee
24	Billy	Bunnia	28	1			Do	Do
25	Kitty	Terregun	20				Do	Do
26	Gareto		39				Curruan	Curruan
27	Joe	Amajagal	50				Broulee	Broulee
28	Beauty	Bataman	26	1		1	Batemans Bay	Batemans Bay
29	Joe	Wuffee	40	1	1		Do	Do
30	Mr. Brown		26				Mogow	Mogow

Continued

No.	English Name	Native Name	Age	R. H. W. No.	Children		Designation of Tribe	Place of Resort
					M.	F.		
31	Lachey	Karmilan	16				Duga	Duga
32	Billy	Wutban	20				Broule	Broule
33	Mc one		19				Gunday	Gunday
34	Bandy Gote		36				Do	Do
35	Eiza	Teeder	14				Do	Do
36	Mary	Kimeru	17				Do	Do
37	Kitty	Tampan	22				Broule	Broule
38	Dickie	Uangomagal	16				Curruan	Curruan
39	Fanny	Numbun	17		1		Broule	Broule
40	Fony	Mogge	9				Do	Do
41	Wanderer		40	1	1		Do	Do
42	Dickie	Uangomagal	20				Do	Do
43	Loey	Amarugyal	53				Do	Do
44	Lachey	Karmilan	46				Do	Do
45	Lachey	Cherunoh	50				Do	Do
46	Mr. Bunnell		36				Batemans Bay	Batemans Bay
47		Younga	43				Do	Do
48	Rodney		29				Jans Bay	Jans Bay
49	Mary	Lusong	25				Do	Do
50	Fony	Cordayan	18				Broule	Broule
51	Kitty	Benjuach	22				Mulendary	Mulendary
52	Camby		37	1	1		Do	Do
53	Fony	Bellin	11				Do	Do
54	Mr. Brown	Borremango	20				Broule	Broule
55	Mary	Milangentich	60				Do	Do
56	Lach	Beidenyan	13				Do	Do
57	Moly		42				Do	Do
58	Fony		43				Do	Do
59	Kitty	Amarugyal	35				Do	Do
60	Tom Ugly	Kallanyan	36				Mulendary	Mulendary
61	Sammy	Borruy	14				Curruan	Curruan

No.	English Name	Native Name	Age	Sex	Children		Designation of Tribe	Place of Resort
					M.	F.		
62	William	Ullhar	34				Syga	Syga
63	Mary	Minsomany	14				Do	Do
64	Henry	Harghley	39				Kiria	Kiria
65		Manduan	42				Do	Do
66	Mary	Immingar	31				Do	Do
67	Billy	Karsam	40				Meyoa	Meyoa
68	Peter	Pelkennel	27	1		1	Brulan	Brulan
69	Biddy	Tarbar	25				Do	Do
70	Dick	Kimere	38				Do	Do
71	Lady		37				Do	Do
72	L. Thoy	Kangonagae	42				Do	Do
73	Peter		47				Do	Do
74	Billy	Michel	38				Do	Do
75	Donata		46				Do	Do
76	Brown		29				Do	Do
77	Tommy	Tindera	34				Do	Do
78	Lachey	Kimbroya	25				Do	Do
79	Billy		62				Cunman	Cunman
80	Joe	Oreguen	32				Do	Do
81	Lachey		47				Syga	Syga
82	Robert		36				Do	Do
83	Paddy	Talisen	25	1	1	1	Brulan	Do
84	M. Harghley		37				Do	Do
85	Kitty	Tereya	30				Do	Do
86	John		47				Do	Do
87	Peter		42				Do	Do
88	Biddy	Migaz	36	0	1		Do	Do
89	Tommy	Bellin	9				Do	Do
90		Cural	28				Do	Do
91	Lach	Cousa	40	1			Do	Do
92		Mundigand	60				Kiria	Kiria
93	Mary Ann	Karambly	45				Do	Do

Continued

No.	English Name	Native Name	Age	No. of Children	Children		Designation of Tribe	Place of Resort
					M.	F.		
94	Paddy		32				Gundary	Gundary
95	Anna Brady		60	1		1	Do	Do
96	Mary	Pundual	25				Broulee	Broulee
97	Billy	Michael	37	1			Do	Do
98	Mary	Ceyan	39				Do	Do
99	Lie Bamey		40	1			Do	Do
100	Henry		34				Do	Do
101	Billy	Indian	30				Do	Do
102	Kitty	Liegun	37				Gundary	
103	Charles		49	1		1	Do	Do
104	U	Warendu	64				Cunnam	Cunnam
105	—	Imen	60				Do	Do
106		Edingloe	37				Do	Do
107	Dickey	River	38				Broulee	Broulee
108	Paddy		35	1			Do	Do
109	Reddy		35				Do	Do
110	Larry		40				Gundary	
111	Larry	Indian	18				Do	Do
112	Tommy		46				Broulee	Broulee
113	Nelly	Lunal	22				Do	Do
114	Luck		24				Do	Do
115	Loby		44	1			Do	Do
116	Tommy	Youthel	40				Mulindary	Mulindary
117	Nicky		46				Do	Do
118	Larry	Kamolan	16				Do	Do
119	Geary		42				Do	Do
120		Cunual	27				Gundary	Gundary
121	Henry	Indian	50				Do	Do
122	Nelly		28				Boul Alley	Broulee
123	Mr. Badgley		40				Do	Do
124	Nicky	Cheerun	11				Do	Do
125	Robert	Indian	50	1			Broulee	Broulee

Continued

No.	English Name	Native Name	Age	Sex	Children		Designation of Tribe	Place of birth
					M.	F.		
126	Billy	Mohol	56	1			Mulinday	Mulinday
127	Sammy	Uromba	48				do	do
128	Lucky	Karmolan	16				do	do
129	Tom	Petamago	40	1		1	Broulee	Broulee
130	Paddy	Cumman	50	1			Cumman	Cumman
131		Mulhingar	17				do	do
132	Mary Anne	Bulgarr	29				Broulee	Broulee
133	Cliffing Lee		45				Sarris Bay	Broulee
134	Bob	Walallu	32	1			Broulee	do
135	Stickford		25				do	do
136	Bundy		23				do	do

Appendix 6 – Table of Aboriginal Places in the Eurobodalla Region

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
1	Tuross Point	In an 1888 article in the Moruya Examiner on the history of the area the author recounts in somewhat florid language how he was told by an Aboriginal man by the name of Coorall (who he says died in the 1860s at around 80 years of age) of how when he was a small boy his people sighted their first European ship, "...when he was a very small boy the tribe were camped at Tuross Point, when one morning on the camp awaking what was the dismay of its inhabitants at seeing about a mile from the shore – what – what could it be? The oldest inhabitant had never seen such a site before. There was a general stampede inland; mothers picked up their little ones – young and old fled for dear life, for who could tell how soon the monster with great white wings might not rise out of the water and pitch down in their midst, for though they had not given themselves time to scarcely look twice there was but one feeling and that was that the visitor was a monster bird of some unearthly kind."	Contact	Wolbar [appears to be Richard Barlow], 'Moruya, Past and Present', Moruya Examiner, 26/1/1888, p.4.	Late eighteenth century
2	Broulee Camp	There was a camp at Broulee that was linked to camps at Congo, South Head and Bingi by a track that ran along the cliff tops and dunes.	Living place	Noel Warry, Sixteen Women of Early Eurobodalla, Moruya & District Historical Society Inc., 1990, pp.19-20.	Late 1800s
3	Currowan Reserve	"This Reserve situated near Nelligen on the Clyde River in the Parish of Currawan, County of St. Vincent with an area of 60 acres was gazetted as AR 17546/7 on 15/4/1893 and marked as revoked on 9/5/1956 (McGuigan 1984: 24)." The Reserve had a number of permanent dwellings and also an "attached Aboriginal cemetery" (Wesson 2002: 277). In 1894 the APB recorded "the Aborigines are cultivating wattle and substantial dwellings, and it is probable they will soon be independent of Government aid" (Wesson 2002: 277). Amongst the people living in Currowan were Thomas Golden (Tom) Brown's family, the Dixon family, the Donovan family and the Pittman family (Wesson 2002: 277-8). Tom Brown worked for "James McCauley on the Clyde River getting timber and stripping bark" and his children attended the school at Currowan (Wesson 2002: 277).	Living places; Reserve; Government	McGuigan 1984: 24; Wesson 2002: 277-8.	Gazetted 1893

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
4	Wagonga Inlet	Story recorded in 1892 of the drowning of many of the Wagonga River people in the days before European settlement when their canoes capsized just out from the Inlet during a storm on the return journey from Montague Island where they had been collecting seabird eggs.	Death/ Life Event	Reginald Barlow, 'Wagonga', Moruya Examiner, 5/2/1892, quoted in Laurelle Pacey, The Story of Wagonga Inlet, self-published, Narooma, 1990, p.2.	Pre European settlement
5	Brou Lake Reserve	This Reserve located near Bodalla was gazetted in 1890. There is no notification in the official records for this reserve apart from an 1890 reference stating that it was occupied by two Aborigines who were cutting the scrub for future cultivation (This may be a reference to Merriman's reserve at Lake Tarourga, or result from some confusion about the siting of the reserve) [Wesson 2002: 272].	Living places; Reserve; Government	Wesson 2002: 130, 272.	Gazetted 1890
6	Mynora Burials	The burial place of Coorall, the father of Kian, both individuals appearing to be well known to Europeans in the Moruya district. The reference in an 1888 newspaper article states, "Coorall (father of the well known Kian), who died about twenty years since at over eighty years of age and is buried at Mynora..."	Burial	Wolbar [appears to be Richard Barlow], 'Moruya, Past and Present', Moruya Examiner, 26/1/1888, p.4.	c.1860s
7	Boat Harbour Corroboroe, Broulee	In the bush near Boat Harbour in the 1850s Hermann Lau, a German migrant, witnessed a corroboree involving men and women. He was also provided with mimosa bark to help with his toothache by an Aboriginal woman at the event. Lau's original description is in German and while it has been summarised in English it has not been translated in full. "Near the dockside at Boat Harbour stands a hut which is used by the government surveyor Mr Larmer and his staff when he is in the district. The floor is covered with thick woollen blankets and it is a very comfortable place. Lau was staying there one night with Larmer and, plagued by toothache, was awakened at midnight from a fitful sleep by wild shouts and heavy drum beats. Larmer told him it was a corroboree and they set off to watch it. They crept into the bush, Lau wearing a heavy bandage round his aching jaw. Larmer was known to the Aborigines and they were given permission to observe the dance. A woman asked Lau "What matter Kobra?" (What's wrong with your head?) and when Lau pointed at his teeth, she said "Me bring you caban	Ceremony/ Traditional/ cultural	John Fletcher, Hermann Lau and his sojourns (1854-1859) in Sydney, Goulburn, Braidwood, Araluen, Moruya and Shoalhaven, Sydney, Book Collectors' Society of Australia, 1991, p.29.	c.1854-1859

²¹³ Mr Larmer had surveyed the area as early as 1837 Allison M. James, *Batemans Bay: Story of a Town*, self-published, Batemans Bay, 2001, p.8.

²¹⁴ John Fletcher, *Hermann Lau and his sojourns (1854-1859) in Sydney, Goulburn, Braidwood, Araluen, Moruya and Shoalhaven*, Sydney, Book Collectors' Society of Australia, 1991, p.29.

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		<p>Dada" (I'll bring you some excellent bark). She returned with a mimosa twig, rolled the bark into a little ball, and Lau put it against the aching tooth. It gave him immediate relief.</p> <p>Twelve powerful young men, naked, their arms and legs covered in white stripes, were chanting a monotonous wild song, in time with the beat of the possum drums. With exact regularity, they clashed their weapons together, the boomerang against the spear, the nulla nulla against the shield. One by one, each demonstrated his individual skill. The others threw themselves on the ground, but immediately bounded up again. They were followed by a young girl, in a white shift, who leaped around wildly, but with a curious grace. The dancing lasted until dawn."213214</p>			
8	Bingi Camp	There was a camp at Bingi that was linked to camps at Congo, South Head and Broulee by a track that ran along the cliff tops and dunes. In a local history of the European Hutchings family at Bingi it is remembered that the young boys used to play with Percy and Charlie Davis from the 'Aboriginal camp' at Bingi.	Living Place	Noel Warry, Sixteen Women of Early Eurobodalla, Moruya & District Historical Society Inc., 1990, pp.19-20.	Late 1800s
9	Wagonga Reserve	A reserve of 180 acres was recorded as gazetted on 24/12/1861 at Wagonga Heads (APB fol. 1). According to Wesson a reserve of 250 acres was gazetted in 1861 at Wagonga Heads and "may be the same reserve that was mapped as 180 acres (between present day Kiang and Dalmeny)" (Wesson 2002: 266). According to censuses taken it appears that at least 50 Aboriginal people were visiting the area regularly in 1835 (Wesson 2002: 266). Records of the BPA indicate that rations were still being provided to people at Wagonga Heads in 1895 (BPA NSW in Wesson 2002: 266).	Living places; Reserve; Government	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1; Wesson 2002: 266.	1835, Gazetted 1861-c. 1895
10	Merriman's Island Reserve, Wallaga Lake	Merriman's Island in Wallaga Lake is named after King Merriman. Eileen Morgan's Uncle Andy and Aunt Butter lived in a slab hut with a tin roof and a tank on Merrimans Island after WWII (Morgan 1994: 14). Merriman's Island was gazetted in 3 March 1909 as a Reserve of 2.5 acres (AR 43648, McGuigan 1984: 46). It was revoked on 31 December 1931 (McGuigan 1984: 46). In 1977 the NSW Government gazetted Merriman Island as its first "Aboriginal Place" because of the "significance to local culture" (Pacey and Hoyer 1995: 7).	Living places; Reserve; Government	Morgan 1994: 14; McGuigan 1984: 46; Pacey and Hoyer 1995: 7;	Gazetted 1909

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
11	Snake Island Reserve, Wallaga Lake	This was one of the many places listed by Eileen Morgan as being part of the Wallaga Lake cultural landscape (Morgan 1994: 10-11). Snake Island was gazetted in 4 July 1906 as a reserve of 27 acres 1 rood (AR 40698, McGuigan 1984:46). It was revoked on 26 November 1954 (McGuigan 1984:46).	Living places; Reserve; Government	Morgan 1994: 10-11; McGuigan 1984: 46	Gazetted 1906
12	Wallaga Lake Reserve	In 1891, 330 acres at Wallaga Lake was reserved 'for the use of Aborigines' (APB Register of Reserves 3). The reserve was gazetted on 13 June 1891 (AR 13939, APB Register of Reserves 3). The land was also reserved from lease on 28 May 1892 (No. 15718, APB Register of Reserves 3). 21 acres were revoked on 22 November 1963 (McGuigan 1984: 45). Six additional acres were gazetted on May 8 1931 (AR 62675 in Thomson 1979: 20) and were revoked June 3 1949, with an additional 75 acres gazetted (portions 17 and 361, AR 73304 in Thomson 1979: 20) on September 16 1949 and revoked November 11 1963. Eileen Morgan records that Aboriginal people had been camping there before 1891 (Morgan 1994: 10). It was the first station established by the Protection Board in New South Wales (Long 1970: 62). Eileen Morgan records that Aboriginal people had been camping there before 1891 (Morgan 1994: 10) and once the reserve was established some people moved there from Lake Tyers and some South Coast people moved there who were originally from LA Perouse (Long 170: 62; Thomson 1979: 11-12). In c. 1950s there were 10 families living on the reserve, "mostly South Coast people, but the station had been used to provide a home for several widows, deserted wives and other women from parts of the State as distant as Moree, Coonabarabran, and Taree" (Long 1970: 63).	Living places; Reserve; Government; Self determination	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves 3, 1889; McGuigan 1984: 45; Thomson 1979: 20 Morgan 1994: 10; Long 1970: 62-3; Thomson 1977: 11-14.	1891 to present
13	Bateman's Bay Reserve	This reserve (AR 34759) was "situated in the Parish of Bateman, County of St. Vincent with an area of 9 acres 30 perches was gazetted on 19/7/1902 and marked as revoked on 16/9/1927 being described as Portions 139, 140, 141." (McGuigan 1984: 14). In 1925 segregation was put into place at the public school in Bateman's Bay with the aim of forcing Aboriginal people to leave their reserve, where they had built houses and from which their children could effectively attend the school, as it was "standing in the way of white residential development" (Goodall 1996: 147).	Living places; Reserve; Government	McGuigan 1984: 14; Goodall 1996: 147.	1902-1927
14	Tomago River/Tomakin Reserve at Bateman's Bay	On 9 January 1884, an Aboriginal Reserve (AR 112) of 40 acres on the Tomago River was gazetted. It was subsequently revoked (McGuigan 1984: 14). The Aborigines Protection Board recorded in February 1884 that "2 Aborigines 'Tommy Bolland' and 'Tommy	Living places; Reserve; Government	McGuigan 1984: 14; Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 12. Wesson 2002: 274.	Gazetted 1884

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		<p>Tinboy' and their gins" were living there and in August 1890 they recorded that only "'Tommy Bollard' and 'Rosie'" were living there (APB Register of Reserves fol. 12).</p> <p>The camping reserve at Tomakin was inhabited by Tommy Bollard (He may be the same man as Tommy Constable or Holland of Twofold Bay: Eden Beach of Magistrates 1859) and his wife Rosie and Tommy Tinboy of Currowan and his wife Charlotte of Moruya (Wesson genealogies, AO NSW R2847). By 1888 only Tommy Bollard and Rosie were in residence until at least 1890 where they were self-sufficient, fishing and growing vegetables and maize and living in a two-roomed weatherboard dwelling with a shingled roof and separate kitchen (APB 1889, 1891)</p>			
15	Tuross Lake (Neddy) Reserve	<p>On May 20 1878 a Reserve of 40 acres was gazetted for "Neddy" on the south bank of the Tuross Lake (AR 378). Neddy came from Wandella (Robinson 1844a in Wesson 2002: 272). In August 1890 the Aborigines Protection Board recorded that the area was unoccupied.</p> <p>'Notified 20 May 1878 for 'Neddy' – area of Reserve 40 acres. Bounded on the N and W by the Tuross Lake and on the S & E by the property of Messrs. (??) Mort & Co of Bodalla. Fairly grassed. No cultivation not cleared. (1883).</p> <p>7 August 1890 – Situated about 6 miles from Bodalla, and 15 from Moruya. Open country, well grassed and a good portion suitable for cultivation. Unenclosed. 3 acres cleared. No crops or cultivation. No buildings.' (Aborigines Protection Board Register)</p>	Living places; Reserve; Government	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1. Wesson 2002: 272.	Gazetted 1878
16	Terouga Lake (Merriman) Reserve, Tarourga Lake	<p>On October 19 1877 a Reserve of 40 acres was gazetted at Terouga Lake (AR 347) for "Merriman" who was living at Wallaga Lake. Merriman came from Gulaga (Robinson 1844a in Wesson 2002: 272). In 1883 the reserve had not been lived on for 3 years. 'Notified 19 October 1877 for 'Merriman' – area of Reserve 40 acres. Bounded on the N by Terouga Lake, and on the W, S & E by the property of Messrs. (??) Mort & Co. Fairly grassed. Not cultivated. Not cleared (1883). Not been resided upon for past 3 years, Merriman always residing at Wallaga Lake, generally working for the settlers in and around Tilba Tilba (1883).</p> <p>7 August 1890 – situated 5 miles from Bodalla, and 22 from Moruya. Scrub land, lightly timbered, well grassed, and suitable for cultivation. Unenclosed, 2 acres cleared, none cultivated. Unoccupied. Value of improvements 4 Pounds.' (Aborigines Protection Board Register)</p>	Living places; Reserve; Government	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1. McGuigan 1984: 16. Wesson 2002: 272.	Gazetted 1877

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
17	Mouth of Tuross (Bolway) Reserve Tuross Inlet	On October 19 1877 a Reserve of 56 acres 3 roods was gazetted at the mouth of the Tuross Lake (AR 346) for Richard "Bolway". In August 1890 the Aborigines Protection Board recorded that the area was unoccupied. 'Notified 19 October 1877 for Richard 'Bolway' – area of Reserve 56 acres 3 roods. Bounded on the north by the Tuross Lake and on the W, S & E, by the property of Messrs. Mort & Co. Fairly grassed. No cultivation. Not cleared (1883). 7 August 1890 – Situated 14 miles from Moruya, and 8 from Bodalla. Unenclosed. 2 acres cleared, unoccupied.' (Aborigines Protection Board Register)	Living places; Reserve; Government	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1. McGuigan 1984: 16. Wesson 2002: 272.	Gazetted 1877
18	Jabarrah Point (Yarraro) Reserve Blackfellow's Point	On October 19 1877 a Reserve of 40 acres was gazetted near Bodalla (AR 345) for "Yarroro". In August 1890 the Aborigines Protection Board recorded that the area was unoccupied (APB Register of Reserves fol 1). The reserve was revoked 27/1/1922 (McGuigan 1984: 16) 'Notified 19 October 1877 for 'Yarroro' – area of Reserve 40 acres. Bounded on the N. W. and S. by the property of Messrs. Mort & Co, and on the E. by the Pacific Ocean. Fairly grassed. No cultivation. Not cleared (1883). 7 August 1890 – Situated 14 miles from Moruya, and 8 from Bodalla. Unenclosed, none cleared, unoccupied.' (Aborigines Protection Board Register).	Living places; Reserve; Government	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1; McGuigan 1984: 16. Wesson 2002: 272.	Gazetted 1877
19	Turlinjah (Benson) Reserve	On November 22 1880 a Reserve of 32 acres was gazetted at Tuross Lake (AR 553) for "William Benson". In August 1890 The Aboriginal Protection Board recorded that "all the Aborigines in the Moruya District" camped at the reserve (APB Register of Reserves fol 1). The reserve was cancelled on 7/9/1917 (McGuigan 1984: 16), after William Benson had died, when the land was sold and "the huts were demolished and burnt" (Wesson 2002: 273.) The families that lived at Turlinjah aside from the Bensons were Bolloway, Andy, Carter, Campbell, Chapman, Cross, Jabberah, Thomas Johnson, Mumbler, Walker and Stewart (Wesson 2002: 273). In his later years Merriman also resided at Turlinjah (Wesson 2002: 272) 'Notified 22 November 1880 for 'William Benson'. Bounded on the N and E by the property of Mr. Hawdon of Kyla, and on the W and S by the Tuross Lake. Is situated close to the main Southern Road, between Moruya and Bodalla. Area 32 acres. In Nov. 1883 occupied by 5 males, 3 females and 6 children some of whom go to the Turlinjah Public School. Fairly grassed. No cultivation. Not cleared. Good fishing station.	Living places; Reserve; Government	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1; Chittick and Fox 1997: 31, 175, 192 -193. McGuigan 1984: 16. Thomson 1979: 26. Wesson 2002: 272, 273.	Gazetted 1880

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		<p>7 August 1890 – Situated on Tuross Lake at Turinjah, 11 miles from Moruya and 6 from Bodalla. Open country well grassed, about 10 acres suitable for cultivation. ¼ acre fenced in for a garden, and about 2 acres cleared. No cultivation, no crops. All the Aborigines in the Moruya District camp on this Reserve. Only six bark gunyahs erected. Estimated value of improvements 5 pounds' (Aborigines Protection Board Register)</p> <p>In 1891 there were 24 Aborigines living at the Reserve. Several huts had been built, part of the land was under cultivation, and they had a fishing boat which was kept at Tuross Lake. The boat, noted the Board's report, 'is fairly well cared for by the aborigines, but they do nothing with it in the way of earning a living.' Nine children from the reserve were attending a nearby Public School (Thomson 1979: 26).</p> <p>Doris Kirby stayed at Turlinjah with her mother, father and sometimes her brother George: 'We went back to Nowra, just doin' season work around there, and come down to Turlinjah. That's a little place this side of Moruya. We used to pick for old Mr Chandler. Well, we used to just camp around there in the bush at the lake, so Pop built a real big tin place there.' (Chittick and Fox 1997: 31).</p> <p>Percy Mumbler and Bella and their family used the area around the Turlinjah Reserve while doing seasonal work (Chittick and Fox: 193).</p>			
20	Turlingah Public School	In November 1883 some of the 6 children who occupied the Turlingah Reserve went to the Turlingah Public School.	Education	Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 1 Thomson 1979: 26.	1880s
21	Eurobodalla Reserve	In 1850 a camping reserve was established at Eurobodalla with an area of one square mile.	Living places; Reserve; Government	Goodall 1996: 55 in Wesson 2002: 265.	Gazetted 1850
22	Narooma Reserve	On December 24 1913 a Reserve of 14 acres was gazetted at Narooma (AR 49561).	Living places; Reserve; Government	Thomson 1979: 20.	Gazetted 1913
23	Moruya Heads Reserve	There were two reserves of 24 acres and 320 acres near Moruya Heads in 1883-5.	Living places; Reserve; Government	McGuigan 1984: 36. Wesson 2002: table 23.	1880s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
24	Moruya (Campbell) Reserve	<p>"There were two reserves of 24 acres and 320 acres near Moruya Heads in 1883-5" (McGuigan 1984: 36). On July 13 1875 an Aboriginal reserve near Moruya Heads was gazetted (AR 246) for Mr Campbell with an area of 24 acres 2 roods 32 perches. In 1885 the Aborigines Protection Board recorded that Campbell had not lived there for many years. The reserve was revoked on December 18 1886 (APB Register of Reserves fol. 2).</p> <p>'October 1883 - Situated near Moruya Heads. Bounded on the N. by a road dividing it from Loutill's 21 acres, 2 roods, 27 perches. No. 117; on the S. by roads dividing it from J. Murphy's 31 acres, 2 roods. No. 162; on the E: by John Kelly's 21 acres, 3 roods 24 perches, No. 119. And on the W. by John Kelly's 24 acres 1 rood 32. No. 113.</p> <p>Open country, fairly grassed, none under cultivation, cleared, or fenced. Unoccupied. Neighbours cattle graze on it. Not used by Aborigines. They do not seem to require it. Reserved for Mr. Campbell and road metal.</p> <p>October 1885 – Campbell has not resided on this Reserve for many years and is supposed to be living in the Shoalhaven District.</p> <p>Area of Reserve 24 acres 2 roods 32 perches.</p> <p>This Reserve was revoked 18 December 1886.' (APB Register)</p> <p>Doris Kirby and her family did corn pulling near Moruya (Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 31)</p> <p>Cottages at Moruya: "Percy suggested we have a yarn with Dave Carpenter and Jack Campbell at Roseby Park. So we drove out the next morning and met Jack's wife, Nancy. Jack was away somewhere and Dave was in hospital. Nancy made a big impression, standing there at the doorway of their old dilapidated cottage. More secondhand housing! This time it was one of the cottages used by the stone-cutters in Moruya when they were quarrying granite for the Sydney Harbour Bridge pylons" (Terry Fox in Chittick and Fox 1997: 175).</p>	Living places; Reserve; Government	<p>Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 31.</p> <p>Terry Fox in Chittick and Fox 1997: 175.</p> <p>McGuigan 1984: 36; Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves folio 2.</p> <p>Wesson 2002: table 23.</p>	Gazetted 1875
25	Annie Chapman's House, Bateman's Bay	<p>George Brown recalls being taken to see his great-grandmother "Granny Chapman, Auntie Annie" at Bateman's Bay who he says was "tribal" (Chittick and Fox 1997: 63).</p> <p>Terry Fox recalls going with Percy Mumbler to a Chapman's house at Bateman's Bay: "When we got to Bateman's bay he [Percy] told me he wanted to call and see this old couple, I think they were the Chapmans. They were living in this old shack up near the hospital. The old lad had lost both his legs ... They didn't</p>	Living places	George Brown and Terry Fox in Chittick and Fox 1997: 63, 180	1920s, 1930s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		have a fridge, they didn't have electricity, they just had an old meat safe (Chittick and Fox 1997: 180).			
26	Fishing camps Moruya to Narooma coast	From Moruya to Narooma coast there were seasonal fishing camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 114 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
27	Old Corunna bridge near Bodalla	The Old Corunna bridge was the site of a bush camp.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 113 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
28	Little Lake Potato Point near Bodalla	Little Lake Potato Point was the site of a bush camp/holiday camp.	Living places; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 112 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
29	Jemison's Beach near Bodalla	Jemison's Beach was the site of a fishing camp/holiday camp.	Living places; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 111 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
30	Tuross Lake opposite side Blackfellow's Point near Bodalla	Tuross Lake was the site of a bush camp/holiday camp.	Living places; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 110 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
31	Blackfellow's Point near Bodalla	Blackfellow's Point was the site of a bush camp/holiday camp.	Living places; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 109 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
32	Lake Brunderee near Bodalla	Lake Brunderee was the site of a bush camp/holiday camp.	Living places; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 108 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
33	Borang Lake near Bodalla	Borang Lake was the site of a bush camp/holiday camp.	Living places; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 107 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
34	Potato Point fishing camp near Bodalla	Potato Point fishing camp was the site of a seasonal work camp.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 106 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
35	Nerringundah sawmill housing near Bodalla	Nerringundah was an industry related housing site	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 105 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
36	Nerringundah sawmill camps near Bodalla	Nerringundah sawmill camps were industry related camp sites.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 104 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
37	Stoney Creek sawmill camp near Bodalla	Stoney Creek sawmill camp was an industry related camp.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 103 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
38	Potato Point? Sawmill camps near Bodalla	Potato Point? Sawmill camps were industry related camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 102 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
39	Housie/Lynch sawmill camp near Bodalla	Housie/Lynch sawmill camp was an industry related camp.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 101 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
40	O'Toole property near Bodalla	O'Toole property was the site of seasonal work camps/permanent residences.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 100 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
41	Lyle Egan property near Bodalla	Lyle Egan property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 99 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
42	Harry Harrison property near Bodalla	Harry Harrison property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 98 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
43	Reg Walker/Alex Walker, Eurobodalla Rd, near Bodalla	Reg Walker/Alex Walker was the site of seasonal work camps/permanent residences.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 97 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
44	Dudley Murphy property near Bodalla	Dudley Murphy property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 96 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
45	Dionts property near Bodalla	Dionts property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 95 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
46	Coleman property near Bodalla	Coleman property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 94 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
47	Murphy's property near Bodalla	Murphy's property was the site of seasonal work camps/permanent residences.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 93 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
48	Commando Smith property near Bodalla	Commando Smith property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 91 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
49	Richards property, opposite 1188 Eurobodalla Rd near Bodalla	Richards property was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 90 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
50	Keith Lavis farm near Bodalla	Keith Lavis farm was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 89 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC. Harold Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 89.	1900s
51	Neil Lavis farm, 758 Eurobodalla Rd near Bodalla	Neil Lavis farm was the site of seasonal work camps. Percy Mumbler and Isabelle "Bella" Perry used to live on top of a hill in a hut at a Lavis property. "I was sent down to Bodalla and that's where Mum and Pop was. They had a little place there on top of the hill at Lavis's...It wasn't a permanent place, we just stayed there when the pickin' season was on...He had built a little bark humpy up on the hill, way up on top, and he had three rooms in it. They had one room for me, then	Living places	Doris Kirby and Johnson in Chittick and Fox 1997: 30, 33, 110. Harold Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 89. Living Places Project, Place Number 88 Identification Sheet, Southern	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		they had the other room and there was the kitchen." (Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 30)		Directorate, DEC.	
52	Bodalla Flats Camps near Bodalla	Bodalla Flats was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 87 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
53	Eurobodalla Co-op at 382 Eurobodalla Rd near Bodalla	Eurobodalla Co-op was the site of seasonal work camps.	Living places; Self determination	Living Places Project, Place Number 86 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
54	Bob Lavis property, Tallyho near Bodalla	Bob Lavis property was the site of seasonal work camps/permanent residences. Aboriginal people were permitted to stay on Bob Lavis' farm in permanent shacks if they were bean picking. The South Coast Labor Council recorded that the houses "are better than others, but still substandard". The welfare board provided worm tablets to people living on the property. Jeff Tungai and Percy Mumbler and others worked for Bob Lavis: "We'd be pickin' beans at Eurobodalla for Bob Lavis. And all the boys would be there – Colin Little, Harold Little and a few more." (Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 38)	Living places; Work	Harold Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 89. Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 38. Living Places Project, Place Number 85 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC. South Coast Labor Council 1961.	1961
55	Bodalla pound yard, near Bodalla	Bodalla pound yard was the site of a transit camp.	Living place	Living Places Project, Place Number 84 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
56	Cooper's Island in Tuross Lake	Aboriginal people picked beans at seasonal work camps on Cooper's Island for Buzzer Scott. Eileen Morgan recalls living there for a few years as a child.	Work	Morgan 1994: 84-5.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
57	Buckenbore/ Buckenbours Camp	An Aboriginal woman named Sally was married to a dairyman working for Captain Coghill who lived at Buckenbore, near Batemans Bay. They had 3 children (Wesson 2002: 290). An 1891 census records a place called Buckenbours in the county of St Vincent and an Aboriginal woman named Charlotte Campbell living there with a male (Census NSW 1891).	Living place	Allan in Wesson 2002:290; Census NSW 1891 reels 2523-8, 2532 microfiche.	1890s
58	South Street, Batemans Bay	The area around South Street in Batemans Bay was a permanent camp for Aboriginal people in the township in the late nineteenth century.	Living Place	Allison M. James, Batemans Bay: Story of a Town, self-published, Batemans Bay, 2001, p.10.	Late 1800s
59	Corunna Lake camp near Narooma	Corunna Lake camp was a holiday Camp occupied by families from Jerrinja community from Orient Point.	Living place; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 158 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
60	Corunna Lake (land), near Narooma	Corunna Lake (land) is the site of Aboriginal owned land/holiday camp (owned by Wagonga Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) land).	Self determination; Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 157 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
61	Mogo Area	There is Aboriginal owned land and housing in the town of Mogo.	Self determination; Living places	Living Places Project, Place Number 227 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
62	The Wall/North Head, Moruya	The Wall/North Head is the site of a holiday camp.	Living place; Recreation	Living Places Project, Place Number 241 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
63	Garland town fringe camp, near Moruya	Garland town fringe camp is the site of a fringe camp. Ernie (Charlie) Brierly's family lived at this camp for many years and in 1992 Ernie Brierly was still living at Garlandtown.	Living place	Egloff (draft) 1992: 17. Living Places Project, Place Number 240 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
64	Moruya Camp	An Aboriginal man and his wife were recorded by the Lands Commissioner as living in a hut on the right bank of the Moruya River away from his "tribe" where they cultivated a "patch of ground". "The individual alluded to in former Reports as having separated himself from his Tribe and enclosed a Small piece of Ground on the right bank of the Moruya River still lives there. He has lately erected a Hut, which he and his Wife live in, and employ themselves in cultivating the patch of ground which this Season has been planted with potatoes." (Lands Commissioner Lambie 1845 in Cameron 1987: 82)	Living place	Lambie 1845 in Cameron 1987: 82.	1845
65	Moruya Lagoon Camp	The Moruya Examiner, 26 January 1888, noted that at contact "the tribes" on the coast near Moruya were large and that "over one thousand Aboriginals have been seen camped around the Moruya lagoon".	Living place	Moruya Examiner 26/1/1888 in Cameron 1987: 9.	Pre-contact/post-contact
66	Hanging Rock, Batemans Bay	An Aboriginal man named Harry Chapman is said to have travelled with his family on a small boat called Geebung from Bairnsdale in Victoria to Hanging Rock at Batemans Bay. On landing at Hanging Rock he is said to have found fresh water in a little creek at Catalina and built a shelter for his family using his boats sail. The family have stayed in the area to the present day.	Living place	Allison M. James, Batemans Bay: Story of a Town, self-published, Batemans Bay, 2001, p.10.	Late 1800s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
67	Macintosh farm, near Moruya	Macintosh farm was the site of a seasonal work camp (picking)	Living place	Living Places Project, Place Number 242 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
68	Ester Mundy's slab hut, Narooma	Aunty Esther Mundy had a slab hut close to Narooma.	Living place	Morgan 1994: 113.	1900s
69	Narooma	Narooma was a fringe camp on current football ground site	Living place	Living Places Project, Place Number 252 Identification Sheet, Southern Directorate, DEC.	1900s
70	Ceremonial 'Pirrimbir' Tree	<p>R.H. Mathews recorded the presence of a tree marked during a 'Pirrimbir' ceremony in the area to the south- west of Narooma. The 'Pirrimbir' is described in detail by Mathews, it is an avenging expedition. Mathews states that the details of the ceremony were told to him by two old Aboriginal men in 1899 who also showed him this marked tree, "...a tall, green tree of the grey box species, measuring some ten feet in girth at about a foot from the ground... The same kind of marking is continued all round the bole, and extends up the tree to a height of about 14 feet." (250-1).</p> <p>Mathews described the marking of the Pirrimbir trees, "As many men as there is room for squat on the ground close around the butt of the tree, facing it, and mark the portion of the bole within their reach, with their tomahawks. An equal number of men mount, in a sitting posture, upon the shoulders of the first, and mark the tree in the same way. A third tier of men now sit upon the shoulders of the second lot, and make their marks. By this time</p>	Ceremonial/ Traditional/ cultural	R.H. Mathews, 'Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria: Part 1', Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, Vol.38, 1904, pp.242-243, 250-251.	1800's

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		<p>the bole of the tree is marked up to about the height of a man. All the markers now withdraw and a fresh detachment of men stand around the tree and mark as high as they can reach. The same number of men get astride the shoulders of the first cordon and likewise mark the tree. Another tier of men sit on the shoulders of the second tier and do the same. The two tiers of seated men now jump down to the ground, but the men who are standing around the base of the tree remain in position. A fresh lot of men now mount with their feet on the shoulders of the last mentioned, and standing up, mark the bole as high as they can reach. The tree is now marked about ten or twelve feet from the ground, or even higher than that.</p> <p>The whole ceremony is enacted for the purpose of making the people of the hostile tribe powerless to screen the predestined victim. This is why as many men as possible join in marking the tree, muttering incantations during the continuance of the proceedings. Some of the old sorcerers rub the marks with a quartz crystal or bullroarer to render the operation all the more efficacious and irresistible. Other men jump around, putting their beard into their mouth and biting it savagely." (242-243)</p>			
71	Corn Trail Travelling Route	The Corn Trail that leads from Clyde Mountain south east to the Buckenbowra River below is said to have been an Aboriginal route used by the early settlers to get between the plateau to the west of the Dividing Range and the coast.	Travelling routes; Traditional/ cultural	Anon 1985, np.	pre-contact through to post- contact period
72	Contact between Wesleyan Missionary Harper and Batemans Bay People	In 1826 Harper, a Wesleyan missionary, was journeying along the south coast by boat with the aim of determining an appropriate place for a mission. At Batemans Bay Harper met 87 men, 36 women and 23 children with whom he traded gifts, receiving kangaroo teeth fastened to string made from possum fur with gum, shells and red ochre (Place No. MP19). Harper made the following observations regarding their settlement and subsistence: "Their principle manner of living is in catching fish, and marine animals, (seals) and in procuring the fruits that grow wild in the woods on which they chiefly subsist. They generally repose at about a half a mile from the sea coast. They have temporary huts, ornamented with a tuft of grass fastened to a stick, and projecting from the front part of the top".	Contact places	Harper in Organ 1990: 140-42.	1826

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
73	Batemans Bay Contact Site 1796	Nine men from the shipwreck of the "Sydney Cove" died of likely starvation at Batemans Bay in 1796. The rest of the party were assisted by Aboriginal people further north.	Contact places	Johnson 1980: 11-15.	1796
74	Batemans Bay contact site 1770	James Cook and Banks noted 5 Aboriginal men standing on the shore north of the Batemans Bay inlet. "Percy was a natural storyteller. He had the expressions and everything. He told me about the time that Captain Cook put in at Batemans Bay, and he said, 'Tungeei, that was her native name. She was a terrible tall woman...' That's just a little story called 'Captain Cook'. It's terrific, I think, because it established the fact that, from the first time they met, the white man tried to give the early Aborigines clothes or biscuits or possessions. But the Aborigines took this to mean that he might be trying to buy their country from them, so they throw them back..." (Roland Robinson in Chittick and Fox 1997: 97)	Contact places; Conflict	Ellis, N. 1997. Braidwood, Dear Braidwood: A History of the Braidwood District. N.N. and N.M. Ellis, Braidwood, p.14. Roland Robinson in Chittick and Fox 1997: 97.	23 April 1770
75	Batemans Bay contact site 1808	Three sailors from "The Fly" who had gone ashore at Batemans Bay in 1808 were killed by spears and their ship attacked by local Aboriginal people.	Contact places; Conflict	Ellis, N. 1997. Braidwood, Dear Braidwood: A History of the Braidwood District. N.N. and N.M. Ellis, Braidwood, p.14.	1808
76	Batemans Bay contact site 1821	A cedar getter was killed and two others injured as they took shelter in Batemans Bay in 1821.	Contact places	Ellis, N. 1997. Braidwood, Dear Braidwood: A History of the Braidwood District. N.N. and N.M. Ellis, Braidwood, p.14.	1821
77	Thomson Property Bateman's Bay	In 1830 Mr Thomson of Batemans Bay was apparently losing stock to local Aboriginal people. By 1834 Thomson was handing out blankets to local Aboriginal people in 1834. He decided to issue left over blankets to the older members of the tribe.	Conflict; Resources	Ellis, N. 1997. Braidwood, Dear Braidwood: A History of the Braidwood District. N.N. and N.M. Ellis, Braidwood, p.15.	1834

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
78	Congo Camp	There was a camp at Congo that was linked to camps at Bingi, South Head and Broulee by a track that ran along the cliff tops and dunes.	Living Place	Noel Warry, Sixteen Women of Early Eurobodalla, Moruya & District Historical Society Inc., 1990, pp.19-20.	Late 1800s
79	Tuross River	Percy Mumbler used to go fishing near the Tuross River: "He used to go out spearin' fish. He was pretty good on that too...Big mullets up near Bodalla there, near the Tuross River." (Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 31)	Resources collection	Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 31.	1900s
80	Bodalla	Percy Mumbler would make bush medicines for people: "Up around Bodalla there, the old fella used to get Old Man Weed down along the river, around the swamps, and he'd boil it up." (Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 35) Rose Moore used to do picking at Bodalla: "Used to do some picking back this way at Quaama. Bodalla, yes, done all the pickin' there. Around Terara and all the way down the coast. We went up and down the coast on the bus, the old Pioneer..." (Rose Moore in Chittick and Fox 1997: 71) Linda Colbourn lived in Bodalla with her family and her husband: "I lived here at Bodalla for twenty years. Now I live in Nowra. I come from Victoria, Orbost. Left there when I was about 6 or 7, moved up this way with my family. I got married to Oliver Colbourn in Bodalla and before that I was a Mason." (Linda Colbourn in Chittick and Fox 1997: 88) Lorraine Brown and her family would go bean picking at Bodalla: "When we was only young kids, we used to go bean picking to Bodalla with our parents for the Christmas holidays. And the thing that was good about it was that you'd meet all you old mates down there, all the other kids from the other places. It was a big get-together. Everyone camped and lived together. It was really peaceful down there. Travelling around, that's what we used to do. Used to go down every weekend, too, when school went back. Every Friday night we'd pack up our stuff and Dad would finish work and we'd travel to Bodalla...And we'd do that until the bean season was finished." (Lorraine Brown in Chittick and Fox 1997: 99) "We used to pick for the Otton brothers out from Bega. We had tents there, and at Bodalla there were tin sheds. No lining inside	Resource collection	Doris Kirby in Chittick and Fox 1997: 35. Linda Colbourn in Chittick and Fox 1997: 88. Lorraine Brown in Chittick and Fox 1997: 99. Mervyn Penrith in Chittick and Fox 1997: 168-169. Rene Thomas in Chittick and Fox 1997: 120. Rose Moore in Chittick and Fox 1997: 71. Shirley Foster in Chittick and Fox 1997: 157.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		<p>or anything but a big fireplace in it. They had the shacks for us, all the farms up and down there. Yeah, two rooms there was, and some had four rooms. We used to wash down on the riverbank, take the old copper down there. And when the river was in flood down in Bodalla, we used to swim back then and have a wash at the same time and come home.</p> <p>We used to pick thirty bags a day. We got 600 pounds for a week, one time... Well, we were one of the big families of Bodalla, you know, one of the ones with four pickers." (Rene Thomas in Chittick and Fox 1997: 120)</p> <p>Shirley Foster and her family would go bean picking at Bodalla: "When we grew up we used to go up to Bodalla. Uncle Percy was up there, him and Auntie Bella, and we got in with them and with their daughter, Norma. We used to go back and forwards, me and my sister and Norma. Spend a couple of weeks down Bega, pickin' beans, then up to Bodalla for a couple of weeks, pickin' there. Bean picking, that was our livelihood! And it was great fun." (Shirley Foster in Chittick and Fox 1997: 157)</p> <p>Mervyn Penrith stayed with Percy Mumbler and Bella in Bodalla: "I used to go out and stay at his place there at Browns Flat, and down the south coast here at Bodalla when the pickin' was on and Auntie Bella would be there. All we done was bean pickin' and sawmillin'. There was no other bloody work.</p> <p>There was always a home with Uncle Percy, always a feed and a bed. Down at Bodalla and Bega they was livin' in just little tents. He always had a good little humpy built onto the front of his tent, a cookin' galley. When you got the fire, a big fire, goin' it kept the tent warm too... They always camped near a river so there'd be plenty of water. The river played a big part in our lives, all that fresh water and the cleansing of the kids." (Mervyn Penrith in Chittick and Fox 1997: 168-169)</p>			
81	Tilba	<p>Jeff Tungai and Percy Mumbler worked around Tilba: "And we used to cut bracken fern and dig tussocks and all that sort of work around Tilba. The only job you could get was cuttin' blackberries... We had to cut 'em so the cattle could get the feed there and make their milk... We went contract for Robertsons around there, Harry Bate, Jeff Bate, Harry Meade, and different other farmers around there. Old Bill Robertson, he owned that 'Springhill' then, we used to work for him." (Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 38)</p> <p>Percy Mumbler's father, Jack Mumbler, died at Tilba: "One day,</p>	Work	<p>Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 38. Lee Chittick and Perry Mumbler in Chittick and Fox 1997: 85.</p>	

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		when Percy and I were driving down the coast, he pointed out where his father died, just beside the road near Tilba. 'Oh, that's where my father died. My father died in a big old army coat.' Jack must have been travelling somewhere and went over to have a sleep. Just laid down behind a blackberry bush and didn't wake up." (Lee Chittick and Perry Mumbler in Chittick and Fox 1997: 85)			
82	Tilba Tilba	Guboo Ted Thomas's father worked at Tilba Tilba for HJ Bate: "...we shifted down to Tilba Tilba and my dad was working here for HJ Bate. When I look at Bate's property here, the Aboriginal people, the tribal people, they cut all the trees down around here for a big pot of stew and a slice of bread and a hunk of meat put in it. That's how they cleaned all the farm from here right up to Central Tilba, what they call the Saddle." (Guboo Ted Thomas in Chittick and Fox 1997: 41-42)	Work	Guboo Ted Thomas in Chittick and Fox 1997: 41-42.	
83	Central Tilba School	Jeff Tungai went to the Central Tilba School: " Jeff Bate, he was a member of parliament, and his father, HJ Bate, was in parliament before him. Me and Jeff went to school together, up here in Central Tilba, and I used to stand over him for his lunch." (Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 42)	Education	Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 42.	
84	Nadjanuga Mountain,	"This little mountain, Nadjanuga, has a great history to it. It is on the eastern side of Tilba. Pigeons used to build their nests in there but no one was allowed to go into that mountain there to get their eggs. Only the tribal elders went in and they got a couple of eggs out of one nest." (Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 42)	Spiritual place/ Traditional/ cultural	Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 42.	
85	Gulaga [Mt. Dromedary]	Gulaga [Mt. Dromedary] is a significant traditional site for both men and women of the area (Rose 1990). "And just at the back of this little mountain is a mountain they call Gulaga. The white man called it Mount Dromedary but the original name is Gulaga. They went there to that mountain to go up into an initiation. There are sacred sites up there and that's where the old people have taken me when I was a young fella round about 7. They showed me the sacred sites. Those <i>bora</i> rings around Bega, they used to go and have a special ceremony there and they'd go down across the mountain there, across to Mumbulla Mountain. That's the spiritual track across to Mumbulla" (Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 43) "Yeah, there's the <i>wadabadang</i> track, there's a <i>maliima</i> track, there's a <i>dulagal</i> track and there's a little <i>naja</i> track. Those are four tracks of the Dreamings that go out from Biamanga and then	Ceremonial/ Spiritual place/ Traditional/ cultural	Deborah Bird Rose, <i>Gulaga: A Report on the Cultural Significance of Mt Dromedary to Aboriginal People</i> , Forestry Commission of NSW & NSW NPWS, 1990; Jeff Tungai in Chittick and Fox 1997: 43. Max Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 126.	pre-contact through to post- contact period

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
		Gulaga; they all go out into different areas... Each of them has their own track to their own Dreaming" (Max Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 126)			
86	Parson's Camp, Batemans Bay	"I was born at Batemans Bay in the year 1921, 28 January 1921. There was only four of us in the family. My brother Bob, and then there was Ethel, and me, and then my younger sister Ruth. My mother passed away when I was only small, and then our father brought us back down to Wallaga Lake." (Cyril Parsons in Chittick and Fox 1997: 50)	Living place	Cyril Parsons in Chittick and Fox 1997: 50.	1900s
87	South Head Camp	There was a camp at South Head that was linked to camps at Congo, Bingi and Broulee by a track that ran along the cliff tops and dunes.	Living Place	Noel Warry, Sixteen Women of Early Eurobodalla, Moruya & District Historical Society Inc., 1990, pp.19-20.	Late 1800s
88	Nerrigundah mines	"When we were down the coast we used to go everywhere. Dad used to take us prawning of a night or we'd go to Narooma to the carnival or we'd go gold fossicking up in the old mines at Nerrigundah there. It's real good up there. You go right out to the forest and you got the really big holes and there's heaps of them all through there. You got to be careful where you're walking because you got the shafts that go straight down and a lot of them would be covered by ferns now. After the wet weather used to be the best time because the oak trees used to fall over and that's when you want to look for gold." (Lorraine Brown in Chittick and Fox 1997: 100)	Work	Lorraine Brown in Chittick and Fox 1997: 100.	1900s
89	Nerrigundah Camp	"I first met Percy about forty years ago, I knew him pretty well. I stayed with him and Bella for a few months down at Nerrigundah way, Lavis's, and out at Murrays Flat. Percy and old Bella, they used to pick. They were all good pickers. That's all they ever done in their life, picking" (Bill Johnson in Chittick and Fox 1997: 111)	Living place	Bill Johnson in Chittick and Fox 1997: 111.	1900s
90	Batemans Bay School	Mary Duroux attended the Batemans Bay School: "After that, I went to school at Batemans Bay for a little while. My Auntie Bessie was staying with her daughter and she had twin boys just about my age, so that was good company" (Mary Duroux in Chittick and Fox 1997: 163)	Education	Mary Duroux in Chittick and Fox 1997: 163.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
91	Nerrigundah barn	"I remember a church service in this barn at Nerrigundah. It was really nice, one guy on the spoons and a couple of guys on the gumleaves and Ernie Hoskins on the mouth organ. And they were singing these beautiful hymns, and all the pigs snorting underneath because it was built over the pigsty...It was just marvellous. And that old fella, Uncle Percy, I never heard a person play the gumleaf like he did. And Uncle Percy Davis, he was fantastic on the fiddle. His favourite was 'Danny Boy'" (Mary Duroux in Chittick and Fox 1997: 165)	Religion; Recreation	Mary Duroux in Chittick and Fox 1997: 165.	1900s
92	Broulee Shipwreck	In c.1842 the Rover which had anchored in Broulee Bay during a severe storm was wrecked on the shore of the northern entrance of Candalgan Creek. Ten people on board the ship were saved, and two bodies brought to shore, by the joint actions of Aboriginal and Europeans who formed a human chain to rescue them. Captain Oldrey RN of Broulee presented several Aboriginal people with brass plates in recognition of their assistance.	Contact	Ron Prior, The History of Old Mogo Town, Bateman's Bay Commercial Printers, 1991, pp.3-4.	c.1842??
93	Island near Broulee	One reference in oral tradition to a massacre occurring on an Island near Broulee in the period of initial European intrusion into the area. Exact location of Island not known.	Conflict	From Sid Duncan, AIAS tape A103, Janet Mathews Collection. Quoted in Deborah Bird Rose, Gulaga: A Report on the Cultural Significance of Mt. Dromedary to Aboriginal People, Forestry Commission of NSW & NSW NPWS, 1990, p.36.	c.1830s/40s
94	Tuross Lake	In December 1797 Bass noted the presence of, "numbers of native huts deserted, the cause of which appeared when we travelled down their paths to the dried up waterholes they had dug in to the very heart of the largest of the swamps". [318]	Living place	Bass, G. 'Journal of Whaleboat Trip', Historical Records of NSW, Vol.3, 1797-8, pp.312-333.	1797
95	19km west of Bateman's Bay	In 1822 William Kearns recorded meeting with a hunting party in this location, "... we discovered several natives... the native we had with us spoke to them when we found they belonged to the coast but had come up here to hunt... we gave them some bread which they afterwards took back again to their wives."	Resource collection	Kearns, W. 'Copy of a journal of a tour to the coast about nine miles to the Southward of Bateman's Bay...', Papers of Charles Throsby, 1810-1824, Colonial Secretary, Letters Received, Special Bundles 1794-1825, State Records of NSW. Quoted in Hilary Sullivan, Aboriginal Usage of the Forest Environment: An ethno-historical study of the south coast of N.S.W., 1982, Appendix 1 in	1822

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
				Denis Byrne The Five Forests: An archaeological and anthropological investigation: Volume 2, NSW NPWS.	
96	Montague Island [Barunguba]	In 1821 survivors of the wreck of the ship Mary at Twofold Bay travelled north to Sydney by boat. In a later newspaper account of the journey it was stated that, "On Montague Island some nuts were found in a native hut, recently abandoned: eagerly and ravenously were they devoured."	Living Place	Anon, Montague Island Nature Reserve: Plan of Management, NSW NPWS, n.d., p.14. Quoted from the Sydney Gazette, 23/6/1827.	1821
97	Bodalla Cemetery	In an 1888 article in the Moruya Examiner on the history of the area the author recounts visiting a camp of around 60 people, the date of the camp is unclear but probably 1840s/50s, the camp is stated to have been on the site of what was by the 1880s the Bodalla Cemetery.	Living Place	Wolbar [appears to be Richard Barlow], 'Moruya, Past and Present', Moruya Examiner, 26/1/1888, p.4.	c.1840/50
98	Pittman's(?) Camp, Batemans Bay	"I'm Eileen Pittman, Aunt Eileen mostly known as. I was born at Batemans Bay and I think I've lived in nearly every country town from Batemans Bay to Nowra because my father was a mill hand and he used to be moved to different sawmills." (Eileen Pittman in Chittick and Fox 1997: 53)	Living places	Eileen Pittman in Chittick and Fox 1997: 53.	1900s
99	Harrison Camp, Batemans Bay	"I was born in Sydney in 1936. Lived around Termeil where Dad worked as a sawmill hand and then around Batemans Bay area and then back to Wallaga for a short stay when we were very small." (Max Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 125)	Living Place	Max Harrison in Chittick and Fox 1997: 125.	1900s
100	Stewart Camp, Batemans Bay	The Stewart family also lived at Batemans Bay: "And there was Aunt Bessie that lived at Batemans Bay with her husband and daughter and grandchildren. She was married to a Stewart." (Mary Duroux in Chittick and Fox 1997: 163)	Living Place	Mary Duroux in Chittick and Fox 1997: 163.	1900s

Place No.	Place Name	Place Description	Theme	Reference/s	Date/ When Used
101	Tomakin Caravan Park Camp	The present day site of the caravan park on the banks of the Tomaga River at Tomakin was an Aboriginal camp in the second half of the nineteenth century. The people of the camp traded fish they caught with the European settlers for other supplies.	Living Place	Allison M. James, Batemans Bay: Story of a Town, self-published, Batemans Bay, 2001, pp.128-129.	Mid to late 1800s
102	Cullendulla Creek Camp, Batemans Bay	The mouth of Cullendulla Creek was reported to have been a place where Aboriginal people gathered annually to feast on mussels, mud oysters and shellfish.	Resource collection	Anon, Cullendulla Creek Nature Reserve: Draft Plan of Management, NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service, 2002, p.14.	Pre-contact?
103	Burial near Mummuga Lake, Wagonga	In an 1892 newspaper article recounting a story from the Wagonga people an Aboriginal man by the name of Wagonga Frank is stated to have been buried, "... by his tribe on the sea beach to the south of Mummuga Lake." This man is stated to be the descendant of the hero of the story.	Burial	R.H.B. [probably Richard Barlow], 'Wagonga: From an aboriginal tradition', Moruya Examiner, 5th February, 1892, p.2.	Late 1800s
104	Old Catholic Cemetery Burials, Batemans Bay	<p>An elder by the name of Janie is stated to have been buried here on the 6th December, 1908. She was referred to as Queen Janie, partner of King Dickey of the Clyde River. In a letter written just a few years after her death a European settler from the area stated that,</p> <p>"Dickey was King of the Clyde River, over 50 years ago, and ruled the country embracing Moruya, Bateman's Bay Clyde River to Braidwood. His term of reign was peaceful, he was of a very peaceful disposition, given mostly to hunting and fishing, and was generally known to the tribe as "Pretty Dickey". He died over 50 years ago, and is buried on the banks of the Clyde River, near Nelligen, and was somewhere about 90 years of age when he died. Dickeys old Queen, Janie, died here on the 6th December 1908, and was buried in the Catholic Cemetary [sic] at Bateman's Bay. She used to say that her mother remembered the coming of Captain Cook, and she herself could remember the landing of the first white people at Broulee."</p> <p>This may be the same individual for whom a breastplate inscribed 'Jenny, Queen of Broulee' was made. The term Broulee was used for both the town and the wider district. Nothing further is known of this breastplate, it is in private hands.</p>	Burials	<p>Letter, M. Keating to E. Milne, 2/12/1910?, NMA Breastplate File 85/310 ff.161,168 quoted in Tania Cleary, Poignant Regalia: 19th Century Aboriginal Breastplates & Images, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney, c.1993, pp.80, also page 108.</p>	From 1908

