Aboriginal Stockmen posing in front of motor truck at Willara Station c. 1940.

BOURKE SHIRE ABORIGINAL HERITAGE STUDY

JANUARY 2019

DRAFT

Report Prepared by

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for Bourke Shire Council

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Front picture © Bourke Historical Society. Original handwritten caption reads '*Aboriginal Stockmen posing in front of motor truck at Willara Station c. 1940—man wearing apron is white cook—man on top of truck was named Rufus and earlier (1930s) used to drive a T Model ford about the Paroo River stations doing rural work*'.

DOCUMENT CONTROLS

Client	Bourke Shire Council		
Document Description	Bourke Shire Aboriginal Heritage Study Report		
	Name	Signed	Date
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Location: Bourke Shire Council Offices			
Document Status **V2.3 FINAL DRAFT**		Date 31 January 2019	
Draft V1.1 Author to Editor OzArk 1st Internal (Series V1._ = OzArk internal edits)		V1.1 Brendan Corrigan V1.2 BC edit 8/10/18 V1.3 BMC edit 17/10/18 V1.4 BC edit 24/10/18 V1.5-V1.7 JB V1.8: BC edit 8/11/18 V1.9: SR edit 13/11/18	
Draft V2.0 Report Draft for release to client (Series V2._ = OzArk and Client edits)		V2.0 OzArk to BSC 13/11/18 V2.1 BSC to OzArk with comments 7.1.19 V2.2 OzArk update 31/1/19 V2.3 OzArk to BSC 31/01/19	
FINAL V3._once latest version of draft approved by client			
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Acknowledgement

OzArk acknowledge Traditional Owners of the area on which this assessment took place and pay respect to their beliefs, cultural heritage and continuing connection with the land. We also acknowledge and pay respect to the post-contact experiences of Aboriginal people with attachment to the area and to the elders, past and present, as the next generation of role models and vessels for memories, traditions, culture and hopes of local Aboriginal people.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHILA – Aboriginal Heritage Information Licence Agreement

AHIMS - Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System

AHIP - Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit

BSAHS - Bourke Shire Aboriginal Heritage Study

BSC - Bourke Shire Council

DECCW – NSW Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water (now OEH)

LALC – Local Aboriginal Land Council

LGA - Local Government Area

OEH - NSW Office of Environment and Heritage

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OzArk Environmental & Heritage Management (OzArk) was engaged by the Bourke Shire Council (BSC) to complete an Aboriginal Heritage Study over the Bourke Local Government Area (LGA) (the project).

The project has several objectives:

1. To update/complete the Bourke Shire Aboriginal Heritage Study (BSAHS), originally begun ten years ago under a separate contract to separate researchers
2. To ensure that Aboriginal community of the Bourke Local Government Area (LGA) were meaningfully consulted in regards to what sites and places within the LGA are important to them
3. To identify a group of sites of significance to Aboriginal people that may be appropriate for listing on the Bourke Local Environmental Plan (LEP).

Aboriginal community consultation occurred with relevant Aboriginal persons with interests in the Bourke LGA from 14 February 2018 to12 June 2018.

On 13 June 2018 a community workshop meeting was held at the Country Women's Association facility, Enngonia, and on 14 June 2018 a community workshop meeting was held at the Bourke Council Chambers, Bourke. For various reasons, not all Aboriginal people who would have wished to have attend were able to. However, both community workshop meetings were nonetheless well-attended and much valuable discussion occurred at them.

One of the key outcomes of the consultation with Aboriginal stakeholders was that while the meetings were considered a solid first step, it was emphasised that further consultation would be required to identify appropriate knowledge holders for specific sites.

As a result of the consultation, a preliminary list of 31 sites was compiled as places of significance to the Aboriginal community across the LGA. This group is documented and discussed in **Section 5**. Sites range from fish traps on the Darling River, the remarkable Mount Oxley, burial sites, Aboriginal reserve post-contact sites, rock art sites and many more. Of this group, at least six and up to 14 would be eminently suitable for LEP listing, so long as further consultation and site visits are undertaken to ensure cultural permission and access is received from the appropriate knowledge-holders.

This study has shown that Bourke LGA has an incredibly rich and diverse Aboriginal heritage resource that dates from 50,000 years ago to the present day. This heritage should be celebrated and protected into the future. To do this, work is needed to build trust and openness between the diverse communities of Bourke and particularly between the Aboriginal communities and various government agencies including the BSC. With this confidence it should be feasible for the

community and the BSC to work together to ensure that heritage is protected and that it can increasingly become a resource for education, tourism and cultural healing.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

OzArk Environmental & Heritage Management (OzArk) has been engaged by the Bourke Shire Council (BSC) to complete an Aboriginal Heritage Study over the Bourke Local Government Area (LGA) (the project).

The project has several objectives:

1. To update/complete the Bourke Shire Aboriginal Heritage Study (BSAHS), originally started ten years ago under a separate contract to separate researchers
2. To ensure that Aboriginal community of Bourke LGA were meaningfully consulted in regard to what sites and places within the shire are important to them
3. To identify a group of sites of significance to Aboriginal people that may be appropriate for listing on the Bourke Local Environmental Plan (LEP).

We note that this document is not prepared as evidence to support any Native Title aspirations of local Aboriginal people and accordingly we seek to ensure that we do not pre-judge the research which we understand to be ongoing for that purpose.

1.1.1 Report authors and contributors

Dr Brendan Corrigan and Dr Jodie Benton are the primary authors of this report, with substantial assistance from Philippa Sokol who has undertaken some of the primary research, assisted with community consultation and drafted sections of this report.

Dr Corrigan is an anthropologist with 25 years of experience in working with Aboriginal people throughout Australia on land rights research and cultural heritage projects. Dr Benton is an archaeologist with 25 years of experience working on the identification and assessment of Aboriginal archaeological sites in NSW. Ms Sokol is an archaeologist with substantial experience in the Bourke LGA, especially on Toorale National Park.

Section 3 of this report comprises substantially the work of Caroline Plim, commissioned by BSC for the BSAHS.

We are indebted to the Aboriginal community stakeholders who met with us and spent time on the phone discussing the project and sites. Specific thanks goes to Badger Bates, Wal Dorrington, Phillip Sullivan, Dot Martin and Paul Gordon.

1.2 BACKGROUND

In the Bourke regional area, as elsewhere in the western division of New South Wales, early European settlement took the form of pastoralism and mining, supported by small service centres and linked to regional and state centres by roads, railways, and in the early years of settlement,

by river steamers. Settlement significantly disrupted Aboriginal relationships with the environment and substantially impacted their former way of life.

Aboriginal people of early colonial times, having already suffered the ravages of disease and dispossession of the land, then had to adapt to the ways of the incoming settlers, which eventually included the New South Wales Government Aborigines Protection Board, later named the Aborigines Welfare Board. As a result, many people were forced to move outside of their tribal lands, and in some cases to settle outside of it. In general, the incoming pastoralists stayed on the river frontages and the traditional owners could live as they had always done on the old country, though they may have been deprived of access to permanent water holes and some resources. As pastoralism began to grow, the population of the Aboriginal traditional owners began to decline as they were adapting to a new way of life (OzArk 2013).

Nonetheless, the contemporary descendants of those earlier Aboriginal families continue to inhabit the Bourke LGA and contribute richly to the regional community. The Aboriginal cultural heritage which remains in the region is their inheritance and they continue to care for it and seek that all parties respect it.

Figure 1-1: Location map – the Bourke LGA.

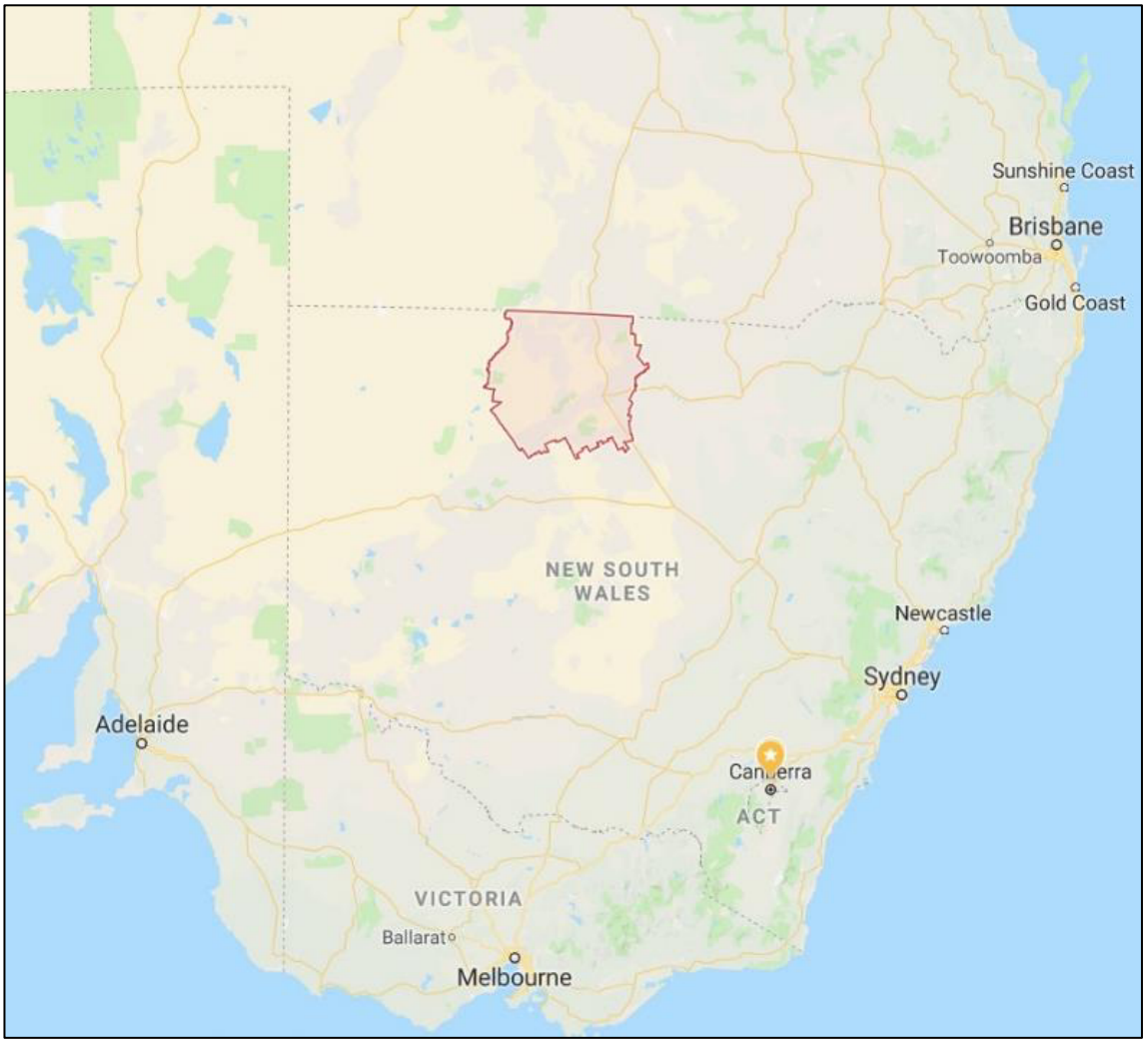
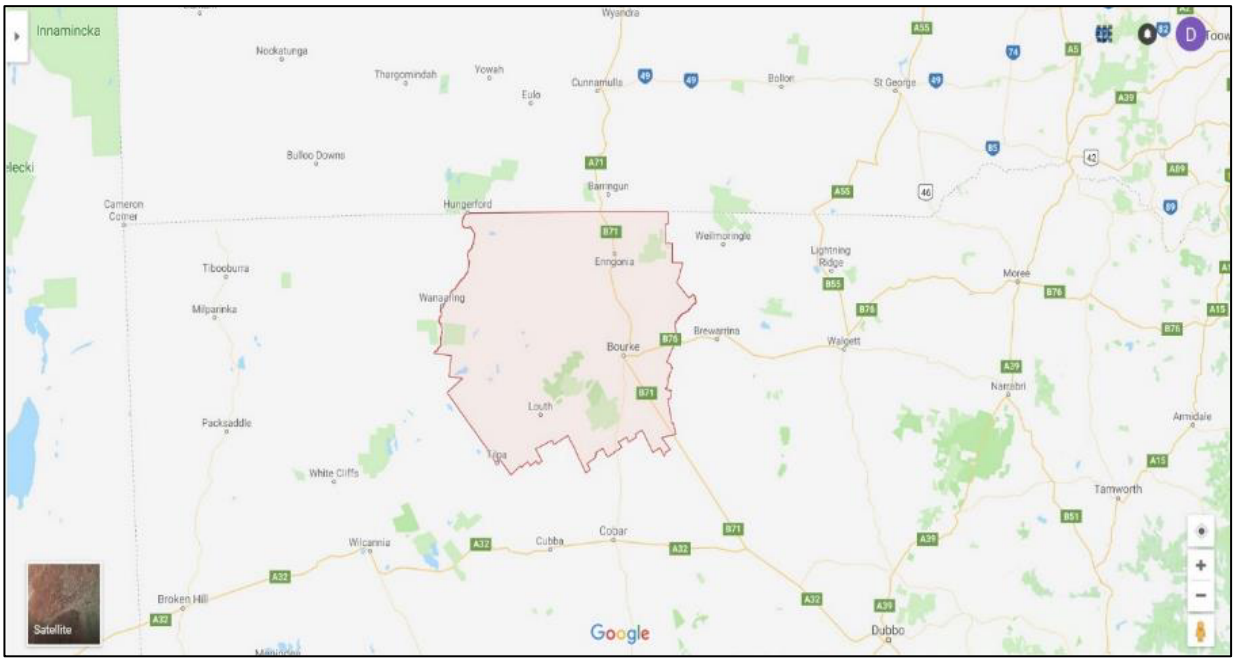


Figure 1-2: The Bourke LGA in its regional context.



1.3 CONSTRAINTS AND LIMITATIONS

A primary aim of this study was to engage with the local Aboriginal community. Workshops were scoped and held in Bourke and Enngonia but took significant time to try to identify and locate the Aboriginal Traditional Owners who should be consulted. Although the workshops were well attended and good outcomes were achieved, far more consultation over a longer period of time is needed to more robustly examine the places of significance to the Aboriginal community and to visit/accurately locate some of these places. There are many people with varying types of knowledge to contribute and the sites to be visited span a large geographic area.

While the places of significance nominated came as a result of the community consultation with local Aboriginal people, much of the findings of this report are based on desktop review of materials and accordingly, the findings and observations require further contemplation by, and input from, relevant Aboriginal people.

This project did not rely on any field survey within the Bourke LGA and no site visits were undertaken. However, those Aboriginal people who were able to participate expressed enthusiasm that the BSC was seeking to engage with the Aboriginal community for this study and are hopeful that this project might form the basis of further steps.

An additional constraint of the project was that the signatures from the appropriate local Aboriginal community members were unable to be obtained to support the Aboriginal Heritage Information Licence Agreement (AHILA) to gain all Aboriginal site data across the Bourke LGA from the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS) (**Section 4.3.2**).

1.4 RELEVANT LEGISLATION

Aboriginal heritage in NSW is managed by a number of state and national Acts. Baseline principles for the conservation of heritage places and relics can be found in the *Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 2013). The *Burra Charter* has become the standard of best practice in the conservation of heritage places in Australia, and heritage organisations and local government authorities have incorporated the inherent principles and logic into guidelines and other conservation planning documents. The *Burra Charter* generally advocates a cautious approach to changing places of heritage significance.

In NSW Aboriginal cultural heritage is currently largely managed by provisions within the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NPW Act) which provides protection for all Aboriginal objects (whether they are known or recorded or otherwise) and declared Aboriginal places[1].

There are a range of other heritage protection facilities also available for the purpose of protecting Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW, including: the *NSW Heritage Act 1977*, which protects the state's most outstanding heritage items and places, Aboriginal and otherwise; the *Environment Planning and Assessment Act 1979* (EP&A Act) and the *Crown Lands Act 1989* (CL Act).

The EP&A Act is also a key piece of legislation for the management of development in NSW. Cultural heritage is considered to be a part of the environment under this Act and requires that Aboriginal cultural heritage, and the possible impacts to Aboriginal heritage that development may have, are formally considered in land-use planning and development approval processes.

The CL Act enables covenants to be placed over Crown Land to protect environmental, cultural and heritage values before the land is sold or transferred.

The NPW Act remains the core NSW legislation to be relied upon to protect Aboriginal cultural heritage and it operates to do so in a range of ways. Firstly, all Aboriginal objects are automatically protected under this law (including objects which are not recorded or 'known'). Further, places of importance to Aboriginal individuals and communities may be given additional legal protection under provisions of the NPW Act by the following steps:

- Declaration of new Aboriginal Places
- Reservation and management as Aboriginal Areas and national parks
- Formal agreements on the joint management of national parks
- Formal agreements with land owners (Voluntary Conservation Agreements).

1 See, for example, Aboriginal heritage legislation in NSW: How the Aboriginal heritage system works. Published by the State of NSW and the Office of Environment and Heritage (2012).
https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/cultureheritage/20120401system.pdf.

To further set out the wide range of additional legislative and regulatory frameworks which have a direct relationship with the protection of Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW, OEH 2012: 5–6 is reproduced as **Figures 1-3** and **1-4**.

In essence, if there are any steps that a party is anticipating taking which might potentially have an impact on Aboriginal heritage then the overarching form of protection is to take reasonable steps to identify any such potential impacts in relation to the various Acts and regulations described below.

Figure 1-3: Aboriginal Heritage Legislation in NSW (1)

Legislation / Policy	Agency	Relevance to Aboriginal culture and heritage
National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974	Office of Environment and Heritage	Provides for the protection of Aboriginal objects and declared Aboriginal Places in NSW; and to foster appreciation, understanding and enjoyment of Aboriginal cultural heritage. Provides protection by establishing offences for 'harm' (damage, destroy, deface or move). Requires that information on Aboriginal cultural heritage be maintained in the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS). Allows for the reservation of Aboriginal Areas and for the co-management of some national parks through Boards of Management.
Heritage Act 1977	Office of Environment and Heritage (Heritage Branch)	Lists and gives protection to places of Aboriginal heritage significance that are of 'State' heritage significance on the State Heritage Register. Consultation is undertaken with Aboriginal groups for places listed specifically for Aboriginal significance.
Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979	Local government councils	Provides planning controls and requirements for environmental assessment. Oversees land-use planning for local areas. Compulsory clause in standard Local Environmental Plan template specifically for conservation of locally significant Aboriginal heritage.
Crown Lands Act 1989	Department of Primary Industries	Sets out processes and principles for using and managing Crown land. The Act enables covenants to be placed over Crown land to protect environmental and cultural and heritage values before the land is sold or transferred.
Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983	Aboriginal Land Councils	Establishes a system of Local Aboriginal Land Councils (LALC) across NSW. LALCs and NSWALC can also acquire and deal in land and negotiate agreements for access to private land for cultural resource use. LALCs have a role in the protection and promotion of awareness of Aboriginal culture and heritage.
Native Title Act (NSW) 1994	Aboriginal Affairs NSW	Enables full ownership of land via native title as well as provision for making agreements via Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA).
Forestry Act 1916	Department of Primary Industries (DPI)	Allows for the co-management of State Forests. Boards of Management have been established and resourced for three State Forests. Under this Act, Aboriginal people can gain access to state forests for obtaining forest products and materials.
Catchment Management Authorities Act 2003	Catchment Management Authorities (CMAs; 13 in NSW)	Aboriginal Reference Groups and Advisory Committees advise CMAs. Aboriginal employment facilitated via projects funded through the Commonwealth 'Caring for Country' program.

Figure 1-4: Aboriginal Heritage Legislation in NSW (2)

Legislation / Policy	Agency	Relevance to Aboriginal culture and heritage
Fisheries Management Act 1994; *Marine Parks Act 1997*	Department of Primary Industries (DPI)	The *NSW Indigenous Fishing Strategy* supports involvement of Aboriginal people in fisheries management and aquaculture. The Fisheries Management Act issues permits for taking fish for cultural community events. The Marine Parks Act permits Aboriginal cultural resource use in certain areas/zones of marine parks in particular circumstances.
Rural Fires Act 1997; *Bush Fire Environmental Assessment Code*	Rural Fire Service	When hazard reduction and wildfire control is carried out, Aboriginal heritage is taken into account via AHIMS (Aboriginal Heritage Information System) searches and consideration of relevant management plans.
Water Management Act 2000	Office of Water	Aboriginal representation on water management committees; Aboriginal cultural access and community development licences as part of Water Sharing Plans.
Game and Feral Animals Control Act 2002	Game Council of NSW	Certain Aboriginal people are exempt from licence requirements for hunting feral animals.
Land Acquisition (Just Terms Compensation) Act 1991	Minister for Aboriginal Affairs	An authority of the State of NSW may acquire land in exceptional circumstances.
Threatened Species Conservation Act 1995	Office of Environment and Heritage	Requires that Aboriginal people's interests be considered in threatened species recovery plans.
NSW Cultural Resource Use Framework	All NSW Government agencies	Enables access to land for cultural purposes; outlines processes of community engagement to be undertaken for public lands.

1.4.1 The role of a Local Environmental Plan

In NSW a LEP protects Aboriginal heritage items within a LGA. The Bourke LEP (Gazetted 25 January 2013) notes at section 2 (v) that the Bourke LEP aims to protect and enhance and conserve '*places and buildings of archaeological or heritage significance*' and further sets out currently listed places of environmental significance at Schedule five. There is currently only one heritage place with known Aboriginal values listed in the Bourke LEP, namely, Byrock Holes (see **Section 5**).

1.4.1.1 Commonwealth Legislation

There is Commonwealth legislation of relevance but in NSW all state avenues would have been exhausted prior to looking further afield. The Australian Government *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984* may be relevant where state-based processes are unable to protect any item under threat of injury or desecration that is of importance to an Aboriginal community. The Commonwealth *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*

may also be relevant to some development proposals, particularly where there are heritage values which are arguably of national significance.

1.4.1.2 State Legislation

National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NPW Act)

As presented above in **Figure 1-3,** the NPW Act provides for the protection of Aboriginal objects and declared Aboriginal Places in NSW. To date there are two listed Aboriginal Places in the Bourke LGA, being the Byrock Holes (which are also separately listed on the LEP) and the Old Gerara Springs Aboriginal Place, which is a landscape within Ledknapper Nature Reserve, Enngonia.

In cases where there is no way to avoid directly impacting an item or place with Aboriginal heritage significance then a process of applying for a permit to impact Aboriginal heritage is available through the NPW Act. To quote from OEH 2012: 8:

> *The NPW Act also contains the process to help people determine that their actions will not harm Aboriginal objects. The process is described in the OEH guideline titled Due Diligence Code of Practice for the Protection of Aboriginal Objects in NSW (2010). If the due diligence process shows that an activity such as development may harm an Aboriginal object or declared Aboriginal Place then the developer must investigate, assess and report on the harm that may be caused by that activity. This second process is described in the OEH guideline titled Guideline to Investigating, Assessing and Reporting on Aboriginal Cultural Heritage in NSW (2011). Where harm to an Aboriginal object cannot be avoided, an application for an Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit (AHIP) must be made by the developer. These permits are issued at the discretion of the Director General. All AHIP applicants must undertake consultation with Aboriginal communities in accordance with the NPW Regulation.*
>
> *If a developer harms an Aboriginal object or declared Aboriginal Place without an AHIP, the developer has broken the law and can be prosecuted in the courts. The NPW Act identifies a number of defences and exemptions to the offence of harming an Aboriginal object or declared Aboriginal Place*
>
> OEH 2012: 8

Heritage Act 1997

The *Heritage Act 1977* (Heritage Act) is applicable to the current assessment. This Act established the Heritage Council of NSW. The Heritage Council's role is to advise the government on the protection of heritage assets, make listing recommendations to the Minister in relation to

the State Heritage Register, and assess/approve/decline proposals involving modification to heritage items or places listed on the Register. Most proposals involving modification are assessed under Section 60 of the Heritage Act.

Automatic protection is afforded to ‘relics’, defined as ‘any deposit or material evidence relating to the settlement of the area that comprised New South Wales, not being Aboriginal settlement, and which holds state or local significance’ (note: formerly the Act protected any ‘relic’ that was more than 50 years old. Now the age determination has been dropped from the Act and relics are protected according to their heritage significance assessment rather than purely on their age). Excavation of land on which it is known or where there is reasonable cause to suspect that ‘relics’ will be exposed, moved, destroyed, discovered or damaged is prohibited unless ordered under an excavation permit.

2 ABORIGINAL STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATION: METHODS AND RESULTS

In the period 14 February to 22 May 2018, OzArk undertook extensive consultation with relevant Aboriginal persons with interests in the Bourke LGA. This consultation was in the form of phone calls to relevant Aboriginal agencies and individuals, along with supporting emails and mail. Further, formal notice of the project objectives and announcement of dates for local workshops to discuss the project were provided to all parties identified in the consultation period. Newspaper advertisements were placed and posters created. The OzArk consultation log is included in **Appendix 1**.

In the period 25 May–12 June 2018, Dr Brendan Corrigan made a series of phone calls to people he was directed to speak with by various Aboriginal people on the initial contact list. In this way, Dr Corrigan was able to provide information on the purpose and details of the project and seek support from local relevant Aboriginal people to assist in the process. The people contacted by Dr Corrigan during this period are listed in **Appendix 2**.

On 13 June 2018 a community workshop meeting was held at the Country Women's Association facility, Enngonia; and on 14 June 2018 a community workshop meeting was held at the BSC Chambers, Bourke.

For various reasons, not all Aboriginal people who would have wished to have been at the community consultation meetings and had flagged their attendance were able to make the meetings. However, both community workshop meetings were nonetheless well-attended and much valuable discussion occurred at them. A record of the attendance and outcomes of these meetings is enclosed in **Appendix 3**, with meeting minutes provided in **Appendix 4**.

One of the key outcomes of the consultations with Aboriginal stakeholders was that while the community consultation meetings were considered a solid first step, it was emphasised by the stakeholders that considerable further steps would be required. These include:

- Future efforts will need to emphasise that particular Aboriginal persons should be spoken to for specific areas in the BSC, i.e. particular persons '*speak for*' specific geographic areas or site types and they will be able to provide further information, advise on particular steps or protocols which may be required in relation to specific sites. This is not a simple process as more than one person / family may have different associations with a specific place and consultation will need to help identify these people;
- Such knowledge holders / persons will need time to then speak with other relevant Aboriginal persons in relation to any culturally appropriate heritage protection steps; and
- The consultation undertaken as part of this report will hopefully provide a basis for BSC to seek further resources to achieve the above steps.

3 HISTORY

The following sections comprise a brief review of human history within the Bourke LGA. It is limited by the fact that much of what is known of the Bourke LGA prior to colonial occupation has not been recorded in the kinds of historical documents commonly used to create such a 'history'. This is not to say that there is not significant knowledge within the Aboriginal community about culture prior to 1800, just that this information is harder to access. As a result, much of what is documented below about Aboriginal culture is drawn from ethno-historic accounts from explorers and early settlers and must be understood as a record 'through the lens' of each recorder's own cultural background.

Much of the material presented in this review is taken from the original work of Caroline Plim, who prepared the *Volume 2 - History* of the draft BSAHS of 2007. We are much indebted to this significant piece of historical research. In some sections below this work has been paraphrased, but in others it has been replicated in its original wording. It was not part of the OzArk study to recreate this body of work, but to capitalise on the earlier efforts.

3.1 OVERVIEW

This history of Bourke can be very broadly divided into the following chronological periods:

- Pre-colonial period
- Early survey/exploration (1830s)
- Colonial uptake of land (1840s onwards)
- Subsequent expansion of colonial land usage (running of livestock, taking of timber for construction and so forth), including the riverboat period (c.1860s–1920s).
- Modern (later twentieth/twenty-first century).

The pre-colonial period, as evidenced through ethnographic sources, is discussed in greater detail in **Section 3.2**, as one of the primary chronological periods of relevance to this project. **Section 3.3** reviews the impact of colonial occupation on the Aboriginal people of the Bourke LGA.

Section 3.1.1 provides a brief backdrop of the colonial era to contextualise the following sections.

3.1.1 Brief post-colonial history of Bourke

The colonial history of Bourke is well-documented in many written works, particularly the *Bourke Aboriginal Heritage Study* - Volume 2 completed by Plim (2007), as referenced in the current report (**Section 1.2**) and this following section does not aim to provide new research or a detailed recounting of this material. A simple setting of the scene for the impact of this history on Aboriginal people is established in the brief history that follows.

The first non-Aboriginal people who are documented as arriving in the Bourke region are the early explorers Charles Sturt and Hamilton Hume, who found the Darling River in 1829 as part of their exploration of the Bourke region (BDHS 1966 vol 1: 12). They were followed soon after by the Surveyor General Mitchell, who did not always enjoy the peaceful relationship with local Aboriginal people that Sturt and Hume had. The incidents of violence towards Mitchell's party from the local Aboriginal people led Mitchell to establish the Fort Bourke stockade on 27 May 1835, about 8 miles downriver from the current town of Bourke at a location now known as Rice's paddocks (BDHS 1966 vol 1: 22).

Hume, Sturt and Mitchell were followed by surveyors and early pioneers who created a living out of the relatively harsh environment. Various historical details, including the impact of the remarkable 1890 flood, are set out in BDHS 1966: 111–124.

Bourke was at one time a major town in the world's wool industry:

> *By the 1890s, Bourke was a major port for the transport of the southern Queensland and northern NSW wool clip that was transported down the Darling to the Murray River and onto Adelaide for ship transport overseas. The Port of Bourke was the focus of the world's wool industry with up to 80 riverboats servicing the region. The opening of the rail system in Australia and the unreliability of the river flow saw the gradual demise of the 'River Highway' by the early 20th century.*
>
> Outback NSW

In their report concerning the documentation of riverboat remains along the Darling River (including the wrecks the Wave and the Nile within the Bourke LGA) Nutley & Smith 2003 (page 7) note that:

> *On its path across New South Wales, the Darling River flows through the lands of many Aboriginal clans, including 15 major groups representing tens of thousands of years of interaction with the river and other cultural activity. Shipwrecks and associated sites along the Darling River therefore represent a part of history that interacts with and overlays earlier and concurrent Aboriginal occupation.*

All of these phases of European occupation have directly involved and benefited from the efforts of local and immigrant Aboriginal people.

Throughout Australia, the tales of colonial uptake and exploitation of land are replete with examples of the importance of Aboriginal labour. Most remote Australian settlements, such as Bourke and its associated early outstations and pastoral operations (cattle, sheep and associated fencing and construction), relied heavily on Aboriginal labour. The collection of historical details

for the Bourke District prepared by the Bourke District Historical Society (BDHS 1996) is a valuable further resource on the colonial history of Bourke.

DEC 2005 notes the prevalence of Aboriginal labour on rural stations in the Bourke region. The document records stories from ten Aboriginal women from the Bourke region, where they observe that Aboriginal people in the region have worked at:

> *…everything from helping with mustering to domestic chores in the homestead to carting water for the camp. They tell about camping by the rivers and travelling from station to station, as work demanded. They took pride in their ability to do station work. One of the ladies tells us about raising her children on the properties her husband managed. She tells about educating her seven children herself while at the same time helping her husband with the mustering and the sheep marking. She tells of taking all the children out with her as she drove around in a Land Rover mustering the horses and cattle and of cooking lunch over a camp fire out in the paddocks. Another lady tells about fishing along the Darling River, a river she knows so well*
>
> (DEC 2005:iii).

3.2 ETHNO-HISTORIC SOURCES OF REGIONAL ABORIGINAL CULTURE

In this section, the spelling of traditional names follow the method used by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra in the 1970s (Kamien 1978: 8).

The Bourke LGA is part of the Riverine Region of the Western Division of New South Wales which was traditionally the home of around fifteen Aboriginal groups (following Horton (2) 1994: 946). The boundaries of the land they occupied do not align with the artificial boundaries of the shire and were defined largely by rivers and landforms, as well as by access to the diverse seasonal resources of the environment. The people of the region managed the environment and were traditionally hunters and gatherers as well as seed harvesters (Goodall 1999: 181).

The pre-European inhabitants, or traditional owners, of the land now known as the Bourke LGA, were understood by Plim[2] (2007) to consist of five main groups: the Ngiyampaa; Barranbinya; Paruntji; Naualko; and Muruwari peoples.

The authors of this report have been advised by the Aboriginal people consulted that they understand the Bourke LGA to be the traditional country of Barkindji people, Bardaji people,

[2] Caroline Plim compiled a draft Aboriginal History of the Bourke LGA for the BSC in 2007. Much of the relevant text from that document has been edited into this section of this report.

Murrawari people, Nyemba people and Nyirrpa people, who each occupied different areas throughout the LGA[3].

We note that this document is not prepared as evidence to support any Native Title aspirations of local Aboriginal people and accordingly we seek to ensure that we do not pre-judge the research which we understand to be ongoing for that purpose.

The Ngiyampaa (sometimes recorded as Ngyammba, Ngiyambaa or Ngemba) inhabited land to the south and east of the Darling River. The Ngiyampaa people refer to themselves as '*speaking Ngiyampaa the Wayilwan way*' to distinguish their dialect from others in the central western region (NPWS 2004b:1).

It is thought that the Ngiyampaa called the Darling River Callewatta, while the site of present day Bourke was referred to as Wortumurtie; possibly a general term meaning '*large waterhole*' (Cameron 1978: 20). The Ngiyampaa people had important associations with the natural rock waterholes at Byrock, the land around Gundabooka Range and were sometimes referred to as '*stone country people*' (Jack 2002: 3). The Brewarrina fish traps are notable examples of water management by the Ngiyampaa people (HO & DUAP 1996: 192).

The Paruntji (sometimes shown as Parundji) people identified with the region surrounding the Paroo River near the Queensland border. The Kula language was spoken on both sides of the Warrego between the Queensland and the Warrego's junction with the Darling at Toorale.

The Naualko people inhabited land on both sides of the Darling River, west of the Warrego junction and the lower reaches of the Paroo, while the Muruwari people occupied land between the Culgoa and Warrego Rivers (Goodall, quoted in Jack 2002: 3).

The approximate locations of Aboriginal people and different languages groups are shown in the maps on **Figures 3-1** and **3-2**. These maps have been used as a basis for discussion of the different Aboriginal groups overlapping the Bourke LGA. Boundaries and names of groups vary from one source to another. Some languages were often spoken by a number of groups over a large area. Some maps record them as single people rather than a number of groups with differing names speaking of the one language or dialects of the language. Other maps show the different clans or groups within the larger language groups.

In comparison, the traditional land, or in some cases more accurately language group areas, around Bourke are depicted on **Figure 3-2**, and these Traditional Owner groups are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

[3] Phone interview with Phillip Sullivan, 17 May 2018.

Figure 3-1: A map of NSW and southern Queensland showing approximate language or dialect boundaries (source: Goodall in Kingsford 1999: 182).

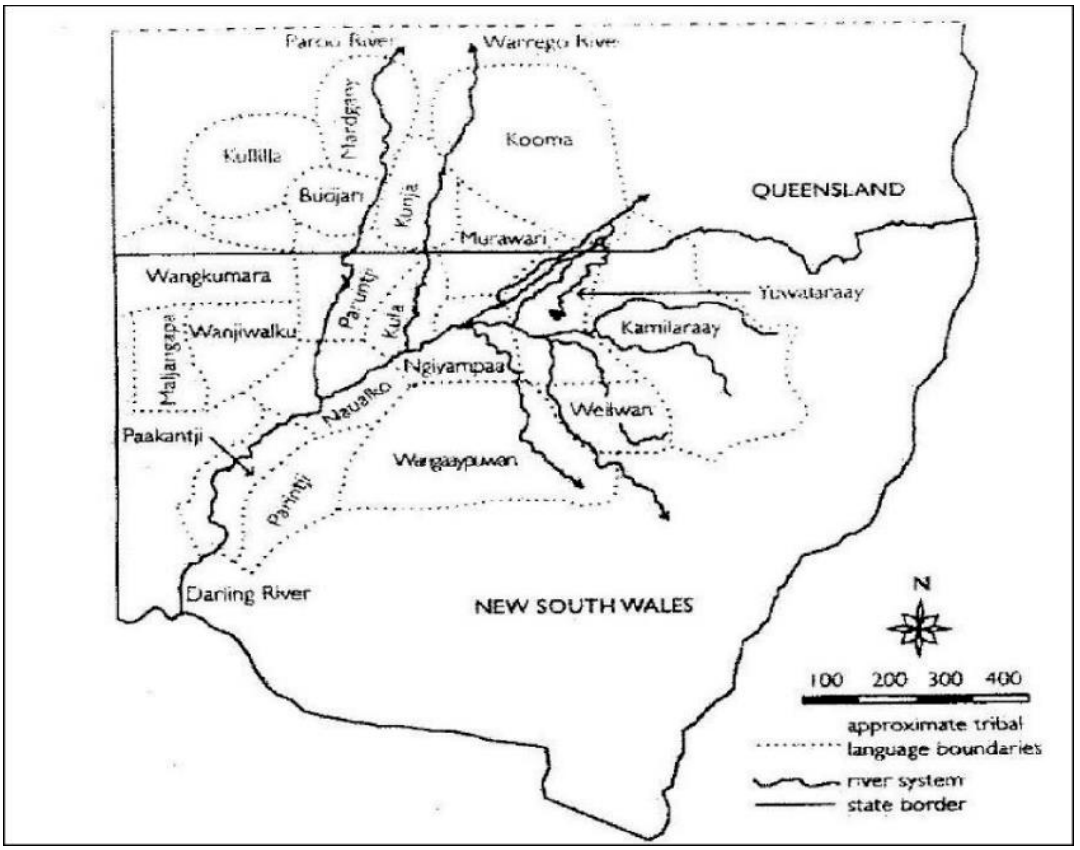
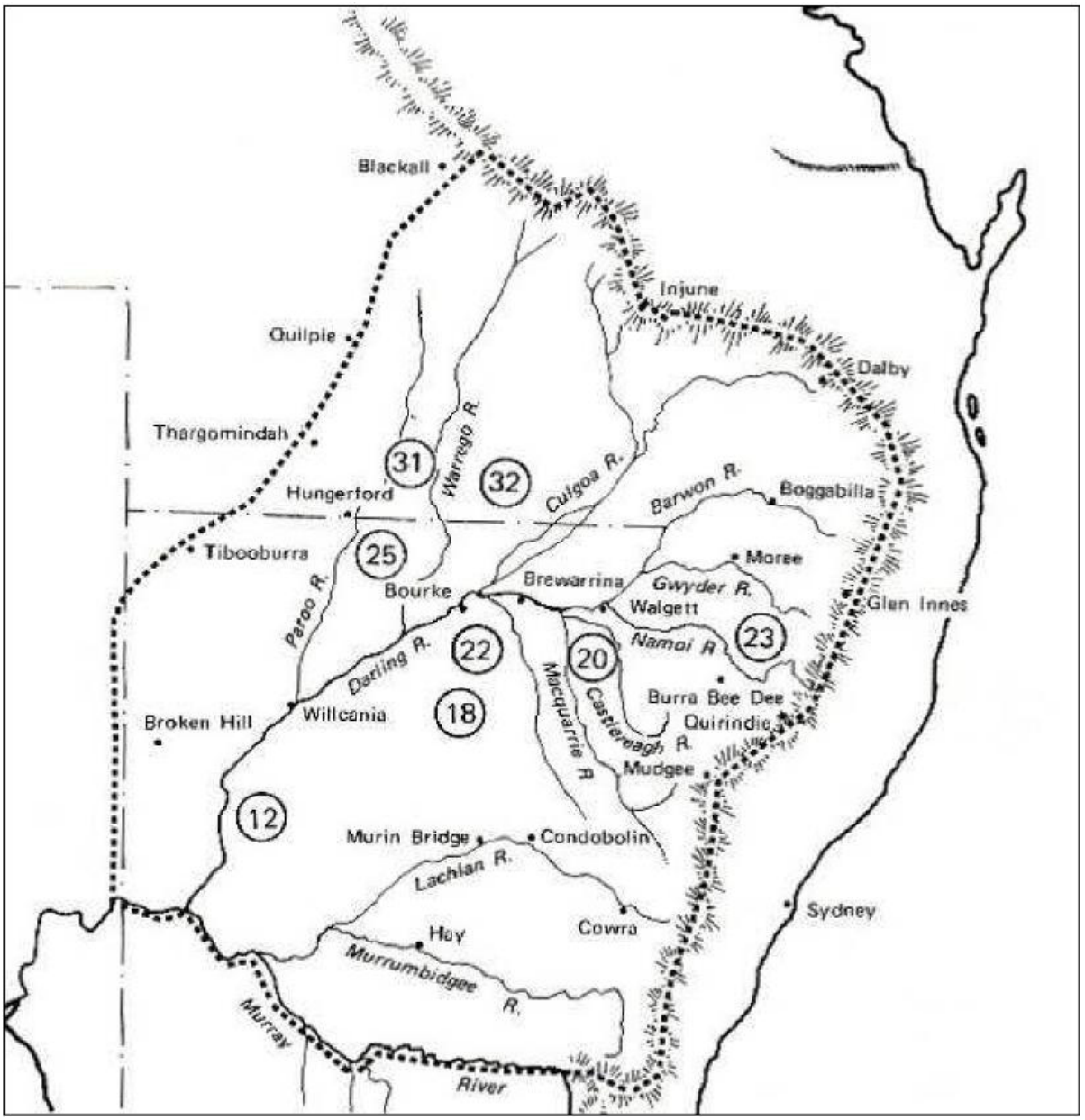


Figure 3-2: Location of traditional land of indigenous people around Bourke and neighbouring districts including that of the Bargundji (12), Wongaibon (18), Waljwan (20), Ngamba (22), Gamilaroi (23), Gu:rnu (25), Badjari (31) and Marawari (32) [after Kamien 1978: 8].



3.2.1 Barranbinya (Baranbinja) People

The territory of the Baranbinja people once centred on what is now known as the town Bourke and was bordered by the traditional land of the Muruwari, Wailwan, Wongaibon (Wangaaybuwan) and Gunu peoples (Horton 1994 (1): 102) (**Figure 3-3**). Many maps showing tribal lands in New South Wales omit the Barranbinya people and show the area around Bourke as that of the Ngiyampaa language group, the history of which is shown later in this report.

Unfortunately, there is little information recorded about the Barranbinya people. Jimmie Barker in his recollections of his life and that of Aboriginal people of the region notes that the Muruwari people adopted words from the languages of nearby groups including the Ngiyampaa and

'Baranbinja' people (Barker & Mathews 1997: 28). His mention of both groups infers that they were recognised as separate. It is possible that Barranbinya is a dialect of Ngiyampaa. The lives of the Barranbinya people warrant further investigation.

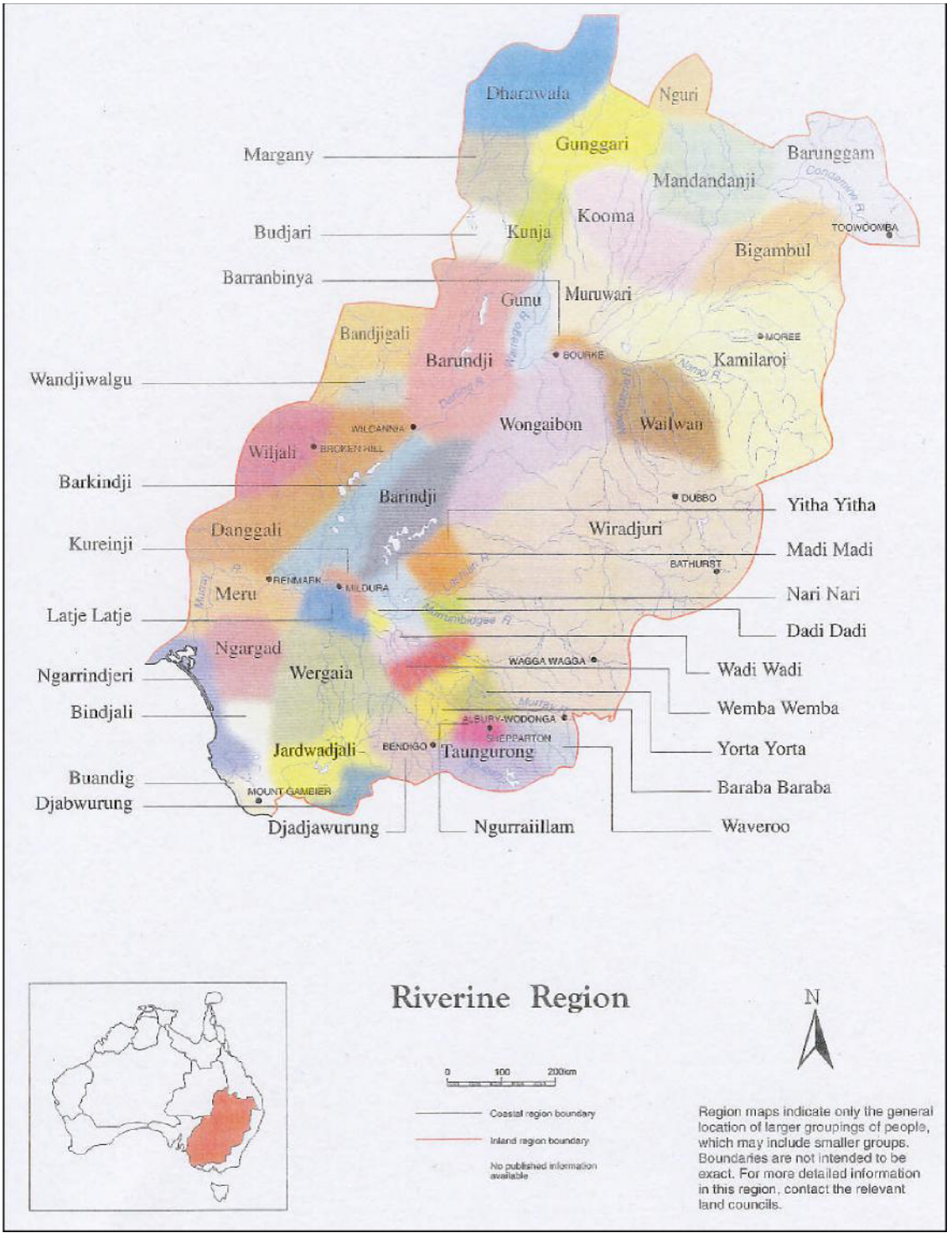
3.2.2 Ngiyampaa (Ngiyambaa or Ngemba) People

The word Ngiyampaa denotes a language group of the Wangaapuwan (Wangaabuwan or Wongaibon) and the Wayilwan (Wailwan) people. The Ngiyampaa people inhabited a large area extending approximately southeast of the Darling River, south to Mt Gundabooka and east to Brewarrina. It includes the present day towns of Bourke and Brewarrina and the settlement of Louth. The Ngiyampaa formed two distinct linguistic groups: the southern group or Wangaapuwan; and the Wayilwan who live in the east. The broader language group, however, is often simply referred to as Ngiyampaa (Donaldson in Main 2000: 7). Maps of the tribal and language groups of the riverine area can be confusing and differ with the Ngiyampaa sometimes shown separately from the Wangaapuwan and the Wayilwan. At other times, as on **Figure 3-3**, it is incorporated into that of the Wangaapuwan, while the territory of the Barranbinya, who are reported to have lived in the general vicinity of the town of Bourke is shown.

Tamsin Donaldson study of the Ngiyampaa language and its people reveals that the speakers of the language explain the name as meaning '*the language*'. They call the area they come from '*their ngurrampaa*' meaning '*country*'. The Ngiyampaa speakers describe themselves further by territorial associations linked to the terrain (indicated by the suffix -kiyalu). Groups include pilaarrkiyalu (belar people), nhiilyikiyalu (nilyah tree people), karulkiyalu (stone country people) and kaliyarrkiyalu (Lachlan River people). The karulkiyalu are linked to the region between Cobar and Bourke, unfortunately not covered in detail in Donaldson's research (1984: 23, 27)

Donaldson points out that in the 1980s some of the descendants of the Wayilwan speakers of Ngiyampaa live in the vicinity of Bourke, Brewarrina, Coonamble and Walgett; while some Wangaaypuwan speakers settled in places including Menindee, Ivanhoe, Murrin Bridge and Wagga Wagga (Donaldson 1984: 34, 35, 38). Some people of Wayilwan descent prefer the spelling '*Ngemba*' for the name of the language (Donaldson 1984: 41).

Figure 3-3: Map of the tribal groups in the riverine region (source: Horton 1994 (2): 946).



Both Ngiyampaa (Wongaibon or Wangaaypuwan) and Paakantji peoples hold traditional connections to the Gunderbooka Range, south of the town of Bourke. The Ngiyampaa lived in the range and the plains to the east of the Darling River while the Paakantji who lived along the river frequently visited the range. The Gunderbooka Range, a significant and rare sandstone outcrop, provided many of the basic needs of the Ngiyampaa including food, water and shelter; also fulfilling cultural needs providing suitable places for rock art and ceremonies (Main 2000: 8, 13).

The research of Max Kamien, derived from a number of sources including Aboriginal informants who spent their youth in a traditional or semi-traditional way, provides a picture of the life of the Ngiyampaa people around the time European contact. The Ngiyampaa lived in well-constructed, semi-permanent bark and grass shelters along the banks of the Calle-watta, now known as the Darling River. Huts accommodated ten to fifteen people. They constructed bark canoes from which they caught fish. The diet of the Ngiyampaa people was diverse and seasonal. Birds were caught in nets and kangaroos, emus, bilbys and goannas were hunted (Kamien 1978: 9).

Native flora provided additional food sources and they included wild orange (Capparis mitchelli), bush banana (Leichhardtia australis), bush lemon (Canthium oleifolium), gruie apple (Owenia acidula) and quandong (Santilum acuminatum). Four-leaf clover seeds known as nardoo (Marsilea quadrifolia) were also collected and ground to make a type of meal. Food was cooked over an open fire or on hot stones lining a small 'oven-like' hole in the ground (Kamien 1978: 9).

Disputes among the Ngiyampaa were reportedly settled by a group of elders with the focus on reconciliation. Extreme infringements of laws were dealt with by death or expulsion. Initiation in both sexes consisted of removal of the upper right incisor and occasionally by the division of the nasal septum. In times of conflict, warriors would paint themselves with ochre and wars were reported as being brief (Kamien 1978: 9).

Funerary practices involved mourners covering their bodies with white clay and the widow or widower wearing a clay headpiece. After the ceremony the clay 'cap' was put on the grave. Burials took place along the river with bodies placed in a foetal position at the highest flood mark (Kamien 1978: 10).

G.K. Dunbar observed and recorded information about the Ngiyampaa people who were residing on Yanda Station in the second half of the nineteenth century (Dunbar 1943). He claimed to have known the people intimately, accompanied them on hunting trips, watched weapons and canoes being made, and learnt their language (cited in Main 2000: 20). Their societal structure, based on totems linked to species of flora and fauna, assisted them in sustaining a diverse food supply. Totems also formed the basis of an '*intricate kinship system*' guiding relationships between individuals and groups (Main 2000: 20). The importance of the system is illustrated by its continued existence well into the late 1970s when it was investigated by Max Kamien, a doctor in Bourke. Kamien observed that '*all Aboriginal adults and most children*' knew their totem and referred to it by its traditional name. Most continued to follow Aboriginal law and would not eat their own totem (Main 2000: 21).

Main 2000 provides an insight into the culture of the Ngiyampaa people and the rich and complex environment in which they lived. Central to Ngiyampaa creation stories is the Gunderbooka

Range which was the ancient path of Baiame[4], a mythical creation figure who created the landscape and its people. The clumps of gidgee (Acacia cambagei) that dot the western plains are believed to represent Baiame's footprints. Paul Gordon a Ngiyampaa descendant, explained that Baiame,

> *...had animal spirits to help him create the landscape: Kangaroo, Emu, Goanna, and the Porcupine who was the most important. Big Goanna formed the Gunderbooka Ranges. When he had finished that he went to sleep and from certain situations you can see his form where he is sleeping – see his legs, tail and body.*
>
> cited in Main 2000: 12

Ngiyampaa people from Brewarrina believed that the Darling River followed Baiame's journey east, while the tributaries of the river, such as Yanda Creek, mark the routes taken by the spirit dogs that travelled with the creation spirit. According to the creation story, Baiame's footprints were visible at Brewarrina not far from the fisheries, Cobar, Wuggarbuggarnea (Byrock waterholes) and on the Gunderbooka Range (cited in Main 2000: 12; Barker & Mathews 1997: 61). Baiame was also a god of several other neighbouring groups (Barker & Mathews 1997: 61).

The footprints at Brewarrina were on flat surfaces of rocks; one downstream on the town side of the Barwon River and another near a large rock described in Mathews 1903. Ngiyampaa people explained to Jimmie Barker, a Muruwari man that,

> *Baiame traveled east to west accompanied by his pack of Mirijula or 'spirit dogs'. As he walked, one dog would move away from him and run in a slightly easterly direction. A little later another dog would run off on its own. All but four dogs went on their separate ways and moved towards the east. The remaining four dogs always stayed together and accompanied Baiame to his destination. When they were approaching the sea they all rested and waited for the return of the other dogs*
>
> Barker & Mathews 1997: 62

This is one of a number of stories about Baiame's journey. Some Ngiyampaa people believed that Baiame stayed with the people to show them how to build the fish traps at Brewarrina and during this period the footprints were created there (Barker & Mathews 1997: 62). This is one of numerous legends remembered by Aboriginal people and which continued to be passed down to their children throughout the disruption and dislocation caused by European settlement in the 19th and 20th centuries. Jimmie Barker recalled a Ngiyampaa story told to him by his mother and Jimmy Kerrigan. As a small boy he was taken to the place on the Culgoa River where Giyan, a

[4] Known under various spellings in different sources.

mythical character representing the moon was believed to be drowned. The place was called Giyan bawuma: or *'the place of the resurrection of the moon*'. The story explains how the moon disappears and reappears every month. The Muruwari people have a slightly different version of the story and, as explained by Jimmie Barker, the Muruwari, Juwalarai and the Ngiyampaa people had a close association, understanding each other's languages, sharing legends and meeting for corroborees (Barker & Mathews 1977: 19, 29).

The creation stories and other legends not only explained the formation of the sky, the landscape, its people, flora, and fauna, but importantly provided a '*framework for customary law*' and for learning. It was used to teach younger community members about acceptable behaviours and important values; relationships between people within and outside the group; and their relationship with the environment (Main 2000: 13).

3.2.2.1 Water for Ngiyampaa people

Supplies of fresh water were a critical resource for the Ngiyampaa people and neighbouring people frequenting the Cobar Peneplain. Their knowledge of the location of reliable sources was essential to their ability to travel long distances. Water sources consisted of natural water reservoirs and wells. In 1860 it was reported by a newspaper correspondent that,

> *...native wells were of common occurrence. These wells consisted of holes of about six feet deep, over the mouths of which were cross sticks, supporting bark coverings; the water in them appeared to be very cool, and evaporation was effectually prevented by the roofing*
>
> Sydney Morning Herald cited in Main 2000: 22

Rainmaking ceremonies were practised to attempt to end periods of drought. Billy Coleman, a Ngiyampaa '*clever man*' or '*wirringan mayi*' from Byrock recalled that,

> *...the head man of the camp would go away some little distance from the Camp lie down on the ground and speak to Mooka (Biaime) by means of the stone in his head...Mooka would direct him to come along a road to a mountain at the bottom of which there was supposed to be a door in perpetual motion always opening and shutting.*
>
> Main 2000: 22–23

By means of communications with Mooka's wife, rain, wind or other things would be requested and the man would then return to the camp. It would then rain two or three days after his return (cited in Main 2000: 22–23).

Marie Reay recorded a Ngiyampaa rainmaking ceremony which involved two '*medicine-men*' using a rainstone which was a large stone of white, glass-like quartz. The ceremony involved singing over the stone on the river bank and in a special waterhole. Dancing then took place on

the bank (cited in Main 2000: 23). Reay noted that excessive periods of rain was dealt with by the burning of a 'midget tree' (Acacia oswaldii) accompanied by singing and dancing. Tamsin Donaldson, a linguist, reported that Ngiyampaa people from the country south-west of Gunderbooka burned the warrior bush (warriyar or Apophyllum anomalum) to '*ward-off*' *rain*' (cited in Main 2000: 23).

3.2.2.2 Songs and dancing amongst the Ngiyampaa people

The use of singing and dancing in a rainmaking ceremony has briefly been described above but was used to a variety of other reasons included celebration and thanks. The Ngiyampaa were reputed to have quite impressive dances which involved the re-enactment of hunting, including tracking and killing prey (Barker & Mathews 1977: 36).

3.2.2.3 Food resources of the Ngiyampaa people

The Ngiyampaa people continued to use the Brewarrina fish traps well into the 20th century, camping nearby when they got an opportunity. On occasions c.1910 Jimmie Barker, a young boy at this time, joined the group of Ngiyampaa adults and children who would go to the entrance of the great yard downstream (rock enclosures in the river) and poke fish with sharp pointed sticks. This process was good for catching larger cod while farther up the yards the fish were smaller. The success of fishing relied on the height of the water and how fast it was running. Jimmie recalled catching catfish, cod, perch and bream. Freshwater crayfish and shrimps could be found between the rocks. A favourite place for fishing was known as the 'wing'. It consisted of a narrow opening into which the fish would swim and were prevented from going back. The fish were then gradually pushed into the area known as the yards (Barker & Mathews 1997: 62–3).

In 1848 W.C. Mayne, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, recorded a description of the fish traps at Brewarrina (**Figure 3-4**).

> *In a broad but shallow part of the head of the River where there are numerous rocks, the Aborigines have formed several enclosures or Pens, if I may use the word, into which the fish are carried, and there retained. To form these must have been a work of no trifling labour, and no slight degree of ingenuity and skill must be exercised in their construction, as I was informed by men who had passed several years in the vicinity, that not even the heaviest floods displace the stones forming the enclosures. The Aborigines catch immense quantities of fish in these and are enabled also to destroy great numbers of fishing Birds of various kinds that are attracted to them by their prey thus imprisoned.*
>
> Dargin 1976: 52

Other forms of food associated with the fish traps include the nardoo plant (ngartu, *Marsilea drummondii*), found floating in waterholes, which was one of many plant food sources used by the Ngiyampaa and other inland Aboriginal people. The fruit of the flower was ground to form flour (Main 2000: 24).

Rocks around the fisheries show evidence of the sharpening of tools and weapons and along each bank of the river were numerous middens - Nardu (or nardoo) stones for preparing nardoo and mill stones (used for sharpening spears) were once widely found in the area (Barker & Mathews 1997: 63).

The introduction of the steamboats to the Darling River had a detrimental effect on the Brewarrina and other Aboriginal fish traps which were partially dismantled to provide access for the steamers (HO & DUAP 1996: 193).

Figure 3-4. The fish traps at Brewarrina with Aboriginal boys fishing in the foreground, not dated (source: Postcard, Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences)

Moving of the rocks has led to the deterioration of the formation and a number of floods have led to the build-up of silt (Barker & Mathews 1997: 63). There are a number of legends linked to the fish traps (one of which was published in the September 1956 issue of *Dawn* magazine and in the *Western Herald* on 2 November 1956).

3.2.2.4 "Totems" amongst the Ngiyampaa people

Groups of Ngiyampaa not only related to their totems but were identified by the characteristics of the environment in which they lived. Anthropologist Jo Erskine's research revealed that Ngiyampaa people linked to Gundabooka were known as '*mulga*' or '*red soil*' people. Other interviews revealed that the people of Gundabooka were known as '*stone country people*' or '*the people who stay out back and don't camp on the rivers*' (Main 2000: 21). A number of rock art sites in Gundabooka and the surrounding country reveal scenes which depict the rich life of the Ngiyampaa people. They include among other things representations of animals, hunting scenes, the Brewarrina fish traps, women with digging sticks and ceremonial dancers (Main 2000: 24).

Marie Reay recorded another story at Walgett in the 1940s. Thought to be of Ngiyampaa origin, it linked the rainbow serpent with the Barwon River and Gundabooka Range (Main 2000: 25). As pointed out by Main,

> *The resilience of cultural knowledge associated with particular sites, after generations of social disruption, demonstrates the strength of traditional bonds between people and the environment.*
>
> Main 2000: 25

3.2.1 Paruntji (Parundji) People

The Paruntj, the name meaning people of the Paroo River, are the traditional owners of the land bordering the southern reaches of the Paroo River. The traditional owners on the northern reaches of the Paroo River include the Budjari,Kunja and Mardgany peoples (Goodall 1999: 181) (**Figure 3-1**). Tindale (1974) attempted to describe the territory of the Paruntji prior to settlement and his description shows it as extending from the Paroo River and Cuttaburra and Kulkyne Creeks; then from Goorimpa north to Brindingabba, Berawinna Downs, and Hungerford, at Wanaaring and Yantabulla. Unlike the Darling and Murray River Aboriginal peoples, the Paruntji people did not use bark canoes or the river for transport (NPWS 2003: 15). The territory of the Barkindji (Paakantji) people of the lower Darling extended into that of the Paruntji with whom they were known to be friendly. The traditional land of the Paruntji lies in the far western part of what is now the Bourke LGA.

As pointed out by Goodall (1999: 181), the traditional people's economic links to river and land were learned and lived in the context of rich '*storied places*'[5]. The people's right to the land was balanced carefully by important responsibilities. Like other Aboriginal groups, the Paruntji moved around their territory teaching their children through stories about ecological cycles as well as social obligations. Goodall's research reveals that the customs best remembered by the Paroo people are associated with the '*dangers and power of the water in deep holes in the rivers, and*

[5] Use that is associated with / dictated by the stories or legends of the place.

the making of rain and with warnings for floods' (Goodall 1999: 183). The people continued to teach their children about traditional ways of life on the land well after European settlement disrupted their lives and relocated them to other areas (Goodall 1999: 185).

The first contact with Europeans is thought to have been during Charles Sturt's journey of exploration and survey of the Paroo River area in 1829. This was followed by Thomas Mitchell's expeditions in 1835 and 1845–46 (Paroo River Catchment Area, Australian Heritage Database, Place Id. 105898). During Mitchell's expedition the Paruntji requested an exchange of goods in return for access to the river. Mitchell's journals record his grudging declaration that 'they seemed to think they owned the place'. Further attempts to barter were rejected by Mitchell no doubt leading to less friendly encounters in future (cited in Horton 1994 (1): 102).

Graziers brought their livestock to the Paroo River in the 1840s despite resistance from the traditional owners. Conflict and retaliation resulted in violence and deaths. Stories of violence are passed down through the strong oral traditions of the people while others are recorded in documentary sources. Disruptions to the environment and food sources, as well as restrictions on movements around the region led to Aboriginal people being gradually absorbed into the pastoral workforce in return meagre rations (Goodall 1999: 183). There were a number of properties where Aboriginal camps were established and, despite their significant role in the development of the pastoral economy, their extensive knowledge of country often went unrecognised by settlers.

By the early 20th century changes in the pastoral economy forced some Paruntji people south to Wilcannia or Bourke seeking work and schooling. Cultural traditions and knowledge of the Paroo country continued to be passed onto to their children despite dislocation from their land. Paruntji people continue to identify themselves by their country and feel a strong affinity with their homeland (Goodall 1999: 186).

3.2.2 Naualko People

The Naualko language group inhabited land on both sides of the Darling River, west of the Warrego junction and the lower reaches of the Paroo River (Goodall, quoted in Jack 2002: 3). The group is not mentioned in Horton 1994, however, research by Bobbie Hardy reveals that the Naualko people inhabited the northern part of the territory of the Barkindji people (Hardy 1976: 12). The Barkindji people of the riverine region inhabited an area roughly located on the lower Darling River from Wilcannia to the Murray River. The rivers were integral to the Barkindji and, dependant on the seasonal conditions, influenced their movements (Horton 1994 (1): 96).

3.2.2.1 Folklore amongst the Naualko people

Some of the traditions of the Naualko were documented by Frederic Bonney at Momba (between the Paroo and the Darling Rivers) in the 1880s and provides one of few records of their cultural

beliefs in the 19th century (Hardy 1976: 12). Hardy suggests that *Coolooberroo*, the mythical giant of the Naualko, might have been a version of a similar being known on the Murray as *Nurelli*. This connection provides an indication of the distances that the Barkindji roamed from time-to-time, and the connections that they established with people to the south and west. The heroic feats of *Coolooberroo* included the creation of the Koonenberry Range, a significant landmark on the surrounding plain, from a giant kangaroo. Stories of the Naualko also tell how the mythical being created the *Barka* River, renamed the Darling River by Charles Sturt (Hardy 1976: 13).

Other Naualko mythical beings included *belooroo*, a little bird who brought good news sometimes about rain; the *entees* that nested in trees and looked like a little '*whitefellows*'; *tooeeka,* wicked creatures who also lived in the trees; *mulla*, evil spirits of the caves and hills; and *nichee*, the northern equivalent of the bunyip of the Murray River, who haunted waterholes (Hardy 1976: 26). Naualko folklore was important in teaching children about their world. For example, the moon was named *Bytchooka* and had once been an ordinary man who was tricked by his wicked nephew. The story is used to explain the phases of the moon. The sun, depicted as a woman carrying a firestick, was *Yoko*. In summer she was known as *Muckwarra*, her firestick gave out a hot flame and strong light; while in winter she was *Kilpara*, holding a pontee stick giving out little light or heat (Hardy 1976: 27). Other aspects of the environment were explained to children through stories in this way.

3.2.2.2 Appearance, ornament and coverings amongst the Naualko people

The people of the Darling and Murray Rivers were said to be larger in stature than those of the plains as a result of access to a '*regular and varied diet*'. Their more settled existence also contributed to general wellbeing, with some variation from group to group. An initiation ritual in many of the Barkindji groups was the removal of the front tooth of young people. Many Barkindji displayed raised body scarring (*ninka*) and pierced septum in which a bone, wooden or feather ornament was worn. The patterned lines of the body scarring identified a person's moiety, determining the laws by which they were governed. This was more common in the northern Darling River area (Hardy 1976: 27). In cooler weather, Barkindji people wore possum or kangaroo skin cloaks. Children were carried on their mother's back in a net bag or *numyuncka*. Older Naualko women carried fans or *wuppa* made of emu tail feathers to ward off flies and mosquitoes. Other deterrents included smearing the body with grease made from fish or mud (Hardy 1976: 14).

3.2.2.3 Tools and technology amongst the Naualko people

Few parts of an animal were wasted after its meat had been eaten. Animal products had diverse uses and were not only used for warmth or food. Possum skins were used to cover the handles of stone knives and fur was twisted into twine using a wooden teasel and spindle device. Skin

bags were used to carry water or grain when travelling from one site to another. At times excess grain was buried in the sandhills for later use (Hardy 1976: 14).

3.2.2.4 Shelter amongst the Naualko people

In the summer months people slept in the open however when cooler the women built gunyahs called *curelie* on the northern Darling and *waimbadjibunga* (‘*or shelters for the people*’) on the southern reaches of the river. The lean-to structures with rounded ends were built of sticks and branches and generally housed two or three people in a sleeping position. More substantial huts were built for longer stays at the one location. During his journeys of exploration in 1835, Thomas Mitchell reportedly saw a larger structure on the northern Darling that was able to sleep about fifteen people. Other reports of similar structures were made by John Harris Browne in 1845 in the Grey Range of the Corner Country. A number of curelie survived in isolated parts of the outback until the early 20th century (Hardy 1976: 15).

3.2.2.5 Food preparation amongst the Naualko people

Food was cooked in clay-lined ovens or on open fires and distributed according to tribal custom. The status or age of a person determined the cut of meat that they were allocated and in what order it was distributed. Pregnant women were given special consideration and allocated the meat of a small wallaby or pademelon, known by the Naualko as *kerooma* (Hardy 1976: 16).

3.2.2.6 Tribal law amongst the Naualko people

Tribal law and customs regulated the lives and routines of the Barkandji and was explained through stories taught to children at various stages in their upbringing. They provided guidelines for inter-tribal and intra-tribal relations ensuring that individuals and groups understood their rights and responsibilities. Complex and strict traditional laws guided both men and women in every aspect of their day-to-day lives. Each child inherited one of two moieties from their mother, and marriages were arranged according to this and other criteria including mutual affection. Aboriginal laws were often depicted in legends and stories. Tribal law also imposed punishments for the contravention of laws (Hardy 1976: 16, 18–19). In the 1880s Frederic Bonney made note of the courtesy with which the Naualko dealt with others and the loyalty with which they treated friends. The elderly and young were treated with special consideration (Hardy 1976: 17).

3.2.2.7 Games and sports amongst the Naualko people

Children took part in camp life from an early age, learning skills through games and competition with others. Simple games including those with a stuffed ball made of possum skin or others using twine manipulated cleverly with the fingers and hands. Boys took part in competitions with men, building skills that would later be useful in hunting. Girls played a game resembling marbles, using quandong seeds which they manipulated with their toes (Hardy 1976: 20–1).

3.2.2.8 Death and burial rituals amongst the Naualko people

Death was treated with much seriousness with the burial ritual being 'solemn and prolonged'. Naualko ceremonies varied from other Barkindji tribes. Observations by Frederic Bonney in the 1880s included that before burial a piece of flesh was cut from the body and dried, then distributed among the Naualko mourners. It was either sucked to give strength or thrown into the river to bring desired things such as fish or flood. As the body was lowered into the grave,

> *There is much crying and wailing, especially by the women, each one crying in a loud tone the word signifying their relation to the deceased, commencing with a high note and gradually lowering their tone in a shaky voice, repeating the word while they have breath to spare, dwelling long on the last syllable... The words most frequently heard are ammuci (mother), gumbidgi (father), whimberri (child), matogi (friend). After the grave is filled in wailing over the grave continues for some time and then later at the camp for several days. For a week or more women cry at the camp or grave at sunset.*
>
> Hardy 1976: 22

The deceased person's possessions were hung on a tree for a few months and after washing were used by relatives. After a death the tribe would move camp and avoid saying the person's name. Similar to the Ngiyampaa people the dead person's nearest female relative would wear a thick plaster (gypsum) *kopi* or cap on her head. This was secured by a small net plastered onto the shortened hair. A thinner coat of plaster was also smeared on the rest of the face and body (Hardy 1976: 22–3).

3.2.2.9 Belief systems amongst the Naualko people

The *mekigar*, the '*repository of all wisdom*' in a tribe was a respected position which in some of the northern tribes was passed from father to son. The position held great responsibility and a long apprenticeship was served. The *mekigar* was believed to be party to mysteries in the spirit world, communicate with the ancestors, bring rain, and to be able to heal or punish people through magic. The Naualko believed that the dead existed in the heavens or *wambalungie,* amongst ancestral beings in the form of stars (Bonney in Hardy 1976: 25). A *mekigar* led the Naualko in rainmaking ceremonies at Momba, during which they used a talisman known as a 'yerna' stone, brought from the Grey Range. The ritual was considered '*men's business*' from which women were excluded (Hardy 1976: 25–6).

3.2.2.10 Kinship with neighbouring groups amongst the Naualko people

Kinship with neighbouring groups was celebrated at seasonal get-togethers at designated places. This was also an opportunity to exchange goods and to make agreements over points of conflict.

The Naualko met with the Wongaibon and Ngiyampaa at Wiltagoona, a deep, sandstone rock hole between Cobar and Louth (Hardy 1976: 27).

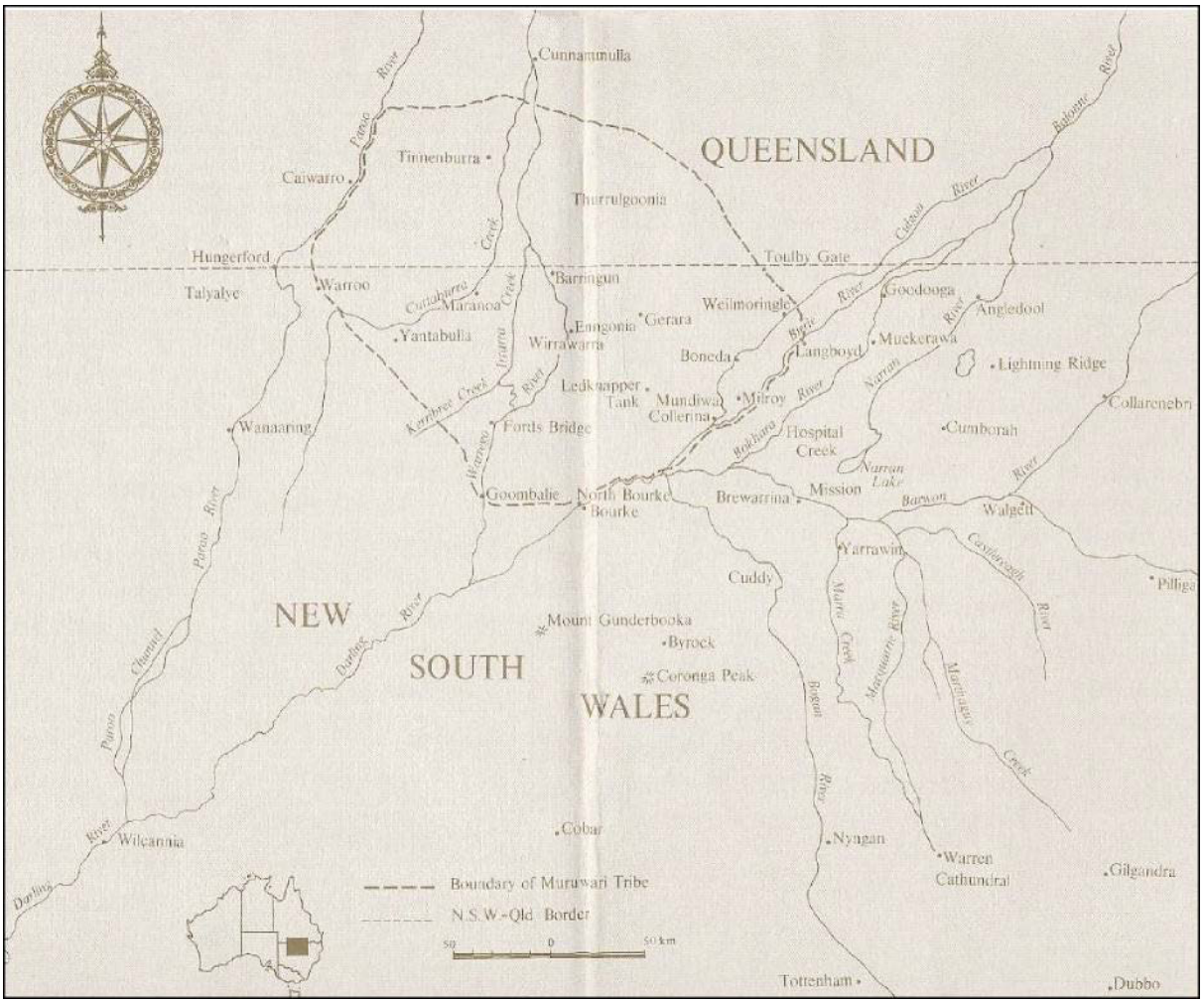
3.2.3 Muruwari (Murra Warre or Murrawarre) people

The traditional land of the Muruwari people as described by Jimmie Barker in his reminiscences is roughly bounded by the Paroo River in the west; and the Birrie River in the east. Its northern boundary follows a line just south of Cunnumulla, while in the south their territory extended between the Darling River at North Bourke and Gommbalie on the Warrego River. It should be emphasised that all descriptions are only approximate and differ somewhat from the language boundaries depicted in **Figure 3-5**. The territory of the Muruwari people bordered that of the Ngiyampaa to the south and the Yuwalaraay (sometimes shown as Juwalarai and similar variants) to the east extending into Queensland. The groups understood each other's languages, shared legends and sometimes met for corroborees (Barker & Mathews 1977: 29).

Barker & Mathews 1977 provides a comprehensive account of the lives, culture and traditions of the Muruwari people as learnt as a child and young man. Jimmie Barker, a Muruwari man, took an active interest in every aspect of his culture and in later life recorded it on a series of tapes made from 1971.

The Muruwari people seem to have maintained their traditions and language longer than other groups in the area, possibly due to pastoralists leaving them to live in traditional groups with less interference than had occurred in other areas. Barker who was born in 1900 recalled living a traditional childhood with his mother and brother, camping out, hunting, learning about the environment and their laws and cultural traditions of the Muruwari people (Horton 1994 (2): 740). Much of the information in this section of the report is drawn from Jimmie Barker's recollections and it should be kept in mind that other Muruwari people had differing experiences and views of their culture.

Figure 3-5: Boundaries of the territory of the Muruwari people as recorded by Jimmie Barker (1900-1972), a Muruwari man (source: Barker & Mathews 1997: frontispiece)



3.2.3.1 Religion amongst the Muruwari people

The religious beliefs of the Muruwari people were strong and integral to their culture and way-of-life. They believed that *Bida-Ngulu*, or *Wi-Bida-Ngulu*, was the creator of all things who could never be '*looked upon*' and who would protect them from evil. The symbol for *Bida-Ngulu* was a circle surrounded by rays resembling the sun. The symbol represented his '*countenance*' and was described as '*like fire*'. Religious beliefs were explained though dreaming or creation stories and used to teach life skills and tribal law (Barker & Mathews 1977: 31). Some of the stories of the people in western NSW were shared. Although there are minor variations to stories, many underlying themes are the same, as are some of the messages they convey. The Muruwari creator of all things *Bida-Ngulu* gave the Aboriginal people the '*duwadi'* or living spirit and is connected to dreams. The creator also gave the spirit of life or *widji bidjuru* to animals, birds, fish, reptiles and insects (Barker & Mathews 1977: 15, 31).

Bida-Ngula gave people their totems, or *bidjuru* which were the spirits of animals, reptiles and birds. Sometimes totems were referred to by the word *widji* meaning '*meat*'. Emu, kangaroo and

goanna were considered to be superior totemic groups (Barker & Mathews 1977: 32). There were also bad spirits such as '*Brena:di'* who broke Aboriginal law and had been punished.

Jimmie Barker recalled learning as a child about his environment, the seasons as well as the movement of the sun, stars and moon (known as *giyan*) through stories told by the elders of his group. He learnt that the movements of the planets, Jupiter and Venus were important. Their position in the night sky and in the morning was essential for finding ones way through the bush. Barker recalled being taught about the names of the stars and the animals they represented. There were numerous stories based on the night sky and over the years he learnt many of them (Barker & Mathews 1977: 13).

3.2.3.2 Muruwari language

It is thought that the original pronunciation of Muruwari was *Muruwurari*, meaning '*fall with fighting club*'. Aboriginal groups speaking Muruwari went by different names and occupied different areas around the Darling, Culgoa and Barwon Rivers. Some of the words and pronunciation differed slightly between groups on the boundaries and those in the central areas (Barker & Mathews 1977: 29). Jimmie Barker recorded a great deal of the Muruwari language and its dialects and the tapes and transcriptions are held by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS).

Barker pointed out that the word '*gari'* means '*belonging to*' and is a suffix on most names of groups in the area. The people of the lower Culgoa River, known as the Nandugari, occupied an area extended from about 40 miles (64.37 kilometres) above Brewarrina down the Culgoa River to its junction with the Darling River, then extended down the Darling to North Bourke. The word '*nandu'* means '*at times there is nothing*' and also appears in the name of another group, the Dinandu. This small group lived near the Barwon River near its junction with the Culgoa River (Barker & Mathews 1977: 27–8).

The territory of the Gandugari or North Culgoa people extended to the Queensland border to the west of Toulby Gate and the Birrie River in the east. Their pronunciation of the language differed from that of the southern Muruwari people. Jimmie Barker was descended from the Gangugari who came from an area near Ford's Bridge at North Bourke extending south to Dry Lake. The Baragari or Badaragari group occupied an area between Yantabulla north to the Paroo River, while the Dinigada group centred on Ledknapper Tank extending north to Boneda. Brinundu was the name of a small group near the northern boundary of the territory occupied by the Muruwari. The word 'bri-'*translates as 'acacia*' meaning '*at times there are no acacia*' while the word 'brewarrina' means '*the place where acacias grow*' (Barker & Mathews 1977: 27–8).

Despite the various groups speaking the same language they observed strict laws when travelling to or through the territory of others. Visitors would stop at a distance from the camp of another until invited to join them. They might invite the visitors to hunt with them or the visiting group would

ask permission to hunt alone (Barker & Mathews 1997: 177). This is only one example of numerous customary laws based on respect.

The Muruwari language continued to be widely spoken until the early 20th century. Following the forced resettlement of Aboriginal people onto missions, fewer people spoke in language except privately. In many cases harsh mission managers and employers prohibited its use. Over time, fewer and fewer people spoke in language making the passing on of their culture to future generations, in the form that it had once existed, very difficult.

3.2.3.3 Songs and dance amongst the Murawarri people

The Muruwari people used song to celebrate, to thank the spirits for good hunting and to ask them to provide for them in times of need. A number of songs such as those asking for rain have been recorded by Jimmie Barker in language and now held at AIATSIS.

Muruwari dances related to their way-of-life and included mime and varied in speed and movement types. Accompaniment included tapping on a variety of instruments or clapping boomerangs together. Kerribree Creek is named after the word *giribiri* which means 'dancing place' and was once the site used for many corroborees (Barker & Mathews 1977: 30, 36–7).

3.2.3.4 Technology amongst the Murawarri people

The Muruwari people used local resources to make tools, weapons domestic implements and canoes. The Muruwari weapons were similar to those of other groups. Wooden weapons were treated with goanna fat and left in the sun to dry it was then baked in the ashes of a fire. The procedure was repeated a number of times, preserving the timber and making it suitable for use. Stone axes with wooden handles sometimes made of tea tree were once used. Jimmie Barker knew of several large granite grinding stones used for the sharpening of axes that were located on a ridge between Barwon Bridge and Brewarrina Mission (Barker & Mathews 1997: 79).

Canoes or *mungar* were cut from tree trunks and sealed with natural gums or resins. A small number of tree trunks along the Callewatta and its tributaries (usually River Red Gum or Eucalyptus *camaldulensis*) bear scars where canoes were cut. Robin 'Quartpot' Campbell, a Muruwari, recalled his father cutting out a '*toongoon bark*' in 1911 at the Gooramon swamp off the Culgoa River. At the time his father was employed to burn charcoal for Weilmoringle Station's blacksmith's shop (Dargin 1976: 31).

3.2.3.5 Bush medicine amongst the Murawarri people

The Muruwari people used medicine found naturally in the bush. Bark from the leopard wood tree was used for tooth ache and if the tooth had fallen out the cavity would be packed with beeswax. Whitewood gum leaves were used to cure gastric problems and the leaves of the dogwood tree

when boiled were rubbed into sores. These are only a few examples of Muruwari remedies that have been documented (Barker & Mathews 1997: 85–6).

3.2.3.6 Food and water amongst the Murawarri people

The Muruwari made use of a diverse range of food sources found in the locality in which they lived. They used it economically and their diets varied according to the seasons. The totem of an individual was sacred and they did not kill or eat it. Max Kamien reported that in the 1970s in Bourke all adults knew their totem, referring to it in language. Most observed traditional law and would not eat it (Main 2000: 21).

In traditional life food and water were critical resources essential to survival. In times of shortages ceremonies would be performed to ask for rain or give thanks for periods of good hunting. Children were taught a number of methods for finding drinkable water or a water substitute when out in the bush. Jimmie Barker recalled being taught that the roots of *mundiling* or *buga*, a vine with potato-like roots, could be used to quench thirst as could the bulbous root of the kurrajong (Barker & Mathews 1977: 48). Identifying the various trees, plants and insects that could provide food or moisture was essential to survival. These skills among others would traditionally have been taught to all Aboriginal children. In the early 20th century Jimmie Barker was one of fewer and fewer children being taught these skills and who were able to pass them on to succeeding generations.

3.2.3.7 Burials amongst the Murawarri people

The Culgoa River sand hills on Culgoa Downs were recognised by Muruwari as an Aboriginal burial ground. Burials at this site continued into the early 20th century. Children were not allowed near it and did not attend the burial. Following a burial, adults returned to the camp and burnt green branches and leaves which created a lot of smoke. This they hoped would prevent the dead person's spirit from returning to the camp. Sometimes they left the camp for a short while after the burial and smoking ceremony (Barker & Mathews 1977: 21). Muruwari and Ngiyampaa people were reluctant to venture near burial grounds as they were reputed to be protected by the *Jugi* or *Mirijula*, the spirit dogs (Barker & Mathews 1977: 33).

Muruwari people buried their dead in a horizontal position and the orientation of the grave was reputedly based on the location of a person's homeland, with their head pointing in that direction. They were wrapped in bark and sandy places were preferred due to the ease of digging. Jimmie Barker recalled that there was a large burial ground on Nulty Station on the northern side of the Darling River near Bourke; as well as one at Yarrawin, 40 miles (64 kilometres) from Brewarrina. Another large, and possibly the oldest burial ground, was at Goombalie (Barker & Mathews 1997: 132).

Carved trees often designated the site of a nearby burial place of an important man. Jimmie Barker recalled that there were many marked trees at the bora grounds near Cumborah as well as others around the Culgoa River (Barker & Mathews 1997: 132).

3.3 ABORIGINAL POST-CONTACT HISTORY

3.3.1 The post-contact period and the Ngiyampaa people

A great deal of traditional knowledge of the environment disappeared as the Ngiyampaa people died as a result of contact with European settlers, which resulted in the spread of disease and violence. Forced movement to missions and reserves away from their traditional land also caused severe disruptions to their lives and consequently to their culture (Main 2000: 16). Few descendants of the people of the Ngiyampaa language group retain valuable knowledge of the cultural traditions practiced prior to European colonisation.

The first recorded contact between the Ngiyampaa people and Europeans was in 1829 during Captain Charles Sturt's expeditions into the interior. They were reported to be peaceful people who were also '*cool and courageous*'. Sturt recommended that future explorers treat their timidity with patience and respect, although qualified this with the warning that explorers should also be watchful, especially at night (Kamien 1978: 13). Thomas Mitchell reported in his 1835 expedition that the Ngiyampaa were quick and astute people. He expressed the hope that settlement would not result in their demise. Both Mitchell and Sturt observed that the people were pock-marked and had suffered a '*violent cutaneous disease*' which had killed many of the people. Studies have concluded that that it was most probably smallpox, spread through contact between tribal groups during epidemics that had occurred in white settlements over the previous fifty years. Sturt recorded the incidence of syphilis on his second expedition along the Darling (Kamien 1978: 13). These were only two of numerous European diseases that would have impacted heavily on the health of the people who had no immunity to them.

The coming of permanent European settlers and their livestock in the area around Bourke compounded the detrimental impact on the Ngiyampaa people. In 1845 the Aboriginal population around Bourke was estimated to be about 3,000. This was further reduced after the establishment of Bourke in 1862 and by 1863 it had shrunk to around 1,000. Government blankets were distributed in the town or within the district from 1865 indicating increasing contact between settlers and the land's traditional owners. Settlers were relying on Aboriginal labour while Aboriginal people, with decreasing access to traditional resources, were becoming reliant on non-traditional food and materials. Station records show that numerous Aboriginal people were employed on stations, working as timber cutters, shearers and stockmen and domestic workers [NSW HO & DUAP 1996: 193].

By 1884 the Aboriginal population had plummeted to 80–25 men, 35 women, 10 girls and 10 boys. Contact between the two cultures clearly had a devastating effect on the Ngiyampaa people as it had on all Indigenous people (Kamien 1978: 15).

3.3.2 Post-contact conflict

Disease, limitations imposed on movements around their territory, and the effect of livestock on the natural environment had a devastating effect on the lives and culture of the Ngiyampaa people and neighbouring groups. Aside from the impact of European diseases, physical conflict resulting from competition over land and access to food, took a tremendous toll. Numerous deaths resulted from opportunistic and sometimes systematic attacks by the European population. One of the more brutal attacks occurred at Quantambone Station, 18-20kms north of Brewarrina. The site became known as Hospital Creek due to the large number of people killed. The exact date of the conflict is not known nor is it certain whether more than one incident occurred at this place over several decades. The attack was made on a group of 400 Ngiyampaa people, including adults, the elderly and children. Only two small children, a girl and a boy were reported to have escaped the carnage and were later taken to Milroy Station, a large pastoral property. A number of recollections by white settlers are some of few records of the event that survive. In the 1970s skeletal material with bullet holes could still be found after rain had disturbed the soil (Kamien 1978: 15).

A newspaper report of 1914 indicates that brutality towards Aboriginal people was considered by many in the community to be reprehensible and the Hospital Creek massacre in 1859 was one of the worst incidents to have taken place in NSW. A survivor mentioned in this article was '*One-Eyed Peter*' who '*died at Brewarrina at a venerable age in August 1911*'. Considered a '*noted character in the district*', Peter spoke sadly about '*the bad old days when his countrymen were shot down like wild beasts*'. He explained that Aboriginal people speared cattle and sheep occasionally '*in return for their kangaroos which white man destroyed, and which represented their livestock*'. Peter spoke of the disregard shown to the traditional owners of the land, ignoring their property rights and then brutally retaliating (*Northern Star* 28 July 1914: 8).

Jimmie Barker recalled that he first heard about the Hospital Creek Massacre in 1912 from people who were alive at the time. He spoke of Polly Marshall who was wounded in the massacre. Polly was being carried by her mother when she was hit in the thigh by two bullets as they fled from their attackers. Her mother hid her under a log during a lull in the shooting and came back during the night to take her to safety. They lived in the bush near Cumborah until Polly's marriage to Clyde Marshall (Barker & Mathews 1977: 75). Judith Monticone also discusses the Hospital Creek Massacre and other conflicts (Monticone 1999: 88–89).

The Hospital Creek Massacre was only one example of numerous acts of brutality against Aboriginal people. Ralph Hampton, a Ngiyampaa descendant recalled that Aboriginal people

were shot from riverboats travelling along the Darling River. During an Aboriginal assault on Gundabooka homestead in 1862, a station employee was speared and three Aboriginal people shot and killed. A riverboat skipper told historian C.E.W. Bean that he arrived at the station after the spearing of its owner Sam Smith. He recounted that workers from Gundabooka and neighbouring stations took retribution out on the males of the "*tribe*" for spearing cattle (Main 2000: 28).

Jimmie Barker documented a number of other instances of conflict between European settlers and the traditional owners that he had heard of from others during his lifetime. They include killings at the Butcher's Tree, three miles (five kilometres) from Brewarrina Mission; killings on the northern bank of the Barwon about four miles (six kilometres) above the fisheries; and numerous other attacks 'along the Barwon and Narran Rivers as far away as Walgett'. Given the locations in close proximity to Brewarrina it is possible that the killings were of Ngiyampaa people not Muruwari; however it can be assumed that similar attacks took place in Muruwari country (Barker & Mathews 1977: 123–125).

In the 1940s, although punitive expeditions by settlers had not occurred in recent years, elderly Aboriginal people recalled being present as children during massacres and attacks (Reay 1949: 100).

Late 1990s research by anthropologist, Jo Erskine found that massacres still occupied a significant place in the people's consciousness. Elderly Gracie Williams, a Ngiyampaa descendant, explained to Erskine that all the men of her father's family were shot. Fortunately, the women and children escaped to Gunderbooka Range where they were able to hide. Like Williams, other Ngiyampaa people recall that the range was a safe place to hide with sufficient access to food, water and shelter. By the 1880s tank-sinking by station owners extended the areas for grazing, making even the Gunderbooka Ranges unsafe for taking refuge. Survivors of a massacre at Mt Drysdale in the 1880s fled to Kenilworth Station between Byrock and Yanda to the east (Main 2000: 28–29).

3.4 POST-CONTACT RELATIONSHIPS AND IMPACTS TO TRADITIONAL CULTURE

The depression of the 1890s had a significant impact on the Aboriginal population of western NSW. Many of the larger stations were no longer viable and the amount of labour was no longer required. Aboriginal people who had previously lived on or near stations were moved to reservations or missions often distant from familiar places and their traditional land [NSW HO & DUAP 1996: 193]. They were not only in unfamiliar country but closer to settled areas where they were further exposed to European diseases to which they had no resistance.

Two decades on there were few reports of Aboriginal people in Bourke and early 20th century Aborigines Protection Board records indicate that few lived in the township. Census figures for

Bourke and Byrock for the period from 1891 to 1915 provided by the Aborigines Welfare Board to the Bourke and District Historical Society in 1965 are shown below in **Table 3-1**.

Table 3-1: The population of Bourke and surrounding areas: Aborigines Welfare Board correspondence 1965 (Plim 2007: 33).

Year	District	Total
1892	Bourke	29
1895	Bourke	28
1897	Bourke	52
1905	Bourke	39
	Byrock	3
1911	Bourke	10
1912	Bourke	2
1913	Bourke	1
1915	Bourke	3

Census data (**Table 3-2**) in a report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines for 1906 shows substantially higher populations than that provided for 1905 by the Welfare Board.

The census indicates the movement en-masse of the Aboriginal people of the district, quite likely at the direction of the Board or as recommended by the local committee.

Table 3-2: The population of Bourke and surrounding areas: Aborigines Welfare Board correspondence 1965 (Plim 2007: 33).

Year	Bourke	North Bourke	Byrock	Brewarrina
1906	61			152
1907	0	42	0	220
1915	4		35	124

In 1939 a significant increase in the Aboriginal population in the Bourke region occurred due to an influx of people, including the Wangkumara people of the Corner Country (northwest NSW) and Kunja people from southwest Queensland (Cameron 1978:13). Many had been forcibly removed to the Brewarrina Mission from which they later escaped due to the harsh conditions to which they were subjected. Their attempts to return home were frustrated by floods and many decided to return to Bourke (Horton 1994 (1): 146).

Max Kamien's research suggests that in the 1970s none of the Aboriginal people living in Bourke were descended from the original Ngiyampaa people of the immediate area. Other Aboriginal groups from a radius of about 500kms moved to Bourke in the mid-20th century including Barkindji (Paakantji) from Wilcannia, Muruwari from around the Paroo River and Wiradjuri and Wongaibon people from Peak Hill (Kamien 1978: 16).

Today the Bourke LGA has a large Aboriginal population calculated in the 2001 census as 978. Local reports indicate that the Indigenous population of the Bourke LGA is made up of the descendants of about twelve groups, the history of which will be discussed in this report (Pers.

Comm. To J. Comber March 2004, quoting Phil Sullivan, Aboriginal Heritage Officer, Department of Environment and Conservation, cited in Plim 2007: 4). As will be shown, despite the enormous challenges presented to them, the land's traditional owners have managed to preserve some of their customs and knowledge of traditional ways, at the same time contributing to the development of the region in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries.

3.4.1 Government intervention[6]

3.4.1.1 Aborigines Protection Association

Prior to 1881 the main government agencies dealing with Aboriginal people were the Colonial Secretary, Police and Lands Departments [Guide to NSW State Archives relating to Aboriginal People, SRNSW]. The Committee to Aid the Maloga Mission, the forerunner to the Aborigines Protection Association, was formed by Daniel Matthews in 1878 as a private organisation. Expanding its role to establish more reserves, the name was changed to the Association for the Protection of Aborigines in 1880. The Association's work was `for the purpose of ameliorating the present deplorable condition of the remnants of the Aborigine tribes of this colony'. The Association was funded through public donation and as a group believed that the Aboriginal people were not 'doomed to extinction' and that they should be 'compensated for the dispossession of their land'. The Association sought the dispersal of Aborigines from the growing fringe camps around towns and cities and believed through Christianity that the missions would improve the lives of Aboriginal people in NSW [Horton 1994(1): 27-8].

Persistent campaigning by the Association led to the Government appointing a 'Protector of Aborigines', Mr. George Thornton MLC. Thornton was later criticised for his lack of support for the missions and neglect of the La Perouse Aboriginal community. In 1883, following further lobbying by the association the State Government established the Aboriginal Protection Board, administered by the police [Guide to NSW State Archives relating to Aboriginal People, SRNSW; History of Bourke (XIII): 14; Horton 1994(1): 27-8].

After its establishment the Board subsidised the Mission Stations although they continued to be administered by the Association until c.1892-1893, when a decline in public financial support led to the Association turned over the management to the Board [Guide to NSW State Archives relating to Aboriginal People, SRNSW]. The Board's practices did little however to improve the status of Aborigines in the community in the way that the Association had hoped their missions and reserves would [Horton 1994(1): 27-8].

[6] Section 3.4.1 is taken directly from Plim 2007.

3.4.1.2 Board for the Protection of Aborigines (1883-1940), later the Aborigines Welfare Board (1940-1969)

The Board for the Protection of Aborigines was established by the Executive Council of the NSW Parliament on 2 June 1883. The Board consisted of six members appointed by the Governor with the Inspector General of Police as chairman. At weekly meetings the Board discussed and made 'recommendations concerning the general protection of the State's Aboriginal population' [State Records of NSW, Agency Detail].

The Board drafted the regulations for the management of Aboriginal stations at Brewarrina, Cumeroogunga and Warangesda that were issued in February 1895. Regulations provided for the establishment of a local board with representatives elected by the Board and to include the local police superintendent. The local boards duties included:

- Inspecting the station at least monthly and report to the Board with recommendations;
- Inquiring into complaints made about the station;
- Advising the manager about discipline, work to be done and other matters related to management; and
- Countersigning requisitions for stores and expenditure.

The Board had no statutory power until the passage of the Aborigines Protection Act, 1909 (Act No.25) under which it was reconstituted. The purpose of the new Board was stated as '*to exercise a general supervision and care over all matters affecting the interest and welfare of Aborigines, and to protect them against injustice, imposition and fraud*' [State Records of NSW, Agency Detail]. As Jimmie Barker's recollections show, the Board often failed in their responsibilities to the Aboriginal people living at the Brewarrina Mission Station [Barker 1977]. Under the new Board local committees or guardians were appointed to stations and reserves and had similar responsibilities to the previous committees [State Records of NSW, Agency Detail].

The Aborigines Protection Amending Act of 1915 extended the powers of the Board to 'assume control and custody of Aboriginal children...in the moral or physical interest of the child'. Other changes to the Board included the appointment of Inspectors of Aboriginal people and the abolition of local committees and guardians. Amendments to the Act in 1918 and 1936 imposed further restrictions on Aboriginal people's movements and activities. A Parliamentary Select Committee established in 1937 was formed to investigate the administration of Aboriginal people, recommending that the Public Service Board investigate the work of the Board. Some of the recommendations included the assimilation of Aboriginal people into the community away from the reserves, stations and homes into which they had been forcibly removed from the late 19th century. Other changes proposed included the development of a housing program and education and training schemes. The reconstitution of the Board was also recommended and the

organisation was replaced by the Aborigines Welfare Board in 1940 [State Records of NSW, Agency Detail].

The Aborigines Protection Board was replaced by the Aborigines Welfare Board in 1940. In 1946 for the first time there were two Aboriginal representatives on the Board, Bill Ferguson and Walter Page [History of Bourke (XIII): 9]. The terms of Page and Ferguson expired in July 1948 and Ferguson was replaced by H.S. Groves but Page's seat was still vacant in 1950. Both Aboriginal positions on the Board were vacant in 1960 [Annual Report of the Board].

By 1945 there had been a decrease of the number of people living on stations and an increase of those on reserves. Government assistance of £3,000 for the acquisition of homes had been approved but post-war restrictions on materials and the purchase of land created difficulties. The Board's powers had been expanded and they were now authorised to acquire land, build houses and sell or lease them with the eventual intention of Aboriginal families acquiring them [Annual Report Board for the Protection of Aborigines].

The Annual Report of the Board in June 1968 claimed that in the last decade many advances had been made in Aboriginal affairs and 'discriminatory legislation removed from the statutes'. J. Morgan and L. Darcy were the aboriginal representatives on the Board in this year. In 1969 the Board was abolished to be replaced by the Aborigines Welfare Directorate, Department of Child Welfare and Social Welfare (later the Aboriginal Services Branch, Youth and Community Services) [State Records NSW, Concise Guide, Aborigines Welfare Board].

3.4.1.3 Brewarrina Mission Station (1887-1966)

Although not in the Bourke Shire, the Brewarrina Mission Station played a significant role in the history of the Aboriginal people who live in Bourke today. The Brewarrina Mission Station has been mentioned briefly in previous sections of this report (**Section 3.4**), however it warrants a more detailed account which is provided below.

The recollections of Jimmie Barker and Evelyn Crawford as well as research by Janet Mathews makes an important contribution to the history of the Brewarrina Mission Station, especially to the experiences of the Aboriginal people who lived there [Barker 1977; Crawford 1993].

In 1883 it was brought to the attention of the newly established Board for the Protection of Aborigines that a large number of Aboriginal people were camped around Brewarrina. A census of the Western Police District in 1882 showed 175 Aboriginal people living around Brewarrina. Many were employed on 'stations, mustering stock, cutting firewood, [and] drawing water'. The older people and women were reported to 'live on charity'. The community was in need of food, clothing and blankets and there was no access to schooling or medical attention. Problems with venereal disease and alcohol were noted [Report of the Protector of Aborigines to 31 Dec 1882].

In 1885 it was noted that in 1884 the Board had moved Aboriginal people to a reserve two miles (3.2 kms) from the town and noted the urgent need for a 'home'. The population was recorded as comprising 14 adults. Some of the women were employed in domestic work in the town, requiring them to walk back to the camp in the evening [Report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines (BPA) 8 Sep 1885]. In 1886 the Aborigines Protection Association established a mission on 5,000 acres (2,023.42 ha) at a site 10 miles (16 kms) east of Brewarrina, on the north bank of the Barwon River. Records vary as to the actual area of the station with the 1890 Manager's Report showing it as 5,240 acres while later records show the area of the site being 6,000 acres (2,428.11 ha) [BPA in Barker 1977: 202]. The area was partly open-country and part thickly vegetated with box scrub. Lignum swamps covered about 200 acres but generally the land was well grassed. The area was prone to flooding and at several times during the history of the Station it was inundated and had to be evacuated [BPA in Barker 1997].

The Station population consisted of 56 adults and 27 children in 1888 with most Aboriginal people coming from Bourke and Milroy. The place was to operate as a sheep station and was stocked with 2,000 head. Initially it was to have a limited focus on agriculture [BPA in Barker 1977: 202]. A Provisional School was established at the Station from May 1889 and a schoolhouse built. Trained teachers were not compulsory in Provisional Schools and it was usual on mission stations for the manager or his wife to assume the role [NSW DET 2003: 17, 36]. By 1890 the accommodation included a 5-room weatherboard Superintendents residence, girl's dormitory, store and bark gunyahs for the Aboriginal people. A boy's dormitory was being built. Small areas of land were cleared and fenced and gates and sheds built [BPA in Barker 1977: 202].

In 1891 forty-one Aboriginal people had moved to the Mission, managed by W.R. Harvison and assisted by Mrs Harvison, as matron. It was common for organisations such as this to be managed by a married couple, with assistance from other individuals with some experience in farm work. Despite a small population the settlement's establishment appears to have been successful in terms of subsistence. They faced similar difficulties such as drought and flood, as other farmers in the area. Floods in 1890 caused significant losses in stock and farm produce and the manager noted that had the Station been supplied with a boat, stock losses could have been reduced [Annual Report Aborigines Protection Assoc. 1890].

Mr and Mrs William Hopkins took over the Station's management in 1893. Due to a prolonged drought 1,286 sheep had been sold resulting in the station now being well-grassed. The cultivation of produce had 'again' failed and, as had been repeatedly suggested to the Council, an irrigation plant was a necessity to reliably provide feed for the stock. The construction of 'six cottages' by one of the Aboriginal residents was now complete. Plans were made for the construction of a single men's hut which would complete the accommodation for the station's residents which now totalled seventy [Annual Report Aborigines Protection Assoc. 1893].

The Annual Reports of the Aborigines Protection Association provide brief accounts of the workings of mission stations such as that at Brewarrina, however provide little information about the Aboriginal people who lived there or of their freedom to continue to practice their culture or traditions. The focus of management on Christian religious practices is evident in many of the reports until the mid-20th century and the Aboriginal residents were encouraged to participate. Duncan Ferguson built the Station church from bush timber, corrugated iron and with an earth floor. Although only dating from 1912, the recollections of Aboriginal people such as Jimmie Barker, are valuable in providing a more balanced picture of how the Mission operated. Barker reveals the conditions in which Aboriginal people were forced to live, restrictions on practicing their cultural traditions and women were reported to 'live on charity'. The community was in need of food, clothing and blankets and there was no access to schooling or medical attention. Problems with venereal disease and alcohol were noted [Report of the Protector of Aborigines to 31 Dec 1882].

It did not take long for reports of mismanagement of this and other stations to surface. In 1894 representations made by a number of concerned people were confirmed and the Board decided to appoint local boards to advise and report on managers [BPA in Barker 1977: 202]. Improvements were noted in the following year. By 1897, when the Board for the Protection of Aborigines assumed control over the Mission, the residents numbered 43. Some of the children were able to attend school while other girls and boys were apprenticed to local station holders [BPA in Barker 1977: 202-3]. The Association still remained involved with the Mission's operation through monetary contributions, as well as reporting on its management [Annual Report BPA].

The Station's population had doubled by 1901, reaching 114, and averaging between 80 and 90 during the next decade. People camped at various sites around the district including Byrock were being 'pressed to move to the Mission'. The community grew quickly and by 1910 there were 88 adults and 93 children [BPA in Barker 1977: 203-4]. A small number of additional cottages and huts were built during this period and the schoolhouse was found to be inadequate and also replaced. A careful reading of Board records indicates that not all of the cottages or huts had proper floors although flooring was installed in some in 1911 [BPA in Barker 1977: 205].

The population fluctuated from year to year although there were enough children enrolled for the Provisional School to be upgraded to a Public School however it is not known when a qualified teacher was employed [NSW DET 2003: 36]. Work on the residential areas of the Station in 1907 included the construction of five huts, work on sanitation, removal of the single men's hut to a more suitable location. Farming work ranged from the construction of fencing and gates, reconstruction of a sheep yard, destruction of rabbits, marking of lambs, shearing and branding of calves [Annual Report BPA].

In 1910 the majority of young men at the station were employed on the adjacent station and the girls were being trained in household duties. In 1915 G.F. Evans managed the station with a

population of 34, although it was estimated that the average for the year was 58 [Annual Report Board for Protection of Aborigines]. This differs markedly from the Aboriginal population of 124 in the Brewarrina District suggesting that people came and went from the Mission according to employment and possibly due to the treatment they received at the hands of the resident manager. The school was reported to have had an average attendance of 20 although as Jimmie Barker recalled, during his childhood school lessons were irregular. At 12 years of age he was considered too old for full-time school and was required to go out to work [Barker 1977: 60].

Jimmie and his family had arrived at the Station in early 1912. Board records indicate that the 'whole of the Aborigines from the Culgoa River and Gongolgon Camps, though very loath to come at first' were persuaded to move to the Station [BPA in Barker 1977: 205]. The one-room hut they were given to live in was constructed of timber slabs, with an iron roof and earth floor. An opening in one wall served as a doorway however there were no windows. There was no proper fireplace and no chimney resulting in smoke filling the room when cooking was being done. Two makeshift beds were provided without mattresses. Blankets or bags were used instead until enough bags could be collected and filled with straw or grass. At this time there were about 50 boys living at the Station and their job was to gather wood and to cart water from the river three times a week to fill the tanks and water the Manager's garden. A reticulated system was not installed until 1922. The Manager, named Scott, was not reticent to use his stockwhip if 'in a bad mood' [Barker 1977: 52-3].

Barker recalled the small community apart from the huts as consisting of a stable, slaughterhouse and shearing shed a few hundred yards from the school house. The storehouse was part of the boys' dormitory and the Manager's house and office was located a short distance away from the rest [Barker 1977: 56]. After a short time a new manager, Mr Keogh arrived at the Station also taking over the role of school teacher assisted by Mr Foster, a 'preacher-schoolteacher'. The church served as a classroom. It was drummed into the children that they were banned from speaking in their own language and were generally treated with 'cruelty and contempt'. For a short while they had a female teacher who was kind and with whom they learned a great deal from [Barker 1977: 56, 58].

Adults and children older than about 12 were expected to work, either on the Station or in paid employment elsewhere. Dependent upon the job's location this was difficult. Barker's mother secured a job as a maid on a property six miles (9.6 kms) from the Station, a distance that she would walk. Despite the low pay it was their only income [Barker 1977: 58]. Barker's mother later got a job at Brewarrina Post Office, an even greater distance from the Station [Barker 1977: 58, 112]. Young teenage girls were trained in domestic work and sent to work on stations often far from their families on the Brewarrina Mission Station. The Station was temporarily abandoned in c.1920-21 due to inundation by floodwaters [Annual Report Board for the Protection of

Aborigines]. Fortunately the flood was anticipated and the people had moved to the Red Hill in Brewarrina [Barker 1977: 136]. The state of the Station buildings after the flood is not known.

Through the 1920s Jimmie Barker worked in various Station jobs including handyman and undertaker. The cemetery was located at a short distance from the Station and William Hopkins, a manager in the 1890s is buried there [NSW Heritage Inventory No.5053415]. Barker recalled building five houses for the Station in 1925 and a year later building a galvanized iron house near the river for his wife and young family [Barker 1977: 119, 130, 143, 150]. In 1922 Jimmie Barker and Dudley Dennis, who assisted him, had installed a windmill [Barker 1977: 133]. In 1925 they installed a pump to draw water from the Barwon River to supply the Station. It was then piped to taps near the houses. Under the management of Mr Danvers in the early 1930s a new water pump and piping was installed, but only a few houses had taps installed inside [Barker 1977: 133, 152]. An electricity plant was installed in 1933 and houses connected to the supply [Barker 1977: 152].

By 1933 the population was 90 and the Station managed by J.G. Danvers and his wife [History of Bourke (XIII): 14]. Wangkumara and Yuwalaraay people were forcibly moved from Tibooburra and Angledool to Brewarrina Mission Station c.1936-7 resulting in a large rise in the population and pressure on the limited facilities at Brewarrina Station [History of Bourke (X): 16; Annual Report BPA; BPA Barker 1977: 207]. Four rows of weatherboard houses were constructed on the site at the back of the mission – two rows for the people for Angledool and another two rows for those from Tibooburra [NSW Heritage Office Database No.5053415]. They were forced to live in the schoolhouse for some time as the houses were not completed until well after their arrival [Crawford 1993: 76-7]. Due to the poor management of the Mission Station and ill-treatment, in 1938 many Wangkumara people left the mission, some of them settling in Bourke, others moving on to other places. Mr Dalley later took over the mission's management [History of Bourke (XIII): 14].

During the 1930s Evelyn Crawford nee Mallyer came to the Mission Station with her family. Her recollections support many of Jimmie Barker's experiences and observations of Station life. Crawford recalled that children were required to report to the clinic daily for eye drops and cod liver oil while a small lump of soap was distributed once a month. Evelyn Crawford recalled that on the arrival of a new Manager (probably Mr Danvers) families were allowed to establish their own gardens to grow vegetables and fruit. Meat rations were allocated twice a week from the butcher's shop. Fortnightly on ration day potatoes, onions, sugar, tea, rice, flour, syrup and soap were distributed. The Manager reduced a family's rations if he thought one person was making trouble. People caught fish from the river and collected mussels to supplement their diet. Crawford and her family managed to escape from the Station [Crawford 1993: 64, 69, 74, 79-97]. Crawford's life, as told to Chris Walsh, is documented in her biography Over My Tracks: A remarkable life [1993].

A Parliamentary Select Committee appointed in 1937 to inquire into the administration of the Aboriginals' Protection Board revealed much about the shortcomings of a number of the managers at Brewarrina Mission Station. Evidence showed that Mr James G. Danvers was one of the better managers while conditions on the station under other managers deteriorated. Of managers that succeeded Mr Danvers, Mr Marshall was reported to care 'nothing for the well-being of the natives'; while Mr R. R. Brain was dismissed after complaints. Brain was charged by the Board with neglect, depriving the people of their family endowment payments and generally with the 'dilapidation' of conditions at both Angledool and Brewarrina. Jimmie Barker's role as handyman was praised as was his honesty and reliability [Parliamentary Select Committee in Barker 1977: 207-8].

In 1939 the Brewarrina Mission Station population was reported as 324, the largest in the State a number that would have put pressure on the facilities and create tensions among the people who lived there. After this date reports by the Board provide less specific detail about each station and focus on general policies and functions.

Evelyn Barker, Jimmie's wife, died in 1941 and is buried in the Station cemetery. Following the departure in 1934 of the manager, Mr Danvers, a long period of poor management and cruel and violent treatment by managers and assistant managers followed. In 1942 Jimmie Barker finally resigned from his job as handyman and left the Station [Barker 1977: 156-65]. Not surprisingly by 1945 there had been a decrease of the number of people living on Stations generally and an increase of those on reserves where people had some control over their lives.

In 1945 Government assistance of £3,000 for the acquisition of homes for Aboriginal families was approved but post-war restrictions on materials and the purchase of land created difficulties. The Board's powers had been expanded and they were now authorised to acquire land, build houses and sell or lease them with the eventual intention of families acquiring them. Board reports for 1950 indicate that plans were being made to rebuild parts of the station and a number of houses in town. In 1953 the Mission Station was reduced from 4,638 acres to 638 acres with only a few acres being taken up by the Station buildings and small cemetery. By 1955 no repairs had been carried out on housing and reports for 1955 indicate that they were old and still required repairs and maintenance. During the year the site was inundated by flood and its 124 residents evacuated for eleven weeks. A recreation hall was built prior to their return. The Station school did not reopen due to teachers being unavailable and the children had to attend school in Brewarrina until 1957/8 when it reopened with 42 children enrolled [Annual Report BPA].

The 1960 Station population of 114 dropped to 35 in 1965/6 with Aboriginal people choosing to live in larger regional centres, closer to employment and services. In November 1965 the population of the Station was 45 and the facilities consisted of 11 small cottages, a school building, a garage, treatment room, hall, manager's office and house. Most of the buildings had had little maintenance since the 1930s and materials from demolished structures were used to

repair or add to those remaining. Each remaining hut or cottage housed about five people. Most houses had outside coppers and tubs for washing and bathing. Only two houses had bathrooms. The station handyman provided garbage and sanitary services (pan system) [Long cited in Barker 1977: 217].

The Station no longer had a store and daily trips were made by the residents to Brewarrina in the Station utility for supplies. None of the residents owned cars.

Those able to work were employed, two of them in positions on the Station. The 25 children attended the single-teacher school [Long cited in Barker 1977: 217].

The Station closed in early 1966 when the residents moved into some of the 30 homes built on a 15 acre reserve in Brewarrina. A number of families who had been living on the river bank near the town also moved there. Known as 'Dodge City', the settlement is located on the Bourke Road about a mile (1.6 kms) from Brewarrina [Long and Mathews cited in Barker 1977: 217].

With the Board's assistance part of the Station was reportedly purchased under a Western Land Lease by an Aboriginal person [Annual Report Board for the Protection of Aborigines; NSW Heritage Office No.5053415]. Little remains of the Mission Station except for parts of the rehabilitation centre and the small cemetery. Sixteen interpretation panels providing information about the Brewarrina Mission Station have been installed at the site. The cemetery is located in an area of pasture, surrounded by a fence. There are 90 graves, 50 if which are marked by timber crosses and headstones. The last burial at the cemetery was in 1971. In close proximity to the cemetery are two small, recent interments of returned ancestral remains. Other than this recent interment, the cemetery is no longer in use [(SHI No. 5053415]. Jimmie Barker, who died in 1972, is buried in the cemetery.

The site of Brewarrina Mission Station is of State significance and included in the NSW Heritage Register [SHR No. 5053415].

3.5 ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN BOURKE IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

The Aboriginal population of Bourke at 30th June 1948 was 55 [Aborigines Welfare Board Correspondence, 7 Sep 1965, Bourke Public Library].

In looking at the census figures for 1915, Bill Cameron suggests that some had gone to the Brewarrina Mission, while others were camped on other stations. Bourke medical records show that only a small number were hospitalised between 1886 and 1910 and entries in late 19th century police charge books show few Aboriginal people. In 1939 Bourke experienced a large influx of Aboriginal people, many of them Wangkumara people of the Corner Country, settling in the Bourke Shire. The Wangkumara people fled from the Brewarrina Mission due to the poor treatment from the manager, and while attempting to return to their country, ended up settling in

Bourke, where the Kunja people of south-west Queensland also settled [History of Bourke (XIII): 13]. Mrs Dixon and Mrs Edwards, two residents of Bourke in the 1970s, recalled that the Wangkumara people had planned to walk to Tibooburra but at Wanaaring their progress was blocked by a flooded river. They ultimately decided to return to Bourke [Kamien 1978: 16].

Kamien in 'The Dark People of Bourke' notes that Aboriginal people from a radius of about 500 km later moved to Bourke due to the opening of the meatworks and the availability of employment. Barkandji people came from Wilcannia, Muruwari people came from around the Paroo River, and Wiradjuri and Wangpuwan people came from Peak Hill. It is claimed that at the time there were no descendants from the Ngiyampaa people in Bourke [Kamien 1978:16]. On arriving in Bourke they camped near the railway line, near the river upstream from the town, or near the rubbish tip [Kamien 1978:17].

The Western Herald reported in 1939 that seven or eight huts had been built on camping reserves on the banks of the Darling River at Bourke [22 Mar 1939]. In 1941 the population camping on both sides of the river was estimated at 200. The 10.5ha encampment 1.5 km west of Bourke was gazetted as an Aboriginal Reserve (R.72021) on 30 August 1946 (24a 1r 18p Parish of Bourke, County Cowper) **Figure 3-6**. This could be the Alice Edwards Village mentioned later in this report. The health inspector put pressure on the Aboriginal population to move to the reserve. In 1948 the Aboriginal population of Bourke was reported to be 55 persons [Kamien 1978: 17; History of Bourke (XIII): 13].

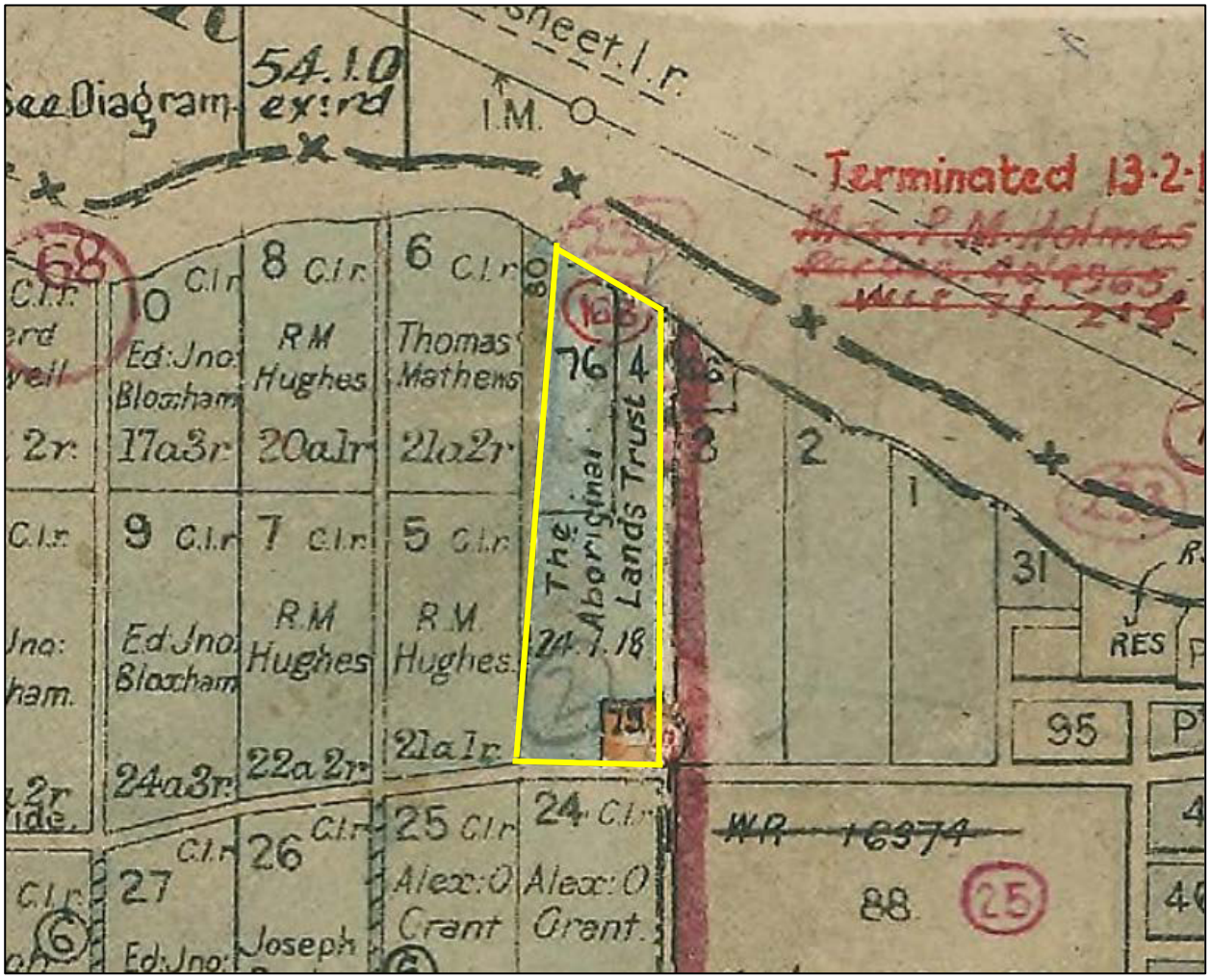
In the post-war period death registers indicate that poor health was severely affecting the population especially children and women in childbirth.

As shown in **Table 3-3** below, by 1963 the density of settlement on the reserve was high while living conditions were poor. By 1971 the population of Aboriginal people in Bourke was 730. Thirty one of the 92 residences occupied by Aboriginal people in Bourke were located on the Bourke Reserve. A small number of houses were owned or being purchased by their occupants [Kamien 1978:27].

Table 3-3: The population of Bourke Reserve: Annual reports of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines (Plim 2007: 44).

Year	Area	Population
1948		55
1950	34 acres	86
1952/3		35
1953/4		25
1954/5		55
1957/8		44
1958/9		68
1959/60		54
1964/5		259-314
1965/6	24 acres	158
1966/7		254
1967/8		250

Figure 3-6: Location of the Aboriginal Reserve (R.72021) from



In 1981, there were 737 Aboriginal people in the town of Bourke and 818 in the Bourke Shire. Statistics collected by the Widjeri Co-op in early 1984 indicated a figure of 1,040 (i.e. people who claim Aboriginal descent) in Bourke and Enngonia [History of Bourke (X): 17].

In 1984 the population of Bourke and Enngonia, combined had risen to 1,084. In 1985 a levee bank was built adjacent to the reserve and other improvements were made [History of Bourke (XIII): 13].

3.6 ABORIGINAL PEOPLE CURRENTLY OCCUPYING THE BOURKE LGA

In 2001 the Aboriginal population residing in the Bourke LGA was 978. The group included 949 people of Aboriginal descent and 29 of both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent. This figure compares to 3,749 persons of non-Aboriginal background residing in the Bourke LGA. Seven Indigenous people recorded in the 2001 census spoke an Aboriginal language at home [Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001 Census, www.abs.gov.au].

Today the Aboriginal people of Bourke LGA are diverse, with their ancestry linked to twelve Aboriginal tribes or language groups, which includes people identifying themselves as:

- Bardagee (Budjari)
- Barkindji (Barkinjee)
- Barranbinya (Barrum Binga)
- Kunja (Cunya)
- Kamilaroi (Gamilaroi)
- Muruwari (Murra Warre)
- Ngiyampaa (Ngemba)
- Wangkumara (Wakamara)
- Wiradjuri (Wirraathurray)
- Yandruwandha
- Yorta Yorta
- Yuwalaraay (Juwalarai,Yullaroi, Ualarai, Yullaroi, Yuwalarai or Euahlayi).

It is worth emphasising here that, as would be expected, Aboriginal people consulted for this project made the observation that they would wish to see that specific individuals be consulted in relation to specific areas across the LGA.

4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

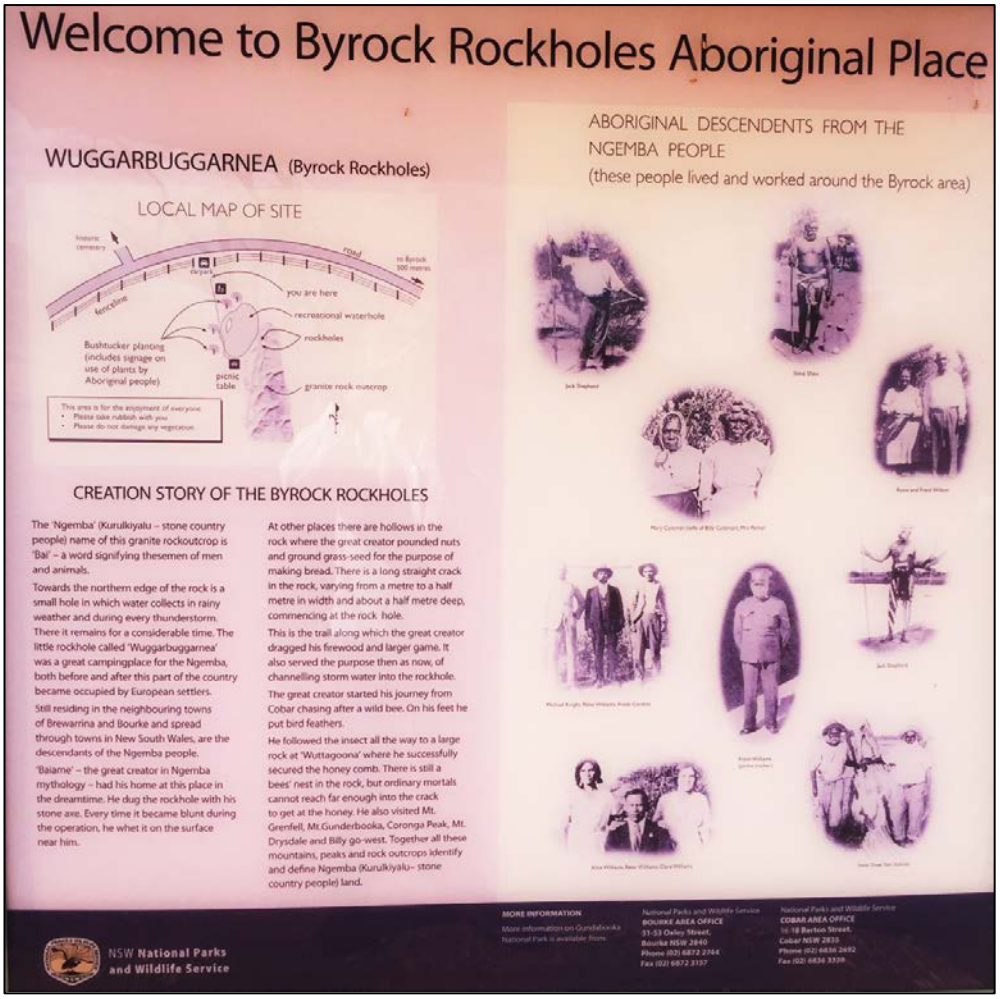
4.1 ABORIGINAL SITES IN THE BOURKE LGA

Aboriginal archaeological sites in the Bourke LGA range from isolated stone artefacts to complex archaeological sites that may include rock art (such as the the Mulgowan (Yapa) Aboriginal Art Site in the Gundabooka National Park), stone artefacts, hearths and scarred trees. Most of these sites date prior to European occupation, in some cases thousands of years before, while others continued to be produced after this time.

Aboriginal sites in the Bourke LGA also comprise a range of other site types such as mythological and ceremonial places represented in the landscape, stone quarry sites, food preparation middens, axe grinding grooves, stone arrangements and burials.

Many such sites are considered 'complex' by possessing a number of these elements in one place, including for example the well-known Byrock Rock Holes (which includes mythological elements as well as quotidian dimensions such as a significant residential location, sources of bush tucker and the always important water (**Figure 5-1**).

Figure 4-1. Interpretive Signage at Byrock Holes.



4.2 REGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Archaeological understanding of the depth of ancient human occupation in parts of Australia has been changing over recent decades with scientific advancements in dating techniques. 65,000 years before present (BP) has been recently postulated, based on archaeological evidence from Malakunanja in Northern Arnhem Land (Australian Museum 2017). Such early dates have been challenged by others based on the interpretation of a greater body of available data pointing to around 40,000 BP. The differences between the lengths of 'settlement chronologies' centre on interpretation of the oldest dates, primarily derived from luminescence dating techniques, suggesting human presence from at least c. 60,000 BP. In comparison, larger data sets of less ancient dates that have been derived from radiocarbon determinations, suggest evidence of human presence ranging from c.40,000 BP. It has been argued that radiocarbon dating techniques are simply not able to accurately measure the age of samples beyond 40,000 BP (e.g. Corrigan 2010:175).

With this is mind, it is commonly accepted that Aboriginal occupation of the western region of NSW dates to around 40,000 - 50,000 BP. Burial sites around Lake Mungo have been dated to 40,000 BP, and clay heat retainer ovens to 31,000 BP. A date of 14,000 BP has also been recorded from around Talyawalka Creek, situated in the southwest of the Bourke LGA (Biosis 2016). Ethnographic accounts suggest that Aboriginal groups were highly mobile, largely dispersed and were moving seasonally for resource exploitation and/or ceremonial activities. The Aboriginal groups of the Bourke LGA had complex laws governing their use of the land and rivers, relations between men and women, initiation and their interactions with other tribes. Each group within the area had their own specialised subsistence techniques for their local environment (Biosis 2016).

Resources and food sources were noted to remain relatively stable throughout the year, and became more accessible during winter when the plains were easier to traverse. During summer, high evaporation rates of ephemeral resources made water sources scarce, which were generally more stable during winter, and allowed groups to traverse these arid regions in search of alternative food sources such as red kangaroo. The harshness of the environment in times of drought required special skills and knowledge. Dew could be collected overnight to drink in the areas far from the rivers (Hardy 1976). As a result of this, it was theorised that these groups would have stayed close to large water sources during summer, when sources of food were plentiful, and venturing into the surrounding arid and semi-arid areas in winter when these areas were more accessible, and the chances of obtaining food higher (Biosis 2016).

4.3 ABORIGINAL HERITAGE INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM DATA IN THE BOURKE LGA

4.3.1 Introduction to the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System

Considered by archaeological / heritage researchers to be the most detailed and extensive collection of Aboriginal heritage data for the Bourke LGA is the NSW Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS) data, collected and managed by the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH). This data is based on grid references and some minimal information for each record that includes site type, who made the registration and when, the environmental context of the site and its condition. Some site records were made as early as the 1960's and these often have poor locational data and little detail; while records being registered today usually have accurate locational data and detailed information about the site material and/or features present.

Sites may be registered on AHIMS for a variety of reasons and may be completed by Aboriginal people, National Parks and Wildlife (NPW) staff or archaeologists / heritage management professionals. Under current legislation it is required that Aboriginal sites recorded during the impact assessment process are registered on AHIMS. This has been the case since the NPW Act was passed into law in 1974. As a result, mapping the data on AHIMS can see that sites appear to group in areas where development has been proposed and therefore prior assessments have been completed; or in National Parks where research projects may have taken place. Interpretation of mapped AHIMS data consequently has to be careful in terms of geographic / landform distribution patterns as the dataset is biased to assessed areas and does not provide a true picture of Aboriginal site distribution. So long as this key factor is taken into consideration, AHIMS data is very useful in postulating patterns of Aboriginal occupation of the landscape prior to European incursion.

4.3.2 AHIMS data for the Bourke LGA

As may be expected, the amount of AHIMS data available for any LGA is substantive, often 1000's of site records being present. As a result, OEH needs to ensure control of the data and ensure that the Aboriginal people of an area provide permission for access to it.

For a search area as large as the Bourke LGA, OEH requires that an Aboriginal Heritage Information Licence Agreement (AHILA) be established. The process of obtaining an AHILA from AHIMS commenced at the start of this project. It was delayed, however, as the appropriate Aboriginal community signatures to support the AHILA were not obtained (from Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) CEOs'). If the data license is obtained in the future it will comprise all the AHIMS registrations that cover the entire LGA. In the absence of this LGA-wide data, we determined we could obtain some smaller samples of AHIMS data across four discrete areas of

the LGA, which were thought to be representative of the LGA generally / or in areas we expected to have the richest data.

Prior to reviewing this data, we will present some explanations as to the types of sites that have been recorded across the LGA, and how the archaeological terms are used.

4.3.2.1 Archaeological Site Types in the Bourke LGA

Open artefact scatters are defined as two or more artefacts, not located within a rock shelter, and located no more than 50 metres away from any other constituent artefact. This site type may occur almost anywhere that Aboriginal people have travelled and may be associated with hunting and gathering activities, short or long term camps, and the manufacture and maintenance of stone tools. Artefact scatters typically consist of surface scatters or sub-surface distributions of flaked stone discarded during the manufacture of tools, but may also include other artefactual rock types such as hearth and anvil stones. Less commonly, artefact scatters may include archaeological stratigraphic features such as hearths and artefact concentrations which relate to activity areas. Artefact density can vary considerably between and across individual sites. Small ground exposures revealing low density scatters may be indicative of a background scatter rather than a spatially or temporally distinct artefact assemblage. These sites are classed as 'open', that is, occurring on the land surface unprotected by rock overhangs, and are sometimes referred to as 'open camp sites'.

Artefact scatters are most likely to occur on level or low gradient contexts, along the crests of low ridgelines and spurs, or on elevated areas fringing watercourses or wetlands. Larger sites may be expected in association with permanent water sources.

Topographies which afford effective through-access across, and relative to, the surrounding landscape, such as the open basal valley slopes and the valleys of creeks, will tend to contain more and larger sites, mostly camp sites evidenced by open artefact scatters.

Isolated finds are single stone artefacts in the landscape that may be indicative of: random loss or deliberate discard of a single artefact, the remnant of a now dispersed and disturbed artefact scatter, or an otherwise obscured or sub-surface artefact scatter. They may occur anywhere within the landscape but are more likely to occur in topographies where open artefact scatters typically occur. Isolated finds may be more frequent in disturbed contexts, in areas that have been previously cleared or have been subject to erosion.

Modified trees provide evidence of the removal of bark (and sometimes wood) in the past by Aboriginal people, in the form of a scar usually on the trunk. Bark was removed from trees for a wide range of reasons. It was a raw material used in the manufacture of various tools, vessels and commodities such as string, water containers, roofing for shelters, shields and canoes. Bark was also removed as a consequence of gathering food, such as collecting wood boring grubs or

creating footholds to climb a tree for possum hunting or bark removal. Due to the multiplicity of uses and the continuous process of occlusion (or healing) following removal, it is difficult to accurately determine the intended purpose for any particular example of bark removal. Scarred trees may occur anywhere old growth trees survive. The identification of scars as Aboriginal cultural heritage items can be problematic because some forms of natural trauma and European bark extraction create similar scars. Many remaining scarred trees probably date to the historic period when bark was removed by Aboriginal people for both their own purposes and for roofing or cladding on early European houses. Consequently the distinction between European and Aboriginal scarred trees may not always be clear.

Hearth / ground oven sites typically consist of exposures of burnt clay nodules and stained soils, some may be lined with stones and have stone artefacts associated with them. The presence of hearth/oven sites is dependent on the level of ground surface disturbances and erosion which may have affected an area and the availability of reliable resources to support Aboriginal occupation.

Burials are generally found in soft sediments such as aeolian sand, alluvial silts and rock shelter deposits. In valley floor and plains contexts, burials may occur in locally elevated topographies rather than poorly drained sedimentary contexts. Burials are also known to have occurred on rocky hilltops in some limited areas. Burials are generally only visible where there has been some disturbance of sub-surface sediments or where some erosional process has exposed them.

Middens are deposits of the debris from eating shellfish and other food that have accumulated over time. They can contain: shellfish remains, bones of fish, birds, and land and sea mammals used for food and charcoal from campfires. Middens have been recorded on the Darling River at Yanda and Glen Villa upstream of Toorale.

Quarries are extraction areas for either stone, used for making stone tools or grinding stones; or ochre, used for creating colour palettes for rock art and ceremony. It is known that stone from Mount Oxley was sourced for its specific qualities for creating superior grinding dishes and that red ochre was potentially sourced from the banks of the Darling River at Redbank in Gundabooka National Park.

Resource gathering sites are sites where specific resources can be anticipated to occur, such as swamps that may bear rich vegetation that attracts prey animals; or areas known for medicinal plant occurrence.

Ceremonial sites are locations where ceremonies were held and may also be locations for meetings between neighbouring groups. Evidence for such sites can be hard to see in the landscape and these sites may be intangible, and known through oral history.

Rock art sites can be found where suitable rock overhangs are present. The motifs found in the art can be interpreted as educational, cultural, story-telling and lore enforcing. The Mulgowan (Yapa) art site is one of the most famous in the Bourke LGA.

4.3.2.2 AHIMS sites over parts of Bourke LGA

The AHIMS searches undertaken over discrete areas in the LGA include the following:

- Enngonia: located in the north of the Bourke LGA and comprised an AHIMS search of an 80 km radius centred on Enngonia. The search returned 35 previously recorded sites (**Figure 4-2**)
- Flagstaff Corner - Louth: located in the south-southwest of the Bourke LGA and comprised a search of an 80 km radius. The search returned 40 previously recorded sites (**Figure 4-3**)
- Running Box Flat – Gundabooka: located in the south of the Bourke LGA comprising a search area of a 40 kmradius. The search returned 73 previously recorded sites (**Figure 4-4**)
- Stony Point – Bourke: located in the immediate Bourke area comprising a search of a 50 km radius. The search returned 114 previously recorded sites (**Figure 4-5**).

The results from the AHIMS searches conducted have been collated and sorted according to site types, with a summary of the frequency of a particular site type provided (**Table 5-1**).

The most frequent site type identified within all four searches were open camp sites (26.7%), followed by artefact scatters and isolated finds (19.5% and 16% respectively). Scarred trees made up 11.5% of the site types in the area, and 3.8% of sites were shelters with art or deposits present. Hearths and artefact scatters with hearths made up 3.4% of the site types each, and 3.1% of sites are earth mounds and 2.3% are Aboriginal resource and gathering locations. Several other types of sites are also present, though with less frequency (5 sites or less).

Figure 4-2: AHIMS search results for the area surrounding Enngonia.

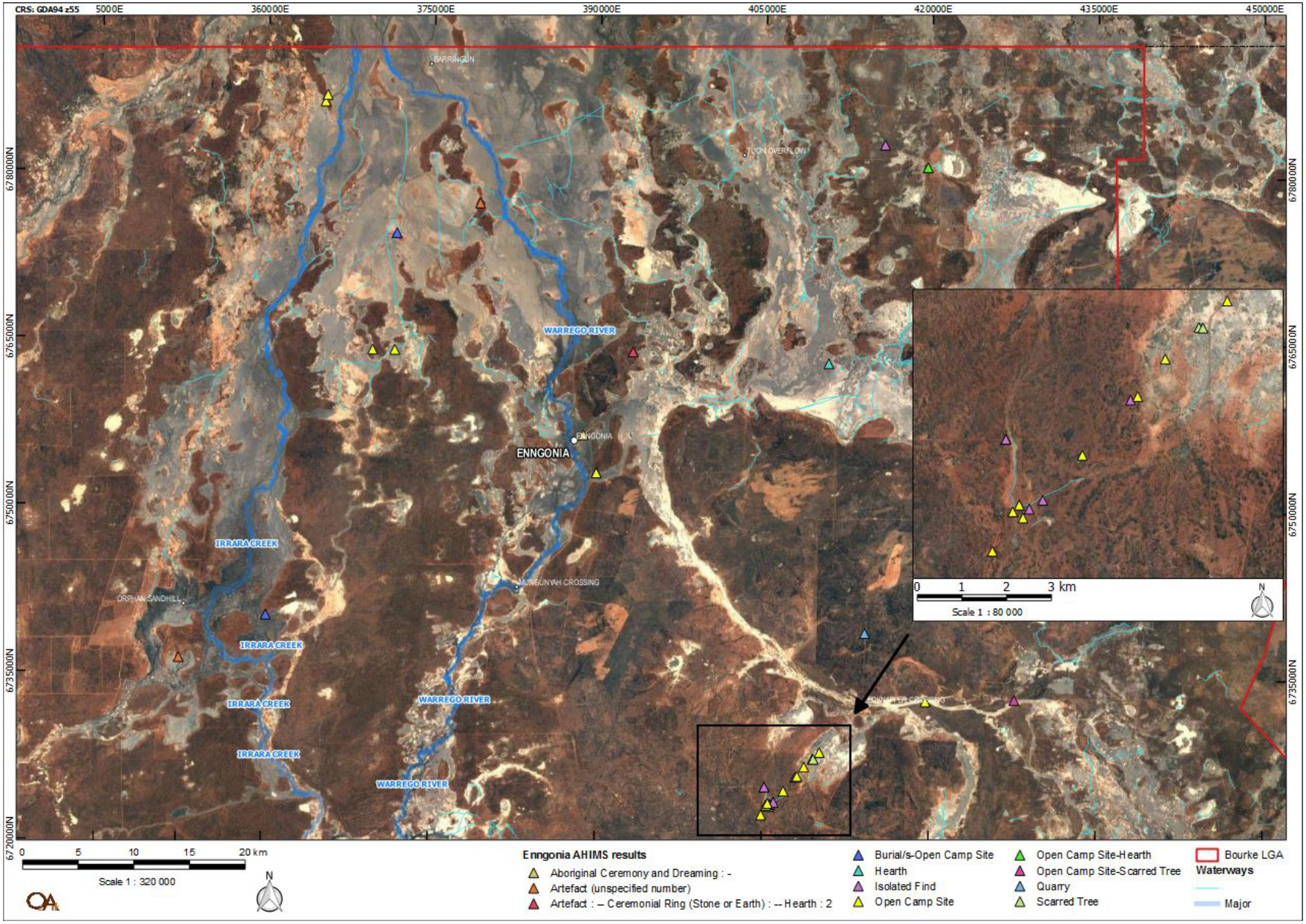


Figure 4-3: AHIMS search results for the area surrounding Flagstaff Corner and Louth.

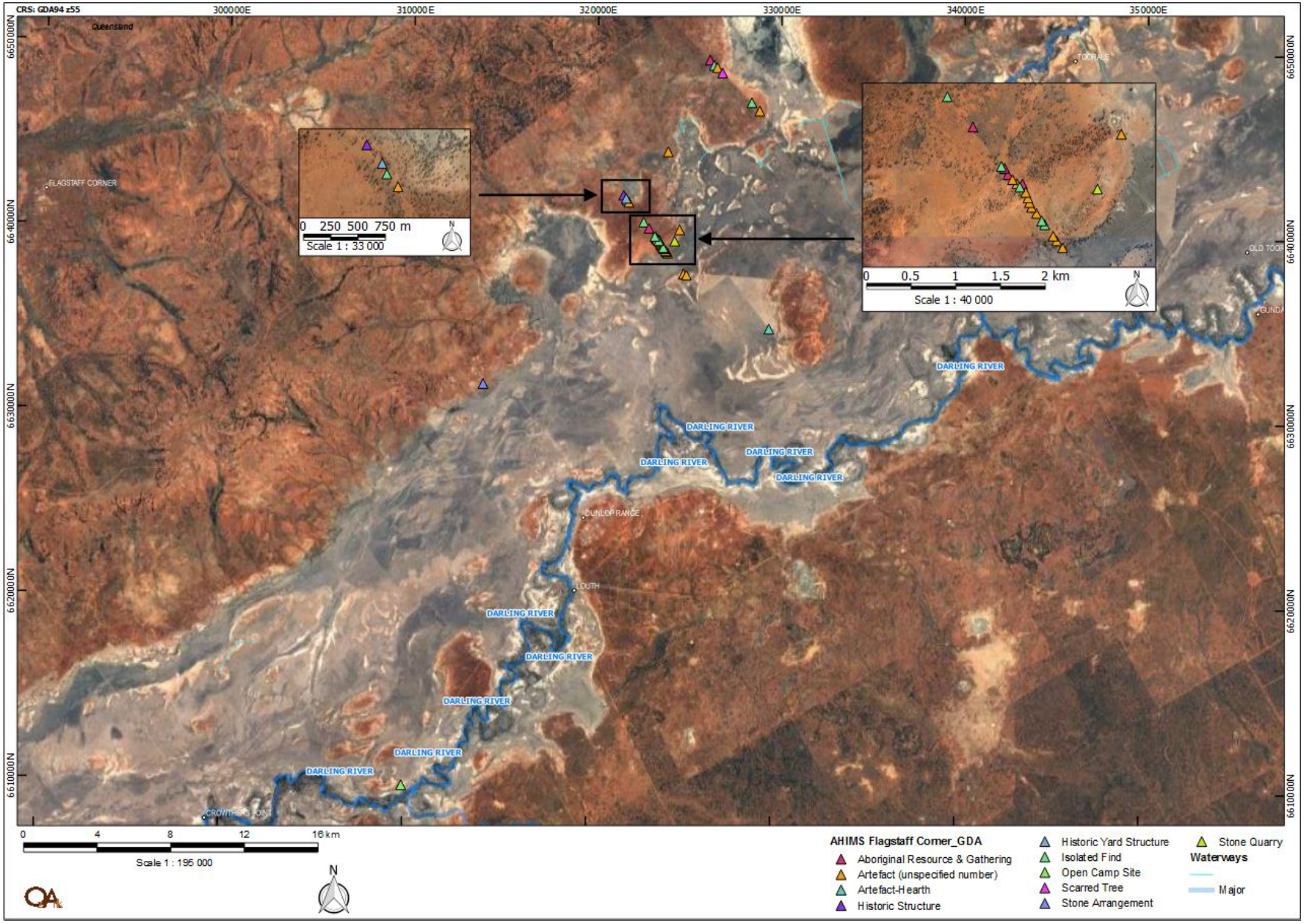


Figure 4-4: AHIMS search results for the area surrounding Running Box Flat and Gundabooka.

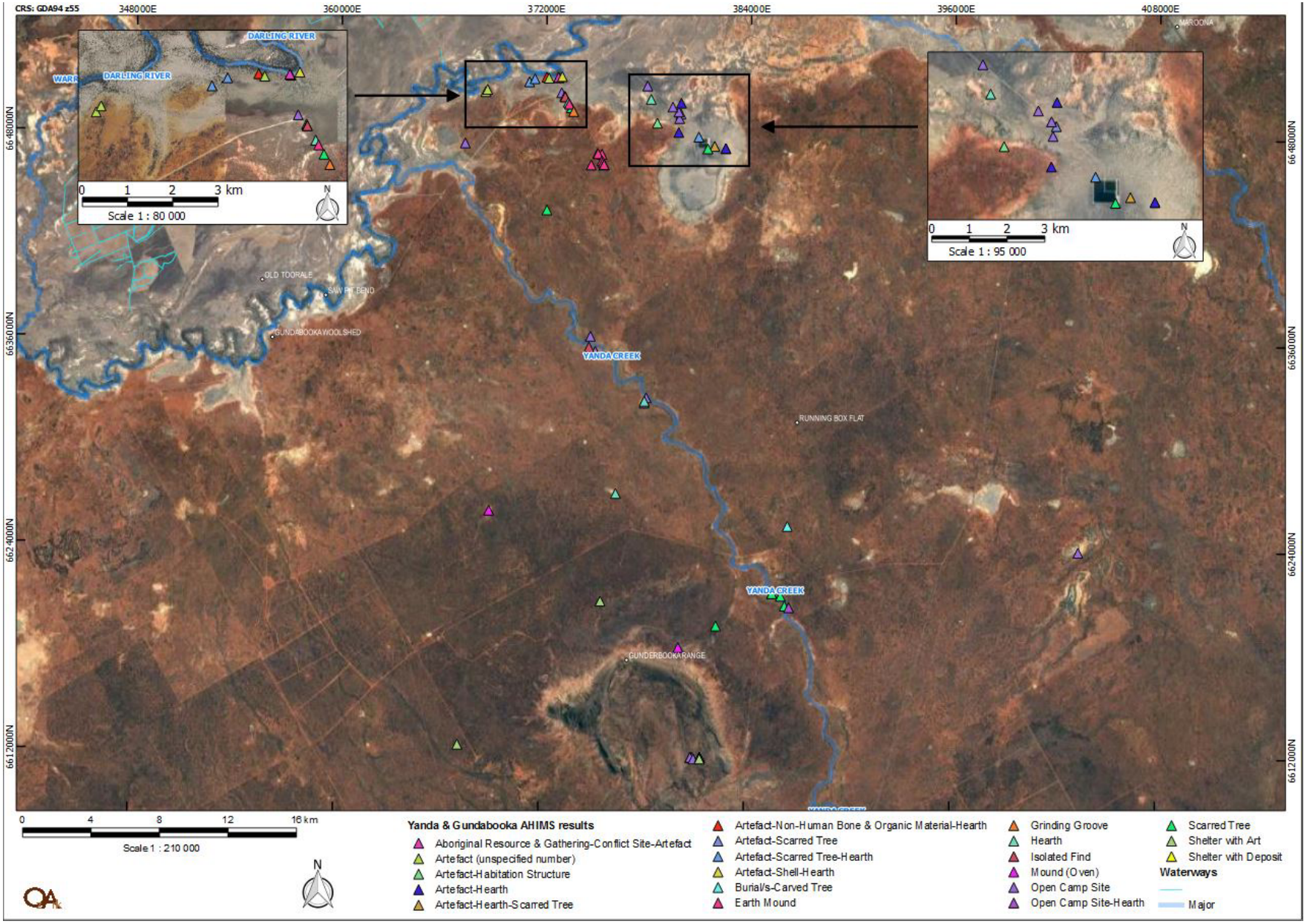


Figure 4-5: AHIMS search results for the area surrounding Stony Point and Bourke.

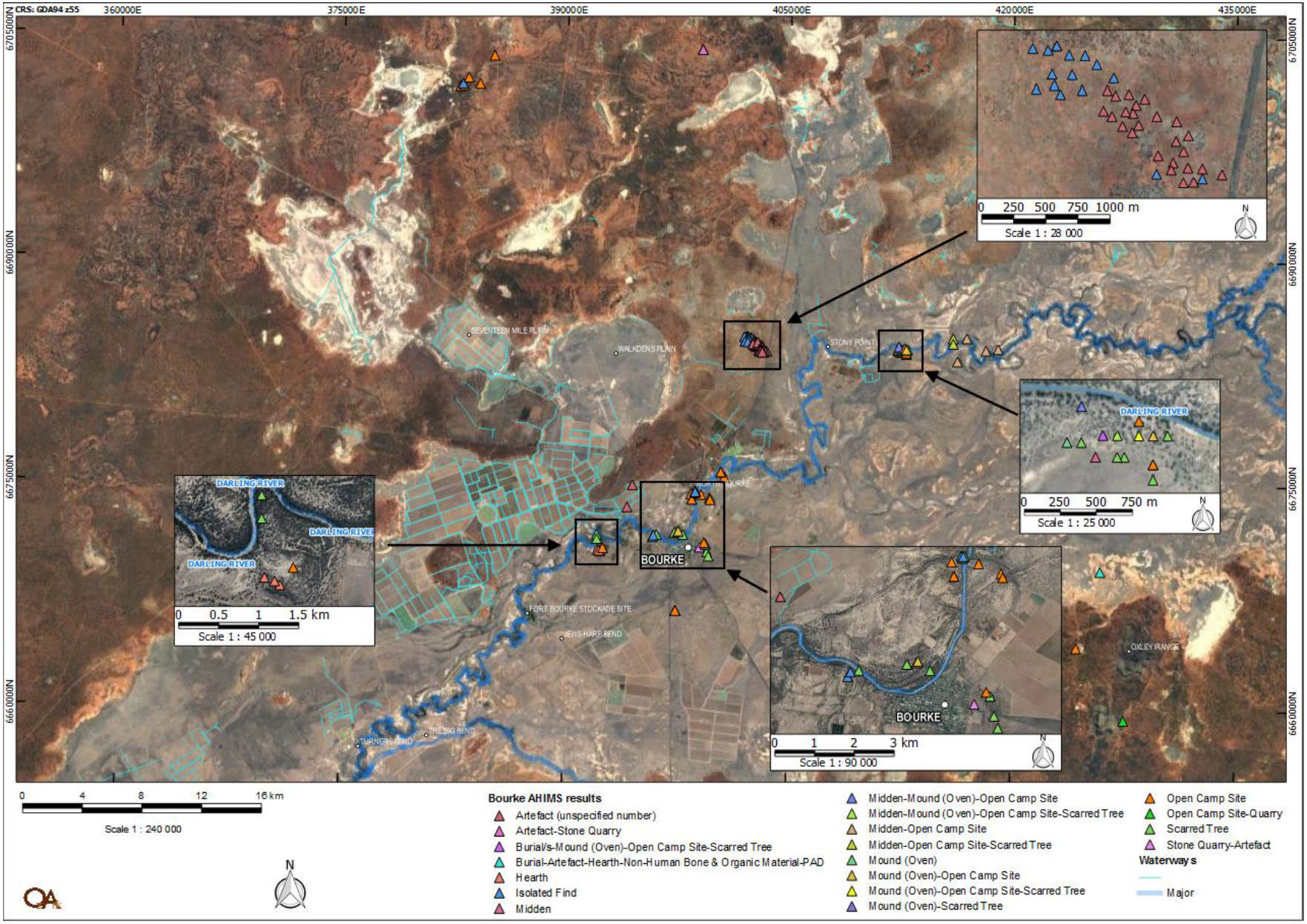


Table 4-1: AHIMS site types and frequencies.

Site Type	Number	% Frequency
Open camp site (including a combination of one or more site type i.e. oven mounds, stone artefacts, hearths, middens & scarred trees)	70	26.7
Artefact scatter	51	19.5
Isolated find	42	16.0
Scarred tree	30	11.5
Shelter with art or deposit	10	3.8
Hearth & artefact scatter	9	3.4
Hearth	9	3.4
Earth mound	8	3.1
Aboriginal Resource & Gathering	6	2.3
Burial/s	5	1.9
Scarred Tree, artefact scatter & hearth	4	1.5
Mound (oven)	4	1.5
Stone quarry & artefact scatter	3	1.1
Historic structure	2	0.8
Quarry	2	0.8
Stone arrangement	2	0.8
Aboriginal Ceremony and Dreaming	1	0.4
Conflict Site	1	0.4
Scarred tree & artefact scatter	1	0.4
Grinding groove	1	0.4
Midden	1	0.4
Total	**262**	**100**

4.4 ANALYSIS OF AHIMS SITE DATA

As discussed above, this AHIMS data does not cover the entire LGA, but is derived from four separate search areas. Additionally, not all known Aboriginal sites will be registered on AHIMS as either the process of registration is unfamiliar or for cultural reasons the information is not appropriate to share. This data is however derived from the areas considered to have the highest record of recorded/registered Aboriginal sites and allows us to create a preliminary overview of typical site types, available resources, and desired occupation areas (long and short term) over the LGA based on the archaeological evidence.

Occupation patterning and site type distribution is often affected by the accessibility and availability of resources including: water, plant and animal foods; stone and ochre resources and rock shelters; as well as by their general proximity to other sites/places of cultural/mythological significance. Consequently sites tend to be found along permanent and ephemeral water sources, along access or trade routes or in areas that have good flora/fauna resources and appropriate shelter. The preservation of sites in the archaeological record will also depend on the post-depositional environment, where little organic material culture will survive, and land based sites

may suffer from erosion, clearing or other impacts. Generally the more durable evidence of Aboriginal occupation and presence is what remains, such as stone artefacts, stone hearths, shell, some bones, and scarred trees if the tree is still living or has not been cleared or effected by fire.

The most frequent recorded Aboriginal heritage sites in the LGA are stone artefact sites and these site types are mostly concentrated in areas near to permanent or semi-permanent water, as illustrated on the **Figures 4-2 to 4-5**.

Scarred trees tend to be located in association with stone artefact sites, as these are likely remnants of activities and resources that used within occupation areas and camp grounds. Open camp sites identified in the LGA are represented by a more complex activity system and include features such as oven mounds, hearths, middens, scarred trees, and often stone artefacts. These sites may represent areas of more intensive or repeated occupation.

Contact sites are not well represented in the AHIMS database, with only one site specifically recorded as ‘conflict’ site. Identification and protection of conflict sites can be met with sadness and tension between the Aboriginal and white communities, but recognition of such sites is important in documenting the true histories of race relations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Habitation/historic structures will commonly be recognised as those built around early settlement times. The AHIMS data documents that these two ‘historic structure’ sites were identified and recorded by Aboriginal elders, Badger Bates and Phillip Sullivan. Aboriginal people living in the area at the time of settlement were known to have worked with the early settlers contributing to the development of the land for agriculture, undoubtedly coordinating the construction of infrastructure and management of livestock.

5 SIGNIFICANT ABORIGINAL SITES / PLACES

As a result of the consultation undertaken for this project, a number of places were put forward by Aboriginal people as being significant and warranting further investigation. The people consulted did not at this stage propose that these places be put on a legal register until such time as full details were obtained and the listing had been considered by all appropriate Aboriginal people.

The places proposed as being the focus of further consideration are listed in **Table 5-1** and discussed in greater detail below. The last column in this table has preliminarily identified the persons to be consulted for each place, if this is known.

Mapping of these sites / areas where feasible is provided on **Figures 5-33, 5-34** and **5-35** at the end of this chapter. Please note, not all sites are plotted, as some sites we do not have firm locations for.

Table 5-1: Places proposed as significant by the Aboriginal people consulted for this report.

No	Name of Place	Details	Indicative persons to be consulted
1	Black Rocks	Fish Traps	Dot Martin, Phillip Sullivan, Badger Bates and others
2	Redbank Burial Ground	Burial ground, including for the Black Family – a connection between Barkindji and Nyemba people	Badger Bates and others
3	Warrego and Darling River Junction	Meeting point for Kurnu and Barkindji people	Badger Bates and Kenny and others
4	Mount Oxley	Dreaming place	Paul Gordon and Brad Steadman
5	Culgoa, Barwon and Bogan River Junction	Ceremony place, Barabinya, Murrawarri and Nyemba people meet there	None specified
6	Yanda and Mulga Creek junction	Part of a dreaming story there – flows north	None specified
7	Deadman's sand dunes	Near to Barringun, fencing has been put up but needs to be repaired	None specified
8	Three sisters at Byrock	Substantial elements of cultural significance of Byrock holes is in place as interpretive signs at that location – further details are known.	Paul Gordon
9	Alice Edwards Village	Aboriginal village where earlier Bourke families used to live – people were moved from there to Pound Yard	None specified
10	Pound Yard	Aboriginal reserve, used to be substantially larger than current boundary	None specified
11	Tara stone arrangements	West of Enngonia	None specified
12	Kerrigundi Creek	Near Louth, Boundary between Barkindji and Nyemba people	None specified
13	Lorna rock art/Mt Grenfell	Rock art location	None specified
14	Iona and Boorawa rock art sites	Rock art locations, may possibly be just outside LGA	None specified
15	Kurrajong trees	Found throughout the LGA and have a cultural use as a water source, particularly where one removes the roots and drains water from them	None specified
16	Dry Bogan and Darling River Junction	Scarred trees and artefact scatters	None specified
17	Ten Mile common	Occupation sites	None specified

No	Name of Place	Details	Indicative persons to be consulted
18	19 Mile weir	Occupation sites both sides of the river	None specified
19	14 Mile weir	Occupation sites both sides of the river	None specified
20	Sand hills	Special mention was made of sand hills as preferred locations for burials throughout the LGA	None specified
21	Fords Bridge	Substantial presence of artefacts	None specified
22	Kunbali	Boundary for Murrawarri and Barkindji – also the site of a large traditional fight between Kalali people and Barkindji.	None specified
23	River junctions are always landmarks of some sort		None specified
24	Winbar Station	an important place for Aboriginal people in the LGA	None specified
25	North Bourke Billabong	Sawmill there, also scarred trees and artefacts	None specified
26	Fort Bourke	A first contact point for Aboriginal people and Europeans, also a location of Aboriginal burials and marker trees which indicate the burials	None specified
27	Grinding grooves in the stone at Prattenville	Grinding grooves and associated stone artefacts	None specified
28	Fishing reserve Canoe Tree	Near to Bourke	None specified
29	Lignum swamps	Significant food source. Another significant and culturally important bush tucker food mentioned was Bukali (native wild orange – high in vitamin C) which is consumed to assist with women recovering from birth.	None specified
30	Poverty Road	Consultation indicated that this was a road on the edge of town where other cultures (i.e. Chinese etc) were confined to living. Likely that the names of the road/street have changed and Poverty Road may have been an informal name for the area. No for further information has been able to be sourced on this and further consultation (oral histories) and research may be needed to confirm original location.	Phillip Sullivan knew of this road
30	Mulgowan 'Yapa' Art Site	Located in Gundabooka National Park. Significant dreaming site and important archaeological evidence with rock art.	Gundabooka Joint Management Committee

1. Black Rocks - Fishtraps

It is understood that Black Rocks, also known as Many Big Rocks (Karnu Yalpa), is located on the Darling River within the Toorale National Park in proximity to the Many Big Rocks picnic area (**Figure 5-1**). The site is characterised by the river red gums and coolabah trees on a bend in the river where a natural rock weir occurs. Yellowbelly have been caught here in the past, as was remembered by Dwayne Willoughby and documented in oral history records (Goodall and Frawley 2010). He remembers sighting black Yellowbellies at Black Rocks.

It is not clear whether the natural rock weirs of this part of the river enabled local Aboriginal people to access fish in ways similar to that of the Brewarrina fish traps, or whether there was maintenance of the rocks in this area to ensure access to fish at various river levels. It is also understood that this part of the river suffered from rock blasting during early colonial times to ensure the passage of steamers up stream.

Figure 5-1: Topographic map showing the portion of the Darling River where the Blacks Rocks are present.

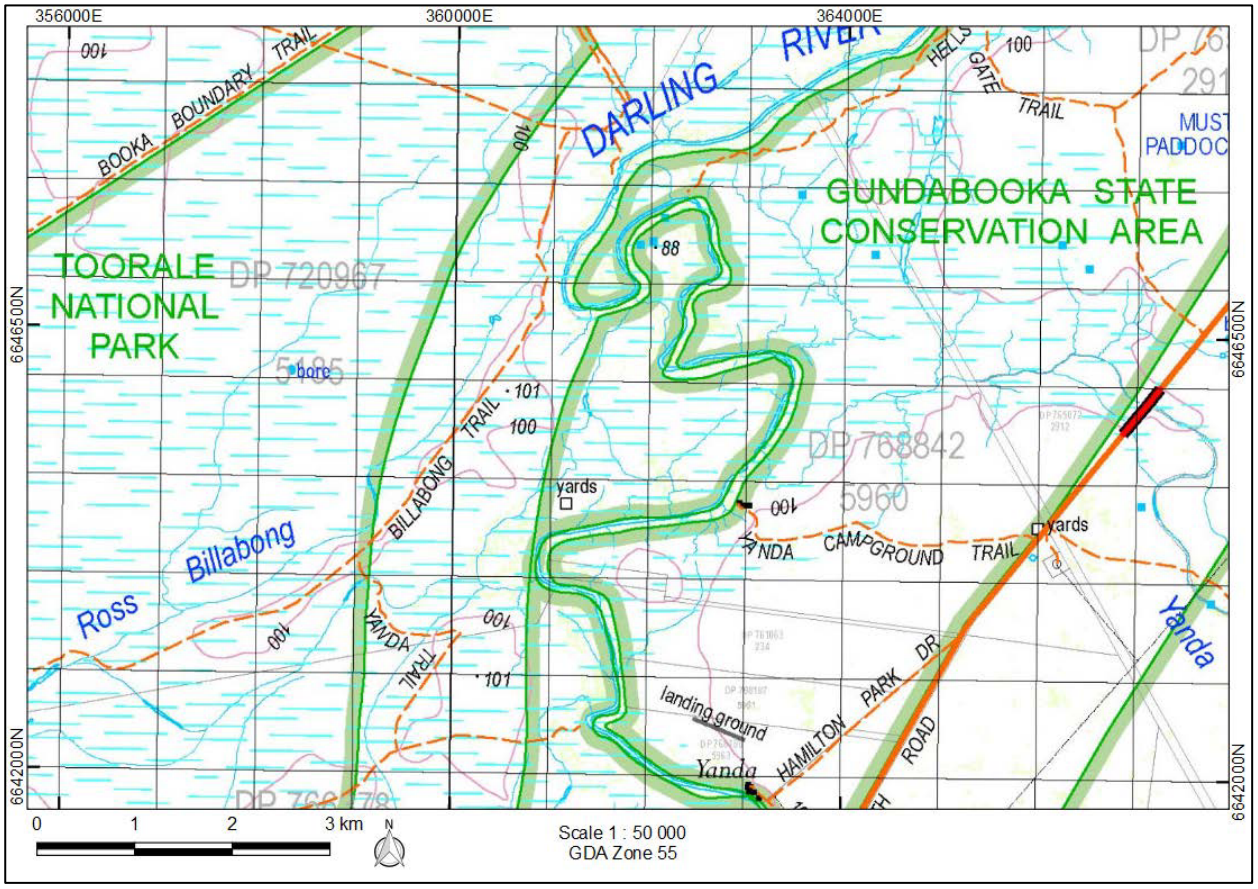
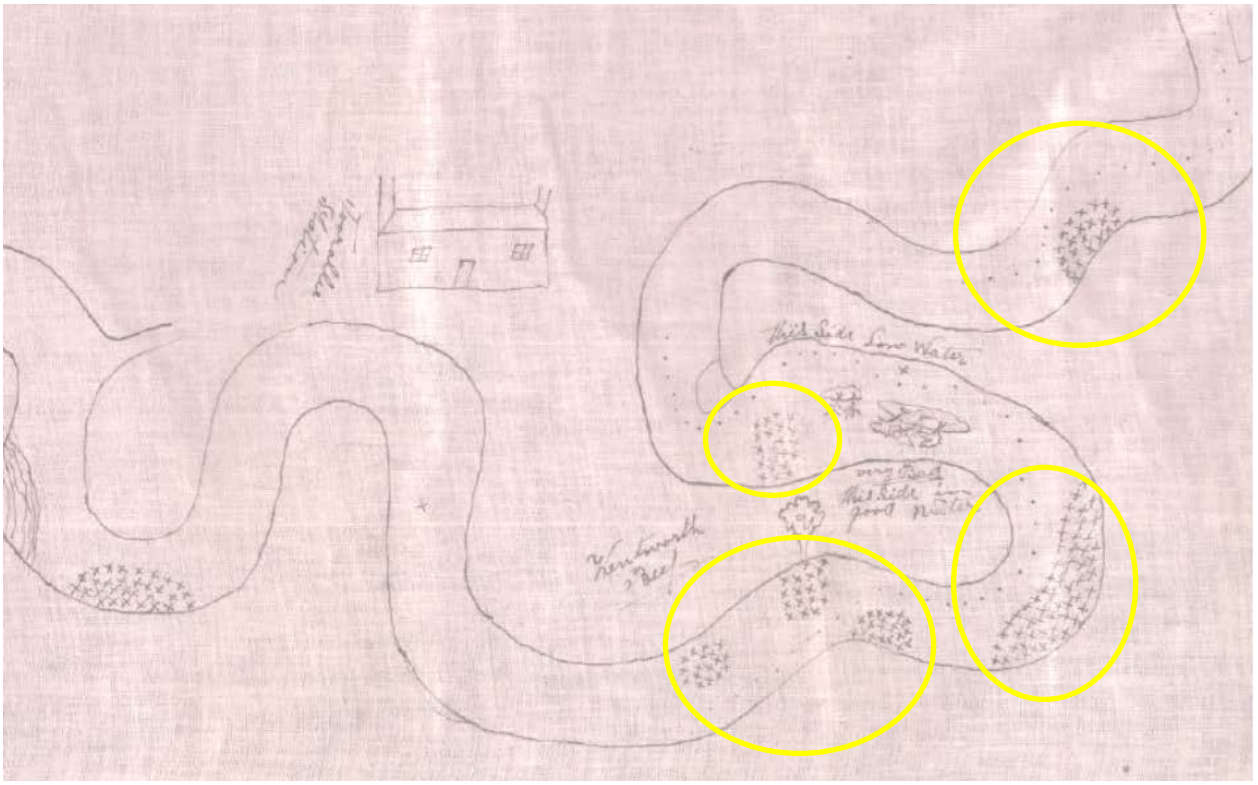


Figure 5-2: Black Rocks or Many Big Rocks, Darling River, Toorale National Park. (Source Smith nd: NPWS).

Figure 5-3: River pilot chart of the Darling River from Bourke to Weelong 1880-1889 showing 'Toorallie' homestead and Wentworth reef (Source: Martin 2010, Figure 7). Note the areas marked with 'x's (yellow circles) are where the rocks are present.



Martin (2010) records stone-walled fish traps along the Darling River on Toorale, with one documented as *Hell's Gate Fish Trap* in the vicinity of the Many Big Rocks picnic area and the nearby Yanda campsite. She further notes that Wentworth Reef, which comprises the stone in the bends of Darling River near the old Toorale Homestead (**Figures 5-2 and 5-3**), may also have been areas where fish traps were constructed. Norton 1907, as cited in Martin 2010, records that loose stone bars are common on the Barwon / Darling Rivers and he observed one downstream of the junction of the Warrego and Darling Rivers "where the stones had been used for the construction of walls in the bed of the river, and these were built up to the ordinary water level…walls were built, so as to form a series of yards, each having an opening on the upstream side".

Further consultation specific to this site type is likely to reveal further information on the significance of this area to local Aboriginal people.

2. Redbank burial ground

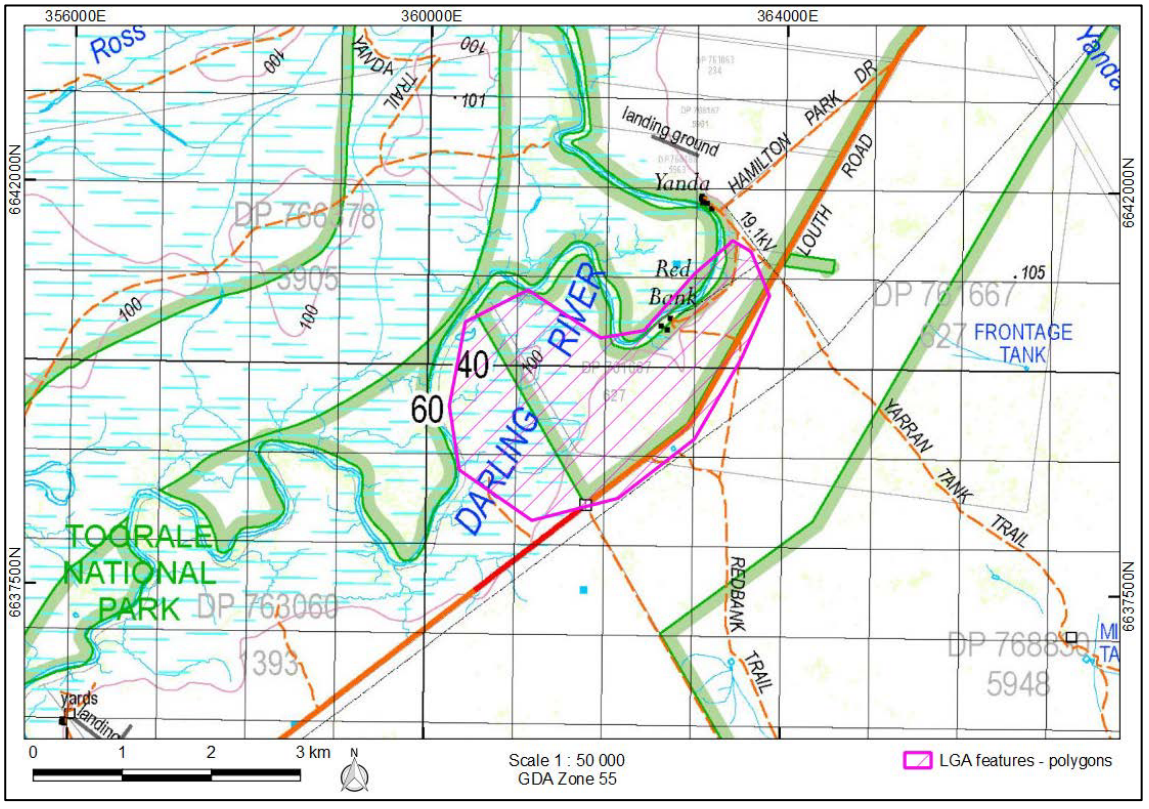
The exact location of this burial ground is not known but is thought to be on the property called Redbank that is now part of the Gundabooka National Park (**Figure 5-4**). The historic homestead at this location is described as having the Darling River at its doorstep.

Consultation recorded that an Aboriginal burial ground is present in the area, with graves of the Black family specifically mentioned, and the connection between Barkindji and Nyemba people.

An oral history account from Hero Black, who spoke Gurneu [Kurnu] a dialect of Bakundji [Paakantyi] was recorded by anthropologist Marie Reay in 1945 and is summarised in Martin 2010. The interview records the connection of the Black and Knight families, through the marriage of Eliza Knight to Hero Black who fathered her younger children. The interview recorded information about Mount Gundabooka and about the paintings at the Mulgowan art site.

Redbank Station is again mentioned by Martin (2010) in reference to a dreaming story. The high red cliffs around Redbank homestead are known as mudlark sites, which implicates this area in the stories about the Mudlark and the two Ngatyi (Rainbow Serpents). It is told that the two Ngatyi, who lived near Bourke in north Paakantji country, ruined the mudlarks mud house, so the mudlark started to dig a channel to try find suitable mud for another house. The Ngatyi followed the mudlark and the water flowed out of the Ngatyi waterhole into the new channel, which was deepened and widened the Ngatyi, thus forming the Darling River (Interviews in Martin 1999).

Figure 5-4: Topographic map showing the location of Redbank on the bank of the Darling River.



Archaeological assessment around Redbank homestead and other nearby homesteads (Yanda, was Hamilton Park, Old Yanda and 5-Mile Camp) was summarised (Sheppard 2006 in Martin 2010) as comprising stone artefact scatters including grinding stones and freshwater middens, a series of canoe trees, quartzite and red ochre quarries, all together suggesting an almost continuous suite of Aboriginal open campsites along the Darling River terrace above the floodplain. The archaeological evidence was supported by Martins interviews with elder Elsie Jones, who noted that there was a big camp of people at Redbank near Bourke (Martin 1999).

This occupation evidence around Redbank signals the likelihood for a burial ground to be present.

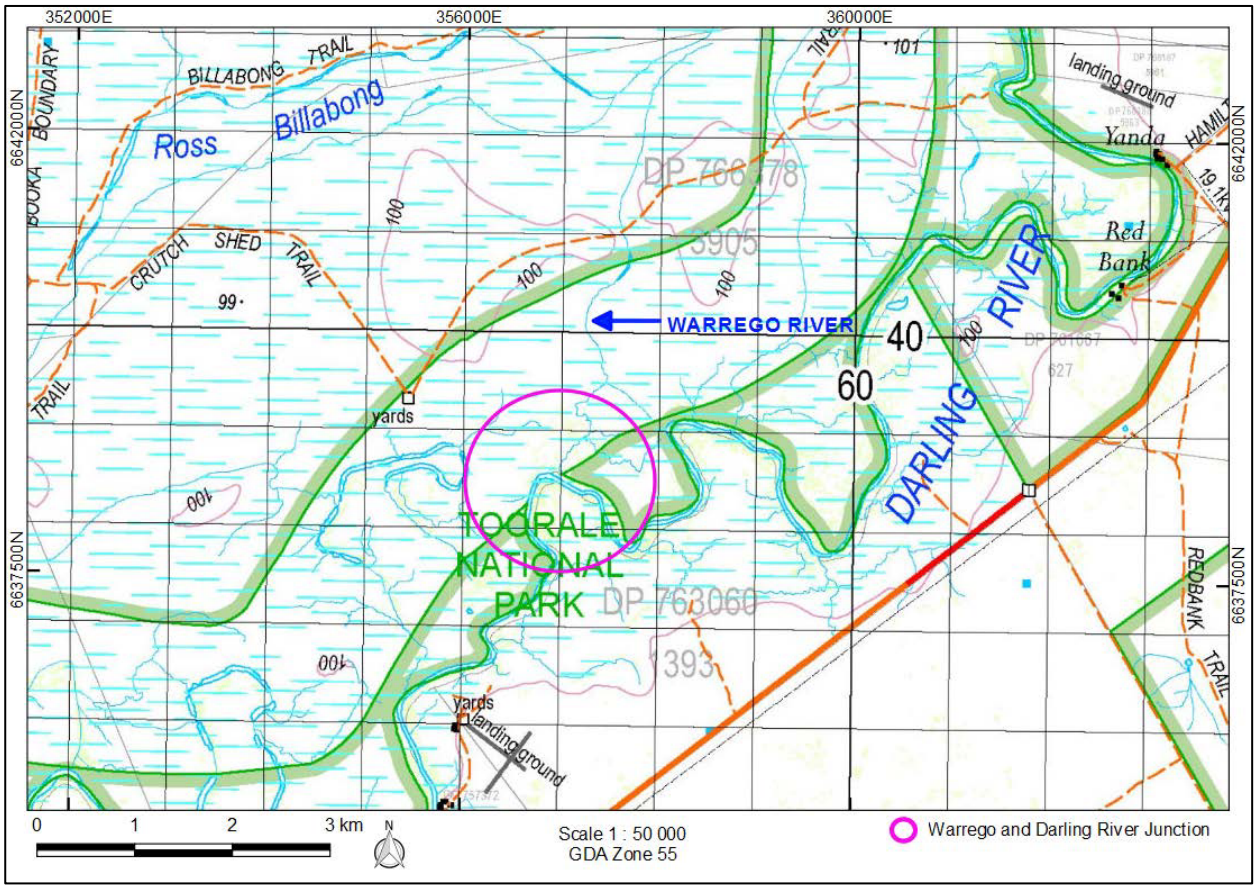
3. Warrego and Darling River Junction

The Warrego River has its confluence with the Darling River within the Toorale National Park (**Figure 5-5**). From the consultation undertaken, this area was identified as a meeting point for the Kurnu and Barkindji people.

Toorale National Park takes its name from the large pastoral station 'Toorale' established in the 1850's. Aboriginal people worked on Toorale through the early historic period into the twentieth century as stockmen, drovers, shearers, fencers and domestic workers. Work for Aboriginal people continued after irrigation agriculture was established and now that it's a national park, Aboriginal people are able to continue their connection to this country as NPWS field officers (Martin 2010).

The specific area where the rivers meet is complex in terms of its geomorphology. The floodplains of the rivers are often wide and treeless expanses of grey cracking clays interspersed with red sand islands or orange to beige source bordering dunes (Martin 2010).

Figure 5-5: Topographic map showing the junction of the Warrego and Darling Rivers.



4. Mount Oxley

Mount Oxley is described as a prominence located 32 kms east-southeast of Bourke (**Figure 5-6** and **5-7**). The Aboriginal name for the landmark is Oombi Oombi (Jones 2009: 4). It was seen during Sturt's early exploration of the area and then named Oxley's Tableland after Surveyor-

General John Oxley. The formation is mesa-like rising 150 m above the surrounding plains and comprises a sedimentary rock outcrop of which much has eroded away. Although it can appear as a single massif, Mount Oxley is in fact two prominences separated by a linear narrow passage. Sturt described the surface of the formation to include many hollows, the formation of which remains uncertain.

Mount Oxley was a significant part of local Aboriginal dreaming stories and was also utilised by Aboriginal people as a quarry for grinding stones. According to Benwell (2002) the top of Mount Oxley shows evidence of quarrying for grinding stones. Traditional stories of the local Aboriginal people record that the grinding stones from the top of Mount Oxley were under the control of certain elders of the local tribe and attracted a premium 'price'. Other grinding stones quarried from pits on Yambacoona (also known as Mount Druid), 30 kms from Brewarrina, were apparently of inferior quality and could be extracted by anyone visiting the area (Benwell 2002: 2). A site visit to the area in 2002 with the Traditional Owners of both sites seemed to support this, presumably due to the quality of the stone from Mount Oxley being superior. A stone quarry and open camp site is registered on AHIMS as being at Mount Oxley (site #17-2-0001).

Figure 5-6: Topographic map showing Mount Oxley and Oxley Range.

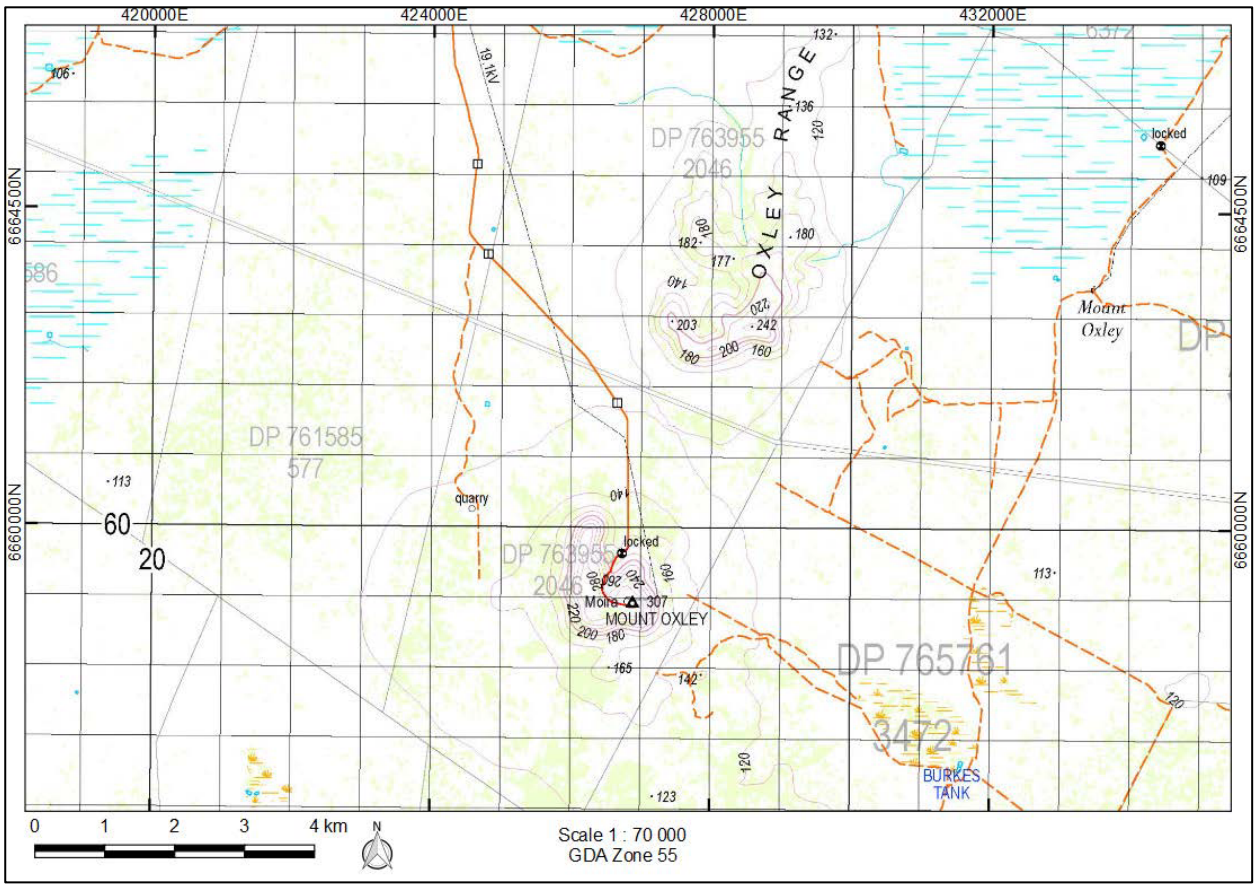


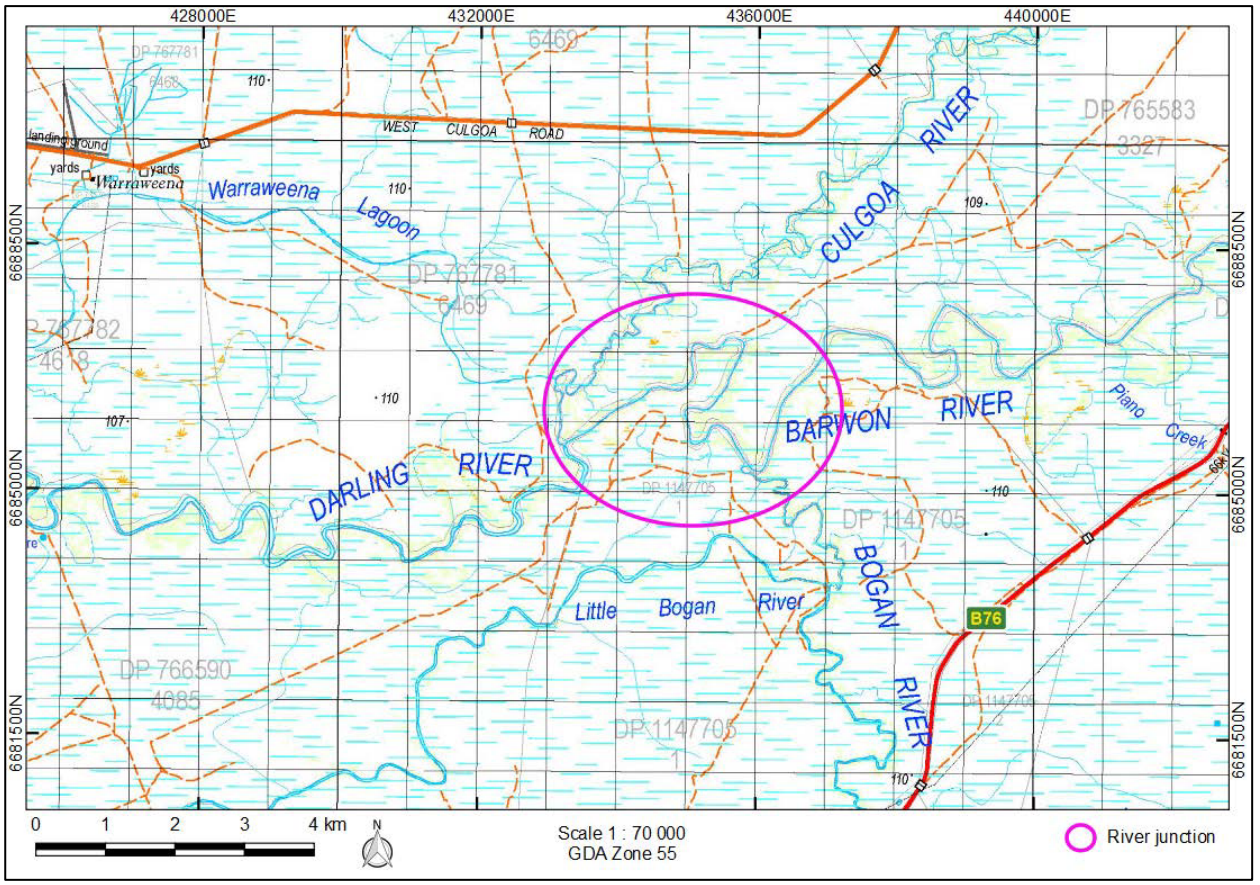
Figure 5-7: Mount Oxley. Source: Mount Oxley and Coolabah Geological Mapping Project. Project update - December 2011.

Dreaming stories in relation to Oombi Oombi were identified by the Aboriginal community as an element of the significance of this landmark and further consultation and research should assist in documenting these stories.

5. Culgoa, Barwon and Bogan River Junction

Around 40 kms east-northeast of Bourke is the confluence of the Culgoa, Barwon and Bogan Rivers (**Figure 5-8**). At the eastern end the Bogan and Barwon Rivers meet, before being joined from the north by the Culgoa River around 3 kms (as the crow flies) further west. It is at this confluence that the Darling River begins. This area was noted during consultation as a significant place due to being a ceremony place, for the Barabinya, Murrawarri and Nyemba people.

Figure 5-8: Topographic map showing Culgoa, Barwon and Bogan River Junction where the Darling River Begins.

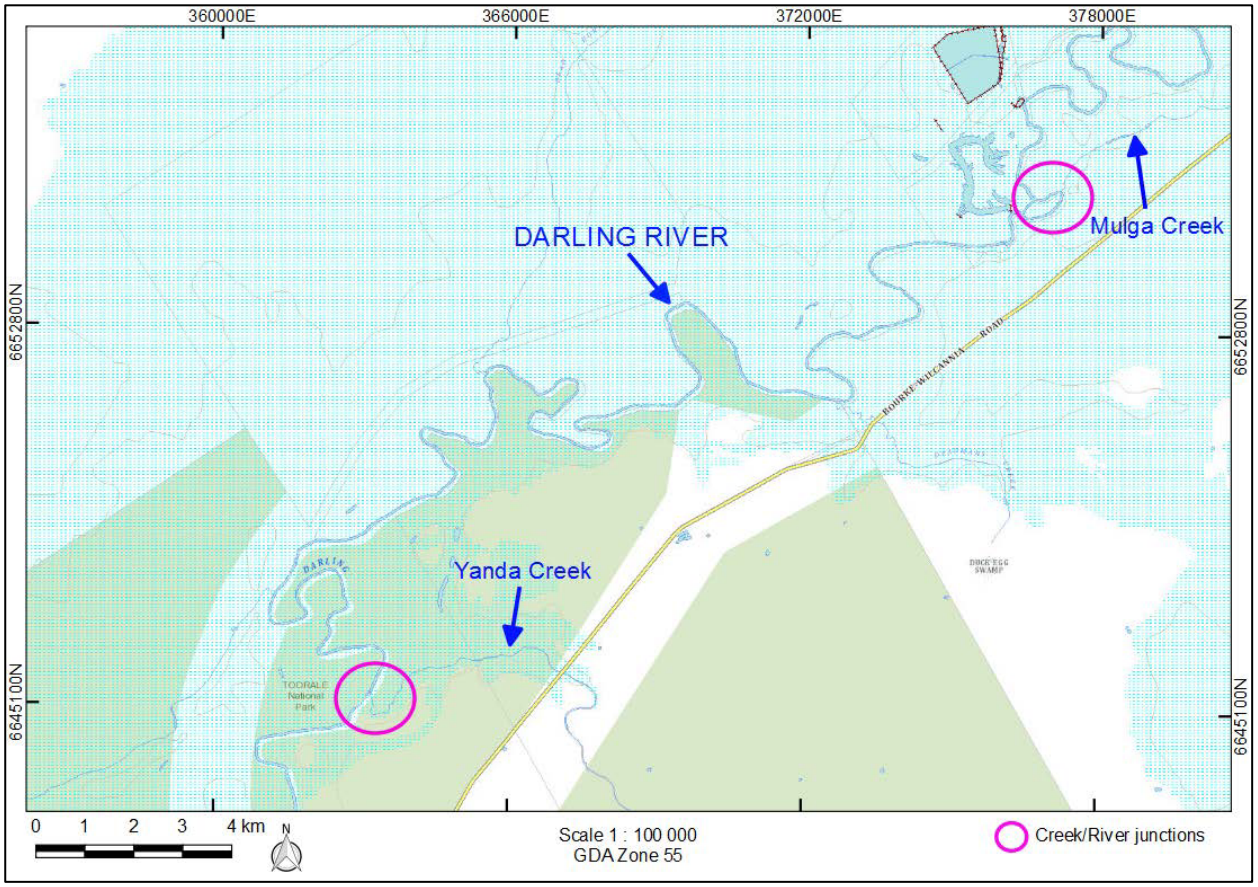


6. Yanda and Mulga Creek junctions with the Darling River

Both Yanda and Mulga Creeks are mapped as emanating from south of the Barrier Highway east of Cobar)**Figure 5-9)**. Both flow in a generally northerly direction, with Mulga Creek being the easterly of the two, eventually flowing into the Darling River southwest of Bourke. Yanda Creek runs through Gundabooka National Park and it is a tributary into Yanda Creek from Mount Gundabooka on which the famous Mulgowan Art site is located.

Consultation for this project indicated that one or both of these creeks are part of a dreaming story.

Figure 5-9: Map showing the locations of the Yanda and Mulga Creek junctions with the Darling River.



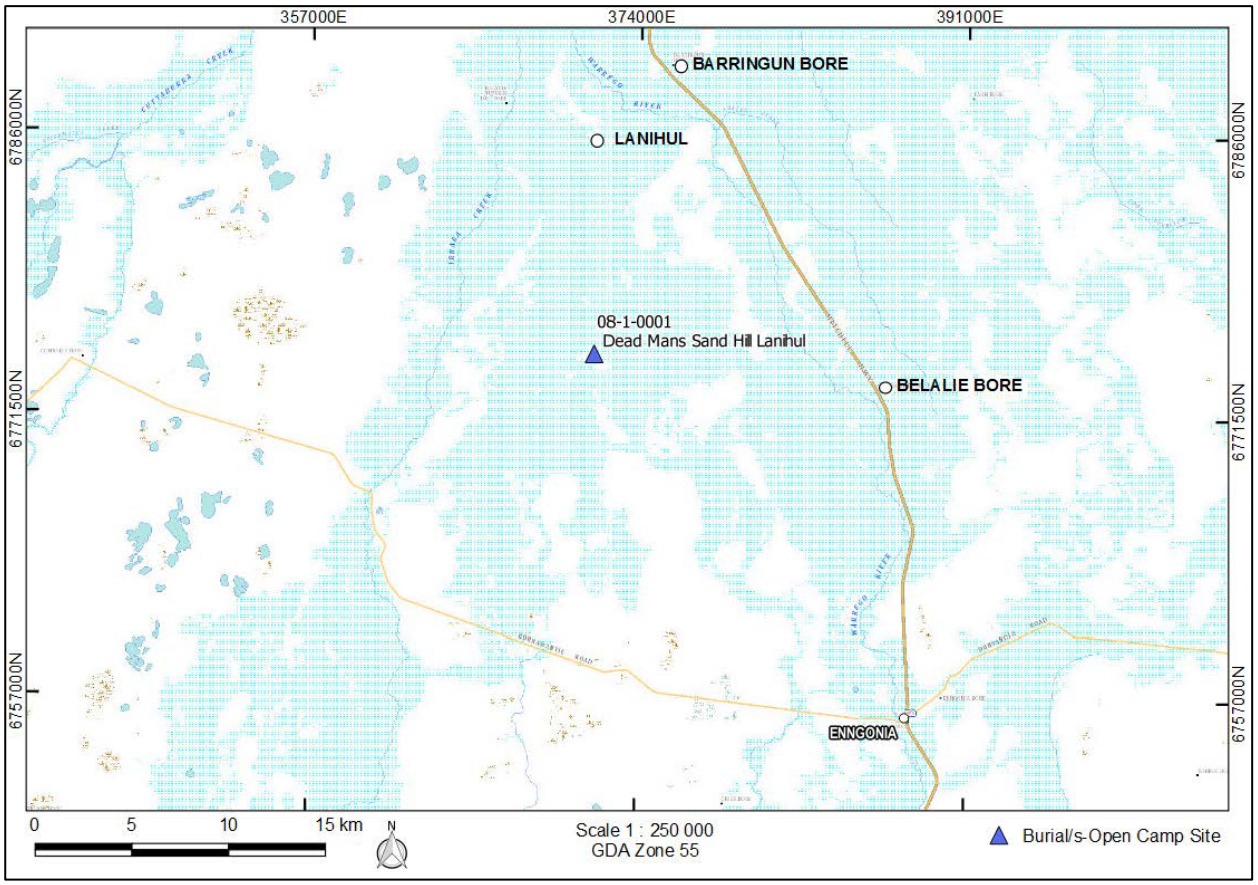
7. Deadman's sand dunes

Located in the far north of Bourke Shire LGA near Barringun is an area of sand dunes (**Figure 5-10**). It was noted during consultation that fencing had been put up in this area for site protection but that this fencing needs to be repaired.

It is thought that site may be a massacre site (?) that is referred to by Jack (2002) as 'stinking lagoon' near Barringun, which is recorded as a place of "great sadness associated with Aboriginal and European encounters", but that such sites are thankfully rare within the LGA.

The burial site is registered on AHIMS as site #08-1-0001 (Dead Mans Sand Hill Lanihul).

Figure 5-10: Topographic map showing the location of AHIMS site #08-1-001.



8. Byrock Rock Holes

Byrock Holes (**Figure 5-11**) is a place of Aboriginal significance and is currently listed on the following:

- Byrock Rock Holes: Listed as an Aboriginal Place protected under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (**Figure 5-12**)*;*
- Byrock Rock Holes Area: Listed on the Bourke Shire LEP 2012 as item number I26.

The following review is compiled from the Aboriginal Place and LEP listing information for Byrock Holes (Heritage Listing Byrock Rock Holes: ID 5062860).

Byrock Rock Holes is an important site in the Ngemba people's Dreaming stories about Baiame (the creator) and Wawai (the rainbow serpent).

The site is the Ngemba people's creation story and helps to explain where they come from. Baiame, the creator, stopped at Byrock Rock Holes to create the animals of the area and then the Ngemba people. Paul Gordon explains: 'Without the rock holes there are no Ngemba people. Byrock is people' (Aboriginal Place listing - Heritage Division ID 5062860).

The Wawai story describes the creation of water sources across Ngemba country. The rainbow serpent Wawai created water holes across the Cobar Peneplain by going underground and coming up through the ground to create a water supply. At Byrock, Wawai emerged through the

rock holes and filled them with water. Learning the story of Wawai's travels and the waterholes he created was the key to survival in the stone country and Aboriginal people had to recognise Wawai's tracks so they could find water. When creeks were dry, the Ngemba people would make their way across country from waterhole to waterhole following the Wawai story. There was a particular chain of waterholes that led from Gundabooka to Byrock, which was used until the early twentieth century.

It is a place where cultural stories and lore are passed on, and it is the site of a former camp occupied by Aboriginal people from the late 1880s to the early 1900s (Aboriginal Place listing - Heritage Division ID 5062860).

Elements of the cultural significance of Byrock Rock Holes is documented in interpretive signs at the site (**Figure 4-1**). There is a substantial body of information available on this site and as such information is better known due to the current listing status of the site, it will not be repeated here.

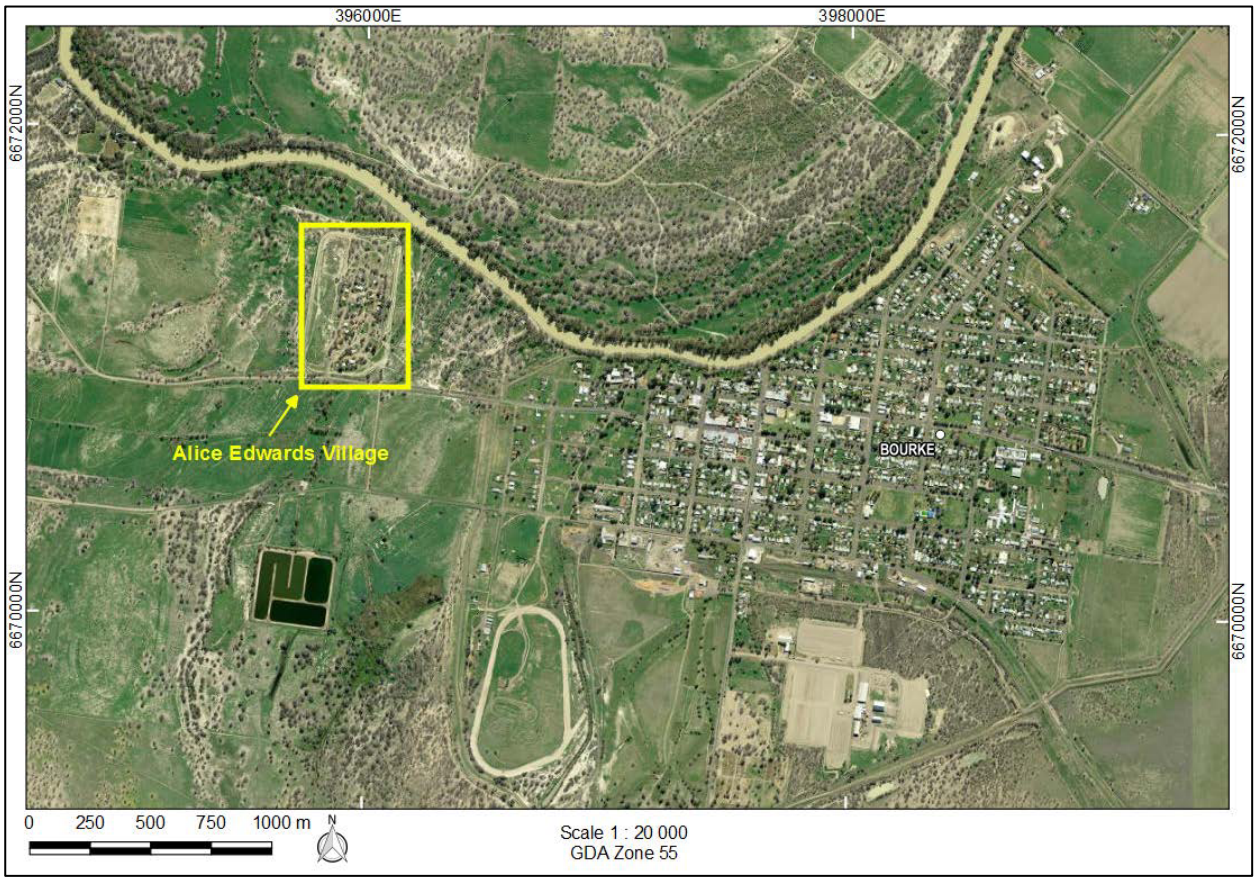
Figure 5-11: Map showing the location of the water hole in relation to Byrock.

Figure 5-12: Designated Byrock Rockholes Aboriginal Place.

9. Alice Edwards Village

Alice Edwards village is an Aboriginal community on the outskirts of the Bourke township (**Figure 5-13**). It is situated at the location of a former Aboriginal reserve, into which people from 21 different Aboriginal nations were confined in the 1940s. It is located approximately 2 kms west of the outskirts of Bourke along the Darling River, outside the town flood levee, and today consists primarily of between 13 and 20 run-down fibro homes. It is recorded that some residents are still descendants of the Alice Edwards after whom the village is named, and up to 100 people still reside there in 2015 (Safi 2015). The Nulla Nulla LALC rents the houses of the village to Aboriginal families and the last years have seen tension between tenants and the LALC due to lack of maintenance and upkeep (Olding 2015).

Figure 5-13: Location of Alice Edwards village in relation to Bourke.



10. Pound Yard

Four Aboriginal reserves are listed within Bourke, see **Table 5-2** below. It is not known if the Pound Yard identified in the oral accounts was the colloquial name for one of these reserves, or whether it was an informal reserve not listed below.

Table 5-2: Aboriginal Reserves listed for Bourke (NSW Dept of Community Services 1998)

Reserve	Gazette number	Date Gazetted	Date Revoked	Notes
Bourke Aboriginal Reserve	AR 7202/22	30/8/1946	?	A town reserve of 34 acres. This Reserve is the one primarily referred to as the Bourke Reserve and began at least seven years priors to its gazettal with Aboriginal families beginning to occupy the area on both banks of the Darling River (**Section 3.5** has some further details). Possibly could be Alice Edwards Village.
Bourke Aboriginal Reserve	AR 78457/8	6/4/1956	?	A town reserve in Cowper and Hope Streets
Bourke Aboriginal Reserve	AR 83582	17/11/61	27/9/68	A town reserve of 3 acres in Adelaide Street
Bourke Aboriginal Reserve	AR 84544	27/9/1963	?	This was a very small reserve, just over a ¼ acre, located in Warrego Street

Pound Yard is presumed to have been located on Anson Street, probably including land that is now used for the BSC depot based on oral accounts. The area it occupied is presumed to have been larger than its current limits. Further research would be required to more accurately determine the location and extent of Pound Yard, although it has also been referred to as a fringe camp, so possibly not a formal reserve. Kevin Knight is a source of information for this site.

Research into Pound Yard does not yield significant written results and it is likely that oral history may be the best source of information about this Reserve. Some stories have been captured that refer to the people living on the reserve in the 1950s, such as a story of Old Bertie Bates, referred to as a full blood, living in Bourke during the fifties. He is recorded as having married Sheila Haythorn, a white woman, and the two then lived at the Pound Yard in Bourke. Bertie is said to have been one of only two Aboriginal people in Bourke (Archie Knight was the other) to have had a Citizens Rights card, so other members of the local Aboriginal community had to get Bertie or Archie to buy their alcohol for them (Woodland 2015).

Another story from the 1950s also references the Pound Yard, again in relation to alcohol and police. Recorded by Gillian Cowlishaw in 2010, is the story of Marg and Cliff Edwards and their friend Charlie 'Boonie' Hilt. Marge recalls that during the fifties the police were extremely vigilant in terms of enforcing laws in regard to Aboriginal people and alcohol. At that time, they were all living at the Pound Yard.

11. Tara Stone Arrangements

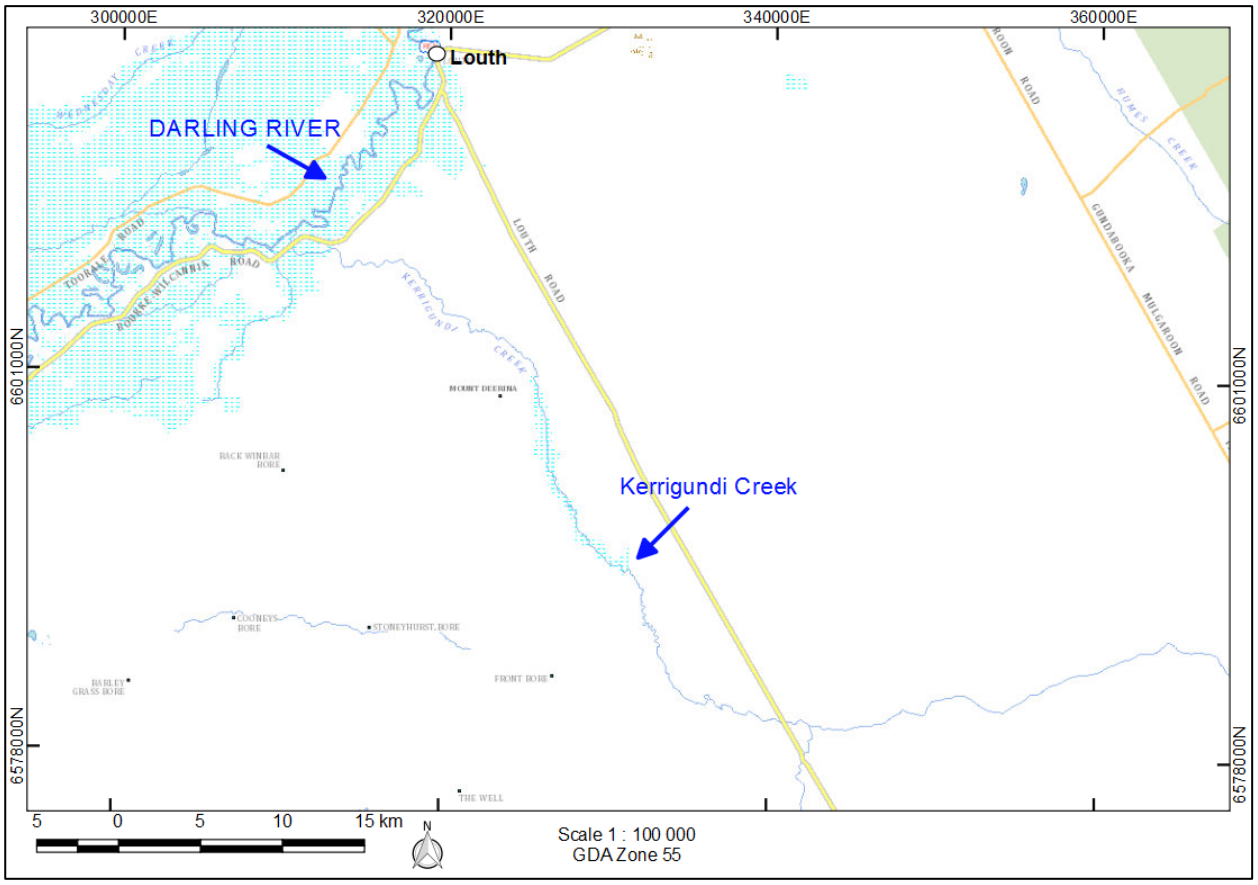
This site is recorded as being west of Enngonia, however no other information is currently available as to what this site is or exactly where it is located. As such, further consultation will be required.

12. Kerrigundi Creek

Kerrigundi Creek is a northwest flowing tributary that feeds into the Darling River around 10 kms south of Louth (**Figure 5-14**). Kerrigundi Creek is fed by several creeks, including Seven Mile Creek that flows north, draining the higher elevations around the west of Mount Booroondarra and Wittagoona Creek that drains the north facing slopes of Mount Buckwaroon. Both these landforms stand at 420 m AHD, overlooking the surrounding plains at 200m AHD. Mount Buckwaroon is about 12 kms due north Mount Grenfell and Mount Booroondarra is a further 12 kms due north. Kerrigundi Creek then flows to the west of a lower hill formation known as Mount Deerina (260m AHD).

According to the Aboriginal people consulted for this project, this creek line forms the boundary between the Barkandji and the Ngempya peoples.

Figure 5-14: Map showing a portion of Kerrigundi Creek in relation to the Darling River.



13. Lorna rock art / Mt Grenfell

The Mount Grenfell Historic Site is understood to be home to hundreds of rock art drawings representing Aboriginal life and is an area of great significance to the Ngiyampaa people. This site is however located outside Bourke LGA and as a result will not be further discussed here.

14. Iona and Boorawa rock art sites

Little is known about the Iona and Boorawa rock art sites, although for the purpose of this study it is noted to be located outside the Bourke LGA, southwest of Louth, and hence will not be discussed further.

15. Kurrajong Trees

Kurrajong (*Brachychiton populneus* or *gregorii* – the latter being the desert variety) is a summer flowering tree found across the LGA. Although no specific location was recorded, the Aboriginal community wanted to note that this species of tree has significant due to its potential for water gathering. The cultural practice discussed was that the roots can be dug up or tapped into to enable the draining of water from them. This practice is further recorded by Bayly (1999) who describes the *B. Gregorii* as an especially good water tree with porous roots that yield water freely.

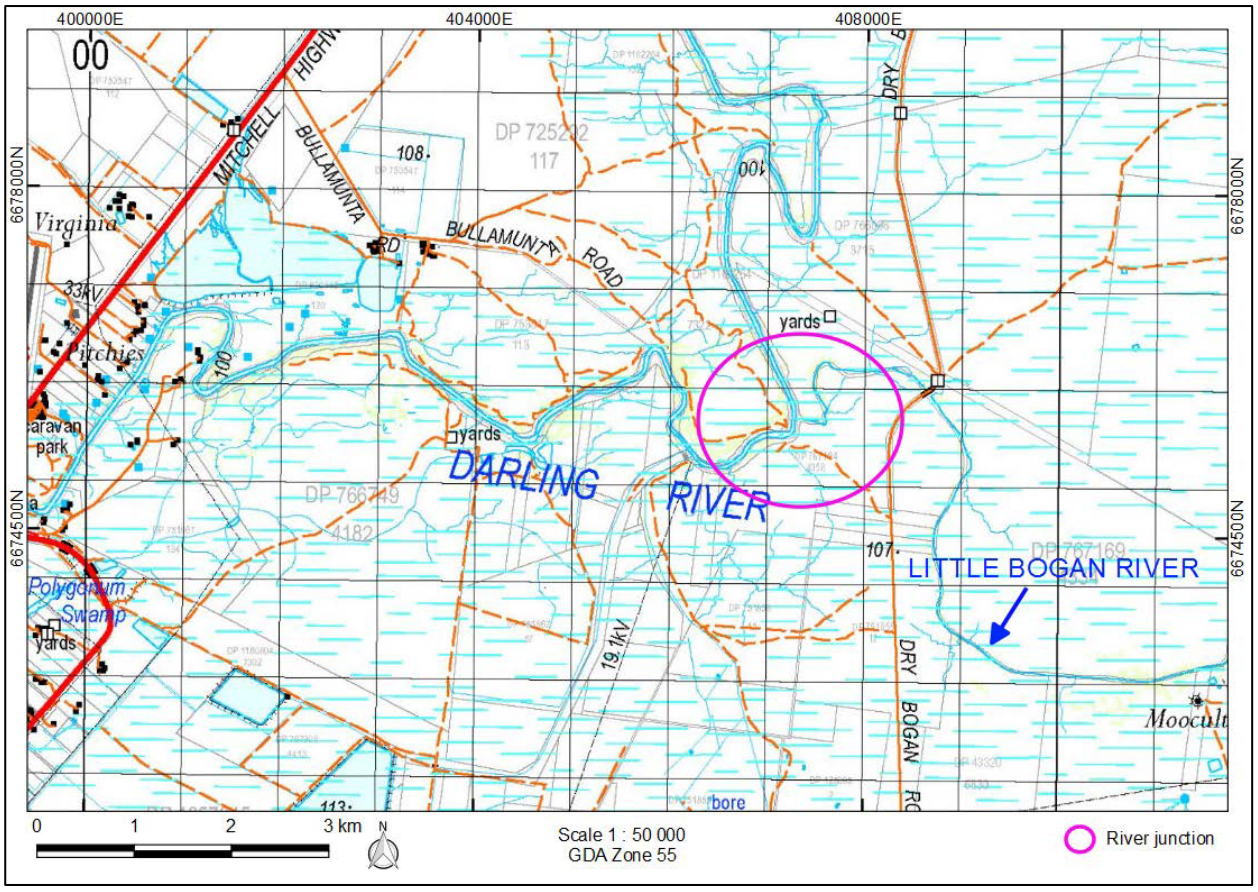
Other sources indicate that the roots of young Kurrajong were consumed along with the seeds after processing. Fishing nets are also recorded as being made from the Kurrajong bark (Nash 2004).

16. Dry Bogan (Little Bogan River) and Darling River Junction

We understand this junction to be located at the confluence of the Darling River and Little Bogan River, around 11 kms northeast of Bourke, near Dry Bogan Road (**Figure 5-15**).

Consultation revealed knowledge of scarred trees and artefact scatters in this area, although it is noted that this area revealed no AHIMS registered sites, as can be seen in **Figure 4-5**.

Figure 5-15: Map showing the junction of the Darling River and Little Bogan River.



17. Ten Mile Common

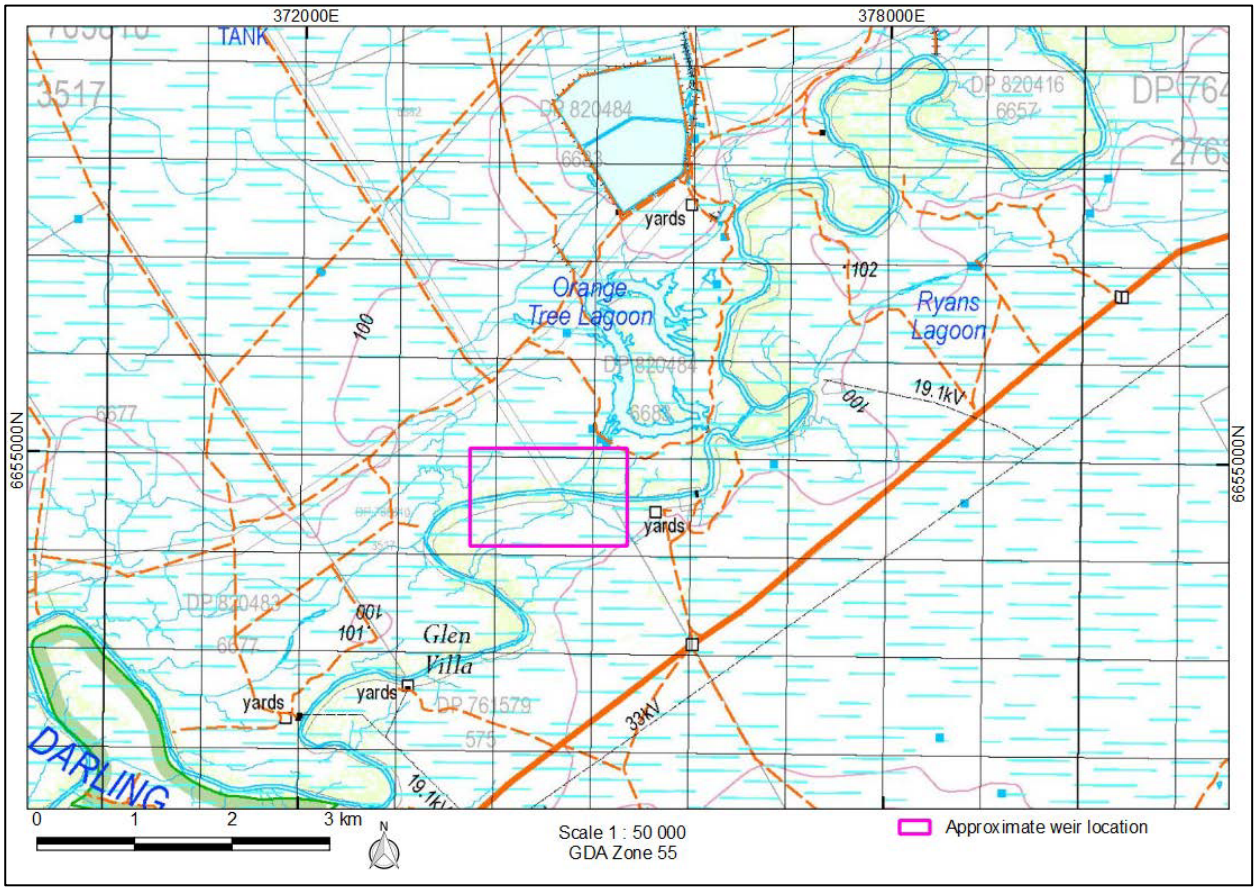
This location was recorded as being southwest of Bourke, down the Louth Road, although the specific location is unknown. The area is described as bearing archaeological evidence of Aboriginal occupation on both sides of the Darling River.

18. 19 Mile Weir

It is understood that this is reference to Weir 19A, which is located southwest of Bourke just beyond Orange Tree Lagoon and east of the confluence of Yanda Creek into the Darling River (**Figure 5-16**). This area is recorded as bearing Aboriginal occupation site evidence on both sides of the Darling River.

Figure 4-2 plots the known Aboriginal archaeological sites in this area and it can be seen that there are almost ten registrations on the AHIMS in this area, including artefact sites, scarred trees, hearths with organic material including bone and shell; and an Aboriginal resource gathering site with a conflict site association noted as well.

Figure 5-16: Approximate location of 19A Mile Weir in relation to the Darling River.



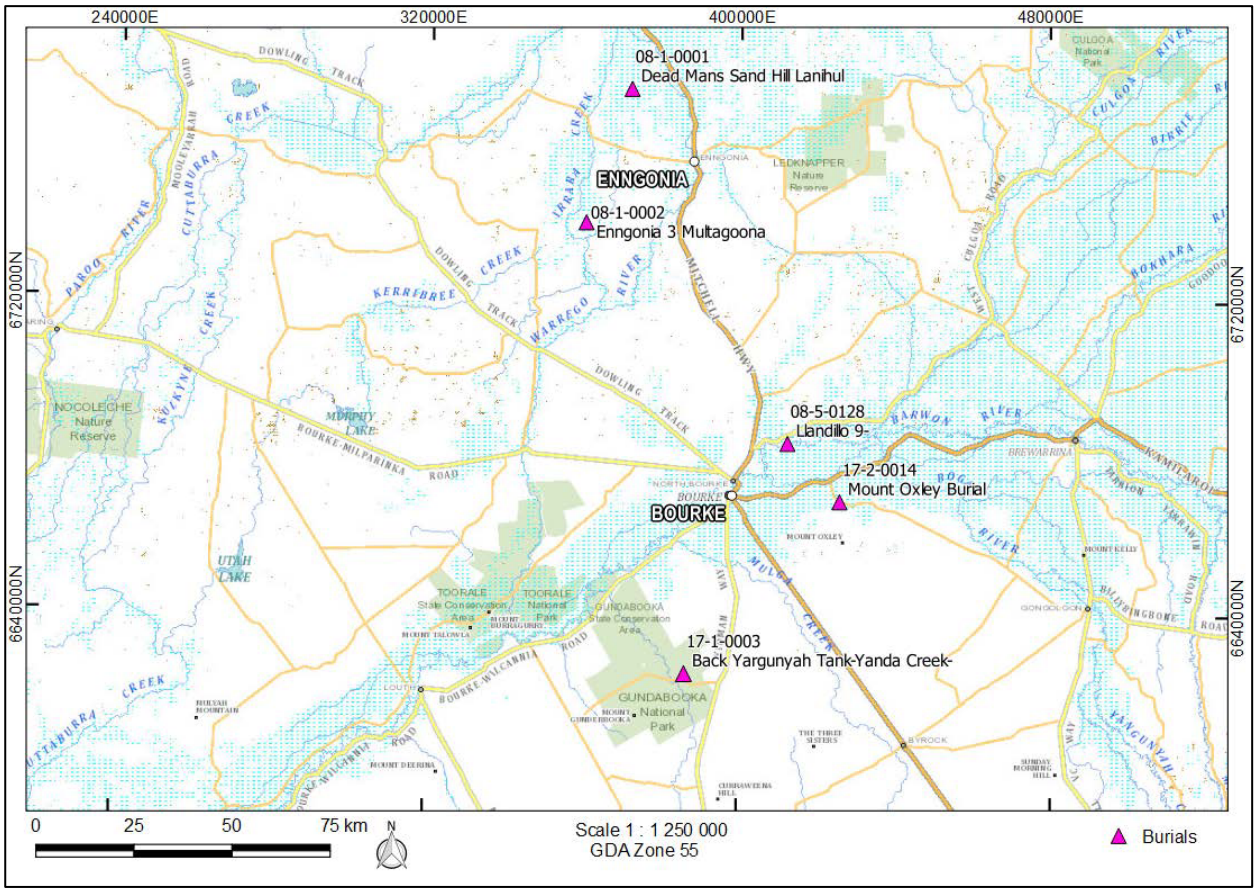
19. 14 Mile Weir

Another weir, presumably on the Darling River, however, no records can be found for a 14 Mile Weir so the location of this site will require further investigation. It may be that this is a natural weir rather than a man-made weir, although the numbering is suggestive of a European structure. Aboriginal occupation sites were recorded as present on both sides of the river. This site was mentioned during the consultation.

20. Sand hills

Special mention was made during consultation of sand hills as preferred locations for burials throughout the LGA. Sand hills where Aboriginal sites have been recorded on AHIMS include two areas west of Enngonia, one southwest near Wally's Bore between the junction of Toombah Creek and Irrara Creek; and the other northwest of Enngonia between the Warrego River and Irrara Creek (**Figures 4-2** and **5-17**). Both are recorded as burial/s and open camp sites.

Figure 5-17: Location of burial sites listed on the AHIMS database.

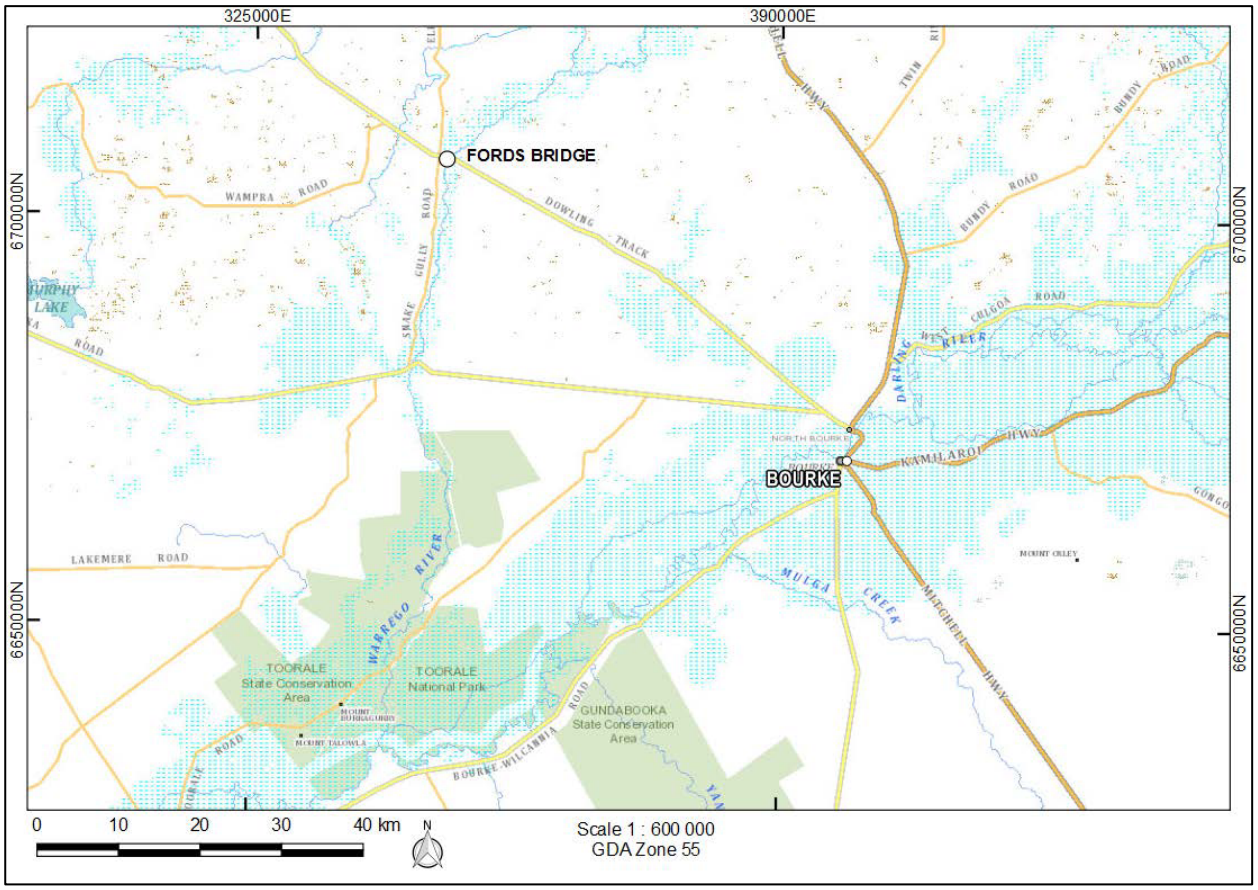


21. Fords Bridge

Fords Bridge is a locality northwest of Bourke. It contains within it the Warrego River, flowing west southwest and Irrara Creek which flows predominantly south and includes the confluence of these two waterways (**Figure 5-18**).

The area is known to have substantial areas of Aboriginal stone artefacts although not many of these appear to be on AHIMS. **Figure 4-2** plots AHIMS site in the area, although it may not include the entirety of the Fords Bridge region.

Figure 5-18: Location of Fords Bridge in relation to Bourke.

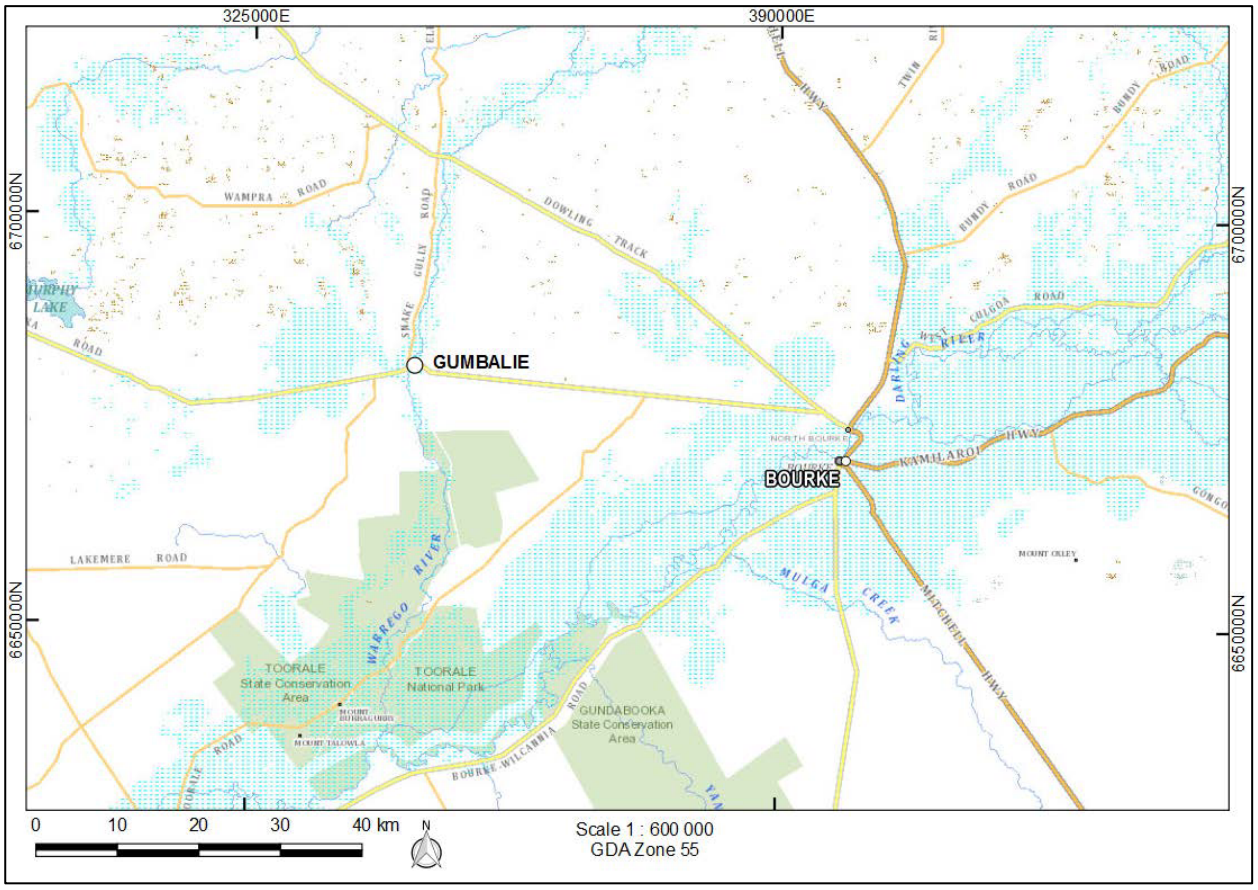


22. Gumbalie

Gumbalie is a locality due west of Bourke that includes much of Toorale National Park (**Figure 5-19**). It abuts the southern boundary of the Fords Bridge region discussed above.

This region is recorded as being a boundary area between the Murrawarri and Barkindji peoples, and it is within this region that the site of a large traditional fight between Kalali people and Barkindji is said to have occurred. The Warrego River flows south the centre of this region to arrive at its confluence with the Darling River.

Figure 5-19: Location of Gumbalie in relation to Bourke and Toorale National Park.



23. River Junctions

Confluences of waterways are significant to Aboriginal people for many reasons. These may include dreaming stories but also due to the fact that confluences tended to be areas of highest resources and often the best microclimatic conditions. This means that they were favourable locations for occupation due to resource proximity. Archaeological sites are frequently recorded at confluences which bears testimony to their importance in prehistory.

24. Winbar Station

Winbar Station was a pastoral sheep station on the upper Darling River (**Figures 5-20, 5-21** and **5-22**). It was located around 15 kms southwest of Louth, on the south bank of the Darling River not far beyond Trilby Station, which was on the north bank. Notice of the sale of the station in 1925 (Western Herald 1925) described it being comprised of five leases which were to be sold separately.

Brief research into Winbar Station shows that its history was intimately tied with the Aboriginal people of the area, and this clearly is an association with the Winbar area that continues through oral history to the present day.

Researcher Tracey Spencer has presented the story of Becky Castledein from Sydney making her way to Winbar Station by 1913, where she met an Aboriginal man who lived and worked

there, Jack, whom she later married. The research undertaken documents that Jack taught the Station Managers wife the Paakantyi language, being the language of the Barkindji River tribe (Spencer 2011: 3).

Other commentary on Winbar Station can be found in the memories of William Bates (often known as Badger) as recorded in the Statement for the Murray Darling Basin Royal Commission. Badger recalls:

> When I was very young living on the river on a station called Winbar between Wilcannia and Bourke, us kids were allowed to go and watch the brolgas dance. But we had to behave just like we were told. We had to walk quietly up and sit down and watch and not talk. We thought of the Brolgas exactly if they were our elders, we had respect and love for them, and they showed us their dances.

This and other recollections of Aboriginal people in relation to Winbar Station demonstrate the connections of Aboriginal people today with this station of historical significance.

Figure 5-20: Topographic map showing the location of Winbar Station.

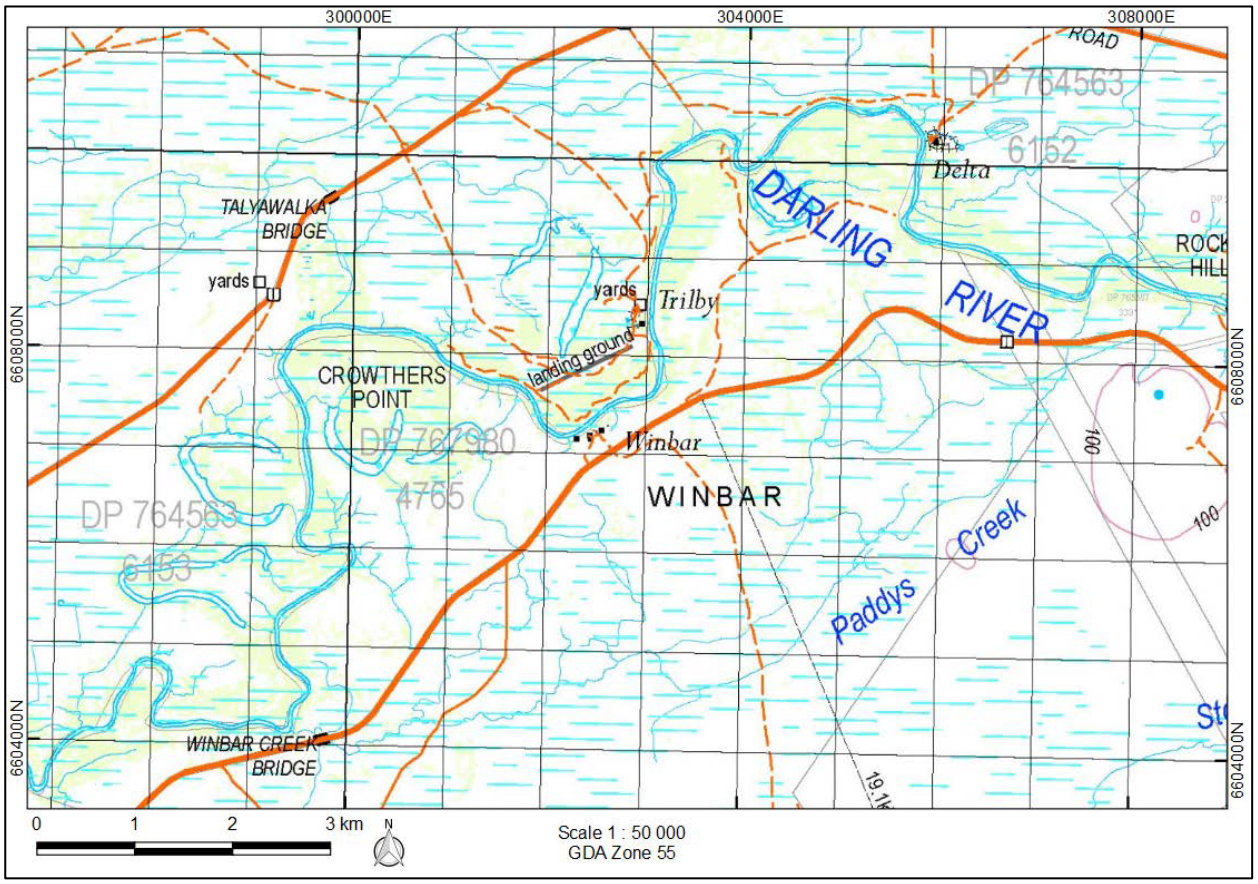


Figure 5-21: Winbar Station in 1914. Photo courtesy of Frank Warwick, sourced from Spencer 2011.

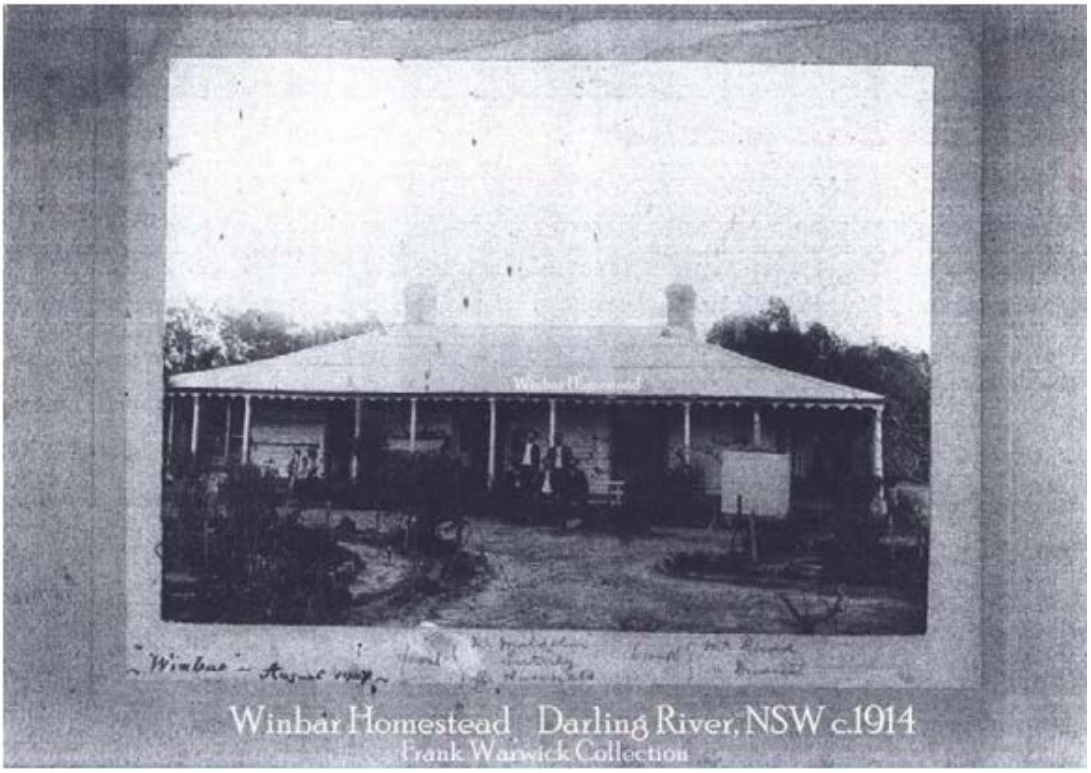


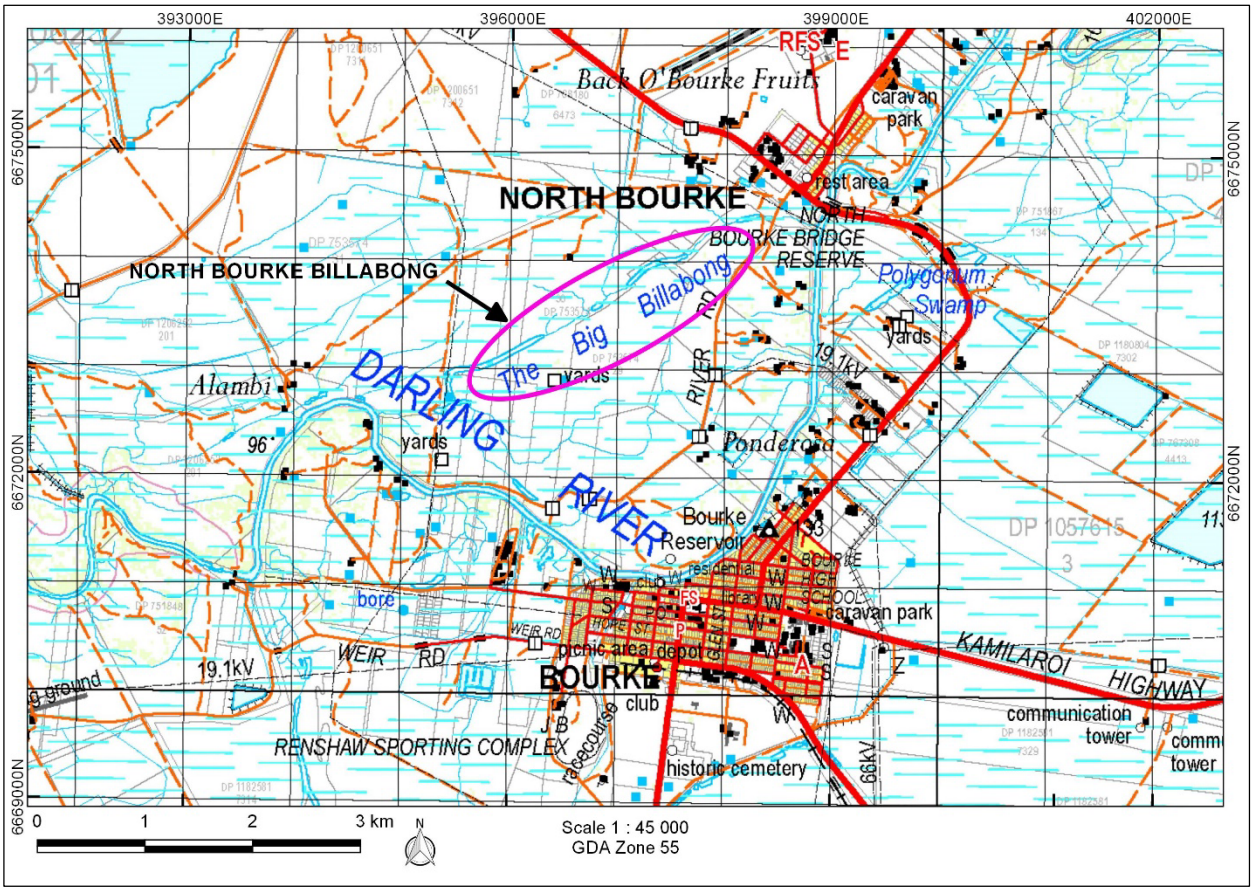
Figure 5-22: Wool drying at Winbar Station, Louth, in 1900 (Kerry 1900: Trove 2018).

25. North Bourke Billabong

It is interpreted that this place refers to the Big Billabong, mapped as occurring immediately to the north of Bourke (**Figure 5-23**). This billabong appears to be a palaeo-channel of the Darling River that would in the past have joined the bends of the Darling River north and west of Bourke respectively. The Big Billabong emanates as an anabranch of the Darling south of the North Bourke Bridge.

A Sydney Morning Herald report (Feb 2008) about Cobb and Co in the area records that distinguished coach drive Billie Armstrong died at North Bourke Billabong after overturning his coach there.

Figure 5-23: Location of North Bourke Billabong.



Another account is that of the life of a prominent Aboriginal woman of the Bourke area, Dot Martin (**Figure 5-23**). Dot was born in a house that backed onto the North Bourke Billabong and **Figure 5-23** shows her and her family members, presumably adjacent to the Billabong.

Consultation for this project also mentioned a sawmill in the area, although no written records were able to be sourced.

The area is also known to bear Aboriginal archaeological material in the way of scarred trees and stone artefacts.

Figure 5-24: Dot Martin (nee Wilson) with her grandfather Dolly and his 'fishing car' (DEC 2005).

26. Fort Bourke

Fort Bourke is located about 15 kms west southwest of Bourke on the edge of Eight-Mile Lagoon and the Darling River (**Figure 5-24**). The Fort was built by Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1835 due to the bad relations with the local Aboriginal people. Due to his concerns, Mitchell felt a fort would be a suitable protection against their attacks. It was named Fort Bourke after the governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke (1777-1855). Eventually the district and later the town came to be known by this name (Monument Australia nd).

A cairn now marks the original site of the Fort Bourke stockade and in 1952 the Royal Australian Historical Society sent a marble tablet to be affixed to the cairn (**Figure 5-25**). The tablet bears the inscription: "Major Thomas Mitchell Completed Fort Bourke Stockade on May 29, 1835. R.A.H.S."

The consultation undertaken for this project recorded that Aboriginal people think of this place as a first contact point for Aboriginal people and Europeans, and also a location of Aboriginal burials and marker trees which indicate the burials.

Figure 5-25: Location of Fort Bourke in relation to Bourke and the Darling River.

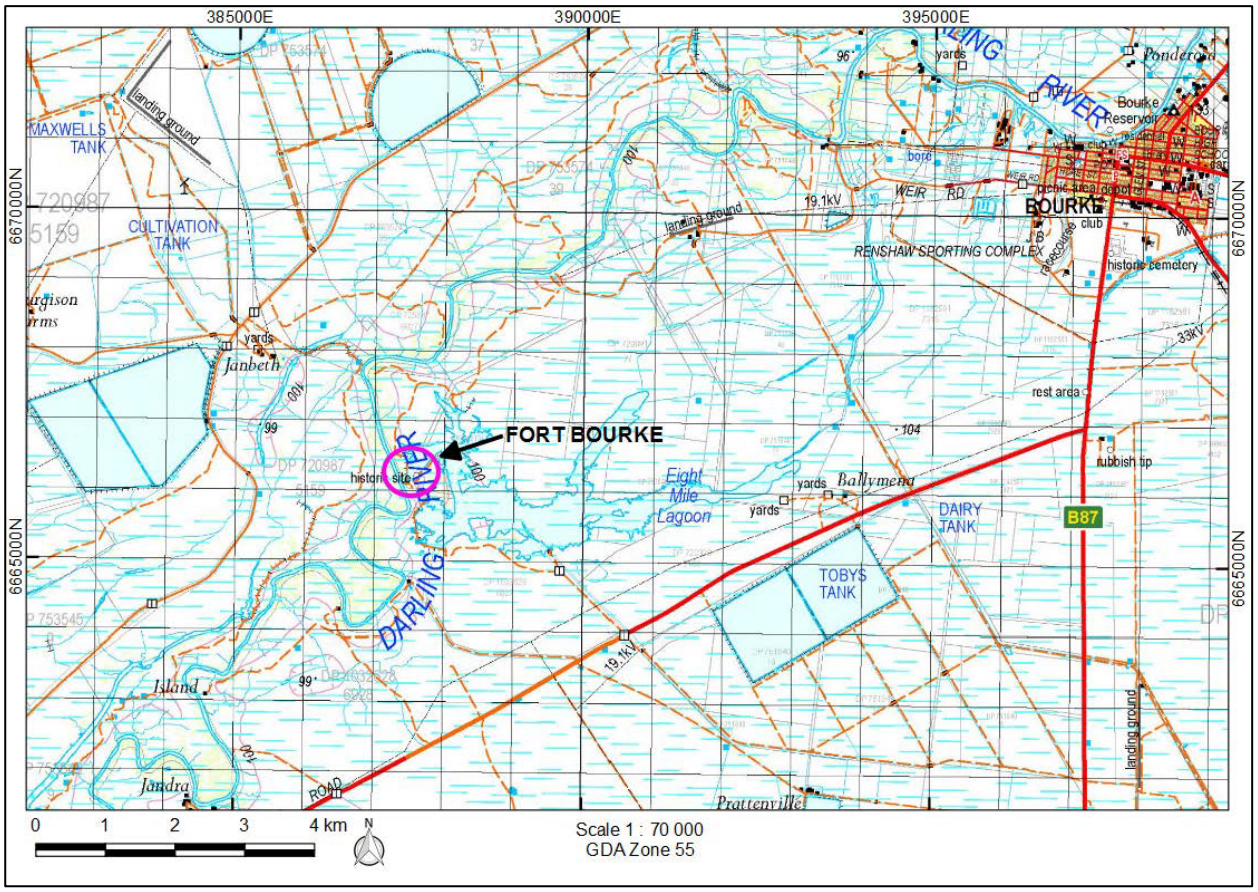


Figure 5-26: Fort Bourke today with the 1950's cairn and marble plaque in the foreground. Source Redz Australia 2011).

27. Grinding grooves - Prattenville

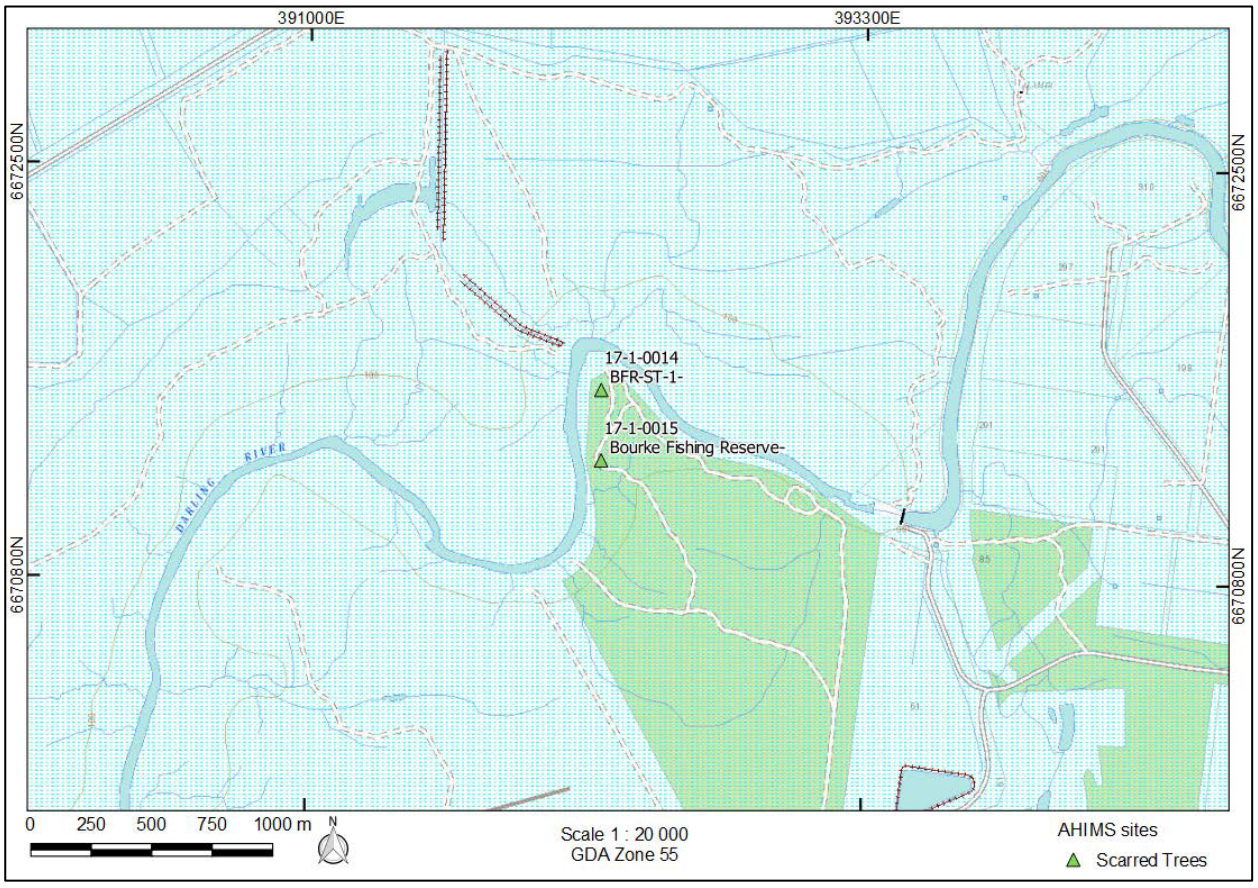
The location of these grooves is not understood in detail, although it was recorded during consultation that they are associated with stone artefacts. Further consultation is needed to determine the location, condition and accessibility of this site.

28. Bourke Fishing reserve - Canoe Tree

This site is described as being located six kilometres west of Bourke on the Darling River and it comprises the river section immediately below the Bourke Weir.

Discussions noted a canoe tree as being present in the area. Two scarred trees are registered on AHIMS at the Bourke fishing reserve (**Figure 5-26**). It is currently unknown which tree has the canoe scar.

Figure 5-27: Location of registered scarred trees at the Bourke fishing reserve.



29. Polygonum swamp

Although there was undoubtedly more than one swamp, the area actually marked as Polygonum swamp on the map is the area immediately east of the North Bourke Bridge and to the south of the Darling River (**Figure 5-28** and **5-28**).

This swamp was recognised during consultation as being a significant food source for the traditional Aboriginal people of the Bourke area. A significant and culturally important bush tucker

food mentioned was Bukali (native wild orange – high in vitamin C) which is consumed to assist women recovering from childbirth.

Figure 5-28: Location of Polygonum swamp.

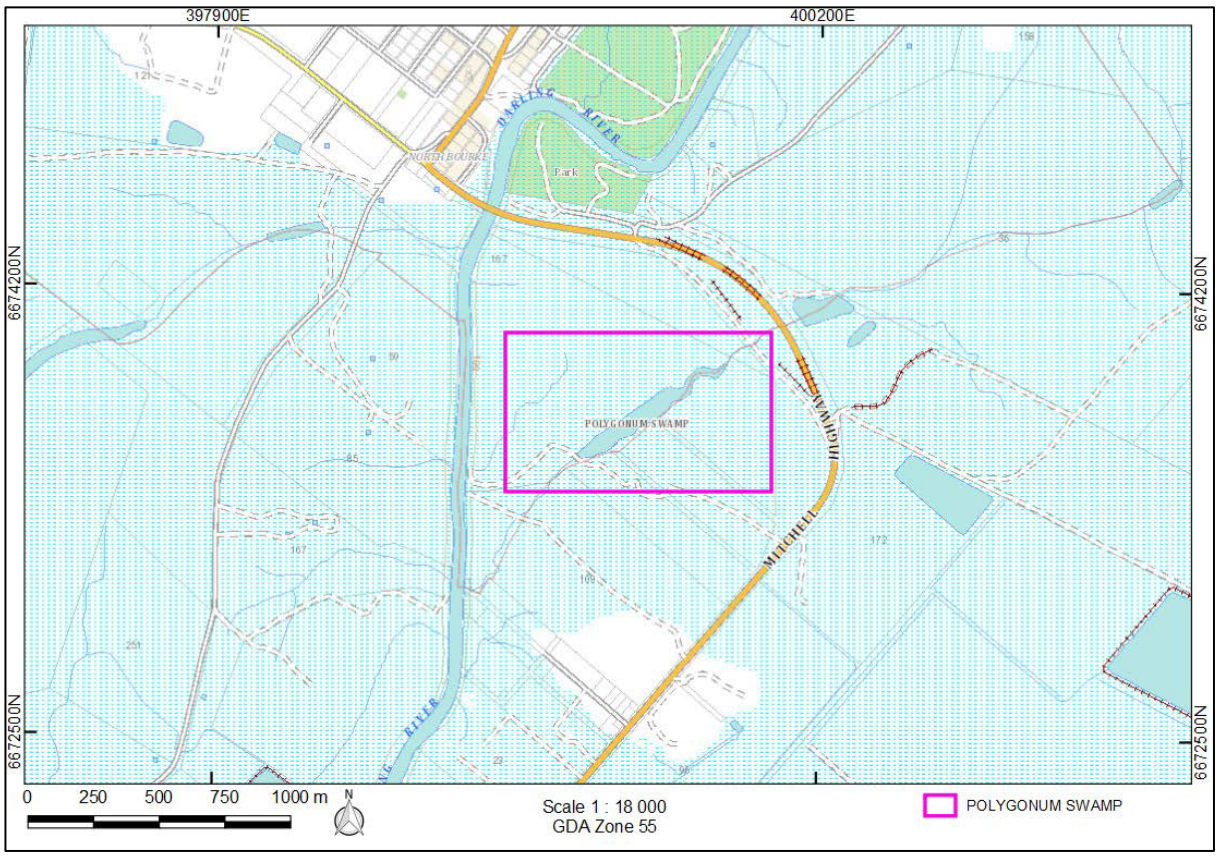


Figure 5-29: Polygonum Swamp. (Source Flickr, 4527445562).

30. Poverty Road

Consultation indicated that this was a road on the edge of town where other cultures (i.e. Chinese etc.) were confined to living. It is likely that the name of the road may have changed or more likely, this was the colloquial name for the street.

We have been unable to arrive at the location of Poverty Road, and further consultation / oral history and research may be needed to confirm its original location.

31. Mulgowan Art Site, Gundabooka National Park

The Mulgowan Art Site takes its name from one of the four pastoral properties that now comprise the 89,103 ha of Gundabooka National Park. The site is situated in a low gorge at the southern end of the Gundabooka Range through which a tributary into Yanda Creek drains the higher elevations (**Figure 5-29** and **5-30**).

The Gundabooka Range is of immense traditional, historical and contemporary significance to Aboriginal peoples of various tribal affiliations throughout western NSW. Many tribal groups have strong links with the ranges which derive from the pre and post-contact periods. Aspects of the Ngemba and Paakantji people's strong links with the ranges have been documented in Martin (1991) and Erskine (1998). Erskine (1998:1) indicates that key elements of the cultural significance of the area are its role as a place of continual settlement, a meeting place, a source of important plant species with nutritional and medicinal values, a traditional teaching place for children and an area encompassing traditional men's and women's places.

Gundabooka lies on the pathway of the Creator Biaime and is linked by this pathway to other places on the Cobar Peneplain and lands to the west of the ranges and south of the Darling River (Witter & English 2002: 8). For example, the ranges are associated with the Brewarrina fish traps, Mount Oxley and the Byrock rock holes (Erskine 1998: 27-30). It is clear that the ranges served a ceremonial function and were the scene of large gatherings of people. This is reflected in stories about the rock art (Dunbar 1943), the knowledge of the Paakantji and Ngemba people and the archaeological record. Connections have been made between the rock art here and that at Mutawinji by Hero Black (Reay as quoted in Martin 2010: 11) representing the *karr'ka-mani* dance, a dance with a drum (*ngutya*, which is a featherdrum made or roo or possum skin and packed with feathers) and the *mirka mani* corroboree (**Figure 5-31**and **5-32**).

The ranges also have a very significant post-contact history as they acted as a refuge from European persecution and forced removal from traditional country (Witter & English 2002: 8). Paakantji and Ngemba people also retained contact with the area while living and working on stations surrounding Gundabooka during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The cultural significance of the park exists on a number of levels; linked to the surrounding cultural landscape through the story of Biaime as well as being associated with the personal and family

histories of both Ngemba and Paakantji people in the post-contact period (Witter & English 2002: 8).

McCarthy's 1976 *Rock Art of the Cobar Peneplain* presents an evaluation and personal interpretation of 33 Aboriginal art sites across Iona, Wuttagoona, Mount Grenfell, Meadow Glen, and Gundabooka, including the Mulgowan "Yapa" art site which he recorded as "Mgn 3". McCarthy's studies provided the basis for further investigation of the region by Gunn (1983), who conducted a National Parks commissioned study into rock art sites of the region, producing comprehensive records and reinforcing public interest in the significance of the region's rock art. In his study, Gunn records 30 archaeological sites within the Gundabooka area, including two occupation shelters, nine camp sites, six scarred trees, and 13 art sites (some previously identified by McCarthy), including the Mulgowan "Yapa" art site as "GB-3", noting 225 motifs, and recommended future protection and management of the site (Gunn 1983: 20).

The Mulgowan "Yapa" art site is registered on the AHIMS as site # 17-4-0031, and as a result it is clearly protected under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*. Being located within a National Park affords further protection, although tourist interest and access has improved in the last years with upgrades to the roads and facilities at the site.

Figure 5-30: Location of the Gundabooka Art Site within the Gundabooka National Park.

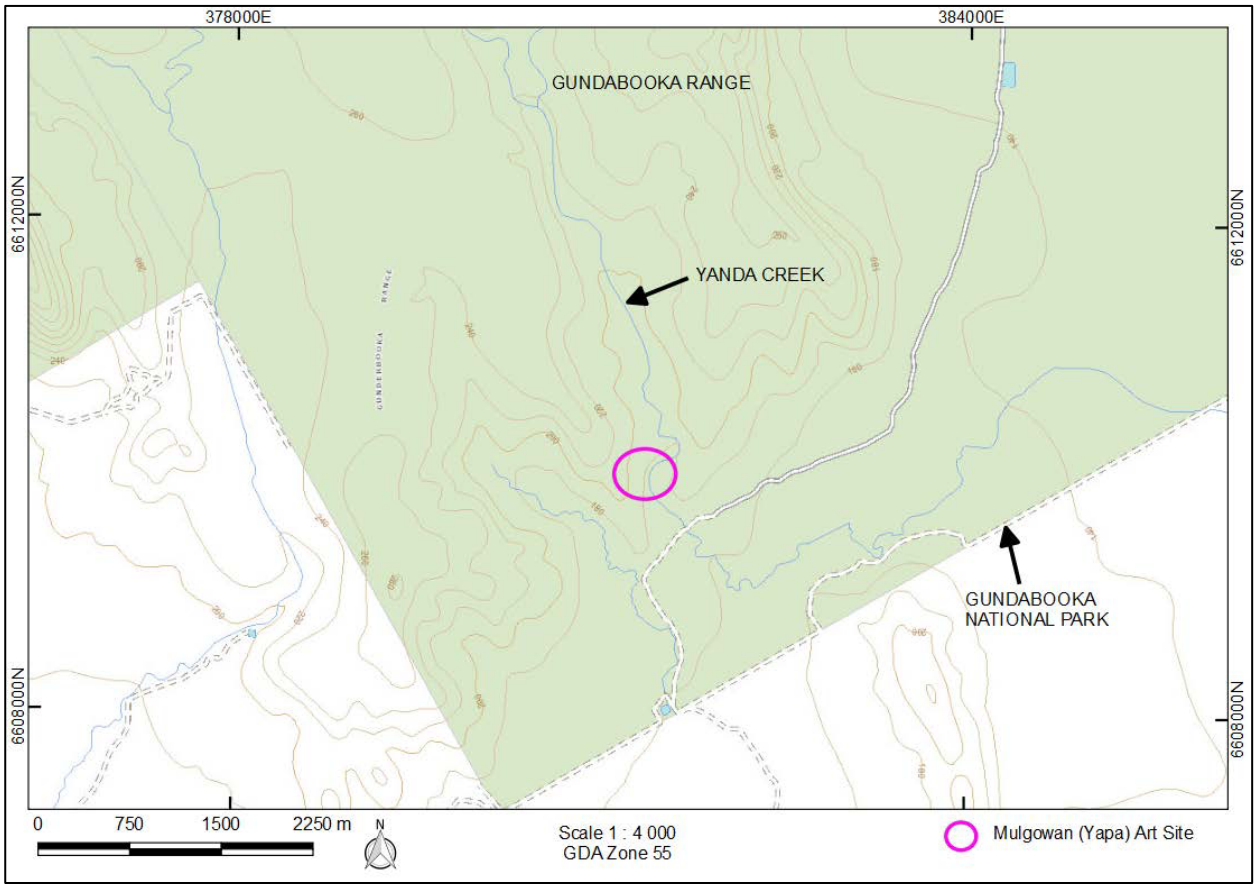


Figure 5-31: The stoney gorge at the southern end of the Gundabooka Range within which the Mulgowan 'Yapa' art site is located.

Figure 5-32: Some of the rock art at the Mulgowan 'Yapa' art site.

Figure 5-33: Some of the rock art at the Mulgowan 'Yapa' art site.

Figure 5-34: Location of most sites in Table 5-1 over the LGA. Figure 5-13 and 5-14 provide enlarged mapping for south and north LGA respectively.

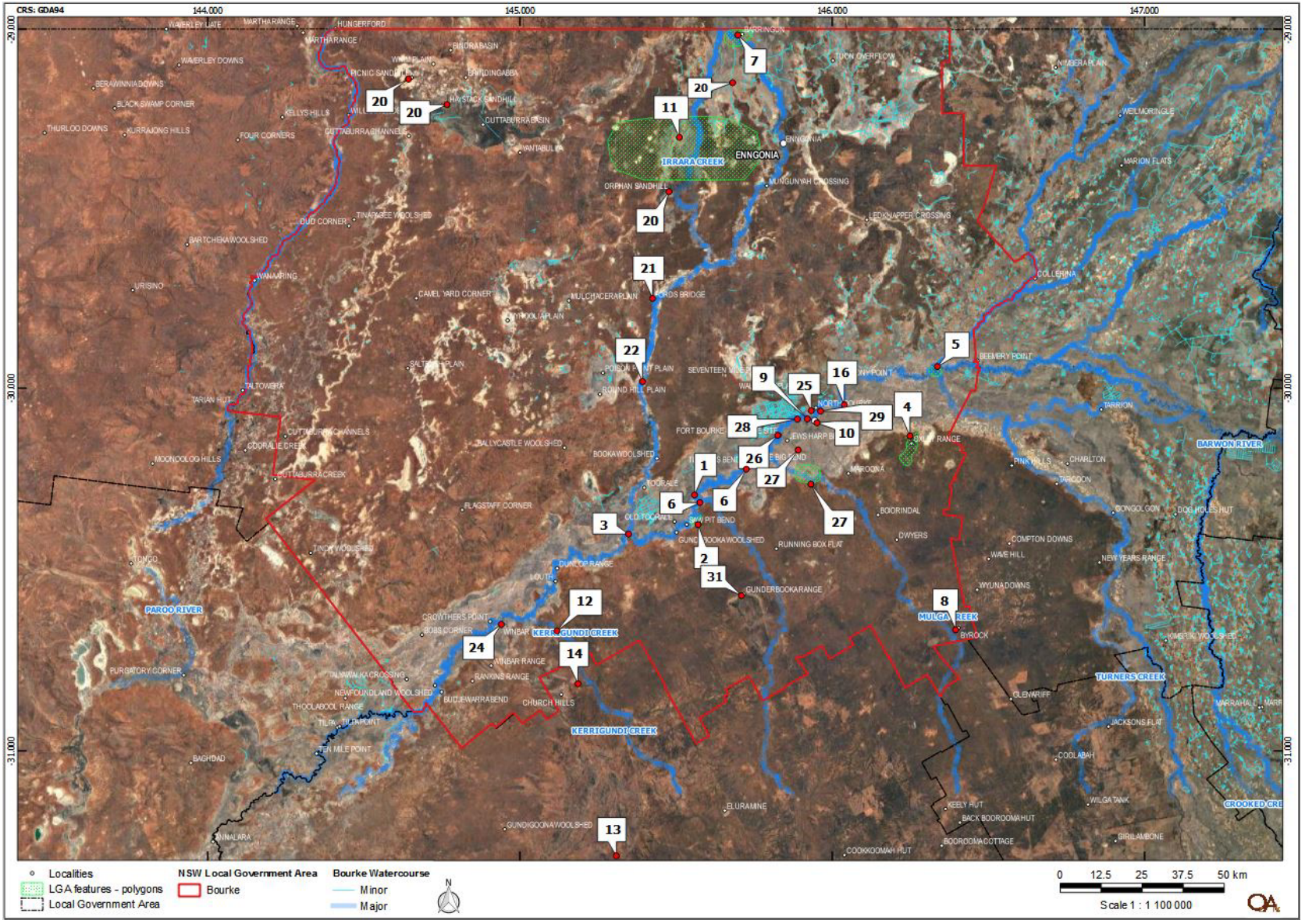


Figure 5-35: Location of sites listed in Table 5-1 the southern portion of the LGA.

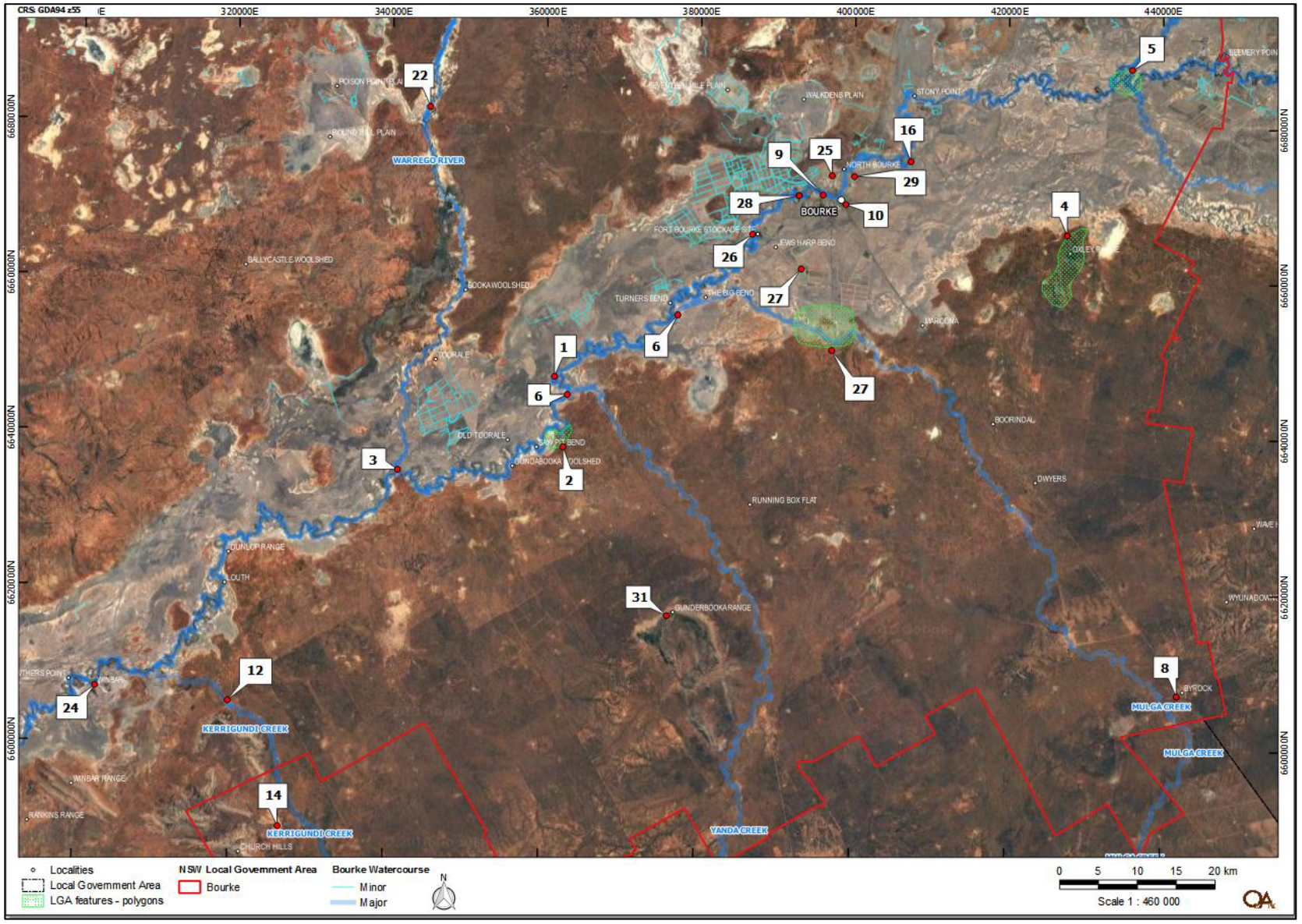
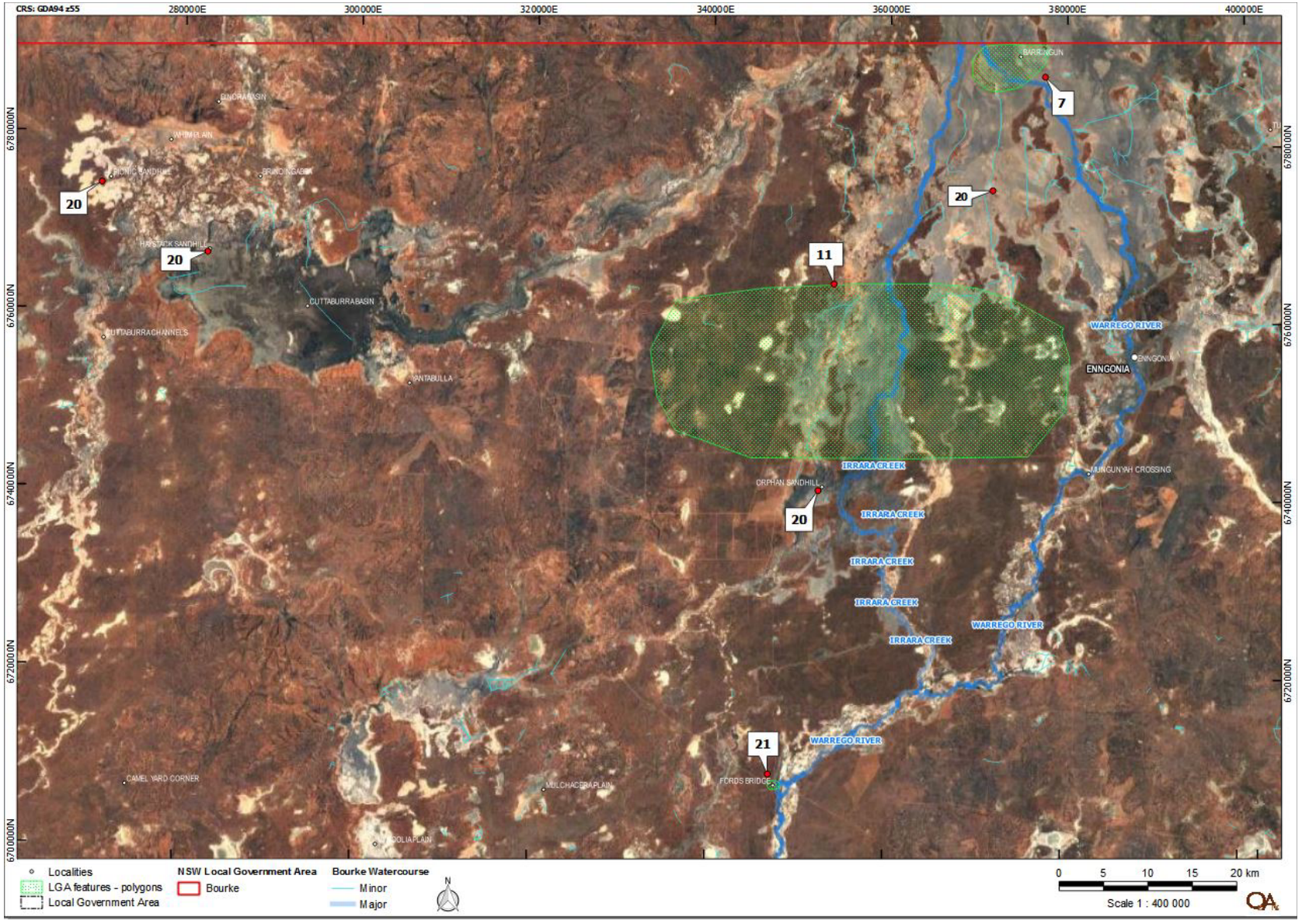


Figure 5-36: Location of sites listed in Table 5-1 the northern portion of the LGA.



6 DISCUSSION ON LEP LISTING

6.1 INTRODUCTION TO ABORIGINAL SITE PROTECTION

As discussed in **Section 1.3**, the accepted and lawful approach to protecting Aboriginal cultural heritage in the context of land use impacts is to properly consider what impact a particular project may have on the Aboriginal heritage resource in that location. Such impacts will differ from project to project. Each proposal must be considered on its own merit and appropriate courses of action decided upon in the context of any relevant legislative requirements of the NPW Act.

The possibility of also affording Aboriginal sites protection via listing on the Bourke LEP is being explored. This type of listing allows diverse elements of the significance of sites to the local community to be documented and recorded.

6.2 ABORIGINAL SITES IN BOURKE LGA

As the previous chapters have demonstrated, Bourke LGA possesses a unique and plentiful Aboriginal heritage resource with approximately 1,900 sites recorded on the OEH AHIMS database for the LGA. These records are only those places that have been registered with AHIMS; and it is known that many more exist.

The following paragraphs provide a brief commentary on the results presented in **Section 5** and the potential suitability of the sites for LEP listing, which was one of the goals of this project.

Quite a number of the sites generated through the consultation process are either types of sites or broader geographical areas, for example Kurrajong trees, river junctions / confluences / creeks, sand hills; or regions like Fords Bridge or Gumbalie. While documenting these places has been important in beginning to understand the significance of parts of the LGA to the local Aboriginal community, the potential listing of such sites on the LEP is likely to be challenging.

As result we have broken the results into a short-list of places that may most warrant further investigation, consultation and potential listing on the LEP (**Table 6-1**). The last column in this table provides some minor insights into the additional work considered necessary to progress potential listing / protection, while the rows high lit in green are the sites thought to be the most important to pursue in the short-term.

Table 6-1: Sites for consideration towards LEP listing

No	Name of Place	Details	Notes for further work
1	Black Rocks (Many Big Rocks)	Fish traps	Discussions and further consultation with Dot Martin, Phillip Sullivan, Badger Bates and others Documentation of whether there is likely to be any evidence remaining today Site visits with Traditional Owners Consultation with NPWS
4	Mount Oxley	Dreaming place	Discussions and further consultation with Paul Gordon and Brad Steadman

No	Name of Place	Details	Notes for further work
			Site visits to the AHIMS listed site Interpretation This is considered to be a strong and important candidate for listing.
7	Deadman's sand dunes	Near to Barringun. May be the site mentioned by Gunn. Relates to AHIMS site #08-1-0001 -unknown if AHIMS location is accurate	Further discussions and consultation with Traditional Owners to identify the right people to be talking to about this site Further research required for potential interpretation.
9	Alice Edwards Village	Aboriginal village where earlier Bourke families used to live – people were moved from there to Pound Yard	Further discussions and consultation with Traditional Owners to identify the right people to be talking to about this site.
10	Pound Yard	Aboriginal fringe camp.	Further discussions and consultation with Traditional Owners to identify the right people to be talking to about this site Determine if there is anything physical remaining or opportunity for listing / interpretation.
11	Tara stone arrangements	West of Enngonia	Very little is known of this site, so further consultation and research is required to determine what is present at this site and its significance to the Aboriginal community.
18	19 Mile weir	Occupation sites both sides of the river	Further consultation and research required towards potential interpretation. This area appears very rich in archaeology and depending on land tenure in the vicinity, it could be an appropriate place to have some interpretation if public visitation is feasible.
25	North Bourke Billabong	Sites present	Further consultation and research. Interpretation This area appears very rich in archaeology and depending on land tenure in the vicinity, it could be an appropriate place to have some interpretation if public visitation is feasible.
26	Fort Bourke	A first contact point for Aboriginal people and Europeans, also a location of Aboriginal burials and marker trees which indicate the burials	Further consultation and research Interpretation This has potential to be a site for interpretation and story-telling beyond what is currently present and for both sides of an important story to be seen in the one place.
27	Grinding grooves in the stone at Prattenville	Grinding grooves and associated stone artefacts	Significant further consultation and research Interpretation Site visit to determine what is present and review land tenure.
28	Fishing Reserve Canoe Tree	Near to Bourke	Further consultation and research Interpretation This area appears very rich in archaeology and depending on land tenure in the vicinity, it could be an appropriate place to have some interpretation if public visitation is feasible.
29	Polygonum swamp	Significant food source. Another significant and culturally important bush tucker food mentioned was Bukali (native wild orange – high in vitamin C) which is consumed to assist with women recovering from birth.	Further consultation and research Interpretation This area appears very rich in resources and is accessible and could be an appropriate place to have some interpretation, as it is already a known area for nature tourism.
30	Poverty Road	A street on the fringe of town known	Further consultation to determine if this can be located and if so, is there anything on the area that would lend itself to interpretation.

No	Name of Place	Details	Notes for further work
31	Mulgowan 'Yapa' Art Site	Located in Gundabooka National Park. Significant dreaming site and important archaeological evidence with rock art.	Discussions and further consultation with Dot Martin, Phillip Sullivan, Badger Bates and others; Site visits with Traditional Owners Consultation with NPWS. This is a strong and important candidate for LEP listing.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY SUMMARY

The Aboriginal people consulted for this project expressed strong interest and desire in obtaining further resources and setting up further efforts towards surveying and documenting Aboriginal heritage in the Bourke LGA and progressing discussions on the manner in which such material could part of the BSC documentary resources or LEP listings.

The conclusions put forward by local Aboriginal people involved in the consultation process can be summarised as follows.

- "*The landscape is full of Aboriginal heritage. It takes the form of material remains (sticks and stones and bones and structures and understandings of and an abiding respect for cultural landscapes (places where ancestors walked and went about their cultural and economic lives and places where mythological creative events occurred)*"
- "*The rivers in the LGA are especially significant as they are and have been, for all of human history in the region, the paths of travel, on top of and adjacent to, as well as being the source of the central life requirement of water and other foodstuffs (fish, shellfish and essential nourishment of vegetation). In this way rivers and creeks not only nourish life but they represent life and have unsurprisingly substantial mythological dimensions*"
- "*All Aboriginal heritage should be respected by all persons*"
- "*The BSC efforts to frame a clear relationship with Aboriginal heritage in the LGA was highly commended and the community consultations conducted as part of this project were considered a valuable step in the ongoing process of setting up communications with BSC about Aboriginal heritage in the LGA*".

It was proposed by the Aboriginal people consulted that the consultation conducted for this study may be best understood as a 'step in the right direction' towards establishing trust and communication channels between the Aboriginal community and BSC. It is considered by community that further resources are needed—for the purpose of more detailed consultation and field visits of Aboriginal sites in the LGA—specifically for the purposes of:

- Establishing appropriate channels of communication between the BSC and Aboriginal representatives from specific parts of the LGA;
- Field assessment of sites presented in this report (and potentially other sites) under the guidance of appropriately identified Aboriginal persons; and
- Ensuring that any potential listing of sites, which moves knowledge of them to a more public space, should only to be agreed to by appropriate Aboriginal persons.

7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

As **Section 7.1** concludes, further consultation is needed with the Aboriginal community prior to any LEP site listing can occur. If the synthesis of **Section 6.2** of this report are supported, then

there is a shortlist of six; and a long-list of fourteen specific sites that this consultation could focus on. This would allow targeted work on specific sites towards potential listing; which would include but not be limited to:

- Aboriginal community consultation workshops focussed on specific sites. This should enable the pre-workshop consultation to best identify the particular people that should be consulted with, to give the workshops the best chance of effectively building trust such that information about sites and their significance is comfortably shared; and
- Attached to these workshops could be site visits. Meeting attendees would need to be suitably prepared as distances can be great and access to some sites can be challenging at certain times of the year. This means significant and targeted preparation is required.

Keeping the shortlist of sites somewhat contained could enhance the potential of success for this endeavour.

In the meantime, further desk-based research could be undertaken for specific sites to try to better understand the resources present and their suitability for LEP listing.

This research and consultation is hoped to then be able to support the interpretation of some sites for the benefit of public visitation, education and the celebration of the remarkable Aboriginal sites and places across the LGA.

It is also recommended, if further funding was to become available, that it be spent mapping areas of archaeological potential in the Bourke LGA with consideration given to areas where AHIMS sites have already been recorded. This will require furthering the Aboriginal community consultation to support the AHILA.

7.3 CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that Bourke LGA has an incredibly rich and diverse Aboriginal heritage resource that dates from 50,000 years ago to the present day. This heritage should be celebrated and protected into the future. To do this, work is needed to build trust and openness between the diverse communities of Bourke and particularly between the Aboriginal communities and various government agencies including the BSC. With this confidence it should be feasible for the community and BSC to work together to ensure that heritage is protected and that it can increasingly become a resource for education, tourism and cultural healing.

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APPENDIX 1 – ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY CONSULTATION LOG

Aboriginal Consultation Log - Bourke LGA Aboriginal cultural heritage project			
Date	**Organisation**	**Comment**	**Method**
14.2.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	Sheridan Baker (SB) emailed and sent hardcopy of letter and release of information form.	Mail and email
14.2.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB emailed and sent hardcopy of letter and release of information form.	Mail and email
14.2.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang both numbers to check on the email address (automated message that their computer suspects it as spam). Both numbers are disconnected.	phone
14.2.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang to confirm details. Phone number disconnected.	Mail and email
14.2.18	NSW LALC - Western	SB rang and left a message to call back. Trying to confirm the phone numbers for the Murrawarri and Nulla Nulla LALCs	Mail and email
14.2.18	NSW LALC - Head Office	SB rang and got alternative emails and phone numbers for the Murrawarri and Nulla Nulla LALC and left a message to call back. Trying to confirm the phone numbers for the Murrawarri and Nulla Nulla LALCs	Mail and email
14.2.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB resent email to new email address	Mail and email
14.2.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB resent email to new email address	Mail and email
14.2.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang to check details. Both numbers disconnected	Mail and email
14.2.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang and confirmed that email address is correct	Mail and email
2.2.18	The Western Herald	Philippa Sokol (PS) called to find out closing date/times for advert and printing day. The paper said the cut-off date for newspaper advertisements is Tuesday mornings and we had missed the cut off time. They confirmed the newspaper is released on Thursdays.	phone
6.3.18	The Western Herald	PS sent advertisement to paper, received proof and ok for publication	email
8.3.18	OEH	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	Office of The Registrar, ALRA	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	NTSCORP	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	National Native Title Tribunal	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	Bourke Local Land Services	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	Bourke Shire Council	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
8.3.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email

Aboriginal Consultation Log - Bourke LGA Aboriginal cultural heritage project			
Date	**Organisation**	**Comment**	**Method**
8.3.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB sent out stage 1 Agency letters - closing date 22.3.18	email
21.3.18	Bourke Shire Council	SB received email with the following stakeholders to be contacted: *Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Lands Council* 22 Sturt Street BOURKE NSW 2840 *Bourke Community Aboriginal Working Party* C/- Maranguka 41b Mitchell Street BOURKE NSW 2840 *Maranguka Justice Reinvestment Project* 41b Mitchell Street BOURKE NSW 2840	email
15.3.18	National Native Title Tribunal	SB received a response from NNTT confirming the Application: NC2012/001 Ngemba, Ngiyampaa, Wangaaypuwan and Wayilwan native title determination application Determination: NCD2015/001 Barkandji Traditional Owners #8 (Part A)	email
	Office of The Registrar, ALRA	SB received the following response: *I have searched the Register of Aboriginal Owners and the project area described does not have Registered Aboriginal Owners pursuant to Division 3 of the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983.*	email
9.3.18	OEH	SB received the following response to potential stakeholders: Badger Bates, Barkindji Elders Council, Mt Grenfell Historic Site Board of Management, Gundabooka Aboriginal Management Committee, Murrawarri LALC, Nulla Nulla LALC, Toorale Joint Management Committee, Wanaaring LALC	email
27.3.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	PS called to check received AHILA Aboriginal heritage information request and endorsement letter and if they have any comments. PS left voice message stating reason for call.	Phone
27.3.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	Tania from the LALC returned call. PS explained the project in more detail and confirmed emails address as Tania said was unable to find the information. Tania asked if PS could write an email detailing what was explained over the phone so it could be taken to the board. PS agreed to do this and will attached the letters already sent.	Phone
27.3.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	PS sent email to Tania explaining the project with the previously sent letters attached.	Email
27.3.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	PS called to check received AHILA Aboriginal heritage information request and endorsement letter and if they have any comments. Both numbers are still disconnected.	Phone
27.3.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	PS emailed Nulla Nulla LALC with an explanation of the project and the previously sent letter attached.	Email
28.3.18	Badger Bates	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	Mail and email
28.3.18	Barkindji Elders Council	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	Mail
28.3.18	Chair, Mt Grenfell Historic Site Board of Management	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	mail
28.3.18	Gundabooka Aboriginal Management committee	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	mail
28.3.18	Toorale Joint Management Committee	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	Mail and email
28.3.18	Wanaaring Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	mail

Aboriginal Consultation Log - Bourke LGA Aboriginal cultural heritage project			
Date	**Organisation**	**Comment**	**Method**
28.3.18	Bourke Community Aboriginal Working Party	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	mail
28.3.18	Maranguka Justice Reinvestment Project	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	mail
28.3.18	NCD2015/001 Barkandji Traditional Owners #8 (Part A)	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	Mail
28.3.18	NC2012/001 Ngemba, Ngiyampaa, Wangaaypuwan and Wayilwan Native Title Claimant Group	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	mail and email
28.3.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	email and mail
28.3.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB sent Stage 1 round 2 letter closing date 13.4.18	email and mail
6.4.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB tried another number found for the Nulla Nulla LALC - number disconnected	email and mail
17.4.18	Barkindji Elders Council	KM received RTS - address is unknown	Mail
17.4.18	NTSCORP	NTSCORP sent letter advising that the project EOI has been sent onto relevant groups	email
17.5.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang and left message to call back- hoping to get correct phone numbers for the Nulla Nulla LALC	Mail and email
13.5.18	NPWS Bourke	PS emailed NPWS Bourke for any relevant contact details	email
14.5.18	Chair, Mt Grenfell Historic Site Board of Management	SB rang contact number supplied by NPSW Bourke. This number was for OEH Griffith	phone
14.5.18	Gundabooka Aboriginal Management committee	SB rang Dots landline as nominated by NPWS - number not in service	phone
14.5.18	Gundabooka Aboriginal Management committee	SB rang Dot's mobile as nominated by NPWS - SB spoke to Dot. Dot says that information can be sent to her as she co-chairs the Gundabooka Aboriginal Management Committee. Dot said that she is unable to say a 100% to being a RAP until after her next Board meeting and she is unsure of when that will be. SB to send of a hard copy of the invitation to be a RAP to Dot's Postal Address and Dot will be in touch. Dot does not have an email that she is able to access, and is aware of the short time frame	phone
15.5.18	Toorale Joint Management Committee	SB rang mobile and left a detailed message to call	phone
15.5.18	Toorale Joint Management Committee	SB rang landline and checked the number- does not belong to Barbara	phone
15.5.18	Toorale Joint Management Committee	SB resent email or EOI to Barbara to the additional email address as issued by NPWS	phone
15.5.18	Stephen Howarth	SB rang and spoke to Stephen Howarth. Steph would like to be involved with the consultation. SB checked contact details	phone
15.5.18	Bilyara Bates	SB tried to call Bilyara - however the phone number has incoming call restrictions on it	

Aboriginal Consultation Log - Bourke LGA Aboriginal cultural heritage project			
Date	**Organisation**	**Comment**	**Method**
15.5.18	Badger Bates	SB rang and spoke to Badger. Badger is registering interest however does not think he received the information. SB checked emails and is to resend email and hard copy	phone
15.5.18	Members Barkandji Native Title Group Aboriginal Corporation (RNTBCTraditional Owners)	SB emailed NTSCorp asking if they acted on behalf of the claimants. If so could they please forward on, if not could they please let me know	email
15.5.18	Gundabooka Aboriginal Management committee	SB rang and spoke to Robert Knight. Robert confirmed interest and was happy for the group to be registered. Robert has said to send information to his email.	phone
15.5.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	SB spoke to Robert as per last line entry and confirmed registration for the project	phone
15.5.18	Toorale Joint Management Committee	SB received a call back from Barbara, registering interest for herself as an individual and also registering the Toorale JMC. Barbara will send through additional potential stakeholder contacts	phone
15.5.18	Members Barkandji Native Title Group Aboriginal Corporation (RNTBCTraditional Owners)	SB received email from Frank Russo confirming that NTSCorp is still representing the NT claimants' group. Frank will pass on our invitation to the relevant parties	email
15.5.18	Members Barkandji Native Title Group Aboriginal Corporation (RNTBCTraditional Owners)	SB received email from Frank Russo confirming registration. Frank also supplied email contact details for Derek Hardman as a contact for the group	email
16.5.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	SB rang a new number for George Orcher, George said send through to his email address - SB confirmed email address and postal address. George wiill read it and see what he can do.	phone
16.5.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang and left a message for a return call asap	Phone
16.5.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	SB sent hardcopy of AHILA consent for to George Orcher	phone
16.5.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	SB sent hardcopy of AHILA consent for to George Orcher, with a self-addressed envelope	phone
16.5.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	SB received email from George confirming receipt	email
17.5.18	Gundabooka Aboriginal Management committee	Brendan Corrigan rang and spoke to Dot Martin to give more detail on the project. Discussion also covered Phillip Sullivan and Kevin Knight, who we are advised by Dot would be good to contact, Brendan also found a mobile number for Phillip through calling Bourke NPWS and have left a detailed msg for him. Apparently Phillip will also know how to find Kevin Knight and Blackie Gordon (both of whom have been suggested as being people to contact by Wal Dorrington and Dot).	phone
22.5.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	SB sent email and form again asking how they were going and if SB could help at all.	email
22.5.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	SB rang and left a message for a return call asap	Phone
10.9.18	Murrawarri Local Aboriginal Land Council	BC rang and left message to follow-up on LALC authorisation of AHILA (and to provide feedback on report status etc.). Also forwarded email to same topic	Telephone and email.

Aboriginal Consultation Log - Bourke LGA Aboriginal cultural heritage project			
Date	**Organisation**	**Comment**	**Method**
10.9.18	Nulla Nulla Local Aboriginal Land	BC rang and left message to follow-up on LALC authorisation of AHILA (and to provide feedback on report status etc.). Also forwarded email to same topic	Telephone and email.

APPENDIX 2 – DETAILS OF PERSONS SPOKEN WITH BY DR CORRIGAN IN THE LEAD-UP TO LOCAL CONSULTATIONS

People who Dr Corrigan personally contacted and spoke with on at least one occasion and generally on several occasions – including the exchange of up to several emails:

- Wal Dorrington
- Dot Martin
- Phillip Sullivan
- Alistair Ferguson
- Tannia Edwards – CEO Murrawari LALC
- George Orcher – CEO Nulla Nulla LALC
- Jim Lappin in Melbourne (Barkindji interests)
- Sarah Martin – in relation to her husband Badger Bates
- Grace Gordon
- The wife of Robert Knight, briefed on details and asked to advise Robert.

People I was directed to contact and attempted to contact but were unable to raise:

- Blackie Gordon , LLS, Nirrpa.
- Bradley Stedman, Brewarrina.

APPENDIX 3: COMMUNITY WORKSHOP MEETINGS: ATTENDANCE AND OUTCOMES

From: Dr Brendan Corrigan <brendanmcorrigan@gmail.com>
Sent: Friday, 15 June 2018 5:46 PM
To: Jodie; Carolyn Crain; Dwayne Willoughby; Kathleen Higgins
Cc: phillip.sullivan@environment.nsw.gov.au; andrew.rose7
@aboriginalaffairs.nsw.gov.au; philippa
Subject: Confirmation of Bourke LGA Aboriginal Heritage meetings 13 and 14 June 2018

Hi All

As anticipated in the project brief, I am just confirming the attendance at the meetings of this week, which were well attended and informative.

A draft report per the existing brief will be prepared in the coming weeks, so that any comments might be received from the Bourke Shire. Carolyn Crain advised it was likely that when the report was settled as ready by them it would be made available by Bourke Shire for a period of public comment.

13th June 2018: Enngonia CWA centre.

Phillip Sullivan and Andrew Rose (DAA NSW) were in attendance, as were Brendan Corrigan and Philippa Sokol of OzArk and Carolyn Crain of the Bourke Shire Council.
The project brief was discussed in the context of the existing LEP and AHIMS data and some suggestions for places of significance in the LGA were put forward for consideration by the team and other relevant Aboriginal people. Tannia Edwards and others were unable to attend due to some family matters. A visit to meet with Ruby
Shillingsworth at her home in Enngonia was undertaken at Mr Sullivan's suggestion and an informative discussion occurred.

It was understood at this meeting that there is no further budget available at this time for appropriate field visits and cultural mapping to further consider the places put forward and that this would need to occur for such places to be properly considered in an LEP. However, it was foreshadowed that the report
developing out of this brief may assist with pursuing funding for that purpose.
More details of this meeting to be provided in the report draft as it develops.

14th June 2018: Bourke Council Chambers.

Attendance: Kevin Knight, Dot Martin, Michael Morris, Bruce Turnbull (Junior) and Dwayne Willoughby, along with Carolyn Crain of Bourke Shire Council and Brendan Corrigan and Philippa Sokol of OzArk.

The project brief was discussed in the context of the existing LEP and AHIMS data. The potential places of significance proposed the previous day were considered by this meeting and some further suggestions for places of significance in the LGA were put forward for further consideration by the team and other relevant Aboriginal people.

It was understood at this meeting that there is no further budget available at this time for appropriate field visits and cultural mapping to further consider the places put forward and that this would need to occur for such places to be properly considered in an LEP. However, it was foreshadowed that the report developing out of this brief may assist with pursuing funding for that purpose.

More details of this meeting to be provided in the report draft as it develops.

Best regards, Brendan
Dr Brendan Corrigan
Consultant Anthropologist
Email: brendanmcorrigan@gmail.com
PH: +61 (0) 439 428 805
CV available @ http://www.geotropic.com.au/brendancorrigan/cv_dr_BMC.pdf

APPENDIX 4: ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY WORKSHOP MEETINGS: MINUTES AS CAPTURED BY P. SOKOL

Bourke Heritage Study

Enngonia CWA – Wednesday 13/6/2018

- Andrew Rose – Aboriginal Affairs
- Phillip Sullivan – Traditional Owner and field officer for OEH/NPWS
- Carolyn Crain – BSC client

This work will be used to inform the LEP – (AR) will aim to create and awareness of cultural locations/places and inform the new reform legislation.

  - Aboriginal people taking more control over their country and cultural heritage.

(AR) – the TO's country expands into the Brewarrina Council boundaries = they could potential be involved in the heritage study.

  - Noted that Redbank area is an important Aboriginal burial area – Barkandji people.
- Murri Warri and Barkandji people – direct connection to country within the Enngonia area.
  - Suggested that perhaps there be protocols within the document listing TO's that people could talk to.

(PS) – mentioned in some of her reading on the past heritage study drafted a number of places were noted of significance that could be considered for LEP listing.

(Phill.S) – Deadman's Sandunes – talk to local men (Man's area), if want to know more information.

  - Mentioned the responsibility of his job is to repatriate sites, look after cultural places, manage budgets – also takes young boys to help and teach them about their culture.

(Phill.S) – Three sisters link – Blue Mountains, Tibooburra, and within the LGA – representations of the three sister formations in all of these areas, all interconnected.

(Phill.S) – the Pound Yard, Anson Street Bourke – past the depot. Currently used as overflow for Alice Edwards Village (nursing home?) – apparently if part of the 'old' Aboriginal reserve.

  - Also, originally a camp in North Bourke which was also Aboriginal reserve.

(Phill.S) – Poverty Road – Phill stated that his 'mob' and other cultures (i.e. Chinese) were only allowed to stay and live on that road, were confined to that road.

(Phill.S) – Kidman – was the main pastoral farmer back around the time Bourke and region was settled. He owned most properties around Enngonia.

  - George Mann – pastor – will know about the stock droving routes and perhaps some of the Aboriginal people that were employed.

(Phill.S) – mentioned of locations/ features of cultural significance to his people.

- Kerrigundi Creek – special and within Barkundji and Ngiyampaa country.
- Brewarrina Mission – huge – many Aboriginal people migrated from there into the Bourke area.
- PS mentioned, from her readings, that many people were associated/worked on Stations and Missions (Phill.S) said 'that's a whole other ball game'. That Aboriginal people were great stockman.

Other features:

Iona Station – rock art area.

Tara stone arrangement – approx. ¾ hr drive west of Enngonia – ceremonial area.

Tannia at MLALC – Mary or Wayne Kelly good contact – Wayne for men's areas near Enngonia.

For the future:

Phill.S – the importance of giving something back to the community. I.e. new roads being constructed – especially where soils needs to be collected and relocated, engage the Aboriginal community to check no special places are being observed.

Bourke Shire Council Chambers – Thursday 14/6/2018

- Dot Martin – Traditional Owner
- Michael Morris – Traditional Owner
- Kevin Knight – Traditional owner
- Bruce Turnbull – Traditional owner – teaches at local high school cultural awareness

Carolyn Crain – BSC client

Dwayne Willoughby – BSC client

(MM) – Kurnu Barkandji is the language group of the Bourke area. Kurnu is put in front of 'Barkandji' to distinguish between the Wilcannia language group.

(BT) – Works with the local high school students in landcare work. Students learn how to protect sites and creates cultural awareness.

- In regards to the protection of sites, better to fence them off with trees rather than a fence that will attract attention.

(KN) – mentioned to chat with Frank Russo – NTS Corp Native Title Board.

- Would be good to make property owners aware of cultural heritage on their properties - generally the younger farmers are interested, not the older ones.
- (MM) – 'go out on their properties and educate them'.

(KN) mentioned that NT is extinguished in some areas, although (DW) noted that what's there should still be preserved where possible.

Contacts for portions of land:

Phillip Ridge – Nulty property manager

Sam Louise – Booka property manager

Gundabooka JMC (Joint Management Committee) – Nyumpa and Barkandji

Toorale JMC – Kurnu Barkandji

(MM) – mentioned used to live in the area of the Mt Oxley – many sites on and associated with the mountain

- Three way rivers/creeks – Culgoa, Barwon and Darling = Big ceremonial area.

Places of interest and association:

(DM & KN) – both lived at the Pound Yard

(BT) – 10 mile TSR many sites

- Fords Bridge = many artefact sites

(DW & KN) – 19 mile weir, also significant with sites – down the Louth road

(MM) – notes that most sandhills in the area were commonly used as burial sites.

- Cunnamulla - burial of a mother and baby

(DW) – important! Creeks and tributaries often marked Aboriginal country groups

- Fort Bourke built on a burial ground – Thomas Mitchell directed it.
- 8 mile lagoon another area of interest

(BT) – Fishing reserve – Crown Land – he has mapped the cultural sites there previously with the CMA

- Many bush medicines i.e. bush coconut.