Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment Report
GREAT WESTERN HIGHWAY UPGRADE
MOUNT VICTORIA TO LITHGOW
FORTY BENDS UPGRADE

REVIEW OF ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS
TECHNICAL PAPER 3

PREPARED BY JILLIAN COMBER
REPORT TO MOUNT VICTORIA TO LITHGOW ALLIANCE
VERSION NO F.2012
ALLIANCE DOCUMENT NO AH-0645-E
DATE OCTOBER 2012
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
This report has been a collaborative effort and the contributions of the following people are gratefully acknowledged:

- The participation of all Aboriginal stakeholders is gratefully acknowledged.
- Sharyn Halls, Gundungurra Heritage Association, who generously gave her time to participate in the oral history and provided advice and information throughout the project.
- Sharon Brown, Elsie Stockwell and Shaun Brown of the Gundungurra Tribal Council Aboriginal Corporation who also generously gave their time to participate in the oral histories.
- Mary Ann Hamilton and Sue Andersen of Playback Public History who recorded the oral histories and provided the transcripts contained in Section 5 of this report.
- Caroline Plim, Historian, who prepared the history in Section 4 of this report.
- Jillian Comber wrote all other sections of the report, compiled and edited this report.

INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT SYSTEM
Comber Consultants has a certified integrated management system to the requirements of ISO 9001:2008 (quality), ISO 14001:2004 (environmental), OHSAS 18001:2007 (OHS) and AS/NZS 4801:2001 (OHS). This is your assurance that Comber Consultants is committed to excellence, quality and best practice and we are regularly subjected to rigorous, independent assessments to ensure that we comply with stringent Management System Standards.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is proposed to upgrade the Great Western Highway at Forty Bends, a 2.8 kilometre section near Bowenfels, to the east of Lithgow. Archaeological testing of eight Potential Archaeological Deposits (PADs) was undertaken in December 2011 and January 2012.

This report details the results of Aboriginal consultation undertaken in accordance with the Office of Environment and Heritage’s Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Consultation Requirements for Proponents 2010 and the Roads and Maritime Services Procedure for Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Consultation and Investigation (PACHCI). This report should be read in association with the archaeological testing report detailed in Section 2 of this report.

This Cultural Heritage Assessment Report details the outcome of the archaeological and cultural heritage investigations and the consultation process undertaken. This report includes an Aboriginal history of the study area, details oral histories and includes cultural mapping. It also provides the Aboriginal cultural values and strategies for management of those values.

As a result of the various assessments undertaken for the broader upgrade program for Mount Victoria to Lithgow, 45 archaeological sites and 20 potential archaeological deposits (PADs) were recorded along the entire preferred route corridor. In addition two women’s sites, a men’s site and a song line were identified. These sites, including, the song line, men’s and women’s sites are outside of the area of proposed impact at Forty Bends.

In respect of the Forty Bends upgrade, testing of eight PADs was undertaken in December 2011 and January 2012. Three artefacts were retrieved from one of the PADs. The results of the testing conforms to the predictive model as detailed in Comber and Stening (2012). The cultural assessment for Forty Bends, as outlined in this report, indicates that the proposal site does not contain Aboriginal cultural significance.

As the identified site, named FB1, was not considered significant and would be impacted by the proposal, an Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit (AHIP) should be applied for in respect of the project. Section 8 of this report details mitigation measures in respect of this site.
CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION
1.1 STUDY AREA 2
1.2 PROJECT DESCRIPTION 3

2.0 ARCHAEOLOGY
2.1 DESKTOP STUDY 9
2.2 SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT 11
2.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING 11

3.0 CONSULTATION 16

4.0 HISTORY
4.1 PROJECT AREA 19
4.2 DARUG HISTORY 19
4.3 GUNDUNGURRA HISTORY 19
4.4 WIRADIJURI HISTORY 24

5.0 ORAL HISTORIES 36

6.0 CULTURAL MAPPING 37

7.0 SIGNIFICANCE ASSESSMENT 38

8.0 IMPACT AND MITIGATION 39

9.0 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS 43
9.1 SUMMARY 43
9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS: 43

REFERENCES 44

APPENDICES:
APPENDIX A: LETTERS SENT TO STAKEHOLDERS 47
APPENDIX B: ADVERTISEMENTS 60
APPENDIX C: AGENDAS AND MINUTES OF MEETINGS 31 MAY 2010 AND 13 OCTOBER 2011 64
APPENDIX D: LETTERS IN SUPPORT OF METHODOLOGY 72
APPENDIX E: ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY REPORTS 76
APPENDIX F: LETTERS IN SUPPORT OF CHAR 98
APPENDIX G: AGENDA AND MEETING MINUTES FOR THE Aboriginal Focus Group MEETING 27 JULY 2012 101

TABLES:
TABLE 1: SITES RECORDED 13
TABLE 2: PADS 14
TABLE 3: PAD LOCATIONS 15
TABLE 4: RECOMMENDED ACTIONS 40
FIGURES:
FIGURE 1: MAP SHOWING PROPOSED UPGRADE BETWEEN MOUNT VICTORIA AND LITHGOW 5
FIGURES 2a-2d: MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF PADS AT FORTY BENDS 6-9
FIGURE 4: HORTON’S MAP SHOWING DARUG COUNTRY 19
FIGURE 5: TINDALE’S MAP SHOWING DARUG COUNTRY 19
FIGURE 6: ILLUSTRATION OF BLUE MOUNTAIN ABORIGINES BY PELLION 22
FIGURE 7: PORTRAITS OF BLUE MOUNTAIN ABORIGINES BY PELLION 22
FIGURE 8: HORTON’S MAP SHOWING GUNDUNGURRA COUNTRY 24
FIGURE 9: TINDALE’S MAP SHOWING GUNDUNGURRA COUNTRY 24
FIGURE 10: HORTON’S MAP SHOWING WIRADJURI COUNTRY 29
FIGURE 11: TINDALE’S MAP SHOWING WIRADJURI COUNTRY 29
FIGURE 12: JOHNSON’S MAP SHOWING “THE GULLY” UPPER KEDUMBA RIVER VALLEY ABORIGINAL PLACE 35
1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since May 2008, the Australian and NSW Governments have been investigating an area between Mount Victoria and Lithgow to determine the preferred route of an upgrade for the Great Western Highway. The Mount Victoria to Lithgow Great Western Highway upgrade project is part of both Government’s commitment to improve road safety and accessibility to communities in the Blue Mountains and Central West. Mount Victoria to Lithgow forms part of the Penrith to Orange Transport Strategy (1998), the Sydney-Dubbo Corridor Strategy (2007) and the Central West Transport Needs Study (2009).

The objectives of the project are to:

- Improve road safety.
- Improve road freight efficiency.
- Cater for the mix of through, local and tourist traffic.
- Be sensitive to the area’s natural environment, heritage and local communities.

A preferred route for Mount Victoria to Lithgow was announced in May 2010.

1.2 Study area

The study area for the whole of the proposed upgrade between Mount Victoria and Lithgow extends along the 20.4 kilometre section of the Great Western Highway, from the western end of Soldier’s Pinch, near Browntown Oval at Mount Victoria, to one kilometre west of McKane’s Falls Road at South Bowenfels. Figure 1 shows this corridor.

The Forty Bends upgrade has been identified as the first section of the Mount Victoria to Lithgow project to proceed to detailed design and construction. The study area for this section of the Great Western Highway extends for about 2.8 kilometres at the western end of the preferred route corridor. The study area for the Forty Bends area included a survey of the previously identified preferred route corridor and additional areas of the proposed construction boundary for the Forty Bends concept design. The location of the proposed construction boundary for the Forty Bends upgrade is shown on Figure 2a to Figure 2d.

1.3 Previous reports

To avoid and minimise impacts to Aboriginal cultural heritage within the proposed route corridor, Comber Consultants Pty Ltd were commissioned to undertake a number of assessments throughout the project development process. The initial assessments undertaken included a survey of the geotechnical testing locations (borehole and test pits).

These were undertaken by Comber Consultants Pty Ltd during 2011 and the resulting reports are titled:

- Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment of Geotechnical Testing and Borehole Locations: Great Western Highway Upgrade Mount Victoria to Lithgow (Comber 2011a)
- Addendum Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment of Geotechnical Testing and Borehole Locations: Great Western Highway Upgrade Mount Victoria to Lithgow (Comber and Stening 2011a).

A survey of the preferred route corridor and any other additional areas of the proposal site was also undertaken during 2011. This report is entitled Aboriginal Archaeological Survey and Assessment: Preferred Route Corridor Great Western Highway Upgrade Mount Victoria to Lithgow (Comber and Stening 2011b). During the survey and assessment, 45 archaeological sites and 20 potential archaeological deposits (PADs) were recorded across the whole of the Mount Victoria to Lithgow project area. In addition two women’s sites, a men’s site and a song line were identified. Of these, nine PADs were identified within the Forty Bends proposal area (refer to Chapter 2 for the survey results).

The testing of the PADs within the Forty Bends upgrade was undertaken in accordance with the Code of Practice for Archaeological Investigation of Aboriginal Objects in New South Wales. Therefore an Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit (AHIP) was not required. In accordance with the Code of Practice for Archaeological Investigation of Aboriginal Objects in New South Wales, a research design (Comber 2011b) was prepared and a copy submitted to the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) 14 days prior to commencement of the program of testing.

Targeted archaeological test excavations in accordance with the research design (Comber 2011b) were undertaken from Thursday 8 December 2011 to Friday 16 December 2011 and from Monday 16 January 2012 to Friday 27 January 2012 by Comber Consultants. The testing was undertaken in association with the Bathurst Local Aboriginal Land Council, Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments, Darug Land Observations, the Gundungurra Tribal Council Aboriginal Corporation, Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association Inc. and Yarrawalk.
1.4 Purpose of this report

This report details the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment undertaken in association with the archaeological surveys and testing detailed above. The objective of this report is to investigate and document the Aboriginal heritage values of the Forty Bends area, form an understanding of the way in which these values may be impacted by the proposal, and make recommendations for the mitigation of impact to Aboriginal cultural heritage values from the proposal.

This report is written in accordance with OEH’s Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Consultation Requirements for Proponents 2010 and the Roads and Maritime Services Procedure for Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Consultation and Investigation (PACHCI).

1.2 Project description

Roads and Maritime Services (RMS) is proposing to upgrade the Great Western Highway through at Forty Bends, approximately 5.5 kilometres south of Lithgow. The proposal would include the realignment of about 2.8 kilometres of the Great Western Highway from a point about 470 metres east of the eastern end of Forty Bends Road to a point about 250 metres west of McKanes Falls Road (the proposal).

The proposed Forty Bends upgrade is about 2.8 kilometres in length and would extend from a point about 470 metres east of the eastern end of Old Forty Bends Road to a point about 250 metres west of McKanes Falls Road, South Bowenfels. The proposed highway alignment would comprise three lanes with two lanes eastbound to the east of Whites Creek and two lanes westbound to the west of Whites Creek. Figure 1 shows the location of the PADs at Forty Bends.

The proposal would generally follow the alignment of the existing highway, with widening predominantly to the south of the existing alignment (away from Hassans Walls). The upgrade would diverge up to 40 metres south of the existing alignment in the vicinity of Whites Creek. At this point, new twin, dual lane, multi-span bridges, about 150 metres in length, would be constructed across Whites Creek.

Some changes to the existing local road network (including Forty Bends Road, Daintree Close and McKanes Falls Road) would also be required to connect the upgraded highway to these roads and property access points.

Key features of the proposal are:

- Construction of a new road alignment consisting of generally three lanes with two lanes eastbound to the east of Whites Creek and two lanes westbound to the west of Whites Creek. Lane widths would be 3.5 metres with shoulder widths typically varying between 1.0 metres and 2.5 metres. The upgrade alignment would diverge up to 40 metres south of the existing Great Western Highway in the vicinity of Whites Creek.
- Widening of the existing alignment predominantly to the south of the Great Western Highway. The total proposal footprint of the widening works would vary from about 40 metres to 90 metres.
- The design speed for the alignment would be 100 kilometres per hour east of McKanes Falls Road and 80 kilometres per hour west of McKanes Falls Road. The posted speed limit for the whole of the new highway alignment would be 80 kilometres per hour.
- Widening of the existing alignment predominantly to the south of the Great Western Highway. The width of this widening would vary from about 40 metres to 90 metres.
- A central median along the length of the proposal of varying widths, ranging up to 9.5 metres. Carriageways would be separated by a combination of vegetated, depressed and paved medians.
- Construction of new twin, five-span bridges, about 150 metres in length across Whites Creek. The new bridges would comprise four lanes, each 3.5 metres in width, with two lanes carrying traffic in each direction. The total width of the two bridges would be about 30 metres. Shoulders on the bridges would be between 2.5 and 3.25 metres (off-side) and 1.0 metres on the near side.
- Upgrades to four existing local road intersections, including two intersections with Forty Bends Road, Daintree Close and McKanes Falls Road, to provide connection to the upgraded highway and property access points. Upgrades would include minor widening and u-turn facilities located along the western end of Forty Bends Road and about 150 metres south of the intersection of the Great Western Highway and McKanes Falls Road.
- New or improved access from the existing highway to nine properties along the length of the proposal. The proposal includes provision of new or reconstructed driveways to retain existing property access.
• Closure and relocation of two intersections of Forty Bends Road with the Great Western Highway. These include:
  o Closure of the existing intersection at the eastern end of Forty Bends Road to general traffic (except for emergency vehicles) and a new cul-de-sac constructed on Forty Bends Road.
  o Relocation of the existing intersection at the western end of Forty Bends Road to a point about 200 metres west of the existing intersection.

• Five major cuts 14 metres to 19 metres in height located on the northern side of the proposed alignment.

• Five major cuts about 14 metres to 19 metres in height located on the northern side of the proposed alignment.

• Five major fill embankments about 10 metres to 15 metres in height located predominantly on the southern side of the proposed alignment.

• Three retaining walls up to about 200 metres long and seven metres high.

• Removal of about 300 metres of redundant Great Western Highway pavement from about 100 metres east of Whites Creek to about 200 metres west of Whites Creek, and associated culvert. This would include rehabilitation works to link this area to the existing alignment of Whites Creek.

• Construction of three temporary and five permanent construction basins in addition to temporary access tracks along the length of the proposal.

• Construction of 9 new culverts along the length of the proposal to manage cross-drainage flows. Two existing culverts would be retained at the western end of the proposal and a total of 23 existing drainage culverts would be either decommissioned or removed.

• Measures to mitigate the formation of black ice, including the relocation of the road alignment to the south away from the Hassans Walls escarpment in key locations and an active maintenance program.

• A main compound site located east of the western end of Forty Bends Road, in addition to smaller stockpile areas along the length of the proposal during construction.

• A combination of wildlife crossing structures, which would include two fauna underpasses (box culverts), canopy rope bridges at Whites Creek and glider poles located at Whites Creek and near the western fauna underpass.

• Relocation and/or temporary diversion of existing underground utilities including water, powerlines and telephone cables.

The Mount Victoria to Lithgow Alliance (the Alliance) engaged Comber Consultants to undertake testing of eight PADs at Forty Bends where it is proposed to upgrade the Great Western Highway.
Figure 2a Potential Archaeological Deposits (PAD) Investigation Sites

Mt Victoria to Lithgow: Great Western Highway Forty Bends upgrade

LEGEND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chainage</td>
<td>Potential archaeological deposits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal</td>
<td>Amended potential archaeological deposits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal site</td>
<td>Permanent drainage basins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existing highway</td>
<td>Temporary drainage basins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterways</td>
<td>Compound site and stockpile locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property boundary</td>
<td>Potential compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potential stockpile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potential stockpile and compound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MV2L Alliance does not warrant that this document is definitive nor free of error and does not accept liability for any loss caused or arising from reliance upon information provided herein.
Figure 2b  Potential Archaeological Deposits (PAD) Investigation Sites

Mt Victoria to Lithgow: Great Western Highway Forty Bends upgrade

LEGEND

- Chainage
- Proposal
- Proposal site
- Existing highway
- Waterways
- Property boundary
- Potential archaeological deposits
- Amended potential archaeological deposits
- Permanent drainage basins
- Temporary drainage basins
- Compound site and stockpile locations
- Potential compound
- Potential stockpile
- Potential stockpile and compound

MV2L Alliance does not warrant that this document is definitive nor free of error and does not accept liability for any loss caused or arising from reliance upon information provided herein.
Figure 2c Potential Archaeological Deposits (PAD) Investigation Sites

Mt Victoria to Lithgow: Great Western Highway Forty Bends upgrade

LEGEND
- Chainage
- Proposal
- Proposal site
- Existing highway
- Waterways
- Property boundary
- Potential archaeological deposits
- Amended potential archaeological deposits
- Permanent drainage basins
- Temporary drainage basins
- Compound site and stockpile locations
- Potential compound
- Potential stockpile
- Potential stockpile and compound

MV2L Alliance does not warrant that this document is definitive nor free of error and does not accept liability for any loss caused or arising from reliance upon information provided herein.
Figure 2d  Potential Archaeological Deposits (PAD) Investigation Sites

Mt Victoria to Lithgow: Great Western Highway Forty Bends upgrade

LEGEND

Chainage  Potential archaeological deposits
Proposal  Amended potential archaeological deposits
Proposal site
Existing highway
Waterways
Property boundary
Permanent drainage basins
Temporary drainage basins
Compound site and stockpile locations
Potential compound
Potential stockpile
Potential stockpile and compound

MV2L Alliance does not warrant that this document is definitive nor free of error and does not accept liability for any loss caused or arising from reliance upon information provided herein.
2.0 ARCHAEOLOGY

DESKTOP STUDY
SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING
2.0 ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1 Desktop Study

A desktop study was undertaken by Comber Consultants in 2008 and 2009 as a component of the route selection stage of the project. The reports detailing the results of that study are:

- Aboriginal Heritage Assessment: Preliminary Environmental Investigation, Great Western Highway Upgrade, Mt Victoria to Lithgow, Phase 1: Study Area Investigation by Jillian Comber, 2008 (Comber 2008).
- Aboriginal Heritage Assessment, Preliminary Environmental Investigation, Great Western Highway Upgrade, Mt Victoria to Lithgow, Phase 2: Corridor Area Investigation by Jillian Comber, September, 2009 (Comber 2009a).
- Addendum, Aboriginal Heritage Assessment Preliminary Environmental Investigation Great Western Highway Upgrade: Mt Victoria to Lithgow Phase 2: Corridor Area Investigation, by Jillian Comber, November 2009 (Comber 2009b).

The above assessments included undertaking an extensive search of the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS) database for a buffer of 10 kilometres around the preferred route corridor, which encompassed the proposal site. The AHIMS search was conducted in 2008 and updated in 2009. The results of the AHIMS search indicated that there were no known sites within the preferred route corridor or within the Forty Bends project area.

The above desktop assessments identified five rockshelters within the preferred route corridor. These were recorded on the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS). These sites were numbered GWH 1-5 and are included in Table 1 below. None of these sites are within or in the close vicinity of the Forty Bends proposal site.

2.2 Survey and Assessment

From June to August 2011, archaeological survey and assessment for the preferred route corridor, which included the proposal site, was undertaken as detailed in the following reports. Prior to these assessments an updated AHIMS search was undertaken on 10 March 2011:

- Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment of Geotechnical Testing and Borehole Locations: Great Western Highway Upgrade Mount Victoria to Lithgow by Jillian Comber. Undertaken in March 2011 (Comber 2011a),
- Addendum Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment of Geotechnical Testing and Borehole Locations: Great Western Highway Upgrade Mount Victoria to Lithgow by Jillian Comber and Tory Stening. Undertaken in May 2011 (Comber and Stening 2011a),
- Aboriginal Archaeological Survey and Assessment: Preferred Route Corridor Great Western Highway Upgrade Mount Victoria to Lithgow by Jillian Comber and Tory Stening. Undertaken between June and August 2011 (Comber and Stening 2011b).

As a result of the desktop study and the archaeological surveys 45 sites and 20 potential archaeological deposits (PADs) were recorded, as detailed below in Tables 1 and 2. No sites were identified within the Forty Bends proposal site, although one site GWH36, an open artefact scatter consisting of three artefacts, was located immediately to the north of the Forty Bends proposal site.

In addition to the sites listed in Table 2 below, one men’s site and a song line were identified by two members of the Aboriginal community. Both members have advised the consultant and confirmed at an Aboriginal Focus Group (AFG) on 9 October 2009 that they do not want these sites detailed in a public document.

2.3 Archaeological Testing

As a result of the desktop investigations and surveys undertaken, nine PADs were identified within the Forty Bends study area.

Comber Consulting undertook sub-surface testing of the Forty Bends section in association with the Bathurst Local Aboriginal Land Council, Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments, Darug Land Observations, the Gundungurra Tribal Council Aboriginal Corporation, Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association Inc. and Yarrawalk. and representatives of the registered Aboriginal parties.
The testing was in accordance with the OEH’s *Code of Practice for Archaeological Investigation of Aboriginal Objects in New South Wales* (the Code) from Thursday 8 December 2011 to Friday 16 December 2011 and from Monday 16 January 2012 to Friday 27 January 2012.

As the testing was undertaken in accordance with the OEH Code of Practice, an Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit (AHIP) was not required. In accordance with the *Code of Practice for Archaeological Investigation of Aboriginal Objects in New South Wales*, a research design (Comber 2011b) was prepared and a copy submitted to the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) 14 days prior to commencement of the program of testing.

Nine PADs were located in the Forty Bends upgrade area. Eight of these PADs were tested. These were PADs 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19. PAD 15 was not tested due to security and access issues.

The research design detailed areas recommended for testing. However, once in the field, the locations for PADs 12, 14, 16, 17 were changed as detailed in Table 3 below.

### 2.4 Results

The sub-surface investigations involved the excavation of 68 test pits (50 cm x 50 cm) in accordance with an agreed methodology that sampled the landforms present in the study area, and tested the boundaries of the PADs. As only one PAD yielded artefacts, the other identified PADs are no longer considered to be PADs.

As a result of the testing, three artefacts were found, all at PAD 12. In accordance with the Code the three artefacts were recorded and reburied at the location of PAD 12. As artefacts were found at PAD 12, it was necessary to register PAD 12 as a site with OEH. It was renamed site Forty Bends 1 (FB1) and a site recording form was completed and forwarded to the Aboriginal Heritage Information System (AHIMS). Full details of the testing is contained in the report titled *Archaeological Excavations Forty Bends* by Jillian Comber and Tory Stening, February 2012, which is Technical Paper 2 of Review of Environmental Factors (REF): Forty Bends Upgrade.

Three artefacts were retrieved from PAD 12 which is located on a ridge crest. The artefacts were retrieved from Trench 1, at the northern end of PAD 12. These three artefacts were flaked pieces made from chert which would have been locally available in small outcrops or as cobbles. One of the artefacts contains retouch. As detailed in Comber and Stening (2012) these artefacts are indicative of the Australian small tool tradition and Bondaian phase of the Eastern Regional Sequence. It would appear that site FB 1 (PAD 12), does not represent a camp site or a place of occupation. Rather, these artefacts are most likely the result of tool maintenance, loss or discard, as people walked across the landscape. The section of Forty Bends where these artefacts were found is an area buffeted by harsh winter conditions including ice and cold winds. Forty Bends is located on a nutrient depleted soil which, prior to clearing for agriculture, would have supported grasses, low shrubs and eucalypts.

It does not contain abundant resources or rockshelters suitable for camping during the harsh winters. This landscape would have supported small populations passing through to either the Cox’s River, River Lett or the resource rich Hartley Valley. Johnson (2007:34, 55) confirms that the head of the Cox’s River was the favoured winter camping spot.

PAD 15 was not excavated due to access and security issues. It was located about 50 metres to the west of PAD 16. They were both on the same rise overlooking a small creek. No artefacts were found at PAD 16. Sufficient information was gained from testing all of the PADs, and particularly PAD 16, to determine that it is unlikely that artefacts would be located at PAD 15. PAD 15 is quite small compared to PAD 16 and is located above a steep slope, making access to the creek difficult. It is expected that if people camped in this area PAD 16 would have been the preferred location as it would have accommodated more people and provided easier access to the creek below.
Table 1: PADs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site name</th>
<th>Type of site</th>
<th>No. of artefacts</th>
<th>Landform unit</th>
<th>Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GWH 1</td>
<td>Rockshelter with PAD &amp; scarred tree</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cliff/Escarpment</td>
<td>Comber 2009b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 2</td>
<td>Rockshelter with PAD and rock pool</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cliff/Escarpment</td>
<td>Comber 2009b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 3</td>
<td>Rockshelter with PAD</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cliff/Escarpment</td>
<td>Comber 2009b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 4</td>
<td>Rockshelter with PAD</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cliff/Escarpment</td>
<td>Comber 2009b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 5</td>
<td>Rockshelter</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cliff/Escarpment</td>
<td>Comber 2009b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 6</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber 2011a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 7</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber 2011a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 8</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~20</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 9</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 10</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 11</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 12</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 13</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 14</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~45</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 15</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~30</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 16</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>&gt;30</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 17</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>&gt;1000</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 18</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~20</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 19</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 20</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>&gt;100</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 21</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~80</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 22</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 23</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~20</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 24</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 25</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~30</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 26</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~50</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 27</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~50</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 28</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~25</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 29</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 30</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 31</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 32</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Floodplain/Flat</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 33</td>
<td>Scarred Tree</td>
<td></td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 34</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 35</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>~35</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 36</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 37</td>
<td>Rock shelter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ridge crest/crest</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 38</td>
<td>Rock shelter with PAD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ridge crest/crest</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 39</td>
<td>Ochre</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Ridge crest/crest</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 40</td>
<td>Scarred tree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Cliff/escarpment</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 41</td>
<td>Scarred tree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Cliff/escarpment</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 42</td>
<td>Rock shelter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Cliff/escarpment</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 43</td>
<td>Isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 44</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWH 45</td>
<td>Scarred tree; isolated find</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cliff/escarpment</td>
<td>Comber &amp; Stening 2011b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: ~ approximately; > more than
Table 2: PADs identified during archaeological survey and assessment across the preferred route corridor. PADs within the Forty Bends project area are highlighted in yellow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAD No.</th>
<th>Landform Unit</th>
<th>Archaeological sensitivity</th>
<th>Size of PAD (in metres)</th>
<th>Landform feature within the landform unit</th>
<th>Located within the Forty Bends project area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>150 x 100</td>
<td>Plateau and associated slope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Marsh</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>200 x 60</td>
<td>Footslope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>200 x 50</td>
<td>Rise overlooking creek</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Floodplain/ flat</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>200 x 25</td>
<td>Valley below ridge</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Floodplain/ flat</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>5a: 300 x 120</td>
<td>Spur</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5b: 200 x 100</td>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5c: 150 x 50</td>
<td>Creek line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>375 x 100</td>
<td>Mid to upper slope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>200 x 100</td>
<td>Mid slope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>250 x 50</td>
<td>Mid slope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>200 x 20</td>
<td>Mid slope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>10a: 130 x 60</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Yes. Tested but no artefacts found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10b: 180 x 40</td>
<td>Spur Crest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10c: 100 x 40</td>
<td>Plateau and associated slope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>200 x 100</td>
<td>Lower slope</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>100m x 80m</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Yes. Tested and three artefacts found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>100 x 50</td>
<td>Basin and lower slope</td>
<td>Yes, but no artefacts found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>80m x 180m</td>
<td>Spur</td>
<td>Yes. Tested but no artefacts found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>15a: 75 x 50</td>
<td>Spur</td>
<td>Yes. Not tested due to access and security reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15b: 50 x 30</td>
<td>Spur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>10m x 120m</td>
<td>Creekline</td>
<td>Yes. Tested but no artefacts found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>50m x 20m</td>
<td>Footslope</td>
<td>Yes, but no artefacts found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>75 x 20</td>
<td>Footslope</td>
<td>Yes. Tested but no artefacts found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>80 x 20</td>
<td>Footslope</td>
<td>Yes. Tested but no artefacts found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Undulating mid slope</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>400 x 100</td>
<td>Three creek lines with associated slopes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: PAD locations

PADs in original location: 10c, 13, 18, 19
PADs moved: 12, 14, 16, 17
PAD not excavated: 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAD</th>
<th>Moved Y/N?</th>
<th>Reason for moving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10c</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>The area designated for PAD 12 was a small gully containing a dam. The gully and dam were not shown on the map. Therefore the test location was moved to the northwest, which was a high area overlooking a water source, including White’s Creek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>While excavation was carried out in the area designated for PAD 13, an extra transect was excavated outside of the original PAD area to ensure that the full extent of the PAD had been investigated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>The areas designated for PAD 14 had been used as a stockpile/dumping site and it was not possible to test at this location. Test pitting was undertaken at the southern extent of the PAD and the designated area for the PAD was extended. This ensured that the full extent of this PAD was investigated. Most of the test pits excavated contained road base.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Not excavated due to security concerns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAD</td>
<td>Moved Y/N?</td>
<td>Reason for moving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Once in the field it was observed that PAD 16 was in close proximity to an access gate, the use of which had scoured the surrounding land making it boggy and removing any archaeological deposit. It was also overgrown with bushes and trees making the area unsuitable for testing. It was therefore decided to locate PAD 16 at the end of the small ridge which formed part of PAD 16. Extra testing was undertaken on this PAD as the potential area of disturbance from the Forty Bends upgrade was anticipated to be greater due to the need to locate a sedimentation basin in close proximity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Once in the field, evidence of an historic section of road was noted at the location of PAD 17. This road was not indicated on the map. Therefore, testing was undertaken immediately to the south of the road on an elevated area overlooking a water source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>The testing was undertaken adjacent to the southern edge of PAD 19, within the area proposed for the upgrade.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.0 CONSULTATION
3.0 CONSULTATION

In respect of the archaeological survey and testing, consultation was undertaken in accordance with OEH’s *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Consultation Requirements for Proponents 2010* and the RMS’s *Procedure for Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Consultation and Investigation* (PACHI). These documents detail a four stage approach to consultation. Details of each stage follow below:

Stage 1: Notification
The aim of Stage 1 is “to identify, notify and register Aboriginal people who hold cultural knowledge relevant to determining the cultural significance of Aboriginal objects and/or places in the area of the proposed project”.

Stage 1 requires that the proponent write to the organisations detailed below to ascertain the above information (section 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). Copies of these letters are attached at Appendix A.

(a) the relevant OEH Environment Protection and Regulation Group (EPRG)
(b) the relevant Local Aboriginal Land Council(s)
(c) the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 for a list of Aboriginal owners
(d) the National Native Title Tribunal for a list of registered native title claimants, native title holders and registered Indigenous Land Use Agreements
(e) Native Title Services Corporation (NTSCORP Limited)
(f) the relevant local council(s)
(g) the relevant catchment management authorities for contact details of any established Aboriginal reference group.

The Roads and Maritime Services wrote to the above organisations on 15 December 2010.

In addition, the RMS wrote to organisations or individuals known to have an interest in the area on 15 December 2010. Those organisations or individuals are detailed below. Copies of these letters are attached at Appendix A.

- Bill Allen, Bathurst Wiradjuri
- Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation
- Darug Cultural Heritage Assessments
- Darug Land Observations
- Warrabinga Native Title Claimants Aboriginal Corporation.
- Wiradjuri Traditional Owners
- Yarrawalk

Section 4.1.3 requires that a notice be placed in the local newspaper, inviting interested parties to register an interest. The RMS placed advertisements in the following papers on the dates indicated. Copies of these advertisements are attached at Appendix B. The date for responses was 28 April 2011, however, the RMS has advised that registrations received after that date were accepted.

- Blue Mountains Gazette on 6 April 2011.
- Lithgow Mercury on 7 April 2011.
- Koori Mail on 6 April 2011.
- National Indigenous Times on 14 April 2011.

As a result of the letters sent and the notice in the newspapers the following organisations and individuals registered an interest.

- Deerubbin LALC
- Bathurst LALC
- Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC)
- Gundungarra Tribal Council Aboriginal Corporation (GTCAC)
- Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments (DACHA)
- Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association Inc
- Wargon & Burra Aboriginal Centre Inc
- Mingaan Aboriginal Corporation
- Shady Players Group Pty Ltd
- Muru Mittag Aboriginal Group
- Blue Mountains City Council
- Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation (DCAC)
- Darug Land Observation (DLO)
- Wiradjuri Traditional Owners
- Dhuuluu-Yala Aboriginal Corporation
- Yarrawalk a division of Tocomwall Pty Ltd
- Neville Williams, Sharon Williams, Wayne Williams
- Wiradjuri People
- Murong Gialinga
- Members: Warrabinga NTCAC
- North East Wiradjuri
- Native Title Party (NEWNTP)
- North East Wiradjuri
- Native Title Party (NEWNTP)
Stage 2: Presentation of information about the project
Stage 2 (section 4.2 of the requirements) requires that the proponent provide the registered Aboriginal parties “with information about the scope of the proposed project and the proposed cultural heritage assessment process”. To do this the RMS held two Aboriginal Focus Group Meetings (AFG’s) and invited all registered stakeholders.

The first AFG was held at Katoomba on 31 May 2011, prior to the archaeological survey being undertaken. The aim of this meeting was to outline the assessment process and to discuss the methodology for the proposed archaeological survey. The agenda and minutes from this meeting are attached at Appendix C.

The second AFG was held after the survey and prior to the testing at Forty Bends. The aim was to provide the results of the survey and to discuss the methodology for the testing. This meeting was held on 13 October 2012 at Hartley. The agenda and minutes of this meeting are attached at Appendix A. All people attending the meeting agreed with the testing methodology. All stakeholders were given until 28 October to provide any further comments, if they so desired. Letters in support of the research design were received from:

- Gundungarra Aboriginal Heritage Association
- Darug Cultural Heritage Assessments
- Darug Land Observations

Copies of their letters are attached at Appendix D.

Stage 3: Gathering information
Stage 3 (section 4.3 of the Requirements) requires that a process be facilitated that allows the registered Aboriginal parties to:

- contribute to culturally appropriate information gathering and the research methodology.
- provide information that will enable the cultural significance of Aboriginal objects and/or places on the proposed project area to be determined
- have input into the development of any cultural heritage management options.

This process was facilitated during the AFG’s and by the attendance of representatives of the registered stakeholders during the archaeological survey of the whole of the concept route and the testing at Forty Bends. The copies of letters received from registered stakeholders in respect of the survey are contained in Appendix E.

Section 4.3.7 of the Requirements states that all feedback must be documented in a cultural heritage assessment report. This document fulfils that requirement.

Stage 4: Cultural heritage assessment report
Stage 4 (section 4.4 of the Requirements) states that the cultural heritage assessment report be finalised with input from the registered Aboriginal stakeholders. It is required that the cultural heritage assessment report be forwarded to all registered Aboriginal stakeholders and that they be given a minimum of 28 days to provide comment.

A draft document was circulated to all registered Aboriginal stakeholders on 13 July 2012 for their comment and feedback. Stakeholders had until 10 August 2012 to provide their comments. During this time two letters in support of the project were received from:

- Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation
- Darug Cultural Heritage Assessments

Copies of their letters are attached at Appendix F.

During this review period a third AFG was held on 25 July 2012 at Hartley. A copy of the AFG minutes are attached as Appendix G.
4.0 HISTORY

DARUG HISTORY
GUNDUNGURRA HISTORY
WIRADJURI HISTORY
4.0 HISTORY

4.1 Proposal site

The Forty Bends proposal site is located close to the traditional boundaries of the Wiradjuri, Gundungurra and Darug (Figure 8) and within the boundaries of the Bathurst Local Aboriginal Land Council. The exact boundaries are not known and Bowdler argues that the boundary was actually a ‘zone of interaction’ between the Wiradjuri, the Darug and the Gundungurra people [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008: 18].

A detailed history of occupation within the Blue Mountains is contained in Comber (2009). The history below details the available written history for the Wiradjuri, Gundungurra and Darug. This history is taken from diaries of settlers and explorers, and government records.

4.2 Darug History

4.2.1 Traditional Boundaries of the Darug

The Darug people are the traditional owners of the land to the east of the Forty Bends project area. Historical evidence indicates that the Darug occupied the main east-west ridge of the Blue Mountains, the northern Blue Mountains and the Cumberland Plain. Their traditional boundaries border on those of the Gundungurra to the south and the Wiradjuri to the west. The precise nature and location of traditional boundaries is unclear.

The anthropologist Norman B. Tindale described the boundaries of the Darug people as extending from the mouth of the Hawkesbury River inland to Lithgow and the Newnes Plateau [Tindale Catalogue, SA Museum]. As previously mentioned, Bowdler argues that the boundary noted by Tindale was actually a ‘zone of interaction’ between the Wiradjuri, the Darug and the Gundungurra people [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008: 18]

Val Attenbrow’s examination of archaeological and historical records in ‘Sydney’s Aboriginal Past’ shows three distinct groups – the coastal, hinterland and mountain Darug. It is not clear whether the Darug who occupied the Forty Bends area would have been considered part of the Mountain Darug or whether they formed another discrete group [2003: 23]. Attenbrow suggests that at the time of British settlement ‘the Darug inhabited lands including the lower Grose Valley and adjacent parts of the main east-west ridges separating the catchments of the Cox’s Grose and Colo Rivers’. She argues that Norman Tindale’s 1974 map showing boundaries as ‘almost straight lines extending west as far as Lithgow, cannot be considered correct’ [Attenbrow 2009: 120].

Sandra Bowdler argues that the boundary between Wiradjuri, Darug and Gundungurra territory recorded by Tindale was actually a ‘zone of interaction’ rather than a strictly defined area [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008: 18]. Today it is thought by some anthropologists that in pre-European times Aboriginal communities were not separated by ‘inviolable boundaries’ and that some flexibility allowed for people to move into or through neighbouring territories [Bowdler 1983: 334]. Bowdler also proposes that given an assumption of a fluidity of movement, that it could be assumed that there was a degree of cultural similarity between the Gundungurra, Darug and Wiradjuri communities at or near the zone of interaction. Gaynor MacDonald proposes a similar theory of...
‘fluid or negotiable areas’ in her assessment of literature relating to pre-contact boundaries of Wiradjuri territory. This is not to say that they reflect boundaries as they are understood today [MacDonald 1983: 26]. The area of interaction proposed by Bowdler at the junction of the boundaries of the Wiradjuri, Darug and Gundungurra people corresponds with the Forty Bends project area.

4.2.2 The Study Area and the Mountain Darug

After the crossing of the Blue Mountains by Gregory Blaxland, William Lawson and William Charles Wentworth in 1813 others who followed reported on contact or assistance from Aboriginal people whom they met. In 1818 Sir John Jamison included Gilderoy (also known as Bob), a Darug man in his party. Jamison hoped to clarify the relationship between the Nepean and Cox’s Rivers by following the Nepean upstream but their journey was interrupted by damage to their boat. At the behest of Jamison, Thomas Jones later led another party including Gilderoy, Millot (Joe) and Nagga (Jack), all Darug men to trace the Cox’s River from Hartley. The route through the Hartley and Kanimbla Valleys skirting the northern side of Bill Healey Mountain (named after a Gundungurra man) brought them to the camp of Gundungurra people whose route they followed down the river [Johnson 2007: 33].

Jones’ expedition caught up with the Gundungurra group downstream of Goolara Peak. The Darug men in the party referred to the Gundungurra as Condonora and nervously presented them with their only tomahawk and as a mark of ‘peace and friendship’ they exchanged waistbands and sashes. The expedition was advised that they would come upon three rivers that flowed into the Cox’s River. The rivers known as the ‘Barragarang (now Kanangra), Barnalay (now Kowmung) and Condongbarrow (Wollondilly)’ and which rose in ‘Nattie, Condonora and Merrigang countries’. After reaching the junction of the Warragamba and Cox’s River Jones hoped to return via the location now known as the Blue Labyrinth but was cautioned not to by his Darug guides [Johnson 2007: 33].

Information about the lives and material culture of the Mountain Darug community is scarce. Historical and anthropological suggests that despite regional differences they shared similarities with Darug people on the Cumberland Plain as well as with neighbouring language groups [Attenbrow 2009: 106].

4.2.3 Language

Val Attenbrow’s research into historical records suggests that the Darug people spoke different dialects depending on the location of their home territory. The dialect in coastal areas varied from the mountains which was known as Muru-Marak or ‘mountain pathway’ [Attenbrow 2003:34].

R.H. Mathews noted in his research in the early 1900s that the Darug and Gundungurra people were able to converse with little difficulty, indicating many similarities in their languages or between dialects. He noted correspondence in the grammatical structure of their languages and vocabularies [Mathews 1902:49]. Mathew’s descriptions of the extent of the country where Darug was spoken and its boundaries with the Wiradjuri in the west, the Gundungurra in the south and the Darginjung in the north were not precise. It should be emphasised that it is likely that the boundaries between language groups shifted over time influenced by resource availability, population size and climatic change. British colonisation would also have had a significant impact [Attenbrow 2009: 121].

4.2.4 Population

Although the exact size of the Aboriginal population of the greater Sydney Region when the British arrived (including the lower Blue Mountains) will never be known it has been estimated at between 4000 and 8000 [Attenbrow 2003: 17]. Research has not located an estimate of the pre-contact Darug population in the area around Forty Bends or the Upper Blue Mountains. Although treating the interpretation of the archaeological evidence with caution, Attenbrow suggests that the density of sites was 8 to 10 sites per square kilometre in the central Blue Mountains, with up to 17 sites per square kilometre. This is comparable or higher than some areas to the east. Site densities suggest that the mountains were ‘not unfavourable to occupation by Aboriginal people’ [Attenbrow 2009” 110].

Attenbrow emphasises that clan boundaries, or the number of their members, is unlikely to be known. Despite estimates varying from 25 to 60 individuals (with the average usually below 50) in anthropological studies of other parts of Australia, none deal with populations that were unaffected by colonisation. Colonisation undoubtedly caused the dislocation of people from their traditional territories and redistribution to other areas, therefore distorting even some of the earliest observations [Attenbrow 2009: 122].

4.2.5 Way of Life and Environment

The Sydney Basin offered the Darug diverse environments ranging from the sea to the ranges. They were reliant on the environment and the changing climate to provide food and other resources, resulting in impacts on the size of the population, social interaction and the degree of mobility required to fulfil their needs. The seasonal diet varied dependant upon proximity to the coast or waterways and the season. Possum, kangaroo, vegetable roots, seeds and berries formed an important part of the Darug people’s food resources. While Sydney populations had wider access to estuarine and coastal fish and shellfish, inland populations relied on riverine species.
Food resources on the plateaux of the mountains have been described as being scarce, however a comparatively diverse range of edible plants and animals can be found in the forests and watercourses. All of the animals and some of the plants noted in historical accounts as having been eaten by Darug people in other regions occur in the Blue Mountains [Attenbrow 2009: 111]. However, it should be noted that the area around Forty Bends contained a nutrient depleted soil allowing only grasses, small shrubs and eucalypts to grow [Comber and Stening 2012], thus providing minimal resources. In addition the harsh winters including snow and ice would not provide reliable food sources.

The Darug people led a mobile existence travelling between camping sites located where food and water resources were available. People stayed at each camp site while food resources lasted, especially those that were seasonal, or moved when prompted by a particular event. Journeys were made for ceremonies or rituals and to acquire raw materials for medicines and body decoration, and tool, weapon and clothing manufacture. Change in seasons also prompted movement of camps. Dwellings are thought to have consisted of two-sided bark structures or gunyahs, while rock shelters were used in extreme weather [White & Murray 1988].

4.2.6 Tools, Equipment, Weapons and Hunting Strategies

There are no first hand accounts of tools, equipment and weapons used by the Mountain Darug. Attenbrow suggests that the suite of items would have been similar to those used by the Darug of the Cumberland Plain, the Gundungurra and the Wiradjuri; however with some variation due to material availability. For example, worked stone might have been used instead of shell as a component in tool making. Weapons and tool types included spears, spear throwers, shields, clubs, boomerangs, hafted, edge-ground axes, digging sticks, containers including bark baskets and net bags, and cord, string or twine. Nets and traps of varying types were used to catch small mammals, birds and fish. Many articles were made of plant or wood although some had stone or bone components. Food procurement techniques included burning the undergrowth to flush out animals and promote bush regeneration; use of dingoes in hunting; and climbing trees to catch tree dwelling animals. [Attenbrow 2009: 111].

It is unlikely that canoes were used in the shallow streams found in the rugged, mountain terrain [Attenbrow 2009: 111]. Excluding stone artefacts, few items of material culture survive from the Blue Mountains. Attenbrow notes that the Australian Museum houses a boomerang found during the surveying or building of the Western Road in 1813-14. The exact location that it was found was not recorded. A wooden club was found in a rock shelter at Faulconbridge and shares similarities with one described as a ‘Wooden Hatchet’ and illustrated by William Govett in his ‘Weapons of the Natives of New South Wales’ [Attenbrow 2009: 112-113].

4.2.7 Kinship, Social Organisation, Traditions and Alliances

The Darug people are thought to have lived in communities of around fifty members, maintaining their own hunting areas through which they moved depending on the season and available resources, with neighbouring bands collaborating in some hunting and social activities. [White & Murray 1988]. Mountain Darug communities had a rich cultural life expressed through dance, song and storytelling as part of everyday life as well as ceremonial activities. Artistic endeavours included incising or engraving surfaces such as the cloaks and other materials such as stone or wood. They also used ochre paints and charcoal to decorate weapons, tools and rock surfaces in shelters [Attenbrow 2009: 113].

The main method of organisation of the Darug was based on patrilineal descent whereby children inherited the totems of their fathers. It differed from the Wiradjuri where a class system with moieties and sections operated. Darug individuals had personal totems such as a plant or animal that was associated with a significant site, for example their birthplace. Clan membership and totemic affiliations informed the selection of appropriate marriage partners, usually by elders or parents [Attenbrow 2009: 118-9].

People within a clan were of different status. Some individuals such as karadji who were ceremonial leaders and healers had greater power and influence. Individuals identified by British colonists as ‘chiefs’ were not always elders or karadji, but clan members who took the role of communicators. Information on Mountain Darug individuals at the time of exploration in the early nineteenth century is scarce. The earliest images of Blue Mountains Aborigines, identified by name are Hara-o and Karadra drawn by Alphonse Pellan at Springwood in 1819 [Attenbrow 2009: 119], is shown below. Karadra, an older man is identified as ‘supreme chief or king of that part of the mountain’. Other portraits include Aurang-Jack, ‘chief of Spring-Wood’ and his two wives, and two other individuals [Stockton 2009: 68-69].
come a great distance changing hands a number of times [Attenbrow 2009:114-115].

Supporting evidence for the existence of trade survives in the materials of which items were made and the absence of this material in the location that they were found and sources of it at distant sites. An edge-ground hatchet head made of meta-dolerite found at Vaucluse provides support for theories that trade networks were responsible for the movement of finished objects or stone materials. A possible source of the stone was the Bathurst District, suggesting a trade network through the Blue Mountains to the east coast site where the hatchet head was found [Attenbrow 2009: 115].

4.2.9 Garments, Decorative Objects and Accessories

Like the Gundungurra and Wiradhuri of the mountains and the inland valleys, the Mountain Darug used skin cloaks. William Bradley described a skin cloak seen in the vicinity of the Nepean-Hawkesbury River. The description bore similarities to cloaks observed in the inland areas to the west of the mountains and were worn for warmth rather than to cover their bodies. The cloak was:

...made of the skins of small animals sew’d or laced together, some part [sic] was of the Opossum Skin, the rest of some animal the fur much superior; these were curiously carved on the inside, every skin having a different pattern... [Bradley cited in Attenbrow 2009:113]

The needle with which it was sewn was described as:

...a hard piece of wood much in size and shape as of a small bodkin, with which they make holes (it not having an eye) to receive the thread which was found and appears to be the sinewy fibres from the tail of some small animal ... [Bradley cited in Attenbrow 2009:113].

The only other body coverings were pubic aprons worn by girls after puberty. Decorative items included headbands, armbands and necklaces. Body painting with red and white ochres was commonly used for ceremonies and corroborees. Men and women displayed raised scars or cicatrices on their bodies, some of which were indicative of phases of initiation that they had reached [Attenbrow 2009: 113].

4.2.10 Spiritual Beliefs, Rituals and Ceremonies

From the late nineteenth century anthropologists such as R.H. Mathews and A.W. Howitt observed Aboriginal beliefs and ceremonies recording it from a European perspective. It is likely that the practices and beliefs of the Mountain Darug people were comparable (but with some variation) to that of their neighbours, the Gundungurra, Wiradhuri and Darkinjung.
Karadj were the spiritual leaders who played leading roles in performing rites in ceremonies and as healers in Aboriginal communities [Attenbrow 2009: 116]. Darug people believed in supernatural beings who had special powers. The names and roles of these beings varied between regions. Fear of retribution from supernatural beings encouraged people to conform to the rules of their society. Although their names and relationships varied in some regions, Baiame and Daramulan were supreme creative beings known to people of the central and south coasts. Darug and Dharawal oral tradition tells of duwan, a black bird that is an evil omen, predicting bad news. Kohen suggests that in its animal form it ‘may be a white winged chough or a large owl’ [Attenbrow 2009: 117]. Given its prominence in the landscape, the geological formation known as the Three Sisters is likely to have been part of the belief systems of the Aboriginal people of the locality. Darug and Gundungurra people today consider it to be associated with ‘Seven Sisters Dreaming’ which is a legend shared by many Aboriginal peoples [Attenbrow 2009: 118].

Initiation was an important rite of passage for Aboriginal men. Initiation was held at Bora grounds that consisted of two oval areas connected by a path. Representations of ancestral beings and totemic figures were integral to the ceremony and were carved on tree trunks or made from mounds of rock or earth with other materials used to depict distinctive features. Tooth extraction was an element of ceremonies in some regions. Historical records do not document carved trees as being associated with Darug initiation ceremonies. Ceremonial bora grounds have not been definitively identified in Darug country [Attenbrow 2009: 117].

Coastal Darug people are reported in historical records as conducting burials sometimes preceded by cremation, with personal possessions often buried with the individual. The age and status of the individual informed the type of ritual that was carried out [Attenbrow 2009: 118].

4.2.11 Traditional Migration Routes and Pathways

The Mountain Darug travelled along paths and routes in their everyday activities in the mountains. It is thought that regular routes might have followed ‘sections of the main ridges, and the subsidiary spurs and waterways’. It is not known if there was a single, negotiable route east to west across the mountains [Attenbrow 2009: 116].
4.3 Gundungurra History

4.3.1 Traditional Boundaries

The Gundungurra (also known as Gandangarra) people are the traditional owners of the land to the south of Forty Bends and included within the areas described by Bowdler as a "zone of interaction" between the Gundungurra, Darug and Wiradjuri [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008:18]. Historical evidence suggests that the Gundungurra people occupied the area to the south-west of the Blue Mountains. Their traditional boundaries bordered on those of the Darug to the north and the Wiradjuri to the west. The precise nature and location of traditional boundaries is unclear however the general area is shown in the map below.

![Figure 8: Map showing the extent of the territory associated with the Gundungurra people. The boundary between the Darug, Gundungurra and adjacent language groups is unclear (Horton 1994: 1009)](image)

The anthropologist Norman B. Tindale described the Gundungurra as occupying an area extending south to Goulburn and Berrima; down the Hawksbury River (Wollondilly) to the vicinity of Camden as recorded in the map below. He recorded that the name Gundungurra incorporated terms meaning 'east' and 'west'. Tindale recorded the name 'Gundungurra' as 'Gandangara' with alternate names including Gundungari, Gundanora, Gurragunga and Burragorang [Tindale Catalogue, South Australian Museum].

The boundaries recorded by Tindale are principally linguistic [Attenbrow 2003: 33]. More recent studies include that by Val Attenbrow, Jim Smith and Dianne Johnson. Attenbrow broadly describes the territory of the Gundungurra as extending along the ‘southern rim of the Cumberland Plain west of the Georges River, as well as the southern Blue Mountains’ [2003: 34]. Smith describes the country of the Gundungurra speaking people as encompassing most of the ‘Cox and Wollondilly catchments and some adjacent areas west of the Great Dividing Range’ [Smith 2009: 131]. Gundungurra speakers came from a number of clans some of whose names have not been recorded or forgotten over time.

The territories of clans in the vicinity of the Cox's River were the Therabulat, Wywandy and Wallerawang [Smith 2009: 131]. Johnson suggests that the Gundungurra inhabited land adjacent to the Blue Mountains including the Megalong and Hartley Valleys which are included in the Study Area [Johnson 2007: 19].

Sandra Bowdler argues that the boundary between Wiradjuri, Darug and Gundungurra territory recorded by Tindale was actually a ‘zone of interaction’ rather than a strictly defined area [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008: 18]. Today it is thought by some anthropologists that in pre-European times Aboriginal communities were not separated by 'inviolable boundaries' and that some flexibility allowed people to move into or through neighbouring territories [Bowdler 1983: 334]. Bowdler also proposes that given an assumption of a fluidity of movement, that it could be assumed that there was a degree of cultural similarity between the Gundungurra, Darug and Wiradjuri communities at or near the zone of interaction. Gaynor MacDonald proposes a similar theory of 'fluid or negotiable areas' in her assessment of precontact boundaries of Wiradjuri territory. This is not to say that they reflect boundaries as they are understood today [MacDonald 1983: 26].

The first Non-Aboriginal person to venture into Gundungurra territory is thought to have been ex-convict John Wilson in 1792 when he lived with the Gundungurra for several years in the Bargo-Picton area. Subsequent contact is known to have been made by Dr George Bass who ventured into the Burragorang Valley in 1796. Lt Ensign Francis Barrallier led an expedition up the Nepean Valley and then to the west to the Nattai River in 1802. Two Aboriginal men, one known as Gogy accompanied the party. During a number of subsequent expeditions Aboriginal people assisted the party with making bark huts at Nattai and Barrallier sought advice from Bungin, a Gundungurra man, about routes and tracks.
over the mountains. None of these expeditions led into the Forty Bends area [Johnson 2007: 31-32].

In 1819 Charles Throsby of the Cowpastures undertook an expedition with a Gundungurra guide to the Bathurst area. The party including Cooeagong, ‘Chief’ of the Burra clan, and Duel and Bian of the Cowpastures area. They followed an ancient Aboriginal route through the Southern Highlands to the Shooters Hill area, near what became Oberon, and then on to Bathurst. Around the same time hostilities between Aboriginal people and settlers around Bathurst began to escalate and the party was informed by a group of Aboriginal people returning from Bathurst that four Aborigines had been killed and others injured [Johnson 2007: 33].

Due to the dearth of information about the Gundungurra people in the Forty Bends area some of the information used here relies on surviving records about the Gundungurra people who associated with the Burra Burra area. The Burra Burra people were possibly more than just a ‘clan’ and more a ‘confederation’ of clans linked through family ties and cultural responsibilities. It has been argued that the people with responsibilities for country in the Burragorang, Nattai, Jingery, Bunally, Kedumba, Megalong, Kanimbla, Hartley, Upper Cox and O’Connell districts might have been subgroups of the Burra Burra. Many Gundungurra descendants can trace their ancestry to the Burra Burra people [Smith 2009: 133]. It also includes the Gully in West Katoomba to reflect post-contact migration and settlement at this location however studies suggest that this area might well have been a traditional campsite used by both the Darug and Gundungurra people [Johnson 2009].

4.3.2 Gundungurra Language

R.H. Mathews noted in his research in the early 1900s that the Darug and Gundungurra people were able to converse with little difficulty, indicating many similarities in their languages or between the dialects. He noted similarities in grammatical structure of their languages and vocabularies [Mathews 1902: 49]. Reports dating to the 1830s show that Gundungurra language was spoken at Bathurst. Although there are few post-contact ethnographic and linguistic sources providing information about the Bathurst area Jim Smith’s research suggests that Gundungurra creation stories are set in areas to the north-west of Bathurst. Smith argues that it is possible that the disruptions caused by European settlement due to dispossession, conflict and disease led to the gradual diffusion of Wiradjuri populations into traditional Gundungurra territory [Smith 2009: 131-2].

4.3.3 Kinship, Social Organisation and Alliances

The Gundungurra people took their name from the country to which they were associated and to which they recognised responsibilities and obligations. After negotiations and observing various rules, sometimes clans would visit the country of other clans for particular purposes. An Aboriginal man Billy Russell (Werriberrie) believed that Gundungurra clans were friendly with each other although at times the Gundungurra people would fight with Wiradjuri people of Bathurst and Yass and ‘Dharruck and the Camden tribes’ [Johnson 2007: 24].

The Gundungurra had a complex system of social organisation, living in small social and economic groupings, today more commonly referred to as bands, clans or kinship groups. R.H. Mathews, a surveyor and ethnologist who studied Aboriginal kinship systems asserted that Gundungurra marriage patterns differed from that of other groups and marriages were controlled by betrothals, based principally on a relationship of nanaree. Nanaree was decided by a council of male elders with the first stage being to select the mother of a young man’s prospective wife. Elders looked for one or more male cross cousins¹ of the man’s father, each of whom would have been considered nanaree. Mathews explained that nanaree precluded unacceptable kinship relationships between individuals who were too closely related. A Gundungurra myth about the Eaglehawk and the Willy-wagtail was a cautionary tale illustrating the need to avoid inappropriate relationships between proscribed individuals. Marriages between families ‘strengthened their claims to consideration in the tribal councils’ and integral to establishing a hierarchy in a community [Johnson 2007: 22, 24].

Mathews’ study explained that the exogamous patrilineal totems used by Gundungurra people assisted elders in making decisions about nanaree through identifying their lineage. Totems or buddyangal were inherited from the male parent and were usually animals, natural features of the land or climate, or a man-made object. Individuals with the same totem could not marry [Johnson 2007:22]. The anthropologist A. P. Elkin emphasised that the Gundungurra people observed the proscription of marriage between people of the same locality [Johnson 2007:22-23].

4.3.4 Ceremonies and Initiation

Documentary sources providing information about the ceremonial life of the Gundungurra people are scarce. Accounts of ceremonial life include the important use of ochre with both white pipe-clay and yellow clay being used. William Russell (1830-1914) observed Aborigines at Craig-end (the property of Thomas Inglis Smr) mixing and painting clay on their bodies for a ‘korrobbery’. Red earth or Bulber (oxide of iron) was roasted in the fire to brighten the colour. It was then mixed with fat or grease and applied using a brush made from a green twig or branch that had been bruised. Russell

---

¹ ‘Cross cousins’ means the son or daughter of a person’s mother’s brother or a father’s sister. That is, the person in the preceding generation of the opposite sex.
recalled that ‘Old Boyne’ was often selected as the artist due to his talent in applying designs [cited in Johnson 2007: 25]. Mathews asserted that the initiation or Bunun ceremonies of the Gundungurra were the same as the Darug and other peoples of the coastal areas from Sydney to Twofold Bay. In 1887 Mathews made detailed records of a ceremonial ground near Berry. The Bunun ground was prepared by building raised earth walls in connected circles. Tree trunks flanking a track connecting the circles were marked with geometric patterns and ‘indistinct animal forms were constructed’. The Dhuramoolun spirit was associated with the ceremony and with dhunnunggallung that were ‘warty excrescences or calabashes growing on trees’ that where the spirit was thought to live [Johnson 2007: 25].

The ceremony, was led by the ‘headman of the tribe’ and other bands were invited to attend. Messengers were decorated with yellow and white ochre and carried a bullroarer and bag containing quartz crystals, weapons and sometimes a message stick. Invited bands met at the Bunun ground where meeting ‘protocols’ were observed. A guardian was nominated for each initiate and would accompany initiates into the bush to a selected camping ground. Initiates took part in secret rituals and activities including the knocking out of a tooth. Mothers of initiates and other women took part in separate rituals. The initiates who had been given a belt, kilt, head band and other men’s equipment were then welcomed back to the camp with great formality. Following a smoking ceremony performed on the guardians at another camp, the initiates were formally ‘ranked’ as men. A corroboree followed with restrictions placed on their behaviour for several months after which the young men were accepted back into the band although still restricted from contact with young women [Johnson 2007: 26].

A Kudsha was another ceremony for the initiation of young men which only involved closely neighbouring bands. It would be undertaken when a young man had to be initiated but the holding of a Bunun was not possible. The Kudsha or Narramang, a shorter but still important ceremony, was held on a clear and level space near the main camp. Further instruction was undertaken at the subsequent Bunun [Johnson 2007: 26]. In his research into Aboriginal tribes R. H. Mathews made detailed observations of the ceremony in particular the networks or associations integral to the important communal activity [Mathews 1896].

Some aspects of ceremonial activities continued to be practised by Gundungurra people until 1896 when a Yubbin or corroboree is reported to have been held in the fringe camp near the Glen mining settlement in the Megalong Valley. Merv Cooper, a Gundungurra man claims that ceremonial life continued in the Gully at Katoomba until at least the early 1920s [Johnson 2007: 27].

4.3.5 Burial Rituals

Gundungurra people of the Burrarorang Valley selected special places to bury their dead based on their beliefs about spirits and their fear that they might come back to haunt them. Locations as close as possible to the Wollondilly and Mulwaree Rivers were favoured, with burials taking place on the side of the river opposite from where they died. This was to prevent the spirit of the person from returning to haunt them [Johnson 2007: 27].

In the 1830s William Govett observed Aboriginal women in mourning at Mt Wayo in the Southern Highlands. Govett described the scene of three women sitting round a mound of earth striking their heads with a tomahawk and wailing loudly. The mound of earth:

...might have been about three feet high; it was shaped as a dome, and built of red earth clay: it was surrounded by a kind of flat gutter or channel, outside of which was a margin, both formed of the same material. The staves of the women were leaning upon it, and their nets, with their contents, thrown aside. ... The trees all around the tomb were marked in various peculiar ways, some with zigzags and stripes, and pieces of bark otherwise cut... [cited in Johnson 2007: 27]

Burial and mourning rituals were also observed and documented by others including that in 1886 by H. J. McCoey, a settler of Burrarorang, and by Bernard Patrick Carlon of Burrarorang who related his experiences to W.A. Cuneo of Thirlmere. In the 1890s Cuneo published Carlon’s reminiscences of the death and burial of Moyengully, a Burrarorang Gundungurra elder [Meredith 1989: 30].

4.3.6 Traditions and Beliefs

The Gundungurra had a complex system of dietary restrictions limiting what band members, in particular women and initiates were able to eat. Some animals were not allowed to be killed or injured due to the belief that they protected members of the band. Gundungurra people held strong beliefs in good and bad spirits that frequented various locations in the bush. Traditional stories of spirits told to children included those about Kubba (Gubba or Gub-bah), a hairy man who had his feet turned backwards and a thirty foot long tail and Dthusan-gong (Doowong), who lived among the rocks and had large wings that blew out camp fires [Johnson 2007: 29].

Stories were told about ancestral spirits, and the creation of the earth and the sky, fire and water, and many features integral to the environment. The legends were told through storytelling, dance, song, art and in ceremonies [Johnson 2007:29]. Many stories of the Gundungurra have been recorded by non-Aboriginal people including those about the Gunyunggalung or the dreaming, involving Burringillling, the
creation spirit. Artwork in the mountains has been linked to the rich stories and myths of the Gundungurra people [Johnson 2007: 30].

R.H. Mathews recorded some of the totems, traditions and beliefs of the Gundungurra people in his notebooks not all of which are included in published articles. Dianne Johnson elaborates on these aspects of Gundungurra life in Sacred Waters: the Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners [2007]. Older Gundungurra people linked to the Gully in Katoomba new their totems and those of their families. The totem or buddyangal of Billy Lynch, the son of a Gundungurra woman of the Cookmai band area around Crookwell and born around Bungonia was maundbawari or bandicoot. The totem of Rose Anna (Fanny) Page, a Hartley Aboriginal woman and the wife of Billy Lynch was a burru or kangaroo. The totem of their daughter Fanny was an eaglehawk or mullian (or mulyan). [Johnson 2007: 55].

4.3.7 Traditional Migration Routes and Pathways

Non-Aboriginal explorers often relied on guidance from Aboriginal people in the localities through which they travelled. The routes within the traditional homelands of Aboriginal people often followed annual migration routes. The route shown to Charles Throsby in 1819 linked the Gundungurra people’s summer camp in the Burragorang-Camden area and the winter camps around the head of the Cox’s River. The same routes were later adopted by settlers [Johnson 2007: 34, 55]. Other tracks and pathways linked to traditional routes include the Six Foot Track known as Kooranbarook, a route from the Megalong Valley to the tablelands via Narrow Neck ridge, Kedumba Pass from the Cox’s River to King’s Tableland and a route via Blackheath Glen [Johnson 2007: 56].

Other traditional Gundungurra travel routes included the ‘Burra Burra Trail’ between Burra Burra Lake and the O’Connell Plains near Bathurst. This is the route shown by Coocogong, a Burra Burra man to Charles Throsby a settler and explorer in 1819. The route to the west of the ranges ensured easy access to the rivers for fishing to replenish food supplies [Smith 2009: 141].

4.3.8 European Occupation and the Gundungurra in the late nineteenth and early 20th centuries

European settlers in the valleys on the western side of the Blue Mountains had ‘friendly contact with Aboriginal people who lived and worked’ there. The Aborigines had enviable bush knowledge and survival skills which they shared with their neighbours. While living in the Megalong Valley, Keith Duncan [Johnson 2007: 18-19] recalled being taught:

...how to climb trees by cutting small notches in the bark for toe grips, easy ways to find bees’ nests in the bush, how to predict rough and wet weather by observing the habits of animals and insects, the best places to find species of animals or birds and the times of year to find fish or eels in the creeks.

Other skills included the snaring of possums and tracking. The significant changes that European settlers imposed on the environment over time could not be ignored. In an interview in the Sydney Mail on 12 December 1896 William ‘Billy’ Lynch, then aged 55 years old, noted the massive reduction of native species - plants and animals - in the Mountains area and the impact that it would have on his people who were living in the Megalong Valley. Within a matter of years Lynch and his family moved out of the Valley to settle in the Gully in Katoomba [Johnson 2007: 18-19].

As pointed out by Dianne Johnson in Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners the sorrow and distress of Lynch, a speaker of the Gundungurra language and a keeper of his people’s traditional knowledge, was due to his keen awareness of the inevitable loss of cultural knowledge and traditions resulting from the occupation by settlers and his people’s dispossession [2007: 19].

William Lynch (c.1841-1913) was born in the Kanimbla Valley and lived the Mountains all his life, except when he was working as a Government tracker, a skill for which he was noted. His knowledge of the mountains, its flora and fauna and his people’s native traditions was extensive. Lynch recalled the days when ‘the only European settlements were at Kanimbla, Hartley and Lyttleton (now a suburb of Lithgow)’ [cited in Johnson 2007: 19].

According to Lynch there were never a large number of Aborigines on the mountains and the ‘tribes’ lived generally out west of the range. There was once a great deal of wildlife with ducks, kangaroos and shags plentiful and the ‘rivers and ponds full of black fish, perch, sprats, mullet and eels’, especially in the Cox’s River. Bream and cod were caught in rivers on the other side of the range. Bird life such as lowries, king parrots, rosellas, cockatoos and lyrebirds were seen in great numbers brightening the bush with their plumage. Many animals, birds and fruit he noted were now gone or their numbers diminishing.

Next to the fruits and berries the Aboriginal relied on the opossum - and that the white man’s guns had made scarce – fish, the kangaroo (known to the hill tribes as ‘buru’, the ‘bugong’ (porcupine), the ‘balu’ (a piglike, burrowing beast, known also as the ‘gulbug’) and the ducks [cited in Johnson 2007: 20].

Native fruits such as the geebung, burramung, wild cherry and habuba were also increasingly scarce. Old Billy Lynch, as he was known, spent his last years in the Gully at Katoomba [Johnson 2007: 20].
European settlers admired the skills and knowledge that local Gundungurra people such as Billy Lynch displayed. The people who settled in the Gully retained many traditional skills and on camping and hunting trips would ‘sun the bees’ in order to discover the location of their nests. This entailed waiting until sunset when the rays of sun would shine through the wings of the native bees making them easier to track. On locating the nest they would collect the honey. On fishing trips to the Cox’s River they build lean-tos in which to camp. They would trap rabbits, catch wallaby and cook damper the dough for which they mixed in a ‘cudji’ (cogie) or bark dish sometimes known as a coolamon. The cogie were made from burls or protuberances of bark that form on trees [Merv Cooper cited in Johnson 2007: 57].

As expressed so poignantly by Dianne Johnson in a history of the Gundungurra people of the Katoomba Valley, by the 1890s their gradual departure from their once rich river valley homeland was well underway. Resistance gave way and family groups began to gather at a fringe camp near the Glen Shale Mine village in the Megalong Valley. Leaving what remained of their country and the small parcels of land to which they formally held title, Gundungurra people were progressively moved into camping reserves and settlements at La Perouse, Salt Pan Creek, Mittagong, Bowral, Camden, Megalong Valley as well as the Gully in Katoomba [Johnson 2007: 20]. Some Aboriginal people managed to avoid moving to resettlement camps and reserves. An elderly man known as ‘Black Jerry’ lived in a cave near the Cox’s River [Merv Cooper cited in Johnson 2007: 58].

The Glen Shale Mine closed in 1897 and most of the residents of the Nellie’s Glen camp moved to the newly formed Kurranburrock Reserve on Pulpit Hill Creek in the Megalong Valley. This traditional campsites became an officially designated camping and water reserve in 1892 and as such was a relatively safe place to camp where they would not be trespassing. In recognition of their occupation of the reserve in 1897 the Aborigines’ Protection Board gazetted the 22 acre (8.9 ha) site as an Aboriginal Reserve (No.25297). A small number of people such as the Lynch and Cooper families chose to retain their independence living at Green Gully in the Megalong Valley, although supported by rations from the Aborigines’ Protection Board [Johnson 2007: 21]. They were later to move to the Gully at Katoomba were they also retained their independence from the strictures imposed elsewhere. Conditions in the early 1900s including a drought and a bushfire in the Megalong Valley and Cox’s River country gradually forced Aboriginal people from the Aboriginal Reserve. It was left vacant for many years and in 1912 it was revoked by the Board [Johnson 2007: 20].
4.4 Wiradjuri History

4.4.1 Traditional Boundaries

The Wiradjuri are the traditional owners of the land to the west of Forty Bends and within the “zone of interaction” between the Wiradjuri, Gundungurra and Darug. Wiradjuri land is part of the Riverine region of New South Wales, on the central-west slopes and plains and extends from Nyngan to Albury, and Bathurst to Hay covering over 80,000-100,000 square kilometres [Horton 1994 (2): 1189; Macdonald 2004: 22; Macdonald 2001:1]. In the nineteenth century the traditional boundaries of Wiradjuri territory generally encompassed the area around the Lachlan, Macquarie and Murrumbidgee Rivers [Read 1983: 1].

Figure 10: Map of the Riverine Region. Arrow indicates Wiradjuri Country (From the Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia [Horton 1994 (2): 946]

Historical evidence indicates that the Wiradjuri people occupied an area to the west and south-west of the Blue Mountains. Their traditional boundaries bordered on those of the Darug to the east and the Gundungurra to the south [Tindale Catalogue: Wiradjuri, South Australian Museum]. The precise nature and location of traditional boundaries is unclear. Norman B. Tindale recorded the Wiradjuri people as occupying an area:

...on the Lachlan River and south from Condobolin to Booligal; at Carrathool, Wagga-Wagga, Cootamundra, Cowra, Parkes, Trundle; east to Gundagai, Boorowa, and Rylstone; at Wellington, Mudgee, Bathurst, and Carcoar; west along Billabong Creek to beyond Mossyiel; southwest to near Hay and Narrandera; south to Howlong on upper Murray; at Albury and east to about Tumberumba [Tindale Catalogue: Wiradjuri, South Australian Museum].

Figure 11: Norman B. Tindale's map of Aboriginal Australia showing the extent of the traditional territory recorded during his research published in 1974 [Tindale Catalogue: Wiradjuri, SA Museum]. Val Attenbrow indicates that the boundaries recorded by Tindale are principally linguistic [2003:33].

The boundaries of Wiradjuri territory are largely, traditionally defined by rivers and landforms, as well as access to the diverse seasonal resources of the environment. Norman B. Tindale [1974] recorded the distinguishing features of the boundaries as well as mapping them based on his 20th century investigations published as Aboriginal Tribes of Australia (see map reproduced above). Sandra Bowdler argues that the boundary between Wiradjuri, Darug and Gundungurra territory recorded by Tindale was actually a ‘zone of interaction’ rather than a strictly defined area [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008: 18]. Today it is thought by some anthropologists that in pre-European times Aboriginal communities were not separated by ‘inviolable boundaries’ and that some flexibility allowed people to move into or through neighbouring territories [Bowdler 1983: 334]. Bowdler also proposes that given an assumption of a fluidity of movement, that it could be assumed that there was a degree of cultural similarity between the Gundungurra, Darug and Wiradjuri communities at or near the zone of interaction. Gaynor MacDonald proposes a similar theory of ‘fluid or negotiable areas’ in her assessment of literature relating to pre-contact boundaries of Wiradjuri territory. This is not to say that they reflect boundaries as they are understood today [MacDonald 1983: 26]. The area of interaction at the junction of the boundaries of the Wiradjuri, Darug and Gundungurra as proposed by Bowdler corresponds with the Forty Bends study area of this report.

The Wiradjuri are one of the largest Aboriginal populations in
Australia once inhabiting the biggest area of traditional land [Horton 1994(2):946]. As pointed out by Gaynor Macdonald, maps drawn by non-Aboriginal people since the mid-nineteenth century including that shown above are surprisingly similar to those prepared by Wiradjuri people today, ‘despite extensive changes in the meaning of Wiradjuri as ‘a region over time’. Boundaries changed over time due to shifting allegiances based on various agendas, resources and geographical centres such as towns and cities.

4.4.2 Language

The word ‘Wiradjuri’ is thought to mean ‘people of three rivers’, the Macquarie, Lachlan and Murrumbidgee Rivers which roughly form the boundaries of their traditional land. Differences in dialect were evident in some areas, notably around Bathurst and near Albury [Tindale Catalogue: Wiradjuri, South Australian Museum]. Wiradjuri language was spoken throughout their traditional land and also understood by people living in neighbouring territories. The language name was derived from their word for ‘no’ or ‘wirai’ and the suffix meaning ‘having’ or ‘with’. The different words for ‘no’ distinguish a number of Aboriginal peoples in New South Wales with the limits of usage defining territorial boundaries [Read 1983:5; Kabaila 1999:116-7]. The language united numerous smaller groups within the territory, with some language variations evident between groups at the furthest extremities of the region [Green 2002:15].

Wiradjuri language was an oral tradition used with other forms of communication including signs and symbols inscribed or painted on surfaces within the landscape. Hand signals and subtle body language contributed to the richness of the language [Green 2002:63]. As a result of colonial history few Wiradjuri today speak the language fluently; however efforts are being made to record the language that survives and to stimulate its use within the community [Macdonald 2004: 22]. Language is acknowledged as integral to perpetuating cultural knowledge from one generation to the next and it is therefore essential that the language continues to be used in everyday life [Green 2002: 63].

Distinctive features of Wiradjuri language, including vocabulary, grammar and structure, are outlined in ‘Wiradjuri Heritage Study for the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area of New South Wales’. Some speech sounds and grammatical attributes are shared with other Aboriginal languages in mainland Australia [Green 2002: 63-66]. Some Wiradjuri words are recorded in Rita Reed’s Memories of Bulgandramine Mission [1985: 24].

4.4.3 Population

At the time of European contact the Wiradjuri population was estimated at 3,000, with larger groups occupying some parts of the territory, in particular around Tumut. Estimates made by European explorers such as Charles Sturt should be used cautiously as they had little knowledge or understanding of the country or its people. As argued by L. R. Smith, it is probable that to some extent official estimates reflected the ‘attitudes and desires of white people’ [Smith cited in Read 1983: 3-4].

Peter Read in A history of the Wiradjuri people of New South Wales reveals that research into population densities of a number of regions in NSW in the 1980s shows that Sturt’s estimate was reasonable although possibly slightly low [Read 1983:3-4]. Population estimates by Crown Land Commissioners in the mid-nineteenth century are also thought to have been low, exaggerating the decline in the population following European incursions into Aboriginal traditional territories. For the period between 1840 and 1845 Commissioners and district magistrates estimated the Aboriginal population at Bathurst as having declined by thirty percent [Read 1983: 3]. Despite errors in official estimates, the effect of disease and restrictions on access to traditional food sources had a detrimental effect on the health of the Wiradjuri, resulting in disruption to traditional lifestyles, forced movement and a decline in the population [Read 1983: 4].

4.4.4 Kinship, Social Organisation, Traditions and Alliances

As with other, Aboriginal societies, the Wiradjuri were not a single political unit, although they shared the same language. They generally lived together in small separate family groups. They all shared a system of beliefs. Politics operated at a local level and was advised by respected, local, senior men and women who had a wide range of skills and extensive knowledge. Each local group remained autonomous within their ‘home’ territory, usually near permanent water, and over which they held rights. Elders with particular skills or expertise might exercise influence beyond their local group, with wider kinship networks. Groups were also advised by ‘clever’ men and women who were skilled in ritual knowledge and practices [Macdonald 2004: 22; Read 1983: 7].

Wiradjuri ceremonies, kin-groupings and organisation had common attributes with those of neighbouring language groups. Maintenance of a cycle of ceremonies required movement around the whole tribal area contributing to ‘tribal’ coherence [Tindale Catalogue: Wiradjuri, South Australian Museum]. R.H. Mathews the pioneer anthropologist wrote in 1906 that the Wiradjuri:

…comprise a number of sub-tribes, or independent groups, each of which has its recognised hunting grounds in some part of the tribal territory and is known by a name derived from some local feature of its district, or other distinguishing nomenclature. Every sub-tribe is still further divided into smaller groups, consisting, for example, of an old man with his wives, his sons and their wives, and the families of the latter [R.H. Mathews 1906 cited in Read 1983: 6].
In the Bathurst region three major clans centred on Wellington, the area around Mudgee and Rylstone, and Bathurst [Pearson, 1981 cited in Read 1983: 6].

The social system of the Wiradjuri was based on a two moiety matrilineal arrangement whereby descent was recognised through the female line, with the section and totem of an individual differing from that of the mother but the same as that of the grandmother. The system had similarities to that of the Kamilaroi people [Read 1983: 8]. Extended family groups travelled periodically over long distances to link up with kin groups, and occasionally with neighbouring language groups, for ceremonies, marriage or trade [Read 1988:3; Macdonald 2004:22; Tindale 1974:201]. Despite general similarities, there were variations in cultural practices and social organisation between the northern, southern and central Wiradjuri groups [Macdonald 2004: 23].

Today, distinguishable local groups continue to identify with their own territory, as well as its custodians. It is estimated that there are approximately twenty local communities of varying sizes within Wiradjuri country today. Many social and political activities of the Wiradjuri people are carried out as a regional body however the identity and autonomy of local groups, such as the Bogan River Wiradjuri at Peak Hill, near Parkes, is retained [Macdonald & Powell 2001:1].

4.4.5 Way of Life and Environment

Perceptions of what is considered to be traditional ways of life are distorted somewhat by the effects of European settlement which were well underway when records began to be made. The disruption and dislocation imposed on Aboriginal communities is likely to have caused alterations to practices and behaviours that existed in the pre-contact period. Similarly, observations and interpretations made in accounts reflected contemporary European mindsets and individual biases, and should be read with this in mind.

The Macquarie, Lachlan and Murrumbidgee Rivers, the smaller waterways, and the surrounding land provided Wiradjuri people with their livelihood, supplying diverse and abundant food provisions. In dry seasons their diet was supplemented by kangaroos and emu hunted for meat as well as fresh food such as fruits, nuts, yam, daisies, wattle seeds and orchid tubers gathered from the diverse environments which they inhabited. Few non-edible parts of animals were wasted with skin, bone and sinews being used for making garments, bags and tools.

Wiradjuri people moved around in small groups seasonally making use of open land, waterways and river flats on a regular basis. Evidence of the use of areas survives in some areas in the form of occupation sites as well as axe grinding grooves and carved trees. However, records do not indicate that the Forty Bends area was a favoured resource site.

4.4.6 Cultural Landscapes

Rivers were integral to the cultural landscape of Wiradjuri people. They were part of their identity and sustained their existence by providing food such as fish and attracting bird life. Fish traps made of river stones could once be seen on the Bogan River at the location where a weir was later built. Structures such as weirs and dams have altered the river ecosystem diminishing the fish stocks that once fed Wiradjuri and were an important part of their diet [Macdonald & Powell 2001: 4]. None are known of in the Forty Bends area.

Ceremonial stone circles or bora rings occur in Wiradjuri territory. Surviving scarred trees, especially in the northern Wiradjuri lands is evidence of the practice of a cultural tradition marking significant sites. Carved trees were part of the cultural landscape of the Wiradjuri people and while a large number survive in the northern part of Wiradjuri country there are only three near the Murrumbidgee. The present day incidence of carved trees does not necessarily reflect their numbers or distribution in the past [NSW NPWS 2003:1]. Carved trees were used to mark burials and initiation sites. It is thought that they might have been carved as part of ceremonies and the geometric patterns are similar to those found on skin cloaks. The designs are likely to be linked to individuals or clans of the artist of the person it commemorated. Carvings might also have indicated relationships to country. There were several methods of carving; including incising into the bark and removing portions, or removing the bark completely and incising directly into the timber [Horton 1994(1): 182-3].

In the early 20th century carved trees could still be seen along rivers and waterways. Many of the trees marked graves and others were made for other ‘special purposes’. Boomerangs, shields and nulla nullas also displayed intricate carving such as that on trees. The geometric patterns or images of animals illustrated aspects of Wiradjuri people’s spiritual beliefs representing ‘ancestors, kin or places’. Few carved trees are found today due to many being lost to land clearance or removed by non-indigenous collectors. Museum collections hold a number of Wiradjuri carved trees or weapons. Wiradjuri traditionally used Myall (Acacia pendula) and Yarran (Acacia omalphylla) for making weapons and hunting implements [Macdonald & Powell 2001:76-77].

4.4.7 European Impact

The alienation of land, followed by closer settlement through the Free Selection Acts from 1861, brought thousands of settlers to Wiradjuri territory [Read 1988:26]. The establishment of towns and villages had increasingly detrimental effects on the traditional lives of Aboriginal people of the region. In the 1860s some Wiradjuri men and women found employment on stations and occasionally on small holdings, but on an irregular basis [Read 1988: 26]. Settlement reduced the territory and resources of Wiradjuri, offering little in return with which to sustain themselves,
especially in dry seasons. As a result Wiradjuri communities became increasingly dependent on settlers, especially for food and shelter.

To settlers in the nineteenth-century the Wiradjuri population and its traditional culture appeared to be in decline. By the 1880s large ceremonies and rituals were rarely taking place, with initiation ceremonies being practiced intermittently [Read 1988: 27]. Peter Read in *A Hundred Years War: the Wiradjuri People and the State* explains that some of the necessary participants of ceremonies might have been away working, elders present might not have had the correct community standing to perform them, or there might not have been sufficient food to feed the large numbers attending. Sometimes landholders used ceremonial gatherings as an opportunity for surprise attacks on Wiradjuri making them dangerous to hold in known ceremonial grounds [1988:27].

Government blankets were distributed in towns or stations in the district increasing contact and building reliance on the government and settlers. Larger stations relied on Aboriginal labour and, with decreasing access to traditional resources Wiradjuri became reliant on non-traditional food and materials. Despite some freedoms, there was pressure on Wiradjuri to discontinue cultural practices including speaking their own language and the marriage of older men to younger women. By 1900 most were marrying according to European conventions, although elders attempted to uphold traditional kinship laws. As relations with settlers increased Wiradjuri adopted European names, with some taking the surname of the station owner or the station name. Wiradjuri names were retained for use in traditional contexts such as kin identification or ceremonies [Macdonald & Powell 2001:9].

*The Aborigines Protection Act*, 1909 took effect in 1910. The Aborigines Protection Board, who administered the Act consisted of the Inspector General of Police and ten Board members appointed by the Governor whose duty it was ‘to exercise general supervision and care over all matters affecting the interest and welfare of Aborigines and to protect them against injustice, imposition and fraud’ [Concise Guide to the State Archives]. During this period increasing pressure was placed on Wiradjuri communities living on pastoral stations to move onto Aboriginal reserves, losing more of their freedom and autonomy. *Closer Settlement Acts* also brought changes for Wiradjuri living on stations. It resulted in the subdivision of many large pastoral stations into smaller allotments, in turn leading to fewer employment opportunities for Aboriginal people. Seasonal work and a few permanent positions continued to be available [Macdonald & Powell 2001:10].

Despite the loss of their traditional places, their language and many rituals and ceremonies, Wiradjuri maintained their sense of community and were able to continue some traditions, unobserved by settlers [Read 1988:28]. The gradual loss of language and secret knowledge, and the undermining of the authority of elders were all detrimental to Wiradjuri culture, however in its place was an emergence of a new sense of self which was to sustain them into the 20th century.

### 4.4.8 Resistance

Instances of Wiradjuri resistance to European settlement are well documented in official and published sources. Those by Windradyne (c.1800-1829), the famous Wiradjuri leader whose country centred on Sofala, are probably the most widely known and written about [Read 1988:9-10]. Self-defence attacks by Aboriginals on stock and settlers in the Bathurst region resulted in the declaration of martial law at Bathurst in 1824. Both the attacks and brutal, covert reprisals by settlers provide a picture of the intensity of the conflict that led to a sharp decline in the population of Wiradjuri communities in the region due to the number of casualties and the gradual dispersal of communities to other areas.

Not all Wiradjuri were involved in active resistance but implemented other strategies in the struggle to maintain links with their traditional land. Some regarded local pastoral stations as part of ‘the exploitable environment’ settling there with the permission of station holders whose custom it was to allow ‘native families belonging to the nearest tribe to remain about the grounds or premises as much as their wandering will admit of, to keep off strange blacks who might otherwise make dangerous incursions’ [Saturday Magazine 25 June 1836: 242, cited in Read 1983: 28]. In this way some Wiradjuri managed to maintain a link to the land and its resources, although without security of tenure and many limitations on the practice of traditional ceremonies and rituals. As pointed out by Peter Read in *A Hundred Years War: the Wiradjuri People and the State*, ‘such relationships were seldom permanent and always superficial’. In eastern Wiradjuri country such relationships were a rarer occurrence than in cattle country to the west [1988: 25].

The establishment of the Aborigines Protection Board in 1883 imposed great changes on Wiradjuri people. By this time the social organisation of Wiradjuri communities had changed beyond comparison to their pre-contact existence. Families were living on Aboriginal Reserves (some established as early as 1861), on pastoral stations, and in camps on the fringes of towns and villages. Despite the drastic changes in their lives and their living circumstances many Wiradjuri managed to maintain some of their language and core cultural practices integral to community life.
4.5 The Gully Aboriginal Place – Upper Kedumba River Valley

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth-century Aboriginal people were forced to move onto missions and reserves where their existence was monitored and controlled. Some groups and individuals who defied the authorities, such as those who settled at the Katoomba Falls Creek Valley managed to retain their independence through various strategies.

A small creek running to Katoomba Falls and from there to the Jamison Valley lies within an almost continuous, green corridor. In May 2002 the place was formally declared an ‘Aboriginal Place’ recognising its Aboriginal heritage significance, many years after it was first established as an informal but permanent Aboriginal settlement. ‘The Gully’ at Katoomba is part of ninety hectares of land in Katoomba Falls Creek Valley designated as public land and is shown in figure 12 below.

Oral tradition suggests that the Katoomba Falls Creek Valley was a traditional summer camping place for Aboriginal people in pre-contact times. The location was familiar to Aboriginal people from a number of nations and they camped there regularly and over a long period of time. Close to an Aboriginal travel route it was supplied with a fresh water spring that fed the Katoomba Falls. The natural amphitheatre formed by the topography provided protection from the westerly winds. Artefacts and archaeological sites in the Valley provide evidence that Aboriginal people have occupied the place long before contact with Europeans. Archaeological investigations of the Valley have been carried out by Val Attenbrow (1993) and Allan Lance (2005) [Johnson 2009: 201].

The Gully campsite was used regularly by the Gundungurra people when travelling along ancient routes from the Burragorang, Kanimbla, Megalong and Hartley Valleys to the high ground of the Blue Mountains. Gradually displaced from their traditional land in the valleys, many families took up residence in the Gully. The Gully was also a place of respite for the Darug people of the Hawkesbury who chose the cooler climate of the mountains to the hot climate of the plains to the east [Johnson 2009: 203].

Few formal records indicate the extent of the Gully’s Aboriginal community in the 1890s however the Congregational Church in Katoomba was aware of the growing Aboriginal community in the gully by at least 1894 when they purchased a lease on land in Farnell’s Road, West Katoomba. A Mission Church associated with the Gully community was later built there. The Aboriginal Protection Board’s Census of 1897 recorded that 21 Aboriginal people were living in Katoomba and in 1901 the NSW Census, eight households in Katoomba were shown as having Aboriginal people living there. Baptism and burial records of the Katoomba Congregational Church show the names of families linked to the Gully from 1901. Families of Darug descent included the Stubbings (Stubbinses), Lock(e)s, Webbs and Sheards. From 1901 Gundungurra families such as the Lynchs, Coopers, Shepherds and Hughes settled in the Gully with another influx occurring in 1903 following the exodus of the Nellie’s Glen Village community in the Megalong Valley [Johnson 2009: 203-4]. The closure of the mine led to the gradual dispersal of the fringe community and today few traces of the Nellie’s Glen settlement survive [Smith 1993: 23]. Together with some non-Aboriginal people, up to four generations of some Gundungurra and Darug families co-existed in the Gully until 1957 [Johnson 2009: 204].

A notice in The Mountaineer, a local newspaper, on 27 February 1903 was the first open recognition of the existence of ‘the camp’ in the West Kedumba Valley. The article reported on the death of an Aboriginal man named Locke who had been living at ‘what is known as the camp near Katoomba’. Alfred Locke, a Darug man had been assisted by his neighbour James Lynch, a Gundungurra man. The Locks2 and the Lynchs were related by marriage continuing a pre-contact tradition of intermarriage between Gundungurra and Darug people [Johnson 2009: 204].

The Aboriginal families who settled in West Katoomba did so quietly and through their own initiative avoiding the attention of the Aboriginal Protection Board and the restrictions that living on a managed reserve would impose on them. The Gully community, consisting of close family and kinship groups became well established over the years, with Town water and electricity not available in the Gully. Families collected water from the springs which, with waterholes and creeks, were meeting places where adults and children socialised. Lanterns and candles were the only light sources, while open fires were used for cooking. The West Katoomba Mission Church at the southern end of the Gully played an important role in the life of the Gully residents and although linked to the Congregational church it was formally non-denominational and run ‘chiefly in the interests of a few Aboriginal families and certain settlers’ [Johnson 2009: 211-2].

The West Katoomba Mission Committee was established in 1910 to run the Mission Church and in 1911 the Aborigines Inland Mission became involved in its operation. The church was a meeting place and attended by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of the Gully and some from Katoomba. In some ways the existence of the Mission at West Katoomba contributed to keeping Aboriginal families together on a small part of their traditional land by giving the appearance that it was instilling in the Gully community ‘appropriate’ European and Christian ideals. It also prevented the attention of the NSW Aboriginal Protection Board the policies of which were restrictive. The Mission was disbanded in

---

2 The family has also been known as Locke, Lough, Loche and Analock
1956 and later sold. Today all remains of the church have disappeared [Johnson 2009: 212].

In 1954 the Blue Mountains City Council acquired the land in the vicinity of the Gully including the land on which the Gully people’s houses stood and which led to their eviction from land with which they traditionally identified and which had provided a place of safety and security. In 2002 the Gully was declared an official Aboriginal Place under the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW) (‘NPW Act 1974’) in 2002. It provided recognition of the continuous occupation of the area by Indigenous people. Merle Williams, a Gundungurra Elder and member of the Gully Traditional Owners, noted that ‘the historical significance of The Gully for the Gundungurra and Darug people is well known...[and] also has a contemporary significance to the people who lived there from the late 1800s to 1957 and their descendents.’ [Koori Mail 24 Sep 2008, cited in Agreement, Aug 2008, www.atns.net.au]. The Gully is now managed by The Gully Co-operative Management Committee (GCMC), which comprises an Indigenous majority.

As pointed out by Jim Smith the choice of some Aboriginal families to settle in the Gully ‘to some extent preserved their independent spirit’ [Smith 1993: 133]. The history of the Gully community is told in Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage (1st and 2nd editions) [Stockton 1993; Stockton & Merriman 2009] and Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners [Johnson 2007]. This present report does not attempt to provide a broad study of the people of the Gully in West Katoomba, but focuses on information of significance to the Forty Bends project area through its link to the history and traditions of Gully community.

The settlement offering privacy by being concealed somewhat from the rest of the community by its bushy surrounds. While not all members of a family lived in houses in the Gully, many chose to remain close-by, moving into houses in the streets in West Katoomba nearby, participating in community life in the Gully [Johnson 2009: 206].

Traditional languages such Gundungurra and Darug continued to be spoken in the Gully by the older residents however it was generally done in private and children were discouraged from learning them. In the early days of settlement children were born at home with the assistance of local Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal midwives. The community was resourceful and although incomes were small at times families were able to supplement it through the sale of wildflowers and blackberries in local guesthouses and shops. Food was supplemented through rabbit trapping and collecting mushrooms and blackberries [Johnson 2009: 209-10].

4.6 Summary

The Forty Bends proposal site is located close to the traditional boundaries of the Wiradjuri, Gundungurra and Darug (Figure 8) and within the boundaries of the Bathurst Local Aboriginal Land Council. The exact boundaries are not known and Bowdler argues that the boundary was actually a ‘zone of interaction’ between the Wiradjuri, the Darug and the Gundungurra people [Bowdler cited in Cardno 2008: 18].

The Wiradjuri, Gundungurra and Darug all had their own language although the three nations could communicate with each other. They each had their own distinct spiritual beliefs and creation stories. Each nation moved within their defined territories according to the seasons, along well established pathways.

The research did not uncover any information specifically about the Forty Bends area. The research indicates that Katoomba Creek Falls, Hartley Valley and areas around major rivers were favoured camping areas. There is no information to suggest that Forty Bends was a preferred camping area nor is there information to indicate that known pathways traversed the area. It would appear that the harshness of the winter weather at Forty Bends and the lack areas suitable for camping which could provide protection from the elements such as rockshelters ensured that Forty Bends was not an area visited regularly nor was it a preferred camping area.
Figure 12: The Gully Aboriginal Place, Katoomba (Johnson 2009:200)
5.0 ORAL HISTORIES

NOTE: This chapter has been removed for confidentiality reasons.
6.0 CULTURAL MAPPING

Cultural mapping identifies significant landscapes and their associated cultural features. Mapping the landscape shows how Aboriginal communities identify with the land, their culture, their past and their future. It maps their heritage in a way that clearly shows how Aboriginal places are a living part of Aboriginal culture and that they are not just Museum objects. From the background research, the oral histories detailed above and the written reports from the Aboriginal communities involved in this project, it has been possible to map the study area and surrounding landscape to demonstrate Aboriginal attachment to land and the meaning imbued within the landscape.

Figure 13 shows the tangible and intangible sites and places recorded, significant cultural landscapes and pathways.

This map has been prepared from information gained during the archaeological surveys, oral histories and written reports provided by stakeholder organisations. Please note that the pathways and sites created by Garangatch and Mirrigan are not shown on this map as exact details were not provided. The informants advised that these sites would not be impacted upon by the Forty Bends upgrade.
7.0 SIGNIFICANCE ASSESSMENT

7.1 Assessment
Significance assessment is the process whereby sites or landscapes are assessed to determine their value or importance to the community. The values used for assessing significance are contained in the Burra Charter. The Burra Charter provides principles and guidelines for the conservation and management of cultural heritage places within Australia.

A detailed significance assessment of site FB1, including the scientific values, is contained in the report detailing the results of the archaeological testing at Forty Bends (Comber and Stening 2012). That report is Technical Paper 2 to Review of Environmental Factors (REF): Forty Bends Upgrade.

The following significance assessment details the Aboriginal values and includes the Forty Bends area. The following assessment is the result of the consultation, including the oral histories, undertaken with the Aboriginal community.

Social Value
Consultation with the Aboriginal stakeholders indicates that although site FB1 only contains three artefacts it is still important to the local and broader community. This site and the artefacts provide a continuing cultural link to their past and provide tangible links with the lifestyle and values of their ancestors. However, the integrity of the site and the value to the Aboriginal community is compromised by its very small size.

In respect of the Forty Bends proposal site, consultation has indicated that the Forty Bends area does not contain any social significance to the Aboriginal community. It does not contain any spiritual, traditional, historical or contemporary associations and attachments. There are no stories or cultural sites, including pathways, associated with the proposal site. Hassans Walls, a significant man’s site, and its associated song line would not be physically impacted upon by the proposal. The upgrade at Forty Bends would not impact upon or sever these sites.

Grading FB1: Low significance
Grading Forty Bends: Low significance

Historic Value
It would appear from discussions with the Aboriginal stakeholders that site FB1 is significant because it represents an aspect of Aboriginal history demonstrating the pre-contact land use practices prior to European occupation. The site is also an important educational tool in demonstrating Aboriginal history. However, the integrity of the site and the value to the Aboriginal community is compromised by its very small size.

In respect of the Forty Bends proposal site, consultation has not indicated that the Forty Bends area contains any historic significance to the Aboriginal community. The area is not associated with a place, person, event, phase or activity of importance to the history of the Aboriginal community.

Grading FB1: Low significance
Grading Forty Bends area: Low significance

7.2 Statement of Significance

Site FB1
Whilst all sites and artefacts are important to the Aboriginal community, the integrity of the site and the value to the Aboriginal community is compromised by its very small size. The site and artefacts do not contain scientific or aesthetic significance. The site is not a good representative example of an artefact scatter and it is not a rare site type.

The significance to the Aboriginal community can be maintained by collecting and protecting the artefacts.

Site FB1 is of low significance.

Forty Bends area
The Forty Bends area does not contain any associations or attachments and is not associated with any specific event or person.

The proposal site is of low significance. The archaeological site within the proposal site contains three artefacts. This site has no potential beyond the current recording. There was no archaeological evidence to support high densities of Aboriginal objects in the subject area.

7.3 Impact Assessment

As indicated in section 8 of this report, the proposed project would directly harm Site FB1. However the cultural significance could be maintained by ensuring that the artefacts are protected and managed appropriately, as outlined in section 8.

The proposal will alter the landscape and landforms of the Forty Bends area. However, the extent of the proposed road improvement project is limited to Forty Bends, an area which is of low archaeological and cultural significance, as it was not a favoured camping area and does not contain known pathways. The project will not disturb significant waterways or pathways. The proposed works are close to Hassans Walls, however, will not alter or physically impact upon Hassans Walls or the associated song line.
8.0 IMPACT AND MITIGATION

8.1 Sites

The following Table 4 details the recorded site at Forty Bends. This table provides specific recommendations for sites in or near the Forty Bends upgrade. It also includes mitigation measures.

An AHIMS Site card has been forwarded to OEH. As of 9 July 2012 it has not yet been registered by AHIMS.

The mitigations listed have been provided as a result of discussions with Aboriginal stakeholders at AFG’s, discussions during the surveys (see Appendix E) and during the recording of oral histories. At all times, the Aboriginal stakeholders have made it clear that all sites are important to the Aboriginal community and that each site is part of the broader cultural landscape. They find it very difficult to separate individual sites from the landscape and to provide individual mitigation recommendations that do not consider the connection of each site to the other sites and to the landscape. The mitigation measures detailed below have been developed in association with the Aboriginal stakeholders and aim to maintain cultural significance by ensuring protection of the artefacts.

Site FB1 will be directly impacted upon by the proposed work. To minimise the impact on the cultural significance of the site it is recommended that the artefacts be collected and managed as detailed below in 8.2. The site is not considered to contain archaeological significance. The cultural significance can be protected by collecting, protecting and managing the artefacts.

8.2 Artefacts

At site FB1, (formerly PAD 12), three artefacts were retrieved. These have been described in the archaeological report which accompanies the Forty Bends REF. It is recommended that these artefacts be collected prior to commencement of the upgrade and that management of the artefacts be discussed at the next AFG Meeting options where discussed at the last meeting of the AFG (23 July 2012):

1. Australian Museum

   Under s88 of the National Parks & Wildlife Act 1974 Aboriginal “objects” can be deposited with the Australian Museum. The Australian Museum has recently developed a policy and protocol for the deposition of Aboriginal objects with the Australian Museum. The Australian Museum will only accept Aboriginal objects if they “…hold an appropriate level of significance against at least one of the following four criteria:” (Australian Museum 2012:9)
   - Social or cultural value to the Aboriginal community.
   - Research Potential.

   - Capacity to enhance the geographic, temporal and/or thematic coverage of the Australian Museum archaeology collections.
   - Public program and educational value to the Australian Museum.

   It would be difficult to assess the three artefacts found at FB1 as containing the appropriate level of significance to meet any of the above criteria. Therefore, it is not possible to lodge the artefacts with the Australian Museum.

2. Keeping Place

   Lodge the artefacts with An Aboriginal Keeping Place or Museum within the Blue Mountains. There are several Museum options including the Gundungurra Heritage Association’s facility at Katoomba or the Museum at the Hartley Historic site. All stakeholders would need to agree on the Keeping Place or Museum. A Care and Control Agreement between OEH and all stakeholders would need to be prepared and signed by all stakeholders indicating agreement to the artefacts being lodged with the Keeping Place or Museum.

   If it was agreed to lodge the artefacts with a Keeping Place or Museum, the management of the artefacts by the Custodians of the Keeping Place or Museum would need to be agreed upon. It would need to be decided whether the artefacts could be displayed, used for educational programs or whether they should be stored away from public viewing.

   The AFG did not choose this option.

3. Reburied

   If they cannot be lodged with the Australian Museum and agreement cannot be reached as to a Keeping Place or Museum, they could be reburied near Forty Bends in a place that will not be impacted upon by the proposed upgrade.

   The AFG agreed on this option and the artefacts which are located in a container (on site) have been assessed as containing low significance. The artefacts have been re-buried in a container at a location outside of the proposal site. This site will be marked as no-go area on all relevant site plans and work instructions as well as being fenced off on site.
Table 4: Sites recorded at Forty Bends, and recommended actions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No.</th>
<th>Site type</th>
<th>Impact</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Mitigation Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FB1</td>
<td>Open artefact scatter</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Testing has been undertaken and the three artefacts retrieved have been reburied. The significance of this site to the Aboriginal community can be maintained by collecting and protecting the artefacts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hassan’s Walls Mens Ceremonial Site and associated Song Line</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>It has been requested that research be undertaken into this site with a view to registering it as an Aboriginal Place. As the Office of Environment and Heritage are the agency responsible for registering an Aboriginal Place, this request would be submitted to OEH.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.0 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Summary

As a result of desk top studies, Aboriginal cultural heritage surveys and oral histories 45 archaeological sites, and one men’s site and one women’s site were recorded along the entire preferred route corridor. Twenty PADS were identified along the whole route.

Nine of these PADS were located at Forty Bends, with eight being tested. They were PADS 10c, 12-14, 16-19. PAD 15 was not tested due to security and access issues, and the results of the program of testing extrapolated for PAD 15, indicating that it was highly unlikely that PAD 15 would contain a significant site. Three artefacts were retrieved from PAD 12. PAD 12 was then renamed as Site Forty Bends (FB) 1, and an AHIMS site card completed and forwarded to OEH.

Section 8 and Table 4 provide management strategies for the recorded sites and places for the Forty Bends upgrade.

The oral history information gathered during this project and the information provided by Aboriginal people participating in the surveys indicates that there are a wealth of Aboriginal cultural heritage places and landscapes throughout the Blue Mountains. These include traditional sites, places of importance to men’s and women’s cultural practices, historically and to this day, plus evidence of daily life such as artefact scatters, scarred trees and rockshelters. All of these sites and places are highly significant to the Aboriginal community. They provide tangible evidence that Aboriginal people have lived in and from this land for many years. The intangible cultural heritage in the Blue Mountains is the deep and strong connection to the pathways and the whole of the landscape.

A major concern that arose from the oral histories and discussions with the Aboriginal community was the consideration of sites in isolation. Rather than the significance of a specific site, all interviewees emphasised the importance of looking at a whole of landscape approach when assessing cultural significance. They stressed that Aboriginal people do not just look at individual sites, rather they have a whole of Country perspective. The interconnectedness of sites and places are significant, including the pathways that lead to and from them. Aboriginal people used and moved around the whole of their Country. They moved between areas depending on seasons, resources and for different ceremonial and trading purposes.

In respect of the upgrade at Forty Bends, there were no specific concerns expressed. The upgrade would not affect any cultural sites. It was agreed that the three artefacts that were retrieved during testing (Site FB1), and which would be impacted upon by the proposed upgrade should be reburied nearby. The cultural significance of the site can be maintained by collecting, protecting and managing the artefacts in an appropriate manner, as detailed in section 8 of this report. As such it is not anticipated that there would be a major impact to the cultural significance of the site.

9.2 Recommendations:

1. The mitigation/actions detailed in Table 4 should be implemented.

2. Site FB1 at Forty Bends will be impacted upon by the proposed upgrade. RMS should apply for an area based Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit under s90c of the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (and amendments) for the whole of the Forty Bends project area, including the location of FB1, and the artefacts collected. Section 90c allows a permit to be issued for an activity on land, as well as for a site.

3. It has been requested that detailed research and recording be undertaken in respect of the song line. This recording should also include the men’s site at Hassan’s Wall and the relationship to the song line. This was outside of the requirements of this project, but is something to be considered. As OEH is the agency responsible for registering an Aboriginal Place, it could be a recommendation to OEH by the Aboriginal community that the site be recorded as an “Aboriginal Place”.

4. Ongoing consultation should be undertaken with the Aboriginal stakeholders throughout this project.
REFERENCES


AMBS, 2008 Aboriginal Archaeological Survey and Cultural Heritage Assessment, Hyde Park Reserve, Hartley, NSW.


Byrne D, 1996 Archaeological investigation of Site 465-4-920, Evans Lookout Road, Blackheath, NSW. Unpublished report to Golf Links Estate Blackheath Pty Ltd


Coghlan T.A, 1894 Results of a census of New South Wales taken for the night of the 5th April, 1891 (compiled under the direction of Government Statistician), Government Printer, Sydney.


Comber J, 2008, Aboriginal Heritage Assessment, Preliminary Environmental Assessment, Great Western Highway Upgrade, Mount Victoria to Lithgow, Phase 1, Study Area Investigation. Unpublished report to Casey & Lowe on behalf of SKM

Comber J, 2009, Aboriginal Heritage Assessment, Preliminary Environmental Assessment, Great Western Highway Upgrade, Mount Victoria to Lithgow, Phase 2, Corridor Area Assessment. Unpublished report to SKM.


Johnson D, 2007 Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners, Halstead Press, Broadway, NSW.


Jones D and Clark N, 1987 Geology of the Penrith 1:100,000 Sheet 9030.


Keed R, [1985?]. Memories of Bulgadramine Mission, [Rita Keed] sponsored by Warramunga Advancement Society Ltd, [Peak Hill], NSW.


Lee L, 1925. Early Explorers in Australia: From the Log-Books and Journals including the Diary of Allan Cunningham, Botanist, from March 1, 1817 to November 19 1818, Methuen, London.


McCarthy F, 1948 The Lapstone Creek Excavation: Two Culture Periods Revealed in NSW. In Records of the Australian Museum 22:1-34

McCarthy F., 1964 The Archaeology of the Capertee Valley, NSW. In Records of the Australian Museum 26:197-246

MacDonald, G.M. 1983 “The Concept of Boundaries in Relation to the Wiradjuri People of Inland New South Wales: An Assessment of Inter-group Relations at the Time of European Conquest” (Mitchell Library SLNSW).


Macdonald G, 2004 Two steps forward, three steps back: a Wiradjuri land rights journey. Let Her Rip Press, Canada Bay, NSW.


Stockton E, 1983 An archaeological survey for proposed walking and bridle tracks near Yellow Rock and Knapsack Bridge, Blue Mountains, NSW. Report to Blue Mountains City Council.


White K. & Murray R, 1988, Dharug and Dungaree: the history of Penrith and St Marys to 1860, Hargreen Publishing in conjunction with the City of Penrith, North Melbourne.

Unpublished Primary Sources including Images held in the State Library of NSW
‘Instructions by Governor Macquarie re hostile Aborigines at Bathurst’, Colonial Secretary’s Papers, State Records of New South Wales, Reel 6065 4/1798, 35-7.


C C Towle Papers, Typescript copy of a study titled “The Aborigines of the Western Road: A Brief Survey – historical and archaeological of the Aborigines who occupied the territories from the Nepean River to the Bathurst Plains and the Wellington Valley”, not dated, Mitchell Library Manuscripts ML MSS 3580 MLK 2241.


Electronic Sources


‘Journal of an excursion over the Blue or Western Mountains of New South Wales, to visit a tract of new discovered country, in company with His Excellency Governor & Mrs. Macquarie, and a Party of Gentlemen’, Henry Antill, 1815, Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie Archive, www.library.mq.edu.au, accessed 26 Mar 2009.


**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Col Sec</td>
<td>Colonial Secretary’s Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLNSW</td>
<td>State Library of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRNSW</td>
<td>State Records of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>