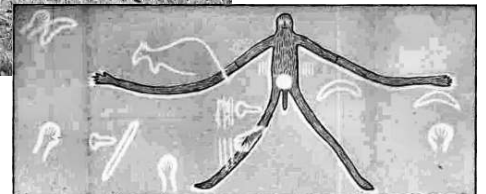


Chapter 9/NE



A Rock Overhang above Bulga Creek
close to the first Bulga Road stock route from Richmond (Chpt 3)
where it came out near Bulga village on Wollombi Brook.

The insert showing some of the rock art is modified from 1896 published scale drawing by R.H. Mathews. The figure was 9ft (2.75m) high. The white patch on the stomach is visible in exact centre of photograph. Although a *Darkiñung* site, this deity-like figure is now claimed by other Aboriginal people from the NE to the NW.*

Photograph by Geoff Ford Sunday 17 September 2006

Notes:

On the back wall of this rock shelter is an Aboriginal art figure pre-dating arrival of the settlers, referred to as The Milbrodale Man (from the locality). The site is on a farm where David Moore from The Australian Museum carried out an archaeological excavation (1969, 1970). I have become familiar with the property in consultation with the owners to whom I was introduced by a past resident of Milbrodale (Joan Robinson - on steps in photograph). Since the 'large and lofty trees' (reported by Mathews 1893 p.355 to be in front of cave) had been cleared, exposing the cave, the bottom of the back wall has lost pigment so the legs in the present day are only seen reaching the size of the prominent penis. The figure was outlined in white (with pipeclay) and filled in by rubbing lines of dry red ochre into the rock - as Moore has discussed with me. Similar style artwork (including stark white eyes and rubbing red ochre), is a common feature at sites which I have visited throughout the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Although Mathews wrote (1893 p.358) that he would not speculate on the meaning, the art reminded him of 'a colossal figure of a man on the ground' built up with earth that 'the blacks said represented *Baiame*' when associated with a *Kamilaroi* initiation bora ceremony elsewhere (e.g. 1894 p.111). He was familiar with a description in Ridley's book (1875 p.156) in upper Hunter Valley where the *Kamilaroi* had penetrated from the Interior before settlement (Chpt 12/NW).

*This site has been set up as a tourist cave by the NSW NPWS as if this was a *Kamilaroi* bora site. It was not.

Part III (1)

Chapter 9/NE

Country to the Northeast of the *Darkiñung*:
Interacting with the *Wannerawa* of the Coast and Estuaries
(aka *Wannungine* alias ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’)

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The Issue

This chapter examines the relationships of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people with the Aborigines occupying country on their northeast quadrant - at the Hawkesbury River estuary of Broken Bay and its Arms following along the coast to the Hunter River estuary of Port Hunter. My research discovered that although the actual 'Tribal' and/or Language name for them of *Wannerawa* had been noted from the 1890s, it has been misapplied (as '*Wonnarua*') from the false memory of one man as published in 1887. Instead, the published terms of 'Kuringgai' ('Guringai') and 'Awabakal' created in 1892 by a white man for an international book had inadvertently been adopted. In consequence, I am favouring the alternative term *Wannungine*¹ which was recorded also for the actual *Wannerawa*. From this study it appears that the people of the ranges and those of the coast were aligned, possibly with ancient common ancestors, and their boundary was porous. The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that an ancient group on the coast had moved up the Hawkesbury River and Hunter River tributaries, expanding into country of the ranges while their relatives remaining on the coast had had their residual country depleted as the sea levels rose over the continental shelf.

The 1838 Testimony

'I reside at Lake Macquarie and have done so nearly fourteen years, during which I have been engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the language of the aboriginal natives, - - -
The native languages throughout New South Wales are, I feel persuaded, based upon the same origin: but I have found the dialects [languages] of various tribes differ from that of those ('tribes') which occupy the country around Lake Macquarie, that is to say, of those tribes occupying the limits bounded by the North Head of Port Jackson, on the south, and Hunter's River on the north, and extending inland about 60 miles, all of which speak the same dialect [language]. The natives of Port Stephen use a dialect a little different, but not so much as to prevent our understanding each other; but at Patrick's Plains the difference (in language) is so great, that we cannot communicate with each other; there are blacks who speak both dialects.
The dialect [language] of the Sydney and Botany Bay natives varies in a slight degree, and in that of those further distant, the difference (in languages) is such that no communication can be held between them and the blacks inhabiting the district in which I reside.'

Rev. L.E. Threlkeld, 1838 Testimony to a Legislative Council Enquiry on the Aborigines²

¹ Note on pronunciation: When using English characters '-ine' is spoken as for tine and fine, not pronounced as for tiny or finny with nn - e.g. *Wollambine* became *Wollombi*. [From its Latin origine, Ab-origine ('-inny') is unusual.]

² Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, 1838, Testimony in Evidence, Report of the Committee on the Aborigines Question, Votes and Proceedings, New South Wales Legislative Council 1838 pp.19-24; also reproduced (continued...)

The Dinky Missionary³

For the New South Wales Central Coast, Lancelot Threlkeld had never experienced anything other than the same language being spoken all the way from Newcastle south to Port Jackson. He would study local languages like other church missionaries of that period working in Oceania - which was the Pacific Islands and Australia. That religious trait for study of anthropology and linguistics continued until recently, with both Peter Elkin and Arthur Capell of Sydney University who feature in this thesis being ordained church ministers. Australians (and my studies) owe a great deal to Threlkeld, because he was first to put an Aboriginal language on a grammatical footing, rather than a mere unexplained word list.

Threlkeld's wife had died while they were at a mission on *Raiatea* Island near *Tahiti*, and he arrived at Port Jackson with his young children 19 August 1824.⁴ The self-opinionated Threlkeld was to take up land on the Hawkesbury River at Portland Head Rock district in the country of Aborigine *Yellomundy* (Chapter 1). There, he would preach at the Ebenezer church, and two months after arrival he was remarried, to Sarah Arndell, daughter of local magistrate, Surgeon Thomas Arndell (as in Chapter 2).⁵ However his 1838 statement in relation to Port Jackson, as in extract above, was not the situation found by the First Fleeters fifty years earlier in 1788. Before Threlkeld arrived the original Port Jackson Aborigines were no longer present on the north shore, which subsequently had been occupied by Broken Bay Aborigines from the north led by *Bungaree*. By January 1815, there were 16 families from Broken Bay identified by Governor Macquarie in occupancy of the north shore of Port Jackson.⁶ Prior to the intrusion of the Broken Bay people, the north shore language had been the same as for the south shore of Port Jackson - yet the concept of Threlkeld's testimony has been followed mistakenly for another hundred

²(...continued)

by Niel Gunson, 1974, 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld - Missionary to the Aborigines 1824-1859', Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp.270-71.

³ This observation by Lady Jane Franklin, as mentioned later in this chapter.

⁴ Ben W. Champion, 1939, 'Lancelot Edward Threlkeld - His life and Work 1788-1853', Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 25 (4): 279-329, (5): 341-411, p.297, p.300.

⁵ Threlkeld learnt some of the *Darkiñung* language at the Portland Head Rock location (as footnoted following). When his grant of 150 acres was registered later (in 1834), the deed for the land was made to his wife, Sarah Threlkeld. [He wanted a deed to the coal resource at Lake Macquarie for himself.] \ Jean McNaught, 1998, 'Index and Registers of Land Grants, Leases and Purchases 1792-1865', Richmond-Tweed Regional Library, p.220.

⁶ Macquarie's birthday, 31 January 1815. \ Keith Vincent Smith, 1992, 'King Bungaree - A Sydney Aborigine Meets the Great South Pacific Explorers, 1799-1830', Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst (Sydney), p.77.

and sixty three years, when Keith Smith published a correction.⁷ Until then, authorities as cited in this thesis accepted the language group dubbed ‘Ku-ring-gai’ as the original north shore group known to the First Fleet arrivals from the place, *Cam-mer-ray* [wide range of spellings in English characters].⁸

The Hawkesbury Inland and Coastal People

It is known that at Portland Head Rock area (alias Ebenezer/Sackville area) Threlkeld gained some knowledge of the Hawkesbury Aborigines, subject of this thesis, with whom Arndell had been associated for more than twenty years (Chapter 2), and he could have been able distinguished them from others.⁹ During the 1820s Threlkeld gathered some language from Broken Bay Aborigines, identified as ‘*Karree*’.¹⁰ That is now recognised as representing the *Cari'gal*, *Kari'gal* or *Gari'gal* group of the south Arms of Broken Bay (Pitt Water and Cowan Water). If the location was known as *Gari*, then *Gari'gal* were a local Broken Bay Clan. In his investigation of the language's origin, Arthur Capell in 1970 identified the language to ‘more conveniently be called *Kuringgai* (*Guringai*)’, and *Guringai* is the name applied for use by descendants of the Broken Bay Aborigines from 1970 to the present day. Capell's 1970 paper was not complete, he called it ‘this initial report’ and wrote about ‘the monograph that is intended to follow’. He had retired from the Sydney University in 1967, and his last work on Aboriginal languages

⁷ Keith Vincent Smith, 2001, ‘Bennelong - The Coming in of the Eora, Sydney Cove, 1788-1792’, Kangaroo Press, East Roseville (Sydney), pp.111-12. Also Chapter 7 of thesis.

⁸ There was confusion from unsuccessful attempts by authors to reconcile the original traditional north shore *Cammaraygal* / *Kameraigal* [various spellings] at Port Jackson with these ‘Ku-ring-gai’ (‘Guringai’) who had arrived from Broken Bay and occupied Port Jackson after settlement. Misrepresentation of local history, such as by authorities such as Norman Tindale and Bob Dixon discussed in other chapters, have made it difficult for latent descendants to gain public recognition of their actual ancestral country at the time of settlement.

⁹ As noted at beginning of thesis, I am using Portland Head Rock to identify the historical location of Portland Head. The chapel was built there at ‘Ebenezer Mount’ (Chapter 6). Threlkeld refers to ‘my black teacher’ from whom he was getting words ‘at the Hawkesbury’, when writing an introduction to his first published treatise on notes of ‘Aboriginal sentences’ involving source(s) at Newcastle. \ L.E. Threlkeld, 1827, ‘Specimens of a Dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales; Being the First Attempt to Form Their Speech into a Written Language’, “Monitor Office”, Sydney. Republished Appendix G pp.131-48 of Part IV (The Appendix, with separate pagination) in John Fraser, 1892b, ‘An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, New South Wales) - being an account of their language, traditions, and customs: by L.E. Threlkeld. Re-arranged, condensed, and edited, with an appendix’, Government Printer, Sydney, quote App. p.132.

¹⁰ While Threlkeld wrote *Karr,eē* as the heading of the first column, Capell transcribed this as *Karee* in brackets at end of title. I have examined handwritten original from Mitchell Library. Discovered in Mitchell Library archives and discussed by Capell. Identified by Capell as Guringai p.23. \ L.E. Threlkeld, ca.1824 (date ng) ‘Specimens of the Language of the Aborigines of New South Wales to the Northward of Sydney: Karree’, ML MS A382; A. Capell, 1970 ‘Aboriginal Languages in the South Central Coast, New South Wales: Fresh Discoveries’, *Oceania*, 41 (1): 20-27.

was from when he had worked at the Australian National University with Stephen Wurm until 1974.¹¹ Capell did, indeed, supplement the 1970 'initial report' when he published with Wurm 1979 and pointed out that Threlkeld's Lake Macquarie Language (termed 'Awaba' by Fraser) and his 1970 'Guringai' (then, in 1979, 'Guringgay') were variations of the same language - with a 'real gulf between this northern language and (Dawes's) the "Iyora" and (Mathews's) Dharug of Sydney district'. Capell was to go much, much further with the classification from his analyses: **'Darkginjung [Darkiñung] and Guringgay language are hardly more than dialects of the Awaba [recorded by Threlkeld]'**.¹² It is a defining observation in understanding the close linkage of the *Darkiñung* people with those on the coast to their northeast.¹³

By September 1825, not long after he had arrived at Newcastle as follows, Threlkeld was able to write about the connections of the local Aborigines, in effect commenting on inter-related territory of their neighbours which is the subject of this chapter: 'The natives here are connected in a kind of circle extending to the Hawkesbury and Port Stephens.'¹⁴ Although the retired Arthur Capell had then been

¹¹ Newton's bibliography shows the final works. \ A.P. Elkin, 1970, 'Arthur Capell' in S.A Wurm & D.C. Laycock (eds), 'Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell', Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University, Canberra, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Sydney, pp.1-27; Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), 1979, 'Biographical Notes' in 'Australian Linguistic Studies', Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University, Canberra, p.749; Peter J.F. Newton, 1979, 'Movements and Structures: A Historical Review of Capell's Approach to Comparative Linguistics in Oceania, with An Annotated Bibliography of His Linguistic and Other Scholarly Works', Thesis, Macquarie University.

¹² Capell's last 'work', published 1979, was multiple. As well as studying Dawes's notebooks (p.287), Capell had studied some of Mathews's notebooks (p.288) with draft articles on language. Unfortunately, he created an unfulfilled expectation that he had in hand the analysis from those notebooks of the language of the Sydney district (including the *Dharug* area - Chapter 10/SE). He did not maintain some of the interim speculation from what he called his 'initial report' in 1970, which is discussed following (and is mentioned in Chapter 7 with regard to the road to Lane Cove as a border). However, there was additional material to his 1970 promise [misprinted as 1972 on p.284]: 1st article section 2.2.4.5, pp.284-87, and 2nd article p.199. Although his 1979 revised map, p.194, still has geographic anomalies, it means that the conventional wisdom is false when it has been based on the 1970 map which is absolutely redundant. \ Arthur Capell, 1979a, 'Grammatical Classification in Australia', in Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), 1979, 'Australian Linguistic Studies', Pacific Linguistics, Series C - No.54, Australian National University, Canberra, pp.141-228; Arthur Capell, 1979b, 'Classification of Verbs in Australian Languages', in Wurm 1979 'Australian Linguistic Studies', pp.229-322; Arthur Capell, 1979c, 'The history of Australian Languages: A First Approach', in Wurm 1979 'Australian Linguistic Studies', pp.419-619. Major quote p.199.

¹³ Capell's own analysis reinforced that for Wilhelm Schmidt's 'Middle-Kuri' language (Chapter 6), which linked the *Darkiñung* of the *Wallambine* ranges with the *Wannungine* of the coast. When published, Robert Mathews had shown (1901b) his *Dharruk* language associated with the *Dharawal* (*Thurrawal*), but given (1903) *Darkiñung* language with affinities to the foreign *Kamilaroi* language to its northwest.

¹⁴ Although Threlkeld was to define a local County Northumberland Language based on Lake Macquarie, Newcastle and the estuary of the Hunter River, this earlier statement is consistent with the final published analysis in 1979 by the doyen Arthur Capell as cited above. Since the Port Stephens people spoke the related language *Katt'ung* with common understanding, it seems that Threlkeld may have already

(continued...)

working in proximity to the young Niel Gunson at the Australian National University, I see no collusion and take their observations to be independent re-enforcement for my projected relationship of the Hawkesbury *Darkiñung* with the coastal *Wannungine* (this chapter), in distinct refutation of a relationship with the Georges River *Dharug* people (Chapter 10/SE).

As a biographer, Gunson tactfully referred to Threlkeld's 'independence' although perhaps self importance may be more fitting. His earlier biographer, Ben Champion, suggested Threlkeld was prevented from returning to the islands of the South Seas when it was decided he should conduct a mission to the Aborigines at Newcastle, Coal River [then called King's Town].¹⁵ But at Newcastle the local parson Rev. G. A. Middleton, who had come across the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (with J.M. Blaxland), was already 'an especial favourite with the blacks'.¹⁶ George Middleton, with the help of the Commandant Captain Francis Allman was able to divert Threlkeld to locate him out of the way at Reid's Mistake, the entrance to Lake Macquarie - where the land was not granted to the mission, but was to be held in trust for Aborigines.¹⁷

The Proud Protégé

In a great circle of history, Governor Macquarie, as above, had visited the Broken Bay Aborigines, that is

¹⁴(...continued)

appreciated his circle to arc to Port Stephens from his property near Ebenezer on the Hawkesbury River at the location where the *Darkiñ'ung* language had first been recorded from *Yellomundy* in 1791 (Chapter 5). He used this connection as an argument that the Attorney General should prevent other missionaries competing for his Aborigines, which has the abominable effect that there would never be a comparison of his position as happened at Wellington Valley. (The letter brings a wry smile to my face as I read his letter, politically couched, telling Bannister that 'my present employment is going with the natives in their hunting excursions with a book and pencil collecting words and phrases'. That could make a marvellous cartoon.) \ L.E. Threlkeld, 1825, Letter to Saxe Bannister (Attorney General) responding to 'the French examination', 27 September 1825, cited by Gunson 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld' pp.186,7; Capell 1979a 'Grammatical Classification' p.199.

¹⁵ Niel Gunson, 1967, 'Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward (1788-1859)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.2, University of Melbourne Press, Melbourne, pp.528-30; Champion 1939 'Lancelot Edward Threlkeld'.

¹⁶ Middleton's route across the ranges, which was intersected by Surveyor General Mitchell when visiting Mount Warrawolong, was known as The Parson's Track from Wollombi Brook to Newcastle, and as Blaxland's Track from Richmond to Wollombi Brook (Chapter 3). I have visited sections with local historians bushwalker Joan Robinson and Carl Hoipo, resident of Blaxlands Arm of Wollombi valley. \ Quote from Bingle, John, 1873, 'Past and Present Records of Newcastle', cited by Champion 1939 'Lancelot Edward Threlkeld' p.310.

¹⁷ Threlkeld had been diverted by other church ministers / missionaries from the South Sea (Pacific) Islands, diverted from Ebenezer (on the Hawkesbury), and then diverted from Coal River/Newcastle. Without the Aborigine misfit as follows, he would have been diverted from history. (Indeed, without another misfit, John Fraser, collecting his works for the Columbian Exhibition as follows Threlkeld would not hold his now revered place in history.) \ Champion 1939 'Lancelot Edward Threlkeld' pp.308,10.

people speaking Capell's *Guringai* language, where many families who had come south with *Bungaree* were occupying the north shore of Port Jackson. The governor was accompanied by his favoured officer, Captain John Mander Gill, who (as was a custom of the day, Chapter 4) took in to his household a young Aboriginal boy from *Bungaree's* Broken Bay mob then at Port Jackson. This lad was reared as John M'Gill (viz. John, boy of Gill) in the officers' quarters, where Christian religious instruction was practised.¹⁸ After Captain Gill's regiment completed their service at Port Jackson and left, adolescent Aborigine John M'Gill became the responsibility of Captain Francis Allman, who took the teenager as one of the 'Black trackers' when he went to Port Macquarie to establish a penal settlement there. At this time, John M'Gill became a 'man' in Aboriginal terms, and took on a new independent persona. When Allman became Commandant at Newcastle, M'Gill - now a young adult almost twenty years old - became superfluous so he was left to fend for himself there, where he was among his own people at the town fringe even although at a distance from his Broken Bay family.¹⁹

When thirty seven years old Threlkeld arrived at Newcastle needing help to go through the bush to Reid's Mistake and to set up new premises, a liaison formed between these two misfits who had been passed by by white society. Working for the whiteman - as was usual - had become M'Gill's initiation to manhood at Port Macquarie, and subsequently he had been given (or taken) for his adult persona the name of *Birrugan* [various spellings] of the *Biripi* people. It was apposite for M'Gill to present himself as Threlkeld's '*Biraban*' from *Birrugan* since the word means young man, handsome etc, re-interpreted in the Christian tradition as Jesus (explaining some of his relations which Threlkeld never comprehended), but Threlkeld thought that M'Gill was describing himself as '*Biraban*' to be an eaglehawk, which was *wir-ri-páng* in the language that M'Gill gave to Threlkeld.²⁰ Details from my study of *Biraban's* life are not part of this

¹⁸ Young John M'Gill [= Gill's boy] was likely born ca.1805 to be consistent with Threlkeld's statement (1850) that: 'He had been brought up from his childhood in the Military Barracks, Sydney'. He was allowed to remain as the officers' houseboy at the same time that the Hassalls and other families were transferring their 'fostered' Aboriginal children of about the same age to the Native Institution for English education. Yet Governor Macquarie instructed his officers to kidnap children for the Institution - as for the Appin Massacre (e.g. Betty Fulton in Chapter 6).

¹⁹ There are instances of travel along the coast between Hunter River and Hawkesbury River of known Aborigines, e.g. *Bungaree*. The instance of Aborigine 'King Molly' alias 'Black Ned' moving from Ned Hargraves's house to the entrance to Lake Macquarie is given in Chapter 2. By 1799, *Bungaree* was already identified at Port Jackson - apparently replacing the local Aboriginal people who had not survived, where he was known as 'a native of the northside of Broken Bay who had been noted for his good disposition and open and manly conduct' with the white people. \ David Collins, 1802, 'An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, from Its first Settlement, in January 1788, to August 1801 [etc]', Vol.II, T.Cadell Jun. and W.Davies, The Strand (London). Facsimile edition 1971, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.225, Fletcher 1975 [vol.2] edn pp.161-62.

²⁰ Threlkeld was not naive about Aboriginal languages before he went to Newcastle and met John M'Gill. He had probably already heard the word he wrote as 'biraban' spoken around Sydney for a large bird and
(continued...)

thesis, and were being prepared for presentation elsewhere.²¹

²⁰(...continued)

may have assumed this was the term spoken by M'Gill (next footnote). Native-born John Rowley, reared with Aborigines on the south side of Sydney, told it as *birabain / biriabain / birribain* - shown in 1870s publications by Andrew Mackenzie and William Ridley (Chapter 6). As noted in Chapter 2, 'King *Boni*' the person represented an eagle hawk. (The term was a variation to 'murrion' / 'marayong' used for an emu. [Mathews later listed *mullian* as a *Darkiñung* term for an eaglehawk - 1903 p.280.] \ Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, 1834, 'An Australian Grammar, Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language, as Spoken by the Aborigines, in the Vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie &c. New South Wales', Stephens and Stokes "Herald Office", Sydney, p.93.

²¹ This paragraph is from original research outside this thesis, included to place Threlkeld's principal source in perspective. The list of references used (and colleagues who have assisted) for this other study would be overwhelming here. The responsibility for historical interpretation here is my own. I acknowledge that the connection to *Birrugan* came when Gaynor Macdonald suggested I attend a lecture given by Vicki Grieves - a 'Worimi woman' - while she was at Sydney University. Vicki related '*Birrugan's* Journey South' (with Jack Larrigo's version of *Birrugan's* ascent and Seal Rocks) to the students and she first loaned me her source: her personal copy of '*Gumbaynggir Yuludarra*'. When this Aboriginal woman spoke '*Birrugan*' I heard '*Biraban*'. In contrast, Amanda Lissarrague using 'pirapan' uncritically has accepted Threlkeld's literate romancing with an 'Analysis of the name *Biraban*' for an overseas readership, written in Sydney eight years after the death of *Biraban* for presentation at a London Exhibition. To make a compound error, John Fraser in 1892b, p.103, again for an international audience when republishing Threlkeld's works, unwittingly presumes 'Eagle-hawk' may have been M'Gill's birth totem or family name, unknowing or uncaring that '*Biraban*' was not his juvenile identity but was his adult name. Threlkeld provides sentences from talking with M'Gill at Newcastle in his first publication on an Aboriginal language, 1927, writing '*Beraban*' which he gave in English as 'Eaglehawk', while writing others' names both in Aboriginal sentences and in translations with the same term such as 'Dismal', 'Jem', and 'Patty' [young *Biraban's* 'wife']. (In this conversation, Threlkeld published that *Biraban* said he was not a chief.) [See preceding footnote about Sydney connection - a *biraban* may have been a small emu which makes a whistling peep, a 'bira', sound.] Sitting in his Sydney home in 1850, using his own rendition of a pronunciation, i.e. '*Biraban*', Threlkeld surmised 'The word is formed from bira, the cry of the 'eagle-hawk, (with) -ban suffix to denote the one who is doing the action'. For the first and second syllables, Threlkeld may have been relating to his 1834 vocabulary given to him by *Biraban* where *Pip-pi-ta* represented 'A small hawk, so called from its cry'. This latter is recognisable as the little eagle, *Hieraetus morphnoides*, which has two calls, one with repeated 'pip-it' in display flight. However, none of the birds of prey has the call 'bira', and that commonly known as the eagle-hawk or wedge-tail eagle, *Aquila audax*, merely uses a feeble 'pseet-you' near the nest in its mating display. (The rare white eagle hawk which represented the Aborigine *Boni* had a repeated deep 'yuik' sound.) For the third syllable, in the most extensive analysis of the language ever done, Amanda Lissarrague found it, expressed by Threlkeld as *-bán* or *-báng*, to be the first person singular nominative suffix. It has to be concluded that Threlkeld was mistaken in his understanding that M'Gill was telling him that *Bira* [or *Birru* or *Birri*] was a bird instead of his presentation as a mythical handsome young man with a Christian persona who imagined he could rise [fly] to heaven [the sky] - like an eaglehawk. \ Jack Larrigo, 1992, as told to Gerhardt Laves ca.1929, 'The Raising of *Birrugan* and His Ascent to The Sky', p.55 in Anon., 1992, '*Gumbaynggir Yuludarra* (*Gumbaynggir* Dreamings) Volume 1', The Stories of Uncle Harry Buchanan translated and edited by *Gumbaynggir Language and Culture Group*, [now *Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative*], Nambucca Heads, also p.33 in Volume 1 English Edition 1992. Only Volume 1 was produced, but more have been planned by *Muurrbay* under a new title; Amanda Lissarrague, 2006, 'A Salvage Grammar and Wordlist of the Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie [HRLM]', *Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative*, Nambucca Heads, bira p.133, ban [as pan] p.130; L.E. Threlkeld, 1827, 'Specimens of a Dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales; Being the First Attempt to Form Their Speech into a Written Language', "Monitor Office", Sydney and republished Appendix G pp.131-48 of Part IV (The Appendix, with separate pagination) in Fraser 1892b 'An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal'; L.E. Threlkeld, 1850, (continued...)

The relevance of *Biraban's* story to this thesis is that the coastal country of his People bordered that of the People belonging to the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and that (rightly or wrongly) Language borders are commonly used to determine Country. His language, which was spoken by the people around Lake Macquarie and taught to Threlkeld with some influence from *Biraban's* time at Port Macquarie, was his parents' Broken Bay language dubbed by Capell as *Guringai*.²² Most recently, this has been corroborated by Jim Wafer with Amanda Lissarrague, who include Threlkeld's *Karree* (Capell's '*Guringai*') as their '*Karikal*' with Threlkeld's 'Hunter River- Lake Macquarie Language'.²³

County Northumberland Aborigines

Readers should be cognisant that Newcastle had attracted Aborigines from a range of local groups who exploited the cargo brought by the white occupiers - as was normal for centres of settlement in colonised territories around the world. Aborigines from the ranges would come across and visit settlers such as on the mission at Lake Macquarie.²⁴ Threlkeld studied and wrote specifically about the language of Aborigines from Newcastle and Tuggerah Lakes who visited his mission station, but never provided a native name to identify the language or the people speaking it - which was normal until more missionaries arrived in the colony and, like Ridley, began to consider languages of Aborigines from over the Great Dividing Range (Chapter 12/NW) who still practised their culture in the interior.²⁵

²¹(...continued)

'A Key to the Structure of the Aboriginal Language; Being an Analysis of the Particles Used as Affixes, to Form the Various Modifications of the Verbs; Shewing [sic] the Essential Powers, Abstract Roots, and Other Peculiarities of the Language Spoken by the Aborigines in the Vicinity of Hunter River, Lake Macquarie Etc., New South Wales: Together with Comparisons of Polynesian and Other Dialects', for Presentation at The Royal National Exhibition, London 1851, Kemp and Fairfax, Lower George Street (Sydney); L.E. Threlkeld, 1834 'An Australian Grammar' p.91. Fraser 1892b is discussed later in this chapter with the term he coined, 'Awabakal'. Example of reference with bird 'voice' characteristics in a convenient presentation: Graham Pizzey, 1980, 'A Field Guide to the Birds of Australia', William Collins, Sydney, Falconiformes order pp.76-90, Emus p.21.

²² In *Biraban's* sentences recorded by Threlkeld there are several references to Port Macquarie in *Biripi* country (and *Biraban* may have used common or borrowed word terms which were recorded by Threlkeld). I am indebted to my colleague Jeremy Steele for first pointing out how Fraser had mistranscribed Threlkeld's work to change Port Macquarie to Lake Macquarie.

²³ Whereas the term '*kuri*' ('*guri*') was the common noun for 'man', the term '*Karree*' ('*Gari*' and many more spellings) was the location on the southern Arms of Broken Bay [present day Pittwater and Cowan Water], hence *Gari'gal* is recognisable as a locality Clan name. \ Jim Wafer & Amanda Lissarrague, 2008, Chapter 6: 'Hunter-Hastings Languages' pp.158-93 in 'A Handbook of Aboriginal Languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory', Murrumbidgee Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative, Nambucca Heads.

²⁴ Visits from the ranges to Tuggerah Lakes of the *Darkiñung* Aborigine *Boni* are discussed in Chapter 2, and to Lake Macquarie of *Wallatu*, the composer, are mentioned below.

²⁵ The Aboriginal boy John M'Gill had been taken in to the Sydney settlement and Christianised when too young to have acquired his own culture, so that he may not have been able to provide some of the material
(continued...)

For present day knowledge, studies are dependent on recovering what is available from records of prophesising missionaries and of vain scholars educated in Great Britain, or of practical persons working away from towns in Aboriginal country. The present day descendants, whose culture disappeared in the first settled areas which are the topic of this thesis, are dependent on such studies.

In 1831 Threlkeld moved from the Aboriginal Reserve at the eastern ocean side of Lake Macquarie, 'Bahtahbah' mission (near present day Belmont not present day Buttaba), to a commercial property of his own at the western inland side (near present day Toronto), which he named 'Ebenezer' mission, i.e. taking the mission to Aborigines with him.²⁶ While David Roberts has outlined an 'inherently political' nature to Threlkeld's behaviour, I consider that there was a commercial nature stemming from his younger days as a tradesman, theatre performer and businessman.²⁷ Threlkeld was not so philosophical as to empathise with the Aborigines' cultural needs and his mission foundered.²⁸ Although he abandoned Lake Macquarie to live in Sydney in 1841, deserting the isolated *Biraban* who died soon after, Threlkeld continued to mine coal at Toronto until receivers sold the property in 1844 when he retired to work for a mission to seamen, setting up the Mariners' Church (and writing his memoirs).²⁹

²⁵(...continued)

sought as Threlkeld's informant 'Biraban'. For example, '*Biraban's Dream*' was Biblical rather than Aboriginal. That would not have mattered to Threlkeld who dealt with Aborigines in a white man's world, such as involvement in legal court cases. It was not until later in the nineteenth century that settlers sought to acquire Aboriginal terms to encompass languages, and commonly a location term would be given as for *Gari* (*Karree*) in text above. To separate his study from other languages, Threlkeld used district qualifications in English such as language of County Northumberland and language of Hunter River-Lake Macquarie.

²⁶ Giving the mission at his coal resource the name 'Ebenezer' was not merely deference to influential settlers at the Ebenezer on the Hawkesbury River. It was popular for missions to heathen people to be named for Samuel's monument, 'Ebenezer', celebrating a victory against Philistines by Israelites. (I have found examples of jumbled history due to such repetitive naming using popular terms.) \ Maxwells Miller and John Hayes, 2006 (2nd edn), 'A History of Ancient Israel and Judah', SCM Press, London, p.120, p.135.

²⁷ David Andrew Roberts, 2008, ' "Language to Save the Innocent": Reverend L. Threlkeld's Linguistic Mission', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 94(2): 107-25; Niel Gunson, 1967, 'Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward (1788-1859)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.2, University of Melbourne Press, Melbourne, pp.528-530.

²⁸ When Threlkeld met the vivacious wife of Van Dieman's Land Governor (Sir John Franklin), travelling from Sydney by boat on 27 May 1839, he confided to her that although at first he had 160 blacks, he now had only one living with him [*Biraban?*], although 30 came [for the handouts?]. Lady Jane was far more adventurous than Threlkeld, whom at 50yo she saw as a 'dingy', 'plain' old man. Yet he (b.1788) was scarcely older than she (b.1791). \ Penny Russell, 2002, transcription in 'Excursion to the Hunter River and Port Stephens', Chapter 9, pp.126-53, in 'This Errant Lady - Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839', National Library of Australia, Canberra, p.129.

²⁹ Jonathan Dixon, 1949, 'The Ebenezer Coal Works', *Journal of the Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society*, vol.3(ns) (10): 145-47; Gunson 1967 'Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward' ADB; Gunson 1974 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld'.

Although no record has been discovered by which Threlkeld had recorded a native term (other than location *Karree* as above) to identify the Aborigines or their language, he did designate County Northumberland as a term in English: e.g. Prayers written by The Venerable W.G. Broughton ‘ - - - intended for the introduction of publick worship amongst the Aborigines of Australia’ were ‘Translated Into the Northumberland Dialect by L.E. Threlkeld 1834’.³⁰ Aboriginal language names for these people studied by Threlkeld were later noted by a practical man, Robert Mathews as below.

The Tyrannous Teacher

The recorded names from ‘Aboriginal’ terms which are in common use today were contrived by an immigrant Scotsman thirty years after Threlkeld's death in 1859: Edinburgh University educated John Fraser born 1834, who from 1861 was employed as a teacher at the Presbyterian college ‘Sauchie House’ in Maitland.³¹ His profession made him an accomplished reviewer. While at Maitland, Fraser wrote an essay on ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ [pp.1-41], introducing them as Kushites from the black races of the Biblical Era and continuing with such comparisons through the article - normal for scholars of that period who were not familiar with Aborigines, becoming recognised internationally as an expert when it was published as a *Memoire Couronné* for the *Institution Ethnographique*. Although it was not read before the society Fraser was given a large £25 Prize by the Royal Society of New South Wales, the first awarded. When Mr Fraser then joined the society the essay was placed in the 1882 volume of the Royal Society's journal printed by the New South Wales Government Printer in 1883 [pp.193-233, but with uncorrected cross references to pp.1-41 of earlier print run].³² Having retired to Randwick, now styling himself as Dr Fraser, he produced an expanded version published by the government printer as a comprehensive book ‘Written at the request of the New South Wales Commission for the World's Columbian Exposition

³⁰ Threlkeld was demonstrating that there was no term for the Aboriginal Language group's territory. However, the colonial local government areas were not related to Aboriginal People's Country - other than Bowen's County of Cook covering *Darkiñung* Country (Chapter 2). Despite this, Threlkeld was nominating country to the coast from the Hawkesbury where he referred to ‘my black teacher’ as given earlier this chapter. \ Ms in the Mitchell Library catalogued as Broughton W.G. and Threlkeld, L.E., 1834, ‘A Selection of Prayers for the Aborigines of Australia’, call. ML A1446, microfilm reel CY 2214, frames 76-91.

³¹ Gunson 1974 ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’ endnote 1 (for p.1), p.30.

³² Theories of migrations out of Africa have received the scientific imprimatur of modern geographers (Preamble). Fraser's essay is not mentioned in the Proceedings of the New South Wales society. In sequencing Fraser's various submissions before printing, time must be allowed for sailing ship mail to arrive when sent to Europe from New South Wales. (Later, when long standing society member Robert Mathews was awarded the same prize in 1894, he was perversely criticised because a part of his material had been shared with the breakaway colony of Victoria, footnoted in Chapter 6.) \ John Fraser, 1882a, ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ (41pp.), *Memoire Couronné* for the *Institution Ethnographique*, *Association Internationale des Hommes de Science*; John Fraser, 1882b, ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ (41pp.), *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 16: 193-233. [Same title as 1892a]

at Chicago'.³³ New South Wales represented all the Australian colonies at this exposition, and a number of exhibits about Aborigines have had an impact on the topics of this thesis.³⁴

Fraser did not claim a personal relationship with Aborigines, acknowledging that original information came from [white] 'friends'.³⁵ Material referred to in this thesis about what Fraser called the '*Gringai* tribe' was attributed to James W. Boydell born 1843, who was second son of Charles Boydell of 'Camyr Allyn' Gresford, north of Maitland on the Allyn River, a tributary of the Paterson River.³⁶ Fraser's material about the '*Kamilaroi* tribe' was attributed to Charles Naseby born 1812, who had retired to Maitland. Naseby had arrived 1831 as a convict and settled on the upper reaches of the Castlereagh River where the town of Binnaway was to develop. Like the Macquarie (putative *Wiradjuri*-language country), the Castlereagh arises further west on the south side of the Warrumbungle Range, joining the Macquarie just before entering the Darling River together, downstream of the Namoi (putative *Kamilaroi*-language country), which is the catchment on the north side of the Warrumbungle Range.³⁷

I have read Fraser's works with great voraciousness without finding much veraciousness, instead finding

³³ John Fraser, 1892a, 'The Aborigines of New South Wales' (102pp. plus illustrations), Government Printer, Sydney. [Same title as 1882b]

³⁴ My study of the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago 1892 is not part of this thesis. I have some further personal detail from Anne O'Sullivan, a granddaughter of Joseph Frederick McGuinness, a member of the government staff there, subsequently Secretary to Sir William Lyon, Premier of NSW and later Minister of Home Affairs in the new Australian federal government.

³⁵ Other than from the two named local residents as follows, Fraser's article was a review of written works such as by William Ridley and Alfred Howitt. He did include: 'statements made to me personally by the blacks with whom I have conversed', letting the readers know that he had seen Aborigines, perhaps in the streets of Maitland town. Yet, in 1892 he was to publish, as cited below, that 'The indigenes - - are gone long ago'. \ John Fraser, 1882b, 'The Aborigines of New South Wales', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 16: 193-233, p.199.

³⁶ The Boydell family had a close relationship with the local Aborigines, with records lodged at the Mitchell Library, including a journal which I have consulted. \ James Boydell birth registration NSW BDM Index, Vol.2025 27A/1843; Charles Boydell, 'Journal, 1830-1835', Mitchell Library ms A 2014, microfilm CY 1496.

³⁷ Naseby's testimony about *Kamilaroi* people is suspicious, hence trust in Fraser must be qualified, as well as the reliance upon Naseby by Alfred Howitt (Chapter 12/NW). It is very peculiar that Naseby's home was on the Castlereagh where the first identification of the Aboriginal people was by William Ridley: 'On the Castlereagh they speak Wirathere [Wiradjuri]' in comparison 'Kamilaroi is spoken all over the Liverpool Plains along the Peel and Namoi - -'. Ridley confirmed 'Wiradhuri' on the Castlereagh in the 2nd edition of his book. Consideration of these western flowing river catchments is not part of this thesis, other than particular consideration of their watershed country bordering the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the northwest, Chapter 12/NW. \ William Ridley, 1853 publ. 1856, 'Kamilaroi Tribe of the Australians and Their Dialect, in a Letter to Dr Hodgkin [Nov.3, 1853]', *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, 4: 285-93, p.293; William Ridley, 1875 (2nd edn), 'Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages - with Comparative Tables of Words from Twenty Australian Languages [etc]', New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, p.119.

Fraser was prone to assertions not necessarily apparent from the original authors of articles which he presented to the scholarly-educated classes.³⁸ Over two years 1891-92 during his retirement Fraser read, to the Royal Society in Sydney with his own commentary, some Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa translated by Rev. G. Pratt in 1867.³⁹ For Pratt's Story of Creation, Fraser's impressive Introduction was less worldly but much more wordy, followed by a commentary twice as long incorporating Fraser's opinions on Aboriginal culture.⁴⁰ At the same time, he could not resist adding his own opinions to Threlkeld's information too.

Already in 1890 Fraser, when living in Sydney, had presented a review of publications about Aboriginal languages with 'Some remarks on the Australian Languages' in which he remarked that 'The earliest of individual efforts to deal with any single language of the Australian group was made by the Rev. L.E. Threlkeld', and related how he (Fraser) had discovered manuscripts by Threlkeld and that:

- - - fruits of Mr Threlkeld's labours - -, will shortly be published by the Government Printing Office, Sydney. The volume will be the most important that has yet appeared on an Australian language. But it deals with only one dialect, and, for the purposes of comparative grammar, more languages than one are required.⁴¹

Threlkeld's pioneering work did not escape Fraser's personal convictions when he re-presented it in his 1892 new book, which included some material from Fraser's 1882 article cited above. Gunson considered that he edited Threlkeld's writings to conform with his (Fraser's) linguistic theories.⁴² The book was printed by the New South Wales government in vast numbers and taken to the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago 1892 where it was distributed to the delegates from all around the world. As he did

³⁸ A reaction to John Fraser - whom I perceive reviewing written work locked away from reality in the ivory tower of his classical knowledge being taught to rich squatters' sons - is mentioned later in this chapter as given by a contemporary, J.F. Mann, with reference to the Royal Society £25 Prize.

³⁹ John Fraser, 1891,92 [Pratt, 1867], 'Some Folk-songs and Myths from Samoa. Translated by the Rev. G. Pratt, with introductions and notes by John Fraser LL.D.' Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, vols 25,26 (reading of the first part July 1891, last part November 1892).

⁴⁰ Scotsman Fraser appears never to have had touch with practical reality regarding Aborigines after he arrived in Australia, even while working in Maitland, and certainly not from living at Randwick. He may have been relying on impressions from, and impressing, English-born Alfred Howitt in Victoria. Although its examination pertains to the weight one should place on Fraser's written legacy, I have left the discussion of this commentary to Chapter 12/NW. \ Fraser 1891 [Pratt, 1867], 'Myths from Samoa', journal vol.25, Part XXX being pp.261-86.

⁴¹ In fact, Fraser included in the 1892b volume articles from other authors giving five other different languages in addition to the collected works which Threlkeld had written for publication. \ John Fraser, 1890, 'Some Remarks on the Australian Languages', Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 24: 231-53.

⁴² Fraser 1892b 'An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal'; Gunson 1974 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld' endnote 1 (for p.1), p.30.

for Pratt's translations as above, Fraser included his own commentary, as well as editing Threlkeld's material, which I have compared with the original works published by Threlkeld. Ever since the expo, Fraser's hypotheses have affected concepts for Aboriginal languages and their boundaries on the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

What modern readers and writers have overlooked, is that Fraser had not intended his book to be used for reconstruction the way it has been. Fraser was one of those amongst a society who imagine that nobody would ever scrutinise their work, so that they become inviolate, as a sort of deity within their own lifetime. He defined along the coast with Threlkeld's 'sphere of labour' to be within the Sydney District, perhaps justifiably since his works were intended to be related to whole world geography. With no more school children to instruct at Maitland, Fraser called himself Doctor and began to instruct the world instead. At exactly the same time as Robert Mathews was talking with the Aborigines living at their camps (Chapter 6), Fraser in 1892 was telling the world about a race he decided was virtually extinct:

The indigenes of the Sydney district are gone long ago, and some of the inland [interior] tribes are represented now by only a few families of wanderers. They have decayed and are decaying in spite of the fostering care of our Colonial Governments.

We have now come to know that this dialect (which I have called the Awabakal) was essentially the same as that spoken by the sub-tribes occupying the land where Sydney now stands, and that they all formed parts of one great tribe, the Kûriggai.⁴³

'Awaba' was Old Jackey's Place

Most importantly, in his 1892b Introduction of sixty four pages, within a biography of Threlkeld, Fraser wrote (*inter alia*): '- - - of Mr. Threlkeld's labours in the dialect **which I have called the "Awabakal"**' [p.xv], [my emphasis]. Sure enough, in the list of 'Geographical Names' p.50 appears: 'Awaba, Lake Macquarie; the word means "a plain surface" '. It is a blatant addition deceptively attributed to Threlkeld but inserted into Fraser's edition without providing an explanation. In Threlkeld's 1834 original edition this is a list of 'Names of Common Places' p.82, where there is nil entry of the term, yet for Lake

⁴³ My comments are unnecessary - any comment is superfluous in the present day with an increasing awareness of an Aboriginal presence. [However, present day understanding is different to what it was in Fraser's society.] Fraser otherwise used the spelling '*Kuringgai*'. To be fair to Fraser, he had been influenced by the Preface of Threlkeld's 1857 work written in Sydney: (*inter alia*) 'on December 31, 1841, the (Lake Macquarie) mission ceased - - solely from the sad fact that the aborigines themselves had then become almost extinct - - -. The extinction of the aborigines is still progressing throughout these colonies. The last man of the tribe which formerly occupied the site of Sydney may be seen sitting (beside) - - the South Head Road - -'. \ Fraser 1892b 'An Australian Language as Spoken by the Awabakal' Fraser's Preface p.v; L.E. Threlkeld, 1857 [revised from 1831], 'The Gospel by St. Luke Translated into the Language of the Aborigines Located in the Vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, [etc]', ms published by Fraser 1892b as 'The Gospel by St. Luke' pp.121-94 in 'An Australian Language as Spoken by the Awabakal', Threlkeld's Preface pp.125-27.

Macquarie Threlkeld recorded a different term with a different meaning, *Nik-kin-ba*, 'the place [-ba] of coals [*nik-kin*]: The whole lake, twenty-one miles long by eight'. Fraser's book has been commonly thought to have been as written by Threlkeld, subsequently the term *Awabakal* has acquired currency of Threlkeld's original records. The outcome of this misrepresentation is that *Awabakal* is thought to be an Aboriginal Language, to be an Aboriginal People, as well as to be Aboriginal Country now in dispute, with present day claims that the *Darkiñung* people from Wollombi of this thesis were *Awabakal*. Consequently I have addressed the question as to the origin of the term as follows.

Despite his use in 1892b with unattributed source, Fraser had not made up the term *Awaba*, presumptively and presumptuously of Aboriginal origin, because the word was known to W.T. Proctor who used it in 1841 on a sketch drawn for Threlkeld himself to do with his 'Ebenezer' colliery, where Proctor printed: 'Awaba or Lake Macquarie'.⁴⁴ More specifically, before Fraser published it in 1892, the term 'Awaba' was in use by the colonial authorities: it was applied from 1887 to a school located at 'Inglewood' and for a railway platform where the present day *Awaba* village developed.⁴⁵

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate its interpretation, but I propose that if *Awaba* was a location, it was at Lake Macquarie in the area surrounding present day *Awaba* Bay (a cove between Boughton Point and Marmong Point) where Clouten mentioned it in early historical contexts.⁴⁶ In further support of this proposal, Fraser's own description as a plain surface would not apply to the 1887 hilly location, but could apply to the sheltered northwestern corner of Lake Macquarie at the estuary of Cackle

⁴⁴ W.T. Proctor, 1841, W. Baker Lith' King Street east (Sydney). 'Plan accompanying the Rev^d M^r Threlkeld's appⁿ of Aug^r 1841 to the Governor to be allowed to purchase 10ac of land without competition to form a depot in the exportation of Coals - - -'. My copy from NSW State Archives, Sketch Book (SB) 4, Folio (FOI) 84, microfilm reel 2779. Partially reproduced in Gunson 1974 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld' p.151.

⁴⁵ Department of Education School history: The school at Inglewood was named *Awaba* from August 1888 to March 1891 when it was renamed *Grenton*, and spent a period sharing with the school at *Mandalong*. The name *Awaba* was reapplied to a school at a new site from June 1891. Fraser had been a teacher at an elite school in a big town - he would have been unlikely to have followed the progress of these tiny public schools in out of the way rural locations with small farmers and woodsmen, so *Awaba* must have been a term of public awareness. \ Anon., 1998 5th edn, 'Government Schools of New South Wales 1848-1998: 150 Years', Open Training and Education Network (OTEN), New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Sydney, 1st edn published 1977; Doug Saxon, 1988, 'Pit Props and Sleepers - The story of *Awaba*', *Awaba* Public School Parents and Citizens Association, p.26; Doug Saxon, 1991, 'Bark Hut or Horse to Toronto - *Awaba* School 1891-1991', The *Awaba* School Centenary Committee, p.3.

⁴⁶ Keith H. Clouten, 1967, 'Reid's Mistake - The Story of Lake Macquarie from its Discovery until 1890', Lake Macquarie Shire Council, *Awaba* Bay entries as in Index.

Creek.⁴⁷ That northwestern location is that to which Threlkeld referred as ‘the Five Islands’ near his ‘Ebenezer’ property.⁴⁸ (If ‘*Awaba*’ was a location, it would mean ‘the place (-*ba*) of the “*awa*”’, so that it is the term (*y*)*awa* which would need to be interpreted. It is discussed below meaning ‘through’, or ‘across’, as a suffix in *Wannerawa*, the real tribal / language name of the Aboriginal *Awa-ba* group.) When Threlkeld sent the Colonial Secretary his 1828 ‘return of the Black Natives, he defined the boundaries of the local ‘tribe’ at this place, which Gunson considered was ‘the main Awabakal “tribe” or clan’. I concur that this was probably correct.⁴⁹ Threlkeld reported ‘There is no proper name for a tribe’, defining a local family group: ‘all the persons returned are related to (Old Jackey) - - -’, and gave their ‘usual Place of Resort’ in 1828 as ‘The land bounded (to the South) by Reid's Mistake the entrance to Lake Macquarie, (to the North) by Newcastle & Hunter's River, (to the West) by the five islands on the head of Lake Macquarie 10 miles west of our station. This boundary, about 14 miles N and S by 13 E and W, is considered as their own land.’⁵⁰ With Jackey's family being the actual *Awaba* people, it is evident that ‘Awabakal’ was not the name as modern authors would have us believe of all the Aborigines who spoke a common language, whose common boundary with the people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges is being investigated for this chapter. The term applies to a local group at the *Awaba* location, viz. the *Awaba* Clan or *Awaba'gal* or *Awaba'kal*.

‘Awa-ba’ is a ‘Wanner-awa’ Location

Gunson in 1974 attributed to Professor Stephen Wurm, also at the Australian National University, that: ‘recent linguistic research suggests that the Awabakal had most in common with the Wanarua or the Hunter River tribe.’⁵¹ This was the period when Capell was there too, working with Wurm at ANU as mentioned above. Capell had accessed copies of some of the notebooks of Robert Mathews. Such notebooks, which are the key to the study for this thesis, since being located at the National Library Canberra, are the key to many people's other recent and ongoing research projects too. R.H. Mathews and the notebooks are discussed especially in Chapter 6. Mathews had not been recognised in Australia in his own time, not until Elkin acquired his manuscript papers for Sydney University and recovered some of his

⁴⁷ Initially, it may have been a sheltered smooth-water inlet, hence ‘plain [flat] surface’, such as present day Fennell Bay. This is at L.T. Creek, a local name of which I do not know the significance.

⁴⁸ Threlkeld, 26 November 1834, Letter to F.A. Heley [police Magistrate, Brisbane Water] regarding cattle duffing by the tenant of a neighbouring farm. Transcribed in Gunson 1974 ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’ p.255.

⁴⁹ Gunson 1974 ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’, p.241, endnote 14 p.30.

⁵⁰ There were sixty people counted in this group. Threlkeld noted that : ‘The Tuggerer Beech Tribe - - are occasional visitors, as well as the tribe on the opposite shore [of Lake Macquarie].’ \ Threlkeld, 21 May 1828, Letter to Alexander McLeay [Colonial Secretary] enclosing Return of the Black Natives.

⁵¹ Gunson 1974 ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’, p.3 with endnote 14, p.30.

knowledge. In particular, even though Mathews was at Singleton while Fraser was at Maitland, Fraser had joined with other British-born British-educated men studying Aborigines like laboratory subjects such as two residents of Victoria who had come out as a zoologist, Walter (Baldwin) Spencer, and as a gold digger, Alfred Howitt. Such learned men did not recognise Australian native-born Mathews who actually mingled with Aboriginal people.⁵²

In the situation for this chapter, Mathews had known the missing name for the people to the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges whose language Threlkeld had studied, who Fraser dubbed 'Awabakal' and 'Guringai'. **Mathews had found they were not just 'most in common with the Wanarua', but that they were the Wannarawa** [aka 'Wonnorua']. A link between the real Awa -ba and the broad group Wanner- awa would be appropriate with Awaba as the place of a local 'clan'. However, it was not until 1898 - well after Fraser's misleading book had been distributed to the world, that Mathews named those Aboriginal people in a publication, when for a paper published in America he used both the terms *Wannarawa* and *Wannungine* within a larger grouping mapped with 'approximate position' on the coastal side of the Great Dividing Range. He wrote that: 'It is outside the purpose of this paper to define the areas occupied by the people speaking the different dialects - - -'.⁵³

Mathews was a practical man, retaining exercise books of notes to record what he found out in the field before drafting his publications. It was in Mathews's notebooks that the country of the coastal *Wannungine* or *Wannarawa* was described, and hence their border with the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people of this chapter. Although the field notes are undated, from his diaries which I have examined it appears that his contacts in relation to the topics of this thesis were while he was at Singleton and soon after he moved residence from there to Parramatta in 1889. Entries for this location to the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges are in four notebooks.⁵⁴ The entries show attempts to write oral

⁵² The impacts of this situation are detailed and discussed in Chapter 6 about R.H. Mathews. It is apparent that John Fraser had connived in their conspiracy to suppress Mathews's first hand findings, and to screen Mathews's knowledge from the public gaze.

⁵³ By this time Mathews had become sensitive to the efforts by Spencer and his Stirling cronies in the British Empire to suffocate him (as discussed in Chapter 6). \ R.H. Mathews, 1898, 'Initiation Ceremonies of the Native Tribes of Australia' (short title 'Initiation Ceremonies of Australian Tribes'), Proceedings of The American Philosophical Society vol.37, no.157, 54-73 +Pl.V.

⁵⁴ The new 'titles' of Mathews's notebooks do not necessarily reflect contents, being added for library cataloguing. My transcriptions of note extracts are:

(1) in the field book, new library catalogue "Field notebook on Aboriginal rock paintings and carvings": front cover 'Wadding - Paterson to Barrington'; front cover 'Gringgai [altered to] Gooringgai - Paterson'; p.36 from back 'Warrimee - language of Pt Stephens & Newcastle, Lake Macquarie'; p.36 from back 'Wannungine, language Lake Macquarie to Lane Cove';

(2) in the note book, new library catalogue "Darkinoong and Wiradjuri": p.8 'Warrimee Language- Morpeth to

(continued...)

communications of Aboriginal words. As extracted here, *Waddung* or *Wattin*, *Wattung* and *Gadang* are interpreted to refer to those who are now regarded as the *Kattung*-speaking (aka *Kattang*) peoples, which as a language includes the *Warrimee* [*Worimi*] peoples whom had been found north of the Hunter River, from the Port Stephens catchment and from the northern tributaries of the lower Hunter River. The southeastern border of the *Kattung*-language people from north of the flood plain formed the northeastern border for the people of this thesis south of the Hunter River.^{55, 56}

Applying *G'ringai* from the *Kattung* for Terminology of a Disappeared Race

By the time Mathews was interviewing survivors, many of these people had come in to Newcastle, hence the entries for Newcastle together with Lake Macquarie (transcribed in footnote). Threlkeld had originally distinguished the Port Stephens people from the Newcastle / Lake Macquarie people. The *Gooringai* of Mathews speaking the *Kattung* language were Boydell's *Gringai* group at 'Camyr Allyn' (as

⁵⁴(...continued)

Singleton, *Gaday*' (another entry p.9: 'Gadang'); p.8 'Port Stephens to Newcastle - Molo'; p.89 'Patterson talk - Mrs Albert, *Worimi*?';

(3) in the note book, new library catalogue "Bora of the Gooringai Tribes": p.1 'Wattung is spoken as far as the Manning River; p.59 'Warrimee, language of Newcastle, Port Stephens, Lake Macquarie'; p.59 'Wannungine, language from L.Macquarie to Lane Cove'; p.59 'Wattin or Urg, language Hunter to Manning'; p.59 'Wannerawa, language of Brisbane Water towards Wollombi'; back cover 'Wannerawa - Brisbane Water';

(4) in the note book, new library catalogue "Initiation Ceremonies - General": p.18 Wannungine language Lake Macquarie to Lane Cove; p.18 Gringgai [elsewhere noted as Gooringai at Allyn River - branch of Paterson River, Gresford area, and at Paterson]; p.18 Port Stephens Molong [elsewhere Mathews writes Molo]; p.18 'Warrimee, language of Pt Stephens & Newcastle & Lake Macquarie; Wannungine language Lake Macquarie to Lane Cove'; p.80 Wannungine, language Lake Macquarie to Lane Cove'; p.80 Molong - language Port Stephens
\\ Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Field Book No.5 labelled on cover 'Rock Pictures of the Aborigines', unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: '4 field notebooks on Aboriginal Rock Paintings and Carvings', MS 8006/ Series 3/ Folder 3/ Field Book No.5; Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook book '7', unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: 'Darkinoong and Wiradjuri', MS 8006/ Series 3/ Folder 7; Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook book '3', unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: 'Bora of the Gooringai tribes', MS 8006/ Series 3/ Folder 8; Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook (red torn cover), unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: 'Initiation Ceremonies - General', MS 8006/ Series 3/ Folder 11.

⁵⁵ An example of a close cultural relationship of the *Kattung* (including *Gringai*) on the northeast with the *Darkiñung* and *Wannungine* south of the Hunter River is shown by ceremonial and ritual activity at Maitland mentioned in Chapter 12/NW in relationship to the *Geawegal* and the *Darkiñung*. Historical records are littered with examples of Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges coming from Maitland - on the south side of the Hunter floodplain, such as Joe *Goobra*, the last *Darkiñung* fullblood man to have been initiated. \\ Joseph *Goobra*, NSW Death Certificate, registration 3058/1897.

⁵⁶ Due to space limitations for this thesis, my analysis of the floodplain limits for the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges bordering the *Kattung*-speaking people across the lower Hunter River has been removed from this chapter. (In that study I had welcome assistance from staff of The Hunter Valley Research Foundation and Chas Keys.) *Kattung* language people include the *Worimi* of whom Threlkeld wrote as the 'natives of Port Stephen' cited at the beginning of this chapter, and the *Biripi* from whom *Biraban* seems to have taken his initiation name at Port Macquarie, as above. However, Amanda Lissarrague is onto this task, as reported 2006: 'beginning research on *Kattang/Gadhung* in December 2004'. \\ 'Galiinga', 2006, newsletter of Muurrbay Language & Culture Co-op, Nambucca Heads, issue No.1, July 2006, p.8.

above for Fraser's contact). The *Gringai* language was noted [by a member of Boydell Family household] as 'Vocabulary of the Allyn River Blacks' which Wafer & Lissarrague analysed, to come to the inevitable conclusion that it was the language of the *Gringai* (their '*Guringay*').⁵⁷ The affiliation of the 'Gringai' has been clouded by Gordon Bennett, who was influenced by Fraser's and Howitt's books when writing his own treatise of the Aboriginal tribes north of the lower Hunter River. However, when purporting to reproduce the reminiscences of William Scott, who lived at Port Stephens 1844-1873, Bennett gave the people there as 'Gringai tribe' too.⁵⁸

Since Boydell's son was identified by Fraser to be his source (as above), I submit that the term *Gringai* given by Boydell was the inspiration for Fraser to contrive the name 'Kuringgai', 1892, (Capell's 'Guringai', 1970) which Fraser applied for Aborigines who used the noun *kuri* [*guri*] to mean man or mankind. The academic classification of their languages by modern linguists is the Kuri Sub-group of the Yuin-Kuri language Group which applies for the coastal drainage from the Great Dividing Range along the mid southeast coast of Australia.⁵⁹ The origin as '*Goori'nggai*' is shown from the Aborigines at Paterson (i.e. of Boydell's group), in Mathews's notebooks transcribed in the footnote above. Given the dates they cite, Wafer & Lissarrague provide a punitively cynical view for an etymology: 'According to James Kohen (1993), Fraser [i.e. by 1892] invented the name "Kuringgai" using Mathews' Dharug grammar (1901) to add the Dharug possessive case form *-nggai* to the [Awabakal] word *kuri* or "man". [According to Kohen] Fraser evidently intended the name to mean "belonging to the aboriginal men" '. But as an alternative to Kohen's impossible claim [cf 1901 v. 1892], Wafer & Lissarrague also give their own interpretation: 'presumably this is supposed to mean [by Fraser] "the language of the people who say *kuri* to mean man" '. However, Kohen, unlike Mathews, had not recognised the distinction in the Aboriginal language between nouns and pronouns. *Kuri* is a common noun, and according to Fraser - in the same

⁵⁷ [Boydell family, circumstantial, as given], ca.1845, 'Vocabulary of the Allyn river black's language', handwritten notebook with reference to Boydell's Camyr Allyn, Mitchell Library ms Aa 52/1, microfilm reel CY 2355; Wafer, Jim & Amanda Lissarrague, 2008, 'A Handbook of Aboriginal Languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory', Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative, Nambucca Heads, p.165.

⁵⁸ Port Stephens people usually appear in the literature as *Worimi*. This thesis is not addressing any differentiation within *Kattung*-speaking people who may have been known as *Gringai* / *Gooringai*, *Worimi* or other, to the northeast of the *Darkiñung*. For the purposes of this chapter, they are placed on the north side across the floodplain and estuary (delta in some geographies) of the lower Hunter River. \ Gordon Bennett, 1929, 'The Port Stephens Blacks: Recollections of William Scott', "The Chronicle Office", Dungog.

⁵⁹ This topic is discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the place of *Dharug*.

1892 publication - its genitive/possessive case is '*kuri-ko-ba*'.⁶⁰ Kohen 1993b (as above) has confused nouns and pronouns when making his assumption, actually misrepresenting Mathews whose words are detailed by himself in Kohen 1993a.⁶¹

The term is *Wannungine* which Mathews gives as the Language or Tribal term for Threlkeld's group, occupying along the coast southward from Hunter River estuary to what Mathews noted as 'Lane Cove', but not occupying to the north shore of Port Jackson as discussed above. For a consummate surveyor as he was, Mathews used the term 'Lane Cove' to delineate the southern perimeter of the Broken Bay catchment, where merchants used a road to Lane Cove to take goods from Broken Bay at Pitt Water across country to the Lane Cove River from which cargo could enter Port Jackson upstream without attracting fees that had been placed on vessels arriving from the ocean. Part of this Lane Cove Road is in use still, or largely replaced by Mona Vale Road, along the watershed ridge of the Arms of Broken Bay. For a surveyor, the Lane Cove Trigonometrical Station was near the top of the Broken Bay catchment above Cowan Water (present day suburb Gordon⁶²). This affected the 1970 misplacement of Capell's 'Guringai' discussed above. Capell had made use of copies of Mathews's notebooks and likely would have seen the entry that the *Wannungine* language, which he wanted to name 'Guringai', went to Lane Cove (as footnoted above). He was no geographer or surveyor, and his reading of Mathews's notes probably caused the error in his 1970 'initial report' whereby Capell used Lane Cove River waterway to represent a geographically unrealistic boundary instead of the watershed ridge. This misunderstanding of Mathews's knowledge has caused echoing repercussions with misrepresentations by modern scholars who

⁶⁰ Fraser did not have records of *Dharug* language grammar, and had published that they were 'gone long ago' as cited above. I submit that he took the term '*-nggai*' (re-expressed in his preface given above as '*-ġgai*') from the *Kattung* language of the *Gringai / Gooringgai*. \ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 'Handbook of Aboriginal Languages' p.160, p.173; Fraser 1892b 'An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal', Threlkeld's Grammar with declensions p.16.

⁶¹ The records on which Kohen relies do not support him. Taking the possessive case from Kohen's own publications of Mathews's *Dharug* grammar on which he relies, if the common noun *kuri* was the subject [the possessor], the term would be '*kuri-gu*', and if the object (as in men belonging) would be '*kuri-bi*'. [Fraser seems to have published a united double suffix '*-ko-ba*' equivalent to Kohen meaning '*koori-gu-bi*' [where ko=gu, ba=bi].] Kohen published '*-nunggai*' for pronouns as the subject suffix from which he makes his claim about Fraser's term '*-nggai*' for common nouns. \ Although Kohen has published this grammar multiple times, 1993a is the most accessible, although the 1990 2nd edn booklet /pamphlet is still in print at the historical society (2010): Jim Kohen, 1993a [3rd edn], 'A Dictionary of the Dharug Language - The Inland Dialect', Chapter 9 pp.147-60 in Eugene Stockton (ed.), 1993, 'Blue Mountains Dreaming - The Aboriginal Heritage', Three Sisters Productions, Winmalee, p.149; James Leslie ('Jim') Kohen, 1993b, 'The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region', Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), p.14.

⁶² As part of a Local History study, in 1995 I reviewed on the ground every historic Trigonometrical Station in the Ku-ring-gai local government council area, using details supplied by the Office of the Surveyor General of NSW Lands Department to which I reported. Further, before Mathews wrote about it, the Lane Cove Post Office had been opened in 1860 at what became present day Gordon town centre.

ignore history, thinking the nineteenth century is the twentyfirst century.⁶³ The surveyor Mathews meant the watershed - Capell mistakenly chose the waterway for his interim article, expecting to be more definitive for 'the monograph that is intended to follow' that would amend 'this initial report' which he put out in 1970 to claim precedence for his 'Fresh Discoveries'.⁶⁴

The People of Our Place (Our Land)

Of particular importance is that Mathews had identified the term *Wannerawa*, although he applied it to the southern part of the identified *Wannungine* area, viz. to Capell's 'Guringai' location (i.e. around Broken Bay). Knowing that Threlkeld sixty years earlier had found the same language along the coast from Broken Bay to Hunter River as discussed earlier in this chapter, it is safe to recognise that the terms *Wannerawa* and *Wannungine* applied to the same people, with a similar word stem *wannar* or *wannuñ*.⁶⁵ However, Wafer & Lissarrague attempted to separate the terms, despite many other language names having no known translation. Their writing about relationships between the neighbouring Aboriginal groups being studied in this thesis is quite confused, whereby in discussing the Wollombi people from the ranges with the coastal people as at Brisbane Water they accused Mathews of conflating, fusing the two groups. That is not possible because he distinguished them with separate names.⁶⁶ However, taking advantage of Wafer's & Lissarrague's deliberations, somewhat corrected with further examination of the original manuscript data as in following footnote, the best fit is to recognise the term *Wannungine* for the people of the place, who occupied along the coast from the estuary of the Hunter River to the estuary of the Hawkesbury River, viz. Broken Bay and its Arms.⁶⁷ Perhaps the Aborigines had been trying to tell

⁶³ For example, Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 'Handbook of Aboriginal Languages' p.163 in their attempted insult of Mathews about what they mistakenly thought was his lack of geographical and topographical understanding.

⁶⁴ Arthur Capell, 1970, 'Aboriginal Languages in the South Central Coast, New South Wales: Fresh Discoveries' [an 'initial Report', p.26, for 'Monograph intended to follow', p.24], *Oceania*, 41 (1): 20-27. The monograph to follow was published 1979.

⁶⁵ I see '*Wanna-gine*' could have been the answer given for who are the people at this place (i.e. here: Lake Macquarie / Hunter River) while '*Wanna-awa*' as the answer to mean those a further walk away (i.e. there: Tuggerah Lake / Broken Bay).

⁶⁶ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 'Handbook of Aboriginal Languages' p.163.

⁶⁷ My interpretation is given in text. This footnote analyses the authors' interpretation. They gave the term as *wanang* [*wannuñ*] to be the query 'which place?', as for the word *wonnung*, *wonnen* (Threlkeld, copied by Hale), *wanna* (Mann)*, *Wannung-garri-bee* (Larmer) collected by Lissarrague. From Lissarrague's study they found no other meaning for *wanarr* [*wannar*] but attributed the suffix *-uwa* [*-awa*] to mean a grammatical perlativ. That is from the obsolete word 'perlustrate' which meant 'to travel through and to survey [to know] thoroughly'. The term was given by her as a prefix *uwa-* to be 'move' or 'walk', as for the word *uwooliko* (Threlkeld), *walla* (Mann) collected by Lissarrague. In this context, Threlkeld's words are those at Lake Macquarie (called 'Awa-ba-kal' by Fraser), Larmer's and Mann's are those of Broken Bay and Brisbane Water (Threlkeld's *Karree* called 'Guringai' by Capell).

(continued...)

Mathews that they were ‘people of the place (our land)’. Although his sources are often obscure, Haslam reported that it meant ‘people of the hills and plains’, a journalist’s way of writing the same thing.⁶⁸ I do not disregard that that may have been all these Aborigines said to identify themselves as the People of a Language group from particular Country, in comparison to saying that they were from a localised place as recorded by First Fleet diarists for the men from the south shore locality of Port Jackson: *cadi’gal*. The story of a Broken Bay man, *Bungaree*, that when at Port Jackson he flung his arm to the north to identify his country and people, it was not with a proper noun such as ‘We are *Wannungine*’, but with an exclamation interpreted as ‘my people, my land’.⁶⁹ The concept is discussed further in Chapter 10/SE, about Europeans’ compulsion to apply a name for a language:- people called English speak a language called English and come from a land called England.

⁶⁷(...continued)

To mean ‘where’, or ‘place’, the term *won* was used at Lake Macquarie, while at Brisbane Water for ‘where are you going?’ Aborigines used the expression *wanderinga-bee* [noted by Larmer] *wanderin-be* [from handwriting noted by Mann, but in typescript mistranscribed as *wandenu-be*], where it is the spoken sound *-bee*, *-be* or *-by* missed by Lissarrague which represents the query. In his final discussion of this language, Capell re-analysed the *-ga-* [as here for Larmer], or *-gay-*, to be the marker representing the place of origin for an action, a location in time. [This thesis is not the place to examine what Capell meant by using ‘*Guringgay*’ as his final view for Threlkeld’s ‘*Karree*’ language.] *Lissarrague had not recognised that what was noted by Mann as ‘where is money’ was a universal expression, ‘wanna money’, used by an Aborigine in English, - Larmer had noted that the same people called money *burri*. \\ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ p.163, p.173; Lissarrague 2006, ‘Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie’ p.140, p.141; William Little, H.W. Fowler and J.Coulson, revised with addenda by C.T. Onions (ed.), 1959 reprint, ‘The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles’, Oxford University Press, London; Horatio Emmons Hale, 1846, ‘Ethnography and Philology, United States Exploring Expedition 1838-1842’, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia; facsimile edn 1968, The Gregg Press, Ridgewood (New Jersey), [using the Newcastle language Hale had obtained from Threlkeld, as mentioned in Chapter 12/NW] p.492; J.F. Mann ca.1912 [data ca.1842], ‘Aboriginal Names’ with introduction ‘Australian Aborigines - a few notes on their language’, Mitchell Library handwritten ms [and typescript transcription] Am 1/1-2, microfilm reel CY 2355 with mistaken catalogue title ‘Aboriginal names and words of the Cammeray Tribe’ because Mann’s informant was given as Long Dick of the Brisbane Water tribe, son of *Bungaree*, who sometimes resided on the north shore of Port Jackson which had been *Cammeray* country when the settlers arrived; James Larmer, 1832, handwritten copy ‘Larmer’s Native Vocabulary transmitted to the surveyor General 1853’, Mitchell Library mss 7213, microfilm reel CY 4275, plus publication Larmer, Mr. Surveyor, 1898, ‘Native Vocabulary of Miscellaneous New South Wales Objects’ (communicated by permission of the Honourable the Secretary for Lands), Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 32: 223-29, and partially reproduced Larmer, Mr., 1899, ‘Aborigines’ Words and Meanings’, Science of Man vol.2: 146-47; Capell 1979a ‘Grammatical Classification in Australia’ pp.199-200.

⁶⁸ Percy Haslam, unpublished documents, Haslam Files, Auchmuty Library, University of Newcastle, as cited by Lissarrague 2006, ‘Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie’ p.141, reference to Haslam given p.9.

⁶⁹ The transcription from Debenham, ‘These are my People, This is my Land’, cited for *Bungaree* at Port Jackson when speaking to Captain Theddeus Bellinghausen, was used as the title for an education resource book for the region to the north of Sydney. [There was a separate publication for the Hunter region.] \\ Anon., 1991, ‘“These Are My People, This is My Land”, Aboriginal People and Their Culture, North of Sydney Harbour’, Metropolitan North Region Curriculum Services, N.S.W. Department of School Education, Hornsby (Sydney); G. Debenham (ed.), 1945, ‘The Voyage of Captain Bellinghausen - to the Arctic Seas 1819-1821’, Vol.1, Hakluyt Society.

The Supreme Surveyor

Surveyor John Mann, born 1819, was a practical observer of Aborigines, who played a significant role in understanding them. In 1883 he produced a more realistic treatise on the Aborigines, for the emerging Geographical Society of Australasia (of which he was a Founder member), than that of John Fraser in 1882 mentioned above, to which Mann cynically referred as 'The subject of their origin, as to whether they are descended from Shem, Ham, or Japhet, has been so ably discussed in the paper which obtained the premium of £25 - -'.⁷⁰ Trained at Sandhurst Military College, Mann had superb access to that other military man Surveyor General Major Thomas Mitchell, marrying his daughter Camilla in 1857, and making sketches which became a record of his trip accompanying Leichhardt's exploration.⁷¹ Without John Mann the records by Robert Mathews reinforcing this thesis would not exist, because Mathews attributes to Mann his determination to become a surveyor.⁷²

Under a heading 'Brisbane Water 95 Years Ago', the Gosford Times weekly newspaper republished an article from 'thirty years ago' which was 'written by John F. Mann' [in 1842]. Mann described contact with his informant, 'Long Dick an influential native', who was of the Broken Bay 'tribe', son of *Bungaree*. I consider that Mann's observations are of premium value. The home territory (of the Broken Bay 'tribe') extended along the coast from the Hawkesbury River to Lake Macquarie where they met the Newcastle *Moolabinda* 'tribe'. Mann's note that these 'tribes' were [quote] 'at enmity' is his reference to Long Dick's description of sporting encounters between teams of the same language groups (Chapter 1), which contrasts with the war by 'The Branch' natives and 'Wollombi tribe' to repulse the *Kamilaroi* (Chapter 12/NW). Long Dick's information continues, the coastal people 'westerly joined the Wollombi tribe who were their staunch friends and allies.' Mann was invited by Long Dick to attend a grand corroboree on Wyong Creek at Tuggerah Lake in honour of the visiting Wollombi 'tribe'.⁷³

⁷⁰ Fraser's 1882 essay was published 1883 followed by Mann's 1883 presentation published 1885. John F. Mann, 1885, 'Notes on the Aborigines of Australia', Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia, Special Volume: 1-79 + sketches.

⁷¹ John Frederick Mann and Camilla Victoria Mitchell, Marriage registration NSW BDM Index registration 1190/1857; Peter Orlovich, 1974, 'Mann, John Frederick (1819-1907)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.5, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.201-03; William Dixon, 1921, 'Notes on Australian Artists, Part VI', Journal of the Royal Historical Society, 7 (6): 379-80.

⁷² The adolescent Robert Mathews came under the influence of surveyor John Mann near the upper Lachlan River in the 1850s as given in Chapter 6. At the time, young Robert was further developing his practical skills for perception of Aboriginal culture beyond having first been a playmate in his infant life near the upper Nepean River.

⁷³ As a son of *Bungaree*, Long Dick was a closely related contemporary of John M'Gill ('*Biraban*'). As well as being the informant for Mann's record, Keith Smith makes a strong case that it was Dick (or
(continued...)

The Coastal Dividing Watershed

As well as these lakes, the estuaries occupied by the coastal people were the waterways in which there was, at the time, a more marine ecology than a freshwater ecology - which would contribute to specific culture of particular Aboriginal people and their economy. For the Hawkesbury River, that would place Mathews's *Wannerawa / Wannungine* (Capell's *Guringai*) in the catchments of the marine Arms of Broken Bay, i.e. Brisbane Water, Pitt Water and Cowan Water. By including the estuarine Berowra Water for people of the coast, that would make the Canoelands Ridge a border watershed, with Laybury's Creek upstream being country of the people of the ranges. On the northern (left hand) side of the river, including the estuarine Mooney Mooney Creek for people of the coast means that the equivalent border watershed on the north side is Peats Ridge. Upstream were the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people, Mathews's *Darkiñung*, not restricted by flood plains in this steep hills situation. Peats Ridge watershed continues north to link with the Watagan Range and thence to The Sugarloaf near Newcastle, with the eastern side of this range being the coastal catchment.

For his momentous study of Threlkeld and his writings, Niel Gunson at the Australian National University derived a map from Threlkeld's data showing the [Newcastle] Sugarloaf Tribe at the more northern part of the Central Coast and the Broken Bay Tribe at the more southern part. The sketch astutely separates the more northern coastal 'Awabakal' from the *Darkiñung* of the ranges along the watershed which divides streams flowing directly to the coast from those flowing inland to the Hunter River.⁷⁴ To date (2010), this is the most pertinent and realistic map I have found.⁷⁵

For the Hunter River in those early colonial times there was a sinuous course through the lower floodplain with boats able to carry goods up to Wallis Plains (Maitland), although passengers would sometimes

⁷³(...continued)

Bungaree himself) who was the informant for Threlkeld's '*Karree*' mentioned above. This, of course, would have led to the 1838 testimony by Threlkeld at the start of this chapter wherein Threlkeld identified the language at Lake Macquarie being used between 'the North (Shore) of Port Jackson, on the south, and Hunter's River on the north'. \ J.F. Mann, [reprint of 'an ancient document of 1842', from 1906 files] 1936, 'Brisbane Water 95 Years Ago: (I) Quaint Story of Olden Times; (II) Wollombi Tribe and Gosford Blacks', The Gosford Times No.2765, 29 October 1936 p.9, No.2766, 5 November 1936 p.16; Keith Vincent Smith, 2004, 'Eora Clans - a History of Indigenous Social Organisation in Coastal Sydney, 1770-1890', Thesis, Macquarie University, p.20.

⁷⁴ Further, a geometric separation for the more southern coastal 'Guringai' from the *Darkiñung* is shown as a semi-circle centred on Wyong without following the topography. \ Niel Gunson, 1974, 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld - Missionary to the Aborigines 1824-1859', in 2 volumes, Australian Aboriginal Studies No.40, Ethnohistory series No.2, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, map on endpaper.

⁷⁵ I have collected, so far, 36 maps published to recognise Tribal [Language] Country for the Aboriginal People being considered in this thesis. They don't.

disembark downstream and travel a shorter distance overland.⁷⁶ On the southern (right hand) side of the river Wallis Creek catchment drained out of the hills behind The [Newcastle] Sugarloaf into the river at Wallis Plains. The sugarloaf watershed continues with the Watagan Range, on its western side the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, with the coastal catchment on its northeastern side. Threlkeld's placement, of those whose language he was studying on the coastal side of this sugarloaf watershed, locates the people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges from Wallis Creek upstream - at least on the southern side of the floodplain.⁷⁷

Travelling Great Distances

Threlkeld's testimony of 1838, as cited at the beginning of this chapter, provides a guide concerning the northeastern border for the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Travelling from Lake Macquarie to Newcastle then up the Hunter River to Maitland, could be compatible with the: 'extending inland about 60 miles' quoted by Threlkeld for the coastal language being spoken. On 27 April 1836 when walking the distance with *Beerabahn* [*Biraban*], James Backhouse recorded twenty six miles through the bush as the distance between Threlkeld's mission station on his property 'Ebenezer' and Newcastle.⁷⁸ (The modern winding road reduces that to eighteen miles.) In the context of that travel, a further thirty four miles could have taken Threlkeld as far as Maitland, in the period that travellers followed the river to Morpeth - then went overland to Wallis Plains to shorten the distance looped by the river which was then flowing in a channel further to the north. (In contrast, it is now twenty miles from Newcastle to Maitland straight through on a bitumen highway.)⁷⁹ Some modern writers seem to have overlooked that people travelled by foot (whether walking or riding) or by rowing boat. In his 1838 testimony, Threlkeld mentioned he would visit Morpeth and converse with the blacks there - it would have been a day's journey each way. Rusden's conclusions cited in Chapter 12/NW are consistent, that Maitland became a centre where neighbouring Aboriginal groups converged.

⁷⁶ I found that a study of the paleo-hydrology greatly helped my understanding for the changes across the floodplain with terraces, and estuary, of the Hunter River. This in turn assisted my recognition of the different river found by the colonists when they arrived. The small size of this thesis does not permit these findings to be included.

⁷⁷ In the context of maps consulted for this thesis, these include reprints of the earliest survey maps to the latest date digitised maps. The dominant [Newcastle] Sugarloaf is to be distinguished from a smaller Watagan Sugarloaf in the ranges (near Laguna) which is also mentioned in the historical records. The shape of a sugarloaf peak, as applied for Surveyor General Mitchell, is discussed in Chapter 11/SW.

⁷⁸ James Backhouse, 1843, 'A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies', Hamilton, Adams and Co., Paternoster Row (London), p.379.

⁷⁹ The road maps which I have consulted show some variation in the distances they give between centres. I have converted present day kilometres to colonial day miles.

Threlkeld continued, 'But at Patrick's Plains [present day Singleton area] the difference is so great that we cannot communicate with each other.' This is the border with the *Kamilaroi*-language people from the upper Hunter Valley, as detailed in Chapter 12/NW of this thesis. Threlkeld used to travel to courthouses, and the Patrick's Plains courthouse was at Ben Singleton's ford. In his 1838 testimony Threlkeld mentioned attending court at Patrick's Plains, 'and the distance I had to travel was 200 miles' (viz. travel one hundred miles each way to get to Singleton).⁸⁰ In the 1830s the district boundaries were set as the Police Districts: 'The district of Patricks Plains extends from Jerry's Plains to the west, to Black Creek [present day Cessnock] on the east, and from Wollombi on the south to Captain Black's station on the north'.⁸¹

In spite of the geographical clarity of the history, Lissarrague (who wrongly accused Mathews of conflating the *Wannerawa* with the Wollombi Aborigines as above), has herself confused, fused, the Aborigines of Lake Macquarie with those of the upper Hunter Valley who were known to the first settlers to be *Kamilaroi* [various spellings] discussed in Chapter 12/NW. In referring to Threlkeld's estimated distances, she places Singleton 'only fifty miles inland' [intimating it was half way to Patrick's Plains], and describes the two hundred miles return for his attendance at Patrick's Plains courthouse as taking him to the upper Hunter Valley.⁸² It gets worse. A particular issue is that for the foreign language people with whom Threlkeld's coastal Aborigines 'cannot communicate', Lissarrague suggested '*Darkinyung* or *Gamilaraay*' [*Kamilaroi*].⁸³ Although she has the location wrong, the latter is correct. The former is an odd suggestion because of the historically well-known intercourse between the *Darkiñung*-speaking people of the 'Wollombi tribe' and those whose language Threlkeld was studying as given above.^{84, 85}

⁸⁰ The route is not given, but people would call in at properties when travelling for such long periods. Until the machine age of bulldozers and concrete constructions the normal way wound past rocky outcrops and around boggy ground and should not be compared with present day direct travel.

⁸¹ Threlkeld was testifying about the 1830s. Robert Scott (Chapter 12/NW) provided evidence 4 June 1835 to the government enquiry on police services. Upstream, the upper Hunter Valley beyond Jerry's Plains / Singleton was a separate District, as was Maitland downstream. The NSW Police Online Website 'The Thin Blue Line' History Information provides detail, noting that upstream of Jerry's Plains was the district of Merton [present day Denman]. \ www.policensw.com/ info/ historydocs, accessed 2009.

⁸² Lissarrague 2006 'Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie' p.13.

⁸³ Lissarrague 2006 'Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie' p.13.

⁸⁴ Although in 2006 Lissarrague published about *Darkiñung* as a foreign language, this was contrary to what she published in 2008 with Wafer, although they did note: 'There may be some systematic phonological differences between *Darrkinyung* [language] and HRBB [Threlkeld's language(s)]', footnoting that: 'We have set these out - -, in a paper forthcoming called "The Kuringgai Puzzle" '. This article 'forthcoming' has not been available at the time of completing this chapter, although Wafer earlier advised me that it was in press. There were historical and geographical errors published in their language handbook - in this context they incorrectly considered that James Tuckerman recorded Aboriginal language on the coast at Broken Bay (their BB) when he was actually with the very same people at the

It is not for this thesis to review reasons why Lissarrague, from the Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre (MRALC) at Nambucca Heads, placed Threlkeld's language group, i.e. people who belong to the country northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges along the coast and estuaries, away inland up the upper Hunter Valley to the Great Dividing Range to the northwest of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.⁸⁶ She stated that her research was 'on behalf of the Wonnarua Nation Aboriginal Corporation' in the online newsletter of the Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-op., of which MRALC is a part. The MRALC covers the Hawkesbury River to the New South Wales - Queensland border, and includes the *Darkinjung*, the subject of this thesis.⁸⁷ Lissarrague produced her book for this particular *Wonnarua* Aboriginal Corporation, whereby its foreword reads that 'We, the Wonnarua people, - - - started our journey to reclaim our language in 2001. - - - We engaged a linguist - - -'.⁸⁸ Local History 'authorities', like Jim Kohen from Blacktown and District Historical Society (Chapter 7), inaccurately advised that the term 'Wonnarua' applied to the upper Hunter Valley.⁸⁹

⁸⁴(...continued)

very same place on the Hawkesbury River in the ranges where Robert Mathews recorded language identified as *Darkiñung* during the same time period (Chapter 6). They also incorrectly mixed (using 'k') separate terms at Broken Bay representing *Gari'gal* (*Gari* = name of place) and *Guri'ngai* (*guri* = common noun for people). \ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 'Handbook of Aboriginal Languages' p.144.

⁸⁵ Eliza Dunlop, wife of Wollombi magistrate David Dunlop in the ranges, identified an old man there as the doyen of composition for poetry and song, referring to him as a metaphorical 'god' who 'comes in dreams and transports the individual to some sunny hill'. He was known as *Wallatu* or *Wallati*, Threlkeld's *Wullati* or '*Woolaje* as the white folks used to call him'. Just as Aboriginal people were later to move from the ranges to La Perouse by the sea shore, *Wallatu* retired [my word] to the entrance to Lake Macquarie where his speech was understood by the local Aborigines. In his reminiscences, Threlkeld noted a relationship of the poet's language to that which he was studying. Details of this subject are not part of the *Darkiñung* recognition historiography for the thesis but are part of the *Darkiñung* history study. \ Niel Gunson, 1966, 'Dunlop, Eliza Hamilton (1796-1880)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.337-38; Eliza Hamilton Dunlop [e.g.], nd, 'The Vase, Comprising Songs for Music and Poems', unpublished ms held in Mitchell Library, New South Wales State Library, call no. ML B1541, copy accessed on microfilm reel CY 1238, frames 1-121, *Wallatu* frame 0060; L.E. Threlkeld, 1854, 'Aborigines. - The Muses. - Poetry.', The Christian Herald [etc], 11 November 1854 pp.315-16, in a series 'Reminiscences' [of the Aborigines of New South Wales], published from June 1854, also reproduced in Gunson 1974 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld', p.58, my access to The Christian Herald at the National Library of Australia (see Bibliography).

⁸⁶ I found the people at Muurrbay very receptive, and acknowledge that I have received help from them. Although archived copies remain, it is appropriate that the 2006 MRALC online map which misrepresented Country of Language groups was taken down during my studies for this project.

⁸⁷ 'Galiinga', 2006, newsletter of Muurrbay Language & Culture Co-op, Nambucca Heads, issue No.1, July 2006, p.8, p.2. Accessed online.

⁸⁸ Robert Lester, Singleton, 2006, in Lissarrague 2006 'Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie' Foreword p.iii.

⁸⁹ Accurate Local History was actually available at their local Singleton Historical Society where Ian Webb had lodged research detail - as well as published by Allan Wood as given in Chapter 12/NW. (The society at Scone has more material about the upper Hunter.) During my studies, J.L. (Jim) Kohen at

(continued...)

At the same time as being ‘engaged’ by Lester, by early 2002 Lissarrague had already joined Wafer's Handbook Project with the outcome published in 2008.⁹⁰ By then, Jim Wafer & Amanda Lissarrague acknowledge themselves confused, suggesting: ‘that a review of the territory in which Wanarruwa was spoken would be in order’ and ‘available data are unspecific and contradictory’, with: ‘Kayawaykal [Geawegal] may have been a subset of Wanarruwa’ and ‘the extent of - - - territories needs further clarification’.⁹¹ They had advanced further than anybody else, and the study for this thesis reported in this chapter is an answer to their prayers.

The Wonnarua Quandary

In this section of the chapter I discuss the issue of how the coastal *Wannerawa / Wannungine* Aboriginal people came to be misplaced inland (as ‘*Wonnarua*’ people) in foreign country.

An Unreliable Memory

Misplacing a group called *Wonnarua* to occupy the upper Hunter Valley based at Singleton is the outcome of historic anomalies attributable to a single misstatement by Robert Miller published in 1887 about memories more than forty years earlier, as follows. The town of Singleton became a well known base drawing in Aboriginal people, displacing Maitland as their centre. More families arrived associated with the missionary work there, especially when Aboriginal people moved to the reserve at Mount Olive on the St Clair estate to the north of Singleton. Several Aboriginal families moved to the St Clair mission

⁸⁹(...continued)

Macquarie University informed me that he had advised Victor Perry about research on the *Wonnarua* people, and given references to the *Wonnarua*. However, this was not accurate, the material listed by Kohen was about Aborigines in the Hunter Valley instead of really being about the *Wannerawa*. [Members of the Lester and Perry families have been publically active in the locality.] In contrast to Lissarrague's and Kohen's misapplication, within the Local History and Family History studies with which I have been associated from the 1990s, it has been discovered that the Aboriginal families who congregated about Singleton and the nearby St Clair mission were predominately *Darkiñung* originating from the south side of the floodplain and the local St Clair *Geawegal* from the mid Hunter River region (Chapter 12/NW). As well, there were local *Gringai* and other *Kattung*-speaking people on the north of the lower river (this chapter) who had not joined the main movement to the coastal town at Newcastle (in which *Kamilaroi* people participated, especially after the railway line became operational). [The railhead of the northern railway line from Newcastle was at the Namoi River (Narrabri) in 1882, having reached its tributary Peel River (Tamworth) in 1878.]

⁹⁰ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ Background p.x.

⁹¹ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ p.165.

who had been identified by Robert Mathews as *Darkiñung*-speakers from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the south of the Hunter River.⁹² Other families came from the *Kattang*-language areas to the north side of the lower Hunter River, including the *Gringai* from the Allyn/Paterson Rivers as above. And one can assume that there were also some *Kamilaroi* people from the upper Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW) - a most successful race from northwestern NSW which has never stopped expanding and now predominates on the Central Coast. In the case of some *Darkiñung*-descent families, there was a subsequent move to the Purfleet mission at Taree. Popularising Robert Miller's name *Wonnarua* as a covering term for all the Aboriginal people in this broad location was done with a pioneering book in 1985 by Jim Miller who was raised at Singleton and identified as a *Gringai* person from his parents.⁹³ In the 1980s there had been no necessity of the present day imperative to take a single language-term as a Tribal name for personal identification, and Miller announced he was 'from the Wonnarua, Narwan and Kamilaroi people.'⁹⁴

In a most prescient thought for the application of the study for this thesis more than twenty years later, Miller wrote 'The most important thing I received by tracing my family, was a new sense of identity.'⁹⁵ It is intended that my study will be of similar value to descendants of *Darkiñung* people.

The historical anomaly of placing the *Wonnarua* Aborigines in the upper Hunter is attributable to a false 'memory' of one man, published in 1887 - Robert Miller.⁹⁶ I have not been able yet to confirm who he was because at the time he claimed to be in the Hunter Valley there were ten Robert Millers listed there. He is not the ancestor of Aborigine James Miller who attributed his surname to 'Family oral tradition' at the Bathurst/Orange area, and who was scathing about his namesake Robert Miller, suggesting that he

⁹² These findings are part of the Family History studies. I acknowledge Ian Webb (sometime president of Singleton Historical Society) for sharing his Local History research. Subsequently, in a post-retirement life, he returned to family childhood haunts up north where he had been reared in the company of Aborigines (pers. comm.).

⁹³ In the Introduction, a journalist J.W. Fawcett (as follows) is acknowledged as a historical source. \\ James Miller, 1985, 'Koori: A Will to Win - The Heroic Resistance, Survival & Triumph of Black Australia', Angus and Robertson, Sydney. Personal identification p.xv.

⁹⁴ Miller, an accomplished man who became a school teacher and university teacher, is now James Wilson-Miller of the present day Power-House Museum Sydney [NSW state technology museum]. \\ James Miller, 1989, 'Tracing Koori Ancestry', Royal Australian Historical Society Technical Information Service. This separate publication is based on Appendix 1: 'How Kooris Can Trace Their Ancestry' in Miller 1985 'Koori' pp.227-35; James Wilson-Miller, 2005, 'Conflict in the Valley: The Triumph of the Wonnarua', Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE) 2005 Annual Conference, Conference papers, Peter L. Jeffery (ed.), 2006, accessed online.

⁹⁵ Miller 1985 'Koori' p.227, 1989 'Tracing Koori Ancestry' p.2.

⁹⁶ Robert Miller, 1887, 'The Wonnarua Tribe and Language', Language No.188, in Edward M. Curr, 1887, 'The Australian Race: Its Origins, Languages, Customs, Place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent', Book the Fifteenth, in Volume 3: 352-57.

‘believed all dark-skinned people were likely to practice cannibalism’.⁹⁷ Edward Curr, who published Robert Miller's memoir (above) in his books of common vocabulary for a range of locations across the whole continent, himself knew Aborigines as an adaptive race since he had had experience with Aborigines in much of Australia after managing his father's grazing runs north of Melbourne in the 1840s.⁹⁸ He compiled his comparative word list collected from correspondents, anonymous local magistrates in some places, and included their additional text and words in his volumes when supplied, as in this case.

Miller's claim was that he settled in the Hunter River district in 1841 and lived there for several years. He informed Curr that when he first knew the *Wonnarua* tribe ‘they occupied the Hunter and all its tributaries from within ten miles of Maitland to the apex of the Liverpool Ranges, an area of two thousand square miles.’ Curr had no basis from which to doubt his integrity. Even for the time the first settlers arrived, Miller's claim is absurd, as discussed in this thesis elsewhere for the northwest border of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (Chapter 12/NW). Possibly, *Wonnarua* was the only term for Aborigines which this Robert Miller knew, so that he applied it to the whole of the Hunter Valley to satisfy what he thought it was that Curr wanted. It is Curr's only entry for the Hunter Valley, and in a similar way Curr's only language listed for Broken Bay does not belong at that location (Chapter 6). By applying Local History geographical knowledge, we know much better now.

As mentioned above, Gunson in 1974 had reported that Stephen Wurm, with Arthur Capell, had already noted the similarities between the language given by Miller to Curr, *Wonnarua* (*Wanarua*), and the language studied by Threlkeld - which I have found as above to be *Wannerawa* (aka *Wannungine*) i.e. the same. That means that Robert Miller appears to have lived downstream of Maitland on the coast in order to acquire first hand language information - if he had been in the Hunter River district at all.⁹⁹

Alternatively, before the 1887 publication he would have had access to Threlkeld's earlier 1827 and 1834

⁹⁷ Miller 1985 ‘Koori’, on family oral tradition p.125, ref.16 p.278, criticism of Miller pp.xv-xvi.

⁹⁸ Edward M. Curr, 1883, ‘Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, then Called the Port Phillip District’, George Robertson, Melbourne, Harley W. Forster (ed.), 1965 (abridged edn), Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Melbourne).

⁹⁹ Further investigation is required to identify this “Robert Miller” in order to define his false testimony. Perhaps he had responded to an advertisement seeking information about Hunter River Aboriginal people. He knew about *Kamilaroi* incursions without realising they already occupied the upper Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW). Application of claims taken from reading his ‘report’ suggests that his ‘Wonnarua Tribe’ was a composite.

published works - which is a likely possibility for such a correspondent.¹⁰⁰

In confirmation that Miller should actually have meant his *Wonnarua* to be coastal people, he described as an ornament a shell cut into the shape of a gorget and worn as a breast plate - as northern Queensland Aborigines did with crescents cut from hard mother-of-pearl shells.¹⁰¹ Miller wrote that the shell was a nautilus. However, this does not remain intact if carried any significant distance away from the shore, because the nautilus is a cephalopod with a beautiful fragile shell. The pearly nautilus is tropical, and its shell is rarely found in Australia, so that Miller should have meant the paper nautilus, whose shell is merely a brittle egg cradle. I have gently collected some washed up on the beach to display in a glass cabinet, and they are too brittle to be grasped, so whatever was Miller writing about?

The Disappearing Plagiarist

Robert Miller could have been the first author to have reliably recognised the name *Wannerawa* (his 'Wonnarua') if he had correctly identified the actual location that they occupied. His false evidence may have been ignored had it not been confirmed by a plagiarist, J.W. Fawcett in Queensland.¹⁰² **Every other publication placing the *Wonnarua* in the *Kamilaroi*-occupied upper Hunter Valley has taken it from these two 'sources' without checking.** Fawcett wrote for 'Science of Man' the new popular journal of the Anthropological Society of Australasia. Although I have been investigating his intervention into history for years, I credit Amanda Lissarrague with the first published suspicions when she noticed that Miller in his text had used a strange form of grammar, '*anigunya*', which Fawcett had copied as '*anigunga*' - perhaps Miller had meant the greeting from his listed '*aninua*' to signify 'Hey, you!'. The other journalist Percy Haslam had himself plagiarised the plagiarist with *ani-gunga* from Fawcett, which isn't much help.¹⁰³ Subsequently Jim Wafer reported gently that Fawcett 'appears to have read Miller', which I had found glaringly obvious, and in his chapter on Kinship Wafer noted that Fawcett's account was 'seriously distorted'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ As well as Threlkeld's earlier published works, the prizewinning 1882 review by John Fraser, printed at 41pp discussed earlier in this chapter, had had wide distribution and was topical before Miller wrote to Curr.

¹⁰¹ Joyce A. Allan [conchologist, The Australian Museum, Sydney], 1962, 'Mollusca', in enlarged 2nd edn Australian Encyclopaedia, Grolier, pp.117-35.

¹⁰² J.W. Fawcett, 1898, Pt.1 'Notes on the Customs and Dialect of the Wonnah-ruah Tribe', Pt.2 'Customs of the Wannah-ruah Tribe, and Their Dialect or Vocabulary', Science of Man vol.1 (7): 152-54, (8): 180-81.

¹⁰³ Lissarrague 2006 'Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie' p.105, p.113.

¹⁰⁴ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 'Handbook of Aboriginal Languages' p.165, p.449.

Fawcett had not given any sources, but made a further mistake by slipping into his journalism an additional term he'd taken from the 1882 essay by Fraser noted above. Fawcett's '*boombit*' was Fraser's '*boombat*' which he had obtained from Alfred Howitt with whom he (Fraser) corresponded. Howitt's source, in turn, was correspondence with E.M. McKinlay of Dungog. There were good descriptions of the use of the word by McKinlay (and by William Scott), not part of this thesis, which I have confirmed as part of an initiation ceremony.¹⁰⁵ The term is to do with creating smoke from fire, as listed by Nils Homer for *Kattang*-speaking people.¹⁰⁶ In my review of the literature I found that smoke ceremonies at initiation were common all over Australia, but not McKinlay's term '*boombit*' stolen by Fawcett.

The literary demise of Fawcett occurred in 1899 when he plagiarised Aboriginal poetry collected by the prominent authority on Aborigines, Archibald Meston, at that time the Anthropological Society's Queensland representative who promptly denounced him.¹⁰⁷ As well as the plagiarism, Meston wrote of Fawcett's 'alleged songs from the north' as 'purely an unhealthy effort of Mr Fawcett's imagination'. One of the songs claimed by Fawcett came from Meston's own 1895 book 'Geographic History of Queensland'.¹⁰⁸ It is disappointing that this man may have influenced others who had trusted him prior to Meston's 1899 exposure of him.¹⁰⁹ Fawcett would say in 1896 he wrote from 'personal observations' but he may have copied other journalists.¹¹⁰ I have confirmed that Fawcett disappeared from public view in that he had already published two books on Church of England dignitaries avoiding acknowledgement of

¹⁰⁵ In his book, Bennett spells the term 'poombit'. \ Gordon Bennett, 1929, 'The Port Stephens Blacks - Recollections of William Scott', "The Chronicle" Office, Dungog.

¹⁰⁶ Nils M. Homer, 1967, 'An Attempt Towards a Comparative Grammar of Two Australian Languages, Part II Indices and Vocabularies of Kattang and Thangatti', Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies No.5, Linguistic Series No.3 (Pt.2), Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, p.5.

¹⁰⁷ J.W. Fawcett, 1899, 'Some Songs and Chants of the Aborigines of Queensland', Science of Man vol.2, no.2: 24-25; A. Meston, 1899, Letter To the Editor [regarding alleged Aboriginal songs from Queensland], Science of Man vol.2, no.4: 63; S.E. Stephens, 1974, 'Meston, Archibald (1851-1924)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.243-44.

¹⁰⁸ Archibald Meston, 1895, 'Geographic History of Queensland', Queensland Government Printer, Brisbane.

¹⁰⁹ Amongst authors who repeated his correspondence was Robert Mathews. For example, in a paper published 1896, Mathews inserted with his own primary observations 'Mr J.W. Fawcett informs me' from Townsville, from Charters Towers, from Herbert River and Hinchinbrook Island. Revealingly, Fawcett told him, *inter alia*, that people used sticks to draw in beach sand. Mathews himself could not have been drawn in to be part of the web of deceit about the misplacement for Fawcett's 1898 'Wannah-ruah' because when in residence at Singleton he knew that the *Kamilaroi* had occupied the upper Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW), and knew that the *Wannerawa* were actually on the coast (this chapter). \ R.H. Mathews, 1896, 'Australian Ground and Tree Drawings', The American Anthropologist, 9 (2): 33-49 + Plate, p.37.

¹¹⁰ This quote applied to a newspaper supplement article about Cyclone 'Sigma' in Townsville, January 1896. \ John Alexander Ferguson, 1963, 'Bibliography of Australia', Vol.5 1851-1900 A-G, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, Fawcett pp.925-26, ref.9564.

any sources, and was doing a third which dropped out of sight when he was exposed by Meston.¹¹¹

With my new findings, it can now reliably be concluded that there were not *Wannerawa* ('*Wonnarua*') Aboriginal people in the upper Hunter Valley at all. (The *Kamilaroi* people who actually were there at the time of settlement are discussed in Chapter 12/NW, along with the traditional *Darkiñung* located in the mid Hunter and Goulburn River valley.) However, I make no comment on the present misapplication of the term *Wonnarua* by authorities like Kohen as above for Aboriginal Corporations which are being registered in the present day, on the basis of Robert Miller's falsehood plus J.W. Fawcett's plagiarism, in order to encourage mining companies destroying the landscape so that they may claim compensation for this destruction of land. That is compensation which was not paid by the first settlers who displaced ancestral Aborigines.

Chapter 9/NE Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to recognise the *Darkiñung*-Language People of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges by separating their Country from that of those to their northeast at the time of settlement, who are found to be the People who really spoke the *Wannerawa* Language in the region from the Hunter River estuary along the coast to the Broken Bay estuary. This neighbouring language was assessed without identification by Lancelot Threlkeld who recovered it from *Bungaree's* Broken Bay Aborigines (who had expanded to their south to occupy the north shore of Port Jackson subsequent to settlement). Threlkeld's principle source was a boy from this group presenting himself when a young adult at Newcastle to become known as '*Biraban*', representing the hero *Birrugan* from Aboriginal culture he learnt when at Port Macquarie. (In his missionary work before terms such as *Kamilaroi* were applied to languages, Threlkeld had not succumbed to 'tribal' name-creation which was taken up by others.)

Although Threlkeld himself did not provide an identification term, the recognition of these people for the English was provided as *Wannerawa* aka *Wannungine*, apparently to indicate 'of the Place' - as a response to queries to the people about who they were. [In English convention, this identification

¹¹¹ Fawcett had written books on Right Rev. William Broughton, and Rev. John Cross, 1898, printed by Sydney Hobart Publisher, Brisbane, which I have examined as part of colonial history studies. I have not located the third of this series, then coming 'shortly' on Venerable Rev. William Cowper.

becomes the term which is used for People, used for Language and used for Country.] In the mean time, a literary man, John Fraser, took it upon himself to create a name for these indigenes (who, he wrote) 'are gone long ago', naming them after a cove in Lake Macquarie known to the settlers as Awa-ba. The success of his 1892 book meant that Fraser's artifice has been used ever since for northern *Wannungine* near the Hunter River. The farther *Wannerawa* had since adopted another term proposed for near Broken Bay as '*Guringai*' by Arthur Capell in a preliminary 1970 article. '*Guringai*' had been used by Fraser in 1892 as '*Kuringgai*' to designate people who used the common noun *kuri* for man, which he appeared to have taken from the term *Gringai / Gooringai* used by the settlers to identify a local group of *Kattung*-Language people across the Hunter River at the Paterson / Allyn River tributary.

The coastal range watershed is the natural topographical feature which appears to have been a practical geographical border for the coastal *Wannungine / Wannerawa* to the northeast of the *Darkiñung* Aborigines in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. [It is taken as understood that the former used to occupy the continental shelf when it was above sea level.] This coastal range watershed is present day Peats Ridge from Mooney Mooney on the Hawkesbury River through Kulnura, along the central spine of the Watagan Ranges to the Newcastle Sugarloaf. Historic records demonstrate that the boundary was permeable in the sense that people from the ranges on the inland Wollombi side were regularly welcomed visiting the coastal people. While the ridge of the present day Mona Vale Road (1890s Lane Cove road ridge) was the southern Broken Bay catchment border, to the north of Newcastle the Hunter River floodplain / estuary covered the northern border with *Kattung*-speaking people. The *Darkiñung* shared language and cultural relationships with these neighbouring coastal groups. [In distinction, they did not share with *Dharug* or *Gundungurra* on the south who had their own relationship with each other as in following chapters.]

Further, the corollary issue is considered here whereby these coastal and estuarine Aboriginal people had been mislocated to country in the upper Hunter Valley which actually had been occupied by *Kamilaroi* Aborigines originating from the interior as shown in Chapter 12/NW. Only two historical records stated the upper Hunter was the location of the *Wannerawa* (as '*Wonnorua*'), the first with false statements about these coastal people, the second merely plagiarism of the first. The *Wannerawa* (aka *Wannungine*) were the most important neighbours interacting with the *Darkiñung* - but only residing at the coast and estuaries to the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

