



# Wiradjuri Heritage Study

**For the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area  
of New South Wales.**



**Report to:** Wiradjuri and Associated Community of Wagga Wagga

Wagga Wagga City Council

NSW Heritage Office

**Compiled by:**  
**In conjunction with:**

Go Green Services  
The Community of Wagga Wagga

November 2002





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## For the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area of New South Wales.

**Report to:** Wiradjuri and associated Indigenous  
and non-Indigenous Community of Wagga Wagga

Wagga Wagga City Council  
PO Box 20 Wagga Wagga NSW 2650  
Ph (02) 6926 9100

N.S.W Heritage Office  
Locked Bag 5020  
Parramatta 2124  
Ph (02) 9635 6155

**Compiled by:** Dick Green  
Go Green Services  
Clifton Mail, Big Springs Road  
Wagga Wagga 2650  
Ph (02) 6928 1342

**In conjunction with:** The Community of Wagga Wagga

**First Edition – November 2002**

**Cover Photo:** A pair of nesting buralgang (brolgas), a threatened species in the Wagga Wagga area, giving their loud bugling call. Together with their well known dancing displays and subtle showing of the colours, red, yellow and black of their body parts, and the incubating egg, suggests a call for the recognition and re-emergence of Wiradjuri culture and heritage.

Photo - Peter Merritt

**Cover Artwork:** Page Border artwork depicts Waagan (Crows or Australian Ravens) gugaa (Goannas) and the many linking hands of the people of Wiradjuri Country. These symbols encapsulate the story of Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri Country, its people and culture.

Artwork - Allison Wighton

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ISBN: 1-875247-20-3



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## Starting Out- A Dedication to Wiradjuri

The pursuit of happiness, knowledge and a long life, lie at the heart of all human activity. At the same time, there is a strong desire for security. What gives security more than material wealth is identity; knowing who we are and what is our relationship to everything at all levels of existence, the physical, the mental and the spiritual. The discovering of this identity and the unfolding of these relationships can, and perhaps should, occupy much of our time. As Indigenous people, for we are all Indigenous to planet Earth, we have the opportunities to connect with this identity and these relationships at the place and in the communities in which we live, even though our ancestral roots may lie elsewhere. So, many of us find ourselves living in the place and surrounds we now call Wagga Wagga within Wiradjuri Country.

To come to know and connect with this place, as individuals we can seek merely to be curious or to take an objective or scientific approach in our quest for knowledge. Or, we can choose to deepen this development of a sense of place, this connectedness, which can then be made useful to the whole community.

Despite major physical modification, made especially since European settlement, this place, this land, this Country, retains an identity of its own which is eternal, deep and subtle.

The original carers of this Country, Wiradjuri people, evolved a cultural relationship very much in accord with the physical and spiritual qualities of this place.

The notion of caring for Country was the basis for much of traditional Wiradjuri existence as indeed it was elsewhere.

"People talk about Country, speak and sing to Country, visit and worry about Country, feel sorry for Country, long for Country. People say that Country knows best, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, is sorry or happy. It has consciousness and a will towards life. Because of this richness, Country is love and peace, nourishment for body, mind and spirit". (1)

So an elder can say;

"Everything came up out of the ground- language, people, emus, kangaroos, grass. That's law" (2) and, "This is me. I am the land. The land owns me." (3). One of the strongest connections to Wiradjuri Country is the natural musicality of its sounds, where "in spring the bush used to be a constant choir of song; where from twenty directions at once you could hear the mopoke call, from one hundred, the curlew" (4).

These sounds are reflected in the Wiradjuri language through the naming of places and living things, the describing, contemplating and understanding of relationships and spiritual matters. Much of Wiradjuri culture, knowledge and tradition was passed on orally through this language, part of which is retained and part of which being restored today.

So an elder could say; " It's all in the lingo (language), boy! It does not matter how it is spelt but how it is sounded - the sound (pronunciation) has to be correct". (5)

Our obligation then, towards the study of Wiradjuri Country, culture and heritage, becomes simple; "to approach it with an open mind and with an attitude of respect; to ensure the range and variety of its expression. To intend from the beginning to preserve the mystery within it as wisdom to be experienced, not questioned. And to be alert for its openings, for those

moments when something sacred reveals itself within the simple and the Country and the culture and the community knows that you are there." (6) (Paraphrased)

Once connected to Country it becomes a comfort to know that the land under our feet has been nurtured and cared for thousands of years but is now crying out for renewed care.

Wiradjuri and associated Indigenous peoples' concepts and ways of doing things need to be increasingly taken into account in planning and use of the land and activities thereon. Active shared custodianship of Wiradjuri and associated Indigenous culture and heritage is a beckoning responsibility.

When we realise we need this understanding of Country, of culture, of heritage, of people, we will be contributing to a more sharing, caring, knowing and happy community.



## Acknowledgements

The Wiradjuri Heritage Study Committee gratefully acknowledges the help of the many individuals and organisations who contributed to the preparation and funding of this study.

Every effort has been made to list all these helpers below and obtain permission for copyrighted materials.

Apologies are made for any omissions. The Committee would welcome these being brought to their attention.

Assistance provided by individuals and organisations is categorised into the following areas:

- (a) People who provided information and/or were interviewed for the study;
- (b) Fieldwork assistants;
- (c) People who provided professional and/or community advice and/or were members of the Study Committee;
- (d) Organisations who assisted with funding, resources and/or staff time;
- (e) People and organisations who gave permission to use published materials, to access artefacts and/or to photograph items;
- (f) People and organisations who assisted with promotion and preparation of the study report.

Organisations who assisted included:

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- 3. Australian Local Government Association
- 4. Australian Museum – Sydney
- 5. Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Commission
- 6. Community members (including Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Elders)
- 7. The Daily Advertiser – Wagga Wagga
- 8. Department of Agriculture (NSW)
- 9. Department of Education and Training (NSW)
- 10. Department of Land & Water Conservation (NSW)
- 11. ErinEarth Resource Centre – Wagga Wagga
- 12. Landholders (including retired)
- 13. Local historians
- 14. Murray-Darling Basin Commission
- 15. Museum of the Riverina

16. National Parks & Wildlife Service (NSW) (Sydney, Tumut, Griffith, Queanbeyan)
17. Ngungilanna Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Education Centre
18. NSW Heritage Office
19. NSW Roads and Traffic Authority
20. Research Workers
21. Riverina Archives – Charles Sturt University
22. Restoration House Publications – Canberra
23. Wagga Wagga City Council – Departments and Councillors
24. Wagga Wagga Regional Library
25. Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Land Council
26. Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group
27. Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society
28. William Merrylees Library (including Margaret Carnegie and Wagga Wagga Special Collections)
29. Wiradjuri Council of Elders
30. Wiradjuri Language Development Program
31. Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council
32. Yalbalingada Learning Centre – Wagga Wagga



People who assisted included the following:

Note: The category(ies) of assistance is (are) indicated by letters following each person's name corresponding to the previously listed categories. The organisations represented, where relevant, are indicated by corresponding numbers in brackets.

Heather Allen	f (6)	Paul House	a,c(19)
Kerryn Amery	c(26)	James Ingram	a,b,c(25)
Brian Andrews	a(6)	Ossie Ingram (Snr)	a(6)
Sally Ash	a(16)	Ossie Ingram (Jnr)	a(6)
Amy Basham	b(6)	Peter Kabaila	a,e(20)
Ross Bennett	e(6)	Sally Keane	f(10)
Bill and Fay Belling	a,e(12)	Donna Kirby	f(17)
Don Bodel	a(21)	Laurie Kirk	d,e(14)
Peter Brunt	f(23)	Grace Koch	a,e(2)
Kaye Bryan	f(11)	Chris Lashbrook	a(12)
Sonya Buchanan	f(23)	Ron Lawler	a(5)
Bryan Byrne	f(6)	Nicole Lennon	c,d(23)
Claire Campbell	a(24)	Michael Leunig	e(6)
Bruce Cartwright	a(12)	John and Gillian Little	a(6)
Zoey Clark	b(6)	Anne Lloyd	a(6)
Allan Cox	a(12)	Rob McGeogh	a(12)
Matt Crosby	a(10)	George Main	a(20)
Kirsty Davies	c(23)	Bob Marshall	a(6)
Sue Davies	f(6)	Steve Meredith	a,b,c,f(16)
Phyllis de Jersey	a(27)	Anne Montgomery	f(6)
Michael Dignand	f(8)	Dan Morgan	a(6)
Tamsin Donaldson	e(20)	Patty Morris	c(25)
Pauline Dunne	d(16)	Sherry Morris	a(20,27)
Sister Elizabeth (Overdale)	a(6)	Donna Murray	a,c,d(17)
Debbie Evans	a,c(9)	Margaret O'Connell	a(2)
Alice Ferguson	f(28)	Liz Olesen	c,f(23)
Karen Fitzpatrick	a(28)	Greg Packer	a(6)
Dean Freeman	a,b,c(16)	Jenny Palmer	a,d(15)
Eleanor Galvin	a,e(2)	Joan Parker	a,d(24)
Tom Gibson	a(21)	Merv Penrith	a(6)
Amy Gilchrist	a(6)	Isabel Reid	c(26)
Vony Gilchrist	a,c(23)	John Rudder	c,e(30)
Paul Gordon	a,c(6)	Vince Scarcella	c,d(18)
Beth Gott	a,e(20)	Mick Schiller	a(12)
Thomas and Bobbie Graham	a,c,e(15,6)	Bob Schofield	a(12)
Cec Grant	a(29)	Walter Sheafe	a(27)
Flo Grant	a,c(29,32)	Madeline Scully	d,f(15)
Sandra Grant	d,f(10)	Garry Salvestro	c,d,f(23)
Stan Grant	a,c,e(29,30)	Diana Simpson	a,b,c(23)
Jenny Grantley	a,c(23)	Geoff Simpson	b,c,d(10)
Luke Grealy	c(23)	Michael Singh	a(5)
Brigitta Green	f(6)	Hannah Skyring	a(10)
Russell Green	a(12)	Vera Swan	a(27)
Brian Hanson	a(19)	Laurie Thiele	a,d(23)
Robert Harmon	f(23)	David Tout	a(6)
Margaret Hill	a(28)	Vicky Tooze	f(23)
Craig Honeysett	a,c(6)	Joanne Tubby	c,f(23)

Tracey Vincent	b(6)	Mary White	a(20)
Carmel Wallis	a,f(11)	Trent Whitehead	d,f(23)
Barry and Jenny Walsh	a(6)	Jackoline Williams	f(17)
Heather Ward	a,d(15)	Otis Williams	a(2)
Jim and Myra Webb	a(6)	Rolly Williams	a,b,c(31)
Owen Whitaker	a(12)	John Williams-Mosley	a,d(17)
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The following organisations provided funding and/or substantial in-kind support for the Wiradjuri Heritage Study:

Wagga Wagga City Council

NSW Heritage Office



NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service



Ngungilanna Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Education Centre



NSW Department of Land and Water Conservation



Murray-Darling Basin Commission

# Wiradjuri Heritage Study

## Wagga Wagga Local Government Area of New South Wales

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background Information

The brief for the Wiradjuri Heritage Study was issued on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2001. This followed a successful application by the Wagga Wagga City Council to the NSW Heritage Office for an Aboriginal Heritage Study grant in 2000 and the development of the brief by the Study Steering Committee from February 2001.

Council provided administrative and technical support and matching funds for the study.

The study was initially instigated by Garry Salvestro, Urban and Rural Planning Manager and Nicole Lennon, Strategic Planner, Wagga Wagga City Council. A study steering committee was established in February 2001 comprising the following people:

Flo Grant (Wiradjuri Council of Elders)

Isobel Reid and Edna Andrew (Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group)

Steve Meredith and Dean Freeman (National Parks and Wildlife Service, Sites Officers)

Donna Murray (Ngungilanna Education Centre, Charles Sturt University)

Debbie Evans (Community Liaison Officer, Department of Education and Training)

Geoff Simpson (Aboriginal Natural Resource Officer Department of Land and Water Conservation)

Garry Salvestro (Urban & Rural Planning Manager. Wagga Wagga City Council)

Liz Olesen (Study Coordinator, Wagga Wagga City Council).

Joanne Tubby replaced Liz Olesen from September 2002, James Ingram (Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council) and Diana Simpson (Wagga Wagga City Councillor) joined the committee in October and November 2002, respectively.

Liz Olesen and Garry Salvestro oversighted the study on behalf of the Council. Rolley Williams (Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Lands Council), the Indigenous Consultative Committee through Jenny Grantley and Kirsty Davies (Wagga Wagga City Council) were available for reference.

#### **The brief included the requirements to:**

- Provide a historical context report
- Background the Local Indigenous Community
- Prepare a legislative context report
- Undertake a review of literature, existing site records, Land Rights and Native Title claims and previous studies of Indigenous heritage in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area.
- Review of land use history to identify land with potential to contain Indigenous sites.
- Work with local Indigenous and non-Indigenous community to identify land or places of social or contemporary significance

- Investigate existing methods for assessment of site significance. If found to be inadequate, make recommendations for improvement.
- Identify land and land units of significance and with true potential to contain Indigenous heritage.
- Include guidelines for the assessment of land use and development applications.
- Identify, survey and list previously unrecorded sites.
- Prepare recommendations for the management of local Indigenous heritage
- Consider any nomination of sites under any Act (State and Federal)
- Make a report on community consultation undertaken
- Recommend community education, awareness and tourism programs to promote the study findings
- Identify areas and issues for further research

**During the course of the study, through consideration of steering committee meetings, it was decided to place an emphasis on the following:**

- The shared nature of Wiradjuri and non-Indigenous heritage, particularly since European contact.
- Oral histories, particularly in the non-Indigenous rural community where knowledge and stories may have been passed down through the generations
- Provision of an insight into pre-European Wiradjuri culture
- Potential for tourism and creation of employment opportunities.
- Inclusion of a localised timeline of Wiradjuri history.
- Provision of information for the whole community to provide a basis for education on a whole range of Wiradjuri issues.
- The need for the study to provide evidence and direction as a basis for assisting urban and rural planning decisions.

In addition, since recording of Wiradjuri heritage in recent times (from about 1967) was considered to be less urgent due to a number of factors including major change at that time (resettlement, political activism .etc) and still being held in the memories of the current generations, this period could be covered more briefly.

These requirements modified the scope of the study from the original with a lesser emphasis on physical site identification, customs and practices and a greater concentration on shared Wiradjuri and Non-Indigenous places and stories, language and the natural environment of Wiradjuri Country.

This may be seen in a positive light as part of the ongoing consultative process.

## 1.2 The Study Team and Consultant Experience/Qualifications

The study team was comprised of the steering committee and reference people, previously listed with some assistance provided by volunteer members and students of the Wagga Wagga community.

Principal planning, management, research, field work and report preparation was carried out, following confirmation of Go Green Services as the successful tenderer to undertake the study on 21<sup>st</sup> January, 2002.

Principal community worker for the study, Dick Green, has worked with the Indigenous community in the Wagga Wagga region for 20 years. Involvement has been with Indigenous projects and activities conducting Indigenous related training and cross-cultural courses, tours, committees and publications.

There has also been a high level of involvement with Wagga Wagga City Council through cultural, social and environmental planning, projects and committees.

### Relevant formal qualifications

- Bachelor of Science in Agriculture, University of New England
- Australian History, subject towards Bachelor of Arts
- Facilitation Skills for Indigenous programs and- Understanding Indigenous Identity History and Spirituality, Wodonga College of TAFE.

This study report is an interpretation of Wiradjuri heritage, culture and history. It has been compiled in such a way as to assist in giving recognition and respect to and where appropriate, restoring the various aspects of Wiradjuri.

It is, in a sense, a giving back, and a sharing of, this heritage, culture and history by the whole community.

Although not intending to speak totally for Wiradjuri people, it is hoped that, through the direction of the steering committee, and by association with community networks and individuals, a true and fair interpretation of traditional, contact and recent Wiradjuri heritage has resulted.



## 1.3 Study Purpose and Scope

### Purpose

The two main purposes for undertaking this study were:

- a. **To document Wiradjuri cultural heritage in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area.**
- b. **To provide guidance to the whole community in general, and to the Wagga Wagga City Council in particular, in taking account of Wiradjuri heritage in planning, development and undertaking cultural heritage activities in general.**

### Scope

#### a. **Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage Documentation**

It has been acknowledged that there had been inadequate documentation of Wiradjuri cultural heritage in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area. This study was undertaken to start to address this issue. Cultural heritage, then, in this context, refers to a wide range of time periods, practices, materials, and knowledge, and includes but is not limited to, artefacts, sites and places of significance and evidence of occupation such as scarred trees, camp places and axe quarries.

It may also include traditional language, music, song, story, dance, signals, designs, human characteristics and spiritual and ecological knowledge.

In more recent times since European contact, cultural heritage may include the history of this contact, independent and shared non-Indigenous and Indigenous heritage, recordings, written materials, oral stories, officially recorded sites, history and new places, family/kinship relationships and knowledge of the natural environment.

*"Heritage is supposed to be something of value passed on from the previous generations. Well, everything is of value to the Wiradjuri, and therefore we are custodians (gangarnas) of our heritage at all times".*

Cec Grant, 2001.  
Wongamar,  
Wiradjuri Elder.

This, then, sums up the need for Wiradjuri heritage to be looked at in all its various aspects and over all time periods from "**Early Times**", "**Traditional Times**", "**Contact Times**", and "**Recent Times**."

#### b. **Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage Planning and Management - Community and Council Guidance**

There is an increasing desire to take into account Wiradjuri heritage in planning, development, undertaking cultural heritage and general community activities in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area.

Therefore, there is a need to understand Wiradjuri and Indigenous culture in general to more fully plan for its recognition, appreciation and acceptance into the Wagga Wagga and district communities.

In determining appropriate management mechanisms for Wiradjuri heritage, the protocols, methods, and experiences, advice and intent of the following groups, organisations and statutory provisions need to be taken into account:

- Wiradjuri and associated Indigenous community
- Local Government, Wagga Wagga City Council
- NSW State Government agencies and statues.
- Australian Federal Government agencies and statues
- International Agreements and Protocols.

These requirements are further expanded in the study objectives and methodology following.

## **1.4 Study Objectives and Methodology**

The study endeavoured to meet the objectives as stated in the brief with variations previously outlined following discussion with the study steering committee and the Indigenous community in general. The following is a general approach on how each of the objectives was met and the methodology used.

### **Objective 1.**

**Create a consultative relationship between Wagga Wagga City Council and Indigenous community for future dealings with Indigenous Heritage.**

**Methodology.** Continued and further developed consultation with new and existing Indigenous organisations in this process (Indigenous Cultural Heritage Group, Wagga Wagga and Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council, Wagga Wagga Indigenous Consultative Committee, Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group, Wiradjuri Council of Elders, Koori Inter-Agency Group, Reconciliation Wagga Wagga and the new Wagga Wagga Community Development Program and Indigenous Men's Group). This naturally occurred as the study was undertaken and also helped to meet Objective 2.

### **Objective 2.**

**Involve Indigenous Community in all phases of the study process.**

**Methodology.** Input was encouraged from the above groups and individual community members, using the study steering committee to guide appropriate levels of involvement. Involvement was through steering committee meetings, fieldwork, site assessment and consultation with the above groups. The concept of community action research was to some extent adopted whereby the Indigenous community participated in the study and its outcomes and recommendations.

### **Objective 3.**

**Provide an understanding of the Indigenous heritage in the Wagga Wagga City Council area.**

**a. Proposed procedures to determine location of known, and likelihood of additional traditional and post European contact sites, places, stories and artefact collections of significance.**

These included:

- I. Accessing National Parks and Wildlife Service sites register and liaison with the Wagga Wagga and Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Councils for recorded and known traditional, contact and recent sites and places of significance and successful land claims.
- II. Conducting and recording interviews with Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals and groups, with a view to obtaining an oral history of significant and relevant places, people, artefact collections and events; (traditional Wiradjuri sites of significance, pastoral heritage, urban Wagga Wagga, contemporary heritage, etc.) As part of this process, a series of district community "yarnups" at several locations throughout the council area were proposed. However, due to an assessment of that there was little likelihood of obtaining much information from these sources, the more efficient method of interviewing individuals was adopted.
- III. Accessing and studying historic and contemporary maps and aerial photographs. (Surveyor's, parish and county maps, topographic maps) to determine locations/potential locations of significant traditional and post European contact sites/places in the council and regional area. Mapping of landscape components (wetlands, sandhill, billabongs, creeks etc.) so as to determine potential sites was carried out. The existing Wagga Wagga Natural Resources Management Plan and Council and Department of Land and Water Conservation G.I.S mapping systems were used to assist this process.
- IV. Conducting a literature review to determine traditional, contact and recent sites and places and collections of significance to Indigenous people. (Wiradjuri Regional Land Council records, Wagga Wagga Library Local Collection, Riverina Archives, Charles Sturt University Library, Museum of the Riverina, Margaret Carnegie and Wagga Wagga Special Collections, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, land owner diaries, etc.)
- V. Conducting a preliminary description and assessment of Wiradjuri artefact collections held at various locations; Ganmain/Devlin Collection, (Australian Museum,) Museum of the Riverina, Lashbrook Collection (Ngungilanna Centre, C.S.U), Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council, Belling Collection and significant regional collections (Lockhart, Junee and Jindera Museums)
- VI. Conducting public presentations to inform the community about the study and make requests for information. This included an address at the Museum of the Riverina (Exhibition opening..4.02) and to the Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council (.4.02) and the circulation to the community of written media calling for contributions to the study.(See Section 2.6)

A promotional poster was also produced in conjunction with the G.I.S sector of Council. (See section \*2.6 Consultation, and 4.0 Posters)

**b. Identification/Recording and treating with respect sites of Indigenous significance**

Having identified traditional sites, story places, artefact collections and natural features of significance by the process outlined in (a) above the following procedures were undertaken:-

- I. Record traditional sites using the existing N.P.W.S methodology and registering system, using standard site recording forms (See section 2.3.3.) This included recording topographic map grid references, landscape features, site descriptions, photos etc. The type of traditional sites (meeting places, camp sites, burial sites, tool making, food gathering, scar trees, middens), contact and recent sites (camping places, explorer routes, pastoral stations reconciliation/historic places) were recorded. The distribution and location of some of these sites and places is shown on maps of the whole Council area and near urban areas of Wagga Wagga.
- II. To respect and protect sites, and significant places consider establishing two (2) levels of access to listings following completion of the study:
  - Access limited to appropriate Indigenous organisations/individuals as determined by an appropriate body- possible Elders Groups. Within this, access could be further limited, as appropriate (gender based- men's and women's business, language groups, for Council purposes, etc.) Listing to be held by N.P.W.S with a formal access process to be followed.
  - Publicly accessible site and place listings, with general access to the wider community as determined in consultation with the Indigenous community. These sites and places may be used for educational/ reestablishment of Indigenous culture and practices and/or tourism purposes as determined by the community, subject to rules of use and appropriate protection being provided.

In all cases, sites would need to be treated with respect, by acknowledging their significance, restricting access and giving protection where appropriate.

At all times Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights should be honoured. The current definition of these rights from the Aboriginal Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) and other appropriate Indigenous organisations, in consultation with the local Indigenous community should be used as the basis for decision making. To this end it is acknowledged that heritage includes, but is not limited to literary and artistic works, languages, spiritual knowledge, ancestral remains, traditional sites, story places, ecological knowledge of flora and fauna and documentation of Indigenous peoples' heritage. Any agreement resulting from this study regarding ownership, joint management, shared heritage, access and/or confidentiality should be honoured and acknowledge that the Wiradjuri people have always been and continue to be living in Wiradjuri Country as a community.

**c. Provide information for future use in education, for tourism purposes, and management purposes.**

Information gathered will provide material for use in community and formal education, for tourism purposes and for management of Wiradjuri heritage.

A number of sites, places and stories may be selected for use in education and for tourism and management opportunities following consultations with the Indigenous community.

As part of potential increased visitations to sites, and places, planning development and management mechanisms (as listed below objective 4) need to be implemented.

Wagga Wagga City Council in particular will need to take its responsibilities towards Wiradjuri heritage into account in Rural and Urban Planning and Development and in cultural heritage and general undertakings.

## **Objective 4**

### **Determine appropriate management mechanisms for Wiradjuri Heritage**

To assist this component of the study the processes, methods and experiences and requirements of the following levels of community and government were taken into account.

#### **Wiradjuri and Associated Indigenous Community**

Including: Wiradjuri Council of Elders, Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group, Wiradjuri Regional and Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Councils, Indigenous Consultative Committee, Koori Interagency Group, Indigenous Cultural Heritage Group.

#### **Local Government/Wagga Wagga City Council**

Including: Local Environmental Plan (1985) as amended  
Rural Local Environmental Plan (1991) as amended  
City Development Control Plan (1986 updated 2001)  
Rural Development Control Plan (1988 updated 2002)  
Cultural Planning Strategy (1999)  
Social Plan (1998)

#### **NSW State Government**

Including:

- National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPW Act 1974 as amended), Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Standards and Kit (1997) Guidelines and Aboriginal Ownership Act (1996), Aboriginal Sites Officers (Tumut and Griffith)
- NSW Heritage Office and Heritage Council of NSW (Aboriginal History and Heritage Guide, Heritage Act 1977)
- Department of Urban Affairs and Planning (Environment Planning and Assessment Act 1979)
- Department of Aboriginal Affairs

#### **Australian Federal Government**

- Australian Heritage Commission (1975 Act and Register of the National Estate)

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and Australian Local Government Association "Working out agreements with Indigenous Australians".(1998)

### **International Provisions**

- World Heritage Convention agreements.
- International Council on Monuments and Sites - the Burra Charter.(1999)

This process assisted in :

- Practical recommendations for conservation and management of Wiradjuri sites and places.
- Highlighting significance of Wiradjuri heritage to the Wagga Wagga, community and beyond.
- Developing a proposed mechanism by which the Wagga Wagga City Council can take into account the significance of local Wiradjuri heritage and the roles and responsibilities of parties concerned in any proposal for management or development of heritage areas.
- Recommendations on land use planning for conservation of Wiradjuri and other Indigenous heritage.

## **1.5 Constraints and Opportunities**

The originally allocated time (30 weeks) for completion of the report and the funding levels provided, necessitated a disciplined and selective approach, given the wide scope of the study. Subsequently the extension of the study and the additional funding provided, allowed it to be completed in forty weeks.

Another constraint, especially to recording traditional sites, was the absence of any person with close traditional links to the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area or old enough to have access to local traditional knowledge.

Sites were only recorded on public land or private land in close proximity to public roads or where the landholder gave permission to record the site.

A full assessment of sites would require a more detailed survey across all lands and include a major public awareness campaign to address reluctance, hopefully temporary, on the behalf of some landowners to come forward with information.

This study is very much seen as a "work in progress" since it is a relatively new and emerging area of work that will be of value to the whole community.

Potential opportunities arising from the study relate to education, tourism, assisting with social, cultural and environmental harmony as well as assisting to address economic and planning issues.

Issues recommended for further research have been identified and included in this study. (see section 2.5)

## **2.0 THE STUDY**

### **2.1 THE STUDY AREA - the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (L.G.A)**

Wagga Wagga Local Government area lies within the heart of southern Wiradjuri Country/Ngurambang (Map No.1)

The Wiradjuri people became custodians of this Country a long time ago, nurturing the land, creating language, customs, stories, music, dance and songs whilst seeking knowledge and happiness and leading a spiritually based life.

Following the coming of Europeans, the establishment of the Wogo Wogo squatting run,(1)(1832), the proclamation of Wagga Wagga village (1849), Wagga Wagga Municipality, (1870), Wagga Wagga City (1947), and the amalgamation with Kyeamba and Mitchell Shires, (1981), the greater City of Wagga Wagga was formed.(2)

The early surveyed boundaries of land subdivisions in this area were for the purpose of describing and recording land ownership and tenure and were based on the English system of a portion, parish and county. (3)

This administrative area has resulted in a necessarily artificial one, which took little account of natural features (except the Murrumbidgee River), landscapes and prior Wiradjuri land management. (See Maps - No 2 and No 6)

So whilst the designated study area includes all land within the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. boundary, Wiradjuri cultural heritage is not confined to or by this boundary. The Council area, then, needs to be put in a regional context with at least the surrounding Wiradjuri Country.

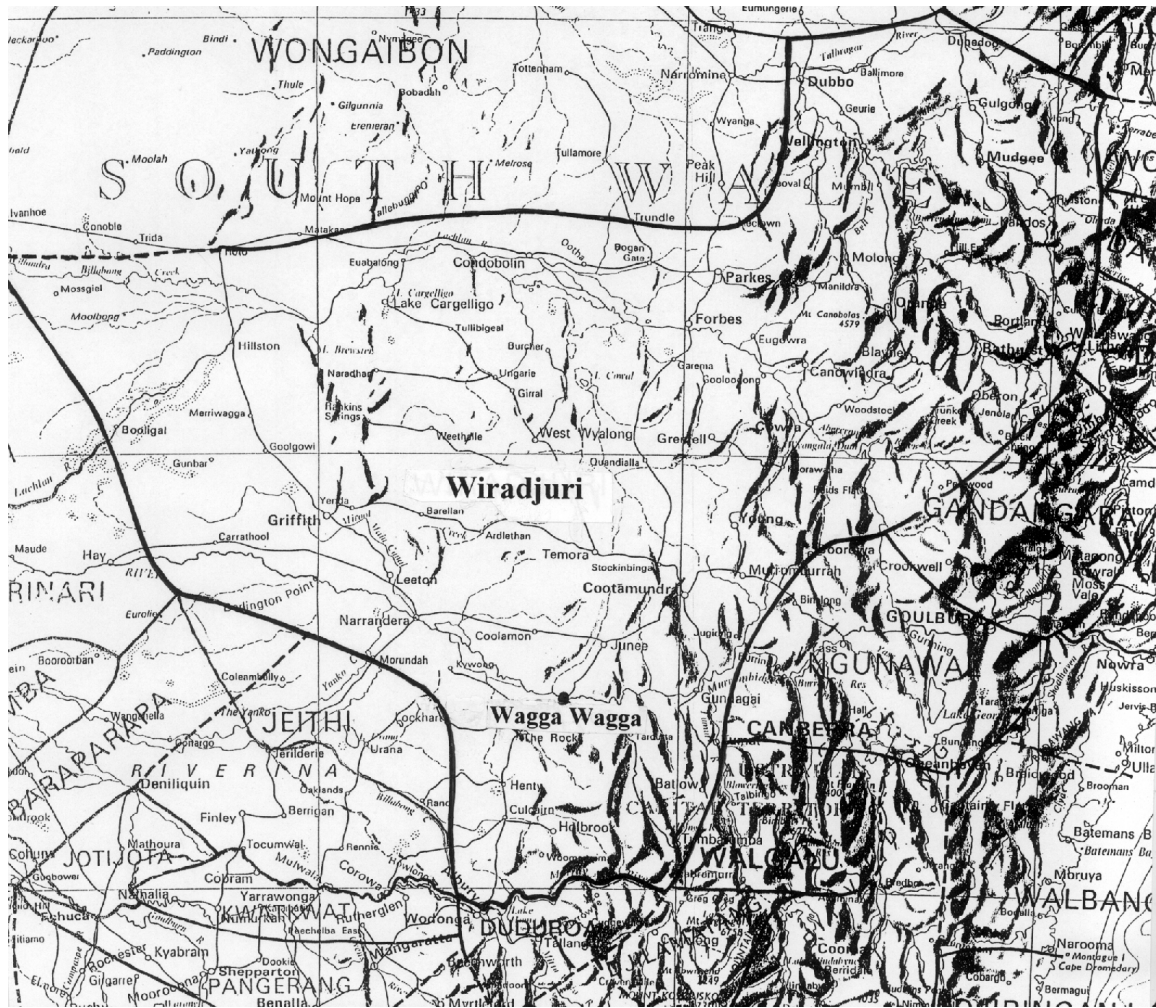
To this end, mention of significant Wiradjuri places, culture and heritage outside the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. is made in the following study report.

However, having such a defined area for the study helps provide a balance between an extended scope of the study and as a sample of the larger Wiradjuri Country heritage.

The Wagga Wagga L.G.A., is an area of 4, 886 square kilometres, surrounded by 9 rural shires, all within Wiradjuri Country. With a population of 56 400 it is predominantly an suburban community (80%) with a small base of residents living in rural areas (12%) and the villages (8%) of Collingullie, Currawarna, Gumly Gumly, Kapooka, Mangoplah, Oura, Tarcutta (all these names derive from the Wiradjuri language), and Galore, Forest Hill, Humula and Ladysmith (English language names) (4). (See Map No. 2. Wagga Wagga Local Government and Wiradjuri Heritage Study Area).

**Ngindhugir gawaymbanha nginha**

**You all are welcome here**



**Map 1 - Wiradjuri Ngurambang - Wagga Wagga**

This map follows the area shown as Wiradjuri Country on the map “Aboriginal Tribes of Australia” by N.B Tindale 1974. Many discrepancies have come to light since the publication of this map but there is as yet no consistent agreement as to the extent of Wiradjuri Country.



## **2.2 TIME CONCEPTS and TIME PERIODS**

### **Time Concepts**

Traditional Wiradjuri society did not use numerical ways of measuring time. The emphasis on time and events was "now" or the present and the proximity to it. The focus was more on events than time. Unlike the western concept of linear and measured time, Wiradjuri time is circular, and without boundaries. One has difficulty talking about a single time because every thing has always been and continues to be.

Time relates more to events including natural occurrences, seasons and sun movements and the relationship between them. Time, then, is not only some period in the distant past or some future period but is also now, where events are still occurring.(5,6)

In Indigenous belief systems there is no change in identity, only transformations throughout life and indeed after physical death, where all beings transform to the spiritual state, which exists at all times.

The physical state is the present state. All physical forms must be conceived and born into it from the spiritual state. The life period of the physical state is the time of discovery of identity for Indigenous people. A person passes through a series of transformations from childhood through adulthood, parenthood to old age. These natural and human transformations were traditionally recognised at ceremonies.

In Wiradjuri there is also understood to be the concept of Nurganbu- a period when Baiamai, the 'Good Spirit', the 'Maker', 'Planner' or 'Designer' designs everything continuously, in the past, present and future. During Ballanda, the creation period, the great ancestral being transformed the landscapes and life forms. This creation continues as an ongoing process of transformation.

### **Time Periods**

Given the Wiradjuri concepts of time and the western concept, where time is linear and measured with reference points and is future oriented, it will be beneficial to take a 'Two Ways' approach to presenting Wiradjuri heritage. That is, the inclusion of a combination of both time periods and time lines to help in the understanding of events. Time periods used necessarily merge into one another.

**Table 1 - Time Periods**

<b>Time Period</b>	<b>In Years</b>
<b>1. Early Times</b> (Merging into) ↓ <b>2. Traditional Times</b> (Merging into) ↓ <b>3. Contact Times</b> (Merging into) ↓ <b>4. Recent Times</b>	<b>? to 120, 000 years B.P?</b> (Before the present)  <b>120, 000 years B.P? to 1790 A.D</b>  <b>1790 A.D. to 1967 A.D.</b>  <b>1967 A.D. to 2002 A.D. and Beyond</b>

The study looked sequentially at these time periods including many aspects of Wiradjuri Heritage. Each time period is defined by changing culture, events and Country. Details are provided in an accompanying Time Line for each period.

Where appropriate, each of the named time periods contains the sections below.

**Table 2 - Report Contents**

<b>Sections Contained within this Report</b>				
<b>( ✓ ) = Yes      ( ✗ ) = No</b>				
<b>Time Period Section</b>	<b>Early Times</b>	<b>Traditional Times</b>	<b>Contact Times</b>	<b>Recent Times</b>
Introduction	✓	✓	✓	✓
Timeline	✓	✓	✓	✓
Description of Country and Life Forms	✓	✓	✓	✓
People/Community and Practices	✗	✓	✓	✗
Places, Sites & Collections	✗	✓	✓	✗
Stories & Story Places	✓	✓	✓	✓
Language	✗	✓	✓	✓
Maps & Cultural Landscape Profiles	✗	✓	✓	✗
Tables, Lists, Photos, Drawings	✗	✓	✓	✓

## **2.3 WIRADJURI HERITAGE - Research and Documentation**

### **2.3.1 What is Wiradjuri Heritage?**

For the purposes of this study Wiradjuri heritage in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area refers to a wide range of practices, materials and knowledge and includes, but is not limited to, artefacts, sites of significance and evidence of occupation such as scarred trees and stone implements. It also includes language, music, dance, song, designs, spiritual and ecological and beliefs, knowledge and more recently, recordings and written material.

It is the cultural heritage of Wiradjuri over the Early Times, though Traditional and Contact Times to Recent Times. The study area, the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area, is contained within the pre-European Wiradjuri Country as approximated in Tindale's (1974) map of Aboriginal Australia of language or social identity areas. (Map No 1).

Wiradjuri were interacting groups, (with a common language, collectively referred to as "tribes"), who lived in many environmental areas, with differing though related customs and ceremonial practices according to their river community (1).

Wiradjuri were a confederacy of groups who had a common language with some dialect and word differences relating to an estimated 60 clan and local groups, (2). The Wiradjuri merged with adjoining groups through this language, shared kinship and ceremonial activities and intermarriage.

Following the concept of Kabaila (3), in this study "Wiradjuri" has been used often without the definite article, "the". The purpose for not using the phrase "the Wiradjuri" is to get away from the idea that there is any simple commonality of identification, views or understanding about what it meant to be Wiradjuri. "Wiradjuri" can then refer to the people, the Country, the language, stories and ways of thinking and doing. It also makes it clear that this study makes no claim to speak for or represent all Wiradjuri. It is also worth noting that Wiradjuri language does not use "the".

There has been much study and there are many books and references about Wiradjuri, both of a generalised nature and on specific topics (See recommended reading list)

The purpose of this study is to concentrate on Wiradjuri in the local government area of Wagga Wagga about which little has been compiled.

## 2.3.2 The Early Times

### Introduction

One way to refer to distant times and places in Wiradjuri is to refer to the concepts of "**Early Times**" or the "Far Away"; meaning far away in time and space. The English speakers idea of the "Dreamtime" for referring to this period is quite inadequate (See "Dreaming" or "Dreamtime" Section 2.3.5) (4,5)

One belief is that of Nurginbu when Baiamai, the All Creator, "the Planner", " the Cutter Outer", "the Maker" designed everything in minute detail in the universe. This continues in the present and will continue into the future. (6)

Wiradjuri, along with Indigenous groups across the country, believed they came from the "dreaming" which must by necessity be " now", the present time. (5). The following edited excerpts from Rudder (4) attempt to convey concepts of Aboriginal existence from Arnhem Land which were believed to be common across Australia in traditional times.

" The concepts of "Inside"- the invisible, beyond physical world and "Outside", the physically created and visible world are integrated to form one existence.

Everything and all people exist always, somewhere in some form - spiritually, geographically, and physically. Life is a series of transformations, from child to adolescent to adult, from one state to another.

Anything named has its own identity expressed in its name. This identity is fixed and unchanging. At birth, people have their full identity but they don't know it yet! Life is a constant process of discovering this identity and the associated relationships to people and Country.

So cultural practices, songs and ceremonies all help reveal relationships to birds, animals, to place and to members of the group. This leads to an understanding of who one is within your Dreaming, one's "Inside" identity. For instance, a budyan (or totem) identifies features of the "Inside" to its holder. Multiple budyan (or totems (7)) associated with a person, by implication reveal much about his or her own "Inside" non-physical Country

The Creator Ancestors can move between "Inside" and "Outside". They are still active. The present state of the world is evidence of these transformations. Culture and society thus share the laws, principles and activities by which the natural world was created. Thus laws and principles of the natural world are Dreamtime Laws which generate human culture and society.

This leads to respect and adoration for the Earth and allows for the discovering of internal (Inside) and external (Outside) knowledge of oneself.

Language richly integrates physical, mental and spiritual levels of experience. Thus "Dreaming" stories, which cannot be proved but which give value by their effect on the people, their self image and by providing direction, (Law), for them.

So what is important is not the passage of time and history, not past to future but the cycle of transformations from the Inside (the Subjective, invisible, mental, metaphysical, spiritual) to the Outside (the Objective, visible, physical). That is, perhaps, from "dream" to reality.

Another way to express this is that things are formed or shaped out of something already in existence. That is, it is drawn out, developed or evolved, passing from one state to another in endless variety. (8)

Focus lies more on identity and to a lesser extent on place than time. "Meaning", not time and space, is what connects all.

Traditionally people listen to the songs and energies of the earth and hear the voices of the Dreaming. They receive the potency of the Ancestors and respect the heartbeat of the Ancestral Creators, which leads to harmony and following of the Law.

Traditional stories have this pull towards harmony and contain the Law within them.

## Time Line 1 - Early Times

<b>Nurginbu (The Dreaming)</b>	The eternal Dreaming. When Baiamai, ‘the Good Spirit’, “the Designer”, “the Planner”, 'the Creator', designs everything in minute detail for the creation. Continues in the past, present and future.
<b>Ballanda (Creation Time)</b>	Creation Period. Great ancestral beings transform the landscapes and life forms.
<b>15 Billion Years B.P. (Before the Present)</b>	Formation of the Universe, according to scientific explanation.
<b>4.5 Billion Years B.P.</b>	Formation of the solar system, sun and planets.
<b>470 Million Years to 45 Million Years B.P</b>	Australia is part of the super-continent, Gondwanaland.
<b>400 Million Years</b>	Laying down of sediments to form rock which was to become Kengal (The Rock) significant local Wiradjuri Place. (8,9). Also, geological formation of Wantabadgery granite, common parent rock nurturing Wiradjuri Country.
<b>65 Million Years B.P.</b>	Extinction of the Dinosaurs.
<b>60 Million Years B.P.</b>	Formation of Murumbidya (Murrumbidgee) River Valley and the Wiradjuri Story of this event.
<b>45 Million Years B.P.</b>	Australia drifts northward away from Antarctica. Ancestors of the Crows evolve here and later disperse throughout the world.



**No. 1. Wantabadgery Granite – Formed about 400 million years ago. Nurturing Wiradjuri Country ever since. Indymarra Reconciliation Place**

2001

## Description of Country and Life Forms

It is through traditional stories like the following one of how the Murrumbidgee River was formed; that we can have a glimpse of what we now call Wiradjuri Country in Early Times was like.

Using the concept of "Two Ways" knowledge we can look at this period using a geological time scale. Following the formation from 15 billion years ago (Before the Present) of the universe, the sun and solar system and Earth, Australia became part of Gondwanaland. (See Time Line 1) (10)

From around 470 million years ago an inland sea covered most of eastern Australia including parts of Wiradjuri Country. Volcanoes were active along the eastern margin of the continent. According to geologists, the Murrumbidgee Valley was formed about 60 million years ago whilst Australia was drifting away from Antarctica. Australia's climate was warm and humid and temperate rain forest was widespread. From about this time, there was the first appearance of bats and rodents followed by a dramatic diversification of mammals and birds, molluscs and crustaceans, including the evolving of Crow Ancestors. (11)



**No.2 Wiradjuri Country - Looking from River Red Gums around Roping Pole Swamp (Middle ground - now drained) to the mighty Kengal (The Rock) formed 400 million years ago.**

2/2002

## **Stories**

The forces and power that created the world are referred to by Indigenous people as their Creative Ancestors. (12)

The Ancestors travelled and shaped the features of the landscape, the natural elements of sun, moon and stars and all living creatures. This period is sometimes referred to as "Ballanda" by some Wiradjuri. (13)

The journeys associated with the event were an intricate part of Wiradjuri stories, ceremonies and patterns of living and beliefs. Every aspects of daily life reflected the stories of the Ancestors associated with a place.

Today, some stories remain both within and beyond Wiradjuri Country, some of which have been recorded. It is believed that some may still be held by neighbouring peoples (the Ngemba (Brewarrina area), the Ngiyampaa (Cobar area)) as far away as the south coast (the Yuin (Bateman Bay) and central Australia (the Pitjantjara)). (14,15,16,17)

In those far off days, all the animals and birds had human form. All followed strictly the tribal laws.

The Goanna plays a somewhat important part in certain of the Wiradjuri nature stories. The story that follows comes from the upper Murrumbidgee and extends to the Wagga Wagga District. (18)

### **How The Murrumbidgee Was Formed (A Condensed Story)**

In the far off days when the Riverina was the home of the great Goanna, there was no Murrumbidgee River.

There was a great drought. The Wiradjuri were perishing of thirst, and even the birds were dropping from the branches of the trees. Of all the bush creatures, the Goannas alone showed no evidence of suffering, indeed, they were sleek and dapper as ever. The other animals and birds looked at them with envy:

"How is it," they whispered, "that the Goannas never lack for water?"

It was rumoured that the reptiles had some secret source of supply that they would not share with their comrades in misfortune. It was true that the Goannas had a secret supply of water-a deep gnamma, or rock-hole, high in the ranges, but apart from the selfish reptiles, no one-not even their own wives, knew its location.

Water in the creeks and waterholes dried out, the wives of the Goannas distributed water from their own supply to the luckless animals, and so enabled many to remain alive. Again and again the Goanna women begged their husbands to give water to those who stood in such need. The Goannas refused.

It only made matters worse when the wives persistently questioned and badgered their husbands to disclose to them where the hidden water supply lay. The Goannas would on no account give them any information whatever, and, finding that the women were giving away the precious fluid to others, they reduced the supply.



**No.3 Gugaa - The Goanna. Plays an important role in Wiradjuri nature stories. It is generally considered symbolically to represent Wiradjuri today.**

Pomingalarna - 1987

The women decided that if anything was to be done, it must be done quickly. They must find the reservoir for themselves. Day after day they searched. To deceive their husbands they always carried their gunnais, or yam-sticks, so that they would have the excuse they were going to dig for the sweet roots. Every time they attempted to follow their husbands, they were foiled by the stony slopes of the foothills. All the evidence pointed to the fact that water was somewhere in the ranges.

Their husbands were suspicious. Each lizard would say to his wife:

"Your feet are dusty. It is not the dust of the plains, but that of the mountains. Does one dig yams on the mountain tops?"

"Oh foolish one! Do you think that we, who dig the yams for your meals, do not know where the best roots grow?"

At last the women decided they had no chance of discovering the secret water unless someone remained upon the mountain all night to watch where their men went. Now the mountain range was filled with spirits, some good, but the great majority bad and ever on the watch for some solitary person upon whom to work their mischief.

She would be a brave woman who would spend the night alone and unprotected on the ranges. One after another, the women, when asked, made excuses or refused outright.

At last the youngest of all the wives agreed to face the dangers. She was little more than a girl with well-rounded limbs and full breasts. All her sisters, somewhat jealous that this mere child should have shown more courage than they dared to show, clustered around her telling her how Wahn, the Crow would get her or perhaps, the Bunyip. But the girl would not be deterred. She left camp, taking with her a possum rug and a supply of food and water, and set out on foot to the dark depths of the ranges.

Slowly, she made her way towards the highest peak, ever turning fearful eyes to the deep gullies, the dark caves that pierced the mountain sides. At last she arrived at her destination, and making a light shelter of branches, settled down to wait for what might come.

The night was dark. A gentle night wind stirred the branches of the trees, making soft sounds that, to the girls straining ears, sounded like the approach of stealthy footsteps. Somewhere in the darkness a mopoke hooted.

Back in the camp there was great stir when it was found that the young Goanna wife was missing. All the women were questioned, but all denied any knowledge of what might have happened to her. At once a senior elder assembled his men, and they departed into the bush to scour the country in search of the missing woman.

Up on the mountaintop, the girl still kept her vigil. When she opened her eyes, she almost screamed with terror, for sitting in a circle around her, each armed with spears and a couple of tiny boomerangs tucked into his hair girdle, were a company of little bush spirit men. They were Tuckonies. The leader rose to his feet and said:

"Have no fear. We will not harm you. We know that you are here on an errand of mercy- otherwise we would not help. You are seeking for the hidden reservoir of the Goannas not for your own gain, but that those who thirst might have water. We will aid you. Follow us, and we will show you the secret spring"

The Goanna woman followed them closely to the crest of the ridge, and there they showed her where the sweet water lay. She fell upon her knees and drank until her thirst was quenched. Then rising to her feet, she turned to the little men:

"How will we get this water to those who need it? They are too weak to cross the rough country and climb up here to the waterhole."

The Goanna woman was told to return to her camp, then with her sisters to go into the hills that lay to the south. There they must wait until that which would happen had happened. None must remain in the valley-at the risk of their lives. When she had carried out these instructions, she must return at once to them and they would tell her further what was necessary.

The girl obeyed. When she had told her sisters what they must do, and had led them across the river into the hills she returned to the mountain top. She was told to force her yam-stick deep

into the side of the mountain and having done this to flee for her life. All the little men then vanished into the ground.

Taking a firm hold upon her courage, she placed the end of her yam stick against the mountain, and pushed with all her might. Much to her surprise it went in quite easily. Then she turned and ran as fast as her feet would carry her-and behind her she heard the roaring of a great flood of water rushing down the valley on its way to join the Murray River. All the land had water, and the animals thirsted no longer. The water formed a great river that has ever since been called the Murrumbidgee.

From: McKeown, K. (1938) "Land of Byamee"



**No. 4. Bila Murumbidya (River Murrumbidgee) – Big water, forever flowing which often turns aside (floods)**

Wiradjuri Reserve 7/2002



### 2.3.3 Traditional Wiradjuri Times

#### Introduction

This period naturally flows on from Early Times as previously described. By definition, it is of, or relating to, Wiradjuri people, customs, activities and events that are directly connected to the way of life before European contact. (1) The term is used to describe many aspects of Wiradjuri heritage.

Although there is a belief that Wiradjuri people have always been here, the starting point for Traditional Times of 120, 000 years B.P. (Before the Present) has been taken. This is based on evidence from the region (Lake George), which suggests that land was being managed by use of fire by people living in that area of that time.(2)

The traditional times period was one of great richness of the Wiradjuri culture which was increasingly eroded during Contact Times.

The start of the latter period for Wiradjuri is taken at about the 1790's A.D, when a small pox epidemic was evidently brought to the area by the Eora people (Sydney). This greatly affected the Wiradjuri who had no immunity to it. (9)

Although "traditional" generally refers to the pre-European contact period the Wiradjuri culture obviously continued, (and still continues), but in a diminishing way through Contact times. Much of what is now known about Wiradjuri heritage was researched recorded and/or passed on through the first 100 years of contact.



## Timeline 2 - Traditional Wiradjuri Times

<b><i>120,000 YEARS B.P</i></b>	Analysis of pollen and charcoal from Lake George (Near Canberra) suggests people living in the area. Possible ancestors of Ngunawal people. (2) The evidence is currently being reassessed.
<b>38, 000 Years B.P. <i>TO 26,000 YEARS B.P</i></b>	At Lake Mungo and Willandra Lakes area families leave middens, ovens, charcoal, ash and ancestral remains as evidence of occupation (3).
<b>Before 35,000 BP to 6 000 BP</b>	Extinction of giant Australian animals. (4)
<b><i>9 000 - 7 000 BP</i></b>	Earliest visible evidence of Aboriginal beliefs connected with the Rainbow Serpent. Possibly synonymous with Wawi, or Bunyip the water creature/spirit of the Wiradjuri and Wongaibon people. This is the longest continuing religious belief in the world. (5)
<b><i>5 000 - 4 000 BP</i></b>	New small technology develops in South East Australia, allowing population increase and a more semi- sedentary way of life as shown by the establishment of large cooking mounds on the Bullenbong Plain and Old Man Creek near Collingullie.(6)
<b><i>4 000 - 1 500 BP</i></b>	Social recognition and interaction allowed Wiradjuri to live a gather - hunter lifestyle in relative harmony with the Country. Perhaps 2000 -3000 living in semi-permanent camps throughout the now Wagga Wagga L.G.A. Higher population concentration around billabongs. (Wollundry, Gumly, Gobbagumbalin, Currawarna, Bomen), and flood plains (Bullenbong, Old Man Creek, Kockibitoo. Berry Jerry & River) and sandhills (Hunters Hills, Eunonyhareenyah, Wabblambilly, Pomingalarna). Moderate to small sized family groups around lakes (Roping Pole Swamp, Lake Albert), along creeks (Houlaghan's, Keajura, Sandy, Burkes, Tarcutta) and seasonally at springs. Traversing hills and sand plains for food gathering, cultural and ceremonial purposes.
<b>Pre 1500BP-1870s A.D</b>	Fire possibly being used to manage country by selective burning of plains areas - to keep plains open and to encourage grasses for game and yams for food. (Berry Jerry, Kurrajong Plain) Sturt observes the smoke of many fires in the vicinity in 1829. (7,8)

## Description of the Country - Wiradjuri Ngurambang

How Wiradjuri Country looked in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area in Traditional Times has been pieced together from various recorded sources and observation. (See Country Profiles No.2b, No.3b and Large Maps No.2a and No.3a)

The following description, profile and map relate to the landscape in the period from about 15, 000 years ago until about 200 years ago. In the period that followed the last great ice age, (10, 000 to 15, 000 years ago) the Murrumbidgee River was broad and shallow transporting large amounts of sand and gravel and forming sand dunes and alluvial plains we now see on the flood plain between Oura and Narrandera, (10).

Over the past 10, 000 years the Murrumbidgee has cut into the old flood plain, with its course changing at times leaving billabongs out from the river. Landscapes features associated with the river and its flood plain were central to the traditional Wiradjuri way of life. These included sand dunes, creeks, billabongs, lakes and swamps.

The surrounding sloping country, consisting of hills and ridges originally formed around 400 million years ago, have been shaped by creeks, water and wind erosion and geological processes. These areas appear to have been less frequented by Wiradjuri than areas with more water.

In Large Map No.2a and No.3a and Cultural Landscapes Profiles No.2b and 3b show the landscape features of the near recent prehistoric times.



**No. 5. Houghlagan's Creek** – One of many creeks giving life to Wiradjuri Country

4/2002



**No. 6. Sand dunes** – Elevated above floods and soft for digging. Ideal for camping and burial places  
Oura Road 3/2002



## Life Forms

### Native Vegetation and Plants

The native vegetation cover in Traditional Wiradjuri Times in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. is generally described now as "box woodland" and was mainly as shown below.

**Table 3 - Native Vegetation-Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (Traditional Times) (11)**

Vegetation Layer	Types of Plants
<b>Trees</b>	Eucalyptus, Native Pine and Wattles. 8 to 30 metres high Tree cover 10 to 70 %
<b>Shrubs</b>	Wattles, Bottle Brushes, Heaths, Peas, Tea trees and Hopbushes 1.5 to 8metres high
<b>Ground Covers</b>	Grasses, water plants, daisies, creepers and lilies. 0-1.5 metres high

North and west of Wagga Wagga trees were more sparse (10-30% tree cover) with more grasses. East and south of Wagga Wagga, particularly on the hills, trees were closer together (30-70% tree cover) with more low shrubs. (11)

### Plant Species and Their Use

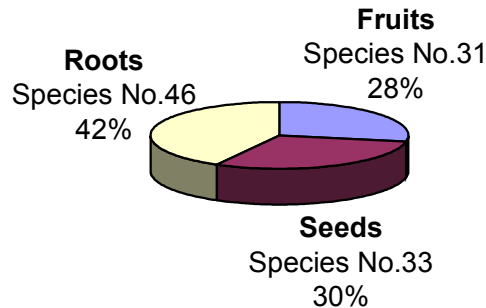
Plant parts were used for a wide range of purposes including for food, medicine, implements and weapons, fibre, shelter, glue, water supply, fire, burials and ceremonial purposes. Many plant parts had different multiple uses so plants were used efficiently with a minimum of wastage. For example, gubudha (common reed- *Phragmites australis*) which grows along the waters edges was used for fishing nets, baskets (leaves), spear shafts, nose-pegs, fire making, knives and necklaces (stem) and food (shoots/roots).

Most recorded information is about plants used for food. Plants have been estimated to make up about 80% of the Australian traditional diet. This may be a high estimate for this area due to the abundance of animals, birds, fish, mussels and other food sources.

Analysis of plants and plant parts recorded as being used traditionally in the South West Slopes botanical region (which approximates Wiradjuri Country and can be fairly confidently said to represent the Wagga Wagga area) reveals the following information. (12).

## Figure 1 - Plant Parts Used Traditionally For Food - South West Slopes

After Gott (12)



This shows that Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri were highly dependent on roots and tubers as plant food sources and less on seeds and fruits, necessitating the women and children using digging sticks in gathering them.

It has been estimated that only one third of food plants have been recorded (13) so it is possible that around 300 species were used. The following table lists some 40 common plant species and what they were used for. Where they grow is shown in Cultural Landscapes Profiles. Nos.2b and 3b.



**No. 7. Wild Fire** – Probably used to keep some plains open to attract game and encourage yams. (But more controlled than this one!)

Big Springs C1990

**Table 4 - Common Plants Used by Wiradjuri (Traditional Times)  
Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (12,14,15)**

<b>Common (&amp; Botanical) Plant Names</b>	<b>Restored Wiradjuri or (Whitefella) Names (16,17)</b>	<b>Parts Used/Uses</b>
<b>TREES</b>	<b>MADHAN</b>	
Boree/Myall <i>Acacia pendula</i>	Buuri	Wood/weapons, tools, fire
Bulloak <i>Allocasurina luehmanii</i>	(Buloke?)	Wood/ implements
Butter Bush <i>Pittosporum phylliraeoides</i>	Barrinan	Leaf, fruit seed/medicine, wood/shield, gum/glue. Ceremonial
Drooping She Oak <i>Allocasuarina Verticillata</i>	?	Stem, cone/Food, Wood/Implements
Golden Wattle <i>Acacia pycnantha</i>	?	Seed/Food, Gum/Food, glue. Bark/Medicine
Grey Box <i>Eucalyptus microcarpa</i>	(Birribee?)	Bark/Containers, Shields, Shelters
Hickory Wattle <i>Acacia implexa</i>	Gidya	Wood/Implements? Seed/food. Bark/Medicine? Fish poison? Fibre
Mugga Iron Bark <i>Eucalyptus sideroxylon</i>	Magaa	Wood/Shield, Boomerang
Kurrajong <i>Brachychiton populneus</i>	Yama	Gum, Seeds/Food. Wood/Fibre. Roots/Water Supply
Native Cherry <i>Exocarpus cupressiformis</i>	Mambarra	Wood/Shelter. Sap/Medicine. Fruit/Food. Leaves/Ceremonial
Quandong <i>Santalum acumintum</i>	Guwandang	Fruit/Food, Leaf/Medicine. Seed/Food, Ornament, games. Wood/Fire making. Ceremonial
Red Stringy Bark <i>Eucalyptus macroryncha</i>	Gundhay	Leaf/Medicine. Bark/Fire, shelter?
River She oak <i>Casuarina cunninghamiana</i>	(Bellaway)	Wood/Boomerangs, shields, clubs, Stems, Cones /Food
River Red Gum <i>Eucalyptus camaldulensis</i>	Biyal (Yarra)	Leafs, gums, bark/Medicine, fish poisons, Canoes, containers. Wood/Clubs. Seeds, Nectar, Sap, Leaf/Food
Silver Banksia <i>Banksia marginata</i>	?	Flower nectar/Drink. Cone/Fire Stick.
Silver Wattle <i>Acacia dealbata</i>	?	Bark/Medicine, Fibre, Containers. Wood/Axe handles. Gum/Glue



**No. 8 Maybal (Grass Tree) - A plant with many uses.**

Livingstone National Park - c1987



**No. 9 Guwandang (Quandang) - A small valuable tree rich in vitamin C, protein and oil. Traditional people were said to be able to predict the seasonal conditions from the Guwandang's growth. (Kelsal 1997)**

Photo L.Meier & W. Trannies

<b>Common (&amp; Botanical) Plant Names</b>	<b>Restored Wiradjuri or (Whitefella) Names (16,17)</b>	<b>Parts Used/Uses</b>
White Box <i>Eucalyptus albens</i>	Birri	Bark/Containers, Shelter
White Cypress Pine <i>Callitris glaucophylla</i>	Garraa	Leaf, Resin/Medicine, Wood/ Implements, Spear. Bark/Fire torch.
Yellow Box <i>Eucalyptus melliodora</i>	Baagang/Ganarra	Bark/Containers, Shelter
<b><u>SHRUBS</u></b>		
Emu Bush <i>Eremophila longifolia</i>	Yadhanda	Leaf, stem/medicine, nose peg. Fruit/Food.
Grass Tree <i>Xanthorrhoea glauca</i>	Maybal	Flower Stalk/Medicine, fire making, Resin/Glue, Flowers & Leaf base/Food
Hill Indigo <i>Indigofera australis</i>	?	Plant/Fish stunner
Mistletoe <i>Amyema Species</i>	(Snotty gobbles)	Fruit/Food, Leaves/Medicine?
Peach Heath <i>Lysanthe strigosa</i>	?	Fruit/Food
River Bottle Brush <i>Callistemon sieberi</i>	?	Nectar/Drink
Teatree <i>Leptospermum species</i>		Wood/Spears, Pegs for skins.
Wattle Shrubs <i>Acacia species</i>	?	Seed/Food. Wood/Implements. Gum/glue, drink
Umbrella Wattle <i>Acacia oswaldii</i>	(Milgee)	Seed, gum/Food. Wood/Weapons.
<b><u>HERBS and WATER PLANTS</u></b>		
Bulbine Lily <i>Bulbine bulbosa</i>	Galagang	Tuber/Food
Chocolate Lily <i>Dichopogon strictus</i>	?	Tubers/Food
Common Reed <i>Phragmitis communis</i>	Gubudha	Leaves/weaving, fishing nets, stem/fire making, nose pegs, spear shaft, necklaces, shoots/food
Cumbungi <i>Typha orientalis</i>	Dhirril Dyirril	Root/food leaf, Fibre, light spear, stem,
Flax Lily <i>Dianella revoluta &amp; longifolia</i>	?	Root, Berry/Food, Dye, Leaf/ Fibre, nets and baskets.



**No10 Golden Wattle - Seed, gum and bark used for food, glue and medicine.**

Gregadoo - 9/2001



**No11 Beard Orchid - Calochilus Species - Tubers for tucker or flower just for beauty?**

Flakney Range - c1990



**No. 12 Murang/Bading - (Yam Daisy) - Provided a stable diet throughout S.E. Australia - Possibly helped support a large population of Wiradjuri west of Collingullie until the 1840's**

B.Gott. 1992



**No. 13 Silver Banksia - Once grew on sandhills in central Wagga Wagga. Nectar was used to make a drink and dry cone to carry fire. Since 1997, Wagga Wagga's floral emblem.**

City of Wagga Wagga 2000

Common (& Botanical) Plant Names	Restored Wiradjuri or (Whitefella) Names (16,17)	Parts Used/Uses
<b>GRASSES</b>		
Native Millet <i>Panicum decompositum</i> Hairy Panic <i>Panicum effusum</i>	Buguwin (grasses)	Seed/ground to make flour, other grasses/fibre
Mat Rushes <i>Lomandra Species</i>	?	Leaf/Fibre. Flower nectar, seed/Food
Nardoo <i>Marsilea drumondii</i>	Ngarru	Seeds, spores/Food
Geranium <i>Geranium solanderi?</i>	?	Root/Food
Old Man Weed <i>Centipeda cunninghamiana</i>	Budhaanybudhaany	Stem, Leaves/Medicine
Orchids Finger, Waxlip, Onion <i>Caladenia, Glossodia, Microtis</i>	Duwambiyan (Finger Orchid)	Tubers/Food
Sedges/Tall Spike Rush <i>Eleocharis spacelata</i>	?	Stem/Fibre. Roots/Food?
Yam Daisy <i>Microseris lanceolata</i>	Murnang, bading (Arajoel?)	Tuber/Food
Wild Tomato <i>Solanum Species</i>	?	Fruit/Food



**No.14 Ngarru (Nardoo) - Seeds (sporepods) ground up to make damper.**

North Wagga Wagga - 2/2002



**No.15 Gubudah - (Common Reed)** A multiple use plant growing in Billabongs & along the river - Now favoured for river stabilisation

Wilks Park - 6/2002



**No.16 Peach Heath** - Bell flower produces peach flavoured berry

Big Springs - c1990

## **Native Animal Species and their Use**

In traditional times Wiradjuri Country abounded with native animals of all kinds. Many of the mammals were small marsupials, which have either now become extinct or greatly reduced in number. These included possums (brush tails, ring tail and pygmy), large marsupials (grey kangaroo and black wallaby), antechinus, bats, squirrel glider, wombat, koala and bilby. Species of bandicoot, dunnarts, planigale, numbat, quoll, bettong, native mice and rats including the water rat were also present.(18,19)

Reptiles and amphibians included eastern brown and black bellied, tiger and carpet snakes, Gould's goanna, lace monitor, (common goanna), lizards, skinks, geckos, turtles and frogs.

The monotremes, the echidna and platypus were common. The dingo was present both in the wild state and domesticated as a hunting dog and companion.

Most of these animals were used as a meat supply with some providing skins for cloaks, rugs, water carriers, decorative and ceremonial purposes. Fur, sinews and bone were used for sewing and binding.

The following table lists some of the common animals and what they were used for. Where they lived is shown in Cultural Landscapes Profile. No.2b.



**No.17 Black or Swamp Wallaby - A shy observer**

Flakney Range - c1998

**Table 5 - Common Animals Used by Wiradjuri (Traditional Times)  
Wagga Wagga Local Government Area**

<b>Common &amp; Scientific Names</b>	<b>Restored Wiradjuri or (Whitefella Wiradjuri) Name (16,17)</b>	<b>Uses</b>
Bandicoot <i>Perameles species</i>	Gurawung	?
Bilby <i>Macrotis lagotis</i>	Bilbi, Bilbang	?
Black Wallaby <i>Wallabia bicolor</i>	Walaru?	Meat/Skin?
Brush Tail Possum <i>Trichosurus vulpecula</i>	Wilay	Skin cloak, Water carrier? rugs, "Drum", Fur/thread. Meat/ Staple food
Brown snake (Eastern) <i>Pseudonaja textilis</i>	Warralang	?
Carpet Snake <i>Morelia spilotes variegata</i>	Yaba	?Mythological? Meat?
Dingo <i>Canis familiaris</i>	Yugay	Hunting, companionship
Easter Grey Kangaroo <i>Macropus fuliginosus</i>	Wambuwany	Meat, Skin, Sinews, Teeth
Echidna <i>Tachyglossus aculeatus</i>	Wandhayala (Bigabilla)	Meat, Quills?
Goanna <i>Varanus varius</i>	Gugaa	Meat/Fat
Koala <i>Phascolarctos cinereus</i>	Barrandhang	Referred to as "brother" Meat
Platypus <i>Ornithorhynchus anatinus</i>	Biladurang	?
Quoll <i>Dasyurus species</i>	Mabi	?
Red Bellied Black Snake <i>Pseudechis prophyriacus</i>	Galinydhuliny	?
Ring Tail Possum <i>Pseudocheirus peregrinus</i>	Gindaany	Meat/Skin
Sugar Glider <i>Petaurus breviceps</i>	Budharang	Meat?
Tiger Snake <i>Notechis scutatus</i>	Bagal	?
Water Rat <i>Hydromys chrysgaster</i>	Bigun, munun	Meat/Skin?
Wombat <i>Vombatus ursinus</i>	Wombad	Meat



**No. 18 Wilay - Brushtail Possum** - used to be very common. A staple for meat, cloaks, rugs, fur, thread etc. Skins traded from Wagga Wagga area. It took 30 skins to make a cloak, all caught in a morning's hunting.

Flakney Range 7/2002



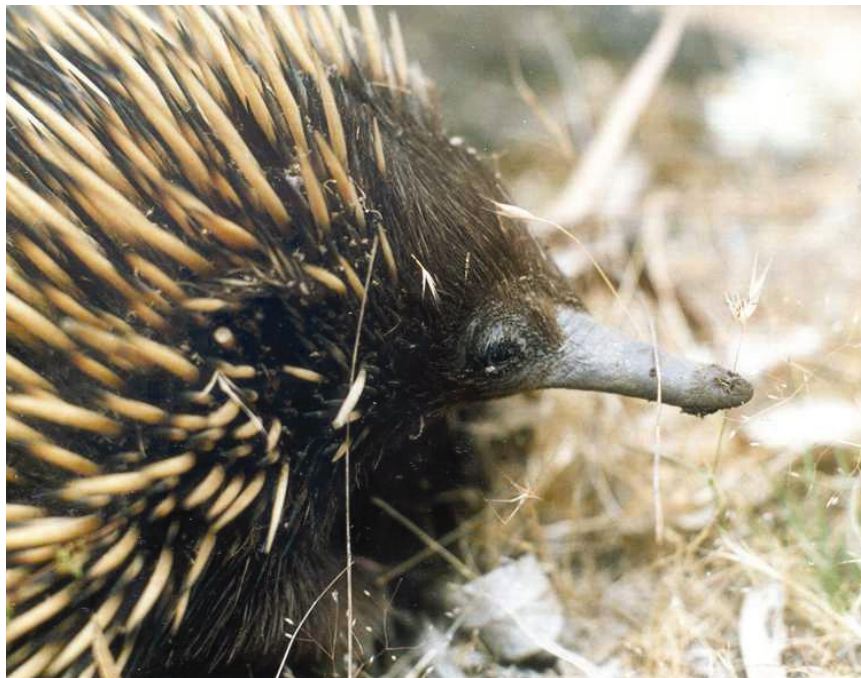
**No. 19 Yaba - Murray Darling Python/Carpent Snake** - A resident of rocky areas. Different colours mirror the ground colours. Non-Poisonous. Up to 2.8 metres

Renmark - R.Bennett



**No.20 Wambuwany - Eastern Grey Kangaroo - Commonly used for meat, skin, sinews and teeth for carving**

Gregadoo - c1990



**No.21 Wandhayala - Echidna - Tasty tucker in traditional times!**

Flakney Range - c1990



**No.22 Blue Tongue Lizard -Cooked in the ashes**

Flakney Range - c1990



**No.23 Gooanna - Goanna - Best caught before he comes down out of the trees after living on birds' eggs and young, (October) - Otherwise he tastes of carrion**

Oak Hill - c1985

## **Native Bird Species and their Uses**

Birds hold a special place in their relationship with Wiradjuri. They are the bringers of messages from the natural and spiritual worlds. Because they fly high and travel fast they are highly visible and can see and interpret natural happenings like changes in the weather. Thus they act as indicators or warners of these happenings.

Their often loud, territorial calls and songs enliven the country. Even following some 40 years of European settlement (in the 1870's) this was evident, as described by Mary Gilmore:-

*"In spring the bush used to be a constant choir of song; wings were everywhere; throughout the changing years might be heard the continual flying of the birds; curlews, plovers, travelling ducks, swans, wandering owls, bitterns night jars..... From twenty directions at once you could hear the mopoke, from one hundred the curlews. "* (20)

Many have Wiradjuri names that imitate the sound of their calls. In turn, local Wiradjuri were skilled at mimicking these calls. (See Flora Story). There are many traditional stories involving birds especially Muliyan, the Wedge Tail Eagle and his crafty opponent Wahn, the Crow, (or more correctly, the Australian Raven), Dinawan, the Emu and Buralgang, the Brolga. (21)

For every day food use the birds, their fledglings and eggs were caught or collected. Feathers for decoration and possibly fat of the Pelican for medicinal purposes were also collected. (22)

The following table lists some of the local species and their relationship to Wiradjuri. This list of 25 birds represents only 10% of the 250 species recorded in modern times in the Wagga Wagga Area (23) and range from locally extinct, Gambal, to very common, Gilaa. Many more bird species then now recorded were known to be present. Those not seen now included lyrebirds, bellbirds and bustards (plain turkey).(24)



**No. 24 Muliyan - Wedge Tailed Eagle - Supreme ruler of the skies**

Mt. Flakney - c1990

**Table 6 - Birds/Budyaan - A short list of significant species  
(Traditional Times) Recorded in the Wagga Wagga Area. (23)**

Common and Scientific Name	Restored Wiradjuri Name (16, 17)	Significance/Use
Australian Raven(or Crow) <i>Corvus coronoides</i>	Waagan	Trickster of the bush/ meat
Black Duck <i>Anas superciliosa</i>	Buthanbang	Meat and Eggs?
Black Swan <i>Cygnus atratus</i>	Dhundhu	Amazing grace
Boobook Owl <i>Ninox novaeseelandiae</i>	Gugug	Night Caller
Brolga <i>Grus rubicunda</i>	Burralgang	Dancer and Bugler
Common Bronzewing Pigeon <i>Phaps chalcoptera</i>	Waba	Ground bird
Bustard Plain Turkey <i>Ardeotis australis</i>	Gambal	?
Eastern Rosella <i>Platyercus eximius</i>	Mulbirrang	?
Emu <i>Dromaius novaehollandiae</i>	Dinawan	Food, Oil. Features Food Taboos?
Gang Gang Cockatoo <i>Callocephalon fimbriatum</i>	Gang Gang	Loud seasonal bird
Galah <i>Cacatua roseicapilla</i>	Gilaa	Related to Calare (Lachlan) River and the Milky way?
Great Egret <i>Ardea alba</i>	Bulun	?
Kookaburra <i>Dacelo novaeguineae</i>	Gugubarra	Awakener of the Bush
Magpie <i>Gymnorhina tibicen</i>	Garru	Conversationalist of the Bush
Noisy Friar Bird <i>Philemon corniculatus</i>	Galgurra	Seasonal Bird
Quarrion <i>Leptophus hollandicus</i>	Guwariyan	?
Little Corella <i>Cacatus pastinator</i>	Garila	Migratory Bird
Pelican <i>Pelicanus conspicillatus</i>	Gulambali	Eaten and Fat used on Burns?
Pied Currawong <i>Strepera graculina</i>	Buragurabang	?
Sulphur Crested Cockatoo <i>Cacatua galerita</i>	Murraany	Yellow feathers used in hair
Tawny Frogmouth <i>Podargus strigoides</i>	Ngugug	Night Bird
Wedge Tail Eagle <i>Aquila audax</i>	Muliyen	Supreme ruler of the skies. Feathers of great

Common and Scientific Name	Restored Wiradjuri Name (16, 17)	Significance/Use
		significance?
Brown Tree Creeper <i>Climacteris picymnus</i>	Bimbin	Special appreciation held for Bimbin (See Wahn story)
Willie Wagtail <i>Rhipidura leucophrys</i>	Dyirridyirri	Messenger Bird
Wood Duck <i>Chenonetta jubata</i>	Gunarung	Meat and Eggs?



**No.25 Garru - Blackbacked Magpie - Great songster, mimicker and intelligent bird of the ground and air. Sings up to 45 minutes non-stop.**

Pomingalarna - 1987



**No. 26 Buthanbang - Black Duck - Food, meat and eggs.**

Wollundry Lagoon - 7/2002



**No.27 Murraany - Sulphur Crested Cockatoo - Yellow crest feathers used for significant hair decoration**

Gumly Gumly 5/2002



**No. 28 Gulambali -Pelicans and Dhundhu - Black Swans - At rest.**

Bomen Lagoon - 6/2002



**No.29 Quails Nest and Eggs - Ground birds.**

Pomingalarna - 1987

## Other Food Sources

### Fish, Mussels, Crustaceans, Insects and Honey

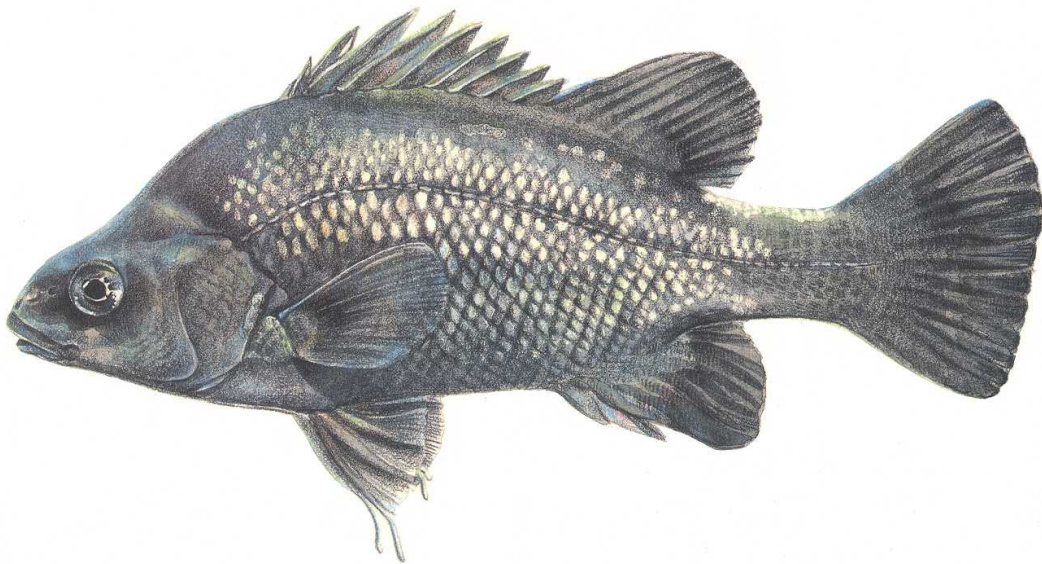
Living near natural water supplies local Wiradjuri naturally utilized a range of aquatic creatures. Fish, fresh water mussels, yabbie and Murray Cray fish appear to have made up a substantial proportion of the diet.

Fish were managed in tune with the rise and fall of floodwaters in the billabongs - like Wollundry and Parken Prgan, and Old Man Creek, with the use of fish baulks. This also occurred in creeks and even small gullies. They were caught by hand following muddying the water or by trapping, stunning with poison or speared.(25)

Mussels were gathered by feeling with the feet in the mud and then gathering by hand in the billabongs, creeks and rivers. Eels were present in the river, creeks and even in springs and seem to have been eaten.(26)

Insects and insect larvae were also eaten. Cicada nymphs were collected as they emerged from the ground. Paper wasp grubs and large white grubs of moths (Witjuti grubs) were collected from at least the yama (Kurrajong) and yarra (River Red Gum) trees. Wiradjuri participated in the annual Bogong moth hunt in the Australian Alps. (27)

Honey from native bees was likely to have been collected by dipping a bunch of grass into hives and was seen as a delicacy.

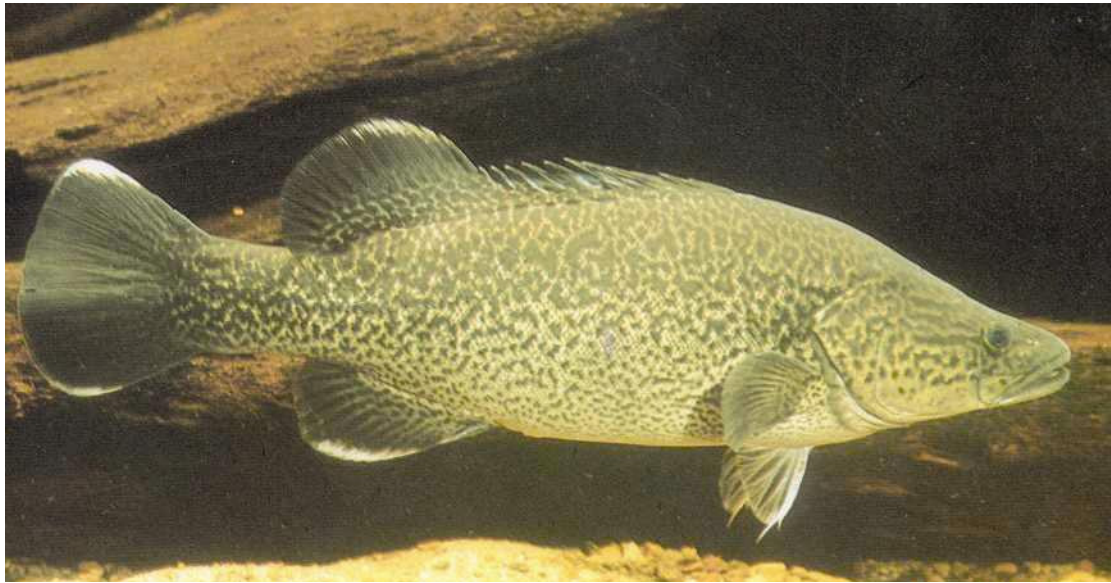


**No.30 Gubir - Macquarie Perch - Grow up to 40cm long.**

N.Armstrong M.D.B.C

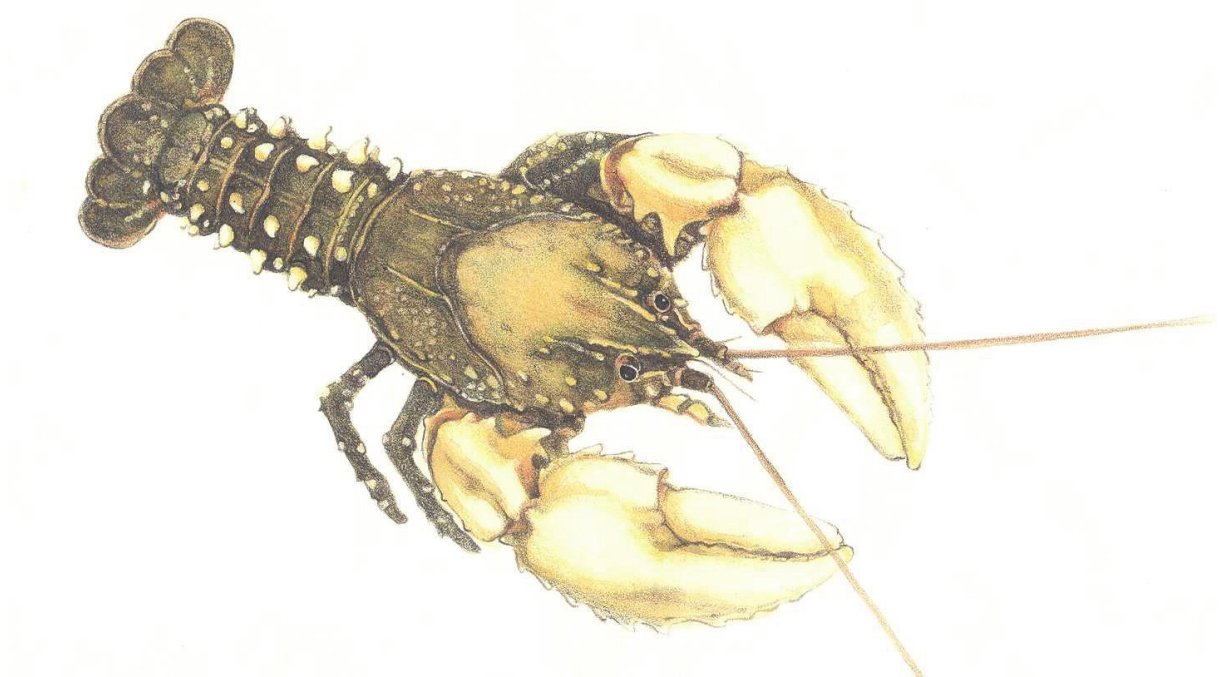
**Table 7 - Other Food Sources used by Wiradjuri  
(Traditional Times)  
Fish, Mussels, Crustaceans and Insects**

<b>Common &amp; Scientific Name (19)</b>	<b>Restored Wiradjuri Name (16,17)</b>
<b><u>Fish</u></b>	<b><u>Guva</u></b>
Catfish <b>Tandanus tandanus</b>	Dungur
Golden Perch <i>Macquaria ambigua</i>	Bidyin
Macquarie Perch <i>Macquaria australasica</i>	Gubir
Murray Cod <i>Maccullochella peelii peelii</i>	Gugabul
Silver Perch <i>Bidyanus bidyanus</i>	Baawan
River Black Fish <i>Gadopsis marmoratus</i>	?
Trout Cod <i>Maccullochella macquariensis</i>	?
<b><u>Other Aquatic</u></b>	
Short Finned Eel <i>Anguilla australis</i>	?
Fresh Water Mussels <i>Unionidae and other species</i>	Bindugany
Murray River Cray Fish <i>Euastacus armatus</i>	Dhagamang
Shrimp <i>Paratya or Macrobrachium</i> Species	Giidyaa
<b><u>Insects</u></b>	
Bogong Moth/Cut Worm <i>Agrotis infusa</i>	Bugang?
Cicada (Larva) Cicada (Large Adult?)	Gadharang Galanggalang
Native Bee (honey) ( <i>Trigona</i> species)	Ngarru
Witchetty Grubs (Wood Moth & Beetle grubs)	Witjuti (Not a Wiradjuri word)?



**No. 31 Gugabul - Murray Cod** - Australia's largest fresh water fish. Recorded up to 1.8m long and 113.5 kg.

G. Schmida M.D.B.C



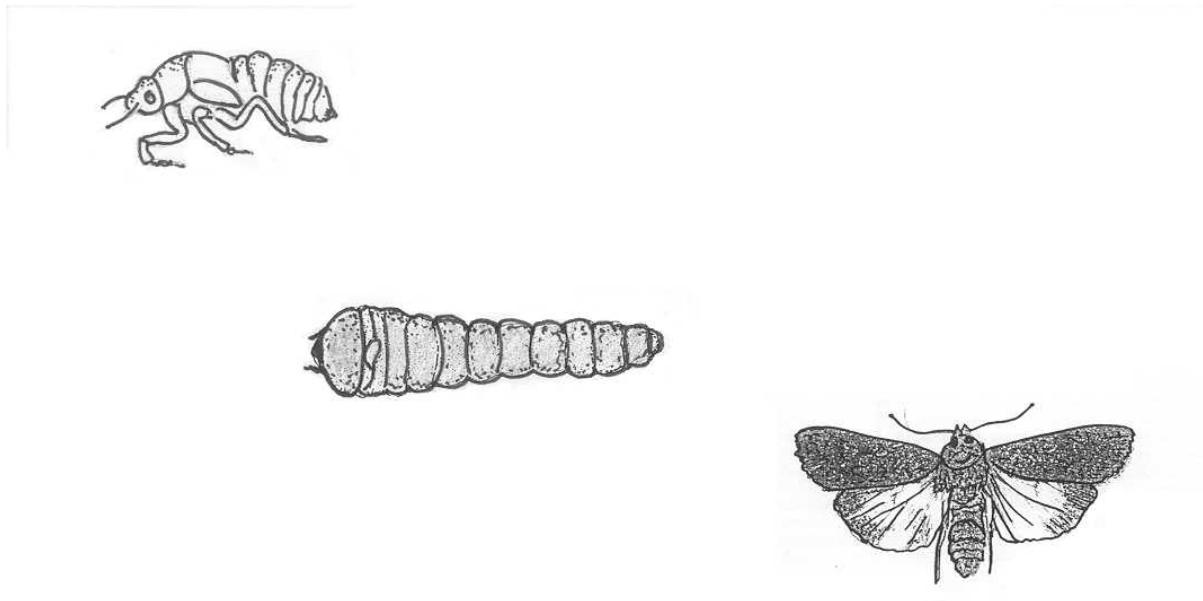
**No.32 Dhagamang - Murray River Cray Fish**

M. Crosby Fairall M.D.B.C



**No. 33 Ganar budyaan gunha -Bird Poop (or 6 spined) Spider! - Designed by Biamai to stop birds eating it!**

Mt Flakney - c1985



**No.34 Insect Foods 1.Cicada Nymph 2.Witjuti Grub 3. Bogong Moth**

## Stories

Through the ages of the ancient Wiradjuri, stories involving many of the creatures listed above have been told and retold around the campfires to convey knowledge, the moral and social Law and for enjoyment. A few survive in oral tradition in Wiradjuri Country.

Some 15 or so, mostly from Wiradjuri and associated groups, were recorded by Keith McKeown, a naturalist who lived as a child in Wagga Wagga in the 1920's. (28.29)

The following edited and condensed version of one of these stories has particular relevance to Wagga Wagga because it is from the territorial call of Wahn, the Crow (or Australian Raven) that Wagga Wagga derived its name. The characters in the story are also creatures that are common to this area.

The second story 'Gobbagumbalin and Pomingalarna', relates to the close vicinity of Wagga Wagga and the accompanying notes show how the story has been used in recent times.

### Wahn the Crow

Wahn, the Crow was considered the great mischief-maker of the bush. There are many Wiradjuri stories of his craftiness. However, it is told that on one occasion at least, when he meant to do harm, he actually did good.

In the course of his travels, Wahn found himself on the outskirts of a large camp of Pelicans. As is the native custom when approaching a strange camp, Wahn did not enter at once, but sat down at some distance away to wait.

It was quite a considerable time before an old pelican wandered out and asked Wahn what he desired. The long wait had somewhat ruffled the Crow's temper, but he suppressed his displeasure and told the old Pelican that he wished for food. The Pelican hobbled back to camp and had a long conference with the elders of the tribe as to the desirability of permitting Wahn to sit near the fire. Finally he was invited to enter the camp, and the best that the tribe could offer in the way of food was placed before him.

The Pelicans, with true hospitality, placed a gunyah at his disposal. Wahn considerably overslept himself the following morning, so that when he awoke all the occupants of the camp had gone away doing their daily tasks. To find no breakfast prepared for him was bad enough, but to make matters worse, Wahn's body was aching from head to foot. He felt certain that his dream spirit, had received ill treatment in its night wanderings. Such treatments of a guest was, he considered inexcusable and called for due measure of revenge.

Wahn wandered about the deserted camp when suddenly he heard the crying of babies. Many babies. Looking up he saw all the Pelican babies tucked neatly into the forks of the branches where their mothers had placed them for safety during their absence:

"Ah!" thought Wahn, "a couple of fat little Pelicans would make a good substitute for the breakfast their parents forgot to provide me with."

The tree, however, was just too high for him to reach the babies. He found an axe, then returned and set to work to cut the footholds in the tree-but the axe refused to obey him. It

was, it told him, the property of the Pelicans. It would serve them, but never do an evil action against its owners. The Crow took a fire-stick from one of the campfires. He would burn the tree down-but the fire-stick would not serve him, and refused to burn down the tree.

Wahn was now at his wit's end. He resolved that, if he could no get the baby Pelicans, then neither should their parents have them. He commenced to chant the tree-song of the Tuckonies-the song by which these little bush spirits make the trees grow. As he chanted, the tree began to grow, it grew until its top nearly reached the sky, and the babies were quite lost to sight.

The Crow's delight was unbounded. He rolled on the ground and convulsed with laughter. Then along came yaba, the Carpet Snake, who said,

"Ahh, I see that you have found our baby-tree. Whenever the Pelicans go out fishing or hunting, they leave their babies here in the branches and my wife and I never fail to get a good meal. But what has happened? The tree has suddenly grown very large!"

"I did that!" exclaimed the Crow boastfully. "I sang the tree-song. Now their mothers will never be able to get them back."

Yaba was annoyed. "Why should you interfere? Now we will not be able to get a baby for our dinner."

The Crow expressed regret for his carelessness. "I will soon get your meal for you."

Wahn then tried every chant and every charm that he knew to bring the tree to its former size, but without the slightest effect. He had forgotten the Tuckonies were kindly little spirits, always helpful, and never mischievous or evil in their actions. The tree did not decrease in height. At last the Crow, now thoroughly alarmed at the thought of the possible revenge that the Pelicans might take, fled, accompanied by yaba the Carpet Snake and his wife.

When the pelicans returned to camp, they could find no sign of their babies. The distressed mothers set up a shrill wailing. The baby Pelicans disturbed by their mothers' cries, began to weep bitterly. The Pelicans looked up, but they could not see their children among the branches. All the parents gathered around the base of the tree and set up a terrible cry.

The neighbouring Dingoes, Magpies, Parrots, all the creatures of the bush came to see what was the cause. The Hawk spied the babies from high above them. The Goanna volunteered to climb the tree and bring down the little Pelicans. He climbed the tall straight trunk but when he got to a gnarled woody growth that had completely encircled the small tree, he found it was quite impossible to climb over.

The Possum was the next to attempt a rescue, but he, too was unable to reach the branches. The Kangaroos assembled the Elders of all the tribes in conference, but nobody had any suggestion of value to offer. At last, the little Blue Wren asked leave to speak. There was, he said, only one creature in the bush that might be able to save the little ones. That was the little Bimbin, the Brown Tree-creeper, who spent all his time walking and hopping up the smooth trunks of the gums in search of insects for his food.

Arriving at the tree, Bimbin, with a quick run commenced this ascent. Up and up he went, occasionally giving shrill calls of encouragement. He reached the great projecting mass. He walked downwards across the overhanging portion, his claws gripping in the crevices of the bark. The he ascended the curve, and was lost to sight. Soon he reappeared carrying one of the babies, and before long had placed his precious burden in the arms of its waiting mother.

Again and again he made the perilous journey until every little Pelican was safe on the ground.

It seems likely that the assistance rendered to the Pelicans by Bimbin, the Brown Tree-Creeper is the reason why the latter bird was always looked upon with affection by the Wiradjuri. It is because of this breach of the laws of hospitality the Pelicans have always despised and avoided the Crow.

Condensed version From: McKeown, K. (1938) "Land of Byamee"



**No.35 Wahn the Crow Alert for any opportunity**

Mt Erin 1/2002



## **Gobbagumbalin and Pomingalarna**

Many years ago, two local groups of Wiradjuri people occupied either side of the Murrumbidgee River in the vicinity of Wagga Wagga, the river forming the boundary between the two territories. The groups were generally friendly towards each other. Each had its own tribal laws which they adhered to with undeviating strictness, breaches being punished with great severity.

A day came when one of the young men, Gobbagumbalin, the son of one of the elders, saw Pomingalarna a gadgi migay (beautiful young girl) of the neighbouring group, and, falling in love with her, desired to make her his wife. However the girl had been promised to a warrior of her own group.

The two met secretly and for a while these meetings passed unobserved but in time they were discovered.

A council of the old men warned the youth that he must see no more of the girl and any continuance of their meetings would be looked upon as a grave breach of tribal law and punishable.

Such passion existed between the young couple that they decided to elope, although they knew such an action would make them outsiders forever.

They decided that Gobbagumbalin should swim across the river at a spot where the girl would await him, then the two would recross the stream together and hasten to the depths of the ranges.

One dark night the young warrior swam across the river and found the young woman waiting for him. Hand in hand, they entered the water and swam silently toward the farther shore. However, as they reached the centre of the muddy stream, a storm of spears directed from both sides of the river fell hissing in the water about them. Both man and girl, mortally wounded sank beneath the waters, tightly clasping each other's arms.

Such was the tragic death of the lovers, and today the frogs still mourn their fate. Those on one side of the Murrumbidgee cry "Gobbagumbalin", while those on the opposite side take up the cry of "Pomingalarna".

If tempted to doubt the truth of this story, the Wiradjuri people said you only had to listen to the mourning chant of the frogs.

It may be heard on any hot night in summer.

### **Source**

A condensation of a traditional story of the Wiradjuri people near Wagga Wagga as recorded by Keith McKeown in "The Land of Byamee" Angus & Robertson, 1938 and approved for reproduction by the Wiradjuri Council of Elders, June 1997.

\*It is believed that McKeown, when recording this story, used existing place names for the two people in the story. This does not detract from the Law and Wisdom evident in the story.

The attached painting/poster (See Section 4.0) and the above, presents a traditional story of the Wiradjuri people which is depicted in the painting and accompanying words. The painting was completed by Aboriginal student artist Greg Kennedy with assistance from his teacher Kathy Morton in 1997. The original painting now hangs in the Museum of the Riverina.

It is a story of love, of the strength of the Wiradjuri Law and the respect for it shown by the elders and their people. It also shows a knowledge of the natural environment. Although meeting a tragic death, we are reminded that the deep love held by Gobbagumbalin and Pomingalarna for each other lives on through the frogs as they call each other across the river.

The pair of frogs shown in the painting are the Peron's Tree Frog and the Painted Burrowing Frog both of which still live and call in summer along the river in the vicinity of Wagga Wagga.

The memory of the couple also lives on in the place names of the Gobbagumbalin farm, homestead and lagoon and Pomingalarna Park, farm and hill.

The lower part of the painting shows the new Gobba Bridge (derived from "Gobbagumbalin") crossing the Murrumbidgee River. 1997 saw heightened reconciliation activity; the many different coloured hands in the painting symbolically link the many Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultural groups in Australia. Just as the frogs call and long to be united so there is a call to bridge the gaps in Australian society.

Just as this traditional story has counterparts in many cultures (Running Bear and Little White Dove, Romeo and Juliet), so our diverse cultures are full of common unifying themes.

The poster was produced for the occasion of the opening of the Gobba Bridge in July 1997, the first flood-free bridge over the Murrumbidgee at Wagga Wagga. Co-operation and contributions from many people made this possible including: permission from the Wiradjuri Council of Elders the Wiradjuri Regional and Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Councils to use the condensed version of the story and to depict it in painting; permission from the artist Greg Kennedy and his teacher Kathy Morton, from Shepherds Park School, NSW Department of School Education, to reproduce the painting and the assistance of the school staff; support from Reconciliation Wagga Wagga; organisational support from the Wagga Wagga City Council; production support from Advision; sponsorship from Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council and Rotary International; and research by Charles Sturt University and Greening Australia.

July 1997.

## **People and Community/Practices**

### **The People**

Descriptions of Wiradjuri people at the time of first contact with Europeans and how they looked are not very common for this area. However, explorers made mention of the tall men of the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan. John Piper, Thomas Mitchell's guide, was far taller than any of the white men in the party, (30). Charles Sturt indicated that "their manners were those of a quiet and inoffensive people, their appearance in some measure prepossessing. The old men had lofty foreheads and stood exceedingly erect when standing or walking. They extract the front tooth, lacerate their bodies, to raise flesh, cicatrices being their chief ornament." (31). Further east, women also had these raised cicatrices over breasts, arms and back, (32).

Perhaps this was the appearance of Bunony (or Enong) the fearsome bully or warrior of renown and great statue who was reputedly living at Eunonyhareenyah when Sturt's party

came by. The word “Ganmain” may also be associated, meaning, “man decorated with scars”, (33).

Hume and Hovell’s expedition of 1824 noted that the men near Mannus were the finest natives ever seen and were up to 5’ 9” tall. Each had a good coat of possum skins and many had reed necklaces, (34). Hume referred to the people as “our friends of the forest.”

At Berry Jerry, the Wiradjuri lived naked and used to grease themselves with fat to keep out the cold, (35). Further east on the Goulburn Plains, in times of celebration, “the natives’ hair was glowing with grease and red ochre and decorated with possum tails. Yellow feathers of the white cockatoo were displayed in the beard.” (36).

Women appear to have shouldered the workload, carrying many goods and the children. James Gormly observed this in 1845 in a group of women travelling from along the river near current day Fitzmaurice St. on their way to Nangus, (37). They also bore the brunt of attacks by their men, as in the incident at Umbango Station, near Tarcutta, in 1837, where Dapto beat his woman and threw fire brands at her, (38).

Many of the intergroup disputes were over women, (39). However the names of women and girls were nearly always related to that which was beautiful, delicate or womanly, while men’s names referred to the strong, the brave, the swift and the good hunter, (40).

On first contact, Charles Sturt reported that the Wiradjuri were “not predisposed to overly seek food, felt cold beyond belief and were frequently in the water, ” (41) and “shared food and fasted.” (42) He referred to them as “undoubtedly a brave and confiding people.” (43)



## **Traditional Communities**

Traditional Wiradjuri communities can only be inferred from early European observations, (44). Two types of settlement: small camps of extended households or bands and larger village like community camps existed. One such household group of about twenty-five used to camp seasonally at Bullenbong on their hunting and gathering cycle, (45). Larger community semi-permanent camps appear to have occurred around the great wetlands and floodplains at Ganmain/Deepwater and Berry Jerry/Old Man Creek areas, with meeting places called Cologee and Qualogee on Ganmain and Berry Jerry Stations, (46). Small family groups appear to have lived around present day Wagga Wagga which was a great meeting place with major gatherings probably occurring every one to two years (47) (48) and being the area used as a camping and swimming place in between times, (49) (50). Up to one thousand people were reported to meet here, (51)(52).

These places were supported by animal, fish and bird sanctuaries set aside on the plains, billabongs and in the vicinity of the Murrumbidgee River. There was an emu sanctuary at Eunonyhareenyah (Kurrajong Plain), a pelican, swan, crane, curlew and duck sanctuary at Parken Pregar Lagoon. Miles of swamps at Tooyal (Euberta), Ganmain and Kockibitoo (Currawarna) were breeding grounds of water birds and fish. Gobbagumbalin lagoon was a favourite fishing place, (53). It was near Gobbagumbalin Lagoon that Bulmagarra, a “minar” or “carer” resided in traditional times, (54). Bulmagarra was “minar (of the) nurrang gungali” (river crossing), presumably a regular crossing place for Wiradjuri and later Europeans.

As the Wiradjuri population increased these great gatherings were held for consideration of general laws, to settle disputes, for new totems (budyan) to be chosen, new animal and river sanctuaries provided for and new areas of country to be looked after, (55).

## **Traditional Practices**

There are many references and publications on the traditional practices of the Indigenous people in Australia. Many of these practices were common to the local Wiradjuri and to many other areas. Local details only, where available, have been used in this study. Readers are referred to the recommended reading list for greater detail.

## **Shelter**

Small types of bough shelters appear to have been widely used by family households while travelling about, (56). They had a simple frame constructed by placing a few boughs or saplings tightly in the ground in a semi circular form, the upper parts tied together and crowned with leaves, bark or grass, (57). James Gormly observed several of these at what is now the Wiradjuri Reserve area in 1845.

Habitations in the Yass area were sheets of bark supported by props and placed windward, (58). (The early European shepherds often imitated these shelters which they had seen the Wiradjuri erect. Charles Tompson employed Wiradjuri to strip bark and erect huts at Eunonyhareenyah and the only building erected at Best’s Wagga Wagga Station from 1832 to 1846 was a similar hut.) (59).

A small camp fire burned near the entry of these shelters for heating and cooking. There is evidence of such fires occurring along the river flood plain particularly at the base of the sandhills between Wagga Wagga and Oura, (60). Larger communal semi-permanent camps may have existed along Old Man Creek, Bullenbong Plain and the Ganmain/Deepwater

wetlands given the extent of earth mounds and reports of large Wiradjuri populations at the time of European occupation.

Simple wind breaks and bough sheds were also erected depending on the weather, size of household and the duration of the stay, (61).

### **Clothing**

When worn, cloaks seem to have been made mainly of possum skins, which were small, soft and easy to work, with kangaroo and wallaby skins used to a lesser extent. In the Tumut area, at least, cloaks were reversed, with the fur turned inwards, during winter, (62). Skins often had designs on them. These were sewn together very neatly with animal sinews. Women used them to carry their babies.

Possums were very numerous, twenty or thirty could be caught in a morning's hunting, (63). They could be caught night or day and at any time of the year and their skins were traded from this area, (64).

Lachlan River men at least wore a reed or bone nose septa and net headpieces, (65).

### **Food and Cooking**

The types of plant, animal, bird and other foods eaten traditionally are listed in Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7. Collecting, digging, grinding and cooking of plant food and collecting eggs and mussels was largely the role of women and occupied perhaps four to five hours per day. Fruits were generally eaten raw with tubers, roots and grass seed ground into flour and cooked as damper. Yams on the plains and bullrush from the billabongs were two common sources of food. Yams may have been a staple food around Arajoel (near Collingullie) as it means "yams on the plain" or "pretty plain", the latter presumably referred to the sight when the yams and other plants were in flower.

Hunting and fishing was undertaken by the men along the river, in wetlands, in the billabongs, on the open plains and, to a lesser extent, in the hill country. Fish were caught by muddying the water, after which they rose to the surface and were easily caught. They were also caught in fish traps, by spearing from canoes and underwater. Fish were generally hunted in the warmer months as they lived in the deep cold river water in winter. Mary Gilmore reports on the fish traps across the country from billabongs to creeks and even small gullies, (66). Fish traps existed on Wollundry and Parken Pregar Lagoons. The local Wiradjuri were observed returning large fish to Wollundry Lagoon after a flood where they had been washed out onto where Victory Memorial Gardens stand in 2002, (67).

Wiradjuri hunted a wide range of animal species but possums appear to have been the most commonly reported portion of the diet, (68). Possums weighed about 3kg and were slowly roasted before eating, (69). In Victoria it was reported that one could see hundreds in the moonlight at night in the lower branches of trees, (70). To assist replenishment of possums they would be caught and transported to unpopulated areas to breed up, (71).

Amongst bird species, ducks, emus, pelicans, crows, curlews, plains turkeys together with birds eggs were widely utilised, with sanctuaries set aside for some of them.

### **Water Supply and Usage**

Reliable water supplies and associated food supplies dictated the location and the intensity of Wiradjuri occupation. The river, which was forever flowing, was the prime and backup water supply source. However the wetlands – billabongs, swamps, lakes, flood plains and tributary

creeks, because of their high food production, attracted most encampments. Fresh water springs like those at Bon Accord, Mangoplah, Harefield Livingstone Gully and Big Springs supported localised seasonal camps.

Puddled stumps, where a tree stump has been hollowed out by fire and lined with clay to hold water, and rock holes, both had tree limbs or bark to lead the water into them, (72).

### **Fire and its Use**

It is probable that the local Wiradjuri produced fire by friction, rubbing together two specialised pieces of wood. Powdered dry eucalyptus leaves or grass tree could have acted as tinder from which smoke and fire arose, (73). Once alight, fire could be carried from place to place by the women. The dry cone of the Silver Banksia, from the sand hills along the river or the bark of cypress pine could be lighted as the women left the camp and kept alight or supplemented if necessary along the way until the next camp was reached, (74).

The use of fire by Wiradjuri in the Coolamon area, in managing land and controlling bush fires, has been described by Mary Gilmore, (75). The women lit small separate fires roughly in a line, which they gently beat out with bushes once they had burnt a small patch. An advancing fire front, either deliberately lit or a bush fire, could then be controlled by putting out the tongues of fire between the burnt patches.

On the great plains (Kurrajong, Kockibitoo, Arajoel, Bullenbong etc) fire was probably used to keep too much tree and shrub cover developing. This was to attract grazing animals and probably to encourage yams and other root foods to grow more profusely by removing too much grass competition, (76).

Fire smoke was used both for ceremonial and cleansing purposes. Combined with eucalyptus leaves it was used for steaming wounds and in rheumatism pits, (77). Thomas Mitchell reported that, “the natives (the men) slept naked, in the frost in the glowing embrace of the fire and a cloud of smoke.” (78).

### **Corroboree, Music, Games and Stories**

At the great gatherings of Wiradjuri and associated groups both serious and celebratory activities took place. There are very few detailed reports of these happenings other than the recording of some stories. Dancing, singing, and playing of games and competitions and the telling of stories around the campfire would all have taken place. What little of these activities was observed by early European settlers is reported in the “**Contact Times**” section of this study.

### **Wiradjuri Astronomy**

For traditional Wiradjuri the night sky provided a great store of knowledge and lore. It has been said that with the oral knowledge of the sky creatures, there was no need for a written culture amongst Australian Aborigines, (79). Many of the fixed stars and star groups had names and stories associated with them, (80). Many stars were men from older times, often with their wives, children, dogs and weapons as nearby stars. Many were birds and animals such as the emu, galah and kookaburra, (81). These personified heavenly bodies and their earthly counterparts allowed for the integration of natural occurrences.

There was a great benefit in recognising patterns in the movement of the stars. This told the Wiradjuri when the cold weather would start, when the emus would nest and when the

flowers or hot weather would start, (80/82). Positions of the stars gave indications of food availability such as tubers, emu eggs and the approaching Bogong moth season.

There are more stories about stars in the central sky and/or along the line of the moon’s path (akin to the Zodiac) as these are easily seen from open camps and appear to move faster in the sky, (80). In some Indigenous cultures, the position of star groups at sunrise and sunset is important, (83). William Buckley, the escaped convict who spent thirty-two years with the Indigenous people of Port Phillip from 1803 to 1835 said that after two to three weeks in exile he “lost all record of time, except the return of the seasons and the rising and setting of the sun”, (84).

It appears that an elder or old man taught the young the stories about the stars, (80) and that the women taught the children from infancy how to count them, (85). Mary Gilmore who, as a child, camped on the Murrumbidgee near Wagga Wagga with the Wiradjuri, participated in learning how to count the stars as taught by the women. She saw children count them in their thousands using a group counting method, using parts of the body and the fingers. The elders numbered all the stars plotting them out in fields or groups. The heavens were a clock and a calendar to the Wiradjuri, (85). Mary was given the name “Jiembra” the laughing or morning star, (the planet Venus).

Some Wiradjuri names for the heavenly bodies as recorded by Howitt (80) and Richards (86) are as follows: (Whilst these are Wiradjuri names they were not necessarily the ones given by the local Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri)



**Table 8 - Wiradjuri Names of Some Heavenly Bodies  
(after Howitt and Richards)**

Restored Wiradjuri Name	Heavenly Body & Description
budthul-bula	2 Magellanic Clouds (galaxies)
buraay-dyilang	Group of stars (children) around Orion's Belt
gibabang	Group of stars proceeding Orion's Belt
gibagun	Southern Cross
gidyirrigaa	Budgerigar, Small star in Argus
gilaa	Galah - Milky Way, also Calare or Lachlan River
giralang	Stars
giwang	The moon
mulayndynang	Pleiades, the Seven Sisters
yiray	The sun

### **Ceremonial and Cultural Practices**

Much was recorded between the 1870's and the 1940's about the ceremonial and cultural practices and spiritual knowledge of the Wiradjuri (87, 88,89,90,91). Most material refers to the burbong or male initiation ceremonies and rules (law), to "clever men" or "men of high degree" collectively referred to now as "men's business". This male emphasis results from the recorders being men who were more interested in these practices than in the daily domestic activities of women in Wiradjuri groups. Men were also not generally given access to "women's business". Out of respect and because access to much of this secret knowledge in traditional times was only available to the initiated (accidental or deliberate access by the uninitiated being severely punished, even by death) no details are given here. Whilst some details of this knowledge were given to recorders it seems that full access was NOT given. Even in story telling, those parts suitable to tell Wiradjuri children before initiation were passed on to the recorders but not the higher aspects. Some inaccurate information also appears to have been deliberately given to protect the knowledge.

Some reasons why this knowledge was protected and continues to be protected and given only progressively over a lifetime to those worthy include:

- Access to knowledge was the most valued aspect of culture
- Recipients needed to be assessed as being suitable and ready to receive the knowledge
- Knowledge was powerful and could be misused in the hands of some
- Too early or rapid an introduction to the knowledge may have created fear or disbelief in the recipient
- The whole system: ceremony, initiation and transfer of knowledge was based on faith, belief and trust in spiritual knowledge.

Since Contact Times, much of the system has been severely undermined by decimation of the Wiradjuri, mocking or disbelief in, or ignorance of it by Europeans.

Ceremonial practices in Wiradjuri Country appear to have declined rapidly from the 1860's and were virtually non-existent by 1900, (92) although some are known to have been carried out off missions, in secret. There is evidence that some traditional practices and stories had continued until at least the 1930's and beyond. There are still remnants of this knowledge in the community today.

## **Wawi**

Uncle Ossie Ingram, Wiradjuri Elder from Narrandera relates aspects of spiritual beliefs in the story of Wawi, a serpent creature and supreme being who lives deep in water holes along the river and in billabongs. Ossie was taught in his youth about Wawi by Billy Green, initiated Wiradjuri man from Condobolin. Wawi can be in many places at any one time. One place he lives is Wollundry Lagoon in central Wagga Wagga. Ossie says “This Wawi, I’ve seen him, don’t you worry, there in the lagoon.....a supreme being, that’s what he is, so you must have respect or lookout!”

“When you go down to the water, you must have respect, turn three times then ask permission. You say “Yurraman mujjie mujjie,” this say “Where are you?” (Meaning “I am here, where are you?”) But if you see him, large bubbles coming to the surface, maybe even a fin or a big tail, you keep away, him looking for prey” , (93).

This story of Wawi was earlier recorded by Mathews (94) and appears to be present in the tradition of the Wiradjuri and Darling River peoples, (94,95). According to these sources, Wawi burrows into the river bank where he makes his den. A doctor or clever man may visit Wawi but must paint his body all over with red ochre. The man follows a rainbow some days after there has been a thundershower, the end of the rainbow resting over the waterhole where Wawi lives. The man then dives under the bank where Wawi sings him a new song for ritual at the corroboree. The man repeats the song until he has learnt it and then returns to his people. He then teaches some of the other clever men the song and associated dance. This is how new songs and dances are obtained.

Wawi has the magic power of varying his size from a few inches up to a monstrous size. The black streak in the milky way towards the Southern cross is one of the ancestors of Wawi (94, 96) The story of Wawi (or Waway) is also recently described by Stan Grant as told to him by his grandfather, (97).

Versions of the story of Wawi are known across Australia where he is more often referred to by English speakers as the “Rainbow Serpent”. Stories associated with the Rainbow Serpent are told to children at a young age to teach them where there is water in the landscape for drinking but also about the dangers of water and the respect needed to be shown for it and the creatures which inhabit it.

## Language

Along with law and religion, or spirituality, the sounds of speech; the spoken word called “language” is said to carry the culture of a people. In many traditional cultures these three: Law, Religion/Spirituality and Language merge into one to provide the basis for communication, group and individual identity and security. Eroding of any one or more of these three, together with the taking away of the people, the land and/or its natural resources puts any culture under stress. If this continues it can threaten the ultimate survival of that culture. Language is so important in carrying forward the cultural knowledge retained in memory from generation to generation. Wiradjuri language is no exception.

As in all cultures, up until writing came to be used, Wiradjuri language was conveyed in the spoken form only. This is often referred to as an “oral tradition”. Associated forms of communication included signs and symbols inscribed or painted on tools, message sticks, possum skins and human bodies and in art work and rock engravings. Hand signals, subtle body language and secret ceremonial language specific to sectors within local groups added to the richness of Wiradjuri communication. Sign language was developed for communication when hunting and travelling where the emphasis was on silent and distant communication.

### Traditional Wiradjuri Language

Along with other Indigenous Australian languages, Wiradjuri language is rich in vocabulary, grammar and structure, (98). Wiradjuri has its own way of thinking, its own set of sounds that are used and its own words, (99). However, speech sounds and many features of grammar of Wiradjuri are shared with other languages across mainland Australia. There has been no definite link established between any Aboriginal language and any language from outside Australia, (98).

As in all human languages, Wiradjuri speech starts in the pure vowel “a” sound uttered from a deep open throat, fully open mouth and a flat tongue with no nasalisation. All subsequent sounds are modifications of “a” by variation in positions of the tongue, mouth space, use of nasal cavities (nasalisation) and lips. ( See Figure 2).

Many of the names of things in Wiradjuri are said to have originated in the sounds of nature or living things. Birds, for instance, are often named after the call they make, (100).

**Figure 2 - Mouth and face parts used to make Wiradjuri language sounds**  
After Grant & Rudder (99)



**Non-moving parts**

1. Throat
2. Back of mouth palate
3. Gum ridge/roof of mouth
4. Back of teeth
5. Nasal cavity/nose

**Moving Parts**

- A. Back of tongue
- B. Blade of tongue
- C. Tip of tongue
- D. Lips
- E. Jaws

Each different sound is made either by touching the inside of the mouth with a part of the tongue and/or by moving the lips and/or jaws.

## **Sound of Wiradjuri Language**

Recently, linguists have studied and restored the Wiradjuri and associated languages, (101, 102, 103). The following table of Wiradjuri sounds is a brief summary based largely on the work undertaken by the Wiradjuri Development Project, as approved by the Wiradjuri Council of Elders. This work has not distinguished between dialects but focuses on the basics of the language. Thus some pronunciations and words may differ slightly to those still used today across Wiradjuri Country.

Symbols used in Table 9 represent sounds used in the Wiradjuri language. Each separate sound in the language has a different symbol to represent just one sound only. This set of symbols gives us a practical working alphabet to help people read and pronounce the sounds correctly the Wiradjuri way, (103). It is best to refer to “symbols” rather than “letters” as this reduces confusion since the symbols represent sounds and many are represented by two letters. Throughout this report are a number of Wiradjuri words that can be used to practice the sounds. Please note that these words could be only one of a number of dialect variations. Full variations will be given in the Wiradjuri Dictionary (in preparation).

## **How the Wiradjuri Language Works**

To fully understand and learn to speak Wiradjuri today one would need to undertake lessons as provided by the Wiradjuri Language Development Project, (99). However the following points about the language give some insight into how it works.

There are seven main kinds of words needed to be understood to learn the language:

- Naming words - for people, places and things (nouns)
- Name describing words - tell what kind of people, places and things are (adjectives)
- Action words - tell what is, was or will be done (verbs)
- Action describing words - tell what way an action is being, was or will be done (adverbs)
- Person replacing words - take the place of people (pronouns)
- Place words - take the place of names of places or locations (relative pronouns)
- Question words - ask for information (interrogatives)

The way words are put together in Wiradjuri (its grammar) is complex and can be used with great subtlety of meaning. The language has no word for “the” (the definitive article) or “a” (the indefinite article) and no words for “thank you” or “goodbye”. These and other attributes of the language reflect the communal, sharing and ongoing/transforming nature of Wiradjuri society.

**Table 9 - Wiradjuri Sounds – their symbols and spelling  
(after GRANT & RUDDER-103)**

Type of Sound	Symbol	Comment	English Example	Wiradjuri Example
<b>Vowels</b>				
Short sounds	a		above	bila (river)
	i		hit	mirri (dog)
	u		put	bula (two)
Long sounds	aa	Two times length of short vowels but not glided as is often the case when two vowels together in English	bath	yinaa (woman)
	ii		feel	babiin (father)
	uu		book	duun (tail)
Variations (vowel followed by “y”)	ay		play	wilay (possum)
	aay		sky	gulaay (net)
	uy	“w” sound sometimes pronounced before the “u”	-	guya (fish)
<b>Consonants</b>				
Nasal sounds (sound comes through the nose)	m, n	Pronounced as in English	mine	madhan (tree)
	nh	Tongue tip touches back of the top teeth	-	waganha (dancing)
	ny	Front of tongue blade touches gum ridge	canyon	nyal (you)
	ng	Often comes at start of a word. Tongue arched up at back of mouth	sting	ngurang (camp)
<b>Stop sounds</b>				
(sound flow is temporarily stopped in the mouth)	b, d, g	Similar to English but softer with no puff of air at the end of the sound	bag dab	bagay (scraper)
	dh	Tongue tip touches back of top teeth	like dog but tongue touches teeth	dhundhu (swan)
	dy	Front of tongue blade touches gum ridge	midget	dyirridyirri (Willy Wagtail)
<b>Liquids &amp; continuants</b>				
(sound flow is partially restricted)	l, w, y	Pronounced as in English	hallway	walanmayi (made strong)
	r	As in English but tongue tip turned backwards	run	marang (good)
	rr	Trilled or rolled as in Scottish pronunciation	four-r-r	barrang (white)

## Wiradjuri Cultural Landscapes

The term “cultural landscape” has come to be widely used in heritage management and archaeology. The following edited excerpts from the recent study of cultural heritage in the Western Murrumbidgee area gives a good definition of cultural landscapes, (104).

*“A cultural landscape consists of the fabric of the land and its natural resources, traditional sites and other evidence of material culture together with sites of ceremonial and spiritual significance.”*

We tend to divide cultural heritage into material and non-material, ancient (archaeological) and recent (historical or contemporary). These distinctions are valid in that we use different methods to investigate and describe that heritage. However we need to take into account the interrelationships between these different aspects of cultural heritage and relate them to the overall landscape. The land itself is then seen, used and appreciated in a cultural context. Places may then have significance to a group of people even though they may have no physical record of occupation at that place. More often the significance of a site lies in its context within a landscape. At times it may be significant independent of its position, (104).

The landscape contains the actions or stories of Dreaming ancestors, or may bring back memories of more recent ancestors. So a major floodplain, like the Bullenbong Plain and Old Man Creek, with numerous earth mound sites, is a cultural landscape. Although most of these earth mounds have been destroyed, these areas still remind us of traditional times and therefore can be considered a cultural landscape. The above approach is in line with recent trends to move away from the treatment of sites as “dots on maps” to a recognition of the interrelatedness of many sites, (105). This practice makes sense both from Wiradjuri culture and scientific viewpoints. In the case of Dreaming sites, a dot on a map does not adequately represent the field of spiritual significance which surrounds these places. Indigenous communities today see the significance of sites as being integral to the significance of certain areas of land or Country, (105).

Wiradjuri Cultural Landscapes, as they would have existed prior to European contact, have been mapped for part of the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area, (see Large Map No.2a). This map covers the area of Wagga Wagga 1:100,000 Topographic Map Sheet (2,500 square km) and was derived from the Soil Landscapes Map of the same area (106). Since topographic maps and local government boundaries do not correspond, this map covers only approximately 40% of the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area. At the time of publication, data for the rest of the Local Government Area was not readily available to produce a map for the remaining 60%.

A corresponding Wiradjuri Cultural Landscapes Profile accompanies this map, (see Cultural Landscapes Profiles Large Map No.2b). In this map and profile, landscapes are categorised using landform, vegetation and plant use, native animals and their use, and occurrence of water sources. Evidence of traditional use for each landscape is listed, as are typical locations of such landscapes visitable today. These cultural landscapes highlight the importance and interrelatedness of all components of Wiradjuri Country to Wiradjuri people.

## Places, Sites and Collections

### General Definitions

Wiradjuri society relied on oral communication to pass on knowledge down and across generations. European occupation disturbed this oral communication and the strong relationship to Country. The result has been that much information about Wiradjuri life has been lost or buried.

Site reporting, research into places, sites and artefact collections can help reclaim some of this information. This site reporting and research has been undertaken to a limited extent in the Wagga Wagga area with no broad scale survey ever having been undertaken.

To assist in understanding the following definitions are provided.

**"Place"** A particular area to which Indigenous people have a cultural attachment or relationship. (107)

As described by N.S.W National Parks and Wildlife Service such places may include:

Land containing Aboriginal burials.

Places that are identified by Aboriginal stories or celebrated by ceremony

Land that was once an Aboriginal reserve, mission or other post-settlement living area.

Land known from archival or historical records to have been the site of an important historical event, such as a massacre

Areas that contain one or more Aboriginal objects or a combination of cultural landscape features, including culturally important plant and animal species.

Archaeological sites where the significance to Aboriginal people requires special recognition and

Land, buildings or places significant to Aboriginal culture after 1788

Recognised places can be formally declared as such under the N.P.W. Act 1974. Specific traditional places are not covered in this study in detail.

**"Site"** Specific location often containing visible evidence of traditional use or occupation. Recently there has been a move away from individual "site types" and small contained "dots on maps" sites to "cultural landscapes", "site features" and "densities" of artefacts. (108), which give a truer representation of significance and relationship to Country. The new Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (Interim A.H.I.M.A) incorporates these concepts and has been used in categorising sites in this study and the following tables.

Generalised site locations are depicted in Culture Landscape Profiles No.2b and 3b and Large Maps No 1, 2a and 3b.

**Site categories are** - OPEN SITES (Found in the open, not caves or shelters)  
- CLOSED SITES (Rock Shelters)

### Site Features include

Pit Oven for cooking

Earth Mound/Fire Hearth (large)

Burial  
Artefact (Stone, bone, shell)  
Fish trap  
Ceremonial and Dreaming  
Conflict (Massacre)  
Earth Mounds (Shell Midden)  
Quarry (Stone or Ochre)  
Artefact/Camp Site  
Water Hole (Rock Well)  
Modified Tree (Scarred/carved)

Additional features include stone arrangements, grinding grooves, ceremonial rings and habitation structures, none of which have been recorded in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A to date. Details of these features and artefacts are shown in the following photos, drawings and descriptions.

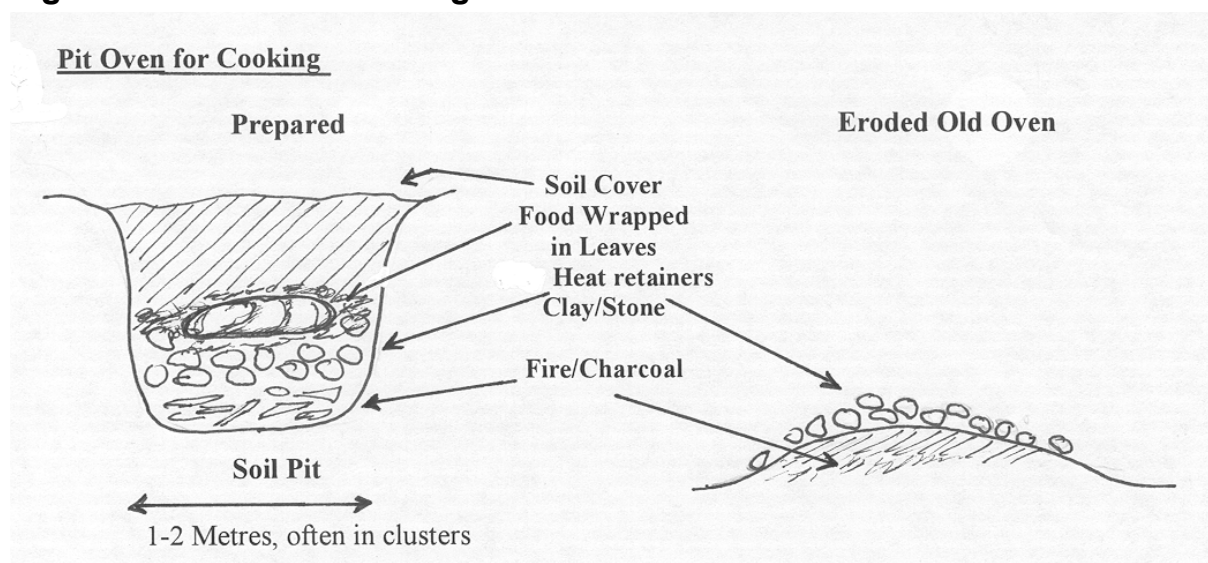


**No.36 Open site - Artefact scatter - National Parks and Wildlife Service. Site Register  
No. 56-1-0011- Billabong margin -**

W.G.L.A. 3/2002

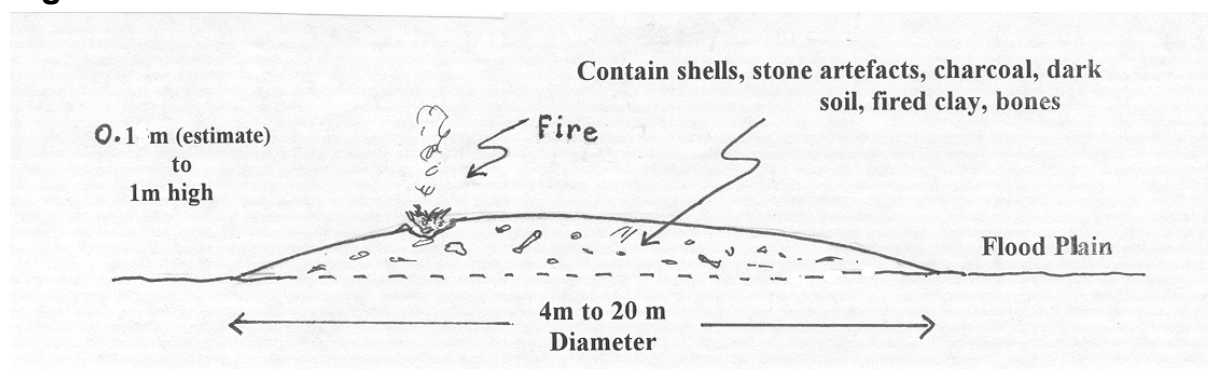
## Some Site Features

### Figure 3 - Oven for Cooking



Fire is lit in the pit, heat retainers are added once the fire dies down heat retainers and coal is raked out. Heat retainers are returned to pit. A layer of green leaves/grass is placed in the pit, food placed on top. Another layer of leaves and finally a layer of earth cover the food. Removed when cooked. These occur in raised sandy areas in groups

### Figure 4 - Earth Mounds



Earth mounds are associated with damp flood plain areas near wetlands. They were used for a range of functions including communal cooking, waste disposal, and dwelling platforms and occasionally for burial and gardening (yams?).(109,110)

One study revealed 112 earth mounds along the lower Old Man Creek (Narrandera Shire) (111) whilst a further 6 have been recorded in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. All of the latter were in a deteriorated state having been ploughed, levelled and affected by rabbits, (112).

### **Fire Hearths**

These are the remnants of small fires, lit on the ground surface. Remains are similar to pit ovens with usually less clay heat retainers (113). Fire Hearths have been reported in the Bullenbong Plain area and are known to have occurred near Wagga Wagga, (114).

### **Mussel Shell Middens**

These are remains of extended (shell layers) or short term "dinner time" camps, (small collection of shells) where fresh water mussels have been eaten and the shells discarded, (115).

Shell middens are most likely to be found along the margins of billabongs in this area and have been recorded

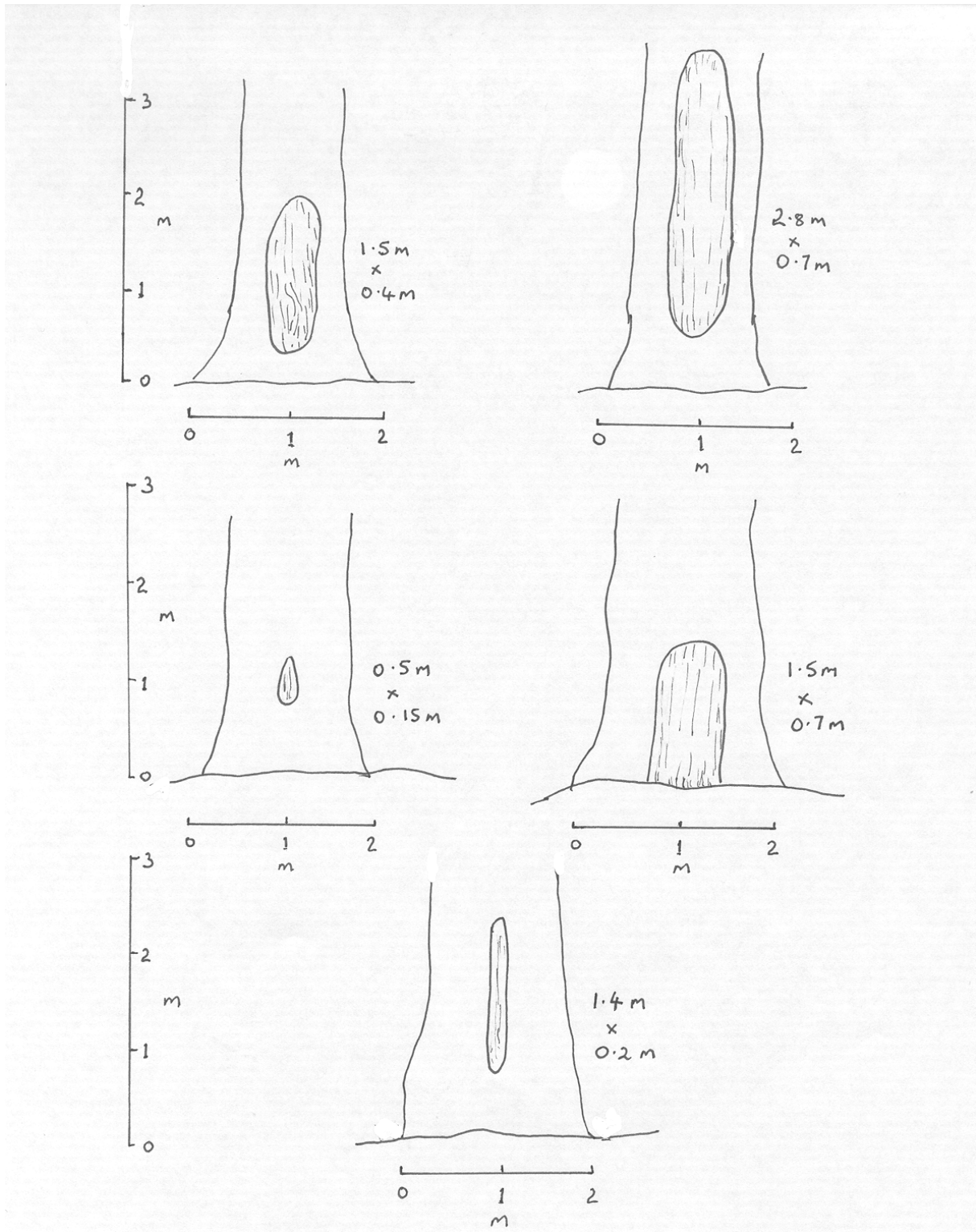
### **Modified (Scarred) Trees**

Scarred trees have had a sheet of bark cut out and removed them from when the tree is alive. The functions of removed bark include: for building shelter, canoes, carrying containers, fishing platforms, shields and makeshift beds. In other regional areas at least evidence remains where trees were cut into for climbing, to remove possums, grubs, ducks, eggs and honey, (115)

Trees were also cut (carved) for ceremonial or ritual purposes, including at burial and bora ring sites. Some of these have been recorded in the area (Eurongilly/Gundagai) and western Murrumbidgee Province (115). One tree was recorded, in the filed survey for this study, as potentially having ritual significance. Scar trees remain the most visible evidence in the landscape of past Wiradjuri activity.

Of a total of 131 site features either on the NPWS Sites Register or recorded in the Wiradjuri Heritage Study 75 (or 57%) are scarred trees. Most commonly recorded scar trees during the Wiradjuri Heritage Study were Grey Box (*Eucalyptus microcarpa*) with some Yellow Box (*Eucalyptus melliodora*), and white box (*E. albens*). Although few scars of River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) were found, historically they are known to have been used to obtain bark for canoes. (See Table 15)

Figure 5 - Typical Scar Shapes - Wiradjuri Heritage Study 2002



## **Stone, Quarry and Axe Manufacturing Sites**

Stone quarries for tool making were established where suitable rock outcrops occurred. Quarries can generally be recognised by the presence of discarded flakes, partly shaped implements and the extent of flaking and battering of exposed rock surfaces. (116). Igneous rock was preferred in this area because of its availability, hardness and fine grain. Most of small stone tools and flakes found in local studies have been quartz.

One highly significant surface hard stone quarry and axe-manufacturing site has been recorded in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. (NPWS Site No. 56-1-0043). This is a basalt outcrop where evidence of use consists of a surface scatter of an estimated 500 artefacts including hammer stones, cores, flakes and partly formed axes (117).

This is a rare site and has significance as one of only a small number of such quarries known from NSW and adjoining states of Victoria and Queensland. This assessment is based on the site significance to the local Indigenous community, archaeological significance and its potential educational and/or recreational value.

No ochre quarries have been recorded in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A but ochre is known to occur in the area.

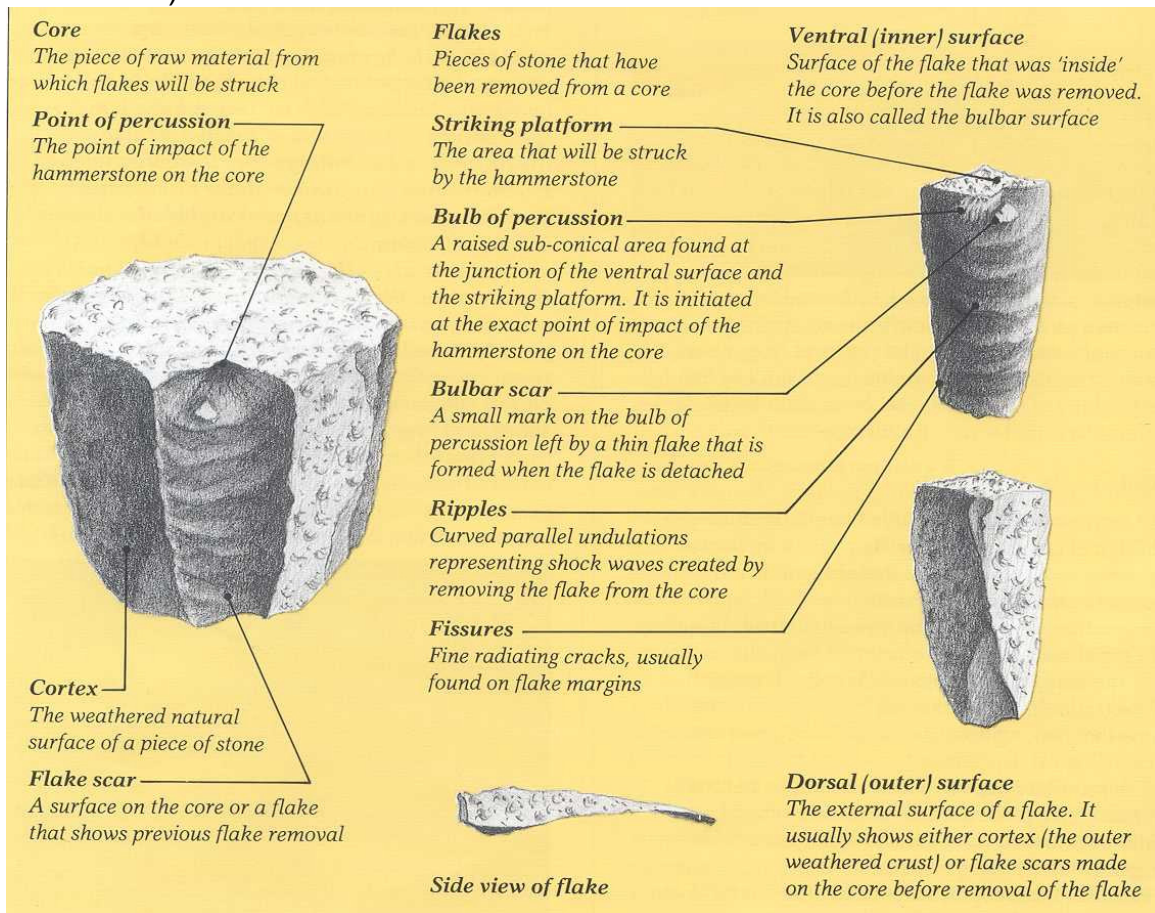


**No. 37 Quarry and Axe Manufacturing Site - NPWS Site Register No. 56-1-0043 Core Stone (Right) and Flake.**

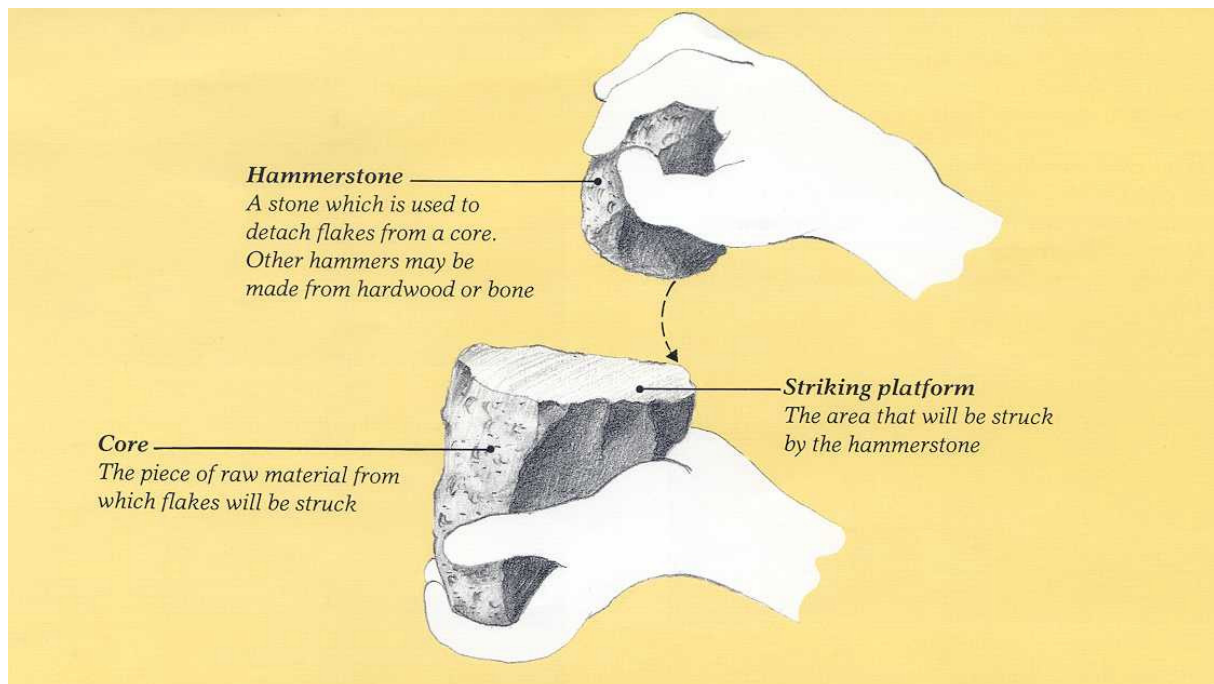
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## Figure 6 - Making Tools From Stone

### a) Basic terms used to describe cones and flakes



### b) Percussion flaking



## **Collections**

A collection is a number of artefacts and objects gathered and displayed together, directly connected to or representing life before European contact. Collections are commonly stone implements (grinding stones, axe heads, spear points, knives) and wooden or bark implements and weapons (digging sticks, shovels, spears, boomerangs, clubs, spear throwers, shields, coolamons,). Additional items may include woven baskets, ochre, bone implements and shell. Since European contact, especially in more recent years, collections may include such items as photographs, recordings, written material and colonial era breastplates. Some of these items are shown in accompanying photos or sketches.

The following section outlines previous archaeological studies undertaken, sites recorded and collections made relevant to the Wagga Wagga L.G.A.

## **Previous Archaeological Studies**

Most of the archaeological studies carried out to date within the Wagga Wagga Region have been straight line or broader area survey for power lines, gas and water pipe lines and road and industrial developments. One major regional study for the western Murrumbidgee was completed in 2001, (104).

Results of 15 of these surveys, with details, are shown in Table 10. Note that results apply to the whole of the surveyed lines or area some of which lie outside the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. Most of the sites found in these studies have subsequently been recorded on the N.P.W.S. register.

**Table 10 - Archaeological Surveys, Studies and Reports  
Within or near Wagga Wagga L.G.A. (1980 - 2002)**

No.	Report, Survey Date	Name/Locations/ Reason	Carried out by	Results/Comments
1	1980	Gas pipeline, Wagga Wagga to Young	Witter	14 Campsites 1 Scarred Tree ! Rock Well?
2	1980	Bucks Creek (Harefield) Salvage	Kelly	310 Artefacts Primarily Quartz
3	1983	Powerline, Wagga Wagga to Darlington Point	Hiscock	9 Scar Trees 13 Artefacts
4	1986	Water Supply line, - S.W. Tablelands. Wagga Wagga to Ungarie	Silcox	52 Artefacts (Gumly Gumly site) Mostly small quartz pieces
5.	1987	Old Man Creek, Galore	Klaver	112 Mound Sites Earth Ovens
6	1992	Gregadoo Waste Disposal Site	Navin	4 Scar Trees
7	1992	Navy Communication Facility, Collingullie	Wood	26 Sites/Artefacts, Modified trees, 4 Earth mounds and Fire Hearths
8	1993	Water Supply line, - S.W. Tablelands. Wagga Wagga to Ungarie	Silcox	135 Mostly small quartz artefacts. Plus 'Shell' layer plants
9	1994	Fibre Optical Cable Routes, Currawarna	Hamn	1 Artefact Scatter site
10	1995/1998	Wagga Wagga to Wodonga, Natural gas Pipeline	Navin and Officer	46 Sites 19 isolated finds 1 Scar Tree
11	1997	Bomen Abattoir	Everett	1 Stone Artefact
12	1998	Bomen Power Plant (proposed)	Navin and Officer	1 Quarry and Axe manufacturing Site (Est. 500 artefacts) 2 Isolated artefacts
13	1990's	Kapooka Military Area	Dearling and Evans	92 Artefacts Primarily Quartz
14	2001	Murrumbidgee Province Study - over 3 Million hectares, Western Riverina	Pardoe and Martin	918 Sites Analysed (Potentially 920,000 sites or features estimated)
15	2002	Lloyd Suburban Extension-Wagga Wagga	Navin & Officer	4 Artefact Sites 1 Probable Scar Tree

## **Interpretation of Archaeological Studies Findings**

From the various studies listed in Table 10, a number of broad conclusions can be drawn.

Quartz is the main artefact type with occasional pieces of chert, silcrete and quartzite. Artefact scatters are likely to be located in well-drained areas near water sources such as sand hills and creek levees.

Hearth stones and artefacts are likely to be exposed by erosion at the base of sand dunes or drifts.

Mussel shell deposits are often with ashy grey material with some charcoal. Burials are usually only detected after disturbance of material or erosion but are usually in naturally elevated sand dunes or alluvial sites.

Modified (scarred) trees are likely to occur near water but can occur anywhere. They are often difficult to conclusively identify due to similarities to other naturally scarred trees.

These studies indicate a seemingly high level of traditional Wiradjuri activity. The people didn't always live in transient camps but often concentrated around camp sites and mounds for continual and repeated occupation. (104).

## **Aboriginal Sites Register - National Parks and Wildlife Service**

Since 1971 the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service has been legally responsible for the protection of Aboriginal sites in the state. Since then a register of information on types and distribution of sites was established, being essential for effective protection of sites. As of September 2002 some 37, 270 sites had been recorded and this number is constantly growing, (119). Community interest in site recording and protection has been greatly increased with activities by the Wagga Wagga Local and Wiradjuri Regional Land Councils since 1983.

Information Site recording sheets, photos, sketches, location, maps and computerised data on each site is held at NPWS offices throughout the state. Access to information on the register is available to Aboriginal people in relation to traditional culture and sites in the area of interest. Some information may be confidential or restricted and provided to others on a need to know basis.

The database only includes recorded sites and since it contains information from a variety of sources, it is variable in its level of accuracy.

In the following tables, the new Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System, (A.H.I.M.S.) which records site categories (OPEN or CLOSED/Rock shelter sites) and site features has been used.

A search of the N.P.W.S. Registered site for the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area, revealed a total of 78 sites (with 90 features) as of 6<sup>th</sup> December 2001, (Table 11). Pauline Dunne, Heritage Information Officer at the time greatly assisted with provision of this information.

Of a total of 131 site features either on the NPWS Sites Register or recorded in the Wiradjuri Heritage Study, 75 (or 57%) are scarred trees. Most commonly recorded scar trees during the Wiradjuri Heritage Study were Grey Box (*Eucalyptus microcarpa*), the bark of Grey Box is thin and hard and difficult to break, making it ideal for a range of traditional uses, (54)(with some Yellow Box (*Eucalyptus melliodora*), and White Box (*Eucalyptus albens*)). Although

few scars or River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) were found, historically they are known to have been used for obtaining bark for canoes. Bark was known to come off Cypress Pine smoother and last longer than other tree types,(54).

Scarred (modified) trees are the major site feature on the register. This is due to their relative high visibility and fixed position and size and ease of identification when compared to other sites. Scars may also have been caused by natural occurrences (limb fall, fire, stock, natural decay) or by European settlers (Survey markers, bark removal, tree pruning).

As a result there is a degree of uncertainty in identifying the cause of some tree scars (See Tables 14 and 15).

**Table 11 - N.P.W.S. Sites Register - Summary of Sites Registered  
Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (as at 6.12.01)  
(Using Aboriginal Heritage Management System/Sites Register  
N.P.W.S. N.S.W.)**

Site Category (1)	Number of Sites	Site Feature	Number of Features	Comment
Open Sites	1	Burials	1	
Open Sites	29	Artefact (Stone, bone, shell, glass, ceramic)	39	
Open Sites	6	Earth Mound/Shell artefact	7	
Open Sites	5	Earth Mound/Hearth	6	
Open Sites	1	Quarry	1	
Open Sites	36	Scarred (Modified) Trees.	36	
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>78</b>		<b>90</b>	

Categories and feature listed under the Aboriginal Heritage Management System 2001, (incorporating the former Aboriginal Sites register).

## Interpretation of NWPS Sites Register Listing

The sites listed above indicate a number of points about traditional activities. Only one burial has been registered although many more have been known and some referred to in local literature and newspaper and in the oral tradition since the 1830's (See **Contact Times** Section).

Burial sites are only likely to be come across after erosion events or during construction activities. Inexperience in recognising ancestral remains, inadvertent disturbance and destruction by livestock and farming operations and in more recent times, concern about developments being potentially affected and misplaced fears about potential land claims all mitigate against burial sites being recognised and/ or reported.

The N.P.W.S Sites register summary printout does not provide the specific details as to whether an artefact site contains "stone, bone, shell, glass or ceramic". Reference needs to be made to the individual site register sheets to determine this level of detail.

However, it can be safely inferred (from collections and archaeological reports) that most are small stone artefacts made of quartz.

A number of earth mounds/shell middens in close proximity to billabongs indicate use of fresh water mussels as a major food source. Hearths (the remains of ground surface fires) and larger earth cooking/domestic use mounds, particularly in the Old Creek and Bullenbong flood plain area, which were major wetlands teeming with bird and animal life, indicate a considerable Wiradjuri community living there in at least a semi-sedentary way of life.

**Table 12 - N.P.W.S. Sites Register - Recording Dates  
Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (as at 6.12.01)**

Site Recording Period	Number of Sites (%)	Site Category
Sites recorded before 1900	15 (19%)	Modified trees 13 Artefacts 2
1901 - 1986 (85 yrs)	0 (0%)	-
1987 - 2001 (14 yrs)	63 (81%)	Burials 1 Artefacts 27 Earth Mound 6 Earth Hearth 5 Quarry 1 Modified Trees 23

### **Interpretation of Recording Dates**

Prior to 1900 only 15 sites (19%) on the register had been reported. Scarred (modified) trees were almost exclusively the only site features recorded due to their visibility and probably curiosity factor. Recognition, low level of concern about and no authority to report sites to, and the decline in the Wiradjuri population and culture all contributed to no sites being recorded from 1901 to 1986.

The growing respect for, and recognition and awareness of Indigenous culture from the early 1970's led to the formation of organisations, agencies and legislation which began to value traditional culture and therefore sites.

The National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974) and the establishment of Aboriginal Land Councils (1983) together with the training and employment of sites officers and archaeologists have greatly contributed to this. As a result 63 sites (81%) of those on the register in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area have been recorded since 1986.

**Table 13 - N.P.W.S Site Register - Number of Site Reports  
Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (as at 6.12.01)**

<b>Site reports compiled</b>	<b>No. of Sites (%)</b>
Yes	39 (50%)
No	39 (50%)

### **Interpretation of Number of Site Reports**

Half of the sites on the Register have had reports compiled on them, the other half have not. Those reported on, are almost exclusively those found during archaeological surveys for proposed developments of utilities since 1980. These surveys have been carried out to meet legislative requirements and the desires of the community.

## **Field Record of Sites - Wiradjuri Heritage Study**

All N.P.W.S recorded sites and additional sites recorded during the study for the Wiradjuri Heritage Study were initially recorded on N.P.W.S Standard Site Recording form.

Sites were given on interim number in sequence starting with No. W.W. 101, "WW" meaning "Wagga Wagga", for Wiradjuri Heritage Study 2002, Wagga Wagga L.G.A. and numbers starting at 101 so as not to compromise or be confused with other concurrent studies and the number of sites on the NPWS Sites Register (78 as at 6.12.2001). These sites will subsequently be given N.P.W.S. Sites Register Numbers using the Australian Map Grid reference system and a sequential number from each topographic map relating to the area.

A sample completed form is included showing the type of information required for each site. (See sample).

A broad scale field survey, to look for new/unrecorded sites, was conducted across the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area between February and June 2002. This was carried out on 10 separate days within this period with public lands (roadside reserves) mainly being sampled.

This survey was carried out by people not trained in archaeology. As such, it is a generalised survey and was not intended to be detailed or conclusive on findings.

Five community members assisted with this survey on separate occasions. (Craig Honeysett, Tracey Vincent, Geoff Simpson, Zoey Clark and Amy Basham ( the last two being Aboriginal Studies students from Mount Austin High School.) The survey revealed 30 sites with a total of 41 features.

In addition, anecdotal reports given by interviewed elders and landholders referred to a further 20 sites. These were not substantiated by field inspections due to a number of factors - i.e. request for confidentiality, sensitivity of landholder on whose land sites occurred and for Wiradjuri cultural reasons.

Survey results are shown in Table 14. A standard site recording form for each of the recorded sites together with a photo of each site will be forwarded to N.P.W.S for entry into the register.

### **Interpretation – Sites Survey Wagga Wagga L.G.A**

New site features recorded during the Wiradjuri Heritage Study field survey were predominately scar trees. This reflects both the visibility of these trees and the nature of the survey. That is, a broad survey covering the whole Wagga Wagga L.G.A, conducted predominantly on crown land and road reserves.

Significantly, the survey recorded an additional 39 scar trees (6 inconclusive) which approximately doubles the number on the N.P.W.S Sites Register. Anecdotal reports of burial sites, conflict sites, water holes, artefact campsites and ceremony and dreaming sites could be further investigated in future as culturally appropriate.



**No. 38 Scar Tree - Triangular on Ridge Top - Dead (0.8m x 1.0m) Site WW 106**  
Mt. Flakney 3/2002



# National Parks and Wildlife Service

Box 1967, Hurstville NSW 2220. Tel: (02) 585 6444  
Standard Site Recording Form Revised 5/88

Site No. W1240 Juri Heritage Study  
NW 101

1:250,000 map sheet: <u>WAGGA WAGGA</u> <span style="float:right">NPWS Code</span>		HEAD OFFICE USE ONLY: NPWS Site no: _____ Site types _____ Accessioned by: _____ Date: _____ Data entered by: _____ Date: _____ Owner/Manager <u>Wagga Wagga City Council</u> Address: <u>PO Box 20 WAGGA WAGGA 2650</u>																																	
AMG Grid reference <small>Full reference - please include leading digits</small>	<table style="margin:auto; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">5</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">2</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">1</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">0</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">0</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">mE</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">5/6</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">6</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">1</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">0</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">7</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">0</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">5</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">0</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">mN</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><small>250K</small></td> <td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><small>250K</small></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><small>250K</small></td> <td colspan="3" style="text-align:center"><small>250K</small></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	5	2	2	1	0	0	mE	5/6	6	1	0	7	0	5	0	mN	<small>250K</small>			<small>250K</small>					<small>250K</small>			<small>250K</small>						
5	2	2	1	0	0	mE	5/6	6	1	0	7	0	5	0	mN																				
<small>250K</small>			<small>250K</small>					<small>250K</small>			<small>250K</small>																								
Scale of map used for grid reference <small>Please use largest scale available</small>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 25K, 50K (preferred) <input type="checkbox"/> 100K <input type="checkbox"/> 250K																																		
1:25K, 50K, 100K map name: <u>URANQUINTY</u>																																			
Site name: _____	Locality/property name: _____																																		
NPWS District: <u>SUMUT</u>	Region: <u>Between Fruitdale &amp; Weemona + URANQUINTY</u>																																		
Reason for investigation <u>Wiradjuri HERITAGE STUDY</u>																																			
Portion no: <u>ADJACENT POR 4</u>	Parish: <u>URANQUINTY - 1</u>		Road: <u>M175</u>																																
			Photos taken? <u>1 (No A2)</u>																																
			How many attached? <u>1</u>																																
How to get to the site (refer to permanent features, give best approach to site eg from above, below, along cliff) <small>(Draw diagram on separate sheet)</small> <u>On north side of Road Reserve From Uranquinty take Church Plains Rd</u>																																			
Other sites in locality? <u>YES</u>	Site Types include: <u>SCAR TREES</u>																																		
Are sites in NPWS Register? <u>PENDING</u>																																			
Have artefacts been removed from site? <u>NO</u>	When? _____		Deposited where? _____																																
By whom? _____																																			
Is site important to local Aborigines? <u>YES</u>	<u>C/- WAGGA WAGGA LOCAL ABORIGINAL LANDS COUNCIL.</u>																																		
Give contact(s) name(s) + address(es)																																			
Contacted for this recording? _____ <small>Attach additional information separately if not, why not?</small>																																			
Verbal/written reference sources (including full title of accompanying report) <u>Nil</u>					NPWS Report Catalogue # _____																														
Checklist surface visibility, damage/disturbance/ threat to site	Condition of site <u>Tree healthy - some grazing?</u> <u>INNER wood of tree decaying</u>																																		
Recommendations for management & protection (attach separate sheet if necessary) <u>Retain as is.</u>																																			
Site recorded by: <u>R. R. GREEN</u>	Address/institution: <u>C/- Wagga Wagga City Council</u>		Date: <u>12/2/02</u>																																

SITE POSITION & ENVIRONMENT		OFFICE USE ONLY: NPWS site no:
1. Land form a. beach/hill slope/ridge top, etc: <u>PLAIN</u> d mark on diagram provided or on your own sketch the position of the site:		b. site aspect: <u>FLAT</u> c. slope: <u>&lt;1%</u> e. Describe briefly: <u>On Sandy Plain associated with Sandy Creek.</u> <u>ROADSIDE GRAZING / Road works</u>
		1 Local rock type: <u>PLAIN</u> Land use/effect:
2. Distance from drinking water: <u>500 m</u> Source: <u>SANDY CREEK.</u>		
3 Resource Zone associated with site (estuarine, riverine, forest etc): <u>CREEK / SANDY PLAIN</u>		
4 Vegetation: <u>OPEN BOX WOODLAND (YELLOW BOX)</u>		
5. Edible plants noted:		
6 Faunal resources (include shellfish):		
7. Other exploitable resources (river pebbles, ochre, etc):		
Site type: <u>MODIFIED TREE.</u>	<b>DESCRIPTION OF SITE &amp; CONTENTS.</b> Note state of preservation of site & contents. Do NOT dig, disturb, damage site or contents.	
<b>CHECKLIST TO HELP:</b> length, width, depth, height of site, shelter, deposit, structure, element eg. tree scar, grooves in rock. <b>DEPOSIT:</b> colour, texture, estimated depth, stratigraphy, contents-shell, bone, stone, charcoal, density & distribution of these, stone types, artefact types. <b>ART</b> area of surface decorated, motifs, colours, wet, dry pigment, technique of engraving, no. of figures, sizes, patination. <b>BURIALS:</b> number & condition of bone, position, age, sex, associated artefacts. <b>TREES:</b> number, alive, dead, likely age, scar shape, position, size, patterns, axe marks, regrowth. <b>QUARRIES:</b> rock type, debris, recognisable artefacts, percentage quarried. <b>OTHER SITES EG.</b> structures (fish traps, stone arrangements, bore rings, mva mvas), mythological sites, rock holes, engraved groove channels, contact sites (missions massacres cemeteries) as appropriate	<u>Tree - Grey Box (Eucalyptus microcarpa) (ALIVE)</u> <u>Height = 20m</u> <u>Circumference (at Chest) = 3m</u> <u>Condition of Scar Hollow / Dry Wood</u> <u>AXE MARKS? - nil</u> <u>Scar Length = 1.3m</u> <u>width = 0.1m</u> <u>ASPECT FACING N-E</u>	
	Attach sketches etc. eg. plan & section of shelter, show relation between site contents, indicate north, show scale. Attach annotated photos (stereo where useful) showing scale, particularly for art sites.	



**No. 39 Scar Tree - For Small Canoe or Burial Container Near River –**  
**(1.7m high x 1.4m wide) Site WW 109**

Oura 3/2002



**No. 40 Open Artefact Scatter Site Near Billabong - Site No. WW. 110**

3/2002



**No. 41 Scar Tree (Dead) Near Creek - (1.4m x 0.7m) Site W.W. 116**

3/2002



**No. 42 Scar Tree in Rolling Hills - (1.0m x 0.2) Site W.W. 117**

Ladysmith 3/2002



**No. 43 Small Scar Tree - One of a Cluster of 12 - (0.5 x 0.15) Bullenbong Plain Site WW 124 (a).**

4/2002



**No. 44 Large Scar Tree in Woodland near Wetland - (2.8m x 1.0m) Site WW 128**  
Currawarna 5/2002

### Additional Sites - Dec 2001 - June 2002

In addition to the above recorded sites, several more have been documented recently. Dean Freeman, N.P.W.S. Aboriginal Sites Officer, Tumut has located several additional sites in the Wagga Wagga area. (120).

**Table 14 - Sites Survey Wagga Wagga LGA -Wiradjuri Heritage Study  
Summary of Results  
(Conducted February to June, 2002)  
(Aboriginal Heritage Management System, 2001)**

	Site Category	No. of Sites	Site Feature	No. of Features	Comment
<b>Recorded Sites</b>	Open Site	28	Scarred (Modified) Trees	39	All scarred trees- 6 inconclusive
		1	Artefact/Campsite	1	
		1	Aboriginal Ceremony and Dreaming	1	Doubtful, further investigation
Totals		30		41	
<b>Anecdotal Reports</b>	Open Site	4	Burials		(Not investigated on site or formally recorded)
		6	Water Hole/Artefact Campsite		
		3	Artefact/Campsite		
		1	Conflict		
		6	Aboriginal Ceremony and Dreaming		
Total		20			

**Table 15 - Modified (Scarred) Trees - Wiradjuri Heritage Study  
February-June, 2002 (See also Fig 5)**

<b>TREE SCAR DETAILS</b>	
<b>Species</b>	Yellow, Grey and White Box , River Red Gum
<b>No of Scars</b>	39
<b>Lengths</b>	0.5m to 2.8m
<b>Width</b>	(max. width & included regrowth) 0.1m to 1.0m
<b>No. of Live/Dead Trees</b>	34/5
<b>Tree Circumference</b>	2m to 4.5m
<b>Tree Height</b>	10m to 25m
<b>Aspect</b>	Facing any direction
<b>Typical shape</b>	(See Sketches- Figure 5)

### **Collections, Interpretation and Comments**

Artefacts and objects contained within the following collections give an indication of local traditional Wiradjuri activities. They indicate a mostly wood and stone based technology for domestic food gathering activities and for weapons.

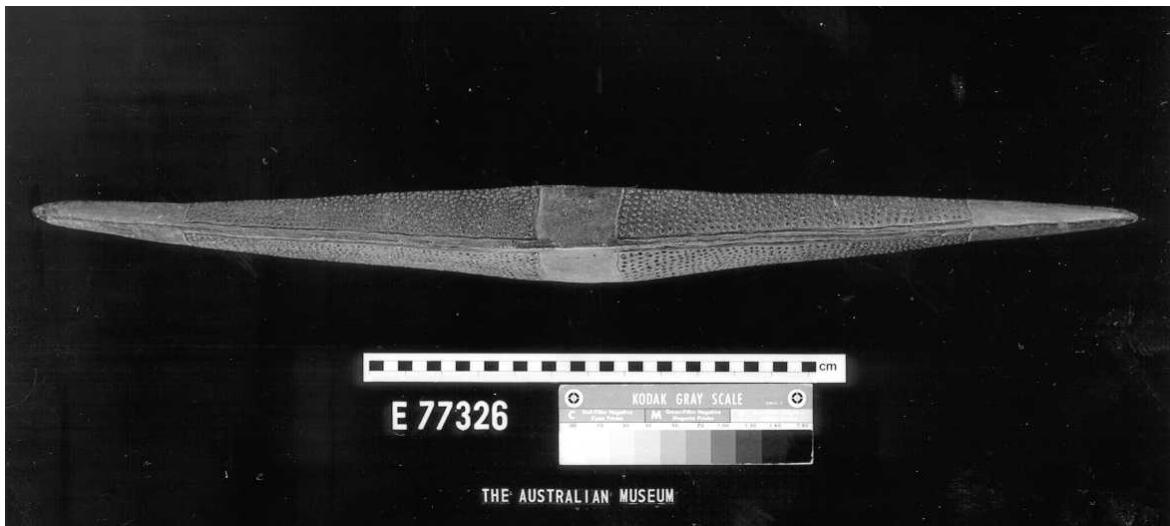
With the exception of the Devlin/Ganmain Collection (Australian Museum), benefit could be had by a detailed assessment and photographing and cataloguing of the collections. Recording of stories associated with the objects and some improvements in displaying them would also be beneficial to an improved understanding of their value.

During the course of the Wiradjuri Heritage Study, reference was made to other local collections held by local people for example, at Borambola and Bullenbong. It is likely that there are many collections being held by landholders especially.



**No. 45 Wooden Shovel From Currawarna - For Digging in earth mounds**

Australian Museum, 1981



**No. 46 Wooden Shield - Currawarna**

Australian Museum, 1981

### Table 16 - Ganmain/Devlin Collection

**Collected at:** Devlins Run/ Ganmain Station - Currawarna

**Collected by/when:** Devlin family, probably from 1840s on.

**Donated by/when:** Mrs. Stillman, 1981.

**Held at:** Australian Museum, Sydney (also spears and breast plate held at Museum of the Riverina)

Artefact/Object Type - Wooden Implements	Size (Length X Width (cm))	Museum Registration Date	Registration Number
Club	58 X 17.5	11.8.1981	E 77 323
Shovel (See photo)	L85.5	"	E 77 324
Shield	69.5 X 8.8	"	E 77 325
Shield (See photo)	L 76.5	12.8.1981	E 77 326
Club	63 X 10	"	E 77 327
Club	60.5 X 10	"	E 77 328
Club	78 X 4.5	"	E 77 329
Club(See photo)	74 X 6	"	E 77 330

### Additional Object - South West NSW - Albury Area?

Yachi (Dance wand/Club) (See photo No.49)	77.3 X 16	4.2.1918 Collected by E.M. Rabbits	E 249 24
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### Interpretation of Ganmain/Devlin Collection

The fine craftwork seen in the Ganmain/Devlin Collection including intricate carving designs, the inclusion of a shovel, or “gayaa”, (for earth mound digging) suggests a semi-communal sedentary life style with time to spend in such pursuits. Clubs and shields suggest the need for defence. Shovels are rare, with only a few known on western rivers, and are always found in association with earth mounds (121).

This supports the evidence that the Kockibitoo ("Big Swamp") wetland between Currawarna and Mt. Arthur would have supported many Wiradjuri.

It is believed that these wooden items were collected by the Devlin family (first occupants of Ganmain Station from 1840's) and presumably from then to about the 1860's (See also Breastplate, Peter of Murrumbidge).



**No. 47 Wooden Club - Currawarna**

Australian Museum, 1981



**No. 49 Yachi (Dance wand/Club) or Elaborate Message Stick Ornatly Carved with birds, animals and designs**

Rabbits Collection - Albury Area, Australian Museum 1981

### Table 17 - Lashbrook Collection

**Collected at:** Properties "Inverness" and "Longfield" and Old Man Creek area, Collingullie

**Collected by/when:** Lashbrook family/1920's to 1970's.

**Donated by/when:** Chris Lashbrook, 2000

**Held at:** Ngungilanna Centre, Charles Sturt University, and Wagga Wagga.

Artefact Type - Stone Tools (Description)	Approximate Number
Axe Heads	10
Milling Grinding Stones (Round)	
Top/Hammer Stones	35
Bottom/Anvil Stones (Single Side use)	5
Bottom/Anvil Stones (Double Side use) (Flat)	7
-Top Elongated Stones	30
Grinding Plates- Large (Nardoo Stone)	1
Fire Stones	4
Various Broken or Indistinguishable stones	10
TOTAL	102

### Interpretation of Lashbrook Collection

Most of these stone artefacts were found during ploughing operations and picked up by three generations of the Lashbrook family from about the 1920's to 1970's (122). The two adjoining properties are on red country (Red Clayey sand plains), where the artefacts were found and surround a 1.5 km<sup>2</sup> swamp. This swamp is on and was filled by the Collingullie watercourse, the same as Roping Pole swamp. (14 km upstream).

There is a predominance of milling/grinding and multipurpose (two sided, hammer and grinding stones combined) stones, and the universal tool, the stone axe, which were all found away from the swamp. This suggests the use of grass seed from the plains to make damper or similar. The presence of fire stones suggests fire was an integral part of daily life.

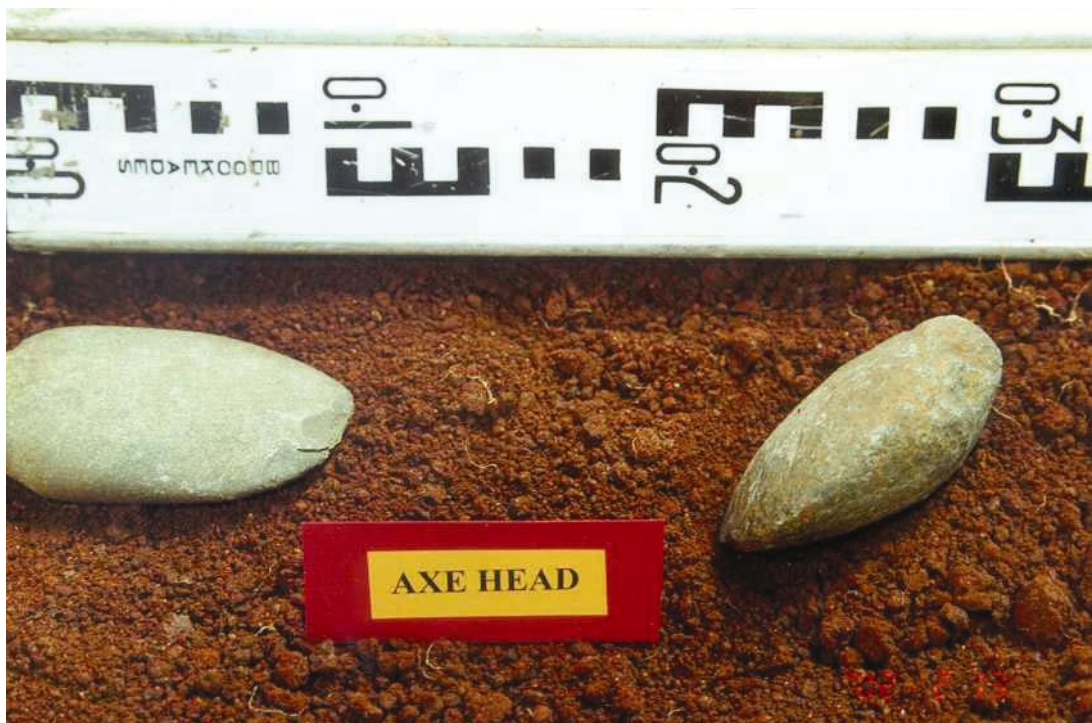
Supplementary food from the swamp and water course (fish, mussels, ducks, eggs) would have supported Wiradjuri.

The large grinding plate referred to as a "nardoo stone" is from Old Man Creek, on the river flood plain - nardoo spore pods being ground to make a similar type damper



**No. 50 Fire Stones/Multipurpose uses -**

Lashbrook Collection - Collingullie. Ngungilanna Centre C.S.U. 2/2002



**No. 51 Stone Axe Heads**

Lashbrook Collection- Collingullie. Ngungilanna Centre C.S.U. 2/2002

### Table 18 - Museum of the Riverina Collection

**Collected at:** Throughout Riverina and probably beyond

**Donated by:** Largely by local landholders.

**Held at:** Museum of the Riverina, Wagga Wagga.

Object	Description -	
	Catalogued	Uncatalogued (In Boxes) / comments
Fire Stone		1
Axe Heads (Various)		14
Heat Retainers (Fired Clay)		2 pieces
Milling/Grinding stones		
Top/Hammer Stones	4	6
Bottom/Anvil Stones	1	9
"Thumb" Stones	2	
Ochre	7 pieces, various colours	
Shields	2	Note: Shields ornately decorated with designs possibly recent and not necessarily Wiradjuri
Breast Plate (Brass)	1	Inscribed "Peter - Ganmain Murrumbidge" (1860's - See text and photo)
Waggle Stick	1	
Fishing Spears	9	Some at least from Ganmain Station
Canoe tree (River Red Gum)	1	From "Corella" Yarragundry c. 1970

### Interpretation of Museum of the Riverina Collection

The inclusion of some items from Ganmain Station, fishing spears and a brass breast plate, complements the items held at the Australian Museum from this same location. These fishing spears support the earlier contention that the Kockibitoo wetland was widely used. Mary Gilmore reports that a particularly tasty swamp fish used to be caught from these wetlands. (123)

The presentation of the brass breast plate to Peter, a local Wiradjuri man, by the Devlin family in the 1860's is of particular significance (124,125) (Peter may have been the same one who together with Jemmie guided Sturt from Wantabadgery to Mount Arthur).



**No. 52 Brass Breast Plate "Peter - Ganmain Murrumbidge"** - Conferred at Ganmain Station by Devlin Family, 1860's

Museum of the Riverina 5/2002



**No. 53 Wiradjuri Country Display**

Museum of the Riverina. 5/2002

Elsie Devlin, granddaughter of James Devlin, the original squatter on Ganmain Station, indicated that the wearers of such plates were very proud of them. If the King of England were mentioned, they would point to their plaque and say "me, I King here"(126)

Whilst strictly speaking, the following description should best be included in the Contact/Historic Times section of this study, since the practice of bestowing breast plates developed then its inclusion here maintains a connection with the rest of the Ganmain items.

The following edited excerpts from McCarthy (127) explain the tradition of bestowing breast plates.

*"From 1816 Governor Macquarie instigated an annual feast at Parramatta inviting native tribes to attend. This was carried on officially until 1830 and unofficially for some years after. The Governor conferred with appointed representatives of groups during the feasts. As a symbol of their authority and status he gave them each a brass plate or gorget. The custom among white people spread all over Australia. Breast plates were a convenient way of recognising the loyalty and services or establishing the position of whoever appeared to be the highest in rank - amongst natives on cattle and sheep stations, government reserves and mission stations and in the military and government.*

*Many plates carried the fictitious titles of "chief", "duke", "prince", king" or "queen", since there is no hereditary authority or aristocracy amongst them traditionally."*

This no doubt caused some strife amongst the native people. Many faithful old stockmen (of which Peter was probably one on Ganmain Station) were rewarded with such a breastplate. Sir Thomas Mitchell awarded one to John Piper, (Wiradjuri man from Bathurst), his principal guide on the 1836 expedition that ended near Alfredtown.

The inscription on Piper's breastplate reads "Conqueror of the Interior" as a reward for him virtually directing the day to day operations of the expedition.

Of further interest and on display at Museum of the Riverina is a scar tree; the removed bark of which is believed to have been used for constructing a canoe.

This tree is from the "Corella" property within 1km of the river on the floodplain near Yarragundry and would have been one of many standing before clearing took place. It indicates use of canoes for water transport in the area.

Some artefacts are also from around springs near Mangoplah.



**No. 54 Canoe Tree -From "Corella" Yarragundry - (3m long x 0.8m wide)**

Museum of the Riverina. 5/2002



**No. 55 Belling Stone Artefact Collection- (Lower two Shelves)**

Keajura 3/2002

## Table 19 - Belling Collection

**Collected at:** Keajura (Tarcutta)

**Collection by:** Bill & Fay Belling

**Held at:** "Alloomba", Keajura, also two donated to Museum of the Riverina, two on loan at Tarcutta Café.

Artefact Type	Description, Approximate Number
Unifaced Stone Axes	2 - Believed to be 10, 000 yrs old
Axe Heads	10
Milling/Grinding Stones	Various - For small seed. (Different from Lashbrook collection stones)
Quartz Flakes & Other	Various
<b>Total</b>	<b>Approx. 120</b>

### Interpretation of Belling Collection

This is localized collection representing Wiradjuri activity in the middle reaches of a confined or wetland creek system - Keajura Creek. All these stone artefacts were found locally either on "Alloomba" on neighbouring land and have been carefully looked after by Bill and Fay Belling, the landholders, who have stories associated with finding them. Most were found during ploughing operations.

Fay says "Bill has an eye for these stones." Most come from higher well drained ground within 30 to 40 metres of the creek with one particular cluster indicating, perhaps, a camp site. Bill indicated that the milling/grinding stones were of a different type to those in the Lashbrook Collection and suggested they may have been used for grinding small seed (wattle and grasses?). The Bellings are keen to see that care for the Collection continues into the future.



**No. 56 Bill & Fay Belling with Stone Artefacts. "They feel good in the hand"**

Keajura 3/2002

**Table 20 - Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council Collection****Collected at:** Various locations Wiradjuri Country since 1983**Collected/Donated By:** Various Landholders/Archaeologists**Held at:** W.R.A.L.C. Wagga Wagga.

Artefact Type	Size/Description	No.	Donor/Location/ Date
Wooden Implements	Bundi (60cm x 3cm)	2	Bathurst Area Landholder. 1990's?
	Narrow Shield (60cm x 10cm)	1	
	Club - Angled (60cm x 3cm)	1	
	Spear Thrower (60cm x 5cm)	1	
Stone Flakes	Small Quartz	21	Sandy Creek/Jacks Road Uranquinty Artefact Salvage 20.11.1997 Navin & Office Archaeologists
Milling/Grinding Stones	Small - Round Stones	2	
Grinding Plate (Nardoo Stone)	Large Plate (45cm x 25 cm) with Top Mill Stone	1	Wantabadgery Area Landholder? 1990's?
Grinding Plates- Large(Nardoo Stone)	Large Plates	5	Uranquinty/The Rock Area Landholder' 1998?  (Held in Rear shed W.R.A.L.C.)
Axe Heads	Various Sizes and States of Manufacture	20	
Mill/Grinding Stones (round)		20	
Top/Hammer Stones		5	
Bottom/Anvil Stones (Flat)		EST. 50	
Top Elongated Stone		EST. 50	
Stone/Other	Various Broken & Indistinguishable	EST. 50	
Axe Heads	Small, Finished	3	

Mill/Grinding Stones (round) - Top/Hammer Stones Bottom/Anvil Stones (Flat) Top Elongated Stone		1 1 2	
Ochre Stone	Red (100 x 150 cm)	1	
Flakes, Core Stone, Back Blades	Small - Made of Quartz, Silcrete, Chertz	40	

### Interpretation of Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council Collection

Solid wooden implements from the Bathurst area indicate similar technology to the local area. Stone flakes salvaged in 1997 are a good example of finely worked stone. Large grinding nardoo stone and partially complete axe heads are similar to other collections.



**No. 57 Local Stone Artefacts 1. Chert Flakes (Light & Dark), 2. Core Stone  
3. Back Blade 4. Quartz Flakes**

Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council (W.R.A.L.C.) 6/2002



**No.58 Large Grinding Plate - Nardoo Stone?**

Wantabadgery Area - W.R.A.L.C. 6/2002



**No.59 Stone Axe Heads - Local**

W.R.A.L.C. 6/2002



**No.60 Wooden Implements - 1. Combat Shield 2. Bundi 3. Wooden Knife  
4. Spear thrower.**

Donated by landholder in Bathurst Area. W.R.A.L.C. 6/2002

**Table 21 - Significant Regional Collections**

<b>Significant Regional Collections/Location</b>	<b>Description Comment</b>
Lockhart Folk Museum	Contains various artefacts including axes, oven mound ash, Nardoo grinding plates and fire stones. Most collected locally.
Jindera Folk Museum, Jindera	Excellent collections of local, mainly stone artefacts from Albury area.
June Museum	Large local collection of mainly stone artefacts including a greenstone axe which has an associated story.

## Interpretation - Significant Regional Collections

Collections at Junee, Lockhart and Jindera indicate similar artefacts and therefore traditional activities occurred across the region.



**No. 61 Elders Vony Gilchrist and Sandy Warren - Discuss Artefact Collection, Junee**  
Junee Museum. Junee 8/10/97



## 2.3.4 Contact Times

### Introduction

“Contact” refers to the initial period and sudden impact of European settlement on Wiradjuri and other Indigenous peoples of Australia. It is extended in this study to cover the period up until 1967. This impact commenced for Wiradjuri in the 1790’s when small pox, brought inadvertently by Eora traders from the Sydney region, decimated local Wiradjuri, (1). As country was taken up by early European squatters, and later ex-gold diggers and selectors, resident Wiradjuri groups were greatly disrupted.

From the 1830’s local groups quickly became familiar with European customs and commodities the use of food, tobacco and iron tools, (2). They adopted clothing either by choice or in response to the Europeans’ attitude to nakedness. In many cases they took on European family or property names.

Many points of conflict arose during the first contact period despite Wiradjuri and some European settlers trying to accommodate each other’s interests. White settlers generally refused to share their goods and reacted violently when Wiradjuri killed cattle for food. Whilst some rations were provided on stations and blankets were distributed by the government, decimation by disease, the effects of alcohol, starvation, loss of land, ill treatment and massacre, exploitation of labour and women, led to the reduction of Wiradjuri population to a very low level (perhaps less than twenty) in what is now the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area, by 1900.

Opening and subsequent closing of missions and reserves, government policies (based on the assumption that the Wiradjuri were a dying race) of protection, assimilation and integration all carried on the negative effects of the initial contact period up until at least 1967. In this year a Commonwealth referendum gave equal rights to Indigenous people which marked a major legal turning point in the status of Wiradjuri and other Indigenous people. Therefore, the year 1967 has been chosen to denote the change from “Contact Times” to “Recent Times”.

The phases of Wiradjuri history in the “Contact Times” and “Recent Times” is shown in Fig No 7 (after Kabaila, (3)) This lists key dates for housing fabrics, language changes, government policies and availability of documentation of this history.

The impact of European Settlement on the estimated Wiradjuri population in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A, from the “Contact Times” and “Recent Times” is shown in the accompanying graph (Graph No.1 see Section 4). From being in balance with the natural cycles and events, the population was dramatically reduced over less than a 100 year period. Recovery has only come with resettlement since the 1970’s. The figures shown can only be approximations and conceptual in nature. Key events, personalities and anecdotes with dates are also shown.



## Timeline 3 - Contact Times

### 1770 – 1819

- 29.4.1770 A.D      Captain Cook of the Aborigines he encountered in Botany Bay said: 'All they seemed to want was for us to be gone'. (4).
- 1790s                Small pox epidemic brought to the area by travelling Aborigines from coastal nations. The Wiradjuri people had no immunity to it. Many people died. People from Eora (Sydney Aborigines) came with axes and glass to trade for Wiradjuri possum skins. (1).
- 1813-15             European settlement in the Bathurst area. They were welcomed, presented with gifts and entertained with corroborees. As European settlement grew sacred sites were settled on, game was driven away from the hunting grounds and vegetation was destroyed. (1).
- 1815-22             Windradyne led a group of Wiradjuri in retaliation. (1).

### 1820 – 29

- 1820                 Simon, an English-speaking Aboriginal, informs explorer Charles Throsby that the Murrumbidgee River, "communicates with the sea". Throsby is credited with 'discovering' the river in 1821. (5).
- Aug - Dec 1824     Governor Brisbane declares martial law on Wiradjuri in the Bathurst area district. Windradyne leads resistance. (6).
- 1824                 Hume and Hovell expedition passes through Wiradjuri Country. Hume camps with a local group near Mannus - refers to them as 'our friends of the forest' and is adored by their children. (7).
- 1825 on             Areas of land set aside from sale for the creation of Aboriginal settlements (reserves, missions and stations). Their aim was to suppress traditional society organisation, law and custom at the same time "protecting" the people from further annihilation, (118)
- 2.12.1829           Wiradjuri guides to Charles Sturt's expedition burn a possum out of dead tree near Wantabadgery much to Sturts' amazement. (See Drawing) (8).
- 5<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> Dec 1829   Wiradjuri men Peter and Jemmie guide Charles Sturt's expedition from Wantabadgery past the future site of Wagga Wagga to Mount Arthur. Party camped at Old Oura, Bomen Lagoon, Malebo and Berembed. Probably led him passed major billabongs (Kurrajong, Gobbagumbalin) which would have been known to them. (9).
- 5.8.1829            Wiradjuri guides fear and are aware that the vicinity of Eunonyhareenyah/Bomen Lagoon/Parken Pregaran Lagoon is apparently the living place of Bunony/Eunony or Eunonyhareenyah fearsome Wiradjuri individual or group. (10, 11).

### 1830-39

- 1830 - 32 Small pox epidemic called 'Thuma thuma' kills many adult Wiradjuri, (12). F.A. Tompson of Eunonyhareenyah noticed all the old people had unmistakable signs of small pox and that the number of deaths was very great. Scarcely a child was left. (13).
- 1832 - 39 First European settlers arrive including North Side of River: Tompsons (Eunonyhareenyah & Old Oura), Thornes (Gobbagumbalin), Jenkins (Tooyal), Devlins (Ganmain & Kockibitoo). South Side of River: Macleays (Borambola), Guises (Cunningdroo), Bourkes (Gooliagumby), Bests (Wogo Wogo), News (Pomingalarna), Mates (Umutbee), Smiths (Kyeamba). (14). All these names are Wiradjuri words.
- 17.3.1836 Thomas Mitchell's exploration expedition to Australia Felix (Victoria) commences with a corroboree held in its honour by Wiradjuri at Boree near Orange. John Piper, from the Bathurst Wiradjuri acts as guide, interpreter and adviser to Mitchell for the whole of the 7 months, 2 700 km (1700 miles) journey. The expedition travelled along part of the Lachlan, Murray and Darling Rivers, through Australia Felix to Portland Bay (Vic) and returned, ending the journey near Alfredtown (15km east of Wagga Wagga), (16).
- 15.4.1836 Piper "obtains a gin" near Cudjallagong (Lake Cargelligo), (16).
- 25.4.1836 Two young Wiradjuri boys, given the names of 'Tommy-come-first' and 'Tommy-come-last', join Mitchell's party, (16).
- 2.5.1836 Near Booligal a Wiradjuri "widow", Turandurey, together with her four-year-old daughter, Ballandella, is persuaded by an old man to join Mitchell's party as a guide, (16).
- 21.5.1836 Little Ballandella fell from the explorers' cart, (approx. 40km west of Balranald) one of the wheels passing over her, breaking her thigh. She bore the pain with "admirable patience". The party's doctor set the break with difficulty and she recovered in 3 weeks, (16).
- 27.5.1836 Conflict between Mitchell's party on the Murray River (between current day Robinvale and Mildura and subsequently known as Mt. Dispersion) and the Marra' warree or "spitting" tribe as referred to by Mitchell. (15). About 300 of this tribe had travelled from the vicinity of Menindee to attack and presumably avenge a shooting death involving Mitchell's earlier expedition to the Darling, (1835). According to Piper, at least 7 Marra' Waree were shot attempting to swim across the Murray River, including one from Benanee who appeared to be the chief. (16).
- 19.6.1836 Near Swan Hill, Piper is homesick for his Wiradjuri Country, although 600 km from Bathurst, he could still point directly to it. (16).
- 19.6.1836 In Southern Victoria Mitchell's party divides in two. Turandurey and daughter Ballandella are separated but before doing so mark their faces and around their eyes with white ochre as a sign of mourning.(16).

- 22.10.1836 Mitchell's very hungry party first enters the now Wagga Wagga L.G.A, crosses Burkes Creek (which he names Burnett's River) near present day Pulletop and camps at Livingstone Gully. During this day the Wiradjuri guides find old cattle tracks and "where a bullock had been eaten by the natives."(16).
- 23.10.1836 Mitchell's party descend into Kyeamba Valley, find cattle and some horse tracks (from animals belonging to squatter Guise at "Cunningdroo"), follow Kyeamba Creek and camp near present day Ladysmith. Attempts unsuccessfully to shoot a bullock, and is forced to kill one of the working animals for food. (16).
- 24.10.1836 Mitchell spots the Murrumbidgee from a small hill near Alfred town, travels up river and meets "Billy Buckley", a shepherd at Guises' Station. (Cunningdroo). Piper overjoyed at emerging from the land of "myalls" especially when he meets here with natives of his acquaintance. Little Ballandella, who had been taken great care of by Mrs. Piper, was feasted with milk and seemed quite happy. Local Wiradjuri tell Mitchell the names of the greater rivers and some of the isolated hills he had passed. Mitchell's expedition effectively ended and disperses from here.(16).
- 24-26.10.1836 Mitchell rests two days and writes an account to the government including the Mt Dispersion conflict. (16).
- 10.11.1836 Stapylton's party, including Turandurey, (the follow up half of Mitchell's expedition) arrives and camps at Guise's Station. Turandurey has grown "enormously fat" (on expedition food). "She was married last night to King Joey and she proceeds with him to her friends", (on the Lachlan near Booligal?) (16,17).
- Late 1836 Ballandella is taken to Sydney by Mitchell to be educated the European way in which she proved to be as intelligent as any white child. (18).
- Enquiry held into Mitchell's action at Mt Dispersion. Mitchell severely reprimanded especially for relying too much on Piper to negotiate and conciliate with the natives, (18).
- On return to Sydney, Piper is given his own red coat, a cocked hat with feather, which once belonged to Governor Darling. Mitchell awarded Piper a breast plate inscribed "Conqueror of the Interior". Piper acquires a "second gin" and is anxious to return to "his own Country."
- Mitchell seemingly promised the "Two Tommies" that he would take them to England but this did not eventuate, they shed some tears and returned to their Country on the Lachlan (18).
- 1837 British House of Commons committee on Aborigines recognised that they had "an uncontrovertible right to their own soil, a plain and sacred right.... Their land has never been taken away from them without the assertion of any other title than that of superior force", (118).
- From 1837 Missionary, James Günther commenced his work amongst Wiradjuri at Wellington (Valley). Here he compiled an extensive grammar and

vocabulary of Wiradjuri language. Because of Günther's abilities and the purity of the language at that time, his work provides a sound basis for Restored Wiradjuri today. (19).

- 23.5.1837 Dapto, a local Wiradjuri man and his "gin" came to an overlanders' camp at Umbango Station (Tarcutta). He indicated that the Millewa (Murray River) was rising and that blacks from that river were coming to fight the Dumot (Tumut) blacks. Dapto left with his "gin" because the overlanders would not allow him to throw firebrands at her or beat her. Dapto had guided the first colonists to the Murray River, (20).
- 1838 Governor Gipps orders a prohibition on the indiscriminate massacre of natives by the military, (43).
- 19.10. 1838 In a letter to the Sydney Morning Herald, one Murrumbidgee grazier stated that his convict servants were under little or no control and that "their morality with the Aboriginal women (knew) no bounds." (21).
- 1834 - 1838 Droughts and pastoral expansion diminish Wiradjuri food supplies and spearing of cattle creates tensions between Wiradjuri and settlers.(1, 22).
- 1836-8 Wiradjuri people are dying of starvation. Baiamai has stopped the Murumbidya from flowing. (1).
- Christmas 1838 Edward John Eyre staying at Ganmain Station, Currawarna, gathered that the storekeepers were in the habit of occasionally making raids against them (the Wiradjuri) and that they had only recently returned from one of these expeditions. Wiradjuri also poisoned near Ganmain Station. (22).
- 8.1.1839 Wiradjuri War begins with killing of Dennis Denay on Brewarriwa Station (near Berembed) by Narrungdera warriors. Settlers between Berembed and Wagga Wagga fearful. (22).
- Mounted police and armed stockmen set off to attack the Narrungdera. Properties west of Ganmain Station (on which 40 cattle had been speared) abandoned. (22).
- ? .8.1839 Overlanders battle with Wiradjuri at Berembed, Wiradjuri chased off but pursue them down the river. Many later killed.(23).
- 1840-49**
- 1840 Wiradjuri hostile to and spearing the cattle of John Bray who attempted to take up Berry Jerry station near Collingullie, (24).
- Early 1840 John Peter squatter of Gumly Gumly, replies to a government questionnaire on the use of Aboriginals as agricultural and pastoral labourers. Peter admits that at first he had some difficulty with Wiradjuri who attacked the shepherds and stole sheep. He found by "treating them with kindness, he succeeded in making them useful in sheep-washing, stripling bark, reaping, shepherding, fencing and housework. None showed any inclination to join the tribe, particularly

two women servants who were often threatened for not joining the tribe". Peter gave these workers rations and a little woollen clothing in winter. Peter reported the constant state of alarm the local Wiradjuri were in, reputedly caused by the constant incursions of other tribes and frequent attempts to kill those who were domesticated. Two young Aboriginal boys were amongst the workers at "Oura" outstation. (25).

- 1840's Mrs. James Rudd and her sister whilst riding their horses across the plain (Wagga Wagga Racecourse area in 2002) saw a large mob of blacks on the sandhill where Goonigul house later stood (RSL Club area in 2002). On riding over they found they were burying a dead black, who was tied up in a bunch and buried in a sitting position. (27).
- 1840's Attack on early Europeans at Wagga Wagga contemplated by Wiradjuri. A considerable number assembled in the bend of the Murrumbidgee (Wiradjuri Reserve in 2002?) below where the company bridge afterwards spanned the river. They were in the act of performing a very complicated war dance as preliminary to hostilities when a number of whites, warned of what was intended, appeared on the scene. A shower of rockets directed against the warriors, to the accompaniment of a packet of big bunger crackers was quite enough to quell the incipient insurrection. The people scattered in all directions, yelling at the top of their voices. There was no more talk of a war on the whites after that. (28).
- Early 1841 All the settlers on both side of the river were determined to give the Wiradjuri a lesson for spearing cattle. They went out armed and drove the blacks before them, who took refuge on an island thickly covered with reed in the middle of the river, about 7 miles from Narrandera and they were shot down in numbers. (1, 29). At least 60 to 70 Wiradjuri men, women and children were killed, the island became known as Murdering Island. (30).
- May 1841 Three Police camp at Ganmain and Berembled Stations to prevent squatters and Wiradjuri attacking each other. (31).
- End 1841 Wiradjuri overcome by gun power, poison, starvation and disease. (1).
- 10.12.1842 Charles Tompson ("Eunonoreenya" Oura Road) reports that "huts are put up at a cost of comparatively nothing for 5 to 6 lbs of flour, a few figs of tobacco, or even a little of the offcuts of a beast when slaughtered, the blacks in the neighbourhood will undertake to strip and carry to the spot fixed or as many sheets of bark in one day as will cover all the frame of a hut large enough to lodge three men." (32).
- 1843 Davidson's take up Bullenbong Station, half way to present day Lockhart. At the same time every year a group of Wiradjuri (probably, 25 in number) camped on the Bullenbong Creek, a traditional campsite on their hunting and gathering cycle. A stockade is built around the homestead for protection. On one occasion Mrs. Davidson is startled by Brian Boru, a Wiradjuri man, who entered the kitchen and demanded food, indicating he was hungry, rather than violent. Another incident relates how one Wiradjuri, wanted by the police for murder, sat on the verandah and began to make some spears. He ignored all ordered to

"clear out" but fled in confusion when Mrs. Davidson dowsed him with a bucket of water, (33).

- 1842/43 A grand corroboree took place in Wagga Wagga in which 400 to 500 blacks participated. A great tribal fight also took place between the Tumut and Murrumbidgee blacks on the sandhill about the spot where the Australian Arcade stands (2002). Only one person died although many were wounded, (28).
- 1844 Narrungdera Wiradjuri were reputedly at war with the Gumly Gumly Wiradjuri near Wagga Wagga, (30).
- mid 1840's Protector of Aborigines established in NSW. Police were to protect them as much as white settlers and were to reduce firearms held by whites, (43).
- 1845 James Gormly reports that on crossing the river below Gobbagumbalin and the now racecourse plain he saw smoke rising from the river bank below where the company bridge later was constructed (Wiradjuri Reserve). He found 100 men, women and children camped and observed a number of gunyahs constructed of bushes, bark and boughs. One of the Wiradjuri who was able to speak English informed Gormly that the camp was called "guna gallie boggy" a camping and swimming place. He rode from the camp along where Fitzmaurice Street is now and encountered some women carrying children as well as their goods. Gormly had seen these people before at Nangus and conversed with several of them. (34)
- 1846 With help of "the blacks" (Wiradjuri men), the first "prisoner" in Wagga Wagga's first gaol taken. It was a ram!(35)
- 1848 to 1866 The Board of National Education states "it was impractical to provide any form of education for the children of the blacks" (36).
- 23.11.1849 Wagga Wagga gazetted a village. (37).
- 7.8.1849 Investigation by the National Board of Education into the establishment of a school in Wagga Wagga meets with a typical comment from a mother, "We'd glory a school like that - the children are fairly wild - just like the blacks." (38).
- 1849 Matt Best (son of Robert Best, Wagga Wagga Run), learns the Wiradjuri language and is adopted into the Wagga Wagga tribe. (35).
- Late 1840's Polly, Wiradjuri wife of a John Franklin, Wagga Wagga's first blacksmith, helps with white childbirths and medical issues. (39).
- 1850-1859**
- 1850's Wiradjuri people continue to camp near the town. They always had dogs with them who kept them warm and warned away strangers. They retained a traditional lifestyle eating yams, possums, fish, fowl, emus, ducks, cranes and crows and using boomerangs, spears, woomeras and nulla nullas (40).

- 1850's In Livingstone Gully there was "quite a presence of Aborigines in the area and a blacks camp". Richard Cox had a number of "black piccaninnies playmates" that he used to go yamming with. (41).
- 1852 During the 1852 flood in Wagga Wagga, Big Peter, known as the "King of the black tribes of Wagga Wagga", ably assisted a white man, Seppings, with a boat in saving women and children from lofts and rooves of houses, (34).
- 1852 Richard Cox, as a four year old, gets lost in the bush at Livingstone Gully and is picked up by an old blackfellow named Yarry. Richard is taken to the camp and sleeps on a woman's possum rug, (41).
- 1854? Due to the wet season the blankets were not issued in Wagga Wagga. The local Murrumbidgee Wiradjuri travelled to Carcoar via the Bland to pick their issue up. (42).
- 1855 James Bourke came to manage O'Briens Creek Run, (later Big Springs). He is admired for his kindly handling of the Wiradjuri in the area. He could speak their language. At the Livingstone Gully camp he used to "call old blackfellows around him and the piccaninnies and talk to them, then get on his horse and chase them, cracking his whip near them and finish by giving the old men tobacco." (41).
- 1856 NSW obtains self-government from Britain. It was stipulated that a percentage of income from Crown land sales was to be spent on the Aborigines but about all they got was a blanket on Queen Victoria's birthday. Previously, from the early colony days until 1856, 16% of the returns from the sale of Crown Lands was to be spent on behalf of the Aborigines of NSW, (43).
- 1850's & 60's Max Leitch (1995) reports that:  
*"About 600 natives lived on Berry Jerry Station (consisting of 150,000 acres near Collingullie) scattered about in small groups and with a meeting ground called "Cologee", meaning "meeting of the waters"."* (24).
- This probably referred to the meeting of Old Mans Creek and/or Beavers Creek with the Murrumbidgee, somewhere in the vicinity of Bray's Swamp, (now Berry Jerry Forest). Another meeting ground called Qualogee was situated on Ganmain Station (west of Currawarna), (24).
- John Leitch (owner at Berry Jerry) gave the Wiradjuri flour, tea and sugar on the condition they didn't spear the cattle. The white man's diseases, chicken pox, measles and 'flu etc, killed them off like flies. They had all gone in a matter of a few years"
- John Leitch pointed out to his son where the last of the Wiradjuri had camped on Berry Jerry (1870's?), (24).

- 1860's James Baylis reports that there were "many blacks about Wagga Wagga in the 1860's, in his childhood. He saw between 3 and 4 hundred camped in the bend of the river below where the traffic bridge crosses it, (Wiradjuri Reserve in 2002?). Also he saw them holding a corroboree indicating that they gather in great numbers for Queen Victoria's Birthday (24<sup>th</sup> May) when they are each given a blanket by the government. The king of the local tribe was "Peter, King of Borambola" as the inscribed on a brass plate he proudly wore, (29,44).
- 1860's Devlin family of Ganmain Station, Currawarna have breast plate made for "Peter of Ganmain", Wiradjuri man. (45,46).
- 1860's The McGeachie, family selectors from near Uranquinty, fearful of Wiradjuri attack and will not stay in selectors cottage, (47).
- 1860's Some of the Wiradjuri Kings, known to J.J. Baylis near Wagga Wagga were: Mycotha, Booyarrie, Warangeline, Yallagumie, Peter, Jacky (48).
- 1861/2 Implementation of the Robertson Land Acts encouraged free selectors to take up land resulting in a great increase in the number and density of farms. Over the next fifteen years, remaining Wiradjuri were forced off stations and remaining hunting grounds, and into towns and town fringes. (51, 52).
- 1868 Wiradjuri held a great corroboree near the Royal Hotel in honour of Earl Belmore, (40).
- 1860's Non-arrival of the supply of government blankets aroused displeasure amongst local Wiradjuri. In imitation of the whites, they held a public meeting, under the leadership of King Peter, to protest to the "Guvment". He wrote a speech consisting of the following words: "Queen Wiktoria like it queen birthday sendum plankit for plackfeller. Plackfeller he go to Court House, no gettum plankit." At the close of the meeting the Wiradjuri loudly yelled the following chorus:
- "Bumbleheller tumble down  
Wheelbarrer breakum  
Big One John Robertson  
Baal gibbit plankit."*
- The blankets arrived shortly afterwards and everyone was satisfied, (28, 89).
- 1860's on Wiradjuri women wash, scrub and nurse for Henry Baylis' family at "Goonigul" in Kincaid Street Wagga Wagga, (49).
- 1860's to 70's "Swan hoppers" employed to smash thousands of swan, pelican and duck eggs year in, year out in the Wagga Wagga area. The moulting feathers of these birds eaten with grass and reeds by cattle was forming featherballs in their intestines and slowly killing them, (50).

## 1870-79

- 1870 Some title over the land was given to Wiradjuri people as recognition for long occupancy. This title was only for the lifetime of the adults. For every family who received it there were ten who didn't. (1).
- 1870 15 Bush turkeys reported on Lake Albert. (51).
- 1870's With closer settlement in the Wagga Wagga district following the opening up of squatting runs to selectors, less seasonal work was available to Wiradjuri men. Numbers gradually dwindled, (52).
- 1870's A good many white men lived among the Wiradjuri. They were called "white blackfellows". (53).
- 1870's (Early) Mary Gilmore as a child played with the Wiradjuri on Houlaghan's Creek and camped with them on the Murrumbidgee. She was given the name of "Jiemba", meaning the laughing or evening star, by local Wiradjuri, although another given name meant, "the delicate little white flower. Her father, Donald Campbell, had been made a brother of the local Wiradjuri, whose given name meant, "man who is just and can be trusted."(53). Mary records the story of Flora from these recollections. (39).
- 1870's (Early) Large emu sanctuary at Eunonyhareenyah (Kurrajong Plain?). With hunters and land selectors, emus reduced to 300 in early 1870's. Two years later reduced to 100. (53).
- 1870's (Early) Wiradjuri men undermine a river red gum tree at the river (Tarcutta Street) end of Wollundry Lagoon and then use the floodwaters to manoeuvre the tree across the lagoon to close it off for fish management purposes, (53).
- 1870's /80's Excavations for an extension to an hotel building in the current day (2002) Sturt Mall area, unearths skeletal remains of a baby and mother wrapped in possum skins, (106). Newspaper reports of this incident not located to date.
- 1872 Jackie, an Indigenous man, probably from Roper River, guided Willie Semple and his wife from the Northern Territory to Berry Jerry Station. Jackie spends the rest of his life on Berry Jerry. Jackie's method of washing was to jump in the river, soap his clothes while on his body, go for a swim then sit on a log while they dried out. (54).
- 1874 The Maloga Mission was established on the Murray for the estimated 9000 surviving Aborigines in NSW. (4).
- 1875 The Wagga Wagga Express claimed that the "extinction of aborigines appears to have proceeded more rapidly here than in most parts of the colony for the appearance of one in the streets is now indeed a rarity", (52).
- 1877 Only five Aborigines apply for government blanket issue at Wagga Wagga (52).

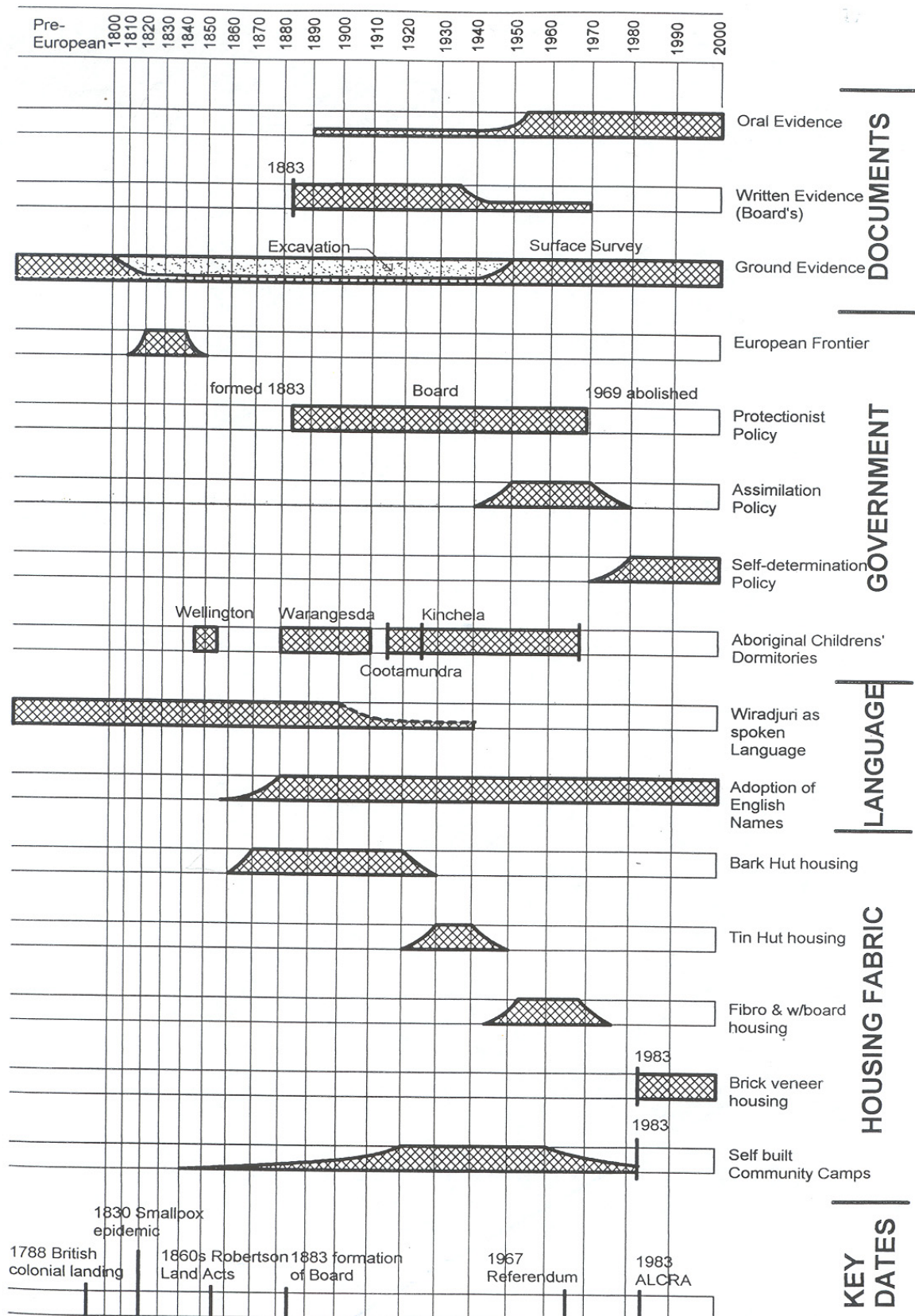
- 1878 List of some 140 Wiradjuri words and short phrases compiled by Henry Withers of “Berrembeel”, near Wagga Wagga published (55).
- 1880-89**
- 1880 Reverend John Gribble sets up mission station at Darlington Point. (1).
- 1883 Establishment of the Aboriginal Protection Board, which established many Aboriginal Reserves over the next 30 years. These reserves were to be “at sufficient distance from towns to reduce contact with white society to a minimum”. Segregation was therefore the key concept in the Aborigines Protection Policy (56).
- mid 1880’s Depression created pressure on the stations and Wiradjuri had to leave. (57).
- 1887 List of 112 local Wiradjuri words compiled by Henry Baylis (first police magistrate of Wagga Wagga) published, (58).
- 1887 Brungle Reserve operational.
- 1890-99**
- 1891 By this time, 78 reserves supporting over 2000 Aboriginal people, totalling 22,000 hectares, had been established in NSW. From about 1900, most of these reserves have been revoked or alienated leaving approximately 4,300 hectares by 1985, (118).
- late 1890’s Drought further intensified pressure on Wiradjuri still living on stations to move into towns (for example, Cowra), (57).
- 1897 Queen Bhoodhoo of the Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri and a Wiradjuri man from Wagga Wagga photographed by Charles Kerry.
- 1900-1909**
- 1900 Large scale initiations had all but ceased. Decline of language was occurring rapidly. (3).
- 1.1.1901 The Commonwealth Constitution stated, “in reckoning the numbers of people, Aboriginal natives shall not be counted”. It also stated that the Commonwealth could legislate for any race except the Aborigines. The states therefore retained their power over Aboriginal Affairs. Aborigines recognised under the Flora and Fauna Act. (4).
- 1901 Census records 6 Aborigines living in Wagga Wagga. (52).
- Between 23.6.1902 and 31.12.1903 C. Richards publishes in the “Science of Man Journal” a comprehensive listing and explanation of the Wiradjuri language. This series of articles containing over 3000 words gives great insight into the ways, wisdom and knowledge of the Wiradjuri, (59).

- 1905 Matt Best refers to “an act of the last days of the last three of my (Wagga Wagga) tribe,” (35).
- 1906 Tracker Whyman McLean was attached to the Wagga Wagga police force from about 1906 to 1926, his son, Ridley, then took over. (60).
- 1906 James Gormly reports that “now there is not one of the Wiradjuri race in the neighbourhood of Wagga Wagga and very few left on the Murray or Murrumbidgee” (34).
- 1908 Invalid and old age pension provided social security to some but not Aborigines. (61).
- 1909 Establishment of the Aboriginal Protection Act.
- 1910-1919**
- 1910 Aboriginal Protection Act operational which gave the Aboriginal Protection Board control over Aborigines on stations and reserves but not on missions. (4).
- 1909-10 The NSW Aboriginal Act made it illegal for Aborigines with one white parent to live on reserves.
- 1910 In about this year the last of the Wiradjuri leave Ironbong Station near Cootamundra. (57).
- 1910-12 Cootamundra Aboriginal Girls Training Home opened. Girls trained to become domestic servants before being sent out to apprenticeship. (61).
- 14.1.1912 Sam Brown records in his diary that he went fishing with Fred Mate and Tang on Toonga Station Tarcutta. Tang was the last of the traditional Wiradjuri in the Tarcutta area. (62).
- 1914 Death of Tang, believed to be the last traditional Wiradjuri in the Tarcutta area. Tang pined away on the departure of his boss Alf Mate, who left the district on the death of his son in World War I (63).
- 1914 Heavy rains (4”) falls in Houghlagan’s Creek Catchment. With about half the land worked up for long fallow crops, the rolling country eroded and the river virtually ran liquid mud. It rose 6 feet in a few hours and killed every living thing in the river. Fish lined the banks.....lobsters and shrimps crawled out into the bank to die in a solid band 3 to 4 foot wide and about one foot deep, (Also two eels). There would have been one ton of fish to every one to two hundred yards of river bank (24).
- 1915 to 1970’s 800 girls (80 Wiradjuri) were taken from their families and placed in homes like Bimbadeen, Cootamundra Girls Home. They were raised to be ashamed of their culture, colour and heritage. (1).

- 1915 to 1918      Amendments to the Aborigines Act gave the Aborigines Protection Board greater powers to remove children for training as domestic servants. (4).
- 1920-29**
- 1921              The Aboriginal population in Australia was believed to be at its lowest point. (4).
- 1924              Warangesda Mission closed
- 1927              Back to Wagga Wagga Souvenir is published in which Robert Emblem (Wagga Wagga Town Clerk 1897 to 1934) writes about the local Wiradjuri history of early Wagga Wagga. (28).
- 1927              “Wiradjuri Language”, a book listing of over 300 Wiradjuri words is published by James Baylis. James Baylis, a surveyor, landowner and son of Wagga’s first Police magistrate, compiled an extensive list of over 1500 Aboriginal words. (49, 64).
- 1930-1939**
- 1930’s            At least one Aboriginal family living at Tent Town (Wiradjuri Reserve) (65).
- 1938              Policy of Assimilation established. (4).
- 1938              A book called “The Land of Byamee”, (K. McKeown) containing local Wiradjuri traditional stories is published. (66).
- 26.1.1938        Aboriginal Progress Association under the leadership of Bill Ferguson, Wiradjuri man, formerly of Warangesda and John Patton hold a day of mourning protest in Sydney. This day was for most Australians the celebration of 150 years of British Colonisation. Wagga Wagga celebrated with the establishment of the sunken gardens in the Victory Memorial Gardens, containing a sundial dedicated to the pioneers and two seats depicting Waagan (crows). A souvenir booklet and flower show award indicates the prevailing attitudes at the time.
- 26.1.1938        Aboriginal people from Western NSW are trucked into Sydney and threatened with starvation unless they play their appointed role in the re-enactment of the events of 26<sup>th</sup> January 1788. (67).
- September 1939      World War II starts. Indigenous people join the armed forces and fight overseas. Many die defending their country. (61).
- 1940-49**
- 1939-41           A new NSW Aborigines Act aimed at assimilation, establishes the Aboriginal Welfare Board replacing the Aboriginal Protection Board. Amongst changes resulting was that the responsibility of Aboriginal Education was transferred to the Department of Education which took control of reserve school buildings. (36, 61).

- 1941 Child Endowment Act amended to include some Aborigines but not those that were nomadic or dependent or under control of the state (missions and reserves) (61).
- 1946 Indigenous soldiers return home. They have no citizenship rights. (61).
- 1946-48 Aboriginal children require medical certificate to attend public schools. (36).
- 1949 Commonwealth Electoral Act extends the franchise (right to vote) to Aboriginal ex-servicemen. (68).
- 1940's to 1960's Aborigines were required by law to carry identification cards, called "Dog tags", at all times, (69).
- 1950-59**
- mid 1950's Police harassment of Wiradjuri people worsened at Cowra and elsewhere as they were seen as a threat to the established order, (57).
- 1953-57 Atomic tests at Maralinga. Many people suffer from radiation sickness after a black cloud passes over the people, (67). Oscar Carroll of the Wiradjuri Carroll family of Griffith was working at the time as a shearer for the McGeogh family at Borambola. Oscar was a horse racing enthusiast and was going to "lodge a protest" (a racing term) with "Colonel Gilroy", (Cardinal Gilroy of the Catholic Church) about the Woomera range rocket testing, (70).
- 30.10.1956 Opening of the wrought iron entrance gates to the Wagga Wagga Teachers College donated by students as a gift in honour of Mary Gilmore. Gates capture the spirit of the evening or dancing star of "Jiembra", the Wiradjuri name bestowed upon Mary as a child whilst she lived and played with them on the Murrumbidgee and Houghlagan's Creek area, (71).
- 1950's & 60's Aboriginal children assimilated into local schools where communities allowed.
- 1960-66**
- 1962 All aboriginal people given the right to vote, (67).
- mid 1960's Police harassment of Aboriginal people reaches a peak. One example in Wagga Wagga was the victimisation of a teenager waiting in line for a taxi. After being forced to empty his pockets and being humiliated in front of other people he was told to get out of town by a policeman.
- 1965 Federal Government adopts a policy of Integration of Aborigines. (67).
- May 1967 Commonwealth referendum gives equal rights to Indigenous people which marks a major turning point in the status of Indigenous people, (see **Recent Times** section). (67).

**Figure 7 - Phases of Wiradjuri History in Contact and Recent Times**  
 (After Kabaila 1999)



## Description of Wiradjuri Country – The Changes

From the early European contact times slow, but progressively significant, changes were made to Wiradjuri Country cultural landscapes. From 1830 early stations (or runs) were mostly stocked with cattle for meat with some sheep for wool and meat, (72). Shepherds, including some Wiradjuri, were employed to hold stock in temporary folds by night and allow them to graze by day. This practice continued well into the 1860's as fences began to take their place. (72).

With the opening of the Victorian goldfields, in 1851, a big demand developed for meat. This led to the southern Riverina becoming a holding and fattening place for stock. Heavy grazing resulted, with development of stock trails and stock routes. Thus herds of cattle grazed traditional Wiradjuri gathering and hunting grounds, camp sites and billabongs as squatters cut down trees, occupied all available surface waters and constructed restrictive fences, (73).

Bulgari Lagoon, a billabong west of Collingullie, was a highly productive traditional hunting place, and provided abundant cattle feed up until recent times.

*“A variety of water weeds (reeds) grew around the banks in water up to eight feet deep. They were a haven for all sorts of wildlife and a great fish breeding area. The cattle used to wade in till just their heads were above water and feed on the water weeds. One could quite safely regard the carrying capacity as 50 cows and calves which was much better than the surrounding land could carry” (24).*

European carp have since reduced this billabong to a useless mud hole.

It was at similar billabongs in the 1860's and 1870's that the “swan hoppers” were employed to smash thousands of swan, pelican and duck eggs year in and year out in the Wagga Wagga area. The moulting feathers of these birds, ingested with grass and reeds by cattle formed feather balls in their intestines and slowly killed them, so the birds had to go! (50).

With a steady increase in wool prices throughout the 1850's and 1860's, sheep began to dominate the pastoral industry. From the late 1850's to the mid 1860's construction of boundary fences became a major activity in the Riverina. By 1861 wire began to replace post and rail fences. Also in that year, mainly due to pressure from successful gold diggers desiring land, the introduction of the Robertson Land Acts took place, (72). This allowed “free selection before survey”, enabling small farmers to select up to 1180 acres primarily for cropping farms. The aim of this was to replace sheep runs with crop growing farms.

However, some squatters managed to make improvements to the land and to select vital water frontage area and subsequently purchase these. This both excluded selection and would have put pressure on Wiradjuri still on stations by competition for traditional resources. A combination of the extension of the railways, good seasons, a wool boom and use of loopholes in the Robertson Land Acts in the 1870's and 1880's produced conditions for widespread selection, (72).

At this time, around the early 1870's, many of the natural attributes of Wiradjuri Country were still evident although rapidly declining, as was the Wiradjuri population. The traditional Eunonorenya Emu Sanctuary, where once thousands of emus were protected, was rapidly losing numbers, (53). Also, as Mary Gilmore's father said; “when the blacks went so did the fish”. In somewhat of an ironical twist, W.P. Bluett, a young white boy referring to the early 1870's when he lived on a farm near the now San Isadore, reported leading an idyllic, almost traditional life.

*“I have vivid memories of the kind of things that happen to most boys in the country. Life was a delight – cooking Johnny cakes in the kitchen fire place on stone flags, robbing bees nests, gathering birds eggs, spearing possums and native cats with a bayonet on a long pole, snaring possums for their skins, then worth 2/- a dozen, refreshing ourselves with roasted possum, catching goannas with a dog and snares and boiling them up for their oil which we used to sell to an old German selector for his rheumatism, hunting for emu eggs, then swimming and lobstering in the river and Cray fishing in lagoons and waterholes, bathing in the lagoon to collect a fringe of leeches which were sold to a hard fisted chemist, and of course riding, riding, riding calves or horses.” (74)*

From 1861 to 1891 sheep numbers in the Riverina increased from one million to thirteen million. Together with droughts of 1883-85 and 1890-94 and heavy rabbit infestations from the late 1870's to mid 1890's, this ever increasing stock rate resulted in the exploitation and rapid deterioration of native pastures and vegetation generally, (75, 76).

In 1884, in an endeavour to overcome the failure of the Robertson Land Act, an act was passed which required pastoralists to surrender half of each large lease, this to be known as the “Resumed Area”. This area was sold to selectors in lots of up to 640 acres. Drought, lower wool prices and rabbits and poor economic conditions into the 1890's made it tough for selectors to survive. (72).

Cereal cropping had been carried out by hand sowing, reaping and milling in the Wagga Wagga area from the late 1830's, including on Best's Wagga Wagga Run and Tooles Run at Ladysmith, (41). However, despite the invention of the Ridley Stripper, use of the hand turned winnower and thresher, cropping was of little consequence until the 1870's. In the 1880's the stump jump plough and the combined stripper –winnower were introduced greatly increasing the potential for cropping, (77).. Clearing of box woodlands was being increasingly carried out in the 1880's and 1890's. Some 600 Chinese ringbarkers were camped at Wantabadgery Station in the 1890's, (78).

By the 1920's much of the future cropping land had been cleared (79) and sharecropping, such as on Big Springs Station, was common, (80). Cropping areas were usually small, being between 10 and 150 acres per farm, (72). It was at the Wagga Wagga Experiment Farm that William Farrer bred and selected wheat varieties from 1898. The Federation variety was the first of his rust resistant wheats that became a mainstay of the wheat industry, (81). With this rapid development the few remaining Wiradjuri camped on stations were either forced into towns, fringe camps or onto missions. A few retreated to the hills: one such group, still living at the base of Mount Ullandra near Bethungra in the early 1900's.

By 1914, from north of Wagga Wagga to Junee, Ganmain and Coolamon was regarded as the heart of the wheat farm area. The following edited excerpts from Max Leitch (24) describe what can and has happened to such Wiradjuri Country, particularly since cultivation was introduced.

*“At the time (1914) growing wheat on long fallow was the fashion. About half the farm was ploughed and left to lie under long fallow – kept weed free by constant working with scarifier and harrows. Houlaghan's Creek drains some of this area and flows into the Murrumbidgee. A heavy storm dumped four inches of rain over the catchment. The rolling country eroded and the river virtually ran liquid mud, rose six feet in a few hours. The mud killed every living thing in the river. Fish lined the banks with their heads out of water in the morning and were all dead by lunchtime. The lobsters and shrimps crawled out on the bank to die in a solid*

*band, three to four feet wide and about a foot deep, and also two eels. There would have been a ton of dead and dying fish to every one or two hundred yards of river bank.” (24).*

Despite these types of warnings, in the 1920’s high prices for farm produce generally, the extension of branch railway lines (The Rock to Westby, Uranquinty to Kywong, and Wagga Wagga to Tumbarumba), good seasons and big wheat prices led to a further intensification of cropping and clearing of native vegetation in the area, (82). Mechanisation, with tractors replacing horses, and new cultivation machinery resulted in higher levels of cultivation in the late 1920’s.

A rural depression set in from 1927 and lasted until 1933, (83). Increased erosion occurred and skeleton weed took over only to be grazed by yet more sheep. Subterranean clover was gradually increased with a recovery in soil stability and production. Rabbit plagues of the 1950’s contributed to further land degradation until the introduction of the myxomatosis virus greatly reduced their numbers.

The overall effect of European settlement during the Contact period has been a wholesale change on the face of the Wiradjuri Country. Only 2% to 5% of the original native vegetation remains in the Wagga Wagga local government area and this is very much modified. Cultural landscapes have been extensively changed by grazing stock, cultivation, roads and urban development, agricultural practices and species introductions. Native species of birds, fish, animals, reptiles and plants have been greatly reduced in species and population numbers. Land degradation has increasingly occurred and has, only in recent years, been addressed.

Importantly, Wiradjuri connection to places and sites, and the knowledge about and condition of these places and sites has been severely eroded. This is also now starting to be addressed through community action groups like the Landcare movement, Greening Australia, Murrumbidgee Catchment Management Board and the Aboriginal Land Councils.



## Life Forms

### Ravens & Crows and their Habits

The birds called Corvids, the crows and ravens, evolved and spread out in Australia in the Tertiary geological period from about 35 million years ago. Much later they dispersed to the Northern Hemisphere as the Australian land mass drifted northwards from the super continent Gondwanaland. (84).

So there is a long association with these birds and Wiradjuri Country! It was not known by modern day bird watchers until the 1960's that there were several closely related but different species of crows and ravens that are difficult to identify in the field. (85).

Crows have white down at the bases of their body feathers whilst ravens have grey down. Throat feathers (hackles) are longer in ravens than crows. Under beak parts also differs between species.

The Australian Raven, the most common and familiar of these species locally can be distinguished by the long pointy feathers (throat hackles) that spread out to form a "beard" as it makes its territorial call.

It has a large area of loose skin under the chin which fills with air and causes the hackles to stick out when it makes this call. This appears to form a "chin bag" where it also temporarily stores food which it carries away and hides for later use. The bird's eyes are white with a blue inner ring.

The bird has been named from its territorial call by the Wiradjuri as "Waagan" (Restored Wiradjuri). Scientifically, Waagan is known as the Australian Raven (*Corvus coronoides*) the latter word meaning "crownlike", presumably referring to the ring of raised throat hackles.

The Little Raven (*Corvus mellori*) also occurs in this area. The Little Crow (*Corvus benettii*) inhabits semi arid and arid areas and would be a rare visitor locally.

### Voice

Waagan, as the bird is referred to here, have one of the best known territorial calls of all the Australian birds. From a high place or in flight it issues a loud series, often four but can be more or less, of slow distinct notes, the last one becoming a prolonged gargle which ends with a downward slide.

That is; "aah-aah-aah-aaaorhh". During this call it lowers its head so that the head, body and tail are nearly horizontal. This call distinguishes it from the Little Raven and the Little Crow. (85).

An attempt to write down this call in musical notation has shown just how complex is Waagan's call. The call is described by as:



**No.62 Waagan (Australian Raven/Crow) with his hackles up (or more correctly down!) - with body horizontal making its territorial call; "Waa-Waa-Waaah". From this sound was derived its Wiradjuri name from which Wagga Wagga subsequently derived its name.**

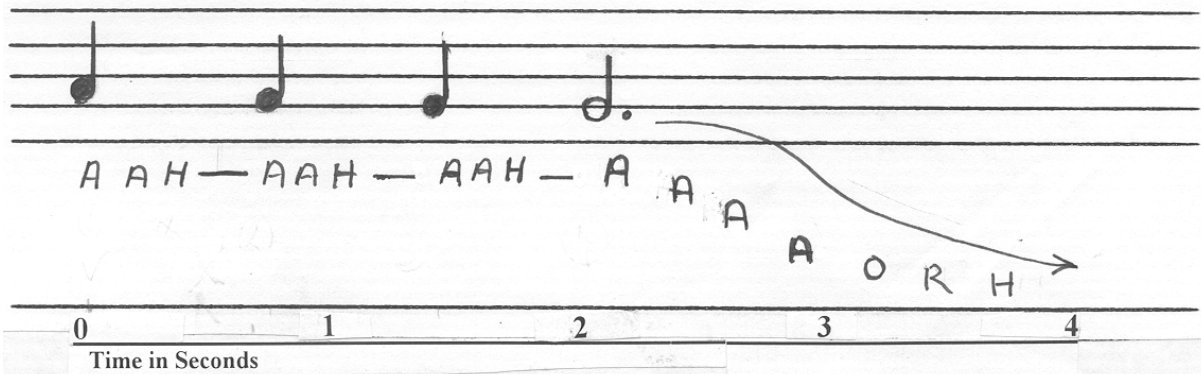
Wollundry Lagoon 6/02



**No.63 Sista Carmel Wallis and Gundhi Waagan - Some amazing habits and level of intelligence observed.**

Mt. Erin 5/02

## Waagan or Australian Raven's Call



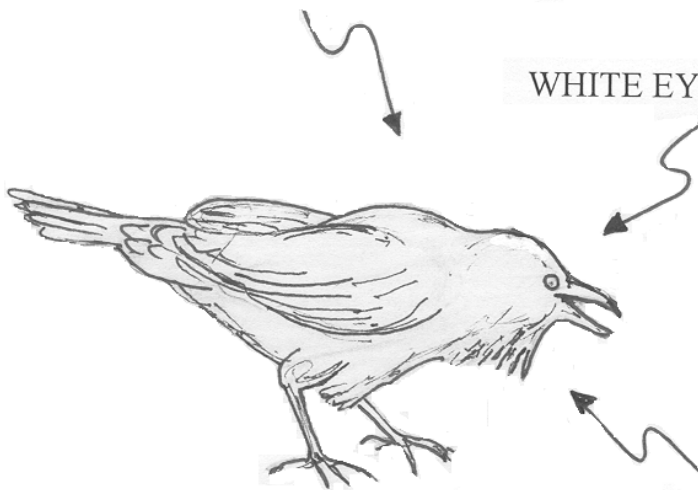
**Figure 8 - Waagan's or Australian Raven's Territorial Call.**

- A confident call, letting all know this is his Ngurambang, his Country, his camp world which he shares with others. It is a call to Country – a call to connect with Country, to respect Country. Wherever we go, the sight and call of Waagan will remind us of these things.

BLACK FEATHERS

OFTEN WITH METALLIC SHEEN

WHITE EYE WITH BLUE RING



PROJECTING HACKLE FEATHERS

WITH INFLATED CHIN BAG

HOW TO IDENTIFY WAAGAN (THE AUSTRALIAN RAVEN)

**Figure 9 - How to Identify Waagan**

*"consisting of short notes descending slightly in pitch, a quarter tone between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> notes and changing in timbre into a more open or hollow quality on the 4<sup>th</sup> longer note. This note descending nearly an octave in glissando or sliding-like action. There is a semi quaver rest between each note". (86)*

The whole call lasts approximately 4 seconds. The call is considered too complex to play on a musical instrument, the violin being the best possibility. The call also has similarities to Indian music where smaller fractions of musical tones and different patterns are used. The following musical notation approximates Waagan's call. (86).

Besides this territorial call, Waagan have a wide repertoire of conversational language. It is interesting to note the basis of Waagan's sounds, the "aah", is also the first and basic sound of all human language. In human language this vowel is purely uttered from a deep open, throat, fully open mouth and a flat tongue and with no nasalisation. All subsequent sounds (vowels, consonants etc) are modification of "aah" by variation in positions of the tongue, mouth space, nasalisation and lips.

The ancient Sanskrit language of India, the root of at least the Indo-European languages (including English) is based on the pure "aah" and has many similarities to the Wiradjuri (and other Indigenous languages), especially in relation to vowel and nasal sounds.

### **Habits**

Waagan has a reputation as a crafty bird (See Wahn, the Crow Story) but this does not necessarily mean bad. Pairs bond for life and rank with albatrosses as the most faithful of all species (84).

In courtship they hold each other's beaks in a lengthy "kiss". They interlock their feet in mid air courting displays. They are intelligent birds. During feeding binges they carry food away in their chin bag, regurgitate it to feed it to their young or store it in hiding places for later use making sure no other Waagan have seen them.

Insects make up the largest part of their diet, with grain secondary and then carrion. The number of true cases of predation on healthy livestock is considered small although they have an ill-deserved reputation for this, (84).

They are certainly predators on birds' eggs and fledglings but before extensive vegetation clearing increased their numbers, they would have been in balance with the Country.

### **Local Waagan**

The relating of recent local experiences with a pair of nesting Waagan confirms much of the above behaviours. (87). In the spring of 2001, this pair nested in a gum tree at Mount Erin Convent hatching 3 fledglings. The tree had been marked for removal and unfortunately, unknowingly the nest came down with it.

The fledglings survived and undeterred Gunhi and Babiin Waagan (Mother and Father Waagan) built a replacement nest on a chimney of the convent, transporting the young ones there.

During some supplementary feeding by Sister Carmel, as an expression of sympathy for the birds, much fascinating behaviour was observed. These clever birds, especially the young adolescents, were pulling up garden plants, taking objects out of Sister Carmel's purse and rearranging garden markers. After persisting at this for some time they did not desist (even after being repeatedly scolded) but became more determined.

The sharing of feeding the young and storing of food was observed, as was a repertoire of different conversational language and moods throughout the day. Forward and sideways hops, runs and sideways beak manoeuvres in procuring food from on the ground could be imagined as dance movements or traditionally as caraburii (corroboree).

### **The Naming of Wagga Wagga**

The name "Wagga Wagga" is said to refer to "the cry of a crow (Waagan) on the wing", (88) which concurs with the territorial call description above.

Wiradjuri people pointed to crows flying over George Best's run (when he first squatted there on the river near Flowerdale Lagoon in 1832) and uttered what was heard as "Wagga Wagga". As a result, George Best named this run, "Wagga Wagga". Similarly, according to Matt Best, son of George Best, "Wagga Wagga" means "A place where crows congregate." The doubling of the word "Wagga" to "Wagga Wagga" indicated the plural or gives emphasis to Waagan.(35).

Matt Best indicated " the exact spot as being the waterhole at the western overflow outlet of the (Flowerdale) lagoon and close to our after (1852) flood residence at 'Flowerdale'". He indicated the pronunciation was not "Woggo Woggo", but "Wagger Wagger" presumably indicating a long "aah" as in the Waagan's call. He says he was adopted into the Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri tribe in 1849 and spoke their language, so presumably he was correct in these details.

Similar interpretations are derived from Wagga (or Waagan) a crow, and signifies simply "a place remarkable for flockings of these birds" (89) or "the place where crows assemble in large numbers" (90).

The earliest reference to the name occurs on the licences issued to William Best, also a son of George Best, for the "Wogo - Wogo" run. (1837?) (91). The name "Wogga Wogga" appears on surveyor Townsend's 1849 map of the new village. However, the name appears shortly after as "Wagga Wagga" in the government gazettal of the village (23.11.1849)

Clearly, the Wiradjuri pronunciation imitated the Waagan's call which was acknowledged by the early European settlers as good representation of the call. (91,92). The Illustrated Sydney News of 1883 refers to the "hard and discordant croak of the crow, well conveyed by the particular delivery of the word "Waggra Waggra as we have heard facetious natives deliver them, in mimicry of a bird which they naturally abhor" (89).

Any bird call is difficult to represent in English sounds or words, thus the call has been variously recorded as "Wawga" and the later "Wagga" (58), "Waggra" (55), "Wagha" (49), "Waagon" (59), "Wahgan" (28) and "Wa-gah" (91).

No Wiradjuri words have been found starting with a vowel (93) suggesting the reason for the addition of the "W" sound in front of Waagan's call.

If one accepts the first "a" as a long "aa", "aah" or "aar" (and not an "ay"), then Waagan's call is simulated. The change in pronunciation from the "ah" sound of the first vowel to shortened "o" sound in "Wagga Wagga", whilst retaining the same spelling was noted by Henry Baylis. This change appears to have occurred sometime after his arrival in 1858 as Wagga Wagga's first police magistrate. (58).

This modification was probably due to the lazy anglicisation of the word and the loss of the Wiradjuri pronunciation as their numbers diminished.

It has emerged through research with the Wiradjuri Language Development Program that an alternative meaning for "Wagga Wagga" exists.



**No. 64 Babiin and Gunhi Waagan (Father and Mother Waagan) - Take a bow after another stunning performance of Wagawaga (dances)**

Mt. Erin 5/02

The excerpts below from correspondence explain this derivation.

#### **“Concerning the Name "Wagga Wagga" and its Meaning”**

*"The name is from the Wiradjuri language, the language of the local Indigenous Nation whose land the City was built on. While some assert that the name refers to "crows" or "place of many crows", this appears to be based on misinformation and contemporary Wiradjuri people frequently refer to the name as meaning "dancing" or "staggering like a drunken man".*

*As early as 1838 James Günther (recorder of the most significant and accurate Wiradjuri material) listed "waggawagga" as meaning "reeling, like a drunken man". Richards published (in a journal called *The Science of Man*) some 3000 words of Wiradjuri around the year 1902. He recorded "wagawaga" as meaning "Like to dance. Peculiar step". (Which was a typical early description of Indigenous dance by people who were unfamiliar with it. That is play, dance about or undertake corroboree and ceremonial dancing.)*

*In terms of the contemporary use of the Wiradjuri language, based on the best authorities available, the word is one of a set of words associated with the word "waganha" (dancing now). These include "waganhi" (danced) "wagagirri" (will dance) "wagadha!" (dance!), "wagambirra" (play or dance about) "wagadyi" (a dance), "wagawaga" (dances [plural]) and "wagadhaany" (dancer).*

*In contrast the name of the "crow" is "waagan" and its plural can either be "waagangalang" or "waaganwaagan", both of which require the "n" and the longer "aa" sounds.*

*So it would appear that the name of Wagga Wagga is clearly associated with dancing, and had associated with it both a "serious meaning" attached to ceremonial dancing and "enjoyment and fun" linked to everyday dancing.*

*Trusting this will be of some help."*

Signed - Stan Grant and Dr John Rudder  
Wiradjuri Language Development Project September 2001

So it appears that the meaning of the Wiradjuri word "Wagga Wagga" is associated with dancing which has remained unchanged from traditional times.

In contrast, and in a seemingly amazing coincidence, the Wiradjuri word Waagan (or its variations, "Wawga", "Waagon", "Wahgan", "Wagha" or "Waggra" or "Wa-gah" as interpreted by the English speakers has been modified, by the shortening of the first vowel "aa", "aw" or "ah" and changing it to an "o" (as in "pot") sound, whilst retaining "a" in the spelling.

It appears that the "n" sound has also been dropped in anglicising the word. In summary, this gives the present sound and spelling of "Wagga Wagga".

### **Implications and Opportunities of the Name "Wagga Wagga"**

Using a "Two ways" approach, the whole community could benefit from drawing on both derivations of the name "Wagga Wagga". That is, "a gathering, or living place of waagan (or a community of people) who play and dance together both in an enjoyable and serious sense."

The doubling of the word to "Wagga Wagga" strongly implies this sense of community and is why it should be used and retained in favour of the singular "Wagga". This also ties in with Wagga Wagga having been a traditional gathering, camping, swimming, fighting and burying place for Wiradjuri until at least the 1840s. (28).

### **Wilay (Possums)**

It is evident from Traditional Times that Wilay, the brush tail possum, (*Trichosurus vulpecular*) had many uses. Wilay skin was used for clothes, rugs and rolled up to be used as a drum by women during corroboree and possibly for carrying water. Thread, woven from possum fur, and possum meat were Wiradjuri staples in this area. Possum skins were also traded with other groups. The abundance of possums, both day and night, ease of catching and their low dependence on water all contributed to this widespread use. Early European settlers appear to have utilised the possum in similar ways.

Two days after the flood of 1852, in Wagga Wagga, Matt Best was found sitting on a sand hill comfortably chewing on a hind leg of a possum and singing "Paddle Your Own Canoe", (94). Matt had been made a member of the local Wiradjuri, learned the language and presumably learnt about possums. Similarly, Mary Gilmore was reputedly a good "possumer" and W.P. Bluett "snared and ate roasted possum and sold their skins for 2/- per dozen", both in the early 1870's. (74).

The tradition of possum catching and eating appears to have continued right up until the last generation or so. Rolley Williams reports as children they caught possums but did not eat them but his father had, (95). The accompanying song by John Charles indicates how possum pie was a delicacy and staple food.

Illegal catching of possums during the 1930's using cyanide poison baits was common at least at Bulgary Station (24). Later, catching was legalised and went on until World War II. Skins were exported to America. After the war, as exports ceased, possum numbers increased to plague proportions but a disease swept through them after the 1950's flood and virtually wiped them out in a few days. Mr Leitch's father told him that after the Wiradjuri stopped hunting possums and koalas in the 1880's they became very thick. A disease wiped them out then. It took about fifty years for the possums to recover but the koalas never did. (24).

Due to loss of habitat, brush tail possum are now in much reduced numbers in the bush but have adapted to urban living, often to the annoyance of the householder.

## **Possum Pie**

Song by John Charles, recorded by John Gordon at 3 Ways Bridge,  
Griffith 23/10/1968

Field tape No 20, Item 27, A 1914 Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra

*Nicodemus Selsun Lear started to school one day  
To learn what make this-a world go 'round  
And his alphabits from Zeds to Ay.  
He stuttered and he spluttered when he started to speak,  
Took an hour for to tell his name.  
"Nicodemus," said teacher, "now don't gall\* me- "well I is not to blame."  
"Well then spell 'possum pie', and this was little Nick's reply,  
"Ahh, Per, Per, Peee-Oh" and "a deed, a- deed, a-double Ess,  
U, u-u-u Em, of all 'dem eatin' dampers that am the best,  
"Ahh, Per, Per, Possum Pie, well I could eat it till I die,  
'Cause I can, I was reared upon it.  
P-O-double S-U-M spells "possum"  
And a P-I-E spells "pie"*

\* word unclear "gall" or "call"



**No.65 Wilay, the Brushtail Possum. Much reduced in number in the bush due to loss of habitat and disease. Forced to adapt to urbanisation.**

Mt Flakney c.1987



## Burralgang (Brolgas)

The brolga (*Gyrus rubicunda*) is probably Australia's most revered water bird, renowned for its beauty, size, majestic flight, trumpeting calls and spectacular dancing displays, (96). The brolga is mostly grey-silver-blue but with the three colours of the Aboriginal flag showing, i.e. yellow iris of the eye, black primary wing feathers and bright red head comb.

Brolgas need wetlands in which to feed and breed. They prefer swamps dominated by spikerush whose tubers they eat. Up until the 1920's, brolgas were widespread across the Riverina and used to be widely shot or poisoned as they reputedly damaged crops, (96). One report from 1919 indicates a Riverina farmer poisoned over 400 birds, (97). Brolgas were present in central Wagga Wagga (Wollundry Lagoon) up until at least 1910.

Today the brolga is a vulnerable species and occurs only west and south of Wagga Wagga around Collingullie and Culcairn, Hume and Lockhart Shires. (96) This is due to the draining of large wetlands and loss of other habitat, predation of eggs by foxes, shooting, poisoning, and collisions with fences and vehicles.

The brolga dance was danced traditionally in many parts of Australia and is performed locally by dance groups today. The traditional Wiradjuri story, recorded in 1938, tells how Brolgah, a girl dancer from the plains, is turned into the Brolga we see today, (66).



**No.66 Burralgang (Brolgas) and other birds as they appeared in Newtown (South side of Wollundry Lagoon) around 1910.**

R Brunskill Collection. Postcard by Hunters

## People and Community Practices – Contact Times

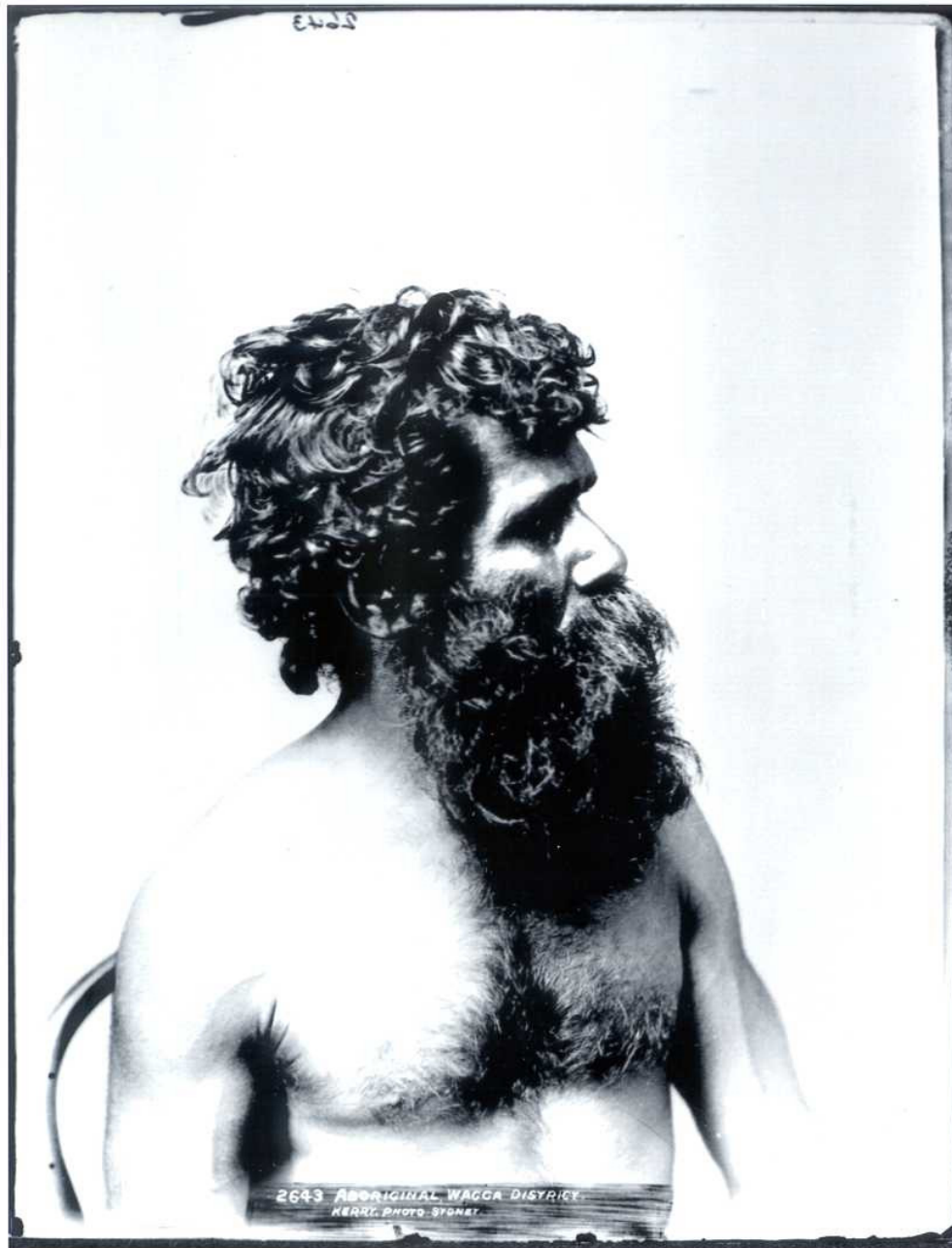
These aspects are generally covered elsewhere in the **Contact Times** section of this report. The names of some Wiradjuri people and their significance during these times are located in the following table.

**Table 22 - Wiradjuri People of Contact Times**

(Some names of people and their significance as recorded in Literature or Oral History in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area)

Date	Name	Comment
1829	Jemie & Peter	Guide Charles Sturt from Wantabadgery to Matong area (8).
1829	Eunony/ Bunony	Fearsome Wiradjuri warrior living in vicinity of Eunonyhareenyah. (8, 11)
1836	John Piper & woman, Tommy-come-first, Tommy-come-last, Turandurey, Ballandella	Lachlan River Wiradjuri who guide and helped T.L. Mitchell's expedition over 2700kms ending in Alfredtown, near Wagga Wagga. (16).
1837	Dapto & woman	From Umbango (Tarcutta). Guided first colonists to the Murray River (20).
1840	Two Wiradjuri boys	Work at Oura Station (21).
1843	Brian Boru	A big, well known Wiradjuri warrior, demands food at Bullenbong Station, (33).
Late 1840's	Polly	Resides at Wollundry Lagoon with John Franklin, Wagga Wagga's first blacksmith assisted women in childbirth and with medical remedies, (39).
1852	Big Peter, King of Wagga Wagga and Borambola Wiradjuri	Assists in saving people from the flooded Murrumbidgee River. (34).
1852	(Old) Yarry	Finds 4 year old Richard Cox, who was lost, at Livingstone Gully, (41).
1860's	Kings Mycotha, Booyarri, Jackie, Warangeline, Yallagumie, Peter	Some of the Wiradjuri kings known to James Baylis (48).
1860's	King Peter of Ganmain	Breast plate made by Devlins, for Peter, stockman on Ganmain Station, (45,46).
1860's	King Peter of Wagga Wagga /Borambola	Makes a speech complaining of the non-arrival of Government blankets (28).
1860's	Wiradjuri women	Wash, scrub, and nurse for Baylis family at "Goonigul"(49). (RSL Club site in 2002.)
1872	Jackie	Roper River man guides Semple family to Berry Jerry from Northern Territory, (54).
1897	Queen Bhoolidhoo of Wagga Wagga	Photos of her and a Wiradjuri man taken by Charles King
1906	Whyman McLean	Works for Wagga Wagga police as a tracker, (60).
1912	Tang	Wiradjuri worker for Mates of "Toonga" Tarcutta goes fishing, (62).
1914	Tang	Tang last of local traditional Wiradjuri of Tarcutta dies (63).
1938	Bill Ferguson	Wiradjuri man, formerly from Warangesda, leader

Date	Name	Comment
		of Aboriginal Progress Association (61).
1950's	Oscar Carroll & Jimmy Ingram	Worked in the shearing industry at Borambola (70).



**No.67 Wiradjuri? Man Wagga Wagga District 1897 Posed sitting. Kerry King Photographic Collection**

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**No. 68 "Bhoodhoo - Queen of the Wagga Wagga Tribe", 1897. Posed sitting. Title of "Queen"/"King" often given to one of the supposed last few of a tribe.**

Kerry & King Photographic Collection  
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## Stories and Story Places

### Wiradjuri and The Explorers

Wiradjuri and near by groups played a major role in directing and undertaking expeditions organised by the administrators of the Colony of New South Wales from 1817 until 1844. The Wiradjuri welcomed and assisted the explorers, showed them the best routes, helped find food, water and livestock.

These expeditions were to explore the country to find potential grazing lands and to "discover the mystery" of where the inland rivers flowed. Those assisted by Wiradjuri included John Oxley (Lachlan River), Hume and Hovell (1824/25 Yass to Port Phillip), Charles Sturt (1828 - Macquarie River and 1829 Murrumbidgee to South Australia) and Thomas Mitchell (1836 Boree/Wagga Wagga).

Often the descriptions by the explorers of the Indigenous people and their customs are now the best we have because of their often astute observations and because they made the first contacts before these customs were disturbed.

### Hume and Hovell

Hamilton Hume was possibly the first child born in Australia of free (non-convict) European parents, (98). Born in 1797, as a boy he spent much time with the local Aboriginal groups west of the present day Wollongong. He learnt many of their customs, which he put into practice on his subsequent expeditions with Hovell (1824) and Sturt (1828).

In 1814 at age 17, he, his brother and "a black boy" were credited with "discovering" the pasture lands of Bowral, Berrima and Moss Vale (34). In contrast, William Hovell was a British born army officer with little bush experience.

Following their 1824 expedition, (of which Hovell was formally in charge), to Port Phillip (Melbourne) and return, an ongoing debate raged for 40 years as to who actually led the expedition. (7).

The Hume and Hovell 1824 expedition passed through Wiradjuri Country but not the present Wagga Wagga L.G.A. However, since the Hume and Hovell Walking Track has now been established, some anecdotes from the expedition are relevant locally.

On the outward journey they were, at times, accompanied by "local natives" and they observed "iron tomahawk and stone axe marks on trees on the Tumut River. The natives were numerous on the Snubba Range (we) frequently met with huts and fires" (99). Near Bowna, "the native men began singing different songs at the same time, being glad to have left the mountains."

On the return journey from Port Phillip on 7th January 1825 somewhere between current day Jingellic and Humula (Mannus area?) they met "friendly natives, one of whom had an old yellow coat (European), a steel axe and who spoke a few words of English", (100). This probably would have been the result of contact with the Wiradjuri in the Bathurst area. This group was going to have a "corrobera" that night and invited the expedition party to join them. They offered to accompany the explorers to the Murrumbidgee the next day.

In the group were "40 men, 30 women and 30 children and some young men. (They were) the finest Natives ever seen (and) up to 5'9 tall. Spears were made of strong knotted reeds about 6' feet long to which was affixed a piece of hardwood with a rounded point about 2 feet in length (total length 8 feet), barbed with numerous small pieces of flint or agate. Each of these

people was tarnished with a good ample coat of opossum skins, many of them had necklaces made of small pieces of reed (strung together) with fibre of the currajong (Kurrajong), flax plant or hair of the opossum." (100).

Hume referred to these people as "our friends of the forest" and said "many of the children took hold of my hands and knees at the same time patting me" (7).

He also said that; "three of the group stayed overnight at the explorer's camp and gave their names as Nowingong, Cooradoc and Wowhely, the latter of whom has for years past resided in the Yass district, known as Mickey." (7).

### **Charles Sturt**

Charles Sturt undertook two major expeditions through Wiradjuri Country. For the first from Wellington Valley and along the Macquarie River, he had the company of Hume. Also he says, "I had a young native (Wiradjuri?) with me who had attached himself to our party, and who, from his extreme good nature and superior intelligence was considered a first rate kind of fellow". He became an interpreter and was named "Botheri" by some of the stockmen. " (101).

At some stage Sturt's party dressed in their colourful uniforms startled a local (Wiradjuri) man. He did all sorts of antics and gestures in a bid to frighten the party or disperse presumably what he saw as an apparition. Apparently in a final desperate attempt he bared his backside, all to no avail. (102).

At one point on the Castlereagh River, on being approached by an apparently hostile local (Wiradjuri?) group, Hume "broke off a small (eucalyptus) branch - a token of peace, which the natives saw and set aside their spears". (103).

Sturt's second and most relevant expedition to Wiradjuri and Wagga Wagga set out from Sydney on 3 November 1829 to trace the course and destination of the Murrumbidgee. He was accompanied by George Macleay, (Sturt's friend and later to become a prominent squatter in the area (Borambola and Pulletop runs)), three soldiers and nine convicts. (14)

During this journey Sturt was accompanied by various Wiradjuri guides from Yass on. These guides seem to have assisted the party for a time and then handed them over to Wiradjuri in the next area.

At Yass he obtained the services of a native (Wiradjuri?) to guide the party to Warby's station, now Mingay, near the junction of the Murrumbidgee and Dumot (Tumut) Rivers. Guises' shepherd at "Kimo" then brought Sturt a black and two young boys as guides. On the 2nd December 1829 approaching Pondebadgery (Wantabadgery) Sturt relates how one of the blacks was anxious to get an opossum (possum) out of a dead tree, every branch of which was hollow. On cutting a hollow with a tomahawk and the possum having run higher up inside the tree, a fire was lit using dry grass that was stuffed in the cut hole to smoke out the possum. With a fire raging in the tree and smoke issuing from each branch, the (Wiradjuri) man climbed to the higher branch and seized the half singed possum. (8).

Sturt says that "the roaring of the fire, the fearless attitude of the savage, and the association which his colour and appearance, enveloped as he was in smoke....dwelt on my recollection"

Sturt camped at Pondebadgery the Wiradjuri name of the extensive flood plain there. He, Macleay and "two natives who had attached themselves to the party and had made themselves generally useful" climbed the hill situated on the western end of Wantabadgery Village and now known as Moonlite Hill.

These two Wiradjuri, who the stockmen named Jemmie and Peter, "were of infinite service to us, from their knowledge of all the passes and the general features of the country." (9).

Given this statement it is likely that Jemmie and Peter took Sturt's party along known routes and to camping places. Sturt left a scant record of his route through the now Wagga Wagga L.G.A. and there has been ongoing debate and research into where he actually went (105,106,11)

On 5th December 1829 from Wantabadgery, "the black's pointed out our route up the valley and stated that we should get on the banks of the river again in the direction W by N from the place on which we stood" (9). This valley has been identified as Sandy Creek (11) and the route provided a short cut by avoiding a major loop in the river.

They ascended, "a line of hills (which) terminate to the S.E. in lofty precipices overlooking the river flats and having a deep chain of ponds under them." Sturts' party descended to the riverbanks and camped here.

This description fits the landscape in the vicinity of Eringoarrah flats and a camp site east of current day Oura. From here on, Sturt's route becomes unclear. It appears the party may have travelled west from Oura, "the blacks led us on a west by south course to the base of a small range....near which there was a deep lagoon" (107) Could this have been Bomen Lagoon ?

It was evident they here expected to have found some other natives. The 1938 Daily Advertiser article indicated that the "native showed signs of restlessness and were disinclined to go any further. Their reason for this was that along the river was the

**Figure 11 - The Opossum Hunt (Wantabadgery – Sturt Expedition 1833)**

Wiradjuri smoke out possum near Wantabadgery



Sturt expedition 3/12/1829  
Sturt 1833



**No's. 69/70/71 1. Moonlite Hill, Wantabadgery, 2. Malebo Range and 3. Mt. Arthur, Matong.** Ascended by Charles Sturt as guided by Wiradjuri men, Jemmie and Peter 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> December 1929.

3,4/2002

dreaded Bunony, a fearsome bully!!.....They set off along the river flats with they came to the Bomen Lagoon. Here they pitched camp". This same source is at least incorrect in the statement they "rested their horses for several days." (11).

At this spot (Bomen Lagoon?) "the natives were very restless, and showed signs of expecting trouble. They walked as far as Parken Pregaran Lagoon and it was evident that they thought to find other natives there, but apparently the dreaded Bunony had "gone bush"". (11).

Could this be a variation of "Eunony" or the longer "Eunonyhareenyah," local Wiradjuri words variously given the meanings of, "fighting blacks in ambush, (49) an "emu sanctuary" (53), "a tribe" (55), and/or "Eunony (a Wiradjuri warrior) lives here", (28).

Eunonyhareenyah is said to have been the spot in remote times, where this Eunong, a warrior of considerable renown, and reputed to be of great statue, lived. (11).

Given that the flood plain and sand hills at Eunonyhareenyah were utilized for food collecting and camping, could Bunony/Eunony/Eunong have been the local resident or, group of Wiradjuri who was feared and acted as protector of the various bird and fish sanctuaries in the area? (53).

The local Wiradjuri here did assist C. Tompson, first squatter at Eunonyhareenyah in building a bark hut for shepherds. (14).

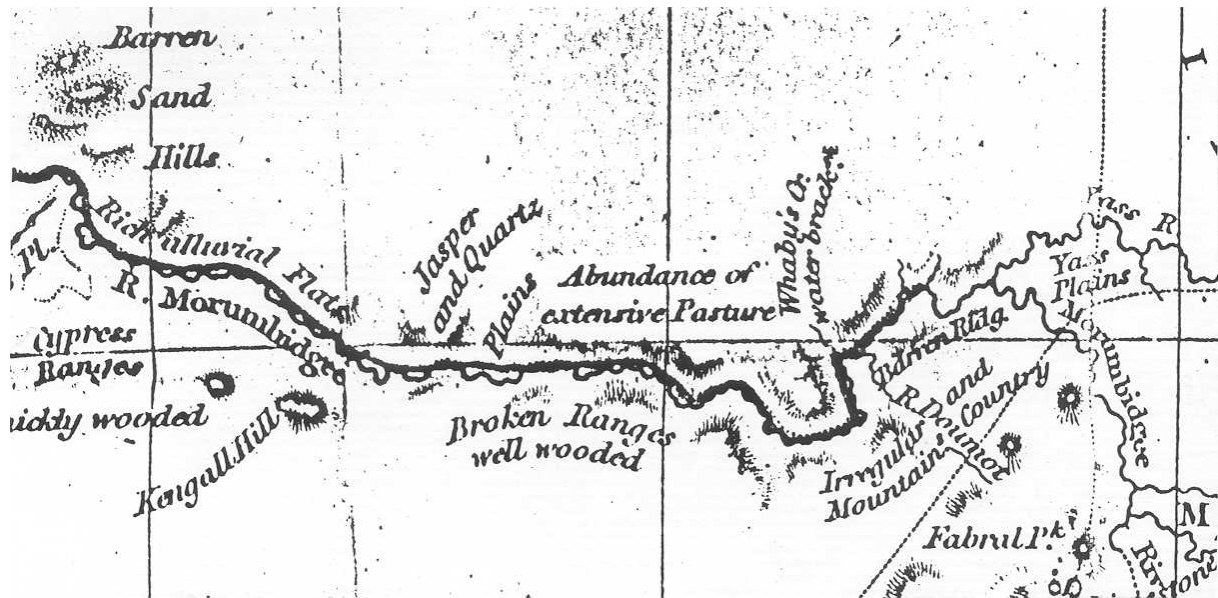
Sturt continued on his journey passing three lagoons on the way, and travelling along the outskirts of the flood plain to avoid the yielding soil of forest tracks (105).

Jemie and Peter probably took the party near known lagoons which were important food sources. On the 7th December 1829, Sturt reputedly ascended the end of Malebo Range from where the Wiradjuri pointed out Kengal (The Rock) and Galore Hill, (unnamed) and camped the night at the base of Malebo Range. (11).

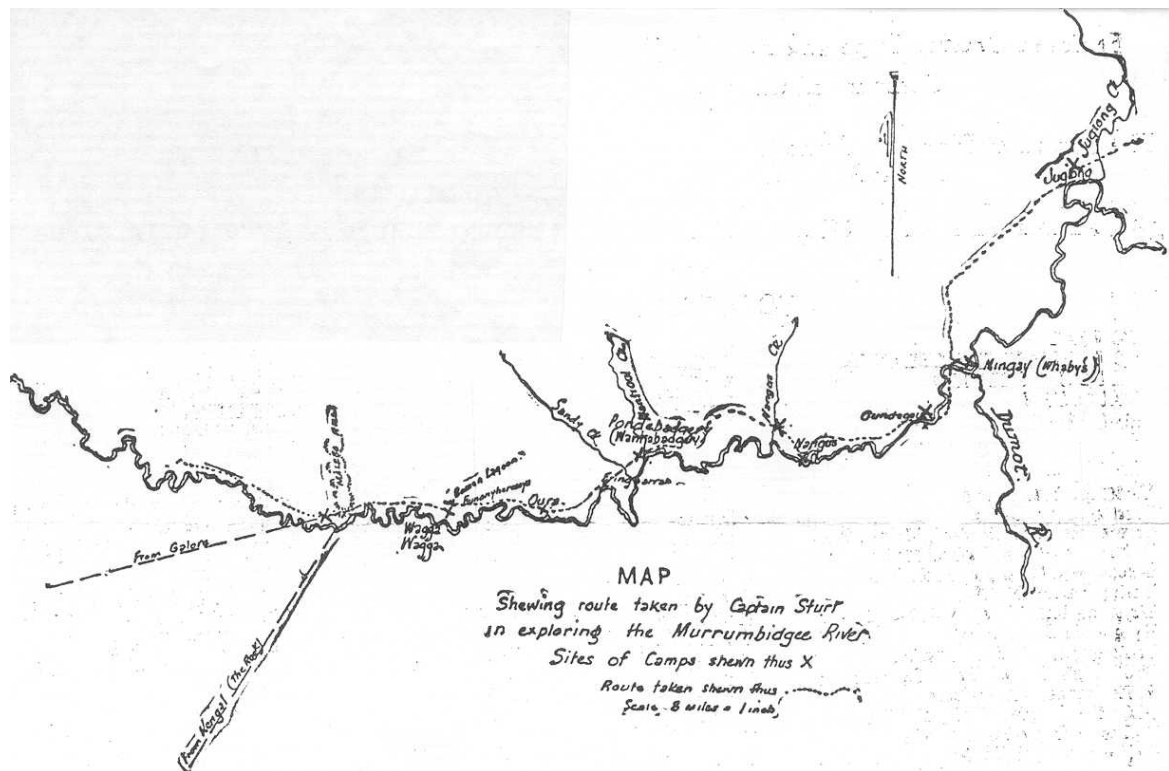
Sturt was surprised by the low number of Wiradjuri encountered in this area (9). He continued along the Murrumbidgee and ascended Mt Arthur near Matong on or about the 8th December 1829. From here he saw the Wiradjuri fires to the west.

Jemie and Peter indicated to Sturt "they could no longer accompany the party as they had probably got to the extremity of their beat" (9). This was the approximate start of the Narrandera Wiradjuri country, (30).

(See also **Contact Times** Timeline) (Drawings and Explorers Maps)



**Map 3 - Sturt's Journey Between Yass and Narrandera, 1829**  
 Kengal Hill (The Rock) and Galore Hill shown



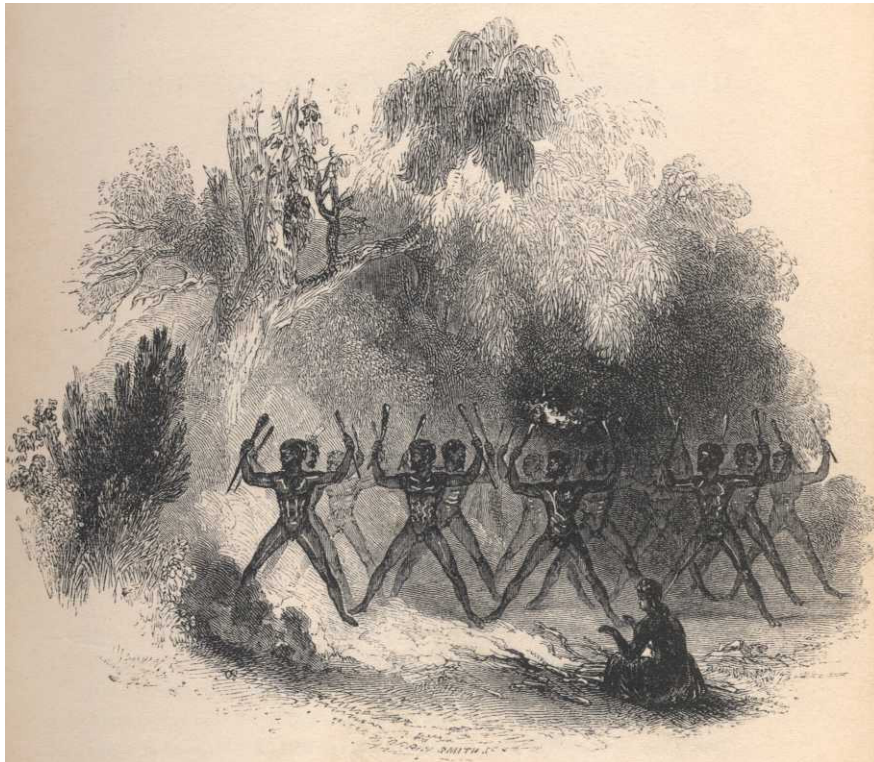
**Map 4 - Sturt's Route and Camping Places near Wagga Wagga**  
 Daily Advertiser 10/10/1938

**Figure 12 - Wiradjuri Corroboree (at Boree – Mitchell Expedition 1836)**

Thomas L Mitchell and Wiradjuri expedition

Down the Lachlan River to the Australian Felix (Victoria). Started at Boree (near Orange) with this coroboree and finished near Wagga Wagga with the marriage of Turandurey (female guide) to local Wiradjuri man, King Joey.

Mitchell 1839



## **Thomas Mitchell**

In 1836 Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, Surveyor General of NSW, undertook one of the most significant exploration journeys of the early contact period. Mitchell's party travelled approximately 2700 km with his "discoveries" resulting in the opening up to European settlement of the large area of the Australian Felix in Victoria.

For the whole of this journey, Mitchell was guided by Wiradjuri people. From the start by John Piper, Bathurst Wiradjuri, and shortly after, and for the rest of the journey by two women (Mrs. Piper and the widow Turandurey) and two adolescent boys (Tommy-came-first and Tommy-came-last) from the Lachlan River.(16).

Turandurey's four-year-old daughter, Ballandella, also accompanied the exploration party.

(Details of this journey and the various incidents involving the 6 Wiradjuri people are given under the Contact Times Timeline)

Mitchell acknowledges the many attributes of these Wiradjuri people in his account of the journey. The two Tommies found water, made and used canoes to ferry provisions, caught fish and possums in trees. Together with Piper they usually explored with dogs, for several miles in front of the main exploration party. (16).

The two women also found water, kept nearer the main party and directed it in avoiding obstacles. In reply to Mitchell repeated questions, "which way shall we go" one of them would point and say "Yalyai nyollong yanar!" ("Go that way").

In one incident Turandurey swam across the broad waters of the Millewa (Murray river) in mid winter pushing Ballandella before her, floating on a piece of bark. Turandurey seemed to despair at Ballandella's preference for expedition food as opposed to her mother's attempt to initiate her in the mysteries of killing and eating snakes, lizards and rats.

Turandurey herself must have taken later to expedition food because by the time the party had reached the Murrumbidgee near Wagga Wagga she had become "enormously fat". At this time she married King Joey, a local Wiradjuri man. (17).

Piper was interpreter, negotiator and follower of protocol. "In tracing lost cattle, speaking to the "wild natives", hunting or diving, Piper was the most accomplished man in the camp" (16).

He and the two Tommies could strip from a tree in a very short time, a sheet of bark, to form a canoe, which they could propel through the water with astonishing ease and swiftness.

Mitchell in referring to the day of 19<sup>th</sup> June.1836, said; "this was a very busy day for the whole party - black and white. I cannot fairly say "savage" and "civilized" for in most

**Figure 13 - Turandurey, Wiradjuri woman, and daughter Ballandella**

from Lake Cargelligo area on the Lachlan River. With Piper's wife, directed much of the day to day movements of Mitchell's exploration party. She "grew fat" on expedition food and married King Joey at "Cunningdroo", 15km east of Wagga Wagga. Ballandella preferred expedition food and was taken to Sydney for a colonial education.



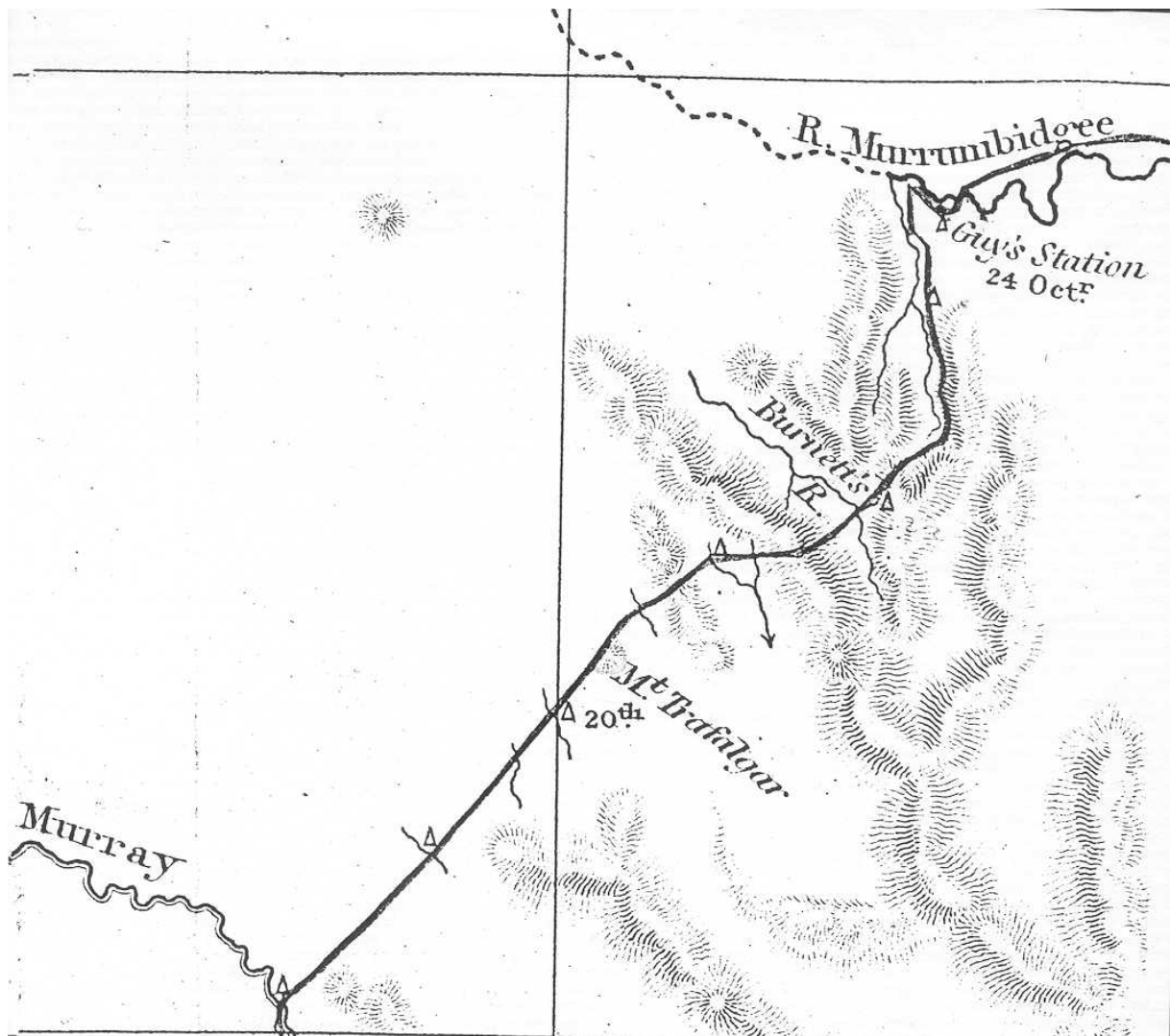
Mitchell 1839

**Figure 14 - Piper at Benanee (Mitchell Expedition 1836)**

John Piper, Wiradjuri guide (left) to Mitchell's expedition with Marra warree People at Lake Benanee (Murray River near Wentworth (Elder in cloak (right) possibly one of those killed in Mt. Dispersion conflict.)



Mitchell 1839



**Map 5 - Mitchell and Wiradjuri Expedition Route Between Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers (1836)**

- 21/10/1836 Pass Goombargana Hill (named Mt. Trafalgar by Mitchell)  
(30km west of Walla Walla)
- 22/10/1836 Cross Creek (named Burnett's River by Mitchell) subsequently Burke's  
Creek and enter the now Wagga Wagga L.G.A. Camp near Livingstone  
Gully.
- 23/10/1836 Follow along Kyeamba Creek – Camp near junction of creek with  
O'Brien's Creek ( near present day Ladysmith)
- 24/10/1836 Reaches Murrumbidgee River near Alfredtown. Ends expedition at  
"Cunningdroo" (Guy's/Guise Station) Piper pleased to be back with his  
kin glad to see the end of "Myall Blacks"!

T.L. Mitchell 1839

of our difficulties by flood and field, the intelligence and skill of our (Wiradjuri) friends made the "white-fellow" appear rather stupid".

Of significance, was the ambush at Mount Dispersion, set by Mitchell, of a group of Murra warree people who had been following and harassing Mitchell's party. They had travelled from near Menindee with the alleged intention of attacking Mitchell's party, presumably in retaliation for the death of one of their number at the hands of one on Mitchell's party in 1835.

At least seven men were shot. Mitchell wrote a report on this conflict whilst resting at Guises' squatting station near Alfredtown, (16). Mitchell was severely reprimanded but retained his position as Surveyor General of N.S.W. (108).

In 1849 he went on to name many of the streets for the newly proclaimed village of Wagga Wagga after his wartime comrades in the Waterloo and Peninsular (Spanish) Wars (Fitzmaurice, Gurwood, Kincaid, Johnston, Simmons, Beckwith, Freer and Travers Streets), (90).

(See also **Contact Times** Timeline, Drawings, and Explorers Maps)

## **Settlers, Stations and Camps**

Between 1831 and 1839 the first European settlers took up squatting runs along the Murrumbidgee River in what is now the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area. These settlers gave the runs, which were later called stations, Wiradjuri names, presumably as provided by local Wiradjuri. Relations were often amicable but much conflict developed as pastoral expansion and droughts diminished Wiradjuri food supplies and hunting grounds. Spearing of settlers' cattle for food, seen as culturally appropriate by Wiradjuri, was met with violent retaliation.

The Wiradjuri war, lasting from 1838 to 1841, perpetrated by the settlers in the western part of the now council area, led to a dramatic change in Wiradjuri circumstances. (1, 22, 23). Subsequently poisoning, starvation, disease and massacres overcame the local Wiradjuri. However many continued the traditional way of life. From then on many camped near settlers homes at least seasonally, accepting rations and occasionally providing labour in return.(1, 32).

Despite these disruptions, traditional gatherings and seasonal movement of Wiradjuri still occurred in the 1840's with Wagga Wagga being a central meeting and camping place, (28). During this time the government instituted a blanket handout around the Wagga Wagga Court House. Through the 1850' and 1860's Wiradjuri people continued to camp on stations such as Berry Jerry, Ganmain and Livingstone Gully and the river bend at the now Wiradjuri Reserve. (24, 41).

The 1870's saw a rapid decline of Wiradjuri people in station camps as the pressure of free selectors for land and competing labour, disease and probably further killings reduced their numbers, (52). One local account of the plight of the Wiradjuri and the clash of cultures is given in the following edited excerpt from Mary Gilmore. Mary lived with her parents in the vicinity of Brucedale and spent much time as a young girl with the Wiradjuri camped on Houlaghan's Creek in the early 1870's. Wiradjuri women worked for her parents in the house, one of these women was Flora. (39).

## Flora

From "More Recollections", Dame Mary Gilmore Sydney 1935

*"Of the three women we had for the house, one was Flora. Her native name meant, "She is like, or has, the sweetness of a bunch of flowers"; so my mother called her Flora. Flora was regarded as an unusually handsome woman; her features were well marked, and she had beautiful eyes; as indeed all the young women had. She was tall, somewhere about five feet ten, for starvation had not yet stunted aboriginal growth. Her manner was as bright as her glossy skin, she had the vitality of a tribal stripling, an ear for music, a fine voice for singing and she could draw unusually well. All this without contact with the whites of course, for I was the only white child she had ever seen, and my mother the only white woman.*

*My father himself never visited, and never allowed men under him to visit a native camp unless permission were asked of the... head of the group, a permission only given then to trusted people. My father's name among the blacks was "The man who is just," "who is a friend and can be trusted" He asked if he might one day take my mother to the camp to see (Flora's) drawings and hear her sing. Leave being given, my father... act(ed) as interpreter for my mother.*

*My mother having heard her sing several songs, regarded Flora's singing as untuneful and unfortunately said so, while the expression of her face showed it. So father explained the scale was not ours, and that only a violin or a harp could reproduce it. To show what **real** singing was, my mother, who had a beautiful voice, sang "The Bonnie Hills of Scotland". The audience rejected it; they said there was no bird sound in it; that it was too loud; that it was noise, not song.*

*After the singing the drawing began. Standing on one foot, Flora swept a clear space on the ground with the other foot. When it was smooth she caught a twig between her toes, broke it to length and still with the one foot began to draw in outline whatever we asked for. She did a kangaroo sitting, an old man kangaroo in full speed followed by a female and two joeys, one of the latter half-grown; and after these she showed a possum, perfectly done, crouched on the limb of a tree.....*

*Continuing she did the wiggle-waggle line that means a snake, and followed that with a kookaburra, a peewee, a crow, and a spiky thing which I had not seen before but which was an echidna. Last of all she made a man and a woman, the man straight down the sides and the woman widened at the hips. The works was done with the utmost rapidity, and without alteration of a single line.*

*My mother criticized the man and woman as drawn and showed how it should be done in **our** way. The blacks said contemptuously of the figures that those were not men and women, adding that they were only clothes, and clothes were not people.*

*After that, for my benefit, the women imitated birds. They brought the kookaburras, crows, magpies, and the peewees all round in the trees, and had some of the smaller birds fluttering about us from the bushes. One they caught by hand as it darted past, giving it to me to hold, but my hands were inefficient and it got away. There was hardly a local bird that was not imitated. We could not have done it; .....our ears untrained to a bird-note and its strange intervals.*

*I never saw Flora again, for soon after this the secret unofficial leave for "extermination" came from Sydney. From that time on the blacks were fugitives."*

The allusion to massacres by Mary Gilmore here and elsewhere and other oral traditions suggest there were further killings of Wiradjuri from the 1870's on. About this time, the early 1870's, Gilmore also described an act of engineering ingenuity by the Wiradjuri in central Wagga Wagga. The senior man of the Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri decided that the Wollundry Lagoon had to be closed at the river end (now Tarcutta Street) for the purpose of fish management, (53). A tree had been chosen on the bank upstream to be the correct length of trunk and with flexible limbs. Prior to a high river caused by snow melt; the tree had been partly undermined on the river side. At the appropriate time, the tree was further undermined by the rising water with the assistance of half a dozen Wiradjuri in the water and several pushing the tree into the river. It was skilfully guided and compelled into place across the mouth of the lagoon using the powerful current of the river and the subtle pushing and turning of its branches by the men. After the tree was in place, poles were placed against the log to allow control of fish movement, for Wollundry Lagoon was a fish management area. A similar tree was placed in 1874 at the small end of the lagoon so that in flood time the fish would not be swept over this end and be stranded on the flat (near Peter St today, 2002). Gilmore had seen Wiradjuri on this flat, as floodwaters fell, collect stranded fish and put them back into the lagoon. (53).

Whilst a strong supporter of the Wiradjuri, Mary Gilmore, like many others of her time, believed that their passing was inevitable. The two following poems lament this passing, although in "The Wollundry Lagoon" she indicates a faint ray of hope for a revival with the final line

**"Where their lost history buried sleeps".**





### The Waradgery Tribe

Harried we were, and spent,  
Broken and falling  
Ere as the cranes we went,  
Crying and calling.

Summer shall see the bird  
Backward returning;  
Never shall there be heard,  
Us, who went yearning.

Emptied of us the land;  
Ghostly our going;  
Fallen, like spears the hand  
Dropped in the throwing.

We are the lost who went,  
Like the birds, crying;  
Hunted, lonely, and spent  
Broken and dying.

Dame Mary Gilmore

## The Wollundry Lagoon

By Dame Mary Gilmore

There came a cry from far away,  
And then a shadow crossed the moon;  
There was a movement scarcely seen,  
Swift turning toward the dark lagoon.

And like a knife that sloping fell,  
And like a bolt in swift release,  
The black duck, with his whistling wing,  
Dropped by a trail of midget geese.

Once nested there the pelican,  
And there the swan sailed stately by;  
By day the ibis stalked, by night  
Was startled by the curlew's cry.

There slashed the whipping plover's wing,  
And there the mopoke haunted low,  
At dawn the sauntering emu stooped,  
And drank unhindered long ago.

And when the river floods were out,  
And when within the waters leapt  
The great fish shining in the moon,  
There came the tribes and Bora kept.

And once again I see the fires,  
Flicker and flame upon the night,  
The shadows darkling on the trees,  
The bodies gleaming in the light!

And I remember how, a child,  
I trembling caught my father's hand,  
Hearing the massed bull-roarers roll  
Traditioned runes across the land.

Mighty the rote, now swift now slow;  
Now high, now deep, now with a sound  
Like all the winds upon the earth,  
Drawn in and held in one great round.

And there each day the hunters came,  
Home with the chase upon the back  
Youths whom the elders sent abroad,  
To prove their skill by craft and track.

And oft I stood while swimmers slipt  
Beneath the lines of duck and teal,  
Or noosed the swan, or slid beneath  
The pelican's slow paddling heel!

And there I saw the spearman stand  
Where sprang the fish toward the fly;  
So still his shadow, that the deep  
The stiller seemed where it would lie!

Where long ago the kangaroo  
Loped to the water's edge to drink,  
A wall of willows later stood,  
Root-fastened on the townward brink.

And there I saw the stars within  
The waters lace like golden bees,  
Or watched, enchanted, as the moon  
Rose like a shield amid the trees.

And I remember how, a child,  
I felt a glamour there enfold  
Even the huge black logs the floods  
Swung out, where swift currents rolled.

O lovely, lovely were the curves  
Wherever bird arched neck and drank,  
And lovely was the arrowy track  
Where swan and duck sailed, rank on rank;

O lovely, lovely as he stood,  
And lovely as he stooping bent,  
The kangaroo, that dainty-lipped  
Sipped of the waters ere he went.

But memory dies with those who go  
And I am lonely in the vast,  
Where, in their myriads, went the slain,  
Spoke in full panoply the past;

Yet it may be, the old lagoon  
Remembers those who came; and keeps,  
Within its deeper depths the watch,  
Where their lost history buried sleeps.

**Figure 15 - Dignity – King Billy (Punch Socialities 1881)**



**Traveller** (to King Billy). - “Hi, John, can you tell me the road to Wagga Wagga”

**King Billy**. - “What for you call um John – Take um for dam Chinaman?”

From: Socialities (From Punch)

Illustrated by T. Carrington  
1881 Melbourne

Chinese people were considered lower socially than Indigenous people, from the Gold Rush period on, because the Chinese worked hard and competed for gold and later employment. Even in Wagga Wagga this was the case but the locals did not boycott the Chinese vegetable gardeners because the next closest fresh vegetables were from Melbourne.

Figure 16 - Socialities in Black and White (Punch 1881)



The old race gives a suggestion to the new

From Socialities (From Punch)

Illustrated by T. Carrington

1881 Melbourne.

## **Missions, Reserves, Homes & Work**

In the 1880's and 1890's the few remaining Wiradjuri were either living in destitute situations usually on the fringes of towns, or in camps on stations where they were at least partially employed and/or lived a semi traditional life. In 1880 the Reverend John Gribble from Jerilderie, seeing the plight of the Wiradjuri, set up Warangesda Mission Station as a place where Aboriginal people could live in a way which was more acceptable to the white community, (109). Rev. Gribble travelled the region enticing Wiradjuri to come and live at the mission. Whilst he was successful in attracting a group from Cootamundra, it is not known at this time if this was the case for Wagga Wagga. Many descendents of Warangesda Mission residents, which closed in 1924, now reside in Wagga Wagga and throughout Wiradjuri Country.

The establishment of the Aboriginal Protection Board in 1883 saw the setting up of many reserves and missions over the ensuing thirty years. One such mission was set up at Grong Grong in 1884, which had sporadic use until its closure in 1916, (110). Larger and more significant reserves were set up throughout Wiradjuri Country. One of these Aboriginal Reserves/Stations was based on the existing camp attached to a station at Brungle which had existed since at least the 1840's. In 1887 Brungle had the second largest Aboriginal Reserve community in NSW with forty adults. Two reserves were formally set up at Brungle in 1890 and 1909. All but 31 acres of the old reserves were revoked in 1935 which in 1995 made up the Aboriginal housing area of Brungle Village, (110).

Between 1909 and 1918 the Aboriginal Protection Act and its amendments gave the Board legal control over Aborigines on stations and reserves (but not on missions), (4). It was made illegal for "half castes" to live on reserves and it gave greater powers for the Board to remove children for training as domestic servants, (61). As a result, the Cootamundra Girls Training Home (Bimbadeen) was set up in 1912 and operated until 1969, (110). The dormitory housing of girls and women at Warangesda mission and preparation for employment in household duties was closed down in 1912 with the girls being transferred to Cootamundra.

Over 800 Aboriginal girls (80 Wiradjuri) were taken from their homes between 1915 and 1969 to be trained as domestic servants. (1). Kabaila (1999) concludes that:

*"What began in the 1880's for missionary John Gribble as a well intentioned, even heroic attempt to provide protection and shelter for "half caste" Aboriginal women and their children at Warangesda was soon turned by the NSW government at Cootamundra into a regimented training institution which was to play a vital role in policies of child removal and racial integration." (3).*



## Bimbadeen



From the outside looking in,  
I could tell their lives were grim.  
I thought the new look was fine,  
But my feelings were to change in time.



I walked through the hallways,  
And I began to feel,  
That I was back there, then,  
Everything seemed so real.



I stood in each room,  
Silent, eyes closed.  
And tried hard to imagine,  
Living here years ago.



It was as though I could hear,  
The girls screaming, crying.  
Now all I felt was fear.



I was scared of this place,  
Yet I'd never been here before.  
Though I knew nothing of Bimbadeen,  
I wanted to know no more.



The sadness and the grief,  
I was absorbed while I was there,  
I thought, would just be brief,  
But instead, continued to scare  
I could feel the girls were trapped,  
Life was outside looking in,  
No-where for them to get out,  
No-where for love to get in.



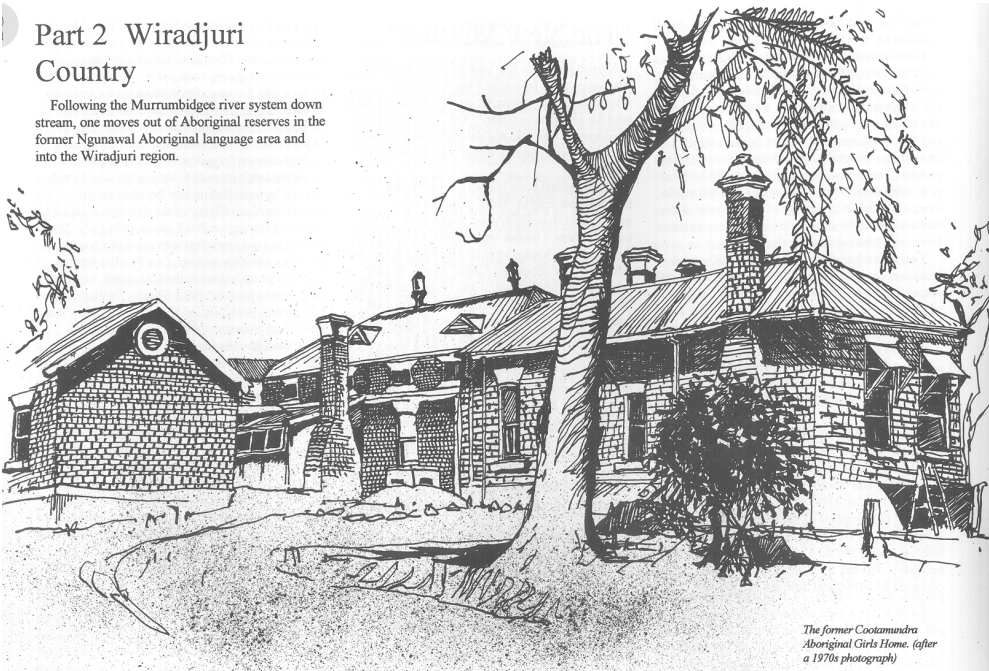
They were not allowed to feel,  
And were told, this was their only home.  
So the girls lived their lives by Bimbadeen rules,  
And remained living life alone.



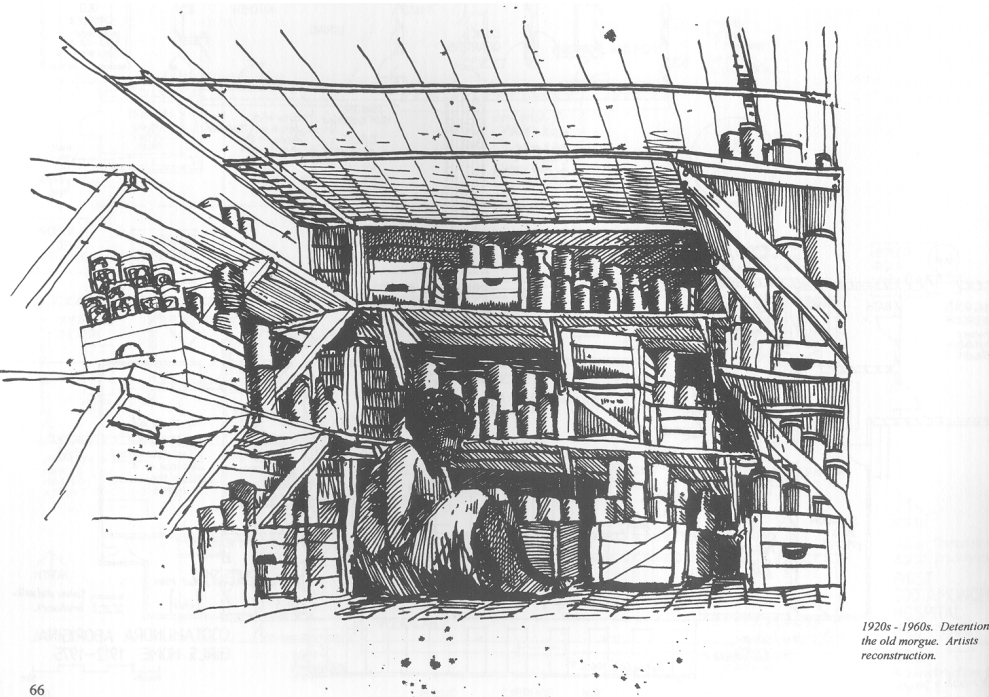
Penned by Amy Gilchrist  
On a visit to "Bimbadeen", formerly Cootamundra Girls Home  
8<sup>th</sup> October 1997



**Figure 17 - Bimbadeen - Former Cootamundra Aboriginal Girls Home**



**Figure 18 - Detention in the Old Morgue - 1920's-1960's**



Wiradjuri men, particularly where they could get work, fared somewhat better. One such Wiradjuri employee was Tang who worked for the Mate family at Tarcutta until his death in 1914. One of the most significant aspects of these men's employment was that their work mates were mostly non-Indigenous, (57). Aboriginal identity, however, was required to be suppressed to gain acceptance and success. This lack of knowledge about, or apparent disinterest in, traditional Wiradjuri times was common, (57).

Some Wiradjuri men became drovers and shearers and worked in the Wagga Wagga area. Two of these men were Jimmy Ingram (father of Ossie Ingram, now of Narrandera) and Oscar Carroll, (ancestor of the Carroll family of Griffith) who in the 1950's worked at the "Wanganui" property at Borambola, (70). Oscar had a horse drawn wagonette he used to camp in as the other shearers preferred he did not camp with them in the shearers quarters.

Also in the 1950's "Wanganui", employed a Wiradjuri girl, then 16 or 17 years of age, from the Cootamundra Girls Home, as a domestic servant for about six months, (70). Blake's Stock and Station Agency in Wagga Wagga employed an Aboriginal man in this period, (111).

Police harassment of Wiradjuri worsened in the mid 1950's and reached a peak in the mid 1960's because many men were now not in the workforce and were seen as a threat to the established order, (57).



**No.72 & 73 Wagga Wagga Celebrated Australia's 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary 1938. Links to Waagan the crow maintained and Pioneers acknowledged with a Sundial - Sunken Gardens - Victory Memorial Gardens**

6/2002



## Language

Wiradjuri was a fully spoken community language up until at least 1900, (3). In the seventy years of settlement prior to this many European settlers learnt, used and/or recorded the local language. Settlers almost exclusively adopted Wiradjuri names for their runs and stations. The children of early settlers often mixed with local Wiradjuri learning the language and customs. These included Matt Best (son of Robert Best, Wagga Wagga), Richard Cox (Livingstone Gully), Mary Gilmore and her father (Bruceedale), James Bourke (Gumly Gumly) and James Baylis (son of Henry Baylis, first Police Magistrate of Wagga Wagga).

Local recorders of the Wiradjuri language, consisting mainly of word lists and their meanings, were Henry Withers (1878 - 140 words), Henry Baylis (1887 - 112 words) and James Baylis (1927 - 330 regional Wiradjuri words). James Baylis also compiled, over many years, a list of some 1500 Aboriginal words of which, in addition to the 1927 list, only 30 or so appear to be local Wiradjuri. His hand written manuscript is still held by the Museum of the Riverina. Wagga Wagga Council administrators and community people have added to this list over the last 60 years. (Robert Emblem, Norm Grinton, Brian Andrews and Bob Palmer). The list now consists of some 1800 words and short phrases, (112).

Further afield an estimated 20 recordings of vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation and wisdom of the Wiradjuri language were compiled by explorers, squatters and station owners, administrators, surveyors, missionaries and scholars in the first 100 years of European settlement, (93, 84). These recordings are collectively referred to as “Whitefella Wiradjuri” to distinguish it from Traditional (or pure) Wiradjuri and Restored Wiradjuri. Variations in pronunciation, interpretations of sounds heard, method of recording and the dialect being heard by the recorders all contributed to inaccuracies.

Significant and most reliable of the recorders include;

- James Gunther - Grammar, Phrases, Sentences and Vocabulary (from 1837 on Published 1892), (113).
- Horatio Hale - Sentences (1846), (114).
- C. Richards - Pronunciation, Phrases, Sentences 3000 word vocabulary, explanations of Wiradjuri customs, knowledge, beliefs and wisdom within the language (1902-03)
- R.H. Matthews - Grammar (1905), (115).

The above references, together with contributions from the few remaining current day speakers of Wiradjuri and earlier tape recordings of speakers, form the basis for the restoration of the Wiradjuri Language Development Program.

From 1900 to 1940 those that spoke the Wiradjuri language became fewer and fewer (3). The handful of local white people, who had learnt the language primarily as children, had passed on, (with the exception of Mary Gilmore who died in 1962 aged 97).

Suppression of the language by authorities under protectionist and assimilation policies, particularly reserve managers, from the 1880's until the late 1960's, occurred. Language also had been traditionally associated with ceremonial and secret rituals no longer practiced, (57). This decline in culture together with a reluctance on behalf of the older people, who spoke the language in private but discouraged the young people learning it out of fear of punishment by authorities, greatly contributed to the decline in its use.

The following table (23) contains a selection of Wiradjuri words recorded during Contact Times. Whilst words in the Restored Wiradjuri List are representative of Wiradjuri, there may be many vocabulary and dialect variations in existence. The Wiradjuri Dictionary (in preparation) will contain these variations,(117).

**Table 23 - Selected Wiradjuri Words Recorded During the Contact Period  
(C1827-1927) Compared with Restored Wiradjuri and English (2002)**

Source	English	Restored Wiradjuri (S Grant & J Rudder)(116)(117)	C. Richards (59)	J. Baylis (49, 54)	H. Baylis (58)	H. Withers (55)
<b>Occupation</b>		Wiradjuri Elder, Speaker, Linguist	Linguist / Scholar	Surveyor landholder	Police magistrate	Local landholder
<b>Location</b>		Canberra Wiradjuri	Wiradjuri Country	Australia and Riverina	Wagga Wagga	“Berrembeel” Wagga Wagga
<b>Date</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>1902-3</b>	<b>1880’s to 1927 (with additions)</b>	<b>1887</b>	<b>1878</b>
	baby child	gudha/buraay	boorrai	boori	boori	buri
	bad	maramubang	morroonbang	meri	yingi	mirri
	beard	yarrany	yerren	moolta	yarra	yarreen
	black duck	buthanbang	boorraangoon	boothanbung	poothanbang	-
	Brolga	burralang	borraalgang	cooradook	pooralgun	-
	Bunyip	waway	waawei	cooinbil	-	-
	camp/home	ngurang	ngoorang	-	oorong	-
	carpetsnake	yaba	-	yubba	-	-
	cockatoo (white)	muraany	moorrain	moran	mooran	-
	crows/ raven	waagan	waagon	wahga	wagga	waggra
	dances	waga waga	waaga	borambola	-	-
	day	yiradhu	jeeranbang	nangary	nargun	yeari
	dingo	yugay	yoogee	-	-	guegee
	eagle	muliyan	molleeyan	mulyan	-	mullen
	ear	wudha	wooddtha	woodther	woorum	woother
	egg	gabuga	goboogaa	gobba	kapooka	-
	emu	dinawan	ngooroin	curree	ooroin	-
	eye	miil	mil	mill	mil	mill
	father	babiin	bobbeen	-	mama	-
	fish	guya	gooyaa	goonyah	kooyea	cooyah
	fire	wiiny	ween	ween	ween	wing
	food	dhangaang	ngardthoo	jeena	tungi	-
	four	bulla bulla	boolla boolla	bulla bulla	boola boola	bulla bulla
	frog	gulaangaa	goollaangaa	gindurra	-	-
	good (very)	marangbang	mooroombang	murrumbong	murrumbang	murrumbung
	grass (meal)	buguwin	yagerr	boogaroo	pooaroo	boogoon
	ground/soil	dhaagun	dthoggoon	dargoan	tahgoon	thugoon
	hand	marra	morra	murra	marra	murra
	honey	ngarru	ngaroo	naroo	-	-
	I	ngadhu	ngadthoo	-	ahtoo	-
	kangaroo	wambuwyuny	wombon	byogoo	womboin	wombeen
	kookaburra	gugubarra	googoobora	kookaburra	kokoparra	-
	magpie	garru	gorroobang	gooloo	-	-
	man	gibir	gibber	goin	-	gooen
	man (old)	bidya	jeereebang	jerrybong	beejel	-

Source	English	Restored Wiradjuri (S Grant & J Rudder)(116)(117)	C. Richards (59)	J. Baylis (49, 54)	H. Baylis (58)	H. Withers (55)
	moon	giwang	geewong	geewung	kewung	keerong
	morning	ngarin	ngooroonga	buddala	-	-
	mother	gunhi	goonnee	-	koon-nee	-
	mouth	ngaan	ngony	nung	nyun	nunth
	Murrumbidgee	Murrumbidgee	Morrombeeja	Morumbeeja	-	Murrumbidjah
	night	ngurung	nooroong	baroondong	tamboolba	booroonthun
	no	wirray	wirrai	weri/widdi	weeri	wirri
	nose	murru	moorroo	marootha	mooroota	mornda
	one	ngumbaay	ngoonbai	onnbi	onnbi	noonbee
	pelican	gulambali	goollaigaalee	goolagarla	koolaykarlie	-
	people (blacks)	mayiny	-	myin	miin	-
	plains	gunigal	goonigal	goonigul	-	goonegul
	plains turkey (Bustard)	gambal	gombol	gumble	-	-
	possum	wilay	weellei	willie	willie	willie
	rain	galing	gollee	yerong	euro	eurong
	river/creek flowing water	bila	billa	billa	-	-
	red	gubaa	goubarr	girri	-	keerie-keerie
	reed spear	dyirriil	jeereel	tareel	teereel	
	song	gudhi	goodyee	-	-	-
	snake	gadi	-	gunna	-	cuddee
	stars	giralang	meema (giralang)	meemah (girralong)	meemar	gerrilong
	stone	wallan	wollang	wallun	wolla	-
	sun	yiray	eerie	eeri	yeri	eri
	swan	dhundhu	dthoondthoo	doondoo	toondoo	-
	teeth	yirrang	ngeernag	yeerung	yerang	erong
	three	bula-gnumbary	Boollangoonba i	oonbi bulla	boola onnbai	bulla noonbee
	tree/wood	madhan	moddthan	toorgan	khegun	geegul
	tribe (Wagga Wagga )	-	-	-	-	eunonyhareen ya
	two	bula	boolla	bulla	boola	bulla
	walk (go)	yanhanha	yana	yanna	yanni	yannah
	water	galing	gollin	colin	karlin	culleen
	woman/wife	yinaa	inner	eena	yeenan	mookeen
	wood duck	gunarung	gooddtharang	goonahra	koonaroo	goonaroo
	yes	ngawa	ngaawa	noogah	nga	nah
	yesterday	gambaay	-	namburra	yaandoo	-
	you	ngindhu	nyeeindthoo	innu	indoo	-

## Interpretation of Word Comparisons

In the above table many words are strikingly similar (eg miil – eye, bula,-two, wilay-possum) in sounding and spelling across the five language sources. Several bear some or no resemblance to each other (yiradhu-day, dhangaang-food, ngurung-night). It is obvious that the spelling used is dependent on the recorder’s ear, experience and the locality he has drawn on.

Withers was a local Wagga Wagga landholder who presumably associated with local Wiradjuri speakers. His representation of words is simple and anglicised. Henry Baylis was Wagga Wagga police magistrate for over 40 years. One would expect in this position he would have come into contact with many local Wiradjuri speakers. His son, James Baylis, a surveyor and landholder, travelled over much of south western NSW and Victoria, residing at least in Wagga Wagga, Narrandera and Euroa. His words appear to have been drawn from a wide range of sources and language groups. Only a small proportion seems to be exclusively local Wagga Wagga Wiradjuri and he is most at variance with the other recorders. His published and unpublished lists often give several words for one object. The most likely local word has been chosen in the above lists. Richards’ scholarly work across Wiradjuri Country is fairly reliable apart from his use of extended vowels and syllables representing the sounds he heard. Some words are quite different from the local recordings (55,58), which indicates dialect differences. This is also the case with Restored Wiradjuri where, for the sake of simplicity, the basics of the language have been focused on rather than dialects/localised vocabulary differences. The value of using Restored Wiradjuri today (with scope for local dialect differences) is evident from the above lists. The traditional sounds, not necessarily heard by, or unfamiliar to, English speakers and the early recordings listed have been re-established in Restored Wiradjuri.

The different renderings of the Wiradjuri sounds evident in the above lists and now represented by the following Restored Wiradjuri symbols include:

<b>Nasal sounds</b>	“ny”	often rendered by “n” and difficult for English speakers especially at the end of words
	“ng”	often omitted or rendered by “n” only comes at the end of English words
	“nh”	not heard and does not occur in English
<b>Stop sounds</b>	“dy”	often rendered by “j” or “t”
	“dh”	often rendered by “d”, “dy” or “dth”
	“b”, “g” and “d”	softer than English and no puff of air- often rendered by “p”, “k” and “t”

## Wiradjuri Wisdom, Knowledge and Belief Through Language

The following small selection of Wiradjuri words and phrases edited from Richards compilation, (20 out of 3000), gives an indication of the depth of wisdom, knowledge and beliefs held in Wiradjuri Culture. These words have been transposed from Richard's somewhat difficult pronunciation system into current day Restored Wiradjuri. (59).

<b>Restored Wiradjuri Word/Phrase</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
baayama	The action of the Supreme Being making bend or yield. Probably because sorrow, age and pain bends, the dead were buried with every joint bent even if they had to be broken, probably in humiliation as one bends the knee or bows the head.
babiin	Father. The one that sings
burdyang	Any food that makes or causes thirst, such as salt, acid or bitters. Wiradjuri did not use these except when starving.
dhuluya	To speak truthfully, manfully with head and body erect, to make straight. With man's erect carriage goes his moral straightness, like a straight spear.
giba	Speech, (which) has glitter or glory
gibaa	Mankind, (who) possesses something having glitter (or shining)
gubaa	White man, (who) possesses a different kind of glitter (or shine)
dyaramalang	Spokesman, Leader, Law giver, Teacher (This was the highest function among the Wiradjuri and the sentinel of the "mystery men" who exercised their influence for good)
dyrama	Exalted, courageous, great, To place lifted up in the spirit.
murumbidya	Murrumbidgee River (which) at times (or often) has overflowed and turned aside (flooded)
murung	Eggs of birds and insects which have symmetry or roundness. From roundness or symmetry is derived all that is pleasant and sweet or (which has) beauty, goodness or mercy and justice.
murumbang	Kindness, love, which overflows in which is placed goodness, sweetness or roundness
murumbang wiin ngay	A wise or clever man. One who has overflowing pleasant, sweet or rounded thoughts.
ngindhu mirri!	You dog! (This is the most insulting phrase used by one

**Restored Wiradjuri  
Word/Phrase**

**Meaning**

	Wiradjuri to another, they do not swear)
waagan	The crow. One who trails or drags the ground.
waaga or wooga	Dances. Drags or slides on the ground. To grind.
wagawaga	Like to dance. Peculiar step
<b>Wiradjuri</b> (with the following various different pronunciations) Wirraiaraa Wirraiয়ারai Wirradthooree Wirraidthoree Wirraijeerai Wirrajeeree	(The) people will not be large or high or will not increase, will not be born or come out. Will not rise or lift up, or be pregnant.
ya/ya (Short form of Baayayu)	Supreme Being. Ancient of days. Shaper. Speech. The Self. The former or shaper of something already in existence. That is, to draw it out, or develop or evolve it, passing it from one state to another in the endless variety. The one who causes to bend or yield.
yuinha	Naming, sounding, exclaiming, the barking and baying of animals, the crowing and chirping of birds, the humming and buzzing of insects. These sounds would give the above creatures their names and the qualities (such as colour, size and shape) and actions, would be formed from those root names.
ying	The emotion of joy or happiness. That is to laugh. Also wrinkles, because laughing produces wrinkles but a different kind to those produced by misery.

## The Use of the Wiradjuri Language in Naming Places

One way to look at how Wiradjuri names and words have been used in the naming of places is to look at parish and road names throughout the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area.

**Table 24 - Parish Names with Meanings**

(Totally or partly within Wagga Wagga Local Government Area)

(See Accompanying Map No. 6 for locations)

(19,24,27,28,29,44,49,54,55,58,59,64,116,117)

Parish Name	Language Derivation (White fella Wiradjuri)	Meaning
Arajoel	Wiradjuri	Yam/wild onion that grows on the plains
Belmore	English	?
Berry Jerry	Wiradjuri	Yellow box/stunted gum tree
Bilda	Wiradjuri	Rings in the water
Blanch	English	?
Book Book	Wiradjuri	Call of the mopoke bird
Borambula	Wiradjuri	Dance/Associated with a bora ground or projecting root of a tree
Bulalgee	Wiradjuri	?
Bulgan	Wiradjuri?	?
Bulgary	Wiradjuri	Tree like a boree/swamp
Burrandana	Wiradjuri	?
Bullenbung	Wiradjuri	Dry Creek/Water course
Claris	English	
Coffin Rock	English	Coffin Rock Hill near Mangoplah
Cottee	Wiradjuri?	?
Coreinbob	Wiradjuri?	?
Cunningdroo	Wiradjuri	Little drop of water
Currawanna	Wiradjuri	One Pine Tree
Dutzon	English	?
Eunanoreenya	Wiradjuri	Fighting blacks waiting in ambush waiting for the enemy. A tribe (of Wagga Wagga Area) or dwelling place of Eunong a Wiradjuri warrior
Forest Creek	English	
Ganmain	Wiradjuri	Brush turkey/A man decorated with scars (or tatoed)
Gobbagumbalin	Wiradjuri	Turkey's egg
Gregadoo	Wiradjuri?	?
Gumly Gumly	Wiradjuri	Man with Boomerangs
Hooke	English	?
Humula	English	After Hamilton Hume (explorer)
Jerra Jerra	Wiradjuri	?
Jeralgambeth	Wiradjuri	?
Keajura	Wiradjuri	?
Kilgowla	Wiradjuri	?
Kockibitoo	Wiradjuri	Big Camp
Kyeamba	Wiradjuri	Place of springs/ Forehead band worn by Wiradjuri/Big water hole

Parish Name	Language Derivation (White fella Wiradjuri)	Meaning
Leitch	English	After John Leitch, early settler Berry Jerry
Livingstone	English	After Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, explorer
Maclean	English	?
Malebo	Wiradjuri?	?
Mangoplah	Wiradjuri	Black Springs/ Blacks Singing
Mate	English	First European Settler Tarcutta Area
Matong	Wiradjuri	Still, Deep water
Mimosa	Wiradjuri	Wattle
Mundarlo	Wiradjuri	?
Mundowey	Wiradjuri	The foot
Murraguldrie	Wiradjuri	?
Oberne	English?	?
Osborne	English	After Henry Osborne, European settler at Brookong
Oura	Wiradjuri	White Cockatoo
Pearson	English	Early landholder in the Maxwell area
Pulletop	Wiradjuri	Up rooting a tree
Sandy Creek	English	Sandy Creek south of Wagga Wagga
Tarcutta	Wiradjuri	Meal made from grass seed or gulla
Tooyal	Wiradjuri	Jag of a spear/Place where white crane or spoonbills bread.
Tywong	Wiradjuri	Go away
Umbango	Wiradjuri	To gaze at
Umutbee	Wiradjuri	Swamp out the back.
Uranquinty	Wiradjuri	Plenty rain
Wagga Wagga (North & South)	Wiradjuri	Gathering place of crows/dances
Wallace	English	?
Warren	English	?
Wauberrima	Wiradjuri?	?
Westby	English	Early Landholder
Woomahrigong	Wiradjuri	Birds Flying
Yabtree	Wiradjuri	?
Yarragundry	Wiradjuri	River red gum trees with galls (burls?)
Yaven	Wiradjuri	?
Yerong	Wiradjuri	Teeth/Rain

**Table 25 - Summary of Parish Names Derivations/Meanings**

	Wiradjuri	English	TOTAL
<b>Number</b>	48 (8 presumed)	19 (1 presumed)	67
<b>(%)</b>	72 %	28%	100%

### Interpretations of Parish Name Given

Many explorers early squatters, selectors and surveyors when exploring, taking up and surveying land (1820s to 1880s) relied on and adopted the local (Wiradjuri) names of places that they obtained from the Wiradjuri people.

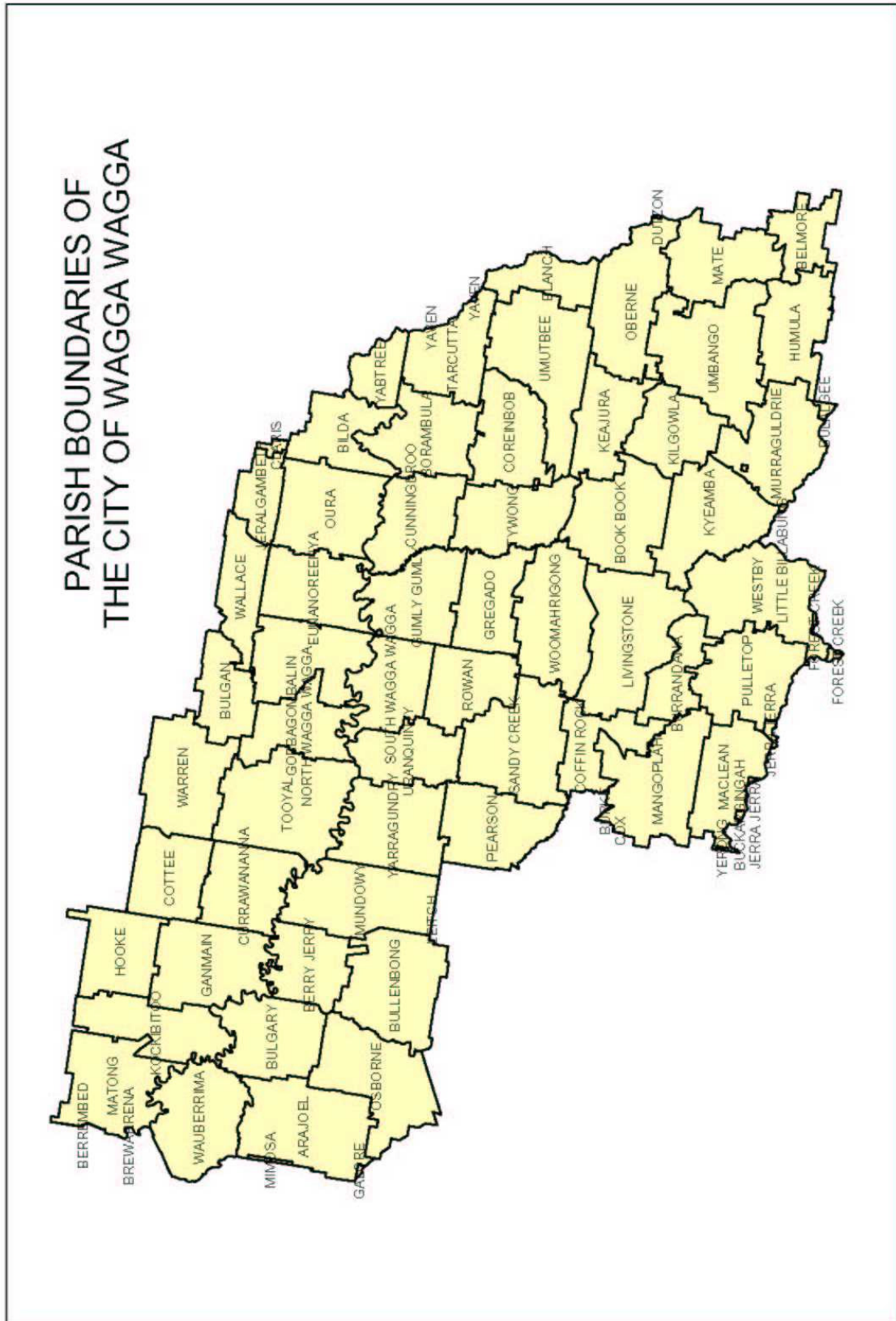
Parishes, administrative areas, were probably first surveyed and named following the Robertson Land Act of 1861. At this time many of the squatting station names, which had been chosen from the Wiradjuri language, were extended to be used as parish names. Thus some 48, or 72%, of the parishes lying wholly or partially within the Wagga Wagga L.G.A have Wiradjuri (or assumed Wiradjuri) names. The meanings of many of these are known.

So we have at least some general location/place names that reflect Wiradjuri Country even though parish names are little known and little used today. Many names relate to water and water places (springs, swamps). That is, camping places associated with water and plants and birds reflecting the importance of these components of traditional life.

These are no animal names used, possibly because they travel widely and don't stay in one particular place.



**Map 6 - Parish Locations within the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area**



**Table 26 - Existing Street Names in Wagga Wagga LGA with Wiradjuri Meanings**  
(19, 24, 27,28,29,44,49,54,55,64,90,116,117) Up to 2001)

Name/White Fella Wiradjuri	Meaning/Derivation
ARAJOEL	Yam/Wild onion growing on plains
BARETTA LANE	Cormorant
BARINYA STREET	A star
BERALA STREET	Musk duck
BEREMBEE ROAD	Hit (with a stick)
BERRY JERRY ROAD	Yellow Box/Stunted Gum Tree
BOMEN ROAD	Deep (Lagoon or Billabong)
BORAMBOLA NORTH ROAD	Dance/association with a bora ground or projecting root of a tree
BOREE STREET	Fire/Acacia Tree
BROOKONG AVENUE	Scrub/Magpie
BRIBBAREE PLACE	Unknown - Village near Grenfell
BULLENBONG ROAD	Dry creek/Watercourse
BULLOC HILLS ROAD	Probably after Buloke Tree and Bulloc Bulloc Range
BUNGOWN PLACE	I go to return
BURNGOOGEE FIRE ROAD	? After Mt. Burngoogee - Highest point in Wagga Wagga L.G.A. (702m above sea level)
BURRANDANA ROAD	?
COOLAMON ROAD	Bark or wooden carrying vessel.
COOINBIL CRESCENT	Bunyip
COORADOOK STREET	Native companion (Brolga)
COREINBOB ROAD	?
COTTEE ROAD	?
EAST TOOYAL ROAD	Jag of a spear/Place where white crane or spoonbills breed.
EAST BOMEN ROAD	Deep (Lagoon or Billabong)
EUNONY BRIDGE ROAD	From Eunong, a Wiradjuri warrior
GANMURRA ROAD	?
GOONIGUL AVENUE	A plain
GREGADOO ROAD	?
GUMLY ROAD	Man with boomerangs
KAPOOKA ROAD	Eggs
KEAJURA ROAD	?
KYEAMBA AVENUE	Forehead band/Place of Springs/Big Water hole
KYWONG PLACE	Resting place
LOWER TARCUTTA ROAD	Meal/flour/damper made from grass seeds or gulla.
MOORONG STREET	Bleak or cold. Other meanings are, bark shelter, camping ground and curved or rounded.
MORUNDAH STREET	"I got in the mud"
MURRAGULDRIE ROAD	?
NARRUNG STREET	Lizard/place of sheoaks
PULLETOP ROAD	Up rooting a tree.
OLD BOMEN ROAD	Deep (Lagoon or Billabong)
OLD NARRANDERRA ROAD	"narrungdera". "Narrun" for jew lizard and

Name/White Fella Wiradjuri	Meaning/Derivation
	"dera" for place. Place of the jew lizard.
OURA BEACH ROAD	White Cockatoo
TARCUTTA STREET	Meal/flour/damper made from grass seeds or gulla
TOOYAL ROAD	Jag of a pear/Place where white cranes or spoonbills breed
TYWONG STREET	Go away
URANA STEET	Flock pigeon
URANQUINTY STREET	Plenty rain
URANQUINTY CROSS ROAD	" "
WAGGA WAGGA STREET	Waagan or Australian Raven (Crow)
WANTERBADGERY ROAD	Getting wet
WIRADJURI CRESENT	The Wiradjuri
WOLLUNDRY AVENUE	Place of stones
WOMBOIN CRESENT	Grey Kangaroo
YABTREE ROAD	?
YARRAGUNDRY ROAD	Red River Gum trees with galls (burls)
YARRAGUNDRY STREET	" "
YARRAH STREET	River Red Gum tree
YARRAN PLACE	A Wattle tree
YERONG CREEK ROAD	Teeth/Rain.

### Summary of Street and Road Name Derivations/Meanings

	Wiradjuri	English/Other Indigenous Languages	Total
Number (%)	70 (6%)	1120 (94%)	1200 (100%)

#### Interpretation of Street and Road Names Wagga Wagga Local Government Area

Only about 70, or 6%, of the 1200 street and road names in Wagga Wagga Local Government Area are derived from the Wiradjuri language. This reflects a much reduced connection to Wiradjuri Country as Wiradjuri cultural and rural living has declined from naming of rural places in the period 1829 - 1880.

Wagga Wagga's population is now 80% urban. Associated street developments have almost exclusively been occurring in this area since the 1960s (90).

Names given have been more commonly selected from a vast range of sources including significant local people, land owners and subdividers, other Australian, overseas and war-related people and places and words from other Indigenous languages (90).

## 2.3.5 Recent Times

### Introduction and Community Profile

'Recent Times' has been chosen as the period from 1967 to the present, for reasons outlined herein. Whilst Wiradjuri Country continues to be the underlying and primary determinant of Indigenous culture in the Wagga Wagga LGA, a major and rapid increase in the Indigenous population over the last 30 years drawn from a wide range of language/social grouping areas ('tribal areas') together with an increasing appreciation and respect and acknowledgment of Indigenous culture by non-Indigenous Australians has led to a more diverse and shared cultural heritage.

This shared heritage is only briefly outlined here on the premise that further research will give greater detail. Therefore emphasis continues to highlight Wiradjuri heritage in this period.

This is not intended to diminish past, current and future contributions to the community made by a range of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Rather it is to continue the Wiradjuri story at this time

In 1967 a Commonwealth referendum to amend the Constitution started the process of giving equal rights to Indigenous people.

This marked a major legal turning point in the status of all Indigenous people across Australia. (1)

Progressively, over the 35 years to the present, major, generally positive, social and economic changes have occurred for Wiradjuri and other Indigenous people.

Federal and State governments now had a much stronger obligation to recognise Indigenous peoples rights to provide health, housing, education and employment assistance, right previous wrongs and to move against racial discrimination at all levels.

For Wagga Wagga and the region these changes in direction led to major changes. These included the closing of Cootamundra Girls Home in 1968 (2) and the end of children being forcibly being taken by the Aboriginal Welfare Board (3). Indigenous children in NSW could no longer be excluded from schools because of home conditions or community opposition. (4)

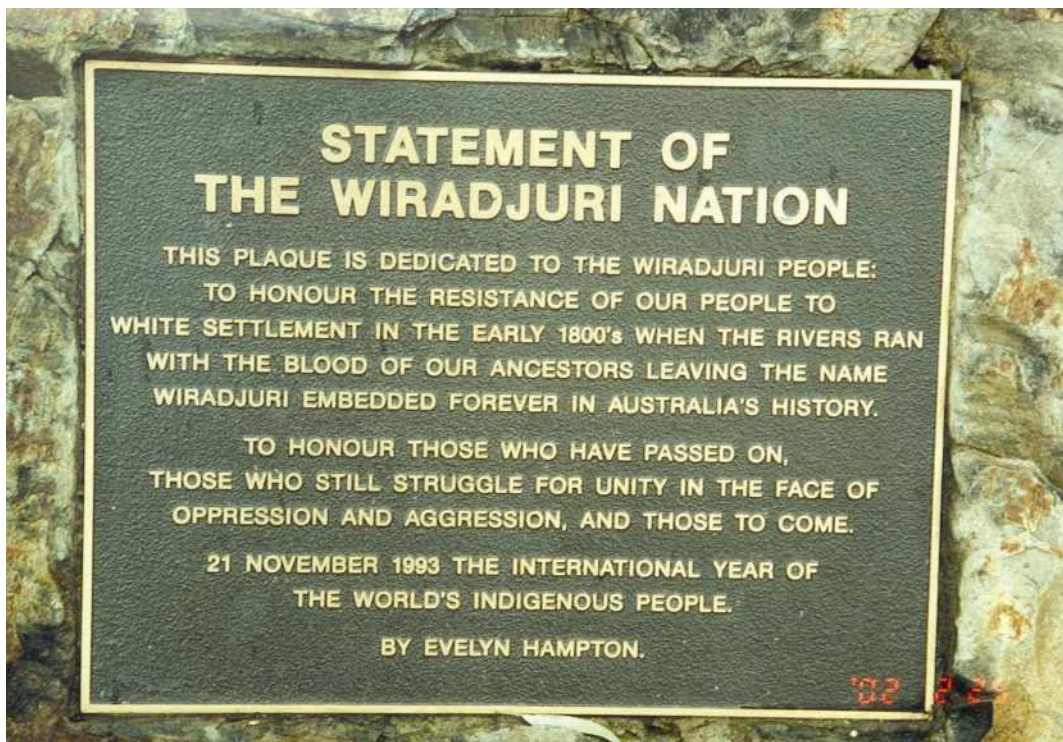
By the early 1970's identification with, and pride in, Indigenous identity and culture was growing. Wiradjuri tennis player, Evonne Goolagong, won at Wimbledon, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was established in Canberra with the help of Wiradjuri people and Aboriginal flag was now flying.





**No.74 Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council - Established 1985**

Docker St. Wagga Wagga 2/2002



**No.75 Statement by the Wiradjuri Nation - International Year of the Worlds' Indigenous People 1993. W.R.L.C.**

Docker Street. Wagga Wagga 2/2002



**No.76 Trainees - Aboriginal Land Management Training Program - Lake Albert Catchment, 1989.**

Rowan 1989



**No. 77 Carved Emu Egg - By Peter Harris**

Rowan 1989

Locally from the 1960's, when there were very few Aboriginal people living in Wagga Wagga (5), the 1970's saw a steady increase in as people moved here for employment, housing and education opportunities often lacking in small country towns.

This was greatly enhanced by the selection of Wagga Wagga as an Aboriginal Resettlement Scheme location (which ran from 1974 to 1986) by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (6).

Many families came to Wagga Wagga in this period from a range of Indigenous language/social groups - particularly from NSW west of the great divide. Although most stayed, some returned to their Country or moved elsewhere.

Policy changes at the Federal and State level (Self-determination for Indigenous people, multiculturalism, the end of the White Australia Immigration Policy, Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act, NSW Anti-Discrimination Act) through the 1970's contributed to improved conditions for Indigenous people in many areas.

This continued into the 1980's with establishment of Linkup, the Royal Commission into Maralinga atomic tests and the NSW Land Rights Act.

Locally, the establishment of services and organisations including the Aboriginal Legal Service, Long Day Care Centre, Aboriginal Church, Local and Regional Aboriginal Land Councils and Aboriginal Home Care greatly assisted the increasing Indigenous population officially recorded as 860 people in 1986. (7)

The late 1980's saw a rise in activism associated with the Bicentennial of British Colonisation. (8)

High levels of Indigenous unemployment and poor health status were major issues at this time (9).

An Aboriginal Health Service was successfully established and initiatives like the Lake Albert Aboriginal Management Program helped address these issues. (10, 11)

In the 1990's government enquiries, legislation and popular public movements further recognised and lent support to the Indigenous community and its pressing issues.

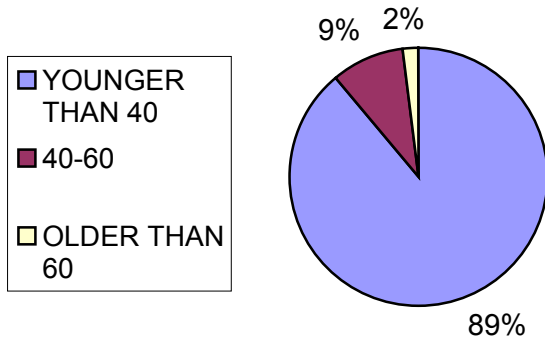
The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, the Mabo and Wik Native Title cases and the subsequent Native Title Act, the Stolen Generation Enquiry, the Reconciliation Movement and changes to the preamble to the constitution which acknowledged Indigenous people with due respect, all occurred in this period. The NSW Premier's apology to the Stolen Generation and the Federal parliament commitment to reconciliation added to this general movement.

In Wagga Wagga those identifying as Indigenous people increased from 966 in 1991 by 52% to 1425 in 1996. Much of this increase is considered to be in the

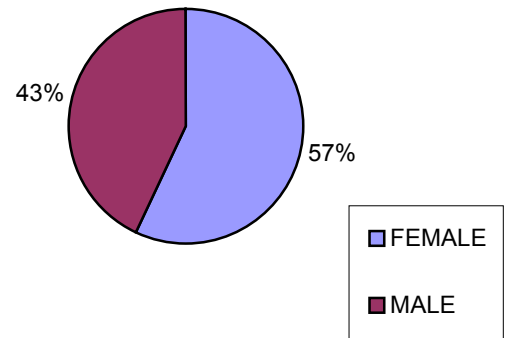
**Figure 21 - Wagga Wagga Indigenous Population**

**(Packer 1988)(9)**

**AGE**

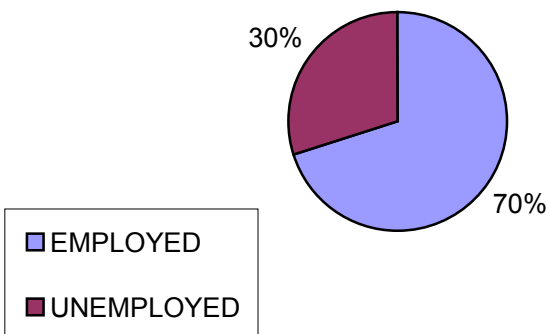


**MALE/FEMALE**

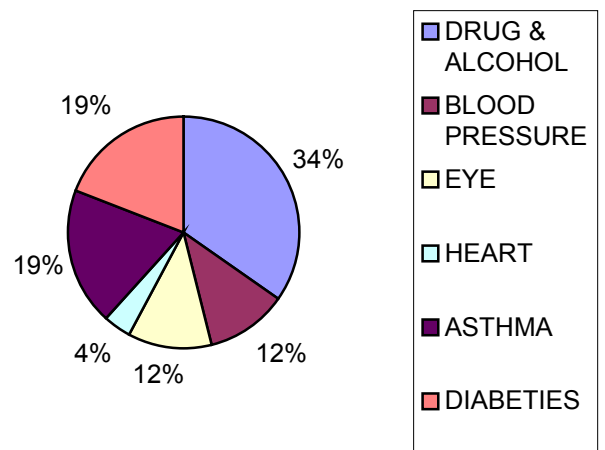


50% MALES <20  
33% FEMALES <15

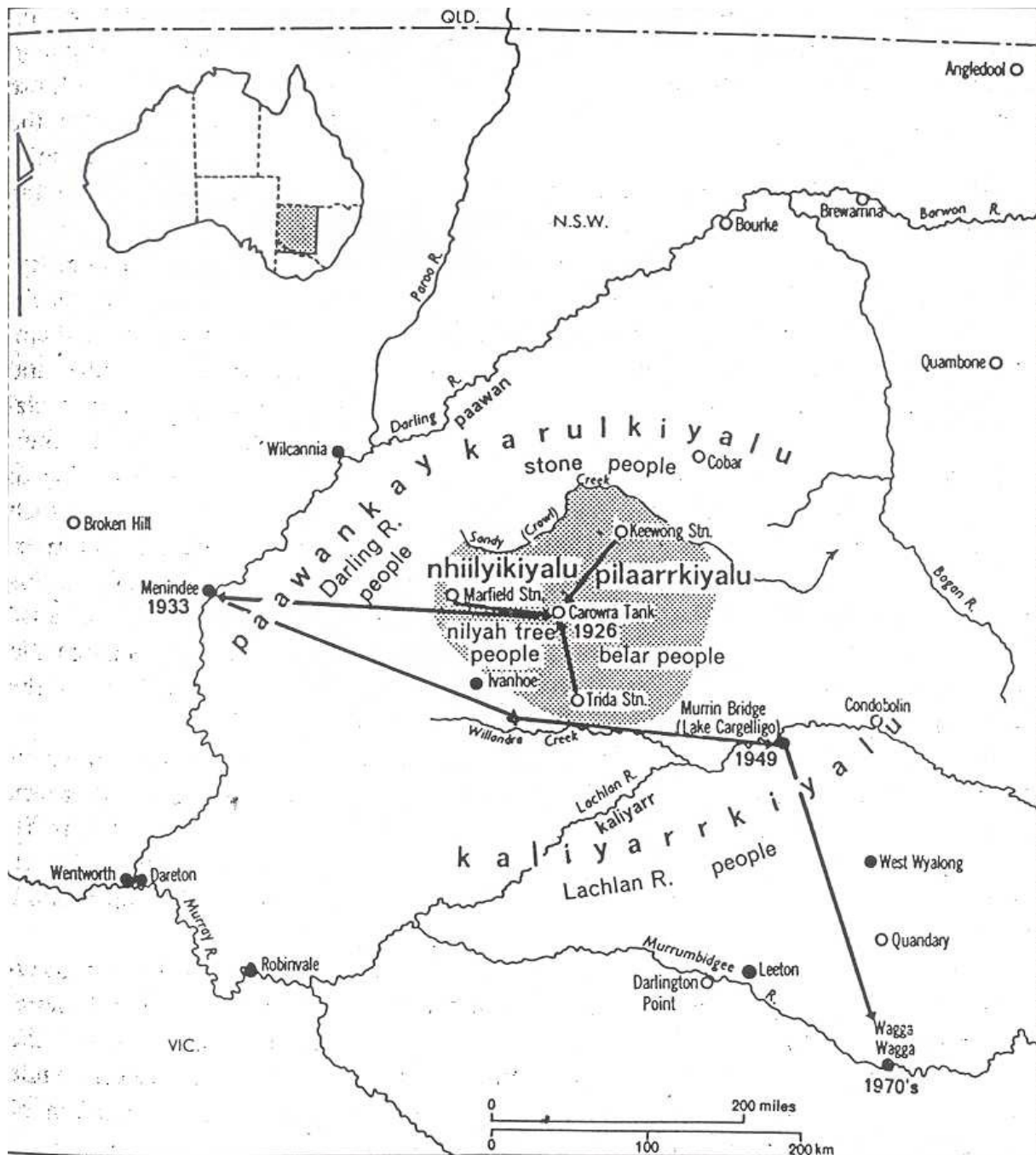
**EMPLOYMENT**



**MEDICAL ISSUES**



## Map 7 - Movements of Ngiyampaa People from Country to Wagga Wagga



From "What's in a Name?"

By Tamsin Donaldson Aboriginal History Vol 8 Pp21-44 1994

Paper titled : "What's in a Name?" An etymological view of land, language and social identification.



**No. 78 Singin' Up After Work Jimmy Charles & Pat Little - "Stairway to Heaven"**  
Wagga Wagga TAFE 1989



**No.79 Gum Leaf Playing Craig Honeysett - "Maggie" Indigenous Men's Group.**  
Camp Kurrajong 6/2002



**No.80 Simulated Wiradjuri Camp Site - Riverina Field Studies Centre - Visit by Wiradjuri Heritage Study Committee**

3/2002



**No.81A & 81B New Scar Tree - Bark used to make a Coolamon - By Barry Walsh. Bark removed 9/2001 (Left) Tree recovery (3/2002)**

Museum of the Riverina, Willans Hill

acknowledgment of Indigenous identity rather than totally in actual population increase from births and immigration.

The opening of the Ngungilanna Aboriginal Education Centre and the hosting of an 'After Mabo' conference both at Charles Sturt University signified the increasing role of this institution in the support of Indigenous education.

In the late 1990's, despite the attitudes of a component of Wagga Wagga's community and the conviction of a councillor for racial vilification, (12), activities including the formation of Reconciliation Wagga Wagga, celebration of Wiradjuri Culture for the Gobba Bridge opening (13) and student involvement in a range of cultural activities and programs all contributed to a greater understanding and appreciation of local Indigenous culture.

This was reflected in the recognition of the need for a Keeping Place (14), Wagga Wagga City Councils Social and Cultural Plans and the community consultation workshop on the draft Document for Reconciliation (15).

Re-formation of the Wagga Wagga Koori Interagency Group (Representing some 45 agencies) and the Councils Indigenous Consultative Committee have both contributed to cross agency, cross cultural and cross community communication through networking in recent years.

The new millennium has seen an upsurge in interest and commitment to Indigenous culture and issues in Wagga Wagga. Formation of the Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group, establishment of the Indymarra Reconciliation place, launch of the Sorry Books, dedication of the Wiradjuri stain glass window at the Carmelite Monastery, and erection of the Wollundry Amphitheatre mural all reflect this.

Establishment of a Wiradjuri display at the Museum of the Riverina, artefact collection at Ngungilanna and the recognition of a number of practising Indigenous bush cooks, artefact makers, story tellers, artists, dancers and musicians in Wagga Wagga are contributing to this cultural resurgence.

Recent cultural heritage and tourism forums, requests for Wiradjuri names for new streets and cultural tours for local and international groups all point to an increasing interest in Indigenous culture.

Health issues of diabetes, cholesterol, blood pressure and smoking continue to be of concern as does job opportunities for Indigenous people. (16)

The establishment of the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) in 2002 is helping address the employment issue.



**No. 82 Flora Story Dance - Indvamarra Elder Elvira Wighton and Dancers**

C.S.U. 23/9/02



**No. 83 Kangaroo Dance Wiradjuri teacher and local school students**

Forest Hill 6/2002



**No. 84A & 84B Wiradjuri Images - Wambuwany, the Kangaroo (left) & Dinawan, the Emu (right) - Pavers Project using Wiradjuri Earth Colours**

Green St, Lockhart 12/2001



**No. 85 Art Skills Teaching - Annita Whickey and Student From Kunming China (Wagga Wagga's Sister City)**

Riverina Field Studies Centre 8/2001

## Timeline 4 - Recent Times

### Late 1960's

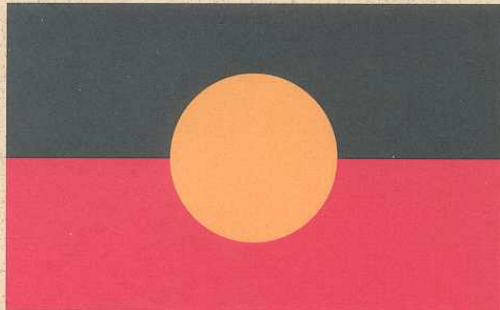
- 2.5.1967 National Referendum amending the Constitution. The Australian people approved the ending of constitutional discrimination against Aboriginal people by a record 90.8% referendum vote. This meant all Aboriginal people were to be counted in the national census.
- Also, the Federal Government could now legislate for Aboriginal people in the states, sharing responsibilities for Aboriginal Affairs with state governments. (1)
- 1968/69 Closing of Cootamundra Girls Home. (2)
- 1969 Aboriginal Welfare Board Abolished, end of children being forcibly removed from their families. (3)

### 1970-79

- 1971 All Aboriginal people included in the census. (17)
- 1971 Principals of schools in NSW no longer able to exclude Aboriginal children because of home conditions or opposition from the community. (4)
- 1971 Wiradjuri woman, Evonne Goolagong won the Women's singles at Wimbledon. (18)
- 7.7.1971 Aboriginal flag, designed by Harold Thomas was first flown in Adelaide on National Aborigines Day. (19)
- 1971 Policy of self-determination and multiculturalism introduced by the Federal Government under Gough Whitlam. (1)
- 26.1.72 Aboriginal Tent embassy established outside Parliament House. (17)
- 20.7.72 Tent Embassy forcibly removed by police. (1)
- 1972 Teacher's aides, later called Aboriginal Aides and subsequently Aboriginal Education assistants established in public primary schools to assist Indigenous students. Programs extended to high school in the 1980's. (20)
- 1973 End of 'White Australia' Immigration policy
- 1974-1986 Aboriginal Resettlement Programs established by the Federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Wagga Wagga was chosen as one of the inland NSW cities selected for the programs whereby Aboriginal families were assisted to resettle for improved housing, employment, health and education opportunities.

**Figure 22 - Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Flags**

**The Aboriginal flag**



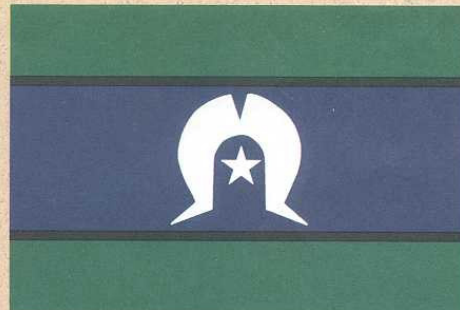
The Aboriginal flag is divided horizontally into equal halves of black (top) and red (bottom), with a yellow circle in the centre.

The black symbolises Aboriginal people and the yellow represents the sun, the constant renewer of life. Red depicts the earth and also represents ochre, which is used by Aboriginal people in ceremonies.

The flag — designed by Harold Thomas — was first flown at Victoria Square, Adelaide, on National Aborigines' Day on 12 July 1971. It was used later at the Tent Embassy in Canberra in 1972.

Today the flag has been adopted by all Aboriginal groups and is flown or displayed permanently at Aboriginal centres throughout Australia.

**The Torres Strait Islander flag**



The Torres Strait Islander flag — designed by the late Bernard Namok — stands for the unity and identity of all Torres Strait Islanders.

It features three horizontal coloured stripes, with green at the top and bottom and blue in between — divided by thin black lines.

A white dhari (headdress) sits in the centre, with a five-pointed white star underneath it.

The colour green is for the land, and the dhari is a symbol of all Torres Strait Islanders.

The black represents the people and the blue is for the sea.

The five-pointed star represents the island groups. Used in navigation, the star is also an important symbol for the seafaring Torres Strait Islander people.

The colour white of the star represents peace.

Figure 23 - Wiradjuri Festival 1993 (Wagga Wagga Daily Advertiser 22/11/93)

# WIRADJURI FESTIVAL



ABOVE: Vanessa Whyman of Mount Austin High School won the women's Wiradjuri Gift at the Sporting and Cultural Festival at the weekend. Vanessa is pictured with Evonne Goolagong-Cawley.  
 RIGHT: Darren Whigeton made an impressive picture in his traditional costume at the Wiradjuri Sporting and Cultural Festival at Jubilee Park on Saturday. Darren was playing the didgeridoo against a background of the International Year for the World's Indigenous People.

Pictures:  
 ALISON LYONS,  
 LISA HONEYCHURCH

It was raining on Friday night, but it didn't deter nearly 1000 people went to the Wiradjuri Sporting and Cultural Festival concert at Jubilee Park. Val Weldon of Wagga (left) and Sue Hall of Echuca, thoroughly enjoyed the concert.



Sandy Atkinson from Shepparton was on the pedal steel guitar in the band "Milestones", which entertained the crowd at the Wiradjuri Sporting and Cultural Festival in Wagga at the weekend.



Bill Rutter, an elder of the Wiradjuri Tribe, unveiled a plaque at the Wiradjuri Land Council in Docker Street yesterday.

- 1974 Wagga Wagga Indigenous community embarked on a 25 year plan to establish appropriate services for childcare and education, legal services, medical and dental services and housing. (21)
- 1974 Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act (Amended 1995), gives full legal equality to Indigenous people. (3)
- 1975 Aboriginal Children's Service established in NSW for the care and placement of Indigenous Children. (3)
- 20.2.75 The Australian Senate unanimously passed the following resolution:- 'That the Senate accepts the fact that the Indigenous people of Australia, now known as Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, were in possession of this entire nation prior to the 1788 First Fleet landing at Botany Bay and urges the Australian Government to admit prior ownership by the said Indigenous people and introduce legislation to compensate (them) for dispossession of their land.' (22)
- 1975 Census establishes an Australian Aboriginal Population of 160, 000. (17)
- 28.4.1977 NSW Anti-Discrimination Act came into force. (23)
- 1980 Evonne Cawley (Goolagong) again wins Women's Singles at Wimbledon. (24)
- 1980 Link Up (NSW) established, providing family tracing, reunion and support for forcibly removed children and their families. (3)
- 1.1.1981 The City of Wagga Wagga, Kyeamba and Mitchell Shires amalgamate to form the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area (Council of the City of Wagga Wagga.) (25)
- 1982 A Royal Commission in to the Maralinga atomic tests of 1953, '56 and '57 begins. Many Aboriginals at Maralinga reported sight loss, skin rashes and death from radiation poisoning. (3)
- 1982 Five Meriam people of the Torres Strait Islander (including Eddie Mabo) began legal proceedings to establish their traditional ownership of their land. (26)
- 1982 First policy for Aboriginal education in NSW released with particular emphasis being placed on early childhood education. (27)
- 1983 Aboriginal Community Church established in Wagga Wagga. (10)  
First Wiradjuri language program started.
- 3.1983 NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act passed and established Land Councils including Wagga Wagga Local and Wiradjuri Regional Land Councils. (22)
- 1985/86 Lobbying for an Aboriginal Home Care Branch in Wagga Wagga undertaken. (10)



**No. 86 "Connecting with Country" TAFE course, Map reading James Ingram, Bob Egan and Geoff Simpson**

W.R.A.L.C 9/2002



**No. 87 "Connecting with Country" TAFE course- Group at Canoe Scar Tree**  
Yerong Creek 10/2002

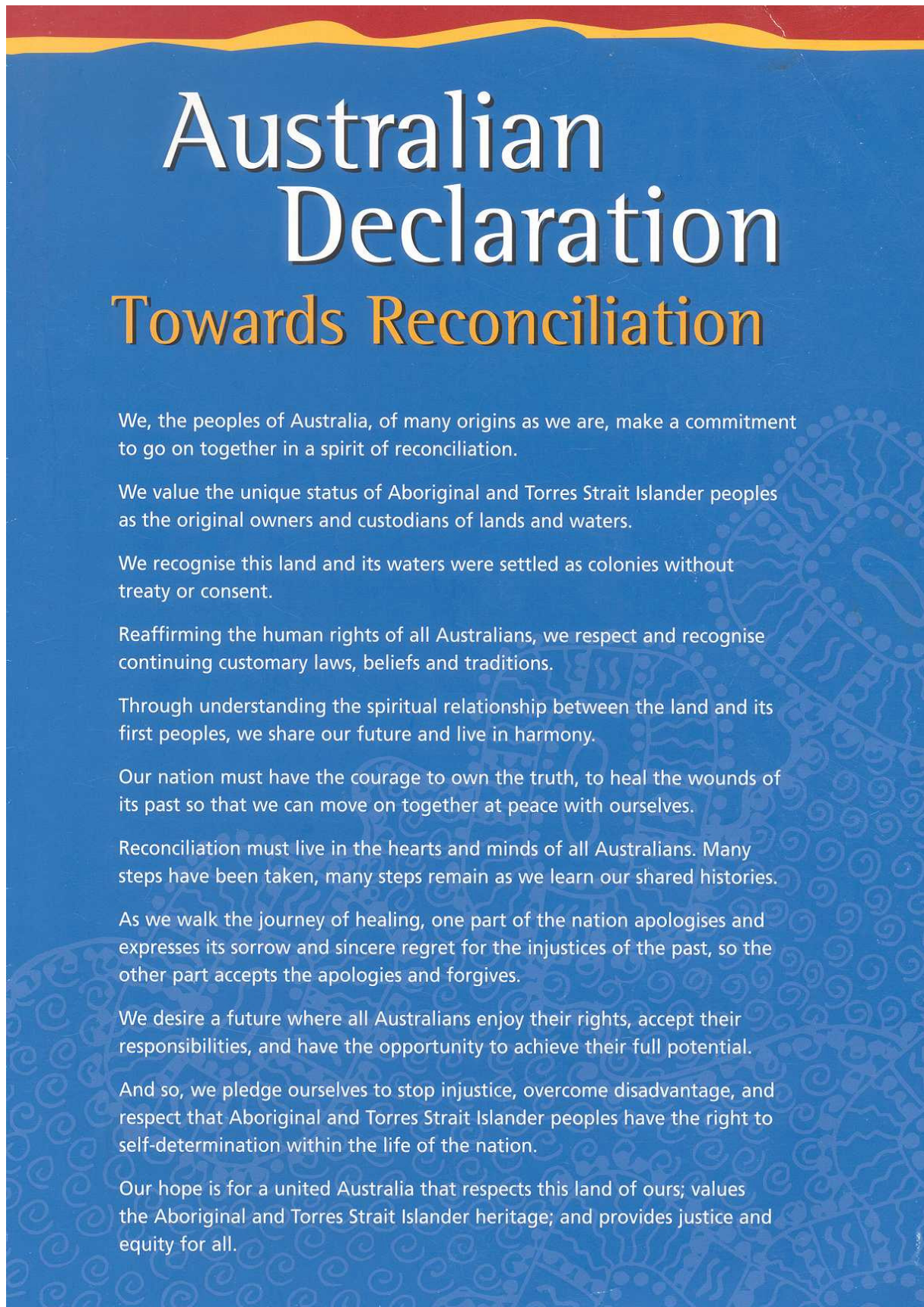


**No. 88 Anyone for Johnny Cakes! Elders Isobel Reid and Edna Andrew at Brucedale Cultural Centre**

Brucedale 23/9/02

## Figure 24 - Australian Declaration Towards Reconciliation

(from Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 2000)



- 1986 Wagga Wagga Indigenous population recorded at 860. (7)
- 1987 Only 20% of the Aboriginal population of Wagga Wagga not reliant on government support. (9)
- 1987 Aboriginal Child Placement principle incorporated in NSW welfare legislation.
- 4.1987 Wagga Wagga City Council considers but does not allocate funds to undertake an Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study for the Council area. This decision greatly influenced by one particular councillor. (28)
- 25.11.87 Aboriginal communities throughout the Riverina indicate their intention to protest about the 1988 Bicentennial celebrations. (8)
- 1986 Submission for Aboriginal Medical Service to be established in Wagga Wagga made and was successful later that year. (10)
- 1988 Wagga Wagga Indigenous Profile (Packer) recorded:  
     124 Indigenous students at Primary Schools  
     74 Indigenous students at High Schools  
     15 Indigenous students at TAFE (9)
- 26.1.1988 Thousands of Aboriginal people and their supporters march in Sydney to celebrate survival of the Bicentennial of British colonisation of Australia. Peaceful protest supported by many Riverina Indigenous people. Many people camp at Wiradjuri reserve Wagga Wagga on their way to the Bicentennial protests.
- 20/6-5/9/88 The adult education course 'Living in Wiradjuri Land' and consisting of a weekly series of 12 presentations by Indigenous people enlightened the community on Indigenous issues in Wagga Wagga.
- 1989 Establishment of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) by the amalgamation of Federal Departments of Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal Development Commission. Health, housing and social issues were now combined with enterprise and skills development. ATSIC combined an administrative component (employees) with an elected component (councillors). The Binal Binaa ATSIC Regional headquarters were established at Wagga Wagga. (29)
- 6.1989 Lake Albert Aboriginal Land Management Program officially opened by John Kerin, Minister for Primary Industry. Eight men trained to carry out fencing, rabbit control, tree planting and erosion control activities. (11)
- 1990 Decade of Landcare begins in an attempt to rectify the high level of land degradation throughout Australia; largely caused though agricultural practices since European settlement. Indigenous land management experience and expertise increasingly sought.
- 1990 Tommy Lyons, Wiradjuri Elder and returned Serviceman is the central figure at a special ceremony in Wagga Wagga, laying a wreath at the war memorial to

- honour Aboriginal Service personnel killed in action fighting for Australia.  
(30)
- 1991 Census recorded 966 people identifying as Aboriginal in Wagga Wagga LGA.  
(7)
- 1991 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody report finds that, of the 99 deaths investigated, 43 of the victims had been separated from their families as children. (3)
- 3.1991 Greening Australia, the Community based organisation to assist in native vegetation reestablishment and conservation, commences work in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A.
- 3.6.1992 After 10 years of protracted hearings, in the Queensland Supreme Court and the High Court of Australia, the latter found that the Meriam people had owned their land prior to annexation by Queensland. This ruling refuted the doctrine of 'Terra nullius' ('unoccupied land') and has had far reaching significance for Indigenous people, and led to subsequent debate and legislation regarding native title. (26)
- 1993 Establishment of the Ngungilanna Aboriginal Education Centre at Charles Sturt University. Officially opened 4.9.94 by Elder Edna 'Mumma' Jones. Ngungilanna means, 'to share with each other'.
- 4.1993 Wagga Wagga City Council calls for community to help organise activities for the International Year of Indigenous People. (32)
- 6.1993 Wik and Thayorre people claim native title to pastoral lease on Cape York Peninsula. (33)
- 19-21/11/1993 Wiradjuri Sporting and Cultural Festival held at Jubilee Park, with around 1000 people attending. (35)
- 21.11.1993 Wiradjuri people at Wagga Wagga make a statement honouring all those who have struggled for unity in the face of oppression and aggression. Plaque unveiled by Elder Bill Rutter at the Wiradjuri Regional Aboriginal Land Council. (34,35)
- 12.1993 Federal Native Title Act which set up processes to validate past land grants, to determine if Native Title still exists and to provide compensation and negotiation.
- 1994 Cathy Freeman becomes an Australian sporting hero with victory in the Commonwealth Games 400 metres, carrying the Aboriginal and Australian Flags in the Victory Lap.
- 11.1994 Australian Culture After Mabo Conference hosted by Charles Sturt University, Wagga Wagga.



**No. 89 Sharing Learning in Wiradjuri Country - Ngungilanna Centre. Donna Murray and Craig Honeysett, Charles Sturt University**

3/2002



**No. 90 Wiradjuri Language Class - Yalbalingada Learning Centre - Bob Marshall, Dr. John Rudder, Yvonne Gilchrist, Bindi, Stan Grant and Flo Grant.**

Harefield Road 4/2002

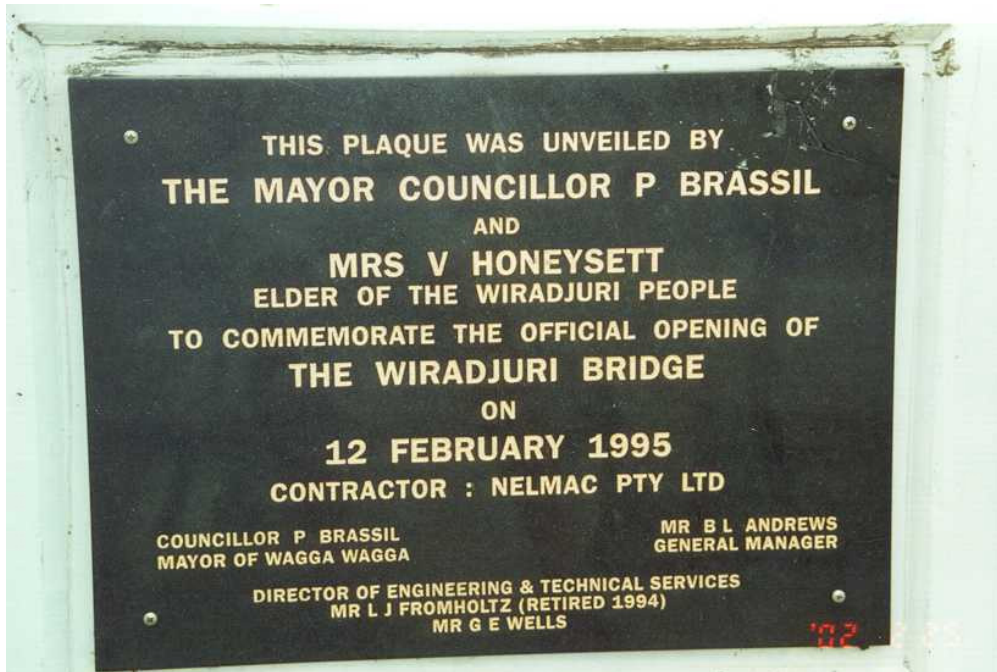
- 1994/95 Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Action Group formed to address a range of issues affecting people in Wagga Wagga.
- 1995 Aboriginal Flag gains legal status. (18)
- 1995 Wagga Wagga resident and City councillor convicted and fined for racial vilification - the only person in Australia to be so convicted under the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975. (12)
- 5.1995 National Enquiry into the separation of Indigenous children (the Stolen Generation) from their families. (3)
- 12.2.1995 The Wiradjuri Bridge over the Murrumbidgee River officially opened by the Mayor of Wagga Wagga, Pat Brassil and Wiradjuri Elder, Mrs Violet Honeysett.
- 1995 Census records 1425 people who identify as being of Indigenous origin in Wagga Wagga. This represented 2.6% of Wagga Wagga's population. Age structure indicated a higher percentage of young people and a lower percentage of older people than the population of Wagga Wagga as a whole. (7)
- 1996 Federal Parliamentary statement on racial tolerance 'reaffirms its commitment to the process of reconciliation with Indigenous people, in the context of redressing their profound social and economic disadvantage'. (36)
- 11.1996 NSW Premier, Bob Carr apologises to the Aboriginal People for the past removal of Indigenous children from their families, (3).
- 23.12.1996 Wik High Court decision and appeal. Complex issues arise over extinguishment of native title on pastoral leases. (33)
- 1996
- First successful Native Title Claim in NSW by Dhungutti People.
  - Report of Royal Commission into the Stolen Generation released.
  - Prime Minister refuses to say 'sorry' at Reconciliation Convention. (18).
- 29.5.1997 First meeting of Reconciliation Wagga Wagga with the objective to coordinate, facilitate and organise Reconciliation processes in Wagga Wagga.
- 26.7.1997 Opening of Gobbagumbalin Bridge, Wagga Wagga's first flood free bridge. 'A day when Aboriginal heritage was an integral part of the celebrations.' (36) A dance and painting/poster was devised for the opening by Indigenous people based on the Wiradjuri story of Gobbagumbalin and Pomingalarna. (13)
- 28.7.1997 Wagga Wagga replaces the yellow rose with the native Silver Banksia as its floral emblem.
- 14.11.1997 Reconciliation Wagga Wagga holds a peaceful protest at Wiradjuri Reserve against the policies of the One Nation Party. (37)

- 1997 Need for a Wiradjuri Keeping Place recognised, 'as a reminder of traditions, culture and heritage of the Wiradjuri peoples of the past.... (and)...also as a living, thriving culture'. (14)
- 1998 Riverina Field Studies Centre builds a simulated Wiradjuri campsite under the supervision of Elders.
- 18.2.1998 Consultation held with the Indigenous community regarding input into the Wagga Wagga Cultural Planning Strategy. Over 60 issues raised.
- 5.1998 Reunion of former Cootamundra Girls Home women and townspeople helps some come to terms with their treatment. (12)
- 6.1998 Wagga Wagga City Council Social Plan released. Concludes that cultural development in Wagga Wagga should be inclusive of groups including Indigenous people. Also that the wider community needs to develop a better appreciation and awareness of Indigenous history and culture.
- 20.9.1998 Amendment to Native Title Act - Wik decision effectively dismissed. (18)
- 10.1998 'Yalbalingada', Wiradjuri Learning Place, Wagga Wagga a project of the Wiradjuri Christian Development Ministries, continues to develop as a centre for cultural revival, especially for young people at risk.
- 1998 Preamble to Constitution now acknowledges Aboriginal People with due respect. (18)
- 1997-1999 Wagga Wagga Koori Interagency Action Group formed as a follow on from the earlier Action Group. Some 45 agencies representing Indigenous interests are members by June, 1999.
- 4.1999 City of Wagga Wagga Cultural Planning Strategy released Acknowledges that there is little recognition of traditional Wiradjuri culture or the European contact period. It also highlights the need for a Wiradjuri Keeping Place.
- 9.1999 First Indigenous Councillor (Vony Gilchrist) elected to Wagga Wagga City Council.
- 20.10.1999 Community consultation for the Riverina region on the Draft Document for Reconciliation held at Wagga Wagga. (15)
- 11.1999 Indymarra Vision 2000 Reconciliation Project and Walking track at Bald Hill conceived. Subsequently endorsed by Charles Sturt University Council.
- 1999 Indigenous Consultative Committee set up to officially advise Wagga Wagga City Council and Police on Indigenous matters in the community.
- 2000 Wollundry Ampitheatre mural devised and erected. The mural acknowledges Wiradjuri Country and its creatures including those now extinct. Silver Banksias planted nearby.

- 2000 'Welcome to Wiradjuri Country' signs erected along the main road at the entrances to Wagga Wagga Local Government Area and also at Wagga Wagga Airport.
- 16.2.2000 Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group formed. This group has gone on to have a great positive influence on the community. In 2000 they published Elders Stories in 'Making Waves for a new Dreaming' and established a meeting place at Brucedale. (Which received a major TAFE award in Sydney in November 2002.)
- 28.5.2000 Corroboree 2000. Reconciliation Walk over Hampden and Wiradjuri Bridges in Wagga Wagga attracts 500 people. Despite snow falls many hearts were warmed that day. (300, 000 walk over Sydney Harbour Bridge)
- 6.2000 Heart Health Survey of Indigenous adults reveals a high incidence of diabetes, heart problems, a moderate incidence of high cholesterol and blood pressure. Two out of 4 men and 2 out for 3 women smoked. (16)
- 19.6.2000 Chair, Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, Dr Evelyn Scott visits Wagga Wagga as part of a national campaign. She launches the Sorry Books and Handprints campaign.
- 9.2000 The Olympic Games held in Sydney. Cathy Freeman plays a leading role in the Opening Ceremony and wins the 400 metres gold medal.
- 2000 Wiradjuri display room established at the Museum of the Riverina with profiles on local Indigenous people, artefacts and art works.
- 2001 Study into Race and Ethnic relations in Wagga Wagga finds varying degrees of racism evident. Job opportunities for Indigenous people is a challenge. (39)
- 2001 Aboriginal Youth Group established in Wagga Wagga.
- 2001 Census records 1756 people identifying as Indigenous living in the Wagga Wagga LGA, a 24% increase of the 1996 figures. (7)
- 24.3.2001 Wiradjuri language classes start in Wagga Wagga as part of a program to re-establish the language throughout Wiradjuri Country.
- 4.2001 Wagga Wagga hosts an Indigenous Tourism Workshop.
- 25.5.2001 Stain glass window depicting Wiradjuri cultural aspects dedicated at Carmelite Monastery, Ashmont.
- 29.5.2001 Indymarra Reconciliation Project Bald Hill officially opened. This place acknowledges Wiradjuri Country and people and the universal desire for peace
- 8.2001 Chinese students from Kunming, Wagga Wagga sister city in China introduced to Indigenous Cultural through dance, artwork, cooking and the natural environment.

- 5.9.2001 Cultural Heritage forum held. Around 40 issues raised and 7 recommendations made in relation to cultural heritage.
- 24.1.2002 Wiradjuri Heritage Study for the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area officially commences with financial support from the NSW Heritage Office and Wagga Wagga City Council.
- 1.2.2002 Wagga Wagga City Council requests list of appropriate Wiradjuri names for new streets in the suburb of Glenfield.
- 2.2002 Establishment of Community Development Employment Program for the first time in Wagga Wagga to carry out community work and lead to further employment. Sixty positions initially established. Employment for Indigenous people in Wagga Wagga remains a major issue.
- 2.2002 Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander flags fly alongside the Australian flag at the Wagga Wagga Civic Centre on a permanent basis.
- 4.2002 Koori Health Careers Expo for the regions Indigenous students held at Charles Sturt University.
- 9.2002 After 3 years operation the Indigenous Consultative Committee had made over 30 major contributions to policy, planning, projects and practices of the Wagga Wagga City Council and NSW Police. (40)

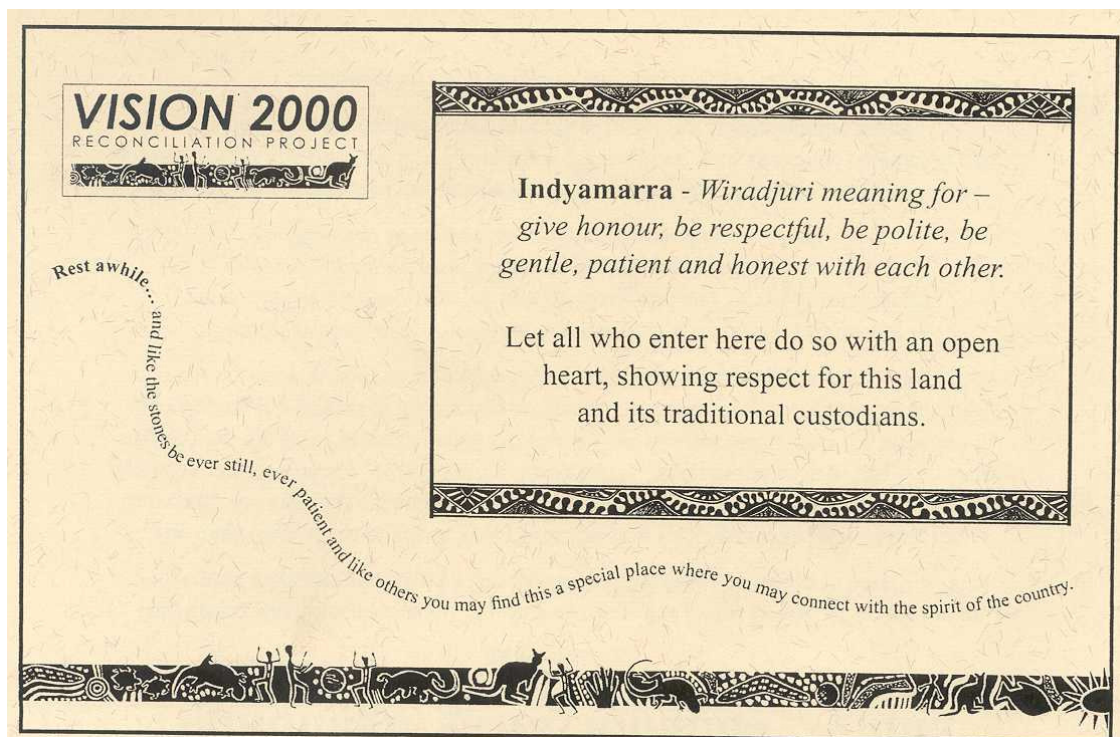




No. 91 Wiradjuri Acknowledged in Naming and Opening of New bridge over the Murrumbidgee

2/02

**Figure 25 - Indymarra Reconciliation Project – Charles Sturt University**



## **Description of Country and Life Forms**

Focus continued on agricultural production through the late 1960's and 1970's in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. By 1983/84 agricultural production was valued at \$50 million coming from 819 farm establishments (25)

Crops, primarily, cereals and hay, together with livestock products (wool, meat and milk) made up the bulk of produce.

Many competing pressures for the use of agricultural land from other industries and urban development together with increasing land degradation led to attempts to assess land for its production suitability and capability for various land uses and conservation needs.

The NSW Department of Agriculture and Soil Conservation Service devised mapping systems to identify land which should be retained for agriculture and the conservation practices that were required to address land degradation and maintain agricultural production. (25)

Approximately 42% of the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. was estimated to be suitable for low level grazing only with the remaining 58% suitable for cropping, pasture improvement and/or grazing at a higher intensity. (25)

Similarly, land capability, which determines the level of soil conservation practices needed, for retention of native vegetation or for wildlife conservation was mapped for the Council area. (25)

Continued implementation of these soil conservation practices, mainly to overcome soil erosion, commenced in the 1950's and moves towards conservation, biodynamic and organic farming all gained pace by the 1980's.

The distribution of native vegetation cover indicates that the majority of rural land had been extensively cleared, by the 1980's. This reflected the widespread cultivation and cropping being undertaken particularly in the north west of the Council area. Main areas of native vegetation were retained along water courses, ridgelines and in state forests. (25)

Extensive areas of creek systems within the Council area are now more subject to flooding as a result of this over-clearing.

The Murrumbidgee's meandering course and flood plain, although still subject to natural flooding is now much modified due to river regulation from constructed dams, weirs and levees. The 1974 (1 in 100year) flood approximately defined the extent of the river flood plain. (25)

Wiradjuri Country in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. by this time (1960-1980) was either privately held (estimated at 80%) or in the forms of Crown and Committed Land for public and other purposes - (estimated at 20%, for public recreation, travelling stock and camping reserves, leased rural land, state forest, public schools, railways and roads, local, state and federal government land for public utilities, defence installations, research and educational institutions.)

Further out, rural population declined as increased mechanisation, falling farm incomes and increased employment opportunities in urban areas, led to farm amalgamations and a lower labour force requirement.

From as early as 1955 into the 1970's increasing demand, for small holdings ('hobby farms' from 0.6 to 40 hectares) mainly for residential purposes meant the further subdivision of rural land within a 20 km radius of central Wagga Wagga (25). This trend had continued to the present.

Wiradjuri cultural landscapes have been further modified to some extent by mining and grazing. Gold, tin, silver and tungsten mining from the late 1880's to the 1950's were on a small scale. In 1988 there were 27 mines within Wagga Wagga LGA (25).

Extraction of sand, river gravel and brick clay from alluvial sediments along the Murrumbidgee River has continued over a long period up to the present. These were prime locations of Wiradjuri domestic occupation and use, in traditional and early contact times. This has not been taken into account to any great degree, in planning and development policies.

Shale, granite, sand and loam have been, and continue to be, extracted from over 50 quarry sites throughout the Council area, primarily for road and building construction.

In recent years, rehabilitation work has been planned for some of these quarries.

Whilst consideration was given in the 1980's to important historical man made and natural features (heritage buildings, state forests, river flood-plains and scenic ridgelines) no regard of Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage was taken into account at that time, (25).

Major changes in attitude towards the natural environment, which had commenced with the conservation movement in Australia in the 1970's, gained a major boost in Wiradjuri Country with the development of the Landcare movement.

The commencement of the Decade of Landcare (1990-2000) and the establishment of local Landcare groups and Greening Australia at Wagga Wagga supported this movement.

One of the earliest land rehabilitation programs of this nature was the Lake Albert Aboriginal Land Management Program which trained and employed local Aboriginal men from Wagga Wagga in fencing, rabbit control, tree planting and erosion control practices in the Lake Albert Catchment.

By the year 2000 several Landcare groups in the Wagga Wagga LGA had drawn up management plans and implemented conservation and land repair works jointly funded by themselves and Federal, State and Local government programs.

This included the Wagga Wagga Urban Landcare Group working with Council agencies and community to overcome rising ground water and salinity in the urban areas.

Council also drew up a Natural Resources management Plan for 550km<sup>2</sup> of land surrounding the City of Wagga Wagga to address the range of environmental issues in the urban catchment (41)

For instance, native vegetation in the Wagga Wagga urban catchment is much modified with less than 10% of the area containing dense or medium density trees with a much reduced shrub and ground plants layer.

This denuded state, low regeneration and lack of areas in good condition, of native vegetation continues to be a cause of concern.

Fifteen species, comprising 4 plants and 11 animals recently listed as being vulnerable or endangered by the National Parks and Wildlife Service occurred in this area in the past. It is extremely unlikely that several of these species are present now.(42)

As an important symbol of this increased concern for the land and the natural environment, and this Wiradjuri Country, Wagga Wagga City Council adopted a small native tree, the Silver Banksia (*Banksia marginata*) as its floral emblem in 1997.

Extensive tree planting, protection of remaining native vegetation, erosion and salinity control works and better agricultural practices have been carried out throughout the Wagga Wagga L.G.A., and indeed Australia, over the past 15 years.

The first 3 years of the new millennium have seen an upsurge in interest in Indigenous culture, heritage and land management in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A and beyond.

Indigenous tourism with local groups and visitors from over seas (China and Japan), a range of cultural interest courses being conducted by TAFE colleges and Charles Sturt University and school programs have highlighted the demand from Australian and overseas people for Indigenous experience and learning.

The appointment of Aboriginal Natural Resource Officers (Department of Land and Water Conservation), the adoption in part of an Indigenous approach to natural resource management, (Murrumbidgee Catchment Board) and a changed focus on natural resources issues, (ATSIC and Aboriginal Land Councils) are all contributing to better recognition, understanding and use of appropriate Indigenous land management practices.

Funding to assist Indigenous people to Care for Country is being increasingly provided by such programs as the Natural Heritage Trust (Federal) and the Environmental Trust (State).

Interest in bush resources (bush tucker, medicines, tools and artefacts) and cross-cultural awareness training for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people has also been increasing in recent years.

## **Relationship to Land, Native Title and Land Rights**

### **Relationship to Land**

Relationship to land is crucial and is directly significant for Indigenous people in Australia today.

Traditional Law dealt with responsibilities, rights, interest in and control of land. Land ownership was not a concept held by Indigenous people but is based on British Common law which was introduced into Australia with European settlement.

To gain an understanding of the Indigenous relationship with land or 'Country' it is necessary to look at these rights and interests and how they had been acquired traditionally.

The following edited excerpts from Dr N. Peterson provide an insight into these relationships. (43)

"Generally speaking, Indigenous people held that the world was created by the emergence of heroic ancestors, both human and non-human, from the subterranean spirit world.

The activities of these ancestors formed the landscape, with almost every named place being the result of the activities of one or more of these ancestors. Some of these places are sacred or secret sites because the ancestors held ceremonies or activities there.

Some ancestors travelled widely setting up links between a sequence of places by their lines of travel, (variously referred to as songlines, Dreaming or ceremonial tracks). The resulting landscape was populated by people and creatures to whom the ancestors had given birth.

Most important traditional ceremonies trace and celebrate the event that occurred in the dramas that created the landscape. This is done through song, dance and story which, amongst other things, results in a renewal of the supply of life force.

As a consequence, there are three kinds of rights to land:

- the right to use both material and immaterial resources without having to ask anybody.
- the right to authorise other people to use the resources,
- the right to be consulted about, and to influence, what can happen in an area.

Exercising these rights depends on age and sex but most importantly on the level of religious/spiritual knowledge of the person about the songs, ceremonies and stories associated with places in the area.

Rights and knowledge are acquired by selected and appropriate people in a number of different ways over long periods of time.

Land use relates to, and is derived from, these rights, although there is much debate over how this occurred traditionally. 'Bands', groups consisting of 3 to 6 households or 15 to 50 people, range over a specific area to gain a living every year.

'Clan' is a term used to refer to a groups of people with other cultural rights over an area of land or an estate, but not necessarily related to its physical resources. This group comes closer to the European term of 'land owners' although this is not a universally accepted term as it does not include all people with rights in an area.

Senior elders and people commonly rendered into English as 'managers, policemen or workers' all have a management role in any area of land.

In many settled areas of Australia, the ties of people to local land areas and the associated intricate relationships to it have largely gone.

These former relationships have been transformed into a relationship between linguistic groups and areas in which these speakers were most prevalent. This tribal model of land

ownership is undoubtedly a post-colonial development but is now largely a social and cultural reality in Australia today." (43)

## **Native Title**

'Native title' is a recent term used by the High Court of Australia to describe the common law rights and interests of Indigenous people in land and/or water, according to their traditions, laws and customs (44)

Native title exists by virtue of occupation of land by Indigenous people prior to European colonisation.

The concept of, and legal fiction of 'terra nullius' - meaning 'a land belonging to no one' had not been challenged for 200 years. This concept was expounded in 1971 by Justice Blackburn in the Gove Land Rights Case, (43)

He argued that Australia was Terra Nullius because it had been settled, not conquered, (ignoring that many areas had been fiercely fought over) and because Indigenous people had no interest in ownership of the land they managed.

This ignored the fact that under British Law, Indigenous people did have rights of possession in regards to land and water. Such rights pre-existed and many survive colonisation (44)

These rights were recognised by Australian Common Law with the Mabo Decision and by the subsequent Native Title Act of 1993. Native title may continue to exist in Australia on vacant crown land, some leasehold, state forest, national parks, public reserves, land held by government agencies and in trust for Indigenous communities and in water areas.

Native title has been extinguished (removed) in most parts of NSW by valid grants of private freehold. Native title cannot displace privately owned homes, backyards, farms or other private property including residential and commercial land held in freehold title. (44)

## **Land Rights**

The difference between 'native title' and 'land rights' is as follows:

'Native title' is a pre-existing right by virtue of the occupation of land by Indigenous people prior to European colonisation.

'Land Rights' are land grants made to Aboriginal people in acknowledgment of and as compensation for, past traditional ownership, occupation and subsequent dispossession of land since European colonisation.

The Wiradjuri, and all other Indigenous people in NSW, were dispossessed of land by the process by colonisation and economic development by European settlement (45)

Despite the 1967 referendum giving constitutional power to the Federal Government, it has proved slow in satisfying Indigenous peoples deep-seated need to regain land.

In NSW, the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1983) was enacted to recognise the importance of land and the fundamental right to it by Aboriginal People. (46)

Until 1998, activities of the Aboriginal Land Councils established under the Act were financed by 7.5% of all Land Tax collected by the NSW Government, The majority of this was from large land holders, property investors and large companies. Since 1998 Land Councils have been self sufficient through investment and business. Aboriginal Land Councils including Wiradjuri Regional and Wagga Wagga Local, were established to acquire, manage and develop land to meet the social, spiritual and economic needs of Aboriginal people in NSW.

They are able to buy land on the open market, build houses and rent them to Indigenous people. Land Councils can also establish jobs and businesses and provide assistance to communities in the way of training, educational and cultural programs.

Since 1983, Land Councils have been able to lodge land claims only over NSW crown land which is:

- able to be sold or leased or dedicated for any purpose under the Crown Land Act 1989
- not lawfully occupied
- not needed or likely to be needed as residential land or for any essential public purpose.

By 1998, the number of land claims granted exceeded 1, 500 but represented less than 0.1% of the total area of NSW. (46)

The low percentage of successful claims, delays in processing and restrictive interpretations given to land claims, has been disappointing and frustrating to local communities. (46)

The Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council has been able to make a number of successful land claims although Wagga Wagga City Council has opposed number of claims over the years. (47)

The following table shows successful claims in the Wagga Wagga LGA.

**Table 27 - Successful Land Claims Held as at Sept 2002**

Under the NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983  
 By Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council  
 (Wagga Wagga Local Government Area) (48)

Category	Number of Blocks	Locations	Approximate Size (ha)
Residential Blocks Wagga Wagga	4	Wagga Wagga Urban	0.4
Residential Blocks Village	2 1 1	Uranquinty Currawarna Tarcutta	3.4 0.1 0.1
Residential Blocks Rural	1	Brucedale	1.0
Farmland	1	Bullenbong	1.0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>10</b>		<b>6.0ha</b>

This represents 6 ha out of 4, 866 sq km<sup>2</sup> (or 0.000012%) of the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. These figures do not include land purchased on the open market by various organisations or individuals for housing, agency or commercial purposes.

In future, there is potential for the Indigenous community to establish joint management agreements with state agencies, (State Forests, Department of Land and Water Conservation and the National Parks and Wildlife Service) and Wagga Wagga City Council on lands under these organisations' control.

## Stories

There are many individual family and shared community stories both being told and held in the memories of Indigenous people living in the Wagga Wagga LGA today.

They range from traditional stories, handed down from ancestors, to experiences of living on missions and in fringe camps and working in rural and domestic jobs.

Stories of the stolen generation, racial discrimination and difficult times are common. There are also stories of families successfully resettling in Wagga Wagga, taking up education and employment opportunities and enjoying a fulfilling social and family life.

Some of these personal and family stories have been published. Of particular note is 'Making waves for a new Dreaming', the stories of 5 elders recorded recently. (50,49).

The following edited excerpts from these stories give an indication of the lives and issues faced by the storyteller and their families.

Research and recording of people stories is being undertaken for the Resettlement period (6) and it is likely that further oral stories will be recorded in future.

These excerpts are necessarily short and are only intended to be representative of the many, many stories of some of the people now living in Wagga Wagga.

## Violet Honeysett

Violet was born at Condobolin in 1923. Her father and grandmother spoke Wiradjuri but she never did. She lived with her family in a bend in the Lachlan River in a corrugated iron and hessian house.

At 14 Violet went to work as a domestic on a station for 15 shillings a week. She married at 21 years of age, had 14 children, lived at Leeton and then returned to Euabalong.

With Euabalong's population dwindling, Violet decided to move to Wagga Wagga for the children's sake in 1977 as part of the Aboriginal Resettlement Scheme.

She was sad to leave Euabalong and her friends and she considered going back. After 8 years in Wagga Wagga, following the hardship of settling in, the Honeysett family had grown to like Wagga Wagga.

Mrs Honeysett joined the committee for the Resettlement Program and assisted with housing for newly arriving Aboriginal families, the establishment of a preschool for Indigenous and non-Indigenous children and assisted Aboriginal children to adjust to schooling.

She said she loved doing these things and helping other people. (50)

She attended TAFE courses, encouraged young people to do the same. She jointly opened the Wiradjuri Bridge with Mayor Pat Brassil over the Murrumbidgee River in 1995.

## **Isobel Reid**

Isobel Reid (nee. Hampton) was born at Quambone in 1932. Her mother was from Brungle Mission and her father from Nyngan.

At 7 years old, Isobel was taken to Cootamundra Girls Home after being taken away with her sister and brother from school one day.

She remembers the good times with her sister before this. She says, life in the home was not very pleasant.

Isobel married John Reid, a shearer, lived in tents or self made houses and raised a happy and well fed family.

In 1970, the Reids chose Wagga Wagga in which to live with the wish of giving their children a better future.

This having been fulfilled after some tough times, Isobel did volunteer work and then worked at the Riverina Juvenile Justice Centre.

She later worked at Wagga Wagga Public School helping Koori children to read.(49)

In February 2000, she helped form, and is currently the President of, the Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group. She is a great advocate for Indigenous people and reconciliation.

## **Language**

The first language of Indigenous people living in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. today is Standard English.

This, however, is smattered with a number of commonly used words and terms from Indigenous languages and/or derived from experiences of the traditional and contact periods. Collectively this is referred to here as Aboriginal English.

A list of Aboriginal English and Study Terminology is included to provide an insight into current day language, concepts and Indigenous community activities not normally experienced by non-Indigenous residents.

Increasing interest in traditional languages in Australia is being experienced also in Wiradjuri Country. This has been principally through the Wiradjuri Language Development Project and associated research which has been running since 1997 with the endorsement of the Wiradjuri Council of Elders.

Language classes have been conducted by Wiradjuri Elder Stan Grant and Dr John Rudder throughout Wiradjuri Country including at Wagga Wagga, using learning material (books, songs and a CD) produced by this project.

Restored and standardised spelling for the grammar and vocabulary of Wiradjuri - the basis of the language, has been worked on rather than dialect differences in vocabulary and pronunciation.

Samples of this work are included here to demonstrate that Wiradjuri language can be re-established and understood and the process can be a lot of fun. The language has great value in understanding Wiradjuri wisdom, culture, heritage and Country.

This will give a strong sense of identify and add to the revival of the culture.

### **Inappropriate Language**

The use of offensive, incorrect or inappropriate terminology in relation to Indigenous people needs some consideration. (51)

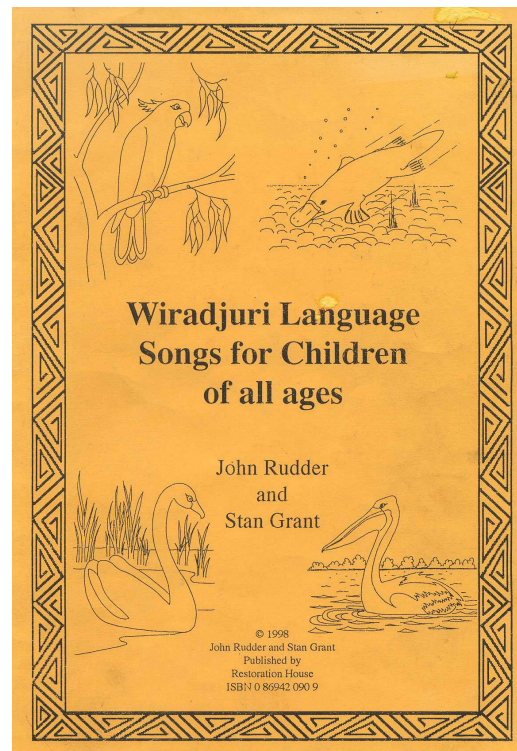
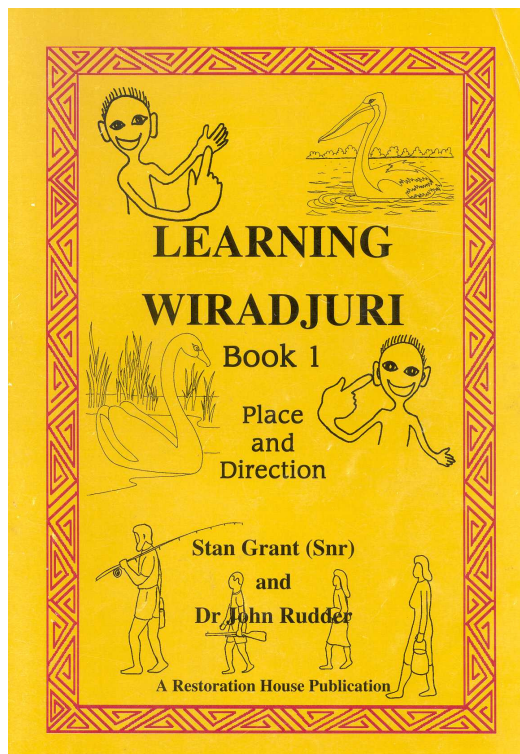
Words that have been applied to Indigenous people have usually arisen from a racial impression that suggests people are all the same, and often times inferior. Often this stereotype is a disparaging name such as “half caste”, “nomad”, “gin”, “savage”, “primitive” and so on. These terms are not appropriate and should only be used in quoting historical references and attitudes, etc.

The Australian population is gradually becoming aware of the number and diversity of Indigenous languages and cultural groups. As this occurs, rather than use generic words such as “Aborigine” (noun) or “Aboriginal” (adjective), it is better where appropriate to use these, (eg. Wiradjuri woman), than to generalise. (51)

Obviously, because of the number of such groups, it will be easier to continue the use of the word “Aboriginal” in the title of government agencies, in legislation and for organisations covering a large area of country, etc.

Similarly, the term “tribe”, once widely used by anthropologists is becoming unacceptable. The term “language group” is more appropriate. (51)

Figure 26 - Learning Wiradjuri



### MAKING THE SOUNDS

Before we look at how the language works in any more depth, we need to look at how the words are pronounced and how to write them using a true Wiradjuri alphabet.

When we speak, the sounds we make to form the words are a result of how we move the parts of our mouth. Some of the sounds used in speaking Wiradjuri are not the same as the sounds used in English. People who work with languages have put the different types of sounds together in sets. One way of labelling these sets is to give them the names: "vowels" and "consonants". They then divide up the sorts of "consonants" into four groups called, "nasals", "stops", "liquids" and "continuant". We will look at each of these groups one at a time. In the diagram below a face has been drawn as if it was split down the middle to show the different parts of the mouth.

The labelled parts of the face are the ones that are used to make the consonant sounds (represented by the symbols: b, d, dh, dy, g, m, n, nh, ny, ng, rr, r, l, w, and y).

back of the tongue  
blade of the tongue  
tip of the tongue  
lip

Each different sound is made either with the lips or by touching the inside of the mouth with one of the labelled parts of the tongue.

The four tables that follow set out the symbols used to represent the complete set of sounds used in the Wiradjuri language. Each separate sound in the language has a different symbol to represent that separate sound.

This set of symbols gives us a practical working alphabet that helps people to read and pronounce the sounds correctly the Wiradjuri way. Each sound has its own "symbol" and each "symbol" represents just one sound only. As you talk about them, it will cause less confusion if you can avoid calling the symbols "letters". That is a bad habit we learned from the way English is taught and it isn't really accurate for English either.

### Vowels.

Vowels can be called the open mouth sounds. Sometimes we make these sounds on their own to say something like "Ooo" or "Aaiii", or even "EEEOouu". In English two or more vowels are often joined together like this to make different sounds and they glide from one to another like that too.

quick short	<b>a</b> (as in "above")	<b>i</b> (as in "pin")	<b>u</b> (as in "put")
slow long	<b>aa</b> (as in "father")	<b>ii</b> (as the "ea" in "bead")	<b>uu</b> (as the "o" in "or")

In Aboriginal languages there are hardly ever any sliding or gliding vowels. In Wiradjuri there are 6 vowel sounds as in the vowel chart here. There are three quick short sounds a, i and u that are pronounced the way they are described in the chart above. First practise saying some words with the short sounds.

<b>a</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>
ba frost	bila river	guwal shadow
dharra eating	gibir man	bula two
dhaga where at	mirri dog	gugubarra kookabarra

Below each of the short sounds in the chart is a longer sound which is made the same way as the ones on the top line but about twice as long. If we say that **aa** is pronounced like the "a" in father, it gives you an idea. It is a long "a" sound. The **ii** is not quite the same as the "ee" in feed, but is really a longer version of the "i" without any gliding in the sound. The **uu** is a longer version of the "u" sound. It is a little bit like the length of the "o" in "or" but not quite the same sound. Now practise saying some words with the long sounds.

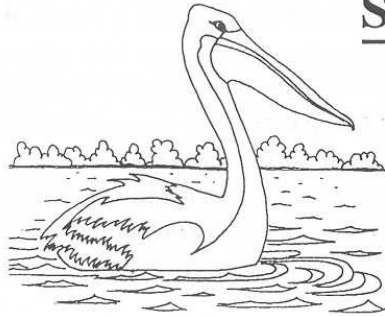
<b>aa</b>	<b>ii</b>	<b>uu</b>
dandaa pretty	babiin father	guugu water
yinaa woman	giiny heart	burduun large, wide
dhagun dirt		nguruiny night

### The Other Letters (Called Consonants).

As we speak we make the different consonant sounds by moving our mouth and our tongue in different ways. With the sounds (or letters) called nasals and stops we block off the air being breathed out through our mouth. The way we do this makes the different sounds. With the nasals (meaning nose sounds) the air changes direction and

**Song - Gulambali wibiyanha galingga**

**Song 1.**



Gulambali wibiyanha galingga.  
 Gulambali wibiyanha galingga.  
 Wibiyanhangiiny. Wibiyanhangiiny.  
 Gulambali wibiyanha galingga.

Pelican sitting on the water  
 Pelican sitting on the water  
 It is sitting. It is sitting.  
 Pelican sitting on the water.

Gugubarra wibiyanha madhandha.  
 Gugubarra wibiyanha madhandha.  
 Wibiyanhangiiny. Wibiyanhangiiny.  
 Gugubarra wibiyanha madhandha.

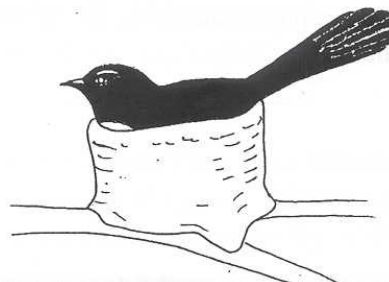
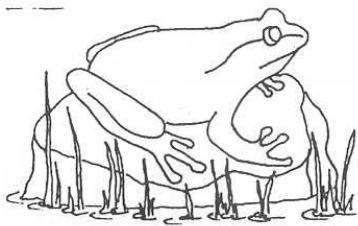
Kookaburra sitting in the tree.  
 Kookaburra sitting in the tree.  
 It is sitting. It is sitting.  
 Kookaburra sitting in the tree.

Dyirridyirri wibiyanha ngurangga.  
 Dyirridyirri wibiyanha ngurangga.  
 Wibiyanhangiiny. Wibiyanhangiiny.  
 Dyirridyirri wibiyanha ngurangga.

Wagtail sitting on the nest.  
 Wagtail sitting on the nest.  
 It is sitting. It is sitting.  
 Wagtail sitting on the nest.

Gulaangga wibiyanha walangga.  
 Gulaangga wibiyanha walangga.  
 Wibiyanhangiiny. Wibiyanhangiiny.  
 Gulaangga wibiyanha walangga.

Froggy sitting on a stone.  
 Froggy sitting on a stone.  
 It is sitting. It is sitting.  
 Froggy sitting on a stone.



Music - Gulambali wibiyanha galingga





G G D

Gu-lam-ba-li wi-bi-ya-nha ga-ling-ga.

G D<sup>7</sup> G

Gu-lam-ba-li wi-bi-ya-nha ga-ling-ga.

G G G D

Wi-bi-ya-nha-ngiiny, wi-bi-ya-nha-ngiiny.

G D<sup>7</sup> G

Gu-lam-ba-li wi-bi-ya-nha ga-ling-ga.

## New Street Names for Wagga Wagga

As an indication of the increasing regard for, and the use of, Wiradjuri language Wagga Wagga City Council requested a list of appropriate Wiradjuri words to be used as street names for developing areas of Glenfield suburb.

The following interim list, (with further names to be provided as an ongoing basis), was provided using the following criteria:

Birds listed have all been recorded in the Wagga Wagga area (52) and are likely to have been common (and still occur) in the Glenfield area before European settlement.

The White Box tree listed is the most common naturally occurring tree species in this area at present.

Restored and standardised Wiradjuri language words have been used and approved by the Wiradjuri Council of Elders. Names, spellings and pronunciation may vary from those recorded locally and phonetically by James Baylis (53). For example the species name of one local owl is either "gugug", "book book" or "mopoke", all derived from the sound of its call.

All words are relatively easy to say although it is expected that they will be anglicised by those not familiar with the Restored Wiradjuri language.

**Table 28 - New Street Names for Glenfield**  
(Feb 2002)

Restored Wiradjuri Name	English/Common Name
Birds	
Garru	Black backed magpie
Gugug	Book Book or Mopoke Owl
Muliyān	Wedgetail Eagle or Eagle Hawk
Gilaa	Galah
Wurri	Green grass, red rumped or ground parrot
Waba	Common Bronzewing Pigeon
Bimbin	Tree creepers
Yirribin	Swallow
Tree	
Birri	White Box ( <i>Eucalyptus albens</i> )



## **Welcome to Country**

In recent years it has become customary in many parts of Australia for a representative, usually an elder, of the local Indigenous people (locally Wiradjuri) to give a welcome to Country at public events.

This welcome can be brief or extended at the discretion of the welcomer.

The following is a brief welcome in the Restored Wiradjuri language with a literal English translation.

**Yinaagalangbu, gibirangbu, wugalbu, migaybu**

*Ladies and gentlemen, young men and young women also,*

**Gawaymbanhadhu nginyalgir, Wiradjurigu ngurambanggu**

*I welcome                    you all,                    to Wiradjuri and to Country*

**Wiradjuri mayiny gadhaang, ngindhugir nginhi yanhayi**

*Wiradjuri people are happy (that) you all to here have come*

S. Grant and J. Rudder, 2002

## **Welcome to Country Signs**

Wagga Wagga City Council has erected “Welcome to Wiradjuri Country” signs on its outskirts and at the airport. It is one of several councils to do so in recent years.

## **Acknowledging Country**

It has become customary in recent times to acknowledge the prior and ongoing custodianship of Aboriginal land (locally Wiradjuri) when visiting another group’s Country or at public events within Country

One version of acknowledgement of this custodianship goes as follows:

*I acknowledge that we are meeting on Country for which the Wiradjuri and their Ancestors have been custodians for thousands of years, and on which they have performed age-old ceremonies of celebration, initiation and renewal. I acknowledge and pay respects to the Wiradjuri Ancestors and to their living culture and their ongoing role in the life of this place.” (54).*

## Aboriginal English and Study Terminology

(Words and terms used today, (2002) in the Wagga Wagga Community and/or in this Study) also containing edited excerpts from J.M. Arthur. *Aboriginal English* (1996)

<b>Aborigine/ Aboriginal</b>	The generic term for native inhabitants of any region. Refers to the original inhabitants of mainland Australia. These terms have become some of the most disputed in the Australian language. The Commonwealth definition is more social than racial- "An Aboriginal is a person who is a descendant of an Indigenous inhabitant of Australia, identifies as Aboriginal, and is recognised by members of the community in which he or she lives." Aboriginal, the adjective, and Aborigine, the noun, are widely established and known terms in the Australian language. However they can be seen by some to be derogatory from past associations and for being too generalised. This denies some a degree of identity and recognition assigned by using language/tribal group names where appropriate - such as "Wiradjuri" when referring to the place and culture of prime identity.
<b>Aunt, Unc, Sista, Bro, Cus, Bud</b>	Familiar forms of address for <i>Aunty, Uncle, Sister, Brother, Cousin, Buddy</i> used as terms of solidarity, friendship and to show respect.
<b>Blackfella/Blacks</b>	Often used amongst Indigenous people as a term of solidarity and identity, sometimes used in a humorous or derogatory sense. Historically used by non-Indigenous people in a derogatory or fearful sense.
<b>Burra</b>	Lies
<b>Buraay/Boori</b>	Children
<b>Bush Tucker</b>	Traditional foods still collected or bought which have dietary, medicinal and nutritional value. Their use also helps to keep the important social function of bringing people together and linking them with Country. Popular bush foods used in the Wagga Wagga community today are kangaroo and emu meat, and the fruits of lilli-pilli and quandong.
<b>Bush Medicine</b>	Traditional medicines still prepared and used in the community today for sickness prevention and treating range of ailments. Those used locally include emu bush and old man weed.
<b>Camp Clap Sticks</b>	To make camp, to live at a place for a time. Also a place, or a home. Usually a pair of short wooden sticks used as musical instruments beaten together to provide accompaniment for songs and dances. Sometimes used by simply beating against another object. Boomerangs beaten together can also be used, especially by men. Clap sticks are used primarily by women in the Wagga Wagga Community. The best clap sticks are prepared from native hardwoods such as mulga.

<b>Clay pan Dance</b>	A dance held in the open area on a hard ground, such as a claypan, up until recent times. This was a new cultural form resulting from the destruction of traditional dance ceremonies and the exclusion of Aboriginal people from the places where dances for the general community were held.
<b>Community</b>	Indigenous or Koori community as a collective of people (as in “ <i>the community has responded to the statement</i> ”), 'Community' may be regional and specific (as in <i>the Wagga Wagga community</i> ), or general and non-specific, referring to all Indigenous and non-Indigenous members. Important elements of a community are Country, family ties and shared experience. Community is about interrelatedness and belonging and is central to Aboriginality.
<b>Cooked in the ashes</b>	Food cooked traditionally or semi-traditionally using fire coals as the heat source. A fire pit, fire bucket or wire framed griddle may be used. Food cooked in the ashes has a particular flavour and appeal through association with traditional times. The important thing is that the meat is cooked slowly.
<b>Country (See also Wiradjuri Ngurambang)</b>	The tract of land where an Indigenous person or community belongs to which they have a responsibility and from which they can draw spiritual strength. This word reflects the cultural structure of Aboriginal Australia at the time of the occupation: when it was a collection of peoples with distinct languages and with distinct variations of a recognisably common culture. The power of allegiance to a particular place is vested not only in association, in language, in personal and family history, but also in spiritual knowledge. Knowledge is of the spiritual meaning of the landscape, created by the 'dreamings', and manifest in the obligation of people to sustain the spiritual and physical life of their land. It lies in the understanding of the way the spirit of a person comes from and returns to that particular land. "Wiradjuri Country" or "Wiradjuri ngurambang" emphasises the connection to this place. (See also 'Starting out - A Dedication to Wiradjuri')
<b>Damper</b>	Bush breads developed in Contact times using traditional skills and cooked in the ashes. Prepared today using flour, water and salt and best cooked in a camp oven.
<b>Deadly/Mad</b>	Something that is really good, appealing, impressive or amazing.
<b>Didilly Squat</b>	Something that is said or done that means or comes to nothing unless the appropriate supporting action is carried out.
<b>Didjeridu/Didj</b>	The yidari, traditional ceremonial and musical instrument of the Arnhem Land peoples. Respectfully used today by several men and boys in the Wagga Wagga community at public welcomes, openings and for musical enjoyment generally. Traditionally there is a taboo on women playing the didjeridu.

<b>Dreaming</b>	A collection of events, some of which seem to be beyond living memory, which shaped the physical, spiritual and moral world and which still manifest in the land and sustain the present. It establishes the rules governing relationships between people, the land and all things for Aboriginal people. (99).
<b>Dreamtime</b>	The use of the word "dreamtime", which lacks in its English language translations the power of the original concept, underlines the limited understandings of non-Indigenous people of this aspect of Aboriginal culture. Dreamtime is now sometimes used in other Australian English in a trivialised sense to mean 'before recorded history' or 'unreal time'. The western concept of the dreamtime is far removed from that of traditional Indigenous people. The people believed that they come from the dreaming which must be now, not some period lost in antiquity. The concepts of the "inside", the invisible, metaphysical world and the "outside", physical visible world come together as one in the dreamtime and the dreaming.
<b>Eh?!</b>	A half question, half exclamation made at the end of a statement that seeks confirmation or agreement by the listener with that statement.
<b>Elder</b>	A person of recognised authority within the community, normally an older person. Great respect is shown for the elders who act as a council giving direction to the community.
<b>Emu Egg Carving</b>	The art of engraving on emu egg shells by scratching away different coloured layers to form patterns and pictures. Pocket knives, shearing combs and glass are some of the engraving instruments used. Wagga Wagga has had a number of exponents of this craft.
<b>Fire Bucket</b>	An improvised fireplace consisting of a metal drum in which a cooking fire is lit. Now used around Wagga Wagga to cook Johnny cakes and other food.
<b>Flash</b>	Ostentatious, attention seeking (as in general English use), but with an added suggestion that such behaviour is seen as non-Aboriginal. Aboriginal society is generally more group orientated and cooperative, and less individualistic and competitive than European society, so that behaviour which is outside the norm is often seen in a more negative light that it would be in a non-Aboriginal society.
<b>Flash Talk</b>	Using speech or a way of speaking that is seen as other Australian rather than Aboriginal. Upmarket speech
<b>Gilliwa</b>	The toilet and/or in want of using the toilet
<b>Gub/Gubba</b>	A white person of European descent. Believed to have derived from "government person". Often used in derogatory sense or in a jesting, stirring way
<b>GumLeaf Playing</b>	A musical activity using a gum leaf held between the lips and blown

against. The resulting vibrating sound can be altered, by changing the mouth cavity. Wagga Wagga (in 2002) has at least one exponent of this craft

<b>Gwangy</b>	Stupid, soft in the head. From the Wiradjuri language. ( Bogan River dialect)
<b>Indigenous</b>	In an Australian context, meaning the original inhabitants and their descendants of Australia and the Torres Strait Islands
<b>Johnny Cakes</b>	Flat circles of bread up to the size of a small plate developed in Contact Times from traditional skills of making bread out of grass seeds. Best made today out of a mixture of self-raising and plain flour, salt and warm water then lightly kneaded, shaped out and cooked on a fire bucket.
<b>Koori</b>	An Aboriginal person, especially one of NSW or Victoria. From <i>Gurri</i> , the word for 'Aboriginal man' or 'Aboriginal person' in the Awakabal language of eastern NSW, and neighbouring languages. Koori is an ancient semi secret word but its application by people to describe themselves publicly is recent. It confers group identity for many. Its use does offend some Indigenous people, who prefer to be known by the name of their primary identity group (Wiradjuri, Ngiyampaa etc.).
<b>Kooritime</b>	Flexible, approximate non-clock time throughout the day. Associated with the traditional use of the sun in determining when activities are to be carried out. Can clash today with measured clock time, especially when meetings and functions are arranged to start at a particular clock time.
<b>LAND RIGHTS</b>	Refers to legislation, grants and other assistance provided to Aboriginal people in acknowledgment of, and as compensation for past traditional ownership, occupation and subsequent dispossession of land since European colonisation. <i>Capital letters distinguishes this from the following</i>
<b>Land rights</b>	The evolving struggle of Indigenous peoples for the legal and moral acknowledgment of prior ownership of land and recognition of rights and obligations which flow from this association.
<b>Law</b>	The body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society. The use of the English word 'law' both illuminates and obscures the Aboriginal sense of the word. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous law provide a structure for the harmonious ordering of society, but the Aboriginal sense is grounded in an order derived from spiritual understandings of life with an emphasis on this order having been there 'from the beginning'. Non- Aboriginal law in Australia, on the other hand, is consciously separated from religious life and endeavours to present itself as responsive to changing contemporary conditions.

<b>Lingo</b>	Traditional language especially referring to European contact times. The preference now is to refer to specific language names such as "Wiradjuri".
<b>Mission</b>	Aboriginal settlement, which may or may not once have been a religious institution. Some missions of local significance were established at Brungle, Warangesda (Darlington Point), Yass, Cowra and Grong Grong. A person is described as living <i>on</i> or <i>off</i> a mission, rather than <i>in</i> or <i>at</i>
<b>Meat/Totem/Budyan</b>	In restored Wiradjuri the "budyan" or "flesh of all flesh". A totem. The synonym "flesh" is found in earlier records. The word totem is from a North American native peoples' language and was first used in Australia by anthropologists, and later by Aboriginal people to refer English to the association between people and the natural world, particularly animals and birds. To belong to a totemic group gives a person a relationship to people, to particular places, to the past and to certain areas of knowledge
<b>Mob</b>	A group of Indigenous people, linked by relationship, ancestral place, language and culture. Representations from many mobs, particularly from central and western NSW, now live in Wagga Wagga.
<b>Myall</b>	A black fella or group of blackfellas, considered by other blackfellas, to be wild bush blacks. Associated with unrelated or rival groups often living away from well watered country
<b>Narraga</b>	Stupid, soft in the head (Lachlan and Murrumbidgee dialects)
<b>Native Title</b>	A recent term used to describe the common law rights and interests of Indigenous people in land and waters according to their traditions, laws and customs. These rights pre-existed European colonisation.
<b>Shake a leg</b>	A traditional dance often performed by local Wagga Wagga male dancers. The participants stand in a line or semi-circle, and one at a time come forward and perform a dance, which involves a rapid in-and-out movement of the knees
<b>Shame</b>	Embarrassment; fear; a sense of having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally. It can be felt in situations when a person receives positive public attention, such as winning an award at then annual NAIDOC ball in Wagga Wagga. Aboriginal society is one that values social cohesion, the highly socialised person above the individual achiever
<b>Shame Job</b>	An event or situation which can cause a person to feel shame or embarrassment
<b>Story</b>	The general English use of the word is almost in direct opposition to the Aboriginal sense, in that it most often contains the idea of

fiction as opposed to fact. However, the alternative meaning of the *story*, that is 'the truth', the real account of an event or situation, is closer to the Aboriginal sense

<b>Story Place</b>	Traditionally a place associated with an important religious event, such as the activities of one of the 'dreamings'. Extended in this study to mean a story place of Contact times
<b>Time</b>	A specific period. Traditional Aboriginal society did not use numerical ways of measuring time. One may categorise a time; by reference to seasons or natural occurrences, such as hot time; by reference to the name of significant person such as Gough Whitlam time; by events and experiences associated with particular social circumstances, such as police time, welfare time; by reference to significant cultural happenings, such as corroboree time. Non-Aboriginal speakers of Australian English have similar use in expressions such as Christmas time, springtime, shearing time and party time. In this study the following times have been used to help understand this concept in Wiradjuri Country: Early Times, Traditional Wiradjuri Times, Contact Times and Recent Times (See Time concepts and time periods for further explanation)
<b>Traditional</b>	Of, or relating to, Indigenous people, events, activities, customs or other matters that are directly connected to or very like Indigenous life before European contact. Used to describe aspects of Indigenous heritage.
<b>Two Ways</b>	A combination of Indigenous and other Australian knowledge, concepts, behaviours. This term acknowledges the necessity of some non-Indigenous concepts and information being included in modern Indigenous life, while at the same time affirming the value and importance of retaining Indigenous customs and knowledge.
<b>Wallan</b>	Money. Hard stuff! From the Wiradjuri language meaning something hard or a stone
<b>Whitefella</b>	A white person or white person way of doing things. Can be derogatory but here used in a positive sense
<b>Wiradjuri</b>	<p>The standardised name of the Country, the language and the people who originally lived (and whose descendants continue to live), in a large central western area of what is now known as NSW. Generally accepted as having derived from "Wiray" meaning "no" or "not" and "dyuuray"-" having". The Wiradjuri people are the people who have "wiray" for "no". One alternative meaning is associated with the people not increasing or becoming large or not rising up. (55)</p> <p>The pronunciation of "Wiradjuri" (and anglicised spelling) is from the Murrumbidgee area and is only one of many ways of referring to the first peoples of this area. Up to 60 local groups of Wiradjuri existed traditionally, each with their own Country and variation on this name. Since the publication of Tindale's Map of Aboriginal</p>

Tribes of Australia (1974), the pronunciation and spelling of “Wiradjuri” has been widely used and generally accepted throughout Australia

**Wiradjuri Language - Traditional** The traditional Wiradjuri language as spoken before European contact and continuing as a spoken community language until about 1940 – later by individuals. Since Wiradjuri is based on an oral traditional (not written) a major way in which the culture and law is expressed is through language. Language, together with Law and Religion is said to carry the culture of a people and hence its importance. Natural language is said to be the same for all of humanity lying in the heart waiting to be expressed. Many of the Wiradjuri words are said to have originated in the sounds of nature and creatures. Many birds and animals, for instance, are named after the sounds they make, (55).

**Wiradjuri Language - Whitefella** Wiradjuri language as interpreted, used and/or recorded by a range of people in the first 100 years of European settlement. These included explorers, squatters and station owners, administrators, surveyors, missionaries and scholars. Significant compilers of word lists, grammar and pronunciation were Gunther, Richards and Matthews. Of local importance was James Baylis, a surveyor and landowner. When pronounced or written down, the interpretation of the traditional sounds depended on the ear, the English dialect of the recorder and method of recording of the interpreter and the dialect being heard. Variation was inevitable, especially being missed or inadequately recorded were Wiradjuri sounds not or rarely present in the English or German language.

**Wiradjuri Language - Restored** Restored and standardised spelling for the, grammar and vocabulary of the Wiradjuri language. Since 1997, the ongoing Wiradjuri Language Development Project has worked on this restoration as approved by the Wiradjuri Council of Elders. For the sake of simplicity, Restored Wiradjuri has not distinguished between dialects but focuses on the basics of the language. Dialects may differ in pronunciation and vocabulary. Due to intermarrying and exchange between local dialect groups, dialects spread throughout Wiradjuri Country. It may be increasingly possible to identify these dialects and their local areas.

**Wiradjuri - Ngurambang** Wiradjuri Country - The word is made up of "Ngurang" meaning "camp" or "home" and with the addition of "bang" to intensify or give emphasise to one's places of connection.

# **Wiradjuri Heritage Study**

## **Wagga Wagga Local Government Area of New South Wales Report**

### **2.4 Wiradjuri Heritage - Planning and Management**

#### **Introduction**

A major purpose for undertaking the Wiradjuri Heritage Study was to provide guidance to the whole community in general and to the Wagga Wagga City Council in particular, in taking account of Wiradjuri heritage in planning, management and development and undertaking cultural heritage activities in general.

To determine appropriate mechanisms and to make recommendations for this to occur, cultural heritage needed to be considered in the context of a range of relevant issues. These included the following:

- Legislative Context (federal, state and local)
- Urban and Rural Planning issues
- Assessment of Heritage Significance
- Management Strategies for Wiradjuri heritage
- Community Education, Training and Employment
- Tourism, Promotion and Publicity

The relevance of these issues is briefly outlined in the following section.

Leading from each of these issues are a number of recommendations put to be considered by the community and the Wagga Wagga City Council.

#### **Legislative Context**

There are a number of international, national, state and local pieces of legislation and provisions which affect Indigenous cultural integrity and heritage protection.

The following summary highlights components of the legislation that maybe applicable to Wiradjuri heritage in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A.

#### **International Provisions**

##### **World Heritage Convention 1972**

Australia signed this UNESCO convention in 1974 (1) this agreement lays down a general code for the protection, conservation and study of monuments and sites, both cultural and natural.

This agreement has political and moral weight and provides for a World Heritage List. The Willandra Lakes system because of its significant cultural values is one of several Australian places listed (2)

The Australian Government's World Heritage Properties Act (1983) allows it to proclaim and protect places of natural or cultural heritage under this convention.

## **National Legislation**

### **Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Amendment Act, 1987**

The purpose of this Act is to protect areas and objects which are of significance to Indigenous people and which are under threat of damage or desecration (3).

The Act applies to all states and territories, operating concurrently with, but overriding state legislation (2). This may be useful in NSW in regard to the protection of artefacts collected and owned privately before the NSW N.P.W. Act was gazetted although the Federal Government has been reluctant to intervene in NSW.

The NSW Act, while it protects all artefacts from damage or destruction (section 90), it only forbids collection or disturbance of artefacts which are the property of the Crown, and not already collected before the Act was gazetted, (1969 as Amended 1974). (3).

Indigenous people, through A.T.S.I.C., have called on the Federal Government in recent years to improve the A.T.S.I Heritage Act to ensure Indigenous people control their culture and heritage using an approach grounded in the principle of self-determination. (4)

### **The Australian Heritage Commission Act 1975**

The Commission lists and encourages the conservation of places identified as components of the natural or cultural environment of Australia that have aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social significance or other special value for current and future generations, (2).

All sites in the NSW Aboriginal Sites Register are listed on the Register of the National Estate. This imposes no legal obligations on NSW individuals or organisations.

The listing, however, gives prestige to the site or area, often halting damage by potential development.

### **The Burra Charter -**

#### **The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 1999.**

This Charter, first adopted in 1979 at the historic mining town of Burra in South Australia, with the latest version adopted in 1999, provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance. (5)

It provides principles, processes and practices for the conservation and management of natural, Indigenous and historic places with cultural values.

Guidelines for establishing cultural significance, conservation policy, procedures for undertaking studies and reports and a code of ethics are also provided.

These will very much aid in the management of Wiradjuri heritage in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. in the future and are referred to in more detail in later relevant sections of this report.

The Charter had previously been directed at the conservation of the physical or built heritage which is potentially in conflict with cultural practices guiding the relationships of Indigenous communities to their heritage places and objects. (6)

The broadening of the Charter, in the 1999 revision to include a wider understanding of what is culturally significant, that is, the inclusion of social value, through associations, uses and meaning and spiritual value, has helped to address this concern. (5)

**Native Title Act 1993 (Amended 1998)**

Native Title is the term used by the High Court to recognise the rights and interests of Indigenous people in land and waters according to their traditions, laws and customs.

The common law, that is law decided by the courts, not legislation, is still evolving in relation to native title. (7)

Generally, speaking, full native title will only be available over some unallocated or vacant Crown land, certain Aboriginal reserves and some pastoral leases held by native title holders. This means that, for most areas where native title is determined by the Federal Court to exist, it will coexist with the rights and interest of others (7)

Most areas of land have had native title rights extinguished (removed) with allegedly little potential for successful claims to be made in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A.



## **State Legislation**

### **National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974**

This act is the primary one which protects objects and Aboriginal places in NSW. The purpose of the Act is the prevention of unnecessary or unwarranted destruction of objects and places and their active conservation and protection where such action is considered warranted.

With the exception of some artefacts in collections, all objects are deemed to be the property of the Crown.

"Artefacts" are any objects, deposits or material evidence relating to the occupation of an area prior to and/or concurrent with occupation by non-Indigenous people.

"Aboriginal Places" are areas of land, of any status, which is, or was, of significance to Aboriginal culture.

The Act provides no special role, privileges or rights for Indigenous people in regards to objects or places (2)

It does however, together with the policies of the NPWS, provide the following constraints and requirements on land owners, managers and developers:

- it is an offence to disturb an Aboriginal artefact or site without an appropriate permit.
- prior to any action which may conceivably disturb an object (generally land surface disturbance) archaeological survey and assessment is required.
- when the archaeological resource of an area is known or can be reliably predicted, appropriate land use practices should be adopted which will minimise the necessity for the destruction of sites, places or objects and prevent the destruction of those which warrant conservation. (8)

### **NPWS Aboriginal Sites Register**

Since 1971 the NPWS has been responsible for the maintenance of a Register of Aboriginal sites in the State. (9)

The register includes information on a range of different sites and place types together with location, reports and photographs.

Ceremonial grounds, camp and occupation sites, missions, reserves, burial and art sites, quarries, water holes, mountains and rocks, middens and earth mounds, fire hearths, axe grinding grooves, scarred and carved trees, habitation structures, conflict sites, fish traps, stone arrangements, shelters, rock engravings, artefacts and historic places are recorded. (10,11)

Dreaming tracks and Dreaming stories are not recorded but kept in the oral tradition (11)

As of September 2002, there were 37, 270 sites on the Register (12). With the new Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System being implemented by the NPW, the categories of sites, places and site features have been re-classified, (10).

This new system and approach shifts the emphasis from site types and dots-on-the-maps towards other attributes of a place and acknowledges the interrelatedness of many sites in a particular area or landscape (13). The significance of certain areas of land or Country and the concept of cultural landscapes with Country puts sites more in context from both a cultural and an archaeological point of view (13).

Access to information on the register is available to Aboriginal people in relation to traditional culture, places and sites in the area of interest. Some information may be confidential or restricted and provided to others on a need-to-know basis, (9)

### **National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996**

This act enables, under certain conditions, lands which have been reserved under the NPWS Act and which are identified as having cultural significance to Aboriginal people, to be revoked (3).

Title is to be vested in an Aboriginal Land Council in trust for the Aboriginal owners. The lands are then leased to NPWS and managed jointly by the NPWS and the owners.

To date five national parks in NSW have been or are in the process of being transferred or considered for this type of management. (14)

### **The Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979**

This Act sets the framework for planning in NSW. Local councils are particularly involved with Parts III, IV and V of the Act which deals with Planning Instruments (Local, Regional and State Environmental Plans), development applications and environmental impact assessment. (15)

It is through these planning processes that Aboriginal sites and places can be most effectively managed.

When a development application is made under Section 77 of the EPA Act it must be accompanied by an environmental impact statement if it is a designated development. (15)

Where there is a possibility of objects and Aboriginal places being encountered in development, the inclusion of a sites survey as part of an environmental impact statement may be necessary as determined by the NPWS.

It is NPWS policy that all site surveys must be undertaken in consultation with the relevant local Aboriginal Land Council (15).

### **Heritage Studies under the EPA Act (1985)**

Local Councils have been given additional authority to ensure no development causes an adverse impact on items of heritage value in their local government area. From 1985, Local Environmental Plans must include provisions for appropriate heritage conservation, (15).

A council cannot grant consent to a development application in the vicinity of an item of environmental heritage, (including Aboriginal habitation sites constructed prior to 1.1.1900) without first making an assessment of the effect the development would have on the significance of an item and its setting.

**The Heritage Act, 1977**

This Act is mainly intended to protect natural and cultural areas of significance to European Heritage, (2). It contains measures to protect archaeological remains but these are primarily cared for by the NPW Act. (11)

However, if an Aboriginal site, item or place is of great significance, it can be protected by a heritage order. Contact sites or sites important both to European and Aboriginal history can be protected under this Act.

**NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act, 1983**

This Act acknowledges that land in NSW traditionally belonged to and was occupied by Aboriginal people (16). It also recognises the spiritual, social, cultural and economic importance of that land. The Act set up Local, Regional and State Aboriginal Land Councils.

It allows Local Land Councils, as the community group, to be the title holders of Aboriginal land within their boundaries. Land can be acquired by grant, by claim or by purchase on the open market.

Claims can be made for vacant Crown land not needed for an essential public purpose. All land owned by Land Councils is subject to local government regulations and provisions of the Environment and Planning legislation (16)

The Aboriginal Land Rights Act does not protect sites or places, nor does it allow them to be claimed. (2)



## Local Government Legislation and Planning Instruments

Under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979 and its regulations previously described, local councils are required to consider environmental impacts (including impacts on Aboriginal Cultural heritage) in land use planning and decision making (3)

Planning instruments including Local Environmental Plans and supporting Development Control Plans specify what level of environmental assessment is to be provided for development applications and can indicate Aboriginal heritage investigations required for particular land use zones. These zones have been typically mapped to identify permissible uses and potential constraints within each zone.

Various state government agencies are determining authorities for activities conducted by that agency in relation to development applications made to councils.

In NSW NPWS has this authority and as such is required to undertake an assessment of potential impacts of any activities on Aboriginal heritage. This is typically done through a review of Environmental Factors or where a higher level of impact is anticipated, through a full Environmental Impact Statement (3).

The current planning instruments in force for the Wagga Wagga Local Government area are as follows:

For Urban Areas

- Wagga Wagga Local Environmental Plan 1985 (As amended)
- Wagga Wagga Development Control Plan 1986 - updated 2001

For Rural and Village Areas

- Wagga Wagga Rural Local Environmental Plan 1991 (As Amended)
- Wagga Wagga Rural Development Control Plan (Draft) 1988 - Undated 2002

Broad outlines and provisions are contained in the two local Environmental Plans.

Detailed policies and guidelines affecting development proposals and the operation of activities are provided in the two Development Control Plans.



## **Guide to Working Out Agreements with Indigenous Australians**

The Australian Local Government Association have endorsed and supported the reconciliation vision for Australia, recognised the validity of native title and the need for partnerships with Indigenous people in the community throughout Australia. (17)

In support of these initiatives, the ALAG in association with ATSIC and Indigenous people in local government have produced two information kits for local government. One is related to Developing Agreements with Indigenous Australians, the other is a detailed guide to working out native title in Local Governments Regionally. Cowra Shire Council has a local Agreement with the Aboriginal Community covering a wide range of issues. (18)

This agreement may act as a guide for Wagga Wagga City Council and other councils to establish similar agreements.

## **Urban and Rural Planning Issues**

### **Cultural Issues**

A major issue for the planning management and protection of Indigenous, (locally Wiradjuri), sites and places is the role of the Indigenous community for today. (19)

Thirty years ago few people considered it relevant to relate sites and places to living people. Since then two major reasons for Indigenous people to be involved have become apparent.

Firstly, it is clear that Indigenous people do still know about and retain aspects of traditional culture and knowledge about some sites, from personal experience.

Secondly they have begun to act on what their inner voices have been telling them all the time: that their culture is something to hold onto, to be proud of and its survival depends upon actively reviving it, its values, history, sites and places.

All this means that to manage sites effectively, it is now essential to listen to the people and involve them at every stage -research, protection, management planning and implementation. (19)

While local councils and the non-Indigenous community in general have the good will, they have often have little experience in understanding and working with the Indigenous community.

This is often exacerbated by inadequate documentation, preservation and promotion of Aboriginal cultural heritage and history. This has been acknowledged locally in the Wagga Wagga Social Plan (1998) and the Cultural Planning Strategy (1999) both of which called for this situation to be addressed. The Wagga Wagga City Council, by commissioning and supporting the Wiradjuri Heritage Study has been proactive in fulfilling this need.

Future planning processes at the local level will need to take into account the importance of views of Indigenous people as part of a holistic approach to land use planning and management.

Community, social, cultural and economic needs must be considered in the planning process. A number of these issues are listed here for further consideration. This list is not intended to cover the full range of issues and could be extended and clarified by consultation and negotiation with the Indigenous community. (20, 21, 22)

- The cultural and intellectual property of the community needs to be identified, protected and respected.
- Planning needs to consider cultural heritage and environmental and community health together as they are intricately connected.
- The role of Elders in local decision making needs to be respected
- Planning needs to ensure that the Indigenous community has access to sites and places, subject to negotiation and agreement with landowners.
- Planning needs to respect the time-frames and internal community consultation processes of Indigenous people.
- In recognising and taking into account the interest of Indigenous people, Wagga Wagga City Council needs to negotiate with community members not merely to consult.
- Protocols for considering and obtaining Indigenous input and knowledge should be developed. Such protocols need to balance the protection of Indigenous knowledge with the need to create understanding amongst the non-Indigenous community including planners and developers.

### **Additional Issues**

Other issues, which need to be taken into consideration, relate to recent and evolving developments in native title legislation and natural resource management, including cultural heritage.

Many things that Councils do in relation to land or water may affect native title rights and interests. Planning or development activities where native title exists, or may exist, need to take these possibilities into account.

Council is referred to the Australian Local Government Association information kit 'Working with Native Title: Linking Native Title and Council Processes,' 2002 for further details.

Similarly the 'Murrumbidgee Catchment Blue Print in 2002' includes actions and activities on natural and cultural heritage resource management which will influence land use planning at the local council and regional level.

### **Guidelines for Assessment of Heritage Significance**

Sites and places can be assessed as significant from social cultural and/or scientific (or archaeological) points of view. Usually they are significant from a combination of the two.

Indigenous people are more likely to value sites for social/cultural rather than scientific reasons (23). Sites may also have aesthetic, educational, environmental and spiritual values and their own intrinsic worth.

## **Cultural Significance**

Guidelines to assess Cultural significance are laid down in the Burra Charter (1999) (5). They recommend a methodical procedure for assessing the cultural significance of a place, for preparing a statement of cultural significance and for making such information publicly available, (where appropriate).

The following edited excerpts form the Burra Charter outline its basic tenants, and are relevant to cultural heritage assessment in the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area. For fuller detail refer to the Charter documents (1999).

## **The Burra Charter - Guidelines to Assess Cultural Significance**

### **Cultural Significance -**

Means 'Aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.'

### **Establishment of Cultural Significance -**

This requires the collection of relevant information on which to make an assessment.

Once cultural significance is determined, a succinct statement supported by sufficient evidence to justify the assessments is made.

### **Reports -**

A report containing written, graphic and source material presenting the assessment of and statement of cultural significance is then compiled.

### **Scientific/Archaeological Significance**

The following details of scientific/archaeological significance are a summary of considerations outlined in the NPWS Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Kit, (1997). They overlap and incorporate somewhat the principles of the Burra Charter.

Significance is to do with meaning, the values people put on places, sites, things and land. Because of the pressure of land development and land use there needs to be some formal regular way of describing significance (saying what a place means) and measuring it (saying how important it is compared to other sites or places) (23)

It is an established principle in heritage management that decisions about significance assessment should be separated from decisions about land development and land use.

The reality is that assessments are often not called for until a good deal of planning has already been carried out, placing undue pressure on the assessment process knowing that what is produced may disrupt the plans of any proposed development.

This issue has been attempted to be addressed by at least one NSW council in the past (24). The rationale was to try and locate Aboriginal sites in advance of any development pressure on the land.

The classification of land likely to contain archaeological objects/areas and the ranking of known sites and places in terms of their significance, would then allow them to be catered for in drafting Local Environmental Plans and Development Control Plans.

The final outcome of this approach is not known but it would now seem possible to consider this approach in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. with the completion of the Wiradjuri Heritage Study.

That is, using known sites from the NPWS Register and cultural landscape mapping assign conditions and assessment requirements and constraints to land use zones in planning instruments.

This would then flow through to the Development Application process.

The relationship between people and places should be the foundation of heritage conservation. It is held by some that the value of a site or place is assigned to it by people, rather than being inherent within the site, although this may not be universally accepted. (23)

Intrinsic worth of a site or place, the worth of place in its own right without humans having assigned a value to it, cannot be grasped intellectually but ultimately has to be experienced or acknowledged in faith, (25).

Since all Aboriginal sites in NSW are protected by the NPW Act, significance assessment is normally only undertaken when a site is threatened or potentially threatened by development or when a plan of management for a site or area is being developed.

They are also carried out as a preliminary to conservation work at a site. Archaeological/scientific assessment criteria include research potential of the site, its rarity, educational potential and aesthetic significance.

## **Development Applications**

Development can refer to any of a range of physical activities relating to land including subdivisions, erection and demolition of buildings, land use and other works (DCP 1986).

Most development requires consent (approval) by way of consideration of a Development Application to Council. Council assess applications and where necessary refers them to government authorities for consideration.

The processes of assessing development applications are clearly outlined in the two Development Control Plans for the Wagga Wagga LGA. Both have flow charts and check lists to assist applicants to understand and follow the processes.

The Local Objectives of the Wagga Wagga Rural LEP and DCP contain clauses encouraging the proper management, development and conservation of natural and man-made resources by protecting enhancing or conserving: (amongst other components) - 'places and buildings of archaeological or heritage significance including Aboriginal relics (objects) and places'. (LEP '91, DCP '88)

The Wagga Wagga LEP and DCP (Urban areas) at present do not contain these specific provisions. (LEP '85, DCP '86)

Both, however, have provision for on-site-conferences in assessing development proposals.

The Wagga Wagga (Urban Areas) DCP has provision for heritage and conservation, particularly in the designated Conservation Area of Central Wagga Wagga and for other significant elements of the built environment elsewhere. There is no specific provision for Aboriginal cultural and heritage conservation other than the need for development applicants to seek assessment, and if necessary, obtains consent to destroy sites, or part thereof, from the National Parks and Wildlife Service.

### **Management Strategies for Wiradjuri Heritage**

The following are among the heritage management principles which place Indigenous communities at the centre of heritage management (4, 20, 23).

- Indigenous people have the right and responsibility to assess, protect, preserve and promote their culture and heritage.
- Indigenous people are the rightful cultural owners of their cultural heritage information, sites, objects and places.
- Issues of cultural importance are resolved by reference to traditional law and custom or in contemporary situations by a largely consensus judgment influenced by the views of elders in the community.

The role of Local Government, in this case Wagga Wagga City Council, then is to share and encourage responsibility in partnership in negotiation and consultation with the local Indigenous community following these principles.

One way to do this is by integrating Wiradjuri sites and places into planning and development processes as a constraint to development (in the same way that potential for flooding or rare and endangered species are a constraint). (26)

That is, protection of sites and places can be more specifically provided for in LEP's and DCP's.

Management of specific sites and places should follow standard management guidelines or management plans where drawn up.

Consulting guidelines of the Burra Charter (1999) for culturally significant places will aid in the implementation of best management practice. Action regarding the administration or implementation of plans should be monitored and reported back to the community on a regular basis.

In regard to movable objects/artefacts/objects, the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service has set out procedures and protocols for the disposition, storage, management and recording of these materials. (27)

The Australian Museum is the custodian of Aboriginal artefacts which have been removed from sites and has been the legal repository for materials since October 1967.

The National Parks and Wildlife Amendment Act, 1996 allows for the disposal of objects, where appropriate, to an Aboriginal owner or owners entitled to them who are willing to accept possession, custody or control of the objects in accordance with tradition. (27)

## **Declaration of Heritage Sites and Aboriginal Places**

Under the National Parks and Wildlife Act areas maybe declared as Aboriginal Places. (28)

Declaring an area an Aboriginal Place is a way of formally recognising the cultural attachment Aboriginal people have to land. Throughout NSW many landholders acknowledge and respect Aboriginal peoples' attachment to particular areas. Aboriginal people and landholders have worked collaboratively to protect many areas that are also important for their educational value for future generations of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

The only criterion for declaration is that the place is, or was, of special significance to Aboriginal culture. Such places may include:

- land containing Aboriginal burials;
- places that are identified by Aboriginal stories or celebrated by ceremony;
- land that was once an Aboriginal reserve, mission or other post-settlement living area;
- land known from archival or historical records to have been the site of an important historical event, such as a massacre;
- areas that contain one or more Aboriginal objects or a combination of cultural landscape features, including culturally important plant and animal species;
- archaeological sites where the significance to Aboriginal people requires special recognition and
- land, buildings or places significant to Aboriginal culture after 1788.

Declaration of an area as an Aboriginal Place gives landholders benefits by providing:

- a way of helping to conserve the unique cultural heritage of NSW for future generations;
- an opportunity to contribute to the process of reconciliation;
- the chance to share knowledge of, and learn more about, their land;
- protection in perpetuity of the Aboriginal Place under section 90 of the NP&W Act;
- access to specialist advice from the NPWS on the management of the Aboriginal Place;
- access to external funding grants for conservation and protection works and
- signage to help deter shooters and trespassers from the property.

## **Community Education, Training and Employment**

### **Community Education**

The knowledge about Indigenous culture and heritage in the general community is very basic although this has improved in recent years. (19). In particular, more is becoming known or acknowledged about the contact period, the past and current state of Indigenous health, employment and education levels and treatment under past government policies.

Much of the knowledge which people have about Indigenous culture continues to be confused with misunderstanding with some of the beliefs held being linked to messages from earlier societal prejudice.

The process of reconciliation, the land rights movement, political activism with resultant enquiries, legislation and improved awareness over the past 20 years have helped dispel a lot of this prejudice.

Education policies and practices particularly in schools and TAFE colleges have played a supporting role in these changes.

However, locally Aboriginal studies in the education system have often been seen as tokenistic and there have been calls for a higher level of awareness of Aboriginal culture in the community generally. (29, 30)

One of the goals of education is to strengthen the cultural identity of Aboriginal communities through promoting awareness and respect of the diversity of language, cultural knowledge and other practices.

The diverse and increasing Indigenous population of Wagga Wagga provides a range of educational opportunities in this regard.

### **Training and Employment**

The identification and provision of training and employment opportunities for people in the fields of cultural heritage and environmental management is of increasing importance to Indigenous people (20). Locally this is to address the increasing needs and demands of cultural heritage assessment, planning and management, education, tourism and promotion issues raised in this study.

On a broader level, strategies to facilitate a higher level employment of Indigenous people within the private sector are being promoted in the Riverina. (31)

### **Tourism, Promotion and Publicity**

Throughout the country and to some extent in the Wagga Wagga LGA there are places and collections of cultural significance that are already displayed, known about and/or promoted. However, a great resource exists that has not been used effectively or sensitively developed to tell the Wiradjuri and associated Indigenous peoples stories to visitors and residents in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A.

Tourism, sensitively carried out, can give valuable insights into local Wiradjuri and non-Indigenous history, increase appreciation of local environment and enrich the cultural heritage experience of visitors.

Tourism, promotion and publicity involving local Wiradjuri and associated Indigenous peoples heritage can potentially help in cultural strengthening and defining of the local community, forward steps in race relations and reconciliation, provide opportunities for youth, training and employment development and provide economic benefit through ecotourism and art and craft sales.

In Wagga Wagga, some features of the culture have been lost or buried or are unknown to the community, so it needs to be retaught where it has been lost (32).

There is also a need to identify Indigenous Culture as specifically Wiradjuri, Yorta Yorta, and Ngiyampaa etc - not as Indigenous or Aboriginal only.

Wiradjuri art in particular needs to be researched and retaught. A definition of local culture is required. Given colonisation, shared heritage (European and Indigenous), resettlement from different areas and the mixing of modern and traditional aspects of culture, what should be selected and promoted is open to question. (32).

A guaranteed supply of cultural/tourist products and people/performers is also required for a successful tourism program.



## 2.5 Wiradjuri Heritage Study Recommendations and Summary of Issues for Future Research

### Recommendation 1: Cultural Heritage Committee

Wagga Wagga City Council consider the establishment of processes and/or a committee or modification of existing processes and committees to consult and negotiate with the Indigenous Community on Urban and Rural Planning issues related to cultural heritage.

In this regard, Council may wish to consider retention of the existing Wiradjuri Heritage Study Steering Committee with changed terms of reference and inclusion of formal representation from the Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council, OR referring these issues to the existing Indigenous Consultative Committee of Council OR, establishing a new committee and/or procedure.

### Recommendation 2: Amendments to Planning Instruments

WWCC consider the following list of items in relation to Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage which may warrant amendment to existing Local Environmental Plans and Development Control Plans.

#### Wagga Wagga Local Environmental Plan 1985

Section/Clause	Page	Item or Alteration to be Considered
Part I Clause 2 (2) Aims and Objectives	2	Add:- To ensure the protection and conservation of places of archaeological or heritage significance including Wiradjuri sites and places
2 (2)	2	Add:- To promote the social, cultural and economic welfare of the community (As for Section 6.2.1 of D.C.P State Objectives and WWCC Social Plan (1998) and City of Wagga Wagga Cultural Planning Strategy (1999)
Part II Environmental Zone Clause 1 (a) 1. Objectives of Zone	ii	Extend to:- (a) To protect significant wildlife habitats <u>and Wiradjuri Cultural heritage sites and places</u> within the flood plain of the Murrumbidgee River

## Wagga Wagga Development Control Plan 1986

Section/Clause	Page	Item or Alteration to be Considered
Consideration of Development Applications 2.5.2 On site Conferences	2.4	On site conferences for development application involving Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage issues are to be encouraged where appropriate, as a preferred way of consultation and negotiation.
Development Control 2.6.2..... Names for New Roadways	2.7	Council to consider a road naming policy in relation to use of Wiradjuri language names.
Other Procedures 2.7 Advertising Developments	2.8	Council to consider advertising developments for a period up to the maximum allowable where Wiradjuri Cultural heritage issues are involved where appropriate. This will allow time for internal community consultation processes to occur.
2.7.2 Development Applications within Conservation Area	2.9	Council consider whether Development application involving Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage throughout the WWLEP area need to be referred to the National Parks and Wildlife Service and the Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council.
Heritage and Conservation Provisions Chapter 16	16.1 to 16.25	Council to consider whether a section similar to this for the DCP needs to be drafted for the protection and conservation of Wiradjuri Cultural Heritage throughout the whole Local Government Area. Findings of the Wiradjuri Heritage Study could be used as a basis for this if required.
Appendix 24 Exempt Development Earthworks/Landfill	A24.iii & A24.12	Council to consider the implications of this exception in relation to Aboriginal objects potentially disturbed by earthworks and landfill. Advice from National Parks and Wildlife Service is recommended.

## Wagga Wagga Rural Local Environmental Plan 1991

Section/Clause	Page	Item or Alteration to be considered
Part 3 Special Provisions 10 (3))(a)	14	In the clause, "an addition to a building or <u>work</u> , " clarification is required as to the <u>type</u> and <u>extent</u> of the work is permissible without consent.

**Recommendation 3: Artefact Collections**

Wagga Wagga City Council, through the Museum of the Riverina, and in conjunction with the Australian Museum and Charles Sturt University assess, catalogue and adequately store publicly held Wiradjuri artefact collections within the Local Government Area.

**Recommendation 4: Keeping Place**

Wagga Wagga City Council in conjunction with the community further investigate establishing a cultural heritage Keeping Place in Wagga Wagga.

**Recommendation 5: Cultural Heritage Plan**

Wagga Wagga City Council in conjunction with the community investigate the development of a Cultural Heritage Plan for the LGA based on the findings of the Wiradjuri Heritage Study.

**Recommendation 6: Cultural Heritage Positions**

Wagga Wagga City Council consider establishing two complementary Indigenous employment positions to facilitate the planning, management, conservation and promotion of Indigenous cultural heritage in the Local Government Area.

Position 1: To facilitate the planning, management, protection and conservation of cultural heritage

Position 2: To facilitate the promotion of cultural heritage through education, tourism, publicity and community liaison.

**Recommendation 7: Bomen Aboriginal Place**

The Indigenous community of Wagga Wagga in conjunction with Wagga Wagga City Council and the National Parks and Wildlife Service nominate the Bomen Axe Quarry site as an Aboriginal Place

**Recommendation 8: Wiradjuri Language**

Wagga Wagga Community support, promote and participate in the Wiradjuri Language Development Program as instigated by the Wiradjuri Council of Elders.

**Recommendation 9: Cultural Heritage Guides**

Indigenous guides are trained in conducting tours and education programs in cultural heritage.

**Recommendation 10: Cultural Heritage Short Courses**

Short courses in cultural heritage are carried out in conjunction with an appropriate educational institution (CSU, TAFE, Community College) in consultation and negotiation with and involvement of, the Indigenous community.

**Recommendation 11: Heritage Tours**

Wagga Wagga Tourism develop a range of guided and/or self-guided tours throughout the Local Government Area based on the findings of the Wiradjuri, Rural and Urban Heritage Studies and additional materials and known attractions.

**Recommendation 12: Education Materials**

The Department of Education and training and/or Charles Sturt University produce educational material based on the finding for the Wiradjuri Heritage Study.

**Recommendation 13: Radio Talk Back**

ABC Riverina radio trial a talk-back program on local cultural heritage..

**Recommendation 14: Sites & Places for Education and Tourism**

A range of traditional and recent cultural heritage sites and places be selected and sensitively prepared or developed and promoted for education and tourism purposes.

**Recommendation 15: Traditional Skills**

A range of traditional skills (art, Indigenous games, wood and stone implement making, dance, music, weaving, removal and use of tree bark, fire lighting, food preparation, etc) be taught or improved as a means of keeping alive and reviving traditional Indigenous culture. This will also to provide a practical basis for education, tourism and employment in Cultural Heritage.

**Recommendation 16: Cross Cultural Awareness Wagga Wagga City Council**

Wagga Wagga City Council conduct a program of cross cultural awareness for all staff and councillors.

**Recommendation 17: Cultural Awareness for Landholders and the Construction Industry**

Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Land Council in conjunction with Landcare, Wagga Wagga City Council and Department of Land Water Conservation conduct an education and awareness day on cultural heritage issues for landholders, quarry operators and the construction and building industry.

**Recommendation 18: Publications**

Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society in conjunction with the Museum of the Riverina, Wagga Wagga City Council and appropriate funding bodies seek to have republished the books; *Old Days, Old Ways* and *More Recollections* by Mary Gilmore and *The Land of Byamee* by Keith McKeown.

**Recommendation 19: Wiradjuri Heritage Display and Art Exhibition**

The Museum of the Riverina and the Wagga Wagga Art Gallery concurrently conduct a Wiradjuri/Indigenous Heritage Display and Art Exhibition. (2003/04?)

**Recommendation 20: Heritage Interpretation Signs Plaques and Markers**

Wagga Wagga Tourism in conjunction with Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society investigate the erection of signs, plaques and/or markers to indicate the location of Heritage places in the Wagga Wagga L.G.A.

**Recommendation 21: Inclusion of NPWS Registered Sites in Schedule of Heritage Items - Wagga Wagga Local Government Area**

Wagga Wagga City Council include sites recorded on the NPWS Sites Register as Heritage Items which require consideration in any development proposal.

Since detailed information on sites cannot be provided to the general public (NPWS policy), the process by which this may occur needs to be determined between the NPWS and Wagga Wagga City Council.

It is recommended that the following NPWS registered sites and the Wiradjuri Heritage Study sites be listed at this stage. Listings should be updated as recorded, commencing with those recorded since 6/12/01. Only site identification numbers are provided here. Further details are contained on the NPWS Register, access to which is determined by the NPWS.

Recording and/or access to knowledge about unrecorded culturally sensitive sites and places will require further negotiation with the Indigenous Community, NPWS, State Planning and Wagga Wagga City Council. Currently there are about 20 known sites in this category.

<b>NPWS Site Register Sites Registered (as of 6.12.01) Wagga Wagga L.G.A</b>	<b>Wiradjuri Heritage Study Sites 2002 Wagga Wagga L.G.A</b>
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<b>Site Identification Numbers</b>	<b>Level of Significance (NSW Heritage Classification) Local = L, State = S National = N</b>	<b>Site Identification Numbers (Pending allocation of NPWS Site Register No.s)</b>	<b>Level of Significance Local =L State = S National = N</b>
56-1-0043	S	W.W. 101 to W.W. 105	L
49-6-0010	L	W.W. 107 to W.W. 110	L
50-5-0011	L	W.W. 112 to W.W. 117	L
55-3-0001 to 55-3-0034	L	W.W. 119 to W.W. 120	L
56-1-0001 to 56-1-0017	L	W.W. 122 to W.W. 124	L
56-1-0022 to 56-1-0046	L	W.W. 126 to W.W. 130	L
56-2-0001	L	Sites Requiring	
56-2-0003	L	Further Investigation	
56-2-0008 to 56-2-0010	L	Prior to Listing  W.W. 106, 111, 118, 121	
56-3-0010	L	and 125.	
56-4-0036	L		

### **Recommendation 22: Inclusion of Culturally Sensitive Lands as Categories in Council Planning Instruments.**

Wagga Wagga City Council consider including culturally sensitive land as a land zoning category in future planning instruments, (similar to Environmentally Sensitive land).

Recommended for inclusion would be: -

1. Sand ridges/dunes within the Murrumbidgee River Floodplain (as defined by the 1974, flood level) and within 50 metres of the base of such sand bodies. Sand bodies included to

be as mapped by Department of Land and Water Conservation and included those covered by existing developments in urban areas.

2. Natural water bodies and former natural water bodies that are now dry or drained and their margins (within 50 metres of the bank or top water level) including the river, lakes, billabongs, anabranches, creeks and streams down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> order as defined by Department of Land and Water Conservation and shown on 1:25 000 topographic maps.

## **Summary of Issues for Future Research**

A number of issues were only able to be touched on in this study. Some relate to Wiradjuri cultural heritage in the Wagga Wagga LGA whilst others relate more to shared and contemporary culture today.

The following is a brief listing, which is by no means exhaustive, where research could be undertaken by, or on behalf of, an appropriate organisation in the future.

### **1. Wiradjuri Language**

Research into possible local dialect and existing word lists. (Richards, Baylis, and Swan lists.)

### **2. Wiradjuri Cultural Landscapes**

Complete the mapping of Wiradjuri Cultural Landscapes for the Wagga Wagga LGA as data becomes available through the Department of Land and Water Conservation.

### **3. Wiradjuri Sites and Places**

Research additional sites and places as the general community, in particular landholders, become aware of the value of sharing heritage.

### **4. Family and Oral Histories and the Resettlement Program**

Research Wiradjuri and other Indigenous family and oral histories for people living in Wagga Wagga LGA today. This may be carried out in conjunction with a study of the Resettlement Program conducted in Wagga Wagga in the late 1970's and early 1980's

### **5. Wagga Wagga Indigenous Community Profile**

Prepare a profile on the Indigenous community of Wagga Wagga in relation to Cultural Heritage, contemporary values and the needs and significance of sites, places and culture for people today.

### **6. Names of Local Wiradjuri groups -Wagga Wagga Area**

The names of the local mob(s) of Wiradjuri originally living in the Wagga Wagga area was not able to be determined conclusively. Future research may determine this.

## **2.6 Community Consultation and Involvement**

In undertaking the Wiradjuri Heritage Study, part of the requirement was to encourage and report on community consultation and involvement.

Over the course of the study, the range of ways information, contributions and support was collected and/or provided and how community consultation and involvement was carried out, is summarised in Table 29. Promotion, administration and correspondence is summarised in Table 30.

Many people provided historical information in written form or were interviewed. Volunteer field assistants helped with recording sites.

The Steering Committee members were among the people who reviewed the study and provided professional and/or community advice.

Many organisations assisted with funding, resources, staff time, promotion and preparation of the Study Report.

Individuals and organisations gave permission to publish materials and photographs.

Correspondence (by letter, email, fax and phone) promoting the study, requesting materials, approvals to publish, seeking extra funding and study administration were numerous.

A promotional poster was produced and copies displayed, a letter calling for contributions was published in the local paper (*Daily Advertiser*) and a public address introducing the study was given at the Museum of the Riverina (13 March 2002) and at the launch of the Study Report. The full details of the assistance given by individuals and organisations are listed at the front of this Study Report under Acknowledgments.

One constraint in undertaking the study was the absence of any person with close traditional links to the Wagga Wagga Local Government Area, thus there was a greater reliance on recorded material and the oral histories of non-Indigenous people.

The community now has a greater opportunity to learn about local cultural heritage as the result of the findings of this study.



**No.92 Community Involvement - Tracey Vincent, Field recording of Sites**

Malebo 4/02



**No. 93 Community Consultation - Geoff Simpson, Department of Land and Water Conservation. Diana Simpson, Councillor, WWCC and James Morgan, Wagga Wagga Local Aboriginal Land Council all discuss Heritage Issues**

Wagga Wagga 6/02

**Table 29 - Community Consultation and Involvement – Wiradjuri Heritage Study**

<b>Category of Consultation</b>	<b>Approximate Number/Comment</b>
Individuals Interviewed/Providing Information	70 (50% Indigenous)
Field Assistants (Site Recording)	9
Individuals providing Professional and/or Community Advice	28 (50% Indigenous)
Individuals and Organisations giving Permission to Publish Material	13
Organisations providing Assistance (Funding, Resources, Staff time, Promotion, Study Report information)	25

**Table 30 - Promotion, Administration and Correspondence - Wiradjuri Heritage Study**

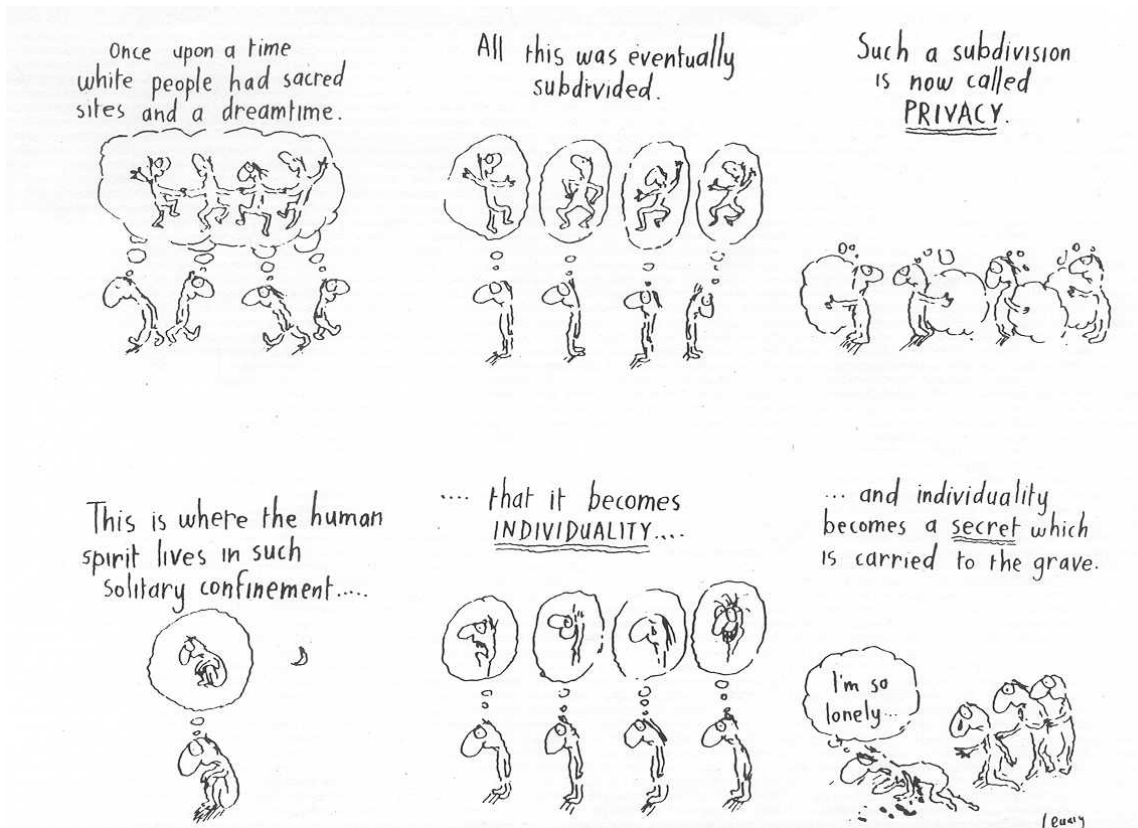
<b>Category of Consultation</b>	<b>Approximate Number/Comment</b>
Steering Committee Meetings	6 (plus approx 6 pre-study)
Correspondence (letters, emails, fax, phone calls etc)	25 (numerous)
Study Promotion Poster	1
Letters to the Editor – Promotion	1
Promotional Flyer circulated	1
Presentations (Introducing Launch and Completion of Study, Murrumbidgee Landcare Forum 2002)	3
Cultural Heritage Tour sponsored by Department of Land and Water Conservation	1 (40 participants from community and agencies)



**No.94 Following up on Recommendations – Environment Trust Project to restore Bomen Lagoon**

North Wagga 7/02

**Figure 27 - The Value of Community**



**No. 95 High School Students learn creator dance for Flora story whilst TAFE students build dance ground**

Indyamarra 9/2001

Figure 28 - A Purposeful Study (Daily Advertiser 22/4/02)

## YOUR SAY

Letters to the Editor should be no more than 250 words. Writers must give full home addresses (not postal boxes) and day and night telephone numbers for verification. Where possible, letters should be typed with double spacing. Letters with noms de plume or pseudonyms will not be published. The Daily Advertiser reserves the right to edit any letter and letters may be shortened for brevity. We do not necessarily endorse the opinion of our correspondents.

SEND TO: 48 Trail Street, Wagga Wagga. POST: PO Box 35, Wagga Wagga NSW 2650; FAX: (02) 6921 6950; EMAIL: letters@dailyadvertiser.com.au

### Purposeful study

SIR,

Your readers may be aware a Wiradjuri heritage study has started in the Wagga local government area on behalf of the Aboriginal community and Wagga City Council.

It has been acknowledged there has been inadequate documentation of Aboriginal cultural heritage in the Wagga area and this is being undertaken to fulfil this need. By providing an understanding of the Wiradjuri heritage it is possible a more consultative relationship between all people in the community and improved future planning of development and activities on cultural heritage can occur.

It should be kept in mind the intent of governments on all levels and with this study is to record and preserve sites, not to interfere with rights of landholders. Heritage sites in New South Wales are not the basis for land rights claims.

Additionally, it is not possible

for freehold land to be successfully claimed. Only vacant crown land not needed, or unlikely to be needed, may be claimed.

What has been realised is this cultural heritage is now a shared one. All people living today can share, appreciate, be responsible for and gain mutual benefit from many aspects of an historic, but also living, culture. This will help in the reconciliation process.

In this regard, any individual or group wishing to contribute information for the study is encouraged to do so. Of particular value would be oral or written stories, photographs, artefact materials and the knowledge of

sites passed down through generations in rural communities and families on the land.

For instance, a Collingullie farmer recently donated to the community a large collection of Wiradjuri stone artefacts which are now on display at Charles Sturt University.

In urban and village areas, while many traditional areas may have been destroyed, some materials, knowledge and feelings about them may still exist and will be significant in establishing a picture of past habitation.

To clarify, cultural heritage refers to a wide range of practices, materials and knowledge, includ-

ing but not limited to, artefacts, sites of significance and evidence of occupation, such as scarred landscapes. It may also include language, music, dance, song, signals, designs. Spiritual and ecological knowledge and, more recently, recordings and written material.

Anyone wishing to discuss any aspect of the study or the possibility of making information available can contact community researcher Dick Green on 6928 1342 or experienced Wiradjuri sites worker Rolly Williams on 6921 6544.

Dick Green,  
Big Springs Road,  
Wagga.

SATURDAY NIGHT'S LOTTO DRAW: 40, 14, 5, 32, 22, 35; supps 8, 16

2 Thursday, September 26, 2002 ■ THE LAND

## Regional Edition

# How Wagga was

## Indigenous map part of blueprint

**T**HE mapping of indigenous heritage sites around the Murrumbidgee Catchment Board region helped give board members a greater understanding of the sites during a recent bus tour.

The "Connecting the Country" tour around the Wagga district was designed to highlight Wiradjuri heritage values and the significance of indigenous sites.

This is in the context of board efforts to finalise the Murrumbidgee Catchment blueprint.

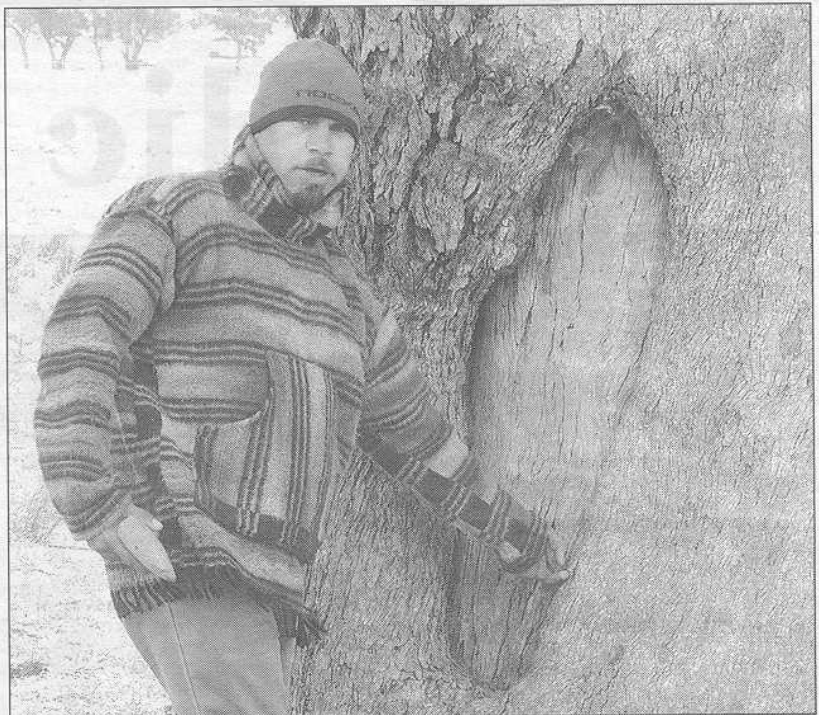
A unique system of mapping developed by Dick Green, of Go Green Services, now maps the landscape around Wagga Wagga from a traditional indigenous perspective.

Chairman of the Murrumbidgee Catchment Management Board, Peter Milliken, said the concept of cultural land use mapping provided an ideal overlay to the work the Board was carrying out on land use.

"This is the first time cultural landscapes have been mapped, and it shows how the landscape was managed under Wiradjuri custodianship," Mr Milliken said.

"While it was known that the Wiradjuri people travelled six to eight kilometres from a base around water, it was not known just how extensive their influence over the landscape was.

"By overlaying soil maps, which relate also to prior swamps and wetlands, the cultural landscape map shows the Wiradjuri were probably permanently settled



Dean Freeman, of the National Parks and Wildlife Service, Tumut, with a scar tree near Wagga Wagga, mapped during a recent tour of the catchment.

around the Wagga Wagga district."

Mr Milliken said it was clear the landscape had dried over time, possibly caused by early farming practices that drained swamps and dammed water courses.

"The watercourses were the highways for the indigenous people, with the Wiradjuri travelling extensive distances."

Mr Milliken said it was easily forgotten that Wiradjuri names of places still remained, with virtually all the early stations retaining their original names, along with town and place names that reflected the district heritage.

"But much has changed. As late as 1910 a postcard was published showing brolgas dancing near the

Parken Prgan lagoon, between the city of Wagga Wagga and North Wagga," he said.

"Increasing everyone's understanding of indigenous cultural heritage has major benefits for natural resource management and particularly for the Murrumbidgee Catchment blueprint.

"Hopefully, the community of the Murrumbidgee valley can eventually fully adopt the Murrumbidgee Catchment Management Board's vision of Yindyamarra.

"Yindyamarra is a Wiradjuri word meaning 'To be gentle, be polite, to honour and respect, to go carefully'."

### **3.0 RECOMMENDED READING, PLACES TO VISIT and REFERENCE NOTES**

#### **3.1 Recommended Reading List**

The following is a short list of reading materials recommended for those who wish to read further on topics raised in this study. Many good references are difficult to locate and usually housed in special library collections. These publications are marked with an asterisk (\*).

#### **General References – Indigenous Australia**

R. Brough Smyth – *The Aborigines of Victoria* Vol I & II Melbourne 1878 (\*)

E M Curr – *The Australian Race: Its Origin, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia* – Four Vols –Melbourne 1887 (\*)

E Curr – *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria from 1841 to 1851*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 1883 [2000] Echuca Victoria [Shire of Campaspe](\*)

J Isaacs – *Australian Dreaming 40,000 Years of Aboriginal History* – Lansdowne, Sydney 1980

R Lawlor – *Voices of the First Day. Awakening in the Aboriginal Dreamtime*. Inner Traditions, Vermont 1991

*Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*. Vol I & II – AIATSIS – Canberra 1994

*The Little Red, Yellow and Black Book*. A Short Guide to Indigenous Australia – Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, AITSIS Canberra 1994

*The Native Title Act 1993* – A Plain English Introduction – ATSIC 1994

#### **Language and Words**

J M Arthur – *Aboriginal English* – A Cultural Study OUP Melbourne 1996

J J Baylis – *Wiradjuri Language* – Euroa 1927 (\*)

W R Ellis – *The Street Names of Wagga Wagga* – Wagga Wagga City Council 1990

C Richards – “Wirra’ Athooree” et al Language – Science of Man Vol 5 Nos 5-12, 1902-3 (\*)

S Grant and J Rudder – Wiradjuri Language Development Project – CD and Learning Wiradjuri Publications – Restoration House, Canberra 2000-2002

S Grant and J Rudder – Wiradjuri Introductory Dictionary (in preparation), Canberra 2002

## **Local History and Stories (with significant Wiradjuri content)**

J J Baylis – *The Murrumbidgee and Wagga Wagga* – Royal Australian Historical Society J Vol XIII Pt IV and Pt V, Sydney 1927 (\*)

R Cox – *The Recollections of a Bushy* – J Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society No 2 1969

W J Garland – *The History of Wagga Wagga 1913* (Reprint Riv CARS Occ pub No 4 – Riverina College of Advanced Education, Wagga Wagga 1984) (\*)

B Gammage – *Narrandera Shire* – Narrandera Shire Council 1986

M Gilmore - *Old Days Old Ways. A Book of Recollections*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1934 (and Reprint 1986) (\*)

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J Gormly – *Exploration and Settlement in Australia* – D S Ford, Sydney 1921 (\*)

E Irvin – *Place of Many Crows – A brief History of the Foundation of Wagga Wagga* – The Daily Advertiser 1953 (\*)

P R Kabaila – *Wiradjuri Places – The Murrumbidgee Basin Vol I* – Black Mountain Projects, Canberra 1995

P R Kabaila – *Archaeological Aspects of Aboriginal Settlement of the Period 1770-1970 in the Wiradjuri Region*, PhD Thesis ANU Canberra 1999 (\*)

M Leitch – “*Where the Red Gums are Growing*” – Wagga Wagga 1985 (\*)

A McDonald – *The Wiradjuri of the Murrumbidgee – A Local History* – Wiradjuri Abor Land Council (undated) C 1990 Wagga Wagga

K McKeown – *The Land of Byamee* – Angus & Robertson Sydney 1938 (\*)

T L Mitchell – *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, Boone London 1839 (and reprint)

S Morris - *Wagga Wagga – A History* – Council of the City of Wagga Wagga 1999

P Read – *A Hundred Years War – The Wiradjuri People and the State*, ANU Press, Canberra 1988

C Sturt – *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia 1828-1831* Vol I and II – Smith Elder, London 1833 (and reprint)

K Swan – *A History of Wagga Wagga* – Wagga Wagga 1970

## Places to Visit

The following is a short list of places around Wagga Wagga open to public visits, which convey some of the aspects of Wiradjuri Heritage, Culture and Country:

- Brucedale Cultural Centre – Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group (by appointment only)
- Indyamarra Reconciliation Place, Bald Hill Charles Sturt University
- Ngungilanna Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Education Centre, Charles Sturt University
- Wiradjuri Reserve, Murrumbidgee River.
- Cultural Heritage Display, Museum of the Riverina, Willans Hill.



## 3.2 Reference Notes

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5. J Rudder – *Aboriginal Religion and the Dreaming* - Restoration House, Canberra 1999
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### 3.3 Keeping Going – The Way Forward

A basic goal of traditional education in pre-European Australia was to teach the harmony and unity of Indigenous life, (1).

In Wiradjuri Country, as elsewhere, preservation of the continuity of the past, the land and the people helped in the retention of identity. Indigenous beliefs made no distinction between nature and culture, (2). People are part of a cultural place or Country, part of its rhythm, its patterns and its meanings.

European settlement greatly disrupted this harmony and identity. Colonisation strongly implied Australia did not have a human history with Indigenous people being physically present but culturally invisible, (3). Cultural differences were mostly ignored, ridiculed and forcibly discouraged.

With a certain degree of cultural revival, we now have the opportunity to learn about, share and celebrate these differences. However, this will not occur unless we are prepared to study and learn about Country – its plants, its places, its people and its language. Only then can we develop a sense of and love for community and place.

A crucial part of this, and indeed all human experience, is to restore relationship with the sacred, the spiritual, (4, 5). For as elder Barry Clarke said, “Without a spirit world we are like a feather in the wind.”(6). Similarly, from Silas Roberts, first Chairperson of the Northern Land Council, “Our connection to all things is spiritual”, (8).

One simple place to start to re-learn is with our children, the most important gift from Baiamai, the creator, (9). There is spontaneity of happiness and a sense of fun present in childhood. Drawing on this through the reintroduction of traditional games, for instance, there is an opportunity to learn about, appreciate and experience aspects of Indigenous culture. There is a rich diversity of these games with over 400 recorded across Australia, (10). Most are for enjoyment and fun but they also provide training in social interaction, life skills and appropriate community behaviour.

The name “Wagga Wagga” derives from two different Wiradjuri words, one meaning “dances”, both in the serious and fun sense and the other, the call or gathering place (or community) of many Waagan (Australian Ravens or Crows). This name has a natural musicality as it rolls off the tongue and is why people like it when they first hear it. It seems funny and conveys a sense of happiness and fun.

If one doubts this find a quiet place, say near the Murrumbidgee, and call out a loud “Wagga Wagga” or better still, the Waagan’s territorial call, aah-aah-aah-aaaaaorhh” and see what the effect is! You will, perhaps, sense a connection to this place.

The whole community could benefit from drawing on both derivations of the name “Wagga Wagga”. That is, Wagga Wagga is a gathering or living place of Waagan (or a community of people), who play and dance together, both in an enjoyable and serious sense. This then would engender a sense of place, which is stabilising, giving both security and identity.

Then, let there be no false division between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, rural and urban, older or younger, (6). As we are all indigenous to planet Earth, let us all practise active,

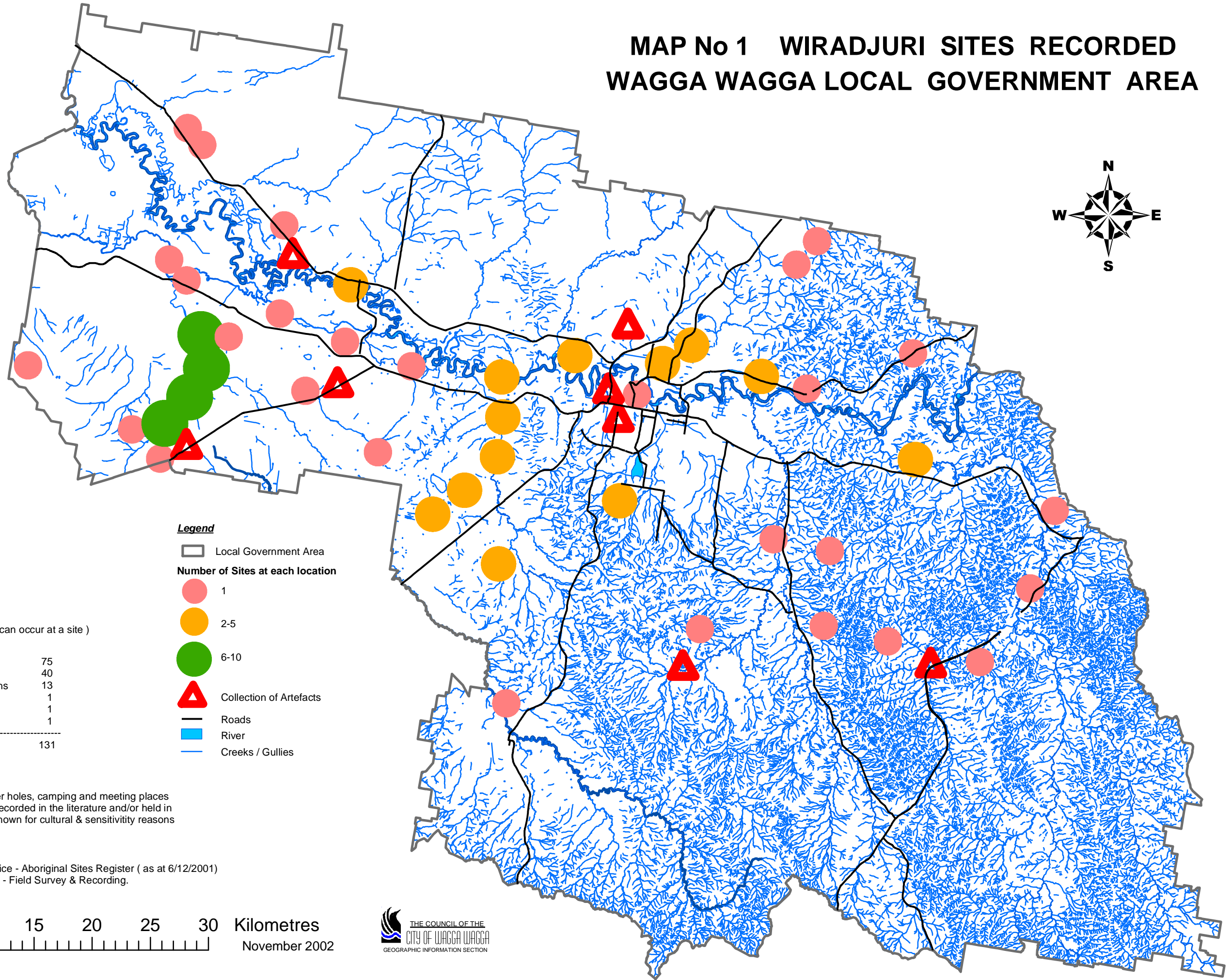
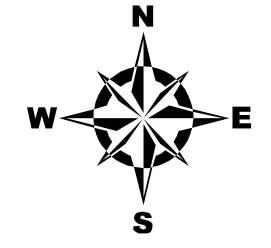
shared custodianship of Wiradjuri Country, culture and heritage in our resolve to move forward in happiness, greater knowledge and a long life.



**No. 96 Keep Going – The Way Forward – Nose to the grindstone, cling on and ever upward!**



# MAP No 1 WIRADJURI SITES RECORDED WAGGA WAGGA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA



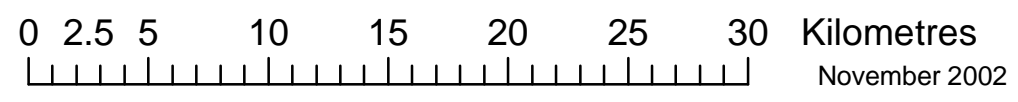
- Legend**
- Local Government Area
  - Number of Sites at each location**
  - 1
  - 2-5
  - 6-10
  - Collection of Artefacts
  - Roads
  - River
  - Creeks / Gullies

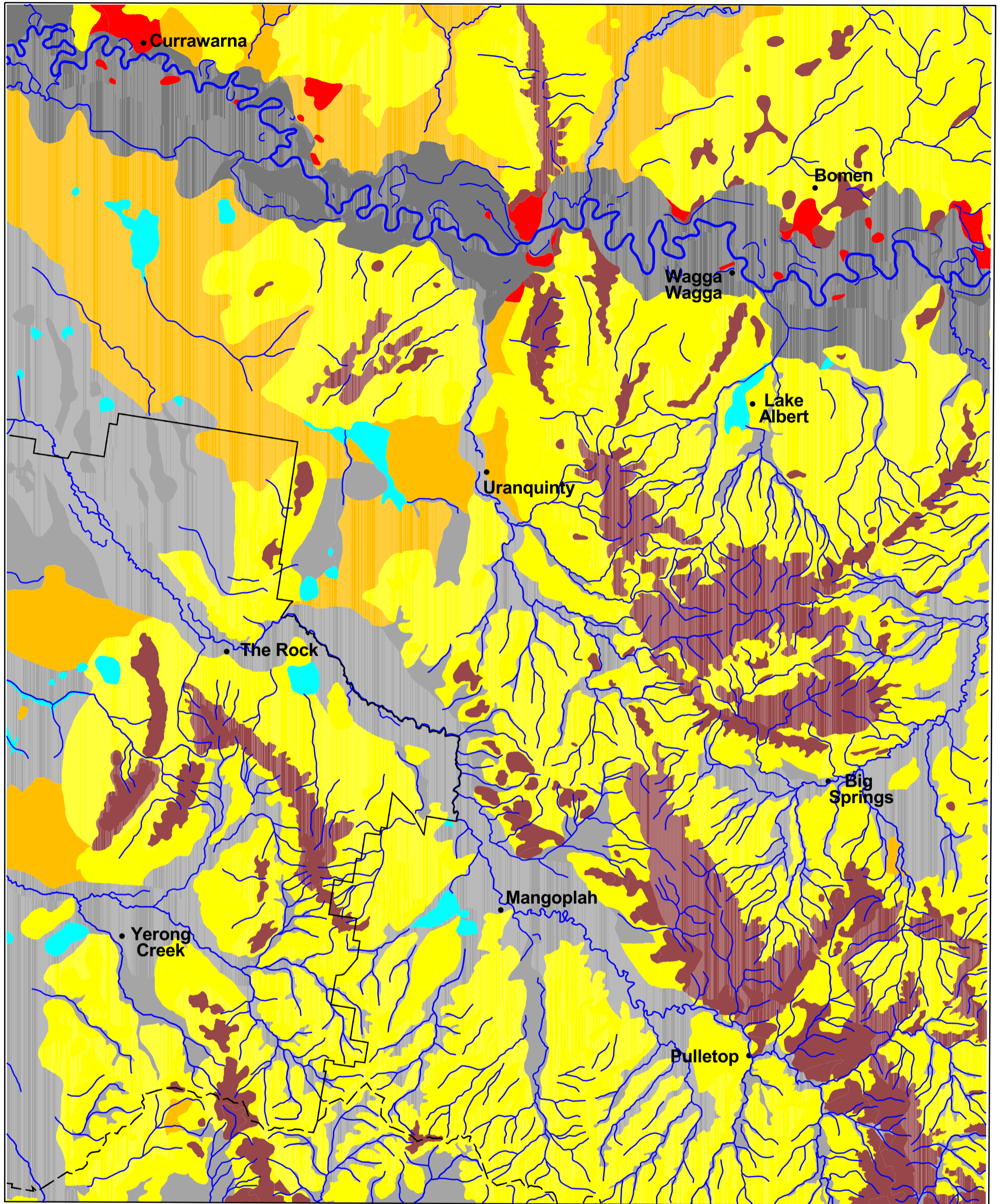
**Features at Sites**  
( Note more than one feature can occur at a site )

Modified ( Scarred ) Trees	75
Artefacts	40
Earth Mounds and Fire Hearths	13
Burial	1
Stone Quarry	1
Ceremonial Site	1
-----	
Total number of features	131

**Note :**  
Approximately 20 sites ( Water holes, camping and meeting places burials and ceremonial sites recorded in the literature and/or held in oral tradition have not been shown for cultural & sensitivity reasons

**Data Source**  
National Parks & Wildlife Service - Aboriginal Sites Register ( as at 6/12/2001)  
Wiradjuri Heritage Study 2002 - Field Survey & Recording.





November, 2002. - Ref: sg, wiradjuri.apr

Map 2(a)

# Wiradjuri Ngurambang - Wiradjuri Country Cultural Landscapes - Wagga Wagga

## Key

- Duyul (hill) - higher undulating hill or ridge
- Burba (sloping country) - low, rolling hill/lower slope
- Girigiri buiyanha gunigal - red sloping plain
- Bilabu gunigal/galing ngurang - lakes with plain/water place
- Bilabu gunigal - creek with plain
- Garray duyul - sandhill - on and off flood plain
- Bila guungun gunigal - river flood plain



(See table 2b for comprehensive description of above country types)

## Legend

- Ngurang (camp) - present day locality
- Bila Murrumbidya - Murrumbidgee River
- Bilabu galing ngurang - creek or water place
- Local Government boundary



SCALE



Kilometres



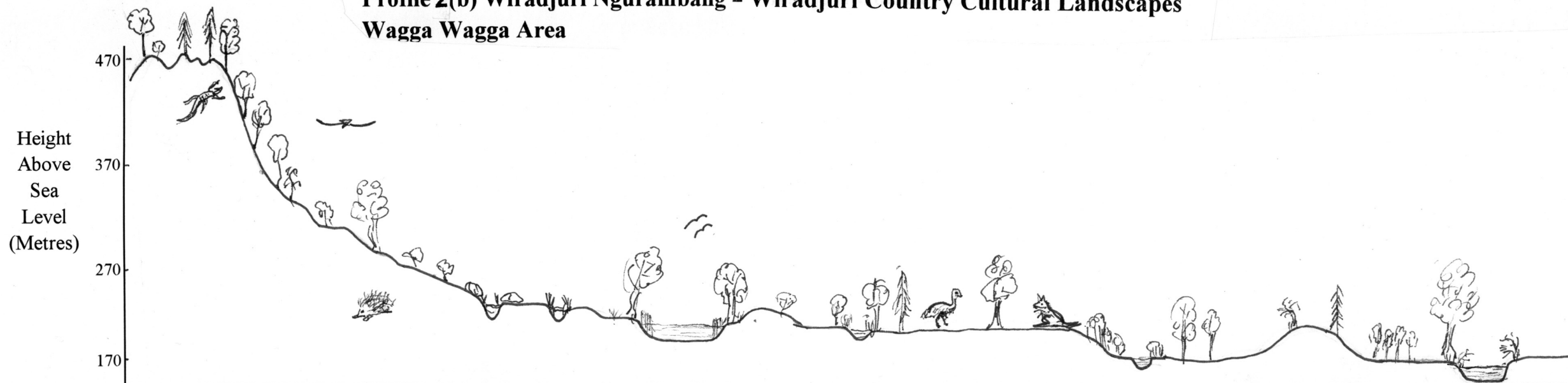
## DISCLAIMER

The Department of Land and Water Conservation and/or contributors accept no responsibility for the result or action taken or decisions made on the basis of the information contained herein or for errors, omissions or inaccuracies presented here. Whilst all care is taken to ensure a high degree of accuracy, users are invited to notify of any map discrepancies.

Prepared by the Murrumbidgee Resource Information Unit, GIS Wagga Wagga, from digitised field data held in the Geographical Information System.

DATA SOURCE: The information in this map has originated from the Wagga Wagga Soil Landscape map; derived here for cultural purposes by Dick Green, Go Green Services; for the Wiradjuri Heritage Study, Wagga Wagga 2002.








**Profile 2(b) Wiradjuri Ngurambang - Wiradjuri Country Cultural Landscapes  
Wagga Wagga Area**



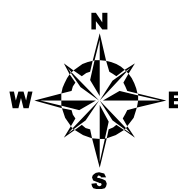
Country/ Landscape Type	Duyul (Hills)	Burba (Sloping Country)	Bilabu galing Ngurang (Creeks & Water Places)	Guwalbu gunigal (Lakes & Plains)	Bilabu gunigal (Creeks & Plains)	Girigiri buiyanha gunigal - (Red sloping Plains)	Bila Guungun gunigal (River Flood Plain)	Garray Duyul (Sandhills)	Bila Murrumbidya (River Murrumbidgee)
<b>Present Day Localities</b>	Livingstone Hills Gregadoo Hills Malebo Range Bald Hill	Maxwell Bomen Oura	Keajura Creek Houlaghans Bon Accord Big Springs	Roping Pole Swamp, Lake Albert	Bullenbong Tarcutta & Sandy Creeks Burkes Creeks	Belfrayden Downside Uranquinty	Billabongs - Parken Pregan, Currawarna, Bomen, Berry Jerry, Bulgari, Gobbagum- balin, Wollundry Creeks- Old Man Creek Beavers Creek Plains- Kockibitoo/ Kurrajong	Berry Jerry, Brick Kiln, Hunters Hill, Pominga- larna, Wabblam Billy Eunonyarheeny	All River
<b>Native Vegetation</b>  (Sample of Plants Used)  See Table (For Wiradjuri Names)	Mugga Iron Bark Drooping She Oak Red Stringy Bark Cypress Pines Grass Tree, Wattles Butter bush Quandong, Mat Rush, Lillies & Orchids	White Box Kurrajong Quandong Hickory & Golden Wattles, Peach Heath Chocolate & Bulbine Lily, Flax Lily, Hill Indigo, Mistletoe	River Red Gum Grey Box Tea Tree Grasses Common Reed Sedges, Native Geranium, Cumbungi	River Red Gum Common Reed Cumbungi Tall Spike Rush	Grey Box, Wattles Boree, Native Millet Nardoo Cumbungi	Grey & Yellow Box Bullock Emu Bush ? Umbrella Wattle Hopbush Mistletoe Yam Daisy Bulbine Lily	River Red Gum Silver Wattle Cumbungi, Yam Daisy Nardoo Old Man Weed Wild Tomato?	White Cypress Pine Silver Banksia	River Red Gum River She Oak River Bottlebrush Common Reed
<b>Native Animals Birds, Fish, Insects</b>  (Sample Used)	Eastern Grey Roo Black Wallaby, Echidna, Carpet Snake, Wombat, Circada, Goanna Lizards	Brush & Ringtail Possums, Eastern Grey Roo, Echidna Cicadas, Wombat	Black & Wood Duck Bird Eggs & Fledgelings, Black Fish & Eels	Ducks & Bird Eggs Red Bellied Black Snake, Mussels Fish, Yabbie	Emu Lizards/Snakes Turtles, Fish, Water Rat	Goanna Echidna, Emu Eastern Grey Roo	Brush & Ringtail Possums, Goanna, Snakes, Curlew, Emu, Black Duck, Pelican, Bird Eggs & Fledglings Turtles, Mussels, Fish, Yabbies, Water Rat	Bilby, Echidna, Goanna	Murray Cod Murray Cray, Fish Silver & McQuarie Perch, Trout, Cod, Turtles
<b>Evidence of Traditional Use</b>	Possible Stone Arrangements Ceremonial Places Ochre Sites Lookout Places Stone Quarries	Scar Trees Fish Traps	Stone Axes Grinding Stones Scar Trees Camp Sites Water wells Fish Traps	Burials Scar Trees (around margins)	Nardoo & grass Grinding Stones Earth Mounds, Fire Hearths, Scar Trees, Fish Traps	Grinding Stones Stone Axes Fire Stones Scar Trees	Fish Traps, Fire Ash, Stone Artefact scatters Musell, Shell Middens Wooden shields, clubs shovel, spears, Canoe Trees, Earth Mounds	Burials, Camping Places	Canoe Trees (River's Margin)

# MAP 3A WIRADJURI TRADITIONAL AND EARLY CONTACT PLACES - WAGGA WAGGA URBAN AREA

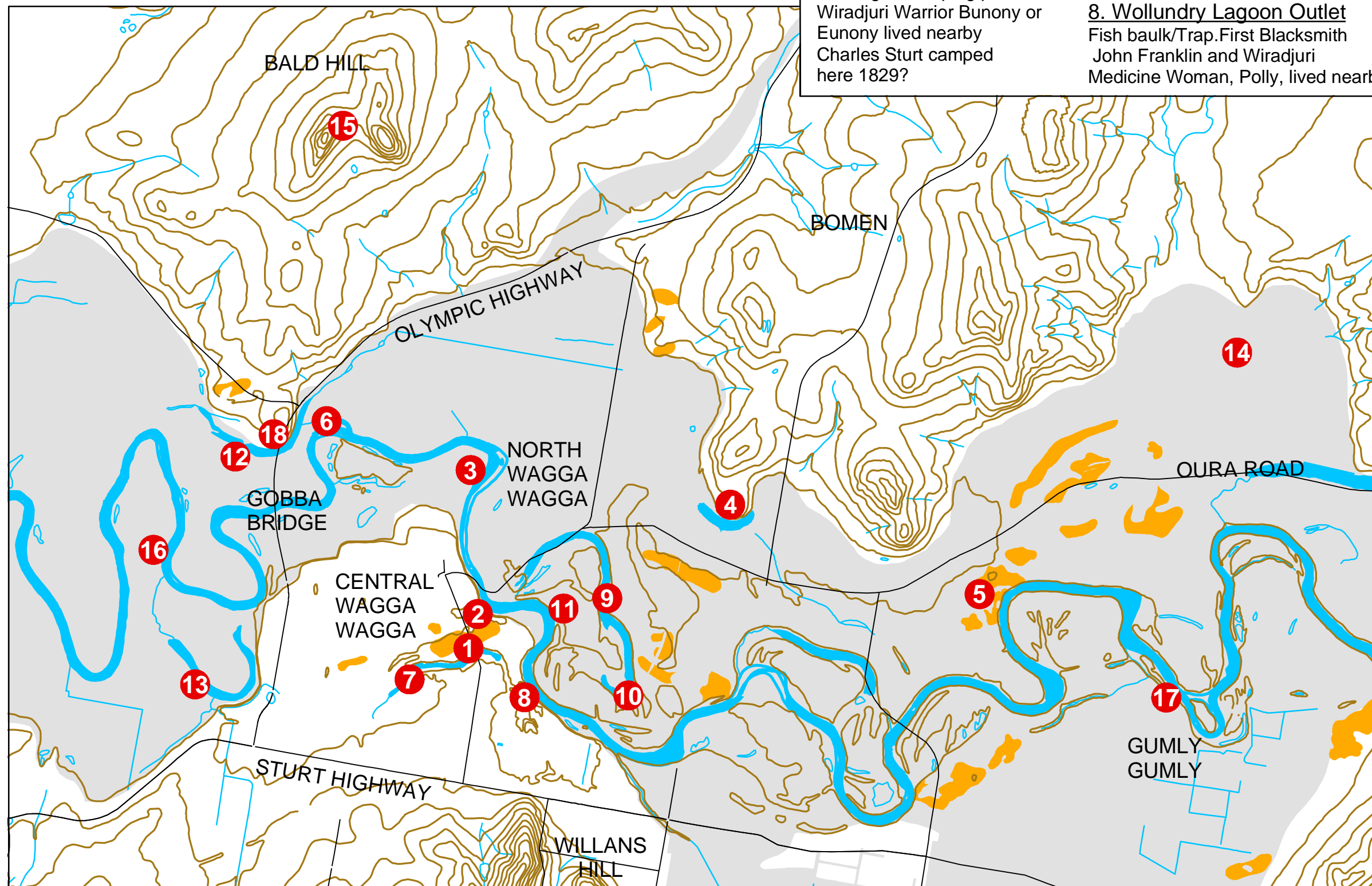
## LEGEND

-  Murrumbidgee River
-  Billabong / Creeks
-  Flood Plain
-  Current day roads
-  Sand Hills ( Approximate)
-  Contours ( Hills with steep Slopes )
-  Contours (Flatter land with little Slope )

0 0.375 0.75 1.5 2.25 3 Kilometres



1. Hunters Hill  
Meeting, Coroboree, and Fighting place.
2. Gunna Gallie Bogey  
Camping and swimming place
3. Wiradjuri Reserve  
Camping and Corroboree place
4. Bomen Lagoon  
Fishing & Camping place, Wiradjuri Warrior Bunony or Eunony lived nearby Charles Sturt camped here 1829?
5. Eunonoreenya Sandhill  
Camping Place, first European settlers home, C Tompson - 1832
6. River Crossing Place  
(Approximate)  
Camping place of Bulmagarra, keeper of the crossing
7. Wollundry Lagoon  
Fishing Place Home of Wawi, Water Spirit
8. Wollundry Lagoon Outlet  
Fish baulk/Trap. First Blacksmith John Franklin and Wiradjuri Medicine Woman, Polly, lived nearby.
9. Parken Pregan Lagoon  
Sanctuary for Pelicans, Swans and Cranes.  
Fishing place
10. Parken Pregan  
Fish Baulk/Trap
11. Pregan Island  
Curlew Sanctuary
12. Gobbagumbalin Lagoon  
Favourite Fishing place
13. Flowerdale Lagoon  
Gathering place of waagan (Australian Ravens or Crows)
14. Yama Gunigal  
- (Kurrajong Plain)  
Emu Sanctuary
15. Bald Hill  
Corroboree place  
(Approximate Location)
16. "Wogo Wogo" Run  
R.H.Bests First Settlers Hut.
17. "Goolilagumby Run  
(Later Gumly Gumly)  
J.Bourke, 1832
18. "Gobbagumbalin" Run  
J.Thorne, 1832



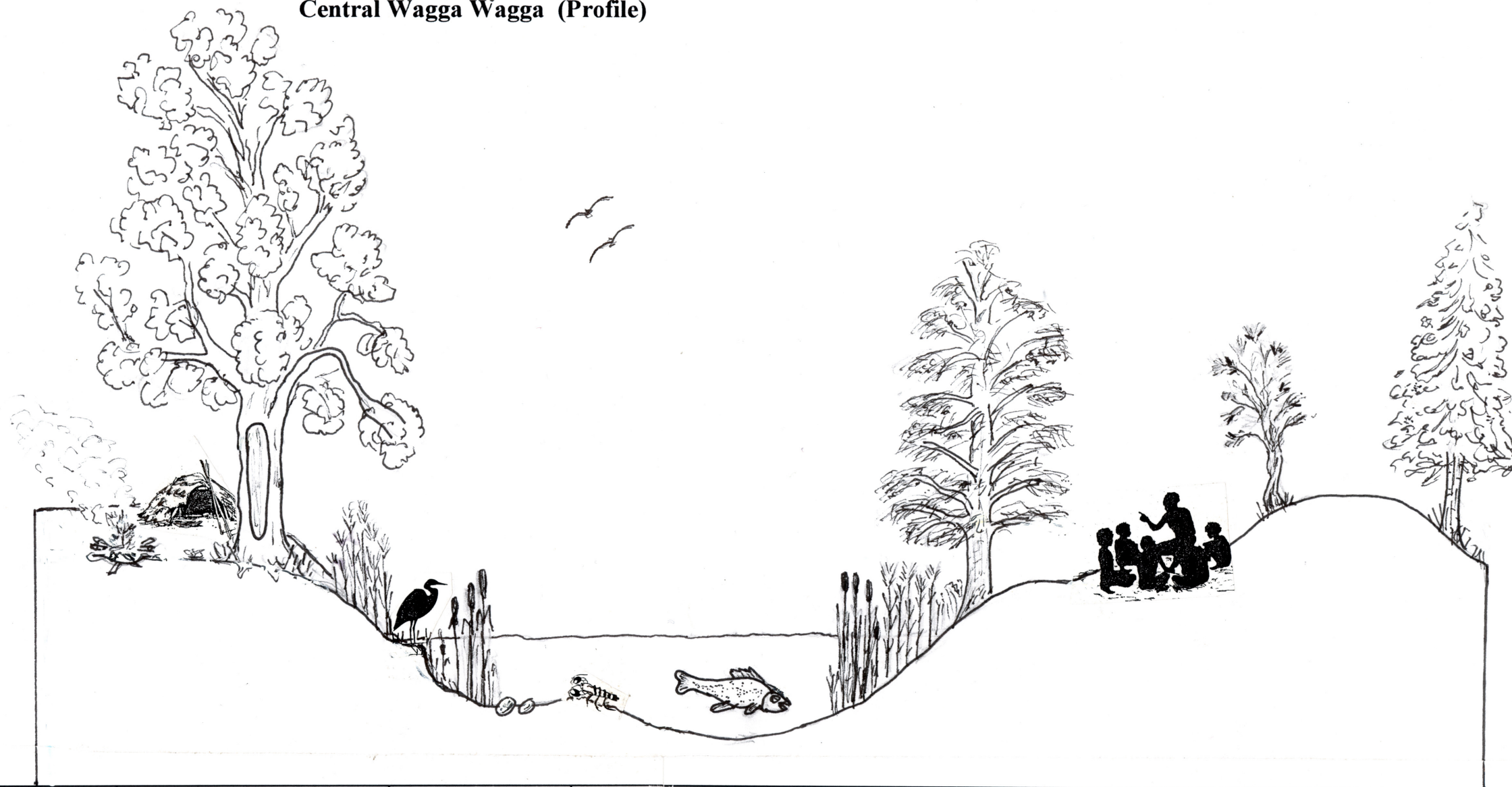
**Burial Places**  
3 recorded in central Wagga Wagga ( Locations not shown.)

**Axe Quarry**  
1 recorded ( Location not shown.)

DATA SOURCE -  
WIRADJURI HERITAGE STUDY  
- 2002

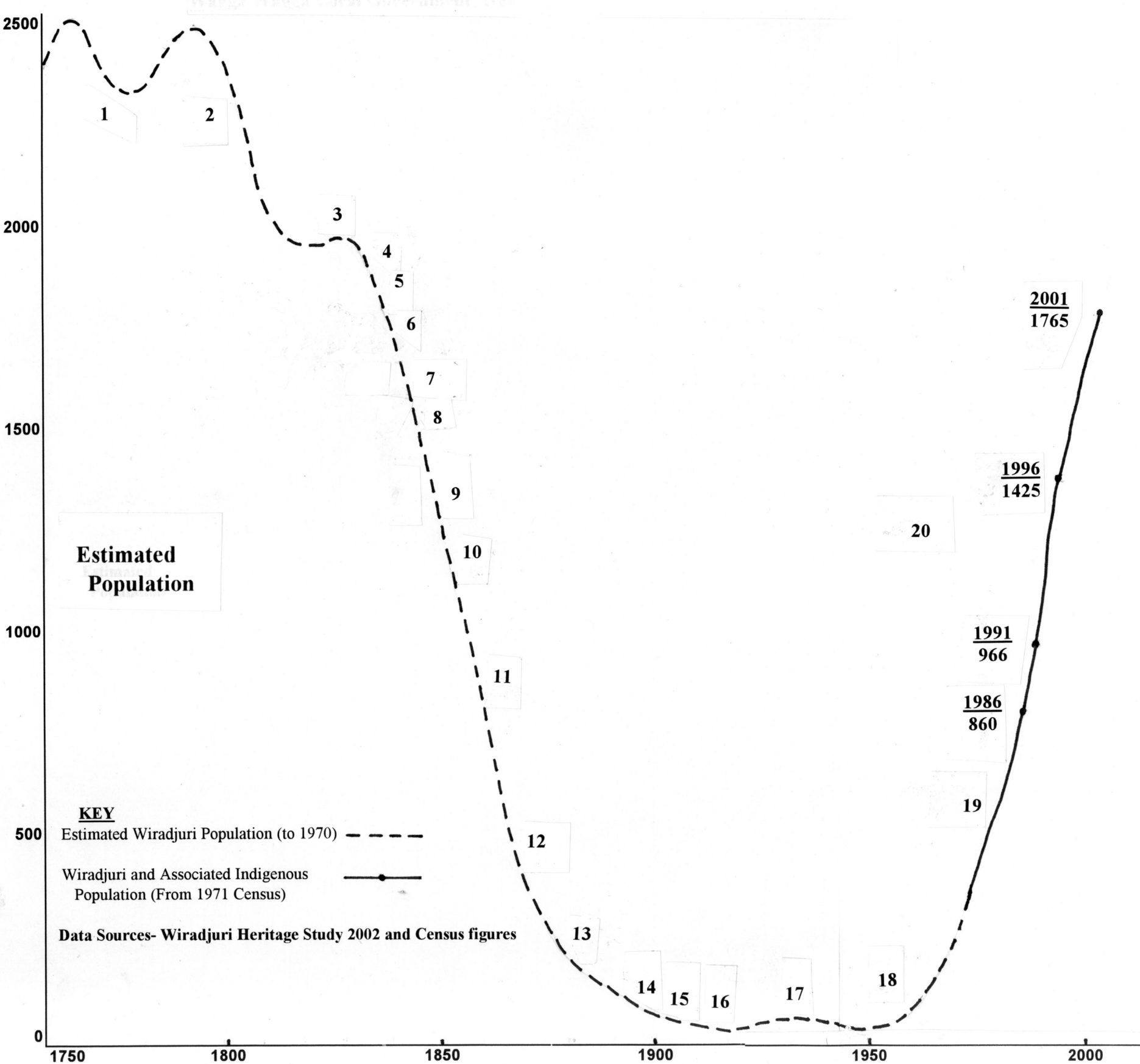


**3 (b) Wiradjuri Traditional Places and Sites  
Central Wagga Wagga (Profile)**



<b>Land Form/ Landscape</b>	<b>River, Creek or Lake Flood Plains</b>	<b>Shallow Water Margins</b>	<b>Deep Water/Billabong, Creek, River or Stream Bed or Lake</b>	<b>Sand Hills</b>
Current Day Locations	North Wagga Wagga Flats, Frog Hollow, Wiradjuri Reserve, Wagga Wagga CBD	Wollundry, Bomen, Flowerdale, Parken Pregan, Goobagumbalin Lagoons, Lake Albert, Murrumbidgee River		Hunters Hill, Racecourse Sandhill, Eunonyarheenya Sandhills, Westhoe Sandhill, Coles Sandhill, Brick Kiln Sandhill
Native Vegetation	River Red Gum, Silver Wattle Grey Box Nardoo, Grasses	River Red Gum, River She Oak, Common Reed, Cumbungi	River Bottle Brush, Silver Wattle	White Cypress Pine, Silver Banksia
Native Animals, Birds, Fish	Brush and Ringtail Possums, Goanna, Snakes	Mussels Turtles Yabbies Water rat	Murray C od Ducks Murray C ray Silver & McQuarie Perch	Echidna, Goanna
Evidence of Traditional Use	Scar trees, Shell Middens Camping Places	Scar Trees Fish Traps Written Records		Burial Sites, Camping Places, Newspaper Reports Conflict and Meeting Places

**Graph 1. Estimated Wiradjuri and other Indigenous Populations  
(1750 - 2001)  
Wagga Wagga Local Government Area**



**Key Events**

1. Pre- 1790 - Population in balance with natural cycles and group conflicts
2. 1790's Small Pox Epidemic, few children survive
3. 1829 Charles Sturt with Jemmie & Peter (guides) observes few Wiradjuri
4. 1831-32 First Squatters - early cooperation
5. 1836 Lachlan Wiradjuri guide Mitchell expedition - finishes near Alfredtown
6. 1834-39 Drought, Starvation, Disease & conflict kill many
7. 1838-41 Wiradjuri War - many killed (70 at murdering island)
8. 1842/43 1000 gather at Wagga Wagga
9. 1847+ Polly assists white women in childbirth & disease control.
10. 1840's-70' Decline from 600 Wiradjuri to nil at Berry Jerry Station.
11. 1850-70's Wiradjuri Camps at Livingstone Gully & Bullenbong
12. 1870-80's Wiradjuri forced off land by Land Selectors, Economics & Drought
13. 1883 Warangesda mission established Some Wiradjuri move there.
14. 1897 Queen Bhoodidoo of Wagga Wagga photographed.
15. 1905 Few, if any, Wiradjuri reported around Wagga Wagga
16. 1914 Death of Tang - Last Traditional Wiradjuri of Tarcutta.
17. 1930-40 A few Wiradjuri camp at Tent Town - Wagga Wagga.
18. 1950-60's Some Rural & Domestic workers
19. 1974-86 Resettlement Program
20. 1986/91/96/2001- Census of Indigenous Population



# Sharing Wiradjuri Heritage



## "Bridging the Divide"

(N.S.W. Heritage Festival Theme 2002)

### What ? Wiradjuri Heritage Study for Wagga Wagga Local Government Area

A Wiradjuri Heritage Study is being undertaken for the rural and urban areas of the Wagga Wagga L.G.A. on behalf of and supported by the Aboriginal Community, Wagga Wagga City Council and the N.S.W. Heritage Office.

### Purpose

- To document Wiradjuri cultural heritage.
- To provide guidance for planning, development and cultural heritage activities.

### Outcomes

Study, report and make recommendations to the community and Wagga Wagga City Council, on the recording, management and preservation of significant Wiradjuri places, leading to:-

- The whole community sharing, understanding, appreciating and being responsible for this heritage.
- Gaining shared benefits from historic traditional, but also a living contemporary culture.
- Providing a basis for education and cultural tourism needs.

### Call for Contributions

Any individual or groups including rural families, village and urban dwellers, wishing to contribute information are encouraged to do so.

This can include:-

- oral and written stories.
- photos and artefact materials.
- knowledge of significant places passed down through the generations.

### Acknowledgements

This study is being directed by the Wiradjuri Heritage Steering Committee comprising of the following community members and agency representatives:-

- Wiradjuri Council of Elders
- Wagga Wagga Aboriginal Elders Group
- Ngungilanna Centre CSU
- Department of Land & Water Conservation
- Department of Education & Training
- Wagga Wagga City Council
- National Parks & Wildlife Service
- Artwork - Donna Kirby

This study is funded by Wagga Wagga City Council and NSW Heritage Office.

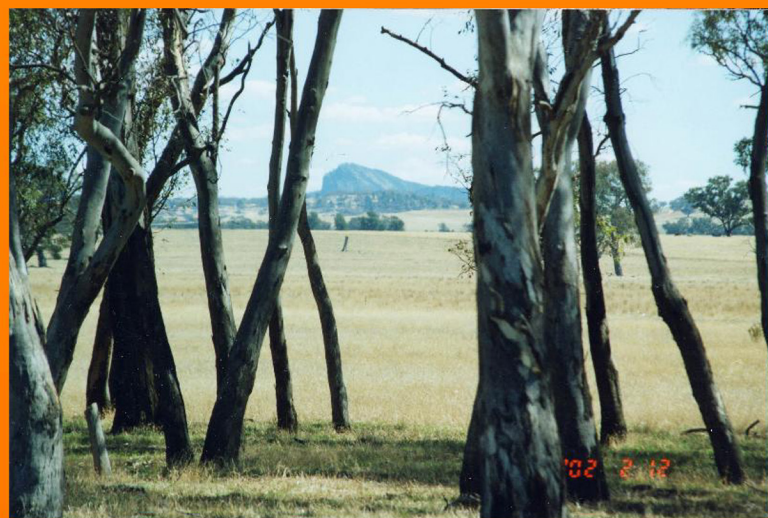
### Please Note

The intent of this study and government is to record and preserve significant sites, not to interfere with landholder rights. In this area, heritage sites are not the basis for land rights claims. Privately owned land cannot be successfully claimed, only vacant crown land may be claimed.

March 2002

### What ?

### Wiradjuri Heritage Study for Wagga Wagga Local Government Area



Magnificent Wiradjuri Country  
(View of the Mighty Kengal (The Rock), across Roping Pole Swamp.



Traditional Stone Tools... Collingullie  
Lashbrook Collection Ngungilanna Centre, C.S.U.



Joyous Dancing Brolgas  
- now in reduced numbers in Wiradjuri Country



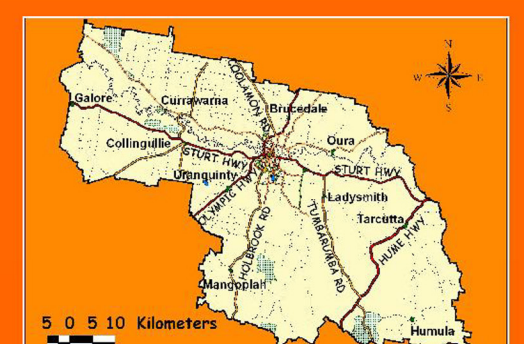
Keeping the Skills Alive  
(New Scar Tree - Willans Hill)

### ContactDetails

Anyone wishing to discuss this study or to make information available please contact any of the following:-

Dick Green phone/fax: 02 69281342  
Rolly Williams phone: 02 69216544  
Garry Salvestro phone: 02 69269100

Postal: Wagga Wagga City Council  
PO Box 20, Wagga Wagga  
NSW 2650



Wagga Wagga Local Government Area