Orange Aboriginal Heritage Report

"This Aboriginal Heritage Report may contain photographs, words, descriptions and images which may sadden and distress some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This Report may contain the names, images and descriptions of people who have passed away and which may sadden and distress some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This Report may contain language and terms used by an author that reflect an inappropriate attitude due to the historical context in which the records were created."

Prepared for Orange City Council by

February 2012
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Figures</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Team</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genealogy</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological Interviews and Analysis</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic History</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Studies</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Contact Sites</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved Trees</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic History</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunna Thunna</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket Returns</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Exploration</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Rush</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral Workers</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuation of Traditional Practices</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship Ties</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trackers</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal People and the Law</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity and Change: 1830-1880</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aborigines Protection Board</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Springs</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resettlement Scheme</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites of Significance</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Springs</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Canobolas</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emu Swamp</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson Park</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuscript Sources</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 1 – Results of AHIMS search, July 2011............................................................. 0
Appendix 2 – Names of Trackers Employed in the Orange District between 1883 and 1949..0

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Map showing sites recorded on the AHIMS database ........................................... 9
Figure 2: Graph showing the frequency of site types in the Orange district ...................... 10
Figure 3: Photograph of Edmund Milne standing next to a carved tree at Yuranigh’s grave .12
Figure 4: Boree Nyrang Carved Tree.................................................................................... 13
Figure 5: “The Grave of a Native of Australia”........................................................................ 14
Figure 6: Carved Tree at Eugowra Public School.................................................................. 16
Figure 7: Map showing Orange and district ............................................................................ 18
Figure 8: The Lower Part of Church Hill, Ophir District .................................................... 32
Figure 9: Summer Hill Creek 1852, (artist unknown)........................................................... 33
Figure 10: Breastplate of King Joe ......................................................................................... 36
Introduction

NTSCORP has been engaged by Orange City Council to undertake an Aboriginal Heritage Study of land within the Council boundary. The purpose of the study is to:

- consult with the Orange Aboriginal community
- prepare a thematic history
- identify and assess sites of significance
- provide management recommendations

A detailed methodology is also included. This report presents the results of the historical and anthropological research, community engagement and site assessment, and concludes with detailed management recommendations.

Project Team

The project was managed by Dr Michael Bennett, NTSCORP historians, who also wrote the section on pre-contact sites and the narrative history. Anthropological analysis was provided by James Rose and Simon Correy. Documentary research was undertaken by Dr Bennett and Natalie Rugiano, NTSCORP research assistant. Other NTSCORP research staff members who participated in the project were Anupam Sharma, Jia-Wei Zhu and Om Beacom-Halliday (intern). The team benefited from the advice and support of Natalie Rotumah (NTSCORP General Manager), Dr Ken Lum (Manager of NTSCORP Projects Group) and Neville Kim (Manager of NTSCORP Community Facilitation). Financial management was provided by Sam Cherian (NTSCORP Assistant Accountant).

Methodology

The broad scope of the project includes the identification and assessment of pre-contact, historic and contemporary Aboriginal sites of significance. As such, NTSCORP adopted a multi-disciplinary approach using analytical techniques drawn from archaeology, history, genealogy and anthropology. Community consultation was an integral part of all aspects of the methodology. Three presentations were made during 2011 to the Orange Aboriginal
Working Party of various aspects of the project. Other interested members of the community were kept updated with progress of research via phone calls from Sydney. NTSCORP ran a stall at the Services day during NAIDOC week (held in October) where information about the project was distributed.

**Archaeology**

The brief explicitly stated that an archaeological survey was not to be undertaken as part of the project. Information for the identification and assessment of pre-contact sites was obtained from the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS) maintained by the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH - previously the Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water). Some of the data was originally provided to NTSCORP in 2002. Subsequently, OEH has made a limited amount of site information available on-line and a search of this facility was undertaken to obtain more recently recorded information. Additional archaeological reports were provided by Orange LALC. Relevant documentary material was obtained from the Australian National University Library, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) and the State Library of NSW (SLNSW).

**History**

Detailed primary and secondary historical research was undertaken in the following institutions:

- SLNSW (including the Mitchell Library and State Reference Library)
- State Records Authority of NSW (SRNSW)
- AIATSIS
- Australian National Library
- Orange City Library
- Orange Historical Society
Newspaper articles and pictures were sourced using the Trove search engine operated by the National Library of Australia.¹

Building a picture of Aboriginal life from the colonial archive is a difficult job. For the most part, Aboriginal people were not thought important enough to write about. Their imminent demise was regularly predicted throughout the latter part of the 19th century. Few individuals were named or written about at length. Fewer still were given the opportunity to learn how to read and write. Subsequently, there are only a handful of documents state-wide written by Aboriginal people and none were found for this study.

There are, however, numerous sources which mention Aboriginal people, even if it is only fleeting. Pastoral records often contain the name of Aboriginal employees. Records of the criminal justice system sometimes contain details of Aboriginal people who were arrested and brought before the courts. Government records such as blanket returns and the correspondence of the Aborigines Protection Board often contain personal information. Descriptions of Aboriginal people in manuscripts and published material, including the names they were given, were often stereotypical and emphasised savagery, foolishness and other supposedly “natural” characteristics. Awareness of these conventions is helpful when reading colonial documents and extracting useful information from them.

**Genealogy**

Over the past decade, NTSCORP has built up significant genealogical resources conducting oral and documentary research for native title claims in NSW. Genealogical information on over 55,000 individuals is stored in an editable Gedcom file using commercially available software (Family Historian). Relevant genealogical material has been used in this study following family consultations. The advantage of genealogical information is that it allows patterns of kinship and movement to be traced over time. Historical information about other matters such occupation and mortality is also discoverable. Our genealogical records were supplemented during the community interviews. NTSCORP offers a free family tree service to all Aboriginal people in NSW and to this date, five have been prepared and sent as part of the study.

Aside from interviews, genealogical information was obtained from the NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages in the form of copies of original certificates. Additional birth, death and marriage certificates relating to the Orange Aboriginal Community have been identified and ordered on-line via the NSW Registry’s website. The technique used is to compare oral and documentary information and use professional judgment to determine the familial relationships. For the recent past, oral information tends to be favored as it is based on the direct experience of the informants. For the distant past beyond living memory documentary evidence is given greater weight.

**Anthropological Interviews and Analysis**

Thirty five members of the Orange Aboriginal community were interviewed for the project during two weeks of field work (held in early August and October). Interviews were also conducted with people from Bathurst and Cowra. Most interviews were with individuals although members of Daroo Elders requested to be interviewed as a group. There was approximately an equal mix between resettlement and Wiradjuri subjects. Questioning focused on themes such as sites of significance, traditional knowledge and practices, genealogical links, the experience of living in Orange, employment history, strength of connection (to Orange or elsewhere).

The anthropological and genealogical data was examined using a technique called network analysis to reveal kinship patterns over time.

**Thematic History**

Many Aboriginal histories written over the past three decades in NSW and throughout Australia have focused on the resistance of Aboriginal people to colonisation. Much has rightly been made of the efforts of Aboriginal people to retain their traditional customs and gain recognition of their rights to land and culture. These histories were important as Aboriginal people were largely absent from mainstream discourse over the past two centuries.

---


3 The NSW Government operated a voluntary resettlement project for Aboriginal families from Western NSW beginning in the late 1970s and many moved to Orange (see the thematic history for more details).
Another important theme, however, has been the ability of Aboriginal people to adapt to dramatically altered circumstances. Frontier violence and disease decimated many groups and those remaining had to adjust old skills and learn new ones to survive. Some Aboriginal people were attracted to the material possessions of Europeans and actively sought them out. Strategies of accommodation were used on both sides. Both themes are examined in this study and a degree of balance is sought.

Another important theme is one of migration. In pre-contact times, Aboriginal people were mobile but the movement was not without structure. Aboriginal people had particular territories and movement was partly governed by the availability of resources, although the maintenance and strengthening of kinship links were also a factor. The changes wrought by colonisation made it extremely difficult for Aboriginal people to move about the landscape as they once had. Many settled where they could, but patterns of movement continued as Aboriginal people visited nearby groups with whom they had longstanding links to organise marriages and maintain social connections. Movement and kinship is an enduring theme of this report and a means by which the significance of sites is assessed.

Previous Studies

There are only a limited number of published works which address the Aboriginal history of Orange. Read’s detailed study of the Wiradjuri people, which provides important contextual information (particularly about the impact of settlement and government policy), mentions Orange only in passing. Kabaila’s wider study of Wiradjuri sites of significance in the Macquarie River valley includes information on The Springs, an Aboriginal camp to the south of Orange (see Figure 2). Kabaila interviewed Josephine Ingram (nee Moynihan) who was born at The Springs in 1938.

There are several unpublished reports which contain relevant information about the Aboriginal history of Orange. Bennett’s report to Millie Ingram and the Orange Local Aboriginal Land Council summarises an extensive collection of archival material relating to

---

4 See Appendix 1 for a review of the anthropological literature.
5 Read 1988.
Orange and Molong. The Aboriginal Community Profile and Research Report (prepared by the Orange City Council in 1988), although not historical in nature, contains useful information about the impact of the Aboriginal Family Resettlement Scheme on the composition of the Orange Aboriginal community. The heritage assessment of the Springs by OzArk Environmental and Heritage Management Pty Ltd contains a brief historical section; the majority of the report, however, is archaeological in nature. Michael Milston, in collaboration with members of the Orange Aboriginal community, presented a paper at the 2009 AIATSIS conference in Canberra which contained an overview of local Aboriginal history.

---

7 Bennett 2000.
8 Orange City Council 1988.
9 OzArk 2010.
10 Milston 2009.
Pre-Contact Sites

The following map is based on information drawn from the Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS) maintained by OEH (previously the Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water). A search of the on-line facility in July 2011 showed that an additional 40 sites had been recorded since 2002.\(^\text{11}\)

![Map showing sites recorded on the AHIMS database](image)

There are no dates for Aboriginal sites in the Orange district. The oldest date obtained from a site in the wider area is from two rock shelters at the Granites approximately 60km to the

\(^{11}\) A rectangular area was searched bounded by Cadia in the south-west, Borenore in the north-west, Ophir in the north-east and Millthorpe in the south-east – see Appendix 1. An additional search to the west (including the Molong district) could not be completed due to technical problems with AHIMS. Sites identified to the west of Orange on the map come from data supplied to NTSCORP in 2002.

\(^{12}\) All Aboriginal sites (marked with a red dot) are stone too scatters or open campsites unless otherwise indicated.
south-east of Wellington. Occupation began at this site in 7150BP.\textsuperscript{13} Occupation of the Australian continent began over 30,000 years ago.\textsuperscript{14} It is likely that Aboriginal people have been living in the Orange district for most of that time.

Limited archaeological surveys have been conducted in the Orange district. Additional surveys, particularly along creek lines, but also in more elevated areas, are likely to reveal more sites. Most sites have been recorded as part of commercial and residential developments, although Pearson recorded several as part of his doctoral research. The following graph shows the various types of sites found in the study area.

![Figure 2: Graph showing the frequency of site types in the Orange district](image)

Open camp sites, consisting of stone artefacts and hearths, are the most common type found in the Orange district (see Figure 2). Several scarred trees were identified in the immediate vicinity of Orange. The scars are produced when bark is removed for the manufacture of containers such as coolamons. The site list for the Molong district will include the carved trees marking Yuranigh’s grave at Gamboola (see below).

Archaeological surveys have identified some of the important living places in the Orange district. Numerous artefacts were found in the vicinity of Suma Park Reservoir which dams the water of Summer Hill Creek, a tributary of the Macquarie River. Another important camping area was in the district of Browns Creek at Lewis Ponds where numerous artefact

\textsuperscript{13} Koettig 1985: 53.
\textsuperscript{14} Mulvaney & Kamminga: 130-146.
scatters and a burial have been located. Campsites were found on the ridges and slopes overlooking the creek, but not on the flat.\textsuperscript{15} According to the archaeologist who recorded most of the sites, their absence from the flats was due to poor drainage and cold temperatures in low lying areas.

Limited evidence of occupation, including several stone flakes and a scarred tree, was found along the banks of Cadiangullong Creek, a tributary of Summer Hill Creek, which flows along the south-eastern border of Mount Canobolas. Although the valley slopes were too steep for camping, the river flats were suited for occupation. Bracken fern, a staple plant food, grows abundantly in the area and animal sources recorded in the valley include kangaroo, wallaroo, snake, lizards, birds and yabbies. The absence of recorded sites is along the creek is probably due to the impact of European mining in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century and geomorphic processes which are likely to have obscured many sites.\textsuperscript{16}

Pearson’s analysis of the early ethnographic literature suggests that the Orange district falls within a Wiradjuri clan group which occupied the upper Macquarie River and its tributaries. The name of the clan group has not been identified. Nearby clan groups included one which occupied the Cudgegong River valley at Mudgee and another at the Bell River valley in the Wellington district. Pearson estimates that the population of the three clan groups combined was 500-600 people. Day to day, people lived in smaller groups of approximately 20-40 people (occupying areas such as the Summer Hill and Cadiangullong Creek valleys). Water was available throughout the year indicating that the area was permanently occupied, although as noted above, the lower lying river valleys may have been unsuitable for camping during the winter months. Pearson also notes that the smaller groups came together to feast on seasonal resources, although he does not name them. Ceremonies attracted larger groups as did inter-clan fights to resolve disputes about trespass and the kidnapping of women.\textsuperscript{17} Community consultation indicated that male initiation ceremonies were once held on Mount Canobolas; several scatters of stone tools have also been recorded near the summit.

\textbf{Carved Trees}

\textsuperscript{15} Ross 1981: 3.
\textsuperscript{16} Ross 1981: 4-16.
\textsuperscript{17} Pearson 1984: 63-68
Agriculture and pastoralism have also destroyed many sites in the Orange district. A distinctive feature of Wiradjuri country was clusters of carved trees which marked burials of important people and initiations sites. The trees were richly decorated with geometric and figurative designs. Sadly, few carved trees remain standing. An exception is Yuranigh’s grave on Gamboola Station near Molong, which was marked by five carved trees, three of which still stand.18 Yuranigh was a guide for Sir Thomas Mitchell and when he learned of Yuranigh’s death in the 1850s, he organised for a headstone to be place on the grave. The bark has mostly grown over the carvings on the three living trees. The site is recorded on the AHIMS database and is protected by the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974.

![Figure 3: Photograph of Edmund Milne standing next to a carved tree at Yuranigh’s grave](image)

Another carved tree was found on Boree Nyrang, a property approximately 25km west of Orange. It recorded by Edmund Milne, Deputy Chief Commissioner of Railways and Tramways, NSW, and informant of R. Etheridge. Milne thought the design was “possibly anthropomorphic” but it is clearly geometric. It is regarded as a burial tree, but the identity of the individual buried there is unknown (see Figure 3).

---

18 A fourth tree is on display at the site, but it was caged after it died.
19 State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW): SPF/1150. Please note that Milne did not use the axe to cut down the tree, although he may have used it to remove the bark which had grown over the design.
Distinctive ceremonies were conducted for the burial of important individuals. William Govett, surveyor, observed an Aboriginal funeral near Goulburn in 1836. He wrote:

…I was struck with the peculiarity of the noise… I soon perceived before me three native black women, and rode up to them. They were sitting around a mound of earth, with their heads depressed and nearly touching one another… I waited some time in astonishment observing their actions, and listening to their horrid lamentable yells. They were each of them striking their heads with a tomahawk, holding the instrument in the right hand, and wounding particularly the upper part of the back of the head… They weep this way, wailing and cutting their heads, until they become perfectly exhausted, and can shed tears no longer… The trees all round the tomb were marked in various peculiar ways, some with zigzags and stripes, and pieces of bark otherwise cut.21

A similar display of grief is said to have accompanied the burial of Yuranigh along with the burning of grass in the vicinity of the grave.22

---

20 Milne 1918 [2011]: Plate XXIV, Figure
21 Quoted in Briggs and Jackson 2011: 8.
Mound graves marked with carved trees were also characteristic of the Wiradjuri on the Lachlan River, as was observed by John Oxley, surveyor, and his assistant, George Evans, in 1817. Oxley was particularly impressed with the effort taken to carve the designs, describing the trees as “… a work of great labour and time”. It is not known whether Yuranigh was buried in a mound grave before the European headstone was added.

In July 1913, Milne and others set out from Condobolin to see if they could locate some of the carved trees mentioned in Evans and Oxley’s reports. Before setting out, Milne spoke at Orange with an old Aboriginal man from the Lachlan River named Jackey Narang. The information proved crucial as the party was able to locate a carved tree with the same design as one drawn by Oxley at the mound burial site. The remains of the mound, however, could not be seen. Milne also spoke with Billy Boyd, another old Aboriginal man from the Lachlan River, who related a story told to him by the “old men of the tribe”. Boyd said that the grave identified by Oxley contained the remains of a “celebrated doctor” or “koradga” who was

23 National Library of Australia: nla.pic-an8955101
24 Briggs and Jackson 2011: 12.
drowned as he set out in a canoe on an expedition to the Bogan River. Further information about Jacky Narang and Billy Boyd has not been found, although the surname “Narang” (sometimes spelled “Nerang” or “Narange”) is associated with Peak Hill and the Bogan River.

Photographs of carved trees were the subject of a recent exhibition at the State Library of New South Wales which was curated by Ronald Briggs and Melissa Jackson, Indigenous Service Librarians. The exhibition is touring regional venues, including Dubbo. Many of the photographs of carved trees from Wiradjuri country were taken by Clifton Cappie Towle, an amateur site recorder who travelled extensively throughout rural NSW in the first half of the 20th century, although he does not seem to have visited Orange. The exhibition includes the photograph, shown in this report, of Milne at Yuranigh’s grave site.

An important message communicated by the exhibition is the ongoing significance of carved trees to Aboriginal people of NSW, particularly traditional owners. As part of the research for the current project, regional and state museums are being contacted to see if they hold Aboriginal artefacts from Orange, including carved trees. The Orange City Council has provided NTSCORP with a description and assessment of a carved tree held by the Orange and District Historical Society. The carved tree was originally located on Corroboree, a property in the Orange district. It was cut down in the middle decades of the 20th century as a precautionary measure against bush fire and given to the Historical Society in 1970. It is not currently on display. The design, characteristic of other Wiradjuri carved trees, displays a geometric diamond pattern. The condition of the tree is described as “fragile” and the carving is weathered and worn in several places.

A similar tree is on display at the Eugowra Public School (see Figure 6). The tree was moved to its current site in 1980 and is originally from a property approximately 15km from Eugowra along the Goolagong Road on the Lachlan River. According to the information panel at the school, the carved tree originally marked a mound grave, the remnants of which could still be seen in 1980. Further research is required, but the grave may have been the

26 Briggs and Jackson 2011
27 Two other carved trees were previously destroyed by fire on the property.
same one observed by Oxley in 1817. Reference is also made to a further two carved trees on nearby Mandagery Creek.

The base of the carved tree is encased in concrete. It is protected by a roof, but otherwise open to the elements. There are signs of rotting in the base and it is likely that urgent conservation work is required. During a recent site visit, the Principle enquired if funding is available for conservation measures. It is clear that immediate action is required to ensure the appropriate preservation of this significant object.

Carved trees have already been returned to the care of Aboriginal communities in NSW. In 2010, a carved tree previously held by the Museum Victoria was returned to the care of the Baradine Local Aboriginal Land Council.28 Orange City Council will have to give

28 Dubbo Weekend Liberal 13 April 2010: 11.
consideration to working with the Orange Aboriginal community about the appropriate management of carved trees and the potential return of examples to the care of the community. This issue will be further discussed in the following section.
Thematic History

Orange is situated in the central western plains of NSW within the territory of the Wiradjuri speaking peoples. The first European incursion into the district did not occur until after the Blue Mountains had been crossed in May 1813 by William Wentworth, Gregory Blaxland and William Lawson. Two years later, Governor Macquarie proclaimed a Government Stock Establishment, staffed by soldiers and convicts, at the present site of Bathurst. The government established a convict station in the Wellington Valley in 1823. Occupation of the Orange district (the settlement was originally called Blackman’s Swamp) commenced in the late 1820s. A formal village at the present site of Orange was established in 1846.

Figure 7: Map showing Orange and district

29 Griffin nrm 2004.
Aboriginal resistance to European occupation occurred most clearly at Bathurst. From 1822, the Wiradjuri (led by Windradyne) attacked numerous pastoral stations in an attempt to wrest back control of the land. Governor Brisbane declared martial law in May 1823 and a punitive expedition was dispatched to capture Windradyne and his attackers. An unknown number of Aboriginal people were killed by the expedition and it is believed that others fled north to the Mudgee district to escape. Hostilities ceased when Windradyne marched east over the Blue Mountains to Parramatta where he attended the annual feast and blanket distribution. The impact of these events on Aboriginal people in the Orange district is unclear. It does not appear that the punitive expedition ventured as far as Orange, but it is likely that Aboriginal community would have been aware of Windradyne’s resistance and the government’s response.

**Thunna Thunna**

The Aboriginal population of the Orange district was devastated by a smallpox outbreak in 1830 and 1831. Locally, the disease was first reported by Andrew Brown, an overseer at Wallerawang, who said that he had encountered five Aboriginal people on the Castlereagh River with the disease when travelling to the north-west. It first appeared in the Wellington Valley in October 1830 and the localized epidemic continued for two months. The Wiradjuri in the district blamed the disease on Captain Sturt who had recently passed through the valley on his way to the west. Mair also said that one of their “sages” had predicted a “grievous calamity” would come from Mount Harris, which is over 175km north-west of Wellington” and destroy them. The disease seems to have then moved to the east and south: outbreaks at Bathurst and the Lachlan River Valley soon followed, and by August 1831, there were sufferers at Wallerawang, although some escaped by heading over the Blue Mountains to Emu Plains.

John Mair, a surgeon from Sydney, was sent by the colonial authorities in late 1831 to investigate the outbreak. He did not arrive in time to observe the sufferers directly as “the disease had finished its work of desolation, and left only its traces behind”. Mair, who relied on eyewitness reports when compiling his information, was convinced that the disease

---

30 Read 1988: 8-11.
31 Read 1988: 11.
32 SR CSIL 4/2130 31/10001; also see Campbell 2002.
which afflicted the Aboriginal community was smallpox. A Bathurst doctor, George Busby, was less certain, but Mair’s greater experience and knowledge of the disease – he was an advocate for smallpox inoculation – gives his opinion greater credibility.

Mair’s investigations brought him to the conclusion that the disease had swept down from the north-west. George Clark, an escaped convict who had been living with Gamilaraay people to the north of the Liverpool Plains, reported that none of the groups with whom he was in contact managed to avoid it. The victims included the “King or Chief”33 of the tribe with whom he was living. The local “Kradjee”, described by Mair as a “Soothsayer”, treated the headman by immersing him in water, but that did not prevent his death. The “Kradjee”, who said he only had a supernatural understanding of the disease, then tried pricking the pustules of sufferers with a fish bone point and “squeezing out the fluid contained in them with the flat part of the instrument”. This was similar to a treatment advocated by some white doctors and it may have hastened the drying of the pustules to a scab. Another approach which the “Kradjee” took was to “scorch” all the hair from the bodies of the patients.

The impact of smallpox, which the Wellington and Lachlan River Wiradjuri called “Thunna Thunna”, was devastating and Mair estimated that it killed between one in three and one in six of all Aboriginal people in the areas to which it spread. At Bathurst, he heard “melancholy” singing at a “solemn” corroboree commemorating the victims. Mair said that the affliction was “chiefly fatal to adults and old people, seldom to children, and that those who had suffered from the disease at a former period as indicated by the marks on their skins escaped it altogether”.34 Mair undertook some vaccinations during his trip, although it is unlikely that they proved effective as the epidemic had already passed. George Rankin had vaccinated three Aboriginal men living on his property at the Lachlan River in 1827 and all three survived while their father passed away. Members of the Grant family vaccinated about 10 members of the “Miles” and “Camberrang” tribes.35

33 The descriptions “King or Chief” are a misnomer: such formal political structures did not exist in Indigenous society, although people who had demonstrated prowess in social, economic or political matters could exercise greater authority in some circumstances.
34 SR CSIL 4/2130 31/10001; smallpox struck the Sydney Aboriginal population in 1789 and it is likely that the same epidemic swept through areas to the west of the Blue Mountains.
35 The territory occupied by the “Miles” and “Camberrang” tribes (and Mair did not use this term with any anthropological understanding) is uncertain. A member of the Bathurst Wiradjuri stated that he knew of an Aboriginal man named King Miles from the Lithgow district, although no reference to him has been found in the archival record.
Smallpox also struck an Aboriginal family living at Emu Swamp near Orange and at least one man and his son died. A surviving daughter came to the house of a white family named Coddy who were living at Emu Swamp and she was given quart pots of fresh milk to take back to her relatives. She was eventually taken in by the Coddy family who suffered their own tragedy when their two year old daughter contracted the disease and died.

**Blanket Returns**

Despite the impact of frontier conflict and disease, a considerable number of Aboriginal people were living in the Orange district in the middle decades of the 19th century. This is evident from the blanket returns, an official record showing the names, probable age, number of wives and children, “Place or district of usual resort” and tribe of the recipients. Reece argued that blanket distributions began in Sydney when Governor Macquarie commenced the annual feast at Parramatta in 1814 as part of his program to end the violent cycle of frontier conflict occurring on the Hawkesbury/Nepean River. Smithson’s review of the evidence, however, indicates that blanket distributions did not begin systematically until the late 1820s when they were used to reward Aboriginal people in the 19 settled counties for capturing bushrangers and to encourage friendly relations with the colonists. One of the earliest distributions took place at Bathurst in 1826 following the period of martial law outlined above and another soon followed in the Hunter Valley where fierce confrontation between colonists and Aboriginal people had also broken out.

Records show that a blanket distribution took place at Wellington on 29 August 1830. Only two “tribes” were mentioned (“Binjung” and “Boohgan”) and neither seems to have been located in the Orange district. It is tempting to place the “Boohgan” tribes to the west near the Bogan River, but this cannot be done with certainty. One member of the “Boohgan” tribe was known as “Bathurst Billy” but this does not necessarily mean that he came from Bathurst: Aboriginal men were sometimes given names of the places they travelled to outside.

---

36 Blanket distributions ceased between 1843 and 1847 and resumed after 1850 (Reece 1974: 209-12).
38 There are surviving blanket returns in the period of 1826 to 1843 for Batemans Bay, Bathurst, Carcoar, Eden, Hunter Valley, Illawarra, Newcastle, Port Stephens, Shoalhaven, Southern Highlands, Sydney and Wellington.
of their territory. Two members of the “Binjung” tribe were “King Burrendong” and “Duke Burrendong” suggesting a link to the Burrendong Dam area about 65km north of Orange. However, the same argument as for Bathurst Billy might apply in this case, too. In all, 40 Aboriginal people were given blankets, 28 from “Binjung” and 12 from “Boohgan”.

Five Aboriginal men collected blankets from Bathurst on 29 May and 3 July 1833. Four gave their “Tribe” and “Place of usual resort” as Mandurama, while the remaining man said Coombing, suggesting that all five came from the Mount Macquarie area approximately 35km south of Orange. Four had surnames recorded (Jemmy and William Rodd, Sandy West and Jackey Wilcox), however, no facts about their lives are known beyond they collected blankets.

A group of eight Aboriginal men from Molong and Boree travelled to Wellington in 1834 to collect blankets. Only two admitted to having children, namely King Bogin of the “Boree Tribe” with two boys and Jemmy, also of the “Boree Tribe”, with four boys. All eight men were living at Molong except for King Bogin who was living at Boree. And all eight were recorded as belonging to the Boree tribe except for Saturday, who belonged to the “Newrea tribe” (which may have been located in the vicinity of Lyndhurst and Mandurama). Windradyne was also known as Saturday, but he was dead by 1834 so it cannot have been him. Also, the Saturday who attended Wellington was a young man, giving an estimated age of 22. Perhaps he was a son or relative of Windradyne, or wished to draw on Windradyne’s reputation by taking his name.

Three Aboriginal men from Molong and Boree who missed out on receiving blankets at Wellington in 1834 travelled to Bathurst instead. Seven others came from Belubula, Coombing and Mandurama, including Jackey Wilcox and Sandy West who had collected blankets the previous year. In one year, Wilcox and West’s tribal designation changed from Coombing and Mandurama respectively to Belubula, demonstrating the dubious anthropological value of the information. Nevertheless, as we have seen, all three places are in proximity, indicating that both men had a strong attachment to the wider area.

---

41 See the case below of Port Phillip Charlie who had ties to Orange and the Turon but drove stock to Port Phillip for Benjamin Boyd.
44 King Bogin was also known as Tommy Raine – see 1836 Bathurst blanket return.
Some familiar names from the Orange district collected blankets at Bathurst in 1836, including Tommy Raine of Boree, and Jackey Wilcox and Sandy West (whose tribal affiliations returned to Coombing and Mandurama). \(^45\) Billy Wentworth of Boree also picked up a blanket. His name suggests an association with William Wentworth, co-European discoverer of the route across the Blue Mountains and owner of property in the Orange district.

At the distribution held at Carcoar in July 1841, 73 Aboriginal people (comprising 38 men, 27 women and 8 children) came forward to collect blankets. \(^46\) They had come from Coombing, Belubula and Waugoola (25km south-west of Carcoar). Only two names reoccur from previous lists: Jackey Wilcox and William Rodd; the remaining names are new entries. Several names are worth mentioning. Billy and George Lambert of Coombing may be related to Jane and Rose Lambert, two sisters who lived much of their lives in the Rylstone district producing numerous descendants. In 1926, an Aboriginal man named Jim Clements visited Orange, proclaiming to be the son of King Billy Lambert and to have been born on Mount Canobolas in 1848. \(^47\) The dates fit as Billy Lambert’s age was estimated to be 25 in 1841. No further details about Billy and George Lambert are known.

Another recipient at Carcoar in 1841 was Billy Collit who age was estimated to be 50. Billy may have been related to Betsy Collit who was born at Cowra in 1838 and is an important ancestor of the Coe family. She married John Coe at Grenfell in 1863 and died at Cowra on 2 May 1912. \(^48\) Some of her descendants later lived on The Springs during the Great Depression. Both Billy and Betsy Collit may have had an association with James Collits, a settler on the Lachlan River who Sir Thomas Mitchell encountered on his third expedition to Australia Felix in 1836. \(^49\)

The blanket returns show conclusively that Aboriginal people survived the smallpox epidemic of the early 1830s, but they cannot be relied upon to give an accurate population count. As noted by Smithson, the government did not intend for blankets to be given to all

\(^{45}\) Aborigines, Returns of Aborigines, 1833-36, SRANSW 4/6666B.3.
\(^{46}\) SRNSW Colonial Secretary's Correspondence: In letters (special bundles), Aborigines, Distribution of blankets, 1838-43 4/1133.3.
\(^{47}\) Orange Star 21 May 1926.
\(^{48}\) DC of Betsy Field, 1912/005538.
\(^{49}\) Baker 1997: 110.
Aboriginal people, only those deemed to be of assistance. This policy was relaxed somewhat as the 1830s progressed, hence the increased numbers handed out in 1841. But we cannot know if all Aboriginal people came forward to collect a blanket and it is probable that some did not for a variety of reasons. The number of children recorded is low and this may reflect the impact of smallpox. By this time, however, the mission at Wellington had been operating for over 10 years and Watson was known to take children without the consent of parents. Knowledge of these acts may have encouraged parents to keep their children away from blanket returns, thus keeping the count artificially low.

Governor Gipps reduced the scale of blanket distributions in the early 1840s as economic conditions in the colony tightened; he suspended it altogether in 1843. After an outcry from magistrates who said that Aboriginal people were extremely dissatisfied with the decision, the policy was reinstated in 1848. A committee was formed to oversee the distribution. As before, the Colonial Secretary sent out a letter at the beginning of each year to police stations and magistrates asking whether Aboriginal people in the district required blankets for winter. The Queen’s Birthday was set as the date for distribution, although in reality blankets were handed out whenever Aboriginal people applied.50

In the 1850s, at least four blanket distributions were held at Orange. The Orange Bench of Magistrates requested and received 40 blankets in 1850. They wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

“In reply to you circular letter… requesting to be informed what number of blankets would be required to be issued to the native blacks of this district, I have the honour to inform you that we consider forty blankets will be necessary as the number of blacks applying for them as the last occasion of their being issued, exceeded our supply by a great many.”51

Unfortunately, the surviving correspondence does not include the names and details of the recipients. It does indicate, however, a sizable Indigenous population in the Orange district.

51 SRNSW CSIL letter 50/801, box 4/2885.
A scandal erupted in late 1856 when it became apparent to the Orange Bench of Magistrates that several of the police appointed to distribute the blankets had been misappropriating them. Initially, Magistrate Arthur Templer’s report, dated 23 December 1856, indicated that all was proceeding as usual:

In reply to your circular letter… we have the honor to state that the 100 blankets therein alluded to were received in time to be issued to Native Blacks on the Queen’s Birth Day. The blankets are issued to the Blacks as they make application for them, few of whom live in this immediate locality, merely causing the issue not to take place in every instance on the day named.\textsuperscript{52}

The residences of the recipients from outside the “immediate locality” were not recorded, but perhaps they were travelling from Molong, Boree, Coombing and Mandurama to collect blankets at Orange as was the case in the pre-1843 distributions when Bathurst was the destination.

It was in the following paragraph that Templer reported the corrupt conduct. He wrote:

In making enquiries relative to the latter part of your letter, much to our astonishment we discerned that the several constables attached to this station have been in the habit of using these blankets for their own purposes. We further learn that there are 30 now in hand but from the above cause are in a very filthy state.

The district constable who had charge and control of said blankets was lately dismissed from his office and it is from the chief constable… lately appointed, that we learnt the inequality alluded to.

Mr John Lane, J.P… ordered some blankets to be issued to certain blacks, when he was informed the supply had been… exhausted whereas it appears at the time the constables had many parcelled out amongst them.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52} SRNSW CSIL letter 57/924, box 4/3353.
\textsuperscript{53} SRNSW CSIL letter 57/924, box 4/3353.
Investigations continued in the New Year and by 26 January, Templer was able to identify for the Colonial Secretary the names of the perpetrators, their current status with the police and the number of blankets (totaling 30) they had misappropriated.

- Ordinary Constable Ciman (dismissed): 6 blankets
- Ordinary Constable O’Dea (resigned): 4 blankets
- Ordinary Constable Newton (dismissed): 4 blankets
- District Constable Herrick (dismissed): 8 blankets
- Ordinary Constable Daly (in police): 3 blankets
- Ordinary Constable Monahan (in police): 5 blankets

Templer recommended that action be taken against the two officers still employed to ensure that such a situation would not arise again. He wrote:

Under the circumstances there are only two of the above who can be surcharged for the blankets, but as it appears to us so great a dereliction of duty, particularly in the part of the late District Constable who as head of the police at the time he held office had more immediate charge of such matters, that we deem it requisite such steps should be taken as may prevent any thing of the kind recurring again.\(^5^4\)

The Colonial Secretary took Templer’s recommendations seriously. William Elyard\(^5^5\), public servant in the Colonial Secretary’s office, made the following request to the Civil Crown Solicitor on 25 February 1857:

In transmitting to you the enclosed papers from which it appears that some of the Constables at Orange have misapplied certain blankets which were sent to the Bench for distribution amongst the Native Blacks – I am directed to inform you, that Constables Daly and Monaghan who are still in the police will be surcharged with the cost of the Blankets they have appropriated to their own use and to request that you

\(^{54}\) SRNSW CSIL letter 57/924, box 4/3353.

\(^{55}\) William Elyard was not unsympathetic to Aboriginal people of NSW and the conditions under which they lived. His family frequently employed Aboriginal people on their properties in the Shoalhaven district and his brother Samuel (who also worked for the Colonial Secretary) sometimes went fishing with Aboriginal men on the Shoalhaven River (see Bennett 2003: 85-90, 112).
will have the goodness to say whether any steps can be taken to punish the other men concerned who have left the force.\textsuperscript{56}

The Civil Crown Solicitor’s office considered the evidence but decided not to take action against the two officers who remained in the force. The reply to the Colonial Secretary, dated 6 March 1857. Stated:

Referring to your letter of the 25\textsuperscript{th} … respecting the misapplication by some of the Constables at Orange of certain Blankets which were sent to the Bench for distribution amongst the Native Blacks, and requesting one to state whether any steps can be taken to punish the constables, I do myself the honor to state that the Blankets were only \textit{used} by the Constables and not otherwise appropriated by them, I do not think that any proceedings can be taken against them.\textsuperscript{57}

Despite the unwillingness of the Civil Crown Prosecutor’s Office to proceed with legal action, it is clear that the Orange Bench of Magistrates took the issue seriously. Blanket distributions were considered to be very important and the case lends weight to Smithson’s contention that far from being an act of charity, they played a significant role in creating peaceful and workable relations between the colonial authorities and Aboriginal people. Smithson also argues that from the Aboriginal perspective, blanket distributions were a means by which they could draw colonial authorities into their own reciprocal system of gift-giving and create personal relationships. Blankets were partly seen as compensation for the loss of land and resources which followed from pastoral expansion. In their own eyes, Aboriginal people were owed an obligation by Europeans and the blankets were seen as a right.\textsuperscript{58} This perception is evident from a much later distribution at Molong in the 1880s. In August 1887, an Aboriginal man named Mr Doyle (who was also known as Tarpot) asked J.E. Kelly, his local State member of Parliament, for a blanket. Evidently, Mr Doyle had previously asked the Premier for a blanket as Kelly wrote to Sir Henry Parkes in an exasperated tone:

\textsuperscript{56} SRNSW CSIL letter 57/924, box 4/3353.
\textsuperscript{57} SRNSW CSIL letter 57/924, box 4/3353.
\textsuperscript{58} Smithson 1992: 86-87.
When in Molong yesterday Mr Tarpot waited upon me to say – ‘Sir Henry was like rest of ‘em, out of site out mind… no plurry blanket yet… no fear of him –’ Upon my word it is bitterly cold up country just now – and this is just to job your memory re Mr Doyle alias ‘Tarpot’ – and also the same in the matter of Mrs Mary Cain of Coonabarrabran (sic). If this don’t bring those blankets I shall give the job up and send a cheque myself to both local storekeepers and see what that might do.

The letter achieved its objective and Parkes directed Edmund Fosberry, Chief of Police and Chairman of the Aborigines Protection Board to send two blankets to Molong. An acquiescent Parkes wrote that the blankets “ought to have been sent before”.

Mr Doyle’s sense of entitlement is implicit in his statement to Kelly. He expected the obligation to be fulfilled and was frustrated (but perhaps not surprised) when it was not done in a reasonable time.

There is little evidence to demonstrate precisely where Aboriginal people were living in the 1850s. There is a report that people gathered at Newman Park, East Orange, before proceeding to the police station to collect their blankets. A more permanent Aboriginal camp may have been located here, but corroborative evidence is lacking. In the early 1850s, Aboriginal people were camped near Denis Hanrahan’s public house (known as the Limerick Castle) on the Cargo Road at Campedale. It is likely that some of the residents came forward annually to collect a blanket. Other recipients probably lived and worked on nearby pastoral stations (see below).

Later blanket returns for Orange have not been located as yet, although blankets were distributed at Bathurst by the police between 1867 and 1888. They recorded details such as the date of issue, name and residence of recipient, and, on one occasion, the Indigenous name of recipient. Some of the beneficiaries lived at Killongbutta, a pastoral station on the

59 CSIL letter 87/8910, box 1/2654.
60 Anonymous 1928: 21.
61 Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal 23 April 1853: 2; Sydney Morning Herald 22 March 1854: 2; Hanrahan’s public house was on ground where the boarding houses of Kinross Wolaroi School are now situated (see the section on the murder of Port Phillip Charlie by Jemmy D’Arcy for more information on the camp’s location).
62 The Indigenous name of the recipient was only recorded in the 1867 return. There are no other post-1850 returns which record this type of detail.
Macquarie River approximately 30km east-north-east of Orange. Sarah (sometimes known as Sally) Medley was living there in 1867 and 1868 when she went in to Bathurst to collect a blanket. Born circa 1819, Sarah’s son John Rowland Harpur was born in 1839 and baptized in Sydney on 15 December 1854. He married Honora Sullivan on 14 October 1865 at Orange. Their infant son William Harpur died at Orange in 1866. Honora (who was also known as Hannah) collected a blanket from Bathurst in May 1872. Afterwards they moved west to Nyngan where their daughter Nora Harpur was born in 1885. Sarah Medley remained in the Bathurst and Orange districts; she died at Killongbutta on 20 April 1892 and was buried at the station on the following day.

**Interior Exploration**

Outside of the blanket returns, the names of Aboriginal people rarely appear in the documentary record in the 19th century. It is difficult to build up a picture of their lives. Virtually nothing is known of the hundreds of names that appear in the NSW blanket returns from the late 1820s until the 1840s. Some names suggest a connection to prominent pastoral families and colonial identities. One such name from the 1841 Carcoar blanket return is Tommy Mitchell (Aboriginal name Gudgoodjem) of Coombing who may have had an association with Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of NSW who used Boree near Molong as the starting point for several of his interior expeditions. Mitchell’s journals, however, do not mention his Indigenous namesake so the connection may only have been peripheral.

Another man mentioned in the 1841 return was Jemmy Piper, possibly John Piper from Bathurst who first joined Mitchell on his third expedition to Australia Felix which commenced from Boree in March 1836. The local Wiradjuri held a corroboree the night before Mitchell and his team departed, but there is no indication that Piper participated. The expedition proceeded to the Lachlan River and Piper proved invaluable in acting as

---

63 Number of Blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst, 1867-1888, ML A3016.
64 Baptism certificate of John Rowland Harpur, 1854/2513 Vol 56.
65 DC of William Harpur, 1866/005697.
66 Number of Blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst, 1867-1888, ML A3016.
67 DC of Sally Medley, 1892/01050; although we do not know where Sarah Medley was born, the fact that she spent her entire life in the Bathurst and Orange district, particularly around Killongbutta, suggests that she was born in the area. Given that she was born circa 1819, she may have been a survivor of the violence following the declaration of martial law in the mid-1820s.
interpreter and diplomat to the Wiradjuri people that were encountered along the way. He was also skilled at tracking lost cattle, climbing trees to scout the course ahead and finding scarce sources of water. At Lake Cargelligo, much to the astonishment of Mitchell, Piper managed to obtain a wife from the local group. Travelling west, the party eventually reached the Darling River. Mitchell’s previous expedition to the Darling had resulted in the shooting deaths of several Barkandji. As news of Mitchell’s arrival spread, a revenge party of Barkandji was assembled. On 27 May, several of Mitchell’s convict assistants began firing. Mitchell, Piper and the other assistants joined in the shooting and at least seven Barkandji were shot dead. After this incident, Piper was less successful in mediating with Aboriginal people met with along the way.68

Piper was joined as a guide for Mitchell’s 1845-1846 expedition to tropical Australia by Yuranigh69, a young Aboriginal man from the Boree district. The party departed Boree in December 1845 and travelled to the Bogan River before turning north. Initially, Mitchell regarded both Piper and Yuranigh as vital members of the party, however as they proceeded north, he learnt of Piper’s intentions to leave and go in search of young Aboriginal women near the Macquarie River. Piper denied the assertion, but it was confirmed by Yuranigh, and Piper was sent back to Bathurst. Yuranigh remained with the expedition as it advanced beyond the Tropic of Capricorn to Mount Douglas on the Belyando River. He proved to be particularly valuable on the Narran River when he placated a group of Aboriginal people who seemingly had menacing intent. When the expedition returned to Sydney in late 1847, Yuranigh, who had been to Sydney before, delighted in showing another Aboriginal guide named Dicky the sights of the city.

Yuranigh died in the 1850s and was buried on Boree Station. Initially, his grave was marked with five carved trees, a sign of his status within the Aboriginal community. Later, Sir Thomas Mitchell, who regarded Yuranigh as his “guide, companion, councillor (sic) and friend” organised for a headstone to be erected at the gravesite, creating a unique memorial. Yuranigh’s grave has been listed on the State Heritage Register and is managed by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service as an Historic Site. Members of the local Wiradjuri community believe that other important Aboriginal people are buried nearby, but no further

69 There is no obvious mention of Yuranigh in the blanket returns, although he was probably too young to have his name recorded. For the most part, only adult men had their details written down.
details are known. Community opinion about Yuranigh is equivocal: he is remembered as a significant Wiradjuri identity, but also as a man who assisted with the dispossession of other Aboriginal groups.70

**Gold Rush**

A discovery not long before Yuranigh passed away had a significant impact on Aboriginal people in the Orange area and throughout the colony. The first payable gold in Australia was unearthed by William Tom jnr. and John Lister on the 7th April 1851 at the junction of Lewis Ponds and Summer Hill Creeks, north-west of Orange. By mid-May, there were several hundred people at work panning for gold on Summer Hill Creek at Ophir. The gold rush had begun.

The effect on the township of Orange was immediate and dramatic; its population tripled in a matter of months. The structure of the population altered as a mix of middle class travelers (from Europe, America and China as well as the British Isles) and labourers arrived en-masse. Previously the town had been dominated by convicts, poor assisted migrants and squatting families. Gold laid the foundation for great prosperity in the local area and throughout the economy.

The benefits of the gold rush to local Aboriginal people were less certain. Gold seekers were concentrated on the creek banks at places such as Ophir and Lewis Ponds. Their presence and activities occupied large tracts of land and polluted the water, making it difficult for Aboriginal people to camp in the area. Nevertheless, the gold rush attracted Aboriginal people who made the best of the situation which confronted them.

---

70 This information was provided to NTSCORP during community interviews held in the week of 3-7 October 2011.
In July 1851, an Aboriginal man and former resident of William Watson’s mission at Wellington found numerous fragments of quartz (weighing a startling 106 pounds) which contained a significant lode of gold. The discovery was made at Wellwood, a pastoral station on Louisa Creek\textsuperscript{71} owned by Dr Kerr. The discoverer had worked as a shepherd for Kerr for seven years. He showed Kerr the discovery and was rewarded with two flocks of sheep, a dray and a team of bullocks.\textsuperscript{72} This represented a tidy sum, but Kerr undoubtedly got the better part of the deal. There is no evidence that gold played an important part in either the economic or ritual lives of Wiradjuri people (although quartz crystals were particularly significant\textsuperscript{73}), but Aboriginal people recognised that gold was of value to Europeans. The shepherd had been casually cracking lumps of quartz with a tomahawk knowing that any gold would attract the interest of his employer.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{71} Louisa Creek is approximately 60km north-north-east of Orange.

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{South Australian} 19 August 1851: 2 (the find was reported in the press throughout the colony and fueled a “delirium of golden fever” – see \textit{Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal} 19 July 1851: 2); Diary of Hugh Hamilton NLA MS 956.

\textsuperscript{73} It gave clever men the power to “see right through into a person’s mind, and to fly” (Elkin 1977: 86).

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal} 19 July 1851: 2; also published in \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} 18 July 1851: 2; see also \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} 2 August 1851: 482 (the \textit{Cornwall Chronicle} was published in Launceston, Tasmania). Interestingly, the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}’s copy of the article, which credits the \textit{Bathurst Free Press} as the author, was published the day before. This is probably because the \textit{Herald} was published every day during the week whereas the \textit{Bathurst Free Press} was printed less frequently. The Bathurst
William Watson soon heard of the discovery. His report for 1852 mentioned that three Aboriginal employees of Kerr had found the gold: Daniel, Tommy and Jemmy Irvin. It appears they cashed in part of their reward as they “soon appeared dressed in the first style… riding about like other gentlemen.” But the principle of sharing was maintained as they “did not forget their less fortunate brethren in the district but sought them out, and invited them to go and share in their good fortune.” Watson went on to report that as a consequence of the discovery and the material benefits which flowed, 11 Aboriginal people from Apsley went to Wellwood to look for gold. Mixing with hundreds of other miners, they probably used tomahawks and hammers to break open lumps of quartz. They were unsuccessful, however, and returned after the death of several children. The great rush of miners brought with them disease and Aboriginal people, whose immunity was less, were among those to suffer.

---

77 Sydney Morning Herald 3 September 1851: 2.
Other Aboriginal people remained on the periphery of the gold rush and did not become directly involved in mining. Hugh Hamilton, a farmer from the Lachlan River, initially came to the diggings as a prospector, but soon took on the role of a gold field commissioner selling licenses to other diggers. In July 1851, he arrived at the Ophir goldfields, giving his horse to a “Blackfellow” before going down to the creek. Pictorial evidence shows an Aboriginal presence on the goldfields. An Aboriginal man and woman appear to be walking out of a mining camp accompanied by a dog at Ophir in the drawing shown in Figure 8. Figure 9 appears to show three Aboriginal women on the left draped in blankets and watching the miners at work.

**Pastoral Workers**

As labourers abandoned their old jobs and headed to the goldfields, pastoralists and squatters turned to local Aboriginal men and women as an alternate workforce. At Old Dubbo Station, Aboriginal shepherds were “practically [taking] charge of the flocks and herds” in the absence of white workers. John Robertson, Commissioner of Crown Land for the Bligh district which included the lower reaches of the Macquarie River, commented that local Aboriginal woman were:

> a very fertile source of labour for the squatters… In my official tours throughout the district, I have met ‘Gins’ or female Aborigines herding or, as it is technically termed, tailing cattle in the bush and these females shepherd flocks of sheep with greater care and diligence than many European shepherds, so much so that some of the best flocks during last year have been under the guidance of the Aborigines. I have myself seen at farms or squattages other ‘gins’ or females performing all the operations required at a dairy while their husbands or brothers I found acting as stockmen… Indeed during the present great scarcity of Labour from the discovery of Gold I do not think the pastoral interests of the District could have been carried on without the Aborigines… Wherever I went, I found the Aboriginal labourer happy, well clothed, well fed and receiving fair wages from their employers.

---

79 Diary of Hugh Hamilton NLA MS 956.
80 Old Dubbo Station, established by the Dulhunty family in the early 1830s, was located approximately 5km south-east of what later became Dubbo township.
81 Dulhunty Papers ML A1755: 36.
82 Governors Dispatches Vol. 64, quoted in Goodall 1996: 60.
Pastoralists were clearly experiencing shortages around Orange, which is not surprising given the short distance which labourers had to travel to reach the goldfields. Captain Thomas Raine of Boree Cabonne wrote in his diary on 16 May 1851 that “All the people in the Valley have gone to the mines… there will be great work for want of labour.” Detailed pastoral records for the Orange district have not been located, but there is clear evidence of Aboriginal employment after the gold rush began. Jemmy D’Arcy was working as a shepherd on a property near Mount Canobolas in 1853 before being arrested on a charge of murder. His victim, Port Phillip Charlie, had been working as a horse-breaker on another nearby station. In 1861, an Aboriginal man named Billy Mitchell received £2.0.0 for working on Gamboola Station. (A quarter of a century later, Billy was living in the Bathurst district when he came forward to collect a blanket.)

Aboriginal men also worked as drovers, using their knowledge of the landscape to help move herds of sheep and cattle vast distances. It was a profession which attracted young candidates. Tommy Gone of the Macquarie River was 15 years old when he died of pneumonia at Orange on 30 January 1880. His death certificate recorded his occupation as “drover”.

Particularly after the gold rush began in Victoria and demand for meat increased, much of the movement of stock, sometimes accompanied by Aboriginal drovers, was from north to south. The aforementioned Port Phillip Charlie gained his name by droving stock to Melbourne. Three major stock routes from Queensland met just north of Dubbo. From the 1870s onwards there is a strong presence of Queensland Aboriginal men in the central-west of NSW and it is known that at least some travelled south as drovers. A Queensland Aboriginal drover named Jackey died at Dubbo on 14 October 1874 aged 18. A 20 year old Aboriginal man

---

83 ML MSS 5745/1/2.  
84 *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* 23 April 1853; *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* 23 April 1853: 2.  
85 ML MSS 2646.  
86 MLA 3016.  
87 DC of Tommy Gone, 1880/008984.  
88 *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* 23 April 1853; *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* 23 April 1853: 2.  
89 DC of Jackey, 1874/004674 (the death certificate identifies Jackey as an Aboriginal drover who was born in Queensland).
from Queensland named Nemo died of tuberculosis at Mudgee on 31 January 1879.\textsuperscript{90} John Malachi (also known as John Marichi) died of cardiac failure and pneumonia at Orange on 6 November 1894 aged 39 years. His marriage certificate, which identifies him as an Aboriginal man, indicates that he was an employee of the police force at one time\textsuperscript{91} (he may have worked as a tracker).\textsuperscript{92} An accomplished athlete, Malachi was listed to compete in a handicap running race over 130 yards on Anniversary Day in January 1887.\textsuperscript{93}

![Figure 10: Breastplate of King Joe\textsuperscript{94}](image)

Employment of Aboriginal men and women on pastoral stations as shepherds and drovers in the post-gold rush period was the continuation of a well-established pattern. Aboriginal families began living and working on pastoral stations in the Orange district soon after the era of frontier violence ended in the 1820s. The identity of some workers can be found from the

\textsuperscript{90} DC of Nemo, 1879/006995.
\textsuperscript{91} MC of John Marichi and Mary Weeks, 1885/004005.
\textsuperscript{92} Tracking required sound knowledge of the landscape and good horsemanship, skills also possessed by many Aboriginal drovers.
\textsuperscript{93} Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal 11 January 1887: 2.
\textsuperscript{94} The breastplate is on display in the Canowindra Museum.
brass breastplates they were given. King Joe was given a breastplate in 1844 by the Kelly family who owned Bangaroo Station near Canowindra (see Figure 10). Breastplates (or kingplates as they were sometimes known) were given for a variety of reasons such as a reward for completing work or as a means to establish or maintain peaceful relations with local Aboriginal people. Their distribution, however, represents a misunderstanding of the political structure of Aboriginal society, where power was not concentrated in a single individual, but spread throughout the group and based on achievement and in some cases ritual knowledge.

Other evidence of pre-gold rush employment is found in the records of pastoral stations. For example, Captain Thomas Raine of Boree Cabonne employed Aboriginal people in May 1850 to “…cut bark for us, Yellow Box, and cut the stack of hay for our own use.”\textsuperscript{95} One of the workers may have been Tommy Raine (aka King Bogin) who is recorded in the blanket return in the 1830s and 1840s. Tommy was also given a breastplate which is still in the hands of the non-Indigenous Raine family. Family records also indicate that he was involved in ritual combat.\textsuperscript{96}

**Continuation of Traditional Practices**

Despite intensified European land-use through pastoralism, agriculture and gold mining, Aboriginal people not only maintained a presence in Orange district into the 1850s, but sustained cultural practices and links with groups to the east, south and west, although the meetings were sometimes combative when disputes were resolved. A raiding party from Goulburn attacked and killed three Aboriginal men at Molong early one morning in December 1850.\textsuperscript{97} The reason for the attack is unknown, but it may have been in response to a similar attack by the Molong men, possibly to steal women or avenge an earlier death. The report suggested that one of the victims had part of his body taken away by the perpetrators. It is known that Wiradjuri clever men sometimes used the fat of dead men in sorcery, “extracting it through an elongated incision below the last rib on the right side”.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{95} *Thomas Raine: An Early Pioneer* by Margaret de Salis ML MSS 5745/1/2 (the manuscript includes quotes from the diary of Thomas Raine).
\textsuperscript{96} *The Way it Was* by Margaret de Salis, ML MSS 5745/1/4; see the following section for more details about the death of Tommy Raine.
\textsuperscript{97} *Sydney Morning Herald* 6 December 1850: 3.
\textsuperscript{98} Elkin 1977: 87.
Orange Aboriginal men also sometimes fought with raiding parties from the Bogan River. One report stated that a battlefield at Kerr’s Flat near Orange was strewn with bones after one such encounter. A similar story was told about the death of Tommy Raine who was killed in a battle near the mill at Frederick’s Valley by Aboriginal men from Bathurst. According to an article published in the Orange Advocate (circa 1930):

“This mill was the scene of a fierce tribal fight between the Macquarie River and King’s Plains blacks, and was probably the last tribal fight in the Orange district. The Macquarie tribe was defeated and as their chief was running to the Mill for shelter… he was speared and killed and Mr Carroll secured his womerah and spear which was passed onto the Raine family.”

It is uncertain when the last initiation ceremony was held on Mount Canobolas. Initiations in north-western NSW were held in the 1890s and on the north coast in the 1930s. The Town and Country Journal published an account of an initiation ceremony held to the west of the Hervey Ranges in 1872. The reporter was travelling between Obley and Bulgandramine when he was met by a young Aboriginal man on a grassy plain soon after passing through a gap at the northern end of the Hervey Ranges. The clothing worn by the Aboriginal man was of particular interest:

“He was dressed in a most picturesque manner. Round his loins he wore a white sash with four ornamental tassels suspending before, behind and on either side of him. A sash of similar network was artistically wound round his head. He had four small arrows in this sash tapering on his forehead, the tips of two nearly touching the root of his nose, and the tips of the other two pointing upwards. The light yellow feathers which adorned the string end had been taken from the top-knot of a white cockatoo. He also had a spear and a boomerang.”

100 Quoted in the reminiscences of Margaret de Salis: The Way it Was ML MSS 5745/1/4. The original article has not been sighted.
101 See for example Mathews 1894 (an account of an initiation ceremony held at Gundabluoi by Gamilaraay people).
102 The Hervey Ranges are located approximately 100km north-west of Orange.
The Aboriginal man asked the reporter to avoid an area ahead as “we are now making young men”. A second Aboriginal man dressed in a similar way appeared with two others outfitted in “tattered” European clothes. They informed the reporter that young men were made by “knocking out” a front tooth and secluding them from “the white man and his habitation for three months”. They had been appointed to act as “sentinels” and guard the four initiates from contact with Europeans.\(^\text{104}\)

The ceremony took place in Wiradjuri country and it is likely that initiations on Mount Canobolas followed a similar pattern. The extraction of a front tooth was a common feature of initiation rites among the Wiradjuri and Gamilaroi, as was the period of seclusion following the ceremony when initiates were given instruction and subjected to numerous physical tests.\(^\text{105}\) The secrecy of the rites is clearly seen in the attitude of the “sentinels” guarding the initiates from European intrusion. Observers in other parts of NSW often found it difficult to elicit comprehensive descriptions of ceremonies from their informers.\(^\text{106}\) Stories about Mount Canobolas are known today but kept out of the public domain.

**Kinship Ties**

Aside from continuity in ceremonial matters, Wiradjuri families from the Orange district maintained strong kinship links with nearby groups in the second half of the 19th century. Alexander Stewart, for example, was born at Orange in the 1830s. Unusually, he married a non-Indigenous woman, Agnes Dray, at Mudgee on 3 July 1871.\(^\text{107}\) Their first child, Walter John Stewart, was born at Rylstone in 1872.\(^\text{108}\) By the mid-1870s, the family was living at Cassilis when Arthur Alexander Stewart was born. They then moved to the Dubbo and Wellington district around 1880 where their remaining children were born. Alexander Stewart, who worked as a drover and station labourer, died at the old Apsley mission near Wellington on 8 December 1919.\(^\text{109}\) His descendants have retained strong links to Wellington marrying into well-established Wiradjuri families including the Mickeys,

\(^{104}\) *Australian Town and Country Journal* 27 April 1872: 4-5.
\(^{105}\) See Mathews 1894 and Greenway 1901.
\(^{106}\) A. Hopkins, who witnessed a Gamilaroi initiation ceremony at Garah (north of Moree) in 1880, commented later that “although I have lived in the country almost all my life and taken a great interest in the Aborigines I never could find out, either by questioning the old men or those who had just passed through the ceremony” many of the details. He was inevitably told “it was the blackfellow’s secret” (Hopkins 1901: 62).
\(^{107}\) MC of Alexander Stewart and Agnes Dray, 1871/002817.
\(^{108}\) BC of Walter John Stewart, 1872/017238.
\(^{109}\) DC of Alexander Stewart, 1919/025808.
Peckhams and Hills. The family also maintained a link with Orange. Alexander’s son Gerald Stewart was living in Orange when he passed away on 30 August 1957. He was buried on 2 September 1957 in Orange Cemetery.\textsuperscript{110}

Eliza Riley, an Aboriginal woman born at Balderodgery in the 1830s, married Edmund Taylor at Rocky Ponds near Molong on 11 December 1860.\textsuperscript{111} She died at Rocky Ponds near Molong on 23 July 1900.\textsuperscript{112} Eliza and Edmund (sometimes Edward) had at least six children together including Jane Taylor who was born at Goorabunderie near Molong on 11 April 1857.\textsuperscript{113} Jane had five children with David Kerdavid, a Frenchman, including Emma Kerdavid who was born at Middle Arm Creek near Molong on 29 November 1879.\textsuperscript{114} She in turn married Daniel Gray at Parkes in 1898\textsuperscript{115} and one of their four children, Henrietta Gray, married Colin Herbert Stewart, the grandson of Alexander Stuart of Orange.\textsuperscript{116}

Strong kinship networks were maintained despite intermarriage with non-Indigenous individuals. The descendants of mixed unions continued to marry into established Aboriginal families (although there were exceptions). Knowledge of the specific rules which once governed marriage was not required; it is probable that genealogical knowledge held by the community was drawn upon when prospective marriages were discussed.\textsuperscript{117}

\textit{Trackers}

Another means by which Aboriginal men (and sometimes women) could preserve traditional knowledge and skills was by working for the police as trackers. There are numerous stories in the archives of trackers using their bush skills and extensive knowledge of the landscape to apprehend escaped convicts and find settlers lost in the bush.\textsuperscript{118} As settlement spread over the mountains after 1813, each district was responsible for organising its own local police

\textsuperscript{110} DC of Gerald Stewart, 1957/024343.
\textsuperscript{111} MC of Edmund Taylor and Eliza Reiley, 1860/002046.
\textsuperscript{112} DC of Eliza Taylor, 1900/009589.
\textsuperscript{113} BC of Jane Taylor, 1857/008715.
\textsuperscript{114} BC of Emily Kerdavid, 1879/017556.
\textsuperscript{115} MC of Daniel Gray and Emma Kerdavid, 1898/006171.
\textsuperscript{116} MC of Colin Herbert Stewart and Etta Gray, 1930/010270.
\textsuperscript{117} This is a common feature of contemporary NSW Aboriginal communities.
\textsuperscript{118} Bennett 2009.
force and many employed trackers on a permanent basis.\textsuperscript{119} It is likely that the local Orange police employed trackers in the mid-1800s but records have not survived.

In the year after the 1861 gold field riots at Lambing Flat, the Cowper government reformed the police into a centralised force administered by an Inspector General in Sydney.\textsuperscript{120} The employment of trackers continued throughout NSW and in the 1860s many were involved in the pursuit and capture of notorious bushrangers. John Watkins (also known as Sir Watkin Wynne), an Aboriginal man with strong links to Bathurst – he was arrested there in the 1850s\textsuperscript{121} and later collected blankets from the police in the 1870s\textsuperscript{122} – played an integral part in the pursuit and capture of the Clarke brothers at the Jingera Range near Braidwood in 1867. At the final gunfight, Watkins was shot in the arm, which was later amputated.\textsuperscript{123}

Billy Dargin of the Bogan River\textsuperscript{124} was closely involved in the pursuit of the gang of bushrangers led by Frank Gardiner and Ben Hall following the dramatic robbery of the Forbes-Orange gold escort at Eugowra in June 1862. The robbery took place only four months after the new police force was established and represented a challenge to its authority. Sub-Inspector Sir Frederick Pottinger, criticized for his approach to guarding the gold shipments, was vigorous in his quest to apprehend the suspects and relied heavily on Dargin’s and other trackers comprehensive knowledge of the country around the Wheogo and Weddin Mountains were the gang often hid.\textsuperscript{125} Trackers were particularly indispensable during the early years of the new force as many of the officers had not been born in Australia and were unfamiliar with local conditions. Billy Dargin was part of the team which shot Ben Hall dead near Goobang Creek on the Lachlan River Plain in May 1865. He received a £50 reward for his efforts, the same as the constables, but less than the officers with whom he mostly worked.\textsuperscript{126} He passed away suddenly at Forbes in November 1865 aged only 22 years.

Inspector Davidson, who took over the investigation after Pottinger was recalled to Sydney,
described his conduct as “admirable”. He was buried in the Presbyterian portion of Forbes
cemetery; his funeral was unattended.  

Police salary records after 1882 show the place where the tracker was employed, and between
1883 and 1892, there were 10 different trackers at Orange (each was employed for
approximately one year) and one at Molong. In the press and government publications
such as the New South Wales Police Gazette, trackers were lucky to have their name
mentioned at all; most were simply referred to as “the Tracker”. It was slightly better in the
Police Salary Register where at least a first name was recorded. Few were given the
recognition of having their full name documented. For example, John Phillips was the
tracker at Orange in 1891 and 1892. Little about John Phillips is known, although it is
possible that he was related to James Phillips, an Aboriginal man from the Shoalhaven River
who married Cecilia Walker in Brungle in 1891 and whose association to the Orange district
was through his son Alexander Walker, who married Madge Glass at Cowra in 1907.

An important job for trackers was to pursue criminal suspects. In March 1882, the Orange
tracker (unnamed), accompanied by three constables, successfully pursued and apprehended
two men suspected of “willfully and maliciously burning a stack of wheat containing about
600 bushels” at Coffee Hill, a property on the Cargo Road east of Mount Canobolas. The
suspects were committed for trial at Bathurst Circuit Court.  

Many trackers were also skilled stockmen and horse riders. Most were given a horse when
they joined the police and they were often required to look after all the horses attached to the
station. Some were required to sleep in the stables. The job of transferring horses from one
station to another often fell to the tracker. On 14 October 1884, Tracker Billy of Mount
McDonald police station stopped briefly at Carcoar with a cart horse before proceeding to
Orange. Tracker Billy also worked on the gold escort between Mount McDonald and
Bathurst, which we have seen, was a potentially dangerous job. He did not stay in the job for

127 Sydney Morning Herald 6 November 1865: 5.
128 See Appendix 2 for a table containing the names of trackers who worked in the Orange district between 1883 and 1949.
130 Mount McDonald is near present-day Wyangala Dam.
long as by July the following year he had been replaced by Tracker Dick. One of his first jobs was to bring a stolen horse back to Mount McDonald from Orange via Carcoar.\footnote{Carcoar Police Diary of Duty and Occurrences SR 7/6178.}

There was a strong tendency in NSW for the police to hire Aboriginal men from nearby camps who had good knowledge of the local landscape and its distinctiveness.\footnote{Haydon 1911:} This was not always possible, however, and sometimes the police had to look further afield for suitable candidates. George Mogul of Warren worked at Orange from 1905 to 1912.\footnote{SRNSW Police Salary Registers – Trackers, 1905-1907, 11/16337, Reel 1971.} No stories about his tracking exploits at Orange have been found, but it is likely that he experienced a degree of success as he was presented with “a handsome gold medal” upon his departure.\footnote{Australian Town and Country Journal November 1912, quoted in Troy 1993: 5.}

A sculpture by G.W. Hadfield entitled “Mogul, a Black Tracker” was exhibited at an art show in Grafton in March 1909.\footnote{Clarence and Richmond Examiner 23 March 1909: 3.} Sometime after leaving the police, George Mogul moved to the Brewarrina Aboriginal Station where he passed away on 10 November 1928.\footnote{DC George Mogul, 1928/022748.}

Not all trackers remained on the right side of the law. The most obvious example was Jimmy Governor whose story we will look at below. An earlier example was Sambo, an Aboriginal man from Queensland who worked as a tracker before being convicted at Orange Quarter Sessions in January 1883 of common assault and serving three months in the local gaol.\footnote{New South Wales Police Gazette 5 May 1883: 1889.}

Similarly, a tracker named Ginger was convicted of burglary at Orange Quarter Sessions in May 1885 and sentenced to 18 months detention in Bathurst Gaol.\footnote{New South Wales Police Gazette 11 Aug 1886: 243.}

\textbf{Aboriginal People and the Law}

The application of the British legal system to the Aboriginal people of NSW was inconsistent and sometimes discriminatory. From the beginning the colony, Aboriginal people could be brought before the courts for offences committed against white people. Technically, white people could be prosecuted for offences against Aboriginal people, but this was rarely the case. It was not until the 1830s that Aboriginal people were consistently arrested and
prosecuted for offences against members of their own group. It was thought until then that such offences could be dealt with by Aboriginal peoples’ own system of justice.

There are several cases from the Orange district after 1850 which indicate the continuation of an Aboriginal system of justice, including examples of payback. The most obvious case, mentioned above, was the death of three Aboriginal men at Molong in 1850 by a raiding party from Goulburn, although no effort seems to have been made to arrest the perpetrators and bring them before the court.

The opposite situation unfolded following the murder of Port Phillip Charlie on the Wellington Road near Orange in March 1853. Charlie was a horse-breaker working for Mr Joseph Moulder. Previously, he had worked for Benjamin Boyd and several times driven stock to Port Phillip. The suspect in the case was an Aboriginal man named Jemmy D’Arcy (sometimes known as Count D’Arcy) who was “well known about Carcoar” where he had worked for Thomas Icely. According to several accounts, D’Arcy came to Orange accompanied by another Aboriginal man. They met Charlie on the Wellington Road at a camp near Denis Hanrahan’s public house and after a disagreement, D’Arcy stuck Charlie on the head with a “waddie” and killed him. The dispute stemmed from a previous meeting between the two at the Turon to the north of Orange when Charlie had struck D’Arcy on the head. It is likely they had other encounters as well. D’Arcy’s wife was a “South Sea Island woman” brought to the colony by Benjamin Boyd: it is probable that D’Arcy worked for Boyd at some stage, too.

D’Arcy was arrested while working as a shepherd at a sheep station near Mount Canobolas in April 1853 and taken to Orange for a bench hearing. He escaped custody in May while being transferred to Bathurst by audaciously leaping off a precipice at Lucky Point and dropping 50 to 60 feet into the river below. He recaptured at the Turon in December.

---

139 According to information provided by Orange City Council and Orange Historical Society, Denis Hanrahan, born 1816, operated a public house called the Limerick Castle at Campdale on the Cargo Road where the boarding houses of Kinross Wolaroi School are now located. It is likely that the camp referred to in several of the articles about the killing was located in this vicinity. In the late 1850s, Hanrahan built the Wellington Inn, which is now known as the Royal Hotel. He died in Orange in 1868.

140 *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* 23 April 1853; *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* 23 April 1853: 2.

141 *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* 23 April 1853: 2.

142 Taking into account the location of the initial incident, the fact that D’Arcy headed to the Turon after escaping indicates that he had good knowledge of the area which was possibly based on a traditional connection.
The trial took place at Bathurst in March 1854. The first witness was John Kelly who was working as a barman at Hanrahan’s public house on the day of the incident. He said that D’Arcy and Charlie (who was also known as Jackey) drank some rum in Hanrahan’s before he “turned them out” for “rowdy” behaviour. Sometime later he heard a commotion and upon investigating found Charlie lying in a camp “nearly dead” and surrounded by “broken spears and womras (sic)”. D’Arcy, adopting an aggressive tone, then told Kelly and others in the camp that what had just happened was not a matter of “English law” but should be left to the “blackfellows” to sort out. He then disappeared into the bush. Some members of the press also held the view that the dispute was a matter for Aboriginal law. One commentator said that “it is to be hoped his tribe will make him suffer for the deed”.

A discriminatory feature of colonial law at this time was that Aboriginal people were not permitted to give evidence in court, largely because they were thought incapable of understanding an oath. It was not until 1876 that the law was changed. In 1853, defendants such as D’Arcy had to rely on counsel to mount a defence. D’Arcy’s lawyer, Mr Holroyd, argued before the jury that the scattering of weapons around the deceased indicated that the two were engaged in “mutual conflict”. D’Arcy had asserted that Charlie had struck him first and his retaliation was in self defence. This created enough doubt in the juries’ mind and they returned a verdict of not guilty.

Following his acquittal, Jemmy D’Arcy seems to have remained in the area and kept out of trouble with the law. He was found dead near the Esrom Hotel in the Bathurst district in July 1860. His obituary described him as a local “celebrity”, perhaps an ironic reference to his encounters with the judiciary. The cause of death could not be determined and there were no external marks on his body. He had been seen several days before his death collecting a blanket for his child from the police.

The case demonstrates that debate about the application of English law to Aboriginal people was not restricted to the colonial judiciary; D’Arcy’s assertion after the death of Port Phillip
Charlie that it was an Aboriginal matter indicates that the issue was thought about and discussed at length within Aboriginal communities as well. It also indicates that the Aboriginal system of law was operating in Orange in the early 1850s and the population was large enough to sustain it.

Two cases in the 1870s indicate the continued operation of Aboriginal law in the Orange district, although the precise contexts of each incident are unknown. In the middle months of 1874, Harry Campbell, also known as Harry Flanagan, an Aboriginal man from the Lachlan River, tied an Aboriginal girl to a tree near Orange and left her to die. Fleeing the district, Harry was pursued by the police along the Bogan and Darling Rivers. A constable and tracker accosted him at Binalong (approximately 30km north-west of Yass) where Harry intended to participate in a corroborree. He hid among a group of Aboriginal people before making a run for it. The constable took aim and shot Harry in the back. Harry collapsed and said “I’m cooked”. He died a short time later.149

In September 1877, Hippi150 was charged with the knife stabbing of Billy Cook, another Aboriginal man. Convicted at Orange Quarter Sessions on 28 November, he was sentenced to two months hard labour in Orange Gaol.151 In both cases from the 1870s, the colonial authorities were successful in exacting punishment, although the shooting of Harry Campbell cannot be considered an act of justice. The growing stature of colonial law, however, meant that it was increasingly difficult for Aboriginal people to operate their own legal system, particularly when it involved the use of physical punishment. After 1875, there are no known cases of Aboriginal people using physical means to exact justice against each other in the Orange district.

Aboriginal people were also brought before the court in Orange charged with offences against the non-Indigenous population. Described as an Aboriginal woman, Georgiana Suttor152, in the company of Kate Barry (non-Indigenous), was charged with stealing “sundry articles of wearing apparel” from William Brydon of Orange. Both were convicted and sentenced to one month’s imprisonment in Bathurst Gaol. The New South Wales Police

149 Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser 2 March 1875.
150 “Hippi” is a Wiradjuri section name and it is probable that the accused belonged to this section.
152 She was also known as Georgina Suttor (see Number of blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst 1867-1888, ML A3016).
Gazette described Suttor and Barry as prostitutes.\textsuperscript{153} Outside of domestic work, employment opportunities for Aboriginal women were few and Suttor may have turned to prostitution to survive.

Given her surname, it is likely that Georgiana had an association with the Suttor family of Brucedale, who also protected Windradyne during the declaration of martial law at Bathurst during the mid-1820s. According to the Bathurst blanket returns for 1867 to 1869, she was living at Saltrem to the north of Bathurst. The return recorded her Indigenous name as “Gurkell” the meaning of which is unknown.\textsuperscript{154} George and Bridget Suttor (also known as the King and Queen of Bathurst) were also living at Saltrem during this period and it is probable they were Georgiana’s parents. Their daughter, Elizabeth Bridget Jane Susan Suttor, died at Bathurst on 19 April 1856 as an infant.\textsuperscript{155} Georgiana Suttor was born at Bathurst in 1843 and died there on 16 September 1878.\textsuperscript{156}

Less is known about the life of Jackey Wentworth who was arrested by Molong Police in April 1881 and “charged with stealing one purse, five £1 notes, and two pipes (purse and pipes recovered), from the person of Patrick James Moloney”. He was taken to Orange to stand trial at the next Quarter Sessions. Wentworth had also spent time in the Wellington district where he collected a blanket in the mid-1850s.\textsuperscript{157} He may have been related to Billy Wentworth of Boree who collected a blanket at Bathurst in 1836.\textsuperscript{158}

As noted above, a Queensland tracker named Sambo was convicted of assault on 31 January 1883 at Orange Quarter Sessions and sentenced to three month’s imprisonment in Orange Gaol. Born in 1866, his prison record described him as 5ft 2in in height and as having a “black” complexion.\textsuperscript{159} He was released in late April and nothing is known of his subsequent life. He does not appear to have worked as a tracker in Orange. His namesake had been convicted of horse stealing at Orange Quarter Sessions in October 1862 and sentenced to six

\textsuperscript{153} New South Wales Police Gazette 20 September 1865: 338.
\textsuperscript{154} Number of blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst 1867-1888, ML A3016.
\textsuperscript{155} DC of Elizabeth Bridget Jane Susan Suttor, 1856/001676.
\textsuperscript{156} DC of Georgina Suttor, 1878/004493.
\textsuperscript{157} New South Wales Police Gazette 13 April 1881: 136.
\textsuperscript{158} Aborigines, Returns of Aborigines, 1833-36, SRANSW 4/6666B.3.
\textsuperscript{159} New South Wales Police Gazette 3 May 1883: 189.
months in Bathurst Gaol.\textsuperscript{160} The racist appellation is indicative of wider attitudes prevalent throughout the colony in the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{161}

\textbf{Continuity and Change: 1830-1880}

As the 1870s drew to a close, Aboriginal people retained a strong presence in the Orange district. The community supported itself by working on local properties as shepherds and sometimes travelling vast distances as drovers. Gold mining attracted some Aboriginal people, but few seem to have benefited. Others worked as trackers for the police, adapting traditional knowledge of the landscape to a new end. Further elements of traditional cultural survived, including language, the payback system of justice and ceremony. Particularly important was the continuation of the wider Wiradjuri kinship network. Aboriginal men and women from the Orange area married into Wiradjuri families from nearby places such as Wellington.

No evidence for hunting, gathering and fishing was found in the middle decades of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. It is likely that such activities were curtailed as pastoralism, agriculture and mining expanded. Given the survival of knowledge into the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, however, it is likely that Aboriginal people were partially supporting themselves off the land. For the most part, Aboriginal people at Orange were not dependent on the government or private interests for survival. Many came forward to collect a blanket at the beginning of winter, but little other assistance was available. The situation was to change with the establishment of a protection policy in the early 1880s.

\textit{The Aborigines Protection Board}

After 30 years of indifference towards Aboriginal affairs, the NSW government appointed a Protector of Aborigines (George Thornton) in 1881. The immediate trigger seems to have been the alarm raised by a camp of Aboriginal people at the Government Boat Shed near Circular Quay. It also became clear that Aboriginal people were not “dying out” as quickly as first thought. Thornton’s first census showed 7,817 living in NSW (a likely

\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} 22 October 1862: 5.
\textsuperscript{161} The name was sometimes given to Aboriginal people of mixed parentage. It is derived from the Spanish word “Zambo” and maybe related to the Bantu term for monkey (“Nzumbo”).
underestimate). The job was thought to be beyond the efforts of one man so the Aborigines Protection Board, chaired by Edmund Fosberry (Inspector General of Police) was established in 1883.\textsuperscript{162}

The annual reports of the Protector and APB provide general details about Aboriginal life in Orange from 1882 onwards. The policy of the APB at this time was to create reserves “to enable (Aboriginal people) to form homesteads, to cultivate grain, vegetables, fruit, &c. &c., for their own support and comfort”.\textsuperscript{163} Except for the old, the infirm and children, the Board encouraged Aboriginal people to be self-sufficient. An Aboriginal reserve was not established in the Orange district, although the APB provided rations and blankets to support the population. The nearest Aboriginal reserves were established at Cowra in 1890 and Wellington in 1895.

The statistics collected by the APB show a fluctuating population at Orange between 1889 and 1914 (see Figure 2). The minimum figure was 2 people in 1893 with a maximum of 26 in 1914. The statistics were generally collected by the police and they represent only a baseline population: there may have been other Aboriginal people in the district who the police were unaware of. This would have been particularly the case after the introduction of the \textit{Aborigines Protection Act} in 1909 (and subsequent amendments) which formalized the powers of the APB to remove children to institutions such as Cootamundra Girls Home and Kinchela Boys Home, and also to apprentice Aboriginal boys and girls aged between 14 and 18 to white families and employers.

\textsuperscript{162} Doukakis 2006: 8-9.
\textsuperscript{163} Report of the Protector of Aborigines, 1882.
Colonial census data from 1891 and 1901 identifies the names of Aboriginal people in the Orange district. For example, Edward Clements and an unnamed Aboriginal woman were living at Ophir in 1891. Interestingly, an unnamed Aboriginal man was recorded as living in an area to the south of Orange, suggesting a presence at The Springs as early as the late 19th century. In 1901, Alfred Lock and three other Aboriginal people were living at the junction of Ophir and Dry Creeks. Alfred Lock, a descendent of Maria Lock from western Sydney, was born at Windsor in the 1870s. He married Mary Booth of Forbes at Katoomba in 1893 and the couple spent time at Parkes and Wellington before moving to Emu Swamp (approximately 8km east of Orange) where, between 1901 and 1909, four of their children were born. Alfred Lock later moved to Sydney where he passed away in 1944. The story of Alfred Lock and family exemplifies the extent to which Aboriginal people had to remain mobile in order to survive. They were living in a time of increasing government control and the threat of child removal, along with economic necessity, may have motivated the pattern of movement recorded above.

The movement of Aboriginal people to Orange continued into the 20th century. Jack Marsh, a first-class cricketer and professional runner, was killed outside an Orange hotel in May 1916. Born on the Clarence River, Marsh has spent over two decades living in Sydney. He had

164 Genealogical research suggests that the Clements family have strong ties to southern Wiradjuri country (NSW Unified Genealogy).
165 NSW Unified Genealogy.
only been living in Orange for a couple of weeks before being attacked and killed. Marsh’s story is an extreme example of the difficulties faced by Aboriginal people in gaining acceptance within wider society. Accused of an illegal bowling action and pushed out of first-class cricket, Marsh experienced episodes of discrimination throughout this personal and professional life.\textsuperscript{166}

\textbf{The Springs}

As noted by Kabaila, The Springs was a mixed Aboriginal/European camp located to the south of Orange, approximately 800m west of Bloomfield Hospital. It operated during the 1930s and early 1940s. The origins of the camp are unknown, but it is likely that some of the non-Indigenous residents were itinerant workers forced onto the road by the Great Depression. The camp is situated on an old travelling stock reserve. Stock reserves often followed ancient Aboriginal walking tracks and there are numerous other unofficial camps along reserves throughout NSW. The discovery of flaked stone artefacts in 2010 indicates that the site was used as a camp in pre-contact times.\textsuperscript{167}

Aboriginal residents of The Springs, who mostly lived in tin shacks and tents, included members of the Monaghan and Carberry families who came from Yass, Gundagai and the Lachlan River.\textsuperscript{168} Others, such as members of the Grace and Bell families, had strong links to Yass and Wellington. It was a good place to live as it had a permanent water supply. Residents supported themselves by picking cherries and blackberries for local farmers and the population of the camp swelled during the picking season in August and September.\textsuperscript{169}

The state electoral roll for Orange shows Aboriginal families living at The Springs as early as 1930. Residents at that time included Alex Grace and his parents, Edward Grace and Eva Grace (nee Carroll). Two years previously, the Grace family had been living with Sidney Glass at 9 Kite Street in town, demonstrating that occupation of The Springs began between 1928 and 1930. Other Aboriginal families were still living in town in 1930, including Reginald and Amelia Glass on the town common (they were living at 5 Warrendine Street in

\textsuperscript{166} Bonnell 2003.
\textsuperscript{167} OzArk Environmental and Heritage Management 2010: 3.
\textsuperscript{168} Interview with Josephine Monaghan at Cowra, 3 August 2011.
\textsuperscript{169} Kabaila 1998: 48.
1928) and Robert Whitton in a residence on Woodward Street. Archie Murphy, tracker, was living at the police station in Anson Street. By 1936, at least two families were living on The Springs, namely Henry John Bell and Mary Selina Bell (nee Grace), and also Cecil Coe. Others, including members of the Alexander, Grace and Simpson families, were recorded as living on Woodward Road, which runs in close proximity to The Springs. They may have been living at The Springs or possibly on nearby land, indicating that the camp was spread over a larger area than previously thought.

A similar situation is evident from 1937 electoral roll. Henry John Bell and family were living at The Springs with his brother Roy William Bell and his wife Gladys Bell (nee Towney). Henry and Roy’s parents, Harry Roy Bell and Matilda Bell (nee Stanley) were also present. Again, members of the Alexander, Grace and Simpson families were occupying land on Woodward Road.

Many of the residents of The Springs were from well-established Wiradjuri and Ngunnawal families. Harry Roy Bell, for example, was born in Yass in the late 1880s. He had strong ties to the Ngunnawal country at Yass through his mother Lester Lane and maternal grandmother Caroline Chisholm. By 1909 he had moved to the Wellington Aboriginal reserve where he married Matilda Stanley. It is possible that he may have travelled through Orange on his way to Wellington, working as a labourer or drover to support himself and stopping at The Springs to camp, rest and water a mob of cattle. We already know that Aboriginal men in the 1850s knew their way to Orange from country to the south. Harry Bell may have been following a path well-trodden by his ancestors when travelling to Wellington.

Harry Bell’s wife was from an old Wellington Wiradjuri family. Born at Molong in the early 1890s, Matilda Stanley had spent most of her life in the Wellington district. After marriage, she and her husband divided their time between Wellington and Yass, and some of their children were born in each place. Henry John Bell, for example, was born at Wellington in about 1909. Ties between Wellington and Yass were further cemented when he married Mary Selina Grace (who was born at Yass in about 1909) at Wellington in 1933. Henry and Mary’s eldest child, John ‘Ted’ Bell was born at Wellington the following year before the

---

170 See above for the story about the raiding party from Goulburn which killed several Aboriginal men at Molong.
family moved to Orange and set up at The Springs. John remembers that several of his siblings were born at The Springs and that his mother worked as a maid at the Duntryleague club. The family stayed at The Springs until John was approximately four years old before returning to Wellington. He did not forget his connection to The Springs and has since returned to Orange with his wife where he has been joined by a son.\textsuperscript{171}

A similar web of kinship, connection and movement is evident from the family history of Josephine Monaghan who was born at The Springs in May 1938. Josephine’s mother, Eva Carberry, was born at Young in the mid-1890s. Eva’s father, Frederick Carberry, was born at Gundagai in the early 1860s. He married Frances Lane (who is descended from Yass and Lachlan River families) at Yass in 1890. In adulthood, Eva travelled between Yass, Cowra and Wellington before moving to Orange, most probably in the mid-1930s. She was joined after that by her father who lived at The Springs before moving into a March Street residence in town. It was at this place that he passed away in May 1943. Josephine lived at The Springs until she was about five years old. She and her mother later moved to Erambie at Cowra where Josephine still lives today, although she retains strong ties to both Orange and The Springs.\textsuperscript{172}

A number of factors influenced the patterns of movement which the history of The Springs brings to light. Much of the movement had to do with maintaining and strengthening long-standing kinship ties. Aboriginal men and women travelled to adjacent communities looking for marriage partners and to see family members. But other, more contemporary factors were also at work. Some Aboriginal people came to The Springs looking for work and found seasonal jobs picking fruit and sometimes more permanent employment in town. Others were seeking to evade the AWB and their power to remove and apprentice children. But these factors did not operate in isolation to kinship and family: when people moved to either look for work or escape the AWB, they generally travelled to familiar places where family was living.

The process of removing Aboriginal families from The Springs began in November 1941 when a nearby white couple complained to the police about the condition of the camp and the

\textsuperscript{171} Interviews with John “Ted” Bell and Ian Bell, Orange, \textsuperscript{172} Interview with Josephine Monaghan, Cowra, 3 August 2011.
behaviour of some of the residents. After several police inspections and instructions to the residents to improve and expand their tin dwellings, the AWB were informed of the situation. They sent a delegation in August 1942, including Professor A.P. Elkin, anthropologist and Chairman of the AWB, to investigate and make recommendations. Elkin and the others found that five Aboriginal families (including members of the Monaghan, Ingram and Bamblett families) and one white family were living at The Springs. On the whole, the delegation considered that the living conditions of the Aboriginal families were “deplorable” and that action should be taken to move them into town or nearby Aboriginal reserves and stations. They met with an officer of Canobolas Shire Council (CSC) and recommended that a Health Officer “inspect and condemn” one house in particular which was occupied by a mother and her children. The inspection was made and the order to demolish issued, but the family resisted, obtaining legal representation and writing to Mr J. Breen, Federal Member for Orange, protesting against the treatment of the CSC and AWB. The AWB made arrangements for the family to move to the Aboriginal reserve at Yass where they had relatives, but they refused to go. In the meantime, some of the other families began moving into Orange. By November 1943, only two Aboriginal families were still living at The Springs. One family was living in a tent and the father worked in the local munitions factory. The other was the family whose house had been condemned and they left for Cowra and “other places” soon after. By the time they returned to the Orange district in February 1944 – they settled in either Spring Hill or Spring Terrace – their house at The Springs had been demolished.

The Springs ceased to be a living place for Aboriginal people soon after the AWB adopted assimilation as its guiding policy. Numerous other “unofficial” camps in NSW were closed about the same time and residents moved into urban areas, although the residents of other camps were centralised onto existing reserves and stations. Unlike other places, there does not appear to have been non-Indigenous resistance to Aboriginal families moving into town, perhaps because the numbers involved were fairly small. The story of the closure of The Springs exemplifies the power of the AWB to intervene in the lives of Aboriginal people, but also the ability, although constrained, for Aboriginal people to exert some control over their lives by defying official demands and seeking political and legal assistance in doing so.

173 Chief Secretary letters received [Files relating to Aboriginal Affairs, 1938-1949, SR 12/7686.1 File A44/1866. The account presented here is drawn largely from this correspondence.
By the early 21st century, there were few visible signs that The Springs had once been an important Aboriginal living place. An archaeological survey of the site in 2010 identified a variety of material including domestic artifacts, the foundations of three buildings, the remains of fences and worked stone blocks, but not much else. Nevertheless, The Springs retains a prominent place in the memories of many Aboriginal families with links to Orange. In May 2008, a reunion was held at The Springs of families who had lived at The Springs in the 1930s and 1940s. Two years previously, the Orange Local Aboriginal Land Council expressed concern that the construction of a walking trail along the nearby travelling stock route may have damaged the site. The significance of The Springs has since been recognised through listing on the State Heritage Inventory.

**Resettlement Scheme**

The next significant event in the Aboriginal history of Orange was the operation of the Resettlement Scheme by the NSW Government from 1972 to 1986. The scheme was established to assist Aboriginal families from western NSW to move to larger regional centres such as Orange and Dubbo where economic opportunities were thought to be greater. A survey of 205 Aboriginal residents of Orange in 1988 revealed 43 different places of birth, although three towns (Condobolin, Walgett and Brewarrina) contributed 35.2% of those places. The Resettlement Scheme clearly increased the Aboriginal population. The final report will draw of census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics to quantify the impact of the scheme on the Orange population. The oral-history component of the report will examine the experience of resettlement families and the on-going impact the movement had on their lives.

---

175 *Central Western Daily* 28 May 2008.
177 Orange City Council 1988: 2.
Sites of Significance

The Springs

Mount Canobolas

Emu Swamp

Robertson Park
Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Mitchell Library

Annual Reports of the Aborigines Protection Board, 1882-1914
Dulhunty Family Papers, ML A1755
Number of Blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst, 1867-1888, ML A 3016, CY 3688
Papers of Margaret de Salis, ML MSS 5745
Papers of John Smith, Gamboola Station, ML MSS 2646

National Library of Australia

Diary of Hugh Hamilton NLA MS 956

State Records Authority of New South Wales

1891 Census – Orange District
1901 Census – Orange District
Aborigines, Returns of Aborigines, 1833-36, 4/6666B.3.
Carcoar Police Diary of Duty and Occurrences 7/6178.
Chief Secretary letters received [Files relating to Aboriginal Affairs, 1938-1949], 12/7686.1 File A44/1866.
CSIL 31/10001, 4/2130, Observations on the Eruptive Febrile disease which prevailed among several Tribes of the Aborigines in New South Wales during the years 1830 and 31 by John Mair
CSIL (special bundles), Aborigines, Distribution of blankets, 1838-43 4/1133.3
CSIL 50/801, 4/2885.
CSIL 57/924, 4/3353.
CSIL 87/8910, 1/2654.
Police Salary Registers – Trackers, 1883-1888, 11/16335, Reel 1970
Police Salary Registers – Trackers, 1904-1907, 11/16337, Reel 1971

**Published Material**


Policy and Research Unit, NSW Aboriginal Land Council 2010: *Returning control of Aboriginal sites to Aboriginal Communities – A summary of key recommendations of past Aboriginal heritage reviews in NSW*. NSW Aboriginal Land Council, Parramatta.


*Unpublished reports and theses*


**Newspapers and Periodicals**

Australian Town and Country Journal
Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal
Central Western Daily
Clarence and Richmond Examiner
Cornwall Chronicle
Dubbo Weekend Liberal
Empire

*Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*

*New South Wales Police Gazette*

*Orange Star*

*South Australian*

*Sydney Morning Herald*

**Websites**


Regulation of Aboriginal Cultural Heritage – NSW Office of Environment and Heritage


**Photographs and Images**

The Grave of a Native of Australia: nla.pic-an8955101

*Photograph of Edmund Milne standing next to Aboriginal Arbortlyph [carved tree], Gamboola near Molong, 1912: SLNSW SPF/1150*

**Baptism, Birth, Death and Marriage Certificates**\(^{178}\)

**Baptism Certificates**

John Rowland Harpur, 1854/2513 Vol 56

\(^{178}\) Supplied by the NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriage.
Birth Certificates

Emily Kerdavid, 1879/017556
Walter John Stewart, 1872/017238
Jane Taylor, 1857/008715

Death Certificates

Betsy Field, 1912/005538
Tommy Gone, 1880/008984
William Harpur, 1866/005697
Jaccy, 1874/004674
Sally Medley, 1892/01050
Nemo, 1879/006995
Alexander Stewart, 1919/025808
Gerald Stewart, 1957/024343
Elizabeth Bridget Jane Susan Suttor, 1856/001676
Georgina Suttor, 1878/004493
Eliza Taylor, 1900/009589

Marriage Certificates

Daniel Gray and Emma Kerdavid, 1898/006171
John Marichi and Mary Weeks, 1885/004005
Edmund Taylor and Eliza Reiley, 1860/002046
Alexander Stewart and Agnes Dray, 1871/002817
Colin Herbert Stewart and Etta Gray, 1930/010270
## Appendix 1 – Results of AHIMS search, July 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SiteID</th>
<th>SiteName</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>SiteStatus</th>
<th>SiteFeatures</th>
<th>SiteTypes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0116</td>
<td>O-C-IF 1; Orange Cadia;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Isolated Find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0113</td>
<td>CC-OS-1 (Millthorpe)</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0037</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 10;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0038</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 14;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0051</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 42;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-1-0014</td>
<td>Cadia 1</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Modified Tree (Carved or Scarred) : -</td>
<td>Scarred Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0124</td>
<td>SPR-1</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0129</td>
<td>SPR-6</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0131</td>
<td>SPR-8</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0117</td>
<td>O-C2; Orange Cadia;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0094</td>
<td>Moulder Hill ST-1; MH/ST-1;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Modified Tree (Carved or Scarred) : -</td>
<td>Scarred Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0156</td>
<td>Rural Fire Service Scar Tree</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Modified Tree (Carved or Scarred) : 1</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0039</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 15;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0040</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 16; Browns Creek;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0048</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 37;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0141</td>
<td>Rifle Range ST2</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Modified Tree (Carved or Scarred) : 1</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0130</td>
<td>SPR-7</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0036</td>
<td>Spring Mountain; Roseneath;</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Artefact</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0041</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 17; Browns Creek;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0053</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 44;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0001</td>
<td>Carlton Road</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Not a Site</td>
<td>Art</td>
<td>Not an Aboriginal Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0140</td>
<td>Rifle Rage SQ</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Stone Quarry : 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0126</td>
<td>SPR-3</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0128</td>
<td>SPR-5</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0143</td>
<td>M-OS1 with PAD</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0049</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 39;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0050</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 40;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0147</td>
<td>Bloomfield Hospital Grounds</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Potential Archaeological Deposit (PAD) : 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0157</td>
<td>The Springs, Orange</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : ; Habitation Structure : ; Potential Archaeological Deposit (PAD) : ;</td>
<td>Isolated Find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0106</td>
<td>BSC-IF-1;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0127</td>
<td>SPR-4</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0115</td>
<td>O-C1; Orange Cadia;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0095</td>
<td>Rifle Range;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Stone Quarry : ; Artefact : ;</td>
<td>Open Camp Site, Quarry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0052</td>
<td>Lewis Ponds 43;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td>Open Camp Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0119</td>
<td>Icely Burials</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Burial : -</td>
<td>Burial/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0125</td>
<td>SPR 2</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0144</td>
<td>Burrendong 1</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0035</td>
<td>Spring Mountain; Roseneath;</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Stone Quarry : ; Artefact : ; Quarry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0142</td>
<td>Rifle Range ST1</td>
<td>Open Site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Modified Tree (Carved or Scarred) : 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Area B Artefact Scatter</td>
<td>Open site</td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Artefact : 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-2-0139</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2 – Names of Trackers Employed in the Orange District between 1883 and 1949.

The names of trackers employed between 1883 and 1912 are from the Police Salary Registers. The Registers are not on the public record after 1916 and tracker names after that date are from other documentary sources such as newspaper articles and electoral rolls. The surnames of Aboriginal people were infrequently recorded in the late 19th century. Consequently, little is known about the lives of many trackers employed at this time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period of Employment</th>
<th>Place of Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tommy</td>
<td>1883-1886</td>
<td>Molong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ned</td>
<td>1884-1887</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dave (Davey)</td>
<td>1887-1888</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Phillips</td>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Williams</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Orange, Cumnock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogul (aka Mogil)</td>
<td>1905-1912</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Governor</td>
<td>1912-1914</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monty Tickle</td>
<td>1921-1928</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archie Murphy</td>
<td>1930-1931</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec Riley</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Orange, Dubbo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sydney Morning Herald* 5 July 1928: 12.