Maynggu Ganai Historic Site

Wellington Valley 1823 – 1844

Draft Conservation Management Plan

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Executive Summary

Maynggu Ganai Historic Site is of national, state and local significance for its combination of historical, archaeological, social and aesthetic values. It is a rare archaeological site; a significant cultural landscape; it relates to significant contemporary social issues; as well as illuminating a little known story of cultural interaction on NSW's early colonial frontier. The site is of great importance to the local community, while its high research potential and symbolic importance make it a site of importance to all Australians - as a key site in the history of colonial race relations. It should be conserved, interpreted and cared for by NPWS and the community as a symbol of an entangled colonial heritage and a shared future.

The mission of this CMP is to provide NPWS and the community with a dynamic, sustainable and achievable conservation management process based on community partnerships, appropriate interpretation, ongoing research and a commitment to MGHS as a living, shared community place.

The long term outcomes of this CMP will be:

- Appropriate community management partnerships resourced and committed to by NPWS.
- Protection and conservation of MGHS and its heritage values.
- A sustainable management regime for vegetation control.
- A sustainable maintenance regime for site infrastructure.
- Ongoing research feeding into creative interpretive products.
- Promotion of the site's cultural significance and as a visitor destination.
- Development of links for tourism and education.

The CMP will also provide benefits for Wellington Council in assisting them in their future planning for the larger part of the site outside NPWS management, by clearly defining areas of archaeological and landscape value surrounding the Historic Site.



1.0 Introduction

The National Parks and Wildlife Division, NSW Department of Environment and Conservation, commissioned Tracy Ireland, of Griffin nrm Pty Ltd, to prepare a Conservation Management Plan (CMP) for the *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site (MGHS) in Wellington NSW. MGHS is managed by National Parks as part of its estate for its cultural heritage values. The Geographical Names Board of NSW named the site Maynggu Ganai in 2002. The name means 'peoples' land' in the local Wiradjuri language. The name does not identify any particular group of people and is meant to encompass the whole of the community. This name was suggested by the MGHS Community Focus Group representing Wellington Wiradjuri Elders, Wellington Local Aboriginal Land Council, Wellington Council, Wellington Historical Society and the NPWS.

Maynggu Ganai Historic Site covers an area of land that falls within the traditional lands of the Wiradjuri people and in 1823 was the site of a Convict Station built by Percy Simpson. In 1832 the settlement was taken over by the Anglican Church Missionary Society as a mission to the Wiradjuri, which operated until 1844. From 1845 the settlement was abandoned and the focus of development became the present town of Wellington, which was proclaimed in 1846. The buildings of the settlement were cannibalised for useful material and eventually crumbled away. Today only the faintest traces of the settlement can be seen, but it is likely that significant archaeological remains associated with the early 19th century have survived. The portions of land which make up MGHS do not cover the entire 19th century settlement area. It is therefore likely that archaeological remains exist on the private lands surrounding the Historic Site.

These archaeological remains constitute the physical evidence of the first sustained contact between the British and the Wiradjuri of this region and the western most outpost of colonial authority in NSW for several decades. They also survive as evidence of the first Anglican mission in Australia and one of the nation's earliest surviving mission sites. The history of the site is richly documented through contemporary accounts as well as paintings, maps and sketches made by notable colonial figures such as Augustus Earle, Thomas Mitchell and Conrad Martens.

The history of this place has been researched and written about by a number of professional and amateur researchers in the past. This CMP has benefited enormously from the work done by Lee

Thurlow, David Roberts, Hilary Carey, Michael Pearson and Peter Kabaila, which is cited as appropriate throughout the text.

1.2 Objectives of the CMP

The NPWS brief for this CMP sets out the following aims and objectives:

- Determine the significance of Maynggu Ganai Historic Site
- Develop management objectives for the site
- Develop future use and management options for the site
- Make detailed recommendations about future interpretation of the site
- Involve the community in all aspects of the site planning.

The project will produce:

• An Archaeological and Conservation Management Plan for Maynggu Ganai Historic Site outlining how the site will be best managed and interpreted in the short, medium and long term.

The plan must:

- Be presented in an easily understood and user-friendly format for non technical users;
- Communicate an understanding of NPWS management framework, legislative requirements and other key stakeholder issues related to the management of the archaeological component of the Maynggu Ganai Historic Site complex;
- Meet with the standards for approval and endorsement by the NSW Heritage Office and NPWS Executive.

1.3 Structure of the CMP

This CMP has a simple structure:

Section 2 introduces the themes of the CMP and sets the site in its community and environmental context;

Section 3 reviews all the historical evidence surrounding MGHS;

Section 4 reviews the physical evidence of the place including archaeological remains and landscape values. It also looks at the values of the land immediately surrounding the site;

Section 5 reviews the evidence collected in order to understand the community or social values of the place;

Section 6 draws together all the evidence set out in the previous 3 sections to assess the heritage significance of the place;

Section 7 considers how the significance of the place can be managed in order to conserve and build on this significance. It considers all the problems or external requirements that need to be dealt with in the future;

Section 8 distils all the recommendations and findings of Section 7 into a succinct policy form; and Section 9 sets out the timeframe for the strategies designed to achieve the objectives of the policy.

1.4 Location of the Study Area

The study area for this project is the MGHS, approximately 2.3km south of Wellington (Figure 1.1). The site is 15.64 hectares comprising several non-contiguous lots: Lot 355, DP 531300, Lots 1 and 2, DP129997, Lot 1, DP120160, Lots 49 and 50, DP 756920. Previous research has shown that the MGHS takes in a part of the area of the Wellington Valley settlement established 1823, however further precincts lie in privately owned portions of land surrounding the site. This broader area of historical archaeological remains and cultural landscape features forms the context for the study area.

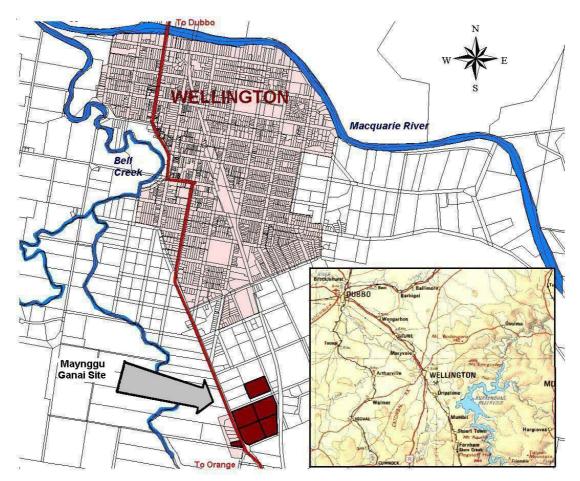


Figure 1.1 The location of the study area indicated.

1.5 Authorship

This report has been prepared by Tracy Ireland of Griffin nrm, in collaboration with Ingereth Macfarlane, Aedeen Cremin, Linda Young and Neil Urwin. Section 2.0 was written by Ingereth Macfarlane and Tracy Ireland. Section 3.0 was written by Ingereth Macfarlane, Aedeen Cremin and Tracy Ireland. Section 7.11 was written by Linda Young. Maps were prepared by Neil Urwin. Archaeological fieldwork and community consultation was conducted by Ingereth Macfarlane and Tracy Ireland, with input from Aedeen Cremin and Linda Young.

1.6 Methodology and Limitations

This report has been prepared in accordance with the NSW Heritage Manual's procedures for the preparation of Conservation Management Plans and the ICOMOS Burra Charter (revised 1999). The major limitation when assessing the significance, and planning for the management, of any archaeological site, is the absence of exact knowledge concerning the nature and integrity of the subterranean deposits. However, because this site has proved to possess a wide range of culturally significant attributes, this lack of precise knowledge about archaeological resources has not formed a major limitation for the present study.

A further limitation occurs in the area of community consultation and the time allowed for the project. Community consultation tends to have a snowballing dynamic, gathering more momentum as the project develops and more contacts are made. Community consultation carried out for this project was as detailed as possible within the time frame, however a number of planned meetings were cancelled and the consultant team endeavoured to make up this lost ground by talking to people individually. However, prior to this study the NPWS had carried out intensive community consultation in order to initiate this project

1.7 Acknowledgements

We wish to express our gratitude to the many individuals who have shared ideas, research and information, and given their time to help us:

- Lee Thurlow has been extraordinarily generous in sharing the results of his many years of research.
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- Dr Peter Kabaila gave us his original maps from his PhD and also discussed aspects of the site.
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From NPWS, we thank Colin Adams, Peter Myler, Bill Allen, Cath Snelgrove, Jason Neville and Nick Rigby.



2.1 Introduction

One of the reasons *Mayngu Ganai* Historic Site is an important place is because it offers enormous potential for integration of historical evidence of all kinds to help animate the past in the present. This evidence includes images, maps, written records, archaeological artefacts, sites and studies, oral histories and contemporary stories and values associated with the place. The place as it is today gives few clues to this wealth of evidence - it offers, to the casual observer, little indication regarding the past lives that have been lived there. But the place and its immanent past rapidly start to come alive when these dispersed aspects are reintegrated with it. The physical remains then act as a focus for the assembly of these different aspects, for disclosure of the actions and connections that led to their generation¹.

Inga Clendinnen recently wrote about the impact on her of a visit to Port Essington, a shortlived, remote, early 19th century fort on the Northern Territory coast. There is little to see there now – the tropical climate, a few buildings, an over-full historic cemetery. She writes

The visit to Port Essington made me realise that the past – those early settlements in Australia – had once been as real as the present, which is always an electrifying realisation (Clendinnen 2003:1-2)

This prompted her to re-read the early colonial accounts of the British presence at Sydney Cove, and familiarise herself with the personalities of those writers and their necessarily partial perspectives on the young colony. She focused in particular on their descriptions of interactions with the Indigenous people of the Sydney Basin, and the Indigenous individuals that they came to know. Her aim was 'to understand what happened between these un-alike peoples' when they met and occupied the same land.

We feel that her work neatly introduces the three underlying themes of this project: the power of a particular place to evoke a living past; a focus on understanding the dynamics of early colonial inter-racial interactions; and the role of the available evidence in informing that understanding. Clendinnen stays close to the written sources. For some reason she does not make use of the rich

¹ Julian Thomas (1996:72) invokes these terms with respect to objects and their capacity to 'assemble different aspects of the world'. The ideas apply equally to places.

understandings that have been derived from the extensive body of archaeological work on the Indigenous settlements in the Sydney region, as we can do in this project.

Our aim in this study is to prepare a Conservation Management Plan for this site which is based upon a solid understanding of its historical and community context, but also to seek out directions, in collaboration with the community, which will re-animate its past and make it more real to its custodians and to visitors. This can be achieved through appropriate interpretation and, potentially, through further research.

2.2 Environmental Context

The town of Wellington is located in the valley and flats formed by the junction of the Bell and the Macquarie Rivers. The area is in the Central West Slopes and Plains Region of NSW – a zone of transition between the cold and wet climate of Great Dividing Range to the east and the generally dry plains of the Darling River system to the west. It consists of deep alluvial floodplain deposits of clay, silt and sand, overlying ancient river gravels. The bedrock is Ordovician volcanic (andesite and tuff) and siltstone and limestone (Dubbo 1:250000 geological map).

The hills of the Catombal Range rise immediately to the west of the flats of the Bell River, forming a steep border to the valley. Knight's (2002) discussion of Weddin Mountains (which rise to the south-east of Wellington) stresses the significance in the landscape of visually dominant elements, which he shows are steeped in meanings associated with ancestral presences and stories. Such meanings may apply to the Catombal Range also.

Clearing of this landscape was officially begun by Simpson in 1823, but stocking preceded official settlement, and is dated to about 1817. Vegetation on the study site now consists of introduced grasses and weeds. There are pockets of residual vegetation in the area, which assist in identifying the original vegetation associations that existed prior to colonial clearing and alteration of the landscape. There were large areas of natural grassland and lightly timbered grassland, with a variety of box species such as White Box (*E. albens*), Yellow Box (*E. melliodora*) and Grey Box (*E. microcarpa*), Bakelys Red Gum (*E. blakelyt*) and various casuarina along the river flats (Barber 1996; Pearson 1981:11-12). Black cypress (*Callitris* spp.) forests dominate on the steep slopes of the Upper Devonian siltstone, shale, sandstone and conglomerate of the Catombal Range, with Tumbledown Red gum (E. *dealbata*), drooping she oak and kurrajong (Lance 1985). A 19th century botanist, Allan Cunningham visited Wellington in 1825, collecting plants between Bathurst and the valley. He describes the settlement and botany of the time (cited by Jervis 1958:16).

2.3 Community Context

The town of Wellington has a population of 5200. It is the centre of the Wellington Local Government Area which incorporates the villages of Guerie, Mumbil, Euchareena and Stuart Town, as well as extensive rural areas, bringing the population to a total of 9200 (http://www.wellington.nsw.gov.au/eservice/navigation.jsp).

Wellington's Indigenous community has a continuity of presence in the Wellington area throughout the colonial period to the present. The series of missions, camps and townships occupied by Wiradjuri people through the changing political policies and white cultural attitudes of the 19th and twentieth centuries has been documented by Peter Kabaila (1998). Although oral testimony relating to the 19th century does not exist, Wellington Indigenous people have traced the historical records of ancestors baptised or married by the missionary Watson (See Section 5 for a discussion of this).

The Wellington Local Aboriginal Land Council and the Wellington Wiradjuri Elders are actively involved in Indigenous heritage and many other matters in the Wellington community.

In 1995 The Wellington Common Agreement was the first agreement mediated in Australia under the *Native Title Act 1993* (www.atns.net.au.biogs/A000056b.htm).

Wellington has a Visitor Centre and the Council also manages several prominent visitor attractions, most notably the Wellington Caves Complex and nearby Phosphate Mine, visited by approximately 50,000 people a year (Gretchen Hood, Vistor Information Centre, pers. comm.). The history of the Caves complex is linked to that of the *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site as they were both frequently visited by travellers in the early 19th century, who left records of their impressions. For example, both were painted by Augustus Earle in 1826.

Wellington has an active Historical Society that also curates the Oxley Historical Museum, which has a significant local collection of objects and records. The Historical Society has strongly lobbied for the conservation of the MG historic site.

Since the purchase of MGHS by NSW NPWS members of the Indigenous and non-indigenous communities have come together to support a MGHS Community Focus Group which has been involved in planning for the future of the place and in the preparation of this CMP.



3.0 The Story of Maynggu Ganai

3.1 Introduction

Today the story of the Wellington Valley convict station and mission is not widely known in the broader community. The buildings have gone and there is little to reveal the array of stories which are tied to this ordinary-looking hill slope. There are stories of cooperation and conflicts which were played out between British and Wiradjuri; of the struggle of the missionaries and their families as they sought to 'civilise' and convert the Indigenous people; heartbreaking stories of the diseases that tore at the fabric of Wiradjuri society in the 1830s; stories of convicts and commandants labouring to make the Wellington Valley into productive agricultural land and of the settlers who soon followed them; stories of family and continuity for the Wiradjuri people of Wellington. These stories have shaped Wellington's present, but in order to make them come alive, they need to be brought out from the apparently empty historic site, from the archives and from the ideas and memories of those people who have been given, or who have sought out, the meanings of this place.

In this section of the report we draw together historic documents and the work of historians; archaeological evidence and its analysis; maps, paintings and objects which together enrich our knowledge of the past of the *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site.

3.2 Archaeological and ethnographic pre-colonial evidence

What is the contribution of pre-colonial archaeological and ethnographic evidences to understanding *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site? We have much official documentation regarding the goals, establishment and running of the convict settlement and of the mission. But what was the Wiradjuri's view of this new place and its people, inserted into their country? What were their motives and concerns in dealing with it, based on their prior experiences? Understandings of the pre-colonial past can now only be accessed through lines of ethnohistoric, linguistic and archaeological evidence, all of which are influenced by the colonial context which generated them. But they nevertheless provide base-line, comparative and often telling insights into the forms and dynamics of pre-colonial Wiradjuri life. Important sources for these understandings relevant to the MGHS will be briefly reviewed, before outlining the picture of pre-colonial life that has been drawn from them.

3.2.1 Ethnographic sources

There is a wealth of ethnohistoric material available that describes aspects of 19th century Indigenous people's lives in and around the Wellington Valley, from the perspective of non-Indigenous observers. Descriptions cover practices which were maintained from pre-colonial times into the rapidly changing circumstances of colonial intrusions into the Bathurst area from 1813 and Wellington from 1823. They also describe some of the processes of accommodation, and changes in their patterns of life and culture, that Indigenous people had to make as a result.

The Wellington Valley Mission Papers represent one of the largest and most important sources for the history of the colonial frontier in New South Wales. Kept by the Reverends J.C.S. Handt, William Watson and James Gunther, and by the mission 'agriculturalist', Mr William Porter, from 1832 until the withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society mission in 1844, they consist of dozens of letters and around 1,000 manuscript pages of journals, diaries and reports which were returned to the Society in London (Carey and Roberts 2002: preamble). They have been compiled and published in full in electronic form in the 'Wellington Valley Project' of the University of Newcastle, by historians Hilary Carey and David Roberts (http://www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/wvp/html). Collectively, the Wellington Valley papers provide a unique perspective on contact history in Australia. They can provide a wealth of information about Wiradjuri life and about the experiences of the missionaries, their families, and their encounters with Wiradjuri society.

The convict station and subsequently the mission were at the end of the nascent colony's official road to the west and were frequently visited by official observers. They have left a diverse array of accounts of their visits. The artist Augustus Earle travelled to the mission in 1826, producing a number of watercolours, discussed below in Section 3.4.2. In 1830, Capt. John Henderson, a geologist and military surgeon visiting from India, interviewed several Wellington Wiradjuri and included a brief ethnography in his *Observations on the Colonies of New South Wales and V an Diemens Land* (1832). He provides the earliest description of *Baiame* and other deities (Hiatt 1996; Carey and Roberts 2002) and may have been the source of a long description of a traditional burial published in the *Sydney Gazette* in 1832 (No. 2077, 17 January, p. 3 accurately reproduced in Jervis 1958: 18). The purpose of his work was to advise the Government on the management of a convict colony. He added to it an appendix on natural history and ethnography. This was strongly influenced by his knowledge of the people of northern India ('Hindoostan') with whom he constantly compared the Aboriginal people.



Figure 3.1 'Natives of Wellington, New South Wales', print from a drawing by James Henderson. One of these individuals is Marinbilly, 'wizard as well as doctor'. He spoke English and is probably the man on the left, wearing a government blanket. The other individual wears a nose ornament and one of the 'silver-like fillets, composed of the tendons of the kangaroo, curiously woven' used for the corroborree.

As his work is not easily accessible we summarise it here. The ethnography starts with a description of the physique of Indigenous people (143-144), speculation about their racial origin (145) and then goes on to describe a ceremonial ground which he also sketched (145-146 and plate 2; see description Section 3.2.3 below). Henderson was told the story of Piame (Baiame) and his children (147). He also describes an initiation ceremony (147-149). He then writes about language, the existence of territories, the life of women, and describes burial rites (149-150). He outlines the equipment used at two successive corroborees (150-152) and concludes with an assessment of the 'intelligence' of Indigenous people, where he finds 'no evidence of any inferiority' (153).

James Backhouse was a Quaker sent by the Society of Friends from the London Missionary Society to investigate Christian activities in Australia and the South Pacific. He was a sympathetic observer of Indigenous people's lives, as well as missionary practices. He visited Wellington in September 1835 as part of his tour of inspection. Later visitors who recorded impressions of the mission were Governor George Gipps in 1840, Conrad Martens in the same year and the American Horatio Hale of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1846.

3.2.2 Archaeological sources

Insight into local activities and people's use of the landscape can be gained from the patterns of known archaeological site types. The most extensive systematic archaeological survey in the Wellington area was that of the upper Macquarie River by Michael Pearson (1981), as part of his PhD research. He also excavated a rock shelter south of Hill End which had been occupied from at least 7,000 years ago to 1200 years ago (1981:152).

A 10km x 17km square, centred around the MGHS (from easting 677000 to 687000, northing 6385000 to 6402000 see 1:100,000 topographic map), takes in the Catombal Range to the east, Dripstone to the south, the two river valleys, Wellington township, Nanima, Apsley and the Wellington Caves. Within this area, there are 25 sites listed on the NSW NPWS Aboriginal sites register, as at August 2003. These consist of a wide variety of forms: 13 scarred trees; 5 open sites; a stone arrangement; a carved tree, a bora ground/ceremonial place plus carved tree, a bora ground/ceremonial place plus open site; two possible burials and two contact places – Nanima mission huts and Nanima Church. This is a rich cross section of the material expressions of Wiradjuri people's relationships to their country.

Scarred trees are a common form of Indigenous modification of the landscape, widespread in the region. They result from removal of bark to make shields, bowls, huts, coverings for burials, or when cutting toe holds for climbing trees to catch possums or collect honey. Those created to make canoes are generally located near rivers or creeks. Scars resulting from these Indigenous activities were made at least 100 years ago, so the trees which bear them must be more than 120 years old, and bark has frequently overgrown the margins of the scar. Some scars are more recent, as both Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people obtained bark for European hut construction in the 19th century, and other scars such as boundary markers were also created on trees. Stone axe marks can sometimes be distinguished from steel axe marks. Bill Allen (NPWS Sites Officer) notes that Wiradjuri and Aboriginal people in general still take bark from trees to make traditional items.

Open sites. These are remnants of people's occupation of a place. They are either campsites, and/or locations where stone has been worked. Most open sites are small scatters of stone artefacts containing less than 50, and commonly less than ten artefacts. Large sites with several hundred artefacts occur more rarely, generally on the Macquarie river flats in a favourable locale which has been revisited many times over a long period. Raw materials which are common in the region are quartz, silcrete and fine grained volcanic rock. These are derived from quarried outcrops or from river cobbles. Scatters contain flakes, flaked pieces, cores and more rarely

secondarily worked artefacts: backed blades, ground-edged axes, grinding stones of quartzite, hammer stones, or bipolar artefacts.

Pearson (1981:101) predicted that larger occupation sites are likely to occur near permanent watercourses, not on the flats but on the well-drained ground on the rises:

The desirable features of a campsite... were accessibility to water, good drainage, elevation above cold air pools in winter and an adequate breeze in summer, level ground for sleeping on, a sunny leeward aspect and adequate fuel. From the survey sample, the situations best answering these needs were gentle hillslopes and undulating ground flat areas on ridges, especially at lower levels, followed by river flats and creek banks which had accessibility to water but few other desirable features. Open woodland appears to have been the favourite vegetation zone for occupation sites.

Quarries, or procurement sites where rock for making artefacts has been obtained, have been located near Peak Hill, at Obley near Macquarie River and at Arthurville on a tributary of the Little River. These are all locations where outcrops of volcanic rock have been worked (Lance 1985:8).

Grinding grooves are formed in outcrops of sandstone. As an abrasive rock, it is used to shape the margins of volcanic hatchet heads into a sharp edge. There are several sets of grinding grooves recorded near the Macquarie River and near the Little River.

Stone arrangements vary in form and purpose. They may consist of various combinations of stone lines or cairns. They may be markers, or result from the construction of a hut, or may be part of a ceremonial area. Two potential stone arrangements were recorded near the Macquarie River north of Wellington. NPWS site no 36-4-20 is a series of 11 cairns near a quarry, and site no 36-4-21 was described as a stone circle and square, but has not been relocated.

Carved trees, bora grounds. These important ceremonial sites are a significant feature of the Wiradjuri landscape. There are at least ten recorded in the Wellington area. For example, Horton (1825), Henderson (1832) and Etheridge (1918) describe 28 carved trees in a mile long arrangement which marked a bora ground near Wellington. Bell could not relocate these trees in 1986 but registered them as NPWS site no 36-4-6. The carved trees may be created in pairs or clustered in elaborate arrangements. They mark either ceremonial bora grounds or burial places and there are distinctions between these two forms (Bell 1982:6). They are made by removing a section of the trees' bark and incising the underlying wood with non-figurative linear, diamond and V shapes. Few are now standing – most have been burnt, cut down, or rotted. Some have

been removed to museums. NPWS site no 36-4-7 was a group of three trees, one of which may be located in the Wellington Historical Society museum. Site 36-4-9, described by Etheridge (1918:40) was a pair of trees in the reserve of the Wellington caves, which Bell could not relocate.

Burials. A human jaw, reported to have been found by cavers in the deposits of one of the Wellington caves in 1977, is now in the Australian Museum (36-4-0001). There is a historical description of a traditional circular grave in the town of Wellington (Hood 1853, NPWS 36-4-79), associated with earth mounds and two carved trees. No trace of this has been relocated. Site 36-4-56 is the location of a 'king plate' inscribed with the word 'Obella' form the west bank of the Little River, north of Obley, which may have been associated with a burial. Some burials were associated with the creation of sets of carved trees, as at Yuranigh's grave site of 1850.

3.2.3 Dimensions of Wiradjuri'

'Wiradjuri' designates the people of the land of the three rivers – the Murrumbidgee, the Lachlan and the Macquarie – who speak various sub-dialects of Wiradjuri languages. This covers a wide area, within which there are contrasting environmental zones and climates. The term does not refer to a bounded social entity, but takes in a cluster of cultural attributes which we may consider as 'dimensions of Wiradjuri', following White (1986). These include aspects of language, locality, material culture and social organisation which are shared to a greater or lesser degree through the area, with differences particularly between the northern and southern parts of the broad region (White 1986). Pearson (1981:514-538) provides detailed summary tables of 19th century ethnographic observations of animal and plant food species and cultural material recorded on the upper Macquarie River, including the Wellington area. The references to the Wellington area are mainly from Gunther's and Backhouse's notes, and have been reproduced in Table 1 below.

Diet

In the eastern Wiradjuri areas there was a broad-based economy that would not present marked seasonal shortages for the resident population (Pearson 1981:349-50). There was a high proportion of animal protein in the pre-contact diet. Possums were a particularly common food, with elaborate methods for locating and extracting them from hollow trees with hooked sticks and tomahawks. Grubs were also common components of the diet, extracted from hollow trees with specialised hooked sticks. Both of these food types were easier to catch and more readily available than the other common food sources – river fish, kangaroo, lizard and snake (Pearson 1981: 333; White 1986:55). Vegetable food collection included various forms of tubers, especially kurrajong roots, which were reliably and plentifully available all year round in the Western Slopes regions (White 1986:57-8; Pearson 1981:337). Grass seed does not appear to have been a

common food in the Upper Macquarie region, including in the Wellington area (White 1986:60; Pearson 1981:348). Plant foods are under-reported in the ethnographic observations, but include acacia gum, grasstree pith, berries, bulrush pulp, 'fruit' and macrozamia (Pearson 1981:342-3). A wealth of un-recorded Indigenous ecological knowledge is hinted at in Gunther's expression of surprise in his journal (27 June 1838) that the Aboriginal people had words for every shrub, tree and plant they passed while walking in the Catombal Ranges.

Material culture

The stone artefacts which predominate in archaeological occupation sites were the tools used to make diverse wooden objects: bowls, clubs, shields, spears, boomerangs of a variety of forms, for domestic use, for hunting large and small game, and for warfare. These items were often intricately decorated with incised lines.

String made from bark, possum hair, tendons or grass was used to make head and waist bands, nets and carrying bags and necklaces. Section of reeds and bones were commonly worn as nose ornaments, such as the one worn by the individual on the left in Henderson's illustration (1832), Figure 3.1.

The design of specialised hooked sticks for extraction of grubs and for the location of possums in hollow trees attest to the importance of these in the diet (Pearson 1981:334, 337). 'Tomahawks' or hafted ground-edged hatchets were also important in accessing them, and also for acquiring wood, and for the removal of bark for making bowls, shelters, canoes. Steel axes were rapidly incorporated into the tool kit: Oxley saw one, hafted in traditional manner in use near Dubbo in 1818, which he considered was acquired from people who had visited 'Wellington Vale' (1820:220-1, cited in Pearson 1981:360). There is an indication of the trade of objects implicit in this acquisition, but there is no direct evidence concerning the nature of pre-colonial inter-group exchanges in the area.

Possum skins were made into composite cloaks, each requiring about 20 skins, stitched together with sinew and fish bone needles and often decorated with incised lines (Pearson 1981:366). Henderson's picture of two people at Wellington in 1830 (see Figure 3.1) shows the man named Marinbilly wearing such a cloak, fastened on the right side. In the colonial period, these came to be replaced by government issue blankets.

Shelters in the Wellington area were typically described as consisting of a quickly constructed Aframe of two slabs of bark, erected in wet weather. A leafy bough shelter was made for shade, and windbreaks were constructed (Pearson 1981:373). Canoes made from bark were used to cross rivers and travel long distances downstream. Henderson (1832:150) describes one at Wellington:

fresh single sheets of eucalyptus bark, carefully taken from a twisted tree, and prevented from rolling up by two slight boughs which were inserted in order to stretch them. They are generally about six feet long, by two and a half in width: the head is made round like that of a boat, and is higher then the stern which requires to have a low wall of clay to prevent the water from rushing in. The passenger must sit on his knees, perfectly motionless; while a native boy by means of a spear, guides this primitive boat with considerable dexterity.

There is little known rock art in the Wiradjuri region, but hand stencils in rock shelters have been recorded in the Upper Macquarie (Pearson 1981:584), and bark paintings are described being used as part of ceremonies in the Dubbo-Wellington area (1981:371). Carved trees are recorded from the Murray River to southern Queensland, but they are most concentrated along the Upper Bogan and Macquarie Rivers (White 1986:70-1). Etheridge (1918:56) indicates that there is a distinction in the motifs carved, with zig-zag patterns found in the Upper Macquarie and curved line motif predominant in the middle Macquarie. A number of commentaries remark on the similarity of designs used on carved burial trees, possum skin cloaks, shields and clubs (White 1986:83). Together with body cicatrices, these markings would represent and reinforce social groupings and distinctions.

The carving of trees to mark a burial site was still practiced in 1850, as seen in the case of Yuranigh's grave (NSW NPWS 1999).

Table 1: Ethnographic observations of animal and plant use and material culture (in the Wellington area only)

(Derived from Appendix 1 and 2, Pearson 1981:514-538)

Food species	Hunting and gathering method/ preparation method	Date and Reference
Possum	Fire used to hunt them	Gunther Journal 17/2/1838
	Spear thrust down hollow limb, possum pulled out, or hole cut in limb, or possum smoked out	Gunther Journal 17/8/1838
	One of the principal foods. Cooked in pit of heated stones, greenery placed on the meat, eaten when half cooked	Gunther lecture nd: 27
	Two possums taken from hollow limb. 'Chief part of subsistence of native blacks'	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321
Kangaroo	One of the principal foods. Cooked in pit until half done	Gunther lecture nd: 27
Wallaby	Fire used to drive wallabies from hiding places	Gunther Journal 17/2/1838

	One of the principal foods. Oven of heated stones, greenery thrown on top of meat. Can eat huge amounts of half cooked meat at a sitting	Gunther lecture nd: 27	
Kangaroo rat	One of the principal foods. Cooked in oven of heated stones	Gunther lecture nd: 27	
Food species	Hunting and gathering method/ preparation method	Date and Reference	
Platypus	One of the animals eaten	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Lizards	The larger lizards hunted. Cooked lightly.	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Snake	Snakes 'also eaten'. Cooked in a pit.	Gunther lecture nd: 27	
	Snakes eaten if they haven't bitten themselves to death	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Tortoise	Caught sunning on logs, people swim under water and grab by the legs	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Fish	Caught with a spear or by hand (nets on Barwon River)	Gunther lecture, nd: 27, 34	
	15 fish caught, oil used as a cosmetic	Gunther Journal 25/9/1837	
Mussels	Mussels of Unio spp. eaten	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Birds	'various birds' also eaten. Hunted by throwing weapons at them	Gunther lecture, nd: 27, 33	
Cockatoo	Hide in a hay rick and catch the feeding cockatoo by the leg	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Grubs	Grub hook used to extract grubs and worms from wood	Gunther journal, winter	
	Grubs eaten with gusto, extracted from trees with grub hook, eaten raw	Gunther lecture, nd: 28	
	Eaten, extracted from limbs of trees	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321	
Grubs	Large grubs taken from roots of young trees, eaten by women	Harper in Strachan 1870:229	
Ant's eggs	Taste like fowl's eggs	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Moths	Large moths not unlike new bread to taste. Roasted.	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Honey	Plenty of native honey in the area, mix it with water and drink it	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319	
Roots	Dug by women. Roasted, taste like chestnuts	Gunther journal, 4/9/1837	
	Long white tuber, like potato, reedy leaves	Gunther journal, 27/6/1838	
	Wooden paddle used to dig roots and grubs	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321	
	Kurrajong roots soft, eaten as food	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:314	
Berries	'also eaten'	Gunther lecture, nd: 27	

Artefact type	Description and use	Date and reference
Spear	10-12 feet long	Gunther lecture, nd: 82
	Main weapon is a 6ft long spear, boughs shaped over fire to harden them. Size of a man's finger	1830. Henderson 1832:150
Spear thrower	'Grass tree sling' used to throw spears	North of Wellington 1830. Henderson 1832:150
Club	A small club carried. Used for hunting	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321
Boomerang	Thrown for amusement as walking, not very accurate	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319
	Returning and non-returning boomerangs seen, called 'bargan'	1840. Hale 1846:116
	Return on enemy from behind. Finely carved	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 31, 82

Shield	Sometimes finely carved.	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 31
	Parrying shield, finely carved, inscribed and figured	Etheridge 1897:155
Axes	Stone axes replaces by steel 1840s. cutting tool	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 31
Artefact type	Description and use	Date and reference
	'tomahawk' used to cut grubs from rotten wood and to cut toe-holds in trees	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319, 321
	Steel tomahawks used to cut into bee hives in trees	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:319
Digging stick	A few wooden implements for digging up roots – either digging stick or wooden paddle used	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:109
Wooden spades	A wooden paddle for digging up grubs and roots	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321
Grub hooks	'Small tin piece of wood with a hook at the end' used to pull grubs out of holes in wood	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 28
	Grub hooks used to remove grubs and worms from wood	Gunther journal 28/8/1837
	Long reed terminating in a hook of hardwood, pointed at the bend. Forced into grub then extracted.	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:34
Wooden dishes	Carved wooden vessels, with capacity of 3 or 4 gallons used to carry and heat water with heated stones	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 34
Bags	Bags netted out of spun possum fur, with a wooden crochet needle, by women	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 31
Nets	Nets 'neatly' constructed by women for catching of fish and birds	1846. Mundy 1855:104
Headband	Knitted from spun possum fur by women	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd: 31
	Head fillet of woven kangaroo tendons, with plumes of yellow cockatoo stuck in it. Worn by men in battle	1830. Henderson 1832:151
	Netting fillet on head, made of kurrajong bark string	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321
Belts	"slight girdle' composed of narrow strips of the opossum skin'. Worn by new initiates	1830. Henderson 1832:145
	Strip of kangaroo skin worn about loins	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:321
Possum skin cloak	Cloaks used as drums, wearing apparel, burial shrouds and beds	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd:29, 61, 62-3
	Only covering worn	1827. Strachan 1870:229
	Cloaks sewn with tendons of kangaroo tail, decorated with chequered designs, used as clothing, bedding, to carry children, as a drum	1830. Henderson 1832:149
	Body wrapped in cloak for burial	1832. Jervis 1958:18
	Blanket used instead of cloak to wrap body for burial	Gunther journal 26/6/1838
Nose bone or reed	Reeds 4 inches long through cartilage of nose	Sept 1835. Backhouse 1843:318
	Nine men with sticks or bones through noses	Toongi near Wellington. Oxley 1820:175-6
	Bones 4-6 inches long worn through noses by women	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd:32
Necklaces	Beads of seeds and grasses worn by women	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd:32
Tool kits	Spear, boomerang, club and shield usual weapons used by one man	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd:63
Canoe	Single sheet of bark, 2 bough stringers to hold out the sides, and one end dammed up with clay to keep water out. 6 x 2 ft. paddled with spear. Carried two people	1830. Henderson 1832:150
Shelter	Sheets of bark placed opposite one another, admits one individual	1830. Henderson 1832:150

Bits of boughs and branches. Used in hot dry weather	1840s. Gunther lecture, nd:29
Large party in 'gunyahs' of boughs, thatched with grass, behind a wind break and near a fire	1846. Mundy 1855:164
A few pieces of bark and branches, sloping, shelter from the rain	Gunther journal 1/4/1838

Social structure

The broad grouping of Wiradjuri speakers is considered to have been made up of a number of smaller independent groups named after distinctive features of their country, with each grouping in turn consisting of a number of extended family groups (White 1986). The society was organised according to gender and age divisions, with moieties which determined kin and country affiliations.

"The ethnohistoric evidence ... suggests that recognisably distinct local communities existed, which were larger than the groups which were observed hunting and gathering at normal times ... [which] could easily and peacefully come together for short periods' (Pearson 1981:76).

Large gatherings for initiation and other ceremonies – the 'burbung' or 'bora' – involved intergroup participation. These both consolidated lines of affiliation and expressions of inter-regional difference (White 1986:96). They 'revolved around or were underpinned by the belief in the supreme supernatural being, Biame, the most important key figure not only in Wiradjuri beliefs but to this whole area of central NSW' (White 1986:93).

Henderson (1832:145-6, Plate 3 fig 1) describes and illustrates a large and elaborate ceremonial ground, one locale for such inter-group gatherings, on the banks of the Macquarie River at Wellington:

A long straight avenue of trees, extended for about a mile, and these were carved on each side, with various devices ... at one extremity of this, the earth had been heaped up, as to resemble the gigantic figure of a human being ... a variety of other characters were observed to be rudely imprinted upon the turf ... a narrow pathway goes towards the left, and soon terminated in a circle, which is closed by a wall, composed merely of loose earth.

David Bell unsuccessfully tried to re-locate this complex, given NPWS site no 36-4-6. It is also described in Etheridge 1918 and McCarthy 1945.

Gaynor Macdonald (pers comm. 2004) stresses the dynamism of the regional kinship networks and relations to land that defined the Wiradjuri social world: mobility was crucial to its integrated operation, with groups' localised nodes linked by the pathways of the river valleys, followed on foot and also by canoe. Pearson (1981:373) points out that the use of canoes would have 'strengthened the connection between the upper and lower Macquarie clans, and may have accounted for the strong links between the two groups, demonstrated by the series of ceremonies and gatherings held jointly in the area between Wellington and Warren in the 1830s and 40s.'

Non-ceremonial/ social gatherings and dances attended by women and uninitiated men were also a feature of social interaction. These continued well into the colonial period, and were attended and described by numerous observers (Pearson 1981:370). For example, a corroboree was held at the house of the convict station commandant, then H.A. Bennet in 1830, which Sir Thomas Mitchell attended, indicating that interactions were cordial at that time (Jervis 1958:18).

These outlines of patterns of life in the area prior to European incursions establish the background for understanding Indigenous responses to the changes which followed.

3.3 The Convict Agricultural Station

3.3.1 The Bathurst Plains and pastoral expansion

In the 1820s, there was an accelerated expansion of population in the Bathurst district. The European population in 1820 was 114; in 1821 it was 287; in 1822 it was 392. By 1824, the worst year of racial conflict, there were 1267 Europeans in the district. The amount of alienated land increased similarly, from 2520 acres in 1821 to 91,636 acres in 1825 (Pearson 1981:204, based on HRA and NSW Returns).

When the Bathurst Plains became fully occupied, it was more economically astute to find new land on distant natural grasslands, such as the Cudgegong and Bell Rivers, than to expend considerable capital in clearing forest land on the edge of the Bathurst Plains. The value and transportability of stock, and the cheap supply of convict labour, made grazing economically productive even at the increased distance from market.

Settlement therefore leapfrogged, along the Cudgegong and Bell Rivers ... Vast areas of land were left untouched, to be settled in later years when the scarcity of natural grasslands made the clearing of open woodlands economically feasible and desirable. ...Government Outstations, which became centres of administrative and military presence around which settlers congregated. This is very noticeable, for example, at Wellington, where the security offered by the Government's presence, and the communications network established to supply the settlement, made it a desirable nucleus around which free holdings began to cluster (Pearson 1981:197-8). Expansion of European grazing was at the same time the reduction of land available to Aboriginal people for traditional land use. The two were in direct economic competition and were not compatible: game and plant foods were rapidly reduced, fences, stock and guns prevented free movement and access.

Aboriginal aggression against the Europeans coincided with the occupation of all immediately available grazing lands, often woodland, and watercourses in that area by Europeans. ... exodus being blocked, aggression was the last attempt to reclaim the use of traditional lands (Pearson 1981:351).

From 1822 to 1824 the Wiradjuri were engaged in guerrilla activities along the Cudgegong (Gulgong-Mudgee) and around Bathurst. Governor Brisbane had declared Martial Law on 14 August 1824, which meant that the NSW military and police were licensed to kill, which they did quite indiscriminately, until the repeal of Martial Law on 11 December 1824. Peter Read has concluded that 'between one quarter and a third of the Bathurst region Wiradjuri were killed' (1988:10).

Brisbane had not consulted the British government, which was outraged at his behaviour and recalled him as soon as the news reached London (*HRA* 1.11:429; Coe 1989:64). He was replaced in 1825 by Governor Ralph Darling who wasted no time dismantling everything Brisbane had done.

In contrast, in the Wellington area European occupation was still at a low level until the 1840s, and conflict was not set in train.

3.3.2 Living on the Edge

Wellington Valley was on the very western edge of the 'limits of location' of the NSW colony, as determined by Governor Darling in 1826, and shown by Surveyor-General Sir Thomas Mitchell on his 1834 *Map of the Nineteen Counties.* This set an outer boundary beyond which settlement was discouraged and beyond which no tenure or protection under the law was extended. It was wild country in the 1820s when bushrangers were a serious threat, and remained a frontier zone until at least the 1840s. The arbitrary boundaries did not prevent graziers from moving into viable land beyond them. The government was running a losing race with land-hungry settlers who kept pushing ever westwards with their flocks. Prior to official settlement, there was unofficial grazing of stock in the Wellington valley by 1819 (McDonald 1968:25). The decision to establish a site of government authority on this edge meant that it became 'the nucleus for the expansion of the frontier to the north-west, and along the Bell Valley. Again, as at Bathurst, the extension of the

frontier accompanied, rather than preceded, the development of a transport route and an administration centre' (Pearson 1981:187).

3.3.3 Creating the convict establishment

In 1823 Governor Brisbane had been under instructions to have only 400 convicts within Sydney itself. At Wellington Valley he created an establishment which would be sufficiently isolated for 'the moral reformation of those who are too ungovernable to be restrained by the mild laws of their home' and more suitable than the town 'for the location of the better sort of Convicts', while simultaneously forming a supply base for the settlers (Brisbane to Bathurst, 28 April 1823, HRA 1.11:78-80).

The project seems to have been ill-fated from the beginning. The educated convicts were as ignorant of agriculture as their guards. The first commander, 34-year-old Lieut. Percy Simpson, was new to Australia and was more worried about his career and family than about penal reform or stock-raising.¹ The settlers did not need the convict's services and refused to buy their produce. The costs were high and the settlement increasingly inefficient. Simpson was fired in 1826 and the station finally closed down by Governor Darling in 1830, the stock being disposed of over the next year (Murray to Darling 26.10.1830, HRA 1.15:805; Maxwell 1982:187, 205-211).

3.3.4 The Convict Station 1823-1832

When Governor Darling came to New South Wales, part of his job was to tidy up after Governor Brisbane, recalled in disgrace over his handling of martial law. Darling soon dismissed Simpson, who did not go quietly and claimed to be bankrupt. Matters were more or less settled by 1827 but Simpson never gave up and pestered successive governors for the next 16 years (Darling to Hay (1827), *HRA* 1.13:250-251; Bourke to Stanley (1834) *HRA* 1.17:401-402; Stanley to Gimps (1844) *HRA* 1.23 (1843):127-135; Gimps to Stanley (1844), *HRA* 1.23:523-531).

Simpson's work at Wellington, from March 1823 to June 1826, has been examined by David Roberts (2000a and b). He makes the point that Simpson was given little guidance or assistance, but managed at least to create a physical establishment of 40 buildings and 300 acres of plough

¹ Percy, or Pierce, Simpson (1789-1877), was born in Canada, where his father, Major Noah Simpson of the 31st Foot was stationed. The family was Anglo-Irish and claims a connection to Cloncorrick Castle, Co. Leitrim; his wife Hester Elizabeth, was also Anglo-Irish, from Mountpleasant, co. Louth. Her brother, Sir John McNeill was a disciple of Telford, the great road engineer, and this may have assisted Percy in his later career on the Great North Road. At the time they moved to Wellington the Simpsons had two small children. Some of their descendants became prominent in the law and politics. Information drawn from ADB, DNB, Biog.Reg, *Memorial;* Jervis 1958: foreword, and Clouten 1967:37-38.

land. Given the lack of skilled workers in his convict group, he probably did as he much as he could. Roberts (2000b) discusses discipline and here again, Simpson seems to have acted as best he could. One could add that his training as a soldier with the Royal Corsican Rangers and his previous experience as local governor of the island of Paxos for three years (1814-1817) were not necessarily appropriate to his new roles as a farmer and prison superintendent.

The formal 'regulations for the government establishment of Wellington Valley', either issued to or devised by Lt Simpson in 1824, deal with three main topics:

- The conduct of the settlement in terms of schedules and hygiene (1-19), supervision of behaviour (20-32) and stores (45-46, 54-55).
- Punishment (33-42, 51)
- The commandant's function (7, 43-44, 51-52, 56).

Roberts analyses the possibilities open to Simpson and finds that he had difficulty in enforcing discipline. His basic recourse was to flogging until 1825, when he built a jail in which offenders could be confined (Roberts 2000b:68-71). He also had the options of withdrawing privileges or of sending men to the granary treadmill.

Darling allowed the station to run down. The convicts were to be removed: most would be assigned to settlers while the more difficult cases would go to places of secondary punishment. The major job was to dispose of the stock and Darling appointed the obvious person, John Maxwell, a free settler who had been Superintendent of Stock at Bathurst almost since his arrival from Scotland in 1822. Unlike his contemporary, Percy Simpson, Maxwell was well able to cope with the task and seems to have carried out his duties efficiently, at Bathurst until 1827, at Wellington until 1829 and finally in a promotion to Emus Plains until 1831, when he retired to manage his own property. He kept copies of his official correspondence, which are an invaluable source of information on the running of the various stations (Maxwell 1982).

Shortly after his arrival in Wellington in mid-1827 Maxwell started to supervise the removal of the stock. Over 1400 cattle and 500 sheep had to be moved, for which drovers would be needed, and there was a stockpile of wheat to dispose of (Maxwell 1982:88-89, 102, 119). Meanwhile wheat was still being produced and had to be harvested. Maxwell therefore asked for a winnowing machine, for more men to harvest the wheat, and for skilled maintenance men (carpenter, blacksmith, bricklayer) (Maxwell 1982:110, 125). He also wished to build a new barracks (Maxwell 1982:132, Roberts 2000a:32). While he was given permission to do so, it is not clear whether he did or not, for the plan he proposed does not correspond to any of the structures recorded by his successor H.A.B. Bennett in 1832 (Bennet to Col Sec, SRNSW

32/4892, reproduced as SP1 in Roberts 2000a). In 1829 Maxwell moved to Emu Plains, handing over the station to Bennett, who was being moved from Emu Plains (Maxwell 1982:149).

There were still a lot of cattle at Wellington, to Darling's annoyance. Over 1000 had been removed, but there still remained about 2500 in November 1830 (Maxwell 1982:173, 176, 182, 184-185). This was in direct contradiction of the Colonial Office's instructions, sent in April 1830, that the cattle were to be disposed of, by giving them away if necessary:

although it would certainly be desirable that payment, if possible, should be obtained for those Cattle which may be parted with, yet I am of the opinion that it would be infinitely better to get rid of the Cattle under any circumstances than continue to maintain them at the present cost to the Government (Murray to Darling 21 April 1830, HRA 1.15:433).

In 1831, in what Eric Rolls describes as 'a particularly hard feat of droving', lasting over 16 weeks, the convict overseer Alexander Oliver and five men took 113 cattle from Wellington northeast through uncharted territory as far as the Macleay River and then down to the penal settlement at Port Macquarie (Maxwell 1982: viii). Oliver's report has now been published as a 'journal from memory' (Griffin and Howell 1996: Appendix 2).

By August 1831, Bennett and Maxwell had managed to bring the number down to 315 cattle; there still remained some horses and sheep, which were to be sold when the last of the cattle had gone. Now that the stock was almost all gone, Maxwell, who was about to retire, asked if he could take over the station farm and buildings. This was refused, as the buildings were to be used by 'such prisoners as are retained at Wellington Valley' (Maxwell 1982:210-211).²

3.3.5 The Convicts

Denis Gojak has pointed out that as yet we know very little about 'rural convicts' (Gojak 2001:8-79). Wellington Valley has the potential to yield information on this point. Maxwell made a list of convicts in 1827, of which only seven were 'special' (educated) (Maxwell 1982:92-93; Thurlow 1999:6-7). Of the rest, we have had time to trace only three: Martin Grady was a 28-year old weaver, George Smith was a 22-year old carter and Henry Dunn a 40-year old seaman. Interestingly, Dunn was an African American 'Negro' and both his age and occupation suggest that he was a runaway slave. He may have been literate, as the missionaries had been active in the Caribbean and American colonies.³ It is interesting that two of the 1827 'specials' were deponents in favour of George Brown, when he shot the Aboriginal child. One, Lahrbush, was later described as of bad character (Maxwell 1982:158, reproduced by Thurlow, 1999:9).

² On retiring, Maxwell took up 11 miles of Bell River frontage at Narragal, south-east of the convict station (McDonald 1968:31-32).

Educated convicts became an issue in 1829 when one of them, William Watt, newly transported to the colony, wrote to the *Monitor* newspaper complaining that he had been made to do physical work. He later attempted to retract, saying the letter had been inspired by his fellow-convict, Mark Hale a former *Monitor* writer. Watts suggests that he was used by Hale and others, whom he names, for political reasons. Maxwell ('always tender to his men') was inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt but Darling were extremely angry (Maxwell 1982:139-144, 200-201).

This incident casts an interesting light on the way in which convicts with some connections could make their voices heard. This is probably what lies behind Darling's complaint to the Colonial Office, when the station was being closed:

'Educated Convicts', as they are termed, which includes those transported for Forgery ... have until the present Moment been sent to Wellington Valley, a government establishment in the interior about 250 Miles from Sydney. These people have been kept there, in order to their undergoing a reasonable probation, and, when recommended by the Superintendent, have been from time to time assigned as clerks or for such other situations as they appeared qualified to fill.

I should hope...that convicts of that description will not hereafter be sent to this Colony as there will be much difficulty in disposing of them; in fact I do not know where to send them, and it is very desirable they should not in the first instance be sent to Sydney (Darling to Murray, 17 December 1830, *HRA* 1.15:832-833).

³ For runaway Jamaican slaves, see Duffield 1999.

Year	Military	Convict	Stock and grain	Notes	Ref
1823			Wheat: July, 57 ac; Nov. 280 ac		McDonald,13
1824					
1825	9 (57 th West Middles ex Regt)	61	9000 bushels of wheat 270 acres	100 miles from Bathurst	Total; Census, <i>HRA</i> 12:317-8. Military: Pioneer Cemetery notes. Convicts and acres: Roberts 2000a:23. Wheat: <i>Memorial</i> no.10
1826			From Feb. 1824 to Feb. 1826: 52,372 lbs wheat sown 25 Feb-24 May: 474 acres [for wheat] 20 ac maize, 2 ac. tobacco	Salaries= £400	Estimate 16 Dec. HRA 1.12: 773. Wheat, Memorial no.10 Acres: Lt Browne cited in Roberts 2000a: 39
1827	1 serjeant 15 rank and file	64*	2694 cattle: 950M, 1744 F 252 sheep: 79M, 252F 33 horses: 11M, 18 F 134 pigs		Distribution of troops 5 May; Return of Convicts 1 April; Statement of Stock 22 Dec. <i>HRA</i> 1.13:276, 305, 662. Thurlow 1999:6.
1828	1 serjeant 12 rank and file	64 Convict numbers to be limited to: Ag: 4 overseers, 8 mechanics, 28 labourers; Stock: 5 overseers, 0 mechanics, 30 labourers		Cost= £250 p.a.	Return of 29 th and 57 th regiments.19 June 1828. Return of convicts 10 Feb 1829. Limitation of convicts employed 10 Dec. 1828. <i>HRA</i> 1.14: 229 , 637, 646-647.
1829		92 labourers [Only 80 needed: see above]			Return of convicts 2 April 1830 HRA 1.15:386.
1830	Detach- ment	40 in May 29 in Dec	2310 cattle		Darling to Murray 4 May, HRA 1.15:466. Maxwell 1982:185
1831		19	564 cattle, some horses and sheep		Maxwell 1982:211

Table 2: Population of the Convict station

3.3.6 First missionary effort in Wellington Valley

John Harper, with experience as a schoolmaster at the Blacktown Native Institution, was the first missionary sent to the Wellington Valley agricultural station by Reverend William Walker to establish a possible Wesleyan Missionary Society mission. Simpson was instructed to give assistance to him, and to provide him with a dwelling (SLNSW, Mitchell Collection, microfilm A 1559-2, 212; McDonald 1968:15). He spent almost two years from April 1825 in the settlement, working with Aborigines and, if asked, convicts. His account of his proceedings, published in the Sydney Gazette 29/9/1825, provide the first detailed observations of local Aboriginal society and culture. For example, he describes five groups living in the area whose 'usual places of resort are many miles from Wellington, but occasionally they all visit this spot': Bathurst, Murrlong, Mury,

Banjaring, Mudgee and Myawl, who 'all speak the same language. It is so different from that of the blacks within the colony [Port Jackson] that they cannot understand one another'. While the men he met were not 'a quarrelsome people' he was told of skirmishes in the past and shown a grave reputed to contain the bodies of 'sixty persons who fell in war' (Jervis 1958:17). Harper was distressed at seeing Aboriginal women 'cohabiting with the prisoners' in 'a disgraceful intercourse' (Harper, cited in Roberts 2000a:19). Harper reported to his church in April 1825, seeking funds to establish a permanent settlement and asking for 10,000 acres, the same amount of land as had been granted to Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld at Lake Macquarie. Governor Brisbane refused to give any land and Harper then moved to Twofold Bay in 1826 (Selkirk 1921:153; McDonald 1968:15-16).

Closing down the station had taken rather more time than building it. In 1832 Bennett made a conscientious report of the structures and material in hand to the new Governor, Sir Richard Bourke. Part of the station continued in government use to house the military, whose presence was considered essential in this frontier country, and part of it was handed over to the Church Missionary Society (CMS).

3.4 The Convict Station and the Wiradjuri

Simpson's 'Regulations for the Government Establishment'⁴ of 1824 state that 'native women' were to be prevented from visiting the camp, and those who allowed them to do so would be punished. However references to Aboriginal women co-habiting with convicts suggest that this was not enforced, or was perhaps unenforceable (Harper in the Sydney Gazette 29/9/1825 cited in Roberts 2000a). The regulations also state that 'ill treatment or violence offered to the black natives' will be considered 'a great offence' (cited by Roberts 2002:18). This was in part a pragmatic policy, as Indigenous people had proved useful in Newcastle and Port Macquarie in retrieving escaped stock and absconding convicts. Simpson was advised to court Aboriginal involvement with 'small presents' such as wheat, tomahawks and fish hooks (Roberts 2000:18). The settlement was a site of distribution of beef and flour, and from 1826, government blankets. Other materials would also have been acquired by the Wiradjuri, including formal tools such as hatchets, and waste materials such as glass bottles and pieces of metal, for use in making tools. A combination of mutual ambivalence, or antipathy and curiosity would have flavoured the early local interactions.

Simpson was at Wellington valley during the Windradyne uprising: he was at pains to point out that the local Wiradjuri were not involved: 'they seem quite harmless and certainly not savage or warlike as I was informed at Bathurst, but quite inoffensive and are very familiar' (1 March 1823,

⁴ Included in the Memorial.

cited in Roberts 2000a:36). Roberts (2000:20) emphasises this contrast between the conflict around Bathurst in the early 1820s with the amicable relations which prevailed in Wellington valley in the early years of interaction. This lack of conflict was possible because the settlement was confined, and did not interfere unduly with Wiradjuri lives. 'Instead it allowed them the opportunity to acquire an understanding of the laws, customs and peculiarities of the invaders, and a chance to assess the advantages and disadvantages of their presence' (Roberts 2000a:20). These early years of colonial interaction caused little interruption to the local Wiradjuri patterns of life according to Read (1988:18-21), as they 'enjoyed the gift of a rich and powerful culture which their descendants only some fifty years later were partly denied.' The traditions of the young boys' parents 'remained secure' and at this early stage they 'still enjoyed a material equality with the whites.'

During this time, as noted above, the American travel-artist Augustus Earle visited the station and made several images, including two of Aboriginal people, discussed below.

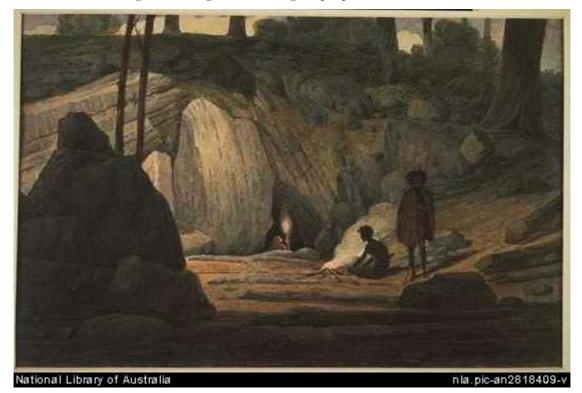


Figure 3.2 Augustus Earle 1826 'Mosman's Cave Wellington Valley, No.1NK 12/41 NLA.

3.4.1 The Wiradjuri and Colonial Law

Colonial expansion beyond the 'limits of location' was accompanied by casual lawlessness and an increasingly aggressive attitude to Indigenous people. Countering this were moves by the British government towards more active measures of protection. This was part of a very broad change in

attitude among British people, which led, among other things, to the abolition of slavery in 1833 (Reynolds 2003:chapter 4).

It is in this context that one should see Governor Darling's insistence that Overseer George Brown be prosecuted for murder when he killed a 7-year-old Wiradjuri girl, on 11 December 1827 (Maxwell 1982:98-99). This case is telling in that it is an early example of legal process in which the Colonial Office's interest in upholding Aboriginal legal rights, and being seen to uphold them, is weighted in favour of the Indigenous casualty in the case. This is only three years after martial law was instituted and withdrawn in Bathurst district. Such judgements, along with matters of legal evidence, such as whether or not Aboriginal testimony was admissible, take on a central and continuing role in colonial frontier race relations and subsequent trials in cases of frontier violence, such as Myall Creek (see for example Lydon 1996).

The death of the child had been reported as an accident by the station superintendent, then John Maxwell. He wrote:

When Black Natives are well treated, and I believe they have been invariably so, at this Establishment, the inmates of a hut are frequently incommoded by the Natives crowding them, when sometimes they will not leave without some appearance of opposition. I believe this has been the case in the present instance and Brown had lifted the pistol to frighten them away; from the depositions – the age of the child – and Brown's friendly dispositions to the Natives, I consider the deed was purely an accident.

He attached sworn depositions by Sergeant Baker, the doctor, Robert Johnson, and two prisoners, Doran and Lahrbusch. Doran wrote that:

Deponent has always observed Brown to treat the Black Natives with the utmost humanity and kindness, by frequently allowing them to sleep in his hut in bad weather and the Natives appearing equally friendly and well disposed towards him.

His letter was annotated by Darling:

Has not this man been tried? If so, note accordingly.

Refer to the Atty Genl and inform him it appears desirable that cases of this nature, from which very serious consequences may result, should not be passed over lightly – The natives should be satisfied that Whites are made answerable for every outrage committed against them, the same as they themselves are, for any injury done to the Whites – This is more particularly necessary at the present moment, as a Native is to be executed on Monday next for the murder of a White Man – write to Mr. Maxwell to explain to the

Natives that the matter will be strictly inquired into. Brown must at any rate be removed from Wellington Valley, indeed from that part of the country.

George Brown was indicted for murder 'with malice aforethought', the Attorney General, A.M. Baxter, stating that the child (name unknown) had received 'three mortal wounds upon the forepart of the head'. His witnesses were the same as those cited by Maxwell. The case was heard on 29 February 1828, Brown pleading not guilty. He was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to be 'worked in irons for two years' (Information to NSW Supreme Court and annotation, SRNSW T28, case 572). The case was reported in the *Sydney Gazette* of 5 March, in an issue which also had an article approving of Threlkeld's missionary work. It seems that the public at that time had some sympathy for the plight of Indigenous people (*Sydney Gazette and NSW Advertiser* no. 1473, 5 March 1828:2-3).

Maxwell continued to deal with the Wiradjuri as before. In 1829 he reported that blankets had been distributed 'when there were a tolerable number [of people] on the settlement; for I would observe that generally, there are but few immediately on the spot'. The accompanying return embraces 'a circuit of 30 miles' and names 40 men out of the 138 local men and some women and children. A marginal note repeats that 'the Black Natives being scattered in the bush it is impossible to collect them together at any one time' (Maxwell 1982:146-147; list reproduced in Thurlow 1999:7-8). This suggests that the Wiradjuri were still then maintaining a mobile lifestyle which incorporated the stations into a broader pattern of movement.

Unfortunately however, this co-existence was short-lived and undermined by the impact of further land annexation and the horrific toll of diseases such as smallpox and venereal disease on the wellbeing of the Wellington Wiradjuri.

3.4.2 The watercolours of Augustus Earle

Further perspectives on early contact between the British and Wiradjuri are provided by the images of the American travel artist Augustus Earle. The c1826 watercolour painting of Wellington Valley by Augustus Earle is a good starting point in our project of re-animating the *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site. We can match the view towards the distant hills depicted in the picture as we stand on the same hill today (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

This picture, and others painted by Earle during the same trip, have great potential for a key role in the interpretation of the site. We can look at this watercolour as not simply an illustration, but as a tool for understanding connections, an artefact which tells several stories. Providing a context for the elements in this picture allows better appreciation of what is depicted. We need to consider the painter, the circumstances in which he painted the picture, the style he has used and the elements which he had selected for us to view in the picture. We can also gain some insights by asking about what is not here – for example, why is there only one main figure? Where is everyone else?

Augustus Earle was a freelance painter, an experienced traveller, trained in observation in his youth in a style which emphasised the importance of empirically accurate recording and the romantic sense of a scene (Hackforth-Jones 1980). We can presume Earle stayed with the Commandant in his residence on the hill top during his visit. Based on the marginal notes on the watercolour, it is apparent that it was actually painted during his stay at Wellington Valley. The view can thus be taken as an accurate record, which also captures the atmosphere of the place. It is unclear how the picture came to be catalogued as 'looking east' – if this is Earle's original note maybe it was written after he left and he was mistaken, for the view is clearly that seen to the south-west, as Figures 3.2 and 3.3 show (this view is discussed further in Section 4). Shown are clouds and the distinctive horizon of hills that can be matched with the view today, as well as the fences, fields, road (with one person on it), and other buildings established during the few years preceding Earle's visit. Earle self-consciously records this 'taming of the wilderness', presenting us with a Europeanised, improved landscape which hardly reflects the fact that the settlement had been in operation for only three years.

As we can see from the contemporary photograph, Earle has emphasised for the viewer the expanse of cultivated land on the river floodplain. In reality much of the valley floor is hidden to the viewer, but perhaps in his desire to record the achievements of the settlement Earle has chosen to emphasise this feature. Earle's skyline is quite accurate and accords with the silhouette of hill and mountaintops in the photograph. However, here again he has "pulled in" his panorama a little so as to include the building (the Military Barracks at this period) on the neighbouring hilltop for the viewer.

Figures Overleaf

Figure 3.2 The same view depicted by Earle in 1827, as seen from the site today (November 2003).

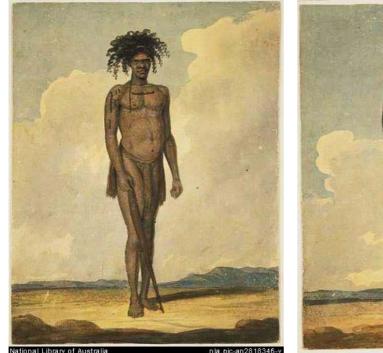
Figure 3.3 Augustus Earle, 1826, 'Wellington Valley, N.S. Wales, looking east from Government House' NK 12/24, NLA 1974. NB The painting is labelled as 'looking east' however this view is clearly looking from the Government House hill to the south-west (see Section 4 for further discussion).



Earle painted many images of Indigenous people during his time in Australia. However, his interest in them is generally said by scholars to have been negligible because he later wrote in his *Narrative* (an autobiography) that he found them lacking in 'energy, enterprise and curiosity' (Hackforth Jones 1980; National Library of Australia 1996). His images, however, belie this statement and, at least whilst travelling in Australia (his views may have changed years later), he appears to have reacted to the plight of dispossessed Aboriginal people, and to have shown some ability to capture individual characters. The Wiradjuri warrior who stands centre-stage in our painting has been dismissed by Hackforth-Jones (1980) as 'poorly executed and anatomically incorrect': an art-critical judgement perhaps. However, as a document, we argue that the representation of this man conveys a sense of power, dignity and strength. It is interesting to note that Earle responded quite differently to Indigenous people and their situation closer to Sydney than he has at Wellington, on the frontier of settlement. This Wiradjuri warrior is portrayed in the tradition of the 'noble savage' – his demeanour seems to have more in common with an English Lord overseeing his estate, as portrayed in English 18th and 19th century painting, than with other colonial images of Aborigines, depicted as a part of nature.

We can ask what the visit of the Wiradjuri man may have meant. The man in the picture may be the 'chief' whose 'friendship' Simpson had earlier 'cultivated': 'a tomahawk, some articles of clothing and a few trinkets have attached him to me and he sets off tomorrow to Bathurst with this letter to return in ten days' (Simpson report 1/3/1823, cited by Roberts 2000:36), or some other man in a similar relationship with the colonial officials.

Another study was painted by Earle at the same time, *Native of N.S. Wales Wellington Valley' NK* 12/32 NLA 1974, (Figure 3.5). It shows the back view of the same striking Wiradjuri man, with detail of the red feathers in his hair, a string hair-band, a hair- or fur-string waist belt with four tassels, a curved boomerang tucked in to it and a club held in his hand. He has cicatrices on his back and arms. The range of material items must have interested Earle, prompting him to execute back and front views of this individual, as well as placing him in the foreground of his picture of the view over the Bell River and the hills behind, from near the verandah of the Commandants' House. *Native of N.S. Wales Wellington Valley' NK 12/33 NLA 1974* (Figure 3.4) is another watercolour study of the same man, shown from the front, with headband, cicatrices on chest and arms and a long club.





Figures 3.4 Augustus Earle, 1826, 'Native of N.S. Wales Wellington Valley' (Front view) NK 12/33 NLA 1974

Figure 3.5 Augustus Earle, 1826, Native of N.S. Wales Wellington Valley' (Back view) NK 12/32 NLA 1974

The Australian Museum, Sydney, does not seem to hold items of material culture specifically from Wellington, according to the inventory (Patrick and Simmons 1994). However, a club from the northern district, Mudgee Cudgegong River (E60337) has a similar shape, with two tapered ends rather than a flat-ended handle and pointed end (as in Dubbo District B7101) or the conical knob-headed forms that are also known from the area. The museum specimen has delicately incised patterns, similar to those seen on carved trees. Boomerangs of various shapes, including the long, low-angled variety shown here, are common throughout Wiradjuri country. It may be significant that the man does not carry a shield, an important, elaborate item in the wider south-eastern Australian region (White 1986: 77-8), decorated and used in ceremonial or real combat to parry spears.

In 1826 Wellington Valley was operating as an established convict labour agricultural station. By this time there were 280 acres of the valley cleared and under cultivation with wheat, plus cattle, sheep, horses and pigs. The cleared land in the foreground and the four-rail fences in the picture speak of these agricultural efforts. The buildings in the valley below can be compared with the list of over 40 structures in Simpson's 'return of public buildings, 28 August 1825' (SRNSW 4/1818). It might be expected that the four-winged Commandant's House, the centre of government, would be the focus of the painting. But we see only the corner of a wooden verandah post with

its Ionic capital.⁵ Instead, it is the view, the setting in the newly modified and ordered landscape of the valley and the visiting Wiradjuri man that are central. Earle seems to be representing here the co-existence of Imperial order and achievement (in the agricultural station) with a strong and noble Indigenous tradition (represented by the warrior and his material culture).

3.4.3 'Civilising' the Wiradjuri

In July 1825 Royal Instructions had been sent to the Anglican Archdeacon of Sydney 'to take measures for the civilisation of the Black Natives of this Colony and their conversion to Christianity'. Archdeacon Scott wrote to Governor Darling on 9 December 1826 that he was far too busy with the white population but said that 'a report from the Wesleyans in this colony has been transmitted to their Society in England stating that a Tribe of upward of 3,000 Blacks, speaking one language and desirous of being civilized and converted to Christianity, exists near Wellington valley'. He said the report came from a person [John Harper] not 'at all qualified for such an undertaking' (Scott to Darling, HRA s.1.12:796-797).

In reporting to London in December 1826 Darling referred approvingly to Rev. Threlkeld's work at Lake Macquarie and said that the natives 'who reside at a distance [from Sydney] are a much finer race, which may in some degree be accounted for by their not having such frequent access to the use of spirits' (Darling to Hay, HRA s.1.12:796). He omitted to mention that grog was being supplied by the settlers.

By August 1827 Archdeacon Scott had pulled himself together sufficiently to present a formal report, which Darling did not forward to London until March 1828. Neither of them was optimistic about the prospects of 'civilising the Natives'. Darling thought that education was of little help:

Some of these to whom I have spoken were brought up at the school established by the late Governor Macquarie and learned not only to read but to write. They returned however to their tribe as soon as their education was finished and have remained with them in the woods, though accustomed for some considerable time to the comforts of a house, good food and clothing (Darling to Huskisson, HRA s.1.14:55).

Scott saw the expansion of colonial settlement as an unstoppable tide which meant that attempts to keep Indigenous people separate from corrupting influences was doomed to failure:

From the various answers I have received [to a circular] there is no difference of opinion— 1st. As to the difficulty of the undertaking; 2nd as to the complete failure in a great variety of

⁵ It is tempting to see these as a reference to Simpson's time as Governor of Paxos in the Ionian islands of Greece however Roberts (2000a:65) records that new verandah columns were installed after Simpson's

experiments made with great attention, perseverance and expense; 3rd the almost utter impracticability of keeping them from any contact with the convicts who are stock keepers at the distant stations, and whose vicious propensities and examples they see and imitate; 4. the very great expense attendant on any experiment on a large scale, the only chance of any success; 5. the very slow progress of such an undertaking and when the increasing European population is considered as well as their flocks and herds, the probability that, in the mean time the few Tribes scattered over a large space of land, will be exterminated.

Referring to Harper's report he says of Wellington Valley:

1st. that no one tribe exceeds 260, and that in a space of 2 degrees of latitude and 3 of longitude from Wellington Valley, far beyond Mr Harper's limits, there are not at the most 2000 souls. 2nd That among four tribes nearly the same language is to be found, with several exceptions. 3rd That they want a person to live among them, who would satisfy their temporal wants by the distribution of food, presents, etc., beyond which they do not expect anything. 4th That a school for 10 or 12 scholars was established, but not one of them could read or even do more than write a few letters or figures on sand, and one could say the Lord's Prayer by rote. 5. That the parents were perpetually enticing their children to run away from the school, which also operated against their learning anything.

Due to objections of this kind, it was over 30 years after first settlement of NSW that English missionary societies began specific attempts to evangelise amongst the Australian Aboriginal people. It was a feature of their work that they were jointly funded by the missionary societies and the colonial government. With the decision to establish the Wellington Mission, the interactions of Wiradjuri people with colonial expansion became less a by-product of occupation of land and more a matter of overt, intentioned intervention. The long term effects of this move reflect unintended outcomes more than those that were intended. We see the early practice of policies of child removal develop, and the major lasting contribution of the missionaries' work being their language recording, which is now allowing language restoration projects such as that of John Rudder and Stan Grant (<u>http://rosella.apana.org.au/</u> accessed 10/12/03).

3.5.0 The CMS Mission

3.5.1 Background to the Missionary movement

There was an expectation from the Colonial government of improved race relations and hence concrete results for settlers resulting from the establishment of the mission. Regarding the establishment of the Mission at Wellington, Viscount Goderich anticipated 'much advantage to the Natives themselves, as well as to the European settlers who at present are exposed to the mischievous consequences of the predatory lives and habits of their neighbours (HRA 1 XVI:477 cited by Ferry 1979:27). The Aborigines Protection Society in 1838 shared hopes for this dual advantage from the raising of the 'Moral and Civil Condition of the Aborigines' (*Colonist* 19 Oct 1838 cited by Ferry 1979:27).

However, by 1842 the government had withdrawn its funding from the missions, and the primary aim of conversion to Christianity was not realised. Ferry (1979) compares the 'successes' of Missions in the South Seas with these Australian 'failures' in order to understand the particular dynamics of interaction with Indigenous Australian cultures that undermined the achievement of the missionaries' goals. He states baldly that 'it is not sufficient to account for the failure of the Australian missionaries by chronicling their negative attitudes to the Aborigines, by referring to their bickering and personal weaknesses or by showing how insensitive they were to native culture and values. In these regards they were little different from contemporaries in other mission fields' (1979:28). He, and Harris (1990:59), attribute the ultimate lack of success to a number of factors. Firstly, the missionary emphasis on sedentism, on 'settling down' as a first step to 'civilisation' and hence conversion, was inconsistent with the basic dynamic of Indigenous social and economic life. The CMS Instructions to William Porter, sent from England in 1838 to supervise agriculture on the mission lands, makes that quite clear:

The Committee deem it important that you should employ the agency and labour of the Natives in the business of the farm as extensively as possible. This will doubtless be a matter of much difficulty ... Be not ... discouraged at repeated failures and disappointments. These must be expected in dealing with a people in such a deplorable state of barbarism, superstition and ignorance. The habituating of them, however, to habits of industry, order and subordination, though by slow and scarcely perceptible degrees, will, tend to raise them from their present wretched condition and to form them eventually into well-ordered Christian Communities (CMS to Porter, *HRA* 1.19:304; Glenelg to Gipps 26 February 1838).

Harris (1990:59) concludes that this 'wrongly tethered the gospel to arbitrary and ethnocentric social change'. At the same time, however, the proclaimed virtues of farming were not self-evident, as the missionaries struggled to feed themselves:

Could we succeed with the cultivation of wheat and gardens, it would prove, I am certain, a great stimulus for exertion and improvement for several young men. But when every year prospects of their labour are frustrated they become naturally quite disheartened. Our wheat has again entirely failed and our gardens are a scene of desolation and barrenness' (Gunther in Annual report 1841, HRA 1 XXI:736 cited by Ferry 1979:31).

However, some of the Aboriginal people who went on with Watson to his Apsley mission went to work on stations as domestic servants or stockmen, and bought flocks of sheep with money from a gold nugget they found, so there was some transfer of these interests and skills (Harris 1990:68).

Secondly, Ferry argues that, unlike for South Sea islanders, there were no long term political benefits to be gained for Aboriginal people from association with the NSW missions, and the tangible benefits in terms of food and materials were more readily obtainable from the settlements than the mission stations. Watson did provide 'remarkably successful' care for the numerous sick and dying Aboriginal people at Wellington, (Harris 1990:57-8). But after 10 years of the death rate exceeding the birth rate, Watson described them as fatalistic and ungrateful in their refusal to adopt a 'civilised' way of life (Harris 1990:58).

In his efforts to civilise, Watson was active in removing children for the mission, sometimes forcing their mothers to give them up, to the point that he was known as 'eagle hawk' amongst the Aboriginal population, and missionaries in general as 'kidnappers' (Gunther Diary 16 & 17/12/1839, 17 & 19/01/1840 cited Harris 1990:63). His motives were founded in his knowledge of many girls with venereal disease (eg Diary 5/03/1833, 18/08/1833) and the belief that education in Christian belief and culture would benefit them. Gunther, however, did not agree with his longer-serving colleagues' position, reporting to the CMS with dismay that Aboriginal people hid their children when the missionaries approached (Harris 1990:63).

The general behaviours of the colonising British stood in direct contradiction of their teachings on sin and virtue, and so undermined arguments for conversion to their religion. The Aboriginal people asked why the missionaries preached about sin to them so much and not to the whites: 'If they really do have a God of light, why do they keep asking for my wife and daughters?' (Watson diary 4 July 1834, 26 April 1833 cited Harris 1990:59).

Finally, the foundation of the Christian message in repentance, redemption and resurrection resulted in an emphasis on death in their preaching which ran counter to Aboriginal sanctions against discussion of the dead. Aboriginal people asked the missionaries why they talked of death so much (Watson diary 28 March 1834, 29 July 1834, cited Harris 1990:59).

This sentiment gives an important context for considering the plausible arguments that Carey and Roberts (2002) have put forward regarding the development of the *Baiame waggana*, or ceremonies and songs.

3.5.2 Baiame Waggana

Amongst the voluminous historical documentation of the Wellington Valley mission papers are descriptions made by the missionaries that refer to the cultural responses of the local Wiradjuri people to the impacts of the colonial presence. The unpublished journals of Handt and Watson 'provide a unique source of contemporary observation of Wiradjuri ceremonial culture in the 1830s' (Carey & Roberts 2002:832). They record the stories and descriptions given to the missionaries by Wiradjuri people who frequented the mission and the ceremonies which Handt attended on several occasions. Carey & Roberts suggest that their study is the first to draw together these specific observations, although the journals have previously been used as a source for ethnohistorical descriptions (2002:831-2). The descriptions are subject to the missionaries' lack of subtlety in language translation, and to their prejudices and incomprehension regarding Indigenous beliefs. But in between these filters, Carey and Roberts propose that what the missionaries describe in their journals between 1833-5, is the development of a creative cultural response to combined colonial onslaughts, particularly smallpox.

From 1829-31 the Indigenous population of NSW was afflicted by a devastating smallpox epidemic, referred to as 'Thunna thunna' (Carey & Roberts 2002:847). The epidemic reached Wellington Valley shortly before the final closure of the government convict station, and reports of 1831 indicate that it was particularly severe in its impact, with the local population possibly reduced by as much as a third (Carey & Roberts 2002:827-9). This additional impact compounded the ongoing cultural and demographic stresses resulting from expansion of the pastoral frontier into Wiradjuri lands, other diseases such as influenza, and non-Indigenous men's depredation of Wiradjuri women.

'After the first period of panic and mourning, the Wiradjuri apparently began to search for the meaning of the epidemic from within the resources of their traditional culture... [t]o explain and possibly control so virulent a misfortune' (Carey & Roberts 2002:830). This consisted of calling on the aid of Baiame, the supreme god or 'All-Father', in a complex of ceremonies, dances (waggana), songs and practices which protected against smallpox and against the Europeans who preyed on the Indigenous women. The ceremonies took place in especially large gatherings of groups from a widespread area (Carey & Roberts 2002:834). There were also associated customs that aimed to revitalise traditional society by preventing non-Indigenous men 'consorting' with Indigenous women, such as the piercing of the nasal septum in order to wear a nose bone (Carey & Roberts 2002:823). This religious movement was overtly anti-European in tenor, and was a re-assertion of traditions (Carey & Roberts 2002:830, 835). The songs and practices were introduced to Wellington by people from some distance away, speaking a different dialect (Carey & Roberts 2002:835, 841-2). The performance of them had a relatively brief duration, concentrated between

1833 and 1835, perhaps waning along with the smallpox epidemic (Carey & Roberts 2002: 837-9). The practices are alluded to in the following short extracts from the mission papers:

Watson to [Reverend Richard] Hill [Secretary of the Sydney Committee of the CMS], 25 March 1835:

We have only a few natives here this quarter. They are now taking their females and children from every station to assemble at a general Corobbera to Byamy their maker. What is the meaning of this? I hope to be there. They say white man stole Byamy's wife and he is going to kill all white man, and all the natives that are found with them.

Watson Journal 28 March 1835:

The Natives have received information that Byamy will kill all the girls and women who live with white men, so that there is not a female native to be found at any station for many miles around. Moreover the Natives have a large meeting at a place called Bahbyjal to hold a feast or have a corrobera to Byamy, and all the natives who are not present will be killed. Several months ago we had a report prevalent amongst the Natives, that Byamy had been insulted in some way by some white men, and that he was going to kill all white persons everywhere.

Watson to Hill, 16 December 1835, CMS CN/05(a):

natives mustering to sing to Byami; Old and young of both sexes must be present and have bones through their noses or they will die.

Carey & Roberts are clear that these ceremonies and stories were an addition to the usual formal ceremonial cycle, drawing on existing religious practices and asserting the importance of the maintenance of customary law (2002:833, 835).

While not universally accepted, Carey and Roberts make a plausible case for the *Baiame waggana* ceremonies as the earliest documented example of a religious response to the challenges to Indigenous social and physical well-being that were brought about by colonisation. The documentation of this kind of movement is rare in Australian Indigenous contact history⁶.

⁶ Carey and Roberts' close reading of the large amount of material available from the Wellington mission overrides and discounts Swain's (1993) argument that belief in Baiame was a religious innovation in response to colonial and Christian contact. Swain did not refer to the Wellington Valley mission papers (Carey & Roberts 2002:823). His interpretation has been seen as far too sweeping and unsubstantiated.

3.5.3 Wiradjuri language records

As well as ethnographic accounts that may be derived from the wealth of papers generated by the missionaries and their visitors (see section 3.2.1 above), it is in the recording of Wiradjuri languages that the missionaries' have left one of their greatest inheritances. The missionaries saw it as important to learn and use Wiradjuri. 'Within five months of his arrival in Wellington, [1832] Watson was attempting to use Wiradjuri when he met Aboriginal people in the bush. He noted that this pleased them and that some thought it proved Watson had "been a blackfellow once" (Harris 1990:60 citing Watson Diary 16/03/1834). Watson compiled a vocabulary and translated Genesis and other Christian texts. By 1835 services were held in Wiradjuri. Gunther had linguistic training in Basel as part of his missionary studies, and could hear and record the sounds he was listening to. He produced a Wiradjuri grammar.

Tamsin Donaldson, a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University, is a linguist who has worked on the Ngiyambaa language in central western NSW, a neighbouring language to Wiradjuri, since 1972. Donaldson says of this body of records:

There are *huge* linguistic resources available from the mission. There is enough material, from diverse sources, to be able to see the internal logic of the different recorders. The diversity of linguistic resources provide a *context* for the way in which the language was being recorded, the procedures and their outcomes. The different grammars and vocabularies are produced in the same time and place, which is helpful in interpreting them. They are a great resource for everyone interested in understanding and renewing Wiradjuri to draw on (pers. comm. 19/2/04).

The materials are various and dispersed. As part of making them more accessible, Donaldson is now working to make Gunther's own fair copy of his 1840 grammar available via comparison with Ngiyampaa. This manuscript is held in the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, with a microfilm copy now held at AIATSIS, Canberra. Previously, Gunther's linguistic work on Wiradjuri has been most widely known via Fraser's 1892 edition, published nearly 30 years after Gunther's death. From its publication in 1892, this edition has been a widely relied upon source for Wiradjuri vocabulary and spellings (Donaldson pers. comm. February 2004).

Regional differences in the language show up in the colonial records, as people came through the Mission from many surrounding parts of the country. In the 'blanket returns' (a kind of census of Aboriginal people receiving the government's annual blanket rations) at the mission for 1834, it is noteworthy that only 40 of the 70 named men were of the immediate Wellington Valley group – the rest are from surrounding regions (Carey and Roberts 2002:828).

There were never many Aboriginal people resident in the mission buildings themselves (Roberts 2000:21). Indigenous children were housed in dormitories, but most of the population continued to reside elsewhere, coming and going to ceremonies, battles, to relieve social tensions and according to the fluctuating availability of resources, including blankets and stores as well as traditional foods and materials. Pearson suggests that the provision of food by the Wellington Valley Mission may have concentrated what were traditionally smaller groupings of people together for longer periods than had occurred in pre-contact times (1981:72).

3.5.4 Mobility of Indigenous occupation in the vicinity of the Mission

Pearson has extracted observations of Aboriginal people's movements around the mission site over an eight month period, 1837-8, from Gunther's diaries (1981:72-76). The maximum number of people who gather is 80. Between February and April 1838, when a 'corroboree' was in preparation, the camp, with a large number of 40 - 80 residents, moves four times, from 300 yards to 1.5 miles from the mission. The location of these camps is not stated, except for 'nearer the river' when the weather was hot, but presumably they were on the slopes of the hills above the river flats. Gunther says that the people seldom camped more than three nights in the same locality. There are likely to have been even more shifts in locale than those he documents, including some further into the bush that were not observed by Gunther.

This gives a picture of the qualified nature of Wiradjuri relationships to the mission: they used it, but were not absorbed by it, in an active response to the challenges which intensifying European occupation and contact introduced.

3.5.5 Mission impossible

Unlike Darling, Governor Bourke had a genuine interest in the welfare of Indigenous people and took steps to encourage the missionary activities that Darling had discouraged. In 1832 he gave the CMS 'the occupation of the Government Buildings at Wellington Valley, where the Agricultural Establishment has been broken up, as being a convenient Station for holding intercourse with the Native Tribes' (Bourke to Goderich, 5 August 1832, *HRA* 1.16:691). Roberts has examined the history of the creation of the mission in great detail and this material will not be repeated here, except to note that Simpson's buildings had not survived the test of time, and most of the buildings, other than his own Government House, were in very poor condition by 1832 (Roberts 2000a:32-34).

The Mission did not run smoothly, with the clergy divided among themselves to the point that Rev. Handt moved back to Sydney in 1836, and in 1840 Rev. Watson removed himself and his flock to found a new mission at nearby Apsley, on the Macquarie River, southeast of the station, while Rev. Gunther moved to Mudgee in 1841. Gunther maintained contact with the Wiradjuri and compiled a grammar and lexicon of their language, which were published in 1892, years after his death (Donaldson 1985:83-84; *Biog.Reg.*).

During this time the Myall Creek Massacre of 1838 clearly demonstrated the aggressive nature of colonisation. The Wellington missionaries often stressed this point and reported that Aboriginal women were abducted wherever settlement advanced; they were inclined to think that there was infanticide of the children of European fathers, which contributed to a decline in population. In general they thought the Aboriginal population was doomed to extinction, a view widely shared in the colony.

The British government was extremely concerned about this and in 1842 Lord Stanley wrote to Governor Gipps

There is an apparent wanton feeling among [the white settlers] where the Natives are concerned which is much to be lamented. Outrages of the most atrocious description, involving sometimes considerable loss of life, are spoken of, as I observe in these papers, with an indifference and lightness which at this distance is very shocking....

I cannot acquiesce in the theory that [the natives] are incapable of improvement and that their extinction, before the advance of the white settler, is a necessity which it is impossible to control (Stanley to Gipps, 20 December 1842, HRA 1.22:438-439). (My emphasis).

The Church Missionary Society also felt that the NSW government ought to be far more vigorous, particularly in expanding the missions:

There is nothing but Missionary effort to save these wretched corrupt natives from becoming extinct ... [Government assistance] would repair, in so far as reparation is in our power, the wrongs inflicted by the course of our new colonial policy (CMS secretary Coates to Lord Glenelg, 31 October 1838, *HRA* 1.19:663 (Glenelg to Gipps 10 November 1838).

Unfortunately the divided missionaries at Wellington Valley did little to enhance their prospects. Governor Gipps visited the Mission and reported in disgust about the 'bitter hostility existing between Mr Gunther and Mr Watson [which] it would be painful as well as needless to dwell on'. He found that 'of the 7000 acres of which they are in possession they cultivate less than 50 and do not seek to extend their cultivation; they rather think of giving it up altogether' (Gipps to Russell 5 April 1841, *HRA* 1.21:309).

As time went on, the missionaries themselves became despairing. Read has analysed Rev James Gunther's diary and points out he wrote nothing after 1841 (Read 1988:21). In that year Gunther officially reported on the lack of achievement after 10 years of the Wellington Mission. He reached the harsh conclusion that traditional culture was to blame:

If a stronger control could be exercised over [the Aborigines]; if for instance the dominion of the old men, with their absurd laws, could be counteracted, polygamy the root of so much evil prohibited, and those frequently occurring feuds, which constantly drive them in the bush, prevented, then better things might be expected (Gunther, Annual Report for 1841, in Gipps to Stanley 11 March 1842, *HRA* 1.21:735).

3.5.6 The Wiradjuri after the Mission

Kociumbas considers that missionary activity in Australia was not successful 'until land annexation had largely been completed' when Aboriginal people had no choice but to work on the land (Kociumbas 1988:147). We see this very clearly at Wellington, where by the 1840s the Wiradjuri were largely dispossessed of their traditional lands, while the western front of settlement, towards the Lachlan, was still marked by serious conflict.

In 1845 Rev. Watson was gratified to see several Aboriginal servants attending church (HRA 1. 24:272 and HRA 1.25:15 (Gipps to Stanley 23 Feb. 1845 and 1 April 1846). W.H. Wright, Commissioner of Crown Lands, reported that there were about 1000 Aborigines in the district, of whom 500 'are in constant communication with the Whites and the remaining 500 I consider to form the tribes of 'Mudall' on the Bogan River and 'Gerawhery' near the Marshes of the Macquarie River'. The Wellington Aborigines were working as sheepwashers and assistants during sheepshearing and other busy periods. They were on good terms with the settlers and indeed Bungaree, a mission-raised man, had saved the life of a station overseer. On the Bogan and the Macquarie Marshes, however, there were 'depredations on the property of the settlers, sometimes accompanied by attacks on their persons and station.' (Gipps to Stanley 23 February 1845, HRA 1.24:266-267).

In 1848 Rev. Watson, who had closed the Apsley mission for want of funds, was cheered by a government grant of land at Blake's Fall, east of the convict station, on the Macquarie River (HRA 1.26:400; location shown on map in Kabaila 1998:10). He reported there were 27 people on the new Mission. His optimism was not shared by the new Commissioner of Crown lands, W.C. Mayne, who reported that of the 800 people in the district, extending as far as the Lachlan, some worked 'pretty constantly at some of the stations', while others only came in at sheepwashing or shearing time. Like Watson's, his attitudes foreshadow the 'stolen generation' policy:

I look on it as utterly hopeless to endeavour to fix them in the habits or pursuits of settled industry, or to civilize them unless by removal in infancy from even the possibility of contact with or control by the Adults (HRA 1.26:403-405 FitzRoy to Grey, 7 May 1848).

The 'Myall Tribes' were still 'slaughtering outlying cattle' and Mayne welcomed the presence of Mounted Police at Warren. His report describes a pattern of black-white relations which would become the norm in New South Wales: specialized police combining with assimilation policies to create a cheap and dispensable workforce.

In the face of this, traditions lived on and it is noteworthy that the Indigenous burial ground was still in use in the 1850s (Jervis 1958:18). The burial ground was on Dr Samuel Curtis' Mount Arthur homestead, just north of the junction of the Bell and Macquarie rivers, between Gobolion station and Montefiores village.⁷ William Watson died in 1866, his wife Ann shortly after – they are buried in unmarked graves in the old Wellington cemetery (Harris 1990:69).

3.6. The Police Establishment

As early as 1838 some of the Wellington settlement buildings were appropriated for the use of a police establishment (Roberts 1999:13). The police co-existed uneasily with the missionaries, who continually complained about their activities, especially the public floggings. The missionaries withdrew into the Government house and its auxiliary buildings and the former prisoners' barracks, while all other buildings were turned over to the Police (Roberts 1999:14). Roberts notes that a number of constables were accompanied by their wives at the settlement but this did not seem to improve the reputation of the police for drunkenness and 'interfering' with mission girls. Roberts states that in the end, the government did not approve funds for the upkeep of the police buildings, so the owners of Montefiores intervened and welcomed a police presence in their area by providing them with new facilities in 1842.

3.7 'King plates'

'King plates' or 'breast plates' were produced in the 19th and early 20th centuries by colonial administrators to bestow distinction on individual Aboriginal people. They consisted of inscribed metal plaques hung around the neck. They were modified versions of similar gorgets worn as badges of office by infantry officers in Australia until 1832, and had been used in inter-cultural exchanges in the Americas previously (Troy 1993:1, 2). They were important symbolic devices at the time, considered to either recognise the existing authority and status of certain individuals, or to bestow honour for services

⁷ Curtis had portions 27 and 18, parish of Micketymulga, NSW Land and Property Information online, <u>www.lpi.nsws.gov.au</u>, 1883 parish map; Anderson 1983:36; Gass and Hiatt 2003:11.

rendered. They were also issued as gifts to gain favour when establishing negotiations or alliances with groups of people. For example, in 1822, brass plates were presented to the heads of 'the five tribes in the area around Bathurst' (Troy 1993:7). Troy points out that they 'played a powerful role in the expansion of the pastoral frontier. ... [I]n order to avoid open conflict pastoralists usually attempted to coerce at least one powerful Aboriginal man into cooperating with them when they first took up their runs' (Troy 1993:18-9). Another common practice was to acknowledge the special skill of a stockman or overseer by giving them a plate (Troy 1993:25). Two of the examples known from Wellington Valley are of this type (see below). The ability to speak English acquired by the youths associated with the Wellington mission would have made them desirable choices for government employment, such as in the police force, as in the case of 'Tommy' (Troy 1993:29, see below).

The prevalence and persistence of use of the plates for over 100 years indicates that an aspect of colonial attitudes to establishing and maintaining relationships with Aboriginal people involved the marking out of a recognisable hierarchy and the appointment of representatives of groups. However, as historical objects they can now provide 'tangible physical links with Aboriginal people who were intimately involved in the colonial history of Australia' (Troy 1993:1), and are one way in which these individuals and their country are 'immortalised' (Troy 1993:2, 38-9).

There are five 'King plates' which relate specifically to the Wellington area documented in Troy's study (1993) of known museum collections and descriptions in books. These provide another insight into the forms of interactions which took place at the settlement. It seems most likely that they date to the mid- to late-nineteenth century and the later phases of the settlement of the valley. They testify to the recognition of the existence of at least two distinct groupings of local Indigenous people in the colonial period, and to the status gained through employment as agricultural workers and police constable.

They consist of:

1) A heavy, worn brass plate inscribed with the words 'Tommy. Constable, Wellington' and pictures of a crown and a bird. The style suggests a mid-19th century date of production. The wording suggests that Tommy was a police officer in Wellington. This plate is No. 1985.59.369 in the Edmund O Milne collection of the National Museum of Australia (Troy 1993:74-5).

2) A brass plate inscribed with the words 'Billy, King of Nanima – Wellington Valley, NSW' and a picture of a swan and a kangaroo-dog. This is held in the collection of the Mitchell Library No. R251(a) (Troy 1993:130).

3) A crescent shaped plate inscribed with the words 'Jerry, Overseer of Woolshed – Wellington District, NSW' and a picture of an emu and a kangaroo. This is held in the Australian Museum collection, E54308 (Troy 1993:132).

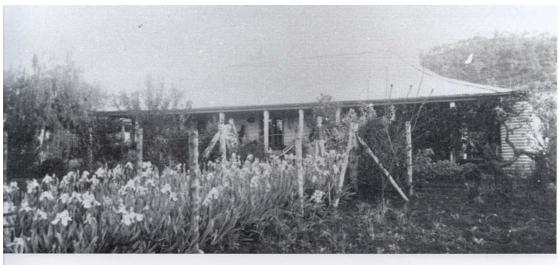
4) A crescent shaped brass plate inscribed with the words 'Oombejang-Watson, Wellington Valley, Missionary Stockman' decorated with laurel branches. This is described in a book dated 1928 (Troy 1993:134).

5) Inscribed 'Toby, King of Wambangalang, Wellington' illustrated with an emu and a kangaroo, and an Aboriginal man with a boomerang and spear. This was held in the Oxley Historical Museum in 1993 (Troy 1993:134). Its present location has not been ascertained.

6) In addition, in the NSW NPWS Register site No. 36-4-56 is recorded as the 'site of recovery of a King Plate (possibly from the burial of the owner?)'. It is inscribed with the word 'Obella'. It was recovered 1km north of Obley on the west bank of the Little River. It was sent to an un-named museum; its current location is unknown.



Fig 3.6 View of the Wellington Valley in March 1840. Drawing by Conrad Martens (SRNSW, Mitchell Coll. SPF). The sketch is likely to have been made from Nanima homestead (depicted foreground far right), where Martens would have been a guest of his patron J.B. Montefiore. The house, at the foot of Mount Nanima, overlooked the valley. The sketch shows the valley settlement, with a central building with a tower above, presumably the granary mentioned by Kinghome in his 1830s returns. On the right is the line of buildings corresponding to the workshops, stores and prisoners barracks shown on the Bennett plan of 1832; on the far left may be the old military barracks and huts also shown on that plan.



1890 first "Nanima" homestead built by J.B. Montefiore.

Fig 3.7 Montefiore's Nanima homestead in 1890. The simple wooden posts could be those shown in the foreground of the Martens sketch (Wellington Historical Society).

3.8 The Forgotten Valley

The withdrawal of the Police in 1842 and the departure of missionary Gunther in 1843 cleared the way for the government to release the land from the old convict station. There were by then several large stations on both the Bell and the Macquarie Rivers. The most energetic owner was Joseph Barrow Montefiore (1803-1893). He was a member of London's Jewish financial elite, who had decided to invest in Australia. His first ventures in New South Wales (1829-1841) were a failure, but he moved on to South Australia, with considerable success, before retiring to England (ADB; Levi and Bergman 2002:303-304). In Sydney he knew the major business entrepreneurs, all of whom patronised the landscape painter Conrad Martens. Martens travelled from house to house, creating idyllic images for Australia's new landed gentry. 'J.B. Montefiore may have used paintings of properties like Nanima at Wellington, bought before his bankruptcy in 1841 to help sell them afterwards' (Ellis 1994:40).

Montefiore first acquired 2560 acres at Nanima, north of the Macquarie in 1834. By 1838 he owned over 11,000 acres and by 1840 had founded the private township which bears his name, close to the junction of the Bell and Macquarie, north of the present town.



Fig. 3.8 Montefiores in 1854, drawing by John Aitken (SRNSW Mitchell Coll SPF).

But Montefiores village could not supply the functions of a town, for which there was now some popular pressure. As McDonald describes it, the new settlement was declared in 1846 and within a few years had an inn, a courthouse, and stores. Growth was slow and there were no town churches until the 1860s, by which time there were both a state school and a catholic school. A few prominent people carried out most of the town's business (McDonald 1968: chapters 4 and 6). Some of these bought plots of land on the old convict establishment, where the buildings had been demolished and their materials auctioned in 1848 (Roberts 2000a:8-17).

While the plots on the river flats, Simpson's old plough lands, would seem to have some agricultural value, it is difficult to see how the hilltop land would be of great use. We know that physical remains were still extant there, for Porter, writing in 1906, said that 'The sundried brick foundations of the buildings were visible not many years ago and I believe the concrete foundations of the stockade are to be found today: I saw them when I last visited the spot' (Porter 1906:3). This suggests the land must have been bought for some other purpose than cultivation. The purchases are likely to have been motivated by its location between road and rail. The railway opened in 1877 and entrepreneurs may have thought that the town would expand eastwards along it.

A 1854 map shows that the riverside land was divided into portions 34-40, while a map of 1872 shows the hilltop land, divided into portions 48-50, 58-61 (Roberts 2000a:50 for 1854 map; NSW Land Titles Office, Cancelled Plan 24-1281, Survey of Town and Suburban Allotments [1872]). They were:

•	34	Patrick Fitzgerald
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- 35 E. Dresit and P.N. du Moulin
- 36 Patrick Magee
- 37 Edward Smith
- 38, 39, 40 Peter Harris
- 48 John Mylecharane, innkeeper
- 49, 51 Joseph Aarons, grazier
- 50, 58 J. Callaghan, grazier
- 56, 57, 58, 59, 60 J.A. Gardiner, grazier
- 61 A.M. Rygate, medical practitioner

The key portions are 48-61 and it is interesting that all of the owners were not only wealthy but also active in improving the town (McDonald 1968: chapter 4 and after). J.A Gardiner, owner of Gobolion station from the mid-1860s was the 'king of Wellington'. Dr Arthur Rygate and his brother Charles were active in setting up the Hospital and served on the town council. James Callaghan, owner of Apsley station, in 1874 bequeathed £300 to build a Methodist church. Mylecharane owned the Royal Hotel, built 1863.

The most significant owner is Joseph Aarons, part of that group of wealthy Jewish businessmen which included J.B. Montefiore (ADB; Levi and Bergman 2002:303-304). Aarons (1821-1904), son of two convicts, had in 1839 opened a store in Bathurst, made a fortune in livestock and as early as 1845 acquired Burrendong station in Wellington Valley; by 1859 he owned Nanima's 16,000 acres with 14,000 sheep. He was to become Wellington's first mayor in 1879.

Aarons purchased portions 49 and 51 outright in 1875. He sold portion 51 to the Railway Commissioners in 1878 and in 1895 sold portion 49 to Charles O'Brien, farmer, who owned portions 52 and 53, to the east across the railway line (NSW Land and Property Information online, <u>www.lpi.nsws.gov.au</u>, 1896 parish map). In 1903 that property passed to Agnes O'Brien, spinster (sister, or daughter of Charles?) and in 1904 was divided between Agnes, Kate and Anne O'Brien, spinsters, and Peter O'Brien (NSW Land Titles Office Cancelled Titles 259-155, 156 and 165). In 1892 Aarons was on the verge of bankruptcy and yet he bought portion 48 from John Mylecharane's heir, Philip. Perhaps, in his capacity as city father, he felt sentimental about the old station, like his long time colleague the newspaper proprietor and town historian, Robert Porter.

Porter had come from Mudgee, where he had created the town's first newspaper in 1857. By 1874 he had moved to Wellington and started the *Wellington Gazette*. He was active in municipal affairs and a founding member of the Pastoral and Agricultural Society (1874) and the Masonic 'Lodge Wellesley' (1879) (Porter 1906: title page, 30-31, 44, 55, 103-104).

In 1906 Porter published the *History of Wellington*, which is a useful source in terms of local affairs, although perhaps unreliable on the broader context - for instance it dates the establishment of the convict station to 1819. About four years later he published a short novel, *Eumalga, or, The White Chief.* It is clearly intended for local consumption, since it refers to living people and properties and may be an attempt to create a local myth, similar to Paterson's *Man from Snony River* (1895) or Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (1869). *Eumalga* purports to be based on the recollections of a former convict, Dicky Taylor, and tells the story of his friend Savile, an English gentleman unjustly convicted of murder. Savile escapes from his sadistic jailers and is adopted by the local Wiradjuri, for he had earlier saved the life of the beautiful young woman, Eumalga. He is given a Wiradjuri name, Ippai. Interactions by the group with explorers Charles Sturt and Thomas Mitchell are woven into the narrative, together with a funeral service led by Rev. Watson. Some of the action takes place at the Wellington caves. Porter uses a lot of allegedly Wiradjuri terms in the novel and includes ethnographic details, largely derived from Sturt's and Mitchell's accounts, rather than from his own observations.

Porter's history and novel were of limited influence. In the twentieth century the site faded from memory: there are several memoirs and recollections of life in Wellington in the 1920s to 1940s, but none of these mention the site, as opposed to its story, as being of any interest or even as being remembered (e.g. Anderson 1983). It is symptomatic that no picture of the site appears in the 2003 *Pictorial History of Wellington* (Gass and Hiatt 2003).

In 1999 there were 16 owners of the site, some of whom may be descendants of the original dozen (se list given in Thurlow 1999). It is also interesting to note that there was a Chinese market garden on the flat land towards the Bell River. Market gardens were an important part of the town's economy in the early twentieth century and in 1906 there were 500 acres of onions producing 4000 tons (Porter 1906:119). This potentially adds further complexity to the

interactions which have contributed to the site's history, as many Indigenous people worked at onion-picking (Kabaila 1998: 32).⁸

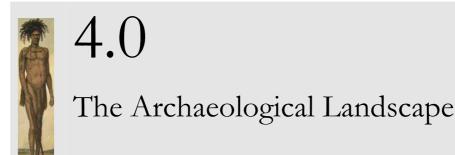
3.9. Recent history of the site

Although those elements of the site now in NPWS ownership have not been developed, the rest of the site has rural/residential occupation, including a number of dwellings, farm outbuildings and machinery sheds. The fields between the houses and the river remain under cultivation. The MGHS shows evidence of a number of later 20th century uses including a chicken farm (see discussion in Section 4.0). The land around the Government house site has been ploughed but this does not appear to be the case around the Military Barracks site (pers comm. Lee Thurlow and field observation).

In 1975 and 1976 Michael Pearson examined the site as part of his PhD research, as discussed earlier, but it seems that it was not until the mid and late 1990s that the site once again captured the interest of academics, local historians and heritage enthusiasts. The site's missionary history has been analysed in detail by Associate Professor Hilary Carey of the University of Newcastle and by David Roberts for his PhD in History at the same University. Around the same time, Peter Kabaila and John Mulvay of the Australian National University also carried out postgraduate research into the site. The site was brought to the attention of the NSW Heritage Office by heritage activist Meredith Walker who was concerned about development proposals and the fact that some of the land was coming up for sale. Following this, Ann Bickford, an archaeologist with a strong background in Aboriginal historic sites, received a Heritage Assistance Grant towards the preparation of a study on the site. Bickford collaborated with historian David Roberts and surveyor Jeff Wilson. Roberts produced a detailed historical account of the site and Wilson mapped reconstructions of the settlement's buildings.

In 2001 the site was purchased by NPWS for its protection, given a new name, and registered on the Register of the National Estate. It had been scheduled as a heritage item on the Wellington LEP since 2000, although it has not yet been included on the State Heritage Register. This CMP is the latest step by the new owners, the NPWS, to determine how best to acknowledge both the past and present of this place, and its role in the future of the Wellington community.

⁸ Joyce Williams lived on the Koon market garden with the owner's sister, Mrs Bow, after WWII, Pers. comm. Nov 2003.



4.1 Introduction

In this section we review the physical evidence of the site and its landscape. We consider the makeup of the site, its potential to retain archaeological remains and what these remains might tell us about the past. We consider the site in its landscape – views to and from the site and the significance of the land surrounding the area in NPWS ownership.

For ease of reference, we will discuss the site in terms of 3 Areas, representing the 3 noncontiguous areas in NPWS ownership; these areas are shown in Figure 4.20. Further, the maps prepared to represent archaeological sites and areas are presented here in a simplified format, they have been prepared as overlays on GIS which will be supplied to NPWS on disk.

4.2 The Historic Sources

Much information about the nature and layout of the site can be ascertained from the historic sources. Roberts has compiled an excellent itinerary of structures in his report (2000a: 57 - 76), while Lee Thurlow also offers a comprehensive compilation of the sources relating to the nature of the site (2003).

Written Sources: The Colonial Secretary's Correspondence

The Colonial Secretary's Correspondence provides a number of reports and returns with a great deal of detail about the settlement describing the construction of buildings, their uses and state of repair. This archive is relevant to both the Convict station period as well as later because the buildings remained in government ownership until 1845 when the settlement was abandoned.

Written Sources: Mission Period

The Mission period archive provides less bureaucratically detailed information on the structures of the settlement however it describes the uses for parts of the site, the activities and events that took place in them in this period.

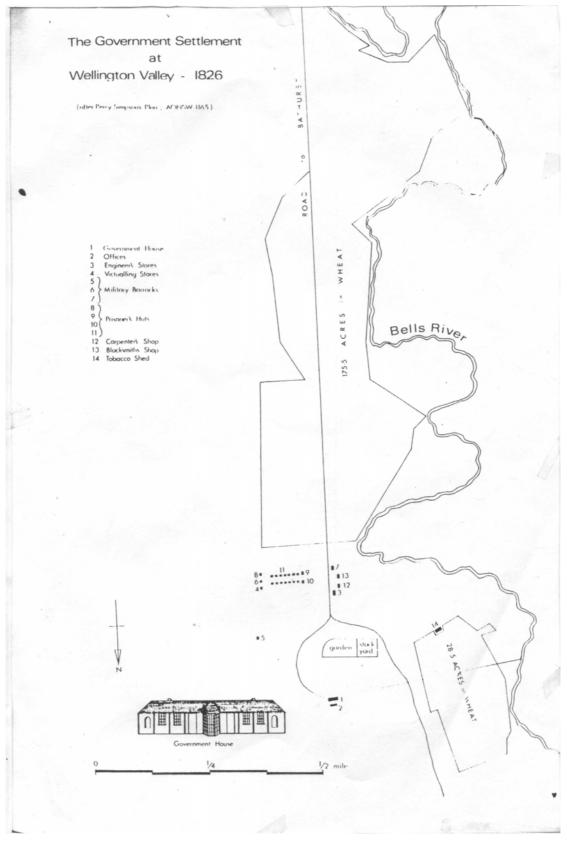


Figure 4.1 Simpson's 1826 plan, AONSW Map 1165 as redrawn by Michael Pearson (1981)

Maps and Plans

Roberts has identified 8 related renditions of the Wellington Valley settlement plans produced between 1832 and 1844 (Roberts 2000a:61). We reproduce here 3 plans that illustrate 3 different categories of information:

1. The 1826 'Simpson's Map', **Figure 4.1** AONSW Map 1165 as redrawn by Michael Pearson (1981). This is the earliest plan of the settlement. Its important features include the row of convict huts and the indication of the garden and stockyard features.

2. The 1832 Plan of the Convict Station enclosure in from H.A. Bennett to Col.Sec 25 June 1832 SRNSW 32/4892 - Letter includes inventories of tools and furniture (Roberts SP1) **Figure 4.5**. This plan shows two 'mud walled huts' which could be huts 9 and 10 on Simpson's plan, and also gives details on function, construction and state of repair.

3. The 1840 sketch of the military barracks, Surveyors Sketchbook vol.4 fol.28 SRNSW X755 (Roberts SP4) **Figure 4.6.** This plan is important because it shows the spatial arrangement of the settlement. The mud walled huts no longer appear.

While these plans form an invaluable resource, familiarity with the written records show that they give only a scanty account of the structures and features which made up the settlement at any one period of time. The written records hint that Indigenous people camped, or lived in huts, in and around the settlement throughout its life. Fire was a constant issue for the shingled or thatched structures and many burned down - the fires of Aboriginal people often blamed. Huts, yards, play grounds and gardens were built, deteriorated and replaced. We have no knowledge at present of the arrangements made for water storage, rubbish disposal, bathing and cesspits.

Images

Earle's 1826 watercolour discussed in Section 3.4.2 (Figure 3.2) is a detailed representation of the settlement and its landscape, and is therefore an invaluable resource for interpretation of the place. Figure 4.2 shows a cropped, close up of Earle's view of the settlement looking towards the southwest. The tall, tower like structure is probably the 'granary' above the Government Receiving stores described in Kinghome's 1830 returns as 'brick built with shingle roof, capacious loft accessed by exterior stairway' (Kinghome to Macleay 10/12/1830 4/2097 cited by Roberts 2000a: 58).

Martens' 1840 sketch shows the settlement buildings in much the same form as Earle. See Figure 4.3 for a cropped close up of this view of the main government buildings.

Simpson's 1826 elevation of the Government House. Figure 4.4 Shows the only known elevation of the Government House, with elegant bay window and shingled cupola (Simpson's 1826 plan redrawn by Michael Pearson). It is not known how accurate this representation might be, although the later plans and descriptions confirm the general layout of the house. Earle's watercolour shows only a corner of the front verandah, with an Ionic column.



Figure 4.2 Cropped close up of Earle's 1826 view of the settlement looking towards the southwest. The tall, tower like structure is probably the 'granary' above the Government Receiving stores.

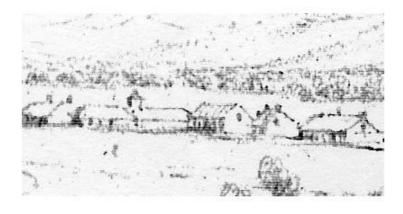


Figure 4.3 Cropped close up of Martens' 1840 view of the settlement site.

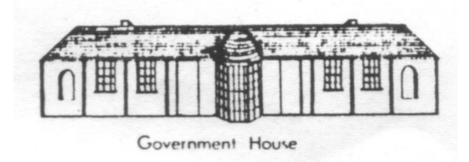


Figure 4.4 The only elevation of the Government House, showing elegant bay window with shingled cupola (Simpson's 1826 plan redrawn by Michael Pearson).

Conclusions

We can conclude from the historic sources that, as well as the remains of key structures, the landscape of MGHS will contain a host of evidence relating to the functioning of everyday life throughout the occupation of the settlement. In particular, this archaeological evidence may illuminate the day to day activities of both Indigenous people and settlers. Although important recent research has illuminated the material worlds of urban convicts (for instance Karskens 1999) little is yet known about their rural counterparts (Gojak 2001:75), while the interaction between convicts and Indigenous people is also ill understood (Griffiths 1987). Further, Carey (1996) has pointed out how the Government House site was the focus for women's work for the Mission – including Missionary wives and their children, Indigenous women involved in domestic work and the Indigenous children living in the mission. The archaeological evidence may illuminate these areas of 'silence' in the conventional historical records.

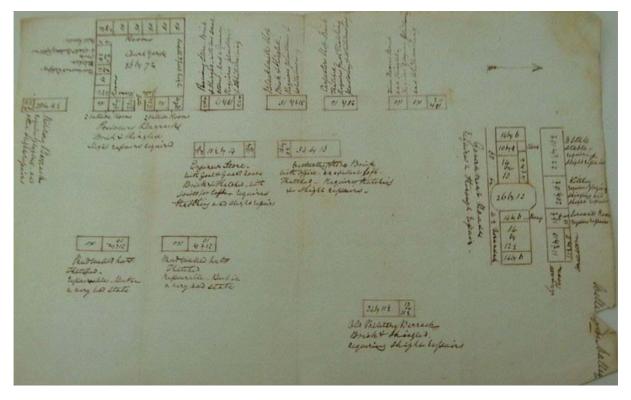


Figure 4.5 Enclosure to letter from Bennet to Col.Sec. 25 June 1832 SRNSW 32/2892

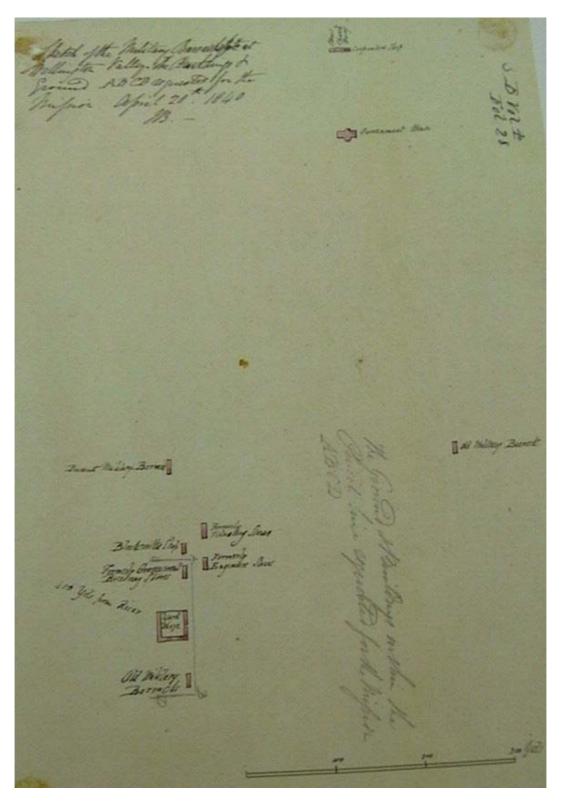


Figure 4.6 April 21 1840 JB Roberts SP4 Surveyor's Sketchbook vol.4 fol.28 SRNSW X755

4.2 Geology, soils and site formation.

The MGHS rises above the alluvial flood plains of the Bell River, which consist of deep deposits of clay, silt and sand, overlying ancient river gravels. The bedrock of the region is Ordovician volcanic (andesite and tuff) and siltstone and limestone (Dubbo 1:250000 geological map). On the site there is evidence for the use of locally obtained river cobbles for building. On the southern part of the site the volcanic bedrock is close to the surface with frequent outcrops, while in the north, the soils have been ploughed and are much deeper. On the eastern wing of the site, across the Mitchell Highway, the deposits are alluvial.

This geomorphology has implications for archaeological remains. The sloping nature of the land suggests that there will have been erosion of deposits, while there may be an accumulation of deposits washed down from higher areas in the eastern parts of the site. The two major habitation areas are on hilltops (discussed below). The soils around the Government House site (Site G3 discussed below) have been ploughed, but as they are very deep (this was observed in excavations occurring to the north of the study site) this site has the potential to retain deeper subsurface features such as foundations, postholes, drains and pits. The collapse of building fabric, as remains deteriorate, may also have served to retain occupation deposits under collapsed rubble, although these may have been disturbed through ploughing. The brick pile on the site (Figure 4.4) is obviously the result of clearing for ploughing.

The 'Military Barracks' (site G1 discussed below) is considerably shallower. Bedrock is close to the surface and the wash of artefactual material down the slope is clearly apparent in this rocky area (Figure 4.3). Nevertheless, Lee Thurlow showed the consultants that a pad of river cobbles exists just under the grassy layer and this was mapped as site G1.

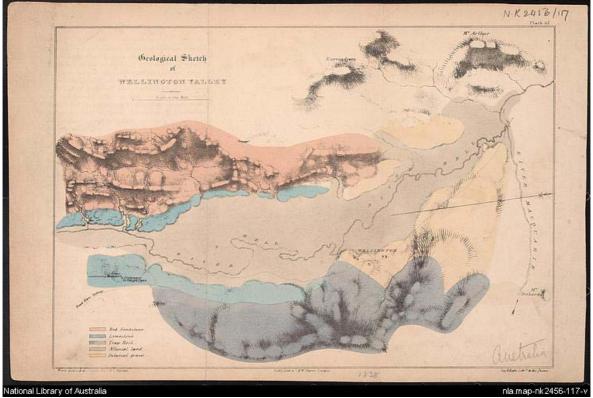


Figure 4.7 Geological Map of the Wellington Valley, Mitchell 1838 NLA Map 2456/117. The map indicates the settlement site under the word "Wellington".

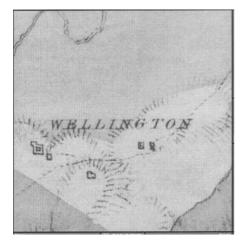


Figure 4.8 Close up of above, Wellington Valley

4.4 Archaeological features

4.4.1 Past Research

Michael Pearson was the first archaeologist to record his field impressions of the site in 1975 (the following discussion is based on Pearson's 1975/6 field note books and discussions with him in February 2004). He describes the block as covered in variegated thistles with negligible surface visibility, similar to its present conditions. However, when visiting the site, Pearson was told by locals that in dry seasons the outlines of the huts in the Barracks block could be seen on the hill.

The residents reported that stone flagging had been found on the top of the hill and between the chicken coops downhill. Mr Offner of the bus company opposite the site also reported that he had found flag stones in the small paddock at corner of Watson St and Highway. This probably disappeared under straightening of the main road. Old bricks from buildings in town have been dumped in the paddock, and bricks from the site have also been taken away and used by locals.

The location of the Commandant's house was not known at that time.

Pearson carried out an artefact collection on one part of the site, 30 x 10m on the bedrock area where there was some surface visibility (as there is today). He found 9 broken clay pipe stems, glass and pottery fragments, 11 hand wrought nails thought to date to the early 19th century, strips of metal, hinges, molten lead and a pewter button made by McGowan of London. None of this material had sufficient identifiable marks to be able to identify or date it. In order to identify the date of the button further, and determine whether it is military or police, it is necessary to know the military regiments assigned to the site. However, it can be established that, being pewter, it was from a non-officer's uniform, and that it was pre 1855, when brass buttons were issued (Montague, R 1981 *Dress and insignia of the British army in Australia and New Zealand, 1770-1870*, Library of Australian history, North Sydney).

There were also unfrogged bricks with whitewash on one side, and lime mortar also with whitewash, which correlates with descriptions of the settlement's buildings (Pearson 1981: 190-1).

This material may be interpreted as part of a lag deposit of material washing out from higher up the hill where the barracks are thought to be located. This process continues to the present, with a clay pipe stem, blue transfer ceramic fragments and cobbles located on the same bedrock bench in November 2003. That small amounts of artefactual material have been washing out onto the bedrock exposure in the vicinity of the Barracks site for at least the last 30 years indicates that there is likely to be some source of this material, which may be a relatively intact deposit of material with excavation potential.

John Mulvay visited the site in 1997 for field research for his B.A. Honours thesis in archaeology at the ANU. He inspected the military barrack site, and again reports that the only surface visibility was on the bench of bedrock below the crest of the hill, where he recorded two clay pipe stems and several ceramic fragments. He also reports finding a stone flake and a flaked glass bottle base. These are not described. They are the only Indigenous objects to have been identified in the vicinity of the site and so are potentially important for interpretation of the site. Mulvay suggested that one aspect of the site was as a source of exotic raw materials actively sought by the surrounding Aboriginal people for their own use. He contrasts this with the tendency to see the convict station/mission as a source of handouts passively received by Aboriginal people (1997:21-2).

He also describes a building footing of a layer of river pebbles on a flattened area below the crest of the hill, and numerous broken pieces of small sandstock bricks, frogged and unfrogged, some with makers' marks of a key and a nail. Several had traces of whitewash. Mulvay also examined the large pile of bricks near the Commandant's house site. It contained cobbles, small unfrogged bricks similar to those at the Barracks, and larger bricks, considered to have been brought in from elsewhere. He identified a ceramic fragment with the word 'Wellington' and a key on it (1997:24).

On the other side of the main road, Mulvay was shown several horseshoes and pieces of chain by one of the landowners, who said such items turn up during gardening. This may be the location of the original blacksmiths shop (Lee Thurlow pers comm to Mulvay 1997:25).

Peter Kabaila, carrying out his PhD research in 1997 at the ANU, accompanied John Mulvay on this site visit. He did not record any further details of the site content. He contributed to its interpretation by producing interpretative architectural syntheses of the available maps and drawings of the buildings on the site, and various phases of Indigenous settlement in the area (discussed further below).

On the 21/22 September 1998 archaeologist Anne Bickford monitored the excavation of a sewerage trench along the western boundary of NPWS Area 3, in line with the well shown as G4 on Figure 4.18. Bickford reports that no clear indication of the archaeological potential of the site was derived from this monitoring exercise (pers.comm. 22/11/2003).



Figure 4.9 March 1976 looking to the SW (Michael Pearson)



Figure 4.10 Michael Pearson's March 1976 collection site (Michael Pearson).





1975 - shows that the cement block structure which survives on site is the base of a previously 2 storey structure (Michael Pearson)

Figure 4.12 Bus depot where now is house and shed, looking towards

4.4.2 Mapping the site

Jeff Wilson is a Toowoomba based surveyor who has had a long interest in the Wellington site. Wilson has prepared accurate topographic surveys of the site and has also suggested the locations of buildings derived from historic plans. Wilson's reconstructions of individual buildings are reproduced in Roberts 2000a. Unfortunately due to time and money constraints the consultant team was unable to meet Mr Wilson, although he generously offered to assist in our research. Therefore his research has not been viewed or incorporated into this report. It is recommended later in this CMP that the NPWS meet with Mr Wilson in the future to discuss the results of his surveys.

In 1997, using Wilson's topographic map as a base, architect and archaeologist Peter Kabaila prepared a speculative site reconstruction for his book *Wiradjur Places* (1998). Kabaila produced a

'best fit' reconstruction of the site based on early plans and field observations. As Kabaila pointed out in our discussions with him, on the historic plans that give annotated distances between buildings, the angle or bearing of those measurements is not recorded. Kabaila therefore triangulated the recorded distances to obtain approximate building locations. These reconstructions are published in his book *Wiradjuri Places: The Macquarie River Basin and some places revisited* Volume Three (1998).

Mr Lee Thurlow is a Wellington based researcher who has also had a long term interest in the site. He has gathered extensive research material and has prepared many reconstructions of the settlement site's layout in relation to contemporary land boundaries. One of his reconstructions is shown at Figure 4.13.

Conclusions

Extensive research has been carried out on the form and location of the original settlement's building sites. Pearson observed *in situ* archaeological deposits in 1975 and also recorded some valuable local knowledge on the whereabouts of remains. Based upon an exhaustive compilation of sources, Thurlow has produced a range of reconstructed maps and plans. His and Kabaila's work reinforces the fact that 100% accurate reconstructions of the historic maps is not feasible, as the data on the early plans is contradictory. As Roberts points out, the two hilltop prominences which are described in contemporary descriptions are perhaps the most significant physical reference points for our interpretations of the early plans. As Roberts concludes, locations of the buildings can be surmised through comparing topography with the maps and documents, as well as observed relics (2000a:55). Before summarising the range of archaeological remains likely to be contained within MGHS we need to finally consider the evidence of field inspection and survey.

4.4.3 Visible Archaeological Sites

Figure 4.14 shows the sites where archaeological remains have been observed by the consultant team during field reconnaissance in November 2003. Lee Thurlow, Michael Pearson, David Roberts and others have observed further remains in the past, but in 2003 the site was heavily overgrown with grasses and weeds such as Patterson's Curse and variegated thistles. Only vestigial remains were visible at the surface, although any cleared areas generally revealed a scattering of artefact material of 19th century date.

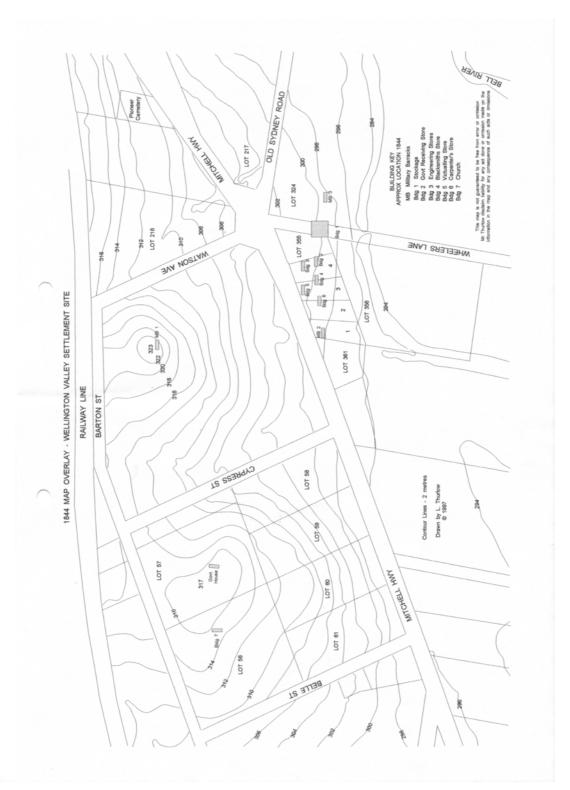


Figure 4.13 Lee Thurlow's reconstruction of building locations (2003)

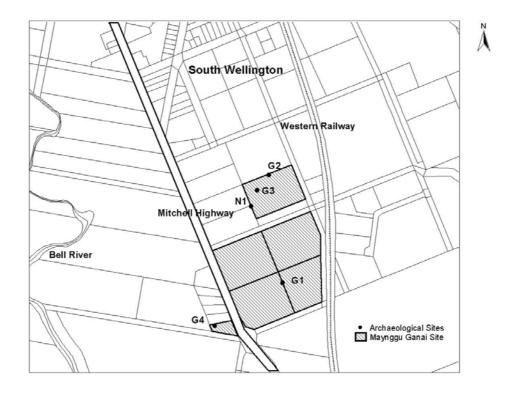


Figure 4.14 Observed Archaeological Sites

The following features were observed and accurately mapped:

Site No.	Site Name	Description
G2	Government House site?	Benched hilltop site, with rubble close by.
G3	Buildings associated with Government House?	High concentration of brick rubble in soil along site boundary.
G1	Military barracks site	Pad of laid river cobbles with associated artefact scatter (clay pipe and ceramic fragments observed)
G4	Well	Brick lined well, 1.20 m in diam. Dense, dry pressed bricks in upper courses, some sandstock bricks mixed in (Fig 4.6).
N1	Basalt flagstones	A small area of basalt flags or cobbles.





Figure 4.15 Outcrop of bedrock with brick fragments, just below site G1 The Military Barracks Site.



Figure 4.17 Bluestone flagging, site N1.

Figure 4.16 Pile of brick rubble near the Government House site, G3.



Figure 4.18 Interior of Well, site G4.

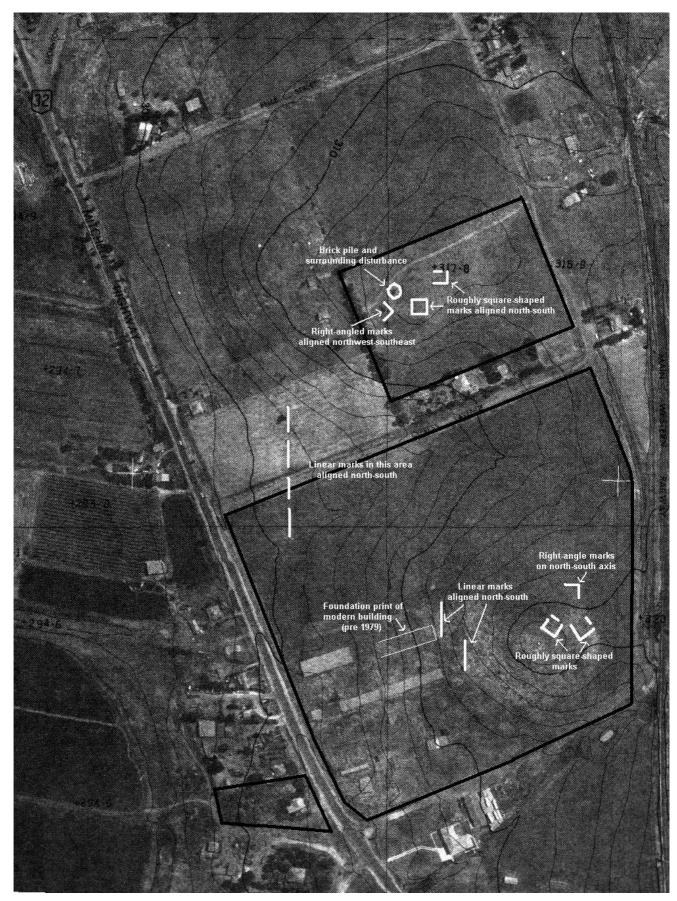


Figure 4.19 1979 Orthomap supplied by Lee Thurlow – interpretation by Neil Urwin.

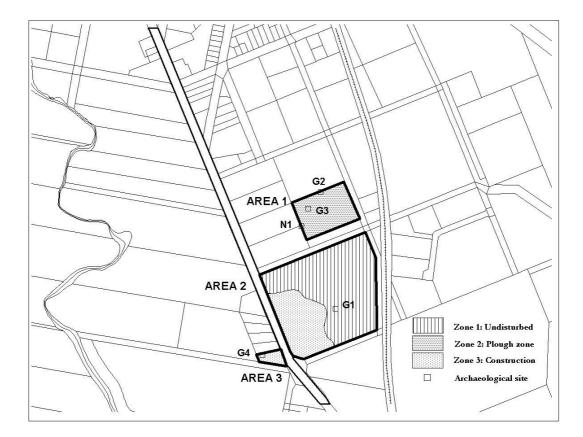


Figure 4.20 The nature of disturbance to the potential archaeological remains.

4.4.4 History of site disturbance

To assess the nature of archaeological deposits on MGHS it is also necessary to ascertain the degree to which the early colonial remains have been disturbed by later activities. Figures 4.11 (Pearson slide) and 4.19 (1979 Orthomap) clearly show several kinds of disturbance that will have resulted from construction in Areas 2 and 3. A house is shown on Area 3 and an array of sheds on the western part of Area 2. The orthomap also shows features that appear to have resulted from works undertaken earlier than the 1970s – some of these may relate to colonial features. As mentioned above, field observation at Area 1 showed that that area has been ploughed for some time. Figure 4.20 summarises our knowledge about the disturbance to areas of potential archaeological remains.

4.4.5 Conclusions: Archaeological research potential

Although occupied for only 22 years, the site has a complex history of development and alteration, which reflects the markedly different purposes of its occupants, their activities and issues of control and authority. The whole of the MGHS should be considered an archaeologically significant landscape but the locations of features for which there is no historical evidence are difficult to predict. Figure 4.21 is based upon all the information so far reviewed in

this Section. We have discussed that the exact location of historic buildings is not yet able to be determined through map reconstruction or field survey, however there is a host of evidence which concurs that several key areas of structural remains will be found on MGHS. Further, it should be noted that it is not simply the structures which are archaeologically significant but the contextual evidence of the activity areas and landscape features which surround and link the buildings. In view of this, the Zones of Archaeological Significance on Figure 4.21 take in generalised areas within which building remains are likely to occur, within a site wide archaeologically significant landscape.

Zone 1 Government House

It is likely that the remains of the Government House constructed by Simpson in 1825 survive in this zone, however only deeper features may remain due to the impact of ploughing. It is unclear wether the service buildings to the rear of Government House are located on MGHS or on land directly to the north (as shown by Thurlow in Fig 4.13). Government house was deliberately sited in a strategic location with 360 degree views around the valley (views discussed further below). The verandahed 'front' of the house looked down the valley to the south, along the road back to Bathurst. The back of the house looked toward a parallel building which was marked as 'offices' in 1826, and as 'Church', 'Dairy', 'stores' and 'carpenter's' shop in later plans. Common sense would suggest that this service building, in order to fulfil its function, is likely to be closer to the Government House than shown in Thurlow's reconstruction.

Carey has pointed out that this part of the site was a key area of the mission involving women's work and the domestic instruction of Indigenous women and children in particular (1996). She argues that the role of women in missionary work seems much more prominent at Wellington than at other early colonial missions and postulates that this order was expressed in the material environment of the mission house (as female/domestic space) and the enclosures made to keep in the mission girls. These questions are particularly amenable to further archaeological investigation of the material environment and material culture.

Zone 2 Garden and Stockyard Site

This zone may hold evidence of early colonial gardens and stockyard which probably continued in use throughout the occupation of the site. This area appears to be largely undisturbed on the basis of existing research. The Orthomap (Fig 4.19) does however show a feature which may be excavation for a pipeline.

Zone 3 Military Barracks Site

This structure was also sited in a strategic location, and is clearly shown in Earle's 1826 watercolour. This building had several uses during its life, including a residence for the mission agriculturalist Mr Porter for a short time, and also as 'Mr Elkin's store'. It is likely to have been reconstructed/repaired several times. This area appears largely undisturbed by later development but will have been affected by erosion to some extent.

Zone 4 Huts

It appears most likely that the convict huts or mud walled huts shown on various plans actually exist under the road and further to the south east of MGHS. However these locations are far from specific and there is some chance of features occurring in this area. This area has also been disturbed by recent construction and road works.

Zone 5 Government Buildings

Once again it is unclear wether or not this area will contain actual footings of Government buildings. However, it is certainly in the midst of the main Government settlement and may well contain evidence of related activities. It also has the feature of the well, which is however of an unknown date. The site may have been very disturbed by recent construction viz the house site shown on Figure 4.19.

The Balance of MGHS

As discussed above MGHS should be considered to be a landscape of archaeological significance. Further sites likely to occur include:

- Hut sites
- Artefact scatters representing activity areas or practices (ie tool making/hut sweeping)
- Artefact scatters and/or pits representing refuse patterns
- Hearth features
- Cesspits
- Water storage features
- Fences, enclosures, and stockyards
- Roads, tracks and paths
- Earthworks
- Gardens and cultivation

The entire area of the early colonial settlement is not contained within the land in NPWS ownership. However, in much of this broader area it appears that archaeological remains will be substantially disturbed by later development: for example, the houses along the Mitchell Highway, the house and industrial building on Lot 216, corner of Mitchell Highway and Watson Avenue. This makes the remains on MGHS more significant, as they have been less disturbed and are available for conservation, interpretation and research.

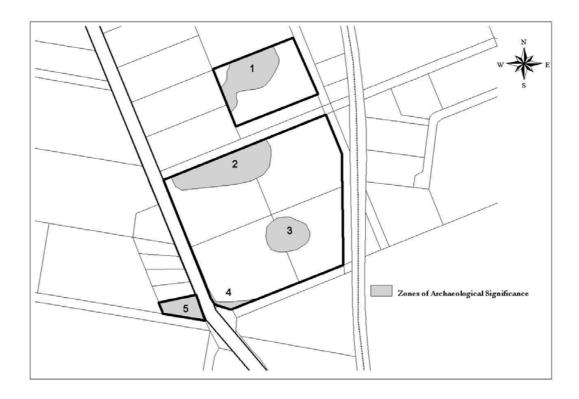


Figure 4.21 Zones of Archaeological Significance

Zone of Archaeological Significance	Features	Disturbance status
Zone 1	Government House and surrounding activity areas	Plough Zone
Zone 2	Gardens and Stockyards	Undisturbed
Zone 3	Military Barracks and surrounding activity areas	Undisturbed
Zone 4	Convict hut sites? Mud walled huts?	Construction
Zone 5	Nucleus of Government buildings: convict stockade? Stores?etc	Construction
Balance of MGHS	Landscape/occupation /activity features	All levels

4.5 Views of the Landscape

The MGHS is most commonly viewed from the Mitchell Highway. It is the views from the site itself that reveal the largely intact remnant of 19th century cultural landscape that forms the context for this site. This is not because the area has remained abandoned or undeveloped, but because of the consistency of small-scale buildings and cropping in the majority of the visual catchment to the south and west. To the east, the substation and works depot have indeed impinged upon the visual character of the area, however the rolling hills behind these contribute to the sense of an enclosed valley of gently rolling hills.

Site G3 lies on an elevation at the centre of the MGHS, and the setting, among expansive river flats, provides an extensive 360° viewshed. Figures 4.22 and 4.23 show the viewshed from this site. Figure 4.7 divides the viewshed into its primary components:

- Foreground
- Middle Ground
- Background, and
- Skyline

Because of the elevation of the vantage point, the foreground and middle ground are largely continuous. Discontinuity of actual landforms, along with hidden areas and perspective effects, occur extensively in the background and skyline.

The <u>foreground</u> covers the MGHS itself and is cleared ground with infrequent trees along roadsides. Residential development along the perimeters of the site are part of this view component, as is the substation to the east and untidy derelict buildings and rubbish on the western boundary.

The <u>middle ground</u> stretches from the site across the river flats to the west and south. The dense riparian vegetation along the Bell River is a feature of the middle ground and in many cases defines its limit. Apart from the riverside trees, the river flats are cropping land and provide a patchwork of yellows and greens. In the north, the middle ground encompasses the edges of the built-up residential area of south Wellington. Because of the flatness of the terrain here, the street trees present a visual barrier to views further in to the urban area. On the eastern side of the site, the middle ground rises to a series of hills which are cleared and used for grazing. In this position these hills provide both middle ground and skyline.

The <u>background</u> of the viewshed comprises the most distant extent of the visible river flats to the south-west and north-west. The remainder of the background is provided by the rising ground, predominantly wooded, between Curra Creek and Bell river on the west of the site and the continuation of the cleared high ground to the south-east of the site.

The more distant <u>skyline</u> is formed by the forested hilltops of the Mt Arthur/Mt Wellesley ranges.

The vantage point used to define the site's viewshed is the same point used by Augustus Earle for his 1826 watercolour of the Wellington Valley. This picture has been described as "…looking east from Government House". The watercolour depicts the hill on the southern portion of the site and the developments and views to the right of it. It is therefore a view to the south and south-west. The watercolour and the same view in 2003 are illustrated at Figures 3.2 and 3.3. Apart from the disappearance of the 1820s buildings, the row of trees in the foreground, and the recent residential strip development on the perimeters, the overall views are little changed.

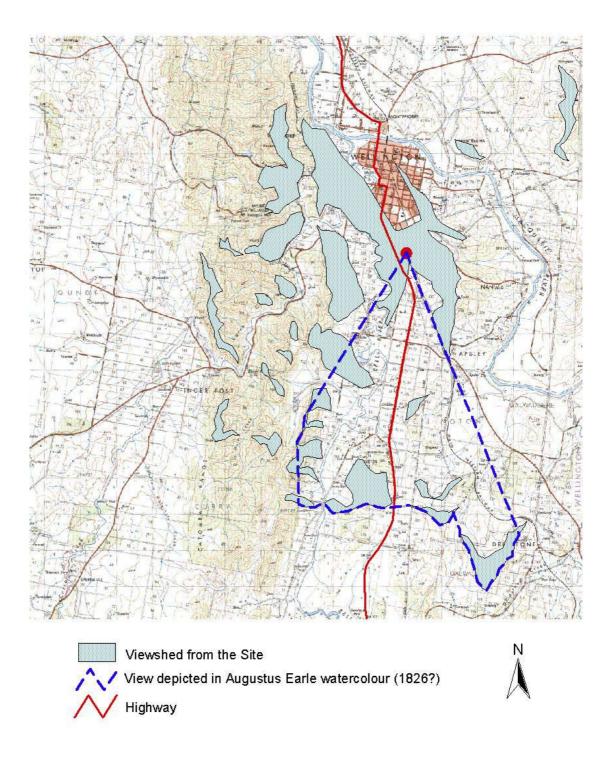


Figure 4.22 Viewshed from MGHS site G3.

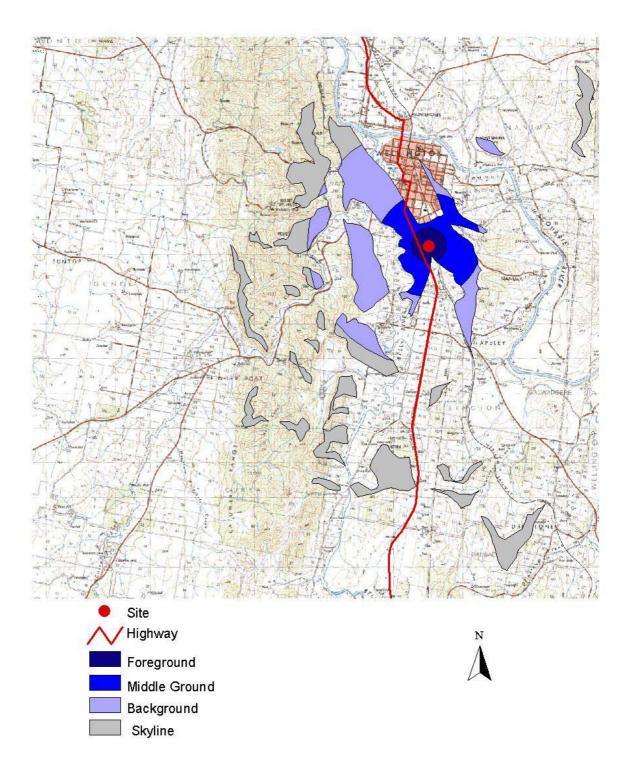


Figure 4.23 Analysis of Viewshed from site G3

4.6 The values of the surrounding land

In Figure 4.26 we indicate two sorts of values for the land surrounding MGHS. This derives from previous analysis done by Anne Bickford (NPWS files) and Lee Thurlow (2003). The Archaeological values area is land that may have been part of the early colonial settlement and may therefore contain archaeological evidence of this activity. The Visual /Scenic Values area is the area which has a direct visual impact on views to and from MGHS. As discussed above the views to the south and southwest from the site are highly significant.

The Old Wellington Cemetery

Perhaps one of the most important connections for MGHS is the Old Wellington Cemetery or Pioneer cemetery. This cemetery has a direct connection to the vanished settlement site and is perhaps the most tangible aspect of its presence, even though few headstones are present. The earliest burial here is 1825 and there are also reported burials of Indigenous people, which seems likely to be the case dating from the missionary period (Thurlow pers.comm.). The missionary Watson, his wife Anne, and possibly their infant child, are also interred here in unmarked graves.



Figure 4.24 Detail of a headstone in Old Wellington Cemetery



Figure 4.25 The Old Wellington Cemetery or the 'Pioneer Cemetery'



Figure 4.26 Values of Surrounding Land



5.1 Introduction

Heritage places are not only made up of the material remains and physical landscapes which mark their locations: they only become heritage places if their meanings are valued as memories, symbols or important knowledge shared by communities. In Section 3 we explored the history of this place in some detail. In Section 4 we considered the landscape and archaeological values of the place. In order to complete our review of the elements that come together to make up heritage significance, we will now consider the ways in which this place, its archaeology, history and landscape is thought and cared about in the community. Our research here is by no means comprehensive, a number of setbacks were encountered during the course of the project and we recommend that further research on community values is conducted in the future. However here we outline at least some of the community values encountered during research so that management in the future can respect and build upon these attachments. This discussion is based upon interviews and meetings which are documented in a separate report.

5.2 Research Methods

Two community workshops were planned for late November, along with a meeting of key stakeholders at Wellington Council. Of these, only one community workshop was undertaken, and although not well attended, it was very productive. The intervention of the Christmas/New Year period made rescheduling of the cancelled meetings problematic. Nevertheless the consultants made several trips to Wellington in order to meet and speak to individuals, while interviews were sought with many of the researchers around NSW who have an interest in this area. These proved very productive. Records of consultation are presented in Appendix 1.

The MGHS Community Focus Group

Research started with the Community Focus Group, which includes members of Indigenous and non-indigenous groups. This group was formed by the NPWS regional office when the site was first acquired, in recognition of the importance of ongoing community advice and participation in site management The brief for this study made it clear that it was crucial to understand both the entwined and separate Indigenous and non-indigenous cultural values associated with this site. The values of the place have been contested locally, particularly over the decision to name it *Maynggu Ganai* (viz local news clippings on file at NPWS). However, key Indigenous and nonindigenous community members have been working together on the Community Focus Group for the past two years, and it has been cited as a vehicle for the local reconciliation process.

5.3 Value Themes

An Origin Site

Non-indigenous people value MGHS primarily for the association with the convict period and as the earliest regional settlement, and second inland settlement after Bathurst. This seems to relate to the unambiguous role of the place as *the first settlement in the area* and to the strong narratives surrounding convicts as foundational figures in national historiographies. These values derive from the central importance of the theme of *opening up this district for agricultural development*, which can be seen as the basis for the present community and its character. Some people compare the success of the free settlers with the quick demise of the convict station, with its forced labour.

Wellington has an active historical society and several comprehensive histories published from as early as 1906, we therefore saw it as a community with a high level of historical consciousness. Review of the popular local *Oxley Historical Museum* and the recent *Pictorial History* (Gass and Hiatt 2003) reveal a great deal of interest in the history of local characters, identities and families, with perhaps a less strong concentration on place.

Continuity and Colonialism

Indigenous people value the site for its time as a mission – but also as strongly symbolic of the first contact between Wiradjuri and 'government men'. As the first in a series of missions and settlements through which local Wiradjuri can trace their families back through colonial times, this site represents cultural survival and continuity through the impact of colonisation. The missionary Watson, who lived out his life in Wellington, is a well known local historical figure in the Indigenous community, as some have traced there family histories to reveal baptism and marriage records signed by Watson.

Working Together as a Vehicle for Local Reconciliation

A recurring theme expressed by diverse members of the interest groups was the possibility the place represented for the development of greater knowledge and understanding, and for the local reconciliation process. Working together on *Maynngu Ganai*, it was expressed, could contribute important new insights into the contemporary cultural context of histories of colonialism and the way they underpin present community relations and constructions of identity.

Protection and Education

Protection comes through in all the consultation as the main requirement for the site. Its irreplaceable nature, and the potential it holds for education of subsequent generations was important to all stakeholders.

Wiradjuri Language

Local people and academic researchers value this site as the place of important early recordings of Wiradjuri language, which is allowing language restoration projects such as that of John Rudder and Stan Grant (<u>http://rosella.apana.org.au/</u> accessed 10/12/03), as well as the work of Tamsin Donaldson and others.

The Stolen Generations

Historian Peter Read has looked at Wellington as the earliest example of missions in NSW procuring children for re-education and separation from their families and cultural milieu. This makes MGHS as an important site in the developing narratives of the 'stolen generation' and a key place for developing a greater understanding of how these policies of child removal developed from the early colonial era.

First Anglican Mission

Missions and reserves became very important places for Indigenous people in south east Australia in the later part of the 19th century as dispossession proceeded. As one of the earliest missions in Australia, and the first Anglican mission, this place contributes to a social history of the later Wellington missions and reserves, and to the broader history of missions in the south east which are crucial for Indigenous people in recovering family histories and cultural identities.

Archaeological rarity

Many local stakeholders commented on the rarity of this early colonial site, which they believe would be much more highly valued if it was in Sydney. Its early date, rarity as a largely undisturbed archaeological resource, and the interest shown in it by diverse academic researchers, are all factors in contributing to a local sense of pride in its importance.

5.4 Conclusions

Significant heritage places are of the highest importance when the past they represent strikes the most powerful and poignant chords in the contemporary cultural and historical consciousness. *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site resonates with some of contemporary Australia's most pressing cultural issues: contested frontier histories; the origins of the 'stolen generation' policies; and notions of 'shared' or 'separate' Australian historical narratives and their implications for local

and national identity. These deep resonances demonstrate the timeliness of this CMP which will not only address issues of site management, but also the complex cultural and community context of this place and the need to give it a place in contemporary community life.

One of the reasons why this place is significant is because it involves Indigenous and nonindigenous communities in a cross cultural dialogue that may build understanding of the past, and the implications of the past in the present. As Heather Goodall has pointed out, such forms of historical understanding remain rare in public, popular and official contexts, but the insights derived from learning more about this place will reinforce notions that history and heritage are *processes*, rather than only concrete collections of empirical facts, building understanding of different forms of valuing and living with the past (Goodall 2002: 12).

Community consultation has revealed an array of shared and separate ways of valuing MGHS. In keeping with the *Code of Ethics of Co-Existence in Conserving Significant Places*, ICOMOS, 1994, it is appropriate to recognise this range of values, and not to try to reduce this diversity into a falsely resolved single story. In comparison to many heritage places however, this site is notable for the way it currently inspires highly charged social and cultural themes, and contests around these themes.



6.1 Introduction

Assessing heritage significance (sometimes called cultural significance) is about articulating and ordering the values that we have identified in our research to this point, in a way that is clearly understood by the community and by government agencies. Assessing the heritage significance of this historical and archaeological landscape, in its community context, in sufficient detail to enable the NPWS to manage it in the best possible way, means that this Section is long and technical. However, the Statement of Significance at the end of the Chapter expresses the results of this process in a more succinct form.

The NSW NPWS has adopted the heritage significance assessment procedures outlined in the *NSW Heritage Manual* (1996), and therefore these procedures will be followed here. In addition to the *NSW Heritage Manual* reference will also be made to the Commonwealth *Australian Historic Themes* (2001) (produced by the Australian Heritage Commission).

The national benchmark for the assessment of heritage significance is provided by the revised Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter* (1999). The *Burra Charter*, which first appeared in 1979, expressed cultural significance in terms of four, equally important sorts of value or significance:

- Historical
- Aesthetic
- Scientific
- Social

The NSW Heritage Assessment Criteria embody these four values but are expressed in a more explicit way. The definitions of these criteria reflect both policy decisions about some of the debates surrounding the heritage significance assessment procedure, the history of heritage management in NSW and the way in which procedures and practice developed. Some aspects of these histories and debates are discussed in the NSW NPWS's *Social Significance: a discussion paper* (Byrne et al 2001).

6.2 NSW Heritage Assessment Criteria

Criterion (a)	an item is important in the course, or pattern, of NSW's cultural or natural	
	history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);	
Criterion (b)	an item has strong or special association with life or works of a person, or group	
	of persons, of importance in NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or	
	natural history of the local area);	
Criterion (c) an item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/o		
	degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW (or the local area).	
Criterion (d)	an item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural	
	group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;	
Criterion (e)	an item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an	
	understanding of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural	
	history of the local area);	
Criterion (f)	an item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW's cultural or	
	natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);	
Citerion (g)	an item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of	
	NSW's cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments (or a class	
	of the local area's cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments)	
	(Assessing Heritage Significance, a NSW Heritage Manual update, 2000: 8).	

The NSW Heritage Manual states that these criteria must be approached within a contextual understanding of both local communities and history (*Assessing Heritage Significance, a NSW Heritage Manual update*, 2000: 3-4). In view of all of these factors, this report approaches the *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site as an entwinement of people, place, landscape and history. We approach heritage significance as primarily grounded in communities and the values they place upon land, history, memories and culture. This means that heritage is an expression of identity, and that places can stimulate and enhance experiences of cultural identity.

6.3 Historic Themes

The following outline of national and State themes is derived from the NSW Heritage Office (<u>www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/about/historythemes.htm</u>). Those shaded in the table below are the themes considered relevant to the history and heritage of MGHS and its landscape as far as it has been revealed through research.

National Theme	NSW Theme
1.Tracing the Evolution of the Australian	Environment- naturally evolved
Environment	
2 Peopling Australia	Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other
	cultures
	Convict
	Ethnic influences
	Migration
3 Developing Local, Regional and National Economies	Agriculture
	Commerce
	Communication
	Environment- cultural landscape
	Events
	Exploration
	Fishing
	Forestry
	Health
	Industry
	Mining
	Pastoralism
	Science
	Technology
	Transport
4. Building Cities and Towns	Towns, suburbs, villages
	Land tenure
	Utilities
	Accommodation
5.Working	Labour
6.Educating	Education
7.Governing	Defence
	Government and Administration
	Law and Order
	Welfare
8.Developing Australia's cultural life	Domestic life
o.Developing Musuana s cultural life	

	Creative endeavour
	Leisure
	Religion
	Social Institutions
	Sport
9.Marking the Phases of Life	Birth and Death
	Persons

6.4 Regional Themes

As well as the National and State themes identified above, the NSW Heritage Office's *Thematic History of the Central West* sets out a range of subthemes which are considered to manifest the National and State themes in the regional context (Kass 2003). The subthemes that are relevant to MGHS are:

2.7	Wiradjuri nation - adapting European wares.
2.8	Wiradjuri nation- living on missions
2.10	Wiradjuri nation - obtaining food and supplies
3.1	Administering the convict system
3.2	Isolating special convicts
3.3	Working for the crown
4.1	Chinese agricultural practices
4.7	English rural practices
6.2	Clearing land for farming
6.3	Farming wheat and other grains
11.4	Routes taken by Surveyor Thomas Mitchell
11.5	Routes taken by Surveyor John Oxley
21.1	Accommodating prisoners and internees
23.5	Mission settlements
25.3	Working at enforced labour
34.1	Conducting missions

6.5 Comparison with other places

6.5.1 Other Penal settlements

David Roberts (2000a: 6-8) has considered the Wellington Valley convict station in comparison with other 'state settlements of its time and type' - at Newcastle, Port Macquarie, Morton Bay

and Norfolk Island. The major difference between these sites and Wellington is that it was inland. Further, Wellington was not the subject of careful planning as to its site, as were the other settlements. The scale of construction at the Wellington station was far less grand and permanent than the other stations and the fact that the buildings were given over to a mission also sets it apart from these other penal stations.

Thorp has considered Government Farms and stock stations as an integral part of the penal system that was developed in NSW (Thorp 1987). The end of the Napoleonic Wars created a rapid influx of convicts and a surplus of labour for the existing colonial infrastructure. Macquarie reacted to this by creating a number of new government farms: Emu Plains, Grose Farm and Long bottom. The decision to create farms at Bathurst in 1821 and Wellington in 1822 was made by Brisbane in response to the Bigge report. None of these farms lasted much longer than the Wellington establishment, making them a phenomenon of conditions in the 1820s.

Another comparative penal establishment is Sarah Island, Tasmania, where Indigenous people who had been removed from their lands were housed alongside convicts. This site is comparable in a limited way because it is a situation where we can study the interaction of Indigenous people and convicts. However MGHS has far greater meanings in terms of continuity of Indigenous people with their land than Sarah Island, which represents a different kind of colonial policy concerning Indigenous people.

6.5.2 Other Early Colonial Missions

There was some competition in early colonial NSW between Weslyan and Anglican interests in the establishment of missions and educational facilities for Aboriginal people. The Parramatta and Blacktown Native Institutions were established by Macquarie, who sought to educate Aboriginal children and to assimilate them into the colonial workforce. After the departure of Macquarie in 1821, Samuel Marsden manoeuvred to have the Anglican Church Missionary Society take over these institutions, arranging for George and Martha Clarke of the CMS to take over the Blacktown school for two years, before continuing to New Zealand. The experience of the Blacktown Native Institution reinforced the belief that it was necessary to separate children from their families and cultural milieu to educate them, also that they needed to be separated from the corrupt agents of white society such as convicts.

The outspoken member of the London Missionary Society, Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld, established his long-lived mission at Lake Macquarie in 1825. Like Handt and Watson at Wellington, Threlkeld sought to learn the local indigenous language, and he succeeded with his friend Biraban, in translating the bible into Awabakal. As Peter Read has pointed out however, the Wellington Missionaries also sought to procure children for the mission, and to persuade their parents to leave them there. Lydon has claimed that the genesis of much later policies of child separation have their roots in these early colonial beliefs and activities (Ireland and Lydon 2003).

The Parramatta and Blacktown Native Institutions were the first missionary activity in NSW, while the first remote mission was Threlkeld's 1825 mission at Lake Macquarie. The third mission established in NSW was Wellington in 1832. It was the first mission established by the Anglican Church Missionary Society, even though CMS missionaries George and Martha Clarke had been employed for 2 years at Blacktown. Of these sites, archaeological remains exist only for the Blacktown and Wellington sites.

6.5.3 Other Wiradjuri historic places

Kabaila (1998: 18-45) provides an overview of the succession of local camps and Aboriginal housing areas in and near Wellington following the closure of the early mission: Apsley Mission 1839-1848; Blake's Fall mission 1848-1866; 'Black's Camp' to 1910; Wellington Town Common 1868-1970; Nanima 1910-present; Bell River Flats c1940-1970; Bushranger's Creek c1950 –1970.

Another important Indigenous Wiradjuri site in the region in NPWS management is Yuranigh's grave of 1850.

6.6 Application of the Criteria

Criterion (a) an item is important in the course, or pattern, of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

MGHS is a key site in the history of black/white relations in colonial NSW. It is the site of the first sustained contact between British and Wellington Wiradjuri – a notably different history than that at nearby Bathurst, probably because of the contained nature of the settlement. Aboriginal-European relations at Wellington were a later and more gradual process than at Bathurst but should still be seen in the regional context of competition for land, tensions over stock and over sexual relations.

The Wellington Valley Settlement preceded free settlers and facilitated the 'opening up' of land for free settlement, agricultural and pastoral development and the eventual annexation of Wiradjuri land. The Penal settlement was also a unique example of a remote agricultural outpost in the interior in this period, and later was a destination for so-called "educated" convicts. The Brown murder case of 1827 – 28 represents a key early judgemnent in the history of Aboriginal people and colonial law. Such judgements, along with matters of legal evidence, such as whether or not Aboriginal testimony was admissible, take on a central and continuing role in colonial frontier race relations and subsequent trials in cases of frontier violence such as Myall Creek (see for example Lydon 1996).

Wellington was the first Anglican mission in Australia and was also the first in a continuing sequence of Indigenous settlements around Wellington, throughout the colonial period to the present. The Mission papers archive forms a very significant aspect of the importance of MGHS. Among many other subjects, these papers provide crucial early ethnohistoric records on Wiradjuri culture, as seen through the missionary's eyes.

With the decision to establish the Wellington Mission, the interactions of Wiradjuri people with colonial expansion became less a by-product of occupation of land and more a matter of overt, intentioned intervention. The long term effects of this move reflect unintended outcomes more than those that were intended.

In his efforts to civilise, Watson was active in removing children for the mission, sometimes forcing their mothers to give them up, to the point that he was known as 'eagle hawk' amongst the Aboriginal population, and missionaries in general as 'kidnappers' (Gunther Diary 16 & 17/12/1839, 17 & 19/01/1840 cited Harris 1990:63). His motives were founded in his knowledge of many girls with venereal disease (eg Diary 5/03/1833, 18/08/1833) and the belief that education in Christian belief and culture would benefit them. Gunther, however, did not agree with his longer-serving colleagues' position, reporting to the CMS with dismay that Aboriginal people hid their children when the missionaries approached (Harris 1990:63).

Apart from the two important documentary collections (Mission papers and Colonial Secretary Correspondence) pertaining to the site, Wellington Valley benefits from a long list of 'visitors' who have left accounts of their stays. These included Governor Gipps, Samuel Marsden, Thomas Mitchell, Charles Sturt and of course Augustus Earle. Their images and reports form a most valuable resource for contrasting accounts of the place and understanding it within the context of colonial political and social discourses.

Carey and Roberts (2002b) claim that Wellington was the site of the earliest Indigenous religious movement in colonial Australia – the *Baiame Waganna* - developed in response to the impact of colonisation, in this case the horrific impact of smallpox on the Wiradjuri in the late 1820s and early 1830s.

The mission archives also provide significant information on the interaction of police, missionaries, convict servants, free settlers and Wiradjuri in and around the MGHS - showing the diversity of interests and aspirations of the Europeans and Indigenous people involved in the colonisation process.

As well as ethnographic records it is in the recording of Wiradjuri languages that the missionaries have left as one of their greatest inheritances, which is allowing language restoration projects such as that of John Rudder and Stan Grant (<u>http://rosella.apana.org.au/</u> accessed 10/12/03).

Criterion (b) an item has strong or special association with life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

The MGHS is notable for the range of prominent colonial individuals who are associated with the place. These include explorers John Oxley 1817, Thomas Mitchell 1830 and Charles Sturt 1827 and the artists Augustus Earle, 1826, and Conrad Martens, 1840.

The first Commandant of the Convict Station Lt Percy Simpson, is well known for his later work on the Great North Road.

The missionaries Handt, Watson and Gunther left a significant archive of diaries and journals. William Watson maintained his association with the Wellington area until his death in 1866, his wife Ann died shortly after – they are buried in unmarked graves in the old Wellington cemetery (Harris 1990: 69). Watson is well known today amongst local Indigenous families, some of whom have records of Watson's baptism or marriage of their ancestors.

The site also is associated with the Indigenous people of the Wellington valley, and was the place of their first sustained contact with the British, which, compared to nearby Bathurst, was amicable. Further research may determine more closely the identity of some of the more prominent Wiradjuri people associated with this place, such as the 'chief' referred to by Simpson, the warrior painted by Earle, and the many individuals mentioned in the Mission journals.

Criterion (c) an item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW (or the local area).

The MGHS has important aesthetic and cultural landscape values. These include Indigenous symbolic values of the landscape associated with the Bell River and the surrounding mountain

peaks and ranges. The landscape as viewed from the site of the Government House, the view Augustus Earle painted in 1826, is not substantially altered from the 1820s to the present. This is a rare example of a rural landscape which reflects the earliest period of British settlement in the region.

The landscape viewed looking west from the site also has high aesthetic values derived from the picturesque nature of the verdant valley surrounded by green rolling hills, and hazy blue mountains forming a distinctive skyline.

Criterion (d) an item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;

To non-indigenous members of the Wellington community this site is important as an 'origin site' for the later town of Wellington, with very significant associations with pioneering forebears, the development of local industry and communities and also with the foundational convict narratives of the development of NSW.

For the Wellington Wiradjuri Indigenous community this is the first of a number of missions and settlements in the Wellington area where Indigenous people lived throughout the colonial period. Many local Indigenous families can trace their ancestors back through this series of settlements. Eminent historian Peter Read has claimed that Wellington is the earliest example of missions in NSW procuring children for re-education and separation from their families and cultural milieu. This makes MGHS as an important site in the developing narratives of the 'stolen generation'. The impacts of this process and its policies are still being revealed and understood by the broader community. Local Indigenous people expressed the significance of the site as the first contact of Wellington Wiradjuri with "government men" – a form of contact that was to shape the lives of the local community throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

To some community members the site symbolises the shared history of the region and is seen to have the potential to act as a vehicle for local reconciliation

The broader research community values this site highly for the significant historical, arc

Criterion (e) an item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

The archaeological remains of MGHS, in conjunction with the rich historical archive relating to the site, have enormous potential to contribute new knowledge about the past of this region, and about the broader histories of culture contact, convictism and missions in Australia and in the broader colonial world.

Important regional studies of the Wiradjuri by Pearson (1981) and Kabaila (1998) have placed this site in its broader pre and postcolonial contexts, but while its history is the subject of some important studies, the place has never been investigated archaeologically. Hilary Carey (1996, 2000), Jean Woolmington (1983; 1986,1988) and Peter Read (1988,1999) have each explored aspects of the CMS Mission established on the site in 1832. Hilary Carey and David Roberts have made significant contributions to the historiography of missions and culture contact through their web based publication of the Wellington Mission archive (journals, reports and letters)(Carey and Roberts 1997). Their most recent research, cited above, is on the Indigenous religious movement known as *Baiame maganna* (2002).

Drawing on a wide range of reports and correspondence to the Colonial Secretary throughout the 1820s, Roberts has also published on the convict station, analysing the nature of its administration (2000b), and has produced an unpublished heritage management report on the site (2000a). Roberts has argued that relations between Wiradjuri and the convict establishment in the 1820s were uncommonly amicable (Roberts 2000a).

Carey has raised the issue of gender order in missionary ideology and as expressed in the Wellington Missonaries' views of conversion and evangelical work (1996). This site has particular research potential to contribute to research on gender order in the colonial process concerning the roles of Indigenous and non-indigenous men, women and children.

Although important recent research has illuminated the material worlds of urban convicts (for instance Karskens 1999) little is yet known about their rural counterparts (Gojak 2001:75), while the interaction between convicts and Indigenous people is also ill understood (Griffiths 1987). Material culture and archaeological evidence for these early years of cultural exchange on NSW's western frontier will contribute significantly to understanding the mechanics and actualities of

contact/frontier history, building up a more detailed and meaningful pictures from diverse sources of evidence.

No archaeological accounts currently exist for the early missions to Aboriginal people in Australia prior to the 1840s (Woolmington 1988, Ireland and Lydon 2003). The Wellington mission was preceded only by the missionary activities of Macquarie's Native Institutions in Parramatta and Blacktown and Lancelot Threlkeld's mission at Lake Macquarie. While a significant historiography of Indigenous experience in later 19th and 20th century missions and reserves exists, much is yet to be understood about Indigenous responses to early missions, where interactions clearly take a different form from the later, more settled mission communities (Attwood 1989, Lydon 2003).

Themes of historical, archaeological and anthropological enquiry which might be pursued in research include:

- A better understanding of the lives of Rural convicts
- More detailed information on Wiradjuri/British interaction in the 1820s and 1830s, particularly the use of archaeological information as both complementary and as a counterpoint to historical accounts conceived and expressed through British cultural mores.
- Archaeological investigation of the nature of mission life for both European and Wiradjuri people, including evidence for gendered activities, supply, trade diet etc.
- Archaeological investigation of the 1820s Convict station including interaction with Wiradjuri, living and working conditions, evidence for gender division, supply, trade diet etc.
- Archaeological research may yield information on the environmental history of the locality including changes in the colonial period.
- The site also has the potential to yield evidence of anthropological value on early colonial trade and exchange, the spatial organization of activities, cultural change and continuity in the colonial period and so on.
- The site has important potential to yield significant comparative material to research on other convict station and mission sites. Most of the latter are much later in date.

Criterion (f) an item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

• MGHS is a rare, relatively intact archaeological remnant of a complete government settlement occupied from 1823 until 1845.

- MGHS has archaeological research potential to contribute knowledge about the lives of rural convicts in the 1820s/30s.
- It is the site of the first sustained interaction between the Wellington Wiradjuri and the British.
- It is the site of the first Anglican mission in Australia.
- It is one of only two known surviving pre 1850 sites associated with Missionary activity in NSW (the other is the Blacktown Native Institution).
- The site is surrounded by a rare, relatively intact remnant of a significant early colonial cultural landscape, which was captured in the watercolour of Augustus Earle in 1826.
- As mentioned above, Carey and Roberts (2002b) claim that Wellington was the site of the earliest Indigenous religious movement in colonial Australia the *Baiame Waganna* developed in response to the impact of colonisation, in this case the horrific impact of smallpox on the Wiradjuri in the late 1820s and early 1830s.
- Citerion (g) an item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments (or a class of the local area's cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments) (Assessing Heritage Significance, a NSW Heritage Manual update, 2000: 8).

The MGHS has the potential to demonstrate aspects of 1820s rural convict stations in NSW and of pre 1850s mission sites in NSW. The site also has the potential to demonstrate aspects of both British and Wiradjuri culture and lifeways through a period which saw much change for both groups – British adaptation to the colonial situation and influence by Wiradjuri culture and knowledge – and Wiradjuri cultural change through contact with British knowledge, culture, the impact of disease and dispossession of their traditional Wiradjuri lands and subsistence techniques.

6.7 Previous statements of Significance

The Wiradjuri Places Project was assisted by a grant from the NSW Heritage Office (Kabaila 1998). As mentioned above, it provides an excellent context for approaching the heritage assessment of Wiradjuri historic places. Kabaila wrote the following statement of heritage significance for the Wellington Convict Station and Mission Site:

In common with several other prominent government institutions for Aboriginal management, such as the Cootamundra girls home and Wybalenna, Wellington Valley Mission was converted from earlier institutional use. Significant in the archaeology of the convict era, it represents an early military and agricultural outpost. Despite little remaining of the original fabric, The Wellington Valley Mission site is important as the first

Aboriginal Mission to the Wiradjuri people. Although the mission failed and was closed after a few years, it laid the succession of local camps and housing areas in the Wellington district which continue to be important to present day local Wiradjuri (Kabaila 1998:18).

The following statement of significance is recorded for the site on the Register of the National Estate:

The Wellington Valley Settlement Site is significant for its association with the development and expansion of colonial settlement west of the Blue Mountains and with the opening up of the region to agriculture and grazing. Established in 1823, the site was the second settlement to the west of the Blue Mountains. (Criterion A.4: Historic Theme 4.1 planning urban settlements).

Between 1823 and 1831 the settlement was a convict station, for convicts whose behaviour, physical condition or lack of skills rendered them unfit for more useful employment. At the settlement they were involved in agricultural and stock station work. The settlement was also the destination for educated convicts who were considered to be a particularly troublesome group. The Wellington Valley Settlement Site is significant for its association with the convict transportation system in Australia and the use of convict labour to extend colonial settlement (Criterion A.4 and B.2) (Australian Historic Theme 2.3 Coming to Australia as a Punishment).

Following the abandonment of the convict site, some of the government buildings were used by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (1832 –1844) who established a mission for Aborigines in NSW. The Wellington Valley Settlement Site is significant as an evocative reminder of a chapter in the history of Aboriginal Australia (Criterion A4) (Australian Historic Theme 2.6 Fighting for the land: displacing Indigenous people). With virtually intact subsurface remains, the Wellington Valley Settlement Site is significant as an archaeological site with potential to provide valuable information on the settlement (Criterion C.2).

The Wellington Valley Settlement Site has associations with a number of renowned individuals including Conrad Martens, a painter who sketched scenes around Wellington; Augustus Earle, painter; John Oxley explorer; Lt Percy Simpson, Commandant of the Convict Settlement; and Re. William Watson, Missionary to the Aborigines, Anglican Church Mission Society (Criterion H.1).

At the time of the establishment of the colonial settlement of Wellington, the land around the junction of the Bell and Macquarie Rivers was the traditional camping area of members of the Wiradjuri Aboriginal nation. The explorer John Oxley recorded the abundance of wildlife that was found at the junction of the two rivers. These were emus, fish, swans, ducks and large freshwater mussels which were also the traditional foods of the Wiradjuri people. The Wellington settlement was situated within the traditional camping grounds of the Wiradjuri on the Bell River (Criterion A.4: Historic Theme 2.1 Living as Australia's Earliest Inhabitants).

6.8 Statement of Significance

MGHS is of national, state and local significance for its combination of historical, archaeological, social and aesthetic values.

MGHS is a unique site in the history of intercultural relations in NSW. As the second colonial outpost established west of the Blue Mountains, it is the place where Wellington Wiradjuri and British officials and convicts first interacted and established relations. In the 1820s when MGHS was a convict station (1823- 1831) these relations were very different from the violence perpetrated between settlers and Wiradjuri around nearby Bathurst, probably because Wellington Wiradjuri still had access to their usual land and resources around the small and contained convict station.

The archive of the CMS missionaries, at Wellington from 1832 –1844, forms a highly significant aspect of MGHS. These journals tell the poignant stories of the missionaries themselves, and through their eyes, describe the lifeways, language and beliefs of the Wiradjuri with whom they interacted. These papers are important linguistic resources and also document the terrible toll of introduced diseases on Wiradjuri society. Carey and Roberts claim that the *Biaime Waganna* was an early Indigenous religious movement that developed in response to colonialism and the impact of smallpox on Wiradjuri people.

The Wellington Mission was the first Anglican Mission in Australia, and only the third mission in colonial NSW (after the Parramatta/Blacktown Native Institutions and Threlkeld's Lake Macquarie Mission). For the Wellington Indigenous community the MGHS is the first of a number of missions and settlements in the Wellington area. Many local Indigenous families can trace their ancestors back through this series of settlements. Eminent historian Peter Read has claimed that Wellington is the earliest colonial example of missions in NSW procuring children for re-education and separation from their families and cultural milieu. This places MGHS as an important site in the developing narratives of the 'stolen generation'.

To other members of the Wellington community this site is most important as the 'origin site' for the later town of Wellington and its region, with important associations with agricultural development, pioneering forebears and also with the central role of convicts and their labour in the development of NSW. Yet other members of the community see MGHS as a place with the potential to act as a vehicle for local reconciliation and for a greater understanding of entangled colonial histories.

The rural landscape which forms the context for the MGHS is a highly significant remnant of a colonial agricultural landscape, with significant similarities to the landscape portrayed by Augustus Earle in 1826. This provides a rare opportunity to interpret the site's 19th century history and for people to easily connect with this history.

The MGHS is a site of rare archaeological research significance. As the site has been little disturbed by later development, it has high potential to contain rare remains from the 1820s, 30s and 40s when this area was in the Wiradjuri heartland and on the frontier of British settlement.

The MGHS is currently well known to only a small group of people. It has the potential, through communication of its heritage significance, to take a greater role in the cultural life of Wellington and the broader state and national community.



7.1 Introduction

Having determined the heritage significance of the *Maynggu Ganai* Historic site, the next task is to investigate the best ways to manage, conserve and interpret this significance. In this section we discuss the issues that affect the future management of the place, such as the requirements arising from the nature of significance, statutory issues, stakeholder concerns, and issues associated with the conservation of the archaeological remains. This discussion forms the basis for the policies and strategies set out in Sections 8 and 9.

7.2 Obligations Arising from Significance

The significance of this site means that its future management should be based upon a number of clear obligations arising from the distinctive nature of this significance.

Community Values

We have argued that this site is significant for the local community, while also being of high significance to the broader state and national communities. The heritage value of this place is in fact seen to be of significance to the nation as a whole, as a landmark site in the history of early colonial race relations in Australia.

Social and community values are values that are actively maintained and renewed by a community. This means that these kinds of heritage values are used in the day-to-day business of maintaining, creating and transforming cultural identity (Byrne et al 2001: 69). They require ongoing respect, maintenance and commitment. We suggest that these values can be respected and built upon through a three-tiered approach involving:

1. Community Management Partnerships;

Acknowledging the community as a management partner with NPWS for MGHS.

2. Interpretation of the range of values;

Developing interpretation of the heritage significance of this site to create educational and cultural tourism opportunities, which may bring benefits to the local community, and may also

help to build upon and maintain local community values. The latter effect may be created through a growth in knowledge about the place, as well as the pride and esteem generated through the enhancement of the place. Interpretation may take many forms as will be discussed further below.

3. The provision of access;

(Both actual and perceptual) for educational and cultural experiences, and creating opportunities for such experiences. Educational programs, special festivals and events, tours, talks, performances and so on, could be developed to offer opportunities for access to a broad cross section of people to learn more about this place and its history.

Archaeological Values

The archaeological remains of MGHS are valued because they are fragile, rare and irreplaceable manifestations of the history of this place. They are also valued for their outstanding archaeological research potential, in combination with the rich array of documentary sources pertaining to the site. For the local Indigenous people, archaeological remains are important material evidence of the Aboriginal history of the area. For local non-Indigenous people, this is a rare early colonial site, outside the metropolitan area of Sydney – the origin site for the development of the district. This combination of values means that ongoing research (historical, archaeological remains and archaeological etc) should be a part of the future of MGHS. It also means that any archaeological remains and archaeological analyses could be used to provide important new evidence and information to enhance the interpretation of the site. Excavation (and other works which would improve the interpretation of the remains) should be developed collaboratively with community members and promoted as community history and archaeology projects.

Landscape values

Another major aspect of the significance of MGHS is its landscape value, and a crucial visual catchment has been identified in Figure 4.26, although of course the view from the site takes in a much more extensive area. The natural topography of the two small peaks of the site, overlooking the river valley to the south and west, and enclosed by rolling hills to the east, embody the characteristics of the early colonial landscape which was part of the cultural landscape of the Bell River region Wiradjuri people, and chosen by the British in the 1820s as their strategic outpost. The currently low scale development immediately around the site, as well as the cropped areas along the river, allow a sense of the historical cultural landscape to be experienced. Mechanisms for conserving this landscape are discussed further below.

7.3 Current Heritage Status and Non-statutory considerations

Wellington LEP, 2000

The site and its surrounds are currently an item of environmental heritage on the Wellington LEP, gazetted 31 March 2000, and currently zoned 'village'. This listing means that Wellington Council must take heritage significance into consideration when assessing Development Applications. Potential exists to refine these controls through a DCP or other zoning mechanism and this is discussed further below. SEPP 4 exempts the NPWS from the provisions of local planning instruments.

Burra Charter, ICOMOS (latest version 1999)

The most significant non-statutory consideration for heritage management is the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, which since 1979, has established a benchmark for the principles, procedures and practices of heritage conservation. The preparation of this CMP has been in accordance with the procedures set out in the Burra Charter.

Code of Ethics of Co-Existence in Conserving Significant Places, ICOMOS, 1994

This code aimed to establish the principle that competing cultural values need not be resolved through heritage management, but should be able to co-exist. This code states that it is a conservation practitioner's responsibility to identify and acknowledge all cultural groups associated with a place. The basis of this code is well reflected in NPWS policy (discussed below), which asserts that all places are constructed as significant through an array of discourses concerning natural, cultural and community values. NPWS policy and the brief for this CMP therefore embody the concepts of co-existence set out in this charter.

Register of the National Estate

MGHS was registered on the Register of the National Estate (RNE) on the 27/3/2001 as an historic site. Since 1 January 2004 the RNE has become an advisory resource for the new Australian Heritage Council, which is concerned with matters of national and Commonwealth heritage. The Council will maintain and develop the RNE, but its exact function is yet to be determined by that body. The RNE therefore remains an important authoritative listing.

7.4 Legislative Requirements and Compliance

Management of the heritage values of the MGHS is regulated within a network of State legislation. Of greatest importance in this network are the National Parks and Wildlife Act, 1974 and the Heritage Act, 1977. Also relevant are the NSW Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979 and the Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984. The archaeological aspects of this site have statutory protection under both the NPWS Act 1974 and the Heritage Act 1977.

NPWS Act, 1974

Aboriginal cultural heritage, natural heritage values and the management of reserved lands are regulated through the NPWS Act. The NPW Land Management Regulations also protect non-Aboriginal cultural material, more than 25 years old, found on NPWS land.

A Historic Site is one form of reservation managed by NPWS for sites of national cultural importance. They may include buildings, objects, monuments and landscapes. The NPWS Act also requires the preparation of a Plan of Management (POM) for reserved lands and it is anticipated that this CMP will provide the basis for a POM for this site.

NSW Heritage Act, 1977

Whereas the management of Indigenous cultural heritage is regulated through the NPWS Act, non-indigenous cultural heritage is regulated through the Heritage Act, 1977. This Act contains blanket provisions protecting non-indigenous archaeological relics. To assist in the compliance with these provisions, and with the relics provisions of the NPWS Act, Section 4 of this CMP provides a detailed review of the archaeological significance of MGHS.

Also under the Heritage Act, government bodies are required to list the heritage items for which they have responsibility on a S170 register. The Heritage Council must be notified of proposed works to such items, although compliance with an endorsed CMP replaces the need for continual notifications. The NPWS needs to add MGHS to the Department of Environment and Conservation's S170 Register.

As this CMP has found this site to be of national, State and local importance, this may have implications for its legal status in the future. As a site of State significance, it should be included on the State Heritage Register.

Listing on the State Heritage Register means that the heritage item:

- is of particular importance to the State and enriches our understanding of the history of NSW
- is legally protected under the Heritage Act;
- requires approval from the Heritage Council of NSW for certain kinds of works; and
- is eligible for financial incentives (<u>www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/shi/shi_2.htm</u>).

must be maintained to acceptable minimum standards.

Such a listing would therefore make the Heritage Council of NSW a consent authority for any proposals affecting the site. If such proposals required excavation, archaeological approvals would also be required under S60 of the Heritage Act and S90 of the NPWS Act. This Conservation Management Plan should be submitted for the endorsement of the Heritage Council. Wellington Council should be presented with a copy of the report in order to assist them in their future planning for the larger part of the site outside NPWS management.

Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979

Under Part 5 of the EP&A Act, the NPWS is required to assess the environmental impact of any proposed works or developments. The definition of environment used here is:

all aspects of the surroundings of humans whether affecting any human as an individual or in his or her social groupings.

This CMP will form a basis of information for any future proposals requiring an environmental impact assessment to be determined by NPWS. As mentioned above, MGHS is also a scheduled Item of Environmental Heritage on the Wellington LEP, gazetted 31 March 2000. As set out above, endorsement of this CMP by the NSW Heritage Office, or by its delegate the Director of Cultural Heritage, NPWS, will also mean that proposals in accordance with this CMP have the concurrence of the Heritage Council.

Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984.

This Act is designed to provide protection for Aboriginal heritage when this protection is not forthcoming at the State level. This legislation can be activated by applications made by Aboriginal people. This CMP aims to both identify the range of Aboriginal heritage values associated with MGHS and ensure that they are managed together with the Indigenous community in a strong collaborative and consultative environment.

New Commonwealth Heritage Regime: Environment Protection and Boidiversity Conservation Act, 1999, Australian Heritage Council Act 2003

As a site of national heritage significance, this place may also be a candidate for the new National Heritage List, under the Commonwealth *Environment Protection and Boidiversity Conservation Act, 1999.* No places have yet been placed on this list since this legislation came into effect on 1 January 2004. To be placed on this list the site would need to be assessed against the new National Heritage Criteria, and if listed, the Commonwealth Minister for Heritage would become a consent authority. As an item of historic heritage however, the Commonwealth has only limited constitutional powers to enforce its legislation over State land management matters. It is

anticipated that National list items would be added on the basis of an accredited management plan, which would be the subject of a bilateral State/Commonwealth agreement.

7.5 NPWS Policy and Management Issues

The NSW NPWS *Corporate Plan, 2000 – 2003* establishes some key directions and priorities for the Service to develop. Of relevance to this document is the change in emphasis it promotes towards a "holistic approach to conservation which integrates natural, cultural and community values". This CMP for MGHS assists NPWS in achieving a number of its Objectives for Conservation Planning, Conservation Management and Conservation Facilitation as set out in the Corporate Plan.

Key Result Area	Corporate Objective	
Conservation Assessment	To achieve the use of rigorous and systematic policy, science and assessment as the basis for conservation planning and management in NSW	
Conservation Planning	To improve the process for establishing conservation priorities for NSW to ensure: Integration of natural, cultural and community values; Consultation and transparency; and Responsiveness to threats and change.	
Conservation Management	 Responsiveness to threats and change. Objective 1 – To work with Aboriginal communities to achieve the protection of the natural and cultural heritage through mechanisms which also deliver social and economic benefits Objective 5 – To manage NPWS built assets to achieve conservation and health and safety outcomes. Objective 7 – To contribute to the environmental, social and economic well being of local and regional communities. 	
Conservation Facilitation	Objective 1 – To work with the community to foster understanding and appreciation of, and commitment to cultural and natural heritage. Objective 2 – To increase community involvement in the management of natural and cultural heritage conservation in NSW.	
	Objective 3- To enhance people's enjoyment of the park system. Objective 4- To provide practical guidance and support for community conservation activities.	

NPWS has a dense policy framework that reflects the complexity of issues it faces in undertaking land management in an ethical, community-focused context. The following is an outline of the policies which have guided this CMP and which should continue to guide the implementation of the Conservation Policies.

- *Cultural Heritage Strategic Policy:* this establishes guiding principles and policies for the consideration of cultural heritage values in all land management activities.
- *Cultural Heritage Community Consultation Policy:* sets out principles and protocols concerning consultation of communities. This policy guided research for this plan and should continue to guide implementation of the Conservation Policies.
- *Cultural Heritage Information Policy:* acknowledges that communities and individuals are the custodians of their cultural heritage and the owners of the information they possess about it.
- Guide to approvals for works and activities that impact on cultural heritage places, sites, buildings, landscapes
 and movable heritage items on NPWS estate. This guide presents a useful tabulation of the
 documentation and approvals required for work on heritage places. This CMP should form
 the basis of documentation for future works proposed for MGHS, and the guide will assist
 NPWS staff in the implementation of the Conservation Strategies.

7.6 Stakeholder Issues

Amongst all community members spoken to, the ongoing protection and conservation of the place was of paramount concern including:

- the need to improve the current condition of the site ;
- the desirability of undertaking further archaeological and historical research;
- the need to identify and commemorate the history of the place.

The view was expressed that if this site is to be a contributing symbol and facilitating place for change and reconciliation, it needs to be well kept and seen to be cared for. If not well maintained, the site can operate in a negative way, putting people offside and perhaps causing disillusionment with the status of the place. We note that care and maintenance of MGHS is an important symbol of respect for the community's esteem for the place.

Rubbish, rampant vegetation, fire hazard and kangaroos have all been mentioned as issues of annoyance for neighbouring residents. A mechanism of regular communication between NPWS and its neighbours must be developed, and NPWS must be seen to lead by example in their exemplary management of the heritage place.

Copies of this CMP should to be sent to all the neighbouring residents, with an opportunity to discuss any of their concerns.

Need for Community Management Partnerships

NPWS and the community have made good progress on local partnerships through their Community Focus Group. Community management partnerships should be continued, resourced and committed to by NPWS.

The NPWS region should develop a formal agreement with a nominated group of community members to ensure on-going co-operative management of the site. The agreement must clearly set out the roles and responsibilities of all partners in relation to decision-making, conflicts of interest, terms of office and other issues of importance to members. The community group should be broadly representative of interest groups, following the model established by the Community Focus Group. Given the national significance of the site and its ability to demonstrate key contemporary issues in Australian history and culture, it would be appropriate for the group to also include relevant members from the wider community.

Partnerships should also be developed with local employment programs, including Indigenous employment programs, to carry out some of the work required on the site such as fencing, vegetation management and the installation of interpretive infrastructure.

Reconciliation

The importance and potential of this place in terms of local reconciliation has been commented on by a diverse range of stakeholders.

In this year's *Reconciliation Week* (May 2004) – there will be a re-enactment of the 2000 bridge walk in Wellington. In future, events such as this would be a good opportunity for NPWS to promote the site and its values.

In general, the community significance of MGHS demands that diverse opportunities are sought to educate people about this site and its meanings and to provide access to it. Community events provide important opportunities for this, including local festivals and statewide events such as Heritage Week. The content of any site interpretation should also reflect this theme.

Another issue raised by stakeholders is the need for a welcome to country sign in Wellington, such as those often raised by Local Governments or the Roads and Traffic Authority, to acknowledge traditional owners and to pay them respect in terms of appropriate protocol. Whilst roadside signage is not the responsibility of NPWS, it should ensure that the appropriate protocols are observed on any signage erected on the MGHS, in the context of acknowledging the diversity of its cultural significance.

7.7 Conservation Issues

Archaeological Remains

MGHS is a rare archaeological site with high research potential, as we have established in Section 6. In Section 4 we argued that the site needs to be treated as an archaeological landscape, not only because the location of past structures is difficult to determine accurately, but also because it is likely to contain a broad range of landscape features which have never been represented on historic maps.

While we have identified key areas of archaeological significance in Section 4, it is important that management acknowledges the rare archaeological significance and research potential of the landscape as a whole. This significance is increased by the fact that the parts of the early colonial settlement *not* now in NPWS ownership have mostly been re-developed and may have lost much of their archaeological potential, and are not likely to be available for future archaeological research.

In the short term, the conservation of archaeological remains on NPWS land is unproblematic. The only issue in terms of site stability is any erosion occurring on the Military barracks site (G1) in Area 2. It is evident from our research that artefacts have been washing down slope for the past thirty years at least, and no doubt longer. The diversion of run off is desirable, however this is not straightforward as the exact location of deposits is currently unclear. A program of vegetation reduction, site survey and perhaps test excavation would be required to plan for run off diversion.

In the medium and longer term conservation issues arise with the need to interpret the site, to locate interpretive and other infrastructure, and perhaps carry out excavation for research purposes. At this stage it would be prudent to develop interpretive infrastructure which requires minimal if any excavation, perhaps locating bases in concrete and mounding introduced soil to cover them.

Excavation, display and in situ conservation

The brief for this study requested a consideration of the exposure and display of archaeological remains. Excavation and display of archaeological artefacts and remains requires expert conservation advice and ongoing maintenance. Display of long buried features *in situ* is almost always an expensive proposition requiring stabilisation of material, inhibition of mould and fungal growths, the control of ground conditions regarding movement of water and salts, and so on. Excavated artefacts also require the commitment of resources to identify them, research their

importance and to conserve them over the long term. Such artefacts often require special storage arrangements.

However, public benefits are seen to ensue from this process. A recent example of a site that was excavated in a public excavation, with full community access, and then conserved and interpreted *in situ*, is the site of Dawes Point Battery, under the Harbour Bridge in Sydney's Rocks district. The conservation issues associated with display of the MGHS are however, likely to be more akin to those encountered at the site of First Government House (the Museum of Sydney). Whereas Dawes Point Battery was largely built of stone, the First Government House (FGH) was constructed of sandstock bricks, like many of the MGHS buildings. These bricks are extremely fragile and need a more controlled environment for display. At FGH special environments were created for the display of remains, but conservation problems continue to dog these displays. Our inspection of the bricks at MGHS, and our knowledge of the ways in which buildings were constructed there (ie from soft brick, timber, pise or rammed earth, with thatched or shingled rooves) strongly suggests that these remains will not stand up to exposure and display.

An implication of this finding is that any excavation on the site will require a backfill, stabilisation and conservation strategy, to ensure remains are conserved *in situ*. It also suggests that any excavation should be widely promoted and the community given ample opportunity to view remains while exposed.

Excavation is in itself an important form of public access to an archaeological site. While physical access of the public to an in-progress excavation must be carefully controlled, this can be managed by ensuring that any excavation project includes provision for a high quality program for visitors. As no access is currently available to the site, and as established above no archaeological remains can be left exposed following excavation, future excavation should not restrict the obligation to provide access to the site.

Moveable Heritage

A number of artefacts associated with the MGHS are known informally (the Wellington fire station bell, and a shovel, in a private collection of convict tools) however detailed research on such items has been beyond the scope of this study. There are also perhaps further items collected over the years from the site in private ownership. Neal Blake (president Historical Society) suggested that people might wish to return such items if there is a safe and appropriate place for them to be displayed.

Further, if excavation were carried out on the site, the artefacts produced would need care and storage. Several stakeholders expressed the belief that items of moveable heritage should remain

in the Wellington district, but acknowledged the requirement for a safe and appropriate place to keep them. An interpretive facility may be a long-term option for the MGHS, in the mean time any excavation, or offer of returned moveable heritage, will have to be assessed in terms of the suitability of arrangements which can be made for storage.

Landscape and Views

In section 4 we identified significant views and aspects of the landscape. Conservation issues arising from this aspect of significance include the need to protect the visual catchment of MGHS, as identified in Figure 4.26. Seeking an appropriate zoning of this area with the Wellington Council would help meet this conservation objective in the long term. Low-rise, low-density development would continue to be appropriate in this area. Industrial or large-scale developments would need to be carefully considered in terms of visual impacts. In some cases screen planting and landscaping may help to mitigate visual impacts.

A further issue for views from the site is the line of trees along the western boundary of Area 1 (Figure 7.2). These should be removed to enhance this significant and historic view, which has great potential for site interpretation. Trees should be removed by cutting back to a stump and poisoning. Stumps should not be removed because this would destroy any archaeological remains in the vicinity.

The link between MGHS and the Old Wellington cemetery could also be strengthened to enhance the significance and interpretation of MGHS. This site is included in Figure 4.26's Archaeological Values zone, but the value of the cemetery site obviously far exceeds simply archaeological value. Further research should be undertaken on the Cemetery so that it can be better understood and its links with MGHS interpreted.

7.8 Management Issues

Rubbish removal

As we stated above the significance of MGHS makes it very important that the site appears to be cared for and well managed. Rubbish, largely discarded building materials, has accumulated on the site over the years. Rubbish removal is a major priority in this objective.

Area 1 – (Figure 7.2) near Government house area, a heap of abandoned metal makes it difficult to slash, encourages snakes, and is dangerous and unsightly. These should be removed.

The pile of bricks in this area should be maintained *in situ* at present, but could be moved as a part of planned archaeological investigation. The bricks should be maintained on site and conserved and used for interpretative purposes as suggested below.

Area 2 also suffers from rubbish accumulations around the abandoned building sites.

Area 3 (Figure 7.3) – This accumulation of material should be removed from the site.



Figure 7.1 Extant structure in Area 2.



Figure 7.2 Metal refuse and trees in Area 1.



Figure 7.3 Refuse in Area 3.



Figure 7.4 Signage in Area 2.

Vegetation management

Weeds

Vegetation growth is a major management issue for MGHS. Weeds such as Patterson's Curse and variegated thistle abound on the site. Thistle obscured the site in 1975/6 when Pearson visited, and in 1997 when Mulvay visited, so this is not a recent problem. Nevertheless a gradual program of poisoning and replanting with native grasses would enhance the site and contribute to weed management in the area. As well as weed reduction, vegetation should be controlled to reduce fire hazard, and reduce habitat for pests and undesirable animals. It will also assist with site interpretation.

Slashing

During the course of research for this CMP, slashing was undertaken in several areas. While slashing may be acceptable in parts of the site, repeated slashing using a heavy vehicle, will cause compaction and conflation of surface artefacts, shattering of bricks etc. Slashing using a self propelled slasher, or a small slasher towed behind an all terrain vehicle fitted with balloon tires, would be acceptable when slashing is urgently required.

Burning

Burning off is another vegetation management option. This has the disadvantage of undesirable visual impact, and the problem of smoke and subsequent airborne ash for neighbours. The impact of fire on archaeological remains is unknown, but it is likely that burning would crumble sandstock bricks. Burning is not considered a desirable management option for these reasons.

Grazing

Grazing is another vegetation management option. Sheep are likely to have a minimal impact on the archaeological sites as long as overgrazing does not occur, resulting in erosion. Visitors generally find grazed sites attractive and welcoming. 'Crash' (intensive) grazing in spring may be a useful way to reduce spring and summer growth. Grazing of course requires maintained fences and water. Water (town water) is available in Area 2 and should be readily available in Areas 1 and 3. A contract with a local stockowner, for limited grazing of the site in spring, and other times of the year as required, may be a possibility, rather than NPWS having to manage its own stock. In tandem with a weed reduction and re-planting program, the need for grazing should reduce over the medium to long term.

Monitoring of vegetation management options

To ensure the best possible vegetation management strategy is adopted, a monitoring procedure should be implemented. A monitoring procedure based upon field observations before and after all vegetation management actions is set out in Appendix 1.

Fire management

Vegetation reduction will greatly reduce fire hazard, however a fire management plan should be put in place in order to mitigate potential impacts, especially on new infrastructure and of course neighbouring properties.

Fences

The existing drilled wooden fence posts and added barbed wire are in variable state of repair. As part of on-going maintenance, posts need re-seating, and barbed wire replaced with tensioned

wire, for reasons of safety and appearance. Existing timber posts should be maintained where possible and replaced with timber where needed.

Management / Maintenance regime

In the short term, catch up maintenance is required in the areas outlined above. In the medium and longer term a management/maintenance cycle should be instituted for vegetation management and infrastructure maintenance.

Vandalism in the Local area

The NPWS site register records some past problems with vandalism and burning of carved trees and scarred trees (eg carved tree site no 36-4-4 was burnt in about 1986 after fencing and a sign were erected by NPWS). This may be an issue for future infrastructure erected on the site. It is recommended that NPWS contact neighbours, police and community groups to assist in managing this potential problem.

7.9 Future Uses

The heritage significance of MGHS means that it must retain its integrity as a complete landscape remnant. To achieve this, it should not be broken up for a range of uses or purposes. At this time, the notion of an interpretive centre, carefully designed and sited, appears to be suitable for the site, and for the promotion of its cultural significance. There appear to be two prime locations for such a development.

- 1. The disturbed part of Area 2 adjacent to the Mitchell Highway; as it is right on the highway, development here would be visible to passers by.
- 2. The eastern end of Area 1. This is an access point that takes visitors directly to a prominent vantage point and to a key interpretive location.

The following principles must guide planning for any such development:

- An interpretive facility should relate directly to the local, state and national cultural significance of the place and reflect it in all its complexity.
- Both sites described above would require archaeological testing and excavation, to ensure they are not archaeologically significant, before development.
- An interpretive facility could take on a range of forms and functions. As well as assessing the consistency of any proposal with this CMP, the Burra Charter, with stakeholder consultation and with the cultural significance of the place generally, proposals should also be subject to a feasibility analysis covering community, NPWS and commercial issues, and cultural and social benefits.

- Development should not obscure the original topography of the site or key views of that topography.
- In keeping with the area, development should be low rise and small scale.
- Development must be a high quality, contemporary but sympathetic design.

Access, Parking and Signage

The site is well provided for in terms of access, being right on the highway, with two cross streets adjacent to Areas 1 and 2, and ample pull over space near Area 3. There is also an existing bicycle path from the town that goes to the site, which could be promoted. Roadside parking should be adequate in the short term, but as interpretive facilities are installed, provision for further parking will be required. The eastern end of Area 1 could support a small parking area adjacent to the interpretive facility discussed below, but it will need to be assessed in terms of sub-surface archaeological deposits and their significance assessed.

Directional signage is required to the north and south on the Mitchell highway. A site specific, signage 'logo' or emblem would assist in identification and promotion of the place.

7.10 Research, Archiving and Documentation

MGHS has outstanding research potential and NPWS should support and encourage future research. Research that feeds into interpretive initiatives is particularly important, while all researchers should be required to produce publicly accessible products from their work.

Research materials amassed by NPWS relating to the site should be archived. In particular, in the short term NPWS should approach surveyor Jeff Wilson to discuss access to his topographic maps of the site.

In accordance with the Burra Charter, all research and conservation actions should be appropriately documented and archived for the future.

7.11 Interpretation Issues

Wellington proclaims itself as a 'heritage town', and its streets of old buildings and dense historical society museum have considerable charm and interest. At the same time, the heritage presented to the visiting public depicts almost exclusively the settlers' side of the region's history. *Maynggu Ganai* HS is a rare place in that its significance relates to both white and black occupations and interactions – not always a very happy story - but one that represents the real history that has shaped subsequent Australian society. These days there is the possibility that *Mayngu Ganai* HS can be a place that acknowledges both histories as elements of a shared Australian heritage, the path forward desired by many – though it has to be said, not by all.

This discussion surveys the interpretation needs and possibilities of MGHS. Its history has been known in broad outline and it has been marked for many years by a roadside sign noting the historic presence there of a convict settlement dating from 1823. The site's acquisition by NPWS introduces the beginning of a new and structured approach to its interpretation.

The site is not an easy place to interpret. Its physical remains are largely subterranean and apparent only in the surface scatter of brick and stone. Located in several overgrown paddocks, it has no attractive feature other than the view towards the mountains to the west. Its history can be read as utter failure, though 'reading against the grain' reveals some surprising and relevant ideas about the interactions of the convict and mission settlements with local Wiradjuri people in the 1820s-40s.

As the interface between history and the public, heritage interpretation at *Maynggu Ganai* is a considerable challenge.

7.12 Market analysis

Current visitation to Wellington

Some 47,000 people visit Wellington every year (Gretchen Hood, Tourism Services Manager, Wellington City Council, email, 23.3.04). The demography and psychography of these visitors is well understood, thanks to the 2003 *Tourism Market Report for Central West NSW*. It shows that Wellington visitors are overwhelmingly in the prime of life: 30s to 50s, and 80% of them are visiting with partner, children (only 18%) or friends. More than half are on a touring holiday taking in Dubbo and Mudgee, plus another quarter who are visiting friends and relatives. 70% take in the Wellington caves. Almost all travel by car, and stay in Wellington an average of 1.7 nights as they swing through the Central West region. 35% come from Sydney and 42% from the rest of NSW, which makes it reasonable to frame site interpretation in a state perspective without further national detail.

A good half of Wellington visitors are characterised by tourism researchers as 'compatriots', people who are keen to see Australia and know its geography and history. The remainder are equally divided between 'wanderers', 'true travellers' and 'groupies': people for whom the process of travelling is more important (though for differing reasons) than the destination. Nearly half of Wellington visitors take a guided tour (almost certainly of the caves), suggesting that they may be open to an organised trip around a theme. Other leisure activities they enjoy that may be relevant

to a visit to MGHS are a short walk or stroll (36%), though only 10% are interested in visiting heritage sites as such.

3/4 of Wellington visitors seek information at the Visitor Information Centre, and 41% rely on brochures obtained thereabouts, indicating that they are experienced tourists who are alert and responsive to information opportunities. The MGHS is likely to recruit most visitors via a presence in the Visitor Information Centre.

At the Oxley Museum, staff members are of the opinion that their visitors are definitely interested in the heritage of the town and region and would be very likely to call in at MGHS if there were something to see there. The Society has no figures to rely on, but feels that visitation cycles between a few per day and sometimes twenty or thirty, which might be averaged out to perhaps 2000 visitors p.a.

Potential markets

Visitors to Wellington are significantly out to entertain themselves by touring to experience Australian geography and history in a regional context. This makes MGHS a valuable addition to the town's tourism resources, for local visitors are known to be inclined to seek information and to follow it up. Heritage sites as such are not a high priority on the must-see list, which is led by Wellington Caves, but some 20% of visitors to the town could be expected to visit MGHS if they can find out about it. This suggests annual visitation of about 9400, concentrated at holiday periods.

Cultural heritage tourism is a slowing market in Australia today. This suggests that the growth segment of potential visitors to MGHS lies in more thoroughly informing existing cultural/heritage tourists about new access and services on the site.

Thematic heritage trails within the town and region could encourage visitation to MGHS on a variety of topics, from convicts and pioneers to the idea of a shared black-white Australian heritage.

Complementary and competitive functions

There are few destination sites in Wellington apart from the Caves. Even if primarily motivated to visit the spectacular geology en route to Dubbo, visitors are generally in holiday mode and with appropriate advertising, they could be interested in stopping off at MGHS.

The interpretation strategy developed here is conscious that the heritage assets of Wellington constitute an important resource in attracting tourists to the area, and therefore is oriented chiefly to visitors with some interest in history.

7.13 Key Issues in Interpreting the Site

Short-term and long-term needs

The physical resource is almost entirely buried, with barely meaningful scatters of brick and stone visible. Nonetheless, having taken the site into the NPWS portfolio, it would be pointless not to interpret it to the public in the short-term.

MGHS is of exceptional research interest as a place of black-white cultural exchange to be discovered from its archaeology. It is possible that future research will provide a much more detailed understanding of the site than now obtains. In the long-term, this would enable MGHS to be interpreted quite intensively.

Further, in the very long term, there are both dreams and real possibilities of a much larger interpretive scheme, around the focus of an interpretative centre surveying the shared history of the site and links from the past into the present cultures of the Wellington district. This kind of project could find funding from specific state and federal programs, but would need to share an Indigenous focus with a non-Indigenous consciousness and purpose to realise the heritage significance of the site. Some guidelines for such a project are given in Section 7.9.

Access

Maynggu Ganai is well located for visitor access, being on the main road into Wellington. Access to the site is logically from the top (NE) side of Area 1, inviting visitors to stroll over the crest to take in the significant view to the SW which is discussed in Section 4. However, the site's vegetation must be managed to a) make it look like a legitimate place to visit; b) make the surface scatters visible; and c) reduce the snake risk.

Supervision and maintenance of site

For the purposes of interpretation at this stage, it is envisaged that the site will remain unattended, but that maintenance will be carried out regularly.

7.14 Media Concepts

Site constraints and opportunities

The MGHS is a fairly uninviting place, presenting as a couple of bare paddocks exposed to sun and wind, in which the heritage fabric is largely invisible. The stories to be interpreted here will draw on the cultural landscape viewed from the hill, but will need to be carried by a quantum of media infrastructure.

For all its bareness, the site contains valuable archaeological remains which require awareness for protection. The interpretive structures proposed below should not be placed directly on the archaeological remains.

Since the site is on the outer edge of town and is not managed by any on-site presence, its interpretation must be stand-alone and durable, resistant to weather and vandalism, and suitable for minimal maintenance.

Media constraints and opportunities

Even the best composed and designed interpretive material can communicate only so much of a complex history. It is almost impossible to pare down such a story to dimensions suitable for signage-type interpretation without sacrificing content, contest and context.

Thanks to the work of Dr Hilary Carey and Dr David Roberts, the history of the Wellington Mission and its preceding use as a convict out station is well understood and remarkably accessible on the internet. This opens up the opportunity to present detailed and perhaps alternative histories on the web, for access by visitors with a more demanding interest in the subject than tourist passers-by.

7.15 Interpretive media

a) Structure with text panels

We propose a structure which will offer some shelter to visitors, while also carrying label text and illustrations, and suggesting the layout and shape of the Government cottage. The structure would reproduce the NE corner of the brick house and veranda shown in the Augustus Earle watercolour 'Wellington valley, NSW, looking east from Government House' (NLA pic T62 NK12/24). The structure would have both a corner of verandah (with verandah posts) and a corner of shingled house-roof, giving two sheltered sides of walls for panels. This could be constructed simply and relatively cheaply.

Panels might be of etched metal. They would carry the theme statements identified below, together with some of the relevant historic pictures and plans of the site.

A possibility is a freestanding metal figure or silhouette of the Wiradjuri man in Earle's watercolour above and detailed in 'Native of NSW from Wellington Valley' (NLA pic T71 NK

12/33). The risk is that an unprotected statue/silhouette might become a target for vandalism. Local opinion and community consultation should be sought on the viability/desirability of this suggestion.

The row of scrubby trees growing on the fence line to the west of the site –should be removed because they interrupt the view across the rivers to the mountains, the cultural landscape which joins Earle's historic images to the modern visitor's experience.

b) Plantings to indicate the location of archaeological structures

This concept was proposed by Meredith Walker in a report to Anne Bickford in 2000 (cited in NPWS files). This would be a vivid but low-key medium to indicate the extent of the convict and mission establishments, and aspects of their landscape.

This idea has many attractive features and it is feasible that shallow rooted, flowering ground covers could be planted in formations representing site layout. Planting would need to be in introduced soil, over archaeological areas. The main question mark here arises from the need to water plantings, and the impact of increased soil moisture on archaeological remains. It would also be necessary to base the design of any such interpretative scheme on a more refined understanding of the site, based on archaeological excavation. Excavation could also be accompanied by a physical assessment of the archaeological deposits, to determine wether or not increased soil moisture would cause adverse impacts.

Pending answers to these questions this is an attractive future option, and plantings could be easily lifted aside for future research excavation, and then quickly re-planted over backfilled sites.

Further plantings, such as recreations of the convict establishment garden, perhaps based on archaeological evidence, would demonstrate the purpose and extent of historic use of the site. Gardens, however, are high maintenance works and may be inappropriate for MGHS.

c) Cairn of brick fragments to represent archaeological potential

To make the connection between the largely invisible history of the site and its substantial archaeological potential, and to stress the role of heritage management in conserving and studying it, we suggest a low fence-frame around a cairn of brick fragments. It would carry one or more panels describing the historical and archaeological research already carried out, and the possibilities of further archaeology. It would explain the need for care of the site and the role of NPWS management.

d) Website

We suggest that a website could be a crucial element in interpreting MGHS, in order to present the extensive historical material available, although we recognise that websites are costly to develop. The research and educational values of this site are such that NPWS may be able to collaborate with another institution to realise this potential for interpretation. The archival web site developed by Carey and Roberts, and supported by the University of Newcastle, could perhaps be extended, or linked to a site that concentrates more on the heritage significance of the place in its entirety.

7.16 Thematic Guidelines

Central theme statement

The relevant topics listed in the various apparatus of official historic themes, both state and national, are blunt instruments to delineate the significance of MGHS. 'Peopling Australia', 'Developing economies', 'Working' etc in the Commonwealth Historic Themes say little. The NSW themes are slightly more promising, including 'Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures', but even this is not comprehensive in framing the site's statement of significance. Hence the following is proposed as the central theme statement for site interpretation:

"Encounters between Wiradjuri people and European convicts, missionaries and settlers at Maynggu Ganai historic site encapsulate the tangle of New South Wales's shared social history in the 1820s-40s."

or in fancier language:

"The encounter between Wiradjuri people and European convicts, missionaries and settlers at the place now called Maynggu Ganai Historic site represents the entangled history of intercultural relations in New South Wales, 1820s-40s."

Sub-themes and story lines

a) 1820s encounters between Wiradjuri and colonists were sometimes fierce, sometimes friendly, but almost always stressed by competition for resources.

Wiradjuri people have occupied western NSW for thousands of years. Their country, west of the Blue Mountains, was sought by European settlers from about 1820 for farming and grazing. The fertile landscape of the Bell and Macquarie Rivers supported both agriculture and grazing.

Settlers and their animals moved in permanently to watered places, hoping to make good. But they disturbed Wiradjuri hunting and became angry when Wiradjuri attempted to kill cattle and sheep for food. Around Bathurst, the Wiradjuri resistance to white settlement became so fierce that Governor Brisbane declared martial law 1824. In the Wellington valley, however, Wiradjuri and white settlers coexisted fairly peaceably in the 1820s.

Illustrations:

- Augustus Earle, 'Road over the Blue Mountains'
- Lt Percy Simpson, 'Wellington Valley' 1823, in letter Simpson to Goulburn, 12,8.1823 (CSIL 4/1818) [Roberts 2000a, p.46]
- b) The 1823 convict establishment at Wellington was a remote gaol, opening up semi-controlled contact between Wiradjuri, convicts and their guards.

Wellington was the most western outpost of government authority in NSW until the 1850s. It was planned as part of a system to use convicts as pioneers in newly-settled territory.

First, it was a successful farm enterprise, with 80 convicts and some guards. They grew crops, fenced paddocks, made bricks and built 40 buildings on this site. Wiradjuri people appear to have been interested in and curious about the settlement. Inevitably, despite orders to the contrary, the convicts and guards sought sexual liaisons with Wiradjuri women.

The convict settlement nearly shut down in 1827, but revived as a small prison-farm for educated and gentlemen convicts. It was soon found to be uneconomic and closed in 1830.

Illustrations:

- Detail of huts in Augustus Earle, 'Wellington valley, NSW, looking east from Government House', 1826 (NLA pic T62 NK12/24).
- Extract of map attributed to Lt Percy Simpson (SRNSW map 1165) Figure 4.1.
- Detail of unprepossessing convicts in Augustus Earle, 'A government jail gang, Sydney NSW', 1830 (NLA pic S48 etc)
- c) The Christian Mission which took over the convict establishment in 1832 had some good intentions towards Aboriginal people, but it wasn't what Wiradjuri wanted.

The Church Missionary Society took over the settlement in 1832, making it one of the earliest missions in NSW. Its aim was to convert 'uncorrupted' Aboriginal people, but the local Wiradjuri were already engaging with new settlers. This reality undermined the missionary objective from the beginning.

The Mission offered food and blankets, as well as medical aid and refuge for women. Few Wiradjuri preferred European-style residence and religion to traditional ways of life.

Three missionaries and their wives lived on the site. Unfortunately for the stability of the Mission, they had violent disagreements with each other. One minister left; another was eventually dismissed; the last departed when government funds were withdrawn in 1843.

Illustrations:

- 1838 plan of site, enclosed in Cowper to Colonial Secretary, 5.4.1838 (SRNSW 4/2831.1)
- Possibly use detail of woman in Augustus Earle, 'A native family of NSW sitting down on an English settler's farm', 1826 (NLA pic T83 NK 12/45) – seek community opinion.

d) Wiradjuri and white settlers continue to coexist, creating a shared heritage at the place now called Maynggu Ganai.

The growing white presence in the Wellington district squeezed Wiradjuri off their traditional country. Some coexisted with whites by working as guides, hunters, bark-cutters and shepherds. Wiradjuri people survived and actively maintained the old culture.

Disease, not violence, caused most damage to Aboriginal culture. An epidemic of smallpox swept through Wiradjuri lands in late 1830, killing perhaps a third of the people, who unlike Europeans, had no immunity.

By this time, Wiradjuri had learned much about the invaders. The relatively self-contained convict establishment was a gentler introduction than in many other places, and the Mission also offered a degree of peaceful interaction.

Wiradjuri and white settlers now shared lives, though it was very unequal sharing. Settlers drew on Wiradjuri knowledge of and attachment to country to establish farms. Wiradjuri adapted European lifestyles and continued to maintain and create their own cultural identity.

Illustrations:

• Augustus Earle, 'Native of NSW from Wellington valley', 1826 (NLA pic T71 NK 12/33)

e) Panel no.1 on cairn fence-frame: The remains can speak...

Little but rubble is visible today of either the Convict Establishment or the Mission. Yet under the ground surface are the foundations, drains, and pits that settler-Australians constructed to service their built environment. The bricks themselves represent an enormous quantity of labour, for they were made of clay from the river flats. Now decayed are the thousands of timber posts, rails and slabs cut from the surrounding bush for walls and fences.

There are likely to be occupation deposits of the small detritus of everyday life, such as pins, buttons, coins, glass and china fragments etc. They can reveal information about the convicts, guards, Aboriginal people and missionaries who inhabited or visited this place in the 1823-43 period.

f) Panel no.2 on cairn fence-frame: Heritage for the future

Local people value this site highly because it represents the history of the town of Wellington's beginnings and their connections into the present day.

Archaeologists have conducted several surveys of the site in the past thirty years, establishing that elements of the convict and mission buildings survive here.

It is vital that the site should be protected for future archaeological investigation. Please do not disturb the bricks and stones scattered on the surface.

g) Panel no. 3 relating to the 'Augustus Earle view': Significant for all Australians

Looking over the beautiful Bell River valley today we can still see the fertile river flats, rolling hills and distant mountains as Augustus Earle depicted them in 1826.

In his depiction of the Wiradjuri warrior in the recently 'Europeanised' landscape, even in 1826, Earle seems to hint at the way two different worlds have come together in this place.

Maynggu Ganai Historic site's unique history of European and Indigenous interaction on the early frontier of NSW makes it a place of significance for all Australians, as we continue to understand the tangled colonial past.

Illustration:

Augustus Earle, 'Wellington valley, NSW, looking east from Government House', 1826 (NLA pic T62 NK12/24)



8.1 Vision

Maynggu Ganai Historic Site conserved, interpreted and cared for by NPWS and the community as a symbol of an entangled colonial heritage and a shared future.

8.2 Mission

The mission of this CMP is to provide NPWS and the community with a dynamic, sustainable and achievable conservation management process based on community partnerships, appropriate interpretation, ongoing research and a commitment to MGHS as a living, shared community place.

8.3 Long Term Outcomes

- Community management partnerships resourced and committed to by NPWS.
- Protection and conservation of MGHS and its heritage values.
- A sustainable management regime for vegetation control.
- A sustainable maintenance regime for site infrastructure.
- Ongoing research feeding interpretive products.
- Promotion of the site's cultural significance and as a visitor destination.
- Development of links for tourism and education.

8.4 Adopt and Endorse

This CMP will be exhibited for public comment and in its final form be submitted for adoption and endorsement by:

- The MGHS Community Focus Group
- NSW NPWS
- NSW Heritage Council

Strategy Wellington Council

Wellington Council should be presented with a copy of the report in order to assist them in their future planning for the larger part of the site outside NPWS management.

8.5 Compliance with Legislation

The management of MGHS will comply with the requirements of the NSW Heritage Act and the NSW NPW Act in the conservation of archaeological remains, Indigenous and non-indigenous cultural heritage.

The management of MGHS will comply with the requirements of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act. The NPWS will act as a determining authority for environmental impact assessments carried out for any proposed developments, seeking public comment and the implementation of best practice conservation standards.

8.6 Retention of Heritage Significance

The heritage significance of MGHS will be retained, respected and built upon by:

- Conservation of archaeological and landscape values,
- Interpretation,
- The realisation of its research potential,
- Community involvement and management partnerships, and
- The care and maintenance of the place.

The ICOMOS Burra Charter provides the framework for all conservation management actions.

8.7 Community Partnerships

In the management of MGHS, NPWS will commit to ongoing consultation and community partnerships, providing adequate resources and support for such partnerships.

Strategy Establish Ongoing Community Management Partnerships

The NPWS region should develop a formal agreement with a nominated group of community members to ensure on-going co-operative management of the site. The agreement must clearly set out the roles and responsibilities of all partners in relation to decision-making, conflicts of interest, terms of office and other issues of importance to members. The community group should be broadly representative of interest groups, following the model established by the Community Focus Group. Given the national significance of the site and its ability to demonstrate key contemporary issues in Australian

history and culture, it would be appropriate for the group to also include relevant members from the wider community.

Strategy Meeting the Neighbours

NPWS should meet with all neighbouring land owners to explain and discuss the implications of this CMP and address any concerns.

Strategy Reconciliation

NPWS should work with Wellington's Reconciliation Committee to launch this plan's exhibition for community comment and to use local events to promote this site in the context understanding local Indigenous/non-indigenous history.

Strategy Events for Community Involvement

NPWS should seize opportunities to link in with local community programs and events, such as Heritage Week, to provide community access to and education about MGHS.

Strategy Local Employment Programs.

NPWS will develop links with local employment programs, including Indigenous employment programs in order to undertake site works as set out in this CMP, such as fencing and vegetation management.

8.8 Conservation of Archaeological and Landscape Values

MGHS will be managed as a rare, intact archaeological landscape with outstanding research significance, and significant landscape and scenic values.

Strategy Manage as an Archaeological Landscape

MGHS is likely to contain an array of early colonial archaeological features, the location of which is unknown, management must approach the entire site as an archaeological landscape.

Strategy Archaeological Research

Archaeological research, undertaken in partnership with, and with the participation of, the local community may help realise and demonstrate the research significance and potential of MGHS. Well-developed and resourced research should be considered and supported by NPWS.

Strategy Archaeological Remains Conserved in situ

Any excavation on the site will ensure remains are conserved *in situ* and interpreted. This will require a backfill, stabilisation and conservation strategy for in situ remains.

Strategy Promote Research and Involve Community

Any archaeological excavation should be widely promoted and the community given ample opportunity to view remains while exposed.

Strategy Locating Infrastructure

As far as possible any site works or infrastructure installation should avoid excavation by locating bases in concrete over which earth is mounded.

Strategy Tree Removal

The existing line of trees on the western Boundary of Area 1 should be removed as they impinge on a significant view from the site.

Strategy Monitoring Erosion

Further research is required to understand active erosion processes around Archaeological Significance Zone 3 in Area 2. Erosion should be minimised through the redirection of run off if necessary.

Strategy Protecting Views and Landscape Values

Use the Service's objector rights under the EP and A Act to oppose any Development Applications, LEPS, rezoning applications or Development Control Plans which cause visual impacts in the Landscape/Scenic Values Zone (Figure 4.21).

8.9 Values of Surrounding Land

The heritage significance of the land surrounding MGHS (identified in Figure 4.26) will be promoted and conserved through appropriate interpretation, zoning and development control.

Strategy Seek Appropriate Zonings of Surrounding Lands

The land identified in Figure 4.26 should be zoned as a conservation area with provisions appropriate for the protection of its landscape and archaeological values. The existing scale of rural residential development is appropriate within this zone. Development which does not require major excavation should be promoted in the Archaeological Values Area.

Strategy Strengthen Link with Old Wellington Cemetery

Undertake further research on the Old Wellington Cemetery so that its links to MGHS can be better understood and explained through appropriate interpretation.

8.10 Care and Maintenance of the Place

MGHS will present a maintained and cared for appearance to reinforce appreciation and respect of its cultural values.

Strategy Vegetation Management Policy

A Vegetation Management Policy should be developed on the basis of field trialing of methods including:

- Slashing
- Burning
- Grazing Sheep

The Vegetation Management Policy should develop a Weed Control Strategy based on selective and gradual poisoning of noxious weeds and the introduction of appropriate native grasses.

Strategy Fencing

Fencing should be inspected and maintained on an annual cycle. Existing fencing requires re-seating of posts and replacement of barbed wire with tensioned wire. Existing timber posts should be retained where possible.

Strategy Rubbish Removal

Existing rubbish accumulations should be removed. The site should be inspected regularly and any further rubbish removed. Installation of 'no rubbish dumping' signs should be considered only if this continues as a problem.

Strategy Management/Maintenance Regime

As more active management of this place is recommended by this CMP, as well as the installation of interpretive infrastructure, it will be necessary to institute an annual management cycle covering all of the above strategies as well as the regular maintenance of infrastructure.

Strategy Vandalism

NPWS should contact neighbours, police and community groups to assist in managing this potential problem before new infrastructure is developed on the site.

8.11 Future Uses

Uses which contribute to the promotion of the heritage significance of MGHS and to the cultural life of the community should promoted. The heritage significance of MGHS means that it must retain its integrity as a complete landscape remnant. To achieve this objective, it should not be broken up for a range of uses or purpose.

Strategy Signage

Directional signage will be installed on the Mitchell Highway to the north and south. Appropriate Indigenous cultural protocols should be included on site signage, with community agreement.

A site emblem would assist in identifying and promoting the site.

Strategy Parking and Access

Off road parking may be supported in Area 1, eastern side, if assessment of sub surface deposits is favourable.

Strategy Interpretive Facility

The following principles must guide planning for any such development:

- An interpretive facility should relate directly to the local, state and national cultural significance of the place and reflect it in all its complexity.
- Both sites described above would require archaeological testing and excavation, to ensure they are not archaeologically significant, before development.
- An interpretive facility could take on a range of forms and functions. As well as assessing the consistency of any proposal with this CMP, the Burra Charter, with stakeholder consultation and with the cultural significance of the place generally, proposals should also be subject to a feasibility analysis covering community, NPWS and commercial issues, and cultural and social benefits.
- Development should not obscure the original topography of the site or key views of that topography.
- In keeping with the area, development should be low rise and small scale.
- Development must be a high quality, contemporary but sympathetic design.

8.12 Interpretation

The interpretation of *Maynggu Ganai* Historic Site will present the thematic historical meanings of the archaeological resource and the cultural landscape, in their community context. The interpretation will be framed by the context of a shared (if unequal) history of Wiradjurisettler contact on the site and thereabouts, as summarised in the central theme statement:

Encounters between Wiradjuri people and European convicts, missionaries and settlers at Maynggu Ganai encapsulate the tangle of New South Wales's shared social history in the 1820s-40s.

Strategy Interpretive Themes

The following themes express the site's significance:

- 1820s encounters between Wiradjuri and colonists were sometimes fierce, sometimes friendly, but almost always stressed by competition for resources.
- The 1823 convict establishment at Wellington was a remote gaol, opening up semicontrolled contact between Wiradjuri and convicts and their guards.
- The Christian Mission which took over the convict establishment in 1832 had good intentions towards Aboriginal people, but it wasn't what Wiradjuri wanted.
- Wiradjuri and white settlers learned to coexist, creating a shared history at the place now called *Maynggu Ganai*.
- The remains can speak...
- Heritage for the future
- Significant for all Australians

Strategy Interpretation Plan

While this CMP aims to provide several options for development, a full interpretation plan is required for MGHS.

Strategy Site Brochure

Develop a MGHS brochure and make it available at The Wellington Visitor Centre, Dubbo Gaol, Wellington Caves, local hotels and motels etc.

Strategy Website

The complexity of the story of *Maynggu Ganai* merits the further interpretive device of a dedicated website to make more detailed research accessible to interested visitors.

Strategy Markets and Links

Cross promotional opportunities for MGHS should be investigated with regional tourism networks.

Strategy Discovery Tours

Interpretive Walking Tours of MGHS, or links with themed regional tours, should be developed through NPWS Discovery Project, and should involve local Indigenous and non-indigenous community members as guides and custodians. Tours could also draw on the many expert researchers whose work has been cited in this CMP.

Strategy Interpretive Structures

Install two low-key structures to support interpretative signage: in Area 1, a structure to mimic the corner of Government House, and nearby a fence frame, supporting signage, around a cairn of bricks representing archaeological potential.

Strategy Interpretive Planting

Use non-invasive, attractive plants, planted in introduced soil, to represent the scale and location of site features.

Strategy Long Term Interpretive Developments

On the basis of ongoing research, develop an Interpretation Plan to extend interpretation of the site. Extensions could range from landscape trails to a full scale interpretive centre.

8.13 Research

The outstanding research potential of MGHS requires that NPWS develop, support and encourage appropriate research, in consultation with the community.

Strategy Disseminate Research Results

Research should be made publicly available in Plain English.

Strategy Develop new interpretive products on the basis of research Any research should feed the development of innovative heritage interpretation.

8.14 Archiving and Documentation

In accordance with the Burra Charter all research and conservation Actions will be appropriately documented and archived for the future.

Strategy Compiling Existing Research

NPWS should compile the existing research based upon MGHS. A priority here is the topographic maps prepared by Jeff Wilson.

8.15 Moveable Artefacts

Moveable heritage associated with MGHS should be documented and its location recorded. In the longer term a local repository for this material may be desirable.

Strategy Storage of Artefacts

Any excavation permit application, or offer of returned moveable heritage, will be assessed in terms of the suitability of arrangements which can be made for storage.

8.17 Plan Implementation

The Plan will be implemented in accordance with the schedule set out in Section 9.

8.18 Plan Review

A public and professional review of the CMP, including the assessment of significance and the Conservation Policy, should be undertaken in 5 years time ie 2009.



The following table takes the Conservation Policy (Section 8) and outlines implementation strategies, responsibilities and timeframes. This implementation strategy classifies activities in terms of short (1-2 years), medium (3-5 years) and long (5-10 years) term timeframes. Funding for the implementation of these plans and policies is competitive within the NPWS and other funding agency programs. In view of this, timeframes suggested here indicate the priority of actions, ie those given a 1 year time frame are considered to be urgent pending the allocation or attraction of funds for their implementation.

Abbreviations used in the Table:

RD	Regional Director
RM	Regional Manager
AM	Area Manager
AHU	Aboriginal Heritage Unit
R	Ranger
FO	Field Officers
CHD	Cultural Heritage Division, NPWS Head Office

Time Frame Short Medium Long	>	Ongoing
Strategy	Submit for Endorsement Submit for Endorsement Wellington Council Wellington Council Wellington Council should be presented with a copy of the report in order to assist them in their future planning for the larger part of the site outside NPWS management.	▶ Appropriate Heritage Listing NPWS should include this site on its S170 register and also nominate it for inclusion on the State Heritage Register.
Conservation Policy	8.4 Adopt and Endorse This CMP will be exhibited for public comment and in its final form be submitted for adoption and endorsement by: The MGHS Community Focus Group NSW Heritage Council NSW Heritage Council	8.5 Compliance with Legislation The management of MGHS will comply with the requirements of the NSW Heritage Act and the NSW NPW Act in the conservation of archaeological remains, Indigenous and non- indigenous cultural heritage. The management of MGHS will comply with the requirements of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act. The NPWS will act as a determining authority for environmental impact assessments, seeking public comment and the implementation of best practice conservation standards.

De	Medium Long	٠ ٠			>	
	Short	>	>			
Strategy Implement CMP		• Establish Ongoing Community Management Partnerships The NPWS region should develop a formal agreement with a nominated group of community members to ensure on-going co-operative management of the site. The agreement must clearly set out the roles and responsibilities of all partners in relation to decision-making, conflicts of interest, terms of office and other issues of importance to members. The community group should be broadly representative of interest groups, following the model established by the Community Focus Group. Given the national significance of the site and its ability to demonstrate key contemporary issues in Australian history and culture, it would be appropriate for the group to also include relevant members from the wider community.	▶ Reconciliation	NPWS should work with Wellington's Reconciliation Committee to launch this plan's exhibition for community comment and to use local events to promote this site in the context understanding local Indigenous/non-indigenous history.	▶ Events for Community Involvement NDWS should serve concernations to link in with local community	programs and events, such as Heritage Week.
Conservation Policy 8.6 Retention of Heritage Significance The heritage significance of MGHS will be retained, respected and built upon by: Conservation of arbaeological and landscape nalues, Interpretation, The realisation of its research potential, Community involvement and management partnerships, and The care and maintenance of the place. The ICOMOS Burra Charter provides the framework for all conservation management actions		8.7 Community Partnerships In the management of MGHS, NPWS will commit to ongoing consultation and community partnerships, providing adequate resources and support for such partnerships.				

Time Frame Medium Long		>		Ongoing		Ongoing		Ongoing)			Ň		
Short	110110	>	>							>	>	Ň	>	
Strategy	NPWS will develop links with local employment programs, including	Indigenous employment programs in order to undertake site works as set out in this CMP, such as fencing and vegetation management.	▶ Meeting the Neighbours NPWS should meet with all neighbouring land owners to explain and discuss the implications of this CMP and address any concerns.	▶ Archaeological Research Archaeological research, undertaken in partnership with, and with the participation of, the local community may help realise and demonstrate the research significance and potential of MGHS. Well-developed and	resourced research should be considered and supported by NPWS.	► Archaeological Remains Conserved <i>in situ</i>	Any excavation on the site will ensure remains are conserved <i>in situ</i> and interpreted. This will require a backfill, stabilisation and conservation strateory for in situ remains	Promote Research and Involve Community	Any archaeological excavation should be widely promoted and the community given ample opportunity to view remains while exposed.	As far as possible any site works or infrastructure installation should avoid excavation by locating bases in concrete over which earth is	mounded.	The existing line of trees on the western Boundary of Area 1 should be removed as they impinge on a significant view from the site.	• Monitoring Erosion Further research is required to understand active erosion processes	around Archaeological Significance Zone 3 in Area 2. Erosion should be minimised through the redirection of run off if necessary.
Conservation Policy				8.8 Conservation of Archaeological and Landscape Values MGHS will be managed as a rare, intact archaeological landscape with outstanding	research significance, and significant landscape and scenic values.									

Time Frame Ongoing	Short Medium Long	
Strategy Protecting Views and Landscape Values Use the Service's objector rights under the EP and A Act to oppose any Development Applications, LEPS, rezoning applications or Development Control Plans which cause visual impacts in the Landscape/Scenic Values Zone (Figure 4.21).	 Seek Appropriate Zonings of Surrounding Lands The land identified in Figure 4.21 should be zoned as a conservation area with provisions appropriate for the protection of its landscape and archaeological values. Existing scale of rural residential development is appropriate within this zone. Development which does not require major excavation should be promoted in the Archaeological Values Area. Strengthen Link with Old Wellington Cemetery Undertake further research on the Old Wellington Cemetery so that its links to MGHS can be better understood and explained through appropriate interpretation. 	 Vegetation Management Policy Vegetation Management Policy should be developed on the basis of field trailing of methods including: Slashing Slashing Burning Grazing Sheep Grazing Sheep The Vegetation Management Policy should develop a Weed Control Strategy based on selective and gradual poisoning of noxious weeds and the introduction of appropriate native grasses. Frencing Frencing should be inspected and maintained on an annual cycle. Existing fencing requires re-seating of posts and replacement of barbed wire with tensioned wire. Existing timber posts should be retained where possible.
Conservation Policy	8.9 Values of Surrounding Land The heritage significance of the land surrounding MGHS (identified in Figure 4.21) will be promoted and conserved through appropriate interpretation, zoning and development control.	8.10 Care and Maintenance of the Place MGHS will present a maintained and cared for appearance to reinforce appreciation and respect of its cultural values.

Time Frame Short Medium Long	Ongoing	>	> >	`
Strategy	• Management/Maintenance Regime As more active management of this place is recommended by this CMP, as well as the installation of interpretive infrastructure, it will be necessary to institute an annual management cycle covering all of the above strategies as well as the regular maintenance of infrastructure.	▶ Vandalism NPWS should contact neighbours, police and community groups to assist in managing this potential problem before new infrastructure is developed on the site	▶ Signage Directional signage will be installed on the Mitchell Highway to the north and south. Appropriate Indigenous cultural protocols should be included on site signage, with community agreement. A site emblem would assist in identifying and promoting the site.	▶ Parking and Access Off road parking may be supported in Area 1, eastern side if assessment of sub surface deposits is favourable.
Conservation Policy			8.11 Future Uses Uses which contribute to the promotion of the heritage significance of MGHS and to the cultural life of the community should promoted. The heritage significance of MGHS means that it must retain its integrity as a complete landscape remnant. To achieve this objective, it should not be broken up for a range of	uses or purpose.

Conservation Policy	Strategy		Time Frame	ame
	 Interpretive Facility 	Short	Medium	Long
	The following principles must guide planning for any such development:			>
	• An interpretive facility should relate directly to the local,			
	state and national cultural significance of the place and			
	reflect it in all its complexity.			
	Both sites described above would require archaeological			
	testing and excavation, to ensure they are not			
	archaeologically significant, before development.			
	• An interpretive facility could take on a range of forms and			
	functions. As well as assessing the consistency of any			
	proposal with this CMP, the Burra Charter, with			
	stakeholder consultation and with the cultural significance			
	of the place generally, proposals should also be subject to a			
	feasibility analysis covering community, NPWS and			
	commercial issues, and cultural and social benefits.			
	Development should not obscure the original topography			
	of the site or key views of that topography.			
	In keeping with the area, development should be low rise			
	and small scale.			
	Development must be a high quality contemporary but			
	sympathetic design.			

Time Frame Medium Long		>	>	>
Short	>			>
Strategy Interpretation Plan While this CMP aims to provide several options for development a full interpretation plan is required for MGHS.	▶ Site Brochure Develop a MGHS brochure and make it available at The Wellington Visitor Centre, Dubbo Gaol, Wellington Caves, local hotels and motels etc.	▶ Website The complexity of the story of <i>Maynggu Ganai</i> merits the further interpretive device of a dedicated website to make more detailed research accessible to interested visitors.	▶ Markets and Links Cross promotional opportunities for MGHS should be investigated with regional tourism networks.	▶ Discovery Tours Interpretive Walking Tours of MGHS, or links with themed regional tours, should be developed through NPWS Discovery Project, and should involve local Indigenous and non-indigenous community members as guides and custodians. Tours could also draw on the many expert researchers whose work has been cited in this CMP.
Conservation Policy 8.12 Interpretation The interpretation of Maynggu Ganai Historic Site will present the thematic historical meanings of the archaeological resource and the cultural landscape. The interpretation will be framed by the context of a shared (if unequal) history of Wiradjuri-settler contact on the site and thereabouts, as summarised in the central thereabouts, as summarised in the central thereabouts, as summarised in the central thereabouts, as summarised in the trangle of New South Wales's shared social history in the South Wales's shared social history in the South Wales's shared social history in the South Wales's shared social history in the				

Time Frame	- ·	>	Ongoing	Ongoing
Strateov	 Short Interpretive Structures Install two low-key structures to support interpretative signage: in Area 1, a structure to mimic the corner of Government House, and nearby a fence frame, supporting signage, around a cairn of bricks representing archaeological potential. 	 Interpretive Planting Use non-invasive, attractive plants, planted in introduced soil, to represent the scale and location of site features. Long Term Interpretive Developments On the basis of ongoing research, develop an Interpretation Plan to extend interpretation of the site. Extensions could range from landscape trails to a full scale Interpretation/ Cultural Centre or Keeping Place. 	▶ Disseminate Research Results Research should be made publicly available in Plain English.	Develop new interpretive products on the basis of research Any research should feed the development of innovative heritage interpretation.
Conservation Policy			8.13 Research The outstanding research potential of MGHS requires that NPWS develop, support and encourage appropriate research, in consultation with the community.	

Time Frame Ongoing	Ongoing	Short Medium Long	
Strategy Compiling Existing Research NPWS should compile the existing research based upon MGHS. A priority here is the topographic maps prepared by Jeff Wilson.	Storage of Artefacts Any excavation permit application, or offer of returned moveable heritage, will have to be assessed in terms of the suitability of arrangements which can be made for storage.		
Conservation Policy 8.14 Archiving and Documentation In accordance with the Burra Charter all research and conservation Actions will be appropriately documented and archived for the future.	8.15 Moveable Artefacts Moveable heritage associated with MGHS should be documented and its location recorded. In the longer term a local repository for this material may be desirable.	8.17 Plan Implementation The Plan will be implemented in accordance with the schedule set out in Service 0	8.18 Plan Review A public and professional review of the CMP, including the assessment of significance and the Conservation Policy, should be undertaken in 5 years time ie 2009.



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