Attachment 1 to Item 3.1.2.

Hawkesbury Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study 2021

Date of meeting: 3 July 2025
Location: Council Chambers
Time: 5:00pm

GML
HERITAGE

Hawkesbury LGA
Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study

Report prepared for Hawkesbury City Council—February 2021

Contents

Report Register

The following report register documents the development and issue of the report entitled Hawkesbury LGA Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study undertaken by GML Heritage Pty Ltd in accordance with its quality management system.

Job No.	Issue No.	Notes/Description	Issue Date
19-0569	1	Draft 1 (pre-inspection)	30 June 2020
19-0569	2	Draft 2 of report for Hawkesbury City Council Review	7 August 2020
19-0569	3	Draft 3 (RAP Review)	9 November 2020
19-0569	4	Final Report	11 January 2021
19-0569	5	Final report V2	5 February 2021
19-0569	6	Final Report V3	18 February 2021

There are two versions of this report: a public version, and a restricted version. The public version has the spatial information of sites redacted. This is the public version of the report.

Quality Assurance

GML Heritage Pty Ltd operates under a quality management system which has been certified as complying with the Australian/New Zealand Standard for quality management systems AS/NZS ISO 9001:2016.

The report has been reviewed and approved for issue in accordance with the GML quality assurance policy and procedures.

Copyright

Funding

This project was funded by the NSW Government through the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage grants program.

Contributors

This report was created with contributions from the following individuals and organisations:

Name	Affiliation	Role in project
Craig Johnson	Hawkesbury City Council	Head of Project Steering Committee
Meagan Ang	Hawkesbury City Council	Project Steering Committee
Andrew Kearns	Hawkesbury City Council	Project Steering Committee
Dr Nadia Iacono	GML Heritage	Project Director, Senior Associate, Archaeologist
Lara Tooby	GML Heritage	Project Manager, Archaeologist
Professor Stephen Gale	University of Sydney	Geomorphologist
Dr Madeline Shanahan	GML Heritage	Historian
Angela So	GML Heritage	Historian
Leonie Masson	GML Heritage	Historian
Talei Holm	GML Heritage	GIS
Angus Bowen	GML Heritage	Report Design
Sarah Trevor	GML Heritage	Editor
Sian Roberts	GML Heritage	Production and Administration
Marilyn Carroll-Johnson	Corroboree Aboriginal Corporation	RAP (Registered Aboriginal Parties) involved in site inspections / meeting
Celestine Everingham	Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Leanne Watson	Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporation	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Erin Wilkins	Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporation	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Tylah Blunden	Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporation	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Steve Randall	Deerubbin Local Aboriginal Land Council	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Cherie Carroll Turrise	Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Corporation	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Phil Kahn	Kamilaroi-Yankuntjatjara Working Group	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Chris Miller	Mad Mob Aboriginal Corporation	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Selina Timothy	Metro Local Aboriginal Land Council	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Kevin Telford	Metro Local Aboriginal Land Council	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Cagney Hedger	Metro Local Aboriginal Land Council	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Joshua Merr	Metro Local Aboriginal Land Council	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting
Suzie Worth	Wanaruah Local Aboriginal Land Council	RAP involved in site inspections / meeting

Terminology

Term	Definition
Aboriginal object	Statutory term under Section 5(1) of the National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974) meaning 'any deposit, object or material evidence (not being a handicraft made for sale) relating to the Aboriginal habitation of the area that comprises New South Wales, being habitation before or concurrent with (or both) the occupation of that area by persons of non-Aboriginal extraction, and includes Aboriginal remains'.
Alluvial	Sediments which have been eroded, reshaped by water in some form, and redeposited in a non-marine setting.
Anthropomorph	Stylised human (or human-like) figure.
Archaeology	The study of human past through material remains.
Archaeological Deposit	A place where archaeological remains have been deposited.
Country	For Aboriginal people, 'Country' does not just mean the creeks, rock outcrops, hills and waterholes. 'Country includes all living things. It incorporates people, plants and animals. It embraces the seasons, stories and creation spirits. "Country" is both a place of belonging and a way of believing.'[1]
Cumberland Plain	The low-lying plain of the round between Sydney and the blue Mountains' to 'The low-lying plain between Sydney and the Blue Mountains, covering most of western Sydney.
Diatreme	A volcanic vent produced in a solid rock structure by the explosive energy of gases in magmas.[2]
Geomorphology	The study of landforms, their processes, form and sediments at the surface of the Earth.[3]
Fluvial	Process of sediment movement caused by rivers and streams and the deposits and landforms created by them.
Hawkesbury Sandstone	Rock formation characterising the Blue Mountains World Heritage Area.
Headwaters	Headwaters are the source of a stream or river. They are located at the furthest point from where the water body empties or merges with another.
Holocene epoch	Geological period (influenced by climatic factors)—began 10,000 years ago and continues into the present.
Lithic	An artefact made of stone.
Occupation deposits	Archaeological deposits associated with human occupation of a site.
Open sites	Sites that are not enclosed in rock shelters, and are instead 'open' to the elements.
Plateau	In geology and physical geography, a plateau is an extensive area of relatively flat terrain raised significantly above the surrounding area.
Pleistocene epoch	Geological time period (influenced by climatic factors)—1.6 million–10,000 years ago.

Term	Definition
Registered Aboriginal Parties	Aboriginal people, Aboriginal organisations or their representatives who have registered an interest in being consulted for this project.
Songlines	Integral to Aboriginal spirituality, Songlines trace the journeys of ancestral spirits as they created the land, animals and lore. Songlines are deeply tied to the Australian landscape and provide important knowledge, cultural values and wisdom to Indigenous people.[5]
Stratigraphy	The layering of deposits (including sediments, rocks, artefacts etc) as the result of natural processes, human activity, or both.
Stratification	An arrangement or deposition of sediment in a sequence of layers (strata); the accumulated sequence of strata on an archaeological site. A succession of layers should provide a relative chronological sequence, with the earliest at the bottom and the latest at the top. Stratification is the basis for stratigraphy.
Terrains	A stretch of land, especially with regard to its physical features. [7]
Topography	The physical appearance of the natural features of an area of land, especially the shape of its surface.[8]

Figure 0.1 Geological time (used to understand time-scales used in geomorphology and archaeology sections). (Source: GML 2020)

Ma: Million years before present

1 Aboriginal Art & Culture, Alice Springs Australia, 'Our Country', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://www.aboriginalart.com.au/culture/tourism2.html>.

2 Dictionary.com, 'Diatreme', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/diatreme>.

3 British Society for Geomorphology, 'What is Geomorphology?', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://www.geomorphology.org.uk/what-geomorphology-0>.

4 Water Education Foundation, 'Headwaters', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://www.watereducation.org/aquapedia-background/headwaters#:~:text=Headwaters%20are%20the%20source%20of,empties%20or%20merges%20with%20another.>.

5 Malcolm, L and Willis, O, 2016, 'Songlines: the Indigenous memory code', ABC, Friday 8 July, viewed 31 July 2020 <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/allinthemind/songlines-indigenous-memory-code/7581788>.

6 Archaeology Wordsmith, 'Stratification', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://archaeologywordsmith.com/search.php?q=stratification>.

7 Lexico, 'Terrain', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://www.lexico.com/definition/terrain>.

8 Cambridge Dictionary, 'Topography', viewed 31 July 2020 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/topography>.

1.0 Introduction

Aboriginal cultural heritage encompasses the living, traditional or historical practices, ancestral remains, representations, expressions, beliefs, knowledge and skills—and associated environment, places, landscapes, objects and materials—valued by Aboriginal people as culturally meaningful.[1]

Hawkesbury City Council (HCC; Council) has commissioned GML Heritage (GML) to undertake an Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study (ACHS) in consultation with members of the local Aboriginal community.

This ACHS is the first comprehensive overview of Aboriginal cultural heritage to be undertaken for the Hawkesbury local government area (LGA). It commences with a geomorphological perspective on the development of the Hawkesbury landscape and a review of the known Aboriginal archaeological sites preserved within this ancient terrain.

A thematic history then addresses how invasion by Europeans of Darug and Darkinjung Lands resulted in a series of conflicts between 1788 and 1816 known collectively as the Hawkesbury and Nepean Wars. Such cross-cultural disputes continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through the segregation of Darug and Darkinjung onto the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve, one of the largest designated Aboriginal reserves in Sydney outside of La Perouse. This ACHS aims to acknowledge and understand such periods of violence and oppression within this dark history and the resulting complexity and diversity of current Aboriginal connections to the Hawkesbury today.

Contemporary perspectives of Aboriginal people are also captured in this study. The Traditional Custodians, Darug and Darkinjung, and other groups and individuals have been consulted during the preparation of this report to voice their views about how their cultural heritage should be acknowledged and conserved for future generations. The report concludes with the provision of pragmatic and achievable recommendations for the ongoing stewardship of Aboriginal cultural heritage in the Hawkesbury, in the form of specific immediate actions and future research projects. This ACHS is not an exhaustive document: it should be considered a baseline report which can be revised and built upon with increasing understanding, appreciation, and respect for the resonant Aboriginal cultural heritage of the Hawkesbury area.

This report is intended to be read by HCC councillors and Council workers who play a role in managing Aboriginal cultural heritage, local development, and community awareness initiatives. Sections of this report can also be disseminated into the broader community for the purposes of promoting Aboriginal cultural heritage, noting that no Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (AHIMS) results are to be released to the general public for display.

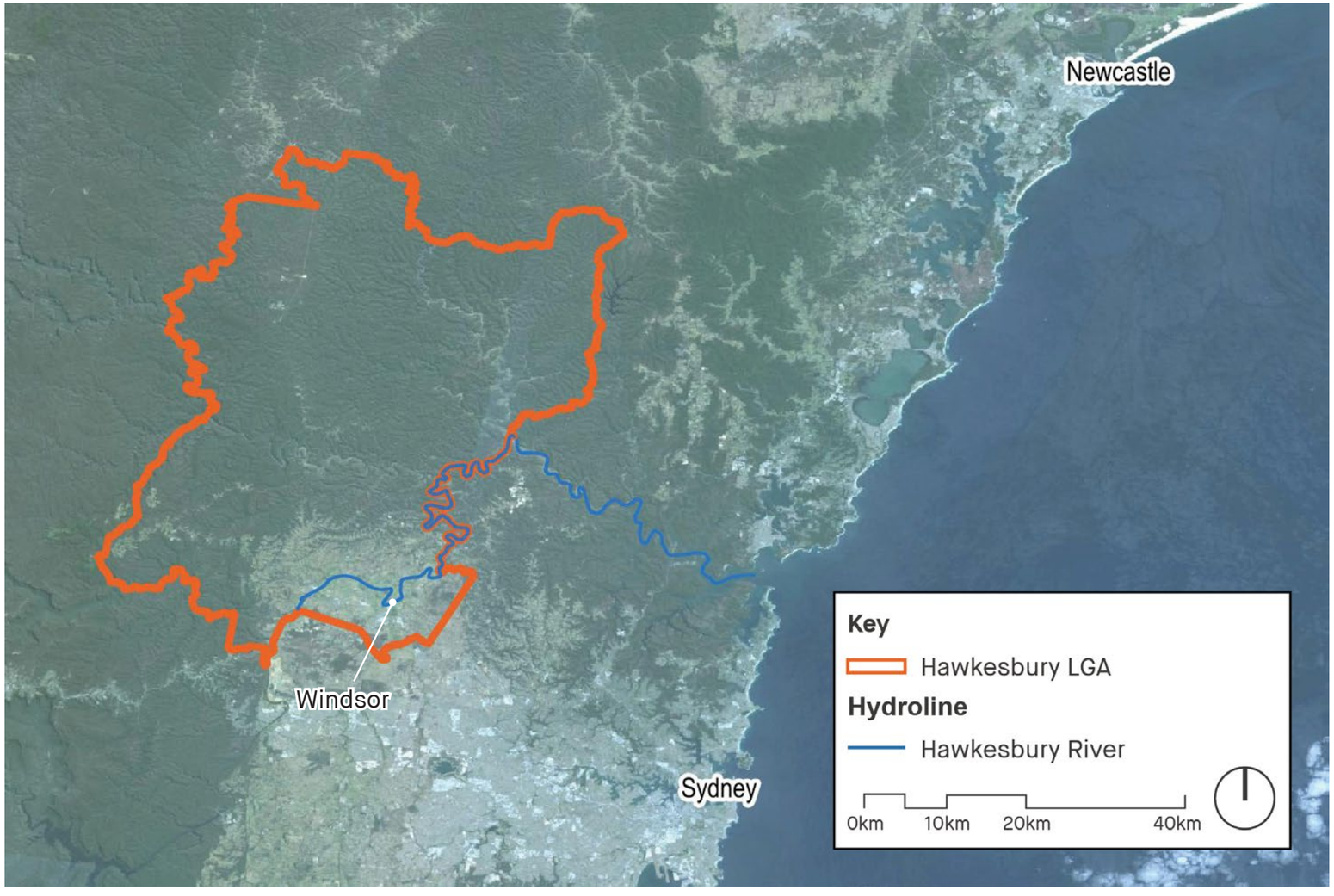


Figure 1.1 The Hawkesbury LGA is located between Sydney and Newcastle. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML additions)

1.1 Project Aims

The formal aims of the ACHS are to:

- map historical and contemporary Aboriginal cultural heritage sites with local Aboriginal advisory groups and communities in order to build up a picture of the Aboriginal cultural landscape of the study area;
- develop an approach to integrate Aboriginal cultural heritage into land use management systems; and
- establish a basis for communication between government, landowners and the community about Aboriginal heritage in the Hawkesbury LGA.

1.2 Structure of this Report

The ACHS is broken down into the following sections:

- **Introduction**—outlines the aims of the ACHS and establishes the study area for the report.
- **Geomorphological Record**—describes the creation of the Hawkesbury landscape, which is intrinsically linked to the preservation of ancient Aboriginal cultural heritage sites.
- **Archaeological Record**—looks into Aboriginal cultural heritage sites known to, or having potential to, occur in the Hawkesbury LGA.
- **Historical Record**—investigates Aboriginal cultural heritage described in written records from first contact to the present.
- **Aboriginal Community Consultation Record**—describes the input of the local Aboriginal community throughout the process of this study.
- **Sensitive Zones**—identifies and maps areas in the Hawkesbury that are known to be highly sensitive for Aboriginal cultural heritage, as defined in this study.
- **Heritage Management Recommendations**—addresses how HCC should manage the Aboriginal cultural heritage identified in this report in terms of future local development, ongoing conservation of vulnerable sites and places, and ongoing consultation with local Aboriginal community groups.
- **Implementation Plan**— outlines how management strategies should be implemented in the future, either as internal Council initiatives, independent projects, or incorporations into the next version of the ACHS.

1.3 Limitations

The following document is not a comprehensive cultural landscape study or Aboriginal history. Instead, it intended as a preliminary reference document that HCC can use to help with its planning processes and decision making. It also recommends future research projects that can be undertaken to promote, manage and preserve Aboriginal cultural heritage in the Hawkesbury LGA.

1.4 The Study Area—Hawkesbury Local Government Area

The Hawkesbury LGA is located 55 kilometres northwest of the Sydney CBD within the Hawkesbury River Valley (Figure 1.1). With an area of approximately 2,800 square kilometres, it is the largest LGA in the Sydney Basin geographically and is home to an estimated 66,136 people.[2] Two main topographic units make up the Hawkesbury study area—the Cumberland Plain, comprising the low-lying and highly developed southeast portion of the LGA,[3] and the Blue Mountains and Hornsby Plateau, comprising the sclerophyll forests that form the national parks in the region. River channels, which are all part of the Hawkesbury Nepean Catchment, weave throughout the Hawkesbury Sandstone and Cumberland Plain, creating deep alluvial terraces (Figure 1.2). The formation of these landscapes is discussed in detail in Section 2.0.

National parks comprise 80 per cent of the Hawkesbury LGA (Figure 1.3). Of these, the Blue Mountains, Wollemi and Yengo national parks form part of the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area. These national parks are not under the direct jurisdiction of the Hawkesbury LGA, but instead under the management of NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS). Although this study looks at Aboriginal cultural heritage throughout the LGA, it focuses on the areas under HCC jurisdiction,

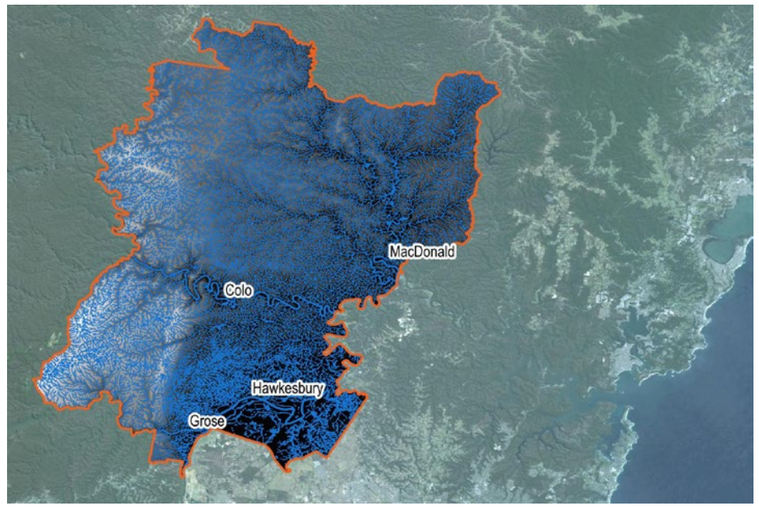


Figure 1.2 Digital elevation model (DEM) of the Hawkesbury, showing the low-lying Cumberland Plain (southeast of Hawkesbury LGA, shown in black) surrounded by high sandstone plateaus (in grey) and broken up by river channels (labelled and shown in red).
(Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML additions)

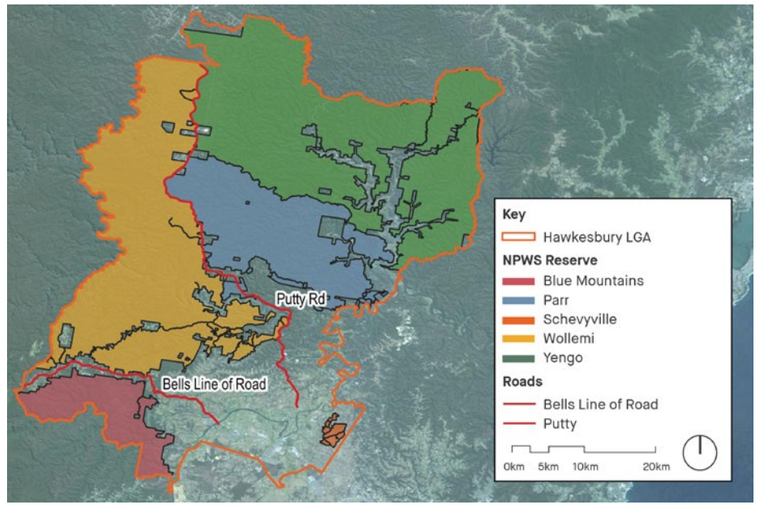


Figure 1.3 National parks and main roads in the Hawkesbury LGA.
(Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML additions)

particularly Council-owned properties (Figure 1.4) outside the national parks.

There are three local Aboriginal land councils whose boundaries are within the Hawkesbury LGA: Deerubbin, Metropolitan (Metro) and Wanaruah (Figure 1.6). Statutory land councils are governed under the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW) (ALRA Act)*. Under section 51 of the *ALRA Act*:

> *The objects of each Local Aboriginal Land Council are to improve, protect and foster the best interests of all Aboriginal persons within the Council's area and other persons who are members of the Council.*

Membership in any local Aboriginal land council occurs under the three-point identification system administered by the land council community.

The Traditional Custodians—those Aboriginal persons who are descendants of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the Hawkesbury district—are known to be the Darug (alternative spelling Dharug) people, and Darkinjung (alternative spellings Darrkinyung, Darkinjan, Darkiñung) people (Figure 1.5). The Darug territories are commonly accepted as extending from Port Jackson and Kamay (Botany Bay) in the east, the Georges River to the south and southwest, Wisemans Ferry to the North, the Hawkesbury and Colo River in the west/northwest, and to the foothills of the Blue Mountains in the west.[4] Darkinjung traditional lands extend from the Colo River in the south/west, Lake Macquarie in the north, the Macdonald River and Wollombi up to Mt Yengo in the west, and the Pacific Ocean in the east.[5] The Hawkesbury-Nepean Catchment (of which the Colo River is part) formed the primary boundary between different cultural groups.

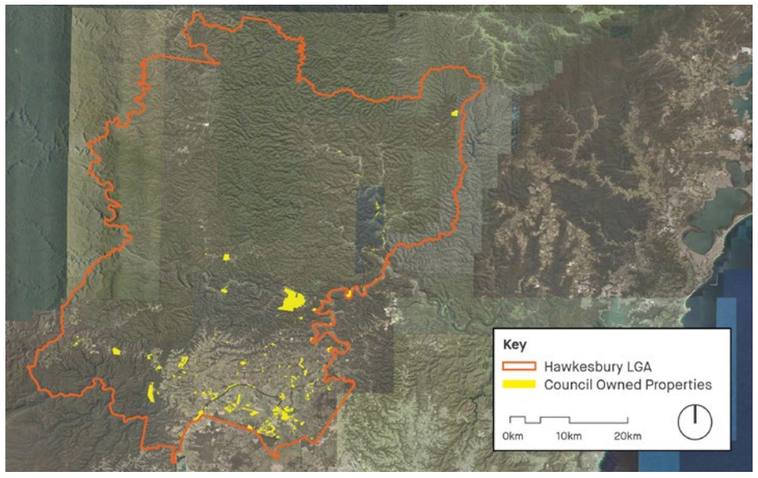


Figure 1.4 Locations of Council-owned properties in the Hawkesbury LGA as of July 2020. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML and HCC additions)

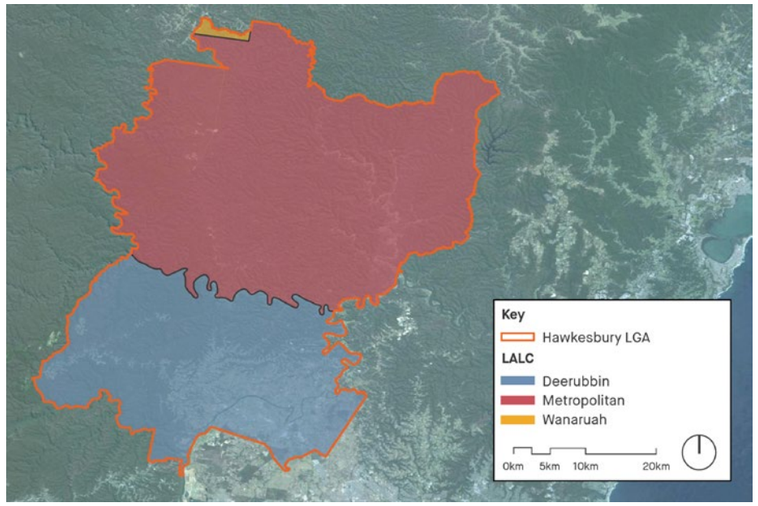


Figure 1.6 Boundaries of the local Aboriginal land councils (LALCs) in the Hawkesbury LGA. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML additions)

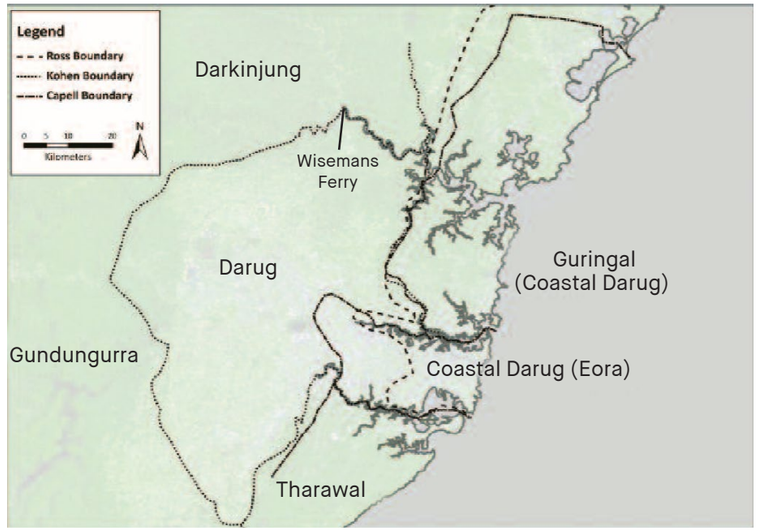


Figure 1.5 Aboriginal cultural boundaries in the Sydney region. (Source: Oliver Brown, 2010[6] with GML Additions)

2.0 Making the Hawkesbury Landscape—Geomorphological Record

The following section, excluding the concluding remarks, was written by Professor Stephen Gale. It uses the geomorphological record to understand how the landscape of the Hawkesbury was created and how it has changed over time. The history of geomorphological change provides a way of understanding the landscape to which local Aboriginal people are inextricably connected.

2.1 Making the Hawkesbury landscape

The Hawkesbury LGA extends across three distinctive structural units, each with a characteristic landscape (Figure 2.1). To the southeast are the lowlands that form the northern part of the Cumberland Basin. To the west are the rugged sandstone uplands of the Blue Mountains Plateau. These are bound on their eastern side by the sharp escarpment of the Lapstone Structural Complex. To the north lies the sandstone block of the Hornsby Plateau. Linking these three units is the Hawkesbury River and its tributaries.

The headwaters of the Hawkesbury River consist of two distinct components (Figure 2.2):

1. To the south is the Nepean. This follows a meandering, north-flowing path draining the southern part of the Cumberland Basin. Its headwaters consist of a series of parallel-draining rivers that flow northwest down the back slope of the Woronora Plateau (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).
2. To the west and southwest is the Warragamba–Cox–Wollondilly system. This drains the southern part of the Blue Mountains Plateau. The Warragamba River (the name given to the lowest part of this system) enters the Cumberland Basin through a deeply entrenched gorge incised into the Lapstone escarpment on the eastern edge of the Blue Mountains Plateau. At this point it joins the north-flowing Nepean.

Downstream of the confluence of these two headwater systems, the Nepean is joined from the west by the Grose River and beyond this point the combined rivers are known as the Hawkesbury. The Hawkesbury skirts around the northern edge of the Cumberland Basin before leaving the Basin through Sackville Gorge, a deep valley cut into the southern edge of the Hornsby Plateau. Downstream, the river follows a series of deeply incised meanders carved into the Plateau. It is joined first by the Colo,

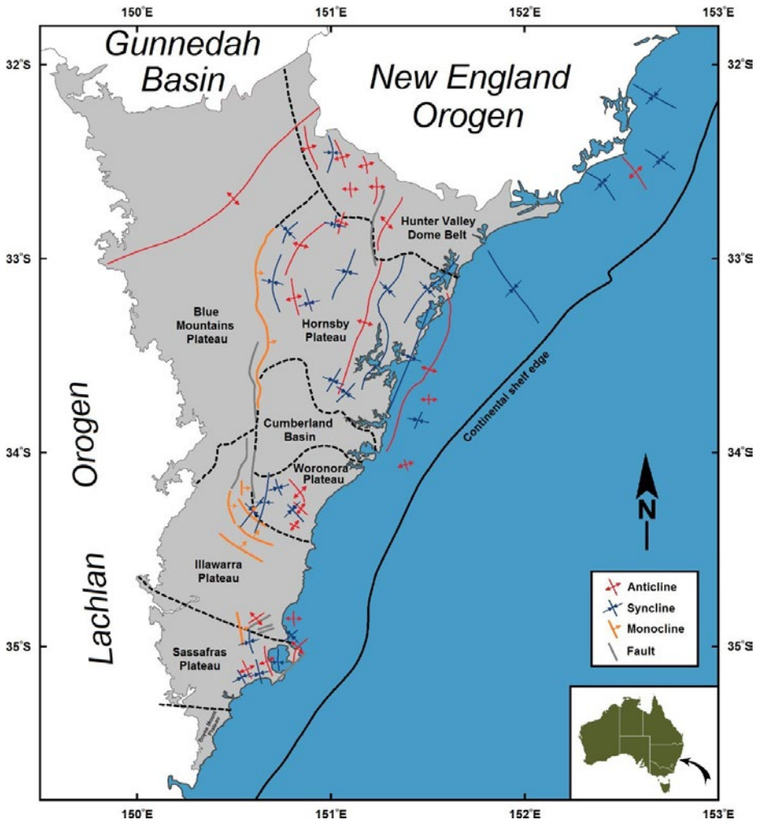


Figure 2.1 The structural context of the Sydney Basin, showing the Cumberland Basin and its surrounding structural plateaus. The Sydney Basin is shown in grey. (Source: Gale, 2021, based on Bembrick et al, 1973, and Danis et al, 2011)

whose headwaters drain much of the western part of the Plateau, and then by the Macdonald. At this point the river turns sharply to the southeast, following the alignment of the Macdonald, to reach the sea at Broken Bay.

The Hawkesbury displays a distinctive and peculiar drainage pattern. Its southern headwaters rise within a few kilometres of the sea near Wollongong yet flow north into the northernmost part of the Cumberland Basin. As it runs alongside the Lapstone escarpment, the river abruptly turns west and cuts a pair of short gorges through the sandstone plateau before re-emerging on the lowlands of the Cumberland Plain (Figure 2.3). Then, rather than following the obvious topographic route to the Pacific at

Figure 2.2 The rivers of central eastern New South Wales. Hawkesbury LGA is shown in orange. (Source: modified from Bureau of Meteorology, 2018)

Port Jackson or Botany Bay, it turns northeast to flow through the Hornsby Plateau to reach the sea at Broken Bay.

To understand these peculiarities, we need to look at the development of the major geological structures that define the landscape of the region (Figure 2.1).

The uplift of the structural block of the Blue Mountains began after about 90 million years ago. This was a slow event that probably continues to the present and gave rise to the spectacular Lapstone escarpment that forms the western edge of the Cumberland Basin. To the north, the upwarping of the Hornsby Plateau is poorly dated, but probably occurred prior to the uplift of the Blue Mountains, whilst to the south, the Woronora Plateau may have also taken on something like its modern form prior to the formation of the Blue Mountains.

Although these events took place long ago, the Hawkesbury is more ancient still. We know this because the deposits carried by the ancient river were laid down on and were carried upwards by the Blue Mountains block as it was uplifted. We also know that the curious path of the Nepean, which sees the channel cut into and out of the front of the escarpment (Figure 2.3), can only have formed if the river predated the uplift. By this means, the original meandering path of the river was maintained as the Blue Mountains Plateau was slowly uplifted beneath it.

We also know that the river is more ancient than the Hornsby Plateau on the northern edge of the Basin. Here the modern-day Hawkesbury appears, against all reason, to head directly for the Plateau and to cut straight through it, rather than taking the topographically obvious route to the sea at Port Jackson or Botany Bay.

The explanation is that, as the southern edge of the Hornsby Plateau warped upwards, the river was at first unable to maintain its course so that its waters were backed up behind the rising warp. The result was a lake that flooded the floor of what is now the northern part of the Cumberland Basin. We know this because in the lake there accumulated distinctive sediments known as the Londonderry Clay that now cover the floor of the northern part of the Basin. Eventually, however, the waters of the lake rose so high that they overtopped the outlet, gouging a trench through the barrier of the warp and allowing the river to regain its course.

At this stage there is a gap in our record. What we do know, however, is that when drainage resumed across the Cumberland Basin, perhaps early in the Quaternary, the Hawkesbury–Nepean system had shifted its course. It no longer flowed northeast across the Basin, but instead took a path along its western and northern margins before reclaiming its course through Sackville Gorge and out to the sea.

During this episode, the river seems to have alternated its character in response to the climatic shifts caused by the repeated glaciation and deglaciation of the planet. Ice first appeared on Antarctica about 34 million years ago and since that time the Earth's climate has become cooler and more variable, oscillating between cold states and much shorter warm states that are often referred to as glacials and interglacials. Over the last 2.6 million years alone, the Earth has experienced over 50 of these interglacial–glacial couplets, each pair operating over timescales of tens and hundreds of thousands of years.

During the most recent of these interglacial–glacial cycles, that covering the period from 125,000 to 10,000 years ago, the Nepean experienced three flood-dominated epochs: one between 115,000 and 70,000 years ago, a second between 60,000 and 40,000 years ago, and a third in the period 20,000–10 000 years ago (Figure 2.4). The two earlier episodes appear to have been quite unlike anything experienced by the modern river, with the system carrying boulder-sized material along coarse-grained braided channels. Less is known about the nature of the river during the third epoch. The deposits consist of fine sand and silt, but it's possible that these may represent sedimentation beyond the active channel and that coarse boulders were also carried during this episode.[7]

The interpretation of the climatic conditions that generated this pattern is not easy. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the inter-flood epochs coincided with periods of aridity when windblown materials were able to accumulate in the area (Figure 2.4). The behaviour of the river may therefore reflect in part changes in the water balance over time.

As it flows across the Cumberland Basin, the Hawkesbury–Nepean is able to shift its position laterally and there is copious space in the basin to accommodate its depositional products. By contrast, in the bedrock-confined valley downstream and in the similarly confined tributaries of the Macdonald and Colo rivers, the story is rather different. Here there is limited sediment accommodation space. Instead of depositing the products of major floods (and leaving us a record of their occurrence), big events tend to flush these channels clear of earlier deposits so that the only record preserved is that of more recent and lower magnitude events.

As global ice melted at the close of the last glacial stage, waters flowed into the Earth's ocean basins and sea levels began to rise. Around the coast of southeast Australia, sea levels reached close to (and slightly beyond) present levels about 8000 years ago.[8] One of the consequences of this was the extension of estuarine conditions up the Hawkesbury estuary, reaching 100 kilometres inland of the present coast, and into the lower parts of the Colo and Macdonald valleys. In the lower reaches of the system, therefore, the glacial-stage fluvial sediments deposited under low sea-level conditions are buried beneath Holocene estuarine sediments.[9] Meanwhile, we know that in the Macdonald (and probably in the Colo too), as the sediment delivered to the new estuary accumulated in deltas at the river mouth, the river began to aggrade. The result was the formation of a new floodplain almost 10 metres above the modern river level. This was abandoned 1000–2000 years ago, when a lower-level surface began to accumulate, causing the channel to contract until approximately 600 years ago, when it too was abandoned.[10] The valley of the Macdonald (perhaps along with the other low-lying parts of the Hawkesbury system) is thus

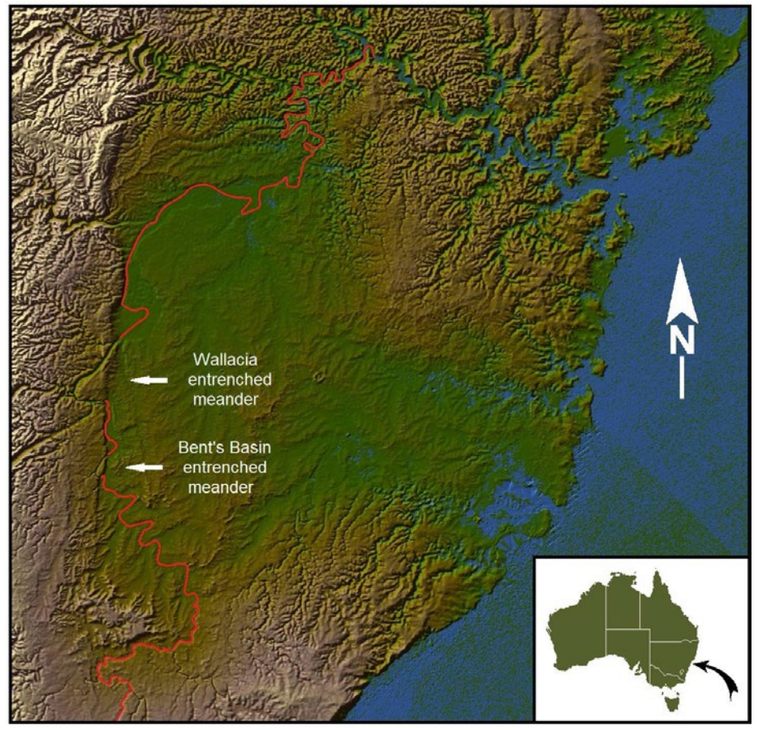


Figure 2.3 The course of the Hawkesbury–Nepean River across the Cumberland Basin, showing the entrenched bedrock meanders formed where the river crosses the north–south aligned Lapstone escarpment. The river's course is shown in red. For clarity, the line of the river is not shown along the course of the entrenched meanders. (Source: Gale, 2021, with GML additions. The aerial image is from NASA's Shuttle Radar Topography Mission)

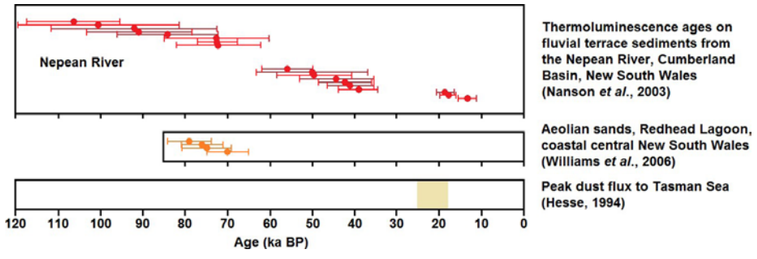


Figure 2.4 Thermoluminescence ages on fluvial terrace sediments from the Nepean River. The comparative records of aeolian activity are from the surrounding regions. (Source: compiled by Gale using data from Hesse, 1994, Nanson et al, 2003, and Williams et al, 2006)

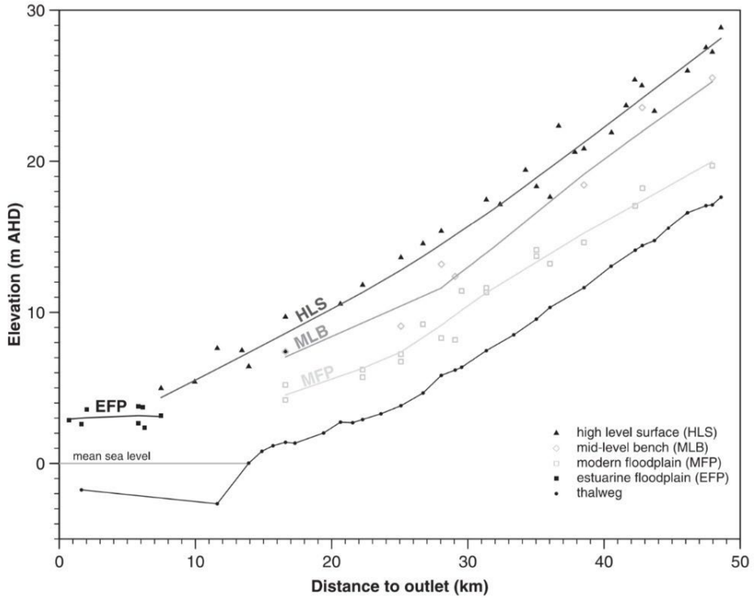


Figure 2.5 The long profile of the Macdonald River showing the modern thalweg and the three late Holocene alluvial surfaces. (Source: modified from Rustomji et al, 2006)

infilled by a stacked series of three floodplains, all dating from the late Holocene and all a response to the post-glacial sea-level rise (Figure 2.5).

2.2 Landforms Across the Hawkesbury

Eight landscape units were identified across the study area. In two of these, a major sub-unit was also defined (Figure 2.6). Brief descriptions of these are given below, along with the rationale for their classification. The mapping was largely based on Clark and Jones,[11] Troedson[12] and Colquhoun et al.[13]

2.2.1 Sandstone Terrains

These landscapes are largely developed on Hawkesbury Sandstone and rocks of the Narrabeen Group. In the study area, the Hawkesbury Sandstone is composed mainly of sandstones and fine gravel conglomerates; the rocks of the Narrabeen Group are more varied, but those in the Hawkesbury LGA are dominated by sandstones and conglomerates. These terrains are characterised by broad plateaus, rocky spurs, deeply fretted slot canyons, entrenched gorges and steep clifflines. Exposed bedrock is common. Elsewhere the landscape supports thin and poorly fertile soils.

2.2.2 Ashfield Shale Terrains

These landscapes are developed almost entirely on substrates of shale. Bedrock outcrops are rare and, except where the rock forms a cap on the sandstone ridges or along drainage divides, the terrain forms low or rolling relief. The rock weathers easily and supports relatively deep soils. The relatively high phosphorus content of the Ashfield Shale (100–900 ppm P_2O_5) is in marked contrast to the negligible phosphorus in the underlying Hawkesbury Sandstone and the low levels in the overlying Bringelly Shale. The terrain thus supports good timber and fertile soils. As a consequence, these landscapes were particularly attractive to early settlers and rarely remain uncleared.

2.2.3 Bringelly Shale Terrains

The common occurrence of beds and lenses of sandstone in the Bringelly Shale means that this country can be quite hilly, with sandstone escarpments and cliffs, and sheltered slopes and valleys. By contrast, the shales themselves rarely outcrop, but weather easily to support reasonably fertile soils.

2.2.4 Diatreme Terrains

The diatremes in the study area consists of unroofed volcanic pipes of Jurassic age. Their rocks typically weather to deep fertile soils that support rainforest and tall eucalypt woodland. Some of the features contain relatively unweathered outcrops of igneous diatreme rocks that may offer valuable source materials in a landscape generally devoid of resistant crystalline rocks.

2.2.5 Cenozoic (Pre-Quaternary) Alluvial Terrains

The alluvial deposits upon which these landscapes are developed are the products of long-term internal flow into the subsiding Penrith Basin, a structural feature located beneath the northern part of the Cumberland Plain. Nevertheless, the flows that deposited these materials are out of phase with the modern drainage net and their distribution is unrelated to the pattern of the modern rivers. The landscape is largely confined to the lowest parts of the Cumberland Basin, where it forms a series of low-relief, warped surfaces that lie tens of metres above the modern rivers of the basin.

Most of the terrain consists of highly weathered, relatively fine-grained sediments of low fertility. However, we may distinguish a distinct subset of this unit, the Proto-Hawkesbury River terrain.

Proto-Hawkesbury River Terrain

This landscape represents the former course followed by the Hawkesbury–Nepean–Warragamba River system across the region. The terrain is developed on a train of coarse gravels and sands that drape the Lapstone escarpment to the southwest, cut across the Cumberland Basin and extend northeast to Maroota, about 10 kilometres south of Wiseman's Ferry. The deposits mark the ancient course of the proto-Hawkesbury River, a course that predates both the formation of the Cumberland Basin and the uplift of the Lapstone Monocline and the Hornsby Warp. The terrain is well drained, but relatively infertile. The deposits contain rounded pebbles and cobbles of quartzite, vein quartz and silcrete, along with many other rocks derived from far upstream in the Wollondilly catchment, all potentially valuable source materials in a landscape generally devoid of resistant crystalline rocks.

2.2.6 Basalt Terrains

The basalts are of Tertiary age. They formed as flood lavas that blanketed the contemporary landscape and, as a result, tend to be preserved as remnant caps on residual hilltops and plateaus. The rocks are nutrient-rich and support fertile soils and lush vegetation. Because they are young, the basalts are often little weathered and may provide valuable source materials in a landscape generally devoid of resistant crystalline rocks.

2.2.7 Quaternary Alluvial Terrains

This landscape is composed of alluvial deposits in phase with the modern drainage pattern and developed adjacent to the rivers of the region. It is composed of the modern floodplains of the rivers alongside a more or less complex series of polycyclic terrace deposits. The deposits vary widely in character, from coarse, bouldery, bedload sediments to fine-grained, organic-rich, overbank deposits. We may distinguish a distinct subset of this unit: those terrains developed on fluvio-aeolian sands.

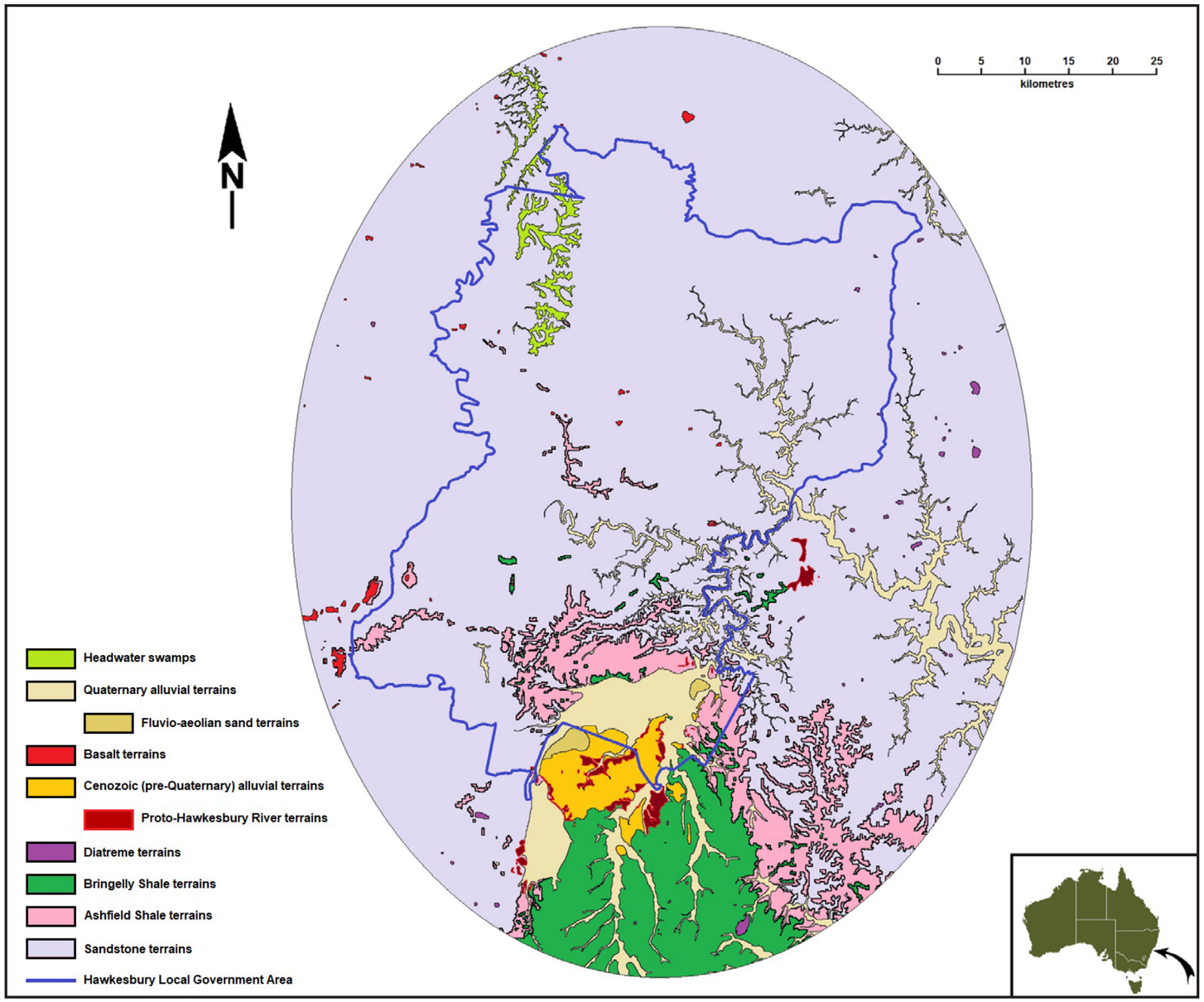


Figure 2.6 Landscape units identified across the study area.

Fluvio-aeolian Sand Terrains

These landscapes lie in the Cumberland Basin, adjacent to the modern course of the Hawkesbury–Nepean. They are composed of terraces of windblown sands that form parallel ridges of aeolian dunes. Despite this, the deposits appear to be fluvial in origin, reworked by wind action into aeolian landscapes. These terrains, and similar sand bodies adjacent to the river, have been assessed as potential sites of archaeological significance (see, for example, Williams et al[14]).

2.2.8 Headwater Swamps

The low-relief, ancient sandstone plateaus possess extensive swamps. These are developed along the headwaters of integrated drainage lines, fed and maintained by groundwater seepage. The swamps contain sandy, plant-organic rich sediments of Holocene age that may reach thicknesses of several metres.

2.3 The Archaeological Potential of the Landscape Units—a Geomorphological Perspective

The following section is written in the context of the fertility of the soils, the natural resources of each unit and the potential for the preservation of deep, stratified, archaeological deposits.

2.3.1 Sandstone Terrains

These landscapes are rugged and of low fertility and are likely to be less attractive for human use than many of the other terrains in the area. On the other hand, weathering of the sandstone means that rock shelters are common in the landscape unit and these have considerable potential for the preservation of stratified depositional sequences. The terrain also possesses perennial rivers and headwater swamps (see 2.3.8) that are likely to have been an attractive resource.

2.3.2 Ashfield Shale Terrains

The fertile soils and verdant vegetation of these landscapes mean that they are likely to be resource-rich, especially in those areas where water resources are available.

2.3.3 Bringelly Shale Terrains

The phosphorus content of the Bringelly Shale is significantly less than that of the Ashfield Shale. As a result, although their terrains are often very similar, Bringelly Shale landscapes are likely to be less attractive for human use than those of the Ashfield Shale.

2.3.4 Diatreme Terrains

With a few exceptions, the diatremes are small. They are also (with Norton's Basin as the significant exception) remote from water. Nevertheless, they may have been locally valuable sources of plant and mineral resources.

2.3.5 Cenozoic (pre-Quaternary) Alluvial Terrains

These tend to support relatively infertile landscapes possessing few resources. The significant exception is the sub-unit of the Proto-Hawkesbury River terrain, which is likely to have provided an important source of pebbles and cobbles of quartzite, vein quartz and silcrete, all potentially valuable in a landscape generally devoid of resistant crystalline rocks.

2.3.6 Basalt Terrains

The basalt landscapes are fertile and verdant. However, they tend to be found on hilltops and plateaus remote from water sources. Their high permeability means that they are likely to retain little moisture, although minor springs might be anticipated at the base of the outcrops. Any importance they might possess may be the result of the availability of relatively unweathered fine-grained crystalline rocks in a landscape generally devoid of such materials.

2.3.7 Quaternary Alluvial Terrains

These landscapes appear to be of high archaeological potential, although this may be less a consequence of the nature of the substrate than their location adjacent to perennial rivers and streams and on terrace locations above normal flood levels. In addition, those landscapes alongside the Hawkesbury–Nepean have access to supplies of pebbles and boulders of resistant materials derived from upstream in the Wollondilly catchment.

2.3.8 Headwater Swamps

Little is known of the archaeological potential of these landscapes. On the other hand, the combination of wetland environments and perennial water would appear to be of relatively high archaeological potential. There is some evidence of persistent Aboriginal burning activity in these landscapes during the late and middle Holocene.[15]

2.4 Concluding Remarks: a Cultural Landscape

Soil landscapes—and the ecosystems they give rise to—are fundamental in shaping the way past human societies have navigated the Hawkesbury region. This section has examined how the natural landscape of the Hawkesbury was created, and the potential for archaeology and Aboriginal cultural heritage to occur in this landscape. It is critical to note that in the Australian Aboriginal world, there was no distinction between natural and cultural; instead, as Karskens states, 'deep river holes, mountains, rock platforms and the snake-like veins of iron in rock faces are artefacts' created by Ancestors during the Dreaming.[16] The formation of the landscape, although described here in sequential terms, is foremost to the Aboriginal people a cultural landscape where the past and present converge, and they can be in the presence of Ancestors.[17] In this way, the preservation of landforms and Country is integral to conserving and understanding cultural heritage values in the Hawkesbury.

3.0 Ancient Hawkesbury—Archaeological Record

Note: During this archaeological work and investigation, we have tried to take into consideration gender and place.

This section aims to introduce what types of Aboriginal archaeology—evidence of past human activity— may be anticipated around the Hawkesbury region. Such material remains are considered intricately connected to Aboriginal cultural heritage. There are several historical accounts of the rich culture of Aboriginal people in the area, including descriptions of clothing; ornamentation; types of habitation; baskets; bedding; ceremonial objects; healing and hunting implements made of wood, bark and bone; medicinal supplies; artistic engravings in trees and stone; and large earth structures and mounds. Many of these material traces are no longer visible. Aboriginal cultural heritage which remains—including evidence of people's movement through and use of Country—holds immense cultural significance, connecting contemporary Aboriginal people to their ancestors.

3.1 The Limitations of the Archaeological Record

Aboriginal cultural material (known as Aboriginal objects) is protected under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW) (NPW Act)*. Section 5(1) of the *NPW Act* defines an Aboriginal object as:

> *... any deposit, object or material evidence (not being a handicraft made for sale) relating to the Aboriginal habitation of the area that comprises New South Wales, being habitation before or concurrent with (or both) the occupation of that area by persons of non-Aboriginal extraction, and includes Aboriginal remains.*

Under the legislation, Aboriginal objects/sites are registered on the AHIMS, giving them statutory protection—in the *NPW Act*, the word 'object' is interchangeably used with 'sites' (which is the archaeological term for an area containing Aboriginal objects).

The legislation's focus on objects and material evidence privileges a Western scientific approach over that of Indigenous knowledge systems.[18] For many Aboriginal communities, objects and places are only one aspect of a broader cultural landscape which includes knowledge systems, stories and practices that cannot be separated from one another.[19] Porter aptly describes the legislation's current focus:

> *Archaeological science, the most powerful influence on the development of cultural heritage management across Australian Jurisdictions, is still held as the more valuable and legitimate knowledge base of assessing the presence and importance of cultural heritage.*[20]

Although in NSW there are movements towards a more respectful and contemporary understanding of Aboriginal cultural heritage—including creating a governance system that gives legal responsibility for and authority over Aboriginal cultural heritage to Aboriginal people[21]—such reforms have not been enacted yet.

The registration of Aboriginal objects and places is currently the key mechanism for protecting Aboriginal cultural heritage, and for Aboriginal communities to use their leverage to have a say on what happens on and to their Country.[22] Until the legal frameworks are changed (at which time this ACHS should be reviewed and revised), councillors, developers, heritage consultants and archaeologists should listen carefully to Aboriginal people seeking to engage creatively in cultural heritage management frameworks and find ways to support their aspirations.[23] Archaeological science provides us with valuable ways to understand the past, but scientific investigations should be done only with endorsement of the local Aboriginal community, and without ignoring the intangible values associated with objects and places (described in more detail in Section 4.0).

3.2 Archaeological Record in the Hawkesbury

Dates from deposits containing stone artefacts within the banks (alluvial terrace) of the Hawkesbury–Nepean River indicate that Aboriginal people inhabited the Hawkesbury area from at least 50,000 years ago, and perhaps from much earlier.[24] Such ancient archaeological evidence, predominantly consisting of stone artefacts found within deposits called the 'Richmond Unit', is located as deep as 4 metres below the surface.[25] These ancient deposits form part of the 'Quaternary alluvial terrains' described in Section 2.0. Such deposits are immensely significant, as they are one of the few deposits in the Sydney Basin to date to the earliest occupation of South Eastern Australia by Aboriginal people.[26] Between this period of initial occupation (50,000 years ago) until 7,000 or 8,000 years ago, the Nepean had rapidly fluctuating environments, including flood-dominated epochs (60,000–40,000 and 20,000–¬10,000 years ago). Aboriginal people would have needed to adapt to dynamic environmental change, with the Hawkesbury River a key locale for occupation and visitation.[27]

The Greater Sydney region has had a relatively stable environment from 9000 BCE to present[28]—stone artefacts and rock art become increasingly

Figure 3.1 Aboriginal flat-headed Yachi Yachi or Nulla Nulla found at Ebenezer in 1937. These were used for hunting and as weapons, as well as ceremonially. (Source: Hawkesbury Regional Museum <https://is.gd/ZiCESl>)

Figure 3.2 Basket made by Annie Markim/Annie Markham, a Darug woman who lived at the Aboriginal Reserve at Sackville North. Made from local bullrushes for Mr & Mrs Tom Books (Tom Books & Ivy Johnson of Webbs Creek) as a wedding present in 1924. (Source: Hawkesbury Regional Museum <https://is.gd/4AAXM5>)

abundant from around 8,000 years ago. During this period, a wide range of material objects would have been produced, including scarred trees, boomerangs, shields, body decoration, wooden implements (Figure 3.1), clothing, weapons, baskets (Figure 3.2) and habitation areas. We have a fragmented understanding of the deep archaeological past in the region as many of these objects, particularly around the Cumberland Plain, have been destroyed through development, or completely missed by archaeological investigations due to their being so deep under the surface that they are hard to reach through manual excavation.

Rock art around the Sydney Basin is prolific; it is one of the features that defines the region archaeologically from rest of Australia. As Karskens states:

> *Art clearly flourished among the people of the Sydney region, which suggests that not only were food sources so reliable that people had plenty of time for culture and ceremony, but also that art was fundamental to their society.*[29]

It is therefore worth exploring this particular archaeological type in more detail, as it is also the most visible and illustrative component of Aboriginal archaeology in the Hawkesbury LGA. Rock art is divided into two categories: engravings (petroglyphs), and pigment shelter art (pictographs)—both of which can be found within Hawkesbury Sandstone regions. The petroglyphs consist of small to larger-than-life engravings of humans, animals and other material culture. They are made by 'conjoined puncturing'—a technique that uses lines of 'pits' up to 1 centimetre deep to form images, which are often revisited and reworked over time.[30] These engravings tend to be found on ridgelines and pathways away from 'resource zones'. They are believed to have had a regional 'bonding' function, increasing large group cohesion.[31] There is new evidence to suggest that some engravings, especially a 'celestial emu motif', might reflect constellations.[32]

Often occurring in valley areas, the rock shelter art sites appear to be based in a domestic setting. These art sites are made of clay-based pigments (crushed ochre), which were painted onto the wall and ceiling surfaces of shelters used as base camps.[33] Both engraving and pigment art can be easily recognised and understood even without a lot of detail.[34] Motifs of the art include humans or anthropomorphic (human-like) beings, animals, tracks, hands, feet and materials (eg shields and boomerangs) (Figure 3.1).[35] Art sites (particularly shelter sites) are associated with occupation deposits and, occasionally, with grinding grooves.[36]

Interestingly, there appear to be stylistic differences between the Darug (south of the Hawkesbury River) and Darkinjung (north of the Hawkesbury River) art. The Darkinjung territory has an abundance of artworks depicting profile figures and kangaroo tracks. The Darug artworks have a high number of profile figures in addition to non-figurative motifs and hands, as well as contact-period artwork (scenes depicting Europeans and their material culture).[37] This, along with further geographical, environmental, ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence,[38] suggests that the pre-1788 Aboriginal people within the Hawkesbury LGA area had a highly organised society with demarcated group and language boundaries analogous to the societies on the coast encountered by Europeans in 1788.

3.3 Archaeological Site Types in the Hawkesbury

AHIMS data for the Hawkesbury LGA was provided on 27 April 2020, through an Aboriginal Heritage Information Licencing Agreement.[1] The data had details on 1,412 sites. The approximate location of these sites is displayed in Figure 3.3 and described in Table 3.1. These sites are defined based on the Aboriginal site details accepted when recording sites for submission into the AHIMS database. Readers should be aware that the site descriptions do not always align with how Aboriginal cultural heritage is perceived by the local Aboriginal community, and that AHIMS records are often incomplete and fragmented.

Sensitive Information Removed

Figure 3.3 Plan showing the large number of AHIMS registered Aboriginal sites in the Hawkesbury region The site categories and exact locations have not been shown for confidentiality reasons, and this map should not be made public. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with AHIMS search results from Hawkesbury LGA to April 2020)

1 As part of the licencing agreement, the AHIMS results might include information (eg general sensitivity zones) that can be made public, but the map of sites and any list of sites cannot be disclosed to anyone aside from GML consultants, Hawkesbury City Council personnel, and Aboriginal community members identified through community consultation. The AHIMS results must also be deleted at the conclusion of the study.

Table 3.1 Categories of Sites Found from AHIMS Search Dated April 2020, and the Potential for these Sites in the Hawkesbury Region.

Aboriginal site features	Brief description (taken from DPIE)[39]	No. registered on AHIMS	Potential occurrence in the Hawkesbury
Aboriginal ceremony and Dreaming	*Previously referred to as mythological sites, these are spiritual/story places where no physical evidence of previous use of the place may occur, eg natural unmodified landscape features, ceremonial or spiritual areas, men's/women's sites, dreaming (creation) tracks, marriage places etc.*	Fewer than five	These sites have the potential to occur throughout the Hawkesbury LGA. They are established for a vast number of reasons, sometimes intangible, and therefore are unable to be predicted in the landscape. For protection against vandalism and for spiritual reasons, the location of these sites is usually not published. Hence, consultation with Aboriginal groups is crucial whenever there are proposed modifications to the Hawkesbury landscape.
Aboriginal resource and gathering	*Related to everyday activities such as food gathering, hunting, or collection and manufacture of materials and goods for use or trade.*	Fewer than five	These have the potential to occur in any non-developed area of the Hawkesbury. These areas are usually found where specific resources, such as ochre, water, stone materials, animals and plants, are in abundance, and where these resources continue to be collected today.
Art	*Art is found in shelters, overhangs and across rock formations. Techniques include painting, drawing, scratching, carving, engraving, pitting, conjoining, abrading and the use of a range of binding agents and the use of natural pigments obtained form [sic] clays, charcoal and plants.*	More than 700	Art sites around the Hawkesbury are a striking feature of the region and have the potential to occur wherever there is Hawkesbury Sandstone. Engraved art (Figures 3.4 and 3.5) usually occurs on horizontal Hawkesbury Sandstone open rock platforms, and often (but not always) along ridgelines. Pigment art is found (Figure 3.6) within rock shelters used for habitation. These sites are usually close to drinking water sources and are often found deep within river channels and valleys in the Hawkesbury Sandstone plateau. These art sites are not scattered randomly across the landscape but are part of a 'web' of art, occupation and ceremonial sites.[40]
Artefact	*Objects such as stone tools, and associated flaked material, spears, manuports, grindstones, discarded stone flakes, modified glass or shell demonstrating evidence of use of the area by Aboriginal people*	More than 300	This is the most common site type, due to high preservation rates, as well as its extensive use by Aboriginal people. Stone artefacts are often 'flakes'. These tools are created when a stone 'core' (Figure 3.7) is knapped' (struck) shards or 'flakes'. Most stone artefacts are manufacturing debris, but some are specialised tools, such as ground-edge hatchets (axes and choppers), wedges, and implements.[41] Manufacturing debris (flakes) and specialised tools can be used by Aboriginal people. Stone artefacts are found throughout the Hawkesbury LGA.

Aboriginal site features	Brief description (taken from DPIE)	No. registered on AHIMS	Potential occurrence in the Hawkesbury
Burial	*A traditional or contemporary (post-contact) burial of an Aboriginal person, which may occur outside designated cemeteries and may not be marked, e.g. in caves, marked by stone cairns, in sand areas, along creek banks etc.*	None	For Aboriginal people, respect for prehistoric burials is as important as that given to modern cemeteries.[42] Due to an aversion to talking about death, and a fear in the nineteenth century of white men digging up Aboriginal graves for skull collections, almost no burial places are known.[43] Karskens believes that burials would occur in areas with 'soft, sandy soil, perhaps on the banks of creeks of lagoons, but out of the path of rushing flood waters'.[44] There is a reasonable chance human remains could be preserved within rock shelters or shell deposits, which are more protected against decomposition than other contexts. Preliminary community consultation and research has indicated there could be more contemporary burials around Sackville Aboriginal Reserve. An early map (Figure 3.8) refers to an Aboriginal burial ground in the area. (Further investigation into this is recommended in Section 7.0.)
Ceremonial ring	*Raised earth ring(s) associated with ceremony*	None	Ceremonial rings, also known as Bora rings, are known to occur throughout South Eastern Australia. These sites were often associated with initiation and were usually destroyed immediately following the ceremony.[45] The largest of these grounds are unlikely to be relocated, as they were known to be situated in flat areas associated with river crossings and lagoons;[46] such areas have since been heavily disturbed through urbanisation. However, smaller, more secretive grounds of rings may occur within the national parks, and perhaps some of Council's bushland parks.
Conflict	*Previously referred to as massacre sites where confrontations occurred between (1) Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, or (2) between different Aboriginal groups.*	None	As Section 4.0 attests, sites of conflict have occurred throughout the Hawkesbury LGA; however, none of these areas has been registered. Preliminary community consultation has indicated there is a potential massacre site in the vicinity of St Albans, but this has not yet been formally registered. (Further investigation into this is recommended in Section 7.0.)
Earth mound	*A mounded deposit of round to oval shape containing baked clay lumps, ash, charcoal and, usually, black or dark grey sediment. The deposit may be compacted or loose and ashy. Mounds may contain various economic remains such as mussel shell and bone as well as stone artefacts. Occasionally they contain burials.*	None	No earth mounds are currently recorded in the Hawkesbury LGA. Nevertheless, there are indications that some may have been created, which have since been destroyed. For example, in Darkinjung Country in the northwest Hawkesbury, Threlkeld (1825–1826)[47] recorded ground sculptures and cut earthen figures created for initiation grounds. No examples of these sculptures are known to have survived to the present in South Eastern Australia.[48] If any do remain today, they would be preserved in the wilderness of the national parks.

Aboriginal site features	Brief description (taken from DPIE)	No. registered on AHIMS	Potential occurrence in the Hawkesbury
Fish trap	*A modified area on watercourses where fish were trapped for short-term storage and gathering.*	None	There are no known fish traps in the region. If they are preserved, they would be located within river channels and streams.
Grinding groove	*A groove in a rock surface resulting from manufacture of stone tools such as ground edge hatchets and spears, may also include rounded depressions resulting from grinding of seeds and grains.*	Over 200	Grinding grooves are found across the Hawkesbury Sandstone plateau. AHIMS maps show they are often located alongside watercourses within the national parks. Some grinding grooves have also been found within the Cumberland Plain.
Habitation structure	*Structures constructed by Aboriginal people for short- or long-term shelter. More temporary structures are commonly preserved away from the NSW coastline, may include historic camps of contemporary significance. Smaller structures may make use of natural materials such as branches, logs and bark sheets or manufactured materials such as corrugated iron to form shelters. Archaeological remains of a former structure such as chimney/ fireplace, raised earth building platform, excavated pits, rubble mounds etc.*	Fewer than five	Besides rock shelters, Aboriginal communities were known to make wooden huts out of bark and sticks.[49] Post-1788, shelters could be made of manufactured materials, such as corrugated iron. Shelters were present across the Sackville Reach Reserve (see Section 4.0), and there is potential for archaeological evidence of these shelters to exist today.
Hearth	*Cultural deposit sometimes marked by hearth stones, usually also contains charcoal and may also contain heat treated stone fragments.*	Fewer than five	Hearths consist of rocks of clay used for the burning or heating of cultural food. Many foods were roasted on hearths (some species of yams and other plants need processing to remove toxins).[50] Hearths might be preserved in rock shelters or buried in alluvial soils. Subsurface hearths can often be detected using a geophysical magnetic survey. Hearths are often registered on AHIMS under the category of art or artefact sites (as they could be associated with these categories).
Modified tree	*Trees which show the marks of modification as a result of cutting of bark from the trunk for use in the production of shields, canoes, boomerangs, burials shrouds, for medicinal purposes, foot holds etc, or alternatively intentional carving of the heartwood of the tree to form a permanent marker to indicate ceremonial use/significance of a nearby area, again these carvings may also act as territorial or burial markers.*	Fewer than 20	Historical records indicate that in South Eastern NSW, carved trees (which usually feature geometric designs cut into the trunks) are typically associated with burials and initiation grounds.[51] No carved trees have been registered in the Hawkesbury LGA on AHIMS.

Aboriginal site features	Brief description (taken from DPIE)	No. registered on AHIMS	Potential occurrence in the Hawkesbury
Non-human bone and organic material	*Objects which can be found within cultural deposits as components of an Aboriginal site such as fish or mammal bones, ochres, cached objects which may otherwise have broken down such as resin, twine, dilly bags, nets etc*	None	Plants and organic materials, such as animal fur, non-human bone, wood and bark, were used in a variety of ways, including: • for fishing and hunting (eg canoes, shields, nets, fishing lines, baskets, bowls, animal-teeth barbs, axe hafts, spear-throwers, hunting spears, clubs, twine, paddles); • in textiles and clothing (eg possum-skin and bark cloaks, animal-bone needles, bedding); and • in decoration (teeth, bone, wood, feather and flowers were all used as body ornaments).[52] Most organic material does not preserve well in relatively acidic soils, such as those in the Sydney Basin.[53] However, microscopic plant remains can often be detected on artefacts or within archaeological deposits through specialised testing and analysis.
Ochre quarry	*A source of ochre used for ceremonial occasions, burials, trade and artwork*	None	Sandstone and shale geological formations around Sydney can contain ochre (pigmented earth). Around Sydney, red and yellow ochre (and white pipeclay) were used to decorate people's bodies, weapons and tools, and to create art.[54] Small traces of ochre were present in the upper level of Shaws Creek.[55] Although no 'ochre quarry' is currently recorded in the region, ochre has the potential to be extracted from a variety of geological formations across the Hawkesbury LGA.
Potential Archaeological Deposit	*An area where Aboriginal objects may occur below the ground surface.*	More than 40	Potential archaeological deposits (PADs) are found throughout the Hawkesbury LGA. These are places that, based on association with surface archaeology and predictive modelling, have the potential for artefacts and features to occur below the surface. PADs require further investigation (ie excavation) to determine if deposits exist.
Rock shelters	*A site type that is not explicitly defined in the AHIMS database. This is because rock shelters consist of many different features, such as art, PADs, shell, artefacts and grinding grooves (Figure 3.9). Rock shelters have a high degree of significance: they might contain a wide variety of archaeological evidence which might not have survived in exposed 'open' sites. Besides deep alluvial plains, they are one of the few places that might contain ancient archaeological deposits.*		

Aboriginal site features	Brief description (taken from DPIE)	No. registered on AHIMS	Potential occurrence in the Hawkesbury
Shell	*An accumulation or deposit of shellfish from beach, estuarine, lacustrine or riverine species resulting from Aboriginal gathering and consumption. Usually found in deposits previously referred to as shell middens. Must be found in association with other objects like stone tools, fish bones, charcoal, fireplaces/hearths, and burials. Will vary greatly in size and components.*	Fewer than five	Shell middens in Sydney often are confined to the coast. However, saline waters occur in the Hawkesbury River and reach as far inland as Wisemans Ferry, Macdonald, where there is a known shell midden site. It contains an abundance of rock oyster (Saccostrea glomerata), hair mussel (Trichomya hirsute), whelk (Pyrazus ebeninus), cockle (Anadara trapezia), and limpet (Cellana tramoserica).There is potential for additional midden sites to survive around this area. In addition to shell middens, there is also the potential for shell implements such as fishhooks, 'scrapers' and shells hafted to one end of spear throwers.[56] Such implements might be located in archaeological deposits, including rock shelters.
Stone arrangement	*Human produced arrangements of stone usually associated with ceremonial activities or used as markers for territorial limits or to mark/protect burials*	Fewer than 20	Stone arrangements have been located within the national parks, particularly Yengo National Park in the vicinity of the Macdonald River.
Stone quarry	*Usually a source of good quality stone which is quarried and used for the production of stone tools*	Fewer than five	Stone quarries have the potential to exist in a number of places throughout the Hawksbury LGA. Suitable rock materials may be found in small patches of basalt terrains in national parks, diatremes, or on within alluvial terrains (as river stones) on the Cumberland Plain.
Waterhole	*A source of freshwater for Aboriginal groups which may have traditional ceremonial or dreaming significance and/or may also be used to the present day as a rich resource gathering area (e.g. waterbirds, eels, clays, reeds etc.)*	Fewer than five	Due to artificial drainage and development within more recently developed regions, it is often difficult to assess where small-scale permanent water sources would have once occurred.[57] This is not so much the case in the contemporary national parks, where there are a number of natural lagoons/springs—some of which have been registered.

Figure 3.4 Engraving of aquatic animal (fish, shark or dolphin) in Parr State Conservation Area. Members of Metro LALC interpreted the engraving as a signpost on the way to the nearby river. Note: the figure has been enhanced by shading. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 3.9 Overhang in Shaws Creek. Adriana Genova from HCC is kneeling in front of the sandstone containing the grinding grooves. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 3.5 Anthropomorphic figure engraved into a horizontal rock surface within Yengo National Park. Note: the figure has been enhanced by shading. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 3.6 Rock art from Colo Heights, including a panel of stencilled material objects showing boomerangs, a parrying shield axe, a woomera and large hand stencils. (Source: McDonald 2008, p 64)

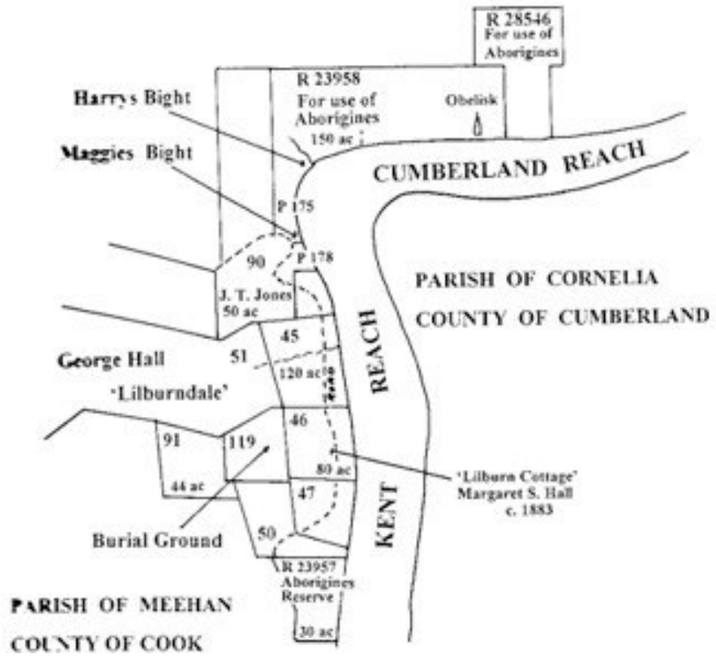


Figure 3.8 Location of various components of the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve, based on land portions around 1889. This includes a 'Burial Ground', potentially referring to the Aboriginal burial ground known to be associated with the reserve. (Source: Brook 1994, p 25 [58])

Figure 3.7 Part of the Indigenous collection from the estate of Bob Power. This is the core of a stone from which smaller pieces have been knapped. The core was found at Hobartville. The closest source of silcrete for the people of the Hawkesbury was on Plumpton Ridge between Bells Creek and Eastern Creek, adjacent to Richmond Road. (Source: Hawkesbury Regional Museum <https://is.gd/897BvY>)

4.0 Understanding the Place—Historical Context

WARNING: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander viewers are warned that the following section contains images of deceased persons.

The aim of this thematic history is to provide a context for understanding and recognising the Aboriginal cultural heritage and significance of places within the Hawkesbury LGA. This section does not provide a highly detailed history of the area, but instead identifies the main periods of development, and the key stories, themes and broader political factors that have shaped the region's Aboriginal history since 1788.

The report builds upon The Hawkesbury: a thematic history (2017) and is supplemented by a high-level desktop survey of primary and secondary historical resources in the following institutions:

- State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW);
- National Library of Australia (NLA);
- NSW State Records & Archives; and
- Hawkesbury City Library.

A full list of resources is provided in the endnotes and bibliography. A map of the key sites described in this section is shown in Figure 4.1.

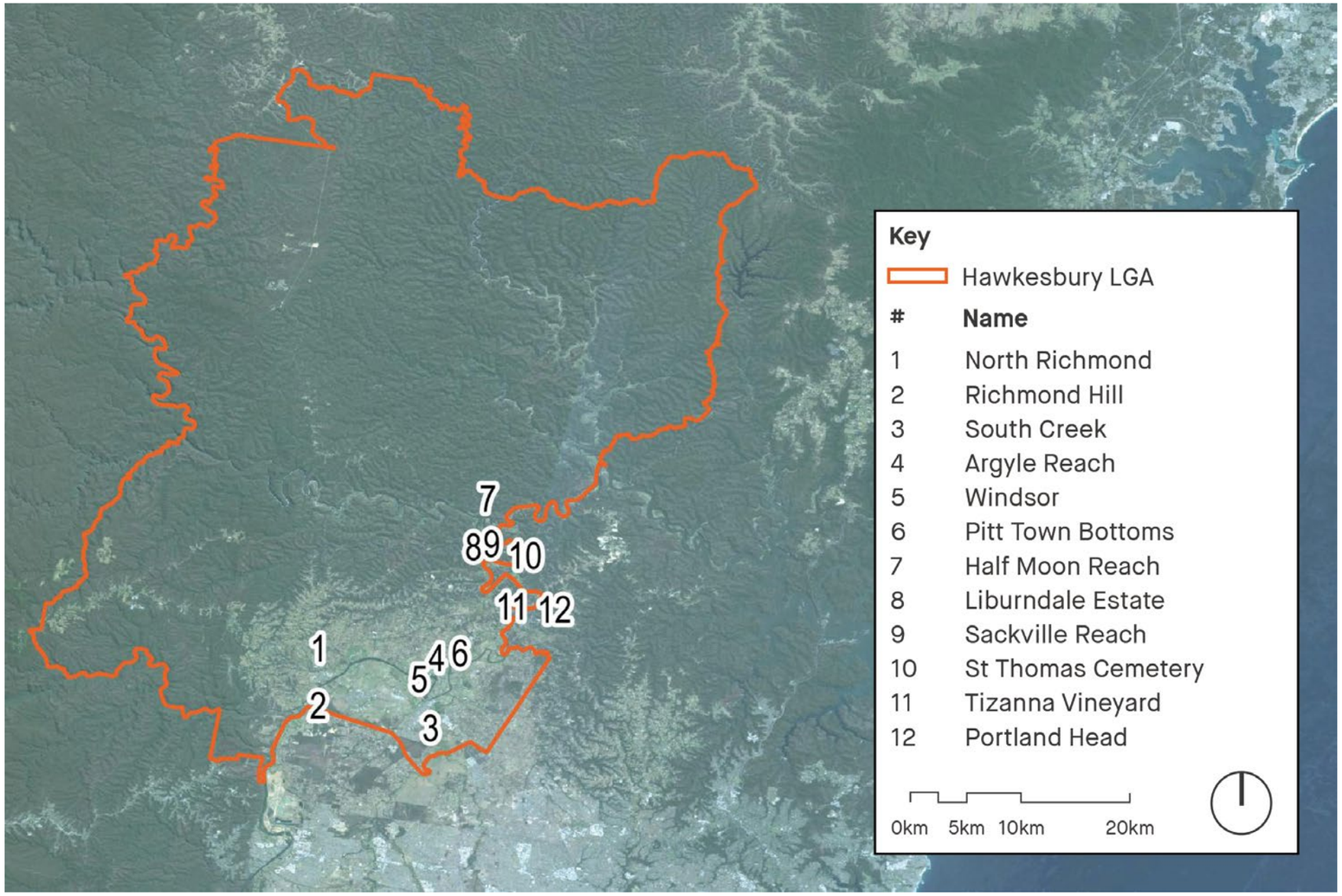


Figure 4.1 A map showing the locations of the historical sites mentioned in this section. (Source: SIX Maps 2016 aerial with GML additions)

4.1 Darug and Darkinjung Connections

The Hawkesbury River (known to the Darug people as Dyarubbin or Deerubbin[59]) was a significant place in Dreaming stories, rich in resources, and a critical means of transport. It also appears to have been a traditional boundary between the two groups of nations. Based on community consultation and early historical records, the Hawkesbury River appears to have been the Country of the Darug people. At the same time, the region to the north and west of the Hawkesbury / Colo River was the Country of the Darkinjung.

It is beyond the scope of this ACHS to reconstruct the lifeways of Darkinjung and Darug people pre-1788. This would require more extensive consultation and a detailed critical review of the archaeological material record. Ideally, Aboriginal people themselves would author any such history, as is recommended for the next ACHS (refer to Section 7.0).

For further information on Darug and Darkinjung people in the Hawkesbury, we recommend reading Grace Karskens' *People of the River: Lost Worlds of Ancient Australia*,[60] and the late Geoffrey Ford's Master of Arts (Research) thesis called *Darkiñung Recognition*.[61] We also recommend contacting Darug and Darkinjung groups directly.

4.2 British Colonisation: First Contact (1788–1794)

With the arrival of the First Fleet in January 1788, the lives of Aboriginal people throughout the region changed dramatically. Theft of and alienation from Country, restricted access to resources, disease, violence and marginalisation had severe and long-lasting impacts on the Aboriginal people of the region. Oral histories preserve memories of this dispossession, while documentary sources provide a detailed account of the encroachment on Aboriginal Country and early cross-cultural encounters.

Soon after the settlement was established at Sydney Cove, Governor Arthur Phillip led a series of expeditions to locate agricultural land and freshwater for the newly formed colony. His exploratory party of 1789 found extensive evidence of Aboriginal occupation along the banks of the river, including 'hunting huts', bark canoes, marks on trees, possum traps and bird decoys.[62] In April 1791, Phillip led an overland expedition to determine if the Hawkesbury and Nepean were the same river. Accompanied by a party of 21, including David Collins, Watkin Tench, John White, William Dawes and Eora guides Colbee and Ballooderry, the group set out from Rose Hill (Parramatta) heading northwest towards Richmond Hill. On 14 April the group encountered a Buruberongal group at Bardenarang Creek—known at the time as Bardo Narang (meaning 'little water'), now called Pitt Town Bottoms. Tench gave a detailed account of the encounter:

> *... Immediately we had stopped, our friend (who had already told us his name) Gombeeree, introduced the man and boy from the canoe to us. The former was named Yellowmundee, the latter Deeimba. The ease with which these people behaved among strangers was as conspicuous, as unexpected. They seated themselves at our fire, partook of our biscuit and pork, drank from our canteens. And heard our guns going off around them without betraying any symptom of fear, distrust or surprise. On the opposite bank of the river they had left their wives and several children, with whom they frequently discoursed.*
>
> *... Soon after they bade us adieu, in unabated friendship and good humour.*[63]

Tench noted that it was evident by this date that smallpox had spread to the northwestern districts, as Gomberee bore facial scars of the disease. The smallpox epidemic had spread in 1789 with a conservative estimate of 50 per cent of the population succumbing to this disease in Sydney harbour,[64] before spreading outward to other regions. As a result of this decimation, many Aboriginal groups united with other groups, re-forming pre-existing cultural connections across the region.[65]

Tench observed the differences between the Buruberongal people and those of coastal Sydney guides:

> *It could not be expected that they should differ materially from the tribes with whom we were acquainted. The same manners and pursuits, the same amusements, the same levity and fickleness, undoubtedly characterized them. What we were able to learn from them was, that they depend but little on fish, as the river yields only mullets, and that their principal support is derived from small animals which they kill, and some roots (a species of wild yam chiefly) which they dig out of the earth. If we rightly understood them, each man possesses two wives. Whence can arise this superabundance of females? Neither of the men had suffered the extraction of a front tooth. We were eager to know whether or not, this custom obtained among them. But neither Colbee, nor Boladeree, would put the question for us; and on the contrary, shewed every desire to wave the subject. The uneasiness which they testified, whenever we renewed it, rather served to confirm a suspicion, which we had long entertained, that this is a mark of subjection imposed by the tribe of Cameragal, (who are certainly the most powerful community in the Country) on the weaker tribes around them. Whether the women cut off a joint of one of the little fingers, like those on the sea coast, we had no opportunity of observing. — These are petty remarks. But one variety struck us more forcibly. Although our natives and the strangers conversed on a par, and understood each other perfectly, yet they spoke different dialects of the same language; many of the most common and necessary words, used in life, bearing no similitude, and others being slightly different.*[65]

The expedition party arrived at Richmond Hill on 15 April and returned to Rose Hill by 16 April.[66] One month later, Tench and Dawes set out on a new expedition to further explore the Hawkesbury and Nepean. At Richmond Hill they encountered a Darug man in a canoe who introduced himself as Deedora, a friend of Gombeeree. He accompanied them and helped them cross the river with another Aboriginal man named Morunga. Tench and Dawes presented Deedora with a hatchet the next morning as a 'token of gratitude and respect' for him climbing a tree to retrieve a hawk that had been shot the day before.

Although these sources tell us little about Aboriginal perspectives on dispossession, they are an important record of early cross-cultural encounters and clearly document the process of colonisation, if not its lasting impacts.

4.3 Hawkesbury and Nepean Wars (1794–1816)

The next phase in the history of the Hawkesbury was a particularly dark chapter characterised by intensifying frontier violence. Now known as the Hawkesbury and Nepean Wars, from 1794 on there was a series of conflicts triggered by the theft of Country along the river and the ever-increasing number of settlers arriving. As Karskens notes:

> *although good relations and mutual assistance were common between settlers and Aboriginal people, violence also almost always flared as a result of dispossession, the loss of food sources, the taking of Aboriginal women and children, assaults and shootings.*[67]

In 1794 Lieutenant-Governor Grose granted 19 allotments of 30 acres each in the vicinity of the Hawkesbury–Nepean River. Early grants stretched from South Creek near McGraths Hill north along Wilberforce Reach to Pitt Town Bottoms. The encroachment on Aboriginal Country soon limited access to resources, water and travelling routes surrounding the Hawkesbury River. This exacerbated tensions, as the expansion of the frontier led to increasing episodes of conflict and violence. According to an account reported by David Collins, one settler had planted and dug a crop of potatoes in three months, 'the natives, however, had given them such interruptions, as induced a necessity for firing upon them, by which, it was said, one man was killed'.[68] It is unclear from Collins' diary when exactly this event took place. However, in retaliation for this death, in September a group of Aboriginal men attacked two men on an Argyle Reach farm, a short distance from the Doyle and Forrester farms. Ex-convict John Wilson, who lived with the local Aboriginal people, gave evidence that George Shadrack and his servant John Akers were attacked by mistake and that Robert Forrester, Michael Doyle and ——— Nixon were the intended targets. A group of Aboriginal people raided the farms a few days later, and during the chase, up to eight Aboriginal people were shot dead and the survivors fled into the hills.[69]

Collins also recorded that in October, an Aboriginal boy was 'cruelly and wantonly murdered' by a group of settlers in the Hawkesbury area. The boy was tied up, dragged through fire before being thrown into the water

and shot 'in conviction of his having been detached as a spy upon the settlers from a large body of natives, and that he was returning to them with an account of their weakness.' Collins concluded that it was 'a tale invented to cover the true circumstance'. He stated that 'the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the natives.'[70] The escalating acts of violence induced Acting Governor Captain William Paterson to send in troops the following January (1795). In his account of events in the Hawkesbury area Collins stated that 'an open war seemed about this time to have commenced between the natives and the settlers'.[71] Two settlers were killed in 1795 during a raid of their farm by a large group of Aboriginal people. In response, Paterson sent a party of corps:

> *with instructions to destroy as many as they could meet with of the 'wood tribe' (Bè-dia-gal); and, in the hope of striking terror, to erect gibbets in different places, whereon the bodies of all they might kill were to be hung.*[72]

Several people were killed but none of the bodies were hung up. Prisoners were taken and sent to Sydney, including five women, several children and one man. Immediately after the corps withdrew from the area in May 1795, a group of Aboriginal people attacked the farm of William Rowe, located opposite to Richmond Hill, killing Rowe and his child. Rowe's wife was also attacked but survived by crawling to the banks of the Hawkesbury River and hiding amongst its reeds.

In 1800, five white settlers appeared before a court charged with the murder of two teenage Aboriginal boys at Edward Powell's farm at Green Hills (Windsor). Though the men were found guilty after days of deliberation, they were later acquitted, much to the disgust of Governor Hunter. He wrote in 1800:

> *Two native boys have been most barbarously murdered by several of the settlers at the Hawkesbury River, not with standing orders have upon this subject been repeatedly given pointing out in what circumstances only they were warranted in punishing with severity.*[73]

The nature of sources reporting on these events and crimes means that understanding events and the numbers of people killed and injured is challenging. Historian Jan Barkley-Jack has estimated that 30 to 34 Aboriginal people and 18 Europeans were killed in the Hawkesbury River district in the early period of settlement between 1794 and 1802.[74] Exact numbers of fatalities will always be difficult to establish, but it is clear that violence characterising this period escalated as more and more settlers arrived on Aboriginal Country.

Conflict escalated further in the Hawkesbury region in 1803. In that year, a petition signed by settlers at Portland Head was forwarded to Governor King, requesting that settlers be allowed to shoot Aboriginal people found on their farms. This document turned out to be a forgery, and the forger was gaoled for several days.[75] Despite the fact that the letter was a forgery, disquiet in the vicinity of the study area bothered Governor King, who in 1804 interviewed 'three of the natives from that part of the river' (Portland Head) about conflict with the settlers in the area. They stated 'that they did not like to be driven from the few places that were left on the banks of the river, where they alone could procure food'.[76] King promised not to establish any more settlers lower down the river, and in return, the Aboriginal people promised to be amicable.

The Governor directed Magistrate Thomas Arndell to form a group of 14 settlers to pursue Aboriginal people and further enquire as to why they had committed 'numerous outrages' at Portland Head. The settlers split into two groups. One group encountered a large group (reported to be 300) of Aboriginal people in the Blue Mountains. Some of the Aboriginal people were allegedly wearing stolen settlers' clothes, and there was reported to be evidence that they had stolen corn. In response to questioning, the Aboriginal people replied that they wanted the corn and clothes 'and whatever else the settlers had' before throwing down spears in a defiant manner. The small group of settlers fired on the Aboriginal people, wounding or killing an unknown number. The Aboriginal group then reportedly pursued the settlers back to Richmond Hill, attempting to recover some of the disputed goods. Around the same time, two Aboriginal people, described by the *Sydney Gazette* as 'most violent and ferocious', were shot and killed by the military detachment in Windsor.[77] Raids and attacks of this nature continued unabated and a fortnight later the *Sydney Gazette* reported that an Aboriginal group attacked farms at Portland Head on 22 June. The homesteads of Crumby and Cuddie at South Creek were totally stripped by group of about 150 people who threatened a servant with spears.[78] In June 1804 Aboriginal warriors Major White and Nabbin were reportedly killed near Richmond Hill.[79]

In an attempt to defuse the violence, Magistrate Arndell met with Richmond Hill Aboriginal chiefs Yaramandy and Yarogowhy. According to the *Sydney Gazette*:

> *Two of the Richmond Hill chiefs, Yaragowhy and Yaramandy were sent for the day after the firing by Rev. Mr. Marsden and Mr. Arndell, residentiary magistrate, who received them in a most friendly manner, and requested that they would exert themselves in putting a period to the mischiefs, at the same time loading them with gifts of food and raiment for themselves and their friendly countrymen'.*[80]

Later in the 1 July issue, the *Sydney Gazette* reported 'that the Natives in and about the Hawkesbury have relinquished their mischievous behaviour, and that a good understanding is happily restored between them and the settlers'. Despite Arndell's pleas, hostilities in Portland Head recurred in winter the following year—a time when displaced Aboriginal people were at their most vulnerable.

In April 1805, three settlers at Half Moon Reach on the Hawkesbury River were murdered by a band of Aboriginal people led by the notorious Branch Jack. Branch Jack subsequently conducted numerous raids on farms in the Colo River before escaping to the mountains. Branch Jack was seen again in September 1805, when he led an Aboriginal raiding party at Mangrove Point (downstream from Wisemans Ferry) with Woglomigh and boarded the vessel The Hawkesbury, while the crew was asleep. The Aboriginal men were discovered by the ship's captain. Both Woglomigh and Branch Jack were shot and killed by the crew.[81]

The *Sydney Gazette* reported in July that a 13-year-old Aboriginal girl was caught trying to set fire to the Hawkesbury River farm of Thomas Chaseland. It was discovered that the girl also burned down the house of Henry Lamb, whose family had brought her up.[82] It regularly occurred that Darkinjung or Darug children were taken after attacks by Europeans on groups, by settlers and soldiers, who as Karskens said, 'seldom become parents in the caring sense', as evident by the fire attack on Henry Lamb's property. [83] Escalating violence prompted the Acting Governor G Blaxcell to send a detachment of the NSW Corps to the Hawkesbury frontier settlements. He also issued a general order on 27 April banning Aboriginal people from the farms:

> *...no Natives be suffered to approach the grounds of dwellings of any Settler until the Murderers are given up.*[84]

Sporadic attacks and raids on settler farms, usually from Aboriginal people dispossesed from their land trying to obtain food, continued throughout the next decade. In 1816, after several years of intensive development in the Hawkesbury area in conjunction with drought and renewed conflict (including major attacks at South Creek), Governor Macquarie ordered

three punitive expeditions against Aboriginal people and that the bodies of those slain would be hung up in the trees 'in order to strike the greater terror into the survivors'. Women and children were not excluded—any who were killed were to be buried 'where they fell'.[85] This led to the notorious Appin massacre, in which at least 14 Aboriginal men, women and children were killed when soldiers under the command of Captain James Wallis shot at and drove a group of Aboriginal people over the gorge of the Cataract River.[86] Aboriginal Elders agreed to end their raids on farms along the Hawkesbury River, possibly as a result of the Appin massacre. In April 1817 Governor Macquarie advised the government in London that 'all Hostility on both Sides has long since Ceased'.[87]

4.4 Ongoing Connections (1817–1889)

By 1828, the numbers of Aboriginal people in the Hawkesbury had declined considerably as a direct result of invasion. Estimates for 1828 suggest that there were around 236 Aboriginal people in the region. A decade later, 115 Aboriginal men, women, boys, and girls were recorded at the Windsor Station in 1839. In 1840, 103 were recorded. Based on government records such as blanket returns, Aboriginal people also lived in other areas of the Hawkesbury region including North Richmond, Macdonald River and Mangrove River.[88] Some reports suggest surviving Aboriginal people banded together in small groups to survive, staying in secluded areas on the margins of colonial society with increasingly restricted access to resources. The principal camp during the 1840s was located near Windsor, at the confluence of South Creek and Eastern Creek. Other camps were in Blacktown; on the northern side of the Hawkesbury such as Lieutenant Archibald Bell's North Richmond land grant; and at Sackville Reach, where the Barber and Everingham family were the prominent groups.[89]

There are contrasting reports regarding population decline in the area. The 1914 reminiscence of Sarah Barlow recalled that in her childhood in the 1930s, Aboriginal people occurred in 'droves' and that she herself witnessed 'large corroborees and initiation ceremonies' at the Emu Ferry Bora ground (present-day Emu Plains, Penrith).[90] This area and others in Richmond and around Penrith were important gathering grounds for Aboriginal people even up to the 1850s, and it is likely that these significant Aboriginal gathering places preceded European invasion.[91]

Despite these narrations, by the 1850s, local newspaper accounts reported that there were fewer Darug and Darkinjung people living in the area. Reverend TC Ewing, a regular visitor to the Hawkesbury and Pitt Town noted, 'we see no blacks here now.'[92] Darug and Darkinjung people

Figure 4.2 After Captain James Wallis, engraved by Walter Preston, 'A view of Hawkesbury and the Blue Mountains, New South Wales', c1818/1821. (Source: Josef Lebovic Gallery, CL194-7_2)

intermarried with Hawkesbury families or left the district to seek work elsewhere. Others lived on the fringes of colonial society and became reliant on settlers for food and clothing, or congregated in camps as noted by 'A Friend of the Blacks' in 1862:

> *There is in the neighbourhood of Lower Portland and Sackville Reach, on the Hawkesbury River, the remnant of a tribe of aboriginals, about twenty in number, who are literally starving, subsisting only upon the hospitality of the inhabitants and the little taken by them in hunting, which is scarcely sufficient to support nature.*[93]

By this time, the largest concentrations of Aboriginal people in the Sydney region were at Sackville Reach and La Perouse. Some members of the Aboriginal community left to seek refuge with neighbouring groups, others obtained work on the properties of colonists that afforded them some degree of protection and allowed them to maintain a connection to Country.

Records from the mid to late nineteenth century highlight the importance of individual Aboriginal people in the region and the role that they played in both their own communities and the wider colonial society. One of these people was Ellen (Bullendella), the wife of John Luke (Johnny) Barber, who died at Sackville Reach in 1863. Ellen was a Wiradjuri women who was in the care of Dr Charles Nicholson when she was a child. She was baptised in the Presbyterian Church on 17 December 1839 in the Parish of Wisemans Ferry, in the County of Lower Hawkesbury. The register records her as eight years old and 'an Aboriginal girl brought from the interior'. Her sponsor was a Mrs Ascough. Ballandella seems to have shared little of the genteel life enjoyed by Mitchell's children.[94] Ellen married John Luke Barber between 1847 and 1850 following the birth in 1846 of her first child Mary by Joseph Howard, a labourer. The marriage was possibly organised by Nicholson.[95] Her importance to the community is highlighted by descriptions of her funeral. When she died she was buried in a good coffin provided as a mark of respect and the funeral was attended by 'a few of the inhabitants and most of the aborigines on the river, who seemed to be very attentive and sorrowful'.[96] Little is reported of Ellen's life at Sackville Reach, but for a racist comment in an obituary in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that 'she was thoroughly domesticated in her habits, and attended to her children as well as could be expected.'[97] Ellen and Johnny, who married three times, were both survived by extended families, many of whom had strong sporting achievements which included cricket and football, a talent for music and involvement in Aboriginal affairs.

Figure 4.3 Vineyard workers at Tizzana, 1895. (Source: Reproduced in Australian Financial Review, 8 February 2017)

Figure 4.4 Group at Sackville Reach Aboriginal Reserve, c1890. Everingham and Barker Family. (Source: University of Sydney, 'A History of Aboriginal Sydney' website <https://historyofaboriginalsydney.edu.au/north-west/location/sackville-reach-aboriginal-reserve>)

Figure 4.5 Darug farmer at Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve, 1900. (Source: Hawkesbury City Council Library Service, 003838)

From the 1880s the Hall family at Lilburndale at West Portland provided farm work for local Aboriginal people.[98] The Hall family were among the many settlers who cultivated multi-generational relationships with Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury River. The Hall family papers in the SLNSW hold some significant evidence: store receipts for goods Aboriginal people were purchasing from them, for example, and lists of the work they did at Lilburndale. Some of the Aboriginal workers included Harry and Andrew Barber (sons of Ellen and Johnny), Tom Dillon, Tukernong, Old Charles (Chorley), Tilley, Effie and Rachel. Hall family diaries also mention Tom Lewis, Tom Twopenny, George, Fred and Peter.

In the 1880s Robert Mathews befriended Aboriginal people at Sackville and documented the language which the people there called Darkinnyoong / Darkinyûng, then spelt as Darkiñung. Principal Aboriginal families living in the area at this time included the Clark(e)s, Dillons, Everingham-Saunders (including Ephraim 'Afie' Everingham, son of Budha [Butha alias Mildred Saunders], both born at Sackville), Barber-Morleys and Newmans.

4.5 Sackville Reach Aboriginal Reserve (1889–1946)

In 1883, a Board for the Protection of Aborigines was established by the State Premier and the Colonial Secretary to manage Aboriginal affairs.[99] This signalled the beginning of successive waves of intervention into Aboriginal lives. Paternalism, control, segregation and assimilation are the core themes that characterised government policies towards Aboriginal people increasingly in this next period of history. The NSW Aborigines Protection (later Welfare) Board created several reserves across the state in the following decade. In 1889, two Aboriginal reserves were proclaimed on the Hawkesbury River on Cumberland Reach (150 acres) and Kent Reach (50 acres). The reserves were proclaimed by the Minister for Lands on 18 December.

The 1891 annual report of the Aborigines Protection Board identified that there were 91 Aboriginal people living in the Hawkesbury and Windsor district at the time. The Board was providing rations to 30 adults and 33 children, with able-bodied men encouraged to work on farms during the spring and harvest. The residents lived in galvanised iron huts they built on both reserves. However, the land was mostly unsuitable for cultivation, so they were provided with a boat for fishing purposes.[100] *The Evening News* described the reserve as a 'Model Aboriginal Village', reporting that the Aboriginal people had transport (boat), children attended the public school and learned to read and write, most played the violin or concertina and adults engaged in fishing to supplement their rations.[101]

The Hall family property Lilburndale at Sackville Reach was likely the distribution point for rations for Hawkesbury Aboriginal people.[102] Some of the Sackville Reach Reserve Aboriginal people also worked at the Tizzana Vineyard operated by Dr Thomas Henry Fiaschi. Fiaschi was an Italian immigrant and Windsor hospital surgeon from 1876.[103] Fiaschi was very involved with the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people and his Aboriginal workers participated in rowing regattas and attended the annual Christmas parties. The Aboriginal community of that part of the river were involved also in local sporting activities. Brothers Fred and Wes Barber, sons of Harry Barber of Sackville, 'did remarkably well in electorate cricket last season, playing for Botany'. The 1908 report in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* continued: 'we understand the Barber brothers, who are at present with their parents at Sackville, will play cricket in the Hawkesbury district during the coming season'.[104]

In October 1926, the death of Martha Everingham was reported in the *Windsor & Richmond Gazette*, where she was described as 'one of the original Hawkesbury aboriginals'.[105] She was buried at St Thomas' Anglican Cemetery in Sackville. Later in November, *The Evening News* published an article titled 'The Vanishing Race', which reported on an appeal to raise money to erect a memorial in the Pitt Town Church of England Cemetery to Martha Everingham, 'the last of the full-blooded aborigines of the Hawkesbury.'[106] Elements of these sources are offensive to modern-day readers, such as ideologies connected to blood-percentage measurements of identity and the mythology that Aboriginal people were 'vanishing'.

The last resident of the Sackville Reserve was Andrew (Andy) Barber, who enjoyed 'a wide popularity in the district'.[107] Born in 1850, he was the first child of Bullendella (Ellen) and John Luke (Johnny) Barber. One local farmer remarked that Andy 'could turn his hand to anything, and did as much work as a man and a half'. Ploughing, fencing and horse-breaking he performed with equal facility. He appears to have been quite a character. Local publicans were not allowed to sell Aborigines liquor, but Andy and a Windsor publican foiled a police charge in court pleading the drink consumed by the Aboriginal, and served by the publican, was not a beer but a shandy.[108] He died in 1943 and was buried in the Church of England Cemetery, Windsor. By this time only 32 of the 50 reserves (excluding stations) in New South Wales were occupied, with a total of 1674 Aboriginal people living on them. The Sackville Reach Reserve was revoked in May 1946 and set aside for public recreation. Six years later Percy Walter Gledhill, president of the Royal Australian Historical Society, donated a commemorative obelisk which was erected on the old reserve

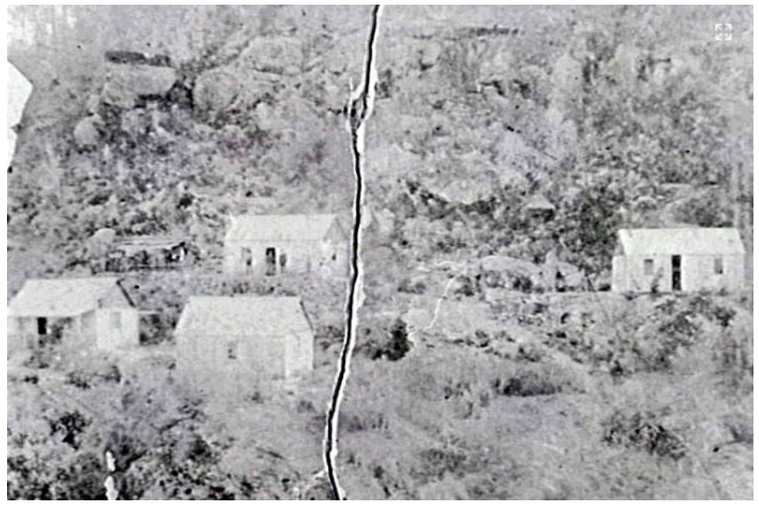


Figure 4.6 Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve, c1900. (Source: Hawkesbury City Council Library Service, 000826)

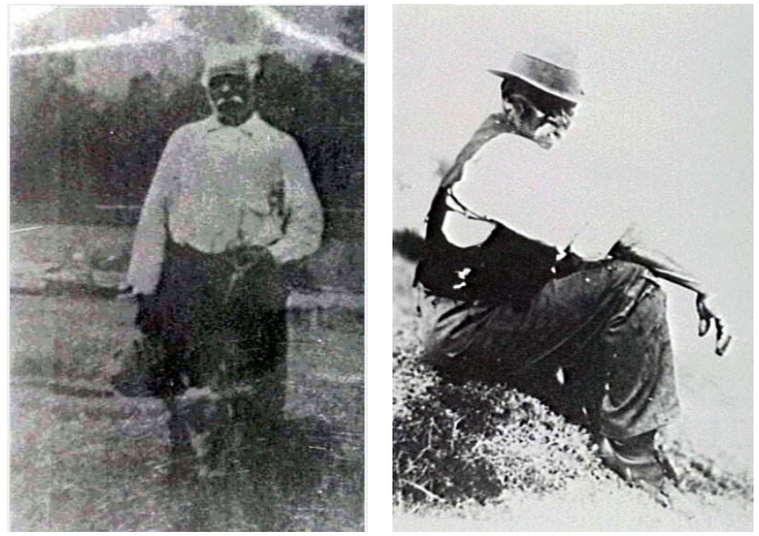


Figure 4.7 Left: Undated portrait of Andrew Barber, son of John Luke Barber and Ballendella (Ellen). Right: Portrait of Harry Barber, undated. (Source: Hawkesbury City Council Library Service, 000754)

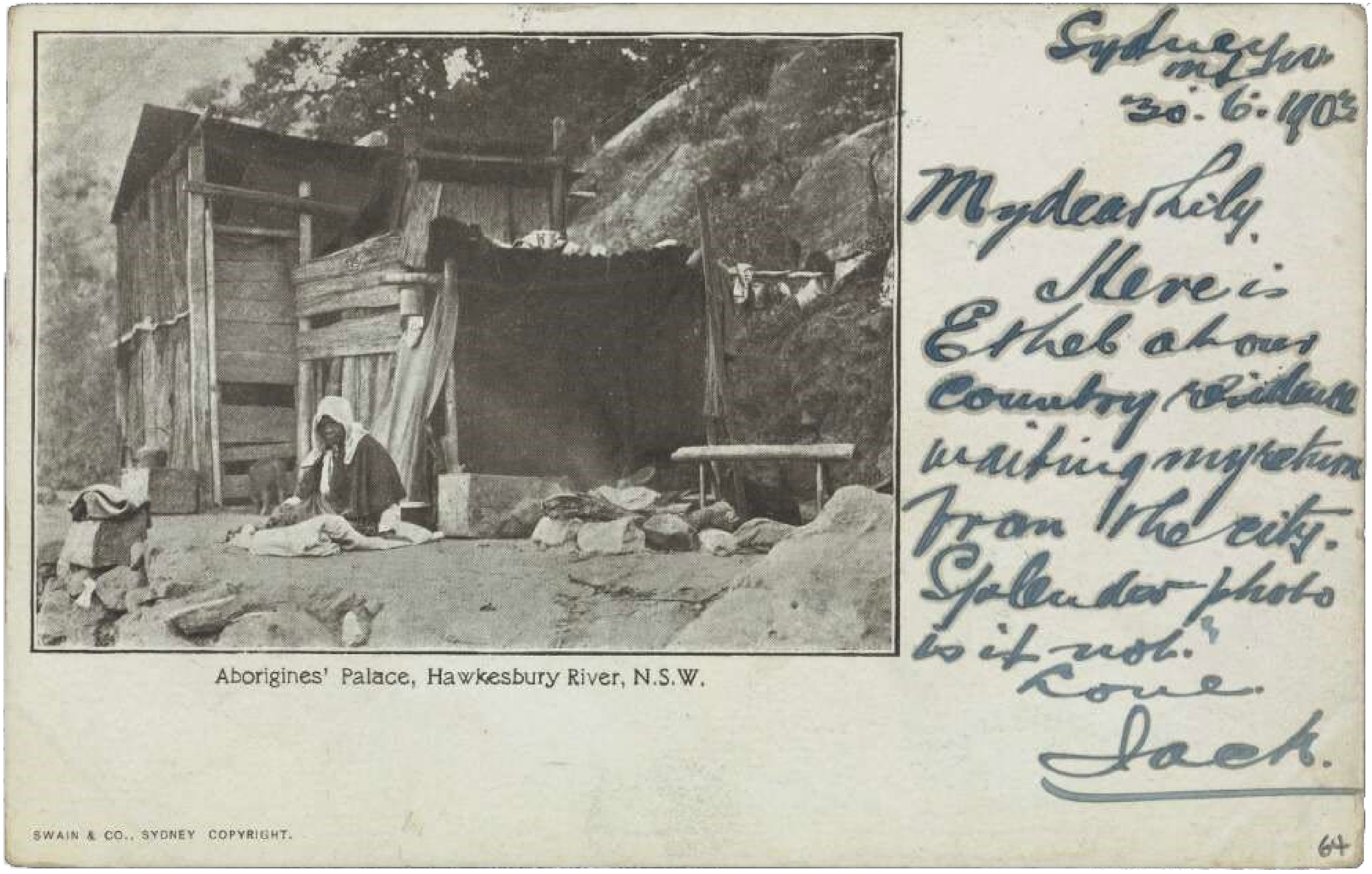


Figure 4.8 Aboriginal settlement, Sackville Reach, 1903. (Source: NLA, nal.obj-153091007-1.jpg)

'as a memorial to the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury'.[109] Some Aboriginal people stayed in the Sackville area while others moved on to other parts of Sydney and beyond.

4.6 National Aboriginal Policy (1949–1988)

In response to the national consensus at the 1937 Commonwealth State conference, the NSW Aborigines Protection Board reconstituted itself around the new goal of assimilation. The Board was renamed the Aborigines Welfare Board in legislation introduced in 1940. Under the *Aborigines Protection Act 1940*, an Aboriginal child found to be neglected under the *Child Welfare Act 1939* became a ward of the Board. The child was removed from their family and rehomed in the Board's institutions and state corrective institutions such as the Parramatta Girls Home. In the 1950s, Aboriginal children were placed in foster homes with non-Indigenous families.[110] In 1958, the Federal Council for Advancement of Aborigines was formed, later changed to the Federal Council of the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, to campaign for changes in the constitution and equal rights for Indigenous people. In 1962, the *Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918* was amended so that all Indigenous people could enrol to vote at federal elections. In 1967, a referendum was passed with an overwhelming majority of Australians voting 'Yes' to count Indigenous Australians in the census and grant the power for Federal Government to create laws that benefited Indigenous people.[111]

In 1969, the NSW Aborigines Welfare Board was abolished, 'leaving over a thousand children in institutional or family care. Almost none of them was being raised by Aborigines, still less by the child's own extended family.'[112] The Aboriginal community was frustrated by the lack of federal government action and formed the Aboriginal Tent Embassy outside Parliament House in 1972. The same year, the Whitlam Government was elected and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was established. Self-determination was adopted as the federal policy for Indigenous people, while Indigenous activists pushed for a treaty and self-government over their local and internal affairs over the next two decades.[113]

Direct impacts of national Aboriginal policies on the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury region are not recorded. However the extensive impacts to Aboriginal people more broadly are known to include loss of traditions, families traumatised through separation, as well as individuals suffering from mental illnesses and possibly also physical, psychological and sexual abuse resulting from living under the state's care or with foster families.[114]

4.7 Reconciliation and National Apology

In 1991 the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was established under the *Aboriginal Reconciliation Act 1991*. This organisation was replaced in 2001 by Reconciliation Australia as the national body promoting reconciliation in Australia. The body seeks to achieve national reconciliation in four areas: race relations, equality and equity, institutional integrity and historical acceptance. Reconciliation Australia encourages a range of organisations such as workplaces, local government authorities and schools to develop a Reconciliation Action Plan.

In 2017 HCC committed to developing a Reconciliation Action Plan using the Reconciliation Australia framework. The Council's Statement of Commitment to Aboriginal Australians is as follows:

> *Council acknowledges that the Darug and Darkinjung people are the traditional owners and custodians of the land throughout the Hawkesbury.*
>
> *Council recognises the continuing connection of Aboriginal peoples to their Country and respects that Aboriginal people were the first people of this land.*
>
> *Council understands that reconciliation is fundamental to creating a healthy and cohesive Hawkesbury and as such is actively working with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to develop its first Reconciliation Action Plan. This Plan will serve as a declaration by Council to work with the community to build an inclusive society that recognises the richness of Aboriginal cultures and values social diversity within the community.*[115]

In 2016, HCC awarded a Hawkesbury Australia Day Posthumous Commemorative plaque in recognition of Gombeeree and Yellowmundi receiving Phillip at Bardenarang Creek on 14 April 1791. The plaque was presented to the descendants of Gombeeree and Yellowmundi at the Hawkesbury Australia Day Ceremony.[116]

4.8 The Real Secret River Dyarubbin

While undertaking research in the SLNSW, Professor Grace Karskens, a historian, discovered a list of Aboriginal place names along the Hawkesbury River, recorded by Reverend John McGarvie, the Presbyterian minister at Pitt Town and Ebenezer in the late 1820s. The Aboriginal names for over 170 places were recorded, listed in geographic order with locational clues such as settlers' names, creeks and lagoons. Karskens, in collaboration with Darug knowledge-holders, artists and educators Leanne Watson, Erin Wilkins, Jasmin Seyour and Rhiannon Wright, launched the 'Real Secret River Dyarubbin' project. They were awarded the SLNSW's Coral Thomas Fellowship for 2018–2019 to undertake fieldwork and research. The project looks to understand the place names within the broader context of the Hawkesbury River, reconnect 'to living Aboriginal knowledge' and explore 'the history, languages, ecology, geography and archaeological evidence of the Hawkesbury River'.[117]

Professor Karskens states:

> *This search for Dyarubbin, the real secret river, is framed and guided by an Aboriginal sense of Country: the belief that people, animals, Law and Country are inseparable, that the land is animate and inspirited, that it is a historical actor.*[118]

People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia was published in September 2020. This monumental work detailed how Aboriginal people have occupied the Hawkesbury–Nepean River for 50,000 years, and how despite the frontier violence that occurred after British invasion, Aboriginal people managed to remain on their Country.[119]

5.0 Aboriginal Community Consultation

This ACHS was written in direct consultation with local Aboriginal community members and organisations. As part of this process, relevant organisations and individuals were invited to register their interest in the project, thereby becoming Registered Aboriginal Parties (RAPs). This consultation has influenced all aspects of the study.[1]

5.1 Aboriginal Connections to the Hawkesbury

Aboriginal connections to the Hawkesbury LGA are based on both history (Section 4.0) and the contemporary lived experiences of the large number of Aboriginal people residing in the region. According to the 2016 census, 3.7 per cent of Hawkesbury residents (2,393 people) said that they were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, or both. Of these, 98 per cent were Aboriginal.[120]

The different (but at times overlapping) groups of Aboriginal people connected to the project area are:

- Descendants of the Darug or Darkinjung Aboriginal language groups. These groups were recorded by surveyor and anthropologist RH Mathews in the 1890s, and are believed to be the original groups of Aboriginal people inhabiting the Hawkesbury LGA, although the exact boundaries of the Darug, Darkinjung and other Sydney Basin/Central Coast language groups are disputed in the historical, oral and contemporary records;[121]
- Aboriginal people who have migrated to Sydney, and since been accepted within the Metro, Deerubbin, or Wanaruah LALCs under the three-point identification system endorsed in the 1980s. These Aboriginal groups have strong kinship ties and connections to a wide range of areas in Sydney and throughout the state;[122] and
- Aboriginal people who are neither connected to Darug or Darkinjung groups nor a member the LALCs, but nevertheless live and/or work (or previously lived and/or worked) in the Hawkesbury area.

This consultation strategy aimed to reach out to as many different sectors of the Hawkesbury Aboriginal community as possible.

5.2 Process of Aboriginal Community Consultation

Aboriginal community consultation was undertaken over the course of this project in several stages:

- **Stage 1**—initial invitation to register and dissemination of information about the project;
- **Stage 2**—questionnaire relating to regional Aboriginal cultural heritage;
- **Stage 3**—site inspections and interviews; and
- **Stage 4**—provision of a draft cultural heritage study for review and comment.

5.2.1 Stage 1—Initial Invitation to Register and Information on the Project

Eighty-seven Aboriginal groups or organisations known to be interested in the Hawkesbury LGA were contacted to register their interest in the project. The list was compiled from HCC records, as well as from Aboriginal groups that have registered interest in archaeological sites in the Hawkesbury LGA in the past. Heritage NSW was contacted to ensure that the list was as up to date as possible, but was unable to provide more information as the study is not strictly related to an Aboriginal Heritage Impact Permit (AHIP).

The groups were provided with information about the project, including details of future community consultation. There was no strict deadline for registrations, and Aboriginal community members were able to opt in to the project when and if they were able to.

Twenty-two groups registered an interest in the project, listed in alphabetical order below. Not all groups participated in all stages of the consultation.

- A1 Indigenous Services;
- Aragung;
- Butucarbin Cultural Heritage Assessments;
- Corroboree Aboriginal Corporation;
- Darkinjung Local Aboriginal Land Council;
- Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments;
- Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation;
- Deerubbin Local Aboriginal Land Council;
- Goobah Developments;
- Goodradigbee Cultural and Heritage Aboriginal Corporation;
- Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Corporation;
- Kamilaroi-Yankuntjatjara Working Group;
- Mad Mob Aboriginal Association for the Hawkesbury;
- Merrigarn Indigenous Corporation;
- Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council;
- Muragadi Heritage Indigenous Corporation;
- Murra Bidgee Mullangari Aboriginal Corporation;
- Paul Gale;
- Warnaruah Local Aboriginal Land Council;
- Widescope Indigenous Group;
- Wurrumay; and
- Yulay Cultural Services.

5.2.2 Stage 2—Questionnaire Relating to Regional Aboriginal Cultural Heritage

Between 26 May and 2 June, a questionnaire was sent out to all RAPs. Eight RAPs responded, some of whom wished to keep their name anonymous. The questions posed, and the responses, are grouped below.

Connections to the Sites in the Hawkesbury

- *I am a Darug Woman, living in the Hawkesbury. I live on Country, and have a strong connection to the river lands here, which I visit and teach on/about regularly. —Erin Wilkins (Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation)*

[1] The following study was limited by being unable to capture feedback from Darkinjung people. This is considered reasonable as custodial Darug lands (south of Colo River) make up most of the non-national park areas in the Hawkesbury. Despite this, we have recommended that future studies involve more extensive consultation with Darkinjung people.

- *Our history is our connection, our stories, our Elders. Our connection is to the land we lived upon. We therefore feel a very strong connection to the Hawkesbury through our family connections, our history. —Anonymous*
- *The whole Hawkesbury area is highly significant to the Aboriginal People. —Phil Kahn (Kamilaroi-Yankuntjatjara Working Group)*
- *The waterways are a great connection and meeting place for us. Also many other sites in the Colo Area. —Caine Carroll (Goodradigbee Cultural & Heritage Aboriginal Corporation)*
- *I am an Aboriginal Elder. I have lived in the Hawkesbury for a huge part of my life. My first stable home was in the Hawkesbury. I was raised in the surrounding areas by my parents also. We Aboriginal people connect through the land and Ancestors. — Cherie Carroll Turrise (Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Corporation)*
- *My personal cultural place is where my dad would tell me stories by the river...It is a part of the Hawkesbury River that is sacred to me. —Anonymous*
- *I have lived in the Hawkesbury LGA on my traditional lands and have done so for a number of years. I have lived in the Western suburbs all my life and attended the Hawkesbury for stories and learning. —Anonymous*

Recommendations and Comments to Hawkesbury City Council

- *I respectfully wish Council and its staff to be aware, respectful and critical in the advocacy of the Darug People and our connection to our country. In doing that, taking some responsibility for the continued maintenance of such spiritual and important sites they have throughout the region. Allow the custodians access into sites that are not on private land ownings. Allow us to maintain custodial obligation through practice and events, sharing our history, customs and truth telling. To support our people, through acknowledgement, recognition and adjusting policies to align with protocol and appropriateness. —Erin Wilkins (Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation)*
- *All of our sites need protection, we also need the council to support local business to grow in the area. —Caine Carroll (Goodradigbee Cultural & Heritage Aboriginal Corporation)*
- *Before any development Aboriginal cultural studies need to be completed. Do not rely upon the AHIMS Register as this is only as accurate as the day of the last find. There is more to culture than the Objects and Art left behind. Land and biodiversity should be managed in a traditional manner to minimise cost and maximise sustainability. —Noel Downes (Warnaruah Local Aboriginal Land Council)*
- *Many of our sites have been mismanaged/not looked after/ protected appropriately. There are sites, however, I do not recommend be open for public access. Much more intensive research into site connection is preferred to understand the link (songline) it follows. Respectful maintenance is a must. —Erin Wilkins (Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation)*
- *I hope they fulfil their obligations to protect all Aboriginal sites. Please keep registered stakeholders updated at all times even in regards to new development found along the way, especially DLALC [Deerubbin Local Aboriginal Land Council] —Phil Kahn (Kamilaroi-Yankuntjatjara Working Group)*
- *It is important to correctly register rock art, shelters and meeting places. They need to be protected from vandals. —Anonymous*
- *...some members families may be of the stolen generation, therefore don't know much at all of family history. But these people are still Aboriginal people. So I ask you be aware that some Aboriginal people do not know what clan/tribe their family came from. They may only know that they are Aboriginal. And they therefore are keen to learn from being part of cultural heritage preservation. —Anonymous*
- *I think that the Hawkesbury area holds a lot of Aboriginal history past and present and as such should be recognised (i.e. plaques in parks and in the Windsor Shopping Centre). —Anonymous*

5.2.3 Stage 3—Site Inspections and Meetings

Between 13 and 17 July 2020, Lara Tooby (GML) and Craig Johnson (HCC) had seven meetings with representatives from nine Aboriginal groups and organisations in the Hawkesbury area. These meetings were either based around inspection of particular sites (to assess condition, and to inform this ACHS) or more formal sit-down discussions and meetings regarding Aboriginal cultural heritage management in the Hawkesbury.

The following documentation of the meetings has been approved and endorsed by each group.

Monday 13 July—Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporations

On Monday 13 July, we met with Leanne Watson, Erin Wilkins and Tylah Blunden from the Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation (DCAC) at Shaws Creek. This not-for-profit organisation has been active in Western Sydney for over 40 years. Members of this organisation feel a profound responsibility to protect Darug sites, places and traditions. Shaws Creek Aboriginal Place is currently used by DCAC and other Darug groups for a number of activities, including promoting wider community awareness and understanding of Darug culture. This is done through both family gatherings, and formal education days such as Allowah Day (a gathering of Aboriginal students from multiple high schools to learn about Aboriginal culture, connecting with their Aboriginal past, and with each other).

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Recommendations

- There should be at least one Darug person on all advisory boards for Aboriginal cultural heritage.
- Conservation of rock art needs to be done by specialists in collaboration with Darug people.
- Aboriginal cultural heritage should be promoted in the Hawkesbury in more accessible, centralised locations.
- Dual language signage (in both Darug language and English) should be placed around public parks with Aboriginal connections, and in sites already known to the general public.

Monday 13 July—Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Corporation and Corroboree Aboriginal Corporation

Cherie Carroll Turrise (Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Corporation) and Marilyn Carroll-Johnson (Corroboree Aboriginal Corporation) are Aboriginal people who are not affiliated with any local Aboriginal land councils or Darug groups but maintain their individual and family connections to the Hawkesbury LGA. Both are part of the generations of Aboriginal people that moved from Aboriginal missions and reserves around NSW to Greater Sydney seeking opportunities in the second half of the twentieth century.

Both have lived associations with the Hawkesbury area; they were raised here and share ongoing links to the land. These connections are embedded in their family history.

Cherie and Marilyn are both the children of Phillip Edward Carroll and Lillian Kathleen Carroll. Phillip and Lillian moved from the Aboriginal Mission in Yass to Western Sydney, seeking work: many Aboriginal people worked in the Hawkesbury at the abattoir and knackery (still present today). Due to their nomadic past, they identify as 'Aboriginal' rather than as linked to a specific Country or language group, although they have ancestral lines originating from Ngunnawal Country (ACT and Surrounds). They consider Vineyard their 'home base', where they predominantly lived and went to school.

They spoke of the enduring importance of the waterways to Aboriginal people, such as the Hawkesbury River. The meeting place at Macquarie Park, near Windsor Bridge, was chosen to embody this ongoing connection to their family's past.

Cherie and Marilyn hope there is further signage across the Hawkesbury LGA describing Darug and other Aboriginal connections for future generations.

Tuesday 14 July—Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Recommendations

- Darug Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessments (DACHA) wants to ensure that Darug people and their history are recognised in the community.
- Considering the already immense destruction of Aboriginal cultural heritage in the Hawkesbury, DACHA hopes that what remains is conserved for future generations.

Tuesday 14 July—Mad Mob Aboriginal Corporation

The meeting with Mad Mob Aboriginal Corporation representative Chris Miller was held at the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve Memorial. Chris pointed out that the Sackville Reserve Area was located in a craggy, overgrown escarpment west of the memorial, adding that, 'they put the mission areas where no crops could grow; where the land was rocky.' Mad Mob Aboriginal Corporation is a not-for-profit, 100% volunteer-based group for Aboriginal people in the Hawkesbury. It started as an art group with art classes, which then expanded into a corporation to support Aboriginal people. Currently, there are around 60 members in the organisation.

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Recommendations

- Regarding Aboriginal cultural heritage management, Mad Mob defers all decision-making to Darug groups (or Darkinjung in the north of the LGA). Mad Mob does not manage sites, but instead helps 'keep an eye' on them, letting the NPWS and the Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation know if any sites require maintenance works.

Wednesday 15 July—Wanaruah Local Aboriginal Land Council

Suzie Worth worked for many years as cultural heritage officer with the Wanaruah Local Aboriginal Land Council with qualifications as an Indigenous archaeologist and identifies as a proud Gadigal woman with strong association with Wonnarua and Worimi country. Suzie described working in Aboriginal cultural heritage assessment (ACHA) legislation and being an Indigenous archaeologist as entailing a constant conflict of interest. Often these studies conclude with the sites being destroyed which is very hard to accept. Furthermore, she finds it impossible to 'rank' cultural site values, as Suzie understands these sites provide evidence of ancestral presence and evidence of past Aboriginal use of the land. All sites are of equal significant cultural value. These cultural beliefs do not conform to a system of scientific evaluation.

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Recommendations

- Support AHIPs for Aboriginal site monitoring of civil works processes for proposed development activities and include protective temporary fencing of Aboriginal sites if they are not going to be directly impacted. These strategies are often desired by Aboriginal people, in preference to full or test archaeological excavations when these are not always necessary. It is the belief of Traditional Custodians that Aboriginal artefacts should not leave or must always be returned to the Country where they were found, if scientific analysis is necessary.
- Consider the possibility that nineteenth- or early twentieth-century houses (or old building foundations) may be capping Aboriginal cultural heritage—early pioneer settlers would often build directly on top of occupation sites to dissuade Aboriginal people from returning to the area. There are many examples of these discoveries in our regional and main cities, as well as midden and camp sites recorded under houses on rural properties.
- Most importantly, involve Aboriginal people from the beginning of the ACHA process. The Traditional Owners and Custodians of the land (many of these being Elders) have cultural and historical knowledge of the land. Without giving the Aboriginal people the opportunity to walk the land and to be involved in the final decision-making processes, such cultural values will be lost. Involving Aboriginal people from Stage 1 of the ACHA process respectfully directs the course of the assessment process from the very beginning.

Thursday 16 July—Metropolitan Local Aboriginal Land Council

Metro LALC has jurisdiction through the northern edge of the Hawkesbury LGA mainly through the Yengo National Park and Parr State Conservation Area. During a site inspection with Selina Timothy, Kevin Telford, Cagney Hedger and Joshua Merr, a meeting was held at a rock engraving (45-2-0103) in Parr State Conservation Area, in order to understand the context of rock engraving maintenance throughout the Hawkesbury. Selina advised that a heritage officer, Brad Welsh, undertakes 'highlighting' of engravings (gentle re-grooving, removing lichen, and touch-ups). The significance of such engraving sites was also discussed—for example, the engraving we saw, of what looked like a species of fish (Figure 3.9, Section 3.0), appeared to be facing towards the river, which Kevin perceived as signage indicating that that type of fish was present in the river.

Selina spoke about Metro LALC members' wish to work together with other groups (eg other Aboriginal groups, councils, and the general public) towards the goal of Aboriginal cultural heritage management. Selina and Cagney emphasised that cultural awareness training is a large part of cultural heritage management, as it reinforces and promotes the significance of sites and Country.

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Recommendations

- Bring together various stakeholders and groups to work collectively towards the goal of Aboriginal cultural heritage management.
- Use cultural awareness training to reinforce community understanding of Aboriginal sites.
- Ensure rock art sites are regularly monitored and maintained. The maintenance of rock art sites should be done by rock art specialists in collaboration with the local Aboriginal community.

Friday 17 July—Deerubbin Local Aboriginal Land Council

Steve Randall and Phil Kahn represent Deerubbin LALC and Kamilaroi-Yankuntjatjara Working Group, respectively. Steve is currently the cultural heritage officer of Deerubbin, a role Phil previously held before starting up his own practice. The Deerubbin LALC areas cover most of the Hawkesbury City Council-managed land in the LGA. The Deerubbin LALC started in 1983 under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW). Since this time, both Steve and Phil have been involved in Aboriginal cultural heritage throughout the region. They look after a large community of Aboriginal people who are members of their Land Council, promoting their wellbeing and interests.

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Recommendations

- Deerubbin LALC should be informed and involved in all development application (DA) recommendations in the first instance (ie due diligence site inspections).
- A memorandum of understanding should be set up between Deerubbin LALC and HCC.
- Open conversations should be held regarding methodologies for any Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments in the Hawkesbury LGA.
- Places that are already open to the public can have signage to promote a better understanding of Aboriginal culture.

5.3 Conclusions

Conclusions from the community consultation for this project are listed below. These are embedded within the recommendations for the ACHS presented throughout this chapter and elaborated in Section 7.0.

- Many groups expressed the desire for more community engagement in the Hawkesbury, often citing signage as being a good start. Most groups felt that interpretation signage should outline Darug people as Traditional Custodians in the Hawkesbury (south of the Colo River), with Darkinjung people to the north; Signage should be in public places, and not around sensitive sites (eg rock art), especially if the locations of these sites are already confidential.
- Water corridors along the Hawkesbury are continuously referenced as places of immense significance to the Aboriginal community, and therefore might be appropriate settings for future public art or interpretation (see Section 7.0).
- Many groups mentioned their desire for better engagement in the Hawkesbury local DA process, believing that Aboriginal cultural heritage studies need to be completed before development is approved. Further suggestions on engaging Aboriginal people earlier on in the process are explored in Section 7.0.
- Some groups mentioned that Aboriginal cultural heritage is poorly understood in the Hawkesbury, with more understanding and initiatives for European heritage. There needs to be a more balanced approach to all facets of heritage in the Hawkesbury LGA, as elaborated in Section 7.0.

Figure 5.1 From left to right: Leanne Watson (DCAC), Adriana Bellomo (HCC), Craig Johnson (HCC), Erin Wilkins (DCAC), Keirilee James (NPWS, invited by DCAC) and Tylah Blunden (DCAC) visiting a kangaroo rock engraving, which is associated with the Shaws Creek Aboriginal Place. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 5.2 Cherie Carroll Turrise (left) and Marilyn Carroll-Johnson (right) at Macquarie Park, alongside the Hawkesbury River. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 5.3 Chris Miller (left) and Janine Madden (HCC) in front of the Sackville Reserve Aboriginal Memorial. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 5.4 Suzie Worth (left) and Craig Johnson (HCC) discussing engravings in Yengo National Park. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 5.5 Selina Timothy and Cagney Hedger looking for engravings in Parr State Conservation Area. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 5.6 Steve Randall (left) and Phil Kahn (right) at Yarramundi Reserve. (Source: GML 2020)

6.0 Sensitive Zones

6.1 Overview

This ACHS has resulted in the identification of several highly sensitive zones for Aboriginal cultural heritage, which are listed below.

- **All national park areas**—countless Aboriginal cultural heritage areas are within the national parks around the Hawkesbury. These areas are currently managed by the NPWS, with sites being regularly monitored by park rangers.
- **Hawkesbury River Corridor**—there is potential for rare and ancient archaeological deposits (some of the oldest archaeology in southeastern Australia) deep below the surface on the banks of the Hawkesbury–Nepean River. Figure 6.1 indicates where alluvium and aeolian deposits are likely to occur along the river. Any proposed construction in association with these deposits should include an appropriate investigative methodology relevant for the potential for deep archaeology-bearing deposits. All excavation work should be done in collaboration with Aboriginal people.
- **Areas with Hawkesbury Sandstone escarpments which might form rock shelters**—rock shelters often preserve archaeological deposits, features and art better than open (non-sheltered) sites, as they are protected from external elements. Rock shelters have potential to occur across the Hawkesbury outside of the floodplain. Many rock shelter sites would occur on private properties, and many would not be registered on AHIMS.
- **The Sackville Aboriginal Reserve Area**—Sackville Aboriginal Reserve has immense sensitivity. Not only was it the site of an Aboriginal settlement, but there is also evidence that there could be a burial ground nearby. A tentative outline of the main Sackville Aboriginal Reserve area is shown in Figure 6.2, stretching from the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve memorial obelisk park area (Figure 6.3) down to the next bend in the river, known in the early twentieth century as Harry's Bight and Maggie's Bight (Figure 6.4).[123] However, early maps (such as that shown in Figure 3.1) indicate that other areas associated with the reserve could be outside the mapped area along the southern sections of Portland Road. Therefore, Figure 6.2 should be considered an indicative outline only until refined (a future research recommendation in Section 8.0).
- **Cattai Bridge Reserve**—this Council-owned reserve was recently identified by DCAC as holding multiple (+5) scarred trees on paperbark. It shows evidence of Darug people removing paperbark as a water-repellent material for multiple uses, including textiles. Cattai Bridge is shown in Figure 6.6, and two of the scarred trees are shown in Figures 6.7 and 6.8. Although the date of the scars is unknown, based on the age of the trees, it is likely the scars date post-1788, demonstrating Darug people using the area after the occupation of European people. The site is across the river from Cattai Bridge Reserve in the Hills Shire, which is known as a significant cultural area to the Darug people today. As of July 2020, DCAC is in the process of organising the scar trees to be registered on AHIMS.
- **Areas where there has been limited developmental disturbance, or where development has not deeply impacted subsurface soil profiles**—some eighteenth-century houses may have been built directly onto Aboriginal sites to discourage Aboriginal people from returning to the area, as described by Suzie Worth in Section 5.0.

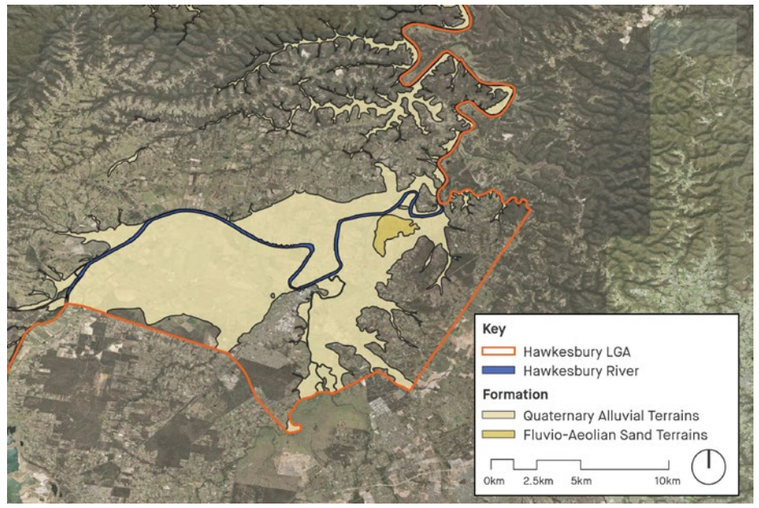


Figure 6.1 Location of alluvial and aeolian sands with archaeological potential in the Lower Hawkesbury region. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML inclusions)

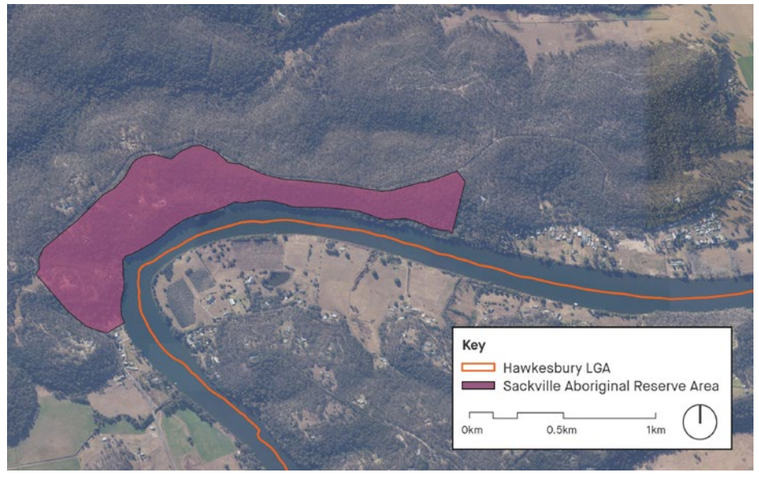


Figure 6.2 Rough extent of the main portion of the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve area in Sackville, south of Cumberland Reach. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML inclusions)

Figure 6.3 Memorial marking the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve, erected in 1952. The front inscription reads: 'This obelisk erected as a memorial to the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury for whom this area was originally reserved'. [124] (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 6.4 Overlooking the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve area, looking towards the bend in the river known as Harry's Bight, [125] taken from Laws Farm Road facing west. (Source: GML 2020)

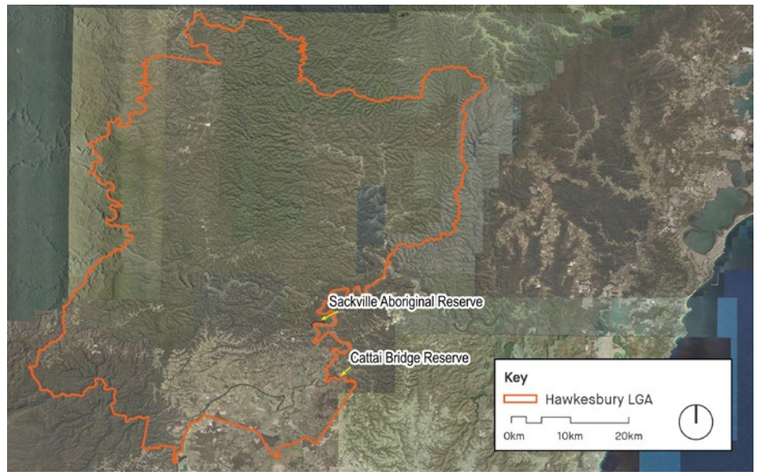


Figure 6.5 Location of Sackville Aboriginal Reserve area and Cattai Bridge Reserve within the Hawkesbury LGA. (Source: SIX Maps aerials with GML inclusions)

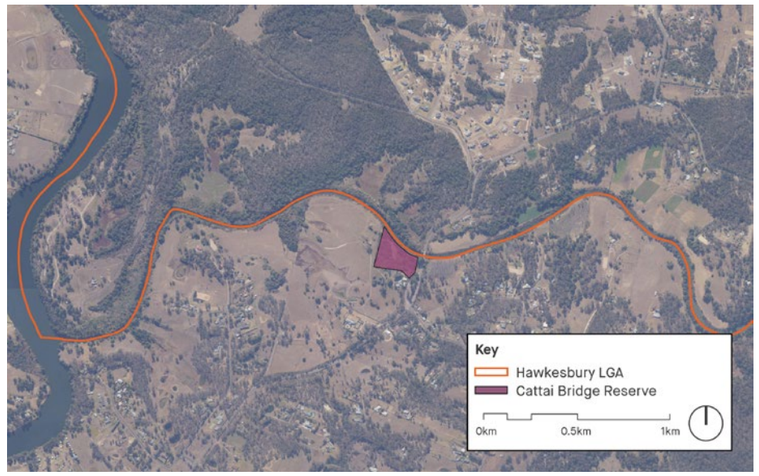


Figure 6.6 Location of Cattai Bridge Reserve, showing it on the edge of Cattai Creek, where the Hawkesbury LGA meets the Hills Shire LGA. (Source: SIX Maps aerial with GML inclusions)

Figure 6.7 Large scar tree in Cattai Bridge Reserve, showing the removal of bark. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 6.8 Scar tree in Cattai Bridge Reserve, showing the removal of bark. (Source: GML 2020)

Figure 6.9 Scar Tree with small scar in Cattai Bridge Reserve. (Source: GML 2020).

7.0 Heritage Management Recommendations

The following section aims to outline achievable, precise aims for HCC to manage Aboriginal cultural heritage within its jurisdiction. It considers five management focus areas: culturally sustainable local development, further works at known sites, consultation with local Aboriginal community groups, interpretation strategy, and future editions of this ACHS.

These recommendations are compatible with the NPW Act, the Heritage Act, and the Hawkesbury Local Environmental Plan 2012 (Hawkesbury LEP).

7.1 Management Focus 1—Culturally Sustainable Local Development

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage and Local Development

As part of the planning and development process, HCC can make a positive contribution to managing Aboriginal heritage through local planning and development requirements. This process can help to identify and safeguard Aboriginal heritage during the planning and development application process and can also serve to assist DA applicants by ensuring that they undertake prudent Aboriginal cultural heritage due diligence before development.

Of relevance to local development and Aboriginal cultural heritage, the Hawkesbury LEP (Part 5 Clause 5.10, 8a) states:

> *The consent authority must, before granting consent under this clause to the carrying out of development in an Aboriginal place of heritage significance—*
>
> *(a) consider the effect of the proposed development on the heritage significance of the Place and any Aboriginal object known or reasonably likely to be located at the Place by means of an adequate investigation and assessment.*[126]

HCC can assist proponents in determining the likelihood of an Aboriginal object or Place being located at a proposed development site, through implementing the following process wherever possible:

- AHIMS search—HCC could undertake a free 'basic search' through the AHIMS portal for the Lot and DP where works are proposed to occur. The search should include a 50-metre buffer. The search would determine whether or not there are known Aboriginal sites or objects in, or in the direct vicinity of, the proposed development. If there are Aboriginal sites or objects, an Aboriginal cultural heritage due diligence assessment should be required as part of the DA assessment, to determine if it is likely there will be impacts to the site or objects, and whether or not those impacts can be avoided. If not, the Aboriginal cultural heritage due diligence assessment should specify the requirements for further cultural heritage assessment to be undertaken before DA approval.
- Unless there is prior verification that no surface or subsurface Aboriginal cultural heritage will be impacted by works, an Aboriginal cultural heritage due diligence assessment should be undertaken before any works proceed. By undertaking an Aboriginal cultural heritage due diligence assessment, the proponent is provided with a defence against prosecution (under the NPW Act) if they later unknowingly harm an object without an AHIP. The due diligence assessment should involve a site inspection, in which both a member of the relevant LALC and a member of a Darug organisation are invited to attend to confirm the findings of the assessment. This assessment should be submitted with the DA, confirming whether additional Aboriginal cultural heritage management is needed.[127]

It is beyond the scope of this report to conclusively state exactly where there will **not** be Aboriginal cultural heritage in the Hawkesbury LGA area. However, this report has indicated particularly sensitive zones in Section 6.0. If the HCC is unsure about the potential for Aboriginal cultural heritage at a particular site, a due diligence assessment should be incorporated into the DA process.

7.2 Management Focus 2—Further Works at Known Sites

Cattai Bridge Reserve—Further Works

As described in Section 6.0, a large number of scarred trees have recently been identified in Cattai Bridge Reserve. This area requires ongoing research, interpretation, management and conservation. The trees are currently at risk of being damaged by illegal off-road vehicle driving tearing up the land surface around the reserve (Figure 7.1). As Cattai Bridge Reserve is Council property, and accessible to the public, it is recommended that Council look to minimise this risk by excluding vehicular traffic from this area. Once appropriate vehicle access restrictions have been implemented, this site would be an ideal location for further interpretation signage. As part of the ongoing management of this property, it is recommended that HCC:

- Undertake further research and conservation management planning for the site, including planning for the installation of vehicle exclusion barriers.
- Undertake cultural heritage interpretation planning for the site, including planning for interpretation signage to allow visitors to understand and respect the cultural significance of the area. The interpretation strategy should include relevant protection of the trees, for which DCAC can provide advice.

These recommendations were made in collaboration with DCAC, which should be involved in their implementation.

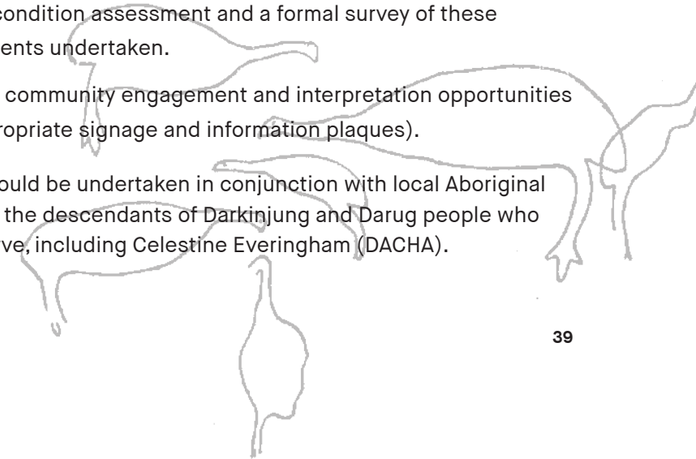
Sackville Aboriginal Reserve—Further Works

Sackville Bridge Memorial Reserve is an integral part of the history of Aboriginal people in Greater Sydney. Some research has already been conducted on the site, including the book *Shut out of the World*.[128] However, there are no publicly available, georeferenced maps of the extent and components of this reserve. Furthermore, preliminary research has identified the potential for an Aboriginal burial ground in the vicinity of the reserve site, but its location has not been verified.

Due to the significance of the site, it is recommended that HCC seek funding to:

- Define the parameters and components of the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve, both on public and private land. These components should then be registered on AHIMS.
- Have a condition assessment and a formal survey of these components undertaken.
- Look for community engagement and interpretation opportunities (eg appropriate signage and information plaques).

These actions should be undertaken in conjunction with local Aboriginal groups, including the descendants of Darkinjung and Darug people who lived on the reserve, including Celestine Everingham (DACHA).



7.3 Management Focus 3—Consultation with Local Aboriginal Community Groups

Aboriginal Participation on the Heritage Advisory Board at Council

During Aboriginal community consultation, concern was expressed that the Aboriginal community is not represented on the Heritage Advisory Board.

Aboriginal people should be considered for representation on the board to advise on Aboriginal cultural heritage matters, including future initiatives, projects and planning. It is recommended that the appointment of Aboriginal advisers be organised by HCC as an immediate priority.

7.4 Management Focus 4—Interpretation Strategy

Hawkesbury Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Interpretation Strategy

This study found that many Aboriginal people feel that Aboriginal cultural heritage is under-promoted in the Hawkesbury.

To address this issue, it is recommended that a Hawkesbury Aboriginal cultural heritage interpretation strategy be prepared in consultation with local Aboriginal people. The interpretation strategy should identify opportunities for public art and signage, and provide costings and content for the installation of these elements.

7.5 Management Focus 5—Future Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Studies

Future Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Studies

This report is intended to be the first edition of an evolving Aboriginal cultural heritage study for the Hawkesbury. However, such studies often depend on the availability of funding; for example, this present study was the result of ACHS grants provided by the NSW Government.

With this in mind, it is recommended future editions of the Hawkesbury ACHS also seek available funding opportunities. Updates to the ACHS should be considered an urgent priority whenever:

- there are substantive revisions to the Hawkesbury Development Control Plan 2002 (DCP);
- there are substantive revisions to the Hawkesbury LEP; and
- there are any changes to Aboriginal cultural heritage legislation (which are anticipated to occur over the next five years).

No more than 10 years should pass between each edition of the Hawkesbury ACHS. Each edition should review whether recommendations made in the previous study have been successfully implemented, discuss new Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments, and capture renewed and evolving Aboriginal community perspectives, knowledge, issues and suggestions. The study should include the following components.

Descriptions of the Lifeways of Darkinjung and Darug People Pre-1788

This current version of the ACHS has omitted details on the pre-1788 life of Darkinjung and Darug people. It is felt that Aboriginal people should be engaged directly to assist with the writing of this section. It is hoped that with sufficient planning and organising, the ACHS can incorporate such a history to help proactively inform future interpretation strategies and raise public awareness about Darug and Darkinjung culture.

Significance Assessment written by Darug and Darkinjung People

A significance assessment of the various sites and broader area of the Hawkesbury LGA should be written by Darug people and Darkinjung people within each of their land areas.

Further Investigation of the Massacre Site at St Albans

Telling the truth about massacres and other frontier violence is an important component of any future ACHS. As Grace Karskens states:

> *Acknowledging that these atrocities occurred, and that they were integral to colonisation, is fundamental to any national reconciliation process, or, more properly, makarrata, a Yolngu Matha word meaning the restoration of peace after dispute and conflict.*[129]

The current heritage study has mentioned the different aspects of the violence; however, some areas require more detailed assessment. Leanne Watson from DCAC mentioned that there was a massacre site(s) in St Albans. Information on this site is not readily accessible online and warrants further community consultation and research. If the location

Figure 7.1 Evidence of illegal off-road driving occurring in the vicinity of scar trees. This is causing ground disturbance and vegetation damage. (Source: GML 2020)

of the site can be found, it should be registered on AHIMS. Furthermore, other areas associated with conflict in the historical record should be ground-truthed and registered on AHIMS, pending the wishes of the local Aboriginal community.

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage on Private Property

In order to protect and conserve Aboriginal cultural heritage sites on privately owned properties, a dialogue needs to be opened between the general community, Council and the local Aboriginal community.

To commence this dialogue, it is recommended that a thorough review of sensitive AHIMS sites on private property take place. Once the addresses of properties with AHIMS sites are identified, a letter should be sent to the property homeowners advising them that there is an Aboriginal site on their property and that they have obligations under the NPW Act to ensure that the site is unharmed. The letter should also identify who to contact if urgent maintenance works are needed (particularly for art sites) and provide contact details for further information. The letter could also ask whether they would be interested in attending a more formal workshop regarding the management of Aboriginal cultural heritage on private property.

In conjunction with this, local Aboriginal community representatives should be contacted to enquire if they are aware of any known yet unregistered sites on private properties. If any properties are identified, the homeowners should be sent a letter asking whether they would grant permission for a heritage specialist and local Aboriginal community member to inspect the property and enable any identified sites to be registered on AHIMS to ensure ongoing protection.

HCC should consider whether relevant Aboriginal cultural heritage information could be provided on S149 planning certificates (now known as Section 10.7 certificates).

It is recommended that the correspondence to property owners, and follow-up inspections, form a key component of the next ACHS.

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage on Council-owned Properties

Table 7.1 shows Aboriginal cultural heritage sites found on Council-owned properties in the Hawkesbury LGA current as of April 2020. Of these sites, the art site (45-5-2792) and grinding groove site (45-2-2507) are most vulnerable to deterioration. To ensure the sites are being monitored, it is recommended that the next iteration of the ACHS should include site inspection of these locations to document their condition and assess whether or not maintenance works are needed.

Table 7.1 Aboriginal Sites Found on Council-owned Properties in the Hawkesbury LGA as of April 2020.
(NOTE: This table should only be shared between heritage practitioners, Aboriginal organisations involved with this study, and members of HCC.)

Site ID	Name	Type	Suburb
45-5-2740	ISF	Artefact	Richmond Lowlands
45-5-5077	NR-IA1-18	Artefact	North Richmond
45-5-0718	WR79	Artefact	South Windsor
45-5-0444	Yarramundi 1 Richmond	Artefact	Yarramundi
45-5-0969	Argyle 1	Artefact	Ebenezer
45-2-2507	A906 (Lower Portland)	Grinding Groove	Blaxlands Ridge
45-5-2738	WD6	Artefact	Maraylya
45-5-2792	OAS	Art (Pigment or Engraved)	Freemans Reach
45-5-0405	Rickabys Creek RC 28	Artefact	Bligh Park
45-5-3303	PAD MHCS	Potential Archaeological Deposit (PAD)	McGraths Hill
45-5-3045	PT7	Artefact	Pitt Town
45-5-2939	PAD 7	Potential Archaeological Deposit (PAD)	Mulgrave
45-5-0389	Rickabys Creek RC 1	Artefact	South Windsor
45-5-2736	WD8	Artefact	Vineyard
45-5-4940	McQuade Park IF1	Artefact	Windsor
45-5-0401	Rickabys Creek RC 10	Artefact	Bligh Park

8.0 Implementation Plan

This section provides an outline of the next steps for implementation of the recommendations in this ACHS. We understand that the implementation of the recommendations should be staged and prioritised depending on funding and scope. To assist with this staging, we have allocated the following prioritisation categories:

- High—implement within one year;
- Moderate—implement within two to five years; and
- Low—implement within five to 10 years.

All these initiatives involve ongoing consultation with the local Aboriginal community and are presented in greater detail in Section 7.0.

Table 8.1 Summary of Recommended Actions to be Achieved in regards to Aboriginal Cultural Heritage in the Hawkesbury LGA by 2030.

2020 ACHS Recommendation	Priority	Summary of Required Actions
Immediate actions		
Aboriginal cultural heritage and local development	High	Provide a copy of this ACHS to all HCC personnel responsible for dealing with development applications. Implement internal training for council staff on the value and processes of managing Aboriginal heritage during the development process, as outlined in Section 7.1. HCC should engage a full-time or part-time staff member to manage the administration of Aboriginal cultural heritage in the Hawkesbury, either an Aboriginal person, or someone working in direct association with the local Aboriginal community.
Aboriginal participation on the Heritage Advisory Board at Council	High	Establish pathway and planning actions for engaging Aboriginal community representation on the Heritage Advisory Board.
Independent projects		
Cattai Bridge Reserve—further works	High	Seek funding to undertake further research and conservation management planning of the site, as well as the installation of a vehicle exclusion barrier and interpretation strategies.
Sackville Aboriginal Reserve—further works	Moderate	Seek funding to undertake a research project on the Sackville Aboriginal Reserve. Minimum requirements should include georeferenced mapping of the boundaries and components of the area, an inspection of on-site remains, and the establishment of strategies for community engagement and education.
Hawkesbury Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Interpretation Strategy	Moderate	Seek funding to undertake an Aboriginal cultural heritage interpretation strategy for the Hawkesbury LGA, with a focus on looking for areas to install signage and public art.
Incorporations into the next Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study		
Future Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Studies	Low	Seek funding to ensure the production by 2030 of an updated edition of the ACHS.
Provision of information to owners of private property with known Aboriginal sites	Low	Plan for consultation with landowners that have known Aboriginal sites on their properties, as part of the next edition of the ACHS.
Monitoring of Aboriginal cultural heritage sites on Council-owned properties	Low	Establish a periodic and recurring monitoring and inspection schedule for all Council-owned properties with Aboriginal cultural heritage, to ensure that sites under HCC jurisdiction have adequate ongoing maintenance. This action may be planned as part of the implementation of the updated edition of the ACHS.
Significance assessment of cultural sites and areas	Low	Darug and Darkinjung Custodians should be directly engaged to write cultural significance assessment of the Hawkesbury LGA.

9.0 Reference List

The following reference list covers all books and articles (not newspapers or websites) cited in this report.

Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

Bembrick, CS, Herbert, C, Scheibner, E and Stuntz, J 1973, 'Structural subdivision of the New South Wales portion of the Sydney–Bowen Basin,' *Quarterly Notes Geological Survey of New South Wales* 11.

Black, MP and Mooney, SD 2007, 'The response of Aboriginal burning practices to population levels and El Ninō–Southern Oscillation events during the mid- to late-Holocene: a case study from the Sydney Basin using charcoal and pollen analysis', *Australian Geographer* 38, pp 37–52.

Bladen, FM 1979, *Historical records of New South Wales*, Volume 5, Lansdown Slattery & Co, Mona Vale, NSW.

Brook, J 1999, *Shut out from the world: the Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889–1946*, second edition, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights.

Brown, O 2010, 'Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Managements and Mapping: aspects of cultural boundaries, sub-bioregions and site distribution in the Sydney basin', *Archaeological Heritage* 2, no. 1, pp 9–16.

Gapps, S 2018, *The Sydney Wars: Conflict in the Early Colony, 1788–1817*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney,

Hurst, JT, 'Lingering Inheritance' in McGrath, A and Jebb, M (eds.), *Long history, deep time: deepening histories of place*, ANU Press <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p319821/html/ch08.xhtml?referer=&page=16>.

Clark, NR and Jones, DC 1991, Penrith, 1:100,000 Geological Series Sheet 9030, Department of Minerals and Energy, Sydney.

Colquhoun, GP, Hughes, KS, Deyssing, L, Ballard, JC, Phillips, G, Troedson, AL, Folkes, CB and Fitzherbert, JA 2019, *New South Wales Seamless Geology Dataset*, Version 1.1 (Digital Dataset), Geological Survey of New South Wales, Maitland.

Collins, D and Bass, G, 1771–1803 and King, PG, 1758–1808, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales from its first settlement in January 1788 to August 1801...*, second edition, printed by A. Strahan ... for T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1804.

Danis, C, O'Neill, C, Lackie, MA, Twigg, L and Danis, A 2011, 'Deep 3D structure of the Sydney Basin using gravity modelling', *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences* 58, pp 517–542.

Devoy, RJ, Dodson, JR, Thom, BG and Nichol, SL 1994, 'Holocene environments in the Hawkesbury valley, New South Wales: a comparison of terrestrial and marine records', *Quaternary Science Reviews* 13, pp 241–256.

Fuller, RS, Hamacher, DW and Norris, RP 2013, 'Astronomical orientations of BORA ceremonial grounds in southeast Australia', *Australian Archaeology* 77, no. 1, pp 30–37.

Gale, SJ, 2021, Age and origin of the Cumberland (Inner Sydney) Basin of southeast Australia, *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences 68*, doi.org/10.1080/08120099.2020.1809517.

Gunsen, N 1974, 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of LE Threlkheld. Missionary to the Aborigines 1824–1859', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, No. 40, 2 vols, AIAS, Canberra.

Hesse, PP 1994, 'The record of continental dust from Australia in Tasman Sea sediments', *Quaternary Science Reviews* 13, pp 257–272.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Report, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1997.

Huntley, J 2015, 'Looking up and looking down: pigment chemistry as a chronological marker in the Sydney Basin rock art assemblage, Australia', *Rock Art Research* 32, pp 131–45.

Karskens, G 2010 *The Colony: A history of Early Sydney*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p. 465.

Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

McDonald, J 1999, 'Bedrock notions and isochrestic choice: evidence for localised stylistic patterning in the engravings of the Sydney region', *Archaeology in Oceania* 34(3), pp 145–160.

McDonald, J 2008, *Dreamtime superhighway: Sydney Basin rock art and prehistoric information exchange*, ANU Press, Canberra.

Nanson, GC and Young, RW 1988, 'Fluviatile evidence for a period of late-Quaternary pluvial climate in coastal southeastern Australia', *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 66, pp 45–61.

Nanson, GC, Cohen, TJ, Doyle, CJ and Price, DM 2003, 'Alluvial evidence of major Late-Quaternary climate and flow-regime changes on the coastal rivers of New South Wales, Australia', in Gregory, KJ and Benito, G (eds), *Palaeohydrology: Understanding Global Change*, John Wiley, Chichester, pp 233–258.

Nichol, SL, Zaitlin, BA and Thom, BG 1997, 'The upper Hawkesbury River, New South Wales, Australia: a Holocene example of an estuarine bayhead delta', *Sedimentology* 44, pp 263–286.

Nichols, M 2004, *Pictorial History Hawkesbury*, Kingsclear Books, Alexandria, NSW.

Porter, L 2018, 'Heritage Management' in Jackson, S, Porter, L and Johnson, L (eds), *Planning in Indigenous Australia: From Imperial Foundations to Postcolonial Futures*, Routledge, New York.

Rustomji, PK, Olley, JM and Chappell, JMA 2006, 'Holocene valley aggradation driven by river mouth progradation: examples from Australia', *Earth Surface Processes and Landforms* 31, pp 1510–1524.

Sloss, CR, Murray-Wallace, CV and Jones, BG 2007, 'Holocene sea-level change on the southeast coast of Australia: a review', *The Holocene* 17, pp 999–1014.

Tench, W 1793 (published 1998), *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of its Natural Productions*, prepared from the print edition published by G Nicol and J Sewell, London, 1793, University of Sydney Library, Sydney.

Troedson, AL 2015, *Sydney Area Coastal Quaternary Geology 1:100 000 and 1:25 000*, Geological Survey of New South Wales, Maitland.

Troedson, AL 2016, *Central Coast Area Coastal Quaternary Geology 1:100 000 and 1:25 000*, Geological Survey of New South Wales, Maitland.

Williams, AN, Atkinson, F, Lau, M and Toms, PS 2014, 'A glacial cryptic refuge in south-east Australia: human occupation and mobility from 36 000 years ago in the Sydney Basin, New South Wales', *Journal of Quaternary Science* 29, pp 735–748.

Williams, AN, Burrow, A, Toms, PS, Brown, O, Richards, M and Bryant, T 2017, 'The Cranebrook Terrace revisited: recent excavations of an early Holocene alluvial deposit on the banks of the Nepean River, NSW, and their implications for future work in the region', *Australian Archaeology* 83, no. 3, pp 100–109.

Williams, AN, Hobbs, A, Ziesling, A and Sapienza, T 2017, *Hawkesbury Region Sand Bodies Study, Windsor Bridge Replacement Project: 140604-2. Hawkesbury Region Sand Bodies Study*, AAJV (an Austral & Extent Joint Venture), Sydney.

Williams, AN, Mitchell, P, Wright, RS and Toms, PS 2012, 'A terminal Pleistocene open site on the Hawkesbury River, Pitt Town, New South Wales', *Australian Archaeology* 74, pp 85–97.

Williams, NJ, Harle, KJ, Gale, SJ and Heijnis, H 2006, 'The vegetation history of the last glacial–interglacial cycle in eastern New South Wales, Australia', *Journal of Quaternary Science* 21, pp 735–750.

10.0 Endnotes

1 Department of Planning, Industry and Environment (Office of Environment and Heritage), A proposed new legal framework Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW, viewed 12 May 2020 <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/-/media/OEH/Corporate-Site/Documents/Aboriginal-cultural-heritage/proposed-legal-framework-aboriginal-cultural-heritage-170524.pdf>.

2 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016 Census, Hawkesbury, viewed 26 June 2020

<quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/LGA13800>.

3 Hawkesbury City Council, 'Hawkesbury... a social atlas', viewed 26 June 2020 <http://www.hawkesbury.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/15402/Social-Atlas-2009-Chapter-One.pdf>.

4 Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation, homepage, viewed 15 June 2020 <http://www.darugcustodianaboriginalcorporation.com/>.

5 Darkinjung Local Aboriginal Landcouncil, homepage, viewed 15 June 2020 <https://www.darkinjung.com.au>.

6 Brown, O 2010, 'Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Managements and Mapping: aspects of cultural boundaries, sub-bioregions and site distribution in the Sydney basin', in *Archaeological Heritage* 2, no. 1, pp 9–16.

7 Nanson, GC and Young, RW 1988, 'Fluviatile evidence for a period of late-Quaternary pluvial climate in coastal southeastern Australia', *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 66, pp 45–61.

Nanson, GC, Cohen, TJ, Doyle, CJ and Price, DM 2003, 'Alluvial evidence of major Late-Quaternary climate and flow-regime changes on the coastal rivers of New South Wales, Australia', in Gregory, KJ and Benito, G (eds), *Palaeohydrology: Understanding Global Change*, John Wiley, Chichester, pp 233–258.

8 Sloss, CR, Murray-Wallace, CV and Jones, BG 2007, 'Holocene sea-level change on the southeast coast of Australia: a review', *The Holocene* 17, pp 999–1014.

9 Devoy, RJ, Dodson, JR, Thom, BG and Nichol, SL 1994, 'Holocene environments in the Hawkesbury valley, New South Wales: a comparison of terrestrial and marine records', *Quaternary Science Reviews* 13, pp 241–256.

10 Rustomji, PK, Olley, JM and Chappell, JMA 2006, 'Holocene valley aggradation driven by river mouth progradation: examples from Australia', *Earth Surface Processes and Landforms* 31, pp 1510–1524.

11 Clark, NR and Jones, DC 1991, Penrith, 1:100,000 Geological Series Sheet 9030, Department of Minerals and Energy, Sydney.

12 Troedson, AL 2015, *Sydney Area Coastal Quaternary Geology 1:100 000 and 1:25 000*, Geological Survey of New South Wales, Maitland.

Troedson, AL 2016, *Central Coast Area Coastal Quaternary Geology 1:100 000 and 1:25 000*, Geological Survey of New South Wales, Maitland.

13 Colquhoun, GP, Hughes, KS, Deyssing, L, Ballard, JC, Phillips, G, Troedson, AL, Folkes, CB and Fitzherbert, JA 2019, *New South Wales Seamless Geology Dataset, Version 1.1 (Digital Dataset)*, Geological Survey of New South Wales, Maitland.

14 Williams, AN, Atkinson, F, Lau, M and Toms, PS 2014, 'A glacial cryptic refuge in south-east Australia: human occupation and mobility from 36 000 years ago in the Sydney Basin, New South Wales', *Journal of Quaternary Science* 29, pp 735–748.

Williams, AN, Hobbs, A, Ziesling, A and Sapienza, T 2017, Hawkesbury Region Sand Bodies Study, Windsor Bridge Replacement Project: 140604-2, Hawkesbury Region Sand Bodies Study, AAJV (an Austral & Extent Joint Venture), Sydney.

Williams, AN, Mitchell, P, Wright, RS and Toms, PS 2012, 'A terminal Pleistocene open site on the Hawkesbury River, Pitt Town, New South Wales', *Australian Archaeology* 74, pp 85–97.

15 Black, MP and Mooney, SD 2007, 'The response of Aboriginal burning practices to population levels and El Ninō–Southern Oscillation events during the mid- to late-Holocene: a case study from the Sydney Basin using charcoal and pollen analysis', *Australian Geographer* 38, pp 37–52.

16 Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, ` Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 495.

17 Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 524.

18 Porter, L 2018, 'Heritage Management' in Jackson, S, Porter, L and Johnson, L (eds), *Planning in Indigenous Australia: From Imperial Foundations to Postcolonial Futures*, Routledge, New York, p 208.

19 Porter, L 2018, 'Heritage Management' in Jackson, S, Porter, L and Johnson, L (eds), *Planning in Indigenous Australia: From Imperial Foundations to Postcolonial Futures*, Routledge, New York, pp 206 and 207.

20 Porter, L 2018, 'Heritage Management' in Jackson, S, Porter, L and Johnson, L (eds), *Planning in Indigenous Australia: From Imperial Foundations to Postcolonial Futures*, Routledge, New York, p 211.

21 Department of Planning Industry and the Environment (DPIE), 'Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Legislation', viewed 22 June 2020 <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/topics/aboriginal-cultural-heritage/legislation>.

22 Porter, L 2018, 'Heritage Management' in Jackson, S, Porter, L and Johnson, L (eds), *Planning in Indigenous Australia: From Imperial Foundations to Postcolonial Futures*, Routledge, New York, p 210.

23 Porter, L 2018, 'Heritage Management' in Jackson, S, Porter, L and Johnson, L (eds), *Planning in Indigenous Australia: From Imperial Foundations to Postcolonial Futures*, Routledge, New York.

24 Williams, AN, Burrow, A, Toms, PS, Brown, O, Richards, M and Bryant, T 2017, 'The Cranebrook Terrace revisited: recent excavations of an early Holocene alluvial deposit on the banks of the Nepean River, NSW, and their implications for future work in the region', *Australian Archaeology*, 83, no. 3, pp 100–109.

25 Williams, AN, Burrow, A, Toms, PS, Brown, O, Richards, M and Bryant, T 2017, 'The Cranebrook Terrace revisited: recent excavations of an early Holocene alluvial deposit on the banks of the Nepean River, NSW, and their implications for future work in the region', *Australian Archaeology*, 83, no. 3, pp 100–109.

26 Williams, AN, Burrow, A, Toms, PS, Brown, O, Richards, M and Bryant, T 2017, 'The Cranebrook Terrace revisited: recent excavations of an early Holocene alluvial deposit on the banks of the Nepean River, NSW, and their implications for future work in the region', *Australian Archaeology*, 83, no. 3, pp 100–109.

27 Williams, AN, Burrow, A, Toms, PS, Brown, O, Richards, M and Bryant, T 2017, 'The Cranebrook Terrace revisited: recent excavations of an early Holocene alluvial deposit on the banks of the Nepean River, NSW, and their implications for future work in the region', *Australian Archaeology*, 83, no. 3, pp 100–109.

Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 39.

[28] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 39.

[29] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 66.

[30] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

[31] McDonald, J 1999, 'Bedrock notions and isochrestic choice: evidence for localised stylistic patterning in the engravings of the Sydney region', *Archaeology in Oceania* 34(3), pp 145–160.

[32] Fuller, RS, Hamacher, DW and Norris, RP 2013, 'Astronomical orientations of BORA ceremonial grounds in southeast Australia', *Australian Archaeology* 77, no. 1, pp 30–37.

[33] Huntley, J 2015, 'Looking up and looking down: pigment chemistry as a chronological marker in the Sydney Basin rock art assemblage, Australia', *Rock Art Research*, 32(2), pp 131–45.

[34] McDonald, J 2008, *Dreamtime superhighway: Sydney Basin rock art and prehistoric information exchange*, ANU Press, Canberra.

[35] McDonald, J 2008, *Dreamtime superhighway: Sydney Basin rock art and prehistoric information exchange*, ANU Press, Canberra.

[36] McDonald, J 2008, *Dreamtime superhighway: Sydney Basin rock art and prehistoric information exchange*, ANU Press, Canberra.

[37] McDonald, J 1999, 'Bedrock notions and isochrestic choice: evidence for localised stylistic patterning in the engravings of the Sydney region', *Archaeology in Oceania* 34(3), pp 145–160.

[38] McDonald, J 1999, 'Bedrock notions and isochrestic choice: evidence for localised stylistic patterning in the engravings of the Sydney region', *Archaeology in Oceania* 34(3), pp 145–160.

[39] Office of Environment and Heritage, 'Guide to completing the AHIMS Aboriginal Site Recording Form', viewed 26 June 2020 <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/research-and-publications/publications-search/guide-to-completing-the-ahims-site-recording-form>.

[40] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 65.

[41] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 101.

[42] Aboriginal Heritage Office, Identifying Aboriginal Sites, viewed 17 June 2020 <https://www.aboriginalheritage.org/sites/identification/>.

[43] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 494.

[44] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 494.

[45] Fuller, RS, Hamacher, DW and Norris, RP 2013, 'Astronomical orientations of BORA ceremonial grounds in southeast Australia', *Australian Archaeology* 77, no. 1, pp 30–37.

[46] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 430.

[47] Gunsen, N 1974, 'Australian Reminiscences & Papers of LE Threlkheld. Missionary to the Aborigines 1824–1859', *Australian Aboriginal Studies* No 40. 2 vols. AIAS Canberra.

[48] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 145.

[49] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 105.

[50] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 91.

[51] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 145.

[52] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 92.

[53] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 78.

[54] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 122.

[55] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 122.

[56] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 98.

[57] Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, p 79.

Attenbrow, V 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*, second edition, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

[58] Brook, J 1999, *Shut out from the world: the Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889–1946*, second edition, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights.

[59] Clugston, N 2008, 'Hawkesbury River (Dyarubbin)', Dictionary of Sydney, viewed 21 July 2020 <https://dictionaryofsydney.org/natural_feature/hawkesbury_river_dyarubbin>.

[60] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

[61] Ford, G 2020, *Darkiñung Recognition: An Analysis of the Historiography for the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the Northwest of Sydney,* Master of Arts (Research) Thesis, University of Sydney, NSW.

[62] Tench, W 1793 (published 1998), *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of its Natural Productions*, Prepared from the print edition published by G Nicol and J Sewell, London, 1793, University of Sydney Library, Sydney.

[63] Tench, W 1793 (published 1998), *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of its Natural Productions*, Prepared from the print edition published by G Nicol and J Sewell, London, 1793, University of Sydney Library, Sydney.

[64] Gapps, S 2018, *The Sydney Wars: Conflict in the Early Colony*, 1788–1817, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, p 57.

[65] Gapps, S 2018, *The Sydney Wars: Conflict in the Early Colony*, 1788–1817, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, p 60.

[66] Tench, W 1793 (published 1998), *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of its Natural Productions*, Prepared from the print edition published by G Nicol and J Sewell, London, 1793, University of Sydney Library, Sydney.

[67] Tench, W 1793 (published 1998), *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of its Natural Productions*, Prepared from the print edition published by G Nicol and J Sewell, London, 1793, University of Sydney Library, Sydney.

[68] Karskens, G 2015, 'Appin massacre', Dictionary of Sydney, viewed 21 July 2020 <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/appin_massacre>.

[69] Collins, David, Bass, George, 1771–1803 and King, Philip Gidley, 1758–1808, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales from its first settlement in January 1788 to August 1801...*, second edition, printed by A. Strahan ... for T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1804.

[70] Collins, David, Bass, George, 1771–1803 and King, Philip Gidley, 1758–1808, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales from its first settlement in January 1788 to August 1801...*, second edition, printed by A. Strahan ... for T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1804.

[71] Collins, David, Bass, George, 1771–1803 and King, Philip Gidley, 1758–1808, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales from its first settlement in January 1788 to August 1801...*, second edition, printed by A. Strahan ... for T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1804.

[72] Collins, David, Bass, George, 1771–1803 and King, Philip Gidley, 1758–1808, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales from its first settlement in January 1788 to August 1801...*, second edition, printed by A. Strahan ... for T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1804.

[73] Collins, D and Bass, G, 1771–1803 and King, PG, 1758–1808, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales from its first settlement in January 1788 to August 1801...*, second edition, printed by A. Strahan ... for T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1804.

[74] Bladen, FM 1979, *Historical records of New South Wales*, Volume 4, Charles Potter, Government Printer, Sydney, p 1.

[75] Barkley-Jack, J 2009, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed: a new look at Australia's third mainland settlement 1793–1802*, Rosenberg Publishing, Dural Delivery Centre, NSW.

[76] Bladen, FM 1979, *Historical records of New South Wales*, Volume 5, Charles Potter, Government Printer, Sydney, p 512.

[77] Bladen, FM 1979, *Historical records of New South Wales*, Volume 5, Charles Potter, Government Printer, Sydney, p 513.

[78] 'NATIVES', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 17 June 1804, p 3, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626265>.

[79] 'NATIVES', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 24 June 1804, p 2, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626272>.

[80] 'SYDNEY', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 15 July 1804, p 2, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626311>.

[81] 'NATIVES', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 1 July 1804, p 2, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626291>.

[82] 'SYDNEY' *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser,* 7 Jul 1805, p.1 and 1, accessed via Trove, National Library, viewed 15 17 December 2020 < https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/626845/6142 >

[83] Karskens, G 2010 *The Colony: A history of Early Sydney*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p. 465.

[84] 'HAWKESBURY, May 31', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 2 June 1805, p 3, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 28 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626797>.

[85] 'General Orders', *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 28 April 1805, p 1, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 15 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626739>.

[86] Karskens, G 2015, 'Appin massacre', Dictionary of Sydney, viewed 21 July 2020 <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/appin_massacre>.

[87] Karskens, G 2015, 'Appin massacre', *Dictionary of Sydney*, viewed 21 July 2020 <http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/appin_massacre>.

[88] HRA, Series 1, Vol. IX, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Sydney, 1917, p 342.

[89] University of Sydney, A History of Aboriginal Sydney, 'Return of Aboriginal Tribes', viewed 21 May 2020 <https://www.historyofaboriginalsydney.edu.au/north-west/returns-aboriginal-tribes-0>.

[90] University of Sydney, A History of Aboriginal Sydney, 'Aboriginal population no longer resists white occupiers', viewed 21 May 2020 <https://www.historyofaboriginalsydney.edu.au/north-west/aboriginal-population-no-longer-resists-white-occupiers>.

[91] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 430.

[92] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 430.

[93] William Clarke Papers cited in Brook, 1999, p 16, quoted in Roads & Maritime Services, Thompson Square Windsor NSW: Strategic Conservation Management Plan, 2017, p 52.

[94] 'THE BLACKS', *Empire*, 10 February 1863, p 3 , accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60522618>.

[95] Kellehers Australia, 'NAIDOC Week Day 4 – Today We Honor Kitty and Ballandella', viewed 17 May 2020 <https://kellehers.com.au/latest-news/naidoc-week-day-4-today-we-honor-kitty-and-ballandella/>.

[96] University of Sydney, A History of Aboriginal Sydney, 'John Luke Barber', viewed 12 May 2020 <https://www.historyofaboriginalsydney.edu.au/north-west/john-luke-barber>.

[97] 'HAWKESBURY RIVER', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 December 1863, p 5, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13091094>.

[98] 'HAWKESBURY RIVER', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 December 1863, p 5, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 28 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13091094>.

[99] Nichols, M 2004, *Pictorial History Hawkesbury*, Kingsclear Books, Alexandria, NSW, p 5.

[100] New South Wales State Records & Archives, Col. Sec. Copies of Minutes and Memorandums received, 1883, 1/2542.

[101] 'Hawkesbury Aborigines', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 18 June 1892, p 5, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article72543168>.

[102] 'A MODEL ABORIGINAL VILLAGE', *Evening News*, 29 July 1901, p 7, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article114035564>.

[103] University of Sydney, A History of Aboriginal Sydney, '"Lilburndale" is a distribution point for rations: North West – 1883', viewed 17 May 2020 <https://www.historyofaboriginalsydney.edu.au/north-west/lilburndale-distribution-point-rations>.

[104] Nichols, M 2004, *Pictorial History Hawkesbury*, Kingsclear Books, Alexandria, NSW, p 93.

[105] 'FROM WEEK TO WEEK', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 25 July 1908, p 3, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 4 Aug 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article85864250>.

[106] 'OBITUARY', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 22 October 1926, p 3, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 26 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article85952839>.

[107] 'THE VANISHING RACE', *Evening News*, 8 November 1926, p 3, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 26 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article117328258>.

[108] 'ANDREW BARBER', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 6 October 1943, p 2, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 17 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article86024401>.

[109] 'What is a "Shandy?"', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 28 November 1924, p 1, accessed via Trove, National Library of Australia, viewed 28 May 2020 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article85903731>.

[110] Karskens, G, 'Life and death on Dyarubbin: Reports from the Hawkesbury River', *Griffith Review,* viewed 28 May 2020 <https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/life-and-death-on-dyarubbin/>.

[111] Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Report, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1997, Chapter 3, viewed 21 May 2020 <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/bringing-them-home-chapter-3#Heading30>.

[112] Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Report, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1997, Chapter 3, viewed 21 May 2020 <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/bringing-them-home-chapter-3#Heading30>.

[113] Dr Peter Read, quoted in Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Report, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1997, Chapter 3, viewed 21 May 2020 <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/bringing-them-home-chapter-3#Heading30>.

[114] Gardiner-Garden, J, *From Dispossession to Reconciliation*, Research Paper 27 1998–99, 29 June 1999, viewed 21 May 2020 <https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp9899/99Rp27#twentieth>.

[115] Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Report, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*, Commonwealth of Australia, 1997, Chapter 11, viewed 21 May 2020

<https://bth.humanrights.gov.au/the-report/part-3-consequences-of-removal/chapter-11-the-effects>.

[116] Hawkesbury City Council Annual Report 2018–2019, viewed 21 May 2020 <https://www.hawkesbury.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/140474/Hawkesbury-City-Council-Annual-Report-2018-2019.pdf>.

[117] Falson, S, 'Aboriginal tribal leaders recipients of Hawkesbury Australia Day Posthumous Commemorative Plaque Award', *Hawkesbury Gazette*, 27 January 2016, viewed 21 May 2020 <https://www.hawkesburygazette.com.au/story/3690007/traditional-landowners-recognised/>.

[118] Karskens, G, 'Exploring Dyraubbin: A List of Aboriginal placenames was a trigger for seeking the 'real secret river', State Library of NSW, viewed 20 May 2020 <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/exploring-dyarubbin>.

[119] Karskens, G, 'Exploring Dyraubbin: A List of Aboriginal placenames was a trigger for seeking the 'real secret river', State Library of NSW, viewed 20 May 2020 <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/exploring-dyarubbin>.

[120] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

[121] NSW Government Education | Aboriginal Affairs, 'Community Portrait: Hawkesbury LGA', viewed 28 April 2020 <https://www.aboriginalaffairs.nsw.gov.au/pdfs/community-portraits/Indigenous-Portrait2016D-Hawkesbury.pdf>.

[122] Hurst, JT, 'Lingering Inheritance' in McGrath, A and Jebb, M (eds.), *Long history, deep time: deepening histories of place*, ANU Press <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p319821/html/ch08.xhtml?referer=&page=16>.

[123] Hurst, JT, 'Lingering Inheritance' in McGrath, A and Jebb, M (eds.), *Long history, deep time: deepening histories of place*, ANU Press <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p319821/html/ch08.xhtml?referer=&page=16>.

Kembrey, M 2015, *Sydney Morning Herald*, '*Feud between between Aboriginal groups reignites over Deerubbin land*', viewed 12 February 2020 <https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/feud-between-between-aboriginal-groups-reignites-over-deerubbin-land-20150213-13dlic.html>.

[124] Brook, J 1999, *Shut out from the world: the Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889–1946*, second edition, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights.

[125] Monument Australia, 'Sackville Aboriginal Reserve Monument', viewed 1 August 2020 <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/culture/indigenous/display/22964-sackville-aboriginal-reserve-monument>.

[126] Brook, J 1999, *Shut out from the world: the Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889–1946*, second edition, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights.

[127] Hawkesbury City Council, *Hawkesbury Local Environmental Plan 2012*, 24 April 2020.

[128] NSW Government 2010, *Due Diligence Code of Practice for the Protection of Aboriginal Objects in NSW*, viewed 29 June 2020 <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/research-and-publications/publications-search/due-diligence-code-of-practice-for-the-protection-of-aboriginal-objects-in-new-south-wales>.

[129] Brook, J 1999, *Shut out from the world: the Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889–1946*, second edition, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights.

[130] Karskens, G 2020, *People of the River: Lost worlds of early Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, p 125.