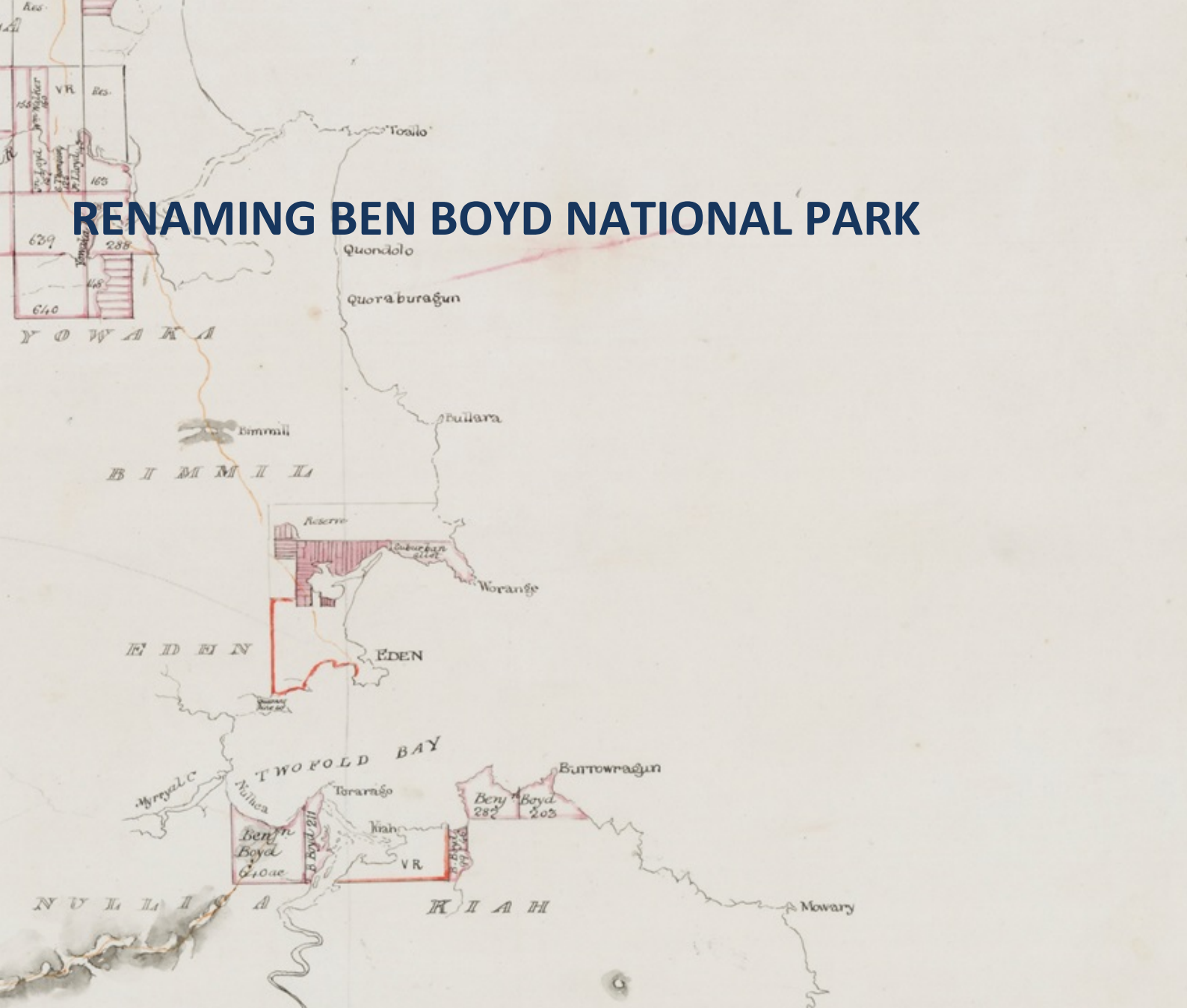
RENAMING BEN BOYD NATIONAL PARK



Report prepared for NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service

Report prepared by SUSAN DALE DONALDSON (Environmental & Cultural Services) & MIKE WILLIAMS (Michael Williams & Associates Pty Ltd – Natural Resource Management Facilitators & Strategists)

WARNING: THIS REPORT MAKES REFERENCES TO ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WHO HAVE DIED.

This report was prepared by Susan Donaldson and Michael Williams in good faith exercising all due care and attention, but no representation or warranty, express or implied, is made as to the relevance, accuracy, completeness or fitness for purpose of this document in respect of any particular user's circumstances. Users of this document should satisfy themselves concerning its application to, and where necessary seek expert advice in respect of, their situation. The views expressed within are not necessarily the views of the Department of Planning and Environment and may not represent Department policy.

Traditional Custodian's Notice

This work and images embody traditional knowledge of the Thaua community and other Aboriginal groups neighbouring Thaua. They were created with the consent of the custodians of these communities. Dealing with any part of the work and images for any purpose that has not been authorised by the custodians is a serious breach of customary law of these communities and may also breach the *Copyright Act 1968* (CT). For enquires about permitted reproduction of the traditional knowledge contained in this work and images, contact the authors.

Acknowledgment: Sincere thanks to all the Aboriginal people who participated in this naming process. The authors wish to thank Mark Dunn (historian), Sue Wesson (human geographer), Harold Koch (linguist) and Rod Lucus (anthropologist) for their prompt and professional input into the research.

Citation: Donaldson S and Williams M (2022) Renaming Ben Boyd National Park, NSW. A report prepared for NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Frontispiece: County of Auckland c1843 (SLNSW)

Contents

Abbreviations and acronyms **6**

Executive summary **7**

1.0 CONTEXT **10**

1.1 Background 10

1.2 Policy analysis 12

1.2.1 NSW NPWS Park Names Policy 2017 12

1.2.2 The Geographical Names Board of NSW Policy – Place Naming 2019 13

1.2.3 Ben Boyd National Park & Bell Bird Creek Nature Reserve Plan of Management 2021 14

1.2.4 Relevant cultural heritage policies and theories 15

1.2.5 Summary of analysis 19

2.0 METHODOLOGY **20**

2.1 Background research 20

2.2 Engaging with stakeholders 20

2.3 Reporting 22

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW **23**

3.1 Aboriginal group names 23

3.2 Aboriginal placenames 26

3.3 Aboriginal people's names 30

3.4 Names and themes associated with cultural beliefs and practices 36

3.4.1 Ceremony 36

3.4.2 Travelling 39

3.4.3 Relationships with marine life 42

3.4.4 Totems 47

3.4.5 Bush dwellers 51

3.4.6 Fishing and collecting shellfish 52

3.4.7 Ecological knowledge 55

3.4.8 Sharing, trading and being opportunistic 58

3.4.9 Conflict 59

3.4.10 Camping/living on country 59

3.5 Themes associated with the archaeological record 61

3.6 Section summary 63

4.0 CONSULTATION 64

4.1 South Coast People native title applicants 65

4.2 Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation 65

4.3 Bega Local Aboriginal Land Council 66

4.4 Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation 66

4.5 Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited 66

4.6 Biamanga National Park Board of Management 67

4.7 Gulaga National Park Board of Management 68

4.8 Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council 68

4.9 Section summary 69

5.0 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS 74

5.1 A note on criteria 74

5.2 Analysis 74

5.3 Conclusions 82

6.0 ADVICE 83

REFERENCES 84

APPENDIX 1: Project outline for FPIC 89

APPENDIX 2: Project workshop/interview guide 90

APPENDIX 3: Linguistic advice 92

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Ben Boyd National Park (NPWS 2021) 11
Figure 2 Tribal map extract (Tindale 1974) 24
Figure 3 Dharawal and Dhurga and surrounding languages (Eades 1976) 25
Figure 4 Aboriginal language areas in far eastern Victoria – a reconstruction (Clark 1996) 25
Figure 5 County of Auckland c.1843 (SLNSW) 28
Figure 6 Robinson's journal recording placenames in the language spoken at Twofold Bay (1844) 29
Figure 7 Australian Aboriginal Religious patterns (Berndt 1974) 36
Figure 8 Mt Imlay (Balawan) from Twofold Bay (Donaldson 2010) 38
Figure 9 'Aboriginal cultural traditions are passed from generation to generation', Pambula River; Ben Boyd National Park (NPWS) 39
Figure 10 Travelling route map excerpt (Blay & Cruse 2005) 41
Figure 11 Robinson's recording of 'whale killer i.e porpoise' in the language spoken by the Omeo, Cape Howe and Twofold Bay tribes (1844) 42
Figure 12 Robinson's recording of porpoise in the Monaroo and Twofold Bay languages (1844) 42
Figure 13 Pacific Black Duck (Anas superciliosa) 48
Figure 14 Robinson's recording of wind in the Monaroo and Twofold Bay languages (Robinson 1844) .. 56

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Summary of Aboriginal groups associated with the Park 26
Table 2 Summary of Aboriginal placenames associated with the Park 29
Table 3 Summary of Aboriginal people associated with the Park 33
Table 4 Summary of Aboriginal names associated with marine life and the Park 47
Table 5 Summary of totems associated with the south coast region 50
Table 6 Examples of names associated with natural processes and ecological features 56
Table 7 Summary of names arising from consultations 70
Table 8 Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants 75

Abbreviations and acronyms

AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AIHMS	Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System (database)
DEC	Department of Environment and Conservation
DECCW	Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water (DECCW)
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
GIS	Geographic information systems
GLWAC	Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LALC	Local Aboriginal Land Council
NPW Act	*National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NSW)
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service
NSW	New South Wales
NTA	Native Title Applicants
OEH	Office of Environment and Heritage
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SSIPJL	Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited
TCAC	Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Executive summary

Ben Boyd National Park was first reserved in 1971 and extends over approximately 10,500 hectares along the coast north and south of Twofold Bay, Eden, New South Wales (NSW). Ben Boyd National Park is located within the Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) and Bega Valley Shire Local Government Area.

Over many years, Aboriginal community leaders on the far south coast of NSW have been advocating for the name of Ben Boyd National Park to be changed to an Aboriginal name reflecting local Aboriginal culture. Under section 30A of the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NSW), park names are assigned by and can be changed by the NSW Governor, with the concurrence of the Geographical Names Board of NSW under section 12 of the *Geographical Names Act 1966* (NSW).

Benjamin Boyd was a 'blackbirder'; in the 1840s he removed Indigenous people from the Pacific Islands, including from what we now call Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and put them to work as indentured labour at best, or slaves at worst, on his pastoral stations in NSW and Victoria. Many Aboriginal people worked for Boyd at Twofold Bay in the whaling industry; they too were considered inferior and poorly treated at times. In 2021 Dr Mark Dunn undertook an historical analysis of Boyd's activities and based on this independent, comprehensive account of Boyd's mistreatments, the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage announced in November 2021 that the National Park would be renamed to reflect Aboriginal cultural values.

Michael Williams (independent facilitator) and Susan Dale Donaldson (anthropologist) were engaged in March 2022 by the NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service (NPWS) to facilitate, collaborate and consult with the local Aboriginal community and organisations and South Sea Islanders, to identify a new Aboriginal name for Ben Boyd National Park. The process aimed to celebrate and recognise the region's Aboriginal culture and reinstate its importance over more recent history.

The methodological approach involved undertaking a literature review to identify Aboriginal language names associated within the Park, giving consideration to linguistic boundaries. Names associated with geographical places, cultural concepts and contemporary Aboriginal connections were collated. A thematic analysis of name typology including tangible (material traces of history) and intangible (beliefs, stories, knowledge and language) heritage was developed.

An analysis of key naming policies was also undertaken involving NPWS Park Names Policy 2017; The Geographical Names Board of NSW Policy – Place Naming 2019; and Ben Boyd National Park and Bell Bird Creek Nature Reserve Plan of Management 2021. A suite of selection criteria to assess the consistency of the suggested Aboriginal name with current policies emerged; the Aboriginal name for the National Park should:

- be derived from consultation with Aboriginal people to reflect Aboriginal cultural values
- provide a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture given that there is no singularly prominent geographical feature in the National Park

- avoid confusion with other geographic or place names in the area and not relate to features that extend well beyond the Park
- be based on credible historical evidence in the form of documentary or oral sources and that some authority or authenticity can be attributed to the source or sources for the form, origin, spelling, history, and meaning of the name
- preferably have spelling nominated by the local Aboriginal community members although a linguist can be consulted to assist in resolving appropriate spelling, and
- not be seen as inconsistent with the National Park's Plan of Management.

Following the literature review, the consultants undertook preliminary consultations with Aboriginal and South Sea Islander stakeholders to inform them of the renaming project, according to Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) principles, and to collaboratively design the consultation process. NPWS provided the consultants with a list of Aboriginal and South Sea Islander 'stakeholders' to be consulted, as follows:

- Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited
- Bega Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Biamanga National Park Board of Management
- Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Gulaga National Park Board of Management
- Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation (Victoria)
- South Coast People Native Title Applicant
- Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation.

Through March, April and May 2022, the consultants engaged and collaborated with over 60 Aboriginal community members and South Sea Islander stakeholders, as well as others identified during the literature review and preliminary consultations. All stakeholders were contacted and advised of the project, its purpose, background and invited to engage with the consultation process. Consultation occurred through face-to-face small group and family meetings, one-on-one meetings, telephone calls, emails and texts. As a culmination of the engagement process, a large community workshop was held in Eden in May 2022. The Eden workshop was auspiced by the Eden LALC who requested that the meeting be open to all Aboriginal organisations, native title applicants, community members and the South Sea Islander organisation to ensure a transparent, positive and collaborative approach.

In collaboration with participants, the consultants developed a set of cultural guidelines in addition to the policy criteria so that each name suggested could be analysed within a culturally relevant framework and assessed for suitability by the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage as the new name for the National Park. These cultural guidelines were that the suggested Aboriginal name should:

- reflect Aboriginal connections to country (including land and sea)
- reflect the Aboriginal cultural themes
- be suggested by Aboriginal community members who identified as having a cultural association with the Park
- tell a variety of compelling stories of connection embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups
- avoid pre-empting legal determinations with regard to native title

- avoid breaking customary laws and impinging on cultural sensitivities
- maximise a sense of Aboriginal cultural cohesion rather than inflaming contests or divisions, and
- be linguistically relevant to the area.

In addition to the above cultural criteria, recognition and opportunity for South Sea Islanders' historical experience to be told through interpretation and education within and associated with the National Park was considered essential. Cultural authority for this approach has been garnered.

The community workshops and meetings elicited a list of suggested Aboriginal names for the Park, and to various degrees the form, origin, spelling, meaning and significance of each name. A key protocol as suggested during the consultation process was that each suggested name would be shared but the person or organisation advocating each name would be made anonymous to ensure the name was the basis of conversation rather than people or organisations. This approach fostered trust and participation in the process.

This report has been produced to detail the facilitation of the renaming process and provide an analysis for the suggested new names for the National Park for consideration by the NPWS and the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage. Based on the analysis, in terms of consistency with the policy criteria and the degree to which the suggested names align with the cultural guidelines, the suitability of the name 'Beowa' should be considered by the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage as the new name for the National Park. **Beowa National Park** is favoured above the other suggested names for the following reasons:

- Beowa is the Thaua language name for orca (killer whale)
- the name is linguistically relevant to the Park
- the name (and cultural theme) was suggested by a broad range of Aboriginal participants;
- Aboriginal people hold deep heritage links to orcas, spanning pre- and post-contact times up until the present day
- Aboriginal people's spiritual lives and cultural identity continue to be linked to orcas
- the orca's cultural themes are highly relatable to multiple far south coast and adjacent inland Aboriginal groups
- the name enables an important variety of compelling cultural stories to be shared with the public, from an Aboriginal perspective
- the name reflects important cultural links between the land and sea and Aboriginal people
- the name does not inflame contested spaces or pre-empt native title processes
- the name is not likely to cause confusion given there are no other places known by the same name
- the name is based on credible historical evidence, and
- the form (spelling) of the name has undergone linguistic analysis indicating that this spelling would result in an accurate pronunciation of the word.

The consultants also advise that the Ministerial announcement of the new name should be accompanied by an audio recording of a male and female Aboriginal custodian pronouncing Beowa accurately and that stakeholders be engaged immediately prior to the Ministerial announcement, so they can be respectfully informed about the chosen name.

1.0 CONTEXT

1.1 Background

Recent discussion across the world about the appropriateness of recognising historical figures has highlighted and questioned the name of Ben Boyd National Park (the Park) on the far south coast of NSW. In the historical record Boyd is associated with the practice of 'blackbirding', when Indigenous people from the islands of Vanuatu and New Caledonia were taken from their traditional lands to work on his properties in New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria[1]. Boyd's Pacific Islander labour force were often neglected, some never offered assistance to return home[2]. Moreover, whilst many Aboriginal people worked for Boyd at Twofold Bay in the whaling industry, they were also considered inferior and poorly treated[3].

Following an independent historical analysis (Dunn 2021), the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage agreed to have the National Park renamed to reflect Aboriginal cultural values. Upon hearing that the Minister agreed to change the name of Ben Boyd National Park, Thaua man Steven Holmes said:

> To have it changed to a name which is going to suit means a lot, I am thinking of the ancestors, they lived here before white man ever set foot on the sand here and they went from free people to chained. And the Pacific Islanders, it all went to hell and a lot of people suffered. There is a lot of pride in giving the land back to the ancestors and giving it a rightful name.[4]

This is not the first time a national park in NSW, State or Federal, has been given a name reflecting Aboriginal people's connection to country; Dharug National Park is based on the name of the tribal group associated with that area; Booderee National Park is named after the Dhurga term meaning 'bay of plenty'; Gulaga National Park is named after the significant sacred site within that Park; and Biamanga National Park is named after a tribal leader associated with an important sacred site within that Park[5].

The NSW NPWS engaged Michael Williams (independent facilitator) and Susan Dale Donaldson (anthropologist) to facilitate the identification of an Aboriginal name for the Park to replace the name 'Ben Boyd'. The renaming process aims to celebrate and recognise the region's Aboriginal cultural heritage and reinstate its importance over more recent history.

Ben Boyd National Park was first reserved in 1971 and extends north and south of Twofold Bay, Eden, on the far south coast of NSW (Figure 1). The northern portion of the Park, north of Eden, is within the South Coast People's native title application area and the entire Park is within the Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) and the Bega Valley Shire Local Government Area.

---

[1] Dunn 2021; see also Diamond 1988.
[2] Dunn 2021:28
[3] Dunn 2021: 28
[4] https://www.canberratimes.com.au/story/7510749/over-the-moon-ben-boyds-name-to-be-removed-from-national-park/?src=rss
[5] Similarly, Pemulwuy Park (not a National Park) is named after resistance leader Pemulwuy.

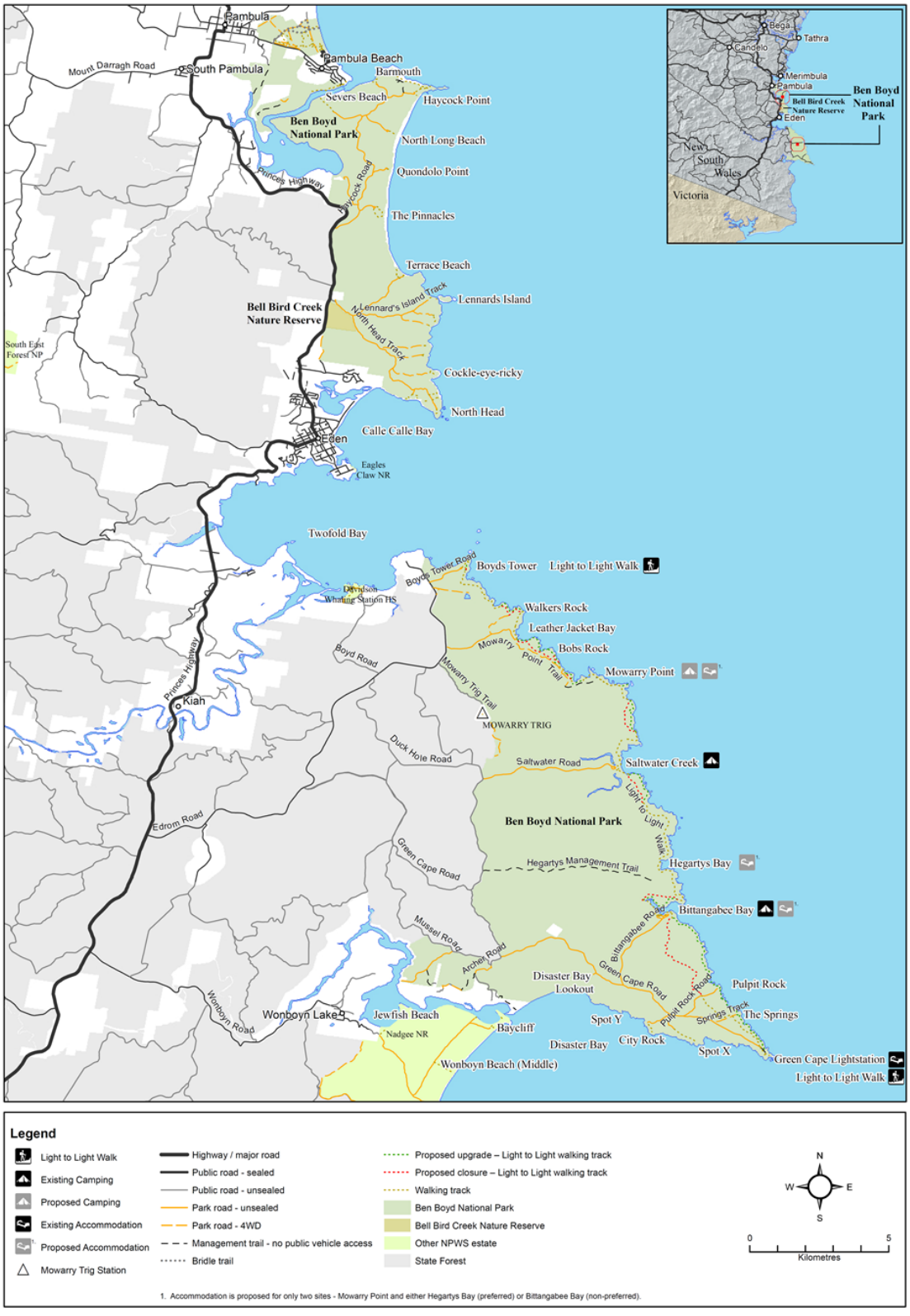


Figure 1 Ben Boyd National Park (NPWS 2021)

1.2 Policy analysis

1.2.1 NSW NPWS Park Names Policy 2017

Under section 30A of the NSW *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NPW Act), park names are assigned by and can be changed by the Governor, with the concurrence of the Geographical Names Board of NSW under section 12 of the NSW *Geographical Names Act 1966.* The NPWS Policy reflects the Geographic Names Board guidelines.

The NPWS Park Names Policy (2017) provides for renaming of an existing National Park's name as is the case with the renaming of Ben Boyd National Park[6]. It also provides policy guidance on the selection, research, consultation and process in arriving at a new Aboriginal name for a Park.

The Park Names Policy (2017) incorporates the NPWS broader organisation's Aboriginal language policy (2009) to recognise that Aboriginal languages are a fundamental part of Aboriginal culture and should be promoted. [7] The Park Names Policy (2017) is also designed to acknowledge natural and cultural connections to places and in renaming a National Park with an Aboriginal name the it is clear that the new name must come from consultation with appropriate Aboriginal community – Traditional Owners and Elders.

When sourcing a new Aboriginal name, prominent natural (geographic) features in the local landscape and within the Park are preferred, according to the policy. However, parks may be given a name other than a geographic feature if there is a strong cultural connection reflected in the new name. Where there is no prominent local geographic feature alternative Aboriginal names may be sourced from:

- a natural feature, regardless of prominence, that is associated with the area
- a plant or animal that features in the Park
- other Aboriginal associations with the area (including the name of the traditional Aboriginal people).

According to the policy, where there is doubt concerning the spelling of an Aboriginal name a linguist may be consulted but the spelling nominated by the local Aboriginal community members will be preferred. The spelling of Aboriginal names should be in accordance with current guidelines from the Committee for Geographic Names in Australia including that any Aboriginal names should be used without associated non-Aboriginal words.

The Park Names Policy (2017) requires that a suggested name avoid confusion with:

- the name of nearby towns, suburbs, local council areas, state forests or other reserves that are not part of the same management area, and

[6] The Minister's decision to rename the Park to reflect Aboriginal cultural values did not countenance dual naming of the Park with an Aboriginal name and a non-Aboriginal name.
[7] NSW Department of Planning and Environment Park Names Policy (2017); NSW Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water (DECCW) Aboriginal Languages Policy: Language is our culture – culture is our language (2009).

- the name of features that extend well beyond the Park, as these lack precision in describing the location of the Park

The Park Names Policy (2017) requires that details about the origin of the suggested name and associated consultation is to be recorded. Consultation requirements and guidelines are outlined in the policy; consultation with local Aboriginal community members including Traditional Owners with a preference for working through Aboriginal representative organisations is required. The consultant's brief required consultation with Aboriginal people with a cultural association with the Park and its local landscape.

The Park Names Policy (2017) also outlines more general considerations that suggested names should be easy to pronounce, spell and write, not too long (less than 50 characters) and that punctuation marks are to be avoided.

1.2.2 The Geographical Names Board of NSW Policy – Place Naming 2019

The Geographical Names Board of NSW Policy – Place Naming (2019) specifically encourages and prefers Aboriginal place names[8]. It recognises the significance that an Aboriginal place name provides – its sense of history, identity and connection between people and place. The Place Naming Policy (2019) specifically identifies the Connection of 'Country' and identity and points out that a name connects Aboriginal people to 'Country' – its language, cultural practices and relationships. 'Country' is inseparable from Aboriginal communities.

The Place Naming Policy (2019) also requires consultation with Aboriginal communities and LALCs on all matters concerning an Aboriginal place name.

Although only mentioned in relation to dual names, the Place Naming Policy (2019) outlines the need for 'plausible historical evidence in the form of documentary or oral sources and that some authority or authenticity can be attributed to the source or sources for the:

- form
- origin
- spelling
- history, and
- meaning of the name.

Usefully, the Place Naming Policy (2019) outlines that interpretive signs and notices, etc., should explain the origins of Aboriginal place names including the name of the language group from which the name originated. Importantly the Place Naming Policy (2019) identifies that the Geographical Names Board does not have a role in determining naming, spelling or determination of boundaries of Aboriginal Country or Nations.

[8] Geographical Names Board of New South Wales (2019) The Geographical Names Board of NSW Policy – Place Naming.

1.2.3 Ben Boyd National Park & Bell Bird Creek Nature Reserve Plan of Management 2021

The Plan of Management is a statutory document adopted by the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage[9]. The Plan notes that the National Park is comprised of three sections: a large southern section located south of Eden, a large central area located north of Eden, and a smaller northern area located north of the Pambula River (see Figure 1). The Park was first reserved in 1971 and gazetted in the same year. Since then, there have been a number of additions, including the Pambula extensions in 1999 and 2004, the extension of the southern section of Ben Boyd down to mean low water mark in 2002, and the addition of the former light station reserve at Green Cape to the Park in 2003. The Park currently has an area of 10,485 hectares.

The Plan outlines that management of the National Park aims to):

- conserve places, objects, features and landscapes of cultural value;
- promote public appreciation and understanding of the Park's natural and cultural values.

The Plan clearly identifies that the natural and cultural landscape of the Park is made up of many features that are interrelated including the lands and waters, plants and animals, special places and stories, historical and current uses, and people and their interactions with each other and place.

These features are seen as inseparable and make up what is known as 'Country' to Aboriginal people. Archaeological evidence confirms that Aboriginal people have had a long and continuous association with the far south coast region for thousands of years. A large and vibrant Aboriginal population remains in the region today with local Aboriginal communities actively working to maintain traditional knowledge and record and protect cultural heritage.

A large number of Aboriginal sites have been recorded in the Park, mainly middens, but also campsites, rock shelters, scarred trees and long-distance travel routes. The Disaster Bay to Green Cape area in the southern section of the Park is particularly significant for its large number of Aboriginal sites, and its historic, spiritual and contemporary values to local Aboriginal people.

The Plan notes that the land and sea surrounding and including the Park is important to past and present Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people from Twofold Bay and other parts of the south coast and hinterland, represented by language groups or clans such as the Dyirringan, Bidawal, Dthawa (or Thawa, Daura or Thau-aira), Maneroo, Kudingal (or Kunnerkwell), gathered to celebrate, trade, share resources or exchange marriage partners[10]. Today Aboriginal people, including elders, community members from other areas and the Eden LALC maintain historical and cultural connections to Country, within the Park. They have an interest in management of the Park's Aboriginal heritage and other aspects such as access for cultural activities and ecotourism purposes. In particular the Aboriginal community requires access to the coastline to undertake traditional practices, and to promote culture awareness by conducting tours.

[9] NSW NPWS (2021).
[10]NSW NPWS (2021).

The plan specifically outlines that it is policy that Aboriginal communities be consulted about decisions regarding the management of Aboriginal sites and related issues and most importantly how the Aboriginal culture and history of the Park will be promoted, interpreted and presented.

The Ben Boyd National Park and Bell Bird Creek Nature Reserve Plan of Management was amended in 2021. The plan of management outlines options for renaming part of the Park in the Pambula Beach area, to reflect its past and present importance to Aboriginal people, will be investigated. This is viewed by the Plan as a medium priority for action.

1.2.4 Relevant cultural heritage policies and theories

Naming country is an important part of cultural heritage for Aboriginal people across Australia. The concept of 'country' has been described by the late anthropologist Deborah Bird Rose, in the following way:

> Country in Aboriginal English is not only a common noun but also a proper noun. People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country. People say that country knows, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, is sorry or happy…country is a living entity with a yesterday, today and tomorrow, with a consciousness, and a will toward life. Because of this richness, country is home, and peace; nourishment for body, mind, and spirit; heart's ease…Country is multi-dimensional – it consists of people, animals, plants, Dreamings; underground, earth, soils, minerals and waters, surface water, and air …[11]

In the field of heritage conservation and management, the concept of a 'cultural landscape' attempts to capture both material (tangible) and non-material (intangible) elements. In 1996 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Committee adopted a definition for cultural landscapes:

> Cultural landscapes represent the 'combined works of nature and of man…' illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal (UNESCO 1996).

UNESCO also acknowledge the concept of 'associative cultural landscapes' which is of relevance to assessing and understanding Australian Indigenous concepts of land, connectedness and the concept of 'country'.

The 'associative cultural landscape' encompasses the non-material values across a landscape and highlights the inseparability of cultural and natural values. Associative cultural landscapes may be defined

[11] Rose 1996: 7–8.

as large or small contiguous or non-contiguous areas and itineraries, routes, or other linear landscapes – these may be physical entities or mental images embedded in a people's spirituality, cultural tradition and practice. Moreover, as described by Mick Dodson, the Aboriginal worldview also considers the ocean waters part of 'country':

> Indigenous peoples do not distinguish between landscape and seascape, both being equally part of country. This contrasts markedly with the worldview, reflected in the Australian legal system, which perceives boundaries where indigenous conceptualisations provide a geographically integrated understanding of land, rivers, estuaries, beaches, reefs, seas, cays, seabeds and associated flora and fauna. Indigenous Australians have a long history of close association with the sea and its resources for subsistence, economic livelihood, spirituality and cultural identity. These connections are well supported by archaeological and anthropological evidence. Sites of significance and dreaming tracks extend to offshore waters, flora and fauna and form part of the system of traditional law and custom connecting Indigenous Australians to sea country…. (United Nations 2010).

Importantly, associative cultural landscapes may be valued by multiple groups, who attach different values resulting in a concurrence of cultures and uses, all of which are recognised to have validity. By considering Aboriginal cultural heritage values on a landscape scale, the inseparability of people and place, culture and nature, the past and the present, material and non-material values, the Aboriginal world view becomes more apparent as is the way Country is named and referred to by Aboriginal people. Seemingly isolated locations and events are understood as being interconnected. Researchers Leader-Elliott, Maltby and Burke (2004) found that:

> …a cultural landscape is more than just the sum of its physical places; it is equally concerned with the spaces between places and how these are given meaning, as well as the documentary and oral history stories that are woven around both. The deeply social nature of relationships to place has always mediated people's understandings of their environment and their movements within it, and is a process which continues to inform the construction of people's social identity today.[12]

From a spatial perspective the relationship between human activity and the natural environment may not always relate to isolated locations. The cultural landscape approach advocated by Brown (2010), incorporates a holistic and integrated heritage management model, in the context of National Parks in NSW, incorporating both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal values[13]. Brown's holistic model manages heritage objects, places and landscapes for their historical, social, spiritual, scientific and aesthetic values and also recognises that physical landscape and social contexts are dynamic and encompass a range of cultural values including:

- tangible (material traces of history) and intangible (beliefs, stories, knowledge and language) heritage
- Aboriginal and settler Australian (including shared and diverse) heritage
- pre- and post-contact heritage (i.e., pre- and post-1788)

[12] Leader-Elliott et al. 2004; see also Byrne & Nugent 2004.

[13] Brown 2010: 6; see also typologies developed by NSW NPWS by Creamer (1984); Traditional (pre-contact); Historical (post-contact) and Contemporary (very recent).

- natural and cultural heritage
- the past and present.

Brown highlights how the integration of people's stories, memories and aspirations into management processes gives recognition to the link between the landscape and people's experiences, without this he argues 'an impression is created that the landscape is devoid of human history'. Moreover, he found that respecting and acknowledging people's attachments support community identity and wellbeing.[14] Importantly, names are embedded with cultural meaning and are thus an important part of Aboriginal people's cultural heritage.

The current renaming process also gives consideration to the Australian International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter (2013) where cultural significance is defined as 'aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations'[15]. Whilst cultural significance is a concept which helps in estimating the value of places, the framework can still be considered when understanding place names in terms of:

- Aesthetic value: including aspects of sensory perception, measured by qualities such as form, scale, colour, texture and material of the fabric (i.e., the physical evidence of the landscape).

- Historic value: relating to how a place has influenced or been influenced by an historic figure, event, phase or activity, or whether it was the site of an important event. Historic significance is greater where evidence of the association is stronger, e.g., through survival of evidence in good condition.

- Scientific value: reflecting the importance of the data involved, its rarity, quality, or representativeness, and on the degree to which the place may contribute further substantial information.

- Social value: embracing the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group.

Given the attributes of an associative cultural landscapes can include non – materials, intangible heritage, such as the acoustic, the kinetic and the olfactory, as well as the visual, and a range of natural features associated with cosmological, symbolic, sacred, and culturally significant landscapes may be very broad (mountains, caves, outcrops, coastal waters, rivers, lakes, pools, hillsides, uplands, plains, woods, groves, trees) [16], an understanding of intangible heritage is required when understanding and appreciating the way Aboriginal people name and refer to country. Moreover, Truscott points out that often 'intangible heritage' can be seen, or heard, or tasted or smelt or felt emotionally[17].

[14] Brown 2012: 108.
[15] Australia ICOMOS 2013.
[16] ICOMOS International Symposium 2004.
[17] Truscott 2000: 23.

The Australian International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Burra Charter Practise Note on Intangible cultural heritage and place (ICOMOS 2017) defines cultural heritage in the following way:

> …the diversity of cultural practices created by communities and groups of people over time and recognised by them as part of their heritage and cultural practices encompass traditional and customary practices, cultural responsibilities, rituals and ceremonies, oral traditions and expressions, performances, and the associated language, knowledge and skills, including traditional craft skills, but is not limited to these (ICOMOS 2017: 3).

Key Burra Charter Practise Practice Note principles relevant to intangible cultural heritage values embedded in a name include (ICOMOS 2017: 3):

- Cultural practices at a place that relate to the place itself, to objects (and fixtures, contents, and elements), to people, and to its setting, and that may relate to other places, should be identified and investigated, and their contribution to the significance of the place documented and respected.

- A place, its location and setting may be integral to the existence, observation and practice of intangible cultural heritage.

- Knowledge and understanding of cultural practices come primarily from those engaged in the cultural practice. The participation of the communities or groups involved in or responsible for the cultural practices is essential to understanding intangible cultural heritage.

- The community or group is the primary source of information about its own intangible cultural heritage and is responsible for the safekeeping of knowledge, skills, objects and places involved in the cultural practices. There may be protocols about the sharing of information and intellectual property rights.

- Cultural practices at a place might be at risk if they are not recorded, or their contribution to the significance of the place or to the community or group, is not recognised.

- The loss of a cultural practice may diminish the cultural significance of a place. The conservation, maintenance and preservation of cultural practices may be integral to retaining the cultural significance of a place.

In relation to the management of intangible cultural heritage, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) focuses on ‘safeguarding’ the processes from which intangible values arise, as an example, acknowledging Aboriginal place names and terms Aboriginal people use associated with their country. Similarly, the ICOMOS Burra Charter Practise Note on Intangible cultural heritage and place (2017), outlines ways to ‘sustain cultural practices’ involving collaboration between the associated communities and the place manager.

Whilst theoretical understandings specific to Aboriginal concepts of country continue to develop in Australia, it is acknowledged that Aboriginal cultural landscapes include both material and non-material elements valued by an Aboriginal group (or groups) because of their long and complex religious and economic relationship with that land, even when material evidence of the cultural association is minimal or absent.[18]

These various theories and approaches have been applied to this renaming facilitation process[19]. The relationship between particular features across the broader landscape setting, is most important and may become relevant when finding a name for the Park. Given the significance of a cultural landscape reflects both the sum of the individual parts, as well as the landscape as an integrated whole, consideration of how individual components within the landscape are named, as well as names given to the overall landscape, is required. Another key consideration is to be aware of any values that are being safeguarded or lost, and indeed who is being empowered or disempowered with the selection of a name.

1.2.5 Summary of analysis

From the key policies in relation to renaming Ben Boyd National Park, as outlined above, selection criteria for the renaming emerges. The Aboriginal name for the National Park should:

- be derived from consultation with Aboriginal people to reflect Aboriginal cultural values
- provide a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture given that there is no singularly prominent feature in the National Park
- avoid confusion with other geographic or place names in the area and not relate to features that extend well beyond the Park
- be based on credible historical evidence in the form of documentary or oral sources and that some authority or authenticity can be attributed to the source or sources for the form, origin, spelling, history, and meaning of the name
- preferably have spelling nominated by the local Aboriginal community members although a linguist can be consulted to assist in resolving appropriate spelling, and
- not be seen as inconsistent with the National Park's Plan of Management.

The analysis undertaken in the sections that follow and the suggested names for the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage to consider are consistent with the policy basis for renaming a National Park to reflect Aboriginal cultural values. Moreover, as described below, the policy base was described to Aboriginal participants as part of the Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) process and as a way to enable them to select an appropriate Aboriginal name for the Park.

[18] Buggey 1999: 30; see also the Commonwealth Government's definition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage, as applied to heritage significance assessments (Australian Heritage Commission 1997).
[19] See also Alsop et al. 2006; Byrne & Nugent 2004; Australian Heritage Commission 2011.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

The following methodology was employed to ensure consistency with the polices, guidelines and cultural heritage theory outlined in section 1.2.

2.1 Background research

The consultants undertook a literature review to scope potential Aboriginal language placenames and other names within and associated with the National Park (section 3)[20].

The desktop review covered Aboriginal language names for geographical locations within the Park giving consideration to the linguistic boundary between Djirringanj, Thaua and Bidawal; Aboriginal terms associated with cultural concepts relating to the Park; traditional and contemporary Aboriginal connections with the Park and associated linguistic terms; names associated with tangible (material traces of history) and intangible (beliefs, stories, knowledge and language) heritage; Aboriginal and settler Australian (including shared and diverse) heritage; and pre- and post-contact heritage (including contact and conflict).

2.2 Engaging with stakeholders

The consultants engaged with stakeholders to discuss project and consultation process and organise, facilitate and report stakeholder group meetings/workshops (section 4).

Given the need to ensure participation in the renaming negotiations was based on FPIC, the consultants developed a project outline which was emailed or verbally delivered to stakeholders (Appendix 1). A framework for interview/workshop questions was also developed (Appendix 2).

The Aboriginal people with cultural connections to the Park reside across south-eastern Australia and not necessarily close to the Park. NPWS provided the consultants with a list of Aboriginal and South Sea Islander stakeholders to be consulted, as follows:

- Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited
- Bega Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Biamanga National Park Board of Management
- Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Gulaga National Park Board of Management
- Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation
- South Coast People Native Title Applicant
- Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation.

[20] Following consultations, additional research work was undertaken by Rod Lucas, Mark Dunn and Sue Wesson.

Based on background research and preliminary consultations the consultants also engaged with:

- Moogji Aboriginal Council East Gippsland Inc.
- Bidwell-Maap Aboriginal Corporation
- Bidwell First Nations Clans Aboriginal Corporation.[21]

Based on consultations and giving consideration to the identified cultural values in the literature review, the consultants developed a set of cultural guidelines in addition to those policy criteria developed from the policy analysis so that each name suggested could be analysed in a culturally relevant manner. These cultural guidelines provide a more culturally appropriate framework to assess the degree to which suggested names are suitable for consideration as a new name for the Park[22]. The cultural guidelines for assessing suggested names are that the name:

- reflects the strength of Aboriginal connections to country (including land and sea)
- reflects the cultural themes
- suggested by Aboriginal community members who identified as having a cultural association with the Park
- tell a variety of compelling stories of connection embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups
- avoids inferring or pre-empting legal determinations as to native title
- maximises a sense of Aboriginal cultural cohesion rather than inflaming contests or divisions
- avoids breaking customary laws and impinging on cultural sensitivities, and
- is linguistically relevant to the area.

In addition to the above cultural guidelines, recognition and opportunity for South Sea Islanders' stories to be told through interpretation and education should be considered.

A key aspect of engagement and FPIC involved managing tensions between and within stakeholder groups. The build-up approach (small scale engagement scaling up to a community workshop) aimed to foster social and cultural cohesion and maximise empowering outcomes. All participants were made aware that people other than themselves were being consulted and that a report with the results of consultation (a suggested Aboriginal name or names for the Park) was being produced for the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage, and that the Minster will decide on the new name for the Park.

The consultants arranged the smaller focus sessions, with assistance from NPWS staff. NPWS staff were responsible for notifying stakeholders and arranging the Eden community workshop with assistance from the consultants.

[21] Formerly Cultural Connections Connecting to Country Biduelli First Nations Clans Aboriginal Corporation.

[22] The cultural guidelines were refined during the consultation period to incorporate community aspirations. Participants were made aware that suggested names' suitability would be subject to a criteria analysis rather than a vote or popularity test.

The consultants employed a triangulated participatory methodology to ensure community input enabled the expression of cultural associations rather than individualistic ambitions. Acknowledgment was given to how naming country has inherent intangible cultural values and the consultants facilitated participant's awareness of the potential consequences of giving a place a name as well as removing a place name.

2.3 Reporting

The consultants reported on the facilitation and consultation of the renaming process and based on consultation and analysis provide suggestions for a new name for the Park for consideration by the NPWS and NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage.

The report documents specific Aboriginal cultural values associated with the Park and associated names, and analysed the documented evidence combined with data collected during the consultation.

A draft report was provided to NPWS for consideration, followed by this final report.

3.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews existing linguistic, ethnographic and historical materials relating to Aboriginal language names for places within the Park giving consideration to the linguistic boundaries where possible. Aboriginal language names associated with cultural concepts relating to the Park are also identified as well as traditional and contemporary Aboriginal connections with the Park and associated linguistic terms.

The section is arranged thematically according to name typology including tangible (material traces of history) and intangible (beliefs, stories, knowledge and language) heritage.

3.1 Aboriginal group names

An Aboriginal land tenure and naming system has existed across Australia for thousands of years, including the land that is now within the Park. Cultural links to the Park, in the past as well as in the present, can be described by a range of groupings including tribal, sub-tribal, clan and linguistic, each ascribing names to country at different scales and for different purposes[23].

The southeast NSW coastal area is tribally affiliated with the *Yuin* (*Murring*) people, recorded by Howitt in 1904 as extending from the Shoalhaven River in the north to Cape Howe in the south and west to the Great Dividing Range. More specifically, Howitt found that the area now within Ben Boyd National Park is within the southern Yuin region occupied by the *Katungal* – coastal fishing people[24].

Within the *Katungal* group smaller named groups have been identified as being associated with the Park; the *Panbula* people's 'usual resort' was Pambula and Twofold Bay[25]; the *Wiacon* people were 'resident at Twofold Bay' around the Snug Cove area[26]; and the *Naloker* people were recorded as the 'Twofold Bay blacks' whose country extended from Boydtown within Twofold Bay, south to Wonboyn in Disaster Bay.[27]

In this region, like other parts of Australia, it is usual for land owning groups to be formed at the local clan and tribal level rather than as a result of language affiliation. Language affiliation is however an integral aspect to Aboriginal cultural identify and is an important part of how Aboriginal people relate to country, to the land and to the sea.

[23] Peterson 1976; Sutton 2003.
[24] Wesson 2000: 131–147.
[25] Robinson in Wesson 2000: 144.
[26] Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2000: 148.
[27] Robinson in Wesson 2000: 142.

Linguistically the coastal area including the Park has been documented in the following variety of ways over the years, not all of which are congruent:

- entirely Thaua (Robinson n.d. [1844])
- entirely Thaua (Howitt 1904)
- predominantly Thaua with Bidwell and Thaua sharing a boundary at Green Cape (Tindale 1974);
- northern section of Park as Thaua and southern section as Bidwell, the two groups sharing a boundary at Twofold Bay (Tindale 1974) (Figure 2)
- northern section of Park as Djirringanj and southern section as Thaua, the two groups sharing a boundary at Twofold Bay (Eades 1976) (Figure 3)[28]
- entirely Thaua (Wesson 2000), and
- southern section of the Park as Thaua (Clark 1996) (Figure 4).

Figure 2 Tribal map extract (Tindale 1974)

[28] Dyirringan also spelt Tiringal, Diringan, Jeringan, and Jirringan.

Figure 3 Dharawal and Dhurga and surrounding languages (Eades 1976)

Figure 4 Aboriginal language areas in far eastern Victoria – a reconstruction (Clark 1996)

In areas associated with language boundaries, places may be known by different names in that one place may have multiple names arising from the surrounding languages. Moreover, given people's kinship ties across language groups, people often identify with more than one language which in turn can affect how language boundaries are described. Today the terms most commonly used by Aboriginal people refer to themselves and each other are *Yuin, Koori,* or with reference to linguist affiliations such as *Thaua, Djirringanj* and *Bidwell.* Table 1 provides a summary of the identified Aboriginal group names associated with the Park.

Table 1 Summary of Aboriginal groups associated with the Park

Group Name	Meaning	Source
Yuin (Murring)	The group of people between Shoalhaven River in the north, to Cape Howe in the south and west to the Great Dividing Range.	Howitt 1904
Katungal	Coastal fishing people – a sub-group of the larger Yuin group.	Wesson 2000: 131–147
Koori	Derived from term kuri/ guri meaning 'men'/ people from NSW Central Coast, contemporary widespread use across south-eastern Australia.	Eades 1976:35
Panbula (Pampulla, Panbuller, Panbooler, Pamboola)	The group of people associated with the Pambula/Twofold Bay area	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2000: 144
Wiacon (Weecon, Waokoon, Wayokoo, Wayako)	The group of people associated with Snug Cove, within Twofold Bay.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2000: 146
Naloker (Nallerkor, Nallucer, Nollica, Nulliker, Nallerkor-mitter)	The group of people associated with Boydtown/Nullica Bay, within Twofold Bay. Country extends south to Wonboyn.	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000: 142
Thaua (Taua, Daura, Thawa, Thauaira)	Language group	Robinson 1844; Howitt 1904; Tindale 1974; Eades 1976; Wesson 2000
Djirringanj (Dyirringan, Tiringal, Diringan, Jeringan, Jirringan)	Language group	Mathews 1902 in Wesson 2000: 157; Besold 2013: 4
Bidwell (Biddoowal, Birdhawal, Birtowall, Bidwall, Bidwill, Bidwelli, Biduelli, Beddiwell, Maap)	Language group	Robinson 1844; Howitt 1904; Tindale 1974; Eades 1976; Wesson 2000

3.2 Aboriginal placenames

Aboriginal placenames across Australia evoke intangible links with the pre-contact era and to the spiritual ancestors of the past who are held by Aboriginal people to have originally named the country. Aboriginal placenames are also an important guide to the past in terms of the linguistic affiliation of an area. Thankfully, some of the original place names linked to geographical features within the Park have retained their name or a close variant of it, for instance Bittangabee (Pertangerbe, Pertungerbe, Pertungerby, Petungerbe).

Since 1839 Aboriginal placenames have been documented for particular landscape features, now within the Park (Figure 5). Unfortunately, it was not until the early 1900s, following severe social and economic dispossession, that local Aboriginal dialects were first recorded (see Robinson n.d. [1844] Figure 6). Mathews documented Aboriginal language in this region in 1902, followed by Howitt in 1904 and Eades in 1976. In some regions, placenames are reconstructed by linguists as a way to enable the names to be applied and pronounced in an accurate way in a contemporary world[29]. Unfortunately, the Aboriginal placenames identified within the Park, as outlined below, have not been reconstructed to date.

Aboriginal people from neighbouring regions visited the Twofold Bay area where the placenames were recorded and unfortunately the language affiliation of the Aboriginal informants was rarely noted which makes it difficult today, without linguistic and placename analysis, to establish the linguistic origins and meaning of each placename, and importantly how the name is formed (spelt). Whilst some placenames may appear to be Aboriginal in origin when they are not,[30] it is possible to reconstruct placenames of Aboriginal origins where direct knowledge of the language of the placename is lost, by applying linguistic and historical methods[31].

Table 2 provides a summary of the identified Aboriginal placenames associated with the Park.

[29] See Koch & Hercus 2009; Besold 2013.
[30] Tent 2005: 8–9.
[31] Koch Hercus 2009: 115–171; Tent 2015: 65–74.

Figure 5 County of Auckland c.1843 (SLNSW)

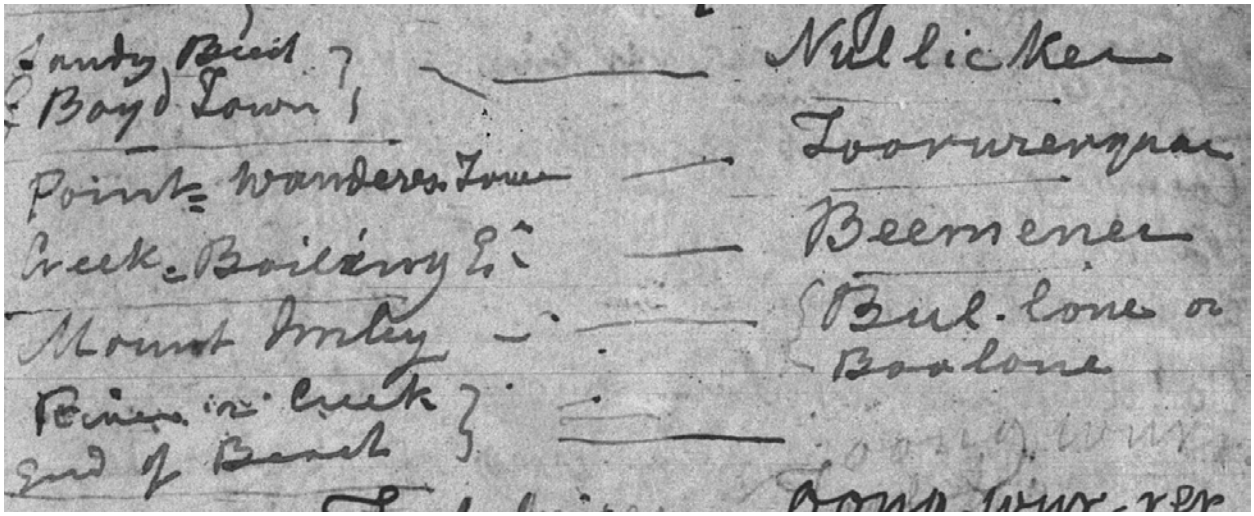


Figure 6 Robinson's journal recording placenames in the language spoken at Twofold Bay (1844)

Table 2 Summary of Aboriginal placenames associated with the Park

ABORIGINAL PLACENAME	PRESENT DAY NAME	SOURCE[32]
Panbula **(Pampulla, Panbuller, Parnbuller, Panbooler, Pamboola)**	Pambula	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2000; Robinson 1844 in Clark 2000; Lambie 1846 in Wesson 2000
Toalla	Haycock Point	Parish map 1843
Quondolo	Quondolo	Parish map 1843
Quoraburagun	The Pinnacles/Quoraburagun Point	Parish map 1843
Bullara	Lennards Head	Parish map 1843
Worange (Worang-e)	North Head/Worang Point	Parish map 1843; Tracing map 1850
Kiah (Korr, Kiar)	Towamba/Kiah River	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000
Parramurra	Brierly Point	Parish map 1885
Turemulerrer	East Boyd Bay Fisheries Beach	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000: 165–166
Kyerno	East Boyd	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000: 165–166
Burrowragun	Red Point (Boyds tower)	Parish map 1843
Tororaqua	Red Point/Wanderer's Tower/Torargo Point	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000.

[32] The place names recorded by Brierly have not been assessed to date.

ABORIGINAL PLACENAME	PRESENT DAY NAME	SOURCE[32]
Mowary (Moearer)	Mowarry Point	Parish map 1843; Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000: 165–166
Bittangabee (Pertangerbe, Pertungerbe, Pertungerby, Petungerbe)	Bittangabee	Parish map 1843; Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000; Robinson in Clark 2000
Pundowero	Green Cape	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000: 165
Tartarerer	Disaster Bay	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2000: 165–166

Without linguist research and further historical investigation it is difficult to identify the Aboriginal language associated with each of these placenames. Moreover, as described below, some places may have had more than one name and multiple meanings.

> Heritage is what the old people left. Culture is our practices and our knowledge and our stories. What people don't understand is that different language groups had different names for the same places. They are both right even though they are different. Ben Cruse, 13.7.2018, in Donaldson 2018.

> Different families or clans have different names for the same place. They may be talking about the same place but they each have their own name from their different languages. It is the same with the totems; an animal may have different meanings for different clans. A bird might have a good meaning for one clan and mean something bad for another. Aileen Blackburn Mongta, 22.11.2018, in Donaldson 2018.

3.3 Aboriginal people's names

Most of the individual Aboriginal people identified in the early records worked in or were associated with the whaling industry. Aboriginal people's success and skilful integration into the whaling industry was undoubtedly a result of their customary (spiritual and economic and social) relationship with whales and orcas as described below[33].

In 1828 Raine established the first shore-based whaling station at Twofold Bay, later taken over by the Imlay brothers. By 1839, two crews of six Aboriginal men each were recorded at Imlay's whaling station. Some lived in huts while others lived in traditional shelters. The Walker brothers took over the

[33] See Egloff 2000: 203–204. Other industries also employed Aboriginal people – see Cane 1992; Castel & Hagan 1978.

establishment around 1846.[34] A second whaling station was established by the Imlay brothers in Twofold Bay in 1839, a third one at Mowarry and a fourth one at Bittangabee sometime in the mid-1800s.

In June 1834 Baron Charles von Hugel passed through the area and recorded a large Aboriginal camp located near George Imlay's hut and the slaughterhouse at Twofold Bay. He found a group of between 150 and 200 Aboriginal people that had gathered in waiting for the (whale) offal.

Brierly recorded that in 1844 Ben Boyd had two Aboriginal crews working whale boats. Wesson found that Toby and Terry were given the roles of 'water taxi and errand boy for Brierly when there was no whale hunt on'[35]. The late Aboriginal man Ernie Brierly explained about his family connection to Eden and the whaling industry, and the origin of his father's name:

> …Walter, Walter Brierly and his father Walter Oswald...we got a Pommy name, Sir Oswald Brierly see, he adopted dad's father. Down at Eden at the Whaling station there, Dad was bred and born at the mouth of the Kiah River under one of those trees with berries on them, a mulberry tree...Yeah down at Eden they were whaling ever since the game started. Dad's father, he was a whaler down there and dad, he was fishing ever since that...dad use to be the lookout man....[36]

According to Goulding and Griffiths, in 1860 the Davidson family took over the whaleboats of George Barclay and the Solomon family and sometime later established a tryworks at Kiah Inlet and boatsheds below Kiah House. For the next 40 years many Aboriginal people worked for the Davidsons including members of the Brierly, Thomas, Bobbo, Ashby, Adjery, Carter, Chapman, Hoskins, Penrith, Stewart, Tungiai, Parsons and Haddigaddy families[37]. Albert Thomas senior was the lookout man and would ride out to South Head each day on his horse Pearl to spot whales[38]. By 1882 the Protector of Aborigines, George Thornton, reported that there were 'two men employed at Green Cape Light-house; each get 6 pounds per month and rations'. [39] Sixty years earlier sealers massacred Aboriginal people there[40].

Aboriginal whalers working for the Davidsons whaling station from the 1860s onwards lived at camps at both Cocora (Cattle Bay) and Aslings beach. In the late 1800s, Charlie Adgery and his family were forced to move to Cocora (Cattle Bay) from their camp at Snug Cove following complaints from the local residents. They were subsequently recorded at Cattle Bay in the 1891 and 1901 census.[41] Davidson recorded that the Aboriginal crew in the 1890s also lived in huts near the whaling station.[42] According to Wesson, the wives of the Aboriginal whalers living in the whaler's huts at Davidson Whaling Station lived in bark huts near Kiah House. These huts were approximately 6 x 6 feet and their roofs were made of stringybark.[43]

---

[34] Wesson 2001: 4, 12–13, in Goulding & Griffiths 2004.
[35] Wesson 2001: 13.
[36] Cruse et al. 2005: 19–20.
[37] Davidson 1990: 45-48; Wesson 2001: 18–22; Goulding & Griffiths 2004.
[38] Wesson 2001: 23
[39] Thornton 1884 in Organ 1990: 339–340.
[40] Goulding & Griffiths 2004: 30–32.
[41] Wesson 2001: 25, 27.
[42] Wesson 2001: 20; Davidson 1908: 26; Morgan 1994: 121.
[43] Wesson 2001: 20, 25.

Wesson found that some of the whalers were Pacific Islanders who had been brought to Australia by Ben Boyd and intermarried with Aboriginal women[44]. Many Aboriginal women were recorded in the region throughout the 19th Century, some of whom were living with non-indigenous whalers including in the 1840s Nerrungeror (Sally) born c.1825 at Waokoon (Snug Cove) was living with Joss, a white whaler; Dindowlkan (Rosey) was living with Māori whaler 'Davis the Tiger', Boyd's head whaler; and Tulerminggun (Mary) born c. 1824 from Cathcart and was living with Jim Parish, possibly a member of the Imlay crew[45].

According to Dunn, Aboriginal and British interactions at Twofold Bay in the 1840s and the regular employment for Aboriginal people was 'perhaps unique'.[46] Aboriginal people, particularly the descendants of the Aboriginal whalers, have a continued connection to Twofold Bay, many reside in Eden and across the southeast coast region today. Aboriginal people were also employed at other (non whaling) work places in and around Eden since industrial development began, including in the saw mills, chip mills, farms, the cannery, on fishing boats, and undertaking various construction and labouring jobs. Two important Aboriginal camps were established in the 1970s at Wonboyn and Kiah, both formed and occupied throughout the 20th Century by Aboriginal family's self-determined to participate in the local economy.

Oral histories attest to this continued connection, as detailed below:

> Dad was born in Eden, over behind the chip mill, when Dan – that's his father – was a whaler down there. That's where the tribe come from, that's where they all lived, there. There was a lot of Koorie families around Eden. The old Eden, myself and my family, we've travelled down there and stayed in the places over the other side, near the beach – sit there and daydream about where Dad was lookin' out to sea, and thinkin' about how the whaling, Old Tom the whale[47]used to come in, sing out to all the whalers to get their boats, there's whales in the bay. Dad'd sit down and he used to tell us all these sorts of things. It was a hard time, because they didn't want – the Koorie people didn't like killin' things like that. But for a living, you know it was hard to make a living, and being sea people, they went to sea, you know, and killed the whales. Most of the time Dan was at Eden, in the township of Eden. Georgina Parsons, 25.11.09, in Donaldson (2010).

> In the 80s I worked down there, unloading the tuna boats in Twofold Bay. Couple of months on and off. I also got a job in Bairnsdale, I done a contract job over there for the cement works. The only reason I got that was because my skin was fairer than the other two boys. Discrimination – that didn't worry me much. I've always found that. You get 'em, no matter how fair you are, but it does make me angry sometimes. John Stewart, 5.11.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

> Les was the boss, Les Davidson. He's the founder. And Ben Boyd. There was a photo of Bert Penrith carting water for the Davidsons, Les was Burt's boss. I never had anything to do with the whaling, just fishing with the Brierleys. We done it from Eden, right along, yeah cos the boats went

[44] Wesson 2001: 16–17; see also Dunn 2021.
[45] Wesson 2001: 17.
[46] Dunn 2021: 10.
[47] Note – 'Old Tom' was an Orca, not a whale.

to Eden and back, you was in trawlers. When the tuna'd come on, then you'd go tunaing. Ernie Brierley had his own boat. I was crew for Ernie. Lionel Mongta, 2.2.2010, in Donaldson (2010).

Heaps was working at the cannery, all of Eden, white and black. Tuna, salmon, pet food, anything. My job was in the loft mainly, I was good at pushing the tins out really fast, while everyone else was packing, cleaning and packing. I was told we were all good workers. All the Koorie people were good workers. It was equal wages. Big time wages were $27 a week that was a lot of money though, in those days. Tina Mongta Harrison, 28.10.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

My parents were Jessie Timbery and Ted Thomas; they lived at Wreck Bay. Ted's father was William Thomas and his mother was Mary or 'Lynno'. William's family were from Eden, my great grandfather Peter Thomas was born on the shores of Twofold Bay, Eden in 1830. Peter married Anne McGrath; they called her 'Granny Nadia'; her Tribal name was Nadia. She was born at Delegate, from the mission area. Eden is important to us because that's where the Thomas family come from. Faith Aldridge, 21.10.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

Table 3 provides a summary of the Aboriginal people identified as being associated with the Park in the early contact period.

Table 3 Summary of Aboriginal people associated with the Park

PERSON'S NAME	DETAILS	REFERENCE
Adjenower (Bobby)	One of Boyd's whaling crew; from Mowarry Point	Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2001: 46
Almilgong	'An Omeo Black from Tongio-mungie', undertook ceremony at Twofold Bay	Robinson in Clark 2000: 170–171
Arinjangwor/Nanchangua (Billy)[48]	One of Boyd's whaling crew; born c.1822 from Pambula.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 46
Arthur Ashby	Born c 1888; a whaler for the Davidsons. His daughter was a domestic servant working for the Davidsons.	Wesson 2001: 31
Bannermeerhe/Punimer, Punemerri (George)	One of Boyd's whaling crew; born c.1822 from Mowarry.	Imlay 1839 and Robinson 1844 in Wesson 2001: 46

[48] Possibly Billy McGrath (Wesson 2001: 46).

PERSON'S NAME	DETAILS	REFERENCE
Beerheminje/ Pinnumi/Parrinnringin (Ben)	One of Boyd's whaling crew; born c.1809 from Wonboyn. Husband of Warwowen.	Wesson 2001: 46
Bert Penrith	Harpooner for 30 years for the Davidsons.	Wesson 2001: 22, 29
Budgenbro/Buginburra/ Pidjinboro/Budgibro/Bugenbura (Toby/Toby the King/Toby Blue/Chief of Twofold Bay)	Born around 1821 from Cathcart (Pundeang mittong). Was Brierly's guide in 1842. One of the headmen and harpooner of Boyd's Aboriginal whaling crew. Also, a guide for Robinson. Described by Oswald Walter Brierly as the 'Chief of Twofold Bay' in a drawing. Husband of Bloomah.	Brierly 1842; 1844; Wesson 2002: 16; Wesson 2001: 46.
Cadul/Cadal (Billy Morgan)	Employed as a whaler; born c.1798. 'Chief Headsman to Mr Rixon, Twofold Bay'.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 46
Charlie Adgery	Born Twofold Bay around 1835; employed as a whaler.	Wesson 2001: 25, 27
Haddigaddy (Paddy, Sam & Bill)	Sam and Bill were whalers; Sam was also a boat steerer and Bill was a harpooner. Their father Paddy may have also been a whaler.	Wesson 2001: 31
Jeff Tungai	Worked at the Davidson whaling station chopping blubber, cutting wood and boiling whale fat.	Wesson 2001: 31
Jemmy Gooler/Timungal/Timangala (Robert)	One of Boyd's whaling crew; born c.1839 from Kiah.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 46
Koarerer/Quira/Quirra (Jemmy/Jemmy the kangaroo/Jamie Gray)	Employed as a whaler; born c.1820 from Kiah'; head harpooner.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 46
Merringgal/Kouangua (Johnny/Jackey the Whaler)	Employed as a whaler; born c.1834 at Twofold Bay. Mother was Mary and father King Tom both Snowy River people.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 46

PERSON'S NAME	DETAILS	REFERENCE
Neerimbine/Nerrima/ Ninima (James Imlay, Jemmy the King Biggah)	Head harpooner for Imlay; born c.1811, from Bega.	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 46
Nicalangua/Nicelangua/ Nicerlangwor (Paddy, Paddy the Scamp)[49]	One of the headmen and harpooner of Boyd's Aboriginal whaling crew; born c 1820 from Wangrabel.	Brierly 1844 in Wesson 2001: 47
Oswald Walter Brierly	Head harpooner; born Boyd Town c.1843. His name derives from the European manager of Ben Boyd's Twofold Bay whaling station in the early 1840s. Had a famous orca named after him.	Pers. comm. Doris Moore 2009; Cruse et al. 2005: 19–20
Parsons (Dan and Dennis 'Dinny')	Both worked as whalers for the Davidsons and married the daughters of whalers from Eden.	Wesson 2001: 31
Thomas (Peter, Aden Albert Charaga, William Iberia, Albert Boukal)	Peter was a lookout man and whaler for Davidsons; Peter's sons Aden Albert Charaga and William Iberia were also whalers. Aden was also a harpooner and his son Albert Boukal became an oarsman.	Wesson 2001: 26
Tungunwor/Tanchingua/Tanchangua (Terry)	One of the headman and harpooner of Boyd's Aboriginal whaling crew; born c.1815 from Bibbenluke.	Brierly 1844 in Wesson 2001: 47
Womaring/Wameron/ Womanlin (Tommy the Bull, Tommy Headsman)	Employed as a whaler; born c.1821, from Tororaqua (Tororoga Point).	Imlay 1839 in Wesson 2001: 47

[49] Possibly Paddy Haddigaddi (Wesson 2001: 46).

3.4 Names and themes associated with cultural beliefs and practices

3.4.1 Ceremony

Berndt's 1974 analysis of 'Australian Aboriginal Religion' describes five very broad and general types of 'religious pattern'[50] (Figure 7). The distinguishing features of Aboriginal religion in southeast Australia, which he calls the 'Magico-religious Bora Complex' are, according to Berndt, 'the degree to which magical elements intrude on basic ritual, as expressed through the active participation of native doctors (or 'clever men')'; and the appearance of *super*-natural beings who are conceived of as set apart from man. Within the context of both, a special relationship exists between man and the Sky World.'[51]

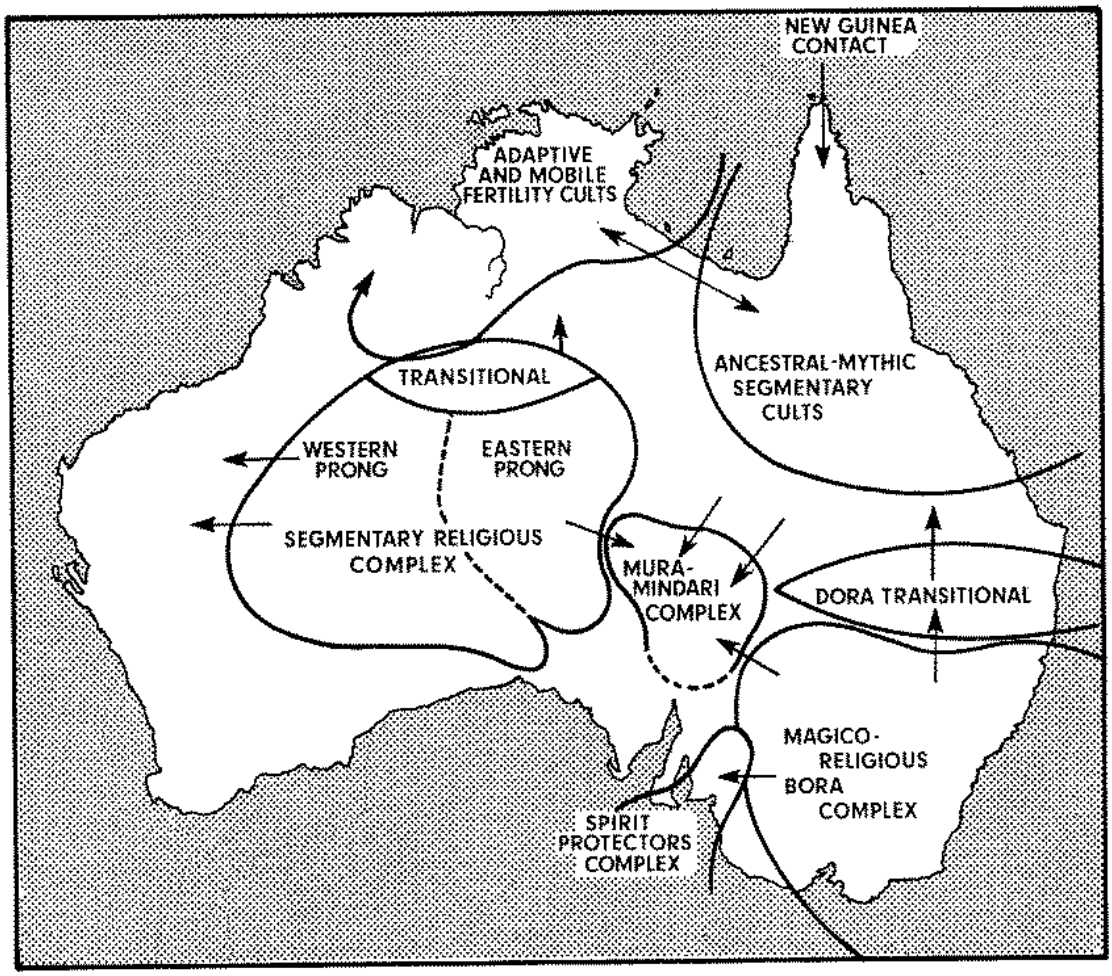


Figure 7 Australian Aboriginal Religious patterns (Berndt 1974)

[50] Berndt 1974.

[51] Berndt 1974: 23. Bora rings comprise circles of foot-hardened earth surrounded by raised embankments. They were formed as a result of many years of people dancing in a circular formation, over the same ground. Body oils would act to harden the earth and hinder the growth of vegetation. They were generally constructed in pairs and relate to initiation ceremonies.

In 1904 Howitt recorded Gulaga Mountain as an initiation site as well as a mythological creation site for the southeast region.

> Long ago Daramulan lived on the earth with his mother Ngalalba. Originally the earth was bare and 'like the sky, as hard as a stone', and the land extended far out where the sea is now. There were no men or women, but only animals, birds and reptiles. He placed trees on the earth. After Kaboka, the thrush, had caused a great flood on the earth, which covered all of the east coast country, there were no people left, except some who crawled out of the water onto Mount Dromedary…then Daramulan went up to the sky, where he lives and watches the actions of men. It was he who first made the Kuringal and the bull-roarer, the sound of which represents his voice. He told the Yuin what to do, and he gave them the laws which the old people have handed down from father to son to this time… (Howitt 1904: 495).

In 1904 Howitt also recorded Mumbulla Mountain as a location for initiation ceremonies. Early records show that Aboriginal people from Twofold Bay travelled to Mumbulla to participate in an initiation ceremony held in 1883[52]. Almost 100 years later, Egloff found that Mumbulla Mountain was significant because it was the location of Aboriginal initiations which utilised a complex of sacred Aboriginal sites and that any further alteration to the landscape in the vicinity of the sacred sites would impair the significance and value of the area to Aboriginal people[53]. Egloff found the retention of traditional concepts by Aboriginal people of the south coast as being remarkably strong. Despite huge population decline, an unbroken chain of communication between generations has been demonstrated, ensuring a flow of traditional information between generations primarily as a result of being 'pressed into small groups, face to face' fostering intercommunication[54]. Egloff also identified cultural links across the landscape associated with ceremonial grounds and travelling routes.

Whilst Mumbulla and Gulaga Mountains are outside of the Park to the north they can be seen from the Park. Balawan (Mt Imlay) is also outside of the Park but dominates the view to the west from the Park. Balawan is a key feature in the cultural landscape associated with Mumbulla, Gulaga, the coastline and the ocean waters. In 1844 Robinson recorded the name *Boolone* for Mt Imlay. Unlike other spiritually significant mountains in the region, Mt Imlay has not been subject to development threats over the decades and as such has not been the focus of intense ethnographic scrutiny[55].

In 2009 Willcox examined the cultural heritage management framework in NSW with a focus on Balawan (Mount Imlay) within Mt Imlay National Park (Figure 8), which at the time contained no recorded archaeological sites[56]. Willcox found that the non-material Aboriginal cultural heritage values associated

[52] Wesson 2000: 163.
[53] Egloff 1979: 1.
[54] Egloff 1979. Protests to protect Mumbulla Mountain triggered the Advisory Committee on South Coast Wood Chipping (the Ashton Committee 1977), the 1980 NSW Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly on Aborigines, the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW) and the 2001 amendments to the NPW Act to allow Aboriginal ownership of national parks in NSW (Egloff et al. 2001.
[55] Willcox 2009: 72.
[56] Willcox 2009: 58.

with Mt Imlay were barely acknowledged by the NSW government up until 2004 when a shift in cultural heritage management thinking occurred[57].

Figure 8 Mt Imlay (Balawan) from Twofold Bay (Donaldson 2010)

The NPWS interpretive sign within Mt Imlay National Park currently reads:

> Koori cultural place
>
> Balawan is important to local Aboriginal people
>
> Balawan has age old but continuing cultural associations. Aboriginal people believe that this mountain was created, back in the beginning, as a place of great spiritual significance. It links to other spiritual places in the area along dreaming paths through and around the mountain. These places are both physical and spiritual. They link people, land and law as well as the past present and the future. To the Yuin, Monaro and other Aboriginal people of the far south coast of NSW this mountain is like a church. Not only is it important to respect this Aboriginal heritage, it is also important to protect it.

[57] Willcox 2009: 61.

Interpretive material within Ben Boyd National Park also celebrates and acknowledges Aboriginal connections to the Country (Figure 9).

Figure 9 'Aboriginal cultural traditions are passed from generation to generation', Pambula River; Ben Boyd National Park (NPWS)

Whilst these ceremonial actives and associated places are highly significant to Aboriginal people, specific names only indirectly arise from these values in relation to the Park. Related to this theme is how people travelled through the landscape in order to fulfil their ceremonial responsibilities, including the use of pathways within the Park as detailed below.

3.4.2 Travelling

Aboriginal people formed and utilised tracks to move across Australia. Travelling routes exist along the entire length of the southeast coastline, extending between the coast and inland ranges along creeks and ridge tops. Movement across the landscape took place for a number of reasons including food gathering, acquisition of raw materials, ceremonial and religious occasions, trade and exchange, warfare and fighting, and communications (Kabaila 2005: 23).

The importance and nature of barter, including local barter in the southeast Australian region was investigated by McCarthy in 1939 who ascertained that Yuin ceremonies involved people from the

Monaro and Shoalhaven, as well as from the upper waters of the Snowy River, Moruya, Twofold Bay and Bega. He notes,

> …there was held a kind of market…at some clear place near the camp, and a man would say, 'I have brought such and such things', and some other man would bargain for them. At these 'markets' shields, boomerangs, opossum fur strings, bone nose pegs, grass tree spears, fighting clubs, opossum rugs, spear throwers, baskets, bags, digging sticks were exchanged... (1939: 408).

The south coast tribal groups shared reciprocal relationships with the Moneroo to the west[58]. In the summer months coastal groups would travel into Moneroo country to congregate for the bogong moth harvests whilst large gatherings at Twofold Bay took place during the whaling season when whales beached themselves during winter and early spring[59]. McKenna notes that:

> …in the winter months the Monaro people from Bombala and Delegate and nearby areas would journey to Twofold Bay, travelling along the Towamba River valley where they would meet with the Kundingal and perform corroborees, sometimes on the river flats before journeying to the coast…[60].

The most extensive investigation into Aboriginal movement across the southeast region was undertaken by Blay and Cruse in 2005. They found broad-ranging cultural linkages between the coast and inland regions related to Aboriginal people travelling along well-established walking routes for food, trade, ceremonies and kinship renewal[61]. Their investigations allowed them to map the network of ancient tracks, some of which formed the basis of the major roads and highways of today.

[58] Flood 1980; Young 2005; Young M, with E Mundy and D Mundy 2000.
[59] Goulding & Griffiths 28: 2004; see also Kabaila (n.d).
[60] McKenna 2002: 20.
[61] Blay & Cruse 2005: 6; see also Blay & Cruse 2004.

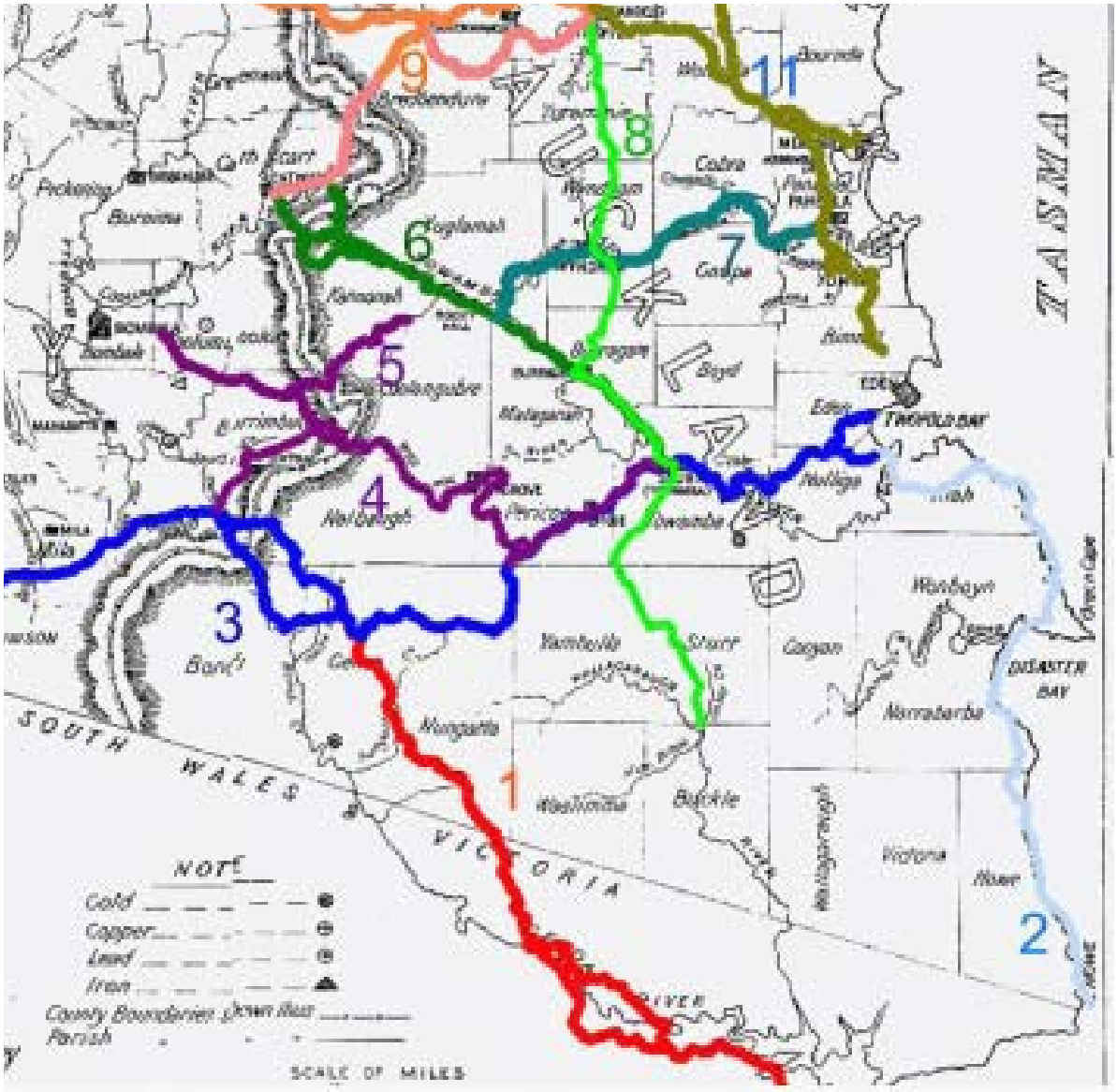


Figure 10 Travelling route map excerpt (Blay & Cruse 2005)

Major ancient travelling routes relevant to the Park, as documented by Blay and Cruse, (Marked 2 and 11 in Figure 10) track said to generally follow the coastal walking track maintained by NPWS to Cape Howe[62]. This track was noted by Robinson on 18 July 1844 when he was travelling southwards with native guides; 'Came to Pertangabee…crossed over three miles of thickly wooded sand stone ranges by native track…'[63].

This coastal pathway through the Park is understood to link up with an intricate network of coastal and inland tracks and meeting places to the north, south and west of the Park.[64] Some of these meeting places were recorded during the early contact period and include Towamba, Twofold Bay and Mt Kosciuszko. Oswald Brierly described a journey he made from Twofold Bay in 1842 along a traditional route through the mountains under the guidance of an Aboriginal man, Budgenbro. Francis McCabe made a survey of

[62] Blay & Cruse 2005: 9.
[63] As cited in Blay & Cruse 2005: 9.
[64] Blay & Cruse 2005: 9.

the route between the Monaro and Twofold Bay in 1845 and the Chief Protector of Aborigines George Augustus Robinson recorded the story of Al.mil.gong, who walked all the way from Omeo to present his new corroboree to his kin at Twofold Bay in 1844. Robinson and Brierly recorded an event in their journals describing a corroboree and whale harvest involving 60 or 70 people, about half of whom he describes as 'Maneroo' who had walked from as far afield as places around Delegate and Cooma [65]

Whilst a number of ancient Aboriginal pathways have been identified across the region, including within the Park, they are not specifically named in the way European naming systems are applied.

3.4.3 Relationships with marine life

Fortunately, there are a number of detailed descriptions about Aboriginal cultural practices on the south coast associated with marine life in the 1800 and 1900s, particularly in relation to orcas (Figures 11 and 12). Orcas are a species of marine beaked dolphin (*Orcinus orca*) and are commonly referred to as killer whales or 'killers' as well as whales, dolphins and even porpoises. The interchangeable use of terms referring to orcas is evident in the literature and in oral testimonies (see Table 4 for a summary of Aboriginal names associated with marine life and the Park)

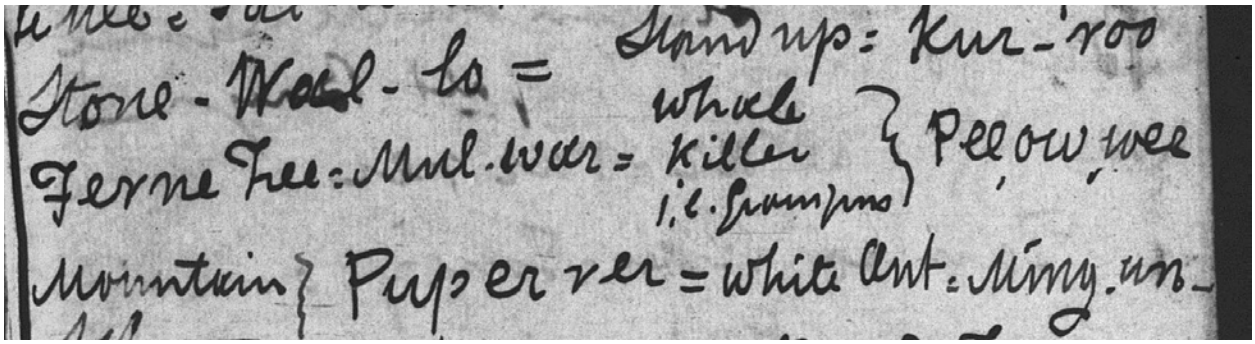


Figure 11 Robinson's recording of 'whale killer i.e porpoise' in the language spoken by the Omeo, Cape Howe and Twofold Bay tribes (1844)

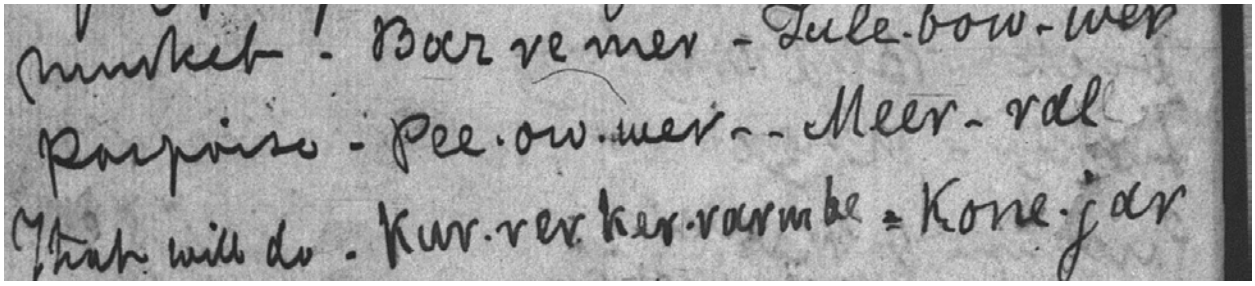


Figure 12 Robinson's recording of porpoise in the Monaroo and Twofold Bay languages (1844)

[65] Blay and Eden LALC 2011: 64; Clark 2000: 152.

Aboriginal people in southeast NSW incorporated orcas into their spiritual world by holding the belief that the spirits of their own ancestors reside in the orcas. Walker documented these spiritual beliefs as described to him by Berry in 1837:

> …The blacks of this district believe in the transformation of the souls. Alexr Berry was out one day in a boat, having a number of Aborigines with him. In the course of the day several porpoises came alongside, and the blacks seeing him make preparations to shoot at one tried to dissuade him from his purpose, he however shot one, at which they appeared much disturbed. On returning home, the blacks related the circumstance of his having killed (or wounded) a porpoise to the women who had been left behind, on which they showed symptoms of extreme dissatisfaction and horror, and immediately began to wail. It appears they have an idea that the souls of their deceased chiefs inhabit the bodies of porpoises after death, hence their reluctance to kill, or injure any of these animals. This, Alexr Berry, learned from the blacks themselves in answer to his enquiries… [66]

In 1842 Brierly recorded the same customary practice at Twofold Bay:

> …[I]n a recent encounter with a whale, one of their members was knocked out of the boat by a blow of the tail and killed, this frightened them very much for they imagine that when any of their people dies, his soul goes into the body of a Black fish (whale) and revisits the Bay – they say that this fish was a gin belonging to the 90 mile beach blacks with whom they are at war, for a time after this not one could be induced to join in the pursuit…[67]

Aboriginal people's intimate relationship with orcas also involved economic practices; Aboriginal people communicated with orcas cooperating with them to lure in whales and fish which were eaten and utilised for other customary practices, as described by Mathews in 1904:

> …when the natives observe a whale, murirra, near the coast, pursued by killers, manana, one of the old men goes and lights fires at some little distance apart along the shore, to attract the attention of the killer. He then walks along from one fire to another, pretending to be lame and helpless, leaning upon a stick in each hand. This is supposed to excite the compassion of the killers and induce them to chase the whale towards that part of the shore in order to give the poor old man some food. He occasionally calls out in a loud voice, 'gaai gaai dyundya waggarangga yerrimaran-hurdyen', meaning 'heigh-ho, that fish upon the shore throw ye to me'…if the whale becomes helpless from the attack of the killers and is washed up on the shore by the waves, some other men, who have been hiding behind the scrub or rocks, make their appearance and run down and attack the animal with their weapons. A messenger is also despatched to all their friends and fellow tribesmen in the neighbourhood, inviting them to come and participate in the feast. The natives cut through the blubber and eat the animal's flesh. After the intestines have been removed, any persons suffering from rheumatism or similar pains, go and sit within the whale's

[66] Walker 1843 in Organ 1990.
[67] In Davidson 1988: 26; see also Brierly 1847 for a range of accounts of Aboriginal people and their cultural association with the Park.

> body and anoint themselves with the fat, believing that they get relief by doing so…the killer eat only the tongue and lips of the whale. [68]

Bill Campbell tells Brian Egloff in 1979 about the 'whale' (orca) near Eden which helped the fishermen (AIATSIS South Coast Voices Collection):

> …They used to have a whale there, they used to call him, they used to call him. When they sing out, he used to come in and whack himself, like that – his tail like that and wake the whalers up and away you'd see him go. And they used to follow him out and they'd get them (whales) too in them days. Look I seen them boats when they peak their oars, their oars would stand up like that. That's the way they'd peak their oars over the boat and she'd sit out in the trough to the water like that and all you could see was just the peaks of the paddles with the force of that whale going. She'd have a harpoon into him – he'd come right up alongside and they'd hit him with a harpoon… (Bill Campbell, pers. comm. 1979).

> Guboo Ted Thomas recalled a time when he and his father and grandfather caught 20 fish by luring them to shore with the assistance of a dolphin at Wallaga Lake[69]. Ted's father and grandfather walked along the beach singing out to sea, communicating with the dolphins. Soon enough a dolphin had herded fish onto the shore for the men to spear and club with sticks. According to Ted 'there were fish left high on the beach…grandfather went out and he hooked his hand like that and the big dolphin came in and lay with his head on him there, Grandfather was talking to him in the language there and the dolphin was saying cheep, cheep, cheep and then grandfather let him go…Grandfather said thanks for all the fish and sang a song in thanks…'.

Another story called 'The Whalers' related by Percy Mumbulla, Wallaga Lake:[70]

> My ole Uncle Brierly was the best whaler that ever they seen in Twofold Bay. One mornin' they was cuttin' up a whale, an' a killer whale came up to where they were cuttin' up and jumped straight out of the water an' splashed his tail, 'Pook-urn; on the water.
>
> Soon as ever he seen this, ole Uncle sings out, 'Reesh O'. All the dark fellers run down an' jumped into the whale-boat, all rowin' their hardest at the big oars, great big long paddles. The killers was swimmin' over one another, under and over backwards an' forwards in front of the whale-boat, playin'.
>
> They gets out an' sees the whale. Ole Uncle sings out, 'Stern-a-moo!' That means you have to get side on to the whale. Ole Uncle gets the harpoon an' 'Boong!' The harpoon goes into that monster an' kills him stone dead.
>
> They townin' him in now, the killers swimming alongside, playin' with the whale. The killers get real glad whoever they see the dark fellers killin' a whale.

[68] Mathews 1904: 50–51.
[69] Thomas (n.d.) Dolphin Dreaming; unsure if this story relates to an orca or another species of dolphin.
[70] Provided by Vice Chairman Bidwell First Nations Clans Aboriginal Corporation Phillip Stewart, 2.5.2022.

> They comin' into the whaling' station now. They goin' to chop the whale up an' boil him. They chuck a big lump of blubber to the killer. He's like their dog.
>
> The dark people would never go looking' for whales. The killers would let them know if there where whales about. Ole Uncle would speak to them killers in the language.
>
> They must have been bugeens, clever blackfellers. They'd go as far as Narooma lookin' for whales. Two would stop with the whales and one would go back to Twofold Bay an' leap out of the water. 'Pook-urr!' He'd slap his tail an' let the whalers know.
>
> The killers would only tell the dark people. The white people had to look for the whales themselves. It might be the middle of the night when the killers came. You had no time to look for your trousers or shirt. When ole Uncle sang out Reesh O!' you and to run an' pile into that boat an' out. No matter if them waves were as high as them trees, you still had to go because you were signed on.
>
> No shark would touch you with them killers there. The killers would chop a shark to pieces. A sword-fish you know what he's like, he wouldn't have a chance. An' a porpoise, he'd make a porpoise sweat he's so fast.
>
> If the whale-boat was out of sight of land an' got smashed, the killers was there. They would be swimmin' round an' round, keepin' the sharks away. If them killers seen a man gettin' tired, they would swim underneath him, put a fin under his arm an' hold him until the launch came to pick him up.
>
> The killers would be playin' all around the launch goin' back.
>
> Arr,y old uncle Brierly was a champ. They've got his photo down at Twofold Bay. He'd never use the harpoon-gun. He'd used the harpoon-spear. He had a knack of killin' the whale, he'd put the harpoon right into him an' kill the whale stone dead.
>
> There's three whale, the sperm whale, the black whale, an' come at you with his mouth open. He's got teeth.
>
> The little killer would swim alongside the whale an' soon as he opened his mouth, the little killer would go inside and bite his tongue out, chew it right off.
>
> Big Ben the killer was a wizard. Then there was Hookey an' Big Tom. Soon as ever the dark people left Twofold Bay an' come to Wallaga Lake, them killers went north, because there were no blackfellers there.
>
> Ole Mrs Davidson, her husband was the boss of the whalin' station at Boyd Town, she could have told you.

Individual orcas were also integrated into Aboriginal society through naming rituals. They were also cared for by Aboriginal people, as though they were kin, as described by Wesson:

> The orcas were named and able to be distinguished by idiosyncrasies of colour and shape. They were named by the Aboriginal whalers in honour of deceased fellow crew members who were believed to communicate through the spirit of the orcas. The well-remembered orcas were Brierly, Charlie, Jimmy, Albert, the Kinscher, Humpy, Hooky, Stranger, Jackson, Tom, Cooper, Young Ben, Typee (Toby?) and Old Ben. The Aboriginal understanding of the sacredness of their relationship to

> the orcas extended to a belief that the wounding or killing of an orca would bring bad luck on anyone involved in the whale operation and particularly those responsible.[71]

The Aboriginal practice of naming orcas and the integration of orcas into Aboriginal religious belief systems was documented in the local newspaper in 1909:[72]

> The killers have returned. The 1909 season is just opening. Mr Alex Grieg discovered on Tuesday morning they had returned – with a baby. It is proposed that this baby should be christened Alex Grieg in complement to an old whaler who first saw it. Others suggest it should be called Beggaree, after a darkie whaler who died here some time ago. The 'black' whaler believe that when they die they will return as killers...

According to Randall Mumbler, the responsibility bestowed on Aboriginal people today as custodians of the land and customary law was established long ago by a whale[73]:

> …When the creator made life, he made it our job to maintain that life and our connections. Out of respect to our creator and to our families, we keep the stories going. The whale took the laws around; he took the Dreaming around to everyone…[74]

Aileen Blackburn holds a similar view in relation to the important role of marine mammals in Aboriginal ontology and Aboriginal people's spiritual connection to the ocean:

> The spiritual landscape of Green Cape and Disaster Bay is connected to the customary law of this land. The whales, dolphins, snake and seals are a part of this customary law, and if we are away from the coast too long, they fret for our families, and vice versa. It would be good to further record the stories about our connections, because different families have their own oral history and customs associated. Aileen Blackburn Mongta, 22.11.2018, in Donaldson 2018

[71] Wesson 2001: 15.
[72] *Twofold Bay Magnet*, 28 June 1909 in Cruse et al. 2005: 18.
[73] Specific species unknown.
[74] Randall Mumbler in Donaldson 2012: 21.

Table 4 Summary of Aboriginal names associated with marine life and the Park

SPECIES	ABORIGINAL NAME	LANGUAGE[75]	SOURCE
Orca (Killer Whale) / Dolphin (porpoise)	pee.ow.wer	Monaroo	Robinson 1844
	pee.ow.wee	Cape Howe language	Robinson 1844
	beeyaa	'South coast language as spoken by elders'	Archer Davidson (Australian Government 2021)[76]
	beowas	'Local Thaua people'	McKenzie 1992
	manana	Informants from 'southeast coast of NSW'	Mathews 1904
	meer-ral	Twofold Bay language	Robinson 1844
Whale	murirra	Informants from 'southeast coast of NSW'	Mathews 1904
	muriyira (moo-re-ir-ra)	Dhurga	Mathews in Besold 2013
	wulambura	Thaua	Liston 1993
Humpback Whale	Jaanda (Jarn-da)	'South coast language as spoken by elders'	Archer Davidson (Australian Government 2021)

3.4.4 Totems

The term 'totem' is used to describe the complex inter-relationship between people and the natural world, the two providing mutual benefits to each other through a spiritual, yet tangible inter-dependency. Although the term 'totem' is not widely used across Aboriginal Australia or by Yuin people, the cultural practice exists across Australia, including in parts of NSW (see Rose et al. 2003). A type of totemism called 'budjan' was documented for the Yuin region by Howitt[77]. These totems were inherited from one's father and men would also be given another totem after initiation.

[75] Bidwell terms for these marine mammals were not identified.
[76] Non-indigenous man Archer James Davidson born in Eden 1876. Died Eden 1965. Son of John Simpson Davidson and Euphemia Effie Davidson of the Davidson whaling family. Beeyaa [in this form] has been used locally for art expression https://www.artmonthsapphirecoast.com.au/event-details/nhawandyi-nanda-beeyaa-i-see-you-killer-whale
[77] Howitt 1904: 133.

One's budjan can stand for or represent an aspect of the natural world, and provide kinship links between the people or group who identify with a particular totem, as well as kinship links to the natural world[78]. Accordingly, budjan species become part of an Aboriginal person's extended family.

Rose et al. (2003) identified three cultural aspects to forms of mutual caring[79]. Firstly, totemic connections are expressed as a general worldview or cosmological framework in which 'dreamtime' ancestral creator beings made totems. Secondly, the connections between humans, plants, animals, birds, marine mammals and fish are evident at a variety of personal and social grouping levels including family, tribal and ceremonial. Thirdly, the relationship developed between a person or group and a totemic species allows for mutual protection and assistance through ongoing environmental interactions.

There are a number of different forms or categories of totems including personal totems, gender totems, family or clan totems, tribal totems and totems relating to the specialised powers of 'clever people'[80]. Some totems span each of these categories, for instance the Pacific Black Duck, *Umbarra,* as described below (Figure 13).

Figure 13 Pacific Black Duck (Anas superciliosa)

Umbarra was the personal totem belonging to the late King Merriman as well as being a tribal totem for all Yuin people. It has also become a symbol of the Wallaga Lake community and its resistance against further land loss. From this perspective we can see how the Black Duck has become an important element

[78] Rose et al. 2003: 3.
[79] Rose et al. 2003: 40–50.
[80] Rose et al. 2003: 3.

in the formation of an identity for contemporary Yuin people, who as a result of restrictive protectionist and assimilation policies of the past, may not have been informed of their personal or family totem[81].

Tom Butler explains how many different types of animals can become family totems, including dolphins[82]:

> …Some families have the dolphin as their totem. Different family groups have different totems, not just birds, could have been a kangaroo or anything. These things don't need to be rare or what do you call it, endangered, but we need to work to keep it that way.[83]

The cyclical nature of Aboriginal spirituality and totemism is evident in local belief systems which, as described by Warren Foster, can relate to dolphins and whales including orcas[84]:

> …our uncle or aunty actually had a dolphin or a whale as their totem, then we think of that person when we see that animal, they pop up out of the water to say 'hi'. See they are going back home when they pass away, they go back to that animal, their spirit goes back to their totem, it is like a family circle, it all comes back around. That is how we were taught that anyway and we need to keep our totems so that our kids and their generation can say the same thing as what we are saying. As I said it is like a circle. If people forget about their totem, the results speak for themselves, you see a lot of people who have got that they feel lost; they haven't got that connection to land and everything, their spirit is unfulfilled, something is missing…[85]

Other totem species recorded since 1904 have been summarised (Table 5) and relate to the NSW south coast region, not necessarily specific to the Park. The related Aboriginal names for the species are shown where known.

Overarching each of these facets is the need to teach each generation the value of respect and obligation in relation to totems. Accordingly, cultural teaching places are integral components to the cultural landscape in relation to totem species and their habitat.

[81] Rose et al. 2003: 43.
[82] Specific species unknown.
[83] Tom Butler in Donaldson 2012: 23.
[84] Warren Foster pers. comm. 23.05.2022.
[85] Warren Foster in Donaldson 2012: 20.

Table 5 Summary of totems associated with the south coast region

COMMON NAME	SCIENTIFIC NAME	ABORIGINAL NAME	REFERENCE/SOURCE OF INFORMATION
BIRDS			
Pacific Black Duck	Anas superciliosa	Umbarra	Howitt 1904, Donaldson 2006; Cruse et al. 2005; Donaldson 2012
Pelican	Pelecanus conspicillatus	Gurung-aba	Howitt 1904: 133
Australian Raven (Crow)	Corvus coronoides	Waagura	Donaldson 2006, Howitt 1904: 133
Eagle Hawk	–	Munyunga	Howitt 1904: 133
Willie Wagtail	Rhipidura leucophrys	–	Donaldson 2006; Hardwick 2001; Donaldson 2012
Australian Magpie	Gymnorhina tibicen	Diriwun	Cruse et al. 2005
Eastern Whipbird	Psophodes olivaceus	Duduwa	Hercus 1963
Magpie Lark (Pee Wee)	Grallina cyanoleuca	–	Donaldson 2006; Slater and Slater 1995
Lyrebird	Menura novaehollandiae	Bellet Bellet	Donaldson 2012
Grey Magpie[86]	–	Bilinga	Howitt 1904: 133
Black Swan	Cygnus atratus	Gunyung	Donaldson 2006 and 2012
Laughing Kookaburra	Dacelo novaeguineae	Gugara	Donaldson 2006; Cruse et al. 2005
White-bellied Sea Eagle	Haliaeetus leucogaster	–	Donaldson 2006, 2012; Cruse et al. 2005
Southern Boobook (Mopoke)	Ninox novaeseelandiae	Googoog or Dunoot	Donaldson 2006, 2012
A small owl	–	Tiska	Howitt 1904: 133
Tawny Frogmouth	Pogargus strigoides	–	Donaldson 2006
Black Cockatoo (*Yellow-tailed)*	Calyptorhynchus funereus	Nyaagaan	Donaldson 2006, Cruse et al. 2005
White Breasted Cormorant	Phalacrocorax sp.	Berimbarmin	Howitt 1904: 133
Water hen	–	Ngariba	Howitt 1904: 133

[86] Specific species uncertain, possibly grey butcherbird?

COMMON NAME	SCIENTIFIC NAME	ABORIGINAL NAME	REFERENCE/SOURCE OF INFORMATION
FISH/MARINE MAMMALS			
Bream	–	Burimi	Howitt 1904: 133
Whale	–	–	Donaldson 2012: 20
Dolphins including orcas (killer whales)	–	–	Donaldson 2012: 23 Donaldson 2012: 20
ANIMALS			
Eastern Grey Kangaroo	Macropus giganteus	Kaual-gar	Howitt 1904: 133
Bush Rat	Rattus fuscipes	Wungalli	Howitt 1904: 133
Kangaroo Rat	Marsupialia Potoroidae	Guragur	Howitt 1904: 133
Dingo	Canis lupus dingo	Merigong	Howitt 1904: 133
Bandicoot	Perameles nasuta	Merrit-jigga	Howitt 1904: 133
Echidna	Tachyglossus aculeatus	Janan-gabatch	Howitt 1904: 133
Brush Tailed Possum	Trichosurus vulpecula	–	Donaldson 2012
Black Wallaby (Swamp Wallaby)	Wallabia bicolor	Badarmala	Donaldson 2012
REPTILES			
Lace monitor lizard	Varanus vadus	Burnagga	Howitt 1904: 133
Eastern Brown snake	Pseudonaja textilis	Murumbul	Howitt 1904: 133; Donaldson 2012
Black snake	Pseudechis Porphyriacus	Gumbera or guri	Howitt 1904: 133; Donaldson 2012

3.4.5 Bush dwellers

In 1904 Mathews recorded details about a broad range of Aboriginal peoples' culture, lifestyle and religious beliefs across the southeast region of Australia[87]. Mathews documented a belief in a bush dweller known as a 'Wallanthagang', said to reside across the southeast coast of NSW, as described below[88]:

> …Wallanthagang was a small man like creature, but very thick set and strong. He wore a lot of pretty feathers in his hair, and carried a large bundle of light spears. He obtained his food by catching parrots, which he speared in the feet, so that their bodies might not be damaged for eating…He had a bag slung over his body in which he carried these birds. Only one of these men has ever been seen at the same time, and his campfire has never been observed, nor any place

[87] Mathews 1904.
[88] Mathews 1904: 161.

> where he has been camping or resting. The clever old black fellows can sometimes hear one of these animals calling out yau, yau, yauh…

With regard to burial practices, Howitt found that the term *tulugal* derives from *tulu* meaning a hole or grave, *gal* meaning belonging to; the term being applied to human ghosts and to beings who lived in trees, rocks, or caves in the mountains, and who were credited with stealing and eating children[89]. Almost 50 years prior to this, Horatio Hale recorded the 'Tulugal' story in the Moruya region in 1846.

A belief in the Doolagarl and Wallanthagang continues across the south east region today. The 'doolagarl' story appeared in Roland Robinson's 1958 collection of stories, as described to him by Percy Mumbler[90]:

> A doolagarl is a man like a gorilla, he has long spindly legs. He has a big chest and long swinging arms. His forehead goes back from his eyebrows. His head goes into his shoulders. He has no neck. A doolagarl makes you weak and tired. You can't walk. Your mate gets weak. You have to bustle about, make a fire, you don't want to let that fire go out. If the fire goes out, you go to sleep and the doolagarl comes. He lifts up your blanket. He tickles you. If you laugh and wake up he grabs you, puts you under his arm and walks off with you. He tears off your arms, tears you to pieces. He bashes you against a tree and eats you… (in Robinson 1958: 121–123.

Whilst there are no specific stories of Wallanthagang or Doolagarl in the Park, the concept is strongly maintained by Aboriginal people associated with the Park and 'sightings' have been recorded across the region, in forested areas. Each family holds stories about these bush dwellers and how they often appear on the coastal beaches and steal fish from Aboriginal dinner camps[91].

3.4.6 Fishing and collecting shellfish

Archaeological studies provide physical evidence to show that Aboriginal people continued to collect shellfish on the south coast through the early contact period[92]. As Aboriginal people became involved in new economic development opportunities, traditional coastal camps were frequented during weekends and holiday periods – fishing and shellfish collection continued. Unlike other cultural practices across the southeast region, fishing practices and coastal connections have not diminished[93]. The elements of the cultural practice relating to fishing and the collection of marine and aquatic resources are broad ranging and multifaceted and include:

- nurturing the growth and sustainability of individual species
- learning where and when resources are available, and
- learning how to collect, prepare, distribute and dispose of resources[94].

[89] Howitt 1904: 462–63.
[90] Robinson 1958.
[91] Morgan 1994.
[92] Colley 1997.
[93] See Cruse et al. 2005.
[94] Feary in Donaldson & Feary 2012.

Historical and oral references point to a strong gender division of labour in fishing, with women using hook and line and also being the main harvesters of shellfish, while men used multi-pronged fishing spears for hunting fish[95]. It has been found that women made and fished with lines and hooks from the mid-north coast down to the far south coast in NSW. According to Bowdler, shell-fishing hooks were introduced or developed 600 years ago and were made from various types of shell. Fishing lines were usually made out of young kurrajong trees (in Roberts & Shilling 2010). As described by Bowdler:

> …women were seen to spend much time fishing. Here we have one of the clearest instances of the division of labour according to technique. Men invariably used the four-pronged, bone-barbed spear; women fished with hook and line using a shell hook and a vegetable fibre line…

George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines, travelled to Twofold Bay in 1844, and observed how bark was used to build shelters and watercraft (see also Figure 8):

> Their huts like the other Natives on the Coast are simple and rude being a mere sheet of Bark in a triangular shape with barely sufficient room to sit under. Their Canoes like the Gipps Land natives are folded at the Ends and though buoyant are very frail. The Natives occupy the kneeling position in their Mudjerre or canoes and many be seen like floating Specks off the Coast spearing Salmon; they are expert Fishers[96].

Figure 8 Typical bark canoes of southeast region; Lake Tyres, Vic, c.1900 (Searle NLA 4654465)

[95] Feary in Donaldson & Feary 2012.
[96] Robinson, 31 August 1844 in Clark 2000: 178.

Cameron found that during the very earliest days of settlement, there were periods when Europeans were dependant for survival upon food supplied by the Aborigines[97]. By the turn of the century almost 20 fishing boats were provided to south coast Aboriginal people/families[98]. According to Shilling and Roberts, fishing was an important way Aboriginal people entered the colonial economy; compared with hunting on land, fishing was one of the few traditional activities Aboriginal people could continue after colonisation[99]. By the 19th Century, Aboriginal people began to sell fish to local white residents for money rather than bartering seafood for other goods, which provided a platform by which Aboriginal people entered the mainstream commercial fishing industry along the south coast, including out of Eden where there was a fish cannery to support such endeavours[100].

Learning fishing techniques can be a lifelong process, passed on and adapted through the generations, as described by John Brierley:

> …Our family history is connected to the whalers at Eden and my father worked as a fisherman from Eden all the way up past Wollongong. My father was educated by his father, Walter Brierley, and passed knowledge of the land and sea onto me. I now teach my son, Christopher Brierley, about the coast and waterways. I still fish all along the coast and have found my own work throughout my life, as did my father and grandfather. I see the waterways as sacred. (John Brierley in Donaldson 2009: 1).

Many Aboriginal families have fished and collected seafood in the Park all their lives.

> Green Cape, well it was only fishing. It was all about fishing all the time. That was – if we couldn't catch a decent fish there we'd move to another spot and make another camp and do the same over. We had a car with an old dickybird, you know the dickybird seat in the back, me and Zeta used to sit in the back and squeeze Lisa down in the middle. I still do a lot of fishing today. Don't do much spearing cos I'm getting too old now. In my younger days, yeah. My kids are pretty good, my three boys can spear. And my granddaughter can spear too. The last time we went out to Moutrys was when Dad was alive actually, he got access for us to go out fishing for the day. Old Bill when he was living in there. He come out, you're right you can come down and I'll give yous the little canoes he had. So we all mucked around with the canoes, and Robert's boy and my boy young Rip, they went right around the lake in it fishing and stuff you know. Tina Mongta Harrison, 28.10.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

> I get to the Boyd's Tower area by boat. The focus of that area is whaling and seafood. I also go to Boulder Bay to dive. I mainly go diving at Saltwater, Bittangabee and Boulder Bay. Stephen Holmes, 16.8.2018, in Donaldson (2010).

[97] Cameron 1887 in Organ 1990.
[98] Goodall, 1982: 58; Organ, 1990: 340.
[99] Roberts & Shilling 2010: 35.
[100] Roberts & Shilling 2010:35.

We are survivors, and there are places, like Moutrys, one of our favourite fishing spots, camping spots, we can't get into now. We camped out at Whale Beach, this was when we were trying to earn money. Beryl and I used to go out there when our kids were little. We'd go out there and camp there, make a fire and stay the night, you're not supposed to, you do it illegally. So that would have been in the seventies. When we used to dive for mutton fish (abalone). Its important to us because its culture. Its culturally appropriate for us as a family to get out, get away from these houses, get away from all the stresses of the so called civilisation and get out there, not in un-civilisation, but get out there into a place where kids play and enjoy themselves, people sit around and yarn up and generally get relaxed you know, have a good feed together. The boys would dive for mussels, and we'd get the mutton fish there, and we'd get the fish out of the river and cook them on the coals. Ossie Cruse 27.10.2009 in Donaldson (2010).

The heritage values here are intangible and relate to life style and history of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people living and working together. Mum and dad used to fish on the rocks here at Kiah. It is hard for disabled and sick people to access Haycock, but access to Kiah is easy for people who can't get to the other places. The fishing here is good right at the mouth entrance, the fish come down from upstream, like bass, then rock fish coming in from the sea, mussel beds and oysters are easy to get. I prefer to get my seafood from the ocean. It is not just getting food to eat. It is also about going out with your kids and grandkids and enjoying the day, making an activity of it. If you go to the shop, all you get is stress. We look at the weather; we got these places depending on the nor-easter. Depending on wind, and shelter, if it is too rough, we go into the lake systems. Around Eden, Kiah River is special cause the tidal waters go up to the bridge there and it is a good place to spear mullet, because they got in there in large numbers cause they go from one deep hole into the next deep hole, they are easy to find. I have speared fish there before, with Collin Walker. Benjamin Cruse, 18.11.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

3.4.7 Ecological knowledge

The intimate and detailed knowledge held by Aboriginal people about ecological processes and seasonal indicators that trigger movement between the mountains and the coast is evident in the literature.[101] For some groups the summer months were spent in the mountains and inland forest, and the winter months on the coast by the sea. Aboriginal terms associated with ecological knowledge were recorded by Robinson and others (see Figure 14 and Table 6).

[101] See Cahir et al. 2020.

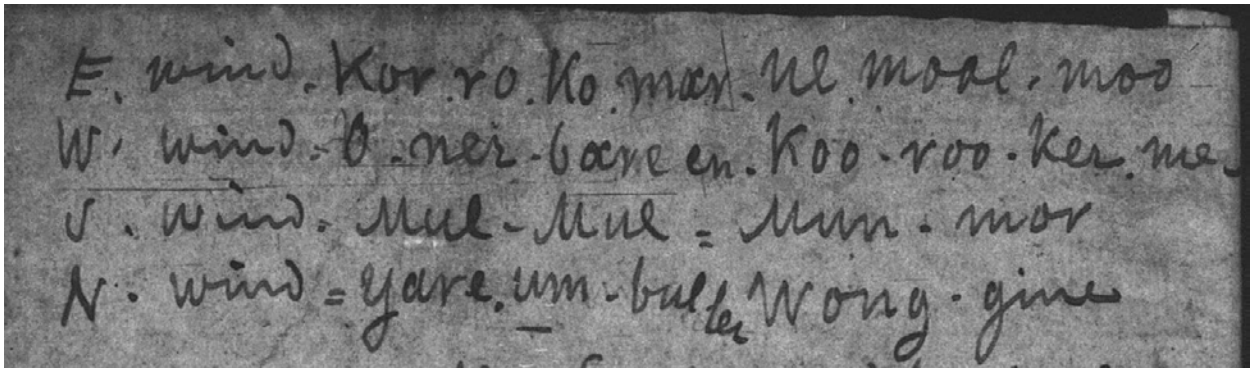


Figure 14 Robinson's recording of wind in the Monaroo and Twofold Bay languages (Robinson 1844)

Table 6 Examples of names associated with natural processes and ecological features

NATURAL PROCESS/ECOLOGICAL FEATURES	ABORIGINAL NAME	LANGUAGE[102]	SOURCE[103]
wind	kurukama	Thawa	Koch and Besold reconstruction in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	ko.ro.kum.mer	Thawa	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	ko.ro.ger.mer	Thawa	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	koo.mare.re	Jiringayn	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	kumari	Jiringayn	Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	gumari	South coast	Besold 2013
	koomarre	South coast	Robinson (Bega) in Besold 2013
Westerly wind	kurukama	Thawa	Reconstruction by Koch and Besold in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008: 599
	koo.roo.ker.me	Thawa	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	gurugama	South coast	Reconstruction by Besold 2013: 257
	korogomma	South coast	Robinson (Twofold Bay) in Besold 2013

[102] Bidwell terms for these features were also investigated but have not been located to date.
[103] See also AIATSIS South Coast Voices Collection.

NATURAL PROCESS/ECOLOGICAL FEATURES	ABORIGINAL NAME	LANGUAGE[102]	SOURCE[103]
	kooroo.gama	South coast	Larmer (Batemans Bay) in Besold 2013
	goorroo-ooma	South coast	Curr (Jervis Bay) in Besold 2013
	goorooma	Dhurga	Dawsey in Besold 2013
	gooroo-ooma	Dhurga	Dawsey in Besold 2013
	koo-roong'-a-ma	Dhurga	Mathews in Besold 2013
snow, cold west wind	gunama	Dharrawal	Mathews in Besold 2013
	Kuna.ma	South coast	Brown (Batemans Bay) in Besold 2013
	koo-nam'-ma	Dhurga	Mathews in Besold 2013
northeast wind	baliya	South coast	Besold 2013
cold east wind	biwaawa	Dhurga	Mathews in Besold 2013
east wind	browa	Dhurga	Dawsey in Besold 2013
	djirindjiring	Dhurga	Mathews in Besold 2013
south wind	miringama	South coast	Besold 2013
	marringanna	Dhurga	Dawsey and Mathews in Besold 2013
Sea	duwarinu	Thawa	Reconstruction by Koch and Bessold in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008: 599
	Tow.wer.in.no	Thawa	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	duwurunu	Thawa	Reconstruction by Koch and Bessold in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008: 599
	too.roo.noo	Thawa	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	kar.do	Jiringayn	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	kadhu	Jiringayn	Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	gadhu	Dhurga	Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
Ground/earth/land	munDa	Thawa	Reconstruction by Koch and Besold in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008: 599

NATURAL PROCESS/ECOLOGICAL FEATURES	ABORIGINAL NAME	LANGUAGE[102]	SOURCE[103]
	moon.der	Thawa	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	bug.gun	Jiringayn	Robinson in Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	bakan	Jiringayn	Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008
	Bagan	South coast	Reconstruction by Besold 2013: 241

3.4.8 Sharing, trading and being opportunistic

The first detailed record of local Aboriginal people and their coastal lifestyle is found in the 1797 journal of William Clark, a survivor of the shipwrecked 'Sydney Cove' who walked with his crew along the coastline from Ninety Mile Beach in Victoria to Sydney Cove. The journal describes traditional practices of the coastal people they encountered, including within the Park. Local tribal people assisted the men to cross waterways in bark canoes and 'treated' them with shellfish. At this time 'a good understanding had been established' between Clark and the local coastal tribes they encountered who they described as 'strong and muscular. Their hair long and straight, they are daubed in blubber or shark oil, which is their principal article of food'. The following year Matthew Flinders and George Bass were moored in Twofold Bay and traded with the people they met; a biscuit was exchanged in return for 'a piece of gristly fat, probably of whale'[104].

Trading and sharing natural resources continue to the present day as described below:

> …If we had an excess of fish, we'd barter with the local cocky. 'Do you want some fish?', and if he said yes, we'd ask how many he had in his family and we'd give him enough fish for his family. He'd ask us how many we had in our family and we'd also go off on our merry way with some tucker… Lionel Mongta, pers. comm., 8.3.2011.

Aboriginal people taking advantage of beached whales was recorded by Walker in 1837 near Berry's Shoalhaven Station, where he noted:

> …The blacks on this coast feed voraciously on the flesh of whales that are caste ashore from time to time, and sometimes they partake of it when in such a state of decomposition and in such quantity as to render themselves exceedingly ill… [105]

[104] Clark 1797.
[105] Walker 1843 in Organ 1990.

In 1892 Fraser documented that at Twofold Bay, 'a stranded whale is a godsend to the tribe. When the news spreads, they come down in the multitude to enjoy the feast and for many days they may be seen hurrying in and out of the monster.'[106] The cultural use of the natural resources in the Park, on the land and from adjacent sea is a very important part of how Aboriginal people maintain their identify, their laws and customs and kinship relationships. It is also an important way to ensure personal and social wellbeing.

3.4.9 Conflict

The first documented episode of conflict in the region related to a clash between sealers and Aborigines in Twofold Bay in April 1806. The sealers retaliated to a spear attack by shooting nine Aboriginal people with their muskets and hung the bodies of those they had killed in nearby trees to warn off the Aborigines. One month later, sealers had another violent encounter with the local Aboriginal people. The crew of the 'George' fired 27 rounds of ammunition into the bush which resulted in the death of several Aboriginal men. Ten years later there was another documented clash between Aboriginal men and sealers. In October 1815, three or four hundred Aboriginal people approached the sealers at Green Cape who retaliated and fired at random into the crowd of Aboriginal men, killing several and wounding many others[107].

Conflict continued to occur across the region as Aboriginal people exercised their customary rights and interests aimed at protecting country and maintaining traditions.

3.4.10 Camping/living on country

Traditional practices associated with being on country remain an integral part of people's lives today. Coastal 'cultural' camps, meeting places and holiday camps are evidence today of Aboriginal people's continued connection with coastal resources and the need to share traditional fishing practices with younger generations. The links between pre-contact tradition and contemporary ways can be seen in the way fishing customs have been maintained in terms of procurement and processing methods, as well as sharing practices, on or close to ancient shell midden sites.

The bush camps at Haycock, Bittangabee, Saltwater Creek, Mowarry Point and Hegartys Bay are highly valued as places to meet, teach, swim and collect natural resources. The area is significant given the rarity of places where coastal bush camping, with a fire, close to important natural resources and cultural sites, is permitted. Leather Jacket (Boulder Bay), Green Cape, East Boyd, Kiah Inlet, Bobs Rock and City Rock continue to be valued by the Aboriginal community as important places to collect marine resources and to teach the upcoming generations how to dive, fish, spear and collect seafoods. The memories associated with these places are cherished by Aboriginal people and stories of past experiences associated with the places are retold, as described below.

[106] Fraser in Attenbrow 1976: 58.
[107] Goulding and Griffiths 2004: 30–32; Donaldson 2018.

We used to go camp there, out at Wonboyn, right out past the long beach, past the shops and that. We used to love goin down there campin, that was good. Always used to catch a bream there. Nullica that was a quick feed of oysters and good goin down, playing around in the river. Lisa Arvidson, 6.11.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

Shadracks, Quarantine, we just camped, just over night, Dad would fish overnight, and we'd camp and pack up and go somewhere else and do the same again. Dad would – if it was a warm night, he wouldn't put tents up, we'd just sleep under the stars. He'd just put shelta right around us, big tarp in the middle, throw the bean bags, what he sewed up, the big corn bags, I mean, spread them on the ground, we never had sheets in those days, soft blankets, put those down on the ground, over the old bags, he used to wash them of course, in the running water so everything'd be out of them. Cleaned them up, and make our beds up. There was five of us, two sisters and me two brothers, and myself. He made the wind break out of tarps, he had old tarps, if he didn't have that he'd just cut all the tea trees and leaves and all that, and make shelters that way. Tina Mongta Harrison, 28.10.2009, in Donaldson (2010).

My favourite spot is Mrs Boyd's at the Whaling Station, I love it out there. And then when Nan and Pop died, old Nan Lorna was the one that taught me how to cook sand dampers, and every Sunday here after that we used to go to Mrs Boyd's and I'd always cook that big sand damper. I can't rock fish now anyways, I'm too old. But we used to go fishin a lot. Mrs Boyd's up at Davidson. Sometimes I still go over there, take the kids, Emmie loves being over there. It's good for kids there in the little bay park cos it's not deep, you know. Caught flat head, and bream, all that. And there was heaps and heaps of mussels there then, but they're gone now. Elaine Thomas, 5.11.09, in Donaldson (2010).

Our family camped and fished at Green Cape all year around. Dad, Peter Mongta, an accomplished 'sleeper cutter' lived in the bush and knew this coastline like the back of his hand. My sisters and I grew up with 'hand lines' and handmade fishing gear, so too Mum who loved her fishing. Aileen Blackburn-Mongta, 22.11.2018.

Boulder Bay is good for leather Jacket, but not a good beach for kids as there is no sand on the beach. It is still a good place to dive for abs and fish. Mowarry is good for camping, fishing and diving for abs and lobster. Bittangabee is a good place to collect bush tucker and camping too. Ben Cruse, 13.7.2018.

I was born in Pambula in 1964 and raised at Wonboyn until I was 4. I lived at Wonboyn with my mother, father, nan, pop and brothers. We lived near where the carpark is today, near the cave. Nan and pop had a caravan there. We moved into Eden because welfare kicked us out. Nan was protecting us from welfare. We returned to Wonboyn often to fish and camp. We made a track into Wonboyn. We ate geebungs, inkweed pigface, cherries, bracken, we got these around Wonboyn. Wonboyn Beach was our front yard, and Wonboyn Lake was our back yard. I grew up in a special special place and I love it. Dad and my grandfather used vines to make lobster pots and we used the wattle for soap. When we lived at Wonboyn, we got fresh water from 'washing machine creek'. He did our washing there. It would be good to have a track linking Green Cape

with Wonboyn. If more people are using Wonboyn, then the carpark and picnic area will need to be upgraded. It needs a BBQ because you can't have any fires. Steven Holmes, 16.8.2018.

Families have always camped, fished and dived at Mowarry and Hegartys. You can't drive to Mowarry Point anymore; we park the car and walk in. We walk into Hegartys from Bittangabee. Green Cape is often used by Aboriginal people for diving, day use mainly. The Springs Track, also on Green Cape, is an important access for the elderly, now and into the future. Bobby Marr, 15.8.2018.

Mowarry is easy to get to if you are young and fit, but it is hard for old people. At Saltwater we always camp at the southern end of the beach, now and in the past. We call Leather Jacket Bay Boulder Bay. There is a rock some people call Bobs Rock near Leather Jacket; it is a nice calm place to teach kids how to spear and dive. Some people call the beach at Bobs Rock Leather Jacket Beach. I usually park at the Tower and go diving to the south, or park at Mowarry and go diving to the north. I walk in. I sometimes camp in the she oaks near Bobs Rock. Ty Cruse, 15.8.2018.

Being on country, particularly for long periods of time, is good for people's mental, physical and spiritual health and wellbeing[108].

3.5 Themes associated with the archaeological record

According to archaeologist Sue Feary, the south coast of NSW is part of a broader natural landscape sculpted by millions of years of geological evolution and climatic change. At the height of the most recent glacial period, which lasted from around 110,000 to 10,000 years ago, the sea was up to 120 metres below its current level. Archaeological research has shown that Aboriginal people were living at Burrill Lake and Bass Point around 20,000 years ago but they were not utilising marine resources, which would have been some 14 kilometres away. It is possible that other sites greater than 5,000-6,000 years old exist beneath the ocean on the south coast, but none have been found as yet. However, it is much more likely that Aboriginal people moved with the advancing coast and shoreline as sea levels rose to their present location about 6,000 years ago[109].

Feary states that following the end of the last glacial period, increased temperatures began melting the polar icecaps and the sea level began rising, reaching its current level around 6,000 years ago. The sea level rise drowned river valleys, formed sand barriers and created the myriad of lakes, wetlands and lagoons that characterise the modern shoreline. Bass Point and Burrill Lake became coastal frontage, and a change to a predominately marine diet can be seen in the faunal remains of the upper layers of the archaeological deposits.

Feary also states that the advancing coastal zone's rich and varied resources, newly created as the sea level rose over the land, would have been attractive to the Aboriginal population. Most of the many

[108] Donaldson 2011.
[109] Donaldson and Feary 2012.

hundreds of archaeological sites along the modern shoreline are less than 5,000 years old. This may reflect a significant increase in the Aboriginal population and an intensification of the coastal economy, in response to the sea level rise[110]. It has been found that although subsistence patterns alter from group to group due to accessibility, cultural factors and environmental variables, the 'mechanisms underlying the exploitation of food resources in each society is the same; that is, the scheduling of movements in order to take advantage of resources available at different times and places...'[111].

Overall, the Park has a rich archaeological record which reflects Aboriginal people's intimate and ongoing relationship with the marine and land environment. Archaeologist Sue Feary describes the archaeological values associated with excavated sites on the southeast coast of NSW in the following way[112]:

> There is abundant evidence in the archaeological record to show that Aboriginal people have used marine resources on the NSW south coast for thousands of years. Most of this evidence comes from the hundreds of shell middens recorded since the 1930s by archaeologists and members of the public. Because shells are made from calcium carbonate which is alkaline, middens are very good places for preserving organic remains and often contain a wealth of information on traditional diet.

While shells are the most visible component of a shell midden, it is usually the less obvious elements that can provide the most information, such as a fish bone or a piece of plant fibre. The delicate bones of fish, birds and small mammals are frequently found in middens, and occasionally there are the remains of large marine mammals such as whales, seals or dolphins. Fish hooks made from abalone shell, together with the stone fish hook files used in their manufacture, are rare finds. Items made from plant material such as string, fishing lines or nets do not preserve very well and are rarely found. Implements were made from stone or bone and finely crafted barbs or points were hafted to the stem from a grass tree to make an efficient spear for hunting fish.

Other types of sites that show traditional Aboriginal use of the marine environment on the south coast are fish traps and weirs, canoe trees, and rock art images depicting the marine environment, such as paintings of fish and other marine animals. Indirect evidence for use of the marine environment can come from artefacts made of stone, bone and shell that may have been part of a spear or other fishing gear. There are many historical observations of manufacture and use of tools used in fishing, such as making oyster picks from bone. These observations are often used to interpret what is found in the archaeological record.

Other evidence for strong traditional associations with the marine environment can be found in the human skeletal remains accidentally exposed by erosion or development of coastal dunes. Many of the burials recorded along the south coast have bony growths in their ears, known as 'diver's ear' or 'surfer's ear', which indicates a lot of time spent diving in cold water[113].

---

[110] Hughes & Lampert 1982
[111] Attenbrow 1976: I
[112] Byrne 1983; Byrne 1984; Donaldson and Feary 2012: 52.
[113] Pardoe 1987.

The Park is associated with archaeological values relating to burials, shell middens, caves, flaked tools, scar trees, hammerstones, reflecting the depth of cultural connection to the Park. Aboriginal oral histories reveal the continued connection Aboriginal people have to their tangible heritage in the Park.[114]. Knowledge about traditional places and archaeological sites has been handed down through generations of Aboriginal family lines and continues to form part of Aboriginal people's cultural identity and connections to the land.

3.6 Section summary

Throughout Australia Aboriginal people's belief system determines their relationship with all living things and saturates the landscape, including waterways, with intangible attributes that shape how people use and value the landscape. The Park is no exception; the associative cultural meaning given to the cultural landscape of the Park by Aboriginal people is complex, multifaceted and continuous. The Park holds different levels of meaning for a variety of family groups according to the cultural – religious knowledge they hold, their ongoing use of the Park and their particular historical experiences.

When combining all the intangible and tangible components of the Park's cultural landscape, including Aboriginal people's customary responsibility towards certain species and important sacred sites, the customs associated with totemism, supernatural beings and caring for the habitat that sustains them, including the watercourses, the rocks, the marine and terrestrial fauna and flora and their ongoing cultural use of natural resources, it can be seen how the area has special association with a particular cultural group in NSW for social, historical, cultural and/or spiritual reasons.

The primary intangible cultural heritage themes associated with specific places in the Park, and the spaces between and beyond them revolve around maintaining knowledge of and connection with ancient heritage values (spiritual/archaeological/named places); travelling and gathering (former and contemporary coastal pathways); working (participation in the local whaling/fishing industries); cooperation and conflict with settlers and colonial institutions (past and present); resource collection (aquatic and terrestrial); living (camping/residing); teaching (transmission of cultural knowledge and traditional practices); and recreation (swimming/playing).

These important cultural themes, as arising from the literature review, provide an important base for the consultations from which to facilitate the renaming process.

[114] Donaldson 2018.

4.0 CONSULTATION

NPWS provided the consultants with a list of Aboriginal and South Sea Islander stakeholders to be consulted. These stakeholder groups are as follows:

- Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited
- Bega Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Biamanga National Park Board of Management
- Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council
- Gulaga National Park Board of Management
- Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation
- South Coast People Native Title Applicant
- Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation.

Based on background research and preliminary consultations the consultants also made contact with:

- Moogji Aboriginal Council East Gippsland Inc.
- Bidwell-Maap Aboriginal Corporation
- Bidwell First Nations Clans Aboriginal Corporation.[115]

Consultation with stakeholders occurred between 21 March and 26 May 2022 and involved individual interviews, small focus group sessions, family and personal meetings, telephone calls, video-conferences, emails, and text messages, leading into a large inclusive community workshop held in Eden on 4 May 2022. During this time over 60 Aboriginal and South Sea Islander people engaged in the process. This approach ensured Aboriginal participants were able to offer free, prior and informed consent and enabled enough time for people to discuss naming options with their family or organisation.

Whilst this formal consultation process extended across nine weeks, Aboriginal people and organisations have been strongly advocating for the Park to be renamed for a long time. It was apparent to the consultants that the Aboriginal stakeholders have been discussing renaming options for the Park years prior to Minister for Environment Hon. Matt Kean announced in November 2021 that there was to be consultation with Aboriginal community for the Park to be renamed.

Given there is considerable membership overlap across the Aboriginal stake holding groups, some people were consulted on a number of occasions. For instance, people associated with the Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation were consulted in Moruya and also attended the Eden community workshop, initiated by the Eden LALC, as native title applicants. Similarly, members of the Biamanga and Gulaga National Park Boards of Management were consulted in Narooma and also attended the Eden community workshop as native title applicants. Moreover, because the Eden community workshop was designed to be as inclusive as possible, additional Aboriginal organisations and groups were also invited to participate.

[115] Formerly Cultural Connections Connecting to Country Biduelli First Nations Clans Aboriginal Corporation.

Follow-up engagement occurred for each group throughout the consultation period as a way to maintain good communication and clarify/manage issues arising. All participants were made aware that people other than themselves were being consulted and that a report with the results of consultation (a name or names for the Park) was being produced for the NSW Minister for Environment, and that the Minster will decide on the new name.

4.1 South Coast People native title applicants

The South Coast People's native title application area covers the northern section of the Park and extends northwards to Botany Bay. Currently, the southern part of the Park is not subject to a native title application.

Native title applicants in the South Coast People's claim were consulted throughout the entire consultation period. Background research and initial consultations enabled the consultants to ensure the Aboriginal families associated with the Park were given the opportunity to participate in the renaming process.

In addition to phone calls, text messages and emails, a community meeting was scheduled at Wallaga Lake community aimed at enabling participation from native title holders residing there. Unfortunately, due to a clash with another important community meeting only announced a day before the renaming community meeting, this meeting didn't go ahead and was replaced by productive one-on-one interviews at Wallaga Lake and Narooma. A small focused group session was also undertaken in Moruya.

Members of this group provided suggested cultural themes on which to base the naming of the Park, as well as actual names.

The notice for the Eden community workshop was emailed to the native title applicant's solicitor and named applicants for distribution amongst applicants. Many native title applicants attended and contributed to the community workshop in Eden.

4.2 Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation

Thaua Country Aboriginal Corporation (TCAC) is an Incorporated Entity registered in 2018. As requested by members of this group, they were consulted at a small focus group session in Moruya. Members of this group were also consulted over the phone, via email, at a further small focus group session in Moruya and at the community workshop in Eden.

This group suggested one name for the Park at the small focused group session in Moruya. Members of TCAC also provided other suggested names at the Eden community meeting.

4.3 Bega Local Aboriginal Land Council

The Bega LALC is responsible for land to the north of the Park, north of Merimbula Lake. Most members of this group hold important cultural connections to the Park including as south coast native title applicants. This group requested to be kept informed about the renaming process and notified about the Eden community workshop as a way to ensure their members are given the opportunity to participate.

The notice for the Eden workshop was emailed to the Bega LALC CEO for distribution. Members of this group participated in the Eden workshop.

4.4 Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation

The Gunaikurnai Land and Waters Aboriginal Corporation (GLWAC) manages the native title rights and interests for the Gunaikurnai native title holders in Victoria. The Gunaikurnai determination and agreement area extend from West Gippsland, near Warragul, east to the Snowy River and north to the Great Dividing Range. It also extends 200 metres offshore[116]. This native title determination area is 200 kilometres to the southwest of the Park. Whilst some members of this group hold important cultural connections to the Park including as south coast native title applicants, the land associated with the Park is not the core business of this group.

This group requested to be kept informed about the renaming process and notified about the Eden community workshop as a way to ensure their members are given the opportunity to participate.

The notice for the Eden workshop was emailed to GLWAC for distribution. Members and staff of this group participated in the Eden workshop.

4.5 Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited

The Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited represents the interests of descendants of South Sea Islanders who were transported from islands in the Pacific in what is now known as Vanuatu and New Caledonia to secure labourers for Ben Boyd's pastoral stations mainly on the Monaro and in the Riverina. As documented by Dunn (2021) Benjamin Boyd brought a total of 192 men and women to NSW in order to work on his estates and on his ships. Boyd's schemes were controversial at the time and viewed as a form of slavery by many of his contemporary critics (Dunn 2021). Boyd's methods used in securing the labourers were considered to be coercive and the second voyage descended into extreme violence when his ships bombarded the villages, killing numerous Islanders (Dunn 2021). Boyd's historical actions led to the call for the Park to be renamed.

[116] https://www.justice.vic.gov.au/your-rights/native-title/gunaikurnai-native-title-agreement; https://www.judgments.fedcourt.gov.au/judgments/Judgments/fca/single/2010/2010fca1144

Office bearers and members of the organisation were consulted in person, phone calls and emails and were kept informed of the Eden meeting. The organisation was provided a briefing on the key outcomes of the consultation focussing on the Eden community meeting. The organisation and some of its members have strong connections to the area including through marriage into Aboriginal families some of whom maintain connections to the area.

Consultation with Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson) Limited (SSIPJL) recognised the rights and aspirations of Aboriginal people to rename the Park. However, the organisation has a strong desire to ensure that their story of enslavement, transportation, mistreatment and connections to the Park must not be lost – advising it's a rich story full of tragedy and is a compelling truth-telling story. They felt that local Aboriginal leaders with whom the consultants were collaborating would have wise suggestions as to an appropriate name for the Park. The key outcome from the organisation's point of view was for their compelling story to be told through interpretation and education programs within and associated with the Park.

The organisation was informed that NPWS is proposing to include interpretation in the planning for the Boyd's Tower precinct and that NPWS are proposing to consult with South Sea Islander people in that process. They welcomed this and wished to ensure the 'cultural authority' that the South Sea Islander people's story should not be lost, needed to be agreed by first nations based on the SSIPJL principle of 'First Nations first' self-determination approach. Cultural authority for the suggested interpretive sign to proceed has been obtained as part of the renaming process.

4.6 Biamanga National Park Board of Management

The Biamanga National Park Board of Management is responsible for the care, control and management of the Biamanga National Park to the north of the Park. Geographical features within Biamanga National Park are culturally linked to the Park and whilst some members of this group hold important cultural connections to the Park including as south coast native title applicants, the land associated with the Park is not the core business of this group.

Initial contact was made with the chairperson of Biamanga National Park Board of Management and the Board's acting joint management coordinator based in NPWS Narooma.

This group was jointly consulted with the Gulaga National Park Board of Management, at a joint board meeting. This group provided suggested cultural themes on which to base the naming of the Park, but not a specific name. A Board paper was developed and provided to the Board members outlining the background to the renaming, the renaming process, the consultation protocols and notice of the Eden community meeting.

The notice for the Eden workshop was emailed to Biamanga National Park Board of Management chairperson and the Board's acting joint management coordinator for distribution to Board members. Members of this group participated in the Eden workshop.

4.7 Gulaga National Park Board of Management

The Gulaga National Park Board of Management is responsible for the care, control and management of the Gulaga National Park to the north of the Park. Geographical features within Gulaga National Park are culturally linked to the Park and whilst some members of this group hold important cultural connections to the Park including as south coast native title applicants, the land associated with the Park is not the core business of this group.

Initial contact was made with the Chairperson of the Gulaga National Park Board of Management and liaison was maintained in relation to the joint meeting through the NPWS acting joint management coordinator based in NPWS Narooma. A Board paper was developed and provided to the Board members outlining the background to the renaming, the renaming process, the consultation protocols and notice of the Eden community meeting.

This group was jointly consulted with the Gulaga National Park Board of Management, at a joint board meeting. This group provided suggested cultural themes on which to base the naming of the Park including suggestions of a specific significant cultural associations with a specific species which would require further research and consultation, but not a specific Aboriginal name.

The notice for the Eden workshop was also emailed to Gulaga National Park Board of Management chairperson and the Board's acting joint management coordinator for distribution to Board members. Members of this group participated in the Eden workshop.

4.8 Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council

The Eden LALC holds statutory responsibility over the Park under the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW). The Eden LALC participated in this process throughout the entire consultation period by way of one-on-one meetings, phone calls, text messages, and emails. Throughout this process Eden LALC cooperated with the Twofold Aboriginal Corporation to ensure consultation was open and transparent.

During the initial consultation period members of this group suggested cultural themes on which to base the naming of the Park, as well as actual names.

The Eden LALC requested the consultants to arrange an inclusive community workshop in Eden as a way to ensure all Aboriginal people with cultural links to the Park feel welcome to participate and have their say about the renaming process. The location of the workshop in a culturally neutral space was also suggested. Due to the inclusive design of the Eden workshop, all stakeholder groups were invited to attend

the workshop including the three additional groups not initially identified by NPWS as stakeholders, outlined above[117].

The Eden community workshop was well attended by a broad range of stakeholders and engagement levels were high. The functionality and productively of this engagement session reflected, in part, the methodology employed – a series of small informative focus sessions building up to a large inclusive workshop. It was apparent at the workshop that most participants arrived well informed and enthusiastic. Known social fractures were managed by ensuring cultural safety for all participants including consultation spaces where cultural groupings could progress their name suggestions. This allowed a courteous, generous and participatory workshop attested to in that known disputing parties attended and participated.

During the facilitated workshop participants were informed about the renaming process and asked to gather in small culturally safe groups to 'workshop' their ideas about a suitable name for the Park and to identify the reasons why a certain name or names had been suggested.

In small groups workshop participants suggested cultural themes on which to base the naming of the Park, as well as actual Aboriginal names and in many cases the suggested spelling. A submission was also received from an office bearer of Eden LALC – the suggested name was also raised and discussed at the Eden workshop. A further submission was received by the Vice Chairman of Bidwell First Nations Clans Aboriginal Corporation – the suggested name was anonymously raised and discussed at the Eden Workshop.

Participants' ideas were then collated and displayed to all attendees in an anonymous way in combination with other names that had been previously suggested throughout the consultation period. Some names arose repeatedly from different groups prior to and during the workshop. Each name was reviewed by all workshop participants in terms of appropriateness, form, meaning and origin. Views were recorded.

4.9 Section summary

Members of some groups provided suggested cultural themes to base the naming of the Park but not names, other groups suggested actual names and not always a preferred spelling (form). Overall, seventeen (17) names for the Park were suggested by Aboriginal people participating in the consultation process. An additional cultural theme without an associated name was also suggested by Aboriginal participants, as were three important and related statements of advice, as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7 Summary of names arising from consultations

FORM OF NAME	MEANING	SIGNIFICANCE	LANGUAGE	SOURCE
Thaua **(NTA preferred spelling)**	Language group	The name of the traditional Aboriginal people/tribe associated with the Park.	Thaua	Focus group sessions and workshop participants
Munda – Duurunu **(Contemporary amalgamation of two terms. Both terms have been reconstructed by linguist)**	munda = land duurunu = sea	Describes the complex cultural connection between people, the land and the sea along the southeast coast.	Thaua	Workshop participant
Budgenbro **(NTA preferred spelling)**	Name of an Aboriginal man	Man associated with early whaling industry at Twofold Bay and guided early settlers through inland country; 'chief of Twofold Bay'.	Undetermined	Focus group sessions and workshop participants
Beowa **(form analysed by linguist)**	Orca (Killer Whale/species of dolphin)	The spiritual animal primarily associated with this country. Workshop participant: 'the closest thing we have to a song line here is our connection to the dolphins'. Aboriginal people traditionally maintained an important customary relationship with orcas in the Twofold Bay area. This relationship then supported the post-contact whaling industry in which Aboriginal people played an important role because of their unique relationship to orcas.	South coast language/Cape Howe language/ Thaua	Focus group sessions and workshop participants

FORM OF NAME	MEANING	SIGNIFICANCE	LANGUAGE	SOURCE
1 Guragamaa **(form preferred by NTA)** **2 Gurugama** **(form as reconstructed by linguist)**	Westerly wind	The westerly wind informed Aboriginal people's movement between the coast and the mountain ranges as the winds flattened the waters creating ideal conditions for hunting seafood including lobster. Signified the important link between the land and the sea. Caring for country 'seasonal – sustainable use of landscape/sea'. Brings people together along the coast and inland.	Thawa/south coast	Focus group sessions and workshop participants
Pertangerbe **(form based original spelling, not reconstructed by linguist)**	The name of the place and clan who occupied the Bittangabee area.	The Pertangerbe clan were associated with the Bittangabee area within the Park.	Undetermined	Focus group sessions and workshop participants
Kiah **(form based on current spelling as a local place name)**	KIAR = a place associated with *Nullica* people.	Place where whaling station was located close to the Park; beautiful place; place attracts lots of visitors to learn history; Aboriginal history as workers; spiritual link between orcas (killer whales) and Aboriginal people; place where Aboriginal people camped and set up houses.	Undetermined	Submission to workshop
Muriyira	Whale	Totemic species associated with the southeast region	Dhurga	Focus group sessions
Yaru	The neck	Contemporary representation of Twofold Bay, where the north and south headlands are the shoulders. The whales come into the bay (the neck) and bring people together. Signifies the	Thaua	Workshop participants

FORM OF NAME	MEANING	SIGNIFICANCE	LANGUAGE	SOURCE
		connection between people, land, sea, and whales.		
Wulambura	Whale	Important species in the region.	Thaua	Workshop participants
Pundowero	Aboriginal placename	Aboriginal name for Green Cape	Undetermined	Workshop participants
Kurakarri	Wind sprit	The wind spirit blows the wind up and down the coast.	Not stated	Workshop participants
Beeyaa – guragamaa	Killer whale and westerly wind	The westerly wind brings people to the coast where the orcas (killer whales) are waiting.	South coast	Workshop participants
Walanung Gudjaagalai	Heart of children	Expression of the importance of children's honesty.	Not stated	Workshop participants
Minga-ganya	Mother camp	Signifies the importance of camping with family for fishing and diving	Not stated	Workshop participants
Walkun	Abalone	The Park's coastline is an important abalone (mutton fish) collection place.	Not stated	Workshop participants
Pambula	Place in the northern section of the Park	Represents cultural links to the northern part of the Park.	Not stated	Workshop participants
Name not identified by workshop participants	Healing	A name that represents the way Haycock is seen as a place for cultural healing through bringing families together, for reconnecting to the land and sea and to gather important food. Being there heals people spiritually also and connects people to their ancestors.	Bidwell	Workshop participants

FORM OF NAME	MEANING	SIGNIFICANCE	LANGUAGE	SOURCE
OTHER RELATED ADVICE ARISING FROM CONSULTATIONS				
Recognition of all known Aboriginal place names within the Park	The research identified 16 Aboriginal place names within the Park. Aboriginal participants in the focus group sessions and workshops requested that each of these names be officially recognised and added to the map (see Sydney Harbour Aboriginal place naming project). This project could commence with the renaming of headlands for which there are Aboriginal place names. Some linguistic reconstruction will be required along with community consultation. The place names recorded by Brierly have not been reviewed and should be considered.			
Recognising Aboriginal ownership and joint management of the Park	Aboriginal participants in the focus group sessions and workshops requested that ownership and management of the Park be returned to Aboriginal people through the National Parks & Wildlife Act Part 4a process or any other available process.			
Recognition of South Sea Islanders' experience	Aboriginal participants in the focus group sessions and workshops supported a recognition and opportunity for the request by Australian South Sea Islanders (Port Jackson Limited), that South Sea Islanders' stories and historical experiences be told through interpretation and education within and associated with the National Park. Acts of truth telling are considered essential by all stakeholders including the South Sea Islander community.			

5.0 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 A note on criteria

The foundation for analysis, conclusions and advice to the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage in relation to identifying an appropriate name for the Park is based on alignment and consistency with relevant naming policy frameworks. The following *policy criteria* for selecting an Aboriginal name for Ben Boyd National Park have been applied:

- the name should be derived from consultation with Aboriginal people to reflect Aboriginal cultural values
- given that there is no singularly prominent feature within the Park, the name should provide a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture
- the name should avoid confusion with other geographic or place names in the area and not relate to features that extend well beyond the Park
- the name should be based on credible historical evidence in the form of documentary or oral sources and that some authority or authenticity can be attributed to the source or sources for the form, origin, spelling, history, and meaning of the name, and
- the spelling nominated by the local Aboriginal community members is preferred although a linguist can be consulted to assist in resolving appropriate spelling.

Additionally, as directed by research and consultation, the following *cultural guidelines* provide a culturally appropriate framework to assess the degree to which suggested names are suitable for consideration as a new name for the Park:

- reflects Aboriginal connections to country (including land and sea)
- reflects the Aboriginal cultural themes
- suggested by Aboriginal community members who identified as having a cultural association with the Park
- tells a variety of compelling stories of connection embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups
- avoids pre-empting legal determinations as to native title
- avoids breaking customary laws and impinging on cultural sensitivities
- maximises a sense of Aboriginal cultural cohesion rather than inflaming contests or divisions, and
- is linguistically relevant to the area.

5.2 Analysis

The names suggested by Aboriginal participants have been analysed against the policy criteria and the cultural guidelines collaboratively formulated during the renaming process. All names analysed below have been suggested by Aboriginal people with cultural connections to the Park. Not all names identified in the background literature review were relevant to people today and have thus not been analysed for selection and advice. Names that were found to be consistent with the policy criteria and the degree to which they aligned with the cultural guidelines was assessed as moderate or high, were analysed by a linguist (Appendix 3).

Table 8 Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
Aboriginal name [reconstructed/favoured by Aboriginal participants]	**Other forms**	**Language**	**Meaning**	**Significance**	**Analysis**	**Consistency with policy criteria x / ✓**	**Degree to which suggested names align with cultural guidelines**
Thaua	Taua, Daura, Thawa, Thauaira, Dhawa	Thaua	Language group	The name of the traditional Aboriginal people/tribe associated with the Park.	The name provides a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture. The name avoids confusion with other geographic or place names in the area. The name is linguistically relevant to the area. The use of this name may pre-empt native title determinations in favour of one group over others. This name may inflame contests. This form preferred by Aboriginal participants (form also analysed by linguist).	✓	MODERATE
Munda-Duwarinu	moon.der [ground] bug.gun [land] munDa [land] duwurunu [sea] tow.wer.in.no [sea] duwarinu [sea] too.roo.noo [sea]	Thaua	munda = land duurunu = sea	Describes the complex cultural connection between people, the land and the sea along the south-east coast.	Reflects important cultural connections across south-east NSW without inflaming existing contested spaces. The name avoids confusion with other geographic or place names in the area. The name is linguistically relevant to the area. The name is embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups and avoids pre-empting legal determinations as to native title.	✓	MODERATE

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
					Contemporary amalgamation of two terms. Both terms have been reconstructed by linguist.		
Beowa	Beeyaa pee.ow.wee beowas	South coast language/ Cape Howe language/ Thaua/Monaro	Orca [Killer Whale/species of dolphin]	The marine animal spiritually, historically, economically and culturally associated with the Park, Aboriginal people and the sea. One participant stated *'the killer whale is the closest thing we have to a song line'.* Whilst the cultural relationship between Indigenous people and orcas occurs worldwide, the specific relationship between orcas and Aboriginal people at Eden is	The name provides a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture. The name avoids confusion with other geographic or place names in the area. The name is linguistically relevant to the area and tells a variety of compelling stories of connection embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups and avoids pre-empting legal determinations as to native title. The theme is relatable to many, and reflects cultural and historical linkages to land and sea and Aboriginal people. Tells a variety of compelling stories and promotes Aboriginal pre- and post-contact experiences. Present day cultural connections to orcas and associated history. Orcas continue to be an important part of Aboriginal people's spiritual lives and cultural identity. The term is in current usage but not as a placename. Use of name unlikely to cause confusion. Form has been analysed by linguist.	✓	HIGH

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
				of national significance and well known.			
Pertangerbe	Bittangabee Pertangerbe Pertungerbe Pertungerby Petungerbe	Unknown	The name of a place and clan group.	Associated with the headland / bay features now known as Bittangabee	The name provides a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture as one of many clans/ places associated with the Park. Usage of this name will favour one place name over others and will likely cause confusion with another geographical place within the Park, known by this name. Form based original spelling, not reconstructed by linguist.	x	LOW
Budgenbro	Buginburra Pidjinboro Budgibro Bugenbura	Unknown	Name of an Aboriginal man	Man (aka Toby/ Toby the King/ Toby Blue/Chief of Twofold Bay) associated with early whaling industry at Twofold Bay and guided early settlers through inland country.	The name is based on credible historical evidence and doesn't cause confusion. The name provides a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture, but only for one family line. Does not foster cohesion amongst a diversity of groups. Aboriginal informant's preferred spelling.	✓	LOW
Guragamaa	kurukama koo.roo.ker.me gurugama korogomma kooroo.gama goorroo-ooma goorooma gooroo-ooma koo-roong'-a-ma	Thawa/south coast/Dhurga/ Dharawal/ Ngunawal as well as Queanbeyan/ Monaro/Omeo.	Westerly wind	The westerly wind informed Aboriginal people's movement between the coast and the mountain ranges as the winds	Well known word across the region by Aboriginal people and in contemporary usage. Expresses Aboriginal connections to country and tells a variety of stories of connection embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups. Fosters cohesion and doesn't pre-empt legal determinations as to native title.	✓	MODERATE

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
	guragamaa			flattened the waters creating ideal conditions for hunting seafood including lobster. Signified the important link between the land and the sea. Caring for country 'seasonal - sustainable use of landscape/sea'. Brings people together along the coast and inland.	Aboriginal informant's preferred spelling and form reconstructed by linguist.		
Muriyira	Murirra	Dhurga	Whale	Totemic species associated with the southeast region.	Tells a variety of compelling stories of connection embraced by a diversity of Aboriginal groups but is not linguistically relevant to the area. Use of this name may inflame contests. Form not reconstructed.	x	LOW
Kiah	Kiar	Undetermined	A placename	A place in Twofold Bay associated with *Nullica* people. Associated with whaling station was located close to the Park;	Reflects Aboriginal connections to country but will be confused with existing placename outside the Park, the nearby locality called Kiah. Form based on current spelling of a nearby local placename.	x	LOW

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
				beautiful place; place attracts lots of visitors to learn history; Aboriginal history as workers; spiritual link between orcas [killer whales] and Aboriginal people; place where Aboriginal people camped and set up houses			
Yaru	–	Thaua	The neck	Contemporary representation of Twofold Bay, where the north and south headlands are the shoulders. The whales come into the bay [the neck] and bring people together. Signifies the connection between people, land, sea, and whales.	Contemporary reimagination lacking a strong compelling historical or customary story connected to local Aboriginal culture.	✓	LOW
Wulambura	-	Thaua	Whale	Important species in the region.	Is linguistically relevant to the area and reflects important cultural themes. Other names provide stronger compelling historical or	✓	LOW

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
					customary story connected to local Aboriginal culture.		
Pundowero	-	Undetermined	Aboriginal placename	Aboriginal name for Green Cape	The name provides a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture as one of many place names associated with the Park. Usage of this name will favour one placename over others.	X	LOW
Kurakarri	kurukama ko.ro.kum.mer ko.ro.ger.mer koo.mare.re kumari gumari koomarre	Undetermined	Wind spirit	The wind spirit blows the wind up and down the coast.	The name reflects Aboriginal connections to country and avoids pre-empting legal determinations. The name is generally used along the coast and not specific to the Park. Other names provide stronger compelling historical or customary story connected to local Aboriginal culture.	✓	LOW
Beeyaa - guragamaa	-	South coast	Orca & Wind	The westerly wind brings people to the coast where the orcas [killer whales] are waiting.	Contemporary amalgamation of two terms; relevant but other options tell a bigger story.	✓	LOW
Walanung Gudjaagalai	-		Heart of children	Expression of the importance of children's honesty.	Contemporary reimagination without customary compelling stories. Does not provide for a strong compelling historical or customary story connected to local Aboriginal culture.	x	LOW
Minga - ganya	-	Not stated	Mother camp	Signifies the importance of camping with family for fishing and diving	Contemporary reimagination without customary compelling stories. Does not provide for a strong compelling historical or customary story connected to local Aboriginal culture.	x	LOW

Analysis of names suggested by Aboriginal participants							
Walkun	-	Not stated	Abalone	The Park's coastline is an important abalone [mutton fish] collection place.	The name provides a strong connection to local Aboriginal culture along the coastline and not specific to the Park.	✓	LOW
Pambula	Panbula Pampulla Panbuller Parnbuller Panbooler Pamboola	Unknown	Place in the northern section of the Park	Represents cultural links to the northern part of the Park.	Easily confused with existing placename.	X	LOW

5.3 Conclusions

The cultural heritage significance of the Aboriginal cultural landscape encompassing Ben Boyd National Park relates to a multitude of interwoven intangible and tangible components including how the archaeological record provides an important link between people and their ancestors' lives; the way original placenames connect people to their country; how people moved along the coast, between the coast and inland ranges and where they gathered; the important connection between people and marine mammals in particular to orcas; the intimate and detailed knowledge of ecological processes and seasonal indicators; the significant contribution Aboriginal people made to the whaling and fishing industries and other local economies; the long term impacts of being in conflict with newcomers and colonial structures; the memories and feelings associated with camping, collecting natural resources and enjoying country; the ongoing practice of collecting and consuming natural resources; the value of transmitting cultural knowledge and practices and the connections between the Park and the broader cultural land and seascape.

Accordingly, there are a rich and varied number of names suggested by Aboriginal people available for the renaming of the Park that might meet both the policy criteria and cultural guidelines. Each of the suggested names reflects these values in some way.

Of great importance is the connectivity between the Park's coastline and people's spiritual lives, religious beliefs and practices associated with the ocean and in particular to orcas ('killers' or 'killer whales'). Whilst Aboriginal people consider the entire Park culturally significant, the link between the coastline and orcas is integral to Aboriginal people's social structure (naming individual orcas), religious beliefs (spirits of the dead living in particular orcas), customary practices (communicating with orcas to herd whales to shore as a food source for people), historical experience (whaling industry) and spirituality (as a totem species). These important connections are evident in the literature and are expressed by Aboriginal people today. Aboriginal people are proud of their connections to orcas and how their ancestors adapted their traditional knowledge of and relationships with orcas to the new economy.

6.0 ADVICE

Based on the analysis, in terms of consistency with the policy criteria and the degree to which the suggested names align with the cultural guidelines, the suitability of the name Beowa should be considered by the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage as the new name for the National Park. **Beowa National Park** is favoured above the other suggested names for the following reasons:

- Beowa is the Thaua language name for orca (killer whale)
- the name is linguistically relevant to the Park
- the name (and associated cultural themes) was suggested by a broad range of Aboriginal participants
- Aboriginal people hold deep heritage links to orcas, spanning pre- and post-contact times up until the present day
- Aboriginal people's spiritual lives and cultural identity continue to be linked to orcas
- the orca's cultural themes are highly relatable to multiple coastal and inland Aboriginal groups
- the name enables an important variety of compelling cultural stories to be shared with the public, from an Aboriginal perspective
- the name reflects important cultural links between the land and sea and Aboriginal people
- the name does not inflame contested spaces or pre-empt native title processes
- the name is not likely to cause confusion given there are no other places known by the same name
- the name is based on credible historical evidence, and
- the form (spelling) of the name has undergone linguistic analysis indicating that this spelling would result in an accurate pronunciation of the word.

A vital ingredient in the suggested name Beowa is how it is pronounced. It would be of considerable value if the announcement of the new name be accompanied by the appropriate pronunciation. Accordingly, it would be valuable for an audio recording of the Beowa name be produced with a male and female Aboriginal custodian to ensure pronunciation is accurate and released as a key part of the Ministerial announcement. Moreover, it would be respectful and courteous for the stakeholders to be engaged immediately prior to the Ministerial announcement, so they can be informed about the chosen name[118].

[118] Both of these recommendations have been actioned.

REFERENCES

Alsop R, Bertelsen M & Holland J 2006 Empowerment in Practice: From Analysis to Implementation. The World Bank, Washington DC.

Australian Government 2021 South coast language workbook, as spoken by elders. Indigenous language program.

Australian Heritage Commission 2011. Protecting local heritage places: A guide for communities. Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra, ACT.

Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies (AIATSIS) South Coast Voices Collection.

Attenbrow V 1976 Aboriginal subsistence economy on the far south coast of New South Wales, Australia. BA (Hons) thesis, University of Sydney.

Berndt R M 1974 Australian Aboriginal religion. E.J. Brill Leiden, Netherlands.

Besold J 2013 Language recovery of the New South Wales south coast Aboriginal languages. Australian National University.

Blay J & Cruse B 2004 Eden Region Old Path Ways and Trails Mapping Project. Public Report. Unpublished report prepared for the Eden Local Aboriginal Land Council, the Bega Regional Aboriginal Heritage Study, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service & Bega Valley Shire Council.

Blay J & Cruse B 2005 Bega Valley Region Old Path Ways and Trails Mapping Project. Unpublished report prepared for the Bega Regional Aboriginal Heritage Study, NSW NPWS & Bega Valley Shire Council.

Blay J and Eden LALC 2011 Report on a survey of The Bundian Way 2010–2011.

Brierly O W Diary at Twofold Bay April 1847–September 1847, ML A540, State Library of New South Wales.

Brown S 2010 Cultural landscapes: a practical guide for park management. NSW Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water.

Brown S 2012 Applying a cultural landscape approach in park management: an Australian scheme. Parks, 18(1): 99–110.

Buggey S 1999 An approach to Aboriginal cultural landscapes. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Ottawa.

Byrne D 1983 The Five Forests: An Archaeological and Anthropological Investigation, Vol.1 and 2. Report to NSW NPWS, unpublished.

Byrne D 1984 The Mountains Call Me Back. A history of the Aborigines and the forests of the far south coast of NSW. NSW Ministry Aboriginal Affairs and the NSW NPWS.

Byrne D & Nugent M 2004 Mapping attachment: A spatial approach to Aboriginal post-contact heritage. NSW Department of Environment and Conservation, Sydney.

Cahir F Clark I and Clarke P 2020 Aboriginal Biocultural Knowledge in South-eastern Australia: Perspectives of Early Colonists. CSIRO publishing.

Cane S 1992 Aboriginal fishing on the south coast of NSW, AIATSIS MS 3145, Canberra.

Castel R & Hagan J 1978 Dependence and Independence: Aboriginal Workers on the Far South Coast on NSW 1920-75. Who are our enemies? Racism and the Working Class in Australia. A. Curthoys & A. Markus. Sydney, The Australian Society for the Study of Labour History: 158-171.

Clark W 1797 Voyage of the 'Sydney Cove's' longboat from preservation Point to Port Jackson. Historical Records of NSW, 3: 760–768.

Clark I D 1996 Aboriginal language Areas in Victoria; Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages.

Clark I D (ed.) 2000 The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume 4; 1 January 1844–24 October 1845. Heritage Matters, Ballarat.

Clark I D 2001 Birrdhawal language and territory: a reconsideration. Australian Aboriginal Studies, 2001/11.

Colley S 1997 Pre- and post-contact Aboriginal Shell Midden at Disaster Bay, NSW South Coast. Australian Archaeology.

Creamer H 1984 A Gift and a Dreaming: The NSW survey of Aboriginal sacred and significant sites 1973–1983. NPWS, NSW.

Cruse, Stewart & Norman 2005 Mutton Fish: The surviving culture of Aboriginal people and Abalone on the South Coast of NSW. Aboriginal Studies Press.

Davidson D 1990 Davidsons of Kiah, unpublished manuscript.

Davidson R 1988 Whalemen of Twofold Bay, Rene Davidson, Eden.

Diamond M 1988 The Seahorse and the Wanderer: Ben Boyd in Australia. Melbourne University Press.

Donaldson S 2006 Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study (Stage Two) Stories About the Eurobodalla by Aboriginal People: Eurobodalla Aboriginal Heritage Study. Eurobodalla Shire Council.

Donaldson S 2010 Bega Valley Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study Stage 3a: A report to the Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water and Bega Valley Shire Council.

Donaldson S 2011 Koori Heritage Stories Bega Valley Shire Far South Coast NSW. Bega Valley Shire Council.

Donaldson S 2012 Exploring ways of knowing, protecting & acknowledging Aboriginal totems across the Eurobodalla Shire, far south coast, NSW. Report for the Eurobodalla Shire Council Aboriginal Advisory Committee.

Donaldson S 2018 Ben Boyd National Park NSW: light to light walk upgrade, realignment and extensions. Preliminary intangible Aboriginal cultural heritage assessment report. Prepared for NSW OEH.

Donaldson S & Feary S 2012. Aboriginal connections with the NSW south coast marine environment. A review of oral, historical and archaeological records on Aboriginal resource use within Batemans Marine Park. Moving towards a cultural resource use agreement. Narooma: Batemans Marine Park.

Dunn M 2021 Benjamin Boyd's role in the 19th Century Blackbirding in the Pacific for Labour in New South Wales: historical analysis and evaluation report prepared for NSW NPWS.

Eades D 1976 The Dharawal and Dhurga languages of the New South Wales south coast. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Egloff B 1979 Mumbulla Mountain: An anthropological and archaeological investigation, for Aboriginal and Historical Resources, NSW NPWS.

Egloff B 2000 'Sea long stretched between'; Aboriginal perspectives of Aboriginal fishing on the south coast of NSW in light of Mason v Tritton. Aboriginal History, vol 24.

Egloff B, Peterson N & Wesson S 2001 Biamanga National Park and Gulaga National Park Aboriginal Owners Research Report. Cultural Heritage Research Centre, University of Canberra.

Flood J 1980 The Moth Hunters: Aboriginal Prehistory of the Australian Alps. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Geographical Names Board of New South Wales (2019) The Geographical Names Board of NSW Policy – Place Naming.

Goodall H 1982 A history of Aboriginal communities in New South Wales, 1909–1939. The University of Sydney.

Goulding M & Griffiths C 2004 Bega Valley Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Study Stage 3: A report to the Department of Environment Climate Change and Water.

Hardwick, R J 2001 Nature's Larder: A Field Guide to the Native Food Plants of the NSW South Coast. Homosapien Books, NSW.

Howitt 1904 The native tribes of South-East Australia. Macmillan & Co London.

Hughes P and Lampert R 1982 Prehistoric population change in southern coastal New South Wales. In Bowdler S (ed) Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia, Australian National University: 16-28.

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) 1999 Burra Charter: The Australian ICOMOS Charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance. Australia ICOMOS.

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) 2017 Practise Note on Intangible cultural heritage and place.

Kabaila P (n.d.) Pathways: the movement of people in the Australian Alps.

Kabaila P 2005 High country Footprints: Aboriginal pathways and movement in the high country of south eastern Australia. Recognising the ancient paths beside modern highways. AIATSIS, Canberra.

Koch & Hercus (eds) 2009 Aboriginal placenames: Naming and re-naming the Australian landscape. ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc.

Liston J 1993 The Thaua language: An Aboriginal Pictionary from the N.S.W. far South Coast.

Leader-Elliott, Maltby & Burke 2004 Understanding cultural landscapes. Flinders Institute for Research in the Humanities.
http://fhrc.flinders.edu.au/research_groups/cult_landscapes/definition.html

Mathews R H 1904 'Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria: Part 1', Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 38: 203 381.

McKenna M 2002 Looking for Blackfella's Point: an Australian History of Place. UNSW Press.

McKenzie J 1992 The Twofold Bay Story. Eden Killer Whale Museum & Historical Society.

Morgan E 1994 The Calling of the Spirits, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

NSW Department of Planning and Environment 2017 Park Names Policy.

NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service 2021 Ben Boyd National Park and Bell Bird Creek Nature Reserve Plan of Management. NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service.

NSW Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water (DECCW) (2009) Aboriginal Languages Policy: Language is our culture – culture is our language.

Organ M 1990 A documentary history of the Illawarra & south coast Aborigines 1770–1850. Aboriginal Education Unit, Wollongong University.

Pardoe C 1987 The washed-up skull from Corrigan's Beach. Report on the study of an isolated skull found near Bateman's Bay south coastal NSW. AIATSIS.

Peterson N (ed.) 1976 Tribes and Boundaries in Australia. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Robinson G A n.d. The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume 4: 1 January 1844 – 24 October 1845. Heritage Matters, Ballarat.

Robinson R 1958 Black Feller, White Feller – The tales of Percy Mumbler.

Rose D Bird 1996 Nourishing terrains: Australian Aboriginal views of landscape and wilderness. Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra, ACT.

Rose D, James D & Watson C 2003 Indigenous kinship with the natural world in NSW. NSW NPWS.

Roberts & Shilling 2010 Aboriginal women's fishing: A thematic history. Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water

Slater & Slater 1995 The Slater field guide to Australian birds. Lansdowne, NSW.

Sutton P 2003 Native Title in Australia. Cambridge Press, Port Melbourne.

Tent J 2005 The dangers of taking placenames at face value: some examples od Dutch and Dutch-linked placenames. In the newsletter of the Australian National Placenames survey: Placenames Australia. December 2005 (8 – 9).

Tent J 2019 Approaches to research toponymy. Names, 63(2): 65–74.

Tindale N 1974 Aboriginal Tribes of Australia. Australian University Press, Canberra.

Thomas T (n.d.) Dolphin Dreaming (provided by Lynne Thomas)

Truscott M 2000 Intangible values as heritage in Australia, Historic Environment, 14(5).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 1996 World Heritage Convention, Operational Guidelines. http://www.unesco.org/whc/nwhc/pages/doc/main.htm

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

United Nations 2010 Economic and Social Council's Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, New York.

Wafer & Lissarrangue 2008 A handbook of Aboriginal languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory. Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative.

Wesson S 2000 An historical atlas of the Aborigines of eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales, Monash Publications in Geography and Environmental Science # 53, Monash University, Melbourne.

Wesson S 2001 Aboriginal Whaling Project. A report prepared for NPWS and Bega Eden and Merriman (BEM) Aboriginal forest Committee; Merrimbula NSW.

Wesson S 2002 The Aborigines of Eastern Victoria and South East NSW 1830–1910: An historical geography. Monash University PhD dissertation.

Willcox G 2009 Significant Silence: Balawan and the Cultural Heritage Management of Mount Imlay National Park Honours Thesis, University of Wollongong.

Young M 2005 The Aboriginal people of the Monaro: A documentary history. NSW Government, Sydney.

Young M, with E Mundy & D Mundy 2000. The Aboriginal People of the Monaro. NSW Government, Sydney.

APPENDIX 1: Project outline for FPIC

Recent discussion on the appropriateness of recognising historical figures has highlighted the naming of Ben Boyd National Park on the far south coast of NSW. Boyd is associated in the historical record with the practice of 'blackbirding', when people from the islands of Vanuatu and New Caledonia were taken to work on his pastoral stations in New South Wales. Local Aboriginal people have stated that Boyd was also responsible for mistreatment of Aboriginal people in the area.

Following an independent historical analysis, the NSW Minister for Environment and Heritage agreed to have the National Park renamed to reflect Aboriginal cultural values. The process aims to celebrate and recognise the region's Aboriginal culture and reinstate its importance.

NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) has engaged Michael Williams and Susan Donaldson to facilitate the identification of a new name for Ben Boyd National Park. Mike is an independent facilitator and Susan is an anthropologist and together they will consult with Aboriginal representatives and other key stakeholders about an appropriate Aboriginal name for the National Park.

A report detailing renaming consultations will be prepared for NSW NPWS and on agreement, NPWS will present the proposed new name to the Geographic Names Board seeking approval and gazettal of the new name.

We are currently inviting suggestions on a new name for the National Park. If you or members of your organisation are interested in participating in the renaming process, give Mike or Susan a call to arrange a time to meet. Meetings/zooms/workshops will be taking place later in April 2022.

APPENDIX 2: Project workshop/interview guide

BACKGROUND

What is your ancestral/tribal/family connection to BBNP?

What is the tribal/linguistic area associated with BBNP?

Have you ever been to BBNP? What places did you visit (Pambula to North Head > north of Twofold Bay/and from Boyds Tower to Green Cape between Twofold Bay and Disaster Bay)?

Do you know anything about Mr Benjamin Boyd?

How do you feel about having part of your country named after Ben Boyd?

Do you know anyone who descends from the Pacific Islands (Vanuatu)?

FINDING A NAME

Do you think place names are important? Why?

Why is BBNP important to you? Story places, travelling routes, ceremonial grounds, hunting grounds, places where ancestral spirits reside, archaeological sites, named places, tribal boundaries, shared country/meeting places, recreation places, old camping places, food, medicine, water and other natural resources, totem species, places associated with life and death, connections across the landscape, teaching places, places associated with historical events, how you feel when you see BBNP from afar or when you are in it looking out to sea or west to Balwan (Mt Imlay)?

Have you thought about what the name for this place should be?

What did your ancestors call this place?

Have you read about any Aboriginal names for this country?

Do you and or your family use certain names/terms when talking about BBNP?

If name stated:

What does this name represent for you (what is the meaning behind the name)?

Why is that name important to you?

Has the importance of this name changed for you over time?

When did you first hear that name?

Do you now if other Aboriginal people know this name?

Are there other places known by this name?

Is this name particular to your culture (Aboriginal origins/cultural themes)?

NEGOTIATION OF A NAME

How do you think the Aboriginal community will react if the name you choose is approved?

How do you think the general public will react if this name is approved?

Do you know what other Aboriginal people want to call BBNP?

How would you feel if the Minister selected this name? ID cultural impacts?

Do you have any thoughts on how these Aboriginal names could be applied across the BBNP to certain places/features, as distinct from the name of the entire NP?

APPENDIX 3: Linguistic advice

Thawa terms advice, H Koch v. 3 26.05.22, revised 02.06.22, 03.06.22

1 Land/sea

In the spelling ***munDa*** the D indicates uncertainty whether the sound is *d*, *dh*, or possibly *dy*. Since there is no positive evidence for *dh* or *dy*, it should just be spelled *munda*. The meaning given by Robinson is 'ground'. It may or may not have been also used for extent of territory.

Duwarinu is based on Robinson's Twofold Bay term *tow.wer.in.no* 'sea'. ***Duwurunu*** is based on Robinson's Cape Howe term *too.roo.noo* 'sea'. They are obviously the same word. The first syllable *tow* in the first word was probably perceived as a pronunciation like the *tow* in *tow-truck*. Since there is no contrast in the language between [o] and [u], this [o] would represent the /u/ phoneme. In the second word the first two syllables are not perceived as separate, but the vowel was perceived as [u] as in *too*. In the second syllable of the first word Robinson's *er* indicates an indistinct vowel, but is often used for /a/. In the second word the second last vowel, spelled *oo,* is obviously different from the *i* of the first word. It has probably been assimilated to the pronunciation of the first and last syllables.

I would suggest the use of the spelling *duwarinu*, since the pronunciation of the Cape Howe can be seen as derived from this form rather than vice versa.

A compound?

Compound words of the structure A-B meaning 'A and B' are not common in Aboriginal languages. But some examples occur in Yandruwandha referring to groups of people, for example *ngarndri-ngapiri* 'parents', literally 'mother-father'. If such a form were to be created for Thawa, using the above terms for 'land and sea', it would be *Munda-Duwarinu*.

2 Westerly wind

A form *kuruk(V)ma* meaning 'wind' or 'westerly wind' – where (V) indicates a vowel of differing value that may or may not be present – is attested in Thawa, Dhurga, Dharawal, Ngunawal, Queanbeyan, Monaro, and Omeo. So it is not exclusive to the Thawa language area.

The spelling could be *kurukama* or *gurugama*. Since there is no contrast between *k* and *g* in Thawa (and most Aboriginal languages) the choice depends on which of these the spelling system uses. Besold uses *g* for the South Coast languages north of Thawa, but I used *k* for the language of the Monaro and adjacent areas. In my system *g* is only used in the combination ng (as in English *sing*).

3 Orca

Robinson gives *pee.ow.wer* as the Monaro term for 'porpoise' (Robinson 2000:194). But it must be remembered that his Monaro wordlist was elicited at Twofold Bay from Monaro people staying then at the coast. Also at least one of the Aboriginal whaleboat operators was a Monaro man. The term

pee.ow.mer quoted from Robinson 1844 presumably involves a misreading of *w* as *m*. The term *pee.ow.wee* reported in Robinson 1844 from Cape Howe indicates that this word was probably the term used in Thawa. Robinson's *pee.ow.wer* suggests a pronunciation [piowa]. His final *er* is normally how he represents /a/. If the spelling with final *ee* is not a misreading (by Robinson of his field notes), this may indicate a different final vowel being used at Cape Howe. Now since the phonological systems of Aboriginal languages usually don't tolerate two vowels in succession, the *io* of [piowa] is probably separated by a glide /y/. But glides are sometimes only weekly articulated, so a form which is technically [piyowa] may be pronounced without either *y* or *w*. It seems that *w* but not *y* was pronounced in Robinson's *pee.ow.wer* or the local Thawa *beowa* (as in the *beowas* mentioned in J.A.S. McKenzie's *The Twofold Bay Story*, page 3). The *y* is however pronounced in Davidson's *beeyaa* and Foster's *beeyah*. But here the middle part *ow* is dropped out. This may reflect another feature of the word's pronunciation: with the stress being put on the first syllable (and perhaps the vowel of the final syllable being perceived as long—by English standards) the weaker middle syllable was dropped out.

How to spell?

In the spelling systems used for languages in the area [piyowa] would be standardised as either *biyuwa* or *biyawa*. The reason for this choice is that *o* next to *w* could be the pronunciation of either the /u/ or the /a/ phoneme. In a system with just three vowels, a phonetic [o] would not be a separate vowel capable of distinguish words but would be a realisation of either /u/ or /a/. If, however, the local pronunciation of the *ow* of *beowa* is as in *ouch* rather that in *oh*, this would decide the matter in favour of *biyawa*.

The preceding comments presuppose using a 'phonemic' spelling system that uses the smallest set of symbols that represent only the sounds capable of distinguishing words, that is 'phonemes', and which uses *b* rather than *p* to represent the phoneme which could be pronounced either way, and likewise only *i* for phonetic [i] or [e] and *u* for [u] and [o].

4. Thawa

The usual spelling used nowadays by linguists is *Thawa*. In a spelling system which uses *dh* instead of *th* (as for most languages in the area), it would be *Dhawa*. Besold's *Dhaawa* is based on the assumption that the first vowel was long. It is not clear (to me) that there were distinctively long vowels in the phonological system of this (or neighbouring) languages. The use of *aw* instead of *au* (as in the spelling *Thaua*) is based on the understanding that the language (like most Aboriginal languages) does not have diphthongs (vowel+vowel combinations) but rather uses the glides *w* and *y*. Thus what English speakers perceive as a diphthong followed by a vowel, e.g. *power* as [pau.a] and *higher* as [hai.a] is rather treated in Aboriginal languages as vowel+glide+vowel, i.e. [pawa] and [haya].

General note on spelling

A decision should be made as to whether in general Thawa words are to be spelled using a spelling system consistent with the phonological system of the language, and comparable to the standardised spelling systems of other Aboriginal languages in the region, or whether ad hoc spellings intended to

represent the pronunciation using English spelling conventions are preferred. Here I illustrate some possibilities in the two approaches.

Meaning	Indigenous orthography	English-like
land	Munda	Moonda
sea	Duwarinu	Doowarinoo
west wind, using *k*	Kurukama	Koorookama
west wind, using *g*	Gurugama	Gooroogama
orca	Biyuwa	Beowa
(group name)	Dhawa	Thaua

Choosing a spelling

Choice of the 'orca' word

This term is distinctive to the Twofold Bay and Mallacoota area. Other coastal Yuin languages have different terms. This term was recorded by G. A. Robinson in 1844 for the Cape Howe/Mallacoota area as well as at Twofold Bay. Here he listed the term in his Monaro wordlist, which was recorded by people from the eastern part of Monaro who were visiting Twofold Bay and some of whom worked in the whaling industry. These people surely would have taken the word from the Twofold Bay people; so the term must have been used by the Twofold Bay as well as the Cape Howe part of the Thaua-speaking community. (The spelling *Thaua* reflects an English-like spelling, whereas a spelling *Thawa* or *Dhawa* would better reflect the phonological structure of the language, without however affecting the pronunciation of the name.)

Beeyaa vs. beowa or biyuwa

Beeyaa has only two syllables whereas the other terms each have three. The longer form is attested earlier (1844) and can be assumed to represent a more careful pronunciation. Robinson usually took care to separate the syllables—by means of a dot on the line – and we can assume that he would have had his consultants say the word several times before he transcribed the whole world. The shorter term *beeyaa* reported by Davidson would then represent a more casual pronunciation, and perhaps the fact the middle syllable was articulated rather weakly.

Pronunciation of the word

We can assume, on the basis of related languages, that the stress or emphasis was on the first syllable, which could be indicated in a pronunciation guide by underlining; e.g. *biyuwa*, *beowa*, or boldface, e.g. ***bi****yuwa*, ***be****owa*. The final *a* may also be pronounced longer than expected in an English word such as *sofa*. (A sound file could provide a model of pronunciation that could be imitated.)

Biyuwa vs Beowa *spellings*

Both of these versions of the word derived from Aboriginal speakers from Twofold Bay and Mallacoota are based on the testimony of G. A. Robinson as far back as 1844.

Biyuwa would have the advantage of using a scientific spelling of the careful pronunciation of the word. This kind of orthography is 'phonemic'; i.e. it uses just one symbol for sounds that do not contrast (so can't be used to distinguish words in the language). So there is no need for both *b* and *p* or for both *u* and *o*. It also reflects the structuring of sequences of phonemes that is characteristic of the language. Thus, there are no sequences of two adjacent vowels but vowels are always separated by a consonant, including *y* and *w*, even if these are only weakly articulated. So even if the sounds are heard as phonetic [bioa], the structure of the language treats this as phonemic *biyuwa* (*o* being a variant of the phoneme *u*). This kind of spelling treats Thaua as a language with its own system of phonemes and spelling which is distinct from that of English. Although the spelling is novel and may look odd from the point of view of English, it allows for an accurate pronunciation of the traditional word.

Beowa would have the advantage of providing continuity with a spelling that is already in use, being mentioned for example in J.A.S. McKenzie's 1991 book, *The Twofold Bay Story*, page 3). This spelling may look more natural than *biyuwa* to people who are literate in English and would result in an accurate pronunciation – provided that the stress is put on the first syllable. It would also allow the final vowel to be pronounced long (aaaa) if desired.