

8

At the Confluence of Two Stories

The Bathurst Historical Society produced two local histories in the early 1960s. One of them did not refer to Wiradjuri people. In the other, the conflicts of the 1820s were depicted as a mere flicker of the district's candle; Bathurst began 'as a stronghold ... against a foe who virtually did not exist'.¹ The society appeared to have forgotten its commemoration of Windradyne the patriot. At the same time, Percy Gresser was writing a very different history. On his retirement to Bathurst in 1953, Gresser began to donate his large collection of carefully documented stone tools to the Australian Museum and to write a history of the local Aboriginal people. He attended the 1954 ceremony at Windradyne's grave, leaving a brief account of the day in one of his fastidiously organised notebooks. Embedded in the concrete memorial at Brucesdale is a piece of carefully worked stone that Gresser described as a 'remarkably good specimen of a large Aboriginal axe head'; he had probably donated the axe head, which had been found in the bed of nearby Clear Creek.²

Gresser's understanding of this memorial was very different from that of some of the Bathurst Historical Society members. His intimate engagement with the landscape kept an Aboriginal presence in the forefront of his mind. For example, he knew that, all over the region,

1 Bathurst District Historical Society, *A Short History of Bathurst*, 1–8; Taussig, 'How Bathurst Began', 15. See also the work of J. P. M. Long, held in the Historical Society archives, in which continued action by Aboriginal people is described as one of the 'most conspicuous discomforts and dangers of life in the district throughout this period'. Long, 'Bathurst 1813-1840', 51.

2 Mulvaney, 'The Gresser Papers', 86–88; Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21/51/a, 28; MS21/51/c, 167; MS21/3/a, 120; John Suttor, in conversation with the author, 20 January 2009.

‘ploughing or water erosion reveals that practically every low ridge adjacent to a creek or a spring was a former campsite of the Aborigines’. Further, he knew that Windradyne was one man among many—a local leader of one generation in a long line of generations; Gresser perceived a history of some 20,000 years in the hand-shaped stones he found on the surface of the land.³ Gresser rightly considered his work to be very different from that of the Bathurst Historical Society. In the early 1960s, the society’s secretary, Bernard Greaves, attempted to divert part of Gresser’s collection from the Australian Museum to the society’s local museum. Gresser rebuffed his approaches by making a distinction between disciplines; the local museum, he pointed out, somewhat indignantly, was a folk museum with no aspirations to serious anthropological or geological knowledge—a collection of Aboriginal stone tools (especially a good collection) had no place there.⁴ Greaves had his own version or vision of ‘accurate’ history, authenticated by a basis in documents and their sincere interpretation by Bathurst’s citizenry.⁵ For him, Windradyne and his memorial were a kind of ‘exception’ to history, best acknowledged in situ in Bathurst’s hinterland, marked with an axe head that signalled a pre-historic context—a different place and time entirely to the Bathurst Historical Society’s tidy civic histories.

Gresser’s history, ‘The Aborigines of the Bathurst District’, was published as a daily serial in *The Western Times* across the latter half of August 1962. It began with the crossing of the range by Europeans and their first observations of Aboriginal people to the west, and also made suggestions about how those Aboriginal people may have understood the Europeans. Gresser gave an account of good relations between exploratory parties, early settlers and Aboriginal groups, and the role of Aboriginal people in guiding Europeans to Mudgee and other areas. Then, referencing Colonel Mundy’s explanation of the possession of the country via ‘gradual eviction ... without treaty, bargain or apology’, he charted the beginnings of their

3 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21/6, ‘Articles Relating to the Aborigines’ (1963), 37; *The Western Times*, 31 May 1962, 2, 10. Griffiths observed that, as the discipline of history became increasingly professionalised, and as historians focused increasingly on the analysis of documents, it was often amateur historians and collectors who remained interested in the connections of their local landscapes with the past and who were constantly reminded of an Aboriginal presence and history in those places. Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, 5.

4 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21b, 16–28.

5 Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst*, editor’s preface. This citizenry was presumably comprised of the ‘Bathurstians’ who had written the chapters of this book, and the circles in which they moved.

dispossession.⁶ Gresser's Windradyne—a man 'of strong personality, shrewdness and courage'—became an 'implacable enemy to the whites' after the shooting of his companions while gathering potatoes. Gresser noted the role of the district's settlers in advocating for the declaration of martial law, and the brutalities that had been committed under it, including the massacre described by W. H. Suttor. He canvassed the official account, that peace had been achieved without bloodshed, and asked the reader to consider whether Governor Brisbane was in ignorance of the reality or whether he condoned it.⁷ He gave an account of early missionary activities in the region, followed by an in-depth consideration of Aboriginal religious beliefs. In this he was guided by Katie Langloh Parker's maxim that, 'if we cannot respect the religion of others, we deny our own'; Parker had translated and published legends told to her by Aboriginal people of central and western New South Wales in the late nineteenth century. Gresser admonished those who would call Aboriginal languages 'gibberish' for having no knowledge of grammar in any tongue.⁸

Overall, though, Gresser was writing a history of 'decimation, decay and death'. He catalogued the deaths of the last Aboriginal men, and referred to the absorption of the women into white society, concluding his history at the graves of Yuranigh and Windradyne.⁹ His explanation for the decline of the local Aboriginal population was the breaking of their close associations with the landscape, and hunger, disease and demoralisation. These complex historical explanations for the continued poor social and economic position of Aboriginal people were cutting edge at the time. The Aborigines Project of the Social Sciences Research Council of Australia (1964–67) sought (on a much larger scale than Gresser's project) to develop a historical understanding of Aboriginal disadvantage to replace

6 Percy Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 15 August 1962, 9. Gresser absorbed Mundy's indignantly ironic tone as he pointed out the double standard upheld by the Europeans; that justice was 'deaf, dumb, lame and blind' when it came to protecting Aboriginal people and 'in full possession of all her faculties' when protecting the whites. Mundy, 'Our Antipodes' (1852), quoted in Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 22 August 1962, 7–8, 10. Mundy had visited Brucedale, and documented his interactions with Aboriginal people there. Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSI, MS21/3/a, 122–31.

7 Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 18 August 1962, 3 and 20 August 1962, 3. As Barker noted, W. H. Suttor did not claim that Windradyne was present at the potato field massacre; it was Gresser who explicitly involved Windradyne in this part of the narrative. Barker, *A History of Bathurst*, vol. 1, 73.

8 Muir, 'Stow, Catherine Eliza Somerville (Katie) (1856–1940)'. Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 24 August 1962, 9.

9 Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 17 August 1962, 9; 29 August 1962, 10; 31 August 1962, 7.

the common wisdom, which underpinned policy and public opinion, that Aboriginal society was a static one of inferior character. Gresser also repeated the explanation that some Wiradjuri people had given Parker—namely, that they were being punished for not abiding by Biami's laws.¹⁰

The serial was addressed to a white audience. Frederick McCarthy, archaeologist and curator at the Australian Museum, on hearing that Gresser's history was to be published in the local paper, observed archly, 'it should make most interesting reading to the locals whose ancestors had so much to do with the extermination of the unfortunate Aborigines'.¹¹ However, by Gresser's own account, it was warmly received. He noted 'tributes of appreciation from various residents of Bathurst', including the Bathurst Naturalist Society, which complemented him on his thorough research and clear exposition on a 'subject ... of universal interest'. As challenging as Gresser's history was, it was not out of sympathy with the Naturalist Society's interest in the 'customs, legends and languages of the Aborigines' or with their ostensibly regretful refrain that it was 'now too late' to learn any more from Aboriginal people themselves.¹² As he reworked his history over the next few years, Gresser became strongly persuaded that W. H. Suttor had exaggerated his account of the brutalities of the 1820s; certainly there were many and unjust killings, but there were also few Europeans and many places to hide. Instead, Gresser traced the extinction of the Wiradjuri people of the Bathurst district to the 1880s and 1890s. Yet, even in the mid-1960s, 'a few families of mixed blood are to be found throughout the district', though they were in imminent danger of 'becoming completely absorbed into the white population'. Like W. H. Suttor, Gresser wrote of his own Aboriginal acquaintances in a nostalgic register that did not seek to connect them to the *longue durée* of their peoples' histories.¹³ Just a few years later, Dinawan Dyrribang's family, having maintained the knowledge of their family connection to Windradyne, moved into Bathurst town under the new 'salt and pepper' philosophy of the assimilation policy. The local council notified their neighbours-to-be that an Aboriginal family was moving in and a petition

10 Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, 1–9; Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 27 August 1962, 3.

11 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21d, 19, McCarthy to Gresser, 18 July 1963.

12 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21e, 23; MS21f, 38; MS21h, 21.

13 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21j, 4–5; MS21/3/a, 102–03; MS21/6, 'Aborigines in the Shearing Sheds'; MS21/35, 'Little Part Aborigine Girl I met at Pambula'.

was raised in objection. The mayor, who knew Dinawan Dyrribang's parents well, refused to respond to the petition, but it was years before Dinawan Dyrribang's family were embraced by their neighbours.¹⁴

Across the 1960s, Gresser continued to add to his history and to correspond with a network of other amateurs with a serious interest in Aboriginal archaeology and culture.¹⁵ Tom Salisbury, of the Bankstown Historical Society, had developed an interest in Windradyne and, frustrated by meagre findings in the Mitchell Library, travelled to Bathurst in 1966. The Bathurst Historical Society directed him towards Gresser, who pointed him towards the sources he had found, and to Roy Suttor, who took him to see Windradyne's grave. On his return to Sydney, Salisbury read Gresser's newspaper serial and wrote in amazement that, despite his long interest in Australian history, "The Aborigines of the Bathurst District" was as a completely new world to me'. He felt this history should be published as a book. On the one weekend in four that Salisbury had to himself, he continued his research in the Mitchell Library, updating Gresser on his findings. In March 1967, he uncovered a pair of notices offering a reward for Windradyne's capture, with the proviso 'alive' omitted from the second.¹⁶ Old and tired, Gresser was concentrating on 'getting his house in order'; he had no objection to Salisbury compiling a book, but did not wish to take an active part in co-authorship.¹⁷

The correspondence between the two men, as David Roberts has noted, shows the shifting historiographical 'sympathies' that transformed Gresser's serial into Salisbury's history in the making. Salisbury reached towards the activist impulse that would drive historians to expose the terrible violence of the frontier in the early 1970s and 1980s, quite distinct from Gresser's restrained (if excoriating) historical moralism. In mid-1967, Salisbury wrote: 'I am struck by the similarities which existed in Bathurst in 1824 and the present day situation in Vietnam ...

14 Dinawan Dyrribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011.

15 Gresser had Ted Suttor of *The Rocks*, Bathurst, collecting any stones that looked like they might have been worked by Aboriginal people as he moved around his property. He corresponded with Brian Fillery of Narromine, photographing and analysing commemorative carved trees, and Brian Woolley in Nowra, studying the use and distribution of ochres in his area. Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21i, 10; MS21d, 32, McCarthy to Gresser; MS21g, 14, 30.

16 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21f, 34; MS21f, 36–37; MS21h, 1–4. The proclamations were issued 18 and 25 August 1824, respectively, quoted in Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 34.

17 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21h, 45, Gresser to McCarthy, October 1967; MS21i, 31–32.

our own dreadful participation today'. Salisbury was alarmed to find that the 1961 history of Bathurst edited by Greaves gave the conflicts of the 1820s such short shrift. Gresser, perhaps attempting to divert him from charging the authors with a conspiracy of silence, explained simply that the book had been written before his own serial was published.¹⁸

Salisbury had fixed on Windradyne and the power of his life story to convey the Bathurst story. In August 1968, breathless with excitement after giving a presentation before the Wild Colonial Society, he addressed Gresser:

You who have lived ... in Windradyne's country and have ... been brought up in the knowledge of Windradyne's history and importance, may not realise that there are many people, here in Sydney, who are greatly interested in Australian History, but have only a vague, indefinite knowledge of someone known as 'Saturday' and are amazed ... to hear of Windradyne as he really was.¹⁹

The result of Salisbury's endeavours was published in 1971 as *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri: Martial Law at Bathurst in 1824*. This small book has been a touchstone for subsequent storytellers; most have relied heavily (or solely) on the extracts from primary sources reproduced therein, and Salisbury's and Gresser's interpretations of them.²⁰ Foregrounding the primary documentary sources, and adding 'ethnographic' insights into the Wiradjuri perspective when possible, it traces the 'dispossession' of the great Wiradjuri 'Nation'.²¹ Windradyne is portrayed as a leader whose strength and daring captured contemporary imaginations. The friendship between Windradyne and the Suttor family is touched upon via the dramatic episode in which William's hut was surrounded in the night, and his life saved by his language skills and prior friendship with the Wiradjuri. Salisbury consulted with Roy Suttor and his family in compiling the short chapter on Windradyne, and a sense of warm regard

18 Roberts, 'Bells Falls Massacre', 628–29; Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21h, 27; MS21f, 34, 36–37.

19 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21i, 31–32.

20 Most of the more recent renditions of the story I have been discussing refer almost exclusively to Salisbury and Gresser's 1971 work for the events of the early 1820s (or to other histories that have already stood on their shoulders), including the work of Coe, Elder, Grassby and Hill, and others, such as Lowe, *Forgotten Rebels*.

21 Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 9. Salisbury added to Gresser's explanation of the potato incident, for instance, that for the Wiradjuri, helping themselves to a few potatoes on their own land would not have been considered theft, as the emphasis in Wiradjuri law was on the owner's responsibility to protect their possessions. Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 22.

pervades it.²² Salisbury's enthusiasm for his project remains palpable in his letters, and it is possible that his interpretation of Windradyne's story helped to reshape the Suttor family's engagement with it.

One of Salisbury's most significant acts in shaping the story was his treatment of the traditions about Windradyne's death and burial. He understood the two stories—that Windradyne died at the Bathurst hospital and was buried nearby, and that he died and was buried at Brucedale—as parallel oral traditions passed down through the third generation of Suttors on Australian soil, W. H. Suttor and his brothers H. C. and Horace.²³ Like Gresser, he seems to have missed 'Colo's' 1829 letter to the Sydney papers.²⁴ In compiling the book, Salisbury favoured the Brucedale story. He told W. H. Suttor's story first, and undercut it, reminding the reader that, although it was a written account, it was penned 'more than 50 years after that event'. He pointed out that W. H. Suttor was not to be counted entirely reliable—he had made errors in his book, such as his statement that Windradyne visited Governor Darling at the Parramatta feast (when, of course, he met with Governor Brisbane). Salisbury then went on to tell H. C. and Horace Suttor's story of Windradyne's escape from the hospital and his death and burial at Brucedale. He affirmed this version with the use of the 1954 memorial's epithet, 'A True Patriot', as the title for his final chapter, and a meditation on the peaceful and timeless landscape that forms a setting for the Brucedale grave.²⁵ Salisbury's explicit evaluation of the two stories gave them equal weight, but it seems that he found the story of Windradyne's burial at Brucedale more fitting and appropriate than the idea that he had been buried near the Bathurst hospital. Perhaps the convictions of Percy Gresser and Roy Suttor also helped to sway him in that direction. As in other respects, Salisbury's history has been highly influential on later storytellers.

22 Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21f, 34.

23 Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 42–43. Gresser, in his 1962 serial, reported that Windradyne had left the hospital and died and was buried at Brucedale. However, Salisbury noted that W. H. Suttor gave Windradyne's place of death and burial as the old hospital at Bathurst. He determined to trace both versions to their source. Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 31 August 1962, 7; Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS MS21h, 20–21, Salisbury to Gresser, 20 April 1967.

24 His interpretation of Henty-Pooley's 1905 article is revealing—her version of the story is seen as representing an independent oral tradition, partly because of her outlying transliteration of 'Windrodine'—which, as noted above, is identical to George Suttor's spelling in his 1829 letter. Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 41–42; *The Sydney Gazette*, 21 April 1829, 3; Henty-Pooley, 'Early History of Bathurst', 230–31.

25 Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 42–43; Suttor, *Australian Stories Retold*, note to page 45.

In spite of the more urgent politics pervading his history, Salisbury did not anticipate a Wiradjuri readership any more than Gresser had; his story of dispossession was also one of extinction. Even as activists Isobel and Paul Coe and their colleagues conceived the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, established on the lawns of Parliament House in January 1972, Salisbury wrote: ‘They had been plundered and despoiled and country taken from them, so what had they to live for ... Wiradjuri people of the Bathurst area gradually disappeared and have finally vanished’.²⁶

The Coe siblings grew up on the Erambie Mission at Cowra, where Windradyne had sent his surviving son, Wirrarai, after his other children were killed in the ‘potato field massacre’; according to Dinawan Dyrribang, they are, like himself, direct descendants of Windradyne. Mary Coe, Isobel and Paul’s sister, read Salisbury’s book while researching a history project at school, and saw in the story great potential for connecting the present and the past. In 1986, she published *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie*, which tells the story of Wiradjuri resistance to invasion led by the ‘great warrior’ Windradyne, a struggle that continued in the fight for land rights in the present.²⁷ When Isobel lodged a native title writ in 1993, effectively claiming Wiradjuri sovereignty over Wiradjuri country as a whole, Mary told *The Sydney Morning Herald*, ‘we are trying to finish what Windradyne began’.²⁸ Mary drew on Salisbury’s and Gresser’s work to reclaim the story for Wiradjuri readers, shifting the gaze so that Wiradjuri people saw Evans crossing the mountains, though he failed to see them, and *they* interpreted *his* behaviour. In her book, Windradyne is reclaimed from the descriptions of *The Sydney Gazette* as a manly man, strong, courageous and wise; a man that all Wiradjuri people can identify with. Mary dedicated the book to her father, a ‘Wiradjuri warrior’. By explicitly linking Windradyne’s fight with that of ‘Pemulwoy and all the other Koories who resisted the invasion’, her book offered Windradyne to all Aboriginal people as a hero.²⁹ Windradyne

26 Watson, ‘The Aboriginal Tent Embassy’; Foley, ‘Black Power’; Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 44. The main narrative is bookended by extracts of Dame Mary Gilmore’s poem ‘Waragery Tribe’: ‘We are the lost who went, / Like the birds, crying; / Hunted, lonely and spent, / Broken and dying’.

27 Dinawan Dyrribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011; Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1986), vi, 19–29, 35–36, and back cover. The second edition of Coe’s book concluded with photographs of Aboriginal protesters linking Aboriginal fighting with war and war-commemoration, one group of painted, headbanded men marching behind a banner: ‘Veterans of the 200 year War’. Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1989), 88.

28 Tony Hewett, ‘Wiradjuri People’s Writ Immortalises a Warrior’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June 1993, 8; Nettheim, ‘Isabel Coe on Behalf of the Wiradjuri Tribe’, 14.

29 Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1989), iv, 4–10, 15, frontispiece.

joined a growing pantheon of Aboriginal men recognised inter-regionally as warriors who had brought together forces far more extensive than their clan groups to fight the British, and whose stories became entwined with the radical politics and pan-Aboriginal activism of the 1980s. Pemulwuy and Sandawarra both starred in novels centred on resistance and the rebuilding of history from an Aboriginal point of view. Yagan, as we have seen, was honoured with a statue in 1984, following a five-year campaign by Nyoongar communities in Perth.³⁰

Mary Coe felt that Windradyne's story was a part of her people's history that had been neglected. For her, reading Salisbury's book 'was the first time [she] had ever seen anything about Wiradjuri people fighting a war'.³¹ Yet, it was partly her own work, following on from Gresser's and Salisbury's, that reframed Windradyne's story as one of *war* in terms that were comprehensible in the late twentieth century. Nevertheless, her claim invites questions about the nature of Windradyne's story, handed down through Wiradjuri generations across the century-and-a-half between Windradyne's death and the 1980s. Peter Read, making enquiries about Windradyne in the early 1980s, found no traditions within the Wiradjuri community that added distinctive new information to Gresser's and Salisbury's stories. He asked of Windradyne's mysterious appearance at Parramatta:

Was he ever in real danger or did he, like Jimmy Governor seventy years later, lead the whites in a mocking and exhausting dance through the recesses of the Hill End Plateau? Nobody knows.

Read argued that this knowledge, like so much else, did not survive the 'great dispersals' set in train by the New South Wales *Aborigines Protection Act 1909*, which regulated Aboriginal life on a minute scale, separating children from parents, and parents from grandparents, interrupting cycles of teaching and learning.³² Today, Windradyne is significant as part of local Wiradjuri knowledge, in which he is a figure linking cultural traditions, history, teaching and learning, and the landscape. This tradition adds little detail to a history of Windradyne's campaigns or his friendship with the Suttor family. However, it points towards his continued importance for his descendants and other Wiradjuri people. Wiradjuri family and oral

30 Perkins, 'Political Objectives', 235; Johnson, *Long Live Sandawarra*; Willmot, *Pemulwuy*; Batten and Batten, 'Memorialising the Past', 99–100.

31 Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1986), back cover.

32 Read, *A Hundred Years War*, 11, 54–55.

traditions have been enhanced by the research and writings of Gresser, Salisbury and others, and have reshaped the meanings of these written traditions in turn.

When I asked local Wiradjuri Elder Dindima Gloria Rogers whether the story of Windradyne was among the stories she had been told as a child, she replied in the affirmative:

I had an old Auntie, she used to call us kids together ... you would sit around, close to her, and she would never speak until there was complete silence. And then she'd start in with the stories, and Windradyne's story was one of them, and of course with any story there was always a message ... But as a kid you think it's just a story, it's only when you get older and you have better understanding that you get the message.³³

Like Rogers, Dinawan Dyrribang remembered being taught about his connection with Windradyne as a child, and he is gradually teaching his own grandchildren about this connection. However, his knowledge of Windradyne as a leader in war is a result of his reading and asking around as an adult.³⁴

Dinawan Dyrribang and Rogers were engaged to advise on, and teach in, a learning program about connection to country at Kelso Public School. Known as 'high five', the program incorporated five symbols, one of which was the message stick. This was linked with the story of Windradyne, his resting place at Brucedale, and an ethic of being proud of Aboriginal culture and identity in a strong but non-aggressive way. As Gloria Rogers explained, it was about 'finding the strength within to be able to resolve, rather than to, you know, knuckle up ... [for both] boys and girls'. In this way, Windradyne's story has become part of a re-mapping of Bathurst and its hinterland in combination with the other four symbols: Platypus Dreaming, Wahluu (Mt Panorama), Wambool (the Macquarie River) and Blackfellows Hand (a meeting and learning site near Lithgow that has been recognised as an Aboriginal place under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act*). One of the Aboriginal teachers at the school created a 'high five' artwork in which children walk between stepping stones, creating conceptual relationships between Dreaming stories and the historical past, and between people, places and stories.³⁵

33 Gloria Rogers, in conversation with the author, 15 June 2010.

34 Dinawan Dyrribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011.

35 Ibid.; Gloria Rogers, in conversation with the author, 15 June 2010. Blackfellows Hand Aboriginal Place was gazetted in 2008, see *NSW Government Gazette* 88 (18 July 2008): 7252.

The landscape of Windradyne's story remains dominated by European land use, boundaries, buildings and businesses. The streets of Bathurst run in a grand grid pattern, with public spaces dominated by monuments to the history of European foundation and exploration. It is a landscape of past and present dispossession and segregation, but, at the same time, conversations about making Wiradjuri culture and history more visible are gradually changing the way in which this landscape can be understood and inhabited by local residents. For the most part, the Wiradjuri presence takes intangible form as journeys and stories, knowledge and memory, infusing the fabric of the town even as its architecture and the surrounding roads, paddocks and fences visually and physically deny it.³⁶ A long campaign for the dual naming of Bathurst's defining geographical features has borne some fruit with the approval by the New South Wales Geographical Names Board for the dual naming of Mt Panorama – Wahluu in April 2015. The commemorative furniture of the town is under public review. The Evans Monument, dedicated in 1920 to the surveyor who reached the site of the present Bathurst in 1814, has a prominent place in the centre of town, in view of the massive classical bulk of the courthouse. George Evans strikes an imperial pose on top of a large stone plinth while an Aboriginal man, said by some locals to be Windradyne, crouches in front, both men looking intently to the west. Interpretations of the sculpture have multiplied alongside debate about whether the monument should be remodelled, or removed to make way for a different memorial, perhaps a monument honouring Windradyne.³⁷

In collaboration with the local branch of the National Trust, Dinawan Dyrribang organised a ceremony marking the 193rd anniversary of the 1824 declaration of martial law, which is intended to inaugurate an annual gathering. It was held in the Peace Park, part of the Macquarie River Bicentennial Park on the northern side of town—a prominent commemorative and recreational space thought to be in the vicinity of the potato field where Wiradjuri people faced the unexpected wrath of an armed settler in 1824. Not far away is Bathurst's flagstaff, reinstated on

36 Macdonald, 'Master Narratives and the Dispossession of the Wiradjuri', 164–66; Byrne, 'Nervous Landscapes: Race and Space in Australia', 177.

37 'Bathurst's Bicentenary 2015: Photos', *Newcastle Herald*, 8 May 2015; 'Bathurst's Evans Statue—Should it Stay or Should it Go?', *Western Advocate*, 8 March 2016; 'Welcome to Wahluu: Mount Panorama officially has a second name', *Central Western Daily*, 14 April 2015. Siobhan Lavelle has given a comprehensive account of the changing contexts of commemoration of the crossing of the Blue Mountains and argues that the sites and monuments located in the Blue Mountains themselves are a 'critical moment of uncertainty'. Lavelle, *1813. A Tale That Grew in the Telling*, 213.

the bicentennial anniversary of the founding of Bathurst by Governor Macquarie, which now incorporates Wiradjuri Dreaming stories and intends to recognise the Wiradjuri people as traditional owners of the land, alongside the story of Bathurst's foundation.³⁸

John Bugg, Dinawan Dyrribang's uncle, has worked closely with a number of local institutions to make the Wiradjuri presence more visible. One of these was the local Macquarie Rivercare group, which erected a large interpretive installation in the Macquarie River Bicentennial Park in the 1990s or early 2000s. The installation sets out the environmental and cultural values of the river, Wambool, casting it as a central feature of Wiradjuri life before 1813. Like the 'high five' program, the panels recognise a Wiradjuri cartography that reaches across the city, past the Macquarie Memorial Cairn on the other side of the park, to connect the river with Mt Panorama – Wuhluu. Windradyne is the key figure in Bugg's story of the coming of the Europeans and the period of martial law and its aftermath. His story spans from the time before European arrival, across the Wiradjuri wars of the Bathurst area, and into the period of accommodation and adaptation that began in the late 1820s, attesting to continuity in the Wiradjuri story.³⁹

One of the great Wiradjuri educationists, Stan Grant Snr, told a story for young readers that began with a group of Wiradjuri boys approaching an old man and asking: 'who created our great Wiradjuri land and people; why [are] we no longer being put through the Burbang (Initiation)?' After telling the boys a creation story and explaining what the Burbang involved, the old man addressed the important matter of why it was no longer practised—a council of Elders resolved that 'there would have to be changes if we were to survive'. A vital part of the old man's teaching, focused on Murrumbidgee Wiradjuri country, was the

38 Sonia Feng and Melanie Pearce, 'Scars of Bathurst's Declaration of Martial Law Laid Bare at Commemoration 193 Years On', *ABC Central West*, 15 August 2017, accessed 18 July 2018, www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-15/scars-of-martial-law-laid-bare-in-bathurst/8804586.

39 Macquarie Rivercare interpretive panels, Macquarie River Bicentennial Park, Bathurst. These panels were erected sometime in the late 1990s or early 2000s, and have been renewed once during that period. Wayne Feebrey, Greening Bathurst, in conversation with the author, 13 March 2012.

history of the arrival of Europeans following Sturt's expedition in 1829. The Wiradjuri extended customary hospitality to these guests before declaring 'war on the invaders' once it was clear that they would not leave. 'Fearless fighters from beyond the Murray and Lachlan rivers' came to help, but, eventually, the Wiradjuri were forced to compromise.⁴⁰ The old man concluded:

We were defeated and humiliated but we could never be made to become white men, which is evidenced here by you young men wanting to know more about your traditions ... It is a different battle we fight today ... for recognition and the rights to our land. This can only be brought about by you young people getting educated in the white man's way. Do not forget your heritage. Be proud of who you are ... Do not be angry and point the finger of blame ... for humility is part of our tradition. Do this and one day we will win.⁴¹

The narrative connects the listening children to a past before and outside Western knowledge and institutions, as well as orientating them in their learning, both within and against the dominant structures. The tensions of this position are made bearable by a sense of integrity and pride.

Windradyne's story performs a similar function, connecting past and present, and providing a proud connection to Wiradjuri history and knowledge. Linda Burney, a distinguished member of the Wiradjuri diaspora from the Murrumbidgee area and former New South Wales minister for community services, often introduces herself with a brief description of the Wiradjuri nation and the British invasion of Wiradjuri country, against which Windradyne led the resistance.⁴² Told in public spaces, Windradyne's story suggests the parity of Aboriginal history with European history and all the 'big men' who appear in that story. As Bill Murray observed in a 1993 film, *Windradyne: Wiradjuri Resistance, the Beginning*:

40 Grant, *Stories Told by My Grandfather*, 21–24, 28–33. Stan Grant Snr received an OAM for his work in collaboration with John Rudder in bringing together the linguistic knowledge held by many different Wiradjuri people to create the *Wiradjuri Dictionary*, published in 2005, and a number of children's books based around Wiradjuri grammar, songs and stories.

41 *Ibid.*, 33.

42 For example, Burney, 'Speech To Teachers Federation Conference'.

I see him as a hero to the Aboriginal people—what he done was equal to any other general or whatever you see in a white society, what kids learn about in their history books and ... he should be honoured as such.⁴³

Windradyne embodies a strength that provides a resounding answer to depictions of Aboriginal weakness and to the weakness experienced by the Wiradjuri as a colonised people. Stan Grant Jnr wished that he had had the example of Windradyne, and his warriors before him, at school, for he believed as he was taught—that Aboriginal people were ‘cowardly and dim witted’. The story of the Wiradjuri wars was integral to his growing pride in his heritage: ‘I know now that my people were not passive, we did not drop our weapons and flee. We were warriors and there’s pride in that’.⁴⁴ A correspondent to the *First Australians* online guestbook similarly identified wholeheartedly with Windradyne’s standing as a leader in resistance, introducing himself as ‘a strong & powerful wiradjuri black warrior man’.⁴⁵

The figure of the warrior has been critiqued for encouraging a mentality of perpetual combat and sacrifice, endangering any regenerative impetus, and leaving room only for a defensive ‘survival’ and a narrow definition of self and community.⁴⁶ Importantly, Windradyne is not merely a figure of resistance who provides a point of opposition to the dominant culture. Like Stan Grant Snr’s story, Windradyne’s story provides a model of integrity in a state of conflict. It is important to Dinawan Dyrribang that Windradyne fought in a Wiradjuri way, rejecting the opportunity to use firearms, and killing only those who had harmed the Wiradjuri, not engaging in wholesale slaughter. For Dinawan Dyrribang, Windradyne was a leader who was strong in his culture and who kept his people together in a time of crisis—a leader like Braveheart, who (particularly

43 Pearson, *Windradyne: Wiradjuri Resistance*. Windradyne appears in educational tools and curriculum materials as an identifiably Wiradjuri figure and strong male role model. See, for example, ‘Caring for Place, Caring for Country’ (education kit); ‘Making a difference: Windradyne’, referred to by ‘Indigenous Students Connect with Blogs’, The Learning Place, *Education Views*, 6 June 2007, 17. The Windradyne Scholarship was established at the Mitchell College of Advanced Education in 1987, and a Windradyne Lecture inaugurated in 2000. *Pemulwuy Newsletter* 13 (1987–88): 6; Adam Motsokono, ‘Social Justice Commissioner to Give Windradyne Lecture’, *Western Advocate*, 22 October 2001.

44 Grant, *The Tears of Strangers*, 63–64, 87.

45 ‘Mr Kevin May [Jnr] from Marrickville’, 21 October 2008, SBS First Australians, Your Comments, accessed 16 December 2008, www.sbs.com.au/firstaustralians/.

46 De Souza, ‘Maoritanga in Whale Rider’, 23. Mark McKenna followed Ghassan Hage in observing that imagining ourselves as cultural warriors, in the way that Australians have been encouraged to as participants in the War on Terror (and the History Wars), is an essentially defensive position, which ‘pushes us to define our society more narrowly, more aggressively’. McKenna, ‘Australian History and the Australian “National Inheritance”’, 8–9.

in the wake of Mel Gibson's 1995 film) is understood to have been not only a militarist, but also someone with 'a concern for civil rights, equity and self-determination', the stuff of contemporary political discourse for a people seeking recognition and independence.⁴⁷

Conversely, Dennis Foley, having interrogated Windradyne's leadership style, argued that he (and Pemulwuy and Musquito) operated in a 'most uncharacteristically Indigenous mode'. Foley asked whether Windradyne's journey to Parramatta was anything more than a capitulation, after which Windradyne spent his final years in the service of the colonisation of the Western Plains; if he was a 'patriot' as the 1954 memorial suggested, 'was he a true patriot to ... colonial conquest ... and stealing of land, or a patriot to the Aboriginal cause?'⁴⁸ Yet, it was Windradyne's negotiation of this self-same tension that has made him an inspiring figure for others. Chief executive officer of the Bathurst Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC), Warwick Peckham, told me that he thought of Windradyne most days, because Windradyne's dilemmas, in judging how far to accommodate the whites, how long to fight and when to compromise, were mirrored in his own work.⁴⁹ Since the mid-1980s, Aboriginal communities have developed working relationships with government and other institutions. Constant effort is required to maintain trust. The potential always exists for these institutions to reproduce social and economic inequalities and to 'manage Aboriginal resistance' to state rule using the very same joint initiatives that ostensibly aim to support Aboriginal aspirations. This is a situation somewhere between war and friendship, in which Aboriginal leadership, and its basis in a combination of local Aboriginal

47 Dinawan Dyirribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011; Edensor, 'Reading Braveheart', 147. As well as a fighter and 'crusader', Bill Murray characterised Windradyne as a 'saviour of the Aboriginal people', a figure not just of survival but of deliverance. Pearson, *Windradyne: Wiradjuri Resistance*.

48 Foley, 'Leadership', 184–85. This may partly reflect the nature of the tradition within Foley's own family, in which stories of heroic Irish insurgents were brought together with those of the British–Wiradjuri conflicts of the 1820s. The details of the Irish stories were forgotten, while the reshaped stories focused on 'Wiradjuri accomplishments on the battlefield and Windradyne's leadership'. Coe also charted a transition from the waging of a traditional Wiradjuri conflict against the British, to a war to defend land, a kind of war that was unprecedented, but which the Wiradjuri, under Windradyne's leadership, realised was necessary as they were steadily driven into the back country away from water and food sources. Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1989), 24.

49 Warwick Peckham, in conversation with the author, 17 June 2010. Peckham does not have a family connection with Windradyne. He came to Bathurst from Dubbo in the 1990s and subsequently learned about Windradyne's story. The portrait hung in the Bathurst LALC office is a print of J. W. Lewins's lithograph, 'A native chief of Bathurst' (1815), which is widely believed to be a portrait of Windradyne.

and governmental structures and traditions, is a continuously contested matter.⁵⁰ Windradyne's example as a more-than-warrior with political vision, diplomatic skills, strong cultural knowledge and commitment to family, held together by a hard-won (and at times contested) integrity, can provide a stabilising and inspiring centre, as well as grist for the mill of continued deliberation on what Wiradjuri leadership is, or could be, in the future.

Local and regional identifications are contested as well as confirmed around Windradyne's story. The Wiradjuri community in Bathurst is somewhat fragmented today; it coexists with Aboriginal families from other language groups who were resettled or who settled in Bathurst, Orange and Dubbo over the past 30 or 40 years. Thus, marking public places with local Wiradjuri history involves sharing with Aboriginal people from other parts of the Wiradjuri nation, as well as from other language groups.⁵¹ The Bathurst LALC was originally named after Windradyne.⁵² In Dinawan Dyrirribang's account, there has been a transition from the management of the LALC by local traditional owners, to management by Wiradjuri people from other localities. In the mid-1990s, when there was a risk of the LALC going into receivership, John Bugg (Dinawan Dyrirribang's uncle) took responsibility for resolving many of the problems before officially removing Windradyne's name from the organisation, so that his reputation could not be tarnished in the future.⁵³

According to Paul House, a Ngambri man from the Queanbeyan area, Windradyne's father was Wiradjuri but his mother was a member of one of the Ngunnawal–Gundangarra groups. House claimed that Windradyne's mother went home to the Lake George area north of Canberra to give birth to Windradyne and that later, when Windradyne was a young man, he returned to Wiradjuri country to fight the resistance. Like the leader

50 Dodson, 'The End in the Beginning', 9; Lambert-Pennington, 'What Remains?', 320–32; Peters-Little, 'The Community Game', 14–15.

51 Gloria Rogers, in conversation with the author, 15 June 2010; Warwick Peckham, in conversation with the author, 17 June 2010.

52 Macdonald, *Two Steps Forward*, 25.

53 Dinawan Dyrirribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011. Gaynor Macdonald documented the forging of a strong pan-Wiradjuri feeling in the early 1980s in the lead-up to the Land Rights Bill, under which the Wiradjuri Land Council, which Wiradjuri leaders had formed through their own networking ahead of the Act, was registered as a Regional Land Council. Pan-Wiradjuri feeling and action through the land council system was put under great pressure over the following decade by the underfunding of the entire system, and by the limited opportunities that existed for the claiming of Wiradjuri lands. Macdonald, *Two Steps Forward*, 10–11, 29–57.

Onyong (or Alynyonga), who the Gundangarra look to for inspiration as a resistance leader, Windradyne was born at one of the special waterholes, Lake George and Rose Lagoon, that were known to produce warriors. Today, Lake George is known as Wirriwa, but the non-Aboriginal owners of the property have called it Windradyne.⁵⁴ Gloria Rogers told me that Windradyne had a Gamilaroi father and Wiradjuri mother (the Wiradjuri tradition being matrilineal) making another, incompatible, set of links with the Wiradjuri people's powerful northern neighbours.⁵⁵ Dinawan Dyrribang related a number of stories about Windradyne's travels across the range to King's Tableland and to northern New South Wales, where he has a number of Dunghutti descendants (Dunghutti country is centred on Kempsey).⁵⁶ Today, as overlapping interests in land and story are presided over by government and legal authorities administering heritage, encouraging tourism and adjudicating native title claims, stories about family connections, exchanges and travels are brought into conflict and competition with each other by modern cartography, linear time and the demand for a single true (as well as plausible) story. In this context, the vast and fluid family histories that have lived through the memories of individuals are increasingly coming into conflict with the recognised authority of linear, European-style family trees and other documentary sources.⁵⁷

Yet, at the same time, these written histories have helped Wiradjuri people to reclaim Windradyne's story via writing and talk. As Vivienne Mason of Narooma, on the south coast of New South Wales, told Mark McKenna:

It was actually the white people who saved our history for us ... not our culture but our history ... The white man has taken our culture and history away from us but he has actually given it back in what he has recorded.⁵⁸

54 Paul House, in conversation with the author, 12 July 2010. Dinawan Dyrribang refuted this story; he stated that there was a man who came from the south to assist the Wiradjuri in fighting the British known as 'Big Bull'. Dinawan Dyrribang, conversation, 8 July 2011.

55 Gloria Rogers, in conversation with the author, 15 June 2010.

56 Dinawan Dyrribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011.

57 For example, Heather Goodall argued that Aboriginal people were being 'forced to reconceptualise their stories about family and land' so that they could 'meet the demanding set of criteria defined by the white-Australian legal and bureaucratic system' and regain access to land. Goodall, 'Telling country', 181–84.

58 McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point*, 222. Tom Griffiths, writing about the successful protection of Mumbulla Mountain, near Bega on the New South Wales south coast, from logging by the Yuin community, and reclamation of its sacred history for the contemporary community in the face of scepticism by the government, logging interests, and the local white community, observed that 'places can be reclaimed by writing and talk ... continuity of occupation is not the only measure of possession'. Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, 234.

Peter Read remembered visiting Windradyne's grave with Mary and Isabel Coe in 1979, and, from about 1990, John Bugg began to visit Brucedale regularly to talk with the Suttor family about maintaining and protecting Windradyne's grave.⁵⁹ In the early 1990s, a film funded by the New South Wales Department of Education, *Windradyne: Wiradjuri Resistance, the Beginning*, featured members of the Coe family, John Suttor, Theo Barker from the Bathurst Historical Society and Rob MacLaughlin from Charles Sturt University.⁶⁰ The film emerged from an exchange of traditions. It was closely based on Mary Coe's book in which she (perhaps expanding on Salisbury's tentative statements with regard to Wiradjuri knowledge) explained that, in keeping with the Wiradjuri way of being hospitable to guests:

Windradyne and the Wiradjuri people accepted small numbers of white settlers coming to their lands and they acted as guides for the settlers taking them to the areas away from their camping and hunting grounds and their sacred sites.⁶¹

In the film, John Suttor related how Wiradjuri people had guided his forebears to the place where Clear Creek and Winburndale Rivulet met, which is where they established Brucedale.⁶² This part of the story, illustrating friendly relations between the Wiradjuri and the Suttor family soon after their arrival in Wiradjuri country, had apparently been preserved in Suttor family oral tradition; however, until the film's release, it had not formed part of the public story.⁶³ Talking with the Coe family had probably confirmed the veracity and importance of this part of the story for John Suttor. It is unlikely that either party had preserved an 'independent' tradition about the friendship to the present. The Suttor

59 Peter Read, in conversation with the author, February 2012; Gloria Rogers, in conversation with the author, 15 June 2010.

60 Mary Coe and John Bugg advised on the film, and family members including John Coe, Jenny Munro and Bill Murray appeared in the film. Barker had just completed his history of Bathurst, which examines the period of martial law in detail.

61 Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1989), 19. See also Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 16–17. Warwick Peckham also emphasised that Wiradjuri people first directed the Europeans in how and where to settle. War broke out when the increasing numbers of livestock began to have a serious effect on food sources, while at the same time providing a readily accessible food source that was protected with firearms. Warwick Peckham, in conversation with the author, 17 June 2010. Stan Grant Snr also explained that hostilities had broken out on the Murrumbidgee after Wiradjuri hospitality had been outworn by the newcomers. Grant, *Stories Told by My Grandfather*, 28–32.

62 Pearson, *Windradyne: Wiradjuri Resistance*.

63 John Suttor, in conversation with the author, 20 January 2009.

family and other non-Aboriginal tellers of this story, just as much as Wiradjuri people, have, in some senses, rediscovered this story of friendship in the latter part of the twentieth century.

The coming together of these streams of history-making has profoundly reshaped the story and a much more consistent emphasis on friendship has emerged. Before the reconciliation decade, when William Suttor and Windradyne featured in pioneer stories or histories of the Wiradjuri wars, their friendship was not a necessary or central element of the story. In a *Daily Mirror* special feature of 1956, William starred as a gallant, yet earthy giant of history—a quintessential Australian, pursuing bushrangers and becoming wealthy, yet always answering his own front door: someone who could speak the native language fluently and move through the bush like an Aboriginal man. It was implied that Wiradjuri people looked up to him as much as the reader was encouraged to; however, no Aboriginal people were named.⁶⁴ Bruce Elder's bloody and shaming anti-bicentennial history, *Blood on the Wattle*, features Windradyne as a 'martyr', a warrior and, finally, a 'broken man'. The Wiradjuri war and massacres of the 1820s form a damning episode in the armed conquest of the continent, and the story of Windradyne and his people is complicated neither by friendship nor by the survival of the Wiradjuri people.⁶⁵

An emphasis on the *particular* friendship between the Suttor family and Windradyne and his family has also developed. Hand in hand with this shift, the timing of the friendship has also changed in emphasis, with great importance being placed on the friendship being established before war broke out and enduring through the conflicts. 'Colo's' 1829 obituary for Windradyne, W. H. Suttor's story of 'western rebellions' and the plaque on the 1954 memorial represent a situation of friendly relations between Windradyne and the settlers-in-general *after* the acute conflicts of the 1820s. In his letter to *The Australian* in 1826, as well as trying to

64 'Pioneer Who Farmed at 16 Owned 10,000 Acres at 30', *Daily Mirror*, 24 May 1956, 27. See also Archdeacon Oakes, 'Story of the Bathurst Pioneers, No. 2—the Suttor Centenary', *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1922, in which George Suttor received acclaim as a fine upstanding man: loyal (to Bligh), pious, and principled amid great treachery and upheaval in the colony. A family history published in 1994 followed suit in its focus on the 'character, personality and style' of William Suttor as a 'Pioneer of the West'. Aboriginal people were most often referred to as 'hostile' or dangerous, though Windradyne received brief coverage as an 'Aboriginal Warrior-Hero'. See Norton and Norton, *Dear William*, x, 29, 31, 33, 37.

65 Elder, *Blood on the Wattle*, 44–53. See also 'The Black War: When Aboriginals Were Hunted, Poisoned and Shot in Order to Be Taught a Lesson', *Living Australia* 40 (1985): 19–21; Grassby and Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 134–68.

encourage all settlers to adopt a friendly attitude after the wars, 'Colo' had set himself apart as a constant friend to the Wiradjuri. However, until recently, it probably was not politic to harp on this distinction, as William led the family to growing success in the region.⁶⁶

Debra Jopson's 2002 article in *The Sydney Morning Herald* typifies the recent emphasis on the singularity of the relationship of the Suttor family with local Wiradjuri people, in the past and the present:

In an area where some landholders—fearful of land claims—often bar access to such sites, [Dinawan Dyirribang] can [visit Windradyne's grave] because of a friendship of almost 180 years and six generations between local Aborigines and one white family—the Suttors of Brucedale.⁶⁷

Similarly, a sign erected at the entry to Brucedale in the latter months of 2010 states that Windradyne 'led his warriors in a bloody campaign against white settlers, and yet one white family continued to respect and befriend him'.⁶⁸ Two story elements that began to circulate more widely as part of the main stream of the story from the 1980s helped to shape this shift.

The first of these is the story that John Suttor told in the film, *Windradyne: Wiradjuri Resistance, the Beginning*—namely, that Wiradjuri people helped George and William Suttor find the place where they settled and have been ever since: Brucedale. This act of guidance illustrates the agency of Wiradjuri people in a way that friendliness after their 'defeat' in 1824 cannot, hinting at the complexity of the Wiradjuri response to the arrival of the Europeans and the way in which Wiradjuri people may have been able to take the initiative in peaceful and warlike relations across the early 1820s. By the turn of the twenty-first century, it was being interpreted in a number of ways, including as an offer of 'coexistence' to the Suttor family soon after their arrival in Wiradjuri country.⁶⁹ A history produced

66 Barker noted his involvement in the Holy Trinity Church, the Turf Club and Agricultural Association, and his election as the first member of the New South Wales Legislative Council for the counties of Roxbury, Phillip and Wellington in 1843. Barker, *A History of Bathurst*, vol. 1, 177 and vol. 2, 138.

67 Debra Jopson, 'Grave a Symbol of 180 Years of Friendship', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 2002.

68 Entry Signs to be erected at Brucedale, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (Bathurst).

69 Dianne Johnson interpreted this advice from the Wiradjuri: 'It appears in hindsight, that the local Wiradjuri were offering co-existence to the Suttors'. Johnson, *Lighting the Way*, 51.

by another branch of the Suttor family tells the story of the Brucedale selection as if the Wiradjuri recommendation of this spot endowed the family with special rights of possession:

When ordered to move elsewhere the Suttors remembered the glowing accounts of rich alluvial flats and grazing hill country further out that friendly Aborigines had related to them ‘where the creeks join’ they said. Suttor went, saw and was convinced ... This time their right to the land was secure.⁷⁰

It was Governor Brisbane’s more open policy of settlement that allowed the family to cross the range as they had long hoped to do. Yet, some recent versions of the story imply that George and William Suttor were part of an early trickle of strangers, which the Wiradjuri could more or less accommodate, the friendship being one of the few remaining legacies of a peaceful period of migration and settlement before Brisbane’s opening of the floodgates.⁷¹ In this scenario, the family’s settlement in Wiradjuri country seems more a ‘taking-up’ of land than a taking of land from Aboriginal people, echoing, perhaps, some of ‘Colo’s’ desires to have taken land in a benevolent way.⁷² Conversely, David Suttor, appearing on *First Australians*, was emphatic in his acknowledgement that his family had taken Wiradjuri land; the governors were giving out land to white settlers, he explained, and ‘we just took it ... there [weren’t] any treaties or ... recognition of prior ownership’.⁷³

The incident in which Windradyne and his warriors surround William’s hut in the night has also played a pivotal role in the changing shape of the story. Where W. H. Suttor separated this incident from his wider story of the conflicts of the 1820s, Gresser integrated it into the main narrative of his 1962 serial. Salisbury, for his part, signposted the dramatic potential of this ‘encounter ... between the enraged natives

70 Norton and Norton, *Dear William*, 31.

71 For example, in *First Australians*, William and George Suttor’s friendly contact with the Wiradjuri is established in the narrative before ‘the country is opened up to anyone who can pay to settle there by the new Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane’. Nowra and Perkins, ‘Episode 1: They Have Come to Stay’. See also Grassby and Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 148. However, George Suttor expressed frustration with Governor Macquarie and his strict control of migration over the mountains. Suttor, *Memoirs of George Suttor*, 58. This has remained part of the family story, see Suttor, *Australian Stories Retold*, 63–64; Norton and Norton, *Dear William*, 23, 33.

72 Adam Gall critiqued this persistent idea of the ‘good’ settler as animated in Kate Grenville’s novel, *The Secret River*, in which this figure is conceived as ‘taking up’ land, rather than taking land from Aboriginal people. Gall, ‘Taking/Taking Up’.

73 Nowra and Perkins, ‘Episode 1: They Have Come to Stay’.

and one lone white settler'.⁷⁴ Indeed, the immediacy of this incident of cross-cultural frisson and resolution has had great appeal for storytellers, particularly in telling stories of friendship and reconciliation following the negotiation of the Conservation Agreement over Windradyne's resting place, for it is via this incident that we learn that William had a pre-existing, friendly relationship with the Wiradjuri, and that he spoke the Wiradjuri language. This revelation is both potent and inarticulate. Storytellers typically reproduce or paraphrase W. H. Suttor's account, and then leave it to 'speak for itself'.⁷⁵ The story probably originated with William Suttor himself, but nothing of the all-important conversation with Windradyne is preserved. Subsequent generations have been left to speculate, as Dinawan Dyrribang did on *First Australians*, imagining that William might have said:

He had nothing to do with the killings, and he probably would have said that he was appalled with what was going on ... [and] Windradyne probably would have accepted that.⁷⁶

The significance of William's fluency in Wiradjuri language, the sustained closeness required to learn the language and the commitment on the part of the Wiradjuri people involved to teach him, is seldom explored.⁷⁷ At the same time, William's language skills are provided with the ultimate reference; they saved his life.

What shape did the relationship take *during* the conflicts? If the Suttor family were friends to the Wiradjuri before the outbreak of hostilities, did they not attempt to restrain the violence of other settlers, or hide

74 Gresser, 'The Aborigines of the Bathurst District', *The Western Times*, 18 August 1962, 3. He told both versions of this story discussed below. Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 22. Of course, William was not alone in the unprovenanced version of the story reproduced on the following page, in which he was in the company of Peneegrah, and probably at least one shepherd.

75 See for example, Heritage Listing, Grave of Windradyne, State Heritage Register Database, Record Number 5051560; Johnson, *Lighting the Way*, 52–53; Norton and Norton, *Dear William*, 37; Jordan Baker, 'Heritage Listing Keeps Proud Memories Alive', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 2006, 7.

76 Nowra and Perkins, 'Episode 1: They Have Come to Stay'. For a similar account from the Suttor family, see also Joel Gibson, 'Friendship across Time and Place', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 2008, 4.

77 One of the few renditions that seeks to explain how William came to speak Wiradjuri language fluently claims, ahistorically, that 'the lad had been brought up with the Aborigines, possibly with Saturday, spoke their language and respected their customs'. 'The Black War: When Aborigines Were Hunted, Poisoned and Shot in Order to Be Taught a Lesson', *Living Australia* 40 (1985): 21. Interpretive panels at Windradyne's grave state simply: 'William must have spent time with Wiradjuri friends to learn their language'. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (Bathurst), 'A Shared History' panel in Windradyne's grave conservation area, 2010.

Wiradjuri people as Thomas Foley, Dennis Foley's grandfather's great-grandfather, hid the Wiradjuri woman he later married?⁷⁸ A correspondent to the SBS *First Australians* guestbook probed:

I have been told by Bathurst locals that the Suttor family actually physically protected first Australians when under attack from white people—do you have any stories or records of this?⁷⁹

When I asked John Suttor whether he had heard any such stories, he replied in the negative, and was anxious to ensure that new, unsubstantiated elements not be added to the story.⁸⁰ Apart from the tensions inhering in 'Colo's' letters to the press, no insights have been gained by this historian into the battles that may have raged in Suttor hearts as philanthropic ideas came up against loyalty to the colonial regime and interests in land, and as friendships with neighbouring settlers and local Aboriginal people became a scarcely navigable thicket. That this story of confrontation could so easily have had a different ending in this time of violent confusion, fear and retaliation, is clearly part of its appeal. However, it also illustrates how little the Suttor family were set apart from some of the other property owners, such as the Hassall family and their staff, who faced each other in court in August 1824 over the deaths of three Aboriginal women after one of their stockmen was wounded on the family's property at O'Connell Plains.⁸¹

A second version of the story of the night encounter, perhaps a parallel oral tradition within the family (which seems to have appeared in the written record for the first time in 1957), populates the events with a number of other figures. Here, William was surrounded while 'visiting one of his outlying shepherds', rather than at the main hut near today's Brucedale homestead, and he was in the company of Peneegrah, with whom he had 'explored the rough country between Bathurst and Mudgee'. As in W. H. Suttor's version, Windradyne and his men seemed poised to attack, and William quickly defused the situation by opening the door and speaking to

78 Foley, 'Leadership', 184.

79 'Jess from Bathurst', 20 October 2008, SBS *First Australians*, Your Comments, accessed 16 December 2008, www.sbs.com.au/firstaustralians/.

80 John Suttor, in conversation with the author, 20 January 2009.

81 The Hassall case is discussed in detail in Barker, *A History of Bathurst*, vol. 1, 67–69. Karskens found such a thicket of relationships on the Hawkesbury frontier, in which different Aboriginal groups and families were aligned with different settler families who did not automatically 'combine as a group, for mutual benefits and governance', but needed to be ordered to do so. Karskens, *The Colony*, 466–73.

Windradyne in Wiradjuri language.⁸² According to Dinawan Dyrribang, Peneegrah was Windradyne's cousin, so his presence may have influenced the course of events in William's (or his shepherd's) favour that night—or perhaps it was Peneegrah who Windradyne had come to see.⁸³

As Peter Read observed, Windradyne 'towers over the events' of the 1820s.⁸⁴ His historical stature has perhaps eclipsed a more extensive web of relationships between members of the Suttor family and other Wiradjuri people. The friendship is projected consistently as a masculine affair. Barbara Dawson examined stories of European and Aboriginal women coming together around children, adornment and an appreciation of local plants and animals.⁸⁵ No such associations emerge as part of this story, though 'Colo' referred to women talking and laughing together at Brucedale and visiting the house in which Sarah Maria Suttor and (perhaps) some of her daughters were living.⁸⁶ A brief and wonderful vignette involves Charlotte, who married William Suttor at 16 years of age, fresh off a ship from England:

[Charlotte] was sitting in the lounge when a native appeared down the chimney, badly cut about and with a spear in his hand. She rushed to help him and was considered the friend of the Aboriginals for many years.⁸⁷

82 'Pastoral Prosperity', *Parade* (August 1957): 20; Salisbury and Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri*, 23. Later retellings almost invariably followed W. H. Suttor's version of the story. Exceptions include Dianne Johnson, who included both versions, and Grassby and Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 156.

83 Dinawan Dyrribang, in conversation with the author, 8 July 2011. As Dianne Johnson pointed out, in this version of the story, the events take place at a hut in which Windradyne may not have known William was staying. Johnson, *Lighting the Way*, 52–53.

84 Read, *A Hundred Years War*, 10. William Suttor also towers over these events. It is generally overlooked that two of his brothers, probably Thomas Charles (b. 1804) and John Bligh (b. 1809), had also helped their father to establish Brucedale, and would also have interacted with Wiradjuri people. Suttor Family Papers, ML, MSS 2417, item 3 (correspondence 1800–40), George Suttor to his wife, undated, 119. Percy Gresser mentioned 'Penneigrah' as a companion and guide to George Suttor Jnr, William's eldest brother, who was also in Bathurst in the early 1820s. Papers of P. J. Gresser, AIATSIS, MS21c, loose leaf.

85 Dawson, 'Sisters under the Skin?'

86 *The Australian*, 14 October 1826, 3–4; Suttor, *Memoirs of George Suttor*, 59.

87 Colleen Knights, 'Brucedale: The Family Home', *The Sunday Telegraph*, 6 May 1973, 122. Knights referred to this as a 'family legend'. Charlotte Suttor's surviving diaries are a terse record of health, weather, the weekly sermon, and meetings with friends and acquaintances. A close reading of entries March–April 1850 indicated that Aboriginal people at Brucedale would likely only be mentioned as servants, and referred to by first names that I lack the requisite knowledge to identify. Suttor Family Papers, ML, MSS 1520/2, Diary of Charlotte Augusta Anne Suttor, kept at Brucedale, Bathurst, March 1850 – September 1852, 1853, viewed on microfilm reel MAV/FM4/1390.

The loss of glimpses of other relationships is perhaps one we feel now more than ever, as historians and readers of history become increasingly interested in encounters and connections apart from part-defensive, part-formal man-to-man exchanges.⁸⁸

The powerful image of the two men face to face in the intimacy of a life-and-death situation resonates strongly with a discourse of fraternity that took root in the trenches in World War I. Parts of this discourse have remained central to understandings of friendship across the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as a symmetrical relationship between individuals of equal power, bound together by affection. As well, these fraternal friendships under the extreme pressure of war were understood to have a strong thread of moral fibre running through them, with friends together maintaining 'values such as self-control, honor, and courage'. If we have sometimes come to worry that friendship is frivolous or selfish, and somehow erodes the wider structures of community and family, then this is a model for friendship that seems to be fortified by a degree of formality, and to have the greater good at its core.⁸⁹ Perhaps this slightly 'old-fashioned' model of masculine friendship (looking back from the centenary of WWI) provides one of the lenses through which we understand William and Windradyne.

Friendship since the mid-twentieth century has increasingly come to mean a relationship that has been freely chosen by the friends, and is understood to be quite distinct from relationships of proximity and obligation with kin, neighbours and in places of work. In *First Australians*, the viewer's focus on Windradyne and William is accentuated by their introduction as they draw nearer to each other, making their meeting predestined within the narrative. The night encounter forms a dramatic fulcrum and Windradyne and William's relationship is mirrored with the telling of the story by Dinawan Dyirribang and David Suttor.⁹⁰ It seems we now want to witness Windradyne and William choosing friendship across the battlelines.

88 Paul Carter found in Lieutenant Dawes' notebooks traces of intimacy and humour as he met with Pattyegarang to talk about language, the record utterly different from the dry logbooks of words that appear in so many anonymous Aboriginal vocabularies collected in the first decades of the colony. Carter's 1996 sound installation, *The Calling to Come* (for the Museum of Sydney) was partly inspired by it. Carter, 'Repetitions at Night', 81–82; Carter, 'Speaking Pantomimes', 95.

89 Kaplan and Yanay, 'Fraternal Friendship', 127–28; Cole, *Modernism*, 4, 138; Peel, Reed and Walter, 'The Importance of Friends'.

90 Peel, Reed and Walter, 'The Importance of Friends', 316–28; Nowra and Perkins, 'Episode 1: They Have Come to Stay'.

Whereas, in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, the Suttor family sought to draw others into a circle of cross-cultural friendship by generalising that friendship, today it is the magic of the particular (and even exclusive) friendship that holds the power to include and inspire us. Perkins acknowledged that the ‘character-based’ approach of *First Australians* was ‘narrow but we tried to make the series engaging by making it personal’.⁹¹ Similarly, Dianne Johnson, in *Lighting the Way: Reconciliation Stories*, focused closely on the interaction of individuals meeting, apologising and forgiving. However, Johnson’s focus on individuals was not only aimed at heightening the emotional effect or persuasive power of her reconciliation stories, but also was an instance of the ‘grass roots’ reconciliation taking place across the nation despite the Howard Government’s inaction on the recommendations of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation’s final report, handed down in December 2000. The government had failed to make a meaningful reconciliation with Aboriginal people and her stories of ‘ordinary’ Australians going ahead with personal, local and family reconciliations both shamed the government and showed that government inertia could not stop this process.⁹²

Stories of friendship played an important role in *First Australians*, tempering what producer Rachel Perkins described as ‘a brutal and devastating history’ with a little ‘salvation and hope’. Perkins and co-producer Darren Dale were aware that viewers might approach the program gripping the historical ‘balance sheet’ championed by former Prime Minister John Howard, a tool of moral objectivity and realism that prevents us from dwelling too much on ‘negative’ aspects of history. In an interview with *The Canberra Times*, Dale attested to the team’s efforts to bring moral ‘complexity’ to the screen and not make it just a simple ‘goodies and baddies story’.⁹³ For viewers, the notion of balance was pervasive and was intimately connected with a concern that the settlers, no matter what sufferings they ultimately caused Aboriginal

91 George, ‘[Re]Writing History’, 20. Marcia Langton’s introduction to the book *First Australians* declares that the work seeks to communicate the passions and personalities of particular people, rather than the impersonal ‘dust, rock and debris’ of archaeology. Perkins and Langton, *First Australians*, xxvi.

92 Johnson’s book brings the spirit of Reconciliation to the reader through the stories of ordinary people such as John and David Suttor, and the descendants of the perpetrators and victims of the Myall Creek Massacre who have come together in public reconciliation activities. Johnson, *Lighting the Way*, 72–74. Johnson and Linda Burney expressed these sentiments in the two prefaces to the volume.

93 Perkins, quoted in, Sacha Molitorisz, ‘The Story of Black Australia’, *The Age*, 9 October 2008, Green Guide, 12; ‘Unearthing Our First Voices’, *The Canberra Times*, 14 October 2008. On the historical ‘balance sheet’ see Crotoy and Roberts, *The Great Mistakes of Australian History*, 2–3.

people, did not, or did not *all*, deliberately set out to do so.⁹⁴ On one level, this concern—played out repeatedly across the ‘history wars’—is part of a defensive response to the enormity of the history of Aboriginal dispossession that white Australians have been asked to recognise; it is linked to widespread public understanding of the importance of intent and totality in definitions of genocide. However, at the same time, as Alan Atkinson has observed, ‘the moral judgement of European Australians is crippled so long as they are convinced that their own past is nothing more than shameful’.⁹⁵ The appearance of the friendship of Windradyne and William Suttor in *First Australians* as one of those shining beacons of shared humanity in a dark past is characteristic of the contemporary struggle to accept this history. As one viewer commented: ‘My ancestors were land grabbers so I found the story of Bruce Dale inspirational as this young man proved diplomacy could have prevented much violence and suffering’.⁹⁶

A *Sydney Morning Herald* article introduced the *First Australians* series via the friendship between Windradyne and William Suttor, stating:

The makers of the nation’s most important piece of indigenous television are hoping that [this] 200-year-old relationship and others like it will finally inspire a new, collaborative approach to Australian history.⁹⁷

It was as if this particular friendship could help to heal the rifts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians more generally, and that this healing process might take place through history-making itself. As friendship became firmly associated with equality from the mid to late twentieth century, friendship indeed gained a new political potential

94 The *First Australians* ‘guest book’ on the SBS website included over a thousand comments by December 2008. Many evaluated the series according to notions of ‘balance’. One admirer found ‘the first episode to be very well balanced ... I was concerned that the doco may persecute the early settlers ... but rather it just painted the facts without judgement or bias’. Another contributor protested: ‘This show is “wrong” if its intention is to make some young Australians feel ashamed or guilty of their history ... I’d like to think the future is more positive for all Australians, aboriginal and non aboriginal [sic]’. ‘Ben from The Fleurieu’ and ‘Alison from Ryde’, 13 October 2008, SBS *First Australians*, Your Comments, accessed 16 December 2008, www.sbs.com.au/firstaustralians/.

95 Dirk Moses showed how genocide is commonly associated with totality, a central ‘Plan’ of extermination that results in the complete disappearance of a race (concepts that are not in line with the UN definition of genocide), a definition that seems to provide ‘proof’ that genocide cannot have happened in Australia. Moses, ‘Moving the Genocide Debate’, 255–70. Alan Atkinson, *The Commonwealth of Speech* (2002), quoted in Cowlshaw, ‘On “Getting It Wrong”’, 199.

96 ‘Debbie Jagoe from Brunswick’, 13 October 2008, SBS *First Australians*, Your Comments, accessed 16 December 2008, www.sbs.com.au/firstaustralians/.

97 Joel Gibson, ‘Friendship Across Time and Place’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 2008, 4.

as a 'model for a new kind of world and a way of bringing it about'. Friendships across lines of race and class could now form a public assertion of equality and respect, against laws, economies and wider social discourses that enforced inequality.⁹⁸ The friendship between poets and activists Oodgeroo Noonuccal and Judith Wright—which was both a private relationship of great importance and a public performance of sisterhood via which the friends sought to inspire others and work together to achieve change—is one Australian example of this kind of 'friendship of conviction'.⁹⁹ The relationships formed around Windradyne's grave, like Johnson's reconciliation stories and the friendships featured in *First Australians*, could be said to bear out this notion. Yet, the war has continued.

Soon after the Conservation Agreement over Windradyne's grave was signed in 2000, signifying a legal and bureaucratic recognition of Wiradjuri history and heritage in Bathurst's hinterland, Keith Windschuttle launched an attack on the First Australians gallery of Canberra's newly opened National Museum of Australia. The exhibit telling the story of the Bells Falls Gorge massacre, closely connected with Windradyne's story, presented Dinawan Dyirribang's account of the way in which this event is remembered in his community, concluding, 'our people still hear the echoes of the women and children who died here'.¹⁰⁰ Windschuttle sought to demolish truth claims surrounding the massacre, partly by pointing out that:

Although [the massacre story] is now claimed as part of an ancient Aboriginal tradition, Aboriginal activists only learnt about it from an article ... written by a white amateur historian in 1962.¹⁰¹

Indeed, the massacre at Bells Falls is not a precisely documented event. In 1995, David Roberts found there was a strong feeling within the Bathurst community on the whole that a massacre had occurred, but specific details had been lost. He concluded that the story had become connected with the dramatic local landform of Bells Falls Gorge through the processes of local oral tradition.¹⁰² Windschuttle could not countenance the combination of oral and written tradition, a lack of precision linking

98 Peel, Reed and Walter, 'The Importance of Friends', 328–32.

99 See Dortins, 'Apology and Absolution'.

100 Attwood, 'Contesting Frontiers', 103–14.

101 He was presumably referring to Percy Gresser. Windschuttle, 'Social History', 30–31.

102 Roberts, 'Bells Falls Massacre', 615–33.

the events to time, place and agents, and the labile nature of the story, changing and responding to present concerns. The interconnected story of Windradyne's friendship with the Suttor family presents a similar historiographical terrain in some respects, and it seems to be precisely these qualities that have allowed the story to remain robust and relevant, and to embrace a two-way friendship once more. Yet, in Windschuttle's view, history itself should not have a history. His insinuation that 'ancient Aboriginal tradition' had been invented in the First Australians gallery taps into a persistent valorisation of recognisably 'ancient' Aboriginal stories in public thinking and in scholarship, and a corresponding suspicion of the unfolding cultural knowledge of living Aboriginal traditions.¹⁰³ Windschuttle was not only attacking the Bells Falls massacre story, but also the prerogative of Wiradjuri people to continue to develop understandings of their history. Taking a long view, Wiradjuri people's use of the written historical record as part of their historical tradition is part of a Wiradjuri regeneration that began in the 1920s. Windschuttle's challenge of the legitimacy of this history-making is part of a longer history of European–Wiradjuri relations across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, incorporating patterns of combat and accommodation, which continues into an unknown future.¹⁰⁴

Mary Coe touched on Wiradjuri people's friendly relationship with the Suttor family only in passing. William was spared because he had not committed crimes against the Wiradjuri, who acted according to their law; by contrast, the British engaged in indiscriminate killing. Otherwise, the distinction between friendly and unfriendly settlers is not important to her story. She explained Windradyne's meeting with Governor Brisbane as a deeply ironic rapprochement:

Windradyne tried to end the slaughter of his people by going to the Governor to make 'friends'—make friends with people who had invaded his lands, had stolen his country and in cold blood had slaughtered hundreds of his people.¹⁰⁵

103 Macdonald, 'Master Narratives and the Dispossession of the Wiradjuri', 170–72; Attwood, 'Contesting Frontiers', 110. Macdonald developed a definition of 'tradition' that seeks to shift these preconceptions. Traditions are 'meanings and practices moving through time, dynamic ... [they] have histories ... full of tension, change and contradiction'. Further, traditions do not have to be old to be important in a community's history and self-understanding. Macdonald, 'Does "Culture" Have "History"?', 188.

104 Read, *A Hundred Years War*, xiii–xiv.

105 Coe, *Windradyne—A Wiradjuri Koorie* (1989), 22, 46.

Gloria Rogers's interpretation of the story is very different. She understood Windradyne's journey to Parramatta to see the governor as:

The first act of reconciliation ... he could see that there was no good coming out of the conflict between the Wiradjuri people and the whitefellas because there was killings on both sides, and that solves nothing. So something had to be done ... We do believe that was the first act of reconciliation in Australia when he went down to hold out the olive branch, to make peace and to come to a place of understanding.¹⁰⁶

Although Rogers expressed her deep appreciation of a strong positive relationship with the Suttor family in the past and the present, like Coe, she insisted that the more significant relationship was a general and formal one—with the government—which mirrors the general and official nature of the warfare that preceded it.¹⁰⁷ A friendship with one family cannot heal the wrongs committed between two peoples.

106 Gloria Rogers, in conversation with the author, 15 June 2010.

107 Similarly, Wiradjuri artist Julie Dowling, for whom Windradyne has provided inspiration, said: 'He represents to me the hundreds of elders who actively engaged with wudjulahs, in good faith, only to have their authority ignored, disrespected and diminished by the invading colonial forces. This continues on into the present day, where the authority and wisdom of the elders goes largely unrecognized by white society'. Julie Dowling, Widi Boornoo (Wild Message), 1–12 August 2006, exhibition notes, Brigitte Braun Art Dealer, current exhibition pages, accessed 24 April 2012, www.artplace.com.au/exhibscurrent/Dowling_0806/storytext.html.

This text is taken from *The Lives of Stories: Three Aboriginal-Settler Friendships*, by Emma Dortins, published 2018 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.