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2.2.3 Honouring Place
Travellers to the meetings used tracks called *bidi* (veins) which had been constructed and used for many, many generations, as referred to in the observations by Bunbury. These were the tracks along which the British were guided by the Noongars, and a good number of them became the highways as well as the walking and bike tracks used today (Collard, 2011, p.28).

Great care was shown to all species. For example when walking along tracks, nothing at all was damaged as observed by Bunbury in this example:

After following the edge of a bay about a mile & a half we turned into the Bush by a well beaten path, a little to the left leaving the point where the Preston debouches to the right but this River has not like the Collie a bar at the mouth & we had to seek a ford higher up. Our path was winding like all those made by Natives since they never attempt to remove obstructions [sic] but go round every fallen tree or other impediment & follow the tortuous course of a brook or swamp without any idea of cutting off angles. (Bunbury, 1930, p.33)

Here is an example of dancing which honoured local species and reinforced knowledge of place:

In the emu dance of the Bunbury and Busselton natives, the long stately stride of the bird is imitated most wonderfully, the left hand and arm being raised above the head and slightly crooked to represent the head and neck of the bird. As the performers dance with the high knee action, the arm and hand are moved as the bird moves its head and neck when walking. A second act shows the feeding, love-making, chasing and final capture of the bird (Bates, 1985, p.324).

Noongar language is largely onomatopoic which means that many of the words, particularly bird names, sound like the call the animal makes. For example *djidi djidi* is the Noongar translation of the name for the bird called willy wagtail, and its sound is just like its Noongar name. So Noongar language ‘speaks with the land’ – it is the language of this place. Therefore ‘dancing up nature’ through drama, stories and words together celebrated the close relationship between people and place. This shows the acknowledgment of life-values – place was seen to be alive and directly relational with people-in-ecosystem.

Learning About Place
Just after birth, Wardandi babies were gently rolled in sand and ashes warmed by a fire; and if born in the cold weather they were wrapped in a kangaroo skin. At other times of the year babies were put into a *goota* (skin bag) (Bates, 1985, p.140). That is, Noongar babies were born directly into experience of environment.
Later they would play, under the guidance and care of their mothers and sisters, until they were five or six years old, after which they would become interested in observing and mimicking their same-sex parents and older kin. That is, girls would learn about food location and preparation, bag and coat making and so on from their mothers; whilst boys would learn from their fathers and older male kin to follow animal tracks, hunt emu and kangaroo, catch fish and throw gidgee and kylie (Collard, 1994, p.36).

The first major changes in life for boys came in preparation for their initiation, occurring over a period of from two to five years. When the time came, boys were taken from their mother’s karlamaya mandjar without ceremony by their mother’s kongan (uncle), and left with their elder brother-in-laws; their babbingur or kobungur. The boys learned advanced knowledge of hunting, weapon-making, arts and general knowledge and skills.

This period of life resulted in learning all necessary bush craft as well as thorough and intimate knowledge of laws and customs; and ended with their own marriage. By the end of this time, they were highly skilled and knowledgeable young men ready for an adulthood of obligation to kin and place; and deep respect for their totem (Bates, 1985, pp.150-159). In short the values of place as nurturer, as life-giver and as home were deeply and formally embedded from birth with their corresponding obligations. These were enmeshed with cultural, ontological and cosmological values.

To this point in the chapter a basic image of the life-world of the Elaap has been produced, to illustrate the relationship between boodjar (place as nourishing terrain), moort (extended family which includes trees, plants and animals) and katitjiny (knowledge, in this case a holistic, relational form of knowing each of these notions). The life-world is one of reciprocity and mutuality that honours and celebrates place through perception, place-based intelligence and culture. The next section shows the storied, spiritually-based dynamic that informed and provided purpose to daily life.

2.3 Katitjiny: Knowing
This section illustrates a spiritual depth of connection to place in conclusion to the chapter. There appear to be many spiritual values; however in acknowledgement of the holistic Noongar ontology it would be anathema to separate them. Simply, place is imbued with spirit. It is presented in two sections, which are a socio-ecological way of being in place, and the set of values derived from the chapter.

2.3.1 A Social Ecology of Place
The life-world of the traditional Elaap Noongar people was informed by a deeply interconnected spiritual, social and ecological way of being in place. Totems were a way of reinforcing a social ecology of place. The

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42 Sadly, Bates did not inquire into initiation of girls into adulthood.

43 Cosmologies are theories and beliefs about creation of place and ‘the universe’. Traditional Noongar theories and beliefs focus on the role of the warka in the creation of life in the South West.

44 ‘Lifeworld’ is a term used in philosophy and sociology to refer to the individual person’s ‘everyday’ experience of life and consciousness. We could say it is the things we do because of our assumption of knowledge and knowing, on the basis of who we are.

45 These days ‘social ecology’ tends to be regarded as an integrative, connective viewpoint that sees society as part of ecology.
general term for totem in the South West is *borungur*, which is the same word as that meaning ‘elder brother’. Wardandi people usually had several totems, each of which was regarded differently. The birds of each of the two moieties were totemic for their bearers, that is, *manitjmat* (white cockatoo lineage) and *wordungmat* (crow lineage). The feathers of the white cockatoo were often worn as head decorations and were used as articles of commerce. Certain behaviours on the part of the bird of the opposite lineage produced feelings in people somewhere between deep respect and fear because of its potential to herald or produce evil magic (Bates, 1985, pp. 192, 3).

Trees had assigned moieties and sex. Marri and tuart were *Manitjmat* male whereas paperbark, spearwood and white-flowered acacia were *Manitjmat* female. Peppermint, jarrah, white gum, jam and blue gum were *Wordungmat* female. This kinship designation meant that everybody was related to one or more tree species. In addition, whilst the trees themselves were part of the life-world, they were also held as individual totems by people of either moiety – as district or local totems, or as hereditary totems, described below.

Each semi-moiety had a totem, such as emu, an animal or event to be cared for and never eaten or damaged by the totem-holder. In addition, district or local totems were those held by everyone born in that district. Bates (1985) did not list an *Elaap* district totem. However, she states (1992, p. 141) that *moojarr* or *Nuytsia floribunda* (WA Christmas Tree) was sacred (*kanya*) to all Noongar groups because of its use by the spirits of the newly dead. It was never played in by children or used for fire-making. In fact the flowering of the *moojarr* signalled law time and calling of the big *mandjar* meetings (Collard, 2013, personal communication).

Hereditary totems are those in families which originated from ancestors, not necessarily very far back, who assigned them because of a particular circumstance. For instance, a sea mullet totem was assigned to a longstanding Capel district family who passed it to their male children. Finally, individual or personal totems were assigned to babies by their grandparents or other influential people in their lives due to some incident happening around their birth. For instance sea, land, moon, stars and daylight have been personal totems. Personal totems could also be adopted or gifted by arrangement; when the giver and receiver were happy to exchange obligations (Bates, 1985, p. 195-7). Beliefs about totems varied but an example was that elders often sang or danced to increase some edible hereditary totems such as the salmon totem of the Busselton district (Bates, 1985, p. 195-7).

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46 People of coastal areas.

47 A moiety is a kinship organisational unit, or social lineage with two ‘halves’. In traditional Noongar society, everyone and everything was either *manitchmat* (white cockatoo lineage) or *wordungmat* (crow lineage).

48 White in Bates (1985, p. 193) stated that Bates listed 24 species of tree to make the point, however unfortunately she has edited this out of the published book.

49 It is interesting that this sacred tree is currently Bunbury’s floral emblem.

50 Fair, or trade festival.
Beel aa beela
Beel aa beela
(Rivers! O Rivers! Rivers! O Rivers!) (Cited in Bates, 1992 p.142. Noongar, but no reference to specific place was provided)

Bates noted that this expressively, softly uttered poem communicated appreciation of rivers. Propitiatory offerings were only made to the warkal, who inhabited certain deep pools, watched over food and other laws and punished transgressors. It is likely that the Elaap district presiding warkai was blind although he was powerful. The warkal made all the big rivers while it travelled; and the presence of lime, which was its excreta, was evidence that it rested. On its journeys, all places where it camped were sacred (Bates, 1985, p.218-21). In this way place was imbued with cosmological values. In this example, the journeys of the waters across the landscape on their way to the ocean constantly re-enact the creation story of the universe, always keeping its meaning current, always updating and recreating understandings of place. Dance, art and storytelling had – and still have – the impact of deepening, reinforcing and extending these meanings.

Plate 9 (left): Recent image showing the southern part of the Estuary with the Leschenault Peninsula in the background, and the Bila Borrigup (renamed the Collie River) snaking its way across the coastal plain in the foreground.
http://www.leschenaultcc.com

2.3.2 Values – Elaap Derbal, Karlaboodjar
The conclusion is presented in terms of values, and then there is an ‘interjection’ to explain the omissions in the story between this chapter and the next. In a nutshell, the geopolitical connection between the Elaap people and their place reinforced a deep social-ecological obligation to place and kin of all species. In other words, for aeons the Elaap population cherished and cared for their place. So strong was that bond, that separation caused great emotional pain. Below is a direct copy of a song with the introductory notes by Bates:

A song of exile sung by a Capel district native who had been taken away from his country and, becoming blind while absent from his home, was never able to see his hills and streams again: boojera, boojera, naang injal? naang injal?
My country, my country, where is it, where is it?
boojera, boojera, naang injal? naang injal?
my country, my country, where is it, where is it?
boojera nyee kwela naang nganya dwonga burt,

51 See also http://www.noongarculture.org.au/joe-northover-minningup-pool/.
this country I know not its name, I know not, 
marreemba yooganin kooroo weeriba ingarda, 
wandering and standing I look far and far, 
marreemba yookain kooroo weeree weeriba, 
wandering, standing, my eyes seek for it afar, 
marreemba yookain tallaroo, marremba yookain, 
wandering, standing or dancing, wandering, standing, 
boojera boojera, naang injal, naang injal?
my country, my country, where is it, where is it?
The air of this song was melancholy in the extreme and expressed a high degree of feeling and passion. The long drawn out aa and oo uttered in the high cracked voice of the singer caused the ready tears to fall from the eyes of those who were also exiled from their own ground, and who sat round listening to the improvisation of their fellow exile (Bates, 1985, p.338).

In this chapter the lifeway of the population of Leschenault, Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjar, has been sketched. The Derbalung, the people of the Estuary and the lower Collie and lower Preston, were the Elaap people. They lived at home in the Estuary district for much of the year, leaving only for regional celebrations, ceremonies and a variety of meetings, always returning home for their kariap. The description illustrated boodjar which means place as nourishing terrain, incorporating a notion of people as intrinsic to the ecosystem of a nourishing landscape. Place and people co-existed mutually, in reciprocal relation, and have done for many thousands of years.

Abram lists a series of generalisations about the ways in which oral, indigenous cultures connect with place (Abram, 2010, pp.268-271). Here are those evidenced in this historic account, abstracted in quotation form:

- Indigenous, oral intelligence is place-based intelligence, an awareness infused by the local terrain.
- The simple act of perception is experienced as an interchange between oneself and that which one perceives – as a meeting, as participation, as a communion between beings.
- The surrounding world, then, is experienced less as a collection of objects than as a community of active agents, or subjects.
- The ability of each thing or entity to influence the space around it may be viewed as the expressive power of that being. All things, in this sense, are potentially expressive.
- To an oral culture, the world is articulated as story... To a deeply oral culture, the earthly world is felt as a vast, ever-unfolding Story in which we – along with the other animals, plants and landforms – are all characters.
- In such a breathing cosmos, time is not a rectilinear movement from a distant past to a wholly different future. Rather, time has an enveloping roundness, like the encircling horizon.
- A world made of story is an earth permeated by dreams, a terrain filled with imagination. Yet this is not so much our imagination, but rather the world’s imagination, in which our own actions are participant.

This is the nature of a geopolitical human connection with place; a deeply reciprocal, mutual relationship which forms place and results from place. The overarching question for this study was: what is the history of the relationship between people and place in the Leschenault Estuary? To answer this, the place-based
socio-cultural values of the population of the Leschenault Estuary district in Noongar times are stated as follows:

- **Spiritual values** – place is imbued with spirit.
- **Life values** – place is alive, and directly relational with people-in-ecosystem. Life of place exists prior to and directly with people, who form part of that life.
- **Nurturing values** – place nurtures and provides nourishment and as such people are obliged to ensure its profundity.
- **Intrinsic values** – place is comprised of plants and animals which exist in direct kin relations with people. Since they are agents themselves, they have intrinsic rights and values.
- **Historic values** – every part of place has its own small story that is part of the overarching story of the place and its origins.
- **Cultural values** – people are directly participant with place in deep reciprocal connection. Human and place mutually exist.
- **Home/heart/hearth values** – place is cherished for love of home-place.
- **Cosmological values** – place is part of the structure of the universe, and as such helps to explain the meaning of the universe.
- **Ontological values** – *koorndam katitj*; people exist because of and together with place.

Leschenault Estuary, storm approaching. Photo: Terry Wooltorton.
2.3.3 Interjection: Kura, Yei, Boordawan: Past, Present and future

A key intention of this chapter and the next is to create a continuous story of the place that for thousands of years was known as Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjar. People told stories in the local language, Burong Wongi, a language that spoke with the energies and power of the land. There was – and still is – linguistic, cultural and ecological evidence that a living, nourishing terrain would have a purpose and be responsive. This was apparent in people’s daily experiences through observation, perception and insight, as well as stories that were told, drawn and danced with the birth and passing of each day, moon and season. There was a continuous enfolding of the past with the present and the future through the wisdom of the kundaam, the dreaming.

The intention of these two chapters is not to create the impression that the story of the people and culture of this place is a linear one from the past into the present and future, leaving the past behind. In all languages and cultures, including Bunbury today, history is always with the present. Atrocities, tragedies and horror come along too – with their hurt, pain and dysfunction – and will never disappear without being publicly acknowledged and the repercussions understood. The intention of this study is not to document the murders, massacres, sense of invasion, large-scale exile, historical disregard, personal and cultural loss, land theft and eviction, sense of betrayal, numerous convictions and deportations to Rottnest Island prison, or widespread deaths by European disease. Neither is it to deny them.

Nor is it the intention to document the many love stories which bestowed Noongar heritage on many Noongar and Wetjala52 people today. In the view of the writer, these local stories need to be written for all to share – to allow a new chapter in the story of Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjar to begin. This will need to be a future project.

The story of the relationship between people and place will now continue through colonial times.

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52 A Noongar word referring to non-Aboriginal people.
PLACE-BASED SOCIAL VALUES IN COLONIAL TIMES

The west coast of Australia has been visited by many voyagers – some of whom were pirates – from China, Portugal and Holland hundreds of years before the French and British in the 1800s. The first recorded European visit to the Bunbury area was by Captain Jacob Peereboom in the ship Elburg in 1658 (O’Brien, 1981, p.20).

The Royal Commissions read to Captain Arthur Phillip in 1788 when he was appointed Governor of New South Wales, aligned that British colony’s western boundary to the meridian 135°E. This was expanded to 129°E in 1824 due to concerns about Dutch and French intentions for the northern coast, taking the size of New South Wales to over half of the continent. However sovereignty of the western part of Australia remained undecided by the dominant colonial powers. (Taylor, 2011) The French proceeded: “... to buzz like bees about the shore-line of West Australia...” (Millett, 1980, p.306).

The British and French were at war in March 1803 when Captain Nicolas Baudin returned from France for his second visit to the south western coast of New Holland. He anchored the Géographe in Koombana Bay and sent a party into the Inlet. The Leschenault Inlet and Port Leschenault were named in honour of the expedition’s botanist Jean Baptiste Leschenault de La Tour (O’Brien, 1981, p.30; Sanders, 1975, p.2). The expedition was purportedly for scientific research but was widely believed by the British to be espionage (Millett, 1980, p.307). On a world scale, the industrial revolution was fuelling a voracious demand for raw materials and new markets to serve European economic interests.

Frequent visits by whalers and sealers added to imperial anxieties which led to Major Edmund Lockyer taking possession of King George Sound in 1826, and Captain Fremantle taking formal possession of the western coast of New Holland on 2nd May, 1829. Ensign McLeod established the military contingent at Port Leschenault the following year in March, 1830 (O’Brien, 1981, p.37).

Plate 10: Eastern portion of Australia (Arrowsmith, 1841). Map shows New South Wales and the new South Australian colony which was defined by a British Act of Parliament in 1834.

The book by Mrs Edward Millett (Janet) was first published in 1872 and facsimile printed by the University of Western Australia Press in 1980.
The purpose of this chapter is to continue the story of the place-based social values of *Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjar* into the colonisation era, while the Bunbury and Australind towns were beginning to develop. The first part introduces characters and illustrates the continuity with the past from the perspective of place, as well as the cultural similarities in place-based values. The second part is devoted to population, economics and land use, and shows the difference in ways of seeing and understanding place. The third part, on justice and civility, focuses on the dynamics of difference and its consequences. Below is a series of newspaper cuttings to introduce this chapter, which pertains to the period 1830 to 1850.

on the banks of which there is generally excellent alluvial soil. The Southernmost River, which is named the “Preston,” is navigable for the largest boats about 5 miles from its mouth, and is at that point a running stream of good water. Its banks are rich in soil and timber, but the former of these becomes sandy on receding from the river-side. The middle river, the “Collie,” is navigable for 10 or 12 miles, nearly up to the foot of the hills; the soil on its banks is not very good for 3 miles from its entrance, and it is there joined by a river flowing from the North, and the country in ascending from this junction improves and becomes of an excellent description. The North River was not explored. Upon the whole, the district of Port Leschenault appears to possess a considerable quantity of good land. There are portions of it which are sandy; but it holds out particularly in the goodness of the hilly country as described above—great attractions to the settlers.

The anchorage off the Bar of the Port Leschenault is open to winds between North and North West. It seems to be a good summer resort for vessels of any size, but at present it cannot be recommended as a winter resort.

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**Married—By Special License from His Excellency the Governor, at Australind, on the 1st June, by the Rev. J. R. Wollaston, A. M., George Eliot, Esq., Government Resident at Bunbury, Port Leschenault, to Louisa eldest daughter of M. Waller Clifton, Esq., F. R. S., Chief Commissioner of the Western Australian Company in Australia.**

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**Quarter Sessions. Saturday, April 6, 1850.**

*Req. v. Denil Onslow—Felonyously shooting at, with intent to do grievous bodily harm to, an Aboriginal native named Marrin, otherwise Maringo, at Bunbury. Marrin, otherwise Maringo, (an Aboriginal native of the Bunbury district) having affirmed to speak the truth, &c., and his evidence being conveyed through a sworn interpreter, stated—I lived with Mr Onslow, and kept his cattle. I recollect go-

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Plate 11 (Left): Copy of part of an article from the *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, Saturday 28 September, 1833 titled: *Description of the Territory of Western Australia, From Documents in the office of J.S. Roe, Esquire, Surveyor-General.*


http://trove.nla.gov.au (Digitized newspapers.)


http://trove.nla.gov.au (Digitized newspapers.)
3.1 People, Place and Values
This part gives more detail on two characters and introduces a new one, before presenting descriptions of encounters with place to reveal the place-based values.

3.1.1 Sources
Louisa Clifton was a twenty seven year old Quaker woman, reared in respectable surroundings in England and France, who arrived in Port Leschenault in 1841 bound for the new land development project at Australind. She accompanied her parents on the voyage. Her mother was Elinor (Bell) Clifton, a strict Quaker. Elinor was cousin of Elizabeth Fry who was known for her work in England serving prisoners and the new industrial underprivileged peoples.

Her father was Marshall Waller Clifton (known all his life as Waller), a devout Anglican and commissioner of the Western Australian Company which developed a settlement on the eastern shore of the Leschenault Estuary in 1841. The Cliftons had power and influence in the colony because of Waller’s position in the company (Barnes et al., 2010).

Louisa\(^{54}\) was an artist and her perspectives are used here because of her strong views about social justice. She argued for fair dealing for Aboriginal people and the families of landless labourers. Her journals and other relevant accounts were amalgamated and edited by Russo (1995). Her work was used for this project as it illustrates a genteel woman’s experiences of the Leschenault District during colonisation. It is problematic in that it is a secondary historical source, although where possible direct citations Russo has taken from her original journals are used here.

Rev John Ramsden Wollaston was an Anglican vicar, Oxford graduate and scholar with a background in the major traditions of European scholarship. The British society Wollaston and other settlers left behind was a hierarchical one, and this is the understanding of social order he brought with him. Wollaston was originally of yeoman origins and rose to the status of minor gentry (Bolton, Vase, & Jones, 1991, p.xii). Wollaston’s journals,\(^{55}\) annotated by Bolton, Vose & Jones (1991), verbally illustrate the Leschenault Estuary district, particularly the Bunbury area, in 1841. His work was used as a key source because it is descriptive and is a primary source with year-round observations of the vicinity of the lower Preston River.

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\(^{54}\) She is referred to in this document as Louisa rather than her surname, to easily distinguish her from her father whose work is also extensively used.

\(^{55}\) Wollaston often uses abbreviations to save him time in handwriting, such as wh (which/where) and &. He also uses occasional capital letters. When quoting his work, idiosyncracies have been reproduced.
3.1.2 Encounters with Place
At the time the British arrived at Goomburup, there were many hundreds of *Elaap* people at home in the district. Below is Bunbury’s account of first sight of the estuary, after leaving Myalup:

... we followed our guides along Native paths visible to none but themselves through an undulating country timbered principally with Tooats with some Red Gum & Mahogany... & saw a thick tea tree swamp about half a mile on our right, forming the head of the Estuary upon which we soon arrived ourselves by a well beaten Native path through a most rich and luxuriant crop of grass & sow thistles. The tide was out & a considerable extent of sand & mud was left bare round the head of the Estuary upon which were congregated to feed immense flocks of Brown Ducks & Teal while the water was equally covered with Swans & Pelicans ... (Bunbury, 1930, pp.16-19)

Bunbury recognised the biodiversity values and the aesthetic of picturesque pastoral country. He also recognised the observation skills of the Noongar guides.

The quote (below) shows the aesthetic values assigned to the estuary, and acknowledges the groups of *Elaap* people along the estuary.

A beautiful scene now presented itself as we looked down the Estuary to the southward. The vast extent of water before us lay smooth & still like a glassy lake, the sea breeze having fallen with the
setting sun which threw out in dark relief the pointed & steep sand hills on our right over which were sprinkled a few large gum trees & Peppermints, & the shadows of these hills gradually lengthening stretched across the Estuary, .... Ahead of us point after point of land appeared jutting into the Estuary or "Derbal" becoming gradually more & more indistinct until lost in the dim distance while beyond a little on the right appeared a high remarkable hill or promontory forming the south head of the Port Leschenault Inlet, now glowing with the warm tints of evening. The Natives with us kindled a large fire on the bank to announce our coming to the Tribes in the vicinity & it was speedily answered by several fires from different spots ... (Bunbury, 1930, pp.16-19)

Upon arrival of the British and for at least one or two decades afterwards, the Leschenault district was the karlap (home territory) of particular Elaap families\(^{56}\) whose identities are not yet known. However Bates (1985, p.327) incidentally refers to Woondan as the eeko or biderr (a leader, teacher or important person) of Goomburrup at around the turn of the 20\(^{th}\) century. At the time the British arrived, Bates estimated that there were at least 40,000 Noongars \(^{57}\) in the South West (1985, p.54). Overleaf is a map of the Estuary as it was when the British settled in 1841, surveyed by Captain Stokes RN.

Here is one of Bunbury’s many observations of Noongar fishing and food preparation, written at the ford over the lower Preston River. It illustrates the assigning of life-sustaining values:

... They also spear on the flats great numbers of cobby... very good to eat. Mullet are also caught by the Natives in immense numbers... The Opossum is very white but has a strong aromatic [sic] taste from the leaves of the Eucalyptus on which it feeds; but the Kangaroo Rat is much better although not equal to the little Bandicoot which is delicious... (Bunbury, 1930 p.12)

\(Elaap\) was an extremely biodiverse endemic landscape. Its first colonial establishment was at \(Didunup\),\(^{58}\) a habitat of black swans and ducks (marked on Stokes’ map overleaf, with a red D). \(Elaap\) included

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\(^{57}\) This is far more than other estimates however, some of which were less than 5000.

\(^{58}\) \(Didunup\) is located on the north shore of the Inlet. At the time it was the south-western tip (the end) of the Leschenault Peninsular, where the Inlet entered Koombana Bay. It was the site of the military post set up in 1830 under the authority of Ensign McLeod which lasted only six months (Barker & Laurie, 1992, p.8; Sanders, 1975, p.3). The Noongar meaning of \(Didunup\) is herring fishing spot (derived from Moore, 1850).
Goomburrup (Koombana Bay), Didunup and Gwenilup (marked on Stokes’ map below with a red G) and all other Leschenault localities. In 1836 the colonials renamed the area Bunbury, after the young lieutenant.

Here is a section of Wollaston’s description in which he describes the landscape around his place near the Preston in all directions:

To give the best idea I can of our Place upon Paper; – our House and premises are situated on the side of a Sand Hill, surrounded on the West at intervals with Eucalypti, especially the Red Gum. – Our
Verandah faces the River on the East, but we do not see it from the House, in consequence of another lower hill of red earth & loam intervening, & which forms the best part of our Garden, & is in fact the high bank of the Preston. ... On the North & South we see nothing but Forest...(Wollaston, 1991, p.130)

In this statement Wollaston acknowledged the magnitude of the biodiversity and what he later called ‘wilderness’ in which he is situated.

Plate 16. Impression of the settlement c1840 (Barnes, 2001, p.28). The artist is unknown, but the sketch is in the style of the Reverend John Ramsden Wollaston (Barnes, personal communication, 2013). Scott Farm (in foreground of the sketch) is near the current location of the Eelup (Elaap) Interchange.

To this point in this chapter, an introduction to place-based values has been provided. These were aesthetic values in the beauty of the estuary and the value of the grasslands, the life-sustaining values of food provision, and the biodiversity and wilderness values in the different vegetation. The intention was to illustrate place as the continuous linkage between the Noongar story and the colonisation story. The focus will now shift from place to the people’s perception and sense of place. From 1830 to about 1850, the British lived in a place still characterised by a Noongar lifeway.
3.2 An *Elaap* Sense of Home – An Immigrant Sense of Unfamiliarity

The *Elaap* people were understood by the settlers to have a very clear sense of belonging, of being at home in Goomburrup and of having great skills in observation and perception. One example of this is Wollaston’s description of an *Elaap* dance in which the dancers dress up and the audience applauds proficient dancing (1991, p.134). Another example is the following comment about Noongar perception: “Their knowledge of the intricacies of the Bush, & great skill in following a track where a European could not perceive the slightest trace” (Wollaston, 1991, p.132). The *Elaap* people were also credited for having great skill in food provision, while at the same time the life-sustaining values of place were acknowledged. An example is Wollaston’s description of fishing: “They are remarkably skilful in fishing with the spear, wh they throw from the hand, while wading knee deep in the Estuaries; or perched on a stump overhanging the River” (1991, p.136). Wollaston’s observations illustrate *Elaap* values of place as alive, of living in eco-system. He acknowledged this, but his attitude differed.

Wollaston was very aware that he was not yet familiar with the place and seasons (1991, p.129), and wished this to change. A reader of his journals can detect an inner sadness at his inability to connect, to feel at home. He experiences a deep sense of loss of a sense of belonging, of home, and in the first year of being in the district at least, he could not find it in this place or in the local population. Below are two examples:

I have always entertained a wish to see a Country in a state of primitive nature, & now that wish has been granted; but the impression on my mind has been very different to what I anticipated. Nothing can be more depressing than the loneliness of the Bush away from any Settlement (1991, p.128).

The Peppermint Tree is very graceful and fragrant – not unlike our weeping Willow in England. The Tea Tree also, either single or in clumps, is of a light fawn colour or dirty white; & is ornamental, & there are many varieties of smaller trees, and shrubs. ... The Grass tree (or Black Boy) is most curious; the Zamia, or Palm, beautiful & graceful. Yet, notwithstanding, I am very loth to believe there is any scenery to be found in the whole of this immense Country at all equal to that in the picturesque parts of England. ... (1991, p.129)

Both examples show the British landscape aesthetic as the desideratum.

By February 1842, whilst Wollaston still sees the landscape and the bush as “melancholy and distressing”, he has a fleeting awareness of its spiritual values:

I did not experience that effect upon the mind which is caused by the magnificent or sublimity of Nature, yet, notwithstanding, I must own I felt the truth of the lines; “Midst Forest Shades, and silent Plains”, Where Man has never trod;”, There in Majestic power He reigns,” The ever-present GOD!” (1991, p.187).

It is interesting that in contrast to the *Elaap* people’s felt obligation to care for place, and sense of the earth as nurturer and provider (Bates, 1985), Wollaston, an Anglican clergyman, saw nature as having God’s

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59 This type of comment by the settlers is quite numerous in the various historical journals, and is evidence of ecological illiteracy on the part of the new Australians who seemed to have no capacity to read, interpret and understand the land.

60 Wollaston’s journals primarily comprise personal letters in which he was at liberty to discuss his feelings to family and colleagues in England. On the other hand Clifton’s clerical journals were intended for the public record. Therefore he rarely revealed feelings other than those related to business.
majesty on account of it being 'without people'\(^61\). His loneliness appeared to have been eased to some extent by his spirituality. The ‘majestic power’ seemed to be in the form of a person (He) which does appear to be embedded in nature but dedicated to ‘improving’ place. For example:

I have been almost tempted to shed tears at the desolation of the Scene, had I not called to mind the ubiquity of the God of Nature, who can make “a wilderness like Eden & a desert like the Garden of the Lord.” – Can cause “joy and gladness to be found therein, thanksgiving, & the voice of melody.” (1991, p.128)

It is also interesting that he wrote this and then commented on the “moral wilderness of the world\(^62\)” which must be “broken up & cultivated” (Wollaston, 1991, p.128). Several philosophers have proposed that having a view of God as above earth leads to desecration of the earth – which would be less likely with a view of the earth as sacred (Abram, 1996; Harding, 2006; Macy & Young Brown, 1998). From an ecological philosophy point of view, Wollaston did not realise he was in ‘a Garden of Eden’.

When connected, the two stories of one place show continuity over time. The place known for aeons as Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjal\(^63\), also has a two century modern history, at the beginning of which it was renamed Leschenault to reflect its French connection. The land to the south of the Estuary was renamed Bunbury, and north of the Collie River and to the east of the Estuary, the land was renamed Australind after the Australia-India company (Barker & Laurie, 1992). At least one of the early settlers was lonely and sad, however. He had a strong connection to a place in another land. The British set about selecting and clearing land in the Leschenault District, to make it more like ‘home’.

3.2.1 Place for Profit

The purpose of this section is to overview colonial economic development in order to elucidate the place-based values that underpin it. The following excerpt from The Australind Prospectus of July 1840 (Barnes, 2010), shows economic development as the primary objective.

A new era for [Western Australia] has ... now commenced... by the investment of capital in the acquirement of land, and the conveyance of settlers and emigrants to the most favourable point which could be selected upon the Western coast...

With these objects in view, the Company have purchased extensive blocks of land near Leschenault, in the maritime county of Wellington, in which district some few settlers have already established themselves. One of these tracts, containing more that [sic] 100,000 acres, is beautifully situated on the inlet formed by the embouchure of four Rivers, which pass through this property, or form its boundary, at the mouth of which Inlet there is one of the best ports on the Western coast of New Holland. Here the chief town of the new settlement, to be called Australind, will be established. The selection of this spot has been the result of careful investigation (Barnes et al., 2010, p. 684).

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\(^61\) This is the erroneous notion of ‘terra nullius’, empty land, upon which Australia’s constitution was based and which was overturned by the Mabo Decision of the High Court of Australia in 1992. It allowed the use of problematic terms (still in use in history books) such as discoverers and explorers even though these people were guided and provided for by Aboriginal people.

\(^62\) He was most likely referring to his parishioners, many of whom did not attend his Anglican services regularly.

\(^63\) Kallabudjor means “property in land” (Moore, 1850, p. 33).
...Spontaneous products of value
Amongst the natural productions of the district may be instanced ship timber, Acacia bark, and flax of extraordinary length. This, hereafter, may be produced in considerable quantities for exportation. I am not aware whether any of the gums are of value in commerce, but there are several varieties in great abundance. Fish and game are very plentiful, and also nutritious grasses of various sorts. Very good hay may be made on the meadow lands without previous cultivation. (Barnes et al., 2010, p.686)

In the 1830s to early 1840s the colonials were very dependent upon the Elaap people for such basic tasks as guidance through the bush, particularly when travelling to Perth or Busselton, assisting with river crossings and portage (Bunbury, 1930, p.35) retrieving lost horses (Wollaston, 1991) or running the mail. For example Sanders used information from Mrs Dorinda Davis, nee Clifton, to write the following:

The first postman at Australind was a native known as King Peter. He had an aboriginal [sic] name but, sadly, this name is lost to us and in the records he is known as King Peter. He ran with the mail and was very proud of his position. He had two runs, the most important was between Australind and Pinjarrah [sic], a distance of about fifty miles. The other run was between Australind and the Vasse, about forty miles. He was not very punctual. Being a King and a ruler, he sometimes found business of his own needing attention as he travelled along the route. He never lost a letter and took great care of the “paper jabba”. (1975, p.97)

Australind was planned using the colonisation principles of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a cousin of Elinor Clifton (who was Louisa’s mother and Waller’s wife). Whilst still in England, Marshall Waller Clifton had been awarded the position of chief commissioner of the Western Australian Company, an investment firm which purchased 103,000 acres from Colonel Peter Lautour. The land stretched from the Leschenault Estuary eastward into the hills and north of the Collie River to today’s Waroona. The intention was for the land to be divided into blocks of 100 acres for farming, and 3000 acres to be put aside for subdivision into housing blocks for the Australind township and further subdivision into ¼ acre blocks. (Barnes, 2001, pp. 17-20; 2013a)

It was anticipated that the company would attract capital investment in land. Only ‘gentlemen of capital’ were to be selected, who would bring their own servants – each of whom would receive a free passage for their labour (Barnes, 2013a; Barnes et al., 2010). This reveals a valuing of people based on social hierarchy, a view which allocates superiority and inferiority according to acquisition of capital and social class.

Once a substantial amount of land was sold, the plan was for the shipments of people to leave England bound for Australind. William Hutt, brother of the governor of Western Australia at the time, advised Waller that the company had already made a reasonable profit by pre-selling 400 rural blocks. He also said that other buyers were wanting the blocks (Russo, 1995, pp.51-53). The financial proposal fitted the culture of the time as it was in line with Victorian ideals of work; and was reinforced by the Anglican church which

64 Discussions were planned on 12 September 1847, to consider a tax on sandalwood (Barnes, 2010).
65 Australind was named due to the parent company’s connected investments in India.
66 Well known for his work in founding South Australia.
67 Colonel Lautour was one of several investors in the W.A. Company who was granted land in the Colony but never came to Australia, in fact he ended up bankrupt. (Barnes, 2013, personal communication.)
taught that the lower classes were to “work and labour truly to get their own living” as it was God’s calling (Russo, 1995, p.52).

Since Wakefield disliked the idea of members of the lower classes owning land, the price was recommended to be sufficiently high to prevent this and maintain British property ownership traditions\(^\text{68}\) (Russo, 1995, p.85). This illustrates the valuing of place as property for economic gain. The first ship was to leave before Christmas 1840, and Waller employed surveyors and commissioned the ship “Island Queen” to take them to Australind. Subsequent ships were commissioned in England. Meanwhile not long before the Cliftons’ departure from England things were beginning to go wrong for the company. It was reported that the grant to Lautour had expired and that the company did not own the land because it had reverted to the crown. The Colonial Office granted permission for the settlement to be at Port Grey and Clifton was asked to collect the surveyors and transfer them to there. This caused a crash in investor confidence in the company and many people withdrew their money — a calamity from which it never recovered. After the Parkfield arrived at Bunbury, Clifton consulted the governor, who assured him that the Company’s title to the land was secure and the settlers remained at Leschenault. (Barnes, 2010)

Wollaston was originally recruited by Clifton as the Anglican clergyman to take up the role of Anglican chaplain for the voyage and new settlement however he was one of those to withdraw due to loss of confidence in the company. He emigrated to Bunbury under his own auspices. (Wollaston, 1991)

Upon arrival of the Parkfield within sight of the Western Australian coast near what is now Cape Naturaliste, Waller explained his intentions about law, order and following directions for the Australind Corps (the captain of which was his son, Pearce). He reminded everyone to observe Lord’s Day for the preservation of religion and morals, and he advised them to conduct themselves well in their “treatment of the natives”, to be sober and industrious and to preserve the wildlife (Barnes, 2013a, p.6). Clifton was abiding by the old British class system by which everyone had a role and knew it had to be performed. From childhood the labouring classes were prepared for a life of service, and in this case Waller believed it was up to him to mould a people of character and spirit, led by the exemplary conduct of himself and his family (Barnes et al., 2010, pp.20-28). This section illustrates the values of human compassion together with biodiversity values, within an overarching values system of place and people for profit. Thus, there was an implicit values conflict between biodiversity, human compassion and profit.

In 1841 employment for settlers in the Leschenault district was afforded by agriculture, storekeeping\(^\text{69}\), general agency and auctioneering (Wollaston, 1991, p.132) and medical care\(^\text{70}\). Wollaston was not paid by the government or the church as a clergyman, and he regarded these tasks as his duty to God. He was to be paid £100 per annum once he had built the church at Picton (Bolton et al., 1991).

\(^{68}\) In his later years when Clifton was a MLC, he promoted the rights of ordinary citizens (Barnes, 2013a).

\(^{69}\) Which Wollaston referred to as a “dishonest and degrading trade, and too often iniquitously carried on” (1991, p.131).

\(^{70}\) Dr Carpenter died on March 18th, 1842 at Belvedere, on the Leschenault Peninsula. He was attended by Dr Green from the Vasse, who in Wollaston’s words was “but a sad incorrigible drunkard” (1991, p.195).
Reading these documents leads to an impression of a sense of striving amongst the British. There was continual striving for achievement of goals, for development, to complete a building or to organise a village. This required people with a similar orientation or a meaningful understanding of the aspiration — such as the servants who accompanied the British, who well understood their own allocated role.

Food was a different story, however. It seems that the _Elaap_ people were plentifully endowed with food, apparently securing it with little effort. Their diet, according to Wollaston, included a white grub, kangaroos, birds, fish, whale meat, lizards and snakes, possums, various roots, bulbs and a white gum (1991, p.135, 149). Intending to ignore the _Elaap_ people’s skills and bio-cultural needs, the British set out to produce their food by farming traditional British crops and animals. However the challenging conditions, heat and not-yet established fruit trees, meant that by February when the land was very dry, they could not sustain the vegetables in the gardens and had little variety. Also sometimes the supply ships were months late, allowing stocks in the settlement to run very low (Wollaston, 1991, p.189). For example, while discussing the issue of fasting for Ash Wednesday, Wollaston said that his diet was too scanty to bother to do this (1991, p.188). He said that at that time of year they had rice, a boiled onion and occasional bread to make dinner.

Therefore as well as being co-located in Leschenault, another commonality between the two groups of people was food. Throughout his journal Wollaston refers to eating such foods as kangaroos, wallabies, birds such as swans, cockatoo soup, fish, shark and whale. It is clear that the British also valued the Leschenault Estuary district for its nurturing, life-sustaining qualities. However, the British aspired towards the production of culturally familiar foods. Their intention was to change the place so that it felt to them like home.

Wollaston’s account gives no indication of having asked the _Elaap_ people about bush foods to gather or plant and yet many of the plants the settlers cleared would have been edible - particularly the various orchid tubers and yams that still grow around the same area, that is now called Wollaston. In the early days of his time in the Leschenault, Wollaston was on good terms with the Noongars and was interested in learning to speak Noongar but he was unable to:

> ...I am upon very good terms with them all. I must try & pick up some of their words, but the rapid jabber of their language is a sad impediment with my slowness of hearing. I can always make them understand common things by signs wh delights them amazingly (Wollaston, 1991, p.134).

In this section it was pointed out that the colonisers moved in to _Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjar_ with an attitude to land and people as property for development and profit. They did value the aesthetic qualities of the place, and fleetingly recognised its spiritual values. They acknowledged its life-sustaining values. However economic gain was a higher value.

The settlers had a hierarchical social organisation, such that the gentry — who were expected to model exemplary practice to others — owned land and ordered the people whose lives were expected to be dedicated to service. This Victorian ideal was culturally reinforced by the Anglican church. On the other hand, the _Elaap_ people were living with their environment in a relational way. They lived with abundance however the settlers found great challenges in obtaining the food they wanted. This antithesis was not resolved easily.

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71 At the same time, Thomas Little, a Catholic, established a farm for the Prinseps which they named Belvedere, on the Leschenault Peninsula. Relations between the Catholics and the Anglicans were cordial but in the late 1840s Little established an Irish Catholic community at Dardanup.
3.2.2 Backgrounding of Place

The purpose of this section is to show the difference in the ways the British and the Elaap people went about their daily lives. The colonial notion of social order and ideas of civility caused social justice issues that were ongoing in the settlement. This, together with concerns about profit making and aspiration towards development of a place-like-home for cultural familiarity, distracted settlers from place. They took the Leschenault District for granted and 'backgrounded' it. By and large it was used for its recreation values and was appreciated for its aesthetic values but was not a primary concern. They did not seem to be overly interested in the great stories of place and time, and the Elaap people were seen by the immigrants as a hindrance to development.

In Wollaston’s view, the settlement was misleadingly advertised to emigrants in England in that the land was not as well suited to farming as sales agents claimed. Specifically, the choice lots were often already taken and an British style of farming was very difficult to put into practice due to the often unsuitable soils as well as the expense and labour required to bring heavily timbered blocks into cultivation. Thus larger estates were often useless and burdensome (Wollaston, 1991, p.128-9). Moreover the distance from markets and lack of good roads added to the burden. Wollaston stated the belief that capitalists might do well there, although generally these were not the people who emigrate (1991, p.214). After one year of living close to the western bank of the Preston River, Wollaston wrote:

As to making rapid fortunes, it is the exception rather than the rule. For the most part it is all humbug. I do not mean to imply that Agriculture, Sheep Farming & stock keeping with small means will not eventually answer – for I think it is almost the only sure (& I was going to add honest –) means of living in this Country, but it must be at the expense of great labour & many privations for the first 3 or 4 years. Once established, & his land under cultivation the farmer may have every necessary of life about him in a plain way’ but, as things are now, saving money to any extent is out of the question…. As to production not strictly agricultural, W. Australia presents a fine field to the Wine grower. Vines thrive wonderfully here, & their produce when attended to, is beyond all calculation... There is also a fine opening for whaling. Timber likewise may form a profitable export. (1991, p.214)

Upon arrival and in their early years, life was very hard for the new settlers who were homesick for the British countryside and uncomfortable in the environment. For example, while still being accommodated aboard the “Parkfield” on which she arrived in Australia towards the end of March 1841, Louisa talked with some of the surveyors of the area which became known as Australind. In her diary, she wrote:

Everyone I find to whom I have hitherto conversed on their prospects have unanimously the same wish to return to England as soon as their circumstances permit (Russo, 1995, p.132).

Notions of civility and incivility within the socially hierarchical worldview were referred to frequently by Wollaston, and this appeared to underpin some of his angst in the new settlement. He would have preferred that the work he was required to do be undertaken by servants, however these were difficult to secure. Further, he observed that the colonial life ‘uncivilises’ the young who did not feel their hardships so much (Wollaston, 1991, P.131). Civility, thus, was associated with a distance from land whereas working on the land was less civilised which depressed him, but his faith enabled him to keep going. He writes:

The young do not so much feel their hardships – but a colonial life uncivilizes them most lamentably – and while we are compelled to live as day labourers, literally earning our bread in the sweat of our brow some omission of civilized forms cannot be avoided. I must own, Mary & I are often so oppressed with the weight of labour (Wollaston, 1991, p.132).
From the point of view of connection with place, young colonials who worked the land would have been seen by Wollaston as uncivilised, as would the Noongar people for this reason and others.

The Elaap people increasingly took the burden of the escalating number of conflicts caused by their welcoming the British to their place, but then being refused use of it or stores produced from it. The law was applied in a one-sided way, with convicted Noongar prisoners being sent to Rottnest for such misdemeanours as stealing flour from the store. Louisa appreciated what she saw as their simple, natural ways and she was incensed by this injustice. She felt that white men who profess Christianity were not living up to Christianity’s first principles (Russo, 1995 p.229). Here is a quote from her writing after two Elaap men were led in to the Australind settlement:

Their distress and terror appeared great. After trying to elicit as much as possible from them, Papa determined to send them down to Mr Eliot, and he to proceed thither himself tomorrow to be present at their examination. Some of them will be sent, I fear, to Rottnest island; a dreadful punishment it is; their heads are shaved and they become convicts in fact; but being deprived of liberty and independence so dear to wild man, they soon die of broken hearts (Russo, 1995, p.229).

On the other hand, the Scotts worked with the Elaap people in such a way as to help themselves as well as the Elaap people. John and Helen Scott spoke some Noongar language, and their son Robert was quite fluent in the local dialect. They farmed the land to the south west of what is now the Eelup Interchange, at the time believing it was granted to them by Governor Stirling but years later it was taken back. Mrs Scott was known as a nurse and midwife to whom everyone – Elaap and settler women – turned for help, assistance, advice or food when they were hungry. On the morning in 1841 when Louisa visited her to talk over her concerns about injustice she found the Scott’s place very busy, like a clinic, and many Noongar children and women there for food and to have their wounds treated. Often Robert Scott went hunting with the Elaap people and returned with one or two kangaroos so they rarely went hungry, and there were usually vegetables and meat but no money to give away when anyone came looking for food (Russo, 1995, p.230,1).

After this visit Louisa was quite reflective about her own limitations. She had money, but she found it difficult to communicate with the Elaap people or servants, possibly because of the class barrier. However in Quaker spirit she worked to overcome this. She later heard her future husband, George Eliot, talking of more difficulty with the Elaap people so she explained that they were suffering due to “our ideas of justice, not theirs”. However this was to no avail because he responded that everyone must obey the law and it was his job to see that everyone did (Russo, 1995, p.231,2).

There was also great sickness and much premature death amongst the Elaap and the immigrants in Leschenault in the 1840s. Tuberculosis was common, and people were not necessarily quarantined when they had the disease. For example an account is given of the death from tuberculosis in 1845 of the young man George Hamilton. He tried to live a normal life which included visiting the Elaap people which he liked doing, and horse riding freely in the bush however he soon weakened and died. The Elaap people had no resistance to many of the diseases brought by the settlers and they succumbed in big numbers (Russo, 1995, pp.269,70).

72 A good number of half-caste [term used by Bates] babies were born in 1841, but it is not known how many.
Environmental justice was also problematic from the beginning. Very early on in the settlement, farming and gardening methods were used which caused the depositing of manures into the Estuary. For example, in the following case after rain manures would have washed into the Estuary via the Preston River:

My garden, consisting of five acres, presents patches of almost every variety of Soil; & it's fertility varies accordingly – No doubt, by proper admixtures every part wd be found available – but time and much labour must be bestowed – the clays sanded – the sands clayed & the whole, except the black mould in the hollows, well manured. It is in these hollows (beds of swamps, or tributary streams, dry in summer but inundated in winter) that vegetables must be cultivated in the hot season, since no where else will they find sufficient moisture to bring them to maturity. (Wollaston, 1991, p.129)

3.2.3 Linking Two Stories of Place

A Party of five Natives came down from the Mountains yesterday Evening, to visit the Elaap tribe here... They then ran into each others arms, exchanged Cloaks, & placing their heads together, cried and laughed alternatively. This over, the whole united party came into my premises, & squatting down, seemed delighted & happy. At night the Strangers shared whatever our Natives had to eat, & the entertainment was concluded with a Corroboree (Wollaston, 1991, p.171).

The mountains Wollaston referred to in his diary, quoted above, are the Collie hills. The words were written during the two decades from 1830 to 1850, a brief time in Bunbury’s history when British settlers lived in a Noongar cultural place – which the immigrants soon commandeered for themselves (Barker & Laurie, 1992, p.3,24). Noongar people had evidently welcomed the settlers to share their lands, guiding them through terrain with care. Initially, dealings between the first peoples and the settlers were cordial in the Elaap district, and many good relationships developed along with reciprocal language learning (for example Bunbury, 1930, appeared to be a functional Noongar language speaker; and Sanders, 1975, p.31-38, referring to the Scott family).

However there is no doubt that the prevailing hegemony of the ruling classes in the early years of the colony of Western Australia was desire for land, for profit and status. This aspiration was normalised through a way of viewing place and people as property to be exploited for gain. Thus arguments about boundaries and the fairness of allocation of grants and titles were common (Burton Jackson, 1982, pp.87-8; Wollaston, 1991, p.162).

The colonial worldview of the ruling classes and their aspirants was not held by everyone, however. First, the Noongars lived with place, seeing themselves as part of it – for them it was home. Whilst the settlers recognised the knowledge and extraordinary skills of the Noongars, and even though there were many failures of English-style farming, the British land-lust prevailed, along with the notion of land as private property and striving towards a vision of Elaap as English countryside. Second, women such as Louisa Clifton were deeply concerned about the injustices associated with this worldview being perpetrated upon the Noongar people. Louisa was also concerned about the labourers and their families who suffered sickness and death due to the conditions on the boats in which they journeyed here; and about the living conditions in the settlement after arrival. Third, people such as John and Helen Scott of Eelup Farm appeared to have chosen a different set of values for their lives. They lived with Noongar people and appeared to be highly motivated by compassion for others – particularly Helen, who spent much of her time welcoming and supporting people who came to her home.
3.3 Conclusion
In this chapter the lifeway of the immigrant population of the Leschenault District in colonial times was sketched. The description illustrated place as ground from which to make a living and provide a familiar and comfortable lifestyle. It revealed a colonial notion of people as an element separate from the ecosystem—having the intention to ‘improve’ it to make it do as they wished. Aesthetic qualities, life-sustaining attributes and pastoral potential were highly valued, as were places expected to be conducive of economic development and growth. The idea was to select places according to capacity to produce the cultural goods to which they were accustomed. This conclusion provides a review of place-based colonial values, followed by an abridgement of Leschenault estuarine place-based activities of the 1900s in the form of images, maps and a table.

3.3.1 Values
The overarching question for this chapter was: what were the place-based socio-cultural values of the population of the Leschenault District in colonial times? The answer is summarised as follows:

- **Aesthetic values**—the beauty of the waterways, particularly in the mornings and evenings. Green pastures and other indications of economic potential were also seen as aesthetically pleasing.
- **Economic values**—land was valued for its potential to achieve goals particularly those related to the acquisition of wealth and further property. This value required the cooperation of people who also understood the values, even though they had limited capacity to achieve the goals for themselves. For example servants understood that employers needed their servitude to acquire wealth and property. All employees knew their role in assisting employers to profit.
- **Human compassion values**—for Aboriginal peoples as well as lower classes of people and wildlife.
- **Spiritual values**—the presence of God could sometimes be sensed. God was seen to be in heaven, which is separate from Earth, and in wilderness, which was understood as place without people.
- **Recreation values**—particularly boating, swimming and fishing.
- **Life-sustaining values**—included the provision of fish and birds for food. This value was sometimes associated with wilderness.
- **Home/heart/hearth qualities**—these were highly valued elements, particularly a sense of home, and were significant aspirations in the early years.
- **Biodiversity values**—evident in the journals of Bunbury and Wollaston in particular, particularly in relation to fish, small mammals and birds.

To summarise the chapter, during the first fifteen years after colonisation the immigrants were dependent upon the *Elaap* people of the *Derbal Elaap Karlaboodjar* for guidance through bushland and forests, and for services such as shepherding and retrieving animals (Wollaston, 1991). Both groups were connected to the Leschenault district in vastly different ways. The two culturally different populations of people co-existed, and each having very different place-based values. They both had different motivations towards the land: the *Elaap* people were obliged to care for it and in return it provided nourishment, while the immigrants sought to exploit it to increase economic and material wealth. Both groups used it for its life-sustaining, aesthetic and recreation values, and they acknowledged its

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73 These were expected to be shown at all times and tended to conflict with economic values.
biodiversity values. The *Elaap* people acknowledged its sacredness while the British mainly saw it as a basis for striving towards other goals.

To complete the historical account, the next part of this section is an assemblage of photographs, maps and a table to give an overview\textsuperscript{74} of the types of activities that were carried out in relation to the Estuary and Inlet during the late 1800s and 1900s.

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.7\textwidth]{leschenault_estuary.jpg}
\end{center}

Leschenault Estuary, viewed from Bar Island in the Collie River Mouth. Photograph: Terry Wooltorton.

\textsuperscript{74} This period was not included in the original project proposal, however it was later considered to be a useful inclusion to lead into the 2012 study.
3.3.2 Photographs and Brief Summary of Changes - Leschenault District, 1890s, 1900s

The following pages provide a light narrative on the changed geography of the Leschenault District over the last two centuries. In general, the story of the development of the Leschenault Inlet is one in which economic values were prioritised over other values, stories, memories and meanings.

Plate 17: Cutting from image titled: *Section from Wheeler’s Bunbury 1891.*
(Thanks to Bunbury Historical Society.)

Image shows Turkey Point and Mill Point in 1891, over half a century prior to construction of the Bunbury Inner Harbour. Turkey Point was a point of land on the Leschenault Peninsula.

Prior to reconstruction, Turkey Point could only be reached by boat, or by walking across the bar of the Inlet (Bar point) to Point McLeod and walking the five miles along the Leschenault Peninsula, or by riding or driving right around the Leschenault Inlet and Estuary.

When Turkey Point was a holiday place, the *Valdemar* ferry boat made regular trips from Bunbury to Turkey Point.
Plate 18: Picture is titled: Three Bunbury Aborigines. Names are recorded as Bobby, Sarah and Maggie. All had died by 1903. Thanks to Bunbury Historical Society.

There is narrative about four 'natives' who called on Sanders (1975, pp.108-110) when she was a little girl: Bobby and his wife Maggie, Chloe and George. Here is part of her account:

When I was a little girl several natives used to call on us selling fish and clothes props... They were full blacks and born after settlement had begun in Bunbury... The Protector selected a camp site for them at Wilkes Crossing and rations and some clothing and blankets were provided for them. They were nice old people...

The fish were all scaled and clean with the heads left on. It was most important to eat the eyes, "makem see good". The smallest were threaded on the bottom of a reed and the largest on the top and consisted of about 18 to 20 small fish such as whiting, taylor and bream...

Bobby's uncle living at Mandurah became ill and he sent for Bobby. They had to walk, it was over fifty miles... Maggie's wardrobe consisted of four skirts, so on the visit she wore the lot. They were worn like a booga, the waist band of the skirts was fastened on the left shoulder, the left arm was thrust through the pocket and the right arm was left free... They were nice old natives, about seven of them lived at Wilkes Crossing... They are all buried in a tribal cemetery near the Sandridge Housing Estate.

This narrative is included here to show Noongar knowledge and skill, ingenuity, resilience and adaptation. Bobby, Sarah and Maggie were said to be charity recipients, and the writer felt some warmth towards them.

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75 Near Jaycees Park, Carey Park.
76 Fifty miles is about 80 kilometers.
77 A booga is a kangaroo skin coat.
The Bunbury Lagoon

This narrative summarises the last years of the lagoon located where Bunbury Centrepoint and the Bunbury Bus Station now stand. The lagoon had swampy edges known to the Elaan people as Yangenup (O’Brien, 2003). Its purpose is to illustrate the lagoon’s low place-based social value to the Bunbury population.

Plate 19: Town Centre Detail from Wheeler’s 1891. Lagoon can be clearly seen in centre-right. Thanks to Bunbury Historical Society.

Here is a notice from Bunbury’s Southern Times newspaper, of 7th May, 1892:

In future, no rubbish must be thrown in Prinsep Street as the Bunbury Municipal Council has now approved the East end of Wellington Street as the place for depositing all refuse and rubbish from the town, which must be thrown into the lagoon in the said street. By Order George Teede, Town Clerk. (Thanks to Norm Flynn.)

Below: The Daily News, 11th February, 1892 p.3. News From Bunbury (By a Correspondent.)
Summary: debate about cutting a drain or channel between the estuary and the lagoon, for creation of a bathing place.

Below: The Bunbury Herald, 21st February, 1894 p.3. The Lagoon
Summary: The contract for the railway line did not include complete in-filling of the lagoon, which appeared unhealthy and unsightly.
The West Australian, 18th May, 1898, p.5
Country
Summary: Big numbers of black swans begin feeding in the lagoon.

Letters to the Editor.
Summary: Recommending use of sand being dredged from the Bunbury Harbour to fill the lagoon.

The Bunbury Herald, 20th May, 1903, p.2.
Municipal Matters
Half Yearly Meeting of Rate-Payers: Mayor’s Report.
Summary:
The lagoon is slowly being filled with non-objectionable rubbish.

Bunbury Herald and Blackwood Express, 20th November, 1925.
Recollections of the Past. Bunbury Fifty Years Ago.
Summary: Eventually, the lagoon was filled in.

In the days of yore the water came up to the back of the Central Laundry and the Wellington - Hotel, emptying itself into the lagoon where the Butter Company and the Railway Station now stands. This waste of water was in time filled in by the carting of sand from the vicinity of where the Fresh Air League has their quarters.

Plate 20: Section of map titled: Leschenault Inlet 1898. (Lagoon is clearly visible in boxed area.) From the Brendan Kelly Collection.

These days, the Inlet water’s edge which replaced the lagoon is covered by a concrete and grassed promenade with small jetties for fishing. The Rowing Club is nearby which is very regularly used. Recreational values are now connected with the place. Adjoining is Queens Gardens, for which redevelopment is being planned.
Plate 21: Part of a 1905 Bunbury Land Agency map showing the Preston River and the Inlet – Estuary waterway. This map is significant because *Elaap* place names have been written over it, possibly by Caporn. (From the Brendan Kelly Collection.) *Yougillup*, Mill Point, is likely to mean dance-place (see Moore, 1850, pp. 39, 115, 125, 128: Yallor gannow - dance steps). In 1881, 500 people participated in a corroboree at Mill Point (Barnes, 2001, p.37). This shows the significance of Mill Point to the Noongar population in 1881.
Plate 22: Postcards of Paddy’s Blunders (Leschenault Inlet, Bunbury). One is postmarked October, 1911. Paddy’s Blunders is north of Anglesea Island. Thanks to Bunbury Historical Society.

These photographs show the biodiversity of Paddy’s Blunders (north shore of the Inlet) and the recreational values the population in 1911 allocated to the place.
A number of respondents to the 2012 survey commented on the memories they have of childhood fun, fishing and family picnics at Turkey Point, along with ferry boat rides on the Valdemar. Economic values associated with the Bunbury Inner Harbour development took priority over other strongly held place-based social values connected with Turkey Point.
Plate 25 (Left): Photograph taken at Turkey Point, titled: Two ladies and a man, 1922. In the foreground in stone is written: 12.4.22. Thanks to Bunbury Historical Society.

Plate 26 (below): Map [no date] titled Street plan of Bunbury by Steere & Clarke, Estate Agents (Sanders, 1975, inside cover).
Plate 27: Aerial photograph entitled: 'Mouth', dated 9/2/1958. The meandering course and the extensive delta of the Preston River are clearly visible as is the power station and jetty on the Leschenault Peninsula. This area has now substantially changed due to the Preston River realignment associated with the Bunbury Inner Harbour Development. Thanks to Bunbury Historical Society.
Plate 28: Image (above) shows the Leschenault Estuary in the late 1970s. (The pipeline can be seen, as can silt from the Preston River.)

Plate 29: Image (below) shows the newly completed Inner Harbour. It is significant because the course of the Preston River before realignment was sketched over - with accuracy. Thanks to Judy and Barry Johnston for providing photographs.

Plate 31 (Below): The Cut can be seen at the southern end of the Leschenault Peninsula, which separates the Estuary from the ocean. Photograph: http://www.leschenaultcc.com/
Table 2: Summary of Alterations to the Leschenault Estuary; Provided by Hugues-dit-Ciles (2011a). Slight amendments to the original have been made where marked *.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Alterations to the Leschenault landscape, waterways and estuary</th>
<th>Key impact of change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1838*</td>
<td>Settlement and commencement of clearing and subsequent agricultural farming.</td>
<td>Altered hydrology and ecology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 – 1912</td>
<td>Brunswick, Collie, Wellesley, Mornington, Ferguson and Preston Rivers snags and vegetation were cleared for the first time to improve drainage and reduce flooding (Water Authority of Western Australia 1994).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Wellington Dam was constructed; originally built on the Collie River in 1933 as a source of water for irrigation on the coastal plain and to facilitate the development of the Collie irrigation area. It provided a reliable water supply for an increasing number of towns in the region from 1953 to 1990 (Heritage Council of Western Australia 2003).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 - 1953</td>
<td>*Original Outlet to the estuary was filled (now known as Koombana Channel and “The Plug”).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941 – 1989</td>
<td>Loss of fringing vegetation through land clearing and development.</td>
<td>Loss of half of fringing vegetation (around 350 hectares).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>“The Cut” was opened.</td>
<td>This significantly changed the dynamics of the estuary and the lower Collie and Brunswick river with increase marine influence and marine sediment accumulation in the estuary. This has altered the estuarine landforms, hydrodynamics and hydrochemistry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Alterations to the Leschenault landscape, waterways and estuary</td>
<td>Key impact of change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Wellington Dam was raised.</td>
<td>Reduced the flows, particularly freshwater flows in winter, into the Lower Collie River and estuary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following 1964</td>
<td>Following the 1964 widespread flood, the Brunswick, Collie, Ferguson and Preston Rivers were enlarged and their levee bank strengthened.</td>
<td>Destruction of large areas of samphire along the southern end of the estuary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967 – 1976</td>
<td>Inner Harbour development.</td>
<td>Destruction of large areas of samphire along the southern end of the estuary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Following widespread floods in 1964, the Harvey, Brunswick, Collie and Ferguson and Preston rivers were enlarged (English and Boudikin 1994).</td>
<td>Alteration of natural river delta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969 – 1970</td>
<td>Preston River Channel was redirected.</td>
<td>Alteration of natural river delta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Dredging of boat channel from lower estuary to Koombana bay.</td>
<td>Alteration of natural river delta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Parkfield Drain was constructed.</td>
<td>Draining water from agricultural land use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 to present</td>
<td>Further loss of fringing vegetation with the development of Pelican point canals and lakes estates housing developments as well as land use changes due to the port.</td>
<td>Fringing vegetation was reduced by half, and reduction is continuing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are current plans to expand the Bunbury Inner Harbour (Bunbury Port Authority, 2011a).

***

Following these historical chapters which illustrate the divergence between pre-colonial relationships with place compared to those of the population in the colonial era, the question of the 2012 place-based social values of the Leschenault Inlet and Estuary will be addressed.