



REGISTER OF HERITAGE PLACES

Assessment Documentation

11. ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Cultural heritage significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for individuals or groups within Western Australia.

In determining cultural heritage significance, the Heritage Council has had regard to the factors in the *Heritage Act 2018* and the indicators adopted on 14 June 2019.

11(a) Importance in demonstrating the evolution or pattern of Western Australia's history;

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin represents the practice of establishing Aboriginal reserves adjacent to traditional Aboriginal occupation areas, and the subsequent establishment of missions at these locations.

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin provides evidence for the continuation of traditional Aboriginal culture and practices despite the historical legacy of racially discriminatory government policies enacted to control and segregate Aboriginal people.

11(b) Importance in demonstrating rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of Western Australia's heritage;

Although the practice of co-locating missions and reserves at places known to have been occupied by Aboriginal people during the prehistoric period through to the nineteenth-century is not rare, *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* may be a rare example due to its density of site types, both anthropological and archaeological sites, and the intactness of the archaeological remains, while Cliff Humphries' contributions provide direct evidence for the local Noongar population's continuing connections with the place.

11(c) Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Western Australia's history;

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin contains archaeological material relating to the occupation period of the mission, reserve, and traditional use of the land for thousands of years prior to British colonisation, which together represent a complex combination of both anthropological and archaeological sites that demonstrate the continuity of Aboriginal tradition in the area to the present day (2022), as well as the occupants' responses to segregation and attempts to 'Christianise' the Aboriginal population.

The graves at *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* contain physical evidence for burial practices during the contact period and possibly those prior to European arrival.

11(d) Its importance in demonstrating the characteristics of a broader class of places;

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin represents the practice of establishing Aboriginal reserves adjacent to traditional Aboriginal occupation areas, and the subsequent establishment of missions at these locations.

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin is representative of the continuation of traditional culture and practices despite the historical legacy of racially discriminatory government policies enacted to control and segregate Aboriginal people.

11(e) Any strong or special meaning it may have for any group or community because of social, cultural or spiritual associations;

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin holds a high degree of social value for those who lived at the reserve/mission, and for the Noongar community as a location representing the continuation of traditional Aboriginal culture and practices, while also being a symbol of the historical legacy of racially discriminatory government policies enacted to control and segregate Aboriginal people.

The graves known to exist at *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* hold a high level of significance for the local Aboriginal community as burial sites.

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin represents the continuing involvement of religious organisations in Aboriginal communities, particularly with regard to education, and attempts to 'Christianise' the Aboriginal population.

11(f)² Its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by any group or community;

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin comprises a picturesque bush setting containing mature native vegetation, rock outcrops, art sites and water sources.

11(g) Any special association it may have with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in Western Australia's history;

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin is associated with the late Cliff Humphries, a Noongar Elder who played an instrumental role in preserving traditional eastern Noongar culture for future generations.

² For consistency, all references to architectural style are taken from Apperly, R., Irving, R., Reynolds, P. *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture. Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1989.

For consistency, all references to garden and landscape types and styles are taken from Ramsay, J. *Parks, Gardens and Special Trees: A Classification and Assessment Method for the Register of the National Estate*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1991, with additional reference to Richards, O. *Theoretical Framework for Designed Landscapes in WA*, unpublished report, 1997.

12. DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE

12.1 CONDITION

Structural remains at *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* are in a ruinous state comprising only foundations and artefact scatters. Sites dating to the pre-contact period are in good condition.

12.2 INTEGRITY

This section explains the extent to which the fabric is in its original state.

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin is no longer in use as a mission or Aboriginal reserve. However, the place continues to be used by the local Noongar population for teaching traditional culture to younger generations, resulting in the place retaining a high degree of integrity as an anthropological site. In 2013 the Mooranoppin Nature Reserve/Djuringe Reserve was under the management of the Kellerberrin Aboriginal Progress Association demonstrating continuing connections to the place.

The place has a medium to high degree of integrity as an archaeological site. Despite some clearing for firebreaks the foundations of the majority of the former structures are readily discernible with deposits in and around them remaining largely intact.

12.3 AUTHENTICITY

This section explains the extent to which the original intention is evident, and the compatibility of current use.

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin has a medium degree of authenticity. The super-structure of all buildings has been removed with only foundations or floors remaining intact. These elements have otherwise been subjected to little disturbance.

13. SUPPORTING EVIDENCE

The documentation for this place is based on the heritage assessment completed by Dr Kelly Fleming, in August 2012, with amendments and/or additions by the Department and the Heritage Council. A survey of the mission site (Lots 1 & 50) was completed by Kelly Fleming and Amanda Hendry on 16 February 2012.

Due to the extensive and far reaching extent of the use of this area by the eastern Noongar population it is difficult to establish an appropriate curtilage that captures the extent and form of the continuation of their tradition and culture while also capturing and communicating the period in which British colonial law and policy controlled their movements. However, the curtilage proposed contains a representative example of archaeological sites and other places of significance that clearly demonstrate this story. This includes sites Registered under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972*.

13.1 DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin comprises the Mooranoppin Nature Reserve/Djuringe Reserve which contains Aboriginal art sites, water sources, ceremonial areas, Aboriginal camp sites, two infant burials and a former Aboriginal Reserve (c.1934), the archaeological remains of the former United Aborigines' Mission (c.1947) and Church, former 'Native' School (c.1942), a number of grave sites, six of which are marked by iron crosses, and various other sites and places of cultural significance to the Aboriginal community. The area surrounding the Mooranoppin Nature Reserve/Djuringe Aboriginal Reserve and Mission site contains a number of Registered Aboriginal sites, including Mooranoppin Rock, Shark Mouth, and Jureen Rock.

Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin is situated on a portion of the area that, according to Tindale³, is situated within Nyaki-Nyaki territory adjacent to their border with the Ballardong Noongar, and contains physical evidence of their continued occupation and use of the place for traditional cultural activities to the present (2022). These activities took place, and traditional culture survived, despite government policies aimed at controlling, segregating and displacing Aboriginal people throughout the nineteenth and twentieth-century. The archaeological sites of the Mission and Reserve, and the adjacent burial sites, are a physical manifestation of these policies, and the co-location of such place with traditional areas.

The survival of Noongar cultural tradition and language in this region is evident in the work of the late Cliff Humphries, a traditional owner and senior custodian of the Kellerberrin area who, during the 1980s and 1990s worked with oral historians, anthropologists and ethno-historians recording some of his people's stories, language and culture ensuring their survival and in doing so demonstrating their continuing connection to these lands. As this enduring connection and continuity of traditional cultural practices, despite government policies aimed at extinguishing Indigenous culture, has been identified as the primary significance of *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin*, information contained in those interviews with Cliff Humphries has been incorporated into this assessment in order to demonstrate this continuity, and to represent the wider Noongar population's connections to the

³ Tindale, N (1974) 'Tribal Boundaries in Aboriginal Australia'. Accessed via the State Library of South Australia website, 'Maps of Aboriginal Australia' on 20 August 2012 <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=4026>

place. The importance of these recordings in preserving the stories of this area is also acknowledged⁴ with our thanks to Mr Humphries' family. These records have been supplemented by other available source material.

Kellerberrin Noongar

Aboriginal occupation of the Swan Coastal Plain has been dated to at least 38,000 years before present (BP)⁵ with other dates suggesting occupation of the Australian continent occurred far earlier. Although it is understood there are no dated archaeological sites for the Kellerberrin area, the art sites and oral histories would suggest a lengthy period of Aboriginal occupation for this region.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Noongar people lived a largely hunter-gatherer lifestyle⁶ trading and interacting for marriage and ceremonial purposes with neighbouring groups. Although recognised as distinct language and cultural groups, the Noongar of the South West region share some common cultural traditions. Circumcision, for example, was not practiced amongst the Noongar, with this cultural tradition only recorded amongst groups to the north and east of the recognised Noongar language group boundaries.⁷ However, each group also had their own internal cultural traditions that would have differed to various degrees.

Eastern Noongar country begins some way east of the Darling Range (Kart-Moorr) where the tall trees change to jam gum and white gum.⁸ The area of Cliff Humphries' people includes 'the hill country and lands spreading east out into the Kwongan "sand plains" of jam wattle and leading into gimlet country'.⁹ According to Tindale, Kellerberrin is situated within Nyaki-Nyaki (Njakinjaki) lands directly adjacent to the border between this group and the Ballardong (Balardung/Ballardong).¹⁰ The publication titled 'Aboriginal Benchbook for Western Australian Courts' by Stephanie Fryer-Smith¹¹ identifies the regions these groups are generally associated with: *Balardung* (Beverley, York, Northam, Goomalling, Wyalkatchem, Quairading, Wongan Hills area); *Nyaki-Nyaki* (Newdegate, Lake Grace, Corrigin, Merredin, Kellerberrin areas). However, interaction between groups for ceremonial purposes resulted in some sites in the Kellerberrin region

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- 4 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. September-November 1993. Unpublished Manuscript, copies held by the family of Cliff Humphries, permission to use this material was acquired from Cliff's daughters in April 2012. pp. 1-3.
- 5 O'Connor, R (2001) Aboriginal Heritage in Cockburn Sound: A Desk Top Study prepared for the Cockburn Sound Management Council in August 2001.
- 6 Green, N (1984) Broken Spears: Aboriginals and Europeans in the Southwest of Australia. Focus Education Services, Perth. p. 3.
- 7 *ibid.* p. 8.
- 8 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. Unpublished Manuscript, copies held by the family of Cliff Humphries, permission to use this material was acquired from Cliff's daughters in April 2012. pp. 164.
- 9 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. pp. 165.
- 10 Tindale, N (1974) 'Tribal Boundaries in Aboriginal Australia'. Accessed via the State Library of South Australia website, 'Maps of Aboriginal Australia' on 20 August 2012 <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=4026>
- 11 Stephanie Fryer-Smith (2002) 'Aboriginal Benchbook for Western Australian Courts' (AIJA Model Indigenous Benchbook Project). The Australian Institute of Judicial Administration Incorporated, Carlton Victoria.

being used by groups from as far as Kalgoorlie¹² for gatherings associated with law, marriage and other important cultural interactions.¹³

Cliff Humphries

Cliff Humphries, a traditional owner and senior custodian for sites in the Kellerberrin area, had strong familial and traditional cultural ties to the region which is discussed below.

Cliff was born at Beverley c.1910¹⁴, within the traditional land of his mother Gertie (nee Bennell; born Brookton c.1885 d.1983) or Weenie as she was known,¹⁵ the daughter of John 'Jack' Monger Bennell¹⁶ (the son of a white man, John Monger, and an Aboriginal woman¹⁷) and Kandianne, who was from the Serpentine area.¹⁸

The entry for Cliff's grandfather, William (Bill) Humphries, in the 'Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians' notes that Bill was of 'part Aboriginal descent' and that he was in the Pingelly-York area during the 1870-1880s working as a sandalwooder, shepherd and small farmer; the latter in the Quairading area. Bill Humphries married Susan White, a Bibbulmun woman (lands include Manjimup, Pemberton, and Blackwood River area) who was born and raised in Bunbury at John Forrest's property.¹⁹ Bill and Susan had 10 children, born between 1888 and the late 1890s. Cliff's father Ernie, being the second oldest,²⁰ was born in Quairading (c.1889/90 d.1953).²¹

In an interview, recorded in 1980 by historian Anna Haebich, Cliff notes that his grandfather was the first farmer at Quairading, but that he sold the property²² possibly in the early 1900s. Cliff was told that the well-known Aboriginal tracker, Tommy Windich (b.1840 Mt Stirling d.1876), was his grandmother's (Susan White)

12 Mr. Humphries may be referring to members of the Wangkatha here.

13 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. Unpublished Manuscript, copies held by the family of Cliff Humphries, permission to use this material was acquired from Cliff's daughters in April 2012. p. 5.

14 The oral history report by Gifford suggests Cliff was born in 1908 [Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 5.]

15 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.6.; Tindale, N (1974) 'Tribal Boundaries in Aboriginal Australia'. Accessed via the State Library of South Australia website, 'Maps of Aboriginal Australia' on 20 August 2012 <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?c=4026>.

16 Haebich, Anna (1980) Interview Six, Cliff Humphries, born 1910, Interviewed by Anna Haebich at Kellerberrin, September 1980. Unpublished Manuscript, copies held by the family of Cliff Humphries, permission to use this material was acquired from Cliff's daughters in April 2012. p. 632.

17 Collard, L, Harben, S & van den Berg, R (2004) Nidja Beeliar Boodjar Noonookurt Nyininy: A Nyungar Interpretive History of the Use of Boodjar (Country) in the Vicinity of Murdoch University. Report for Murdoch University. p. 63. <http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/multimedia/nyungar/info/nyungar.doc>

18 Morgan, S, Mia, T & Kwaymullinu, B (2008) 'Heartsick for country: stories of love, spirit and creation'. Fremantle Press, North Fremantle WA. p. 71, 72 & 78.

19 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. pp. 106.

20 Erickson, R. (1988) 'The Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australians pre 1829-1988, Volume II D-J'. University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

21 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 5-6.

22 Haebich, Anna (1980) Interview Six, Cliff Humphries, born 1910, Interviewed by Anna Haebich at Kellerberrin, September 1980. p. 628.

cousin²³ or uncle,²⁴ and he notes that both her uncle and father worked for Forrest.²⁵ Cliff's grandmother on his mother's side (Kandianne) was also a Bibbulmun woman.²⁶

It was his grandfather and his grandfather's uncle, Tommy Dombar, with whom Cliff spent a large part of his time in Kellerberrin.²⁷ Bill Humphries, whose Noongar name was Merrnill (or Mindial/Mirrnlial/Minnial), is said to have accompanied explorer and surveyor Charles Cooke Hunt on one of his expeditions in the York region, and a newspaper article from 1864 lists the expedition party as being 'C.C. Hunt, leader, John Seabrook, John Cowan, Richard Eaton – Edwards, Police Constable, and natives Cowitch and Mendal'.²⁸ While Mendal is certainly similar to some of the variations of Merrnill above, Cliff's grandfather's involvement in this expedition is difficult to confirm. Although Bill/Merrnill's exact birth date is unknown, it is likely he was born at or around the time of the 1864 expedition. However, Cliff's assertion, that his grandfather was John Seabrook's adopted son provides further evidence. Cliff's family history records that:

'Mirrnial, had first come into the life of the Seabrook's when John Seabrook senior, with a party of horsemen, had purportedly chanced Mirrnial's discovery while visiting a Noongar campsite at the foot of Waaly-Waalin (Mt Bakewell) and there taken a light-skinned child that had been left (?) there by the fleeing party of Noongar'.²⁹

Another link between Cliff's family and John Seabrook is found in the oral history of Janet Hayden whose grandfather was Cliff's uncle (i.e. a son of Kandianne and John 'Jack' Monger-Bennell).³⁰ Janet notes that her grandfather worked for Seabrook³¹, perhaps resulting in Cliff's father (Ernie) and mother (Gertie) meeting.

The fragmentation of Noongar groups following British colonisation, and the complexities in identifying some of the individuals named in Cliff's family history, resulted in some difficulties identifying Cliff's grandfather's language group. As discussed above, Cliff's grandmothers both hailed from the Bibbulmun Noongar, while Cliff's mother (Gertie/Weenie) was a Ballardong Noongar woman. Cliff's family connections suggest his father and grandfather were probably Nyaki-Nyaki (Njaggi-Njaggi, Njakki-Njakki) as was Tommy Windich³² which would perhaps also explain the family connections of Windich to Cliff's grandmother Susan White.

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- 23 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.106.
- 24 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.69.
- 25 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p. 69.
- 26 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.165.
- 27 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 26.
- 28 *Perth Gazette and W.A. Times*, November 24, 1864. p.2.
- 29 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.136.
- 30 Morgan, S, Mia, T & Kwaymullinu, B (2008) 'Heartsick for country: stories of love, spirit and creation'. Fremantle Press, North Fremantle WA. p. 70-71.
- 31 *ibid.* p. 73.
- 32 Crowley, F.K. 'Windich, Tommy (1840-1876)', Australian Dictionary

Cliff mentions a number of 'old fellas' who lived at Djuringe when Cliff's parents went to live there. These included Tommy Cohen (Mooyarri), Billy Barndburn, Mooykin, Billy Ngoller, Tommy Boondabong,³³ Tommy Dombar, and his brother Georgie Naarngalit,³⁴ Windy, Willy Sam and a woman named Trixie.³⁵ Cliff's naming of these individuals suggests they may have been some of the original custodians of the Kellerberrin area and, as noted above, Cliff names Tommy Dombar as his grandfather's uncle.³⁶ Dombar and his brother minded sheep for Leake and camped not far from Shark's mouth.³⁷

Although limited information about Dombar was located, Cliff relates a story told to him by Dombar when he was a child about killing two Noongars who had killed his brother. The story is reproduced here as evidence for the continuity of traditional acts of reprisal between Noongar groups. Dombar and his brother were minding sheep for Bruce Leake – Dombar at Mooranoppin (not far from Shark's Mouth) and his brother at Munerduping (Kardanya) – when someone came to Dombar's camp and told him 'some Noongars killed his brother'. He went on horseback to the place of the spearing and tracked the men to near Bandee, then to Bruce Rock and Wadron(?) where he found them. One man had a black chalk mark across the bridge of his nose, a sign that he had killed someone. Dombar shot them, cut their hearts out, then burnt the bodies and went back to Munerdupin to put the hearts on the grave of his brother.³⁸ *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, in October 1886, outlines the trial of an Aboriginal man named Tommy Dombar for having killed a native named Joe Medine approximately sixty miles east of York in November 1885.³⁹ Although it is unknown if this describes the events Dombar related to Cliff, it corroborates Cliff's information about Dombar being in this region during the 1880s, and may provide evidence for tensions between Noongar groups during this period, likely due to increased European encroachment on traditional lands. In this instance the accused was acquitted and released.⁴⁰ Cliff states that Dombar 'was a great old man to me; all the same you couldn't trust him one yard.' Dombar died at Kellerberrin while Cliff and he were playing cards.⁴¹

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- 33 There is a possibility Tommy Boondabong is the Aboriginal man referred to as 'Buondong' in Leake, Bruce. W. (1961) 'Reminiscences'. Printed by Docket Book Co. Perth, (Aust). p.47 & 51 as employees on the Leake property.
- 34 There is a possibility Georgie Naarngalit may be the Aboriginal man referred to as 'Nongalut' in Leake, Bruce. W. (1961) 'Reminiscences'. Printed by Docket Book Co. Perth, (Aust). p.47 & 51 as employees on the Leake property.
- 35 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.74-75;
- 36 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 26.
- 37 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 26.
- 38 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 26--27.
- 39 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 26--27.
- 40 *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 13 October 1886, Supreme Court Criminal Sitings, Friday October 8th. p. 2.
- 41 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 28.

After they were married Cliff's parents first went to Quairading then later to Kellerberrin looking for work when Cliff was about two years old.⁴² Cliff always saw Kellerberrin both as his 'country of birth and [that] of his kin and where he had spent most of his life' while he and his family maintained close ties to their 'kaarlep' through traditional hunter-gatherer activities, and returned there when the transient life required for work allowed.⁴³ Cliff recalls moving from place to place with his grandfather and uncles working as labourers on farms. His keen interest in the elderly Noongar population, and learning the Noongar traditions of language and culture, resulted in his retaining elements of this enabling him to pass on this knowledge.⁴⁴ Cliff always considered Kellerberrin his kaarlep or home country.⁴⁵

To Cliff Humphries the Noongar world of Kellerberrin was spirit-filled, it was a place 'filled with relationships and responsibilities that went hand in hand in knowing the marks and names of country.....[these] were grounded and expressed through the stories of koorraar "long ago" and were just as valid today as they were in the past'.⁴⁶ Cliff's father's 'skin' or 'marriage law bird' was the golden swallow 'birrangaa', while Cliff's was the sacred kingfisher or 'djooak'.⁴⁷ Cliff's mother's people (Bennells) have a frog totem.⁴⁸ Although Cliff Humphries never learned to read and write, largely due to Aboriginal people not being allowed to enter schools or being subjected to discrimination if they did attend, a positive outcome of this was that he was 'driven into learning the ways of the old people'.⁴⁹ He attributes much of his knowledge to his grandfather (Minnial) and his mother Weenie (Gertie nee Bennell).⁵⁰ Cliff Humphries' story is that of the 'Maarng-art Mob, the Ballardong, a people who have remained and continue to this day, living upon their kaarlep, the traditional home lands of the Noongar of the maarng-art – the jam wattle – amid the lands of their medicine trees the dwott, York Gum and towering Woorak Salmon Gum'.⁵¹

Cliff's knowledge of Noongar cultural tradition provides valuable insights into their continuing connections with this land. For example he notes that 'Noongars once buried their dead upon the hills' but all that remains of some of these burials is the story of how they were interred, that is, 'little flowers were scraped from the surrounding jam wattle and dipped in red ochre before being carefully placed

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- 42 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p. 5; Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 5.
- 43 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.33.
- 44 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p. 36-37.
- 45 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.33.
- 46 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p. 80.
- 47 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.100.
- 48 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.104.
- 49 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p. 211.
- 50 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.233.
- 51 Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. pp. 43-44.

around the grave'.⁵² Cliff also describes how people of the past were referred to i.e. either direct reference, indirectly through living relatives, or 'with respect to the trees or certain parcels of land that carried their memory'.⁵³ Cliff's stories demonstrate his people's respect for the land, the resources it holds, and for those who had gone before them. Appropriate 'permission' had to be requested when entering traditional lands by singing out in language if you wanted to enter, hunt, or drink from the gnamar at Djuringe. Cliff explains that he would have to speak of his ancestors such as his grandfather Merrnil:

ngat niga Merrnil kunuant

Ngat geba werning ngat gep barrang nunook

[Trans: I've come here and I'm dying for a drink of water, I'm going to get a drink of water from you, see].⁵⁴

Or if they wanted meat Cliff would say:

Damanga manga yul yukin ngun darge ngun darga werening

[Trans: Old people, grandfather, uncles, we need some meat].⁵⁵

The repercussions for not observing these cultural traditions could be dire and Cliff's stories are peppered with occasions when those who did not observe came to harm.

Although the Kellerberrin region is a Noongar place, Cliff Humphries also identified it as a crossroads, or locality of overlap for other groups, namely the Wongi (to the east in goldfields⁵⁶) and Yamatji (Murchison/Gascoyne). Seasonal meetings were held, law discussed, and trade and marriages took place. Hand stencils at the place referred to as 'Shark's Mouth', are an indication of some of this activity. However, Cliff confines his discussions to Noongar business, as other business was not for him to communicate.⁵⁷ Cliff notes that Djuringe was the place where, 'if a Noongar married a Yamatji, they had to come and sort it out here, at Djuring'.⁵⁸

Cliff's people's continuing connection to his culture, language and traditional land, despite a history of government policies aimed at controlling, displacing, and subjugating the Indigenous population, provides evidence for their resilience. A summary of these policies, introduced from the earliest days of colonisation and persisting into the twentieth-century, is provided below. Further details of the continuity of traditional Noongar culture in the Kellerberrin region will be discussed further shortly.

Government Policy & Aboriginal People in Western Australia

As early as the 1840s 'protectors' were appointed to look after the 'interests' of Indigenous people but they were most often aligned with the British colonists and

⁵² McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p. 172-173.

⁵³ McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.114.

⁵⁴ Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 31.

⁵⁵ Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 17.

⁵⁶ McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p. 5; Mr. Humphries may be referring to members of the Wangkatha here.

⁵⁷ Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maarng-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.72.

⁵⁸ Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 5-6.

represented their interests.⁵⁹ By the 1870s missions were attempting to 'rescue' Aboriginal children from fringe camps, while the concept of Social Darwinism fanned beliefs that Aboriginal people were inferior and that if they did not 'civilise' they would eventually die out.⁶⁰

In the late nineteenth-century the *Aborigines Protection Act 1886* was passed establishing the Aborigines Protection Board, which had the ability to exert further control over the Aboriginal population. The subsequent *Aborigines Act 1897* resulted in the creation of the Aborigines Department and established the role of Chief Protector of Aborigines.⁶¹ Although it was at this time the *Elementary Education Amendment Act 1893* was established, granting free and compulsory education to all children aged 6 to 14 years which could include Aboriginal children, this did not occur. The *Aborigines Act* brought the education of Aboriginal children under the Aborigines Department and it was the Missions and Schools established by this body that provided the majority of education for Aboriginal children instead.⁶²

The post-Federation period was marked by concerns for 'racial purity', and one of the first actions of the newly formed Federal Parliament was the establishment of the *Immigration Restriction Act*, more commonly referred to as the 'White Australia Policy', and additional measures to segregate the Aboriginal population from the wider community were enacted.⁶³ Following the Roth inquiry into Indigenous affairs in 1904, control over the Western Australian Aboriginal population increased with the subsequent passing of the *Aborigines Act 1905*.

The 1905 Act stated that its aim was 'to make provision for better protection and care of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia', and essentially 'laid the basis for the development of repressive and coercive state control' over them.⁶⁴ The responsibilities of the Aborigines Department under the Chief Protector of Aborigines were broadened and the Chief Protector became the legal guardian of every Aboriginal and 'half-caste' child until the age of 16, giving him the right to move needy or orphaned children from their homes to missions or other institutions.⁶⁵ The Chief Protector oversaw their care, custody and education⁶⁶ and implemented the government policy under which they could be separated from their families.⁶⁷ Rigid implementation of the 1905 Act, the 1911 *Aborigines Act*

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- ⁵⁹ Australian Human Rights Commission 'Bringing Them Home: 8. The History – Western Australia'. Accessed 8/4/2011. http://www.hreoc.gov.au/education/bringing_them_home/8_historyWA.html
- ⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 12.
- ⁶¹ Australian Human Rights Commission 'Bringing Them Home: 8. The History – Western Australia'. Accessed 8/4/2011. http://www.hreoc.gov.au/education/bringing_them_home/8_historyWA.html
- ⁶² Heritage Council Assessment documentation for *P4914 Quairading State School and Quarters (fmr)*. p. 7.
- ⁶³ Haebich, A & Delroy, A (1999) 'The Stolen Generations: Separation of Aboriginal Children from their Families'. The Western Australian Museum, Perth. p. 20.
- ⁶⁴ Haebich, Anna *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900-1940* University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1988, p. 83. Note: Haebich provides an excellent account of the various Acts, their implementation and the consequences for Aboriginal people in the South-West in this period.
- ⁶⁵ Section 8, *Aborigines Act 1905*.
- ⁶⁶ Note: The term 'half-caster' was the term used by the government of the day for 'any person born of an Aboriginal parent on either side.'
- ⁶⁷ 'Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families', Commissioner Ronald Wilson, Sydney, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997, pp. 103-105, 629-632.

Amending Act, and subsequent Acts was tragic for many Aboriginal families, and their effects resound into the twenty-first century. A process of 'resettlement' of Aboriginal people soon commenced, the plan being to establish isolated self-contained 'native settlements', institutions and reserves.⁶⁸ Many missions were soon converted into self-supporting stations and large numbers of Aboriginal people were moved to these settlements.⁶⁹ The actions stemming from these policies are often referred to as the process of 'assimilation' as one of the goals was to assimilate 'half-caste' children in order that they take their place in 'white' society and resulted in those known as the 'Stolen Generation'.⁷⁰

Control of the Aboriginal population continued into the 1930s when the *Royal Commission into the conditions of Indigenous people in WA* further extended the powers of the Chief Protector effectively giving this role control over all people of Indigenous descent. The *Native Administration Act 1936* gave the Commissioner of Native Affairs new wide ranging powers including guardianship over all Aboriginal children under the age of 21 years, and required all Aboriginal people to obtain his permission in order to marry.⁷¹ Policies during this period essentially attempted to 'breed out' the Aboriginal race⁷² through a process of inter-marriage between 'lighter castes' as ideas about racial engineering took hold. Absorption was the euphemistic catch cry of this policy and the Aboriginal Welfare Conference, held at Canberra in 1937, explicitly states that 'this Conference believes that the destiny of the natives of aboriginal origin, but not of the full blood, lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth, and it therefore recommends that all efforts be directed to that end'.⁷³ The Depression further exacerbated the already appalling conditions in these settlements and the idea that the 'inmates' would eventually assimilate and take their place in the wider community ultimately failed, instead establishing a cycle of institutionalisation.⁷⁴

By 1948 it was compulsory for Aboriginal children to attend school, so long as the parents of 'white' children did not object,⁷⁵ and in the 1950s the policy of assimilation, and the transition Aboriginal people from institutions, reserves, and fringe camps into suburban or town life, was adopted. Australian governments began to move towards abolishing the 'parochial' legislation of the past shifting instead to policies aimed at encouraging Aboriginal Australians to embrace modern suburban life and values.⁷⁶ Aboriginal children began being accepted into state schools though the majority remained in missions or stayed at settlements, visiting their families during the holidays.⁷⁷ With the establishment of the *Native*

68 *ibid.* p. 21.

69 Australian Human Rights Commission 'Bringing Them Home: 8. The History – Western Australia'. Accessed 8/4/2011. http://www.hreoc.gov.au/education/bringing_them_home/8_historyWA.html

70 *ibid.* p. 21.

71 Haebich, Anna op. cit., pp. 348-351.

72 Haebich, A & Delroy, A (1999) 'The Stolen Generations: Separation of Aboriginal Children from their Families'. The Western Australian Museum, Perth. p. 20.

73 'Aboriginal Welfare – Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities, Held at Canberra, 21st to 23rd April 1937'. Accessed 12 May 2011, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, p.3. <http://asset0.aiatsis.gov.au:1801/metsviewer/archobj?DOCCHOICE=20663.xml&dvs=1182237218221~727?locale=en>

74 *ibid.* p. 32.

75 Heritage Council Assessment documentation for *P4914 Quairading State School and Quarters (fmr)*. p. 13.

76 Haebich, A (2000) *Broken Circles: Fragmenting Indigenous Families 1800-2000*. Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle. p. 418.

77 Haebich, Anna op. cit., pp. 348-351.

Welfare Act 1954 the power to remove children from their families was abolished though children were still removed under the *Child Welfare Act 1947*.⁷⁸

By the 1960s and 1970s 'policies of integration, self-management and self-determination' superseded assimilation,⁷⁹ and in 1967 a referendum was held to alter the Australian constitution. The overwhelming 'Yes' vote finally enabled Aboriginal people to be counted in the national census and meant they would be subject to Commonwealth laws as opposed to just state laws. Essentially this formally recognised Indigenous Australians as people in their own country⁸⁰ and repealed the last of the discriminatory federal legislation granting citizenship to Aboriginal people.⁸¹ In 1972 the Department of Native Welfare was abolished and reforms directed at self-management for Aboriginal communities began.⁸² However, the historical legacy of these laws and policies are still keenly experienced amongst Aboriginal communities in the present.

History of Kellerberrin

The Kellerberrin region had been explored throughout the early nineteenth-century. The first recorded contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans in the Kellerberrin area occurred in 1830 when Ensign Dale explored the area.⁸³ However, Europeans did not move into the region in earnest until the 1860s. In 1964 Charles Cooke Hunt explored the region naming a large 'granite outcrop "Killaberrin" after the Aboriginal word for a large ant colony "Keela"'.⁸⁴

During the 1860s sheep farmers from York and Toodyay began to move further eastward setting up out-stations within a few kilometres of Kellerberrin.⁸⁵ Leake, in his reminiscences about the area states that 'blacks were numerous in this area during the early stages of settlement'⁸⁶ and, with this move out into the district, conflict between Europeans and Aboriginal people occurred including the death of a European settler named Michael (Edward) Clarkson after which a police hunt (c.1865) for the Aboriginal men believed responsible ensued. The men, when captured by police were charged with murder and executed at Dalbercutting Spring, the site of their alleged crime, in front of a large gathering of local Aboriginal people as a warning.⁸⁷

78 *ibid.*

79 Haebich, A & Delroy, A (1999) 'The Stolen Generations: Separation of Aboriginal Children from their Families'. The Western Australian Museum, Perth. p. 43.

80 The Western Australian Museum website. 'Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the 1967 Referendum'. Accessed 13 May 2011. <http://www.museum.wa.gov.au/exhibitions/online/referendum/>

81 Haebich, A (2000) *Broken Circles: Fragmenting Indigenous Families 1800-2000*. Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle. p. 452.

82 Haebich, Anna op. cit., pp. 348-351.

83 Spence, Terry (2001) 'A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee'. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. p. 7-9, 34-36;

84 Shire of Kellerberrin website, 'History'. <http://www.kellerberrin.wa.gov.au/default.aspx?WebPageID=83>. Accessed 29 August 2012.

85 Leake, Bruce. W. (1961) 'Reminiscences'. Printed by Docket Book Co. Perth, (Aust). p.8-9.

86 *ibid.* p. 9.

87 Spence, Terry (2001) 'A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee'. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. p. 7-9, 34-36; Humphries, Cliff & McCabe, Tim (n.d.) 'Maamg-art Menn: Stories of the Eastern Noongar by Cliff Humphries and Tim McCabe'. p.117.

In 1868 R. B. Leake purchased Mooranoppin Station,⁸⁸ which was probably one of the first stations established in close proximity to *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin*, as it shared a border with the reserve under the control of the Kellerberrin Aboriginal Progress Association (KAPA) in 2013. Throughout the 1870s various other stations were established in the district, namely Cuttening, Milligan, and Mt Caroline with some of the early settlers in the region being Massinghams, Rippers, Sewells, and Leakes as mentioned above.⁸⁹

Cliff Humphries, traditional owner and senior custodian of the Kellerberrin area, suggested that the strong reciprocity common to Noongar culture resulted in the Aboriginal population being somewhat accepting of the Wadjella as part of the 'giving and getting back' common to Noongar relationships.⁹⁰ However, as pressures on the land increased with the population increases during the early gold rush period, it is likely clashes occurred. McCabe makes reference to an interesting phrase used by Cliff Humphries, 'the land belonged to the sheep', apparently a reference to colonialism.⁹¹

In 1897 the Kellerberrin townsite was surveyed,⁹² growing rapidly during the early twentieth century, though severe drought in the lead up to WWI resulted in many having to leave their land.⁹³

After WWII the population in the Kellerberrin district declined though the 1950s-60s saw a period of consolidation in the district.⁹⁴ In 2012 the Shire of Kellerberrin had a population of 1,182 people with the town population being approximately 868.⁹⁵

Pre-Mission Era

As discussed above, Cliff's family moved to Kellerberrin when he was a small child (c.1910) where his father first worked sewing wheat bags, and later as a shearer at various locations, including Hyden and Pingelly.⁹⁶ They initially lived in town and Cliff refers to an area which may have been one of their first camp sites. He calls this the old Noongar 'dinner camp' located in Connelly Street. Cliff notes there was no house just tea tree scrub and that this location, near the town centre, was a meeting place in the earliest days until the Aboriginal population were gradually moved out of town.⁹⁷ Cliff describes what may have been one of the last corroborees in Kellerberrin which took place when was about 10 years old (c.1920). He states that there was a big mob which included both Wongis and Noongars who performed for the Kellerberrin Wadjella. He notes the location as

88 Leake, Bruce. W. (1961) 'Reminiscences'. Printed by Docket Book Co. Perth, (Aust). p. 10.

89 Shire of Kellerberrin website, 'History'. <http://www.kellerberrin.wa.gov.au/default.aspx?WebPageID=83>. Accessed 29 August 2012.

90 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.112-113.

91 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.48.

92 Leake, Bruce. W. (1961) 'Reminiscences'. Printed by Docket Book Co. Perth, (Aust). p. 62.

93 Heritage Council Assessment Documentation for *P1372 Kellerberrin Post Office & Residence*. p. 3-4.

94 Shire of Kellerberrin Draft Municipal Inventory (1996) Prepared by the Municipal Inventory Steering Committee, The Shire of Kellerberrin, Whelans Consultants, and Tanya Suba – Heritage Consultant. p. 7-12.

95 Shire of Kellerberrin website, 'About Kellerberrin'. <http://www.kellerberrin.wa.gov.au/default.aspx?WebPageID=83>. Accessed 29 August 2012.

96 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 5-6.

97 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.109.

'Brownie Hall where we have church'.⁹⁸ 'Cliff had learnt many of his songs around the fires of his old people.....some were also the personal songs of his grandfather' while others were learnt during corroborees.⁹⁹

A number of other locations around the Kellerberrin townsite that were occupied by Noongars are also noted, with the first being behind the police station and another near the railway dam. The police station site was associated with occupation by Aboriginal trackers and Cliff suggests that a good relationship existed between the Noongar population and some members of the non-Indigenous population. Cliff prefaces this statement with 'nobody drinks in them days',¹⁰⁰ a comment that is mirrored by Cliff on other occasions when he observes the changing attitudes towards alcohol consumption within his community. Cliff provides an interesting insight into these changing practices in his 1980 interview with Anna Haebich:

When I was young they used to drink, but they used to drink different. They used to go to town and they'd get a bottle of rum or whiskey, and they'd take that home and they'd drink it like medicine. They never got drunk on it. If they meet somebody, might be his cousin, might call him demmi, might call him moorni. That's the Nyungar word for cousins.....He might say "Oh come and have a drink", they might sit down, they'll have a mug each or whatever it is. They'd have a yarn, but they never get drunk.¹⁰¹

Cliff also lists some of those who occupied the town sites during this early period including Tommy, Jackie, Willy, Billy Norrer, Billy Bardburng, Tommy Moyakun, Georgy Nungalit, Tommy Dombar, Tommy Ngooyal (Tommy Cohen).¹⁰² Some of these individuals are also named as being residents at Djuringe c.1912.¹⁰³

The above suggests early camp site locations were within Kellerberrin, and may have been occupied on an ad hoc basis. In 1919 an 'Aboriginal Reserve' was established by the State Government on the outskirts of the Kellerberrin townsite, on Mooranoppin Road just north of the current day airstrip (Reserve No. 12206). However, when the town's population began complaining about the 'unsightly' and 'unhygienic' conditions in the camp, a reserve of 100 acres, corresponding with Avon Loc 17066 (Portion Reserve 21153 Mooranoppin/Djuringe) was declared a 'Reserve for Natives' on 21 February 1934, with notice published in the Government Gazette on 2 March 1934.¹⁰⁴ Cliff notes that they shifted out to Djuringe because the original reserve was too close to the cemetery¹⁰⁵ and the Aboriginal population camping at the other reserve were subsequently relocated there.¹⁰⁶

98 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.148.

99 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.159-160.

100 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.110.

101 Haebich, Anna (1980) Interview Six, Cliff Humphries, born 1910, Interviewed by Anna Haebich at Kellerberrin, September 1980. p. 635.

102 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.109-110.

103 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.74-75.

104 *Government Gazette of Western Australia No. 12*, 2 March 1934. p. 270.

105 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 5-6.

106 Spence, Terry (2001) 'A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee'. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. pp. 37-39.

Further detail on the process by which the Noongar population were slowly shifted further from town is briefly outlined below, with the first move to Scadden Street, then to the dam and showgrounds, until they were removed from the townsite altogether initially to the rubbish tip on Moorranoppin Road then to Djurring (Djuringe).¹⁰⁷ The following exchange between Cliff and Tim McCabe provides some insight:

Cliff: They stopped up at Scadden Street then. That's the second stop and from Scadden Street they went on and stopped up at the dam, until one bloke got shot there and my uncle died there, my old, old granny uncle.

From there we shifted out to the dump then – that dump, out that side.
(near Kellerberrin airport)

Tim: Why did you shift for – what for?

Cliff: Well, there was people who started to play up, reckoned they wanted to build around there, they wanted to put the showground there see, and they wanted to shift the showground at the mill.....They had no space down there so that's why they put it up there and shifted us. So, we got up to the dump and from the dump this got too bad, Noongars went against us then they reckon, the sanitary (dump) was too close.

Yeah it was too close. Noongars started to play up they reckon it smell from the sanitary, they can't live here and they picked out a place at Djurring then – that's how we got out there.¹⁰⁸

An exchange regarding the concept of the 'reserve' is also enlightening:

Tim: How about reserve did you ever have a Noongar word for reserve? You know where Noongars used to stop, where the Wadjellas used to put em out there?

Cliff: Nah

Tim: Or you just called it reserve?

Cliff: No never had it – Wadjella's word reserve. The Noongar had his, he had the whole land. The whole land was a reserve for Noongar.¹⁰⁹

Cliff's recollections indicate that his family camped at Djuringe prior to the establishment of the mission in 1950. However, Cliff notes that they did not live out there initially but worked in the vicinity coming back into town to one of the various Reserves that had been established in the early twentieth-century. Cliff states that his family first lived at the area of the crossroads at Djuringe, near where the old mission house stood (the mission had not been established at this stage however) off Goldfields Road on the road towards Woolandra under the big shade tree.¹¹⁰

Cliff suggests that Wongi and Yamatji groups still used the place when he was a boy, and that his family did not move out there until these groups were gone suggesting this may have coincided with the cessation of some traditional practices. Although it is somewhat unclear as to when this was exactly, Cliff suggests that he was approximately 18 or 19 years old when they moved out there (c.1926) but that the Wongis and Yamatji were no longer using the area by the

¹⁰⁷ McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.110-111.

¹⁰⁸ McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.111.

¹⁰⁹ McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.111.

¹¹⁰ Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 6.

time he was about 12 or 13 (c.1920).¹¹¹ It is likely visitation and occupation was intermittent due to both the transient nature of Noongar, Wongi and Yamatji populations during this period, as well as the inevitable disruptions to traditional cultural activities with the population increases during the first part of the twentieth-century.

As noted above Avon Loc 17066 (Portion Reserve 21153 Mooranoppin/Djuringe) was not declared a 'Reserve for Natives' until 1934,¹¹² probably formalising an already informal occupation arrangement and allowing the official relocation of other Noongars camping on town Reserves. The occupants of the Mooranoppin Reserve/Djuringe area listed by Cliff were employed by the Leakes who Cliff claims acknowledged this area was their traditional land¹¹³ and perhaps encouraged their remaining due to the Noongar population being a readily available and inexpensive labour source. Cliff notes that various groups still came to the place to 'sort families out' and that he saw huts over graves recognising that some traditional practices were still being practiced. There were restrictions observed with regard to access to sites on the reserve, part being a 'testing ground' where men (presumably) used to test their lives by throwing a boomerang around the flat. If it went around and came back the thrower would have a long life. However, if it broke they would not live much longer.¹¹⁴

Cliff provides only limited insight into Wongi tradition, stating that he was not privy to further details as this was not his right. However, he makes brief references to rituals and ceremonies still being practiced by this group in his youth. For example, those who joined the Wongi through marriage had to go through a certain amount of law. The 'old fellas' would drive a spear through a man's thigh muscle in what seems to have been an initiation rite, as this would allow them to become one of them. As far as Cliff was aware the practice stopped about the time his family went out to Djuringe. Cliff also states that they were not allowed to go into some of the caves when they first went out to Djuringe unless accompanied by male Elders who would sing out in Noongar before getting too near the cave – 'This is my home, I belong to this place'.¹¹⁵ Although Shark's Mouth, understood to be within the Mooranoppin Reserve, is understood to be one such area, Cliff makes reference to another place with hand marks on the underside of a cave for which access was restricted, particularly for women, but its specific location is not known.¹¹⁶

One source notes that Hazel Winmar (born c.1916), a Noongar Elder and Cliff's younger sister, recalled her family going to Kellerberrin when she was about six years old (c.1922).¹¹⁷ However other sources suggest this may have been closer

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- 111 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 10.
- 112 *Government Gazette of Western Australia No. 12*, 2 March 1934. p. 270.
- 113 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 7.
- 114 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 6.
- 115 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 8.
- 116 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 8.
- 117 AustLit, Winmar, Hazel biographical extract. <http://www.austlit.edu.au/run?ex=ShowAgent&agentId=A:oo> Accessed 8 April 2011.

to c.1940.¹¹⁸ Hazel remembers moving around to different places and suggests they were at Djuringe when her grandfather died (c.1949) and her grandmother was taken away.¹¹⁹ It is probable, as per Cliff's recollections, that the family spent some time out at Djuringe between 1920 and 1940 but may have settled there more permanently once the town Reserves were closed, and perhaps more permanently still once the mission opened.

Gifford's interview with Hazel, about life at the Djuringe Reserve, provides an interesting snapshot:

Like grandfather Humphries and dad and all them uncles, we all just camped out there. Made tin humpies to stay in, we came out after they put up a toilet there and washhouse.....They said it was a reserve, see, and they said we were better off out there than in town.....It was all right, I think, a bit hard, you know, to live....About six miles [to town]. We had to drive a horse and sulky in, or a horse and cart. We used to come and get food, and go back. And they put water taps out there for us to get water.¹²⁰

Hazel also notes that:

We had an old tin camp and no floors, we used pieces of carpet from the dump, to put on the floor long time ago, that's what we used to do; couldn't afford to buy anything else. We had to work hard for things.¹²¹

Hazel's recollections of her time at the Djuringe Reserve seem to relate both to when she first went there with her family (c.1920/30), as well as later on when she was married with her own children during the later mission era (c.1940/50)¹²² as do many of Cliff's recollections.

Cliff married Letitia (Letty) Abraham, a Wilman¹²³ woman, and the daughter of 'Laura or 'Demang' and Navvy, or as he was known by his Noongar name, 'Birap' in 1933.¹²⁴ Cliff and Letty had nine children, eight daughters and one son.

Mission Era

The United Aborigines' Mission (UAM), the group responsible for the mission at Djuringe, was first established in NSW in 1885 with the group travelling the Western Australian goldfields by approximately 1908.¹²⁵ Mission work commenced in this early period, with a UAM children's home established in Perth in 1909, a mission

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- 118 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 40.
 - 119 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 40-41.
 - 120 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 41.
 - 121 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 49.
 - 122 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 40-50.
 - 123 Personal communication Alice Smith, daughter of Cliff & Letty Humphries, 18 December 2013.
 - 124 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.126; Haebich, Anna (1980) Interview Six, Cliff Humphries, born 1910, Interviewed by Anna Haebich at Kellerberrin, September 1980. p. 635.
 - 125 Jean, A, Goulder, S & Bonney, M (1999) 'Mt Margaret Mission Hospital: Mt Margaret (AMOS) Aboriginal Corporation Via Laverton, Western Australia, A Conservation Plan'. Prepared for The Heritage Council of WA and the Mt Margaret (AMOS) Aboriginal Corporation in June 1999. p. 35.

at Katanning in 1912,¹²⁶ the Mt Margaret mission in the 1920s,¹²⁷ and the Warburton Range Mission in 1935.¹²⁸ A paper by Catherine Bishop on UAM missionary Annie Lock states that:

The UAM was a faith mission, which meant that their missionaries received no regular income but “relied on God” for their needs. They could not ask directly for donations but gave lectures and wrote letters asking for their supporters’ “prayers”. Usually they were very specific about the content of those prayers.....While sometimes effective, this system essentially meant that faith missionaries led a fairly precarious existence.¹²⁹

In 1937 there were calls by the Kellerberrin Road Board for the establishment of school facilities for ‘native and half-caste children’ at the Djuringe Reserve¹³⁰ and Spence suggests the school may have been established as early as 1940.¹³¹ Records indicate that a building was relocated from the recently closed North Woolundra School to the Kellerberrin Native School in April 1942 by the Mission board, and it is noted that in February 1942 the Under Secretary of Works is taking action to acquire land (part of Avon Loc 3666) adjoining the south side of the mission site which was being surrendered free by Mr R.M. Leake.¹³² Correspondence dating to November 1942 from the head teacher of the Kellerberrin Native School, Mrs Jessie Silsbury, confirms that the school was operational.¹³³ In her letter Mrs Silsbury raises concerns about attendance at the school due to labour shortages being experienced at that time and the continual relocation of parents and their children to other areas for work.¹³⁴ Certificate of Title information indicates that it was not until 1944 that a small portion of Avon Location 3666 was set aside under the *Public Works Act 1902*, presumably for the purpose of establishing the school.¹³⁵ An article in the *West Australian Newspaper* in 1944 notes that the school is operational and had ‘a qualified Government teacher’ with approximately 25 children in attendance.¹³⁶

In February 1943 the first boys at the school to reach leaving age are noted as being Kevin Humphries, Bernie Jetta and Gus Turvey, and plans are made to send them to Carrolup for further rural training. However, it is noted that their parents

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- 126 Bishop, Catherine. “‘She Has the Native Interests Too Much at Heart’: Annie Lock’s Experiences as a Single, White, Female Missionary to Aborigines, 1903-1937” in *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, ed. Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008. p. 230. Available at: <http://msep.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/shs/missions>
 - 127 Jean, A, Goulder, S & Bonney, M (1999) ‘Mt Margaret Mission Hospital: Mt Margaret (AMOS) Aboriginal Corporation Via Laverton, Western Australia, A Conservation Plan’. Prepared for The Heritage Council of WA and the Mt Margaret (AMOS) Aboriginal Corporation in June 1999. p. 38.
 - 128 *ibid.* p. 40.
 - 129 *op cit.* p. 229. Available at: <http://msep.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/shs/missions>
 - 130 ‘The West Australian’, Friday 18 June 1937. p. 21.
 - 131 Spence, Terry (2001) ‘A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee’. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. p. 45.
 - 132 Department of Education files, Woolundra North – buildings and works, 2 April 1942. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1930/1996; Department of Education files, North Woolundra – attendance, 2 February 1942 & 20 March 1942. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1940/1107;
 - 133 Department of Education files, Kellerberrin Native School – attendance, 24 November 1942. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1942/0678.
 - 134 *ibid.*
 - 135 Certificate of Title Vol. 1082 Fol. 573.
 - 136 ‘The West Australian’, Wednesday 18 October 1944. p. 3.

objected so warrants for their removal were issued by the Commissioner of Native Affairs.¹³⁷ In 1944 Irene Humphries, (Ernie Humphries' daughter) from the Native School at Kellerberrin, was congratulated for gaining first prize in the Batman Cup Competition, an annual essay competition held in Melbourne by the Mission for Aboriginal children. It is noted that Irene was 12 years old but had only received just over 3 years of schooling.¹³⁸

A letter from the UAM to the Commissioner of Native Affairs on 7 January 1947 provides details about the planned establishment of a mission at Kellerberrin, and its purpose. The correspondence suggests that the Department of Native Welfare began discussions with UAM with regards to opening a 'settlement' in the Kellerberrin district and that these plans were now coming to fruition. Land, under a long lease had been acquired for the purpose 'adjoining the native reserve' which would suggest a concerted effort on behalf of UAM to locate the mission near where the Aboriginal population were camped.¹³⁹ The letter goes on to comment that:

Although the Gospel of our Lord Jesus is cleansing the lives it touches, native camp life in general is the reverse of uplifting. It is our earnest desire to give the boys and girls a really good start in life through the influence of a Christian home, away from the loose morals and debasing conditions of the camps.¹⁴⁰

The UAM notes they intended to establish a small farm holding on the land to produce vegetables, eggs, and milk rendering the endeavour self-supporting while also training the children in 'useful work'. The children would be drawn from the local area, Bruce Rock, Brookton, York, Northam and Merredin and, the letter goes on to state that 'not relying on specific promises by parents, we know that they will entrust the little ones to us when the project is really established'.¹⁴¹

By 1950 the mission was up and running. However, the school was still having problems with attendance as families continued to move to other areas for work.¹⁴² A Travelling Inspector of the Department of Native Affairs provides details about the place in a report in October 1950.¹⁴³ The report describes the various buildings and facilities at the mission noting that there was presently a galvanised iron timber framed dormitory block (36 x 24 ft) with plasterboard interior lining, and a dining room and kitchen of weatherboard (27 x 18 ft) with a wooden ceiling and plasterboard-lined walls. These two buildings had a number of internal divisions and the dining room was at that time being used to accommodate female 'inmates'.¹⁴⁴ The report does not provide details of the dwellings occupied by the staff (two married couples) but it is probable these were small cottages of similar construction to the mission buildings. The total occupancy of the mission at this

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- 137 Department of Education files, Kellerberrin Native School – attendance, 11 February 1943 & 24 March 1943. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1942/0678.
 - 138 Department of Education files, Kellerberrin Native School – attendance, 27 April 1944. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1942/0678.
 - 139 The United Aborigines' Mission, Hon Secretary, letter to the Commissioner of Native Affairs, 7 January 1947. State Records Office Microfiche, Cons 993 Item 1946/0774, Kellerberrin – Establishment of a mission.
 - 140 *ibid.*
 - 141 *ibid.*
 - 142 Department of Education files, Kellerberrin Native School – attendance, 19 September 1950. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1942/0678.
 - 143 Report authored by the Travelling Inspector – Central, Department of Native Affairs, 6 November 1950. State Records Office Microfiche, Cons 993 Item 1946/0774, Kellerberrin – Establishment of a mission. pp. 1-3.
 - 144 *ibid.*

time was eight children. Health and hygiene is described as basic but adequate with two pan type lavatories at the rear of the school, which is adjacent to the mission, one bathroom, a hot water supply system between the dormitory and dining room, and no wash room. Laundry was done at the house of the Superintendent. Hospital or medical clinic facilities were largely non-existent, though two of the staff had basic medical training.¹⁴⁵

The Kellerberrin Native School adjacent to the mission could accommodate fifteen students and was a State Education Department school for which a qualified teacher (Mr Harding) was supplied. Little in the way of recreation facilities had been provided (besides a football) and the only financial government assistance mentioned is that of the teacher's salary. It is unknown whether the teacher lived on site. Telephone facilities were absent and the only means of communication with the town of Kellerberrin was by use of an old truck.¹⁴⁶ The final note made by the inspector indicates that the mission had not been given formal permission to begin taking in children and that arrangements had been made with parents to receive 14/- per head per week or 4/- per week as well as transferring the Child Endowment to the mission. The inspector notes that, as the mission had not been formally approved, the Superintendent essentially did not have the authority to take in children or these payments. However, it was stated that, this aside, the work of the mission was of benefit to the area where such facilities were not available and that the Department should support its continuation.¹⁴⁷

In August 1951 a description of the conditions of Aboriginal people in the Kellerberrin area is provided in the *Sunday Times Newspaper*. The story, titled 'Deplorable Conditions', summarises the Superintendent of the Kellerberrin Mission's concerns:

After 6 years close contact with the natives he believed that unless "something drastic" is done a "terrific" problem will present itself within a very short time. He urged that a chance be given to every native family to live under good conditions with proper supervision and training in cleanliness and domestic science. If native parents then failed to measure up to requirements, they should be compelled to place their children in the care of missions. UAM at Kellerberrin has 9 children under its control all received voluntarily. A marked change for the better in their behaviour, cleanliness and physical condition has been noted and the Government school teacher testifies that there is an increased ability to learn. Mission can accommodate 18 natives. In the next 12 months it is expected that a 500 acre block, 10 miles away will be cleared. It is intended to use this for rural and vocational training of native boys.¹⁴⁸

The above passage is largely paraphrased from the Superintendent of the Mission's (Mr R. Mitchell) report to the Commissioner of Native Affairs in June 1951, which refers to the place as the 'Notley Home for Children'.¹⁴⁹ It demonstrates the parochial attitude towards Aboriginal people by mission

145 *ibid.*

146 *ibid.*

147 Report authored by the Travelling Inspector – Central, Department of Native Affairs, 6 November 1950. State Records Office Microfiche, Cons 993 Item 1946/0774, Kellerberrin – Establishment of a mission. pp. 1-3.

148 'Deplorable Conditions', The Sunday Times newspaper, 19 August 1951. p. 3. Accessed via Trove online newspapers, 10 February 2012.

149 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Native Affairs for the Year Ended 30th June, 1951.p. 25. Accessed online from the AIATSIS Library on 2 August 2012. www.aiatsis.gov.au/library

establishments at this time, providing further evidence for the assimilation philosophy being touted as the solution. The report indicates that the home first started receiving children in October 1950. However, the newspaper article leaves out details suggesting that, although perhaps placing children in the home 'voluntarily', parents saw this simply as a convenient place to leave them while they travelled around for work and not that they felt the mission provided a better environment for their children.¹⁵⁰

In February 1951 only 5 children were in attendance at the Kellerberrin Native School, and in December of that year a change in policy requiring parents to sign a consent form in order that the Mission had 'legal' control over the children resulted in the withdrawal of children from the Mission and subsequently the school. The children, it is noted, were living on the adjacent Reserve.¹⁵¹ In December 1951 the Kellerberrin Native School was closed with suggestions that the children should be transported by bus to the Kellerberrin School located in town.¹⁵²

A letter from the UAM to the Commissioner of Native Affairs in November 1952 suggests that the Kellerberrin Mission did not have any children living in it at this time.¹⁵³ The letter states that the parents of the Aboriginal children who had been living at the home withdrew them from the mission due to fears that they would lose them permanently. The UAM letter also states that another dormitory had been erected and that the mission was again ready to receive children. They request that 'as need arises to direct children into an institution [that the Department] keep Kellerberrin in mind' as it was their belief that once the home reopened parents would 'begin to leave their little ones' at the mission.¹⁵⁴ A subsequent inspection of the Mission was undertaken by the Department on 19 December 1952, when it was reported that the new dormitory could house eighteen 'inmates' with the existing dormitory being able to accommodate fifteen. However, the report notes that there are no children at the mission again citing hesitancy to leave their children at the mission on behalf of the parents, but that the Superintendent was confident this would change once a few parents began to 'place their children in the home'. Children of any age could be accommodated with babies being cared for by the Superintendent's wife in their own home.¹⁵⁵

The Kellerberrin Native School may have been given a brief reprieve with a note on the Department of Education file indicating the school was finally closed in January 1954 due to insufficient attendance.¹⁵⁶ This would be consistent with information from Spence who suggests the first Noongar students accepted at

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- 150 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Native Affairs for the Year Ended 30th June, 1951.p. 25-26. Accessed online from the AIATSIS Library on 2 August 2012. www.aiatsis.gov.au/library
 - 151 Department of Education files, Kellerberrin Native School – attendance, 2 February & 15 December 1951. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1942/0678.
 - 152 *ibid.* 17 January 1952.
 - 153 The United Aborigines' Mission, Hon Secretary, letter to the Commissioner of Native Affairs, 7 November 1952. State Records Office Microfiche, Cons 993 Item 1946/0774, Kellerberrin – Establishment of a mission.
 - 154 *ibid.*
 - 155 Report authored by the District Officer – Central, to the Commissioner of Native Affairs, 19 December 1952. State Records Office Microfiche, Cons 993 Item 1946/0774, Kellerberrin – Establishment of a mission. pp. 1-3.
 - 156 *ibid.* 12 January 1954.

Kellerberrin School were Harry and Charlotte Winmar in 1953.¹⁵⁷ It is also noted that the UAM have abandoned the children's home, and they seek permission to relocate the school building, described as 18 x 15ft, to Gnowangerup.¹⁵⁸

Hazel Winmar's eldest son Mervyn was born at Djuringe in 1938, spending his childhood there and attending the 'Native' school.¹⁵⁹ He recalls the school being one big room with toilets up the back, and that there was a mission house, and the minister and his wife lived out there while their kids attended school with the Aboriginal children.¹⁶⁰ Hazel notes that the missionaries 'were the only white people that mixed with the blacks in those days'.¹⁶¹

Mervyn remembers going into town for the pictures and, although they would sometimes get a lift back to Djuringe from farmers, if they missed their ride they would have to walk or stay where they could.¹⁶² Similar recollections were related to Department staff in Kellerberrin when visiting the area to undertake this assessment.¹⁶³ Carol Yarran (nee Humphries) told us a story about a family trip to the pictures in town. To travel to town they would all jump in a big truck and her eldest sister Wendy (b. 1942 at Djuringe) was given the job of looking after them. However, on this occasion Carol and her younger sister needed to go to the toilet and by the time they got back to where they were supposed to meet everyone the truck had left without them. Carol, being the big sister, tried to be grown up for her younger sister and they started after the truck. However, realising they would not be able to catch it they went back towards town and spent the rest of the evening in the toilet block. Just before dawn Carol got her little sister up and told her they had better get out of town or the police would get them and they would be taken away¹⁶⁴ so they started walking toward Djuringe (almost 10km out of town). Carol was still trying to be strong for her younger sister but told us that when she saw her parents she broke into tears on the side of the road being so relieved to see them and admitting she was really very scared.¹⁶⁵ Carol's story provides a real insight into the experiences of Aboriginal people, in this case children, with regard to the exclusionary and racially discriminatory legislation in force during this period. Mervyn also indicated these used to be hard times, but recalls hunting for rabbits

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- 157 Spence, Terry (2001) 'A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee'. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. p. 45.
- 158 Department of Education files, Kellerberrin Native School – attendance, 12 January 1954. State Records Office, Cons 1497 Item No. 1942/0678.
- 159 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 42.
- 160 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 42.
- 161 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 43.
- 162 Gifford, Peter (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. p. 42.
- 163 Personal communication Wendy Hayden & Carol Yarran (two of Cliff Humphries' daughters) to Kelly Fleming & Amanda Hendry in Kellerberrin, 17 February 2012.
- 164 Aboriginal people were not allowed within the town boundaries after a curfew and the Chief Protector was the legal guardian of Aboriginal and half caste children under 16 years. South West Aboriginal Land & Sea Council website, 'The Noongar People in the Last 100 Years'. <http://www.noongar.org.au/noongar-people-history.php> Accessed 29 August 2012.
- 165 Personal communication Wendy Hayden & Carol Yarran (two of Cliff Humphries' daughters) to Kelly Fleming & Amanda Hendry in Kellerberrin, 17 February 2012.

and getting bush tucker, and both he and Cliff's daughters have fond memories of activities such as eating the gum from trees around Djuringe.¹⁶⁶

In 1958 the Mobile Welfare Clinic visited Kellerberrin and in a memo to the Commissioner of Native Welfare the District Officer outlined some interesting observations, particularly with regards to relations between the United Aborigines Mission and the occupants of the reserve, suggesting the mission continued to operate at this time.¹⁶⁷ The officer states that, at the time of his visit many of the male occupants of the reserve were employed on farms in the surrounding area and, when attempts were made to engage the women occupying the reserve in the collection of rubbish within the reserve, their efforts were met with a fairly apathetic attitude. The officer states that this had been a common reaction to the Clinic on previous occasions elsewhere but suggests that the attitude was more prevalent at Kellerberrin speculating that this is a commentary on the United Aborigines Mission.¹⁶⁸ The officer states that the incumbent at the Mission, a Mr Williams, 'does not trouble to disguise the deep-seated contempt he feels for natives and needs no prompting to express his opinion that they are "hopeless" and that "you can do nothing with them"'. The officer goes on to suggest that he has made no attempts to teach the 'natives' how to live and his efforts in the 'field of spiritual endeavour' have been equally lacklustre resulting in 'weekly preaching to an almost empty church'. It is further noted that Mr Williams continued to communicate his pessimistic attitude to the Halfords (who appear to have been in charge of adult education) and that the officer recalled noting this 'prevailing atmosphere between the natives and the Mission [as] one of mutual disrespect' on a previous occasion. The work of the clinic appears to have been the 'physical improvement of reserves' as an initial step in 'bringing about an improved mental outlook among the natives'.¹⁶⁹

Although it is not known when the UAM Mission at Djuringe was finally abandoned it is likely this occurred c.1958.

Post-Mission Era

An application from an Aboriginal man to farm the Mooranoppin (Djuringe) Reserve in 1962 makes note that there had been 'no natives camped on it for some two years or more'.¹⁷⁰ However, later this same year the District Welfare Officer advised that a proposal to relocate the ablution block from Mooranoppin (Djuringe) to Doodlakine Reserve was unadvisable as there were currently five families camping at the Mooranoppin Reserve comprising 9 adults and 11 children. The names of these families are given as Jetter, Humphries, and Taylor.¹⁷¹ A Local

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- 166 Gifford, Peter. (1993) Report on Oral History Project Involving the Senior Custodian of Sites in the Kellerberrin Area, Mr Cliff Humphries. September-November 1993. Unpublished Manuscript, copies held by the daughters of Cliff Humphries, The State Heritage Office acquired permission to access and use this material from Alice Smith (one of Cliff's daughters) in April 2012. p. 42.
- 167 Department of Native Welfare, Letter from District Welfare Officer, Central District to Department of Native Welfare, 9 April 1962. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.
- 168 *ibid.*
- 169 *ibid.*
- 170 Department of Native Welfare, Memo from District Welfare Officer – Central of Mobile Welfare Clinic, to Commissioner for Native Welfare, 25 June 1958. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.
- 171 Department of Native Welfare, Letter from District Welfare Officer (J. Ames), Central District to Department of Native Welfare, 27 September 1962. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.

Health Authority Inspection in June 1964 indicated that the Mooranoppin Native Reserve comprised six huts but only two were occupied. The report lists three adults and seven children as occupying the site, namely the Humphries and Taylor families. The Inspector describes the huts as 'reasonably clean' but notes that there is general rubbish across the area including a number of old car bodies. The sanitary conveniences, namely male and female ablution blocks and a laundry, are also noted.¹⁷²

In August 1965 a memo from the Superintendent – Central Division to the Commissioner of the Department of Native Welfare outlines conditions in both town housing in Kellerberrin and at Mooranoppin (Djuringe) Reserve. The memo states that there is a need for 'adequate welfare supervision' for town occupants, and that the reserve is problematic due to the transient nature of its residents. It is suggested that between 1955 and 1957 a small 'native' population grew up at the reserve corresponding with the period during which the United Aborigines Mission on the adjacent lot accommodated native children. During this period, standard facilities were provided and the Mobile Welfare Unit (Mr and Mrs Halford) spent time 'improving' accommodation. However, shortly afterwards the reserve was again deserted but in 1963 a few families moved back. The memo goes on to note that the Department has therefore been hesitant to commit resources to building more suitable housing on the reserve due to its intermittent occupation. The distance of the Mooranoppin Reserve from town is noted, and mention is made of the five acre lot closer to town (Reserve 26120) as an alternative.¹⁷³

Reports from the District Officer to the Superintendent – Central Division, Department of Native Welfare in May 1966, and a subsequent letter to the Commissioner of Native Welfare encourages the cancellation of the Mooranoppin Reserve due to it having been unoccupied for 12 months. The Reserve is noted as having seven iron shacks. The report notes that ablution facilities were constructed in 1962 and it is suggested that 30-40 natives lived at the reserve until early 1965. The District Officer notes that the sudden reduction in population was due to the closure of the United Aborigines Mission.¹⁷⁴

Further Department of Native Welfare file notes detail some of the discussions leading up to the cancellation of the reserve in the late 1960s, much of which relates to its location being six miles (9.6 km) outside of town. Officers note that the reserve is too far away from town facilities, including schools, medical care, and shops which in turn 'offers no means to advance the integration of natives into the general community' and it is suggested the reserve is only spasmodically in use.¹⁷⁵ By the mid-1960s records also indicate an increase in the provision of Aboriginal housing in towns with reserves vested for 'Native Housing' in Kellerberrin.¹⁷⁶ In 1967 Avon

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- 172 Local Health Authority, Shire of Kellerberrin, extract copy contained in the Department of Native Welfare file, 2 July 1964. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.
- 173 Department of Native Welfare, Superintendent, Central Division (McLarty), Memo, 13 August 1965. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.
- 174 Department of Native Welfare, File Note, 29 July 1966. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.
- 175 Department of Native Welfare [specific author unknown], File Note, 29 July 1966. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.
- 176 *Reserves Aboriginal Housing Reserve 27220 Doodlakine Lot 136 149 Shire of Kellerberrin Aboriginal Affairs Department*. State Records Office, Cons 6243 Item 1962 – 02577 – 01RO. 13 August 1967 to 2 July 1993; *Aboriginal Housing. Reserve 26120 Kellerberrin Lot 392. Shire of Kellerberrin*. State Records Office, Cons 3640 Item 1960/3711 v1.

Loc 17066 (Portion Reserve 21153 Mooranoppin/Djuringe) declared a 'Reserve for Natives' in 1934, was abolished by the Acting Minister for Native Welfare,¹⁷⁷ and correspondence on file notes the reason for the reserve being cancelled was that the place was no longer required for this purpose.¹⁷⁸

In 1977 Lot 50 D12357 was transferred to The Aboriginal Lands Trust.¹⁷⁹ It is understood this is supposed to correspond with the former Mission area. However, surveys of the site conducted by the Department in February 2012 indicate that the majority of the foundations and archaeological material are situated on the surrounding lot. The larger surrounding lot (Lot 1) remains as freehold, while the greater land parcel to the northwest known as Mooranoppin (Djuringe) Reserve (Lot 17066, which contains the infant burials) is under a Management Order to the Kellerberrin Aboriginal Progress Association.¹⁸⁰ It is likely that the local Aboriginal population occupied the site until the development of town housing in the 1960s, though the area is still in use for a variety of purposes today (2022).

Continuing Connections

In an undated submission to the Aboriginal Land Enquiry (c.1983) Mr Clifford Humphries states that he is the custodian of a series of places in and around Kellerberrin and that these places are of great importance to his people and community. He describes the reserve (Mooranoppin/Djuringe) as being 'in continuous use by our local Aboriginal people until the development of transitional and town housing in the 1960s'. He describes traditional and non-traditional graves as being present, caves with numerous paintings and imprints, and makes note that the place was used by the Noongar, Yamatji, and Pitjantjatjara people for law and initiation ceremonies while the surrounding area was also significant being the traditional place of the 'Jannock', a source of many stories and folklore.¹⁸¹

A series of recordings and reports adds to this submission establishing Cliff Humphries' connections to the Noongar lands of Kellerberrin, accomplishing his aim – to preserve the knowledge he held of his cultural traditions. Much of this information is included in the above assessment. However, Cliff's stories were also of the more recent past with his family continuing to live in the area today and continuing to tell his stories.

'Picking salt' was an activity the whole Humphries family took part in and was part of an informal economy early in Cliff's life¹⁸² starting when he was 16 or 17 years old.¹⁸³ Some of Cliff's daughters recollect doing this when they were teenagers so it appears to have continued as a source of income¹⁸⁴ and was still taking place in the 1990s.¹⁸⁵ Harvesting was done at the height of the summer as the salt had to

177 *Government Gazette of Western Australia*, No. 42, 12 May 1967. p.1219.

178 Department of Native Welfare, Letter from the Commissioner of Native Welfare to the Under Secretary for Lands, 14 April 1967. State Records Office, Con 3411 Item NCD 31.04, Reserves Kellerberrin – 21153.

179 Certificate of Title Vol. 1082 Fol. 573.

180 Certificate of Title Vol. 1264 Fol. 881; Certificate of Title Vol. LR3076 Fol. 4.

181 Submission to the Aboriginal Land Enquiry from Clifford Humphries (n.d.). pp.1-2.

182 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.45; Personal communication Wendy Hayden & Carol Yarran (two of Cliff Humphries' daughters) to Kelly Fleming & Amanda Hendry in Kellerberrin, 17 February 2012.

183 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.88.

184 Personal communication Wendy Hayden & Carol Yarran (two of Cliff Humphries' daughters) to Kelly Fleming & Amanda Hendry in Kellerberrin, 17 February 2012.

185 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.47.

be completely dry¹⁸⁶ and was sold door to door for use by farmers for their stock. In the 1990s it was sold for twelve dollars a bag.¹⁸⁷

Tim McCabe, while working with Cliff Humphries recording some of his stories in the 1990s, describes Cliff and Letty taking him 'out to visit and check Djurring' (Djuringe).¹⁸⁸ On returning they caught an Echidna and took it home and ate it noting that these animals were a 'special' meal and were treated as such.¹⁸⁹ McCabe suggests having access to cars encouraged the continuity of revisiting sites and the continuation of a hunter-gatherer economy,¹⁹⁰ and that Kellerberrin Noongars continued to supplement their diet with hunting. He notes that, although general perceptions were that Noongar people had lost their connections with the land traditional activities continued albeit largely 'unseen or hidden' from the broader community.¹⁹¹ He suggests that the 'Wadjella' were ignorant of Noongar people's continuing beliefs in the "old ways", especially their beliefs of enchantment, revenge and magic'.¹⁹² This continuing belief in magic 'maarbarn' in the 'form of the death-curse was frequently suspected' and a tradition referred to as 'blood sharing' is stated as having existed long before British settlement. McCabe notes that many pretended these beliefs no longer existed and they are claimed to be 'things of the past', but he also suggests that there are many things that remain 'hidden from the Wadjella eye' and although their response is often "Nah we don't believe in that we are Christians", there is still an enduring respect for this world.¹⁹³ There were places Cliff would not go and 'his respect for these places was palpable' while there were laws for things 'such as killing and preparing kangaroo; how to divide and share it, and what time of the day it was done'. Laws about sharing appeared to be key amongst those that endured¹⁹⁴ and many of the stories and myths told of 'relationships of reciprocity and obligation'.¹⁹⁵ A footnote to this passage indicates that Noongar reciprocity was noted as early as the 1860s by a colonist of Balladong York who noted it was highly significant and it is suggested that this 'law amongst themselves so stringently compelling them to share their individual possessions with each other' resulted in no one retaining any 'possession or present that has been made to [them]' for any lengthy period.¹⁹⁶

McCabe's description of how Cliff Humphries interacted with his traditional lands provides a useful summation of the strong connection to both the land and ongoing traditions:

I saw Cliff's reverence to the lands of Kellerberrin and beyond, how he related to it, talked, sang and listened to it. I recognized that he read the land as if it was the literature of his people. Reading country had been something his people had always been privy to, and something that, in turn, had been passed on to him and many of his generation. His lands were something that carried

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- 186 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.47.
187 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.45.
188 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.52.
189 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.52.
190 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.57.
191 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.57.
192 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.57.
193 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.58.
194 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.58.
195 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.58.
196 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.59.

symbolic depth. It was something that was read and which, in turn, informed many aspects of his living. Cliff knew the country of Kellerberrin in detail. He knew what to look for, and how to read its many signs.¹⁹⁷

The seasons were announced by both the movements of animals and people across the landscape and it is suggested that modern day movements for events such as 'football grand finals, funerals, periodic weddings, kangaroo hunts and farm work were a continuity of traditional corroboree-like gatherings and their interlinked rituals that celebrated human responsibility, interconnection and celebration'.¹⁹⁸ In addition McCabe concludes that:

Cliff and his family, while having integrated the activities of living in a Wadjella environment, still maintained strong bonds and linkages to their Noongar world. Like their seasonal salt scraping and picking, this activity was matched by their hunting in the same area. Their transportation of the salt brought them into contact with outlying regions of Kellerberrin that furthered their links and possibilities for economic transactions and return. This activity also allowed them to check on kangaroo numbers and take wood for their fires and menna-gum when the opportunity arose.¹⁹⁹

Although many Noongar people adopted Christianity, in Cliff's belief system Christian values and his Noongar belief complimented one another.²⁰⁰ He notes that the church his family attended was actually built on an old corroboree ground²⁰¹ while the various other denominations are in the vicinity of the 'old dinner camp'.

Cliff's mother, Gertie, died in October 1983 at the age of 98²⁰² and her son, Cliff Humphries, died on 27 April 1998 with a fitting tribute published in the *West Australian Newspaper* describing him as the 'oldest known custodian of Nyoongar culture actively involved in reviving the traditional language of South West Aborigines..... [and] the last of a generation of people with an almost uninterrupted knowledge of Nyoongar language, culture and tradition' taught to him primarily by his grandfathers 'Bennial [Bennell] and Minnial'.²⁰³ However, the majority of Cliff's daughters and extended family still live in and around the Kellerberrin area, and the work of ensuring that the stories of the eastern Noongar are told is ongoing. Connections to the place are reinforced through continued visitation and use of the place, including for a recent funeral ceremony for one of Hazel Winmar's sons. The coffin was brought to Mooranoppin and laid on the ground where Hazel had given birth to the deceased and disposed of the placenta many years before.²⁰⁴

In 2000 the inaugural Keela Dreaming Festival was held, and continued to run until at least 2012.²⁰⁵ The festival, run by the local community, the Kellerberrin

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- 197 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.62.
198 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.102.
199 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.105.
200 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.141-148.
201 McCabe, Tim (c.1994) 'The Kellerberrin Kingfisher: Stories of the Man Cliff Humphries'. p.147.
202 Spence, Terry (2001) 'A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee'. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. p. 44.
203 'Elder Devoted to Traditions of Nyoongars - Obituary'. *West Australian Newspaper*, 29 April 1998. p. 30.
204 Personal communication, Reverend Sealin Garlett, to Kelly Fleming & Melissa Maiden, 27 May 2013.
205 Spence, Terry (2001) 'A Man, His Dog & a Dead Kangaroo: Kellerberrin, Doodlakine, Baandee'. Published by the Shire of Kellerberrin. p. 49.

Aboriginal Progress Association, and Community Arts Network Western Australia (CANWA), celebrated Aboriginal culture, showcasing local talents and tradition.²⁰⁶

In 2008-2009 the first phase of a project titled 'Voices of the Wheatbelt' commenced which aimed to 'give voice' to local communities.²⁰⁷ In 2010 an excursion to the Djuringe (Djuring) Mission site took place, supported by CANWA, during which Kellerberrin Elders Charlotte Smith, Hazel Winmar and Reynald McIntosh shared some of their knowledge of traditional culture with Noongar students from Kellerberrin High School, and told stories about life on the Reserve.²⁰⁸ In 2010 oral histories were collected from Noongar people of the Central Eastern Wheatbelt by Mary Anne Jebb and Bill Bunbury being broadcast on ABC radio as part of a series which were then incorporated in the 2011 Keela Dreaming Festival.²⁰⁹

In 2012 the Keela Dreaming Festival was opened by Elder Kathy Yarran who performed the traditional 'Welcome to Country' while Elder Hazel Winmar raised the Keela Dreaming flag.²¹⁰ In addition Cliff Humphries' daughters continue to explore ways to ensure their father's stories, and his recordings of Noongar language, are conserved for future generations.

13.2 PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

The place comprises a number of different areas. These include the former Mission site on the south west corner of the Goldfields Rd/Mission Rd intersection, which is a cleared paddock area, and contains the ruins of the former UAM Mission, Kellerberrin Native School, and six graves, and the Mooranoppin Nature Reserve/Djuringe Reserve on the northwest corner, which includes the former Aboriginal Reserve and numerous traditional sites (corresponds with Registered Site No. 5070 Old Jiriny Mission). In addition, the wider landscape contains numerous traditional Aboriginal occupation and ceremonial areas which have also been included in the curtilage (corresponds with Registered sites No.s 5069, 5071, & 15140). Collectively the place is here referred to as *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin*.

UAM Mission, Kellerberrin Native School and Grave Sites

The UAM Mission site corresponds with Lot 50 D12357 and Lot 1 D28120, and comprises an area just inside the entrance from Mission Road with ruinous structures and building foundations covering approximately 40 x 40 metres, a small isolated fireplace to the west, and six grave markers shaped into iron crosses in the southwest corner. Some of the artefactual material dates to the mid twentieth-century, which is consistent with the occupation of the mission site.

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- 206 CANWA Website. Respect Yourself, Respect Your Culture Keela Dreaming Festival 2011. <http://www.canwa.com.au/articles/news/respect-yourself-respect-your-culture-keela-dreami/> Accessed 27 August 2012.
- 207 CANWA Website. Voices of the Wheatbelt. <http://www.canwa.com.au/projects/voices-of-the-wheatbelt/> Accessed 27 August 2012.
- 208 CANWA Website. Strategic Partnerships Initiative. <http://www.canwa.com.au/projects/strategic-partnerships/> Accessed 29 August 2012.
- 209 Oral History Weekly, Australian Noongar Voices. <http://oral-history.ir/enshow.php?page=news&id=111> Accessed 27 August 2012.
- 210 CANWA Website. Respect Yourself, Respect Your Culture Keela Dreaming Festival 2011. <http://www.canwa.com.au/articles/news/respect-yourself-respect-your-culture-keela-dreami/> Accessed 27 August 2012.

The structural elements are focussed in the location directly inside the entry gate in a triangular shaped area with one track through the southern end on an east-west alignment. There is one isolated fireplace to the northwest (possibly the former Mission Church), approximately 100 metres from the primary site area, which has some additional brick rubble and artefactual material adjacent. Both native trees/shrubs and some introduced tree species (e.g. Pepper Trees, *Schinus molle*) are situated within the mission site area with the remainder of the site being largely cleared of trees, albeit with some scattered eucalypt species and one or two other introduced species. The ground cover mainly comprises a light covering of veldt grass.

The general perimeter of the site is bounded by a well cleared fire break/track which exhibits evidence for artefactual material, primarily glass, ceramic, brick and metal, in the soil heaps lining the fire break mainly at the mission site area and isolated brick fireplace location. The area outside of this firebreak includes a number of areas of scrap metal dumping, including what appear to be boilers, farm machinery, a few car bodies, and other general refuse. A specific date could not be assigned to this material but in general appearance it did not appear 'modern' i.e. later twentieth-century, and more likely dates to the c.1950-60 period. This area, outside of the fire break, to the south and west perimeter boundaries, comprises a more dense wooded area with granite outcropping and evidence for water courses running through it in times of higher rainfall. At the time of our visit (February) there was no water on site. A historical fence line of bush timber posts and wire (some barbed) was discernible lying on the ground (some posts were still standing) throughout the south and west perimeters of the site and likely corresponds with the historical lot boundary.

Mission & School

The area situated directly inside the entrance off Mission Road is believed to be the main Mission and School buildings. However, as no historical site plans have been located the function of each structural element has not yet been confirmed. In the northeast quadrant of this area there are two discernible brick paved floors approximately 5 x 7.5 metres one of which has a brick step to its eastern side. To the east and south of these brick floors are two brick line foundations. The eastern one has two semi-circular extensions to its eastern side, which may indicate this was a garden bed. The southern brick line bounds a collapsed brick fireplace and has a small brick step to its southern edge. In the southeast quadrant of this area there is a square shaped stone foundation approximately 2.5 x 2.5 metres in size. The west of this quadrant comprises a roughly rectangular shaped fenced area, likely for stock or gardens. The fencing is fairly dilapidated but its overall dimensions and shape are generally discernible.

Just south of the above structural elements is a dirt track running east-west across which there are additional foundations. One of these comprises two rows of timber posts spaced 2-3 metres apart, also in an east-west alignment, with an earth mound adjacent to the west end and a cement pad to the east. Further to the south, approximately 18 metres south of the track are two square concrete pads with drains in their centres. These are assumed to be associated with the ablution facilities known to have been situated adjacent to the dormitories.

The ground surface surrounding the structural elements exhibits evidence for artefact scatters and clusters which could largely be described as 'domestic' in

nature albeit with a large proportion of building materials dispersed throughout the site.

Possible Church

To the west, approximately 100 metres from the primary area of structural remains, is a ruinous square-shaped brick fireplace with a small mound of building rubble adjacent. Limited additional structural elements or artefactual material were observed in the immediate surrounds.

Graves

In the southwest quadrant of Lot 1 there are 6 iron crosses in a north-south line marking grave sites which are on an east-west alignment. The graves themselves are otherwise unmarked but the differential vegetation growth (wild oats) to the east of each cross would suggest this is the area of the burial.

Mooranoppin Nature Reserve/Djuringe Aboriginal Reserve

The former Aboriginal Reserve site (corresponding to Lot 17066, Portion Reserve 21153), is largely covered with native trees/bush. The site contains historical artefactual material relating to the Reserve occupation period, as well as traditional material culture, pre-contact art, archaeological, and anthropological sites. The area is known to contain Aboriginal art sites, water sources, ceremonial areas, Aboriginal camp sites, two infant burials marked by granite boulders and metal grave surrounds, a former 'Male Only' initiation area, and the former Aboriginal Reserve (c.1934). Ceremonial areas are understood to have been concentrated in the southernmost portion of the lot. A modern shelter and ablution block are situated close to the entrance from Mission Road.

In August 2014 a site survey of the Aboriginal Reserve site (Lot 17066, Portion Reserve 21153) was undertaken by Department staff. The majority of the lot was traversed using pedestrian transects, and the archaeological material across the site characterised.

The archaeological material across the Aboriginal Reserve site occurs in isolated refuse disposal areas of varied dimensions. The material in these areas is consistent with occupation during the early to mid-twentieth century and largely comprises scatters of ferrous food and kerosene cans, glass and ceramics with other items such as car bodies, furniture frames, shotgun cartridges, and some structural material such as galvanised corrugated iron and a small number of bricks. Approximately seven more substantial refuse areas were briefly surveyed and photographed, while smaller scattered dumps were observed across the Reserve. Refuse areas situated closer to Goldfields Road appear to comprise more recent material. However, no detailed analysis was undertaken.

Wider Context

The land surrounding the Mooranoppin Nature Reserve/Djuringe Aboriginal Reserve and Mission site contains a number of traditional Aboriginal occupation and ceremonial sites. The Aboriginal Heritage Inquiry System lists the following places:

- ID 5069/Site No. S00096 Mooranoppin Rock – painting
- ID 5071/Site No. S00098 Shark Mouth, Kellerberrin – ceremonial, painting
- ID 15140/Site No. S03044 Jureen Rock – painting

Mooranoppin Rock, Shark Mouth and Jureen Rock have not been surveyed at his time (2022) and some sites are restricted access. These will not be included in the physical evidence.

13.3 COMPARATIVE INFORMATION

Principal Australian Historic Theme(s)

- 2.1 Living as Australia's earliest inhabitants
- 2.6.2 Displacing Indigenous people
- 7.6.7 Enforcing discriminatory legislation
- 7.6.8 Administering Indigenous Affairs
- 8.6.7 Running missions to Australia's indigenous people
- 8.6.4 Making places for worship
- 6.2 Establishing schools

Heritage Council of Western Australia Theme(s)

- 102 Aboriginal occupation
- 103 Racial contact and interaction
- 108 Government policy
- 401 Government and politics
- 406 Religion
- 408 Institutions
- 601 Aboriginal people

Comparative Analysis

Missions

A search of the Historic Heritage database for the keyword 'mission' returns 81 places, eight of which (excluding *Djuringe Mooranoppin*, *Kellerberrin*) date to after World War II, none of which are on the State Register of Heritage Places:

- P7041 St Francis Xavier Mission (fmr) Complex, Mission Rd, Wandering
- P9745 Old Mowanjun Mission – site, near Derby
- P9759 UAM Hostel, Cnr Alfonsas & Ashley Streets, Derby
- P9764 Second School, Buruwa, Mission Site (fmr), Fitzroy Crossing
- P15374 Catholic Church (fmr), Cnr Tamarind & Creek Streets, Tom Price
- P16875 La Grange Community, Broome
- P18575 Ardross House, 7 Hallin Court, Ardross
- P18576 Pallotine Mission Centre, Rossmoyne, 50 Fifth Avenue

As these places have not been assessed it is difficult to determine their exact nature though it is likely at least some were established at the site of former reserves or Aboriginal occupation areas, as this is understood to have been a common practice.

Of the above 81 places with the keyword 'mission' dating to any time period, 15 are on the State Register of Heritage Places. Of these the following are noted as potentially being most comparable to the Mission at *Djuringe Mooranoppin*, *Kellerberrin*:

- P0690 Lombadina Mission, Broome (1913-1934)
- P2968 Wyening Mission Group (fmr) (1892)
- P3130 Mt Margaret Mission Hospital (ruin) (1897-1936)
- P3618 Mogumber Farm (Moore River Native Settlement) (1918)
- P3630 Beagle Bay Mission Church (1915-1918)
- P10592 Carrollup Native Settlement (1915-1950)
- P12670 Lake Grace Hospital (Australian Inland Mission Hospital) (1926-1983)
- P14470 Swanleigh Precinct, Middle Swan (1850-1995)

However, the connection of these places to traditional camping/occupation areas is currently unclear.

The Historic Heritage database lists two places associated with the United Aborigines Mission:

- P3130 Mt Margaret Mission Hospital (ruin), Laverton - RHP
- P9759 UAM Hostel (United Aborigines Mission Hostel), Derby

P3130 Mt Margaret Mission Hospital (ruin) is on the State Register, but it is unclear from the available information how comparable this is to the Mission at *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin*, for example whether there was a similar pattern of continuity of occupation of the sites. Only limited information is available for P9759 UAM Hostel (United Aborigines Mission Hostel), Derby.

Although the Historic Heritage database lists a number of missions, sources suggest there were numerous other Aboriginal missions that may not have been recognised as such, or for their heritage value. For example, there are 74 Aboriginal missions listed on the State Records Mission Files Index but the vast majority of these are not entered into the Historic Heritage database. Those that are included have been entered only for extant structures (e.g. hospitals) and are not recognised as also being the 'site' of a mission. This would suggest that *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* may not necessarily be rare. However, the place is a good representative example of missions established in regional Western Australia adjacent to former reserves and/or traditional camping grounds, and is notable for its density of site types, both anthropological and archaeological, as well as the intactness of the archaeological remains.

Reserves

A keyword search for 'Aboriginal' and 'Reserve' of the Historic Heritage database returns 8 places that may be comparable to the Aboriginal Reserve at *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* with one additional place returned for a search of 'Native' and 'Reserve' none of which is on the State Register:

- P5958 Morgan St Aboriginal Transitional Houses (One Mile Aboriginal Reserve)
- P6838 Carnarvon Aboriginal Reserve Site
- P8660 Aboriginal Reserve – Site of, Roebourne
- P9020 Aboriginal Reserve, Wagin
- P13124 Aboriginal Reserve Ground (fmr) Site, Bunbury
- P18807 Aboriginal Reserve and Nissen Hut, West Arthur

- P10558 Welshpool Native Reserve Settlement (fmr) – site, Kalamunda

Another Aboriginal Reserve is situated adjacent to *P13516 2/1 Australian General Hospital (ruins), Merredin*. This is also not entered in the State Register.

It is unknown whether any of the above Aboriginal Reserves were situated adjacent to an Aboriginal Mission or School during their periods of occupation.

A search for 'Native' and School returns a number of entries (33) but of these only one appears to be identified specifically as an Aboriginal School and is not entered on the State Register:

- P5596 Aboriginal School, Beverley

Other schools are known to have been situated within Aboriginal Settlements and Missions, four of which are on the State Register, with another on the Heritage Council's Assessment Program:

- *P10592 Carrolup Native Settlement*, Kojonup (RHP)
- *P0573 Clontarf*, Waterford (RHP)
- *P9818 Coinda House*, Mount Lawley (RHP)
- *P3618 Mogumber Mission (fmr) & Cemetery*, Mindarra (RHP)
- P6029 Gnowangerup Agricultural School (Gnowangerup Aboriginal Mission) – HCWA Assessment Program

Although the above would suggest that the individual elements within *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* are not rare, the place is likely to have some rarity value for the extant fabric relating to the various elements and their associations.

13. 4 KEY REFERENCES

13. 5 FURTHER RESEARCH

Additional research and analysis of the locations and nature of Mission, Reserve and Native School sites would provide clarity with regard to the potential rarity of *Djuringe Mooranoppin, Kellerberrin* and the practice of the co-location of these places beside traditional occupation and ceremonial sites.