Chapter 8

Notes:
The late Eddy (‘Tomahawk’) Sales was an amazing advocate for his Darkiñung people (or as he would say, ‘Darkinoong true blood’). It appears to be due to his promotion that modern people mistakenly thought that the Central Coast was Darkiñung ancestral country rather than recognising the traditional Wannungine there. ‘Tommy’s’ mother, ‘Nana’ Sales (née Newman), was herself a remarkable Aboriginal woman, the granddaughter of Mrs Sophia Newman from Wollombi. As Sophie Newman, Robert Mathews knew her after the death of her first husband when she was living with her Darkiñung people at Sackville on the Hawkesbury River. The photo is an extract from a Sales family photograph of which I am grateful for being allowed to use.
Part II (4)

Chapter 8

The Darkiñung-Language Identity Taken Out of Country:
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“....there is little to remind us of those vanquished tribes who inhabited these forested lands for countless years” Stinson 1979. The history of the Central Coast of NSW - currently identified as Darkinjung Country - has been presented in such a way as to install collective amnesia, dislocation, perhaps misplaced compassion and invisibility.¹

The Issue

Language identifications are used to define Country and its People, as dealt with in previous chapters, Chapters 6 and 7 (which detail the escape of the language term Dharug out of its true ancestral place on the Georges River to be misapplied to its north on the Hawkesbury River). Correspondingly, this chapter summarises the escape of the term Darkiŋung out of its ancestral country to be misapplied to its east on the Central Coast.² The historic territories are discussed in detail in Part III. This chapter has had to be included in response to repeated requests for me to deal with this issue as if it was part of the thesis topic in order to be placed in the public domain for reference. Without the explanation in this chapter, the thesis would be unbalanced, and the recognition of the Darkiŋung incomplete.

The work reported for this chapter provides a resolution as to how Norman Tindale of the South Australian Museum (SAM), followed by some people of Newcastle University, incorrectly allocated the middle part of the New South Wales Central Coast to have been traditional, ancestral, ‘Darkinjung Country’. The deception may be attributed to a twentieth century showman, who, like a conjuror did not perform alone.

¹ Stinson 1979 did write about the NSW Central Coast, of: ‘great forested wildernesses that had been effectively protected by those most exemplary conservationists, the indigenous Aborigines’ and they lived ‘without adverse effects on their environment and they were exemplary conversationists.’ I did not find Blair's above quote of Stinson 1979. \ Nerida (‘Ned’) Blair, ‘Darkinjung Country: Recapturing the Essence of New South Wales’ Central Coast’, Locality, Journal of Australian Centre for Public History, University of Technology Sydney, Issue Autumn 2002, pp.12-14; Edward Stinson, 1979, ‘A Pictorial History of the Wyong Shire’ Vol.One, Wyong Shire Council, Wyong, my quotes in this footnote p.viii, p.6.

² The Family History study summarised for this chapter is from a 2005 project which has not been undertaken for Sydney University research. The issue discussed is not a matter of colonial history records as for this thesis. It is a twentieth century phenomenon, so I have followed the protocol of not including previously unpublished details concerning the Aboriginal-descent people who have been personally contributing to this project.
While more and more Aboriginal descendants become involved in the legislative and emotive politics of
land rights and title, those are not aspects of my studies. My research of Local History and Family
History does involve the historic identification of ancestral People, their Country and Language - as for
citation of Grace Karskens by Richard Waterhouse in the Preamble of Part I. The inaugural Family
Gathering of Darkiñung people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges occurred on the Hawkesbury River,
held at Wilberforce, Sunday 6 November 2005. It was attended by descendants of Aborigines whom
Robert Mathews had recognised in his notebooks as such Darkiñung people (Chapter 6): including John
Barber and Mildred Saunders (‘Butha’) from the Hawkesbury River, and Mildred's son's wife ‘Mrs
Everingham’ (‘Madha’) and Joe Goobra from the Wollombi Brook (Chapter 4). Members of the
Aboriginal Saunders family seem to have dispersed among other Aboriginal groups, and representatives
attended other than Mildred's descendants.³ Notably absent were any people who identified as Family of
Sophie Newman who is listed by Mathews among these Darkiñung people.⁴ This chapter is an historical
account about Sophie's missing Family.

Darkiñung Language Taught as ‘Darkinjung’ on the Coast - Instead of Local Language

Two women arrived at the November 2005 meeting who identified as members of a ‘Darkinjung’
language revival group at Wyong on the Central Coast being conducted by linguist Caroline Jones.⁵ In
2005 it was reported that Jones, then from the University of New South Wales, had recovered ‘52 items’
of the Aboriginal language (although it eventuated that these were Central Coast location specific rather
than Darkiñung language specific).⁶ With some exemplary historical research, Jones subsequently
discovered during her project that the language which she termed ‘Darkinyung’ had not come from the

³ A 2005 gathering open to the public, entirely planned and conducted by descendants, was held on
Sunday 5 November 2005 at Wilberforce. Visitors included J. Brook and J.L. Kohen from Blacktown
and District Historical Society, who had assisted descendants at Blacktown establish the Darug Tribal
Link (Chapter 7). I was present at Wilberforce as a guest speaker. The then chairman of the Darug Tribal
Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC) was present as an invitee - there was no other known organised group
with Darkiñung members other than DTAC. However, I have since found the Darug Custodians
Aboriginal Corporation also has Darkiñung members. The Custodians were a breakaway group from the
Tribal Link at the time of registration as Aboriginal Corporations in 1996.

⁴ Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook (red torn cover), unpublished, held at National Library of

⁵ The resultant book was ‘a project of Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre (MRALC), under the
auspices of Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative (MALCC), Nambucca Heads’.
‘Many Rivers’ includes rivers north from the Hawkesbury River. \ Caroline Jones, 2008, ‘Darkinyung
Grammar and Dictionary: Revitalising a Language from Historical Sources’, Muurrbay Aboriginal
Language and Culture Co-operative, Nambucca Heads, p.viii.

Central Coast but had been sourced from the Hawkesbury River, as discussed for this thesis in Chapter 6. Thus it could be concluded from Jones's ‘Historical Sources’ that ‘Darkinjung’ was not the language of the coast - which is dealt with in Chapter 9/NE of this thesis. Mathews identified the coastal people as calling themselves Wannoninge. On Monday 15 December 2008 in her presentation during the launch ceremony for her Darkinyung book at a Newcastle University campus, Jones tactfully avoided drawing attention to the anomaly that the Darkinjung language from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges Wallambine country is being taught in the coastal Wannoninge country - which already has its own language book similarly published which had been prepared by Amanda Lissarrague as discussed in Chapter 9/NE.

The chairman of the ‘Darkinyung Language Group’, published as Bronwyn Chambers, dedicated Jones's book to her father, the late Ron Williams. He is an established descendant of the Central Coast Aborigines ‘King Molly’ (alias Black ‘Ned’) and ‘Queen Margaret’ known from [White] Ned Hargraves's place at Norah Head (Chapter 2), and thus coastal Wannoninge by Mathew's designation. Bronwyn Chambers is of mixed ancestry, because on the other hand, her mother (née Noakes) is an established descendant of Mathew's Sophie Newman as above, and thus she actually does have inland Darkinjung ancestry by Mathew's designation. Aboriginal people at the Central Coast have tended to gather around Tacoma at Wyong Creek (aka ‘the river’) where they have always been on Tuggerah Lakes as a fishing community. Recorded at Wollombi as Sophia Johnson, this Darkinjung Aboriginal woman was married by a Catholic priest to newly immigrant Englishman Edward Newman at Wollombi in 1867, and they left the ‘inland’ ranges to reside on the ‘coast’ where their family was reared - and has remained.

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7 Jones 2008 ‘Darkinyung’, pp.5-6.
9 I attended the ceremony. I am using the term Wannoninge as the alternative to the term Wannerawa which actually apply for these coastal people. Due to misrepresentation from 1887, the Wannerawa (as ‘Wonnarua’) were mistakenly thought to have been the upper Hunter Valley people, when actually the Kamilaroi had penetrated there over the Liverpool Range (Chapters 9/NE and 12/NW).
10 While the descendants of other Central Coast Aborigines normally identify as ‘Guringai’ now, members of Ron Williams's family normally identify as ‘Awabakal’ now, because Black Ned and Margaret with their children moved from Tuggerah Lakes and took up residence at the entrance to Lake Macquarie. This situation is discussed in Chapter 9/NE. The identifications ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’ were both derived from terms coined by John Fraser (Chapter 9/NE). The people who have chosen to use these two terms together are the traditional Wannoninge. This thesis is not studying the coastal people, but it is observed that traditional Aborigines such as Bungaree and ‘Molly’ (alias Black ‘Ned’) appeared in history at locations of both the present day ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’.
11 I had collected research data as part of another project. The genealogy family history has since been independently published - although the birth record used by Dewberry for Sophia Johnson is that of (continued...)
period after her first husband died in 1889, the widow Sophia went back, to stay with her Darkiñung
Aboriginal family on the Hawkesbury River - about the time Mathews started riding from Parramatta to
Sackville (Chapter 6), where he recorded her as Sophie Newman.  

Sophie's Darkiñung Family on the Coast

Sophia (‘Sophie’), knew she was Darkiñung, and so did her family, who propagated their tribal identity
around the Central Coast, while the people descended from the traditional, ancestral, Aborigines of the
coast were not then making a public issue about their identity.  

Sophie’s ten children born from 1868 to 1883 married on the coast, leaving a large Darkiñung population there. Several of her descendants
intermarried with the pre-existing Wannungine coastal people who have adopted the terms ‘Guringai’ and
‘Awabakal’ for their present day Aboriginal identification. Of the known local history, her granddaughter
Edna Gertrude Newman born 1907, who married Darcy Sales, was the ‘Nana Sales’ who had eight
children and kept an ‘open house’ for Aborigines near ‘the river’ at Wyong.

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11 (...continued)
another Sophia Johnson who married Richard Dunstan at Windsor in the same year, 1867. \ Pam
Living at Rocky Point, North and South Tacoma’, self published, Wyong (pages not numbered). Newman
Family, plus Noakes and Sales Families (Branches of Newman Family) are included. I have had personal
discussions with members of those family branches, who have shared historical documents - for which
I am immensely indebted and grateful.


13 During another cultural heritage study in the 1990s before my involvement with the Darkiñung of the
Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, I had researched history of the traditional Aborigines of the Central Coast at
the time of settlement, known as the ‘Broken Bay tribe’. I declare another interest: as I got to know
descendants, I have found other cousins - that is, descended from common convict ancestors.
Some of Edna Sales's children, grandchildren and great grandchildren had involvement in the Darkinjung Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) which was to follow, as below. Her eldest son, Edward (‘Eddy’) Sales born 1923 became a performer with sideshows at rural showgrounds, where he learnt to assume an appropriate ‘identity’ for the occasion - such as being a North American Indian which meant one could go to a country pub in the Interior where Australian Aborigines were then banned. Away from home as a ‘Red Indian’, Eddy adopted the stage name of ‘Tomahawk’, and back on the Central Coast Dewberry recorded he ‘liked to wear a big hat and dress in cowboy gear’. He became well known as ‘Tommy’ Sales, where he gave talking performances describing the sort of Aboriginal culture which enthralled his white middle class audiences. He went to La Perouse where he sold boomerangs made at Tacoma. For his later public talks he put up his age by seven years (which would have made him born before his mother reached puberty). His Aboriginal mother ‘Nana Sales’ has been reported to me by white archaeologists or land managers as exhorting him to stop his - to her unacceptable - ‘exaggerations’. She survived Tommy by four years. Her obituary in the local newspaper stated that there were members of her family ‘in just about every pocket of the Central Coast extending northward to the upper Hunter’.

After his wife's death Tommy had four other partners recognised by his family - he claimed more (and children of more claim him). In 1995 his funeral supervised by his mother was standing room only, with uncounted people there as his Darkinjung children or grandchildren. A marvellous Aboriginal woman who is revered, Auntie Beve Spiers (who had originated from the Hunter Valley and also been identified as ‘Darkinoong’) conducted the service. Transcriptions of some of Tommy's later talks had been made by Val Francis, a white schoolteacher enthralled with Tommy's stories about Darkinjung culture. Tommy's grandfather lived until Tommy was twenty years old. To the public Tommy said that his grandfather living on the Central Coast (mother's father Edward Newman jnr), whom he called Katala, was the last Aboriginal Chief of the ‘Darkinoong’ Tribe, called ‘King’ by the white men, thereby convincing these well meaning well educated white people that the Central Coast had always been

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14 Even during my current research, contact has been made with me by people whose mother had told them that Tommy Sales was their father. This would increase the number of Darkinjung descendants around Newcastle and on the Central Coast.

15 From local family history (unpublished) shared with me, it is likely that Beve is closely related to Tommy's mate Eric mentioned later this chapter. \reference ‘Return Thanks’, notice from Mrs Edna Sales for attendance at her son's funeral. Central Coast Express, 12 January 1995 (in collection of a member of Sales family).

16 From people who informed me about Tommy's talks, one would have to wonder if the audience had been eating magic mushrooms. In an understatement from another scholar who is familiar with the topic, 2005, ‘something in his [Tommy's] accounts [transcribed by Francis] doesn’t quite ring true’. \Val Francis, date ng, ‘Tom Sales’, student project for Armidale College of Advanced Education, Armidale.
country of ‘Darkinjung’ people.\textsuperscript{17} With such high-exposure publicity, this concept was taken up, and accepted, by members of the emerging Aboriginal organisation, particularly those who had originated in the Interior of northwest NSW with Kamilaroi ancestry and were seeking cultural relevance in their new place of residence.

Mountain Darkiñung Identity Used as ‘Darkinjung’ by Coastal Aboriginal Community Group

When a local Aboriginal community group was registering to take advantage of becoming a new Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) under the 1983 New South Wales mercenary Land Rights legislation,\textsuperscript{18} Tommy advocated the name being ‘Darkinjung’ from his own ancestry, although he was not so popular among other Aboriginal people in the organisation that they adopted it because of him.\textsuperscript{19} The adoption of ‘Darkinjung’ for the LALC was more likely to have originated from the insidious influence of Tindale's 1974 map, which had erroneously placed ‘Darkinjang’ across Tuggerah Lakes, encompassing this community who were predominately fishermen. I propose that it would have been members of Sophie Newman’s Darkiñung Family who had met Tindale and Birdsell during their peripatetic tours around the continent when they were trying to put all Australian Aboriginal ‘Tribes’ into boxes.\textsuperscript{20} Tindale's publication may also have led into the reason why the LALC term ‘Darkinjung’ was also unwittingly adopted for the traditional Central Coast Aboriginal people at Newcastle University.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{17} The Dewberry book has a photograph of Tommy's grandfather, Edward Newman jnr the fisherman, (sourced from Tommy's uncle the late Gordon ‘Booker’ Newman). After his wife left him, Edward reared his daughter Edna, Tommy's mother, and son Gordon with a ‘Darkinoong’ identity. Gordon became a fisherman. He recalled (published by Pam Dewberry) that they went away from home for days and slept in the open under a corn bag. [This I can identify with: I’ve been away from home and slept under a bush - where there was no rock ledge to crawl under to avoid the dew or frost.] Separately to many family members whose names are not published so I will not name here, I acknowledge with gratitude general background from graduate Aboriginal school teacher and education manager, Dave Ella - an impartial man whom I have known for about fifteen years. (He is not from families involved in my studies.)

\textsuperscript{18} By mercenary legislation I mean providing Crown Land for commercial opportunities, in contrast to heritage legislation providing land to be retained for cultural use. By commercial use of the land as intended by the NSW state government, some Councils have been able to develop their original community services functions which the state government was to stop funding.

\textsuperscript{19} Records of Central Coast Aboriginal Community Group, 1983 (in family member's collection).

\textsuperscript{20} I have dealt with Tindale & Birdsell's 1930s and 1950s excursions and influence in Chapter 7, with references to Tindale 1940 and 1974.

\textsuperscript{21} In an extraordinary twist, the university received a Federation Grant [start quote] to pursue aspects of Darkinjung history through the life of Bungaree, a well documented and well known Darkinjung man [end quote]. The university was writing about the same Bungaree whose coastal Broken Bay tribe were separate to the mountain Wollombi Darkiñung tribe. They were the ancestral people of the Wamunungine Kuringgai group [various spellings] now known as ‘Guringai’ (Chapter 9/NE). The ‘historians’ doing research for the university did not check the identity, merely substituting the word ‘Darkinjung’ for Central Coast ‘Aborigine’. (Although Caroline Jones as above had started the same way, as soon as she checked the historical identity she corrected the mistake but did not let anybody know, while she retained (continued...)}
residents seem to think that a name for a LALC would be the name for the ancestral tribe which occupied that land. On the contrary, it is the exception rather than the norm, since local town names are usually used in New South Wales to identify Local Aboriginal Land Councils.

I have found that the late Tommy Sales, born 1923, was not necessarily the only Darkinjung descendant advocating a ‘Darkinjung’ identity, although he was the most publically recognised. However, he distinguished the term ‘Darkinjung’ as being used non-specifically for the Central Coast, while those persons whom he knew had Aboriginal ancestors specifically from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (including his own family) told me he addressed them as ‘Darkinoong- true-blood’.

21(continued) Jim Kohen (as ‘Cohen’) is acknowledged with the ‘Local Historians’ in the published 2000 Report. The university's professional historian responsible is published in the initial appendix of both reports as: ‘Professor Lyndall Ryan, Head School of Humanities, Faculty of the Central Coast’. Indigenous representatives named as contributing, who came from the LALC, were not descendants of the local coastal ancestral Aborigines and thus had no traditional indigenous links with the area. \ Nerida Blair (compiler), 2000, ‘Darkinjung History: Lands, Waters, Peoples and Culture’ - A Report to A.I.A.T.S.I.S., Umulliko Indigenous Higher Education Research Centre, The University of Newcastle; Nerida Blair (compiler), 2001, ‘Bungaree: An Indigenous Statesman or Colonial Puppet?’ - A Report to Aboriginal History Project for NSW Centenary of Federation, Umulliko Indigenous Higher Education Research Centre, The University of Newcastle; Nerida Blair (ed.), 2003, ‘Darkinjung Community Standing Strong’, Gosford City Council, booklet published for the exhibition of the same name, Gosford Regional Gallery, June-August 2003.

22 I have been referred to erroneous statements that the traditional Darkinjung Aborigines occupied the land of the Gosford and Wyong local government Council areas, with the same boundaries as set for local government. This happened because that was the land allocated by the state government to this LALC. The centre of actual ancestral Darkinjung country in the Macdonald Valley Branch of the Hawkesbury River with other local government boundaries was allocated to the Sydney Metropolitan LALC (the Redfern mob, aka ‘Metro’), yet it does not seem that anyone assumes that the traditional Aborigines there would have belonged to Aborigines named the same as a Land Council, i.e. called the Metro Tribe and speaking an Aboriginal language called Metro.

23 Of the 119 LALCs in NSW, only about 10% have used Aboriginal words for their names. Predominately, they are named for the central town, so the Central Coast LALC would be the Wyong (or Tacoma) mob, where the Sydney LALC is the Metropolitan (or Redfern) mob. Samples of LALC names elsewhere are: Armidale, Bathurst, Casino, Deniliquin, Eden, Forster, Glen Innes, Hay, Ivanhoe, Jerringa, Kempsey, Lightening Ridge, and so on. \ ‘LALC Regions and Boundaries’, accessed online at link www.alc.org.au/land-councils/, rechecked 2010.

24 Even professional historians are not innocent of mistaking the historical significance of a LALC name. Keating, for instance, wrote that an older version (‘Gandangara’) used by a local Land Council is preferred for the tribal term ‘Gundungurra’. He then erroneously used the Land Council name to apply to local people despite the fact that the land allocated by the state government to this particular LALC is within the country of the Dharug people and has no relationship with traditional (historic) land of the Gundungurra people (Chapters 10/SE and 11/SW). \ Christopher Keating, 1996, ‘Aboriginal Culture and Environment’, Chapter 1 pp.1-7 in ‘On the Frontier - A Social History of Liverpool’, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, p.1, sidenote 1.

25 Tommy's pronunciation was more valid than that used for the LALC, as footnoted in Chapter 6.
The *Darkiňung* Thespians: Tommy and Eric

Among Tommy's *Darkiňung* mates was an Aboriginal man whom I have found to have been an awe-inspiring performer. The late Eric Taggart, born 1918, was the grandson of ‘Harry’ Taggart, an Aborigine from Putty (Chapter 4) who had married a girl from England. With Tommy as his tout, Eric could emerge from the Wollombi bush in the ranges as a wild Aborigine complete with primitive wooden weapons, and disappear again as an uncivilised hunter. His cache of weapons is still hidden in a secret closed rock cavity. If pressed for more detail, Tommy would relate that when Eric had been coaxed from the bush he was run over by a truck, and his body buried under a tree in the ranges. I wonder if the tree that Tommy pointed out for his ‘burial’ is the same tree that Eric used to point out for his ‘birth’ to his open mouthed admirers. He is buried at Singleton cemetery, and used to hunt in the bush with a rifle.

Around the Singleton district where Eric Taggart worked casually as a farmhand, stories of his tall tales are so much a legend that he could have put Frank Hardy's Billy Borker to shame. The industrial affairs journalist Percy A. Haslam began to turn up with his newspaper driver and photographer George Steele at Eric's house so often, to enquire about Aboriginal culture, that Eric had to resort to taller and taller tales to satisfy him. Eric was far too intelligent to make his stories as implausible as some of Tommy's had been for his public performances, and Percy's reports from Eric's tales are included in his (Haslam's) records. According to the biography, Haslam travelled widely to collect published references and in search of unpublished stories, and was awarded an honorary degree at Newcastle University for his studies. His reports form a basis of Haslam records about Aboriginal culture archived at Newcastle University where they are used by students and researchers.

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27 In the book Preface, Clement Semmler wrote that Frank Hardy's Billy Borker ‘is in the same bracket as Paterson's Saltbush Bill and John Manifold's Bogong Jack.’ The Billy Borker series was broadcast on television, where ‘He has the gift of making the tallest story somehow credible.’ Frank Hardy, 1965, ‘The Yarns of Billy Borker’, A.H. & A.W. Reed, and Horwitz, London, republished 1967, Ure Smith, Sydney.

28 Some of Haslam's notes for his collection are about as imaginative as Tommy had come up with, for example on female initiation, but this is not a topic for which there is space in this thesis. John Maynard, date ng, ‘Percy Haslam (d.1987)’, Newcastle University Awabakal site online; ‘Aboriginal Dreamtime of the Hunter Region - The Percy Haslam Collection’, catalogue accessed online at www.newcastle.edu.au/service/archives/dreamtime; ‘Unlocking Regional Memory, Archival Resources, Auchmuty Library, University of Newcastle: The Percy Haslam Collection’, catalogue accessed online at www.nswera.net.au/archives. (The Archives are now the university library Cultural (continued...
Although these two pranksters shared their common Darkiñung identity from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, it appears that Tommy only promulgated that ancestry publically where Sophie Newman's Aboriginal family descendants were on the Central Coast, for in the Hunter Valley Harry Taggart's Aboriginal family descendants have been incorrectly regarded as Wonnarua. Yet, Haslam erroneously wrote about these Darkiñung Aboriginal people as Awabakal. While some of the ancestral people are mentioned in Part I, the histories of identifications at the time of settlement for the Aborigines bordering the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges are discussed in Part III.

Chapter 8 Findings

Darkiñung Aboriginal persons of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in the 1890s were listed by Robert Mathews, among whom was Sophie Newman who in 1867 had gone from Wollombi in the ranges to the coast where she had reared her family. Members of the Newman Family retained their ranges Darkiñung identity on the coast where they joined the Aboriginal fishing community. This Darkiñung identity was maintained in public and appeared to have been taken up for Wyong (across to The Entrance of the Tuggerah Lakes) when Norman Tindale from South Australia was collecting local data for his maps of ‘Tribal Boundaries’ in Australia. The traditional Wannungine local identity was not publicised during this period, allowing people to mistakenly assume that the Central Coast had been ‘Darkinjung’.

A Newman family member, the late ‘Tommy’ Sales, had presented Darkiñung as a tribal name to the public, using it in his talks on the Central Coast. Although in New South Wales the boundaries of Local Aboriginal Land Councils do not reflect any sort of Tribal boundaries and it is not usual for Land Council names to be the same as for local ‘traditional owners’, when the Land Council covering Gosford and

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(continued)

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28(...continued)
Collection.)

29 Despite the misidentification of the Taggart family from the ranges, others sought to maintain their identity, even after it was wrongly ‘borrowed’ by the LALC. Vicki Silk (née Everingham) and Ruby James (née Packer), the elder granddaughters of Madha (Mrs Everingham - Chapter 4) shared an understanding of their Aboriginal heritage within the family of Madha's descendants. It was Ruby who sent her eldest daughter Gracie to care for the little daughters of Madha's grandson Bill Onus (illustration at start of Chapter 4). I recognise a granddaughter of another of Ruby's daughters, Cindy Laws, as reclaiming their Aboriginal identity from the Central Coast LALC to become the first modern person to publish that it was Aborigines on the Hawkesbury who were Darkinjung. (Cindy had told me they knew they were not Dharug.) \ Cindy Laws, 2002, ‘Wargan the Crow’, Envirobook, Annandale (Sydney).
Wyong Councils' local government areas adopted the title ‘Darkinjung’, it led to a ‘mass consciousness’ that this meant the original Central Coast Aborigines at the time of settlement would have been the Darkiñung. That concept is not supported from knowledge of legislative history, of Local History or Family History.

[The historic traditional Wannungine Aboriginal people of the coast currently refer to themselves using the terms ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’ (Chapter 9/NE).]