



Pigeon pie, anyone?

Greg: [00:07](#) G'day, and welcome to Today's Stories from our Past. I'm your host Greg and my co-host is Peter.

Peter: [00:14](#) Hi Greg.

Greg: [00:16](#) Hi Peter. This podcast explores the Australian social history using events in our own family as a starting point and telling a story that perhaps resonates with you. So Peter, what's today's story all about?

Peter: [00:26](#) Well, I was thinking recently about stories my father told about being so poor during the Great Depression that they had to shoot wild pigeons to get food for the family. This got me thinking, well, we all know that Australia has unique flora and fauna, kangaroos, koalas, drop bears¹ and such. Well our podcast is about Australian social history, but our flora and fauna have a continual effect on the lives that we live and therefore have an effect on our social history. We don't live separate to our environment. We live in it. So, I thought that we should do a podcast about the interaction between one member of our wildlife, namely a bird, and both indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

Greg: [01:13](#) Okay, that sounds a bit different. Which particular bird did you have in mind? emus, magpies, bin chickens²?

Peter: [01:21](#) No. No. None of those usual suspects. As I said, this story came to mind when I remembered stories about my father eating pigeons during the Great Depression. This podcast is about the Wonga pigeon.



- Greg: [01:34](#) Right. I've heard about them because my grandfather told similar stories, about eating Wonga pigeons. Apparently, they were good tucker³. So what do they look like?
- Peter: [01:45](#) Well, the Wonga pigeon, or it's sometimes called the Wonga Wonga, is a large plump ground-dwelling pigeon, small head, short, broad wings, long tail. It's mostly grey above and has a light-coloured white head, but the distinctive feature is a white V on its breast⁴. Now that's variously been described as having a white scarf around its neck or trousers suspenders, but the description I like best of the white V is that it looks like the V on an AFL footy jersey. The sexes are similar. Everybody knows what the old domestic pigeon looks like. The Wonga pigeon is quite similar, but let's say plump and overweight. It's a shy bird, you don't see it much in the bush unless you walk past it and then it suddenly takes off with this explosive clap of its wings. After it takes off, it has a characteristic of landing on a branch and then tilting itself forward and raising its tail to reveal a sort of motley back end and it sits very still as if it's a piece of deadwood. This is a bit important later on.
- Greg: [02:52](#) Right.
- Peter: [02:53](#) They tend to stay on the ground foraging. Their diet is fruit and berries and seeds and such, so they're not a high-flying bird.
- Greg: [03:01](#) Okay. So what sort of noise do they make?
- Peter: [03:04](#) Oh well, the Wonga pigeon is well known for its woop, woop, woop noise⁵. They can make this noise *ad nauseum* for hours and hours on end and the calls can be heard anything up to two kilometres away. It is notoriously annoying if you live close to one. In fact, the name Wonga Wonga derives from an aboriginal name which was inspired by their call.
- Greg: [03:27](#) Okay. You mentioned earlier that we're going to talk about the influence of this bird on indigenous as well as non-indigenous culture. If the Wonga pigeon was widespread, does the pigeon have a role in aboriginal culture?
- Peter: [03:40](#) Well, yes. I mean as food. I read an 1865 report on the Darling Downs where some white fellows came across a group of aboriginals who were carrying scrub turkeys and Wongas as food.
- Greg: [03:53](#) Well, that would make sense, I guess. Good tucker. Indigenous people have lots of Dreaming stories. Do they have any stories that involve the Wonga?
- Peter: [04:03](#) Yeah. The Dreaming stories for the indigenous people have a range of functions. Some sort of give the history of important places. Some account for the origins of natural phenomena, essentially ecology. Some are maps and records of the boundaries of country. Some are repositories for environmental knowledge. Some account for the origins of social institutions and customs and embody warnings that can tell what happens if you contravene these rules and many Dreaming stories include several of these themes in the one story.

Peter: [04:37](#) So the Dreaming story of the Wonga pigeon is about the Waratah flower⁶⁷. Now the Waratah is that red flower that is the emblem of New South Wales and the emblem of their rugby union team. There's a few different versions of this story and this one in particular comes from the people around the Illawarra⁸. So long time ago, in the Dreamtime, there were many beautiful plants and flowers just as there are today. Some of them are just as they were in the Dreamtime, but some have changed. One of the ones that's changed is the Waratah flower. It is an unusual flower because it grows at the top of a sturdy stem that reaches out from a small bush. Usually the flower is deep red in colour, but occasionally the aboriginals knew a white one could be found. Back in the Dreamtime, all Waratahs were white.

Peter: [05:29](#) This story starts off about two little pigeons, a pair of Wonga pigeons. Now, when Wonga pigeons mate, they always mate for life and whatever they do, they always do it together. If they're building a nest, they built it together. If they're rearing their young, they do it together. If they're feeding, they do it together. So this is part of the Dreaming story telling young aboriginal kids about ecology of the Wonga pigeons.

Peter: [05:55](#) These two little pigeons, they decided they wanted to go out and gather food this morning and they were walking around the forest pecking and picking away gathering food. They had a rule never to get out of one another's sight. As they were picking around, the little female looked up and she couldn't see her mate. She didn't take much notice of this for a while. She kept picking around after food. But then she kept looking up so often and then after a while she started to worry about her mate. She could see no sign of him. So, she started out calling and there was still no reply. This went on for a little while. Their rule was never to fly up above the canopy of the trees either because their mortal enemy, the hawks, would get them up there. So, she flittered around in the understory and the low branches, calling out for her mate but still no reply. She got to the stage where she thought, oh gosh, the only thing I can do now is fly up above the top of the trees and see if I can see him from up there. As she flew above the top of the trees, sure enough, the big hawk grabbed her, and he grabbed her on her breast. Now hawks always have a favourite place where they take their food to eat. As this big hawk flying back to his favourite spot to eat this poor little pigeon, with a desperate effort, she tore herself free from the hawk and plunged downwards into the forest below. Unable to fly, she crashed through the tree tops, bleeding and broken, until she landed in a patch of Waratah bushes. She could see the hawk circling above but now she was safe beneath the trees. She could hear her mate calling. Where are you? Where are you? Pain shot through her broken body. Her blood trickled down onto one of those white Waratah flowers. She fluttered her wings. She must reach her mate. Straining with all her energy, she tried to fly, but she managed only to go a short distance into another Waratah bush, where again, her blood made the white Waratah red. Once again, she tried to fly, got to another Waratah bush, but eventually after she'd made many of the white flowers red, she died. She fell softly onto the leafy floor, her voice calling out to her mate in vain. This is why today, most Waratah flowers are red coloured by the blood of the Wonga pigeon, as she flew long, long ago in search of her mate. Now, apparently if you put your fingers down inside the middle of a flowering red Waratah, they'll come out stained red. This is the blood of the Wonga pigeon. Also, the aboriginals knew, or believed, that although it's very rare, it is still possible to find some of the original White Waratahs just as they were back in the Dreamtime.

Greg: [09:01](#) That's interesting. Oh, I wouldn't discount what they're saying about it, but the way we go about life, we want some proof or science. Have we proven that the white Waratah still exists?

Peter: [09:14](#) Well, it took until 1967 when some maintenance men in the Nepean Depot of the Sydney Water Board were working in the Blue Mountains and they came across a White Waratah. To cut a long story short, they actually hid its existence for a while, but a fellow by the exotic name of Thistle Harris Steed heard about this wonderful discovery and he eventually tracked down the person who found it, found the Waratahs and plant breeders have now breed this white Waratah so you can buy it for commercial sale⁹.



Greg: [09:53](#) That's amazing, isn't it? It's a bit of a Woollemi pine story, really¹⁰.

Peter: [09:57](#) Very similar to the Woollemi pine. It took the whitefella 180 years to know what the aboriginals had known forever.

Greg: [10:04](#) Yes. That's interesting. Now we've talked about some of the non-indigenous side of it a little bit, but what about the Europeans.

Peter: [10:14](#) Well, when the First Fleet members came, they surely saw the Wonga pigeon. It would have been around Sydney in those days, at least in the foothills, and there is much reference to eating and cooking of pigeons when the first settlers arrived. These pigeons were considered a great delicacy, tasting a bit like partridge. Now I assume that salted pork and things I had when they arrived, they got sick of that after a while.

Peter: [10:39](#) Now it's probably first painted and certainly first scientifically described by John Gould. John Gould was an English ornithologist and bird artist. He published a number of monographs and paintings of birds produced with assistance from his wife, Elizabeth Gould. He's generally considered the father of bird study in Australia and the Gould League of Australia was named after him. Now in 1848, Gould published his eight-volume seminal book

of paintings of Australian Birds¹¹. Now Gould, he did something a bit different in terms of ornithology compared to ornithologists today. Gould had a habit of going out and shooting and eating virtually every bird species he found. For him, apparently parrots were a great favourite. Now in the 1848 Gould's paintings of Australian birds, this is his description of the Wonga pigeon.

Mark: [11:40](#) *“This pigeon must always be an object of more than ordinary interest, since independently of its attractive, plumage, it is a great delicacy for the table. Its large size and the whiteness of his flesh, rendering it, in this respect, second to no other member of its family.”*



Painting of Wonga pigeons by John and Elizabeth Gould (1848)

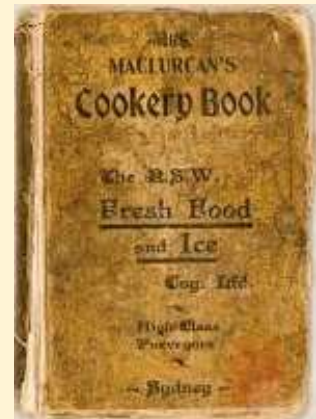
Peter: [11:59](#) So with this great endorsement, the fate of the Wonga pigeon was sealed.

Greg: [12:05](#) I'd say you're right there. White Australians would obviously like to eat Wonga pigeons.

Peter: [12:12](#) Yep. they ate them from the earliest time, and in fact, in Mrs Hannah Maclurcan's cookery book¹², first published in 1898, it contains her recipe for roast Wonga pigeon.

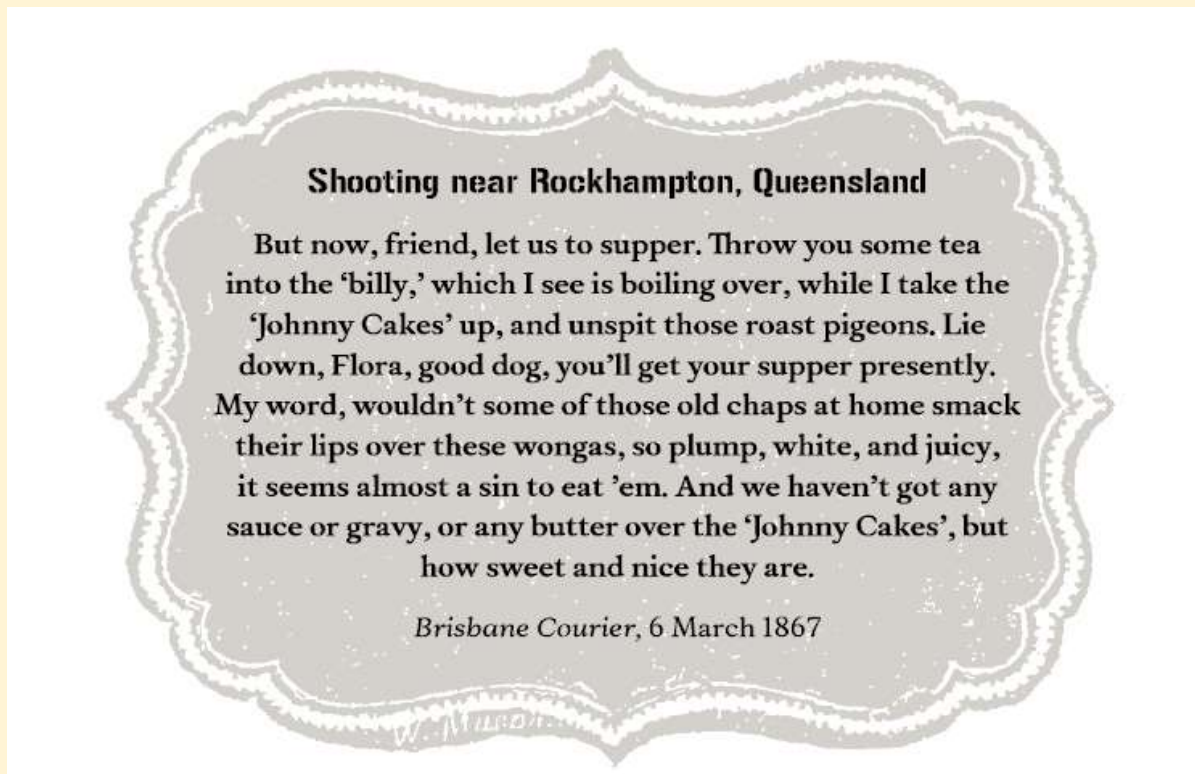
Peter: [12:25](#) Six pigeons, half a pound of butter, two cups of breadcrumbs, a tablespoon of chopped parsley, a pinch or two of Cayenne pepper. That's a bit exotic! Teaspoon of salt, and the juice of three lemons. The instructions are: pluck and clean the pigeons nicely. Rub them over well with flour, pepper and salt. Make a stuffing with half of the butter, all of the

breadcrumbs, chopped parsley, salt and pepper. Divide into six equally, and stuff each bird. Squeeze the lemons into a basin and beat up the butter with the juice until it's like a cream. Place the pigeons in a baking tin and cover each well with lemon and butter. Place in a smart oven. (Don't know what a smart oven is. Maybe it was computer controlled) and bake for half to three quarter of an hour. Baste as often as you can. Serve at once with watercress. So, I don't think you're going to win Master Chef with that recipe.



Greg: [13:32](#) No, but it's not, it doesn't sound too bad but I think I should caution our listeners not to try it these days.

Peter: [13:38](#) Yeah, you would get in trouble if you shot Wonga pigeons today.



A Wonga pigeon dinner (1867)

Greg: [13:42](#) Now I assume that like most of our flora and fauna, the Wonga pigeon has been affected by European settlement. What do we know about the distribution in the good old days before white people arrived.

Peter: [13:54](#) According to the first Europeans, they could be found as far north as Cairns in Queensland and as far as south as the Dandenong Ranges in Victoria. They are and were

located in a wide range of forest habitats primarily, lowland and highland rainforest, wet sclerophyll forest, coastal heathland forests, and in Queensland, they went inland into the Brigalow and other dry scrub forests¹³. John Gould - he's very flowery in his description of the habitat and it goes as follows.

Mark: [14:28](#) *"It is to be regretted that a bird possessing so many qualifications should not be generally dispersed over the country, but such is not the case. To look for it on the plains or in any of the open hilly parts would be useless. No other districts than the brushes which stretch along the line of coast of New South Wales or those clothing the sides of the hills of the interior being favored with its presence"*.

Peter: [14:56](#) Now, it's really difficult to be definitive about the numbers of Wongas when the white man came, but what is clear is that there's many reports of locations where, when the Europeans first arrived, numbers were high and then they declined rapidly. I mean, for example, there is a report on the Darling Downs where one person alone shot more than a thousand Wonga pigeons in one year. There's another shooter who claimed he killed five Wonga pigeons with one shotgun blast. Now, given that they are solitary animals, to find five in one place to kill with one blast indicates they must've been pretty common at one stage.

Greg: [15:35](#) Yeah, certainly seems that way. At the time, were there reasons given us for the decline in numbers?

Peter: [15:44](#) Yeah, there's two obvious causes when you read newspaper articles from wildlife people who were talking about, you know, noticing the significant decline in numbers. The two big causes are foxes and sport shooting.

Greg: [15:59](#) Ah! Sport shooting. But firstly, foxes. How did we end up getting foxes here?

Peter: [16:04](#) Well, foxes came as a result of these things called Acclimatization Societies¹⁴. They occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries where Europeans tried to, or were encouraged to, introduce non-native species to different places all around the world. It was all about familiarity. There is a quote from an Australian settler, a Mr Martin, complaining back in 1830 and he said *"The trees retained their leaves, but shed their bark. The swans were black. The eagles were white, the bees were stingless. Some mammals had pockets, others laid eggs. It's warmest on the hills"*. Everything about Australia, he didn't like and he really wanted something that would be nostalgic towards old England. So, you know, they started importing birds. They imported skylarks, which proved to be a joy, but then they imported sparrows, goldfinches, starlings and blackbirds, which were anything but a mixed blessing. There's one odd bit about acclimatization societies and that is that there was one in Tasmania. They knew about the Wonga pigeon and they tried to introduce the Wonga pigeon to Tasmania but, unfortunately, they all died¹⁵. Tasmania was a bit too cold for the poor all Wonga pigeon.

Greg: [17:25](#) Probably a good thing for the pigeons.

Peter: [17:26](#) Yeah. Now, as we said just a second ago, the biggest problem for the Wonga Pigeon was the fox. Now foxes were brought to Australia by the Acclimatization Societies for

the same reason they brought rabbits, hares, deer, pheasant, partridges, quails, all sorts of things. They brought them here for sporting purposes - to hunt them. The fox wasn't the best thing to bring here. It was introduced to Victoria in the late 1840s, 1870s, around that period. There were quite a number of introductions there, but it spread very quickly and by 1905, it had spread as far as Adelaide. By 1907, it had got to the Queensland - New South Wales border¹⁶. So, in just 50 years, essentially the fox had spread across all of eastern Australia.

Greg: [18:16](#) Very adaptable!

Peter: [18:17](#) Yeah. At the same time, it didn't take long for newspaper reports to observe that foxes weren't just for a game shooting. There's reports of them killing lambs and poultry by 1868. There's reports of them killing native birds by 1879. Now there's one example here I'll read. It's a 1910 newspaper report¹⁷ from Reedy Creek in Victoria. Reedy Creek is just east of Broadford on the Hume Highway heading out of Melbourne and the local reporter says:-

Peter: [18:49](#) *"In this district alone, there is ample testimony by the almost entire disappearance of ground birds and by the absolute disappearance of all kinds of kangaroo rats and bandicoots. Many years ago, this bush simply teemed with animal life but with the appearance of the first fox, began the disappearance of rats, possums curlews, quail and Wonga pigeons. There are plenty of species of flying squirrels here. No doubt their activities save them from serious loss by the fox, but the possum, being much slower when it comes to the ground, falls a ready victim. I trust to see, in the near future, some means devised that will hold in check this dangerous pest. They are increasing at a most alarming rate. During last winter, one fox poisoner alone accounted for more than 100 foxes, and still they are constantly seen and heard"*.

Peter: [19:52](#) So this is a pretty clear testimony, 100 years ago, that the foxes were causing a devastating impact on our wildlife, including the Wonga pigeons, and sadly nothing much has happened. I mean this guy is asking for the fox to be kept in check. There's still plenty of them there and the life of the Wonga pigeon is made much worse now with the introduction of feral cats as well.

Greg: [20:14](#) Yeah. So I've heard some people say that we should be happy that we've got foxes because they eat cats but I'm not quite sure about that one.

Peter: [20:22](#) Yeah, I don't think I eat enough of them.

Greg: [20:27](#) That's true. Now, sport shooting. You mentioned that shooting was a big thing. Tell me about it.

Peter: [20:34](#) Back in England, game shooting was really the preserve of just the wealthy and the aristocracy, but you know, in Australia, the class system broke down pretty quickly and game shooting in Australia became a mark of freedom. You know, anybody who could afford a shotgun can go out and shoot wildlife for sport¹⁸ and this is not just for essential food supplies like in the early days. In the middle of the 19th century, the double barrel breach loading shotguns were invented, and this led to greater power and accuracy. So, more

animals could be killed. In Australia, the activity was variously described as field shooting or scrub shooting^{19 20 21} and from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, there are plenty of newspaper articles available describing the sport and what was happening there²². Now I've read quite a few of them and there's two clear messages that come out of all of these reports.



Sport shooting in the USA – Passenger Pigeons (Wikimedia Commons)

Peter: [21:27](#) The first message is that the profusion of bird life in Australia before the white man came, must've been breathtaking. There's numerous reports of when a shooter first finds a wetland, where no shooting has previously occurred, and ducks and swans and other waterfowl occur in the tens of thousands. The descriptions are just amazing, and the same descriptions apply for pigeons. There is a rainforest pigeon called the Topknot Pigeon, which at that time was known as the Flock Pigeon because vast flocks of thousands of these pigeons were seen flying over the rainforest. So I would love to have been in this country before the white man came to see how many animals were there.

Peter: [22:13](#) The other thing that comes out of these reports:- it's very clear to me that sporting shooters were not shooting just for sustenance. Without controls put on them, some shooters killed as many birds as they possibly could, often of any species at all. I saw one report where a guy went to a wetland looking for ducks primarily, but while he was there, he shot a few herons, ibis, and some swamphens and just about anything that had feathers

on it as far as I can see²³. Now, clearly social expectations were different at the time. Animal welfare was different to what we expect today, so rather than being judgmental about this slaughter of wildlife, perhaps I should just quote directly from some newspaper reports of the times.

Greg: [23:02](#) This sounds interesting.

Peter: [23:04](#) Yeah. Well it's graphic reading at times. This comes out of an 1876 article in the Queenslander written by a shooter who goes by the pseudonym of Ramrod and he's talking about field shooting 20 years ago²⁴. So he's talking about field shooting in, what's that, 1856. Long, long stories but here's one part.

Peter: [23:27](#) *"I have been the first man to fire a shot in scores of swamps and creeks where ducks were swimming in thousands and tens of thousands, but there was little sport, and wherefore? What pleasure has the true sportsman in firing at birds that he has to put up by dancing a war dance in front of, and yelling like a lost Indian? What gratification is there in standing within twenty yards of dense masses of birds and cutting out ten or a dozen at every shot? It is difficult for any man but those who have seen them to understand what endless and limitless flocks of wild fowl met the eye of the sportsman of fifteen years ago".*

Peter: [24:15](#) Here's another one. Later on he describes, he's come down to another waterhole, where there's lots and lots of ducks there and he says:

Peter: [24:22](#) *"I loaded my gun (all muzzle loaders in those days) and went in, clothes and all. The creek was about four feet deep and very weedy. Just on the edge of the tall reeds, and before stepping out into the open water, I stood up on a clump of rotten rushes and saw a dense flock of ducks coming down the creek. As they passed within twenty-five yards, I delivered both barrels, bringing down about a dozen of them. Altogether, from the four shots, I picked up twenty-five black ducks weighing about 75 lbs., and as that was enough for the horse to carry, I started home with a heavy bag".*

Peter: [25:03](#) So you know, they had just extraordinary numbers of ducks that they could shoot at.

Greg: [25:07](#) It is. I find it slightly unusual too that there seems to be a realization that this is not something that can be sustained even back then.

Peter: [25:16](#) Well, they certainly lament. I mean he's talking about the good old days, about how many they were. Yeah. He doesn't seem to connect the dots that he's the result of why there weren't that many before.

Greg: [25:25](#) That's right. That's right.

Peter: [25:27](#) Now. As I said before, they describe it as field shooting or scrub shooting. Scrub shooting is when you went into the bush, not near a wetland, and tried to shoot particularly Wonga pigeons and brush-turkeys, but again, the numbers were quite considerable and this guy, a different guy, sorry, says "*good scrub shooting is most enjoyable, but it is not sport in*

the sense of field shooting is. For the game is shot sitting – (that's sitting in a branch in a tree which the poor old Wonga pigeon did when it was trying to camouflage itself) - and a true sportsman never entirely enjoys that".

Greg: [26:07](#) I'm pleased to hear him say that, but I recall that Franz Ferdinand²⁵, the heir to the throne, when he visited Australia, shot platypus and koalas and they're hardly what I'd call game.

Peter: [26:21](#) It's hardly like stalking a deer in a dense forest.

Greg: [26:25](#) That's right. Now, early on, you talked about relatives shooting and eating pigeons in the Great Depression. It's a similar story in my family. Did that hurt the Wongas in great numbers?

Peter: [26:37](#) Yeah. Wonga pigeons and scrub turkeys for that matter. Their numbers continued to decline during the Great Depression. But to be fair, this was, you know, shooting for survival, not just for the fun of killing lots of things. But yeah, the numbers continued to decline.

Sun 19 Jun 1932 / Page 19 / Making Good Wives Better

Wonga Pigeons

REQUIRED: 3 Wonga pigeons, 1lb. butter, 1 cup fresh breadcrumbs, chopped parsley, juice of 2 lemons, pinch salt, and cayenne.

Method: Pluck and clean birds and dredge them with flour, -pepper and salt, rubbing it in well. Make a stuffing with part of the butter, breadcrumbs, parsley, salt and pepper, and fill the birds.

Beat lemon juice with butter, allowing it to become creamy. Place **pigeons** in a baking dish, cover with the lemon and butter mixture, and bake in a quick oven for $\frac{3}{4}$ hour.

MRS. STEVENS,
Cascade-street, Katoomba.

Recipe for cooking Wonga pigeons – 1932, during the Great Depression

Greg: [26:52](#) Okay. So, we've got foxes, cats, shooting for food, shooting for pleasure. There's been a lot of pressure put on the Wongas and other animals. How have they survived? It's amazing really that they haven't gone the way of the Passenger Pigeon in America. So what's the picture now as far as you can find out.

Peter: [27:12](#) As far back as 1905, the government authorities recognized something had to be done here^{26 27}. For example, in New South Wales, the Wonga pigeon, the laughing jackass - that's, you know, the Kookaburra - owls, kingfishers and other birds were absolutely protected for a period of 10 years²⁸. Why do you need to protect the laughing jackass - the Kookaburra? It just gives an idea of what these sports shooters were after. Anyhow, that was the start of the first protection laws. There's been a series of them over time and now I'm sure, we're all aware that all native animals in Australia are protected from shooting, except in Victoria of course, where the shooting lobby still allows a duck season where you can go out and blast ducks of different sorts.

Greg: [28:04](#) I get the impression though that it might be on its last legs. One more generational thing where people die away. Our kids have been brought up in an era where restrictions on firearms would probably push things along. So you'd have to say that Europeans arriving wasn't such a good thing for the Wonga pigeon in anyway.

Peter: [28:25](#) No it certainly wasn't. But fortunately, the Wonga pigeon lives in rainforest areas where it's very hard to find and very hard to shoot, and in recent years it's numbers have been recovering. Internationally, it is now listed as Least Concern status²⁹, which means it's, you know, not endangered. There are debates as to whether those numbers are increasing or decreasing, but it's certainly safe. So for those Australians who live in a suitable forest habitat, they can have the pleasure of listening to the coo, coo, coo of the Wonga pigeon going on and on and on for hours and hours and hours.

Greg: [29:03](#) Thank you for that short version of it. I was going to say that, at this stage, we would appreciate getting feedback from our listeners. If you have any views on the topic, do you have a similar story in your family tree? Please let us know. Contact us on email or on our Facebook page. The contact details are on our web page, which is www.todaysstories.com.au. Full details of the story will be available on our website soon. Please remember to subscribe to our podcast and discover other interesting stories. Thank you for listening. Thank you.

Today's Stories from our Past



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Citations

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- ¹ A drop bear (sometimes dropbear) is a hoax in contemporary Australian folklore featuring a predatory, carnivorous version of the koala (*Phascolarctos cinereus*). This imaginary animal is commonly spoken about in tall tales designed to scare tourists.
- ² Australian slang for the Australian white ibis, a bird that common dwells in urban environments and is known to eat out of bins, ruin picnics, smell bad, and just generally cause a nuisance.
- ³ Australian slang for food.
- ⁴ Wonga Pigeon, Australian Museum. <https://australianmuseum.net.au/learn/animals/birds/wonga-pigeon/>
- ⁵ XC155120-WongaPigeon-Leucosarciamelanoleuca, Fernand Deroussen, XC155120. Accessible at www.xeno-canto.org/155120.
- ⁶ Welcome to the Dreamtime - Discover the stories of creation from Australia's first people - <http://dreamtime.net.au/waratah/> 29/06/2001
- ⁷ Murni Dhungang Jirrar - Living in the Illawarra (Escarpment habitat), p78-79. - <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/cultureheritage/illawarraAboriginalResourceUseEscarpment.pdf>
- ⁸ Illawarra is a region in the Australian state of New South Wales. It is a coastal region situated immediately south of Sydney and north of the Shoalhaven or South Coast region. It encompasses the cities of Wollongong, Shellharbour and the town of Kiama.
- ⁹ The White Waratah - Don Dilby. Australian Plants online – 2008, Association of Societies for Growing Australian Plants- <http://anpsa.org.au/APOL2008/oct08-s3.html>
- ¹⁰ *Wollemia* is a genus of coniferous tree in the family Araucariaceae. *Wollemia* was only known through fossil records until the Australian species *Wollemia nobilis* was discovered in 1994 in a temperate rainforest wilderness area of the Wollemi National Park in New South Wales, in a remote series of narrow, steep-sided sandstone gorges 150 km north-west of Sydney.
- ¹¹ *The Birds of Australia: in seven volumes* / John Gould – 1848 - National Library of Australia collection copy of the 1848 edition – digitised. (*The birds of Australia.* / Gould, John, 1804-1881. Published by the author 20 Broad Street Golden Square. 1848.)
- ¹² 1898, English, Book edition: Mrs. Maclurcan 's cookery book : a collection of practical recipes specially suitable for Australia. Maclurcan, Hannah. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/14712540>
- ¹³ NATIVE NAMES. (1931, May 15). *The Brisbane Courier* (Qld. : 1864 - 1933), p. 9. Retrieved December 22, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article21705210>
- ¹⁴ ACCLIMATISATION SOCIETY. (1862, April 15). *The Star* (Ballarat, Vic. : 1855 - 1864), p. 2 (SUPPLEMENT TO THE STAR.). Retrieved December 22, 2018, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article66323326>
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