Greer, Shelley M. (1995) ***The accidental heritage: archaeology and identity in northern Cape York*****. PhD Thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland.**

The Accidental Heritage

Archaeology and identity in northern Cape York

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Thesis submitted by

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in December 1995
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
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Shelley Greer **Date**

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Acknowledgements

Over the years that I have been involved in this project, a large number of people have helped me. In an attempt not to forget any of them here I have retraced my steps, starting back in 1984. I vividly recall Maureen Fuary's frantic efforts to teach me the rudiments of 'Broken' or Cape York creole. The benefits of her lessons were brought home to me when I found myself 'in the field'. This was perhaps the first but not the last time I have had reason to be grateful to Maureen. Since 1986 when she came to northern Cape York to assist me, and during the subsequent work on the anthropological project, she has been a wonderful colleague and friend.

On this note, I should mention my other co-worker in northern Cape York, Susan McIntyre. Like Maureen, Susan offered to assist me for one short season in the field. Some nine years later, she is currently in the process of completing her own project, which revolves around indigenous perceptions of 'historical' sites. Circumstances in which researchers work together over a long period, with areas that sometimes overlap, are often thought to be difficult. I can truthfully say that the experience of working both with Maureen and Susan has not only strengthened my own research, but provided me with a very positive view of co-operative research. My thanks also goes to Nicky Horsfall, Paul Packard and Chris Meagher who helped me in the field.

In the latter half of this project, I have had the benefit of Rosita Henry's strong grasp of anthropological theory which has stimulated me to find new ways of looking at old problems. I have also relied on her for pragmatic assistance such as finding an elusive reference or in understanding the vagaries of the printing process.

My most obvious debt must be to the people of Injinoo and the other communities in northern Cape York. Without their tolerance and help this project could not have been undertaken. I would especially like to thank Mr Muen Lifu and Mrs Clara Lifu who were my guides and teachers at Injinoo. They shared their home, their lives and their relatives with us, providing us with a network within which to operate socially and professionally. They acted as interpreters and it was through them that I received my 'Injinoo education'. In addition, I should thank the Ropeyarn, Tamwoy, Sallee and Woosup familes, especially Mr Dan Ropeyarn who was Chairman when I first went to Injinoo. Mr Ropeyarn and his wife, Mrs Cecilia Ropeyarn accepted us into the community and have been supportive over the many years that it has taken to complete this project. I should also thank Mrs Ethel (Elaine) Sagigi who opened her home to us in the early years and kept a watchful eye over us.

Many people participated in formal and informal interviews including Mrs Miriam Crow, Mrs E. Peters (deceased), Mrs T. Pablo (deceased), Mr Silas Woosup, Mrs S. Woosup (deceased), Mr Jardine Tom, Mr Andrew Peter, Mrs Bethena Ropeyarn, Mr George Williams, Mr J. McDonald (deceased) and Mr Goody Massey. While these interviews are the basis of our understandings of northern Cape York history and life, they were also the source of much fun and good times. In this respect, I must especially thank 'Papa Duck' (Mr Jardine Tom), and the two 'Mama Ducks' (Mrs E. Peters and Mrs Miriam Crow) for their stories. The time I spent with these older people in the community is treasured as the high points of my field experience.

During the first culture workshop, many younger people helped us to prepare. These include Ms P. Nowia (now deceased), Mrs Gina Nona (now Chairperson), Mr Roy McDonald, Ms Elaine Tamwoy, Ms Cathy Woosup and Ms Frances Ropeyarn. The efforts of these people and the other (mostly older) participants ensured that this was successful both in our terms and in theirs. I can still recall the stories that were told after the workshop had finished as we sat on Mrs Peter's bench and 'yarned' long into the night.

Thanks also must go to Mr Peter Smith, Mr Richard Tamwoy (and family), Jackson Sailor and the other Aboriginal Rangers who provided me with both logistical advice and the benefits of their many contacts in the communities. Also thanks to Mr Albert Bond and Mr Paul Wasiu who worked with us in 1985.

Back in Townsville, I have always benefitted from the small band of colleagues that have been associated with James Cook University. Over time, these have included Nicky Horsfall, Liz Hatte, Anna Morgan and Mireille Mardaga-Campbell. Mireille deserves special thanks for not only sharing in and helping me to bear the misfortunes of the PhD process, but who took time off her own project to produce Figures 1 and 2 that appear in this thesis. Her stylistic advice has been often sought on this and a range of other projects and the calibre of her own research has been an inspiration to me. In the last few years, Dr Peter Veth has provided me with a view of 'archaeology in the north' from the Western Australian perspective. The discussions I have had with him have helped to 'round out' some of my ideas and to note the differences and similarities in the social experiences of Aboriginal people in W.A. and in Queensland. Ms Lyn Burrows has given me an enormous amount of emotional and logistical support in the last few years of this thesis. She has kept me going through many of the 'lows', including that dark moment when I could not find words to fill the last paragraph of the last chapter. Her encouragement is much appreciated. The late Dr Jeffrey Clark inadvertently provided me with the title of this thesis, through a seminar he gave to the Anthropology Student Association, entitled 'The Accidental Anthropologist', some years ago. The members of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology are still feeling his loss. Associate Professor John Campbell has been my supervisor throughout the long life of this project. I thank him for his tolerance of what appeared to be quite a 'quirky' new direction in 1987; for his advice on the splitting of the infinitive; for his ever-quivering red biro, the discussions I have had with him and for his efforts in locating elusive references.

In the broader archaeological community, I acknowledge an intellectual debt to Denis Byrne who produced a fine critique of his own on the 'heritage discourse' but who has also encouraged me to complete the writing of this thesis. I would also like to thank Ms Anne Bickford for ensuring that my contributions to a 'community-based approach' were not forgotten in the years when childbearing and rearing and the constraints of full-time work occupied most of my time.

In the personal sphere, my family have been supportive of this project over its duration. My mother, Alice Greer has always been my 'rock' in all of my endeavours. I am lucky to have been borne to a woman who has such a strong sense of self and who believed in educating women. My sister, Ann Greer has, like my other female friends supported me in the 'ups-and-downs' over the long life of this project. In the early years she opened her home and her family to me and provided me with a stability that was much needed. More recently, my own little family has worked with me to get the job done. To my husband, Tony Wode, I am grateful for a much-valued relationship without which I could never have juggled my many commitments. His support and sense of 'fair play' have been essential ingredients in this production. My children, Gabriel and Declan Wode were born into this project and it has been a consistent factor in their short lives. In relation to Gabe and Dec, there are a number of people that I should thank for 'filling the breach' when I was not able to be there for them. Firstly, thanks to our first 'Daycare provider', Dorothy Klumpp who provided a warm and loving family environment for our children, and who was especially supportive when Declan was a baby. In this and other respects, I should also thank my parents-in-law, Monica and Phil Wode who have assisted our family in great and small ways.

In spite of the considerable length of these acknowledgements, I may have inadvertently forgotten to thank someone. If this should be the case, please understand that it is more likely to be the lack of sleep and the befuddled brain rather than ingratitude...

This thesis is dedicated, with love, to my mother

Alice Greer

Abstract

This thesis presents research that has been carried out in northern Cape York Peninsula. It documents the gradual shift from a conventional archaeological approach to one which addresses issues of the empowerment of indigenous (and other) people in terms of their heritage. It achieves this by tracing the development of my understanding of the contemporary cultures of northern Cape peoples through the implementation (and consequent frustrations) of the original project.

As a result of this work, present models of heritage management are questioned in terms of two broad areas. The first is related to the notion of 'consultation' and the way in which this is seen as an 'empowering' process for indigenous people. This process is examined in terms of a number of factors, including the problems of effective communication (including language difficulties) between the researcher and the communities in which they work; the history of black-white power relations on former Aboriginal reserves in Queensland; and the way in which the hegemony of western scientific perspectives may impact on contemporary notions of culture and identity. It is proposed that in northern Cape York, 'consultation' could be seen as a disempowering process.

The second major contribution of this research has been a questioning of the way in which 'heritage' has been (and currently is) defined. In northern Cape York, archaeological 'sites' are significant in terms of contemporary cosmology through the stories, beliefs and practices that are associated with them. They can be seen as 'theatrical props' and as mnemonic devices which can invoke memories and history. These memories, stories, beliefs, practices and places provide the shape and form of the 'cultural landscape'. Moreover, it can be seen that this cultural landscape is the framework upon which contemporary notions of local identity are constructed. This view of 'sites' and 'landscapes' is in contrast with scientific models of site assessment and heritage management which focus more on the distant past. While this *may* have relevance to the heirs of a culture, it is suggested that it is not, in northern Cape York, the primary concern. Alternatives, such as the 'Community-based approach', which is concerned with defining

'elements of identity' are suggested as a more appropriate focus in this area. More generally, it is suggested that the focus of heritage should be on the 'practice' rather than the 'fabric' of a culture. That is, that we should look also to the present rather than just to the past.

The research demonstrates the distance between indigenous and scientific perspectives of heritage within the context of northern Cape York and suggests that this could be examined in other contexts. An important point made in the thesis is that this 'distance' may also be observed *within* western culture. That is, that the scientific or archaeological discourse of heritage may be equally distanced from 'ordinary people' in the west.

The insights into this thesis have been drawn from interactions with people from northern Cape York. It is suggested however that my response to these interactions stemmed from the feminist perspective which informs my research. The antecedents of this feminist response can be seen in the early days of heritage management in this country and the development of an indigenous involvement in the discipline. It can also be seen in other contexts in which feminist archaeologists have worked with indigenous groups.

Finally, the relocation of heritage towards 'practice' rather than 'fabric' is of relevance in terms of the definition of native title in Australia. It recognises the dynamism of cultures by emphasising that the 'past' can only ever be in the present.

1

Introduction

Work on this project began in 1984. In August of that year, I spent 10 days in northern Cape York for preliminary consultation and archaeological reconnaissance. In the following four-year period, from 1984 to 1987, I spent several months of each year in northern Cape York, mostly living and working with people from the Injinoo (Cowal Creek) community. The experience of working with local people and the insights I obtained as a result of spending a prolonged period of time with the community have changed my approach to archaeology, and radically changed the project as it was originally conceived. These changes began in 1986, but were more clearly formulated in 1987. This thesis documents these changes and identifies some of the implications for Australian archaeology, especially in terms of heritage management.

The original project that I took with me to Cape York in 1984 was inspired by archaeological concerns and interests (see Chapter 2). However, as a result of my experiences working with Aboriginal people in New South Wales, I was deeply committed to undertaking this within a context of adequate and proper consultation. At that time, my personal belief was that archaeology is not necessarily invasive of indigenous heritage, given an appropriate process of consultation. In the intervening years since the commencement of this project, this philosophy has been shaken many times. The experience of applying scientific interests within the context of a Cape York community prompted many questions concerning the rights and empowerment of Aboriginal people with regard to their heritage.

It is unusual to change radically the orientation of a thesis towards the end of fieldwork. Usually, if changes do occur, they are made at a relatively early stage in the life of a project. In this case, I would argue that it was not until I had acquired a 'critical mass' of knowledge that I could make the necessary associations and connections. Therefore, no apology is seen as necessary for the late change. In fact, it was the very process of working through the original project that led to the development of the present one.

The final decision to make the change was undertaken in early 1987 and stemmed from a feeling that work such as this was necessary if there was to be a real reconciliation between archaeologists and Aboriginal people. The antagonism between the two groups had been growing steadily since its first major public expression at the Australian Archaeological Association Conference in Hobart in 1982 (see Langford 1983; Allen 1983). However, the courage to complete the work came some time later. At that time, there was little tolerance in Australian archaeology of work that did not address ecological issues which were the primary concern within the dominant paradigm. My original project, which sought evidence for social intensification in northern Cape York, questioned the ecological paradigm and therefore was in itself a departure from the norm. It took a considerable period of time to accept that I had stumbled upon a problem of even greater proportions. The issue of reconciliation between indigenous people and archaeologists can be seen as part of the general process of reconciliation that is being undertaken in contemporary Australian society. However, given the central role played by archaeologists in the management of heritage over the preceding three decades, it is perhaps timely to review the way in which 'the past' has been constructed and 'heritage' defined.

Many times in the course of writing this thesis, the comment has been made by colleagues that it would be 'of use to Aboriginal and Torres Strait people'. This thesis is not aimed at educating indigenous people about their past. Such lofty pursuits are the province of those who hold that archaeology is the primary key to the past. Rather, this project illustrates the way in which one archaeologist's views changed as a result of working with indigenous people who have a very different way of knowing and using the past. If there is any grandiose aim, it is rather to document the way in which issues related to this have been played out within a particular context. At a time when control of indigenous heritage is increasingly shifting into the indigenous court, the central issue is no longer 'Who owns the past?'. Rather, it surrounds the contribution that archaeology can make in relation to this. This thesis confronts some of these issues and presents some solutions within a specific context. Ultimately, the most important goal is to convince the archaeological community that such research is necessary and worthwhile.

1.1 Aims

This thesis has a number of specific major aims. Firstly, it illustrates that many of the conflicts which occur between archaeologists and indigenous people are not necessarily a product of bad planning, poor consultation skills or simple misunderstanding. Rather, it is asserted that the potential for conflict is embedded in the paradigms, history and practice of Australian archaeology.

Secondly, the description of field studies and experiences is aimed at illustrating the nature and type of interactions that occurred in the field between people from the community and me. This is important, because in my view the specific nature of these interactions and the links with anthropological work were critical factors in the recognition of problematic areas in archaeological practice. These include the duplicitous nature of the process of consultation and its relationship to the empowerment of indigenous people in this area. The recognition of alternative ways of perceiving the past and its 'monuments' was similarly only possible because of these factors.

Another major aim is to provide an alternative to traditional archaeological approaches in northern Cape York, especially with regard to heritage management. The community-based approach was devised to meet the specific social and cultural needs of the peoples of northern Cape York, especially in relation to connections between heritage and identity. This example does, however, illustrate the potential for research into alternative approaches elsewhere.

The final aim of the thesis is to demonstrate that while these perceptions on heritage were drawn from my experiences of working with indigenous people, the problem is rather the lack of fit between scientific or archaeological constructions of heritage and the way in which the past has meaning for ordinary people, in any society, in the present. This is not to deny the way in which specific cultural knowledge or experience shapes such meanings, but rather that the archaeological discourse is equally foreign to those outside of the ivory walls of the heritage tower.

1.2 Research design and methods

In a traditional archaeological thesis, this section would focus on sampling strategies, excavation techniques and theoretical frameworks that are the pillars of archaeological interpretation. While this might have been done for the original project, it is not possible here. However, it is true to say that it was the experiences and frustrations of attempting to carry out the original project that led to an understanding of the potential contribution of a work that focused on these. The 'problems' I was experiencing were not unique, but rather symptomatic of a broader pattern.

The fact that the current project existed in the crevices (or was it crevasses) of the first was not, however, without methodological problems. For example, it took a long time to recognise that the problematic was being defined in this way and that the 'data' was gathered (at times inadvertently) in the process of attempting to do something else. This resulted in much confusion and provided many challenges in the early stages of research, indeed until the new project was clearly formulated. It is important to note that the information needed to make this change came slowly. The factors which influenced the decision to take up this present research and which account for its current shape are briefly discussed in the remainder of this section. Due to the unconventional nature of the thesis, these are the best approximation of research design and methods.

Firstly, there were my own experiences in the field, the commitment to consultation and the approach to fieldwork that developed in the course of the project. By 1987, I had spent extended periods of time in northern Cape York. My approach, especially in 1986 and 1987, was to live either within the community or in some instances, to spend time outside, but in the company of community members. When living in the community, I lived with local people and essentially embraced everyday community life. Trips were undertaken with community members, usually with a 'non-archaeological' purpose in mind (e.g. oyster and yam gathering, fishing, pig hunting etc). In these instances, I provided the transport, helped in the task at hand (if I was capable) and inspected the area for sites. In this way I observed the way in which community members operated in the landscape. In addition, the relationships that were established on these trips provided the platform from which my understanding of community perspectives was developed.

In addition, I had the benefit of undertaking fieldwork with an anthropologist during 1986 and 1987. This project was undertaken in response to community requests that were defined in the course of the archaeological work (Greer and Fuary 1987; Fuary and Greer 1993; see also Chapters 5-8). It involved the collection of genealogical material, life histories and traditional affiliations of members of the Injinoo community. This work provided many insights into community perspectives. By the end of 1987 I had a tolerable understanding of many aspects of community life, of some parts of the landscape and of the 'connectedness' of its physical, economic and spiritual associations.

These experiences were juxtaposed with observations of the interactions between archaeologists and Aboriginal people at formal venues such as conferences (e.g. the Australian Archaeological Association Conferences in Canberra in 1983, at Lorne in 1985, and at the Burdekin in 1990). In many instances, both parties displayed a tacit dissatisfaction with the other and yet in a formal capacity, it appeared that relations between the two groups were good and progress was being made. For example, at the Annual General Meeting of the Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) in 1990, Aboriginal representatives were elected, for the first time, onto the executive committee. At the same meeting a draft code of ethics was proposed (by an Aboriginal archaeologist) and accepted. This code was adapted from one developed by a meeting of various indigenous delegates at the second World Archaeological Congress (WAC 2) held in Venezuele in September 1990.

The continuation of a feeling of dissatisfaction in spite of these important and necessary developments suggested that there were perhaps deeper and more pervasive reasons for this 'silent conflict'. It was apparent to me, based on my field experiences, that some Aboriginal people might want much more than what was being offered by the archaeological community. As an archaeologist, it was apparent that while a number of changes were becoming accepted by the archaeological community, there was a lack of understanding about the rationale behind it. This lack of understanding was a serious impediment if the solution to the conflict lay in structural and more radical changes to the discipline.

With this background, a project was devised that would explore these issues within one particular context. The context is extremely important because, having worked with Aboriginal people in both New South Wales and Queensland, it occurred to me that any solution to this type of conflict would have to acknowledge the local historical and contemporary situations in which Aboriginal people find themselves. I felt that the scope of a PhD thesis would provide the necessary breadth to investigate this complex and developing area.

There are few precedents to this thesis in Australian archaeology (but see Byrne 1993). In many ways, the 'methods' used to gain an understanding of Aboriginal perspectives were (and had to be) anthropological. However, this was combined with a knowledge of archaeological history, theory and practice to produce the final result.

1.3 Style and structure of the thesis

There have been a number of stylistic aims in writing this thesis. These include the use of clear and accessible language, with an emphasis on simplicity of style within a logical framework. The use of clear and accessible language is important when delivering any message, but more so when advocating for re-evaluation and change. Moreover, the sentiments put forward in this thesis have relevance to groups who are located outside the discipline. For this reason, the language used could not be too esoteric or obscure.

The present chapter provides a general introduction to the thesis. It outlines the aims, the research design and method and the central argument of each chapter. For example, Chapter 2 provides a 'selective' history of archaeology in Australia. It establishes that while Aboriginal people have been involved in heritage management in Australia for more than twenty years, their influence on archaeological thinking has been constrained by the dominance of processual approaches. The latter's influence is expressed most fully in this area through the widespread acceptance of the Cultural Resource Management (CRM) approach, which was developed from principles in natural resource management.

Chapter 3 is a history of archaeological work in Queensland. This chapter particularly focuses on the way in which archaeological work has been distanced from anthropological projects, in spite of the anthropological focus in Queensland, especially in the north of the State. Connected to this is the fact that there has not been a strong tradition of involving indigenous people in archaeological work in Queensland. The central concern of Chapter 4 is to explain this. While the explanations are extremely complex, two major factors are the distancing of the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology in this country and the political and social context of indigenous people in Queensland.

Chapters 5 to 8 describe the years of field study undertaken in northern Cape York. Chapter 5 documents the original project, its aims and aspirations and the initial trip to the area for consultation and reconnaissance. The description of the original project is important, for an understanding of what emerged from the ashes of that project must stem from an understanding of the project itself. Chapters 6 and 7 describe the dismantling of the original project through the development of knowledge and the reservations and considerations that were its corollaries. The narrative style that is contained in these chapters is intended to impress upon the reader the way in which this knowledge builds slowly, through the engagement of the researcher in the everyday life of the community.

Chapter 8 describes the anthropological project, known as the Cowal Creek Country Survey, undertaken by Maureen Fuary and me in 1987 (Fuary and Greer 1993). While this was originally aimed at facilitating better consultation for the archaeological project, the outcome was ultimately the change in orientation that has resulted in the present thesis. The Cowal Creek Country Survey focused on the delineation of traditional affiliations, life histories and the documentation of the complexity of the colonial experiences of northern Cape York peoples. This provided a coherent body of information from which issues related to identity and heritage could be defined. Chapter 9 illustrates these in relation to 'archaeological' sites which are located within a cultural landscape located along the east coast strip of the study area. This chapter shows how these 'sites' are woven into the beliefs, stories and practices that give form and shape to this landscape, providing the theatrical 'props' which affirm contemporary ontology and identity.

This understanding of the cultural complexities in northern Cape York, which includes the history of precontact groups, the 'relocations' imposed by the Queensland Government and the nature of life on the reserves, provided other insights. For example, Chapter 10 reconsiders the relationship between the process of consultation and its purported aim: the empowerment of indigenous people in relation to ownership and control of their past. An examination of the history of the region suggests that 'black-white' relations have been (and must still be) affected by the past. This is exacerbated by the fact that consultation is a reactive process which allows indigenous people to respond to proposals, but which does not directly address their own needs in relation to research.

Chapter 11 is concerned with the description of an alternative approach to archaeology and heritage management. It takes account of the findings in Chapters 9 and 10. The community-based approach is particularly relevant in relation to heritage management and has, as its central role the way in which heritage is used in the construction of local identity(ies). This is in contrast to current models of heritage management which may be related to the development of national identities or global concepts of 'significance'. This chapter suggests that challenges to such notions should not be seen as relevant only in societies of the non-West and that the problem is perhaps more related to the lack of fit between the archaeological discourse of heritage and the discourses of ordinary people.

Finally, Chapter 12 summarises the arguments of each chapter and defines in brief the way in which these are used to present the thesis.

1.4 Theoretical influences

The theoretical position that has most informed this thesis is that of feminist theory. Until recently, feminist archaeology has largely been concerned with revealing androcentric bias in archaeological interpretation (including the models, language and assumptions that are employed), with defining (and finding) gender in the archaeological record, with stereotypes in archaeological practice and with developing alternative models that address such issues (e.g. Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Williams 1991; Conkey and Gero 1992; Gero 1985, 1988; Spector and Whelan 1989; Spencer-Wood 1991, 1992; Wylie 1991, 1993; Roberts 1993; Spector 1991, 1994).

There are, however, elements of this thesis that can be related to postmodern approaches. These include reflection upon the heritage discourse and the connections with colonialism which runs through the thesis. This can be compared with Byrne (1993) whose work was influenced by postmodern critique. The postmodern connection might also be seen in the recognition of the hegemony of scientific discourse and the potential for this to affect community perspectives (Chapter 11). This understanding of the relationship between knowledge and power stems in part from the writings of Foucault (e.g. see 1977, 1980) and have been taken up by postmodernism. It could also be discerned in the overall mission of the thesis to direct attention to 'other voices' and in the use of de Certeau's (1984) notion of the importance of 'practice' in relation to the definition of 'place' and 'space'.

Although it is not often acknowledged, there are many common points of reference between feminism and the postmodern approach. Macia-Lees et al. (1989: 14) assert the primacy of feminism, stating that

> Like European explorers discovering the New World, Clifford and his [postmodern] colleagues perceive a new and uninhabited space where, in fact, feminists have long been at work.

The influence of feminist approaches in this thesis is evident in the 'selected history' of Australian archaeology presented in Chapter 2. This illustrates the way in which the feminist standpoint of some early heritage managers in part facilitated the ongoing involvement of indigenous people in this area. Like postmodernism, feminist approaches also issue a challenge to the dominant sector, however they also offer a political standpoint lacking in postmodernism. This standpoint emphasises the importance of change to the *status quo* and is therefore more akin to the aspirations of indigenous and other groups that also have a political agenda.

Perhaps most importantly, this feminist viewpoint can be seen in my response to the people with whom I worked. In many ways, it would have been considerably easier to continue with the original project. Certainly, they was no objection to this from northern Cape York people. The recognition of the gulf between the outcomes of the original project and the community's requests and needs can be seen in the work of other feminist scholars. Spector (1994) has described her response to working with the Native American heirs to the sites on which she excavated. Her own response, which centers on new forms of writing in archaeology, is different to that depicted here. However the recognition of the need for a response, and that this will require change in the discipline has a familiar ring. This response goes beyond the reflection of postmodernism and is informed by political understandings. Again, as Mascia-Lees et al. have stated:

> ...what appear to be new and exciting insights to these new postmodernist anthropologists - that culture is composed of seriously contested codes of meaning, that language and politics are inseparable, and that constructing the 'other' entails relations of domination - are insights that have received repeated and rich exploration in feminist theory for the past forty years. Discussion of the female as 'other' was the starting point of contemporary feminist theory.

This aspect of thesis represents its theoretical contribution to an emerging feminist perspective in Australian archaeology (e.g. du Cros and Smith 1993).

1.5 Conclusion

This thesis has many points in common with those unpopular voyages of discovery that in many ways defined modern colonialism. By this, I mean that it has been difficult, exciting and at times, foolhardy. It is, however, the colonialist underpinning of any venture of this sort that disturbs me most. Certainly, the association between archaeology and the colonialist endeavour is a taint from which the discipline has never been rid.

This interpretation is based on *my* understandings of northern Cape York and its peoples and should not be seen as an indigenous perception of heritage or 'the past'. Its chief contribution lies in illustrating the way in which these understandings challenge the archaeological discourse. The critique from within is an important component in redressing our colonial past in archaeology. My 'mission' therefore is to lay out this challenge to the archaeological discourse of heritage within a particular social and political environment.

However, while some scholars (e.g. Murray 1992) find this process of reflection to be the end point of this critique, the community-based approach is an attempt to provide an alternative platform. In the political context of Australian archaeology in the 1990s, this thesis is presented as something of a small (but increasingly crowded) life-boat.

2

Archaeology, heritage and indigenous 'voice': a selective history

The development of archaeology in Australia has been documented by a range of authors including Mulvaney (1971, 1977), Murray and White (1981), McBryde (1986), Golson (1986) and Horton (1991). More recently, aspects of the discipline's history have been presented by Byrne (1993) and Moser (1995). In this chapter, selected elements in the history of the discipline are used to explain some of the tensions which are currently embedded in Australian archaeology, perhaps particularly heritage management. These elements include the theoretical positions which have dominated the discipline in this country, the development of heritage management and the history of indigenous involvement in the discipline. An examination of the dynamics which surround these elements reveals the bases of contemporary problems in the control and management of indigenous heritage.

2.1 Theoretical directions: the concern with ecology

Early archaeological research was undertaken by a number of people in Australia, notably McCarthy (e.g. 1948) and Tindale (e.g. 1937). However, the 'professionalisation' of the discipline is generally taken to have started from the point at which staff were appointed to universities in this country. It is argued in this section that since professionalisation, Australian archaeology has been dominated by an interest in the interactions between humans and the environments they occupy. Over more than three decades, approaches have varied, however the human-environment nexus most often remains the central core of archaeological research.

2.1.1 The Cambridge inheritance: ecological approaches to economic archaeology

When Mulvaney returned to Australia from Cambridge in 1953, his appointment to the University of Melbourne was as an historian rather than an archaeologist. In spite of this, he initiated a programme of archaeological research which, in many respects, set the stage for subsequent developments. Moreover, his presence at the University of Melbourne may have been the catalyst for the appointment of staff at other institutions. Certainly, by 1962 Golson had been appointed to the Australian National University, McBryde to the University of New England, Tugby to the University of Queensland and Wright and Megaw to the University of Sydney (Mulvaney 1962; McBryde 1986). Mulvaney's own official appointment as an archaeologist did not occur until he became a Senior Fellow in Prehistory in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University in 1965 (Clark 1986). These appointments marked the beginnings of systematic and concentrated research in this country through the work of the researchers themselves, as well as their undergraduate and postgraduate students (see also Golson 1986; McBryde 1986).

As Murray and White (1981) suggested in the title of their paper, many of the people appointed to these positions had been trained at Cambridge and much was made of the impact and influence of the 'Cambridge connection'. Since the publication of the Murray and White paper, McBryde (1986) and Golson (1986) have analysed the sources and extent of Cambridge and other influences on the development of archaeology in this country. Both accounts stress the contribution of Grahame Clark and his ecological approach to economic prehistory. However, they acknowledge that the way in which these issues were pursued was largely through a 'traditionalist' approach, involving the excavation of stratified sites (McBryde 1986:17; Golson 1986:8-9; see also Murray and White 1981:257) and '... on reconstructing culture history from careful typological analysis, and on exact excavation techniques emphasising stratigraphic interpretation' (McBryde 1986: 17). The perceived connections between ecology and technology are illustrated in the following statement made by Mulvaney and Joyce (1965: 174):

> It is more relevant to assess man's [sic] exploitation of, and his ecological adaptations to the environment, in the light of these technological factors.

2.1.2 Ecology and the 'New Archaeology'

This was, however, a period of change within the discipline. Binford, on one side of the Atlantic and a number of Cambridge researchers (such as Higgs and David Clarke) on the other, were making new demands and introducing new perspectives and approaches to the examination of archaeological data (Binford 1962; Bogucki 1985; Clarke 1968; Higgs et al. 1967; see also McBryde 1986). These events largely coincided with the period of professionalisation in Australia. These new influences affirmed the established interest in ecological concerns, but approached these in a different way. Golson (1986: 4) has compared the differences between the culture-history approach that he was using in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with that of Roger Green (who represented the 'new wave' in 1962-63). The following lengthy quote suggests that while the <u>interest</u> in ecology may have had its roots in Graham Clark's 'Cambridge', new ways of looking at archaeological data were being developed. Golson (1986: 4) states:

> The scheme I had proposed for considering the question consisted of two prehistoric phases defined largely in terms of artefacts, separated by a

> transitional phase that remained undescribed, though all the crucial changes must by default have taken place there... Some sites could not be incorporated in the scheme because they lacked the types of artefacts that defined it. The information they possessed about the people responsible for them was unavailable since the narrow perspective within which the evidence was viewed made it impossible for it to be handled. Even with the artefacts themselves only limited success had been achieved in analysis beyond their segregation into two contrasted but over-large assemblages. As against this, Green presented a sequence of five prehistoric phases forming a connected and coherent sequence, defined not in terms of artefacts whose typology was almost incidental to the theme, but vividly and comprehensively in terms of interlocking changes in ecology, subsistence and settlement. Almost every site could be assigned at least a provisional place in the scheme, whether it produced any of the standard types of artefact or not.

McBryde's (1986: 22) account notes the influence of the 'New Archaeology' on the developing discipline. She outlines a number of important developments, such as new approaches to 'people/land relations' and work undertaken with contemporary Aboriginal groups. McBryde (1986: 22) states that

> Themes such as the management of the landscape using fire ('firestick farming - Jones 1969; Hallam 1975), the control of water resources or the husbanding of plant foods now emerge as part of wider studies of 'adaptation' or human ecology...

She notes that a number of American researchers (themselves educated in the 'New Archaeology') undertook fieldwork in Australia at this time, bringing with them the new approaches and ideas. She states that the 'New Archaeology' was very much concerned with the way in which the archaeological record was formed and suggests that the new interest in ethnoarchaeology in the 1970s was partly related to this. Ethnographic work was undertaken with Aboriginal people in order to formulate models of past behaviour. There was no suggestion that this work would link contemporary people and the 'archaeological' sites in the landscape. Byrne (1993: 203) has stated:

> Gould's...*Living Archaeology* was, for instance, not about the recontextualization of archaeological remains by living people but about bringing living people within the context of archaeology.

It was recognised that some sites (such as burials, ceremonial and mythological sites) have religious or cosmological significance. Further, it was recognised that these were problematic for archaeology. They were sometimes impossible to identify and thus '...they remained part of the living culture of Aborigines...' (Byrne 1993: 202). Archaeology tended to ignore such sites, creating the division between 'sacred' and 'secular' sites. The latter included living sites, stone and ochre quarries and manufacturing sites etc. This conveniently provided archaeology with a class of 'evidence' that remained detached from living people.

The ecological approach is characterised by the notion of stability. As change is measured in terms of changes in the environment, long periods of cultural stability are the obvious corollary. Within this approach, confirmation of long-term cultural stability is provided by stone artefact sequences which show minimal change and an apparent lack of technological innovation over long periods of occupation.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were also characterised by the development of heritage legislation in Australia and the establishment of statutory authorities to administer these. Archaeologists played a leading role in the development of the heritage agenda at this time and the new waves that were sweeping research-oriented archaeology were also influential in the emerging 'public archaeology' (see sections 2.2 and 2.3 below). By the end of the 1970s, however, it is fair to say that the agenda of archaeological research was now set, with a strong emphasis on the way in which environment influenced behaviour, and with renewed interest in ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological work and their implications for archaeology.

2.1.3 Alternative frameworks

It remained until the early 1980s for a challenge to be issued to the ecological framework. Thomas (1981) mounted a scathing attack on the ecological paradigm, choosing to exemplify its weaknesses within the cherished ground of Tasmanian prehistory. Two years later, Lourandos (1983) presented a comprehensive interpretation of archaeological, ethnohistorical and ethnographic evidence which suggested that changes in archaeological sequences in southwestern Victoria were attributable to a broader process of economic intensification in the late Holocene.

Lourandos' approach was explicitly reliant on social models as an interpretive framework. Within such frameworks, changes in the environment may be responsible for the broad parameters of culture (and thus culture change), but social forces provide the motivation and dictate the nature and extent of change (Lourandos 1983, 1985). This was in sharp contrast to interpretations that dominated the previous decade which were characterised by the relationship between people and the environment, and its more refined component of ecological management (see Thomas 1981; Huchet 1992). Explanations of change within these models are tied to changes in the environment (e.g. see Beaton 1985) and emphasise long periods of cultural stability. Lourandos issued a challenge to Australian archaeology by suggesting that intensification was a feature of late Holocene occupation throughout the continent (Lourandos 1983: 87-88). The discipline was confronted with the notion that the emphasis on stability in previous representations of past Aboriginal societies may have been misleading. Moreover, the problem lay in the increasingly popular environmental framework that had been taken up by the discipline.

For example, implicit in Lourandos' work was a questioning of the 'hunter-gatherer' model of Aboriginal societies upon which much of the previous work in Australian archaeology had been based. This model was largely derived from early ethnographic work undertaken with Aboriginal people in the arid zone. It emphasised continental cultural uniformity, a dependence on the gathering and hunting mode (with more emphasis on gathering), and a residence pattern which is strongly nomadic and seasonally-based. This model has persisted in much archaeological work despite recognition of its inadequacies (e.g. Jones 1969, Allan 1974) and considerable anthropological evidence indicating that Aboriginal societies were, and are, considerably more diverse and dynamic that this model allows (Greer 1994).

The publication of Lourandos' paper provoked significant opposition and prompted one of the more lively debates within the discipline in recent years (see Lourandos 1983, 1984, 1985; Beaton 1983,1985; Cribb 1986). This debate centred around the polarisation of the two approaches to the explanation of culture change.

Two other alternative perspectives emerged in this decade. Feminist archaeology in Australia was perhaps prompted by Conkey and Spector

(1984) who placed an explicitly feminist perspective on the international archaeological scene. However, women have historically played a significant role in Australian archaeology and contributions by women such as Isobel McBryde, Betty Meehan, Sharon Sullivan, Laila Haglund and Sandra Bowdler (to name just a few) have played a large role in shaping Australian archaeology since professionalisation (see also Watson-Alexander 1995). The emergence of feminist archaeology in Australia towards the end of the 1980s can perhaps be seen as an outcome of the influence these major female players combined with the energy and enthusiasm of a generation of women schooled in feminist critique. The Australian feminist position is exemplified by papers such as that of Beck and Head (1990) and by the hosting of the three Women in Archaeology Conferences (see e.g. articles in du Cros and Smith 1993).

The second major development grew out of the work undertaken in the 1970s with indigenous people. It was characterised by the (now) much-used but unresolved question of 'Who owns the past?'. McBryde's (1985) book, which placed this question as its title, was focused on issues surrounding the perplexing question of 'ownership' of the past. While indigenous involvement in Australian archaeology is perhaps more readily traced to the domain of public archaeology (see section 2.2), McBryde's book (and the symposium from which it stemmed) suggests that this questioning of ownership was having an impact in the academy. Some authors began discussing ways of incorporating notions of indigenous ownership into the practice of archaeology. This was most noticeable with practitioners who worked with skeletal remains (e.g. Pardoe 1985, 1990, 1992), which for many archaeologists were distinguished from 'secular' sites because of their religious and cosmological associations. Greer's (1987, 1989, 1994, 1995 and the present thesis) work with Aboriginal people has resulted in the development of a new kind of archaeology, which focuses on the communities with whom the archaeologist works. These issues were also finding expression in other nations with colonial pasts (e.g. see Trigger 1985 and more recently Hill 1992; McGuire 1992; Friedman 1992; Spector 1994) and this trend has continued into the 1990s (e.g. see Layton 1989; Murray 1992; Moser 1995).

2.1.4 'Chinks' in the armour

The alternative frameworks that were developed in the 1980s and early 1990s represent some major 'chinks' in the armour of the ecological paradigm. However, this did not result (at least initially) in a major shift of emphasis and the concern with ecology remains as an important 'staple' in Australian archaeology (see also Huchet 1992). Why has this enduring concern with ecology been sustained?

Firstly, the archaeologists who 'professionalised' the discipline in the 1960s brought ecological approaches to economic archaeology as part of their intellectual baggage from Cambridge. The 'New Archaeology' offered a revamped approach to these concerns which emphasised archaeology's ability to define universals of human behaviour. This approach emphasised the need for objectivity and utilised methods drawn from the natural and physical sciences (such as sampling and statistics). This allowed the discipline to distance itself from the 'naturalist' and 'antiquarian' associations of previous approaches and to position itself within the modern sciences (see also Byrne 1993). This connection with 'Science' probably helped to validate archaeology, not only within the academy, but within the wider community.

2.2 Archaeology and heritage management

The term 'public archaeology' was developed in the 1960s and 1970s following the development of legislation and the establishment of statutory authorities to protect cultural material. It encompasses activities which are more generally known in Australia today as heritage management. During this period archaeology played a primary role in the definition and management of heritage. The term 'public archaeology' itself suggests the degree to which the notion of 'heritage' was conflated into an archaeological view of the past (see also Byrne 1993).

The popular view within the discipline is that developments within the heritage area were linked with the professionalisation of the discipline that had begun a few years earlier. In this view, such developments were not aimed at saving archaeological sites <u>for</u> Aboriginal people or <u>from</u> development, but rather from the excesses of amateurs and collectors, and to a lesser extent the deterioration caused by vandals and time (Mulvaney 1970: 115). Byrne (1993) perceives a deeper meaning in the timing of these developments. He notes that the notion of protecting 'archaeological sites' had been mooted by early practitioners (notably Etheridge and later McCarthy). He suggests that the reason that these developments occurred was rather related to issues of national identity and that the conflation of the discourses of archaeology and heritage were instrumental in this. He states that archaeologists themselves '...perceived the interests of archaeology as overlapping or even being coterminous with the interests of the nation' (Byrne 1993: 198; see also Fowler 1987).

At roughly the same time, the United States was similarly engaged in establishing legislation and authorities to protect archaeological sites. Schiffer (1979:2) has described this:

> Like many industrial nations, the U.S. began to ponder its declining cultural heritage and the decreasing habitability of its environment. To counter these losses, several laws were enacted that profoundly affected American archaeology... These laws have produced in just a few years a distinctive American archaeology; it goes by the names conservation archaeology, cultural resource management (CRM), or contract archaeology...

'Cultural Resource Management' or CRM emerged at a time in American archaeology when the 'Binfordian revolution' was, for many reasons, becoming, in Leone's words, 'everybody's archaeology' in the United States (Schiffer 1979:1). It is not surprising then that this new form of archaeology was heavily influenced by (if not directly derivative of) the Binfordian perspective. McGimsey (1972) undertook an examination of 'public archaeology' in the United States and was one of the earliest statements in this area. Schiffer and Gumerman (1977) was also an important publication which focused on the establishment of a framework for CRM, on the nature of reports, management strategies, research design, predictive strategies, mitigation and on the assessment of significance. The emphasis on universally valid generalisations about human behaviour meant, for example, that a haphazard approach to the location of sites was no longer adequate and required the definition of systematic approaches to site location. The notion of regional sampling was introduced. While sampling had previously been used in excavation contexts, regional sampling was aimed at producing reliable and replicable statements about human behaviour across a broad region. This was in stark contrast to the site-specific approach of previous researchers and opened the way for a plethora of research into the problems of regional sampling (e.g. Plog 1976; House and Schiffer 1977).

In the early days of its development in Australia, public archaeology was criticised for being unscientific and for lacking theoretical prescription and vigour (see discussion in McKinlay and Jones 1979: 100-102). Partly in response to this, heritage agencies in Australia began defining their approach as 'cultural resource management' (see Flood 1979; Sutcliffe 1979; Witter 1979). In the early to mid 1980s, a range of authors set about the task of articulating this approach in the Australian setting (see McKinlay and Jones 1979; Bowdler 1981; Sullivan and Bowdler 1984). For example, Sullivan (1984: v) defined the role played by 'cultural resource managers' as being

> ...actively involved in processes relating to archaeological survey and assessment of sites and areas threatened by development, listing of significant sites on statutory state and national registers, and planning procedures aimed at the long-term legal and physical protection of a sample of places of cultural significance.

The term 'cultural significance' covers aesthetic, historical, scientific and social values (e.g. see Sullivan 1984: vi; Bowdler 1984: 1; Flood 1984: 55; Bowdler 1981: 127). Yet it would seem that, whether consciously or not, there has been a privileging of scientific values. This can perhaps be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, during the period in which legislation was enacted and statutory authorities established there was a conflation of the two discourses of archaeology and heritage. In this process, the interests of other groups (including indigenous groups) could be subsumed into those which were/are important within archaeology.

Within the discipline, the CRM model, which was largely imported from the United States, offered a clearly articulated framework for the assessment of archaeological significance. Bowdler (1981, 1984) has defined the principles of assessing archaeological significance. In the later paper (Bowdler 1984: 1) she states:

> I have argued elsewhere...that, in general, it is the archaeologist's task, *qua* archaeologist, to assess *archaeological* significance, which is to say, *scientific* significance. I attempted in the same place, in the context of a review of the relevant, largely American, literature, to also define what archaeological significance might be. I concluded that archaeological significance should be assessed according to *timely and specific research questions* on the one hand, and *representativeness* on the other.

The most interesting aspect of this is the equation between scientific and archaeological significance which indicated the newly forged connections between archaeology and science.

As a system for the management of heritage, CRM is constrained by the fact that it can only define and assess the scientific interests in heritage. Thus, it does not provide a means of addressing a broader range of values. Research interests or questions are defined by the archaeological community. CRM developed largely out of the processual approach and is therefore concerned with the development of generalisations of human behaviour. This necessitates methods and techniques (e.g. sampling; obtaining 'adequate' sample percentages etc.) in order for results to be verifiable statistically and replicated. This approach pre-supposes maximal access to the landscape which may be problematic in areas where Aboriginal owners put access to large tracts of land off-limits for religious or cosmological reasons.

Scientific interests were to some extent offset by the consultation process which attempted to elicit the 'social' significance of sites. However, the notion of 'consultation' was and is problematic in that the agenda of heritage is already set. This leaves only a reactive role for those who were being consulted. This point is more fully developed in Chapter 11. Many changes in practice have occurred in an attempt to accommodate Aboriginal wishes, including the separate and restricted storage of information that is private and confidential. While recent practices have resulted in the involvement of indigenous people in many aspects of the CRM process, the essential definition of 'heritage' and heritage management has not otherwise changed.

Archaeologists have long played a custodial role in the collection and preservation of indigenous heritage. In museums they were responsible for collections of artefacts and human remains that were legally owned by the State. In university departments, academics had detailed information about particular groups of Aboriginal people or aspects of the past. However, the conflation of heritage with archaeology in the late 1960s and early 1970s meant that the 'official' version of the past was drawn from archaeology (see also Ellis 1994: 8). This established the custodial role of archaeologists on a new footing. Ellis (1994: 9) has described the way in which the archaeological perspective on the past became woven into the fabric of 'heritage':

> It is significant that all early Aboriginal heritage legislation was concerned with 'relics'; that is, the material evidences of a previous, displaced, cultural entity. This was the raw material of archaeology and it was this discipline which, particularly on the east coast of Australia, moved to occupy the intellectual field which had been created by the establishment of 'relics' agencies. In doing so, the discipline brought with it preoccupations and questions that were framed by the particular scientific paradigm it occupied. That paradigm consequently exerted significant influence on the future direction and practices of cultural heritage management in Australia.

2.3 Aboriginal involvement in Australian archaeology

Australian archaeology can claim to have had more than twenty years of involvement by indigenous people in the discipline. This relationship was initiated by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies) but was fostered and facilitated through the newly formed statutory authorities.

2.3.1 The role of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS)

In 1959, negotiations for the establishment of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies began, with an Interim Council formed in 1961. The Institute was formally created in 1964 to promote, initiate and support Aboriginal Studies. The infant discipline of archaeology in Australia relied heavily upon the Institute (Moser 1995: 152):

> The community of Australian archaeologists benefitted from the Institute's work in funding research; organizing conferences and meetings; creating a newsletter; publishing major texts and monographs; setting up advisory panels; pushing for legislation; recording archaeological sites; establishing an official membership; producing a comprehensive bibliography and data base on Aboriginal studies; and assisting in the setting up of carbon-dating facilities.

During the early period, the role of the Institute remained firmly attached to the pursuit of Aboriginal studies within an academic framework.

At the same time, Aboriginal people in this country began to demand social justice across a range of issues (Ellis 1994: 7-8). Moser (1995: 155-6) has described some of the political events that occurred during this period. These include the establishment of the Tent Embassy on the lawns of Parliament House in January 1972, the election of the Whitlam Labor government in the same year and the changes in Aboriginal Affairs as a result of this. During this period, archaeologists, anthropologists and other academics heard, perhaps for the first time, Aboriginal perceptions of their work. Ucko (1983: 14) has described the Aboriginal reaction to academically inspired Aboriginal studies and states that:

> By 1974 anthropologists and archaeologists in universities had begun to run for cover. As already noted, archaeologists (and physical anthropologists) had seldom if ever carried out meaningful consultation with traditional Aborigines and were by and large unprepared to interact with urban Aborigines.

Ucko (1983: 15) states that the Institute undertook a major role in addressing such issues:

> The AIAS, with its advisory subject committees, its earlier innovatory decision to include Aborigines both on such committees and on its Council, and the undoubted influence that it had by its control of finance was seen by the academic fraternity to be the body which should attempt to redeem the situation.

The AIAS was able to achieve some important developments in this area. The passing of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* in 1976 opened the way for a proliferation of work (including archaeology) and the Institute undertook a major role in this (Moser 1995: 159). In addition, the AIAS was an early and significant player in the issue of the return of Aboriginal skeletal remains. Moser (1995: 157) cites a number of examples which illustrate this, including the AIAS support for the return and cremation of Truganini, the Tasmanian Aboriginal woman whose body had been treated as a subject of scientific interest. In these two areas, the AIAS developed important approaches to the consultation and involvement of Aboriginal people.

At this time, both the Institute and the statutory authorities underwent a process whereby Aboriginal people became increasingly involved. This included the employment and training of Aboriginal people, their inclusion on advisory committees, the insistence on consultation with regard to research, the broadening of the role of archaeology to include the interests of living people and the establishment of education programmes aimed at the broader Aboriginal population (Ucko 1983; Sullivan 1985; Pardoe 1992; Moser 1995). An important development in this regard was the Institute-funded 'Sites of Significance Recording Project' which was established in 1973. Through this project, funds were provided to the embryonic State authorities to initiate their own state-based programs (Moser 1995: 160-161). The programs were to be undertaken with Aboriginal people and in a number of States, Aboriginal Rangers or Site Officers were employed.

The involvement of Aboriginal people established, even in this early period, that there <u>was</u> an Aboriginal perspective on heritage that was not always accommodated by the scientific approach. Moser (1995: 161) has described the involvement of Aboriginal people in the Sites of Significance Recording Project. She states:

> The important point to make about the Sites of Significance Programme was that it changed its aims as a result of Aboriginal participation in the project. Archaeologists were forced to confront Aboriginal associations with the land

in general, and specific sites in particular. While the initial emphasis had been on locating archaeological sites or placing 'dots on the map', it soon became clear that Aboriginal people had strong views about the aims and function of the programme.

2.3.2 The National Parks and Wildlife Service of New South Wales

Aboriginal involvement in heritage varied from state to state, however it was probably the National Parks and Wildlife Service of New South Wales, under the direction of Sharon Sullivan, that most directly addressed this during this period. This was perhaps particularly the case when, towards the end of the 1970s, Ucko left the Institute which subsequently became increasingly distanced from archaeology. It was thus left to the state authorities to continue this process.

A number of factors can be used to explain the degree of influence exerted by 'National Parks' at this time. Firstly, much archaeological work was concentrated in New South Wales at this time. This included work at Lake Mungo (Bowler et al. 1970; Bowler et al. 1972; Bowler and Thorne 1976); Allen's (1974) research in the Darling basin; McBryde's (1974) work in New England and the interest in the NSW south coast (e.g. Bowdler 1971, 1976; Lampert 1971; Lampert and Hughes 1974; Poiner 1976). Obviously the policies being put in place by Sullivan and her organisation were reaching the heart of the archaeological 'Who's Who?' of the times. Moreover, within the state of New South Wales, all archaeological work was directed through this authority and therefore their policies on consultation were enforced through the requirement for a permit to undertake excavation. In addition, there were historical connections between National Parks in NSW and the archaeological academy. Many of the staff had trained at the Universities of New England and Sydney and had established connections with staff in these institutions. These links perhaps facilitated and accounted for a degree of interchange between the Universities and the public archaeologists during this period in New South Wales. Finally, the NSW National Parks served as a role model for other state heritage authorities and in some instances provided them with expertise and advice.

It can thus be established that this organisation exerted significant influence upon the development of public archaeology in this country. However, it remains to be explained why this heritage agency was committed, perhaps more than its contemporary organisations, to indigenous involvement. In this early period, in contrast to research archaeology, this organisation was largely staffed by women with a strongly feminist perspective. Mascia-Lees et al. (1989: 11) have pointed out that 'feminists speak from the position of the *other*'. This link between feminist concerns and those of indigenous people may also be seen in the relationship and re-orientation of research undertaken by Spector (1994) on sites that are significant to Native American people. It may also be discerned in Haglund's (1975) report on the excavation and analysis of skeletal remains at Broadbeach in southeast Queensland. In the latter, publication of Haglund's work was delayed by the author while she attempted to locate traditional owners (Haglund 1975; see also Chapter 3). A first hand understanding of and empathy with those in the position of 'other' may have provided the environment within which indigenous interests in heritage could be explored. As more Aboriginal people became involved in this area (either as employees of National

Parks or on advisory committees or through the process of consultation) more challenges were issued to the scientific view of the past and heritage.

The identification of an Aboriginal perspective on heritage had the potential to challenge many aspects of the discipline. Firstly, it called into question some archaeological methods and practices, which, had this aspect been fully explored might have challenged the scientific approach of Cultural Resource Management. This challenge, however, formed the basis of relations in the following decade. From an Aboriginal perspective, this divergence between their own views of the past and its archaeological representation must have been most obvious in the fact that legislation was largely aimed at the scientific concerns (see Sullivan 1985). Moreover, education programmes were largely aimed at educating Aboriginal people about archaeology but not archaeologists about Aboriginal perspectives (see also Byrne 1993: 203-205). Much of the disenchantment expressed by Aboriginal people in the following decade may be attributed to this.

2.3.1 'Consultation' and indigenous rights in heritage

While much of the previous decade was marked by a number of heady changes, a conservatism swept through Australian society following the election of the Fraser Government at the end of 1975. In terms of indigenous involvement in heritage, this had the effect of shifting the emphasis from the initiation of change to the consolidation of what had already been introduced.

The difference between indigenous and archaeological views of the past, which was becoming increasingly obvious, was also being felt within the archaeological community. There was a growing realisation of the implications of some of the trends in Aboriginal involvement that had been introduced in the 1970s. That is, while the archaeological community had welcomed the changes of the previous decade, there were apparently limits to such change. During this period, Ucko (1983: 20) wrote that one of the major conflicts of interest between Aboriginal people and archaeologists

> is concerned with the limits of real recognition of Aboriginal rights when they directly challenge the recognised interests of professional archaeologists to an extent greater than such things as the loss of the occasional skeleton or museum object.

While the notion of consulting with Aboriginal people concerning archaeological work was by now well known, if not well formulated within Australian archaeology, this did not resolve issues of ownership and control of heritage that most characterised this period. The first public challenge to archaeological authority in such matters was delivered in December 1982, when members of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre (TAC) decided to attend (uninvited) the Australian Archaeological Association Conference that was being held in Hobart. This was prompted by the film The Last Tasmanians and the presence, at the Conference, of archaeologists who had been involved in making the film. The TAC were responding to the implication (suggested by the title of the film alone) that there were no living Aboriginal people in Tasmania. Langford's address to the meeting on behalf of the TAC clearly defined Aboriginal ownership and emphasised the divergence of Aboriginal and archaeological viewpoints in the title, 'Our heritage - your playground' (Langford 1983).

The issue of ownership became increasingly important in the following years (see also section 2.2). Allen (1983: 9) clearly illustrates the attitude of many archaeologists at the time:

> I am unaware of any professional archaeologist working in Australia at this time who would take exception to the proposition that Aborigines, as a deeply involved and committed group, are among the proper custodians of the Australian cultural heritage and that field research should only be carried out in consultation with those custodians.

This attitude is summed up in Allen's assertion that Aboriginal people 'are <u>among</u> [the emphasis is mine] the proper custodians' and that their interest is, 'as a deeply involved and committed group'. This statement betrays the fact that for some archaeologists, heritage, rather than being a birthright, was something that one could choose to become involved in if one has the right level of commitment. This implies that there are no rightful owners of heritage and that the list of potential custodians is as long as the number of people who could make that commitment.

In the following years, this issue of 'who owns the past?' was an important theme in Australian archaeology. However, with the exception of McBryde (1985), few major publications were undertaken in this area. While archaeologists undertook 'consultation' (in its many forms) with Aboriginal people, the murky depths of ownership of heritage remained a problematic issue to explore. Those who did take a stand tended to take a universal view of heritage (e.g. Mulvaney 1981, 1985; see also Byrne 1993; Moser 1995). This perspective argues the antiquity of archaeological material renders it the 'common heritage' of all people. It follows from this that a scientific view of the past, which is perceived to be universally objective and without ethnic, political or other bounds, is the only appropriate means of understanding the past.

In this decade, the issue of control of heritage was dealt with through the notion of 'consultation'. By the end of this period, this notion was firmly incorporated into CRM approaches. However, the process of consultation, whether it is undertaken at the local or community level or through advisory committees, represents at best only minimal control. It invites those being consulted to respond to an existing agenda whether this is research or heritage management. Their options are limited to rejecting the proposals, or interjecting in the archaeological process, presumably where practices are beyond limits that are acceptable (e.g. see Pardoe 1992). In recent years, it has become common practice in some states for indigenous people to work with archaeologists. In most instances, the intention is to 'monitor' the archaeological work and practices. This process provides only for a reactionary role rather than real control of heritage. Indigenous people are not involved in the construction of the past, but rather they are asked to eliminate unacceptable practices associated with the established archaeological view. Given this, archaeological views are likely to have only limited appeal to indigenous people and make little or no contribution in terms of the construction of their (as opposed to national) identity (see also Chapter 11).

2.4 Conclusion

Several major points have been presented in this chapter. Firstly, it was established that in spite of the introduction of new approaches over the last decade, the discipline has a strong and continuing interest in ecological relationships. It was suggested that these are still largely filtered through a framework drawn from 'New' or processual archaeology. They focus on changes in the environment to explain culture change and thus emphasise long periods of cultural stability. The popularity of such approaches lays primarily in their appropriation of 'science' and scientific methods and techniques. These reduce the overwhelming business of the explanation of culture to finite variables and are seen to improve the credibility of archaeology within academic and broader public communities.

These theoretical directions, which dominate academic archaeology, have influenced the way in which heritage management has been developed in this country. This is in spite of the fact that research archaeology is largely removed from the decision-making and other processes of heritage management which provides the discipline with a large measure of validity in terms of the broader community (Smith 1994). In addition, practitioners in research archaeology have not generally had the same level of interaction or involvement with indigenous groups, thus this important influence has had, until recently, only marginal impact. In this sense, the 'tail' would appear to be wagging the 'dog'.

The predominant model used in heritage management views 'heritage' and 'culture' as 'resources', and borrows heavily from the natural sciences for ways of assessing the significance of these. The scientific or positivist approaches used within such frameworks have little or no relevance to indigenous perceptions of the past. However, because such approaches provide a 'universal heritage' they are acceptable to the dominant majority. They have thus been useful in the development of national identity. This partly explains the crisis between indigenous people and archaeologists that has been ongoing for more than a decade. Recent events, e.g. the legal dispute between La Trobe University and the Tasmanian Aboriginal Lands Council (*The Australian,* July 1995) suggests that this crisis is deepening. This is in spite of the efforts of some practitioners, particularly heritage managers, to address issues surrounding indigenous perceptions of the past and ways in which these can be incorporated into contemporary heritage management. This thesis explores these issues from the experience of working from within an Aboriginal community.

3

A history of archaeology in Queensland

The history of archaeological work in Queensland mirrors, in some ways, that in other parts of Australia. For example, early work was dominated by those associated with museums and there was a pronounced interest in rock art and human remains. A major difference, however, was the presence of large populations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait people in Queensland who had strong links with their land, cultures and customs. This was especially the case in Cape York Peninsula which received considerable anthropological attention on account of this. In addition, the presence of Aboriginal people in the State prompted the appointment of a 'Protector of Aborigines'. Some of those who undertook this role (e.g. Roth) also recorded ethnographic information about the cosmologies, customs and material cultures of some of these peoples.

3.1 Early work

European interest in Aboriginal sites in Queensland can be traced to 1884, exactly 100 years before the commencement of the present project. At this time, scientific interest in the colony of Queensland was fostered by the newly formed Royal Society of Queensland. This organisation was preceded by the Philosophical Society but was more oriented to the natural sciences. The first volume of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland included an article describing rock engravings at Pigeon Creek in southeast Queensland (Tryon 1884; Hall 1984a). The article is interesting in that it is not just a description of antiquities but offers an analysis which uses available ethnographic information in the production of its framework. Shortly after this (1888-1898), A.C. Haddon visited Cape York as part of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait.

A survey of the Proceedings shows, however, that while there was some anthropological study undertaken in New Guinea and much more interest in palaeontology and the other natural sciences, it was several years before the society was offered another morsel of either Australian ethnography or archaeology (Jack 1896a, 1896b; Shirley 1896). This was followed by a comparative flurry of activity with some thirteen papers produced over the next twenty or so years (e.g. Matthews 1900, 1901; Shirley 1911; Mackie 1911; Hamlyn-Harris 1913, 1915a, 1916, 1917; Bennett 1918). However, such papers represented only a minute fraction of the work of the Society in this period.

In the same period Roth (1901a, 1901b, 1902, 1904, 1907, 1908a, 1908b, 1909a, 1909b, 1910a, 1910b, 1910c) was recording ethnographic information in North Queensland while in his role as northern Protector of Aborigines. Roth's recording of elements of material culture as well as customs and practices represents a significant body of information, albeit generalised.

Between 1918 and 1959 there was not a single paper focusing on Aboriginal issues in the Proceedings. The drought was broken by Mack (1959) who wrote an article entitled 'Settlement and the Aborigines of Australia and Tasmania.' This was a sparse discussion of the initial colonisation of Australia and Tasmania and more concerned with the appropriate manner of dealing with the 'native problem'.

The Memoirs of the Queensland Museum show a similar pattern with a number of papers of anthropological interest produced between 1913 and 1924 (Hamlyn-Harris 1913, 1915a, 1915b; Hamlyn-Harris and Smith 1916; Longman 1918; Richards 1924). An interval of some fifteen years passed before Shellshear (1939) published his paper on 'The Skull of an Australian Aboriginal found at Stradbroke Island, Queensland.' While some of these papers were concerned with Aboriginal social life, several described items of material culture or collections held in the Queensland Museum. A few described archaeological sites.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Ursula McConnel, Donald Thomson, Lauriston Sharp and the partnership of Hale and Tindale all undertook anthropological work in Cape York Peninsula. McConnel visited Cape York several times in the late 1920s and early 1930s working with several groups of Cape York people, but concentrating on the Wik-Munkan people. McConnel defined elements of their tribal social organisation, recorded important myths and legends and interconnections between several of the Cape York groups (McConnel 1934, 1939, 1940, 1950, 1957; see also Taylor 1984). Given the enormous upheavel that had occurred in Cape York, particularly in northern and coastal Cape York, her work represents a significant remnant of information. This is all the more important because it was collected prior to the more intensive period of government intervention that followed shortly after her time in the field. Of most interest to this research was McConnel's recognition of the dynamism of Cape York societies, 'the shifting sands of culture-change', both in terms of external events and internal forces. In addition, she acknowledged the terms used, at the time, by the people themselves to describe their tribal groups rather than imposing labels collected in previous ethnographic work (McConnel 1939: 59-60; Fuary and Greer

1993). In the early 1930s, Sharp (1934 a, 1934 b, 1937, 1939, 1940, 1952, 1958) carried out ethnographic work with the Yir-Yoront of western Cape York, who were the southern neighbours of the Wik.

At approximately the same time, Thomson (1939) worked with the Wik Monkan people of Cape York. While principally anthropological in nature, his work provided archaeology with a number of key concepts which have been incorporated into the frameworks used by later researchers. For example, he defined a system that operated according to systematic seasonal scheduling and noted that this was associated with a specialised material culture to the extent that (1939: 209):

> In each case the camps and the house types, the weapons and utensils, are of a specialised type and related to the seasonal life, so that viewing these independently at different periods of the year, and seeing the people engaged in occupations so diverse an onlooker might be pardoned for concluding that they were different peoples.

In addition, he raised the relative 'invisibility' of a contemporary gathering and hunting people with a rich material culture but who leave only '...the slenderest of evidence for later archaeological investigation' (Thomson 1939: 211). Thomson also emphasised the richness of the coastal resource zone (Thomson 1939:213) which has been elaborated by more recent Cape York researchers such as Chase and Sutton (1981, 1987), Hynes and Chase (1982) and Harris (1976, 1977).

Hale and Tindale (1933) were at Princess Charlotte Bay in eastern Cape York. They recorded aspects of social life, vocabulary and trade. Importantly for archaeology, they also made detailed notes of the locations of particular types of camps, items of material culture and made detailed plans of particular sites such as Endean rockshelter on Stanley Island. These sites were revisited during the research undertaken by Beaton (1985) some four decades later.

In 1959, W.E.H. Stanner (1961; see also Mulvaney 1984) visited Cape York to investigate the shell mounds near Weipa. Stanner's brief was to determine the origin, whether natural or cultural, of the mounds. Although he opted for a natural origin, he had little to offer in the way of explanation of these phenomena. He did, however, open the way for a number of later researchers on this problem (e.g. Wright 1971; Bailey 1975, 1977).

The anthropological work undertaken in Queensland, particularly in areas like Cape York, provided rich accounts of contemporary lifestyles and traditional customs of the people studied. McCarthy (1939) availed himself of some of this information in his continent-wide survey of trade, but otherwise his work did not provoke a flurry of archaeological interest in such areas. This was in spite of the fact that Thomson, at least, appears to have been very aware of the implications of his work for archaeology.

While amateur interest in Aboriginal society, artefacts and culture continued in this period (e.g. Webb 1960; Bartholomai and Breeden 1961), the new wave of professionalism which was sweeping Australian archaeology was also having an effect in Queensland. Firstly, a number of the new 'professionals' visited the State and undertook significant and systematic fieldwork. Secondly, the establishment of archaeology at the University of Queensland was an important milestone.

3.2 Visiting archaeological scholars

In 1959, D.J. Mulvaney received slides of the rock art of Kenniff Cave (Mulvaney 1984:5). Over the following five years, extensive survey and excavation was undertaken in this general region on Mt Moffatt Station in the south-western side of the Carnarvon Range (Mulvaney and Joyce 1965). This work closely followed on the heels of one of the most important technical developments in archaeology: the introduction of radiocarbon dating in the 1950s. The radiocarbon estimates from Kenniff Cave placed initial occupation in the region at a minimum of 16,000 years ago (Mulvaney and Joyce 1965: 169). This was the first evidence of Pleistocene occupation in Australia and it is not surprising that it sparked renewed interest in an old (but continuing) theme in Australian archaeology: the antiquity of occupation (e.g. Etheridge 1890, 1905).

The work at Kenniff Cave and The Tombs, undertaken by Mulvaney and Joyce (1965) reflects those interests in ecology and economic prehistory that were imported to this country from Cambridge University. While a good deal of attention is paid to the definition and description of artefact types, artefact sequencing and the development of phases in Australian technology, the authors also express an interest in the relationship between prehistoric people and the environment in which they lived (see Chapter 2; Mulvaney and Joyce 1965).

In addition, a metrical analysis was undertaken on the artefacts from Kenniff Cave. This new approach illustrated the desire for a more objective approach in archaeology. The results reflected a heightened interest in the technology of stone flaking which contrasted with previous analyses which had concentrated on the description of form and types (e.g. McCarthy 1946).

In 1963, Wright (1971) undertook further work on the Weipa shellmounds in far north Queensland. These were the mounds that had previously been examined by Stanner (1961; see also Wright 1971; Mulvaney 1984: 5), and the new investigation maintained the central focus of establishing whether the mounds were cultural or natural in origin. In contrast to Stanner's proposal of a natural origin, Wright's excavations revealed that artefacts (particularly polished bone points) were present throughout the loose mound of shell and that one species, *Anadara trapezia*, dominated (Wright 1971). This evidence indicated a cultural origin of the mounds although a definitive explanation for their form eluded the researcher.

Wright also undertook some excavations in the Laura district of Cape York Peninsula. While the site (L-1 or Mushroom Rock) contained both rock art and archaeological deposit, Wright's investigations concentrated on the excavation of the deposit and analysis and interpretation of the stone industries present. In particular, he identified periods of stabilitiy and change represented in the artefactual traditions over more than 6,000 years (Wright 1971: 137). Like Mulvaney and Joyce (1965) he provided some synthesis of available Australian data, attempting to place the information from the site into the developing framework of Australian stone artefact traditions (see Wright 1971: 138). In addition, this excavation and those undertaken by him at two other rockshelters (Bare Hill and Chillagoe) were aimed at demonstrating one aspect of Aboriginal usage of the environment, viz. the use and procurement of stone. Wright lamented the lack of evidence '...that would allow us to write a prehistory in terms of the relationship of man [sic] to his environment' (Wright 1971: 140). In so doing, he was expressing the heightened interest in the environment which is further attested to by the title of the book, *Aboriginal Man and Environment*, in which this paper appeared (Mulvaney and Golson 1971).

3.3 Archaeologists in residence

While researchers from other parts of Australia were visiting Queensland to undertake research, in 1963 anthropological courses began to be taught by Donald Tugby in the Psychology Department of the University of Queensland. In 1963-64, an archaeological survey of the southern region of Moreton Bay and on Moreton Island was undertaken by V.V. Ponosov (1964) of this Department. Teaching in the Department consisted, in the main, of service courses for social work students and Tugby was joined in 1965 by an archaeologist when John Clegg was appointed to the Department as a Tutor. The establishment of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in 1965 saw the appointment of a number of members of staff, headed by Peter Lawrence as Foundation Professor of Anthropology (John Taylor, pers. comm.). Clegg undertook preliminary analyses on artefacts from a site called Cathedral Cave in the Carnarvon Gorge (Clegg 1965a, 1965b).

Rescue work on the Aboriginal burial site at Broadbeach was also initiated in, with funding from the (then) Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra. Laila Haglund (who took up residence in Brisbane in the same year) was invited to direct the excavation (Haglund-Calley and Quinnell 1973; Haglund 1975: 1). The excavations at Broadbeach continued over a three year period from 1965 to 1968 (Haglund 1975: xi). The research represents a milestone in the development of archaeology in Queensland for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was a rescue operation. The skeletal material was under threat from soil contractors, developers (the site is situated on Queensland's infamous Gold Coast), looters and treasure seekers, miners, curious members of the public and the natural processes of erosion exacerbated by modern development (Haglund 1975: 3). Because of this, the research was conducted under a different set of operational standards from the average piece of academic research and is perhaps more in line with modern management work. For example, Haglund notes that constraints of time and her own availability for the task precluded a more rapid recovery of the remains and that much damage was done to the site between seasons of fieldwork (Haglund 1975: 3). While some measures were taken to prevent public access to the site, these were either ignored or vandalised. Thus, the work proceeded with a sense of urgency (1975: xi):

> This meant that we had to push on and excavate even when we would have preferred to first spend more time assessing the material already recovered to find problems and aspects that might be usefully concentrated on during another season.

At the time of the discovery of the burials, no legislation existed in Queensland to protect them or any other Aboriginal remains or sites (Haglund 1975: 3). The *Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act of 1967* was enacted during the period in which the fieldwork was undertaken and was perhaps brought in largely as a result of this work. The need to protect Aboriginal sites, places and artefacts was strongly illustrated in the inability to prevent or even mitigate the disturbance to and subsequent destruction of the burial ground. Unfortunately, as Haglund (1975: 3) points out,

> Even had the Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act of 1967 been in force when we started this excavation, it is doubtful whether the site would have been protected by it.

Haglund had a number of aims. Firstly, the excavations were undertaken with a methodological rigour (see Haglund 1975: 3-8). This rigour is especially notable given that there was a dearth of professional assistance available and that equipment and techniques were often necessarily the result of Australian bush ingenuity more than anything else (1975: xi). This rigour was an attempt to rescue as much stratigraphic information as was possible under the circumstances. The site occurred within a sandridge with undifferentiated deposits and these had been further subjected to erosion and human disturbance. From the outset, one of Haglund's major aims was to define the different burial practices and associated rites that were practised at the site. Furthermore, she wanted to determine whether different practices dominated during different time periods. In this sense, Haglund's aims were very anthropological in origin and she utilised the ethnographic literature available. Her aims were to be achieved through the implementation of a rigorous methodology (cf. the work of Mardaga-Campbell 1995 on the living floors of Walkunder Arch Cave, Chillagoe; Mardaga-Campbell 1986 on living floors at Pillar Cave; Campbell and Mardaga-Campbell 1993 on Walkunder Arch; Campbell 1978, Mardaga-Campbell and Campbell 1985 on Turtle Rock in the Hervey Range, Queensland).

While the examination of Aboriginal skeletal remains has had a long history, the early researchers in this area were not archaeologists as such but anatomists or naturalists with an interest in differences in human shape and form. Their investigations were usually undertaken on individual crania or museum collections (e.g. Longman 1918). They did not involve examination of the remains *in situ*, and the remains were not carefully removed under controlled excavation conditions. The excavation at Broadbeach represented the first Australian example of an archaeological examination of such material. Moreover, unlike many who had previously worked in this area, Haglund was aware of the Aboriginal community's sensitivity to this type of research. The report on excavations published in 1975 had originally been submitted for publication in 1972 (1975: xii),

> However, it seemed that a book like this might be offensive to members of the local Aboriginal community and publication was shelved. There has now been much more dialogue between Aborigines and archaeologists about such matters, and I hope this book will be accepted as an interesting document which throws light on some aspects of the complex culture of the Aborigines in the Brisbane area. I know from many discussions that their descendants have a keen interest in this.

Another researcher working in Queensland at this time was Eleanor Crosby. She undertook what was methodologically a very early systematic survey of archaeological sites within the drainage system of Robinson Creek and the Dawson River (Crosby 1968: 73). She carried out an analysis of painting sites found in the survey according to characteristics such as motif, technique and colour, as well as a stone artefact analysis (Crosby 1973).

During the 1970s, researchers continued to visit Queensland and undertake research. Rosenfeld et al. (1981) investigated the buried pecked engravings at the Early Man site at Laura. She had been attracted to the area by the early work of Tresize, an amateur archaeologist who recorded many rock art sites in the region (Tresize 1971). Given the uniqueness of the Early Man rockshelter (the engravings were covered by an archaeological deposit), dating of the art was one of the most important considerations. However, the investigation was also aimed at exploring the relationship between the rock art and other archaeological data.

In the late 1960s to early 1970s, Bailey (1975, 1977) undertook further work on the Weipa shell mounds in Cape York Peninsula as part of his global examination of middens for his PhD thesis. In 1972, Moore undertook archaeological work in the Torres Strait and at Cape York. He excavated sites on Muralag or Prince of Wales Island in the lower western islands of the Torres Strait, and at a small rockshelter at Red Island Point and a campsite at Evans Bay on the Cape York mainland. Moore's aim was, in part, to find archaeological evidence attested to by ethnographic accounts from the region. Significantly, he undertook two small test excavations within the current study area (Moore 1979; see also Chapter 9). Moore's work was followed by that of Vanderwal (1973) who carried out an archaeological survey over a broad area of the Torres Strait. Vanderwal's aim was to locate sites that could illustrate aspects of trade in this area however few sites were located and none that could shed much light on this topic.

3.4 Archaeological 'regions' and themes

Since the mid-1970s, there has been an acceleration of development in archaeology in Queensland. New appointments have been made to the two university departments teaching archaeology which have resulted in the expansion of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. While further testing and refinement occurred within the themes that had already been determined, few changes (other than an increase of people on the ground) can be observed during this period. Increasing numbers of archaeologists have, however, resulted in work on many areas in Queensland. In some instances, this has facilitated the development of archaeological 'regions'. In the following sections, a summary of the major regions is presented.

3.4.1 The Herbert-Burdekin

In 1974, Helen Brayshaw arrived in Townsville to begin a PhD project on the Herbert-Burdekin region. Her thesis presented information on the ethnohistoric literature, the ethnographic collections and her own archaeological investigations within the region (Brayshaw 1977). The specific questions she was interested in were as follows (1977: ix);

1. the relationship between material culture and the environment;
2. the idea of cultural variation within a specific region; and
3. to place the material culture of the Herbert-Burdekin within the context of our knowledge of broader Australian Aboriginal material culture.

Following McBryde's (1974) early work, Australian archaeology was marked in the 1970s by the development of a regional approach to archaeology. Brayshaw's work represented the first regional study of the archaeology of North Queensland. In addition, the link between people and the environment they occupied was an intrinsic theme in her work (Brayshaw 1977: 3):

> It seemed that a region of such variety would provide a very good opportunity to study aspects of the Aborigines' relationship with their environment and the extent to which variations in their material culture reflected variations in the environment.

In 1975, John Campbell arrived in Townsville to take up a position at James Cook University. Initially, he undertook ethnoarchaeological work in the rainforest around the Tully River, working with Aboriginal people from this area. This work was discontinued following the death of one of his closest co-workers and publication abandoned due to the wishes of his relatives (John Campbell, pers. comm.). In 1977, on the recommendation of Helen Brayshaw, he began work at the Turtle Rock site, located in the Hervey Range, just south-west of Townsville. The site was being disturbed by cattle and horses and was suffering seasonal erosion. Excavations at the site were carried out by archaeology students who were being trained in precise three-dimensional recording. Archaeological aims included determining artefact reduction sequences, sourcing raw materials, defining the relationship between rock art at the site and the floors, and determining the relationship of the site to its surrounding catchment (Campbell 1978; Mardaga-Campbell and Campbell 1985). The rock art studies at Turtle Rock have not been completed but form part of Hatte's doctoral research on the Townsville region (Hatte 1992; In prep.; see also below).

The present author undertook an archaeological survey of Magnetic Island as part of her BA (Hons) work for the University of Sydney (Greer 1981). This work placed the evidence from Magnetic Island within the regional framework outlined by Brayshaw, providing some refinement to the original model. More recently, Hatte (1992, In Prep.) has extensively surveyed the Townsville district in her study of the rock art and archaeology of the area. This work forms part of her PhD research. It has been complemented by two BA(Hons) theses on the Cape Cleveland area (Plant 1989; Lee Long 1990). Scott (1992) also focused on the Cape Cleveland area, in particular the conservation problems of the rock art at the Clevedon and Roxmere sites. Hatte is currently working with an anthropologist undertaking doctoral studies for the University of Queensland within the same region (Heijm In Prep.). They have undertaken joint work on Palm Island, an Aboriginal community off the coast of Townsville.

Bird's (1987) BA (Hons) work at Beachmount in the lower Burdekin provided further evaluation of Brayshaw's regional framework for the Herbert-Burdekin. She followed up her study with monitoring and assessment of the impact of three tropical cyclones on coastal sites at Beachmount just south of the mouth of the Burdekin River (Bird 1993, 1995).

Campbell (1979, 1982) undertook some early work on Hinchinbrook Island. This work was principally aimed at recording the fish traps located on the leeward side of the island, however some test excavation was undertaken on middens. This work is being followed up by Bird (In Prep.; pers. comm.) who is undertaking doctoral research on both Hinchinbrook and the adjacent mainland. This work is being done in association with Aboriginal communities in the Cardwell and Ingham areas.

3.4.2 The Central Highlands

Ecology and management of resources were important themes in Beaton's (1977, 1982) work in the Central Highlands. He focused on the use of toxic plants (cycads) and their role within the subsistence strategy used in this region. He suggested that the toxic plants were used as a 'communion' food. More recently, Beaton (1991a, 1991b) has published results from his earlier excavations at a number of rockshelters in the Carnarvon Gorge region. Knuckey and Kippin (1992) have also undertaken preliminary survey of 'Stonehenge', a property in central Queensland.

The theme of rock art and archaeological sequences was also taken up by Morwood in the Central Highlands (Morwood 1980, 1981). Morwood recorded the rock art of more than 83 sites between the Warrego and Barcoo Rivers, applying a principal components analysis (PCA) in order to determine the 'differential distribution of artistic variables within or between sites' (Morwood 1980: 98). His excavations at four rockshelters in the same general region provided stone artefact assemblages which were analysed in terms of implement morphology, raw material and characteristics of the edges, as well as providing a comparison for other sites, like Kenniff Cave, in the region (Morwood 1981). Again, he applied PCA.

3.4.3 The south-east coastal region

This broad region includes work in Moreton Bay and on Moreton Island, Fraser Island, at the Sunshine Coast (north of Brisbane) and the Gold Coast, located south-east of the capital.

Initial work in the Moreton Bay region was undertaken in the early 1960s by Ponosov (1964) and somewhat later by Stockton (1974). However, the Moreton Regional Archaeological Project (MRAP) was begun in mid-1977 following the appointment of Jay Hall to the staff of the University of Queensland in 1976. Adequate funding for the project was to follow in 1979 (Hall and Robins 1984: 85). The project was devised with broad aims, however a number of themes appear to have been important (Hall 1980, 1982, 1984; Hall and Robins 1984:85-87):

1. the concept of a regional investigation, epitomised by a multi-stage approach which examined different environments and microenvironments within a single region;
2. the need for a systematic approach to survey and excavation, and

3. the importance of the environment (especially sea level changes) for the prehistoric populations which occupied the region.

Generally speaking, the MRAP project took on the earlier theme of humans and their interaction with the environment, re-interpreting this in the more up-to-date idiom of ecology and the management of resources. This was undertaken within a coastal setting which had already attracted some attention in Australian archaeology (e.g. Lampert 1971; Bowdler 1970, 1977; see also the papers in Bowdler 1982), however it also incorporated a revived interest in islands and the way in which they were utilised in the past. There was an emphasis on methodological rigour. While this was not new to Queensland archaeology (cf. Haglund 1975), the focus here was on systematic field survey. This can perhaps be traced to the popularity and attention that such issues were attracting in the United States, where Hall himself had been trained.

The initial work on the project has been expanded by a number of smaller projects including: Alfredson (1983, 1984); Crooks (1982); Draper (1978); Hall and Love (1985); Hall et al. (1987); Hall and Hiscock (1988); Hall and Bowen (1989); Hiscock (1988); Love (1985); Richardson (1979, 1984); Robins (1983); Robins and Hall (1981); Walters (1980, 1985). While coastal and island areas within this region received much initial attention, work was undertaken in the hinterland in the 1980s (Morwood 1986; Hall 1986; Hall et. al. 1988; Hall and Hiscock 1988; Hiscock and Hall 1988; Satterthwaite and Heather 1987; Walters 1985, 1992a, 1992b). The southern limits of this region were extended to the Gold Coast with the excavation of a site on Hope Island, in line with the Environmental Impact Statement for the Sanctuary Cove Resort (Walters et al. 1987). This was an interesting project in that it was undertaken jointly by the

Kombumerri Cultural Centre, an Aboriginal organisation, and the Anthropology Museum at the University of Queensland. In spite of this collaboration, the resulting paper addresses only specifically archaeological issues concerning the work undertaken at the site.

Early work was also undertaken on Fraser Island by Lauer (1977, 1979) and Devitt (1979); for more recent work, see McNiven and Hiscock (1988). McNiven (1985) began work in the Cooloola region on the Sunshine coast north of Brisbane as part of his doctoral research at the University of Queensland. This work conveniently filled the geographical gap between Fraser Island to the north and Moreton Bay to the south (see McNiven (1988, 1989, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1992a, 1992b, 1993).

3.4.4 Other island regions

Rowland turned his attention to the Central Queensland coast when he undertook work on midden sites on North and South Keppel Islands (Rowland 1980, 1981, 1982, 1985). The major thrust of this work was to determine the occupation sequence of the middens and to place them within the framework for coastal and island occupation that was being established elsewhere in Queensland. Morwood (1982) also carried out work on Wild Duck Island in the Broad Sound region between Rockhampton and Mackay. The sites investigated were located during development work for a proposed resort on the island. Morwood's concern with defining the nature and pattern of occupation within this island group reflects the general concerns of coastal archaeology at this time. This work does, however, differ in one respect in that he notes that research in such areas will be critical to their subsequent management (Morwood 1982: 111).

In 1981, Rowland investigated sites on Moa and Naghi Islands in western Torres Strait that had been reported by Barham (see Rowland 1985: 123). This expanded upon earlier work in the Torres Strait (Moore 1979; Vanderwal 1973) and complemented the work that was then being undertaken by Barham and Harris (1983, 1985). While other work was aimed at general survey and the location of sites, Rowland's (1985: 123) investigation had more specific aims:

> The Torres Strait has obviously had a complex cultural/linguistic and human/physical history that could date from at least 6000 BP and perhaps well into the Pleistocene, yet both Vanderwal and Moore have commented on the apparent recency of sites on the islands and radiocarbon dates have confirmed this. Therefore before the history of the Torres Strait can be further deciphered a primary objective must be to determine whether there is any evidence for earlier phases of occupation of the islands. It was with this broad objective in mind that I undertook survey in the Torres Strait.

His conclusions, like those of his predecessors, was that given the relatively recent dates for excavated sites, the problems related to the initial colonisation of Torres Strait cannot yet be solved. Like Vanderwal, he notes the environmental extremes and the dynamic nature of the coastal landscape in this region and the effect that this is likely to have on the preservation of sites.

Rowland (1986) also pioneered work in the Whitsunday Islands, off the coast from Mackay. This has been followed with PhD work by Barker (1989) on Hook Island and masters research by Border (pers. comm.) in the Cumberland Group and further south. John Campbell and Peter Veth (pers. comm.) are carrying out underwater examination of submerged volcanic caves off Penrith Island.

3.4.5 Cape York

The early work on shell mounds and the excavations by Wright and others were to have been followed up with a large multidisciplinary project known initially as the Cape York Cultural Ecology Project (CYCEP) which was then by the (then) Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The multidisciplinary approach, its ecological perspective and the sheer scope of plans for this project meant that it would have epitomised the 'state of the art' approach to the disciplines involved at the time (John Campbell, pers. comm.). Unfortunately, after a difficult start in 1976 this project was discontinued in 1978, less than half of its expected life of five years. Some of the concepts from this project were incorporated into later work undertaken at Princess Charlotte Bay in northeast Cape York by Beaton (1985), who had briefly been appointed as a Research Officer on the project. Beaton's investigation (during the late 1970s and early 1980s) into the archaeology of Princess Charlotte Bay was one of the largest and best funded archaeological projects undertaken in Queensland. Like its predecessor, the CYCEP, it was multidisciplinary, well resourced and had the requisite personnel to enable broad-scale, systematic investigation (Beaton 1985).

Interest in coastal archaeology maintained a high profile in this period. Beaton was interested in the relationship between coastal people and their ecological parameters (including islands). However this theme was extended by the extensive geomorphological work (see Chappell 1982) undertaken on the project, tracing the evolution of the present ecology of Princess Charlotte Bay (Beaton 1985: 5):

> Radiocarbon dating at Princess Charlotte Bay has focussed on determining the relative time frames and histories of aspects of the coastal ecology, especially the position of sealevel, the periodicity of chenier formation, the rate of mangrove

and mud flat progradation, and how these fit with the Aboriginal occupation history.

The use of geomorphological investigation in attempting to solve archaeological problems was very much in line with other key investigations undertaken elsewhere in Australia (e.g. Lampert and Hughes 1974). Beaton's interpretation provided a localised account of occupation in relation to the appearance (and disappearance) of shell resources within the Bay. He used this evidence to reject Lourandos' (1983) suggestion that changes in the archaeological record in the late Holocene could be interpreted as evidence for 'intensification' which resulted from changes in social forces. Beaton (1985) suggests that ecological factors such as those evident at Princess Charlotte Bay provide not only the framework or parameters for such change, but also their explanation. In so doing, Beaton presented an explicit statement of the ecological approach which is inherent in many Australian studies (cf. critique of this approach by Thomas 1981). Cribb and Minnegal (1989) have published work which shows how occupation events can be defined on a small deflated site at Princess Charlotte Bay. Cribb (1986a) had already pointed out some of the major shortcomings of Beaton's fieldwork and analyses.

Cribb (1986b) undertook work in western Cape York in conjunction with the ethnographic project undertaken by the South Australian Museum and the Aboriginal community of Arukun. This is one of the few long-term projects that has been undertaken within an Aboriginal community in Queensland. While Cribb's work is obviously influenced by his field experience, he unfortunately does not explore the implications of working within such contexts to any great extent.

In recent years, the early interest in the shell mounds of Cape York has been resurrected. This was prompted by the conflicting reactions of Comalco and the Napranam Aboriginal Corporation to Stone (1989) who suggested that cultural explanations for the mounds may not have taken into account the activities of scrub turkey or other megapodes. This provoked responses from Bailey (1991, 1993) who had previously worked on the mounds and Cribb (1991) who refuted Stone's assertion (see also Stone 1991).

At the southern end of Cape York, early work in the Laura area has been followed up by a number of authors. Flood and Horsfall (1986) undertook investigations at Green Ant and Ecidna shelters on the Koolburra Plateau, near Laura. Lilley (1986) examined the nature and distribution of surface sites on the Koolburra Plateau, using systematic sampling techniques. Morwood began working in the Laura area, undertaking reconnaissance fieldwork and negotiations with the Laura and Hopevale Aboriginal communities (Morwood and Davidson 1988; Morwood and Tresize 1989; Morwood 1990; see also Pearson 1989; Huchet 1990; Silvano 1992; Sutton 1989). Britnell (1991) carried out an archaeological survey at Cape Bedford in conjunction with the Hopevale Aboriginal community as part of a BA(Hons) project. Meanwhile, in the Mitchell-Palmer area, David (1992, 1994) undertook investigations as part of his PhD research for the University of Queensland. These were extended to the Mount Mulligan or Nullabarigan area.

Anderson and Robins (1988) conducted joint anthropological and archaeological research in the Bloomfield River area of south-eastern Cape York. Their work focused on a comparison of an ethnographic reconstruction of the economy and residence patterns in the latter half of the last century with contemporary land and resource use. This was then compared with results from an archaeological survey undertaken with the aim of developing archaeological models and exploring the relationship between archaeological, ethnographic and historical evidence (Anderson and Robins 1988: 182).

In northern Cape York, research was undertaken for the present thesis, beginning in 1984 (see Greer 1989, 1994). In addition, joint anthropological-archaeological work has been undertaken in conjunction with the Injinoo community (Greer and Fuary 1987; Fuary and Greer 1993). McIntyre (1994, In Prep.) and McIntyre and Greer (1995) have also undertaken projects in this area. McIntyre's work, which forms the basis of her PhD thesis, is concerned with Aboriginal perspectives on what are generally considered to be 'European' sites (such as Somerset and World War II sites) in this region.

3.4.6 The Wet Tropics

In the rainforest, initial excavation by Campbell (1982b) was followed up by Horsfall (1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1987). This was aimed at unravelling the antiquity of occupation of the rainforest and the nature of occupation within this supposedly marginal environment. One of the most interesting outcomes of this work concerned the traditional management and use of resources (specifically toxic nuts such as the Queensland walnut) as a key to successful occupation of the rainforests. At this time, the idea that rainforests could not be occupied continuously by gatherer-hunters had been gaining ground both overseas and in Australia. Pentecost (1992) has carried out BA(Hons) thesis work on rock art conservation problems in the Wet Tropics and has since been working further with the Camu and Jumbun communities. Crothers (1995) has just completed her BA(Hons) research on earth mounds in the same district.

3.4.7 Chillagoe and Mungana

Early research in the dry tropics was undertaken in 1980 by Campbell at Walkunder Arch Cave, near Chillagoe. This work was prompted by interest in the large limestone formations and the possibilities they held for preservation of archaeological remains of great antiquity (John Campbell, pers. comm.). This site has since proven to have an excavation deposit sequence that extends over approximately 16,000 years at least, with exceptionally well-preserved Holocene material (Campbell 1982; Campbell and Mardaga-Campbell 1993). The latter has been investigated by Mardaga-Campbell (1986, 1995) in her work on living-floors. Birkett (1983, 1985) undertook a site catchment analysis of the area around the Walkunder Arch site and David (1983, 1984) analysed faunal material from the Holocene layers at this site. In both instances, this work formed part of their BA(Hons) requirements at James Cook University and the Australian National University respectively. David (1990) began postgraduate work in the neighbouring area of Mungana and between Chillagoe and the Walsh River. This included surveys for open-air sites as well as analyses of rock art in the district for the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage and his own research interests (David 1988, 1989, 1990, 1992; see also David and Cole 1990).

3.4.8 The Lawn Hill region (north-west Queensland)

Archaeological investigations into the north-west of the state have been undertaken by a number of researchers. The first systematic investigation of the area was undertaken by Hiscock and Hughes (1984).

The archaeological survey yielded a large number of sites, including Colless Creek Cave, which has both late Pleistocene and Holocene occupation layers (Hiscock and Hughes 1984: 118). Initial work was concerned with the examination of resource use over a long time period. Hiscock's doctoral research was then undertaken within this area (Hiscock 1984a, 1984b, 1986; see also Hall 1986). Hiscock (1984 b) appears to have had at least two major aims in the later research:

1. the identification and description of artefact assemblages within this region (Hiscock 1984a);
2. a comparison of prehistoric patterns of spatial organisation which focused on the factors which contributed to the selection of rock shelter sites within a restricted portion of the study area.

Robins and Trigger (1989) also conducted ethnoarchaeological research in this area, joining their respective expertise in archaeology and anthropology. More recently Gorecki et al. (1992) have reported on an archaeological survey on Esmeralda Station, in the hinterland of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

3.4.9 The Selwyn Ranges and the North Queensland Highlands

Morwood and Davidson (1988) reported on the initiation of fieldwork by Davidson in the Selwyn Ranges and the completion of Morwood's work in what he has termed the 'North Queensland Highlands'. Davidson's work was followed up by Sutton's doctoral research (Sutton, In Prep.) which included excavation at the rockshelter site of Cockatoo 2. BA(Hons) projects on metabasalt quarries were also undertaken by Simmons (1991) and Innes (1991) for James Cook University, Mount Isa Mines Pty. Ltd. and the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage.

3.5 Conclusions: regions and themes in archaeological work in Queensland

It can be seen from this survey of archaeology in Queensland that much work has been done in establishing archaeological baselines in a number of regions. The archaeology of some regions (e.g. the southeast of the state) is now very well known. It can also be seen, however, that while several new regions have been investigated, much research has concentrated on the elaboration of a number of already established themes, e.g. coastal archaeology has had a long and continuing place in the archaeology of Queensland. Within some regions, e.g. the Herbert-Burdekin, there has been an attempt to refine the regional model that has been established. In other instances, evidence from adjacent regions such as Chillagoe, Mungana and Laura have provided comparative evidence (see David and Cole 1990).

Of key interest to the current thesis is the fact that most archaeological work in Queensland has not directly involved Aboriginal or Torres Strait communities, except where initial permission has been required to obtain permits to undertake research. Where joint anthropological-archaeological work has been undertaken, this has (with the exception of the present and associated projects) followed on from long-term anthropological investigations. In such instances, the initial relationship between the researchers and the community is established through the anthropologist's long-term association. Such instances are, however, rare. Moreover, they do not reflect the large amount of anthropological research that has been conducted in areas such as western and eastern Cape York, where anthropological projects have been running for more than two decades (e.g. Anderson 1984; Chase 1980; Sutton 1978; Taylor 1984; Von Sturmer 1978). It is also in spite the early work of McConnel, Thomson, Sharp, Hale and Tindale and others previously described in this chapter.

Explaining this phenomena is the central concern of the following chapter (Chapter 4). While a number of factors undoubtedly play a role in explaining this, there is one important key to this explanation. This involves the political context within which many of Queensland's indigenous people lived until very recently. I refer specifically to the reserve system in Queensland and the links between the government department that administered this and the development of heritage management in this State. In the following chapter this relationship is described in relation to the absence of archaeological work in such areas.

4

Reserves, archaeology and indigenous people in Queensland

In Chapter 3, it was established that there has been little archaeological work in those parts of Queensland that have large resident populations of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Island people. This is perhaps explained by the remoteness of such areas and the difficulties that this presents for researchers. Trigger and Robins (1989: 39) drew attention to this problem, suggesting that it may be explained in terms of the often distanced relationship between archaeology and anthropology in this country and the problems inherent in undertaking fieldwork in remote areas. In a similar vein, Rowland (1985b: 119) suggests that 'logistical difficulties' may account for the comparative lack of archaeological investigation in Torres Strait.

Byrne (1993: 198) states that archaeologists have distinguished between Aboriginal 'remains' (as things from the past) and living Aboriginal people. He also notes that while most anthropological work was being carried out in the north, the early focus of archaeological work was in south-eastern Australia. This separation between living peoples and the past accounts in part for the surprisingly small amount of archaeological work undertaken in areas with large populations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait people. Certainly, there has not been an extensive amount of ethnoarchaeological work carried out in Australia. Such work, although distinguished from the present project, may at least have brought archaeologists into closer contact with indigenous people.

However, while all of these explanations have undoubtedly contributed to this phenomena, they do not satisfactorily address this apparent lack in Queensland. For example, in spite of this 'distance' between archaeology and living people, projects were being undertaken in the Northern Territory from the earliest period of professional archaeology (e.g. White 1967; Allen 1978; Meehan 1982). The locations in which these were conducted were similarly 'remote' and must have entailed 'logistical difficulties'. This suggests that there is a more complex, and perhaps localised explanation.

This chapter examines the relationship between archaeology and indigenous people in Queensland. While the factors outlined above played a role in all parts of Australia, it is suggested that a localised explanation may be drawn from the political context in which 'Black-White' relations took place in Queensland. This is especially relevant on what were the reserves, where large populations of indigenous people currently live. In this chapter, a brief history of the Queensland reserve system is outlined. This is followed by a description of the development of heritage management in the State and the location of the heritage agency, Archaeology Branch, within the Department that administered the reserves (see also Ellis 1994: 11-12). This discussion places the present research within the social and political context in which it unfolded.

4.1 A history of the Queensland reserve system

This section illustrates the conditions in which Aboriginal people in Queensland have lived since the very beginnings of the state. It includes a brief history of legislation and policies relating to Aboriginal people and specifically addresses two aspects of the reserve system.

The first of these is the policy of removal which was embedded in various pieces of legislation from 1897 until 1965. The second surrounds the disempowerment of Aboriginal people in the reserve system and the implications of both of these aspects for the process of consultation.

Summaries and historical accounts of policies and legislation relating to Aboriginal people in Queensland can be found in Taylor (1984), Anderson (1981, 1986) and Nettheim (1982). Anderson (1981:54) has stated that there were two ideological threads that underwrote all of the policies and pieces of legislation relating to Aboriginal people in Queensland up to the early 1980s. These were the firm belief in the superiority of European people and lifestyle and the power wielded by interested lobby groups. He has defined four historical periods (1981: 55) viz.:

1. 1830-1872: characterised by the dispossession of Aboriginal people through violence and the use of the Native Police;
2. 1873-1896: a period in which experiments in the setting up reserves (both private and government-sponsored) were undertaken;
3. 1897-1956: the beginnings of a legislative framework and life 'under the Act'; characterised by so-called 'Protectionist' policies;
4. 1957-early 1980s: period characterised by the policies of 'Assimilation'.

From 1897 when the first legislation, the *Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897*, was passed the state assumed a 'Protectionist' policy. 'Protectionism' has been described by

Anderson (1981: 64) as stemming from a notion of 'smoothing the pillow of a dying race' and protecting them from the abuses of alcohol, opium and exploitation by whites. However, while the policies during this period went under the banner of protection, they were also motivated by the European desires to be rid of what they perceived to be problems. Thus, the period is also characterised by an approach based on the segregation of Aboriginal people. In this respect, the establishment of government reserves was necessary for the introduction of the 1897 Act. Once segregated on the reserves, Aboriginal people could be 'protected' from themselves and others. As it was assumed that they were dying out, it was implicit that the reserves were a temporary measure.

4.1.1 The policy of removals

One of the most damaging and consuming aspects of this Act was its clause concerning the removal of Aboriginal people. This stated that the Minister had the power to remove any Aboriginal person to a reserve either in the same area or elsewhere (see Anderson 1986: 303). It facilitated the removal of problematic groups of Aboriginal people occupying lands coveted by Europeans for development, and thus prevented the inevitable conflicts that might have otherwise arisen. It allowed for the collection of Aboriginal people into larger groups, which concentrated resources and better enabled the 'protectionist' policies (i.e. dealing with illness, malnutrition and exploitation by Whites) to be carried out. The fear of being removed also provided the police with a stick with which to exercise control over Aboriginal people and allowed the government to 'relocate' Aboriginal people according to the labour needs of Europeans (Anderson 1986: 303). As Anderson (1981:62) has pointed out:

> The new reserve system thus provided convenience for whites through control and segregation under the guise of Aboriginal 'protection'.

The removals clause was used often and for a variety of reasons in the ensuing sixty or so years. For instance, in 1897, 50 people were moved from the Maryborough area, and in 1899 a further 165 people were removed because the settlers there requested it. They were taken to a reserve on Fraser Island. One hundred and fifty people were removed from south-western Queensland and taken to Durundur, near Caboolture, hundreds of kilometres from their traditional homes. A reserve was set up at Taroom near Roma, but the people who were removed here were later taken to Woorabinda. Similarly, the reserve at the Hull River end of Mission Beach, near Tully, was shifted to Palm Island after it was destroyed by a cyclone in 1918. The reserves at Palm Island, Yarrabah, Cherbourg and Woorabinda received Aboriginal people from all over Queensland under this policy, often for the most insignificant 'offence' (see Trigger 1992: 235-237). After 1934, women and children (especially those who had one non-Aboriginal parent) were removed under the *Children's Industrial Act of 1865* to these settlements (Anderson 1981: 62-63; 1986: 303). Control of Aboriginal people's movements was also achieved by the 'ticket of exemption' system, which was the only means by which they could live outside of the reserves.

Several instances of 'relocation' are of relevance to the present study area. In 1958, people from Port Stewart were 'removed' from their Princess Charlotte Bay lands to northern Cape York following complaints by station owners (Anderson 1981: 80; Fuary and Greer 1993). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a new and hitherto unprecedented threat loomed for Aboriginal people living on reserves. This surrounded the discovery of mineral deposits (particularly bauxite) in Cape York. The community of Mapoon, for instance, on the west coast of Cape York were forcibly 'relocated' over 100 km north to the same area in the early 1960s, following the sale of their reserve to Comalco (Anderson 1981: 65; Fuary and Greer 1993). In addition to the problems of the people suffering removal, there is an associated problem relating to the fact that they were often 'removed' onto the traditional lands of other groups, with whom they often had little or no connection. This was certainly the case in northern Cape York. Many of these people never returned to their homes and such communities have had to forge an identity in the face of this historical backdrop. Only six of the 14 former reserves in Queensland are said to consist only of a 'local population'. The other eight, including the communities within the study area, have all experienced some degree of 'removals' (Anderson 1986: 306). Removals, however, were only part of the story.

4.1.2 'Life under the Act': the Queensland reserves

Specific regulations and policies made in association with a range of government acts that appeared up until the late 1970s resulted in a well-founded distrust of Europeans by Aboriginal people on the reserves. In the past, Europeans had had the power to decide who was and who was not Aboriginal; they could 'remove' people as outlined above. After 1939, the Director of Native Affairs (DNA) was the legal guardian of every Aboriginal person under 21 years of age and as such had the power to consent to or deny marriages of those under this age. Government officers controlled who was in employment, determined wage rates and were responsible for the personal property of people under the act. 'They were also empowered to prohibit customary practices which, in their opinion, could have been injurious to Aborigines' (Taylor 1984: 308).

The *Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Affairs Act of 1965* brought a number of changes to the reserve system. The Department of Native Affairs became known as the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs (DAIA), and the 'Superintendents' and 'Protectors' under previous legislation became known as Managers and District Officers. This did not, however, provide the solution that the Government anticipated. In 1971, new legislation, namely the *Aborigines Act, 1971* and the *Torres Strait Islanders Act, 1971*, was introduced after considerable external pressure was put on the Government. Under this new legislation, changes were made to the role of managers under the Act, community councils were set up and there was a general amelioration of the power of DAIA.

From this point, each reserve was administered by a manager, who was responsible for providing housing, employment etc., and who generally supervised the provision of services to community members. The position was a powerful one and the person who filled it could dictate the quality of many people's lives over a broad spectrum. For example, the manager, in association with the community councillors had the power to refuse permission for visitors to the reserve. Similarly, they could request residents or visitors to leave if, in their perception, they were disturbing the community in some way or other. In this way, external influences on communities were effectively controlled. In the paternalistic approach of this Department, this was seen as a means of 'protecting' people in the communities from unsavoury dealings with the outside world. In reality, this system perpetuated governmental control over the movements of people to and from the reserves and prevented the poor conditions of many such places from becoming widely known. Although each community elected a council, the real power in this system rested with the government representatives, and in particular, the reserve managers as they were known. The managers had a broad spectrum of control on the reserve and, importantly, could ultimately decide who could and who could not come onto the reserve.

A statement made by a council chairman from the Aboriginal settlement of Doomadgee in the state's north-west illustrates something of the flavour of life for many Aboriginal people in Queensland. Trigger (1992: 143-4) quotes him as follows:

> I told 'em: 'Any you fellas been under the Act?' None of them fellas could give an answer for that because they been live in a place, live free, they been brought up free...I said: 'The Act was the Act and we were well under it!'.

It is obvious that a system such as that outlined above must have implications for the power relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people on the reserves.

In the early 1980s, amendments to the 1971 pieces of legislation plus the introduction of new legislation in 1984, the *Community Services (Aborigines Act* and the *Community Services (Torres strait) Act*, brought about several changes on Queensland reserves. However, while this legislation provided the first suggestion of Aboriginal ownership of land, there had been little consultation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait people and the bills themselves were passed under controversial circumstances. Under this legislation, Aboriginal reserves were to be transferred to Deeds of Grant in Trust or DOGITS as they are known. While this gave community councils control of land, the ability to establish by-laws and the provision of services such as housing, it did not provide inalienable freehold title to land. Moreover, portions of land under reserves could be removed on granting of the DOGIT. While there were many problems with this legislation, it did however provide for some degree of Aboriginal ownership and control. The Department underwent yet another name change and was now known as the Department of Community Services.

In 1989 the conservative National Party Government that had been in power in Queensland for more than two decades was replaced by the Goss Labor Government. There was optimism in some circles that this would result in increasing power and control of their lives and lands by indigenous people themselves. In May 1991 two new pieces of legislation, (the*Aboriginal Land Act* and the*Torres Strait Islander Land Act* were enacted in the Queensland Parliament. In spite of the previous history and a Labor Government, the consultation process during the drafting and presentation of these bills was no more satisfactory (Brennan 1991). Yet again, indigenous people in Queensland had found that governments felt that they were able to decide what was best for them. Brennan (1984) has documented the 'process' by which indigenous representatives tried to insist on such consultation, but without success. His account summarises the history and nature of successive governments' dealings with Aboriginal and Torres Strait people in this State.

Following the Australian High Court decision on Mabo in June 1992, the enactment of federal Native Title legislation in 1993 has added a new dimension to indigenous ownership of land in this country. For indigenous people in Queensland, there are now a range of ways in which land can be claimed back. Communities (especially for example in Cape York) may be engaged in a number of claims under various pieces of legislation. In some areas, land councils have been formed. The Cape York Land Council, for example, has taken on the role of co-ordinating and facilitating such actions with northern communities.

It is clear that Aboriginal people in Queensland have suffered significant dislocation of traditional groups and from traditional lands. They were involuntarily placed into a system which did not value custom or culture and which was highly invasive of personal matters, from marriage to wages and the management of personal property. Even after the breakdown of the most repressive aspects of this system, the disregard for consultation, especially with regard to new legislation, has not instilled much hope that any changes will be satisfactory. This brief (and selective) history of black-white relations in Queensland provides the necessary backdrop within which to examine the development of heritage management in Queensland.

4.2 Heritage management in Queensland

After a comparatively early start with the introduction of legislation in 1967 (Queensland was among the first to introduce such legislation), heritage management in Queensland has had only episodic development. In 1974, the Archaeology Branch (the authority set up to administer the *Aboriginal Relics Act of 1967*) had participated in the Sites of Significance Recording Project, funded by the then AIAS and administered through the states (see also Chapter 2). While the first Aboriginal Ranger was appointed in the early 1970s, it was in the middle to late 1970s that the Aboriginal Ranger Service became well established within the Branch (Peter Smith, pers. comm.). For more than a decade from this point, the Ranger Service undertook a liasion role between archaeologists and Aboriginal people in the State.

Archaeology Branch, with its small staff of archaeologists and Aboriginal Rangers, was responsible for the location and protection of Aboriginal archaeological sites in the State. An archaeologist who wished to undertake archaeological work in Queensland, including desk-top research, was required (and still is) to apply for a permit from the Branch. In 1984, there were Rangers stationed in a number of key locations across the state including Injune, Mount Isa, Townsville, Cairns, Laura and Bamaga, as well as a senior ranger stationed in the capital, Brisbane. They were responsible for recording sites within their area, for the local management of sites and they undertook public relations work, both with school children and tourists in relation to Aboriginal sites and culture. In addition, they often worked with archaeologists, at least in the initial stages of research.

4.2.1 Archaeology Branch and its association with DAIA

One of the greatest hindrances to the development of the Branch was its location in DAIA. Although the Department had had (and would have)[1] a number of name changes, it remained essentially the same Department. The association of Archaeology Branch with the

[1]Over the years it was variously called the Department of Native Affairs, the Department of Aboriginal and Islander Advancement, the Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, the Department of Community Services and Ethnic Affairs and the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs.

Department could only have negative connotations, perhaps especially on the reserves.

During the 1980s, only one Aboriginal Ranger position was located within an Aboriginal reserve, and this was at Bamaga. Given that the community councils had much to do with the running of everyday life in communities at this time, this Ranger interacted much more directly with the councils and the community than those in other locations. The negative associations with DAIA were offset to some extent by the fact that an Aboriginal (or Torres Strait Island) person represented the Branch, and the nature of their work in cultural matters was seen as being one of the few positive aspects of the Department.

The process of setting up a research project during this period required written communication in order to visit the reserve, at which point consultation could be undertaken with the community council concerning the project. The permission of the Aboriginal community was required before Archaeology Branch would issue a permit for work to be undertaken within a reserve. However this was motivated by the council's status as quasi-landholder more than as a recognition of traditional ownership. The procedure by which this was to be procured was by no means clearly formulated or straightforward. Moreover, at this time, the manager of the reserve attended community council meetings, which were the venue at which consultation could take place. In this sense, consultation was also being undertaken with DAIA who still had significant power on the reserves, especially in terms of entry and ejection. In addition, the presence of the manager may well have influenced this process in the sense that some people might have been loath to go against the Department's wishes.

This process is familiar to anthropologists who have worked in Cape York and Torres Strait. Trigger (1992: 1-7) and Fuary (1991: 11-13) have both described the negative attitudes of DAIA staff, both on and off the reserves, to the suggestion that it was worth undertaking research into 'culture' in their respective study areas. Implicit in this attitude was the enormous distance between the two groups, even when co-existing in the same, sometimes isolated, location. For example, Trigger (1992) has described the white and black spatial domains at the Doomadgee reserve. He describes the physical separateness of black and white residential areas on the reserve. He notes that while Aboriginal people had to enter and operate in the white domain, the reverse was not often the case (1992: 90):

> In the settlement, the fact that visiting Whites (such as public servants) rarely, if ever, met with people in the village [the Aboriginal domain] did not go unnoticed.

The separateness of the two worlds, in what is otherwise a very small community, and the lack of communication and knowledge between the two is also illustrated by the fact that (1992: 90-91):

> Groups of whites (e.g. school teachers) sometimes themselves went on camping trips to waterholes in the bush. There was a feeling among certain older residents that Whites should have consulted with key old people before visiting some areas.

The difficulty for a European researcher is perhaps typified by the difficulty Trigger (1992: 85) experienced in locating himself residentially at the outset of his fieldwork. Although obviously a 'whitefella', he had to reside in the black domain in order to conduct his fieldwork. Even then, however, he had to acquire other skills (for example language and the ability to live with and like Doomadgee people) in order to break down people's inherent distrust of whites.

For archaeologists working in reserves, the association with Rangers was something of a two-edged sword. In my own experience, the Rangers provided a buffer between DAIA and the community, they introduced me to key people within communities and greatly facilitated the initial stages of consultation with community councils. However, the association with DAIA gave me an 'official' status, a connection with the Department which, as a white, was only broken down by a long period of association and residence. Working within communities provides an unusual experience for white archaeologists, as it is one of the few instances in which a member of the 'dominant majority' is in the minority.

4.3 Conclusion

In the previous chapter, it was illustrated that there have been few archaeological projects undertaken within Aboriginal or Torres Strait communities in Queensland. This is in spite of early suggestions, such as by Thomson (1939) of the potential of such work. More recently, archaeological work in Queensland has been focused on the development of archaeological regions. The majority of this work has not involved indigenous groups (other than in preliminary consultation) and few projects have been undertaken from within Aboriginal communities. Again, this is in spite of the fact that there has been a considerable amount of anthropological work which could provide the necessary backdrop and support for such work.

It is, however, obvious from the above discussion that there are many difficulties to overcome when working on indigenous lands. These difficulties are not insurmountable, but they require long-term commitment from researchers. Since the late 1980s, the reserves have been replaced by DOGITs and there are increasing opportunities for indigenous people to claim back their land through a number of pieces of legislation, including the *Aboriginal Land Act* and the *Torres Strait Islander Land Act* and by making claims under the Federal *Native Title Act*. However these changes are very recent, and so it would be naive to assume that indigenous Australians would treat these without some degree of caution. While the old 'reserves' are no longer the isolated outposts of previous decades, it should not be assumed that attitudes and responses built up over this period will be extinguished in the short-term.

Explaining why little archaeological work has been undertaken in areas where there are large populations of indigenous people in Queensland involves weaving together a number of threads. The perception amongst Australian archaeologists that archaeological remains are somehow removed from living people is the first of these. The logistical difficulties provides yet another. However, it is perhaps the distanced relationship between archaeology and anthropology in this country and the political and social context of indigenous people in Queensland that have been most damaging in this instance. A tradition in which archaeologists and anthropologists work together provides the archaeologist with a better understanding of community perspectives. The anthropologist can act as a guide and interpreter between the archaeologist and community. Such work has the potential to provide new insights into approaches to Australian archaeology. It may also provide new insights for anthropology in this country. This point is explored in subsequent chapters.

Fieldwork in 1984 : Reconnaissance and consultation

This chapter describes archaeological work and consultation that was undertaken in 1984 for the original project. I visited northern Cape York for the first time from the 27th August till the 11th September, 1984. The aim of this trip was to consult community councils in the area concerning the regional archaeological survey I hoped to undertake in the following year. In addition, I wanted to undertake some preliminary reconnaissance work, particularly aimed at assessing potential access around the study area and ground surface visibility of archaeological evidence.

Prior to this first visit, I had some basic lessons in Torres Strait Creole. Shnukal (1988) has suggested that the language spoken on the mainland is a dialect of that spoken in Torres Strait. Certainly, Cape York Creole has many points in common with that spoken in Torres Strait. Both dialects are referred to as 'Broken' and are mutually understandable. At this time, my 'education' consisted of basic terms of greeting and the rudiments of polite conversation. My language preparation (rudimentary as it was) was aimed, perhaps obviously, at maximising communication during consultation. In addition, it served to distinguish me from other non-Aboriginal people on the reserve (Department staff, teachers, nurses, doctors etc) who rarely spoke 'Broken' (cf. Trigger 1992). The importance of language is a thread which is woven into many subsequent chapters.

In Chapter 1 the connections between archaeology and heritage management were outlined. In Chapter 2, it was suggested that archaeologists have avoided working in reserves in Queensland. The comparatively short field seasons and the desire to 'open up' vast archaeologically unknown areas of the State have, amongst other reasons, mitigated against an archaeology that could effectively operate within Aboriginal communities. In addition, the location of heritage management within the Department responsible for managing reserves in Queensland provided something of another barrier that had to be broken down. When I went into the field in 1984, this was the Department of Community Services (DCS).

This relationship dominated the earliest stages of this project. This was largely due to the fact that the study area was located within an Aboriginal reserve. At this time, permission to enter reserves was nominally held by community councils, however the Manager had formal and informal power to intervene in this process. In addition, there was a degree of hostility towards researchers as it was felt that they might bring with them ideas and attitudes that would influence people on the reserves (see also Chapter 4; Trigger 1992; Fuary 1991). In my case, Archaeology Branch staff acted as something of an advocate. From the Department's perspective, the close association between archaeological research and Archaeology Branch was an ameliorating influence. In the background was the perception that archaeologists deal with the inanimate objects of the past. It seems likely that this was more acceptable than anthropological research which involves close connections with living people.

5.1 Origins and themes in the original project

Inspiration for the original project was drawn from two major sources. The first was Lourandos' (1983) which suggested that socio-economic intensification might account for changes in the Holocene archaeological record in Australia (see Chapter 2). Lourandos' work followed closely on the heels of a paper by Hynes and Chase (1982) who defined and demonstrated the concept of 'domiculture' in northeastern Cape York. Their discussion of patterns of settlement and residence in this area, and the evidence of artificially created groves of native fruit trees and yam patches provided convincing arguments that a reappraisal of Aboriginal economies in the recent past in this area was in order. Hynes and Chase (1982) suggested that the intensive occupation observed at Stony Point was perhaps representative of systems in operation along the entire north-east coast. From an archaeological perspective, defining the antiquity of such systems, in the light of the gauntlet laid down by Lourandos (1983), offered a research opportunity that was difficult to resist. In addition, the project offered an opportunity to develop some of the themes that were present in archaeology in Queensland (e.g. definition of a 'new' archaeological region, coastal settlement and occupation sequence). However, this was to be undertaken using a new perspective; namely, an explanatory model that was driven by social forces. In this sense, the project represented a new direction in archaeological research in Queensland.

The topical potential of the project became even more emphasised in its second year with the publication of Beaton's (1985) work in Princess Charlotte Bay, to the south-east of the study area. Beaton reacted strongly against Lourandos' proposition of intensification, particularly his use of social models as an explanatory tool. His interpretation of the evidence at Princess Charlotte Bay strongly advocated the use of an ecological explanation of culture change. The emergence of a debate in *Archaeology in Ocenaia*, surrounding these conflicting views reinforced my conviction that this project could make an important contribution to the discipline (see Lourandos 1983, 1984, 1985; Beaton 1983, 1985; Cribb 1986).

5.1.1 Research aims and design

The research was intended as multi-stage and regional in approach. The broad aims were:

1. to locate a representative sample of archaeological sites in the northern Peninsula area;
2. to undertake intensive investigation of specific sites that had the necessary attributes to determine whether the 'general indicators' of intensification, as proposed by Lourandos (1985: 391) were present in the region.

The latter include questions such as: the intensity of site usage over time, the history of occupation and settlement of the region, the usage of particular environmental zones, the nature of both resource-management strategies and exchange systems in the region and the (see again Lourandos 1985: 391).

Lourandos' archaeological model necessitated:

1. broad and reliable regional knowledge of sites and the resource zones in which they are found;
2. stratified sites that illustrated the nature of changes in the archaeological record over the relevant timeframe;
3. a body of ethnographic and/or ethnohistorical information that provided information on aspects of the economy, settlement patterns and ceremonial activity within the region.

The first consideration therefore was the initiation of a large-scale regional survey which would incorporate the range of resource zones within the chosen area. The selection of sites for further and more specific investigation would be made on the basis of results of the preliminary survey and after geomorphological investigation of the antiquity of the landsystems within which such sites were located.

5.1.2 Why northern Cape York?

Aboriginal people at Cape York had a shared history, which included residence, intermarriage and trade, with the Muralag people who were familiar with gardening practices (Moore 1979; Fuary 1991: 60). In other parts of Australia, for example in Arnhem Land, the contact between the Macassans from Sulawesi and Aboriginal mainlanders was seasonal and the visitors did not take up permanent residence (Macknight 1972; Mulvaney 1975). It seemed that if intensification did occur across Australia in the late Holocene then this might be an obvious area to look for it.

However, while the choice of study area was made on solid theoretical grounds, the level of archaeological knowledge of the area was extremely limited. In 1984 only four sites were recorded on the Archaeology Branch register for the area. These were the rockshelter at Red Island Point and the campsite at Evans Bay that were recorded and excavated by Moore (1965, 1979), the historical site of Somerset and its outstation at Lockerbie and a painting site that is associated with Somerset. Because of this, the project required an enormous amount of preliminary archaeological survey work in order to provide the regional archaeological context and to locate sites that could provide a regional dating programme.

Moreover, to use Lourandos' model, a stratified site (or sites) would have to be located in order to provide the framework for detecting and testing change.

While archaeological work had been limited, linguistic, historical and sociological work had been undertaken in the area as part of broader projects. Crowley (1980; see also Fuary and Greer 1993) interviewed a number of community residents in 1975 in relation to research on Northern Paman languages. None Sharp (1981, 1992: ix) passed through in 1980 and interviewed a number of people. Her earlier paper gives a brief historical sketch of one of the northern Cape York communities (Cowal Creek). However, a detailed history of the area, outlining the different Aboriginal and Island communities and their relationships was not available. The absence of such information made the task of consultation in the early stages of the project extremely difficult. This was problematic as consultation was an important and integral component of the original project. This was particularly pertinent as Aboriginal people within the study area had apparently maintained residency over their land to some degree.

Such issues will be explored in this and subsequent chapters. Theoretical concerns were given further inspiration by the location of the study area at the very top of the Australian mainland, with its shores lapped by the waters of Torres Strait. Romantic stories of pearling and beche-de-mer had filled my childhood in North Queensland, and I lived around Aboriginal and Island people who called this place 'home'.

5.2 Description of the study area

The original study area consisted of the northern-most peninsula of land extending from the tip of Cape York in the north and bounded by the mouth of the Jardine River on the west coast and the Kennedy inlet on the east coast (see Figure 1). This changed as the project continued to include all of the traditional lands of northern Cape York people (see Chapter 8).

My only source of information concerning the study area was Archaeology Branch, Department of Community Services. Before entering the field I learned that there were five separate communities in the region: Bamaga, Cowal Creek[1], Umagico, New Mapoon and Seisia. Together, these communities were the focus of the large reserve known as the Northern Peninsula Area (NPA). Each had an elected community council, with the exception of Seisia which was then a satellite community of Bamaga. The Combined Northern Peninsula Area Council was an aggregration of all of these. Cadastral maps indicated that some leases existed within the reserve area and Sharp (1981) confirmed that these were associated with mining and tourism. In terms of the latter, Air Queensland had only recently obtained the lease to an area of land surrounding the tip of Cape York and had established a 'wilderness' style of resort there. I was advised by Archaeology Branch to undertake consultation with the Combined Northern Peninsula Area Council.

Northern Cape York has a rich and varied landscape. The coast is fringed with sand beaches interspersed with ferruginous rocky points. Large dunes of fine white sand run north-east to south-west, often forming the boundary with the dry dune thickets. Large and small offshore islands dot

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[1] In 1987, Cowal Creek became known as Injinoo or Cowal Creek-Injinoo. Injinoo is one of the Aboriginal names for the place where the village is located.

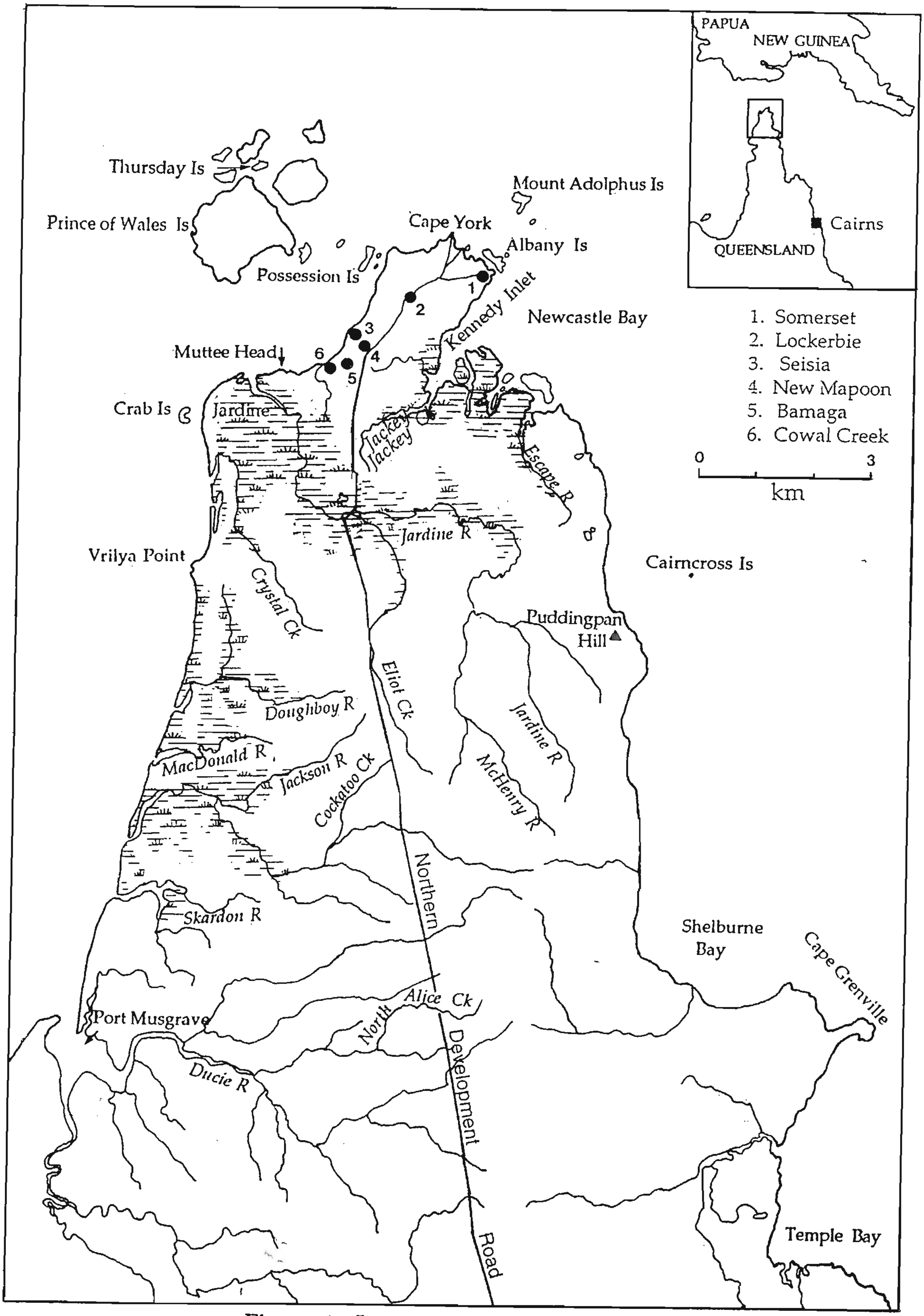

Figure 1: Location of the research area

the seas which surround this peninsula. Some of these, such as Possession and Albany Islands have their place in post-contact history. The former was the spot on which Captain Cook proclaimed the east coast on behalf of the Crown and the latter was the site where the ill-fated Kennedy was to have been picked up. Muri and Muralag[1] form the backdrop to the Barbara Thompson story (Moore 1979) while others (such as Red, Barn and Crab Islands) have their place in local history.

In the interior the red soil dominates the landscape. In dry season, the dry rainforest is drowned with a cloak of red dust, as is anyone who travels along the corrugated roads. The 'Lockerbie Scrub', which is located in the area around the historical homestead of 'Lockerbie' has many species of plant in common with Papua New Guinea, which is suggestive of a shared past prior to the rising of the seas in the Torres Strait. In spite of the dusty 'dry', the area is extremely well watered. It has mighty rivers such as the Jardine and Escape Rivers (the latter being the site of the Kennedy massacre) and large creeks (e.g. Cowal Creek). Huge mangrove forests, nurseries of crustaceans, fish and crocodiles, form the margins of these large waterways. In addition, the landscape is finely veined with water courses of a range of sizes. Along the east coast there is a series of current and dried-up lakes, swamps and waterholes which add to the impression of a watery realm. During wet season, the monsoon makes overland travel all but impossible.

There is an overwhelming presence of the sea in the narrow northern section. Even when travelling in the interior, the narrowness of the peninsula at this point (less than 20 km) affords an impression of land and vegetation 'dipping' down to the sea on either side. On the coasts

[1]Muri and Muralag are Mt Adolphus and Prince of Wales Islands respectively.

the sea is rarely devoid of dinghies travelling back and forth. These small craft are used for transport, fishing and hunting turtle and dugong. This is in spite of the presence of rough 'boxing seas' (where currents meet), treacherous currents and winds and the presence of formidable sea creatures such as crocodiles.

5.3 Consultation and the original project in 1984

While legal ownership and control of the reserve rested with the Queensland Government through the Department of Community Services, permission to go onto the reserve had to be obtained from the Combined Northern Peninsula Area Council and the Manager. I wrote to the Council seeking permission to visit the area and to undertake consultation concerning my project. This was granted with the help of Aboriginal Relics Ranger, Mr Peter Smith, who was the Archaeology Branch representative on the reserve. Mr Smith provided the main point of contact between the Council and me at this stage.

The aims of this first visit were extremely broad. Firstly, I needed to consult with the Combined Northern Peninsula Area Council. While the smaller community councils had responsibility for their individual communities, the Combined Council was the only political structure which could decide on matters across a broad area of the reserve. Mr Smith arranged for me to attend a meeting of the Combined Council which took place towards the end of my stay. He also took me to each of the communities and introduced me to members of each community council prior to this. This was extremely helpful in that by the time I met with the Combined Council, I had already (albeit briefly) had the opportunity to be introduced and to explain my request to a number of councillors in their own communities. My introduction to these people was enhanced by the association with Mr Smith, whose work was known to them and who, although not a local, had established excellent relations with these communities. This was important as the barriers of being white and associated with DCS were otherwise significant.

Formal consultation with the Combined Council was aimed at determining if a regional archaeological survey could be undertaken in the area during 1985. On Wednesday 5th September 1984, I attended a meeting of the Council which included more than 20 people. In addition to community councillors, the DCS Manager and one other staff member were present. I was introduced by Mr Smith and proceeded to outline my project.

I explained that I was interested in the fact that Island people and Aboriginal people had lived together in this region, yet were thought to have had significant differences in their economic strategies (gardening being an important component of the former, gathering and hunting of the latter). I explained that I was interested in talking to community members about past lifestyles and customs. I stressed that fieldwork was designed in several stages and that what I was requesting from this meeting was the opportunity to undertake the first of these: a regional archaeological survey. I briefly outlined what was involved in surveys of this nature.

Given the physical isolation of northern Cape York and the socio-political barriers that separated reserves from the outside, my request must have seemed somewhat unusual. To my knowledge, the Council had no precedent; Moore's work was undertaken long before the notion of consultation had become commonplace in Australian archaeology. In spite of this, the response was enthusiastic, particularly towards that part of the project that was concerned with talking to people about their traditional knowledge. One person spoke to this meeting about the desperate need for people to record this knowledge, especially that of the elderly community members. From my perspective, however, this aspect of the research constituted a relatively small component.

I became aware during this trip that consultation with the Combined Council did not assure me of consultation with traditional owners. While I was aware of the differences between the latter and the formal structures of power, such as councils, there was an assumption on my part that the Combined Council would direct me on this matter. For several reasons, this did not prove to be the case and I discovered that this was by no means a straight forward task. Firstly, people in the communities were used to a structure in which any kind of consultation took place with councils. In many ways, the councils provided a buffer between them and the government or other interactions outside the reserve. They were unused to being directly consulted on the basis of traditional ownership, and indeed the enormous social and historical complexity of the communities rendered the task of finding traditional owners beyond the scope of a quick trip. This has interesting implications for archaeological research and heritage management, and this point is further explored in subsequent chapters.

5.3.1 Working with rangers

In addition to formal consultation, I accompanied Mr Smith and his assistant, Mr Richard Tamwoy, on trips they undertook as part of their work within the study area. These trips were aimed at providing me with the opportunity to assess factors such as access to and visibility of potential sites. In addition, the rangers took me to sites that were on the Archaeology Branch register such as the Red Island Point site excavated by Moore (1979), the historical sites of Lockerbie and Somerset and the 'rock art' site located at the latter.

Mr Tamwoy is from Injinoo and in the course of working with him, I was introduced to many local people, including his relatives. He was also responsible for taking my language lessons one step further than basic courtesies. Through discussions with him, I unravelled some of the history behind the establishment of the five communities. I learned for example that Injinoo was the first settlement in the area and that it had been established by the survivors of a number of cultural groups (see also Sharp 1981). These groups are known as 'tribes'[1] in northern Cape York. I discovered that the other communities (Bamaga, Seisia, New Mapoon and Umagico) had all been 'relocated' to northern Cape York from their homelands. The people of Bamaga and Seisia were originally from the island of Saibai near the Papuan coast, the people of Umagico were forcibly shifted from their Port Stewart home and New Mapoon was created for the people of 'Old Mapoon' who had been removed when Comalco undertook mining ventures on their traditional lands. Each relocation had an important story documenting the history of reserves in Queensland, although the Mapoon story was known outside the reserves.

It seemed that Injinoo was the appropriate place to begin if consultation was to proceed beyond the Combined Council. I did, however, meet Injinoo people who were now living in other communities and it was

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[1]Although the term 'tribe' is viewed as problematic within the anthropological literature, it is used within the community to denote different cultural groups. It is used here out of respect for local usage.

explained to me that these people had married into other communities. In addition, I learned that many Injinoo people could be found in other Aboriginal communities (such as Weipa and Lockhart) and in southern urban centres such as Cairns, Townsville and Brisbane. Although I was gaining knowledge, I was also becoming more confused as the complications of identifying and locating traditional owners, and the implications for consultation, became more and more evident.

It was through these informal introductions and conversations that I became aware of several important issues. Most importantly, I came to the realisation that if consultation was to be anything other than superficial, then a much deeper understanding of the social and political complexities of the communities was necessary. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the Combined Council had a custodial role (granted by the Government) over all the lands on which I wanted to work, the relationship between each community and particular tracts of land would have to be established. This would also subsequently prove to be even more complex than I imagined at this time.

5.4 Archaeological/geomorphological reconnaissance

Reconnaissance work was undertaken by Chris Meagher, a geomorphologist, and me. Meagher (pers. comm.) had examined aerial photographs prior to entering the field. These suggested that an older shoreline might be located on an area on the east coast, just north of Jackey Jackey Creek. Trips into this area were aimed at locating tracks (especially those that were not marked on maps) which provided good physical access to such features. One of the outcomes of this work was the recognition both of the need for local expertise in locating such tracks and that in some instances these would have to be reopened due to fallen trees etc.

Two major conclusions were drawn from work undertaken on this brief visit. Firstly, limited access to many parts of the study area suggested that a systematic survey strategy would be, at least initially, problematic. It was felt that much time and energy would be consumed in gaining access to and precisely locating survey units (this was before electronic GPS instruments were readily available). Moreover, the location of the few tracks that were marked on available maps was at best an approximation given that their specific locations are largely dependant on seasonal conditions. Difficulties of access were compounded by the presence of dense vegetation over much of the study area and consequently poor ground surface visibility. In some instances, visibility was further restricted by the presence of deep, loose and highly mobile sands.

Therefore it was decided that for the initial survey, an opportunistic method (using existing tracks) would be employed. It was felt that this would provide a reasonable sample for the preliminary stages of the investigation, with the possibility of subsequent intensive work being undertaken using a more systematic approach. An opportunistic strategy was dependant on knowledge of tracks used by local people to gain access to hunting, fishing and recreation areas. The need to obtain this type of assistance confirmed my growing conviction that I should obtain funding to employ local people during the next field season.

While preliminary reconnaissance had indicated that access to the 'shoreline' features was difficult, it was anticipated that this area might contain evidence of occupation associated with former sea-levels. Therefore, this area was targeted for specific work in the next season.

5.5 Conclusion

At the end of this short field trip in 1984 some progress had been made on the two fronts of consultation and archaeological planning. Reconnaissance had suggested a number of important points concerning fieldwork to be undertaken in 1985. Firstly, problems related to visibility and access indicated that an opportunistic approach, facilitated by local involvement and knowledge was most appropriate. My task then was to obtain funds to employ local people in the following year. The joint geomorphological/archaeological work had managed to identify an important area for further investigation.

I had some answers and many more questions. The more I learned about the community, the more I realised that I knew very little. I did, however, know that consultation would have to be taken beyond the council level, and I was keen to take it to its finest level of resolution. I anticipated that this would mean negotiating with the 'owners' or 'custodians' of particular tracts of land on which I wished to work. At this early stage, however, the process by which this might be achieved was unclear. During the 1984 trip, I found that my informal interactions, albeit brief, were more fruitful than formal consultation. I acknowledged that the task of identifying traditional owners in an area in which people have experienced considerable dislocation was perhaps a major research undertaking in itself. This was a problem without immediate solution. I had, however, gained permission from the Combined Council to undertake the survey in the following year. I decided that a major undertaking would be made in the following year to identify owners for the Jackey Jackey area in which we had planned further survey. I decided that before any intensive and especially intrusive investigations (such as excavation) were undertaken, the issues of ownership had to be addressed.

In addition, I began to experience the first vague feelings of unease concerning the notion of 'consultation'. On the one hand, there was general agreement, even enthusiasm, for the research at the Combined Council meeting. However, both in the interactions at this meeting and through impressions gained in informal interactions, it seemed that this response may have in part stemmed from the desire to record and collect information on 'culture' and 'custom'. The point was made to me many times that the people with knowledge were often elderly and it was feared that much of what they knew would pass with them. While agreement to this research was voluntary and apparently happily given, I had the feeling that people were focusing on this one element of the project. I was somewhat concerned that I would not be able, within the terms of my project, to provide them with what they needed.

Fieldwork 1985: archaeological survey and consultation

The second field season was undertaken from 17th July to 10th September 1985. Work carried out included a general archaeological survey of the region, an aerial survey and further consultation. In the field, I was assisted by Chris Meagher, the geomorphologist from the previous year, and Paul Packard, an archaeologist. In addition, funding was obtained from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies) to employ two local people to help with some of the problems of access and to assist in the location and recording of sites. Albert Bond of New Mapoon and Paul Wasiu of Bamaga were employed for a period of approximately five weeks during this field season. They were chosen by their respective community councils in consultation with Peter Smith, the Aboriginal Ranger.

The aim of this season's work was to locate as many archaeological sites as possible over the entire region. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly and most importantly, we utilised the local knowledge of our two workers, inspecting as many areas as we could depending on ease of access. Secondly, we undertook two aerial reconaissance trips and one survey by boat along the west coast. These were aimed at supplementing information gained from the ground survey or at providing access to areas that were difficult to reach by road or track.

As planned in the previous year, the area just north of Jackey Jackey Creek was to be further investigated. In addition to the shoreline feature previously identified, Meagher had noted a number of irregularly-shaped areas which appeared to be sand blowouts on the photographs. Due to constraints of time, our first priority became a transect through the swamp to one of these, which we called the 'W' site because of its shape when viewed from the air (see Plate 2).

6.1 The 'W' site

The transect was undertaken at the southern end of the 'shore-line' feature observed on the aerial photographs. The aim of the transect was to inspect, on the ground, features that had been identified from the photographs, especially the 'W' area. It was hypothesised that if archaeological sites were located in this region, they would be linked with the geomorphological history of the landscape.

The transect began just north-east of Jackey Jackey airport, on the southwestern side of the swamp. The team was dropped along the track located west of the swamp and proceeded along a transect, south-west to north-east, for approximately 250-300 m until reaching the edge of the swamp. Bearings were taken from here to a point on the other side which would facilitate direct access to the sandy 'W' area. From here, the team skirted around the southern edge of the swamp to this point, proceeding north-east until the 'W' area was reached in the late afternoon.

Visual evidence consisted of a fringe of white sand enclosing areas of dead 'ti-trees' (<u>Melaleuca</u>), which suggested that the 'W' was actually formed by the shores associated with two episodes of filling and drying of lake features. However, by this stage, there was no evidence of surface water. On the white sand we located a few unidentifiable fragments of

Plate 2 The 'W' feature, Jackey Jackey Creek area.

Plate 3 Beachrock features, Freshwater site, Sandago.

shell, a couple of pieces of introduced stone and what appeared to be a hearth feature. A preliminary recording of the site was undertaken.

The team camped at the 'W' site overnight before continuing the transect through to the track that had previously been located east of this area. The path undertaken was marked with survey tape in order to ensure easy relocation of the site at a later date. This was particularly important as this country consists of seemingly identical fingers of vegetation interspersed with saltpan. It is easy to become disoriented in this country and we learned that it is known locally as 'dangerous' country to walk through.

Unfortunately, the geomorphological work planned by Mr Meagher (including determining the origin and dating of sediments at the 'W' site) was not completed. I was unable to attract another geomorphologist to the project, however after the next season, the focus changed and this work became unnecessary for my revised project.

6.2 Ground survey

Our initial aim was to develop some idea of local tracks that would give us access to various parts of the landscape. In some instances, I identified areas and our co-workers directed us where tracks permitted. In other instances, we asked our co-workers to show us along tracks they used for hunting, fishing etc. It was necessary to be both opportunistic and spontaneous when using this approach, as often we had only the most general idea of where we were headed prior to setting out.

Approximately 30 sites, including archaeological campsites, middens and shell scatters, contemporary campsites, historical sites and story places were located during this field season. However, specific details of each site are not provided in this thesis because the community is reluctant to make such information public. In addition, although this was important for the original topic, details of sites are not directly relevant to the current project.

6.2.1 Precontact sites

Several large deflated campsites were located on dunes associated with five beaches in the northern section of Newcastle Bay. These we called the 'East Coast' sites. They are large, some more than 200 by 100 m, contain an enormous quantity of surface material which includes shell, bone, fine- and medium-grained flaked stone material (including several ground-edge hatchets) as well as the distinctive red beachrock. The latter is present as the parent material on the small headlands which separate these beaches. As with the other stone found on these sites, it has been imported (albeit from the adjacent headlands). It was presumably brought in to use as oven or hearth stones (see Chapter 7). All of these sites exhibit varying degrees of disturbance owing to wave action and submersion during high tides, vehicle disturbance (often evident in observable tracks) and the severe effects of the unceasing south-easterly winds which blow from April till October.

The most interesting aspect of these sites is that while much of the surface material is loosely scattered over the sites, it would appear that some beachrock features have been retained, even if only temporarily, intact (see Plate 3). Some of these appeared to contain quantities of charcoal and resembled hearths (see again Chapter 7).

On initial observation, the East Coast sites could represent a major gathering of people in precontact times. This was suggested by the sheer size of the sites (although the apparent total area was probably exaggerated by the deflation of the dunes) and by their close proximity. It was thought that this might reflect the movements of people up and down a strip of coast in the manner suggested by Hynes and Chase (1982). Moreover, an examination of topographic maps indicated the presence of freshwater lakes approximately 3 to 4 km to the west, and the resources of the more established forests at a similar distance. The location of a major camp (perhaps a Wet season camp given the presence of the irritating southeasterlies in the Dry) was supported by the presence of freshwater springs which are present in at least two of these areas. Certainly, even the surface evidence at these sites had potential in terms of documenting socio-economic factors.

In addition to these, other precontact sites consisted chiefly of sparse scatters of shell, smaller more discrete scatters and the occurrence of small scatters of somewhat dubious pieces of stone. The latter sometimes occurred in a location or context which suggested a cultural origin; that is, they occurred as discrete phenomena in the absence of similar but more obviously natural features. Alternatively, they were at times observed in entirely plausible natural locations but exhibited features that are best put into that well-used category of 'flaked piece'. That is, often pieces had clean regular fractures with sharp edges but no particularly diagnostic flaking features and/or signs of use. Sometimes, this was compounded by the presence of coarse- or medium-grained materials and/or an apparent high degree of weathering. It is interesting that although there is one art site at Somerset which we visited during 1984, no further art sites were located in this second season.

6.2.2 Contemporary sites

Contemporary sites are sites that are still used by people as 'weekenders' or bases for fishing and hunting trips. These are evident in almost every area we visited. They often include a shelter, varying from a simple frame over which a tarp is draped to a fully-constructed shed (cf. Britnall 1991). These sites are often associated with scatters of shell, bone (including fish and turtle) and other domestic detritus. Given the prime location of many of these, it is reasonable to assume that camps such as these have been using the same location for a considerable period of time. In fact, in a number of instances, such sites were located on top of precontact sites.

6.2.3 'Historical' sites

Historical sites recorded in the survey include Somerset, which is the site of a government outpost from the 1860s and also the residence of the Jardine family. The homestead, outbuildings and other structures at Somerset have long since been removed, and the site was bulldozed by Queensland government employees in the 1970s. However, what remains is a remarkable house site on top of a cliff which overlooks Albany Island and the Torres Strait, the remnant of an historical coconut plantation and a small family cemetery which is nestled into the bay at the bottom of the cliff (see Plate 4). Stone retaining walls still extend in straight lines through the now overgrown vegetation on the slope which separates these two, and the house site is littered with a plethora of domestic and other items. The latter reflects more than 130 years of post-contact occupation, the Jardine family having been succeeded by a series of local people who acted as caretakers of the site until the 1970s.

Plate 4 The historic site of Somerset, northern Cape York.

Plate 5 World War II 'hospital' site, Jackey Jackey Creek area.

In addition, the Jardine family had a cattle property which centred around the homestead at Lockerbie, approximately 15 km south-west of Somerset. Again, most above ground features have long since gone from Lockerbie. However, it is notable for an historical lane edged by mango trees which probably marked the main entrance. Unfortunately, it has been reported to me that some of these trees were removed in recent years. Other features at Lockerbie are the loosely piled lines of stone which served as edgings for the gardens. These have a poignancy, also present at Somerset, which derives from the futility of such attempts to impose order on the encroaching forest which has now reclaimed the site. There is also a stone-lined spring which provided the settlement with freshwater. The Holland family arrived here in 1913 and were in partnership with Frank Jardine. Some time after his death, they took over Lockerbie and lived there for many years. As with Somerset, the passing of Europeans did not mark an end to the site's usage and local people have been associated with the site from the time of its establishment. Certainly, the signs of more than a century of occupation are evident at the site.

In addition to Somerset and Lockerbie, the bush especially in some areas such as around Jackey Jackey airstrip, is littered with the evidence of a large military encampment that sprawls over an extensive area of the scrub around the airstrip. This was initially occupied by the United States Army Air Force and then subsequently the Australian Army during World War II. These include whole corrugated iron 'igloos' that are said to have served as a hospital, complete with iron bedsteads, a pushbike and other paraphenalia (see Plate 5). There are also huge trenches that were the hiding places for large vehicles (the trench being 'roofed' with organic material). There are the wrecks of aeroplanes (for example, a

DC3) still *in situ*, and the small rocks that marked the paths, edges of tents and 'gardens' of the small tent city of military personnel that occupied the area. Like at Somerset and Lockerbie, this habit of edging with rock (although having many variations) appears to be characteristic of the area and the period.

6.2.4 Problems with management

During this field season, it was noted that Somerset and Lockerbie were visited by large numbers of tourists. At that time, the Cape York tourist boom was comparatively new, the roads having been virtually untrafficable until about five years beforehand. However, in 1985 thousands of tourists visited the area. Visitation of Somerset and Lockerbie, which are generally known to have some historical significance, was (and still is) largely unsupervised (but see McIntyre 1994). As a result, the sites undoubtedly suffered at the hands of casual collectors and sightseers whose appreciation of the sites was limited by the lack of structural remains. This also had the effect of devaluing the importance of objects strewn across the surface of the sites, which, to the visitors eyes appeared 'unowned' and 'uncared for'. Moreover, at that time, little or no on site information was available. Tourists tended to be disappointed and dissatisfied when visiting the sites, and the romance of the overgrown garden beds and retaining walls obviously required supplementing with the visions and realities of former days.

Visitation to the World War II sites was less intense, but not necessarily less destructive. Such sites were generally targeted by individuals interested in war relics and this was especially the case with the aircraft crash sites. Both of these sites are *in situ*. However, while one has been fenced and signs erected, the other sits somewhat poignantly enveloped in the encroaching bush. These sites have interest and appeal as they are, but like all of the historical sites, they have enormous management problems.

The East Coast strip also had considerable management problems. A number of the sites had evidence of trail-bike and four-wheel-drive tracks running through them. At least one had been fenced and sign-posted by the Aboriginal Relics Ranger on account of this. In addition, the sites are regularly visited by wild pigs which abound in this region, and they are also subjected to wave and wind action on a seasonal basis. While the problem of the pigs and other natural agents was less easy to solve in the short-term, there appeared to be an urgent need for some protection from tourists.

6.3 Aerial survey

In addition to the ground survey, an aerial survey of the region was undertaken to locate areas of potential archaeological interest. Two trips were undertaken in a fixed-wing light aircraft. The first of these, like the ground survey, focused on the area adjacent to the airport, in particular the 'W' site. By the time of the first aerial survey, we had already visited the site and established its archaeological interest. The aerial survey was aimed at obtaining good quality photography of the site and locating similar features in this area. At least one other such place was located.

The second trip was aimed at providing an overall picture of the study area. Apart from obtaining aerial photographs of a range of places in the study area, the major finding was the location of small discrete scarred areas on dunes along the west coast between the Jardine River and Red

(Vrilya) Point[1]. These scarred areas were distinguished by the small red ferrucrete stones that are characteristic of the fireplaces in the sites along the east coast at Newcastle Bay. However, it appeared from the air that these were smaller and the dunes much less deflated. This is probably due to the fact that the west coast is much less subjected to erosional forces than the east which is much-affected by the strong south-easterly winds and high-energy coastline. It seems likely that these small blow-outs in the dunes were only visible from the air and that relocating them on the ground, over such a vast area, would be difficult.

6.4 Working in the community

By the time of the 1985 field season, Mr C. Lifu (now deceased) of New Mapoon had taken over as the chairperson of the NPA Combined Council from Mr A. Adidi of Bamaga. Prior to returning to northern Cape York I wrote to Mr Lifu outlining plans for the survey and giving him information on dates, duration and personnel involved in the 1985 field season. Through Peter Smith, the Aboriginal Ranger, I also negotiated about the two local people to be employed on the project. On arriving in the area, I was introduced to Mr Lifu.

Working with our two local co-workers not only facilitated access around the study area (indeed both were keen hunters and knew the area well), but also provided an environment in which further contact could be made with the broader community. People tended to know us (and the project) through our association with them. At this stage, we had only a rudimentary knowledge of the history and establishment of each of the communities and were therefore unaware that neither of these men had

[1]Vrilya Point is known locally as 'Red' Point, which derives from the presence of bauxite cliffs in this area.

direct traditional connections with the area. We were fortunate in that one of them had relationships (through marriage) with those who did have such associations. Several times he alerted us to important places in the landscape and directed us to others for more information. It is interesting to note, however, that although the project was addressing matters of 'culture', the people chosen to work for us did not have traditional affiliations with the particular area in question.

Another key person with regard to informal consultation and contact with the communities was Richard Tamwoy who was still the assistant ranger and who had facilitated much informal consultation in the previous short field season. Richard introduced me to a number of key people. Firstly, he introduced me to Mr Silas (Snowy) Woosup and arranged for a number of interviews with Mr Woosup and others at his house at Injinoo. We recorded these interviews as well as a number of songs that were performed for us. It was at these sessions that I began to understand the cultural complexity of the Injinoo community, which comprises people from a number of precontact groups. Mr Woosup is from the Seven Rivers 'tribe', one of those that were responsible for the establishment of Injinoo (see Chapter 8). After visiting Mr Woosup and his family, I realized that the woman who had spoken so encouragingly at the NPA Combined Council meeting the year before was Mr Woosup's wife, Mrs S. Woosup (now deceased).

6.4.1 Stories, history and meaning in the landscape

At these sessions, I was able to discuss the so-called 'W' site with Mr Woosup. I discovered that local people consider the area around the airport (and indeed much of the east coast) as dangerous country. It is associated with supernatural beings, some of whom are considered to be malicious in intent. Certainly, there was some surprise when I indicated that we had camped in the middle of this country. Now my understanding of the fires that our co-workers vigorously fueled throughout the night assumed a different interpretation. Prior to this, I was under the impression that they were aimed at keeping mosquitoes and/or crocodiles at bay. Mr Woosup informed me that the language name for this place was *Inangapudan* or Fishbone Swamp. I told those present about the small hearth-like feature we had found at the 'W' site and the fragments of shell and stone. This confirmed for them the presence of the 'old' or 'bifor taim'[2] people, that is, those of previous generations who inhabit a spiritual domain. Areas where the 'old' people congregate also seem to be associated with the malevolent spirits, although I have not been able to determine whether these are separate or the same.

He also told me that there is an important story which broadly relates to this area. This story has been recorded as the Wamera Story in Fuary and Greer (1993). It concerns a boy who lived with his mother and who left her because of her greed in keeping the best yams or*kuthay* for herself. The boy dug up a large watervine and went underground at *Inangapudan*, dragging it with him. He passed through the earth like a corkscrew or a fence-post digger, emerging at a number of spots. At such points a pool of water was left behind and someone commented that the small waterhole we had seen at *Yunyerra* (on the east coast) was no doubt one of these. This story also explains the creation of the many lakes and waterholes that occur along the east coast. Finally, the boy emerged from the ground at Payṛa near Somerset, and as he passed he formed the Albany Passage which separates the mainland and Albany Island. At the

[2]'Bifor taim' can be roughly translated from Broken as 'before time'.

time, it seemed to me as Mr Woosup might be articulating an oral account of the rising of the seas and the creation of the Torres Strait.

In addition, Mr Tamwoy also introduced me to another relative, Mr George Williams who, at the time resided in Bamaga, but who is also a senior Seven Rivers man, originally from Injinoo. Mr Williams took the team by boat to Red Point, a place I had often heard people speak of which is in the heart of Seven Rivers country. This was a non-stop trip until reaching our destination, although Mr Williams pointed out several important places along the way. These included Gel ('Girl') Point, which is associated with the story of Chiviri, a culture hero who makes an epic journey from Mapoon in the south to the passage between Hammond and Thursday Islands in the north (see also McConnell 1957). At Gel Point, one of Chiviri's wives (the elder of two sisters), had a sore breast and so he left her there, continuing on. The younger sister looked back to the other, crying, and was turned to stone. The rocks of Gel Point are the older woman's right breast hanging down. On reaching Red Point, Mr Williams informed us that this was an important story place, and that you must either be able to speak language to visit this place or go with a language speaker. While at Red Point, we learned at first hand about 'burngrass'. As the country around Red Point is a long way from the communities, visits are not frequent. When we arrived, the country was very overgrown or 'wild'. Mr Williams proceeded to burn the undergrowth, and I was given to understand that this is part of the procedure whereby 'wild' country is made safe for people to travel in.

A third important introduction provided by Mr Tamwoy was to yet another uncle, Mr Goody Massey. Mr Massey is from the McDonnell 'tribe', another of the precontact groups. While Mr Massey is originally from Injinoo, he now lives at Umagico. I learned that prior to the establishment of Umagico, Injinoo people had lived on the foreshore, close to the site of the present village, and that Injinoo people refer to this place as 'Alau'. In fact, Mr Williams, who had taken us to Red Point, had spent much of his childhood at Alau. Mr Massey is an important 'song man' (a composer and singer) in the communities. On at least one memorable occasion, he came to our camp with several dancers from Umagico and performed a corroboree for us. Mr Massey led another corroboree, for our benefit, at the Woosup home at a later date. We recorded these as part of our undertaking to record and collect 'culture'.

From all of these people and others, I began filling out the brief historical sketch that I had previously obtained. I began to find out more about the different 'tribes' who made up the original settlement at Cowal Creek or Injinoo as it is now known. These were principally Seven Rivers people, who occupied part of the west coast south of the Jardine River; the McDonnell River people, whose land was the inland area through which the telegraph line ran; the Red Island people, whose country ran from just north of the present settlement of Injinoo to Cape York; and the Sandbeach people, who lived along the east coast and the northern tip. In addition, a number of people from the islands of the Torres Strait, as well as from other northern Cape York communities had settled at Injinoo, and some Injinoo people were now resident in the other communities (see Chapter 9; see also Fuary and Greer 1993).

Sometimes the 'discoveries' were quite accidental. When discussing informally where we had been and what we had seen, information from a community perspective was volunteered. For example, we learned that the 'historical' sites such as Somerset, Lockerbie and those associated with the World War II encampment held strong significance for local people. In the case of Somerset, we were told that local people had helped to build the place up for the Jardines and had lived there both during the Jardines' residency and later as caretakers. Moreover, Somerset was established on land that was traditionally owned by 'Somerset' people. These people were most likely a local group within the broader Sandbeach people (see again Chapter 9; Fuary and Greer 1993).

A similar history of associations is present for Lockerbie, and again local people were involved in the setting up, maintenance and service of this establishment. Moreover, both sites were established at the cost of life and land, and many of the stories we heard were grim reminders of this. While the Jardines and other Europeans may have spent several decades living in these places, Aboriginal people in the area have a continuity of occupation and a much longer association with them. These sites were (and are) still largely perceived by the broader community as examples of European heritage, the frontier of colonial expansion. However, my interactions with local people suggested that this would be a very limited interpretation of such sites.

The World War II sites have a different story to tell. In this instance, the appearance of U.S. Army Air Force and later Australian Army personnel, and the massive scale of their encampments, marked a considerable change in the lives of local people. The village of Injinoo was deserted, with local people moving into the bush for security. Local men were involved in the transport of goods and services between the mainland and the islands of the Torres Strait. For example:

> A huge Army/Airforce base was set up in the scrub adjacent to Jacky Jacky Creek while smaller installations of equipment and personnel were scattered throughout.

> Jetties were built, roads constructed, and an airstrip was put in at Jacky Jacky. The area was crawling with military personnel and the resulting social interactions with local people were something of a double-edged sword (Fuary and Greer 1993:64).

While the region had always been on the fringe of a busy shipping lane and Thursday Island had been, at various points in time, something of a centre of commerce, the War brought the outside world to the Cape York mainland. With the military came vehicles and picture shows, aeroplanes and many other elements of life that had previously not been experienced in the settlement (Fuary and Greer 1993). Moreover, local people have strong memories of this time and the friendships and bonds that were established. I was introduced to a woman in Umagico who had been a cook at the wartime base. In other instances, women were employed as laundresses for military personnel. The sites that are the visible remains of this time are, for the people living around them, symbolic reminders of the military personnel who occupied them and of this period of enormous change.

6.4.2 Community relations in northern Cape York

I also learned that while these communities were bound together by affinal and other ties, political differences nevertheless existed. This was partly due to the understandable tensions of living together. This was exacerbated by the favouritism shown to some communities by the Queensland Government administration, e.g. all of the facilities and services, schools etc. are based at Bamaga which is predominantly a Torres Strait Islander community. In addition, it must be acknowledged that the end result of the process of 'relocation' favoured by successive governments is that one group of people are displaced from their own country, and another group has their own traditional lands occupied by someone else. The presence of the NPA Combined Council did not appear to be enough to unify people under these circumstances.

6.5 Conclusions

At the end of this season in the field, a major evaluation was required in order to determine the course of subsequent work. Archaeological work had yielded a mixture of encouraging and disappointing results. In particular, the overwhelming problems of access across a wild and heavily vegetated area seemed daunting. On the other hand, some large and seemingly rich sites (at least on surface evidence) had been located. However, few of these had the potential to address the research problems posed by the original topic, which involved testing for evidence of economic intensification. While the sheer size and quantity of material on the East Coast sites offered a wealth of information concerning socio-economic factors, all of this was extremely limited unless residual portions of the dunes containing the sites were located and excavated. This would have been required in order to assess adequately demographic factors, and in order to develop a chronological sequence that could be associated with these. While the 'W' site offered some potential for stratification, the sparse surface evidence suggested probable limitations on this site. In spite of these constraints, at the end of this season, the plan for the following year was to undertake further limited survey, and to target these two areas for excavation.

Results of consultation were no less perplexing. It seemed that the more I learned of the history and current complexity of the communities, the more difficult the task of consultation became. Formal and informal interactions with local people had led to a number of conclusions and observations. Firstly, there were strong and widely held beliefs that the Jackey Jackey Creek area was inhabited by dangerous supernatural beings. In addition, I had discovered that this area was the physical setting of an important story which explains the origin of several landscape features. Given this, the next stage of consultation was considered to be extremely important. This was therefore to be geared to <u>specific</u> owners of <u>specific</u> tracts of land that contained the sites I wished to excavate.

However, there were some considerable problems with this. Firstly, the concept of this type of ownership seemed foreign to most of the people I spoke to. Unfortunately, the history of dislocation which extended into the last century, the years of living within the reserve system and the firm hand of church and government leaders had loosened many aspects of traditional life. This was further compounded by factors relating to the establishment, history, composition and relationships of the five communities. Secondly, it seemed that while key figures could be readily identified for the various 'tribal' groupings, the task of determining who should be consulted for specific sites was more complex and difficult. At this stage, it seemed that communities viewed consultation as the business of 'officialdom', the realm of councils. It also occurred to me that perhaps people did not wish to be singled out for this type of attention and responsibility (see Chapter 9).

In 1984, I had developed a strong impression that some of the motivation for agreeing to the original topic stemmed from the need to record traditional knowledge, especially that of the elderly people. These original impressions were confirmed as a result of working with people in 1985. While some preliminary work was begun on recording local stories and songs, often at the request of local people, it was becoming increasingly difficult to balance this against the direct needs of the original project. However, given the circumstances I felt obliged to facilitate the continuation of this work. Moreover, some important observations had been made as a result of this process. The identification of the cosmological importance of the Jackey Jackey area on the East Coast was one of these. Similarly, identification of the importance of the so-called 'historical' sites (Somerset, Lockerbie, the World War II sites) also came about as a result of such work with local people. For several reasons, it seemed that the best option was to try to encourage a social anthropologist to undertake some work in the region. This work would be specifically directed toward providing a baseline from which consultation concerning archaeological work could proceed. In particular, some considerable help was required in order to identify and consult with the traditional owners/custodians of the two areas along the East Coast that had been identified for intensive archaeological work.

In addition to research-oriented problems, one of the strongest impressions gained in this field season was that all of the sites had enormous management problems. Although the work I now planned for 1986 might be useful in developing management strategies for the East Coast sites, such work was essentially outside the parameters and scope of the original project. Yet the potential for destruction and disturbance continued to present a dilemma. In addition, I had not planned to undertake any work (beyond basic recording) on the historical sites. It seemed that in addition to an anthropologist, there was scope for an historical archaeological project, which could perhaps hinge on the unexpected discovery of the strong association and interest of the local Aboriginal people in these sites. Such work might then provide the basis for management of these sites. Work on historical sites has been taken up by McIntyre (1994, In Prep.).

Most importantly in this field season, I had been given several insights into the community's perspective, largely as a result of informal interactions with local people. These included the local significance of the historical sites outlined above, and the way in which parts of the East Coast are perceived in contemporary community cosmology. In this sense, 'archaeological' sites as well as 'natural' features had to be viewed, not as elements within a natural landscape but as the very substance of a living cultural landscape. For example, the hearth at the 'W' site had provided tangible evidence for contemporary cosmological beliefs (see Chapter 10).

At the end of 1985 I was in a position to reflect upon these insights and why they had emerged within the context of this project. As noted in Chapters 3 and 4, in 1985 long-term archaeological research in Queensland was rarely undertaken within the context of a reserve. One of the most important aspects of this research was that we were located, geographically and culturally, within a community. This provides both researchers and the community with access to each other outside of formal consultation times and the camaraderie that is (sometimes) associated with field trips. In some senses, the community has greater opportunity to direct the researcher than in other contexts. These issues are elaborated in subsequent chapters (see especially Chapters 9 and 11).

7

Fieldwork in 1986: further archaeological survey and consultation

At the beginning of 1986, in spite of the insights obtained in the previous field season, the orientation of research was still strongly archaeological. The aim this trip was to establish a regional profile and a chronology of socio-economic activities on the East Coast strip. This could be achieved by undertaking excavations at the 'W' site and on the large middens at Newcastle Bay. Further survey was aimed at locating stratified site(s), particularly if the evidence at the 'W' site proved to be either superficial or sparse. To this end, some survey work was envisaged for Albany and Muri (Mount Adolphus) Islands.

Albany Island was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, it is within the small sandstone belt which also includes Somerset. It was anticipated that there would be rockshelters on the island and that these would have been used. Given the extreme environmental processes operating in most tropical climates, I felt that such rockshelters would provide the best chance for obtaining undisturbed evidence. Secondly, the inclusion of Albany Island in the 'Wamera Story' (see Chapter 6) indicated the possibility of documenting the antiquity of an oral account of sea-level rise. It seemed that the location of sites within this general timeframe might prove both independently interesting and useful to the original topic. Part of my rationale was also that this was one way in which a connection could possibly be made between community knowledge and archaeological research, thereby justifying the latter. However, if this was the case, I was not fully aware of it. Moreover, like Allen (1978), although I could happily indicate the contribution the oral account made to archaeological research, it was not easy to articulate the contribution of a temporal framework to community knowledge.

In surveying Muri, I had different expectations. By this stage, I had determined that before European colonisation, trade routes extended from Papua through the Torres Strait and down the eastern coast of the Australian mainland. Muri appears to have been serviced by at least two of these routes, both of which passed through the Central Islands of the Torres Strait (see also Fuary 1991: 58). Within this system offshore islands were often used as trade centres. This was possibly because to the traders they approximated 'neutral territory' while locals were not obliged to accommodate visitors on their doorstep. Hale and Tindale (1933) report that Flinders Island off the central eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula was used for this purpose. These expectations of sites associated with trade (and the possibility of documenting its antiquity) would provide a necessary complement to the type of information available from the other sites. In addition, it was expected that such sites would address one of the critical elements in determining patterns of intensification (see Chapter 5).

Two periods of fieldwork were undertaken in this year. The first of these was extremely short, from the 24th July till 7th August. This was principally aimed at providing me with an opportunity for further consultation and PhD supervision in the field. Associate Professor John Campbell accompanied me on this trip, visiting both the 'W' site in Fishbone Swamp and the East Coast. We also went to the Evans Bay site test-excavated by Moore (1979) and had anticipated visiting Muri. The latter, however, was not possible due to bad weather and associated problems with rough seas. In fact, I was to discover that this was often a problem with visiting Muri, and it is a point I will discuss further in Chapter 10. The second field season was much longer, extending from 30th August till 20th October.

7.1 Consultation with councils

Before entering the field, I again contacted the Chairman of the Combined NPA Council, Mr C. Lifu. I explained that we wished to excavate in the two identified areas and that I would like to contact the appropriate people concerning this. In addition, I had funding to employ someone to work with me for a period during this season and needed advice with regard to this. I received no direct advice from the Council, although a man from New Mapoon was identified to the Aboriginal Relics Ranger as being appropriate. Once in the field, I briefly met with Mr Lifu to let him know that we were again in the area.

The problem of locating traditional owners/custodians for this area remained. This was particularly important as we had learned in the previous year that the East Coast had special significance to local people. We knew that the area around the 'W' site, *Inangapudan* or Fishbone Swamp, was considered to be a 'dangerous place'. In addition, the location of the Wamera Story in this area suggested that a much broader area might have special significance. In view of this, I was concerned about a number of issues that were to be addressed during consultation. Firstly, I wondered if the act of working in this area was problematic in terms of community beliefs. If this did not prove to be the case, then we needed to discuss the excavations we had planned and a range of issues associated with this.

In order to undertake consultation on these issues, it was essential to locate someone who had custodial rights for this area. This was not immediately obvious. My own contacts (Messrs Woosup, Williams and Massey) established the year before were traditionally associated with either Seven Rivers or McDonnell River country which I knew to be located further south. The people who had lived along the East Coast area had, by all accounts, suffered greatly in the period following European entry into the area and the subsequent establishment of Somerset (Moore 1979). Although I knew that the original settlement at Injinoo had included these 'Sandbeach' people, they had not emerged (or so I thought) as a result of my previous consultation.

Given such problems, this year the consultation process entered a new phase which included the involvement of an anthropologist, Maureen Fuary, in the project. This stage of consultation was undertaken over several weeks. In the meantime, preliminary and non-invasive archaeological work (for example, survey and mapping) was undertaken on the east coast sites.

7.2 Locating a 'speaker' for the East Coast

Specific consultation began with the Deputy Chairman of the Cowal Creek Community Council, Mr T. Salee (now deceased). At this stage, Ms Fuary took a forward role in negotiations. Her fluency in Torres Strait Creole facilitated better communication of ideas, especially as Mr Salee himself was a Torres Strait Island man. This proved to be a turning point in the development of the consultation process. As a result of these discussions, Mr Meun Lifu was identified as a language-speaker who could assist us in our work on the East Coast sites.

I visited Mr Lifu with Ms Fuary and discussed the work we wanted to carry out. Again, these discussions were undertaken in Torres Strait and Cape York Creole. Communication in local languages is a key which can take consultation beyond a superficial level. Firstly, there is the issue of greater accuracy in the transmission of ideas and intentions. Secondly, there are a number of connotations surrounding the use of local language. In this case, Ms Fuary's fluency in Torres Strait Creole provided a demonstration that we were not the usual White people who come in to work on the reserve. In the vast majority of cases, Whites in northern Cape York do not speak Creole. There is a perception that it is not 'proper English' and that it does not have the status of a separate and legitimate language. Where exceptions occur, Creole tends to be spoken in private exchanges. At this time, it was not used in formal or official instances. This is exemplified by the lack of a fully instituted bilingual programme in the schools. This is also the case in the area of health where non-local employees do not tend to speak Creole. Thus in the areas of health and education, local people are obliged to communicate in what is often their second or third language.

The importance of distinguishing oneself from other Whites on the reserves has been noted by Trigger (1992: 86). He states:

> Unlike the missionary family, I have not been regarded as a transplanted piece of the local Whitefella domain. Also, unlike the two White men referred to above, I was not thought to be in need of 'looking after' in the face of White society. I have been regarded as another kind of exceptional Whitefella; one whose work involves learning about 'Blackfella ways', and who can to some extent operate socially like a Blackfella and (for a time at least) appear not to be too uncomfortable living in similar material conditions to Blackfellas.

The use of the dominant local language in the initial discussions at Injinoo indicated previous experience in the region. Indeed, the Yam Island 'tune' in Ms Fuary's speech was readily recognised and prompted a discussion of her previous work, of common friends, acquaintances, kinship associations etc. People became aware that she was able to 'operate socially' in a Yam Island context (and therefore the region generally) which afforded less uneasiness at being placed in the context of consultation. This, combined with the interactions that I had had, and the connections made in the previous year, afforded those involved in consultation with a certain amount of comfort with the process. This issue is further discussed in Chapters 9 and 11.

In this initial consultation, we outlined the work we wished to undertake, that is small excavations at the East Coast sites, and expressed our concerns surrounding possible conflict in terms of the community beliefs in this area. The notion that this was a dangerous place was confirmed during these discussions, and Mr Lifu (and others present) indicated that before stopping for any length of time in this area, one should be introduced to the country by someone who could speak 'language'. We asked Mr Lifu if he was prepared to work with us on the project, which would require him to camp with us on the East Coast sites. While he indicated that he was happy to be involved, our timing was not good. The tombstone opening, which is a ceremony marking the end of mourning ritual and obligations (see Fitzpatrick-Nietschmann 1987; Fuary 1991) of an important community figure was to be held approximately two weeks from the date of our conversation. These ceremonies are celebrations involving feasting and dancing and draw together relatives and members of the community, including those who live in far-flung centres. Mr Lifu had an important role in the dancing at this feast and he was reluctant to miss the preparations which include hours of dance practice each day.

He did, however, agree to come out to the East Coast and introduce us to country. We had camped adjacent to one of the large midden sites at Newcastle Bay. As with the area around the 'W' site (and for similar reasons), we learned that this area was not safe for us unless we were properly introduced. We learned that this introduction involved letting the 'old people', that is, the spirits of people who have died, know who we were and what we were doing. In a moving ceremony at the site we wished to excavate, Mr Lifu 'sang out' to the spirits, in language, to let them know this. We were told that there was another important person who should do this for us, and that she would come out at a later date.

One of the most surprising aspects of this meeting with Mr Lifu was to learn that the Chairperson of the NPA Combined Council (Mr C. Lifu) was his brother! Although at that time, the latter lived in New Mapoon, he was originally an Injinoo man. The major obstacle in consulting with the NPA Council was therefore not a lack of knowledge of traditional affiliations, but rather that people were used to working within the power structure of the reserve. In a system that still accepted policies such as 'assimilation' and 'integration', there was little recognition of the authority of traditional ownership.

7.3 Preliminary archaeological work

While waiting for Mr Lifu to join us on the East Coast, we undertook some preliminary, 'non-invasive' archaeological work. This included survey of several sites to choose possible locations for excavation, mapping of such locations and general recording of the site complexes.

We chose to work on a large site located in Freshwater Bay (see Figure 2). This site was less disturbed than the others and had a number of hearth-like features that appeared to be *in situ*.. These were located on a surface that was littered with an abundance of shell, stone and bone material which had been re-deposited with the deflation of the dunes. This deflation is probably a relatively recent event, possibly initiated by destabilisation of vegetation following the introduction of hard-hoofed animals. This may date to the occupation of Somerset, however stock were kept on the reserve and are known to roam in the bush. Older residents of the area can recall the dunes when vegetated, estimating this to be as recent as 30 to 40 years ago. Given that much of the material on the surface was not *in situ,* this site had only limited potential for illustrating past economies. However, it seemed as if the 'fireplaces' might

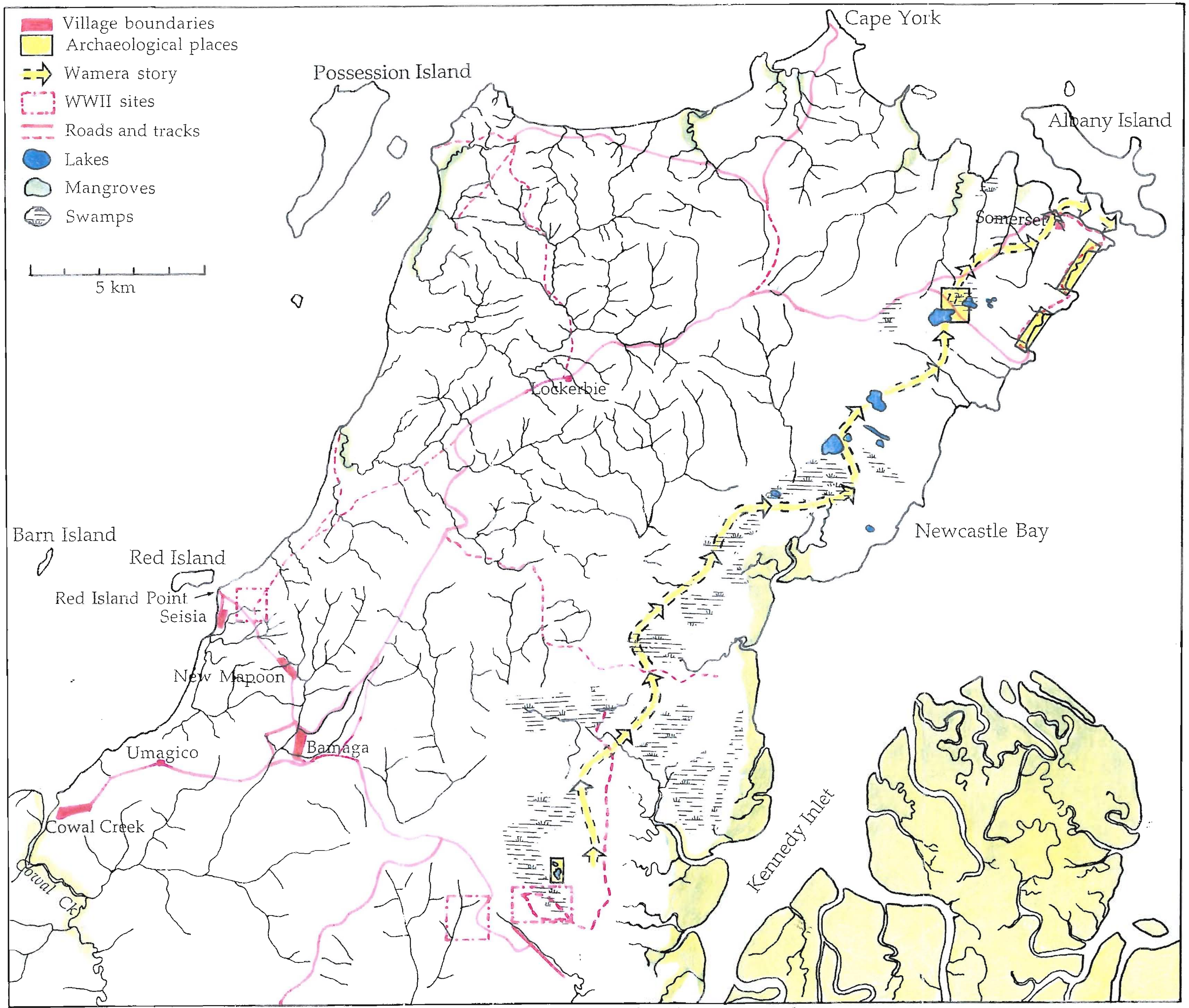

Figure 2: The cultural landscape of northern Cape York

Plate 1 #2
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allow the development of a temporal framework as well as providing evidence for specific activities.

Once the Freshwater site had been chosen, we set about establishing a base map within which the excavations would be located. This site is large, approximately 200 m by 100 m. The method used to map it involved the establishment of a baseline using a dumpy level, with six datum points along it. These points marked the boundaries of five control zones (A, B, C, D and E). Each of these points was pegged. This was to serve as an anchor for a series of increasingly detailed plans. In the most general plans, large features or generalised scatters of material were to be recorded within each zone using the dumpy level. For more accurate and detailed recording, a camera was mounted onto an aluminium pole with a spirit level and a photographic record of 1 m by 1 m areas was to be taken at varying intervals (see Clegg 1982).

There were, however, endless problems with undertaking this work. Firstly, there were mechanical problems with the vehicle which involved several trips from the campsite into Bamaga (more than 40 km away over extremely rough tracks). Secondly, when we began mapping the site, we discovered that the hairline on the dumpy level was broken and another one had to be air freighted to Bamaga. A part of the camera's motor drive was faulty which prevented the detailed photographic recordings that were to be undertaken with the survey pole that had been especially made for this purpose. The unrelenting south-easterly winds rendered the task of holding the ranging pole vertical almost impossible and provided an on-the-spot illustration of the dune deflation process. Finally, the team became ill with intestinal problems, making work and everyday life difficult and requiring medical attention. At a later date, when discussing these problems with community members, we were told that this was in keeping with the beliefs that surround this area. As we were not formally introduced at this time, our efforts were being thwarted by the old people who did not understand what we were doing. Our experiences were proof of the fact that we were working (however 'non-invasively') in a dangerous place. It was shortly after this that Mr Lifu provided us with our first formal introduction to the area (see section 7.4).

However, by the time Mr Lifu joined us, we had constructed a plan of the site (albeit much rougher and less detailed than the original intention) and had chosen areas for excavation. These included a number of the 'fireplace' features, a residual section of the dune, and a number of test squares that would cut through the surface onto which the material had been lagged.

7.4 Excavation, participation and working with 'speakers'

Once the tombstone opening was over, Mr Lifu and his wife, Mrs Clara Lifu (*nee* Rattler) came out to the East Coast and camped with us. Initially, there was some confusion about Mr Lifu's role. While it was never our intention, Mr and Mrs Lifu took over all domestic responsibilities in the camp for the entire period that we spent there. Initially, I thought that there may have been a misunderstanding and that they had assumed that I had employed them to carry out domestic duties. At that stage, however, I did not appreciate fully that as I was a visitor, this was an expression of their hospitality. It was at this point that a co-operative working relationship was truly developed.

7.4.1 Role of the 'speaker'

We learned that the site we were working on was part of a cosmological complex which included Lakes Bronto and Wicheura which are located 3 to 4 km to the west, and which extended down the East Coast from Somerset to Jackey Jackey Creek. We were told that the 'old people' (the spirits of those who are deceased) live by day at the lakes and return to the East Coast sites at night. Part of the role of the language speaker was to introduce us to country and to inform the 'old people' of our business and intent. We learned that people from the community generally take the precaution of taking a language speaker with them when they go hunting or fishing in this area which they know as Sandago. From this point, we too adopted this term.

7.4.2 Excavation and consultation

Formal consultation with Mr Lifu involved asking for permission to excavate in the areas which had been defined. We explained the excavation process and outlined the type of socio-economic and other archaeological information (including dating) that we anticipated would result. This approach was in line with what was considered at the time to be the best that consultation had to offer. For example, Jones (1985:21) describes his approach thus:

> First there was the question of where I wanted to dig, how I was going to do it, what was to be the size of the excavation pit, and how deep did I think it was going to be. The men were aware of the general procedures of archaeological excavation. I stressed the care and seriousness of purpose that would be practised at all times; the slow rate of excavation, the sieving of all the deposits and the painstaking collection of artefacts, animal bone fragments and soil samples. All of these procedures would be done openly and could be scrutinised at all times by members of the Aboriginal community. It was stressed that in the proposal to the ANPWS there would be provision to employ or to second from the Park Service a senior Aboriginal person with local affiliations and knowledge, who might be available to help us during our work.

Once excavation work began, we realised that our expectations were overly optimistic. Firstly, controlled excavation of the soft fine sands which comprise the dunes proved to be almost impossible. This was due to the action of the strong south-easterly winds which immediately began the deflation process. In addition, where we were able to excavate, the sides of the squares were so fragile that they collapsed with the slightest ill-advised movement or a mere breath of wind. Excavation of the trench (0.5 m wide and 2.5 m long) through the surface onto which material had lagged was abandoned because of this. We found that in spite of using boards and covers, the sides of the trench collapsed overnight. This was also the case with the excavation of the residual part of the dune. Even the cleaning of a section in the latter resulted in its partial collapse. The only possibility that remained was the hearths. These were surface features that had already been exposed by the wind's action. As such, excavation was more a case of 'deconstruction' or systematic disassembling rather than a process of revealing or uncovering.

At this stage, time was running short. I managed to extend my time in the field by 10 days, however this was the maximum that vehicle bookings, assistants time in the field and the heat would allow. The latter was a significant problem for as time wore on the intensity of heat and glare on the bleached sands was considerable.

Given all of these problems and delays, we had time to excavate only two of the hearth features. Superficially, these fell into two categories. These were distinguished by their distribution: those in the first category contained beachrock scattered over an area with a diameter of 1-2 m, while those in the second had a more discrete distribution (see Plates 6 and 7). The two chosen for 'excavation' were those that were best preserved in each category. Our procedure was firstly to label all artefacts visible on the surface and to draw a scale plan of these. We then removed the sand in and around the beachrock until reaching the base of the feature. At this point, the rocks were removed and excavation continued to a depth of approximately 10 cm. A locus system was used rather than arbitrary spits as this seemed to fit better with both the process and the nature of the feature. In some ways, this process was the opposite of conventional sub-surface excavation.

The first feature to be excavated was F11 (Feature 11) which was located in Zone A (see Plate 5). This was a discrete, oval-shaped cluster of beachrock with an approximate diameter of 90 cm. On the surface, the rock was surrounded, and at times partly covered by a layer of coarse yellow sand that had been blown from the beach. This layer had a maximum depth of 4 cm. The beachrock was sitting on a crust of compacted fine white sand which overlayed loose fine white sand. No charcoal, stone or shell artefacts or food remains were located in the excavation of F11. In fact, the feature appeared to be nothing more than a pile of rocks. However, the neatness of the pile, and its location within the site suggested that the stones had been placed here for future use.

The second feature excavated was F1. This was much larger than F11, covering an approximate area of 2 m by 2 m, with two areas of more densely clustered material (see Plate 3). The sediments that surrounded the beachrock in this feature were more compacted than at F11, and there was some charcoal. This was mostly in the form of charcoal-stained sands, but some identifiable specks and lumps were present and one small sample was taken. A quartz artefact was located close to the surface.

F1 was interpreted as an 'oven' that had been somewhat disturbed in the process of removing its contents. The beachrock was presumably used as cooking stones which is interesting in that this type of rock would appear to be prone to shattering when heated. I have, however, since observed its use as marker stones for small fires used to cook a snack (such as a single fish) while out fishing. Moore (1979: 268) states that the Kaurareg of Prince of Wales Island and the Gudang (the people living around Somerset and Cape York which is

Plate 6 Excavation of hearth feature, F11, at Sandago.

Plate 7 Excavation of hearth feature, F1, Sandago.

just west of these sites) had a similar range of seasonal foods and '...identical methods of food preparation'. He describes the *ami* or earth ovens used to cook yams, mangrove pods, turtles and dugong by the Kaurareg (1979: 277):

> Basically it consisted of an area of stones made red hot with a big fire, over which the pieces of turtle flesh were placed, with smaller hot stones on top, then a covering of pandanus leaves, on which the entrails and fat were spread, then more leaves and small hot stones, and over the top the shell of the turtle. The whole was surrounded and covered with tea-tree bark, and finally sand was piled over, making a mound about two metres in diameter and one metre high.

Hale and Tindale (1933: 114) have also described the use of similar ovens in the processing of mangrove fruits. They state:

> When a camp is reached a small, hot fire is made, and for 30 or 40 minutes stones are heated therein. The fire is then raked out, and the mangrove fruits are thrown in amongst the hot stones, which are distributed evenly amongst them with a stick. The heap is then covered with a piece of paperbark, and this in turn is covered with a layer of sand an inch or so in depth. The mass is left undisturbed for about an hour, after which the covering is taken off, and the roasted fruits (now brownish-grey instead of green) are removed.

The size of these ovens and the use of stone in the cooking process supports the interpretation of F1 as an 'oven'. The presence of F11, although chosen because it was superficially different to F1, was an added bonus, providing us with information concerning the use and re-use of the cooking stones. The stones in F11 had either been used in an 'oven', removed and piled for further use, or, they were brought to the site but the cook did not have the opportunity to use them.

While working on the site and in our camp at night, we had many discussions with Mr and Mrs Lifu. Initially, these discussions centred around explanations of the work we were doing, however after a period of time, they increasingly included references to the beliefs, stories etc. associated with the general area. These included more detailed versions of the Wamera story and more detail concerning the supernatural beings that are said to inhabit this area. These were interlaced with other stories from the historical era. In particular, we were told many stories of the administration at Somerset. We learned that there were a number of burials in the region and that it is believed that these people were massacred during this period. We began to put different components of the East Coast stories together. For example, it is possible that the burials are connected with the belief that these sites are the home of the 'old people', i.e. the spirits of the dead. While we were working on the site, Mr Lifu suggested that the fireplaces we were excavating were perhaps those used by the 'old people' when they inhabited the site at night. This is further explored in Chapter 10.

7.4.3 Archaeology and community beliefs

Towards the end of the field season, approximately 30 to 40 people from the Injinoo community visited us at the site. This on-site meeting was aimed at providing a broad section of the community with an explanation of the processes and reasoning of archaeology and an archaeological interpretation of the site and the excavations. However, while the formal discussions were aimed at illustrating the value of archaeological work, informal discussions were having the opposite effect. I found that the more I learned about the community's beliefs in relation to the landscape, the more challenged I felt about the archaeological interpretations and their potential value to the community. While the results of the excavations were interesting in relation to cooking methods, the use of beachrock as cooking stones and its possible storage and re-use, I felt that this had fallen short of my portrayal to the community of the potential of archaeological work to present a picture of the past. This was exacerbated by the fact that I now knew that the site was located, physically and cognitively, within a strong cosmological framework. This uneasiness grew as these explanations became more personalised and particular (for example, the suggestion that the fireplaces were still used, albeit by the dead who occupied the site).

I began to wonder about the destructive element of what we were doing. In removing these 'features', were we perhaps also removing part of the story? This was especially worrying as those we had chosen were the largest and best preserved. Moreover, we were removing the physical evidence from which such stories are created. What were we offering to replace this? Knowledge of traditional cooking methods is not new to the people of northern Cape York who in fact use a variation of this technique to cook for feasts today. In many ways, it seemed that the 'new' knowledge was being gained by us but not by them. The question that was emerging for me surrounded the notion of loss rather than gain. Would the provision of an alternative interpretation of the site result in a net loss or gain in terms of current community beliefs and the potential of the site to play a role within the dynamic of cultural construction? Moreover, if the net result was loss, was this not neocolonialism in another guise? These issues are examined in Chapter 10.

The one element of the process that did have the potential to provide new knowledge was dating of the sample taken from F11. Indeed, the removal of charcoal samples from several of these features offered the promise of a temporal framework for the occupation of the site. However, my interactions with the community led me to challenge this. The temporal framework of occupation that could be put together from such dates was perhaps something that precoccupies archaeologists more than indigenous people. What interest would this hold for northern Cape York people? More importantly, what role could this 'temporal chronology' play in the development of beliefs and stories?

Would the provision of a radiocarbon date lock the sites into the 'past' and how would this affect contemporary community interpretations? While I accepted the notion of culture as dynamic, a culture in which stories are constantly created and beliefs modified, I had no wish to be an agent of change in this manner. These issues are explored more fully in Chapter 10.

7.4.4 Outstanding work on Muri (Mt Adolphus Island) and at the 'W' site

At the end of this year, the work that I had anticipated on Muri and at the 'W' site had not been done. While we visited the 'W' site during the first weeks of the field season, work was held up until issues concerning ownership were clarified and consultation had taken place. We planned to take this up with Mr Lifu when he came to work with us. However, once the work at Sandago was underway, it was decided that this work would be delayed until the 1987 field season. This was mostly in response to our developing understanding of the meaning of this landscape and the issues that have been outlined in the previous section. It seemed that of all places along this east coast strip, we had chosen to excavate in two areas that are considered by northern Cape York people to be extremely dangerous. *Inangapudan* or Fishbone Swamp, where the 'W' site is located, is particularly dangerous and we felt that given this, the delay would provide a longer period in which such issues, and their implications, could be considered.

The work planned on Muri and Albany Island was similarly delayed due to the fact that we had run short of time. However, I had spoken to a number of people about Muri during this field season. I discovered that, like Sandago and Fishbone Swamp, it is connected with the spirit realm. I learned that many people are wary of going to Muri for this reason. Given such difficulties, I decided that the work on Muri could be similarly postponed. I could not help but marvel at the fact that the <u>three</u> locations I had identified for archaeological work were all connected with the spiritual realm and all were considered to be dangerous and problematic. While this might have been regarded within conventional archaeological circles as an incredible run of bad luck, I began to think that this phenomenon was independently interesting and deserved further investigation.

7.5 Conclusions

At the end of this season in the field, a number of conclusions had been reached. Firstly, this had not been a good year from a conventional archaeological viewpoint. I had managed to excavate only a fraction of one of the sites at Sandago; I was unable to undertake any work on the 'W' site; and I had not managed to get either to Muri or Albany Island. The excavations we had undertaken had proven interesting but did not provide the kind of information necessary to investigate intensification.

On the other hand, I had established a strong link with the Injinoo community and had begun to work with custodians and owners. I began to understand something of the way in which the community viewed the sites and the landscape of which they are part. I had been made aware that this landscape is tied into a broader system of beliefs that is richly layered with creation stories and woven into historical events and community cosmology. I became aware that 'archaeological' sites, including the supposedly secular middens and campsites, were associated with these stories and that they are part of the fabric of traditional knowledge within the community. I began to understand that this construction of community knowledge is an ongoing, dynamic process. Given this, I began to question what I was doing by introducing archaeological perspectives into this framework. I began to wonder what the community really thought about the excavation of 'F1' and 'F11' and their removal from the site. It occurred to me that even asking permission to do this may have imposed an enormous responsibility on those who were involved. I was reminded of a passage I had read in McLaren (1926: 134) who had established a coconut plantation in 1911 at Utingu, some 20 km from Sandago on the west coast. He describes the visit of an eminent ethnologist and his attempts to undertake some research with the people who worked on the plantation. McLaren (1926: 134) says:

> As for the natives, they didn't know what to make of him at first. When he began measuring their heads, they were somewhat afraid of him. When he spoke to them of their legends and mythology, they thought him unduly curious, and were not a little resentful. Some of them complained to me, asking what had their heads to do with him, or the tales they had learned from their fathers. But at length they accepted him cheerfully enough - for the reason, I discovered, that Billy Number Five had privately informed them that he was completely mad. They had a most curious respect for madness and were therefore content to allow him to do what he wished with them.

One could not help wondering if the contemporary relatives of these people were not similarly humoring me in my own research; this being the nature of their response to 'visiting madness'. With this in mind, I left the field in 1986 with more questions than answers and a determination to address at least some of the many issues that had been raised.

Fieldwork in 1987: the emergence of a cultural landscape

This year marked a long season in the field which extended from late April until early November. This period was spread, however, between two projects: the original archaeological project and the baseline anthropological project run jointly by Maureen Fuary and me. Anthropological work was aimed at systematically recording genealogical information and tribal affiliations which was essential for consultation, as well as stories, songs, life histories, history of the settlement, etc. that constituted elements of cultural importance to the community. While the anthropological work was initially aimed at facilitating better consultation (that is, through identification of traditional owners and custodians), this work confirmed the validity of the questions raised at the end of 1986. It also confirmed the need for archaeological work to be undertaken conjointly with anthropological work in this region. However, at the beginning of 1987, the assumption was that the initiation of the anthropological project would address some of these problems and provide a forum for discussion of them. In fact, I had largely underestimated the community's need to discuss such matters, and while the formal component of anthropological work was scheduled for the beginning of the field season, this work extended throughout the entire period.

In spite of the questions surrounding it, the aims of the archaeological project remained at this stage to continue the work of locating and excavating sites that had potential to answer the questions that were framed in the original project. Specifically, this involved continuation of the excavation programme that had been planned for the previous year, including survey on Muri and Albany Island.

8.1 Archaeology in the community

Archaeological work involved survey of the north-west corner (around Peak Point) and a coastal reconnaissance of the west and north coasts, including Albany Island. The 'style' of undertaking surveys had, however, changed considerably from that of previous years. In the past, the survey team had worked with one or two individuals from the community. This year, I spent considerable periods of time in the community, working with a much larger group and a broader cross-section of the community. In addition, our interest was directed towards understanding the community's knowledge and interpretation of the landscape as much as the location of archaeological sites.

Several trips were made to an area called 'Marin' which is located in the north-west corner, north of Roonga Point. This area is known for the abundance and 'fatness' of the oysters that are located on the rocky shore. On such trips, we often stopped along the way to hunt (usually wild pig) or perhaps to collect one or other resource. At these stops and at our destination, I would undertake survey work. These trips were useful to local people, allowing them to supplement their diet with wild foods and to remove themselves from the stresses and strains of community life ('to get away from it all'). From my perspective, these trips provided me with an excellent environment in which my companions educated me on various aspects of their ways and beliefs, and facilitated on-the-spot consultation about anything that was found.

Using this method, we located a large scatter of artefacts at Marin. Our initial inspection suggested that the stone was quarried at the site and that artefacts were manufactured on the spot. However, only a preliminary recording of the site was undertaken at this stage as issues of ownership and custodial rights for this area had not been (and are still not) well defined. However, if the preliminary assessment is correct, this is the only known example of this type of site in northern Cape York. When discussing this site and the general area with local people, we were told that Marin is in close proximity to a place that is important in contemporary beliefs of northern Cape York peoples. The exact location of this place and the nature of practices undertaken here are private, however it is associated with the supply and abundance of certain marine species. It was regularly used at the time of this fieldwork to ensure that these species are found in the surrounding waters.

At other times, my attempts to organise trips with community members was less successful. On such occasions, although I had previously made arrangements, they were unable to accompany me when we arrived to collect them. This may reflect the casualness of community life or the existence of other commitments. However, in analysing this behaviour over a period of time, I began to develop an idea that for some, such trips were a double-edged sword. On the one hand, while the opportunity to engage in this 'culture' work was welcomed by some, there was a certain level of responsibility associated with it. For example, at Sandago I had, with the best motives, requested permission to excavate the hearth features. Once I understood the beliefs that are associated with this area, and with these sites in particular, I realised that asking permission to excavate must have placed something of a burden on those to whom the request was directed. For one thing, this request had no precedent in northern Cape York. In other parts of Australia, Aboriginal people have had experience with mining which may have provided a focus for considering the effects of sub-surface disturbance. It occurred to me that others may not have been prepared to be placed in this position (see also Chapter 10). At the more particular level, by excavating part of the site, I was removing an inherent part of this place around which local stories and beliefs continue to be wound. The decision to allow this to happen requires considerable confidence in one's spiritual competence and knowledge. In a society that has suffered significant dislocation and in which the formal process of passing on of such knowledge has been disrupted, this was perhaps asking too much.

As a result there were times when I undertook survey work with Susan McIntyre, who was beginning a project on historical sites in 1987 and who was assisting me in my work. From the community's perspective, working unaccompanied was not as problematic as in previous years. This was because firstly, we had some protection in dangerous areas because we had been formally introduced to country. In addition, we had been given some instruction in appropriate behaviours. One such trip involved the survey of Lakes Bronto and Wicheura which, as previously indicated, are located a few kilometres from the sites at Sandago to which they are linked in the contemporary belief system. We located a large scatter of artefacts on the shores of Lake Wicheura. This site has a broad range of good quality raw materials present, as well as a range of artefact sizes, types and stages of reduction. In this sense, and given that disturbance appeared to be minimal, this was an important discovery in terms of the original research problems. When working without community people, our method was to record only the location of the site and a general description. This was considered to be the maximum that could be undertaken in the ignorance of any constraints that might exist. Interestingly, we had previously, although briefly visited these lakes but had been unable to locate any sites. When I remarked on this to members of the community, they assured me that this was because I had not been 'introduced' at such times. It was only after such formalities that the 'old people' would allow themselves (or evidence of their occupation) to be revealed.

This year I was again planning to survey on both Muri and Albany Island. The attempt to work on Muri was thwarted yet once more. On almost every occasion that I had tried to reach Muri, I had been told that the weather was too bad and/or the crossing too rough. While the sea between the mainland and Muri is indeed treacherous and the weather unpredictable, I also began to understand that there was a reluctance on the part of most people to visit Muri. As I had discovered in the previous year, few people feel confident about going there because it is associated with the spirit world. Certainly many stories abound about experiences that people have had either on or in the vicinity of Muri. It occurred to me that while the environmental considerations were undoubtedly an important factor in preventing us from surveying on the island, it was perhaps also asking rather too much of people to work in this area. At this point, I abandoned plans to work there until this could be clarified. Since this time, McIntyre, who has since undertaken work on Muri, has largely confirmed this. She reports that while there is general concensus that the area is dangerous, some people have been willing to risk that danger in order to exploit resources. However, such people generally do not venture further onto Muri than the littoral zone and all report levels of discomfit and/or misadventure (Susan McIntyre, pers. comm.). The survey of Albany Island, did however, prove to be successful. Several sites were located on the island including a number of rockshelters that had either art, archaeological deposit or, at least in one case, both. The latter appeared to have some potential in terms of a stratified deposit.

We again visited Red Point, travelling along the west coast by boat. On this trip, we stopped at each of the seven 'rivers' which are the landmarks of this (Seven Rivers) country. Several sparse scatters of shell were located at such points, although the evidence was extremely meagre. We did not, however, relocate the exposures or blowouts observed from the air in 1985. While the archaeological evidence of past occupations remained largely hidden from us on this trip, the landscape was imbued with the presence of its past (and present) occupants through the information relayed by our community 'guides'. As the boat made its way south, we were shown places that mark the stopping place or travels of Chiviri and other story places; an area that was known as a fighting ground between the Seven Rivers and Red Island people; and places where people were known to camp either in the distant past or historical times. Again, on reaching Red Point, the local people who accompanied us ensured our safety in the area by communicating with the supernatural forces that occupy this area.

At the end of this season in the field, approximately 70 sites had been located and the range of known site types expanded. Importantly, sites that had the potential to address some of the problems framed in the original project had been located. These included the site at Lake Wicheura, a number of sites (particularly one rockshelter) on Albany Island and the 'W' site near Jackey Jackey Creek. Most of these were located within what could be broadly defined as the east coast strip and it was now possible to envisage the development of an archaeological picture of life in this area prior to European colonisation. Ironically, as more sites appeared in the landscape, my desire to use this material in a traditional archaeological manner decreased. I began to feel constrained by a developing consciousness of the landscape as the community constructs it. In this interpretation, the past is embedded in the landscape, through stories, beliefs and historical associations. The archaeological sites (like those at Sandago) are important in this landscape because they link the past (both distant and more recent) with the present.

As I came to know the community better and to glimpse their response to people from outside the community (especially Whites) the more implausible it seemed to rely upon 'consultation' as a means of determining Aboriginal interest in sites. For one thing, the notion of consultation presupposes a relationship which does not recognise the hegemony of western perspectives. This is obviously not the case in contemporary Australian society and perhaps especially in regions such as Cape York that have only just emerged from the reserve system. This is further elaborated in Chapters 9 and 11.

8.2 Anthropological investigations

The anthropological work was initially designed to provide information on community composition and people's affiliation to each other and to country. This work had three major components:

1. the Cowal Creek (Injinoo) Country Survey in which a number of interviews were undertaken with community members;
2. community workshops at which a range of cultural matters were raised, including the issue of tribal affiliation in a contemporary context and the collection, storage and dissemination of cultural material;
3. the production of a report which describes the results of this work and of a register of the tribal affiliations of those that had been identified in the course of the project (Fuary and Greer 1993; Fuary 1993).

Both the report and the register are viewed by the authors as preliminary and dynamic documents that may be added to as the community sees fit.

8.2.1 The Cowal Creek (Injinoo) Country Survey

This project involved conducting a number of interviews with (usually) older members of the community. These interviews focused on the life history of the person being interviewed, on how they identified themselves in terms of tribal affiliation, on others they perceived as sharing this affiliation and on lines of descent. In addition, information on land, including approximate boundaries of traditional territories, place-names, sites of significance, and appropriate practices or conduct associated with sites or tracts of land were also addressed.

The majority of these were undertaken in 1987 by the present author and Maureen Fuary. However, additional material was recorded in 1992 by Fuary (Fuary and Greer 1993). While we were largely directed by the community as to who to interview, our results indicate that they were ensuring that each 'tribal group' was well represented.

As a result of this work, we were able to put together at least a rudimentary picture of pre-contact life. We defined the major 'tribal' groupings and the way in which they related to one another. We attempted to define languages and local organisation and to place this evidence within the broader anthropological pattern for Cape York. We defined leading figures and families (both past and present) within each of these and collected information on technology, food and medicine, seasonal activities and land management practices, relationships with flora and fauna (especially crocodiles), and marriage, feuding, death and disposal of the dead. We discovered that there was a considerable amount of information relating to Frank Jardine and the establishment and occupation of Somerset (see also McIntyre In Prep.). We discovered that people really enjoyed relating stories of the 'old village', that is, the establishment and settlement of Cowal Creek or Injinoo. They told us their experiences in World War II and we heard about life on the reserve. The emphasis on what might be termed 'colonial history' led to the realisation that while people were drawn from different 'traditional' groups, they had more recently forged a new identity. This had traditional affiliations as a base but had been constructed out of the collective colonial experience of northern Cape York peoples.

8.2.2 Culture workshops

The work undertaken in the anthropological project was also responsibile for introducing the community to the notion of 'culture' workshops. The first of these was conducted in August of 1987 and was ostensibly aimed at eliciting the community's response to the issues of the collection, storage and dissemination of information collected in the Cowal Creek Country Survey. The workshop focused on the notion that the community was in need of a keeping place for cultural information and the idea of a Cultural Resources Centre was born. As well as providing storage for information relating to the people of Cowal Creek-Injinoo, the Centre would be a base from which the community could take responsibility for and control over the use of their cultural and historical material by researchers, consultants and other bodies. This Centre has not yet been established, chiefly due to a lack of available funding, although the community radio station has taken on some of this role. In addition, since 1990 the community has had Community Rangers who, amongst other activities, continue the work of collecting cultural information.

The workshop did, however, serve other functions. Firstly, it provided the community with a forum at which 'cultural matters' could be discussed. A surprisingly large number of people availed themselves of this opportunity. addition, the need people felt for this was expressed by the fact that although many of the participants were elderly, the discussion continued for over six hours. Even after the meeting formally broke up, discussions continued among small groups in the outdoor sitting areas of many households. In particular, several of the younger people in the community were surprised and interested in what they had learned from their elders. Thus, the workshop (and those that have been undertaken subsequently) has facilitated, to some extent, a revival of interest in culture within the community.

The workshop provided several insights into the community. One of these involved the contemporary manner in which one's traditional affiliations might be determined. Before European colonisation, traditional marriage patterns prescribed which of the groups in northern Cape York could marry. For example, Seven Rivers people could marry McDonnel people; McDonnel people could also marry their Whitesand neighbours to the east and so on. The breakdown of these patterns (i.e. 'wrong marriages') which began in the settlement approximately 50 years ago has resulted in a degree of uncertainty amongst some young people as to which group they should align themselves with. Several times at the workshop an older person decided which 'way' a person who found themselves in such a position should 'go'. In this sense it provided a forum for the consideration of such matters and confirmed the authority of older people to determine such things.

The workshop also provided an opportunity for those who had been interviewed in the project to come together. Given that it occurred well after the period in which the initial interviews had been undertaken, people had plenty of time to think about the process and to reassess and/or confirm their own knowledge. For these people and the others who participated, the workshop prompted something of a cultural revival and a focus for notions of community identity. A flavour running through this workshop was the importance of one's traditional affiliations, and the promotion of a community identity, 'Injinoo', that rests on this base. The importance that people place on the history of the settlement is perhaps evidence of the latter.

8.2.3 Injinoo Community Register

Family trees have been drawn on the basis of these interviews and a draft register of all those who appear in the family trees has been prepared by Maureen Fuary for the Injinoo Lands Trust, now the Apudhama Association (Fuary 1993). The register outlines the name of the individual, when they were born, their tribal affiliation and the names and tribal affiliations of both mother and father. The register has approximately 1000 entries, including people living in the community today as well as those who occur in their genealogies. Although by no means complete, the register provides the community with a source of information concerning traditional affiliation which can be used in establishing ownership and custodial responsibility. As I had discovered myself, the absence of such a document and/or clearly defined knowledge about such matters renders the notion of 'consultation' extremely problematic.

8.2.4 Anthropological work that remained at the end of 1987

At the end of 1987, it was necessary to take stock of work that had been completed, work that had to be done and the implications for the archaeological project. During this period in the field, we had undertaken interviews with a number of people from the community, but we were aware that there were many more to do. Moreover, the task of transcribing, analysing and formulating the information that we had collected was still ahead of us. It seemed that my plan of collecting baseline anthropological information to serve the consultation process was overly simplistic. Certainly, the projects were taking on a life of their own and would require work over a much longer period.

In terms of archaeological interest, the East Coast strip remained as a central focus. Some 'speakers' for this area had been identified and we had established working relationships with some of these people. Problems relating to the identification of traditional owners had been largely addressed and therefore 'consultation' in the usual sense of the term was now possible. However, as my understanding of the community deepened and the complexity of the traditional, historical and contemporary situations became apparent, several layers of problems began to emerge. One of the major tasks that lay ahead was to put together the social history of northern Cape York. This is presented in the following section.

8.3 History and identity in northern Cape York

The relationship between history and identity is sometimes misconstrued as history providing a series of 'cameos', a series of chronological representations of identity that can be traced in a lineal fashion. In this account, however, the relationship is perceived to be different. The history of a people, including precolonial and colonial experiences is the backdrop and the impetus for the creation of contemporary identities. It also explains the existence of multiple, mutually inclusive identities that are only invoked within particular contexts. This concept of identity has particular relevance for the people of northern Cape York and in this work, for their contemporary notions of heritage (see also Chapters 10 and 11).

Contemporary communities in northern Cape York appear, on the surface, to be an amorphous collection of peoples from as far north as Saibai (an island on the Papua New Guinea border in the Torres Strait) and from further south on the mainland. Some of the groups who currently occupy this area appear to have had no association in precontact times and their shared residence is a feature of successive policies of 'relocation' (see also Chapter 4). A preliminary reading of the area typically focuses on cultural differences and binary oppositions: 'Aboriginal' versus 'Torres Strait Islander', 'gatherer-hunter' versus 'horticulturalist', or one community or 'village' as opposed to another. Even within some communities, differences exist in terms of 'traditional' affiliations, one 'tribe' as opposed to another. However, it is also useful to look at the historical experiences of these people and the way in which this has worked to produce a contemporary identity, that is only just emerging, that accomodates all of these differences. In the following sections, these differences and commonalities are discussed in relation the contemporary processes of identity construction.

8.3.1 Traditional affiliations

As previously noted, Moore (1979) undertook research in northern Cape York as part of his broader study. This work attempted to reconstruct ethnographic information on pre-contact groups, their relationships and early contact history. Moore based this reconstruction on the journals of O.W. Brierley, who was an artist on the surveying expedition of the HMS *Rattlesnake* . In particular, he focused on Brierley's recordings of the recollections of Barbara Thompson, a young woman who was shipwrecked in the vicinity of Cape York in 1844. Thompson lived with people from the neighbouring Prince of Wales Island (Muralag) for approximately 5 years, at the end of which she was taken on board the *Rattlesnake* . Thompson's account relates mainly to the way of life of the Kaurareg, the people of Muralag. However, it also indicates relationships between different traditional groups, including those on northern Cape York.

In addition, Moore (1979) has included the accounts of Jag and Kennett who were missionaries at the troubled settlement of Somerset for a short period from 1867 to 1868. The missionaries were sympathetic to the local people, especially in the face of the Somerset administration, and recorded aspects of their life and history. Moore also compared the ethnographic evidence extracted from these sources with that from the Cambridge Expedition Reports (see Haddon 1890a, 1890b, 1893, 1904-35).

In addition to his documentary work, Moore's concern in his field research was to find archaeological expression of places that were identified in these records. His location of archaeological evidence in places such as Port Lihou on Muralag and at Evans Bay and Red Island Point on the mainland gave authority to the ethnographic accounts. His test excavations in these areas and the radiocarbon estimates obtained, provisionally extend the temporal framework for some of these observations to around 600 years ago.

Moore's work provides some information on the tribal groupings of people in the immediate vicinity of Cape York. Thus, he notes the presence of the *Gudang* who lived between Cape York and Fly Point, the *Gumakudin* whose territory went from Cape York along the west coast, probably to the present site of Injinoo, the *Unduyamo* who occupied the stretch from Fly Point to Jackey Jackey Creek and the *Yadhaigana* whose country was between Jackey Jackey Creek and Escape River (Moore 1979: 259). Moore also provides information on totemic clans, land ownership, kinship, marriage, death, the rearing of children and means of social control on the basis of his combined sources.

Sharp (1981, 1992) has also undertaken some fieldwork in the region. In the earlier paper (1981), she briefly describes historical events leading up to the establishment of the first settlement in northern Cape York (Cowal Creek or Injinoo). She also notes the links between these mainland people and the people of Kubin on Moa Island in the Torres Strait. The latter are largely Kaurareg and were originally shifted from Port Lihou on Muralag. Through a succession of 'relocations' they were finally able to settle at Kubin. In this paper, Sharp is chiefly concerned with the story of one man, Wees Nawia, whose life appeared to Sharp to embody the Kubin people's 'spirit of idependence'.

Sharp (1992) focuses on northern Cape York and particularly the early contact period, from 1864 up to the present day. In this work, she is chiefly concerned with proferring 'Aboriginal' accounts of this contact and in so doing, redressing what she sees as an imbalance in the way this history has previously been presented. Sharp provides information on precontact traditional affiliations and, like Moore, comments on relationships between groups, places of importance and the interactions between the indigenous people and the new residents at Somerset. The latter included hostile relations with the Jardines as well as the peaceful terms which characterised the interactions with the missionaries, Jag and Kennett. In many ways, however, Sharp offers little that is new when compared with previous accounts. She does, however, give an account of the establishment of Injinoo and the development of contemporary identities in this region. She devotes the fourth part of this work to the interconnected stories of Jack McLaren (the owner of a coconut plantation on the west coast) and the Wymara family. She uses ethnographic recollections interlaced with literary construction to provide an account which, although unstated, appears to Sharp to typify the stories of northern Cape York peoples.

The material in this and following sections (unless otherwise indicated) is largely drawn from Fuary and Greer (1993). The work differs from previous accounts in a number of ways. Firstly, its focus is primarily northern Cape York, based on extended periods of fieldwork within the community of Injinoo over a long time period. This contrasts with the emphasis in Moore which is more sharply focused on the Kaurareg and that in Sharp which is largely concerned with the stories of particular individuals and the way in which these might illustrate more general historical and sociological processes. Secondly, fieldwork on which this account is based was anthropological in nature. In contrast, Moore concentrated on documentary sources, supplemented by archaeological fieldwork. Sharp's approach is historical in orientation and while she did undertake some ethnographic interviews, the scope and nature of the anthropological project allows for a deeper and more representative understanding. For example, Sharp's account of the establishment of the village of Injinoo would appear to be based on a limited number of versions of these events. In contrast, Fuary and Greer (1993) identify problems with this version and indicate potential areas for further work.

Fuary and Greer (1993) was produced at the request of the Injinoo community. Although there was no specific brief, it was intended to have a range of uses including community education and it was meant to serve as a basis for further research associated with claims to land. As such, it is an account drawn *from* Injinoo people, *for* Injinoo people. This is evident in the terms used in this report. For example, terms used to describe tribal groups are those that are in current usage within the community today. Often these are what appear to be 'European' terms (e.g. Seven Rivers or McDonnell River) and while it might have been tempting to wring 'traditional' or 'Aboriginal' terms and names from the ethnographic record, this was not done. Moreover, it would not have been easy to do given the weight of colonial experience in this region. Attempts to tie precontact and present groups in this manner are, to a large extent, obsolete. The terms that are used by people to describe themselves today represent contemporary notions of affiliation and as such have most cultural value today.

Language, traditional groups and relationships

Linguistically, the people of northern Cape York are placed in the broader Northern Paman language family, which has several dialects. It seems that before extended and prolonged contact occurred, there were three major 'tribal' groupings. These were the Seven Rivers people who occupied the west coast between the Jardine and Ducie Rivers; the Sandbeach people who occupied the long narrow strip along the east coast, extending from Cape York itself as far south as Cape Grenville; and the McDonnell River people who occupied the inland territory which was sandwiched between the other two (see Figure 3). In some cases, it has been possible to define smaller local and economic units within these groups. For example, the Sandbeach people were further subdivided into northern and southern groups. The 'Whitesand' people occupied the southern section from Cape Grenville to Cairncross Island and the

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PLEASE NOTE Inland demarcations need researching

Figure 3: Approximate customary domains of precontact groups, northern Cape York (after Fuary and Greer 1993).

northern group's territory extended from this point to Cape York itself. Within this northern group, smaller named groups can be defined, e.g. the 'Red Island', 'Somerset' and 'Kingcross' peoples who appear to have had close relations. However, links between groups were not restricted to mainland Australia. For example, the Somerset people were also closely connected with people from Muri and through them with the Kaurareg of Muralag in the Torres Strait.

In addition, while some neighbours had friendly relations, others revolved (at least at some point in the past) around conflict. For example, Red Island people had a problematic relationship with Seven Rivers people, who were their southern neighbours on the west coast. These two groups were known to dispute fiercely their boundary and the locations of fighting grounds are still known today. McDonnell or 'inside' people, sandwiched as they were between the Seven Rivers people to the west and the Sandbeach people to the east, appear to have had good relations with both sets of neighbours. They took marriage partners from the Seven Rivers group and may also have had a similar arrangement with Whitesand people. Three major alliances can be defined just prior to prolonged European contact. These were a northern network that extended out into the Torres Strait from the Cape York-Somerset people; a southern network that linked Seven Rivers to McDonnell people and McDonnell to Whitesand; and a third network that connected all Sandbeach people along the narrow eastern coastal strip. In addition, east coast people were part of the trade network that extended from New Guinea through the Torres Strait and down the east coast, at least as far as Flinders Island (see McCarthy 1939; Beckett 1987; Fuary 1991). Muri would appear to have been a major point at which trade took place.

8.3.2 European contact and settlement in northern Cape York

Moore (1979) has summarised the early voyages associated with survey, discovery and rescue that occurred in the northern Cape York region from 1836. As previously noted, however, Moore was mostly concerned with the recollections of Barbara Thompson. Thompson's five years with the Kaurareg (from 1844 till 1849) represent the most sustained early contact in the region. Just after this however, the peoples of northern Cape York entered a period of enormous upheavel and dislocation, especially as a result of the beche-de-mer and pearling industries which began in earnest in this area in the middle of the 19th century.

Greer and Fuary (1993) have noted the many affronts suffered by coastal peoples in Cape York in relation to these activities. The nature of this contact was particularly violent and included the abduction of men and women who were sometimes released hundreds of kilometres from home, usually because they were ill and therefore of no more use. Another result was the introduction and spread of a number of infectious diseases which were previously unknown to these peoples. In a relatively short space of time, there was an inevitable interruption and deterioration of traditional life. Ironically, the 'rich environment' of coastal Cape York, that supported intensive occupation and semi-sedentary populations (Chase and Sutton 1981), had become an extremely dangerous place to live. In the interior beyond the coasts, disruption to traditional life was also occurring as a result of the expansion of the cattle industry, which robbed people of access to and use of their traditional lands. As on the coasts, small bands of survivors tended to group together.

It is difficult to imagine the extent of European activity in the area during this early period. Today, visitors to Cape York are impressed by its remoteness and distance from mainstream Australian society and its status as an 'adventure' holiday destination. However, in the past, shipping played a much larger role in both personal travel and the movement of goods. In fact, this area was so busy that the reminiscences of McLaren (1926) who established a coconut plantation on the west coast in 1911 were entitled *My Crowded Solitude*, a reference to the number of visitors he had from passing vessels.

There were two main European establishments in the study area in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The first of the these was the government settlement of Somerset, located approximately 9 km southeast of Cape York and established by the Jardine family who arrived in 1864. Within the space of a decade, the government post had shifted to Thursday Island and Somerset taken over by Frank Jardine. Jardine had extensive interests in the area, which included the cattle station which had a base at 'Lockerbie', a coconut plantation at Somerset itself and a range of other ventures. As previously noted, in the early part of the century, Jardine acquired a partner in the 'Lockerbie' enterprise and the Holland family settled there.

Within northern Cape York, contemporary views of Frank Jardine paint him as something of a despot. He is said to have 'kidnapped' a number of people, including locals and 'native people' from boats to work at Somerset. Some accounts state that he 'blew up' ships in the passage. He is said to have shot people without reason and that he would shoot someone in the back after giving them tobacco. There are several stories of massacres and at least two of these are associated with specific places. In one instance, he is said to have ridden on horseback to a camp that was located on the current site of the Bamaga basketball courts. Only women, children and old people were present, but it is said that he shot and killed all who were there. Some people say that he was especially keen on killing women. In the other instance, he is said to have killed all the east coast people, perhaps because he saw that their yam pounding stones were made of gold. He is said to have forced them to dig a hole and then buried them. The burial place of these people is thought to be close by Somerset (Fuary and Greer 1993).

Jardine is said to have 'travelled around' in a full suit of armour so that he couldn't be speared. When he slept, he left his glasses on so that people would think that he was still awake. When he was dying, it is said that his body was covered in sores and that maggots emerged from his body. He didn't want to rest after death and stated on his death bed that he was to be buried either sitting in a chair or standing up so that his spirit could 'walk'. In the late 1940s, three government men came to Somerset in response to complaints from people about Jardine's spirit bothering them. They put cement over the hole in the top of his grave where his spirit is said to emerge (Fuary and Greer 1993). Even today, northern Cape York people are wary and nervous when camping overnight at Somerset.

Such accounts do not go uncontested in some European versions of Jardine's story. Establishing the 'truth' of such accounts is not, however, important in the present discussion of identity. It is acknowledged that the accounts today may represent a conflation of many stories of European atrocities in the region, some attributable to Jardine while others might not be. The important point is that the stories belie the nature of contact and early colonial experience for northern Cape York peoples. The virulence of the stories and their focus on violent interaction suggests the events that northern Cape York peoples have endured and remembered.

8.3.3 The establishment of Injinoo

As previously noted, Injinoo was established in the early part of this century as an Aboriginal response to the drastic effects of the European presence in the region. Population numbers had dwindled significantly and there was a need for protection from the exploitation and losses associated with successive waves of the beche-de-mer, pearling and cattle industries. More specifically, there had been at least two large massacres of people in the area and other incidents of homocide which must have had a significant effect on the populations of the different tribal groups. At about the same time, a group of people were working with Jack McLaren (1926) in establishing the coconut plantation at Simpson Bay. These people were living a semi-permanent existence at this site and were involved in growing vegetables for domestic use. A combination of all these factors resulted in the establishment of a village which provided greater security and improved chances of survival.

Questions remain over whether the village was established by northern Cape York peoples themselves or whether there was some intervention. Fuary and Greer (1993) suggested that Jardine might have had something to do with it as a means of removing the remaining Sandbeach people in the Somerset area (but see McIntyre In Prep. for an alternative explanation based on new evidence). While many of the Somerset people were either wiped out or no longer in residence, Sandbeach people (some of whom worked for McLaren) still kept something of the seasonal schedule of movements which saw them moving up and down along the coasts. Whoever was behind the establishment, Aboriginal people played a leading role in bringing people into the new settlement and in its running. The village was set up by people from Seven Rivers country, and in particular, Alec Whitesand (also known as Alec Mamoose) and by the amorphous groups of Sandbeach people, some of whom had gathered in camps at Utingu (with McLaren) and at Red Island Point. This occurred sometime between 1911 and 1916. The McDonnell people or 'inside' people appear to have been more troubled by the notion of the settlement, coming and going a number of times and finally being brought in against their will in the 1930s (Fuary and Greer 1993).

While the establishment of the village is largely seen as something of a survival measure, the people who settled in the original village were not necessarily well-disposed towards one another. For example, as previously noted, the Red Island people were said to have built their palm trunk houses on raised poles, with removable ladders, because of their distrust and fear of Seven Rivers people. On the other hand, McDonnell and Seven Rivers people had traditionally been allies and still sought marriage partners within each other's groups. There is still a memory at Injinoo of the first 'wrong' marriage, that is a marriage for which the partners were deemed by precontact standards to be unsuitable. This occurred in the 1930s or 1940s. McDonnell people also had close ties with their eastern neighbours, the Sandbeach people. At the time of its establishment, and up until the late 1920s and 1930s, people in the village fought with spear and woomera.

In 1923, a government teacher and a missionary (both from Torres Strait) were sent to the settlement, reputedly at the request of the people (Sharp 1992). In the 1930s, another Island teacher, Jomen Tamwoy, arrived with his family at Injinoo. He spent the rest of his life there and is buried in a place of honour in the village. His descendants as well as those of his wife's family (a brother and a sister also came to Injinoo) have married into the community establishing a strong personal link between Injinoo and Badu, their 'home' island in the Torres Strait. It should be remembered however that a link with Island people (but especially the Kaurareg) was well established in the precontact period. This contact has continued and Kaurareg people still live in the village and have married into northern Cape York families.

It was in this period, from the 1920s on, that precontact patterns of traditional (and perhaps ceremonial) life began to change. This is not to say that these things were 'broken down' or 'lost', but rather that the way of maintaining and transmitting knowledge was forced to change. There is a memory in the community of the Island missionary taking the contents of the old men's pouch or bag (secret objects used in sorcery) and throwing them into the sea. In his mind he was ridding the settlement of such old ways, although it is probably more accurate to say that this resulted in a submersion of such activities rather than their extinguishment.

The most relevant aspect of this period of Injinoo history here is the emergence of a collective consciousness, the beginnings of a notion of 'Injinoo'. This notion was built upon the collective need for survival and the need to 'get along' under the circumstances of permanent settlement in, what was for many, country that was not their own. For example, the breakdown of precontact marriage arrangements marked the beginning of new marriage rules which were predicated on the notion of the village as an entity. The adoption of Christianity provided people with a common ontology which again provided a 'glue' with which to draw the disparate threads together. The price of this was the overt disappearance of precontact ontology, although it is more accurate to say that while specific elements of knowledge disappeared, the most important elements have remained until the present day. The most important change that occurred was perhaps in the transmission of knowledge. It would appear that today such knowledge has been handed down to key individuals on the basis of traditional affiliation, but perhaps more importantly, the level of interest they show in such matters. It can be reasonably assumed that in the past, transmission of knowledge occurred on a much broader basis.

8.3.4 World War II

During World War II, the large defence base set up in northern Cape York was principally set up by United States personnel, but was later taken over by the Australian Army. Many local men were involved in the transport of goods and services between Torres Strait and the mainland during the War, and for those who were not directly involved, everyday life was transformed. The large number of military personnel increased the population enormously and the interactions that resulted were sometimes good and sometimes bad. The War bought the 'pictures' to Cowal Creek for the first time and roads were built in this period for military purposes. On the other hand, it also bought alcohol in the form of methylated spirits, which the soldiers taught the locals how to drink. McIntyre (In Prep.) is currently researching this period of northern Cape York's history. She is focusing on Aboriginal accounts of the War, its significance to them and the contemporary significance of the abundant World War II sites that are found scattered over the landscape.

The significance of the War in terms of identity was that it provided the people of northern Cape York with a platform from which they could reflexively view their position in relation to the world beyond. It provided them with a new view of black-white relations when confronted with black American soldiers who dressed and acted like white people. It emphasised their 'sameness' in relation to the newcomers whose habits, dress and knowledge of the world was vastly different.

8.3.5 The establishment of the Reserve

The four other communities in northern Cape York were established following World War II. The first of these to be set up was Bamaga. In 1946 or 1947, a group of Saibai islanders are said to have voluntarily moved to the mainland, following inundation of their island. They initially settled at Muttee Head, moving to 'Bamaga' (or Ichuru as local people knew it) in 1949. An uneasiness about settling away from the sea led to the establishment of the small coastal village at Seisia near Red Island Point at about the same time.

In the 1960s, the other groups were 'relocated' to this part of northern Cape York. The Mapoon people were shipped to Red Island Point and then taken to the present site of New Mapoon (which was then known as 'Charcoal Burner'). This was followed shortly after by the relocation of the people from Port Stewart to Alau, and the establishment of the present village of Umagico.

In order to provide a social framework upon which these disparate groups of people could function, the Queensland Government revised the reserve that had previously been created, forming the Northern Peninsula Area (NPA). This was a reserve of some 39,462 hectares that encompassed all of these peoples. It was administered by Queensland Government staff based at Bamaga and the communities in northern Cape York came under the powerful eye of the 'Manager'. In keeping with the Government's previous policies, each of the communities (except Seisia which was seen as a dormitory of Bamaga) had a community council and, as previously noted, representatives from each of these formed the Combined Northern Peninsula Area council. This was nominally the voice of local people in administrative matters although the NPA Council meetings were also attended by the Manager. In the new regime, Bamaga became the focus of government and offices, schools, banks, staff housing, a farm, a sawmill and other light 'industries''. The Queensland Government had long favoured Island people over Aboriginal people and the building-up of Bamaga is largely seen as a reflection of this. The only overt recognition of Aboriginality on the part of the Government was the funding and staging of the Laura Dance Festival, held annually for all Cape York (and later other) communities. This, however, was largely the initiative of the Aboriginal Rangers who worked in Archaeology Branch and was perhaps one of their few successful attempts at highlighting Aboriginal culture.

In 1984 when I first commenced fieldwork in the area, these communities were bound together by familial ties yet antagonisms and grievances were evident. The former built upon previous notions of collectiveness that developed out of the experience of establishing and maintaining the village of Injinoo. In this instance however the new marriage and familial ties were extending beyond precontact connections. In this respect, the Mapoon people were somewhat different as they were certainly neighbours to the Seven Rivers group. Moreover, it is thought that when the Mapoon mission was established, some Seven Rivers people had 'gone in'. The Port Stewart and Saibai peoples were, however, beyond previous alliances and new terms had to be negotiated to accommodate this. In this sense, the collective experience of the Reserve and the circumstances of life 'under the Act' provided the experiences upon which the new patterns of relationships could be accepted and another layer of identity was added. However, the tensions that are inherent in the grouping of peoples by force and those created and/or exacerbated by government remained. The 1980s was an era of dramatic social change for the people of northern Cape York. This included the breakdown of the Reserve system and the interventionist approach of government and the development of communities as self-governing entities. This is discussed in the following section.

8.3.6 After the reserve

In 1982, the Queensland Government led by Joh Bjelke-Peterson finally submitted to federal, international and internal pressure concerning the legislation and conditions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people in this state (McKeown 1992). The new legislation allowed for the creation of Deeds of Grant in Trust (DOGITs) to be proclaimed in place of reserves. While the DOGITs fell short of freehold title, they were a vast improvement on the reserve system and gave communities the opportunity for self-government. The Government was, however, somewhat tardy in undertaking this process. For example, the Injinoo DOGIT was not handed over until 1987.

The granting of DOGITs had several implications for interactions at the personal and community levels in northern Cape York. In one sense, communities were in competition with each other. The carving up of the old NPA reserve was a process of negotiation and persistence and the defining and articulation of old and new associations to land. Injinoo made claim to large tracts of land on the basis of its status as the focus of peoples who had traditional affiliations to the former reserve land. Communities like Bamaga, Seisia, New Mapoon and Umagico who had either left or been removed from their traditional lands had only small areas (outside of their village precincts) included in their DOGITs. On the face of it, this division appeared equitable, however resentments smouldered, especially in those communities where Injinoo people had married and maintained residence.

Although always present, identities associated with membership of particular 'communities' were emphasised during this period. This was enhanced by the 'coming up' of the communities under self-government. The Councils were under enormous pressure to take on the economic and other responsibilities that were previously those of government, and to do a better job. Many of those who held official positions were extremely taxed at the range and quantity of demands on their time. At Injinoo, the initial aim was for economic self-sufficiency, and thus over a period of years several ventures (such as the community store, petrol station etc.) were established. A large community hall was built with the assistance of a band of English young people from the Operation Raleigh organisation. This was an interesting period in the community, especially as some of the group were black. While previously present in the sense of an awareness of black music (whether reggae, American motown etc.), new styles of music and perhaps also a new international consciousness of being 'black' became evident. This was especially evident amongst the younger people who had most recreational contact with the group.

Today, the Injinoo community (as is true of the other communities in northern Cape York) has both Island and Aboriginal residents and many who have claims to being both. I rapidly became aware of this 'dualism' early in my fieldwork. On learning that someone had 'Island' ancestors or relatives, I would naively assume that they were 'Islander', sometimes seeking confirmation of this. I soon discovered, however, that people's responses were often contextural and determined by the conversation at hand. Frequently I later learned that the same individuals had Aboriginal affiliations. In spite of this cultural diversity, the community defines itself as 'Aboriginal'. This is perhaps partly because the legislation requires such definition, but is perhaps also a statement about the shifting balance of power, both within the region generally and also within the community. The artificiality of the distinction between 'Aboriginal' and 'Torres Strait Island' people is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in this region. It is extremely unlikely that this broad distinction was ever made in precontact times. Groups were differentiated, however the distinctions may have been based on affiliations at a particular point in time or for a particular purpose.

In the 1990s, a number of developments both within and outside the region have impacted upon northern Cape York peoples. The first of these was the introduction of the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* and the *Torres Strait Islanders Land Act 1991*. This legislation allowed for the transfer of DOGITs, reserves and the shires of Mornington Island and Arukun to inalienable freehold title of their land. This legislation has been criticised both in terms of its scope and the lack of consultation prior to its introduction (see Brennan 1991a, 1991 b; McKeown 1992). One of the most relevant aspects of this legislation for northern Cape York peoples is, however, the broad definition of ownership provided by the

Acts. These are traditional affiliation, historical association or economic and cultural viability. Traditional affiliation refers to precontact connections to land and spiritual associations; historical association refers to a group that has been associated with land for a substantial period; and economic or cultural viability refers to the way in which the granting of a claim might restore, maintain or enhance the group's self-development and cultural integrity (McKeown 1992: 7). McKeown (1992: 8) acknowledges that in this respect, the Queensland legislation is an improvement on the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act of 1976, which has a very limited definition of ownership. However, he has also illustrated the range of potential conflicts that might follow from this broad definition. This includes the lack of definition of 'traditional affiliation' which might be interpreted in a number of ways (e.g. ceremonial connections versus clan ownership). However, he considers the 'historical association' clause could be even more problematic given the number of 'removals' and 'relocations' which have occurred in Queensland. He states:

> A more likely conflict is one between competing claims of historical association. In a paper to an Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies conference on Aboriginal land rights in 1981, Trigger suggested that the two most likely bases for a claim on the ground of historical association in Queensland would be that the claimed land was country the claimants were removed *from* or that it was country the claimants were removed *to*... Given the amount fo forced removal of Queensland Aborigines to government and mission settlements...the probability of both sets of claimants emerging for the same piece of land would seem quite high.

Given the history of northern Cape York peoples, scattered as it is with events and periods of dislocation and relocation, the potential for this type of conflict in this area would appear to be relatively high. Again, this external factor exacerbated the prominence of 'community identities'.

The second development was the devolution of the old Commonwealth

Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA) and the creation of ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission). While some individuals had previously been on national committees, the DAA had never had a really strong presence in northern Cape York. This was largely due to the stranglehold that the State Government had via the reserves and the level of control of peoples lives that this afforded. The establishment of ATSIC, allowed more indigenous involvement and given the demise of the State presence, gave communities the opportunity to work within a co-ordinated framework that operated at the national level. In some ways, this provided them with an outlook that went beyond the immediate region which, due to physical and social isolation, had previously not been possible.

The third development was the establishment of the Cape York Land Council. While inevitable tensions surely exist between overarching land councils and communities, the CYLC has provided a funded and resourced body to negotiate with governments and others on aspects related to land management and ownership. In northern Cape York, the CYLC has also provided a mediating role for communities that had become increasingly distanced by historical and legislative events.

The High Court judgement in the Mabo vs. the State of Queensland case, which legally denied the notion of *terra nullius*, and the development of the federal *Native Title Act* have also had implications for people in northern Cape York. At the national level, the Mabo decision may have had the effect of unifying indigenous peoples through the recognition of their rights to land. However, at the local level, and largely because of the policies of the Queensland Government and particularly the history of relocations, *Native Title* claims have, to some extent, exacerbated the existing tensions between communities in northern Cape York.

External events were not, however, the only catalysts for change. At Injinoo, in response to feelings within the community that all of those with traditional affiliations should be recognised, there was a movement to include all northern Cape York peoples, whether resident at Injinoo or elsewhere, in decision-making. This resulted in the setting up of the Apudhama Association, which is open to all northern Cape York elders and cuts across community boundaries. Apudhama are recognised as the responsible body for matters concerning culture and land and to whom primary consultation regarding such matters is now relegated.

8.3.7 Land, culture and history: a summary

The people of northern Cape York have had a minimum of 130 years of social upheaval and dislocation. The period from approximately 1860 to the early 1900s must have been extremely hard for the northern Sandbeach groups who lost land and life at the expense of the establishment of Somerset, on top of the atrocities associated with the pearling and beche-de-mer industries. The latter however seriously affected groups on both the east and west coasts and those inland, the McDonnel people similarly suffered as the telegraph line extended northwards and the cattle industry expanded.

It has been approximately 80 years since the first wave of survivors settled at Injinoo. The intervention of the Government and the church some sixty years ago has meant that specific knowledge of traditional matters such as ceremonies, song, dance, language, stories etc tends to be retained by only by certain (usually) older people within each tribal group. The way in which such knowledge is (and has been) passed on within the community context is not clear. In precontact times, such knowledge may have been passed onto a much broader cross-section of the society through formal procedures (e.g. initiation).

Today, it may well relate to one's 'seniority' within a particular tribal grouping, but is also related to the level of interest shown by an individual in such matters. Such individuals are perhaps the 'speakers' who are the language and knowledge holders for particular parts of the landscape (see also Chapter 7).

However, there is a strong sense of the community, which is today expressed in the use of the name 'Injinoo'. This place name derives from the language of Seven Rivers people and suggests a new period of cultural awareness and the development of a strong community identity. This began with the granting of the DOGIT in 1987 and has been marked by some significant milestones. The purchase of the Cape York Wilderness Lodge (now Pajinka Wilderness Lodge) from Australian Airlines in 1990 was one of these.

This sense of identity is drawn from a range of elements that include beliefs, relationships to land and to other groups, a shared history that drew enemies together in the old village and which endured the long years of life 'under the Act'. The development of creole as the first language of most northern Cape York people is an expression of this shared community identity. Beliefs such as those associated with the East Coast strip have survived the onslaught of European colonisation and as such are important components of contemporary community ontology.

8.4 Archaeological sites in a cultural landscape

The archaeological potential of northern Cape York had improved considerably in this field season. I had now located a number of sites that could provide a range of information within a relatively undisturbed context. These included the Lakes site, a rockshelter on Albany Island and the 'W' site that we had located back in 1985. Each of these sites would require excavation and/or analysis of surface material. In addition, it seemed that a regional programme of dating and the establishment of a regional chronology could be provided by the hearths at Sandago. This information could be compared with evidence from the large number of surface sites that we had located. In other words, the hard core of conventional archaeological work had only just begun.

Our work with the community had, however, introduced several issues that went beyond the comparatively simple problems associated with consultation. For example, it was now impossible to regard the East Coast strip as anything other than a cultural landscape, i.e. tract of land that is given form and substance through the beliefs and stories that are associated with it. The sites within such landscapes can be seen to have meaning and significance at a number of levels. Certainly, they are important elements of contemporary ontology and have an important role in the development of community identities. The realisation of this stimulated several questions. For example, what effect does archaeological excavation have on these sites and what are the implications for those who are asked to give consent for such work? A significant question involved the potential impact of introducing archaeological interpretations of these sites. This was particularly important given the hegemonic nature of Western perspectives and the fact that the breakdown of the reserves was already resulting in significant changes across a range of issues. I was worried that new interpretations could assume an authority that had potential, perhaps amongst younger people, to replace the old. I had to consider the repercussions of this. I was particularly concerned because it was evident that this identity was predicated on the devastation of the colonial experience and had developed within the repressive atmosphere of the reserve. What place could archaeological interpretations have in the construction of community identity? Moreover, how could the humble process of 'consultation' ensure empowerment of indigenous people in the face of such issues. I felt that these were significant and deserved greater examination.

They certainly had implications for archaeological work in northern Cape York, but they were perhaps also a factor in the developing conflict between indigenous people and archaeologists in this country and across the broad sweep of lands that have experienced colonialism.

8.5 Conclusion: the evolution of a new thesis topic

This year had consolidated the idea that archaeological work in northern Cape York should be undertaken within a framework of understanding that is provided by anthropological expertise. I had begun to understand the difference between working <u>with</u> Aboriginal people and working <u>within</u> an Aboriginal community. I had observed that this process could lead beyond the scope of 'good consultation' into largely uncharted territory for archaeologists. I began to see the landscape and the sites located within it from an 'Injinoo' perspective and I was grappling with the implications of this for archaeological research.

At the end of this year, the project was plunged into a major crisis. The options seemed to be either to abandon the work altogether or to document this experience and present this as my thesis. It seemed that the documentation of such experiences might be of increasing importance. I had come to understand that while others had expressed similar experiences and reactions, discussion of these had usually focused changes in particular archaeological practices. Pardoe (1992), for example, refers to recording skeletal remains *in situ* in order to avoid causing offence through excavation. Lewis and Rose (1985) and Veth (1991) have outlined procedures for consultation. In some states (e.g. Western Australia) models have been developed in consultation with Aboriginal people that are aimed at mitigating against practices which might impact upon the cultural integrity of particular places or tracts of land (see also Chapter 9). What I intended was rather to examine the issues that had been raised during my fieldwork; to document the process by which I had gained certain insights and the broader implications of these. Rather than coming up with practices which would make archaeological work more acceptable, I wanted to explore the notion of archaeology within a community context. I felt that the broad scope of a PhD thesis would allow me to do this. This is further articulated in the following chapters.

9

Consultation and empowerment

Bowdler's (1992) perspective on the return of the Kow Swamp burial remains provided the international archaeological community with an alternative view of this important issue (cf. Mulvaney 1991). In this paper, she also offers a brief but incisive criticism of consultation, which was the process at the heart of the Kow Swamp debate. She (1992: 104) states that:

> 'Consultation' with Aboriginal people does not mean giving them the opportunity to sanction what has already been done or decided. It means engaging in a dialogue which allows them the genuine possibility of saying 'no', and preferably before any research has commenced. If that possibility is not admitted, then the Aboriginal position is as powerless as it ever was.

In Australia, 'consultation' is usually seen as the chief means by which indigenous people are empowered in relation to research into and management of their heritage. However, arguments presented in Chapter 8 indicate that a critical evaluation of consultation is necessary, particularly in relation to issues surrounding empowerment. It is suggested that in some contexts, for a range of reasons that are explored in this chapter, consultation may act to further disempower indigenous people and that alternative approaches may be necessary.

9.1 The historical development of 'consultation' and the need for critical evaluation

Almost twenty years ago, Sullivan (1975: 14) wrote:

> It is service [*NSW NPWS*] policy not to enforce sections of the Act where they might conflict with traditional Aboriginal beliefs, and it now requires the applicants for

> excavation permits to investigate local Aboriginal attitudes to their project, and state objections for the consideration of the committee.

This paper was given at a seminar on 'Aboriginal antiquities in Australia' in May 1972. Sullivan was describing the process which became known, in the parlance of the 1980s as 'consultation'. One of the recommendations of the seminar (Edwards 1975: 121) was that a

> ...means of adequate consultation between such organisations as mining companies, relics administrations and tourist bodies be evolved in respect of Aboriginal owners or protectors of relevant tracts of land, art sites and other relics.

At the top end of the country, H. Allen (1978) described work undertaken with Aboriginal people in the Kakadu area of the Northern Territory. He outlined the advantages and the difficulties of combining different perspectives in archaeological work and the way in which an Aboriginal perspective can influence both the aims and process of the project (see also Moser 1995). Allen recognised that working with Aboriginal people could provide the discipline with insights we otherwise would not have. Less clear from this discussion are the benefits to be gained by the Aboriginal people, although there is perhaps an assumption that through such joint work they are able to exercise some control over the process.

While the need for consultation was recognised early, and while some Aboriginal people had been involved in archaeological work since the early 1970s (see Chapter 2), it was not until the 1980s that consultation with indigenous groups became commonplace in archaeological practice. The now much-quoted paper given by Langford (1983) at the Australian Archaeological Association in Hobart in 1982 was perhaps the catalyst for this change. Certainly, it was at this conference that the Australian Archaeological Association was formally requested to define their position

with regard to Aboriginal ownership of heritage and the need to consult with Aboriginal people in relation to archaeological work (J. Allen 1983; Sullivan 1985). J. Allen's (1983: 9) response to Langford (see Chapter 2: 36) illustrates some aspects of the debate surrounding such issues at the time.
Allen's statement places Aboriginal people as being 'among the proper custodians'. In so doing, he denies their primary ownership of and custodial authority over their heritage.

In same year, Sullivan (1983) described the development of the Aboriginal Sites Committee of the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service NSW NPWS). From 1970, this committee advised the Minister and the Director of the NSW NPWS on matters relating to heritage. At the time of its inception, Aboriginal people were not represented on the committee, however by 1979 as a result of a series of changes Aboriginal people comprised the majority. This was a significant step towards gaining control of their heritage for Aboriginal people in NSW. However, there were problems with this system, such as the fact '...that the Committee is not truly representative of NSW Aborigines, nor is it statutory, or with defined powers' (Sullivan 1983: 328). Sullivan recognised that NSW had a long way to go before Aboriginal rights were adequately addressed in this area.

During the 1980s, statutory authorities in all states of Australia introduced a variety of policies and approaches relating to consultation. The notion of consultation was expanded from representation in the bureaucratic process, such as the Aboriginal Sites Committee in NSW, to an involvement with local groups such as Land Councils, Housing and Legal Co-operatives. However, Sullivan (1985: 149) noted that:

> Though it is now common for state authorities to request consultation with Aborigines prior to research work, and for archaeologists to carry this out, it is still not mandatory.

In the following year, McBryde's survey of Australian archaeology included a section on the ownership and use of cultural resources in which she stated that '...we must also recognise the very real interests of a special kind held by the descendants of their creators' (McBryde 1986: 25-26). Both Sullivan and McBryde make the point that Aboriginal people and archaeologists may view sites differently and that this was a significant issue to address (see also Chapter 10). At this time, consultation was seen as an important (if not the only) instrument of empowerment for Aboriginal people in terms of heritage management.

9.1.1 Consultation and changes to archaeological practice

Changes to archaeological practice have been documented by a number of researchers who have worked with Aboriginal people on archaeological projects. In an optimistic and pragmatic paper, Lewis and Rose (1985) provide a methodology for consultation derived from research they have undertaken over many years in the Victoria River District of the Northern Territory. This paper addresses some of the problems posed by particular archaeological practices for contemporary Aboriginal people. It stresses the ethics and morality of undertaking consultation and provides non-Aboriginal people with an insight into potential areas of conflict. Most importantly, it provides a step-by-step guide for those wishing to undertake archaeological research in this area.

More recently, and perhaps ironically given the controversy that has surrounded this area of research, changes to archaeological practice have come from those who work on human remains. Due to the contentious nature of such research in this country, the option for those working in this field has been either to adjust their approach or to abandon such studies. Pardoe (1992: 136) has described the way in which consultation has changed for him in the course of his work in this area:

> It meant visiting communities...It meant spending time talking to people, formally and informally, being taught good manners Aboriginal style. I learned to carry out consultation at the local football match, at a backyard barbecue or over a few beers on the river bank more than in offices.

Pardoe's experiences have direct relevance to the present chapter. In the statement above, Pardoe is ostensibly describing changes in his own practice as a result of consultation. However, the statement also documents the communities' acceptance of him and the nature of the interactions he had with them, for if this had not occurred, he would not have gotten out of the offices and onto the riverbank.

In the 1990s, some preliminary definition and critique of consultation was undertaken. In some areas, the provision of a 'plain English' report to the community has become a part of archaeological practice. Veth (1991: 65) has described the process he used, including guidelines for work practices and the lodgement of reports, in relation to an archaeological consultancy he conducted in Central Australia. He states that:

> What the procedure attempts is to formally ensure greater opportunity for Aboriginal control of the archaeological resource without diminishing the researcher's responsibility for the assessment of archaeological site significance. The time has clearly come for archaeologists to accept that sites are not public property.

A number of practices have been introduced in states such as Western Australia and the Northern Territory to ensure that Aboriginal people can negotiate their level of control with regard to proposals for development on their traditional lands. In Western Australia, these practices are mostly used in relation to ethnographic surveys, however as archaeological surveys are always undertaken either in conjunction with or following these, they are relevant here. These include the Work Area Clearance Surveys (WAC), the Work Program Clearance Surveys (WPC), Site Avoidance Surveys and Site Identification Surveys (Draft Western Australian Guidelines). Such approaches accommodate the notion that some types of information are accessible only to those of a particular gender or who have attained a certain status (e.g. initiation). They allow for confidentiality of such information to be maintained either by the researcher/consultant and the group or within the relevant statutory authority.

The examples given above suggest that more archaeologists are interacting with indigenous people who are able explain their sensitivities and sensibilities in relation to 'sites' and 'archaeological research' first-hand. This has resulted in many cases in greater understanding and changes in archaeological practice which meet <u>some</u> of the needs of indigenous people. However, while this is undoubtedly a step forward, such changes remain <u>reactive</u> rather than <u>interactive</u> processes. That is, through consultation, indigenous people are able to react to a proposal (whether for archaeological research, development or whatever). They have an interventionist role which allows them to catch, as it were, the most glaring instances where the business of archaeology is at odds with indigenous perspectives. Changes in archaeological practice (which appear to be the focus of the interaction in consultation) are an important means by which indigenous people can ensure that investigation of their heritage does not transgress important elements of their own beliefs and practices. However, such changes in practice do not address the fundamental issue surrounding who has the right to create the 'past'.

The rationale behind the notion of archaeological consultation is that it empowers indigenous groups, allowing them a voice in the construction of the past and the management of their heritage. However, this relationship between consultation and the empowerment of indigenous groups has been the subject of little critical treatment and would appear to be predicated on an assumption that the presence of the former will ensure the latter. In contrast, the findings of this research suggests that this view of the relationship between consultation and empowerment is overly simplistic. It is suggested that there are some circumstances in which the consultation process disempowers indigenous people, and that this may account for the continued dissatisfaction exhibited by some Aboriginal groups toward the archaeological community. In the following sections, such issues are examined in detail.

9.2 The requirements of consultation

During the period in which fieldwork was carried out, consultation with Aboriginal (or Torres Strait Island) people was only formally required in Queensland if the work was to be undertaken on a reserve. This was a matter of policy rather than legislation and is reflected in Section I, part 14 of the 'Application to survey, research, examine or excavate' that was required by the then Archaeology Branch of the Department of Community Services. In such cases, consultation was carried out with the community council, in their role as quasi-landowner. As such, the requirement for consultation had little to do with the rights of indigenous people to control their heritage. Rather, it represented a formal recognition of the community's right to control the movement of people on and off the reserve by their elected representatives on the council. This had been a major issue and one over which they had only recently, since 1971, had some control (see Taylor

1984:315). The establishment of the DOGITs confirmed the status of the community as 'landowner' and the councils as the body to act on the community's behalf.

In recent years, the formal requirements of consultation in Queensland have changed and are formulated in Cultural Heritage Policy/Procedure No. 3 (1993: 11-13). This document was formulated for Environmental Impact Assessment work, however the principles outlined for consultation should also be applicable to research. It states that:

> All impact assessments involving Aboriginal/Torres Strait Islander cultural heritage places must be conducted in accordance with local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander protocol.

It recommends that in some instances, a full 'anthropological survey' may be necessary, that 'site avoidance' be undertaken where appropriate and that the archaeologist should discuss the project with the 'relevant' Aboriginal or Torres Strait Island people. While such statements exude a 'politically correct' line, it will be seen from the discussion in following sections that without the appropriate infrastructure within communities and heritage authorities, this approach to consultation is hollow and unworkable.

When fieldwork was initiated in northern Cape York, consultation could legally have begun and ended with the Combined Northern Peninsula Area Council. The NPA Council was the body that acted for issues pertaining to those parts of the reserve (which was, in fact, the major portion of land) that were outside the immediate area of the five communities. The NPA Council was set up to provide a structure that could deal with matters of common and sometimes competing interests of the individual communities.

However, this structure was essentially a bureaucratic invention, set up by the Government, along the representative lines of western democracy. That is, the representatives of each community council formed the Combined Council. Similarly, the individual councils were established by the government and consisted of elected representatives in a similar manner to that of local governments elsewhere in the State. There was nothing in the nature of either of these bodies that related to traditional affiliations to land. In fact, given that only one of the five communities is predominantly made up of northern Cape York people, it was more than likely that those with traditional affiliations would be outnumbered on the NPA Combined Council.

9.3 Ethics versus requirements

It was on the basis of this understanding that we began, in 1986, to work more closely with the Injinoo council. While working with this body would not automatically place us in contact with 'traditional owners', it was our understanding that this community served as a focus for such people.

However, there were many factors which might have prevented this process from proceeding further than the Injinoo council. Firstly, the focus on traditional owners was a departure from usual practice within the reserve and the communities. Government policies of 'assimilation' first and then 'integration' favoured the adoption of a system which concentrated the limited power of such communities with the councils, replicating the system of 'government' practised in broader Australian society. On the reserves, the struggle revolved around wresting power from the Government and therefore any expansion of the council's power was viewed in relation to the contraction of that of government. At a more pragmatic level, but none-the-less stemming from the same paternalistic root, the councils often acted as a buffer for the rest of the community, absorbing the sometimes necessary but not always welcome interactions with outsiders.

From an archaeologist's perspective, community councils are easily identified and located. They are reminiscent of the decision-making process in broader Australian society with which most of us are familiar and the procedures they use (for example, meetings) are more amenable to schedules for field investigation which usually involve short periods in the field. For those who have previously worked in states such as New South Wales where there is a state-based land council structure, one could imagine that the community councils of Cape York are a local version of these. In this sense, maintaining consultation with the council might have been seen as appropriate and perhaps also desirable by both the community and the archaeologist. However, while it is important and necessary to undertake consultation at these levels, there are a number of problems if this is the <u>only</u> level at which this process is carried out.

The most important of these revolves around the fact that archaeological work is associated with land, with the past and with specific sites or places that have links with the past. Information associated with specific tracts or areas of land is usually viewed as the <u>specific</u> heritage of <u>specific</u> groups of people. This is very complicated in Cape York where many communities are made up of people from different 'tribal' groups. This is certainly the case of the Injinoo community whose members trace their traditional affiliations to all of the traditional peoples of the northern Cape York area, as well as some of the islands of the Torres Strait. With regard to the traditional associations between people and land, the community council cannot be seen to be representative. Those on the council may be chosen for their administrative abilities or skills which are directly related to their role as a local government. However, council representatives are not chosen (at least overtly) in terms of criteria associated with traditional affiliation. It is possible for the members of one traditional group to control the council, with little or no representation from others, at various points in time. Thus, a consultation process that goes no further than the community council has serious flaws if the aim of that process is the empowerment of traditional owners.

It seems that a distinction must be made between the requirements of consultation and the ethics of Aboriginal involvement in archaeological research. An ethical approach should be driven by the premise that wherever possible, those Aboriginal people with the closest traditional links to the landscape should have the most significant involvement. Furthermore, it should be obvious that the models of consultation may only be applicable within limited contexts. Thus, the model developed for example in New South Wales will not necessarily be useful in northern Cape York. In fact, it is obvious that a significant contribution might be an examination of processes in different contexts and the development of appropriate approaches.

However, there are many inherent and pragmatic problems with regard to this. Firstly, it has been up to this point largely the responsibility of the individuals on councils and archaeologists to develop this consultation process. For example, the recent guidelines provided by the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage outline the anticipated outcomes of consultation but do not provide any framework for this process. Obviously, the nature of the process which results is largely subject to the ethics of both parties. This system ignores the fact that archaeologists have a vested interest in securing a positive response to their proposals and the existence of factions within communities and the possibility that councils are not representative in terms of traditional matters. This is a major problem in undertaking archaeological work in Queensland and is especially problematic given some of the difficulties outlined in the following sections.

9.4 Locating traditional owners

One of the most difficult issues that directly impacts upon consultation in northern Cape York is the problem of defining and subsequently locating traditional owners. An appreciation of this problem and an understanding of the implications for consultation can be obtained by reference to the historical factors impinging on Aboriginal people in northern Cape York since European contact. As previously noted, these include the early dislocation of people as a consequence of European expansion through the beche-de-mer, pearling and cattle industries. The survivors of this period congregated in a few settlements for protection and support, but everyday life was still predicated on old alliances and enmities, requiring compromise (e.g. changes in traditional practices) at some level in order to maintain such settlements. This was exacerbated by the presence of the Church and the State who represented the new way of life. This breakdown included the beginnings of 'wrong marriages', one of the outcomes of which has been a degree of confusion surrounding the tribal affiliation of the children (and grandchildren) of such unions. Obviously, precolonial patterns of definition can not always apply. This problem has now affected several generations of people within the community and is overlaid by the Torres Strait system of 'island adoption' that is practised there. New rules have had to be established to deal with this.

Over the years, the price of community cohesion was some degree of loss of individual group identity. Survival of important and private cultural information was largely ensured by the instruction of a few key individuals in each generation. Such individuals may have inherited this knowledge via their bloodline, adoption, or in some cases, their respect and interest in such matters. In many ways, their knowledge and control over the supernatural aspects of the landscape is evidenced (and perhaps manifested) in their knowledge of language. I have termed such people 'speakers' because they are each recognised within the community as being someone who has knowledge of customs and particularly language. Because of this, they are able to control, to some degree, such supernatural forces. Government intervention in the region has also exacerbated the problems associated with the maintenance of traditional associations. The relocation of various groups of people in this area has meant that those who have traditional affiliations there have become, to some extent, disenfranchised of their traditional lands.

It is remarkable that these communities in northern Cape York have continued to live side-by-side, managing all of these underlying problems. However, this in itself presents another problem. As intermarriage between communities has occurred and due to a certain degree of flexibility of residence, particularly amongst the young, locating traditional owners can be a logistical nightmare. This is further exacerbated by the fact that many people have left the the area and now live elsewhere. This has enormous implications for the process of consultation.

9.4.2 Identifying and locating a broad base of traditional owners

It should be obvious from the above that information on the relationship between people and particular tracts of land is not always widely known or immediately obvious to a broad group within the community. Secondly, some people reside far from their traditional lands and in some instances, several generations have not, for one reason or another, seen the country of their traditional affiliation. The result of this is that there is a heavy burden of responsibility placed on those who do live in the community, especially those who have knowledge of traditional matters.

Once such problems were identified in the original project, it was addressed by the introduction of the Cowal Creek Country Survey which was aimed at establishing the traditional affiliation of community members, identifying others with the same affiliation and where such persons resided. This work has culminated in the report (Fuary and Greer 1993) and a register of the individuals who were named in the project (Fuary 1993). The latter is seen as a dynamic document that will be refined and added to over time. Tools such as these provide the community with a base upon which to enter into a dialogue with a potential researcher. In addition, in recognition of the different role of councils and the need for a representative body, the community has established a landcouncil of traditional owners made up of members of all groups. This body, known as the Apudhama Association oversees matters of heritage and facilitates negotiations such as those between researchers and the community.

It should be noted, however, that this process involved considerable time and anthropological expertise which was separate to the original project. Few archaeological projects have access to these resources of time and personnel. However, if this work had not been undertaken our claim to 'adequate consultation' would have had little validity. We would have been obliged to rely upon a few key individuals (as we did in the beginning) rather than a broad base of traditional owners.

Reliance on such key individuals or 'speakers' has two important consequences. Firstly, those who are not consulted (perhaps because they do not live in the community) may feel disempowered because they have no role in this process. Secondly, as mentioned previously, it places a heavy responsibility on those who have been. They are required to make decisions without necessarily having the benefit of consulting with other members of the group, who may live hundreds or even thousands of kilometres away. Moreover, in many instances, these questions that are presented in 'consultation' often have no precedent. The excavations of hearths on the East Coast strip are a good example of this. In this instance, the 'speaker' was asked whether permission could be given to excavate (that is, essentially remove) the hearths. These hearths or 'fireplaces' have a specific place within contemporary community cosmology in that they are the theatrical 'props' around which stories and beliefs are woven. They are also important symbolic representations of the past in the present. Thus their removal may well impinge upon the cosmological integrity of this place. Taken in this light, granting permission to excavate could be seen as an onerous responsibility, and one that does not have a 'right' answer.

Given the arguments outlined above, and especially where the project is the first introduction to archaeological work for the community, consultation can only be seen as adequate if it includes the broadest possible base of traditional owners. A knowledge of historical factors and their effects upon the movements and location of Aboriginal people in this State has not normally been taken into account (in any formal way) in terms of consultation. This has resulted in a number of misconceptions. For example, until recently, the absence of traditional owners living on or near traditional lands was interpreted as being indicative of their obliteration. This discussion demonstrates the inadequacy of such an approach and the need to address this issue (see Chapter 11).

9.5 Consultation and community domains

Trigger (1992: 79) has described the two separate domains that existed at Doomadgee in northwestern Queensland during the period in which he undertook fieldwork:

> In the late 1970s and 1980s there were two distinctive arenas of social life at Doomadgee which, to use local Aboriginal parlance, may be characterised as the 'Blackfella' and 'Whitefella' domains. These were arenas of material, intellectual and social activity which indexed a high degree of social distance between Aborigines and Whites.

Trigger asserts that while the contrast between conditions and standards between the two domains was a stark reminder of differential social status, the 'Blackfella' domain provided the community with something of '...a defence against constant administrative intrusiveness and attitudinal ethnocentrism on the part of White Australian society' (Trigger 1992: 101).

A number of domains can similarly be distinguished in the communities in northern Cape York. These are the:

1. the village domain which includes the physical space in which Aboriginal and Island households are located within each community, the 'weekenders' or camps that people use on weekends, and the interactions that occur within such space;
2. the 'business' domain which is located physically at the stores and supermarket, the government offices, the schools and the hospital and which includes the types of interactions that occur at such places and at particular events (e.g. basketball, football etc);
3. the European domain which is centred on the households and types of interactions that take place amongst the non-Aboriginal or Islander residents (e.g. employees of the Departments of Health, Education or the then Community Services).

Aboriginal and Island people in northern Cape York do not usually participate in the activities that surround the European domain. Indeed, at the time of fieldwork, social interactions within the European domain tended to be even further restricted to the specific Department in which one worked. Therefore, the teachers tended to socialise together, as did the hospital staff and as did those who worked for Community Services.

The business domain was utilised by both Aboriginal and Island people as well as Europeans. Workers employed in institutions (such as the schools, the hospital, the DCS office) were drawn from both groups. However, the institutions themselves were representative of broader Australian society. As such, Aboriginal and Island users do not always feel comfortable operating within them. For example, standard Australian English is generally the language used within this domain and while most people understand English, it is usually not their first (or perhaps even their second) language. On a number of occasions I was asked to accompany people to the hospital, for example, to facilitate better communication.

The village domain is characterised by the daily round of village life. While Island languages are used in some communities, the language which is most commonly used is 'Broken' or Cape York creole. Europeans, even those who work within a community, do not usually operate freely within the village domain. For example, in 1987 there were at least three Europeans working for the Injinoo community however they resided on boats in the creek and did not, at that time, tend to socialise at the household level. Just as the 'Blackfella' domain at Doomadgee provided a defence against white intrusion, so the village domains in northern Cape York provide a retreat in which people feel more powerful. For example, they speak in their first language, kinship structures dictate many social interactions and one can operate from a position of familiarity and a knowledge of one's place within society. This is in stark contrast to the other domains which are reminders of the system which until recently disempowered people in almost every aspect of their daily lives. It seems obvious then that consultation should only take place within the village domain and that it is only here that interactions between archaeologists and Aboriginal people will be on something of an 'equal footing'. This does, however, prompt a discussion of how one enters the village domain as a non-Aboriginal or Islander person, for it is not as simple as merely locating oneself physically within the village.

9.5.1 Entering the village domain

Trigger (1992) has stated that the only non-Aboriginal people who operate within the 'Blackfella' domain at Doomadgee are those who are outside of mainstream white society or who, like himself, could '...operate socially like a Blackfella and (for a time at least) appear not to be too uncomfortable living in similar material conditions to Blackfellas' (Trigger 1992:86). The ability to operate in this way was usually established by a period of residency within the 'Blackfella' domain.

In the original project, the breakthrough in consultation which occurred in 1986 can be attributed to a number of interrelated factors. These included the location of consultation within the Injinoo community, the inclusion of anthropological research, the anthropologist's experience in the region. This experience was most evident in the fact that she was fluent in Torres Strait creole. The use of a local language provided us with the means of communicating in the most effective way, particularly in the case of older members of the community. The importance of striving for the best means of communication is emphasised if one is trying to translate complicated archaeological concepts and methods to those outside of the discipline. Obviously, the use of English in this context would not have provided the community with an empowered base upon which to make a decision in terms of the research. In addition to the more straight forward issues surrounding good communication, this knowledge of language implied a knowledge of customs, ways of thinking, spiritual beliefs and lifestyle. This is the type of knowledge that is necessary if one is to 'operate socially' within the village domain. In this sense, the use of language implies the appropriateness of parameters within which discussion and negotiation can take place.

After a short period of working with community people in 1986, we were also placed within the kin network. This confirmed our status within this domain and afforded the community some control over our actions. This concept of incorporating people into the kin network is perhaps almost an inevitable response to a prolonged presence within the village domain. However it is also related to the use of language and the knowledge that this implies. From the community's perspective, this incorporation provides them with a further sense of empowerment as negotiations are undertaken within a familiar structure and not those usually associated with Black-White relations.

9.6 Competing needs: the discipline vs. the community

Another important area that should be analysed in terms of the consultation issue involves the difference between the needs of the discipline and the needs of the community. As described in the following chapter (Chapter 10), the connection between archaeological research and its contribution to indigenous identity has received little critical attention in archaeology. However there appears to be an unstated assumption (on the part of archaeologists) that any information about the 'past' will be of use in this process. This assumption justifies all archaeological work as having a potential contribution. While archaeological research may have a role to play in this area, this has not yet been clearly defined. This lack of definition allows us to continue with the assumption that the work we do will, at some point in the future, be of use to indigenous Australians.

9.6.1 The community's needs for research

In 1985, it was evident that the people of northern Cape York had an urgent need to collect and record information that they felt was relevant to their expression of themselves. As previously noted, I found myself recording stories, songs, place-names and language words. My perception of the community's need for this type of expertise was such that the 'Cowal Creek Country Survey' was initiated and undertaken in 1987. In the light of this, I suggest that consent for the archaeological project may have been motivated, not by an inherent interest in <u>archaeological</u> work, but by a desperate but unformulated desire to define and record these elements of identity. The persistent requests for this type of research which have continued from my first visit until the present led to a questioning of the basis on which consent was given for the original project. Once this was identified, a number of potential research topics came out of the dialogue surrounding 'culture'. The first of these was the need to record oral histories due to the seniority of community members with strong cultural links.

Another topic that came out of this dialogue was the significance of historic sites, particularly Somerset and the World War II sites, to the local people. It became apparent that while such sites were the focus of European activity in the area, the local people had spent a lot <u>more</u> time living and working at and around them (see also Susan McIntyre's In Prep.). While it is not suggested that research topics should always be chosen in this way, it is true that some of the most innovative topics have been devised in this manner. Furthermore, such topics are fairly certain to meet the needs and therefore approval of the traditional owners.

9.6.2 Aboriginal perceptions of archaeological research

This lack of definition may also have led to some confusion on the part of some Aboriginal people who may perceive archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists, historians etc. as an amorphous group of (usually non-Aboriginal) professionals who work on 'cultural matters'. The precise role or approach of one area of study is thus lost within the general business of 'Aboriginal studies'. The difference between archaeology and the other disciplines listed above is that, on the whole, the information that the latter collect is 'filtered' through the perceptions, concerns and preoccupations of the people they are working with. In this sense, the information collected by such disciplines (but not necessarily the analyses produced) may be relevant to Aboriginal people concerned with the definition of identity. Archaeological research is not filtered in the same way. Aboriginal people have little interpretive input into archaeological research, except when interpretations enlist ethnographic accounts. On the whole, the use of early ethnographic accounts provides an opportunity for the ancestors of contemporary groups to have an input rather than the groups themselves. Consultation remains the chief means by which Aboriginal people are able to have an input into archaeological research although this by no means provides them with an interpretive 'filter'.

The differences between the needs of the discipline and the needs of a community are perhaps best illustrated in terms of their different notions of 'heritage' and thus heritage management. For many Aboriginal people, 'heritage' is defined, as the dictionary defines it, as a birthright (see also Greer 1993). This definition of heritage links it with the notion of identity, that is, those symbolic elements of a society that serve to define it. This is in contrast to an archaeological view of heritage which is concerned with the preservation of a 'representative sample' of the archaeological resource base for the purposes of archaeological research. This approach to heritage and heritage management may only have a limited contribution to make to issues of identity (see Chapters 10 and 11). However, archaeologists in the public sector have played a primary role in heritage management in this country. In northern Cape York archaeologists are strongly associated with 'Rangers' and heritage management and I was often referred to in the community as a 'Ranger'. This title related initially to the perceived connections with Aboriginal Rangers from the Queensland Government's Archaeology Branch, and more recently with the work undertaken by Community Rangers employed by the community. This connection between archaeology and heritage management may have reinforced the perception that archaeologists and Aboriginal people have similar perspectives on the 'past' and those aspects or elements of Aboriginal societies that are defined as 'heritage'.

Given the arguments outlined above, it is suggested that consent for archaeological research may be granted on the basis of mistaken perceptions and because of community needs for research. If this is the case, then this has important implications for the continued perception of consultation as an empowering process.

9.6.3 The implications of research

Another factor involves adequate consideration of the implications of research. For example, when specific consultation began concerning the excavation of a particular group of middens, it became apparent that these middens were an integral part of a story place. That is, archaeological structures, i.e. the 'ovens' and piles of 'cooking stones', feature in a contemporary explanation of supernatural activity in this area. It also became obvious that a large responsibility was being placed on key individuals by asking them to make a decision concerning the removal of a portion of that story place. In this instance permission was granted, partly due to a trust that had been established between the individuals involved and me. In addition, the opportunity to focus on Aboriginal (rather than Torres Strait Island) culture may have been a factor. In 1984, the National Party had been in government in Queensland for more than two decades. Historically, the Government supported Island people and culture at the expense of Aboriginal people (see Chapter 8). This has been a sensitive issue in areas such as northern Cape York where communities are made up of both Aboriginal and Island people. It is possible that some people felt that by allowing the excavations to go ahead, as requested, that a cultural revival would gain momentum. It is also true to say that if given a number of options, the excavation of such places might not be favoured. This is an important point, because it is highly likely that many (if not most) archaeological sites in northern Cape York are associated with story places.

In other instances key individuals have agreed, in principle, to assist in relocating sites. However, for many and various reasons, the sites are not located. Either they are unwell on the day, or there is important family or community business to attend to, or so many detours are taken that time runs out. It is possible that in these circumstances, the people involved are uncertain of the implications of what they are doing. On one level they appreciate the attention to cultural matters but ultimately are uncertain of the consequences of revealing any private and/or important information they possess. This is perhaps most critical in communities where there has been fragmentation of traditional knowledge. There is a fear associated with becoming involved in important cultural areas without the deep and necessary knowledge, which often focuses on language, that may be required. This situation is exacerbated if, as with excavation, material is removed from the site.

Another implication of this type of research involves the dissemination of information. This falls into two categories. The first are the archaeologist's legal obligations. In Queensland, permit holders are required to furnish the Government with a list of sites for inclusion in the site register. However, if many archaeological sites form part of story places, what assurance can be given that privacy will be maintained. To my knowledge, the Queensland register does not accommodate such requirements. Access to the register by researchers and the general public is restricted via the permit system, however such limitations do not necessarily apply to the Government itself.

Apart from the legal obligations, there is the question of professional publication. Firstly, how can the researcher explain the true implications of community information entering the international academic community. The publication of information relating to the community necessarily introduces problematic areas of ownership and control.

9.7 Consultation and empowerment

The aim of consultation is usually seen as part of a process of <u>empowering</u> Aboriginal people with regard to heritage. The rationale behind this approach is that even if legal control rests with the state and its servants, Aboriginal people are able to judge (and perhaps veto) research to which they have serious objections. The integrity of this process is reliant upon the notion of 'informed consent': that is, free and willing agreement based on a sound knowledge of the issues involved. I suggest that this is unlikely to occur within a context which is characterised by hegemony and differential access to knowledge. In the following sections, an examination of this proposition is undertaken in relation to key factors such as historical relations between indigenous and non-indigenous people in northern Cape York and the differences between these two groups in terms of access to information and knowledge.

Australian archaeologists, with some exceptions, are not usually indigenous. Such individuals are drawn from, and therefore represent, the dominant non-Aboriginal sector of society. Moreover, while indigenous people live and operate in a broad range of settings in Australia, many either have lived, or are currently living in communities which were created on the model of a reserve or mission. In Queensland, and especially in Cape York, life 'under the Act' was a reality until less than a decade ago. It is not easy to define specifically how this might reflect upon consultation, however it certainly influences the interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous people. In some instances, deference to dominant-sector views still prevails. In others, there is a resentment borne of decades of inequality. Such factors obviously affect the process of consultation and the quality of outcomes.

In addition, access to modern systems of communication are a relatively new phenomenon in many parts of Cape York. Television was only introduced into communities in 1980s and there are cultural and physical barriers that limit access to the print media and other systems of communication. It is impossible to envisage that under such circumstances, 'informed consent' is likely.

Given the arguments outlined above, it would seem that 'consultation' does not empower indigenous people. Rather, it should be evident from this discussion that there is duplicity in this process. That is, the involvement of indigenous people in the process of consultation apparently gives the process authenticity. However, the issues raised in this research suggest that this 'authenticity' is questionable and the process flawed. This has implications for archaeological research, but perhaps more importantly it requires urgent attention within the area of heritage management (see Chapter 11).

9.8 Conclusion

In spite of the fact that archaeologists and heritage managers have been engaged in defining and refining this notion of consultation for more than 20 years, we have found ourselves in the 1990s up the proverbial 'dry creek'. In 1991, the Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) introduced a new Code of Ethics. This had been developed and ratified at the World Archaeological Congress in the previous year and was adopted in a modified draft by AAA at their annual meeting. One of the unfortunate aspects of this Code of Ethics is that as a generalised and 'ideal' (and necessary) document, it does not address the pragmatic aspects of how to maintain this Code. For example, the section regarding 'Rules to adhere to' includes the following (Davidson 1991: 64):

> 1. Prior to conducting any investigation and/or examination, members shall define and ratify all the indigenous peoples whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation. If no such indigenous people are found the site should be left alone and declared significant.
>
> 2. Members shall negotiate with and obtain the informed consent of representatives authorised by all the indigenous people whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.

In the light of discussion in this chapter, it can be seen that abiding by such rules would be and is sometimes extremely complex. What is needed is an ongoing critique of the practice and process of archaeological work, in many different contexts, if we are to get beyond the simplistic solution of guidelines which are difficult to abide by under existing frameworks.

It is suggested that while the <u>aims</u> of consultation might be directed towards empowerment, this is only achieved if the process is undertaken with the appropriate cultural heirs and if it takes place within a context in which those being consulted can maximise their sense of empowerment. It is suggested that the concept of 'consultation', as a <u>reactionary</u> rather than an <u>interactive</u> process, does not empower indigenous groups in the context of northern Cape York.

It is argued in this chapter that the agreement (and perhaps even enthusiasm) of the community to the original project stemmed, at least in part, from a desire to record and collect information relevant to the construction of identity (see also Chapter 10). Such material is and should be drawn, wherever possible, from the people themselves; that is, it involves a process of extraction of information from the community. Archaeological knowledge can only be, at best, complementary or additional to this. Furthermore, the need to record this information was driven by a sense of urgency that information should be collected before those who had most to offer had passed on. This suggests that although this was by no means apparent to either the community or myself at the time, the agreement to the project was coloured by other, and quite specific, aspirations and hopes. The suggestion that agreement to the archaeological work may have been predicated on false hopes prompted an examination of several issues. Firstly, so strongly was this message transmitted, that a separate (although related) project was initiated. It was largely through the anthropological project that many of the understandings that have informed this work were identified. In the following chapter, alternative approaches to archaeological research and heritage management are examined in the light of these findings.

Identity, history and heritage in northern Cape York

The connection between archaeological sites and identity is illustrated by Henrika Kuklick (1991) in the aptly titled paper, 'Contested Monuments: The Politics of Archaeology in Southern Africa'. Kuklick describes how the site of Great Zimbabwe has been used by successive regimes, from the days of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa company to modern Zimbabwe, which was established in 1980. She states that (1991: 138):

> To every group that has made an icon of the ruins, they have been material evidence of a prosperous and powerful state that once held sway in the land. There, however, the resemblance between different groups' received histories of Great Zimbabwe ends. Seeking to legitimate their rule, British settlers and African nationalists subscribed to very different accounts of the building of the ruins, placing their construction alternatively in ancient times and the relatively recent past, and identifying the builders - or, at least the architects - either as representatives of some non-African civilization or members of the indigenous population. The stories of Great Zimbabwe have served to rationalize either colonial rule or African autonomy.

Until relatively recently, the notion of 'different accounts' has received scant attention in archaeology (but see Byrne 1993). This can perhaps be traced to the dominance of the 'New Archaeology' in many parts of the world over the last thirty years. The 'New Archaeology', with its scientific perspective and quest for objectivity combined with colonialist ideology to privilege archaeological interpretation over others. Certainly, archaeologists have been reluctant to analyse the relationship between archaeology and identity. If the subject has been discussed, it has generally focused on the theoretical obstacles involved in the use of archaeological evidence in identity construction (e.g. see Shennan

1989) or on the way in which archaeological interpretation has been used to positive effect by indigenous groups. But this latter point is debatable. For example, it has been suggested that archaeological interpretations, particularly the focus on pushing the occupation of the continent back into the past, have been 'useful' to indigenous people in Australia. It has also been claimed that archaeological work has helped in land claims (see Allen 1983: 9; Jones 1985: 23; Murray and White 1981). This has been touted as a social justification for archaeology, especially in the face of indigenous protest over the use of 'Our heritage [as] your playground' (Langford 1983). However, for many indigenous people, the notion of having to recourse to accounts of their culture that are perhaps more valued by non-indigenous people emphasises the colonial nature of their existence. Cowlishaw (1988: 104) has discussed the construction of Aboriginal identity in small towns in New South Wales. The alternative is surely to re-value indigenous accounts.

A major outcome of the work in northern Cape York was recognition of the (often implicit) links between archaeology and identity and the role of consultation in defining and perpetuating these. In the previous chapter, it is argued that identities have developed in response to the colonial and historical situations that people have experienced in this area. The main concern of this chapter is to explore ways in which archaeological sites are incorporated into northern Cape York ontology and identities. Firstly, however, it is necessary to discuss the notion of identity and how and why it is constructed.

10.1 What is 'identity'?

The notions of 'identity' and 'ethnicity' have been discussed by Fuary (1991: 3). She states that the establishment and maintenance of cultural identity is often a product of the type of social upheaval which sees the group transformed into a minority and the conditions of their subsequent existence oppressive. Fuary

(1991: 3) states that:

> During this process culture may be recreated and tradition redefined in response to new and changed conditions. This cultural identity may be ascribed or self-defined...through utilisation of a number of shared covert and overt symbolic cultural elements. While these symbolic elements, such as language, shared ancestry, beliefs, diet, dress and shared experience, need to be agreed upon by members of the cultural group, they are not always obvious or accessible to out-group members...

Tonkinson (1990: 199-201) has attempted to define terms such as 'Aboriginality' and 'Aboriginal identity', which she states are 'widely used', but 'seldom defined'. In attempting to do so, she draws on the writings of a number of Aboriginal people and social scientists and states that (1990: 200):

> They identify the following characteristics as common to all Australian Aborigines: descent from the original inhabitants of Australia; a shared historical and cultural experience, particularly that arising from relations with non-Aborigines; the Dreaming, or Aboriginal worldview; intimate familial relationship with the land and with the natural world; social interaction based predominantly on the mutual obligations of kinship; observance and social importance of mortuary rituals; and bi- or multilingualism.

Tonkinson (1990: 193) notes that identity exists at a number of levels and discusses two of these. The first is the identities of local or regional groups who '...share history, culture, and social organization'. The second is the more recent notion of pan-Aboriginal identity. While these two represent the two extremes in terms of identity, in some areas, individuals may subscribe to a number of identities that are invoked in particular contexts. They are not mutually exclusive. For example, contemporary local groups may be constituted by what were once missions or reserves (see also Ellis 1994: 7). In Queensland, communities are often made up of people from different traditional groups draw together by common historical experiences and situations. Thus, a number of identities may exist even at the local level. This concept of difference and similarity, and the contexts within which one might invoke different identities is of particular relevance to a discussion of contemporary identity in northern Cape York. The shared historical experience of the reserve also provides northern Cape York people with a common basis on which to maintain contemporary communities and social structure.

10.2 Archaeology and identity

There has been little discussion of the relationship between archaeology (and archaeological sites) and identity. Issues of relevance to such a discussion include different approaches to the past and the conflicts that are an inherent component of these, as well as issues of ownership and control of heritage. These issues are discussed to some extent in McBryde (1985) and in three of the four relevant volumes in the One World Archaeology Series: Layton (1989 a, 1989 b) and Cleere (1989). Shennan (1989), the fourth in this series offers the only explicit discussion of this relationship, although this is limited to theoretical problems of inferring identity or ethnicity from archaeological interpretation.

McBryde (1985) provides a comparatively early examination of different notions of 'ownership' of the past, chiefly but not exclusively within the Australian setting (exceptions include Trigger 1985). Most notable are the conflicts inherent in the differing approaches expressed by, for example, Mulvaney (1985) and Wilmott (1985) and the role played by some in heritage agencies, such as in tempering this conflict (Sullivan 1985). Layton (1989 a) illustrates the diversity of ways of looking at the past, both in terms of geography and ontology. For example, Anawak (1989) describes Inuit perceptions of the past; Ndagala and Zengu (1989) relate the approach of the

Hadzabe of Africa; and Williams and Mununggurr (1989) describe the Yolngu (north-east Arnhem Land) understanding of the past. What is noted, but not treated in detail, are the implications of these alternative approaches to the past in terms of archaeology (and archaeological sites) and heritage management. Where such conflicts between indigenous versus archaeological approaches to the past are identified (e.g. in Williams and Mununggurr 1989), the analysis is deflected to another volume edited by Layton (1989 b) and to a particular (and comparatively small) area of archaeological work: the excavation and analysis of skeletal material. The importance of archaeological sites is explained in terms of their role as '...*signifiers* , tangible embodiments of shared values and ideas' and the (perhaps reasonable) assumption that 'A community's interest in the remains of the past is therefore unlikely to be casual' (Layton 1989: 11). It is obvious from these volumes that indigenous expressions of the past are intimately linked with notions of identity.

What should follow from Layton (1989 a, 1989 b) is a discussion addressing the role of archaeology when confronted with such alternatives. Such was the intention for the two volumes edited by Shennan (1989) and Cleere (1989). Shennan (1989) confines the discussion of identity largely to the theoretical concerns outlined previously. As McBryde (1992: 262) has observed:

> The obverse of this is the use of archaeology in the validation of political and national perceptions of identity. Past material culture may acquire powerful symbolic values.

In so doing, the contemporary political concerns associated with the relationship between archaeology and identity are neatly side-stepped, and an 'in-house' debate offered instead. This is disappointing for although the theoretical discussion is important and necessary, it is not essentially new to archaeology. A more interesting discussion following on from issues identified in *Who Needs the Past* and *Conflicts in the Archaeology of Living Traditions* (Layton 1989 a, 1989 b) might have focused on current notions of 'heritage' and heritage management and the way in which alternative approaches to the past (perhaps as well as archaeology) can be used in the construction of identity. The title of Cleere's (1989) *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* offered promise of just such a discussion. However, as Byrne (1991: 271) has commented:

> In *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* ...several articles addressing general management issues - mostly by Europeans and Americans - are followed by papers dealing with the problems faced in particular countries or at particular sites. Despite the diversity of local circumstances it is clear that a fundamentally similar approach to heritage management has been taken in most countries and it seems equally clear, to my mind at least, that this approach is essentially the one which was developed in Europe and America.

Byrne (1991: 273) finds that there is no discussion as to why this particular construction of heritage is '...necessary or appropriate in these places or how they relate to local cultural values'. In this paper he calls for 'alternative heritages and alternative models of heritage management' in order to address such issues (Byrne 1991: 273). In the following sections, the connections between identity and archaeological sites are discussed.

10.3 Archaeological sites and identity in northern Cape York

In previous chapters it is illustrated that there are many identities in northern Cape York. These are perhaps contextural, drawn from a historical backdrop which has, until the present day, alternated between the distancing and uniting of people who now live within this region. In this section however the connections between land, cosmology and identity are discussed in relation to the archaeological sites along the East Coast strip which were chosen for excavation in the original project. The aim is to demonstrate how cosmology operates to affirm notions of identity and how this is reinforced through everyday practice. This is then analysed in the light of the original proposal to add an archaeological interpretation of the sites that are found in this 'cultural landscape'.

The term, 'cultural landscape' is defined, as previously stated, as a portion of land which is given shape and meaning through the stories, beliefs and practices of the group that is currently resident on it, or who have ownership of it. These stories, beliefs and practices may stem from precontact situations but have been transformed by historical (and especially colonial) experiences and may now pertain to a broader group. This is in contrast to some definitions of this term which refer to 'archaeological sites' within a landscape. In the former instance, archaeological sites may be present, but their meaning or significance is expressed through the role they play within the local cosmology.

It is suggested that it is the contemporary cosmology of northern Cape York peoples that provides a social 'glue' which allows these people from different backgrounds and experiences, and who have been pushed apart to some extent by more recent historical events, to continue effectively sharing their land and their lives. The northern Cape York communities are now linked by marriage and kin. However, at the ideological level, their shared cosmology facilitates the construction of a shared identity, while reinforcing 'traditional' identities which are the basis of these ideas. This is illustrated in the East Coast strip (see Chapters 6-8) where there is a general acceptance of beliefs and practices related to this area.

10.3.1 Links with the past

Injinoo people have links with the precontact past in a number of ways. These include their tribal affiliations, through kinship and family connections, their traditional languages (although these are neither widely spoken nor known), through recollections about technology, food, medicine and societal rules, and through the various relationships that people have with land (Fuary and Greer 1993). The latter include hunting, gathering and fishing activities which still comprise an important component of the community's domestic economy, but are intimately tied, as is any use of land, with beliefs, stories and sites or places of significance. Aspects of the more recent past are also important and include the establishment and history of the village, the development of Creole as the first language, recent cultural additions etc. It is, however, the associations with land that form a strong link between past and present, for these have survived (albeit perhaps developed and changed) the rigours of dislocation, relocation and the long period of incarceration by church and government.

This analysis is focused on one set of beliefs that are associated with that strip of the east coast and hinterland which extends from the vicinity of the Kennedy inlet and Jackey Jackey Creek to Somerset. It includes a discussion of the stories, beliefs and important places in this area in order to illustrate its importance to the community and, I would suggest, in the construction of their identity. This is contrasted, in a later section, with the archaeological knowledge and potential of the area. The boundaries of this area (especially its inland extent) cannot be accurately defined, but at least some of the beliefs that are broadly associated with the area appear also to relate to the scrub around Lockerbie. Thus, the 'East Coast strip' represents the eastern half of this long narrow peninsula (see Figure 2).

10.3.2 Stories, beliefs and practices on the East Coast strip

As outlined in Chapters 6 to 8, there are a number of stories and beliefs that are associated with the East Coast strip. This area is associated with the Wamera story, in which the landscape is created by the boy who followed a northwards route from near Jackey Jackey Creek, disappearing into the earth and leaving a pool of water behind him wherever he re-emerged. The story culminates in the boy's emergence at Somerset and the creation of the passage between the mainland and Albany Island (see Chapter 6; see also Fuary and Greer 1993 and Figure 2). Certainly, this watery strip of coast, with its lakes and waterholes and springs that bubble up on the beach affirms this explanation for the creation of the landscape.

In previous chapters it was established that this area is believed to be inhabited by malevolent supernatural beings. People within the communities are afraid of these beings and believe that a confrontation with them will result in 'madness'. Certainly, a number of people within the communities are said to have 'looked' these beings and the area around Fishbone Swamp is known to be particularly dangerous for this reason. In addition, specific areas along the East Coast strip are thought to be places where the spirits of the dead now live. Because of these beliefs, northern Cape York people are wary of these sites. For example, when we were camping at Sandago (just prior to Mr Lifu joining us in 1986) we were asked on several occasions if we had had any 'trouble' out at the camp. At first, I assumed that these were references to the large groups of tourists that passed this way, as I had been somewhat apprehensive of camping in such an isolated spot. However, I later became aware that the question stemmed from an incredulity that we should choose such a potentially dangerous place to camp!

There is an emotional element to the beliefs associated with these sites. This is illustrated by the fears and concerns that people have when visiting the area and in the methods they used to control these. During our first formal introduction to the site, the speaker called out in language to the 'old people'. He told them who we were and what we were doing, and that we meant to help, not harm. We were told that such introductions are sometimes associated with visions and apparitions. Certainly this ceremony, taking place in an almost lunar landscape of bleached eroding dunes, was very moving.

The large midden sites that we worked on at Sandago are said to be the camps of such spirits and the 'fireplaces' that we excavated are thought to be their fireplaces. This focus on the 'fireplaces' led me to examine the notion of these as symbols. McConnel (1931: 103) states that to the Wik Munkan, the campfire was a powerful symbol which suggested processes and institutions. She says:

> The camp fire is the centre of family life, around which a man and his wife, or wives, and children sleep and feed. Convention guards the approach to the camp fire. Certain relatives are welcomed, others are tabooed. The arrangement of camp fires depends upon the relationship of the families to one another - some relatives may camp close, others only at a distance.

And again, in *Myths of the Munkan* (1957: 62) she reiterates:

> Not only does fire give light in darkness and heat for cooking food, but the camp-fire is the hearth of the home round which a family sleeps and eats together. For a man and woman to sit and eat by the same fire is the ritual of marriage, and the symbol of the family; the word for husband is *pamtu:ma* or 'man of the fire', and for wife is *wantyatu:ma*, 'woman of the fire'.

For example, its physical presence signified the complex social and economic activities which surround the procurement, preparation and consumption of food. It was embued with memories of the families who, at least for a season or two, claimed the space around this focal point. It was evocative of relationships, of the marriages that were made around it and of the networks of kin with their associated conventions and taboos. Even the location of the campfire in relation to others confirmed one's place within this entangled web of relationships. It is perhaps not surprising that these 'features' we were excavating evoked such strong images of the people who are said to use them.

These sites are linked with the nearby lakes: the spirits occupying the latter by day and the coastal sites at night. This represents another link between past and present, because we had been told during the anthropological project that before contact the movement between the lakes and the coast was part of the seasonal shift. It is interesting to note how the seasonal shift has been collapsed into the diurnal in this story.

Another important aspect of this story is related to the continuation or practice of beliefs. When I was first told this story, I imagined that it had literally been taken from a body of knowledge that existed in precontact times. It was some time before it occurred to me that while the general substance of the story undoubtedly has its origins in the past, it is the continuation of the business of story creation, the practice of beliefs that I was witnessing in this case. This is not to say that just anyone has such rights today; rather, the 'speakers' have something of a mandate to continue this practice. This is an important point as the continuation of such practices is surely the embodiment of contemporary culture and identity.

These places and the paths between them encapsulate the concept of 'bifor taim'. This is, broadly speaking, an 'other' period that exists in the interstices of the present. This includes both the past (what might be termed the 'pre-contact' period) as well as the present, through beliefs and the practices such as formal introduction to country which provide access to the spirits. In such areas, one must be careful not to call out in anger or to swear at this country as this would invite trouble. One should 'chuck' something (that is, make a gift of a cigarette, food, the first catch of fish if this is the purpose of the trip etc.) when in this country. These beliefs and practices are not only adhered to by people from Injinoo. Members of other communities are similarly aware, at some level, of these beliefs and the necessity, when visiting this area, to engage in appropriate behaviours and practices. As such, these beliefs represent an important component of the contemporary cosmology of northern Cape York peoples, and they are perhaps a major component of that which has survived in this area. They are derived from the past, stemming from the beliefs of individual traditional groups (in this case, the Sandbeach people). However, they are generally subscribed to by all communities in this area. As such, they represent a thread from which the contemporary identity of northern Cape York peoples is woven while at the same time reinforcing the authority of the traditional owners.

10.3.3 Sites of memory: the sad history of Sandago

This association between the sites and the dead has an historical poignancy which infuses the memory of the last occupiers of these sites. According to local story, these people were massacred by Frank Jardine shortly after the establishment of Somerset. They are said to be buried close by. A similar version of this story is told by Kennett, one of the unfortunate missionaries sent to Somerset in 1867 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Moore 1979:238). Kennett, however, relates the demise of the *Unduyamo* (and most of the *Gumakudin*, the Cape York people) at the hands of the fierce *Yadhaigana* from the Escape River. Casting aside the specifics of historical fact, it seems that a large number of these people were lost in a single tragic episode. This occurred in the twilight which preceeded an era of alienation for northern Cape York peoples. The poignancy of this episode is encapsulated in the cold fireplaces which are evident on the sites today and is another thread that is woven into the contemporary belief that these are the campsites of the spirits of the dead.

10.3.4 Sites as monuments of identity

It is, however, the relevance of these symbols to people in the <u>present</u> that is of most relevance to this discussion. Initially, upon realising the symbolic aspect of these sites, my first reaction was that I had somehow stumbled upon a very complicated set of sites. I now think that similar circumstances would apply to any major archaeological site or complex and that there is a relationship between the presence of such sites and the continuity of stories, beliefs and practices that allow people to deal with these.

These stories, beliefs and practices are part of the everyday cognitive schema of northern Cape York peoples. As such, they are a well-spring of local identity and an important source of empowerment. The maintainence of beliefs, practices and stories, and the ability to continue creating stories affirms a sense of what it is to be 'Sandbeach', to be from Injinoo and at another level, to be from northern Cape York.

These sites also serve as text for the colonial history of northern Cape York. The tragic passing of the people of Sandago coincided with the beginning of a bloody period and the end of life as it had previously been known. Interestingly, the size and quantity of material on the sites is vastly exaggerated by the process of deflation which was probably initiated by the introduction of hard-hooved animals at Somerset. It would seem then, that as the oral accounts of this episode fade, the physical evidence has been revealed.

One of the most interesting aspects of these sites and specifically of the fireplaces is the way in which they were incorporated into the existing cosmological framework. This highlights the dynamic nature of 'stories' in northern Cape York and emphasises the contemporary relevance of the cultural landscape. Perhaps these ordinary symbols, that is the campsites and campfires of these vanished peoples, became the spark for those stories and beliefs that have survived, against the odds, into the present. The sites might therefore be seen as mnemonic devices which revive the memory of those who once occupied them. As such, they are the very visible and real evidence of myth, story and history entering the present. Feeley-Harnik (1991: 40), writing on 'Finding memories in Madagascar' has stated that:

> Memory is associated with places, often burial places, in many parts of the world. In contemporary Madagascar, these places are the fertile, rocky ground where the living join with the dead to form ancestries, lest they die out together.

I suggest that in northern Cape York, these sites are places where 'the living join with the dead to form ancestries'. Moreover, those who do not directly participate in this (i.e. those who do not have traditional affiliations to this area), recognise, respect and share these beliefs. In doing so, they legitimise traditional ownership and are part of the process of forging new identities based on shared experience.

10.4 Conclusion: monuments in a cultural landscape

In previous chapters, the links between these stories, beliefs and practices and the construction and maintenance of identities were illustrated. This chapter has been largely concerned with developing a view of the 'archaeological' sites on the East Coast that incorporates their role as elements of local identity. I have attempted to show that these 'middens' are symbols of this enduring 'past'. They are monuments within the cultural landscape and the theatrical 'props' which stimulate the continuing practice of culture.

This has many implications for archaeology and heritage management in this country. It calls into question contemporary notions within the archaeological community about the relationship between archaeology and heritage and the way in which 'archaeological sites' are perceived and assessed in relation to this. These points are further addressed in Chapter 11.

11

Alternative approaches to archaeology and heritage management

The provocatively titled *Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology* (Layton 1989 b) suggests that there is some question as to whether those who are not engaged in the business of archaeology are at all interested in the 'past'. While there is an emphasis on the description of indigenous perceptions of the past in this volume (e.g. Williams and Mununggurr 1989), some authors (e.g. Ndagala and Zengu 1989; Nwana 1989; Raharijaona 1989; Chase 1989) are at least somewhat concerned with showing the potential links between such perceptions and archaeological interpretations. In the same volume, Stone (1989: 195) expresses concern with the gap between archaeological interpretations and public perceptions of the past. He states that:

> This chapter argues that professional archaeologists in Britain (both academic and field-based) do not take enough notice of the perceptions of the past held by the public.

Stone's answer in terms of narrowing this gap is to provide the public (particularly school children) with information concerning archaeological 'material and ideas'. In other words, this gap can be narrowed by educating the public in archaeological interpretations of the past. What is missing in this volume is an explicit discussion of the way in which archaeological perceptions of 'the past' can be changed by educating archaeologists on the perceptions of indigenous and other groups.

The major concern of this chapter is to examine the way in which the perceptions of people in northern Cape York have changed my own perceptions of the past. This includes the development of an alternative approach to archaeology, which I have termed 'Community-based archaeology' (Greer and Fuary 1987; Greer 1989), and perhaps more importantly, the application of this approach in heritage management. The aim in exploring these is not to replace traditional approaches, but rather to offer alternatives. The approaches that are outlined here are suggested only within the context within which they were developed and these specific models should not be seen as a 'recipe' that can be uncritically applied elsewhere. The broader contribution of these models lies, however, in the implication that such alternatives are possible, necessary and desirable and in the suggestion that research into this area is legitimate, especially in terms of emerging areas within heritage management (e.g. Byrne 1993).

11.1 Community-based archaeology

The primary concern of Community-based archaeology is the use of archaeological research in the construction of indigenous identity. Thus, this approach does not aim to satisfy needs within the discipline, unless these (happily) coincide. This may best be explained by recourse to the original thesis topic. In 1984, my research topic was centred around evaluating the evidence for socio-economic intensification in northern Cape York. As such, it was an attempt to enter a major debate that was emerging at the time the project was initiated (see Lourandos 1983, 1984, 1985; Beaton 1983, 1985; Cribb 1986). In this sense, the research was 'timely and specific' as advocated by Bowdler (1981, 1984) and addressed a debate that was current within the discipline. In contrast, the focus in a community-based archaeological approach is on determining community needs, particularly in relation to the development of identity, and in defining a research project that can address these.

Between 1984 and 1987, the Injinoo community had several specific needs which, when defined, were met to some extent by the initiation of the Cowal Creek Country Project. It has been argued in other parts of the thesis that the need to record traditional affiliations, life histories, genealogies, stories and songs was a significant motivation for the community to agree to the original archaeological research. The importance of recording such information lies in its potential in the construction of not only individual identities for particular traditional groups, but in determining what is constituted by 'Injinoo' and 'northern Cape York' identities today.

11.1.1 History and explanation of the term 'community-based archaeology'

This term was first used by the author in a conference paper at the Townsville ANZAAS Congress (Greer and Fuary 1987) and further refined in a second paper delivered at the Australian Archaeological Association Conference at Mildura (Greer 1989). Since this time, it has been somewhat loosely used to refer to archaeological work undertaken either with, or for, Aboriginal people and communities. In contrast to such definitions, 'Community-based archaeology', as I have defined it, has specific principles which govern research and which distinguish this approach from that of others.

The use of 'community-based' within this term has several interrelated functions. The term 'community' in relation to Aboriginal and Torres Strait people has attracted some criticism, particularly in terms of the government's role in the development of these. Use of the term in this instance does not address such arguments. Rather, it follows current usage of the term within the communities of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people in northern Cape York and inherently recognises the historical processes that have produced these. It also acknowledges the cultural and historical complexity of these communities and that connections between them has resulted a new social dynamic. For example, the pattern of social and kin relationships have changed as a result of this. While there is an important interest in primary tribal affiliation, the complexity of social relationships in subsequent times has meant that an individual may have many lines of affiliation that cannot be drawn within precontact parameters. Much discussion at the workshop held in August 1987 at Injinoo involved a reckoning of such lines of affiliation, with older members of the community providing younger members with guidance in this (see Chapter 8). One of the strongest message that emerged from the fieldwork in northern Cape York was that while the revival of interest in primary 'tribal' affiliation was welcomed, the community had, and wanted to retain, a strong identity as 'Injinoo'. Within a broader context, the various communities have, in addition, a collective identity as 'northern Cape York people'.

Given this complexity, it is difficult to conceive of an approach that centres only on one specific group without reference to the others. Such an approach might well provoke rivalries and feed factional disputes and is potentially destructive in terms of community cohesion and, ultimately, identity. As the broad aim of Community-based archaeology is to assist in the construction of community identity, the targeting of only particular groups within a community would not be undertaken under this banner. By putting the community first, any such disputes can be played out within the community, without the intervention of outside interests or agenda.

11.1.2 Principles of community-based approach

As was stated previously, the primary aim of a community-based approach is to define a role for archaeological research in the definition and construction of community identities. In order to achieve this, a central concern is the development of a dialogue between community and researcher that not only provides the point of initiation for the project, but which can be embedded in it. This differs from notions of 'consultation' (even multi-stage consultation) and 'participation' in that these, at best, describe a process whereby Aboriginal or Island people share in the archaeological discourse. As suggested in Chapter 9 'consultation' is a reactionary process, that is, one is able to react to proposals or propositions. In a community-based approach, the proposals are developed as an integral component of research by both the researchers and those on whose heritage the research is based.

There are, however, several requirements for the development of this dialogue. Firstly, the researcher may be obliged to undertake negotiations at a number of levels. This may be ultimately aimed at defining the persons or groups with whom to undertake further negotiation (the 'speakers' in northern Cape York), as well as determining those elements within the community that form the basis of contemporary identity. The outcome of these negotiations should be the definition of research questions that are acceptable to both the community and the researcher, and the development of an agreed code of methods and practices. As illustrated in Chapter 9, this is in contrast to the process of conventional consultation which has focused on the delineation of unacceptable practices, but does not address the issue of the questions being researched.

Communication between the researcher and the community can only be empowering to the community if it is predicated on excellent communications. Communications can be defined in at least two broad areas. Firstly, there is the somewhat straight forward issue of language. For example, while many Aboriginal people are multilingual, and usually speak

English, communication should be undertaken in the language which is most empowering for each particular community. In northern Cape York, Creole is the first language of most people and the *lingua franca* of the broader region which extends northwards across the Torres Strait and southwards to other Cape York communities. As such, it is likely to be the most empowering language for the communities of this region. If the researcher is unable to speak the appropriate language, an interpreter could be used or alternatively, one could choose to work with an anthropologist who has worked in the region and who has the appropriate language, experience and other skills.

The second dimension of communication involves the domain in which consultation should take place. Again, like language, the domain should be that which is most empowering for the community. As defined in previous chapters, the village domain (rather than the Council Office) offered the best opportunity for empowerment in the work undertaken in this project. The general point to be made here is that in a community-based approach, such issues should be dealt with in the initial stages of work. Again, working with an anthropologist who has had experience in the region should assist in this process. Given the nature of anthropological research, and the requirement to spend considerable periods of time in the field, an anthropologist who has worked with the community (or even in the general region) should be able to define the original domain and facilitate discussions in the appropriate domain. In the present project, the language skills and expertise of the anthropologist with whom I worked allowed negotiations between the community and me to enter what I have called the 'village domain'. The connection between language and entry to this domain cannot be underestimated, although proficiency in Creole alone would not necessarily have ensured that this would have taken place.

11.1.3 Decision-making within the dialogue

In a community-based approach, there are decisions to be made at every stage of the project. In the initial stages, there are issues to resolve such as the definition of appropriate and mutually beneficial research questions. The parameters of ownership and dissemination of the material collected should be established and the nature and level at which specific community members will be involved. At deeper stages of the research, complex issues concerning the contribution of archaeological research to the construction of identity(ies) are discussed and decisions made. These are discussed in the following sections.

Definition of research questions

The community-based approach draws research questions from both the interests of the researcher and the community. This does not necessarily mean that the researcher goes into the community with a 'blank slate'. Where this is the case, anthropological expertise plays an important role in the defining and interpreting areas of interest to the community(ies). However, if anthropological research has previously documented genealogical information, relationships to land, stories, contemporary beliefs etc., this might provide a basis for initiating discussions concerning the nature of research.

The parameters of ownership and the dissemination of cultural property

In the early stages of research arrangements concerning the ownership of material produced in the project should be determined between the researcher and the community. Similarly, the issues of the extent to which such information can be disseminated and the conditions under which this can occur should be outlined (see also Veth 1991: 65). These are complex problems which should take into account both the skills, expertise and rights of <u>all</u> participants (including the researcher).

It may be necessary to establish structures to deal with these problems. The proposal for the Injinoo Land Trust was partly in response to the need for a body that could direct and oversee matters of cultural importance. More recently, the establishment of the Apudhama Association has taken on this role. Its broad base of elders from a number of the communities recognises the historical and cultural complexity of northern Cape York and symbolises the emerging collective identity of peoples from this area. It was perceived as being necessary to separate Apudhama's role from that of the general administration and co-ordination of the community, which is undertaken by the community council. Community councils in Queensland are established by a political process which replicates that of the dominant society. Councillors may therefore be younger people, elected for their administrative skills, but who may not have the cultural links and expertise of senior members of the community. Councils are not necessarily representative of all cultural groups present in the communities and, because of the political nature of their formation, could well represent only limited factions. For all of these reasons, the councils may not be the most appropriate body to deal with cultural matters.

<u>Community involvement</u>

One of the most important, and sometimes problematic decisions involves defining who can and should participate in various stages of the the discourse. In an ideal situation, such information would be widely known within the community and the researcher would be directed towards the appropriate individuals and groups. In areas that have suffered significant removal and dislocation, this will not be straight forward. Anderson (1986:

306) suggests that of the 14 Aboriginal communities listed in his 1984 survey, only half were made up of a 'local population'. The latter however is something of a misnomer as it defines the general region from which the community was drawn rather than the diversity of cultural groups. Each of the seven communities made up of a local population comprises a number of different, and at times, competing, groups.

In this sense, Injinoo is predominantly a local population, with community members being drawn from people whose traditional lands extended as far south as Port Musgrave on the west coast and Cape Grenville on the east coast. In addition, some of the Island people who live in the community, especially those who can trace their links to Muri may be seen as representing the northernmost extent of this local population. However, the establishment of other communities in northern Cape York (Bamaga, Seisia, Umagico and New Mapoon) has provided a social environment of great complexity which is exacerbated by the fact that northern Cape York people can be found living elsewhere. Often, the proposal of a project provides the catalyst for community negotiations in relation to this. This can be an exciting process, however the possibility of contested ownership and the time required to negotiate agreements have to be written into such a project.

Secondly, in such cases, the project is often (again) the catalyst for the establishment of an appropriate process for dealing with such matters. Initial contact, as in the present project, may be with community councils. However, more specific work, involving local information or landscapes that are associated with particular groups or individuals should only be discussed with <u>those</u> individuals who have traditional links or custodial responsibilities for such areas.

In the present process, both the definition of ownership and the establishment of a process to deal with cultural matters occurred as the project unfolded. Moreover, the project itself changed direction significantly over the same period of time. The definition of traditional links and associations and locating Injinoo families, groups and individuals was a large, time-consuming but necessary component of the Cowal Creek Country Survey, which was itself a response to this change of direction. In the future, the draft register of Injinoo people and their connections to traditional groups has been prepared by Fuary (1993) and the report by Fuary and Greer (1993) will provide important tool for the community to use in relation to this decision-making process. A point that needs stressing, however, is that these difficulties were experienced within a community that is perceived to be located in close proximity to their traditional lands. How much more difficult must it be where people have been relocated and traditional groups scattered from one end of this large State to another.

11.1.4 Problems with the community-based approach

While there is much to recommend the community-based approach, there are some problems which should be addressed. Firstly, some archaeologists may reject an approach that acknowledges external control of research directions. Arguments surrounding the importance of 'academic freedom' and the dangers of such external, especially political control have been used in the past against such notions. However, there are several points to be made in relation to this.

Firstly, there is a vast difference between the use of archaeology to promote the particular aspirations of a ruling class or dominant sector and a community-based approach which has a very limited sphere of influence and control. Indeed, it has been argued that it is the scientific or archaeological construction of the past that has served these nationalistic goals. For example, Trigger (1984) has illustrated the connections between interpretations of the past and nationalist agenda. Fowler (1987) provides three examples (Mexico from around A D 900 to the present, Britain from approximately A D 1500 to the present and the People's Republic of China since 1949) in which archaeology has served 'nationalistic goals and ideologies'. Byrne (1993 has discussed the way in which the appropriation of Aboriginal cultures has been used in the construction of national identity. He (1993: 236-237) states that:

> The 'traditional' Aboriginal culture thus mediates between the settlers and the soil. In the process of becoming what I have called 'the new natives', white Australians have teified 'traditional' Aboriginal culture as a source of national authenticity. The stark reality of contemporary Aboriginal lives always threatens, however, to break into this construct with the truth (of deaths in custody, violence on the North Queensland reserves, or simply with the truth of modern, innovative, urban Aboriginality). Herein lies the construct's instability. The importance of Aboriginal 'archaeological' heritage may reside in its apparent, inherent, stability.

A community-based approach, by definition, is not aimed at producing an account of the past which serves 'pan-Aboriginal' interests. Rather, it attempts to facilitate control over matters of culture and heritage at the (comparatively) micro-social level of the local community. Any commonality of interest amongst these communities must then be treated, in democratic terms, as having an honest and legitimate basis. Clearly, a community-based approach to the past which focuses on localised elements of identity and heritage is the opposite of those which facilitate nationalistic pursuits.

Secondly, the development of this approach does not presuppose that it should or would become the <u>only</u> approach to archaeological research in this country. Therefore, any political bias that could result from the use of this or similar approaches could be countered by more traditional archaeological research.

In addition to the more philosophical considerations, there are a number of pragmatic and methodological problems that should be discussed. Firstly, as outlined above, the Community-based approach is heavily dependent upon anthropological expertise and/or previous work. This can be achieved by working with an anthropologist, as was the case with the Cowal Creek Country Survey. However, this approach has considerable organisational problems and requires significant amounts of time, a factor which was significant in delaying the final presentation of the present thesis. Alternatively, an archaeologist wishing to use the Community-based approach could elect to undertake research within a community for which a considerable amount of anthropological work has already been undertaken. Certainly, this is the case in western Cape York (for example, Sutton 1978; Von Sturmer 1978; Taylor 1984) and in eastern Cape York (Anderson 1984; Chase 1980). However, this approach is dependent on the co-operation and support of the anthropologists who were responsible for the earlier work and so is not without its own organisational problems. The advantages of this method lie in that, to some extent, the work of defining and interpreting community perspectives and values for the archaeologist may have already been undertaken. Moreover, if at least the initial work is undertaken with the anthropologist, potential language and other communication problems could in part be overcome. A major disadvantage lies in the difficulty of establishing and maintening a research relationship between the anthropologist and archaeologist. This is perhaps especially problematic given the current trend to distance these two disciplines.

One of the areas that is most problematic in terms of the application of a community-based approach is that of consultancy work, and especially Environmental Impact Studies (EIS) that are associated with development. In such instances, the major problem is again the amount of time required to initiate and undertake, even under the best of circumstances, a Community-based approach. These types of consultancies generally allow only a limited amount of time for EIS work, which renders this approach unworkable. However, EIS work represents a major portion of archaeological work in this country in terms of the preliminary survey, location, recording and assessment of sites. As such, it is probably this area, more than others, that would benefit from adopting a Community-based or similar type of approach. This issue is more fully explored in the following section.

11.2 A community-based approach to heritage

A cornerstone of the community-based approach revolves around the way in which archaeological work can contribute to the construction of identities, rather than the production of a piece of research that might play such a role. Thus, once traditional affiliations and an appropriate process have been determined, a community-based approach focuses on the definition of specific elements of identity that have been retained by each group, or which have been developed by the community as a whole. In northern Cape York, the stories, beliefs and practices that are associated with Sandago tend to be best known by those who have specific traditional links with this area. However, a belief in the presence of supernatural beings is woven into the fabric of collective community identity. While other groups may not have specific knowledge of this place, their recognition, respect and perhaps especially fear of the forces that operate here suggest that this is an important element not only for 'Sandbeach' and 'Injinoo' identities, but for that of a collective northern Cape York identity.

At the end of 1987, it seemed that the greatest contemporary significance in the sites at Sandago lay in the way in which they articulated with the cosmological, ontological and historical factors and the way in which these became part of a framework of identities. My initial response to this was that the management of these sites and their definition in these terms was therefore a more important consideration than exploiting their somewhat limited research potential. In line with this, I felt that it was this which was the major contribution of the Community-based approach. An example of this can be seen in the implementation of the Somerset Conservation Plan undertaken in this area by McIntyre (1994). This plan was developed on behalf of the Injinoo community in order to address the problems of management at the Somerset, particularly in relation to high levels of tourist activity. A community-based approach is being used in this project in the following ways:

1. to determine the levels of 'ownership' or 'custodianship' of the site and surrounding landscape within the community and to define individuals and groups that should be included in the decision-making process;
2. to determine the significance of the site and the landscape in which it is located to such individuals and groups, and to the community as a whole;
3. to define an appropriate conservation zone on the basis of information obtained above;
4. to determine the appropriateness of particular management practices and tecniques within this context (Susan McIntyre, pers. comm.).

11.2.1 Definitions of heritage

More recently, however, this link between sites and identity has provoked a broader rethinking of the notion of 'heritage' both within and beyond this project. While Stone (1989) deplores the gap between archaeologists' and ordinary peoples' perceptions of the past and seeks to fill this with education in archaeological thought, the community-based approach embraces non-archaeological perceptions and seeks to incorporate these into the definition and management of heritage. An important element of this discussion is the separation of the areas of 'archaeology' and 'heritage management'. In the west, these have often been conflated such that when Stone (1989) talks about archaeologists in Britain ignoring the perceptions of the past held by the public, he is referring to the fact that the public have not been well provided with archaeological interpretations. The community-based approach, as defined for northern Cape York, privileges non-archaeological perceptions because of the role that they play in the construction of local identities.

The origin of the contrast in these approaches can be seen in the different conceptions of 'heritage'. The community-based approach sees 'heritage' as a range of elements of culture that can be seen as the birthright of some groups (see also Greer 1994). This birthright is not based on the scientific demonstration of a continuous heritage that extends into the distant past, but rather the contemporary and historical associations between places and/or landscapes and people. In this sense, the community-based approach is based on a different perception of the role of timeframes. Most archaeology, including contemporary heritage management, is based on obtaining temporal frameworks. For example, a knowledge of where a site can be placed in relation to this is an important component in the assessment of its scientific significance. In contrast, the community-based approach stresses contemporaneous associations with sites in which the past plays a role but is not the most important factor in its significance. Underlying this difference is perhaps the fact that we are dealing with different approaches to time. Greer (1994: 196) has provided a generalised description of Australian Aboriginal approaches to time:

> Just as language links people in space, Dreaming links people through time and space. It is a spiritual sphere or eternal life that exists in the interstices of normal secular life and is based on a concept of timelessness which does not incorporate notions of historical or chronological time. It is where the past and present meet.

In northern Cape York, the past and the present meet in the stories, beliefs and practices that are associated with the East Coast strip. Moreover, the sites at Sandago are monuments that symbolise this 'timelessness' and which also act as the 'theatrical props' which can be used to invoke this state.

An important element of the community-based approach is that there is an in-built dynamic. As community needs change in relation to shifts in the focus of identity, so too will the archaeological response. For example, while the present assessment of the community significance of the sites at Sandago may seem appropriate at this point in time, the dynamics of a living culture suggests that this will change over time. In this sense, a community-based approach does not provide a recipe or a prescription to be cast in concrete. Rather, it provides a framework which continually adjusts to changing needs.

11.2.2 Links between Anthropology and Archaeology: the emergence of Cultural Heritage Studies

A community-based approach to heritage is strongly related to, and in many ways, dependent upon, anthropological work. For example, the Cowal Creek Country Survey and the subsequent reports (Fuary and Greer 1993; Fuary 1993) provide an excellent platform from which further Community-based projects (e.g. McIntyre 1994; In Prep.) can be undertaken. More specifically, the type of anthropological work required includes documenting geneological information and historical information relating to both the community as a whole and to individuals. At Injinoo the draft register prepared by Fuary (1993) provides the community with a base from which to decide who should be involved in a project. Information on precontact life, contemporary beliefs and practices, life histories and the establishment of the communities in northern Cape York is recorded in Fuary and Greer (1993). This provides the community with details of traditional affiliations of northern Cape York peoples (including those who currently live outside of Injinoo and other northern Cape York communities) and suggests a range of further work that was identified in the course of the project. This facilitates negotiations with a broad range of traditional owners or 'speakers'. This is important, as those who have borne the responsibilities and at times, the burden of consultation can spread decision-making, especially where important cultural concerns are involved, over a larger group. In the past, such persons were often left with enormous responsibilities, simply because they were 'on-the-spot'.

The second area of anthropological research that is important and indeed integral to the community-based approach involves the definition of elements of community identity. These elements can be defined as the interaction between contemporary custom and shared history, beliefs and links with the past (see Chapter 10). The documentation of these, which is traditionally the province of the anthropologist, allows the researcher and the community to determine what aspects of archaeological work could be useful. If the work on the middens at Sandago had not been informed by the knowledge of beliefs, stories and practices, the archaeological work would have proceeded in an unreconstructed way with the best of intentions.

Again, the need for anthropological expertise increases where communities have suffered most and such information is, as previously mentioned, scattered over several generations and many individuals and/or is 'underground'. This is in contrast to some current perceptions in which anthropological expertise is deemed important only where there is a strong link with what is perceived to be the precontact past.

Anthropology and archaeology have had a troubled history of alliance and separation, largely the result of different 'traditions' in both disciplines and the development of different schools that emerged from this. In the last twenty years in Australia, there has been a trend to separate the two with a number of university departments that previously linked the two either separating and forming alliances with other disciplines or establishing independent units. While the academic pursuits of both disciplines are perhaps diverging considerably, it is in the applied areas that a new unity can be perceived. The area of cultural heritage management is one such area. Anthropologists can play an important role in this area, if one accepts that the construction of identities is an important consideration in the definition of 'heritage'. Archaeologists, on the other hand, have developed an expertise in the area of heritage management given the two or three decades in which they have been responsible for this area. In addition, their knowledge of landscape and the emerging concept of 'cultural landscapes' (see also Chapter 9) provides an overview of heritage concerns on the one hand and a framework within which information on beliefs, stories, practices, language and other elements of identity can be placed.

This emergent area of 'Cultural Heritage Studies' will not, however, be simply a hybrid of the two disciplines. Rather, each discipline brings to this discourse a number of skills and a knowledge base from which new foundations and priorities can be established. In Australia, this area can include cultural heritage management, but it can also include the developing areas surrounding Native Title and other land claims, as well as a number of areas which focus on the construction of cultural identity.

11.2.3 Hegemony and the archaeological heritage

The inclusion of perceptions such as those outlined in this chapter are not especially new in the heritage area. In fact, much of what has been outlined above can be accomodated within the 'social value' component of cultural significance within the*Burra* Charter (see Article 1.5) in Australia. This has been defined in the following way in the Guidelines to the *Burra* Charter (Article 2.5):

> Social value embraces the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national, or other cultural sentiment to the majority or minority group.

The community-based approach differs however in terms of the emphasis given to 'social' rather than other (e.g. scientific) values. It recognises that the colonial experience of many indigenous people in this country has left them with the need to engage in the development of identities as a means of cultural and social survival. Under such circumstances, more emphasis is placed on social values, perhaps especially in relation to archaeological values. There is a recognition that as archaeological perspectives on the past are drawn from the dominant (and non-indigenous) sector, a hegemony of western thought may detract from indigenous perspectives. This has been exacerbated by the emphasis on or privileging of archaeological interpretations of the past which have dominated heritage management until recently (see Chapter 2).

Secondly, I would contend that in some instances archaeological methods of investigating and managing the past, e.g. excavation, are potentially destructive of the very devices, i.e. the theatrical 'props', which are used in the continuing practice of culture. The excavation and removal of the fireplaces at Sandago are a good example of this (see also Chapters 8 and 10). In contrast, the community-based approach seeks to affirm community perspectives and values and to support the continuing practice of culture.

In addition, because archaeological or scientific perspectives of the past stem from outside the community, they offer the latter only a reactive role through the processes of consultation and to a lesser extent participation. This means that while they have an opportunity to respond to proposals, their concerns are not an integral part of the framing of research questions. Again, the notion of good archaeological management being driven by 'timely and specific' research questions which are framed within the discipline (Bowdler 1981, 1984) further distances the community from anything other than a reactive role. Furthermore, the emphasis on consultation as a means of empowering indigenous people is constrained by the context of current power relations between them and non-indigenous people in this country.

11.2.4 The changing role of heritage

When the concept of a state (that is, legislative) role in the protection of heritage was first mooted in the early 1960s, it was motivated by a desire to protect archaeological 'relics'. The role of archaeologists was as interpreter and adviser (and therefore custodian) as the model of heritage was entirely drawn from archaeological sources, concerns and interests. These concerns surrounded the differences between a professional approach and that of amateurs. They were linked with the development of scientific practices and legislative frameworks that served this academic model (Mulvaney 1963; 1968; 1990: 249). The establishment of statutory authorities occurred in the late 1960s (in Queensland and South Australia) and other states followed in the 1970s. By this time, the influence of Cultural Resource Management, developed in the United States and influenced by the 'New' or processual archaeology, was beginning to be felt in Australia. Following criticism of the limitations of 'public archaeology', many statutory authorities decided to embrace CRM as the tool by which scientific value was measured (see also Chapter 2).

This was further exacerbated because the need for management was most strongly felt in metropolitan areas such as Sydney. This resulted in the early establishment of a heritage agency (the NSW NPWS) and the adoption of models for protecting cultural heritage (e.g. CRM). Due to the specifics of the New South Wales situation (and particularly in and around Sydney) the competing interests in land tenure had the effect of conflating the broad banner of heritage management under the immediate pragmatic needs of 'planning'. Much of the regional archaeologists' time, especially in the metropolitan area, was taken up in ensuring that sites were not threatened by competing needs and in the development of predictive models and statements in relation to this. The level of development in such areas and the resultant need to establish convincingly 'archaeological significance' in the face of this, probably accounts for the adoption of CRM as a scientific (and perhaps therefore acceptable) model. Due to the success of the NSW NPWS in the early days under Sharon Sullivan, this agency was used as a model in the development of other heritage agencies (see also Chapter 2). However, the inappropriateness of applying this model in other states lies in the different colonial, historical and contemporary experiences of indigneous people in different parts of Australia. More recently, the use of this model within in New South Wales itself has been questioned by Byrne (1993).

While academic constructions of heritage may have been acceptable previously, the 1990s has so far been marked by dramatic developments in the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. For example, the historic *Mabo* decision in 1992 in the High Court of Australia has acknowledged native title in Australia. Sutherland (1993: 67) states that:

> Indigenous Australians achieved a major breakthrough in their struggle for the recognition and restoration of their rights to land and other resources in June 1992, when the High Court, Australia's most superior court, ruled that native title over land held by Murray Islanders in the Torres Strait was recognised by the common law.

The enactment of Native Title legislation in the following year, which outlines the applications of native title, provided national recognition of the rights of indigenous people in this country.

In Chapter 2, the connections between heritage management in Australia and the 'New' or processual archaeology are outlined. CRM emerged from this approach in the 1970s as the scientific answer to the problems of managing the archaeological resource base. While the practice of heritage management underwent many changes in the 1980s and early 1990s, current practice still derives much of its terms and references from a system that is external to those of indigenous societies in Australia. It is obvious that this way of looking at the past, this *archaeological* past, will no longer provide an adequate model in an environment of increasing recognition of the 'rights to land and other resources'.

In addition, the disciplinary focus of qualifications is likely to change in line with a changing focus. While heritage managers are still largely drawn from the discipline of archaeology, this has broadened in recent years to include historians and architects, largely as a result of a recognition of the heritage of the postcontact period. In addition, the expertise of indigenous peoples themselves in relation to heritage has also been recognised. On the basis of this thesis however it is clear that in some instances training in anthropology would assume far greater importance for archaeologists than it has done in the past in Australia.

11.2.5 Origins of the community-based approach

Although the ideas and concepts behind the community-based approach have not been widely discussed in Australian archaeology, it should not be supposed that this approach has emerged without antecedent. It is my conviction that this approach has grown out of the feminist perspective which played a large role in the involvment of indigenous people in heritage management. As was suggested in Chapter 2, feminists can identify with the category of 'other', into which indigenous people have often been placed. Spector's (1994) study similarly describes the development of an alternative approach to archaeological interpretation. After working with Dakota (Native American) people and becoming dissatisfied with forms of writing tied to traditional archaeological methods and analysis, she began to reassess the way in which she had *learned* to interpret the past. Her response was to develop new approaches to archaeological writing. In particular, she herself focused on writing the story of a single artefact, an awl that was uncovered in the course of her investigations. Spector (1994: 1) states that:

> When I excavate sites and touch things that have lain untouched for centuries, I know why I am an archaeologist. But until now, when I wrote about those sites and objects, I felt no connection with the past, my own or that of the people whose cultural landscapes I had unearthed. Writing 'What This Awl Means,' a story about a Dakota girl who lost a carved awl handle a century and a half ago, brought back thoughts and feelings I had experienced as a young girl drawn to archaeology. As I learned about the discipline - and, especially, how to write about archaeology for academic readers - I found myself increasingly distanced from the question that had fascinated me since childhood: What was life like for people in the past? While

> composing the awl story in place of the standard archaeological report or scholarly article, I was reminded of my original reasons for wanting to be an archaeologist. These motives are empathetic - a longing to discover essences, images, and feelings of the past - not detached, distanced, objective.

Spector's explicit feminist underpinnings (the volume is subtitled *Feminist archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota village*) and her desire to incorporate the 'essences, images, and feelings of the past' illustrate a connection with the past which goes beyond scientific interest. I believe that it illustrates the connections between feminist thought and an understanding of and empathy with the position of 'other'.

The community-based approach could also be seen to share many elements with postmodernism and its disciplinary forms: the new ethnography in anthropology, postprocessualism in archaeology and postAboriginalism in Aboriginal studies. These include the recognition of 'other' voices and of the constraints of western constructions within these areas. Such approaches encourage a reflexive attitude in relation to the construction of the 'other', with a focus on reflecting upon this process of construction. However, just as the community-based approach attempts to go beyond the changes in archaeological practice that exemplify the best of current approaches, so too does it attempt to go beyond just reflection. On a more pragmatic level, the current popularity of postmodernism within some sectors of the academy may provide community-based approaches with a level of acceptance which would not have been forthcoming with other paradigms (e.g. ecological determinism).

11.2.6 Community-based archaeology and heritage management

The role of heritage managers in a community-based system would ideally be significantly different from that undertaken by many heritage authorities today. The process might be described in the following way:

1. establishment of links with (and sometimes defining) the community(ies);

2. initiation of work on registers of traditional affiliation etc.;

3. determining, with the community, their needs and requirements with regard to heritage management, for example, determining conceptual and/or geographical areas that are important to the community sense of identity;

4. development of a framework for research and development, including:

(i) defining existing anthropological, archaeological, historical and other knowledge and the role that might be played by 'experts' who have previously worked with the community;

(ii) developing projects that address issues outlined in points 2 and 3 above;

(iii) facilitating an ongoing process of community workshops in which the information and direction of management can be reviewed.

This system is obviously personnel intensive, requiring many more heritage managers than currently exist. For this reason, many of those who are engaged in the business of heritage management are likely to have (at best) a somewhat cynical response to such suggestions. I would contend, however, that it is the role of research to present the ideal position in relation to orientation and process. If these are seen to be acceptable, it is then up to practising heritage managers to apply these to the extent that it is possible within existing constraints.

11.3 The community-based approach within a world perspective

The connections between archaeology, the past and colonial and imperial ideologies have been apparent for more than a decade (e.g. Trigger 1984;

Fowler 1987). McBryde (1985) and Layton (1989 a) presented the complexity of issues surrounding 'ownership' and 'control' of the past, and the papers in Layton (1989 b) imply that there is more to the past than archaeological interpretation. More recently, Spector (1994) illustrates that the experience of working with people who are the inheritors of a culture can change one's outlook and approach to the past. Byrne (1993) has illustrated that in both Thailand and northern New South Wales where he undertook fieldwork, there existed a distance between the archaeological construction (and therefore management) of the past and that of its cultural heirs. Byrne (1993: 239) states:

> What may undermine the conservation ethic more seriously than Post-modern critique, though, may be its obvious lack of fit in the societies of the non-West.

11.3.1 Scientific discourse and ordinary people's notions of 'place'

The evidence which suggests a separation between western and non-western perspectives on the past is mounting increasingly. However, it may be that this 'distance' can be perceived even within western societies. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984) uses a study by Linde and Labov which distinguishes between two types of oral description of the apartments of a group of New Yorkers. These types are the 'map' and the 'tour' (1984: 119):

> The first is of the type: 'The girls' room is next to the kitchen.' The second: 'You turn right and come into the living room'.

The difference between the two is explained by de Certeau as the difference between 'seeing' in the case of the 'maps' and 'acting' in the case of the 'tours'. In the study, it was found that only three percent of the descriptions were of the 'map' type, the vast majority being experiential or made in terms of 'operations'. Although de Certeau's aims in his analysis of these deviate from that proferred here, his description of the difference between these two categories is useful to the present discussion. He (1984: 119) states that:

> The questions ultimately concern the basis of everyday narrations, the relation between the itinerary (a discursive series of operations) and the map (a plane projection totalizing observations), that is, between two symbolic and anthropological languages of space. Two poles of experience. It seems that in passing from 'ordinary' culture to scientific discourse, one passes from one pole to the other.

This discussion illustrates the difference between a scientific discourse of 'place' and one which is held by ordinary people. While there is an enormous social and geographical distance between the ordinary peoples of New York and Cape York, I suggest that in both instances, there is a commonality in the way they view their apartments and their traditional lands, respectively. Furthermore, there is a distance between such experiences of 'place' and those drawn from scientific discourses. This suggests that the perceived disjunction between these perspectives may originate rather in the disjunction between those of science and ordinary people rather than an opposition between west and non-west..

This point is further illustrated with an example drawn from the work of Herzfeld (1991). This ethnographic study centres around the people of Rethemnos, a town on the Greek island of Crete which is known for its Renaissance Venetian domestic architecture. This aspect of Rethmnos' heritage has been the focus of a bitter dispute between the heritage agency responsible for the conservation and management of the 'Old Town' and the Rethemniots whose lives were affected by the restrictions that were imposed in relation to this. The latter included a ban on alterations to buildings (even minor changes such as the taking down of a window box) and a refusal to allow new buildings within the limits of the heritage zone. As Herzfeld (1991: xi) has stated:

> Some residents were happy that their town was taking its rightful place in an official, monumentalized history. Others cared far more about the personal and family histories that they had hoped to carve out of the land according to their own commitments: dowry houses, extended homes to incorporate elderly parents and a large brood of children, business premises that signaled aggressive entrepreneurship.

This illustrates the tension between a living practice of culture and one which is based on preserving the fabric of a remnant of a romanticised 'past'. One is tempted to draw comparisons between the living culture which is embodied in the beliefs, stories and practices associated with the midden sites in northern Cape York and the archaeological perception of the past which looks more to radiocarbon dates, stone artefacts and food remains of a meal consumed at some point in the distant past.

Herzfeld develops the contrast between the official 'heritage' and the residents' views of the 'Old Town'. He notes that while the authorities view the decaying buildings as 'good', the Rethemniots who are forced to live in them see them as 'unhealthy' and 'dank'. Similarly, the tourists who come to see the 'Old Town' provide a measure of economic input. However it is debatable how much this benefits the largely impoverished locals. The latter feel that the historic area has been appropriated by the tourists, just as they feel that they no longer own their own homes. They feel that the only beneficiary is the government (Herzfeld 1991: 191),

> Then let the government buy up the best-reserved houses and cordon off an area of the Old Town, renaming it 'Good Town' (*Kali Poli*) - an aptly ironic euphemism, snarled with polite bitterness at the bureaucratic expropriation of taste and virtue. If citizens must be forced to live in a home that they feel they do not actually own, what is 'good' about life in a badly drained monument?.

The sentiments expressed by the Rethemniots are familiar and serve to illustrate that the distance between archaeological notions of heritage and those of the cultural heirs of that heritage is not the preserve of the non-West. As Herzfeld (1991: xiii) has noted:

> The problems that face Rethemnos are not unique to that town, although its special circumstances throw them into high relief and open them up for comparison. Archaeologists and historians everywhere face a set of interconnected moral dilemmas whose magnitude is only now becoming clear. To what extent may the desire to preserve an ancient heritage impinge on the lives of those who inhabit it? Whose heritage is it, and who makes those decisions? Can the state act as a guardian for the future, or is that paternalistic image simply a disguise for the uncontrolled use of bureaucratic authority? What, finally, *is* history - and who makes it?

The Rethemniot case illustrates that the archaeological construction of heritage is perhaps equally inappropriate in the west as in the non-west. This is supported by other examples including Cooney's (1994) description of the way in which cultural landscapes of different times influence present perceptions. The solution then lies in changing the discourse itself rather than the development of a more judicious approach to its application. The central concern of this chapter has been to establish the need for such reconstruction and the delineation of this within the context of northern Cape York. The ultimate aim is not the universal application of this specific community-based approach beyond this context, but rather to suggest the general direction, process and need for this type of research.

11.4 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, it was suggested that rather than educating indigenous and other groups in archaeological interpretation, archaeologists could benefit from an understanding of alternative perceptions of the past. This was illustrated by my own response to the way in which northern Cape York people currently practise and reaffirm their culture and use their heritage in the construction of their identities.

This response is encapsulated in the development of the community-based approach to archaeology which provides a framework which is aimed at empowering northern Cape York peoples in relation to the definition and management of their heritage. It attempts to overcome the problems of previous attempts at the empowerment of indigneous people in relation to heritage (e.g. by consultation) and makes the link between heritage and identity in terms of a process that is filtered through people's own perceptions rather than imposed from outside a particular culture (e.g. by the scientific or archaeological construction of heritage).

While it may seem appropriate that different perceptions of heritage can be placed 'side-by-side', it has been shown that the hegemony of scientific perspectives suggests that this is not desirable, especially in relation to the link between heritage and identity. The global ethic of 'World Heritage' is, in fact is located at the other end of the spectrum to the community-based approach, and while such values may have legitimacy in a global sense, they should not dominate those of the cultural heirs of a particular heritage. As Byrne (1993: 237) has pointed out:

> Currently, the heritage discourse tends to raise the meaning and control of 'heritage sites' from a local to a national level. As an adjunct, it may raise them still higher, into the rarified air of World Heritage. Local communities, however, are rarely passive and may find ways to contest these transactions.

This raises the issue of the changing definition of heritage and the changing role of heritage managers. It has been suggested that this has implications for training and qualifications, as well as for the orientation and process of this area.

Finally, it has been suggested that while most accounts focus on the 'special case' of indigenous groups in relation to heritage, the hegemonic nature of the archaeological discourse may be similarly problematic in the west as in the non-west. This is not to say that heritage and identity are not shaped by the characteristics of a particular culture, but rather that problems in the process of the definition of these remain the same.

12

Conclusion

In 1984, the original project aimed at investigating evidence for socio-economic intensification appeared to be a demanding, but potentially rewarding challenge in the vast, archaeologically unexplored terrain of northern Cape York. In 1987, following the abandonment of the original project, I had only just begun to understand the lengths to which the new direction was taking me. In the intervening years, the development of the community-based approach in archaeology has been found support in the work of Byrne (1993) and Ellis (1994) in Australia who also present strong critiques of the archaeological (or scientific) discourse of heritage. As Byrne (1993: 240) has stated:

> In the end, perhaps, the choice is between the material richness of the material past and the richness of local practice.

A commonality of experience can be discerned in Spector (1994) whose feminist response to working with indigenous people resulted in the development of new forms of writing about the past. The recognition of the broader application of this 'lack of fit' between the archaeological discourse and ordinary people's views of heritage was strengthened by the work of Herzfeld (1991). The plight of the Rethemniots will have a familiar ring to Australian (and other) indigenous peoples who are asked to identify with a past that is dotted with the stone artefacts, archaeological registers and 'facts' that represent the archaeological inheritance more than that of a particular people.

The aim of this thesis has been to illustrate these points within a particular context. The original project was abandoned in order to provide the broadest possible scope within which these complexities could be teased out. At this point, a summary of the main arguments of the thesis is necessary in order to present the final argument.

12.1 Summary of thesis arguments

In Chapter 2 it was argued that the dominant discourse in heritage management in Australia (CRM) stems from the scientific perspective of the 'New' or processual archaeology. It was suggested that this approach views heritage and culture as a 'resource' and is strongly influenced by the way in which natural resources are valued and assessed. It was also argued that with the exception of a limited amount of ethnoarchaeological work (e.g. Meehan 1982), the heritage management area has provided the major means through which indigenous people have been involved in Australian archaeology. The final point of this chapter was that in spite of such efforts, the rift between archaeologists and indigenous people in this country can be seen to be deepening. It is suggested that the efforts to involve indigenous people in heritage management in Australia have been thwarted by the scientific paradigm which has had enormous influence in this area.

In Chapter 3, a history of archaeological work in Queensland was undertaken. It concluded that while the level of archaeological work in this State has dramatically increased over the three decades of 'professionalism', this work has been remarkable for its lack of contact with living indigenous people. This is in spite of a relatively long tradition of anthropological research in the north of the State. It was suggested in Chapter 4 that this has its roots in the distancing of the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology in this country. This is exacerbated by the fact that significant populations of indigenous people in this State lived, until relatively recently, under the repressive reserve system. Under such circumstances, the social distance between indigenous and non-indigenous people is accentuated. Without the links that are sometimes made with anthropology, purely archaeological fieldwork is sometimes logistically and culturally difficult.

Chapters 5 to 8 are an account of fieldwork from 1984 to 1987. The narrative style of these chapters is intended to allow the reader to experience vicariously the frustrations and discomfit of trying to implement the original project and the rewards of the understandings through which the current project unfolded. This has been an important consideration in this thesis. In spite of the country's rich ethnographic heritage, few archaeologists in Australia work within the living tradition of indigenous people. In this sense, my firsthand experience of the conflicts inherent in the juxtaposition of archaeological discourse and contemporary heritage was unusual. It was the recognition of this which prompted a re-evaluation of the nature and direction of my project. In short, in the social climate of escalating conflict between archaeologists and indigenous people, I felt that a piece of work that could illuminate the sources of this had more social value. While I still feel that the original project would be exciting and interesting, I could not reject the opportunity to pursue current themes.

These fieldwork chapters introduce a number of concepts and present information which are subsequently explored in Chapters 9, 10 and 11. These include the links between anthropology and archaeology and the way in which anthropological work has helped to highlight problematic areas in the theory and practice or heritage management. Without the process outlined in Chapter 8, the connections between archaeology, identity and heritage, which are the substance of Chapter 10 could not be made. This chapter is central in terms of the major arguments presented in the thesis. In itself, it presents a view in which the cultural landscape is the focus of heritage and identity. This picture of a cultural landscape is drawn from the stories, beliefs and practices that are associated with the midden sites at Sandago and the entire East Coast strip. This is in contrast with archaeological constructions of the cultural landscape which refer to the physical evidence of a culture, but not the culture itself. The contrast in these two perspectives is illustrated by my interpretation of the sites as mnemonic devices or theatrical 'props' which prompt the practice of culture. Conventional archaeological views see them as the repositories of evidence and hence knowledge about the past. This is perhaps the difference between a static and a dynamic view of culture.

The experiences in Chapters 5 to 8 also gave rise to Chapter 9 which questions the established view that the process of consultation legitimately empowers indigenous people in relation to the construction of the past. By examining the bases of consultation and superimposing onto this the social context within which consultation takes place, it is evident that the 'mandate' provided by consultation is suspect. Chapter 9 illustrates that the colonial history and experiences of indigenous people in this country and their consequent *needs* in relation to identity provide a co-ercive atmosphere which can be (inadvertently) exploited by the archaeological discourse. In retrospect, the needs of people in northern Cape York to record their living culture were, in my opinion, the 'hook' which sold the original project to them. My subsequent experiences in the field confirmed this to the extent that a separate anthropological project was set up to cater for these needs. While this was the original aim of the Cowal Creek Country Survey, an understanding of these problems led to a re-evaluation of the processes of consultation in which the latter was defined as a reactive, rather than an interactive process.

The recognition that the cultural landscapes of indigenous peoples in northern Cape York differed from those of archaeologists prompted a questioning of the legitimacy of the current bases surrounding the definition and management of heritage. These issues are examined in Chapter 11 which also outlines the community-based archaeological approach which is a framework aimed at empowering indigenous people in northern Cape York in relation to this. It is suggested that while this approach has been developed within a specific context, it provides some general principles (such as the constraints on consultation) and an illustration of the way in which similar research could be focused.

The implementation of alternatives such as the community-based approach also raises issues surrounding the changing role of heritage and the nature of training and qualifications in this area. It is suggested that while the experience and training of archaeologists have much to offer, the narrow confines of a single discipline deny the breadth of this area and the consequent need for flexibility.

While the emphasis has been on the construction of heritage within indigenous or non-western contexts in this thesis, Chapter 11 also takes up the issue of whether these are also appropriate in the west. The use of Herzfeld's (1991) example of Rethemnos' heritage suggests that while the shape and form of heritage and identity should be culturally constructed, global or scientific models are inappropriate in *any* context. This is supported by the work of Cooney (1994).

12.2 Theoretical contributions

While the main emphasis of this thesis has been on the critique of heritage discourse, this has been achieved largely through a feminist approach. This approach may be seen as part of an emerging school of feminist thought in Australian archaeology. The feminist contribution of this thesis lies in the nature of the response to indigenous people, which had its antecedents in the feminist approach of some early heritage managers (e.g. Sharon Sullivan) and which can be seen elsewhere in the work of Spector (1994). Such responses have the power to question current constructions of heritage, but to also go beyond reflection. This thesis proposes a new approach to heritage that is based on the practice of culture which emphasies the dynamic nature of heritage rather than merely the fabric of constructed past.

The second theoretical contribution of this thesis lies in its applicability to Native Title claims (see also Henry and Greer In. Prep.). Currently, archaeological work has only limited application in these due to the fact that continuity of occupation is not required beyond the point of European colonisation. Therefore, the establishment of long timeframes of occupation usually provide only supportive evidence. In addition, the problems of establishing cultural continuity over archaeological timeframes renders this line of approach problematic. In contrast, it has been established in this research that archaeological 'sites' are used in the continuing practice and affirmation of culture. It illustrates the way in which contemporary cosmology and ontology are re-produced through places and landscapes. This notion of the <u>contemporary</u> significance of places, sites and landscapes establishes that for living people, culture <u>is</u> practice.

12.3 Conclusion

In a recent volume in the One World Archaeology series, Carmichael et al. (1994) address the notion of the changing definition of 'sites', especially those which are regarded as 'sacred' and the pragmatic issues in relation to their protection. In referring to the changing concept of site 'significance', Ucko (1994: xv) in this volume writes:

> *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places* shows how far ahead in its thinking Australia was, and possibly still is, in this regard, and in its attempts at application in actual research contexts, in comparison with other parts of the world.

It is in terms of this aspect of the contribution of this thesis (and the potential of other similar research on cultural identity and empowerment) that I would like to conclude. Given the nature of Australian society, we have been presented with a unique opportunity in this country to critique current heritage discourses and to developnew constructions. We have a history of heritage management that spans nearly three decades and a wealth of expertise in this area. We also have a long history of involving indigenous people in this area, for all the limitations of this in the past. This history and experience has enormous potential to provide models of process that could be used in other contexts.

In 1981 when Murrary and White published 'Cambridge in the bush?', they wrote:

> But we conclude that although Australian archaeology *is* singular, methodologically and theoretically Australian archaeology was and is archaeology first and Australian second.

While the development of a nationalist archaeology is the antithesis of this thesis, I would suggest that the Australian experience has the potential to suggest a range of new directions, especially in heritage management, that could have much broader application. In respect of this, it is perhaps time to get a bit of the 'bush' into Cambridge.

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