

Archaeology in the Long Grass: A Study of Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Darwin, Australia.

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Declaration Statement

I certify that this thesis:

Does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and

To the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "K. S. P. P.", is displayed on a light gray rectangular background.

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I dedicate this thesis to Dallas Pollard.

Abstract

This is an archaeological study of thirty Aboriginal fringe camps in the Darwin region in the Northern Territory of Australia that date to between 1869 and 2018 after the European invasion and colonization of the Darwin region. The aims of this study are to understand the dynamism of Aboriginal agency to colonization and colonialism continuously over 130 years from invasion to the present day, and to demonstrate the resilience of Aboriginal agency to the forces of colonialism. To achieve these aims the question that directed this research is **Can Aboriginal fringe camps provide insights into social, cultural and economic adaptations to colonialism from the initial contact period to the present?** In answer to the question I developed a new and innovative model using principles borrowed from philosophy to inform the interpretation of the material evidence of Aboriginal agency through an archaeological lens. The model is a theoretical interpretation of four modes of Aboriginal agency. They are called accommodation, engagement, survivance, and resistance/transgression, and begin after 1869 and continue to the present day. Each of these modes represent the ways Aboriginal agency manifested survival and continues to do so, in material terms and in behavioral terms, to colonialism. The ways Aboriginal agency was conceptualized was through the phenomena of fringe camps since this context is a fact of Darwin's colonization history and contemporary Darwin. Aboriginal fringe camps are a unique context of Aboriginal design and expression, and their potential to archaeological research for conceptualizing how Aboriginal people negotiated colonialism, and continue to do so, is significant. The study found that since the European invasion while Aboriginal agency first negotiated, and now transcends colonialism, even in spite of land dispossession causing disruption of Aboriginal connection to country, colonialism is a force of racism and oppression that continues to be a major impact on Aboriginal people in the Darwin region today. However, the study also found that colonialism has not succeeded in extinguishing Aboriginal autonomy of cultural continuity, persistence of Aboriginal fringe camps and Aboriginal identity resilience.

Contents

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Aim	1
1.3. The Study Area	2
1.4. What is the Long Grass?	4
1.5. Theoretical Model	6
1.6. Definitions.....	6
1.6.1. Fringe Camps	6
1.6.2. Interface	7
1.6.3. Accommodation.....	7
1.6.4. Engagement.....	9
1.6.5. Co-inhabit	11
1.6.6. Survivance.....	11
1.6.7. Resistance	13
1.6.8. Transgression	15
1.6.9. Contested Space	16
1.7. Significance of the Model	17
1.8. Archaeological, Archive and Material Evidence	18
1.8.1. Archaeological Evidence	18
1.8.2. Archive Evidence.....	19
1.8.3. Material Evidence	19
1.9. Structure of Thesis	20
1.9.1. Chapter Two.....	20
1.9.2. Chapter Three.....	20
1.9.3. Chapter Four	20
1.9.4. Chapter Five.....	21
1.9.5. Chapter Six.....	21
1.9.6. Chapter Seven	21

1.9.7.	Chapter Eight	21
1.10.	Discussion and Conclusion	22
CHAPTER TWO: METHODS		23
2.1.	Introduction.....	23
2.2.	Archaeological Sites Dating to Early Colonization at Southport.....	23
2.3.	Methods.....	27
2.3.1.	Pedestrian Survey.....	27
2.4.	Survey Related Logistics	27
2.5.	Laboratory Analysis.....	28
2.5.1.	Artefact classification	28
2.5.2.	Artefact Categorization.....	28
2.6.	Archive Sources	30
2.7.	Archaeology in the Long Grass	31
2.8.	Land Use Data.....	32
2.9.	Problems and Limitations with Evidence	32
2.10.	Discussion and Conclusion	33
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL MODEL.....		35
3.1.	Introduction.....	35
3.2.	Discussion and Conclusion	41
CHAPTER FOUR: ACCOMMODATION		43
4.1.	Introduction.....	43
4.2.	Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Australia.....	44
4.2.1.	Historical Conceptualizations of the Frontier	44
4.3.	Aboriginal Experiences of Frontier.....	45
4.4.	The Emergence of Aboriginal Fringe Camps	46
4.5.	On Interstitial Spaces	47
4.6.	European Invasion of Darwin region.....	48
4.7.	Dispossession of the Larrakia People of Darwin	48
4.8.	Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Palmerston.....	51

4.9.	Media Bias and Emergent Aboriginal Survival	51
4.10.	Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Palmerston.....	57
4.11.	Survivance of Self and Identity.....	61
4.12.	Discussion and Conclusion	69
CHAPTER FIVE: ENGAGEMENT.....		70
5.1.	Introduction.....	70
5.2.	Evidence of Non-Aboriginal people	70
5.3.	Evidence of Aboriginal people	71
5.4.	Evidence of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people	71
5.5.	CPS 1: Habitation Site, Barrow Street Southport	71
5.5.1.	Taphonomy at CPS1	78
5.6.	CPS 2: Habitation Site, Darwin River	80
5.6.1.	Taphonomy at CPS2	86
5.7.	Discussion.....	92
5.7.1.	Aboriginal Behaviour at CPS1 and CPS2.....	95
5.8.	Aboriginal People Living at Southport.....	120
5.8.1.	European and Chinese Artefacts	123
5.9.	Engagement at Southport.....	123
5.10.	Discussion and Conclusion	125
CHAPTER SIX: SURVIVANCE		126
6.1.	Introduction.....	126
6.2.	Background.....	126
6.3.	Survivance of Larrakia Tradition and Customs	126
6.4.	Balancing Pragmatic Survival with Cultural Survivance.....	128
6.5.	Settler Advocacy	129
6.5.1.	Imposed Law and Order.....	130
6.5.2.	Blanket Distribution.....	132
6.5.3.	Land Theft.....	133
6.5.4.	Competition for Natural Resources.....	133

6.5.5. Working for Settlers.....	134
6.6. Summary	135
6.7. Discussion and Conclusion	136
CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE	137
7.1. Introduction.....	137
7.2. Part One: Camps in the Long Grass.....	139
7.2.1. Northern Suburbs	139
7.2.2. Rural Area.....	162
7.2.3. Coastal Strip	178
7.2.4. Summary	179
7.3. Part Two: Analysis of the Long Grass	180
7.3.1. The Model.....	180
7.3.2. Types of Resistance	180
7.3.3. Transgression	202
7.4. Shop Bought Food	209
7.5. Bush Foods.....	213
7.6. Theory of Transgression	218
7.7. Discussion and Conclusion	218
CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION.....	220
8.1. Introduction.....	220
8.2. From Accommodation and Engagement to Survivance, Resistance and Transgression	220
8.3. Significance of Research.....	224
8.4. Future Research	225
8.5. Conclusion	226
Appendix 1	250
Appendix 2.....	255

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1. Google Earth Image showing Southport in the Darwin Hinterland of the Northern Territory, Australia. Southport is approximately 70 kilometers from Darwin.	2
Figure 1.2. Map of the Darwin region in the Northern Territory, Australia.	3
Figure 3.1. Theoretical Model of Aboriginal agency post colonization in the Darwin region.	37
Figure 3.2. Dynamic capacity of engagement, survival, resistance and transgression through time.	40
Figure 5.1. ESRI Map of CPS1.	72
Figure 5.2. Looking east down Barrow Street at Southport toward CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.	73
Figure 5.3. Site Plan of CPS1. Reproduced by Antoinette Hennessy.	74
Figure 5.4. Google Earth Image of CPS2. The Darwin River is on the right. The yellow points show the location where artefacts were found. Note the unsealed road to the west of the site. This road is the eastern border of the Southport town grid established by Goyder in 1869.	80
Plate 1.1. View of the long grass.	5
Plate 1.2. View of the long grass.	5
Plate 2.1. Flinders University staff member discussing field work with students at Southport.	24
Plate 2.2. Original Goyder map of Southport.	25
Plate 2.3. ESRI Australia map of Southport showing the distribution of archaeological sites at Southport. CPS1 is the cluster on the right of the map north of the bend in the Darwin River. CPS2 is the cluster on the right of the map south of the bend of the Darwin River.	26
Plate 2.4. Flinders University staff, students, author, and one of the Minbeni (Women) Rangers inspecting a dump site on Mira Square at Southport. A strip of metal seen in the foreground is similar to the examples from CPS2.	27
Plate 4.1. An Aboriginal fringe camp in Cavenagh Street in late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Photographic Collection, Northern Territory Library). Note the discarded empty flour tins around the camp. This evidence suggests that by this time and as a result of constraints on mobility, Aboriginal people were consuming tinned foods and perhaps using the tins for other purposes.	52
Plate 4.2. Aboriginal Fringe Camp, Palmerston settlement mid to late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Collection, Northern Territory Library). Again, a large number of discarded empty flour tins is seen in the foreground of the camp.	54
Plate 4.3. Aboriginal camp at Lamerru Beach, n.d. (Marie and Lindsay Perry Collection, Northern Territory Library, www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/7121). Shelters constructed out of sheet metal can be seen in the background. Some of the men appear to be painted up as if for an occasion.	55
Plate 4.4. Aboriginal people camped in the vicinity of the settlement, 1890 (Historic Photos Collection, Northern Territory Library, www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/28444). The shelter in this camp is made from sheet metal, pieces of wood, cloth and hessian.	57

Plate 4.5. Aboriginal fringe camp near the settlement, 1890. (Paul Foelsche Collection, Northern Territory Library, www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/64230). In this photo shelters appear to be made in traditional designs using stringybark on the roofs.	58
Plate 4.6. Aboriginal people camped at ‘Lameru’ Beach, Darwin. n.d. (Marie and Lindsay Perry Collection, Northern Territory Library, www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/2321). Compared to the materials in the camp shown in Plate 4.5, the shelter in this picture is made predominantly from sheet metal.....	58
Plate 4.7. Aboriginal people in 1901 painted for a ceremony or corroboree (Gillstrom Collection, Northern Territory Library). Collection remarks: ‘Natives, Port Darwin district’, 1901.	62
Plate 4.8. Doctor Stretton, Chief Protector of Aborigines at Aboriginal camp in Palmerston, 1911 before Baldwin Spencer assumed the position. Image courtesy of the Northern Territory Library.	65
Plate 4.9. Aboriginal camp, Palmerston, 1911. Image courtesy of the Northern Territory Library.	65
Plate 5.1. Fragment of a folded tin can likely used as a shingle on the collapsed structure at CPS1. Dozens of similar examples lay in situ at CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.....	75
Plate 5.2. Student and staff member of Flinders University record a feature on the surface of CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.....	76
Plate 5.3. Black and green bottle bases from CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.	76
Plate 5.4. A black bottle conjoin base from CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.	77
Plate 5.5. Fragment of white clay pipe, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.	78
Plate 5.6. Scratches on surface of a bottle seal ‘AVH’ as a result of post-depositional damage on site. Bottles containing these seals were introduced to northern Australia by Dutch traders (Ash et al 2008). Photo: L. Williams.	79
Plate 5.7. Staff and students from Flinders University mapped CPS2. Photo: L. Williams.	81
Plate 5.8. Sample of earthenware container from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.	82
Plate 5.9. Fragments of the base of the earthenware container from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.	83
Plate 5.10. Scatter of square black bottle fragments at CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.	83
Plate 5.11. Scatter of square black bottle fragments at CPS2. Photo: K Pollard.	84
Plate 5.12. Partial remains of a cast iron pot, CPS2. Photo: L. Williams.	84
Plate 5.13. Black thick bottle base with beveled edges and a black thin square bottle base with pointed edges, CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.....	85
Plate 5.14. The underside of the two black square bottle bases showing the difference in thickness and attributes of manufacture in Europe. Photo: K Pollard.	85
Plate 5.15. Soda water, or ‘Torpedo’ bottle bases from CPS2. Photo: K Pollard.....	86
Plate 5.16. Cylindrical black bottle base that sustained damage through post-depositional movement. Photo: L. Williams.....	87
Plate 5.17. Cylindrical black bottle base breakage and part of the body that sustained damage through post-depositional movement. Photo: L. Williams.....	88

Plate 5.18. A cylindrical bottle base showing patination on its surface areas due to exposure to the natural elements. Photo: L. Williams.....	88
Plate 5.19. Strips of metal from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.	89
Plate 5.20. A thick heavy piece of cast iron from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.	89
Plate 5.21. Close up showing one end of the thick piece of cast iron piece.....	90
Plate 5.22. Width of thick piece of cast iron adze.....	90
Plate 5.23. A partial bullock cast iron shoe, round headed nail, strip of metal, cast iron chain link and two pieces of iron wire, CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.....	91
Plate 5.24. Two long wound pieces of iron wire from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.....	91
Plate 5.25. Almost complete example of cobalt blue bottle formerly containing magnesia found at Southport. Varieties of magnesia were commonly used to treat indigestion in the 19th century. Photo: K. Pollard.	92
Plate 5.26. An Aboriginal fringe camp in Cavenagh Street in late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Photographic Collection, Northern Territory Library).....	93
Plate 5.27. Aboriginal Fringe Camp, Palmerston settlement mid to late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Collection, Northern Territory Library).	94
Plate 5.28. Fragments of ‘Torpedo’ or soda water bottles, CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.	95
Plate 5.29. Green and olive-green bottle bases before and after being reduced to expose the small mamelon on the underside of the bases. In this type of bottle the mamelon was the thickest part of the bottle. Photo: K. Pollard.....	97
Plate 5.30. A black cylindrical bottle base that was used as a core to manufacture flakes, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.	98
Plate 5.31. Bidirectional core on black cylindrical bottle base showing flake scars, CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.....	98
Plate 5.32. Unidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.....	99
Plate 5.33. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	99
Plate 5.34. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	100
Plate 5.35. Unidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	100
Plate 5.36. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	101
Plate 5.37. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	101
Plate 5.38. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	102
Plate 5.39. Unidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.....	102
Plate 5.40. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	103
Plate 5.41. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	103
Plate 5.42. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	104
Plate 5.43. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.	104
Plate 5.44. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.....	105

Plate 5.45. Unidirectional core on cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.....	105
Plate 5.46. Core fragment on cylindrical bottle base showing crushing on the platform. Photo: K. Pollard.....	106
Plate 5.47. Core fragment on black cylindrical bottle base showing crushing on the platform. Photo: K. Pollard.....	106
Plate 5.48. Core fragment on black cylindrical bottle base, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.	107
Plate 5.49. Core fragment on black cylindrical bottle base, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.	107
Plate 5.50. Black cylindrical bottle base glass flake (right), CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.	108
Plate 5.51. Black cylindrical bottle glass retouched flake.	108
Plate 5.52. Black cylindrical bottle glass flake with snapped proximal end.....	109
Plate 5.53. Black cylindrical bottle glass flake with snapped proximal end and feather termination.	109
Plate 5.54. Green cylindrical bottle glass flake, ventral surface.	110
Plate 5.55. Green cylindrical bottle glass flake, dorsal surface.	110
Plate 5.56. Green cylindrical bottle glass flake, dorsal surface.	111
Plate 5.57. Utilized retouched flake on black cylindrical bottle glass base. Photo: K. Pollard.	112
Plate 5.58. Utilized retouched flake on black cylindrical bottle glass base. Photo: K. Pollard.	112
Plate 5.59. Close up of edge of utilized retouched flake on black cylindrical bottle glass base. Photo: K. Pollard.....	113
Plate 5.60. Bladelet. Photo: K. Pollard.	115
Plate 5.61. Scatter of white quartz stone flakes at CPS2. Stone tool scatters were evident at CPS1 and CPS2. Photo: L. Williams.....	116
Plate 5.62. White quartz stone flake, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.....	117
Plate 5.63. White quartz stone flake and flake made on black cylindrical bottle glass, CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.....	117
Plate 5.64. Two hole-in-cap tin lids. Photo: K. Pollard.	119
Plate 5.65. The underside of the lids. Photo: K. Pollard.	120
Plate 7.1. A sign by Darwin City Council prohibiting camping or sleeping in the long grass.	138
Plate 7.2. While it is illegal to camp anywhere in the long grass in Darwin this sign does not state that specifically.	139
Plate 7.3. Remains of a pillow at camp 1.....	140
Plate 7.4. Discarded adult sized clothes at camp 1.	141
Plate 7.5. Discarded adult-sized clothes at camp 1.	141
Plate 7.6. Remains of tent at camp 1.....	142
Plate 7.7. Tent poles at camp 1.	142
Plate 7.8. Discarded can of spirits at camp 1.	143
Plate 7.9. Discarded cans of 'MB' (Melbourne Bitter) beer brand at camp 1.	143
Plate 7.10. Discarded empty packet of potato chips at camp 1.....	144

Plate 7.11. Oyster shell and fragment of burnt wood at camp 1.	144
Plate 7.12. View from camp 2 towards a patient care centre next to the hospital.	146
Plate 7.13. A creek that runs adjacent to camp 2 and adjacent to camps 3, 4, 5 and 6. A hearth is in the foreground.....	146
Plate 7.14. Re-use of a plastic doona cover bag placed on the ground as a material to sleep on and unidentifiable material placed where a person's head might lie at camp 2. A hearth is next to the makeshift bed.	147
Plate 7.15. Abandoned portable gas stove at camp 2 (pictured left); gas cartridges for use in portable gas stove at camp 2 (pictured right).	147
Plate 7.16. Discarded tissue and bandage with blood residue and tissue at camp 2.	148
Plate 7.17. Discarded used toilet paper at camp 3.....	149
Plate 7.18. Mound at camp 3 decorated with pandanus seeds and rocks. A cross has been made out of sticks and held together with non-Aboriginal manufactured fibre. The length of the mound was approximately 40cm.....	149
Plate 7.19. A naturally occurring source of white ochre in the long grass near camp 4.	150
Plate 7.20. A fishing line and hook made from a cotton reel at Camp 5. Oral evidence by Larrakia research assistants during field surveys suggest the re-use of the cotton reel in this way demonstrates innovation of a non-Aboriginal manufactured raw material for traditional cultural practices of hunting for marine protein.	151
Plate 7.21. Camp 7 was located on government owned land.....	152
Plate 7.22. Materials for <i>impromptu</i> sleeping in the long grass.....	153
Plate 7.23. Discarded Salvation Army clothes price tag at camp 8.	154
Plate 7.24. Discarded packet of seasoning for two-minute noodles in the long grass.	156
Plate 7.25. Discarded KFC takeaway box in the long grass.	156
Plate 7.26. Overview of ground surface at camp 12. Red gun caplets can just be seen on the ground (circled in red).....	158
Plate 7.27. Toy red gun caplets at Camp 12.....	158
Plate 7.28. Camp 13 in the long grass.....	159
Plate 7.29. Fixed ropes at camp 13 enable lines to be used for hanging items.	160
Plate 7.30. Note the ground has been cleared around the hearth and the pile of hearth ashes to the side at camp 13. Cooking-related paraphernalia is stored near the base of trees inferring delineation of space.	160
Plate 7.31. Small table at with diverse food and cooking-related items at camp 13.....	161
Plate 7.32. Diverse cluster of cooking-related items at camp 13.	161
Plate 7.33. View of camp 16 with diverse materials. The faces of camp residents have been pixelated to protect their privacy.	163

Plate 7.34. View of camp 16 showing a table that held condiments and diverse cooking related items.	164
Plate 7.35. Looking away from camp 16 towards bush, a shopping trolley is on the right. The remains of an old hearth can be seen in front of a blue bag containing rubbish. The rubbish has been stored on the perimeter of the camp.	164
Plate 7.36. BBQ grill on hearth holding billy can with water at camp 16. A cooking pans contain a meal of two-minute noodles in water, a fry pan contains chops, onion and tomato and a billy can contains water to boil.	165
Plate 7.37. Half a loaf of bread and other foods at camp 16.	165
Plate 7.38. Small table with cooking-related items at camp 16.	166
Plate 7.39. Tupperware box containing plastic cups next to plastic plates and bowls at camp 16.	166
Plate 7.40. Discarded toilet roll, camp 17.	167
Plate 7.41. Camp 19 with two metal frame beds. Perhaps the bed in the foreground is the one slept in as it has been made and looks tidy compared to the other bed which does not look slept on. Note that a non-Aboriginal manufactured pram has been improvised by Aboriginal people with a crate to contain objects, and adult sized clothes were hung on a length of line between two pandanus trees. Metal bed frames were probably acquired from Darwin residents' annual clean-up and disposal before cyclone season begins. Two discarded 'VB' (Victoria Beer) brand beer cans lay in the foreground.	169
Plate 7.42. Camp 19 hearth with steel mesh, egg shells, partially opened tins of food, the burnt remains of tin cans and a plastic bottle filled with water.	169
Plate 7.43. Looking toward camp 19 in the long grass.	170
Plate 7.44. The view from Camp 19 looking back towards the sealed road. The camp retained its privacy in the long grass from passersby or resident's houses in the distance.	170
Plate 7.45. Remains of a turtle eaten in the long grass.	171
Plate 7.46. Upside down laundry basket with clothes and black leather belt next to it near camp 21.	172
Plate 7.47. Discarded tent pegs in the long grass.	172
Plate 7.48. Overview of camp 22.	173
Plate 7.49. Mud mussel and cooking pan at camp 22.	174
Plate 7.50. Rubbish discarded away from the living area of camp 22.	174
Plate 7.51. Small blue plastic rosary beads hung from a tree in mangroves at camp 23.	176
Plate 7.52. Two discarded music players at camp 24.	176
Plate 7.53. Steel cooking pan and old hearth at camp 24.	177
Plate 7.54. Remains of a meal of plucked Magpie Goose (<i>Anseranas semipalmata</i>) at camp 27. Magpie goose is a prized source of terrestrial protein among Aboriginal people in Darwin. Note the flattened wine box at rear of photo and a flattened beer can of beer 'VB' brand beer, near the remains. Plausibly,	

someone used the cardboard box to sit on and drank a can of beer while they plucked the goose to cook. The hearth the animal was cooked on is out of shot.	178
Plate 7.55. Cache of personal belongings in a tree-fork at camp 28.	179
Plate 7.56. Overt resistance by homeless people in Hawaii, May 2018. Photo courtesy of Jo Smith.	181
Plate 7.57. A child's sized thong in the long grass.	191
Plate 7.58. Discarded unused and used ear buds near the Royal Darwin hospital.	192
Plate 7.59. Partial remains of chemist brand packet containing heartburn tablets.	192
Plate 7.60. A discarded, but potentially still usable toothbrush (shown left); a discarded, broken handle of an unusable toothbrush (shown right).	193
Plate 7.61. Discarded partial used dirty condom.	196
Plate 7.62. This same sign can be found outside of the Knuckey's Lagoon town camp. Photo: Christoph Behrends (https://www.flickr.com/photos/69722073@N06/7392063912).	198
Plate 7.63. Darwin City Council notice of designated drinking zones between certain hours. Photo: K. Pollard.	199
Plate 7.64. Abandoned drinking camp in the long grass. A child's teddy bear lies in the background.	200
Plate 7.65. Tree with graffiti in the long grass. This evidence was near only one camp in the long grass and it is impossible to know whether Aboriginal people were responsible for it. However, as archaeological research by Ralph (2012) has shown, graffiti is recognized as a form of resistance. Photo: K. Pollard.	203
Plate 7.66. Hearth at long grass camp.	208
Plate 7.67. Discarded plastic utensils in the long grass.	209
Plate 7.68. Discarded tins of shop bought food.	210
Plate 7.69. Discarded partial carton of eggs next to a long bum shellfish in the long grass.	210
Plate 7.70. Discarded container of tomato sauce in the long grass.	211
Plate 7.71. Discarded satchel of salt in the long grass (shown left); discarded satchel of pepper (shown right).	211
Plate 7.72. People take tins of processed food and take away foods in plastic containers for convenience of carrying into the long grass and discard them when finished.	212
Plate 7.73. Hearth and remains of marine barramundi fish and oysters on the beach in the long grass.	213
Plate 7.74. Close up of the hearth and barramundi fish remains. Adult barramundi has very large fish scales seen here around the fire place. Oyster shell can be seen on the hearth.	213
Plate 7.75. Remains of an eaten bird in the long grass.	214
Plate 7.76. Remains of an eaten turtle next to a discarded empty tin can of processed food in the long grass.	214

Plate 7.77. Freshly collected ‘long bum’ (<i>Telescopium telescopium</i>) in the long grass. Long bum is a mangrove species of marine worm.	215
Plate 7.78. Old hearth with fragments of cooked long bum.....	215
Plate 7.79. Remains of a meal of ‘pippis’ in the long grass.....	216
Plate 16.1. Flat sheet metal fragments. Photo: K. Pollard.....	255
Plate 16.2. Flat sheet fragments. Photo: K. Pollard.	255
Plate 16.3. Remains of a condiment bottle. The letters ‘LE, &PER’ are embossed. Embossing was a manufacturing technique spanning the 18th – 19th centuries (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 16; Boow 1991: 1, 58). Photo: K. Pollard.	256
Plate 16.4. Remains of two square black bottle bases. Photo: K. Pollard.....	256
Plate 16.5. Partial fragment of Dutch manufactured spirit bottle with characteristic ‘swirl’ marks (1820-1840). K. Pollard.....	257
Plate 16.6. Bottle Seal fragment with letters ‘AVH’. Photo: K. Pollard.....	257
Plate 16.7. Aqua colored bottle glass fragments with the letter’s ‘A’, ‘H’, ‘L F’, ‘B’, ‘T’. Photo: K. Pollard.	258
Plate 16.8. Fragments of cobalt blue glass bottle with the letters ‘A’, ‘R’, ‘C’, ‘I’, ‘T’. Photo: K. Pollard.	258
Plate 16.9. Single collar wine/beer (right, 1840-1845 Boow 1991: 66). Photo: K. Pollard.....	259
Plate 16.10. Double collar wine bottle (first left, 1820-1860 Boow 1991: 66), and single collar wine wine/beer bottle (lower centre, 1840-1845 Boow 1991:66). Photo: K. Pollard.....	260
Plate 16.11. Fragment of aqua bottle with letters ‘SCING’Photo: K. Pollard.	261
Plate 16.12. Partial bottle neck and seal with words ‘CHATEAU LA ROSE’, French wine (1838/1841-1850s). Photo: K. Pollard.....	262
Plate 16.13. Wide mouthed aqua colored bottles are likely to be the remains of fruit or vegetable jars, 19th century (www.https://sha.org/bottle/). This example came from CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.....	262
Plate 16.14. Partial aqua blob lip and neck (1840/1850-1920 Boow 1991:65; Burke et al 2017: page). Photo: K. Pollard.....	263
Plate 16.15. Single collar ring seal (1850 Boow 1991:68). Photo: K. Pollard.....	263
Plate 16.16. Chinese ceramic. Photo: K. Pollard.	264
Plate 16.17. Chinese Celadon (date). Photo: K. Pollard.	264
Plate 16.18. Ceramic. Photo: K. Pollard.	265
Table 1.1. Types of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 544).....	14
Table 1.2. Types of nuanced resistance (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 544).	14
Table 1.3. Types of transgression (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 544).	16
Table 7.1. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass – sleeping.....	183
Table 7.2. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass – cooking related	185

Table 7.3. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - food and drink related.....	186
Table 7.4. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - food packaging.	186
Table 7.5. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - food container lids.	186
Table 7.6. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - personal wear.....	187
Table 7.7. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - storage containers.	188
Table 7.8. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - shelter.	188
Table 7.9. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass- transport.....	188
Table 7.10. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - smoking.	189
Table 7.11. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - entertainment.	189
Table 7.12. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - health related.	190
Table 7.13. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - personal hygiene.....	190
Table 7.14. Material evidence for missed resistance in the long grass - alcohol.	195
Table 7.15. Material evidence for missed resistance in the long grass - drugs.....	195
Table 7.16. Material Evidence of Externally-Defined Transgression - Processed Foods.....	206
Table 7.17. Material Evidence of Externally-Defined Transgression - Fresh Foods.....	207
Table 7.18. Material Evidence of Externally-Defined Transgression - Bush Foods. *Oral information from camp inhabitants. #Food remains not associated with camp numbers.....	207
Table 15.1. Aboriginal flakes from CPS1 and CPS2.....	250
Table 15.2. Aboriginal cores from CPS1 and CPS2.	252

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This is a study of two early Aboriginal fringe camps at Southport in the Darwin hinterland, and twenty-eight Aboriginal fringe camps in the urban and rural long grass areas of the Darwin region of the Northern Territory of Australia. All the camps date to between 1869 to the present day. The research question directing this study is **can Aboriginal fringe camps provide insights into social, cultural and economic adaptations to colonialism from the initial contact period to the present?** The question is addressed through chapters two to eight. Each chapter contributes knowledge on either the social, cultural or economic aspects of the origins, use of, history of, or continuity of Aboriginal fringe camps in the Darwin region as this information pertains to the relevance of colonialism after European colonization.

1.2. Aim

This research aims to understand the adaptive strategies of Aboriginal people during a major period of transformation following European colonization. This aim directly addresses gaps in knowledge about the daily life of Aboriginal people within a context of continuous contact with Europeans between 1869 to the present day. It achieves this aim by locating the material evidence of Aboriginal agency in their interactions with Europeans, or what is conceptualized in this thesis as accommodation, engagement, survivance and resistance/transgression, and traces these manifestations of Aboriginal agency through time and across space. This aim is important because archaeological perspectives on the historical and contemporary production, use and disposition of material culture, within the context of Aboriginal fringe camps, has the potential to broaden our understandings of past and present Aboriginal lives in relation to the forces of colonialism.

This thesis contributes new knowledge in addition to what is currently known about Aboriginal fringe camps in Australia (Holcombe 2004; Bowman and Robinson 2010). Australian archaeological studies of Aboriginal interactions with Europeans in the early contact period are few (Paterson 1999; Smith 2001; Harrison 2002; 2004; 2005). These contact studies feature analysis derived from written records produced primarily by Europeans about Aboriginal people during the early contact period. As Bourke (2005) pointed out there are only two other detailed archaeological studies of Aboriginal fringe camps in Australia and these are both on the north coast of New South Wales. These prior studies were undertaken by Smith and Beck (2003) and Byrne and Nugent (2004). This thesis also broadens understanding of what forms, historically and in the present day, Aboriginal fringe camps appear in, in

an urban, rural and hinterland environment of a remote Australian capital city in contrast with the NSW studies which were smaller in scale and in settled coastal/rural areas.

The abbreviations CPS1 and CPS2 which appears in the Methods Chapter stands for contact period site 1 and contact period site 2 at Southport in Darwin's hinterland.

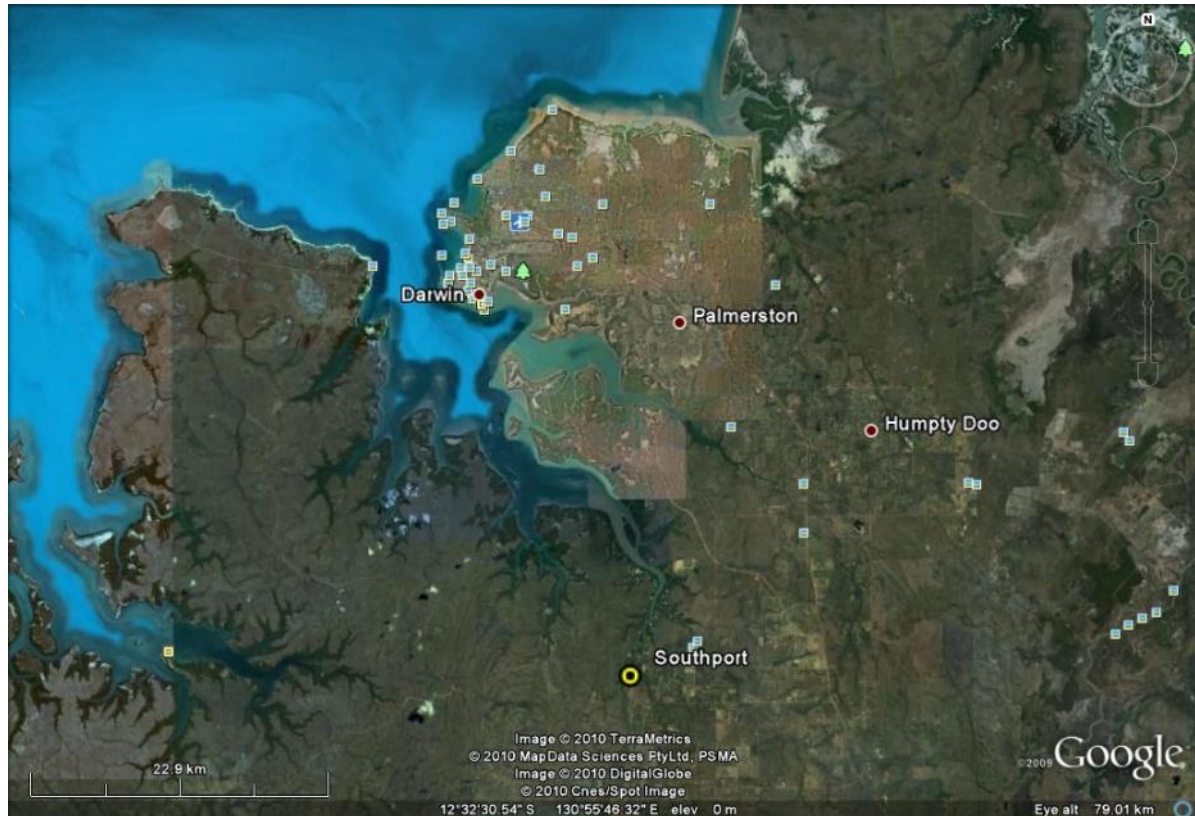


Figure 1.1. Google Earth Image showing Southport in the Darwin Hinterland of the Northern Territory, Australia. Southport is approximately 70 kilometers from Darwin.

1.3. The Study Area

Darwin is the most remote northern capital city of Australia. The population of the whole of the Northern Territory is 136,000 people, of which approximately 90,000 is the population of the greater Darwin region (2016 ABS Census). Geographically Darwin is situated in the 'Top End' of the Northern Territory facing the Arafura Sea and covers an area of approximately 27,800 square kilometers inclusive of outlier townships and bush hinterland (Frederickson et al. 2005: 1).

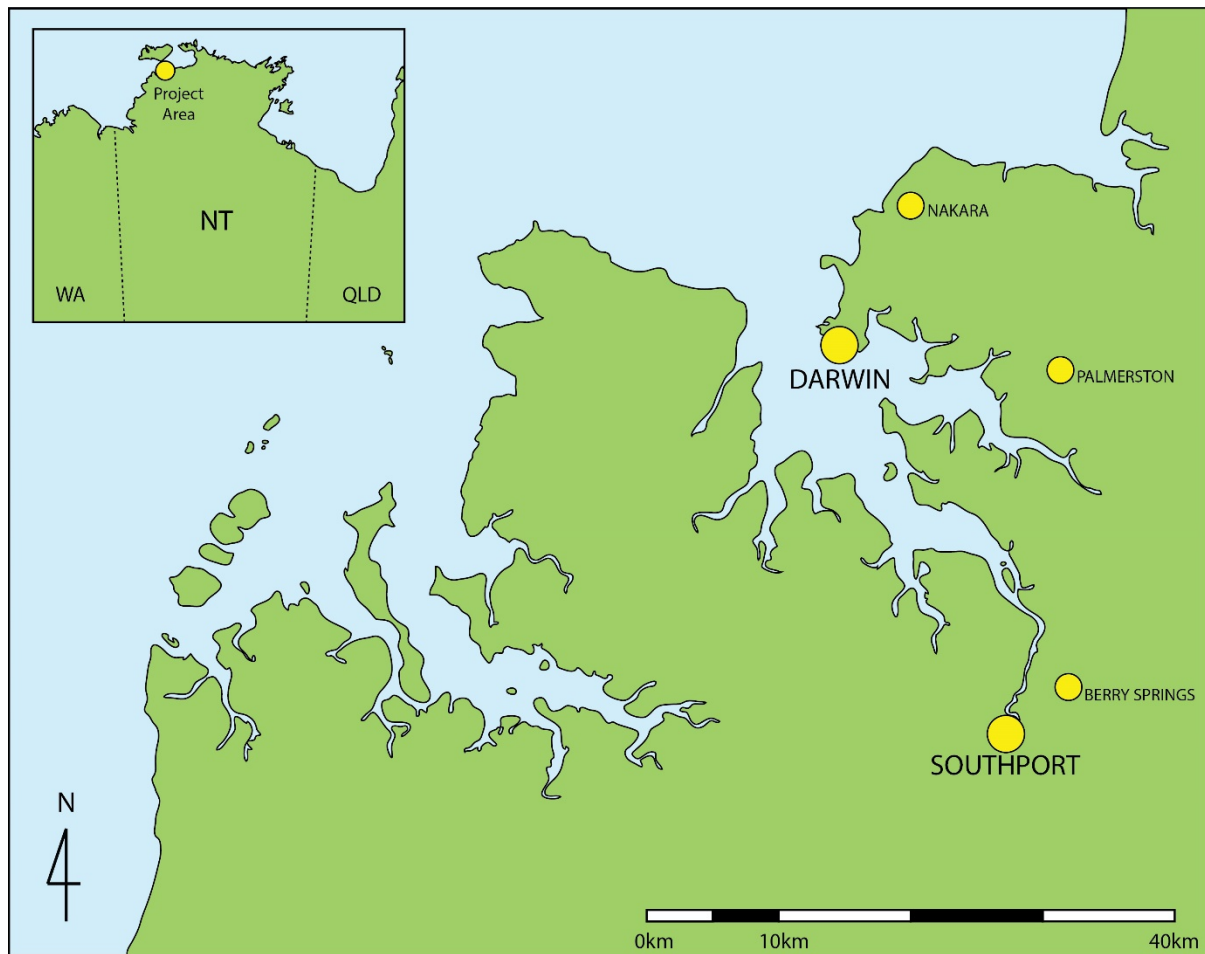


Figure 1.2. Map of the Darwin region in the Northern Territory, Australia.

Within the Darwin hinterland region is the European settler township of Southport that was settled in 1870. Southport is approximately 70 kilometers from Darwin and is located on a headland that juts between the Blackmore River and the Darwin River that both run off the Darwin Harbor into the hinterland. Today Southport is still predominantly an undeveloped township. Most of the original Lots that were delineated for sale to investors in 1870 remain either unclaimed or were sold in 2013 as ‘Dead Man’s Lots’ by the Litchfield Shire Council in the Northern Territory (<http://www.litchfield.nt.gov.au>). But many of these Lots have not been cleared from within bushland, have no infrastructure upon them and remain uninhabited. Southport has a constructed fresh water bore that residents rely on for fresh water. Southport is connected to the mainstream electricity grid that serves metropolitan Darwin and infrastructure ranges in complexity from simple structures made of recycled shipping containers to conventionally built houses. No commercial premises exist at Southport. There is one sealed road that runs directly into Southport, all other roads in Southport are dirt roads. Exposed remains of some of the original structures dating to between 1870 to the late 1800s such as the foundations of the original Telegraph station and Police station can be found at Southport. A dump that was originally used by European and Chinese settlers as a place to discard objects is accessible on an area of land named Mira Square which is opposite the Telegraph station at Southport. The original cemetery dating to the same

era as the Telegraph and Police buildings were not disturbed by development or vandalism at the time of the archaeological surveys. This cemetery contains the original burials of European and Chinese settlers at Southport. Southport has been a site for amateur fossickers of artefacts for decades. People travel from across the Northern Territory and from interstate to Southport to look for historic artefacts for private collection (Duminsky 2005: 62).

The second site of study for this thesis is the ‘long grass’ in the urban and rural areas of the Darwin region. Geographically, the long grass is the open spaces within urban parklands and coastal areas where both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people inhabit for recreational and other purposes. Spatially, the long grass can be delineated into areas used by Aboriginal people, areas used by non-Aboriginal people, and areas that overlap from use by both. This thesis is concerned with the areas used by Aboriginal people in the long grass. However, out of twenty-eight camps in the long grass studied for this thesis, one camp did contain the evidence that suggested its occupation by a non-Aboriginal person. That is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

1.4. What is the Long Grass?

The long grass is a local lay term that describes the open public spaces such as inner-city urban open spaces, rural parklands, urban and rural recreational reserves, and the beaches along the coastline of the Darwin region (Langton 1980:20). The long grass is the spaces where Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people both inhabit for similar, as well as for different reasons. Since European colonization established the permanence of non-Aboriginal people in the Darwin region, the long grass has evolved to represent a site of conflict and contestation between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people. The conflict is about the rights of one over the other to inhabit the long grass and to use it for different reasons (Pollard et al. 2017). In the present day the long grass is subject to regulations by Darwin City Council by-laws that make a diverse range of activities illegal. Under the by-laws Aboriginal fringe camps in the long grass are illegal.



Plate 1.1. View of the long grass.



Plate 1.2. View of the long grass.

1.5. Theoretical Model

A theoretical model was devised to conceptualize the notion of Aboriginal agency to European colonization and colonialism in the Darwin region. The model, in Chapter Three, is a theoretical interpretation of the ways Aboriginal agency has changed over a period of 130 years. The aim of the model is to guide understanding of the rationale that Aboriginal people applied throughout this span of time. The point is to show how Aboriginal people adapted to the complex challenges that was created by dispossession as a consequence of the European invasion of the Darwin region in 1869, while surviving and effectively negotiating colonization. The consequences extend to the present day.

1.6. Definitions

1.6.1. *Fringe Camps*

For the purpose of this thesis Aboriginal fringe camps are defined as follows. First, Aboriginal fringe camps were the actual traditional camp sites of the Larrakia people at the time George W Goyder invaded the region. When he recorded the presence of the Larrakia people in the bush surrounding the site he established as a base camp, he provided the first historical account of active Aboriginal agency to the invasion being the vantage points the Larrakia determined in relation to his base camp and excursions. Second, a majority of camps made in the long grass in the present day are made by Aboriginal people. And because the use of the long grass is contested space between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, the spaces in the long grass Aboriginal people use is synonymous with fringe dwelling. It is this conceptualization of fringe camp that underlies this research. This thesis confines these definitions of fringe camps to those that are an historic and present-day fact of the Darwin region in the Northern Territory of Australia. However, Reynolds has referred to ‘Aboriginal fringe camps’ (1987;1995) as a historical fact originating on the margins of early colonial settlements elsewhere across Australia wherever Europeans established new colonies on frontiers. In this conceptualization, Aboriginal fringe camps are implied to suggest their origins as a consequence of a complex mixture of impacts arising from both colonization and colonialism.

Developing definitions for each of the distinct modes of Aboriginal agency involved a two-tiered approach: a dictionary definition and a formulated definition that was appropriate to the aims of the research. The importance of clear definitions, particularly in terms of studies that deal with race, has been discussed in some detail by Paul Mullins (2008:105),

Potentially powerful archaeological framing concepts like agency, ethnicity, and creolization have often been vaguely defined and clothed in ambiguous references to domination or ideology, which can yield a rather diluted notion of [*sic*] diasporic identity. In some formulations, archaeologies of diasporic identity circumvent issues of power and structural inequality in favor of exceptionally dynamic notions of agency, creolization, and identity that

risk making the African diaspora an analytically hollow concept ... historical archaeology is compelled to frame some substantive foundation and structural framework for diasporic identity without lapsing into a hyper-constructivist sense of identity that rejects all claims to African heritage, evades the impact of racialized experience, or minimizes the structural power of racialization (Mullins 2008:105).

1.6.2. Interface

One definition of the word interface is that it is ‘the place at which independent and often unrelated systems act on or communicate with each other’ (merriam-webster.com). On the basis of this definition interface in this thesis means **‘to infer that Aboriginal agency is an independent process of autonomy responding to an imposed system of control’**. The interface as a physical embodiment, or the connection between autonomy and control, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, is the long grass. The long grass is the interface of eternal struggle and opposition between the two systems of human behavior in Darwin.

1.6.3. Accommodation

For the purposes of this thesis a formulated definition of accommodation is derived from debates of its use in Australian and North American archaeology. The concept of accommodation in archaeology has a long history of application in North American studies more than in Australian contact studies. In North America, the concept of accommodation prevailed until, as with the concept of acculturation, as a result of critique focusing on its characterizations (Cusick 1998a: 138), it underwent some revisions before it eventually declined in popularity in contact studies there (Silliman 2005). In the variable applications of accommodation across contact studies especially in the Americas (Rogers and Wilson 1993), what has been missing from discourse in the way accommodation is represented is acknowledgement that accommodation was actually a process of Indigenous societies negotiating agency on their terms. Accommodation was not behaviour reflecting mere survival where Indigenous people were constrained by lack of choices or decisions, as reminiscent of acculturation theory. On the contrary Indigenous agency and compromise were closely interrelated for pragmatic outcomes as a strategy to transmit ongoing custom, tradition and cultural practices (Vizenor 2009:1). Such a version of accommodation guides its meaning in this analysis. Use of the concept of accommodation in Australian archaeology has been episodic (Brimingham 1992; Harrison 2004) and with some exception (Smith 2001) it has not prevailed as a model of enquiry, unlike for example, resistance/domination models in Australian history conceptualizing European-Aboriginal relations (Williamson 2004). Historian Henry Reynolds, whose works led a generation of revisionist historians of European-Aboriginal history (1987; 1989; 1990; 1995; 1995; 2001) was critiqued as being of limited contribution to archaeologies of contact in Australia due to providing a framework of ‘overarching’ not ‘subtle’

degree of enquiry in European-Aboriginal relations in the contact period (Williamson 2004: 182-185). In this critique, the possibilities and limitations inherent in the resistance/domination model was argued to be wanting as a framework in archaeology because as a generalized lens it was perceived not to highlight degrees of nuance such as ‘levels of complexity to the issues of interactions’ or the ‘variability of Aboriginal responses’ to contact with Europeans rendering it inadequate for capturing nuance at the interface of contact. One response of the perceived limitations of the resistance/domination model was a shift towards ‘particularistic studies’ away from generalizations in the vein of Reynold’s scale of narrative. But contact studies in Australian archaeology is relatively young and still emerging different methodologies and theoretical approaches are still evolving (Williamson 2004: 182-185). The works by Reynolds show the need for a closer relationship between revisionist history and contact archaeology in Australia. In the meantime, the advent of the archaeologies of colonialism (Harrison 2014; Silliman 2000; Silliman 2010) is an approach suited for capturing nuance in studies of Indigenous-European contact. Within archaeologies of colonialism the concept of accommodation is a niche aspect for conceptualizing Indigenous positive agency to the impacts of contact with Europeans and to the impacts of colonialism, yet to date, the concept’s application in Australian contact studies is limited (Harrison 2002).

In Australian archaeology accommodation was espoused as the response of Aboriginal people at the Wybalenna mission in Tasmania after Aboriginal people fought a decades long war with Europeans (Reynolds 1995) before being diminished in numbers. Aboriginal people were sent to live on a remote island outpost under the tutelage of a colonial representative named Augustus Robinson where they were expected to adapt, through accommodation, to European Christian values and lifeways (Birmingham 1992). However, with the emergence of contact archaeology in Australia and the advent of new and diverse archaeological perspectives on Aboriginal responses to contact, the theory of accommodation, as critiqued was re-evaluated for Australian applications (Lydon and Ash 2010; Morrison et al 2010). And although appraisal of acculturation / accommodation theory was the framework aiding interpretation of Aboriginal responses to contact in the Kimberley region of northern Western Australia (Smith 2001) in the 19th century, for the purposes of this thesis accommodation, like acculturation, as argued above is rejected as a framework in this analysis. This is because it is too inadequate and narrow for interpretation of Aboriginal agency in the Darwin region. On the basis of these debates, accommodation is defined as **‘the state of circumstances of relations between non-Aboriginal people and Larrakia people after colonization in the Darwin region’**. In this thesis accommodation is suggested only in the earliest years of Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal interaction and is not supported by archaeological evidence of contemporary material remains for the form Aboriginal agency currently manifests in the long grass.

The material evidence in the long grass, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven, reflects Aboriginal agency that has long dismissed accommodation as a process of compromise. On the contrary, the material evidence suggests resistance and transgression is the process that is being played out in the long grass on the basis that non-Aboriginal people have control of land, but Aboriginal people interact with Darwin society on their terms, not the terms of the predominately non-Aboriginal society. In the present day, Aboriginal accommodation has transformed to overt but subtle subversion of the invasion.

1.6.4. Engagement

A definition of engagement was formulated on the basis of archaeological and archival evidence. I argue that the archaeological evidence at CPS1 and CPS2 at Southport supports an interpretation of Aboriginal people engaging with non-Aboriginal people on their own terms. In addition, I argue that archive evidence supplements archaeological interpretation with first-hand accounts written by settlers about the activities of Aboriginal people in the settlement. Control over land is integral to any analysis of contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, since this control directly impacts upon the agency of both individuals and groups and a material dimension is essential to archaeological analyses. Accordingly, for the purposes of this research engagement is defined **‘as voluntary interactions with settlers to obtain goods or objects that are deployed on land that is fully controlled by Aboriginal people’**. This definition integrates three separate notions: agency, materiality and control of space. Within the context of settlement, an example of Aboriginal engagement would be Aboriginal people choosing to enter the settlement in order to obtain goods to take back to the traditional lands that are under their control (Wells 2003). This thesis argues Aboriginal engagement in the early colonization period to mean being assertive, seeking engagement, not withholding, but being cautious and testing. If archive sources for this analysis that have been assessed to contain a degree, however limited, of objective content about the way Aboriginal people enacted cautious welcome, followed by a long history of strategic engagement mediated by their terms, then the concept is an appropriate definition to described Aboriginal agency in the earliest stages of colonization.

Within archaeology the meaning of engagement has specific and limited meanings and applications. For instance, primarily, engagement has a long history of relatedness to the idea of accessibility in the public domain through the paradigm of cultural heritage management (or CHM) to archaeological resources as valued for scientific reasons. More recently CHM has referred to Native American and Indigenous Australian heritage involvement in its practices as increasing (Doyel 1982; Ferguson 1999; Echo-Hawke 2000; Stapp and Burney 2002; Ross et al 2011; Smith et al 2010). As Little (2007: 2) asserts heritage management has evolved to seek citizen appreciation ‘of all people’s histories’ extending to appreciating heritage as it relates to ‘social justice issues’ in local communities. But Little also asserts ‘civic engagement’ to mean citizens in the broader sense of society not just Indigenous

people being invited to make ‘informed decisions’ about protection and use of archaeological resources in terms of what communities in the present benefit from engagement. On the other hand, Simpson argues (2013) the notion of engagement in archaeology needs critical assessment to test claims of beneficence as it extends to educational, economic, political and social realms of community exposure. In a similar vein Richardson and Almansa-Sanchez (2015) contend that public archaeology, relatively young in emergence, suffers ‘loose definitions’ and that ‘When research agendas include the issue of public engagement’ practices need more critical reflection. Engagement in archaeology has a long history for a relatively young discipline in Australia. Almost as equally long as the history of Aboriginal activism influencing Australian archaeology (Kelly 1975; Stockton 1975; Creamer 1975; Devitt 1981; Langford 1983; Ucko 1983; Sullivan 1983; Bowdler 1984; Sullivan 1984; Sullivan 1984-85; Mowaljari and Peck 1987; Mowaljari et al 1988; McGowan 1990; Pardoe 1992; Truscott 1994; Ah Kit 1995; Murray and Allen 1995; Sullivan 1995; McGowan 1996; Murray 1996; Murray 1996; Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council (TALC) 1996; Ross 1996; Jacobson et al 1999). The practice of ‘community archaeology’ (Marshall 2002) was the subsequent generation resulting from Aboriginal community demands for more involvement in archaeological heritage and research (Smith and Beck 2003; Rigney et al 2005; Wiynjorroc et al 2005). This derived from previous models of engagement demonstrated in diverse applications as practiced with Aboriginal communities (Smith 1994; Smith et al 1995; West and Sim 1995; Attenbrow 1995; Bates 1995; Martin 1995; Beck and Sommerville 1995; Morwood 1995; O’Connor et al 1995; West and Sim; 1995 Reynolds 1995; Tacon 1995; Bird and Frankel 1998; Ross and Coghill 2000; Colley 2002) extending to the near present (Smith and Beck 2003; Smith and Wobst 2005; Greer et al 2012; Maloney et al. 2017). What the review of engagement in Australian archaeology contributes to this thesis is the fact of long-held Aboriginal engagement and influence in archaeology and heritage management.

Borrowing from engagement as a concept in social science research in which Theunissen (2018: 49) has argued was influenced by growing popular disconnect with the ‘sociopolitical’ infrastructures in societies that privilege the few is ‘the renewed attention on relationships, dialogue and ... engagement’. Related to this expression Theunissen proposes that engagement defines a positive mode of participation in some kind of pursuit for benefit or advantage, an application that resonates with the usage of the term in socially activist archaeology in North America. There, native scholars mean the term to define positive intent as reflected in the changing ways academics are interacting with native communities in partnerships, collaborations and ‘community-based research’ (Atalay 2014). On the point of relationships in discourses in archaeology the concept of engagement has been indirectly implicated in understandings of ‘shared histories’ particularly in research about the ways engagement developed and relationships ensued between black and white after contact in the pastoral industry in remote Australia (Paterson 1999, 2008; 2011; Harrison 2002c, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2014).

1.6.5. *Co-inhabit*

The term co-inhabit has been defined as ‘to exist together’ (merriam-webster.com) or ‘the state or fact of living or existing at the same time or in the same place’ (en.oxforddictionaries.com). For the purposes of this thesis ‘**co-inhabited refers to the fact of Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people living alongside each other, in the same region, since colonization in 1869 until the present**’. With the exception of the years between the 1910s and 1950s/1960s, co-inhabitation has not been significantly disrupted since colonization. Further, although Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people have coinhabited the same region for 130 years, the aggressive attrition by non-Aboriginal people of the rights of Aboriginal people has meant that that co-inhabitation was and continues to be problematic.

1.6.6. *Survivance*

The concept was originally used by a French-Canadian academic in the 19th century, Gerard Bouchard, who introduced it in the context of discourse analysis about the evolution of French-Canadian nationalism, as distinct from the identity of the French motherland. The tenets of his use of the concept related to the interrelationships between the French-Canadian elite and other segments of the population in terms of its European history as distinct from the original Indigenous cultures. More recently the concept has been attributed to native scholar Gerald Vizenor (Groesbeck 2018: 117; Vizenor 1999; 1998; 2008: 1; 2009: 1) as a framework that rejects perceptions of native American ‘victimry’ in dominant anthropological discourses of native American histories. As Vizenor states, survivance actively seeks to replace absence of native American narrative and perspective with presence of native from the perspectives of native people (Vizenor 2008: 1). Vizenor (2008: 1) articulated native survivance to be,

an active sense of presence over absence; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however pertinent. Survivance stories are renunciation of dominance, detractions, obtrusions, the unbearable sentiment of tragedy.

Survivance is defined to be inextricably linked with native cultural practices ‘Native stories create ... singular sense of presence by natural reason, customary words, perceptive tropes, observant irony, and imagic scenes ... survivance creates a sense of narrative resistance to absence, literary tragedy, nihilism and victimry’ (Vizenor 2009: 1). For the purposes of this thesis survivance is defined to mean ‘**all the ways Larrakia people used, made or express the distinctiveness of their material culture and personal identity as a method of transferring, and inheriting, rights to land in the Darwin region as survivors of colonialism, throughout the colonization period into the present day**’. Enhancing on this conceptualization is materiality survivance as expressed through manufactured artefacts, that though mute, represent persistence of cultural survivance. Silliman’s critique (2017: 58-61) of

Vizenor's use of survivance adds that survivance 'is more than survival' and that comparatively, the concept of survival infers 'victimized remnants of oppressed people, a diminution that hardly ever grants agency, continuity, completeness or authenticity' (Silliman 2014: 58-59). Further, Silliman reiterates that 'survivance emphasizes creative responses to difficult times, or agentive actions through struggles' as a framework attempting to 'strike balance' in anthropological discourses. This thesis finds survivance is redolent with this critique for the following reasons.

In this thesis, survivance is interpreted as more than survival of the body. It is also the perpetuating of cultural identity in material culture through time. For Aboriginal people in the Darwin region survivance begins subsequent to initial colonization and continues throughout the entire colonization era in the Darwin region into the present day. In the present day, Aboriginal agency of survivance has configured past cautious welcome or tentative participation with strangers to active negotiation of the myriad impacts of colonization. Impacts like enslavement (Lockwood 1968: 43-44) or imprisonment (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 14, December 1900) follow the loss of traditional hunting grounds, sexually transmitted diseases and other diseases (Dashwood 1898: 6), population decline and the continual unrelenting psychological trauma of overt racist practices. But if the lens is turned and Aboriginal agency is perceived through the framework of survivance then these impacts are interpreted as being negotiated, not merely absorbed. They are mediated by Aboriginal spiritual as well as practical knowledge (i.e. corroborees), customs of avoidance, selective interaction with non-Aboriginal people through labor engagement and the adaptive use of new material traditions to ensure continuity of identity lifeways.

But for this thesis, the definition of survivance also needs to include control over land and materiality. Accordingly, the definition of survivance is extended to also include the **'intentional, but not necessarily voluntary, interactions with settlers with the aim of accessing goods or objects needed to survive in adverse conditions, which will be used on land that is not fully controlled by Aboriginal people'**. Just one example of Aboriginal survivance would be people selling their labor to settlers for gain when their lands have been stolen and access to their traditional hunting grounds does not allow them to undertake normal economic activities (e.g. Paterson 1999; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2010, 2014).

This analysis sees survivance as a fundamental pillar of agency manifest as being active and not subordinate to oppression as Silliman states (2014: 60) 'Survivance permits hybridity, a blending of new and old cultural materiality's without invoking problematic ideas of cultural authenticity outside of legitimate acts to persist'. In a similar vein, in this thesis Aboriginal survivance is also resilience in the past and in the present.

To sum up, in this thesis survivance means **‘all the ways the Larrakia Aboriginal people, the traditional owners of the land and seas in the Darwin region, used, made or express the distinctiveness of their material culture and personal identity as a method of transferring, and inheriting, rights to land in the Darwin region as survivors of colonialism, throughout the colonization period into the present day’.**

1.6.7. Resistance

The resistance stage in the model is both historical and contemporary. It is the trajectory upon which engagement has coursed through survival in the past to have arrived with Aboriginal experience accumulated as knowledge of the intergenerational impacts of colonization and dispossession in the present. In this stage of the model Aboriginal engagement is empowered now because agency is largely one sided, it is autonomous in direction. Aboriginal agency expresses resistance in a range of ways overtly, covertly, or in subtle manifestation and it is defiant.

Within archaeology, the notion of resistance has been relatively all-encompassing. Wilkie’s (2000a:4) analysis of diasporic identity studies, for example, defines resistance as linked to dominant structuring influences. Gosden, too, takes a broad approach. He identifies resistance within a colonial context as relating to ‘a variety of instruments, from armed resistance to subtle cultural subversions’ (Gosden 2004:166). However, as Mullins (2008: 110) points out, such expansive definitions ‘fail to distinguish clearly between the political implications of different resistant acts or moments of conscious agency and relate them back to broader structural conditions.’ A more nuanced approach is undertaken by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 544) in their review of diverse scholarship that evokes the concept of resistance. Hollander and Einwohner (2004) identify eight separate types of resistance, this thesis agrees with four of those definitions. These are overt resistance, covert resistance, missed resistance and attempted resistance. They addressed the question of 1) whether resistance must be recognized by others; and 2) whether it must be intentional. They identified eight types of resistance (Table 1.1), which they categorized according to recognition and intent as well as three distinct groups (actors, their targets, and interested observers, including researchers).

	Is act intended as resistance by actor?	Is act recognized as resistance by	
		target?	observer?
Overt resistance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Covert resistance	Yes	No	Yes
Unwitting resistance	No	Yes	Yes
Target-defined resistance	No	Yes	No
Externally-defined resistance	No	No	Yes
Missed resistance	Yes	Yes	No
Attempted resistance	Yes	No	No
Not resistance	No	No	No

Table 1.1. Types of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 544).

Within the context of this study, only some types of resistance are distinguished in terms of the actor intending to undertake an act of resistance. Table 1.2 outlines these forms of resistance. The other types of resistance are those in which the actor did not intend to undertake an act of resistance. In the latter case, acts may be closer to an assertion of personal freedom, and an affirmation of an individual's capacity for self-determination than an intentional political act. This conceptualisation is more aligned to the notion of transgression, discussed below.

	Is act intended as resistance by actor?	Is act recognized as resistance by	
		target?	observer?
Overt resistance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Covert resistance	Yes	No	Yes
Missed resistance	Yes	Yes	No
Attempted resistance	Yes	No	No

Table 1.2. Types of nuanced resistance (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 544).

Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 545) define *Overt resistance* as behaviour that is visible and readily recognized by both targets and observers as resistance and, further, is intended to be recognized as such. This category includes collective acts such as social movements and revolutions as well as individual acts of refusal, such as women's resisting domestic work or fighting back physically against sexual assault. Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 545) state that this category is the consensual core of resistance and virtually all scholars would agree that acts of this type should be classified as resistance. *Covert resistance* refers to acts that are intentional yet go unnoticed (and, therefore, unpunished) by their targets, although they are recognized as resistance by other, culturally aware observers. Acts of withdrawal, whether avoidance of a particular individual or self-imposed exile from a particular context, also fall into this category. *Missed resistance* is if an act is recognized by their target but unrecognized

by third- party observers (cf. Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 546). Such acts may be ‘missed’ if, for example, they take place in settings that are known and accessible to the actor and target but are inaccessible to others. (e.g., secret societies). Finally, *attempted resistance* occurs if an actor's intentional act goes unnoticed by both targets and observers alike (cf. Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 546). An example of attempted resistance is Aboriginal people in Australia drinking alcohol in public places in spite of laws which prohibit this (Memmot 2004). Within the model the concept of resistance assumes that Aboriginal agency has political ramifications. Thus, for the purposes of this study resistance is defined as **‘acts as part of a process of exercising personal autonomy on lands that are controlled by non-Aboriginal people’**.

1.6.8. *Transgression*

In philosophy, transgression has been defined to mean,

a breaking of the rules or overstepping of the limits of conventional behaviour. It may be an act of noncompliance with regard to moral, institutional, or cultural norms. It may also be an unintentional act of neglect or intentional act of defiance with regard to socially expected and accepted modes of behaviour. Transgression may also be a mode of nonconformity. It may be an assertion of personal freedom, and an affirmation of an individual's capacity for self-determination.

It may also be to violate norms of politeness, decorum, or propriety, or to allow oneself to be considered uncouth or “beyond the pale” by the rest of society (philosophyreaders.blogspot.com.au, accessed 28 May 2018).

In theory transgression has been described as ‘actions which cross boundaries or violate limits’ (Foust 2010: 3). Foust (2010: 3) argued that ‘Transgressions which are permitted, or escape the notice of boundary-policing authorities, push the boundaries further’. This appears to be what is happening in the long grass where a combination of being noticed and escaping notice both limits and enables Aboriginal agency to transgress boundaries. And, as in the long grass when Aboriginal people are perceived to be violating society's predominant values such behaviour is met with reactions that exist on a similar spectrum to that described by Foust (2010: 3),

Transgressions are indiscretions that incur various reactions from the mildly normative (glares or sighs of disapproval from passers-by) to the brutally disciplining (violent arrest). Transgressive actions incite reactions due to their relationship to norms: Transgressions violate unspoken or explicit rules that maintain a particular social order.

Aboriginal agency in the long grass is not an organized social movement of resistance. However, I argue that Aboriginal agency has features that align it with what Foust argues is what transgression represents and that is ‘a distinct form of resistance’ (Foust 2010: 6-9).

In addition, in this study transgression is also formulated from those acts identified as ‘resistance’ by Hollander and Einwohner (cf. 2004: 545; see Table 1.3) but which are not intended by the actor as resistance but are classified as acts of transgression. Unwitting transgression is not intended as resistance by the actor yet is recognized as threatening by targets and other observers (cf. Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 545). Target-defined transgression is where self-defined ‘targets’ may be the only ones who recognize a behavior as resistance. An abusive husband, for example, might judge his wife's behavior to be resistance, though she does not intend it that way, and other observers do not perceive it as such (cf. Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 545). In the long grass target-defined transgression might be Aboriginal people caching their personal belongings in trees and bushes when they know this is illegal but do not do it overtly to attract punitive consequences. An additional type is *externally-defined transgression*, or those acts of resistance that are neither intended nor recognized as resistance by actors or their targets but are labeled resistance by third parties (cf. Hollander and Einwohner 2004:545). An example of this is in the long grass is arguments among Aboriginal people over matters or priorities that are important to them, but in public places and at a time of day or night when non-Aboriginal people notice and disagree with the behaviour. Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, transgression is defined as **‘the illicit use of objects and space as part of a process of exercising personal autonomy on lands that are controlled by non-Aboriginal people’**.

	Is act intended as resistance by actor?	Is act recognized as resistance by	
		target?	observer?
Unwitting resistance	No	Yes	Yes
Target-defined resistance	No	Yes	No
Externally-defined resistance	No	No	Yes

Table 1.3. Types of transgression (Hollander and Einwohner 2004: 544).

1.6.9. *Contested Space*

The history of land dispossession combined with racism through the oppressive impacts of colonialism experienced by Aboriginal people in the Darwin region since colonization resulted in vying to coinhabit contested spaces in public places. The word contest has been defined to mean the ‘struggle for victory or superiority’ (dictionary.com). It has also been defined to mean ‘causing dispute or argument’ (collinsdictionary.com). Both of these definitions are apt for describing what is happening in the long grass in Darwin in the present day. The long grass is a place of contested space for use by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and the way the ‘struggle for victory or superiority’ plays out

depends on the strategies both sides employ to prevail. Certainly, the contested space of the long grass is predicated on ‘dispute’ and ‘argument’ put predominantly by the state against Aboriginal people’s rights to coinhabit the long grass. For the purposes of this thesis contested spaces is defined **‘as those public spaces across Darwin where Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people coinhabit on the basis that non-Aboriginal people, through imposing discriminatory laws, dispute the right of Aboriginal legitimacy to be in the same spaces as non-Aboriginal people’**.

1.7. Significance of the Model

The model in this thesis is significant because it is innovative and original. No other major detailed Australian archaeological study of the history of Aboriginal agency to the European invasion of the Darwin region continuously from 1869 to the present day has been published before this thesis was produced.

The model is significant because it depicts Aboriginal agency as an active, dynamic, fluid and continuing process. The model rejects acculturation theory for conceptualizing Aboriginal responses to invasion in Australia (Birmingham 1992; Smith 2001). Rather, in the Darwin region, Aboriginal innovation, dynamism and fluidity occurred continually across the entire spectrum of interaction with non-Aboriginal people over 130 years. This depiction is shown in Chapter Three in two ways. The first is an illustration of the four phases of Aboriginal agency described above as a model of Aboriginal interactions with non-Aboriginal people over 130 years (Figure 3.1). In this illustration the key to the changing nature of Aboriginal agency over this span of time is the control of Aboriginal land in the Darwin region. For example, at the time of the European invasion in 1869, and into the first decade of colonization, Aboriginal people retained total control of the land. During this stage, this enabled their freedom of movement and freedom of encampment anywhere in the settlement. However, this freedom of movement and encampment changed as a result of the eventual increase in population numbers of non-Aboriginal people within the first two decades of colonization. This change was accompanied by massive land clearing and the importation of key aspects of colonialism such as capitalism (commerce, currency, land as an asset and commodity), a foreign religion, a society based on shared European values toward land as property and shared racist attitudes toward Aboriginal people (Social Darwinism). Under these conditions non-Aboriginal people gained more, and eventually total control of the land. In addition to these impacts, new diseases were introduced to Aboriginal people after the invasion, and starvation became a consequence of dispossession and land clearing, habitat loss and competition between non-Aboriginal people and Aboriginal people over natural resources. All these impacts reduced the numbers of Aboriginal people to withstand the prolonged erosive effects of European colonization which facilitated the take-over of land. These changing states of control of land are depicted in Figure 3.1 in Chapter Three. The first stage shows land being Aboriginal controlled. The

control of land then transitions to being over-lapping with non-Aboriginal people gaining more control of land and what emerges is ‘co-inhabited’ space indicating that Aboriginal loss of control of land has increased. The control of land then transitions to being fully under total non-Aboriginal control. A time scale accompanies this depiction showing the transitioning in control of land across the 130 years of colonization to the present day.

The second model (Figure 3.2) in Chapter Three, which is directly related to the first model, illustrates the nature of Aboriginal dynamic adaptation, displayed as an intermittent, probing interface of changing interactions. This is depicted as a tentative blending of one era of Aboriginal agency into another, not as a sudden stop-start process, but as a process of fluidity, where each previous phase ends sporadically. In this way, the model presents Aboriginal agency as strategic and ongoing, negotiating the complexities of colonialism on Aboriginal terms. A time scale accompanies this depiction to show the degree of fluidity across 130 years to the present day.

This model is also innovative because, as the first of its design in Australia, it is informed by principles in philosophy as a basis for conceptualizing Aboriginal agency through an archaeological lens. This approach contrasts with previous contact archaeological studies in Australia.

1.8. Archaeological, Archive and Material Evidence

This thesis used three main sources of evidence: archaeological artefacts, archive sources and contemporary material culture.

1.8.1. Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence in this thesis is all the artefacts that were manufactured by Aboriginal people or artefacts re-used in utilitarian ways by Aboriginal people at CPS1 and CPS2 at Southport. Systematic surveys of the town grid of Southport was done to locate archaeological sites (pre-European invasion) and historic Aboriginal sites (post-European invasion) to establish their spatial distribution across the town grid and in relation to each other. As a result, detailed site recordings were completed and an electronic data base (spread sheet) of site data was integrated with other data forms (topographic and historic maps and information from historic written sources). GIS analysis compared archaeological data for assessment of site variability across the pre and post European invasion transition phase. The ESRI ARC GIS program was used for a spatial analysis across the town grid to display the sites in environmental, historic and cultural context. Archaeological evidence in this thesis is also the innovative manufacture and re-use of non-Aboriginal manufactured objects in the long grass.

1.8.2. Archive Evidence

Several types of archive evidence were used in this thesis. Ethnohistoric sources were first hand observations from an ethnographic point of view by non-Aboriginal people about the material culture, customs and lifestyles of Aboriginal people in the settlement. Written sources by settlers included statements in media articles, newspaper editorials and official government records, including reports and parliamentary statements were archive sources of different content and purpose. Most of these sources were produced in the mid 19th century. The newspaper editorials though, span 130 years, hence archive media and recent media sources were both used. All these sources were used to aid contextualizing aspects of behavior of Larrakia Aboriginal people upon whose traditional land Darwin is situated, as well as Aboriginal people from other traditional territories across the Northern Territory who came to Darwin after the invasion. The diaries and letters of non-Aboriginal settlers and members who were part of the original team under Goyder's command who established the original base camp in 1869 were used. Other archive sources by non-Aboriginal people between 1869 and 1910 include people passing through or visiting the settlement who wrote of their observations of life and interactions between people in the early settlement. Each archive source was written for different purposes according to the author. For this reason, records of a personal nature or documents written for public consumption or administrative officialdom were scrutinized and analyzed according to their aims and objectives. All the archive sources were examined to determine: a) the emerging thematic concerns of the settlers such as issues related to their own survival and longevity; b) the composition of the Aboriginal communities within the borders of the settlement and later on the fringes (e.g. age, gender, language group); c) the documentation of specific behaviors of Aboriginal people in the settlement; d) the evidence for changing availability of natural resources as a subsistence source to the settlement (some information was recorded about how as a result of colonization Aboriginal people faced starvation); and e) to gain insights into the behaviors of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people over time in the settlement.

1.8.3. Material Evidence

Material evidence in this thesis is all the remains of objects that were either left behind at abandoned fringe camps in the long grass, or all the objects that were still being used in fringe camps at the time of site recording. This evidence is illustrated in Chapter Seven in photographs and tables. The material evidence in the long grass differs from the archaeological remains from Southport for two reasons. The first is that the archaeological remains from Southport date to between 1869 and the late 1800s, some of which was either re-used by, or manufactured by Aboriginal people on materials that were originally manufactured by the invaders and introduced to Southport post invasion. The second is that the material remains in the long grass were mostly discarded objects originally manufactured by non-Aboriginal

people but innovatively re-used and were still being used by Aboriginal people at the time of site recording.

1.9. Structure of Thesis

1.9.1. Chapter Two

Chapter Two describes the research methods used to compile information that assisted identifying Southport as a destination to focus on early post invasion Aboriginal fringe camps, and for identifying diverse archive records that contained information about Aboriginal people during this period. The information recovered also extends up until the 1950s /1960s /1970s. This chapter discusses archaeological techniques of fieldwork and negotiated methods of fieldwork based on consultations with the Larrakia Nation Aboriginal (LNAC) organization in Darwin. The LNAC is the peak Indigenous body in the Darwin region that represents the interests of its Indigenous membership in the Darwin region. A decolonized approach to field methodology in the long grass was negotiated with the LNAC. The LNAC provided staff who facilitated consultations with Aboriginal people who were present at camps in the long grass at the time of archaeological surveys, people who originally came from remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory to Darwin. The LNAC staff also negotiated field survey methodology to cater to their availability, length of time considerations in the field, and locations in the long grass to target for time-efficiency reasons.

Importantly, limitations involved with the data sets, and the study's research design are also discussed in this chapter.

1.9.2. Chapter Three

Chapter Three introduces the theoretical framework that is a model of Aboriginal agency informed by principles in philosophy. These principles are accommodation, engagement, survivance and resistance/transgression (Figure 3.1). This chapter defines each principle and discusses their application in the model to Aboriginal agency that begins after European colonization in 1869 to the present day. This chapter also introduces a second model of Aboriginal agency that illustrates the dynamic nature of Aboriginal accommodation, engagement, survivance and resistance/transgression as a fluid, not rigid, process of negotiating the impacts of colonialism as a result of the invasion in 1869 to the present day (Figure 3.2).

1.9.3. Chapter Four

Chapter Four presents archive evidence of Aboriginal accommodation of non-Aboriginal people after invasion. The historical circumstances in which Aboriginal fringe camps in Australia evolved after

European colonization, and a brief outline of historical circumstances around European invasion of the region that became Darwin in the Northern Territory is discussed. The discussion then traces the emergence of Aboriginal survival in the context of Aboriginal fringe camps in the Darwin region dating to between 1869 and the present. The historical analysis aids conceptualizing the context in which Aboriginal fringe camps became a response to colonization and colonialism in Darwin.

1.9.4. Chapter Five

Chapter Five presents the archaeological evidence of Aboriginal engagement with non-Aboriginal settlers at Southport between 1869 and the late 1800s. The evidence comes from two fringe camps at Southport, CPS1 and CPS2, that were occupied by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people during this time. The evidence of Aboriginal people at the two sites was equally distinctive to the evidence of non-Aboriginal people at the sites. However, the chapter emphasizes the experiences of Aboriginal engagement with non-Aboriginal people at Southport. The archaeological evidence is analyzed with regard to the stages of the theoretical model.

1.9.5. Chapter Six

Chapter Six discusses survivance in depth. Survivance conceptualizes the way Aboriginal people responded with creativity through agency to strategize the impacts of colonization through accommodation and engagement and depicts the adaptability of Aboriginal innovations and interactions with non-Aboriginal people to negotiate survival. Critically, survivance is explained as more than just the physical surviving of colonization's impacts. Survivance was a process that ensured the continuance of Larrakia material culture and identity and values as heritage that Larrakia people today in Darwin recognize as their inheritance.

1.9.6. Chapter Seven

Chapter Seven presents the data for resistance and transgression in long grass camps in the urban and rural areas of Darwin. Twenty-eight camps in the long grass were recorded for analysis of their contents and location. The chapter consists of two parts. In the first part the camps, their contents and their locations are described. In the second part the material data is analyzed with regard to the stages of the theoretical model.

1.9.7. Chapter Eight

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by summarizing the main findings of this research. The chapter also concludes by summarizing the significance of this study to Australian and international research.

1.10. Discussion and Conclusion

This is a thesis study of the archaeology of Aboriginal fringe camps in the Darwin region of the Northern Territory of Australia. Aboriginal fringe camps have been a physical presence in this region since European invasion in 1869 and fringe camps continue to be a physical presence today. This study is the first comprehensive archaeological study of Aboriginal fringe camps in an Australian capital city continuously over 130 years.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODS

2.1. Introduction

The research methods for this study involved three main sources of evidence: archaeological artefacts, archive sources and contemporary material culture. Each data set is unique, has different origins, context and attributes and contributed independent information to the analysis. This approach is a holistic methodology for understanding Aboriginal culture, contact history between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people, and continuity of Aboriginal adaptations since colonization from 1869 to the present.

Field methods were split into two approaches. First, surveys of archaeological surveys at Southport in the Darwin hinterland included site survey and artefact recording, and artefact collection at two sites dating to the European-Aboriginal early colonization period. Second, archaeological surveys of contemporary Aboriginal fringe camps in the long grass in the urban and rural areas of Darwin included recording the spatial layout and contents of camps and photography of material culture.

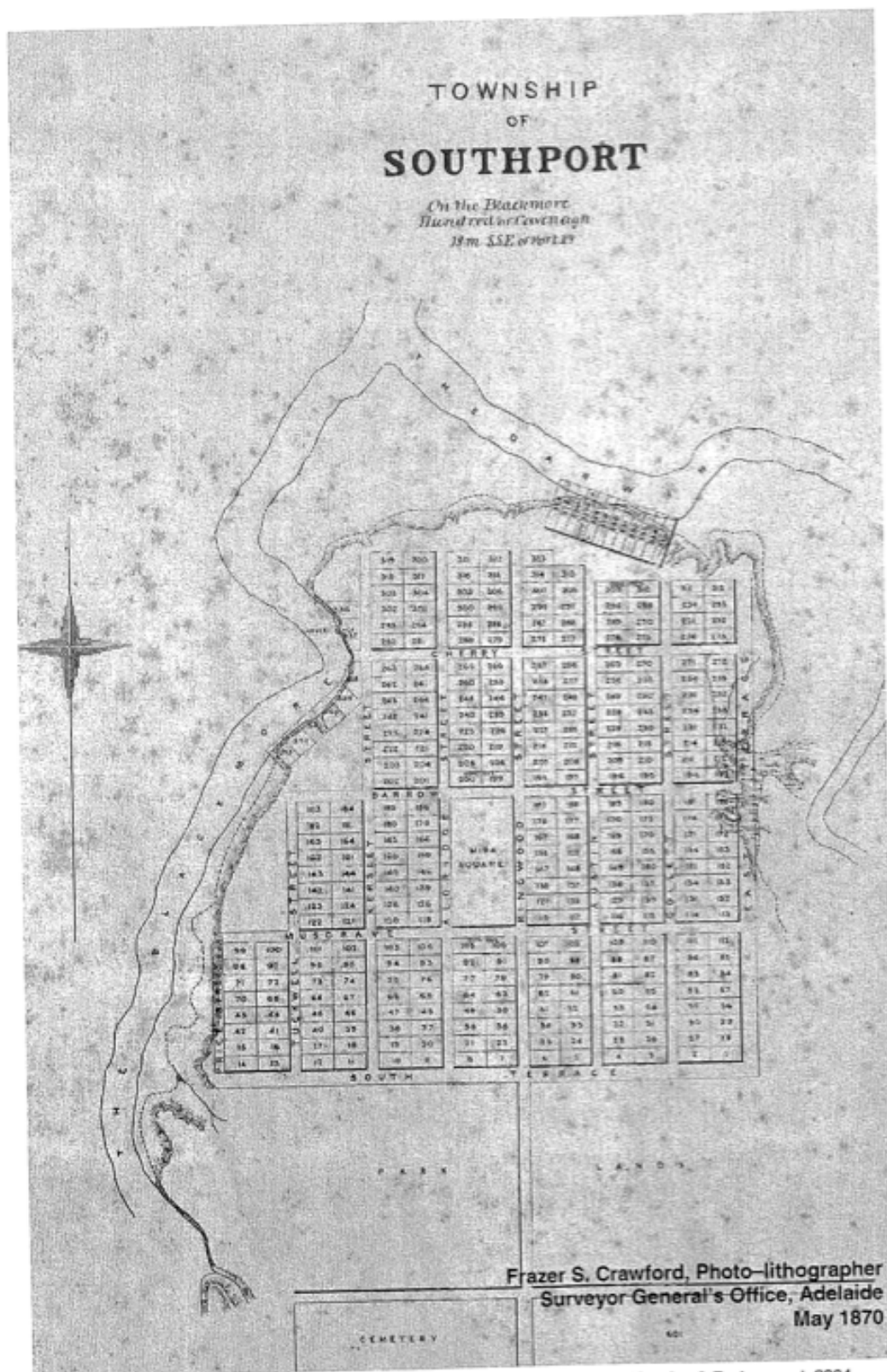
2.2. Archaeological Sites Dating to Early Colonization at Southport

Before fieldwork commenced surveys of information sources were undertaken in the Northern Territory State Library and at the Northern Territory Heritage Branch in Darwin to determine where to focus for archaeological sites dating to the early colonization period in the region. Prior to this study and aside from limited previous archaeological research at Southport (Guse 2001; Bourke 2010), sites had been recorded dating to contact at Knuckeyes Lagoon in the rural area of Darwin, on the Cox Peninsula on the Darwin Harbor across from the city of Darwin, and in the Charles Darwin National Park (Patricia Bourke, personal communication 2/05/2010, Northern Territory Heritage Branch, Darwin). The information survey suggested Southport as an additional place to focus on for additional unrecorded sites. Fieldwork focused intensively on Southport over two 'dry-season' field seasons when environmental conditions were optimal for ground inspection.



Plate 2.1. Flinders University staff member discussing field work with students at Southport.

At Southport there were four discrete, large areas that were surveyed by pedestrian transect method. Goyder's 1869 original survey plan of Southport provided a view of the areas of land called Mira Square; an area of land called South Terrace; the original historic cemetery dating to the early colonization period which contains the graves of Europeans and Chinese people; and an area zoned for conservation purposes. Recent Google Earth maps of Southport showed how little the whole area had changed since Goyder's map of the area. Systematic pedestrian surveys were done across the length and breadth of each of the four areas. Every object that was encountered was recorded by hand held GPS, marked with a high-vis colored flag, recorded by hand written notes and photographed. All this information was later entered into an electronic database for downloading into Excel to integrate with other data processing programs.



Reproduced with the permission of Northern Territory Dept. of Infrastructure, Planning & Environment, 2004

Plate 2.2. Original Goyder map of Southport.

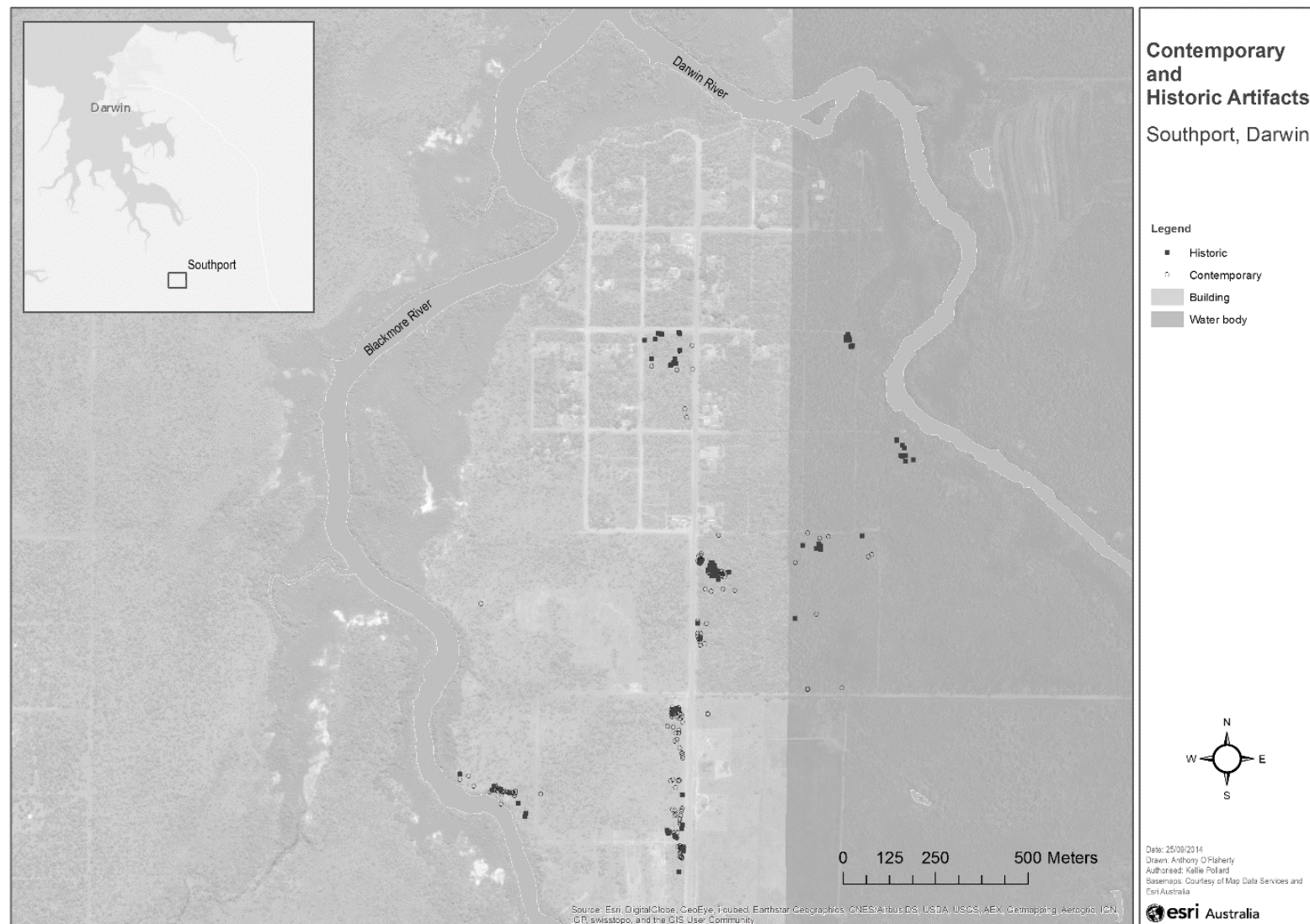


Plate 2.3. ESRI Australia map of Southport showing the distribution of archaeological sites at Southport. CPS1 is the cluster on the right of the map north of the bend in the Darwin River. CPS2 is the cluster on the right of the map south of the bend of the Darwin River.



Plate 2.4. Flinders University staff, students, author, and one of the Minbeni (Women) Rangers inspecting a dump site on Mira Square at Southport. A strip of metal seen in the foreground is similar to the examples from CPS2.

2.3. Methods

2.3.1. *Pedestrian Survey*

Ground survey transects involved university under-graduate and graduate students standing 2- 3 meters apart. This method of ground survey continued across the four locations over the two dry seasons. The Larrakia Nation Minbeni (Women) Rangers and the Larrakia Nation Land and Sea (Men) Rangers also assisted field surveys in the consecutive dry seasons. The involvement of the Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Rangers was part of a program of capacity building deriving from a decolonized methodology of field work that enhanced their contribution of cultural knowledge and contributed ethnobotanical information to students and university staff. The site recording methods of baseline offset technique was used by students to make site plans and record basic topographic information.

2.4. Survey Related Logistics

Because of the geographical location of the study in tropical northern Australia the archaeological field surveys at Southport were conducted over two dry seasons when conditions to aid ground visibility were optimum. The Northern Territory Berry Springs Fire Brigade was approached prior to field work and asked to assist surveys at Southport by burning off segments of land. Burnt off areas exposed the

abundance of naturally occurring rocky outcrops of white quartz at Southport and improved the ground surface for survey visibility. At the completion of fieldwork most of the bush at Southport remained unburnt and more sites may be found at a future time. After the fieldwork and site plans were completed artefacts were collected from CPS1 and CPS2 at Southport were taken to a laboratory and analyzed in detail.

2.5. Laboratory Analysis

2.5.1. *Artefact classification*

Glass, metal, ceramic and clay pipe remains were collected from Southport. In the laboratory the glass and ceramic artefacts were gently washed with warm tap water to remove surface dirt. This was done to reveal color and attributes of manufacture. Artefacts were then dried and sorted into two initial classifications: diagnostic attributes and non-diagnostic attributes (Boow 1991; Balme and Anderson 2006). Undiagnostic glassware has been defined as ‘nondescript glass fragments whose function cannot be determined even in the grossest sense and whose function will probably remain undetermined’ (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 10). For this reason in the laboratory the function of undiagnostic glass assemblage was not determined and was not included in the final analysis. To reveal attributes of metal artefacts metal was dry brushed only. The clay pipe remains were gently dry brushed.

Diagnostic attributes for glass included attributes of manufacture, design purpose and use (Coates 2004: 90; Lawrence 2006: 370- 374). Diagnostic attributes for ceramic included identifiable patterns, ‘anything with a rim or a foot’ or other identifiable forms (Beale 2006: 32-36). Diagnostic attributes for Aboriginal modified metal included identifying attributes of ‘tradition’ in manufacture on metal (ie, a possible metal tula adze) that display no difference to the same attributes on traditional materials like stone (Harrison 2005: 23). Diagnostic attributes for the clay pipe remains was difficult since the fragments lacked the bowls or any other identifiable detail.

2.5.2. *Artefact Categorization*

All diagnostic artefacts were entered into a File Maker Pro catalogue for recording attributes of individual artefacts. On glass the diagnostic attributes were: bases (round/cylindrical or square bevelled/pointed), base diameter; aspects of finish/lip, neck/shoulder; bottle sides (seam lines); glass color; addition of a ring of glass on the finish; twist or swirl marks; raised marks of different shapes, size and designs on bases including numbers or letters on bases (embossing); type of lip on the finish; marks on lips; seals with distinctive letters or other features; characteristics of pontil scars; bubbles in glass; uniformity of bottle shape; appearance of glass surface; characteristics of push-ups; base

indentation; and patination (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 15-16; Boow 1991: 1, 8, 9, 31, 49, 51, 58, 64, 65-66, 68, 114, 116; Shultze et al 2016: 14).

Metal artefacts were categorized according to the characteristics of shape; condition; weight; and whether the object was identifiable. Ceramic artefacts were classified according to color, makers mark and design characteristics such as ceramic type (i.e. earthenware or Celadon ceramic).

The categorization process identified individual artefacts as being of European or Chinese origin of manufacture, or as an object of Aboriginal modification or re-use in utilitarian ways. In the cataloguing process in FileMaker Pro this led to two different types of datasets being created. In the first data set, all the characteristics of an object of European or Chinese origin of manufacture were detailed, irrespective of whether it displayed modification by Aboriginal people. In the second data set, only the attributes that pointed to Aboriginal modification of European or Chinese manufactured artefacts, for example the number of negative flake scars on a black glass bottle base, were recorded. This twin process of cataloguing ensured that no historical or Aboriginal attribute of manufacture of any one artefact could be overlooked.

Identifying modified European glass bottle bases that had been modified into cores by Aboriginal people for manufacturing flakes was guided by arguments that Aboriginal people applied the same techniques to bottle glass after contact with Europeans that Aboriginal people formerly applied on stone. Hence the primary attributes that guided identification of glass cores and flakes on bottle bases were: ripples, errailure scars, negative scars, bulb of percussion (positive/negative), retouch, core orientation, flake termination characteristic, degree of core reduction, platform preparation or platform crushing (Allen 1969: 79-88; Holdaway and Stern 2004: 37-40; 108-168; 179-204).

The method of estimating the minimum number of vessels (EVE) outlined by Ellis (2006: 247-256) for ceramics is useful for large assemblages. However, it was of limited application to the small ceramic assemblage obtained for this study. This is because, out of the 64 pieces of earthenware fragments recovered during survey, every individual piece was exactly the same color and was consistent in porosity and condition which strongly suggests that all the fragments are from one vessel. Seven pieces of Chinese porcelain recovered during survey differed in color, shape, thickness and pattern which suggested two distinct Chinese porcelain vessels at the minimum. Other Chinese porcelain was two rims of exactly the same color suggesting one vessel. Five fragments of one Chinese porcelain conjoin with exactly the same hand painted (not transfer print) dark blue flower motif suggested another vessel. Therefore, given the small numbers of ceramic fragments recovered from Southport it is unlikely they represent more than one earthenware vessel and four porcelain vessels respectively.

2.6. Archive Sources

Archive materials produced in Darwin by non-Aboriginal people such as settlers' diaries or journals, ethnohistories, newspaper articles and editorials, accounts by travellers or government records were obtained from archive repositories in the Northern Territory, in New South Wales and in South Australia. Archive sources produced by non-Aboriginal people such as missionaries, settler citizens, settler officials, colonial politicians, colonial media organizations and, occasionally, Aboriginal people were examined. The diary of the anthropologist and colonial official in the Darwin region, Baldwin Spencer (1911-1913) contained recorded aspects of Aboriginal people's lives in the settlement. These were useful for what they revealed about living conditions and material culture in Aboriginal fringe camps during this period. Archive records that related specifically to the establishment of the settlement, as well as information about Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal engagement in the settlement were examined.

Libraries were searched for primary historic records at the Northern Territory State Library, the New South Wales State Library and the Mortlock Collection in the State Library of South Australia. The Mortlock Collection is a repository for the hand-written personal diaries of the South Australian Surveyor-General George W Goyder. Goyder was sent on official envoy to invade the Darwin region. The diaries of some of his male crew from the ship the 'Moonta' were also sought from here for examination.

Colonial era newspapers relating to the settlement's history and development are contained in the Australian on-line database administered by the National Library of Australia called Trove (<http://www.trove.nla.gov.au>). A sample of one hundred editions covering the *Northern Territory Times* after, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, the *Moonta Herald*, the *Adelaide Advertiser* and the *Northern Standard Newspaper* were read for this thesis. Newspaper articles were selected on the basis of content relevant to the focus of this thesis. Hence, the kind of information selected from newspaper articles were about decisions, commentary, views or opinions expressed about events in the settlement involving Aboriginal people, and decisions, commentary, views or opinions about policy in the settlement pertaining to Aboriginal people by South Australian based politicians and citizens. Or, by Government Resident's in Darwin, other colonial officials or media editors in the settlement or in South Australia. Legislation debated and enacted by the South Australian parliament pertaining to the relationship between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people in the settlement was also reviewed.

2.7. Archaeology in the Long Grass

Archaeological pedestrian surveys were undertaken in the long grass in Darwin's suburbs and rural area over three field seasons with staff from the Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation. Ground conditions for surface visibility in the long grass varied from high visibility to low visibility depending on the location and burn-off patterns. In Darwin burn-off in the long grass normally occurs annually in the dry season on a rotational basis and is carried out by the Northern Territory Fire and Rescue Service. For surveys in the long grass time pressures were such that they had to be done irrespective of whether ground conditions were optimal for surface visibility. In every instance, when a long grass camp was encountered none of the material remains were touched, only photographed. Photography of long grass camps had two purposes: as a record of the sorts of materials people take into the long grass; and to aid spatial and comparative analysis for mapping Aboriginal land use patterns. Information about the material contents and debris in long grass camps was recorded in two ways. The first was on a site recording form designed for this research. The second was by hand held GPS to record the location of each camp. The third was by photography.

The approach taken to field surveys was negotiated with personnel from the Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation, as this was a collaborative research project and their involvement was a core stance of a decolonized methodology. The method involved negotiations about length of time needed to do the surveys, availability of personnel, availability of vehicles, payment for cultural advice and brokering consultations if Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal people were present in camps at the time of field surveys.

The method of approaching people who were resident in long grass camps was negotiated with representatives of the Larrakia Nation. A culturally appropriate method was adopted for this research. Ethically, as well as from a cultural point of view, it was considered appropriate to obtain the interest and consent of Aboriginal people at camps to record their contents. This was obtained by a Larrakia Nation representative introducing themselves and sitting down to talk about the aim of the research, why we were interested in their camp, discuss our purpose by giving an information sheet, seek consent to record the materials in camp, and seek permission to take photography. In every instance when people were 'home' we were welcomed and allowed to record the camps and take photography.

Negotiations also covered survey strategy and it was agreed the survey method would be done in two ways. The first was going straight to locations where it was known long grass camps would be. The second was random sampling of tracts of vacant Crown land for camps across suburbs and in the rural areas of Darwin. The Larrakia Nation provided a four-wheel drive vehicle to access dirt roads on all areas of vacant Crown land.

A Nikon D5000 DSLR camera with long-range focus lens was used to take photographs of long grass camps instead of making hand drawn site plans. As a method of evidence photography is considered to give the most accurate detail of contemporary material culture for comparative analysis in archaeological studies of homelessness (Zimmerman and Welch 2011: 72-73). This photography also contributes to one component of a planned exhibition of the history of Aboriginal camps in the long grass in Darwin for public education purposes.

2.8. Land Use Data

A questionnaire was prepared to capture information about why people come to Darwin and live in the long grass. A person's age, community of origin and gender were also recorded. Privacy was protected by asking people for first names only, and by reassuring people they would not be identified in any publications arising from the research, or in this thesis. People were advised at the beginning that they did not have to answer any questions if they preferred. However, whenever people were asked questions they all cooperated. Aboriginal people who stay in the long grass have been described as a 'vulnerable' group according to research (Holmes and McRae-Williams 2010). The definition of 'vulnerable' in this research is adopted from Liamputtong (2013: 304), hence no attempt was made to interview anyone who was under the influence of alcohol, or anyone under the age of 18. The questions also aimed to elucidate information about the quality of life people experienced in the long grass, mobility patterns, lifestyle choices, intensity of interactions with authorities or other people, cultural factors influencing decision making, and personal safety issues. Although it was considered that the questions are pertinent to analysis because of the potential to contribute to theoretical constructs identifying aspects of the continuity of colonialism in the long grass since colonization, ultimately, the data from this method was used with rare exception.

Maps are intended to be made of the relationship between the location of long grass camps and natural resources, or other resources to assist conceptualizing the way Aboriginal people use and move across the Darwin landscape.

2.9. Problems and Limitations with Evidence

Some limitations arose during fieldwork at Southport. In one instance inexperienced individuals inadvertently put in the same pile pieces of ceramic and bottle glass remains together before this was recognized. Consequently, at least one concentration of remains recorded as a 'feature' on the CPS1 site plan may have been artificially constructed. This factor was considered in laboratory analysis. However, in terms of analysis of spatial relationships between artefacts at Southport this was a minor impact.

As discussed in Chapter Four a main limitation of note with archive sources was bias. In terms of the glass bottle artefacts some of the limitations included that wholly intact examples are likely to have been taken prior to archaeological surveys because Southport is a known destination for amateur artefact collectors (Duminski 2005: 62). This may be one reason for the highly fragmented assemblage from the sites at Southport. Another limitation with the glass artefacts is that mainly bottle bases, predominated over manufactured flakes. This limitation may be a result of glass tool knapping occurring primarily off site, not primarily at CPS1 and CPS2 and possibly not even at Southport. Considering that pedestrian surveys across the four areas of Southport did not find much evidence for bottle glass knapping outside of CPS1 and CPS2 this theory is plausible.

There are limitations associated with the archaeological and archive evidence. The two do not transition smoothly because each type of evidence has its own epistemological rationale and methodological basis as has been recognized in historical archaeology (Deagan 1988; Gaughwin 1988; Kosso 1995). For this reason, the archaeological evidence and the archive evidence is treated separately through this analysis, but both are part of a wholistic methodology to enhance interpretation.

2.10. Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter outlined that archaeological field methods conducted at Southport and in the long grass in Darwin were combined with archive sources to obtain data for this thesis. The methods used resulted in the recovery of two distinct assemblages from Southport for analysis. The first is an assemblage that consists of bottle glass, ceramics, metal and clay pipe artefacts that were introduced by European and Chinese settlers at Southport after the invasion in 1869 and used by European and Chinese settlers and Aboriginal people. The latter is an assemblage of bottle bases manufactured in Europe but re-used by Aboriginal people at Southport to manufacture glass tools for their purposes. This interpretation does not preclude the possibility that Aboriginal people also re-used bottle containers, or ceramic containers, in ways other than for the manufacture of tools. The assemblage created by Aboriginal people also includes metal objects introduced by settlers that were re-used by Aboriginal people to manufacture metal tools for use by Aboriginal people, and plausibly, in other ways such as containers for food products. The diagnostic attributes of manufactured artefacts, particularly glass tools made by Aboriginal people, are presented in Table 1 in Appendix 1. A catalogue of photographs showing diagnostic attributes of European and Chinese manufactured objects is presented in Appendix 2. The archive sources that assisted an analysis of Aboriginal agency in this thesis is presented in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

The theoretical model presented in the next chapter, Chapter Three, is the framework upon which interpretation of Aboriginal agency is bolstered by the archaeological, archive and material evidence recovered by the methods outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL MODEL

3.1. Introduction

The model presented in this chapter draws on theoretical aspects of archaeologies of colonialism as the overarching frame of reference. And colonialism, as a process of encroachment, is relevant to this analysis for multiple reasons. The timing of permanent colonization of the Darwin region by Europeans in the mid 19th century occurred when European attitudes about racism was probably at its zenith in terms of antipathy toward Aboriginal people (Austin 1992:13-42). At its core colonialism is characterized by key pillars that resonate with the direction of this thesis. Notwithstanding arguments that colonialism defies one single adequate definition (Silliman 2010: 30) it has been said colonialism is not about dominance per se but that it seeks to ‘produce relations of dominance to produce social orders’ (Thomas 2002: 182). In this regard it is concerned with ‘issues of power’ (Gosden 2004: 4), land theft and dispossession of Indigenous people, ideological constructions of race/class inequality made more complex by nationalist tendencies and it refuses ‘to accept other values than its own’ (Gosden 2004: 116, 133, 159). Citing Balandier, Veracini (2010:4) described colonialism to be,

the domination imposed by a foreign minority, racially (ethnically) and culturally different, acting in the name of a racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority dogmatically affirmed, and imposing itself on an indigenous population constituting a numerical majority but inferior to the dominant group from a material point of view.

Citing Osterhammer, Veracini (2010:5) augmented that description of colonialism to mean ‘a relationship of domination between an indigenous...and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized peoples are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interest that are often defined in a distant metropolis’. Finally, colonialism has at its core motives that are relentless in its agenda,

The primary object of settler colonization is the land itself rather than the surplus value to be derived from mixing native labor with it. Though, in practice, indigenous labor is at base a winner-takes all project whose dominant feature is not exploitation but replacement. The logic of this project, a sustained institutional tendency to eliminate the indigenous population, informs a range of historical practices that otherwise appear distinct – invasion is a structure not an event (Patrick Wolfe, cited in Veracini 2010: 8).

Reflective of the historical circumstances of European colonization in the Darwin region, and of the tenets outlined above, colonialism is defined for the purpose of this research to mean **‘the historical process, extending from first contact to the present, through which Indigenous lands were**

invaded and stolen by Europeans whose intent was, and remains, to make profit from these lands’.

Further, this thesis accepts Silliman’s (2005: 58) construction of colonialism,

Colonialism is generally defined as the process by which a city – or nation state – exerts control over people – termed indigenous – and territories outside its geographical boundaries. This exertion of sovereignty ... administer[s] state control, manage[s] interactions and extract[s] labor, raw materials and surplus.

Aspects of each of these definitions is applied to the past and present colonialism of the Darwin region. I argue that archaeologies of colonialism can highlight Aboriginal agency as a way to counter historic and contemporary narratives reminiscent of Social Darwinism about Aboriginal people to show that Aboriginal people have in effect always been active agents against colonialism.

To address the research question, it was necessary to develop a theoretical model capable of linking materiality and spatial patterning to Aboriginal agency within a framework of colonial control. The model recognizes that Aboriginal agency was constrained by a changing framework of colonial control. It assumes that materiality and spatial patterning in Aboriginal fringe camps will reflect these changing interactions. It should be noted that this model is not linear. Except for the period of initial contact after 1869, the four forms of agency identified in this model have the potential to co-exist at any one time in what is initially called co-inhabited space, and later contested space. Further, the model was developed to capture the possibility of change through time. Moreover, the model depicts the essence of survivance as defined by Vizenor (1998; 1999; 2008; 2009:1) in Chapter One and applied in this thesis. In this regard survivance is an aspect of Aboriginal agency that is shown in the model to have originated after initial invasion, manifesting throughout the entire colonization project and continues in the present day.

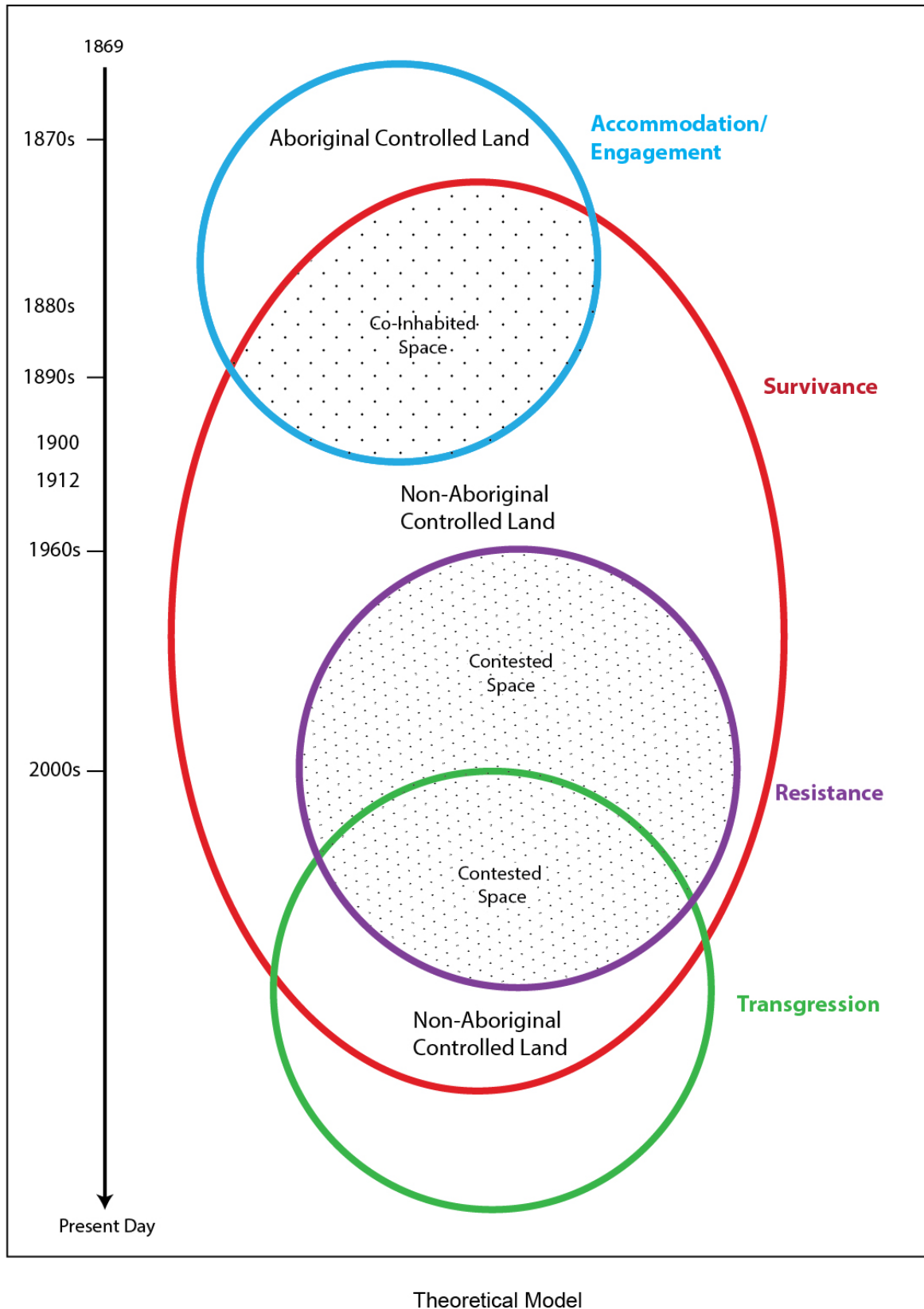


Figure 3.1. Theoretical Model of Aboriginal agency post colonization in the Darwin region.

Over the trajectory of time it can be seen that Aboriginal agency has adapted to changing conditions in colonial context, as discussed in Chapter Four which is concerned with the historical origins of European contact and the emergence of colonialism's oppressive practices on Aboriginal people in the Darwin region.

In the accommodation stage, while land is under Aboriginal control, Aboriginal agency is geared toward interactions with non-Aboriginal colonizers on the terms of the Larrakia (Wells 2003). This continues to manifest as engagement in the model where Aboriginal people offered their labor as a resource and as a result they assisted not only in the development of infrastructure in the settlement, but in a myriad number of ways that helped non-Aboriginal people to settle the land as discussed in more detail in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. From the mid 1870s until the early 1900s Aboriginal agency as engagement transitions continually to adapt to pressures like the rapid encroachment of the original settlement from a seaside space, inland, and further into the hinterland, in a patchwork movement along the lines of interstitial spaces (Godwin 2001) that Aboriginal people were increasingly forced to live on. Interstitial spaces became smaller and smaller until the process of the marginalization of Aboriginal people into fringe camps spatially, was achieved within the settlement's delineation such as confinement on certain streets or in specific inland or coastal areas. This process occurred as the rapid expansion of the settlement's borders imposed ever stronger constraints on the ability of Aboriginal people to move freely and willfully within the settlement borders. Such that by the mid to late 1870s Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people co-inhabit space, representing two significant impacts. The first is the gradual dispossession of the Larrakia people by land theft which increased the control of land by non-Aboriginal people. The second is Aboriginal agency responding to imposed pressures from colonization such as competition with non-Aboriginal people over natural resources and for land use and control of space. As mentioned, throughout the 1870s, the 1800s through the 1900s Aboriginal agency is underpinned by survivance while experiencing dispossession and loss of control of land. In survivance Aboriginal people continually adapted to strategize the challenges of the onslaught of impacts from colonialism on Aboriginal clans such as death by food shortages, murder, introduced diseases or vice (Goyder 1869: 5; Foelsche 1882:4, 8,10, 12; Government Resident 1885: 10; Government Resident Report 1887:16; Government Resident Correspondence 1898: 6), the effects of a foreign system of law and order that imposes incarceration of Aboriginal people in jail for minor or serious offences (Government Resident Report 1899: 4; Government Resident Report 1909:46), of rarely cited abuses of Aboriginal people by individual settlers (Lockwood 1968: 43-44), or by being outnumbered in population terms and rapidly becoming a minority on their own land. All such impacts contributed to the decimation of the Larrakia people, but it also decimated Aboriginal people from remote regions of the Northern Territory who had traveled to the settlement in search of trade or other opportunities.

The model depicts that by the early 1900s Aboriginal agency highlights intergenerational survivance. As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, while Aboriginal people are still interacting with settlers, but existing in fringe camps, survivance manifests as continuity of cultural ways of life and sustenance in the form of material customs and practices. Archaeological evidence for continuity of customs is the evidence of traditional types of tools manufactured on bottle glass and metal that was introduced by non-Aboriginal people to the settlement (NT Times and Gazette, May 1875; NT Times and Gazette, October 1876; NT Times and Gazette, December 1880) and this is discussed in Chapter Five. Archive evidence for the continuity of customary practices were corroborees displayed by Aboriginal people on their terms in public spaces from the earliest days of settlement (Morice 1877) until the early 1900s (Dashwood 1901:2). But corroborees were also conducted for official occasions as negotiated by non-Aboriginal people with Aboriginal people for the benefit of visiting non-Aboriginal people to the settlement (Wells 2003: 174). Further, the model continues to depict Aboriginal survivance from the 1910s through to the 1950s and 1960s when Larrakia people were largely incarcerated in institutions. This was the era during which, due to the previous decades-long advocacy by settlers to remove Larrakia people and other Aboriginal people from within the settlement, resulted in legislation that forced the incarceration of Larrakia people in a compound specifically because of those demands.

The model depicts that by the 1950s - 1960s, an Australian government policy of assimilation resulted in the return of Larrakia people to their lands in the Darwin region as free agents. However, by now, Aboriginal land is completely under the control of non-Aboriginal people and consequently Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people co-exist in what is termed contested space. During this stage Aboriginal agency has transitioned to resistance as a result of two significant impacts. The first is intergenerational knowledge handed down among Larrakia people of the historical effects of dispossession from traditional lands and the long struggle that inspired the fight to recognize their rights to land in the Darwin region (Day 1994: 4-5; Day 2001; Scambury 2007; Day 2009). The second being contemporaneous with the first, which was the influence of the activism of the 1960s that swept democracies in Western societies. During the resistance stage Aboriginal agency as activism encompasses seeking the legitimacy of Aboriginal people to use the same public spaces in the Darwin region equally with non-Aboriginal people. In this struggle Aboriginal people's use of public spaces is mediated by cultural factors such as kinship, traditional food procurement practices and expressions of socialization that differed, and still differ, from the ways non-Aboriginal people use public spaces (Sansom 1981; Day 2001). Aboriginal agency acted to maintain resistance to non-Aboriginal demands to conform to the predominant society's views of what Aboriginal assimilation should look like. The contested use of public spaces is hence the result of the ongoing struggle between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people over equal legitimacy in the Darwin region while the land is under the control of non-Aboriginal people.

The model depicts that by the 2000s Aboriginal agency transitioned again. By this stage the fight between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people to co-exist in contested space has been unrelenting. Neither side acquiesces over the use of space. Aboriginal people continue to negotiate the impacts of colonialism because land is under the control of non-Aboriginal people, and the state, aided by media, just as in the early days of colonization (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Friday 13 February 1874; Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 12 August 1876; NT Times and Gazette, November 17, 1883), is relentless in the denigration of Aboriginal people in the Darwin region (Brown 2002). During the 2000s Aboriginal agency transitions again until it is what it is in the present day, which is transgressive. In this stage Aboriginal agency has dispensed with accommodation, engagement and resistance and is now fully comprehensive of its own autonomy of free will irrespective of the consequences that can flow from exerting transgression against colonialism.

This theoretical construction shows how the agency of Aboriginal adaptation to colonization and colonialism has been continual over 130 years.

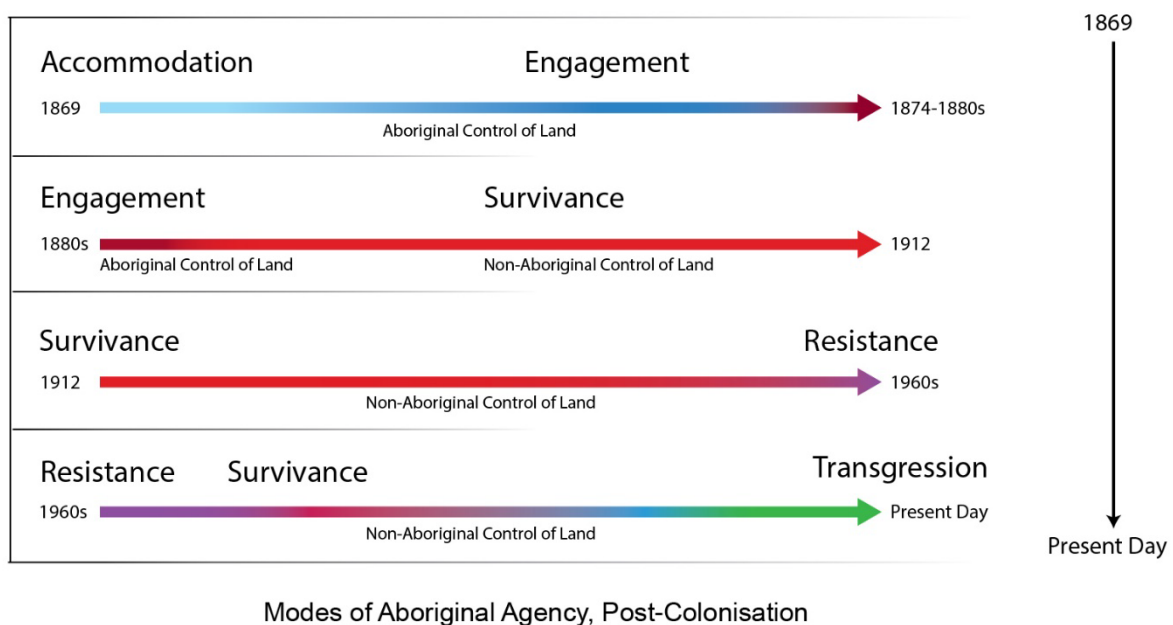


Figure 3.2. Dynamic capacity of engagement, survival, resistance and transgression through time.

Figure 3.2 illustrates the ways dynamism of Aboriginal agency that is discussed above occurred. It depicts Aboriginal negotiation of the challenges of dispossession by showing behaviour as intermittent persistence into each consecutive mode of agency, but not as a process of 'stop' and 'start' clear-cut changing phases of interaction. Persistence of one type of agency into the next was, and is, an interface of blending that is tentative, not abrupt or piercing in its examination. Figure 3.2 highlights that Aboriginal agency did and is consistently testing limits, both through the continuity of material customs and practices that were and are priorities to Aboriginal people, but to also highlight the strategizing of

adaptations and the resilience of Aboriginal agency to colonialism. Now, Aboriginal people may not have control of the land, but they have control of their own decisions, their identity and the ways they live their priorities. This is the integrity of Aboriginal agency to colonialism in the Darwin region. Colonialism, as dire as it was and is for Aboriginal people in Darwin, has not been able to claim Aboriginal survivance even when non-Aboriginal people control the land.

In the earliest years of colonization when land is under Aboriginal control there is an overlap between Aboriginal accommodation, engagement and survival and space is co-inhabited (between 1869-1890s). As power relations tilt toward the invader there is still a degree of engagement by Aboriginal people, but non-Aboriginal people have more control of land (1890s – 1912). Post 1912 non-Aboriginal people have full control of the land and there is overlap between Aboriginal survival, resistance and transgression, Aboriginal accommodation is not discernible again, Aboriginal engagement is on Aboriginal terms which is shown as being transgressive. For the rest of time post 1912 use of space and land is contested.

The contemporary manifestation of colonialism imposed by the predominant culture over the use of space in the Darwin region on Aboriginal people is non-negotiable. The contemporary manifestation of transgression by Aboriginal people who use public spaces in the Darwin region in response to that colonialism shows that their interaction is also non-negotiable.

3.2. Discussion and Conclusion

In the model presented in this thesis the control of land underscores the complexity of Aboriginal agency. Along a continuum, from land being totally controlled by Aboriginal people to land being totally controlled by non-Aboriginal people, Aboriginal agency transformed. The link between land ownership and land dispossession is central to the potency of colonialism's imposition on Aboriginal people's motivation to adapt, engage and survive. While Aboriginal adaptation and colonialism are in a constant dance of negotiation, Aboriginal resistance is the regaining of personal control challenging forces that would see the project of colonization, as outlined above, not achieve its intended aims. This is because Aboriginal agency has proven its potency of will to survivance continuously over 130 years.

The theoretical model presented in this chapter links materiality and spatial patterning to Aboriginal agency within a framework of colonial control. Given that Aboriginal people drew on four forms of agency, and that the social, economic and political contexts within which they existed changed through time, it would be expected for the emphasis on accommodation, engagement, survivance and resistance/transgression to also change through time. During the initial stages of contact, Aboriginal agency was assertive and pro-active. This was followed by a long period of survival, soon augmented

with strategies of resistance. Further, it is possible to envisage a movement from resistance to survivance, not just from survivance to resistance, in response to changes in colonial policies that frame the lives of Aboriginal people living in the Darwin region.

CHAPTER FOUR: ACCOMMODATION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter traces evidence of Aboriginal accommodation of non-Aboriginal people after colonization as defined in the model in Chapter Three. The notion of accommodating non-Aboriginal people is based on the nature of interactions between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people in the settlement. One of the key ways Aboriginal accommodation manifested was as labor offered to non-Aboriginal people in exchange for access to goods or services (Wells 2003). However, the expression of accommodation was challenged by waves of new immigrants to the settlement after which Aboriginal labor was in less demand as a consequence of competition. A notable exception was specific demands by non-Aboriginal women for Aboriginal women's labor in the domestic sphere. Within a short time however, accommodation of non-Aboriginal people was rapidly replaced. Aboriginal people adapted negotiating living and working alongside non-Aboriginal people to strategizing the far-reaching implications of colonialism as it unfurled in the Darwin region. To illustrate the short era of accommodation this chapter traces the attitudes of non-Aboriginal people toward Aboriginal people, which became increasingly hostile in the broader settlement and in the context of Aboriginal fringe camps. Non-Aboriginal attitudes were influenced by the ideologies of the time such as Social Darwinism and this in particular is reflected in the bias uncovered in archived media records. For it is in the context of changing power relations (the control of land) that Aboriginal accommodation of non-Aboriginal people ends, and Aboriginal survivance plays out.

The chapter is divided into two parts that build up the evolution of the ramifications of colonialism for Aboriginal people in the Darwin region. The first part contracts and pulls back to introduce contact Aboriginal fringe camps in Australia. In this part an outline of the historical circumstances that led to permanent European invasion of the Northern Territory of Australia is also briefly described because this is the background to the development of capitalism in the Darwin region. The second part draws on archive evidence to briefly discuss the ways Aboriginal accommodation of non-Aboriginal people after colonization manifested. The chapter then outlines the historical circumstances in which Aboriginal fringe camps evolved after colonization in the Darwin region up to the present.

The aim of this history is to trace how transforming Aboriginal agency to the invasion initiated and changed over 130 years. The historical analysis aids conceptualizing the context in which Aboriginal fringe camps became a response to colonization and colonialism in Darwin.

4.2. Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Australia

4.2.1. *Historical Conceptualizations of the Frontier*

The most notable works on this subject are by Reynolds (1987; 1989; 1990; 1995) whose comprehensive writings provide an in-depth picture of the frontier in regions across Australia. From the work of Reynolds, we know the European invasion of Aboriginal territories occurred at different times across the continent and gave Aboriginal clans near and far from the encroachment insights into the behavior and material possessions of Europeans long before the arrival of Europeans themselves (Reynolds 1995: 1-29). Aboriginal knowledge about the invaders derived from the introduced materials clans traded between themselves far from the frontier. One view is that on the frontier 'curiosity or desire for European commodities' influenced clans to stay and meet with Europeans once they did enter their territories (Reynolds 1995: 2). As the frontier progressed the nuances of contact and engagement between Aboriginal people and Europeans was different in each in place across the continent after an initial era of mutual wariness and curiosity (Reynolds 1995: 25-28). Within a short time of contact on the frontier though, Europeans signaled intentions to stay and occupy a place permanently and this caused changes in the relations between Aboriginal people and Europeans. Potential conflict was always a threat to both sides as the circumstances of colonization's effects on Aboriginal people, and the privations Europeans endured molded relations between the two (Reynolds 1995:61). One strategy Europeans engaged to avert conflict was to include Aboriginal people as laborers who worked for rations (Rowley 1970: 79) as it was hoped this would facilitate peaceful relations. However, it was always the ensuing longer period of permanency characterized by aggressive territorial expansion, increased numbers of Europeans, competition for natural resources, annexation of water sources, and transgressions of clan lore where Aboriginal women were concerned that resulted in a myriad number of sequential detrimental impacts on the capacities of clans to resist colonization (Rowley 1970; Reynolds 1995: 65-67, 70-72). These conditions motivated Aboriginal campaigns of resistance which lasted for decades in differential circumstances (Reynolds 1995: 78-86). It has been argued the Aboriginal worldview of negotiation was shattered very early in the colonization process on the frontier, attributed to the pace of establishment, European goals of wealth creation and ignorance of Aboriginal values of sharing and reciprocity (Rowley 1970: 77-80). And the lure of European goods and commodities in settlements attracted Aboriginal people other than the resident clan who had been dispossessed which led to influxes of Aboriginal people from neighbouring regions who established themselves on the fringes of colonies in makeshift camps and competed for opportunities of rations or trade (Austin 1992: 96). Aboriginal labor was a commodity sought by Europeans in the early years of colonization because Aboriginal labor was cheap, and payment was tobacco, clothes or left-over food (Reynolds 1990:142) but the mobility of a hunter-gatherer economy was problematic to reliability. In some frontier places division also occurred between Europeans and Aboriginal people when Europeans

increasingly relied on their own for labor services denying access to the means Aboriginal people relied on to acquire the goods they desired such as rations, clothes, steel axes or tobacco (Davison 1985).

4.3. Aboriginal Experiences of Frontier

One view of frontier in colonial Queensland argues it was time limited by duration, a distinctive time, a time distinguished by the 'settled' from the 'unsettled' relations between Aboriginal and European, and was a time marked by 'tension' in Aboriginal-European relations. The time of frontier is then 'rapidly replaced by a stable system in which the dominant society has asserted itself, displaced or marginalized the original inhabitants, and firmly established the myriad of economic, legal, cultural and social constructs of which it is compromised' (Godwin 2001: 101). Godwin's study hints at the changing position of Aboriginal people within tiny new enclaves of cultural systems that were based on colonial capitalism. Land acquisition was at the heart of colonization and as the frontier progressed, the parcels of land sought for occupation by Europeans created a mosaic of 'interstitial space within the frontier' rather than a contiguous line of progression. Godwin argues in this perception of frontier experience Aboriginal people could make choices. They could segment areas of land invaded by Europeans and maintain social and physical distance from Europeans instead of overtly competing with them for natural resources within a limited zone. Or, they could rationalize interaction with Europeans on the basis of their priorities for engagement if they wanted involvement in the social and economic domains of colonies. Or, they could combine a distance-engagement model of interaction (Godwin 2001: 107-109). The notion of choice is an important one because it suggests autonomy of Aboriginal agency, a value that over time and in spite of the complex impacts of colonization on Aboriginal social organization and economic survival, persisted even in the most-dire of circumstances (Reynolds 1989).

Returning to the notion that frontier is time limited in duration, frontier expansion and land acquisition imposed interventions of increasing complexity and reduced the interstitial spaces Aboriginal people could retreat to, resulting in an increased constraint of freedom of movement and restriction of areas for retreat, as colonial borders expanded Europeans encroached Aboriginal land tenure, decreasing the distance between themselves and Aboriginal people and between neighbouring Aboriginal clans. Aboriginal and European began overtly competing for natural resources, exacerbating tensions on front lines. By the time Aboriginal people were living on the fringe of settlements, 'rules' of engagement by Europeans directed at Aboriginal people determined the terms of entry (Godwin 2001: 109-112).

This view of frontier is a microcosm of that which Reynold's points out (1987; 1995) was a myriad variation of different circumstances along the frontier that overall, defies one single explanation for the diversity of inter-relationship reactions and responses among Aboriginal people and Europeans to

colonization. But one of the consequences of choice to engage, as espoused above, that can be attributed a regularity of causation on the frontier was the phenomena of Aboriginal fringe camps at settlements.

4.4. The Emergence of Aboriginal Fringe Camps

Colonization meant dispossession and the very first dispossession of Aboriginal people in southeast Australia was from that time forward perpetuated everywhere Europeans established subsequent settlements across the continent. After the frontier time and within subsequent established settlements the European political elite debated the morality of dispossession, rights to land and Social Darwinism. Europeans who justified dispossession argued with those who questioned it (Reynolds 1989: 1-23). The elite debated the issues for decades (Reynolds 1989: 68-95), but for Aboriginal people living on the fringe of European settlements they were expected to transform relatively quickly from being hunter-gatherers to useful laborers or domestic help for the European citizenry. Aboriginal women living with Europeans as domestics (Reynolds 1990:177-178) became common practice, but more commonly Aboriginal people who labored for Europeans usually resided in makeshift camps on the fringes (Reynolds 1990: 130).

This background of frontier after contact is broad, but it suggests that complex challenges and overwhelming circumstances faced Aboriginal people in the colonial period. As a broad backdrop, it provides a framework for conceptualizing insights of Aboriginal experiences on the frontier in the Darwin region.

4.5 Aboriginal Fringe Camps at Southport, Darwin

The Aboriginal fringe camps in this thesis abbreviated as CPS1 and CPS2 were two large sites of occupation dating to the early colonization of Southport. Occupied between 1870 until at least the late 1800s, and possibly longer by Aboriginal people, they contained the archaeological remnants of Aboriginal camps on the fringe in one settlement in Darwin. Apart from being literally on the fringe, that is, physically located on the outskirts of the town grid that is Southport, they were the places Aboriginal people inhabited for an undetermined length of time. I argue the height of Aboriginal occupation of CPS1 and CPS2 occurred during the accommodation stage and continued through to the engagement stage in the model. The archaeological evidence from CPS 1, in particular, the remains of a collapsed built structure with a shingle roof made from flattened tin cans, but also ceramic ware and glass containers suggests this site was also inhabited by non-Aboriginal people at one time. As excavation was not conducted at CPS1 it has not been determined whether Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people coinhabited CPS1 at the same time or subsequently. However, the Aboriginal occupation of CPS1 and CPS2, as evidenced by the collection and storage of European manufactured bottle glass for re-use as manufactured Aboriginal tools or for other utilitarian purposes, is evidence

that Aboriginal people at Southport did not camp very far from where the core activities of the Europeans and the Chinese carried out their businesses at Southport.

4.5. On Interstitial Spaces

There are elements of the model by Godwin (2001: 101) of frontier ‘tension’ that resonate with the historical record of the relations between the Larrakia people and non-Aboriginal people in Darwin after colonization. Colonialism, with its structural basis of commerce, economics and law supported by social and political cultivation of class differences was well advanced in its global reach by the time Europeans invaded Larrakia country in the mid 19th century. This model of colonialism on the Darwin frontier, forged rapid expansion of the settlement’s boundaries along with an increase in the numbers of invaders who cleared more land for occupation. Consequently, Larrakia people were forced to sustain a traditional economy for livelihood in increasingly constrained circumstances, a fact Goyder acknowledged would happen as a result of the invasion (Goyder 1869). As the Darwin frontier progressed predicated on the annexation of land into tracts of exclusive possession and access, the patch work of interstitial spaces got more exposed and less distant from the settlement’s front. Over decades this meant that Larrakia camps transitioned from encampment within uncleared bushland to encampment inside the settlement’s borders on cleared land. This process of shrinkage shortened the physical distance between the spaces where the Larrakia could camp and the proximity of the settlers (after Godwin 2001). It meant for example, that the types of shelter the Larrakia made to live in changed over time in response to restricted access to traditional building materials such as bark and bough to materials like corrugated sheet metal and hessian amid the changing social circumstances. While land theft increased pace through to the 1910s, Larrakia agency was continually being challenged and they responded by adapting their autonomy from within fringe camps in ways that amounted to both engagement with settlers, to increasingly over time, covert and eventually overt expressions of resistance to non-Aboriginal people over the theft of their land (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, October 4, 1884).

This background of frontier advancement and the implications for Aboriginal people across Australia as well as in the Darwin region in the 19th century is the basis for narrowing the discussion to highlight nuance of consequences for the Larrakia people and other Aboriginal clans in the Darwin region after colonization. First, a brief outline is given of the circumstances of the European invasion of the Darwin region. Second, the discussion then shifts to go into the implications of invasion. For example, while the broad picture of what frontier advancement meant for Aboriginal clans across the continent has been given, the discussion below gives flesh to that background picture by detailing the ‘everyday’ impacts of what it meant for Aboriginal people in Darwin.

4.6. European Invasion of Darwin region

European interests in a northern site for British colonial settlement were furthered by Phillip Parker King's survey of the north Australian coastline between Arnhem Bay to Cape Leeuwin in 1817, but the survey did not include the Darwin coastline (Powell 2000: 46-47). Following King, gaps in the surveying of the north Australian coast were closed by John Lort Stokes who became the first European to land on the soil that would become Port Darwin in 1839 (Powell 2000: 48). Next came a series of attempts to establish British military presence on the north Australian coastline. Between 1824 - 1849 three attempts were made, one on Melville Island to the north of Darwin, and two consecutively on the Coburg Peninsula to the north east of Darwin. In 1869 George W. Goyder, the surveyor-general of South Australia sailed to the harbor located by the previous expeditioners and made the base camp called Fort Point (Powell 2000: 42-64; De la Rue 2004: 1-7).

4.7. Dispossession of the Larrakia People of Darwin

The ensuing European settlement went through different names, ie, after Fort Point it became Port Darwin, then Palmerston and eventually Darwin (Lockwood 1968: 37). On his expedition Goyder instructed the crew and officers on the construction of the base camp from which the permanent settlement was to take shape. When Goyder established Fort Point, he acknowledged in writing that the new capital was on the land of the Larrakia people. He recorded them as the original people of the land and he acknowledged that Europeans were a threat to their sovereignty (Goyder Diary 1869). His diary contains the first European recorded observations of the reactions of the Larrakia people and their allies and sometimes enemy, the Wulna people to the activities of Europeans after the invasion. Within the first year of colonization, the Larrakia people did not physically prevent Europeans from achieving their aim of colonization, in other words they did not go to war with Europeans. Instead, the Larrakia people seemed to have adopted what is reminiscent of 'cautious surveillance' the likes of which was common on other European-Aboriginal frontiers in the 19th century (Reynolds 1978: 67). In this mode, the Larrakia people observed Europeans from afar but did not hinder their progress while they watched and waited. While this was happening, Goyder recorded in his diary that 'We have carried on operations thus far without collision with the natives. There are about sixty in the locality whom hang about the fence round the camp from daylight till dark...' (Goyder Diary 1869). Two weeks after this entry Goyder recorded that Aboriginal people continued to be in the vicinity of the camp, and also what was the first possible attempt at entreaty with the invaders, an Aboriginal person recorded making a gift of an echidna to the invaders (Goyder Diary 1869).

The portrayal of initial peaceful observations and attempts punctuated, in the months following colonization, by overt displays of Aboriginal curiosity in the form of uninvited entry into European's personal spaces (tents) within the camp in search of objects, would however, be replaced with

descriptions of a dramatic difference in disposition of Europeans toward Aboriginal people that occurred in two phases. The first signs of Aboriginal hostility occurred during the time Goyder travelled into bush hinterland to complete land surveys and plot grids for the base of outlier townships, one of which was Southport, some distance from the main base camp. On one of these expeditions it was recorded that one of Goyder's men was speared fatally by an Aboriginal clansman. The terminology Goyder used in recording the event, suggests he was a man of his times in terms of how it reflected racist Social Darwinist beliefs about Aboriginal people. But it also suggests Goyder assumed a simplistic portrayal of Aboriginal motives for violence that ensued. Goyder wrote (1869) that it was due to the 'treacherous' and 'savage instincts', impulsive responses of 'miserable specimens of humanity' that inferred it inevitable that Aboriginal people would resort to killing. This racially loaded perspective then altered to a subtle reluctant acknowledgement that the invasion itself actually may have had something to do with the killing,

I also had to bear in mind that we were in what to them appeared unauthorized and unwarrantable occupation of their country, and where territorial rights are so strictly observed by the natives that even a chief of one tribe will neither hunt nor remove anything of another without first obtaining permission, it is scarcely to be wondered at if, when opportunity is allowed them, they should resent such acts by violence upon its perpetrators (Goyder Diary 1869).

A second phase of violence by Aboriginal people occurred after Goyder had returned to South Australia and left the base camp under the command of Doctor Millner, an officer on Goyder's original expedition. In this instance, a member of the newly arrived police force under the command of Paul Foelsche threatened violence toward Larrakia people over the theft of a metal axe by an Aboriginal clansman if the axe, and the clansman who stole it, was not given over to the police (Millner 1870; Foelsche 1870).

Following dispossession, these separate examples occurred at a time that marked an early transition in the sentiment by Aboriginal people from initial tolerance of non-Aboriginal people to a turn of mind where the actions and demands of the invader's overt expression of entitlement to materiality, land and space and threatened conflict, switched to the notion of accommodation. At the same time, increasingly, there was conflict going on between the Larrakia and the Wulna peoples over what stance the Larrakia people should take toward the invaders. Throughout the first decade of the invasion these tensions prevailed between the Larrakia and the Wulna peoples. Archive documents record overt and covert acts of armed conflict between the two sides suggesting there was fatalities on both sides while the tensions played out both within the space carved out for the settlement, as well as in the bush hinterland out of sight of non-Aboriginal people (Millner Diary 1870; McLachlan Diary 1870; Wells 2003: 92, 148-149).

The sentiment of entitlement by non-Aboriginal people to land that developed in early colonization would, over one hundred and thirty years later, continue to the present day. The space where Aboriginal people meet the most blatant expressions of this entitlement in contemporary Darwin is the long grass and this is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

After 1869 it was predominantly government officials who generated an official documentary record of interactions of Aboriginal people in the settlement identified as the Woolner-Larrakeeyah', the 'Larrakeeyah' and 'Warnunger' and the 'Wagites'. For some of this time the interactions are either social and result in Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people mixing for enjoyment, or, violent as there was conflict between Aboriginal clans, or conflict between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people resulting in injury and deaths on both sides. Incidents like these increased throughout the 1870s up to the early 1900s as relations between Larrakia people and non-Aboriginal people intensified. It is plausible that access to opportunity with non-Aboriginal people in the settlement was a cause of tensions between the Larrakia and Wulna peoples, as much as it could have been between Aboriginal people and immigrants. It is why throughout the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, amidst the myriad social, economic and political impacts that colonization imposed on the Larrakia people they actively maintained cultural practices like corroborees or events like spear throwing contests to maintain distinctive identity (Maurice, Protector of Aborigines 1877; Northern Times and Gazette, May 7, 1887) survivance as the traditional owners of the Darwin region.

In a context of social engineering where the pillars of colonialism operated to sustain an alien system of socialization, commerce, religion and politics on a new frontier, Larrakia people faced complex decisions about survival. I argue that initially after colonization, the camps the Larrakia people retreated to were places where they could exercise their autonomy of agency and identity survivance while they retained control of the land. From these camps, during the earliest days of the settlement's establishment, a key mode of survival the Larrakia people strategized was the provision of labor to the settlers. Throughout the 1870s into the 1880s, the Larrakia continued to provide labor to the settlers and were paid in rations of food,

I am glad to be able to report that I have succeeded in working a gang of nine men under a white supervisor. I give no pay, but good rations and I find that each man costs about 10 shillings per week and performs about half as much work as a European. They are very helpful, in cutting the bush hay and drying it, and on the roads, where they are very active in clearing stumps. I also use them in assisting to clear the town of the horehound plant, which has completely overrun the place, and owing to the neglect of the District Council, year by year, has been getting worse. I have also used the aboriginals in breaking stone for repair of road from the Camp (Government Resident Report 1877).

4.8. Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Palmerston

In the early colonization period, it can be seen from archives that biased content in records is a factor in the way Aboriginal people and the activities they got involved in were portrayed to an audience of non-Aboriginal people. Bias raises challenges for researchers when it comes to interpretation of Aboriginal experiences when the record created by the colonizers is the major one from which to glean perspectives on Aboriginal lives (Paterson 1999: 227, 232-234). For this reason, the next section illustrates this challenge by charting a trajectory over the decades of settlement, of selected writings by settlers about Aboriginal people in fringe camps. The point is to chart continuity of two distinguishing aspects about Aboriginal fringe camps from 1870 to the present. The first is that fringe camps never cease to exist over the entire length of time. The second is that non-Aboriginal criticisms of Aboriginal fringe camps also never ceases to exist over the entire length of time.

4.9. Media Bias and Emergent Aboriginal Survival

Within only four years of the invasion it was reported that Aboriginal people living in the settlement ‘have always been neglected and they are neglected now. That is about the truth of the whole matter’. It was reported that as ‘it is clear that there is a great deal of disease amongst the tribes’ and that because ‘there are many individuals laboring under the ill-effects of old wounds and lacerations’ (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Friday 23 January 1874) the conditions some Aboriginal people were living in led to speculation that regulations were needed to offer medical assistance for injuries. Injuries among Aboriginal people were reported to be sustained by fighting between clans (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 29 May 1875). Clan disputes and the behaviours of some individuals at fringe camps began to be condemned early in colonization,

The black brother may be very good in his place but I prefer him at a respectable distance. His manner and customs are not pleasing and his habits are simply disgusting. The yell and war whoops which proceed from their camps night after night are hideous, whilst the proximity of these accumulations of filth to the town renders it impossible for the inhabitants residing in this portion of Palmerston to obtain any rest. Captain Douglas insisted that the blacks bivouac at a fair distance from the town (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Friday 13 February 1874).

The tone of this media article suggests two things were happening. The first is that mere years after colonization Aboriginal survival is contrasted against an intolerant attitude by non-Aboriginal people as a matter of public opinion. The second is that it is an early example of non-Aboriginal people being intolerant to the thought of Aboriginal people even living in close proximity to the settlement and this hints at how, as discussed earlier, the incremental take-over of Aboriginal land by non-Aboriginal people was justified. The sentiment of intolerance was echoed the following year when it was reported

by media that ‘Our attention has been called to ravages committed by the ... native curs prowling about the township during the night, the most of them, belonging to the niggery’. Alleging that food and poultry was being stolen the question was asked ‘Whose duty is it to destroy these brutes? The District Council or the Police?’ (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 16 October 1875). Calling for sentiment to ‘destroy’ Aboriginal people so early in the colonization process extends the idea of an extreme intolerance right from the earliest years of colonization. Restrictions on the movement of Aboriginal people in the settlement began early in the colonization process with a decree by the Government Resident that ‘Aborigines will not be permitted to wander about the town either during the day or night’, unless it was to work but then they must leave. If Aboriginal people failed to ‘keep away from the town’ they were to be arrested and punished under the Police Act (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 28 October 1876). It can be seen that the media was a tool of advocacy to justify the invasion, and to justify the rights of non-Aboriginal people to dispossess Aboriginal people. Beliefs by non-Aboriginal people such as that Aboriginal people were facing extinction anyway was a rationale that underlined racist sentiment towards unjust, cruel and often times barbaric treatment of Aboriginal people (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 12 August 1876). Overt calls made for Aboriginal people to move their camps ‘further from the township’ (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 5 May 1877) began within the first decade of colonization.



Plate 4.1. An Aboriginal fringe camp in Cavenagh Street in late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Photographic Collection, Northern Territory Library). Note the discarded empty flour tins around the camp. This evidence suggests that by this time and as a result of constraints on mobility, Aboriginal people were consuming tinned foods and perhaps using the tins for other purposes.

The forces of racist sentiment espoused by media calling for eviction of Aboriginal people from the settlement eventually lead to constraints being imposed on the movements of Aboriginal people on their own land. Constraints on mobility was also part of the process of being forced into interstitial spaces. In particular, some white settlers saw Aboriginal people, poor whites and people of different nationalities as the next quote attests, as dishonest and undesirable, 'This year we have both Larrakeyah's and Woolners located in Palmerston and they far outnumber the whites. A good deal of pilfering in a small way is going on ... yesterday ... the baker discovered he was 21 loaves short, but whether the blacks, malays or hard up white fellows were the thieves, the police have not yet discovered' (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Saturday 4 March 1876).

As colonization progressed settlers were increasingly verbally hostile, overtly racist and aggressive to the treatment and removal of Aboriginal people camped in town,

Our attention has been called to the quantity of natives that are camped about the township during the day in all directions. This practice should not be allowed for many reasons; they accumulate a quantity of filth and rubbish whenever they locate themselves and many of them are so unsightly and covered with sores, that it is quiet disgusting to look at them (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Saturday 19 March 1881).

In this case neither the origins or causes of diseases Aboriginal people suffered appears to have been a concern of the correspondent. But in the next passage the same correspondent suggested those Aboriginal people who are not disabled by disease could benefit non-Aboriginal people,

We would suggest only those that are useful and inclined to work should be allowed in the town and others ordered outside [the] habited portion of the township. They are getting into a very annoying habit of begging, not only for tobacco but for sixpence and shillings (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Saturday 19 March 1881).



Plate 4.2. Aboriginal Fringe Camp, Palmerston settlement mid to late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Collection, Northern Territory Library). Again, a large number of discarded empty flour tins is seen in the foreground of the camp.

By the early 1800s, a mentality of veiled fear of aspiring criminalist behaviour by Aboriginal people was encouraged by the media 'About half past ten o'clock on Monday night last some twenty or more natives were roaming about the streets, and as late as one a.m. not a few were prowling about with their lubras' (Northern territory Times and Gazette, Saturday 4 February 1882). The ignorance shown by non-Aboriginal people about the life of Aboriginal people in the region prior to the invasion was another aspect of non-Aboriginal entitlement attitude,

Before the whites settled here we don't suppose the blacks made a permanent camping ground of the site of Palmerston, therefore no injury would be done by making the camp of the Larrakeeyahs outside of the immediate [precincts] of the town. The police should drive the Woolnas away altogether. They breed disturbances with the native tribes, they are incorrigible beggars and panderers, and a thorough nuisance and eyesore (NT Times and Gazette, November 17, 1883).

Paul Foelsche, the Police Inspector in the settlement, was an authoritarian figure toward Aboriginal people. He used violence to force Aboriginal people out of the settlement on occasions (Northern

Territory Times and Gazette, April 8, 1895). Complaining of the presence of Aboriginal people at one of their camps on Lameroo Beach near the Darwin harbor it was reported that ‘when it comes to delicate ladies and children having their slumbers disturbed by half-drunken savages and shrieking lubras, it becomes unbearable’ (Newspaper Saturday 17 November 1883).



Plate 4.3. Aboriginal camp at Lamerru Beach, n.d. (Marie and Lindsay Perry Collection, Northern Territory Library, [www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/7121](http://hdl.handle.net/10070/7121)). Shelters constructed out of sheet metal can be seen in the background. Some of the men appear to be painted up as if for an occasion.

In media reports Aboriginal people were portrayed as undeserving of understanding or sympathy, ‘Mock humanitarian twaddle that because the country originally belonged to the ‘poor blacks’ we should submit to be seriously inconvenienced by them’ (Northern territory Times and Gazette, Saturday 17 November 1883) was a belief that was ridiculed. Although referencing prior Aboriginal ownership of the land the attitude of some non-Aboriginal people suggested that dispossession equated to Aboriginal people becoming as invisible as possible,

We trust that the police authorities will not pooh-pooh the very reasonable suggestion that the “unfortunate natives” be compelled to betake themselves to their camp at sundown, as did Morice (Protector of Aborigines) when the advisability of shifting their stinking headquarters from the heart of the town was suggested to him (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Saturday 12 January 1884).

The year previous to this statement in the media the Protector of Aborigines, Doctor R. J. Morice had, in a statement of rare exception, criticized the attitudes of the Council toward Aboriginal people in the settlement. In reply, the Council rebuked Morice maintaining opposition on the topic of Aboriginal camps,

The District Council a rap over the knuckles in his reply to the letter seeking him to shift the blacks' camp from Lameroo Beach [but] he could have made his refusal a trifle more respectful in tone? His opinion of the Council's right over the ground in question, as is yet, only his opinion. If it should happen to be wrong we advise the Council to shift the nuisance without further consulting anyone. The gratuitous to the Council re: the Chinese on parklands was totally uncalled for. The letter to the doctor was courteous in tone and deserved a courteous reply. We should like to ask the doctor, he being a Government servant ... what earthly business it is of his whether the Council in their wisdom let the parklands be settled on or not (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 15 December 1883).

The advocacy of the Protector of Aborigines in his official capacity to question Council policy on where Aboriginal people could make camps in the settlement is a rare find of evidence of such an official stance.

The Protector had quarreled with the Council about whether the camp on the Lameroo Beach came under its jurisdiction. His refusal to act to remove the camp went against community sentiment actively being cultivated by media campaign,

Every fine night a crowd of yelling blacks congregate between Adcock Bros. store and the Wesleyan Chapel creating as great a nuisance almost as their stinking camps in close vicinity to the town do. Their humane Protector we have to thank for the latter nuisance. We wish we had to allow the sweet-smelling cases to camp under his verandah for a month or two (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Saturday 23 February 1884).

Intolerance by non-Aboriginal people was a profoundly significant motive behind media campaigns to pressure officials not to let Aboriginal people make camps in the settlement,

'Tis bad enough that they should be allowed to prowl around the streets in a semi-naked state during the day time, begging, pandering, and stealing without being permitted to make the night hideous with their with their shrieking play – or quarrelling. The inhabitants of Mitchell Street and the Esplanade are the greatest sufferers by this infernal nuisance, and we hope, and believe, the police will remove it in future (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, January 12, 1884).

4.10. Aboriginal Fringe Camps in Palmerston

From T. A Parkhouse (1895: 2) comes an early description of the location of Aboriginal camps and what form their arrangement took at locations in the settlement of Palmerston,

At Port Darwin, on the Lammerru Beach, as it has been for generations, is the camp of the family in whom that part is vested, among them being also the descendants of black trackers introduced by the police from the McAthur districts. A half-mile distant, at the head of Smith and Cavenagh streets, is the main camp of the Larraki'a, comprising several circles of wurleys (at one time four circles, with from three to seven wurleys forming the circle or segment), and another quarter of a mile on, towards Point Emery, was at the same period the camp of the Daly family. About 150 yards removed from the Larraki'a main camp north is a second camp, containing three circles of wurleys, in which reside Wulnar's, related to the Larraki'a by alliance or descent. Another Wulnar camp has been formed in the scrub on the north-east side of Cavenagh street, which is frequented by natives of that tribe coming from the bush who are not related to the Larrakia'a. At the camps each circle preserves its privacy, and the blacks to be seen within it are members of the family, or visitors who are tribal brothers; even the children in their play together do not go to each other's houses, but whistle or call from without. (Parkhouse 1895:2).



Plate 4.4. Aboriginal people camped in the vicinity of the settlement, 1890 (Historic Photos Collection, Northern Territory Library, [www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/28444](http://hdl.handle.net/10070/28444)). The shelter in this camp is made from sheet metal, pieces of wood, cloth and hessian.



Plate 4.5. Aboriginal fringe camp near the settlement, 1890. (Paul Foelsche Collection, Northern Territory Library, [www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/64230](http://hdl.handle.net/10070/64230)). In this photo shelters appear to be made in traditional designs using stringybark on the roofs.

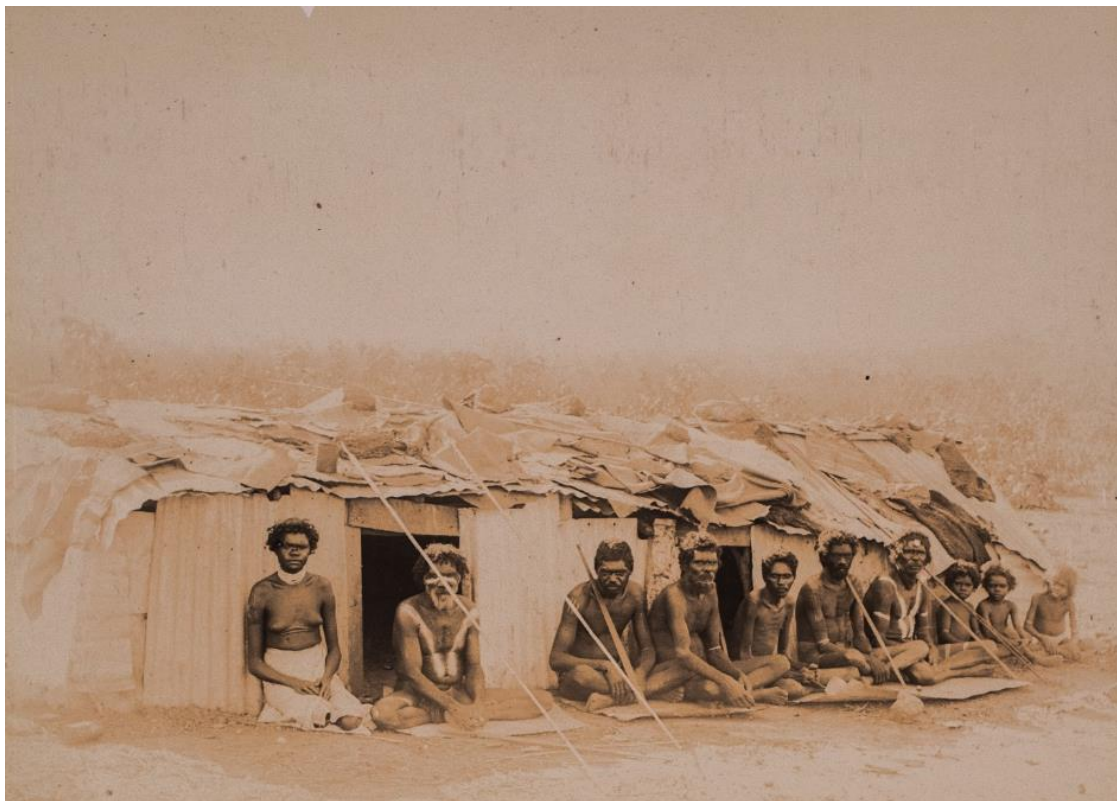


Plate 4.6. Aboriginal people camped at 'Lameru' Beach, Darwin. n.d. (Marie and Lindsay Perry Collection, Northern Territory Library, [www.http://hdl.handle.net/10070/2321](http://hdl.handle.net/10070/2321)). Compared to the materials in the camp shown in Plate 4.5, the shelter in this picture is made predominantly from sheet metal.

Parkhouse's (1895:2) description that 'even the children in their play together do not go to each other's houses, but whistle or call from without' suggests the behavior of the children point to the purpose of the circular arrangement of the huts - to discourage potential entry and to protect the aged, infirm and other vulnerable individuals from scrutiny. What makes Parkhouse's publication so significant is that fifteen years after the invasion and related negative media commentary, he established that Aboriginal camps were an enduring fixture of the settlement, and their survivance of identity can be seen in the photos in terms of body paintings and body adornments and in one case the continuance of traditional shelter design.

A perception by non-Aboriginal people that Aboriginal people did not camp in a place permanently was also the advice of the colonial official Parson in a Government Resident Report (1889:9) when he said 'Except in the immediate neighbourhood of Palmerston, they erect few humpies. They have no settled camping place, except as arranged by dry or wet seasons arrangements...'. By ten years later media reports alluded to established fringe camping within the settlement which suggested the extent of land dispossession. A correspondent wrote 'The Port Darwin blacks mostly live in camps varying from one to three miles from the town; they derive their food supply from the residents, from ration supplies by the Government Resident and from hunting' (Government Resident Report 1898). The Wulna people, close allies and sometimes enemy of the Larrakia people, had a camping ground at Rapid Creek, near the former mission station of the Jesuits (Governor Resident Report 1887:16).

Stating the bad influence of Chinese opium dens near to Aboriginal camps the media appeared smug in their description of the method used to evict Aboriginal people,

Sections of the Palmerston native population have lately enjoyed rather precarious times. One camp at the rear of the schoolhouse was a while back visited by a well-known police-man, who routed the blacks, danced a war dance on their humpies, and generally scattered the paraphernalia of the camp in all directions. The blacks were driven out to the camp near the gardens (Northern Times and Gazette, April 18, 1898).

Non-Aboriginal intolerance to Aboriginal cultural customs (Foelsche 1882:6) seemed reason enough to force camps from the precincts of the settlement, 'The aborigines who have recently been camped so close to the residences of the white people "making night hideous" with their noises, have during the last day or two been ordered by the government to a little further away, and they are therefore now, it appears, gone to Peel's Well and Fannie Bay, which is a much more suitable place for them' (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, n.d).

By the 1900s archive records reveal officials had imposed non-Aboriginal people's notions of cleanliness on Aboriginal fringe camps, 'A great improvement with regard to the sanitary condition of

the native camps has been made during the year. I have frequently visited the camps and made it quite clear to the natives that cleanliness must be strictly observed. A lot more can be done in this respect, but so far the improvement is very noticeable' (Government Resident Report 1909: 46).

By the late 1900s while the Larrakia people have been fully dispossessed of their lands the survivance of identity and custom is resilient under land dispossession but the ramifications of economic exploitation deriving from colonialism is severe. Part of the statement in the next record is out of kilter with the reality that the Larrakia people were enduring in fringe camps by the late 1990s,

It is only fair to the natives to point out that King's Camp is surrounded by heaps of rubbish shunted there from the township before the advent of a district council. Notwithstanding all of this I am still impressed with the idea of establishing a permanent camping ground for the natives outside the boundary of the township. *This would not destroy the peaceful understanding that is so necessary should exist between the white settlers and the natives* (my emphasis). The natives would be far better out of the township, those only who are employed to be allowed within the boundaries of the township (Holtze in Government Resident Report 1908).

This was two years before the legislation of 1910 that would force Aboriginal people off country and into institutions for approximately sixty years. At this point there was no 'peaceful understanding' between non-Aboriginal people and Aboriginal people. Right at the time before Aboriginal people were forced off country officials continued to report that the conditions in Aboriginal fringe camps had made 'some little improvement ... in the sanitary condition of the native camps; but so long as the natives are allowed to harbor their mangy dogs, their camps, however clean in other respects, will have an impress of filth' (Government Resident Report 1910:42). Critics cited cleanliness and hygiene as aspects of Aboriginal camps that attracted the ire of non-Aboriginal people if their standards of cleanliness were not imposed to the satisfaction of the Protector of Aborigines (Government Resident Report 1908; Government Resident Report 1910).

This historical backdrop of negative advocacy about either the removal of Aboriginal camps to the borders of the settlement out of sight of the settlers, or standards of cleanliness in camps was a formidable barrier to anyone who advocated for the rights of Aboriginal people to live near the settlement or be left alone. Advocates for Aboriginal autonomy attracted scornful criticism (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, December 15, 1883). Over decades non-Aboriginal intolerance grew to be a profoundly malign force behind intention to keep pressure on officials not to allow Aboriginal camps in the settlement (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, January 12, 1884).

By 1912 Spencer, Protector of Aborigines wrote,

Up to the beginning of last year their [sic] were two main native camps within the town limits of Darwin, one on top of a cliff known as the King Camp, and the other on the beach below known as the Lamaru Camp. This division of the two Larrakia tribe into two such groups is of very old standing and in the choice of a new site has been recognized. There are to be two encampments one on the shore and one on the cliff above. The old ramshackle dirty huts that the aboriginals made out of the remnants of corrugated buildings that years ago were scattered all over the township by a great cyclone, are now replaced by neat huts with walls of stringybark and roofs of iron (Report of the Administrator 1912).

4.11. Survivance of Self and Identity

But reporting about one type of activity emerged that consistently attracted both negative and neutral comment about its tolerance in the settlement. Corroborees were reported on by media fairly regularly. Non-Aboriginal people could be critical or ambivalent about corroborees because, as with the supply of labor by Aboriginal people to the settlers, corroborees were an activity that for the non-Aboriginal elite bore benefits they exploited for their own ends,

An impromptu corroboree was arranged on the Cricket Ground on Tuesday evening in order to gratify the curiosity of a number of Taiman's (ship) tourist passengers anxious to see the noble savage in a state of festivity. The affair was anything but a first-class performance but to the majority of the visitors it came as a novelty, and served to wile away an hour as a better entertainment (NT Times and Gazette Friday 29 May 1891).

When it came to corroborees the formerly 'quiet disgusting' Aboriginal people were transformed into 'noble savages'. Though tolerated, this media comment shows how by 1891 the knowledge of non-Aboriginal people about the significance of corroborees in Aboriginal society appears ill-informed and ignorant. But by this time, Aboriginal people performing corroborees was evidence for the continuity of a unique cultural activity, one they retained ownership of, which after negotiation would have been modified for public display to visitors to the settlement,

The great success of the natives corroboree which was recently got up [by] the Governor Resident for the special edification of the Earl of Kintore, and the interest which was taken by the general on that occasion has induced Mr Knight to arrange for a similar demonstration for Tuesday evening next week at 8 o'clock on the ground outside the Residence garden to enable the officers and crew to observe one of the popular customs of the aborigines. Colored lights will probably be introduced to add to the scenic effect (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 24 July 1891).

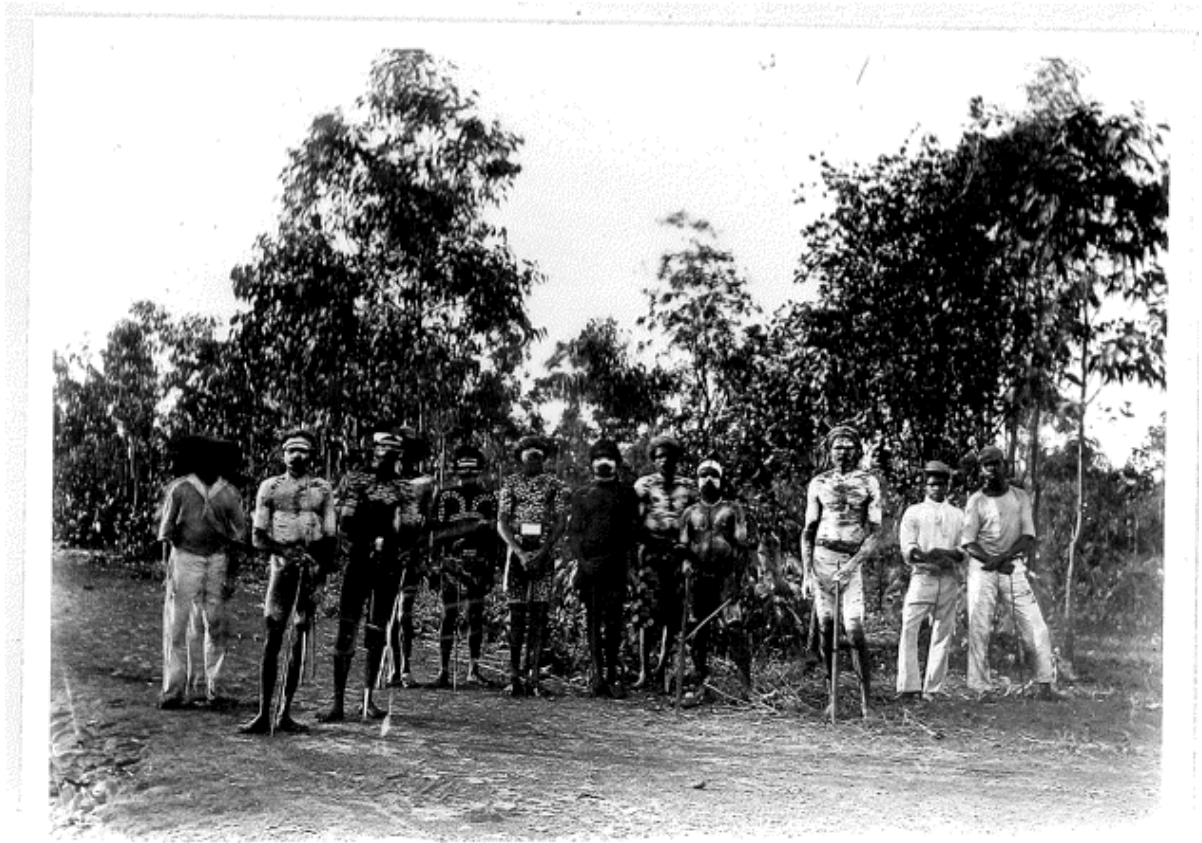


Plate 4.7. Aboriginal people in 1901 painted for a ceremony or corroboree (Gillstrom Collection, Northern Territory Library). Collection remarks: 'Natives, Port Darwin district', 1901.

By the late 19th century Aboriginal people putting on a corroboree for the benefit of visitors to the settlement became a pattern of official request,

A corroboree on rather a big scale was inaugurated on the cricketing oval on Thursday and Friday evening last. But although 3 or 4 different tribes were represented the spectacle cannot be described as a very brilliant success (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 30 March 1900).

While media emphasized how visitors sought and enjoyed Aboriginal corroborees, the sentiment toward why Aboriginal people might expect benefit from sharing a cultural activity was criticized,

On Friday night the aboriginal section of our community entertained at a corroboree on the cricket oval, and great was the joy of the visitors thereat. Great also was the joy of the darkies when they subsequently raked in the flour, tobacco and sundries which Messrs Cook and Co. of the E and A.S.S Company jointly give as a quid pro quo for these unique exhibitions (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 30 March 1894).

In anticipation of a perceived ‘advantage’, as reported,

On Monday night taking advantage of the fact that a number of tourists from the SS Australian were on shore, the natives camped around town held a corroboree. A fair number of performers put in an appearance on the Oval, and after a good deal of shouting and prancing about dispersed to their respective camps. The spectators seemed very well satisfied with the show (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 14 April 1899).

But overall, non-Aboriginal people’s tolerance of corroborees consistently manifested as a crumb of acquiescence on their part,

Why the crowds of loafing, lazy, opium-smoking and grog-drinking natives that congregate on the outskirts of the town are tolerated is more than we can understand. They come in from their country – all tribes are represented – and form camps near to the town as possible, and what with their corroboreeing and the barking and the howling of the hordes of dogs they keep, it is almost impossible for anyone living within a mile of one of these camps to snatch a minutes sleep (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 14 December 1900).

The media depictions of Aboriginal people as shown in this chapter emphasize the difficulty of gaining anything like an objective portrayal of their life in fringe camps. The sampling of media on Aboriginal people camping in and on the fringe of the settlement over the decades of its development shows the media was almost singularly defined by a determination to advocate community hostility towards Aboriginal people and the more salacious, threatening or racist the commentary, the more overt the criticism of Aboriginal people the more aggressive community sentiment became (Northern Territory Times and Gazette Friday 16 March 1900; Friday 14 December 1900; Friday 4 January 1901).

The media played its role in stirring up anti Aboriginal sentiment as part of the settler’s justification to defend the invasion and defend the dispossession of the Larrakia people. In the vein of the Social Darwinism of the times the editorial espoused ‘civilizing’ Aboriginal people as the great virtue to be attained via a ‘strong hand’. Expressed as a lofty but not impossible aim, the call was made that ‘The great difficulty in carrying through such a scheme would be the finding of a capable Man to place in supreme command. Given the right Man, endowed with autocratic powers, results might be achieved at no great cost to the authorities after the first few years’ (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 4 August 1905). This vision was carefully articulated to mean that non-Aboriginal people would not tolerate Aboriginal people threatening their entitlement, while at the same time creating a ‘reserve of suitable labor’ to sustain the non-Aboriginal view of civilization. It was argued ‘Unfortunately however,

the skin of the native inhabitant of the country is dark, and any steps in the direction of his preservation on any large scale might be regarded as seriously menacing the national ideal' (of the European race) (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 4 August 1905).

Part of that asserted ideal was achieved by 1910 when an 'Act to make provision for the better protection and control of aborigines' in the Northern Territory was enacted by the Adelaide Parliamentary Assembly on 12 October in South Australia. The new Act established the definition of Aboriginal native, care of 'half-caste' adults and children, controlled their access to reserved lands, defined the role of the Chief Protector of Aboriginal people, and established an Aboriginal department with absolute power over every aspect of Aboriginal peoples' lives (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 7 January 1910).

The year 1910 transformed the whole reality of Aboriginal people in Palmerston, especially the Larrakia people. The Act initiated the confinement of Aboriginal people in institutions that would continue for approximately sixty years. But in spite of legislation forcibly removing Aboriginal people from the settlement newspaper articles continued their advocacy (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 5 May 1911) to defend the need that 'something should be done', particularly, by the 'right class of Men'. For, 'They must be Men who thoroughly understand the nigger, and have lived for years amongst them and become thoroughly acquainted with their habits' (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 7 April 1911). Applications for positions under the Act for the 'right' Man were invited by media notice (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 2 June 1911) for Chief Protector, as well as two medical Inspectors and three Assistant Protectors (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 22 December 1911). Non-Aboriginal people were informed by the Editor of one edition that,

As a preliminary to the final act of confining the natives to specified reserves, the blacks of Darwin will have certain defined boundaries allotted to them beyond which they dare not go without special permission from the Protector. In particular Aboriginal people were warned to avoid fraternizing with Chinese people in the town. No unauthorised persons were allowed in their reserve, elderly Aboriginal people could get rations but younger Aboriginal people had to work. They were given an allowance, clothes and rations of tobacco and food. Marriages with non-Aboriginal people was discouraged and Aboriginal people were made to always carry a 'brass disc with a number on it' for personal identification or risk punishment. In this new experience for Aboriginal people the Chief Protector had 'power of almost all life and death over all natives' (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 16 February 1912).



Plate 4.8. Doctor Stretton, Chief Protector of Aborigines at Aboriginal camp in Palmerston, 1911 before Baldwin Spencer assumed the position. Image courtesy of the Northern Territory Library.

The ‘right Man’ eventually chosen for the job was Baldwin Spencer, anthropologist. Spencer’s regime as Chief Protector in Darwin is most notable for the decisions he made during the years Aboriginal people were forced to live separately from non-Aboriginal people which were editorialized by the media, and for the diary he kept of his time as Chief Protector in which he detailed his racist beliefs about the racial inferiority of Aboriginal people to Europeans (Spencer diary 1911-1913).

Under the 1910 Act Spencer’s responsibilities were to facilitate, sustain and monitor the segregation of Aboriginal people from the rest of Palmerston. This new era of segregation marked the next phase of adapting Aboriginal survivance to the context of the first institution they were forced to live in which was called the Kahlin Compound (Wells 2003: 267).



Plate 4.9. Aboriginal camp, Palmerston, 1911. Image courtesy of the Northern Territory Library.

In 1918 another ordinance under new Regulations made it illegal for Aboriginal people, without permission to be in Palmerston outside of institutions during certain hours,

Whereas permission has been granted in accordance with form 12A of the Regulations made under the Aboriginal Ordinance 1918-1928 for aborigines lawfully employed under agreement in the Town District of Darwin Centre to be within that prohibited area between the hours of 5 o'clock in the morning and [8] o'clock in the evening of any day (Northern Standard Darwin Friday 31 January 1930).

Oral history among descendant Larrakia people and other Aboriginal families in Darwin today record these experiences of a life forced to live this way (Barbara Raymond

<http://www.territorystories.nt.gov.au/jspui/handle/10070/227611> and Barbara Cummins

<http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2103/05/24/3766776.htm>). Oral history accounts such as these contribute nuance to the archive record of Aboriginal survivance, particularly how Aboriginal people defied the 1910 Act and subsequent regulations.

Aboriginal fringe camps did not suddenly cease to exist in Palmerston because of legislation or regulations. In spite of a requirement that only Aboriginal people who worked could be within Palmerston media criticized how the clansmen and women of Aboriginal workers would camp near their kin who worked for Europeans. Wherever there would be Aboriginal workers 'there will be at least fifty camp followers' and 'If the camp [of followers] is not there neither will the workers be' (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, Friday 7 April 1911).

In a rare published insight of Aboriginal perspective on the impacts of the 1910 Act an Aboriginal man signed as Billy Muck is cited in Pidgeon English for his complaints about not being allowed to go near Chinamen in Palmerston. Billy Muck is cited calling the government greedy,

MISSA WHITEFELLAS whatffor that one pisher gubment huntem allabout my countrymen long old pfellar camp and makem sit down close up that new pfellar wurley? Spose n sit down that one alright, by mybe plenty Chinamen all times come longa my camp, look out lubra, give 'em opium. More better than one gwara gubment makem all about yeller man sit down longa him country, and no more cum longa black pfellar camp. You think it, Missa, that one gubment hunt im up black-pfellar more cos 'im wantem allabout lubra, him wantem lock corroborree, and no more let 'im you and allabout 'nother one whitefellar seem im. Waffor this one gubment too much greedy?

But irate non-Aboriginal residents still complained about Aboriginal people in camps and justified venting frustration if they took matters into their own hands,

If some infuriated resident takes it into his head some Sunday morning about 3 o'clock to give expression to his annoyance per medium of a double barreled gun and a mob of drunken and riotous niggers as a target [then] authorities may then take it into their heads to rid the Darwin streets of the pests who are making themselves a regular Sunday morning nuisance to residents (Northern Standard 30 June 1923).

After the Act of 1910 media reporting about Aboriginal people in the settlement changes to predominantly covering acts of petty or serious criminality with Aboriginal people involved (Northern Territory Times 7 June 1927; Northern Territory Times Tuesday 21 June 1927; Northern Territory Times Friday 6 January 1928; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 10 January 1928; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 17 January 1928; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 24 January 1928; Northern Territory Times Tuesday 31 January 1928; Northern Territory Times Tuesday 17 June 1928; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 4 January 1929; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 18 January 1929; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 18 January 1929; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 22 January 1929; Northern Territory Times Friday 25 January 1929; Northern Territory Times Tuesday 27 January 1931; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 5 January 1932; Northern Territory Times Friday 15 January 1932; Northern Territory Times Friday 29 January 1932; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 3 January 1936; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 7 January 1936; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 5 June 1937; Northern Standard Darwin 1937; Northern Standard Darwin 26 January 1937; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 7 January 1938), breaches of the ordinance laws relating to the compound (Northern Standard Tuesday 8 June 1924; Northern Standard Tuesday 27 June 1925; Northern Territory Times Friday 20 January 1928; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 24 January 1928; Northern Territory Times Tuesday 24 January 1928; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 25 January 1929), or allegations of murder (Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 5 January 1932).

Although reflecting less emphasis in reporting on Aboriginal fringe camps in Palmerston in the era after the forced removal of Aboriginal people after the 1910 Act, after 1910 Aboriginal people still get mentioned in media for camping in the town (Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 30 June 1934). But emphasis is instead on reporting for example, the effects of vice, 'On the foreshores of Darwin, opposite Railway Hill, and in Frog Hollow and the Police Paddock I have seen emaciated natives of both sexes lying under the trees and the mangroves under the deadly influence of opium and other vices' (Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 25 January 1938). Throughout the 1940s the main emphasis in media reporting about Aboriginal people is on petty acts of defiance of the 1910 Act or offences against vice and subsequent fines or jail terms (Northern Standard Darwin Friday 12 January 1940; Northern

Standard Darwin Tuesday 7 January 1941; Northern Standard Darwin Tuesday 14 January 1941; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 9 January 1948; Northern Standard Darwin Friday 6 January 1950).

By the beginning of the 1950s Aboriginal people appear in newspaper reports for a change in forced living conditions in the Retta Dixon institution (Northern Standard Darwin Friday 12 January 1941) and the beginning of advocacy by Aboriginal people over denied citizenship rights (Northern Standard Darwin Friday 19 January 1951) including Union movement support for Aboriginal rights (Northern Standard Darwin Friday 26 January 1951). This emergence of Aboriginal political activism is met with dismissal by media that 'In the Northern Territory it is possible for the Director and Protector of Aborigines to remove and detain almost any half—caste anywhere for any length of time without giving a reason' (Northern Standard Darwin Friday 2 January 1953). But within the same year the activism of Aboriginal people and their supporters reversed the constraints of regulations stating, 'Half-castes in the Northern Territory are to be, with few exceptions (those living with and as full bloods) freed from the restrictions of the Aboriginal Ordinance Act' and that 'This new freedom brings great responsibilities to the half-castes. They would be on trial and on their behavior would depend the [future] fate of half-castes' (Northern Standard Darwin Thursday 22 January 1953). Finally, the Larrakia people who had endured nearly sixty years of forced incarceration after the invasion of their traditional lands, were free again.

A Reverend A. F. Ellemor published his support for what he perceived to be the beginning of a new era in the relations between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people in Darwin,

It is hoped that the Bill passed last week to set the half-caste people of the Northern Territory free from the provisions of the Aborigines Ordinance - and thus in effect to grant them full citizenship rights will be – will be approved by the Commonwealth government and become law (Northern Standard Darwin Thursday 29 January 1953).

The Reverend noted the change in Aboriginal affairs met the Commonwealth government's intention to 'assimilate' Aboriginal people into mainstream society as a 'principle soundly democratic'. The objective was 'a challenge thrown out to the white population to give every possible evidence of their good will towards and acceptance of people of mixed blood' (Northern Standard Darwin Thursday 29 January 1953).

Nearly sixty years of segregation from the non-Aboriginal population, whose history of advocacy for the removal of Aboriginal people from the settlement began in the first decade of colonization, ended in the 1950s. The social activism of the sixties that swept Western democracies across the world absorbed the campaigns of women and minorities for rights that in the Northern Territory, eventuated as the beginning of the battle for recognition of Aboriginal land rights and the Larrakia people wanted

their land rights (Day 2001). Throughout these massive social changes in society Aboriginal survivance resumed openly camping in and around Darwin. Chapter Seven takes up the old battle between media proponents and Aboriginal people about camping in the long grass. Chapter Seven discusses this new phase of tactical engagement between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people in relation to the theoretical model.

4.12. Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter is the background to how eventually, Aboriginal people got from fringe camps in and around the post 1869 settlement, through the decades of the settlement's development and expansion, to a place that would lead to the resumption of Aboriginal fringe camps in the long grass once more.

CHAPTER FIVE: ENGAGEMENT

5.1. Introduction

The chapter presents archaeological evidence of Aboriginal engagement with non-Aboriginal people at Southport between the 1870s to the late 1800s. This evidence is drawn from two fringe camps at Southport that contained the results of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal activity. However, the chapter will show the evidence of Aboriginal engagement was distinct from the evidence of non-Aboriginal presence at the two camps in Southport.

Since Southport was a site of extended interaction between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people, it was assumed that objects made using British, European or Chinese manufacturing techniques were used by non-Aboriginal settlers and Aboriginal people for utilitarian purposes, in addition to the clear evidence of the modification of these objects using Aboriginal manufacturing techniques. Following the methods outlined in Chapter Two, the evidence of non-Aboriginal activities was analyzed in terms of class, gender and economic status. This data provided information on the types of people with whom Aboriginal people would have interacted, providing indirect evidence of the background for Aboriginal social, cultural and economic interactions with non-Aboriginal people. While this background is necessary to frame the historical context of which Southport was a part, this chapter emphasizes the archive evidence of Aboriginal experiences of engagement with non-Aboriginal people.

5.2. Evidence of Non-Aboriginal people

The archaeological evidence of non-Aboriginal people at CPS1 and CPS2 were fragments of Chinese and European ceramics, fragmented pieces of wine, champagne, spirit, soda water, food and medicine glass bottles, white tobacco clay pipe stem fragments, pieces of rusted metal and cast iron (barrel hoop, loops of iron wire, wire in the shape of a large hook, flat sheet metal, round headed nail, hole-in-cap tin lids, partial bullock shoe, thick piece of rectangular shaped cast iron and a partial cast iron pot), and an area at CPS1 approximately three meter squares in size, thought to be the remains of a collapsed structure, covered by dozens of flattened and folded tin cans, some with nail holes.

5.3. Evidence of Aboriginal people

The evidence of Aboriginal people at CPS1 and CPS2 were:

- Objects that were manufactured using traditional Aboriginal techniques (i.e. white quartz stone tools);
- non-Aboriginal manufactured objects introduced to Southport that were then modified using Aboriginal manufacturing techniques (tools made on bottle glass or metal); and
- the spatial arrangement of non-Aboriginal manufactured objects that suggested that they had been gathered together in preparation for modification by Aboriginal people.

5.4. Evidence of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people

A majority of the archaeological evidence at the two sites was fragmented bottle glass. Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people made use of bottle glass for utilitarian purposes. A photographic catalogue of this evidence from CPS1 and CPS2 is provided in Appendix 2.

5.5. CPS 1: Habitation Site, Barrow Street Southport

CPS1 is approximately 6 by 6 meters in area. Ground visibility was as low as 10% in some areas on the surface because of a cover of dense leaf litter from the many trees and shrubs that grows on the surface. However, it was as high as 80% in other parts of the site where soil was exposed. The site is bounded on the southern edge by a dry creek bed running east to west. Unsealed roads bound the northern and eastern sides of CPS1. The western side of CPS1 was covered in bush and a dense cover of grass, shrubs and leaf litter. On the eastern side of CPS1 the site slopes downward toward one of the unsealed roads. After examination it was clear that some fragments of bottle glass had moved downslope most likely as a result of rainwater runoff and top soil movement.

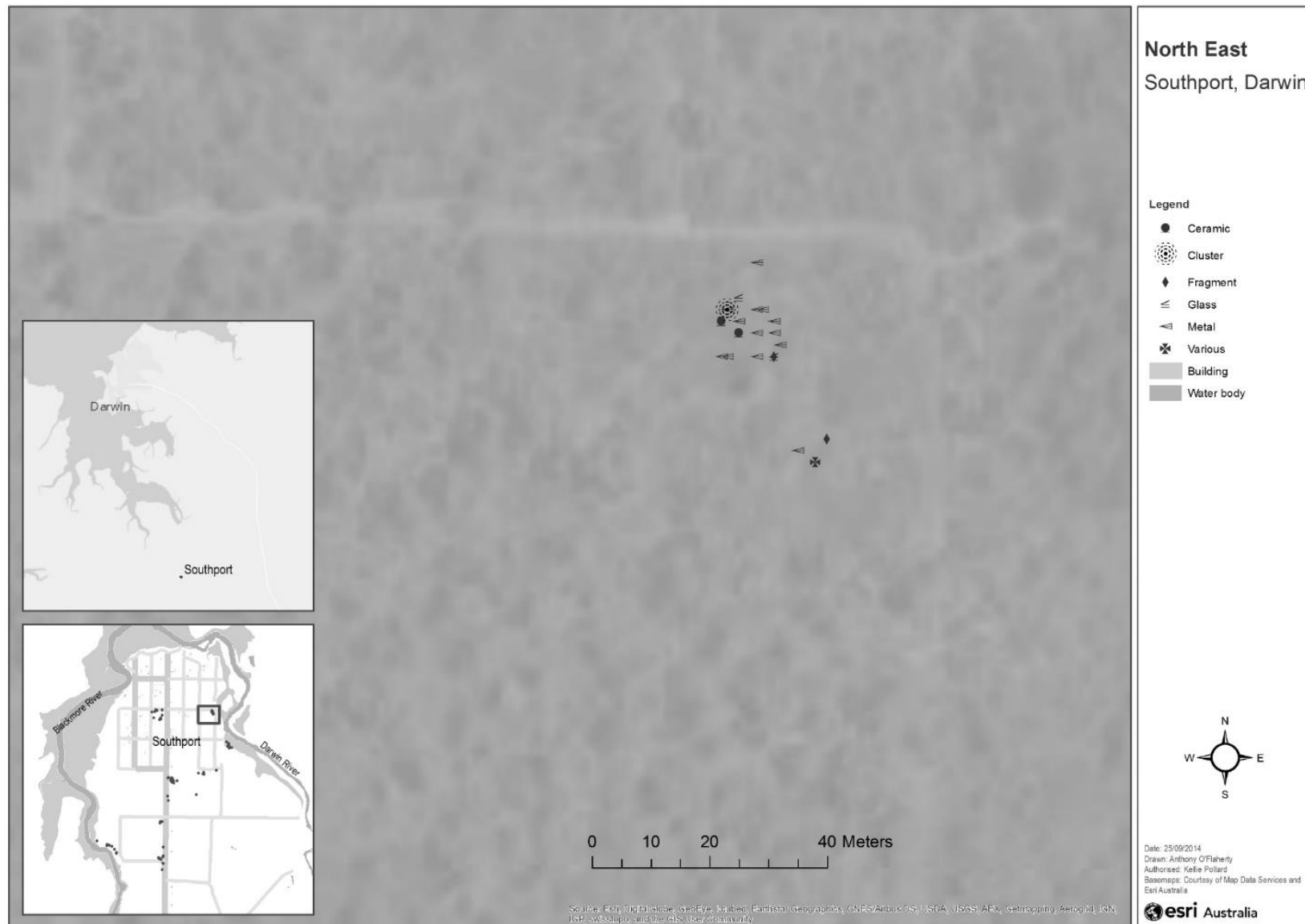


Figure 5.1. ESRI Map of CPS1.



Figure 5.2. Looking down Barrow Street at Southport toward CPS1. Photo: L.Williams.

Image removed due to copyright restriction.

Figure 5.3. Site Plan of CPS1. Reproduced by Antoinette Hennessy.

This site contains the remains of two former structures. The first structure predominantly consists of dozens of flattened and folded rusted tin cans, some with nail holes, spread over an approximate two-square meter area on the surface of the site in the north western corner. This is thought to be the remains of a collapsed structure. The tins are folded and because of rust some have broken edges. A measurement of the size of each piece of folded tin was not attempted because to do so would have required excavating the in situ remains and as this is a study of surface sites it was decided to leave this feature in situ undisturbed and instead draw a site plan to illustrate the feature. Aside from their shape and nail holes, none of the tin cans had any distinguishing attributes that could aid in identifying their original contents. A plausible explanation of the source of the tin cans comes from a diary of the medical doctor aboard Goyder's 1869 expedition. Doctor Millner recorded that Europeans used recycled flour tin cans specifically for the purpose of making tin roof shingles for huts at the expedition's original base camp (Millner Diary 1870: 11). On this basis, and because Southport would have been contemporaneous with the first main camp of the non-Aboriginal at the base camp during Doctor Millner's time, it is likely that non-Aboriginal people built this hut at this site and used tin flour cans to make a shingle roof. Scatters of Aboriginal knapped glass lay within a meter of this structure.



Plate 5.1. Fragment of a folded tin can likely used as a shingle on the collapsed structure at CPS1. Dozens of similar examples lay in situ at CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.

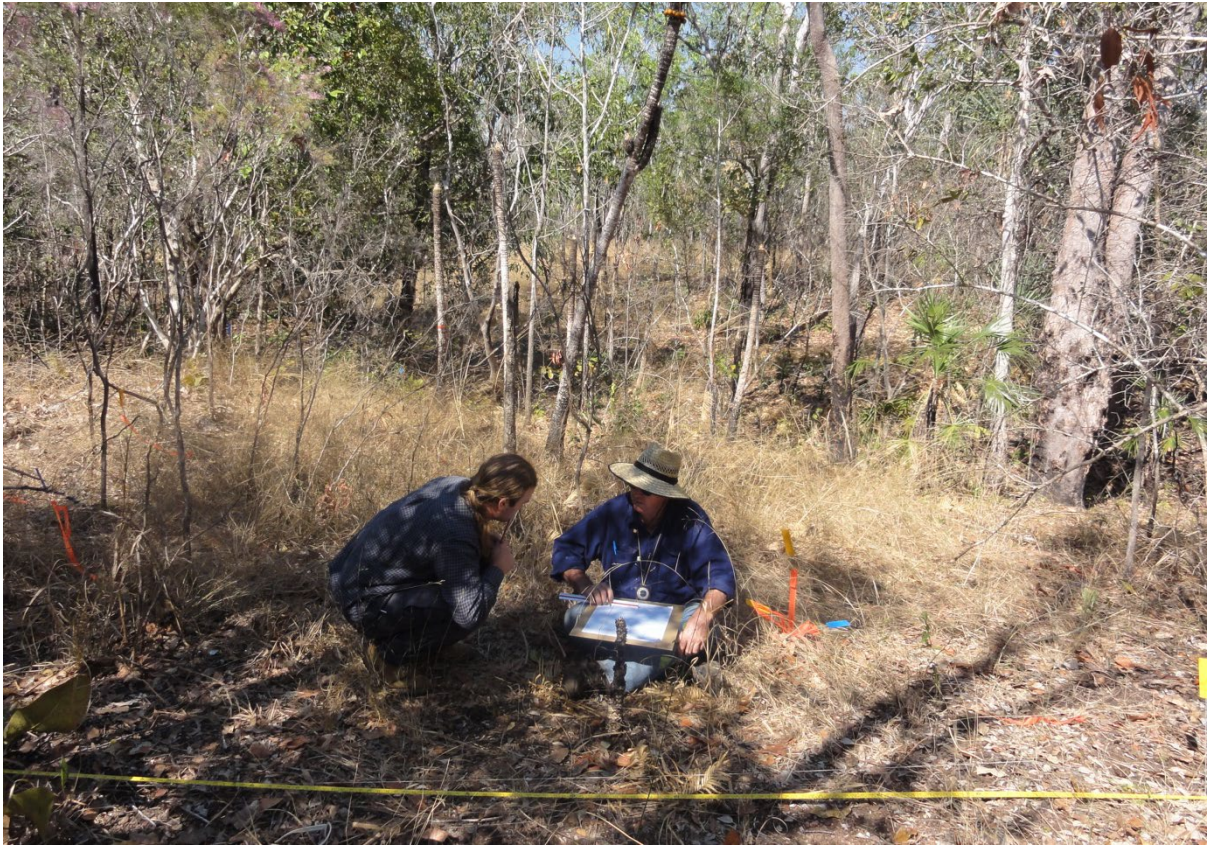


Plate 5.2. Student and staff member of Flinders University record a feature on the surface of CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.3. Black and green bottle bases from CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.4. A black bottle conjoin base from CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.

A second structure was located opposite the first in the south east corner of the site and consisted of the remains of an in situ rectangular shaped fragment of rusted corrugated sheet metal. There was no visible non-Aboriginal remains on the surface in association with this structure. However, one glass knapping floor scatter, a spatially isolated feature in that it was not in association with other non-Aboriginal artefacts like bottle glass or clay pipe stems at the site, was located directly in front of the exposed sheet metal. This evidence suggested that Aboriginal people had knapped tools on bottle glass at this location. However, it could not be determined if it was Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal people who built this hut.

At CPS1 the Aboriginal manufactured quartz stone tools stood out as distinctive features in comparison to the non-Aboriginal artefacts and the manufactured glass tools.



Plate 5.5. Fragment of white clay pipe, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.

5.5.1. *Taphonomy at CPS1*

The preservation of CPS1 was helped by its positioning on the edge of the town grid in a location in bush that had not seen interference of such a kind that the surface looked as though it had been significantly altered as in the degree of disturbance evident at the dump site at Southport. The stratigraphy of the dump site had been destroyed by the use of a mechanical loader to dig into and overturn the deposit to expose the artefacts held in situ (see Chapter Two). The location of CPS1 in bush consisting of low shrubs, small and sparse trees and heavy leaf litter likely protected its contents from plunder by members of the public. However, the remains of a printed transfer porcelain container which could have been a find of potential value to a person with amateur interest in the history of Southport was found on the surface of CPS1. It could have appealed to an artefact fossicker if it had been seen before professional survey. That post-depositional processes did alter the surfaces of some of the assemblage was evident by the presence of patination on bottle glass, a chemical transformation that occurs as a result of exposure to natural elements (Schiffer 1987: 16). Scratches appearing in random formation can be seen on the surface of some of the bottle bases or bottle seals and Aboriginal manufactured glass flakes which suggests some lateral movement of these objects. And the clustering of parts of bottle glass on the slope on the eastern edge of the site suggests downward movement of

these artefacts. The latter signature aligns with the formation of palimpsest described earlier in Foley (1981: 170-172) where ‘sediments, usually deposited with some lateral vector’ alters the distribution of artefacts. In the case of the bottle glass clustering on the slope the lateral vectors would have been the impact of torrential rains blown by strong winds in the tropical wet season of the Darwin region. The annual seasonal nature of wet season rains means it is plausible rain and wind facilitates the movement of objects across the surface of the site resulting in traces of modification however minor to the surface of artefacts (Schiffer 1987: 15). Plausibly, soil creep (Schiffer 1987: 349) across the site surface also likely contributed to the lateral movement of the bottle glass toward the slope on the eastern edge.



Plate 5.6. Scratches on surface of a bottle seal ‘AVH’ as a result of post-depositional damage on site. Bottles containing these seals were introduced to northern Australia by Dutch traders (Ash et al 2008). Photo: L. Williams.

The evidence of post-depositional disturbance at CPS1 is likely due to natural causes like those described as opposed to disturbance by human interference because of its ‘hidden’ location.

5.6. CPS 2: Habitation Site, Darwin River

CPS2 covered an approximately 20m by 20m area and lies in an exposed position between the Darwin River to the west and a tidal creek running off the same river to the east.



Figure 5.4. Google Earth Image of CPS2. The Darwin River is on the right. The yellow points show the location where artefacts were found. Note the unsealed road to the west of the site. This road is the eastern border of the Southport town grid established by Goyder in 1869.

This site had been partially burnt off before field survey began which aided ground inspection for surface artefacts. Ground visibility varied across the surface but remained high overall, at between 80 and 90% in some areas except for a part where spongy grey waste material had been dumped on the surface. CPS2 is dissected east to west by a gully towards the Darwin River from the tidal creek on the eastern edge. A gully meanders across the surface and dips and slopes until it terminates near the river. Most of the ground surface is flat on the southern side of the gully and backed by open woodland and pandanus forest. Small shrubs, sparse low bush, clumps of grass bed and sparse native grass species characterize the area in the southern part of the site. Where the site slopes towards the Darwin River in the northern half the ground cover is sparse and is mainly characterized by sparse native grass and fallen trees and is bounded by the mangrove fringe on the river edge.



Plate 5.7. Staff and students from Flinders University mapped CPS2. Photo: L. Williams.

At this site square black case bottle glass bases and sides and cylindrical or soda water or ‘Torpedo’ bottle glass was more numerous than ceramic or metal artefacts. Less than a total of one hundred individual pieces of ceramic (earthenware and Chinese porcelain) came from CPS2. A partial cast iron cooking pot was an isolated find on the edge of CPS2 and not near the other archaeological evidence. Although fragmented parts of black square case bottles were found scattered across the site in disparate locations, the fragments of thick as well as thin square black case bottle bases were found near metal artefacts.



Plate 5.8. Sample of earthenware container from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.9. Fragments of the base of the earthenware container from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.10. Scatter of square black bottle fragments at CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.11. Scatter of square black bottle fragments at CPS2. Photo: K Pollard.



Plate 5.12. Partial remains of a cast iron pot, CPS2. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.13. Black thick bottle base with beveled edges and a black thin square bottle base with pointed edges, CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.14. The underside of the two black square bottle bases showing the difference in thickness and attributes of manufacture in Europe. Photo: K Pollard.

At CPS2 there was no evidence on the surface of structural remains. The flat sheet metal was too fragmented to say it is evidence of a former structure of some kind at this site. However, a discarded earthenware vessel, fragments of Chinese porcelain containers, discarded green and olive glass bottles, and partial cast iron cooking pot are artefacts that suggest food was consumed on site and that food preparation and cooking occurred. In addition to the clustering mentioned above three bases of aqua soda water ‘Torpedo’ bottle glass came from the site.



Plate 5.15. Soda water, or ‘Torpedo’ bottle bases from CPS2. Photo: K Pollard.

5.6.1. *Taphonomy at CPS2*

The exposed aspect of CPS2 compared to CPS1 meant that more area of the site has been directly exposed to the natural elements. As for CPS1 the impacts of seasonal torrential rains and strong winds will have contributed to the lateral movement of artefacts across the surface at CPS2. However, there was some difference between the post-depositional treatment of artefacts at CPS2. The earthenware artefacts were buried at a shallow depth, meaning they lay partially buried under a thin layer of surface dirt, and, individual fragments had been moved apart spatially by the growth of tufts of grass through the area upon which the earthenware had been deposited. This had the effect of spreading the fragments apart but within centimeters of each other. Some of the earthenware fragments display evidence of fire in the form of black soot on the surface of individual pieces which suggests a fire swept through the area at some time. The local fire authorities conduct seasonal fire burn-off at Southport as part of a fire

risk reduction strategy, but it could not be determined if that strategy was the source of the soot evidence on the earthenware fragments.



Plate 5.16. Cylindrical black bottle base that sustained damage through post-depositional movement. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.17. Cylindrical black bottle base breakage and part of the body that sustained damage through post-depositional movement. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.18. A cylindrical bottle base showing patination on its surface areas due to exposure to the natural elements. Photo: L. Williams.

It is likely that all the metal and square bottle glass evidence was impacted by the torrential rains and strong winds that occur at Southport facilitating soil creep, and that these natural forces would have contributed to lateral soil movement on the surface of the slope.



Plate 5.19. Strips of metal from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.20. A thick heavy piece of cast iron from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.21. Close up showing one end of the thick piece of cast iron piece.

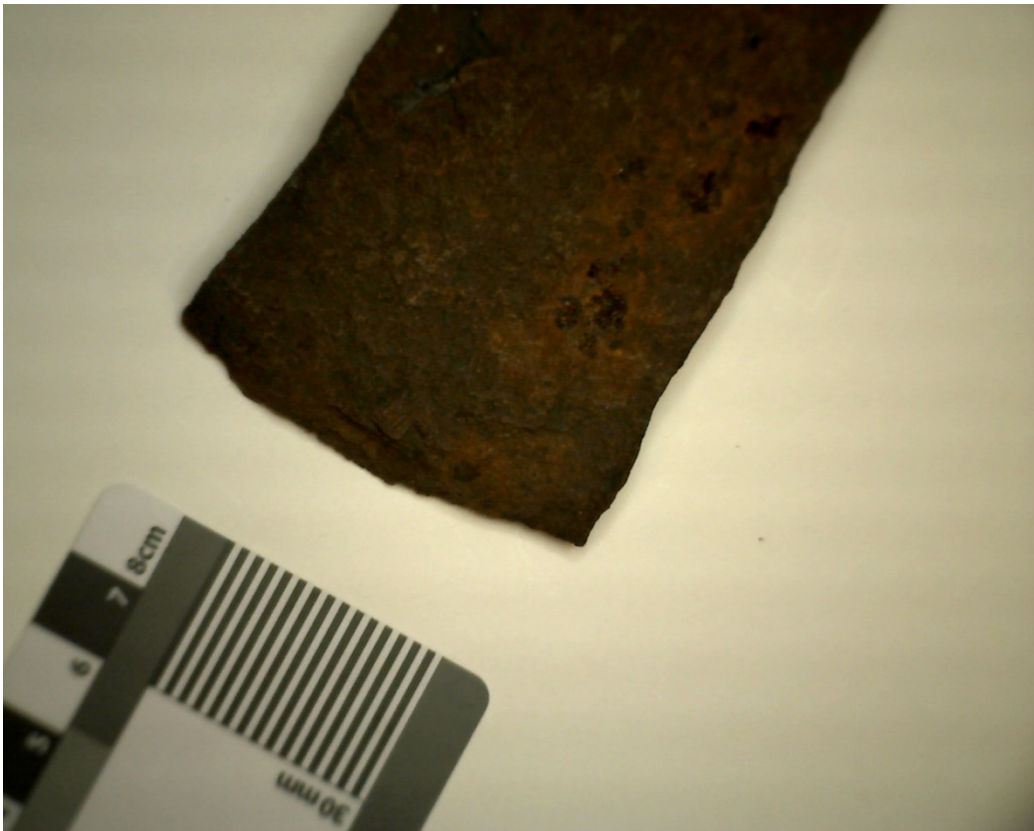


Plate 5.22. Width of thick piece of cast iron adze. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.23. A partial bullock cast iron shoe, round headed nail, strip of metal, cast iron chain link and two pieces of iron wire, CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.24. Two long wound pieces of iron wire from CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.

One form of post-depositional process that affected CPS2 was the recent dumping of a grey spongy substance across an approximate four-meter square area. Inspection did not see any non-Aboriginal artefacts in association with or near this substance, but it is evidence that members of the public do access the site.

5.7. Discussion

While it is possible, in the course of their day-to-day lives, Aboriginal people may have occasionally used some of the non-Aboriginal objects found at CPS1 and CPS2 such as ceramic containers or glass containers, it is unlikely they replaced traditional materials for food containment or medical relief completely. Instead, they incorporated them into a materially-based lifestyle alongside the continued use of traditional materials. For an Aboriginal person to have obtained a bottle of cobalt blue glass containing a substance that could aid indigestion they would have had to have the same knowledge as a non-Aboriginal person about what chemists in the settlement (Lockwood 1968: 48) could sell for such a purpose. While this is possible Aboriginal people would have had to have knowledge that such an item cost money, and either had the currency to purchase it, acquire it by trade, or some other means. Aboriginal people did get paid in money for labor services they provided in the settlement from time to time (Protector of Aborigines correspondence 1882; Wells 2003: 158) but the frequency of such demands and for what goods is difficult to quantify from archive sources.



Plate 5.25. Almost complete example of cobalt blue bottle formerly containing magnesia found at Southport. Varieties of magnesia were commonly used to treat indigestion in the 19th century. Photo: K. Pollard.

It is known that Aboriginal hut architecture before and after colonization was diverse and innovative (Memmott 2007). However, it is not likely that Aboriginal people built the hut with folded tin cans with a shingled roof at CPS1. This argument is supported by photographic evidence taken by Paul Foelsche, a police inspector in the settlement. The photo was taken in the mid to late 1800s that indisputably shows Aboriginal camps of the same era that Southport was inhabited by non-Aboriginal people. In these photos Aboriginal huts are shown to have been built using a combination of scavenged non-Aboriginal materials like hessian cloth and sheet metal in architecture combined with traditional materials like bough and leaves. The photos also show the preponderance of discarded empty tin food containers, most likely flour tins, but they have not been flattened to be incorporated in any way into the architecture of the Aboriginal huts.



Plate 5.26. An Aboriginal fringe camp in Cavenagh Street in late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Photographic Collection, Northern Territory Library).



Plate 5.27. Aboriginal Fringe Camp, Palmerston settlement mid to late 1800s (Paul Foelsche Collection, Northern Territory Library).

Furthermore, the Protector of Aborigines report (1882) of Palmerston described Aboriginal hut architecture in the 1800s,

Their original huts were formed by bending bamboo so as to cross one another, these were covered with bark stripped in large sheets from the gum tree or else with rough grass thatch. The hut thus made was oval shaped about three-foot high and six in diameter. [But] now many of them have huts after the model of the European houses a wooden frame covered with galvanized iron, but this is only in the permanent camp on the beach near Palmerston (Robert Morice, Protector of Aborigines 21 August 1882).

This correspondence is reminiscent of the hut architecture in the Paul Foelsche photos in terms of size and traditional materials. It also illustrates that transition in Aboriginal hut architecture was an expression of Aboriginal adaptations to changing circumstances. While the huts described in the correspondence coincide with the era Aboriginal people lived at Southport, it does not contradict the argument made that Aboriginal people are unlikely to have built the hut with tin can shingles at CPS1.

5.7.1. *Aboriginal Behaviour at CPS1 and CPS2*

While Aboriginal people may have incorporated evidence like glass, ceramic and metal into their lifestyle for a range of reasons, activities performed by Aboriginal people at CPS1 and CPS2 is conjectured from the bottle glass evidence and the metal evidence as these objects, particularly the glass, display modifications that are reminiscent of the same modifications on stone. Aboriginal people inhabiting CPS1 is supported by the evidence of eight distinct stone tool and glass bottle knapping floors and scatters. Glass cores made on bottle bases were also found in various stages of reduction across the surface area. The evidence of knapped soda water or ‘Torpedo’ glass bottle debitage was an isolated find at CPS2, as was an isolated find of a quartz stone tool knapping floor at CPS2 and the cluster of metal and bottle artefacts already mentioned. In addition, at CPS2 there were thick black square bottle bases that had not been modified by Aboriginal people. But overall, from CPS1 and CPS2 there were forty-seven bottle bases of which seventeen were reduced to partial cores (less than 100%) that displayed key attributes suggestive of knapping technique, including bottle bases that had been reduced to core fragments (less than 50%) through modification by Aboriginal people. The lack of a greater number of glass knapping floors at CPS2 and lack of a greater number of formal finished types at CPS2 suggests that while cores were carried to CPS1 and CPS2, more glass tools were made off-site than on-site.



Plate 5.28. Fragments of ‘Torpedo’ or soda water bottles, CPS2. Photo: K. Pollard.

The part of the bottle glass assemblage that was viewed as being modified by Aboriginal people was taken on the basis of the types of attributes seen on some, not all, pieces of glass, as well as on some bottle glass bases. Thus, the Aboriginal assemblage consisted of flaked pieces of glass and glass bottle bases used as cores. Within the category of flaked glass, the assemblage is broken down further into formal tool types and glass debitage. Debitage is defined as 'all the waste left over from tool production, use and maintenance' (Clarkson and O'Connor 2006: 181 citing Dibble and Hiscock 2005). While it has been argued that 'Glass debitage flakes and knapping debris are difficult if not impossible to identify' (Williamson 2002: 86) due to post-depositional processes that affect a site's taphonomy (Hughes and Lampert 1977: 135; Hiscock 1985; Williamson 2002: 83) a majority of the glass artefacts from CPS1 and CPS2 displayed attributes of post-depositional damage such as either patination marks, scratches visible on the surface, or broken edges. Given the combination of wet season thunder storms and high winds, cyclical exposure to wet/dry temperatures, seasonal burn-off and the effects of animals (such as local domestic or feral animals) on artefacts at CPS1 and CPS2, natural, human and animal factors would have contributed to the high fragmentation rate of artefacts from CPS1 and CPS2. High fragmentation rates of assemblages have been acknowledged as a problem in terms of determining how much flaking has taken place at a site. Measurement's such as length, breadth or weight of artefacts for instance, is not in itself adequate, as a singular procedure, for determining intensity of flake production (Clarkson and O'Connor 2006: 193). Therefore, to determine with greater accuracy what percentage of the fragmented assemblages from CPS1 and CPS2 are flakes I used the method by Hiscock (2002b) outlined in Clarkson and O'Connor (2006: 194). The method estimates the Minimum Number of Flakes (MNF) present in an assemblage by counting the number of complete flakes which 'has the greater number of proximal or distal fragments' or the 'greater number of left or right fragments', or the 'greater number of left or right proximal or distal fragments' (Clarkson and O'Connor 2006: 194). After examining all the artefacts and noting that the assemblage is characterized more by the number of complete flakes with a greater number of proximal or distal fragments, and also that in the laboratory I counted more flakes than is indicated on the CPS1 site plan, I calculated the number of flakes from CPS1 and CPS2 to be twenty-three in total or 44% of the total Aboriginal modified glass assemblage.

But, some of the glass assemblage does display some of the definitive attributes that identify an artefact as either a flake or a core (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 5;7; 10; 33; 35; 37; 38; 39; 107) or other characteristics that suggest a piece is a formal tool type but at the same time may lack the definitive attributes to identify it, for example, such as if a flake has been snapped at the distal or proximal ends or both (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 110; 111). I argue that attributes on glass that did not appear randomly, or as isolated occurrences and that were not due to post-depositional damage (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 114) and that appeared consistently on several pieces, were attributes that identify glass pieces as flakes or cores. Consistency of attributes, for example, flakes struck off in one direction only, or flakes struck off from a base that was rotated in two directions such as on a bidirectional core, is

recognized as a method for identifying intentional, as opposed to unintentional modification of materials to make artefacts. Deliberate manufacture versus unintentional glass breakage can also be determined according to the prevalence of attributes relative to the context in which the glass is found (Di Fazio 2000: 128). In Australia attributes that identify a stone artefact are attributes that can also be found on artefacts made from bottle glass (Tindale 1942; Jones and Allen 1980: 230; Hiscock 1986b: 188-189; Smith 2001: 154).

As at other Australian contact sites where Aboriginal people had access to European bottle glass dumps that contained either a range of bottle colors, and porcelain telegraph insulators, Aboriginal people preferentially selected bottle glass (Davidson 1985: 52; Gibbs and Harrison 2008: 64-65; Patterson 1999; Williamson 2002: 86). At contact sites in the Kimberly region in Western Australia thick bottle glass bases were preferred by Aboriginal people for making tools like ‘points, scrapers and cutting tools’ and ‘multi-directional core implements’ (Smith 2001: 51,154). The evidence from Southport shows a preference by Aboriginal people for selecting thick black bottle bases for tool manufacture over the telegraph insulator remains at the dump site on Mira Square even though telegraph insulator material was available. And the evidence of a lack of more flake scatters associated with bottle glass core modification at the Southport sites is consistent with core tool manufacture occurring off-site (Davidson 1985: 52; Gibbs and Harrison 2008: 65).



Plate 5.29. Green and olive-green bottle bases before and after being reduced to expose the small mamelon on the underside of the bases. In this type of bottle the mamelon was the thickest part of the bottle. Photo: K. Pollard.

At Southport cores were abandoned at various stages of reduction ranging from bases with obvious stages of flake removal leaving scars, and cores reduced to small fragments.



Plate 5.30. A black cylindrical bottle base that was used as a core to manufacture flakes, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.31. Bidirectional core on black cylindrical bottle base showing flake scars, CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.32. Unidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.

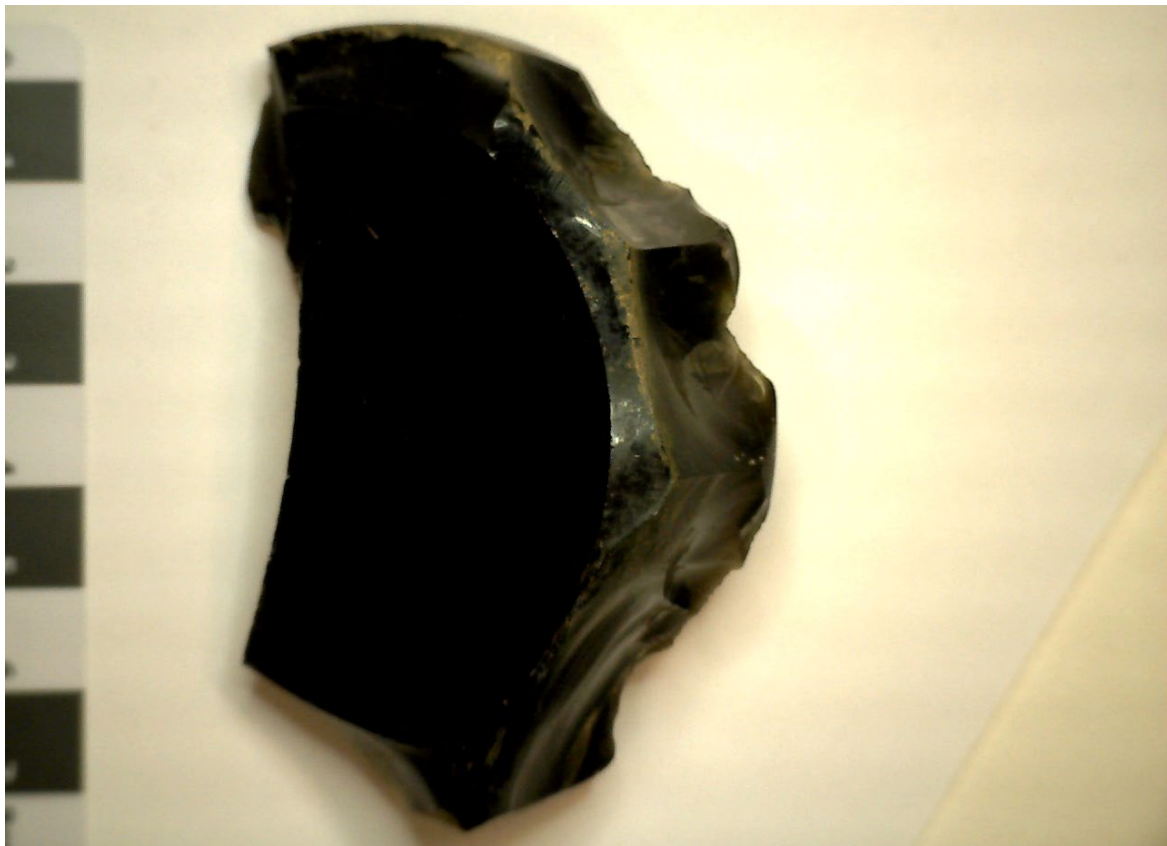


Plate 5.33. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.

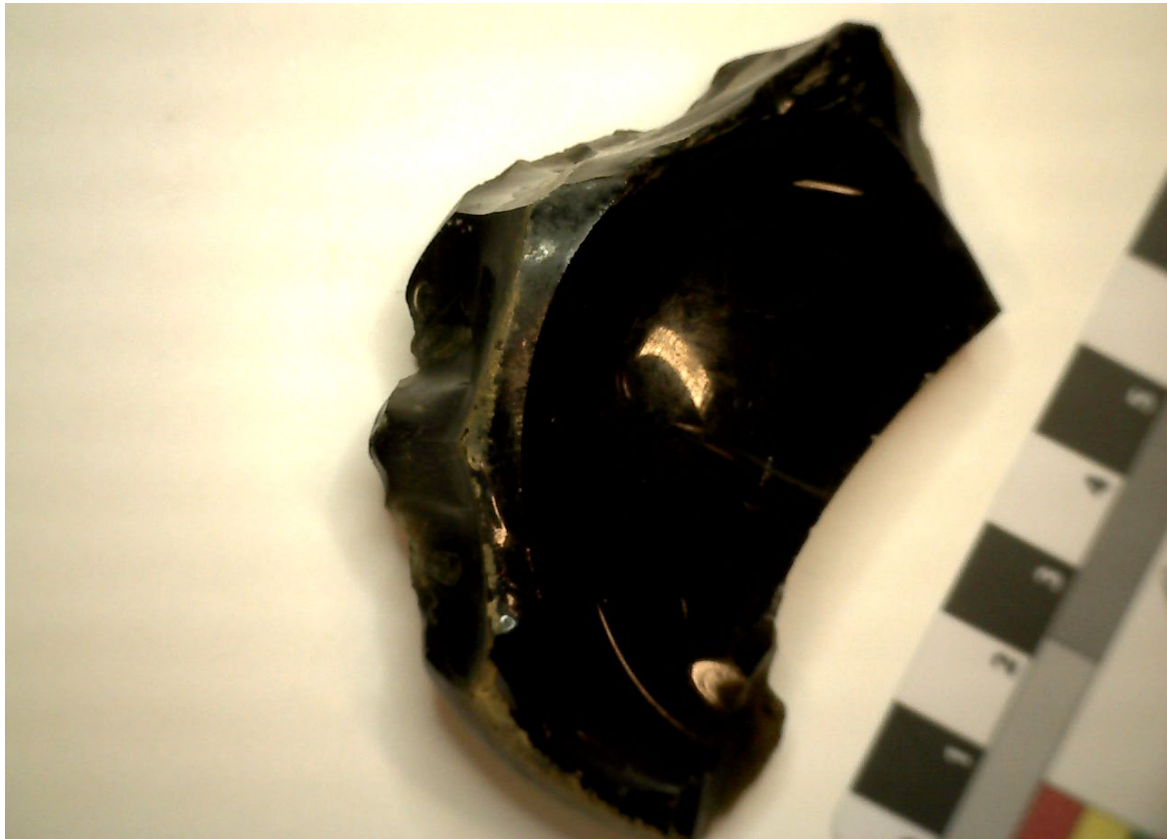


Plate 5.34. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.35. Unidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.

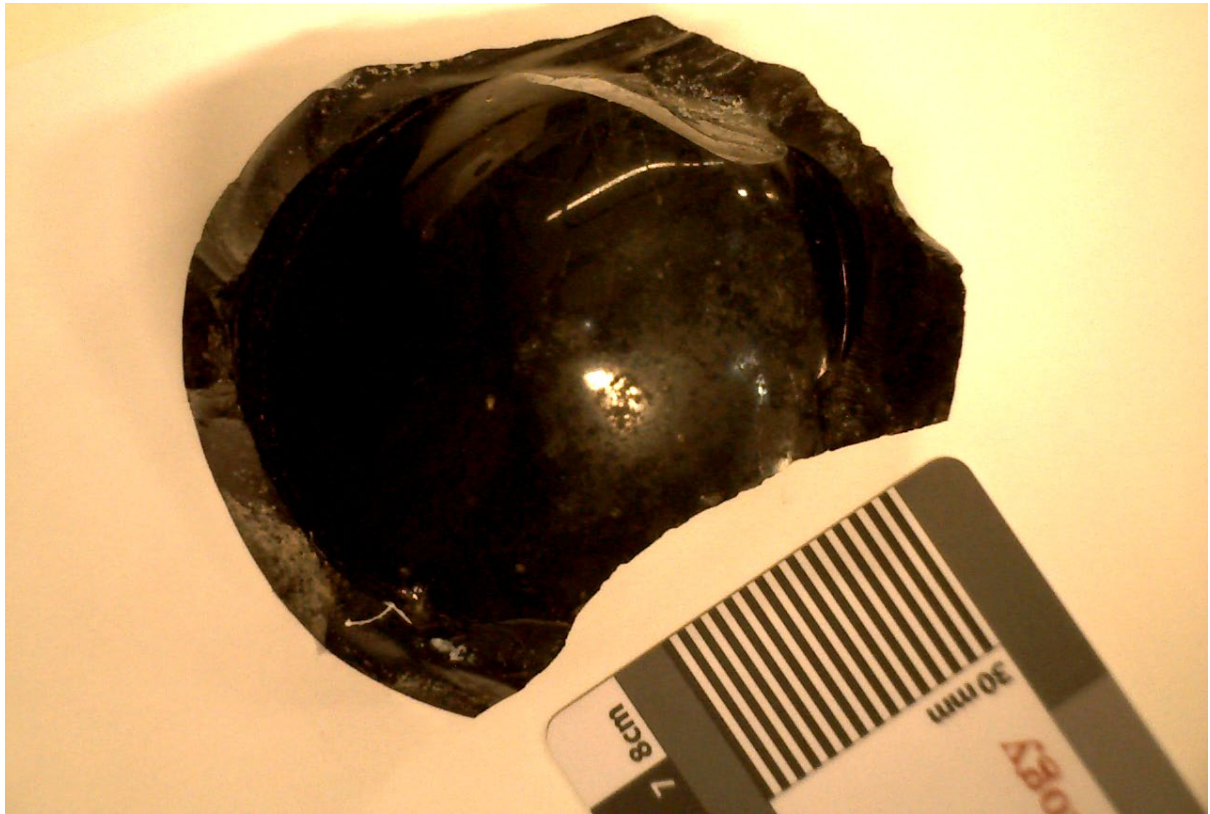


Plate 5.36. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.

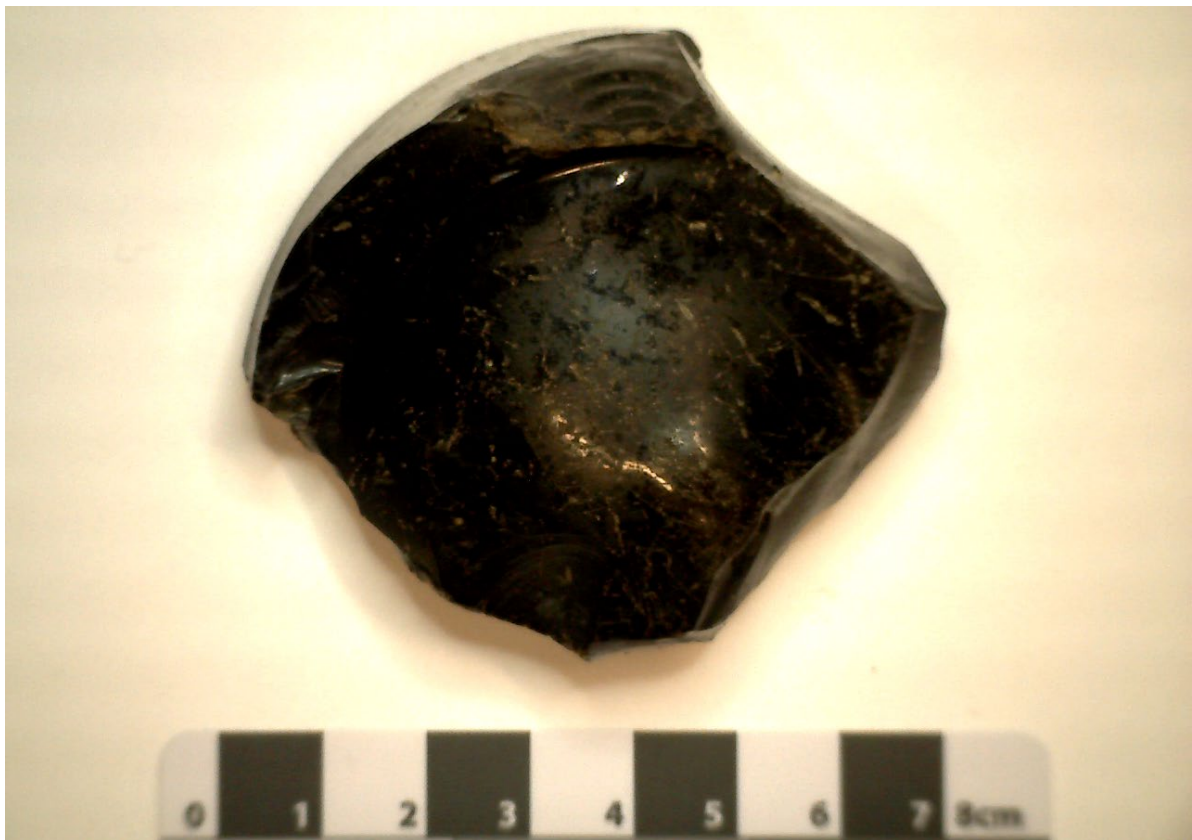


Plate 5.37. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.

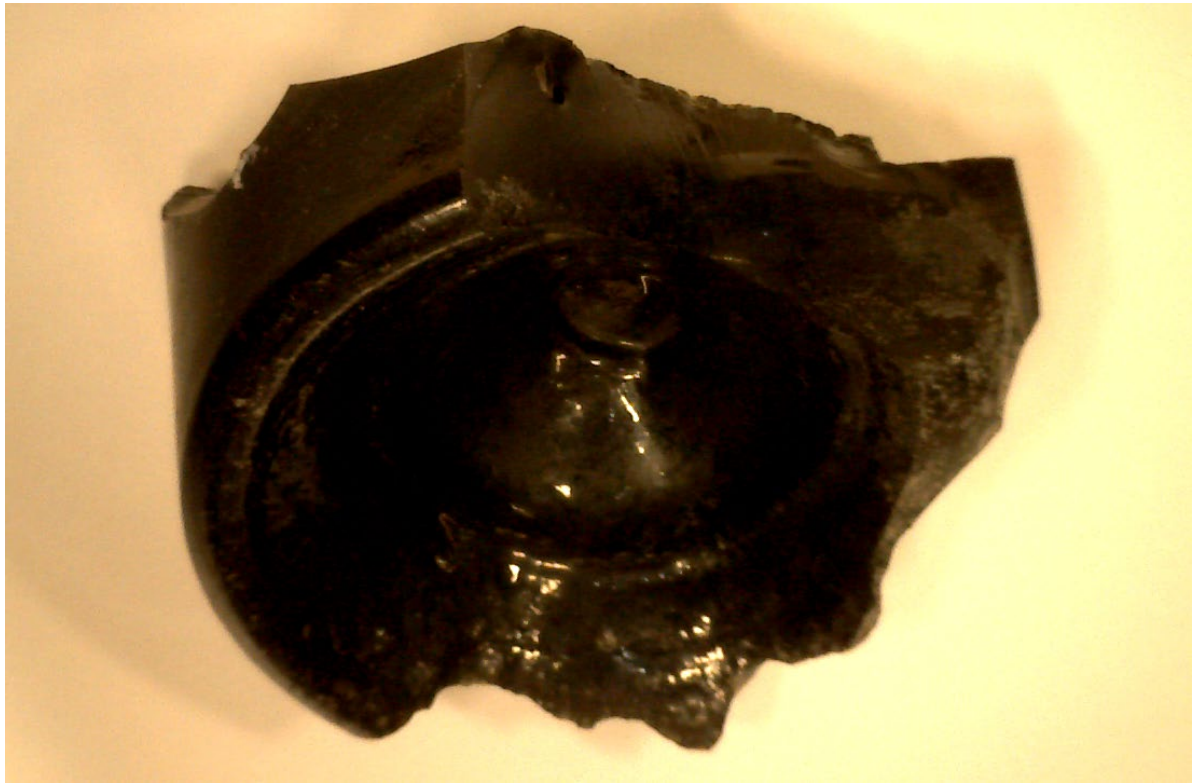


Plate 5.38. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.39. Unidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.40. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.41. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.42. Bidirectional core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.43. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical black bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.44. Bidirectional conjoin core on cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.

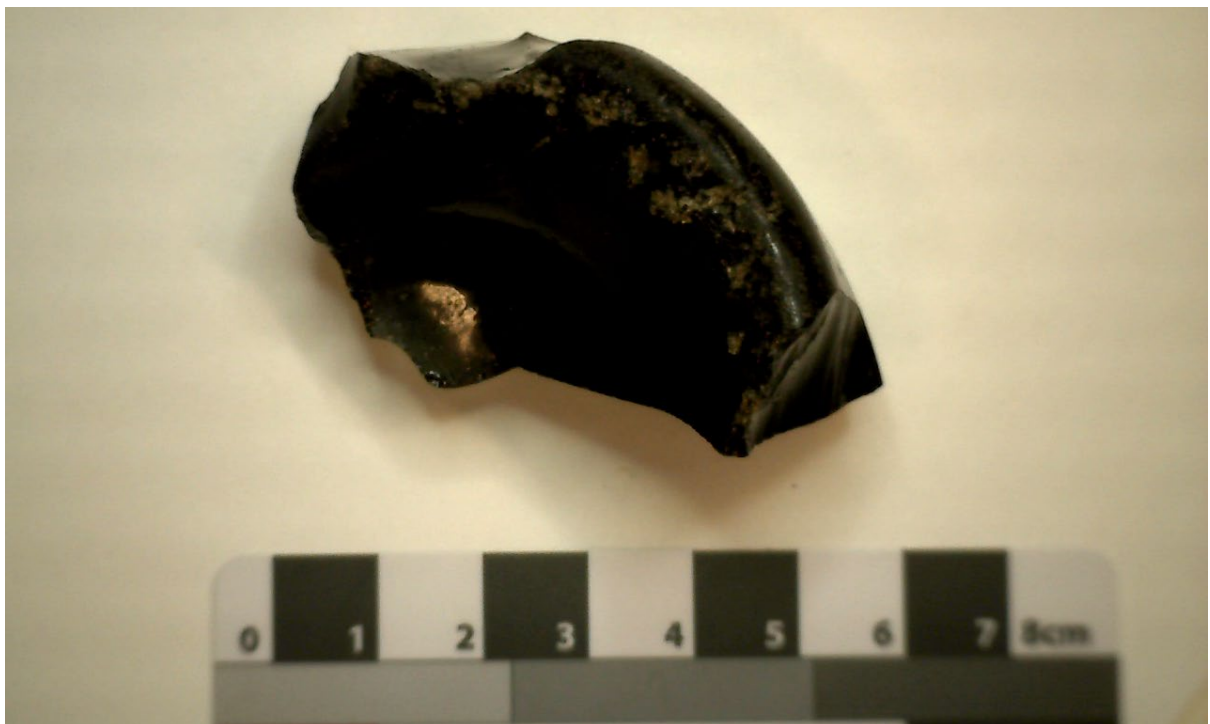


Plate 5.45. Unidirectional core on cylindrical bottle base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.46. Core fragment on cylindrical bottle base showing crushing on the platform. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.47. Core fragment on black cylindrical bottle base showing crushing on the platform. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.48. Core fragment on black cylindrical bottle base, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.49. Core fragment on black cylindrical bottle base, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.50. Black cylindrical bottle base glass flake (right), CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.

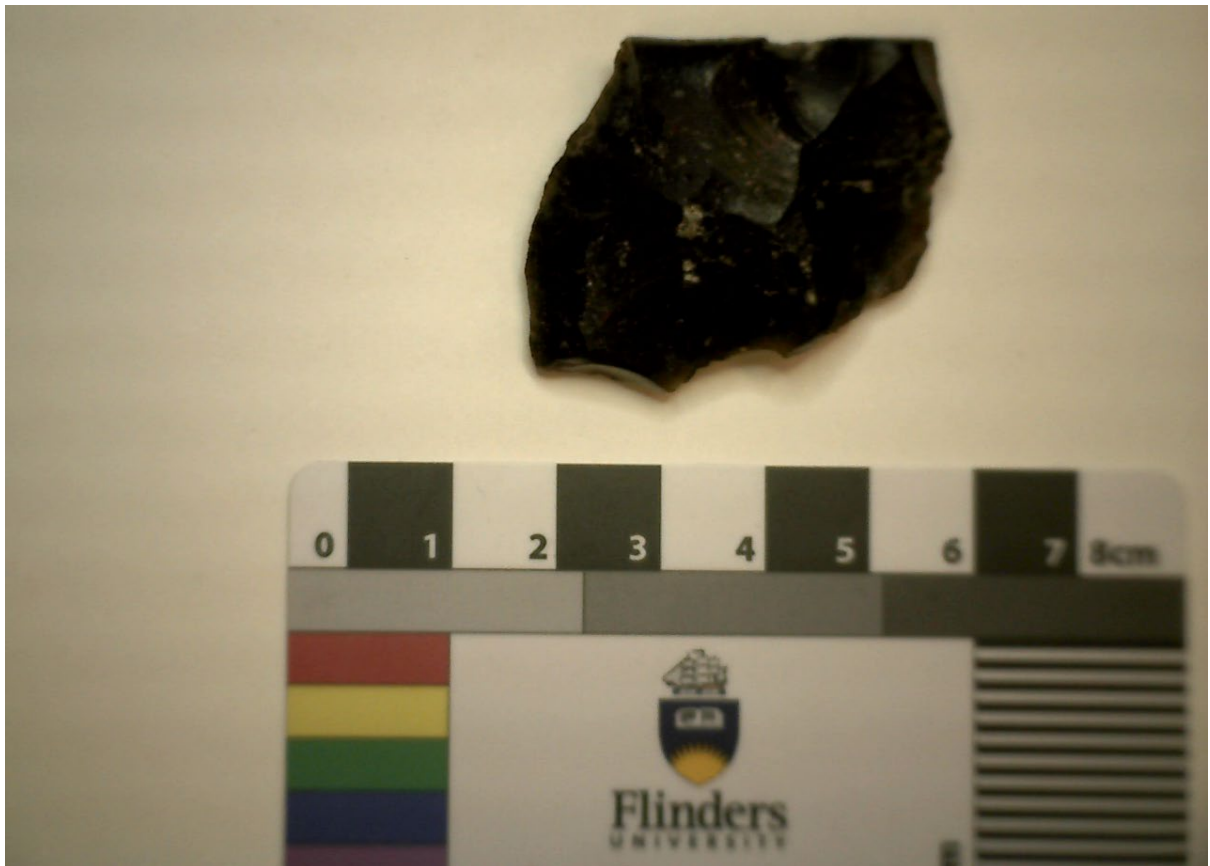


Plate 5.51. Black cylindrical bottle glass retouched flake. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.52. Black cylindrical bottle glass flake with snapped proximal end. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.53. Black cylindrical bottle glass flake with snapped proximal end and feather termination. Photo: K. Pollard.

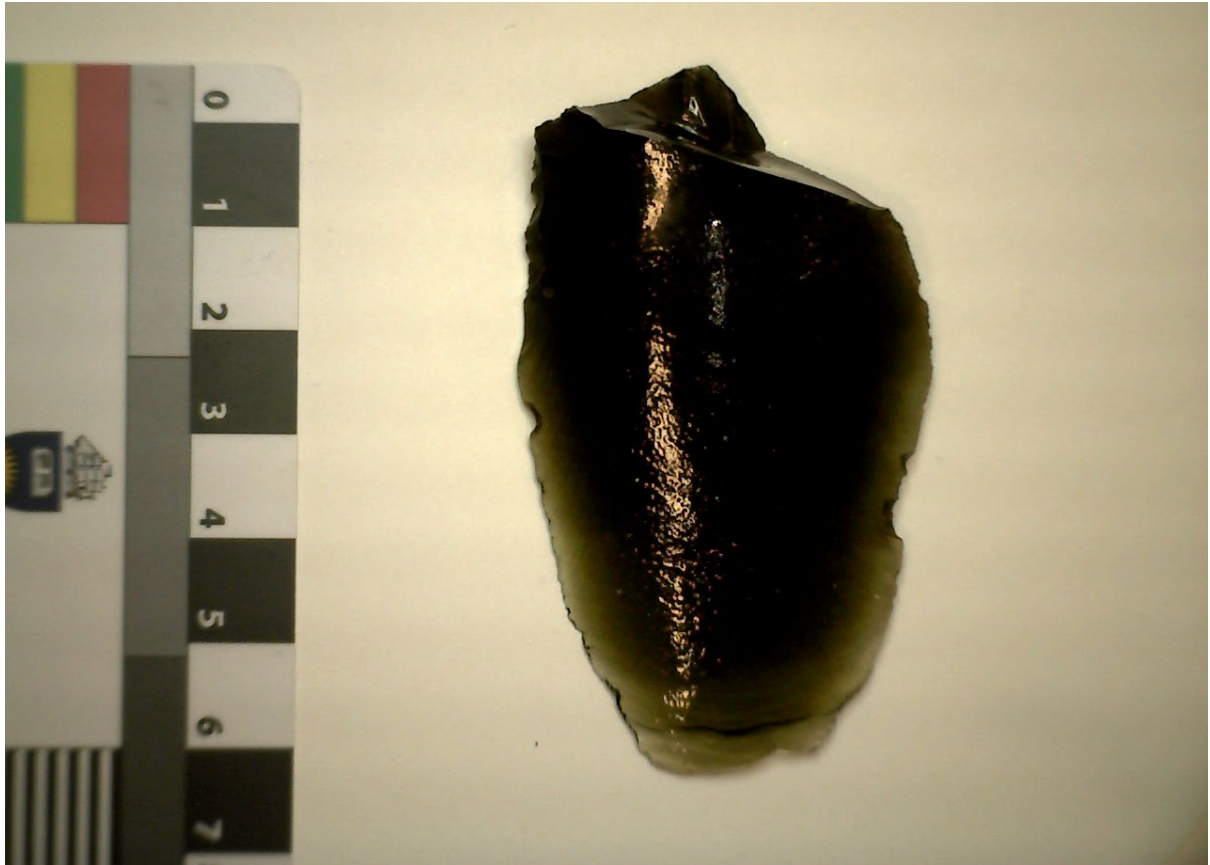


Plate 5.54. Green cylindrical bottle glass flake, ventral surface. Photo: K. Pollard.

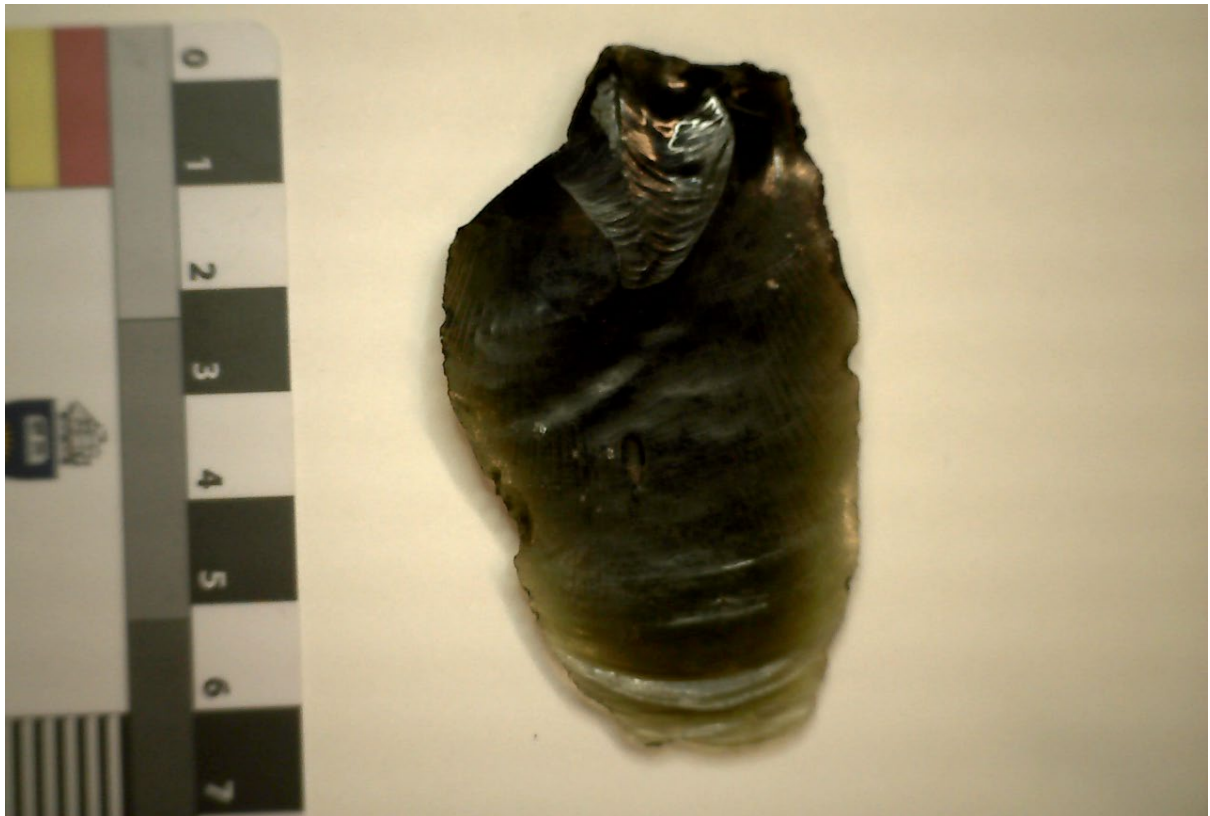


Plate 5.55. Green cylindrical bottle glass flake, dorsal surface. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.56. Green cylindrical bottle glass flake, dorsal surface. Photo: K. Pollard.

If knapping did not occur intensively on-site what does that infer about the longevity of Aboriginal occupation at the sites? One argument (Gibbs and Harrison 2008: 66-67) is that it is what the context of the site means as a whole as perceived by Aboriginal people, rather than the length of episodic acts of tool production on-site, that is more relevant for analysis of social behaviour at sites. This perception construes emphasis on seeing abandoned non-Aboriginal sites with raw materials for their value as quarries of acquisition for selection, but that transport to a site does not guarantee manufacture. The acts of tool manufacture on-site are a minor intention of knappers compared to acquisition. It is plausible that the glass evidence at Southport was perceived by Aboriginal people to be of limited use for immediate manufacture at the sites. With a bottle dump nearby that also contained scrap metal for acquisition Aboriginal people could exploit as needed, they occupied the site long enough to manufacture a limited suite of necessary tools but did not stay so long they modified most of the metal or glass assemblage and abandoned the rest of the evidence.

Perhaps the two utilized cores with steep edges on the front end or 'steep edge scrapers' otherwise known as 'retouched flakes' (Hiscock 2003: 246), the glass bladelet and the large flake from the side of a bottle were manufactured for immediate use although this cannot be substantiated.

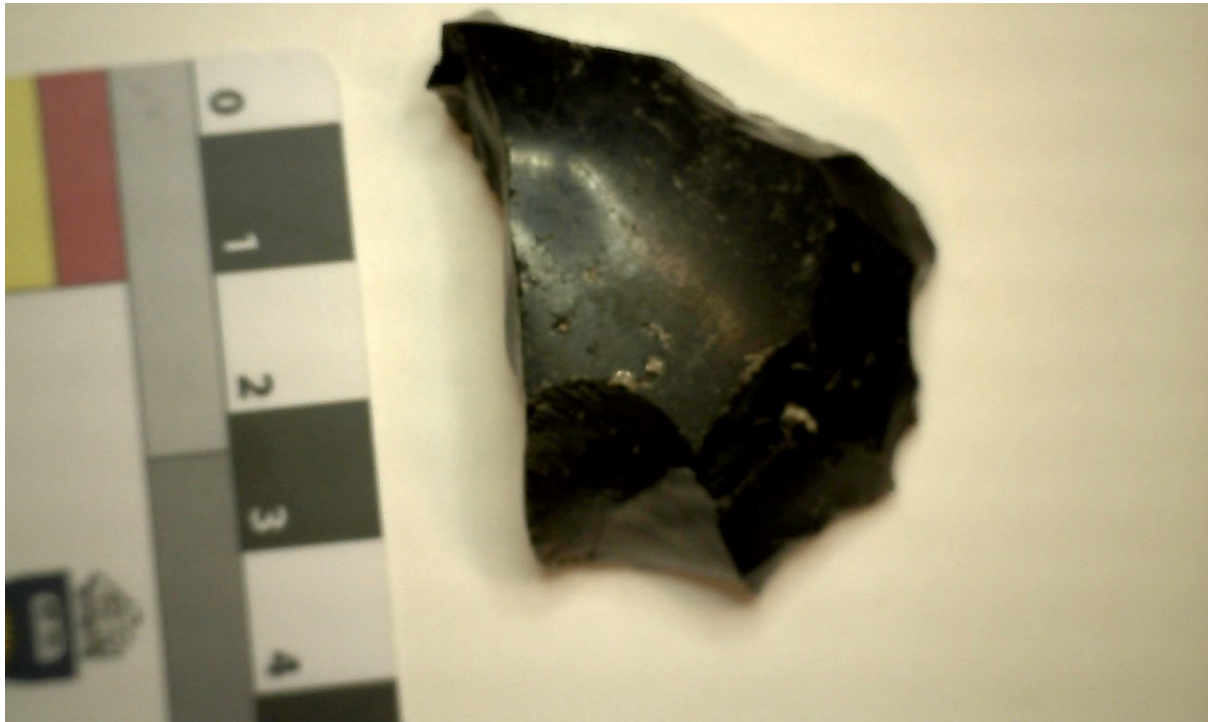


Plate 5.57. Utilized retouched flake on black cylindrical bottle glass base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.58. Utilized retouched flake on black cylindrical bottle glass base. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.59. Close up of edge of utilized retouched flake on black cylindrical bottle glass base. Photo: K. Pollard.

The retouched utilized core was identified by definitions in Clarkson and O'Connor (2006: 161) who state that a retouched flake is a flake that was first removed from a core, and in turn had flakes removed from it. The retouched utilized cores display characteristic attributes of scrapers, such as 'large invasive flaking' that is 'perpendicular to the working edge' (Williamson 2002: 86) and are 'thick' with short, robust edges that are both steep and stepped' with edge angles that are high (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 230). The utility of cores reveals their necessity in a tool kit. Previous archaeological research cites the manufacture of certain glass tools for woodworking activities such as spear making (Tindale 1942: 1). Ethnographic literature recorded Aboriginal people in the Darwin region manufacturing glass headed spears (Hodgson 1994-1995: 7). And according to Parkhouse 'Stone tomahawks and cutting instruments have gone out of use since the intercourse with the whites' and that 'The dilly bag has been nearly superseded by the billy can' (1895: 9). Parkhouse (1895: 9) also stated that 'The Larrakia made canoes of good size hollowed out from a tree, and one was worked round from Southport to Port Darwin'. This suggests that the Larrakia at Southport had the technological means to manufacture a wooden canoe. At Southport the heavy thick piece of cast iron may have been used in the same way as a wooden adze for scraping hard woods to make such an artefact as a canoe although this cannot be substantiated from this one piece of evidence.

The glass bottle retouched flakes manufactured for scraping purposes in much the same way a stone scraper was used in wood working (Smith 2001: 257) could have been used in spear manufacture, or in the manufacture of women's wooden implements (Smith 2001: 91). Scrapers made on stone have been recorded ethnographically for use in hafted wood-working activities that served as tool kit items that were transported and maintained for continued use (Clarkson 2002: 80; Harrison 2005: 21). The possible relationship between these materials and gender roles is discussed below.

Of the two examples of retouched utilized cores from Southport one showed evidence of use wear along a retouched edge. But if these tools are inferred to have been valued enough to transport, maintain and continually use when mobile, and while it is recognized that abandonment of tools occurred for a variety of reasons (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 194) if the use-wear on one example from Southport suggests one was used in some task on site, its abandonment suggests either a sudden departure or lack of will to carry objects to another destination (Baker 1975: 11). A thick black glass core with long and wide negative flake scars on a portion of the base was abandoned, again, suggestive that intensive knapping of bases did not occur on-site when there was an abundance of bases for that purpose, and the availability to bottles bases for tool manufacture meant there was no shortage of raw materials for the knapper if inclined (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 186-188).

Bidirectional cores from Southport characteristically show the removal of flakes from two faces (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 180) on either side of the base. Unidirectional cores from Southport display the characteristic of flakes having been struck from one platform in one direction (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 180). A bipolar flake from Southport is suggestive the core had been reduced to a very small stage using the free hand percussion and an anvil technique (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 186; personal conversation Darryl Wesley, April 2017). The evidence shows the knappers at Southport employed three techniques of core preparation and flake detachment which produced conchoidal flakes, flakes with hertzian cone fractures, step, hinge or feather terminations, and flakes lacking either a distal or proximal end. Flakes with some of these attributes suggest a hard hammer percussion technique that produced what has been referred to as 'undesirable' flakes (Cotterell and Kamminga 1987: 676-701) which could explain why they were discarded at Southport. The evidence of utilized cores suggests a moment of 'affluence' in that Aboriginal access to a coveted raw material at Southport coincided with a moment of time when people stayed a while and made tools but then a decision was made to abandon these advantages and move away.

The glass bladelet was an interesting isolated find. Its identification as a formal tool is derived from what is understood about reduction sequences of cores and flakes, from primary reduced core to smaller and smaller iterations, finally resulting in exhausted remnants. While blades are produced from cores knapped in such a specific way as to produce characteristic 'elongate flakes with parallel and/or tapering

lateral margins', this is a feat that requires precision control of the faceting of the platform to guard against crushing and facilitate the 'production of guiding ridges' according to Clarkson and David (1995: 26, 31). Blades are a product of the majority reduction of a core to a state of flakes 'without cortex' (Clarkson and David 1995: 31). No blade cores were recovered from Southport but the very small size of the bladelet infers, similar to the sequence of blade production described above, that it is the product of a flake detached from a core that was then systematically reduced until the bladelet, with a ridge, was manufactured. Several of the cores from Southport do exhibit negative long flake scars that could be interpreted to infer that flakes of a certain shape and length were needed for specific tasks.



Plate 5.60. Bottle Glass Bladelet. Photo: K. Pollard.

Bladelets belong to the class of tools described as 'geometric microliths and backed blades' that were the basis of the 'replaceable components of hafted tools' (Holdaway and Stern 2007: 196) so along with the manufacture of utilized cores for scraping tasks, the bladelet was likely manufactured as one of a number that could have been hafted along the shaft of an object such as a spear. Basedow's ethnohistorical recordings (1906) provides information about Aboriginal peoples of northern coastal Australia, including the Larrakia people's material culture in the Darwin region. Basedow wrote about and made drawings of the spear technology of the Larrakia and other north coast Aboriginal groups. In one description a type of spear is made to contain barbs that 'are comparatively small', barbs were hafted with resin and other materials and stone-headed spears were topped with 'flaked quartzite' (Basedow 1906:32). Comparing the types of spears made by the Larrakia with other Aboriginal groups inland whose technology was recorded by Spencer and Gillen, Basedow (1906: 34) cites how for one

particular type of spear Aboriginal people attached ‘small, chipped chalcedony blade[s]’ with resin along one side of the spear shaft. A report by the Protector of Aborigines in 1882 recorded that ‘In the manufacture of their spears they [Larrakia] use broken glass’ which is the clearest evidence to support the argument the utilized cores (steep edge scrapers) were likely manufactured for the purpose of making wooden spears and the bladelet made on glass was manufactured for a similar purpose.



Plate 5.61. Scatter of white quartz stone flakes at CPS2. Stone tool scatters were evident at CPS1 and CPS2. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.62. White quartz stone flake, CPS1. Photo: L. Williams.



Plate 5.63. White quartz stone flake and flake made on black cylindrical bottle glass, CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.

Ethnohistory over a period of thirty years for the Darwin region provides insight into the material culture and traditional technology of the Larrakia people, as well as their use of raw materials introduced by non-Aboriginal people. In 1886 Foelsche wrote that ‘They ornament themselves ... by raising scars as thick and long as the middle finger on various parts of the body, on the upper arm, breast, ribs, abdomen and thighs. They also tie grass bands above the muscle of the upper arm’. For carrying things, they ‘have small nets and bags which they manufacture from the fibre of the bark of trees’. For tools they had ‘tomahawks of the sort almost universal in Australia, the head being a hard stone first chipped and then rubbed to an edge around which is bent a piece of thin elastic wood’ and ‘Their spears are of wood, with a sharp stone at the point and are thrown by hand’. For processing animal protein, they used ‘shells and sharp stones’. (Foelsche 1886: 251). In 1895 Parkhouse noted aspects of the daily and seasonal movements and life habits of the Larrakia people based on what his ‘boy’, a Larrakia child who acted as an informant for Parkhouse, told him. Parkhouse (1895: 8) recorded that at a circumcision ceremony among allies of the Larrakia at which the Larrakia were participants in a corroboree ‘pieces of glass bottle’ were used to ‘remove the foreskin’ of male youth. The Larrakia adorned their bodies with cicatrices (Parkhouse 1895: 8) and the practice was captured in some of the portraits of Larrakia people by Folesche but Parkhouse did not record whether bottle glass was used for this purpose. He did record the manufacture of weapons like ‘clubs’ and ‘woomeras’ (1895: 9), artefacts that would have required tools manufactured for wood carving and shaving.

The archaeological evidence at Southport of quartz knapping floors supports the argument that Aboriginal people had not completely abandoned the use of traditional stone materials for needed tasks. Alongside the archaeological evidence for the modification of new material like bottle glass for tasks which demonstrates that new materials were adapted, continuity of traditional stone tool technology was also still practiced at Southport.

Understanding re-use of introduced metal artefacts like metal barrel strips, iron wire, iron chain and nails is derived from what other contact studies have shown from combining archaeological and archival evidence. Clarke’s (2003: 105) study of the transfer of artefacts between Indigenous societies in the Pacific cites iron as a material that was traded for use as fish hooks and a piece of iron wire from Southport does indeed look like a large fish hook.

Given the location of the sites at Southport at the junction of two major river tributaries and the recorded former activity of Aboriginal people at Southport hunting crocodile (Kelsey 1975: 70), it may be that a hook of this size was used for this kind of activity, but it cannot be substantiated from this one piece of evidence alone. Clarke’s (1994: 92) study of introduced metal materials on Groote Eylandt cited a 19th century European observer who recorded Aboriginal people using iron wire to make tips for spears and nails for hooks. For a contact site in Tasmania it has been argued that rust from nails was an alternative

source to ochre if it was not available, and it has been postulated that Aboriginal people also re-used ceramics here (Williamson 2002: 88). Knives made from recycled flat metal have also been observed in the Kimberley region of Western Australia (Head and Fullagar 1997: 422) in the context of pastoral camps (Smith 2001: 256; Harrison 2002:67-70) and one piece of narrow thin metal strip from Southport does resemble a potential knife. Stone knives were known to have been replaced with metal equivalents, including chisels, and metal was used for the manufacture of spear points (Head and Fullagar 1997: 422).

The contents of the hole-in-cap tin lids may reflect consumption by either the non-Aboriginal, Aboriginal or both occupants at the Southport sites as foods were preserved in a range of glass or tin containers (NT Times and Gazette, December 1880). But it is known that the diet of Aboriginal people changed significantly after contact and changes included eating introduced preserved food stuffs (Government Resident 1884; Clarke 1994: 98; 1999: 112). And the numerous discarded tins that can be seen at two Aboriginal fringe camps in the photography by Paul Foelsche suggest that by the mid to late 1800s Aboriginal people in Darwin were consuming introduced preserved food stuffs. In one remote pastoral contact situation the Aboriginal diet of ‘bush plant carbohydrate’ was replaced with ‘shop bought flour, rice, porridge and potatoe’ (Head and Fullagar 1997: 423).



Plate 5.64. Two hole-in-cap tin lids. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 5.65. The underside of the lids. Photo: K. Pollard.

5.8. Aboriginal People Living at Southport

Before going into how Aboriginal people may have lived at Southport the related subject of Aboriginal architecture is relevant. Memmott (2007) traced the history of Aboriginal architecture in Australia to the present and found that Aboriginal architecture was and is diverse and innovative. Aboriginal architecture has always incorporated beliefs and customs Aboriginal people perceive about themselves and the natural environment, aspects of the complex kinship system that influenced the designation of spatial relationships along gender lines, age, marriage or personal status (ie, widow) but also cultural knowledge of spiritually significant places (places for ceremonies) to either avoid or be near. The system of Aboriginal knowledge that Memmott accumulated from historical records, anthropological sources, archaeological evidence, ethnographic accounts and oral histories to conceptualize Aboriginal architecture he termed ‘ethno-architecture’ (Memmott 2007: 1-10). Memmott (2007: 9) defined ethno-architecture as ‘one that has been created and built by the users, adjusted as required to suit their own lifestyle and changing needs, and supportive of their own social organization and interaction – all done with their own technologies, labor and skills, and drawing where appropriate on their customary traditions’.

Further, Memmott (2007: 9) identified four different periods of Aboriginal architecture in Australia:

1. the classical Aboriginal ethno-architecture prior to the arrival of the colonists;
2. acculturated ethno-architecture of the 19th and 20th centuries, which can be subdivided into (a) pastoral camps, (b) mission camps, (c) government settlement camps and (d) town camps;
3. outstation ethno-architecture during and after the 1970s, paralleled by collaborative projects between Aboriginal groups and non-Aboriginal architects; and
4. the new architecture of the late 20th and early 21st centuries by the first Indigenous architects with professional Western qualifications and training.

The first and the second periods of Aboriginal architecture described by Memmott is resonant with the descriptions of Aboriginal architecture in the Darwin region after colonization continuing up to the present day. In the second period, after colonization Aboriginal people lived in a mission camp administered by Jesuits at a place that is now a suburb in Darwin called Rapid Creek. The Kahlin Aboriginal compound established between 1911 until 1938 was a place Larrakia people and other Aboriginal people were forcibly removed to by government legislation (Wells 2003:64).

On the basis of the periods of Aboriginal architecture as defined by Memmott that were an historical fact of Aboriginal people's lives in the Darwin region after colonization, the next section highlights some of the cultural beliefs and customs of the Larrakia people as reflected in architecture they built in the earliest years of engagement with non-Aboriginal people. Some of the terms that non-Aboriginal observers used in written accounts are not defined, such as the term 'wurlie'. One dictionary definition of a wurlie is 'An Australian Indigenous shelter made from small branches with leaves still attached' (yourdictionary.com accessed 4 June 2018). Another defines it to mean 'an Aboriginal hut' (dictionary.reverso.net accessed 4 June 2018). These definitions are the closest to the meaning as expressed by Parkhouse in 1895.

Interpretation of how Aboriginal people lived at Southport is derived from what was recorded about the composition of Aboriginal camps spanning the 19th century through to the 20th century in ethnographic studies and contemporary historical scholarship. Reynolds (1990: 135-144), writing that the member composition (gender/age) of Aboriginal camps on the frontier and on the fringes of early colonies was influenced by economic, social, political and cultural factors would have also influenced the location and composition of Aboriginal camps in the Darwin region. Reynolds argued that camps were characterized by a diversity of architecture and that camp membership was primarily influenced by kinship factors. The construction of Aboriginal 'humpies' (huts) on the frontier combined traditional materials like 'thatch, bark' and 'reed leaves' with materials non-Aboriginal introduced like 'iron sheeting, tin plate, bags and blankets' (Reynolds 1990: 137). This kind of architecture is reminiscent of

Aboriginal architecture in photography by Paul Foelsche in the Darwin region in the 1880s showing what kind of shelters Aboriginal people lived in using these same kinds of materials. The shelters in Paul Foelsche's photography would have been contemporary with the lives of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people at Southport and the type of discarded round tins such as in Foelsche's photos, were noted by Reynolds (1990: 137) to be a common sight in Aboriginal fringe camps in the 19th century. Sheet metal, flat and corrugated, was a commodity and Aboriginal people frequently used it in a complex array of architecture throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries (Memmot 2007). At other locations in the Northern Territory of Australia during the early colonization period Aboriginal camps were described as having a diverse mix of introduced raw materials strewn about in an almost chaotic fashion. Davison described a camp for the Aboriginal people of the Manga Manda settlement near Phillip Creek in the Northern Territory being characterized by 'The seemingly haphazard array of flattened-out bitumen drums, rusted corrugated iron, old tarpaulins, cast off billy cans and scrap metal [which] was the physical document of an extensive traditional bush camp' (Davison 1985: 18-19). Use of sheet metal eventually became a common method of hut construction. Paul Foelsche's photography shows eight children, eighteen men, eight male youth and seven women in camps. It cannot be ruled out definitively that Aboriginal camps of large size and diverse membership were not present at or near CPS1 or CPS2. It was common for Aboriginal temporary camps near early settlements on the frontier, especially if they were needed to work for non-Aboriginal people and to access coveted goods or rations (Reynolds 1990:130; Smith 2001: 5).

Parkhouse (1895:3) also recorded some of the characteristics of Larrakia camps, writing that they lived in 'wurlies' and when more than one was seen he described them as 'several circles of wurlies', including wurlies 'in which Wulnars reside' who he stated were 'related to the Larrakia by alliance or descent' (Parkhouse 1895: 3). Further, the spatial arrangement and the membership of camps was described in some detail, 'At the camps each circle preserves its privacy, and the blacks to be seen within it are members of the family, or visitors who are tribal brothers' (Parkhouse 1895: 4).

In summary, historically, Aboriginal fringe camps contained hut architecture that was designed from a combination of traditional materials and elements introduced after colonization, and hut architecture in photography suggests Aboriginal people routinely adapted huts using raw materials that reflect adaptations to changing circumstances. Historical accounts of Aboriginal fringe camps in Darwin suggest the camps were spaces where kin of primary connection lived, where extended kin were welcomed, and where close allies kept separate camps and maintained their spatial distance. Aboriginal camps located on streets in the settlement were actually located in bush until that bush was cleared and the street could be seen clearly. And while it has not been determined how much bush was cleared at the time Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people inhabited CPS1 the non-Aboriginal inhabitants may have had their own reason for making camp 'off grid' as it were but Aboriginal people routinely made their camps in such

places. From the photographs by Paul Foelsche a sense of what an Aboriginal camp at Southport may have looked like has been gained.

5.8.1. *European and Chinese Artefacts*

See Appendix 2.

5.9. Engagement at Southport

In relation to the model presented in this thesis, the Aboriginal occupation of Southport can be most securely associated with the process of engagement, rather than survival, resistance or transgression. Southport was most intensively occupied between 1870 and 1890. After this time, Southport's non-Aboriginal population went into severe decline as the result of the construction of a railway route from Darwin to Pine Creek in the Northern Territory that facilitated easier access to the gold fields. But during the time Southport was intensively occupied by non-Aboriginal people Aboriginal people still had control over the vast majority of their lands and they were able to come to and go from Southport voluntarily. They had freedom of movement within Southport and the freedom to move back and forth to Port Darwin as they chose. Aboriginal presence at Southport was on their own terms, an enactment of the engagement process identified in the model presented in this thesis. The question that arises is whether engagement or other processes outlined in the model are reflected in the archaeological evidence from CPS1 and CPS2 at Southport. I argue the archaeological evidence does support Aboriginal engagement with non-Aboriginal society. First, there is clear archaeological evidence of Aboriginal people re-using imported materials for their own purposes. The manufactured glass bottle base cores and flakes are the primary evidence of this type of engagement. The thick cast iron piece of metal discussed above, potentially used as an adze in wood work, is also evidence of engagement related to the freedom of movement for scavenging that would have facilitated the collection of metal for re-use by Aboriginal people. Second, engagement is implied in the collection and 'open' storage of imported metal artefacts like the barrel hoop, nail, pieces of iron wire, bullock shoe, cast iron pot and sheet metal.

Third, is evidence for Aboriginal engagement in spatial patterning that demonstrates that glass was knapped in front of the embedded corrugated iron sheet that was once part of a structure at CPS1. The spatial relatedness of the glass knapping floor to the structure suggests that Aboriginal people used this structure. However, it was not determined whether they inhabited it contemporaneously with non-Aboriginal people at CPS1, or after the site was abandoned by non-Aboriginal people.

Given the archaeological evidence of Aboriginal engagement, the question that then arises is whether it is possible to obtain insights into the social aspects of engagement, such as the gender or age of people

at either site. To this end, in one study it was argued that tools like scrapers were traditionally used predominantly by women, ‘particularly for haircutting and medical purposes’ (Williamson 2002: 87). Another argued tools made by men for men’s activities in ‘specialized tasks’ is suggested by the presence of stone knapping floors (Smith 2001: 256). But the latter argument is problematic because it regresses to the suggestion of women being such passive agents their activities are not as visible in the archaeological record. Bird (1993) discussed a range of examples where Indigenous women in Australia and Papua New Guinea produced stone artefacts for a range of activities, so the question of identifying gender from archaeological remains is more complex than simply attributing a feature to one gender without reference to supplementary sources including ethnographic evidence. For this reason, it is important that analysis takes into consideration the context of any particular study. For example, Southport was a town that was dominated by non-Aboriginal men whose presence was heavily influenced by the gold fields approximately two hundred kilometers away at Pine Creek. The non-Aboriginal women who were resident at Southport during its height were less in number than non-Aboriginal men, were employed in local business or were visitors to the town for social activities (Kelsey 1975). This gender imbalance in the non-Aboriginal population has implications related to the likelihood of Aboriginal women manufacturing tools at CPS1 or CPS2. There is evidence that in the wider settlement of Port Darwin that corresponds with this first stage of engagement between Aboriginal people and a non-Aboriginal people at Southport in which non-Aboriginal men dominated, Aboriginal women were reluctant to be overtly interactive in some circumstances. In 1882 the Protector of Aborigines recorded an observation about Aboriginal women and their demeanor ‘The younger women are very particular if there is any chance of being seen by a European, but the older women do not care much’. This record was made within the time frame that Southport was at its height. It suggests that women of child bearing age were circumspect when it came to non-Aboriginal men so the likelihood that Aboriginal women of certain ages would have been in places that non-Aboriginal men frequented, such as CPS1, interacted with them, and stayed to manufacture tools is not plausible. On the contrary, it strengthens the argument made above that the utilized glass cores are likely to have been manufactured by Aboriginal men. However, it is not implausible that any tools that were made, were used by both genders.

While the archaeological evidence supports Aboriginal engagement at Southport as the model postulates the evidence does not extend to supporting the argument of predominantly Aboriginal survival, or Aboriginal resistance or transgression at Southport. Although it cannot be determined with certainty for the entire duration of time Southport was occupied by non-Aboriginal people, that there were not episodes of aggression or violence between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, the archaeological evidence suggests Aboriginal people used CPS1 and CPS2 to make and use tools that were used in wood working activities such as spear manufacture. Therefore, survival, resistance or transgression are not reflected in the archaeological evidence at Southport.

5.10. Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has presented archaeological evidence that has been interpreted as reflecting a process of engagement by Aboriginal people with non-Aboriginal people at Southport. However, at this early stage of engagement interaction was primarily between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men. Aboriginal engagement was premised on the argument that Aboriginal people had control of their lands at this early stage hence there were no overt restraints on Aboriginal freedom of movement within the town. For this reason, Aboriginal men had the freedom to temporarily camp wherever they wanted to and that is what the evidence at CPS1 and CPS2 suggests, which they did to manufacture some tools for maintenance and use.

The next chapter discusses when from the 1890s, relations between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people had changed dramatically and Aboriginal people in the Darwin region were forced from their land and made to live in institutions for decades. In this stage Aboriginal people no longer had control over their lands and the nature of Aboriginal interaction with non-Aboriginal people takes survivance into a new phase.

CHAPTER SIX: SURVIVANCE

6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the concept of survivance. The analysis of Aboriginal survivance is predominantly derived from archive data that is then related to the terms of the model developed in Chapter Three. This approach aids conceptualizing Aboriginal survivance as it began after the invasion and continued through the periods of accommodation and engagement with non-Aboriginal people in the Darwin region. The chapter enhances on conceptualizing the resilience of Aboriginal people to colonialism. Survivance continued to be Aboriginal agency that was a force of its own that colonists were forced to endure in ways they did not contemplate.

6.2. Background

By the late 1800's Aboriginal people are marginalized in fringe camps in the Darwin settlement the most intensively since colonization. During the late 1800's non-Aboriginal people's advocacy had become more vocal about wanting to force Aboriginal people from the land within and without the boundaries of the settlement. As covered in Chapter Four advocacy had resulted in legislation in 1910 that forced Aboriginal people, involuntarily, to live in purpose-built institutions between the 1910s (Wells 2003: 267) until the 1950s - 1960s. By the time of the forced removal after 1910 Aboriginal people no longer had control over the land and the nature of Aboriginal interaction with non-Aboriginal people changed to surviving forced incarceration and even throughout the policy of assimilation in the 1950s/1960s up to the policy of self-determination in the 1970s. As will be shown, archive records written by settler's contrasts with the paucity of written evidence from Aboriginal people themselves during this time. However, from archive sources inference is drawn about the ways Aboriginal people survived the complex challenging circumstances of colonialism.

6.3. Survivance of Larrakia Tradition and Customs

Almost twenty years after colonization Basedow (1906) produced ethnohistoric notes on aspects of Larrakia culture, tradition and customs as a result of his frequent contact with Aboriginal people in the course of his official duties as a doctor at the settlement. Basedow's observations were made approximately ten years after the ethnohistoric notes of Parkhouse in 1895. Comparing the two ethnohistories inconsistencies emerge of perceptions about Larrakia culture, tradition and customs. For example, Basedow claimed first cousin marriage was practiced 'Amongst the Larrekiya ... a man marries the daughter of his mother's sister', a claim that Parkhouse had argued never ever occurred (1895). Otherwise Basedow's notes confirm the continuity of Larrakia knowledge of traditional technology, social customs and spirituality actively being practiced more than four decades after

colonization while living among non-Aboriginal people in the settlement. Basedow's evidence of Larrakia survivance contrasted with the anthropologist Baldwin Spencer's (1928:610) documents who, in a classic example of a proponent of acculturation after a stint as Protector of Aborigines between 1912 and 1913 stated that 'It is now too late to study the Larrakia, of whose beliefs and customs very little serious value has been recorded'. Spencer implied Larrakia cultural knowledge had suffered near extinction as a consequence of living among non-Aboriginal people, but Basedow's notes were made only five years before the Larrakia were forcibly removed from their country and made to live in institutions. Although Basedow was a man of his times living among settlers who ascribed to the ideology of Social Darwinism that underlined European sense of race superiority, his interest was of the ways the Larrakia were adapting to colonialism. He recorded (Basedow 1907: 25) the continuity in their use of traditional methods of hunting, such as in the manufacture of fish hooks from kangaroo bone or shell, that epitomize survivance of Aboriginal tradition and customs. But Basedow also recorded that because of the availability of metal to Aboriginal people 'Two types of [traditional] fish hook are employed, but their use is becoming obsolete from the use of metal hooks obtained by barter'. Clearly, Spencer and Basedow's perceptions of the persistence of Larrakia cultural survivance differed significantly. But of the two personalities, Spencer had the reputation as an expert on Aboriginal people and culture. Spencer's (1928) promotion of the Larrakia as a doomed people fed into the acculturation narrative where, supposedly unable to survive to the impacts of colonization, non-Aboriginal people believed they were justified in their complete dispossession of Larrakia people, but that the remnants needed 'protection'.

In 1882 Paul Foelsche also created records about Larrakia people in correspondence to fellow European amateur anthropologists. He wrote (1882: 2) of the 'readiness [of the Larrakia] to initiate and to acquire knowledge of matters brought under their observation'. Foelsche (1882: 6) thought the younger generation of Larrakia adults seemed keen to 'abandon many of the customs practiced by the old men and to adopt the habits of Europeans', although he gives no evidence of why this may have been the case, or any evidence that a younger generation of Larrakia men abandoned cultural survivance outright. But Foelsche (1882: 12) believed the effects of European culture on younger Larrakia had a 'demoralizing' effect because they learnt 'vices previously unknown to them'. Vices like smoking and drinking hard liquor, obviously had adverse impacts on Larrakia social and cultural obligations and familial cohesiveness, but Foelsche wrote these thoughts within the period already noted above when ethnohistories recorded the active cultural survivance of the Larrakia to the forces of colonialism. Observing the labor performed by young Larrakia men and women for settlers in the domestic and commercial spheres of daily operations, Foelsche (1882: 7) took this willingness to work for food and clothing or occasionally for currency, as a willingness to abandon tradition and customs as a consequence of dramatically transforming new socio-economic circumstances. And Foelsche believed (1882: 11) Aboriginal people were destined to die from vice and disease because the settlers 'look upon

[the Aborigines] as beasts, destitute of reason, and are treated as such'. But as the ethnography of Parkhouse ten years later shows, and Basedow's twenty years later again, the Larrakia people were enduring in their health, way of life, self-renewal and new livelihood, and working for non-Aboriginal people was part of a strategy of pragmatism. They still retained a strong sense of their cultural distinctiveness and material culture, opting to adopt some ideas, but retaining the old at the same time.

6.4. Balancing Pragmatic Survival with Cultural Survivance

An example of balancing pragmatic survival with cultural survivance was found in the subject of Aboriginal people not wearing clothes. The settlers made numerous negative complaints about the physical appearance of Larrakia people in the settlement, specifically their resistance to adopting attire to appease settler's stance on nakedness. Aboriginal nakedness was seen as being incompatible with the fostering of a work ethic on the terms of the settlers. Working for non-Aboriginal people was a main reason for the tolerance of Aboriginal people in the settlement, but Government Resident Wood complained about the fact Aboriginal people refused to acculturate to wearing clothes,

Cannot the lubras who work in the towns be given some form of gown, simply but strongly made, and if they have been given it, they should not be allowed in the streets unless decently dressed. I would suggest that no lubra gets one unless I know that she is a good worker, and that I obtain that information from her mistress. I also think that the time has come when the men ought not to be allowed into the town unless decently dressed (Government Resident Wood 1888:26).

Wood's statement reveals an underlying sentiment among the settlers that it was time Aboriginal people conformed to European values about personal appearance, and that they should show that understanding by wearing clothing for modesty's sake. For a hunter-gatherer people, largely without apparel, recently colonized, trying to adapt to radical new social and economic circumstances, they had demonstrated for a decade their willingness to work for non-Aboriginal people to maximize their own chances of opportunity and survival. If they had not adopted clothing by the time of Wood's complaint, then wearing attire was not a priority to them. Besides which it had already been acknowledged by other settler's that clothing caused health complaints of the pulmonary variety in Aboriginal people (Government Resident Parsons Report 1887: 16). Noting the propensity of Aboriginal people to 'go into the bush, and with their return to their native state off go the clothes' Dashwood argued 'it would be more charitable ... not to give clothes to the natives' notwithstanding 'decency's sake' (South Australian Parliamentary Paper 1899 GRS File 77). Some settler officials recognized that apparel to Aboriginal people was not a material that was valued 'He is a nomad and after a time has an irresistible desire to go into the bush where an Aboriginal man throw off his clothes and live a roaming and free life' (Government Resident 1898:7).

6.5. Settler Advocacy

Complaints from settlers was not limited to the subject of nakedness. Aware that opportunities other than work attracted Aboriginal people to the settlement officials spoke of Aboriginal people from ‘coastal tribes’ like the ‘Alligators, Wulnas, Minadge, Woolwongas and Wagaits’ who ‘continually’ came to the settlement in search of opportunity who ended up consuming ‘intoxicating liquor or opium’ rather than stay on their own country and hunt healthy food. For the satisfaction of acquiring these commodities in ‘very limited quantities’ they would stay indefinitely to access these vices complained government resident Dashwood (South Australian Parliamentary Paper 1899:1-114).

Settler’s attempts to limit rights of Aboriginal people fueled the pace for rapid dramatic change. As part of official hearings into whether there was a need for legislation to protect Aboriginal people from exploitation or abuse, a politician in Adelaide, Solomon (South Australian Parliamentary Paper 1899, File 177), spoke of how ‘lazy’ the ‘tribes who reside in the neighbourhood of the townships are’, arguing how they preferred hunting and fishing to providing a reliable workforce. Although in Port Darwin non-Aboriginal people had grown to value Aboriginal labor, debate raged between the likes of Solomon in South Australia’s parliament and settlers in Port Darwin about any legislation that enacted conditions stipulating criteria around Aboriginal labor because it could threaten access by non-Aboriginal people to that labor. Solomon (South Australian Parliamentary Paper 1899, File 177) advocated for legislation, arguing at the same time potential ‘hardship’ for non-Aboriginal people in Port Darwin if access to Aboriginal labor was curtailed by legislation. Hence, settler and political advocacy was all about making sure the interests of settlers prevailed at the cost of the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal people.

Within two decades of the invasion Larrakia people had become an important source of labor to settlers, it being essential to the infrastructural development of the settlement. Settlers grew to depend on it and, in spite of arguments about unreliability of Aboriginal labor it was the basis for the development of one of the most identifiable landmarks of post -colonization occupation in Darwin – the governor’s official residence (Wells 2003: 154-155).

As noted in Chapter Four, the advent of legal ‘protection’ (forced incarceration) of Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory was the end outcome of decades of advocacy by generations of settlers. Through what began ostensibly as an exchange of learning about each other’s cultural and material mores after colonization, exchange of ideas, objects, favors and services, interactions that occurred under the scrutiny of colonial authority, but largely voluntarily on the part of the Larrakia people, the strongest era of positive Aboriginal agency since colonization was challenged again by the impending

forced removal from country. In rapidly changing social circumstances Larrakia had grown to care less about the original strategies of engagement for mutual benefit to prioritizing survivance.

In the next section Aboriginal survivance is examined through the question **what constrained and enabled Aboriginal strategies? How did these change over time?**

I argue that rapidly changing social and economic circumstances within the settlement with each passing decade explains why Aboriginal strategies of engagement that seemed to work well in earlier years did not last. In changing circumstances, Aboriginal engagement was also affected by the evolving attitudes of the settlers towards them. Increasingly, they demanded the right to control whether Aboriginal people be allowed to practice cultural traditions at all, or generally be doing anything the settlers did not approve of (Wells 2003:174). So, when advocacy for legislation to control the movement of Aboriginal people arose as discussed in Chapter Four, the main priority of the settlers was to ensure it did not block access to a reliable workforce that they needed (Governor Resident Wood 1885:25). Within this milieu of changes to Aboriginal survivance resistance began to emerge.

6.5.1. Imposed Law and Order

Larrakia people faced both constraints and opportunities within new laws. From the earliest days of colonization when Aboriginal people complained about police threats of ‘being driven from the neighborhood’ such threats were dealt with by laborious administrative responses while matters were investigated (Governor Resident Morice 1877, NTAS A2514). The advent of a ‘native police force’ (NTAS record A2896: 1878) in the settlement attracted local Aboriginal men and Aboriginal men from other regions of the Northern Territory as recruits. Aboriginal police trackers were highly sought by officials, though they did not necessarily work within their own territory, and frequently worked a long distance from their country of origin (NTAS record A2709: 1878). In Darwin, an official (Government Resident Report 1878 GRS File 1/1, 112) wrote ‘Do you think you could procure some civilized natives that would be willing to come here as trackers the blacks here are no good as trackers. Without some such assistance it is difficult to hunt up criminals and only for a black boy that came from south Australia the late murderers could not have been tracked. They would have full natives clothes and a little money’. Archive records show that police trackers did eventually cross the continent to work in the settlement (NTAS record A7261: 1884). The rate of pay for black police trackers would have been set but pay increases, even when argued for on their behalf were not successful (NTAS record 868:1889). Unless Aboriginal men were of good character as determined by non-Aboriginal people, and the opinion of selectors varied (Governor Resident Price 1878 GRS file 1/1, 251:), they were not chosen as candidates to be police trackers (NTAS record A2868: 1878). Good work by police trackers sometimes met with reward from officials, including a rifle for the ‘Black boy Billy in recognition of his services as tracker’

(Bickford NTAS record A2714: 1878). A settler official (NTAS record 8615:1898) later issued an order 'I have decided in future trackers are not to be provided with carbines or rifles' when employed by government because 'revolvers are considered quite sufficient'.

From the point of view of officialdom using Aboriginal people as police trackers was a strategy to control those Aboriginal people in the settlement who were by now committing all kinds of acts of resistance, subtle and covert (South Australian Advertiser, 9 July 1880; Northern Territory Times, 31 July 1880). The archive record suggests that in the eyes of settlers Aboriginal illegal behaviour proliferated, but objective portrayal of the reasons for Aboriginal acts was rarely forthcoming. The media, using language that inferred unjustified Aboriginal hostility, portrayed incidents of resource theft or killings by Aboriginal people as acts of lawlessness. Both local and interstate newspapers reported '... a litany of repeated offences committed by Aborigines'. They '... raided the government gardens for sweet potato; waylaid the Matron from the Hospital and demanded money'; 'stuck up' a Chinese man ... leveled a couple of spears at him [and stole his vegetables]; and 'stole a bag of white flour from a resident as well as her saucepan and its boiling contents' (South Australian Advertiser, 9 July 1880; Northern Territory Times, 31 July 1880). Rather than acts of lawlessness these were acts of desperate resistance by Aboriginal people protesting the consequences of land theft because by now they were facing starvation. Acts like these reflect the dawning of less Aboriginal compromise to engage with the economy on the settler's terms and instead engage in ways commensurate with Aboriginal frustration at lack of their control over influence and status. As the settlement and the population grew the invaders decided when and how Aboriginal people could contribute to the economy. Thefts of food were acts of resistance to this predominance (Wells 2003:145) as it was detrimental to Aboriginal survival.

Aboriginal people who broke laws were subject to the same penalties as non-Aboriginal people and were executed for crimes too (NTAS record A 8154:1885). They endured 'justice' if they were deemed to have taken part in criminal activities as considered under European law (NTAS Record A 3299:1879). But irrespective of imposed laws traditional hostilities between Aboriginal clans continued and deaths resulted from transgressions of Aboriginal lore. At Southport one correspondent wrote 'an old man "Charlie" and his lubra were speared in a very cold-blooded way' (Governor Resident Morice 1879, NTAS A3300:) implying Aboriginal people administered their own punishment irrespective of the consequences they faced under European law. Given that Aboriginal people were considered British subjects after colonization though, it is likely all crimes of murder involving Aboriginal people were not treated separately but treated as a violation of European law. So, when Aboriginal people killed each other in the settlement they were subject to the same legal penalty as any other British citizen (Government Resident Morice 1879 NTAS record A3299: 1879).

6.5.2. *Blanket Distribution*

Archive records about an aspect of the rations system, the distribution of blankets, infers survival by Aboriginal people on the offer of this material. Correspondence reveals a realization among officialdom of a growing demand for any assistance Aboriginal people could get at the time of the blanket distributions. Over a twenty - year period at locations across Port Darwin including at Southport (NTAS 7549: 1885) and at Charles Point Lighthouse across the Darwin Harbor, blankets were distributed, and medicine administered. In bundles or pairs of fifty (NTAS record A 11156:1888) officials were directed to commence annual distributions. At Charles Point Lighthouse, the head keeper wrote of how forty Aborigines arrived from Palmerston to receive blankets, and how about a dozen of those had signs of measles and illness, describing some of them as being in 'a very low state'. He requested the government medical officer provide him with some 'simple remedy to alleviate their suffering', he seemed particularly concerned to save lives (NTAS record A8969: 1899). The lighthouse head keeper wrote how Aboriginal people from as far away as the islands off the coast of northern Australia would travel to this location specifically to get blankets and medicine. He noted the 'great crowd' of Aborigines 'camped here' in anticipation of the handout (NTAS record 11335:1902). Blanket distribution was an annual event (Government Resident Seabrook 1902:15) in time for the onset of the dry season, and a time when officials could record observations of the state of the 'increasing number of half-castes' referring to children of mixed race parentage who 'should be removed from their surroundings to an institution where they could be taught trades and household work' (Government Resident Goldsmith 1903:17). Blanket distribution time became synonymous with the gathering of large numbers of Aboriginal people (NTAS record 8262:1898), at one count there were '310 men, women and children varying in ages from about 10 years to infants at the breast' (Dashwood South Australian Parliamentary Papers 1899/77:1-114). A sample of census data shows records were kept about which tribes were represented at blanket distribution time over several years and the gender, and number of adults or children present. Between 1899 and 1905 between twenty and thirty adult men and women and between 5 male and 2 female children who attended blanket distribution were identified as 'Larrakeeyah'; and between ten and twenty adult men and women and between four and eight male and as little as three female children who attended blanket distribution were identified as 'Southport Larrakeeyah' (NTAS record 10573:1899; NTAS record 8842:1899; NTAS record 8842:1900; NTAS record 8842:1901; NTAS record 8842:1902; NTAS record 8842:1903; NTAS record 8842:1904; NTAS record 8842: 1905). Expenditure on rations varied according to demand but officials eventually began to argue the government should 'discourage' distributing blankets to 'healthy Aborigines' (NTAS record 1482:1998).

6.5.3. *Land Theft*

The growth in numbers of non-Aboriginal people and the related growth in the area of country cleared to make way for new infrastructure and roads across the town grid meant Larrakia people continually moved places to establish camps. The settlers took exclusive possession of locations that included easy access to the best or most reliable sources of bush food and fresh water which excluded Larrakia people. But beyond the immediate town boundaries, beyond the Darwin hinterland, where ever settlers pushed through into remote country Aboriginal people resisted this push. Settlers noted that Aboriginal people in other regions of the Northern Territory had learnt from the experience of colonization through extensive clan networks of what happened in Port Darwin. They perceived Aboriginal sentiment to the invaders – they knew Europeans wanted land – but at the peril of their own survival (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, March 20, 1886). While Aboriginal resistance was inevitable, it was the way settlers perceived the motive behind it that influenced the severity of their reaction to it. In 1884 (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, October 4, 1884) an editorial published an expose of supposed ‘Outrages by the Blacks’. Fifteen years after the invasion, in reference to two allegedly murdered settler men by ‘... murdering ... savages... the editorial declared,

Backward the natives must move before the tide of civilization, or, if they will not give place peaceably, and show that their natures are as dangerous as the venomous serpent, even as every man will crush a snake under his heel, so must the hand of every man be raised against a tribe of inhuman monsters, whose cowardly and murderous nature renders them unfit to live.

Individual acts of Aboriginal resistance to invasion were cast as cold-blooded killing for no justifiable motive, and resistance to land theft was not perceived as justified either. In effect the newspaper advocated a vigilante style retribution, even going so far as to argue that such action ‘... should follow the offense promptly, *legal technicalities should be utterly dispensed with* (my emphasis) and a sharp lesson, administered while their hands are yet red with the blood of our plucky fellow colonists ...’ (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, October 4, 1884). The editorial saw itself as the advocate for the right of settlers to invade land in remote northern Australia without question. Occasionally, the odd correspondent would defend the right of Aboriginal people who committed ‘outrages’ defending their own sense of justice and violation. This argument considered it better to understand their motives and reasoning instead of ignoring potential lessons about how to avoid future conflict or bloodshed (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, March 20, 1886).

6.5.4. *Competition for Natural Resources*

Competition for natural resources began immediately after colonization, continuing throughout the decades and, as noted, commensurate with immigrant population growth Aboriginal resistance began to take the shape of overt acts of destruction of crops, theft or acts of vandalism (South Australian

Advertiser, 9 July 1880; Northern Territory Times, 31 July 1880). Larrakia people must have seen how the increasing settler population was unsustainable on natural resources and how those resources would deplete in no time, raising a threat to their own sustenance. Settlers though, were either ignorant or willfully blind to the impacts their wholesale consumption of bush resources had on either Aboriginal sustenance or the extinction of the resource itself. Instead they wrote of abundant 'Wildfowl, in the shape of geese, have been exceedingly plentiful in the past few weeks, and have afforded fine sport to our local knights of the trigger, who when business spares them are only to be found at Knuckey's Lagoon or on their road to it and back again...' the birds were '...distributed with great lavishness amongst our hungry townsfolk'. The scarcity or poor condition of introduced livestock meant settlers turned to local game to satiate hunger assuredly putting additional pressure on a resource also required for protein by Aboriginal people living on the fringe. It is more likely settler's hunting for geese weren't concerned with Aboriginal people's needs, and more concerned with their own 'Truly it is to be hoped that our feathered friends will not clear out now the wet season has made its appearance' (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, October 13, 1883). Competition with settlers over natural resources was a key cause of starvation among Aboriginal clans. Goyder hinted as much in 1869 when pondering the impacts of the invasion. He recommended the provision of reserves of land for clans to survive on. The issue of reserves was raised by officials regularly in their reports to the South Australian parliament (Wells 2003: 198-199). Ironically, if Aboriginal people had been forced to live on reserves, the natural resources would have been depleted within a short time. Reserves was never going to be the answer to competition over natural resources.

6.5.5. *Working for Settlers*

If settlers knew their intensive hunting was preventing Aboriginal hunting attainment they must have known why Aboriginal people wanted entry to the settlement to attain an alternative supplementary sustenance. Working for settlers since the earliest days was one strategy Aboriginal people had implemented for negotiating legitimacy in the town space (Wells 2003: 154, 157, 117). Their skill as laborers was admitted (Solomon South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 26 September 1899/77), even though settlers complained of the propensity of Aboriginal people to work for limited periods of time, usually to earn enough for a specific job, then leave until next time the necessity to work for sustenance rose again '...the native will not as a rule, remain permanently in any employment' (Governor Resident Dashwood 12 July 1898:5). Aboriginal people may have been cheap labor for settlers, but it was clearly a strategy of getting something Aboriginal people desired. However, whenever Aboriginal people were in town for reasons other than working they were not tolerated and not encouraged to be in town, particularly because in the early years of colonization settlers had no policy or legislative control over the activities or movements of Aboriginal people. Being in control of what Aboriginal people did, where they moved and how they lived was crucial to the success of dispossession and to colonialism.

Whenever Aboriginal people practiced, however modified for the specific circumstances, activities such as corroborees, settlers would scornfully dismiss them as a 'farce' for the 'curiosity' value of tourists aboard visiting ships (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, March 20, 1908).

The division of labor among Aboriginal men and women is seen in relative ignorance of cultural values of the status of each according to their customs. The literature is replete with references to the supposed laziness of Aboriginal men comparable to the women, while the women are classed as more reliable, or at least more willing to work for payment in rations or shillings. Aboriginal men were accused of 'doing a minimum amount of work for a maximum supply of food' (Knight 1891:2). Solomon, the government official based in Adelaide in South Australia, but who made sojourns to the settlement, was an aggressive advocate for attacking the right of Aboriginal people to be in the settlement at all,

The tribes that reside in the neighbourhood of the township are very lazy, and sometimes get sick of township life, and then they go away, perhaps to the coast for some special fishing, or to another place where they can get some special kind of game of which they are particularly fond, so that the European families who employ this labor are dependent just on those who happen to come along ...' and further 'this would be a hardship, not only on the European families settled in Port Darwin ... but also a hardship on the natives themselves, who are indebted to the whites for the little comforts which they could not otherwise get, and even for necessities in severe seasons' (South Australian Parliamentary Papers 1899/177, 26 September).

The questions of indebtedness reflected the pervasiveness of Social Darwinism of the time and its paternalism of bestowal, a philosophy of something like: now we have taken everything from you, be grateful for what we let you have.

6.6. Summary

Survivance for Larrakia people was experienced as a process of negotiating increasingly life-threatening circumstances created by a combination of invasion, land theft, competition for natural resources to sustain livelihood and regeneration, death from diseases or abuse, conditional tolerance of physical presence, media scorn of cultural practices and overt racism stemming from Social Darwinism. In these circumstances Aboriginal agency adapted negotiation to continuing to work for settlers while maintaining their own priorities. The implications of risking to withhold a resource of demand, their labor, was loss of supplementary sources to assuage hunger, but it is perceivable from the complaints of the settlers about unreliability of labor that the Larrakia people decided when and how they would control this resource. By upholding cultural autonomy, it signaled by the persistence of distinct cultural tradition and customs in the face of overt settler opposition. Larrakia defended the legitimacy of their

cultural inheritance and holding corroborees where and when they determined was an overt expression of that identity survivance.

6.7. Discussion and Conclusion

In relation to the model presented in this thesis, archive evidence supports inference about Aboriginal survivance. Aboriginal survivance facilitated socio-cultural material culture and identity autonomy.

As the boundaries of the settlement extended further inland simultaneously with the increase in the invader population, Larrakia adapted survival to both opportunity and loss of influence with the settlers. The example was given of their modifying their agency of labor contribution to signal to settlers they would not passively acquiesce to their increasing unreasonable demands. Although participating in the economy of the settlement as employees in a diverse range of occupations, this agency was evidence of survivance opportunity to transmit identity, it was not just about working to survive colonialism's impacts. In the milieu of rising tensions between the settlers and Larrakia, ethnohistoric evidence shows the continuity of Larrakia traditions, customs and cultural practices, across thirty years after first contact, in addition to the media recorded observations of corroborees and singing and dancing over a longer time period. In the face of opposition to settlers, such behavior was survivance modified to become emergent resistance to colonization. In spite of the loss of control over land the documentary evidence suggests Larrakia promoted their identity of autonomy as the original landowners which the settlers had to reckon with through exposure to continuity of cultural practices.

Aboriginal agency of resistance was demonstrated and discussed in this chapter. In the next chapter resistance is expanded upon in a contemporary context and manifests as behavioural defiance, even transgression.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

7.1. Introduction

This chapter is about the way Aboriginal resistance manifests in the long grass in contemporary Darwin. In terms of the model in Chapter Three this chapter will demonstrate that resistance has overlapped with Aboriginal transgression in the long grass and these two types of Aboriginal agency manifest as a behavioural disregard for accommodating or engaging non-Aboriginal people, both voluntarily, and in terms of negotiating survival of colonialism in contemporary Darwin. Significantly, this chapter also emphasizes the continuity of Aboriginal use of non-Aboriginal manufactured objects in a diverse range of utilitarian ways in the long grass in the present. This point reiterates that Aboriginal engagement is both on Aboriginal terms, for example in the innovative re-use of the predominant society's material culture for traditional purposes, and in terms of the re-use of such modified items in context of resistance and transgression in the long grass.

Hence, to conceptualize how Aboriginal resistance has morphed into transgression this chapter presents the analysis of the material remains of long grass camps in Darwin as reflecting that mutation. Twenty-eight camps in the long grass were studied for this thesis. One camp stood out as being different to the other twenty-seven. I argue this was the camp of a non-Aboriginal person based on the material evidence present compared to the material evidence present at other camps. As will be shown, the majority of camps in the long grass contained material evidence of their occupation by Aboriginal people. Therefore, this analysis is predominantly about the existence of Aboriginal people, not non-Aboriginal people, in the long grass.

Structurally, the chapter consists of two major parts. The first part begins with a description of each individual camp, with accompanying contextual information that portrays the distinctiveness of each on the basis of location and material contents. Description is written in such a way as to provide sufficient detail but not enable the public identification of any camps in order to protect the people in the long grass that contributed to this research. The second part discusses the material culture content of camps collectively. The second part also discusses the material assemblage from these camps in terms of its relevance to definitions in the model.

The analysis presented in this chapter needs to be understood in terms of the legal framework that prohibits a range of activities in the long grass. Under Darwin City Council by-laws on land under the control of the Darwin City Council, the physical manifestation of the following in the long grass are offences:

- 30 (1) Littering on public land;
- 42 Lighting fires or ‘burning or heating any material’;
- 46 (4) ‘A person who leaves or deposits...any glass’ on public land;
- 47 (2) (a) ‘deposit or permit the deposit of waste food, peelings, fruit or other vegetable matter’
- 47 (2) (c) ‘deposit or permit the deposit of garbage or other refuse’ on public land;
- 47 (3) ‘depositing or discharging water or other matter’ on public land;
- 99 (1) People ‘shall not, without a permit, erect or place a structure, whether of a temporary or permanent nature, on a public place’;
- 100 (1) ‘A person who stacks or stores goods ...in, on or over a public place’ is committing an offence;
- 102 ‘A person shall not, without a permit, on a public place...102 (a) use a musical instrument’ or (b) ‘use a musical instrument or any means of amplification’;
- 103 (b) erect a tent;
- 104 (1) leave shopping trolleys in public places; and in general
- It is an offence under 107 (5) to defecate or urinate in public places.



Plate 7.1. A sign by Darwin City Council prohibiting camping or sleeping in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

Every day in the long grass Aboriginal people transgress these by-laws which makes them susceptible to by-law 19, which is the ‘Power of arrest or removal’ or fines (<https://legislation.nt.gov.au/en/legislation/DARWIN-CITY-COUNCIL-BY-LAWS>).

7.2. Part One: Camps in the Long Grass



Plate 7.2. While it is illegal to camp anywhere in the long grass in Darwin this sign does not state that specifically. Photo: K. Pollard.

The sites that were recorded in the long grass occur in the northern suburbs of Darwin, along the coastal strip of Darwin, and in the rural areas near the hinterland of Darwin.

7.2.1. *Northern Suburbs*

Seven camps were recorded within walking distance of the Royal Darwin hospital. Camp 1 is located furthest from the hospital. Camp 2 was a distinct area within a hundred meters walking distance to the hospital. Camps 3 to 6 were recorded as discrete areas but because of their close proximity to each other, being connected by walking paths, they were deemed to be related to each other. Camps 3 to 6 were within two hundred meters of the hospital.

7.2.1.1. *Camp 1*

This was an abandoned camp located within rainforest, 200 metres from Casuarina Beach, and opposite private residences located approximately 100 metres away. The rainforest forms a corridor between the beach and this camp and provides shade and privacy. The beach is a source of fresh marine protein and a small pile of oyster shellfish remains were seen on the surface. The camp was approximately 10 square metres in area and the surface was overgrown with shrubs and grass and covered in fallen and wind-blown leaf litter but was discernible because patches of it were exposed within an opening in the rainforest. The remains of a faded tent were the only evidence of a structure that may have been used for shelter. The remains of adult size shorts, shirts and pants lay discarded and partially buried under surface debris of leaf litter and grass in one part of the camp. A slim foam mattress, white pillow, sheep skin rug and a piece of green felt lay strewn on the ground. The material remains on the surface were predominantly discarded food packaging and beer tin cans, plastic water bottles, wine cask bladders and beer bottles, along with a long metal steak knife. A deeply eroded creek borders it on one side and catches seasonal rainfall. This camp had not been used for a long time and is well hidden from the nearest road and residences. The hospital and public transport are within a kilometre walking distance of the site.



Plate 7.3. Remains of a pillow at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.4. Discarded adult sized clothes at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard



Plate 7.5. Discarded adult-sized clothes at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.6. Remains of tent at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.7. Tent poles at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.8. Discarded can of spirits at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.9. Discarded cans of 'MB' (Melbourne Bitter) beer brand at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.10. Discarded empty packet of potato chips at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard



Plate 7.11. Oyster shell and fragment of burnt wood at camp 1. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.2. *Camp 2*

This was located near the intersection of two roads: one that leads into the Royal Darwin hospital, and one that runs adjacent to the hospital and connects a suburb to the main shopping centre in the northern suburbs. The hospital is within 100 meters of the camp. Vegetation was sparse and large areas of the surface were exposed. A creek runs the length of the road adjacent to the hospital leading to the main shopping centre in the northern suburbs, and this creek bordered the camp on the western side. The camp was easily seen by pedestrians using the path to the hospital and passing motorists, its aspect gave no privacy. The nearest amenities, shop and transport are at the hospital one hundred metres away.

A surface area of exposed dirt with no vegetation had been used for sleeping. The evidence for this was a space on the ground, approximately one and a half metres square, upon which had been laid an opened and flattened plastic doona cover case. A plastic supermarket shopping bag filled with unidentifiable material was placed to one side of the plastic cover as though for a pillow. An adult nappy had been folded and placed at the root of a tree, bloody bandages (hospital/first aid type) also lay discarded. Tissues lay scattered across the surface, but it was not possible to tell if these had been discarded by the former occupant or if they were wind strewn from nearer the hospital. A yellow envelope was present, and a piece of paper stated the names of two people and flight details. A portable camping stove lay near the plastic shopping bag and discarded portable gas canisters lay near the stove. Three hearths were visible, one of which was near the space used for sleeping. There was no evidence of any materials used for constructing a shelter. Lying discarded on the surface was a plastic microwave-proof container, along with foam cups, cigarette packets, a hotel-guest size-container of marmalade.



Plate 7.12. View from camp 2 towards a patient care centre next to the Royal Darwin hospital. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.13. A creek that runs adjacent to camp 2 and adjacent to camps 3, 4, 5 and 6. A hearth is in the foreground. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.14. Re-use of a plastic doona cover bag placed on the ground as a material to sleep on and unidentifiable material placed where a person's head might lie at camp 2. A hearth is next to the makeshift bed. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.15. Abandoned portable gas stove at camp 2 (pictured left); gas cartridges for use in portable gas stove at camp 2 (pictured right). Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.16. Discarded tissue and bandage with blood residue and tissue at camp 2. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.3. *Camp 3*

This was located in bush on a nature strip and beside the same road that runs adjacent to the hospital. This camp was approximately thirty metres from camp 2 and is linked to camps 4, 5 and 6 by walking paths through the grass. Some parts of it were hidden from the view of residents in housing opposite. The nearest amenities, shop and transport were at the nearby hospital. Although this site was located in bush on a nature strip, seclusion was minimal. The creek that bordered camp 2 also bordered this camp on the north side. One area at the camp at the base of a pandanus tree had been used as a toilet and contained discarded toilet paper. This area was also overgrown with grass. Approximately five metres away there was a small mound of dirt measuring approximately 40 centimetres by 20 centimetres. This was defined by a border of pandanus nuts from pandanus trees that grow in abundance at the site. The nuts gave the mound a distinctive look. An upright cross made from twigs held together with manufactured fibre had been placed in the mound. The mound was not opened to reveal its content, but it had the appearance of a small grave.



Plate 7.17. Discarded used toilet paper at camp 3. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.18. Mound at camp 3 decorated with pandanus seeds and rocks. A cross has been made out of sticks and held together with non-Aboriginal manufactured fibre. The length of the mound was approximately 40cm. Photo: K. Pollard.

A metal grill, the type used for a BBQ, lay nearby. Approximately twelve metres away from the mound were faded traces of four hearths with remnants of ash discernible, one in association with fragments of long bum shellfish and pippi shells. Long bum shellfish are a mangrove species and pippis are a marine water species. The hearth containing the shellfish looked as though it had been swept 'clean' because the surface was visible as bare soil and, with the exception of scattered cigarette butts, contained no visible traces of vegetation or artefacts. Approximately thirteen metres north of the mound were small, square discarded pieces of foil burnt on one side. There was no evidence of any structures used for shelter at this camp.

7.2.1.4. *Camp 4*

This is part of camp 3 and was bordered by the creek on one side. The surface had the appearance of having been swept clean by tree branches and with the exception of scattered cigarette butts and a remnant of an old hearth of white ash there was very little material here. White ochre was found in the creek embankment adjacent to the camp.



Plate 7.19. A naturally occurring source of white ochre in the long grass near camp 4. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.5. *Camp 5*

This site was connected to camps 3 and 4 by paths and contained very little surface evidence. It was located in a bush on the same nature strip as camps 3 and 4 beside the same road that runs adjacent to the hospital. Amenities and public transport were available at the hospital. The area was overgrown with grass except for patches of bare soil exposing the remains of faded adult size clothing and a fabric cap. Near the clothing lay Salvation Army price tags to the value of \$1.99, discarded heart burn tablet blisters, and an improvised fishing line with hook.



Plate 7.20. A fishing line and hook made from a cotton reel at Camp 5. Oral evidence by Larrakia research assistants during field surveys suggest the re-use of the cotton reel in this way demonstrates innovation of a non-Aboriginal manufactured raw material for traditional cultural practices of hunting for marine protein. Photo: K. Pollard

7.2.1.6. *Camp 6*

This was connected to camps 3, 4 and 5 by paths. It was located in a bush nature strip beside the same road adjacent to the hospital. The main feature at this camp was a hearth constructed with a border of rocks and brick. The hearth was partially overgrown with grass, but no shellfish remains were visible on its surface. There was no evidence of any materials used for construction of a shelter.

7.2.1.7. *Camp 7*

This was located on land which is owned by the Department of Defence and which separates the Casuarina Coastal Reserve from the hospital grounds. Near the site was a six feet high cyclone fence which bordered the hospital grounds. This had been cut and peeled back in one place and allowed people at this camp to short cut through to the hospital residential area and access the hospital approximately a hundred metres away. Most of the camp was very secluded and could not be seen from the dirt road or nearby hospital residences. The camp was located near a dirt road which ran around the perimeter of the hospital grounds. Located in an area criss-crossed by eroded gullies and a dry creek bed, it was located on an undulating ground surface and covered an area of approximately ten square metres.



Plate 7.21. Camp 7 was located on government owned land. Photo: K. Pollard.

The material remains at this camp gave the impression it had been used intensively, for a considerable length of time and was still in use at the time of recording. The occupants had left numerous plastic bags and canvas bags containing diverse types of adult's and children's clothing. Some of these lay strewn on the surface, but most clothing was contained within the bags and was not removed or recorded in detail. The clothing that was clearly visible on the surface included sunglasses, belts, thongs, adult and children's sized shoes, and hats (caps). Tarpaulins for shelter lay slightly away from the clothing area, as did a metal shopping trolley. Materials for cooking, eating and storage of food included plastic knives and forks, metal cooking pots and pans and supermarket brand foil wrap were present. Materials for cleaning included 'Kleenex' brand wipes. Foods included supermarket brands of cereal, ice, ice

cream, peanut butter, tins of sardines and 'John West' brand tuna, tinned corned beef, tinned kidney pie, black plastic meat trays and numerous plastic water bottles and soft drink bottles. Items of personal identification were papers with people's names on them and bank account statements with names and financial details. Items of personal use included cigarettes and lighters, mobile phone sim card packets, rugs, toothbrushes, mosquito coils and magazines. Materials used for sleeping were foam mats, swags, sheets, blankets, and pillow cases. Most of the camp is very secluded and could not be seen from the dirt road or nearby hospital residences. Hearths were visible on the surface, some containing concentrated ash. Evidence for the consumption of alcohol included numerous discarded spirit bottles and beer and wine cartons, as well as a beer stubby holder and some wine cartons which had been flattened to sit on.



Plate 7.22. Materials for impromptu sleeping in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

Six camps were recorded within walking distance of the Darwin airport. All were located on nature strip vacant crown land. The camps were all located in urban bushland which was dissected by sealed roads leading into and away from the airport and residential suburbs.

7.2.1.8. Camp 8

This was located on a nature strip between two roads and was exposed to the view of passing motorists. Shops and public transport were located a hundred metres away. The camp covered an area of approximately six square metres. A tree gave shade over a small area, but there would have been no privacy for the occupants when sitting in camp during daytime. Discarded food remains included orange and mandarin peel, sardine tins, soup packets, tins of tuna, tins of baked beans, bread packets, plastic knives and forks and rusted tin cans of other processed foods, their brands unidentifiable. Personal items were a camping chair, adult size thongs, black sunglasses, and the burnt remains of an adult size shoe sole. A Salvation Army price tag lay near the thongs. The materials used for sleeping were a doona, which had been slung over a tree branch, and a quilt that had been cached in a black supermarket brand rubbish bag. A tarpaulin had been cached in a tree branch. Numerous empty water bottles, plastic six pack rings, fragments of beer cartons, and faded tin cans of spirits. Small square pieces of foil with no burn marks and a small plastic bag less than three square centimetres were also found on the surface.



Plate 7.23. Discarded Salvation Army clothes price tag at camp 8. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.9. *Camp 9*

This was located approximately 500 meters from camp 8 by walking distance. Although both were on the same continuous nature strip the occupants at either camp would not have been able to see other. Long grass around the perimeter of the camp gave it some privacy from motorists on the road and the camp was located within walking distance to shops and public transport. This camp lay on an exposed area of ground surrounded by tall trees, the surface undulated across the area and eroded gullies bordered its edge. It covered an approximately five-meter square area of ground surface and was bare of grass. Three hearths with concentrated ash were visible.

Diverse and numerous remains of food that had been eaten at the camp lay on the surface, such as a microwaveable plastic container of chilli oysters, tin of spaghetti, a wrapper for 'Mentos' brand lollies, a macadamia nuts packet, a hand sized carton for holding hot takeaway chips, a takeaway chicken zinger burger wrap, a takeaway box for Red Rooster chicken and Red Rooster plastic bag containing a napkin, a takeaway box for KFC chicken and a KFC brand packet for hand cleaner, a packet for containing beef jerky, packet for containing pepperoni processed meat, a black plastic meat tray for containing fresh meat like steak, chops or mince, a packet for containing hot takeaway meat pies 'Mrs Mac's Famous Meat Pie' brand, plastic container for oysters in BBQ sauce, 'pedigree with real chicken' brand of dog food, discarded eaten chops and chicken bones, 'Bawang Goreng' brand of two minute noodles spice packet, sardine tins, egg shells, plastic water bottles and soft drink bottles, tin can of savoury mince and vegetables brand and a plastic container of garlic mussels. Plastic knives and forks lay strewn near the food remains. A small round metal cooking pot and a purple plastic bowl lay near a tree at the camp. A silver tarpaulin and ropes lay together near the food remains. Discarded personal items included cigarette packets, lighters and match boxes, a pair of child's black track pants, a biro, fragments of an envelope, deodorant, sanitary pad, adult size denim jeans, a computer lead, a sunglass lense, phone credit receipt, adult size thongs, adult size green plastic shoes, discarded black supermarket type rubbish bags, discarded empty plastic packet for 'Quality Scissors', coins, discarded plastic money bags for containing \$50, \$20 and \$10 notes and a bus ticket. The use of alcohol at the camp was evident from the remains of wine and beer cartons. The wine cartons had been flattened and were near each other. Two small plastic bags about three centimeters square in size. Faeces were seen on the perimeter of the site away from the area where people sat on the flattened cartons.



Plate 7.24. Discarded packet of seasoning for two-minute noodles in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.25. Discarded KFC takeaway box in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.10. Camp 10

This was located on vacant crown land bordered by a road that leads to the Darwin airport. The camp was next to a creek within a rainforest corridor. It lay less than half a kilometre from the road and at the end of a dirt road which left the sealed road to the airport. The ground surface of the camp was compacted by vehicle use and covered with sandy soil. Faint traces of two separate hearths were visible, but they had not been used for a long time. Evidence of food consumption included an empty plastic takeaway food container and paper napkins. Tobacco papers for rolling tobacco and plastic shopping bags lay strewn around the site. There was no evidence of materials for constructing shelter. An abandoned plastic esky contained decomposing food remains, but the camp had been abandoned for a long time.

7.2.1.11. Camp 11

This was located next to a dirt road on the same area of vacant crown land as camp 10. Dirt roads traverse this area of crown land and terminate at creeks or other obstacles. This camp was next to a dirt road and was hidden from the view of motorists on the nearby sealed road leading to the airport. The airport is one kilometre away and the camp was within walking distance to shops and public transport.

The surface of the camp lay beneath leaf litter but was discernible in exposed patches. One hearth was visible but lacked ashes. Few remains were present but included a partial novel with the title 'Oscar and Lucinda' and a discarded brown paper supermarket bag. An industrial metal pole approximately six feet tall and embedded in a concrete base lay within a metre of the novel, and the bases of two brown glass bottles with manufacture marks had been placed in a tree-fork, similarly a marine coral net had been placed in the fork of another tree at the camp.

7.2.1.12. Camp 12

This lay on a slope of exposed ground and spanned a large area within woodland on the same area of vacant crown land as camps 11 and 12. This camp lay immediately adjacent to a main road leading to the city and near a busy traffic intersection. Airport accommodation, a hotel, government offices, a service station and public transport were all within a hundred metres of it. Three separate hearths were visible on the surface, with charred tree branches indicating their recent use.

The camp contained the remains of food and food storage, including a plastic container for holding fresh tomatoes, 'John West' brand tuna cans, baked beans tins, water bottles, eggshells and fragments of egg cartons, 'Dilmah' and 'Lipton' brand tea bags, used takeaway meat pie tomato sauce containers, two minute noodles spice packets, a 'Devondale' brand butter container, 'KFC' brand takeaway food

labels, rusty unidentifiable tinned food cans, fragment of unidentifiable food containers, long bum and oyster shells and supermarket brands of ‘OSO’ labelled foil. A discarded black tarp lay on the surface. Evidence for the use of alcohol included numerous fragments of beer, wine and spirit bottles and a ‘Renmano Premium Chardonnay’ brand takeaway wine carton. Red cap gun caplets lay on the surface.



Plate 7.26. Overview of ground surface at camp 12. Red gun caplets can just be seen on the ground (circled in red). Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.27. Toy red gun caplets at Camp 12. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.13. *Camp 13*

This was the largest and most complicated of all the long grass camps. It was inhabited by a white man and his Aboriginal wife who were at home at the time of site recording. It was located within a clearing in woodland on an area of land over approximately a 20 square metre area. The woodland surrounds gave the camp a natural ‘wall’ and ensures privacy. Access to the camp was via a dirt road that runs from a sealed road leading to the airport. Public transport is approximately 500 metres away.

The camp was internally spatially differentiated according to the activities undertaken there. So, there was an area for sleeping and this area was under the shelter of a tarpaulin strung between fixed points. The sleeping area was separate to the area used for preparing and cooking food. Another large cleared open space was used to store cleaning materials near a tree, such as a broom, rake, and dust brushes. The camp contained a diverse range of material bric-a-brac. Items used for shelter were tents and tarps strung with synthetic ropes between fixed points. A large ensemble bed contained sheets, blankets, pillows and doonas, as did a tent under the tarpaulin contain the same bedding items. A clothesline made from synthetic cord was strung between trees. Adult sized clothes, garments, sleeping bag and sheets hung from the clothes line. The camp also contained adult sized shoes. A generator lead led away from camp to a power source at another location in the bush. This lead was used to power electric fans at the camp. Rubbish was stored in shopping bags and placed in another area of the camp. A small table contained a diverse range of food items used in cooking and eating. A bicycle for riding to the nearest shops was tied to a tree.



Plate 7.28. Camp 13 in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.29. Fixed ropes at camp 13 enable lines to be used for hanging items. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.30. Note the ground has been cleared around the hearth and the pile of hearth ashes to the side at camp 13. Cooking-related paraphernalia is stored near the base of trees inferring delineation of space. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.31. Small table at with diverse food and cooking-related items at camp 13. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.32. Diverse cluster of cooking-related items at camp 13. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.1.14. Camp 14

This was located in tall grass and shrubs on a nature strip that runs for more than one kilometre alongside a main road connecting the area to a main shopping centre in the northern suburbs. It was hidden from the view of pedestrians using the walking path approximately fifty metres away and motorists using the road. It was located approximately three hundred metres from the waste recycle depot. The camp consisted of a few material items within a two square metre area. The camp was within one kilometre of public transport.

Personal items were the remains of a medicine bottle, a fragment of a glass jar, a leather glove, and a fragment of wooden furniture. Evidence for the use of alcohol at the camp included discarded 'VB' brand (Victoria Beer) beer cans and 'Jim Beam' scotch (spirit) bottles, and empty cartons of 'VB' brand beer and brands of sherry (wine). There was no evidence of materials used to construct shelter.

7.2.1.15. Camp 15

This was located in shrubs on the same nature strip as camp 14 and approximately half a kilometre away. The camp was approximately one kilometre away from shops and public transport in one direction, and approximately the same distance to the depot in the opposite direction.

Camp 15 was distinctive in that it consisted of an elongated cleared space on the ground surface approximately two square metres in area and was used as a space to sleep. The sleeping area had been delineated by tree branches laid on the ground. Its location in shrubs would have given seclusion to the occupants from pedestrians using a walking path twenty-metres away. An abandoned portable canvas esky contained the unidentifiable remains of food in association with discarded plastic bread packets. A large, heavy, flat rock had been placed at one end of the space used for sleeping and a flattened cardboard had been placed on the rock. Sheets lay on the ground surface of the same space. A large, heavy car engine part lay next to the rock and a metal BBQ type grill lay nearby. There was no evidence of materials used for construction of shelter.

7.2.2. Rural Area

Seven camps were recorded in the rural region of Darwin. All are within walking distance to public transport. Camp 16 was located on a nature strip of vacant crown land between two main roads, one leading to, and the other leading away from the city of Palmerston. The remaining camps were located in urban bush in hinterland that borders the city of Palmerston and the residential suburbs. Six of the camps were accessed via dirt road that left the sealed road bordering the city of Palmerston. Site 15 was accessed by sealed road and a walk across the nature strip.

7.2.2.1. *Camp 16*

This was located in bush on a strip of vacant crown land that separates two main roads leading into and out of the Darwin hinterland. Aboriginal people inhabited this camp. At the time of recording the bush around the camp had recently been burnt off and patchy regrowth of shrubs and grass made the camp easier to see from one of the sealed roads. The recent burn off also meant the camp was visible to pedestrians on a bicycle path that ran parallel to the site approximately twenty metres away.

Tents were positioned around the perimeter of the camp and there was a clearing in the centre with loose top soil, but little grass or other organic matter on the surface. The tents contained sheets, blankets and pillows and tarps were strung between trees using rope to give additional shelter. Materials for cleaning included a steel bucket and a rake. A diverse and numerous collection of materials were present for cooking, preparing and eating food, including a portable camping table, condiments, such as tomato sauce, BBQ sauce, tomato and onion pasta sauce and salt and pepper, two-minute noodles, rice, sugar, bread, billy cans, metal pots, metal pans, a BBQ grill with a pan on top containing recently cooked food, plastic containers, plastic plates and bowls, plastic cups, plastic and metal knives and forks and enamel cups. Evidence of alcohol consumption included beer cartons.



Plate 7.33. View of camp 16 with diverse materials. The faces of camp residents have been pixelated to protect their privacy. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.34. View of camp 16 showing a table that held condiments and diverse cooking related items. Photo: K. Pollard



Plate 7.35. Looking away from camp 16 towards bush, a shopping trolley is on the right. The remains of an old hearth can be seen in front of a blue bag containing rubbish. The rubbish has been stored on the perimeter of the camp. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.36. BBQ grill on hearth holding billy can with water at camp 16. A cooking pans contain a meal of two-minute noodles in water, a fry pan contains chops, onion and tomato and a billy can contains water to boil. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.37. Half a loaf of bread and other foods at camp 16. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.38. Small table with cooking-related items at camp 16. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.39. Tupperware box containing plastic cups next to plastic plates and bowls at camp 16. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.2. *Camp 17*

This was located on a stretch of vacant crown land extending for several kilometres which was covered in bush. The remains of a six-foot-high cyclone fence ran for an undisclosed length across the area of vacant crown land on which the camp was located. A dirt road runs parallel to the main road for a distance of two kilometres. The camp was approximately eighty metres from a sealed road which connects the rural hinterland of Darwin to the northern suburbs. Public transport was available at the sealed road. The camp was highly exposed to passers-by on the dirt road but would not have been visible to motorists on the sealed road. The ground surface around the entire camp was eroded, highly disturbed and bare soil.

The camp consisted of an erected tent for shelter next to a hearth which had charred tree branches on it, indicating a recent fire. Inside the tent a pair of adult size brown leather boots hung from the ceiling and clothes were folded and stacked neatly in one corner. A roll of toilet paper lay on the floor in the corner. A blanket and pillow were on the floor of the tent. A sofa chair was next to the hearth and a glass bottle of red wine was arm's length from the chair, a plastic water bottle lay near the hearth.



Plate 7.40. Discarded toilet roll, camp 17. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.3. *Camp 18*

This camp was located on the same stretch of vacant crown land as camp 16 but several hundred metres away. The dirt road which runs parallel to the sealed road connecting the hinterland of Darwin to the northern suburbs is the same dirt road within the vicinity of camp 16. Camp 17 was located a few hundred metres from camp 16 and is approximately fifty metres from the sealed road. The camp looked as though it had not been used for a long time, but if they had been there its occupants would have been visible to motorists on the sealed road and would have had little privacy from passers-by. Traces of two separate hearths were visible, but they had not been used in a long time. The camp contained an adult-sized thong, a cushion seat and a camping chair. Evidence for the use of alcohol included wine bladders. Public transport is available at the sealed road.

7.2.2.4. *Camp 19*

Camp 19 was located on the same stretch of vacant crown land as camp 17 but was several hundred metres away. The camp was approximately three hundred metres from the sealed road, it was secluded and could not be seen by motorists. Public transport was available at the sealed road.

The camp contained two steel frame beds, one mattress, sheets, a doona, blankets and sleeping bags. A synthetic cord was strung between tree branches as a clothes line and adult-sized shirts and pants hung from the line. Adult-sized shoes lay near one of the bed frames. A hearth contained a pile of ashes and an esky lay near the hearth. Evidence of food at the camp included tins of 'Heinz' brand spaghetti, eggshells, salt and pepper satchels, tin cans of bully beef, margarine containers, rusted tin cans of processed foods, and 'Coke' lemon and lemonade plastic soft drink bottles. Eating and cooking materials at the camp were a billy can, steel cooking pans and plastic bowls, cups, containers, serving dish and knives and forks. The camp also contained a pair of steel scissors, a pram and a steel bicycle frame. Health-related personal items were prescription medical tablets.



Plate 7.41. Camp 19 with two metal frame beds. Perhaps the bed in the foreground is the one slept in as it has been made and looks tidy compared to the other bed which does not look slept on. Note that a non-Aboriginal manufactured pram has been improvised by Aboriginal people with a crate to contain objects, and adult sized clothes were hung on a length of line between two pandanus trees. Metal bed frames were probably acquired from Darwin residents' annual clean-up and disposal before cyclone season begins. Two discarded 'VB' (Victoria Bitter) brand beer cans lay in the foreground. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.42. Camp 19 hearth with steel mesh, egg shells, partially opened tins of food, the burnt remains of tin cans and a plastic bottle filled with water. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.43. Looking toward camp 19 in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.44. The view from Camp 19 looking back towards the sealed road. The camp retained its privacy in the long grass from passersby or resident's houses in the distance. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.5. *Camp 20*

This was located on the same stretch of vacant crown land as camps 16, 17 and 18, and was several hundred metres away from camp 18. The camp was approximately six square metres in area and was exposed to the view of passing motorists. The camp was approximately twenty metres from a sealed road, on which public transport was available.

There was no sign of materials used for shelter at this camp. Evidence of food was plastic water and soft drink bottles and a carton of milk, a tin of steak and onion pie, a tin of steak and kidney pie, tins of bully beef, black plastic meat trays, tinned fish, coconuts and plastic knives and forks, and plastic plates. Tent poles used in shelter construction, clothes unidentifiable by gender, pieces of fabric, an adult-sized thong, a green shopping bag, sheets, a pillow and a canvas suitcase lay scattered across the area, as were numerous cigarette butts. The remains of oysters, long bum shellfish and turtle shell were scattered across the camp. The remains of alcohol were ‘Renmano Chardonnay’ brand of wine and ‘Tawny’ brand of wine, wine bladders, beer bottles and beer cans.



Plate 7.45. Remains of a turtle eaten in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.6. *Camp 21*

The camp was located next to the same dirt road in the vicinity of camp 19. The camp was approximately ten metres from the sealed road. Public transport was available at Chung Wah Terrace. This camp was exposed to the view of passing motorists and had not been used for a long time. Materials used for shelter construction were the remains of two tents, a tarpaulin and tent poles. Sheets lay on the ground. An upside-down laundry basket contained clothes and a black leather belt lay next to it. Rusty tin cans of unidentifiable food and plastic knives and forks lay scattered on the surface.



Plate 7.46. Upside down laundry basket with clothes and black leather belt next to it near camp 21. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.47. Discarded tent pegs in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.7. *Camp 22*

The was located on the same nature strip as camp 20 and was accessed via the same dirt road. Access was available by crossing a deep gully adjacent to the dirt road. The camp was ten kilometres by sealed road from the Darwin River in the Darwin hinterland. Public transport was available at the sealed road approximately 300 metres from the camp.

Three separate hearths were visible on the surface of the camp, one had a pan with damper cooking on a fire, two others had concentrations of ash but were not actively being used. Two large mud mussels lay on the ground next to the pan with the damper in it. Shelters at the camp consisted of a lean-to made from fallen tree logs and tree branches and sarongs hung over the top. Another structure consisted of plastic and canvas tarpaulins strung with ropes between trees to give cover and shade. Mattresses lay underneath both structures with blankets, sheets and pillows on top. Towels were hung over tree branches. Adult sized and children's sized clothes, shoes and canvas bags lay near the structures. Cigarette butts littered the camp, but the ground on which the structures sat was clear of ground vegetation. Foam mattresses near the actively used hearth were being sat on by people staying at the camp at the time of recording. Evidence for the use of alcohol was 'VB' (Victoria Beer) brand beer cans and wine bladders. Potato chip/crisp packets and plastic water bottles lay on the ground in the camp. A car muffler lay near the camp on one edge.



Plate 7.48. Overview of camp 22. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.49. Mud mussel and cooking pan at camp 22. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.50. Rubbish discarded away from the living area of camp 22. Photo: K. Pollard.

Four camps were recorded in urban bush and mangroves in the vicinity of Charles Darwin University in the northern suburbs of Darwin. Two of the camps were highly visible due to their exposed location on the edge of mangroves, and two were hidden in mangroves. The camps were all accessed via dirt roads that traverse the campus.

7.2.2.8. *Camp 23*

This was located within mangroves on the edge of a walking track and beside a main road that runs from the northern suburbs to the city. The mangroves gave the camp seclusion and privacy from the view of pedestrians walking on a dirt track a few metres from the camp. A creek tributary runs beside the camp to the beach approximately 200 metres away. To access the beach the occupants of the camp would have to take a walking path less than 100 metres away and the beach would be about a twenty-five-minute walk via this route. Public transport was a hundred metres from the camp.

The ground surface of the camp was compacted mud and damp. A fireplace was visible on the surface and had been recently used. The remains of shellfish lay scattered on the ground near this hearth, which had piles of ash indicating use. A blue 'Kleenex' brand towel wipe and cloth tea towel lay near the hearth. The camp contained a flattened cardboard box for sitting on, a camping chair, and a fallen tree log. Near the hearth were the remains of discarded tin cans of fish, tin cans of corned beef and a metal cooking pot. Bush food at the camp was the remains of mud mussel, oyster and long bum shellfish. Approximately four metres away from the hearth a sheet and blanket lay on the ground and a hospital grade heart monitor patch and yellow purse lay near this. A bag was cached in shrubs near the area used for sleeping. Evidence of the use of alcohol at the camp was beer can ring pulls, wine cartons and wine bladders. A small blue plastic rosary beads hung from a tree branch very near the area used for sleeping.



Plate 7.51. Small blue plastic rosary beads hung from a tree in mangroves at camp 23. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.9. *Camp 24*

Like camp 23, camp 24 was located next to a walking track. Public transport was approximately 100 metres away. The camp was barely visible because of leaf litter and it was difficult to discern its spatial extent. As a result, only larger objects were discernible including two discarded CD music players. A steel cooking pan lay about two metres away and plastic knives and forks and a plastic bottle of lemonade soft drink were also visible at the camp.



Plate 7.52. Two discarded music players at camp 24. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.53. Steel cooking pan and old hearth at camp 24. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.2.10. *Camp 25*

This was located within mangroves and bordered by the same tributary that runs beside camp 22 as it meanders to the beach approximately 300m away. Access to the camp was via a dirt track that left the sealed road into Charles Darwin University. The track is known to be used by local fisherman to drive into the mangroves to fish and lay crab pots. The camp was located off the dirt track and down a steep slope, making it secluded and very private from observation. Public transport is approximately 500m away on the university campus.

Traces of two separate hearths were visible on the surface but these looked as though they had not been used for a long time. Evidence of the use of alcohol at the camp included wine bladders, beer cans, brown glass beer bottles, clear glass spirit bottles. Plastic 'Coke' and 'Fanta' soft drink bottles lay scattered at the camp. Food remains were rusted tin cans of unidentifiable processed meat, potato chips/crisps packets, small 'Popper' brand cartons of juice, and small tubs of takeaway tomato sauce.

7.2.2.11. *Camp 26*

This was located in front of mangroves and the same creek tributary that runs beside camps 21-25. The camp was on vacant crown land and public transport was approximately 150m away. Eight faded individual hearths were recorded across an approximately six square metre area and the remains of shellfish, including long bum, were noted in association with some hearths. The camp contained an abandoned ensemble bed mattress.

7.2.3. Coastal Strip

7.2.3.1. Camp 27

This was located on the shoreline in mangroves in the northern suburbs. Access to the camp is via a quiet residential street at the end of which is a nature strip and walking path used by cyclists and pedestrians. Beyond the nature strip pedestrians can step onto the shoreline at low tide in mangroves. The camp was no more than two square metres in area and consisted of a cardboard box which had been flattened to sit on. The remains of a plucked Magpie Goose (*Anseranas semipalmata*) lay near the cardboard box. The other main feature was a hearth containing a pile of ashes and the bone remains of a cooked animal.



Plate 7.54. Remains of a meal of plucked Magpie Goose (*Anseranas semipalmata*) at camp 27. Magpie goose is a prized source of terrestrial protein among Aboriginal people in Darwin. Note the flattened wine box at rear of photo and a flattened beer can of beer 'VB' brand beer, near the remains. Plausibly, someone used the cardboard box to sit on and drank a can of beer while they plucked the goose to cook. The hearth the animal was cooked on is out of shot. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.3.2. Camp 28

This was located on vacant crown land behind dunes at a popular local beach not far from the city. It is visible to motorists and pedestrians who access the beach via a nearby car park. Public transport is within walking distance and fresh drinking water was obtainable from nearby public toilets. A large tree was in the centre of the camp and gave shade. A person was asleep in this tent at the time of recording. A foam mattress lay near the tent and a shopping trolley also lay near the camp. Personal items included adult sized clothes, adult sized shoes, reusable green shopping bags containing clothing

and a canvas travel suitcase lay around the camp. Some personal belongings were cached in a tree. At the time of recording people sat on plastic chairs. Evidence of food consumption included plastic food containers, plastic knives and forks and a metal cooking pot.



Plate 7.55. Cache of personal belongings in a tree-fork at camp 28. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.2.4. Summary

Twenty eight camps were recorded in the long grass in Darwin during archaeological surveys. Some were isolated, while others were linked through connecting paths. These illustrated a range of different occupation types (individuals to groups, adults and children, male and female) and time periods as some were recent and some not. The material content of fringe camps was diverse and their different internal spatial disposition where it was definitive reflected the ways people used them for a range of activities. Significantly some material remains had been modified and re-used in ways consistent with Aboriginal cultural practices such as hunting for marine or terrestrial protein or signifying the loss of something important. Overall, these fringe camps contain the evidence of a way of life on the margins of Darwin society.

7.3. Part Two: Analysis of the Long Grass

In this section the long grass data is analyzed in terms of the theoretical model and definitions outlined in Chapter One. The material evidence suggests that the presence of Aboriginal people in the long grass in the Darwin region occurs more on Aboriginal terms than the terms of non-Aboriginal people. This includes aspects of both resistance and transgression. First, by inhabiting the long grass Aboriginal behavior more strongly aligns with resistance. This includes the categories defined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 544) as overt resistance, covert resistance, missed resistance and attempted resistance. Second, many of the behaviours outlined in this chapter can be characterized as transgression defined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 544) as target-defined transgression, and externally-defined transgression. Before illustrating this argument with material evidence of Aboriginal autonomy that supports resistance and transgression it is useful to reiterate the concepts in the model.

7.3.1. *The Model*

The model developed in this thesis is informed by Hollander and Einwohner (2004) which identified eight forms of resistance in social science research. In Chapter Three, these were re-categorized as five forms of resistance and three forms of transgression. The eighth category, ‘no resistance’, was eliminated for the purposes of this research for two reasons. The first is that ‘no resistance’ is not applicable to the contemporary circumstances of Aboriginal people in long grass fringe camps as the material evidence does not support this definition. Second, because the historical circumstances of Aboriginal resistance over one hundred and thirty years in the Darwin region is analyzed in terms of engagement, accommodation and survivance, ‘no resistance’ is a category that has no relevance to that history for the majority of the time.

7.3.2. *Types of Resistance*

7.3.2.1. *Overt resistance*

An example of overt resistance, as defined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 545), is given in Plate 7.56 which is a context of homelessness in Hawaii. It depicts homeless people camping directly beneath a sign that says “Keep Out. Government Property”. By making a camp for homeless people directly behind the sign it is evidence of overt resistance.



Plate 7.56. Overt resistance by homeless people in Hawaii, May 2018. Photo courtesy of Jo Smith.

In comparison, no material evidence of overt resistance was found in the long grass in Darwin, but the question is why? I argue the answer relates to the levels of racism and discrimination that Aboriginal people endure on a daily basis in the Northern Territory (Smith et al 2017; Doel-Mackaway 2017: 76-112) in a variety of daily circumstances where Aboriginal people are simply living their lives. I argue Aboriginal people prefer not to attract unwanted attention from authorities. On the contrary, what is perceivable are acts of racism imposed on Aboriginal people on a daily basis by authorities and by citizens in Darwin society that meet the definition of overt resistance. Examples of such acts have been recorded by archaeologists (e.g. Ralph and Smith 2014) and others (e.g. Hinkman and Altman 2007).

7.3.2.2. *Covert resistance*

Material evidence of covert resistance in this study include virtually all the remains left behind in the long grass, such as food scrap littering, sleeping paraphernalia, cooking paraphernalia, eating in the long grass, possessing a diverse range of material personal items, materials to make shelter with, evidence of transport, smoking, entertaining in the long grass (including outside of designated areas and designated times), health-related self-care, personal hygiene and toileting (which is perceived to be anti-social) in the long grass and clothes and accessories for wearing.

The following tables illustrate the material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass. This is followed by discussion of the reasons this material evidence fits the definition of covert resistance in the model.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Bed Frame																			X									
Mattress													X						X			X				X		
Foam Mat	X						X		X							X												
Swag							X																					
Sleeping Bag													X				X		X									
Sheet							X						X		X	X			X	X	X		X					X
Blanket							X									X	X		X			X	X					X
Doona								X					X			X			X									
Pillow	X												X			X	X			X		X						X
Pillow Case							X								X													
Fabric													X															X
Sun Bed													X															
Ensemble Bed													X															
Yoga Mat																												X

Table 7.1. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass – sleeping.

As recorded in Table 7.1, in the long grass ‘beds’ are swags, sleeping bags, foam mats, ensemble mattresses, rugs, sheets, blankets and flattened plastic or cardboard materials. Some of these materials are shop bought, others are not. The beds found at long grass camps provide insights into acquisition. During the tropical ‘Wet’ season every year city authority’s launch an awareness campaign directed at Darwin residents about the oncoming ‘cyclone season’. Between September and October residents are required to place unwanted household goods or objects on the kerbside for pick up by city council services for recycling and disposal. It is not uncommon for these goods to sit on the kerbside for days, even weeks, until authorities have had time to collect at every residence. This process is an opportunity to people in the long grass to obtain some much-needed goods for their own ends. This is why large items are found in long grass camps such as double ensemble mattresses, foam mats, steel bedframes, items like BBQ grills, rugs, tarpaulins, ropes, pool table felt, suitcases, plastic crates, laundry baskets, plastic buckets, rakes, camping chairs, plastic chairs, lounge chairs, lounges, and 184 jerry cans. In addition to large items, there are a myriad of small items related to day-to-day living.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Butane Canisters		X																										
Portable Gas Stove		X											X															
Hearth		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Steel Grills			X										X		X	X			X									

Table 7.2. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass – cooking related

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Steel Knife	X												X			X						X						
Steel Fork													X			X						X						
Plastic Knife							X		X										X	X	X			X				
Plastic Fork							X	X	X										X	X	X			X				
Metal Knife																X												
Metal Fork																X												
Wooden Utensil													X															
Wooden Dish													X															
Stainless Steel Utensil													X															
Plastic Bowl							X		X							X			X									
Plastic Plate							X						X			X				X			X					
Metal Dish													X															
Metal Pan																X						X						
Stainless Steel Pot													X															
Stainless Steel Pan													X															
Metal Kettle													X			X												
Paper Cup							X						X						X									
Plastic Cup																X												

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

[illegible]

Table 7.3. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - food and drink related.

Material	Camp Number																												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
Tin Can Food	X						X	X				X	X						X	X	X	X	X		X				
Food Container	X	X					X		X	X		X	X			X			X	X			X		X				X
Plastic Food Wrapper	X								X			X			X	X						X			X				
Foil							X	X	X			X	X			X													
Plastic Bottle		X					X	X				X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X	X					
Paper Supermarket Shopping Bag											X		X			X													
Glass Jar													X	X		X													
Cardboard	X				X		X	X	X			X	X						X			X			X	X			
Metal Ring Pull								X	X											X			X						

Table 7.4. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - food packaging.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Plastic Bottle Lid							X	X	X			X	X	X						X			X		X			
Glass Jar Lid							X	X	X			X			X													
Tin Can Lid								X						X						X								

Table 7.5. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - food container lids.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Adult size pants	X								X				X			X	X		X									X
Adult size shorts	X												X															X
Adult size shirts	X				X								X		X	X	X		X									
Adult size shoes							X	X	X			X	X			X	X	X	X			X						X
Adult size sarongs													X			X						X						
Children size pants									X																			
Children size shoes							X																					
Hats							X																					
Caps					X																							
Leather gloves														X														
Belts							X																					
Sunglasses								X	X																			
Combs									X																			

Table 7.6. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - personal wear.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Cardboard Box														X														
Polyestrene Box													X															
Plastic Crate													X			X												
Laundry Basket													X								X							
Plastic Bucket							X																					
Carry Bag (canvas)							X																					
Carry Bag (suitcase)							X																					
Shopping Basket																X												
Rubbish Bag								X	X				X			X		X					X					X
Plastic Bag	X	X					X			X					X	X			X		X	X						

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Plastic Money Bag									X																				
Esky (hardcover)										X			X			X			X										
Esky (softcover)															X														
Wooden Table													X																
Portable Camp Table																X													

Table 7.7. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - storage containers.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Tent	X												X			X	X											X
Tent Slip	X																											
Tent Pole	X															X	X			X	X							X
Tarp								X					X			X					X	X						
Tarpaulin																						X						
Branches/Log																						X						
Rope													X			X												

Table 7.8. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - shelter.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Personal																												
Bike													X															
Pram																			X									
Shopping Trolley							X									X												X
Public																												
Bus ticket receipt									X																			

Table 7.9. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass- transport.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Cigarette Packet		X					X	X	X			X								X		X				X		X
Ash tray													X			X												
Lighter							X		X																			
Match								X																				
Match Box							X																					
Tobacco Paper										X																		

Table 7.10. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - smoking.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Music																								X				

Table 7.11. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - entertainment.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Adult Nappy		X																										
Prescription Medicine																			X									
Heart Monitor Patch																							X					
Bandage		X							X																			
Tissue		X																										
Heartburn Tablet					X																							
Medicine Bottle Cap														X														
Prescription Medical Creams																X												
Prescription Medical Tablets																			X									
Cotton Ear Bud			X																									

Table 7.12. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - health related.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Sanitary									X																			
Toothbrush							X																					

Table 7.13. Material evidence for covert resistance in the long grass - personal hygiene.



Plate 7.57. A child's sized thong in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

Covert resistance also includes health-related self-care in the context of exercising personal autonomy on lands that are controlled by non-Aboriginal people. Nine camps in the long grass contained evidence of medical treatment or personal health-related self-care. Four of these camps are within walking distance to the hospital. Five camps however, are located less than five kilometers from the hospital, but which is still a significant distance.



Plate 7.58. Discarded unused and used ear buds near the Royal Darwin hospital. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.59. Partial remains of chemist brand packet containing heartburn tablets. Photo: K. Pollard.

Camps nearer the hospital with material evidence of health-related self-care is suggestive of people who have either been discharged after admission, or who are waiting to access the hospital. Oral evidence from Aboriginal people staying in the long grass behind the hospital confirmed that people with medical conditions, as well as those who are in-patients at the hospital, choose to camp in the long grass nearby for convenience and to save the money, time and energy it would require to travel to the hospital from a distance. A lack of accommodation within and near the hospital and the cost of non-hospital accommodation were also stated as reasons people chose to camp in the long grass near the hospital. An Aboriginal hostel, which is a short-term accommodation option for Aboriginal people in Darwin, is within walking distance to the hospital, but accommodation for hospital patients is rarely available there (June Mills personal communication June 2011), which supports oral testimony from people in the long grass about their preferences for alternative non-conventional accommodation.

Material evidence at camps that are the furthest from the hospital suggest that people either still access medical services in the suburbs near where they camp or travel the distance from the hospital to the camp with health-related care supplies. Overall, however, the evidence at all nine camps with medical self-care evidence suggests that people with illness or injury, out of necessity take the items needed to care for their health conditions into the long grass. The material remains of toothbrushes and sanitary pad at long grass camps suggests caring for aspects of personal hygiene while staying in the long grass was important to some people. The evidence of toothbrushes also suggests some people like to maintain oral health even in reduced circumstances.



Plate 7.60. A discarded, but potentially still usable toothbrush (shown left); a discarded, broken handle of an unusable toothbrush (shown right). Photo: K. Pollard.

7.3.2.3. *Missed Resistance*

According to the definition of missed resistance by Hollander and Einwohner (2004:546) the long grass is not a secret society. However, it is a place that is inhabited predominantly by Aboriginal people whose camps are kinship oriented (Day 2006) where members' behaviour is accessible to fellow kin but largely inaccessible to non-Aboriginal people. The material evidence of missed resistance in this study is the evidence of alcohol consumption and the paraphernalia for drug use in the long grass. This is overt resistance when undertaken in public areas, however, this is not always the case because some sites are chosen for privacy to consume alcohol or drugs.

Table 7.14 and Table 7.15 illustrate the material evidence for missed resistance in the long grass. This is followed by discussion of the reasons why this material evidence fits the definition of missed resistance in the model.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Beer (glass)	X											X			X					X					X			
Beer (can)	X							X							X					X		X			X			
Beer (carton)								X																				
Beer (plastic 'six pack' holder)									X																			
Wine (bladder)	X							X			X							X		X	X	X	X		X	X		
Wine (carton)	X							X	X			X						X		X		X	X		X	X		
Wine (bottle)																	X											
Spirit (can)	X																				X				X			
Spirit (bottle)												X		X							X				X			
Spirit (carton)														X														

Table 7.14. Material evidence for missed resistance in the long grass - alcohol.

Material	Site Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Foil (burnt)			X																									
Plastic Bottle (with hole)	X							X	X																			
Small Plastic Bag								X																				

Table 7.15. Material evidence for missed resistance in the long grass - drugs.

7.3.2.4. *Attempted Resistance*

As defined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004:546) evidence for attempted resistance in this study was toileting or having sex in the long grass in the form of disposed toilet paper, human faeces and discarded condoms. Toileting evidence in the long grass was found at two sites. And while used discarded condoms were seen in the long grass they did not occur in the twenty eight camps recorded for this study. Hence the material evidence of attempted resistance in the long grass exists but it is not as widespread as the material evidence for the other demonstrations of resistance illustrated by material remains.



Plate 7.61. Discarded partial used dirty condom. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.3.2.5. *Resistance: Discussion*

The material remains of alcohol consumption occurred at 44% of the sites in the long grass. This suggests drinking is an activity that is widespread and deliberate. The relationship between these remains and the location of camps and commercial or licensed outlets that sell alcohol was perceived as incidental, not direct, since these remains were seen at sites that were both close to, and far away from commercial sources of alcohol supply. As Table 7.14 shows there was more evidence of beer consumption than wine or spirits. This choice may reflect the relative affordability of beer relative to

wine or spirits, the greater availability of one over the other, or simply a preference for one type of alcohol over another.

Drinking in the long grass has been discussed as one reason Aboriginal people from remote regions of the Northern Territory choose to come to Darwin (Memmott et al. 2003: 6). The range of theories about why Aboriginal people drink in the long grass exists on a spectrum, inclusive of populist sensationalism to academic logic. One scholar with an historically long, activist and professional association with long grass Aboriginal people posits that drinking in the long grass is an act of resistance to the values of the dominant society's views in Darwin about behaviour in public spaces by Aboriginal people (Day 2002). Another angle on a resistance perspective is that drinking in the long grass is an act of necessity because Aboriginal people are denied entry to mainstream public bars in Darwin (Spencer 2005: 179). Popular media evoke emotive and condemning rhetoric about Aboriginal drinking for example with headlines touting a 'transparent campaign of moral sanction and censure' to assert 'moral panic' among the broader community when Aboriginal people drink in public spaces (Fisher 2012:173). In response to populist scaremongering authorities attend to the perceived 'deviance' of this behaviour through a multitude of legal measures that in practice impact Aboriginal people discriminately and punitively (Holmes and McRae-Williams 2008; Spencer 2005: 180-181). As Spencer argues (2005: 181-184), 'derogatory stereotypes about Aboriginal drinking' are a 'key element in the construction of urban Aborigines in Darwin...while [at the same time] Australians affirm their place on higher moral ground'. To illustrate this argument Spencer points out the 'racist' hypocrisy of what he labels 'paternalism' by citing the annual celebration of the Beer Regatta at Mindil Beach in Darwin city which rewards Australians for the design and other characteristics of water craft made out of empty beer cans.

Aboriginal drinking at camps in the long grass in Darwin has a history as long as the European colonization of the region (Northern Territory Times and Gazette, October 1876; Memmott and Fantin 2001; Wells 2003), but white criticism and condemnation of the behaviour has an equally long history (Northern Territory Times, Friday 14 December 1900; Pilbrow 2007: 12-13). The argument by the Aboriginal lawyer Noel Pearson (2000 in Spencer 2005: 185) that white Australian's views of Aboriginal drinking in urban centers is that it reflects the 'corruption of Aboriginal culture' is meaningless without reference to the intergenerational impacts of invasion history, why colonization is a relevant factor behind drinking behavior in the present or why that behaviour has become transgression in spite of punitive punishment and consequences. The relationship between invasion history and Aboriginal drinking behaviour is not understood in these terms by non-Aboriginal Australians.

Drinking alcohol in the long grass in Darwin in zones not designated as legal places to consume alcohol is an illegal act by decree of the *Northern Territory Liquor Act 2015*. Since the Commonwealth

Government's *Northern Territory Intervention Act 2001*, drinking alcohol in 73 prescribed remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory is also an illegal act.



Plate 7.62. This same sign can be found outside of the Knuckey's Lagoon town camp. Photo: Christoph Behrends (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/69722073@N06/7392063912>).

In Darwin's northern suburbs the archaeological evidence for Aboriginal people consuming alcohol in the long grass is not limited to the four designated areas permitted by Darwin City Council (www.darwin.nt.gov.au/council/laws-and-laws/alcohol).

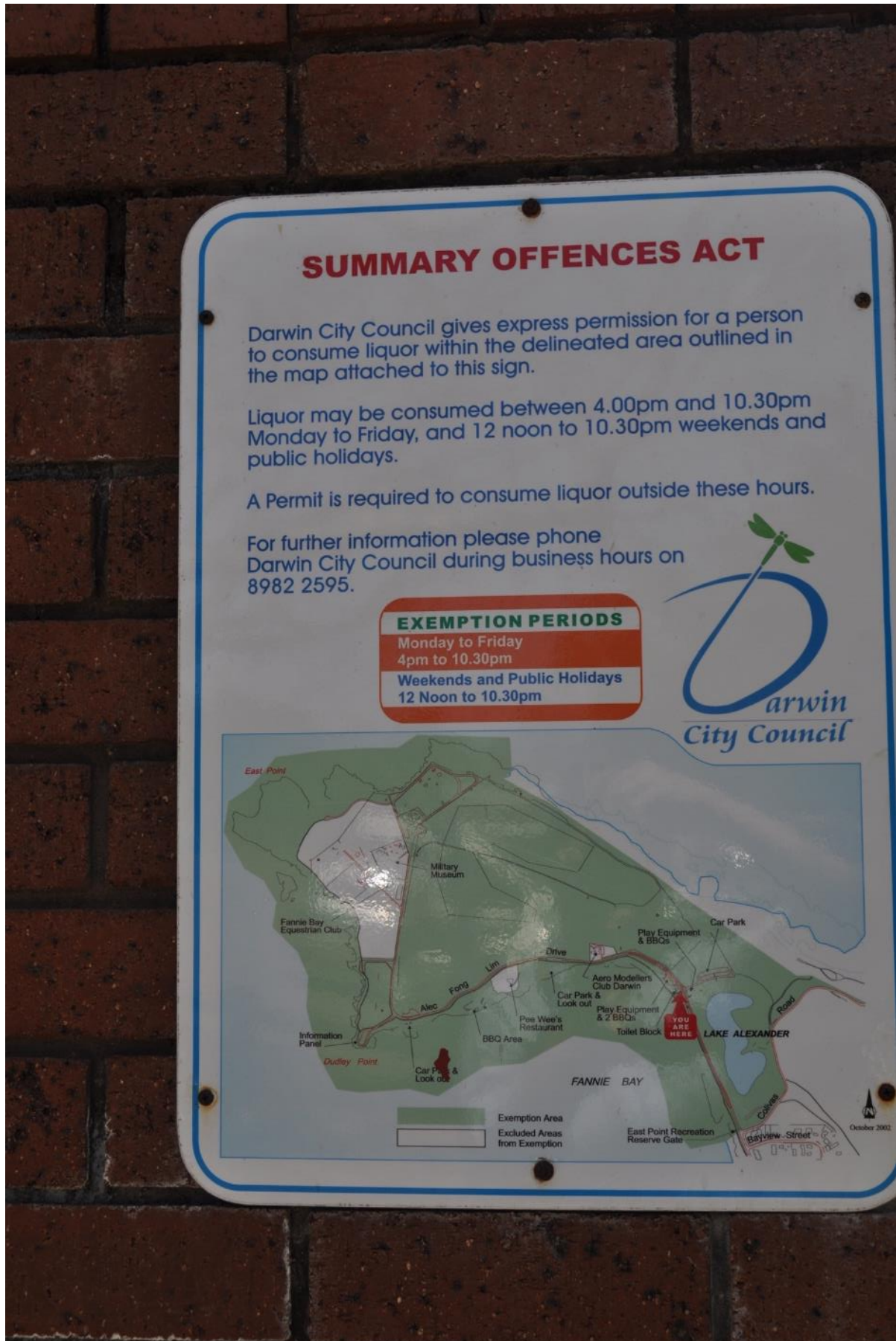


Plate 7.63. Darwin City Council notice of designated drinking zones between certain hours. Photo: K. Pollard.

These designated areas are places where, between certain daytime hours, it is legal to drink alcohol in public places. The Northern Territory legislation makes it an illegal act to drink alcohol anywhere else in public. Since it is an offence to drink anywhere other than designated zones between certain times in public spaces that equate with the long grass, and because Aboriginal people are denied entry to licensed premises, it begs the question: where can Aboriginal people in Darwin drink? Harris argues that by-laws and alcohol-free zones operate within spaces that coincidentally correspond spatially with the areas Aboriginal people frequent in the long grass. And, because Aboriginal people continue this activity in spite of the threat of punitive legal consequences, Harris (2003: 73) construes such acts ‘as a connection to place that is premised upon resistance and survival’, the inference being that Aboriginal people’s sense of belonging to place is stronger than a concern with transgression for expressing that connection. I argue that the material evidence of drinking demonstrates resistance by Aboriginal people to political, legal and social attempts to discriminate against them or make them conform to the predominant culture’s values and that Aboriginal autonomy is the agency of such resistance. To date, no government policy or legislation has made Aboriginal drinking in the long grass cease.



Plate 7.64. Abandoned drinking camp in the long grass. A child's teddy bear lies in the background. Photo: K. Pollard.

Six camps in the long grass contained material evidence of drug taking and the evidence itself – plastic bongs, burnt foil and small plastic bags, suggest that at the least, marijuana and some other kind of drug, possibly heroin, although no syringes were found in association with the burnt foil evidence, were used in the long grass. In one qualitative evidence-based study about the relationship between homelessness and drug use, the authors noted significant gaps in knowledge about the prevalence of drug use among homeless people, the lack of data on the amounts of drugs or other substances used by the homeless, and how are homeless people with drug addiction supported if homeless (O'Toole et al 2004).

Within archaeology, studies of the material evidence of drug use are few. In Kiddy's homelessness research in York in the United Kingdom, participatory methodology enabled homeless people to collaborate on the research. Kiddy wrote (2014: 176) of the 'difficult dilemma' she faced about how to 'present ... illegal or "anti-social" contemporary activities' resulting from archaeological material evidence such as the use of illicit drugs at homeless sites'. Kiddy did not elaborate on how this dilemma was resolved but did raise the issue of how archaeologists using collaborative approaches must negotiate participant confidentiality, ethics, the law and the publication of research findings.

It has been shown that trauma like sexual assault and domestic violence, especially among women, is directly associated with drug and alcohol use among homeless people (Padgett and Streuning 1992). With direct relevance to the long grass, Holmes and McRae-Williams (2008) reported as a high incidence the number of Aboriginal people in the long grass with post-traumatic disorder related mental illnesses. A contributing factor to Aboriginal trauma in the Northern Territory has been the ongoing intervention of the Commonwealth government (2007) in remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory. The government-imposed embargos on Aboriginal personal freedom of choice in communities influenced waves of Aboriginal people to leave remote communities, some of who end up in the long grass in Darwin (Holmes and McRae-Williams 2008). I argue the material evidence of alcohol consumption in the long grass is evidence of Aboriginal people exercising freedom of choice to drink alcohol because it is illegal to do so in their home communities, and many of those who do so have trauma/mental health-related issues.

Research shows that a majority of people who stay in the long grass are of Aboriginal descent (Memmott and Fantin 2001). Research has also shown the strong direct relationship between being Aboriginal and mobility as being driven by cultural factors and the high incidence of mobility among Aboriginal people as directly related to the maintenance of relationships with kin (Memmott et al 2003). These findings all suggest a relationship between being Aboriginal and staying in the long grass is related to the cultural value of wanting to see, or be near kin, when in Darwin. These findings insinuate the importance to Aboriginal people of family networks. While the material evidence in the long grass is interpreted to reflect resistance and transgression to the values of the predominant society by

Aboriginal people, the evidence is not interpreted to reflect the behavior of people who are disconnected from Darwin society unlike the homeless people studied in O'Toole et al (2004). The material evidence suggests Aboriginal people live in groups in the long grass as opposed to living alone. There was one exception to this in the long grass: camp 28. As described above, it was clear this was a site that a lone male individual lived at in a tent with only male clothing visible. And as described, visible substance use at this site was one empty bottle of red wine placed next to a large armchair facing a hearth. On the basis of this limited evidence it cannot be proven that this is someone whose bonds with society are broken. But I do argue that the ethnicity of the male individual was non-Aboriginal on the basis of the brand of alcohol consumed and lack of evidence of bush foods on the hearth. Further, I argue that the drug use evidence in the long grass suggests disparate incidences of individuals consuming drugs but also, that it is impossible to know whether this evidence was left by individuals disconnected from society.

7.3.3. *Transgression*

In this thesis transgression has been re-categorized as unwitting resistance, target-defined resistance, and externally-defined resistance.

7.3.3.1. Target-defined Transgression

According to Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 544) target-defined transgression is defined as situations where self-defined "targets" may be the only ones who recognize a behavior as resistance. The material evidence shown in Figure 8.70 near a long grass site fits the definition of target-defined transgression in that it suggests it is behavior that does not consciously aim to challenge the status quo.



Plate 7.65. Tree with graffiti in the long grass. This evidence was near only one camp in the long grass and it is impossible to know whether Aboriginal people were responsible for it. However, as archaeological research by Ralph (2012) has shown, graffiti is recognized as a form of resistance. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.3.3.2. *Unwitting Resistance*

Within the context of the Northern Territory where race relations between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal Australians features prominently as an election issue in state politics at election time (Scambury 2007) perceptions that Aboriginal people who stay in the long grass are a threat becomes a law and order issue. The YouTube video, “Darwin shop owner caught using a hose to move away an elderly Aboriginal man” provides an illustration of how white Australians act as though Aboriginal people who appear to be itinerant are a threat. In this video an elderly Aboriginal man is sitting on the ground near some businesses in an inner Darwin city street and appears to be minding his own business. There is no indication he is a threat to anyone, yet, at least one observer reacts aggressively, as if the elderly Aboriginal man is some kind of threat (perhaps to business traffic) or annoyance. While the YouTube video shows an example of unwitting transgression, it is notable that there is no material record of the event. The hose that was used to assault the old man is an everyday item that would have been placed back within its everyday context.

The question that arises within the context of this thesis is whether there is material evidence of acts of unwitting resistance by Aboriginal people in the long grass in Darwin. It is clear that acts of unwitting resistance exist. In fact, the very presence of many Aboriginal people in the long grass is an act of

unwitting resistance, and there is material evidence for this behaviour. However, there is some overlap with covert resistance and missed resistance and it is impossible to securely assign the material evidence to a single category of resistance because these situations are fluid. Because they are not fixed, and because outcomes are not pre-determined, the same material evidence may act as covert resistance in one context, unwitting resistance in another context and missed resistance in a third context.

7.3.3.3. *Externally-defined Transgression*

In accordance with the theoretical model presented in Chapter Three, I have relabeled this behavior as transgression rather than resistance. Hence, within the definition of transgression, perceptions of anti-social behavior by Aboriginal people is a case in point. For example, when Aboriginal people in the long grass have arguments among themselves they may draw attention to the fact that they are arguing. The arguments may be loud, and in an Aboriginal language so the cause of the argument is not understood by non-Aboriginal on-lookers. Sometimes arguments may turn into a physical altercation between Aboriginal people. Such a scenario is not uncommon. It can play out in public spaces that non-Aboriginal people frequent, such as at a local reserve, where non-Aboriginal people may be hosting a BBQ, or near a popular children's playground that attracts families with young children, or in the street at a time of day when city office workers have left the office for lunch. In these scenarios because the behavior of long grass people is in full view of observers, the observers may perceive it as transgressing the values of the predominant society. The material evidence of this type of transgression can be determined through a contextual analysis of the use of space. Another example is Aboriginal people camping on land that is not meant to be used by the public. Camp 7 was on land zoned Commonwealth lease to the Department of Defence which is on a stretch of land immediately adjacent to the Royal Darwin hospital. The proximity of the camp to the hospital suggests it was a convenient place from which to come and go from the hospital, and the behavior is a good illustration of this definition.

Most of the material evidence for externally-defined transgression in the long grass is the remains of diet/food. Diet/food remains reflect a combination of supermarket purchased processed foods, supermarket purchased fresh foods and hunted and collected bush foods.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Bread/Toast		X													X	X												
Tinned Bully Beef																			X	X								
Tinned Corned Beef							X																X					
Tinned Fish							X	X	X		X									X			X					
Packet of Chips Crisps	X																					X			X			
Chilli Oysters									X																			
Soup								X	X							X												
Salt/Pepper																X			X									
Sauces/Spices/Condiment													X			X												
Potato Salad	X																											
Garlic Mussels									X																			
Tomato/Onion Pasta Sauce																X												
Tinned Spaghetti									X										X									
Baked Beans								X			X																	
Cereal							X																					
Peanut Butter							X																					
Jam																X												
Nut									X																			
Beef Jerky									X																			
Sugar																X												
Powdered Milk																X												
Dog Food									X																			
Oysters BBQ									X																			
Chicken Bone									X																			
Tomato Sauce																X									X			
Tinned Savoury Mince									X																			

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Soft drinks							X				X			X	X	X				X	X					X		
Bottled Water	X										X									X		X	X					
Milk														X						X		X						
Fruit Juice																									X			
Margarine									X				X						X									
Butter											X																	
Marmalade		X																										
Lollies									X																			
Ice Cream	X						X																					
Ice							X																					
Hot Chip									X																			
Tea									X		X															X		
Meat Pie							X		X											X								
Two-Minute Noodle								X	X		X					X												
Rice																X												
Takeaway Foods																												
Red Rooster									X																			
Chicken Burger									X																			
KFC							X	X	X																			
Hungry Jacks	X																											

Table 7.16. Material Evidence of Externally-Defined Transgression - Processed Foods.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESISTANCE

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Fruit								X																				
Fresh Meat							X													X			X					
Chop									X																			
Grape Tomato											X																	
Egg									X		X								X									

Table 7.17. Material Evidence of Externally-Defined Transgression - Fresh Foods.

Material	Camp Number																											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Oyster	X			X								X								X			X			X		
Longbum			X			X					X	X								X		X	X	X		X		X
Pippis					X	X																						
Coconut*											X									X								
Turtle																				X		X						
Mud Mussel																						X	X					
Periwinkle*																						X						X
Stingray*																						X						X
Fish*																												X
Mangrove Worm*																						X						
Magpie Goose																										X		
Bird#																												
Barramundi#																												
Damper																												
Cycad Nut*																												

Table 7.18. Material Evidence of Externally-Defined Transgression - Bush Foods. *Oral information from camp inhabitants. #Food remains not associated with camp numbers

7.3.3.4. *Transgression: Discussion*

From a survival point of view this material evidence shows that people left two types of food evidence in the long grass: shop bought food and collected bush foods. More long grass camps contained material remains of the consumption of processed or take away foods bought from shops than camps with bush food remains. While cooking pots and pans, billy cans and steel BBQ grills were seen at 51% of long grass sites, 82% contained either metal knives/forks, plastic knives/forks or plastic plates/bowls/containers or trays. Hearths that could be used for cooking, as well as to give warmth and light were seen at 70% of long grass camps. All this evidence suggests a lot of domestic-related behavior occurs in the long grass, and that even in diminished circumstances Aboriginal people prefer to eat food with utensils rather than without utensils.



Plate 7.66. Hearth at long grass camp. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.67. Discarded plastic utensils in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.4. Shop Bought Food

The material evidence shows that soft drinks occurred at 37% of camps; this was in greater frequency than the occurrence of fresh meat (11%), tinned meat (11%), bread (11%) or bottled water (14%). I argue this may be evidence of the presence of family groups in the long grass with children. The evidence of milk cartons at two camps is also suggestive of young children at camps, but this cannot be substantiated.

The material evidence shows the different types of packaging for processed foods noted at long grass camps. Shop bought take away food was carried into the long grass in plastic and other types of containers, like paper bags or shopping bags. However, the remains of such packaging discarded at camps suggests that these items were one use only and that people did not carry food containers with them when they moved on. It is likely that these types of shop bought foods in containers were selected because they need little preparation before eating, indeed they are ready for immediate consumption, which suggests that people also seek food that does not need to be cooked before it is eaten. This is substantiated by the fact that a majority of camps contained the remains of shop bought foods but did not contain materials for cooking with or for preparing food, so it could be eaten.



Plate 7.68. Discarded tins of shop bought food. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.69. Discarded partial carton of eggs next to a long bum shellfish in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.70. Discarded container of tomato sauce in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.71. Discarded satchel of salt in the long grass (shown left); discarded satchel of pepper (shown right). Photo: K. Pollard.

At Indianapolis homelessness sites in the United States Zimmerman and Welch (2010) observed that homeless people threw away the delivery of freshly cooked food or fresh vegetables because of a perceived lack of consideration about how homeless people could cook, prepare or store such food. Comparatively in the long grass, the presence of BBQ grills, a portable gas stove, billy cans, pots and pans, portable tables, hearths and plastic utensils at many long grass camps suggests people transported the means with which to prepare and cook food for themselves into the long grass.

Tomlinson's study (2012) of food procurement behaviour amongst homeless people at camp sites in the United Kingdom resonates with some of the material evidence at long grass camps. Tomlinson (2012: 28) found that the remains of 'primarily crisps and sweets' were left at camps and interpreted this to mean that 'when you are homeless you don't have access to places to cook or prepare food, and takeaways are often too expensive, so crisps and sweets make do'. Tomlinson's research also noted the high prevalence of discarded milk containers. A homeless informant on the study advised that 'milk is more comforting and filling than water, as well as making you feel better if on drugs or alcohol' (Tomlinson 2012: 28). Take away wrappers for 'snack' foods were also evident at Indianapolis homeless sites, along with empty cans of processed food that Zimmerman and Welch (2010: 339) reported looked as though they had been opened by force, pounded with rocks, or forcibly opened with knives. No such evidence was noted at long grass camps, probably because the bulk of take away processed foods came in easy to remove tin can lids, in wrappers or in plastic containers.



Plate 7.72. People take tins of processed food and take away foods in plastic containers for convenience of carrying into the long grass and discard them when finished. Photo: K. Pollard.

7.5. Bush Foods

Overall, the prevalence of the remains of bush foods at 51% camps suggests that hunting and collecting bush foods is a significant activity to Aboriginal people in the long grass.



Plate 7.73. Hearth and remains of marine barramundi fish and oysters on the beach in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.74. Close up of the hearth and barramundi fish remains. Adult barramundi has very large fish scales seen here around the fire place. Oyster shell can be seen on the hearth. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.75. Remains of an eaten bird in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.76. Remains of an eaten turtle next to a discarded empty tin can of processed food in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

The most frequent type of bush food noted at long grass sites was long bum (*Telescopium telescopium*), a species that grows abundantly in the mangrove fringes around Darwin.



Plate 7.77. Freshly collected 'long bum' (*Telescopium telescopium*) in the long grass. Long bum is a mangrove species of marine worm. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.78. Old hearth with fragments of cooked long bum. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 7.79. Remains of a meal of 'pippis' in the long grass. Photo: K. Pollard.

Fresh oysters were also common at long grass camps. Although available for opportunistic collection in the wild but requiring more intensive energy than collecting long bum, oysters can be bought fresh in many supermarkets. Evidence of supermarket brands of different flavored oysters and mussels suggest they were also popular. Oral evidence for the species of shellfish collected for eating at camps included pippis, mud mussels and periwinkles. Oral evidence for other bush food sources were fresh and marine turtles, sting ray, different species of fish, mangrove worms and magpie goose. I argue the incidence and variety of bush foods at camps is a distinctive preference or 'cultural menu' by Aboriginal people to eat fresh collected or hunted freshwater, marine or terrestrial protein.

Terrestrial protein like magpie geese are a common sight in Darwin in urban parklands and the rural area, especially during mangrove harvest season. They are considered a pest in relation to various crops (<http://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2014-07-31/magpie-geese-challenge-in-the-top-end-pest/5638118>) and in recognition of this, proposals by Indigenous entrepreneurs to harvest the geese (Zander et al. 2014) answer a demand for the species as a commercial source of protein.

Evidence of shop bought marine protein, such as tins of tuna and sardines, and the different flavored mussels and oysters at long grass camps indicates a preference for certain types of processed bush foods. The presence of fish hooks at two long grass camps suggests people hunt for fresh fish. Aboriginal

people present at the time of recording at some camps gave oral evidence they also hunted bandicoot and possum and collected cycad nuts. Cycad nuts grow abundantly on pandanus trees in the Darwin region.

While the variety of bush food remains at camps suggests hunting, collecting and preparing bush foods is a significant activity for Aboriginal people in the long grass, it meets the definition of externally-defined transgression in the long grass for three reasons. First, these remains suggest that in spite of constant surveillance by authorities' in the long grass Aboriginal people go out of their way to locate, hunt for and collect bush foods to take back to camp and consume. Second, the act of hunting and collecting is primarily driven by hunger avoidance using cultural practices, as opposed to an organized strategy of intended resistance to Darwin City Council by-laws. Third, third party observers such as the authorities perceive the behaviour as resistance based on it persisting despite their attempts to eliminate the behavior in the long grass through punitive consequences.

An ethnographic study of Aboriginal women's rationale for hunting and collecting bush foods in the Darwin region offers insights about the importance of this activity. Povinelli (1992: 172) studied the hunting and collecting activities of Aboriginal women on the Cox Peninsula on the Darwin Harbor and found that 'foraging' activities were an expression of complex cultural and political beliefs about the importance of the activity in terms of maintenance of 'social identity' and 'economic and political wellbeing'. Further, Povinelli noted the significance of bush foods to perceived health and wellbeing by Aboriginal women, who believed 'They provide an important supplement to the diet' because they are 'high in nutrition', especially marine bush foods which were 'more intensely exploited' even though 'market foods comprise 88% of the total dietary needs ... providing a significant buffer to the vicissitudes of the hunt' (Povinelli 1992: 172). Povinelli (1992: 174) also recorded that bush foods are important during times of 'food scarcity'. Povinelli's study augments the archaeological evidence in the long grass for the continuity of Aboriginal practices for hunting and collecting bush foods in the Darwin region. Although there are important distinctions to note compared to the long grass in this study. The first is that the Cox Peninsula is home to an Aboriginal community, 'Belyuen Aboriginal community' that enables the freedom of Aboriginal people to hunt and collect bush foods as a distinct cultural activity without attracting punitive action from authorities. Second, after a judicial decision by the National Native Title Tribunal in a large portion of the Cox Peninsula land area was awarded to Aboriginal native title holders who now own the land upon which the women in Povinelli's study hunt and collect bush foods (<https://www.nlc.org.au>). Comparatively, the material evidence in the long grass is on land controlled by non-Aboriginal people but still suggests that hunted and collected bush foods supplement a diet of processed shop bought meals. Further, it is a distinct method of cultural rationale by people on a low income who know an alternative way to survive in the long grass using 'classic' or traditional knowledge of the behaviour of animals and ecology as a compromise to avoid hunger.

7.6. Theory of Transgression

In theory transgression has been described as ‘actions which cross boundaries or violate limits’ (Foust 2010: 3). Foust (2010: 3) argued that ‘Transgressions which are permitted, or escape the notice of boundary-policing authorities, push the boundaries further’. This appears to be what is happening in the long grass where a combination of being noticed and escaping notice both limits and enables Aboriginal agency to transgress boundaries. And, as in the long grass when Aboriginal people are perceived to be violating society’s predominant values such behavior is met with reactions that exist on a similar spectrum to that described by Foust (2010: 3),

Transgressions are indiscretions that incur various reactions from the mildly normative (glares or sighs of disapproval from passersby) to the brutally disciplining (violent arrest). Transgressive actions incite reactions due to their relationship to norms: transgressions violate unspoken or explicit rules that maintain a particular social order.

Aboriginal agency in the long grass is not an organized social movement of resistance. However, I argue it has features that align it with what Foust argues is what transgression represents which is that it is ‘a distinct form of resistance’ (Foust 2010: 6-9).

7.7. Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter presented two aspects of resistance in the long grass: a description of the illegal use of public spaces; and a material analysis of Aboriginal presence in long grass camps in terms of the model developed in Chapter Three. Interpretation that it is predominantly Aboriginal occupation in the long grass as opposed to non-Aboriginal is based on cited previous research, and material evidence at camps. For example, particular types of food remains that were seen in occupied and abandoned camps. Food remains distinguished Aboriginal occupation from non-Aboriginal on the basis of the occurrence of hunted and collected bush foods, and the co-occurrence of bush food and non-Aboriginal manufactured processed shop bought foods. The very act of inhabiting the long grass is behavior that aligns with resistance, but it is the nature of the occupation and its duration that underwrites what definition of resistance this behavior reflects. This is why the categories defined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004) as overt resistance, covert resistance, missed resistance and attempted resistance were used in the analysis to hone interpretation. Further, many of the behaviours outlined in this chapter can be characterized as transgression, including the categories defined by Hollander and Einwohner (2004) as unwitting resistance, target-defined resistance, and externally-defined resistance.

As argued, it should be noted that material evidence in the long grass can rarely be securely assigned to only one category of resistance or transgression due to the fluidity of situations in which Aboriginal behaviour is expressed through material remains. This fluidity is subject to the conditions, the location,

the number of people in camp and the material contents of a camp at any given time. These variables mean acts of resistance or transgression are not fixed and not predetermined to be intentionally resistive or transgressive.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

8.1. Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, this thesis investigates the question: **Can Aboriginal fringe camps provide insights into social, cultural and economic adaptations to colonialism from the initial contact period to the present?** Via a model that is a theoretical interpretation of Aboriginal behavior over a 130-year period it was shown how Aboriginal social, cultural and economic adaptations to colonialism manifested historically and in the present day, in the context of fringe camps. The methods for selecting and collecting data, and for the analytical approach that underlies this research, were outlined in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three the model identifies changing forms of Aboriginal agency in the Darwin region. Conceptualizing how Aboriginal agency evolved in historical context in fringe camps was analyzed in Chapter Four. In Chapters Five, Six and Seven the nature and manifestations of Aboriginal survivance of agency was analyzed with reference to the model to infer Aboriginal resilience to the impacts of colonization and the long-term effects of colonialism. This chapter summarizes the main findings from Chapters Five, Six and Seven and outlines the significance of this research to future archaeological research in Australia and internationally.

The study area for this research, the Darwin region of the Northern Territory, Australia, was chosen because in this region the yoke of colonialism that arrived with permanent colonization in 1869, was, and continues to be, a reality for Aboriginal people.

8.2. From Accommodation and Engagement to Survivance, Resistance and Transgression

The archaeological evidence, at Southport between 1870 to the late 1800s, and in the long grass up to the present day, supports the argument that Aboriginal accommodation and engagement with non-Aboriginal people has gone through two main phases of interaction. The first two, of accommodation and engagement, is supported by the archaeological remains at Southport. It is clear that during the earliest years of occupation, when the incursion was in its infancy, Larrakia people interacted with non-Aboriginal people primarily on their own terms, when they retained fundamental control of their land. This control of land meant that they had freedom of encampment and freedom of mobility across the main settlement and the outlier town of Southport. The archaeological remains that indicate this freedom are the remains of one structure at the site CPS1 on the outskirts of the Southport settlement, significant quantities of knapped glass found in association with knapped stone artefacts at this site and in association with this structure, and quantities of metal collected by Aboriginal people, including a possible Aboriginal manufactured metal adze. This is material evidence of the first phases depicted in

the model, which was Aboriginal people accommodating and engaging with non-Aboriginal people by obtaining new resources which were deployed on their own terms on land that they still controlled.

Between 1870 and the late 1880s, Aboriginal accommodation of non-Aboriginal people took specific forms. Archive records for example, suggest that from the earliest days of colonization Larrakia people offered their assistance and labor to non-Aboriginal people in ongoing interactions between the two. In Chapter Five a prime example of accommodation of non-Aboriginal people was collaboration in the construction of the original Government Residence house on the Esplanade in the settlement. Now called Government House, it stands today in Darwin as a residence for official government business. It is notable that this example of Aboriginal agency is largely unknown today and hence unacknowledged for producing such a significant landmark in the Darwin region as the house of the former Government Resident. The earliest examples of the Larrakia accommodating non-Aboriginal people were activities like locating lost horses, helping mired boats, finding and returning lost oars, locating fresh water for non-Aboriginal people to drink, offering gifts of fresh game, helping to clear bush and diplomacy (Goyder 1869; Millner 1870). This behavior occurred on the terms of Larrakia people before settler officials began implementing what they had been encouraged to do which was to create employment opportunities for Aboriginal people by decree, 'Every inducement should be offered to them to work for the settlers' (Instructions to Government Resident, Northern Territory April 1870). Aboriginal people began working for non-Aboriginal people from the first year of settlement (Millner 1871; Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Immigration to the Northern Territory 1873:8). This led to an extended period of Larrakia people working in a range of diverse activities and being 'extremely useful in working at many things' (Douglas 1870), including to support the fledgling police service in the settlement (Foelsche 1876). Aboriginal women 'worked in the household of people in Palmerston' in domestic roles (South Australian Parliamentary Papers 1899) 'scrubbing, washing' and other 'menial employments' (South Australian Parliamentary Papers, September 1899). Although by 1899 officials had begun recording the lack of engagement of Aboriginal men and women with non-Aboriginal people in the context of work, complaining what it could portend especially for European 'ladies' who wanted domestic workers (South Australian Parliamentary Papers 1899). While it is not possible to identify a definitive point in time when Larrakia people stopped accommodating non-Aboriginal people I argue official's perceptions of Aboriginal disengagement is evidence Aboriginal agency had transformed to resistance by the late 1890s.

As depicted in the model presented in Chapter Three, transforming Aboriginal agency is presented as a process of intermittent interfaces. The initial period of accommodation and engagement when Aboriginal people maintain control of their lands blended into a new era of interaction in which their engagement became more pragmatic and accommodation of non-Aboriginal people as a strategy finally ended. The key to this change of agency was loss of control of land. When the land was under the

control of Larrakia people, they volunteered their labor as part of a strategy they perceived to be of mutual benefit. When Larrakia lost control of their land, their priorities shifted to the need to overtly survive physically and maintain autonomy of agency and identity survivance.

Continuous changes in the ways Larrakia people in the settlement interacted with non-Aboriginal people were also influenced by happenings in the broader colonization process between 1869 and the 1890s identified in the model as 'co-inhabited space' in Chapter Three. Larrakia people were being rapidly outnumbered by waves of immigrant settlers. The combination of land clearing and immigrant population growth, aspects of the effects of capitalism such as land theft, imposed foreign religion, centralized government control of decision making of the future of the settlement, and colonialism's trademark characteristic - overt racism in the form of Social Darwinism, assailed Larrakia people. This resulted in them being socially, economically and spatially marginalized to the fringes of the new society.

In Chapter Four I argued that the archaeological evidence from Southport fringe camps was interpreted to suggest that Aboriginal engagement with non-Aboriginal people was voluntary because Aboriginal people retained control of their land in the early years of the settlement's existence. At Southport, Aboriginal ownership of land facilitated freedom of movement and Aboriginal people had greater control over their terms of engagement with the settlers. This degree of empowerment at this stage is reflected in the archaeological evidence of freedom to access the sources that were created by and used by Europeans such as a rubbish dump on Mira Square at Southport that was used by Europeans to discard glass bottles, telegraph insulators, ceramics and metal objects. This was a source from which to obtain materials to manufacture Aboriginal traditional tools or to use the new materials in other ways. Further, because white quartz stone is ubiquitous at Southport where it is available in large rocky outcrops spread across the whole area, during the early colonization era at Southport Aboriginal people still used that material to manufacture stone tools. Hence, the archaeological evidence that Aboriginal people had freedom of access to a source of new raw materials to manufacture traditional types of tools, alongside manufacturing traditional stone tools, suggests Aboriginal people had freedom of movement at Southport. This implies that at the very least, a negotiated co-existence was happening, and that Aboriginal people voluntarily engaged with Europeans on their own terms. Hence, the archaeological evidence from Southport is less about reflecting modes of Aboriginal survival and more reflective of the early stages of accommodating the presence of non-Aboriginal people during a time when Aboriginal people had control of the land and had the freedom to prioritize assessing the impacts of imposed socio-economic conditions on their country in its early stages.

Survivance continually negotiated a collage of factors epitomized by the expansion of the settlement, continual increases in population numbers of non-Aboriginal people with each ship arrival, law and

order issues arising from the increases of non-Aboriginal people from interstate colonies as well as international countries, economic pressures related to European capitalism including trade and land acquisition that depended on Aboriginal dispossession, and the effects of diseases introduced by foreigners on Aboriginal clans. All these complex and unrelenting forces generated challenging conditions in which to negotiate survivance in the settlement. But within survivance, and while acknowledging bias of intent or agenda in written accounts by non-Aboriginal settlers about what Aboriginal people were doing and how they were doing it, there still lies opportunity to glean evidence of Aboriginal agency to infer positive persistence of Aboriginal will to survivance, to counter a narrative of Aboriginal victimhood and demise.

Throughout this period colonialism emboldened non-Aboriginal people to the point where they took ever greater control over the land by controlling interactions with, and the activities of Larrakia people. These circumstances created the new interface of engagement in which non-Aboriginal people aggressively asserted advocacy for policies to remove Larrakia people from the settlement altogether. When the Larrakia people were removed from country it marked the end of the period of accommodating the invaders, the end of the era of engaging with the invaders on the terms of the Larrakia, and instead the extension of the era of their physical survival as a people. Yet in spite of their removal from country, and across more than a 130-year spectrum, the experience of Larrakia survivance of identity is unpenetrated. The Larrakia people continuously and actively practiced ways to maintain their distinctiveness as a people who were and are the original owners of the Darwin region. Larrakia people were also sharing space with Aboriginal people from disparate and remote regions of the Northern Territory who came to the settlement looking for opportunities. The latter people who existed in the 19th century are the forebears of the Aboriginal people in the long grass in the 21st century. During the times of physical survival Larrakia people's survivance negotiated the yoke of colonialism's worst excesses in the settlement, including starvation, murder and diseases (Police Inspectors Report Relating to Aborigines, August, 1882; Government Resident's Quarterly Report on Northern Territory, January, 1885; Government Resident's Report on Northern territory, May, 1887; Government Resident of the Northern Territory Correspondence, July, 1898; Correspondence to the Government Resident of the Northern Territory, December, 1900).

With land theft and dispossession achieved in the 1910s, the time when Larrakia people were segregated from non-Aboriginal people in Darwin continued through to the mid to late 1950s. During the 1960s, Larrakia people joined protest movements sweeping other Western democracies at the time and they began campaigns for land justice through land rights rallies and protests (Day 2001). This new phase of Aboriginal agency occurs at the onset of resistance.

During the resistance period Aboriginal fringe camps become visible again both in the psyche of the Darwin authorities and non-Aboriginal citizenry, and physically in the form of Aboriginal people inhabiting the long grass in makeshift structures amidst a diverse range of material paraphernalia. In material terms the long grass camps contain evidence of the continuity of Aboriginal re-use of non-Aboriginal manufactured objects for a range of utilitarian purposes that resonates with the same behavior consistent with the historic material evidence for Aboriginal re-use of non-Aboriginal manufactured objects at CPS1 and CPS2 at Southport. Significantly, what marks the transition of Aboriginal use and re-use of non-Aboriginal manufactured objects in the past and the present is the agency of innovation for outcomes that were and are cognizant of Aboriginal values of tradition and custom retainment espoused by ongoing dynamism. Thus, the resistance phase of interaction between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people is marked by behavioural traits of agency that were described in the model as covert resistance, missed resistance, attempted resistance, and as transgression, i.e. unwitting resistance and externally-defined transgression.

8.3. Significance of Research

This research is significant for the following reasons. An archaeological analysis that spans over 130 years from invasion to the present day is unusual, if not unique, in historical archaeology. The data for this research, archive and archaeological, two distinctly independent types of data sets, were examined to provide unique insights into the resilience of Aboriginal people's agency to colonialism over more than 130 years in the Darwin region. Given the historical trajectory that is the context, and that the data supports the theoretical interpretation of Aboriginal agency in the model in Chapter Three, this research contributes new knowledge to studies about Aboriginal-European colonization history in Australia and European-Aboriginal histories of racism in Australia. It contributes new perspectives to Australian and international studies of social, economic and political histories of exclusion and marginalization; Australian and international archaeological studies of homelessness and related material culture; Australian and international archaeological studies of colonialism and Indigenous people; Australian and international studies of transgression; and Australian and international studies of contemporary hunter-gatherers/foragers in urban contexts.

The model in this thesis is a new application of the philosophy of transgression to an archaeological analysis. Philosophy was adapted to provide a means that could bring to light the expressions of Aboriginal agency to colonialism interpreted through archaeological evidence. The result is that by making explicit the nuance of Aboriginal accommodation, engagement, survivance, and resistance/transgression, scholars, as well as lay people, can now perceive a continuity of Aboriginal agency through time and across space in a geographically bounded region of Aboriginal attachment to place in a major Australian city.

This research is significant because it is the first substantive study into Aboriginal fringe camps in a major Australian capital city.

This research extends the works of previous scholars in the following ways. In Australia, previous studies of contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have been concerned with the colonial impact in the past, not the present (Birmingham 1992; Clarke 1994). Further, this research advances the conceptual and methodological frameworks in archaeologies of colonialism to better understand the contact histories of Indigenous people.

8.4. Future Research

A number of related future projects arise as a result of this research.

The first is a major publication addressing this history between Larrakia and non-Aboriginal people in the Darwin region. When this research is published it will close a gap in the knowledge of scholars and lay people alike about how Larrakia people faced colonization, endured colonialism and arrived in the present day with survivance of their ancestor's material cultural heritage and identity intact. Through communicating research results widely in lay publications (magazines, mainstream and Indigenous newspapers, and local heritage and tourism publications) this study will increase public understanding of Larrakia culture, history and heritage in the Northern Territory of Australia.

This research would not have been possible without the interest, support and endorsement of the Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation. This representative body provided in-kind financial support, vehicle support and human resources. During field work students learnt about why, from the Larrakia women (Minbeni) ranger's point of view, it is important to 'sing' to the country at Southport during archaeological surveys as an expression of cultural respect for the Larrakia's spiritual ancestors.

This study contributes to facilitating a re-interpretation of the concept of 'shared histories' (Murray 1996a; Harrison 2002) in terms of the changes that Larrakia people underwent since colonization in which they maintained strong and enduring links to traditional country in the Darwin region. This will address a common source of misunderstanding in Northern Territory society about the importance of land to Larrakia people, but also wider Australian society, in which people draw lines between 'authentic' and 'traditional' Aboriginal people (Harrison 2000: 35-53; Bourke 2005: 55).

For this reason, the research may benefit the Larrakia people in terms of mainstream recognition of cultural continuity and enhance their involvement in the identification, management and protection of their archaeological and cultural heritage in the Darwin region.

Continuing research on history, colonization and colonialism in the Darwin region will offer new opportunities for the Larrakia Aboriginal community in broader related areas including museum repatriation.

The proposed mapping of Aboriginal land use patterns in the Darwin region will contribute new knowledge on the basis of a 130-year trajectory. Such research would also examine the influence of cultural factors on the contemporary use of space in the long grass by Aboriginal people from remote communities in the Northern Territory. This is because anecdotal evidence suggests that Aboriginal people from different remote communities locate their fringe camps in the long grass according to cultural links between Aboriginal clans who intermarry, or on some other culturally classified affiliation. By mapping Aboriginal land use this research would assist two goals. The first is that there is new knowledge to be gained about contemporary hunter gatherer's/foragers land use and settlement patterns in an urban context. The second is to aid service delivery agencies like the Larrakia Nation Aboriginal Corporation to locate particular groups for liaison about non-government and government services relevant to their needs.

I took an ethical approach to the photography of Aboriginal camps in the long grass. The process involved two steps. First, I gained consent to take photographs from the people whose camps were photographed. Second, I did not take photographs of any person without their explicit permission.

8.5. Conclusion

This thesis presented an innovative model of Aboriginal agency with regards to colonization and colonialism in the Darwin region between 1869 to the present day. New knowledge can be gained from investigating Aboriginal camps in terms of agency of social, cultural and economic responses to colonialism after colonization including up to the present day.

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Appendix 1

Table 15.1. Aboriginal flakes from CPS1 and CPS2.

Aboriginal Flakes from CPS1 and CPS2	GPS coordinates (Easting/Northing)	Color	Tool type	Weight (g)	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Thick (mm)	Base / Side / Other	Bulb of Percussion	Bulbar Fissures	Errailure Scar	Ring Crack	Platform Scarring	Ventral Curvature	Bifacial Reduction	Termination	Ripples	Striations
Feature 1	712101/8592724	Olive	Debitage	4	15.93	9.62	6.72	Base										
Feature 1	712101/8592724	Olive	Debitage	3	10.48	10.02	8.01	Base										
Feature 1	712101/8592724	Olive	Debitage	3	9.92	10.6	8.06	Base										
Feature 1	712101/8592724	Olive	Debitage	8	25.86	9.13	7.45	Base										
		Black	Debitage	12	18.25	18.27	1.7	Base										
Feature 1	712101/8592724	Black	Debitage	12	18.25	18.27	1.7	Base										
Feature 4	072094/8592742	Olive	Flake	3	17.66	6.97	8.72	Inside base		Yes			Yes	Yes				Yes
Feature 5	0712098/8592738	Black	Debitage	10	15.26	17.32		Base										
Feature 5	0712098/8592738	Black	Retouched flake	25	34.08	24.58	0.13											Yes
Feature 6	0712099/8592740	Olive	Flake	1	10.8	7.98	8.09	Base								Hinge	Yes	Yes
Feature 6	0712099/8592740	Olive	Flake	1	13.29	3.95	10.42	Base								Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 6	0712099/8592740	Olive	Flake	3	15.95	12.65	7.83	Base			Yes					Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 7	0712099/8592738	Olive	Flake	6	23.04	13.65	6.5	Base	Yes		Yes					Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 7	0712098/8592738	Olive	Debitage	3	7.67	9.81	5.66											
Feature 8	0712223/8592426	Olive	Flake	10	24.26	19.32	5.25	Base								Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 8	0712223/8592426	Olive	Flake	9	19.04	19.66	4.89				Yes					Step	Yes	Yes
Feature 9	0712086/8592728	Olive	Debitage	7	28.77	11.57	5.27	Base										
Feature 9	0712086/8592728	Olive	Flake	10	20.5	15.62	3.71	Base	Yes		Yes		Crushing			Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 9	0712086/8592728	Olive	Flake	4	7.32	19.36	3.7	Base	Prominent Bulb								Yes	Yes
Feature 9	0712086/8592728	Olive	Flake	10	12.93	19.65	2.13	Base								Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 10	0712091/8592730	Light green	Flake	3	21.71	7.6	8.38		Yes		Yes							Yes
Feature 10	0712091/8592730	Olive	Flake	8	15.27	18.89	4.49	Base	Negative bulb	Yes			Crushing				Yes	Yes
Feature 10	0712091/8592730	Olive	Debitage	3	12.83	19.11	6.76	Base										
Feature 11	0712083/8592732	Olive	Flake	20	54.43	26.27	6.13	Side			Yes					Hertzian cone	Yes	Yes
Feature 11	0712083/8592732	Olive	Flake	3	12.48	9.03	5.84				Yes						Yes	Yes
Feature14	0712226/8592422	Olive	Flake	7	15.29	5.26	19.7		Yes							Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 14	0712226/8592422	Olive	Flake	5	18.28	7.26	11.71										Yes	Yes
Feature 14	0712226/8592422	Olive	Debitage	5	15.52	5.68	15.01											
Feature 14	0712226/8592422	Olive	Debitage	7	11.67	4.35	18.2		Yes									

Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Olive	Blade	0	12.31	4.94	10.14										Yes	
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Olive	Flake	3	9.88	19.63	6.82	Base	Prominent bulb			Yes				Feather	Yes	Yes
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	4														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	2														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	2														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	2														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	1														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	2														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	1														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	0														
Feature 15	0712228/8592430	Aqua	Debitage	0														
Feature 19	0712200/8592456	Olive	Debitage	4	22.84	8.67	8.21	Base										
C 2	0712089/8592722	Olive	Debitage	4	12.7	6.08	5.66	Base										
C 3	0712089/8592722	Olive	Flake	10	23.12	19.14	4.91	Base	Yes	Yes	Yes					Feather	Yes	Yes
C 4	071285/8592724	Olive	Flake	11	24.68	18.52	4.01									Step	Yes	Yes
C 9	0712076/8592752	Green	Debitage	3	14.04	10.08	6.66	Base										
C 11	0712092/8592752	Olive	Debitage	6	14.61	12.09	6.35	Base										
C13	0712104/8592720	Olive	Flake	7	23.12	11.35	5.32	Base	Prominent Bulb		Yes						Yes	Yes
C15	0712082/8592742	Olive	Debitage	16	36.15	17.36	3.87	Base										
C15	0712082/8592742	Olive	Debitage	6	11.85	13.26	2.88	Base										
C16	0712082/8592742	Black	Flake	32	36.39	21.09	0.26	Base										
C16	0712232/8592450	Olive	Debitage	10	14.37	22.82	6.2											
C16	0712232/8592450	Olive	Flake	24	37.03	37.9	6.24	Side	Prominent bulb		Yes					Feather	Yes	Yes

Table 15.2. Aboriginal cores from CPS1 and CPS2.

Aboriginal Cores from CPS1 and CPS2	GPS (Easting/Northing)	Color	Modified	Portion of Bottle and Location (if applicable)		Thick (mm)	Width (mm)	Cortex	Comment
Feature 1	712201E 8592474N	Black	10 negative flake scars	Base		26.43	78.82	1-24%	Negative Flake scars the result of single strikes not post depositional processes, however, breakage indicates taphonomic processes happening at site, evidence of bending fracture 'Autrix Par Se' result of too much force (Darryl Wesley personal communication April 2017)
Feature 1	0712201E 8592474N	Olive	1 flake scar	Base					
Feature 1	0712201E 8592474N	Olive	7 negative flake scars	Base		5.06	39.97	1-24%	Large conjoin flaked core, single strikes to take 7 large negative flake scars off one edge in one direction only, not rotated in more than one direction, post-depositional damage caused the core to breaking two showing post-depositional taphonomy going on at the site, dirt adherence, edge for utilisation partially snapped off, evidence of bending fracture, 'Autre pase' result of too much force (Darryl Wesley personal communication April 2017)
Feature 1	0712201E 8592474N	Olive	7 negative flake scars	Base		6.2	27.26	1-24%	Conjoins with above core, the 7 negative flake scars are very small
Feature 1	0712201E 8592474N	Olive							
Feature 1	0712101E 8592724N	Olive	10 negative flake scars	Base		4.65	17.3	1-24%	Remnant core with 10 flake scars and many tiny flake scars, 3 long flakes struck off core
Feature 1	0712101E 8592724N	Olive	4 negative flake scars	Base			19.47	1-24%	Remnant core with step termination on distal end, struck twice in two directions rotated clockwise then turned upside down
Feature 1	0712101E 8592724N	Black		Base					
Feature 2									
Feature 4	072094E 8592742N	Black	9 negative flake scars	Base conjoin		0.63	24.25	1-24%	Two platforms, first is on interior base turned upside down with point of impact scars on platform and negative flake scar from this angle, secondly, base has been turned upright and flakes struck resulting flakes being struck on the outer (cortex) side
Feature 4	072094E 8592742N	Black	16 negative flake scars	Base conjoin		2.03	24.78	1-24%	Two platforms one interior, the other outer cortex
Feature 6	0712099E 8592740N	Black		Base					
Feature 8	0712223E 8592426N	Olive		Base					
Feature 8	0712223E 8592426N	Olive		Base					
Feature 8	0712223E 8592426N	Olive		Base					
Feature 8	0712223E 8592426N	Olive		Base					
Feature 8	0712223E 8592426N	Olive		Base					
Feature 10									
Feature 11	0712083E 8592732N	Olive		Base					
Feature 11	0712083E 8592732N	Olive	4 negative scars	Base			6.46	None	Remnant of one platform
Feature 12									
Feature 13									
Feature 14	0712226E 8592422N	Olive	7 negative flake scars	Base		7.03	28.83	1-24%	Remnant core, broken from rest of core, heavy retouch on one edge, long flake removed
Feature 14	0712226E 8592422N	Black		Base					

C 8									
C 9									
C 10	0712080E 8592796N	Black	15 negative flake scars	Base		4.04	59.28	1- 24%	Large core with snapped edge, multiple flake scars, rotated clockwise and turned upside down and struck from second direction
C 11									
C 12									
C13									
C14		Black		Base					
C14		Black		Base					

Appendix 2

Photograph Catalogue of European and Chinese ceramic, glass and metal artefacts

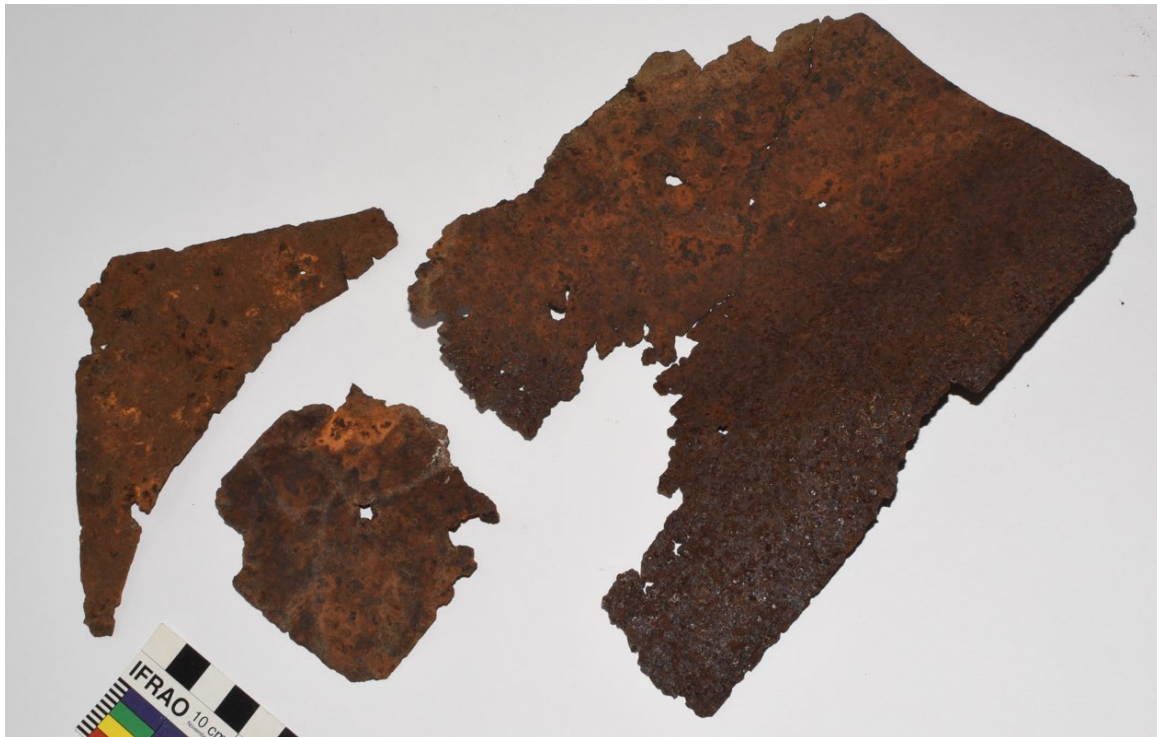


Plate 16.1. Flat sheet metal fragments. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.2. Flat sheet fragments. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.3. Remains of a condiment bottle. The letters 'LE, &PER' are embossed. Embossing was a manufacturing technique spanning the 18th – 19th centuries (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 16; Boow 1991: 1, 58). Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.4. Remains of two square black bottle bases. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.5. Partial fragment of Dutch manufactured spirit bottle with characteristic 'swirl' marks (1820-1840). K. Pollard.

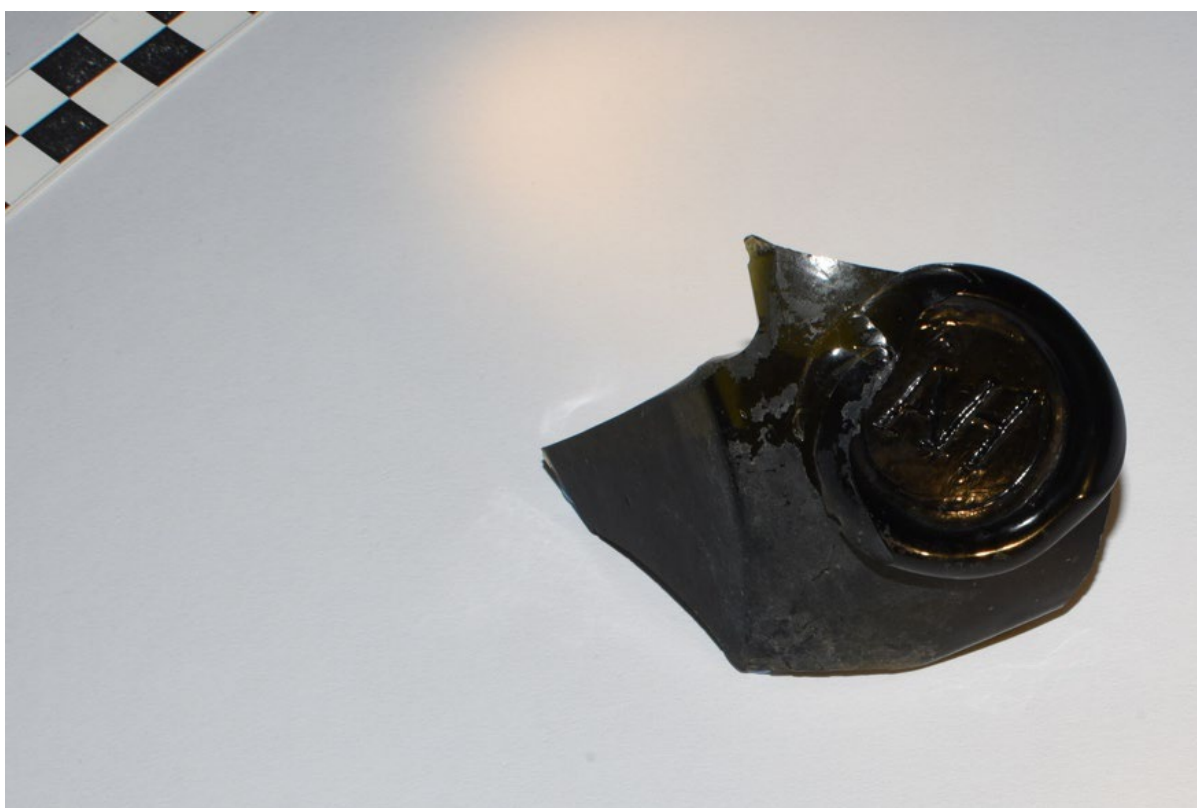


Plate 16.6. Bottle Seal fragment with letters 'AVH'. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.7. Aqua colored bottle glass fragments with the letter's 'A', 'H', 'L F', 'B', 'T'. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.8. Fragments of cobalt blue glass bottle with the letters 'A', 'R', 'C', 'I', 'T'. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.9. Single collar wine/beer (right, 1840-1845 Boow 1991: 66). Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.10. Double collar wine bottle (first left, 1820-1860 Boow 1991: 66), and single collar wine wine/beer bottle (lower centre, 1840-1845 Boow 1991:66). Photo: K. Pollard.

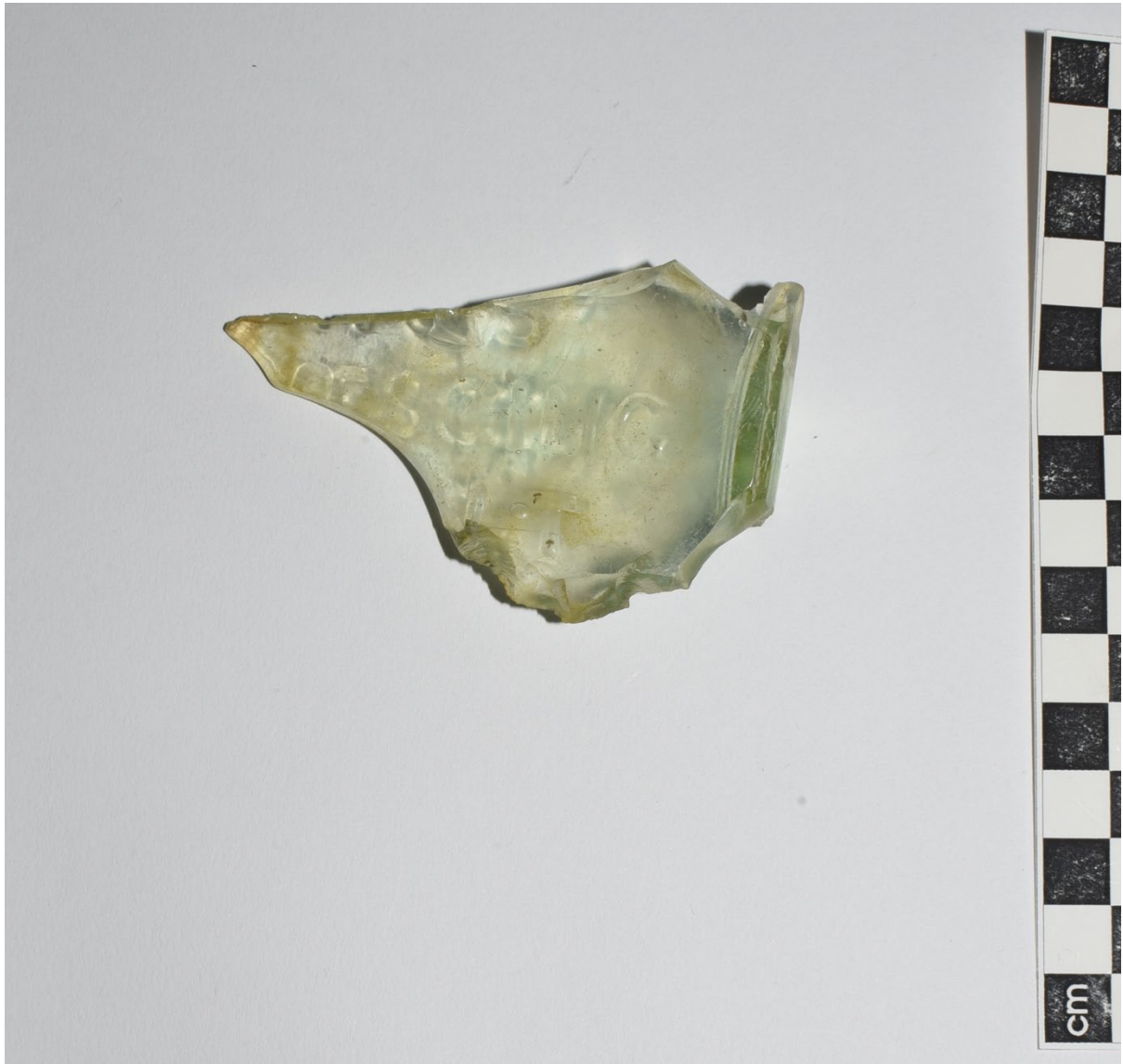


Plate 16.11. Fragment of aqua bottle with letters 'SCING' Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.12. Partial bottle neck and seal with words 'CHATEAU LA ROSE', French wine (1838/1841-1850s). Photo: K. Pollard.

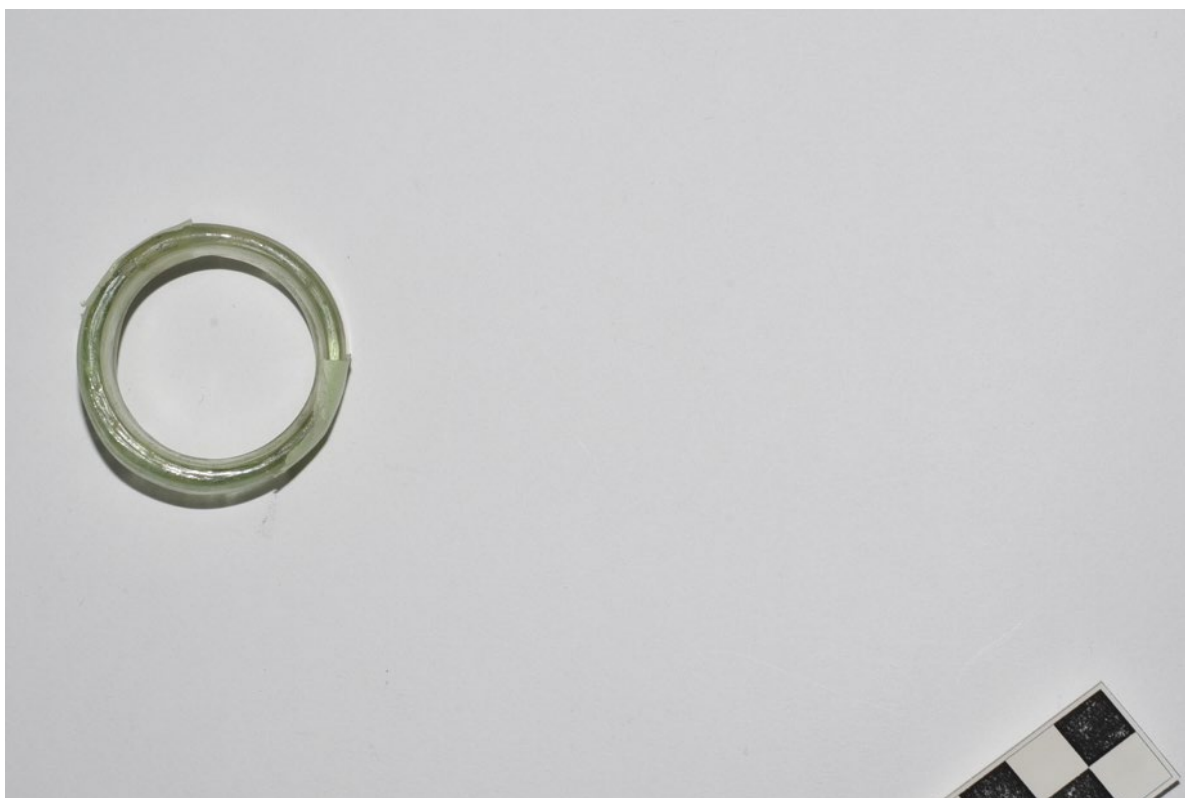


Plate 16.13. Wide mouthed aqua colored bottles are likely to be the remains of fruit or vegetable jars, 19th century (www.sha.org/bottle/). This example came from CPS1. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.14. Partial aqua blob lip and neck (1840/1850-1920 Boow 1991:65; Burke et al 2017: page). Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.15. Single collar ring seal (1850 Boow 1991:68). Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.16. Chinese ceramic. Photo: K. Pollard.



Plate 16.17. Chinese Celadon (date). Photo: K. Pollard.

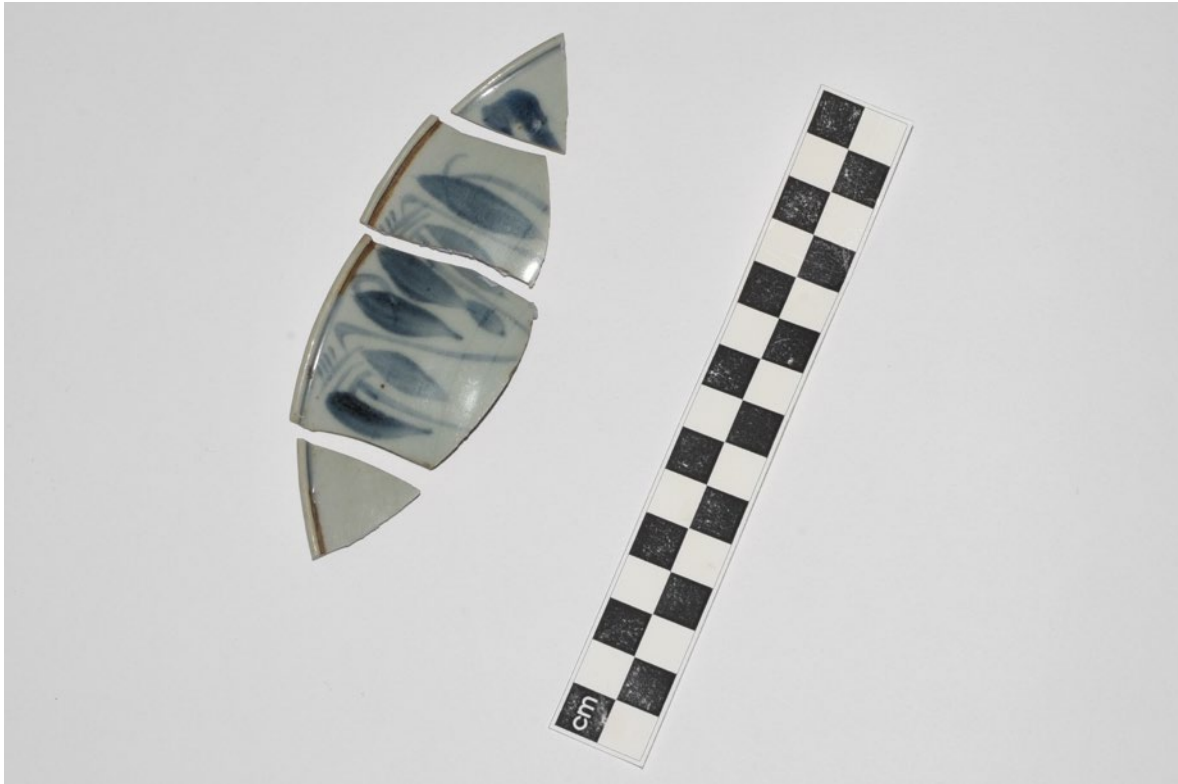


Plate 16.18. Ceramic. Photo: K. Pollard.