

‘NOW, ARE YOU GOING TO BELIEVE THIS OR NOT?’

ADDRESSING NEGLECTED NARRATIVES THROUGH

THE MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF POINT

PEARCE ABORIGINAL MISSION/BURGIYANA,

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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Summary

This thesis investigates the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, in the Yorke Peninsula/Guranda region of South Australia. The research seeks to understand Indigenous maritime activities within a defined conceptual framework through a case study-based, inductive and interpretive approach. This interpretation perceives the participation of Indigenous peoples in Australia's maritime industry as an important component of Australian maritime heritage with the potential to shed light on a number of areas including boatbuilding, labouring in the shipping trade—both at sea and on land—and working in the fishing economy. Previous archaeological research has not employed a maritime cultural landscape framework to explore issues of importance to Indigenous communities. The framework, arguably one of the most popular in the maritime archaeology field, is derived from research conducted in Europe and hence has had a Western focus and research agenda. Further, maritime archaeological studies have neglected Indigenous missions as potential sites/landscapes and, similarly, archaeological research at missions has largely ignored maritime aspects.

This study is based upon the collection of 13 oral histories, as well as terrestrial, coastal and underwater archaeological investigations and primary archival research. The data was collated taking into account the 11 thematic facets of the maritime cultural landscape as advocated by Westerdahl (2008b, 2011b). The latter information was then used to explore the usefulness and suitability of the maritime cultural landscape approach in an Indigenous Australian post-contact context. In particular, an assessment of the maritime cultural landscape was conducted in this research to consider whether it provided the necessary suite of methods (and associated rationale) to accommodate a cohesive recording of areas important to Indigenous Australian communities (i.e. beliefs, knowledges and lived experiences) and whether it provided a useful interpretive structure.

The research reveals that the maritime cultural landscape framework is generally, with qualifications, suitable for the investigation of Indigenous Australian post-contact contexts and is worthwhile in the sense that it can foreground the contribution of Indigenous peoples in Australia's maritime industry. The aforementioned 11 thematic facets of the maritime cultural landscape are

demonstrated in this research to be flexible across contexts, however several issues emerge from this case study. These issues have been broadly grouped into five themes as follows: 1) Colonial archives and local histories often silence Aboriginal peoples; 2) Maritime cultural landscape facets need to encompass non-Western systems of knowledge; 3) Maritime archaeology discourse and underpinning attitudes need to be deconstructed; 4) Maritime archaeology in Australia is generally Eurocentric; and 5) Oral histories are an integral source for exploring Indigenous maritime cultural landscapes. Consequently, it is argued that the maritime cultural landscape approach should be adopted more frequently, taking into account Indigenous themes in maritime archaeology, although the research process should be carefully examined for Eurocentricity. Additionally, the outcomes of the project illustrate that Indigenous maritime cultural landscapes are not only a prominent part of the Australian landscape, but also provoke reconsiderations regarding how we see the relationship between maritime and Indigenous archaeology¹. The implications of these findings are that the seascape framework is not the only concept available within maritime archaeology for investigating Indigenous contexts. As a result, it is proposed that maritime archaeologists should consider employing a maritime cultural landscape framework within other themes of cultural contact, as well as at missions situated on other waterways and in similar contexts in other countries.

¹ Indigenous archaeology is defined in this context in the same way as it is used by Nicholas and Andrews (1997:3), as 'archaeology done with, for and by Indigenous people'.

Signed declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Madeline Fowler

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Notes on the text

This work was written while on Kurna Country.

Footnotes are used to provide further information on individual Aboriginal people mentioned in the text; however, where no information was available in existing genealogies no information is provided.

Italics are used to distinguish between oral histories collected as part of this project (italicised) and oral histories referenced from other sources (plain text). Italics are also used for non-English languages.

Throughout this thesis, traditional Narungga language is privileged and dual European/Narungga naming is used (this is explained further in Chapter 1).

I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the authors of Roberts et al. (in prep) who provided accurate scientific species names for the marine life discussed in this text.

I took photographs that are not acknowledged in the text.

This document has been prepared following the style guide of the journal *Australian Archaeology*.

Abbreviations

£ s d pound, shilling, pence (in historical documents also signified by -/-/-)

ca circa

cm centimetres

ft foot/feet

gal gallon

hp horsepower

in inch (in historical documents also signified by ”)

m metres

yd yard

For Pa Fowler and Nanny Glynn

Yuggu: canoe or boat. The word as shared with related languages also means a large bark dish (Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association 2006:87, 161).

Wariyuggu: boat with sails, a ship or yacht. Literally ‘wind boat’ (NAPA 2006:80, 161).

1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout contact, Indigenous peoples played a formative role in the exploration and economic development of Australia, and continue to do so in the post-contact period. From the first interactions with visiting mariners and shipwreck survivors and labouring in whaling, sealing and pearling colonial industries, to the adoption and adaptation of foreign material culture and the representation of contact through rock art, Indigenous peoples have been active agents within the maritime sphere. The missionary period, which began in Australia in 1823 with the establishment of missions in New South Wales (McNiven and Russell 2005:226)—despite its isolating agenda—was, in many cases, still very much engaged with the maritime domain. Indigenous peoples at missions across Australia built, crewed and maintained boats for these institutions, in addition to working their own fishing vessels for subsistence, profit and survival. Missions used the maritime landscape for importing supplies, exporting products, transporting stock and people internally, as well as relying on marine resources for subsistence.

In South Australia, Indigenous administration, by both missionaries and governments, attempted to regulate and restrict the lives of Aboriginal peoples. These restrictions simultaneously acted on and ignored the maritime landscape. One mission that highlights this polarity is Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana located on

Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, South Australia—the traditional land of the Narungga people (Figure 1). Permission to conduct research within the study area followed collaborations with several Narungga organisations (see Chapter 5).

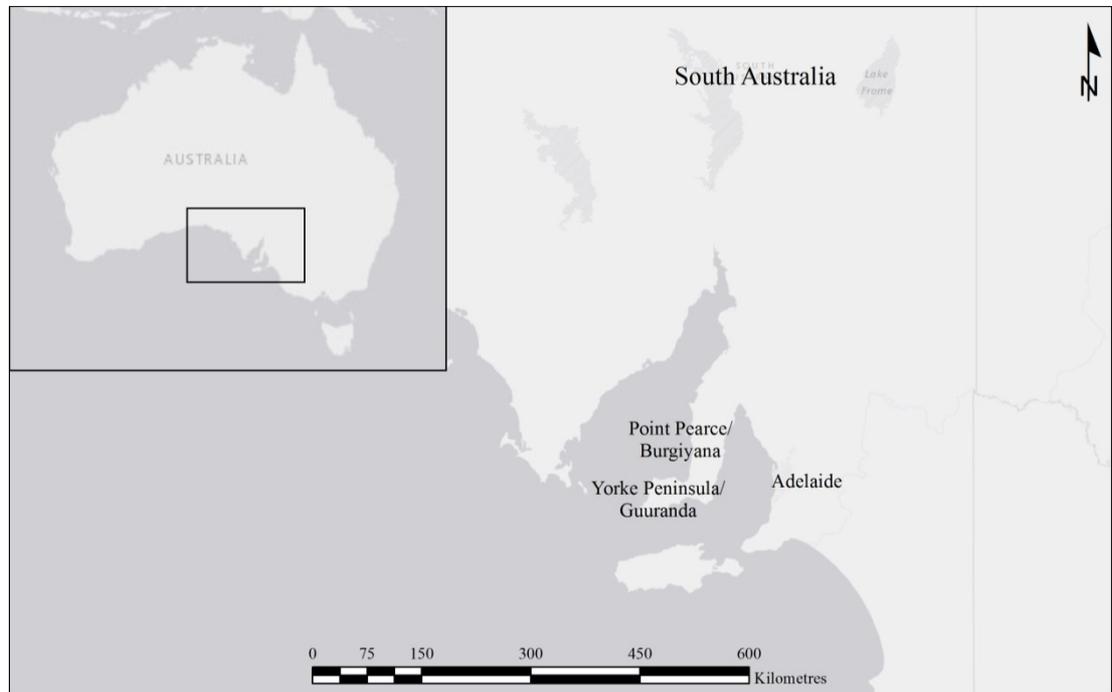


Figure 1 Map showing Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana in relation to South Australia and Australia.

This thesis presents collaborative, community-based archaeological research that recorded the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. It aims to initiate and progress dialogues about the rationale of employing a maritime cultural landscape approach in Indigenous post-contact contexts. The concept, arguably one of the most popular in the maritime archaeology field, is derived from research conducted in northwest Europe and Scandinavia and hence has had a Western focus and research agenda (Meide 2013a:12). To date, Australian research has not investigated maritime activities at missions from a thematic oral history, archaeological and historical perspective (although there does exist a study by Roberts et al. [2013], which focused primarily on the life history of a single mission vessel, and several recent publications from this thesis [Fowler 2013a; Fowler et al. 2014; Roberts et al. 2014; Fowler et al. 2015 in prep]).

1.1 Project development

Research into the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and Narungga people developed from the ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’, the

initiation of which is described by Roberts et al. (2013:79). During this project, the inadequate documentation of aspects of Aboriginal peoples' involvement in maritime activities during the mission period became evident. Furthermore, no detailed historical archaeological research had previously been conducted at Wardang Island/Waraldi/Wara-dharldhi, the island off the coast of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and used by Aboriginal people in the pre- and post-contact period for a number of purposes (Fowler et al. 2014:14). As such, a collaborative project was developed to document past maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana using a combination of oral history collection, archaeological surveys and archival research methods.

1.2 Research questions and aims

My² point of departure throughout this research is maritime archaeology—the study of maritime culture using archaeological means and methods (Westerdahl 2008b:200). The principal themes of maritime archaeology are ship history and the maritime cultural landscape; the latter is the focus of this text, intended to follow the way forward for maritime archaeology as maintained by O'Sullivan and Breen (2007:240):

It is best to imagine our maritime landscapes as encompassing the entire coastline, from the land, across the intertidal zone and onto the seabed. Indeed, it is generally seen as the way forward for maritime archaeology—moving from the study of nautical archaeology (e.g. ships and boats) to landscapes

This thesis investigates Aboriginal involvement in maritime activities within a post-contact, mission context with Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana as the case study. As Harris (2013:36) states, it is through the presentation of case studies that the 'nuances of cross-cultural maritime legacies around waterscapes' can illustrate 'new connecting narratives and understandings of more representative collective memories of the maritime past'. The research applies a conceptual (maritime cultural landscape) framework drawn from maritime archaeology, which is in dialogue with the symbolic, contextual and critical nature of post-processualism (Meide 2013a:11), to explore all aspects of Indigenous maritime heritage in the historical period, as well

² I have intentionally chosen to use first person throughout this thesis, as opposed to third person, as it is impossible to separate oneself from the research process when using community-based methods.

as drawing on pre-contact knowledges. Further, it considers the suitability and appropriateness of employing a Western framework within Indigenous archaeology (archaeology ‘with, for and by Indigenous people’ [Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3]). The extension, evaluation and critique of existing archaeological approaches is, after all, one of eight principle characteristics of Indigenous archaeology identified by Nicholas (2008:1660) (the other seven³ of which also inform this study). Therefore, the primary research question is:

Does a ‘maritime cultural landscape’ approach provide a useful or suitable framework for exploring and interpreting the cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and Wardang Island/Waraldi, South Australia? Further, what issues emerge (positive or negative) from the employment of a maritime cultural landscape framework in an Indigenous post-contact context?

Following from these questions, the research has two principal aims. The first is the contribution that this investigation makes to the development of the subdiscipline of maritime archaeology: to build upon a maritime cultural landscape framework through its application in an Aboriginal historical context and assess its relevancy for further studies in similar contexts. Relevancy here is considered as the ability of the framework to incorporate areas important to Indigenous Australian communities—knowledges, beliefs and traditions⁴. The second aim is its contribution towards the decolonisation (if even in a small way) of Australian maritime archaeology: by foregrounding the contribution of Indigenous peoples in Australia’s colonial maritime industry (after Roberts et al. 2014:28).

In addition to the primary question, a subsidiary question is explored throughout this thesis:

³ 1) The active participation or consultation of Indigenous peoples in archaeology; 2) A political statement concerned with issues of Aboriginal self-government, sovereignty, land rights, identity and heritage; 3) A post-colonial enterprise designed to decolonise the discipline; 4) A manifestation of Indigenous epistemologies; 5) The basis for alternative models of cultural heritage management or stewardship; 6) The product of choices and actions made by individual archaeologists; and 7) A means of empowerment and cultural revitalisation or political resistance (Nicholas 2008:1660).

⁴ While Bruchac (2014:3814) notes that knowledge, belief and tradition may be interpreted as factual data, religious concepts and practice, respectively, these terms are used ‘imprecisely and interchangeably to describe Indigenous epistemologies’.

How does the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana reveal cultural continuity and cross-cultural engagement with non-Indigenous peoples?

The theme of cultural continuity is explored in relation to the primary question because the contact and post-contact landscape should not be investigated in isolation from pre-contact Indigenous lifeways. Indeed, the contemporary relationships between Aboriginal peoples and the maritime landscape is the outcome of customary maritime cultures and the impact of colonisation (Smyth 2012:10). This research explores cultural continuity aspects through topics such as marine resource exploitation, traditional ecological knowledge and ‘Dreamings’⁵. The focus on Indigenous heritage should also not occur in separation from non-Indigenous heritage and thus this thesis also investigates the theme of cross-cultural entanglement within the maritime sphere.

There then follows a series of secondary aims, which contribute towards the primary and secondary questions. These include mapping intangible cultural heritage within the maritime landscape, incorporating traditional place names and knowledges, documenting maritime routes and investigating aspects of mobility. In addition, surveying Aboriginal involvement in the Wardang Island/Waraldi pastoral landscape through time, and compiling a history of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana watercraft and a typology of post-contact vessels, contributes to recording tangible cultural heritage. These secondary aims all add to the primary question by collecting data sources related to the maritime cultural landscape and contextualising Aboriginal experiences through oral histories, places names, traditional knowledges and beliefs. A holistic series of methods incorporating oral history, archaeology and archival sources meet these aims.

1.3 Significance

This research is significant for three principal reasons. First, research in Australia has not previously employed the maritime cultural landscape framework to explore maritime themes within Indigenous contexts. Second, cross-cultural engagement

⁵ According to Dixon et al. (2006:242), ‘Dreaming’ refers to ‘a place or thing of special spiritual significance’ and can include sites, stories and paths or tracks. The ‘Dreamtime’, on the other hand, refers to the time of Ancestral Beings who created the world and environment and established moral codes (Dixon et al. 2006:241–242).

themes within the maritime sphere (detailed in Chapter 3) have not adequately explored the context of missions. Third, mission studies have largely ignored the maritime landscape (Figure 2). This study aims to rectify these gaps within the Australian archaeological literature.

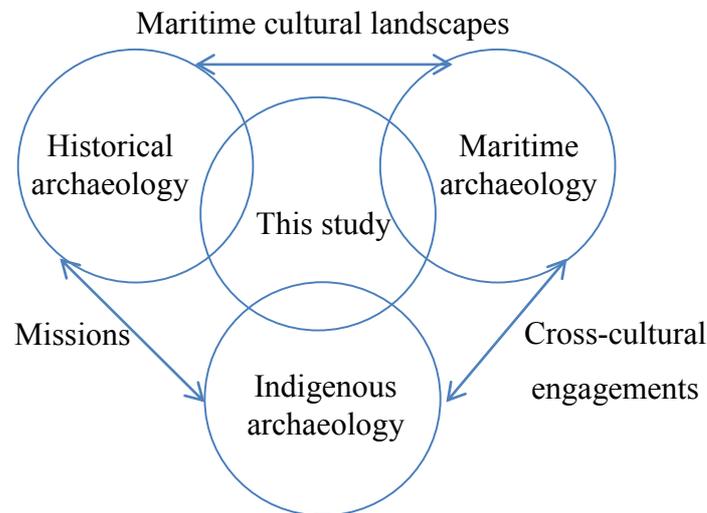


Figure 2 Illustration of the gap this research fills between three discrete subdisciplines.

It has been argued by Firth (1995:4) that colonialism has a maritime component which can be addressed through a landscape approach. While it may be obvious that ‘ships were ... one of the essential tools that allowed Europeans to colonize and exert hegemony over much of the rest of the world’ (Meide 2013a:13), maritime cultural landscapes of colonialism have not been addressed taking into account Indigenous perspectives—archaeological communities have neglected ‘the mundane, unsavoury aspects of the historical narrative’ (Harris et al. 2012:111). Meide’s (2013a) recent overview of the history and development of the maritime subdiscipline and its associated theories and approaches, for example, while citing a number of inroads into research relating to colonialism, does not once mention Indigenous peoples in these colonised countries. McGhee’s (1998) provocative paper suggested maritime archaeology was ‘as white as a freshly pressed set of bed sheets’, tempered somewhat by Flatman (2003:150) who rephrases this as a call to expose ‘the ‘dirty secrets’ of European global expansion, colonialism and domination’. By employing the maritime cultural landscape framework within an Indigenous context, this research explores ships and other mechanisms used for initiating and consolidating colonialism within a broader context (McGhee 1998).

The maritime cultural landscape approach, as coined by Westerdahl (1992), has not previously been applied in Australia to Indigenous archaeological contexts, having been largely reserved for non-Indigenous landscapes. Internationally, it has been applied to Indigenous contexts in Saipan (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) (Mushynsky 2011) and the Americas (Evans and Keith 2011; Glover et al. 2011). The aforementioned studies are rare exceptions to the Eurocentric norm. Seascape approaches, an alternative to the maritime cultural landscape concept, have become synonymous with Indigenous ‘prehistoric’⁶ contexts. The employment of a seascape approach has largely been advocated and conducted by McNiven (2003, 2008), however seascape approaches have been used on one occasion in an Indigenous post-contact context in Australia (see Ash et al. 2010b) (see McKinnon et al. [2014] for an application of seascapes in Saipan). Interestingly, a singular application of seascapes within a non-Indigenous context in Australia has been made (see Duncan 2000) (although it has also been dealt with outside of Australia, see McKinnon [2010] and Van de Noort [2003]). Therefore, while seascape frameworks explore non-Indigenous maritime landscapes, the reverse has not occurred; i.e. maritime cultural landscape approaches are yet to be used to investigate Indigenous landscapes. Chapter 2 examines in detail the rationale for deciding to use a maritime cultural landscape—rather than seascape—approach, in addition to an outline of the conceptual framework and underpinnings of the maritime cultural landscape approach. Westerdahl (2011b:337) states that ‘the scope of European approaches to maritime cultural landscapes and maritime culture would certainly learn much from holistic studies of the Pacific and its fringes’, a concept that is being furthered here, through an Australasian case study, by seeking to assess its validity and possibilities in Indigenous contexts. Therefore, this is the first attempt to explore the full potential of the maritime cultural landscape framework within Australian Indigenous archaeology.

Previous studies suggest that the maritime cultural landscape approach may be an appropriate framework for Indigenous post-contact contexts. For example, Kenderdine (1993:312–313) indicates that the ‘riverine cultural landscape’

⁶ The term ‘prehistoric’ is in inverted commas to acknowledge the historical baggage and artificial division associated with it, where it denotes that the Indigenous experience does not continue into the historical period. For a detailed analysis on this division within archaeology see Lightfoot (1995). The term ‘prehistory’ is not appropriate for use in Indigenous archaeology as it also ‘implies that Indigenous peoples did not have a legitimate history prior to colonization’ (Wilson 2014:3787).

framework—a sister framework to that of a maritime nature—applied to European heritage on the Murray River, could be equally applicable to exploring the Aboriginal heritage of the region, including economic activity, ‘Dreamtime’ traditions, canoe trees and current recreational uses. While Kenderdine (1993:312–313) focused on a European inland boat culture, she asserts that the framework lends itself to different phases in history and ‘prehistory’ because the landscape scale allows for the inclusion of sites of past and present use. As such, researchers are yet to fully explore this concept. A Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana maritime cultural landscape study provides an ideal opportunity for furthering its development, in addition to considering in more detail the relationship between the maritime and Indigenous archaeological record.

Australian archaeological research under-represents Indigenous involvement in maritime activities (Roberts et al. 2013; Roberts et al. 2014). While some archaeological research has been conducted in relation to Indigenous sealing, whaling and pearling, for example, missions as a space for examining maritime cultural heritage have not been utilised, despite the role many individuals at missions played in maritime, riverine and/or lacustrine industries. Furthermore, while studies of missions have focused on spatial arrangement, material culture, fringe camps and built heritage (e.g. Ash et al. 2008; Birmingham 2000; Dalley and Memmott 2010; Griffin 2010; Jones 2009; Keating 2012; Smith and Beck 2003), no study has been undertaken on any maritime heritage located at missions, with the exception of recent publications by colleagues and I (Fowler et al. 2014; Fowler et al. 2015; Roberts et al. 2013). Studies that focus on maritime heritage at missions could serve to either strengthen or critique the conclusions drawn about missions using other archaeological evidence. Many missions in Australia are located on significant waterways, including coasts, rivers and lakes; yet Indigenous interaction with these waterways at missions has not been researched archaeologically (Fowler 2013a).

This study is significant as it draws together three subdisciplines of archaeology (maritime, Indigenous and historical) that are utilised in Australia, and many other parts of the world, as primary and discrete fields (Roberts et al. 2013:77) (although it is noted that Anderson’s [in prep] research also overlaps these three fields but does not explicitly draw on a maritime cultural landscape approach). This research does

this by using a maritime cultural landscape framework not previously employed at Indigenous missions in Australia.

1.4 A maritime culture

Maritime archaeology is tasked with documenting and analysing past maritime cultures (Westerdahl 2006a:7). Critics have questioned whether the definition of ‘maritime culture’ should in fact be the end point of archaeological investigations, rather than the beginning; that maritime archaeologists should use material culture to decide whether the term maritime applies to the society under investigation (Firth 1995:3). This imposition of a term by academics could ‘limit or bias our interpretations, the questions we ask ... before we even begin’ (Ransley 2011:896), and it is not always appropriate to apply the concept of maritime culture to a society in the past because doing so assumes, without the necessary sensitivity, that ‘activity in, on or near the sea is inherently ‘maritime’ (Firth 1995:3). As the research question, however, is to assess the suitability of applying a maritime cultural landscape framework to an Indigenous post-contact context, Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana provided a pre-defined maritime culture as a case study. The understanding that the present and past Point Pearce/Burkiyana community is a maritime culture is based on evidence drawn from the use of watercraft in the (pre- and) post-contact period, the presence of coastal and marine themes within ‘Dreamings’ and the integral role of marine subsistence strategies (Mollenmans 2014; Osborne and Downs 2012:7; Roberts et al. 2013; Wood and Westell 1998a:16, 36–37). It is a category that is argued as ‘current in the realities of the people involved’ (Ransley 2011:895–896). This research follows the implications of the term ‘maritime community’ which usually means small, contemporary, Indigenous communities with small-scale traditions and local maritime practices (Ransley 2011:879). The following chapter discusses the definition of maritime culture in greater detail because the maritime cultural landscape approach presupposes a maritime culture (McKinnon et al. 2014:61).

1.5 Worldview

My background in maritime archaeology informs (and perhaps biases) this research to a greater extent than Indigenous and historical archaeological approaches. In

saying this, the vision of this research is that a maritime lens may contribute new insights and a third dimension to the Indigenous and historical context of missions. Often a maritime specialisation within archaeology is misconstrued as research focused on ships, ships and more ships, however I identify as one of ‘a younger generation of maritime archaeologists [who] simply does not accept such an atheoretical (typological and technological) stance that has largely permeated their subject in the past’ should continue to be perpetuated (Westerdahl 2014:121). Maritime cultural landscape approaches, with the potential to counter this atheoretical attitude, have most frequently been interpreted from a Western perspective and have, indeed, become the dominant area of research within maritime archaeology in northern Europe (Tuddenham 2010:6).

Thus, the research question will explore whether the maritime cultural landscape is an appropriate framework (or perhaps one of a suite of potential and yet to be considered frameworks) for interpreting Indigenous historical sites without disregarding Indigenous perspectives. While there is a recognised ability for interpretations of material culture to give voices to marginalised peoples, archaeologists need to avoid representing themselves as the authority on groups about which they write (Liebmann 2008:9). A key component of Indigenous archaeology is for the researcher to identify their privileged position (Wilson 2014:3791) and thus I will state at the outset that I am a first-generation (born in Australia to English immigrants), ‘white’ female applying a Western concept to an Aboriginal landscape. Openly acknowledging my position through critical and reflective methods is a means of moderating such biases. The research framework will therefore be assessed to identify if such prejudices can be mitigated.

1.6 Brief historical background

The earliest interaction between Narungga and non-Indigenous peoples began with whalers and sealers in the 1830s, shortly followed by surveyors and pastoralists (Ball 1992:36; Krichauff 2008:51; Mattingley and Hampton 1992:195). Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana was established in 1868, however during the late 1800s Narungga people were generally still mobile and were not restricted to the mission (Wanganeeen 1987:25). In 1894, after the closure of Poonindie Mission, Aboriginal peoples from Eyre Peninsula (SA) joined Narungga residents (Krichauff 2013:70;

Wood and Westell 1998b:8). In 1915, following the 1913 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Affairs, it changed from operating as a mission by local trustees to being managed by the state government as a station, and Aboriginal peoples' lives became increasingly regulated (Kartinyeri 2002:70; Krichauff 2013:59). Point Pearce/Burdiyana people were involved in all aspects of station life, including shearing, farming and building, and were also active on Wardang Island/Waraldi through both pastoral activities and working for Broken Hill Associated Smelters Pty Ltd⁷ (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:118; Wanganeen 1987:43, 55). The two main living areas on Wardang Island/Waraldi are the original mission outstation, known as the 'Old Village'—no longer in use—and, to the north, the original B.H.P. township, still in use by the Point Pearce/Burdiyana community. In 1966, the Point Pearce Aboriginal Reserve Land, including Wardang Island/Waraldi, became vested in the Aboriginal Lands Trust—ending government control—and has since been self-managed (Kartinyeri 2002:70; Wanganeen 1987:75). At the 2006 census, Point Pearce/Burdiyana had a population of 147 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007).

1.7 Location and environment

At the time of the establishment of Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, the land featured samphire swamps, mangroves and sand dunes, as well as arable land (Wood and Westell 1998b:5). The swamp areas on the mission mainland were only suitable for sheep grazing (South 1909:8). The rest of the mainland was originally a mixed grassland, spinifex and black-grass environment, however cultivation improved it to be suitable for grazing (South 1909:8). The coastline includes variations between low cliffs or high dunes and salt lakes (Wood and Westell 1998a).

Wardang Island/Waraldi, situated about 10 km west of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, is approximately 8 km north-south and 4 km east-west in size. The highest point is 32 m above sea-level, with a rugged coastline on the western side alternating between cliffs and rocky headlands and sandy beaches with many offshore rocks and reefs, while the eastern side is comparatively low relief (Heinrich 1976:86; Moody

⁷ Broken Hill Associated Smelters (or B.H.A.S.) held the mining leases on the island—however because B.H.P. is a more commonly known company and also due to the fact that it had interests in B.H.A.S. many people simply use the term B.H.P. and it will be referred to as B.H.P. for the remainder of this thesis (after Roberts et al. 2013:88).

2012:113–114). The island is covered in grass and coastal vegetation (Moody 2012:113).

Community members frequently use and maintain Wardang Island/Waraldi and continue to live on the island at times. Of the other nearby islands, presently, Scotch College, in Adelaide, maintains a research station on Goose Island. The physical limits of the archaeological study area are the boundaries of the mission (now Aboriginal Lands Trust) land, which includes Wardang Island/Waraldi (Figure 3). Other islands nearby have also been significant to Narungga people in the past and continue to be so in the present, including Green Island, Big Goose Island, Little Goose Island, Rocky Island and Dead Man’s Island/Mungari⁸. Where relevant, references to other locations across Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda in historical archives and oral histories are included.



Figure 3 Map showing scope of study area.

1.8 Notes on the use of language

Throughout this study, I actively considered language and terminology, as reflected in the use of Narungga toponyms, identity labels and oral histories. Mattingley and

⁸ The name Mungari, in addition to referring to Dead Man’s Island, can also refer to a place on the mainland coast adjacent to the island (NAPA 2006:62).

Hampton (1992:115) state that the only memorials to many Indigenous peoples and their culture are surviving place names for ‘Dreamtime’ Ancestors, which are rich in meaning; other names are now lost due to settlers imposing their own commemorative naming. The retention of non-Indigenous naming has not been questioned by Australian society, despite its comparatively recent use, indicating the nature of power in the country today (Krichauff 2008:24). Narungga toponyms, used in this thesis where known, counteract the power-laden nature of place names and the role of naming in silencing Indigenous cultures in history (see Roberts et al. 2014:26). Dual naming is used throughout to further privilege Narungga culture and to contribute to the aim of decolonising the written record. The spelling of traditional Narungga words and names used in this thesis is consistent with the current orthography from the Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association (2006).

Some historical documents quoted in this thesis contain words and descriptions that reflect the attitude of the author of the document or the period of its writing and are considered inappropriate today in some circumstances. The term ‘Aborigine’, meaning from the beginning (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:xv), is not used in this thesis because of the colonial baggage it carries. ‘Indigenous’ is also regarded by some as problematic due to its broad-brush approach to grouping distinct peoples’ vastly different experiences of colonisation (Fox 2006:403; Smith 2012:37–38). ‘Indigenous peoples’, a phrase which has become established in academic discourse through its political correctness (Béteille 1998:188), internationalises colonised peoples experiences, although the plural ‘peoples’ does recognise ‘real differences between different Indigenous peoples’ (Smith 2012:39). In order, then, to specify the Indigenous peoples of Australia, the term ‘Aboriginal’ is used in thesis (except when referring to broader issues relating to contemporary Indigenous peoples throughout the world) as it avoids ‘lumping’ people who are recognised as Aboriginal into a general category (Watkins 2005:430). Aboriginal peoples in the vicinity of Point Pearce/Burgiyana and the wider region often refer to themselves as *nunga*⁹ and often

⁹ *Nhangga* or *nunga* is defined as an Indigenous person or peoples of South Australia, although this word only appears in more recent Narungga records (Kartinyeri 2002:69).

call non-Indigenous people *gunya*¹⁰, and these terms are used occasionally through this thesis (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:xv).

Aboriginal culture is an oral culture and storytelling is an integral aspect which must be passed down and kept alive for future generations (Van den Berg 2005). While there is a historical paradox in situating Aboriginal oral history within a text produced in ‘white’ culture, the opposition and mutual exclusivity between oral history and written text should be revised (Dickinson 1994:320, 326). Care must be taken when transforming oral histories into written text and therefore the transcription and reproduction of interviews is as accurate as possible, attempting to retain the ‘voice and idiom of speakers’ (Van den Berg 2005) and to maintain community members’ narratives as distinct from the principle account of this thesis (Dickinson 1994:327). In some cases, Narungga terms such as *anna*, meaning ‘true? Really?’ have been retained for authenticity (see NAPA 2006:14; Roberts 2003). Furthermore, transcripts were sent to community members for clarification and accuracy.

1.9 Chapter outline

Chapter 2 introduces the concept of maritime cultural landscapes and comments on the related notion of seascapes in detail. It defines the key tenets, criticisms and advantages of the maritime cultural landscape framework and its principal conceptual underpinnings, as well as the interpretive model of considering facets of the maritime cultural landscape.

Chapter 3 begins with a review of literature associated with pre-contact Indigenous maritime activities in order to contextualise this work. Following this, previous investigations into post-contact Indigenous maritime activities are fully explored in order to highlight the gap this research fills, as well as the way in which this research might be useful in other contexts. Finally, previous archaeological research at missions is summarised.

Chapter 4 introduces Narungga participation in maritime activities prior to contact, before relating the historical background of South Australian colonisation, including

¹⁰ *Gunya* is a ‘white’ man or ‘white’ person; used since at least 1905, the old meaning of the word is ghost or corpse, although the word *bindira* also has the same meaning and is suggested as Old Narungga (NAPA 2006:48).

Aboriginal participation in the maritime economy. This chapter also presents a historical overview of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, Wardang Island/Waraldi and Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu. Lastly, prior study conducted at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana is reviewed.

Chapter 5 outlines the methods employed in this research, including community collaboration and ethical considerations. The chapter also investigates the methods used in oral history collection, archaeological survey and archival research.

Chapter 6 provides the results of the research, divided into the 11 maritime cultural landscape thematic categories: ritual/cultic, cognitive/toponymical, topographic, outer resource, inner resource, transport/communication, urban harbour, economic/subsistence/sustenance, social, territorial/power/resistance and leisure maritime landscapes. Each category presents the oral history, archaeological and archival data relevant to that theme.

Chapter 7 considers the results and presents cohesive discussions on topics such as cultural continuity and cross-cultural entanglement. The appropriateness and applicability of the 11 facets of the maritime cultural landscape are analysed individually. This chapter also discusses limitations to the research, recommendations for cultural heritage management and options for further research at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and other national or international missions or reserves.

Finally, Chapter 8 addresses the research questions and aims. The applicability of a maritime cultural landscape approach to Indigenous post-contact contexts and the issues (positive or negative) that emerge are determined.

1.10 Conclusions

Indigenous peoples are often stereotyped as frozen in the past and therefore having made little contribution to more recent human history (Rowland 2004:2). This thesis aims to debunk this illusion through a maritime lens. The maritime cultural landscape framework is being applied here as a means of interpreting the history and archaeology of the maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana.

This chapter has introduced the development of the project, the research questions and aims, the significance of this study and a brief historical background. Subsequent chapters will address the maritime cultural landscape framework, review relevant literature, expand on the historical background, present the methods and results of this study and finally discuss the results in relation to the research questions and aims.

2 MARITIME CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The conceptual significance of the maritime cultural landscape framework according to Westerdahl (2011b:339–340) is the way in which it transforms the practice of maritime archaeology. Adams (2006:4) further suggests that when an overtly maritime approach is taken new understandings will be found in the deep-set issues surrounding the study of human culture, because maritime archaeology has assumed a theoretical ‘centre-ground’ where both ‘scientific’ and ‘interpretive’ analyses are considered in union (and often within the same research program)¹¹.

The maritime cultural landscape approach is built upon in this research to consider its suitability as a tool for interpreting the material and immaterial culture of the Point Pearce/Burkiyana maritime community. Many activities occurring at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana are centralised on the shore/coastline, for example launching vessels, commencing or concluding voyages, foraging, agriculture, industry and recreation (after Ford 2011b:3–4). These activities are geographically and temporally intertwined which is why the maritime cultural landscape approach was selected for examination in this study.

¹¹ In comparison to the original polarity between processual and post-processual approaches (Adams 2006:4). Adams (2006:4) hypothesises that this is due to the origin of maritime archaeology as ‘exploratory and advocative’, as opposed to ‘confrontational’, denying any contradiction between scientific analysis and the interpretation of social contexts. The origins of maritime archaeology are well-documented by Flatman (2007a, 2007b).

This chapter begins by introducing the concepts of landscape and culture and their use in previous post-contact studies. The chapter then considers the maritime cultural landscape approach for its suitability as an interpretive tool to conduct research in an Indigenous, post-contact, maritime culture context, as opposed to a similar concept, seascapes. The conceptual underpinnings of the maritime cultural landscape approach and its attendant subcultures are explained and, finally, other applications of Indigenous maritime cultural landscapes, in management rather than research-based contexts, are reviewed.

2.1 Landscape and culture

Flatman (2003:151) situates all archaeological theories within an inherent bias, given the creation of such theories by land-based Western societies with the intention of interpreting terrestrial archaeology. One such theory, culture, originated in European practices relating to agriculture and cultivation (the Latin *cultura* refers to cultivating, caring and tending [Bennett et al. 2005]), resulting in culture being imagined frequently as grounded in the land (Helmreich 2011:132). As an ethnographic and anthropological concept, influenced by Franz Boas, culture has been defined as a way of life (Bennett et al. 2005). Culture has also been often quoted as ‘man’s [sic] extra somatic means of adaptation’ (Binford 1962:220). Juxtaposition occurs between constructs of culture from a Western perspective and concepts of nature (Ford 2011a:4; Jazwa 2011:132). Conceptions of the sea, a significant characteristic of nature, have similarly been primarily constructed through a relationship with land and ‘shore-side, shore-based, individuals and groups’ (Flatman 2003:151). In the past, remains on land were recorded and marked on topographical and economic maps, however, due to cartography and differing scales, the same did not occur on sea charts (with the exception of cultural shipping hazards) (Westerdahl 2011c:734). Indeed, Parker (2001:29) notes that landscape archaeology has been based on ‘two-dimensional cartographic overlays’, whereas, maritime cultural landscapes would require topographic distortions and conceptual mapping. It was Westerners during the nineteenth century, however, who drew lines across the sea to create colonial boundaries, such as those that occur in the regions of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia (Hau’ofa 1993:7; Kirch 2010:133).

Landscape studies are generally spatially defined within a particular boundary or area and seek to interpret the relationships between culture and nature in that area using multidisciplinary sources (Ford 2011a:1–4). Gosden and Head (1994:113) state that landscape is a usefully ambiguous concept which both invites and defies definition. Researchers have previously applied landscape approaches to post-contact contexts (Brown 2007, 2011; Byrne 2008; Harrison 2004a; Moylan et al. 2009; Prangnell et al. 2010). In addition, previous researchers have investigated aspects of mobility as it relates to landscape at missions from a non-maritime perspective (Griffin 2000, 2010; Morrison et al. 2010). The maritime cultural landscape framework, however, has not been applied to mission contexts, nor have mission studies explored maritime mobility.

While post-contact researchers are yet to apply the maritime cultural landscape framework, more general landscape approaches have been employed at other places of culture contact, including frontier conflict and the pastoral industry (Barker 2007:9; Paterson 2011:250). Barker (2007:9), for example, found that a landscape approach, rather than a site-based strategy, allowed for a more holistic contextualisation of frontier conflict. Also, Paterson (2011:250) found that evidence for Indigenous labour in pastoral activities required the analysis of archaeological sites across a wide landscape. Therefore, landscape-scale approaches are relevant at places of culture contact, and similar spatial studies are applicable to missions.

Although archaeological models for the historic period have been based on inland agricultural settlements and are therefore linear strips or transects, landscape archaeology has, since its earliest conceptualisations, taken into account links and communications (Parker 2001:28). Mobility is a theme with many overlaps in both post-contact contexts and landscape-scale analyses. Indigenous post-contact studies at missions, reserves and fringe camps have explored mobility. Several archaeologists (e.g. Byrne 2008; Di Fazio 2000; Smith and Beck 2003:66) have discussed Indigenous settlement and movement patterns within, around and between the geometric or cadastral grid of ‘white’ fences and legal boundaries. Often Indigenous reserves were located on marginal land along rivers or coasts, for example ‘no man’s [sic] land’ behind the dunes of Corindi Beach (NSW) (Smith and Beck 2003). In addition, Sutton (2003a:84–85) suggests that plans of missions can

show the location of officials' houses near exits, entries and gates, as well as transport points such as jetties, wharves and roads. Therefore, withdrawing access to mobility, including maritime mobility (i.e. access to boats), served as one mechanism to control Indigenous peoples. Missionaries also aimed to create boundaries where they do not exist in nature through the spatial layout of mission settlements, by imposing new forms of settlement organisation and space and time routines (Griffin 2000:22; Keating 2012; Lydon and Ash 2010:2). However, Lydon (2009:21) found that the location of buildings at the Wybalenna settlement (Tas.) undermined the sense of a cohesive village because, with the exception of the church and terraced houses, buildings were spatially distant. Given the geographic location of Point Pearce Mission/Burghyana, it is useful to question how the proximity of the sea, as a 'natural' feature, influenced the spatial boundaries put in place by missionaries. As mobility is the principal feature affecting all maritime-related operations (Steffy 1994:8), did the authority of the settlement fade when Aboriginal peoples left Point Pearce Mission/Burghyana and crossed the sea to Wardang Island/Waraldi and other nearby islands?

Bennett (2007:90) makes reference to the accessibility of oceans and rivers to Indigenous peoples, in comparison to the land, as a subsistence source during the post-contact period. In discussing Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers Mission Station's, in the Gippsland region of Victoria, Attwood (1989:65) suggests the missionary goal of enclosing and domesticating the landscape was unsuccessful due to the simple reason that the institutions were located on the edge of another spatial landscape, rivers and seas: waterscapes. Aims to achieve self-supporting missions through the supplementation of resources by traditional foraging economies further facilitated access to this maritime cultural landscape (Attwood 1989:65). In the case of Point Pearce Mission/Burghyana, different economic factors facilitated access, namely the island pastoral industry. At Ramahyuck, fishing was a way for Aboriginal women to escape from the order of the mission to a space that reflected traditional practices (Attwood 1989:67). A visitor to Ramahyuck Mission Station once described it as 'like a ship' in terms of its self-sufficiency (Attwood 1989:8), an ironic statement given maritime vessels actually offered movement away from the mission.

Exploring aspects of mobility within the mission landscape also contributes to decolonising the histories of Indigenous peoples. Constructs of nature/culture from a Western perspective suggests that areas are open to control or colonisation by others (Helmreich 2011:132). Often, local histories separate Indigenous and non-Indigenous geographic spaces, with the mission featured as the only space Indigenous peoples inhabited in the post-contact period (see commentary in Howitt [2001], Nash [1984] and Roberts et al. [2014:29]). In such a scenario, an illusion is created whereby Indigenous peoples seemingly vacated other parts of the landscape (Byrne and Nugent 2004:11). By investigating aspects of mobility outside of the mission space—specifically by assessing cultural landscape themes of maritime mobility—this research seeks to overturn such notions by exploring the complexity of the post-contact period in greater depth.

Indigenous landscapes are often conceptualised differently to Western constructs of cultural landscapes. Bender (1999) suggests that Indigenous landscapes are stories and ‘living maps’ that are inseparable from spirituality. Seascapes also reflect these differing abstractions of landscape (McNiven 2008:149). Western constructs imagine the sea as nature, which is unable to be divided into ‘estates’, a legacy from colonial views of the ‘high seas’ being free (obviously with the exception of sovereign sea territories) (Helmreich 2011:135; McNiven 2008:150–151). This prevalent Western understanding, that the seas are open to all, has caused Indigenous relationships to the sea to be viewed as relating purely to resource use and discounts Indigenous systems of marine tenure (Peterson and Rigsby 1998:1). Indigenous sea tenure, however, is found in the ways in which ‘inshore fishermen [sic] perceive, name, partition, own and defend local sea space and resources’ (Helmreich 2011:136; McNiven 2008:151) (for early literature on sea rights see Sutton [1995:5]). An ethnographic study from Mafia Island, Tanzania, found that distinctions between nature and culture, which marine science consultants were committed to, were not shared by the local community (Helmreich 2011:135). The seascape of the Mafia Island community was a ‘space of fishing, fish and biographically meaningful stories of seafaring’, rather than a ‘wild Other to human culture’ (Helmreich 2011:135). Another example, this time from the Melanesian region of Oceania (Hviding 1996), is that no division is conceived between sea and land, rather, all life is comprehended within a holistic ‘life-scape’ (Flatman 2003:151). While cultures in Oceania no doubt

still have a relationship with land, these cultures do not see changing environments as significant in lived experiences; while the shoreline exists physically, it is not something that has to be crossed mentally (Flatman 2003:151). The universe consists of more than land surfaces, incorporating the sea to the extent of the ability to navigate and use it (Hau'ofa 1993:7). According to Smyth (2012:8), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples also consider the coastal sea to be inseparable from land.

In order to incorporate Indigenous perspectives of landscape, and to encompass intangible knowledge, collaboration with the community is vital. Archaeological enquiry is traditionally recognised as relating to physical evidence and its context, however, Brown (2007:38) argues that two additional elements must be considered when using a cultural landscape approach: time and connection with present communities. Time refers to the continuity between past, present and future and includes both the continuum between 'prehistory' and history and the connection between 'the remembered past and contemporary communities' (Brown 2007:38). He also critiques Indigenous heritage research for continuing to consider its primary manifestation as the material past, despite recent international literature on cultural and intangible values (Brown 2008:22). Emphasising intangible, cultural and post-contact heritage values through cultural landscapes of a maritime nature at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana will add to dispelling this view and go some way (however small) towards the decolonisation of the discipline (after Gill et al. 2005:1–3; Roberts et al. 2014:29). Roberts et al. (2014:26) found that publicly highlighting traditional toponyms and oral histories was one way of contributing towards the countering of colonialism.

Landscape and its relationship to culture, post-contact archaeological research and mobility have been introduced. The previous discussion draws many similarities between a landscape and a maritime cultural landscape, particularly a focus on mobility. However, research within post-contact contexts, such as missions, is yet to explore the maritime cultural landscape approach. This chapter now rationalises the foundation for building upon this approach in an Indigenous context rather than using the similar framework of seascapes.

2.2 Maritime cultural landscape or seascape

In addition to developing the concept of maritime cultural landscapes, the study of landscapes was integral in initiating the maritime archaeology concept of seascapes (Ford 2011a:4). It must of course be recognised at the outset that maritime cultural landscapes and seascapes are both Western constructs—maritime culture as a concept is itself an archaeological paradigm, ‘rather than a means by which a society might define itself’ (Charlton Christie 2013:155). Such definitions undeniably relate to the Western imposition of labelling and are inseparable from the administrative task of assembling, distributing, evaluating and organising—whether this is the intention of scholars or not (Adorno 1991:93).

Early studies in maritime anthropology projected land-based perceptions onto maritime cultures, requiring fisherpeople to appear as hybrid farmers, to highlight a land-based lifestyle and ‘legitimise’ such studies (Helmreich 2011:135). It has been argued that when the way in which land is used is in any way influenced by the sea, then the term landscape should be extended to include seascape because land, such as islands, are linked by the sea (Gosden and Pavlides 1994:162). I argue, along with others (e.g. Ford 2011a:4), that seascape can be considered part of the original term landscape, and thus as part of a maritime cultural landscape.

There has been much confusion in the archaeological discipline about the difference between a maritime cultural landscape and a seascape. Indeed, Westerdahl (2014:121) says that ‘some people prefer to say seascapes for approximately the same [as a maritime cultural landscape]’ and that the conceptual contents of maritime cultural landscapes are used universally through terms such as ‘coastal archaeology’, ‘culture landscape’, ‘island archaeology’, ‘seascape’ and ‘waterscape’ (Westerdahl 2011c:754). Duncan (2004:11) also suggests that the term maritime cultural landscape is synonymous with cultural seascapes. In many cases the two terms are used interchangeably with no mention of how they differ (e.g. Ash 2007). Duncan (2004:14) uses the term ‘seascape’ when referring to Indigenous and Pacific Island studies, however employs the phrase ‘maritime cultural landscapes’ to describe ancient European or contemporary Australian projects. This seems to be perpetuating the notion of Indigenous/‘prehistoric’ and non-Indigenous/historic dichotomies rife within Australia’s cultural heritage management systems (Byrne 2004:136; Harrison

2004b:4; Nicholas and Watkins 2014:3782). Anderson (in prep) has also argued the existence of Indigenous/‘prehistoric’, terrestrial/historic and underwater/maritime divides.

The pre-contact focus of seascapes is evident through several studies. Barber (2003), for example, examined Maori fish procurement from a seascape perspective, acknowledging the influence of ritual behaviour and cultural boundaries. In another example, McNiven (2003:338) studied the archaeology of ritual seascapes through the material expression of stone arrangements in central Queensland. These studies are exemplary in the way they move away from the preoccupation in coastal archaeological studies with the earliest date, quantities of species and so forth and start to provide more pluralistic interpretations. Indeed, McNiven (2003:329) states that ‘an archaeology of seascapes is more than an archaeology of marine subsistence and procurement technology; it must also be an archaeology of spiritscapes and rituals’. It seems surprising, however, that post-contact researchers do not more frequently apply seascapes in their work.

These different approaches, where one approach is often cited as being derived from, or an example of, the other approach, oversimplifies their diverse intellectual genealogies (Bailey 2007:201). The maritime cultural landscape approach came from a Western, Nordic maritime archaeology tradition (appearing as a caption in Swedish [Westerdahl 1978] and first published in English 14 years later [Westerdahl 1992]); seascapes developed out of an Indigenous, coastal and island archaeology school of thought (used but not defined by Gosden and Pavlides [1994] and Walters [1989]).

Maritime cultural landscape was originally defined as the ‘whole network of sailing routes, with ports, havens and harbours along the coast, and its related constructions and other remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial’ (Westerdahl 2008b:212). It was then later defined to make the connection to maritime culture more explicit: ‘human utilization (economy) of maritime space by boat: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping and, in historical times, its attendant subcultures such as pilotage, and lighthouse and seamark maintenance’ (Westerdahl 1992:5). It is these definitions that have been adopted most readily by scholars (Freire 2013).

The concept of seascape has, as recently as 2014, been described as ‘still somewhat ambiguous in the literature’ due to a lack of exploration by archaeologists working in coastal and island maritime research (McKinnon et al. 2014:61). Seascapes have been defined as ‘contoured, alive, rich in ecological diversity and in cosmological and religious significance and ambiguity’ (Cooney 2003:323). They are ‘imprinted with meaning, inscribed with sites and mapped with named places’ (McNiven 2003:331) (also see Peterson and Rigsby [1998:10] for similar ideas of named places, sacred sites etc.). The most holistic definition of seascapes is provided by McNiven (2008:151) as:

The lived sea-spaces central to the identity of maritime peoples. They are owned by right of inheritance, demarcated territorially, mapped with named places, historicized with social actions, engaged technologically for resources, imbued with spiritual potency and agency, orchestrated ritually, and legitimated cosmologically.

McNiven’s (2003) interpretation of seascapes, however, has been critiqued as ‘universalised’ and ‘reductive’ (Ransley 2011:894). Ransley (2011:894) argues that comparable archaeological sites should not be represented under the assumption that a ‘ritual orchestration of seascapes’ is a ‘defining feature’ of the communities that produced the sites. Instead, each form of data should be allowed to tell its own story, rather than suggesting one example from a local context could be used to understand the past in another location or time. McKinnon et al.’s (2014) more recent study has added to the ecological and ontological features of seascapes by including access points and navigational features (which, nevertheless, fit comfortably within maritime cultural landscape studies).

Given the aforementioned debates, it is necessary to distinguish the two approaches and explain the use of maritime cultural landscapes, as opposed to seascapes, in this research. Therefore, what follows is a discussion on those features in common between the two approaches and those that differ, as suggested by archaeologists (Ford 2011a; McKinnon et al. 2014). Critiques of the two approaches and the reasoning for building upon the maritime cultural landscape approach in this research are illustrated.

2.2.1 Similarities

2.2.1.1 *Physical and cognitive*

The first of the similarities is that maritime cultural landscapes and seascapes both explore physical and cognitive elements (material/tangible and immaterial/intangible) (McKinnon et al. 2014:61)—a connection also shared with Indigenous archaeology (Martinez 2014:3773). The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines intangible cultural heritage as ‘the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage’. As such, intangible heritage includes oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship (Fowler et al. 2014:16; UNESCO 2003). This Convention was influenced by the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter—a Charter which has been ‘adopted, adapted and applied’ in many countries around the world—which was heavily amended in 1999 to reflect a shift in focus from physical conservation to a broader understanding of cultural significance, whether expressed as a physical structure or intangibly (Truscott 2014:1078, 1081). The Burra Charter provides guidelines for all forms of cultural heritage management in Australia and has influenced maritime archaeology through the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology Code of Ethics, contract or consulting maritime archaeology and conservation management plans for shipwrecks (Anderson et al. 2006:148; Coroneos 2006:115, 118). Documenting any archaeological landscape, whether that be maritime or terrestrial, without reference to its intangible heritage results in a lack of contextualising information (Byrne 2004:144). Westerdahl (2011b:339–340) even suggests that researchers should aspire for a balance between the investigation of material and immaterial remains.

In early anthropology, the sea featured more as a practical means of travel for field-work, rather than as a conceptual idea, and anthropology can thus be seen as the product of seafaring and colonialism (Helmreich 2011:134). Similarly, early terrestrial archaeological excavations, for example in Africa, employed local peoples as labourers rather than formally acknowledging their role in the interpretation of their own past (Chirikure 2014:3834). There is also a complex relationship between

the development of archaeology and colonial rule (Maarleveld 2011:920–921; Martinez 2014:3772). Duncan (2006:10) has recognised that prior to Westerdahl’s ‘comet’ (Flatman 2011), other maritime cultural studies examined wide-ranging cultural components and recognised non-physical qualities, they just did not use the phrase ‘maritime cultural landscape’. Early studies in island and coastal archaeologies focused on more economic and material aspects of cultural interaction with the sea—including diet, procurement technologies and occupation patterns—ignoring cognitive connections (McNiven 2003:330).

A key theme of the maritime cultural landscape approach is that not all of the data it incorporates classifies as strictly tangible; instead, immaterial and cognitive information is also included. While the maritime cultural landscape approach has been criticised for emphasising economy and geography over time, space, cultural action and landscapes of habit (Dellino-Musgrave 2006; Horrell 2005), these arguments have taken a narrow view of maritime cultural landscapes. Habitus, or cultural practice, leaves both material and immaterial traces in a maritime cultural landscape (Westerdahl 2010d:68). Westerdahl (1992:5–6) notes that local cognitive perspectives, or how the aspects of surroundings map and imprint in the mind, can uncover maritime cultural landscapes. He has been particularly concerned with place names and sees toponymy as a vital and significant source of intangible data when examining maritime cultural landscapes (Westerdahl 1992:6). Intangible aspects have also been described by Ford (2011b:76), who utilises the term ‘ephemeral landscapes’ when referring to the non-existent archaeological signatures of Lake Ontario’s (Canada and United States of America) ice roads. Harbours, loading places and other well-frequented havens and their associated hinterland are rich in folklore and the making and telling of stories; even small harbours which act as nodes (also called articulations [Parker 2001:23]) within a maritime cultural landscape are centres for retelling and spreading dominant myths and stories (Westerdahl 2011b:334, 2012:334). An advantage of the maritime cultural landscape model, as put forward by Flatman (2007a:325), is that it populates a maritime cultural landscape with individuals and communities. While Dellino-Musgrave (2006:54) favoured concepts of social landscapes over maritime cultural landscapes, the emphasis on societal connections within the latter led Westerdahl (2011b:337) to consider revising the term ‘maritime culture’ to ‘maritime communities’, clearly

highlighting a focus on human action and social relationships. Firth's (1995) approach to maritime landscapes also highlights that the 'marine environment should actively influence, and be influenced by, the overall social organization of that society' for a society to be truly 'maritime' (Charlton Christie 2013:155). At Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, the landscape ties particular individuals and specific activities to certain places, which (as will be demonstrated) makes maritime cultural landscapes one of a number of possible (as yet unexplored) frameworks within which to record these connections.

Seascapes also employ intangible components; McNiven (2003:149, 2008) has explored the archaeology of Indigenous seascapes through the lens of spiritscapes and rituals that are used to facilitate spiritual relationships with the sea (although has been criticised for gathering 'elements of somewhat scattered examples to weave into his archaeological story' [Ransley 2011:893–894]). Traditional knowledge of currents, winds, seabed topography and seasonal changes are part of the inheritance of seascapes (Cooney 2003:324). Therefore, local knowledge and lived experiences are central to understanding how seascapes have been culturally constructed (Cooney 2003:324). Through seascapes it becomes evident that the water is not an empty space, but is claimed, named, divided and inherited (Crouch 2008:132–133). As such, both approaches apply physical and cognitive elements of the landscape.

2.2.1.2 Wet and dry

A second parallel is that both seascape and maritime cultural landscape approaches explore heritage that is physically located in wet and dry environments. Tuddenham (2010:6) critiques the concept of maritime cultural landscapes, questioning whether the concept actually maintains the gap between maritime and terrestrial archaeology given its terminology ('its opposition becomes by semantics terrestrial archaeology'). Dellino-Musgrave (2006:54) similarly argues that the concept implies an 'other' landscape; terrestrial, non-maritime. These criticisms in themselves are perpetuating a Western, literal view of the world. A maritime cultural landscape, as a conceptual construct, does not mean only 'wet land', but can also include 'dry land'. This is based on accepting the premise that 'the shore is a continuum from the uplands to the continental shelf' and that what may now be a submerged landscape may have been an exposed landscape in the past (or vice versa) (Ford 2011a:4).

Similarly, McKinnon et al. (2014:63) state that as part of a larger seascape, heritage associated with the sea can be located in a wet or dry environment. The examples of inland rock art and *latte*¹² structural remains on Saipan are used to argue that terrestrial sites are related to the sea and are thus a part of the seascape (McKinnon et al. 2014:77). Archaeological methods are well-placed to highlight spatial and chronological change and assist in integrating seascapes into wider landscapes (Cooney 2003:324). Ford (2011a:4), however, suggests that McNiven's (2003:332) definition of seascapes, which includes land-based features such as 'islands, sandbanks, reefs [and] rock outcrops', can be considered under the original landscape term. They are part of a landscape, whether submerged or exposed—indeed, McNiven (2003:333) states that some of these seabed features, such as channels, were created by Ancestor spirits when they were dry land (see Peterson and Rigsby [1998:6] for Indigenous notions of sea tenure encompassing the seabed). A report produced by Australia's National Oceans Office (2002:3) states that Indigenous peoples relate to land that was inundated by the sea, i.e. the present seabed.

When focusing in on the 'wet' aspect of maritime cultural landscapes or seascapes, further theoretical considerations arise. Westerdahl (2011b:339) has questioned whether the underwater landscape can be considered cultural, given no culture has been practiced in the underwater ecological sphere, shipwrecks being a form of deposition. It can be argued, though, that diving to collect marine resources, and other practices of fishing and marine subsistence and culture, has a much longer history underwater than the advent of the Self Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus (SCUBA). Indeed, at Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda in 1850, Narungga people are recorded as 'diving for 70 or 80 yards [64.01–73.15 m] under water' when fishing (Griffiths 1988:128). While the connection between the terrestrial and submerged landscapes through physical practices of culture are therefore under debate, it is the cognitive landscape, knowledge of the underwater environment and creation stories, that unambiguously link a terrestrial maritime cultural landscape to an underwater landscape (Westerdahl 2011b:339). Therefore, regardless of whether the term maritime cultural landscape or seascape is used, both refer to cultural

¹² A structure built on stone foundations and possibly used for dwellings or storing canoes (McKinnon et al. 2014:67).

heritage in wet (including submerged) and dry environments. The scale of a maritime cultural landscape, how far it extends inland, is discussed further when defining maritime culture and introducing the concept of liminality.

2.2.1.3 Maritime/sea and non-maritime/land

McKinnon et al. (2014:61) argue that a seascape does not ‘require geographical or temporal boundaries separate and distinct from non-maritime-related spaces’, however, I argue that this is also the case for maritime cultural landscape approaches. Westerdahl (2008b:191, 226, 2010d:66) does not suggest that maritime cultural landscapes should be studied in isolation, rather they should be looked at together with other closely related cultures and are deeply involved in other economies such as coastal and island agriculture and pastoralism.

Maritime culture has been correlated to a life mode, ‘the exploitation of a number of niches in society and in nature’ (Westerdahl 2003:19). Therefore, it is often formed through a combination of occupations, most of which are part-time and unable to form an economy independently (Westerdahl 2006b:61). Fishing, as an example, may not be a central economy; however it is also not a sideline pursuit.

Consequently, maritime life within any culture features ‘the same everyday occupations and the same type of sea-land combinations’ (Westerdahl 2008b:192). Indeed, for coastal communities ‘the sea is merely another resource’ (Charlton Christie 2013:152, 154). Westerdahl (2011b:337) adjusted his definition of a maritime cultural landscape to include what he deems as the partner economy of any maritime culture: coastal agriculture. The investigation of cultural activities should not occur in isolation and therefore maritime culture needs to be contextualised within pastoral culture. The exploitation of islands and the sea for purposes other than transport and fishing are utterly important in a holistic picture of a maritime cultural landscape, such as hunting, fowling, grazing and timber extraction (Westerdahl 2009a:314). The third of these, grazing, is pertinent to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, where the same people are involved in both maritime and pastoral cultures on the coast—fishing farmers or farming fisherpeople (Westerdahl 2008b:205). Indeed, Westerdahl (2008b:191) suggests that the first place to begin a theory of maritime cultural landscapes is by combining ‘two or more ways of subsistence’. This study does not explore coastal agriculture in depth; it discusses

island pastoralism at Wardang Island/Waraldi in detail, as well as, to a lesser extent, coastal pastoralism.

McKinnon et al. (2014:61) also argue that a seascape does not ‘take into account a prescribed boundary between land and sea’, and this can also be an accurate description of maritime cultural landscapes (although definitions of seascape still often refer to an area or meeting point of land and sea [Dellino-Musgrave 2006:54]). Westerdahl (2008b:191, 226, 2010d:66) indicates that sea and land is not an artificial boundary but, where it is present, is in fact a culturally constructed, and often cognitive, boundary. The maritime cultural landscape approach does not necessitate the creation of a sea-land dichotomy through its methodology; instead it crosses existing artificial boundaries.

Defining the boundary of a missions’ maritime cultural landscape may appear straightforward based on the established land boundary, however it is important to consider ‘the large scale mosaics of lands/seas outside of the reserve [mission] boundaries’ (Brown 2007:36). Brown (2007:36) also states that documentation should not be restricted to ‘artificially bounded’ cultural landscapes. Westerdahl (2008b:226) explores this further, within the maritime cultural landscape framework, to acknowledge that maritime cultures, as compared to other patterns of culture, crossed borders created by authorities, including ‘those shaped by laws defining jurisdiction over an area and those created for the sake of territoriality’. Maritime culture, when viewed holistically, must cross these conceptual, administrative, material and instinctive borders between sea and land (Westerdahl 2011c:735). Discussions about crossing political and legal boundaries continue towards the end of this chapter in relation to cultural heritage management.

Maritime cultural landscapes also connect to non-maritime spaces and cross the supposed sea-land boundary by exploring connections and mobility. The ‘defining characteristic’ of cultural landscapes, including maritime cultural landscapes, is how people move through them (Flatman 2011:326). Adams (2001:292) points out that the cliché of rivers, lakes and seas connecting, rather than dividing, a society is an obligatory theme in introductory level maritime archaeology lectures. Connectivity is however not only a product of nature, it is principally a cultural construct (Westerdahl 2010d:66). In exactly the same way, no feature of the landscape is a

boundary unless it is experienced as such by people who are active within that landscape (McKinnon et al. 2014:60). Several underpinnings of maritime cultural landscape patterns relate to this including transport zones and transit points (see section 2.4.3) (Westerdahl 1992:6). While the maritime cultural landscape approach acknowledges physical changes in the environment, it does not perpetuate these boundaries in interpreting a maritime culture.

Methods that physically cross these (Western) perceptions of borders dissolve boundaries further. When discussing seascapes, Cooney (2003:325) refers to ‘seeing the archaeology of the land from the sea’ and this idea is also described by Hicks (2001:169) as a ‘waterview’. While the concept of seeing the land from the sea is evidently a useful perspective, Ford (2011a:4) argues that it is something that can be applied through maritime cultural landscapes, and does not need to be tied solely to seascapes. The ‘from sea to land’ approach also contributes significantly to understanding the theme of mobility within a maritime cultural landscape (Ilves 2011:164). To understand the influence of maritime components within a culture it is essential to view the sea person’s perspective and Ilves (2004:163) suggests that some maritime features, in her example navigation, piloting and safe landfall, can only be revealed by approaching land from the sea. Another example used by Ilves (2004:167) is that fishing grounds were once only locatable by observation of the water (before sounders and GPS), and it is only possible to document these features of a seascape today by physically looking at them from the sea. Furthermore, answers to questions regarding the origin of towns may be found while on-board a vessel looking at the coast, rather than within the town itself (Westerdahl 2011c:740). Fowler et al. (2015) found that in addition to previously known benefits, such as locating sites, considering site function and symbolism, and assessing heritage management, this method contributes to considering intangible and cognitive cultural heritage and knowledge.

2.2.2 Differences

McKinnon et al. (2014:61) identify a key difference that distinguishes a seascape from a maritime cultural landscape: that a seascape ‘does not presuppose a ‘maritime culture’’. To clarify this, it is important to consider how a culture is defined as ‘maritime’ (Westerdahl 2010d:68). The word maritime comes from the Latin *mare*

meaning ‘sea’ (Westerdahl 2010d:65). The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition is living, found or near the sea or connected with the sea. In Swedish, the term for maritime culture is translated as sea use/r, however its comparative term in English, mariculture, is already associated with aquaculture (hence the necessity for a new term—maritime culture) (Westerdahl 2008b:229).

2.2.2.1 *Maritime cultures: Unique identities*

Charlton Christie (2013:154) suggests that definitions of maritime culture fall within one of two general perspectives. The first is that maritime cultures are unique identities. This perspective is characterised by a list of necessary components for a ‘maritime’ classification (Charlton Christie 2013:154). Common criteria within a very wide perspective of maritime culture include: the habitus of the maritime sphere (this is the environmental construct; the assumption that to live by the sea is to be maritime [Charlton Christie 2013:155]); its outward identity; its international character; its archetypes; its cultural landscape; its cognitive landscape; its ritual negotiation or cosmology; and its economic and social world (Westerdahl 2008b:203). Westerdahl (2010d:68) suggests several ways to define a culture as maritime, including: linguistically, whether nautical similes are used in the colloquial language; conceptually, if inland neighbours consider the culture to be maritime; and economically, if occupations such as archipelago farming, boatbuilding, fishing, shipping and sailing are undertaken (this is the economic construct; the assumption that the exploitation of marine/maritime resources is to be maritime [Charlton Christie 2013:155]).

Anthropologist, Prins (1965) lists several aspects that point towards a maritime culture:

The occurrence of maritime proverbs and their frequent (or frequency of) use; children playing with toy boats; men [sic] building ship’s models in their leisure hours; the integration of sea and ship into the makeup of functionally non-maritime institutions (votive-offerings, initiation, mortuary ritual etc.); the (degree of) elaboration of myths concerning the sea; the occurrence of maritime patron-saints ... ; the spending of leisure hours near the waterfront, crowds gathering at launchings, arrivals and departures of ships; the attitude toward fish

Westerdahl (2010d:68) suggests that these criteria are too common and do not reflect a specifically maritime culture. Instead, Westerdahl (2010d:68) lists traits which show a direct relationship with nature:

The personal maritime practice in a boat and the experience of whatever could be possible to meet in or with a boat at a coastal stretch, inundation or tide, ice, freezing in, winter harbours, bad or exceedingly good catches, storm, leakage, salvage, either of people or of vessels and their equipment, at the beach, at a rocky coast, or at sea, and finally the break-up of the wreck and the secondary use of the ship's parts in new ships or houses ... It is imperative to know your position by way of transit lines, the direction of the seabirds' flight, the pits in the bottom, the foreboding of a change in the weather, the knowledge of the shallows where perch is breeding, both for profitable fishing and for the dangers in approaching them ... The knowledge of the exact position of the shore is imperative.

The second part of this definition is the seascape component of a maritime cultural landscape. Thus, he defines maritime culture as 'the cultural manifestations shaped and exercised by groups living by the sea and getting their subsistence from the sea' in one instance (Westerdahl 2006a:7), and as 'the compound of cultural experience, the customs, the cognitive systems and the material cultural products which are created in ... maritime cultural centres or maritime enclaves' in another (Westerdahl 2006b:61).

2.2.2.2 *Maritime cultures: One facet of a broader cultural system*

Charlton Christie's (2013:154) second perspective regarding the definition of maritime culture is that it forms 'one facet of a broader cultural system'. Hunter (1994:262) argues that no culture is entirely 'maritime', and therefore to try to understand maritime components in isolation is lacking analytically as it should be understood as an integral part of a broader culture. There is a danger in focusing on strictly maritime life to the point of creating an exceedingly narrow scope (Westerdahl 2008b:191). To counter Hunter's argument, if a maritime archaeologist does not investigate the maritime component then non-maritime archaeologists researching other components of a culture are likely to ignore it. Charlton Christie (2013:160) supports this, arguing 'if archaeologists working on the coast do not engage with the theoretically established set of maritime cultural indicators, then they are not conducting maritime archaeology'. Westerdahl (2009b:2) suggests that

‘the maritime aspects of societies have been so neglected in the past that it is imperative to find a strategy to include them systematically ... in any study or project of coastal archaeology’. For example, studies of pastoral or other agricultural elements on the coast have not considered their relation to maritime elements (Westerdahl 2008b:214).

For the purposes of this research, maritime culture is: the environmental factor, living at the coast; the economic factor, exploiting marine/maritime resources; and the social factor, the influence of the sea on social organisation. Socio-cultural factors such as: gendered division of labour; differential access to, or control of, resources or knowledge; and embedded social meanings in maritime exploitation, techniques and activities, provide support for considering and defining maritime cultures (Charlton Christie 2013:156).

2.2.2.3 *Non-maritime cultures*

What other categories define a culture where ‘maritime’ is not used? ‘Coastal culture’ is a term used to describe cultures on the coast. While the shore-bound coastal culture is as equally central to maritime archaeology as is a sailor’s culture, this alternative term it is too vague and elastic (Westerdahl 2008b:199–201). Furthermore, it is possible to physically live at the coast and yet figuratively face inland and have no relationship with the sea (although coastal communities also do not face toward the sea exclusively [Ransley 2011:895]) (Westerdahl 2008b:206). Westerdahl (2008b:199) suggests that it would be preferable to use a term that expresses why a culture lives within a particular ecological niche (i.e. their occupation—maritime) rather than where they live physically (i.e. the coast), favouring the economic over the environmental construct.

In what way do seascape approaches express culture, given such an approach does not presuppose a maritime culture? Studies of seascapes still use terms such as maritime communities (Ash et al. 2010b:57), maritime traditions (Gosden and Pavlides 1994:163), maritime societies (Breen and Lane 2003:473) and ‘maritime-related’ aspects (McKinnon et al. 2014) to describe maritime heritage. McKinnon et al. (2014), on the other hand, use seascapes to de-centre focus on the land and re-centre focus on the sea, by seeing the sea as an idea which removes the need to categorise cultures as maritime. McKinnon et al. (2014) still categorise the people

within the study area of Saipan as belonging to Indigenous, specifically Chamorro and Carolinian, cultures. Chamorro culture identifies as a fishing peoples (McKinnon et al. 2014:71).

What maritime archaeology is concerned with, then, is a specialisation within a community (Parker 2001:25). Are there degrees of ‘maritime-ness’ (Charlton Christie 2013:155); do some groups, as Ransley (2011:895) asks, represent a ‘truer’ maritime culture, such as Indonesian sea nomads, seafarers of the Arabian Sea, or shipboard societies? McNiven (2003, 2008), however, only uses the term seascapes for groups whose engagement with the sea is highly specialised, based on his criteria (Ash et al. 2010b:57). According to McNiven (2008), within a seascape, communities are best described as maritime peoples, sea peoples or ‘Saltwater Peoples’, with maritime societies usually made up of small-scale Indigenous communities. McNiven (2003:330) therefore sees degrees of coastal use by Indigenous peoples in Australia, as while most coastal peoples exploited both marine and terrestrial resources (for example Narungga people), only those marine specialists, mostly found in tropical northern Australia, are categorised as ‘Saltwater Peoples’. Peterson and Rigsby (1998:6) similarly state, ‘it cannot be said that most coastal Aboriginal peoples are truly maritime in the sense of being seafarers, but rather that they are intensive users of near-shore waters in mixed economies’. In Westerdahl’s (2011b:336–337) opinion, coastal people who used littoral or estuarine resources, such that it was a major portion of subsistence, may be considered maritime people, even if boats were not in use, although there was seldom a total dependence on marine resources in the past. The degree of marine resources in the subsistence of coastal peoples should not, however, be the sole means of expressing a culture. Many other factors, such as identity, cosmologies, ‘Dreamings’ and the use of watercraft for other cultural activities, must be considered.

Perhaps a reader may reflect that a seascape approach would be more fitting for this research rather than testing a maritime cultural landscape approach. If this study was to focus purely on pre-contact coastal use by Narungga people, then the seascape framework may have proven to be apt. Although, even then, Narungga people did not rely exclusively on marine resources to the extent that McNiven (2003, 2008) suggests of the ‘Saltwater Peoples’ in northern Australia. The cultural and economic

reliance on coastal environments by Aboriginal peoples in Tasmania, New South Wales, Victoria, southern Western Australia and South Australia is ‘no less significant than for northern Indigenous communities’ (Smyth 2012:11).

This does not mean that seascapes are unrelated to this study. Here seascapes will be conceptualised as something quite separate and which are only a component of a maritime cultural landscape. Ford (2011a:4) argues that true seascapes envelop factors, such as stars, currents, swells, birds and winds, that aid a person in placing their location on a mental map when out of sight of land. Therefore, seascapes are the cultural constructs that are influenced by these factors, including routes, charts and stories (Ford 2011a:4). This way of defining seascapes has correlates in a term used by Westerdahl (1992, 2006b), tradition of usage, and a term used in Indigenous archaeology, traditional ecological knowledge (Bruchac 2014:3816). Tradition of usage relates to the advantages of local maritime experiences, practical learning and tradition, including well-used routes and the influence of local winds and currents (Westerdahl 1992:8). It is a pattern of actions and choices, which is not coincidental or based on a whim, but depends on cultural practice and mediated knowledge and is therefore a cultural factor (Westerdahl 2006b:60). Traditional ecological knowledge is ‘practical applied Indigenous knowledge of the natural world’ (Bruchac 2014:3816), including stars and alignments, fauna and flora, geomorphology, landscapes, colours, sounds and smells (Wobst 2005:28). It is therefore imperative to conduct interviews and participant observation in order to obtain some sense of the tactile and direct experience of coastal peoples’ knowledge of their own environment (Westerdahl 2006b:96). Seascapes are an important element of a maritime cultural landscape as they contribute to creating identities, a sense of place and personal and community histories (Cooney 2003:323).

2.2.3 Conclusions

The crucial element in the reason for building upon the maritime cultural landscape framework in this research is that the community of Point Pearce/Burgiyana was, and is, a maritime culture. ‘People who practice a maritime culture ... are aware of doing it, or feel separate in some way from others’—even if they do not use the phrase ‘maritime culture’ to describe themselves (Westerdahl 2008b:207). Likewise, academic dialogues about defining maritime cultures, or maritime communities,

probably would have little significance to those people in the past (Charlton Christie 2013:155; Ransley 2011:896). If a culture, community or individuals self-identify as ‘maritime’ then this is sufficient. The Point Pearce/Burgiyana community identify themselves, and are identified by other Aboriginal groups, as the ‘Butterfish mob’ (Roberts et al. in prep).

The incorporation of terrestrial remains into the remit of maritime archaeology is highlighted by the concept of maritime cultural landscapes (Charlton Christie 2013:154). However, Charlton Christie (2013:160) warns that archaeologists should not go to the ‘other extreme and overlook the importance of the submerged remains that formed the cornerstone of maritime archaeology at its conception’. Maritime life has always been commonly understood as ships and shipboard communities; although the obvious feature of maritime culture, ships and boats, also contribute to a ‘larger cultural complex’ (e.g. a maritime cultural landscape) (Tuddenham 2010:7).

The boat is the essential tool, as an extension of the human body; it has been created by maritime man [sic], and it assumes a significance to maritime man [sic] which has few, if any, counterparts in terrestrial culture (Westerdahl 2008b:208).

If the seascape approach is intended to give voice to Indigenous cultures, rather than European or colonial ones (McKinnon et al. 2014:61), and a seascape is intended for ‘ancient’ societies (McNiven 2008), what can this approach contribute to contexts of cross-cultural engagement? Seascapes have typically examined two main ideas relating to the sea, and generally within pre-contact contexts: 1) Marine resources, natural environments, ecology, food procurement, subsistence regimes and technological adaptations; and 2) Their cognitive, ontological, symbolic and spiritual relationships. Maritime cultural landscapes also examine these two ideas, with the addition of a third idea: the functional and practical aspects of maritime material culture—the boats and ships that were originally the principal site of study by maritime archaeologists. Maritime cultural landscapes, therefore, engage with the ‘theoretically established set of maritime cultural indicators’, which are the technologies, ideas, events, mentalities, social and cultural structures and capitalist economies brought about by contact and colonialism (Charlton Christie 2013:160). Therefore, accepting that a maritime cultural landscape approach presupposes a maritime culture, this study, exploring a post-contact context, builds upon this

concept by investigating whether it accommodates areas of interest to Indigenous Australian communities.

2.3 Islands

Given that the geography of the study area includes islands, it is pertinent to mention the subfield of archaeology known as ‘island archaeology’. The settlement of the Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi needs to be understood and contextualised as part of the settlement of all the islands off Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula and within the cultural construction of the Narungga maritime cultural landscape.

Islands have simplistically been defined as ‘a piece of land surrounded by water’ (Crouch 2008:131). Crouch (2008:132) suggests that islands are more complex and are inevitably considered to be marginal, remote, inaccessible, insular, isolated, tenuous and depleted. This, however, is a very Western perception and discounts other worldviews, where islands are interpreted as bridges rather than boundaries (Ford 2011b; Gosden and Pavlides 1994:162). Indigenous scholar Hau’ofa (1993:7) argues that, with regards to Oceania, the sea is a ‘sea of islands’ which is connected, not divided, by water; a holistic perspective which is at a counterpoint to ‘islands in a far sea’ which emphasises dry surfaces. Furthermore, when at sea, Westerners perceive the boat to be moving around stationary islands, whereas Micronesian navigators may understand the canoe to be fixed and islands are moving around the canoe (Ward and Webb 1973). Therefore, islands, as with the oceans and rivers that define them, are also perceived to be accessible. As Fitzpatrick and Anderson (2008:4) note, rather than singling islands out as places of either isolation or interaction, different points along this continuum exist depending on the environmental and cultural factors in operation. Rowland (2002:62, 2008:95) similarly notes that, while internal and external contacts played a significant role at different times in history, isolation is still a useful concept for explaining Australian ‘prehistory’.

Marginality and isolation are culturally constructed perceptions (although Fitzpatrick et al. [2007:233] argue that environmental factors can also be influential); in a culturally constructed landscape, the middle of the ocean is considered marginal, however in a culturally constructed seascape, the middle of a large island is the most

marginal place (Crouch 2008:132). Frieman (2008:136) supports this concept, stating that cultural insularity is not so much a genuine occurrence as a purpose of cultural identity. Similarly, Wardang Island/Waraldi is not a marginal landscape or seascape as, given its size, every place on the island is coastal. The term 'islandscape' is utilised by Frieman (2008:137) as 'a fossilized record of human interaction with the island environment'. This term is not applied to Wardang Island/Waraldi as the restriction to island environments omits other environments within the broader maritime cultural landscape.

The subfield of island archaeology applies archaeological methods and theories to islands to study the developments that characterise their human settlement (Fitzpatrick et al. 2007:230). Boomert and Bright (2007:13) and Fitzpatrick et al. (2007) have generated debate about the value of island archaeology, with the former arguing that island archaeology should be replaced with the archaeology of maritime identity because 'many islanders use the island metaphor to establish and express social identity'. Fitzpatrick et al. (2007:230) make the valid point that there is no reason to reinvent maritime archaeology and privileging identity does not add anything new to an established field. Maritime cultural landscapes are well-positioned to encapsulate islands, including cognitive aspects such as identity. Viewing islands as part of a maritime cultural landscape, rather than a marginal terrestrial landscape, can better illuminate the connection between individual 'sites' and empty space on islands because intangible connections, such as sea and land routes, between tangible sites can be recognised (Crouch 2008:131). While describing 'prehistoric' maritime settlement patterns, Crouch (2008:133) makes the point that canoes are mobile archaeological sites, that bind the seascape and contextualise the non-mobile archaeological sites. This approach is directly transferable to the historic era; boats used in the post-contact period similarly mapped the seascape and provide context for existing terrestrial and submerged sites.

For the purposes of this study, use of the term 'island archaeology' is unwarranted as the maritime cultural landscape approach encapsulates island, as well as coastal, archaeology. Those island archaeology themes of isolation and connection, where they relate to cultural constructions in a maritime sense, will be explored throughout this thesis. The discussion henceforth explores the introduction, use and theoretical

and methodological underpinnings of the maritime cultural landscape approach, as built upon in this study, in detail.

2.4 The concept of the maritime cultural landscape

Having elucidated the difference between the two concepts, maritime cultural landscapes and seascapes, the former will be explored here in detail. The concept of the maritime cultural landscape was introduced in 1978 and 1980 by Westerdahl (1992) who called for the development of this scientific term as a theoretical approach and requested a discussion of the concept within the discipline. It has since been employed in many contexts, and research has included focusing on various features of a maritime cultural landscape, such as submerged ‘prehistoric’ heritage (Evans and Keith 2011), maritime memorials (Stewart 2007), fish traps (Bannerman and Jones 1999), fishing (Duncan 2011), ports (Ash 2007; Kennedy 2010; Parker 1999), navigational aids (MacKenzie 2011), landing sites (Ilves 2004; McKinnon 2002), shipbuilding (Dappert 2011) and shipwrecks (Duncan 2000, 2004; Fowler 2013b), in addition to local and more regional maritime cultural landscape studies (Duncan 2006; Ford 2011b; Freire 2013; Jordan-Greene 2011; Kenderdine 1993; Magi 2007; McErlean et al. 2002; Smith 2006; Vrana and Vander Stoep 2003) and management purposes (Firth 1995). While the concept has been interpreted in many ways, employed for many different purposes and blended with other theoretical constructs (e.g. see Firth 1995; Tuddenham 2010), this thesis refers predominantly to the primary texts by Westerdahl in order to assess the original framework in a new (Indigenous Australian) context rather than applying another researcher’s interpretation of the original idea.

A maritime cultural landscape comprises numerous elements. These elements have rarely been taken together as a singular landscape, being more often considered on a site-by-site basis (Westerdahl 2008b:214). Westerdahl (1992:7–9) identified several ‘categories of sources of the landscape’, ‘material and immaterial remnants of maritime human life’, which include shipwrecks, land remains, tradition of usage (an aspect of seascapes), natural topography and place names. These variables go further than providing a list of necessary traits for a total maritime landscape (a criticism made by Horrell [2005:15]), and are instead a research design which results in a macro-scale model of the region under study (Parker 2001:23; Westerdahl

2011b:336). Table 1 lists these sources, although each element is dependent on the culture, period and region of study.

Table 1 Non-exhaustive list of elements of a maritime cultural landscape divided into tangible, intangible and thematic, compiled from Ford (2011a), Hicks (2001), Smith (2006) and Westerdahl (1992).

Archaeological, material and tangible	Oral, immaterial and intangible	Activities and themes
Abandoned vessels, anchors, animal bones, ballast sites, beacons, boat sheds, break waters, bridges, cairns, canals, canoe trees, chapels, commercial aquaculture industries, crossing places, docks, ferries, fish traps, fords, foundering sites, harbour roads, harbours, havens, jetties, landing places, large vessels, lifesaving stations, lighthouses, loading sites, light stations, locks, memorials, model building, naval facilities, navigation aids, passenger terminals, piers, pottery, public houses, rock carvings, seamarks, settlements, shelter huts, ships, shipwrecks, shipyards, slips, small craft, smithies, stores, toy boats, warehouses, weirs, wharfs, workers cottages.	Birds, cloud, current, folklore, funerary customs, iconography, maps and charts, maritime proverbs and figures of speech, oral histories, phosphorescence, place names, sea routes, ship nomenclature, stars, storytelling, swell, topography and oceanography, tradition, votive offerings, wind.	Boatbuilding, commercial fishing, logging, marine safety, mining, naval operations, recreation, salvage, shipping, settlement, shore fishing, tourism, trade, transportation.

Jasinski (1993:17–18) has combined these two types of cultural evidence with two ‘cultural spheres’ to create four subgroups: techno-practical material evidence (e.g. lighthouses); symbolic material evidence (e.g. churches); techno-practical non-material evidence (e.g. practical knowledge); and symbolic non-material evidence (e.g. legends). A combination of these elements makes up each distinctive maritime cultural landscape and should be recorded and interpreted in archaeological studies at the coast. In addition to elements, maritime cultural landscapes also adopt varying aspects of time.

2.4.1 *Longue durée*

Everyday maritime life is ‘a small-scale version of the Braudelian Annales approach’ (Westerdahl 2008b:192). History has been divided into several ‘rhythms’ according to distinctive perspectives, including *les longues durées* (unchanging structures of mentality, technologies and landscape), *les conjunctures* (medium duration cycles of groups, institutions, economy and cultural structures) and *les événements* (the short political and military history of events) (Rönby 2007:67; Westerdahl 2010d:76). In order to ascertain that the characteristics of a maritime culture are more than temporary, observations of the *longue durée* in the sense of Fernand Braudel could be applied (Westerdahl 2008b:204). For example, when examining transport zones a long perspective will establish certain zones or concentrations of transport, which

extend in a noticeable direction (Westerdahl 2008b:222). Westerdahl (2010d:76) states that *longue durée* is the tempo of ‘everyday life and common people’. Rönby (2007:65, 79) found three commonalities in the ‘maritime durees’, or long-term cultural and mental structures, of his study area, the Baltic Sea: ‘exploitation of marine resources, communication over water, and the mental presence of the sea’.

When investigating Indigenous cultures in a post-contact setting it is also important to contextualise the pre-contact maritime cultural landscape. In this way, maritime cultural landscapes employing a *longue durée* are well-placed to explore aspects of cultural continuity, in addition to dissolving the artificial division between ‘prehistoric’ and historical (Lightfoot 1995). While history and archaeology typically seek to find exact dates, the *longue durée* foregrounds using non-traditional sources (e.g. oral history) and understanding the essence of a period of time rather than its precise date (Westerdahl 2010d:76). Bailey (2007:201) suggests that archaeologists use the Annales approach primarily for studies investigating recent millennia and with a time-depth similar to historians—i.e. with the aid of written records. The Annales approach is therefore more appropriate for a post-contact focused study than an associated time-related approach, time perspectivism, which is more suited to the deep, undocumented archaeological past (Bailey 2007:201). The mid-timescale can be a result of ‘changing social and cultural structures ... political decisions, technological progress, new ideas, tangible events, and people’s own choices’—all aspects of contact and post-contact contexts (Rönby 2007:79). Maritime cultural landscapes, as well as spanning a range of periods, straddle more than one environment—the liminality of sea and land.

2.4.2 Liminality, cosmology and sex

As aforementioned, boundaries do exist—within some cultures—at the coastal zone; these are culturally constructed boundaries, however, not artificially created.

Westerdahl (2006b:61) states that inherent in any maritime culture is an opposition between sea and land-related aspects, expressed mentally, structurally and symbolically, and further described through liminality. This coastal zone has been theorised within maritime cultural landscape studies as a liminal zone. ‘The cognitive location of the border between the liminal and the non-liminal states is ... enigmatic’, however it is a considered an essential part of a maritime cultural

landscape (Westerdahl 2009a:319, 2010c:281). Liminal is from the Latin *limen*, ‘threshold’, and, somewhat appropriately, from the Greek *ho limän*, ‘harbours’, and *hä limnä*, ‘tidal estuary’ (Westerdahl 2006a:26).

Liminal agents are those agents which transgress the border between sea and land, two dichotomous elements, traversing liminal states such as the water surface or tidal shore (Figure 4) (Westerdahl 2009a:317, 2010c:278). Examples of liminal agents include magic words, sex, whales and seals on land, and land animals at sea (Westerdahl 2010c:280).

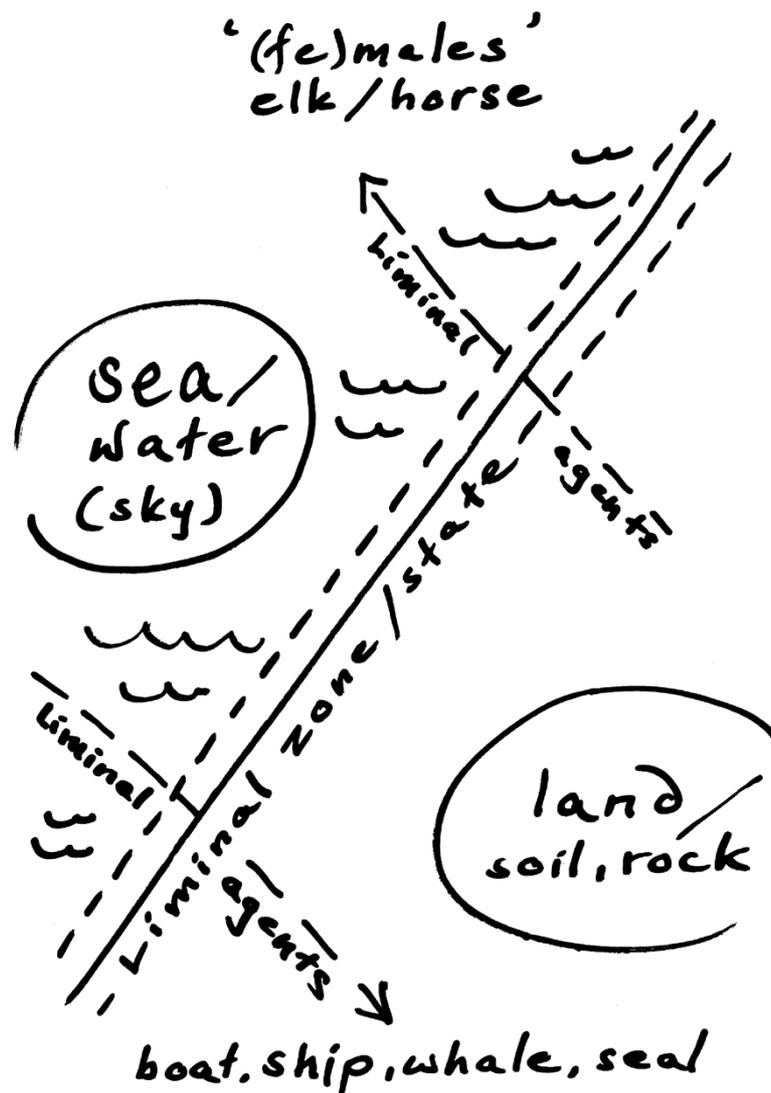


Figure 4 Westerdahl's (2009a:324) depiction of liminality at the shore.

Ships on land can also be considered liminal agents, such as ships or boats used in burials, ship settings, votive ships in churches and boats used in carnival processions (Westerdahl 2006a:20, 2010c:280). A boat has the quality of a liminal space; ‘even the path on land to the boat acquires a transitional status of liminality’ (Westerdahl

2009a:316). ‘Any place where both elements [sea and land] could be implicated, seen or felt at the same time is liminal’ (Westerdahl 2009a:317). The border between the two elements has been marked and can be seen through archaeological remains, such as rock carvings, coastal burial cairns and stone labyrinths and mazes (Westerdahl 2009a:317–320).

Cooney (2003:326) describes the liminal zone as ‘the contact zone between the sea and the land ... resource-rich but also appropriate for the disposal of the dead’. The liminal zone has also been suggested as wider reaching, e.g. ‘the point where the cairn is not visible from the sea, or rather the sea is not visible from the cairn’ (Westerdahl 2009a:319), and also more narrowly—‘the beach or, more specifically, the area between high and low tide’ (Westerdahl 2010c:280). Islands have been described by Westerdahl (2010c:284) as ‘loaded space’ given that they are entirely encircled by the liminal zone. Sliding transitions also have liminal meaning, although the border between maritime and terrestrial, between seaboard and inland culture, is vaguer (Westerdahl 2006a:12, 2010c:283). Hydroliminality is the extension of the possible significance and liminality of the sea to all forms of water—for example waterlines or water tables on land (Westerdahl 2009a:325, 2010e:318). An example of this is ‘prehistoric’ votive offerings in wetlands (Westerdahl 2011b:340).

This liminality is the primary basis for a maritime cosmology which Westerdahl (2010e:301) discusses. Cosmology is the transformation and enculturation of chaos (the sea) into order as a means of arranging the everyday world (Westerdahl 2011a:305). He suggests that such cosmology is used by subordinate communities, or ‘underdogs’, as a counter-ideology to formalised religious institutions, and is in turn detested by proponents of those official systems (Westerdahl 2006a:8, 2010e:301). This idea, although proposed within an Arctic and Subarctic environment, has many parallels with the context of missionisation in Indigenous Australia. Just one aspect of maritime cosmology, ‘taboos’ within fishing cultures, has been comparable in the North Atlantic, Newfoundland (Canada), Texas (United States), the Malay peninsula, and Guyana in South America (Westerdahl 2010e:303). Perhaps Australia, with Indigenous cultural restrictions about eating certain foods, such as the following example of freshwater reptiles and bream, is also a part of this universal form of traditional fishing community cosmology.

In South Australia, the Yaraldi peoples had a wide-range of foods that were directly subjected to food ‘taboos’ or *narambi* (Berndt and Berndt 1993:122). The Yaraldi peoples of the Lakes rarely ate *weri* (large tortoise/turtle), and would always throw it back if caught inadvertently, however the Murray people did eat this animal after removing its head (Berndt and Berndt 1993:83). Furthermore, women were forbidden to eat *tukeri* (freshwater bream) if they burst while being cooked over coals (Berndt and Berndt 1993:124) (for more examples of *narambi* see Berndt and Berndt [1993:124–127]). Restrictions on resource use and distribution by Indigenous peoples throughout Australia, based on age, gender, initiation status, marital status and the use of particular animals of totemic significance are also integral aspects of Aboriginal use and management of ‘Country’¹³ (Smyth 2012:6–7).

It is further suggested that the motives and functions for practicing cosmology may vary with changing contexts (Westerdahl 2010e:304)—another thought that resonates with the Australian Indigenous community where, post-contact, motives may have taken on a resistance purpose. Hiscock (2013:126) states that Aboriginal people in the contact period ‘reconfigured their mythology/cosmology ... to suit the rapidly changing social landscapes in which they lived’. Further aspects to maritime cosmology include rites of passage or initiation at sea; for example, apprentices being socialised, integrated or ‘made adult’ within or through the maritime sphere (Westerdahl 2010e:306). A strongly related theme of liminality and cosmology is sex.

It would be remiss to consider a maritime cultural landscape without reference to sex. In most instances, the sailor’s world is male, reflecting a sex prejudice; maritime occupations are clearly distinguished between ‘male at sea’ and ‘female on land’ (Westerdahl 2010d:69). Where a maritime culture is everyday and non-professional, however, the role of women is equally active, including being a partner in fishing, or fishing independently (Westerdahl 2010d:69).

¹³ ‘Country’ which originates in the ‘Dreaming’, is an Aboriginal English term defining an ‘area associated with a human social group, and with all the plants, animals, landforms, waters, songlines, and sacred sites within its domain’ (Bird Rose 2014:435). ‘Country’ is the ecological, social, poetic and religious context through which Aboriginal peoples lead their lives (Bird Rose 2014:435).

2.4.3 Maritime cultural centres and transport zones

Moving away from cognitive aspects of maritime cultural landscapes, features that are more practical will now be defined. Maritime cultural centres, traditional transport zones and maritime enclaves are an indication of active and robust maritime cultures (Westerdahl 2003:20, 2008b:223). Maritime cultural centres require a continuity of transit points (henceforth) and central places to be so defined (Westerdahl 1992:7). A landing place used on only one occasion, for example, does not meet the requirement of tradition brought about by repeated use. Centres of maritime culture include harbours (which can be considered the lowest common denominator between sea and land in the cultural landscape [Westerdahl 2006b:103], or the ‘heart’ of any maritime culture [Westerdahl 2010a:82]) made up of seamarks, boat causeways, landing stages, piers, jetties, fishing booths, inns, repair shipyards and stores of rigging, ropes and sailcloth (Westerdahl 2010d:70). Norwegian boathouses, *naust* sites, were considered centres of maritime culture in their Iron Age context, suggesting that such centres are context specific (Westerdahl 2009b:7). Maritime cultural centres can be considered as nodes within a transport zone—the transport aspect of a ‘close-knit socio-cultural maritime space’ (Westerdahl 2008b:222). While maritime cultural centres have a primarily maritime background, they also have close contact with inland centres (Westerdahl 2006b:61). Westerdahl (2008b:220) has established four aspects on which the maritime cultural centre is based: topographical (e.g. estuaries, river mouths, lagoon harbours); communicative (e.g. road ends on land, starting points for island crossings); functional/cultural (e.g. loading places for local natural resources); and administrative (e.g. naval harbours).

Transport zones are ‘an area/region with the same or similar ways of transport and means of transport’ (Westerdahl 2006b:101). In some instances, vessel types have adapted over time to suit their transport zones—including to cargoes; sailing conditions such as winds and currents, and topography; and cultural conditions, for example tradition (Westerdahl 1998:138, 2003:20, 2006b:101). Zones of transport can be viewed from an economic perspective; waterfront, coastal and inland (Figure 5) (Westerdahl 1992:11). Transport zones can also be interpreted from macro-topographical (coastal) or micro-topographical (inland, in relation to waters and between waterways) scales—although a micro-topographical theory of harbours has been neglected within the discipline (Westerdahl 1992:12, 2006b:102, 2010b:82).

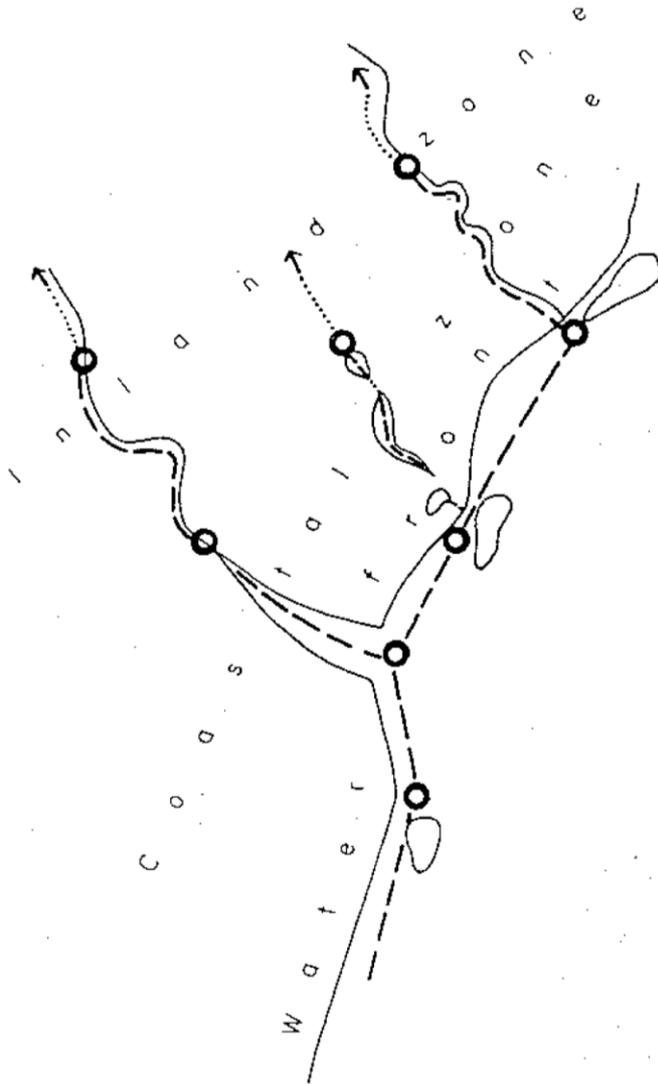


Figure 5 Patterns of transport including transport zones and transit points (--- water transport; ... land transport; **O** transit point) (Westerdahl 1992:11).

Westerdahl (2006b:62) further categorises transport zones into patterns, systems and structures. A transport pattern is naturally developed in a regional context, for example internal routes, and is the traditional transport zone. The transport system is placed on top of the preceding transport pattern, an intentional ordering by higher authorities such as religious or governmental organisations (analogous to the superimposition of European place names over Indigenous place names [Hercus and Simpson 2009:1]). Finally, the transport structure is the necessary amalgamation of the pattern and system (Westerdahl 2006b:62–63) (again, it is possible here to consider the incorporation of Indigenous place names into the ‘official’ or Western introduced place names [Hercus and Simpson 2009:2]). These ideas relating to transport are applicable both to sea routes and land routes. Transport zones, however, should not be confused with individual sea routes, where the former is a corridor of

movement and contact which is made up of several of the latter (Westerdahl 2008b:222). Westerdahl (2008b:222–223) also suggests that there are seven types of transport zones:

1. Trans-isthmian land;
2. River valleys or other continuous watercourses;
3. Ferry corridors or routes of regular transportation across extensive water;
4. Coastal;
5. Bank-enclosed or estuary;
6. Open sea; and
7. Lake.

Maritime niches or enclaves are permanent settlements located along the coast, developing and maintaining shipping and shipbuilding, and contain a higher number of people engaged in maritime occupations where this maritime experience has amassed over the generations (Westerdahl 2003:20, 2008b:220). Within a transport zone, there is usually one maritime niche that has a monopoly on maritime activities (Westerdahl 2008b:220). Out harbours are situated on islands, directly on a sailing route, and contain at least 100 permanent residents of whom 75% were engaged in maritime occupations (Westerdahl 2012:326). These out harbours, which are a singular phenomenon located in the transport belt of the Baltic to North Sea, have been deemed a maritime monoculture (Westerdahl 2012:326).

Transit points (also transition point and transit/ion pivot [Westerdahl 2008b:222]) are the ‘connections with waterways inland and the points where vessel or transportation methods change’ (Westerdahl 1992:6). For example, a nodal point of land, river and sea transport would be where a road crosses a river or the inner parts of an estuary (Westerdahl 2006b:75). Therefore, maritime cultural centres and maritime enclaves have one or more transit points.

Westerdahl (2012:267) also categorised fishing camps as follows:

1. Near-fishing: satellites of permanent (agrarian) settlements, fishing mainly for household needs;
2. Remote fishing: seasonal settlement fishing mainly for sale, also involving town residents;

3. Town fishing: seasonal settlement from a town in the vicinity practicing fishing mainly for sale;
4. Professional fishing: permanent settlement, fishing mainly for sale;
5. Part-time fishing: permanent settlers practice fishing as an ancillary industry, as a complement to mainly agrarian pursuits; and
6. Leisure fishing: seasonal settlement, fishing only for fun and to meet some household requirements.

By positioning these various elements of the maritime cultural landscape within frameworks of maritime cultural centres, transport zones, maritime enclaves and types of fishing camps, the relationships between each element can be explored in greater detail during the interpretation of the wider region. Another aspect, which shows the associations between places in the maritime cultural landscape, is toponymy.

2.4.4 Toponymy

Duncan (2011:272) states many researchers have recognised the importance of toponymy in the identification of maritime cultural landscapes. Westerdahl (1992:9) has developed a systematic model for utilising place names in a maritime cultural landscape framework and he suggests the principles of maritime naming are universal. These categories include: blockage, sailing route or navigation in it, individual ship, ship type (e.g. cogs), nationality (e.g. German ground), origin, a person or profession/title (e.g. Captain's Rock), owner, cargo, foundering, shipwreck, harbour, beacon, sailing mark, warning or danger, ferry route or ford, authority and migrant names (Westerdahl 1992:9–10). Place names have been described as mnemotechnic pegs or memorisation points, and functioned as cognitive or immaterial marks where oral and tactile knowledge was essential (Westerdahl 2010b:129–130). Maritime communities habitually restrict knowledge of place names to individual groups within the community, for example fisherpeople (Duncan 2011:275).

The naming of boats in recent times has often been according to patterns of ship sex—female names are usual as females are often identified with boats (Westerdahl 2008a:25). According to Westerdahl (2008a:25), females at sea is the most prominent story of maritime cosmology and ships are often treated as a living person,

‘a divine female being’. Richards (2013:4) similarly notes the human tendency to anthropomorphise, personify and engender watercraft. The female element of a ship’s name is thus a liminal agent (Westerdahl 2005:8). In addition, maritime naming provides, as Westerdahl (2010b:102, 131) describes it, ‘a humorous and fairly decent understanding of human frailties in general’, suggesting humour is a recent occurrence in naming. He also notes the risk of overestimating the significance of some names during interpretation of sites and cautions that there may be equally reasonable and functional explanations (Westerdahl 2010b:131). This is likely a general feature of all societies to some extent rather than a particularly Eurocentric understanding; a danger name, for example, has a very specific purpose.

2.4.5 Facets of a maritime cultural landscape

People working in a diverse range of contexts use the maritime cultural landscape concept differently. The concept of the maritime cultural landscape has been critiqued by Adams (2006:4) due to the extent the word choice covers or ‘the semantic breadth of its constituent words’. When examined more closely, however, the matter is more complex than purely semantics. Cultural landscapes, by their very nature, cover a large-scale, and Vrana and Vander Stoep (2003:24) also identify the large amounts of data and information gleaned through maritime cultural landscape studies as a challenge.

Westerdahl (2011b:340), however, argues that a maritime cultural landscape approach is a holistic framework designed to unify rather than divide. Although, the approach provides such a broad scope for the accumulation of data that it requires division, categorisation and systematisation to make it manageable. The way in which data is organised can serve to strengthen the intent of the maritime cultural landscape framework or it can detract from the overall sense of holism. There are different ways in which it is divisible: based on data type (e.g. archaeological, historical, oral history), site type (e.g. shipwreck, maritime infrastructure) or geographical location (e.g. terrestrial, intertidal/coastal, submerged). The most important aspect to systemisation is that it is consistent. Ash (2007), for example, used both site type (e.g. fishermen’s caves) and thematic categories or headings (e.g. recreation) to order his results, adding confusion for the reader. The same applies to the Strangford Lough study (McErlean et al. 2002), where site and data types are

used as headings for sections of the report (e.g. shipwrecks and place names). Using mixed systems for categorising a maritime cultural landscape is confusing and leads to important connections being lost in the interpretation phase. I would argue that the most holistic categorisation is thematic because it allows connections between different types of data or different environmental locations.

Thus, this research builds upon a thematic approach according to Westerdahl's (2008b, 2011b) 'aspects or facets' (termed facets henceforth) of a maritime cultural landscape. These facets are specifically used as an interpretive framework to organise the results. The facets devised by Westerdahl (2006a:8, 2008b:215–216) are intended to contrast, as well as combine, maritime and terrestrial components and allow for methodical cross-disciplinary analogies. Several of these facets show affinity to land-based phenomena, including the territorial/power/resistance, cognitive/toponymical, and transport/communication landscapes (Westerdahl 2006b:62). Others, however, such as the outer resource, economic/subsistence/sustenance and ritual/cultic landscape, are particular to a maritime sphere (Westerdahl 2006b:62). Furthermore, the facets range from functionalist to cultural and cognitive considerations (Westerdahl 2010b:71). Horrell (2005:15), while searching for a framework from which to interpret interaction and exchange within the American economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, criticised maritime cultural landscape approaches for lacking any mechanism by which to discuss these concepts. Using the following facets as an interpretive mechanism may be one way.

The terms used for Westerdahl's (2008b) original facets will be retained in this research. The weight of terms such as 'resource', however, is recognised. The phrase 'cultural heritage resources', for example, is now regarded as 'cultural heritage management' to reflect the view that attachment to heritage by communities is not for exploitation (Brown 2008:20). 'Power' and 'resistance' are also acknowledged as loaded terms. Keating (2012) explains that the power/resistance model, used in earlier culture contact theories, is an extreme example of a cross-cultural engagement framework and has been criticised as narrow, provocative and negative. The facets will now be discussed individually.

2.4.5.1 Ritual/cultic landscape

Through his research, Westerdahl (2005:2) has noted the ritual landscape, those places where behaviour is magically or religiously motivated, expresses an opposition between sea and land. The ritual and cultic landscape can often be found through rock carvings and stone arrangements and can also be seen in resource use such as fish and sea mammals (for instance the Yaraldi peoples example used previously [Berndt and Berndt 1993]) (Westerdahl 2011b:339). Holy places such as fishing and shipping chapels, while part of the ritual landscape at sea, are also elements of the transport landscape (Westerdahl 2006b:91). Westerdahl (2010e:304) acknowledges that folklorists, ethnologists and linguists investigated the ritual landscape of maritime culture; these fields are part of the holistic view required within the archaeology of maritime cultural landscapes. However, folkloristic material has not been used by maritime archaeologists to aid in interpretation, despite such material's ability to contribute to maritime culture and cognition (Westerdahl 2009a:316). Ritual landscapes also extend into 'prehistory', for example, Westerdahl (2010c:280) suggests that isostatic rebound may have contributed to the cosmology of the sea and land. It can be questioned whether newly-emerged land, or newly-submerged sea, was perceived differently in any way.

Other folk traditions include folklore, representations of supernatural beings and 'taboos' in fishing and shipping (Westerdahl 2010d:71), parallels of which can be seen in Indigenous Australia, for example 'Dreamings'. As aforementioned, cosmology has also been described as 'a counter-ideology to formal religion, used by the subordinate groups' (Westerdahl 2006a:8) and is therefore relevant to introduced religions such as 'Christianising' by missionaries. Westerdahl's (2005) concepts of maritime ritual landscapes using folklore and ethnohistory have, however, been criticised for mixing time and space and by decontextualising particular examples which result in interpretations that are questionably all-encompassing (Ransley 2011:893). Applying ethnography uncritically to interpretations of 'prehistory' can produce narratives which imply that little has changed over time (Hiscock 2008:3).

2.4.5.2 Cognitive/toponymical landscape

The cognitive/toponymical landscape is associated with the mind, the mental map of remembered places. Cognition is defined as 'the way people in the past [and present]

have thought about themselves in relation to their environment and how they have represented this relationship' (Westerdahl 2006a:7). Thus, it is the landscape experienced by the senses—hearing, seeing, smelling—and may be subliminal or subconscious (Westerdahl 2006a:7). It includes nature, passages overland and portages, however place names most readily signify it (Westerdahl 2011b:339). While the cognitive landscape, including place names, is included within the definition of a maritime cultural landscape, it is important to not only document it but also interpret it because place names may have multiple meanings, including functional (Westerdahl 2010b:131, 2010e:303–304). The entire cognitive world must be mastered by a novice, including the use of transit lines—also termed sighting vistas or viewsheds (Westerdahl 2010b:118)—in fishing, the repetition of formulas and naming processes (Westerdahl 2009a:316). A transit line is produced or replicated where actions such as anchoring to fish on a fishing drop or changing of course to avoid submerged obstacles are required by sighting a line across a minimum of two permanent marks on one line together with another transit in another direction (Westerdahl 2010b:126–127). Fisherpeople, due to a dependence on successful catches for both occupation and livelihood, guarded (and continue to guard) knowledge of local transit lines, transferred through formulas and rhymes (Westerdahl 2010b:127). These transit lines are closely related to the topographic landscape.

2.4.5.3 Topographic landscape

The topographic landscape includes the study of natural topography such as contours (both on land and underwater), the various physical approaches to the coast from the sea and where harbours are located. The location of harbours, while based on natural topography, are a cultural choice and construct (Westerdahl 2012:261).

Topographical constants within maritime cultures include fishing sites, dry terrain, protection against winds and good harbour locations (Westerdahl 2011b:336).

Aspects of the topographic landscape, including seamarks, moorings and toponyms, must be analysed individually within the context of the immediate environment (Westerdahl 2010b:120).

Seamarks have been defined from a functional perspective as 'a purely visual aid ... an artificial or natural object of easily recognisable shape or colour [or size] or both,

situated in such a position that it may be identified on a chart or related to a known navigational instruction' (Westerdahl 2010b:72). A further definition from a cognitive perspective is that they are 'identified by a person familiar with the coast and having past navigational experience' (Westerdahl 2010b:72). There is an infinite variation in seamarks, obviously necessary due to their purpose, and therefore seamarks often require identification by locals to uncover all official and unofficial marks. Seamarks have been neglected from a symbolic, cognitive, power and dominance perspective—despite their transformation in the past from immaterial to material and vice versa (Westerdahl 2010b:71, 133).

Constructed seamarks, such as stone cairns or beacons, are elements of the topographic landscape, used for sighting distance and topography (Westerdahl 2010b:83). In addition to purpose-built seamarks, other constructions may serve a similar function such as buildings, windmills, towers and churches, and are therefore secondary seamarks (Westerdahl 2010b:72–73). Often, seamarks would be used in conjunction with contours of the land to produce transit lines for navigation—indeed, fisherpeople, not sailors, are believed to be the initiators of seamarks, using transit lines for fishing grounds rather than navigation into harbours (Westerdahl 2010b:86–91). Natural seamarks, such as promontories and headlands, are a feature of the ritual landscape; this is also often the case with cultural seamarks (Westerdahl 2010b:89). Natural seamarks of a temporary nature are individual trees, usually differing from other trees in the area or individual trees in an otherwise barren landscape (Westerdahl 2010b:114).

The topographic landscape is also a cognitive landscape. Immaterial seamarks, such as place names, are transferred through oral knowledge (Westerdahl 2010b:130). A verbal or cognitive seamark, then, could be the description of a system of transit lines at the coast (Westerdahl 2010b:133). Another immaterial seamark is an olfactory seamark, for example the smell of drying fish, smoke, farm animals and mown crops being noticed far out at sea (Parker 2001:36; Westerdahl 2012:337). Seamarks are a counterpart to markings along the road, showing similar parallels to sea and land routes. Constructed seamarks were not needed by local people experienced in the topography of the area, who instead navigated by memory (Westerdahl 2010b:73). Westerdahl (2010b:74) discusses the power and dominance perspective, where the

local, illiterate community exclusively owned the knowledge of the coast, having learnt it in a tactile way from male relatives, usually from father to son. This personal knowledge was therefore protected from outsiders, however in times of war or colonisation this knowledge was highly valuable and attempted to be monopolised by either party (Westerdahl 2010b:74). Indeed, Westerdahl (2010b:80) gives examples of local people, such as fisherpeople and islanders, being captured and forced to navigate for the enemy.

Another indicator of the topographic landscape, comparable to seamarks, is moorings (Westerdahl 2010b:100). Moorings, such as iron rings, are a similar pointer towards safety along routes or havens and wintering sites (Westerdahl 2010b:100).

2.4.5.4 Outer resource landscape

The outer resource landscape can extend away from the boundary of a maritime cultural landscape being studied and can particularly extend inland, away from the coast. It includes ship and boatbuilding and shipyards, as well as other resources such as salt, rock and minerals for implements. In addition, it incorporates local ecology, fauna and flora, such as wood for shipbuilding or the production of wool for sails, and lime bast for cordage (Westerdahl 2006b:62, 2011c:746). Shipbuilding sites, while part of the resource landscape, can also inform cognitive, social and economic landscapes (Westerdahl 2009b:1). The resource landscape is greater than individual sites, such as shipyards, and can incorporate entire landscapes such as forests (Westerdahl 2009b:13). Northern European scholars have been criticised for polarising the practical aspect of an exchange system based on sea travel and the cosmological aspect of the symbolic significance of boats in mortuary rites and rock art (Ballard et al. 2003:396). The maritime cultural landscape framework can combat this by examining both the outer resource landscape and the ritual/cultic landscape.

2.4.5.5 Inner resource landscape

The inner resource landscape includes aspects such as shipping upkeep and agricultural surplus but can also relate to traits of power and wealth on land and at sea. It emphasises a surplus that is necessary for ship expeditions and trade (Westerdahl 2011c:746).

2.4.5.6 *Transport/communication landscape*

The transport landscape indicates the communication paths within society, a ‘roadless country’ or ‘amphibious landscape’ (Westerdahl 2006b:79). A maritime cultural landscape is more markedly impacted by communication than its inland counterpart (Westerdahl 2006b:60). While it is most often signified through shipwrecks—indeed, a rigorous application of technology can lead to insights into the use of the maritime cultural landscape in which ships were a part—it also includes land as well as sea routes, seamarks, pilotage, harbours, roads and portages (Westerdahl 2011c:746, 2014:123). Shipwrecks often represent a unique spatial combination, particularly unusual for objects of high mobility, because wreck sites are often found at their home harbours and sometimes also at the place where they were constructed (Westerdahl 2009b:24). This is especially the case in small communities where maritime culture is one aspect of the subsistence landscape; it underlines the ‘intimate relationship with the history of the landscape and the people’ (Westerdahl 2009b:24).

Most traces relating to sea routes are found on land; on islands or mainland points and peninsulas (Westerdahl 2006b:60). Sea routes—notably neglected in archaeological studies (Westerdahl 2006b:96)—have been divided into three principal categories: an inner route, rowing and hugging the coast; a middle or outer route, following the coastline at some distance, under sail; and an open sea route, for continuous shipping far out at sea, with the coastline either just observable or without observing the coastline (Westerdahl 1992:7). Elements of navigation, such as place names and transit lines, order the points and borders of the landscape (Westerdahl 2011c:746).

Landing has been described as the most important task for every sea voyage (Ilves 2004:172), and therefore landing sites are an integral aspect of the transport landscape. Sites, such as jetties, are ‘transit points ... where vessel and transportation methods change’ (Westerdahl 1992:6), and must be studied in terms of maritime connections including pathways and sailing routes, rather than in isolation. Ilves (2004:173–174) has defined the various types of landing sites as follows. Natural harbours and anchorages do not depend on the terrestrial landscape and almost always lack any archaeological evidence for their existence (Ilves 2004:173). A

landing-place, on the other hand, usually includes some construction features, therefore it is intrinsically connected with terrestrial activities and is a location from where boats can be retrieved (Ilves 2004:173). Finally, harbours are defined by a port service and the hinterland region associated with that port (Ilves 2004:174). Archaeology is particularly well-placed to identify renewal and replacement patterning created during maintenance processes of landing sites such as maritime infrastructure (Khan 2006:23). Landing sites also provide many opportunities for archaeologists to identify wider transport zones. Khan (2006:107), for example, found a relationship between shipbuilding and the construction of port-related structures such that the length of jetties indicates their maritime transport roles.

2.4.5.7 Urban harbour landscape

The urban harbour landscape includes examining the communication, distribution, trade and economic systems of harbour towns (Bill and Clausen 1999:9). This includes specialised features and complex infrastructure such as shipbuilding industries, facilitating exchange of goods from ship to land, providing adequate warehouses and storage and servicing ships and sea people (Bill and Clausen 1999:9).

2.4.5.8 Economic/subsistence/sustenance landscape

The economic landscape can often be characterised as small-scale and refers to everyday activities relating to subsistence and sustenance. Examples of this landscape can include elements of coastal agriculture (e.g. settlements, fields, fences, grazing areas on islands) and other terrestrial resources, fishing (e.g. seasonal settlements, fish traps, net sinkers), hunting (e.g. traps, sheds), gathering (natural landscape) and industrial activities (Westerdahl 2011c:746). Marine resources are essential for foraging societies, as well as being a reserve for agricultural communities (Westerdahl 2011c:745). Westerdahl's (2011c:746) ambition is 'to include the archaeological structure of the agrarian landscape at the coast in the marine focused economic landscape'.

2.4.5.9 Social landscape

The social landscape refers to the demographics of a maritime cultural landscape and can include recruitment on ships and at shipyards and boatbuilding sites. The status of boatbuilders, for example, has been indicated through social and symbolic patterns

(Westerdahl 2009b:16). Shackel (2009:1–2) suggests that in the specialist field of industrial archaeology, ‘the study of the machine usually takes precedence over the study of people involved in the industry, and labour is often not considered or is of lesser significance compared to industrial technology’. This was also the case in maritime archaeology in the past, with archaeologists concerned with shipwreck artefacts and their functions rather than maritime societies and individuals (Richards 2008:38). Ransley (2011:891) argues that there is a ‘fractured, undertheorized dialogue’ between maritime communities and traditions (through sources such as oral histories and folklore traditions, contemporary ‘traditional’ boat studies and ethnography) and maritime archaeology. The social landscape must, therefore, be explored through collaboration with local communities.

2.4.5.10 Territorial (external); power/resistance (internal) landscape

The territorial landscape includes defence, aggression and warfare with external groups, in addition to the internal power and resistance landscape. Therefore, it is ideally placed to explore colonisation, from initial contact (external) to long-term cross-cultural engagement (internal). The power/resistance landscape investigates whether outside groups, such as the church or the crown, had an interest in controlling maritime activities, for example sea routes and fishing, whether those interests agreed with local groups and whether there was subsequent conflict within or between groups (Westerdahl 2012:331). It also includes aspects of the social landscape, including class structures, settlement patterns, boathouses, blockages and other fortifications (Westerdahl 2011c). As Westerdahl (2014:135) notes, ‘every landscape of power has been challenged by a landscape of resistance’ and these ideas of an internal power and resistance landscape has interesting intersections between maritime and Indigenous archaeology. In both subfields, this landscape is expressed spatially, making a landscape approach a suitable framework for investigation. Power and resistance may be defined by a lack of archaeological evidence, i.e. certain groups who were excluded from that area, or by archaeological evidence within banned areas, i.e. violating restriction boundaries or using alternative toponymies (Duncan 2006:22–23). Power and resistance has also been spatially expressed at missions through the (resistance to) reorganisation of space (Griffin 2010:157, 164). The facet of power and resistance presents possibilities to investigate interactions between post-contact mission and maritime space.

2.4.5.11 Leisure landscape

The leisure landscape is allegedly a pseudo landscape—without a sufficient connection to the maritime past—and is arguably the most recent facet of a maritime cultural landscape. Rönby (2007:77) observes most modern-day people view the maritime landscape as recreational. Aspects of the leisure landscape that developed during the nineteenth century include leisure sailing, practices such as sea bathing and its associated constructions and the popularisation of holidaying in fishing villages amongst the middle class (Westerdahl 2008b:228). This resulted in a restructuring of the landscape for leisure cottages and marinas, amongst other developments (Westerdahl 2011c:746).

These 11 facets of the maritime cultural landscape concept provide a thematic framework for interpretation. The facets are designed to ‘mingle effortlessly’ together, i.e. an element of the maritime cultural landscape may easily fit into multiple facets (Westerdahl 2011c:746–747). Their use within research-based academic study is evident; however, management-based contexts also adopt the maritime cultural landscape framework—indeed, the framework has its roots in cultural heritage management (Parker 2001).

2.4.6 Maritime cultural landscapes and cultural heritage management

While this research endeavours to build upon and potentially develop the maritime cultural landscape framework as an interpretive tool for research in an Indigenous post-contact context, it is important to consider how the approach is ‘coming of age’ within cultural heritage management, particularly Indigenous settings (Westerdahl 1992:5, 2011b). From a heritage management perspective, maritime cultural landscapes present a challenge in terms of their interdisciplinary nature (e.g. history, geography, archaeology, anthropology [Ford 2011a:1]) as well as their variable boundaries or extents compared to established political or social boundaries in the region (Firth 1995:5; Vrana and Vander Stoep 2003:24). These challenges are reflected in Australia’s heritage practice, influenced primarily by the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter. The ‘point/list’ structure of Australia’s heritage management means it is difficult to define areas or boundaries—landscapes (Moylan et al. 2009:450). Furthermore, the Burra Charter model, with its origins in built

heritage (i.e. visible heritage), is based on significance categories¹⁴ for sites which, according to some, separates social significance rather than seeing it as the environment within which the other significance categories should be conceived (see Byrne et al. 2001:8, 19). Therefore, in Australia, Indigenous post-contact cultural landscapes, which can be reasonably expected to be identified through canvassing social significance, are under-recorded, and the maritime aspect of these is even more so.

Firth (1995:5) argues that management is shaped by ‘existing coastal and marine boundaries’, which are poorly suited to the coastal environment due to their prescription as an extension of terrestrial borders. He also argues, however, that landscape approaches could be useful in identifying distinct management environments (Firth 1995:5). Maritime cultural landscapes inextricably link to culture and ecology and are in use as a management technique. A recent project from the United States has attempted to cross the gap between cultural and natural heritage management¹⁵ and government departments by integrating maritime cultural landscapes into an existing ecosystem-based management plan for marine protected areas (Barr 2013). In this case, ecosystem-based management is the existing system and maritime cultural landscapes are being introduced. The results of this integration have yet to be published.

Another ongoing management project (2012–2014) in the United States, ‘Characterizing Tribal Cultural Landscapes’, is a collaborative endeavour documenting cultural heritage of tribes with a connection to the coast. It shares many similar methods and site types/landscapes with the maritime cultural landscape approach. Methods include archival research, field investigations, community outreach and the collection of oral histories. Site types incorporate traditional subsistence, commerce, residential, occupation, spiritual and ceremonial activities (Characterizing Tribal Cultural Landscapes Project 2012). The project is designed to

¹⁴ Article 1.2 Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.

¹⁵ Divergences and convergences within research-based and management-based approaches are outlined by Brown (2008), regarding Australian pre-contact archaeology. Archaeological research is based on intellectual scientific investigation with the aim of ‘discovering, interpreting and revising human knowledge’ of our past, with academia being the primary facilitator of research (Brown 2008). Cultural heritage management, on the other hand, identifies, assesses, manages and interprets heritage that is perceived by the community as significant (Brown 2008). Therefore, field-work designed to document heritage and generate data as cultural heritage management is not, by itself, considered research, although management-based archaeology should aid in investigating applied research questions (Brown 2008).

develop an approach which can be adapted by other tribal communities to record areas of significance on a geospatial scale and aims to give tribal communities more influence during the planning of coastal, marine and energy developments and the establishment and management of marine protected areas (Grussing 2013:10–11). Furthermore, Grussing (2013:11) suggests that this approach has the potential to document archaeological sites, historic landscapes and archival resources in regions where tribes were displaced from ‘Country’ in the colonial period. Projects such as this are adopting cultural landscape approaches which incorporate Indigenous and maritime cultural heritage, however do not employ the specific phrase ‘maritime cultural landscape’.

Although Vrana and Vander Stoep (2003:24–25) suggest that developing a public understanding of the maritime cultural landscape framework is a challenge, Flatman (2011:325–326) identifies the concepts behind maritime cultural landscapes as frequently understandable; most people can easily visualise a maritime cultural landscape. Therefore, while applying a Western construct to Aboriginal cultural heritage, the results of this research are understandable and accessible for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, which the United States case study appears to support. It is conceived as a flexible approach that suits any location, period and culture, and, thus, this thesis explores its capability for appropriately incorporating Indigenous nuances. The maritime cultural landscape framework, therefore, provides a conceptual tool for both the interpretation (this research) and management of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Freire 2013).

2.5 Conclusions

It is possible to view a seascape without referencing maritime culture; however it is impossible to view a maritime cultural landscape without referencing the seascape. The underlying, unifying factor between a terrestrial maritime cultural landscape and a submerged landscape is cognitive and can be visualised through the simple example of the knowledge of the underwater landscape necessarily held by someone exploiting marine resources. The maritime cultural landscape, therefore, seeks to obliterate the archaeological border between sea and land, without discounting the possibility of a cognitive border in the past and/or present.

This research relies on conceptualisations developed by Westerdahl (1992, 2008b, 2011b, 2011c), which are also consistent with thoughts on cognitive landscapes, maritime culture, maritime communities and maritime durees discussed by other scholars. Seascape approaches and the subfield of island archaeology feed into the interpretation of maritime cultural landscapes. The authors cited in this chapter have contributed to a theoretical, methodological and comparative compilation of research necessary to extend the concept of the maritime cultural landscape to Indigenous post-contact landscapes. Therefore, the maritime cultural landscape approach adopted to be built upon for this particular Indigenous historical context is conceived as a tool for interpreting the maritime culture within the study area with a view to reinsert Indigenous peoples into the literature pertaining to maritime landscapes, and thereby reflecting on, addressing and correcting a likely biased colonial archive. This research also investigates whether a Western concept—that developed from Western theories of cultural landscapes with the associated trappings of Western perceptions of seas, islands, boundaries, ownership and so forth—can adequately express Indigenous views of maritime culture. It also assesses whether it can be used in the future in other post-contact contexts, such as those reviewed in the following chapter.

[Aboriginal] people had an interest in areas way out of sight [of land] both in terms of their deep involvement with clouds and more mundanely through their travels into distant waters particularly in the past with Macassans, pearlers, fishers and missionaries (Peterson and Rigsby 1998:4).

3 INDIGENOUS MARITIME ACTIVITIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Thomson (1952:5) found that coastal Indigenous groups of northern Australia (Cape York Peninsula and Arnhem Land) are ‘seafarers and watermen [sic] of no mean order’—a quote applicable to Indigenous peoples in the pre- and post-contact periods. This chapter presents a review of the literature surrounding archaeological investigations of pre- and post-contact Indigenous maritime activities in Australia. The purpose is to position the mission-specific case study of Point Pearce/Burgiyana within the broader context of Indigenous themes in maritime archaeology in Australia. Following this, a brief background to archaeological research at Australian missions provides context for a review of archaeological studies at missions in South Australia that identified material evidence for maritime activities.

The area of submerged Indigenous sites, however, confuses synthesising Indigenous themes in maritime archaeology when definitions of maritime, underwater and nautical archaeology are taken into account. ‘Prehistoric submerged landscapes’, such as inundated stone artefact scatters, are not discussed here as they are part of the subdiscipline of either Indigenous archaeology or underwater archaeology (for Australian research in this area see Dortch [1997, 2002a, 2002b] and Dortch and

Godfrey [1990]), with the exception of submerged nautical themed rock art (Bigourdan and McCarthy 2007). These submerged artefacts are not culturally associated with maritime activities, but are rather found within a submerged setting due to sea-/water level change.

3.1 Pre-contact Indigenous maritime activities

Prior to the advent of seascape conceptualisations and the acknowledgement (by researchers) of spiritual connections with the sea (considered in the previous chapter), pre-contact studies have focused on the origins and migration of Indigenous peoples, coastal occupation patterns, subsistence and procurement technologies including diet, fishing and trapping methods, and traditional Indigenous watercraft (McKinnon et al. 2014:60; McNiven 2003:330). These areas of archaeological research will be considered separately, however all can theoretically contribute to aspects of Indigenous maritime cultural continuity.

3.1.1 Maritime colonisation

The colonisation of Sahul (Greater Australia)¹⁶ has been argued by Balme (2013:70) as ‘the first true hominin ‘migrations’ as opposed to the [previous] ‘dispersals’’. One of the key questions within the subdiscipline of maritime archaeology has been whether Australia’s Indigenous population arrived by a land bridge or by boat (Rowland 1995:5). While Aboriginal peoples, such as the Riratjingu from eastern Arnhem Land (NT)—and others—have their own origin stories which should be respected for there are many ways of viewing the world (Zimmerman 2005:313), archaeological interpretations argue that watercraft and seafaring navigation had to play a role in human colonisation of Sahul in the Pleistocene (Allen and O’Connell 2008; Balme 2013:70; Bednarik 1998:139, 2002:57; Rowland 1995:5). While there is no direct evidence for watercraft from this time (and it is unlikely to be located)—most likely due to sea-level rise and poor preservation—skeletal remains and occupation sites confirm that humans were in Australia, at the current best-estimate, of ca 45,000 years ago, or earlier (Allen and O’Connell 2008:32; Bednarik 1998:139, 2002:59).

¹⁶ The enlarged landmass of the now submerged continental shelf incorporating mainland Australia, Tasmania and New Guinea during times of lower sea-level (Hiscock 2008:21).

While most investigators have taken a minimalist stance with regards to the maritime technology necessary to colonise Sahul, Allen and O’Connell (2008:37) note that greater technological inventiveness should not be discounted. Bednarik (1998:140) has used experimental archaeology to provide a framework for beginning to understand the watercraft used to facilitate first landfall. He found that the technological competence of early mariners was previously under-estimated because replicative processes revealed the need for a comprehensive understanding of the properties, acquisition, transport, processing, storage and performance of a variety of materials (Bednarik 1998:147, 2002:57). Balme (2013:72), for example, highlights the role of plants, such as fibre technology, in both watercraft and maritime subsistence tools of the first Australian colonisers. Modern human behaviours such as ‘the presence of information flow, group planning of the strategies and conceptualisation that follow from the use of symbolic behaviours’, were also critical for the construction of watercraft capable of reaching Sahul (Balme 2013:70).

Bowdler (1995:945) suggests that based on the knowledge that colonisation involved sea crossings, it would be correct to assume that watercraft would have continued to be used in Australia, especially for the exploration of offshore islands; however, the archaeological evidence does not support this—those islands with evidence for Pleistocene occupation were part of the continental landmass at that time. Bowdler (1995:955) proposes that there is an apparent decrease of water crossing capabilities by the late Pleistocene and only in the last 4,000 to 3,000 years did regular crossing of water barriers reoccur. Sim and Wallis’ (2008:95, 104) recent research on Vanderlin Island (Gulf of Carpentaria, NT) also supports the concept that in the archaeological record an occupational hiatus occurred on the smaller offshore islands (ca 6,700 to 4,200 BP). During the initial island phase of this hiatus, only three islands featured continued occupation, the large islands of Tasmania, Flinders Island (Tas.) and Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta¹⁷ (SA); Tasmanian occupation continued through to colonisation, however populations on the other two islands died out or left between 4,500 and 4,000 years ago (Sim and Wallis 2008:95–96). On the other hand, Rowland (2008:89) underlines the likelihood of ‘changes in watercraft types and use throughout prehistory’, and therefore, the apparent lack of watercraft prior to 4,000 years ago may to some extent reflect missing evidence.

¹⁷ Traditional Indigenous name Peendeka (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:31) or Karta (Tindale 1974:35).

Bowdler (1995:955) suggests two possible reasons for the revival of water crossings around 3,000 years ago; first, that the use of watercraft was abandoned and then reinvented during the Holocene and that the original watercraft were not suitable for all Australian conditions; and secondly, that a less coastally-oriented lifestyle was adopted after initial colonisation. Either way, the pattern for island occupation of a certain distance offshore is related to the presence of watercraft (Bowdler 1995:956). Sim and Wallis (2008:96), however, suggest that the impetus for mid-Holocene (re)colonisation of offshore islands in Australia is somewhat more ambiguous. They propose that archaeological and palaeoclimatic evidence now support island (re)occupation being a continent-wide response to changing climate, with island visitation and increased occupation reflecting a direct response to climatic conditions suitable for coastal habitation and watercraft travel (Sim and Wallis 2008:104). In addition, although the later use of islands has been argued as reflecting a change in technology, Gaughwin and Fullagar (1995:47) do not see it as a recent development given the use of canoes on rivers and lakes (i.e. in Victoria) earlier than 2,000 years ago and no specific seagoing adaptation.

Allen and O'Connell (2008:32) argue that many approaches within this research topic rely on questionable interpretations and are repeatedly date-driven. While the maritime cultural landscape approach has not been used to address questions such as the first colonisation of islands, it can be used to interpret 'when, how and perhaps also why humans started to sail the seas' by investigating archaeology which indicates the cognitive sphere of maritime peoples (Westerdahl 2010c:275). Westerdahl (2010c:275) has questioned the significance of 'the cognitive step from the coast to the ocean'. He suggests that boats were originally cognitively identified with land, due to their construction materials, and only became symbolic when transferred to the water (Westerdahl 2010c:278). Indeed, many aspects that have been examined with regards to seafaring and colonisation, such as climate, weather, navigation, passages and corridors, and distance and visibility at sea (Allen and O'Connell 2008:38), have many resemblances to aspects of maritime cultural landscapes discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, the maritime cultural landscape concept has a contribution to make towards the maritime colonisation of Australia. Another field of research in which a maritime cultural landscape approach also has a role to play is that of marine procurement strategies.

3.1.2 Marine subsistence and procurement technologies

There has been a preoccupation with subsistence and procurement technologies with regards to Indigenous coastal archaeology (Cooney 2003:323; McNiven 2003:329–330). Gaughwin and Fullagar (1995:38–39) found a need to define the terms ‘coastal economy’ and ‘marine economy’ because such a definition has been recognised as problematic in recent maritime and island archaeology research. They argue that in a coastal economy the food remains from the sea are dominated by intertidal resources, and this can be seen as an extension of land-based adaptations, functioning on coastal landforms, with no special adaptation to the full range of marine resources and environments (Gaughwin and Fullagar 1995:39). A marine economy, on the other hand, is the special adaptation to the full range of marine resources (intertidal, subtidal and offshore zones), adequate offshore watercraft (also fish hooks, nets and specialised spears) and a high proportion of the diet coming from the sea (Gaughwin and Fullagar 1995:39). This distinction bears many similarities to the discussion of maritime culture in the previous chapter.

Pre-contact fishing practices can provide a broad scope of information relevant to archaeologists, including technological knowledge and skill, diet and economy, and sex and society (Colley 1987:16). Fishing practices in the pre-contact period have been investigated through research into Indigenous fish traps and weirs (Dortch et al. 2006; Martin 1988; Mollenmans 2014; Richards 2011), although the term ‘trap’ and ‘weir’ have been used interchangeably (Rowland and Ulm 2011:3, 58). The difference between the two types is that fish are guided into traps, whereas fish enter a weir of their own accord (Jeffery 2013:31). Jeffery (2013:31) notes that in Australia weirs form the majority of types, however a number of studies have explored both. Bowen (1998) and McNiven et al. (2012) have dated stone-walled fish and eel traps and weirs in central Queensland and southeast Australia, respectively. Welz (2002) has expanded fish trap studies to include environmental and cultural influences on fish trap sites of the lower Eyre Peninsula. The role of fishing technologies has also been recognised—during a study in Britain—as important when defining a maritime cultural landscape (Bannerman and Jones 1999), and therefore these technologies should become an aspect of maritime cultural landscape studies in Australia.

In addition, it has been recognised by Rowland and Ulm (2011:44) that engagement with Indigenous communities has been limited in fish trap surveys in Australia, in comparison to studies in Europe (Wessex Archaeology Coastal & Marine 2012, 2013), the Americas (Ancient Fishweir Project 2014) and Africa, Asia and Oceania (Jeffery 2013). Benjamin et al. (2014:411) found that community engagement, including oral history interviews, were valuable when identifying fish traps in the Outer Hebrides, Scotland. An example is an informant who described his grandfathers' involvement in constructing and working a stone-built structure; intangible cultural heritage not previously recorded (Benjamin et al. 2014:411). The lack of collaboration in Australia is reflected in most maritime archaeology projects, where interpretations of archaeological places are biased towards European perspectives (Rowland and Ulm 2011:44). The views, experiences, knowledge, values and management techniques of Indigenous peoples are poorly represented in the maritime archaeology literature and force future researchers to rely on limited data for interpretation (Rowland and Ulm 2011:44). Recent studies are beginning to engage communities, such as Mollenmans (2014) study of the fish traps on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, incorporating traditional Narungga knowledge and contemporary perspectives of significance in a culturally meaningful way. His archaeological research method employed a model of collaborative enquiry, including the paid participation of heritage monitors and community participation in research outputs (Mollenmans 2014:70, 73). In addition, Aboriginal peoples were actively involved in interpreting their heritage. Therefore, it can be seen that both Indigenous collaboration and the maritime cultural landscape framework have a role to play in maritime subsistence and procurement studies.

As well as research into pre-contact fish trap use, some studies have identified their use into the historic period (Fowler 2013a:79). Not only does Ross' (2009) research discuss some post-contact usage of Ngarrindjeri fish traps, some sites are recorded ethnographically as being located at the mission of Point McLeay/Raukkan (SA). Fish 'pounds', constructed of wooden stakes in a circular pattern and used in the historic period to store fish prior to their transport to market, have been described by Point McLeay/Raukkan missionary, George Taplin (Ross 2009:4). In addition, Ross (2009:25) has noted Europeans using fish pounds made of tea-tree stakes in the Coorong (SA) until the 1930s, an example of cross-cultural exchange where settlers

are replicating traditional Aboriginal knowledge (Fowler 2013a:84). Therefore, marine procurement strategies should be investigated from a pre- and post-contact and cross-cultural perspective when researching maritime cultural landscapes. A final area in which maritime archaeology is contributing to pre-contact Indigenous research is studies of traditional Indigenous watercraft.

3.1.3 Traditional Indigenous watercraft

Traditional Indigenous watercraft have received some attention archaeologically, however, ethnographic sources are much more prolific both for Australia and further afield because few original traditional watercraft remain in an archaeological context (e.g. Haddon 1918; Roth 1908; Thomson 1934, 1952). Archaeological research does, however, include examining extant traditional watercraft, as well as experimental archaeology and modern cultural demonstrations.

A previous example of applying maritime archaeological approaches to Indigenous contexts is that of King (2009:1–2), who employed naval recording techniques, such as recording ship lines and tool marks—‘as one would with European or colonial vessels’—to Indigenous sewn bark and dugout canoes. King (2009:2) found that by combining these methods with Indigenous data, knowledge of construction patterns, tool kits and hull designs could be identified, which provides insights into hull shape, design and hydrodynamics, as well as canoe building traditions, regional variety and potentially individual canoe makers.

The archaeology of traditional Indigenous watercraft is also benefiting from projects which document the construction of traditional watercraft through the practice of physically making them (Paton and Cope 2012; Rowland 1995). In 1981, a bark canoe built to the historical description of Keppel Island (Qld) canoes was paddled a journey of 60 km which confirmed the importance of weather conditions and also impressed upon researchers the durability of such watercraft (Rowland 1995:14–15). The 2012 *Nawi* conference, held at the Australian National Maritime Museum, was the first national conference on Indigenous watercraft, conceived due to the lack of specific scholarship on such vessels (Fletcher and Gapps 2012:5). The conference highlighted several communities’ projects in reviving canoe practices and included building demonstrations, with the overall outcome being that many discussions are

still to be had surrounding traditional watercraft knowledge (Fletcher and Gapps 2012).

The generally functional applications of the three pre-contact Indigenous themes in maritime archaeology discussed here have given way more recently to the spiritual and ritual aspects of seascapes described in the previous chapter. Pre-contact Indigenous watercraft, while irrefutably an understudied theme, has still received further consideration than post-contact watercraft construction and use by Indigenous peoples (Roberts et al. 2013:78). This research therefore aims to provide recognition of these post-contact aspects and in doing so contribute to the entirety of Indigenous watercraft studies and further dissolve the dichotomy of Indigenous/‘prehistoric’ and non-Indigenous/historic explained earlier. Indigenous themes in post-contact maritime archaeology research will now be considered.

3.2 Post-contact Indigenous maritime activities

This research fits into a field of archaeology commonly referred to in literature as contact period archaeology, the archaeology of culture contact and the recent Indigenous past (Lydon and Ash 2010:6; Williamson and Harrison 2006:2), amongst others (e.g. see Torrence and Clarke 2000b:15–16). Gibbs (2004:41) notes that post-contact research, or what he terms cross-cultural contacts, requires substantially more consideration as a maritime theme. The slow development of archaeological research in this area has led to biased and inadequate representations of coastal, riverine and lacustrine Indigenous maritime heritage (Roberts et al. 2013:78). Areas of interest within this topic in Australia, identified by Gibbs (2004:47), include Indigenous and visiting mariner interaction (Mitchell 1996; Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999; Roberts 2004), Indigenous and shipwreck survivor interaction (Jeffery 2001; McCarthy 2008; Merry 2010; Morse 1988; Nash 2006), Indigenous rock art representations of maritime contact (Bigourdan and McCarthy 2007; Burningham 1994; May et al. 2009; O’Connor and Arrow 2008; Taçon and May 2013; Wesley et al. 2012), impact of maritime contact on material culture and economy (Bowdler 1976; Gara 2013; MacKnight 1986; Mitchell 1996), and Indigenous labour forces in colonial maritime industries, such as whaling (Anderson in prep; Gibbs 2003; Staniforth et al. 2001), sealing (Anderson in prep; Clarke 1996; James 2002; Russell 2005; Taylor 2008),

pearling (McPhee 2001; Mullins 2012; O'Connor and Arrow 2008) and coastal agriculture (Fowler et al. 2014; Roberts et al. 2013).

Indigenous peoples adapted resourcefully to colonial pressures by integrating new technology, such as boats, and interacting with the capitalist economy by selling the products of their labour, such as fish (Bennett 2007:86). Furthermore, Reynolds (2006:177) describes maritime industries as being less disruptive to Indigenous peoples, compared to mining or pastoralism, given the Indigenous pattern of coastal use. However, Egloff and Wreck Bay Community (1990:28) note that most non-Indigenous Australians do not realise the extent to which coastal Indigenous peoples adopted European maritime technology. In Australia, the participation of Indigenous peoples in maritime activities post-contact has been significantly under-documented (Roberts et al. 2013). Most inferences to Indigenous participation come through historical documents, as few cases of archaeological investigation have occurred. Several post-contact contexts are subsequently reviewed, which serve to position this investigation into maritime activities at an Aboriginal mission within the broader themes of Indigenous post-contact maritime activities and highlights the research gap in maritime archaeology at Indigenous missions.

3.2.1 Macassan contact and *beche-de-mer* (trepang)

Indigenous and visiting mariner interaction not only includes European contact (see section 3.2.2) but also Macassan contact, illustrated through the trepang industry. Macassan interaction began in Arnhem Land from ca 1720 and continued until 1907 (Mitchell 1996:181), although archaeological dating has shown a discrepancy which suggests that initial contact may have been earlier (Clarke 2000:328). The purpose of these yearly visits was to collect and process trepang (*Holothurians*, various species) and then export the produce from Macassar (Indonesia) to China (Burningham 1994:140).

Indigenous peoples sailed along the northern Australian coastline and overseas as passengers and employees on Macassan vessels (Roberts 2004:41). A trepanger from western Arnhem Land suggested that the sight of a lugger without an Aboriginal person in its rigging was unusual as the sight of Indigenous crew was so familiar (Roberts 2004:42). Reportedly, an Indigenous community was marooned in

Macassar in the 1860s and up to 17 Indigenous people from Port Essington (NT) were in Macassar in 1870 (Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999:414; Roberts 2004:41).

Archaeological remains of Macassan settlements and trepang processing plants are extant, for example at Anuru Bay (NT) (Roberts 2004:21). Anuru Bay contains 21 lines of stone fireplaces for boiling trepang and, while it was excavated by MacKnight and Thorne (1968), it has recently received renewed interest (McKinnon et al. 2013; Theden-Ringl et al. 2011:41). Two sets of skeletal remains located at the site have been confirmed—through strontium, oxygen and carbon stable isotope analysis—as non-Indigenous people and the analysis strongly supports Macassan identification (Theden-Ringl et al. 2011:41). This study also suggested that Anuru Bay was occupied relatively early in the Macassan period and it is likely that the skeletons represent the earliest known non-Indigenous remains anywhere in Australia (Theden-Ringl et al. 2011:41).

Indigenous peoples adopted Macassan material culture including wooden dugout canoes, sails and iron which changed marine hunting strategies, as discussed by Mitchell (1996:181). MacKnight (1986:71) also highlights the way in which material culture has been localised and transformed in contact situations, for example the form is often maintained however the function has become more generalised. These studies reveal that Indigenous adoption, construction and use of Western-style vessels, a major theme in this research, have historical precedents in the adoption of Macassan dugout canoes. The present study can similarly document the way in which such adoptions resulted in changes and continuities to traditional lifeways in the post-contact mission period.

The functional approach, which privileges technology, such as dugout canoes, as the mechanism of change prevents the analysis of more varied aspects of responses within a cultural system (Clarke 2000:320); maritime cultural landscape frameworks could provide a counter-narrative to approaches such as this. For example, Macassan influences have also been recorded in the ceremonies and totemic systems of Groote Eylandt (NT), which incorporate ship and wind totems (Clarke 2000:321), and could be viewed through the ritual/cultic facet of a maritime cultural landscape framework. In addition, stone arrangements in northeastern Arnhem Land include motifs of *praus*, houses, and hearths for boiling trepang, objects that Indigenous peoples

became familiar with through Macassan contact (Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999:27). Therefore, the maritime cultural landscape approach also has the potential to contribute to the interpretation of other areas of Indigenous and visiting mariner interaction, and move from the consideration of functional characteristics to cognitive aspects. Another way in which Indigenous peoples interacted with foreign mariners was through shipwreck events.

3.2.2 Shipwreck survivor camps and contact

During the colonial period, numerous incidents of shipwreck survivors encountering Indigenous peoples occurred. To paraphrase Denning (2004:348), history always begins on the beach, it is the first theatre of contact. Examples can be drawn from across Australia, however limited archaeological investigation has been conducted. Nash (2006:35–36) discusses the *Sydney Cove* (1797, Tas.) survivors' rescue trek as a period of contact in New South Wales, with Aboriginal groups either assisting or hindering their progress.

In 1987, Morse (1988) conducted a survey at the site of the *Zuytdorp* (1712, WA) wreck to establish whether Aboriginal peoples and the shipwrecked sailors came into contact. The survey resulted in no indication that Aboriginal assistance was given to the *Zuytdorp* survivors, although the disturbance of the site by recent salvagers may have destroyed archaeological evidence (Morse 1988:39). In addition to the *Zuytdorp* example, the Western Australian Museum's 'Strangers on the Shore' database is an electronic compilation of all known European and Asian shipwrecks around Western Australia where survivors had contact with Aboriginal peoples (Western Australian Museum 2014b). This database is the result of Stage 1 of the three stage 'Australian Contact Shipwrecks Program' (established in 1997 at the Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Maritime Museum) which aims to: 1) Catalogue the survivors' accounts, archaeological analyses, descriptions of the material record, contemporary European and Indigenous accounts of the loss, details of vessels and their crews, and identification of groups on whom they imposed; 2) Document and analyse the Indigenous record of past shipwreck events; and 3) Examine other interactions i.e. between explorers, merchants and pastoralists and Indigenous peoples (in 2008 Stage 1 was completed, Stage 2 was underway and Stage 3 was yet to commence) (McCarthy 2008:227, 235). McCarthy (2008:232) notes that no

attempt had been made to systematically record local community's oral histories and legends and assess Indigenous attitudes and opinions towards the effect of maritime contact. An example of this is the loss of the steamship *Sunbeam* (1892, WA), where Gambera people explain its loss within their 'mythology' as retribution by the Ancestral snake spirit for not returning women to the shore after being on-board the vessel (McCarthy 2008:232).

Research into Indigenous accounts can fill out non-existent European records and, conversely European accounts attempt to fix Indigenous peoples in particular places at a specific time (McCarthy 2008:233–234). An example of this is the loss of the Austro-Hungarian barque, *Stefano* (1875), on the Western Australian coast and subsequent survivors' journey, which was recorded by Stefano Skurla based on the accounts of the two survivors (Melville-Jones 2009). Skurla's manuscript provides valuable ethnographic information, such as the daily life and language/s of the Aboriginal peoples of the Cape Range Peninsula (North West Cape, WA) (Melville-Jones 2009:139).

Three instances of culture contact through shipwreck in the Coorong are discussed by Jeffery (2001) and Merry (2010), reflecting the broader and differing experiences, interactions and outcomes in the early years of colonisation in South Australia. First, passengers off *Fanny* (1838) stayed with Aboriginal people for about seven weeks during which time the survivors were given firesticks and shown watering holes (Jeffery 2001:33). Merry (2010:180) states the passengers from *Fanny* owed their lives to the Milmenrura people of the Coorong and Murray Lakes area. Second, in 1840, Aboriginal people initially helped the survivors of the ship *Maria*, which wrecked at the Coorong en route from Adelaide to Hobart (Tas.), however after a violent altercation all the shipwreck survivors were killed (Foster et al. 2001:13; Jeffery 2001:33). The South Australian Government found two Aboriginal men guilty and had them executed, however public debate arose concerning the legality of the Aboriginal men's execution (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:37). Controversy amongst the colonists attracted attention in England and Governor Gawler was recalled because of the way he handled the event (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:38; Merry 2010:183). Third, the survivors of *Mariner* (1845) were threatened by Aboriginal people, who were also salvaging cargo, until police arrived with

Indigenous assistants (Jeffery 2001:35). A published account from a Ngarrindjeri perspective has not been produced, however these events are undoubtedly more complex and continue to be passed down to younger generations through oral history (Rigney 2002:xii).

Merry (2010:184–185) posits that prior to official settlement in South Australia, the Milmenrura people's contact with Europeans, including familiarity with guns, had conditioned their attitudes and subsequent hostile responses to non-Indigenous people. Mattingley and Hampton (1992:37) state that 'the land was settled either at the point of a gun or against the background of Aboriginal knowledge of what the gun can do'. This has been attributed to the violent behaviour of whalers and sealers on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta, including abducting and abusing Aboriginal women, as well as the conduct of overland parties (in the five years between the wrecks of *Maria* and *Mariner* pastoralism had rapidly expanded in the Coorong) (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:37; Merry 2010:185–186, 189; Taylor 2008). Wood, iron and glass bottles have been found among hearths and middens in the area that could possibly indicate contact between Aboriginal and European populations (Jeffery 2001:36–37). Archaeology is well-placed to explore the structures and complexities of Indigenous societies, a context within which Indigenous responses to contact must be understood (Merry 2010:187).

Archaeological shipwreck survivor contact themes would benefit from collaborations between maritime archaeologists and Indigenous communities¹⁸—a process which is being explored in this research—and would also contribute to highlighting the complex relationships and involvement of Indigenous peoples in Australia's early colonial history. An area in which collaborative approaches are increasingly being employed is that of maritime themes within post-contact Indigenous rock art.

3.2.3 Maritime rock art

Several researchers have investigated Indigenous art, including rock and bark paintings and stone arrangements, which portray non-Indigenous maritime motifs (see most recently a volume edited by Taçon and May [2013]). O'Connor and Arrow

¹⁸ The value of Inuit oral history has recently been revealed through the discovery of Franklin's ship HMS *Erebus* in 2014, uniformly indicated through Inuit testimony (Woodman 2015:xv–xvi). Although, the Government of Canada recast the story as a founding myth of Canadian nationhood and the media constructed the discovery as scientific and technological, ignoring the knowledge of the Inuit peoples (Hulan 2015:132).

(2008:397) suggest that across Australia there is regional variation in the types, styles and the presence of people on Western watercraft depictions, making such archaeological findings useful for identifying the ‘historical context and the nature of the relationships of contact in the different regions’. Furthermore, Indigenous depictions of vessels are oftentimes the only record of that particular vessel (McCarthy 2008:235).

Burningham (1994:139) interpreted depictions of Macassan trepang watercraft and pearling luggers by identifying the vessels, discussing their technical details and providing evidence for Indigenous involvement. He also noted that nineteenth-century petroglyphs of auxiliary steamers exist in the Kimberley (WA) (Burningham 1994:143). May et al. (2009:1) investigated Macassan watercraft depictions on bark paintings and provided more detailed analysis of cross-cultural interaction, stylistic adaptation and change, and maritime technologies. They additionally highlighted the need to combine ethnography and oral histories with maritime technological knowledge, stating that the artwork supported oral histories relating to the movements and connection between Indigenous and Macassan peoples and that the interpretations might more accurately relate to the cultural meanings intended by the artist (May et al. 2009:15).

O’Connor and Arrow (2008:407) found that three, technically accurate, painted craft from the Kimberley region are evidence for Aboriginal peoples close working relationship with boats and that, although historic sources suggest few Aboriginal peoples participated here on pearling luggers, Indigenous peoples had other opportunities to experience the workings of boats as crew on luggers and schooners undertaking other endeavours. Two examples from missions include the Port George the IV Mission (established 1912 and later renamed Kunmunya, WA) where the missionary’s lugger was crewed by Indigenous people who would stop during the vessels voyage to collect turtle eggs to take back to the mission; and a self-supported missionary whose mission on Sunday Island (1899–1934, WA) used small boats to collect trepang, *Trochus* and pearl shell (O’Connor and Arrow 2008:407). Other examples of Indigenous peoples experiencing boats outside the trepang and pearling industries are found in the Northern Territory. ‘Big Bill’ Neidjie, a Kakadu (NT) man, travelled widely for employment, including working in timber mills,

plantations and on supply ships (Roberts 2004:39). Prior to 1846, five Indigenous men also worked on the merchant vessel *Heroine*, travelling from the Northern Territory to Sydney (NSW) and were reportedly the captain's best sailors (Allen and Corris 1977:144). Men, and women, such as these have been described as the 'opportunists of culture contact', although not always by choice (Roberts 2004:41).

Bigourdan and McCarthy (2007:1) summarise the potential for submerged rock art sites and particularly focus on the likelihood of submerged nautical depictions given their frequency on the coast. They also provide a catalogue of Indigenous watercraft depictions known in Western Australia to date (see Bigourdan [2013] for an update) and explore predictive modelling for submerged rock art based on underwater preservation conditions (Bigourdan and McCarthy 2007). Finally, Wesley et al. (2012) provide an analytical framework for interpreting watercraft in rock art. Using recognisable elements, features and attributes of the watercraft depicted, Wesley et al. (2012:264) found that the interaction between artists and watercraft could be indicated, for example depictions of vessel parts which represent labour could show direct Indigenous experience with such vessels. As evidenced through Indigenous post-contact rock art, Indigenous people's knowledge of such watercraft suggests working on and experiencing them frequently.

This is reinforced by Burningham's (1994:145) description of northern Australian Indigenous artists as not developing from the 'pier-head', i.e. viewing vessels from a distance, but as 'skilled mariners recording aspects of foreign maritime traditions'. He suggests that the artist/s of the rock art paintings of luggers on the Wessel Islands (NT) were 'intimately familiar' with the labour represented by particular aspects of the vessels fittings (Burningham 1994:144–145). It has also been noted that, in addition to subject matter or motif, foreign influence on rock paintings can also be seen in the use of introduced mediums and pigments and stylistic conventions (Roberts 2004:42). An example of stylistic influence is on Groote Eylandt (eastern Arnhem Land), where the x-ray style of western Arnhem Land is only used in the depiction of Macassan *praus*, suggesting travel by local artists to the western region via *prau* (Roberts 2004:42). An example of influences on medium is at King's Canyon (NT), where post-contact art was substantially made using dry charcoal

drawings, rather than the previously more frequent method of painting (Roberts 2004:42).

There is a propensity to perceive contact art as illustrative and representative of the consequences of colonisation, rather than an incorporation of introduced phenomena into existing cultural forms (Roberts 2004:43). Models of one-directional acculturation, in which post-contact cultural change has been constructed as forced on and passively received by Indigenous peoples, are being rejected in favour of recognising the significant role of Indigenous peoples in structuring their future (Roberts 2004:43). An example of this, from 'Dreaming' stories rather than rock art, is the integration of water buffalo into Arnhem Land 'Dreamings' of the Rainbow Serpent to imagine that the animal had always been part of the landscape (Altman 1982). The former models are particularly counter-productive when one considers that the classification of 'contact art' is itself a Western construct (Roberts 2004:42). Contact art should be viewed in a similar way to the reimagining of 'Dreaming' stories, where such art may not have been characterised as distinct by the artists themselves (Roberts 2004:42).

The predominance of maritime vessels as a subject of contact art attests to the introduction of foreign technology and knowledge (Roberts 2004:20). However, as just mentioned, contact art should also be understood as an internal response to contact and a means for Indigenous peoples to adapt and maintain their lives (Roberts 2004:21). The maritime rock art of Mount Borradaile (NT), located some 50 km from the coast, primarily features the European trading and fishing vessels that operated from the 1870s to 1930s. Some of the smaller vessels depicted could be those that serviced the Church Missionary Society at Oenpelli/Gunbalanya (NT) (Roberts 2004:35). Two images, however, depict junk-style rigging, and are suggested to be Chinese sampan¹⁹; interestingly, none of the paintings are of Macassan watercraft (Roberts 2004:34, 36). Roberts (2004:36) suggests European colonial contact was more pervasive, engaging and permanent than Macassan interactions.

¹⁹ A common, small, traditional Chinese vessel, the sampan features the essential or basic features of the junk, 'open skiffs, bluntly wedge-shaped in plan, shallow, keelless and very broad in the beam at the after end', sculled with two long-handled oars (Hornell 1934:333–334).

In addition to rock art, other forms of artwork made by Indigenous peoples, both children and adults, feature maritime contact. The collection of drawings from the Board for Anthropological Research's archives, which is analysed as part of the data for this research (see Chapters 5 and 6), is not the only example of collections of drawings compiled by anthropologists in the first half of the twentieth century. Cases exist from many other places around Australia; for example, Ronald Berndt collected crayon drawings on butcher's paper at Yirrkala (Arnhem Land) featuring Macassan vessels. A selection of these drawings was exhibited at the Art Gallery of New South Wales from late 2013 to early 2014. It is evident that collections such as these are a valuable source of data for understanding Indigenous post-contact maritime archaeology, including the identification of vessels in a particular place and time, which are often completely overlooked by archaeologists. Furthermore, crayon drawings have been found to provide an alternate history to those published (through photographs) by anthropologists who 'deleted' aspects of engagement with 1930s settler Australia (McGrath 2015:16).

Maritime rock art is yet to be incorporated as a data source within regional or thematic maritime cultural landscape studies. Wesley et al. (2012:266–267) state Indigenous depictions of non-Indigenous watercraft should be analysed 'within the context of the greater archaeological fabric of the site, region and history'. Maritime cultural landscape approaches should therefore make a point of incorporating Indigenous depictions of watercraft, regardless of their form (i.e. rock art or crayon drawings), and include such data more holistically within maritime archaeology generally.

3.2.4 Indigenous labour forces in colonial maritime industries

Frances et al. (1994:192) suggest that the labour history of Indigenous workers has been largely absent due to a lack of sources, and that to incorporate Indigenous workers into the landscape, the boundaries between anthropology, politics and history, along with archaeology, need to be breached. This is also the case with maritime archaeology, where Indigenous peoples were involved in whaling, sealing, pearling and fishing.

3.2.4.1 *Whaling and sealing*

Whaling and other sites of marine exploitation regularly involved, exploited or socially excluded Indigenous communities in Australia, as well as other places around the world (Flatman 2007b:143). Anderson (in prep) states sealers and whalers were the first Europeans to make contact with Indigenous peoples in the states of Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. Colonisation brought about limited economic opportunities to which Indigenous peoples were able to adapt. The Thomas family's whaling activities in southern New South Wales, which began in the 1830s and continued for a century, is an example of such an adaptation (Egloff 2000:201–202). Several Aboriginal people became famous for their exploits in whaling including Hadigadi, Adgere and Aden Thomas (Egloff and Wreck Bay Community 1990:28). Bennett (2007:87) also notes Indigenous seasonal employment in the nineteenth century at try works, as well as on whale boats.

The participation of Aboriginal peoples, including women, on whaling and sealing crews in southern Western Australia has been discussed by Gibbs (2003) and Anderson (in prep). Anderson (in prep) notes that Indigenous peoples 'negotiated their way through new industries and power structures to elevate their own social and economic position', for example by distributing their earnings from the whaling season—in the form of flour, sugar, tobacco etc.—to their families. Prickett (2008) has also provided detailed personal histories of several men of Indigenous Australian descent (frequently ex-convict fathers and Indigenous mothers) working in the New Zealand whaling and sealing industries. According to Prickett (2008:362), sealers did not distinguish between Australia and New Zealand, rather all the islands and places of sealing activities were considered jointly, a fact frequently unrecognised, however readily explored through maritime cultural landscape approaches to sealing and whaling undertakings.

Coroneos (1997:11) suggests that on the Fleurieu Peninsula (SA) following the arrival of settlers, Ramindjeri people lived a fringe lifestyle at whaling stations, with men and women being employed in the cutting-in work, and some working on the whaling boats as rowers. Although, Mattingley and Hampton (1992:127) also note that often Indigenous peoples were exploited by working without wages, for

example, young men who worked at a whale fishery returned with only their clothes. At Encounter Bay (SA), in 1839, it was reported that:

A boat is employed in the fishery which is entirely manned [sic] with natives. They take their part in the occupation equally with the white men, and are found to be not less expert than they (*The Southern Australian* 7 August 1839 in Staniforth et al. [2001:14]).

Furthermore:

The blacks gave the whalers much help as watchers. It was in their interest to do so, for ... the capture of the big “fish” meant a royal feast for them. Incidentally, one of the best harpoonists at the station was an Aboriginal—Black Dick (*The Adelaide Chronicle* 20 April 1833 in Staniforth et al. [2001:14]).

Aboriginal youth in South Australia are also recorded as being occupied as boat crew, ships stewards or on whaling vessels, and Nauo men acted as coast watchers near Coffin Bay (Eyre Peninsula) to notify settlers of approaching ships (Pope 1988:4, 7).

Therefore, while it is evident that Indigenous peoples were involved in shore-based whaling, very few archaeological surveys and excavations have been conducted at these sites. A 1997 survey, conducted by Flinders University at Point Collinson (SA) whaling station, identified flaked bottle glass (Staniforth et al. 2001:16). Staniforth et al. (2001:16) concluded this reworked material located in the vicinity of the whaling station reveals the interaction between whalers and Aboriginal peoples. Cross-cultural interaction also occurred in another maritime endeavour: sealing.

The case of sealing is very similar to that of whaling. Sealers settled on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta in the early 1800s and brought Aboriginal women from Tasmania and the mainland adjacent to Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta with them (Russell 2005:2). Taylor (2008:100) has conducted extensive research including collecting many oral histories from descendants, exploring the lives of Aboriginal Tasmanian women who lived on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta with the sealers and the way in which local Aboriginal history is remembered by colonial descendants. Taylor (2008:42) suggests previous accounts of the topic have shown no empathy with the women and lack consideration of the complexity of their relationship with the sealers. Furthermore, the history of Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/

Karta has been argued as a footnote in the histories of both the Tasmanian Aboriginal community of Bass Strait and the South Australian colonial narrative (Taylor 2008:87).

Aboriginal women on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta were involved in hunting seals using *waddies* and preparing sealskins (Russell 2005:2). Archaeological evidence includes flaked items such as glass, stone tools and a telegraph insulator, which had been hafted to form an adze (Russell 2005:2–3). Russell (2005:2) argues against traditional paradigms of accommodation/resistance in interpreting these materials, because the archaeological evidence does not fit into the categories of race and sex (Indigenous/non-Indigenous, female/male), and instead suggests a creolised society in which it is possible that these objects were manufactured and used by either Aboriginal women or European men. In addition to Aboriginal women, Ngarrindjeri men are recorded as working for sealers on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta in the 1820s (Gara 2013:7).

Anderson (in prep) draws parallels between the lack of references to Indigenous peoples in histories of Australia's maritime industry (further discussed in the following chapter) and the lack of references to sealing and whaling in the early development of southern Australia. This is similar to the coast and sea not featuring as significant in early studies of anthropology and culture and is attributed to the late nineteenth century when the Western historiographical norm ended at the border of the land and focused nearly entirely on inland regions (Anderson in prep). It was with the assistance of Indigenous guides and crew that sealers and whalers gained local knowledge of the coast, which was in turn crucial for establishing settlements and trading routes during colonisation (Anderson in prep).

Anderson's (in prep) recent study of sealing and whaling in the Archipelago of the Recherche (WA), while breaking ground in thematic studies relating to these two industries in Western Australia, has also adopted a multidisciplinary approach which draws on historical, Indigenous and maritime archaeology. One aspect of Anderson's (in prep) research was to explore evidence for Indigenous archaeology related to sealing and whaling, and therefore cross-cultural contact. He located two possible archaeological sites: lizard traps with a spatial relationship to a whalers' lookout (Barrier Anchorage), suggesting maintenance of traditional lifeways; and rock art

depictions of a ship and whale (Marbaleerup), possibly suggesting direct involvement in the whaling industry (Anderson in prep). Overall, he concluded that archaeological evidence for the involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the sealing and whaling industries, recorded historically, is both limited and contestable (Anderson in prep).

Anderson's (in prep) recent research investigates similar archaeological intersections as this study, namely Indigenous, maritime and historical archaeology. Both studies seek to reinsert minority groups into the colonial history of Australia, whalers and sealers and Indigenous peoples, respectively. Evidently, archaeological research into Indigenous involvement in Australian maritime activities is occurring, although at its early stages with maritime archaeology predominantly focused on European shipwrecks (see section 3.2.5). Mission-specific contexts, however, are still perceptibly neglected. Pearling is another such theme with clear historical documentation of Indigenous participation, however a lack of archaeological investigation.

3.2.4.2 *Pearling*

Pearling occurred across northern Australia, including the Torres Strait Islands, and Indigenous groups were noticeably involved, particularly during the industry's early years. From the late 1860s, bare-diving replaced shore-based collection of pearl shell and this continued until the mid-1880s (O'Connor and Arrow 2008:406). This period saw a reliance on Indigenous labour, and particularly resulted in Indigenous peoples being forced to work through brutality and 'blackbirding'²⁰, receiving no pay and not being returned to their traditional 'Country' (O'Connor and Arrow 2008:406). Following this, suit-based diving was introduced and fewer Indigenous peoples were employed in the industry and those that were worked as crew or shell cleaners (O'Connor and Arrow 2008:406). Burningham (1994:144) notes after the closure of the Macassan trepang industry by the South Australia Government, Indigenous peoples worked on luggers in the pearling industry and transporting goods to coastal missions and outstations.

²⁰ The practice of labour pirating; physically abducting, 'kidnapping and transporting ... [people] to provide cheap labour for colonial capitalist enterprises' (Summy 2009:43).

Mullins (2012:39) has discussed the Torres Strait Islander involvement with the pearling industry through the company boat system (1904–1960s), whereby the Queensland Chief Protector of Aboriginal's Office assisted Islanders to purchase boats, luggers and cutters, who then sold their produce through approved avenues. The company boat system, which requires further consideration particularly archaeologically, has been so prominent in terms of its operations and within social memory that it has drawn attention away from another enterprise: shore-based sailing dinghies worked independently by Torres Strait Islanders (Mullins 2012:40). Mullins' (2012:40, 55) study of this second, small-scale industry recommends further research into this theme through oral histories, however archaeological research would also be valuable as there are likely to be many tangible remains including boats, shipwrecks/abandoned vessels and boatbuilding yards to name a few, which would serve as a comparison to and expansion of the historical documents relating to this industry. The final area of marine resource procurement in which Indigenous peoples worked is fishing.

3.2.4.3 Fishing

The Australian fishing industry in the past is well-suited to ethnically-oriented research questions, including the Aboriginal presence in this industry (Bowen 2003:14–15). Further to the discussion on pre-contact marine procurement technologies, maritime contact impacted on Indigenous material culture and economy; in relation to fishing this included introduced fishing materials such as fish hooks, which are considered here. At first contact, Indigenous and European fishing technology had many similarities, and Bowen (2003:10) suggests therefore that the 'independent invention of similar technologies across different cultures' would be a viable research area. In addition, the exchange and interaction process, and a comparison of Aboriginal and non-Indigenous fishing methods, in the early Australian fishing industry would be beneficial (Bowen 2003:15). Bowdler (1976:250) has utilised ethnographic literature to investigate 'prehistoric' midden sites and during her research found that the introduction of European hooks altered the pattern of line fishing in some areas; in particular regions of Queensland women did not fish before the arrival of European hooks. In addition, ethnographies suggest Aboriginal peoples were being supplied with hooks and lines by townspeople and preferred steel hooks in New South Wales (Bowdler 1976:253–254).

Gerritsen (2001) also uses ethnography to contextualise the archaeological findings of fish hooks in southern Australia. Lake Tyers missionary, Reverend John Bulmer, commented that women fished from canoes, and Gerritsen (2001:20) notes a correlation between fish hooks and the use of canoes. Gerritsen (2001:23) also associates the lack of observation of traditional (bone) fish hooks in some regions of southern Australia with the introduction of European fish hooks. Examples of combinations of traditional and introduced fishing materials include a description by Taplin (1878:41 in Gerritsen [2001:23]):

The Narrinyeri were not acquainted with fishing by means of hooks before the white man [sic] came. They soon learned to appreciate this method, and made native lines to use with European hooks.

Taplin's opinion that traditional fish hooks did not exist in the Murray region is contentious (Gerritsen 2001:23). Indigenous peoples also used other European materials for fishing equipment. At the fringe camp of 'no man's [sic] land', Corindi Beach, a car battery found during an excavation of a well, used as a rubbish dump, suggested that it had been broken in half to extract lead for fishing line sinkers (Smith and Beck 2003:73).

The government often provided Indigenous communities with boats. Examples can be drawn from across Australia. In the Bherwerre Peninsula region of New South Wales, boats and fishing gear were received by Aboriginal reserves and camps from 1882 until the end of the nineteenth century following the creation of the Office of Protector of the Aborigines (Egloff and Wreck Bay Community 1990:20). According to Egloff and Wreck Bay Community (1990:26), 'Aborigines were considered ... to be destitute when without a boat'. Wreck Bay became an Aboriginal fishing community with up to eight crews operating at its peak in the middle of the twentieth century (Egloff and Wreck Bay Community 1990:41). At this time, boats were bought from builders in a nearby town, while oars were carved at Wreck Bay (Egloff and Wreck Bay Community 1990:41). During the depression, Aboriginal peoples at Wreck Bay also used their boats to take tourists fishing (Egloff and Wreck Bay Community 1990:49).

In South Australia, access to trees to cut canoes was being denied to Aboriginal peoples and the Protector of Aborigines recognised that without watercraft

Aboriginal peoples would become reliant upon government rations rather than being able to fish for subsistence (Gara 2013:5). From the 1860s to the late 1880s, wooden canoes were supplied to Aboriginal peoples at many locations on the Murray River including Goolwa, Mannum, Milang, Murray Bridge, Point McLeay Mission/Raukkan and Wellington (Gara 2013:5). The wooden canoes supplied to Aboriginal people at Wellington in 1861 are recorded as being ordered from a local boatbuilder (Gara 2013:5). When the provision of canoes ceased around 1900, Aboriginal fishers, both men and women, were able to receive assistance to purchase their own boats or canoes for commercial fishing²¹, and the Protector of Aborigines contributed towards sails, oars, fishing nets and lines (Gara 2013:6). It is important to recognise that the *Aborigines Act 1911* stated that all property issued by the Department to any Aboriginal person remained the property of the Crown, a clause which was not compatible with traditional practices of sharing belongings (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:23). Gara (2013:6) also notes that the Protector of Aborigines contributed to the cost of boats and fishing equipment to Aboriginal peoples on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, Eyre Peninsula and the far west coast. These people relied on marine resources for subsistence however, traditionally, had no watercraft (although see discussion for Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda in Chapter 4) (Gara 2013:6). These government schemes in relation to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana are discussed in the results of this thesis.

Details about where and by whom these boats were constructed are not well-recorded in the archives and no extant vessels of this type have been investigated archaeologically, showing a gap in the maritime archaeology of Australia's post-contact period. This creates questions that could be explored through future research, such as whether these boats were mass-produced, what materials were used and whether they met certain standards of construction and quality—research questions which have been investigated for larger Australian-built sailing vessels (Bullers 2006; Coroneos 1991; Harvey 1989).

In regards to Indigenous peoples' participation in the fishing industry, maritime cultural landscape concepts have been touched on, implicitly, in *Mapping Attachment* (Byrne and Nugent 2004:57–59), where Aboriginal peoples in the New

²¹ Commercial fishing is defined here as 'the catching of fish by line, net or trap for the purpose of financial gain' (Bowen 2003:9).

South Wales fishing industry, fishing places, beaches, use of waterways and boatbuilding were mentioned. Byrne and Nugent (2004) used documentary and oral evidence, and plotted these places and activities spatially on a map; however, little detailed archaeological investigation of maritime activities was conducted. This research endeavours to enhance Byrne and Nugent's (2004) approach by foregrounding archaeology, particularly the maritime archaeological framework of maritime cultural landscapes, within a similar context of fishing at missions/reserves. In addition to discussing Indigenous peoples working on boats in different industries, it is also crucial to identify Indigenous construction of such boats.

3.2.5 Boat and infrastructure construction

Catching fish is connected with luck, combined in some way with skill, building a boat, repairing a boat, keeping it in good shape and handling it in all sorts of weather, that takes skill (Ilves 2004:169).

There is a bias in maritime archaeology towards non-Indigenous maritime heritage, particularly shipwrecks (Roberts et al. 2013:78), a legacy of colonialism. Australian-built vessels have been increasingly studied archaeologically (Bullers 2006; Bullers and Shefi 2014; Clayton 2012; Coroneos 1991; Jeffery 1989, 1992; O'Reilly 2007; State Heritage Branch and Department of Environment and Planning 1987), however the role of Indigenous peoples in such construction is limited through both historical and archaeological research. This may be a product of maritime archaeology more generally where researchers focus on the technology of vessels at the expense of the social history of the people involved, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous (Adams 2001). However, boatbuilding sites, features of a maritime cultural landscape which are often more socially-orientated, have primarily been investigated in relation to non-Indigenous vessel construction (e.g. see Dappert 2011). Similarly, European maritime infrastructure has received attention by researchers (Khan 2006; McCarthy 2002; Wilkinson 2013), although infrastructure specific to Indigenous communities has lacked research. Roberts et al. (2013:78) encapsulate this, stating 'less is written about Indigenous watercraft, construction, shipbuilding and use (either of a traditional nature or as a result of European influence) and the past and contemporary significance of such vessels to Indigenous peoples'. Sites such as boatbuilding localities and jetties provide crucial links between maritime activities at sea and on land (Roberts et al. 2013:85).

The ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’ began to redress the aforementioned imbalance by highlighting the importance of intertidal and terrestrial sites associated with a scuttled vessel (Roberts et al. 2013). For example, an intensive archaeological survey was conducted at Dolly’s Jetty, located on Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula, which revealed ‘a long history of use and repair by the local community’ (Roberts et al. 2013:91). This study found that the maritime heritage of coastal Indigenous communities has not been adequately recorded and that early maritime infrastructure, built, used and adapted by Indigenous communities is deteriorating, making this research all the more significant (further outcomes of this study are discussed in Chapter 4) (Roberts et al. 2013:97).

Another example of Indigenous boatbuilding is research in Western Australia which has recently recorded Aboriginal oral histories relating to Aboriginal shipbuilding in Broome, particularly the pearling lugger *Ancel* which is now in the Western Australia Museum’s watercraft collection (Western Australian Museum 2014a). Plainly, more research is required to begin to decolonise Australian maritime archaeology’s non-Indigenous and shipwreck-specific agenda.

3.3 Mission archaeology

The term ‘mission’ archaeology, as used in Australia, describes government reserves and institutions, in addition to religious missions (Middleton 2010:182).

Archaeologists have been slow to explore missions in Australia generally, although recent research shows this is changing (Lydon and Ash 2010:1)—see archaeological papers in Ash et al. (2010a), as well as Roberts and Morrison (2013) for broader anthropological, archaeological and historical papers (also see Torrence and Clarke [2000] for further research on cross-cultural engagements in Oceania). One reason for this is that, in Australia, archaeology has traditionally been divided into Indigenous ‘prehistoric’ archaeology and European historical archaeology (Lydon and Ash 2010:3). Maritime archaeology has similarly been seen as a separate subdiscipline, however maritime landscape research has much in common with historical archaeological approaches (Westerdahl 2011b:338). The growth in this literature has addressed a series of contexts within post-contact Indigenous places including fringe camps, pastoral stations and missions (Lydon and Ash 2010:6).

Archaeology is a significant data source for mission studies for three reasons cited by Lydon and Ash (2010:7). First, archaeology reveals the Indigenous perspective that is often missing in historical mission accounts, which are primarily written by ‘white’ people in charge of missions and are inherently biased. Second, archaeology uncovers the everyday and material aspects of life on missions, which is why this research adopts a contextual approach. Focusing on a case study specific to a geographic location facilitates the analysis of a localised and lived history (Dalley and Memmott 2010:114). Third, archaeology provides an opportunity to look beyond the dichotomies of European/Indigenous, invader/invaded and sea/land.

The mission landscape has been identified by Croucher and Weiss (2011:7, 12) as a capitalist form, specifically a ‘peripheral site’ of capitalism. As capitalist relations became cemented in mission society, changes in the settlement and labour needs ensued (Croucher and Weiss 2011:26). Indigenous labour was consequently integrated into global economic systems (Lydon and Ash 2010:2).

Previous research on missions has focused on themes such as power relations and the role of space (Lydon and Ash 2010:1–2). The earliest archaeological investigation of missions in Australia was conducted by Birmingham at the Wybalenna site from 1969–1971. This was the first study to adopt the approach of dominance and resistance in Australia (Lydon and Ash 2010:8). This analysis focused on traditional and introduced objects and suggested that continued traditional practice meant resistance and use of European material culture equated to acceptance of domination (Lydon and Ash 2010:8). This view, known as the acculturation theory, is now recognised to be overly simplistic.

Attention is currently shifting to issues such as the current status of these sites in Indigenous and local community memory, their representation by various colonial interests, the power of didactic landscapes and spatial relationships to shape human interaction, the role of material culture in the process of exchange and Indigenous responses to missionisation (Lydon and Ash 2010:2). More recently, Birmingham (2000) has studied Killalpaninna Mission (SA), again focusing on dominance and resistance but this time applying creolisation theory (Lydon and Ash 2010:9). This study suggested that Aboriginal peoples continued traditional, as well as adopting

newer, practices in relation to religion, employment and shelter (Lydon and Ash 2010:9).

3.3.1 Mission-specific Indigenous maritime activities

Archaeological research at missions that focus on maritime activities can enable the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the literature concerning post-contact maritime landscapes (Fowler 2013a:73). Missions can incorporate a range of site types, including abandoned and extant vessels, boatbuilding sites, fish pounds, jetties and bridges. These represent a range of themes of engagement within the maritime landscape, such as water-borne transportation, boatbuilding, fishing and associated technologies, and infrastructure construction and use (Fowler 2013a:74).

Point Pearce/Burgiyana is part of a wider South Australian, Australian and international landscape of missions and reserves engaged in maritime activities. While the following examples reveal that aspects of maritime activities have been recorded during archaeological research, none of these studies approached missions from a specifically maritime perspective, with the exception of Roberts et al. (2013) (Kenderdine's [1993] work utilised riverine cultural landscapes however was a regional/European rather than mission-specific/Indigenous study). Converging Indigenous and maritime archaeological approaches may contribute to decolonising Australia's colonial maritime narratives (Roberts et al. 2013:97).

Following European colonisation of South Australia in 1836, 15 major missions were established between the period 1850 and 1915 and several of these were located on major river or lake systems (Figure 6) (Jones 2009:40). The following archaeological information on maritime activities were found at Point McLeay/Raukkan, Killalpaninna, Poonindie and Swan Reach Missions.

The remains of the Point McLeay Mission/Raukkan Jetty were surveyed by Kenderdine (1993:49) in 1992 as part of a project to document all terrestrial and submerged archaeological sites on the South Australian portion of the Murray River. Kenderdine (1993:49) suggested the jetty's historical significance related to a tangible demonstration of 'Europeanisation' and the relationship between Point McLeay Mission/Raukkan and other settlements made possible through maritime transport. It is also recorded that men from the Point McLeay Mission/Raukkan

sailed *Teenminnie*, the mission's cutter, and began building their own flat-bottomed wooden boats in the 1890s (Gara 2013:6–7).

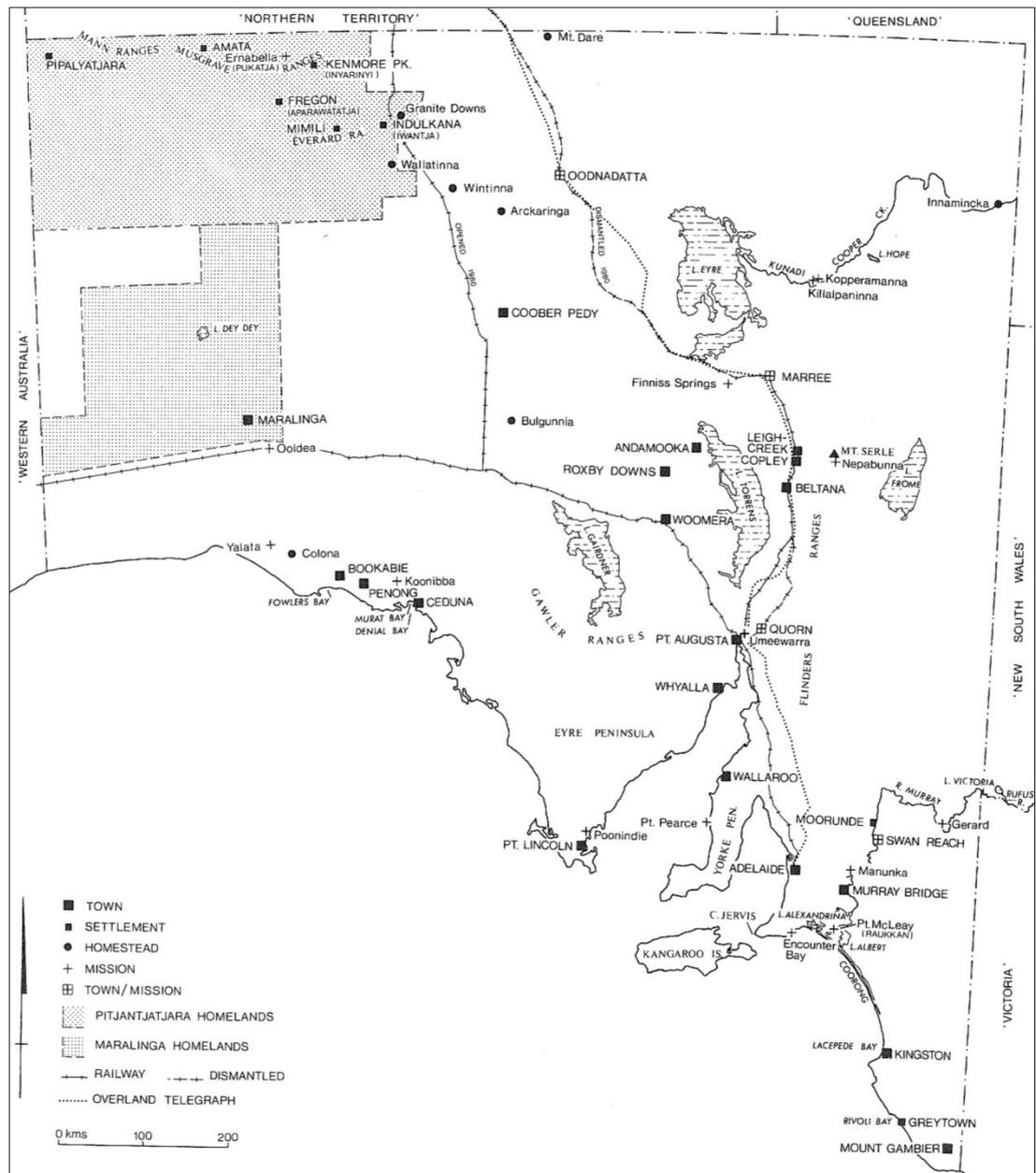


Figure 6 Map showing missions located in South Australia (Mattingley and Hampton 1992).

A non-disturbance surface survey conducted by Birmingham (2000:390) at Killalpaninna Mission identified fish traps, constructed using a composite of adapted and reused materials, although now only recognisable as collapsed components. Also, net and fish sinkers and fish hooks were recognisable amongst the European material culture found at campsites at Killalpaninna, and some camps were identified as more recent fishermen's camps (Birmingham 2000:386, 390; Birmingham and Wilson 2010:31, 33).

Griffin (2010:165) conducted an archaeological survey of Poonindie Mission, including along the banks of the Tod River, where a hearth in use during the mission period suggests a fringe camp. Archaeological evidence at the hearth shows that the Barngalla-Nauo people ate fish (Griffin 2010:165). This indicates that Aboriginal residents resisted capitalist ideologies by leaving the confines of the mission and accessing space outside its control (Fowler 2013a:78; Griffin 2010:168).

In 1993, Hemming et al. (2000) conducted excavations at Swan Reach Mission. At the *wurley*²² site, fragments of flattened basket sedge were retrieved, with fish traps being one object made of basketry (Hemming et al. 2000:350). Other fishing equipment included nylon line, metal tackle, wooden floats, string and net fragments (Hemming et al. 2000:347). A large metal hammer was also located, associated with the *wurley*, that was identified as a boatbuilding tool used by ‘the main Aboriginal boatbuilder at Swan Reach in the 1940s and 1950s’ (Hemming et al. 2000:345).

Finally, maritime archaeological approaches were specifically employed at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana by Roberts et al. (2013). This study is reviewed in detail in the following chapter together with other previous archaeological research at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana.

3.4 Conclusions

While this review of literature is intended to contextualise the present study, it is obvious that the aforementioned themes would benefit from some of the theoretical and methodological applications being built upon in this research, including the maritime cultural landscape framework and Indigenous community engagement. While limited archaeological research has been conducted, few of these studies adopted landscape-scale approaches and many were not undertaken in collaboration with Indigenous communities. Therefore, the results of this research, namely whether the maritime cultural landscape approach is applicable to Indigenous historical landscapes, will also inform other contexts of maritime culture-contact in Australia.

In conclusion, as with other post-contact Indigenous maritime research—such as visiting mariner and shipwreck survivor interaction, rock art, material culture and economy and colonial labour forces—studies of coastal, riverine and lacustrine

²² A *wurley* is a temporary Aboriginal dwelling, chiefly in South Australia (Dixon et al. 2006:197–199).

missions would make some headway in restoring the discrepancy between non-Indigenous and Indigenous maritime activities in Australian literature and maritime archaeology.

Breen and Lane [2003], in their exploration of the changing seascapes of the East African coast, indicate just how complex human use of the sea and the coastal zone can be when there are local and colonizing societies operating side by side (Cooney 2003:327).

4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The colonisation of South Australia and consequent effects on Aboriginal peoples is exceptionally multifaceted, however throughout the history of the South Australian state, regulations have been in place that have attempted to restrict the lives of Aboriginal peoples. These state-wide regulations impacted on the lives of Aboriginal peoples at Point Pearce/Burkiyana, and therefore a historical background of the colonisation of South Australia is provided here to contextualise the findings of maritime activities at the mission in relation to broader power structures. Following this overall account, the specific histories of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, Wardang Island/Waraldi, and the nearby town of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu are outlined, highlighting their related maritime activities as part of a greater maritime cultural system. Lastly, previous research at Point Pearce/Burkiyana is briefly introduced which positions this study within local history and serves to highlight the gap of recorded knowledge regarding maritime activities at missions generally. First, however, this chapter summarises the lifeways of Narungga people across Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, their traditional sea and land, before colonisation.

4.1 Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda and Narungga prior to contact

Maritime activities occurring in pre-contact times highlight the cultural continuity of coastal use by Narungga people. Prior to and following European settlement,

Narungga people occupied (and continue to occupy) the land from approximately Port Broughton and the Hummocks/Nhandhu-warra south to Cape Spencer, although boundary discussions with neighbouring groups may continue (e.g. see Tindale 1974:214; Wanganeen 1987:1). People in this region were generally divided into four local groups, Gunara (north), Winderera (east), Dilpa (south) and Wari (west), whose ‘Dreamings’ were emu/*garrdi*, red kangaroo/*wawi* (female) *dharandu* (male), shark/*gurada* and eaglehawk/*wildu*, respectively (e.g. see Hill and Hill 1975:8–9; Wanganeen 1987:3); although, complexities of local social organisation—in a ‘classical’²³ sense—are not explored here in detail.

4.1.1 ‘Dreamings’

The complex cultural lives of Indigenous groups include ‘Dreamings’, a belief that Ancestral Beings created the features of the present landscape (Krichauff 2011:9). In relation to the coast and marine resources, Narungga people had ‘Dreamings’ relating to fish species, such as the shark (Class Elasmobranchii), butterflyfish/*gayinbara* (common name Dusky Morwong [*Dactylophora nigricans*]) and salmon/*gulyalya* (*Arripis* sp.), as well as traditional ceremonies and rituals (NAPA 2006:46, 188; Wanganeen 1987:3). It is believed that a spider/*wagu* was responsible for the creation of the islands, however no legend of the origin of the mainland exists (Hill and Hill 1975:23). The Narungga creation story of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, Eyre Peninsula and Spencer Gulf is reproduced by Krichauff (2011:9) (see Chapter 6 for additional accounts of this story):

Disagreement amongst Ancestral Beings belonging to the bird, animal and reptile families caused great concern to leaders of the willy wagtail, emu and kangaroo families. After the families experienced a night of prophetic dreams, a giant kangaroo bone was found which proved to be magic. When the wise and respected kangaroo pointed the bone at the swampy land, the earth opened up and the sea gradually flooded the low land.

Marine life also featured in the *kuyia* or subtotems of Narungga people, highlighting their close connection with the sea, such as fish species like trevally (*Pseudocaranx* sp.), silver whiting (Family Sillaginidae), jumping mullet (Family Mugilidae),

²³ The term ‘classical’ (distinct from ‘post-classical’), which replaced the term ‘traditional’ (which was distinct from ‘contemporary’), means social and cultural formations, principles and practices which ‘may be considered to take substantially the same form as can be reconstructed for the early colonial contact period and the era immediately before it’ (Sutton 2003b:xvii).

travelling mullet, Snapper/*gadbari* (*Chrysophrys auratus*), tommy rough (*Arripis georgianus*) and silver bream²⁴ (Krichauff 2011:12). Narungga people would not eat another's *kuyia* without first seeking permission (again, this is likely more complex and is not explored further here) (Krichauff 2011:12).

4.1.2 Subsistence

Narungga were and are a coastal people and marine specialists as attested to by the complexity of subsistence strategies employed by them, which particularly reveal the integral role of the marine environment (Mollenmans 2014; Osborne and Downs 2012:7; Wood and Westell 1998a:16). Wood and Westell (1998a:36–37) go on to describe that Narungga people have always occupied, throughout the Holocene, ‘a landscape in which no point could ever be classified as truly ‘inland’ because Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda is essentially a coastline. Indeed, Kenny (1973:29) notes that no place on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda is more than 24 km from the coast. Therefore, Narungga were coastal people before contact, hunting and collecting many marine resources, in addition to hunting kangaroo, wallaby and other terrestrial species and collecting plants. Wallabies and kangaroos were snared using a sinew net and kangaroos were also hunted and speared (Wanganeen 1987:5). Fish were netted, speared and trapped in stone enclosures, and in addition at least 43 types of shellfish were gathered (Mollenmans 2014; Wanganeen 1987:5). Fishing nets were made from *buntu*²⁵, a fibre from broad flags, covered with hot ashes and left in an oven to dry, then chewed by women and rolled on the thigh to make a string (Tindale 1936:57; Wanganeen 1987:5). Tindale (1936:57) records that each man owned his own net, 6 to 8 ft (1.83 to 2.44 m) long, 5 to 6 ft (1.52 to 1.83 m) high, with the smaller mesh used for mullet and the larger mesh for salmon. Some of the densest pre-contact archaeological sites on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda have been found within the Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana boundaries (Wood and Westell 1998b:5). One reference has also been found relating to Narungga women wearing necklaces made of shell (Hill and Hill 1975:24). Narungga objects in the collection of the South Australian Museum include clubs, spears, a skin rug and stone tools (Hill and Hill 1975:5).

²⁴ Silver bream is an amorphous fish species and cannot be further classified in this context.

²⁵ This word is recorded in NAPA (2006:25) as *bundu*, a broad-leafed reed used to make fibre for fishing nets (*Phragmites communis* or *australis*).

4.1.3 Watercraft

The Wari (also spelt Warri), who according to Tindale (1936) are the Narungga group that occupied the southwest of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, while relying on fishing, are not mentioned as having had any form of seafaring craft (Coroneos and McKinnon 1997:9). According to Clark (1990:5), in South Australia the only recorded accounts of traditional Aboriginal watercraft at European arrival were along the Murray River and its Mouth, the northern Coorong and on Lake Alexandrina and Lake Albert. Hill and Hill (1975:43) also state that ‘there is no evidence to show that the Narungga [Narungga] had any form of seagoing craft’.

Gara (2013:8), however, has found some historical references and scarred trees, which indicate that bark canoes were used as far north as Port Wakefield on coastal swamps and wetlands. The historical references include paintings attributed to William Cawthorne who visited Port Wakefield and titled one painting, showing Aboriginal people poling canoes and swimming, ‘Pt Wakefield, St Vincent’s Gulf 1845’ (PXD39, Mitchell Library) (for a reproduction of the image see Krichauff [2011:Plate 17]). This, however, is possibly the only evidence for the use of bark canoes on coastal waters west of the Mount Lofty Ranges (Gara 2013:9). Narungga people are recorded as meeting with neighbouring groups regularly for fishing expeditions near present-day Port Wakefield (Hill and Hill 1975:11; Wood and Westell 1998a:13).

The topic of boat fishing is therefore under debate by researchers and the Narungga community alike. The worldview and perceptions of Narungga community members encountered in this research are provided here. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) presents several arguments in favour of the possibility. First, while the literature does not suggest seagoing craft, it is possible that the writers of history either failed to see Aboriginal peoples or Narungga were ‘invisible’ to them (int. Rigney 18/7/13). The European history of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda overwrites, decimates and ignores that of Narungga people (int. Rigney 18/7/13). Furthermore, canoe trees on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda were removed through resource extraction (mining) and pastoralism and their removal could be an intentional aspect of the psyche of that time (int. Rigney 18/7/13). J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) also says that on the northeastern coast of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, near Port Clinton, Narungga people

had bark canoes or rafts. Roberts et al. (in prep) note that oral histories collected for their research similarly reveal varied thoughts, beliefs and experiences on the topic of boat use.

The multiple and alternative interpretations of this topic are equally valid. Despite (a lack of) archaeological evidence, the argument in favour of pre-contact seafaring can be understood as part of an ongoing interpretive practice in which Aboriginal peoples are preserving their coastal identity, fishing traditions and knowledge of the marine environment (Roberts 2011:49). Similar to the example of the water buffalo being incorporated into 'Dreaming' stories (Altman 1982), knowledge of seafaring could be a means of incorporating Western technology into Aboriginal belief systems and economy (Roberts 2011:50). This background on Narungga ways of life and worldviews provides important context for the impact of colonisation, pastoralism and agriculture on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda because it highlights both the rapid and substantial changes to Aboriginal lifeways, as well as maritime cultural continuity.

4.2 Colonisation of South Australia

The colonisation of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda and wider South Australia is complex and what follows is a synthesis of the key events from the 1830s to the 1990s. Gosden (2004:26) has defined three epochs of colonialism which form a spectrum from 'colonialism within a shared cultural milieu' (cultural power), to the 'middle ground' (greatest experiment and creativity), and finally to '*terra nullius*' (violence). Point Pearce Mission/Burrgiyana fits into the epoch of *terra nullius*, expressed through four necessary occurrences: land could be taken, racial categories hardened, local power systems ignored and exploitation based on capitalism (Gosden 2004:27). Capitalism had a wide-reaching impact on people and archaeology can draw attention to communities on the periphery, such as missions, to explore a more complete story of its growth (Shackel 2009:19). Point Pearce Mission/Burrgiyana is not an isolated case study in Australia; it is part of a broader narrative of colonialism set in a context where policies attempted to indoctrinate Indigenous peoples into a capitalist system; the mission has even been seen by some researchers as an agricultural factory (Griffin 2000).

4.2.1 Pastoral industry

Colonialism, also referred to by Pope (1988:8) as the ‘sheep-led invasion’, was carried on the backs of sheep. South Australia was one of the fastest growing regions in Australia from proclamation (1836) to 1850 (Brock 1995:103). The agricultural economy introduced by settlers was not compatible with the existing Indigenous economy, forcing Indigenous peoples to rely on employment and rations from settlers (Brock 1995:103). Rations undermined the independence of the foraging lifestyle and resulted in dependence and sedentariness (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:20). In South Australia, sheep multiplied from 200 thousand in 1850 to 6 million in 1874 (Brock 1995:103). Aboriginal labour was deliberately exploited in the early years of European settlement of South Australia due to wide fluctuations in demand—and especially during periods when non-Indigenous labour was scarce (i.e. the gold rush) (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:117; Pope 1988:1, 5). Aboriginal peoples contributed significantly to the development of the colony in occupations such as guides and trackers, domestic servants, agricultural labourers and drovers, shepherds and tanners (Figure 7) (Pope 1988). In addition to missions and reserves, Indigenous participation in other Australian post-contact contexts, including the pastoral industry, has received some attention from archaeologists (Harrison 2004a, 2004b; Paterson 2011).



Figure 7 Aboriginal people yarding sheep at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, photograph by Mr Finlayson ca 1900 (South 1908), image reproduced from Wanganeen (1987:64).

Studies of Indigenous labour in the pastoral and agricultural industries aid in contextualising maritime labour within the wider reaches of colonialism. Harrison (2004b) uses the ‘archaeologies of attachment’ concept to explore the experiences of Indigenous peoples who laboured within the pastoral industry. Attachment may be understood as the local or community relationship between physical, material, artefactual remains and heritage places, and intangible heritage and memory (Harrison 2004b:3). Fowler et al. (2014) explored the concept of Aboriginal attachment as applied to the maritime heritage of Wardang Island/Waraldi.

Labour is a central experience in the landscape, through which people create networks of identity, stories and associations (Given 2004:18). As Paterson et al. (2003:86) found at a colonial-era pastoral settlement in the Northern Territory, sites reflected minimal expenditure, use of locally available construction materials and a reliance on a moveable Aboriginal workforce. Similar evidence for choices in construction materials and durability of structures built on Wardang Island/Waraldi at Point Pearce/Burkiyana may reveal the changing prosperity of the islands’ agricultural industry and, consequently, the maritime industry.

Souter (2013:90) examined evidence for cultural contact at Camden Harbour, a failed coastal pastoral settlement in the western Kimberley (1864–1865). Archival sources give limited insight into Aboriginal peoples using and adapting European objects, including boats—which were often stolen from the settlers by Aboriginal peoples (Souter 2013:89–91). Using archaeological evidence from a museum collection and field survey, Souter (2013:91) found indications of Aboriginal adoption and reuse through knapped glass and ceramic artefacts. Furthermore, lack of material culture at one site has been interpreted as possible later removal by Aboriginal peoples from Kunmunya Mission (founded 1912) (Souter 2013:93). Souter’s (2013) study, therefore, provides an interesting intersection between culture contact within pastoral, maritime and mission spheres.

4.2.2 Maritime industry

Aboriginal peoples also made a significant contribution to the South Australian maritime economy (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:117). A description of the first ship seen by Aboriginal peoples at Rivoli Bay (southeast SA) in 1822 or 1823 is given by a missionary, ‘some of them thought it was a drifting island, and all who

saw it became alarmed, and began to think of a hiding-place' (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:145). As early as 1832 in Port Lincoln, Aboriginal peoples assisted whalers in 'carrying water to the ship and other matters' and were reimbursed with tobacco (Krichauff 2008:30). Aboriginal peoples were employed loading ships at wharves; Brock (1995:105) cites the wharves at Ceduna and Port Lincoln as two examples. Subprotector Mason reported from Wellington that Aboriginal peoples at the Murray cut firewood for the steamer *Lady Augusta* and were also employed on the vessel for a voyage (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:118). Aboriginal peoples were paid in clothing, blankets, flour and tobacco and were found to be 'very serviceable' (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:118).

In May of 1848, two Aboriginal boys from South Australia, Wailtye and Manara, were appointed to the Harbor Department by the Lieutenant Governor with an allowance of £2 per month (GRG24/4/21). They then 'absented themselves' in September of the same year (GRG24/4/21). This is, however, one of the first examples of paid Aboriginal employment in the colonial maritime industry. In the 1860s and 1870s, Ngarrindjeri men worked as deck hands on paddle steamers on the Murray River (Gara 2013:7). Indigenous labour in the aforementioned industries must be viewed within the framework of Indigenous policies put in place by the government.

4.2.3 Government regulations

Government policy in South Australia regarding Aboriginal peoples has fluctuated between non-existent, protectionist and assimilationist (Ball 1992:36). These regulations, which attempted to restrict the lives of Aboriginal peoples, including through mobility and employment, also affected Aboriginal maritime activities. The *South Australia Act 1834* proclaimed the lands of South Australia to be 'waste and unoccupied Lands [sic] ... fit for the purposes of colonization' (Raynes 2002:149). Attempts were made by the Colonial Office to make preparations prior to colonisation for Aboriginal welfare and land rights, however, other than appointing a 'Protector of Aborigines', this resulted in little success (Raynes 2002:7). Initially, Aboriginal affairs were dealt with by the Colonial Secretary's Office and following this, the Aborigines' Office was established in 1866 (State Records of South Australia 2014). Administration of Aboriginal affairs has been overseen by a series

of non-Indigenous officials, including Protectors, Subprotectors, superintendents, overseers and managers (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:57). During the late nineteenth century, administration responding to Aboriginal needs was in the form of a 'laissez-faire approach', which Raynes (2002:24–25) suggests was due to a widely held opinion at the time that Indigenous Australian peoples were dying out.

The initial phases of Aboriginal control are marked by missionary activity, whose aims were to 'civilise and Christianise' (Ball 1992:36). Missionising attitudes have been described as 'ethnocentric, paternalistic and authoritarian' (Ball 1992:36). Missionaries were preoccupied with clothing, seeing it as the prerequisite to Christianity, and Aboriginal peoples were forced to wear clothes (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:14). Parliament voted on the amount of money to spend on Aboriginal peoples annually, commencing from at least 1888, and this is referred to in historical archives as the 'Aboriginal Vote' or simply the 'Vote' (Raynes 2002:25). Provisions for Aboriginal peoples must be seen within this context of financial motivation; the amount voted for the Aborigines' Office was very low in comparison to other departments, such as education (Raynes 2002:47).

From 1912, the Aborigines' Office changed its name to the Aborigines' Department. This was following the adoption of the *Aborigines Act* in 1911, passed with the intention of protecting and controlling Aboriginal peoples in South Australia, however in practice it limited their freedoms and determined how Aboriginal peoples should live (Richardson 1992:25). This Act has been described by Mattingley and Hampton (1992:45) as controlling, eroding civil rights, emphasising segregation, restrictive and repressive. In 1912–1913, a Royal Commission into Aboriginal Affairs was held, although few of the recommendations made were ever implemented (Wood and Westell 1998b:9). The Commission spent two days at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana (Figure 8), as well as visiting Point McLeay Mission/Raukkan and Moonta/Munda, taking evidence from mission staff, Aboriginal residents and local pastoralists, amongst others (Raynes 2002:36).

It was William Garnet South, Chief Protector at the commencement of the *Aborigines Act*, who turned the attention to mission stations and pushed for them to be taken over by the government to become industrial institutions (Raynes 2002:36). In 1918, the Aboriginal Advisory Council was established under the *Aborigines Act*

to deal with problems arising in connection with Aboriginal peoples (Richardson 1992:26–27). In the early twentieth century, such problems included young Aboriginal peoples on missions, including Point Pearce/Burgiyana, being unable to find employment and were therefore required to stay at the mission to receive provisions (Raynes 2002:32). This was a period when the removal of Aboriginal children from their parents was occurring (Raynes 2002:41). The 1923 *Aborigines (Training of Children) Act* was assented in an attempt to make better provision for the care, control and training of Aboriginal children and strengthened the powers of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals, affording the means to place Aboriginal children under the control of the State (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:46; Raynes 2002:44). Aboriginal children were still being institutionalised against their parents' will until 1960 (Raynes 2002:55).



Figure 8 Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana township ca 1912 (image courtesy of the Dr Doreen Kartinyeri Collection).

Debates in parliament in 1936 reflect crucial aspects of the administration of Aboriginal peoples during the early twentieth century. Insinuations were made that the position of ‘certain men’ was more important than the welfare of Aboriginal peoples, that several Chief Protectors had no training in Aboriginal customs and that the Aborigines’ Department showed both a lack of effort and a lack of any well-defined policy (Raynes 2002:48–49). The *Aborigines Act Amendment Act* was introduced in 1939, establishing the Aborigines Protection Board in 1940 (Raynes 2002:49). Section 11a of the Act commenced a system of ‘exemptions’ where the definition of Aboriginal identity was changed to all people of Aboriginal descent and Aboriginal peoples could be declared exempt from the provisions of the Act, whether they had applied for exemption or not (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:48; Roberts et

al. 2013:89). Raynes (2002:50) suggests emphasising Aboriginal independence and later policies of assimilation were part of the government's agenda to keep expenditure on Aboriginal peoples to a minimum. The ability of Aboriginal peoples to live independently of the government, and therefore outside the missions, was hindered by various pressures, not least that the granting of land was often given on 12 month leases which restricted building on and developing the property (Raynes 2002:52). It was not until 1958 that the *Police Act 1869–1870* was amended to remove the section prohibiting the social interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples (Raynes 2002:54).

In the 1960s, with radical changes in attitudes across the world following World War II, some opportunities for independence and self-control began to be put in place for Indigenous peoples (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:79; Richardson 1992:33). These opportunities included the 1962 amendment of the *Electoral Act 1918* (Commonwealth) to enable Indigenous peoples to vote (King 2013:1). The 1962 *Aboriginal Affairs Act* also repealed the *Aborigines Act 1934–1939*, however the new Act contained many channels which persisted in enabling the control of Indigenous peoples (Raynes 2002:57). The emergence of the Indigenous land rights movement in the 1960s resulted in the *Aboriginal Lands Trust Act 1966* (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:79). The 1967 Commonwealth referendum recognised Indigenous peoples and granted full citizenship rights following the *Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) Act* (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:55). Another significant development more recently was the introduction of the Commonwealth *Native Title Act 1993* and the complementary *Native Title Act 1994* (South Australia) (Raynes 2002:69).

Of interest to heritage practitioners is the *Aboriginal and Historic Relics Preservation Act 1965*, which pertained to preserving Indigenous and historic relics and had the Director of the South Australian Museum as the 'Protector of Relics' (Raynes 2002:59). This Act was repealed in 1979 with the introduction of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act*, which was superseded by the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988* (Raynes 2002:66, 68). The aforementioned Acts and regulations had specific implications at Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana; some of these aspects are consequently detailed further in the ensuing section.

4.3 Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana history

Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, a portion of the traditional land of the Narungga people, is located on western Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, near the coastal town of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and on the coastline adjoining Spencer Gulf. Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula was given a European name by Matthew Flinders on-board *Investigator* in 1802, after Mr Pearce of the Admiralty (Archibald 1915:9; Neumann 1983:1).

4.3.1 Prior to 1868

It is suggested that initial contact between Narungga and non-Indigenous peoples, and the first encounter with boats, probably came with European sealers and whalers in the early 1830s, in the southwest of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:195; Wood and Westell 1998b:3). The population of Aboriginal women kidnapped from coastal South Australia and taken to Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta may have included people from Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda (Krichauff 2008:32)²⁶.

After proclamation, the boats of new visitors to Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda were different from those of the sealers and whalers. In the period 1841 to 1846, Europeans visiting Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda either had access, or the means to acquire access, to boats (Krichauff 2008:51). Surveyor, James H. Hughes reports the following:

Having arrived at Port Victoria, my boat formerly left there, was perceived on the beach, about a quarter of a mile from where I had left it and while preparing to go ashore to get possession of her [sic], about seventeen natives made their appearance with their spears, yelling with their usual threatening attitude. The bottom flooring of the boat had been torn out and the rudder, oars etc had disappeared ... (*The South Australian Register* 26 December 1840 in Moody [2012:233]).

Krichauff (2008:43, 46) suggests Narungga had dismantled it in order to understand an unfamiliar object and that, according to Hughes, Narungga found the boat sail to be valuable.

²⁶ While Taylor's (2008:127–128) book does not feature any Narungga family names, women from the Walker family of Point McLeay/Raukkan, who married into Point Pearce/Burkiyana families (Kartinyeri 2002:207), lived on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta, including Sally Walker. Rigney (2002:xi) also notes that his ancestor Nellie Raminyemmerin, kidnapped from Kurna Country and taken to Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta, was a sister of Invaritji who was from Point Pearce/Burkiyana and Point McLeay/Raukkan Missions.

It was during the expansion of the pastoral industry in the 1840s that the impacts of colonisation were most rapidly felt within Narungga culture (Ball 1992:36). The occupational licence scheme which was initiated by the government in 1846 was the impetus for broader European settlement on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda (Wood and Westell 1998b:3). A ration system was established and ration stations were set up at Moonta/Munda, Wallaroo/Wadla waru and Kadina/Gardina (Wood and Westell 1998b:4). Mattingley and Hampton (1992:21) explain that ration stations were:

Deliberately used to manipulate and control location of the people. By setting up ration depots the government effectively destroyed freedom of movement.

It was shortly after the establishment of this system that settlers at these townships established the Yorke's Peninsula Aboriginal Mission Committee (Archibald 1915:9–10; Wood and Westell 1998b:4).

4.3.2 Establishment of Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana

Moravian missionary, Reverend Wilhelm Julius Kühn, oversaw the establishment of the mission station in 1868 and was the Superintendent until 1880 (Wanganeen 1987:25). Prior to the official establishment of the mission, Kühn began teaching Narungga children from 1866 across Kadina/Gardina, Moonta/Munda and Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Krichauff 2013:62–63). The movement for a permanent school commenced at this time and included the non-Indigenous public from a cross-section of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda society, chiefly living in Moonta/Munda, initiating petitions, committee meetings, subscriptions, fundraising, donations and in-kind support (Krichauff 2013:63; Raynes 2002:21). The purpose of the institution is documented in the mission's constitution as 'the civilization and evangelisation of the Aborigine's on Yorke Peninsula' (Archibald 1915:6). Krichauff (2013:65) states that the site of the mission was chosen according to Narungga needs: near the sea for fishing, with permanent water, good soil and scrub. The land of Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana was granted in early 1868 (Figure 9) (Krichauff 2013:66).

Krichauff (2013:67) posits Narungga people would not have gathered around Kühn and attended his school if they did not want to, although it is also possible that there were no better options. During the 1870s, Narungga came and went as they wanted and were not forced into staying, moving between the mission and fringe camps on

Peninsula and the forced movement of its residents to Point Pearce/Burgiyana and Point McLeay/Raukkan Missions resulted in the former having to accommodate more people (Kartinyeri 2002:1; Wood and Westell 1998b:8). People from the mid-north, Adelaide Plains, Murray areas and many other parts of South Australia were also sent to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, such as Ngadjuri and residents of Point McLeay Mission/Raukkan (Brock and Kartinyeri 1989:1; Kartinyeri 2002:1; Warrior et al. 2005:89, 96). Kartinyeri's (2002:1) *Narungga Nation* genealogy includes Aboriginal families descended from Narungga people, as well as families who married into and were adopted into Narungga families and with long-term historic connections to Point Pearce/Burgiyana. As Kartinyeri (2002:1) states, no individual has 'the right to say who is or who is not Narungga or of any other descent'.



Figure 10 Early residents at the mission. Listed as Bob Penton, Charlie Prince, Harry Penton, Charlie Thomas, Benjamin Sims and Karrowompie, all born between about 1810s to 1840s and died between 1884 and 1918 at Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:ii). Although, Wanganeen (1987:30) also lists Fred 'Nimba' WoWonder (South Australian Museum AA676/5/10/41).

4.3.3 Life at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana

Aboriginal people from Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, in addition to shearing the station's sheep, also sheared neighbouring pastoralists' stock, being 'competent shearers and good sheep handlers' (Heinrich 1976:27). In addition, Aboriginal peoples' knowledge of 'Country' was beneficial for settlers in the agricultural

industry, for example while a settler was ploughing, an Aboriginal man noted that the plough was too deep because there was limestone at that depth (Graham and Graham 1987:16). Aboriginal peoples learnt shearing, wool classing, road making, fencing, building, carpentry, black-smith work and painting (Archibald 1915:30; Wanganeen 1987:43).

The Point Pearce/Burkiyana community was active during the Royal Commission, speaking out against the oppression of the mission and life under the *Aborigines Act* (Graham and Graham 1987:27–34; Richardson 1992:25). A number of Point Pearce/Burkiyana people gave evidence during the Royal Commission, including Tom²⁷ and William²⁸ Adams, Joe Edwards²⁹, Alfred Hughes³⁰ and Walter Sansbury³¹ (Figure 11) (Richardson 1992:25). In 1915, and on the recommendation of the Royal Commission, the mission was placed under government control and it became known as the Point Pearce Aboriginal Station (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:199). It was also at this time that lives of Aboriginal peoples living at the mission became increasingly regulated (Krichauff 2013:59), although Aboriginal agency suggests this is more complicated.

Aspects of control during this time included regulations regarding the time that Aboriginal peoples had to wake up in the morning, the hours of the working week and the need to obtain permission from the superintendent to play any game in any street or road within an Aboriginal institution (*Aborigines Act 1911*). At Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, the bell was used to regulate all aspects of life, from waking up and going to work, to going to church and going to sleep at night (Wanganeen 1987:32–33). In addition, the exemption system and permits regulated the movement of Aboriginal peoples on and off the mission (see Roberts et al. 2013:89).

²⁷ Tom Adams Snr, born 1849 near Crystal Brook, or Thomas Frederick Adams Jnr, born 1876 Poonindie, died 1940 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:109, 111).

²⁸ William Adams, born 1868 Poonindie, died 1915 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:109, 111).

²⁹ Joseph Edwards, born about 1877 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1950 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:175).

³⁰ Alfred Hughes Snr, born 1869 Wallaroo/Wadla waru, died 1924 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:195–196).

³¹ Walter Sansbury Snr, born 1876 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1938 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:112, 131, 133, 270–271).



Figure 11 Shearers and other workers at the shearing shed on Wardang Island/Waraldi including three of the men who gave evidence during the Royal Commission: Tom Adams (seated in back row, far left), Walter Sansbury (seated on hill, second from right) and Joe Edwards (seated in front, in middle). Other people include Thomas Adams (seated in back row, second from left), John Milera (standing, third from left), B. Lathern (standing, fourth from left), Nellie Milera (standing, fifth from left), Leslie Wanganeen (seated on hill, far right), Henry Angie (seated in front, left) and Clifford Edwards (seated in front, right) (South Australian Museum AA676/5/6/16/A).

Throughout the next 50 years, however, continuous individual and group letters and petitions were made to the government from Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana; Point Pearce/Burgiyana also formed the Australian Aborigines Union in 1944 (Ball 1992:41; Richardson 1992:26). In 1919, a proposal to establish a school in Adelaide for Aboriginal children was unanimously opposed by parents at Point Pearce/Burgiyana in a vote held at a general meeting of the Aboriginal residents (Raynes 2002:41). In addition, many letters were pleas for land ownership in order to become self-supporting (Richardson 1992:27–28). Similar letters seeking land were sent from across South Australia and the official responses to these letters have been described as ‘an indictment of the insensitivity of officials and the selfishness of the land-usurping Goonyas’ (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:76). The Royal Commission recommended that share farming involving non-Indigenous peoples at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana should be gradually abolished and instead allow the Aboriginal residents to farm, however this was still not enacted in 1927 (Raynes 2002).

In 1956, Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana was re-dedicated when all Aboriginal Reserves were abolished upon a declaration of State Parliament (Wood and Westell 1998b:10). Point Pearce/Burdiyana was then vested in the Aboriginal Lands Trust in 1966 and leased to the Point Pearce/Burdiyana community—being the first land in South Australia to be controlled by Aboriginal peoples since colonisation, decisions being made by an elected council (Kartinyeri 2002:70; Wanganeen 1987:75; Wood and Westell 1998b:10).

Wood and Westell (1998a:11) also note that the Point Pearce/Burdiyana community has maintained a connection with the sea, citing commercial abalone and oyster farming and annual spearfishing competitions as two examples. Point Pearce/Burdiyana land has at numerous times in the recent past, and at present, encompassed Wardang Island/Waraldi.

4.4 Wardang Island/Waraldi history

Before European colonisation, Narungga people occupied Wardang Island/Waraldi; this is demonstrated by ethnohistorical accounts, oral histories and archaeological evidence (Fowler et al. 2014:15; Roberts et al. 2013:81–82; Wood and Westell 1998a:13). A continuity of the connection to the island by Narungga people is established by its occupation through the contact and post-contact period (Fowler et al. 2014; Roberts et al. 2013). Wardang Island/Waraldi—previously known as Wauraltee and named after the many bandicoots that once lived there—is a Narungga word, however, it may have originally been used by ‘white’ people to name the island (NAPA 2006:77). Some sources also record ‘white’ surveyors naming Wardang Island/Waraldi after the Narungga name for a type of crow, *wardang*, which lived on the island (NAPA 2006:77). Narungga people describe one Aboriginal creation account for Wardang Island/Waraldi thus:

In the time of the Ancestors, a man called Buthera threw a rock from Middle Fence, right over to the Point there, to Boy’s Point. When the rock landed, it split the land and lots of bits flew off and made the Islands: Wardang Island, Green Island, Goose Island and Moongerie Island, which we call Dead Man’s Island (Graham and Graham 1987:53).

This story is also recounted in a ‘white’ history:

Once a giant warrior, furious at his people's misdeeds, angrily hurled his club on to the ground near the coast, causing a large depression. The sea rushed in forming Port Victoria bay whilst pieces of land flew westward forming a group of islands, the largest of which is Wardang (Heinrich 1976:86).

Further 'Dreaming' stories also relate to Wardang Island/Waraldi:

Ngarna was a big powerful man who lived on Yorke Peninsula. He was a powerful club thrower. On one occasion he stood on the point of Wardang Island (*Wordan*) and saw a woman seated on the rocks at Point Turton (*Punpu*). She was fishing and had a baby tied to her back. He hurled his club (*wiri*) across miles of water and struck her dead³². He exerted such effort that he imprinted his foot-track on the rock. The woman turned into a large stone ... at Punpu. Near to it is another rock with a pattern on it like the rectangular pattern to be seen on wallaby skin cloaks; this is the woman's cloak (*palta*) or rug (Wood and Westell 1998a).

Wood and Westell (1998a:14) recount another 'Dreaming' story featuring Wardang Island/Waraldi and the creation of seabirds:

The story describes the father of the tribe, who was a giant and lived on Wauraltee Island (Wardang Island), where he resided and was ultimately buried. He has a brother in whom was vested power almost equal to his own and who travelled about. Once in his travels down the Peninsula, he met a man from another race and had a fight. The latter was speared and his bowels gushed out. His conquerer then cut him into halves and the upper half was transformed into a bat (*majaja*). The bat was sent with a message to the conquered one's people, who were camped on a beach. The bat returned and desired the conquerer to go to the camp for a consultation. He refused, but went to the camp at night, where he burnt the camp and all the people as they slept. The wind blew the ashes away, which turned into the seabirds as seen today.

4.4.1 Pastoral activities

Stephen Goldsworthy, from Black Point/Gudliwardi, was the first person to lease Wardang Island/Waraldi, obtaining two successive leases from 1861–1884 (Heinrich 1976:86). In September 1877, suggestions were made to turn Wardang Island/Waraldi into a quarantine station, however this proposal never proceeded (Moody 2012:115). Wardang Island/Waraldi, then leased to the mission for use in grazing stock, was declared an Aboriginal Reserve in 1887 (Heinrich 1976:90). It saw significant development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,

³² According to an oral history documented in Tindale (1936:58), the club was thrown from near Port Victoria/Dharldiwardu to Point Pearce/Burdiyana, i.e. from Gagadhi to Boys Point/Gunganya warda.

including the construction of dwellings, farm buildings and maritime infrastructure at the northern end of the island.

Farming was an important activity for the duration of the mission's existence, established as part of an effort to make the settlement self-sufficient (Wanganeen 1987:55). The station's success depended on utilising every available piece of land, including Wardang Island/Waraldi, despite inadequate natural water sources; tanks, run-off drains, dams and catchments were built on the island to hold more than 200 gallons to supply both the village and stock (Wanganeen 1987:55). Substantial jetties, one on Wardang Island/Waraldi, known today as the Little Jetty, and one on the mainland (Dolly's Jetty) were built in 1910 at a cost of £600 (Archibald 1915:22; Fowler et al. 2014:15; Roberts et al. 2013:85; Wanganeen 1987:55). Sheep yards on Wardang Island/Waraldi included a shed containing a slaughterhouse, living quarters and skinning facilities and a separate shearing shed (Wanganeen 1987:62–63); blade shearing was the usual technique (Heinrich 1976:86). Sheep were originally taken to Wardang Island/Waraldi via launch, however a large two-masted boat, *Narrunga*, was built in 1903 (Roberts et al. 2013; Wanganeen 1987:55). According to Wood and Westell (1998b:18) about seven families stayed on the island to run the sheep (Figure 12) (see also Fowler et al. 2014:15).

4.4.2 Mining activities

Since 1899, various mineral leases had been issued for sections on the western coast of the island (Heinrich 1976:86, 88). Operations by B.H.P. began in 1910 and by 1939 they owned all the mineral leases on the island (Heinrich 1976:88). In 1915, due to the *Aborigines Act*, the government gained control of the island and the declaration of an Aboriginal Reserve was cancelled (Heinrich 1976:86, 90). As stated by Heinrich (1976:88), the first school on Wardang Island/Waraldi, a small timber and iron room, opened in 1918, although whether the 10 children at this time included any Aboriginal children is unclear. The island was re-declared an Aboriginal Reserve in 1924, however this was again abolished in 1948 (Heinrich 1976:90). Such declarations and control measures highlight the effects of colonisation for Aboriginal people at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana.



Figure 12 People from Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana on Wardang Island/Waraldi (image courtesy of the Dr Doreen Kartinyeri Collection).

The Wardang Island/Waraldi launch visited on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, providing transport for both the B.H.P. company and the Aboriginal population living on Wardang Island/Waraldi (Heinrich 1976:89). Herbert Holding and Jack Doyle ran the launch until 1937 and William ‘Billy’ Ritter and Charles Anderson, amongst others, ran it after 1946 (Heinrich 1976:89). Aboriginal people from Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana also worked on Wardang Island/Waraldi at the B.H.P. flux quarries (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:118). In 1959, a more substantial wooden building opened as a school, although by this time Wardang Island/Waraldi was not being used as frequently by the mission and no Aboriginal children were living there permanently meaning it is unlikely they would have attended this school (Figure 13) (Heinrich 1976:88).

B.H.P. ceased operations on the island in 1968, when suitable deposits of limesand were found at Coffin Bay (Heinrich 1976:89–90). The B.H.P. launch driver, however, remained at Wardang Island/Waraldi in the role of caretaker (Heinrich 1976:90). Following this, H.G. Pryce (in other sources spelt Price) obtained the island’s lease and initiated a tourist venture (Heinrich 1976:90). It was finally declared an Aboriginal Reserve in 1973 (Heinrich 1976:90). Wardang Island/Waraldi was also transferred from the government to be vested in the Aboriginal Lands Trust (Heinrich 1976:90). It is crucial that the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana and Wardang Island/Waraldi is contextualised with nearby

centres of maritime activity, such as the port town of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, because it reveals that Aboriginal peoples were active agents outside the confines of the mission, despite isolationist policies.



Figure 13 The three-windowed building mid-right is the most recent school on Wardang Island/Waraldi (photograph by J. Mushynsky 26/11/13).

4.5 Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu maritime history

Dharldiwarldu, also known as Port Victoria, is an area of Narungga land which has been translated as *dharldi*, meaning ear, and *warldu*, meaning neck or narrow space like a neck (NAPA 2006:30). Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu was named after the survey schooner *Victoria* which surveyed the proposed settlement in 1839 (Moody 2012:15–16). The region was initially utilised for pastoral activities as the land was suitable for grazing (Moody 2012:16). According to Moody (2012:16–17), this pastoral era lasted from approximately 1844 to 1869, and was succeeded by wheat growers. Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu was originally proclaimed as the township of Wauraltee in 1876, however was recognised as an official port in 1878 (Moody 2012:17).

In the early days, supplies being brought in to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, and wheat being shipped out, was transferred from ketches at anchor to the shore in cargo boats and then unloaded onto bullock drays in the shallow water (Heinrich 1976:91).

Farmers in the region and local residents pressed for a jetty and the government eventually conceded, with the jetty opening in 1878, built of jarrah, red gum and iron bark timbers (Heinrich 1976:91).

Evidence for a close connection between Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana can be seen through secondary sources to date to the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1878, drought conditions resulted in farmers and residents of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu travelling to Point Pearce/Burgiyana Wells (in the vicinity of Hollywood) to source water (Moody 2012:17). This close connection between the two locales is further evidenced in the results and is particularly visible due to the scale of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu's shipping, particularly in the early nineteenth century.

The first overseas sailing ship, *Cardigan Castle*, called at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu to load with wheat in 1879 (Heinrich 1976:91). Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu then developed to become a busy international port. The first harbourmaster, and previously manager of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana for three years, was Andrew McArthur, who held the position for 26 years and was followed by his son, Lewis McArthur (Moody 2012:76). At its height, during the year ending June 1934, 40 coastal steamships, 239 coastal sailing ships, 10 interstate steamships and 12 overseas sailing ships arrived (Moody 2012:38). From 1939, Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu became the only port in Spencer Gulf where international grain traders continued to call (Figure 14) (Moody 2012:48).



Figure 14 Ships at anchor at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in 1934 (image courtesy of Stuart Moody).

Ballast was dumped at two main grounds: one for sand and soil inside the southeast end of Wardang Island/Waraldi, and another for rock and rubble outside the southwest end of the island (Moody 2012:80). There were also two anchorages, one directly west of the Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty, and a second, known as the Wardang Island/Waraldi anchorage, at the northern end of Wardang Island/Waraldi and west of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula (Moody 2012:80).

4.6 Previous research at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana

Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana has increasingly drawn the attention of archaeologists since the 1990s, both in the capacity of cultural heritage management and academic research, all of which have involved members of the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community. Furthermore, while not archaeological in nature, it is also worthwhile mentioning Krichauff's (2008, 2011, 2013) historical research about Narungga people from the period 1802 to 1880, and Indigenous contributions such as Graham and Graham (1987), Kartinyeri (2002) and Wanganeen (1987) (discussed further in Chapter 5).

In 1998, Wood and Westell (1998b:1) studied the five remaining historic buildings at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, assessed their significance and made conservation recommendations. Oral history collection for this project included a community oral history workshop, as well as three individual interviews (Wood and Westell 1998b:2). Furthermore, in the same year, Wood and Westell (1998a) conducted an Aboriginal archaeological site survey of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda. Sites documented in the Point Pearce/Burgiyana area include an open midden and 'mythological site' on Wardang Island/Waraldi, four water supply features at The Willows and the 'mythological sites' of Badhara's Rock and Goose Island (Wood and Westell 1998a). Faunal remains identified included a variety of marine shellfish species (Wood and Westell 1998a:16). Chinaman Wells, just north of Point Pearce/Burgiyana, was found to be possibly the most intensive area of artefact manufacture (Wood and Westell 1998a:28). Wood and Westell (1998a:28) interpreted the identified occupation deposits in the Chinaman Wells area as representing a favoured long-term camping place to which raw materials and shellfish were brought. Hill and Hill (1975) had also found thousands of Snook/*dhudna* (*Sphyræna novaehollandiae*) and Mulloway (*Argyrosomus hololepidotus*) otoliths at this location (Wood and

Westell 1998a:16). Wood and Westell (1998a:28) drew conclusions based on the massive amounts of artefactual material identified at Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula, stating ‘it is easy to envisage that upon the establishment of the Point Pearce Mission ... the Point Pearce headland and environs became a microcosm of the broader Peninsula, with favoured camping locations, fishing spots etc. identified by people’.

Jones’ (2009) thesis sought to identify historic fringe camps around Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and focused on creating positive relationships between archaeologists and Indigenous communities. She surveyed Big Wadjedin/Wadjadin, Little Wadjedin/Wadjadin and Hollywood fringe camps. Hollywood, the fringe camp located on the coast, was not discussed in detail other than that a seemingly brief surface survey resulted in very few material traces due to its demolition in the 1980s.

Most recently, Roberts et al. (2013) conducted collaborative research to (re)locate the vessel *Narrunga*, built by the Aboriginal community at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana in 1903 and later scuttled. This project prompted an interest in maritime heritage at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, which, as outlined in the introduction chapter, is being explored further in this thesis research (see Fowler et al. [2014] and Fowler et al. [2015 in prep] for publications based on this research). Roberts et al.’s (2013) research combined oral histories and geophysical surveys (side-scan sonar and magnetometer), as well as intertidal and terrestrial surveys and recording. While geophysical surveys were unsuccessful in (re)locating *Narrunga*, other surveys recorded the construction site, launching site, Old Dolly’s Jetty and Dolly’s Jetty (Roberts et al. 2013). The project also illustrated the potential of Indigenous and maritime archaeological synergies and the benefits of collaborative research for Indigenous communities, continued in projects such as those by Roberts et al. (2014) and Roberts et al. (in prep) (Roberts et al. 2013).

4.7 Conclusions

The maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, Wardang Island/Waraldi and Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu are not isolated practices. First, maritime activities relate to the cultural continuity of coastal use by Narungga people on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda in pre-contact times. The maritime cultural landscape also must

be seen within wider impacts of colonialism in South Australia, including Aboriginal labour in pastoral and agricultural activities, as well as the maritime industry. Furthermore, government regulations, which attempted to restrict all aspects of Aboriginal life including rights of movement and freedom of access, as well as employment, are directly related to Aboriginal participation in the maritime industry. It is important to relate the context of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana's maritime history to the two nearby centres of maritime activity, Wardang Island/Waraldi and Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, given these places have converging but also varied histories. Doing so also stops the 'isolationist', colonialist agenda of confining Indigenous peoples to missions (see Howitt 2001; Nash 1984; Roberts et al. 2014:29). Finally, the most recent archaeological research at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana has initiated an interest in maritime history, which this research develops.

In all community approaches *process*—that is, methodology and method—is highly important ... Processes are expected to be respectful, to enable people, to heal ... to educate ... [and] to lead one small step further towards self-determination (Smith 2012:218–219).

5 METHODS

The methods associated with the maritime cultural landscape approach allow for an understanding of past cultural values. This chapter presents both the methodological underpinnings to the research methods and the practical aspects of the study undertaken. As one of the primary aims of this research is to foreground the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the Australian maritime industry, it is important to highlight the methods used to contribute towards decolonising the field of maritime archaeology. ‘Community’ has been defined by Jeffery (2013:30) as ‘a value, something that includes solidarity, commitment, mutuality, trust, fellowship, and it can involve people that share a common place and/or are linked through mutual interests’. It will be illustrated that community-based archaeology is a methodological consideration upon which this research has been built. While Smith (2012:30) explains that the term ‘research’ is inseparably associated with colonialism (however several approaches are now seeking to dissolve this connection, see for example Prangnell et al. [2010] and Ross and Coghill [2000]), it has been suggested that community archaeology is more frequently associated with cultural heritage management than within research and academic agendas (Marshall 2002:213). Therefore, this research seeks to address Marshall’s (2002) argument and reveal that community archaeology is not only of relevance but, moreover, is vital for academic research, in particular the subfield of maritime archaeology.

Similarly, the methods which are discussed—oral history, archaeology and archival research—are demonstrated as relating to the research question of whether the maritime cultural landscape framework is an appropriate lens through which to interpret a post-contact Indigenous context. These methods also relate to a number of the aims of this research. Oral history, both on ‘Country’ and off-site, is used to address the aims of mapping intangible heritage such as traditional place names and knowledge, as well as tangible heritage of the island pastoral landscape.

Archaeology, including non-disturbance surveys across terrestrial, coastal and submerged environments, contributes further to understanding the tangible cultural heritage in the island pastoral, maritime infrastructure and transport landscapes.

Finally, archival research featuring a range of historical newspapers, photographs, drawings and other primary sources from a number of contexts allows for the investigation of cross-cultural entanglement.

5.1 Defining research methods

Many terms have been used by archaeologists to describe the contact period, for example colonialism, encounter, engagement, entanglement, interaction, negotiation and shared (Clarke 2000; Clarke and Paterson 2003; Gosden 2004; Harrison 2004b; Silliman 2001, 2005). Similarly, words describing community archaeology (e.g. collaborative, community-based, consultative, decolonising, Indigenous and post-colonial [Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004, 2008]) are just as numerous and no less ambiguous. Marshall (2002:212) argues that Australian, and neighbouring New Zealand, practitioners are comparatively more vocal in identifying as community-based archaeologists and more clearly agree on and articulate the definition of community archaeology than other parts of the world. What, however, does each of these terms mean and which is applicable in the context of research at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana?

Greer et al. (2002:267) suggest that consultative archaeology describes circumstances when archaeologists convince Indigenous peoples that their project is of value in order to obtain consent; the archaeologist sets the research agenda and the community reacts to it. Community-based research, in contrast, is interactive rather than reactive, empowering the community by actively constructing contemporary community identity (Greer et al. 2002:268). Greer et al. (2002:282) found that

community-based archaeology has refocused the research agenda to the recent rather than deep past, and widened the scope of values or significance attributed to material culture. Community archaeology should, throughout the seven components of a project (developing research questions; establishing project; field practices; data collection; analysis; storage; and public dissemination), allow some extent of control to remain with the community (Marshall 2002:211–212). Roberts (2003:163–167) also notes that archaeologists can no longer overlook ‘Indigenous control over all areas of research’ and identifies four spaces in which Indigenous peoples themselves spoke of providing control in the archaeological process: generally, choosing researchers, information in reports and employment in the heritage industry.

Collaborative archaeology, then, which seeks to engage the community on deeper and more varied levels, can be thought of as synonymous with community-based archaeology (Greer et al. 2002:267). Collaboration has been strongly endorsed in North America where, since the last two decades of the twentieth century, the archaeological discipline has shifted its relationship with Indigenous peoples—confronting ethical, political and historical concerns in the discipline (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004:6). Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2004:6) suggest that, in practice, collaboration is part of a spectrum, ranging from informality to elaborateness. In addition, such collaboration has the benefit of documenting sites of significance to the community, providing employment, material for education and recording the past through Indigenous voices (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004:6–7).

A decolonised archaeology is, similarly, with, for and by Indigenous peoples (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3). Decolonised archaeology, however, is found by some to be synonymous with Indigenous archaeology and highlights the adoption of Indigenous worldviews, traditional knowledges and lifeways when developing research methods (Atalay 2006:284). A decolonising framework is greater than the deconstruction of Western learning by an Indigenous retelling; it includes self-determination and social justice (Smith 2012:34–35).

The ability to decolonise research is challenging as many academic disciplines have no methodologies for encompassing non-Western systems of knowledge (Smith 2012:128). The landscape methodology—keenly advocated for use in heritage by

Indigenous peoples in Australia (Prangnell et al. 2010:143)—is one methodology which, combined with community-based approaches, can begin to decolonise the discipline (Roberts et al. 2013). Furthermore, Smith (2012:30–31) underlines the difficulties of discussing both ‘research methodology’ and ‘Indigenous peoples’ without acknowledging the entrenchment of colonial practices in the search for knowledge (Fox 2006:404). In addition to academic research (Martinez 2014:3774), Prangnell et al. (2010:143) contend that cultural heritage management promotes nationalist programs and supports colonial benefits, including in Australia. As well as incorporating cultural landscapes and Indigenous knowledges in archaeological theory—which has occurred to some degree—it must be actively incorporated into archaeological practice (Prangnell et al. 2010:152).

Archaeologists have traditionally been seen as the principal experts in cultural heritage management which has focused on tangible, rather than intangible, heritage, even in Australia’s post-colonial society (Prangnell et al. 2010:140–141); where ‘genuine’ Indigenous culture is ‘contained or confined in the form of archaeological sites’ (Byrne 1996:87). This is in strong contrast to views of heritage by Indigenous cultures which emphasise living heritage and cultural landscapes (Prangnell et al. 2010:140–141). Therefore, community research challenges the notion of ‘archaeologist as expert’ and recognises the knowledge of Indigenous peoples in interpreting cultural heritage. Roberts (2011:49–50) asserts that Indigenous peoples may attribute significance to all archaeology and such interpretations are part of an ongoing ‘interpretive practice’. Marshall (2002:216), therefore, suggests that community archaeology is particularly well-placed for contact period sites where previously held assumptions (which are reinforced through conventional archaeological approaches), that the site is of interest to only one community, are contrasted by revealing unanticipated meetings of significance. Where segregation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities has occurred in the recent past, community-based research can also uncover older histories of shared landscapes (Marshall 2002:217).

In addition to literature surrounding Indigenous archaeological research, it is also important to consider what the ethical responsibilities of maritime archaeologists are when considering Indigenous heritage. Maritime archaeology has been criticised for

having a poor record of involvement with the broader heritage community, particularly in relation to Indigenous peoples' control of heritage (Flatman 2007a:85). The Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology Code of Ethics (Section A 1.1) states that members shall 'be sensitive to, and respect the legitimate concerns of, groups whose cultural histories are the subjects of archaeological investigations'. If this statement is implicitly interpreted as including Indigenous communities, to what extent are maritime archaeologists considering such ethical statements and actually applying them along the collaborative continuum described by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008)? Certainly Coroneos' (2006) account of ethical concerns surrounding maritime archaeology in Australia made no mention of Indigenous peoples.

On the ground maritime archaeology has not come up to speed with regards to explicitly requiring careful and appropriate collaboration with Indigenous communities when conducting European and colonial maritime heritage research. Roberts et al. (2013:78) argue that community engagement within maritime studies has not progressed at the same speed as other subfields within the archaeological discipline. While they do not reason why this has occurred, possibilities include the comparatively more recent development of the maritime archaeology field and the focus on methods rather than theoretical engagement which can be seen in the genesis of maritime archaeology being the study of shipwrecks of the classical period (Meide 2013a:1–2, 7). Meide (2013a:7) argues early practitioners of maritime archaeology were often avocationalists untrained in the profession, particularly classicists and medievalists, who were not aware of anthropological discourses. McCarthy (2011:1045) also suggests that in the 1970s, academics and politicians considered 'well-publicized wrecks, relics and survival stories' to be their 'prehistory' and incorrectly believed that Indigenous maritime history was nonexistent. Indigenous communities' ownership of intertidal and submerged cultural landscapes is another ethical concept which has been inadequately taken into account by maritime archaeologists (Flatman 2007a:85). As more Indigenous maritime archaeology research is conducted, it is hoped that collaborations can begin to reach the standards set within other community-based archaeology projects in Australia and occurring overseas.

A recent project by Jeffery (2013:29), conducted in Yap (Federated States of Micronesia), has highlighted the importance of pursuing maritime archaeological research for contemporary communities within the present framework of international management of underwater cultural heritage. He suggests that maritime archaeological activities in ‘developed’ countries have primarily focused on scientific approaches to shipwrecks; however, in ‘developing’ countries maritime archaeology should approach traditional sites, such as fish traps and weirs, and intangible heritage, holistically, given their importance to a community’s cultural identity (Jeffery 2013:30). The latter part of his argument should, however, be extended to ‘developed’ countries, arguably Australia, where contemporary communities and intangible heritage should be equally considered, alongside the scientific shipwreck focus.

Similar to the ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’ (Roberts et al. 2013), Jeffery’s (2013:30, 54) research provided tangible benefits for contemporary people and was ‘formulated by local people who continually drove its aims and objectives’. In addition to considering contemporary community perspectives, values and uses, it also sought to understand how fish weirs and traps are currently managed (Jeffery 2013:30). The project’s outcomes have resulted in pursuing apprentice funding for learning the art of constructing *aech*’s³³ and discussions of options relating to reconstituting traditional marine ownership rights (Jeffery 2013:46). These outcomes are very different from the ‘no further activities ... let nature take its course’ strategies employed in many underwater cultural heritage management regimes, instead allowing for ‘restoration, reuse and reinvigoration of the associated cultural practices’ which were found to be effective approaches for site protection and management (Jeffery 2013:54–55). The issue of ‘no further activities’—which is often advocated in a Western management framework—and Indigenous use was raised at a recent forum (Atalay et al. 2015) where panellists discussed that there is little way to reconcile these different approaches to management (Amy Roberts pers. comm. 1/5/15). Consequently, research frameworks, ethical responsibilities, culturally appropriate behaviour and practical outcomes must be considered at all stages of research when working with Indigenous communities (Nicholas and Watkins 2014:3783).

³³ Traditional Yapese stone-walled fish trap and weir (Jeffery 2013:36).

5.2 Community-based archaeology at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana

In consideration of this review of literature, this study can be deemed to be collaborative, community-based archaeology. As mentioned in the introduction, this research developed out of the '(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project' which was a community-driven project, involving community members in all aspects of project design, archival research, collection of oral histories, archaeological field-work and analysis and writing (Roberts et al. 2013:79). As such, this investigation expands on an area that was already known to be of interest to the Point Pearce/Burkiyana community.

While my initial interest lay in Indigenous labour and participation in the Western maritime heritage of the region, it became clear following the first two interviews and first week of community-monitored field-work that those ideas did not completely encompass what the community wanted recorded. I, similar to Greer (Greer et al. 2002:269), was 'rocketed' into the community, people and places, and into the present. As such, the research changed to seek a framework that could mitigate the varied interests and aspects brought forward by community members, while still meeting the requirements for doctoral research. In this way, I, like Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2004:11), view research to be a process, and built upon the initial aims. Therefore, I sought to determine whether the maritime cultural landscape framework was suitable for carefully and appropriately incorporating Indigenous perspectives.

Community consent was sought before commencing the project. I approached the then three relevant Narungga organisations: Narungga Nation Aboriginal Corporation (NNAC), Point Pearce Aboriginal Corporation (PPAC) and Adjahdura Narungga Heritage Group (ANHG) (see Appendix 10.1). Following this, ethics approval was requested from the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee and received ethics approval as Project 5806 (see Appendix 10.2). During the project, in late 2013, the Narungga Aboriginal Corporation Regional Authority (NACRA) became more established, acting as an umbrella organisation under which the three aforementioned organisations fall. As

such, the chair of NACRA (also chair of NNAC) was subsequently collaborated with on all aspects of the project as well.

Throughout the study, I regularly updated the Narungga organisations through email, phone calls and sending progress reports for their consideration at committee meetings in June 2013, November 2013 and June 2014. In addition, I sought to make the research as beneficial as possible for the community. Two journal articles were co-authored with community elders and members, Clem O'Loughlin, Fred Graham, Lindsay Sansbury and Carlo Sansbury (Fowler et al. 2014; Fowler et al. 2015 in prep). A poster was also distributed to the community, which utilised historical photographs as a means of making the site plan of the Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi accessible for people who are not archaeologists (see Appendix 10.3). An exhibition entitled *Children, Boats and 'Hidden Histories'* was also co-curated with Roberts and the chairperson (Tauto Sansbury) of NNAC and NACRA (South Australian Maritime Museum 1 February to 30 June 2014) (Roberts et al. 2014). This exhibition was finally placed at the Point Pearce Aboriginal School for continuing community engagement and education (Roberts et al. 2014:27).

Community members were able to profit economically from this research by being paid \$150 per day as heritage monitors, funded initially from Roberts' Re-entry Fellowship and subsequently by Flinders University Research Higher Degree Project Funding, the 2013 Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology Scholarship, and the 2013 Berndt Foundation Postgraduate Research Grant. The involvement of Narungga elders was critical to ensure the research conducted was culturally appropriate.

According to Westerdahl (2011c:737–738), sources for investigating a maritime cultural landscape should include interviews, archaeological surveys, archival material, place names, historical sources, cartographic material and iconography. This has easily recognisable similarities with approaches of Indigenous archaeology which include 'creation knowledge, oral histories, lived experiences, and non-Indigenous written texts (i.e., ethnographic, historical and anthropological texts) to complement the archaeological record' (Wilson 2014:3787). This research follows all of these lines of enquiry, and the practical aspects of oral history interviews, archaeological field-work and archival research will now be outlined. It should be

reiterated, however, that an aspect of this research question is to assess the appropriateness of the maritime cultural landscape framework within Indigenous post-contact contexts and, therefore, methods form a component of this assessment.

5.3 Oral histories

In Westerdahl's (1992:11) experience of maritime archaeology, he has stated that, 'it was of more lasting interest to interview living people than to find shipwrecks'.

Nonetheless, oral history is still a contentious source of data for historical archaeology despite two decades of challenging scientific archaeology and master narratives (Jones and Russell 2012:272–273; Nicholas and Watkins 2014:3782).

These developments, in advocating for the use of oral history in historical archaeology, have been particularly explored in marginalised communities, especially post-colonial contexts and Indigenous archaeology (Jones and Russell 2012:268, 272). Jones and Russell (2012:274) suggest oral memory has far-reaching potential for archaeology as it reveals how past and present people created and negotiated meaning in historical landscapes.

The reality of community research is that referral or snowball sampling, where participants suggest other people who have valuable knowledge to the researcher, is the best way to ensure all the depth of knowledge the community owns is recorded. I was provided with potential participant's contact details and recruitment then occurred via a phone conversation where an in-person meeting, to discuss the project further or begin the process of collecting oral history, was scheduled. The community organisations mentioned previously had also communicated the aims of the research through their networks, which greatly assisted the recruitment process.

I was conscious of community members holding attitudes regarding what type of story they were expected to deliver (Westerdahl 2011b:341). It is important to remember that the material provided by community members was intentionally selected by them to be shared with a specific audience: me. Community members are aware of the likely differences between their occupation, lifestyle and belief system and those of the researcher, and the implications these underlying and complex expectations and attitudes have on the production of oral histories needs to be considered. Furthermore, by identifying the participant as belonging to a maritime

culture—as the maritime cultural landscape approach of this research suggests—I am applying an analysis which may not be recognised consciously by the community member, who may regard themselves as a fisherperson rather than someone who practices a maritime culture (Westerdahl 2008b:227). These considerations were actively reflected on while conducting the interviews by taking care to avoid theoretical language and leading questions.

Before participation in interviews and field-work, a number of community members agreed, via formal consent forms, to the audio recording of their information, to be photographed as part of the research and to be identified (rather than anonymous) in subsequent publications. Giving the names of community members is one way of respecting the knowledge contained in their oral histories (Chirikure 2014:3838). Following interviews, community members were provided with a copy of the transcript—which I transcribed using audio recording transcription software (Express Scribe)—and given the opportunity to make adjustments.

Oral histories are especially relevant when investigating answers to the research question, by foregrounding the Indigenous perspective of their own history. Oral histories were collected from people who lived on Wardang Island/Waraldi or remember the vessels that were used to go between the island and mainland. This form of oral history is termed ‘oral testimony’, as it is recollections of first-hand observers (McNiven and Russell 2005:243). In addition, people who may not have first-hand experience but have had stories passed down to them were interviewed. ‘Oral tradition’ is the term used to describe this type of oral history as it records memoirs that first-hand observers have passed along to others (McNiven and Russell 2005:243). A similar distinction has been made between ‘oral histories’, individual narratives or personal life histories, and ‘oral traditions’, which are communal stories (Ransley 2011:885).

Interview questions revolved around several main themes, which were all relevant to the maritime cultural landscape approach. One of these was Wardang Island/Waraldi; names of individuals and families who lived there in the past, the types of activities and work engaged in and the history of the construction and use of domestic as well as pastoral buildings and infrastructure were recalled and recorded. These themes directly relate to the social, economic/subsistence/sustenance, inner

and outer resource, and transport/communication facets of a maritime cultural landscape (as explored in Chapter 2). The second main aspect was watercraft; mission boats, fishing boats, boat names, their owners and skippers, boatbuilders, and the fate of these vessels were all examined. This aspect adds to the aforementioned maritime cultural landscape facets with the inclusion of cognitive landscapes. More general material and immaterial maritime culture was discussed in the form of the construction and use of jetties and slipways, as well as fishing marks and drops, which have a direct relationship to the topographic facet of a maritime cultural landscape. Another theme was aspects of culture contact and the daily interaction between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in the maritime sphere, which complements the territorial/power/resistance facet of the maritime cultural landscape framework. These recollections go towards addressing the secondary research question by exploring cross-cultural entanglement and aspects of mobility, as well as investigating the local history of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana. Finally, although not oral history per se, participants' perceptions of the value of archaeology and heritage management in recording their history were discussed to some extent.

As noted by Frances et al. (1994:196), the collection of oral history requires a deeply personal confrontation with the past and the interview process with Point Pearce/Burkiyana community members was therefore treated as a collaborative exercise. A semi-structured interview style was used in initial off-site interviews, to allow for flexibility in wording and ordering questions (Minichiello 2008:51). Historical photographs were also used to assist elders, and others, in their reflection. A session in their home using photographs gave an opportunity to organise recollections without the distractions of other memories brought about by returning to particular locations (Fowler et al. 2014:16). This interview was an important step in recalling memories gradually rather than an abrupt return to places after periods of absence (Brown 1973:353).

Oral history interviews varied from between 30 minutes and 1 hour and were recorded using a digital recording device (Sony BX Series MP3 Digital Voice Recorder, iRiver S10 Digital Audio Player or Sony ICD-UX71F MP3 Digital Voice

IC Recorder). Thirteen interviews were conducted between November 2012 and February 2014 (Table 2).

Table 2 Community member demographics.

Birth	Male	Female
Mid-1930s	3	
Early to mid-1940s	2	1
1950s	4	
Post-1960	3	

Interviews followed the saturation method; the collection of additional oral histories ceased when topics introduced during later responses had, generally, already been discussed by others (although there are topics where community members provided different perspectives). The collection of oral histories is also a significant aspect to preserving community knowledge for future generations of Narungga people and researchers (Fowler et al. 2014:21); although, Narungga systems also ensure the passing on of knowledge (Amy Roberts pers. comm. 1/5/15).

5.3.1 Place-based interviews and story-trekking

Where feasible people were then taken to the sites under investigation so the interviewing process became an experience for the community member and a more textured account of the past was recorded. On-site interviews were a ‘loosely’ structured interview style, as instead of responding to an interview schedule, participants responded to the social interaction with the researcher and the surrounding landscape (Minichiello 2008:53). Place-based interviews were conducted at three main locations: the Old Village at Wardang Island/Waraldi, the Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula coastline, and on-board a boat offshore from Wardang Island/Waraldi and Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula (e.g. see Figure 15).

The importance of combining archaeological surveys with place-based oral history interviews has been discussed in-depth by Fowler et al. (2014) using Wardang Island/Waraldi as a case study. It was found that place-based interviews resulted in ‘lived experiences’, which allowed a more meaningful account of the past. These lived experiences encapsulate what Harrison (2005:246) calls ‘landscape biographies’, a combination of spatial and life history information. Furthermore, on ‘Country’ interviews were integral in identifying archaeological features. Place-based interviews were recorded using two audio recording devices to combat environmental factors, such as wind, distorting the recording’s quality.

As Harrison (2004:16) notes, ‘landscapes and material objects act on the body to evoke particular kinds of memories, which cannot be invoked in their absence’. Place-based interviews have been referred to by Harrison (2004b:54) as ‘story-trekking’, literally making trips to places remembered in oral histories. This approach also feeds into one of Westerdahl’s (2011b:341–342) four principles of maritime cultural landscape oral traditions: the geographical principle. He believes that the reliability of an oral history increases if the place can be physically pointed out in the landscape (Westerdahl 2011b:341). The remaining principles: social, to seek out people other than the self-attributed experts or local historians; sex, to moderate the male view with female knowledge; and personal, to make the effort of interviewing in person, have also been followed to a large degree in this research, where appropriate with the community (Westerdahl 2011b:341–342). The process of off-site interviews followed by on ‘Country’ interviews was not strictly followed and depended on a range of factors such as the participants’ availability, age and health.



Figure 15 M. Fowler recording a place-based interview with Fred Graham, Old Village, Wardang Island/Waraldi (photograph by A. Roberts 25/2/13).

Ultimately, eight people gave off-site interviews (Jeffrey Newchurch, Lance Newchurch, Ron Newchurch, Barry Power, Lester-Irabinna Rigney (Appendix 10.4), Lyle Sansbury, Clayton Smith and George Walker), three people gave on ‘Country’

interviews (Michael O'Loughlin, Lindsay Sansbury and Peggy Weetra) and two people gave both off-site and on 'Country' interviews (Fred Graham and Clem O'Loughlin). Coding was developed based on the themes (facets) of the maritime cultural landscape framework for organising and analysing the interview transcripts (Seale and Kelly 1998:153). In fact, the facets of the maritime cultural landscape approach essentially formed one part of the coding system devised by Neuman (1997:422), open coding. Following this, axial coding allowed for the refining of the coding system and organisation of the categories into a sequence (Neuman 1997:423).

5.3.2 Mapping toponyms

In order to access and record place names at Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula, several methods were used. Recording place names is one aspect necessary for mapping intangible heritage and traditional knowledge, as set out in the aims, and emphasises Aboriginal toponyms. First, maps of place names already available were viewed. These included maps made by non-Indigenous peoples, or for viewing by a primarily non-Indigenous audience, as well as maps made by Narungga people. Secondly, place names were also discussed during off-site interviews and, in some cases, participants marked the location of places on an aerial photograph taken to the interview. Aerial photographs of the study area taken in 1981 were purchased from Mapland, Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources (Survey 2701 Frame 96, Survey 2702 Frame 13 and 15, Survey 2703 Frame 16 and 18).

Finally, place names were recorded during on 'Country' interviews with a Global Positioning System (GPS) position (Garmin eTrex or Garmin GPS76) (Figure 16). The reporting of GPS coordinates is restricted throughout this thesis generally at the request of the community and in accordance with the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988* (SA). Place names were then collated on a GIS using spatial analysis software (ArcMap), with a base layer consisting of place names which had been positioned using a GPS, which was then overlaid with less accurately positioned place names, i.e. taken from existing maps. This produced a visual representation of multiple place names for one location (often an Indigenous and non-Indigenous toponym), and could be used for interpreting the meaning of place names.



Figure 16 At Dolly's Jetty recording places during on 'Country' interviews—Fred Graham, M. Fowler, Michael O'Loughlin and Lindsay Sansbury (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

5.4 Archaeology

Archaeology has been used to justify colonisation because it controls the representation of the past (Liebmann 2008:6). It is now sometimes used in the partial deconstruction of colonial narratives, which have subjugated subaltern groups (Liebmann 2008:7–8). By acknowledging archaeology's past, ethics can be embedded in everyday archaeological practice into the future (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:6).

Archaeological data, including GPS positions and photographs of places, features and artefacts, and site plans of jetties, a shipwreck and the Old Village, has been collected over three main field-work sessions, 25 February to 1 March 2013, 25 to 30 November 2013 and 25 to 28 February 2014. This data is relevant to the thesis aims because it includes both intangible and tangible cultural heritage. In addition, some data collected for the '(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project' (Roberts et al. 2013), which I participated in, is used in these results. Each field-trip involved community members who acted as heritage monitors to ensure that the field-work activities were undertaken in a culturally appropriate manner. Community heritage monitors were Elders Clem O'Loughlin, Fred Graham, Michael O'Loughlin, Lindsay Sansbury and Peggy Weetra and community member Carlo Sansbury.

5.4.1 (Re)locating *Narrunga* project

The ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’ (Roberts et al. 2013) involved several field-trips, however the majority of data relevant to this thesis was collected between 9 and 14 April 2012. Dolly’s Jetty, on Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula, was drawn to scale using baseline-offset techniques to produce a plan view. In addition, a scale profile drawing of Bent’s A and B were produced. Scale drawings were inked and scanned at high resolution to create a digital version, which was then edited in an image manipulation program (GIMP). Other features on Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula were identified during this trip and were the subject of basic archaeological recording including Old Dolly’s Jetty, ships tanks and a fish trap (which has since been the focus of further investigation by Mollenmans [2014]). In addition, a reconnaissance trip to Wardang Island/Waraldi was made to identify the quantity and extent of material culture at the Old Village. This trip also aided in orienting myself with the layout of Wardang Island/Waraldi, as places such as the old B.H.P. Village, which is now the main centre of activities on Wardang Island/Waraldi, were also visited.

5.4.2 Wardang Island/Waraldi

The focus of archaeological research on Wardang Island/Waraldi was to investigate the Old Village settlement. Community members and researchers travelled to Wardang Island/Waraldi daily from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in a 9.3 m local charter vessel, either disembarking at the Little Jetty or anchoring offshore and using a tender to transport people and equipment to shore, depending on tides.

5.4.2.1 Coastal surveys

The Little Jetty was recorded in a similar way to Dolly’s Jetty (see Roberts et al. 2013:86–87) including a drawn scale plan view created using baseline-offset methods, a drawn profile view of Bent B, and detailed photographs of all construction features (the majority of photographs throughout the research were taken using a Nikon D3100; a Nikon D60 and Olympus E-PL1 were also used on occasion) (Figure 17). Features located during a pedestrian survey along the coastline, foreshore and intertidal zone were photographed and spatially located using a handheld GPS (Figure 18). These features were also recorded on a mud map.

Major features identified within this zone were also the subject of place-based interviews on a subsequent day.



Figure 17 C. Pasch and K. Bennett establishing a baseline for baseline-offset recording of the Little Jetty, facing east (photograph by J. McKinnon 26/2/13).



Figure 18 K. Bennett fixing a position on the slipway at the Old Village during the foreshore pedestrian survey, facing east (photograph by G. Laccina 25/2/13).

5.4.2.2 *Terrestrial surveys*

A transect survey of the Old Village covering an area approximately 0.23 km² included photographs, positioning using a GPS and place-based interviews at structures and artefacts. Transects were spaced at approximately 10 m intervals due to the large area and unknown extent of the site. During this survey, features located were added to the foreshore mud map to produce an overview of the entire area. Following these pedestrian surveys to identify features, a total station (Leica Flexline TS09 Plus) was used to create an accurate plan of all features of the site including the Old Village, foreshore and Little Jetty.

A permanent survey mark is located at the northern end of Wardang Island/Waraldi, on a raised surface created during the mining operations, and a metal pin survey mark is located nearby. These were relocated using coordinates purchased online from the Property Location Browser, Department of Planning, Transport and Infrastructure (Survey Mark Nos. 6329/1003 [PSMP] and 6329/1008 [MP]). The permanent survey mark was useful for recording features above the cliff. Three control points were also established with wooden pegs at useful locations. This included above the Little Jetty for measuring the jetty and other foreshore features (CP1), and two more at intervals south of the jetty along the higher ground above the foreshore (CP2 and CP3). The total station data was then processed using surveying software (LISCAD 11.1).

Attempts were also made to reproduce historical photographs of the Little Jetty and Old Village, including the shearing shed and living quarters. In addition, the northernmost catchment on the island was visited to photograph, position and draw a mud map of the extant structure.

5.4.3 Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula

Places around Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula were surveyed with community members. Information recorded included place names, the activities that occurred at each place and the people who were involved in those activities. In addition, GPS positions and photographs of places were taken, and any material culture was noted.

5.4.3.1 'Seeing the land from the sea' survey

On one day the coastline around Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula, from Port Victoria/Dharlidiwarldu to Dead Man's Island/Mungari, as well as the entire Wardang Island/Waraldi coastline were traversed by boat. During this trip, GPS positions and photographs were taken while on-board of places identified and discussed around the coast and islands (Figures 19–20).



Figure 19 Lindsay Sansbury and M. Fowler discussing places while travelling around the Point Pearce/Burgiyana coastline by boat (photograph by J. Mushynsky 26/11/13).



Figure 20 Fred Graham and M. Fowler recording oral histories while at sea (photograph by J. Mushynsky 26/11/13).

This approach was used to investigate the concept of ‘seeing land from the sea’ described previously as a method utilised in both maritime cultural landscape and seascape studies (detailed aspects of the ‘land from the sea’ approach are provided in Fowler et al. [2015 in prep]).

5.4.3.2 Coastal surveys

Several places along the Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula coastline, which had been previously visited to record oral histories, were returned to in order to conduct more detailed archaeological recording including photography and mapping. A field walking survey to locate material culture was also conducted over Dead Man’s Island/Mungari, accessed from the mainland at low tide. In addition, The Creek/Wingara, and several soaks, wells and tanks were visited with the elders to again, position them with the GPS, photograph the remaining fabric and record oral histories (Figure 21). Some of these latter sites were places that were not immediately connected with Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana’s maritime cultural landscape, however were suggested as important places to document by the elders.



Figure 21 J. Russ pointing to a bottle found at the most inland tank at Gagadhi, facing east (photograph by K. Bennett 28/2/14).

5.4.3.3 Underwater surveys

A snorkel survey was conducted at Boys Point/Gunganya warda in order to address the aim of recording tangible maritime cultural heritage. This location was indicated through many oral history interviews as an area of intense and prolonged maritime activity, and therefore most likely for locating shipwreck remains which would contribute to the aim of developing a typology of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana vessels. Several cultural objects were visible above the surface and these were recorded and positioned on foot (Figure 22). A swim-line snorkel survey was used with between three and four snorkelers spaced approximately 10 m apart along a rope buoyed with dive flags at each end (Figure 23). The visibility was such that the snorkelers could see each other at this spacing.



Figure 22 M. Fowler recording the position of a metal post visible above the water in the intertidal zone, Boys Point/Gunganya warda (photograph by J. Naumann 26/2/14).

When material culture was located, it was buoyed to return to later with an underwater camera (Olympus Tough TG-1 with Olympus Tough PT-053 waterproof housing), GPS in a waterproof pouch and measuring equipment. Where significant areas of cultural materials were identified at depth (deeper than 2 m) it was returned to with SCUBA equipment to be recorded in detail using photography and measuring equipment (Figure 24) to produce a detailed site plan. All safety equipment and procedures followed the university's Diving Policy.



Figure 23 J. Russ, M. Fowler and A. Berry embarking on a snorkel survey at Boys Point/Gunganya warda (photograph by J. Naumann 26/2/14).



Figure 24 K. Bennett measuring the stem of the most significant underwater find at Boys Point/Gunganya warda, the remains of a fishing boat (27/2/14).

5.5 Archival research

A number of avenues were pursued during archival research including primary sources such as newspapers, mission records and photographic collections, as well as secondary sources. Written material is lacking for maritime activities, particularly of the everyday kind and in comparison to its terrestrial counterpart (Westerdahl 2011b:338). The maritime sphere has generally been under-communicated in official

source material and secondary literature and has been termed subhistorical (Westerdahl 2003:24, 2011b:338). At Point Pearce/Burkiyana, independent fishing is barely mentioned compared to the mission's agricultural activities. Reasons for this are the general difficulties that were found in applying measures of control in the same way as inland methods (Westerdahl 2008b:226, 2011b:338). Westerdahl (2011b:338) suggests maritime activities are lacking in written records, annals, registers and narratives because the people who practiced them were employed in multiple industries. This is the case at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, where those participating in the maritime industry were also employed in other activities, specifically agriculture.

5.5.1 Newspapers

The Trove database of the National Library of Australia was searched for historical newspapers relating to maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana in order to expand its maritime history using contemporary, primary sources. The keyword searches comprised types of watercraft ('boat', 'ship', 'dingy/dinghy', 'motor launch', 'barge', 'canoe'), common place names ('Point Pearce/Peirce/Pierce', 'Wardang', 'Goose', 'Green/Greenie', 'Dead Man's'), known vessel names ('*Narungga/Narrunga*', '*Moorara*', '*Silver Cloud*') and other general aspects relating to maritime activities ('jetty/jetties', 'sail', 'fish', 'net', 'mooring', 'anchor', 'island'). Results included news items specifically discussing Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, as well as more general non-Indigenous news from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and Wardang Island/Waraldi where Aboriginal people from the mission are mentioned in passing. The relevant findings were then compiled and used to create a timeline according to news items, which were found to be valuable for fixing vessels, people and activities in time—a trend also identified by Paterson (2003:62) who found historical sources to be 'temporally precise and spatially inexact'.

5.5.2 State Records of South Australia

State Records of South Australia (SRSA) holds many sources relating to Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and it was not possible to exhaust the collection. As such, those consignments that seemed most likely to relate to maritime activities, and those with earlier dates, were consulted first. One primary agency was viewed, 'GRG52

Aborigines' Office and successor agencies'. The majority of this series is open access, and research began with these files, being ordered directly through the online database and viewed at the research centre at Gepps Cross, Adelaide.

One of the major series within the Aborigines' Office and successor agencies is GRG52/1, Correspondence files, which has had a restriction placed on it by the Attorney-General because it contains sensitive material. A CD-ROM is available at State Records to view the consignments in this series in an Excel format, which allowed for searching. Keyword searches were the same as those listed for the historical newspaper search and a list of items of interest was created. This list was then provided—with Narungga organisation consent—to the Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation Division to approve viewing of the files. For a full list of files examined at State Records, see Appendix 10.5. Notes were made of items of interest found within the archival documents and these were compiled into a chronological timeline, which again contributed to providing dates. Selected items were photographed to be able to return to later.

5.5.3 Photographic collections

Photographic collections, such as the Marjorie Alice Angas collection (AA676), held at the South Australian Museum Archives were viewed. I also requested and received permission to access the Dr Doreen Kartinyeri Collection held by South Australian Native Title Services. In addition, I accessed the photographic collection at the Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre (see section 5.5.5). These collections featured some images relating to maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana, and permission to reproduce some of these images was obtained. Local, non-Indigenous Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda farmer, Stuart Moody, also provided photographs from his collection of the Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu area, some of which are published in his 2012 book *Port Victoria's Ships and Shipwrecks*, and others which were unpublished. The collection of the National Museum of Australia was also searched via their online database, and photographs were requested and have been reproduced with permission.

5.5.4 Port Victoria Maritime Museum

The Port Victoria Maritime Museum, Main Street, Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, was visited to view aspects of their collection relating to Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana

and Wardang Island/Waraldi. It includes photographic and text displays, which mention Narungga toponyms and ‘Dreamings’, as well as an encased display of chisels and scrapers from D.L. Hill’s collection used to illustrate the pre-contact way of life of Narungga people. Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana is briefly mentioned, however the majority of content on Wardang Island/Waraldi focuses on the B.H.P. mining activities. Many objects on display were salvaged from shipwrecks around Wardang Island/Waraldi, including *Moorara* (1975), owned by Point Pearce/Burgiyana for a time. Their register was also viewed to gain further information about some objects held in their collection, such as accession dates, and photographs were taken for later viewing.

5.5.5 Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre

The Point Pearce Aboriginal School ‘Cultural Centre’, located at the school on Parry’s Terrace, Point Pearce/Burgiyana, was visited. Although many photographs and documents in their possession are not catalogued, and many have no accompanying contextual information such as date, place or names of individuals, the items were viewed as systematically as possible to ensure nothing was missed. In addition, other photographic displays at the school, primarily in the administration building, were viewed. Photographs of relevant items were taken for later viewing.

5.5.6 South Australian Museum Archives

The South Australian Museum Archives online database was searched for collections relating to maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. In addition to the photographic collections aforementioned, it returned many results within the collection of the Board for Anthropological Research series of ‘Children’s crayon drawings relating to the Harvard and Adelaide Universities Anthropological expedition to South Australia, New South Wales, Queensland, Cape Barren Island, Tasmania and Western Australia, 1938–1939’ (AA346/18). This collection contains 91 crayon drawings made by children at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana in 1939 and many include depictions of watercraft. These crayon drawings were then requested and viewed at the South Australian Museum. They also formed the basis of the aforementioned exhibition (Roberts et al. 2014).

The crayon drawings were analysed using the framework developed by Wesley et al. (2012), which they borrowed from Gibbs (2006), which lists distinctive

technological elements, features and attributes of each watercraft. This framework was devised for interpreting maritime rock art, however is directly transferable to maritime crayon drawings. As photographing the crayon drawings was not permitted, the analysis occurred at the reading room of the archives, using a preformatted database listing the elements, features and attributes on one axis, as well as colour, description and interpretation of the motifs, and the identified artists on the other axis. This allowed for a simple check box in the column if an element, feature or attribute was present on the motif. General publications on the construction, structure, equipment, machinery and rigging of sailing vessels and steamships were used to assist in identifying these elements (e.g. Paasch 1885; Svensson 1983). This analysis addresses the aims of recording cognitive and intangible heritage, as per the cognitive/toponymical facet of Westerdahl's (2008b, 2011b) framework, and foregrounds Indigenous knowledge of the maritime industry.

5.5.7 Secondary sources

Secondary sources including books on the history of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda and publically available genealogies, primarily Kartinyeri's (2002) genealogy of families with connections to Point Pearce/Burgiyana, were accessed through Flinders University Library. The *Narungga Nation* genealogy was compiled using archival sources, published material, consultations and field-work (Kartinyeri 2002:2). Several members of the Narungga community have also published important works including Graham and Graham's (1987) family-oriented history of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana from 1911 to 1987 and Wanganeen's (1987) compilation of research—written, oral and photographic material—conducted by the Narrunga Community College. The Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association (2006) has also conducted linguistic and toponymic research, an outcome of which is the compilation *Nharungga Warra: Narungga Dictionary*. Additionally, books featuring Narungga biographies include Gallagher (1992) and O'Brien and Gale (2007).

Well-known local histories written by non-Indigenous authors which feature the maritime industry include Heinrich's (1976) *Wide Sails and Wheat Stacks*, on Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and the Hundred of Wauraltee, and Neumann's (1983) *Salt Winds Across Barley Plains*, a history of 100 years of local government in Central

Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda. Both of these are centennial publications celebrating non-Indigenous proclamations of townships, councils and colonial boundaries. In addition, the shipwrecks around Wardang Island/Waraldi have been documented by the State Heritage Branch (1991)—published as a maritime heritage trail—and the Society for Underwater Historical Research (1983) that publish the location and identity of each of the wreck sites. Moody's (2012) recent publication provides a detailed account of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu's maritime past from 1839 to post-1949.

5.6 Conclusions

The data collection for this research did not follow a strict schedule of sequential tasks. Instead, oral history interviews, archaeological field-work and archival research were conducted throughout this project. While I initially did not consciously make this decision, following the first two interviews (November 2012 and February 2013), the first field-work session (February 2013) and limited archival research it became evident that each data type was informing my strategies when collecting the other types of data. For example, to open the first record book at the archives without knowing the names of significant Point Pearce/Burgiyana families would have been futile. It was during the second field-trip that the data became more cohesive and patterns and themes started to emerge. Collaboration with the community throughout the research, particularly through oral histories and on 'Country' recording—in addition to offshoot projects such as co-authored journal articles and a co-curated exhibition—has allowed the project to be more widely known and understood, as well as accepted and 'owned' by the broader Narungga and Point Pearce/Burgiyana communities (Roberts et al. 2014:27). These practical aspects reinforce the community-based, collaborative theoretical underpinnings of this research.

Oral history interviews, archaeological surveys and archival research—which include place names, cartographic material and iconography—are the methods I have used to investigate the Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana maritime cultural landscape, as proposed by the maritime cultural landscape framework. Adopting these methods allows this study to examine whether such a framework is suitable for Indigenous historical contexts. In addition, many aspects of these methods foreground Indigenous perspectives and contributions to Australia's maritime sphere.

There's a whole range of history of Aboriginal peoples, Narungga peoples, using particular boats throughout the entire timeframe of the colonial period, of the mission being established; in navigating this area ... they knew exactly the underwatercape, as well as the seascape, as well as the landscape (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

6 RESULTS

Through the connection to sea and land, Narungga people relied on the sea for fishing, enjoyment and food sustainability (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). Both cultural continuity and cross-cultural entanglement are evident in the outcomes of this study. The results of the collection of oral histories, archaeological investigations and archival research are presented forthwith in the 11 facets of the maritime cultural landscape outlined in Chapter 2. The first of these is the ritual/cultic landscape, which introduces Narungga peoples' deep cultural engagement with their maritime landscape.

6.1 Ritual/cultic landscape

6.1.1 'Dreaming'—first fires

Maritime themes feature in the 'Dreamings' of Narungga people, or 'first fires', through seas, islands and coasts as settings for 'Dreaming' stories, as well as marine animals playing roles in such stories. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) describes first fires as:

The really, really old stories, that are older than the pyramids. It's important that you understand that Badhara and Ngarna and Gurada are all first fire stories, or 'Dreaming' stories, of the old, old people [Figure 25].

Maritime knowledge, skills and seapersonship are transferred to the next generation from the historical reservoir of Narungga people (int. Rigney 18/7/13). Rigney (int. 18/7/13) makes it clear that Narungga people’s maritime knowledge extends significantly further into the past than the historical establishment of the mission on the coast.

Our maritime knowledges and skills are transferred from that historical reservoir as a Narungga people, not necessarily as a product of colonial intervention by putting our mission close to the sea (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

Wardang Island/Waraldi and its connection to other parts of the peninsula is also a significant part of the ‘Dreamtime’ stories (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).



Figure 25 Sign at Badhara’s Rock (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

6.1.1.1 *Creation of the gulfs*

As discussed in the historical background, one aspect of Narungga ‘Dreaming’ is the story of how the gulfs were created. This subject was raised during this investigation into the Narungga maritime cultural landscape by Rigney (int. 18/7/13) who described the creation of Spencer Gulf—or ‘what they call Spencer’—as a kangaroo that dug with a kangaroo bone deep into the soils and water rose up. A lengthy account of this story is reproduced by Smith (2003:168–172), portions of which are given here:

One day the kangaroo, the emu, and the willy-wagtail were sitting on the seashore between Cape Spencer and Port Lincoln. The emu wandered away from his companions, and found a leg-bone of a huge kangaroo ... The emu led the kangaroo and the willy-wagtail to the spot, and they dug and dug until they found the other bones. The bones were lying pointing in a straight line toward Port Augusta. The kangaroo took up the bone that the emu had discovered and probed the ground with it ... Ever since that memorable time, when the kangaroo made Spencer's Gulf with the aid of his magic bone, birds have displayed no selfishness.

Rigney (int. 18/7/13) describes the maritime cultural landscape of first fires:

We know Wardang as not necessarily an island. So, we have stories that go back to when this particular part of Yorke Peninsula is joined on to Eyre Peninsula, when there was land in between ... So we have histories that tie us right back to that time.

Similarly, Rigney (int. 18/7/13) notes that Gulf of St Vincent was also land, allowing Narungga to walk across to visit Kaurna. J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) also said that 'the story is that you could walk, you know, the shorelines have receded'.

6.1.1.2 *Badhara*

The most well-known 'Dreaming' of the Narungga people is that of Badhara (see Graham and Graham 1987; Hill and Hill 1975; Smith 2003:341–342; Tindale 1936). These stories, transferred through oral tradition, are retold in different versions, which may serve different purposes in Narungga culture; Graham (int. 25/2/13) says, 'there's a lot of stories around'. Similarities can be seen with Ngarrindjeri peoples whose stories are layered with meanings; tales for children are given deeper meanings when the time is considered right by their elders (Bell 2008:26). Stories also provide a framework for thinking about the future (Bell 2008:12). The 'Dreaming' of Badhara is described by Graham and Graham (1987:53) thus:

In the time of the Ancestors, a man called Buthera threw a rock from Middle Fence, right over to the Point there, to Boy's Point. When this rock landed, it split the land and lots of bits flew off and made the Islands: Wardang Island, Green Island, Goose Island and Moongerie Island, which we call Dead Man's Island.

Graham (int. 27/11/13) also told the 'Dreaming' story of Badhara while on 'Country' at Badhara's Rock:

Many years ago ... this is this story, about Badhara's Rock, what I can make out of it. This old Aboriginal and his wife had an argument on Middle Fence, so he got the waddy and he threw it at her. And he threw it from there to here, and the head's come here and the handle is back over Middle Fence. So that is the story of Badhara's Rock. Came here with the two old people arguing, Aboriginal people, he threw the waddy at her. And that is what is called Badhara's Rock now days. That's the story been going for years, that is the story of Badhara's Rock.

Badhara's Rock is the location of the *waddy* head from the 'Dreaming' story (Figure 26).



Figure 26 Badhara's Rock (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

6.1.1.3 *Birdumarda*

Other spiritual aspects of Narungga culture reoccur within a maritime setting, for example the story told by Graham shortly which features the Birdumarda (int. 19/2/13). Graham and Graham (1987:59) describe the Burltumaster (Birdumarda):

He's like a bat. You'd only hear him in the night, not the day, and one or two old people on the Mission used to go out and talk to him. He used to sing out like a fox. He used to bring them news from where they'd come from up the north. Might be sad news or bad. That was when we were young.

Birdumarda is further defined by NAPA (2006:23) as a bat-like being or spirit that lives in trees. In Graham's (int. 19/2/13) story, the Birdumarda visited him on Wardang Island/Waraldi:

So me and this old bloke John Stuart³⁴, we went over to the island for rabbiting so we went in the old sailing boat across to the island ... this wasn't the Narrunga, this was different, just an old one. So we get there, first night we go to bed. And then about two or three o'clock in the morning we hear these footsteps walking up and down. Now remember there was no one else on the island. Only me and him. So I don't know where the footsteps come from. But he comes right up to the door, you can hear him, and then walks away. So the next morning. Now I got to tell you something. The old people don't tell you nothing. Old Aboriginals, you got to find all these things out yourself. They don't sit down and talk to you, tell you what's, so you got to find out. So next morning the old bloke said to me, 'Did you hear 'em?' I said, 'Yes, I heard them', I said, 'I thought my hair, in those days I had curly hair, I said, 'I heard 'em.' He said, 'That was them walking last night.' Fair enough. Next night we go to bed again, then the woodcutting started. Axe chopping wood. Next morning the same thing happened. He said, 'Did you hear them last night?' He didn't explain anything to you just so, and that's the only words he said, 'Did you hear 'em?' I said, 'Did I hear them?' I said, 'I heard them all right.' Here's the best part. Me and him packed up that day, out from the island and we walked to the end of the island and on the island there's the catchments for sheep so we slept at the catchment the third night, here's the best one, you can believe it or not. There's a bird and it's called a Birdumarda and he's an Aboriginal bird. And he comes that night and he's screaming and flapping all over the place. I was watching and the old bloke said to me next morning. He said, 'Someone died.' I said, 'How do you know?' And that's all he said to me, he said 'Someone died.' Next morning, so next morning we see a boat coming round the Point over here and it was my uncle come over. My grandmother died that night. That is true as I'm sitting here. He said someone died. But they never explained anything to you. All he said to me in the three nights. 'Did you hear it?' Or 'Did you see it.' Never explained what it. And you don't ask bloody questions. No, you don't.

6.1.1.4 Gurada/shark

There was a little group of fishermen who had a small fish which they wrapped in bark and they sent this fish out to sea to bring back fish for this get-together. The men called out for the fish to come back. This it did, but it had out-grown its bark wrappings. New bark had to be tied back to the fish, and it was sent out again, and also recalled again.

The bark was too small and had to be replaced by a new and bigger piece of bark as the

³⁴ John Huntley Stuart, born 1898 (Kartinyeri 2002:229).

fish grew bigger and bigger. So it went on, as the fish got bigger so a bigger piece of bark was placed on the fish. The last time it came back it was the biggest fish they had ever seen, and with the biggest teeth. When it opened its mouth at them it was the shark. They all jumped back, and called out ‘*bucha*’³⁵ (oral history of Gladys Elphick published in Wanganeen [1987:4]).

Rigney (2002:xi) states this story is a prophecy of the arrival and subsequent ‘contact’ of foreigners (“white’ danger’) from the sea. The shark features in Narungga ‘Dreaming’ stories and is discussed often in anecdotal accounts. Graham (int. 26/11/13) recalled a story of Big Fred, a great white shark (*Carcharodon carcharias*) while on sea ‘Country’:

Many years ago, when I was about 17, and his name was Big Fred, and he used to patrol the bay here and then down the bottom and go to Ardrossan and back. So one day me and my uncle and my brother was over here, Redbank, see there’s Redbank [Figure 27]. See straight out from Redbank, we was doing garfishing in the dinghy and I was standing up near the front of the boat. Now, are you going to believe this or not? And so when we looked we see Big Fred coming. We was in this dinghy and next minute the seat what I was standing on in the front of the dinghy broke. Arse-over-head I went in the water, Big Fred swimming past, this is true. And I come up on the boat, I had tobacco and matches in my shirt, when I was smoking and that, and my back got wet but my front never got wet. I come back into the boat, don’t ask me how I done it. It was bloody frightening. Fell on my back in the water and then came straight back up. These things you can do when you’re frightened, but try to do it normal times there’s no way you can do it. Don’t you reckon? You can do a lot of things when you frightened.



Figure 27 Redbank viewed from the ocean, facing west (photograph by J. Mushynsky 26/11/13).

³⁵ The meaning of *bucha* in this instance is ‘something to be afraid of’ (Wanganeen 1987:4). NAPA (2006:14, 84) also records *ba*, an exclamation ‘look out’, and *yagga*, an exclamation of unpleasant surprise or fright.

6.1.1.5 *Nhudli gayinbara, butterfly people*

The butterfly fish is highly important to Narungga people; the term describes Narungga people themselves, the fish species and ‘Dreamings’ (Roberts et al. in prep). During an interview, Walker (int. 19/11/13) describes the Narungga people, ‘I remember, butterfly people and that they call us’. The *nhudli gayinbara* is the traditional fish, the butterfly, meaning the one with the bent tail (int. Rigney 18/7/13). Roberts et al. (in prep) state that the naming of butterfly fish also varies depending on its size and shape. It has also been described by Graham and Graham (1987:54):

The butterfly fish is the blackfella’s fish. White men call them strong fish. That’s our butterfly fish. That’s our delicacy.

There has, however, been confusion between the meaning of the term butterfly fish as used by Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples because the latter use the term butterfly fish to refer to Mulloway (*A. hololepidotus*), a different species to that of Narungga butterfly fish (Roberts et al. in prep). Butterfly fish have also been described as a totem fish (Roberts et al. in prep), similar to those discussed in Chapter 4.

Narungga use of marine resources and islands for subsistence occurred before contact and was relied on during the mission period. As stated by Roberts et al. (2014:28), ‘Narungga people are marine specialists with in-depth knowledge of their sea, coast and islands and all that they contain’. ‘Second fires’, discussed forthwith, draws on the reservoir of first fires knowledge of Narungga people. As Rigney (int. 18/7/13) stated, ‘the knowledgescape and the understanding of the land and seascape and seabedscape is very much drawing on ... the very, very first Narungga peoples fishing at this area’. Rigney’s (2002:x) understanding of ‘contact’ begins much earlier than the arrival of Europeans, commencing instead in first fires.

6.1.2 **Second fires**

A second subtitle of the ritual/cultic landscape, second fires, is a concept taken from an interview with Rigney (int. 18/7/13) where second fires are ‘the stories and the fires of our ancestors, telling stories after the ‘Dreaming’’. Aboriginal people also had a connection to other waters in and around Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, for example from Port Broughton and Hardwicke Bay on the west coast to Port Clinton, Black

Point/Gudliwardi and Stansbury on the east coast (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

Walker (int. 29/11/13) describes the significance of fishing in second fires:

If you're talking about the blackfella's ... fishing is part of our life. That was our tucker and that was our main ingredient before our wheat was grown ... before the sheep ... We are more sea people ... so we ate more the fish, the abalone, the oysters ... pennywinkles ... We made sure we just had enough to feed the tribe and that was it.

The coastline of what became Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana was part of the Narungga maritime cultural landscape prior to, and following, European contact, as demonstrated through archaeological evidence for marine resource subsistence in the area of Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula (Wood and Westell 1998a). Rigney (int. 18/7/13), however, makes it clear that Narungga peoples' deep attachment to, and sometimes focus on, Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, as just one place on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, is only a recent phenomenon due to Western intervention. The number of factors, discussed in the historical background, which resulted in Narungga people congregating at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, has made this land one of the most significant cultural places on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda. However, many other places on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda are also culturally significant and should not be ignored on the basis of Western histories creating an illusion that portrayed Aboriginal peoples as only located in specific geographic spaces, such as missions (Roberts et al. 2014:29). Narungga people also crossed to neighbouring islands, such as Wardang Island/Waraldi. These stories are told in several oral histories and are also synthesised by Roberts et al. (2013:81–82).

My grandfather told the story about when in the old days some people camped on a little island, Greeny Island. The old men would go over to Wardang Island, butterfishing. They'd swim across through the shallow water, and be back before the tide came in. One old lady this time was scared. She said, 'Don't go today, the shark might get you.' The man swam. He had a sore on his leg. He never came back (Graham and Graham 1987:58).

Irene Agius also recalls how the 'old people' used to get across to Wardang Island/Waraldi:

Now, with our ancestors, they used to make parts of the branches off the tree, walk out to Greenie, if they needed to cross the island, drag the branches with them, go from one island and keep walking while the tide was out. Then they had a channel to cross off

from, part way off from Greenie to Wardang Island. You had strong men each side of the channel and strong men to help cart the old ladies and old men over to Wardang Island. And by having the strong men up each end of it, two three strong men up each end of the channel, they were facing opposite end to each other and they would wave their branches so to distract the sharks from coming to take the, take them. And that's how they crossed to Wardang Island (Wood and Westell 1998b:18–19).

Hill and Hill (1975:38) also note that it was almost possible to walk from the tip of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula to Wardang Island/Waraldi at low tide, only having to swim across one short but deep channel (the accuracy of this is considered further in the discussion chapter). *The Advertiser* (1886:36) also mentions an individual, King Tommy, described by J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) as 'the fisherman of the south', who travelled to Wardang Island/Waraldi prior to and following contact:

His stories of travel were quite interesting. Before the whites settled on the Peninsula he has gone up the Murray for grasstree to light fires, and was never molested by the other natives. He has frequently swam to Wauraltee [Wardang] Island with a firestick in his hair. The distance is between 2 and 3 miles [3.22 and 4.83 km], but he would choose low tide for it, when he could occasionally rest on sandbars. We doubt if any of the young ones would do it, as they are too much frightened of sharks.

Graham (int. 26/11/13) said that after the 'old people' walked to Green Island they would tie their things on their back to swim to Wardang Island/Waraldi. In addition, it is recorded that Narungga people swam to Wardang Island/Waraldi in order to capture bandicoots (Cockburn 1984:235), although Black (1920:88) states Narungga visited Wardang Island/Waraldi to get fish and penguins' eggs:

When crossing to Wardang Island the blacks would wade out to [muzari] and swam the rest of the distance. Mrs. Newchurch's grandfather and grandmother told her that while the swimmers were in the water the old men sat along the shore and sang an incantation to keep the sharks away. No one was allowed to move until the party landed on the island. When ready to return they made a signal across the water and the singing began again.

6.2 Cognitive/toponymical landscape

6.2.1 Coastal toponyms

In an oral history collected by Norman Tindale in 1935, his informant Louisa Eglinton stated, ‘my people never named the inland places, only those near the coast’ (Kartinyeri 2002:8; Tindale 1936:57). This has been interpreted by other archaeologists as ‘reflecting a preference, or at least a higher significance placed on the coastal areas by the Narungga people’ (Wood and Westell 1998a:20). Archaeological evidence appears to support this, although inland Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda is subject to freehold title under Western law and therefore difficult to access and is less researched. Also, it has been intensively farmed (Amy Roberts pers. comm. 1/5/15). The results of carbon isotope analysis of bone fragments from 15 individuals by the South Australian Museum (2013) indicated that terrestrial foods were consumed in a higher than expected quantity by Narungga people, although this unpublished research is difficult to assess without further information and data (Mollenmans 2014:53).

The following maps (Figures 28–31) feature the names of places around Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula sourced through existing Western (Chief Surveyor 1990; Heinrich 1976:14; Neumann 1983:27; Society for Underwater Historical Research 1983:4; State Heritage Branch 1991) and Narungga (Graham and Graham 1987; NAPA 2006) maps, as well as additional places that were discussed in oral history interviews or visited during on ‘Country’ story-trekking. The naming of some places is the same on both Western and Indigenous maps, however in some instances they differ. In addition, place names on Western maps are more numerous around Wardang Island/Waraldi in comparison to Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula. This can be explained due to the more frequent use of Wardang Island/Waraldi by non-Indigenous peoples in comparison to their visitation to Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula. It must also be noted that oral histories and on ‘Country’ story-trekking only occurred with Aboriginal people and therefore any local non-Indigenous place names not officially recorded on existing maps were not accessed through this study. It is therefore possible that non-Indigenous peoples used the same names as Aboriginal peoples or they have additional Western names. One example of a place that has had three names used by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is Dead Man’s Island/Mungari.

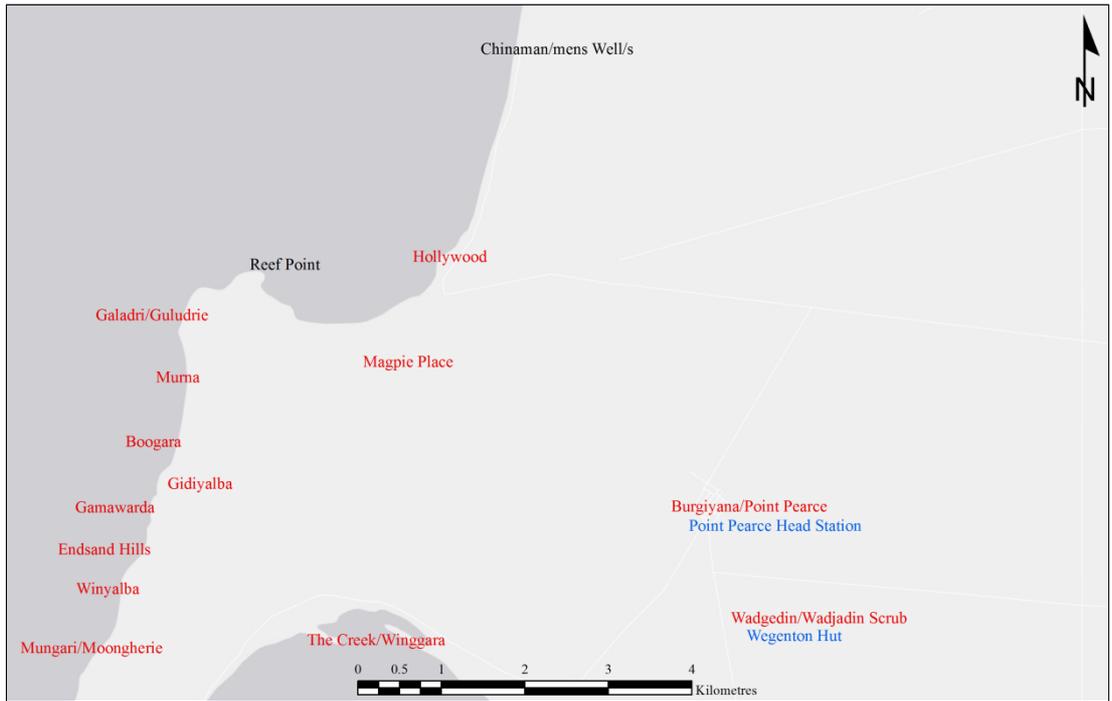


Figure 28 Map showing named places at the northern Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula collated from existing maps and oral history interviews. Red denotes Narungga names, blue denotes European names, black denotes names used by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and green denotes a name of unknown origin.



Figure 29 Map showing named places south of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana township.

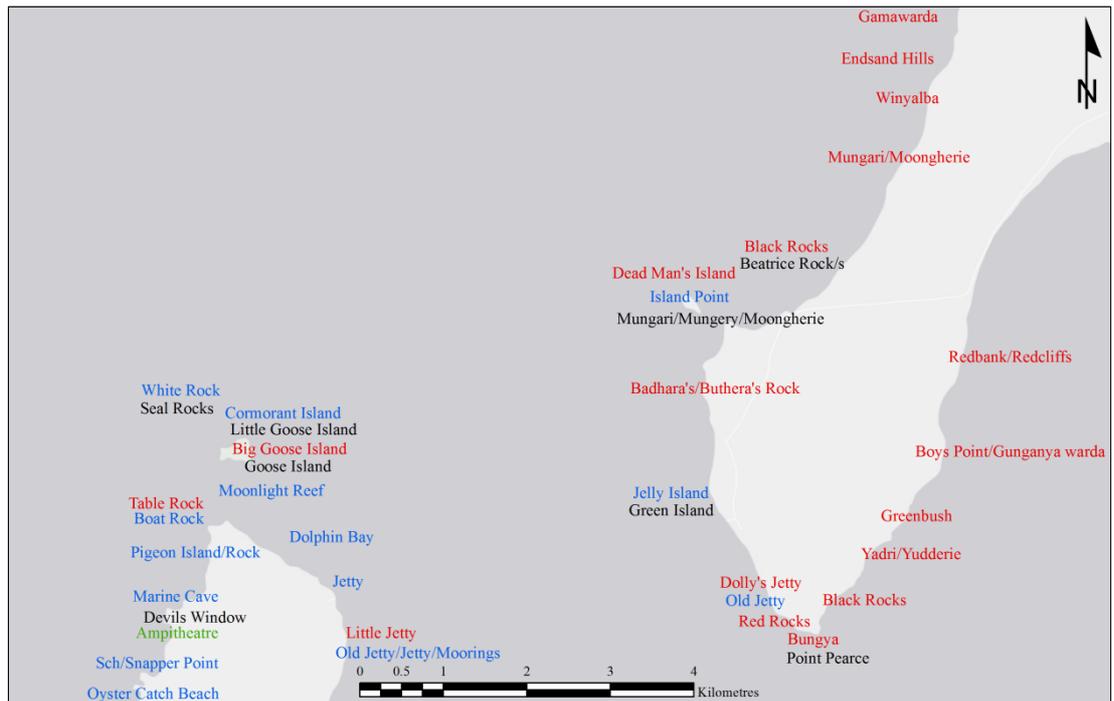


Figure 30 Map showing named places at the southern Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and northern Wardang Island/Waraldi.



Figure 31 Map showing named places at southern Wardang Island/Waraldi.

6.2.1.1 *Dead Man's Island/Mungari*

According to Graham (int. 26/11/13), the original name of Dead Man's Island/Mungari was Island Point. It has also been known as Mungari—also spelt Moongerie and Mungery (Graham and Graham 1987:57; GRG52/73/1; Roberts et al. in prep; *The Register* 1918b:11). Aboriginal oral history, mission archives and the local newspaper record the name changing to Dead Man's Island/Mungari, from diverse

perspectives. The first of these, which was written many years later, is the viewpoint of Cecil Graham³⁶:

One day my father [Fred Graham Snr³⁷] and I pulled the boat in to the shore on Moongerie Island and we were walking along the beach. Next minute he made me go back. I didn't know what happened, I was only about thirteen years old. He said 'You can go back now'. He must have seen this bloke lying there on the Island. It was a dead man all right. He was practically a skeleton, the sea lice had eaten him all away. They buried him on the Island, and there's a little cross there. He was a fisherman, by the name of Bert Hutchinson. Well, since that, they changed that name of the Island from Moongerie to Dead Man's Island [Figure 32] (Graham and Graham 1987:57).



Figure 32 Dead Man's Island/Mungari, facing west (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/14).

The mission superintendent gives a contemporary account, written on the day of discovering the body:

December 7: Fred Graham reported to me that he had found the body of Harold Albert Hutchinson on Mungery Island—I reported same to M.C. Hinton on telephone, who came out & we—with Graham—drove to Mungery Island inspected body & buried it—self reading prayers—a wooden cross was erected over grave (GRG52/73/1).

The event was also recorded in the newspaper at the time (*The Register* 1918b:11):

³⁶ Cecil Wallace Graham, born 1911 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:119, 179, 198, 204).

³⁷ Fred Graham Snr *Nukunu*, died 1977 (Kartinyeri 2002:198).

FISHERMAN'S FATE. PORT VICTORIA, December 12. —The body of the unfortunate fisherman Bert Hutchinson was washed up on Mungery Island (a small island on the west side of Point Pierce) on Saturday last—almost a fortnight after the occurrence. The body was found by Mr. Fred Graham, of the Point Pierce Mission Station, who informed Mr. F. Garnett (superintendent of the station). M.C. Hinton, of Port Victoria, was communicated with, and proceeded to the spot. It was deemed advisable to inter the body where it was found, and Mr. Garnett read the burial service. Messrs. B. Heynen and C. Erickson represented the Port Victoria fishermen, and several Point Pierce fishermen were also present. A small wooden cross³⁸ was erected. Mungery Island is close to where deceased had lived for a long while, and it was thought a fitting spot.

Finally, the story was also recollected during on 'Country' interviews by the grandson of Fred Graham Snr:

You know the story about Dead Man's, who found the body? Out at Dead Man's many years ago some bloke fell off one of the sailing ships, my dad found him, and that's why they call it. All the Aboriginals know it as Dead Man's but some 'white' people call it another name. He fell off one of the sailing ships and that's why it's called Dead Man's Island and he buried him there and that's the story of how Dead Man's got its name, someone fell off, you know, the big sailing boats (int. Graham 28/2/13).

Westerdahl (2011b:333) notes that place names can illustrate the international dimension of maritime culture and, while Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana is a local maritime culture, there are commonalities with name giving principles everywhere. The name Deadman's Island, for example, is found across Northern Europe (Westerdahl 2011b:333). The explanation for these place names is also comparable, usually relating to someone finding a corpse at the location (and therefore the possibility of shipwreck) or referring to the burial location of an anonymous drowned sailor (Westerdahl 2011b:333). Islands were used for such burials in Northern Europe because ghosts or haunting spirits were supposedly unable to cross water (Westerdahl 2011b:333). Often, the corpses of anonymous outsiders or dangerous evil-doers were buried in the liminal zone, so they could not walk the earth inland; drowned sailors are buried on islands as a special precaution (Westerdahl 2009a:320).

³⁸ This cross was not located during the field survey on Dead Man's Island/Mungari.

In this instance, however, it is more likely that the burial of the sailor was based on convenience rather than superstition, given it had been almost a fortnight since the fisherman went missing. Superstition around this island, however, may have begun after this event. Dead Man's Island/Mungari is also believed by Narungga people to have a colony of albino sleepy lizards, white lizards with pink eyes (int. Rigney 18/7/13). Sleepy lizards/*marawardi* feature in Narungga 'Dreaming' as well; the Ancestral Being, Ngarna, was turned into a sleepy lizard and remains so to the present day (Kartinyeri 2002:11).

6.2.2 Boat naming

A substantial aspect of maritime naming at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyyana is boat names, and while the boats themselves are described further in other aspects, their naming conventions are discussed here (Table 3). While a number of mission boats are mentioned in archival sources prior to 1900, the first named boat and perhaps the most significant boat name is *Narrunga*, named after the Narungga language group (Roberts et al. 2013:83). *Narrunga* has also been spelt *Narrungga*, *Narungga* and *Narunga* (Roberts et al. 2013:80). As noted in Roberts et al. (2013:83), the moment of naming is recorded by an early ethnographer, Francis James Gillen (in Mulvaney et al. 1997:436):

We are having a new boat built at the Station a small Schooner, and I have named it the *Narungga* [*Narrunga*] Much [sic] to the delight of the old men. It was like old times squatting in their Camp [sic] in the scrub and I am seriously thinking of putting in a week with them some day.

According to R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13), many Point Pearce Mission/Burgyyana boats had names, especially wooden boats, although, while some boats had names they were not necessarily written on the boat (int. Power 30/11/13). Boat names fall into two main categories: first, they were often dedicated to women in the community, particularly family members, and second, many names were humorous.

The barge *Lady Alma*, named after Point Pearce/Burgyyana woman Alma Power³⁹, is a more recent community vessel (int. Power 30/11/13). *Lady Alma* is a steel barge from Port Lincoln, 12 by 6 m, which broke its moorings in 1996 and came ashore

³⁹ Alma Kathleen Power (nee Taylor), born 1900 Port Lincoln, died 1986 Point Pearce/Burgyyana (Kartinyeri 2002:291).

north of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (Moody 2012:232). It was repaired in 1999 and continued to be used to transport heavy vehicles and machinery to Wardang Island/Waraldi (Figure 33) (Moody 2012:232). Students from Technical and Further Education (TAFE) undertook to repair the vessel in 2012 (Doug Milera pers. comm. 19/3/13).

Table 3 Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and other vessels discussed in the results (note individually-owned vessels are not listed).

Name	Earliest reference	Latest reference	Description	Association
<i>Narrunga</i>	Built 1903	Scuttled ca 1945	Ketch	Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana
<i>Annie Roslyn</i>	ca <i>Narrunga</i>	ca <i>Narrunga</i> , sold	Motor launch	Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana
<i>Moorara</i>	Built 1909	Sank 1975	Fore-and-aft schooner	Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu wheat trade, Wardang Island/Waraldi tourist venture, Point Pearce/Burgiyana
<i>Eva</i>	Built 1912, purchased 1915	Sold 1950	Launch	Point Pearce Station/Burgiyana
Unnamed	1928	1949	Launch	Point Pearce Station/Burgiyana
Unnamed	1931	1948	Barge	Point Pearce Station/Burgiyana
Unnamed	1936	1947	Dinghy	Point Pearce Station/Burgiyana
<i>Archie Badenoch</i>	Built 1942	2015	Launch and ferry	Further Education Department, Wardang Island/Waraldi
<i>Silver Cloud</i>	Built 1942	Sank 1974, re-floated, sold	Motor launch	B.H.P. Wardang Island/Waraldi, Wardang Island/Waraldi tourist venture, Point Pearce/Burgiyana activities on Wardang Island/Waraldi
<i>Silver Spray</i>	1944	1954	Supply launch	B.H.P. Wardang Island/Waraldi
<i>Playmate</i>	1946	1948	Tourist and pleasure launch	Wardang Island/Waraldi tourist venture
Reef Runner	ca 1970s		Motor vessel	Education Department, Wardang Island/Waraldi
Unnamed	1975	2000, buried	Steel barge	Wardang Island/Waraldi
<i>Lady Alma</i>	1996	2015	Steel barge	Point Pearce/Burgiyana activities on Wardang Island/Waraldi
Oyster boat		2015	Motor vessel	Point Pearce/Burgiyana

Peter Smith built *Rayleen Joy*, named after his wife, Narungga woman Rayleen Graham⁴⁰, which was likely sold to someone at Point Pearce/Burgiyana and is believed to have sunk at its moorings at Boys Point/Gunganya warda (int. Smith 29/11/13). The frame of it was still visible in the late 1990s or early 2000s and Peter Smith and his son Clayton (int. Smith 29/11/13) salvaged parts of the vessel (the keel

⁴⁰ Rayleen Smith (nee Graham), born 1945 (Kartinyeri 2002:119, 179, 188, 204).

according to a local newspaper [Rait 2002]) to reuse in the construction of another boat, *Doris May*, built between 1997 and 2002 and named after Rayleen's mother, Doris Graham⁴¹. *Doris May* now resides in Peter Smith's backyard in Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (int. Smith 29/11/13) and is a 20 ft (6.1 m) wooden cutter, built by eye (i.e. not using plans) (Rait 2002).



Figure 33 *Lady Alma* at the Big Jetty, Wardang Island/Waraldi, in 2004 (Moody 2012:232).

Power (int. 30/11/13) remembers one boat being called *Dolphin*. L. Newchurch's (int. 29/11/13) boat was named HMAS *Sinker*, because he had to keep pumping water out of the engine. Wellesley Sansbury's⁴² boat was named *Axe* because it was a big, narrow-decked sailing boat, 'a long skinny boat' (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13). One boat, owned by Irvine Wanganeen⁴³, was nicknamed *Tipsy Cake*, although that was not its proper name (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13). Another, which may have also been Wellesley Sansbury's, was named *Rock 'n' Roll*, because of its big girth and the way it would rock and roll through rough weather (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). In addition to place names and boat names, another aspect of maritime nomenclature at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana is the naming of fishing marks and drops.

⁴¹ Doris May Graham (nee Edwards), born 1912 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:119, 179, 204).

⁴² Wellesley Sansbury, born 1931 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1988 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:134, 230, 241, 346).

⁴³ Irvine McKenzie Wanganeen Snr, born 1925 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1987 Adelaide, or Irvine McKenzie Wanganeen Jnr, born 1948 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:184, 201, 276, 318, 383).

6.2.3 Fishing drop toponyms

Transit lines were never written down, they were all remembered (int. Power 30/11/13) and then passed down from older fishermen to their sons or family members (int. Walker 19/11/13). Often, fishermen would work the ground, drifting in the general area of a mark and then as soon the fish started biting they would look at the landmark straight away to create a visual transit and be able to return to that spot again (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). There are also four drops to the west of Wardang Island/Waraldi, which are out of sight of land (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). The physical aspect of seamarks in creating transit lines is discussed later (see section 6.3.2).

Some of the well-known fishing drops are called Fords⁴⁴, Pollys and Messengers (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). It has been recorded in oral histories collected from C. O’Loughlin for the ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’ that *Narrunga* was taken to be scuttled in deep water off Wardang Island/Waraldi by Jimmy Messenger, who worked for B.H.P. (Roberts et al. 2013:88). It was loaded with dump trucks from the mining activities on Wardang Island/Waraldi to aid in its sinking (Roberts et al. 2013:89). Reasons for being unable to (re)locate *Narrunga* using side-scan sonar and magnetometry are given by Roberts et al. (2013:94–96).

Moonta/Munda Hole is one fishing drop located along the reef that runs beside the sand hills on the west coast of the peninsula, around Hollywood, and is where some boats were moored (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Garfield drop was named after Garfield Smith⁴⁵ who found the rocky spot amongst the wireweed (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Another drop was called Starvation drop because Wellesley Sansbury would use it when he needed to cover his fuel, milk and bread costs (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). C. O’Loughlin (int. 25/2/13), while on ‘Country’ at the Old Village, recalled another fishing drop. This drop is called The Gardens where fish gather in the corkweed (*Scaberia agardii*) (int. O’Loughlin 25/2/13). Graham (int. 28/2/13) also had a drop near the Old Village called The Strip, which lined up a shed that used to be on the island with the jetty and a bush. Cave drop is located on the

⁴⁴ Escott Ford, of Moonta/Munda, had been a fisherman in the waters around Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for many years when he went missing at sea in March 1945 (*The News* 1945:3). He had a hut on Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana land, and following his disappearance his fishing business was sold to Gordon Cave (GRG52/1/120/1940).

⁴⁵ Stanley Garfield Henry Smith, born 1922 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1964 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:126–127, 241, 279, 405, 415).

western side of Wardang Island/Waraldi and Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) remembers a non-Aboriginal fisherman taking the mark off them while fishing there. Lyle (int. 30/11/13) suggests that all the tourists are ‘little parasites here, watching’. Knowledge and the toponymy of fishing grounds reveals that such places are named and ‘owned’ by the Point Pearce/Burkiyana community (Fowler et al. 2014:18)⁴⁶. Those named here are, of course, only a selection.

6.2.4 Crayon drawings

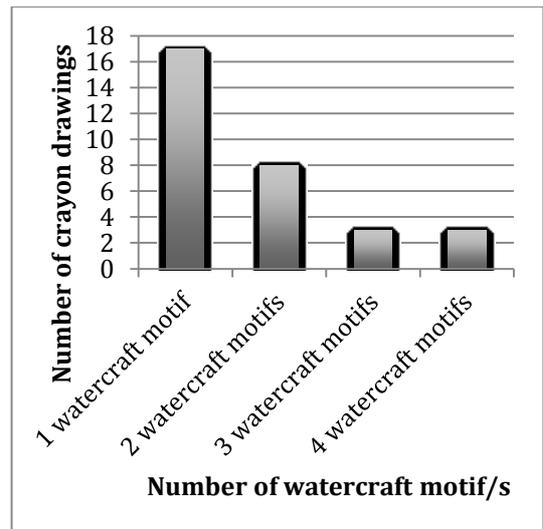
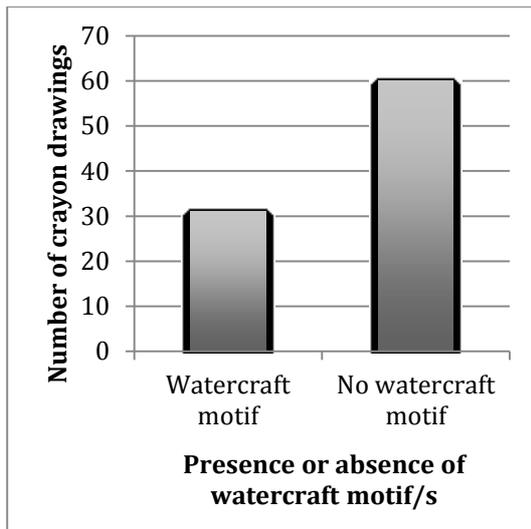
A second element to the cognitive maritime landscape at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, which is unrelated to toponymy, is the series of crayon drawings, as previously mentioned. Children’s experiences of the maritime cultural landscape are often silenced in historical documents (Roberts et al. 2014:24). The crayon drawings viewed and analysed allow the voices of children experiencing maritime activities at missions to be heard and privileged (Roberts et al. 2014:24). The only reference to the collection of the drawings at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana located in the archives was found in Dorothy Tindale’s journal (AA338/2/35/5):

The kiddies look healthy and there are some very nice homes here ... About 42 children were tested and all did drawings

Therefore, the motivations of the children at the time are unable to be contextualised (Roberts et al. 2014:25), although it is true that ‘the ship is a common and seemingly much loved pictorial category in various contexts’ (Westerdahl 2013:337). Of the 91 crayon drawings, 31 contain depictions of maritime vessels (Figure 34); 54 individual motifs across the 31 drawings (Figure 35) is due to some illustrating more than one watercraft, as can be seen in Figure 36, although the majority portrayed a single ship or boat image. Most drawings that feature ships and boats were drawn by boys at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, with only two being drawn by girls, Pearl Pearce and Leila⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Several other place names were recorded during on ‘Country’ interviews, although not related to the maritime landscape. Two dams are located on either side of the road on the approach to Point Pearce/Burkiyana from the south. Spring Dam is located on the western side of the road, while Hughes Dam is located on the eastern side and was possibly named after Walter or his son Alf Hughes (int. C. O’Loughlin 25/11/13). Machinery located at Hughes Dam was owned by Edmund O’Loughlin, Kevin O’Loughlin’s father, and used for share farming in the early 1950s (int. C. O’Loughlin 25/11/13). Many other dams are present in the Point Pearce/Burkiyana landscape; however, they were not visited during on ‘Country’ field-work, as they were not of direct relevance to the maritime cultural landscape and beyond the scope of this research.

⁴⁷ No further information was available on these two girls in Kartinyeri (2002).



Figures 34–35 Presence and number of watercraft motif/s in crayon drawings.



Figure 36 Fred Graham, 'Red, white, yellow, blue, orange and brown drawing of two boats on water and an apple' (2 March 1939, grade 2, aged 6 years, crayon on paper, 36 x 53.5 cm) (South Australian Museum AA346/18/9/14).

The analysis revealed a range of vessel types and complexity of detail and style, which correlate to the age of the child, becoming more complex the older the child. Figure 37 summarises the specific technological elements, features and attributes of the watercraft, detailed further in Appendix 10.6. This includes 5 elements which are broad, more general categories, 7 features, and 30 attributes, specific details about construction (Wesley et al. 2012:260–261).

Where the analysis of an attribute was uncertain it was not included in the attribute count for that motif. All of the watercraft depictions demonstrate major structural elements, while most depict minor structural elements (43) and fixtures or fittings (51). No vessels depict cargo and contents elements, while only three vessels depict people. When looking at the next hierarchical level, features, those important to depicting watercraft become apparent. At this level, all 54 watercraft depict hull structure, suggesting this is the single characteristic necessary to produce a watercraft motif. This is closely followed by propulsion (43), chiefly the attribute masts (40), and rigging (48) primarily represented by sails (43). Therefore, in combination with hull structure, masts and sails are two further characteristics often used in the production of watercraft images. Superstructure (10) and auxiliary items (16) are also well-represented across the motifs, however internal structure is only depicted once and mechanical items are absent.

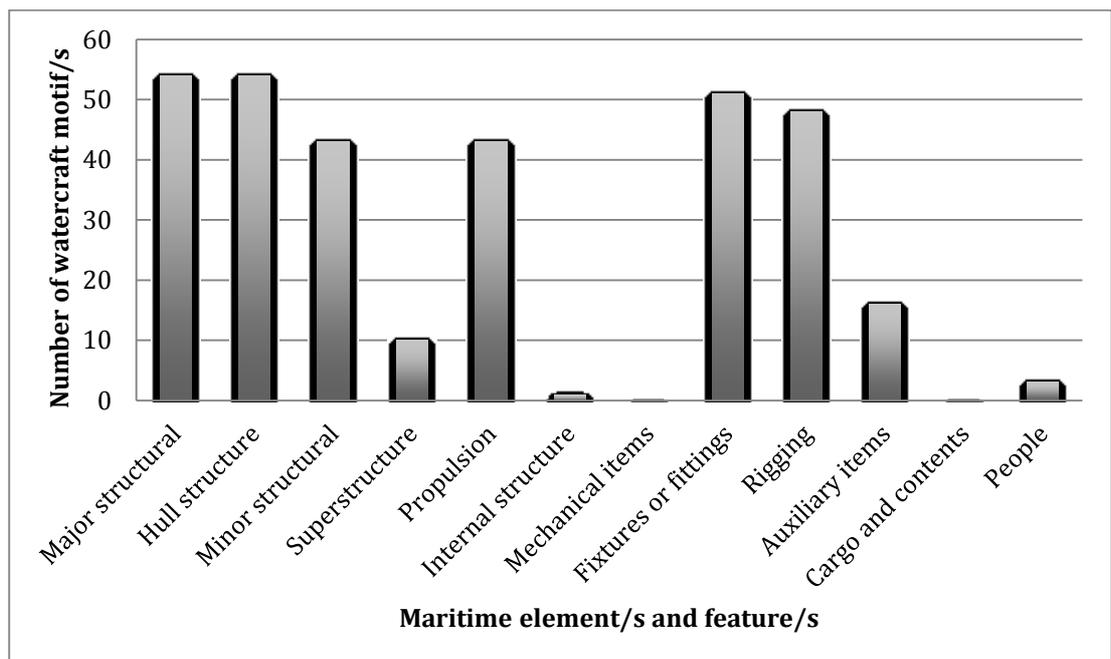


Figure 37 Distribution of elements and features in crayon drawings.

This can be interpreted again by the age of the artists. Children are seeing and probably travelling by watercraft, however it is unlikely they are operating them and therefore have little understanding of the mechanical workings of the vessel. In addition, the internal structure of the large sailing ships would not have been seen, children viewing these ships from a distance and most likely not going on-board themselves. Figure 38 illustrates the number of watercraft motifs with a certain

number of attributes. The maximum number of attributes present on a motif is 8, out of a total of 30, with the least number present being 1.

Analysis identified the specific type of vessel (i.e. schooner, ketch, ship) represented in the watercraft depictions; the level of identification correlating to its detail (Figure 39). The boat type relates to those drawings with only a hull shape and no mast. The number of masts and type of rigging portrayed on the ship type is unable to be identified due to the bow- or stern-on perspective taken by the artist. The incomplete vessel is a depiction where the artist ran out of space on the paper to complete the drawing.

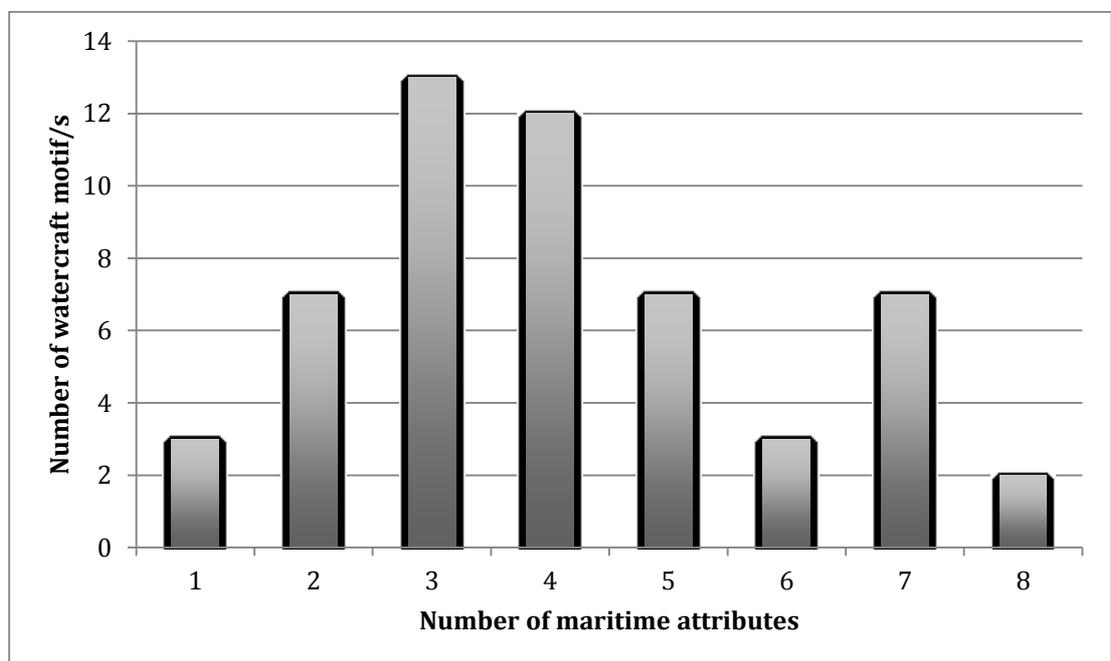


Figure 38 Presence of maritime attributes identified on each watercraft motif in crayon drawings.

In some cases, it was difficult to distinguish between a ketch and a schooner because the height of the masts is not clearly differentiated. Problems with identifying the type of vessel based on the relative height of the masts is a difficulty that Roberts (2004:27) also encountered in relation to the Mount Borradaile rock paintings, where the proportions were not always indicated clearly. Furthermore, it was very difficult to identify the type of rigging of the single-masted boats.

Evidently, children at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana were familiar with boats and ships, seeing and experiencing them often (Fowler et al. 2014:19). While some depictions show slight inaccuracies, others feature fine detail revealing an intimate knowledge of boat features. As Westerdahl (2014:133) suggests, an exceptional

appreciation of ship-related details could suggest a ‘culture-specific interest’ in ships. A study by McGrath (2015:13) argued that depictions of Western objects were still shaped by and grounded in Aboriginal worldviews, an argument that can similarly be made here.

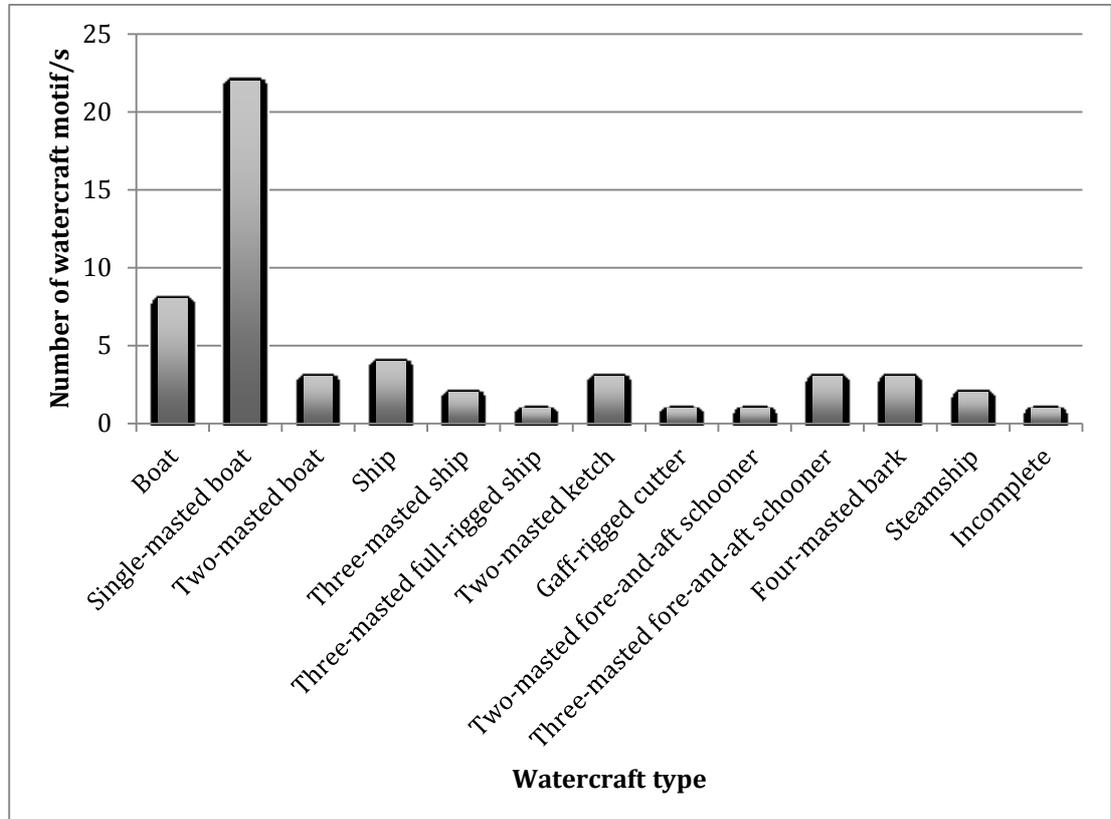


Figure 39 Number of each type of vessel identified in crayon drawings.

6.2.5 Island cognition: Wardang Island/Waraldi

Islands are beautiful places, they do things to us. They are seductive, they are romantic. They have an aura about them, their isolation, because not many people can get across (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

The final aspect of the cognitive landscape is the feelings relating to mobility and connectivity across seas and islands. The maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burigiya allowed for many opportunities for waterborne transport and travel. Memories of Wardang Island/Waraldi are numerous.

It was a working holiday I suppose. It was a lovely place, nothing modern, but we enjoyed it. You could see right through the big old windows, that we’d prop open with a stick. Wardang was a very nice Island ... But, like I said, Wardang was a wonderful place. There were fish and plenty to eat ... Fishing and rabbiting and swimming, that’s

what they're going over there now for. It's really restful over there (Graham and Graham 1987:53).

Wardang Island/Waraldi is strongly reflected in the cognitive maritime cultural landscape. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) explains that although Wardang Island/Waraldi is denuded of some of its natural vegetation and has been ravaged by rabbits, goats and sheep, it is still held as a beautiful location, the beaches are spoken of fondly; it is pristine with no noise and light pollution. Graham (int. 19/2/13) recalls it as 'a lovely place, Wardang Island, you know, beaches and shacks [houses in the B.H.P. Village] and them things that's there'. The permit system, described in the historical background, played a part in cognitive conceptions of Wardang Island/Waraldi:

On the island ... they had the freedom to go where they wanted to go. On Point Pearce they didn't have the freedom ... On the Point Pearce Mission you had to have permits to go to Adelaide, permits to come back. On the island, you had nothing. You could wander around ... freedom (int. Graham 19/2/13).

Graham (int. 26/2/13) had further recollections while on 'Country' at Wardang Island/Waraldi:

You know what we had here? I'll tell you what we had here: Enjoyment, of life. That's what we had here. We got away from all them things and we enjoyed life over Wardang; we did fishing, we worked, we done rabbiting, we done things and we was free persons, and that was the reason and the good luck we had on Wardang Island and away from all the stuff where you couldn't do this and you had to have permits for this. No doctors, no one to bring the kids into the world (and it went on and on). And as I said we had the freedom of mind over here, we done what we wanted. Run around the island. I've been over every inch of this island and I walked it, I run, and rabbit, I done all the things, I was free and then we were free persons.

As C. O'Loughlin (int. 26/2/13) stated, people were 'always happy to get off Point Pearce'. While you were 'still under the same sort of thing' as at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, Wardang Island/Waraldi provided a break, freedom and a refuge (int. Graham 26/2/13).

J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) explains this further, 'I think when you look at the old people and the early days of Point Pearce's settlement and Point Pearce, they didn't feel like they were locked up, even though there were permit systems and restrictions ... because it was self-sustained, because it was their own'. He states that Wardang

Island/Waraldi did not represent an aspect of freedom so much as a place of relaxation and spirituality.

Furthermore, religion governed the lives of the ‘old people’; their rules and morals were outstanding compared to today’s generation (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) explains that this relates to fishing, how the fishing was, how the working was and how Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples shared Wardang Island/Waraldi. In conclusion, Wardang Island/Waraldi is culturally, spiritually, linguistically and economically important for Narungga people because, as Rigney (int. 18/7/13) states, ‘it’s a part of our cultural progression and knowledge transmission’.

6.3 Topographic landscape

6.3.1 Seascapes

On a flat, calm day it’s just beautiful to watch ... like ballet to me it is (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

It’s the bottom of the sea, you don’t worry about anything else, you got to worry about that bottom. ‘It’s the most important thing, Lyle’, Wellesley Sansbury would say (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

The seascape is an important aspect of the maritime cultural landscape at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and traditional ecological knowledge can be seen in characteristics of the weather, the underwater landscape and the seasons, summed up by Power (int. 30/11/13) who states, ‘going fishing in them old boats ... learnt a lot about the weather and the sea and all that’. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) states that Wardang Island/Waraldi and Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula ‘give us landscapes and seascapes and places in which to maintain our cultural traditions and monitor our biosphere, all of our animals, flora and fauna’. While J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) states that ‘the blackfella adopted white man’s technology and modernisation’ with regards to netting:

They also used the seasons, they used the knowledge of the land, you know, of where their drops was, you know, they used the change in the weather, you know, all those things. So they knew, you know, what weather was good to fish and what weather was good to come in from the sea, you know, when the weather changed and all those aspects.

Rigney (int. 18/7/13) calls the submerged landscape an ‘underwaterscape’. Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) reveals that ‘you know when you’re going over sand, you know when you’re going over rocky corkweed because you’ll always pull the corkweed up and you’ll feel ... the rocks grabbing it, and you know when you’re going over wireweed ... you know you get nothing on wireweed’. Lyle (int. 30/11/13) also says its only experience to tell where you are and how to negotiate the rocks because there are no buoys marking the danger, for example Black Rocks near Yadri. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) also describes Narungga knowledge of the submerged landscape, ‘we know where the scallop beds are, we know where the razor fish beds are, we know where the juvenile *nhudli gayinbara* habitat is’.

Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) also recalls that from Middle Fence to Yadri in the bay is green grass that grows in the mud, which the garfish/*warndga* (*Hyporhamphus* sp.) feed amongst. Around Middle Fence and The Creek/Winggara is a weed and cockle/*bilili* (*Katelysia* sp.) bank that runs out to Rocky Island with many fishing drops (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). When the tide is out it is possible to walk out to the dips (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). Lawrence ‘Laurie’ Williams⁴⁸ is one fisherman who fished in the dip off Middle Fence and The Creek/Winggara (int. Graham 26/11/13). Lyle Sansbury’s (int. 30/11/13) aunt, Jennifer Newchurch⁴⁹, developed a knack for catching mullet at Galadri even when there was no tide and very little water, using the green patches. Walker (int. 19/11/13) learnt from Clem Graham⁵⁰ that diving birds provide another indicator of where to fish:

I said, ‘Well, look at the birds just here just out from your shack,’ and they are diving and he said, ‘well there must be fish out there, why don’t you go and set the net out there?’ ‘Me?’ The young boys would walk around set the net and then the next morning he’d wake us up, ‘Go on, go out there and check the net now, go out there and do some fishing’.

Hungry Bay, at the southern end of Wardang Island/Waraldi, features a rock formation—which Rigney (int. 18/7/13) suggests may have been slightly modified by Narungga people—that forms a natural wall and traps fish when the tide goes out.

⁴⁸ Lawrence Muir Williams, born 1913 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1986 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:114, 121, 125, 181, 357, 360).

⁴⁹ Jennifer Pearl Wilson (nee Newchurch), born 1936 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Whyalla (Kartinyeri 2002:183, 234, 258, 382).

⁵⁰ Clement Hugh Graham Snr, born 1938 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (Kartinyeri 2002:205, 436).

J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) states that in addition to the ‘humble spear, blackfella’s spear’, there was also fish traps around Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda. A fish trap was also identified on the western side of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula during archaeological surveys (the subject of later research by Mollenmans [2014]).

As well as knowing the environment and features of the submerged landscape, a final aspect to Narungga seascapes is the seasons. Locations are known for different species of fish during different seasons. During winter, the afternoon tides flow in, when the earth moves on its axis to give the seasons of summer, autumn, winter and spring, and the garfish come in, shaking the water in their schools (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). According to Power (int. 30/11/13), winter was also the season for getting bigger whiting. J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) states:

Went out at certain times of the season, you know. From late January till middle Easter, middle April, you know, the ‘gardies’ were here, you know, garfish ... wintertime, you know that mullets hanging around, you know.

The Creek/Winggara and Middle Fence were fished from January to March for garfish and are a breeding ground and nursery (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). March is the time of year for collecting shag/*mulawi* (*Phalacrocorax* sp.) eggs from Rocky Island, and the island is good for butterfish and scallop (Family Pectinidae) (Figure 40) (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13).

Traditional ecological knowledge is evident in archival sources in addition to the aforementioned oral histories. In a letter to the Chief Protector of Aboriginals by Leslie Wanganeen⁵¹ in which he is requesting a mesh net, he states that he would like ‘to have the net straight away now because mullets are plentiful around here this month [April] until the end of May’ (GRG52/1/6/1926). Therefore, knowledge of the weather, submerged environment and seasons make up part of Narungga’s seascape.

⁵¹ Leslie Norman Wanganeen, born 1890 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Farina (Kartinyeri 2002:150, 197, 200, 235, 313, 317).



Figure 40 Rocky Island viewed from Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula, facing south (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

6.3.2 Seamarks

Human beings can be perceived as seamarks at Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula at the location of Redbanks, a site known for watching, looking for shoals of fish (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Ethnographically, Parsons Beach, south of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, is a place where a spotter who would be on top of the dunes would whistle to a line of men spread along the beach to indicate the location of fish (Wood and Westell 1998a:11). A sketch made by Edward Snell (in Griffiths 1988:128) in 1850 is similar in that it depicts men swimming with nets in formation, while women on top of the cliffs called to signal the location of fish (Wood and Westell 1998a:12).

Many different built and natural features were used as marks for fishing drops around Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula and Wardang Island/Waraldi. Marks included scrubs, farmhouses, telephone towers (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13), fencelines (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13), and rocks and crevices on the land and beaches (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Power (int. 30/11/13) also cites bushes and sheds, particularly those on Wardang Island/Waraldi. The sand hills at the 'bottom [southern] end' of Wardang Island/Waraldi were also used (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). A house on Green Island could also be lined up with rocks, stained an orange colour from lichen, to mark seven drops in a line (int. Lindsay Sansbury

26/11/13). Another natural seamark is Mount Rat, located some distance behind Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (int. L. Newchurch 16/2/12 '[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project'). A number of drops also used Goose Island for marks, including lining up a house on Goose Island with the white strip of a beach (int. Graham 28/2/13). Wardang Island/Waraldi itself was often used as a mark, for example lining a scrub up with the end of the island (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

Features of the maritime transport landscape were also used, such as the lighthouse on Wardang Island/Waraldi which, when lined up between rocks, signalled Garfield drop at the end of Goose Island (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). The first lighthouse constructed on Wardang Island/Waraldi was an unmanned A.G.A. light in 1909, which was then modified and altered many times over the years (Moody 2012:118). The present lighthouse, a double height, size three GRP cabinet with a solar-powered lamp, was constructed in 1987 (Moody 2012:118).

In addition to the lighthouse, other maritime structures used included the jetties. A point would sometimes be set from Dolly's Jetty to Wardang Island/Waraldi, and a certain distance between the two would be a fishing drop (int. Walker 19/11/13). Some fishing marks along the shore of Wardang Island/Waraldi include lining a building from the Old Village up with the end of the Little Jetty (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). The moorings at Boys Point/Gunganya warda could be lined up with a shea oak/*garlgu* tree (*Casuarina* genus) at Middle Fence for corkweed drops (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). The additional associations of these maritime features when 'viewed' (either literally or only perceived) and used from the sea reveal further significance as part of the community's maritime cultural landscape.

6.3.3 Moorings

Historical archives refer to the laying and repairing of moorings. A new mooring for the 'station dinghy' was laid in December 1946, although the missions' daybook does not record who was involved in its construction (GRG52/49/1); this is also the last mention of the station dinghy in the archives. Repairs were made to the 'station launch' moorings in 1949 (GRG52/49/2).

Moorings are located at several places. The primary mooring area is Boys Point/Gunganya warda, often referred to as simply 'the Point' or as 'the Moorings' (int.

Weetra 28/11/13). It is a safe and permanent mooring because it is sheltered in any weather, even an easterly wind as the tide goes out with an easterly (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). Moorings were constructed at Boys Point/Gunganya warda from bent railway tracks (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). During the underwater survey at Boys Point/Gunganya warda, several isolated finds suggest the remains of moorings (Figure 41). These include upright metal posts, metal railing and rope attached to chain (Figure 42).



Figure 41 Plan showing the underwater survey at Boys Point/Gunganya warda. The snorkel swim-line transects are in red.

On Wardang Island/Waraldi, boats would be kept in The Bay to the south of the Little Jetty, at what was also known as ‘the Moorings’ (int. Graham 28/2/13). The Wardang Island/Waraldi launch was fastened to moorings constructed of iron, a square shape with railway lines and chains (int. Graham 28/2/13). Archaeological surveys recorded a mooring made from a bathtub filled with concrete. Surveys also identified several metal frames and wheels of rail carts at The Bay, probably from the mining area (Figures 43–44).



Figure 42 Metal railing underwater at Boys Point/Gungahya warda (photograph by A. Berry 26/2/14).



Figure 43 Rail cart wheels at The Bay on Wardang Island/Waraldi (photograph by K. Bennett 26/2/13).

There were not many boats kept at Hollywood because it was a poor place for moorings due to the many sand banks, although with smaller vessels they could be walked to shore in knee-deep water (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13). Four poles, used

for mooring boats (int. Weetra 28/11/13), are extant (Figure 45). In addition to the four poles positioned in a square, two wooden poles and one metal post form a line from the four poles towards the shore. There are also pieces of concreted iron in the water—possibly small machinery parts—and concrete bricks nearby the four poles that could be associated with moorings.

Finally, according to Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) you should never leave a boat at Dolly's Jetty because all the rocks cause it to break the moorings. Lindsay Sansbury (int. 26/11/13) says that some boats were put in the water there and several moorings were available. Yet, several fishing boats were wrecked at Dolly's Jetty, including Wellesley Sansbury's boat, *Axe* (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13).



Figure 44 Rail cart with wheels and frame at the Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi (photograph by G. Laesina 25/2/13).

6.3.4 Topographic knowledge

Narungga involvement in Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu's port history, including as navigators, is under-theorised and silenced, and this is recognised by Narungga people, such as Rigney (int. 18/7/13). Aboriginal people were taken on-board European sailing ships to aid in navigating local areas and act as conduits to communicate with the local community (int. Rigney 18/7/13). Rigney (int. 18/7/13) suggests that Aboriginal people are mischievously represented as just interpreters for the local Aboriginal community, and their skills in navigation and seapersonship are

downplayed because it undermines the orthodox narrative of ‘the great European sailor’. History does not credit Aboriginal people for their understanding of the local maritime cultural landscapes, which they assisted colonists in successfully navigating (int. Rigney 18/7/13).



Figure 45 Four poles at Hollywood with associated concreted iron and bricks, facing seaward (west) (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

6.4 Outer resource landscape

6.4.1 Boatbuilding

As noted by Rigney (int. 18/7/13), the modern interpretation of understanding boats came when Aboriginal peoples began to buy boats and build boats, as they are known in a Western tradition. Aboriginal people were involved in boatbuilding at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, the first of which is recorded through oral histories as *Narrunga* (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13).

A newspaper article (*The Advertiser* 1903:7), quoted later, suggests *Narrunga* was built by a non-Indigenous man, Burgoyne, and another source, Archibald (1915:22), does not provide any information or credit to whoever built the boat. Graham and Graham (1987:58), however, state that it was built by the people on Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, a point appropriately explored in Roberts et al. (2013:82–86).

This is further substantiated in an oral history collected by Wanganeen (1987:66) which gives a much more nuanced perspective on its construction:

That old boat, that was built in the wool shed in Point Pearce/Burgiyana, in that old wool shed. That's our people, the Narrunga [Narungga] people. That's the new boat that just come out, on her [sic] first trip I think to Wardang Island. It was to cart all the sheep, cattle and all in that boat. It was built by a fella by the name of Burgoyne. He had all the Nungas working with him, helping him, like old Joey, my grandfather. Billy Williams⁵², all them fellas, helped to build that boat. Burgine [Burgoyne] was only just telling them what to do, supervisor. I think *Narrunga* was five hundred a full load. They used to put them on deck, the sheep, and all. All the station was down there watching the boat come out of the shed and they took it down to the sheoaks (the tide was out). Old Yates, Jerry Yates his name was, took it down there with a big locomotive from Maitland, engine pulling it. They put her [sic] on with the wheels and this engine took it down there, left her [sic] there on the sand. When the tide come in ... away she [sic] went. She [sic] floated. They took her [sic] over to the island. The old fella, Ben Sims, he was the captain of her [sic] for a good while ... *Narrunga* was also used to ferry us all over to Wardang Island for the day, for a big picnic. She [sic] was towed by the motor launch, *Annie Roslyn*, later sold to someone in Port Pirie.

As Westerdahl (2010c:278) notes, a ceremony on the shore for the transfer of a vessel from land to sea is inescapable in any maritime culture. The old wool shed at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, which was demolished in the 1960s, was visited and photographed during the '(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project', however little remains of the building were found (Roberts et al. 2013:89).

While *Narrunga* was a mission or community boat, there are also records of people at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana building their own, or private, boats and dinghy's (Figure 46). The 1932 report by the Chief Protector of Aboriginals states that 'two of the natives built a new dinghy and the job is a credit to them' (McLean 1932:9). There is little information about where the materials for constructing boats were sourced. Lindsay Sansbury (int. 27/11/13) recalls there were a couple of flat-bottomed dinghy's that had been made from house floorboards. In addition to dinghy's, bigger boats were built, described by Graham and Graham (1987:23):

⁵² William Williams Snr, born 1871 Weetra Tanks (West coast), died 1947 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:114, 356–357).

Then, they also used to make their own boats with a tommy axe, a rasp and a hammer and saw; even big boats, twenty foot [6.1 m] boats. They used to make the ribs for the boats by cutting the boughs of the trees; and then they'd cut the stern for the boats.

Robert Cock, who conducted the first survey of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (originally known as Victoria Harbour) in 1839 states, 'the timber is principally sheoak, but other timber is in abundance for fuel and fencing purposes, although not generally adapted for building purposes' (Neumann 1983:4). While 'Shee Oaks' (*Casuarina* genus) are not described by Baker (1919) as being used in shipbuilding, its use for cabinetry and furniture, decorative parts of carriage and coach building, interior fittings, fuel, shingles and walking sticks, does not preclude its use for boatbuilding.



Figure 46 Two Aboriginal men with a boat under construction (28/11/13, held at Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre).

Further aspects of the boats constructed were recorded in oral histories. Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) describes the process of building riveted boats without an electric drill:

They would have used the old drill and do the hole, put the copper rose—the washer, they call it a rose—you put that through and then there had to be another fella on the other side, put the other rose on, cut the copper nail and burr it over with a round headed hammer, while the other blokes holding the weight behind the hammer.

Lindsay Sansbury (int. 26/11/13) says a 44 gal (0.17 m³) drum was used with a fire underneath to steam and bend the boards. This is supported in J. Newchurch's (int. 25/9/13) oral history:

They used to build boats down in Hollywood, you know. Partly old clinker type boats with caulking in them ... They'd build them from scratch, you know, you'd sit there next to the shacks and they'd be burning the timber to bend it so it's right and they'd be caulking it and soaking it.

At Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, the fringe camps of Hollywood and Reef Point are particular places where boats were built. The Sansbury's also lived at Hollywood. R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) recalls Parry Sansbury⁵³ building dinghy's and Lindsay Sansbury (int. 26/11/13) remembers Wellesley Sansbury trying to build a boat here. Richard 'Dick' Sansbury⁵⁴ and Richard Sansbury's son, Richard 'Bart' Sansbury⁵⁵, are also recorded as boatbuilders at Hollywood (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

Richard 'Dick' Sansbury also made his own additions to his boat, which he kept in his yard at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, by cutting a branch off a gum tree near the wool shed at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and using it as a samson post (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Richard 'Dick' Sansbury's boat also wrecked in the late 1980s or early 1990s when he hit the rocks going past Green Island (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13; int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) lists his father, Thomas Newchurch Jnr⁵⁶, and grandfather, Thomas Newchurch Snr⁵⁷ as part of the Hollywood boatbuilding community. These families kept their boats at Hollywood, although in the winter they brought their boats around to the sheltered side of the peninsula (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13).

The Smith family were also involved in boatbuilding at nearby towns. Fred Smith Jnr⁵⁸ undertook boatbuilding at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, Ryan Street (int. C.

⁵³ Douglas Parry Sansbury, born 1910 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1966 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:134, 272, 277).

⁵⁴ Richard Alfred Sansbury, born 1925 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 2000 (Kartinyeri 2002:128, 134, 230, 240, 272, 279, 346, 416).

⁵⁵ Richard Edward Sansbury, born 1948 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:128, 240, 279, 416).

⁵⁶ Thomas John Newchurch Jnr (Kartinyeri 2002:234, 255).

⁵⁷ Thomas Henry Newchurch Snr, born 1913 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1964 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:225, 234, 343).

⁵⁸ Frederick Joseph Smith, born 1910 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:401, 405).

O'Loughlin 14/11/12) in Moonta/Munda and Balgowan, and Smith (int. 29/11/13) recalls that:

They used to build them on the beach ... apparently; they'd build a boat in a ridiculous amount of time ... on the beach because they had no way to bring the boat down.

Fred Smith Snr⁵⁹ built his last boat, 25 ft (7.62 m), at Ryan Street in the 1940s, which he sold to a Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda farmer, Jack Dusky (int. C. O'Loughlin 15/10/12 '[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project').

J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) says that they learned boatbuilding skills and techniques with the assistance of non-Aboriginal people, and there was a relationship between all fishermen at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, where 'you were respected and you worked together, those old people ... working together and sharing and, you know, working the sea'. Peter Smith and his brothers learnt the boatbuilding craft from Fred Smith Jnr and his brother Claude Smith, whose father Fred Smith Snr was born in England and married Alice Yates⁶⁰ in Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and continued the tradition within the family (int. Smith 29/11/13).

According to C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12), Fred Smith 'used to build them and everybody owned them, different people owned them; good sea boats'. C.

O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) even remembers going to visit Fred Smith Snr when he was a child to look at his boats in the yard. Some Point Pearce/Burgiyana people, including Tom Newchurch Snr as well as others, owned Smith-built boats and chose them 'because they were built for the sea' (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). Joseph Edwards was also a fisherman who built his own boats (Ball 1992:38).

More recently, Aboriginal people have been involved with boatbuilding at TAFE. For example, C. O'Loughlin's (int. 25/11/13) fibreglass dinghy, which does not have a name, was built by students at Tauondi in the 1980s or possibly later and O'Loughlin would visit the college to watch them build it (Figure 47).

⁵⁹ Frederick Smith Snr, born about 1878 England (Kartinyeri 2002:401).

⁶⁰ Alice Victoria Smith (nee Yates), born about 1881 Poonindie (Kartinyeri 2002:400–401).



Figure 47 Clem O'Loughlin with his boat at Point Pearce/Burgiyana (photograph by A. Roberts 25/11/13).

6.4.2 Boat purchase

In addition to building boats, the Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana community and individuals purchased a series of work and fishing boats. Mission boats were generally for the daily work of the mission, however boats were also provided for fishing.

6.4.2.1 Mission boats

As early as 1877 the Mission Board bought boats for the mission (Meredith 1866–1892:12). The government supplied the mission with a boat in 1880 and another boat was transferred from Ardrossan to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana in 1881, having been used by Aboriginal peoples at Ardrossan who then left the area; both of these boats were 12 ft (3.66 m) in length (GRG52/1/224/1883). A request was made to the Aborigines' Office in 1883 for a new boat as the previous boat had worn out, however the Protector of Aborigines, Edward Lee Hamilton⁶¹, declined the request saying that the mission had enough funds to purchase a boat on their own (GRG52/1/224/1883). The mission's 1884 financial statement shows an expenditure of £204 9s 6d towards a new boat for transport of sheep (Meredith 1866–1892:15).

⁶¹ Subprotector and later Protector and Acting Protector of Aborigines 1868–1907.

In 1887, Aboriginal people at the mission requested that the Superintendent, T.M. Sutton⁶², ask the Aborigines' Office for a small fishing boat, of which he requested 'that the boat be about 13 feet [3.96 m] long with a fairly wide beam so that it may be safe in a rough sea' (GRG52/1/392/1887). The reply from the Protector of Aborigines was that the request should be made to the Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission Committee as they were almost out of debt by this stage (GRG52/1/392/1887).

While requests were made to the government, boats were mostly bought and sold from the nearby towns, primarily Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu. At the end of 1913, the mission had one motor launch, one boat and two dinghy's (Archibald 1915:37) and 1915 shows one motor boat and one sailing boat (GRG52/48/5). In 1916, Lewis McArthur, Shipping & General Agent of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, suggested that he could purchase the station's small launch when he sold them *Eva* (reducing the cost by £20), however the mission decided to keep the small launch and were getting it repainted (GRG52/1/8/1916). This smaller motor launch appears to have been purchased in the 1911 financial year (South 1911:6).

The station launch, *Eva*, was purchased in 1916 for £220 (GRG52/1/99/1949). It was purchased from McArthur for towing *Narunga* (*Narrunga*) (GRG52/1/99/1949). McArthur had previously used *Eva* for towing *Narunga* (*Narrunga*) when loading wheat and it would run at 5 miles per hour when loaded (GRG52/1/99/1949). According to McArthur, *Eva* was built to his order three years previously (ca Nov 1912) (GRG52/1/99/1949).

When it came time for the mission to sell, two officers from the Engineering and Water Supply Department and Constable McKae from the Police Department both inspected the station launch (GRG52/49/2), presumably with the intention of purchasing it. This launch was sold to Geo Gibson, from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, as he took delivery of it in April 1950 (GRG52/1/99/1949; GRG52/49/2).

A cargo boat was purchased in December of 1919 (GRG52/48/5), also from McArthur, for a cost of £10 which could carry 50 bags of wheat (GRG52/1/86/1919), and which is mentioned again in March 1928 when F. Smith Snr is repairing it

⁶² Superintendent 1882–1893.

because it was in a bad state (GRG52/73/3). In 1926, Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana owned two motor boats and five fishing boats (Richardson 1992:29).

6.4.2.2 *Individually-owned boats*

Aboriginal people at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana began owning their own fishing boats and dinghy's from as early as 1895. John Milera⁶³ successfully requested payment of freight from the Protector of Aborigines for his 15 ft (4.57 m) dinghy to be transported on the steamship *Ferret* (1920) from Port Lincoln to Moonta/Munda following his relocation from Poonindie Mission to Point Pearce/Burgiyana (GRG52/1/209/1895).

As discussed in the historical background, assistance in relation to fishing activities occurred across South Australia, not just at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. In the 1915 Chief Protector of Aboriginal's report, the Chief Protector states that many Aboriginal people 'have been assisted in the purchase of boats, guns, fishing nets, seed, wheat &c. with but little good resulting' (South 1915:3).

In 1899, it was stated that 'three of the natives have boats of their own and the only station boat adapted for fishing purposes we lend when asked for if not in use for their work' (GRG52/1/69/1899). The first record for a request to the Protector of Aborigines by an Aboriginal person at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana for a boat was by Robert Wanganeen⁶⁴ (GRG52/1/41/1896). However, this request was declined for two reasons: the 'Aborigines Vote' was unavailable that year and fishing boats had already been supplied to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and Moonta/Munda Bay for general use by Aboriginal people (GRG52/1/41/1896). The 'Aborigines Vote' for 1900 showed expenses on canoes, fishing tackle &c., however this report is for the whole state, not just Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana (Hamilton 1900:4).

The boat for Aboriginal use at Moonta/Munda Bay was under the charge of Sargent R. Phelan, however it was damaged after being taken to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana against his orders. A non-Indigenous fisherman, Wiseman of Moonta/Munda Bay, repaired it on condition that he could use it when not required by the

⁶³ John Milera Snr, born 1871 Poonindie, died 1938 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:374).

⁶⁴ Robert Wanganeen, born 1868 Poonindie, died 1952 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:197, 312–313).

Aboriginal people (GRG52/1/186/1899). In 1899, John Stansbury⁶⁵, Walter Stansbury⁶⁶, Alfred Hughes, E. Bewes⁶⁷ and H. Angie⁶⁸, of whom three were employed by the flux company (a precursor to B.H.P.), requested from Hamilton, the Protector of Aborigines, that they could make use of this boat for fishing purposes as it was not used ‘by any of the Natives but by the Sargent and Mr Wiseman’ (GRG52/1/69/1899). It was transferred to the mission for the use of the Aboriginal people as it was deemed of very little service to the Aboriginal people at Moonta/Munda Bay (GRG52/1/69/1899).

In addition to the ‘Aboriginal Vote’, other financial and political factors often influenced the response to a request for assistance from the Chief Protector of Aborigines. For example in 1914, a response to a request for a boat by the Chief Protector of Aborigines, William Garnet South⁶⁹, stated:

If it [the government] is intended to resume the lands at Point Pearce as suggested both by me and the Royal Commission, I think it will be as well to hold this matter over for the present (GRG52/1/41/1914).

Another states, ‘Please inform ... that nothing can be done until a new Act is passed in Parliament’ (GRG52/1/50/1913), and ‘I recommend that it stand over until the Point Pearce station’s taken over’ (GRG52/1/56/1914).

A global event, which had implications on maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, was World War I. In 1916, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, South, stated, ‘no more assistance is to be given natives in boats, nets &c. till after the war’ (GRG52/1/36/1916). The Superintendent, Francis Garnett⁷⁰, goes on to say, ‘I think your decision to stop such assistance till after the war is a wise one owing to the general scarcity of labor, all who will work can earn good wages’ (GRG52/1/36/1916).

⁶⁵ The earlier spelling was Stansbury, after the name of the town on the east coast of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda. The surname was later spelt Sansbury (Kartinyeri 2002:131).

⁶⁶ The 1882 census lists John and Elizabeth Stansbury and their children Walter and Edward Stansbury (Kartinyeri 2002:74).

⁶⁷ Eli Bewes Snr or Eli Bewes Jnr (Kartinyeri 2002:341, 343).

⁶⁸ Henry Angie, born 1868, died 1937 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:111, 130, 132).

⁶⁹ Protector of Aborigines and later Chief Protector of Aborigines 1908–1922.

⁷⁰ Overseer 1894–1899, Superintendent 1909–at least 1916, Chief Protector of Aboriginal from at least 1926–at least 1930.

Often, an Aboriginal person would offer to go halves in the purchase of a boat (GRG52/1/41/1896) with the government and this would increase the likelihood of securing financial assistance. At times when agricultural work was plentiful, such as 1917, Aboriginal people desiring a fishing plant would, however, have to pay for it themselves (GRG52/1/5/1917). The view of the mission superintendent being, 'they naturally prefer the irregular, irresponsible life of fishing as conducted by Natives to regular hours at steady continuous agricultural work' (GRG52/1/5/1917).

Specifications for the types of boat requested include: 'a open boat, 18 ft [5.49 m] keel ... would put in a well ... deck and such like' (GRG52/1/298/1907); 'length is 18 feet [5.49 m] with sails, oars & well, capable of holding from 14 to 15 dozen whiting', costing £16 (GRG52/1/41/1914); '16 feet [4.88 m] long' (GRG52/1/50/1913); and 'a good fishing boat, sails, oars, rigging & a good well' costing £18 (GRG52/1/42/1914). In 1925, Tom Adams Snr inspected two boats for sale at Wallaroo/Wadla waru, 'No 1 Boat 13 ft [3.96] long, 6 ft [1.83] beam, copper fastened, sail, mast & boom complete, shallow draught price 16/-/-. No 2 Boat 12 ft [3.66 m] long, 4 ft [1.22 m] beam, copper fastened, oars & rollocks [sic] price 13/-/' (GRG52/1/66/1925).

Often someone from the mission would organise the purchase of boats and engines for Aboriginal people. At times, a condition from the Chief Protector of Aboriginals before the purchase of a boat was its inspection and valuation by the superintendent of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana or a local police officer (GRG52/1/6/1926). The acting manager and farm overseer inspected a dinghy offered to Lewis Power⁷¹ for £12 in 1946 (GRG52/49/1); inspection of this boat occurred again after its purchase by Power (GRG52/49/2). A marine engine for Tom Newchurch was inspected and purchased from J. Gibson⁷² in Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/49/3). A reference is also made to a fishing net being inspected for Tony Wilson⁷³ (GRG52/49/2). C. Tony Wilson also took delivery of his dinghy in 1950 (GRG52/49/2). The stock overseer similarly inspected a dinghy on behalf of Cecil Graham (GRG52/49/2).

⁷¹ Lewis Charles Joseph Power, born 1893 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:291).

⁷² Possibly a misspelling of Geo Gibson, mentioned earlier.

⁷³ Clifford Tony Wilson, born 1890 Point McLeay/Raukkan, died 1955 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:307, 342).

If a family bought a new boat then they would often pass their previous boat on to someone else in the community who would buy it off them (int. Power 30/11/13). Claude Smith owned a boat in 1939 (previously owned by E. Chester⁷⁴) that he was trying to sell to Frank Newchurch⁷⁵. The Chief Protector of Aboriginals, however, would not assist Frank Newchurch with the purchase of the boat (GRG52/1/18/1939). This boat measured 18 ft 4 in (5.59 m) in length and 7 ft 6 in (2.29 m) in beam. It was fairly old but had a well-functioning 4 hp American marine engine, sails in poor condition and anchor, with sound timbers and blocks and rigging in good order, a new keel and garboard planks (GRG52/1/18/1939).

When boats were not available for purchase from other people at the mission (other examples include in 1919 Edward Sansbury⁷⁶ purchasing Russell Chester's boat [GRG52/1/79/1919] and in 1940 Russell Chester purchasing Harold Kropinyeri's⁷⁷ boat [GRG52/1/76/1940]), Aboriginal people had to look elsewhere to purchase private fishing boats. This included purchasing from non-Indigenous fishermen in surrounding towns such as Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/1/5/1917), Wallaroo/Wadla waru (GRG52/1/66/1925), Moonta/Munda (GRG52/1/41/1896; GRG52/1/42/1914) and Moonta/Munda Bay (GRG52/1/18/1939; GRG52/1/45/1935; GRG52/1/50/1913). These boats would range in price from £10 (GRG52/1/40/1908; GRG52/1/50/1913) to £20 (GRG52/1/5/1917; GRG52/1/41/1896). In a small number of instances, boats were inspected in metropolitan centres, such as Queenstown in Port Adelaide (GRG52/1/27/37).

6.4.3 Maritime equipment purchase

In addition to purchasing boats, Aboriginal people also requested assistance from the government to purchase a range of other maritime equipment including chain, anchors, oars, nets and sails. In 1898, Joseph Yates⁷⁸ successfully applied for a mooring chain for his boat (GRG52/1/408/1898). He requested 30 fathoms and would have preferred 3/18 in (0.42 cm) size, however received 25 fathoms of 5/16 in

⁷⁴ Edward Russell Chester, born 1897 Point McLeay/Raukkan, died 1977 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:156–157, 403, 411).

⁷⁵ Francis Victor Newchurch, born 1909 Moonta/Munda, died 1957 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:158, 225, 233, 343, 413).

⁷⁶ Edward Sansbury, born about 1879 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1959 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:131, 134, 230, 270, 272, 346).

⁷⁷ Harold Martin Kropinyeri, born 1903 Point McLeay/Raukkan, or Harold Theodore Kropinyeri, born 1882 Point McLeay/Raukkan, died 1945 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:143, 148, 305).

⁷⁸ Joe Yates, born about 1860 Poonindie, died 1916 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:399–400).

(0.79 cm) size because the heavier chain would have taken longer to come in to the supplier (GRG52/1/408/1898). In 1914, Alf Hughes successfully requested an anchor weighing 12 pounds (5.44 kg) and a pair of 10 ft (3.05 m) oars, costing 16s (GRG52/1/64/1914).

Fishing nets would also be purchased, only about 80 yd (73.15 m) in length at that time (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). In 1914, Charles Adams⁷⁹ requested a fishing net, 'one sling with ropes, corks for hauling—100 yards [91.44 m] long. Standard width (about 1 fathom) with 1½" [3.81 cm] mesh', which was purchased complete, tanned and ready for use for £8 12s (GRG52/1/56/1914). Tom Thomas and Dick Newchurch⁸⁰ then requested one later that year, being 'a cotton net 1½ inch [3.81 cm] mesh, about 200 yards [182.88 m] long' as well as a pair of 8 ft (2.44 m) paddles (GRG52/1/63/1914) and '150 yards [137.16 m] long, 1¼" [3.18 cm] mesh, usual width, roped & sling', respectively (GRG52/1/66/1914). In 1915, Tom Adams Jnr successfully sought a 'drag fishing net, 100 yds [91.44 m] long, 1" [2.54 cm] mesh, corked & sling' costing £9 (GRG52/1/67/1915). Details of a net purchased by John Milera⁸¹ with financial assistance from the Chief Protector of Aborigines are outlined in a letter to Milera from W. Russell, Ship Chandler, Sail Maker and Rigger at Port Adelaide (GRG52/1/84/1922):

I can supply you with 250 yds [228.6 m] of unslung netting the same as the sample you sent that would hang 6 feet [1.83 m] when slung for £6-15-0. Twine for slinging 4/1 per hank.

In addition, when nets were not purchased new, they were sourced from nearby fishing communities, such as a second-hand net at Wallaroo/Wadla waru that Tom Adams requested to purchase for £10 (GRG52/1/60/1921). Other materials for boats were sourced from more major centres such as Adelaide and Port Adelaide. Mooring chain was purchased from Geo. P. Harris, Scarfe, & Co. in Gawler Place, Adelaide (GRG52/1/408/1898) and nets and sails were purchased from W. Russell (GRG52/1/36/1916; GRG52/1/38/1915; GRG52/1/56/1914) and Norris & Son, Ship Chandlers, McLaren Parade, Port Adelaide (GRG52/1/27/37; GRG52/1/45/1935).

⁷⁹ Charles Samuel Adams, born 1872 Poonindie, died 1944 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:109, 111).

⁸⁰ Richard Newchurch, died 1917 Denial Bay (Kartinyeri 2002:224–225, 343).

⁸¹ John Milera Snr, born 1871 Poonindie, died 1938 Wallaroo/Wadla waru, or John Herbert Milera Jnr, born 1891 Poonindie (Kartinyeri 2002:348, 374, 377).

Two samples of fishing net were found attached to correspondence within archival documents. The first of these was from Norris & Son (GRG52/1/27/37). When Hubert Weetra⁸² applied for a fishing net in 1929, he enclosed a sample of the type of net he wanted (Figure 48) (GRG52/1/67/1929). Fred Graham Snr requested a mainsail for his 18 ft (5.49 m) boat in 1915, ‘standing lug’ with a boom (Figure 49) (GRG52/1/38/1915). Correspondence for Fred Graham’s lug sail included two samples of sailcloth from W. Russell (Figure 50) (GRG52/1/38/1915).

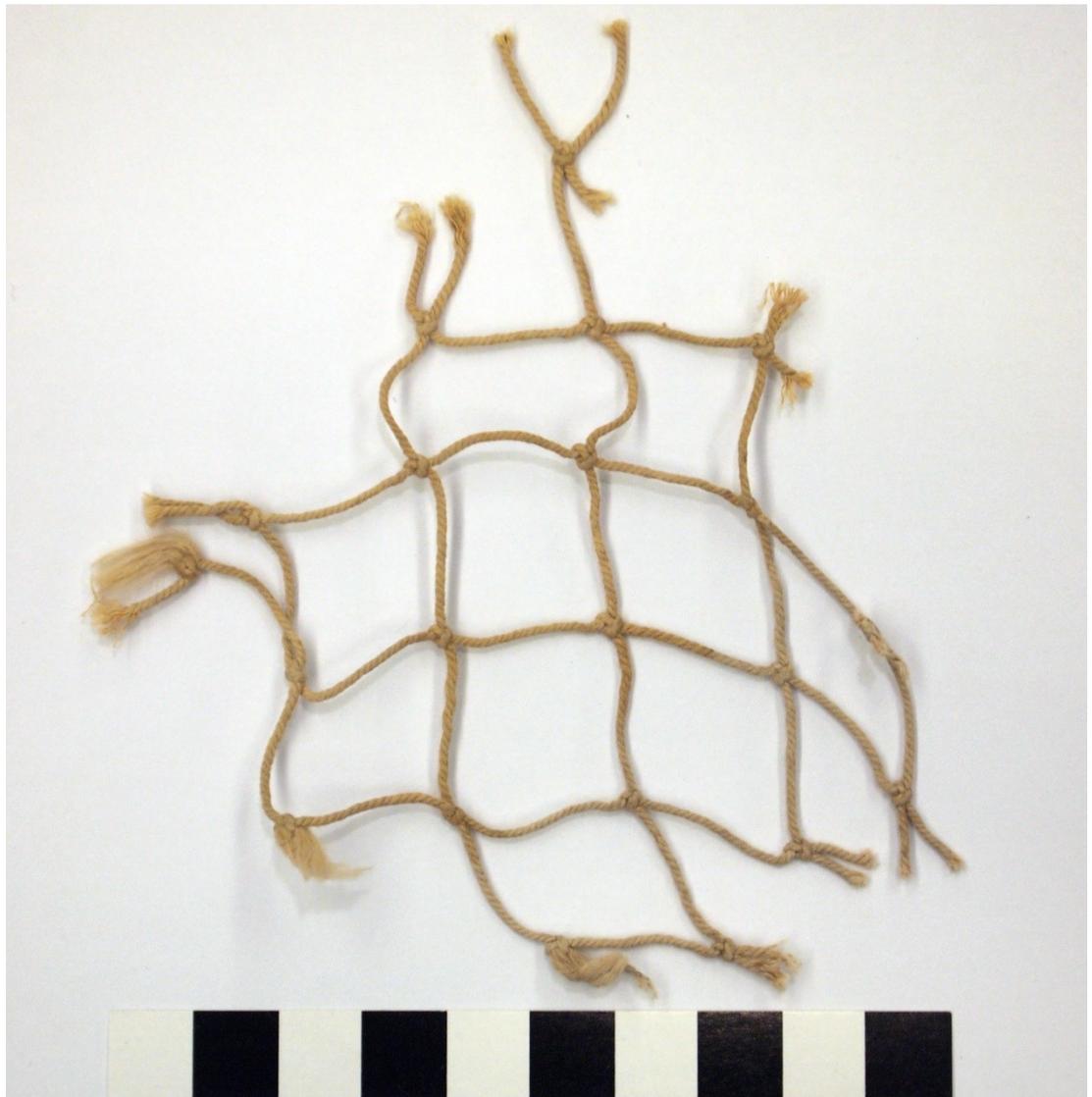


Figure 48 Sample of fishing net requested by Hubert Weetra (3/7/14, from SRSA GRG52/1/67/1929).

Bert Goldsmith⁸³ sent correspondence from Wardang Island/Waraldi in January and February 1936 (GRG52/1/13/1936). He was fishing from the island however his fishing boat, which he purchased from the proceeds of his share farming, required

⁸² Hubert James Weetra, born 1892 Balaklava (Kartinyeri 2002:218, 220, 326, 328).

⁸³ Herbert James Goldsmith, born 1900 Balaklava (Kartinyeri 2002:219).

new sails (GRG52/1/13/1936). Bert Goldsmith specified that his sail be purchased from sail maker Paul & Gray, Ships Chancellors, Port Adelaide (Figure 51) (GRG52/1/13/1936). Gilbert Williams⁸⁴ was also possibly fishing from the island, as he had sails from the same supplier that Bert Goldsmith wanted to purchase from (GRG52/1/13/1936).

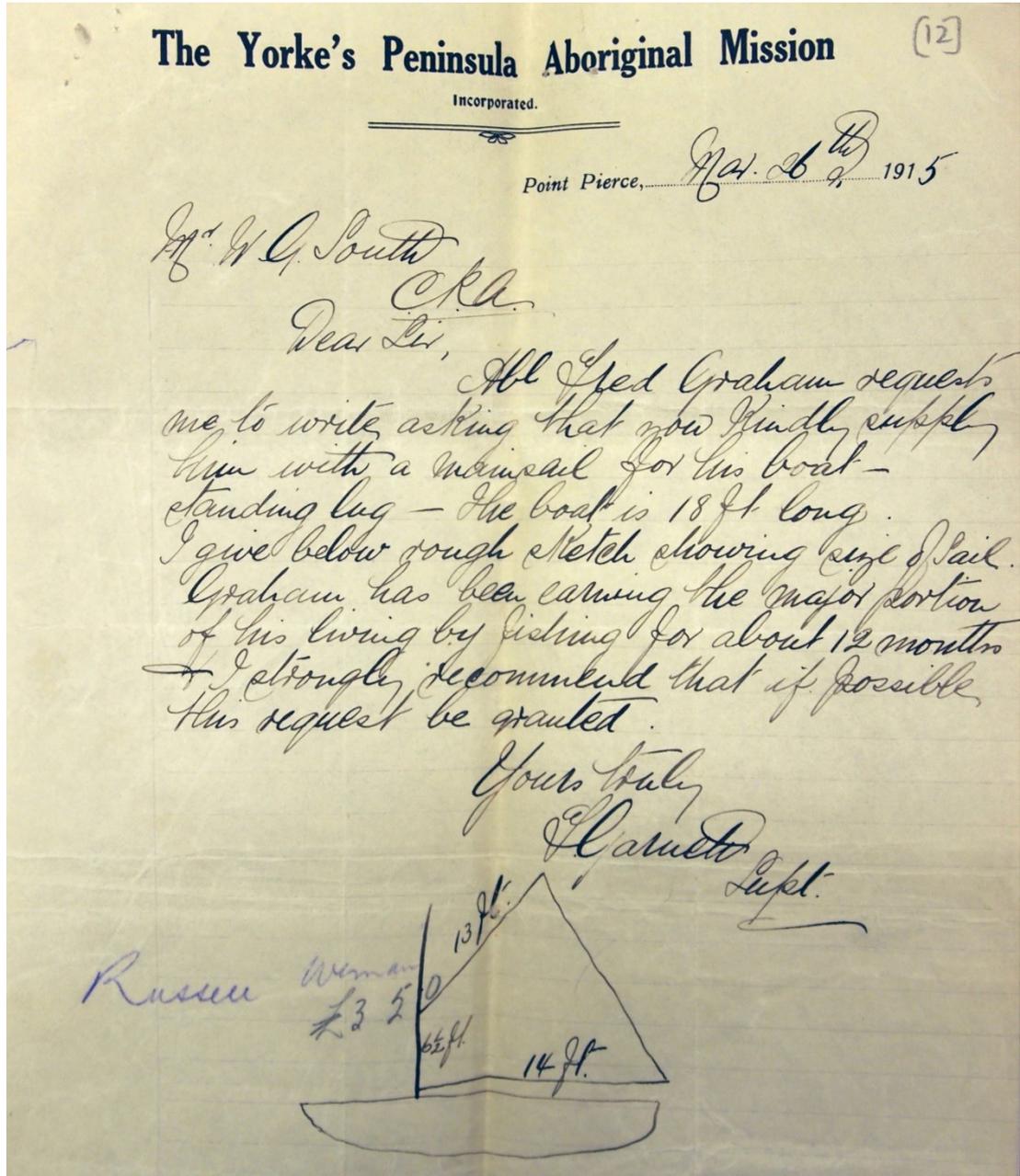


Figure 49 Sketch showing size of sail drawn by Garnett, Superintendent (2/7/14, from SRSA GRG52/1/38/1915).

The life history of *Narrunga* is poorly recorded in historical documents and purchases made for its continuing use are not specified. In 1909, however, a canvas

⁸⁴ Gilbert Williams, born 1911 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:114, 124, 238, 357, 359).

jib sail was bought from W. Russell for a boat in the goods received cashbook, which could possibly have been purchased for *Narrunga* (GRG52/66).



Figure 50 A and B: Sailcloth sample 1 and 2 (2/7/14, from SRSA GRG52/1/38/1915).

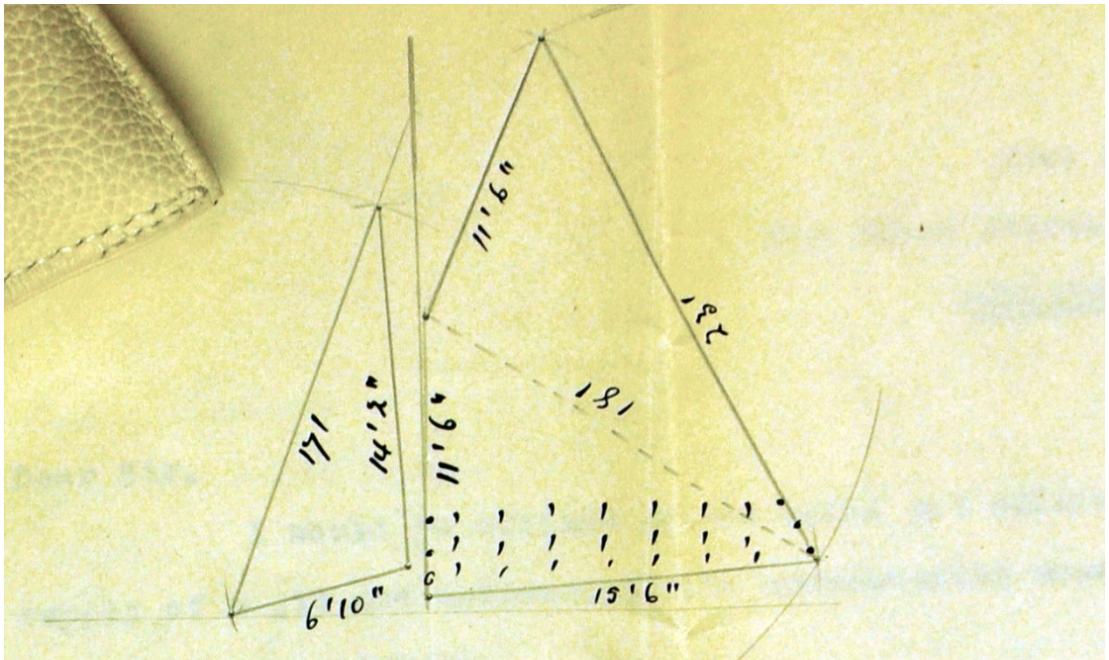


Figure 51 Measurements for Bert Goldsmith's mainsail and jib (3/7/14, from SRSA GRG52/1/13/1936).

6.5 Inner resource landscape

6.5.1 Mission boat maintenance and repairs

Mission boats are referred to in the report by the Aborigines Protection Board (1940:4) until 1940, when the boats are described as 'recently repaired and painted, and are all in good order'. Various supplies for the running of the mission and its maritime activities needed to be sourced externally, particularly from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu. For example, equipment such as the launch engine was taken into Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for repairs, in the case of the engine at Mitchells Garage (GRG52/49/1). Equipment was serviced in 1915 in Port Pirie, at Burgoyne's Motor & Launch Works (GRG52/1/90/1915). World War I also influenced access to

necessary boating parts. The cylinder, which was ordered for the small motor launch in 1916 from Burgoyne, took over six months to arrive, the delay 'owing to war & freight difficulty' (GRG52/1/8/1916).

H. Simms⁸⁵ is recorded in the goods received book as having taken *Narrunga* to Moonta/Munda Bay in February 1910 and also towing and shipping wool, towing *Narrunga* with wool and towing logs to Wardang Island/Waraldi in October of the same year (GRG52/66). In 1915, McArthur examined the ketch *Narunga* (*Narrunga*) with the view of installing an engine, however this did not proceed (GRG52/1/8/1916). *Narrunga* is recorded as being used to cart goods from the port and take timber to Boys Point/Gunganya warda by F. Smith Snr and J. Milera in 1928 (GRG52/73/3), although which port is being referred to is uncertain. The following day Smith was still on-board with tar cement, oil and a tar brush (GRG52/73/3), presumably conducting repairs. Later that year there is a note that the vessel was put in the water (GRG52/73/3) but then it is not mentioned again until 1945 when it is cleaned and pumped out (GRG52/49/1). A couple of months later *Narrunga* is beached (GRG52/49/1) and this is the last direct reference to it that was found in the archives. Although in 1946, it is stated that, 'not so very long ago the Mission sheep boat, *Noarlunga* [*Narrunga*], dragged her [sic] anchors and went ashore, and the Kemps used their boats, put her [sic] back and secured her [sic] to her [sic] moorings' (GRG52/1/120/1940). Graham (int. 19/2/13) suggests that *Narrunga* was 'just about finished' when he was on Wardang Island/Waraldi, although he remembers it when he was young as a big sailing boat. An image of *Narrunga* has also identified Alfred Hughes Snr on-board the vessel (Graham and Graham 1987:58).

At times people from the outside community would go to the mission due to their specialist skills, for example Harris Bros. from Maitland/Maggiwarda (1906–1944) said the launch engine was in a bad state and assisted Smith with the launch repair (GRG52/73/3). They repaired the boat engine and it went well when it was run so island work could continue (GRG52/73/3). The launch again required a long list of repairs: 'new deck, pull out old engine and put in new, put stern tube & stuffing box inside, re-cork garbit [sic] planks & plane keel, cut stern post to oil stern gland, fit

⁸⁵ Probably Hector Simms mentioned later.

new floor inside, stern benches and seats, burn paint off outside, paint the boat inside & outside, fit some new pieces of plank ... re-bolt engine bed & new rudder & new gudgeons, repair stern board, fit two new leads forward' (GRG52/1/41/1931). J.H. Kemp at Moonta/Munda Bay carried out these repairs, which were complete by 1932 when the launch is recorded as giving satisfactory service with the Invincible marine engine installed (GRG52/1/41/1931; McLean 1932:9). Ken McDonald, also from Maitland/Maggiwarda, visited the station to repair the launch engine (GRG52/49/2).

The 'station barge', station dinghy and station launch all underwent almost continuous maintenance, which are well-documented in the historical archives. The station barge is first mentioned in 1931, an approximately 40 ft (12.19 m) long by 12 ft (3.66 m) beam barge, capable of carrying about 150 sheep (GRG52/1/41/1931). In 1936, 1938 and 1939 the barge is stated as being in good order (McLean 1936:13; Penhall 1938:4, 1939:6). However, when this vessel is again mentioned in February and March 1945 it was being pumped out (GRG52/49/1). The station barge was then beached in June 1945 and pumped out (GRG52/49/1). Further repairs were made in October 1947 and the vessel was beached in November because it was leaking (GRG52/49/2). Two weeks later, the barge was repaired, inspected and Young floated it, however a year later, October 1948, it was up on the beach once again (GRG52/49/2).

The first references to the station dinghy are in 1936, 1938 and 1939 when it is also reported as being maintained in good order (McLean 1936:13; Penhall 1938:4, 1939:6). In September 1944, the dinghy was repaired and painted and was then taken to the Point in November (GRG52/49/1). This dinghy is repaired again in October 1945 and painted again in September/October 1946 which must have occurred at the mission as it is taken to the Point afterwards (GRG52/49/1). This boat is again collected from the beach for painting in October 1947 (GRG52/49/2), suggesting a pattern of dinghy maintenance occurring in October of each year.

The station launch, 26 ft (7.92 m) in length and 8 ft 6 in (2.59 m) in beam used for hauling a barge to and from Wardang Island/Waraldi with loads of sheep and cattle (GRG52/1/41/1931), is discussed in March 1928 when it was under heavy repairs. F. Smith Snr and his son used black wood, copper nails and at least one coat of paint to repair the launch (GRG52/73/3). A new anchor chain was purchased for the launch

in 1938 and it was placed on the slip for overhauling in 1939 (Penhall 1938:4, 1939:6). There is a hiatus in references to the station launch for about a decade, however the same launch is discussed again in the 1940s as it has the same dimensions, with the additional specification of a depth of 2 ft 6 in (0.76 m) (GRG52/1/99/1949).

The launch is again referred to in September 1944 (GRG52/49/1) and was causing many problems and needed attending to frequently throughout 1944 to 1948, and increasingly through 1949 and early 1950; many daybook entries refer to inspecting, scraping, burning off paint, painting, bailing, pumping and repairing the launch (GRG52/49/1; GRG52/49/2). In addition, buoys were made for the launch in November 1948 (GRG52/49/2), evidence for maintaining boats internally as opposed to purchasing items. The engine was removed in March 1945 and a new anchor chain attached in September and the pump repaired in May 1946 (GRG52/49/1). In November 1946, the launch was beached ready for painting and then put back on its moorings (GRG52/49/1). In February 1946 and April 1949, the engine was cleaned. The launch was repaired by the stock overseer and beached in December 1947 and returned to its moorings in January 1948 (GRG52/49/2). The engine—a 16 hp, four cylinder, Invincible engine (GRG52/1/99/1949)—also underwent a full overhaul, inspection by Young, and was removed and brought to the station for repairs in June 1948 and it was put back in and painted in October 1948 (GRG52/49/2). By October of that year, however, the launch was beached and the first attempt at launching it again was unsuccessful as another attempt had to be made to float it (GRG52/49/1; GRG52/49/2). In November 1949, the vessel broke its moorings and the stock overseer, Young, and two men attempted to refloat into the early hours of the morning (GRG52/49/2). While Young, the stock overseer is mentioned often, little information is given on the individuals involved in this work, nor the location of these activities, although it seems that given the vessels are returned to the Point it is being carried out at another location, most likely the mission.

6.5.2 Individually-owned boat maintenance and repairs

Archival accounts did not record the maintenance of individuals' boats, aside from the purchase of new equipment mentioned previously. Oral history interviews reveal how and where these boats were maintained. A trolley was kept at Boys Point/

Gunganya warda for bringing the boats in and out with a tractor every one to two years for cleaning, taking off the shell and coral, and painting (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). Scrubbing down boats and painting them would be done when the tides were big to aid in pulling them out and putting them back on the moorings again (int. Power 30/11/13). The bottom of the boats were often red in colour, painted with anti-fouling, while up to the deck was painted white and the deck was either green or blue (Clem O'Loughlin pers. comm. 29/8/14). No evidence of this equipment remains at Boys Point/Gunganya warda today, although it is likely that there is material culture buried under the mud in the intertidal zone because the sediment in this region is particularly deep.

Several other features of maritime infrastructure are at the Little Jetty area and are not mentioned in the mission records. These can be explored through a combination of oral histories and archaeology. Old railway line was used to create a slipway in The Bay, which was used by the 'old blokes' to put their dinghy's in (int. Graham 25/2/13). The rails lying flat were in place when Graham (int. 25/2/13) lived there in the late 1940s, however the upright posts were not (Figures 52–53). A winch with steel rope remains in situ, used to wind boats up, for example if they were to be painted (Figure 54) (int. Graham 28/2/13).



Figure 52 Rail slipway at the Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi, facing east (photograph by K. Bennett 26/2/13).



Figure 53 Upright posts and slipway at the Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi, facing east (photograph by G. Lacsina 26/2/13).



Figure 54 Winch at the Old Village, Wardang Island/Waraldi (photograph by G. Lacsina 25/2/13).

6.6 Transport/communication landscape

6.6.1 Maritime routes

There were various maritime routes taken at Point Pearce/Burgiyana between five main landing places, Dolly's Jetty and Boys Point/Gunganya warda on Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula, the Little Jetty and Big Jetty on Wardang Island/Waraldi and Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty. These landing places reveal the connection between the mainland and Wardang Island/Waraldi, as well as intangible trajectories to and from places in the broader maritime cultural landscape.

Aside from these main locations, many other maritime routes related to fishing places. For example, Power (int. 30/11/13) fished around Green Island, Dead Man's Island/Mungari and along the shores towards Chinaman's Wells. The reef just north of Dead Man's Island/Mungari is known as Beatrice Rocks, further specified as Beatrice North and Beatrice South (int. Graham, Lindsay Sansbury and M. O'Loughlin 27/11/13). A number of timbers with square-headed bolts and copper nails, as well as loose copper nails were observed during the field walking survey of Dead Man's Island/Mungari, however this is evidently a collection place of flotsam and jetsam (modern debris was also observed) and does not suggest in situ finds (Figures 55–56).

Sometimes, people would be towed out to a fishing drop in a dinghy and then dropped off while the other boats would go fishing (int. Power 30/11/13). For example, when he was young, Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) would row around in a dinghy to fish for whiting and then be picked up by Clem Graham and take his box of fish in to the fish buyer. L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) would hook from his boat around Hollywood and Reef Point. According to Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13), people would go from The Creek/Winggara around to Hollywood, Chinaman's Wells and Reef Point, fishing for garfish.

The jetties are evidently key transit points and the two remaining jetties on Point Pearce/Burgiyana land have been recorded in detail (Roberts et al. 2013). According to Graham (int. 19/2/13), 'old people from the mission' built both Dolly's Jetty and the Little Jetty, and the Big Jetty was built by B.H.P. No direct reference to the jetties' construction was found in the historical archives, however in July 1910 a

monkey jack with 8 ton guide is noted in the goods received book (GRG52/66). Khan (2006:6) states that pile driven jetties are constructed using a large weight, called a monkey, which drives the pile into the ground by being hoisted and dropped. In addition, many goods received are timber from Cowell Brothers & Company Ltd, timber merchants based in Norwood, Adelaide, and established in 1875 (GRG52/66).



Figure 55 Copper nails observed at Dead Man's Island/Mungari (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

These timbers are mostly jarrah and oregon, however whether any of these were for the jetties, or for standard building construction, is not recorded. Baker (1919:460–468) records turpentine as the best Australian timber for the construction of wharves, however jarrah was also used in jetty construction, for example in Western Australia.



Figure 56 Timber with square-headed iron bolt at Dead Man's Island/Mungari (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

In addition to being key locations for embarking and disembarking, boats were brought alongside jetties to get out of the wind (int. Smith 29/11/13). J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) also says that the jetties, the Little Jetty in particular, were used for shelter. 'You'd moor your boats at different aspects judging on the wind, similar to Goose Island where they camped' (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). 'Fishermen used to camp at Goose Island ... they'd tow the boats out further to the fishing drops and then they'd all fish off a mother ship, mother boat, then they'd come in ... turn the fish in to Port Victoria ... get their supplies ... their little change and they'd go back out fishing' (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

6.6.1.1 Old Dolly's Jetty

The probable location of Old Dolly's Jetty was identified during the '(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project' (Roberts et al. 2013:90). Archaeological evidence includes two upright wooden pile stumps in the intertidal zone, covered by seaweed during the survey, parallel to the remains of a rough rock wall (Figure 57). This jetty is located north of the current Dolly's Jetty.



Figure 57 Probable location of Old Dolly's Jetty with Clem O'Loughlin seated to the right, facing southwest (photograph by A. Roberts 13/4/12 '[Re]locating Narrunga Project').

In 1919, J.B. Steer⁸⁶, the mission Superintendent stated that 'the supply of firewood is a very serious item but we hope to overcome this when our new jetty is built' (South 1919:12). This suggests that the older jetty, possibly Old Dolly's Jetty was dismantled and reused for firewood, which would explain the lack of timber at this location.

6.6.1.2 Dolly's Jetty

Dolly's Jetty (Figure 58) and the corresponding Little Jetty were built in 1910 (South 1911:6), the Marine Board offering no objection and agreeing to charge a nominal rent of 5s per annum to cover the terms of the lease (*The Advertiser* 1910:12). The metal collars at the top of the piles on both jetties are evidence for the driving process, where the collars prevented the timber splitting (Khan 2006:6). An examination of the construction of both jetties, being mostly identical, also confirms that the same builders built them at a similar time. Dolly's Jetty was primarily used as a working jetty in the earlier years. It is referred to as the 'Point Jetty' in the missions' historical documents (GRG52/49/1). Travel from the mission depended on the weather, for example in June 1918 the weather was too rough to go to the island (GRG52/73/1). A later addition to the jetty, in the late 1930s, was a stone wall which

⁸⁶ Overseer 1912–1914, Superintendent 1919, 1925–1931.

runs out from the jetty, landward, in a ‘V’ shape, parts of which are extant (Figure 59). C. O’Loughlin’s (int. 14/11/12) father, Alfred Snr⁸⁷, who was paid 35 cents per metre, built this wall (see also Roberts et al. 2013:90, 93).



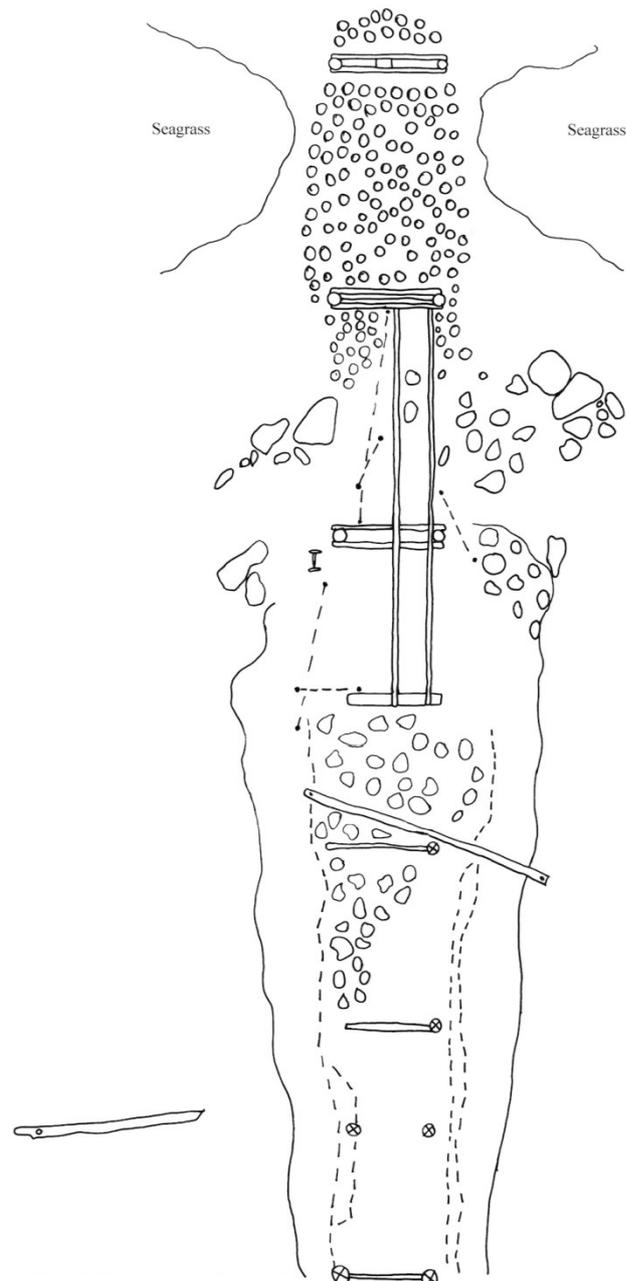
Figure 58 Dolly’s Jetty, facing southwest (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

There is a note in the daybook that the Point Jetty (Dolly’s Jetty) was repaired in June 1945 (GRG52/49/1). Intensive archaeological surveying further substantiates the longevity of the use of, and repair to, the jetty by the community (see also Roberts et al. 2013:91–92). The jetty is 30.7 m in overall length with the first 14.5 m shoreward comprised of rock (Figure 60).



Figure 59 Historical photograph of Dolly’s Jetty when the stone wall was intact (28/11/13, held at Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre).

⁸⁷ Alfred O’Loughlin Snr, born 1893 or 1894 Denial Bay, died 1951 Moonta/Munda (Kartinyeri 2002:182, 381).



0 1 2 3 4 5 metres

- rock
- - - rail
- ⊗ metal
- - - top of rock/mortar wall
- ⊕ trolley

↑
238° M

Dolly's Jetty, Point Pearce/Burgyana

Plan view

J. Raupp, A. Roberts & J. Naumann

13 April 2012

Figure 60 Site plan of Dolly's Jetty (after Roberts et al. 2013:95).

Two piles per bent (three bents in total, A–C), double crossheads, diagonal bracing (Bents B and C) and girders were used in the construction of the seaward section. Historical photographs indicate the stages of deterioration of the jetty (Figures 61–

62). L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) remembers pulling in at Dolly's Jetty when coming from Wardang Island/Waraldi, although when the tides go out vessels are unable to get in there, so travel had to be worked with the tides.



Figure 61 Historical photograph of Dolly's Jetty showing girders and rails still intact (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).



Figure 62 Historical photograph of Dolly's Jetty showing girders and rails still intact (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).

The jetty's length also indicates that vessels would need to berth with the stern moored to the head of the jetty, due to the depth of the water (Roberts et al. 2013:92). This confirms its use for the transfer of livestock. It was used to load sheep onto *Narrunga*, indicated further by the iron railing running on either side of the jetty, at the top of the piles for the length of the jetty and between the deck and top of the piles from the stone wall to Bent A, some of which is extant (Figure 63).



Figure 63 Dolly's Jetty ca 1930s (Moody 2012:114).

Many notches in the piles above the deck of the jetty on Bent A provide evidence for the iron rails from rail tracks, which were of varying gauges and suggest they were replaced or repaired over time (Figures 64–65). In addition, remaining tacks show where the fence was attached. Engraved initials were also identified on the western pile of Bent A, recorded as 'D N J M', however who this might relate to is unknown. In later years, Dolly's Jetty was not used as a base for fishing because it was unsafe, fishing being done from Boys Point/Gunganya warda (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13).

It has primarily become part of the leisure maritime cultural landscape, although use of the term leisure, in a Narungga sense, is more complex. People still fish from it, however, and Weetra (int. 28/11/13) remembers being dropped off and picked up from Dolly's Jetty in the 1990s when travelling to Wardang Island/Waraldi, although then they would walk in and stand and wait in the water.

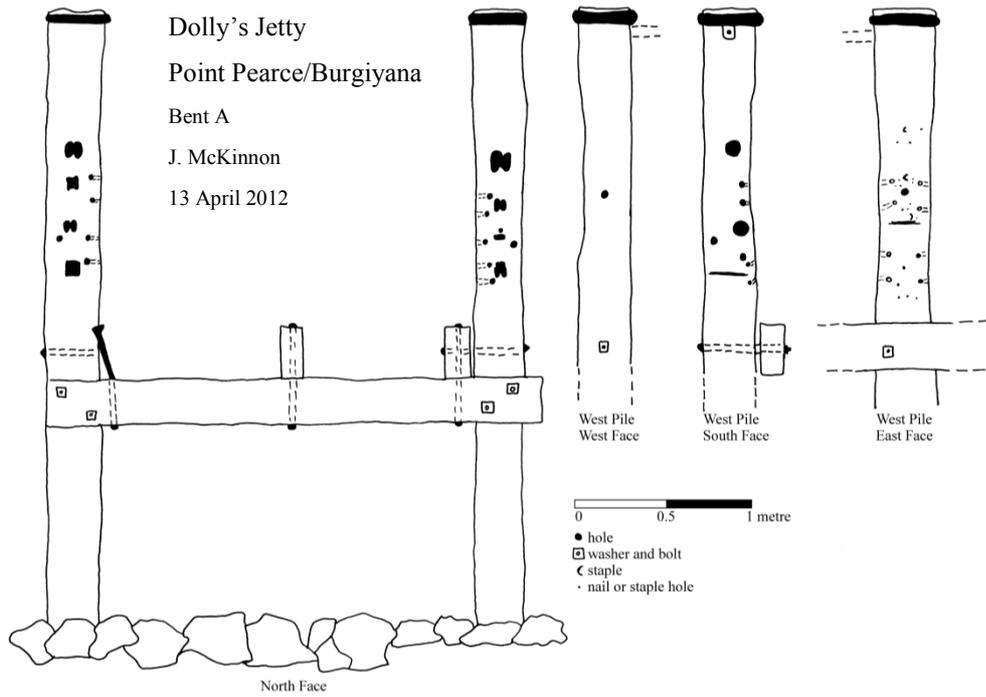


Figure 64 Drawing of Bent A, Dolly's Jetty ('[Re]locating Narrunga Project').

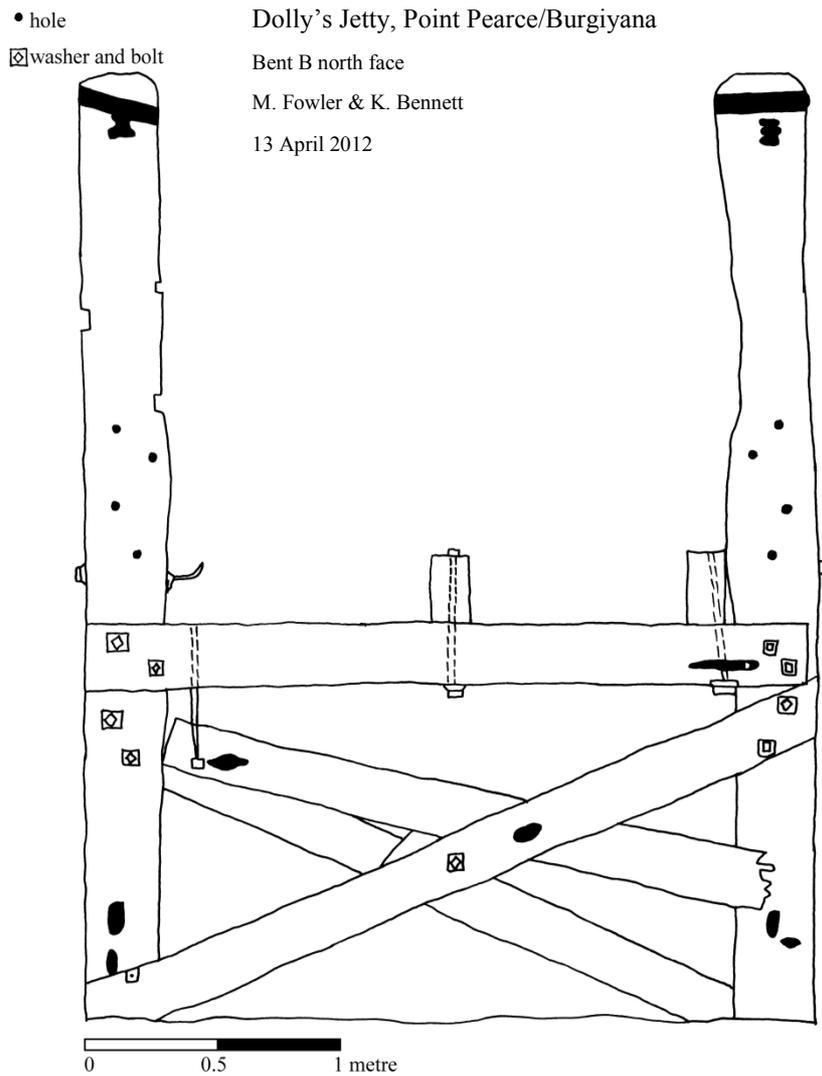


Figure 65 Drawing of Bent B, Dolly's Jetty ('[Re]locating Narrunga Project').

6.6.1.3 *Boys Point/Gunganya warda*

Most people who were running private fishing boats kept them moored up at Boys Point/Gunganya warda and there were up to 25 or 30 boats at the moorings (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). About half of the boats at Boys Point/Gunganya warda were mast boats with wells (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). Historical photographs reveal that several vessels were in varying states of disuse at Boys Point/Gunganya warda over time (Figures 66–68).



Figure 66 Boys Point/Gunganya warda with a sailing boat beached at the launching channel (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).



Figure 67 Boys Point/Gunganya warda showing what is most likely the sailing boat from Figure 66 having deteriorated (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).



Figure 68 Boys Point/Gunganya warda showing the previous sailing boat further deteriorated (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).

Most fishing trips started at Boys Point/Gunganya warda with the route determined by where the fishing would occur, for example, Cecil Graham took his boat around to End Sandhill Beach (Graham and Graham 1987:55). People would walk out or row out to the main boat in dinghys (int. Graham 26/11/13; int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). The remnant of a groove in the bank is visible where boats would have been pushed in (Figure 69).



Figure 69 Groove in bank (at centre of photograph) at Boys Point/Gunganya warda, facing west (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

A sand bank runs parallel to the shoreline that was crossed in order to get to the deeper water where the sailing boats were once moored. A channel also runs perpendicular to the shoreline, alongside the more recent spit out to the deep water (Figure 70). R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) paints an evocative image of the daily routine of the fishermen at Boys Point/Gunganya warda:

They would all go down there, gather at the Point, have their cigarettes and a yarn, their flagon of tea, cold tea, and their jam sandwich ... plum jam, apricot ... out they go, come in about five, six o'clock at night.



Figure 70 Standing on the recent spit, facing north. The channel out to the deep water is alongside the spit (photograph by J. Naumann 26/2/14).

Fishing occurred year round with between 25 and 30 men going out each day (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). More recently, a spit has been constructed into the water to access the deeper channel, however before this fishermen would come inshore in their dinghy's (int. Weetra 28/11/13). While there has always been a creek running out at Boys Point/Gunganya warda, which the 'old people' used, the spit was first cut out in the 1980s and later construction continued in the 1990s by Lyle Sansbury (pers. comm. 29/10/14) and Ian Harradine Snr⁸⁸. The spit is constructed of rubble including concrete and cinder blocks sourced from the mission when old buildings

⁸⁸ Ian Alby Harradine, born 1963 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:295).

were knocked down (Figure 71). Clem O'Loughlin, Clem Graham, Darcy Power⁸⁹ and Richard Sansbury Snr used the Boys Point/Gunganya warda moorings in the 1980s (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). No buildings are extant at Boys Point/Gunganya warda today, although modern foundations are located just inland from the spit. In the 1940s, at least one hut was at Boys Point/Gunganya warda, occupied by non-Indigenous fishermen, Escott Ford and Gordon Cave at varying points (GRG52/1/120/1940).



Figure 71 Michael O'Loughlin and Lindsay Sansbury at the more recently constructed spit, Boys Point/Gunganya warda, facing northeast (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

6.6.1.4 *The Creek/Winggara*

The Creek/Winggara is a freshwater creek, a soak or spring (Figure 72) (int. Rigney 18/7/13). It is a breeding ground for certain fish and the samphire habitat is used by birdlife (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) suggests that there were up to 10 dinghy's lined up in the saltbushes at The Creek/Winggara. An entry in the 1951 daybook states that superphosphate bags were washed in the creek at the beach and hung to dry (GRG52/49/3), which is likely to be The Creek/Winggara as there are not any other creeks that enter the beach around Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula. The Creek/Winggara was also a source of water, which was then transported to Wardang Island/Waraldi (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

⁸⁹ Darcy James Power, born 1931 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2000:291, 300).

6.6.1.5 Narrunga launching site

The launching of *Narrunga* was described in a newspaper article:

A new vessel for sheep carrying—‘A vessel has just been completed to the order of the Yorke Peninsula Aboriginal Mission committee for the station at Point Pierce. The measurements are: —Length over all, 45 ft. 5 in.’ [13.84 m] beam extreme, 12 ft. 5 in. [3.78 m]; and depth amidships, 4 ft [1.22 m]. She [sic] has accommodation for over 160 sheep, and draws only 20 inches of water when loaded. Light draught is necessary for working over the shallows that are found between Wardang Island and Point Pierce. The vessel was built at the station by Mr. W. Burgoyne, of the “Pioneer slip”, Port Pirie, and was taken over two and a half miles [4.02 km] to be launched. A traction engine, owned by Jarret Bros., of Maitland, provided the motive power necessary to effect the launch. Owing to the soft condition of the road after heavy rains, laying steel plates under the trolley wheels was resorted to, thus ensuring firmness. Over one and a half miles [2.41 km] was plated in this way. The vessel is called *Narrungga*, which is the aboriginal name for the Yorke Peninsula tribe. She [sic] is ketch rigged, with centreboard of jarrah, and sails well. The sheep are loaded by being driven on stages through a gap hatchway in the stern’ (*The Advertiser* 1903:7).



Figure 72 The Creek/Winggara, facing northeast (photograph by A. Berry 27/2/14).

The launching place was located during the ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’ to be north of The Sheoaks (Roberts et al. 2013:89). Archaeological evidence in this area included ship timbers with copper alloy fasteners (Figure 73). The area also fits the characteristics of a launching and vessel refitting site, being expansive, hard tidal

flats free from rocks and obstructions and also in close proximity to the mission and deep water (Roberts et al. 2013:91). The site has also been used as a landing site for other vessels. In the 1970s, a barge was cleaned and refitted on the tidal flats in this area (Roberts et al. 2013:91).



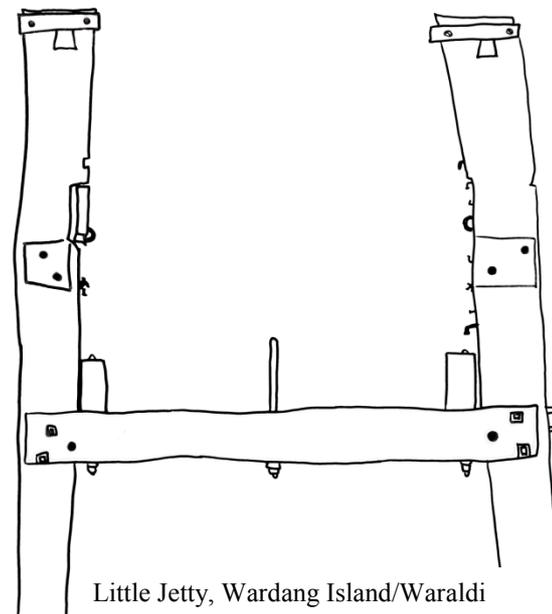
Figure 73 Timber with copper alloy fasteners at the site identified as the launching place of *Narrunga* (photograph by A. Roberts 23/3/12 ‘[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project’).

6.6.1.6 *Little Jetty*

They [the jetties on Wardang Island] were red hot! Yeah, everybody used them (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12).

The Little Jetty on Wardang Island/Waraldi is referred to as the ‘Island Jetty’ in the missions’ historical documents (GRG52/73/3), however Graham (int. 25/2/13) remembers they simply called it the Little Jetty. C. O’Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) suggests that the timber for the Little Jetty was most likely brought over from Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana on *Narrunga*. In 1948, R. Edwards, probably A.R. Edwards, Port Victoria/Dharlidiwarldu’s harbourmaster, was contacted regarding disposing of the Island Jetty (Little Jetty) (GRG52/49/2). A delegate from the Harbours Board subsequently inspected the jetty (GRG52/49/2), although evidently nothing came of these discussions, as the Little Jetty is extant. The Little Jetty is of similar construction to Dolly’s Jetty and similarly used for the transfer of livestock,

although it is longer than Dolly's Jetty with the total length of the timber structure being 31.2 m, not including the soil ramp (Figure 74).

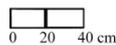


Little Jetty, Wardang Island/Waraldi

Bent B west profile

J. McKinnon, G. Lacsina & C. Pasch

27–28 February 2013



● hole

Figure 74 Drawing of Bent B, Little Jetty.

It is made up of six bents (Bents A–F), two piles per bent, as well as diagonal bracing (Bents E and F), double crossheads and girders, most of which survive (Figure 75). No planking remains on the jetty and some of the iron rails running between the bents at the top of the piles have rusted and fallen alongside the jetty. A piece of timber from the jetty—probably a diagonal brace—was located some distance south of the jetty, suggesting it was moved there by tides (Figure 76). The northern pile of Bent F and the southern pile of Bent E both have additional metal ring and post features attached which are most likely davits. A fence constructed of wooden posts with metal rails has collapsed on the southern side of the soil ramp that leads uphill from the jetty (Figure 77).

Little Jetty, Wardang Island/Waraldi
Plan View
C. Pasch, K. Bennett, G. Lacsina & M. Fowler
26 February–1 March 2013

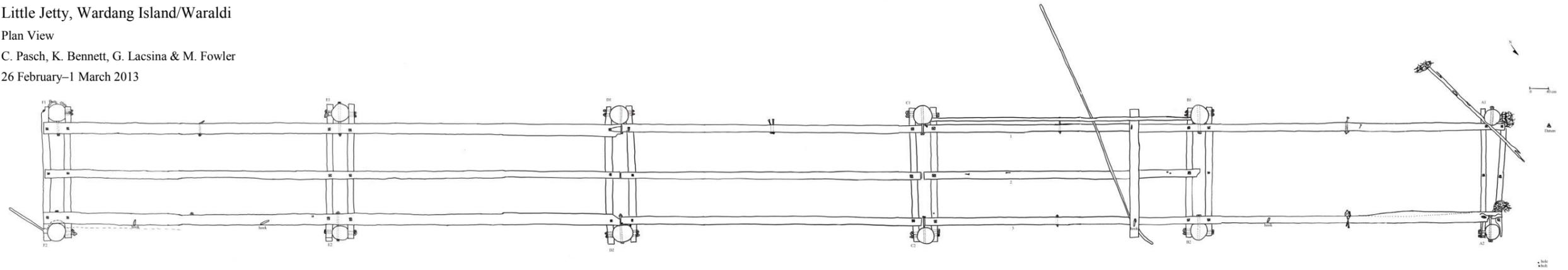


Figure 75 Site plan of Little Jetty.



Figure 76 Jetty timber in context with Little Jetty in distance, facing north (photograph by K. Bennett 25/2/13).



Figure 77 Post and rail fence at ramp leading uphill from Little Jetty, facing northwest (photograph by G. Lacsina 25/2/13).

This is different from the construction of a stone wall at Dolly's Jetty, however served the same purpose, the reason being the mostly flat terrain at Dolly's Jetty compared to the steep incline at the Little Jetty. The Little Jetty was used for the smaller mission boats, as there needs to be enough water to get in with a larger boat; it is not deep when the tide is out (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). Although, the water depth is greater than that at Dolly's Jetty, allowing vessels to berth laterally as well as at the head (Roberts et al. 2013:92). As J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) states, 'everything was done from the small jetty and it was straight direct to the jetty at Dolly's Jetty'. In 1948 and 1949, B.H.P. purchased several assets from the mission including the station barge, and it is described that B.H.P. had 'already taken over ...

the small jetty at the Island’ (GRG52/1/99/1949). The launch was also no longer required as in 1949 the island was no longer under the control of the Aborigines Protection Board (GRG52/1/99/1949).

6.6.1.7 *Big Jetty*

In 1911, one year after the construction of the mission jetty on Wardang Island/Waraldi, permission was given for the then Port Pirie Flux Company to build a jetty 370 ft (112.78 m) long and 15 ft (4.57 m) wide and construction began the following year (*The Barrier Miner* 1912:8; *The Register* 1911:5). The Big Jetty was used for most of the larger vessels—both B.H.P. vessels such as *Silver Cloud* and their launches and mission boats like *Narrunga*—as there was plenty of room to pull up alongside of it (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). The Big Jetty was dismantled in 2007 because it was unsafe (Moody 2012:117). B.H.P. also had a larger slipway but it was only for their use (int. Graham 28/2/13). The remains of a slipway and foundation for a winch are located near the Big Jetty at the B.H.P. Village (Figure 78). In addition, a winch is located in the main housing area of the B.H.P. Village (Figure 79).



Figure 78 Winch footing located on shore at B.H.P. Village, facing northwest (photograph by A. Roberts 9/4/12 ‘[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project’).

6.6.1.8 *Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty*

The 259 m Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty was opened in January 1878 (Moody 2012:19). It was extended to 333.5 m in 1883 (Moody 2012:19). In May and June

1909 and January, February and March 1912, jetty tolls are recorded in the goods received books from George A. Diment, Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu's harbourmaster (GRG52/66; GRG52/67/1), however the particular jetty these tolls relate to is not specified.



Figure 79 Winch located at the main B.H.P. Village area (photograph by A. Roberts 9/4/12 '[Re]locating Narrunga Project').

Boats and motor launches ran between Wardang Island/Waraldi and Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for food and supplies (Graham and Graham 1987:53). L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) remembers driving one of the Wardang Island/Waraldi launches across to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu to collect fuel and having trouble pulling alongside the jetty because of the fishermen fishing there. He would make this trip once a week, moor the boat at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, do the shopping and then return, usually on weekends (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13).

6.6.2 Terrestrial routes

Several terrestrial routes are significant at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. The route from the mission to Point Paddock and Dolly's Jetty was used frequently, particularly in the early 1900s when Dolly's Jetty was used as a working jetty. J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) notes that the roads were already well-established by this time; however there were three or four different roads because, based on the weather,

some roads would be more difficult to traverse than others. Records from 1925 show that a car was used to travel from the mission to the Point, from which a boat was taken to Wardang Island/Waraldi (GRG52/78), although this car would have most often transported the superintendent. More recently, Rigney (int. 18/7/13) remembers borrowing trailers and, when they were unavailable, driving with t-shirts on top of the roof and everyone holding the dinghy down with their arms out the window.

Horse and cart provided transportation on the route from the mission to Boys Point/Gunganya warda (int. Graham 26/11/13). In addition, horse and cart travelled the route from the mission to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, via the Boundary Gate; for example, Graham (int. 28/2/14) took children to school and collected the mail. In 1936, Alf O'Loughlin was responsible for carting the wheat and barley from the station to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu using his own motor lorry (McLean 1936:16).

Terrestrial routes on Wardang Island/Waraldi were travelled on foot or on horseback. In later years, a tractor with a trailer, which could fit about 20 people, was used to take tourists right around the island (int. Graham 28/2/13).

6.7 Urban harbour landscape

It's simply too ridiculous to fathom the notion that Aboriginal involvement in seamanship and on boats, either as workers on boats or as someone that assists, in such a huge port as Port Victoria at the time. But history pays this no mind (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

As discussed, Aboriginal participation in the maritime industry at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu has been ignored and silenced in Western histories (Roberts et al. 2014:29). However, in addition to going out to different communities for seasonal work, there were Aboriginal peoples that worked in and around Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, and at other ports on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, in relation to shipping (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). Evidence for this has been found through oral histories and, to a more limited degree, archival research.

Lumping was just one part of the involvement of Aboriginal people in wider shipping activities (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13; Roberts et al. 2014:28–29). Graham (int. 28/2/13) describes the transport of wheat and barley onto the sailing ships at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (Figure 80):

They used to bring wheat and barley, same as everyone else, on horse and buggy. Big thing on rails, put all the wheat on and pull it out to the end of the jetty with the horse, and put it in the boats and dinghies and that sort of thing, and take it out to the big ships.



Figure 80 'At Point Pearce where the men lumped bags of wheat onto boats for shipping'. Note the three Aboriginal men on the right (image courtesy of the Dr Doreen Kartinyeri Collection).

C. O'Loughlin's (int. 25/11/13) brother, Alfred 'Locky' Jnr⁹⁰, lumped for *Passat*, *Lawhill* and *Pamir* in the 1940s, taking bags on and off the jetty to the boats (Roberts et al. 2014:28). John Milera⁹¹ and Donald⁹² and Clarence 'Clarrie'⁹³ Newchurch also lumped wheat at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for shipping to Port Adelaide on SS *Nelcebee* (images of *Nelcebee* at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty, including in the 1940s, are in Moody [2012:51, 84, 258])—which traded from 1883 to 1982—in the 1940s and 1950s (int. C. O'Loughlin 15/10/12 '[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project'). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) says that Richard 'Dick' Sansbury also worked on ketches and schooners, fishing from those big boats. Narungga people worked at

⁹⁰ Alfred O'Loughlin Jnr, born 1923 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1970 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:182, 248, 381, 392).

⁹¹ John Francis Milera, born 1923 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1976 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:232, 247, 347, 378).

⁹² Donald Miles Newchurch, born 1930 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:228, 239, 376).

⁹³ Clarence Bryan Newchurch, born 1923 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:228, 239, 376, 385).

ports at other places on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda other than stacking and lumping at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13).

In 1916, all the wheat lumping at Balgowan Jetty was done by Point Pearce/Burgiyana men and in 1919, J.B. Steer, the Superintendent, documented that most of the wheat lumping at Balgowan was done by Point Pearce/Burgiyana men, although very little wheat was shipped from the port that season (South 1916:12, 1919:11). The Port of Balgowan frequently gave work to men from Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana as wheat lumpers, including in 1920 and 1921 (Garnett 1920:10, 1921:10).

Fred Warrior⁹⁴, who grew up at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, also did 'wharf work' in the 1960s (Warrior et al. 2005:113). Darcy Power was employed lumping at Pine Point and Port Adelaide on the coastal vessel *Annie Watt* (int. Power 30/11/13). Point Pearce/Burgiyana people were also lumping wheat and barley off the coastal ketch *Falie* at Port Adelaide (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13), as well as camping at Port Giles and Wallaroo/Wadla waru for the lumping season before returning to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). People also utilised the wider intrastate maritime routes to travel from one place to another. In 1905, for example, Mrs R. Newchurch and her two children took passage on a steamer from Port Lincoln to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu via Wallaroo/Wadla waru (GRG52/1/77/1905).

Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana was part of a wider network of trade and economics. This includes the import of goods from major centres for the running of the mission. During the wreck of *SS Investigator* off Wardang Island/Waraldi in 1918, the mission lost a large shipment of goods (with the exception of some tins of tobacco) (GRG52/1/29/1918). Questions arose surrounding who would be charged for the loss given they were not insured. Some of the goods, including tinned fruits and timber, were suggested as salvageable (the purchasers of the cargo of the wreck only bought the insured material), however *SS Investigator* completely broke up and salvagers recovered no material. Other goods were also shipped from the Public Stores to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, for example in 1922 brooms were sent to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu on the coastal steamer *SS Quorna* (GRG52/1/43/1922). In 1928, a

⁹⁴ Frederick Warrior, born 1946 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:186, 387).

shipment of 1,000 building bricks arrived at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in very poor, unusable condition (GRG52/1/56/1928). These were shipped on the ketch *Yalatta* (*Yalata*) rather than in crates on a steamship, which was the usual method, due to a strike and the mission was unable to claim for damage against the vessel (GRG52/1/56/1928).

Direct connections can also be made between Point Pearce/Burghiyana and the trading ships at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, including the export of mission produce, such as wool and wheat, via coastal traders to major centres. In 1933, the wheat ships loading at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu purchased a number of pigs from Point Pearce Mission/Burghiyana via the local butcher (McLean 1933:9). Presumably these were for the consumption of the ships' crew. The wool from the 1918 September shearing on Wardang Island/Waraldi was shipped to Port Adelaide on the ketch *Alert* (GRG52/73/1), and it is reasonable to assume that the wool was taken directly from either the Little Jetty or Big Jetty to *Alert*. Shearing from 1932 was dispatched per the coastal ketch *Lurline* (1873–1946) (GRG52/70). It appears that the grain and wool from Point Pearce Mission/Burghiyana was lumped to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for transport by ship, however, there are references to goods being transported direct from Dolly's Jetty, which saved on the long cartage through to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/1/8/1916). During the 1920s, possibly 1927–1928, George Simms used his cutter *Naomi* to tow barges or boats to the beach adjacent to Dolly's Jetty (Moody 2012:84). Grain was loaded from wagons and the barges were then towed to the ketch *Evaleeta*, at anchorage in deep water (Moody 2012:84). This is reinforced in several archival sources. Correspondence in 1916 refers to the Point wheat (GRG52/1/92/1916):

We have always in the past shipped the wheat grown there [the Point] from our Point jetty. Selling it to Bell & Co. whose agent in Port Victoria, Mr L. McArthur—has taken delivery from us at the Point, and been responsible for the shipping. We have let him have the use of our Motor and dingey [sic] to assist him in taking the wheat out to boats lying out off shore in deep water. He found all labour. This is practically our only way of getting our wheat away from the Point ... Our jetty at the Point is a tidal jetty, so the rate of removal [of wheat] would be affected by the tides ... The slight extra cost of shipping from the Point being covered by the absence of jetty charges.

The boat purchased in 1919 was also described as ‘just the sort we need when shipping wheat from the Point’ (GRG52/1/86/1919).

In 1926, a deep-sea jetty was proposed for Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/1/38/1926). The Chief Protector of Aboriginals, Garnett, stated:

The proposed jetty would be a decided advantage to Point Pearce Aboriginal Station. All wheat, barley and wool grown on the Station are shipped from Port Victoria (GRG52/1/38/1926).

However, when he asked the Hon. Commissioner of Public Works whether he should sign the agreement the reply was ‘no’ (GRG52/1/38/1926).

6.8 Economic/subsistence/sustenance landscape

‘You’ve always got to give your first fish away’, they say (int. Walker 29/11/13).

6.8.1 Fishing—third fires

‘Third fires’ is what Rigney (int. 18/7/13) defines as ‘the current generation’. As mentioned, marine resource and island use continued throughout the mission period. Fishing was conducted both for personal subsistence and commercially, for sale, and these will be discussed separately.

6.8.1.1 Subsistence

During the 1930s and 1940s, marine resources continued to play a role in daily food supplies. An example of this is a recollection from Lewis O’Brien⁹⁵ of his aunt using fish heads for soup (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:200). As a child, O’Brien ‘learned to eat the eyes and the piece off the forehead and the tail of the fish’, showing no part of the fish went to waste (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:200).

L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) owned what he describes as a ‘big dinghy’, which he bought off his cousin, Tom Newchurch Jnr, and used to go fishing to ‘get enough for a feed’. L. Newchurch’s (int. 29/11/13) boat was wrecked on the rocks when he was away. In addition to using boats, fishing was conducted both off the jetty and also the shore (Graham and Graham 1987:53). Galadri, Middle Fence and the Little Jetty are known places to collect bloodworms and Middle Fence and The Bay (Wardang

⁹⁵ Lewis William Arthur O’Brien, born 1930 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:126, 129, 242).

Island/Waraldi) were also places for shore fishing (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13; int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13; int. Weetra 28/11/13). L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) went fishing from the shore at Galadri, as well as anywhere around the point where he could get a clear spot to throw the net. Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) reiterates that fishing off the shore would happen at every beach, everyone would try different places to see if they would be successful. People would collect worms at Badhara's Rock and go fishing at Dead Man's Island/Mungari and Galadri from March to April/May (int. Weetra 28/11/13). On the western coast of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula is where men used to go out butterfishing with harpoons (int. Weetra 28/11/13)—from Galadri to Mungari (int. Graham 26/11/13). More recently, in the 1960s, young boys would go trapping and butterfishing with spear guns (int. Walker 29/11/13).

In addition to fish, a range of shellfish was collected around Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and the islands. Hollywood to Second Beach was a 'well-known garden paradise for shellfish' (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13). Warrener (*Turbo* sp.) and periwinkle would be collected on Dead Man's Island/Mungari, when the tide was out, by lifting up the rocks (int. Weetra 28/11/13), and it is a good location for Snapper (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). Places on Wardang Island/Waraldi with significant marine resources include Table Rock with warrener, periwinkle, abalone (*Haliotis* sp.) and scallop (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). In the Old Village area, Artefact Scatter 4 revealed the consumption of shellfish. These included limpet (Order Patellogastropoda), called Chinaman's hats or traditionally known as *gundhi* hats, warrener and black periwinkle (common name Black Nerite—*Nerita atramentosa*)—nicknamed pennywinkles (Fowler et al. 2014:20; int. C. O'Loughlin 26/2/13). Chinaman's hats are cooked upside down on the stove or oven and then eaten with a fork, while periwinkle are boiled in a billy and warrener are thrown onto and cooked on the ashes (Fowler et al. 2014:20; int. C. O'Loughlin 26/2/13).

In addition, fish brought back to the community would be distributed to elders, for example Wellesley Sansbury would take fish to Gladys Elphick⁹⁶, Annie Sansbury⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Gladys Elphick (nee Adams), born 1904 Adelaide, died 1988 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:198).

⁹⁷ Annie Winifred Sansbury (nee Warrior), born 1909 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1988 (Warrior et al. 2005:143).

and Leslie ‘Sugar Buck’⁹⁸ and Bessie⁹⁹ Buckskin (int. Walker 19/11/13). To give the *nhudli gayinbara* to a relative or non-relative, to an elder or someone who is unable to catch their own fish, is considered as honourable and humbling and one of the greatest acts of kindness and respect (int. Rigney 28/7/13). The topic of traditional fishing practices, its cultural importance and Narungga involvement in the fishing industry is the subject of a separate publication by Roberts et al. (in prep), so less detail on fishing has been given here.

6.8.1.2 Commercial

Fishing was fishing, and it was fun, you know (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13).

Fishing is first recognised in mission archives as a form of employment for men from Point Pearce/Burkiyana, and a means of earning a living for themselves and their families, in 1916 and again in 1921 (Garnett 1921:10; South 1916:12). Assistance described previously included being able to procure more suitable boats and to install marine engines which allowed continuous employment in the commercial fishing industry (Aborigines Protection Board 1948:2). A garage was even built at the cottage of an Aboriginal fisherman in 1937 (McLean 1937:18). In 1949, three fishermen received assistance to engage in commercial fishing, which brought the total number of Aboriginal people earning a living as fishermen, and therefore independently from the station, to eight (Aborigines Protection Board 1949:6). Assistance for fishing equipment was provided until the 1950s, with the last reference identified in 1950 when the Station Manager stated:

Two natives were provided with fishing nets to enable them to engage in fishing on a commercial basis. Other fishermen assisted in previous years are making a good living (Aborigines Protection Board 1950:7).

The impact of Westernised versions of ‘maritime’, sail and engine craft, was well-established by the 1950s (int. Rigney 18/7/13). Half of the population of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana had a dinghy and relied off the sea because food was, and is, very expensive (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

Even economic fishing involved the whole family, including children. Net fishing

⁹⁸ Leslie John Buckskin, born 1911 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:154, 200, 314).

⁹⁹ Bessie Maria Buckskin (nee Warrior), born 1911 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Warrior et al. 2005:143).

occurred from boats and is recorded in several oral histories. Irene Agius remembers fishing around The Creek/Winggara:

We used to just stand up on top of the dinghy and pole along ... And they'd throw bread out to feed the garfish, all stale bread. They'd buy about 20 loaves sometimes. Might last the day, might last two or three days ... Net fishing. And we'd have one of the big old tubs, you know what you have a bath in? That was brought down in a jinker with other stuff, cart with other stuff and we'd come along in the buggy, all the kids. And then night, when he'd (her father) bring the fish in, we'd be there, stripping them you know. All the garfish. And putting the little ones one side and the bigger ones one side. Oh yeah, tedious job ... We'd just take the whole lot, put 'em all back in the bag and he'd take them all down to the Port [Victoria] and sell them. Used to get \$5 a bag in the, £5 a bag. Wheat bag, you know ... So he'd get three bags, four bags ... We'd have our feed on the coals here. Just throw the garfish on the coals. Never worry about skinning the, scaling them rather, or doing the running, cleaning them. You'd rinse them out and stick 'em on the coals and then just eat the flesh ... [we ate] fish nearly every day ... If fish was there we'd eat it. We had nowhere to keep it see? Just had the little ice chest in those days. Before fridges come in, kerosene fridges (Wood and Westell 1998b:14–15).

This memory is similar to one recorded from Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) where he would wait at The Creek/Winggara for his grandfather, Douglas Parry Sansbury, to come in at night and then strip and clean the garfish for him. When garfishing people would either throw the anchor over if it was a windy day or pole along slowly on flat calm days and watch for the shiny underbelly of the garfish, seen when the fish is digging into the mud with their pointy noses (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Then one person would jump over either end of the boat and slowly walk to close the nets, throwing water to keep the garfish inside the net (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Smith (int. 29/11/13) describes his first experience of netting thus, 'he threw us over the side and told us hold the net down. He literally threw us'. As the eldest child, R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) also has memories of fishing from the boat with his father, where he was tasked with pulling the anchor up, cleaning the boat down and packing the fish.

They [dinghy's] were beat up, they were patched up, they were crusty (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

The dinghies of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, dating back to the early 1900s, serve as key indicators of Narungga cultural knowledge of seamanship (int. Rigney

18/7/13). The privately-owned sailing boats and dinghies of Point Pearce Mission/Burghiyana are all of a similar type with several key features and similarities. The sailing boat owned by Ron Newchurch Snr¹⁰⁰ was described as a cutter with sails (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). Sailing boats were wooden, carvel built (int. Power 30/11/13)—some were clinker (int. Lindsay Sansbury 27/11/13)—with a mast. All the sailing boats had wells in them to keep the fish, including Claude and Peter Smith's boats (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13; int. Lindsay Sansbury 27/11/13; int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). On still days the water in the wells lacked oxygen and the fish would turn belly-up, so the water would be pumped out to allow fresh water to come in and keep the fish alive until the end of the day (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Those few boats that did not have wells would have iceboxes or eskies to keep the fish in (int. Power 30/11/13).

The old sailing boats would not get much bigger than 14 to 16 ft (4.27 to 4.88 m) (int. Graham 19/2/13). The old boats also had ballast, to balance the boat (int. Graham 19/2/13). Old objects, such as pieces of cement, railway lines and similar items would be put inside the boat, along both sides of the fishing well (int. Graham 19/2/13; 28/2/13). Archaeological surveys located the remains of a wooden mast (although possibly a spar), with mast bands at each end, a distance south of the Little Jetty on Wardang Island/Waraldi (Figure 81). While this object cannot be designated as part of a Point Pearce Mission/Burghiyana boat, it emphasises the prominence of maritime activities within the maritime cultural landscape used by Point Pearce/Burghiyana people.

Later, motor boats with engines were up to 20 to 21 ft (6.1 to 6.4 m) at the most (int. Power 30/11/13). All of the motors are referred to as 'simplex' motors—a petrol motor—often the smaller simplex motor (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). The engine on L. Newchurch's (int. 29/11/13) boat was a 3¼ hp simplex. The motors were at the back of the boat, with the well in the middle (int. Power 30/11/13). The magneto on the simplex motor would be taken off and taken home (int. Lindsay Sansbury 27/11/13). In later years, more motor engines than dinghies were purchased, because engines were bought second-hand and were often unreliable third- or fourth-hand

¹⁰⁰ Ronald Glen Newchurch, born 1921 Point Pearce/Burghiyana, died Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:228, 239, 376, 385).

motors (int. Rigney 18/7/13). More times than not, the engine would die while out at sea, causing the fishermen to row back to shore (int. Rigney 18/7/13).



Figure 81 Mast or spar at Wardang Island/Waraldi (photograph by G. Lacsina 26/2/13).

The underwater survey at Boys Point/Gunganya warda located the remains of a sunken motor boat. This vessel was approximately 5 m in length and was of wooden construction (Figures 82–83). Artefacts identified at the wreck site included an anchor, wheel, engine and ladder (Figures 84–85). It appears that the vessel sank at its moorings as these artefacts are located where they would be expected to be on-board the vessel. This suggests there has been very little disturbance to the site. This vessel is likely to be of similar construction and working set up to many other Point Pearce Mission/Burghyana boats.

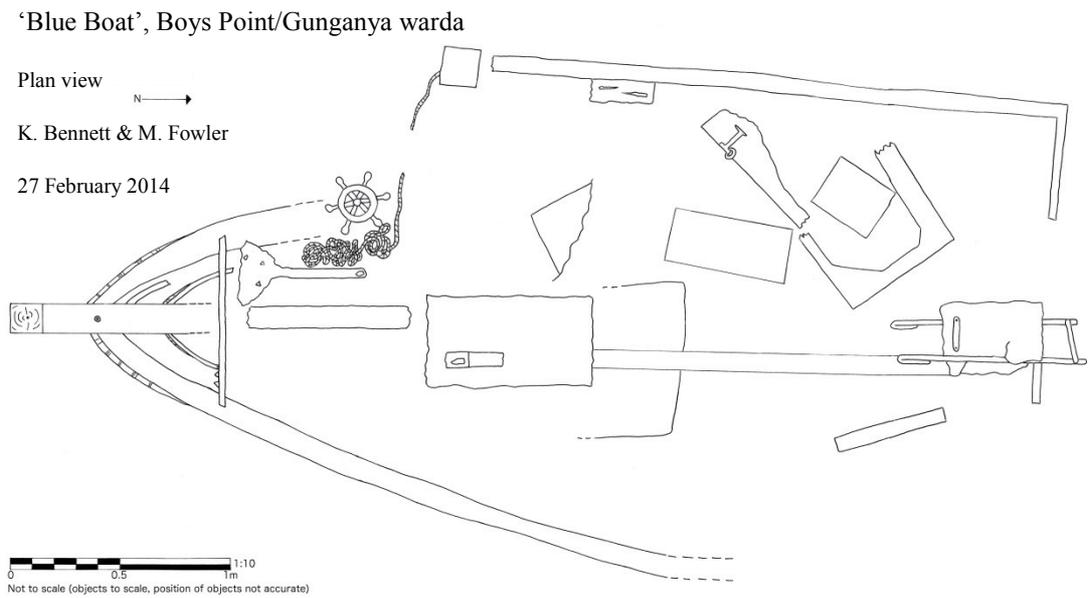


Figure 82 Site plan of the Boys Point/Gunganya warda wreck.



Figure 83 Bow section of the Boys Point/Gunganya warda wreck (26/2/14).

Dinghy's were wooden, clinker built (int. Lindsay Sansbury 27/11/13) and were caulked up if they leaked (Figures 86–87) (int. Power 30/11/13). A particular type of dinghy remembered is the Bondwood boat, of which Parry Sansbury was the first person at Point Pearce/Burkiyana to own one (int. Power 30/11/13). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) remembers that his grandfather Parry's boat was 12 ft (3.66 m) and other dinghy's were roughly 13 to 15 ft (3.96 to 4.57 m).



Figure 84 Wheel of the Boys Point/Gunganya warda wreck (26/2/14).



Figure 85 Ladder of the Boys Point/Gunganya warda wreck (26/2/14).

Up to three men could be on a little dinghy at once, and with a hole in the side of the boat it was often surprising that fish could be caught (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). The remnants of a dinghy was located in the sand bank south of the Old Village at

Wardang Island/Waraldi during surveys, with visible outer planking, frames, keel and keelson (Figures 88–89 and Table 4).



Figure 86 Clifford Edwards and Gilbert Williams in a typical Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana dinghy (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).



Figure 87 Dinghy at Boys Point/Gunganya warda (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).



Figure 88 Site of dinghy on Wardang Island/Waraldi, facing northwest (photograph by G. Lacsina 25/2/13).



Figure 89 Frame spacing of dinghy on Wardang Island/Waraldi (28/2/13).

Table 4 Dimensions of Wardang Island/Waraldi dinghy (all measurements in cm).

*Surviving dimensions, not original	Depth	Width	Length	Spacing
Keel	9	9	500*	-
Keelson	5	9	500*	-
Frame	2*	4	40*	10–12
Outer planking	1	9–13	150*	0.5

Graham (int. 26/2/13) interpreted the vessel to have had an engine at the back and a well in front of the engine—‘the old boats, years ago, the ones that used to sail from Point Pearce also had a well in front of the engine’—and suggested that someone came over with an old boat and left it there between the 1950s and 1970s. The copper bolts are still in very good condition (Figure 90). In addition, a child’s shoe was located alongside the keel of the vessel, which is the only child-specific artefact found in the Old Village area (Figure 91).



Figure 90 A copper bolt on the dinghy at Wardang Island/Waraldi (28/2/13).

J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) states that later in life, each fisherman had his own boats. There is an increase over time of the number of people owning private boats and this can particularly be seen in the 1950s. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) suggests that more and more Narungga people bought Western boats because they needed to go further out due to demand on fish being so high in the traditional fishing places as a consequence of the growth in the Western professional fishing market. More

Narungga people had to go off mission, to areas such as Balgowan, Cape Elizabeth, Tiparra/Dhibara and Moonta/Munda Bay, and around Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda (although this always happened, of course) to compete with recreational fishermen (int. Rigney 18/7/13). This was a conscious decision by the community, which, due to the impact on Wardang Island/Waraldi waters, caused a behaviour shift in favour of preservation of traditional fish stocks (int. Rigney 18/7/13).



Figure 91 Child's shoe on keel of dinghy at Wardang Island/Waraldi (28/2/13).

Restrictions on fishing grounds are not a new phenomenon. In 1924, the Superintendent, W.R. Penhall¹⁰¹, wrote to the Chief Protector of Aborigines on behalf of Joe Edwards regarding:

The matter of opening the waters of the little bay around our coast boundary from the end of Gurgutha [Gagadhi] paddock to the Point for the purpose of fishing for mullet and salmon by means of his net used from the boat. He says the Inspector of Fisheries closed these waters for ten years against mesh net fishing for whiting, and that his net is not a whiting net and he will take only salmon and mullet (GRG52/11/52/1924).

The query was raised with the Chief Inspector of Fisheries, W.D. Bruce, who in reply stated:

¹⁰¹ Superintendent 1924, Acting and Chief Protector of Aborigines 1938–1939, Secretary Aborigines Protection Board 1940–1953.

The waters in question are closed to net fishing of any kind and cannot be re-opened. Some time ago, a request was received from the Mission Station to open the waters between Reef Point and Balgowan Jetty. This was done and now netting can be done between these points (GRG52/11/52/1924).

The Proclamations and Regulations under the *Fisheries Act* were enclosed (Figure 92) (GRG52/11/52/1924). Therefore, netting in the waters directly adjacent to the mission land was prohibited, however netting in waters north of the mission boundary was permitted.

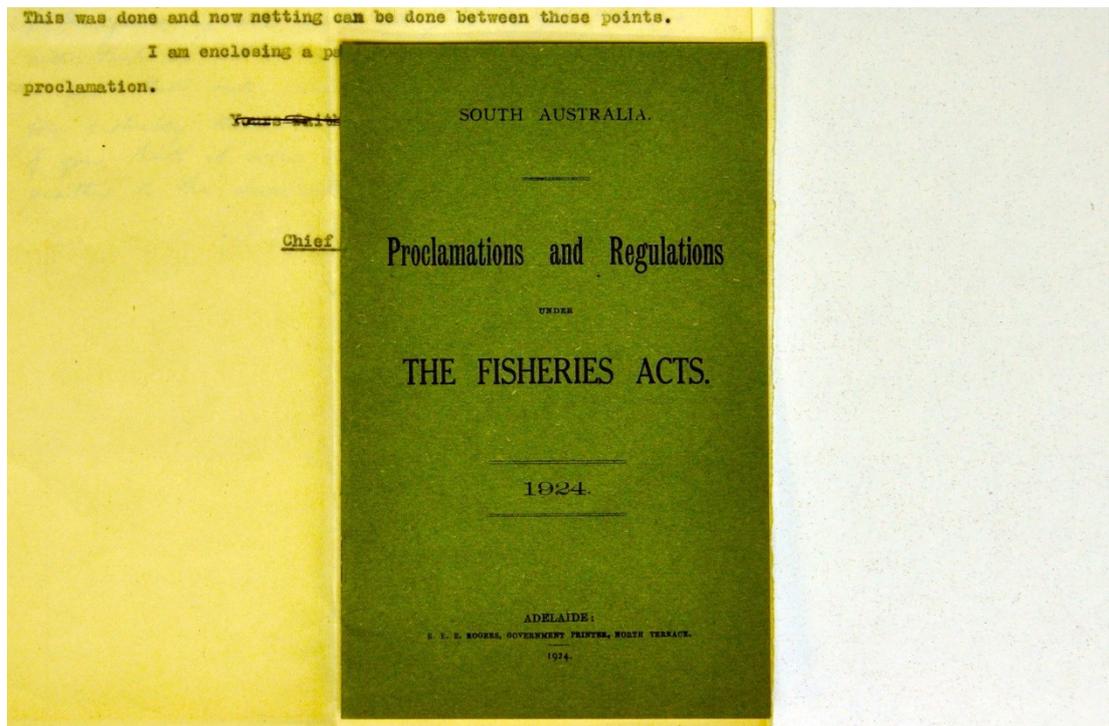


Figure 92 Proclamations and Regulations under the *Fisheries Act* 1924 pamphlet (3/7/14, from SRSA GRG52/11/52/1924).

In more recent years, Richard ‘Bart’ Sansbury gave up fishing, which he had been doing as an occupation from 1974 to 1989, to protest the lack of traditional fishing rights (Hickson 2012:20). His boat, a white, blue and brown cabin cruiser, along with a protest banner, featured in the exhibition *Nyoongah Nunga Yura Koorie* held at the Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute in Adelaide in 1991, and was subsequently acquired by the National Museum of Australia’s National Historic Collection in 1993 (Figure 93) (Hickson 2012:20). Many similarities can be seen between this boat and the wreck located during underwater surveys at Boys Point/Gunganya warda. The wooden construction is similar, as well as the wheel design—

although this is a wooden rather than metal wheel—and the location of the engine (Figure 94).



Figure 93 Bart Sansbury's boat (image courtesy of Jason McCarthy, National Museum of Australia).



Figure 94 Wheel and gauges on Bart Sansbury's boat (image courtesy of Jason McCarthy, National Museum of Australia).

Most of these people bought their boats and got the majority of their income from fishing, supplemented with casual work at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). Many of the main Point Pearce/Burkiyana families, the

Grahams, Wanganeens and Sansburys, had a grandfather who fished (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) describes the attitudes towards fishing in his father's generation:

Fishing was their job, it was their employment. Fishing wasn't an escape from there [the mission]; it was what they had to do to put food on the table.

Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) also reiterates that fishing was an economic base and that all the individuals would team up with friends and family, 'it didn't matter who jumped in with who'. Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) recalls his parents fishing during 10 to 15 knot winds in order to be eating bread by the end of the day, his father saying, 'We'll go see if we can get some gars', and his mother replying, 'What, in this wind?' The fish would have been sold to the fish buyer at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). Net fishing was conducted by many people, for example, 'Joseph Edwards used a net to catch fish, and on return he'd go around with a basket with a lid and a wet bag on it to cool the fish, and he'd go to all the farms with the fresh fish to sell' or trade with local farmers (Ball 1992:38; Graham and Graham 1987:23). Joseph Edwards had his own boat, and his son Clifford Edwards¹⁰² used to go with him (Graham and Graham 1987:23).

Joseph Edwards used to mend the fishing nets. When he went out in the boats, he used to do net fishing. If the net had a break in it he used to string it up in the yard, on poles, and mend it with special twine and the bone needles. He'd patch that net up (Graham and Graham 1987:23).

Of the three Smith brothers, Stanley¹⁰³, Claude and Fred Jnr, C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) says:

Nobody knew the bottom of the sea like the Smith brothers did. From way up [Port] Pirie right down to the bottom of the Peninsula. They knew where the reefs were and when to go there and what time, you know. Yeah, good fishermen.

Garfield Smith (Stanley's son) was also involved in the fishing community (int. Smith 29/11/13). Some community members were involved in commercial fishing, particularly Clement 'Clem' Graham, the Power family and the Newchurch family.

¹⁰² Clifford Joseph 'Dasher' Edwards, born 1900 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1984 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:112, 118, 176, 178, 199).

¹⁰³ Stanley Garfield Smith, born about 1901 Moonta/Munda, died 1982 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:126, 401, 405).

Clem Graham was one of the first two Aboriginal people in South Australia to get a skippers certificate (Anon. nd). A monument to Clem Graham is located just south of Boys Point/Gunganya warda (Figure 95).



Figure 95 Fred Graham at the monument to Clem H. Graham Snr, his cousin, facing southeast (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13).

Clem Graham's boat was purchased in Port Lincoln in the early 1980s and wrecked in the bay between Middle Fence and The Creek/Winggara after drifting from moorings at Boys Point/Gunganya warda in about 1987, and has since been used as a fishing spot for net fishing (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13; int. Smith 29/11/13). Barry 'Couta' Power¹⁰⁴ was a prolific fisherman, as well as his brothers, Darcy (int. Smith 29/11/13) and Tyrone¹⁰⁵ Power (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13).

Ronald 'Old Red' Newchurch Snr had an old sailing boat, a cutter, on which his son, R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) learned to fish. R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) took over his father's license for commercial fishing, however he fished from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu. Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana's involvement in commercial fishing can also be seen through knowledge of the various fishing licenses required,

¹⁰⁴ Barry Trevor Power, born 1942 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:291).

¹⁰⁵ Tyrone Bernard Power, born 1940 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:291, 301).

for example a Class B license did not allow for netting, while an oyster license also allowed for the collection of oysters (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

Parry Sansbury had a team of people who worked for him in the fishing industry, netting off the shore with half a dozen dinghy's (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). His boat had a simplex motor and was built in 1962 at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). He would employ people to skipper the boat and net for the day during the six months of garfishing season and is remembered as one of the first entrepreneurs at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana to possess their own business (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) states that his father's father, Tom Newchurch, also had his own boat and crew.

Wellesley Sansbury also had a fishing license (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) would go fishing with Wellesley Sansbury when he returned to Point Pearce/Burgiyana from boarding school in the holidays. When he was told by Wellesley Sansbury 'come on get up, we've got to go', he would go, no questions asked, knowing fishing was Wellesley's income, and act as anchor boy, pulling the anchor and lifting drums of fuel (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) says that Lance Newchurch joked that Wellesley Sansbury could catch whiting in the dam, he was that good at fishing. However, fishing could barely cover Wellesley's fuel costs and he would supplement this by shearing at Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta in the winter (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

Other individuals mentioned during interviews in relation to fishing include Irvine Wanganeen, Archibald 'Archie' Sansbury¹⁰⁶, Milton¹⁰⁷ and John Milera, Fred Smith (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13), Edward Wanganeen¹⁰⁸ (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13), Walter 'Wally' Carl Sansbury¹⁰⁹, Lance Newchurch¹¹⁰, Claude Smith (int. Walker 19/11/13), Lester Rigney Snr¹¹¹ and Terence 'Terry' Wanganeen¹¹² (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

¹⁰⁶ Archibald Bevan Sansbury, born 1937 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1979 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:277).

¹⁰⁷ Milton Eli Milera, born 1921 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:232, 247, 347, 378).

¹⁰⁸ Edward John Wanganeen, born 1927 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1985 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:201, 276, 300, 318).

¹⁰⁹ Walter Carl Sansbury, died Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:134, 230, 242, 272, 280, 346).

¹¹⁰ Lancelot Francis Newchurch, born 1935 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:183, 215, 234, 258, 382).

¹¹¹ Lester Arthur Rigney, born 1923 Point McLeay/Raukkan (Kartinyeri 2002:345, 423).

¹¹² Terence Douglas Wanganeen, born 1931 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:201, 276, 318).

‘All the boats started to disappear in the late 70s, you know’ (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). Smith (int. 29/11/13) is the only commercial fisherman with ties to Point Pearce/Burgiyana who is active today. Small-scale fishing enterprises, such as those run at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana were impacted heavily when external fishermen began using 640 m nets, which, with only three or four boats working in the bay, depleted whiting (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). A number of boats are present in the backyards of people’s houses at Point Pearce/Burgiyana. As Walker (int. 19/11/13) says, ‘they just sit there now ... because they’ve got memories and you write a story about them with a plaque and put it somewhere and leave it there’.

6.8.2 Island pastoralism

Narungga people were employed as shepherds, lamb minders and as general assistants in the pastoral industry from the 1850s (Krichauff 2008:110). Figure 96, a painting of shipping sheep on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, made by William Cawthorne in the 1860s, is very likely similar to what the first transport of sheep to Wardang Island/Waraldi looked like, using small, shallow-draughted vessels. There is a very early reference to a ‘sheep barge’ (ca 1850) used for Wardang Island/Waraldi for sheep grazing (Moody 2012:176), however Narungga people do not appear to be involved.

Last week, as some men in the employ of Mr. Anstey were transporting 60 sheep in a boat from Yorke’s Peninsula to an island in Spencer’s Gulf, about six miles [9.66 km] from Port Victoria, the boat capsized, and a man named John King was unfortunately drowned (*South Australian Register* 1851:4).

In 1861, prior to the establishment of Point Pearce Aboriginal Mission/Burgiyana, when Stephen Goldsworthy, a pastoralist, was leasing Wardang Island/Waraldi, the sheep were transported back to the mainland in a barge in the late summer when freshwater sources proved to be problematic (Moody 2012:16). Furthermore, in 1867, Robert Playfair built a ‘novel’ boat for the transportation of sheep from Wardang Island/Waraldi to the mainland (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1867:1).

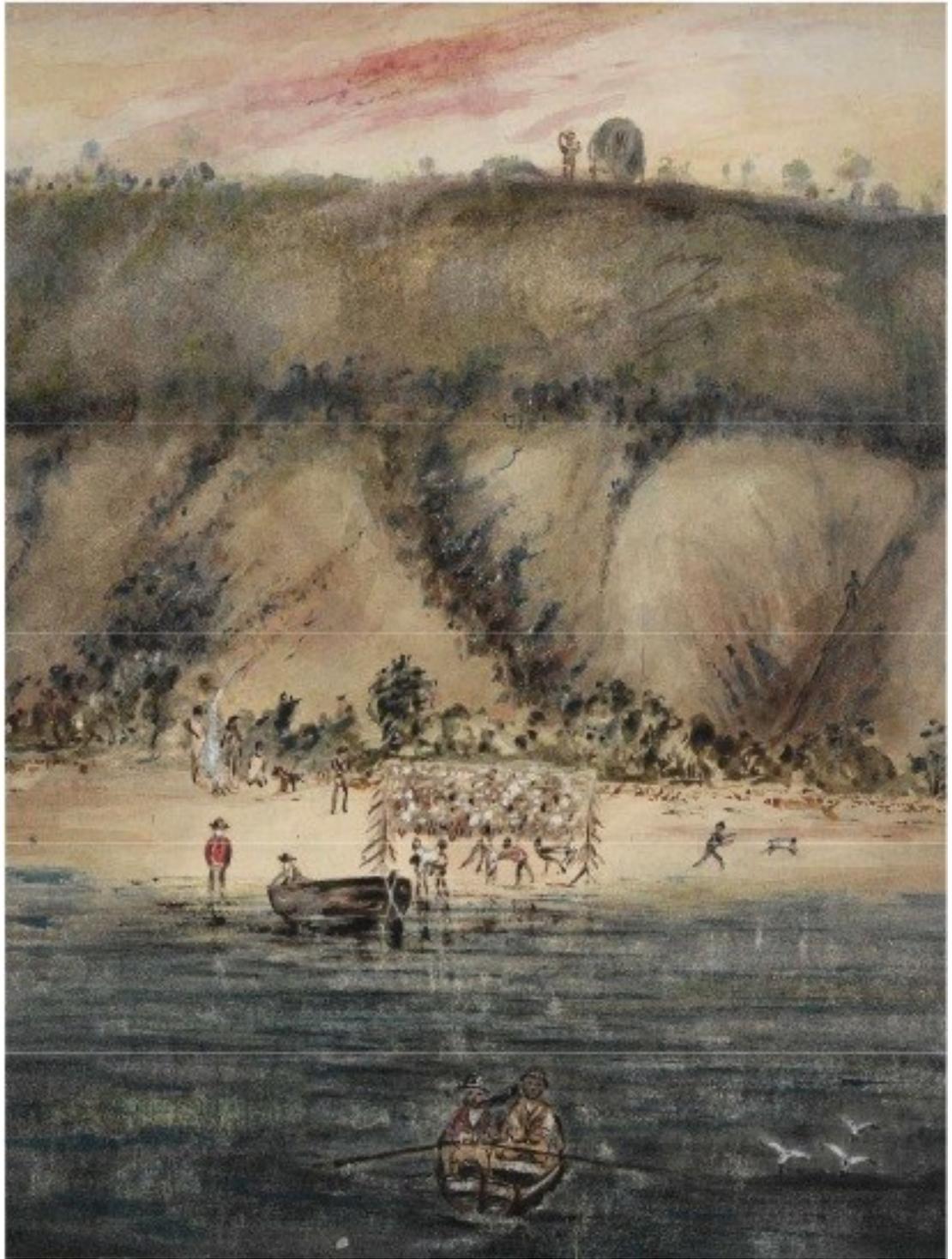


Figure 96 Shipping sheep, Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, William Cawthorne, 1860s. Original held at Mitchell Library, NSW, PXD39_f33 (reproduced from Krichauff [2008:111]).

She [sic] is a pine clinker built and copper fastened, 36 feet [10.97 m] long by 9 feet [2.74 m] beam, and 3 feet [0.91 m] depth. Fitted with thwarts for sailing or rowing, and capable of carrying in smooth water 150 sheep ... She [sic] is of such a light draught that shipping and unshipping the woolly creatures will be rendered a matter of no difficulty (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle* 1867:1).

In 1877, the Committee of the Yorke's Peninsula Aboriginal Mission 'bought another 1,000 sheep' and 14,000 sheep crossed to Wardang Island/Waraldi in the winter of that year; it was also at this time that the mission rented Wardang Island/Waraldi (Meredith 1866–1892:12).

In 1879, Wardang Island/Waraldi and the sheep were offered at auction to cover the mission's bank overdraft (*The Advertiser* 1879:4); in 1881 and 1883 J.R. Corpe paid £19 for the pastoral lease (no. 965) of Wardang Island/Waraldi (GRG52/1/253/1883; GRG52/1/329/1881), and in 1884 the rent again realised £19 (Meredith 1866–1892:15). By 1892 it appears as though the mission now fully owned Wardang Island/Waraldi, although at that time it was still largely known as Wauraltee Island (Meredith 1866–1892:20). In 1899, R. Fricker sought permission from the Marine Board to build a jetty at Wardang Island/Waraldi and, while permission was approved, it is uncertain whether construction went ahead or not (*The Advertiser* 1899:6). In 1909, the mission Superintendent, Lathern, described the vessel *Narrunga* and its use (Figure 97):

Wardang Island is two and a quarter miles [3.62 km] distant from the mainland, and the stock have to be conveyed to and from it in a sailing boat. The boat is handled by the natives, who like the work, and make smart and useful boatmen [sic] (South 1909:8).



Figure 97 *Narrunga* ashore at Wardang Island/Waraldi (Moody 2012:168).

During an interview, R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) described *Narrunga* as a cutter and it has also been described as a cutter by Moody (2012:128), however the

‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’ identified it as a ketch (Roberts et al. 2013:82). It was described as a ketch at the time of its launching (*The Advertiser* 1903:7) and also by others (Wanganeen 1987:55), however has also been labelled as a schooner (Gillen in Mulvaney et al. [1997:436]; *The Advertiser* 1907:10). It is possible that the vessel had more than one rigging over its use-life (Roberts et al. 2013:82). C. O’Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) also remembers it from the late 1930s:

I remember them loading the sheep up on the Point. Had a job to push them on, didn’t want to go. Once we got over the island they ran off! Cow and a horse for our own use there, they went on all right.

Annie Roslyn (ca 1940) was a motor launch used to tow *Narrunga* and was later sold to someone in Port Pirie (Wanganeen 1987:66).

The survey of the Old Village and surrounding areas of activity on Wardang Island/Waraldi revealed a range of structures and objects relating to maritime, water supply, pastoral and living activities (Figure 98). The site was covered in low grass vegetation which meant visibility was poor, approximately 20%. Consequently, 100% survey coverage of the site was not achieved. The mud map of the area (Figure 99) illustrates these features.

The wool shed and yards on Wardang Island/Waraldi were built before 1915, as they are included in the list of assets when the government took over the mission (GRG52/73/1). In 1908, Lathern, the Superintendent, recorded the intention of building a new wool shed on Wardang Island/Waraldi in time for the next shearing (South 1908:9). This suggests there could have been more than one wool shed. No evidence remains of the wool shed, relying on oral histories to record its construction. Graham (int. 25/2/13) says there was no stone used for constructing the wool shed, ‘It’s all iron, been undone and took back to Point Pearce on the *Narrunga*’. The shearing shed and yards were most likely located directly above the Little Jetty (Figure 100). In this area, two gates and two collapsed limestone walls, perpendicular to each other, were recorded during the archaeological survey.

Old Village, Wardang Island/Waraldi

Plan view

M. Fowler

25 February–1 March 2013

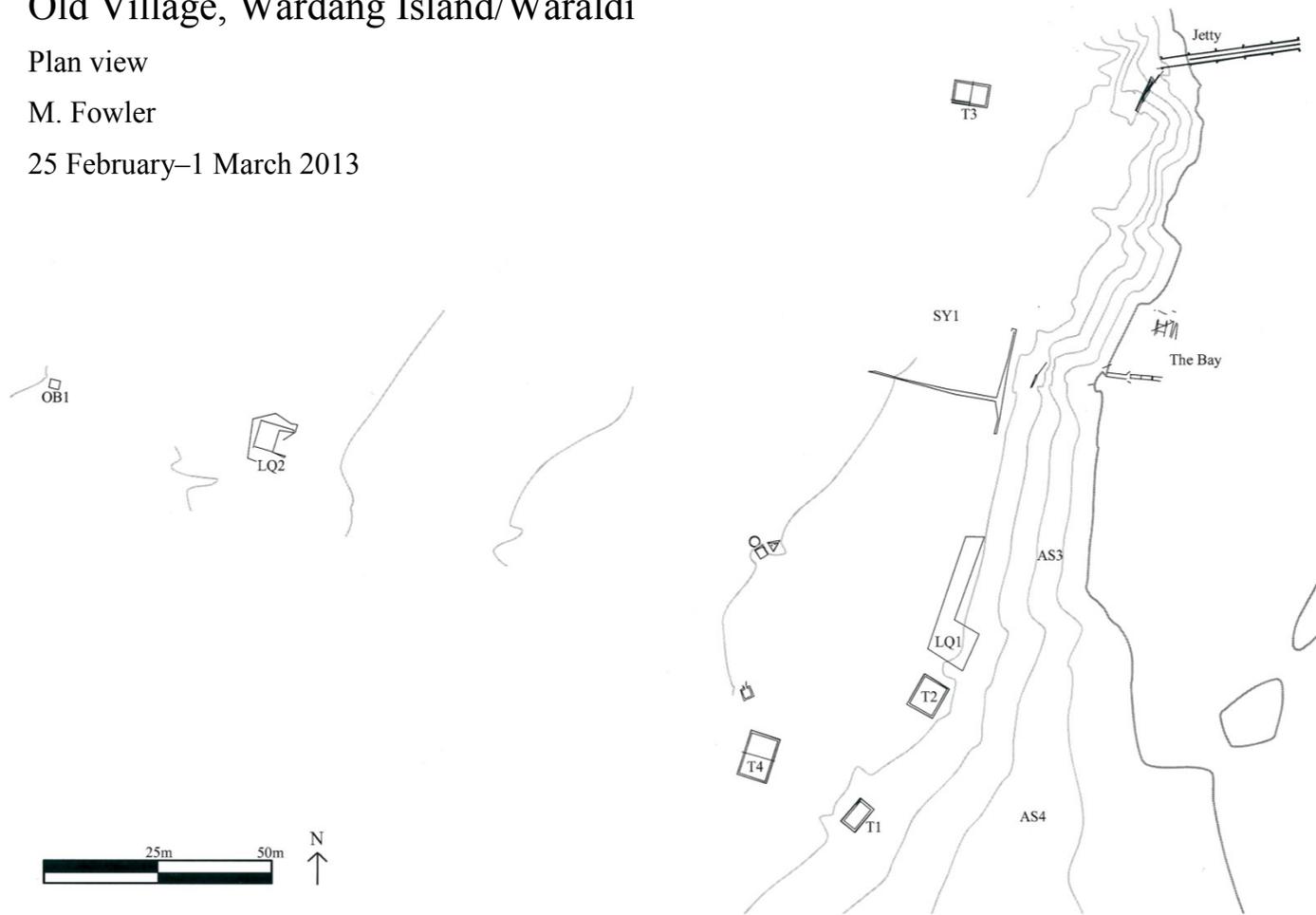


Figure 98 Map showing main features recorded using the total station at the Old Village.

Old Village, Wardang Island/Waraldi

Mud map (not to scale)

Flinders University

25–26 February 2013

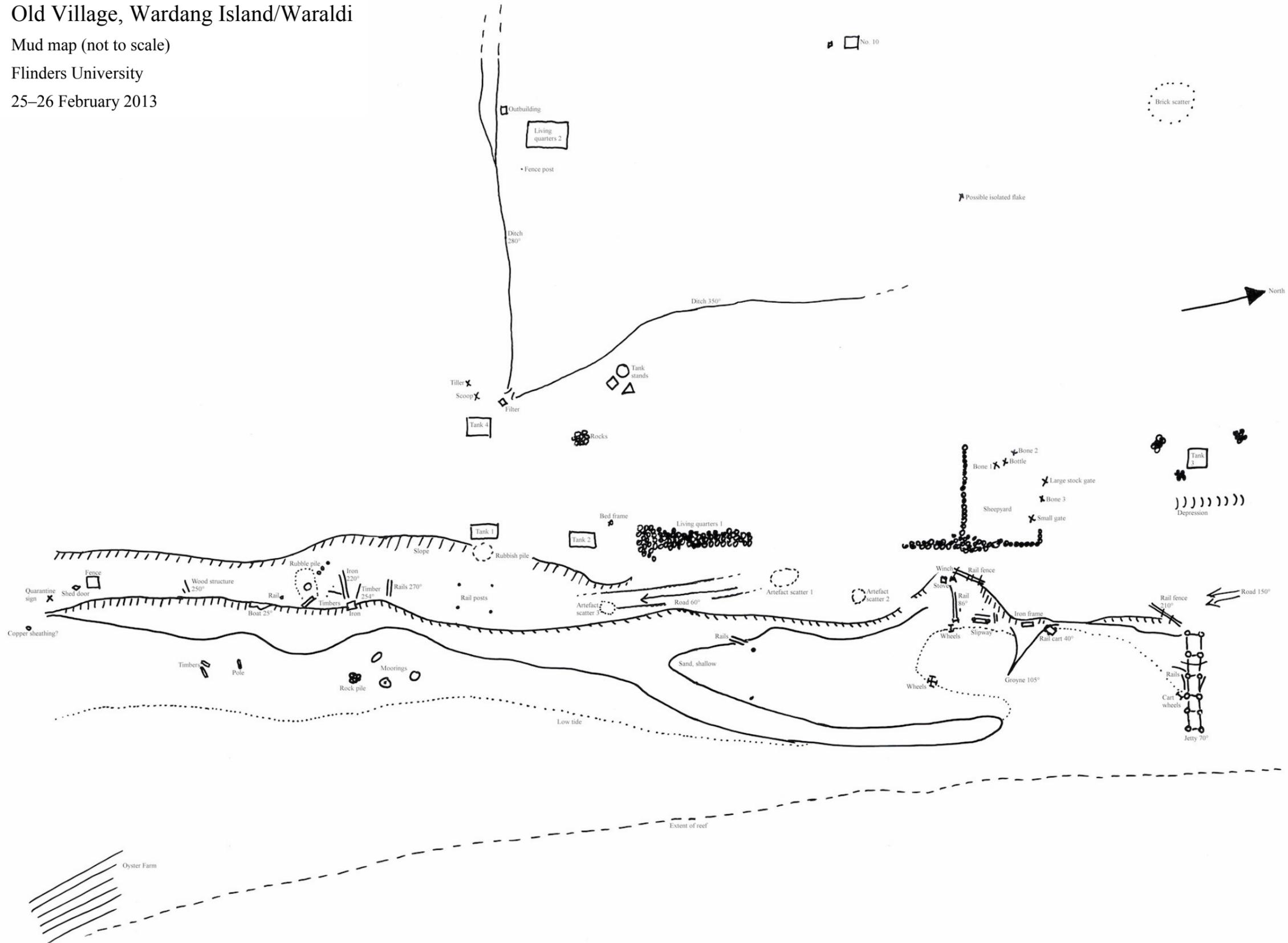


Figure 99 Mud map of Old Village settlement on Wardang Island/Waraldi.



Figure 100 Historical photograph of the Little Jetty with wool shed visible on Wardang Island/Waraldi (28/11/13, held at Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre).

In 1933, the sheep yards were repaired and in 1934 the sheep yards and wool shed were tarred and painted (McLean 1933:7, 1934:8). In 1935, alterations and additions were made to the sheep yard and dip on the island and in 1936 it is recorded that the island sheep dip was improved and an additional sheep yard was formed by erecting stone walling (McLean 1935:9, 1936:9).

In 1911 and 1912, a fence was constructed on Wardang Island/Waraldi ‘from sea to sea’ to prevent stock from accessing the southern portion of the island, which was being reclaimed through drifting (South 1911:6, 1912:12). October 1918 saw a low natural increase of sheep on Wardang Island/Waraldi and plans for more substantial fencing (*The Register* 1918a:6), which seems to have eventuated as the superintendent inspected the netting on fences in November (GRG52/73/1). About 3 miles (4.83 km) of fencing were constructed which subdivided the run and created two additional paddocks (South 1918:12). In 1933, sheep were de-pastured on Wardang Island/Waraldi in early summer, although many sheep had to be transported to the mainland in November if the season was dry (*The Advertiser* 1933:19). Following winter in 1935, the catchments provided sufficient water to transfer 1,000 hoggets¹¹³ to the island (McLean 1935:10). Again in 1936, 500 ewes

¹¹³ A young sheep between one and two years old.

had to be returned to the mainland before lambing due to water shortages, although 500 wethers¹¹⁴ were left on the island (McLean 1936:10).

Aboriginal people started shearing on the island from at least 1883, as a boat is mentioned which is used 'for conveying sheep from the mainland to the island, taking over the natives to shear' (GRG52/1/224/1883). Aboriginal men are also recorded as being employed by the station crossing sheep to and from Wardang Island/Waraldi in 1920 and 1921 (Garnett 1920:10, 1921:10). Some mention is made of the Aboriginal people caring for the sheep, for example in 1934, 'a few aborigines looking after mission station property and the flocks and herds' (Edwardes 1934:51) and in 1937, 'tending sheep flocks give employment to a number of mission natives' (*The Sunday Times* 1937:35). Further information is obtained through oral histories, for example C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) describes his father, Alfred Snr's, daily activities (ca late 1930s):

He just fed them out in the paddocks, just keep an eye on them, you know. 'Til he was ready to bring them in and crutch them, or shear them, or dip them, you know. Cause they dipped them every year, anna. Big jetty had a dip over there, cement dip. They'd run the sheep in this side, and one there with a big rod he'd get behind the ear and push them underwater when they're travelling through, make sure they get all the dip.

Pastoral work also included topdressing the pasture with superphosphate (McLean 1937:15; Penhall 1938:5) and fencing, for instance in 1934 fences were repaired and 137 chains of fencing was laid in 1935, perhaps the subdivision of the southern end of the island which was planned in 1934 (McLean 1934:8, 1935:9). The sheep used to be down the southern end of the island, except for shearing time (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). On the island was a jinker—a horse and buggy with spoke wheels (int. Graham 19/2/13). Alfred O'Loughlin Snr was also responsible for looking after one or two horses and a cow (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). The people living on Wardang Island/Waraldi and working with the sheep were paid £3 per week by the station, according to Graham (int. 25/2/13). Some idea of the scale of shearing on Wardang Island/Waraldi can be seen in 1934 when 2,036 sheep were shorn (McLean 1934:9). In 1935, all sheep were shorn on the mainland owing to a water shortage on the island (McLean 1935:11). In both 1937 and 1938, the best

¹¹⁴ A wether is the term for a castrated male sheep.

price the mission received for sheepskins was for the skin of a wether from Wardang Island/Waraldi (McLean 1937:15; Penhall 1938:5). It appears that shearing on the island concluded around 1940. In 1936, 1937 and 1938, the sheep on the island were still shorn with blade shears—although people with blade shearing knowledge were becoming scarce—however machine shears were used on the mainland (McLean 1936:10, 1937:15; Penhall 1938:4). In 1939, it was recorded that it was difficult to obtain blade shearers to shear the sheep on Wardang Island/Waraldi and that a portable two-stand shearing plant had been ordered to ensure mechanical shearing of the whole flock in the future (Penhall 1939:7). Following this, no distinction is made between island shearing and mainland shearing in the archives, suggesting all sheep were now shorn on the mainland.

Some people lived temporarily or permanently on Wardang Island/Waraldi, while others only travelled across to the island to work during shearing and then returned to the mission (Graham and Graham 1987:53). Archival documents provide information on those people who were engaging with work on Wardang Island/Waraldi and are particularly comprehensive from the early 1910s to the late 1930s. Those who sheared on the island during 1913 or 1914 included Thomas, Louis¹¹⁵ and C. Adams, Eric¹¹⁶ and Jim¹¹⁷ Angie, Joe Edwards, Alfred Hughes, John Newchurch Snr¹¹⁸, Edward Sansbury, Jack Stuart¹¹⁹, Barney Warrior¹²⁰ and Mark Wilson (GRG52/70). Edward Sansbury, his father John Sansbury, and the Edwards' and O'Loughlin men are also recorded in oral histories as going back and forth during this era (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

Aboriginal men would often accompany the farm manager/overseer on trips to the island. In March 1918, six men assisted Pethick with breeding on the island staying for two nights, in June nine men went to the island for lamb tailing and in August four or five men for dagging (GRG52/73/1). Activities such as dagging and shearing occurred at the same time each year, as dagging also occurred in August and

¹¹⁵ Lewis Adams, born 1872 Poonindie, died 1941 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:110, 114, 176).

¹¹⁶ Eric Charles Angie, born 1890 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1943 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:111, 132, 135, 199).

¹¹⁷ James 'Jim' Angie, born 1872 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1944 (Kartinyeri 2002:130, 132, 313).

¹¹⁸ John Newchurch Snr, born 1852 Albany (WA), died 1918 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:224).

¹¹⁹ John (Jack) Stuart, born about 1880 Franklin Harbour, died 1953 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:177, 229, 374–375).

¹²⁰ Barney Warrior (Waria), born 1873 Orroroo, died 1948 (Warrior et al. 2005:143). According to Warrior et al. (2005:105), Barney Warrior lived at Point Pearce/Burgiyana from 1931–1943.

shearing in September of 1921 (GRG52/73/2). Fred Smith Snr was, however, staying more permanently on the island in 1916, 'Fred Smith is coming back to take charge of boats & island' (GRG52/1/8/1916), and 1918, reporting back to the superintendent in April that things were all right and feed was scarce (GRG52/73/1). C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) also remembers Fred Smith Snr's sons, Stanley Snr, Claude and Fred Jnr living there in the late 1930s, as well as Stanley's son, Stanley Jnr known by his second name, Garfield.

During 1918, John Milera was engaged with activities on Wardang Island/Waraldi including remaining there to make preparations for shearing in August and picking out rejected ewes in October, and in 1921 went to the island to pick out sheep for butchering (GRG52/73/1; GRG52/73/2). In 1934, it is stated that John Milera 'who has been on the Station for very many years has been in charge of the work on the Island and has done his work very creditably' (McLean 1934:8). Those who sheared on Wardang Island/Waraldi in 1932 or 1933 included L. Buckskin, Lionel Hughes¹²¹, Tom Mitchell¹²², T. Sansbury¹²³, Wilf Wanganeen¹²⁴, Hubert and Harold¹²⁵ Weetra and Gilbert Williams (Figure 101) (GRG52/70).

In August of 1937, it was stated that on the island 'four families of aboriginals [are] there now but the number fluctuates with the work in progress' (GRG52/1/38/1937). Those involved with shearing, shed hands and crutching on Wardang Island/Waraldi from 1936 to 1938 are L. Adams, J. Argent¹²⁶, M. Cook, B. Goldsmith, F. Graham, L. Hughes, N. Kropinyeri¹²⁷, J. Richards, W. Sansbury, J. Smith¹²⁸, Les Wanganeen, B., J. and B.E.¹²⁹ Warrior, C.¹³⁰ and Hub Weetra, J. Williams and R. Wilson¹³¹ (Figure 101) (GRG52/65/2).

¹²¹ Lionel John Hughes, born 1900 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:196, 199, 408).

¹²² Thomas Mitchell Jnr, born about 1898 (Kartinyeri 2002:226, 235).

¹²³ Terrence Charles Sansbury, born 1910 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1954 or 1995 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:112, 117, 133, 271, 275).

¹²⁴ Wilfred Lawrence Wanganeen, born 1894 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1976 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:135, 197, 200, 313, 317).

¹²⁵ Harold James Weetra Snr, born 1893 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:202, 218, 221, 320, 326, 329).

¹²⁶ Joe Argent, born 1905 north of Ooldea (Kartinyeri 2002:166).

¹²⁷ Nathaniel Kropinyeri, born 1885 or 1887 Point McLeay/Raukkan or Wellington, died 1958 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:116, 143, 146, 273).

¹²⁸ John Smith (Kartinyeri 2002:401, 407).

¹²⁹ Barney Edward Warrior, born 1909 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:219).

¹³⁰ Cecil Spencer Weetra, born 1910 Balaklava (Kartinyeri 2002:120, 180, 218, 223, 326, 332).

¹³¹ Robert Wilson Snr, born 1883 Point McLeay/Raukkan, or Robert Thomas Wilson Jnr, born 1911 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, or Robert George Wilson, born 1876 Point McLeay/Raukkan (Kartinyeri 2002:113, 342).



Figure 101 Shearers from Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana ca 1920s (left to right: Walter Sansbury, Lionel Hughes, Johnny Newchurch, Harold Weetra, Gilbert Williams; front: Bertie Goldsmith and Ephraim Tripp (int. Graham 27/11/13; Wanganeen 1987:58) (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).

N. Kropinyeri is probably Nathaniel Kropinyeri, Weetra's (int. 28/11/13) grandfather, who she remembers living over there looking after the sheep. Bert Goldsmith, Lionel Hughes and Jimmy Richards are remembered in oral history as shearers from this era (int. Graham 25/2/13).

Power's (int. 30/11/13) mother, Alma, and father, Lewis, lived on the island in the late 1930s, when Power was a young child. They had a house built further up the hill from the main living quarters, which was being built when C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) lived there in the late 1930s. This is possibly the same building as the overseer's house (Living Quarters 2). Barry Powers' siblings, Darcy and Timothy 'Toccie'¹³², went to school on Wardang Island/Waraldi (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). Darcy and Timothy also had an older brother, George 'Tricksy'¹³³ and another younger brother, Tyrone (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). Bernard 'Bernie'

¹³² Timothy Charles Power, born 1927 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died Barmera (Kartinyeri 2002:291, 300).

¹³³ George Robert Power, born 1923 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1986 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:127, 291, 299).

Power Snr¹³⁴ and his wife, Myrtle ‘Doody’ Power¹³⁵, also lived there (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). Both Bernard Power Snr and Lewis Power worked with Alfred O’Loughlin Snr and Barney ‘Poppa Syke’ Warrior with the sheep (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12).

L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) also lived there as a young child, not old enough to go to school, along with his father, George¹³⁶, who was working there as a shearer, his mother, Eileen¹³⁷, and other members of his family including sisters, Jennifer and Rose¹³⁸, and brother, Allan¹³⁹. John Smith would go out fishing every day and L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) would wait at the jetty to be given three or four fish to take into the shacks at the Old Village.

C. O’Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) believes Fred Graham Snr used to go over to Wardang Island/Waraldi regularly. Doris and Cecil Graham and their family also lived on Wardang Island/Waraldi for six months in the early 1930s (Graham and Graham 1987:53). Graham (int. 19/2/13), their son, lived on Wardang Island/Waraldi, attending school there with about 10 to 15 other children, in the late 1930s. He lived with his great-uncle, Lionel Hughes, and great-aunt, Mary¹⁴⁰, and their two children. He also returned in the mid-1940s, as an older boy, to live for three or four weeks with John ‘Uggie Goodner’ Stuart, to go rabbiting (int. Graham 19/2/13).

C. O’Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) also lived there in 1938 or 1939, when he was six or seven years old, with his parents, Alfred Snr and Gladys¹⁴¹, and a couple of brothers, Daniel ‘Danny’¹⁴² and Jack¹⁴³. His father was an expert shearer and mechanic—he previously worked at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana—who would look after the shearers, maintain and grind the tools, start the machines up, drive all the tools and fix anything that broke down, as well as load the pens in the morning ready for

¹³⁴ Bernard Lewis Power, born Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:281).

¹³⁵ Myrtle Power (nee Kropinyeri), born 1923 (Kartinyeri 2002:281).

¹³⁶ George John Eustace Newchurch, born 1915 or 1922 Moonta/Munda, died 1974 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:225, 234, 343, 382).

¹³⁷ Eileen Dardanella Newchurch (nee Stuart), born 1916 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1992 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:234, 382).

¹³⁸ Rose Marie Gladys Sansbury (nee Newchurch), born 1938 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:234, 259, 382).

¹³⁹ Allan Eustace Newchurch, born 1932 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1984 Port Broughton (Kartinyeri 2002:234, 382).

¹⁴⁰ Mary Jane Hughes (nee McGrath), born 1901 Bundaleer, died 1950s Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:199, 408).

¹⁴¹ Gladys Elizabeth O’Loughlin (nee Stuart), born 1904 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:182, 381).

¹⁴² Daniel Patrick O’Loughlin, born 1936 Point Pearce/Burgiyana or Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:182, 381).

¹⁴³ Jack Langdon O’Loughlin, born 1930 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:182, 381).

shearing and getting the sheep ready (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). His mother was a housewife (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) attended school with other Aboriginal children.

Barney 'Poppa Syke' Warrior and his wife, Elizabeth Miller¹⁴⁴, whose rabbit pasties are famous, lived there too (int. Graham 19/2/13). Their children, Vera, Thelma, Leon and Claude¹⁴⁵ went to school on Wardang Island/Waraldi (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). Ephraim Tripp, known for smoking tealeaf in his pipe, also lived there (int. Graham 19/2/13), further corroborated by a diary entry from August 1928 stating 'E. Tripp over from the island today' (GRG52/73/3).

The mission employed Aboriginal people in a number of industries. In 1906, Lathern, the Manager stated:

When possible we let contracts in various sorts of farm and station work—shearing, fencing, dam and tank sinking, boat work, and scrub-cutting, the natives being selected for the work they are best adapted for (Hamilton 1907:7).

The mission work on Wardang Island/Waraldi was further supplemented with fishing. For example, the Powers used to go out fishing any time they got a chance and would send the fish to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu to be sold (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) said that everybody had their own boats on Wardang Island/Waraldi with the exception of his family and the Warriors, who relied on the launch to get back to the mainland.

6.8.2.1 Water scheme

Initially Wardang Island/Waraldi was only used as a winter run, as there was no water source on the island (Meredith 1866–1892:12). In the years leading up to 1909, tanks were constructed for water storage, with a total capacity of 200,000 gal (757.08 m³) (*The Advertiser* 1909:14). For example, a third tank, capacity of 100,000 gal (378.54 m³) was built in 1907 (Hamilton 1907:7). In 1911, an underground tank with 20,000 gal (75.71 m³) capacity and another windmill had been built on Wardang Island/Waraldi (South 1911:6). Although no record of who built these tanks could be

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Miller, born 1906 Koonibba, died 1957 Adelaide; married to Malcolm Sansbury and had a son born 1925 (Kartinyeri 2002:116, 273). Marriage to Barney Warrior was a second marriage (Warrior et al. 2005:146).

¹⁴⁵ Vera Emily (born 1930), Thelma May (born 1932, Point Pearce/Burgiyana), Leon Goldsmith (born 1935) and Claude Huntley (born 1938) were the children of Elizabeth and Barney (Warrior et al. 2005:146).

found, later tanks are described as being built by Aboriginal peoples (GRG52/1/8/1916; GRG52/73/1; int. C. O'Loughlin 25/2/13; int. Graham and M. O'Loughlin 27/2/14); tenders received by non-Indigenous peoples were only found for the construction of the catchments. In 1916, E. Sansbury was responsible for excavating and building a tank in South Paddock on the island (GRG52/1/8/1916). This is possibly an underground tank constructed by Aboriginal builders described as having a capacity of 30,000 gal (113.56 m³) and built in a favourable position to be filled by pumping from a soakage well nearby (South 1917:12). A series of linear ditches were identified during the archaeological survey of the Old Village area, generally leading down the slope towards an in-ground tank. These ditches could date to as early as 1918, as in May of that year the superintendent and Christopher Pethick inspected the sheep, water and drains, the latter of which could be the ditches (Figure 102) (GRG52/73/1). Although, 'owing to the loose porous nature of the soil, the water only runs in the drains during heavy rains' (GRG52/1/3/1928).



Figure 102 Ditch seen leading uphill in westerly direction in centre of photograph (photograph by A. Roberts 25/2/13).

A windmill with iron tank and troughing was erected at the new underground tank that was built the previous year (South 1918:12). They also organised for Fred Smith (Snr) to build a stand for a 2,000 gal (7.57 m³) tank, although whether this

eventuated is uncertain (GRG52/73/1). The superintendent and Pethick marked out a catchment for the tank in the South Paddock on the island in September 1921 measuring 90 by 90 ft (27.43 m²); S. Giles¹⁴⁶ and A. Angie¹⁴⁷ constructed it (GRG52/73/1).

At this time, it was also decided to put a cement brick pillar in the centre of the round tank (GRG52/73/2). J. Stuart¹⁴⁸ and J. Whimply erected a windmill on the island in April 1921 (GRG52/73/2); this is most likely the windmill that supplied the tank in South Paddock (Garnett 1921:10). Tank Stand 1, a group of structures identified during the archaeological survey including a square stone tank, circular concrete tank and triangular shaped stone footings of a windmill, provides evidence for a windmill in the Old Village (Figure 103).



Figure 103 Tank Stand 1 showing the square and circular tank with cogs visible, facing northeast towards the sea. The windmill base is behind these tanks (photograph by A. Roberts 25/2/13).

Graham (int. 28/2/13) also states that a windmill was definitely in that place because of cogs that are on top of the round tank. The cogs would be at the top of the windmill, to allow the windmill to spin, and would go through a tin filled with oil to

¹⁴⁶ Stanley Giles, born about 1889 or 1893 Point McLeay/Raukkan (Kartinyeri 2002:236, 361).

¹⁴⁷ Albert Angie, born about 1884, died 1937 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:131, 133).

¹⁴⁸ John (Jack) Stuart, born about 1880 Franklin Harbour, died 1953 Adelaide, or John Huntley Stuart, born 1898 (Kartinyeri 2002:177, 229, 374–375).

prevent them from wearing out (int. Graham 28/2/13). Purchases for the Wardang Island/Waraldi catchments were recorded in the 1927 expenses (GRG52/73/1). In 1928, a call for tenders was put out for the construction of catchments, which was awarded to N.S. Jones of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/1/3/1928). The call for tenders records specific details of the construction of the catchments including measurements and materials (Figure 104) (GRG52/1/3/1928). A mud map of the northernmost catchment was drawn during the archaeological survey of the Old Village (Figure 105).



Figure 104 Northernmost catchment on Wardang Island/Waraldi with remains of the timber structure for the iron roofing in the foreground, facing west (photograph by C. Pasch 1/3/13).

The report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for the year July 1928 to June 1929 noted that the program to improve the water supply on Wardang Island/Waraldi continued.

Two large catchments were erected last year, and this year three more catchments have been added. Although only light rains have fallen these improvements have considerably added to the water supply. In normal seasons the tanks will be filled (Garnett 1929:4).

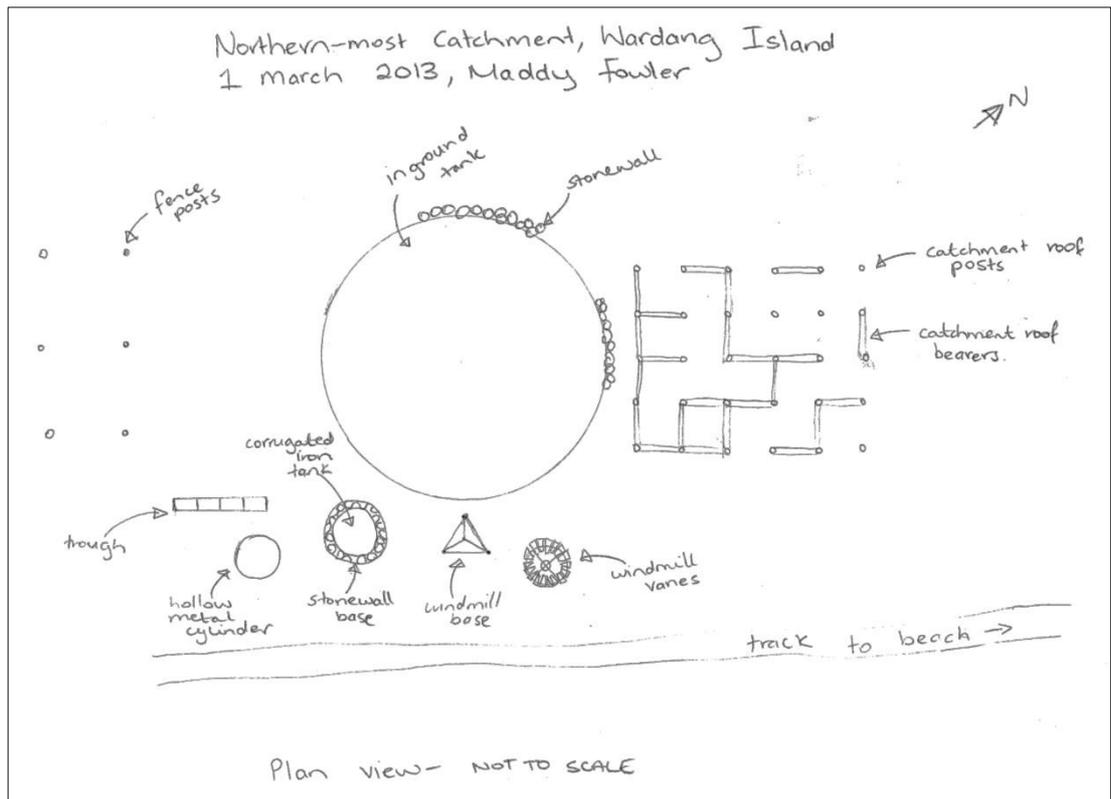


Figure 105 Mud map of northern catchment on Wardang Island/Waraldi.

In the following year, ‘the galvanized-iron catchments to tanks on Wardang Island/Waraldi have filled the tanks there, and it is estimated the island will now carry 2,000 sheep’ (Garnett 1930:4). In the 1929–1930 financial year, £47 14s 11d was spent on material for the Wardang Island/Waraldi catchments, and £2,023 13s 10d was loaned for expenditure for improvements on Wardang Island/Waraldi and purchase of stock and implements (Garnett 1930:6). By 1929, the water conservation scheme and catchment area was fully installed and being inspected (*The Advertiser* 1929:12). In 1937, Wardang Island/Waraldi is said to have ‘nine underground and squatters iron tanks fed by galvanised iron artificial catchments and drains’ (GRG52/1/38/1937).

Many efforts of boring for water were made on Wardang Island/Waraldi over the years to overcome the water shortage. In 1937, a hard boring plant was hired and later purchased from the Department of Mines and a small supply of stock water was located with a well then sunk at this location (McLean 1937:17). In 1939, two miners were engaged for some weeks searching for water, and despite having little success the boring was planned to continue (Penhall 1939:6).

The in-ground tanks and catchments on Wardang Island/Waraldi were built by hand, with a pick and shovel, and the tanks at the Old Village were mostly for the people who lived there, the sheep using the catchments further south (int. Graham 25/2/13). Four in-ground tanks are located at the Old Village, three near the living quarters and one close to the sheep yards, although they vary in length, width and depth. Jim Richards is cited as someone who may have been involved in building the tanks (int. C. O'Loughlin 25/2/13). The tanks are built of limestone and covered in cement plaster. When he was young, Graham (int. 25/2/13) remembers going out with a bucket and rope to pull the water up from the wells. L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) also remembers the in-ground tanks and catchments on the island, as well as the soaks where donkeys used to go. Weetra (int. 28/11/13) suggests that a tank or well was located at the southern end of Wardang Island/Waraldi.

6.8.2.2 Living

The survey of the Old Village identified faunal remains, including sheep bones (*Ovis aries*), indicating the consumption of sheep at the site (Figure 106). This is further substantiated by Graham's (int. 19/2/13) recollections that the 'old people' would have lived on whatever they had to eat over there, including sheep and rabbits.



Figure 106 Sheep bone found at sheep yard in Old Village (photograph by A. Roberts 26/2/13).

Very few comments are made about the living quarters on Wardang Island/Waraldi in the historical archives, suggesting they were not considered of high importance to the superintendent. Graham (int. 19/2/13) and C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) note that they were all stone houses. In 1934, the cottages on Wardang Island/Waraldi were renovated and in 1936 plastered (McLean 1934:8, 1936:9). The building used for

camping and sleeping had a number of rooms, including bedrooms and a kitchen (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). The kitchen was the shorter end of an ‘L’ shape, with the bedroom in the middle and the sheep kept in a room at the top of the ‘L’ (Figure 107) (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12).

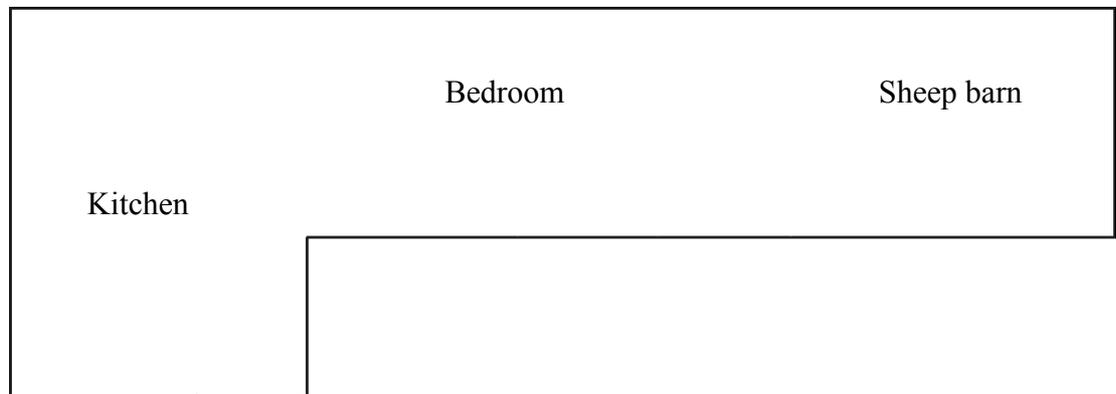


Figure 107 Clem O’Loughlin’s map of living quarters.

‘Couldn’t sleep at night much with the sheep baa-ing all night’; although the sheep also had outside yards (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). The floors were dirt or cement, yet C. O’Loughlin (int. 26/2/13) describes them as liveable and comfortable. Toilets were all outside (int. Graham 26/2/13) and, in 1940, there are two types recorded, a pit and pail type privy (GRG52/1/90/1940). The main living quarters also had a water tank on top, from which the water would go into the in-ground tank nearby (int. Graham 26/2/13). Inside the living quarters was a table, a bed and a hanging cooler wrapped in a wet bag, which kept the meat cool (int. C. O’Loughlin and Graham 26/2/13). The archaeological survey found two metal bed heads adjacent to the limestone rubble suspected to be the remains of the living quarters (Living Quarters 1) (Figure 108). There was also a fireplace (int. C. O’Loughlin 25/2/13).

A Metters stove was located during survey at the base of the short cliff beneath the living quarters (Figure 109). Graham (int. 28/2/13) remembered this type of wooden stove, with the plates, as the ‘best stoves going’. A cluster of brick scatters, Brick Scatter 1, 2 and 3, and a concrete floor is what Graham (int. 28/2/13) believes to be the remains of a house that Barney Warrior and Elizabeth Miller lived in (Figure 110). Several bricks are embossed with ‘MBC’, which historical research suggests is the Metropolitan Brick Company, established in Adelaide in 1882 with brickworks at Blackwood, Magill and Brompton (*The Advertiser* 1919:12). Other bricks also

featured the embossing 'PIRIE'. These were likely brought from Port Pirie by the B.H.P. company, although no details about the manufacturer itself could be found through archival research.



Figure 108 Fred Graham and Clem O'Loughlin showing the bed frames near Living Quarters 1 (photograph by A. Roberts 25/2/13).



Figure 109 Metters stove at Old Village, Wardang Island/Waraldi (28/2/13).



Figure 110 Fred Graham at the brick remains, facing east (28/2/13).

D. Sansbury¹⁴⁹, Jim Richards, E. Chester and D. Milera¹⁵⁰ are recorded as working at the island cottage during 1936–1938 (GRG52/65/2). In April 1938, E. Chester and D. Milera worked on the island cottage roofing (GRG52/65/2). In February and August 1947, the stock overseer and Superintendent A.H. Bray took the launch to the island to inspect the huts and buildings, although this could be related to when the buildings on the island were being disassembled (GRG52/48/5; GRG52/49/2).

Rigney (int. 18/7/13) suggests that the superintendent used one of the houses that were built on the island. Graham (int. 25/2/13) reinforces this, saying that ‘one whitefella [stayed] up in that house there ... the overseer for the old black people’. He used to live there when shearing time came, but never stayed permanently on the island (int. Graham 26/2/13). This is more likely to be the overseer than the superintendent, as historical records usually record the farm manager or overseer staying on the island for multiple days, for example during shearing time, while the superintendent only went to the island for a single day to conduct inspections. This

¹⁴⁹ Darrell Sansbury, born 1909 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, or Douglas Parry Sansbury, born 1910 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:275, 277).

¹⁵⁰ Douglas Gerald (or Gerald Douglas) Milera, born 1894 Poonindie, died 1972 Adelaide or Maitland/Maggiwarda, or his son Douglas Anzac Milera, born 1916 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:157, 160, 232, 378, 390, 411, 430).

building has the remains of intact stone walls, covered in concrete plaster, as well as collapsed stone walls and partial concrete flooring (Figure 111).



Figure 111 Living Quarters 2 at Old Village, facing east (photograph by A. Roberts 26/2/13).

Some parts of the wall are hewn limestone or concrete, while other parts are natural limestone. Graham (int. 26/2/13) says it was a nice house with two bedrooms and a kitchen, as well as a tin roof and floorboards. A small outbuilding (Outbuilding 1) is also located west of this building—possibly a toilet or storage shed—and this is the most intact building remaining in the Old Village, with only parts of the iron roof missing (Figure 112).

A series of artefact scatters provides further information on the life of those living at the Old Village. These include bricks, glass, ceramic, bolts, bone, iron sheeting, driftwood and shell. Some artefact scatters also triggered ‘lived experience’ memories, such as C. O’Loughlin’s (int. 26/2/13) childhood recollection at Artefact Scatter 3:

They [O’Loughlin’s brother, Danny] let me down here on the little three-wheel bike I had, rope round the axle hanging onto it. Someone came out from the door there ... [and said] ‘You want a piece of birthday cake?’ ‘Yeah’, he [Danny] threw the rope away and I went straight over [the cliff], might of been there.



Figure 112 Outbuilding at Old Village, facing west (photograph by A. Roberts 26/2/13).

Artefact Scatter 4 is located on a flat area between the shoreline and the short cliff up to the main living area. The density of glass and ceramic in this region, which is more than elsewhere in the Old Village, can be interpreted in two ways. First, people were camping on the lower area prior to the construction of the living quarters and then shifted up after they were built, which was suggested by Graham (int. 26/2/13) during on 'Country' story-trekking. The second possibility is people in the Old Village used the area as a rubbish dump, where they discarded broken glass and ceramics. Another rubbish dump is located further inland with larger hard rubbish. Graham (int. 26/2/13) remembers having blue coloured dishes when he was a child living on the island, a recollection triggered by the identification of blue ceramic in Artefact Scatter 4.

The glass artefacts recorded at Artefact Scatter 4 can provide more information on the use of this area. Manufacturers names embossed on the base or body of a number

of glass fragments provide a broad date range of roughly 50 years, from ca 1897–1948 (e.g. Figure 113) (Arnold 1985). Therefore, the artefactual evidence suggests this area was used to dispose of broken glass and ceramic objects. It is of course possible that Artefact Scatter 4 represents both an earlier campsite and a more recent rubbish dump. The glass artefacts also reveal that products were mostly sourced from Adelaide; companies identified include Humphris & Sons Adelaide and the Adelaide Bottle Cooperative Society.



Figure 113 A glass fragment of Humphris and Sons Adelaide, possibly a tomato sauce bottle, at Artefact Scatter 4. Embossed bottles were phased out in preference of labels during the 1930s (Arnold 1985:53) (photograph by G. Lacsina 1/3/13).

6.8.2.3 *Decline of Old Village*

The decline in use of Wardang Island/Waraldi in the early 1940s could be the result of World War II (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13). From October 1947, the removal of materials from Wardang Island/Waraldi is well-documented in the missions' daybooks. Young was working on the island frequently with three men from the mission, for example working a 14-hour day on 17 October and staying overnight on the island on 21 October (GRG52/49/2). The first load of timber was transported from the island to the point on a barge on 30 October and was unloaded and stacked (GRG52/49/2). This continued throughout November and December (GRG52/49/2). From November 1948, materials from the island, such as iron and piping, were being carted from the Point, presumably to the mission for reuse (GRG52/49/2). The stock overseer and four men also stayed overnight on the island on 18 November 1948

(GRG52/49/2). Young went to the island with three men and stayed overnight on 27 April 1949 (GRG52/49/2). Earlier in the month, the stock overseer went with Tom Goldsmith¹⁵¹ to recover piping that Goldsmith had left on the island, making additional trips with the manager on the launch (GRG52/49/2). In addition, in 1949 material brought from the island via the B.H.P. launch was collected from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/49/2). Graham (int. 25/2/13) suggests that the buildings in the Old Village started deteriorating and were knocked down in the 1960s or 1970s. Archaeological evidence—or a lack of evidence—also contributes knowledge to the abandonment process of the site. For example, the tin originally on the roof of Living Quarters 2 is no longer at the site, suggesting it was removed and taken elsewhere, possibly for reuse.

Point Pearce/Burdiyana people have, however, continuously maintained a connection to Wardang Island/Waraldi. Clyde Kropinyeri¹⁵² and his wife, Beryl, lived there for a while, possibly in the 1950s or 1960s, still looking after the sheep, although there was not as many then (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). Ned Milera¹⁵³ also lived there more recently, in the houses in the B.H.P. Village (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). An image from the *Sunday Mail* (27/1/1974) shows C. O’Loughlin with Ned Milera and Mrs Mersey unloading feed at Wardang Island/Waraldi, suggesting use of the island for stock, for example horses and donkeys, until at least 1974 (Figure 114).

In recent years, there have been a series of Point Pearce/Burdiyana people engaged as caretakers living on Wardang Island/Waraldi. During the 1970s when the island was first returned to the community, Peter Goldsmith was caretaker for a time and L. Newchurch (29/11/13) was his off-sider and eventually took over the role of caretaker. L. Newchurch (29/11/13) would conduct general checks of the island including if anyone was staying there or had permits. From 1976 to 1983, Lindsay Sansbury (int. 26/11/13) worked on the island transporting visiting school children when the Education Department was also using Wardang Island/Waraldi for about five years (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13). R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) lived there for about five years in the early 1980s and also had his boat there and fished off the

¹⁵¹ Thomas Goldsmith, born 1904 Point Pearce/Burdiyana, died 1968 Point Pearce/Burdiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:219, 406).

¹⁵² Clyde Edward Kropinyeri, born 1930 Point Pearce/Burdiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:116, 146, 273, 281).

¹⁵³ Edward Peter Stanford Milera, born 1938 Point Pearce/Burdiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:171, 232, 250, 347, 378, 393).

island. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Lindsay Sansbury (int. 26/11/13) and Richard Sansbury Snr lived on Green Island. In 2014, Richard ‘Bart’ Sansbury Jnr was living on Wardang Island/Waraldi.



Figure 114 Clem O'Loughlin, Ned Milera and Mrs Mersey unloading feed at Wardang Island/Waraldi in 1974 (image courtesy of Stuart Moody).

A number of vessels were remembered in oral histories that were used at Wardang Island/Waraldi during this time. The ‘Wardang Island launch’ (ca late 1930s–ca 1950s) was the first motor launch, driven by Bert Holding and Jack Doyle (Heinrich 1976:89). The skipper of the Wardang Island launch in 1950 was C.F. Anderson (*The Advertiser* 1950:3), although he could have been driving it earlier than that because Graham (int. 19/2/13) remembers his driving it daily from the island to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for food when he was living there in the late 1930s. The Wardang Island launch is also mentioned in a newspaper article in 1944, when it had to take provisions to Wardang Island/Waraldi in heavy weather (*The Maitland Watch* 1944 in Moody [2012:257]).

Silver Cloud (built in 1942 as a flying boat tender) was a motor launch just under 40 ft (12.19 m) in length, originally used by B.H.P. and skippered by Jack Doyle, however at the time of sinking was owned by the Aboriginal Lands Trust (Heinrich 1976:110). Used to transport tourists and cargo between Wardang Island/Waraldi and Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (Figures 115–116), it sank at its moorings in 1974, however was later refloated (Heinrich 1976:110).



Figure 115 *Silver Cloud* at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty (Moody 2012:231).



Figure 116 *Silver Cloud* at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, 1970 (image courtesy of Stuart Moody).

Clem Graham also skippered it (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13) and ‘Nugget’ Rankine was a crewman (Figure 117). It was towed to the bay to the lee of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and remained at moorings until sold to a Victorian fisherman and converted to a fishing vessel (Moody 2012:231).



Figure 117 'Nugget' Rankine playing a guitar on-board *Silver Cloud*, *Sunday Mail* 27/1/1974 (image courtesy of Stuart Moody).

Moorara (1909–22 August 1975) was converted from a river barge to a fore-and-aft schooner in ca 1940, and it was used to transport wheat from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty to the grain ships at anchor. Following this, ca 1970, G. Price purchased it as a supply vessel for Wardang Island/Waraldi, and it was taken over by the Aboriginal Lands Trust when Wardang Island/Waraldi became Aboriginal land (Ford et al. 2002). C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) remembers driving it once to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu. *Moorara* was owned by the Aboriginal Community Council, Point Pearce/Burdiyana, and was in poor repair at the time of sinking (Heinrich 1976:110). *Moorara* sank at anchor off the northeast coast of Wardang Island/Waraldi, approximately 1 km offshore and just south of the Little Jetty (Ford et al. 2002). The community has since used it as a fishing drop (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12).

'Reef Runner' was a 22 ft (6.71 m), fibreglass 150 hp vessel with a Mercury engine that was owned and used by the Education Department when they were accessing

Wardang Island/Waraldi (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). The name of this vessel describes the model of fishing trailer boat, Reef Runner, which has been manufactured since the 1970s (Trotter 2011).

Archie Badenoch was built in November 1942 at Birkenhead, Port Adelaide, at the General Motors Holden plant (Rickard 2009). It was used as a supply tender for the Royal Australian Navy until 1946, when it was taken over by the South Australian Police (Rickard 2009). The boat arrived at Point Pearce/Burgiyana in 1978 (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13), and was owned by the Department of Further Education and used by the community (Rickard 2009). *Archie Badenoch* used to do trips taking people across to Wardang Island/Waraldi (Figure 118) (int. Power 30/11/13).



Figure 118 *Archie Badenoch* anchored off Wardang Island/Waraldi (Moody 2012:119).

Smith (int. 29/11/13) remembers taking the ferry *Archie Badenoch* to Wardang Island/Waraldi to camp when he was a boy, with Peter Goldsmith as the skipper at that time. The launch was abandoned and fell into disrepair but was salvaged by the South Australian Police Historical Society in 1985 and restored (Rickard 2009).

Archie Badenoch is now kept on the Port River in Port Adelaide (int. Power

30/11/13), under the custody of the South Australian Maritime Museum (Figure 119).



Figure 119 *Archie Badenoch* today on the Port River (image courtesy of the South Australian Maritime Museum photographic collection).

The ‘Wardang Island barge’ was a steel barge, 15 m in length with a diesel engine and outboard leg. The barge broke free of its mooring and grounded north of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in 1975 (Figure 120).



Figure 120 Wardang Island barge ashore north of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in 1975 (Moody 2012:172).

This vessel was later refloated and moored off Wardang Island/Waraldi. The barge broke adrift again and was hauled ashore on the northeast side of Wardang Island/Waraldi. The Wardang Island barge was buried in landfill during a clean-up on the island in 2000 in the back of the B.H.P. Village (Figure 121) (Moody 2012:172). This is likely the barge that Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) recalled from the 1960s and 1970s at Wardang Island/Waraldi. The ‘Oyster boat’ is the most recent community boat, used for conducting work on Wardang Island/Waraldi (Figure 122).



Figure 121 Wardang Island barge being buried on Wardang Island/Waraldi with B.H.P. Village in background (image courtesy of Stuart Moody).



Figure 122 The ‘Oyster boat’ on its trailer at Point Pearce/Burgiyana (photograph by J. Mushynsky 25/11/13).

6.8.3 Coastal pastoral structures, Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula

Other pastoral structures exist on the mainland, some of which are in close proximity to the coast. While coastal pastoral structures on the mainland were not a focus of this research, those that were remembered as significant by the community were documented. There are some references to sheep being pastured on the coast. In 1956, it was recorded that sheep were not de-pastured on the sea frontages because many sheep were being drowned on the tidal flats during the incoming tide (Aborigines Protection Board 1956:11). It was suggested that these sea frontages would be fenced however whether this occurred seems unlikely (Aborigines Protection Board 1956:11). Hollywood, discussed further as part of the contact landscape, was a coastal fringe community that also sourced its own water. C. O’Loughlin (int. 25/11/13) lived at Hollywood and he recalls digging his own well, an example of which was found during the on ‘Country’ story-trekking and could have been built by him (Figure 123).



Figure 123 Well at Hollywood located during survey by Clem O’Loughlin (photograph by J. Mushynsky 25/11/13).

At Gagadhi, Graham (int. 28/2/14) relocated three wells that run in a line perpendicular to the beach. The first of these is located close to the coast at Gagadhi (Figure 124). The water from this tank is then pumped to a second well, located on the western side of the road that runs from the Boundary Gate at Gagadhi to the mission. The third tank, located on the eastern side of the same road, receives the water from the second tank. This third tank is substantial and has the remains of a windmill and drinking trough, similar to the catchments on Wardang Island/Waraldi with the exception of the tin and frame catchment structure (Figure 125). The third of these tanks was used for sheep and cattle, as described by Graham (int. 28/2/14) and evidenced by sheep and cattle (*Bos primigenius*) bone visible on the surface of the ground alongside the tank.



Figure 124 The coastal tank of the Gagadhi Tanks (photograph by K. Bennett 28/2/14).

A series of tanks also runs from The Willows to the mission and sources the large underground tanks near the stables that supplied the mission's drinking water. The Willows, also known as the 'bluebushes'/'*wadbula* (*Kochia sedifolia*), is located in the centre of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula; Jack Stuart, Wilfred Wanganeen and Fred Graham Snr built the tank at The Willows at the turn of the century (int. Graham and M. O'Loughlin 27/2/14). Willows Tank never went dry and had 'beautiful water' which Graham and M. O'Loughlin (int. 27/2/14) remember swimming in during the late 1950s. In addition, (Edward) Russell Chester grew

watermelons at The Willows and it was a favourite place for playing on the weekends—cooking potatoes and onions—having taken horses from the mission (int. Graham and M. O’Loughlin 27/2/14).



Figure 125 The inland tank of the Gagadhi Tanks, facing east (photograph by K. Bennett 28/2/14).

Water from Willows Tank was pumped via a diesel pump in a stone-walled pump shed to Bucks Tank, which Graham and M. O’Loughlin (int. 27/2/14) state is named after Arthur Buck’s father, a *gunya* from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, and not the Buckskin family. The laying of pipes from tanks at The Willows to the mission and the construction of windmills and force pump occurred in 1907 (GRG52/1/1907/292 in Wood and Westell [1998b:9]). Other people who were involved in constructing tanks and wells include Henry Angie, Jack Buckskin¹⁵⁴ and the O’Loughlins’ (int. Graham and M. O’Loughlin 27/2/14).

During the archaeological survey, the tanks in the centre of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana township—some of which are extant (although deteriorating) and others have been demolished—were visited with community members, and the name Thomas Goldsmith was observed etched into the mortar of one of the tanks (Figure 126).

¹⁵⁴ Jack Buckskin Jnr, born 1878 West Coast, died 1928 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:152, 154, 200, 314).



Figure 126 Thomas Goldsmith's name etched into a tank at the mission (photograph by A. Berry 27/2/14).



Figure 127 View south from Middle Fence (photograph by A. Berry 27/2/14).

A soak, used for watering sheep, is also located at Middle Fence (Figure 127) (int. Graham and M. O'Loughlin 27/2/14) and corresponds to the location of Gidiyalba Wells on the map published by NAPA. Gidiyalba Wells is not to be confused with Gidiyalba which is a place on the western side of Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula,

near Mungari (NAPA 2006:44, 144). Two ships tanks were also located inland from the mainland coast, near Dead Man's Island/Mungari (Figure 128).



Figure 128 Ships tanks near Dead Man's Island/Mungari, facing north (photograph by A. Roberts 13/4/12 '[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project').

6.9 Social landscape

6.9.1 Sex

Walker (int. 19/11/13) suggests that subsistence roles follow the same principle on the land and the sea, men hunting and women gathering. J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) also said that 'fishing in them days and keeping the fishing as a business, as a survival, as a food mechanism, sustainability for the family, you know, the men did it'. Most of the time women would stay back and fish from the shore instead of going out on a fishing boat because that was the men's job (int. Walker 19/11/13), however, several women were also active in the fishing community.

Many women would go fishing with male relatives, for example fathers, husbands and sons. Power's (int. 30/11/13) mother, Alma, would go fishing with her sons on an old boat at the moorings (Boys Point/Gunganya warda). Power (int. 30/11/13) recalls his mother walking all the way to Boys Point/Gunganya warda when her sons would ask her to stay at home and go fishing without her. Carrie Buckskin and her sister Sandy would also go fishing with their brother (int. Power 30/11/13). Irene

Agius used to go out with her father, Parry ‘Kaiser’ Sansbury, on the boats often (int. Walker 19/11/13). Lyle Sansbury’s (int. 30/11/13) mother, Rose Sansbury, would also go out with his father and Weetra (int. 28/11/13) recalls Rose netting on boats for garfish:

Rose used to come out ... with her husband ... She would have been out jumping over board. Pulling the net.

Weetra (int. 28/11/13) herself also fished with Clem Graham on his boat, around Little Goose Island. She also went with her uncle and grandfather, Nat Kropinyeri, from Reef Point where they would walk out to the dinghy and then row out to Moonta/Munda Hole (int. Weetra 28/11/13).

In addition to fishing with male relatives, women also fished together from boats and the shore. Lindsay Sansbury (int. 26/11/13) remembers that Alma Power and Janet Smith had their own dinghy’s and used to row out to drops to go fishing. At eight years he would help push out the dinghy’s. Walker’s (int. 29/11/13) mother, Susan¹⁵⁵, and her best friend Estelle Kropinyeri¹⁵⁶, also used to fish using harpoons (Figure 129).

Weetra (int. 28/11/13), Carrie Buckskin and Rose Sansbury would also fish from the shore, all lined up along the beach, at The Creek/Winggara, which is also where they got their worms in the seaweed, in addition to Yadri and the Point. They would go fishing there in March for mullet and silver whiting (int. Weetra 28/11/13). Jennifer Newchurch and Lyle Sansbury’s (int. 30/11/13) mother, Rose, also had a place near Dolly’s Jetty that they favoured for catching whiting. Greenbush is another location where the old ladies would walk out for fishing and stand in the water catching mullet; they would then cook the fish on a fire (int. Graham 26/11/13). According to Walker (int. 29/11/13), Karen Brine learnt her fishing knowledge from her grandfather who used to talk to her about fish and take her down to the beaches to show her things.

¹⁵⁵ Susan Lorraine Walker (nee Hughes), born 1929 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1968 (Kartinyeri 2002:207, 421).

¹⁵⁶ Estelle Maude Cross (nee Kropinyeri), born 1913 or 1914 Wellington, died 1945 or 1949 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:146, 166).



Figure 129 Susan 'Susie' Walker and Estelle 'Stella' Kropinyeri with harpoons (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).

6.9.2 Age

Fishing is an activity that included people of all ages. The participation of children is highlighted later in the leisure landscape, although fishing activities are culturally

and socially more complex and do not only serve leisure purposes. Boats were often made available to Aboriginal people in other towns around the Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda coastline, in addition to Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, and were specifically arranged for elders. For example, in 1895, the Protector of Aborigines, Hamilton, made a request to the Minister of Agriculture to purchase a small fishing boat at a cost of £15 for the use of ‘the old Aborigines of Point Pearce Mission Station ... the possession of a boat for fishing purposes would be a great boon to them’ (GRG52/1/172/1895). However, the boat formerly used by Aboriginal people at Stansbury was transported from Ardrossan to Maitland/Maggiwarda for use at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana (GRG52/1/172/1895). This boat was described in 1899 at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana as ‘more or less in use by the old people but when not in use they are unwilling to lend it to the others’ (GRG52/1/69/1899). Also, in 1906, four elderly Aboriginal men requested a pair of oars (10 ft [3.05 m] long) and were supplied them, being sent from the Protector of Aborigines via Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (GRG52/1/83/1906).

Those individuals who received assistance for purchasing boats that can be identified with certainty range from 37 to 67 years of age. The monthly returns for the mission show Aboriginal people making payments for boats and engines (Table 5) (GRG52/49/2; GRG52/49/3). Some men also undertook rabbiting on Wardang Island/Waraldi. These people were aged between 12 and 23 years suggesting rabbiting was an activity undertaken by teenagers and young men. In 1928, a rabbit trap was sent over to the island (GRG52/73/3). In March 1938, rabbiters on the island included: J. Abdulla¹⁵⁷, H.¹⁵⁸ and Ron¹⁵⁹ Buckskin, M. Cook, O. O’Loughlin¹⁶⁰, B.¹⁶¹, O.¹⁶² and W.¹⁶³ Richards, K.¹⁶⁴ and M.¹⁶⁵ Sansbury, N.

¹⁵⁷ Jack Abdulla Jnr, born 1915, or Jim Abdulla (Kartinyeri 2002:103, 105–106).

¹⁵⁸ Howard Lawrence Buckskin, born 1924 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1980 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:154, 200, 294, 314).

¹⁵⁹ Possibly Ross Mervyn Buckskin, born 1922 or 1926 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1975 (Kartinyeri 2002:154, 200, 314).

¹⁶⁰ Oswald Huntley O’Loughlin, born 1921 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1988 (Kartinyeri 2002:182, 208, 381).

¹⁶¹ Benjamin Richards, born 1919 Hawker, died 1949 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:103, 107, 244).

¹⁶² Oscar Richards, born 1926 Hawker, died 1984 Ceduna (Kartinyeri 2002:103, 108).

¹⁶³ Walter Richards Jnr (Kartinyeri 2002:103, 108).

¹⁶⁴ Kenneth Sansbury or his brother Kevin Lancelot Roland Sansbury, born 1926 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died 1975 Point Pearce/Burkiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:275).

¹⁶⁵ Malcolm Terrence Sansbury, born 1925 Point Pearce/Burkiyana, died Adelaide, or Mervyn Thomas Sansbury Snr, born 1927 Koonibba, died 1970 Maitland/Maggiwarda (Kartinyeri 2002:116–117, 247–248, 273, 275, 282, 285, 391).

Varcoe¹⁶⁶ and T. Weetra¹⁶⁷ (GRG52/65/2). In March 1946, B. Long and G. Sansbury¹⁶⁸ were rabbiting there (GRG52/49/1).

Table 5 Repayments made on boats and engines.

Year's payments made	Name	Total payment	Object of repayment
1948–1950	W.C. Williams ¹⁶⁹	£27	Engine
1948–1951	Tom Newchurch	£38 20s	Engine
1948–1952	Johny Milera	£28	Boat
1948–1952	Lewis Power	£28	Not specified
1949	C. Tony Wilson	£11 10s	Dinghy
1949	R. Wilson Snr ¹⁷⁰	£2 2s	Not specified
1949	Laurie M. Williams	£3	Not specified
1950	C. Smith ¹⁷¹	£2	Not specified
1950	F. Don. Hall ¹⁷²	£1 17s 6d	Not specified
1950–1951	Walter Smith	£16	Not specified
1951	Parry Sansbury	£44	Not specified
1952	Alf O'Loughlin	£2	Not specified

6.10 Territorial/power/resistance landscape

How we lived together; how we lived independently on the peninsula (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

The results of the previous facets give some indication of cross-cultural engagement on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, although they have primarily focused on the lives of Aboriginal peoples. The territorial landscape facet reveals particular places in the Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana landscape where cross-cultural engagement was prevalent, as well as places that reinforced the bounded setting of the mission.

6.10.1 Contact

The historical and archaeological evidence for sealers on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta, introduced during the historical background, was further discussed during oral history interviews by Walker (int. 19/11/13) when he suggests that old sailors,

¹⁶⁶ Nelson Dennis Varcoe, born 1924 Point McLeay/Raukkan, died 1976 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:306).

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Henry Weetra, born 1922 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:220, 328, 333).

¹⁶⁸ Gordon Sansbury (Kartinyeri 2002:275).

¹⁶⁹ William Christopher Williams Jnr, born 1908 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1987 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:114, 124, 199, 357, 359).

¹⁷⁰ Robert Wilson Snr, born 1883 Point McLeay/Raukkan, died 1958 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:113).

¹⁷¹ Cecil Smith or Claude Smith (Kartinyeri 2002:126, 401, 405, 407, 415).

¹⁷² Possibly a non-Indigenous man, Don Hall, is documented as the proprietor of the local picture shows in 1949 (Aborigines Protection Board 1949:7).

sealers and whale hunters would come across to the bottom end of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda and meet with Aboriginal women. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) also highlights that these visitors drew on Aboriginal knowledge of the maritime cultural landscape for navigation, which is often dismissed in the history of Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta.

Many visitors have sailed through the area, including the British, Matthew Flinders, and the French, Nicolas Baudin (Krichauff 2008:14), although it is Narungga who have ‘lived it, harnessed it, looked after it [and] farmed it’ (int. Rigney 18/7/13). These scientific voyages of ‘discovery’ by colonial powers aimed to map Australia’s southern coast which was previously uncharted (Krichauff 2008:14). Only on one documented occasion did a party come ashore during the time these exploratory ships were in Narungga waters and no known direct contact with Narungga people took place (Krichauff 2008:25–26). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) has knowledge of settlers, such as artist and surveyor Edward Snell, trading flour, milk and tobacco for Snapper and suggests that this was the beginning of Narungga people ‘selling’ fish within the Western economy. Griffiths (1988:120, 127–128) records that in 1850—in addition to trading bits of tobacco and red wafers¹⁷³ for Snapper, butterfish and leatherjacket (Family Monacanthidae)—Snell also bought two fishing nets in exchange for a pipe, tobacco and a knife.

An aspect of the Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana maritime cultural landscape is that Wardang Island/Waraldi was the site of the ‘headman’ of the Aboriginals on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda (*The Advertiser* 1886:36), King Tommy’s, first encounter with Europeans:

He has often told his experience with the first white men he met, which meeting took place on Wauraltee [Wardang] Island. Some sailors came ashore and gave him a smoke, which made him sick. He thought, “white fellow poison him”. Notwithstanding this experience he took up smoking, which he did not give up until compelled by Nature’s inevitable law.

King Tommy was influential amongst Narungga people and was instrumental in the establishment of the mission, supporting the organisation of a school and township to care for the elderly and sick since 1865 (Krichauff 2008:145, 161, 181). In the same

¹⁷³ According to Krichauff (2008:117), these are probably slabs of dried pigment, as Snell was an artist.

year as the establishment of the mission, it is stated that the Wallaroo/Wadla waru ‘tribe’ spent the summer season in Kadina/Gardina, Wallaroo/Wadla waru and Moonta/Munda, fishing, while the Peninsula ‘tribe’ frequented Parara¹⁷⁴, Black Point/Gudliwardi, Yorke Town and Penton Vale¹⁷⁵ for fishing (Hamilton 1868:4). Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) is also aware of the Narungga ‘mob’ being issued with fish hooks and lines at Wallaroo/Wadla waru for catching mullet, in the same way that flour and bread were issued. In 1909, 132 pounds of netting twine, 1,150 fish hooks and 175 fishing lines were issued to depots across South Australia (South 1909:5–6).

6.10.2 Wardang Island/Waraldi

Wardang Island ... has been a highly contestable place. It's spoken about in history and it's been invisible in history (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

Alongside the mission's grazing activities on Wardang Island/Waraldi, B.H.P. was using the island for sand quarrying. By 1913, 20 to 30 men were employed at the flux works and a boat with a 20 hp engine was about to be sent capable of carrying 30 passengers (*The Register* 1913:15). In 1918, they took another 15 mineral leases containing 426 acres on the west coast of Wardang Island/Waraldi, adjoining their previous lease (No. 430) (GRG52/1/27/1918). B.H.P. was still working on Wardang Island/Waraldi in 1937 (*The Advertiser* 1937:17) and in 1946 got a new boat for up to 70 passengers which could travel between Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and Wardang Island/Waraldi in half an hour (*The Advertiser* 1946b:3).

The relationship between Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and B.H.P. was mutually beneficial in some instances. In 1915, the sheep were able to stay on Wardang Island/Waraldi over summer because water was brought from Port Pirie in boats engaged by the B.H.P. company in connection with their flux quarries (South 1915:9). The mission is recorded as supplying the B.H.P. men with mutton in 1916, about 30 sheep per month, acting as their butchers (South 1916:11). The relationship between the mission and B.H.P. was, however, much more complex than this. In 1927, Haywood complained about station sheep, which were grazing on the northern end of the island (GRG52/1/72/1927). The Superintendent, J.B. Steer, believed that the

¹⁷⁴ Parara, also known as Clay Gully, was a landing and property near the present town of Ardrossan.

¹⁷⁵ Penton Vale was a station near Wool Bay.

mission had the right to graze on the mining leases and wrote to the Chief Protector of Aboriginals because Haywood, the B.H.P. manager, was ‘very nasty to Smith over the matter’ (GRG52/1/72/1927). The outcome of the discussion was that the Aborigines’ Department granted the mining company grazing rights over the enclosed area at the northern end of the island where their buildings were located, on the condition that the mining company keep the fence in repair so that the station stock could not gain access to the enclosure (GRG52/1/72/1927).

Several vessels were sold between Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and B.H.P. Jack W. Waters, the B.H.P. manager, inspected the station barge in December 1948 and, a year later, it was sold to B.H.P. for £15 (GRG52/49/2). When seeking to purchase the station launch in 1949, Waters mentioned that he heard that the station dinghy would most likely be sold with the launch (GRG52/1/99/1949).

The mining maritime cultural landscape provides another layer to the maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and several maritime cultural remnants were identified during a visit to the B.H.P. Village in 2012. An iron-stocked anchor, with one fluke laid back against the stock and anchor chain, serves as a monument at the cliff top near the B.H.P. Village (Figure 130). According to Stuart Moody (pers. comm. 23/10/14), this anchor was used as a mooring for the sand barge from Port Pirie and was located away from the jetty with a heavy chain to be attached to the barge. It was relocated by G. Price, who operated the tourist business on the island, in 1969 or early 1970 (Stuart Moody pers. comm. 23/10/14) (Figure 131). In addition, two ships tanks are located near the current main street of buildings (Figures 132–133).

Aboriginal people also worked for the mining company, for example Cecil Graham’s uncle worked on the flux (Graham and Graham 1987:53), this is most likely Lionel Hughes as Graham (int. 19/2/13) states that he worked for B.H.P. after the sheep. Graham (int. 19/2/13) suggests that two or three Aboriginal men worked for B.H.P. including Lionel Hughes and Barney Warrior (int. Graham 25/2/13). However, Aboriginal employees still lived in the Old Village rather than at the B.H.P. township (int. Graham 25/2/13).



Figure 130 Anchor displayed at B.H.P. Village, facing northwest (photograph by A. Roberts 9/4/12 '[Re]locating Narrunga Project').



Figure 131 Barge mooring anchor, Wardang Island/Waraldi, *Yorke Peninsula News Pictorial* 12/2/1970 (image courtesy of Stuart Moody). Note *Silver Cloud* berthed at the Big Jetty in the background.

Graham (int. 25/2/13) indicates that it was around the early 1940s that employment shifted from the mission sheep to the B.H.P. mining. Yet, employment at the flux company commenced as early as 1899, with three Aboriginal men from the mission being employed at that time (GRG52/1/69/1899).



Figure 132 Ships tank mounted on trolley, facing northeast (photograph by A. Roberts 9/4/12 '[Re]locating Narrunga Project').



Figure 133 Ships tank on ground at B.H.P. Village, facing east (photograph by A. Roberts 9/4/12 '[Re]locating Narrunga Project').

The mission superintendent in 1899 stated:

It is unfortunate for us that the Flux company were allowed to come to Wauraltee [Wardang] Island. The discontented go between and it generally complicates matters (GRG52/1/69/1899).

No doubt the Point Pearce/Burkiyana employees were conflicted and needed income. In 1916, several men are again employed for a number of months at the flux quarries on the island (South 1916:12). The mining of Wardang Island/Waraldi is also more complex in that the mining disturbed pre-contact archaeological and cultural sites, in addition to destroying the environment (Amy Roberts pers. obs.). The large quarry cut on Wardang Island/Waraldi, for example, is located at Devil's Window, a place named by the community (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

Many aspects of the concurrent economic activities were shared, for example the Aboriginal people living on Wardang Island/Waraldi used the mining launches to travel to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu or sent their shopping lists with the mining company boat drivers. During the late 1930s, the launch ran every two to three days and Gladys O'Loughlin would go over to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu to go shopping for bread, butter and meat (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12). While on 'Country' Graham (int. 25/2/13) recalled this anecdote:

Used to go put baggies there for the launch to go over the island to get you stuff. I told you my uncle [Lionel Hughes] stopped here in the first place, in the first cottage, so he said to me and my cousins, you know, Steve [Stephen] Williams, 'You boys better go down there and put them bags in for the mail tomorrow'. So off we go put them bags in, dark night, so we had to put them on the, they had things on the jetty there where you used to put bags, and the bloke that used to, Anderson, I think his name was, used to drive the launch to the island. So we went down there and took that down there and we were coming home and remember it's a pitch dark night and we can't see anything and this cutting here [leading down to The Bay], you know what our uncle does? He went down this cutting with a sheet, waited for us, so when we came back he was floating like a ghost coming up and it was a dark night. By the powers didn't we go!

The baggies referred to are hessian bags collected by the launch driver. In the bags was a list and the goods were then collected in Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and returned to the island (Fred Graham pers. comm. 3/7/13). The launch skipper referred to is C.F. Anderson who was a non-Indigenous employee of B.H.P. and lived on Wardang Island/Waraldi (*The Advertiser* 1950:3). Fowler et al. (2014:18–19) also interpreted Graham's personal story as an example of the intangible trajectories—such as pathways and sailing routes—away from transit points like jetties.

One of the B.H.P. company vessels is *Silver Spray* (1944—at least 1954), the sister ship to *Silver Cloud*, which was also used as a supply launch for Wardang Island/Waraldi (Figure 134) (*The Recorder* 1949:3). *Silver Spray* was still being used by B.H.P. as late as December 1954 (*The Recorder* 1954:1).



Figure 134 *Silver Spray* at the Big Jetty, Wardang Island/Waraldi, 1940s (Moody 2012:257).

The mining activity resulted in more contact within the maritime domain than would have otherwise been the case. For example, in 1934, Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana children living on Wardang Island/Waraldi received new toys from Father Christmas, who flew to the island by plane, alongside the children of non-Indigenous mining families (*The Barrier Miner* 1934:3). In 1938, it is interesting to note that B. Warrior was elected to the school committee on Wardang Island/Waraldi (GRS48/72/1/T), although no other references to Aboriginal people in relation to the school could be located. Weetra (int. 28/11/13) remembers Barney Warrior living on the island and the Warrior children going to school there.

Interestingly, the relationship with the *gunyas* on Wardang Island/Waraldi resulted in those Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana people who worked there thinking they were ‘a bit higher’ than those on Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). C. O’Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) states:

Wardang Island people were like that, stuck together all the time. I suppose others did too, but they had more to do over Wardang I think and made them a bit cocky, you

know. Dad was the mechanic over there; he was the headman, you know, for the sheep and shearing sheds. He kept in charge of all those things.

6.10.3 Green Island

From at least 1947, non-Indigenous fishermen began applying for permits to travel through the Point Pearce Aboriginal Reserve to Boys Point/Gunganya warda in order to get to Green Island, which they used as a camp for fishing (GRG52/1/69/1947). Another location for which permits were applied was for travelling through Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana en route to Chinaman's Wells (GRG52/1/120/1940). Several of these people had permits before World War II and sought to renew them when they returned from serving with the armed forces (GRG52/1/69/1947). The Commissioner of Public Works originally granted the permits (GRG52/1/120/1940). These fishermen include the Johnson family from Moonta/Munda (GRG52/1/69/1947), the Ritters, the Caves, and the Kemps (GRG52/1/69/1947). These fishermen were also required to have a permit to camp on Green Island (GRG52/1/69/1947). Other non-Indigenous fishermen, such as the Simms, lived on their boats and requested a permit to leave a vehicle at Boys Point/Gunganya warda for running their fish to the market (GRG52/1/120/1940).

These fishermen assisted the mission by reporting problems with the stations boats or stock that were in trouble in the winter (GRG52/1/69/1947). However, according to historical documents they were strictly separated from the Aboriginal people at the mission, 'we do not have any contact with the natives on the reserve' (GRG52/1/69/1947). This idea of separation has been deconstructed through the oral history recollection (section 6.10.5) where fisherman Donny Ritter lived with Aboriginal people at Hollywood. C. O'Loughlin (int. 14/11/12) also talks about the Ritter family frequently, including Billy and Russell Ritter who drove the launch. While applying for a permit to pass through the mission to Green Island, Lionel Ford also mentions a relationship with the Aboriginal people at the mission:

I can well remember when I was a lad, 16, at Roachfield the shearers were Point Pearce men, John Stansbury (Wally & Eddies father), Alf Hughes, Joe Edwards, Willie Adams, fifty two or three years ago' (GRG52/1/120/1940).

The mission Superintendent, Bray, expressed concern about the non-Indigenous fishermen:

These irregulars come in when the Bay is open for netting, clean up the fish, then clear out. Consequently the Natives have difficulty in getting any fish in this area (GRG52/1/120/1940).

Roberts et al. (2013:84) document that an Aboriginal man named Ben Sims shared information about traditional fishing with a 'white' family of the same name (also spelt Simms).

The realities of the exemption system were also felt within the maritime cultural activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. In 1941, Gilbert Williams, who had been exempted from the mission and was living at Hollywood, applied for the 'privilege' of travelling through the mission to carry out his occupation as a fisherman (GRG52/1/120/1940). His argument was the 'white' fishermen already shared the privilege; he was granted permission on the same conditions as those that applied to 'white' men, being able to pass through the mission but not permitted to camp at Boys Point/Gunganya warda (GRG52/1/120/1940). In addition, in 1946, E. Sansbury, Mrs W.J. Milera¹⁷⁶, G.S., F.J. and E.A. Smith, and Theo Mitchell, who were exempted from the *Aborigines Act* and living at Hollywood, sought a permit to travel through the mission en route to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu to sell fish and purchase food, rather than having to travel around the boundary, and to travel from Hollywood directly across the mission to Boys Point/Gunganya warda (GRG52/1/120/1940). Neither of these requests was granted (GRG52/1/120/1940).

In 1946, it is noted that two non-Indigenous families camped on the mission property, one of which was the Kemps. These people assisted the mission on several occasions including: towing the mission launch back to its moorings after the engines broke down; taking the mission overseer to Wardang Island/Waraldi at shearing time when the missions' boats failed; rescuing a dozen lambs bogged on the beach; and taking the Aboriginal men who worked for B.H.P. to the island for work if they missed the B.H.P. launch in the morning (GRG52/1/120/1940).

A permit was also applied for by a non-Indigenous couple that wished to travel through Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana for boating and fishing leisure excursions, although this was rejected because not all people who made applications on the

¹⁷⁶ Possibly Nellie Wright, married to John Milera who was born 1871 Poonindie, died 1938 Wallaroo/Wadla waru (Kartinyeri 2002:373–374).

purposes of being engaged in fishing for a living were accepted (GRG52/1/69/1947). Perhaps this is one of the earlier examples of the waters around Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and Wardang Island/Waraldi being a desired location for recreational fishing.

6.10.4 Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and the windjammers

We used to watch the big boats come in, windjammers, you know (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12).

Given the proximity of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and Wardang Island/Waraldi to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and the international windjammers and Cape Horner's, there are many instances of interaction.

Every Sunday the sailors off the barques used to come ashore in dinghys and sometimes they'd walk to the Mission Station to have a look around. They were sailors from overseas, from Finland and those far away places. One Sunday one of my little boys was out playing in the yard and one of these sailors came up to the gate and was talking to him. When I came outside, the sailor asked me if I would like to sell him my little curly-headed boy [Fred Graham Jr], to take back home with him. I said, 'Sorry mate, he's not for sale' (Graham and Graham 1987:57–58).

Furthermore, Point Pearce/Burgiyana people are knowledgeable about the comings and goings of the international sailing ships (also see Roberts et al. 2014:29). Graham (int. 28/2/13) details the ballast ground, located near Rocky Island, or what he calls the 'balance' ground:

They got a ground out here they call the balance ground. You know when the big ships come in? They used to chuck their balance over there and then load up with wheat and that ... would balance the boat again.

When *SS Nelcebee* (1885) became stranded northeast of Wardang Island/Waraldi near Reef Point in 1885, the mate rowed ashore to report the stranding to the local mission (Moody 2012:186). Following the wreck of *Aagot* (1907) the crew, stranded on Wardang Island/Waraldi, along with their belongings were transferred to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in the Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda mission schooner, *Narrunga* (*The Advertiser* 1907:10). Local Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu pilot, Hector Orlando James Ximnez Simms, skippered the vessel and collected the crew from the

landing at the northern end of the island, the crew having travelled across the island in a horse and dray owned by the mission (Moody 2012:81).

Leo Simms was assisting with the salvage of *Songvaar* (1912) in February 1915 when the boat he was travelling in sank due to rough weather off Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula. Himself and the other crewman were rescued by two young men from Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana (Moody 2012:81). ‘Two sixteen year old boys, Stanley Smith and Clifford Edwards, saw the boat go down and put to sea in a small dinghy from the Point Pearce jetty [Dolly’s Jetty] and rescued the two men’ (Moody 2012:261). The wreck of *Songvaar* is well-known to the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community, including its origin, wrecking event and location (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). It has been used as a drop for night fishing, specifically for ‘tommies’ (tommy rough) (int. C. O’Loughlin 14/11/12). The connection between the bell of *Songvaar* and the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community is discussed shortly.

Another event of contact between Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana and the local maritime history is the death of a fisherman at Dead Man’s Island/Mungari in 1918. This has already been discussed in the section on cognitive maritime cultural landscapes because the death was the origin of changing the place name.

Mobility—though recognised as part of traditional lifeways—was considered unacceptable by the missionaries during the mission period (Fowler et al. 2014:20). Interestingly, one object that attempted to curtail it was the mission bell, which may have had maritime—and therefore highly mobile—origins.

The mission bell that was tolled by the missionaries every morning for wake up and rise to work, morning tea or smoko, at lunch, afternoon tea or afternoon smoko and knock off time from work (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

Further reminiscences about the bell at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana are detailed by Wanganeen (1987) and Wood and Westell (1998b:12). This bell possibly had maritime origins, as it is recorded as having been salvaged off a shipwreck at Wardang Island/Waraldi, *Notre Dame D’Arvor* (1920) (Wanganeen 1987:32)¹⁷⁷, described by Rigney (int. 18/7/13) as a frigate, although noted as a barque by Moody

¹⁷⁷ The oral history about the *Notre Dame D’Arvor* bell collected for the *Point Pearce: Past and Present* book was from Olga Fudge, believed to be a very reliable source (pers. comm. Eileen Wanganeen to Amy Roberts, 24/6/14).

(2012:157). Rigney (int. 18/7/13) also suggests that Narungga were called to assist during the wrecking event, although this is not mentioned in other sources; the bell was retrieved from deep water using Narungga's technical knowledge about the maritime cultural landscape.

The bell presently located at the Point Pearce Hall, embossed with 'John Danks & Son Pty Ltd Melbourne Sydney', denotes a company established in 1859 (Figure 135). A news clipping titled 'New bell ringing at Point Pearce' held at the Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre states that Anglican bishop John Stead donated this bell, a spare from a church in Gladstone (SA).



Figure 135 Bell currently at Point Pearce Hall (photograph by J. Mushynsky 25/11/13).

In addition, the Point Pearce Aboriginal School donated a bell off the vessel *Songvaar* to the Port Victoria Maritime Museum in 1972. Therefore, it is likely that the mission had a series of bells, one or more of which could have been from a shipwreck in the Wardang Island/Waraldi region (Figure 136).

A final connection between Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana and the Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu windjammer's is *Playmate*, one of the launches from Wardang Island/Waraldi (int. L. Newchurch 29/11/13).



Figure 136 Historical photograph of bell at Point Pearce Aboriginal School (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).

It was the first of the Offshore Fishing Company's tourist launches which arrived at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in 1946, captained by Wally Petersen (*The Advertiser* 1946a:2). It was also part of the mission's leisure activities as, in 1948, a group of tourists from Clare (SA) were guests of M.A. Walloscheck, the manager of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, and were taken out on *Playmate*, described as a pleasure launch, for a viewing of the sailing vessels *Viking* and *Lawhill* which were at anchor at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu (*Northern Argus* 1948:7). Interestingly, C. O'Loughlin's (int. 15/10/12 '[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project') brother also took his boat out to *Lawhill* and drank with the sailors.

6.10.5 Hollywood and Reef Point

Hollywood is located just north of the mission boundary on the coast. People lived there in tin shacks, numbering about a dozen (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13), including Fred Smith Jnr, (Stanley) Garfield Smith Snr and a *gunya* named Donny Ritter (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). In 1939, Claude Smith had his boat off Hollywood Beach for fishing (GRG52/1/18/1939; int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13) (Claudia Smith also lived there as a girl [Jones 2009:29]). Several Point Pearce/Burgiyana families lived there in addition to the Smiths, such as Wellesley Sansbury, the Powers, and Thomas Newchurch (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

L. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) would often leave for fishing from Boys Point/Gunganya warda and go around to Hollywood and leave his boat there, and then walk back down there the next day and decide if he wanted to go back around to the bay. There used to be more bushes at Hollywood, especially bluebush (int. Weetra 28/11/13). Reef Point is just south of Hollywood and is directly where the Boundary Fence runs (Figure 137).

Weetra (int. 28/11/13) describes why people, including her grandmother, Iris¹⁷⁸, and grandfather, Nat Kropinyeri, lived at Reef Point:

They wanted to live like 'white' people, so they come down here. They didn't want to live with the rules and regulations, you know, of the Aboriginal Department.

J. Newchurch (int. 25/9/13) also talks about that time:

¹⁷⁸ Iris Matilda Kropinyeri (nee Sansbury), born 1898 Point Pearce/Burgiyana (Kartinyeri 2002:116, 146, 273).

Hollywood, they used to live on there. They used to have a permit system where certain people weren't allowed, you got kicked off the mission, so people lived here, families and all.



Figure 137 Boundary Fence running along mudflats towards the ocean, facing northwest (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

Charles ‘Charlie’ Stuart¹⁷⁹ also had a shack at Reef Point (int. C. O’Loughlin 25/11/13). The local council demolished the shacks at Hollywood in the 1970s or 1980s (int. J. Newchurch 25/9/13).

6.10.6 Boundary Fence and Boundary Gate

Old wooden posts, more recent wooden posts and metal posts make up the Boundary Fence at Reef Point (Figures 138–139). Nearby the most seaward post is a rusted chain and encrusted concrete block, in addition to two isolated wooden posts. These features taken as an entirety could represent a mooring, which corroborates Weetra’s (int. 28/11/13) oral history of fishing occurring directly out from Reef Point, rather

¹⁷⁹ Charles McDonald Stuart, born 1913 or 1920 Point Pearce/Burgiyana, died 1982 Adelaide (Kartinyeri 2002:177, 183, 223, 229, 332, 375, 382).

than just at Hollywood. The Boundary Gate is located near Gagadhi beach (Figure 140).



Figure 138 Original timbers along Boundary Fence (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

6.11 Leisure landscape

6.11.1 Tin canoes

The construction of tin canoes by children at Point Pearce Mission/Burdiyana appears to have begun in the early 1950s. The canoes were carried by three kids on foot the 7 km to The Creek/Winggara, an open swampy area with a fairly big and deep creek (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) describes their construction:

We all made these tin canoes out of corrugated sheets of iron, we'd bend them over, at the end of it we'd put black tar, heat it up and seal the ends. We had great fun, made our own paddles.

Use of a hammer flattened the bottom to enable getting in and out without tipping over, and the selected tin had no holes in the middle (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). A piece of stick with a square of plywood at the ends, nailed on, formed paddles that were easily replaceable after breaking (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). The field walking survey of Dead Man's Island/Mungari observed a paddle, which was evidently home-made and could be similar to the type described by R. Newchurch (Figure 141).



Figure 139 Wooden post from Boundary Fence, facing east (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

They were only a one-person canoe but each child had one and sometimes up to 20 to 30 children would go and camp on the weekends, living off the land (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13). Mainly boys would go up and down The Creek/Winggara in the canoe, fishing line in the boat, catching fish (int. R. Newchurch 29/11/13), although Weetra (int. 28/11/13) also remembers paddling in The Creek/Winggara in the tin canoes. Power (int. 30/11/13) remembers catching mullet in The Creek/Winggara and making a fire to cook them on. These activities can be seen as

replicating what the ‘old people’ were doing in their boats. Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) also remembers using tin canoes in the dam when he was a child.



Figure 140 Clem O'Loughlin at the Boundary Gate, facing north (photograph by A. Roberts 25/11/13).



Figure 141 Paddle or oar found at Dead Man's Island/Mungari (photograph by A. Berry 25/2/14).

In recent years, R. Newchurch (int. 29/11/13) has taught children at Point Pearce Aboriginal School ‘what we used to do’ (Figures 142–143). Lyle Sansbury (int.

30/11/13) makes it clear that the tin canoes in his time bore no similarity to bark canoes.

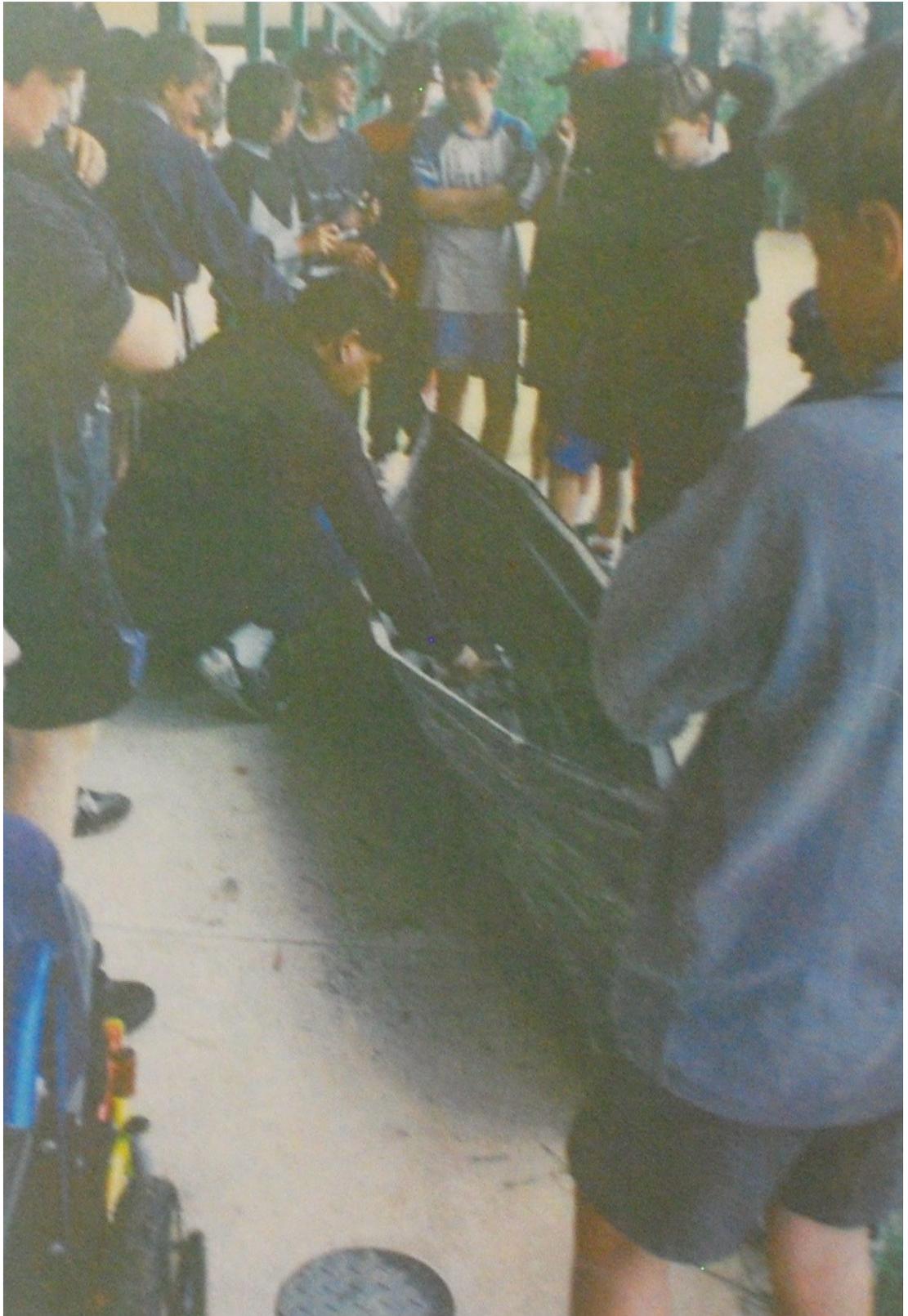


Figure 142 Lesson teaching Point Pearce Aboriginal School children how to build a tin canoe (photograph by J. Mushynsky 27/11/13, on display at Point Pearce Aboriginal School).



Figure 143 Completed tin canoes (28/11/13, held at Point Pearce Aboriginal School Cultural Centre).

6.11.2 Beach picnics

Large number of Natives journeyed to beach (GRG52/49/3).

Christmas is a day that shows some tradition of visiting the beach, for instance in 1950 the Aboriginal people used a trolley and horses to go to the beach (GRG52/49/3). Some cultural activities were more structured, being organised by the mission. For example, a jubilee sports day was held at the beach on Christmas Day 1951 where trollies and a utility were used to transport people to the beach (GRG52/49/3). Earlier in the year, all the vehicles were loaned to the Aboriginal people at the mission to go to the beach for a day of fishing and swimming (GRG52/49/3), suggesting that some activities were conducted without the supervision of mission staff.

In the 1960s, Easter weekend is also a time when everyone went down to the beach at the bay on the way to the Point. Children would be taken out on the boat, swim and hold the two ends of the net and the women and children would pull the fish in for the Easter feast barbeque (int. Walker 19/11/13). Weetra (int. 28/11/13) remembers going down the Thursday before Easter with Clem Graham and other children's fathers who would net for garfish with the children helping. Clem Graham would also take the children over to Rocky Island to get shag and gulls eggs (int. Weetra 28/11/13). Cecil Graham also had a boat and Cecil and Doris Graham took their children to Rocky Island to collect shag eggs from their nests, further evidence for a continuous use of the islands around Point Pearce/Burgyana Peninsula (Graham and Graham 1987:55).

Several beaches around Point Pearce/Burgyana Peninsula are recorded as traditional picnicking areas, although Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) says there was no cultural

determinants as to which beach was chosen on which day. Gagadhi, near Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and just outside the Point Pearce/Burgiyana boundary, is a significant beach, visited every Sunday by horse and cart or horse and trolley for picnicking (Figure 144) (int. C. O’Loughlin 25/11/13).



Figure 144 Gagadhi beach, facing north (photograph by J. Mushynsky 25/11/13).

Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) remembers travelling in a tractor-trailer along with other children and their mothers to Gagadhi for the day, where older children would carry on into Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu for the jetty. These outings were an ongoing tradition where children would swim and scones and cakes would be baked (int. Lyle Sansbury 30/11/13).

Dolly’s Jetty was also a popular place for day trips and Lyle Sansbury (int. 30/11/13) remembers going there for swimming as a child. Evidence for Dolly’s Jetty’s use as a playground for children appears today, with a rusted slide still attached to one of the jetty’s straights (Figure 145). Furthermore, while recording the jetty in 2012 for the ‘(Re)locating *Narrunga* Project’, a number of local children began playing on it during one afternoon.

Another area for these cultural gatherings was The Creek/Winggara, an area of saltbushes, where people would camp along the beach road (int. Lyle Sansbury

30/11/13). Wardang Island/Waraldi was also visited for cultural leisure activities and a favourite place to travel to for swimming and butterfishing was Hungry Bay (int. Lindsay Sansbury 26/11/13). The Little Jetty, on Wardang Island/Waraldi, was also used as a swimming place for children (int. C. O'Loughlin 14/11/12).



Figure 145 Slide at Dolly's Jetty, facing southwest (photograph by A. Roberts 12/4/12 '[Re]locating *Narrunga* Project').

6.12 Conclusions

The results of oral history interviews, both off-site and on 'Country', archaeological surveys conducted within terrestrial, coastal and underwater environments, and archival research have been categorised thematically within 11 facets of the maritime cultural landscape. These have highlighted traditional Narungga 'Dreamings' and other aspects of pre-contact lifeways through the ritual/cultic landscape, as well as conceptual characteristics of maritime culture through toponymy and other features of cognition. Both intangible traditional knowledge and oral histories and the tangible fabric of the topographic landscape were discussed, as well as the functional and economic factors involved in the outer and inner resource landscape such as boatbuilding, purchase and maintenance. Mobility was explored through the results relating to the physical transit points as well as intangible sea routes within Point Pearce/Burgiyana waters, as well as wider transport networks through the urban harbour landscape. The subsistence and economic landscapes of both fishing and

island pastoralism were explored in detail, in addition to insights into the social landscape facet. Aspects of cross-cultural contact between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and within the broader maritime sphere were presented. Finally, the maritime cultural landscape as seen from within the leisure facet, a cultural learning environment for children, provided the final insights into the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana.

These results will now be interpreted further in relation to the subsidiary questions of cultural continuity and cross-cultural engagement and through the conceptual underpinnings of the maritime cultural landscape framework, such as the *longue durée*, liminality, cosmology, maritime cultural centres and toponymy. The aims of assessing the appropriateness of employing the facets of the maritime cultural landscape as a tool for interpreting a post-contact Indigenous context will be discussed, in addition to the aim of decolonising the discipline.

In maritime culture the primary occupation has always been fishing (Westerdahl 2010b:130).

7 DISCUSSION

7.1 The maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana

This research has not set out to examine the validity of categorising the Point Pearce/Burkiyana community as a maritime culture, or to delineate how a culture can be defined as ‘maritime’. Previous researchers have established the inherently maritime nature of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, as set out in the introduction (Mollenmans 2014; Roberts et al. 2013; Wood and Westell 1998a:16, 36–37). As Mollenmans (2014:138) synthesises, ‘most archaeological evidence, historical accounts, archival material and ethnographies as well [as] the oral history interviews support the specialised coastal nature of the Narungga economy’. Rather, focusing on Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana as a case study, this research builds upon the maritime cultural landscape approach through its application to Indigenous post-contact contexts.

The results will now be discussed further by drawing connections between the findings of this study and the conceptual underpinnings of the maritime cultural landscape approach. The subsidiary question relating to cultural continuity and culture contact will be revisited through the lens of these broader concepts. The secondary aims, mapping intangible cultural heritage, incorporating traditional place names and knowledge, documenting maritime routes, investigating aspects of mobility, surveying Aboriginal involvement in the island pastoral landscape and

compiling a history of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana watercraft and a typology of post-contact vessels, will similarly be explored from a wider angle. This chapter then revisits the primary research question through the first primary aim, to apply a maritime cultural landscape framework to an Aboriginal historical context, by analysing the 11 facets of the framework as an interpretive approach. The remainder of this chapter then discusses limitations found with the three sources of data used in this research, management recommendations for some aspects of tangible heritage and future theoretical and contextual directions for this research.

7.1.1 Cultural continuity

The secondary question in this thesis is: How does the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana reveal cultural continuity and cross-cultural engagement? This question will be broken into two parts and discussed separately, beginning with the former. ‘Cultural continuity is a major factor in approaching any relict landscape in any area, under or above water’ (Westerdahl 2011b:336). The *longue durée* perspective reveals unchanging mentalities, technologies and landscapes (Rönby 2007:67). While the contact and post-contact period heralded changes in maritime technology, the *longue durée* perspective of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana reveals: 1) Continuous exploitation of marine resources; 2) Continuous travel over water; and 3) A continuous mental presence, in-depth knowledge and experience of the sea (after Rönby 2007:65, 79).

The results of this research have revealed a continuous exploitation of marine resources from the pre-contact period to the present. When discussing cultural subsistence, Narungga people have continued both cultural take, food for traditional ceremonial purposes, and customary take, fishing for personal, educational and communal purposes (Osborne and Downs 2012:13). Westerdahl (2010a:344) has asked whether maritime ‘culture or identity [is] just a question of economy in a certain sense?’ If the answer is yes, then Narungga culture and Narungga identity is inherently maritime. Westerdahl (2009a:316) suggests ‘in particular the fishing villages of the sea have preserved their continuity’, and these European interpretations are comparable with Indigenous contexts. It may be that Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana has preserved its cultural continuity due to its’ coastal location. This can be compared to missions located inland where access to resources using

traditional lifeways was restricted very quickly through the fencing and agricultural exploitation of the landscape (e.g. Byrne 2008; Di Fazio 2000; Smith and Beck 2003:66); a fact incomparable at sea (although as mentioned in the results, fishing restrictions were put in place reasonably early [GRG52/11/52/1924]). The continuous use of marine resources goes hand in hand with continuous sea travel.

When examining transport zones (discussed further later) from a long perspective, it can be seen that travel over water to Wardang Island/Waraldi is a continuous occurrence. The original meaning of a channel is a place where swimming is necessary (Westerdahl 2006b:76), and this is how Narungga people crossed the channel between Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and Wardang Island/Waraldi in the ethnographic period and beyond (Black 1920:88; Cockburn 1984:235; Graham and Graham 1987:53; Hill and Hill 1975:38; Roberts et al. 2013:81–82; *The Advertiser* 1886:36; Wood and Westell 1998b:18–19). While most references to travelling to Wardang Island/Waraldi state the route was from Green Island, based on hydrographical information, this was one of the deeper and longer crossings available. The shortest route commencing at Green Island would conclude at the Little Jetty area and has a long extent (1.95 km) of 5–10 m water depths (and a total distance of 2.55 km) (Chief Surveyor 1990). Only the reference by Hill and Hill (1975) states that travel occurred from the ‘tip’ of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula to Wardang Island/Waraldi. This route from the southernmost extremity of Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula would travel via Rocky Island and end at Bird Point on Wardang Island/Waraldi. This route only has one very short distance (100 m) at 5–10 m water depths, however also has many sand banks at low tide (and a total distance of 1.75 km) (Chief Surveyor 1990). Black (1920) makes reference to departing from Mungari, however in this instance the author probably meant Green Island, as it is described as the ‘little island between Point Pearce and Wardang Island’ and Dead Man’s Island/Mungari is not located between the two, but rather further north. Figure 146 plots these two most likely routes, although it is not certain that there were fixed points of entry and exit to and from the sea.

Finally, several examples reveal the continuous mental presence of the sea. The first of these is naming, discussed in more detail later, where only those places on the coast were named (Kartinyeri 2002:8; Tindale 1936:57).

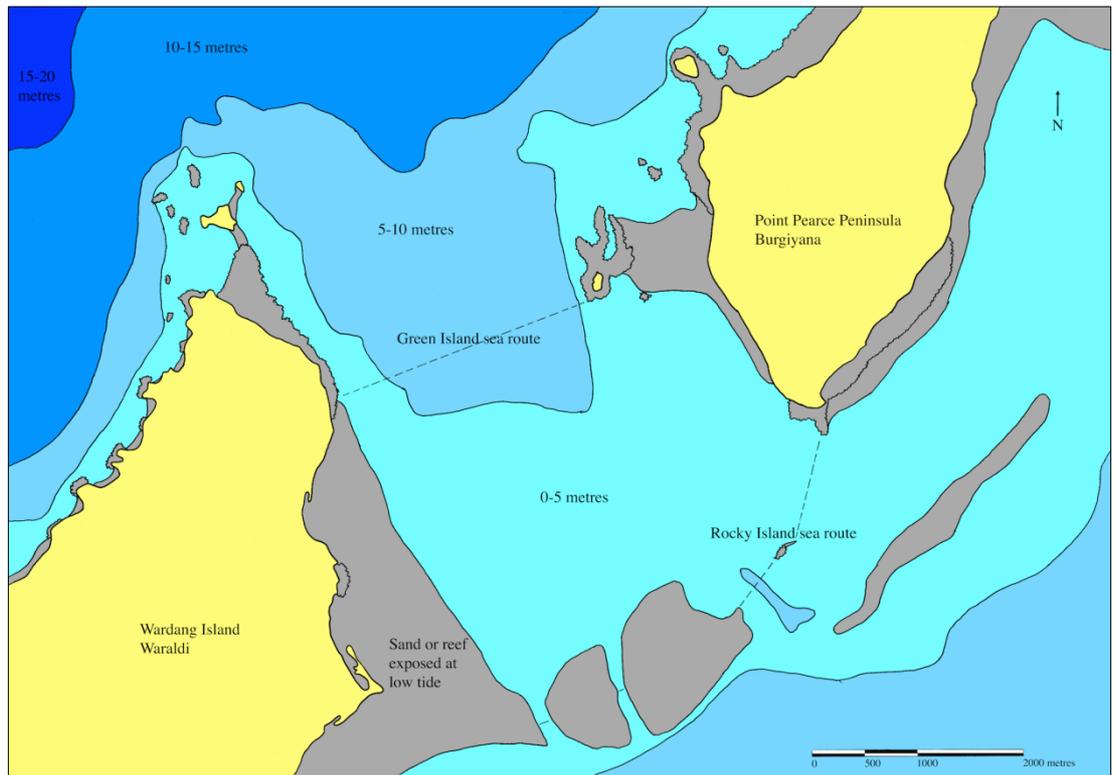


Figure 146 Map showing pre-contact transport zone to Wardang Island/Waraldi (based on Chief Surveyor 1990).

Furthermore, marine life has played a significant role in Narungga ‘Dreaming’ stories (see Graham and Graham 1987; Hill and Hill 1975; Roberts et al. in prep; Smith 2003:168–172, 341–342; Tindale 1936). The high percentage of crayon drawings featuring maritime themes testifies to the cognitive presence of the sea in the lives of children at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, again signalling cultural continuity (AA346/18/9; Roberts et al. 2014). Finally, the orientation of activities—such as picnicking, playing and fishing for pleasure in a cultural context—towards the sea also reflects this mental presence.

In the maritime cultural landscape context, however, leisure imposes a conventional definition because it is mostly a Western, academic term (e.g. entertainment, freedom from obligation) (Iwasaki et al. 2009:159, 171). The facets therefore need to be deconstructed to some extent and, in the case of leisure, require critical reflection, decolonising processes and caution (Fox 2006:404; Iwasaki et al. 2009:159). McGuire (1983:92–93) argues that, while compound concepts (such as maritime cultural landscapes) should be broken down into their constituent variables (e.g. facets), studies should focus on the interaction between these variables rather than as a categorical concept of either/or (*either* leisure *or* economy). If the maritime cultural landscape facets are considered as a series of types, they are discontinuous units;

whereas, transforming types into variables eliminates the either/or methodology (McGuire 1983:94–95). Recognising that maritime cultural landscape facets are relational, analytical and multiscalar categories that researchers create based on ‘abstractions of extension, levels of generality, and vantage point’—rather than objective, universal, single attributes—emancipates researchers to use facets as powerful tools (after Wurst 1999:11). Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010:231) argue that ‘Indigenous archaeology is perhaps uniquely positioned to creatively challenge hegemonic categories and dismantle binary frameworks’, such as ‘leisure’ and ‘work’ (economy). In the Aboriginal context of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, it can be seen that the leisure, social and economic facets are all deeply tied to culture.

Many maritime studies relate to cultures and societies that are no longer present. In Australia, however, Indigenous peoples maintain continuing cultures with strong connections to the recent and deep past and it is ‘especially important to use appropriate terms if you are dealing with the cultural material of another people’ (Smith and Jackson 2006:317). The ‘loss’ of cultural values related to the maritime past, both physical and psychological, and other suggestions of the ‘decline’ of maritime traditions (Westerdahl 2008b:191, 197), is not reflected in Indigenous Australia. Maritime archaeologist Ransley (2011:879) also uses terms such as ‘rescue’ when discussing the collection of oral histories, particularly ‘fading knowledge’. Again, this is not appropriate in Indigenous archaeology where Indigenous communities maintain and celebrate traditional knowledge. As Paterson (2003:63) noted in relation to agency, a range of pre-existing social institutions and practices were important to cross-cultural engagement, for example ‘power and prestige structures, survival tactics, social distinctions such as kinship, and location of one’s country’, the complexities of which will now be explored.

7.1.2 Cross-cultural entanglements and complexities

The accompanying aspect to cultural continuity is cross-cultural engagement, also explored in the subsidiary question. ‘It is not uncommon for multiple cultural landscapes [ethnic and economic cultures, social groups or communities] to exist in the same physical space’ (Westerdahl 2011b:333), as is the case at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana where Aboriginal people interacted daily with non-Indigenous missionaries, farmers, fishers, miners and sailors.

Cross-cultural contact not only resulted in tensions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, but also between Aboriginal people. An example of this can be seen in the internal identity of those Aboriginal people and families living on Wardang Island/Waraldi, as evidenced through C. O'Loughlin's (int. 14/11/12) comment regarding Wardang Island/Waraldi people being a 'bit cocky' and thinking they were a 'bit higher' than those on Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana. Differential Aboriginal involvement in the pastoral domain was also found by Paterson (2003:52, 63), which he suggests is evidence for individual, as well as group, agency. Paterson (2003:63) argues that not all Aboriginal people were equal in terms of access to, and knowledge of, 'white' people and, in addition, some had specific responsibilities to pastoralists as well as to their own society. The Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana maritime cultural landscape can be examined from the mid-timescale which reveals the changing cultural structures and technologies brought about by the contact and post-contact periods (Rönby 2007:79). A complex area of culture contact is that of boatbuilding, purchase and fishing.

The coast is characterised by the rapid transmission of information, nowhere more so than at ports and harbours (Westerdahl 2006b:61). Boatbuilding, therefore, is one innovation that was potentially transferred rather quickly in the contact period. 'Communication between the different coastal settlements have often been livelier than between the coastal settlement on one hand and inland settlements on the other' (Westerdahl 2003:20). It may be, therefore, that—in addition to preserving cultural continuity—the maritime location of the mission also accelerated culture contact. There was a more rapid transfer of information at missions located on the coast than inland. The proximity of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu definitely played a significant role in the interaction of Narungga people with non-Indigenous peoples and the speed at which the transfer of knowledge of Western maritime technology occurred; Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana was established in 1868, Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu was recognised as a port a decade later (Moody 2012:17; Wanganeen 1987:25).

Another example of technological knowledge transfer is the use of non-Indigenous fishing nets. Despite the change in the methods and materials used to make fishing nets, from *buntu* to cotton, fishing continued using similar methods (and targeting

traditional species [Amy Roberts pers. comm. 23/1/15]). Aboriginal knowledge of the adopted fishing nets is evidenced through the familiarity with the specifications, including samples, in letters of the nets being purchased from suppliers in Adelaide (GRG52/1/27/37; GRG52/1/56/1914; GRG52/1/63/1914; GRG52/1/66/1914; GRG52/1/67/1915; GRG52/1/67/1929; GRG52/1/84/1922). A period of transition may also be seen in the use of bone needles to repair twine nets (Graham and Graham 1987:23).

Any effort to discern ethnicity, identity or gender in the archaeological record is fraught with serious problems as little material culture definitively represents such cultural constructs (Harris 2010:18; Westerdahl 2010a:329), and this is no different for one particular material culture object discussed thoroughly in this thesis: boats. To connect boatbuilding traditions to perceived ethnic groups is difficult (Westerdahl 2010a:329–330), for example those boatbuilding communities at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana were highly interactive with non-Indigenous people. Is a Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana boat defined as a boat built and used, or bought and used, by a Point Pearce/Burkiyana person? It is likely that the archaeological remains of boats at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana recorded during this project are very similar, if not identical, to those of other fishing communities such as Moonta/Munda Bay, given that boats were sold between these communities and both used similar suppliers for materials. Although, the intangible heritage, that is the systems of knowledge used to fish with boats, is likely to be quite different—Aboriginal peoples were well-versed in the technologies of the boats on which they worked, but were ‘deeply tied to the past and the continuity of lifestyles at sea’ (Flatman 2003:150). The complexities of cross-cultural engagement found here in relation to tangible maritime heritage are similar to those encountered in terrestrial contexts, for example the material culture related to sealing on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta. Russell (2005:3) argues that the material culture on Kangaroo Island/Peendeka/Karta resists categorising into ethnic groups and that often such categories are misleading. The greatest problem that faces social interpretations, such as race, sex and class, is the scarcity of archaeological evidence (Flatman 2003:146). Ultimately, interpreting material culture from contexts of cross-cultural engagement is challenging, however, oral histories can provide invaluable insights.

The knowledge of the coast, through cognitive or verbal seamarks, was one aspect of the Narungga community's knowledge that was used by European colonisers. The previous example, of an Aboriginal man sharing information about traditional fishing with a 'white' family of the same name, demonstrates this (Roberts et al. 2013:84). Thus, the colonisers attempted to dominate and monopolise sea knowledge, one of the currencies of power, in some cases to the detriment of the local community. A more recent example of this is non-Indigenous peoples attempting to 'take' fishing drops from Aboriginal fisherpeople by logging their marks while at sea, as recorded in oral histories in this project.

Ships in the past, in different places of the world, have been employed as symbols of power (Westerdahl 2008a:25). The building of a ship has also been suggested as an act of defiance in particular contexts (Westerdahl 2009b:21). For example, in Sweden, restrictions on shipbuilding and resulting revolts caused some shipyard locations to represent freedom from authorities (Westerdahl 2009b:21). Other than the mission workboat *Narrunga*, oral histories about boatbuilding, particularly all the references to independent boatbuilding (i.e. for private use rather than community/mission-owned), suggest this activity occurred outside the mission—in places such as Hollywood or nearby towns like Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and Moonta/Munda. It is therefore possible that the mission did not view boat construction favourably. Indeed, statements such as 'they naturally prefer the irregular, irresponsible life of fishing as conducted by Natives to regular hours at steady continuous agricultural work' (GRG52/1/5/1917) suggest the mission viewed all aspects of fishing negatively. This perspective is consistent with European colonial perceptions in other contexts, for example British attitudes towards the native Irish population in the nineteenth century (Meide 2013b). The 1836 Inquiry into the state of Irish fisheries reported:

The people are careless about fishing ... they are farmers as well as fishermen. Fishing is a secondary consideration (Meide 2013b:11).

Both colonial powers considered Indigenous resource management to be unproductive—indeed, landscapes that had only been culturally modified according to Indigenous resource use were considered *res nullius* (empty space) (Meide 2013b:10, 13). In Ireland, however, rather than discourage fishing, British

government policies attempted to ‘improve’ fishing practices by modifying and displacing traditional practices and watercraft (Meide 2013b:9).

At Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, perhaps Hollywood and other boatbuilding locations might have symbolised freedom from such mindsets. There are few references to boatbuilding in the missions’ historical documents, only one in fact (McLean 1932:9), leaving all details of these endeavours to oral history recollections. The mission’s control at Point Pearce/Burkiyana, however, extended significantly to the purchase of boats by individuals, ensuring power in this domain; for example, requiring the inspection of vessels by a non-Indigenous person before purchase and the necessity for Aboriginal people to obtain loans to purchase vessels. While there appears to be control in regards to acquiring fishing vessels, it seems that missionaries did not attempt to control the fishing activities themselves, in terms of claiming the catches, in comparison to agriculture, such as the share farming system. Working directly for the mission, Aboriginal people received a share of the wheat and wool profits which was not equal to what they would have been entitled had they been farming independently.

Fishing quickly became one of Australia’s largest commercial industries following European settlement, and remains so to this day (Bowen 2003:9). In terms of direct means, the professional fishing and even smaller-scale sale of fish by Point Pearce/Burkiyana fisherpeople has contributed to the development of Australia’s fishing industry. This is also recorded at the Illawarra/Shoalhaven area of New South Wales where modified fishing increased due to the introduction of fishing boats and nets by the government, permitting a larger catch and allowing surplus to be sold (Bennett 2003:257). As noted by Bennett (2003:260), it is not possible to quantify the contribution the sale of fish made to Aboriginal subsistence. At Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, the sale of fish was made directly with the fish buyer at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu with Aboriginal people receiving the entire profit. This again highlights that Aboriginal peoples were active agents and supports research into the Aboriginal contribution to colonial-era industries (Paterson 2003:63).

In addition to boatbuilding, the mission also attempted to control aspects of transport and mobility. An example is the permits, which were required for Aboriginal people who had been exempted from the mission to travel across mission land to fish for

their livelihood and access their traditional fishing grounds (GRG52/1/120/1940). The mission also controlled non-Indigenous fisherpeople by requiring permission to access Green Island via their land.

Westerdahl (2006b:73) notes that transport systems are important for internal control, as in a mission context. Transport systems are in permanent need of maintenance and are therefore subjected to neglect during periods of political uncertainty (Westerdahl 2006b:73). While Westerdahl (2006b:73) suggests that it is harder to demonstrate this in maritime rather than land transport systems, some examples have come to light at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana. The primary example of this is the interruption to providing loans for the purchase of boats during the period from 1913–1915 when the Royal Commission was occurring (GRG52/1/41/1914; GRG52/1/50/1913; GRG52/1/56/1914). Responses to requests for assistance to purchase boats by Aboriginal people were rejected because of uncertainty regarding the future of the missions' administration. This was undoubtedly financially motivated as by waiting for the transfer of the mission to the government the funds would be taken from a different department. Therefore, spending was neglected during the time of uncertainty between mission and government administration and this directly affected the maritime transport system.

There was no professionalisation of boatbuilding at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana itself, meaning no one was engaged for their skilled labour in a permanent, year-round manner (Westerdahl 2009b:23). The first prerequisite for a boatbuilding location is local access to timber resources and moderately skilled labour in carpentry—material and social geography (Westerdahl 2009b:26). While the skill and knowledge of Point Pearce/Burkiyana boatbuilders has been established from the construction of *Narrunga*, access to timber suitable for constructing vessels (i.e. straight grown wood for planking and crooked grown wood for frames [Westerdahl 2009:28]), is an interesting dilemma at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana. It is useful to question why a particular site, such as Hollywood, was chosen (Westerdahl 2009b:26)? Are power and resistance, as aforementioned, key factors? Alternatively, was it a suitable location for timber resources? Very little information exists on the sourcing of timber for boatbuilding, although oral histories do record local sources

for frames, sternposts and samson posts. The extent of timber supplied from external sources, if any, is unknown.

Westerdahl (2010b:107) suggests that wreckage has always been a source of income for coastal communities and therefore it is unlikely that they were responsible for instigating the construction of lighthouses. It is difficult, however, to see how the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community, or the missionaries for that matter, benefited from the numerous wrecks around Wardang Island/Waraldi. Indeed, in the case of *Investigator*, the wrecking was actually a detriment to the community due to the loss of uninsured goods (GRG52/1/29/1918). Oral histories did not mention salvage activities at these vessels for reuse, although it is likely to have happened, the mission bell being a case in point. Although it is known that locally-owned stranded or sunken vessels were salvaged for reuse in boatbuilding, such as that mentioned by Smith (int. 29/11/13).

Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, its boats and the Aboriginal people living there were involved on several instances with shipwreck rescue events, particularly in the waters around Wardang Island/Waraldi. These Aboriginal connections must be recognised when celebrating anniversaries of such wrecking events (e.g. 100th anniversary of the wrecking of *Songvaar* in 2012). Similar celebrations in recent years, such as the 2002 bicentenary of the meeting of Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin in South Australian waters, have notably lacked Aboriginal participation or an interrogation of the Aboriginal presence in such events (Rigney 2002:xii–xiii).

There is no evidence that the mission had economic motives for locating the mission on the coast, in terms of profiting from shipping, boatbuilding, shipwreck, salvaging, erecting seamarks or fishing (Westerdahl 2012:291). Rather, Narungga people appear to have agreed to or nominated the location of the mission site as the area contains highly significant fishing grounds and ‘Dreaming’ Ancestors (e.g. Badhara) (Krichauff 2013:65–67). There were, however, advantages for the mission at times relating to transporting wool and wheat from Dolly’s Jetty rather than by land to Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu.

The location for Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana township, however, is ‘inland’, rather than directly on the coast. It cannot be seen from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu

or from the sea. Amy Roberts (pers. comm. 1/5/15) related that some community members talk about this and perceive it to be a way of hiding the mission so that colonists did not have to visually confront the plight of the people whose lands they had dispossessed. Byrne and Nugent (2004:37) note that spatial separation and segregation occurring during the late nineteenth century was reinforced by the idea among the 'white' population that efforts to keep Aboriginal people at a distance from 'white' society was 'for their own good'. Despite this 'inland' location, maritime activities still greatly influenced the movement and mobility of Aboriginal peoples.

7.1.3 Liminality, cosmology and sex

Westerdahl (2008b:225) notes, when considered cognitively, maritime life represents 'freedom' which is of high value to those people from the maritime culture. This 'freedom' has also been suggested to be an illusion (Westerdahl 2008b:225) and it is worthwhile considering to what extent this may be the case at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana.

Wardang Island/Waraldi is a liminal zone, caught between the maritime environment of the sea and the terrestrial environment of land. The Point Pearce/Burkiyana community living and working on Wardang Island/Waraldi are argued here as being in a liminal state. The lack of interest given to the living quarters and conditions on Wardang Island/Waraldi by the superintendent in the mission documents perhaps indicates an 'out of sight, out of mind' mentality which further supports the island's liminal status. Similar to the boat as a liminal space (Westerdahl 2009a:316), Wardang Island/Waraldi is a liminal place as it allows certain freedoms as well as certain restrictions. As described in the oral histories presented in the results, Wardang Island/Waraldi allowed a level of freedom from mission life. It is interesting to note that there is no record of a church on Wardang Island/Waraldi, therefore, those people living there were not subjected to the same religious regimes as those at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana proper, where the church, and particularly the bell, controlled many aspects of the residents' lives. The sea certainly influenced the spatial boundaries put in place by missionaries. This is another indicator of the liminality of Wardang Island/Waraldi—a zone the Christianising

elements of the mission did not extend to. Furthermore, permissions to travel around Wardang Island/Waraldi were not required, unlike on the mainland.

On the other hand, Wardang Island/Waraldi was a restricted place due purely to its geography, as an island. Rigney (int. 18/7/13) also conceptualised Wardang Island/Waraldi as isolating, which is interesting as this is often a Western notion. More research with the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community should investigate the extent to which this view is shared. Hiscock (2008:129), for example, notes that isolation is a powerful image in Western literature and historical European thought. This instance, where Aboriginal expressions of worldview correlate with Western ones (Nicholas 2001:11), can be explained because the isolation of Wardang Island/Waraldi provided a false sense of freedom. A post-contact liminal zone is, therefore, an apt description of Wardang Island/Waraldi.

Aboriginal peoples worked as skippers on several boats that were used for enterprises that have occurred on Wardang Island/Waraldi over the past century, including the B.H.P. launches. Although a fraught area for the community, an indirect connection to the maritime industry is the labour of Aboriginal peoples at the B.H.P. mine on Wardang Island/Waraldi, founded on sea-going transport. The mission serving as a supplier of meat to the B.H.P. Village also indirectly reinforces this maritime economy. This investigation has broken ‘the silences that obscure Indigenous people serving as laborers in colonial settlement’ (Silliman 2010a:50), as it has revealed that the mission was not altogether pleased that residents were working at the Wardang Island/Waraldi mine (GRG52/1/69/1899). Therefore, Aboriginal people were not passively bending to the mission’s will, but rather were active agents and able to make choices about their employment in the colonial industry. Krichauff’s (2008:iii, 150) research also supports Narungga people as active agents prior to this in the nineteenth century.

Interestingly, no connection was found between Christianity, introduced by the missionaries, and maritime activities at Point Pearce/Burgiyana more generally. Oral histories, however, reveal deep connections between aspects of the ‘Dreaming’, such as Birldumarda, Gurada and butterfly culture, and maritime activities in the post-contact period. The cognitive missionising process did not influence the maritime domain and maritime activities even show some form of resistance to it. The

Narungga cosmology in the form of ‘Dreamings’ does not reveal any reworking to incorporate Western religious beliefs. Indeed, ethnohistorical sources only serve to reaffirm the marine presence in stories of Ancestral Beings and oral histories continue to operate as a means of transferring this knowledge across generations (after McNiven and Brady 2012:81).

Narungga ‘Dreaming’ has similar aspects to Westerdahl’s (2010e:301) maritime ‘cosmology’, although liminality and sea/land dichotomies are perhaps not as strongly represented. The creation of the sea (the kangaroo dug into the soil and the water rose up) and islands (when the rock landed it split the land and lots of bits flew off and made the islands), as told through the ‘Dreaming’ stories, is foremost connected to the land. Perhaps the lack of distinction between the sea and land stems from the knowledge that the gulfs (Spencer and St Vincent) were once land and considered a part of the land, albeit submerged. Considerations of the in-depth knowledge Narungga people had, and have, for the differences in seabed composition, for example rocky, weedy and sandy, reinforces this hypothesis. Similarities can, however, be drawn between ‘taboo’ names at sea, which are described by Westerdahl (2010d:71, 2010e), and the secret and sacred nature of some Narungga ‘Dreamings’ which were not presented in this thesis for cultural reasons or were not relayed to me by community members. In Westerdahl’s (2010d:71) research, some terrestrial names are not used at sea due to their power and are instead substituted with *noa*-names¹⁸⁰. Similarly, Indigenous peoples often do not repeat ‘Dreamings’, including those related to the maritime landscape, to prescribed people. The use of *noa*-names is a practical outcome of certain ‘taboos’ and has comparison with Narungga people only eating certain fish species and not eating other species for similar ‘taboo’ reasons, another physical expression of the cognitive maritime cosmology. This strengthens the argument that people living on the coast share similar fascinations with their environment, which are expressed through cosmology, ritual and religion (Cooney 2003:324).

Another aspect that has been discussed thoroughly in previous maritime cultural landscape studies is the treatment of the dead at sea (e.g. see Westerdahl 2014:131). The example of the fisherman, Hutchinson, buried on Dead Man’s Island/Mungari,

¹⁸⁰ *Noa* refers to a term which is the opposite of a taboo term, that is, a term that is normal, uncontroversial, innocuous, but also the term that is replacing the dangerous taboo name or phenomenon (Westerdahl 2011a:292).

has practical interpretations. Most likely, he was buried there because he had been missing for almost two weeks and therefore his body would have been considerably decomposed. The newspaper article also suggests it was chosen because he lived nearby for a long time (*The Register* 1918b:11). It is possible, however, that some ritual beliefs regarding death at sea played a part in the chosen burial site being an island, possibly Indigenous beliefs, Western beliefs or a combination of both. The liminality of islands is expressed in both Western literature and Indigenous beliefs. Islands feature heavily in Narungga ‘Dreamings’, including as the resting places of Ancestral Beings.

The professional fishing activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana were, for the most part, a shore-based activity (as opposed to deep-sea or pelagic, where vessels would be offshore), however this world was very much entangled with the everyday and non-professional i.e. cultural fishing activities. Like the leisure landscape facet of the maritime cultural landscape framework, the economic/subsistence/sustenance and social landscape facets also need to be blurred in an Indigenous context. Oral histories reveal that children were involved in the launch of workboats, working as ‘deck hands’ and cleaning fish in preparation for sale. Thus, children were gaining invaluable practical experience and cultural knowledge at the same time as being ‘on the job’. The results of this study also found that women were equally active in maritime cultural activities, both fishing with male members of their family such as husbands, fathers and sons, and fishing independently with female relatives and friends. These results are consistent with those of Westerdahl (2010d:69), where male and female roles are more significantly dichotomised within offshore maritime activities (although exceptions exist), rather than coastal fishing communities.

7.1.4 Maritime cultural centres, transport zones and sea routes

A secondary aim of this research is to document maritime routes at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. The transport zones involving the mission range from international and intrastate to local. The international transport zone follows the open sea route of the Cape Horner’s and windjammers from Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu to Europe, the example mentioned in the results being Finland (Graham and Graham 1987:57–58). The collection of oral histories and archival research demonstrates Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana’s entanglement with these international sailing ships

in many ways. The intrastate transport zone, which primarily follows an outer route, is heavily active around the townships nearby Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana on the western coast of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda. It also extends across Spencer Gulf to the eastern coast of Eyre Peninsula and across to Gulf of St Vincent in the metropolitan region of Adelaide (Figure 147).

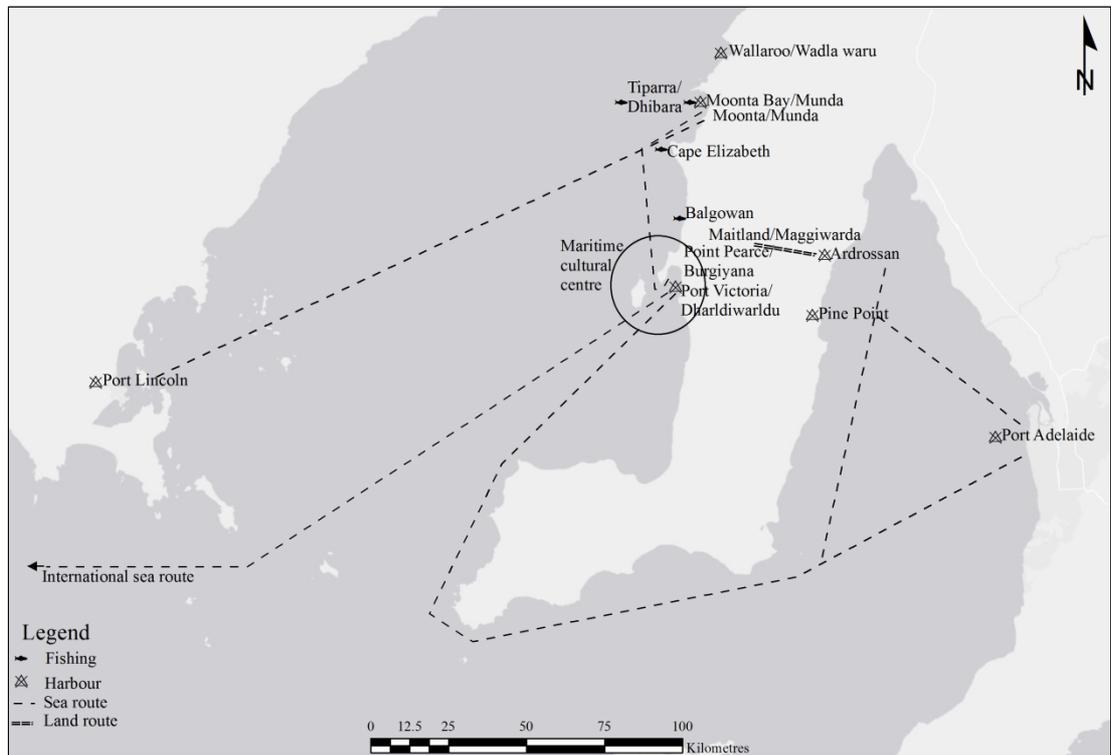


Figure 147 Intrastate transport zones evident through sea routes.

The local, or inner, route features a number of transit points with related sea routes between them, as well as other sea routes. Transit points include the landing places of the Big and Little Jetty on Wardang Island/Waraldi, Dolly’s Jetty and the Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu Jetty, as well as natural harbours and anchorages such as Boys Point/Gunganya warda, The Creek/Winggara, Hollywood and the site of the *Narrunga* launching (Figure 148). The launching site of *Narrunga* also fits the ‘geographically favourable connection’ of choosing such a location; one that is at least fairly accessible to a loading place or any kind of harbour (Westerdahl 2009b:28).

Places such as Boys Point/Gunganya warda and The Bay (Wardang Island/Waraldi) are examples of the fishing harbours and landing sites associated with the ‘common lands’ where their ‘collective character’ allowed extensive activity (Westerdahl

2009b:27). This also relates to an idea presented by Peterson and Rigsby (1998:4), where the movement of Aboriginal peoples into centralised communities meant ‘the sea within easy reach of such communities tended to become an area in which all people in the settlement have similar *de facto* access rights’.

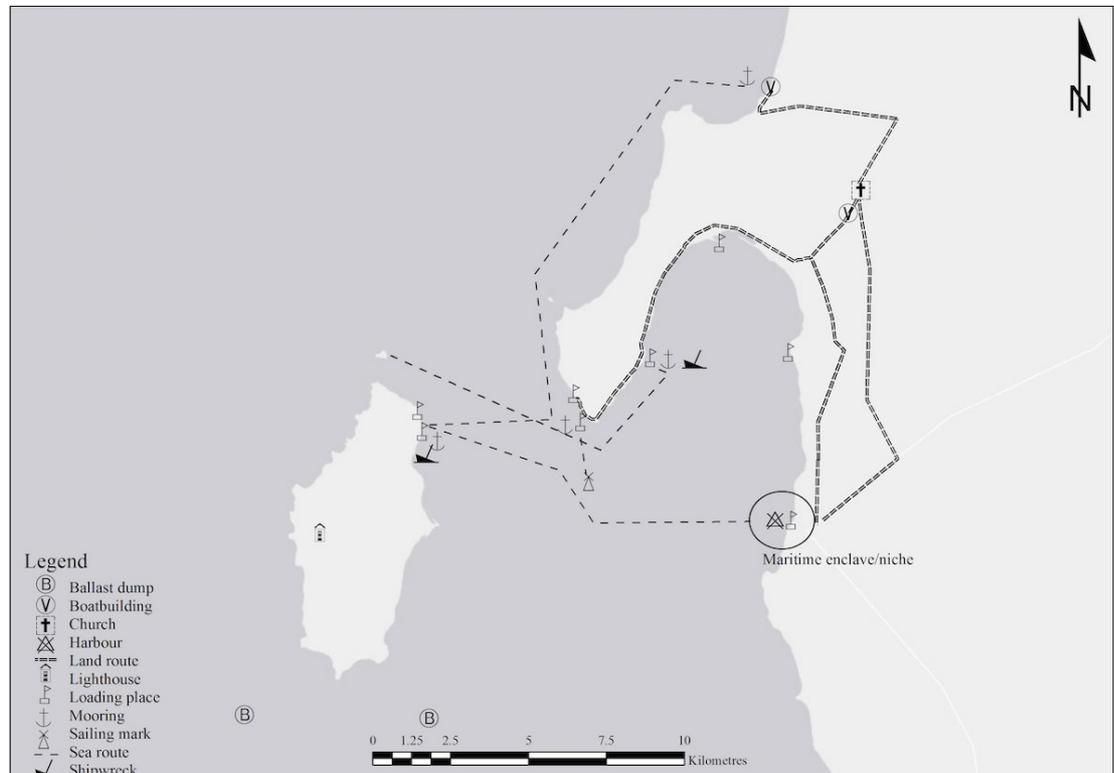


Figure 148 Local transport zones and sea routes, including landing places.

The transport systems put in place by both the missionaries and government in some ways align with the transport patterns (naturally developed, internal traditional routes) on top of which they were imposed, for example the traditional pre-contact sea route between Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and Wardang Island/Waraldi. Narungga people have used the route from Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula to Wardang Island/Waraldi continuously. A newspaper correspondent writing of the mission in 1874 clearly highlights this transition, which followed the adoption of Western watercraft:

The young natives, however, have almost given up the art of natation¹⁸¹, and none of them now care to go [to the island] except “along boat” (*South Australian Register* 1874:6).

¹⁸¹ Swimming or floating (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

The addition of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu as a maritime enclave or niche within the transport system intentionally classified by the government (i.e. as a port) has also influenced transport routes in the Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and Wardang Island/Waraldi region.

The Wardang Island/Waraldi lighthouse is a seamark for local fishing, as well as a seamark for foreign vessels. There have been no purpose-built seamarks at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana (although the planting of shea oaks may have been intentional)—there was no need because Point Pearce/Burkiyana fisherpeople knew their landscape by heart—as such no Aboriginal, or local/unofficial seamarks have been recorded. Trees frequently form seamarks at Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula, despite their temporary nature. Human beings have intentionally been used as seamarks, for example waiting on the shore for fishing boats, or at look out points which are known to sailors and fisherpeople (Westerdahl 2010b:104), and some instances of this were discussed in the results at places near Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana.

7.1.5 Toponymy

Another secondary aim of this research is to map intangible heritage including traditional place names. As Herman (2009:104) states, through an interpretation of Indigenous naming practices, the differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews are revealed (also see Hercus and Simpson [2009:10–14] for a discussion on the differences between Indigenous and introduced place names). The necessity of community-based research cannot be over-emphasised regarding Narungga toponyms; Narungga people are the only sources for place names that are not on (or differ to) maps. As stated by Berleant-Schiller (1991:92–93), local peoples are ‘the only providers of information that leads to an understanding of [I]ndigenous systems of knowledge and ways of ordering and classifying the world’.

Traditional Narungga language names have several patterns. The first of these is naming surrounding the ‘Dreaming’ trail of Badhara. Place names which are part of this ‘Dreaming’ include Yadri, Badhara’s Rock and Gagadhi (NAPA 2006:15, 37, 84). The allusion to ‘mythological’ stories in Aboriginal place names is shared across many parts of Australia (Koch 2009:118). Several places named after body parts reflect the geography of the area, perhaps the coastline. These include Gagadhi,

possibly after the shoulder blade, and Dharldiwarldu, the ear and neck or narrow space like a neck (NAPA 2006:30, 37). The ordinary language meaning of these words is recorded in orthographies (e.g. NAPA), however it is the etiology (the story behind the name) which is more difficult to reconstruct (although, not implying that Narungga culture needs to be reconstructed) (Koch 2009:118). Other names relate to the natural environment, including animals and weather. Wiggara is suggested as being named after the whiting species found in The Creek (itself a generic name which doubled as a specific term; *The Creek*, i.e. the only one that mattered [Hercus 2009:64]) and Waraldi is taken from the bandicoots which used to live on Wardang Island (NAPA 2006:77, 83). Krichauff (2008:23–24) also notes that the naming of places after local flora and fauna during exploration now serves as a reminder of the loss of such species caused by European colonisation. Lastly, Bugara is thought to be named after wind, specifically a south wind (NAPA 2006:24).

Place names relating to a specific type of animal might be seen from a functionalist perspective, yet may also be part of the ritual landscape at sea (Westerdahl 2009a:315). Animal names at Point Pearce/Burgiyana divide into two categories: marine life and, significantly more frequent, birds. Marine life includes Seal Rocks, Snapper Point, Shell Beach and Dolphin Bay. Bird life, on the other hand, includes Goose Island, Cormorant Island, Shag Island, Swan Bay, Bird Point, Oyster Catcher Beach, Pigeon Island and Magpie Place. Snake Point represents a single terrestrial animal, and Hungry Bay indicates a subsistence landscape. These names reinforce both the role of marine resources in subsistence and the ritual significance of such animals as birds.

There are similarly a number of other functional and practical names, including naming based on appearance, such as colour, environment and geographic position. Colour names include Redbanks (red coloured soil in the cliff face), Greenbush (a green shrub), Black Rocks and Red Rocks (lichen that grows on the rocks), White Rock (guano) and Green Island (green vegetation). Naming incorporating environmental characteristics includes Fossil Beach, Endsand Hills, Cliff Point, Reef Point, Rocky Island, Table Rock and Spring Dam. Finally, geographic naming includes Second Beach, so named because it is the second beach south of Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, and Big Goose and Little Goose Islands, so named to

distinguish one from the other based on size. While in some cases an abundance of a particular plant or animal species or a particular geographic feature could have been used to name an area, places such as these could also relate to ‘mythology-based’ nomenclature (Koch 2009:146; Smith 2009:105). Hercus and Simpson (2009:19) similarly note that most Indigenous names fall in the middle of a continuum ranging from purely topographical and environmental to direct references to Ancestral Beings.

Some names in the Point Pearce/Burkiyana maritime cultural landscape point to its colonised nature. Middle Fence is evidently a post-contact name, describing the fence that crosses Point Pearce/Burkiyana land in an east-west direction. Lighthouse Beach also dates to the construction of Western material culture, however its example as a sailing mark name highlights its prominence in the maritime cultural landscape. Boat Rock also highlights and reinforces the maritime nature of the environment. Adam and Eve Beach, an authority name, reinforces the Christianising aspects of colonisation. Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu is an example of a sailing route name and individual ship name, and consequently highlights early Western maritime endeavours. Similarly, Beatrice Rocks may represent an individual ship name, as the government survey schooner, *Beatrice*, surveyed Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu in 1877 (*South Australian Register* 1878:6). Finally, Chinaman’s Wells is a nationality name or migrant name that points to the presence of non-European colonisers. Data sources collected during this study generally silenced Chinese people, however their involvement at Point Pearce/Burkiyana also was not a focus of this study. It is known that some Narungga families have Chinese ancestry, an example being the Angie family (Kartinyeri 2002:71). Narungga people were also familiar with Chinese people as illustrated through the naming of limpet as Chinaman’s hats or *gundhi* hats (Fowler et al. 2014:20). Numerous Chinese immigrants conducted commercial fishing and this is reflected in the naming of many coastal regions around Australia associated with Chinese fishing activities (Bowen 2003:14).

‘Dangerous names give the necessary ‘thrill’ to remember them’ (Westerdahl 2009a:317). The Point Pearce/Burkiyana maritime cultural landscape reveals two danger names. Dead Man’s Island/Mungari, while practical in the sense of describing the location of a fisherman’s death, also serves to warn others of the danger of the

surrounding waters. Devils Window is also possibly a danger name; certainly several shipwrecks have occurred near the western coast of Wardang Island/Waraldi.

There is a tendency at Point Pearce/Burgiyana to humanise boat and fishing drop names. Fishing boats reflect humorous naming, while people are the inspiration for fishing drop names. Examples of humour include Hollywood and Bikini Beach. This humanising of elements of the maritime cultural landscape is something that has also been found by Westerdahl (2010b:103). Another toponym using peoples' names is Hughes Dam, named after an Aboriginal family.

Also, several names relate to non-Indigenous people, such as Point Pearce/Burgiyana and Pt Gawler/Gawler Point, the namesakes of which have significant achievements in Western constructs, and were commemorated in the hopes of gaining the favour of such individuals (Krichauff 2008:24). This 'canonisation' of prominent public figures is shared in many other countries which underwent colonisation (Yeoh 2009:75). Non-Indigenous names such as these show a vast distance between Point Pearce/Burgiyana and other places in the world (Krichauff 2008:24), contributing to the territorial/power/resistance and transport/communication landscape. Attaching a family name or local name to an area can be seen to reflect a genuine connection to the land, for example Hughes Dam, however naming of land after a person unconnected with that place imposes control by colonial forces (Herman 2009:104).

Rigney, quoted by Mollenmans (2014:iv), provides a Narungga-centric point of view stating, 'privileging and Elevating [sic] certain histories and languages over others is a CHOICE'. Berg and Kearns (1996:108) argue that 'the process of conveying (primarily) European names to places was part of a larger process of Europeanising the landscape'. Privileging Narungga toponyms is a step towards the renaming (reclaiming) and de-Europeanisation of the landscape (Berg and Kearns 1996:108). Helander (2009:253, 264) lists a number of issues that arise when considering Indigenous naming traditions and official toponyms, including the ways in which the re/naming (restoration) of Indigenous toponymies is marginalised.

7.2 Facets of the maritime cultural landscape

The maritime cultural landscape framework, categorised into 11 facets (as detailed in Chapter 2), largely demonstrates flexibility in relation to exploring Indigenous

contexts, although certain caveats become evident through the following discussion. This research therefore contributes another case study to the literature surrounding maritime cultural landscape studies and supports the frameworks' general, yet qualified, applicability across a variety of periods, locations and cultures. The results presented in this thesis fit to a large degree within the thematic categories, however each will now be discussed in more detail.

7.2.1 Ritual/cultic landscape

Westerdahl's (2011b:339) discussion of the ritual/cultic landscape facet focused heavily on tangible cultural heritage. This, however, was indicated to a lesser extent at Point Pearce Mission/Burrgiyana, with intangible heritage instead being foregrounded. This disparity simply reflects cultural and temporal differences rather than an issue relating to Western impositions of centring on tangible heritage, because it has been shown that the original maritime cultural landscape approach is equally interested in intangible sources. Westerdahl (2002:64) considers the key difference between the ritual and cognitive landscape to be 'more marked by 'actions', by manners and customs' in the former instance and 'mostly as 'the mental map'' in relation to the latter. The religious and cosmological discussion of Westerdahl's (2011b:339) study areas in Europe was represented physically through rock carvings, stone arrangements and chapels. While Narungga 'Dreamings' lack such anthropogenic signs, the naming of places associated with 'Dreamings' does make this cognitive to tangible connection. Second fires, stories after the 'Dreaming' but before contact, were difficult to place within the maritime cultural landscape framework, perhaps because it is not capable of spanning such a long time-depth. This is an area where the Western worldview did not accommodate Narungga worldviews, such as Rigney's ideas of first, second and third fires to characterise time. This contributes to the critique of the Annales approach, which some researchers argue as best employed within the same time-depths as historians, i.e. from the contact period in Australia (Bailey 2007:201). The maritime cultural landscape framework must provide the flexibility to be expanded on, where appropriate, with other systems of knowledge in order to begin to decolonise the discipline. As previously cited, Smith (2012:128) argues that few disciplines have methodologies for encompassing non-Western systems of knowledge. The attempts made here make a start in this direction and, indeed, reveal that 'scientific

knowledges can be expanded and improved through articulations with the perspectives and substance of Indigenous knowledges' (Bruchac 2014:3820–3821).

7.2.2 Cognitive/toponymical landscape

The cognitive landscape facet, which is most readily signified through toponymy (Westerdahl 2011b:339), is well-placed to encompass the Indigenous maritime cultural landscape. Transit lines are an integral aspect of the cognition of fisherpeople, regardless of culture or time. It is therefore unsurprising that transit lines at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana can be interpreted within the cognitive facet. The similarities between applications of maritime cultural landscape approaches to non-Indigenous and Indigenous contexts are the universals of maritime culture (contended here based on the detailed critique of the concept of maritime culture in Chapter 2 and in no way universalising Indigenous experiences of contact, nor detracting from the cultural ownership of Indigenous groups) (Westerdahl 2011b:339).

While it is evident that the facets overlap to a considerable degree, iconographic data, such as rock art, has often been interpreted within the ritual/cultic theme. In this study, however, the crayon drawings align with the cognitive landscape. While the drawings served a more secular purpose, they are evidently entangled with Aboriginal worldviews and therefore have underlying cultural meaning, again highlighting the blurring of maritime cultural landscape facets. Therefore, and to reiterate, archaeologists should consider data similar to the crayon drawings on a more regular basis (as evidenced by McGrath [2015]). Finally, oral history recollections provide direct insights into how people have conceptualised their relationship with the environment in the past, such as islandscapes, and this highlights the fundamental importance of oral history data, which is accessible for cultures in the very recent past. Oral histories are also demonstrated as being integral for recording toponymy and other naming landscapes.

7.2.3 Topographic landscape

The concepts of the topographic landscape facet, described by Westerdahl (2010b), are highly relevant to Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. The maritime cultural landscape of the mission comprises features such as natural topography, seamarks, moorings and traditional Narungga knowledge, which could be found across highly

diverse maritime cultural landscape contexts. Interestingly, oral history is again highlighted as instrumental in recording these landscapes as some constructed places, such as buildings and fencelines, are not known to be part of the maritime cultural landscape until after their identification by community members as seamarks. Furthermore, a lack of purpose-built seamarks (with the possible exception of intentional shea oak planting) has resulted in an almost exclusive use of verbal seamarks, only documented through community-based, collaborative research.

7.2.4 Outer resource landscape

The outer resource landscape facet when considered from a post-contact context is very different from that described by Westerdahl (2006b, 2011c), which concentrated on raw materials such as wood, wool, rock and minerals. Both, however, feature a fundamental aspect of capitalism: commodity, things produced based on raw materials and labour (Horrell 2005:25). Essentially, the outer resource facet represents the same activities—acquiring resources (production-based, rather than raw, materials in the case of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana) from an external landscape. This reflects the capitalist nature of a post-contact mission society—exploitation of Indigenous peoples could not proceed through the extraction of raw material commodities, and therefore exploitation occurred through labour (Bennett 2003:9). In addition to providing business for coastal trading vessels through export, Point Pearce/Burkiyana also created business through importing goods necessary for the running of the mission.

At Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, although raw materials were obtained on several occasions, including limited examples of timber for boatbuilding—and evidently the raw materials for the construction of the jetties had to be sourced from somewhere—there was very little information on this in the historical records. Therefore, the outer resource landscape related to the purchase of boats and other maritime material culture such as oars, nets and sails, as revealed through detailed archival research highlighting a hitherto unwritten part of history by identifying tangible objects within an archive (GRG52/1/27/37; GRG52/1/38/1915; GRG52/1/67/1929). Furthermore, Aboriginal people participated frequently in the local economy of purchasing and selling boats and other maritime equipment such as sails and nets, ensuring a healthy industry for equipment manufacturers, distribution agencies and markets (Bowen

2003:10). By encouraging dependency on wage labour and Western goods through stimulating the maritime industry—including investing money in jetties and providing loans for boats and fishing equipment—the colonial missions and government attempted to manipulate the Indigenous maritime landscape to promote a capitalist worldview (Meide 2013b:16, 22). This focus on materiality still enables the identification of wider maritime cultural landscape transport zones and sea routes, and allows the research to engage with the ‘racialised’ aspects of early consumer culture within the maritime industry (Croucher and Weiss 2011:8).

7.2.5 Inner resource landscape

The inner resource landscape of a mission is also slightly different from that defined within the maritime cultural landscape framework, yet still comparable. The primary similarity is that of shipping upkeep, evidenced at Point Pearce/Burgiyana through the maintenance of both mission boats and individually-owned boats. The construction of boats, as well as the need to regularly service mission boats also contributed to local mechanics and launch works companies. Agricultural surplus, which is necessary for the sale of wheat and wool (both of which occur, coincidentally through the maritime network and are discussed in the urban harbour facet), substantiates the capitalist system of the mission. The purpose of this agricultural surplus was apparently to create a self-supporting mission, rather than obtain power and wealth within the sea and land domains. Although at Poonindie, another self-sufficient agricultural mission in South Australia, Griffin (2010:157–158) argued that rather than being set up as a training institute for agricultural labourers, the real aim was to indoctrinate Aboriginal peoples into the capitalist, European, class-based society.

7.2.6 Transport/communication landscape

The maritime transport landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, again due to its inherently maritime nature, aligns well to the definition of the transport/communication landscape facet. Identified features include sea routes, landing sites and terrestrial routes. Importantly, sea routes, which are immaterial themselves, often reveal the location of other intangible sites, such as fishing drops. Furthermore, the location of two wrecked/abandoned vessels reinforces both the tangibility of sea routes and the highly active nature of landing sites as centres of maritime activity.

This perspective is incredibly important as it steps back from the ‘shipwreck as artefact’ focus and investigates the broader life history of ships and boats within the transport landscape.

7.2.7 Urban harbour landscape

The urban harbour landscape is complex as Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana itself is not a harbour. Nearby Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, however, is a harbour with characteristics of the urban harbour landscape such as communication, trade, economic systems, exchange of goods from ship to land and vice versa, and the servicing of ships. Therefore, it is through Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu that the wider mission economy is illustrated, including Aboriginal work in the urban harbour landscape and the transport of mission goods. The capitalist nature of the mission is again revealed through maritime archaeology as ‘ships were, after all, the primary vehicles for exchange of material goods’ (Meide 2013a:13). The pig breeding activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana directly contributed to the international sailing ship economy by acting as a supplier of meat. The production of wool and wheat at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana, and the Aboriginal labour in both of these industries—all silent or underplayed in Western literature—indirectly contributed to Australia’s coastal trading economy and by extension the international distribution of Australian goods. Previous studies drawing on maritime aspects of colonialism, capitalism and consumerism (such as Dellino-Musgrave 2006; Staniforth 2003) have not investigated Indigenous and other marginalised peoples’ participation. This is with the exception of recent work which has investigated the contribution of African American slaves in the colonial and plantation history and boat culture of the southern United States, particularly Carolina—a context analogous to missions (Brown et al. 2010; Harris 2013).

This facet highlights that it is imperative to envisage wider landscapes when considering the maritime cultural landscape approach for Indigenous post-contact contexts. Aboriginal peoples have provided labour to Australia’s maritime industry, lumping at a number of ports around Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda being a key area. Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu may initially be considered a non-Indigenous maritime landscape, particularly given a lack of documentation of Aboriginal peoples’ involvement in port work (such as lumping) in local non-Indigenous histories

(Roberts et al. 2014:29). However, the results of this study indicate that it is equally important to the Aboriginal maritime landscape and reveals numerous insights into cross-cultural engagement. Roberts et al. (2014:29) note that Indigenous employment is undocumented, for example published lists of lumpers do not contain any Aboriginal names (see Moody 2012:66). Paterson (2003:61) similarly found that unnamed Aboriginal individuals were difficult to quantify at Strangways Springs pastoral station (northern SA), however surmised that 80% of the Aboriginal workforce falls outside historic description. The investigation of the urban harbour landscape has allowed for the reinsertion of ‘people and habitations made absent’ and offers ‘a powerful antidote to colonizing landscapes’ (after Gill et al. 2005:3; Roberts et al. 2014:29).

7.2.8 Economic/subsistence/sustenance landscape

Westerdahl’s (2008b:215, 2011b:339) explanation of the economic landscape facet is useful when interpreting economy, employment and subsistence at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana. The economic landscape described by Westerdahl highlights equality between the importance of both marine resources and coastal and island agriculture, and this was found at Point Pearce Mission/Burgyana where everyday subsistence and sustenance, as well as employment and livelihood, was obtained through fishing and agriculture. Traditional fishing expertise was re-oriented to deal with expanding economic fisheries, a change that has been documented elsewhere following the arrival of missionaries (Ash et al. 2010b:59). It has already been mentioned that dependence on rations for subsistence occurred following the introduction of wage economy and changes to traditional subsistence patterns, a fact encountered at many missions and part of the goal of missionisation (Ash et al. 2010b:68; Bennett 2003:i). It has also been stated by researchers of other missions that the success of the mission depended on traditional modes of subsistence activities (Ash et al. 2010b:73; Morrison et al. 2010:87). Indigenous peoples first contributed to the post-contact maritime economy through in-kind support. For example, prior to the arrival of missionaries, Aboriginal peoples traded fish for other supplies with some of the first non-Indigenous peoples to travel into traditional Indigenous lands (Griffiths 1988:120, 127–128; Krichauff 2008:117, 124).

While the colonial archive at Point Pearce/Burkiyana states that the mission's success depended on 'utilising every available piece of land', it is clear through oral histories that marine resources continued to play a significant role in daily subsistence (Wanganeen 1987:55). Bennett (2003:18) notes an informal economy, which is not recorded in official documents, occurs through adaptation to capitalist economies. Indeed, non-capitalist systems are often preserved by capitalist interests, in this case missionaries and governments, due to the benefits of a self-supporting labour source (Bennett 2003:8). Fishing for traditional foods is not only an invisible non-cash part of the economy in coastal regions, it also reduces the reliance of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people on the cash economy (Smyth 1993). Again, the Aboriginal choice in fishing activities should be considered as evidence of active agency. Agency has often been equated with resistance, a Western, modern notion of a 'universal human desire to resist those aspects of social relationships that are currently viewed as oppressive', however, Dornan (2002:318–319, 324) argues that agency should incorporate the lived, non-rational, emotional and historic baggage of human behaviour. Aboriginal people at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana were certainly active agents in the maritime industry based on this latter definition.

7.2.9 Social landscape

The interpretation of the social landscape facet at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana differs from that of the traditional maritime cultural landscape approach. This is because little evidence reveals Aboriginal peoples' employment on a full-time basis within the maritime industry. Most occupations including boatbuilding, fishing and lumping at ports occurred on a part-time or seasonal basis. The racist attitude towards Indigenous employment, both for wages ('cheap labour') and unpaid ('exploitation'), in many aspects of Australia's economy (Mattingley and Hampton 1992:117, 127) extends to the maritime industry. When discussing lumping at Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, C. O'Loughlin stated, '*Nhangga's* [Aboriginal people] often had to do the low paid jobs *anna* [don't you think]?' (Roberts et al. 2014:28–29). Only collaboration with Indigenous peoples can allow a glimpse of the 'invisible life' of Aboriginal workers in the maritime industry which is largely undocumented in the colonial archive (Hemming 2002:55). Therefore, identifying demographics based on recruitment as sailors or boatbuilders in the Western sense was not suitable.

The social landscape instead discussed sex and age as factors within maritime activities.

7.2.10 Territorial/power/resistance landscape

The territorial landscape at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana during the study period does not reflect warfare, defence or aggression as is customary for maritime cultural landscape studies. The original concept of the facet may be due to short-term culture contact (i.e. war) rather than long-term culture contact, which is a result of colonisation. The initial period of contact—where early interactions may have featured defence—has not been discussed here in detail as this research focused on the period after the establishment of the mission, however it is evident that some Narungga people resisted the draw of the mission and remained as outsiders for a time (as occurred elsewhere in Australia, see O'Connor et al. [2013:551]). This territorial landscape is very hard to access from a maritime perspective due to a lack of evidence for, and focus on, oral history, archives and archaeology of this time.

The internal power and resistance landscape fits within the broader definition of the territorial facet and has been expanded here to include all factors of cultural contact, both positive and negative (this is quite different from dominance-resistance theory, see Birmingham [2000]). This avoids critiques of studies of colonialism being colonialist themselves (Birmingham 2000:363).

7.2.11 Leisure landscape

The leisure landscape facet is also conceptualised differently here to that which is described by Westerdahl (2008b), and this is attributed to the Aboriginal context of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana. According to Westerdahl (2008b:228), leisure is based around recent aspects of capitalism such as leisure sailing, seaside cottages and marinas. The maritime cultural landscape framework does not acknowledge leisure practices that are part of long-term cultural structures. Leisure landscapes at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana include children making and playing in tin canoes, a practice which replicates the use of boats by adults and therefore transfers knowledge and skills between generations. Another aspect is beach picnics at various locations, which are community-wide socialising events incorporating cultural activities such as fishing knowledge and practice, a pursuit that has a long time-depth. These leisure practices are not superficial but have deep cultural roots. Indeed, when discussing

Indigenous employment today, McRae-Williams and Gerritsen (2010:15) note that Indigenous peoples' time is not necessarily divided between work and leisure, but is rather entirely allocated to 'Aboriginal purposes and activities'. Cultural learning can take place through a variety of means—including 'fun'. Iwasaki et al. (2009:159, 167) adopted the phrase leisure-like as an alternative approach, and found that three themes: 1) Family, friends and relationship-oriented pursuits; 2) Helping people in community; and 3) Spiritual and cultural activities, culminated in a finding that 'enjoyable and meaningful activities were an expression of lived culture'. Therefore, it is difficult to separate leisure from culture in a Western sense¹⁸².

7.3 Limitations

This research was subject to a number of limitations. Not least was my total lack of experience in working with Indigenous communities. This was in fact my first foray into Indigenous archaeology, which resulted in a steep learning curve about the collaborative research process (a hurdle surmounted through the guidance of Amy Roberts). The length of this process and the time in which I was able to develop a relationship with the community has diminished the influence of this limitation. This lack of experience undoubtedly impacted on the oral history, archaeological and archival research methods undertaken, however these methods also held their own specific limitations. These constraints, nevertheless, allow for future research possibilities, which may contribute to and clarify the thoughts presented here.

My background also influences the application of the maritime cultural landscape approach to an Indigenous community. I have previously built upon the maritime cultural landscape framework through an investigation of one component of this framework—(European) shipwreck landscapes (Fowler 2013b). Therefore, a familiarity with the approach could be argued to have biased my application in this project. However, the disparate (Indigenous) context and the critical reflection of the results at the conclusion of data collection have revealed imperfect outcomes, for example in relation to the use of language and 'hard' facets, like the leisure landscape, which are blurred (see Chapter 8). This predisposition, then, does not translate to a wholesale acceptance of the maritime cultural landscape framework.

¹⁸² Although, it is also important to note that leisure has been considered inseparable from other contexts of (Western) culture, such as work/labour, where recreation reproduced community (urban) cohesiveness (Shanks and Tilley 1992:189). Labour, in this sense, permeated all aspects of daily life, including leisure.

7.3.1 Oral histories

Oral histories were limited due to a number of factors, primarily related to the demographics of the community. In addition, my limited experience in conducting interviews certainly would have influenced the quantity and type of responses by community members.

Male community members heavily biased the oral history interviews due to the recent deaths of a number of key senior women (Amy Roberts pers. comm. 23/1/15). Maritime-related activities are often seen as male domains (Westerdahl 2010d:69, 2013:337) and the role of women in maritime activities at Point Pearce/Burkiyana is thoroughly silenced in the missions' historical documents. Oral histories with several male and one female community member, however, have revealed the role of women within the maritime cultural landscape at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana and men frequently referenced women.

In addition, oral histories dating back to the 1930s are reliant on three people who were born in that decade. Therefore, oral histories prior this time are absent. Interest in fisherpeople, sailors and other maritime-related livelihoods at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana for this earlier period arose almost too late, as most people who practiced these activities in the past are no longer living. This study has, however, recorded oral histories while some of these events are within living memory (Fowler 2013a:86). This is significant as oral histories are the primary data source for investigating intangible heritage. While Westerdahl (2010d:75) notes that 'overly much is lost forever when there is too little left of familiar contours in the landscape', he also contends that it is never too late to record oral history. The sea undergoes fewer changes than land, and therefore, familiarity with the maritime landscape might stretch across longer periods. Further, whilst research assists in the preservation of oral histories, the persistence of Narungga traditional knowledge, memory and storytelling should not be underestimated, further highlighting aspects of cultural continuity.

Finally, non-Indigenous peoples did not feature as oral history participants (although, locals, such as Stuart Moody, were consulted); meaning aspects of culture contact and particularly the territorial/power/resistance landscape facet relied on archival documents. The inclusion of non-Indigenous perspectives would contextualise these

aspects, however were not incorporated, as the focus of this research was specifically the Indigenous maritime cultural landscape.

7.3.2 Archaeology

The archaeological data of vessels was limited to the unexpected, although targeted, finding of two small watercraft during field-work, the first within the sand bank on Wardang Island/Waraldi, south of the Old Village, the second submerged offshore from Boys Point/Gunganya warda at Point Pearce/Burkiyana Peninsula.

Archaeological research was unable to take place on the more significant and named vessels used by the community, as their precise location is unknown (with the exception of Clem Grahams' vessel), although general areas are remembered, such as the site of *Narrunga* (Roberts et al. 2013:97).

Furthermore, archaeological surveys did not take place on Big or Little Goose Island, Green Island, or the southern half of Wardang Island/Waraldi. Archaeological methods were also limited to non-disturbance surface (seabed and land) surveys with no excavation occurring and visual surveys were, at times, limited by visibility due to grass, seagrass and sediment (sand/mud). Therefore, the data gathered is not an exhaustive compilation of the possible quantity of information available at Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana that could be used to answer the research question. This is not a negative factor; it simply provides an opportunity to conduct further research in the form of archaeological investigation in the future.

7.3.3 Archival research

The period after the mission began keeping detailed records of its activities creates a bias in the archival research. For example, as stated by Archibald (1915:forward), records kept prior to 1878 are very scarce which means the first decade of the mission's life is virtually absent. In addition, the mission operated outside the control of maritime activities in the state, for instance the Harbours Board, or similar government departments, did not make records of mission boats and infrastructure. Archival sources proved very beneficial when trying to date particular activities, events and material culture that was recorded in oral histories or archaeological surveys, however historical documents did not contribute to the Aboriginal perspective of maritime activities. It has been rightly argued that the 'colonial archive' is not 'neutral or innocent', accurate or objective (Manoff 2004:14–15).

Historical documents can be highly politicised and this is equally true of such archives detailing life at sea (Flatman 2003:148). Decolonising the discipline requires researchers to attempt to ‘locate the voices of the silenced ... within the literature produced by colonial powers’ (Manoff 2004:15), and challenge the sheer size and ‘authorising scientific discourses’ of the colonial archive with Indigenous knowledges (Hemming 2002:51). ‘Whereas the colonial archive places the British administrator at the center ... postcolonial literature places the former subjects at the center’ (Manoff 2004:16). Oral histories were key sources in writing a narrative which prevents the activating, reinvigorating and recycling of the colonial archive (Hemming and Rigney 2010:90, 96).

7.4 Management recommendations

Two archaeological site types require future management at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana, as they are highly significant: the Old Village, and Dolly’s and the Little Jetty. The first of these is representative of the island pastoral community and is significant because other features of this activity, such as the shearing shed, are absent from the archaeological record. The second of these is a symbolically tangible reminder of the involvement of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana people in post-contact maritime industries.

7.4.1 Old Village

The Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi is significant as it represents an ‘outstation’ of a mission which is located on an island. Structural remains, which are reasonably intact, include the four underground tanks and Outbuilding 1. Living Quarters 2 are also partially intact. Given the lack of references to the living quarters on Wardang Island/Waraldi in the missions’ archives, the archaeological evidence for this time in history cannot be emphasised strongly enough. Conservation and maintenance needs to occur at these features.

7.4.2 Dolly’s Jetty and the Little Jetty

Archaeological evidence at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana reveals that infrastructure such as jetties are falling into disrepair given the time that has elapsed since their more frequent use (Roberts et al. 2013:97). The two jetties, Dolly’s Jetty on Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula and the Little Jetty on Wardang Island/Waraldi

are also very significant features in the maritime cultural landscape. Few jetties on Aboriginal lands exist (Point McLeay/Raukkan Jetty being another example). These two jetties are physical representations of Aboriginal participation in South Australia's maritime activities. As stated, Western historical accounts silence Indigenous participation and these two jetties are no exception. An example is Neumann's (1983:197–198) account of jetties and wharves of central Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, which lists Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu, however does not mention the jetties on Wardang Island/Waraldi or at Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. Additionally, the construction of the jetties by Aboriginal people is recorded in oral histories (int. Graham 19/2/13; Roberts et al. 2013:90), however not in the missions' historical accounts, further highlighting the silencing of Indigenous achievements by the 'writers' of history. These two jetties are rapidly deteriorating and several piles have eroded at the waterline. This study has contributed by documenting rapidly deteriorating tangible cultural heritage that urgently needed recording. The stabilisation and reinforcement of the jetties for long-term survival must follow a designated management plan. A conservation management plan for Dolly's and the Little Jetty has been drafted for Point Pearce/Burgiyana and is attached in Appendix 10.7. Examples of similar conservation management plans for jetties and wharves in South Australia include: Port Germein (Department of Environment Water and Natural Resources 2013), South Neptune Island (Danvers Architects 1993), Stenhouse Bay (Flightpath Architects 2010) and Morgan (Fargher Maunsell 1982–1983; Woodhead Firth Lee 1995). A comprehensive interstate example is Busselton Jetty in Western Australia (Palassis Architects 2007).

7.5 Future directions

Roberts et al. (2013:78) outline in detail possibilities for future research directions engaging both maritime archaeology and Indigenous communities. Further directions relating specifically to this project are discussed here including: 1) Island use by Narungga people on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda; 2) Small-scale commercial fishing activities of non-Indigenous peoples in the Point Pearce/Burgiyana area; 3) Investigation of maritime activities at other missions in Australia or internationally; 4) The application of maritime cultural landscape approaches to riverine and lacustrine mission contexts; and 5) Other sites of maritime cultural contact.

7.5.1 Narungga and Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda

Wardang Island/Waraldi has presented a distinctive case study because there is a great deal of literature surrounding both Narungga and Western history due to its proximity to a major port, Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu. While the research conducted at this island can be extrapolated to other islands around Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, Rigney (int. 18/7/13) has suggested further research into island use of the whole coastline of the peninsula should occur.

Further research into the Narungga maritime cultural landscape could extend to the use and/or knowledge of other islands around Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, such as Troubridge Island on the eastern coast, Bird Island on the western coast and the Althorpe, Haystack, Seal and Chainman's Hat Islands on the southern coast. This research could contribute to the debates surrounding offshore island use and water crossing abilities during the Holocene (for example debates by Bowdler [1995] and Sim and Wallis [2008]), although should also investigate the contact and post-contact period and aspects of culture contact at these islands given many of them have European history through the construction of lighthouses. This research could examine the cultural and economic history of island use and seek to answer questions regarding the definition of 'island' by Narungga people, what makes an island 'Indigenous', varying purposes, use or absence of visitation and the reason for these decisions (int. Rigney 18/7/13).

7.5.2 Non-Indigenous peoples and the Point Pearce/Burgiyana region

This research has focused on Indigenous perspectives of the maritime cultural landscape, however in investigating cultural contact it has also revealed little-known and understudied aspects of non-Indigenous history. Rainbird (2000:33–34) notes there are differences among and between colonisers, a heterogeneous composition, which results in transformations and new experiences on both 'sides' of encounter and cultural contact. As stated by Keating (2012:15–16), archaeologists have only recently begun to consider the experience of Europeans at missions and their responses to cross-cultural engagement. The same has not occurred within the sphere of cross-cultural engagement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous fisherpeoples (including other migrants such as Italians, Greeks and Chinese) (Bowen 2003:16). Small-scale fishing communities and early commercial fishing activities have

received very little examination archaeologically in Australia (Bowen 2003; Duncan 2011). Therefore, while this research contributes to Indigenous experiences, the non-Indigenous experience is yet to be documented.

The Western maritime history of Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda has been limited to shipwrecks (e.g. see Coroneos and McKinnon 1997) and has not examined small-scale fishing. The maritime nature of the non-Indigenous use of Wardang Island/Waraldi, particularly the maritime workings of B.H.P. mining have similarly not been subject to research. This project identified several features of maritime material culture such as slipways, winches, ships tanks and an anchor, however did not investigate this area in detail. Furthermore, non-Indigenous use of other islands, such as Green Island—used extensively by non-Indigenous fishermen according to the historical documents—is yet to be undertaken. Both of these areas would benefit from archaeological surveying and could employ maritime cultural landscape frameworks, serving to highlight the complexities of cross-cultural engagement in addition to related socio-economic issues (the non-Indigenous fishing community being primarily poor people).

7.5.3 Missions and reserves Australia and worldwide

The potential for archaeologically investigating maritime activities at other missions in South Australia, including coastal, riverine and lacustrine missions, has been discussed in-depth by Fowler (2013a). While few are recorded to have had community involvement in their construction, many boats of European manufacture were used by Indigenous communities around Australia (Roberts et al. 2013:83). It may prove interesting to compare and contrast missions on a regional level within their traditional transport zones. Missions themselves could even be described as a maritime enclave or niche, often being found on the shore and away from the cities, on islands and peninsulas, providing recruitment connections between shipping, fishing and other economical exploitation, ship and boatbuilding, and navigational traditions (Westerdahl 1998:141–142). Furthermore, the maritime cultural landscape framework would be equally applicable to Indigenous missions and reserves not only in Australia, but worldwide. A comparative study with missions overseas, particularly in the Pacific region, would be beneficial, such as Cook Islands, French

Polynesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu.

7.5.4 Riverine and lacustrine cultural landscapes

Inland maritime environments have developed full-blown maritime transport cultures (Westerdahl 1998:141) and inland missions located on major water sources are no different. The maritime cultural landscape of coastal missions is transferable to riverine and lacustrine cultural landscapes for riverine and lacustrine missions, respectively. These studies can adopt the same framework of facets of the maritime cultural landscape as those implemented here. This transition can easily be made as the functional and cognitive aspects of river and lake landscapes are similar to seaboard cultures (Westerdahl 2011b:338). Indeed, ‘the only important thing is the deeply cultural meaning of the concept ‘maritime’ and the actual contents of such a culture’ (Westerdahl 2010d:65). While maritime cultural landscape concepts are not foreign within the archaeology of inland contexts such as rivers, lakes and transit corridors (see Rogers [2009] for an application of ‘riverine cognitive landscapes’), it has not been applied to Indigenous missions. Therefore, narratives concerning maritime activities at missions should extend inland from the sea (Fowler 2013a:77). It would be useful to investigate lake-based missions as a comparison to island-based missions and mission use, given large lakes can be seen as an ‘inverted picture’ of large islands (Westerdahl 2003:25). Indeed, the inland water tradition is sufficiently important to become a major subject in maritime archaeology (Westerdahl 1998:141).

7.5.5 Other sites of maritime cultural contact

Having confirmed the general but qualified suitability of the maritime cultural landscape framework within a mission context, I contend that further research could apply the same concept to other sites of culture contact. Sites such as Macassan trepang processing stations, shipwreck survivor camps, shore-based whaling, sealing and fishing stations, major pearling ports and shipbuilding centres could all be investigated from a maritime cultural landscape perspective to continue to foreground Indigenous peoples participation in the Australian maritime industry. Even maritime rock art investigations could adopt this approach, either purely based

on rock art and oral history data or integrating historical research and other archaeological evidence from related sites.

7.6 Conclusions

This interpretation of the maritime cultural landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana is very similar to the way in which Westerdahl (2008b, 2011b) has described the conceptual underpinnings of the maritime cultural landscape. The maritime cultural landscape approach generally allows for the formation of deeper interpretations regarding cultural continuity and cross-cultural engagement with non-Indigenous peoples by drawing on concepts such as liminality and cosmology, maritime cultural centres and transport zones and toponymy, in addition to the 11 facets. The data sourced for this research had some limitations; however, a combination of three methods overcame the restrictions of any single approach. The cultural areas of the Old Village, as well as the two jetties which, between them, represent the story of this maritime cultural landscape, warrant the establishment of a management strategy (see Appendix 10.7). Finally, this research can be pursued across several avenues: in new locations, across new cultures and to new environments. The conclusion now summarises the findings of this research in relation to the primary research question.

If terrestrial landscapes were manipulated to reinforce ideology, parallel trends are likely to have occurred within a maritime setting (Meide 2013b:7).

8 CONCLUSIONS

‘The study of maritime landscapes ... has much in common with historical archaeology in general’ (Westerdahl 2011b:338), however the same has not been contended for the relationship between maritime landscapes and Indigenous archaeology prior to this study. As introduced at the beginning of this, my point of departure in this context is maritime archaeology (the biases and benefits of this worldview have been discussed). Maritime cultural landscape approaches, a conceptual framework deeply seated in the maritime archaeology subdiscipline and from a Western tradition, have not previously been applied to Indigenous landscapes in Australia, not due to any perceived methodological inappropriateness but simply because it has not been built upon for reasons as previously noted (see Chapters 1 and 2).

This research addresses whether a maritime cultural landscape approach is a pertinent framework to employ in the exploration and interpretation of the historical and cultural Aboriginal landscape of Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana. The results of this research makes a contribution towards the development of the subdiscipline of maritime archaeology by applying a maritime cultural landscape framework to an Aboriginal historical context—while also drawing on pre-contact knowledges—and assessing the suitability of the framework for further studies in similar contexts. It is concluded that the maritime cultural landscape framework is relevant to Indigenous historical contexts in a number of ways, however several issues emerge from this

research. These issues have been broadly grouped into five themes as follows: 1) Colonial archives and local histories often silence Aboriginal peoples; 2) Maritime cultural landscape facets need to encompass non-Western systems of knowledge; 3) Maritime archaeology discourse and underpinning attitudes need to be deconstructed; 4) Maritime archaeology in Australia is generally Eurocentric; and 5) Oral histories are an integral source for exploring Indigenous maritime cultural landscapes. These issues will now be explored separately.

8.1 Colonial archives and local histories often silence Aboriginal peoples

As has been recounted through the literature review and through oral histories collected as part of this research, the maritime history of Australia reflects the great Australian ‘white’ narrative. The growing collection of local histories celebrates a pioneer settlement and forms ‘a body of public history in which the values of the dominant ‘Whitefella culture’ are reaffirmed and made available as history’ (Gill et al. 2005:126). This has certainly been the case in relation to the archives and local histories accessed for the Point Pearce Mission/Burkiyana case study.

As has been demonstrated in this thesis, however, the maritime cultural landscape approach—by assiduously employing the facet framework—can contribute towards the decolonisation (if even in a small way) of Australian maritime history by foregrounding the contribution of Indigenous peoples in the colonial maritime industry (after Roberts et al. 2014:28). This approach can provide an alternative historical and geographical framework which, in this instance, has formed the basis for a more inclusive local, regional and national story (Gill et al. 2005:127). This has included focusing on cross-cultural maritime engagement from an Indigenous perspective and examining transport zones, an underpinning maritime cultural landscape concept, to investigate the wider landscape which Aboriginal peoples’ activities influenced. It provides a more complex story of engagement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples who do not readily occupy predetermined niches in the landscape, for example Indigenous fisher-farmers, through the exploration of partner economies to the maritime industry, such as agriculture, pastoralism and mining (after Gill et al. 2005:126).

As argued in this research, the maritime cultural landscape framework, when employed in its entirety, may also contribute to the exploration of Indigenous participation in Australia's maritime activities—otherwise marginalised in colonial accounts—through the inner and outer resource, transport/communication, urban harbour, economic/subsistence/sustenance and territorial/power/resistance landscape facets. In addition, the framework, when holistically employed, has the potential to challenge pioneer histories and European cultural assumptions of the colonial archive and literature by recording and foregrounding Indigenous perspectives relating to the maritime industry—a perspective often subsumed by the notion of maritime activities as paradigmatic landscapes of dominant colonial power (Lydon and Ash 2010:2). Reynolds (1984) notes that the 'Great Australian Silence'—'a cult of forgetfulness practiced on a national scale' (Stanner 1969)—was a twentieth-century phenomenon which has been somewhat broken since 1968 (following the 1967 Commonwealth referendum). It is argued, however, that the Indigenous experience in the maritime industry is still 'slowly, unevenly, [and] often with difficulty' being incorporated into the image held by non-Indigenous Australians of their national past (Reynolds 1984). In particular, even newer historiographies, for example *Black Pioneers* (Reynolds 2000), focus on maritime industries in northern Australia, such as pearling and *beche-de-mer*, leading to a continuing silence of maritime activities in southern Australia.

In addition to subsistence and other cultural pursuits, maritime activities at Point Pearce Mission/Burghyana contributed to Australia's maritime industry through in-kind transactions, economy and labour. This research has not only foregrounded Indigenous contributions to the maritime industry but has also been able to put names to those Aboriginal individuals who were involved, through both oral histories and archival documents—'extending personal stories into public histories of the region' (Gill et al. 2005:136). That such details were learnt through careful archival and oral history research only serves to further highlight the depth of silences surrounding Indigenous participation in Australia's maritime history in Western literature.

8.2 Maritime cultural landscape facets need to encompass non-Western systems of knowledge

Two factors characterise the mission landscape of Point Pearce/Burgiyana: first, the time-depth from pre-contact to post-contact (including to the present); and second, the significant and complex role of culture contact and entanglement. In the past, the maritime cultural landscape approach has generally not dealt with these two factors. After building upon the maritime cultural landscape framework within an Aboriginal context, using Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana as a case study, this framework is capable overall of encompassing these historically complex elements. The detailed discussion of the facets of the maritime cultural landscape approach, outlined in Chapter 7, did reveal some challenges when using this framework to investigate a post-contact Indigenous landscape. These included: 1) Sensitively incorporating the long time-depth that includes the transition between the pre- and post-contact periods; 2) Framing the capitalist nature of the mission as opposed to a non-capitalist context; and 3) Employing differing sources, such as tangible and intangible data, to interpret facets in a new way. This application of the maritime cultural landscape framework to an Indigenous post-contact context demonstrates that the approach needs to be much more flexible in accounting for, or reframed to be able to account for, the above differences and the incorporation of differing worldviews, lived experiences and cultural practices.

The maritime cultural landscape framework, as devised by Westerdahl (2006a:8, 2008b:215–216), was not intended to create boundaries across environments or between sites, but contrasts and combines terrestrial, coastal and submerged components and allows for the creation of analogies across disciplines. The 11 thematic interpretive categories employed here did not compromise this holistic intent. As noted in the discussion, however, it can be challenging to synthesise data into these themes. The distinct ‘facets’ of the maritime cultural landscape may need to be blurred, for example where Western categories of leisure do not relate solely to recreational activities, in an Indigenous context. Analysing and interpreting leisure within non-Western cultural contexts is challenging, problematic and risks appropriating and deforming Indigenous knowledges and practices (Fox 2006:404; Iwasaki et al. 2009:159). According to Hall (1992:293–294, 308), Western society brought its own cultural categories, languages, images and ideas to colonialism in

order to describe and represent contact. Europeans tried to fit Aboriginal peoples into existing conceptual frameworks, classifying Indigenous peoples according to their own norms and absorbing them into Western traditions of representation (Hall 1992:293–294, 308). There is a danger that the classification system of the maritime cultural landscape facets may similarly confine Aboriginal worldviews, lived experiences and cultural practices into rigid, linear, Western compartments (Fox 2006:405, 407). Evidently, these frameworks within maritime cultural landscapes thus need to be broken down to some extent or a system needs to be devised to allow for complexity across facets.

8.3 Maritime archaeology discourse and underpinning attitudes need to be deconstructed

Caution is required when reassigning certain terminology, as commonly used in maritime cultural landscape approaches, to Indigenous contexts. Some aspects of maritime archaeology, particularly language and terminology, which may be appropriate in Western investigations, are less fitting in contexts relating to Indigenous peoples. The transposing of maritime discourse directly onto Indigenous research requires care, particularly when it comes to word choice. Language can either empower or disempower Indigenous peoples and, as noted previously, the privileging of certain languages is a choice (Mollenmans 2014:iv; Smith and Jackson 2006:313). A failure to consider the language used in the communication of archaeological research can negatively impact the communities about which we write (Watkins 2006:101).

Furthermore, written text is itself a colonial practice which has been used in the past to shape the legacy, and reinforce the assumptions, inequalities and power relations, of colonialism (Smith and Jackson 2006:313–314). Scientific and archaeological language is not objective, however by deeply considering the colonialist thinking behind terms, their legitimacy (or lack thereof) in the present can be interrogated (Smith and Jackson 2006:313–314). Ultimately, all of these terms hold political implications, however this does not degenerate such considerations to the realm of so-called political correctness (Nicholas and Watkins 2014:3784).

I have drawn attention to many of these terms throughout this thesis; the shift from the term cultural ‘resource’ management (suggestive of exploitation and dismissive

of attachments to heritage by communities) to cultural ‘heritage’ management is one example (Brown 2008:20; Byrne et al. 2001:35–36). Other loaded terms include the ‘discovery’ of Australia by James Cook (Smith and Jackson 2006:319; Smith 2012:76; Watkins 2006:105), describing Australia as a ‘young’ country which excludes everything prior to British arrival (Rigney 2015), the ‘abandonment’ of sites which negates the significance of such places to contemporary communities (Watkins 2006:104) and the category of ‘not significant’ on significance assessment scales which implies that sites are essentially meaningless and not worthy of protection (Watkins 2006:113).

It is therefore vital that researchers deeply consider and analyse the importance of the words chosen in the maritime cultural landscape framework (after Watkins 2006:101). Maritime archaeologists communicate using similar language to that in which they are instructed (after Watkins 2006:103). Due to my maritime archaeology background, fitting terms were not immediately clear to me at first and required careful consideration. Indeed, a recommendation as a result of this project is that an avoidance of the language of colonialism should be more actively incorporated into maritime archaeology teaching. Along a similar vein, training Indigenous community members in archaeological method, theory, legislation and jargon may empower communities to more effectively articulate their participation (Martinez 2014:3776). Implications of Indigenous archaeology and decolonising language in maritime archaeology can also reinforce ethics in maritime archaeology (indeed, all archaeologies) more generally, for instance regarding other (non-Indigenous) community-based research (Martinez 2014:3776; Wilson 2014:3790–3791). If maritime archaeology is to work ‘for’ Indigenous communities (see Nicholas and Andrews 1997), the use of language must respect and not denigrate Indigenous peoples (Chirikure 2014:3838).

8.4 Maritime archaeology in Australia is generally Eurocentric

National biases have been influential in maritime archaeology, such as in Australia where studies have favoured one of the four¹⁸³ ‘traditions’ in which maritime archaeology developed: the tradition of maritime historical exploration (Maarleveld

¹⁸³ The remaining three are: 1) The Mediterranean or ‘classical’ tradition; 2) The northern European or ‘prehistoric’ tradition; and 3) The ‘cultural resource management’ tradition (Maarleveld 2011:924).

2011:924). Archaeological projects have favoured either periods that are important for national identity or events in national history that are well-documented in written texts (Maarleveld 2011:921). Maritime archaeology and its associated finds (ships) have been used by countries as metaphors for their great ages (e.g. Age of ‘Discovery’ and so forth) (Westerdahl 2008a:18). As is the case with other countries (e.g. see Maarleveld 2011; Westerdahl 2014:123), ships have been used as icons in the national agenda, often reflecting great periods in the history of the ethnic identity of the coloniser (i.e. ‘white’)—despite representing often brutal expansion policies (McGhee [1998] goes as far as controversially suggesting maritime archaeology paid homage to ‘ships symbolizing genocide’). Narungga scholar, Rigney (2015), further argues that the Australian Constitution was written from the view of the arriving ships.

Well-known examples from maritime archaeology, which transmit the ‘glorification of war and the celebration of European maritime hegemony’ (Flatman 2003:150), include *Mary Rose* (1545, English), *Vasa* (1628, Swedish), *La Belle* (1686, French), HMS *Victory* (United Kingdom) and *H.L. Hunley* (1863, American) (Flatman 2003; Maarleveld 2011). The wreck of *Eduard Bohlen II* (1909, German) is another example of a vessel symbolic of the national heritage of its wrecking location, Namibia (Harris et al. 2012:134). *Eduard Bohlen II* is an emblem of colonialism, capitalism, labour and historical atrocities, however only some of these themes are given recognition (Harris et al. 2012:136–137). Other examples within maritime archaeology research include attitudes of an amplified appreciation of Viking ships and a corresponding ignorance of Indigenous Russian (Slavonic) contexts (Westerdahl 2014:127) and the favouring of post-medieval armed merchant and warships of trans-European origin to the detriment of vernacular Indigenous watercraft research in Scotland (Historic Scotland 2009:18). This situation is paralleled within Australia’s maritime heritage—especially the heritage that is presented and foregrounded in the domain of the general public.

Of relevance here is the fact that the only Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana vessel that has become part of a historical collection is Bart Sansbury’s boat at the National Museum of Australia. Its significance is therefore historical, rather than maritime, based. Discussions around traditional watercraft (such as the *Nawi* conference) are

beginning to remedy a lack of archaeological research into Indigenous waterfaring, however it is the post-contact period that is significantly overlooked (Roberts et al. 2013:78). McCarthy (2011:1046) states that museums and other institutions belatedly began to appreciate Indigenous maritime history, however only cites ‘eons-old ... ancient indigenous watercraft and maritime art’ as examples. The results of this research begin to deconstruct this attitude and indicate that a maritime cultural landscape approach—with the aforementioned cautions and qualifications—can be useful.

By looking through a Western framework, the cross-cultural engagements of Indigenous peoples with Western maritime culture can be distinctively and powerfully brought into focus. The maritime cultural landscape framework is specifically interested in the functional and practical aspects of maritime culture, such as ships, boats and so forth. By building upon a framework that was designed to investigate such material culture and the technologies of capitalist maritime industries, like jetties, the Indigenous involvement in these structures is more readily explored. Simultaneously, ‘scientific’ data is contextualised by Indigenous knowledges. For example, the archaeological investigation of Dolly’s Jetty was complemented with oral histories.

8.5 Oral histories are an integral source for exploring Indigenous maritime cultural landscapes

While the maritime cultural landscape framework is appropriate for use in post-contact contexts, it is also, crucially, useful for conducting collaborative, community-based research. This is because of the nuanced interpretations of tangible archaeological materials that are only possible through intangible contextual information, an approach supported through the maritime cultural landscape framework when employing place-based oral history interviews. A review of maritime archaeology literature reveals that maritime archaeology is behind its terrestrial counterparts when it comes to collaboratively including Indigenous communities in the research process (Roberts et al. 2013:78). Indeed, studies that originate in archival research, such as the aforesaid projects that have focused on an event of national significance, adopt a mindset related to that activity, one that generally excludes oral histories (Maarleveld 2011:925).

Terms used to describe community members within maritime archaeology, such as ‘informant’ (Westerdahl 2011b:341) or ‘interviewee’ (Ash 2007; Duncan 2006; Fowler 2013b; Fowler and McKinnon 2012), perpetuate the researcher/researched dichotomy of the past when reassigned to Indigenous archaeology and imply unequal power relations (Bruchac 2014:3819; Smith and Jackson 2006:318). If a subject/object approach is applied to language, an arbitrary division takes place (O’Doherty and Willmott 2001:466) which detracts from the collaborative, intellectual and participatory collegiate partnership of community-based Indigenous archaeology. Therefore, care should be taken when describing the relationship of the researcher and the community (Bruchac 2014:3823; Wilson 2014:3790).

The maritime cultural landscape framework, when employed in its full scheme, *forces* maritime archaeologists to adopt a community-based approach due to its reliance on intangible heritage. Many facets of the maritime cultural landscape depend on place names, oral histories and Indigenous ecological knowledge. Even purely tangible data lacks contextualised interpretation when surveyed and analysed without the input of Indigenous peoples (Bruchac 2014:3814). Archaeology can read objects and describe activities; only oral history can embed artefacts with specific life stories and meaning (Beck and Somerville 2005:476). This was evident through the examination of the ‘archaeologies of attachment’ concept at the Old Village on Wardang Island/Waraldi (as detailed in Fowler et al. [2014]), and the ‘seeing land from the sea’ approach (Fowler et al. 2015), both of which foregrounded place-based, on ‘Country’ interviews. Therefore, the maritime cultural landscape approach begins to resolve issues surrounding the subdisciplines’ lack of engagement with Indigenous peoples. Not all sites or landscapes investigated through maritime archaeology have possibilities for oral history or ethnographic interdisciplinary research; the subfield’s premise as the study of maritime culture can be entirely enriched through the nuanced, localised and lived histories which are a result of collaboration with Indigenous communities regarding their maritime heritage (Martinez 2014; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Smith 2012).

8.6 Next steps

The existing research and management paradigms within maritime archaeology in Australasia would benefit from the development of a series of subdiscipline-specific

guidelines for community-based, Indigenous archaeology methods. The five issues described above all stem from methodological considerations. Maritime archaeological practitioners require a set of innovative, practical, tailored steps which could be employed in academic, consultancy, government or museum contexts in any maritime archaeological project. Rather than creating ‘a rule-based system of ethics or a compilation of ideal principles’ (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006:129), these guidelines would need to address the ‘nitty-gritty’ aspects of genuinely negotiating research processes, outcomes and benefits (Smith and Jackson 2006:341). Thus, the ensuing effect of implementing these methods would intuitively contribute to decolonising the subdiscipline through accommodating Indigenous communities’ beliefs, knowledges and lived experiences, encompassing non-Western systems of knowledge, privileging Indigenous voices through oral history, recognising intangible cultural heritage and transforming underpinning Eurocentric attitudes. It has been recognised that Indigenous archaeology is ‘not only for and by Indigenous people but has wider implications and relevance outside of Indigenous communities’ (Atalay 2006:292). The establishment of such guidelines, therefore, would benefit maritime archaeology more generally—for instance regarding other non-Indigenous community-based research.

8.7 Conclusions

This study evaluated the maritime cultural landscape framework rather than the related seascape concept. It did so because the archaeological context was not solely pre-contact marine cosmologies and resource use, but instead included engagement with Western maritime technologies and industries. This research endeavoured to build upon the chosen framework by applying it to an Indigenous Australian context. The interpretive framework of facets of a maritime cultural landscape, as well as other cognitive conceptual underpinnings such as liminality, cosmology and toponymy, was in most instances directly applicable and useful to the case study of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. In other cases, subject to evaluation, the maritime cultural landscape approach needed to be adjusted and critiqued to enable it to become suitably applicable. For example, for the maritime cultural landscape framework to allow the incorporation of Indigenous worldviews, such as ‘fires’, and blur the edges of the facets, such as leisure, specific deconstruction was required. It

is the rigidity of Western concepts that can stifle creative scholarship. Any attempt to fit Indigenous maritime cultural landscapes exclusively into the tradition of maritime archaeology ideas, which as noted tend to value archaeological sites according to their connection to historical events, would be ineffective (after Richards 2013:13). Thus, maritime archaeology needs to apply some of the ‘with, for and by’ attitudes that define Indigenous archaeology (as outlined by Nicholas and Andrews [1997]) which is, after all, ‘just good archaeology’ (Martinez 2010:219).

By approaching this research from the outset as a collaborative, community-based initiative with the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community, a cross-disciplinary oral history, archaeological and archival method has resulted in new understandings of the maritime history of Australia. This framework is therefore pertinent to other maritime themes within Indigenous archaeology and ties directly to the complex history of colonialism in Australia through a maritime lens. The research has provided insights into the world of Aboriginal peoples in the post-contact maritime landscape and demonstrated that multiple different interpretations of Australia’s maritime past exist (Flatman 2003:151). The collaborative dialogue in this research continues through the ongoing involvement of the community in the publication and dissemination of the results, providing the research data and thesis copies for future use and reference, providing advice and support for future management decisions regarding maritime heritage at the community’s discretion, and the continuation of archaeological research projects by other researchers, such as on the Holocene coastal economy on Yorke Peninsula/Guuranda, particularly island use (Mollenmans).

The interpretive framework of the maritime cultural landscape approach allowed for a number of other important developments within maritime archaeology literature, namely the deconstruction of maritime archaeological discourse to potentially transform language (and the attitudes that underpin such word choices). This research has allowed for the presence of Narungga and Point Pearce/Burgiyana people in a heretofore Western maritime literature—resulting in ‘peopled histories’ (Silliman 2010b:218). It challenges the (still-popular) view that ‘pioneering’ was the exclusive achievement of Europeans and that Aboriginal peoples contributed nothing to the colonisation of the country (after Reynolds 2000:287). Aboriginal

achievements are being recognised on football fields and in art galleries, however not at the playgrounds, workplaces and dinner tables of the general public (Rigney 2015). The narrative communicated here must become household history and reinsertion into local narratives is required to decolonise the past. The aforementioned national biases in maritime archaeology are under scrutiny, with studies such as this work conveying a countercurrent to the use and abuse of archaeology, history and ethnography in the past (Maarleveld 2011:921). The presence of Aboriginal peoples in places explored through this research, Point Pearce/Burgiyana, Wardang Island/Waraldi, Port Victoria/Dharldiwarldu and further afield, offered in some small part an antidote to colonising landscapes (after Gill et al. 2005:3; Roberts et al. 2014:29). This thesis facilitates the telling of a more complicated story (after Reynolds 2000:9; Roberts et al. 2014:29).

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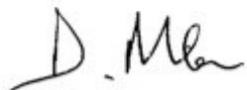
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10.1 Consent forms

To Whom it May Concern,

This letter is to provide written support for Ms. Maddy Fowler (and her associated colleagues) to conduct research into the maritime infrastructure and vessels associated with the history of Narungga people. We support her in relation to any necessary access to archival documents, field work and interviews with community members (providing she obtains the individual's informed consent) in relation to this project.

Yours sincerely,

Signature: 
Name: Doug Miller
Position: INTERIM CHAIRPERSON
Organisation: NARUNGA NATIONS ASL. Corp.
Date: 11.4.2012.

To Whom it May Concern,

This letter is to provide written support for Ms. Maddy Fowler (and her associated colleagues) to conduct research into the maritime infrastructure and vessels associated with the history of Narungga people. We support her in relation to any necessary access to archival documents, field work and interviews with community members (providing she obtains the individual's informed consent) in relation to this project.

Yours sincerely,

Signature: 

Name: GEORGE L WALKER

Position: CHAIRPERSON

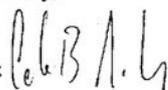
Organisation: POINT PEARCE ABORIGINAL CORPORATION.

Date: 2/05/2012.

To Whom it May Concern,

This letter is to provide written support for Ms. Maddy Fowler (and her associated colleagues) to conduct research into the maritime infrastructure and vessels associated with the history of Narungga people. We support her in relation to any necessary access to archival documents, field work and interviews with community members (providing she obtains the individual's informed consent) in relation to this project.

Yours sincerely,

Signature: 

Name: CARLO BARNEY SANSBURY

Position: Committee

Organisation: ANMG

Date: 30-5-2012

10.2 Ethics approval

Dear Madeline,

The Chair of the [Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee \(SBREC\)](#) at Flinders University considered your response to conditional approval out of session and your project has now been granted final ethics approval. Your ethics final approval notice can be found below.

FINAL APPROVAL NOTICE

Project No.:

Project Title:

Principal Researcher:

Email:

Address:

Approval Date:	<input type="text" value="18
September
2012"/>	Ethics Approval Expiry Date:	<input type="text" value="1 March 2015"/>
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The above proposed project has been **approved** on the basis of the information contained in the application, its attachments and the information subsequently provided.

Joanne Petty
Administrative Support
Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee

10.3 Wardang Island/Waraldi 'Old Village' community poster

"The old people would stop here" Wardang Island: Seeing archaeological site plans through historical photographs

Maddy Fowler



From 25 February to 1 March 2013, Narungga elders Clem O'Loughlin and Fred 'Tonga' Graham assisted archaeologists recording the 'Old Village' site on Wardang Island. The site was recorded using a total station (an electronic surveying tool) and the measurements taken were processed using software to produce this site plan. Using historical photographs can assist when identifying different features in the landscape – for example, the image of the Narungga living quarters (bottom right) shows an 'L' shaped building, which corresponds with the 'L' shaped remnants identified on the plan. The green lines show the contours of the land, for example you can see the cliff edge and the ramp leading from the jetty up to the flat ground.

The yellow line at 'The Bay' is at 0 metres which means that everything below that is underwater at high tide. The camera colour on each photo corresponds to the same camera colour on the site plan, with the flash showing the direction the photo was taken in. In addition to the main features shown on this map, fence posts, ceramic and glass fragments, bed frames, gates, sheep bone, machinery (scoop, tiller and winch), shellfish, moorings, an oven and rail cart wheels were all observed. This was a place of intense activity in the past and continues to be significant to Narungga today.



Shearing shed at Wardang Island – while there is no evidence of the shearing shed left, stone rubble shows where the sheep yards alongside the shed would have been (Image courtesy of the South Australian Museum, AA676-5-10-37).



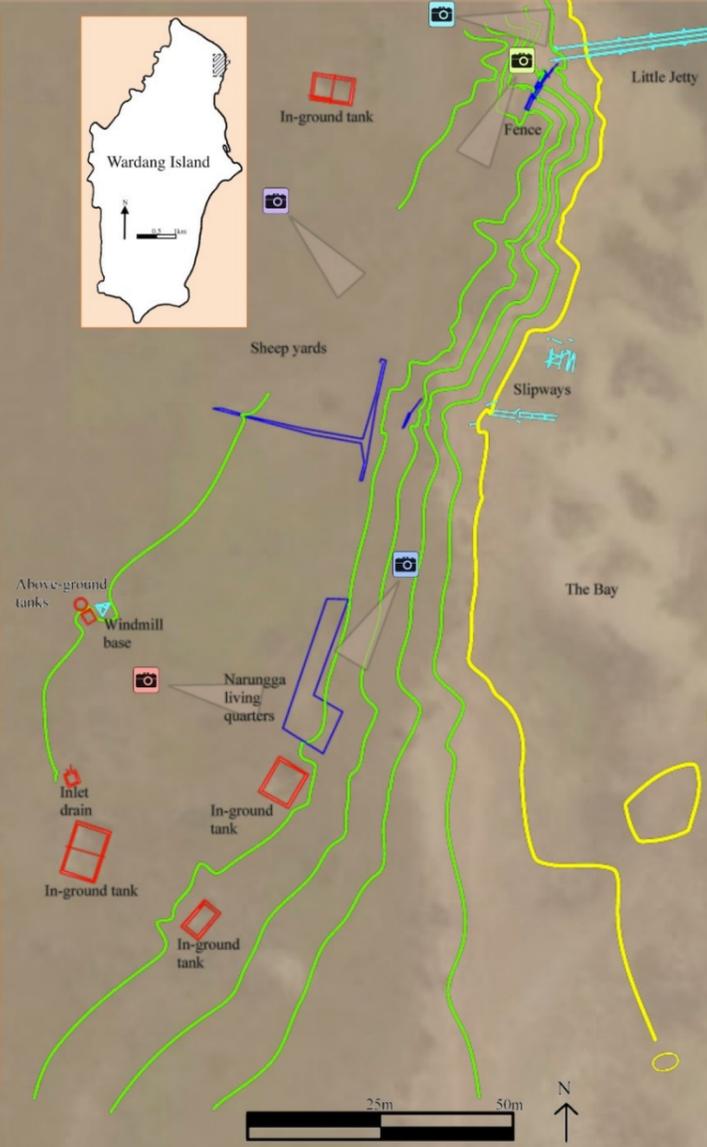
Shearers and other workers outside the shearing shed on Wardang Island. Far left: Tom Adams, and his son Tomtie (Thomas) Adams. Standing left to right: John Milera (third from left), Superintendent B. Lathern, Aunt Nellie Milera (shearers cook). Far right: Walter Sansbury and Leslie Wanganeen. Front middle: Henry Angie, Joe Edwards, and his son Clifford Edwards (Image courtesy of the South Australian Museum, AA676-5-6-16).



Replica of above photo – K. Bennett and R. Koch using the total station – note that a more substantial fence replaced the old fence and there is no evidence of the shearing shed left (28 February 2013 M. Fowler).



Working men and women behind the Narungga living quarters on Wardang Island, looking east (Image courtesy of the Dr Doreen Kartinyeri Collection, South Australian Native Title Services, 2006-23-8).



Narungga at the 'Little Jetty' on Wardang Island, looking southeast (Image courtesy of the South Australian Museum, AA676-5-10-32).



Replica of the above photo – note that some of the metal rails along the top, the diagonal timbers at the end of the jetty, and all the planking on the jetty is no longer there (28 February 2013 M. Fowler).



Narungga living quarters on Wardang Island, looking southwest (Image courtesy of the Dr Doreen Kartinyeri Collection, South Australian Native Title Services, 2006-23-23).

CRICOS Provider No: 00114A

Point Pearce
Aboriginal
Corporation



Adjahdura Narungga
Heritage Group

10.4 Oral history interview with Professor Lester-Irabinna Rigney

18 July 2013 University of Adelaide

Interview with Professor Rigney conducted by Maddy Fowler

MF: Have you ever visited Wardang Island?

LIR: Numerous times, so many times that I wouldn't be able to number. They would be in their multitudes of thousands of times I have been over there. I am the Dean of Indigenous Education at the University of Adelaide. It's really important in any of these that we acknowledge we are on Kaurna country, and I as a Kaurna, Narungga, Ngarrindjeri man. My mother is Alice Rigney and my father is Lester Lawrence Rigney. My father is an Ngarrindjeri man and my mother is a Narungga Kaurna woman. So I was raised on the mission right up until I had to go to Grade 7 and my mother then was the Aboriginal teacher's aide at the mission. My grandmother, Ivy Karpany, was the midwife and she assisted the women to give birth to all the children on Point Pearce that's a time when I was a young man I remember my Nanna. My credentials for my father, my father was worker, he was a share farmer, he was moved from Ngarrindjeri Raukkan to Point Pearce, so all my life I have been going back to this area of Point Pearce, Wardang Island, Mungari, talk more about that, Dhillba, Dhibara, all of Yorke Peninsula I have visited and continue to visit, so my cultural attachment to my land is extremely strong. So as a Narungga man now I live in the city and I still speak my Narungga culture language, I speak Kaurna language as well; I have been instrumental as a part of those movements in reclaiming those languages for the Narungga and the Kaurna. So my role in all of this is to try and assist you about knowledge about these areas. So yes I have been at Wardang, I know my Dreaming around, I know the Narungga Dreaming around the entire Yorke Peninsula; I have walked this country with Elders. So my credentials have always been a deep attachment to this area. However, it is really important to understand that this is only one aspect of an entire Yorke Peninsula, and that it's only a recent phenomenon that Narungga people have become so attached to this is because of a western intervention. This is where the mission was put. Is it our ideal country to put our mission? No. It was never decided by us. However we are grateful for that piece of country we are fortunate more than others. So Wardang Island and Point Pearce mission or Burgiyana, islands or Waraldi in our language, Wardang, these islands give us landscapes and seascapes and places in which to maintain our cultural traditions and monitor our biosphere all of our animals, our flora and fauna. So our Dreaming's, is several of our Dreaming's, but the one that is pertinent to this area is Badhara and its important that you know about Badhara, because his club situates just around these areas over here and there's lots of fishing breeding areas in this territory. So Wardang fits into that time, but one of the things that I wanted to let you know before moving into Wardang is that we know Wardang as not necessarily an island, so we have stories that go back to when this particular part of Yorke Peninsula is joined on to Eyre Peninsula, when there was land in between and that a kangaroo dug with a kangaroo bone deep into the soils and water rose up creating the Gulf of Spencer, what they call Spencer. So we have histories that tie us right back to that time. We can also talk about a time when there was land off the Gulf of St Vincent where people used to walk across to see the Kaurna. So these are long, long

periods of time, so what we are talking about with Wardang, as an island, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Wardang Island, Waraldi as we know it, is always been a really, really crucial time for us and the non-Indigenous history. This is a history of marine-ship by Europeans there has been two cultures that tried to claim it as their own, which is the English, Flinders, and the French through Baudin. Many, many visitors have sailed through this area, but it is our community that have lived it, harnessed it, looked after it, farmed it and so on. When we know it as an island there are many things around this area. For instance, we know that there's lots of fossils over here at the end of the island. We know in our culture that this is Hungry Bay, that areas over here's called Table Rock. We call this area over here the Cave, we call over here Gurada zone and Gurada is our shark. So Goose Island and all of those are really, really important for us but they also harbour a seal colony and the importance for us is Gurada, the great white shark. We know Gurada hunts and feeds around there. This is also a big, of our traditional fish the Nhudli Gayinbara. A breeding area for the dusky morwong and this is our butterflyfish, we capture it, we have always found these being pristine areas for us to catch our food. The whole range of and estuaries along this side of the coast where there's beautiful sea grasses and these are the areas from these sea grasses all the way to here, monitor the juvenile fishes. So this is a monitoring area here for Narungga people that has been since it became an island. This in low-lying areas, this feeds a whole range of birds as well, as well as other bigger fish, so we always know to conserve these areas. Now strangely enough, navigating these waters, there is a view that because we didn't have seafaring craft in any history that there was none existent, but we moved around this on canoe. And there is a debate that is that Aboriginal or particularly Narungga people didn't have navigation of the sea or we were out sails, we didn't know how to sail, and there's histories of sailing in other Aboriginal cultures around the world but we didn't all we had was river canoes, we would suggest that this is wrong. And our community can talk about stories around those issues. So this as an island as we've come to know it was given as a part of the whole range of aspects to Indigenous peoples Narungga to work. It has been a farm, it has been a tourist venture, it has been a site where westerners have used it for scientific purposes, to breed a special form of rabbit to breed out the calicivirus. So the CSIRO used it as a testing ground, it had an airport on it. There's a whole range of key historical moments that Wardang has always been reshaped into difference purposes. But for Narungga its always stayed the same, Waraldi, it is an important site for Narungga. It houses our fishing, it houses our nurseries and it also is a site for cultural traditions. One of the very first old stories of our community was a ceremony tradition, over here is an island, over here and its alongside a deep channel, lots of deep water fish and sharks swim in here and there was a ceremony by which passing of boyhood to manhood, that I don't want to share too much more about, but just to tell you that one of our ceremonies were for young men to pass to boyhood, that they had on their heads a fire encased, so very, very fine embers and they would put it onto their head and they would then be sheltered by community and Elders, other men and boys in boats and then they would as a test to pass into manhood. That they would swim out to this island and have a rest with the embers encased in a basket and a nest on top of their head, and they would then get here to rest, they would then have to swim across this deep-water channel and then make it across to Wardang Island. Now, there's stories of our community by which you can walk across this at low tide and hold the fire in your hand and then when you get to this deep section you put it on top of your head and you swim breaststroke and you get to this area and you walk all across over

here and the final pass of that test, that manhood test, would be to light a fire on the other side with the embers. So this was your traditional test and this would be all the boys would be doing that you could see that there would be hundreds of men and other boys swimming alongside them as they did this ritual and it would be celebrated with a big feast as they would get over here 'cause all around here there is plentiful fish. So there are many other areas here that we could speak of that have a whole range of interesting times. So most of the vegetation here was denuded because of colonisation and others, this isn't a natural state. So there were shrubberies and samphire and a whole range of coastal vegetation that have either have disappeared. There are also remnants of re-entrance and water areas on here as well. But we can't see them here. Over here one of the things that we would be remiss of is that Wardang Island speaks to Mungari. So this is what they call the point and this is red cliffs over here, and here's the marina, and over here is what we call the creek and the creek is a freshwater creek, and it's a soak, a spring, so this is a place to get water from, from our community and with that this was really, really important here for our community. So in order to get across to the island, this creek here would be really, really important to get water from and ready to go across. You also have Dead Man's Island which is a recent phenomenon, because there was a historically a relatively recent, it's not a Dreaming story, but of people dying on that island and it is supposed to have in our history, white sleepy lizards with pink eyes, who were albinos, there was a colony of albino sleepy lizards on that island. You can walk to this island over here. But this is all home to Aboriginal Narungga people, teaching their youngsters how to fish. All along here. This is Gagadhi or Galadri, and this is hooking or line fishing. And the reason why I am saying that this, you can see that as separate but all this history is tied into as one, so over here you have men and women and you have at the back of Point Pearce here along this road, in this territory all of the traditional soaks, so this is freshwater here and this used to, before European piping of water, this used to supply the mission, supply that mission with all the freshwater it needed by horse and cart and so there's well's here that were built up and they are still there, here is a ceremonial area where even though the mission was happening, there was traditional ceremony that was going along here and many people were scared to go there at night. There's possibly burials in and around here and there were ceremony's, men's ceremony's, that were practiced here and there's lots of people call this gubba area where there is lots of dead spirits and so on. But this is lots of harpooning around here. Now the traditional, Hungry Bay is a traditional area where rock formations are like this, it's a natural formation, it might have been slightly modified by our community, and our people over the years but as the tide comes in it washes over this bay and then when the tide goes out its a natural wall where lots of fish are trapped. So you can swim in and around here but this is very, very rich for the Nhudli Gayinbara, and this is our word for the butterflyfish and this is the one with the bent tail. This is a natural rock formation here and this is really, really imbedded in a whole range of modern, contemporary, historical and what I call first fires stories. First fires are the very, very first Narungga peoples fishing at this area. So this story goes from first fires, those ancient stories of the Dreaming and so on, to the second fires which is the stories and the fires of our ancestors telling stories after the Dreaming and then to the third fires, to the current generation. I talk about fires as being in the first fires, I am talking about the really, really old stories, that are older than the pyramids, it's important that you understand that Badhara and Ngarna and Gurada are all first fire stories, or Dreaming stories, of the old, old people. Now there's a couple of stories about here that I can't tell you,

but let you know because this tape recorder, after we are long gone, somebody will hopefully access this in the future, so I am talking to the microphone today to tell you future Narungga people, there's a story about Mirka the volcano man and that's a men's story and I am not going to share that because its only supposed to be shared with men, but Mirka talks about this area and it lines up with volcanoes and the simplistic version of the story is that Mirka volcano man came through our country and our Narungga people told him to go away you don't belong in this country and there's views that he had a fight with Ngarna the great creator, Ngarna, on our country and Ngarna won and told him to get out of our country and he moved down south east and along the way Mirka made all of these other volcanoes and he rested at Mount Gambier. But Mirka also played a really, really important part about Wardang because Mirka the volcano man was also around when Wardang wasn't an island that there was land between Yorke Peninsula and Eyre Peninsula and where there was land between Adelaide coastline and Yorke Peninsula. So Mirka is an important point for Wardang Island but there is secret-ness and sacredness around that stuff. So what are some of the under waterscapes of Wardang Island? Well the under waterscapes are really, really important this is home to several species of Narungga sea grasses. Those species were sustainable for us. They are also home to estuaries and they are also home to juvenile fishes and juvenile molluscs, as well as shellfish. We know where the scallop beds are, we know where the razor fish beds are, we know where the juvenile Nhudli Gayinbara habitat is, we monitor those conditions as community, as cultural community, as Narungga people. We also acknowledge we have what we call the fish that are the barometer by which we measure the healthiness of our seas. So if we know those fish are imperilled or those molluscs or those shellfish are not there, then we know that our sea is in trouble. So we have witnessed some of these species in their decline, particularly our sea grasses that we know that have been trawled by people in search of scallops and others. Our abalone population has really, really declined, so these are really, really crucial points. So Narungga are around Wardang Island, their seascape, we've got a jetty that we put in here, we have got a little community of houses that we put over here that had a superintendent. All of these seascapes here along the western side of the island are quite pristine, they are home to seals and so on, but along this side is a whole range of wrecks and of western people who came and didn't traverse its maritime correctly and ended up on the rocks. One of the interesting things of a frigate called the *Notre Dame D'Arvor* which sank off the coastline here and the Narungga were called to try and help and assist and so they perished but Narungga recovered the bell from the *Notre Dame D'Arvor* frigate and that bell became the mission bell that was tolled by the missionaries every morning for wake up and rise to work, morning tea or smoko, at lunch, afternoon tea or afternoon smoko and knock off time from work. It was the measure from Wardang Island; a bell from a French frigate was used by the missionaries to teach us time. And this time, when this bell, there's stories in my sisters book, "Point Pearce: Past and Present", Eileen Wanganeen, my sister wrote that book, there's stories in "Survival In Our Own Land", there's stories that talk about that bell. And how it was acquired across, using our technical knowledge about the landscape and the seascape, to retrieve that in deep water. Now you've also got Narungga that have very unique, good skills over here now, to negotiate the seascape and the landscape over here. So you do not take junior fishermen over here, to navigate Wardang Island, it's just way too dangerous. There's deep water here so you get deep-water sharks, great whites are swimming along here, so this isn't a place for novice, training for our youngsters. It's over here

where our training grounds are for either line fishing and sustenance from the land, we also have over here teaching, in these really shallow protected areas here, of transferring knowledge of how to hunt, either by harpoon or by spear fishing these are the training grounds. But over here, these are advanced places for very experienced fisherpeople and their understudies. Ceremonies, so these landscapes here, Table Rock is really, really important because, it has a Narungga name but some of the old people might be able to help you here, the cave that's over here is a cave where there's lobsters and shellfish and crustaceans and oysters and warreners and so on that are all in the cave that we dive down deep and we can get lobsters and so on in here, so you actually swim in and the cave isn't a cave as such but it's a hollow area that's hollowed out. So the further that you come down here there is also plenty of firewood with mallee and so on that's left paving all the way down to here. There's an island off the coast here that just a little small set of rocks and in between there there's calm water, but there is also lots and lots of big varieties of fish that come and feed off in and around that area here. So you have the shellfish population here, so we now come back up to Goose Island, around Little Goose and Big Goose, there's also our bird populations, our terns that migrate every year, our seagull populations all populated around here and they escape from these areas or they feed from a whole range of areas. Now these terns are absolutely beautiful, they've got the pointy crest on top of their head and they are very different to the seagull population. And we notice their migration here as well, so we monitor and track how they're going. So Shag Island over here has all of these eggs and we used to harvest these eggs as well, in terms of Yorke Peninsula. So I am talking about the use of these islands are pretty similar, Goose Island, Shag Island, over here, right next to Aunty Carrie's shack, and you also have a set of islands over here, and also the islands over here which is called Dead Man's. So all of these islands are pretty much, their use was the same by Narungga. We used to travel over there and hunt and fish. There's a lot more I can go into, they each have lots of stories but I guess I will leave ready for your next question.

MF: Well I guess, that's really good for as you say the first fire stories and things like that which I haven't heard much of so far. In terms of during the mission period now, what boats, do you know boat names, who was using boats and day to day daily life and things during that mission period and I guess the comparison between life for those people who lived at the mission and some families who were living on Wardang and caring for the sheep and things?

LIR: Ok. There was a jetty here, a jetty here and the *Narrunga* boat used to come along here and as I was growing up a kid, my dad so Lester Rigney Snr, Clem Graham, Clem O'Loughlin, Terry Wanganeen, these are people who I looked up to as fishermen. Uncle Clem had a series of boats. He was the first skipper in a venture when tourism started up, to navigate the boat to bring the tourists across to Wardang Island from Port Victoria. There's a whole range of history, of Aboriginal peoples, Narungga peoples using particular boats, throughout the entire timeframe of the colonial period, of the mission being established, in navigating this area, so navigation of this area, they knew exactly the under waterscape as well as the seascape as well as the landscape. As well as the western knowledge of maritime safety and boating and so on. And I think that's a legacy, that's clearly a legacy that's left over from before fences, before western interruption, and that commitment to a landscape is important. Because this is a farm and there is ways in which the

whole peninsula and this area were harvested for kangaroos and emus, however what is clear here is maybe I don't think its a contemporary adaption, what is clear here is that knowledge of maritime-ship and seamanship has transferred through, and it's not just a nuance of our Narungga culture, because of the imposition of the mission being located in where it's at. In other words, our maritime knowledges and skills are transferred from that historical reservoir as a Narungga people, not necessarily as a product of colonial intervention by putting our mission close to the sea. What you've got here is that we had our inland canoes and we did kayak, we did move across over these areas, but my version of understanding the boats came as a modern interpretation of when Aboriginal peoples began to buy boats, build boats, as we know them in a western tradition. They were either sail or they were engine craft, so by the time that I come into the picture, and I'm born in 1965, westernised versions of maritime is very much impacted here, but the knowledge-scape and the understanding of the land and seascape and seabed-scape is very much drawing on the reservoir from the first fires knowledge. So these men were prolific in our community and there's histories of them in "Point Pearce: Past and Present". The literature also speaks to this in "Survival in Our Own Land", in Amy's work, in Skye's work, in my work. There's a whole range of documentation that happens around that stuff.

MF: In terms of, talking about canoes and things like that, what is that built upon, that belief?

LIR: What do you mean?

MF: Is it an oral history tradition that's been passed down?

LIR: Around the canoes? Yeah, there's a you know, it would be simply remiss to think that Narungga didn't have canoes and just because it's not there either in the literature that doesn't suggest that we didn't have them. Evidence is that Ngarrindjeri had them, that Kaurna had them. We cut them from trees but you can't find a tree on Yorke Peninsula. They were all used either for the mining; it was used to open up the whole of the Adelaide region. So, Yorke Peninsula is really interesting and it was stunning how Yorke Peninsula's history just overwrote the Narungga history. It just decimates the Narungga history, it even ignores it. You know Hill and Hill talks a little bit about it. However, there's the oral history has survived around these particular features of navigation and sea travel. Look for it, I think there was a whole range of mischievous intent that was occurring around this time that the literature that failed to either see the Indigenous peoples or Narungga were invisible at the time, most of the literature is on trying to get as much resources from the Yorke Peninsula themselves, for the mining companies up in Moonta and the establishment of pastoral leases and so on. So, clearing the land of canoes trees was part and parcel of the psyche of that time. So, I think that at some stage this is a big debate, whether Narungga were seafaring people or not and I think that you need to tackle this, you need to look at it, you need to investigate it and, you know, put this record right.

MF: It's a tough one, but I'll give it a go.

LIR: It is a tough one, but the question there is just because it's not in historical evidence, western historical evidence, doesn't necessarily mean that it was never present. Just because we don't see the air we can't deny its existence.

MF: I guess, you were referring me to other resources for looking at the historical boats and things, but can you quickly go through which ones you might know, or what their fate was, if any of them are still around anywhere?

LIR: I will have to try and get my head around that at our next interview, with what I can think, my headspace isn't in that area at the moment. I'm just thinking about my budget. So we can talk about that at another date.

MF: Also, another thing would be who were the families that were most involved in terms of going to Wardang Island during that period?

LIR: Lots of the things is that later on, when, as I was growing up, the resources from here was becoming overfished because this was a holiday destination for Adelaide. Port Victoria would swell to triple the times its population. There was boating enthusiasts, the most key infrastructure inside that beside schools and dental and hospital and medical, is the boat ramp, so you got professional fishermen running around here that are scouring for a whole range of locales for fish and a whole range of other seafood, so as I'm growing up, these are becoming more scarce around these areas. So this becomes prime for catching fish to feed the poorest of poor community at Point Pearce. So when you catch fish over here, it's not just for your family, your catching fish in order to feed others, so one of the greatest acts of kindness is to give the Elders or people who can't go out and catch their fish some fish. This is seen as something that's very, very honourable for Narungga people to do. To give the butterfish, the Nhudli Gayinbara, to a relative or a non-relative is something that's humbled and something that's very, an act of respect. So even though there is people that can't fish over here, they give up their sons to go and make that pilgrimage, knowing that there's risk in coming over here, we got to talk about risk here because this isn't a place for novices. There's a lot of reliance on this for food, these areas for food, and when it's not so prevalent in areas that were traditionally close to gain access, we have to go further and further and out and out and out because the demand on fish is high but the fish localities in where we thought were traditional is dying out because of the growth in the professional fishing market by the westerners. The newcomers were taking the fish in our areas that were meant for two or three generations that weren't born, that are unborn. They are eating the fish that were meant for the future, now. As that hits, more and more Narungga people are now buying western boats. Most families have them, most families did have them, they were either dinghies, we had a series of three dinghies in our area, we had a history of more motor engines than there were dinghies because we bought second hand ones they were rubbish, they died when we were right out here hunting and the motors packed up and we would have to row back in and that happened more times than not because of these unreliable sort of third, fourth hand motors that we bought. So you are seeing more and more Aboriginal people, Narungga peoples now having to go off mission and around Yorke Peninsula and compete with other recreational or professional fishermen's in order to keep the stock replenishing at Wardang. There's a point where Narungga say, we'll leave that because that's a part of our community and we'll go and hunt in other areas. So

Tiparra around that whole sort of reef system up from, down from Moonta Bay right through to the mission, Point Pearce on the west coast, have become a favourite ground and that's really interesting because it's off country. Now reason for moving towards that is to preserve some of these areas and to preserve Wardang Island stock. That just doesn't happen by coincidence. That's a conscious decision by community of preservation, even though it has no control over recreation or professional fisherpersons. So there is behaviour shift here because of the impact on Wardang, that's conscious.

MF: It would be interesting to see if any of those dinghies and things that those families had are tucked away in backyards.

LIR: Well we've got stacks of photos of them, you know, they were beat up they were patched up they were crusty, I remember we would borrow trailers, when we didn't have trailers we would e would drive down with T-shirts on top of the roof and all of us with our arms hanging out the windows holding on to the dinghy as we drove down. So there's a whole history of that sort of craft and I remember quite strongly that half of the population on Point Pearce had a dinghy because food was really expensive, so we relied off the sea.

MF: Would most of those have been purchased?

LIR: Pretty much, in my era, very few were built.

MF: Who might have photographs of and things?

LIR: All of the families of these people would have photographs and they would date right back to the early 1900s so you can go back that far with photos of these dinghies as key indicators of how the cultural knowledge of seamanship is there. Is that what you are looking for?

MF: Yeah, things like I guess to build up a bit of a timeline of vessels in use in the area and who was really involved in that type of activity.

LIR: I think that it would be remiss to think that Indigenous Narungga involvement in the modern, the ketch history of Port Victoria is under-theorised; there is so much of a silence. So there is a whole range of ketches, the library is filled with all of these sloops and ketches and ships that are off their that have come around there from Africa, from England that are passing on their way, there's, Port Victoria's obviously a major port, so Narungga involvement in that is very, very under-theorised, either as navigators, to navigate them through. What we have clearly is a history of when Flinders and when Baudin and those that past after them. They're either taking Aboriginal people on-board to navigate them through these areas or as conduits to communicate with the local tribe or the local community. So we have histories of this, but the histories tend to downplay them as navigators or the assistance in seamanship because that would have undermined the orthodox narrative that it was Flinders that was doing the main sailing, it was Baudin that was doing the main sailing, they didn't get any assistance from Narungga people around how to navigate these localities and difficulties around the sea. So they're in history, they tend to, whether it's in Australia or elsewhere, they tend to be represented mischievously, I

would think, as just interpreters for the local Aboriginal community, which they encounter. They are not given any credit for their seamanship. History doesn't give them any credit for what they bring towards understanding the local landscapes and seascapes that assist the colonists to navigate these successfully. The other thing we can see, this is on Kangaroo Island, which has this very, very unique issue where that's been theorised quite strongly is where they've got Aborigines, the pirates and the sealers did exactly this, they took women, took men they gave birth, they had relationships with women. But they are not only there as sex slaves or as producers of food or harvesters of local knowledge around what berries and natural foods there are to use. Of course they are drawing on that Indigenous knowledge, but they are also clearly drawing on Indigenous knowledge of seascape and landscape in navigation. But they don't get that, that story is dismissed, it's not thought about. So the history of an Indigenous involvement on the ketches needs to be told, on the non-Indigenous ketches in this port. It's simply too ridiculous to fathom the notion that Aboriginal involvement in seamanship and on boats either as workers on boats or as someone that assists in such a huge port as Port Victoria at the time. But history pays this no mind. Yet it's right close to the mission.

MF: There must have been a lot of interaction going on just in this area and yet there's really nothing discussed about it.

LIR: No, and there's a whole range of conflict that happened here too, over fish, over fish stock. So there's fights about what they can take and the latest case, the Owen Karpany case is he's been caught for talking undersized abalone and the question that he's raising is the undersize abalone isn't my fault. It's what others have come in and overfished. I'm just taking what's culturally sustainable for my family. I am not taking 500 I am only taking five. And although those five may be undersized, that's enough to feed my family. So this question and fight has also been silenced here about the conflicts over trying to stop the professional newcomers who are eating one or two generations of food and seafood, that were meant for two generations of the unborn. They are eating the future fish stocks now that they shouldn't be.

MF: I don't know what your understanding is of the settlement on Wardang Island here, the Indigenous settlement area, compared to the mission and how they relate, whether being on the island there was a different sense of control or lack of control compared to living at the mission.

LIR: What do you mean?

MF: From talking to Uncle Clem and Uncle Tonga, they feel like when they were living there, obviously they were very young, but when they lived at this area here, that it was an enjoyment of life is what Uncle Tonga says, you were free to walk around and go and do all of these things that seemed different compared to those people who were living at the mission.

LIR: Well on the mission is obviously the superintendent, so that's the non-Indigenous missionary or the superintendent was controlling the mission. Given that Narungga is the first Aboriginal community in the whole of Australia to be given self-determining status, so we're the first, so when you go over to Wardang Island, it's different, it's a different space, it's free, you are away from areas, you are away

from people. There's rules, Narungga rules by which you need to abide to, in taking only enough fish to feed your family, always letting one go, making sure that you reciprocate in giving food back to those in the community that need them and so on. So there's cultural values but its free, it's a beautiful place to live, these houses over here were a beautiful place to stay, that's why it was an ideal tourist place, which I think is still underdeveloped about how you can use this place. So living on Wardang Island was always a holiday because it feels like a holiday, where you are back on Point Pearce, that's work, that's reality.

MF: Even for those Indigenous people who were working on Wardang, there was still a different sense of work there?

LIR: Yes, indeed. Islands are beautiful places, they do things to us, they're seductive, they are romantic, they have an aura about them, their isolation, because not many people can get across. This place wasn't very designed for disabilities. People with disabilities, so if you were elderly or you were aged or you had a physical disability, Wardang was a, you couldn't navigate yourself; you couldn't get yourself up the stairs. But nonetheless, it was a place that Narungga people held as a beautiful location, the beaches are spoken fondly of, its pristine, there's no pollution, no noise pollution, there's no light pollution, its stunningly beautiful, even though its denuded of some of its natural vegetation and has been ravaged by rabbits, goats and sheep. It's still a beautiful place.

MF: That's the sort of sense I am getting from everyone that I talk to about it. What then do you think is the present significance of this area to yourself, personally, and then also to the community as a whole?

LIR: It's highly important for food, its highly important for culture, cause it's a part of our cultural progression and knowledge transmission, it ties in with our Dreaming, we always speak about it. I mean Badhara's club is over here when he fought and it breaks over here. Have you seen that spot here?

MF: I think so, the jetty is around here.

LIR: So you've been on Mungari?

MF: We did drive to as far as there I think.

LIR: So you've seen where the end of Badhara's club is? So it's part of our Dreaming. There's sites on here that have, culturally significance, that tell our stories. So it still holds dear to my heart. The difficulty with it, and the beauty about it, is that its isolated but what we can't control is the sea catch that's been taken from those areas. Because it's out of our control as colonised peoples, we don't have a say on bag limits, we don't have a say on who is taking what illegally, that's up to the newcomers of governments, and without a treaty we don't have any say of how to legislate or look after legally by using Narungga ways to protect this. So we are open to threats of fishing out these areas by professional and recreational fishers. Wardang Island is culturally, spiritually, linguistically, and economically very, very important for Narungga people. But it's also in our blood, you know. The islands, every single island off our coastline has, there's no place that you can stand on Yorke Peninsula

and say it was ever wilderness. Cause wilderness is by definition an absence of human beings. There was no wilderness in Australia, particularly on Yorke Peninsula. Aboriginal peoples were all over this island and the reason why they weren't, they were moved, they were colonised, they were ushered off this land, so all of the islands that we have around are sacred to Narungga, Wardang Island just happens to be one of them.

MF: In terms of the material culture that's left, so the jetties and things that are falling into disrepair and the old settlement area where there is just ruins and things now, is it important to document those things and preserve them?

LIR: Indeed, they are a part of the history, the western part of history of this area. Also a part of Narungga history and the Narungga history is also part of the western history. They're intertwined now and it's very difficult to pull Narungga history about this place, that's separated from western history. There are tales and myths about this place, and there are truths about this place. The truth is that this place wasn't a place where conflict occurred over its fishing, it's a myth. That it's a barren wasteland, that it's useless, it's a myth. Each of these cultures, either the cultures of the west or the Narungga cultures have these truths and myths about this island and that to suggest that Narungga's ideas and values about all of Wardang Island, we have stereotypes about it that aren't true. And westerners have the same sorts of issues. All knowledges whether they come from, they have their truths and their misconceptions. Wardang Island is such a place that has been a highly contestable place, it's spoken about in history, and it's been invisible in history. Its uses has either been miss told or hasn't told the truth or there's truth that's been left out. The question for you is to try and mitigate, navigate those histories and try to look for their silences as well as their voices, and to get a balance about some of those special, special place, but its only one of a hundred islands that's around Yorke Peninsula. From this, you get a sense of how Narungga treated all of its islands.

MF: One of my methodologies is place-based interviews, that's what we did recently with Uncle Clem and Uncle Tonga on our trip to Wardang, as we came across something physical in the landscape we would ask them about it and talk to them about if that brought back any memories and what they knew about these sorts of structures and things, do you think that's a valuable method for, do you think that the archaeology then is helping to tell this story by physically seeing the archaeology?

LIR: No doubt, yes, I do think that that's a honourable type of method to use. I don't think you are talking about methodology as such, I think you are talking about method. And I think that method is not methodology and methodology is not method, so I think you are doing really well. I think that's a honourable way forward. One of the things that is really unique about your research that makes me excited and walk taller intellectually is that if you discover the insights by which Narungga histories and western histories talk about the maritime of this particular island it gives us insight into how Narungga dealt with all the other islands around the Yorke Peninsula, because we simply don't have, that space has not been filled. We don't have how Narungga works on the islands down the bottom end of the Yorke Peninsula or these rocky outcrops around Yorke Peninsula, which we call islands. But others don't, so what is an island? And what is Indigenous about this island? So westerners may call, an island has to be so much of this size. I have told you that

there's some rocky outcrops over here that we call islands. Why? Because they bring us richness in their cultural history, social history, economics, they bring us fish. What is an island? And that's what you are getting at, so from this study we can extrapolate that Narungga would have been using these islands, other islands in similar ways and implicating that way. And the history simply doesn't give us any understanding of how Narungga do this because their land base and place, the time which they come into the history books, is when they come to this island that was through no choice of their own. They were put on a mission and the studies then start from that end of time, what we don't know is how Narungga interacted with all of these other islands, and what was their purpose? Did each have a different purpose? Were they all no go zones or go zones? Why didn't they travel to this island or did they?

MF: I do have to limit my study area, but it would be good to do the whole of the Yorke Peninsula.

LIR: But asking the questions is really important. Why don't we have Narungga's versions of what they did on these other islands? How many islands are there around Yorke Peninsula? You don't know.

MF: I don't know.

LIR: This is only one of them, so why don't we have a rich history of what Narungga did on those islands. That's not natural that we don't have histories. It's unnatural. So the reason why we don't have histories is because that's been manufactured. It's bias that's happening here. So I am not suggesting that your thesis should bounce out to all of those, but one of the things that makes yours so important is because we get an insight, a slice of an insight of just one island, but what has happened to all of these others, and why didn't, it poses more questions than it answers. Why was history so quick to wipe from its pages and books what Narungga did on them? At least you have literature and Narungga history and western history about this island, because it's so central to this port. And that's what makes it unique.

MF: I am glad it's of value.

LIR: It's extremely valuable. You look at Torres Strait, there's lots and lots of information about Mer and the other islands, but all of the smaller islands, we don't know what the Torres Strait did there.

MF: Well I am conscious of the time.

LIR: Indeed.

MF: I guess we will leave it there for today.

10.5 State Records of South Australia

10.5.1 Unrestricted files

Consignment	Title	Time period
GRG18/1/1902/109	School for Wardang Island	20 February 1902
GRG24/4/1848/388	The apprenticeship of two Aboriginal boys as sailors	1848
GRG35/22	Marine Board	1859–1876
GRG51/230	Maps and Plans—Department of Marine and Harbours	
GRG51/278	Maps chiefly of ports, bays, wharves and jetties	
GRG52/45	Photographs of Aboriginal People	Early to mid-twentieth century
GRG52/48	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations Journals	1915–1920, 1927–1947
GRG52/49	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Monthly Returns	Consignment 1, Consignment 2 (1947–1950), Consignment 3 (1950–1952)
GRG52/50	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Ledgers	1915–1945
GRG52/51	Point Pearce Station, Record of Expenditure	1938–1949
GRG52/53	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Wages Book	1927–1943
GRG52/54	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Station, Record of Payments to Contractors	1938–1946
GRG52/57	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Credits	1931–1942
GRG52/58	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Receipt Books	1946–1954
GRG52/61	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Annual Statements	1945–1947
GRG52/62	Point Pearce and Point McLeay Stations, Financial Statements	1947–1954
GRG52/65	Point Pearce Station, Wages Book	1932–1939
GRG52/66	Point Pearce Station, Cash Book, Goods Received	1909–1918
GRG52/67	Point Pearce Station, Cash Books	1909–1913, 1916–1919, 1920–1927
GRG52/68	Point Pearce Station, Pig Breeding Record	1933–1936, 1958–1960
GRG52/70	Point Pearce Station, Shearing Record	1913–1941
GRG52/71	Point Pearce Station, Time Book	1957–1964
GRG52/72	Point Pearce Station, Bank Ledger Account Book	1963–1966
GRG52/73	Point Pearce Station, Superintendent's Diary	1918, 1921, 1928, 1968, 1969
GRG52/78	Point Pearce Station, Record of Use of Car	1924–1928
GRG52/84	Point Pearce Station, Sharefarmer's Ledger	1915–1928
GRG52/87	Card Files on Individuals—Aborigines' Department	1917–1938
GRS48/72	Wardang Island School	

10.5.2 Restricted files

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
1	GRG52/1/224/1883	S Lathern — Hon. Secretary, Yorke Peninsula Aboriginal Mission — Applies for boat for Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission Station	Approved
2	GRG52/1/329/1881	J. R Cooke — Encloses cheque for 19 pounds for renewal of lease of Wardang Island for Point Pierce (Pearce) Aboriginal mission	Approved
3	GRG52/1/253/1883	J. R Corpe — Financial section, Yorke Peninsula Aboriginal Mission — Cheque 19 pounds for rent due on pastoral lease no. 965, Wardang Island	Approved
4	GRG52/1/392/1887	T. M Sutton — Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission — Applies for boat for Aboriginal at Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission	Approved
5	GRG52/1/41/1896	Robert Wanganeen — Aboriginal, Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission — Applies for assistance to purchase a boat at Moonta	Approved
6	GRG52/1/172/1895	B Lathern — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Concerning removal of boat for Aborigines at Stansbury	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
7	GRG52/1/205/1895	Protector of Aborigines — Adelaide — Requesting authority to obtain fishing boat for Aborigines at Point Pierce (Pearce)	Approved
8	GRG52/1/209/1895	E. G Blackmore — Adelaide — Requesting payment of freight of Aboriginal 'John Milera's' boat from Port Lincoln per steamer to Moonta	Approved
9	GRG52/1/408/1898	Joseph Yates — Aboriginal — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Applies for and encloses 20/- in past payment for chain for mooring his boat	Approved
10	GRG52/1/40/1899	Protector of Aborigines — Adelaide — Recommends placing the Aborigines boat at Moonta Bay in the charge of Light House Keeper	Approved
11	GRG52/1/69/1899	John Hansbury and other Aborigines — Wardang Island — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Applies for Aborigines boat at Moonta Bay	Approved
12	GRG52/1/186/1899	Sergeant Phelan — Moonta — Report concerning Aborigines boat at Moonta Bay and rations	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
13	GRG52/1/77/1905	Corporal Blake — Wallaroo — Reports giving steamer pass to Aboriginal Newchurch to Port Victoria	Approved
14	GRG52/1/199/1905	Julia Simpson — Wardang Island — Applies for block of land on Wardang Island	Approved
15	GRG52/1/239/1905	Julia Simpson — Wardang Island — Port Victoria — Seek to obtain Lease of block of land near Port Victoria	Approved
16	GRG52/1/299/1905	Tom Lindsay — Port Victoria — Applies for fishing net	Approved
17	GRG52/1/360/1905	Mrs J. Bews — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Concerning box of goods stolen from Port Victoria jetty	Approved
18	GRG52/1/401/1905	Protector Aborigines — Adelaide — Return showing number of boats and cost supplied to Aborigines during the 10 years ended 30/6/05	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
19	GRG52/1/83/1906	B. Lathern — Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission — Requests pair of oars for 4 old Aborigines. Payment of Aboriginal Chester's freight account on his removal from Point Macleay to Point Pierce (Pearce)	Approved
20	GRG52/1/298/1907	T. Hillier — Port Victoria — Recommends boat for Aboriginal Philip Welsh of Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission	Approved
21	GRG52/1/40/1908	Jack Stuart — Half Caste Aboriginal — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Applies for assistance to purchase a boat (cost £10)	Approved
22	GRG52/1/1/1913	Harold Kropinyeri — Half Caste Aboriginal — Loan of £35 to enable him to purchase a motor for his boat. Cost £65	Approved
23	GRG52/1/50/1913	Henry Taylor—Aboriginal — Moonta —Asking for loan of £10.0.0 to purchase a boat for fishing	Approved
24	GRG52/1/41/1914	Walter Sansbury — Aboriginal — Requesting assistance to purchase a fishing boat. Cost £16.0.0 repayable by instalments	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
25	GRG52/1/42/1914	Edward Sansbury —Aboriginal —Assistance to purchase a fishing boat costing £18.0.0 of which amount he will pay half	Approved
26	GRG52/1/56/1914	Charles Adams (Aboriginal) Point Pierce (Pearce) — Requesting to be supplied with fishing net. Cost £8.12.0 at Port Adelaide plus 5% and transport - £9.10.0	Approved
27	GRG52/1/63/1914	Tom Thomas —Point Pierce (Pearce) — Requesting to be supplied with fishing net. Cost about £9.0.0	Approved
28	GRG52/1/64/1914	Alfred Hughes — Point Pierce (Pearce) —Asking for 1 12lb anchor and a pair of oars for his boat	Approved
29	GRG52/1/66/1914	Dick Newchurch (Aboriginal) Point Pierce (Pearce) —Requesting assistance to purchase a fishing net. Cost about £9. £3 to be paid by him towards cost of same	Approved
30	GRG52/1/19/1915	John Newchurch (Snr) —Assistance to purchase a boat	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
31	GRG52/1/38/1915	F. Garnett— Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Mission Station — Recommending supply of sail for Aboriginal Fred Graham costing £3.0.0	Approved
32	GRG52/1/52/1915	Clifford Wilson — Half Caste — Requesting grant of £5.10.0 to assist him to buy a fishing boat having already purchased nets	Approved
33	GRG52/1/67/1915	F. Garnett — Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) — Assistance to purchase a drag net 100 yards long and offering to pay half of the cost	Approved
34	GRG52/1/90/1915	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) — New engine for motor launch	Approved
35	GRG52/1/101/1915	Archie Kartinyeri — Application for grant to assist him in purchase fishing nets	Approved
36	GRG52/1/32/1916	C. Edwards — Aboriginal Point Pierce (Pearce) — Asking assistance to purchase a fishing boat costing £25.0.0, half of which he will pay	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
37	GRG52/1/36/1916	T. Adams — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Assistance to purchase a fishing net costing about £12.0.0	Approved
38	GRG52/1/71/1916	The Superintendent — Point Pierce (Pearce) — 12 tons of super purchased from G. A. Diment @ £4.7.6 per ton plus 5/6 per ton freight and 2/3 per ton haulage and jetty tolls	Approved
39	GRG52/1/92/1916	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — Asking arrangements be made by Wheat Harvest Board for 9,000 bags wheat to be shipped from Point Pierce (Pearce) jetty	Approved
40	GRG52/1/8/1916	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — New motor launch for station	Approved
41	GRG52/1/5/1917	Edward Chester— Point Pierce (Pearce) — Requesting assistance to purchase a boat	Approved
42	GRG52/1/27/1918	Broken Hill Associated Smelters Proprietary Limited — Port Pine — Notices of intention to apply for 15 Mineral Leases contg 426 acres on West Coast of Wardang Island, adjoining their Mineral Lease No. 430	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
43	GRG52/1/29/1918	Chief Protector Aboriginals — Loss of stores worth £42.12.6, the property of Aboriginals Department in the wreck of S. S. Investigator near Wardang Island	Approved
44	GRG52/1/79/1919	Edward Sansbury — Aboriginal Point Pierce (Pearce) — Assistance to purchase a fishing boat.	Approved
45	GRG52/1/86/1919	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — Boat for shipping wheat from Point Pierce (Pearce)	Approved
46	GRG52/1/60/1921	T. Adams Junior — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Loan of 10 pound to purchase fish net. Mission property until half paid off	Approved
47	GRG52/1/43/1922	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — Credit requested for small brooms returned by Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) also shipping charges	Approved
48	GRG52/1/84/1922	John Milera — Aboriginal — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Asking a loan of not more than 3 pound to purchase a fishing net 250 yards long and twine for slinging same. Promises to repay loan instalments of 1 pound per month	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
49	GRG52/1/35A/1924	The Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) — Requesting the purchase of a boat and net for Tom Adams Senior	Approved
50	GRG52/1/52/1924	The Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — Opening waters of bay near Point Pierce (Pearce) for the purpose of fishing for mullet and salmon by means of nets	Approved
51	GRG52/1/66/1925	Tom Adams Senior — Purchase of a boat for his use	Approved
52	GRG52/1/6/1926	Aboriginal Leslie Wanganeen — Assistance in purchase of a fishing board and net	Approved
53	GRG52/1/38/1926	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — Port Victoria deep sea jetty	Approved
54	GRG52/1/72/1927	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) — Wardang Island	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
55	GRG52/1/3/1928	Chief Protector of Aboriginals — Materials required for water catchments on Wardang Island	Approved
56	GRG52/1/12/1928	Clifford Edwards — Application for assistance — purchase of dinghy	Approved
57	GRG52/1/56/1928	Superintendent Point Pierce (Pearce) Station — Complaints re condition of bricks landed from "Ketch Yalatta"	Approved
58	GRG52/1/18/1929	Chief Protector of Aboriginals — Approval for purchase of material for catchments for Wardang Island tanks	Approved
59	GRG52/1/67/1929	Aboriginal Hubert Weetra — Applying for purchase of a fishing net	Approved
60	GRG52/1/16/1930	Chief Protector of Aboriginals — Excess warrant, Form 3 E48 for catchments for Wardang Island	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
61	GRG52/1/41/1931	J. H. Kemp — Repairs to Point Pierce (Pearce) Station motor launch	Approved
62	GRG52/1/45/1935	Ed. Sansbury — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Application for boat and net to commence fishing	Approved
63	GRG52/1/13/1936	Bert Goldsmith — Asking for a set of sails. He will refund cost of same	Approved
64	GRG52/1/51/1936	Alf O'Loughlin — Point Pierce (Pearce) — Application for an advance of £6 to enable him to purchase material for trailer	Approved
65	GRG52/1/27/1937	Ed. Sansbury, Half Caste Aboriginal — Requesting assistance to purchase a fishing plant	Approved
66	GRG52/1/38/1937	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research — Use of Wardang Island for field trial of rabbit virus (Myxomatosis)	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results**REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES**

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
67	GRG52/1/42/1937	Geo. Taylor, Moonta — Asking Department to purchase a fishing boat for him	Approved
68	GRG52/1/18/1939	Frank Newchurch —Application for a fishing boat	Approved
69	GRG52/1/76/1940	Russell Chester, Point Pierce (Pearce) — Application for assistance to repair fishing boat	Approved
70	GRG52/1/90/1940	Central Board of Health — Insanitary conditions at Wardang Island	Approved
71	GRG52/1/120/1940	F. C. Johnson and Others — Moonta Bay — Moonta Bay fisherman passing through Point Pierce (Pearce) Station by permit	Approved
72	GRG52/1/63/1946	Secretary Aborigines Protection Board — Requesting establishment of fishing fleet at Point Pierce (Pearce) Station	Approved

Attachment 1. Access Results

REQUEST TO ACCESS ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS AND RECONCILIATION DIVISION FILES

Name: Madeline Fowler

No	Reference	Name	Access Result
73	GRG52/1/69/1947	K. R. Johnson (and others) — Moonta Bay — Moonta Bay fishermen passing through Point Pierce (Pearce) Station by permit	Approved
74	GRG52/1/99/1949	Secretary Aborigines Protection Board — Requesting sale of motor launch	Approved

10.6 Crayon drawing analysis

Table 1 Presence of maritime elements, features and attributes in watercraft motifs of crayon drawings.

Elements	Features and attributes	Cecil Wanganeen	Howard Buckskin	Jack O'Loughlin	Kevin Sansbury (left)	Kevin Sansbury (right)	Mervyn Sansbury (left)	Mervyn Sansbury (right)	Norman Angie (front)	Oscar Richards	Reg Graham (centre)	Reg Graham (top left)	Reg Graham (top right)
Major structural		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	<i>Hull structure</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Hull planking, frames	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Minor structural		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	<i>Superstructure</i>		X		X	X	X		X	X	X		
	Cabins, wheelhouse		X		X	X	X		X	X	X		
	<i>Propulsion</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Engine												
	Boiler, funnel, smoke stack									X	X		
	Rudder					X		X					
	Anchors, anchor chain		X	X							X		
	Masts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	<i>Internal structure</i>												
	Decks												
	Bulkheads												
	<i>Mechanical items</i>												
	Auxiliary engines, boilers												
	Winches, windlasses, capstans												
	Pumps												
Fixtures or fittings		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	<i>Rigging</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
	Sails	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
	Shrouds, forestays, backstays							X					
	Spars, bowsprits, booms, yards, derricks		X	X	X								X
	Halyards, sheets, braces, guys, crosstrees		X		X	X	X	X					X
	<i>Auxiliary items</i>	X			X				X	X	X		X
	Tanks												
	Ventilator									X			
	Steering assembly, steering oars, paddles												
	Davits									X			
	Portholes, hawse holes	X			X		X		X	X	X		X
	Cannons, gun ports												
	Antennas												
	Flags, flag pole	X											
	Name plates, load numbers												
Cargo and contents													
	Ballast												
	Cargo												
	Ship's boats												
People									X				
	Crew							X					
	Passengers												
Total number of attributes		5	5	7	5	7	6	5	7	4	7	6	3

Table 1 continued

Elements	Features and attributes	Fred Graham (left)	Fred Graham (right)	Clyde Kropinyeri	Norman Angie (back)	Alfred Chester (left)	Alfred Chester (centre)	Alfred Chester (right)	James Goldsmith (back)	Pearl Pearce	Timothy Power (left)	Timothy Power (right)	Douglas Sansbury (bottom)	Douglas Sansbury (left)	Douglas Sansbury (centre)	Douglas Sansbury
Major structural		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
	<i>Hull structure</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Hull planking, frames	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Minor structural		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
	<i>Superstructure</i>										X	X				
	Cabins, wheelhouse										X	X				
	<i>Propulsion</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	
	Engine															
	Boiler, funnel, smoke stack															
	Rudder					X										
	Anchors, anchor chain															
	Masts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	
	<i>Internal structure</i>	X														
	Decks															
	Bulkheads	X														
	<i>Mechanical items</i>															
	Auxiliary engines, boilers															
	Winches, windlasses, capstans															
	Pumps															
Fixtures or fittings		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
	<i>Rigging</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Sails	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Shrouds, forestays, backstays															
	Spars, bowsprits, booms, yards, derricks	X				X					X	X				
	Halyards, sheets, braces, guys, crosstrees			X							X	X				
	<i>Auxiliary items</i>	X			X						X	X				
	Tanks															
	Ventilator															
	Steering assembly, steering oars, paddles									X?						
	Davits															
	Portholes, hawse holes	X									X	X				
	Cannons, gun ports															
	Antennas															
	Flags, flag pole	X			X											
	Name plates, load numbers															
Cargo and contents																
	Ballast															
	Cargo														X?	
	Ship's boats															
People																
	Crew															
	Passengers															
Total number of attributes		5	5	7	3	4	4	5	3	3	3	3		2	2	3

Table 1 continued

Elements	Features and attributes	Gordon Sansbury	Nelson Varcoe	Donald Watson (back left)	Donald Watson (back right)	Clarence (left)	Clarence (right)	Cyril (top)	Cyril (middle)	Cyril (bottom)	Dennis	Elliott
Major structural		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	<i>Hull structure</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Hull planking, frames	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Minor structural		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
	<i>Superstructure</i>		X									
	Cabins, wheelhouse		X									
	<i>Propulsion</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
	Engine								X	X		X?
	Boiler, funnel, smoke stack											
	Rudder	X							X	X		
	Anchors, anchor chain		X	X								
	Masts	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	
	<i>Internal structure</i>											
	Decks											
	Bulkheads											
	<i>Mechanical items</i>											
	Auxiliary engines, boilers											
	Winches, windlasses, capstans											
	Pumps			X?								
Fixtures or fittings		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	<i>Rigging</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Sails	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	
	Shrouds, forestays, backstays		X									
	Spars, bowsprits, booms, yards, derricks		X			X	X	X	X	X		
	Halyards, sheets, braces, guys, crosstrees		X									
	<i>Auxiliary items</i>	X	X						X	X		
	Tanks			X?								
	Ventilator											
	Steering assembly, steering oars, paddles	X		X?					X	X		
	Davits											
	Portholes, hawse holes		X									
	Cannons, gun ports											
	Antennas											
	Flags, flag pole											
	Name plates, load numbers											
Cargo and contents												
	Ballast											
	Cargo											
	Ship's boats											
People				X						X		
	Crew			X						X		
	Passengers											
Total number of attributes		5	8	5	3	4	4	2	5	8	3	1

Table 1 continued.

Elements	Features and attributes	Fred (front)	Fred (back left)	Fred (back top right)	Fred (back right)	Oswald	Leila	Malcolm	Owen (front)	Owen (back top left)	Owen (back bottom left)	Owen (back right)	Robert K (left)	Robert K (right)	Stanley	Vernon	Wilfred
Major structural		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	<i>Hull structure</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Hull planking, frames	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Minor structural			X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	
	<i>Superstructure</i>																
	Cabins, wheelhouse																
	<i>Propulsion</i>		X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	
	Engine																
	Boiler, funnel, smoke stack																
	Rudder		X														
	Anchors, anchor chain																
	Masts					X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	
	<i>Internal structure</i>																
	Decks																
	Bulkheads																
	<i>Mechanical items</i>																
	Auxiliary engines, boilers																
	Winches, windlasses, capstans																
	Pumps																
Fixtures or fittings		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
	<i>Rigging</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
	Sails	X				X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
	Shrouds, forestays, backstays																
	Spars, bowsprits, booms, yards, derricks		X	X	X	X		X					X	X		X	X
	Halyards, sheets, braces, guys, crosstrees																
	<i>Auxiliary items</i>								X			X					
	Tanks																
	Ventilator																
	Steering assembly, steering oars, paddles																
	Davits																
	Portholes, hawse holes																
	Cannons, gun ports																
	Antennas																
	Flags, flag pole								X			X					
	Name plates, load numbers																
Cargo and contents																	
	Ballast																
	Cargo																
	Ship's boats																
People																	
	Crew																
	Passengers																
Total number of attributes		2	3	2	2	4	3	4	4	1	3	4	4	4	1	4	3

Table 2 Maritime vessel motifs recorded in crayon drawings.

Artist	Cecil Wanganeen	Howard Buckskin	Jack O'Loughlin	Kevin Sansbury (left)	Kevin Sansbury (right)	Mervyn Sansbury (left)	Mervyn Sansbury (right)	Norman Angie (front)	Oscar Richards	Reg Graham (centre)	Reg Graham (top left)	Reg Graham (top right)
Technique and style	Pencil outline with white infill sails, brown infill hull (black infill above sheerline)	Pencil outline with white infill sails, brown masts and booms, red infill hull (white infill above sheerline)	White crayon outline with red infill hull (black infill above sheerline)	Pencil outline, white infill sails with brown masts, spars and bowsprit, black infill hull (red infill above sheerline)	Pencil outline, white infill sails, red infill hull (white infill above sheerline)	Pencil outline with white infill sails, red, white and black infill hull and blue portholes	Pencil outline with white infill sails and red infill hull	Orange crayon outline sails with red outline shapes, red outline hull with yellow and black infill	Pencil outline with red infill hull (white infill above sheerline), yellow infill funnels with red stripe	Pencil outline, brown masts and red hull below sheerline	Pencil outline with blue infill sails and red infill hull (black infill above sheerline)	Pencil and white crayon outline, red infill hull
Colour	White, black, brown	White, red, brown	White, black, red	White, brown, black, red	Red, white	White, red, black, blue	White, red	Orange, red, yellow, black	Red, white, yellow	Brown, red	Blue, red, black	White, red
Max dimensions (cm)	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm
Motif description	Unknown mast ship	Two-masted ketch	Three-masted ship	Three-masted full-rigged ship	Two-masted fore-and-aft schooner	Two-masted ketch	Single-masted gaff-rigged cutter	Three-masted fore-and-aft schooner	Steamship	Steamship	Unknown mast ship	Three-masted ship
Interpretation			Number of sails is exaggerated		Rudder/sternpost assembly detail		Person at tiller		Possibly wrecked			

Table 2 continued

Artist	Fred Graham (left)	Fred Graham (right)	Clyde Kropinyeri	Norman Angie (back)	Alfred Chester (left)	Alfred Chester (centre)	Alfred Chester (right)	James Goldsmith	Pearl Pearce	Timothy Power	Timothy Power	Douglas Sansbury	Douglas Sansbury
Technique and style	White outline with orange and black infill hull above sheerline, red outline flag with blue infill	White and blue crayon outline	Pencil outline with white infill sails	Brown crayon sails/ masts outline, white crayon hull outline	Pencil outline with red hull infill (black infill above sheerline) and white sail infill	Pencil outline with red hull infill (black infill above sheerline) and white sail infill	Pencil outline with red hull infill (black infill above sheerline) and white sail infill	Red crayon outline	Pink and blue crayon outline with some pink infill around hull	Black outline with white sail infill	Black outline with black hull infill (white hull infill above sheerline) white sail infill, brown mast and bowsprit infill and blue spar infill	Brown outline with all green infill	Black outline with green infill hull and black infill sail
Colour	White, orange, black, red, blue	White, blue	White	Brown, white	Red, black, white	Red, black, white	Red, black, white	Red	Pink, blue	Black, white	Black, white, brown, blue	Brown, green	Black, green
Max dimensions (cm)	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm
Motif description	Three-masted fore-and-aft schooner	Incomplete	Single-masted boat	Three-masted fore-and-aft schooner	Four-masted bark	Unknown mast ship	Unknown mast ship	Two-masted boat – unable to identify rigging type	Single-masted boat – unable to identify type	Two-masted ketch	Four-masted bark	Two sails boat – unable to identify type as no obvious masts	Single-masted boat
Interpretation	Possible bulkhead, superstructure or cargo on deck, sails may be patched?		Reef points					Note image of sailor with Pop Eye	Could possibly have been a house then changed into a boat. May be an oar or a rudder		Note seal and shark in water		

Table 2 continued

Artist	Douglas Sansbury	Douglas Sansbury	Gordon Sansbury	Nelson Varcoe	Donald Watson	Donald Watson	Clarence	Clarence	Cyril	Cyril	Cyril	Dennis	Elliott
Technique and style	Purple outline with pink infill hull (purple infill hull above sheerline), orange infill sails with green patch	Yellow outline with pink infill hull and yellow infill sails	Pencil outline with brown/grey hull infill and white sail infill	Pencil outline with red infill hull (white infill above sheerline) blue infill deckhouses/cabins, white infill sails, green infill masts and bowsprit	White outline with red infill hull, white infill sails. Person orange with brown belly and hands and red hat	Green outline with orange infill	Dark blue outline with light blue sail infill	Purple outline	Pencil outline	Pencil outline – bowsprit and engine in blue	Pencil outline, engine and person in blue, mast black, one white sail infill, one blue sail infill	Purple and black outline with dark green hull infill	Pink outline with brown infill, purple engine
Colour	Purple, pink, orange, green	Yellow, pink	Brown/grey, white	Red, white, blue, green	White, red, orange, brown	Green, orange	Blue	Purple		Blue	Blue, black, white	Purple, black, green	Pink, brown, purple
Max dimensions (cm)	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm
Motif description	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Four-masted bark	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Boat	Boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Boat
Interpretation	Item on deck hard to identify, may be cargo? Box shaped		Line around stern possibly associated with steering	Very skilfully drawn	Clearly fishing with fishing rod in hands, may be well under boat? Small structure on deck could be pump or wheel?		Could be bowsprit	Could be bowsprit?					Could be an engine or oar or rudder or possible mooring?

Table 2 continued.

Artist	Fred	Fred	Fred	Fred	Oswald	Leila	Malcolm	Owen	Owen	Owen	Owen	Robert K	Robert K	Stanley	Vernon	Wilfred
Technique and style	Pencil outline hull, pink and brown infill sail	Pencil outline	Pencil outline	Pencil outline	Red outline with white sail infill	Purple outline with one pink infill sail and one yellow infill sail	Pencil outline with black infill hull, one orange infill sail and one black infill sail	Pencil outline hull, black mast and flag, one white infill sail, one blue outline sail	Pink outline hull	Hot pink outline hull and fuchsia pink outline sails	Purple outline hull, pink outline sails and flag	Pencil outline with one sail half pink half brown infill	Purple outline hull with pink infill, pink outline sails	Pencil outline	Pencil outline with purple hull infill and pink sail infill	Pencil outline with multicoloured blue, black and pink hull infill and blue sail infill
Colour	Pink, brown				Red, white	Purple, pink, yellow	Black, orange	Black, white, blue	Pink	Pink	Purple, pink	Pink, brown	Purple, pink		Purple, pink	Blue, black, pink
Max dimensions (cm)	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm	36 x 53.5 cm
Motif description	Single-masted boat	Boat	Boat	Boat	Two-masted boat	Two-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat	Boat	Single-masted boat	Single-masted boat
Interpretation		Could be rudder or well?														

10.7 Little Jetty (Wardang Island/Waraldi) and Dolly's Jetty (Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula) Conservation Management Plan (CMP)

The jetties are important to the significance of Point Pearce Mission/Burgiyana. Their retention is desirable under the guidelines of the ICOMOS Burra Charter, the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage and in relation to the significance documented in Fowler's (2015) thesis, Fowler et al. (2014) and Roberts et al. (2013). However, the jetties are in a dilapidated condition and their safety is questionable. A number of options for action exist which should be considered by the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community. This CMP should be considered as a guide to practical action. The community should consider commissioning a more detailed engineering or architectural report for formal advice.

1. Non-action

The fabric of the jetties has not been interfered with for many years. The current state of the jetties is the result of environmental conditions—wind, waves and tide. If no action is taken then at a minimum:

- 1.1. No existing fabric should be removed from the jetties for any reason.
- 1.2. No new structures should be built in close vicinity to the respective jetties.
- 1.3. Interpretive signage should be erected to highlight the significance and history of the jetties to the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community.
- 1.4. Signage should be erected warning of the safety risks regarding the jetties' structure which is visible from a land or sea approach.

Given the aforementioned safety risks, the second option is preferable.

2. Preservation (as defined in the Burra Charter)

The purpose of preservation is to ensure the jetties are safe places where their current use (Dolly's Jetty is a recreational and cultural play and picnic area) can continue. If preservation is undertaken:

- 2.1. A report should be prepared by a qualified engineer to assess the structural condition and integrity of the fabric of the jetties.

- 2.2. Preventative measures should be considered to protect the fabric of the sites, including continued maintenance to protect the site from damage by non-action (for example maintaining mortar in stonework of wall at Dolly's Jetty, supporting damaged piles on steel plates or with steel sister piles).
- 2.3. Regular inspections of the jetties should be established to monitor their deterioration and check timbers for structural damage or rot (recommended 5-yearly, but more frequently is preferred). The current management plan should also be revised at these intervals. The documentation collected at Dolly's Jetty in 2012 and the Little Jetty in 2013 can be used as a baseline for future assessments. Unless unsafe, rotted timbers can be left in place.
- 2.4. Activities relating to the preservation of the jetties should be undertaken by suitably-qualified Aboriginal people, preferably residents of Point Pearce/Burkiyana.
- 2.5. The action listed in 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 should also be implemented.

This option ensures the conservation of the jetties, as they currently exist. A further option is to return the jetties to their original state.

3. Reconstruction (as defined in the Burra Charter)

The jetties were originally used as working jetties for small fishing craft and for cultural and leisure activities. In order to reconstruct the jetties, the following steps should be taken:

- 3.1. In addition to the archaeological recording already conducted (including detailed photography, scaled drawings and site plans), more detailed documentation of the jetties must be a priority, including methods such as 3D-scanning/modelling and timber sampling and species identification.
- 3.2. Permit to disturb Aboriginal heritage must be sought as per legislation.
- 3.3. The reconstruction should not interfere with existing fabric and new fabric should follow the original design and construction methods and materials as closely as possible. The stockpile of timber from the demolition of the B.H.P. Jetty (which was constructed at a similar time) may be a suitable source for replacement timber if sound.

- 3.4. In addition to 2.4, materials and expertise required should be sought where possible from Aboriginal professionals and businesses, preferably from Point Pearce/Burgiyana.
- 3.5. The jetties should only be reconstructed for uses that maintain the original purposes of the site (i.e. not for use commercially).
- 3.6. The action listed in 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, and 2.2 should also be implemented.

Reconstruction has a number of benefits including the preservation of Indigenous cultural activities; however it also raises a number of concerns.

- The reconstruction of the jetties would allow easier access to Wardang Island/Waraldi and Point Pearce/Burgiyana Peninsula for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. At present, non-Indigenous people are unlikely to land on Wardang Island/Waraldi as there is no working jetty. Reconstructing the Little Jetty would increase the likelihood of people landing on Wardang Island/Waraldi without permission.
- The reconstruction of the Little Jetty may also lead to its use for commercial purposes. Its use should be restricted to cultural activities. If a jetty is required for commercial use, another jetty should be built a reasonable distance from the Little Jetty, for example at the site of the previous B.H.P. Jetty.
- The reconstruction of the jetties would require further maintenance in the future. While commercial companies should not have monopoly on the jetties' use, some form of commercial or tourism interest may support future funding requirements.

Keeping in mind these issues, it is recommended that the community consider the above options and determine the future of the jetties. A cost estimate cannot be provided until the structural report is undertaken. It is suggested that the Point Pearce/Burgiyana community apply for funding from organisations that support the conservation of heritage. Possibilities include the Commonwealth Indigenous Advancement Strategy and the South Australian Aboriginal Heritage Fund administered by the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988*.

