



Persistence and Space: An investigation  
into the archaeology of the Wenlock  
region in Cape York Peninsula,  
Queensland.

by

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Cover Image: Wenlock (Photo by David Tutchener)

Warning: This thesis includes images and names of deceased Indigenous individuals and may cause offence to some people



## **Contents**

|                                                                                        |               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Contents .....</b>                                                                  | <b>i</b>      |
| <b>List of Figures.....</b>                                                            | <b>v</b>      |
| <b>List of Tables.....</b>                                                             | <b>x</b>      |
| <b>Appendices .....</b>                                                                | <b>xi</b>     |
| <b>Abstract .....</b>                                                                  | <b>xii</b>    |
| <b>Statement of Sources .....</b>                                                      | <b>xiv</b>    |
| <b>Acknowledgements .....</b>                                                          | <b>xv</b>     |
| <br><b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>                                               | <br><b>17</b> |
| <b>Theoretical Context .....</b>                                                       | <b>20</b>     |
| <b>Research Question.....</b>                                                          | <b>25</b>     |
| <br><b>Chapter 2: Theoretical Background .....</b>                                     | <br><b>28</b> |
| <b>Cultural Contact, Entanglements and Colonialism in Archaeology .....</b>            | <b>29</b>     |
| <b>Space .....</b>                                                                     | <b>31</b>     |
| <b>Archaeologies of Social Space.....</b>                                              | <b>37</b>     |
| <b>Labour .....</b>                                                                    | <b>41</b>     |
| <b>Archaeologies of Indigenous Labour.....</b>                                         | <b>46</b>     |
| <br><b>Chapter 3: Study Area.....</b>                                                  | <br><b>49</b> |
| <b>Physical Environment .....</b>                                                      | <b>51</b>     |
| <b>The Wenlock River.....</b>                                                          | <b>52</b>     |
| <b>Climate .....</b>                                                                   | <b>54</b>     |
| <b>Vegetation.....</b>                                                                 | <b>56</b>     |
| <b>Background History .....</b>                                                        | <b>59</b>     |
| <b>Early European Exploration .....</b>                                                | <b>59</b>     |
| <b>Indigenous Policies and Affairs in the Late 18th Century and early 19th Century</b> |               |
| <b>Queensland .....</b>                                                                | <b>62</b>     |
| <b>The Native Mounted Police in Queensland .....</b>                                   | <b>68</b>     |
| <b>European Industries .....</b>                                                       | <b>72</b>     |
| <br><b>Chapter 4: Ethnohistorical Background .....</b>                                 | <br><b>78</b> |
| <b>Ethnohistorical Research Method .....</b>                                           | <b>79</b>     |
| <b>Ethnographic Collections Research Method .....</b>                                  | <b>80</b>     |
| <b>Background and Early Ethnographic Research in Cape York Peninsula.....</b>          | <b>82</b>     |

|                                                                                       |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Economy.....                                                                          | 83         |
| Institutions .....                                                                    | 113        |
| Summary .....                                                                         | 126        |
| <b>Chapter 5: Colonial Represented Spaces - Historical Documentary Approach .....</b> | <b>127</b> |
| Historical Documentary Research Methods.....                                          | 127        |
| Pastoralism.....                                                                      | 130        |
| The Native Mounted Police .....                                                       | 139        |
| Mining .....                                                                          | 150        |
| Bairdsville.....                                                                      | 152        |
| Chock-a-Block.....                                                                    | 153        |
| Plutoville .....                                                                      | 158        |
| Batavia Goldfields/Wenlock Goldfields .....                                           | 161        |
| Sandalwood.....                                                                       | 171        |
| Lockhart River Mission .....                                                          | 173        |
| <b>Chapter 6: Archaeological Research Methodologies .....</b>                         | <b>179</b> |
| Ethical Considerations .....                                                          | 179        |
| Archaeological Survey .....                                                           | 180        |
| Survey Strategy .....                                                                 | 181        |
| Recording Methods and Object Analysis .....                                           | 182        |
| Artefact Types .....                                                                  | 184        |
| Spatial Analysis .....                                                                | 191        |
| Grid Method.....                                                                      | 192        |
| Proximity Analysis .....                                                              | 194        |
| Limitations .....                                                                     | 196        |
| <b>Chapter 7: Spatial Practices - Archaeological Results .....</b>                    | <b>199</b> |
| Survey results.....                                                                   | 199        |
| Lithic Material .....                                                                 | 203        |
| Culturally Modified Trees .....                                                       | 206        |
| Pastoral Remnants .....                                                               | 215        |
| Glass.....                                                                            | 223        |
| Metal.....                                                                            | 230        |
| Native Mounted Police Camp.....                                                       | 237        |
| Summary .....                                                                         | 239        |

|                                                                     |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Chapter 8: Analysis of Spatial Practices .....</b>               | <b>241</b> |
| Classical Lifeways .....                                            | 242        |
| Colonial Era .....                                                  | 245        |
| Sugarbag Aperture Analysis.....                                     | 249        |
| Spatial Analysis by the Decade .....                                | 253        |
| 1880s .....                                                         | 253        |
| 1890s .....                                                         | 256        |
| 1900s .....                                                         | 258        |
| 1910s .....                                                         | 260        |
| 1920s .....                                                         | 263        |
| 1930s .....                                                         | 265        |
| 1940s .....                                                         | 266        |
| 1950s .....                                                         | 267        |
| Summary of Results and Spatial Patterns.....                        | 269        |
| Classical Technologies .....                                        | 269        |
| Aperture Area Analysis.....                                         | 270        |
| Pre-1900 .....                                                      | 270        |
| 1900-1929.....                                                      | 271        |
| 1930-1950s .....                                                    | 272        |
| <b>Chapter 9: Discussion .....</b>                                  | <b>274</b> |
| Creating Social Space — Beyond Shared Histories and Landscapes..... | 275        |
| Kanthanampu — Lockhart River.....                                   | 276        |
| Nhanthanji — Clayhole Creek.....                                    | 279        |
| Nhanthanji/Wa’tanchi — Pine Tree Station 1 and 2 .....              | 280        |
| Wa’tanchi — Bairdsville .....                                       | 281        |
| Chuula — Billycan Yards 1 and 2.....                                | 282        |
| Chuula — Chock-a-Block.....                                         | 287        |
| Chuula — Plutoville .....                                           | 288        |
| Chuula — Batavia/Wenlock Goldfields.....                            | 290        |
| Chuula — Weiss’ Creek.....                                          | 293        |
| Wa’tanchi — Frog Hollow Creek.....                                  | 295        |
| Synthesising Social Spaces.....                                     | 395        |
| Emancipated Cultural Landscapes .....                               | 398        |
| <b>Chapter 10: Conclusion.....</b>                                  | <b>302</b> |

|                             |            |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| <b>Future Research.....</b> | <b>307</b> |
| <b>References .....</b>     | <b>308</b> |

## List of Figures

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1: Cape York Peninsula with inset of the study area (State of Queensland Department of Natural Resources and mines 2017).....                                                                                                                                                                                               | 17  |
| Figure 2: Notable historical places, Cape York Peninsula Bioregion (green outline) (adapted from IBRA 2012) .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 50  |
| Figure 3: Location of the study area in relation to the Coen Inlier of the Cape York Peninsula (Forsyth and Nott 2003:147). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 51  |
| Figure 4: The Wenlock River (north of the study area) in the wet season (Trapnell 2016).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 52  |
| Figure 5: Flow of the Wenlock River (right to left), through the high ground of the Great Divide to the west (in the middle) of its source in the highlands of the eastern Cape (far right) (Pain et al. 1999: 61). .....                                                                                                          | 53  |
| Figure 6: Percentage of flow rates, note the Wenlock area has an annual no flow period of 10-30% [figure adapted from (Horn 1995:35)]. .....                                                                                                                                                                                       | 54  |
| Figure 7: Average Annual Daily Maximum Temperature. Based on the past 30-year average recorded temperatures. Within the Kuuku I'yu Homelands (see red rectangle in upper right of image) there is a range of slightly lower temperatures is recorded due to elevation level (approximately 40m above sea level) (BOM 2015a). ..... | 55  |
| Figure 8: Vegetation of the study area at 1m resolution, after (Fox 2001). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 57  |
| Figure 9: Robert Logan Jack's (1921) map of the district showing the Aboriginal reserve boundary going north to south. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 64  |
| Figure 10: Map of Cook police district showing Native Mounted Police camps and the Mein patrol to the north of the Archer River (Anon 1900a). ....                                                                                                                                                                                 | 70  |
| Figure 11: Image from Thomson's article regarding the seasonal change in Indigenous housing illustrating examples of dry (2a) and wet season (4) hut styles, wind breaks (6) and a food preserver (7) (Thomson 1939b:218).....                                                                                                     | 85  |
| Figure 12: Indigenous man climbing tree with the aid of a strip of bark, near Coen (Khan 1996:109).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 90  |
| Figure 13: Native bee wax funnel like entrance to tree hive (left). Enlarged sketch of stingless sugarbag bee (right) (Thomson 1929:56). .....                                                                                                                                                                                     | 91  |
| Figure 14: Dream recorded by Sharp near Edward River during fieldwork (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell University).....                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 96  |
| Figure 15: Shell hafted axe fastened with wax (this is a reproduction) donated to the Sharp Collection, Cornell University. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 95  |
| Figure 16: Re-purposed (cold worked) metal hafted to spear handle (Sharp Collection, Cornell University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 98  |
| Figure 17: Dilly bags and woven containers (McConnel 1953:13). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 100 |
| Figure 18: An <i>Erythrophleum chlorostachys</i> palette with wallaby tooth, from the 1930s (McConnel Collection, SA Museum) (Sutton 1994).....                                                                                                                                                                                    | 102 |
| Figure 19: <i>Erythrophleum chlorostachys</i> palette without wallaby tooth (Sharp Collection, Cornell University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 102 |
| Figure 20: Firesticks (right) out of their case with depression and cotton bound decorative end. Fire sticks in bamboo case (left) (Sharp Collection, Cornell University). ....                                                                                                                                                    | 103 |
| Figure 21: Showing the use of fire sticks while sitting (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell University Library). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 103 |
| Figure 22: Woomera with bailer shell weights (top). Flat woomera with bailer shell                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |     |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| weights (bottom) (Peabody Collection, Harvard University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 104 |
| Figure 23: Indigenous woman posing with foods and an ironwood digging stick<br>(vertical) (Thomson 1939b:Plate XXII). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 105 |
| Figure 24: Tork smoking pipe (Thomson 1939a:84). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 106 |
| Figure 25: Photo of two people using a tork smoking pipe (Sharp Papers<br>Collection, Cornell University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 106 |
| Figure 26: Reproduction of repurposed metal adze hafted with bee's wax<br>(Sharp Collection, Cornell University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 107 |
| Figure 27: Bee's wax ball (Sharp Collection, Cornell University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 107 |
| Figure 28: Widow's string neck ornament with wax balls and red Abrus seeds<br>fastened with bee's wax (McConnel 1953:17). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 108 |
| Figure 29: Bee's wax amulet (Cornell Collection). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 108 |
| Figure 30: An Indigenous man with steel axe (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell<br>University). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 111 |
| Figure 31: Kangaroo stone totems near Emily Creek (McConnel 1932:29). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 118 |
| Figure 32: Indigenous totemic groups (Sharp 1939:256). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 119 |
| Figure 33: John Embley's 1886 survey map of the Cook district showing study area<br>(Embley 1886). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 131 |
| Figure 34: John Embley's 1886 survey map of the Cook district and imagined<br>pastoral leases (black lines), the red line indicates the boundary of the settled<br>district in the Wenlock Region superimposed on a current topographical map<br>of the study area .....                                                                       | 132 |
| Figure 35: Left: Land tenure sheet of Cook Shire 1920, showing the location of<br>Pine Tree station (Anon 1920). Centre: Map of the Wenlock area (Jack 1921<br>Map C). Right: Pine Tree Cattle Station 1894 (Cairns Historical Society). .....                                                                                                 | 134 |
| Figure 36: Pat Fox's gravestone at Charleston Cemetery, Forsayth (near<br>Einasleigh Qld), with a date of 1902 (Cairns Historical Society). .....                                                                                                                                                                                              | 136 |
| Figure 37: Fred Keppell (right) and his assistant Willy (left) (Ross 1953). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 137 |
| Figure 38: Image of Urquhart (the only European man) and Indigenous troopers<br>(Richards 2008b:13). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 139 |
| Figure 39: Map showing the location of Native Mounted Police Camp in 1889 at<br>Piccaninny Creek (Murray 1889). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 145 |
| Figure 40: Map indicates the path (highlighted just above it in red) taken by Dickie<br>in 1910 (Greenfield 1911). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 146 |
| Figure 41: Map showing the location of the Bairdsville diggings and the 1887<br>police camp is based on higher resolution data than in the previous map<br>(Figure 40). Left circle (1) indicates Piccaninny Creek. Right circle (2)<br>indicates a Native Mounted Police Camp on the Clayhole Creek dated to<br>1887 (Jack 1921 Map C). ..... | 147 |
| Figure 42: Map of general major mine sites in the Wenlock area. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 151 |
| Figure 43: William Davis alias Pluto, his arrest record and details from Townsville<br>in April of 1890 (QSA Digital image number 17429). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                | 153 |
| Figure 44: Image of Kitty Pluto with a pipe (Wallace 2012:77). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 159 |
| Figure 45: Armbrust Family photo 1900 (Brown 2003:6). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 160 |
| Figure 46: Wenlock Lower Camp lease area in the 1930s (de Havelland 1989). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 161 |
| Figure 47: Kitty Pluto out the front of her hut at lower camp (Reynolds 1930:496).<br>.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 162 |
| Figure 48: Images of the Batavia Mill and Power Plant in the 1930s<br>(Reynolds 1933:102). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 163 |
| Figure 49: Photo of bark huts typical of the Wenlock (Brown 2003:22). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 164 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 50: Robertson (back right) demonstrating the use of a woomera in 1938 (Fisher 1998:43). .....                                                                                                                                                                             | 166 |
| Figure 51: Photo is showing European children collecting sugarbag at the Wenlock Goldfields with a full-sized axe in 1951 (Fisher 1998). .....                                                                                                                                   | 169 |
| Figure 52: Sketch map published in the Queensland Government Mining Journal 1910, showing a sandalwood landings and tracks in the Lockhart River area, reproduced in (Wharton 2009). .....                                                                                       | 172 |
| Figure 53: Main menu of customised catalogue for FileMakerPro©. .....                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 185 |
| Figure 54: CMT recording form. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 186 |
| Figure 55: Woomera CMT. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 189 |
| Figure 56: CMT stump (left) and felled CMT (log) (right) (tape is 1m). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 189 |
| Figure 57: Sugarbag CMT. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 189 |
| Figure 58: Images of stone (left) and steel sugarbag CMT scars (right). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 190 |
| Figure 59: Example of the grid method used to interpret the density of spatial practices in the study area. ....                                                                                                                                                                 | 193 |
| Figure 60: Image demonstrates the spatial relationship between two feature types. ....                                                                                                                                                                                           | 195 |
| Figure 61: Field survey coverage during the 2015 and 2016 field seasons. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 200 |
| Figure 62: All archaeological material located in the Wenlock survey area during the 2015 and 2016 field seasons. ....                                                                                                                                                           | 201 |
| Figure 63: Silcrete flake with retouch from the bank of Weiss' Creek. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 203 |
| Figure 64: Distribution of identified lithic materials ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 204 |
| Figure 65: The left image shows stump with clear axe marks at the top. The right image shows log on the ground with clear tapering axe marks toward the right of the image. ....                                                                                                 | 206 |
| Figure 66: Spatial distribution of felled CMTs (logs) and CMT stumps in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                 | 208 |
| Figure 67: The spatial distribution of sugarbag trees in the Wenlock region recorded during this study. ....                                                                                                                                                                     | 209 |
| Figure 68: This map shows the sugarbag CMTs and the sugarbag scar number per tree. ....                                                                                                                                                                                          | 211 |
| Figure 69: Woomera CMT scar. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 213 |
| Figure 70: CMT with multiple steel axe side removal scars near Clayhole Creek (marker is 11cm in width and used for photogrammetry). ....                                                                                                                                        | 213 |
| Figure 71: Location and density of woomera removal CMTs. Bottom right inset offers a close up of Chock-a-Block, while the bottom left inset focuses near Clayhole Creek. ....                                                                                                    | 214 |
| Figure 72: Map showing Clayhole and Billycan stockyards in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                              | 216 |
| Figure 73 Posts at Billycan Yard. Left: showing saw marks at the bottom of fencing post-mark and axe marks at the top. Right: showing a post with three horizontal saw marks and at the top of the post a mark and wire loop through a bored hole for attaching a top rail. .... | 218 |
| Figure 74: Post at Billycan Yard 2 showing both saw (at the bottom of the incision) and axe marks (at the top). ....                                                                                                                                                             | 219 |
| Figure 75: Entry post at Clayhole Yard 1, to the left of the main post are some horizontal rails still attached. ....                                                                                                                                                            | 219 |
| Figure 76: Close up of the fencing poles at Clayhole Yards 1 near Portland Road. The dots represent the location of the stockyard posts, the red circle gives an indication of the general shape of the yards, while the red line shows the                                      |     |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| direction of the corral. The drawing error was introduced due to the inaccuracies of the GPS unit used. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 220 |
| Figure 77: Left: Image of a typical post at Clayhole Yards 1 showing horizontal mark is only wide enough to support the wire for the horizontal rails. Centre: shows a Cobb and Co knot at Clayhole 1. Right: shows tree used as yard post with horizontal rails attached with wire through tension (tape is 1m in length). .... | 221 |
| Figure 78: Post at Clayhole Yards 2, although burnt the lack of horizontal marks are evident, as are significant bore-holes. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                | 222 |
| Figure 79: Map of Clayhole Yards 2, the dots represent the location of stockyard posts, the red circle gives an indication of the general shape of the yards, while the red line shows the direction of the corral. The drawing error was introduced through the inaccuracies of the GPS unit used. ....                         | 223 |
| Figure 80: Glass bottle by probable content in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 225 |
| Figure 81: Champion Vinegar bottle (pre-1910). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 225 |
| Figure 82: Nyal Quality bottle. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 226 |
| Figure 83: Dr Morses Indian Root Pills. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 227 |
| Figure 84: Cod Liver Fish Emulsion. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 227 |
| Figure 85: Glass in the Wenlock region according to period of manufacture. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 229 |
| Figure 86: An International truck body with double wheels at the rear. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 231 |
| Figure 87: Location of metal in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 232 |
| Figure 88: Metal by the decade in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 233 |
| Figure 89: Plan of site 1045, likely the remains of a stamp battery on the banks of the Wenlock River with concrete slab partially buried. ....                                                                                                                                                                                  | 234 |
| Figure 90: Site 1045 facing north-west (tape is 1m in length). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 235 |
| Figure 91: Metal telegraph pole near Plutoville likely dating to the 1940s (tape length is 1m). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 235 |
| Figure 92: Left: photo of one of the flying fox footings on the banks of the Wenlock River. Right: photo of possible flying fox gears found near lagoon to the south of the Wenlock River. ....                                                                                                                                  | 236 |
| Figure 93: Left: General site photograph, the tape is 1m; the row of trees in the background is Clayhole Creek. Right: Close up of stone wall/foundation. ....                                                                                                                                                                   | 237 |
| Figure 94: Site plan of Native Mounted Police camp foundations. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 238 |
| Figure 95: Four posted wooden structure with abandoned car in the background. ...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 239 |
| Figure 96: Total object grid density for the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 242 |
| Figure 97: Map showing the location of classical technology in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 243 |
| Figure 98: Density of classical technologies in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 244 |
| Figure 99: Historical places and total steel cut CMTs. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 246 |
| Figure 100: Sugarbag CMT aperture measurements (cm) ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 250 |
| Figure 101: The location of historical features and the spatial distribution of the sizes of sugarbag aperture scar areas. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 251 |
| Figure 102: Grid map of total steel cut CMTs and 1880 sites in the Wenlock region. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 255 |
| Figure 103: Grid Map of 1890s material culture and steel cut CMTs. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 257 |
| Figure 104: Grid Map of 1900s material culture and steel cut CMTs. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 260 |
| Figure 105: Grid Map of 1910s material culture and steel cut CMTs. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 262 |
| Figure 106: Grid Map of steel cut CMTs and the material dated to the 1920s. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 265 |
| Figure 107: Grid Map of 1930s material culture and steel cut CMTs. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 266 |
| Figure 108: Grid Map of 1940s material culture and steel cut CMTs. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 267 |



|                                                                               |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 109: Grid Map of 1950s material culture and steel cut CMTs. ....       | 268 |
| Figure 110: Kuuku I'yu Clan Estate Map by David Claudie (Chuulangun 2010). .. | 300 |

## List of Tables

|                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 1: Summary of Monthly Average Temperatures (C°) for all years on record for Moreton Telegraph Station located 13.3km North of the study area (BOM 2015c).                       | 55  |
| Table 2: Summary of Average Monthly Rainfall (mm) for all years on record for Moreton Telegraph (BOM 2015b).                                                                          | 56  |
| Table 3: Summary of locality and estimates of Indigenous population numbers by anthropologists in Cape York Peninsula.                                                                | 83  |
| Table 4: Monthly food resources for inland Cape York Peninsula (Harris 1975; Haynes and Chase 1982; Sutton and Smyth 1980; Thomson 1939b).                                            | 93  |
| Table 5: Mein Native Police Detachment in 1896, compared to other detachments in far north Queensland (after Parry-Okeden 1897)                                                       | 148 |
| Table 6: Gold production figures and periods for the Wenlock region (Denaro and Morwood 1992:12).                                                                                     | 150 |
| Table 7: Basic artefact and site types.                                                                                                                                               | 183 |
| Table 8: CMT attribute data collection method.                                                                                                                                        | 188 |
| Table 9: Probability matrix of CMT distance to centre of European economic activity.                                                                                                  | 196 |
| Table 10: Summary of lithic material identified during the 2015 and 2016 field seasons.                                                                                               | 202 |
| Table 11: CMT Types recorded in the study area.                                                                                                                                       | 205 |
| Table 12: Circumference data for CMTs recorded in the Wenlock region.                                                                                                                 | 206 |
| Table 13: Details of stump and felled CMT girth and height measurements.                                                                                                              | 207 |
| Table 14: Sugarbag measurements for CMTs recorded during 2015-2016 field seasons in the Wenlock region. Notes: * Height Above Ground.                                                 | 210 |
| Table 15: Number of sugarbag scars per sugarbag tree.                                                                                                                                 | 211 |
| Table 16: Shows the total average CMT apertures measured during this study.                                                                                                           | 212 |
| Table 17: Chart of woomera removal figures.                                                                                                                                           | 214 |
| Table 18: Recorded details of stockyards in the Wenlock region.                                                                                                                       | 216 |
| Table 19: The completeness of glass vessels recorded.                                                                                                                                 | 224 |
| Table 20: The probable content of glass vessels.                                                                                                                                      | 224 |
| Table 21: Glass by period in the Wenlock region.                                                                                                                                      | 228 |
| Table 22: Total metal assemblage.                                                                                                                                                     | 231 |
| Table 23: Identified historical metal by period.                                                                                                                                      | 233 |
| Table 24: Post dimensions of wooden structure near Clayhole Yards 1.                                                                                                                  | 238 |
| Table 25: Number of places using classical technologies in the Wenlock region.                                                                                                        | 243 |
| Table 26: Summary of the creation and use of European settlements per decade in the Wenlock region, the significant historical reference material and the survey status of each site. | 248 |
| Table 27: Table indicates the average scar apertures and the frequency and average distance of sugarbag CMTs to historical features.                                                  | 252 |
| Table 28: Proximity table for CMTs to historical features of the 1880s.                                                                                                               | 254 |
| Table 29: Proximity table for CMTs to historical features 1890s.                                                                                                                      | 256 |
| Table 30: Steel CMT type, number and average distance to the closest known site of European historical occupation and economic development in the 1900s.                              | 258 |
| Table 31: CMT number, average distance and type in relation to the historical features in the Wenlock area in the decade 1910-1919.                                                   | 261 |
| Table 32: Proximity table for CMTs to historical features in the 1920s.                                                                                                               | 264 |

## **Appendices**

**Appendix A: Ethics Approval Notice.**

**Appendix B: Research Permission Letter.**

**Appendix C: Oceania Collection at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard.**

**Appendix D: Sharp Collection and Papers, Cornell University and the Yir Yoront Ethnographic Collection.**

**Appendix E: Full Archaeological Artefact Analysis Database.**

## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the production of social space and cultural persistence in the Wenlock region of the Cape York Peninsula. The aim of this project was to undertake an archaeological investigation of Indigenous-settler relations in colonial north central Cape York Peninsula during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This study was based at the Chuulangun outstation, through a cooperative research approach with the Aboriginal Custodians, the Kuuku I'yu. The outstation is operated by the Kuuku I'yu and is located within the Kaanju Ngaachi Wenlock and Pascoe River Indigenous Protected Area (IPA) on the Wenlock River in the central northern region of Cape York Peninsula.

The project sits within the broader agenda of decolonising archaeology, in that it sets out to question how socially produced spaces have been constructed in the Wenlock region and how this reflects cross-cultural interaction over time. Consequently, artefacts located during pedestrian surveys have been recorded without a preference for pre-colonial or colonial era objects. This approach has assisted in assessing the cultural landscape as a whole and consequently interpreting the produced space of the Wenlock region. Due to the remote and tropical location of the study area, the fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken during the dry seasons of 2014-2016.

This thesis has shown that the invisibility of Indigenous people within the historical record is in stark contrast to colonial era Indigenous physical spaces. These physical spaces show an abundance of colonial era culturally modified trees (CMTs). The difference in how these forms of social space are produced, the tensions between them and how they affect the narrative of the past, emphasises Indigenous invisibility during the colonial period. The identification of the tensions between social spaces also highlight the power disconnect within cross-cultural interactions during the colonial process, and the utility of a multivalent approach utilising archaeology, ethnohistory and history. Crucially, within this thesis the synthesis of these spatial tensions demonstrates that Kuuku I'yu classical lifeways changed but continued into the colonial period. These changes illustrate how the production of space and place altered in the Wenlock region during the colonial era. Through the analysis of these

socially produced spaces, asymmetrical cross-cultural power relations during the colonial era can be better understood. It is through this process we can improve how archaeology articulates within Indigenous decolonising agendas.

## **Statement of Sources**

'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.';

Signed:

Date: 21-11-2018

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this project was to undertake an archaeological investigation of Indigenous-settler relations in the Wenlock region of north central Cape York Peninsula during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The complexity of the cultural landscape in the Wenlock region is evident in the rich archaeological, ethnographic and historical material. This landscape is a socially produced space in which places have been created and transformed through the use of labour. This study was based at the Chuulangun outstation, through a cooperative research approach with the Aboriginal Custodians, the Kuuku I'yu. The outstation is operated by the Kuuku I'yu and is located within the Kaanju Ngaachi Wenlock and Pascoe River Indigenous Protected Area (IPA) on the Wenlock River in the central northern region of Cape York Peninsula, Australia (Figure 1).



**Figure 1: Cape York Peninsula with inset of the study area (State of Queensland Department of Natural Resources and mines 2017).**

The study area contains a varied environment that encompasses floodplains, escarpments and the northern portion of the Great Dividing Range. This landscape is made even more dynamic with the heavy rainfall typical of northern Australia, which contributes to the seasonal flooding of watercourses, lagoons and the weathering of rock formations. Many of the secondary river systems in the area flow into larger primary waterways that then flow over 100km through low forested areas into the shallow Gulf of Carpentaria in the west (Chase 1984). There are several water-worn sections of sandstone and granite within the Homelands that have, over time, created numerous natural rock shelters and formed the alluvial sands and gravels.

The pastoral industry was established in the Wenlock region by the mid-1880s, with the establishment of Pine Tree Station (Wharton 2005). This saw violent conflict with the Indigenous people of the region as evidenced by the 1889 killing of Edmund Watson at Pine Tree Station just to the south of the Mein Telegraph station (Bottoms 2013:124). This led to a significant increase of Native Mounted Police in the area, which in turn caused an escalation in the ‘dispersal’ or killing of Indigenous people in the region (Bottoms 2013:124).

Gold mining began in the Wenlock area at Retreat Creek in 1892 by William Baird, who had also previously discovered the Mt Romeo tin field with his employee, an Indigenous man named Romeo (Jack 1921:701). The discovery of gold resulted in the proclamation of the Batavia Goldfield (the name of the Batavia River was later changed to the Wenlock River) for the 13km<sup>2</sup> around Bairdsville. Indigenous people later killed Baird while he and two other men were digging the claim in 1896 (Jack 1922:704). Gold mining ceased in the region for a number of years, but later prospecting led to the significant discovery of gold in 1910 at Plutoville, by an Indigenous man named Pluto. This became known as the ‘upper camp’ of the Batavia Goldfields and led to a small rush to the area, while in 1915 the nearby discovery of gold by Pluto’s Indigenous wife Kitty Pluto led to the founding of the ‘lower camp’ (Batavia/Wenlock Goldfields) (Fisher 1998:13). The Batavia/Wenlock Goldfield would later become one of the most productive in the Cape York Peninsula during the Depression era and was a large employer (Church 1946).

Previous archaeological work in Cape York Peninsula has generally focused on coastal areas. Colonial era studies focus on the mining industry and mission related activity in the broader region (Lennon and Pearce 1996, Morrison et al. 2010, 2015), while pre-colonial studies tend to focus on shell mounds (Morrison 2010) and some lithic studies (Holden 1999; Shiner et al. 2018). The expansion of various forms of industry, including pastoralism and mining, are generally recognised as crucial to understanding the colonial past, yet there exists a significant gap in the recording of these sites within Cape York Peninsula. Previous colonial era Indigenous archaeological studies in the northern region of the Cape York Peninsula have had a particular focus on community-based archaeological work (Greer 1995, 1999, 2009, 2010; McIntyre-Tamwoy 1998; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2001), with some focus on the impact of unregulated tourism in the area (McIntyre-Tamwoy and Harrison 2004). Generally, this work has focused on the Indigenous community at Injinoo, cultural landscapes and community-based archaeologies.

The western Cape York Peninsula has given rise to a number of archaeological studies that focus on pre-colonial archaeology (Bailey 1975; 1977; 1983; 1994; 1999; Bailey and Cribb 1994; Cribb 1986, 1996; Morrison 2003; Shiner and Morrison 2009). In the south eastern Cape York Peninsula archaeological work into both colonial and pre-colonial periods has been conducted covering a wide range of issues (Beaton 1985; Cole 2004, 2010; Cole et al. 2002; Morwood 1995a, 1995b; Morwood and Dagg 1995; Morwood and Hobbs 1995a; Morwood and Hobbs 1995b; Morwood and Jung 1995; Morwood and L'Oste-Brown 1995). A number of archaeological projects focusing specifically on the colonial era are based on the western coast of the Peninsula and have studied CMTs (culturally modified trees) and mission sites, providing a comparative foundation for the current study (Morrison and Shepard 2013; Morrison et al. 2010; Morrison et al. 2012; Morrison et al. 2015).

There is, however, a substantial gap in the archaeological record regarding the central northern Cape York Peninsula, as little substantial archaeological fieldwork has been conducted within this area with the exception of Morrison (2015), who assessed several rock art shelters in the region. This gap was identified by Della-Sale (2013), who completed a study that adopted a historical documentary approach to understanding the role of pastoralism, mining and telegraph stations in cross-cultural

interactions. Della-Sale's (2013) work showed evidence of a concentration of historical references to Indigenous exploitation of European stock or infrastructure in the Cape York Peninsula during the 1890s. However, this study also indicated that the gap in the archaeological record was not only a geographic one but showed how little attention has been paid to the archaeological potential within the study area.

## **Theoretical Context**

One of the major issues with broader understandings of the colonial period of Australia's past is the Eurocentric position of much of the historical and ethnographic records. This provides archaeology with an opportunity to contribute a different perspective to this narrative which is not available elsewhere. This project will capitalise upon this opportunity to synthesise archaeological evidence with historical and ethnographic material. This evidence will then be used to explore the cross-cultural relations between Indigenous people and European settlers within the central northern region of the Cape York Peninsula.

Importantly, the term Indigenous is used throughout this thesis, as this term is used to describe the pre-European colonial inhabitants of several places, including the USA and Australia. This distinction assists in the broader theoretical discussion of cross-cultural interaction within colonialism. However, when referring to the specific Indigenous people that belong to the Country in the study area, Kuuku I'yu is used. At times ethnographic and historical sources will use the term Kaanju, to avoid confusion when referring this research, the term Kaanju is repeated.

According to Harrison (2005), the area of Indigenous and non-Indigenous archaeology in Australia saw a rapid expansion in the early to mid 2000s, with contributions by a number of researchers (Murray 2004; Torrence and Clarke 2000; Williamson and Harrison 2002). Initially, this expansion has shifted dominant research paradigms away from Eurocentric perspectives on settler history, and towards the principles of 'shared histories' (Murray 1996, 2002; Harrison 2005). Harrison (2004a:38) argued that there is a:

...need for two interrelated avenues of research in archaeology in Australia; the 'shared' (cross-cultural) histories and archaeologies of post 1788 Australia, and the relationship between these shared places and the long-term (pre) historic trajectories of Aboriginal Australia.

Murray (1993:1) stresses that the building of theory 'becomes all the more important in the field of contact archaeology', and offers the notion that the value of 'contact' sites 'stems from their status as places where a shared history between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal began' (Murray 1993:9). This idea of 'shared histories' and later 'shared landscapes' (Harrison 2004b) was particularly influential within the discipline in the 1990s and early 2000s. This thesis aims to build upon this idea but contends that for Australian archaeologies to be truly shared then we need to recognise the asymmetrical power relationships inherent in cross-cultural interactions and practices (Smith and Jackson 2006). Consequently, for archaeology to contribute to this decolonising agenda, the outcomes need to be mutually produced through cooperative or collaborative research programs that benefit Indigenous communities. This approach to decolonising archaeology is outlined by Gonzalez (2006). Importantly, Gonzalez (2006:388) also discusses the use of praxis, or theoretically informed action, as an avenue for people to decolonise both themselves and the structures around them. This thesis sits within a decolonising agenda and utilises praxis to support and contribute to spaces of representation (Lefebvre 1991), where Indigenous people symbolically (or actually) reclaim and conceptualise these spaces and places. This form of social space also needs to be recognised through co-operative and collaborative approaches to understanding, researching and constructing the past to produce a more balanced version of our colonial history with the objective of producing a truly shared present and future.

In keeping with Jordan (2015), the term cultural contact will not be used within this thesis, as this term does little for the discussion of intercultural dynamics and grossly underestimates the power discrepancy between the 'contactor' and the 'contacted' (see also Byrne 1996, Panyter 2000). Silliman (2005a:62) considers that the use of the term 'contact' perpetuates major issues underpinning the assumptions behind 'culture contact' archaeology as it 'downplay(s) colonial relations of power, inequality, domination, and oppression'.

Cultural entanglement is a term that implies the intertwining of two opposing forces or cultures, a mingling of two almost equally powerful groups (Gosden 2004). Within cultural entanglements, mutual influence is unavoidable and it is impossible to tell which group maintains ultimate control (Jordan 2009). This term describes the ‘intercultural processes of relative political-economic parity’ (Jordan 2015:15) and the use of it is based on the earlier work of Dietler (2010) and Alexander (1998). This aligns with Thomas (1991:88), who describes the early phases of colonial entanglements as being part of Indigenous political agendas. Thomas (1991:205) emphasises the importance of power relationships within cultural entanglements and comments that one of his stated aims was to move away from metaphors of a one-way ‘impact’, noting that each culture undoubtedly had an effect upon the other. Dominating recent discussions of entanglements in anthropology and archaeology, Hodder (2011, 2012) considers the entanglement of humans and things. This important discussion of material culture, people and the various permutations of dependency and agency, is not used within this thesis as it does not encapsulate the entanglement of different cultures and their varied power relations as discussed by Thomas (1991) and Deitler (2010). Hodder’s (2011:158) observation that things depend on other things, is however, of some relevance to this thesis as the relationship between sites and artefacts is used to understand the production of space. However, Hodder (2011) does little to help expand the discussion of Indigenous invisibility in the archaeological record.

Although the European expansion into the inland of Cape York Peninsula had a dramatic effect on the Indigenous inhabitants of the region, this was not a sudden and complete form of cultural dominance. A good example within the study area was the Kuuku I’yu people’s ability to oppose various forms of European social power through the persistence of cultural aspects such as language, law and lifeways. This framework of persistence within colonial encounters is used in this thesis rather than a framework of resistance, as ‘colonial encounters produced more than Indigenous loss and European gain, and “resistance” does not adequately address the tensions and contingencies of colonialism’ (Schneider 2015:698). As Panich (2013:105) argues, by researching the archaeologies of persistence at varying scales, both within daily practices and long-term processes [it] can provide insights into the ‘interconnected nature of continuity and change in Indigenous polities and identity.’

Colonialism is understood within this study from a number of perspectives, however, an important aspect of this term is the substantial power discrepancy between the colonised and the colonisers. At this point, it is also integral to consider that colonialism is part of a process that is essentially extractive in nature and encourages (and in fact demands) the exploitation of both labour and resources, and the consequences that follow, including dispossession and economic marginalisation for those who are not in control of the extraction process. The definition of colonialism that will be adopted in this study is outlined by Deitler (2010:18), who describes it as ‘... the projects and practices of control marshalled in interactions between societies linked in asymmetrical relations of power and the processes of social and cultural transformation...’. Colonialism within this thesis is considered to be part of the long-term process of the expansion of the power and influence of capitalism, evident not only in the physical bodies of the occupiers, but also industries, language, diseases, tools and material culture.

Frontiers have been a major focus of research into the European exploration and settlement of Australia. Crucially, a frontier is an idea that is premised on a static conception of economic, racial and political factors. Consequently, the current study agrees with Godwin (2001:116), who argues for a ‘dynamic view of the frontier that takes account of patterns of settlement, in this case seeing it as a mosaic of small solids and larger voids, without a definable zone of tension.’ This understanding is built upon by Byrne (2003), who utilizes Merlan’s (1998) concept of a permeable landscape to explore colonial cross-cultural interaction and parallel Aboriginal landscapes within the rigid cadastral planning of rural Australia. Although often represented differently by dominant colonial forces, in reality frontiers are fluid in nature and finding traces in the archaeological record is often difficult, yet this effort can be complemented through anthropological and historical research.

This thesis will critically analyse social space through the development of archaeological, historical and ethnographic datasets as a way of understanding how the spaces that society produces and inhabits articulates with other spaces. Lefebvre (1991) considers social space to be conceptualised and constructed within the framework of three major areas: spatial practices (physical spaces), represented

spaces (conceptual spaces) and spaces of representation (lived spaces). Importantly, social spaces are continually produced and re-produced by each society in relation to the forces of production and its inhabitants. Lefebvre (1991:116) notes that ‘space is neither a “subject” nor an “object” but rather a social reality – that is to say, a set of relations and forms’. As a result, Lefebvre’s (1991) conceptualisation of social space considers its production as being based within both social and economic spheres. These social relations are understood within this framework as ‘concrete abstractions, [which] have no real existence save in and through space. *Their underpinning is spatial.*’ (Lefebvre 1991:404, Italics in original). The term space (Lefebvre 1991) rather than place (Casey 1996) is used in this thesis as this schema allows for a discussion of the production of different forms of social space, their economic and social interconnection and the tensions that arise between these different forms of space. The use of Lefebvre (1991) to consider spatial practices and spaces of representation allows for a critical discussion of the tensions between these two forms of space. In turn, this allows the discussion of spaces of representation to go beyond the material, ethnographic, historical and spatial records of the past and consider the current decolonising project of the Kuuku I’yu.

The major issue confronted within this thesis concerns the colonial past of Australia, particularly in the Cape York Peninsula and focusses on our lack of understanding of the relations between colonisers and the colonised. These relations were varied and complex. With the exception of fluctuating populations during different gold rushes and WWII, the study area has never supported a large colonial era population. This has caused several issues, which are also common in other rural regions in Australia, including a perpetual shortage of labour. What is unique in this area of the Cape York Peninsula is not the existence of multiple examples of Indigenous people working for white settlers in a range of capacities (sandalwood harvesting, mining, household domestic labour and within the pastoral industry), but also of Indigenous led gold discoveries and Indigenous owned and worked mining endeavours. The research problem, however, exists in discovering how these cross-cultural relations intersect through physical, cultural, economic and colonial spaces. Importantly, these social spaces are based on the attempted genocide of Indigenous Australians and later ‘structural forgetfulness’ (Dirk 2004; Stanner 1969). Oversimplifying these cultural entanglements can serve to perpetuate several other colonial myths, including the



assumption that Indigenous people were powerless, eradicated from the landscape, and that those who survived now lack cultural authenticity (Harrison and Williamson 2002; Williamson 2004a).

The colonial expansion that occurred in Queensland during the 19<sup>th</sup> century increased cross-cultural entanglements between Europeans and Indigenous people within the greater region. This, in turn, precipitated a power differential between Indigenous people and Europeans that resulted in the European ‘conquest’ of the Indigenous landscape within the region (Loos 1982), and more broadly within colonial Australia (Reynolds 1981). As various people have made use of the Wenlock region, they have over time produced unique spaces, resulting in a layered and complex cultural landscape.

The archaeological record provides an excellent opportunity, when combined with historical and anthropological materials, to explore these cultural landscapes. Crucially, archaeology can, provide useful insight into the subaltern perspective that is often lacking within other sources of evidence from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Archaeological sites and artefacts provide excellent opportunities to investigate the cross-cultural interaction between Indigenous people and Europeans. However, within the material culture of these colonial era archaeological sites and artefacts it is often difficult to differentiate between the colonised and the coloniser. In this study, this difficulty will be addressed through the analysis of produced social spaces and places. Consequently, an approach utilising landscape archaeology is adopted within this study and is defined as ‘the places that are meaningful to people, and ... the archaeology of that meaningfulness’ (David and Thomas 2008:38). It is the projection of these meanings upon the landscape that is ultimately what produces spaces and places within a social context.

## **Research Question**

This thesis will investigate the broader research problem of decolonising archaeology, which exists in understanding how cross-cultural relations intersect through physical, cultural, economic and colonial spaces. It will do this by researching cultural

landscapes and by analysing the labour used to produce social spaces. This problem will be addressed through answering the following question:

How did the Indigenous and European use of space and place change over time at the Wenlock Goldfields and what does this reveal about cross-cultural relations?

The following aims assist in answering this research question:

1. Document Indigenous-settler relations by identifying the location of archaeological sites and artefacts in order to discuss the changing nature of the relations between Europeans and Indigenous people.
2. Analyse archaeological, ethnographic and historical data to consider Indigenous-settler relations and their impact on Indigenous lifeways.
3. Draw on the resultant data to expand the interpretation of the Indigenous and European use and creation of social space.

## **Thesis Overview**

This thesis will utilise the key theoretical framework and relevant previous research as discussed within Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will introduce the study area while taking into account the environment, climate, geology and regional histories. Chapter 4 is an ethnohistorical investigation of the Kuuku I'yu which allows for a greater depth of discussion in regard to social and cultural change in the region and the production of pre-colonial social space. The historical documentary methodology and results (represented spaces) are discussed in Chapter 5. Outlined in Chapter 6 are the archaeological research approaches taken and the limitations of this study. Chapter 7 outlines the archaeological results (spatial practices) for this thesis. The results of the spatial analysis are then discussed in Chapter 8, which also provides an overall summary of the key trends in the data. These results are then discussed (Chapter 9) in relation to the research question through the use of Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation of the construction of social spaces, addressing the aims and objectives of the study. The conclusion then distils these arguments and suggests directions for future research.

This study is significant as it is the first archaeological field investigation to consider and compare the role of cross-cultural relations across the colonial frontier of central northern Cape York Peninsula. This is achieved through the analysis of social relations within the Wenlock region and considers how the continued production of these spaces changed throughout the colonial process. This study also undertakes a substantial systematic archaeological survey of this region and synthesises the historical and ethnohistorical material. This thesis considers that to achieve a truly shared heritage within the study area, Indigenous thinkers need to be involved in the creation of future research projects, consequently portions of this study are premised upon Kuuku I'yu spaces of representation. In turn, the future production of these spaces has the potential to create spaces of representation (or emancipated social space). It is the production of these spaces that create room to move the study of heritage and archaeology more completely towards a decolonising agenda within the region and more widely.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework used in this thesis, including the development of colonial archaeologies and the archaeology of Indigenous colonial Australia. In doing so this thesis expands the discussion of cross-cultural relations in the Wenlock region and explores how European and Indigenous interaction changed through the production of social space as different cultural groups, practices and industries gained prominence and diverse social spaces in the Wenlock region were produced.

Australian historical archaeology has, for some time, been characterised as having a strong focus on European heritage and contributing very little to the awareness and recording of Indigenous historical places (Byrne 1996; Connah 1988:155-156). However, since the 1990s there has been a growing awareness of the multiple effects of colonialism. Williamson (2004b) was critical of the previous colonial writing of Indigenous history in Australia and discussed the colonial authoritarian role that history and archaeology have played in defining Indigenous authenticity. She suggested that the main challenge facing archaeologists investigating Indigenous history is the integration and synthesis of both historical and archaeological sources. This challenge is due to an imbalance in European and Indigenous histories and the invisible nature of ethnicity in colonial archaeology. However, this thesis contends that this can be partially addressed through a greater understanding of the tensions between produced social spaces in a colonial context and more nuanced analysis of cultural landscapes rather than a focus on particular sites or artefact types.

There has been a significant shift in the theory and practice of historical archaeology that stems, in part, from work conducted in North America (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Silliman 2005b, 2010). The Australian political climate, however, with some parallels to other new world countries, has produced its own shift in the theory and practice of historical archaeology. This shift has seen a move towards the integration of intangible heritage, oral histories, community perspectives and cultural landscapes with Indigenous community ownership and interpretation of the past (Birmingham and Wilson 2010; Smith and Jackson 2006; Williamson and Harrison

2002). Within the Australian context this shift has also seen an increase in the recording of Indigenous historical places and a broader interpretation of their significance (Byrne 1996; Harrison 2004a; Lilley 2000; Murray 1996; Williamson 2004a).

## **Cultural Contact, Entanglements and Colonialism in Archaeology**

The concept of ‘contact’ in archaeology holds considerably less intellectual weight than it once did, and this study will not utilise the term. Instead this thesis follows Jordan’s (2015) logical progression from Silliman’s (2005a) work and omits the term altogether. Apart from eschewing contact, Jordan (2015) also argues that the term colonialism is overused, particularly in situations where the power imbalance is not severe enough, and suggests a paring back of this idea. Jordan (2015:115) suggests a two tiered approach to cross-cultural engagements: entanglements and colonialism, where ‘entanglement is not intended to act as a *replacement* for colonialism... but as a complementary conceptual tool that encourages scholars to explore Indigenous sovereignty and agency more deeply.’

Paterson (2008) disagrees with Silliman (2005a) in an Australian context and argues that the term ‘culture contact’ is of value, as the definition of colonialism is often changing and cites Gosden’s (2004) broad definition to support this argument. Paterson (2008:10) notes, however, that in time, the term ‘contact’ may become ‘outmoded’. With the development of theory in this area of archaeology, for example Jordan (2015), Paterson’s prediction is coming to fruition. Importantly, the nuances of the different forms of inequality between Indigenous Australians and Europeans can be better understood through a model of cross-cultural interaction that incorporates cultural entanglements and colonialism, rather than contact and colonialism.

The term entanglement in archaeology originates with Thomas (1991:88), who used it to describe colonial engagements in the Pacific. In this context, Thomas described Indigenous and European entanglements as being grounded not in Indigenous naiveté regarding the intentions of the colonisers, but instead in Indigenous political agendas. Thomas’ concept of entanglement, therefore, maintains that there is an element of

asymmetrical power relations and Indigenous agency based upon exchange and military force in these early cross-cultural encounters.

The discussion of entanglement is concerned with material culture as a way to interpret cultural integration and change (Gosden 2004; Hodder 2012). Cultural entanglement is a term that implies the intertwining of opposing forces or cultures, a mingling of almost equally powerful groups (Alexander 1998; Dietler 2010). Dietler (2010:74) uses the term entanglement to describe the process of consumption that links different societies together and notes that there are:

... both intended and unintended consequences, which must be a major focus of analysis. I describe these consequences, in general, as a process of entanglement that links societies together in colonial relationships in a variety of different ways (cultural, political and economic).

Consequently, it is important to recognise that material culture is a part of the colonial process. Gosden (2004:7-8) recognises that a 'greater feel for the material nature of relations is needed' as the archaeological record can reflect this aspect of cultural entanglement. This view is supported by Hodder (2011, 2012), who discusses at length the entanglement, dependency and agency of people and things.

Fundamentally, this perspective is opposed by Deitler (2010:20) who argues that 'one must be careful not to fetishize material culture in such a way that relations between people become mystified as relations between objects and people'. It is through such mystification that Indigenous people are rendered invisible in the colonial archaeological record of the colonial period, as they no longer may have used exclusively pre-colonial objects and technologies. Crucially, Thomas (1991) and Deitler (2010) discuss entanglement as a cross-cultural phenomenon in relation to the power dynamics between cultures, as an interaction that takes place within Indigenous political agendas.

Colonialism is defined by several important factors, not the least of which is a significant power discrepancy between the colonised and the colonisers. It is important to consider that colonialism is a process, rather than as a singular event (Macfarlane 2010; Silliman 2005a). Key factors in this colonial power discrepancy are the removal to barriers to gain control of labour and resources, the dispossession

of land and economic marginalisation (Gosden 2004; Silliman 2005a). Alexander (1998) agrees with Dietler (2010:18) and considers that the overall framework of colonisation, entanglement and exchange is based on the premise that power differentials between groups exist with respect to the control of resources. The current study supports the definition of the term as outlined by Alexander (1998:485) as:

... an asymmetrical form of interaction in which there is an extreme difference in political and military power held by the colonizers and ... the colonized. The political economy of the colonizers can usually be characterized as a bureaucratic, territorial state... where the political and economic organization of colonized groups, however, is variable and structured such that military and political power is not mobilized with equivalent efficiency.

So, in the current study, the process of colonialism is interpreted as essentially extractive, where resources are exploited, human or otherwise. Consequently, colonialism is understood to produce a form of social space which reflects this extractive process and this space can assist in understanding how Indigenous and European use of the region has changed over time.

## **Space**

Macfarlane (2010:356) argues that ‘no thing is only one thing, and no place is only one place.’ The same argument can be applied to overlapping forms of socially constructed spaces that are experienced from multiple perspectives. This is expressed by Strang (1997:36) at a level that applies to landscape and the environment as ‘one land but multiple visions of that land, multiple understandings, multiple landscapes.’ Thinking of the Wenlock region as more than just one place, and more than just one space, with a multi-layered and complicated past, raises questions around how these spaces are produced through time and how they interact and intersect with one another. This perspective is crucial to understanding how the socially produced space in the Wenlock region that was created by Indigenous people, Europeans and their interactions result in various complementary and aversive tensions.

Place plays a significant role in Australian landscape archaeology and is a fundamental concept within the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter 2013:2), which defines it as ‘...a geographically defined area. It may include elements, objects, spaces and views. Place may have tangible and intangible dimensions.’ This general understanding of place will be used in this thesis.

Modern thinkers (Brown 2014; Casey 1996; Escobar 2001) in heritage studies, anthropology and philosophy have used the concept of place to assist in our understanding of how we construct our worlds within time and space through a vantage point that positions both ourselves and what we value within it. This social construction of place is complemented by Lefebvre’s (1991) explanation of social spaces. Specifically, Casey’s (1996) discussion of place is not used as the primary theoretical framework for this thesis as the strength of Lefebvre’s (1991) tripartite production of space, is that it demonstrates tensions between different forms of social space in order to highlight the power discrepancy between these spaces. Lefebvre’s framework also allows for a synthesis of these spaces, one which can be incorporated into a broader decolonising agenda. Crucially, Lefebvre (1991:76) argues that the construction of space occurs through the process of a place being laboured on, in other words, social spaces are always produced by those who construct them. This means that a space is modified by labour and imbued with meaning by cultures (Susen 2013).

This thesis uses a cultural landscape approach to consider how these spaces and places have been constructed. Torrence’s (2002:766) definition of cultural landscapes as places that have been consciously modified and the ways in which ‘the role of the individuals who conceptualised these spaces are actively created and modified by them in specific ways.’ This basic definition encapsulates this approach well and is complemented by Bradley (2011:46) who comments that in general, a cultural landscape approach tries to demonstrate how people make use of their environment, and how it can provide evidence of cultural practices and act as repositories for cultural knowledge. This approach is an attempt to move away from western centred views of static landscapes and attempts to break down the artificial barrier between cultural and natural landscapes (Harrison 2015, Meskell 2011). This merger of the terms natural and cultural landscapes is an attempt to break down these isolated terms



to facilitate more integrated wholistic understandings of how people articulate with the environment. Byrne et al. (2013:5) comment that as this divide is now widely recognised ‘we are in a better position than ever before to transcend the culture-nature divide in protected areas, and indeed elsewhere, because we know more about where this dualism comes from and how it has been operationalised.’ However, in terms of the day to day management of many landscapes the reality (particularly funding and training) demands that they be treated separately. In theory, this merger of cultural and natural landscapes generally draws on ‘a phenomenological perspective: a much more fluid and dynamic view of human-environmental interaction, which focused on human experiences of “being-in-the-world”’ (Strang 2008:32). Ross (2008:101) summarises this flexible understanding of cultural landscapes as a ‘negotiation with sentient landscapes, and particularly places that are highly significant and highly spiritual, is an ongoing and evolving process that requires constant “resurrection” and renewal’.

Similarly, this two-way interaction, development and negotiation of social space are discussed by Susen (2013:334) who argues that ‘Social spaces have the power to constrain and alter human actions, just as actions have the capacity to shape and transform social spaces’. It is these power relations that are reflected in social spaces, that is of interest in this thesis, as they contribute to the broader discussion of human agency. Human geographer Merrifield (1993:520) considers the relationship between space and place using Lefebvre’s framework and argues that:

... the material landscape (as fixed capital) is produced, of necessity as a thing in place and becomes imbued with meaning in everyday place-bound social practices. But this physical and social landscape emerges through processes that are simultaneously operative over varying spatial and temporal scales and may have a broader significance within the whole — that is, they are operative over the domain of space.

Merrifield’s point that the production of material and social landscapes operates over various chronological and spatial scales is important to the current study, as it relates to the examination of colonialism as a process within the production of social spaces. To build upon Merrifield’s argument that the examination of this process within social spaces can also be significant to a broader whole implies that this analysis may be of use in other colonial contexts.

Lefebvre's interpretation of space is the key conceptual framework used in this thesis and will allow for the further discussion of labour, colonialism and entanglement. Crucial to the foundation of this discussion of social space is Lefebvre's (1991) use of the term production. This is based on the premise that people are more than their economic sum and what differentiates humanity from other mammals is our ability to construct cultural, social and economic forms that are beyond our natural world. This form of production is explained by Susen (2013:337):

In other words, the construction of social relations depends, at once, on the creation of spatial relations and on the formation of economic relations. Just as comprehensive studies of social production must address the question of space, critical accounts of space need to reflect upon the conditions of social production.

This broad definition of production considers that all of society, identity and history are constructed. Lefebvre (1991:68) agrees and notes 'There is nothing, in history or society which does not have to be achieved or produced.' Therefore, these social spaces are then produced and reproduced in relation to the forces of production (the physical means and techniques of production that labourers add value to and that are used to transform capital into products). Notably, during this process these forms of social space are transformed into commodities themselves.

According to Lefebvre (1991) culturally produced spaces are places which have been physically and conceptually transformed, and the crucial interaction between these terms is encompassed in cultural landscapes. Lefebvre (1991:77) considers that the construction of society is linked to the production of space. Crucially, Lefebvre (1991:31) argues that every society produces its own space, which in turn means that change in societies can be understood through interpreting alterations within their produced spaces. Consequently, every construction of social space has its own unique history, just as history is produced through the construction of social space (Susen 2013:343). Lefebvre (1991:110) explains that 'every social space is an outcome of a process... every social space has a history.' This historical understanding of how social space can be produced is critical to understanding how social spaces in the

Wenlock have always been in a process of creation and change, from pre-colonial times until the present.

As a conceptual tool applied to archaeology, the analysis of social spaces provides a framework from which to consider cross-cultural interaction, as this process does not occur in a vacuum. This approach to social space makes the exploration of the evidence of colonialism and cross-cultural interactions a neat conceptual fit regarding the unavoidable power relationships (for example inclusivity and exclusivity) inherent in the creation of space (Simmel 1997 [1903]).

Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space* is based within a Hegelian dialectic where a thesis is proposed, an antithesis is argued, and a third perspective synthesises the two. However, when only a singular or dual analysis of space is used, it becomes easy to fall into the same trap that numerous human geographers have, that of only using the first two forms of space (spatial practices and representational spaces) and not considering the third (spaces of representation) (Soja 1996:10). Subsequently, the inherent conflict between how the first two forms of space are produced is then not synthesised.

The first part of Lefebvre's notion of space is spatial practices, which refer to the production of social space that is predominantly physical or material in nature (Lefebvre 1991:38). Consequently, the analysis of this form of social space is a neat conceptual fit for archaeology, as this allows for the analysis of how 'the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space' (Lefebvre 1991:38). When these spatial practices are interpreted via the analysis of the material culture of a society can be better understood, as can the interactions between different social groups. 'Spatial practices refer to physical and material flows of individuals, groups or commodities: social circulations, transfers and interactions that occur in and across space' (Susen 2013:337). The use of this idea in a colonial context is an appropriate analytical tool as Lefebvre (1991:38) describes spatial practices being created by the society that 'produces [them] slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates [them]'. Accordingly, changes across time in the production of these spaces (for instance the introduction of colonial technologies) can be interpreted

within the archaeological record of the landscape, in the current study the production of culturally modified trees (CMTs) is an appropriate example.

Lefebvre's second form of space are represented spaces, which is understood as the dominant space within any society (Lefebvre 1991:38). These are conceptualised spaces that may take numerous forms including: maps, histories, stories and artwork. Building upon this Susen (2013:40) argues that 'every social order is a spatial order', and this order is reflected in how these spaces are represented. Representations of space are the imagined jurisdictions of those groups in a society who have the power to monitor and control the territorial organisation of society (Susen 2013:40). The analysis of this form of space allows for some insight into how these dominant spaces have been conceived. All of these representations reflect different manifestations of the creation of social space and mirror various types and levels of political dominance and economic production. An excellent example of this is the renaming of the Australian landscape during the colonial era (Carter 1987), a practice that occurred in other parts of the 'New World' including north America (Oliver 2011). Importantly, colonial era maps can be interpreted as being a represented space that is produced as a form of propaganda to expand and cement a political and cultural ideal of dominance.

Lefebvre's (1991:39) third space is defined as the 'spaces of representation', which synthesises the tensions inherent within the previous two forms of social space. Spaces of representation are considered to be the spaces which are inhabited (lived in) or actually used in the present. The creation of this form of space is based upon the symbolic and imaginary elements within the history of the people or the individuals that occupy this physical space. This form of social space also has the potential to be an emancipatory space or space of freedom that enables social actors to challenge the legitimacy of established social spaces (Susen 2013:338).

Because spaces of representation are produced by the users of this space, Lefebvre (1991) also describes them as spaces that are occupied by ethnologists, anthropologists and other social analysts. Despite this, Lefebvre criticises social analysts for often neglecting the importance of represented spaces (how space is represented by the dominant social order) and even ignoring spatial practices (physical spaces). However, as Susen (2013:338) argues, social spaces are both

situated in the physical world and are also a product of what is culturally constructed. So, it is through the synthesis of the previous two forms of space (spatial practices and represented spaces) within spaces of representation that the tensions inherent between these spaces become evident. However, it is important to note that ‘relations between three moments of the perceived, conceived and the lived [spatial practices, represented spaces and spaces of representation] are never either simple or stable’ (Lefebvre 1991:46).

In the current study these tensions, between produced social spaces and how they change, outline the asymmetrical power interactions evident in cross-cultural relations within the Wenlock region. Crucially however, the Wenlock region is also used as an example of an emancipated space, evidenced by an Indigenous clan map of the region (Chuulangun 2010) (Figure 110).

### **Archaeologies of Social Space**

Lefebvre’s (1991) reading of Marx’s materialist dialectic through his ‘spatial triad’ adds complexity to the conceptualisation of the production of space. Several archaeologists have focussed on colonial contexts using a similar understanding in order to examine social relations. In an examination of the social space of Jamaican coffee plantations Delle (2011) uses the concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1977) to explore the power relationships between plantation owners and slaves. His discussion of social relationships in space considers the historical archaeology of plantation houses themselves and the need to communicate across distances to take a defensive position in the case of a slave uprising. Delle’s discussion further considers the spatial relationships between plantation houses to explain the power relationships between plantation owners and slaves by using Foucault’s (1977) panopticon and the threat of possible punishment through concealed observation.

Silliman (2010) utilises Lefebvre’s (1991) concept of space to consider the question: ‘How do we recover Indigenous traces from colonial spaces in a way that captures the diverse experiences of past people, and, similarly, how do we represent those experiences in the present?’ (Silliman 2010:29). He points out the ambiguities of the

spatial analysis of Indigenous archaeological features and considers a new approach to the investigation of an early colonial example using the ideas of space, practice and labour. He contends that there has been ‘an overemphasis on cultural relations at the expense of labor relations; and a prioritization of the origins of artifacts and spaces over their multiple uses and meanings in practice.’ (Silliman 2010:30). His study utilises three examples from Florida, California and New England to consider how cross-cultural labour relationships were integral to the archaeological understanding of colonial spaces. Silliman (2010) uses Lefebvre’s (1991) concept of space to analyse objects and spaces in colonial encounters. This is based within spaces of representation and considers these spaces as ‘The user’s space is lived – not represented (or conceived). When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say, subjective’ (Lefebvre 1991: 362). This moves the focus of archaeological discussions of spaces and objects away from dominant spaces to actual used or lived spaces, that often hide subaltern narratives from archaeological discourse.

The spatial separation of coloniser and colonised is discussed in an Australian context by Byrne (2003). This article considers how the movement of Indigenous Australians through the NSW landscape was controlled or constrained by European pastoralists. Conversely, Byrne also considers how Indigenous Australians subverted this through the use of space to create a counter cadastral grid that overlayed the colonial cadastral system of a surveyed and ‘domesticated’ landscape. Byrne (2003) also considers the use of spatial practices as a tool of control within the industrialisation of Europe and also explores the exclusion of Europe’s gypsies from public places as having parallels with the spatial practices of colonial Australia.

In an account of the use of space as a form of resistance to colonial control, Lydon (2003) describes the spatial strategies used by colonists on a Victorian Aboriginal Reserve. Lydon sees these as taking a form of disciplinary control or gaze (Foucault 1977). The Indigenous resistance to this control is also explored as a continuation of pre-colonial practices, such as collective and kin-based decision-making and authority. Lydon (2009) explores European colonial strategies through a dialectic with the landscape that was intended to create order and teach Indigenous people to live

like Europeans. This creation of an imagined 'civilising' space is explored in order to discuss the discrepancy between the European ideal and the actual outcomes of introducing missions and the colonial process in Victoria. Lydon and Ash (2010) discuss Australian missions as important spaces of colonial interaction and argue that they are still places of significance for Indigenous communities. Lydon and Ash broaden the discussion from Lydon's earlier work and use the idea of space to discuss colonial and interethnic power relationships within mission sites across Australia and New Zealand.

The idea of shared landscapes and histories strives to redress the imbalance of the colonial historical archaeological narrative in Australia (Harrison 2004b). The purpose behind Harrison's (2004b) work builds upon the ideas of Murray (1993, 1996) and should be considered to be of unique importance to the creation of a more balanced and collaborative version of the Australian past. His inclusion of Indigenous voices and histories from within the pastoral industry in NSW is an important step towards a truly shared history. Harrison (2004b:5) comments that:

In using the terms 'shared histories' and 'shared heritage', I want to emphasise the way in which Aboriginal and settler Australians have been engaged in a process of negotiated, intersecting histories. These intertwined histories have led to the development of distinct ways of seeing and understanding the landscape and each other.

This approach has a number of merits and recognises the role of Indigenous agency in the formation of intersecting historical and archaeological colonial narratives. It also recognises that heritage studies can add Indigenous voices to classical historical accounts of the past. However, it does not explicitly recognise the historical and colonial basis for archaeological enquiry, making it difficult to move beyond this dynamic. Harrison (2004b:11) utilizes the ideas of Soja (1996) to interpret landscape as 'simultaneously real and imagined so that the object of study becomes the meaning of the spatiality of human life.' This approach to landscape allows the researcher to explore the everyday lives of people inhabiting these spaces and their direct experiences of these spaces. However, by using Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace' the tensions in how spaces are produced are emphasised less than by using Lefebvre's (1991) original three-part approach to social spaces. In a colonial context, the tension

between how these spaces are produced and relate are crucial to understanding how the power dynamic between the coloniser and the colonised is exploited and also how this dynamic has the potential to change.

Soja (1996) adapts Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space* by combining his interpretation of this work with Foucault and other theorists such as Bhabha (1994) and applies these ideas to the field of human geography to create 'Thirdspace'. This becomes an all-encompassing theory of space and almost everything (Soja 1996: 56–57):

Everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and unconsciousness, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history.

Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace' is much more expansive than Lefebvre's (1991) 'Spaces of Representation', and some critics note that the theoretical elements introduced by Lefebvre (1991) become significantly simplified by Soja (Shields 1999). This is evident in how Lefebvre's (1991) 'Spaces of Representation' are framed as 'gerunds, action words that denoted both an achieved state of affairs and, at the same time, an ongoing process' (Shields 1999:341). This process is absorbed into Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace'. Without the analysis of Lefebvre's (1991) previous two forms of space (spatial practices and represented spaces), or the tension between them, the ongoing process that produces spaces of representation, in this context Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace' becomes considerably less powerful. As Harrison (2004b) utilises Soja's (1996) all-encompassing 'Thirdspace', the underlying friction of power between each form of produced space in a colonial context is neglected. This tension is essential to creating a synthesis of this spatial triad and mutually producing a novel space of representation that has the capacity to be emancipatory for those who actually live within or use these spaces.

The use of the post-colonial critique in archaeology focuses on an approach to the past that is different to previous approaches through its 'self-reflexive, political dimension' (Lydon and Rizvi 2016:19). However, this approach is still based, despite



its intension, on the temporal framework of the colonial project. Thomas (1994) comments that arguments regarding colonialism's culture would be unnecessary if the discussion was taking place in a fully decolonised context. This approach builds on the ideas that the many of the problems of colonialism are still apparent in today's culture and that there is still a considerable power discrepancy between the 'colonised' and the 'coloniser', which needs to be recognised. This power discrepancy is evident in Harrison's (2004b) use of Bhabha's (1994) term 'hybridity' to describe the foundational cross-cultural relations in Australia's colonial past. Hybridity has recently faced considerable discussion in the heritage discipline (Card 2013) and elsewhere: '[S]yncretism and hybridity are academic conceptual tools providing an alibi for [a] lack of attention to politics, in a project designed to manage the cultural consequences of colonization and globalization' (Hutnyk 2005:92). Silliman's (2013:497) warning regarding the use of the term hybridity is worth considering within this context: '[w]e need precision in terminology, care in borrowing, and development in theory before hybridity will work for archaeology. It cannot be applied indiscriminately or extensionally.' Silliman (2015:278) later describes the problems associated with the use of hybridity in anthropology and archaeology and concludes that this is probably no longer a useful concept.

As heritage practitioners, we need to go well beyond simply 'sharing' our history, archaeologies and landscapes; we need to assist in an Indigenous reclaiming of Indigenous social spaces as 'spaces of representation', and work towards co-producing an emancipatory social space. These are spaces where heritage practitioners can assist, not through the setting of research agendas but through mastery of our craft, to co-produce a truly shared heritage. This can shift shared histories and landscapes more firmly to within the powerful de-colonising agenda. This shift in the archaeologies of social spaces can assist in generating a better understanding of the changes in social spaces, their production and deepen our understanding of cross-cultural relations during the colonial era.

## **Labour**

Labour is both an aspect of colonial relations and a tool of structural inequality. The

critical analysis of any social space requires the ‘uncovering [of] the social relationship (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces’ (Lefebvre 1991:90). The material remains of economic activity in the Wenlock region provide a powerful source of physical evidence that relates to the creation of social space and indicates how this space was laboured within and upon. The discussion of labour within historical Indigenous archaeology has several advantages, as Silliman (2006:160) notes: ‘by focusing on labor as a critical nexus in social and material production, historical archaeologists can heed the warnings about our disciplinary tendency to overemphasize consumption, consumerism, and boundless choice’.

The consideration of the labour used to create objects in the archaeological record allows for a shifting of the discussion from the consumption of material culture to the labour relations behind the production of objects and spaces. However, it is difficult in archaeology to step away from the relationship between people and the material record as we find it, so generally, this record is seen as a silhouette of the labour used to produce things (objects and space). Significantly, within archaeology, the lack of any distinctive material patterning or techniques related to Indigenous colonial era labour also renders Indigenous labour effectively ‘invisible’. This is because there is often no ‘smoking gun’ (Silliman 2010) artefacts indicating the presence of Indigenous people (for instance flaked glass). Consequently, in the current study, the disciplines of history, anthropology and geography are also used to complement the archaeological data. One way of understanding labour is within social spaces and how they intersect with different economic systems. These spaces often are transformed through social labour, where an elite group profits from this transformation in every way possible. In the current study, the labour required to create specific spaces is interpreted as reflecting different social groups as they alter these spaces and places to fit their economic demands.

In seeking to understand social relations between the coloniser and the colonised, this study investigates the different modes of production and the economic systems of the study area. Lefebvre (1991) describes social space as both a product to be used and consumed, but also as a means of production; networks of exchange and flows of raw materials and energy construct space and are determined by it. Consequently, the means of production, ‘cannot be separated either from the productive forces,

including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labour which shapes it' (Lefebvre 1991:85). Susen (2013:340) explains social space as not only being linked to the forces of production, but also being a precondition for their existence. This economic organisation then becomes the directing power that each society depends on to construct social spaces.

Crucial to these different modes of production are the social relations (between the coloniser and the colonised) reflected in the produced social spaces. Lefebvre (1991:46) argues that the transition 'from one mode of production to another is of the highest theoretical importance for our purposes, for it results from contradictions in the social relations of production which cannot fail to leave their mark on space and indeed revolutionize it.' An example of this transition is explored within Anderson's (1983) work in north Queensland where he discusses the relationship of tin miners with Indigenous people. In this context, the older Indigenous men controlled the labour output of the younger men and used this power to benefit from their work in the tin mines. Anderson also argues that older Indigenous men would use this power to send younger men away on fishing boats so that they could not pose a threat to their social dominance particularly regarding marriages. Anderson notes that the long-term nature of tin mining (as compared to the relatively brief gold rushes) allowed for the establishment of long-standing labour relationships between Indigenous people and European miners. Both parties often profited from these arrangements and importantly Anderson's (1983) paper highlights the agency of Indigenous people through these negotiations and sees these working agreements as a continuation of pre-European social structures. He argues that by not identifying the agency of Indigenous people (for example the elders who made a profit from the work of younger men) in the past there is a risk of only recognising a very binary understanding of Indigenous people as either 'heroes or victims' (Anderson 1983:474). Although there are few recorded examples of this form of interaction at the Wenlock region, an important question that this study considers is whether both pre-colonial and colonial means of production co-existed in this region.

Pre-colonial Indigenous social relations often utilised labour based on the age and sex (and consequently status) of the individual. Labour was used to gather and hunt for food as well as to look after children, cook, collect firewood and build habitation and

other structures (Keen 2004). However, this pre-colonial Indigenous labour system was not a simple utopian egalitarian system as there was still considerable exploitation, particularly of women and younger men. These forms of exploitation did not stop with the introduction of colonial modes of production (Anderson 1983; Sharp 1952).

In colonial Queensland, labour provided one of the most common cross-cultural intersections between Europeans and Indigenous Australians. As Silliman (2001) notes for colonial North America, at some stages Indigenous people were coerced to work, while at others they chose to labour in an opportunistic fashion. Thus, Indigenous labour arrangements changed over time, particularly due to labour shortages and as the value of resources changed. To an extent this has been true in colonial Australia as well, although often the continuing connection to traditional land was an advantage to Indigenous Australians when working for Europeans, as this allowed for the persistence of various cultural aspects such as law and language. However, this advantage did not balance out the lack of pay and allowed for the continued exploitation of Indigenous labour on a widespread scale. The structural inequality inherent in Indigenous labour relations was re-enforced by various other aspects of the colonial project, including missionaries, the Native Mounted Police and the government.

Discussions of the term labour in archaeological contexts have enabled the exploration of inequalities within various cultures, including modern labour relations (McGuire and Reckner 2002). An integral aspect of interpreting labour relations within an archaeological context is understanding ‘anthropological political economy’ (McGuire 1991, 1992; Paynter 1985). This considers traditional aspects of anthropology (class, race and gender) in relation to aspects of society and their relationship to the means of production and the economy. The concept was derived from the earlier work of Engels and was built upon by North American cultural anthropologists and has its roots in the work of the young radicals of the 1950s (Wolf 1982). These theorists sought to understand anthropology with respect to the intersection of local and global processes, which created a tension that is integral to the idea of anthropological political economy. This tension, according to McGuire (1992), must avoid explaining all change as part of local adaptation or regional

cultural histories, while also not over estimating the power of global forces. McGuire (2006:133) outlines how political economy links the ideas of class, gender and race: 'One of the key relational aspects of this theory is the premise that class exploitation entails relationships to other forms of exploitation based in other social dimensions such as gender and race.' However, these relations were not always straightforward or simple, and consequently the direct application of Marxist concepts of labour relations and class within historical Indigenous contexts also comes with a warning regarding attention to other axes of inequality aside from class (Silliman 2006:161):

Marxist perspectives on labor often resonate with strongly capitalist situations like industry and worker strikes, but they may not work as well when considering the cultural negotiations of Native Americans and other indigenous people who struggled with colonial labor regimes. We must keep in mind that labor is a multiply experienced relation and a multiply relational experience – it is not always about only class or capitalism; it can also be about bodies, gender, and identity.

This argument may be true, and in a discussion of ideology Burke (2006:132) considers that tension can exist within different aspects of social relations and argues that 'this can exist around any number of bases: between economic classes, different status groups, men and women, or colonizing and indigenous societies...'

As an aspect of social practice Silliman (2001:381) argues that labour can be understood as: 'more than a simply economic or material activity, labor must be conceptualized as social action and as a mechanism, outcome, or medium of social control and domination.' Silliman (2001) argues that labour in colonial contexts should be examined in the daily lives of workers (practice) and also within the social dynamic of those who performed it and supervised it:

... focusing on labor allows archaeologists to see the ways that administrators, overseers, capitalists, managers, and supervisors structured and often imposed labor and the ways that those laboring accommodated, resisted, made use of, and lived through labor situations (Silliman 2006:149).

Silliman (2010:29) argues that two major reasons for the complexity of interpreting archaeological sites within these contexts are 'an overemphasis on cultural relations at the expense of labor relations; and a prioritization of the origins of artefacts and

spaces over their multiple uses and meanings in practice.’ Silliman (2010:34) paraphrases McGuire (1992), who comments that labour relations do not generate the archaeological record [although] they do ‘influence and structure the interactions of individuals and the ways that they use material culture and space’. In his study, Silliman (2010:35) uses a ‘social practice’ approach that engages with the work of Bourdieu (1977). He also combines the ideas of habitus and doxa with De Certeau’s (1984) concept of tactics or ‘ruses’ that can be subversive in the use, but not the control of, space. By using De Certeau’s (1984) approach concerning material culture Silliman (2010) emphasises the ‘ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order’ (De Certeau 1984:xii-xiii). Importantly, Silliman questions the assumption that Europeans were the only people to have used European artefacts. He also notes that this essentialises the identity of the actor, reducing their perceived agency, and is part of what makes Indigenous people ‘invisible’ in the archaeological record.

Labour is explored in the archaeological and anthropological disciplines as a fulcrum to expand the discussion of various structural inequalities that are often suppressed in colonial narratives of the past. In colonial contexts these inequalities are evident beyond class distinctions and are also encapsulated within race and gender. Importantly, the discussion of these inequalities in the archaeological record enable further exploration of the narrative of the past and sheds light upon subaltern experiences. Through the critical analysis of labour within the archaeology of social spaces a deeper understanding of social relations based within circumstances of structural inequality can be reached.

### **Archaeologies of Indigenous Labour**

Indigenous labour has played a significant role in Australia’s development, particularly in remote areas. Indigenous labour has been one of Australia’s ‘hidden histories’ (Rose 1991), of which historical archaeology is a prime investigator. There are few studies of the colonial period that focus on the role of Indigenous labour in Australia’s pastoral industry. One of the overriding themes is the ability of Indigenous peoples in various regions to maintain a persistent connection to their ancestral

homelands while working for Europeans. This was particularly the case in the pastoral industry, which was often seasonal work and sometimes allowed for both a continuing connection to place and cultural persistence through a connection to pre-colonial homelands, or ‘Country’ (May 1994:87).

Head and Fullagar (1997) discuss the archaeology of interaction between Indigenous people and pastoral settlers in the Kimberley region of the Northern Territory. They consider the rapid colonial influence in the area not as a singular event, but as an ongoing process. They also explore Indigenous agency regarding employment in the pastoral industry, which is discussed in relation to Indigenous attachment to land and the seasonal nature of colonial labour obligations. Head and Fullagar’s (1997:419) study focuses on ‘components of the system of land use and resource management: the archaeological visibility of different components; resilience and propensity to change; and “hardware” and “software” aspects of technology.’ Through the analysis of flaked lithic material at the Marralam Boab site, Head and Fullagar (1997) observe that during ‘contact’ there is an increase in the production of flaked material associated with the manufacture of Kimberley points used as high value trade objects. They conclude that, although stone artefacts are the most resilient aspect of Indigenous material culture (in terms of preservation), they are also the most vulnerable to changes in the production environment.

Harrison’s (2002b) thesis in the Kimberley region in Western Australia discusses the nature of colonial archaeology and explores the material cultural record through the ideas of pastoral landscapes, work, gender, social identity and community archaeology. In a later study, Harrison (2004b) discusses the Indigenous history and archaeology of the pastoral industry in Australia, but focuses upon the context of NSW pastoralism.

Paterson’s (2008) work is based on several projects, one of which was at Strangways Springs Station in South Australia. This work explores the cultural interaction between European settlers and Indigenous people on a pastoral station using various sources, such as historical texts, oral histories and archaeological sites.

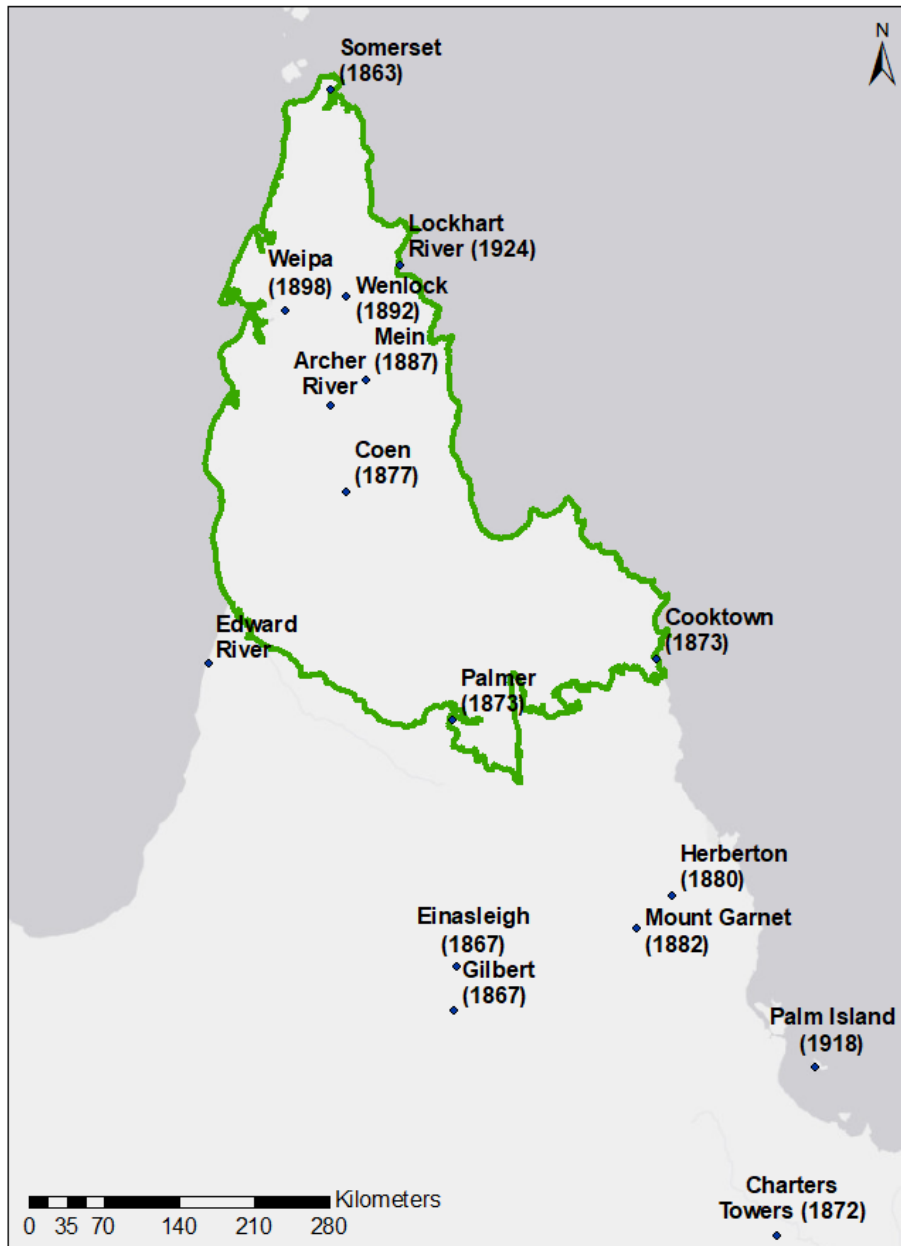
There is a significant gap in the national narrative of our past, as there are few historical studies that have focused on Indigenous miners or Indigenous people in a mining context in Australia (but see Ellwood 2014; Muller 2014). These accounts are few for numerous reasons, including that many Indigenous people are often excluded from historical records, compounding structural forgetfulness. The official definition of who was Indigenous changed over time in Queensland and Australia (according to blood quota), so any accurate historical account of the numbers of Indigenous miners is unlikely. These ‘hidden histories’ (Rose 1991) of Australia’s colonial heritage provide an opportunity to explore and better understand the cross-cultural relations between Indigenous and European people. This thesis will address this considerable gap by focusing on the archaeology and the produced social spaces of the Wenlock region and contribute to the narrative of Indigenous labour in the Cape York Peninsula.

This thesis will explore the above ideas of entanglements, social spaces and labour to build upon the concept of ‘shared histories’ and ‘shared landscapes’. It will do this through the analysis of social space using Lefebvre’s (1991) framework in order to explore the tensions between different forms of produced social space. These tensions will then be used to discuss changes in cross-cultural relations in a colonial context within the Wenlock region.



## **Chapter 3: Study Area**

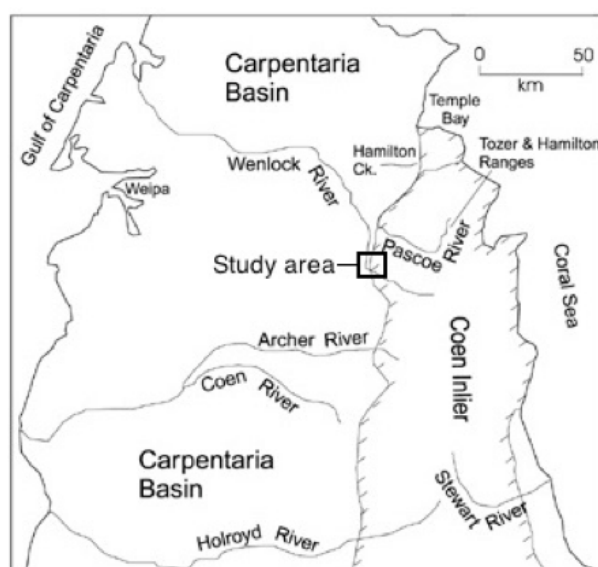
This chapter introduces the study area and discusses the natural and historical environment of the Cape York Peninsula region with a focus on the Wenlock region (Figure 2). The deep symbiotic connection between Indigenous people and the landscape means that over time each has influenced the other, contributing to and becoming an integral part of the produced social space of the region. The environment is discussed within this thesis as it relates to how people interact in and across a cultural and natural landscape; this is described by Strang (1997:176) as an interaction between social process and the environment. This chapter is divided into a number of sections to explore the study area's physical environment, including; geology, water, climate, vegetation and a brief regional history. These sections have been included as they are major factors that have influenced the continuing presence of people in the region, including industry and government policies and provide some context for the later results and discussion.



**Figure 2: Notable historical places, Cape York Peninsula Bioregion (green outline) (adapted from IBRA 2012).**

## Physical Environment

The physical environment of the Wenlock region is varied and dynamic. This is evident in the landforms of the greater Cape York Peninsula region and is linked to the regolith formation in the area (Pain and Oilier 1995). The study area of the Wenlock is located at the edge of two regolith formations: the Coen Inlier (Palaeozoic and Proterozoic basement) to the east and the Carpentaria Basin to the west (Mesozoic and Cainozoic cover) (Pain et al. 1999). The formation of the Carpentaria and Laura Basins during Middle to Late Jurassic and the Early Cretaceous periods covered the Palaeozoic and Proterozoic basement rocks of the Coen Inlier with a layer of coarse sediments (See Figure 3). This deposition likely stopped as a result of uplift of the area, causing the highest peaks of the Peninsula to be in the east (Pain et al. 1999).



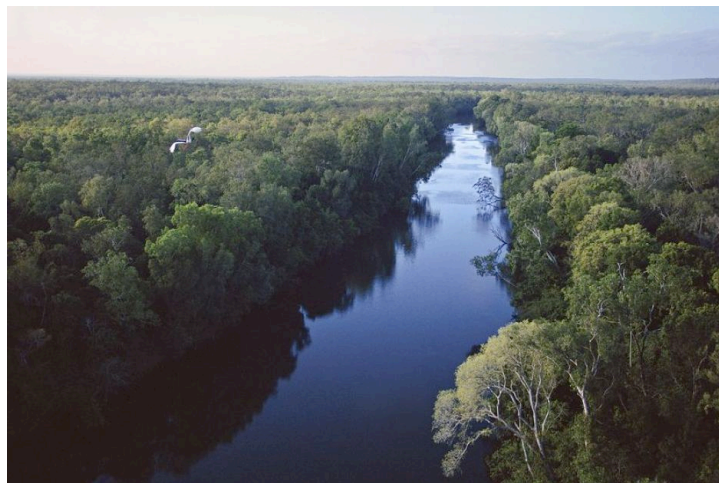
**Figure 3: Location of the study area in relation to the Coen Inlier of the Cape York Peninsula (Forsyth and Nott 2003:147).**

The Wenlock Goldfields have undergone various geological studies over time since their ‘discovery’ by Europeans in 1892. Denaro and Morwood (1992:1) conclude that traces of gold, tungsten, molybdenum, silver, lead, heavy metals and bauxite exist in the study area. Gold occurs in quartz veins within Kintore Adamellite, in Mesozoic

palaepplacer deposits, whereas silver-bearing galena is located in quartz veins of Morris Adamellite. The heavy minerals occur in minor amounts in most streams in the study area (Denaro and Morwood 1992). An alluvial cassiterite deposit was found during Denaro and Morwood's (1992) study which they attribute to the previous concentration upon gold in the area. In most areas associated with the alluvial gold fields at the surface level, the landscape comprises sandy plains. These areas normally contain silty clays, quartz cobbles and poorly sorted areas of gravels and sand bounded by Gilbert River Formation outcrops.

This geological discussion of the study area demonstrates some crucial points about the landscape of the Wenlock and how it has been produced throughout time. The elevation of the study area relative to the flat plains of the Carpentaria basin to the east and north has provided a unique landscape during both the colonial and pre-colonial eras as well as unique soil profiles, which is then reflected in the vegetation and potential land uses. This rocky landscape has provided the precious metals that drove colonial gold rushes. However, this same landscape also provided stone that was valued during the pre-colonial era to produce lithic material.

### **The Wenlock River**



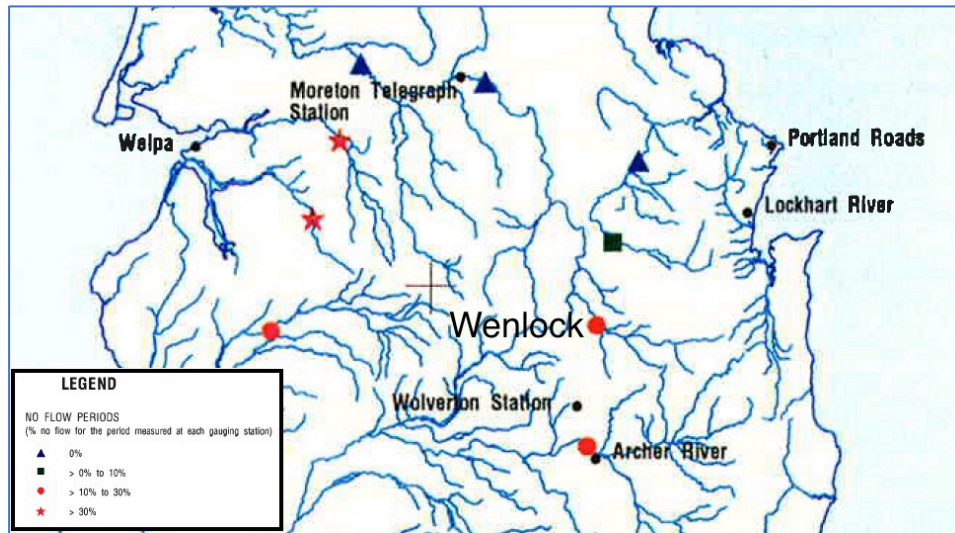
**Figure 4: The Wenlock River (north of the study area) in the wet season (Trapnell 2016).**

The role of the Wenlock River (see Figure 4) in the region has been crucial to the formation of the dynamic landscape and the survival of people and industry in the area. It is no coincidence that the Wenlock River runs along the edge of the Coen Outlier and has its source to the east of the study area in the Great Dividing Range (Horn 1995). Interestingly, it flows through higher ground to the west as it flows toward the Gulf of Carpentaria (See Figure 5 below).



**Figure 5: Flow of the Wenlock River (right to left), through the high ground of the Great Divide to the west (in the middle) of its source in the highlands of the eastern Cape (far right) (Pain et al. 1999: 61).**

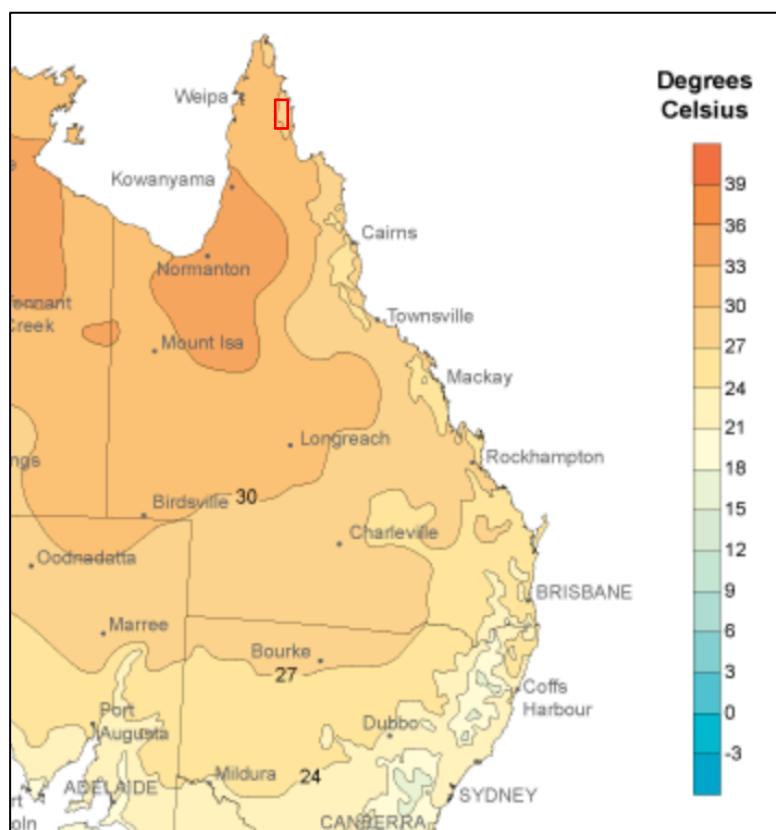
The Wenlock River is approximately 300km long and is intermittent for much of the first 110km and eventually empties in the west into the Gulf of Carpentaria (Horn 1995). The river is consistently 20-40m wide, however during the dry season it will only contain a small stream, with numerous pools that allow fauna to survive. Crucially, the Wenlock River in the study area has a no flow percentage for 10-30% of the year (see Figure 6). The Wenlock and the Jardine Rivers have some of the greatest fish diversity in Australia, with a number of these fish being found nowhere else in the world (Hitchcock et al. 1993). During the wet season, the river floods extensively and is often impassable in sections. The river has extensive floodplains, lagoons and waterholes that meander off the main watercourse throughout its length and often has steep banks up to 20m in height.



**Figure 6: Percentage of measured flow rates (icons), note the Wenlock area has an annual no flow period of 10-30% [figure adapted from (Horn 1995:35)].**

## Climate

The study area has a tropical climate, like much of northern Australia. However, higher elevations at inland locales mean that it is often slightly cooler when compared to coastal areas (Figure 7). There is, however, only a slight difference between the lowest and highest temperatures across the year in the region see (Table 1).



**Figure 7: Average Annual Daily Maximum Temperature. Based on the past 30-year average recorded temperatures. Within the Kuuku I’yu Homelands (see red rectangle in upper right of image) there is a range of slightly lower temperatures is recorded due to elevation level (approximately 40m above sea level) (BOM 2015a).**

| Statistic | Jan  | Feb  | Mar  | Apr  | May  | Jun  | Jul  | Aug  | Sep  | Oct  | Nov  | Dec  | Annual |
|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| Mean      | 32.5 | 31.8 | 31.8 | 31.5 | 30.8 | 30   | 29.6 | 30.8 | 32.4 | 34.3 | 35.1 | 34.3 | 32.1   |
| Lowest    | 30.3 | 30.4 | 29.8 | 29.9 | 29.1 | 28.3 | 28.4 | 28.4 | 31   | 32.4 | 33.2 | 30.9 | 31.4   |
| Highest   | 35.1 | 34.4 | 33.7 | 33.9 | 33.3 | 31.7 | 31.4 | 33   | 34.4 | 36.1 | 36.6 | 36.7 | 33.4   |

**Table 1: Summary of Monthly Average Temperatures (C°) for all years on record for Moreton Telegraph Station located 13.3km North of the study area (BOM 2015c).**

The northern central area of Cape York Peninsula receives a large amount of rainfall during the annual wet season (usually December–April). At this time of year, the rivers flood due to the torrential rains and portions of this area become ‘water-locked’ and are only accessible via air (for instance the Chuulangan Outstation at Wenlock). This portion of the Peninsula can also suffer from prolonged seasons of drought.

| Statistic | Jan   | Feb   | Mar   | Apr   | May   | Jun  | Jul | Aug  | Sep  | Oct | Nov  | Dec   | Annual |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-----|------|------|-----|------|-------|--------|
| Mean      | 336.6 | 334.7 | 290.9 | 110.2 | 21.5  | 10   | 8.1 | 4.1  | 4.3  | 17  | 65.8 | 196.8 | 1371.6 |
| Lowest    | 0     | 36.6  | 47.9  | 3.2   | 0     | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 7.4   | 721.6  |
| Highest   | 849.2 | 589.6 | 655.6 | 400.2 | 114.3 | 52.5 | 39  | 28.6 | 43.5 | 159 | 513  | 576.5 | 2096.8 |

**Table 2: Summary of Average Monthly Rainfall (mm) for all years on record for Moreton Telegraph (BOM 2015b).**

## Vegetation

The vegetation of the Cape York Peninsula is particularly varied due to the wide variety of geological features and varied landscapes of the region. This is also true of the vegetation in the Wenlock area, which includes the following types (Fox 2001) (Figure 8):

**Eucalypt Forest:** Woodlands and open-woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus tetrodonta* and *Eucalyptus miniata* on deeply weathered plateaus and remnants Woodlands and open-woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus tetrodonta* and *Eucalyptus miniata* on residual sands and erosional surfaces

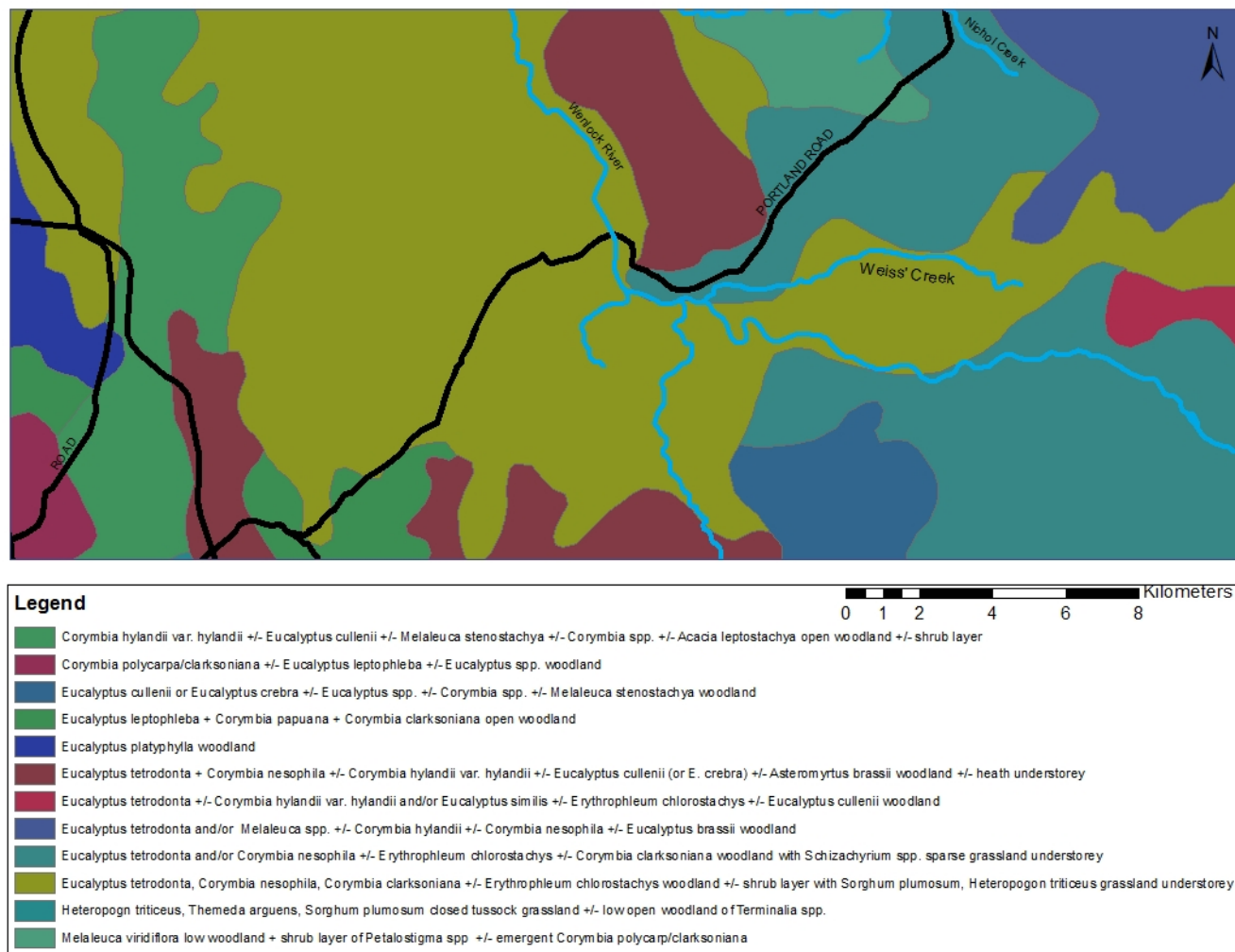
**Eucalypt Plains:** Open-forests and woodlands dominated by *Corymbia* spp. and *Eucalyptus* spp. on coastal lowlands and hills. Open-forests and woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus* spp. and *Corymbia* spp. on drainage lines and alluvial plains. Woodlands and open-woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus* spp. and *Corymbia* spp. on basalt undulating plains. Woodlands and open-woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus tetrodonta* and *Eucalyptus miniata* on residual sands and erosional surfaces

**Eucalypt Hills:** Open-woodlands to woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus* spp. on shallow soils on sandstone hills, erosional surfaces and metamorphics. Woodlands and open-woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus tetrodonta* and *Eucalyptus miniata* on deeply weathered plateaus and remnants Woodlands dominated by *Eucalyptus* spp. (northern box and ironbark) on sandy soils on metamorphic and acid volcanic hills.

The *Eucalyptus tetradonta* woodlands of this region contain large numbers of Cooktown Ironwood (*Erythrophleum chlorostachys*), which is a dense hardwood that is termite resistant. This tree species is the most commonly recorded type used by



Indigenous people for the extraction of sugarbag honey in the Cape York Peninsula region (Morrison et al. 2010).



**Figure 8: Vegetation of the study area at 1m resolution, after (Fox 2001).**

Eucalypt woodlands are complemented by large areas of melaleuca open woodland on depositional plains with portions of open eucalypt forests on flood plains. In the riverbanks trees are often 10-30m in height. However, generally the riparian vegetation only reaches approximately 10m onto the floodplain (Horn 1995:48). Importantly, there are also the extensive rainforest and coastal plant communities that follow the seasonally lush watercourses in the general area, diversifying the vegetation of the area considerably (Horn 1995:48).

The physical environments of the study area provide important insights into the landscape of the region. In some areas, the vegetation comprises incredibly rich and lush rainforests and in others it is rocky and almost barren. The role of the Wenlock River, lagoons and secondary waterways within this landscape has always been crucial to people's survival in the area. Also critical in the region has been access to food and mineral resources. Any changes in the production of these social spaces over time are very likely to be reflected near these resources in the landscape.

## **Background History**

This section discusses the regional history of the Cape York Peninsula in the context of Queensland, with a focus upon European and Indigenous cultural entanglements and colonialism. These cross-cultural interactions have often taken the form of labour relations in northern Australia; consequently, the following section discusses Indigenous/settler labour relations from a perspective that considers these economic and social intersections. This is impossible without a brief discussion of the policies (and instruments) introduced by the Queensland Government to control the lives and bodies of Indigenous people.

## **Early European Exploration**

It was on Cape York Peninsula that some of the earliest cross-cultural encounters between the Indigenous people of Australia and Europeans took place. Willem Janszoon, a Dutch explorer on the *Duyfken*, was the earliest recorded European to

make landfall on the Australian continent at the Pennefather River in 1606, near present day Weipa on the west coast of the Cape York Peninsula (Wharton 2005). The Dutch led expedition in 1606 recorded several interactions with Indigenous groups on the north west of the peninsula (Sutton 2008). Janszoon also sailed a portion of what was most likely the Wenlock River, where a soldier in the Dutch party was killed in a conflict with Indigenous people (Sutton 2008; Wharton 2005). There is, however, considerable contention regarding the sources and the motivations of historians in interpreting these early interactions between the Dutch and Indigenous groups. Sutton (2008) contends that these interactions were most likely to have involved kidnapping for information purposes, rather than slavery as some have suggested, and that these interactions would have been quite varied between the north and south western portions of Cape York Peninsula.

The exploration of the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula by the British was considerably later than the brief Dutch incursions on the western coast. However, the cultural implications of the British exploration would be sustained and profound. In June of 1770, James Cook sailed along the eastern coast of Australia and his ship the Endeavour hit a reef near present day Cooktown. This accident resulted in a two month forced settlement on what would become known as the Endeavour River, while repairs were undertaken and botanical samples collected (Stearn 1969). Repairs were successfully completed on the 22 August 1770 at Endeavour River, and on Possession Island, Cook claimed the eastern portion of Australia for the British Empire. The HMS Bounty in 1789 and the HMS Pandora in 1791 also traversed the eastern waters off Cape York Peninsula. The area was chartered more thoroughly during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by subsequent seafarers, including Matthew Flinders in 1802 on the “Investigator”, Charles Jeffreys in 1815 on the “Kangaroo” and Phillip Parker King on the “Mermaid” in 1819 and 1820 and in 1821 on “Bathurst”.

Leichhardt’s early (1844-45) overland exploration into northern Australia took him from Moreton Bay on the east coast of present day Queensland to Port Essington on the northern coast of Australia near present day Darwin. This expedition took him into Cape York Peninsula to the south of the study area, where he travelled south along the west coast (Leichhardt 1847). His glowing reports of well-watered pastoral land encouraged European expansion into the north of Australia.

One of the first European overland expeditions to attempt to gain the tip of Cape York was led by Edmund Kennedy in June 1848. This passed through Kuuku I'yu homelands on the way to the Pascoe River. There were several violent conflicts with Indigenous people during this expedition which, when combined with food shortages, caused the failure of the expedition (Laurie 1958:16). Much later Meston (1896:3) recorded that an older Indigenous man remembered that Kennedy's group had been shooting Indigenous people throughout their expedition.

The second group to attempt the overland trip were Frank and Alexander Jardine who, in 1864-65, drove cattle through Cape York Peninsula from Carpentaria Downs Station (approximately 1300km north west of Brisbane) to the very tip of Cape York where their father had established the cattle station and outpost of Somerset in 1863. This trip took six months, and numerous clashes with Indigenous groups were recorded (Jardine and Jardine 1949). These clashes included the killing of several Indigenous people at Staaten River and a 'battle' at the Mitchell River that was recorded as more of a slaughter (Loos 1993; Strang 1997:17). The Somerset Station has been associated with numerous atrocities involving the death of Indigenous people and is currently still the focus of Indigenous people's belief that this area of Cape York is considered to be dangerous to humans as it is inhabited by malicious supernatural beings (Greer 2010).

Another notable early overland expedition by a European in the Cape York Peninsula was in 1879 by Robert Logan Jack, the Queensland Government Geologist. Jack led an expedition from Cooktown to Somerset and kept a detailed record of his trip (Jack 1921). Only a few years later Bradford (1883) conducted a survey for a telegraph line that would run through the interior of the peninsula to Thursday Island. The eventual construction, use and maintenance of the line and its repeater stations would form another distinct sphere of cross-cultural entanglement on the Cape York Peninsula (Della-Sale 2013). Bradford's task was to find a northward route overland and his journal from 1883 records in detail his journey from June until September, taking into account the landscape (flood plains, soil types) and available resources that would be useful for building a telegraph line, including tree species. Through his whole journey only once was there a sighting of an Indigenous person, on June 19<sup>th</sup> near the Hann

River, along with numerous footprints (Bradford 1883). To mark his track through the bush Bradford blazed trees and often came across trees similarly marked by previous Europeans such as Robert Logan Jack.

The construction of the Cape York Telegraph line was necessary for far northern Queensland to link Thursday Island with larger population centres, there were also considerable concerns regarding hostile foreign activity in the region and this telegraph line would act as an early warning system. Construction of the line began in the 1860s and the 90km of the line between the Moreton and Mein stations was the one of the last to be completed in 1887 (Sheehy 1987:16). Central northern Cape York was still considered ‘unsettled’ and ‘protection’ was required both for the Telegraph station workers and others in the region against the local Indigenous population. The Native Mounted Police, who also later assisted (often brutally) in controlling the Indigenous population, provided this protection and gave employers virtually absolute freedom to treat Indigenous people as they wished until the 1890s.

Despite this early exploration, the remoteness from other early English settlements to the south of the continent (Hobart, Sydney, South Australia and Moreton Bay) and the apparent lack of resources meant that Cape York Peninsula became one of Australia's last colonial frontiers. Consequently, European expansion into the area was relatively late compared to the rest of the continent. This period of early European exploration brought with it a number of cross-cultural encounters or entanglements that clearly illustrated the colonial intentions of Europeans in the region.

### **Indigenous Policies and Affairs in the Late 19th Century and Early 20th Century Queensland**

As the colonial frontier swept through far northern Queensland, so too did the instruments of colonial power. These instruments, often in the form of legislation, compounded structural violence against Indigenous people throughout the region and also contributed to the perpetuation of physical violence (Morrison et al. 2018). In Queensland, the *Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act 1865* was introduced, which authorised the removal of any destitute child under seventeen found wandering or begging in the streets. These removals also included any child living with a reputed

prostitute or drunkard, and any child born of an Indigenous or 'half-caste' mother (Kidd 1997). The model of these reformatory schools would be one that was later inflicted on Indigenous people in both religious and government missions. During the period pre-1897 (before the introduction of the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act*), the removal of any Indigenous person from traditional land was also achieved on an ad hoc basis. Copland (2005:16) considers this period as being defined as one of 'informal removals' or kidnapping.

*The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* (The Act) was introduced in the Queensland Parliament in 1897 partially in response to international pressure (particularly from Great Britain) and based upon some of the recommendations made by Meston (1896). This legislation was in direct response to the exploitation of Indigenous people, particularly in the fishing industry (Saville-Kent 1890). With a sad irony, the Act was introduced with the express intention of protecting the Indigenous population of Queensland from, according to Meston, a 'perpetual warfare with pioneers' (Kidd 1997:44). Kidd (1997:44) also describes the general treatment of Indigenous people in the state at the time, particularly 'women and children [who] were exploited like slaves by whites... local groups were seduced by white men ... who used opium to snare servile workers and submissive sexual partners.' The Act, however, had further repercussions despite its intentions. This was due to the crucial nature of Indigenous labour within the colony of Queensland. Consequently, any legislation that attempted to regulate Indigenous people and consequently their work-related outputs would be exploited by a portion of the European population.

The Act also gave the highest-ranking police officer in each district the added role of local 'protector'. There were also two supervisory roles created and in 1898 Meston was named the Southern Protector of Aboriginals (south of the Tropic of Capricorn in Queensland) and Roth was named the Northern Protector. The introduction of this Act was perceived by some as taking a softer line regarding Indigenous relations, precisely at a time when the far northern frontier perceived itself as most in need of legislative and actual 'protection' from Indigenous people. Some squatters even suggested that with this new 'soft' policy Indigenous people were becoming more resistant and the spearing of cattle was increasing (May 1994:60). However, with the

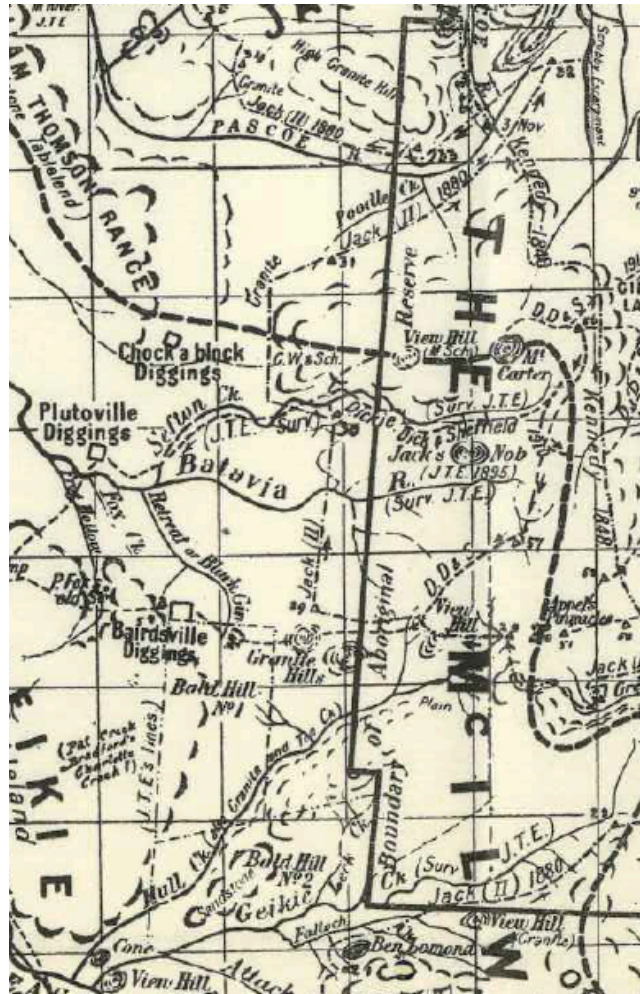
expansion of pastoralism into the far northern peninsula is it probable that the competition for food, due to restrictions upon more established resources (for example water), that Indigenous people were simply taking what they needed for survival.

Another impact of the Act was that it defined what was meant by the term 'Aboriginal'. This identification was crucial as it defined whom the Act held systematic power over. The Act defined being Aboriginal as:

4. Every person who is-
  - (a) An Aboriginal inhabitant of Queensland; or\
  - (b) A half-caste who, at the commencement of this Act, is living with an Aboriginal as wife, husband, or child; or
  - (c) A half-caste who, otherwise than as wife, husband, or child, habitually lives or associates with Aboriginals; shall be deemed to be an Aboriginal within the meaning of this Act.

In order to 'protect' an Indigenous population that also included the 'half castes' of Queensland, the Act allowed for the removal of individuals to reserves if they were deemed at 'risk'. This left significant room for the interpretation of who was at risk, as many Indigenous people were fulfilling the role of cheap or free labour for many station owners, homeowners, pastoralists and miners, 'tame' Indigenous people were not to be interfered with (Kidd 1997:47). The Act also decreased the visible nature of 'half castes' that were steadily increasing in number. Meston admitted that The Act was not aimed at all Indigenous people, 'only those who are not employed and those who are roaming about demoralised and are doing no good for themselves' (Anon 1901:1145). However, these reserves were just another function of the state's institutionalised policy of violence towards the Indigenous population, whose freedom of movement was controlled. However, this was not always the case in remote areas of far north Queensland. For example, the Aboriginal reserve to the east of the Wenlock was established in 1908 but was really only a line on a map (See Figure 9). The boundary was not enforced until much later (1930s) and there was no mission at Lockhart until the mid-1920s so European miners, sandalwood merchants and pastoralist made use of the reserve as it appeared to be arbitrary.





**Figure 9: Robert Logan Jack's (1921) map of the district showing the Aboriginal reserve boundary going north to south.**

The Act names several categories of Indigenous people who would be deemed to be exceptions to this legislation:

10. Every Aboriginal who is
  - (a) Lawfully employed by any person under the provisions of this Act or the Regulations, or under any other law in force in Queensland;
  - (b) The holder of a permit to be absent from a reserve; or
  - (c) A female lawfully married to, and residing with, a husband who is not himself an Aboriginal;
  - (d) Or for whom in the opinion of the Minister satisfactory provision is otherwise made

The Act stipulated that on these reserves the local Aboriginal Superintendents (a role administered through and by the local Police) would eventually gain systematic

control of the Indigenous population, including wages and employment, movement, marriage and the living situation of children. As the name suggests, the Act did restrict the supply of opium to Indigenous people. These restrictions included supplying opium as payment of wages, in liquid, gum, ash or charcoal form. The Act also stipulated that the supply of alcohol be restricted to only non-Indigenous citizens of Queensland. All non-Indigenous people except the local superintendents were also forbidden to be on Aboriginal reserves.

The Act also incorporated the beginning of official policies demanding Indigenous assimilation into European colonial society. This is evident in some sections of the Act but is most blatant in a section regarding cultural practices ‘Prohibiting any aboriginal rites or customs that, in the opinion of the Minister, are injurious to the welfare of aboriginals living upon a reserve’ (Government 1897). This section of the Act would create a precedent that would allow for the regulation of all aspects of ‘traditional’ Indigenous lifeways and culture.

An important tool of these assimilation policies were the missions that were established in the region. The Batavia River Mission later known as Mapoon was founded in 1891 at Cullen Point on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula (Wharton 1996). The Weipa Mission (1898–1932) also on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula was established by Moravian missionaries who focused on an open space model that included a dormitory for children (Morrison et al. 2015). A mission was established by the Anglican Church at Lockhart River on the eastern coast of the Peninsula in 1924 and had a series of superintendents with varied backgrounds and approaches until the 1960s when the mission officially came under government control (Chase 1980b). These missions served as centres of European cultural influence and tried to convert Indigenous people to their respective religious perspectives through the supplying of food and other items (Morrison et al. 2015).

In 1901 the Amendment Act attempted to address the continuing sexual abuse of Indigenous girls and women residing in any house in Queensland and stem the continuing rise in the ‘half-caste’ population. It did this through the extension of the 1897 permitting system, which was an attempt to curtail the kidnapping of Indigenous people. This had previously been avoided, through several loopholes, particularly in

the fishing industry (Kidd 1997:51). In reality, the fines for these offences were small and provided little disincentive for unscrupulous employers and traders. It was not until this Amendment Act was passed that Home Secretary Justin Foxton admitted that Indigenous Queenslanders had been previously removed 'against their will' (Evans 2008:84).

In 1903 the Queensland Government's Chief Protector introduced guidelines that 'required employers and their Aboriginal workers to enter into a contract which specified rates of pay and was to be deposited into a trust account in the Aborigine's name' (Castle and Hagan 1997). These regulations were instead used to manipulate the Indigenous workforce of Queensland to accept conditions and 'pay' that suited both the interests of industry and government in a system rife with abuse. The regulations introduced employment contracts where the Indigenous employee was provided with food, board and a minimum wage, which they were often only allowed to access for small amounts of 'pocket money'. The rest of the wages were placed in a trust, which could only be accessed with the permission of the Protector, which was rarely given, and often individuals accrued large amounts over a lifetime of work (Castle and Hagan 1997:71).

New regulations in 1919 also stipulated that the pastoral industry (the largest employer of Indigenous people in Queensland at the time) had to pay a minimum wage set at two-thirds of the European rate. This was often not adjusted to inflation or increases in European wages costs, and Indigenous workers were regularly only paid 25% of what their European counterparts earned. The government, ostensibly in the 'interest' of Indigenous people would still hold this income. This collecting of Indigenous pay was used in high-interest accounts to supplement the cost of Indigenous welfare to the Queensland Government (Kidd 1997; May 1994). The use of Indigenous labour in Cape York Peninsula was crucial to the development of the region, and its various industries and the financial mismanagement of the funds generated from this labour also ensured an impoverished Indigenous labour force was always available.

The incorporation of 'half-breeds and quadroons' under *The Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts Amendment Act of 1934* saw a dramatic

increase in the removal of Indigenous people (Bleakley 1937). By 1939 over 7,000 Indigenous people in Queensland had already been relocated under the Act (Blake 1998:58). In 1939 Edward Hanlon introduced: *An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law relating to the Preservation and Protection of Aboriginals*, also known as the Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act. This new Act redefined the term Aboriginal to exclude 'half castes' which altered the circumstances of a large number of people. This amendment also repealed the freedom of any Indigenous people who previously held 'exempt' status from the Act and restricted further the employment of Indigenous labour. Under this Act, the Director of Native Welfare was also the legal guardian of all people under the age of 21, which allowed for further separation of the family unit. This Act was in place until the passing of the Aboriginal Affairs Act in 1965, under which the Director was no longer the legal guardian of all Indigenous children in the state. However, the position did retain power over 'assisted persons' living outside reserves or state institutions.

These various forms of legislation show various attempts to regulate both the Indigenous population of the region and the cross-cultural interaction with Europeans. The brutal nature of this form of colonial control illustrates a way in which the socially produced spaces of the region were radically altered.

### **The Native Mounted Police in Queensland**

The establishment of the NSW Native Police in 1848, and their later operations on the Darling Downs to the west of the colony of Moreton Bay led to an escalation in the number of Indigenous people killed in Queensland (Reynolds 1981:187). The Native Mounted Police were 'the sum total of Colonial Queensland's policy towards its indigenous people... it was unarguably a policy primarily based on collective punishment without trial: one that was not only illegal, but morally bankrupt' (Bottoms 2013:17). The Native Mounted Police were also, for Indigenous peoples, the symbol of government policy during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Genever et al. 1996:16). Loos (1982) argues that the Queensland Government was only equipped with policies adapted from the pastoral frontier in New South Wales to deal with violent Indigenous resistance. However, the significant difference between NSW and far

northern Queensland is evident in the nature of these colonial frontiers. In NSW, there were only sparse numbers of early pastoralists forming the early frontier, while in far northern Queensland the large influx of miners and pastoralists required greater 'protection'.

The increase of Indigenous people removed from the state (mostly through killings) allowed the 'opening up' of pastoral areas in Queensland. The Native Mounted Police were used as 'death squads' to remove the original Indigenous inhabitants who were an impediment to the squatters' and settlers' land acquisition (Bottoms 2013:5). The removal of Indigenous people was the general trend in the Queensland colony as pastoralism spread northward and westward.

The official purpose of the Native Mounted Police in Queensland was to protect miners and pastoralists 'opening up' the interior for commercial purposes from potential clashes with Indigenous people. However, as Richards (2008a:8) comments, 'their specific purpose was to suppress Indigenous resistance to colonisation.' The Native Mounted Police were the major mechanism of government policy in respect to controlling and eliminating Queensland's Indigenous population. These violent acts were coded in language such as 'dispersals' (Richards 2008b:77). This control over the Indigenous population of Queensland was achieved through the killing of Indigenous people who had or were in the vicinity of someone who had offered perceived resistance to the process of colonisation. This wording was used in official documentation and serves the purpose of distancing the act of killing from the political structure that authorised it.

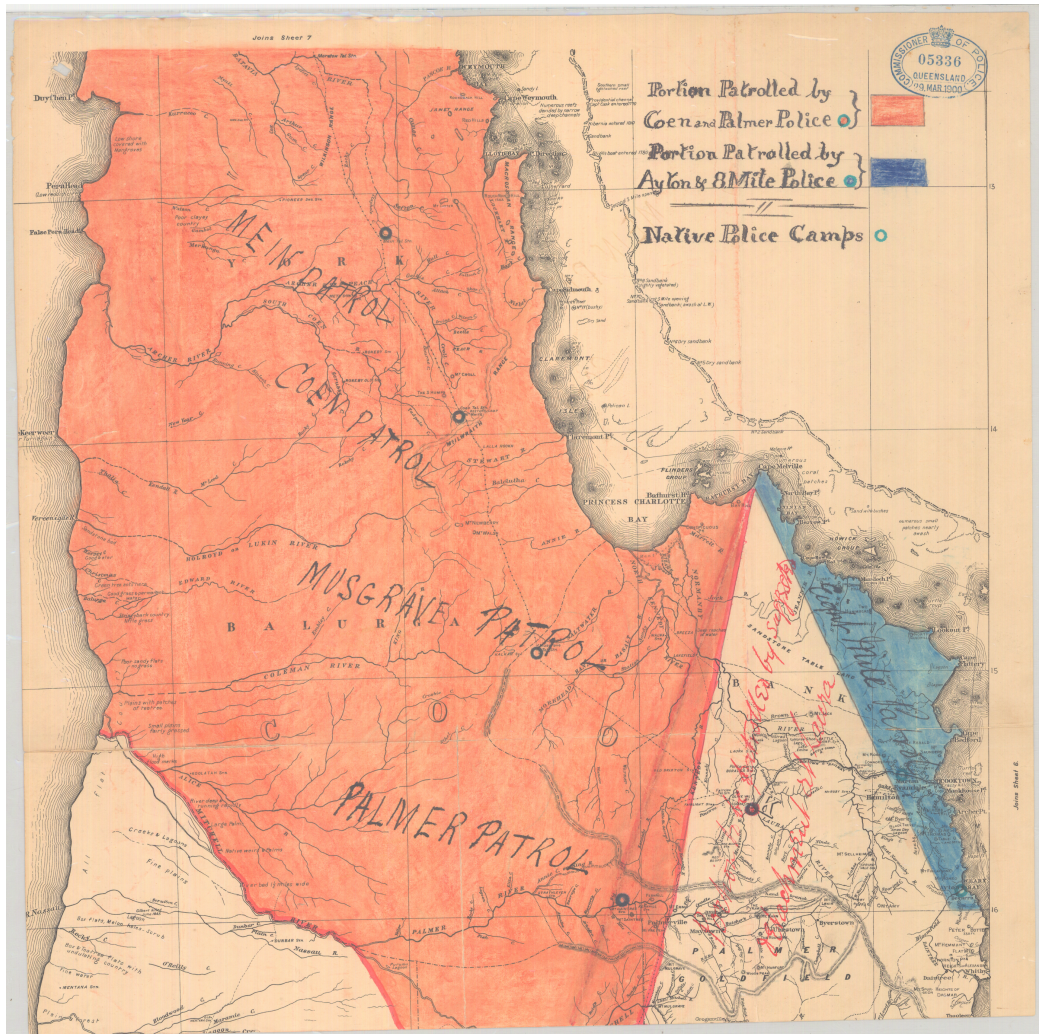
In practice, the Native Mounted Police were a paramilitary force that was able to track and find Indigenous people and 'disperse' them. Occasionally, this involved approaching an Indigenous camp at dawn and shooting everybody there, including women and children and then burning the bodies to hide any evidence (Richards 2008a:1025). Widespread and systematic violence towards Indigenous people in Cape York Peninsula included incidents of kidnapping, murder, general mistreatment and enforced labour that were severe enough and widespread enough to justify the establishment of Indigenous reserves and missions in the region (Harrison 2004a; Kidd 1997; Loos 1993). The numbers of Native Mounted Police across Queensland,

exclusive of European officers, were often not high and 'never above 250, in the later 1870s, and indeed as low as 106 for some time in 1880' (Evans et al. 1988:56). However, these numbers were often supplemented by pastoralists and other Europeans who often assisted in 'dispersals'. Native Mounted Police camps were opened, closed and relocated as the colonial frontier moved northwards and westwards, in a similar fashion to army posts in other colonial wars (Richards 2008b:7).

As a weapon of colonialism, the Native Mounted Police in Queensland were very effective and were modelled on similar Native or Irregular Police or military forces used throughout the British Empire (Richards 2008a). This increased their effectiveness in decimating the Indigenous population of Queensland, and their ability to hide evidence of their activities, the true extent of which is only coming light due to recent studies (Kidd 1996, 1997; Loos 1982, 1993; Orsted-Jenson 2011; Richards 2005, 2008a, 2008b).

The Native Mounted Police were a significant force on the Cape York Peninsula where the first Native Mounted Police station was established near Cooktown in 1873. Later, others were soon established to protect other towns that had arisen due to the increase in mining orientated population influxes (Bottoms 2013). A map from 1900 (Figure 10) notes the substantial area patrolled by the Native Police in the Cape York Peninsula. When looking at the map it should be highlighted that there are large areas in orange under the supervision of the Mein, Coen and Palmer Native Mounted Police and it is likely that numerous temporary camps would have had to be used in order to patrol such vast areas.





**Figure 10: Map of Cook police district showing Native Mounted Police camps and the Mein patrol to the north of the Archer River (Anon 1900a).**

The Native Mounted Police had a presence in Cape York Peninsula for a number of decades. There were troopers stationed at Cooktown until 1904, while a Native Mounted Police camp was still at Coen until at least 1920 (Richards 1999:3). This introduction to the Native Mounted Police provides a background to their role in the region. As a para-military force, the Native Mounted Police's violent presence was crucial to a period of cross-cultural interaction in the area and the resultant changes in the production of social spaces.

## European Industries

The introduction of European industry to Cape York Peninsula changed the cultural and environmental status quo of the region. The introduction of European animals (such as sheep, cattle, oxen, horses and pigs) changed how people, both European and Indigenous interacted with the landscape. This change in the use of the landscape moved the use of economic resources from classical pre-colonial traditions in the region to a capitalist model that thrived on large scale commercial extraction. Significantly, the introduction of these industries provided a basis for cross-cultural interactions based on asymmetrical power dynamics. The establishment of pastoralism and mining as the two major industries that significantly altered the cultural landscape and social spaces of Cape York Peninsula are discussed below.

### *Pastoralism*

The early colonial Queensland Government was created in 1859 with a European population of 28,000 (Bottoms 2013:47). With little initial funding available the government was forced to consider the avenues of growth that would provide the most profitable expansion of the colony. By provisioning land to the pastoral industry, the government was provided with a relatively simple tax base. However, several pastoralists had already moved into the Queensland area overland from NSW and had little to do with the Moreton Bay colony that would later become Brisbane. The settler squatters formed the power base from which the state of Queensland would grow, and numerous later policies would reflect their vested interests. This ‘squattocracy’ formed Queensland’s political elite, since a large proportion were also parliamentarians (Evans 2008).

Eventually the pastoral industry would slowly ‘clear’ portions of Cape York Peninsula that had not yet been touched by Europeans. The role of the Native Mounted Police in enabling this was instrumental, although the squatters themselves often supplemented this effort. Once an area had been ‘cleared’ of Indigenous people the value of a cattle run would often increase dramatically in a short period (Bottoms 2013).



Pastoral runs were taken up across the Cape York Peninsula to supply the newly arrived miners with fresh meat. Cattle were selling on the Palmer Goldfields for 10-12 pounds a head and supply was not equal to demand (Loos 1982:65). The race for natural resources (water, feed for cattle and land in general) often proved to be a source of conflict between European settlers and Indigenous groups, as was the spearing of cattle. Early pastoral settlers also had to deal with 'poddy dodging' (cattle stealing as a way to set up a cattle station) from other Europeans that often severely depleted cattle numbers and made conditions difficult for pastoralists (Strang 1997:48). These conditions, combined with the remote nature of the region and health issues related to the domestication of animals (for example fungal disease in sheep and substantial tick problems) caused major problems (May 1994:8).

Labour was a significant issue for pastoralists in Queensland, even when compared to the southern colonies that also struggled, as many stations in the far north were only established after the transportation of convicts from Britain had ended. There was little incentive for workers of European descent to work in the isolated pastoral properties of Cape York Peninsula, which offered poor conditions and fewer opportunities when compared to the recent discovery of the northern gold fields. A major disincentive for some labourers and their families was also the potential for Indigenous aggression (Kidd 1997; May 1994).

The shortage and cost of European labour often meant that pastoralists had little option other than to employ Indigenous people on their cattle runs. The knowledge of the land, seasons and the ability to live off the land meant that Indigenous people were often better suited to the task than many Europeans (May 1984). Many station owners, who faced high expenses due to the distance from major centres and low returns were often only able to retain their holdings by using low or unpaid Indigenous employees (May 1984). To a point, however, this was to the advantage of some Indigenous people as they were able to maintain contact with their Homelands. Indigenous employment in the pastoral industry continued throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century but declined significantly after WWII, when the cost of wages in formal agreements, combined with the introduction of farming technology meant that many Indigenous people moved away from pastoral stations.

Following WWI, the two major aims of the Queensland Government were to reduce the amount of money spent on Indigenous people and to ensure the continuation of the pastoral industry (May 1994). This resulted in the introduction of government owned and run cattle stations in the region. However, the pastoral sector continued to be only barely viable, and for it to continue, it required a cheap pool of labour. This issue was easily solved with the continued use of Indigenous labour. The government was also in a position to remove 'excess' labour from pastoral stations to either government reserves or missions, and these powers were used to make sure that Indigenous labour was sent where it was required. The removal of Indigenous people was used as a threat to ensure compliance, as the establishment of the Palm Island Reserve (also called 'Punishment Island') in 1918 was where 'troublemakers' were sent (May 1994).

### *Mining*

Until 1867 the search for mineral wealth in Queensland was almost entirely an amateur effort, when Richard Daintree and William Hann, with experience in Victoria's goldfields, applied a systematic approach to locating payable minerals (Bolton 1963:45). They were successful in finding several mineral deposits including Einasleigh (copper), the Cape River diggings (gold) and the Gilbert fields (gold). Often these early mines were hampered by exorbitant transport costs, which made expansion or reef mining economically unviable. The Hann expedition was also criticised for not employing an esteemed prospector as they consequently missed several large mineral fields (Ross 2003:279). This expedition does, however, record interactions with Indigenous Australians but is restricted in the scope of its insight into Cape York Peninsula as the expedition went only as far north as Princess Charlotte Bay and did not survey the interior of the region.

The Queensland economy received a substantial boost with the discovery of gold on the Mary River in 1867 and provided the impetus for the town of Gympie to be established and gave rise to the beginning of the Queensland gold rushes (Kerr 2013:93). Other gold fields on the Etheridge River and the Ravenswood Goldfields

were discovered in 1869; Charters Towers in 1872; the Palmer Goldfield in 1873; Stanthorpe tin fields in 1872; Hodgkinson Goldfield in 1876; Herberton tin field in 1880 and Mount Garnet (copper) in 1882 (Kerr 2013:93). Specifically, a number of smaller gold rushes in the Cape York Peninsula assisted in the establishment of smaller towns such as Coen, which later grew into a small regional centre after having been almost abandoned following the initial rush. Gold had been found near Coen in 1876 and the development of reef mining in the region assisted in the town's rapid growth. Many of these smaller gold fields were at the time of their establishment 'on or near the frontier and Aboriginal resistance was a real problem, sometimes the greatest one facing them' (Loos 1982:66). The effect of alluvial mining on the landscape was devastating, and many sites of Indigenous significance would have been destroyed and disturbed (Reynolds 1981:186). This is particularly the case concerning Indigenous sites near to water. The use of water runs, the disturbance of soil and the poisoning of watercourses caused numerous European and Chinese miners to be attacked by Indigenous groups, and retribution was often quick, severe and proactive (Jack 1921:422).

The success of the Palmer Goldfields was instrumental in the 'opening up' of the northern Cape York Peninsula and was originally located during the Hann expedition. However, the potential of the gold field was grossly underestimated. An Irishman, James Venture Mulligan, led a small party from Georgetown to take a closer look at the Palmer River, where they found the richest alluvial gold fields in the region (Bolton 1963). Upon their return to Georgetown in September of 1873 they, like any experienced digger at the time, downplayed the prospects of gold on the Palmer. This discovery led to a massive rush that left a number of other gold fields in the region almost deserted and led to the establishment of Cooktown as a place for miners to come via sea.

There were significant racial tensions associated with the Palmer Goldfields. The first Chinese miners were most likely driven from Gilberton in 1873 and 1874 by violent interactions with Indigenous groups (Burke and Grimwade 2013:121). In 1877, some 17,000 Chinese miners rushed the Palmer Goldfields (Loos 1993:16). This large increase in population in the northern Cape York Peninsula also led to the introduction of infrastructure to support these larger fields, such as pastoral stations

and roads. Anderson and Mitchell (1981) discuss the cultural interaction between Europeans, Chinese and Indigenous people in the area of Maytown in the vicinity of Cairns during and after the Palmer river gold rush. They explore the role of Chinese immigrants in northern Queensland regarding mining, farming, fishing and exporting goods to other parts of Australia. Indigenous groups in the area are also discussed regarding labour relations, which were based on physical labour and payment that never occurred in money, only in rations or opium. Anderson and Mitchell (1981) consider the reporting of chronic Indigenous use of opium to probably be exaggerated by Europeans as a scapegoat for their poor treatment of Indigenous people. A large portion of this paper utilises the oral account related by Mitchell (a Kuku-Yalanji Indigenous man) and his memories of the Chinese in the Maytown area.

There was also substantial Indigenous resistance to mining in these northern areas of Cape York Peninsula, particularly during its early phases as competition for resources grew, and large numbers of miners overran traditional lands. This resistance often took the form of outright violence (towards miners), theft and the strategic attacking of supply trains (Reynolds 1981). There are still places associated with the gold rushes that still hold the key to their past in their naming: Battle Camp, Attack Creek, Gin's Leap, Gin's Run, Rifle Creek and many others.

The widespread use of Indigenous labour in the Queensland mining industry has not always been accepted by all historians, Reynolds (1981:187) comments that:

Miners felt little need to accommodate the blacks. Unlike squatters and farmers who were settling on the land the diggers were transients without commitment to the soil they so industriously turned up. They [the miners] had little use for Aboriginal labour and the preponderance of European numbers obviated the need for the sort of negotiation noted on the pastoral frontier.

This perception may have been true during various phases of the mining history of Queensland, particularly on large mineral fields in the southern portions of the state. However, Anderson's (1983) study indicates extensive Indigenous employment in the Annan River Valley. It is also likely that the Indigenous presence in the mining industry is simply not mentioned in many of the official histories of the region. Due to regional variation in remote parts of Queensland the demand for Indigenous labour

was also likely varied. This topic will be explored in the current study, as Indigenous labour was crucial to both the discovery and the functioning of the Wenlock Goldfields at various phases and provides insight into the changing cross-cultural relations and the production of space in the region.

This chapter has illustrated the complex background of the region, incorporating both the physical and cultural elements of the landscape to foreshadow how the archaeology, history and ethnohistory articulate within the study. This general background is crucial to show a broader picture of the cultural landscape of the Cape York Peninsula region, and the dynamic areas of cross-cultural interaction that this thesis focuses on.

## Chapter 4: Ethnohistorical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the information that exists regarding ‘classical’ (Sutton 2003:xvii) Kuuku I’yu societies. The term ‘classical’ in this context is used to describe pre-colonial Indigenous lifeways, and specifically the ‘principles and practices ... that may be considered to take substantially the same form as can be re-constructed for the early colonial contact period and the era immediately before it’ (Sutton 2003:xvii). This chapter will assist in constructing a detailed ethnohistoric baseline to later discuss the changes that occurred in the region in the colonial period. This pre-colonial society is understood to have produced its own social space, shaped by labour (Lefebvre 1991:414). This chapter will contribute to developing an understanding of Kuuku I’yu social processes and consequently the production of these social spaces.

A significant component of colonialism for the Kuuku I’yu involves economic change. The term economics as it is used in this section denotes a substantivist approach as per Keen (2004:4), as opposed to a formalist interpretation. A formalist understanding of economics is concerned with the consumption of scarce resources, which may make sense in market-based and market-defined economies. Formalist approaches also tend to highlight the role of the individual rather than the collective, which does not transfer usefully to the analysis of Indigenous Australian cultures. A substantivist approach, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the political economy and the inequality produced by the constraints of social and political structures, where the market is embedded within social institutions (Keen 2004).

As with any society, the classical social and political structures of the Kuuku I’yu produced a specific form of social space, almost like a footprint. Each section in this chapter discusses this footprint as a form of socially produced space and should be understood within a pre-colonial context. Within the study area, these produced spaces articulate with the forms of social space discussed by Lefebvre (1991). Spatial practices are discussed in relation to the Kuuku I’yu classical economy and represented spaces will be examined in respect to the abstract social institutions during the pre-colonial era. In this chapter, it becomes evident that both of these forms of produced social space are intertwined and ‘recognize that both material and

symbolic dimensions of human reality contribute to the construction of society' (Susan 2013:337). Pre-colonial and colonial era Indigenous relations to 'Country' in the study area means that these forms of social space are both physical and conceptual ideas that are intimately tied to identity and economy and leave a footprint that can be later explored within the context of changes in colonial power dynamics. Explored in the following chapter are these material and symbolic dimensions of Kuuku I'yu Northern Kaanju society.

### **Ethnohistorical Research Approach**

To discuss the nature of the interaction between Indigenous people in the Wenlock region and their social and economic relations to the European miners, pastoralists and the Native Mounted Police it is necessary to understand as closely as possible Indigenous lifeways at the 'Threshold of Colonisation' (Keen 2004) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This involved investigating and synthesising historic and ethnographic accounts of the Kuuku I'yu people and their neighbours. Although the ethnographic material that is based directly on the Kuuku I'yu people is far from exhaustive, there are some relevant recordings that were taken in the region (Chase 1984; McConnel 1930a; Sharp 1952; Thomson 1933). When applicable, the ethnographic material of neighbouring groups is also considered as at times these groups share certain similarities, including the same physical landscape. The ethnohistorical research not only explores these sources but also provide a synthesis and analysis of this material as it applies to the Kuuku I'yu people. Although not well represented in historical sources, any that mention the Kuuku I'yu people have been integrated into this study, for example Fisher (1998). A geodetic coordinate was recorded where possible for any specific places mentioned in this material.

There are a number of limitations to the use of ethnohistorical material, most importantly this includes the bias of the of the anthropologist who made the initial recordings. This bias can take the form of privileging gendered knowledge, assuming the assimilation of Indigenous cultures as they were 'disappearing' and simply being a product of their era regarding their research questions. These limitations were overcome as much as possible by using multiple ethnohistorical sources, critically

evaluating them and interpreting these in conjunction with archaeological and historical data sets.

### **Ethnographic Collections Research Methods**

The recording of material culture by early ethnographers within the broader Cape York Peninsula was widespread and is crucial to creating an understanding of the archaeological record in the region. There has been little direct material culture collected from the Kuuku I'yu, consequently, substantial collections (both amateur and academic) from the greater Cape York Peninsula region have been analysed. The collections consulted during this study include the McConnel Collection at the South Australian Museum, the Sharp Collection and Papers, Cornell University, and the Oceania Collection at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard.

The method of ethnographic research outlined in this section serves to inform the current study concerning two major aspects of the Wenlock region. Firstly, by illuminating the classical lifeways and economies of the Kuuku I'yu people and secondly because these forms of social and economic production create the social spaces of the study area. This method provides a starting point of sorts for this research to consider changes in social dynamics and material culture throughout the colonial period. During this research, an emphasis was placed on the material culture that could have been produced in the study area or traded with nearby groups (for example wood and wax products). Of these ethnographic collections the following questions were considered: Where was the artefact produced? What material is the artefact made from? What are its dimensions? Who collected it? Where? Could it have been produced within the study area? Could it have been traded with inland Indigenous groups? Would it have had any value? Could it be used to create other objects of value? Is it likely that the value of this artefact changed during the colonial era?

Sutton (1994) recorded The McConnel Collection at the South Australian Museum, which was only visited physically on two occasions due to time constraints. The materials that were linked to the Kuuku I'yu were mostly related to recordings made on Palm Island and rough drafts and notes relating to McConnel's (1936) paper which



explored some ritual increase sites near Coen. Other records are informative of the region in general but have less relevance to this project.

The Sharp Collection at Cornell University was of particular interest because of the relative abundance of bee's wax items and objects that utilised colonial raw materials in a pre-colonial fashion. However, the majority of this collection is from the south-west of Cape York Peninsula. The Sharp Papers held at Cornell University Library were also informative and included a collection of Sharp's notes from across his career with a substantial number of photographs and recordings from his ethnographic field research within Cape York Peninsula.

The Peabody Museum, Harvard contains numerous unique items that were collected and donated by various people, often from unrecorded places in Far Northern Queensland. There were no objects directly collected from Kuuku I'yu Homelands, but there were objects collected from neighbouring groups that would have held value in Kuuku I'yu classical social economies (for example woomera which are spear throwers and numerous stone axes).

The ethnographic collections analysed during this study also had significant limitations. They are often the products of colonial era trophy hunting and can be biased towards unique or 'barbaric' objects, ignoring everyday objects. These objects may not have been originally collected in an ethical fashion, for instance, they may have been stolen or traded for items of lesser value. Interestingly, there was a bias towards collecting objects discussed by earlier anthropologists, that reflected the research interest of other ethnographers such as Thompson (for example the Sharp's collection of spears and cold worked metal).

## **Background and Early Ethnographic Research in Cape York Peninsula**

The majority of the ethnographic material outlined below directly relates to the Kuuku I'yu people and the study area. However, some of this work relates to neighbouring cultural groups with whom more intensive ethnographic work has been previously undertaken. Sutton (1994:32) argues that the most critical social distinction

in the Indigenous population of Cape York Peninsula is between the ‘top side’ and ‘bottom side’ (or coastal and inland/highlands) peoples. Although there has been little previous research into the material culture of the Kuuku I’yu people, the natural resources of inland Cape York Peninsula are similar, even in different language areas. Consequently, it is highly likely that the production technology of the Kuuku I’yu was very similar to other inland groups, such as the inland Wik peoples. Drawing parallels between these two groups are essential for three main reasons: firstly, they indicate similarities in cultural, social and economic traditions across adjacent areas; and second, they indicate that earlier ethnographic recordings in the general region were not always comprehensive; and third, they point to a significant gap in the cultural record of the region, which can be complemented and further informed by both historical and archaeological research in the study area.

Relevant ethnographic and ethnological studies in Cape York Peninsula begun with Walter Roth, who was the Northern Protector of Aboriginals from 1904-1906, and recorded substantial broad-based information on Queensland’s Indigenous people and material culture as part of his duties. As a trained medical professional, his focus was not only anthropological, as a result, his anthropological recordings were not always consistent. It was not until trained researchers entered Cape York Peninsula in the later 1920s and 1930s that more systematic anthropological recordings were made; these included Donald Thomson (1933, 1934a, 1934b, 1935, 1939a; 1946), Ursula McConnel (1928; 1930a; 1932; 1933; 1935; 1936; 1939, 1940; 1945; 1950, 1953) and Lauriston Sharp (1939, 1952, 1968). Of course, even these trained researchers were products of their time, and recorded the Indigenous cultures of Cape York Peninsula from within an acculturative perspective, that assumed the imminent eradication of these cultures in the region.

## **Economy**

It should be noted that interaction spheres of Indigenous Australians are based not upon geographically bounded entities, as these carve out separate societies in regions but instead consist of a complex network of relationships (Keen 2004). Discussed in the following section these social networks and relationships are explored in relation

to the classical economy of the Kuuku I'yu people. In this section, the social spaces that the Kuuku I'yu classical economy produced are examined regarding group population sizes and mobility, material culture, complex food ways and the intergroup dynamics that form part of cohesive spatial practices referred to by Lefebvre (1991).

### *Population Size*

Within Cape York Peninsula there is a strong correlation between resource intensification and use, population mobility and size and patterns of settlement. Where regions with rich and diverse flora and fauna allow, or have a higher capacity to support larger populations, people within them were likely to be less mobile as their needs are met within one area (Keen 2004). However, when resources are not as abundant, it would appear that hunter gather groups were more mobile, enabling them to exploit a broader range of resources across a larger area. The general trend when assessing the resources, population numbers, settlements and mobility of Indigenous people in the inland region of Cape York Peninsula has been to directly compare them to the coastal areas of the region, rather than to the wider Australian continent.

McConnel (1935) comments that the groups inhabiting the highlands of the Great Dividing Range in the interior of the region lack the more abundant food supplies of their coastal neighbours. According to McConnel, this, in turn, led to larger hunting areas and settlements that were further apart. Sutton (1994) supports this observation and comments that coastal Indigenous groups in the region were comparatively sedentary in pre-colonial times when compared to groups in both the interior of the region and the Western Desert. Sutton also comments that the average population density of the eastern coast was likely one person per every 5.9km<sup>2</sup>, an estimation which is based on clan maps and an estimate of 20 people per clan. Specifically, Sutton (1994) supports this argument with a similar number arrived at by Sharp (1940) of one person per 6.1km<sup>2</sup> for an area near the Mitchell River. Sutton (1994) comments that these figures are likely much higher than in the hinterland of the region due to resource availability.

The average recorded size of non-ceremonial and non-specialised Indigenous settlements (the same clan group sizes used by Sutton) of the remote inland regions of Cape York Peninsula as being between 8-22 people based upon observations by Sharp in the 1930s (Keen 2004:106). Chase (1980b:157) estimated the population density west of the coastal hinterlands was one person per 14km<sup>2</sup>, which is considered high for Australia in general, but low compared to populations on the eastern coast of the Cape York Peninsula (Sutton 1994). McConnel (1930b) estimates that the Wik population of the eastern hinterland would have been much higher, with a figure of one person per every 2 square miles (5.1km<sup>2</sup>). These population estimates are summarised by locality in Table 6. As a non-coastal inland group, this figure provided by McConnel is the closest to what could have been expected of the Kuuku I'yu, in comparison to other estimates this does appear to be quite low. However, Thomson and McConnel did not record the exact numbers of clan groups during their early research, so it is impossible to answer this question with any accuracy (Von Sturmer 1978:75).

| Locality                  | Population Estimate<br>(one person per km <sup>2</sup> ) | Source         |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| East Coast                | 5.9                                                      | Sutton 1994    |
| West Coast                | 6.1                                                      | Sharp 1940     |
| Coastal Hinterland (east) | 14                                                       | Chase 1980b    |
| Coastal Hinterland (west) | 5.1                                                      | McConnel 1930b |

**Table 3: Summary of locality and estimates of Indigenous population numbers by anthropologists in Cape York Peninsula.**

Allen and Rowe (2014:67) comment that the way in which McConnel and Thomson collected their population data differed considerably. Thomson based himself mainly at the Aurukun mission; however, McConnel collected her data in areas where Indigenous people were less affected by missions and lived mostly in a classical economic system. It is likely that McConnel's population estimates for the region were based, at least in part, upon the types of resource-based economies she was observing at the time and may be an indication of a higher land carrying capacity in inland regions during the pre-colonial era. It is also important to note here, that even at the time of her observations, mining, pastoralism, the Native Mounted Police and

disease had already had a long-term effect on the Indigenous population numbers in the region.

Based upon these assessments and the argument that population density is constructed on resource availability; the evidence available at present indicates that it is probable that the pre-colonial Indigenous population of the Wenlock region was higher than previously thought. It is probable that the pre-colonial population density is in between that proposed by Chase (1980b) and McConnel (1930b) (approximately one person per 7-9km<sup>2</sup>). This figure is likely to vary significantly between different clan areas, based on available resources. Ultimately, these figures may align with the lower (resource scarce clan areas) and higher (resource rich clan areas) end of the spectrum with the estimates provided by Chase and McConnel. Importantly, these figures likely indicate that the Wenlock was a well populated area during the pre-colonial era. However, these population figures would later alter considerably during the colonial period due to cross-cultural violence.

### *Mobility*

Population movement within the inland Indigenous groups, as well as on the coast is largely based upon the seasonal changes in the region. These changes include weather such as intense humidity during the build-up to the wet season and monsoonal rain during the wet season and the availability of food resources. The extreme regional seasonality affects movement during the wet season, where settlements were often smaller during the dry, based on closer kinship grouping. Whereas during the wet occupation was more sedentary and based on higher ground with well-drained soils. Thomson (1939b) noted that to an onlooker just studying the material culture of the same group in different seasons without understanding the alterations in the environment there might appear to be two distinct cultural groups. To support part of this argument Thomson (1939b) explores the type of housing required in Cape York Peninsula (Figure 11). The main impact of Thomson's work; however not recognised at the time, was his observation that the collection of food resources and seasonal changes reflected complexity in the social and mythical aspects of Indigenous Australian culture (Allen and Rowe 2014).



**Figure 11: Image from Thomson's article regarding the seasonal change in Indigenous housing illustrating examples of dry (2a) and wet season (4) hut styles, wind breaks (6) and a food preserver (7) (Thomson 1939b:218).**

Thomson likely made some errors as outlined by Von Sturmer (1978:268) where he confused the east and west coasts of the Cape York Peninsula when discussing the movement of people from the coast to inland during the dry and back during the wet. Thomson also failed to distinguish between coastal and non-coastal Wik speaking groups as McConnel had. However, Thomson (1939b:209) notes that the seasonal movement of the Wik people was relatively limited, and that this was possibly also true for the Kuuku I'yu. Thomson (1939b:211) comments that this movement was restricted to within well-defined clan areas as resource zones were often not great distances apart. Although there were seasonal camps in the Wenlock region, to adapt to the seasonal changes in resources and environmental conditions, these movements were still limited to within clan areas and the resources available locally. However, during the colonial period, these movements would have altered due to changes in resource availability and changes in social structure.

### *Foods According to Season*

In the coastal areas of Cape York Peninsula there have been several studies which discuss the food resources of Indigenous groups (Chase and Sutton 1981; Harris 1975; Haynes and Chase 1982; Keen 2004; McConnel 1930a; Morrison et al. 2010; Morrison and Shepard 2013; Sutton 1994; Sutton and Rigsby 1982; Sutton and Smyth 1980; Thomson 1939b). Consequently, the discussion of the food production for the fresh-water people (inland people) of Cape York Peninsula is compared to what salt-water people (coastal people) in the region produced and consumed. This comparison does not necessarily give the most accurate depiction of food production for the inland region, as resources do not disappear as the landscape alters, but merely change. It is very likely that most terrestrial resources (for instance yams, fresh water fish, mammals, reptiles and fruits) used by coastal groups were also used inland, and it is probable that there may have been other foods in abundance that were not available in the coastal areas.

McConnel (1939:56) notes that the non-coastal Indigenous people that inhabit the forests of the Great Dividing Range and the uplands of Cape York Peninsula were lacking the more abundant food supplies of the coastal groups. Accordingly, inland groups needed to cover relatively larger clan areas for harvesting and hunting. In comparison to the rest of Australia, the inland regions of Cape York Peninsula also have extensive natural resources, and we must remember that this a comparison between two relatively prosperous areas (Harris 1975).

The seasonal relationship of Indigenous people to the land in the study area appears to have primarily been affected by local resource availability and weather conditions. However, the shifts in habitation spaces were likely much less dramatic than in coastal areas. The use of these resources was manipulated over considerable periods of time as domiculture was practised widely across Cape York Peninsula (Cribb 1996). A good example of this is the replanting of the head of the yam root when harvesting, as this allows the plant to rejuvenate in the same place for the next season (Haynes and Chase 1982:39). This type of domiculture resulted in very productive yam ‘gardens’ that were mostly harvested during the early dry season, while some

sections were used later in the drier months. The planting of fruit seeds, also often led to 'orchards', although not maintained in a western manner this grouping of fruit trees (and other plant crops) would have also over time led to a slow selective breeding program of specific desirable species characteristics (Haynes and Chase 1982:49). These practices demonstrate an aspect of the complex relationship between Indigenous people, plants and their environment.

While discussing the differences between coastal and inland Indigenous groups Sutton (1994) notes that the economy of non-coastal people was dependent on a lesser range of vegetable staples over a much larger area. Sutton (1994) comments that inland Indigenous people focused more on lagoon and river species and occasional kangaroos but would have also relied on smaller mammals such as bandicoots and possums. This observation is supported by Thomson's (1939b) early ethnographic recordings, which recognised two distinct economies in the region. One was his primary focus on coastal areas, and secondly an inland riverine based economy (Thomson 1939b:216). Of the inland Indigenous groups, Thomson (1939b) comments that during the dry season, as surface water became scarce, the movement of these groups becomes less broad.

Consequently, the diet of inland groups also becomes restricted to staples such as water lilies (*Nymphaeaceae gigantea*, *Aponogeton elgongatus*) and water chestnuts (*Elocharis dulcis*) and eaten in large amounts, the nonda plum (*Parinari nonda*). Thomson (1939b:217) notes that during the build-up to the wet season, large kangaroos were simpler to catch as the fierce winds that accompany these seasonal changes created a cover for the hunters. Thomson also does not indicate the size of each group and the number of people that these hunting activities would be required to support.

Von Sturmer (1978:59) notes that although Thomson records when certain foods are available through the year, these foods do not always maintain internal seasonal stability and vary throughout the year. Consequently, there is no way to assess any seasonal shortages of food from his recordings. Von Sturmer (1978) also notes that according to Thomson's records, the food stability of each clan group would depend upon whether or not they stayed exclusively within their clan area. If each group did



only exclusively stay within their clan area during each season, this would assume that each clan area could always produce enough to support the group. Von Sturmer (1980) also comments that if this were true, then each clan or group territory is constructed upon a rational distribution of resources.

In a study of the area surrounding the Lockhart River Mission, Harris (1975:72) considers much of the area west of the immediate coastline to be open canopy woodland. Harris notes that this environment supports complex and varied 'snack' vegetable foods and considers much of this area to be relatively sparse in staple vegetation. However, Harris (1975:73) notes that there are still some staple edible plants in this environment including *Cycas media*, the seeds of which need considerable preparation, otherwise it is poisonous (Beaton 1982). He also observes two palms that can be eaten all year round but were mainly used in the early part of the wet season when other plant foods are less abundant (*Livistona humilis* and *Ptychosperma macarthurii*). Indirectly addressing some of the shortcomings of Thomson's early work in the region, Harris also identified the palm *Ptychosperma macarthurii* as being used more frequently by 'inside people' rather than 'coastal people' during seasons when production was below average (Harris 1975:75).

As the classical territory of the Kuuku I'yu includes two major river systems (the Wenlock and the Pascoe) this creates pockets of closed-canopy rainforest and other types of environments with unique resources. Harris (1975:69) records the plant usage with this environment along the Claudie and Lockhart Rivers, as the Pascoe River and the eastern portion of the Wenlock River are in relatively proximity I contend that these plant species and their uses were also commonplace to the Kuuku I'yu people in the Wenlock Region. A preferred plant food within these environments included various species of sweet *Ficus* (figs) and the *Elaeocarpus grandis* (Blue quandong). *Aleurites moluccana* (candle nut) was the principal nut eaten in the area-surrounding Lockhart River, despite several other species of nut available. It was likely that this was selected over other species as it requires no processing and contains a high fat and calorie content (Harris 1975:70). Other edible plants include 'wild banana' and 'wild ginger' of which two were considered staple sources of starch and carbohydrates before European colonisation of the area and were appreciated for their sweetness and accessibility (Harris 1975:72). Several starchy plants within this

rainforest environment were also harvested, including *Archontophoenix alexandrae* and *Gulubia costata*, from which the pithy centre of the stem is removed and eaten.

In an ethnobotanical study of the Archer River, Smyth (1982:11) notes that the understory of the immediate environment of large water courses were not necessarily suitable for the cultivation of yam crops. Consequently, any groups restricted to these areas may have had an increased dietary dependence upon fish, turtles, mussels and sugarbag. However, where yams were growing in thickets, they were often harvested on mass and transported up to 5-10km to the main camp, where they were reburied to keep them from spoiling.

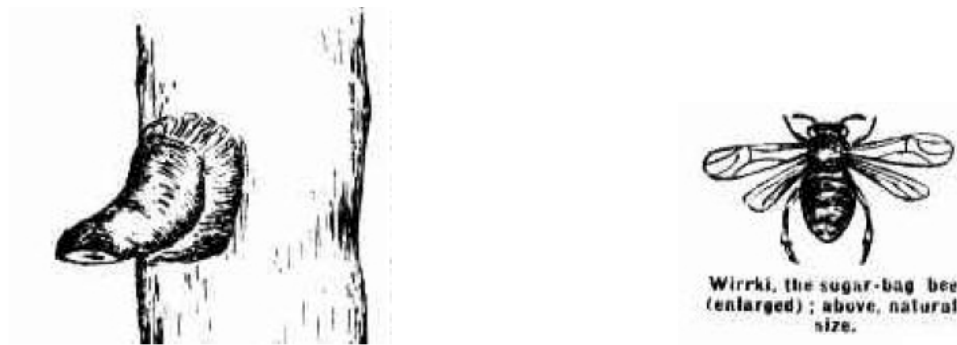
McConnel (1930a) notes of the inland Wik people that the diet was varied and being another non-exclusively coastal group would likely have similarities to the Kuuku I'yu diet. According to McConnel for the inland Wik people, prey included mammals (kangaroo, rodents), and birds (wild fowl, geese, duck, emu and plains turkey), reptiles (iguana, goanna, snakes, crocodile) and also fish (white fish, kingfish, rock-cod, salmon, barramundi). At the end of the dry season, when water becomes scarce, small dams and fish traps were built in lagoons and creeks to snare escaping fish, small swamps and waterholes are also poisoned to collect fish. McConnel (1930a) observed that the Wik people also burnt long grass after the wet season, in order to drive game towards waiting hunters. Burrowing animals were dug from the ground after the fire had swept past. McConnel (1930a) comments that while the Wik men hunt, the women of the group are hunting and foraging with the assistance of dogs.

Wild honey or sugarbag (honey collecting) (McConnel 1930a) was a highly prized food, evidence of this resource exploitation has been recorded in coastal areas (Morrison and Shepard 2013; Sutton 1994). This resource was exploited both at ground level and from higher in the tree (See Figure 12).



**Figure 12: Indigenous man climbing a tree with the aid of a strip of bark, near Coen (Khan 1996:109).**

McConnel (1953) notes that when walking through the bush, particularly during the summer months, Indigenous people were always looking for the native bees. Sugarbag was also collected with a stick that could fit down the tree trunk (Thomson 1939b:plate XXI). Gladys Thomson, Donald Thomson's wife who came on a number of his trips to Cape York Peninsula, wrote popular newspaper articles about the natural environment. Gladys based one article on the Indigenous collection of sugarbag produced by 'wirrki' the sugarbag bee and the life of the native bee. Gladys Thomson (1929) describes people eating the nests 'bread' or food store as well the honey and then later using the honey in water as a drink. The article also includes detailed instructional sketches (see Figure 13).



**Figure 13: Native bee wax funnel-like entrance to tree hive (left). Enlarged sketch of stingless sugarbag bee (right) (Thomson 1929:56).**

George Wilson in a recorded interview discusses the collection of sugarbag by traditional owners within the Kuuku I'yu Homelands. He comments that although traditional owners could cut sugarbag in certain areas, one:

... can't take sugarbag from here...I can cut sugarbag here, but can't take 'im away...old people say, can't take anything away from here – old people will make you sick...have to eat sugarbag here – can't take 'im back to station...can't go over those old people, they [will] make you sick (Smith 2005:138).

This prohibition on the movement of sugarbag from the site of collection is not the case, at least during the colonial period, in the Weipa region (Morrison and Shepard 2013). However, trade between the Kuuku I'yu and Europeans in the Wenlock region was common, and sugarbag honey was an item of commerce in exchange for flour and tea (David Claudie, Pers. Comm., August 2015). This movement of sugarbag to be consumed away from its source and traded is a possible example of a change in the colonial era economic practices of the Kuuku I'yu. According to a story told by Donald Hobson, the Wenlock region was a known place for Indigenous people in the colonial era, who would travel from Weipa, Lockhart, and Mapoon to 'deal' or trade for rations (Smith 2005:32).

In later work, Smith (2016) extrapolates from Thomson's (1932) genealogical work in the Wenlock that one of the women recorded had the word 'wirriki' (from the possible handwritten word 'wenki') associated with her paternal lineage. Chase (1972) reports a statement made by Nora Kanora who discussed the land between the Kuuku I'yu and Kuuku Ya'u areas. Nora Kanora comments in this interview that her father's totem was

Wirrki (sugarbag bee) and this totem area was on the ‘Wenlock [to New Lockhart] Road’ just behind Mt Tozer, otherwise known as ‘sugarbag road’ (Smith 2016:147). This totemic clan area is an example of a lived space that was also a pre-colonial represented social space.

McConnel (1930b:189) in her work with the Wik people describes that in the timbered areas of the Kendall River among the trees are numerous axe marks of all types and sizes that are associated with an increase ritual for honey and the flowers that help to supply it. Honey was considered a staple food item. It was believed that when the last man from the associated clan dies and no one lives to perform the increases ritual that honey in messmate and bloodwood trees on the entire Peninsula will cease to exist. McConnel (1930b) also notes that the sacred place of origin for the honey totem is on the Edward River.

Below is a monthly chart (Table 7) showing the available food resources of inland Cape York Peninsula (Harris 1975; Haynes and Chase 1982; Sutton and Smyth 1980; Thomson 1939b). Importantly, the focus on terrestrial resources indicates that there are significant if not plentiful natural resources in the inland region of Cape York Peninsula, particularly when compared to arid Australia.

| Food                            | Jan | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | July | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Yams                            |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Wild arrowroot and other tubers |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Nonda plum                      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Manillarra plum                 |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Fish, turtle, eel               |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Macropods                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Small mammals                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Cassowary                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Nutmeg pigeon                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Megapode                        |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Reptiles                        |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Honey                           |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Rainforest products             |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Water lilies                    |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Palm                            |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Quandong                        |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Figs                            |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |
| Candle Nut                      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |

|  |                             |  |           |
|--|-----------------------------|--|-----------|
|  | Available from time to time |  | Available |
|  | Not available               |  | Plentiful |

**Table 4: Monthly food resources for inland Cape York Peninsula (Harris 1975; Haynes and Chase 1982; Sutton and Smyth 1980; Thomson 1939b).**

Table 4 indicates that there was significant dietary breadth enjoyed by the inland people of Cape York Peninsula. Areas like the Wenlock River are rich in food resources and although the clan areas are more extensive than on the coast, considering the natural abundance of the Great Barrier Reef this is not surprising. It is also fair to assume that there were established trade/social networks, through marriage and ceremonial contacts between coastal and inland groups, and that in times of need these were exploited, as was most likely the use of violence.

An overlooked resource of the Wenlock region is the breadth of freshwater fish in the river systems (Hitchcock et al. 1993) which would no doubt have formed a protein staple. The exploitation of freshwater fish as a resource is mentioned by McConnel (1932) in regards to the Wik people and totemic rituals near Coen. The riverine system also draws large amounts of birds, some seasonal, some not, that would have made for another plentiful food source. However, in areas away from the rivers day-to-day life would have been much harder, particularly in the rocky uplands. The variation in the landscape away from river systems in the Wenlock and inland areas would mean that clan areas, to support a population, would need to vary considerably in size and carrying capacity depending upon the terrain of the individual clan area.

These social networks and the exploitation of resources within clan areas were significantly disrupted during the colonial era, causing the use of these landscapes to change. However, throughout the history of the region, the persistence of the Kuuku I'yu people illustrates a continuation of the use and conceptualisation of these spaces.

### *Material Culture*

This section develops a framework of the material culture and Indigenous technologies of the central inland Cape York Peninsula and draws upon early ethnographic recordings and museum collections. The two primary collections consulted during this study were those held at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University and in the Sharp Collection, Cornell University. Both collections held a

variety of material culture from far northern Queensland, though many of these objects often-lacked precise information about their collection location. Virtually none of the artefacts recorded for this study came from the study area but were from the greater Cape York Peninsula. As such, this section analyses the material culture of the region with a focus upon inland cultural groups, as these groups share similar environmental restrictions, to develop a framework for the study area.

The material held at the Peabody Collection consists of several artefacts collected from the general Cape York Peninsula. These include: firesticks, woomera, hafted axes, throwing sticks, a shark-toothed duelling knife and a shell headband. Various people associated with Harvard University over time contributed to this collection, including Lauriston Sharp who completed his PhD on Cape York Peninsula (Sharp 1937) as well as Norman Tindale and Joseph Birdsell (see Appendix 3).

The Cornell University collection included the papers and artefacts collected by Lauriston Sharp during fieldwork with Yir Yoront people on the south-western coast of Cape York Peninsula, near the Edward River (Figure 2). The broader Lauriston Sharp collection at Cornell includes abundant photos showing different objects including firesticks in use and ‘dream’ drawings (See Figure 14) as well as extensive notes. The material culture in this collection includes many wooden objects such as woomera, a set of firesticks, a digging stick, a wax ball, a magical bundle, a hafted shell axe bound with wax, metal tipped spear points, a palette and a boomerang with a wax end. Some of this collection has explicit coastal references that would be unlikely to be found in the material culture of the Kuuku I’yu and other inland Indigenous groups (for example the hafted shell axe see Figure 15). The extensive use of wax indicates that the practice of sugarbag collecting was also common in other areas of Cape York Peninsula (see Appendix 4).





**Figure 14: Dream recorded by Sharp near Edward River during fieldwork (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell University).**



**Figure 15: Shell hafted axe fastened with wax (this is a reproduction) donated to the Sharp Collection, Cornell University.**

Keen (2004:83) suggests that ‘it is fair to say that anthropology as a discipline has neglected the study of technology.’ In respect to in-depth cultural analysis the reverse could just as easily be argued regarding archaeology, however, when used in conjunction, each discipline complements the other. Although there has been limited anthropological work in the study area, the material culture of the Kuuku I’yu people has not been subject to previous research.

In his influential analysis of how seasonality affects the material culture of Indigenous groups over small distances among the groups in the western Cape York Peninsula, Thomson (1939b:209) comments:

It will be apparent that an onlooker, seeing these people at different seasons of the year, would find them engaged in occupations so diverse, and with weapons and utensils differing so much in character, that if he were unaware of the seasonal influence on food supply, and consequently upon occupation, he would be led to conclude that they were different groups.

Although in coastal areas, this is true of some groups in the region, this variation in the production of material culture is also evident in the geographical divisions between Indigenous groups. Sutton (1994:32) argues that the most critical social distinction within the Indigenous population of Cape York Peninsula region is the coastal and inland peoples. This distinction is evident in the material culture of specific geographic areas, which have often been under-recognised in the region (McConnel 1953; Thomson 1939b). This argument resonates with Von Sturmer's (1978:64) criticism of previous anthropological work that considers all material culture across Cape York Peninsula region to be homogenous.

This lack of distinction between coastal and inland societies and material culture traditions also appears to have permeated the early collections of the region. However, the lack of resources in the study area makes this difficult to assess. However, it is reasonable to assume that although there are several differences between inland and coastal groups, there are also several interconnected similarities. It would seem to be a reasonable assertion (with a few exceptions) that where a resource existed (for example stone), then this would have been exploited similarly (but perhaps not identically) to a neighbouring group. These similarities assume that groups shared technological knowledge (as was marriage, aspects of language and belief systems). However, where a resource is not available (for example exotic shell handled woomeras) in an area, it is likely that this was not manufactured here and was only available through trade or exchange. With this in mind, just relevant material culture is included in this discussion.

## Non-Perishable Technology

As the study area contains significant outcroppings of various rock types the production of stone material culture would have been prevalent, and this differs significantly with the western coastal areas of the region (although stone was still utilised in coastal areas). Specific non-perishable technology in the study area includes: hammer stones, stone flakes, spears (also later metal, see Figure 16), woomera (spear throwers), shell knives, baler shells, grinding stones and mullers, drills, stone axes (later metal) and fishhooks (also later metal). Very little archaeological work in the greater Cape York Peninsula has concentrated upon research into Indigenous technologies and none has been conducted in the study area.



**Figure 16: Re-purposed (cold worked) metal hafted to spear handle (Sharp Collection, Cornell University).**

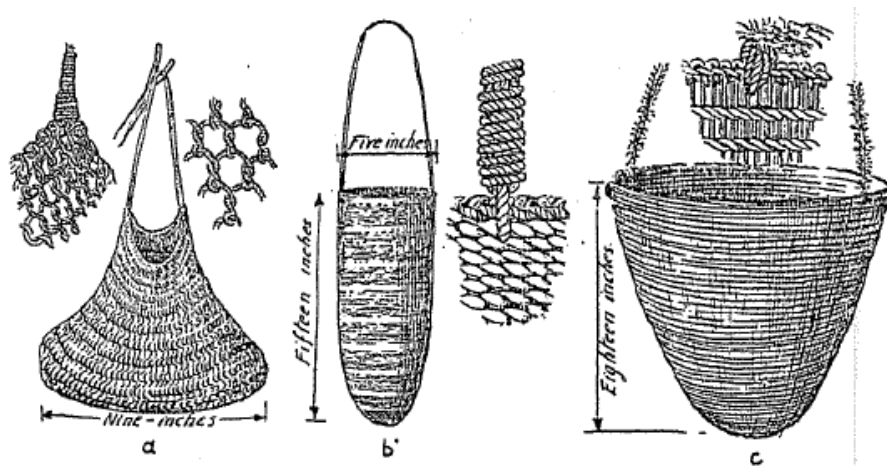
The use and procurement of axes is mentioned in four studies within the wider region, although mostly only briefly. Sutton (1994) does consider their use but only in respect to their relative absence and the trade with inland groups required to obtain them in the stone poor west coast and notes that he had only seen two stone implements when working in Wik country and they were both stone axes. Morrison and Shepard (2013) consider the use of stone axe heads and the impact of the introduction of steel axes upon the Weipa region and the collection of sugarbag. Sharp's (1952) discussion of axes in Queensland relates to the study area, but has a stronger correlation to trade and exchange and will be discussed later in this chapter. The economic value of axes

is also reflected in McConnel (1953:24) who notes for the Wik that stone axes are traded to the west coast from both the south and the east.

## Plants

Harris (1975:75) notes that plants of the open canopy woodland areas in the eastern Cape York Peninsula were numerous and useful. For example, the yam like roots of vines such as *Hardenbergia retusa* were eaten and the fibres used. Other plants were also multipurpose, for example the *Entada scandens*, of which the seeds were eaten (after preparation), the stem used to make dilly bags, and the vines and leaves were mashed in water to stupefy fish. Other plants that were discussed by Harris (1975) as being of use in this environment included: *Dillenia alata* (personal decoration), *Licuala muelleri* (thatching shelters), *Lomandra longifolia* (used to make baskets), *Acacia* (used to make woomera and spears), *Leptospermum fabricia* (used to repair canoes and making drums) and *Ficus virens* (used to bind spear points).

According to McConnell (1953:12), the most common plant used to make the cordage or twine used for these woven objects is the *Ficus cunninghamii*. The fibre is softened either in water or with saliva and chewed in the mouth, when it is dry it is stripped into strands and stored for later use. Twisting two strands together and rubbing them together on the upper thigh produced twine. These strands were then woven to create dilly bags and containers for the storage of everything from honey to tobacco (see Figure 17 below). Fishing nets were also manufactured using the same basic techniques. These types of plant-based objects are some of the most perishable in the archaeological record.



**Figure 17: Dilly bags and woven containers (McConnel 1953:13).**

## Bark

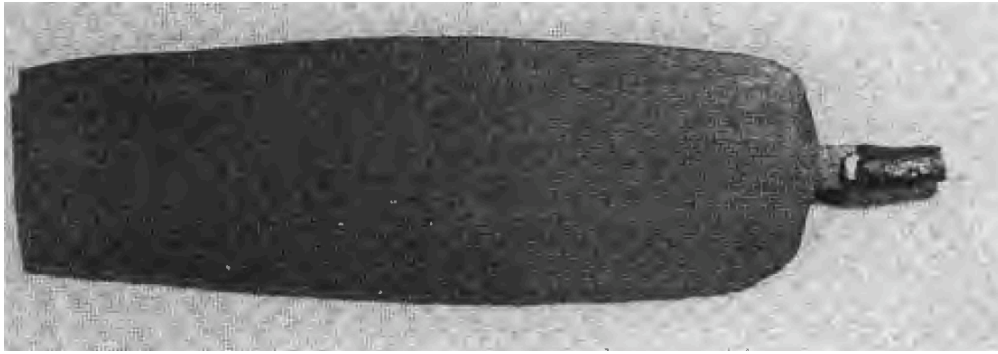
As Sutton (1994) notes bark is one of the most versatile, although perishable additions to the classical Indigenous tool kit in Cape York Peninsula. In particular Sutton discusses paperbark (tea tree) from the *Melaleuca spp.* The versatile bark of this plant was used for everything from nappies to cigarette papers and the wrapping of the dead. In a very coastal perspective, Sutton (1994) also notes that the widespread abundance of this species in coastal swamp areas is also one of the reasons that the coastal zones were more favourable in which to live than inland areas. Importantly, *Melaleuca spp.* also occurs inland in swampy and well-watered areas, but with much less frequency across the landscape. However, from an inland perspective, McConnel (1953) explains the virtues of *E. tetradonta* (stringybark) as another multi-purpose bark that is much more prevalent in the inland regions of Cape York Peninsula. *E. tetradonta* was used for everything from housing, earth ovens, lighting fires, making canoes, as a torch for fishing at night, making vessels to wash and carry food in and even as a baby's cradle.

Indigenous peoples' living arrangements adapted to the demands of the wet season, as camps needed well-drained soils and wet season habitation structures had to be built. Amongst the Wik, McConnel (1930a) records that the type of shelters and camps used were seasonal and in the dry season people mostly camped in the open by their fires

on soft surfaces such as sand or dust, with some structures constructed to protect against occasional bad weather. Conversely, during the wet season, huts were completely covered with *Melaleuca spp.* and often built on raised platforms to keep occupants above the damp ground, while fires were lit nearby so the smoke would deter mosquitos. Sutton (1994) notes that the use of Stringybark *Eucalyptus tetradonta* (Thomson 1939b:218) for this purpose. This practice differs considerably from the tea-tree used by coastal people and as (Sutton 1994) outlines this was considered one of many significant differences between salt-water and fresh-water people.

## Wood

The use of wood in the inland regions of Cape York Peninsula had many and varied applications to the production of technology. The production of many of the wooden objects required the harvesting of the hard wood dominant in the region (Cooktown Ironwood, *Erythrophleum chlorostachys*). As *Erythrophleum chlorostachys* is known for its properties of density and hardness, acquiring it requires particularly sharp axes or implements. Spears varied in make and style, as well as material, depending upon the use and heavy spears were made of *Erythrophleum chlorostachys* or acacia and were used to hunt larger game. Lighter woods such as rosella, hibiscus, cottonwood and bamboo were all used to manufacture spears designed to catch birds and fish (McConnel 1953). McConnel (1930a) also notes that the Wik men in the morning each day repair their spears in preparation for hunting and leave camp. Specifically, *Bambusa forbesii* (wild bamboo) was also used to make meat cutting knives, firestick containers and three pronged spears used to hunt fowl (*Megapodius freycinet*) and other game (Harris 1975:72). The production of a 'palette' is also of relevance to the central region of the Cape York Peninsula, due to the high numbers of sugarbag trees. The 'palette' is made from *Erythrophleum chlorostachys* (see Figure 18) a flat palm sized object with a wallaby tooth set in its handle was used for the heating of resin or wax, and for engraving. It is also made without a tooth further to the south near Edward River (See Figure 19).



**Figure 18: An *Erythrophleum chlorostachys* palette with wallaby tooth, from the 1930s (McConnel Collection, SA Museum) (Sutton 1994).**

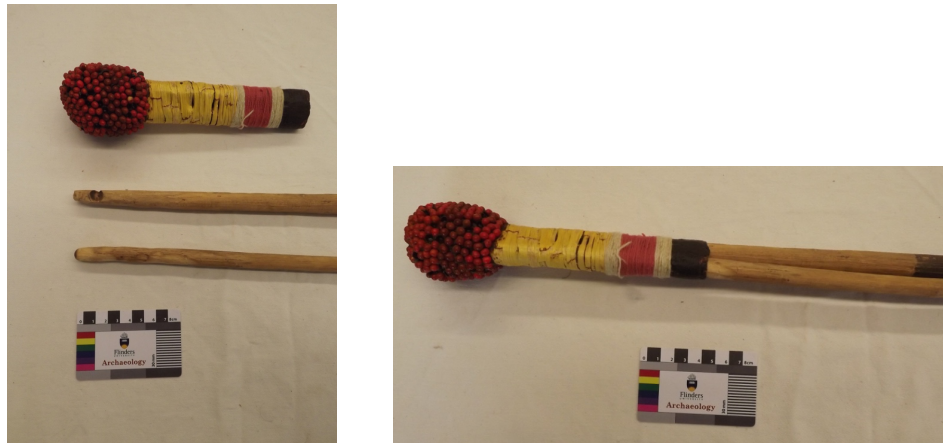


**Figure 19: *Erythrophleum chlorostachys* palette without wallaby tooth (Sharp Collection, Cornell University).**

The ‘Gulf Firestick’ (McConnel 1953:11) is made from matchbox-bean wood and are often as long as spears. The two sticks are carried in a double-barrelled bamboo attachment that is decorated with bright red *Abrus* seeds and is bound with twine made from the orchard plant. It is possible that these firesticks were also produced in the inland region, as these plants also grow there. One of these two firesticks had a slight depression along its side, while the other stick has a slightly rounded end (Figure 20). These two sticks are placed together (one vertical and one horizontal) with some tinder around the upright stick, while this stick is rubbed between the



hands to create friction and eventually a small spark. The bottom stick is held underneath to keep it stable (see Figure 21).



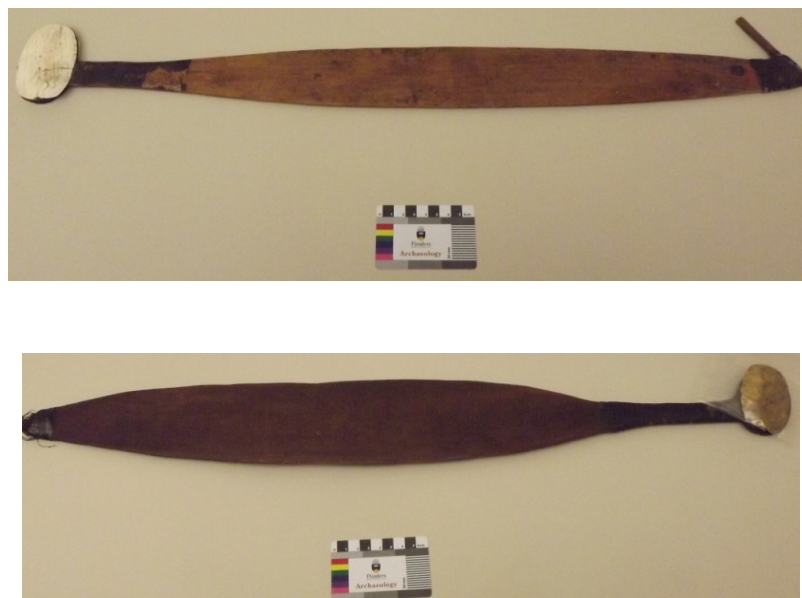
**Figure 20: Firesticks (right) out of their case with depression and cotton bound decorative end. Fire sticks in bamboo case (left) (Sharp Collection, Cornell University).**



**Figure 21: Showing the use of fire sticks while sitting (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell University Library).**



The woomera or spear thrower was an important aspect of the mobile hunting tool kit in the Cape York Peninsula and was used to add length to the fulcrum of the throwing arm, making the spear travel faster over longer distances. It is made from a shaft of wood, which may vary in length and width, with a small wooden peg at one end (to this the base of the spear is rested), while the other end is held in the hand. In coastal areas, the handle end of the woomera was decorated with twin bailer shell discs, which also served as counter weights (See Figure 22) and was a common trade item with inland groups. Yellow orchid bark and bright red seeds were also sometimes used to decorate the shaft of the woomera (McConnel 1953). Importantly there is little-recorded difference between the technology used in hunting and weapons, with the exception of the ‘false woomera’ – a woomera without a peg to hold a spear, which was used as a club (Sutton 1994). In the study area, wooden shields were lacking, as these wooden hardwood clubs were used to deflect spears.



**Figure 22: Woomera with bailer shell weights (top). Flat woomera with bailer shell weights (bottom) (Peabody Collection, Harvard University).**

Digging sticks were made from hardwoods and were used by women to harvest round yam, long yam and arrowroot (Sutton 1994:37). Digging sticks were multi-purpose tools that were also used for digging up burrowing animals after deliberate burning

and for getting small mammals and reptiles from confined spaces and for fighting (see Figure 23). Digging sticks were exclusively a woman's tool (for providing food) and also represents womanhood, whereas the spear was the symbol of manhood (also for providing food) (McConnel 1953:8).



**Figure 23: Indigenous woman posing with foods and an ironwood digging stick (vertical) (Thomson 1939b:Plate XXII).**

In a comparative discussion of smoking behaviour in northern Australia amongst Indigenous groups, Thomson (1939a) considers the ritual nature and material culture relating to tobacco (and like substances). Thomson discusses the use of smoking in ceremonial traditions while also noting that after Europeans had introduced this powerful drug, it induced Indigenous people to travel considerable distances. Thomson also notes that tobacco formed a type of payment for labour performed by Indigenous people. He notes that the 'tribes' of Lower Archer and Holroyd Rivers on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria were in the habit of travelling inland to the telegraph line, making camp and if necessary waiting a number of months to obtain sometimes only a small amount of tobacco (Thomson 1939a:83). Thompson also records in detail the types of 'pipes' or smoking implements used in each region and in relation to western Cape York Peninsula. He describes the *marapi* that is a 'pipe' made from drift bamboo and another 'pipe' type made from ironwood, which is called a tork (See Figure 24 and Figure 25). In relation to the Kandju (Kuuku I'yu) people

and the Indigenous groups on east coast, Thomson notes that they adopted a smoking implement called a *paipo* (alternative use of the European word, pipe) that is similar to a western style briar pipe. This ethnographic account reveals some of the extent to which tobacco was used during the colonial period in the region and its role in inter-cultural exchange.



**Figure 24: Tork smoking pipe (Thomson 1939a:84).**



**Figure 25: Photo of two people using a tork smoking pipe (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell University).**

## Wax

Bee's wax is a by-product of the collection of sugarbag and was used as a multi-purpose adhesive and in a variety of other ways. It was used to haft tools (see Figure 26 below), make woomeras, fasten seeds on the ends of decorative firesticks, make jewellery, magical amulets and in naming rituals and likely in dozens of other ways in

everyday life. It would seem that wax was stored in a ball for future use (see Figure 27).



**Figure 26: Reproduction of repurposed metal adze hafted with bee's wax (Sharp Collection, Cornell University).**



**Figure 27: Bee's wax ball (Sharp Collection, Cornell University).**

McConnel (1953:17) notes that a widow would have to wear a string around her neck with two decorated wax blobs on each end (See Figure 28). The wearing of this necklace was compulsory during the mourning period, and if it was removed or the widow was seen without it she could be killed by her dead husband's relatives.



**Figure 28: Widow's string neck ornament with wax balls and red Abrus seeds fastened with bee's wax (McConnel 1953:17).**

Thomson (1934b:240) discusses the production of a bee's wax dugong hunting amulet by inland groups on Cape York Peninsula (see Figure 29). These amulets were traded with coastal dugong hunters who considered this to be very a powerful magical symbol.



**Figure 29: Bee's wax amulet (Cornell Collection).**

The use of bee's wax was common in the ritual practices of the Wik as recorded by McConnel (1953:18). These practices included the preservation of a baby's umbilical cord for presentation to the father and also in the use of ritual modelling (for example the figure of a child) for magical purposes.

## *Exchange and Trade*

The interaction sphere of the Kuuku I'yu people plays a unique role in Cape York Peninsula due to the central geographic location of their traditional lands (McConnel 1939). The following will consider the exchange and trade between the Kuuku I'yu and their neighbours. The cultures of Cape York Peninsula are gift giving in nature; these types of gifts were used to gain favour with other groups or people. The benefit of this kind of gift giving, when compared to commodity exchange is that it created a lasting bond between the groups or people involved. The Sandbeach people of the eastern coast had a series of gift giving obligations, for example at a marriage, or after initiation that also recognised social responsibilities.

Intergroup dynamics described by Thomson were often, but not always hostile, and regularly involved trade and marriage. Thomson (1934b) discusses the significant trade between Indigenous groups on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula and inland groups. Where the inland groups 'are said to have supplied magical charms of great potency in dugong hunting, as well as red ochre for ceremonial purposes, [and] the fine flat millstones used for the grinding of lily and other seeds, and reed spears' (Thomson 1934b:240). This observation is later supported by (Keen 2004), who notes the trade of bee's wax from the interior of the region to the coast. In return the inland groups received 'bailer shells which are used both as water vessels, and after grinding, for the ends of spear-throwers, stingray spines for tipping fighting spears, and the greatly prized mother-of-pearl pendants' (Thomson 1934b:240).

There is also evidence of larger trade networks in the Cape York Peninsula region, which would have included raw materials, such as stone, ochre and the powerful narcotic pituri (Ratsch et al. 2010). Thomson (1934b) notes that exchange goods within this region by the 1930s also included western clothing.

Another example of larger trade networks in the broader Cape York Peninsula region is Sharp's (1952) discussion of the use of steel axes by Indigenous people and the effect this had on pre-colonial lifeways and social organisation (See Figure 30 below). Sharp (1952) investigated the use of stone and metal axes by Yir Yoront people in



south eastern Cape York Peninsula and considers the economic and social ramifications of this introduced technology. The stone axe played a major role in the everyday life of the Yir Yoront. Where a man who also carried it created the axe and each person within his dependent kinship sphere had to ask him for its use, even his wives who often used the axe for the laborious task of collecting firewood. These restrictions reinforced a social hierarchy where the older males were dominant. This dominance was reinforced through traditional trade networks (which was also controlled by older men) through which the material for making the stone axes was obtained. The introduction of steel axes even through traditional trade networks made a considerable impact in these communities, but it was the wholesale introduction of steel axes as a commodity, valued as much as highly addictive tobacco, through the missions and pastoral stations in the area that caused social disruption. With the establishment of the missions the Yir Yoront were occasionally 'employed' in various ways, for example as labourers and domestic workers, sometimes as payment, a steel axe was even given to women and young men. Sharp's study then suggests that this wider access to axes created larger social issues, particularly for the previously dominant men, who in what is depicted as a very androcentric culture were made socially redundant, which was ultimately not the case. It is also highly possible that similar issues were experienced amongst the Kuuku I'yu during the colonial process.



**Figure 30: An Indigenous man with steel axe (Sharp Papers Collection, Cornell University).**

The classical economy of the Kuuku I'yu produced a unique set of spatial practices that form a complex but cohesive social web of interaction and exchange. These social networks produced a social space where people gained status, rather than accumulated material wealth. Consequently, these social networks changed significantly during the colonial era, altering an individual's ability to obtain status. This footprint of the Kuuku I'yu classical economy was comprised of numerous practices that both produced and existed within the cultural landscape of the region. This classical cultural landscape in the Wenlock region was a fluid space that has changed throughout its production. It is these changes in spatial practices (and the later changes in social spaces) such as population movement, food procurement and the use of material culture during the colonial process that will be the later focus of the discussion of cross-cultural interaction in the study area.



## **Institutions**

This section discusses the classical social institutions of the Kuuku I'yu people in direct relation to Lefebvre's (1991) represented social spaces. The conceptualisation of this form of space is produced by the dominant group in any society. In regard to Kuuku I'yu social institutions, this includes language, the places language groups occupied, their beliefs in regard to totems, marriage and death and the governance that created social cohesion through political and economic dominance.

### *Language*

The classification of Indigenous groups in Australia has long been based on language to indicate the boundaries of cultural divides and social structure; a good example is Norman Tindale and Rys Jones' (1976) map of languages and dialect areas on the continent. Considering the cultural interactions between Indigenous groups on Cape York Peninsula, it stands to reason that localised languages would have numerous similarities, but these same language variations can also be used to indicate significant social differences. Sutton (1976) considers all of the current languages of Cape York Peninsula (with the notable exception of Gugadj) to be 'Paman', the ancestor of which is 'Proto-Paman', a language style which is estimated to be several thousand years in age. Hale (1997:4) also supports this position:

... a distinctive Middle Paman lexical heritage of which the Wik languages [and by extension, the Kaanju, Yinwum, and Atambaya/Uradhi languages] partake, identifying them with a particular sub-tradition within the Paman family as a whole.

These language similarities are explored by McConnel (1945:353), who discusses a likeness between the Kaanju (Kuuku I'yu) and Wik peoples of the region who interact at the western and eastern extremities of their territories. However, McConnel also considers the cultural influence of the interaction between the Kuuku I'yu and the groups of the eastern coast to be more dominant than that with people to the west, such as the Wik peoples.

The Western understanding of the use of language to separate Indigenous groups in Cape York Peninsula from one another and to cement social identity, particularly in this overall region, began with Thomson (1933). When commenting on his study of the Indigenous people of the east coast, Thomson (1933:458) states that; ‘the name Koko Ya’o is koko, talk, speech, ya’o, this way, "talk this way", by which they distinguish themselves from the Koko I’o or Kanju, to the west’. These social markers indicate that the language of the region can play a significant role in social division, structure and identity.

Archibald Meston, compiled the earliest ethnographic recordings of Indigenous language in the study area. However, the vocabulary of Meston’s (1896) ‘Moreton Tribe’ which he located in the area around Batavia River, is not in the Kuuku I’yu language (Smith 2005). As this was recorded further to the north, however, Meston’s report does, record the presence of the Kuuku I’yu language but attributes the area in which this language was spoken further to the south. Meston’s informant for his ‘Upper Archer’ vocabulary gives her ‘country’ as ‘Ahcannjo’. This ‘Upper Archer’ vocabulary is clearly in the Kuuku I’yu language, and ‘Ahcannjo’ appears to be Meston’s attempt to record ‘Kaanju’ (Smith 2005).

Thompson (1988) identifies ‘Kaantju’ (Kuuku I’yu) as an inland dialect of the Sandbeach language group (whose other dialects include Kuuku Ya’u and Umpila). He makes no delineation between the northern and southern ‘Kaanju’ groups, however, but does indicate the location of the ‘Kaanju’ language as being ‘roughly from the present town of Coen to north of the old Moreton Post Office’ (Thompson (1988:2). Donald Thomson (1933:458) originally recorded the difference between northern and southern Kaanju speakers (1933:458): ‘the name Koko [Kuuku] I’o is more usually applied to its northern members, and Ka[a]nju to the southern people’. Separating groups through the pronunciation of specific words with a heavy or light emphasis is common in the region (Smith 2005:32), and Chase (1984) also commented that these variations were indicative of broad social distinctions between the two groups.

Rigsby (1992) contributes to the modern anthropological work in Cape York Peninsula and explores the broader social organisation of Indigenous groups in the area. Rigsby (1992) rescinds a long held argument that in the Princess Charlotte Bay area of Cape York Peninsula there is no such thing as tribes. He notes that, since the possibility of groups regaining land rights has emerged within a Native Title context, tribal groups based on language areas have formed. Sutton and Rigsby (1982) discuss the 'politics' of land and personnel management in Cape York Peninsula and argue that Indigenous groups before European settlement managed to maintain stable group numbers using, at times, both patrilineal and matrilineal land inheritance structures.

### *Locality*

The concept of place in Indigenous Australia is somewhat different from the European concept. For Indigenous people the relationship with a clan area or place is often called a relationship with 'Country'. Country is defined by Rose (1991:8) as being 'multi-dimensional ~ it consists of people, animals, plants, Dreamings; understandings, earth, soils, mineral and waters, surface water, and air.' This means that Country and place have a particular meaning in Indigenous Australian culture that is tied intimately to ritual, and self and group identity.

McConnel (1939) made detailed reference to the Kaanju (Kuuku I'yu) people and the land that they occupied at the time of her early studies during the 1930s. McConnel notes that the Kaanju (Kuuku I'yu) people live within the Great-Dividing Range, and comments that, as a group, they form a cultural bridge in the region, as they are exposed to influences from the north, south, east and west. McConnel (1939:58) discusses the groups boundaries in some depth:

The Kandyu [Kaanju] tribe straddled the Great Dividing Range from east to west across the Peninsula. It extended northwards up the tableland across Sefton Creek (Batavia River) as far as the headwaters of the Pascoe River on the eastern slope, occupied all the numerous headwater tributaries of the Archer River-Granite, Hull, Attack and Peach Creeks, the Coen River and Tadpole Creek, and made headquarters at Coen telegraph station. The Kandyu [Kaanju] met the Wikmunkan on Rokeby cattle-run, the Wik-ianyi of the Kendall-Holroyd Rivers on Pretender Creek, and the southern AiyabCito (Sharp: Ai' abadu), Bakanu (Sharp:

Aiabakan) arid Koko-olkolo of the upper Holroyd, Edward and Coleman Rivers on Ebagoolah cattle run. The Kandyu [Kaanju] thus formed a wedge between the tribes of the Gulf watershed and those of the east coast described by Thomson. On the other hand, the Kandyu [Kaanju] formed a link between the northern Peninsular tribes above referred to and the southern Koko-CilkCilo, northernmost of the tableland Koko tribes described by Roth as inhabiting the headwaters of the Palmer (Mitchell) and Laura (Normanby) Rivers, who foregathered at Maytown and Laura settlements.

McConnel (1939) attempted to synthesise the work of Thomson, Sharp and Roth to identify areas and groups in the region that required further research and discusses the difficulties in naming and identifying distinct groups based on differing spellings by different ethnographers.

Thomson (1934b) explored the relationship between inland and coastal Indigenous groups on the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula and described the inland groups (such as the Kuuku I'yu) as having more in common with other Australian Indigenous groups, while the coastal groups were very distinct. Other ethnographers later refuted this (Rigsby and Chase 1998). Thomson also describes a tension between the coastal groups (Kawadji) and inland dwellers (Kuuku I'yu), where the Kawadji consider the inland groups (who are feared to a greater extent than other coastal groups) as always exacting avenging excursions or 'wappa' for perceived territorial incursions:

These wappa expeditions are not confined to the interior natives but are common to all the tribes of Eastern Cape York Peninsula. Although they are surrounded by the strictest secrecy they fall under a definite social sanction and are in reality avenging excursions carried out by the old men of the group (horde) which has suffered damage by the loss of one of its members (Thomson 1934a:240).

Thomson (1933) comments that Indigenous groups of the eastern coast are primarily nomadic, yet with a smaller range than inland groups, as they live mostly off the sea, eating dugong, turtle, fish and stingray. Thomson (1933, 1934a, 1934b; 1972) discusses the influence of Torres Strait cultures on both eastern and western coastal areas, that is most visible in the practices of hero cults, masked dancing and mummification of the dead. Thomson (1934a:238) extends his analysis of the Kawadji (of the eastern coast) and comments that these perceived cultural influences are also evident in the physical make-up of the Kawadji:

The Kawadji show strong evidence of Papuan influence. This is apparent in their physical characteristics, particularly in the bronze colour of the skin and the curly, often frizzy, hair, which is in strong contrast with the straight, or curly hair of the typical Australian aboriginal.

Other ethnographers later criticise this reasoning based upon physical characteristics (Rigsby and Chase 1998). Rigsby and Chase (1998) build upon the early work of Thomson (1933, 1934a, 1934b) and further refine the understanding of these coastal groups. They achieve this by identifying the group differently to Thomson and comment that there are some maritime-orientated Indigenous groups across Australia with similar characteristics.

Although John Von Sturmer (1978:3) focussed his research on the south east of Cape York Peninsula, he critically considers that the early ethnographic work in the region failed to ‘come to grips with an important division between coast and inland.’ Von Sturmer (1978:3) comments that, when compared, the inland Indigenous groups:

Exhibit a restricted range of environments, less marked seasonal variation in resources and subsistence strategies, low population density, little linguistic diversity, large estates with less significant variations in size, and a high correspondence of ‘increase sites’ and totems.

This division illustrates a more nuanced image of the cultural composition of the region based on the different environmental conditions of the inland and coastal areas. In respect to cultural influence and difference, Chase (1984:117) notes that, although Thomson may have been correct about certain aspects of cultural influence from northern areas such as the Torres Straits. He concludes that the Indigenous people of Cape York Peninsula conform to the general ‘anthropological descriptions [that comprise] of conceptual relationship[s] between people and land elsewhere in Australia.’

#### *Patrilineal Totem Groups*

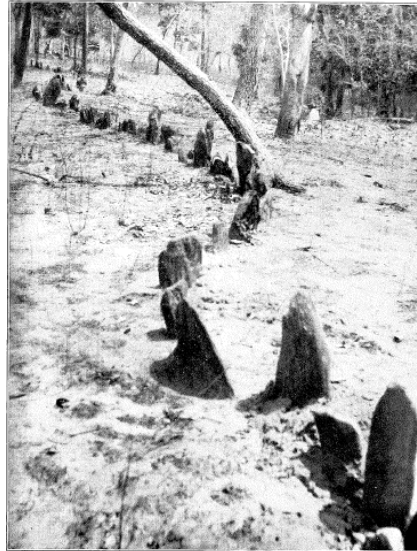
Across Cape York Peninsula, the ‘clan’ or ‘family’ grouping forms classical patrilineal descent groups; this is the most significant cultural group or unit, especially concerning traditional connections to Country and identity (Smith 2005). Despite

Keen's (1995:503) criticism of the term 'clan', this study will side with Smith (2016) and use the term, as the Kuuku I'yu currently use this term to describe their social organisation into small kin based groups often led by a patriarchal figure (Claudie 2007:94).

The use of totems is common to all Indigenous groups in the greater Cape York Peninsula and takes the form of both patrilineal totems and individual totems. Totems are generally represented by animals found within a group's clan area, for instance, dugongs on the coast (Thomson 1934b). It is also important to note that Thomson records that several groups, including the Kuuku I'yu, did not believe that the mother had any part in the conception of children, and the child resulted entirely from the seminal fluid of the father (Thomson 1933:506). This belief is likely connected the patrilineal inheritance of the group totem. However, this was not a view shared by all groups in the region, as Thomson considered some groups to be aware of maternal physiological links, which is evident in the use and knowledge of contraceptive plants amongst both men and women.

McConnel (1930a:194) introduces the use of totem stones by the Kuuku I'yu as a comparison with Wik peoples' use of termite nests for ritual purposes. McConnel suggests that this difference in the demarcation of ritual totemic sites is merely due to the availability, or lack of, primary resources. When recording the stone arrangements at totemic sites within the Kuuku I'yu area, McConnel (1930a) comments that only two old men remembered anything with respect to their significance. McConnel describes the totem centre of the red kangaroo as being six miles from Coen, consisting of a series of stones embedded in the earth and ranging in height from a few inches above the ground to over three feet and running parallel to Emily Creek (McConnel 1932) (See Figure 31). Another site described by McConnel near Coen contains a group of three stones and forms the totemic centre of the rock-cod that was ritually cleaned by an old man who represented this totemic group. This ritual was intended to allow the cod the freedom to flourish in the local area as a type of increase ritual. McConnel (1930a) then proceeds to compare this type of ritual/totemic structure to other groups, such as the Wik people and other Indigenous groups in other parts of Queensland and Australia, including South Australia. McConnel asserts that what these sites types have in common are Indigenous groups that subscribe to

patrilineal descent and a totemic ancestor who created the totem sites and first performed the ceremonies.

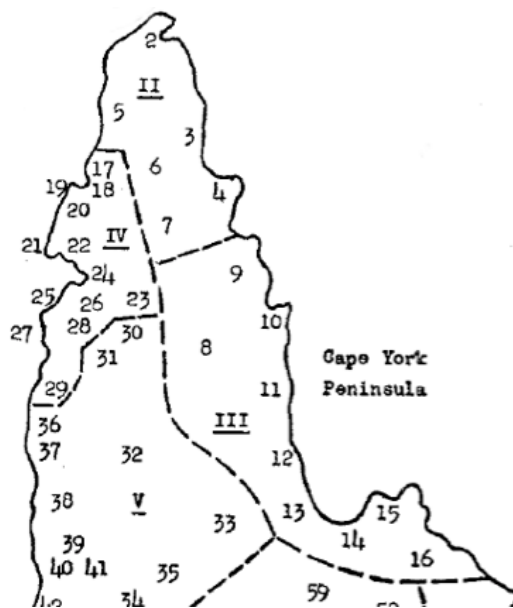


**Figure 31: Kangaroo stone totems near Emily Creek (McConnel 1932:29).**

McConnel (1936) disagrees with Thomson's analysis of the role of totems in the broader Indigenous Australian social system. McConnel (1936) comments that Thomson's argument that Indigenous Australian social systems became more homogenous due to pre-European cross-cultural interaction is false, as it suppresses finer-grained social divisions below the level of the tribe to promote larger religious structures (totemism) (Chase 1984). Within this finer grained focus, Thomson also made no connections between moiety and specific clan areas of land. In these clan areas the environment was considered to be more sympathetic to those people that belong to it, and even in some cases, the moieties name is also the primary term of reference for that portion of land (Chase 1984:111). Physical traits, such as the lines on palms and hair define the relationship of the individual to their moiety. This relationship is also true of the of land to its moiety through aspects such as the shape of hills, plant growth and the contrast of light and shadow (Chase 1984).

Sharp's (1939) study applied a general focus to the regional area of Cape York Peninsula in regards to the organisation of tribes by totemic groups. This attempt to

synthesise other work in the region recognises the Kaanju (Kuuku I'yu) group (see number 8 in the map below in Figure 32). Sharp divided the Indigenous people of the region into several categories based upon perceived differences in the totemic structures of the groups. The group-types are as follows: (1) Kaurareg; (2) Yathaikeno; (3) Koko Yao and (4) Tjongandji type. Within this classification system, the Kaanju (Kuuku I'yu) are defined as being of a Koko Yao type, which has a patrilineal totemic structure that involves an ancestor cult, an interpretation that is heavily influenced by the work of Thomson (1934b).



**Figure 32: Indigenous totemic groups (Sharp 1939:256).**

Chase (1984) notes that the Kaanchu (Kuuku I'yu) moiety system is similar to, and based on, that of the coastal groups, as this allows for intermarriage between the two. Marriage within the same moiety is considered to be the most severe act of incest.

### *Marriage*

The social organisation of marriage systems in Cape York Peninsula is significant as it assists in the illustration of the organisation of different individual cultural groups. It is also important to recognise that marriage served an economic function. Keen



(2004:174) notes: 'As well as being a mode of organising reproduction, marriage also reproduced social networks, which formed the basis of economic cooperation.'

Sometimes, these arrangements took the form of lending or exchanging one's spouse (normally women) in return for goods and services. These exchanges are essential to note, as relationships of this type were often later formed with white (male) settlers. It is also imperative to recognise within this brief discussion that Indigenous groups in Cape York Peninsula practiced polygyny (a man having more than one wife at a time). Across a lifetime a woman could often have many husbands, as they were married when young and were often widowed.

Thomson (1933:460) describes the ideal marriage system of the Sandbeach people on the north eastern coast of the Cape York Peninsula as being based on one of two kinship relationships, 'with a classificatory mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, and with a classificatory sister's son's daughter, respectively, with whom no blood relationship can be traced. Marriage with the actual cross-cousin is prohibited.' It should be understood here that 'sister' or 'brother' might refer to people of the same age with a close relationship. Thomson also declares that the marriage system of four different 'classes' found in other parts of Australia is absent from various Indigenous groups on Cape York Peninsula, including the Kaanju (Thomson 1933:460). He is so certain of this that he criticises the earlier work conducted by Mathew (1900) and notes that there are only two marriage classes in Cape York Peninsula. More recently, Von Sturmer (1978) argues that Thomson's position on the issue of marriage classes was incorrect, as there are similarities with other Indigenous marriage systems elsewhere in Australia.

When discussing intermarriage between different language groups, McConnel (1930a:340) notes that, like the Wik people to the west, the Kaanju have a rigid distinction between a father's younger and older sisters in respect to alternative marriages. McConnel (1950) compares the junior marriage system among the Indigenous groups of Cape York Peninsula. McConnel (1950) contends that the Wik have a marriage system that is similar to the rest of Australia. However, McConnel also notes that three other groups (Ka.ndyu [Kaanju], Yāraodyana and Ngamiti) have distinct marriage systems unique to Cape York Peninsula, outside of the 'junior marriage system'. According to the Kaanju marriage system, the marriage of a man to

his mother's brother's daughter is considered wrong, where the marriage of a man to his father's (younger) sister's daughter is a preferential marriage. McConnel notes that a difference between the Kaanju and the Wik groups is that within the Kaanju the Wik junior marriage system does not occur. In the Kaanju marriage system, a man may never marry the daughter of his mother's older brother and father's older sister. Consequently, a woman may not marry the son of both mother's younger brother and father's younger sister, 'To be consistent with the junior marriage pattern, [the] Ka.ndyu system should be a second-cousin and not a first-cousin marriage on the father's side' (McConnel 1950:110). Marriage systems help define pre-colonial social spaces as they connect how different groups interacted with each other as economic and social units.

### *Death and Sorcery*

The death and the burial practices of Indigenous people of Cape York Peninsula have been recorded as being based on similar belief systems. The product of this belief system in regards to the treatment of human remains is often the preservation through mummification or burial with ritual exhumation during a period of mourning (McConnel 1936). McConnel (1936) discusses the mortuary practices of the Kaanju people, reporting information from a Kaanju man, Jimmy Corporal, who commented that the internment of corpses in caves was common in the Great Dividing Ranges as a way of disposing of the dead. Jimmy Corporal had been captured as a boy by the Native Mounted Police and raised by them, and subsequently, McConnel questions his knowledge of traditional customs relating to death. McConnel finds it difficult to ascertain whether or not the burial of the dead is a reaction to European settlement (and an insistence on hygiene) or a pre-existing practice. Jimmy Corporal comments that bodies were traditionally buried 'as a means of removing the flesh from the bones, which were afterwards dug up and carried about in a bark bundle by relatives' (McConnel 1936:349). Jimmy Corporal also relates a myth surrounding Polpol, the totemic ancestor of the housefly, who was buried by his brother, Wauwudyumo, with his head sticking out of the ground and his tongue protruding (similar to what happens to dead people). McConnel attributes some antiquity to this practice due to its mythical portrayal (McConnel 1936).

In regards to the Indigenous people of the east coast and their perception of death, Thomson (1934b:240) comments:

... there is, to the aboriginal, no such thing as death from natural causes, with only a few exceptions such as extreme old age or death from visible wounds, most deaths are attributed to evil magic deliberately made by enemies. In the absence of any visible signs of the cause of death it is not wonderful that magical means should be employed not only for the detection of the culprit, but also for the visitation of vengeance upon him.

Thomson attributes this evil magic as often being the result of the inter-tribal tensions that have their roots in totemic magic. According to Roth (1903), discussion of superstition and magical beliefs among the Indigenous groups of northern Australia and the magical power of 'shamans' is associated with the spirits of dead people in certain places in the landscape. This association allows the practitioner to perform magic, such as weather magic. However, when performing magic upon a person, obtaining a portion of the victim's blood allows for the most influence over the person. The use of this blood magic also apparently allowed the practitioner to travel vast distances by flight (Elkin 1934). The perception of these practitioners of magic among the Sandbeach people was that they were skilled healers and were called 'maparanga' and were to perform treatments for sorcery attack by using bush medicines, bloodletting, 'sucking' out an object and passing sweat under the patient's nostrils (Keen 2004).

McConnel (1936) is sceptical of the possibility that some Indigenous groups were practising ritual cannibalism through the consumption of the organs of close relatives during the grieving process. However, McConnel considers this practice not to have taken place among the Wik people of the west coast and proposes that it may have stopped during the colonial era due to European abhorrence of this practice. Thomson (1934b:252) also discusses the use of ritualistic cannibalism amongst the Koko Ya'o as a means for making a man fearless while dugong hunting. Thomson notes that the portions consumed were usually calf muscles; a 'big man' conducted the ritualistic process of cooking and feeding any initiates. This ritual eating of human flesh is also noted by Keen (2004:228) as an element of trade between coastal and inland groups,

who would supply the flesh for treating hunting equipment or to nibble to make them fearless.

Although discussed briefly in McConnel's (1932) paper on totemic structures and increase rituals, various researchers consider the role of these rituals in the general region (Keen 2004; McConnel 1932; Thomson 1933), and in general, they appear to be relatively uniform in design. Each patri-group is associated with one or more totems, which is also the form of an ancestral being that left a mark on a place in the landscape. It is this place, often also a story place, where 'big men' who had sufficient ritual knowledge and power over the increase site performed associated rituals.

### *Governance*

The term governance is based around the idea of social control and power relationships between members of the same and different groups. Thomson (1946) discusses the social organisation of Indigenous groups in Cape York Peninsula in general and explains that the responsibility of governance was controlled not by a single chieftain, but by a council of old men. However, the weight each member carried may differ over time according to strength and prowess. Thomson considers the division of groups to be based on common language systems, but at certain times greater cultural commonalities (for instance in resource use) existed between neighbouring groups, even from different language groupings. For example, between the inland Wik people and Kaanju people, who, although from different language groups, are both based in non-coastal areas. Thomson also discusses the numerical superiority of the Kaanju and Wik peoples, although they were not politically dominant in other areas. Von Sturmer (1978), working with Wik people, proposes that the disproportionate focus on the Wik group by previous researchers such as Thomson and McConnel has distorted the ethnographic record concerning social organisation in the region.

Direct action through violent retaliation (for men this included the use of spears) for acts such as perceived sorcery or eloping with someone else's wife was not uncommon and supported by close kin groups. The status of women is generally

understood to be a subservient one and, although they had separate initiation rituals, they were not secret. However, as women became older, they were considered to be more like men and gained in status (Chase 1984; Keen 2004).

Chase (1984) discusses the role of ‘bosses’, big men or men of importance and refers to men who are listened to and held influence in respect to day-to-day matters, including conflict resolution, some were also known for their knowledge of ritual and healing practices. He comments that these big men could not control access to resources or conduct ceremonies by themselves, as these were controlled collaboratively by older men. Chase notes that the term ‘boss’ is not used to refer to Indigenous men in the region, as leadership was fairly covert and not obvious. This observation is supported by Keen’s (2004) work which concludes that there was active resistance to individual people asserting dominance, who had no ascribed role as healers or ‘shamans’. However, Keen notes that the maintenance of ancestral law by groups of older men who controlled this traditional knowledge and initiation as a form of power. Chase (1984) does comment however that, ‘famous’ big men were often ‘loners’ who lived only with one or two wives and came out of isolation only for major social events (marriages and deaths). Staying out of everyday social interaction afforded them a position of greater social power and control (Chase 1984:116).

These forms of classical governance and social institutions indicate how Kuuku I’yu culture controlled and produced these abstract spaces. The layering of meaning within represented spaces produces social space and cultural landscapes, transforming places into social spaces through labouring in them and by conceptualising them.

## **Summary**

This chapter outlines the complex social and material spaces occupied by the Indigenous groups of Cape York Peninsula, with a focus upon the Kuuku I’yu during the pre-colonial and early colonial period. This discussion has gone beyond a straightforward interpretation of the historical ethnographic sources to re-consider the yearly cycle of the Kuuku I’yu, their relationship to other Indigenous groups in the

area, and the use of resources. This inquiry has led to an outlining of the relation of the Kuuku I'yu to the pre-colonial means of social and economic production as a way of understanding later transitions during the colonial period. During the pre-colonial, period social spaces were conceptualised through extended clan and language group divisions in the study area and across the broader Cape York Peninsula and provide a counterpoint to the later colonial era historical sources for the region. This discussion outlines the construction of pre-colonial Kuuku I'yu spatial practices. These were outlined within the context of economic practices and material culture. Represented spaces were discussed in respect to the Kuuku I'yu abstract social institutions during the pre-colonial era. This chapter provides a baseline from which to address social change as reflected within these social practices and represented spaces during the colonial period.

A number of the cultural practices discussed in this chapter illustrate the persistence of classical lifeways at the threshold of colonisation through the use of material culture (wood, wax), continuing cultural traditions (like language and social structures), food and other sources. The persistence of these classical lifeways is an example of how Kuuku I'yu spatial practices and represented social space continued into the colonial era. However, as the dominant form of social space begins to alter within the colonial process, so does the production of these spaces.

## **Chapter 5: Colonial Represented Spaces - Historical Documentary Approach**

The Wenlock area was severely disturbed both culturally and environmentally by European economic activity in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Chapter 5 outlines in chronological order the pattern of European economic and colonial expansion into the Wenlock region. This provides some insight into the colonial formulation of social space through economic and social change (particularly labour practices) and the resultant intercultural dynamics in these spaces. The production of economic spaces overlaps; however, individually they are all dominant forms of spaces within the colonial discourse. These produced social spaces are premised upon colonial sources and create a form of space referred to by Lefebvre (1991) as a represented space, this form of space can alter and control the perception of other forms of social space, for example physical spaces or spatial practices.

The analysis of social space is achieved through understanding the inherent tension between spatial practices and represented spaces. This tension forms a dynamic within the colonial enterprise that demonstrates the inequity of the social relations between Indigenous and colonial cultures. These tensions can be clearly seen in the nature of how these represented spaces are produced through the analysis of colonial sources such as written histories and maps and the spatial practices of the Kuuku I'yu. Therefore, it is through the use of ethnographic and archaeological material, that a broader perspective of how these constructed forms of social space reflect how intercultural relations, and colonial transitions in the study area can be better understood. This chapter outlines the construction of colonial spaces of representation in the Wenlock region; it does this by discussing each means of production and by following the people who created these dominant social spaces and the people who laboured within them.

### **Historical Documentary Research Approach**

The historical and archaeological material has served various functions in designing and testing the validity of this research project. The major limitation of this evidence

type is that the written historical record rarely contains Indigenous perspectives or voices, making it heavily biased towards European perspectives. This limitation provides the archaeological record in cross-cultural settings a certain strength where subaltern histories (Hall 1999) are being explored. The following section outlines the use of critical historical documentary sources and how they were used.

In designing this research project, it was necessary to locate as much historical information on the study area as possible. Several primary historical sources exist for the Wenlock Goldfields, and these include maps, letters, early diaries, government reports and newspapers. The historical documentary approach has been used previously and in conjunction with other archaeological methods in Australia (Della-Sale 2013; Harrison 2000, 2002a, 2004a; Paterson 2008). The current study builds upon the detailed and substantial work produced by Della-Sale (2013) in the Cape York Peninsula region, which was the first archaeological investigation to incorporate the present study area. Any places mentioned in historical texts that relate to economic production (for example mining) were also given a geodetic coordinate, as this enabled these places to be analysed regarding their position in the landscape.

Historical sources were read and interrogated by considering the following: Could it explain or contribute to the knowledge of the central European economic drivers in the Wenlock area? Did it outline the role of Indigenous labour within these economic systems? Were Indigenous people discussed at all? If so how, and in what context? Were cross-cultural relations (for example trade or employment) between Europeans and Indigenous people explicit? Was a place or other locational data explained, referred to or shown in the text? Did the text describe aspects of daily life for people like diet or explain other consumables that may be found in the archaeological record? Was sugarbag (honey collected from native bee's hives) mentioned? Was a date range for the use of a place or practice specified?

### **Historical Maps**

The use of historical maps has been crucial to this study, particularly when they were georeferenced using ArcGIS since they allowed for the planning of pedestrian surveys and interpretation of the recorded cultural material. Specific maps (Embley 1886)



were located in the Cape York Collection at the Hibberd Library (Weipa) and online through the National Library of Australia. Historical maps and plans of the study area allowed for the narrowing of the potential survey areas and assisted in locating European centres of economic activity (for example a gold field), often these maps were available in texts such as de Haviland (1989) and Jack (1921). Historical maps of pastoral, mining and Native Mounted Police areas were also crucial to the interpretation of material culture in the study area. This was achieved through the georeferencing of historical maps where possible to establish the date range for much of the metal and mining material located during this study. This technique has also been used to ascertain which area relate to mining, pastoral and Native Mounted Police activity in the region.

A significant aspect of how the colonial space of the Wenlock region has been represented in the European historical record are the maps created to represent it. The naming of spaces is a way of claiming them (Carter 1987:327; Oliver 2011). In the study area, this renaming reflects the recognised labour that exploited this landscape and produced these forms of space (typically European male miners and pastoralists), leaving a lasting legacy of this dominant European memory upon the landscape (the major exception being Plutoville and Pluto's Gully). Cowlshaw (1999:59) describes this process of the state colonising the landscape:

Exploring, surveying, drawing maps, marking their scale and contours, establishing borders, measuring distances, forming roads, constructing fences, naming places: all these activities undertaken by state officials impressed a certain set of intentions on the country.

Colonisation creates a form of space where the Indigenous population of the region are made invisible in the landscape through these representations (Koch 2013). Crucially, some of these early European maps (Embley 1886) reflect an idealised depiction of the division of this space, echoing only a set of intentions.

In the Wenlock region, it is apparent that the violent colonisation of the Indigenous population is reflected in the renaming of this landscape. This is evident in the naming of places or waterways, such as Retreat or Black Gin Creek, Attack Creek, Snider Creek and Picaninny Creek (Jack 1921). In this form of official space, this is how

Indigenous people are depicted in the colonial landscape, representing social relations based within the legacy of violence and the ‘conquering’ of this landscape.

The use of historical sources has assisted in establishing the location and dates of previously known sites of European economic activity in the study area. Some of these documents also indicate where Indigenous camps were located in relation to European economic activity in the study area and information regarding the general Indigenous use of the landscape during the colonial era.

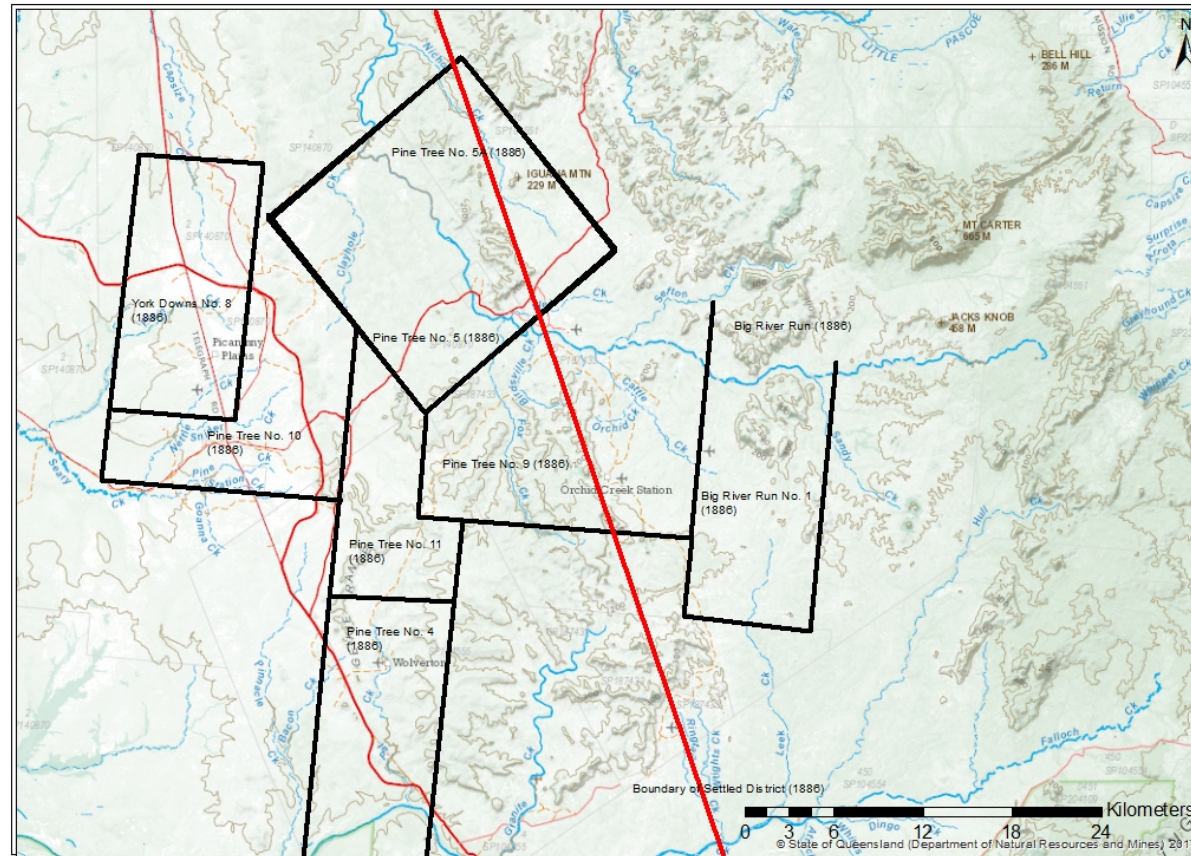
## **Pastoralism**

The first significant, long-term European colonial occupation in the study area was the pastoralists. As an industry, the social space produced by pastoralism had a marked impact on the Wenlock region and unlike other European industries in the study area at the time (prospectors, explorers or geologists) pastoralism was the first segment of the colonial project to establish a more permanent foothold in the study area. The other European incursions into the region, although important, did not control resources in the same way. Pastoralism became a colonial industry that produced a certain social space that dominated the region. The physical presence of cattle stations, livestock, and pastoral workers became a part of the changing landscape of the region. The typical pastoral station was marked by a simple structure, typically built of bark, split timber slabs, or bush timber and the runs were often free-ranging, meaning they required little to no ‘improvement’ (May 1994:33). Although pastoralists in this region used large tracts of land, the number of European settlers was quite low, as it was difficult to attract European labourers from the south. As a result, the success of the pastoral industry in Queensland and in the Wenlock region was premised on the use of Indigenous labour (May 1994). However, the historical record of the Wenlock region does not accurately reflect the presence of Indigenous labour in the pastoral industry. The presence of Indigenous labours in the Wenlock region is often mentioned in passing, for example Willie, an Indigenous assistant to Fred Keppell (Fisher 1998), with an emphasis placed upon those who owned and ran the stations, rather than the people who worked on them.

A survey map from 1886 (see Figure 33, Figure 34) establishes that the study area is based within Pine Tree Run (various portions) and Big River Run. These named spaces in the Wenlock region reflect European pastoralism as a means of production and demonstrate its perceived social dominance. However, due to the open run nature of raising cattle on Cape York Peninsula, these runs and lines on the maps do not reflect boundary lines or even actual areas that were taken up by pastoralists. The majority of these runs appear to be an ideal created by Embley to lease land, to highlight their potential, not necessarily to reflect the actual nature of Cook district. What this map also achieves is the first European re-imagining of the Wenlock region, as a 'wilderness' without any recognition of its pre-colonial past.



Figure 33: John Embley's 1886 survey map of the Cook district showing study area (Embley 1886).



**Figure 34: John Embley's 1886 survey map of the Cook district and imagined pastoral leases (black lines), the red line indicates the boundary of the settled district in the Wenlock Region superimposed on a current topographical map of the study area**

The first recorded European pastoralists in the Wenlock region to take up leases were Ted Cox and William Lakeland who established the York Downs station in 1884, and in the same year Ted Cox and Bob Sefton acquired Pioneer Downs (Pike 1983). Both Bob Sefton and William Lakeland had also been mineral prospectors in the area, who had later decided to take up pastoralism. A short while later the Watson Brothers took up a portion of Pioneer Downs in 1886, which in 1912 was officially renamed Merluna (Pike 1983:99). When Pat Fox took up Pine Tree Station in 1883-4 (Lowenstein 1971), he had already achieved significant success with other endeavours on the Peninsula and had previously been to the Wenlock region in 1880 with Bob Sefton as part of a prospecting party (Pike 1983:80). Pat Fox and his brothers (Maurice, Jim and Peter) were well-known packers and were among the first carriers from Cooktown to the Palmer Goldfields in 1874 (Bawyang 1928). Both Maurice and Pat Fox were known as exceptional bushmen and when the luck of the Palmer Goldfields started to wane Maurice Fox and his wife went north to the Normanton Goldfields and operated as carriers from there to Cloncurry. In the meantime, Pat had set up Fernhill Station below Palmerville and was also fitting out prospecting parties (Lowenstein 1971).

The only station building Pat Fox constructed (Figure 35 Right) was to the west of the Mein Telegraph station (see Figure 35 Left). However, after 1889 Pat Fox moved to a series of temporary camps throughout the Wenlock area (along Fox Creek), mostly to the south of the Wenlock River (Lowenstein 1971) (Figure 35 Centre). The reason Pat Fox moved from his established station building near Mein Telegraph Station was that in May 1889, as the Watson brothers were working on a muster at Pine Tree Station, Indigenous men who were employed as station hands (Vogan 1890) attacked Edmund Watson and James Evans during the night. Edmund Watson died from an axe blow to the head, however James Evans survived (Anon 1889a).





**Figure 35: Left: Land tenure sheet of Cook Shire 1920, showing the location of Pine Tree station (Anon 1920). Centre: Map of the Wenlock area (Jack 1921 Map C). Right: Pine Tree Cattle Station 1894 (Cairns Historical Society).**

As Pine Tree Station was located near the eastern border of two large cattle stations, Rokeby and Merluna, the cattle would move into the well-watered land to the east, and it was from here that Pat Fox built his herd from cleanskin cattle (Lowenstein 1971). Pat Fox used a roping pole to catch and brand the clean skin calves and never drove the cattle (Lowenstein 1971). He was known for being thrifty and never smoked tobacco and did not drink alcohol, and likely left a lighter archaeological footprint when compared to other Europeans in the region. Pat Fox was allowed to keep his rations in bulk at the Mein Telegraph Station so that he could maintain freedom of movement and even made his own soap, clothes and green hide saddles and packs (Lowenstein 1971). He was a well-known personality in the region and was recorded as butchering cattle and treating them for ticks at Pine Tree Station in 1896 ('Basalt' 1896). In the Wenlock region his influence on the landscape is represented in the naming of a creek (Fox's Creek) to the south of the Wenlock River.

In a petition signed in 1894 by the local cattle station operators, a W. Nicols signed for Pine Tree Station (Anon 1897a). W. Nichols also worked as a station manager for the Watson Brothers at Merluna (Orsted-Jenson 2011) who perhaps had some arrangement with Pat Fox, or Merluna station had expanded east by the 1890s. This petition was put forward in order to lobby the Queensland Government to send and maintain a stronger Native Mounted Police force to the north of the Archer River, in order to subdue any issues with the Indigenous population. This indicates that there was, even into the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, still significant violence in the region.

In 1903 Pat Fox asked Mr Boyd (Stan Boyd's father who had begun managing Merluna in 1899) to manage Pine Tree Station and offered him a share in any profit. But as Pat Fox's cattle had rarely been handled by stockmen they were considered too wild to muster properly, and they would have had to build too many stockyards, so his offer was declined (Lowenstein 1971). In 1903 Pine Tree Station was inspected for sale by A.J. Cotton, who at the same time also purchased cattle from Langi Station on the Archer River (Anon 1903:616). Pat Fox had considerable trouble getting help to muster his cattle, as everyone on the Peninsula knew they were not used to being handled, so he did it himself with his Indigenous labourers (Lowenstein 1971). There was some discrepancy with the muster figures (Pat Fox was accused of keeping cattle away from the sale) later these extra cattle were mustered from Pine Tree by the new



owners to Merluna at a significant profit (Lowenstein 1971). There is also a discrepancy with the dates of Pat Fox's death and the sale of the cattle from Pine Tree, as he is recorded as dying in 1902 at age 61 and is buried at Charleston Cemetery in Forsayth (See Figure 36). However, for this study, the sale of Pine Tree Station is considered conservatively to have occurred in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Merluna Station was later purchased by the State of Queensland in 1916 in an ambitious program of State-run stations, which failed spectacularly (Cohen 1988:236). Both of the remaining large stations in the area (York Downs and Merluna) maintained their own cattle brands and were later acquired by Fred Keppel, the majority of these stations he later sold off to Hardy Wallace (Pike 1983:99).



**Figure 36: Pat Fox's gravestone at Charleston Cemetery, Forsayth (near Einasleigh Qld), with a date of 1902 (Cairns Historical Society).**

Fred Keppell was a well-known identity in the Cape region and at one stage owned York Downs, Merluna and Meripah pastoral stations. He was a descendant of William Hann through his mother or grandmother, never married, and his niece and her husband took over Meripah Station after his death. During his earlier years in the region he had been a sandalwood cutter and had engaged in numerous violent conflicts with the Indigenous groups, he had also been the station manager for Glen Massey at Rokeby ('Silver' 1975). He employed an Indigenous assistant called Willy who was his constant companion (see Figure 37) (Ross 1953).



**Figure 37: Fred Keppell (right) and his assistant Willy (left) (Ross 1953).**

Fred Keppell's station Merluna supplied the Wenlock Goldfields with freshly butchered meat. This supply included killing a bullock once a week or more frequently (when salted beef stocks were diminished) in order to supply the miners

and their families (Fisher 1998:93). Fred Keppell, without being asked, generously supplied milking cows for the Fisher's and their young family in the Post WWII period, as he insisted that the children should have access to fresh milk. After Keppell had sold most of his property to Wallace Hardy he remained in a house he had built in the 1940s on Meripah station and later died in Brisbane from complications after eye surgery ('Silver' 1975).

Indigenous men were regularly employed as stockmen they were however, poorly paid and often received only two-thirds of what a European worker would expect (Brown 2003:56). In some cases, the families of stockmen including the elderly, women and children, would live on the stations and work in domestic capacities and were often unpaid (Castle and Hagan 1997).

The gold rushes in most of far north Queensland had dwindled by the early 1900s, yet the cattle stations remained, often having to sell their cattle hundreds of kilometres to the south (Smith 2000:88). Later pastoralism, from the mid-1950s onward, was comprised of a larger scale industry, and in the Wenlock region it involved no direct settlement but only occasional mustering, as the area is well watered but peripheral to the larger stations to the west. The persistence of the pastoral industry in the region relied on cheap Indigenous labour and with the eventual introduction of equal wages and social security payments for Indigenous people in the 1960s, the ability of the pastoral industry to maintain wide-ranging Indigenous employment collapsed in the general area.

### **The Native Mounted Police**

In the Wenlock area during the colonial period, the first fatal act of violence against a European resulted in the death of Edmund Watson and the injury of James (Jim) Evans at Pat Fox's Pine Creek Station in 1889. This led to an increase in retributive 'dispersals' or killings of Kuuku I'yu people in the Wenlock area (Bottoms 2013:124). The attack on the two stockmen took place on May 6, 1889, and there were four immediate 'dispersals' or massacres recorded (Orsted-Jenson 2011). These violent 'dispersals' likely continued well into the 1890s in the study area and like

many massacres in the region these were not recorded in any detail.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1889, Sub Inspector Urquhart with the assistance of one of Watson's brothers, five troopers and 13 horses led a 'dispersal' against the Indigenous people blamed for the death of Edmund Watson. During this 'dispersal' at a swamp full of timber, Sub Inspector Urquhart commented that several Indigenous people managed to 'escape arrest', consequently 'very little execution was done on this occasion' (Orsted-Jenson 2011:56).

The individuals that 'got away' from Sub Inspector Urquhart were later surrounded and 'dispersed' by the Native Mounted Police, none of the 'murderers', or in fact, any Indigenous people, escaped on this occasion. Sub Inspector Urquhart was convinced that there were yet other 'murderers' who had escaped and managed to catch up to a group of Indigenous people on the Batavia (Wenlock) River on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1889, and 'disperse' some of them, although apparently, some still managed to get away. Sub Inspector Urquhart's 'progress' was reported in a telegram from Inspector Murray in Cooktown to the Police Commissioner, commenting that:

Sub Inspector Urquhart wires from Mein that he had dispersed five mobs of Blacks and had got some of the murders of Mr Watson and got slightly speared in the leg; was going out again. (Richards 2005:386)

Orsted-Jenson (2011:57) estimates that approximately 50 Indigenous people lost their lives in retribution for Edmund Watson's death, as it would seem that Urquhart 'dispersed' at least five 'mobs'. Whether or not these numbers accurately reflect reality, as officers were often not reliable in their reports, does not lessen the impact of these atrocities. There is no doubt that these reprisals alone had a massive impact on the population numbers of the Kuuku I'yu people and other Indigenous groups in the area at the time, as would the long-term presence of the Native Mounted Police in the area.

**Figure 38: Image of Urquhart (the only European man) and Indigenous troopers (Richards 2008b:13).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

Frederick Charles Urquhart (Figure 38) was born in Sussex, England and migrated to Queensland in 1875 and joined the Native Mounted Police in 1882, after spending time working for the telegraph service, he was eventually named the state's Police Commissioner in 1917 (Orsted-Jenson 2011). Later he was appointed to a senior government position in the Northern Territory. Urquhart also wrote bush poetry, including *An Oceans Ghost* and *Legends of the Blacks*. His works included a small book titled *Camp Canzonettes; Being Rhymes of the Bush and Other Things*, some of the poems were reviewed at the time as being terribly gruesome (Anon 1892b). These poems are significant as they form a represented social space, a way of depicting the colonial frontier in a way sympathetic to the goals of the Native Mounted Police. Below is an example of Urquhart's poetry (Urquhart 1891:8)

Told by the Campfire

“Poor Blacks!” you was saying, was you!

Well, if you ain’t got call  
To speak on ‘em any different,  
Don’t mention ‘em at all.

For it ‘allus riles me somehow,  
To hear you chaps from South  
A-talking to us old bushmen,  
With soft sawder in yer mouth.

And if yer think I’m blowin’  
Without no reason, why  
I’ll give yer my own true story,  
God knows that I don’t lie.

It were early in the eighties,  
Not many years ago,  
But exactly what the date is,  
I don’t jest rightly know.

For where we lived were lonesome,  
And Sal- my wife – and I  
Most often took no notice  
Jest how the days slipped by.

And I’d got a nurse from the township  
(By the name of Mrs. Mogg)  
Who took no heed of nothing,  
Without ‘twere a drop of grog.

For Sal, you, were in trouble,  
As come to the most of wives;  
And women likes women near ‘em.  
At them per’ods of their lives.

I ain’t got much book-learnin’,  
And I ain’t prepared to say  
If that kid knowed its future,  
When it were born that day.

But it squawker and cried most ‘orful,  
And better men nor me  
Says kids is wise, becos’ they cries  
The minit they can see.

And Sal seem real happy,  
Tho’ lookin’ ‘orful white;

And when she showed the kid to me,  
Her eyes, with love, was bright.

And when I rode off next mornin’  
To where the cattle ran,  
I thought of that look she gave me,  
And felt a better man.

I found the blacks had bin there,  
And had broken up the mob;  
And to get them put together  
Give me a longish job.

So agin’ I got to the slip rails  
‘Twere about this time of night;  
And it struck me then as queerish,  
That I couldn’t see no light.

I rode up past the stockyard,  
And unsaddled in the dark;  
And I ses to myself as I done it-  
“Whey don’t them blamed dogs bark?”

I walked up to the humpy  
And though the open door,  
And fell, tripped up by somethin’  
As lay upon the floor.

I ses- ‘Sal! Why, what’s the matter?’  
And then I strikes a light;  
O God! To think a man should look  
On such a ‘orful sight.

Sal were a-lyin’ foremost-  
With her head agin’ the door-  
All cut and hacked to pieces,  
And her life-blood on the floor.

The nurse were a-lyin’ sideways-  
Half on, half off, the bed;  
They had left her legs and body,  
And had took away her head.

And the kid were there, half roasted  
In the fireplace at the side;  
I’ve allus hoped he weren’t put there  
Afore his mother died.

It ain’t no use me tryin’  
To say how I spent that night;

I were glad when it were over,  
And I saw the mornin' light.

The troopers came that evenin'  
And helped me dig the holes;  
And their officer read a prayer or two'  
As he said was good for souls.

And then I took my rifle  
And foller'd 'em straight away-  
For the troopers said they know the  
camp,  
And could reach it afore the next day.

And at the break of day next mornin'  
We was there afore the sun-  
Planted all round their camp  
So's we couldn't lose e'er a one.

There was eight of them native  
troopers,  
And me and their boss made ten;  
And the mercy them devils gave to Sal  
Were the mercy we showed then.

I have heard a lot of playin'  
On piannys and organs too;  
But the music of them there rifles  
Were the sweetest I ever knew.

It's all passed now, and over,  
And to be resigned I tries;  
But my heart's up there to the nor'and  
Where Sal and her baby lies.

'Tis a plaguey wood this box-wood,  
And do make a 'orful smoke;  
So 'scuse me mate, I'll shift me seat  
Or I'm blow'd if I won't choke!

This poem no doubt includes some aspects of Urquhart's life in the Native Mounted Police, and his account of retribution upon the 'baby burning Aboriginals' in this poem has several similarities to the 'dispersals' that took place after the death of Mr Watson. These are evident in the tactic outlined of surrounding an Indigenous camp at dawn and then attempting to kill everyone within it. There is, however, no other record of the events outlined in this poem, and it would be safe to assume that it was a fictionalised form of anti-Indigenous propaganda, as Urquhart had also never been a stockman. This poem can be interpreted as being designed to stir up sentiment against Indigenous people in the north of Australia, to limit the criticism of people from the south or the cities and to further justify the role, present and past, of the Native Mounted Police. This type of propaganda was common during this period and stories of burnt babies being eaten and cooked by Indigenous people were all recycled regularly in the newspapers. So, too, were the false and exaggerated frontier deaths of Europeans which were publicised in the popular press during this period in Queensland (Anon 1880; Richards 2005). Urquhart's poetry is an example of how dominant forms of represented social space (Lefebvre 1991) can be used to control popular narratives through the production of propaganda. Another aspect of the historical narrative of the Native Mounted Police that highlights the asymmetrical colonial power relations of the time, even within their own ranks, is the visibility of the European officers in the historical record (such as Urquhart), and the relative invisibility of the Indigenous troopers, who are generally not even named. This establishes the dominance of the European officers in the record (and resultant social space), however, in the actual day-to-day operations of this para-military force this may not have been the case.

The first Native Mounted Police Camp in the Wenlock region was established at Clayhole Creek in 1887, near the Mein telegraph station, to assist in the 'protection' of both the line and the linesmen from Indigenous people. The telegraph line and its stations were constructed in the Mein area between 1886 and 1887, and there was a Native Mounted Police presence in the area during this early stage of European development (Sheehy 1987). This is supported by Jack (1922:675) who comments that 'for some time, the line and stations had to be vigilantly guarded against the depredations of the natives.' Indicating that these early telegraph stations were designed with conflict (not necessarily defence) in mind, they were constructed



similar to a fort, complete with gun turrets to protect telegraph workmen from Indigenous attacks (Bottoms 2013:123). Fred Keppel later moved the Mein telegraph station to Coen, where it is now a local museum, although removed from its original context, it creates a memorial of this European colonial outpost.

As the colonial frontier moved so too did the location of Native Mounted Police Camps. In the greater Wenlock area, the evidence so far indicates that there were different phases of Native Mounted Police camps near Mein and Clayhole Creek. Figure 39 indicates that by 1889 there was a camp established at Piccaninny Creek, not long after the death of Edmund Watson. It is likely that this camp may have been established during ‘dispersals’ in the area and may be related to an older camp at Clayhole Creek (1887).

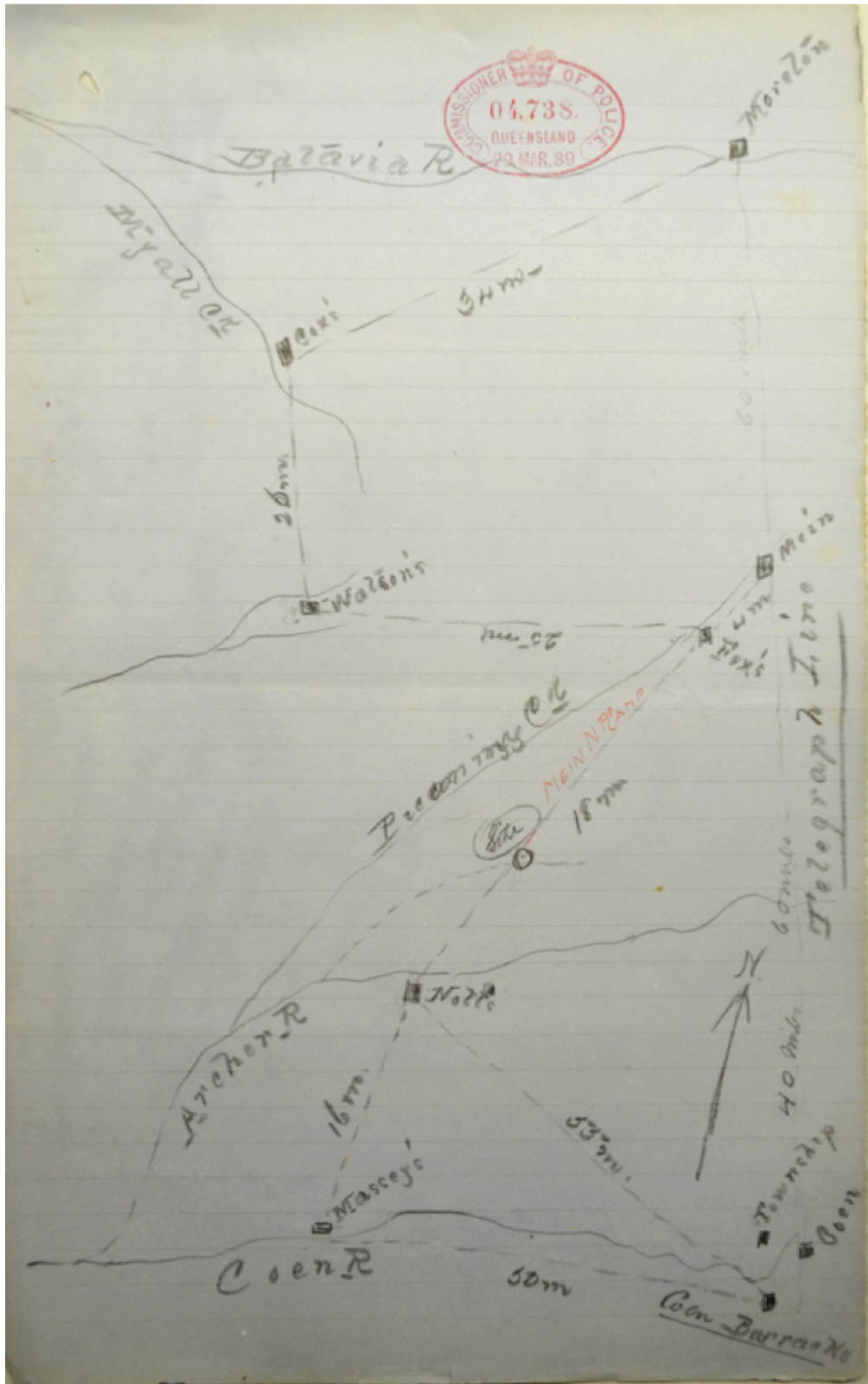
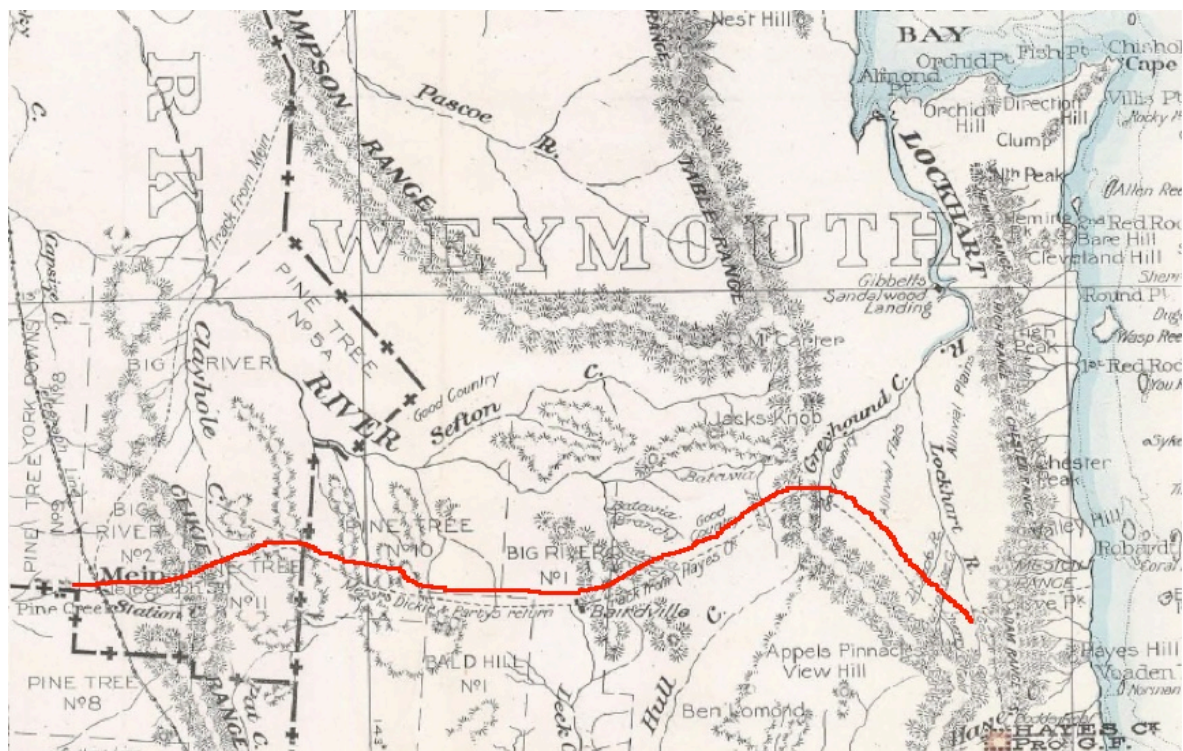


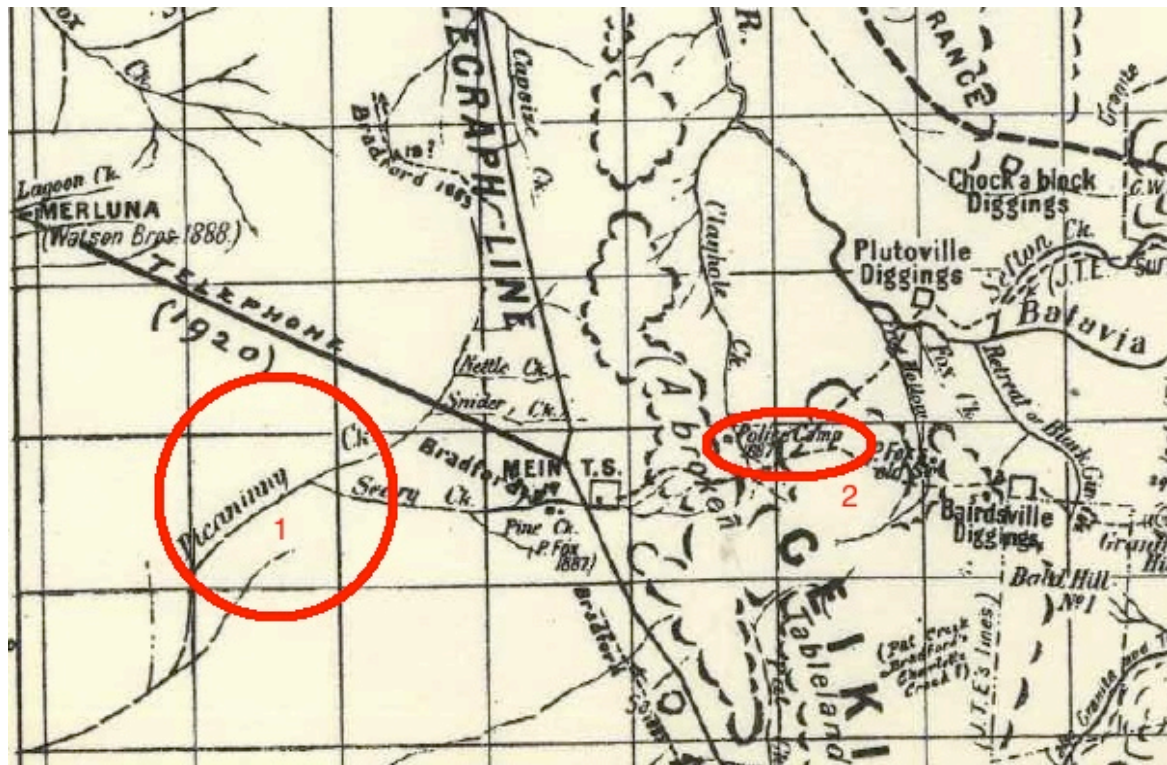
Figure 39: Map showing the location of Native Mounted Police Camp in 1889 at Piccaninny Creek (Murray 1889).

Jack (1921:714) notes that when John Dickie's party went through the region in July 1910, they came across the ruins of a Native Mounted Police station from 1887, located near the head of Clayhole Creek about 6 miles from Mein. In the report from this 1910 expedition, Dickie notes that after leaving Mein Telegraph station and after passing through the Gelikie Ranges they came to some good pasture and the remains of a Native Mounted Police camp from 23 years ago (Jack 1921) (See Figure 40). Jack (1921) does not base his map (Figure 41) solely on the report by Dickie but instead based it on another map with more detail, combined with Dickie's diary from the expedition, making the location of the Native Mounted Police camp on Jack's (1921) map fairly accurate.



**Figure 40: Map indicates the path (highlighted just above it in red) taken by Dickie in 1910 (Greenfield 1911).**





**Figure 41: Map showing the location of the Bairdsville diggings and the 1887 police camp is based on higher resolution data than in the previous map (Figure 40). Left circle (1) indicates Piccaninny Creek. Right circle (2) indicates a Native Mounted Police Camp on the Clayhole Creek dated to 1887 (Jack 1921 Map C).**

Of the original Native Mounted Police campsite at Clayhole Creek, there is little further reference in the historical record, apart from the odd mention of the ‘old’ police camp. For example, in an 1895 report to Inspector Fitzgerald, Constable Wheelan comments regarding the state of the ‘old police camp’ on Clayhole Creek ‘all trooper’s quarters in good order also the saddle room... along with good feed and access to water from the creek’ (Anon 1897a).

With the closure of the Laura Native Mounted Police Station to the south of the Archer River, a Native Mounted Police Station was established at Piccaninny Creek in 1894. This camp was later moved back to the original site of Clayhole Creek in July of 1894 due to the apparent boggy wet season conditions at Piccaninny Creek (1894 to 1897) (Anon 1897a). Another source (Seymour 1895) supports this and places the Native Mounted Police camp to the south west of the Mein Telegraph station. However, Richards (2005:354) places the opening of the Mein Native

Mounted Police camp in 1894 and it closing in 1895, whereas other historical sources place its closure at least as late as 1897 (Anon 1897a). It is possible that Richards is only referring to the camp at Piccaninny Creek and not its relocation to Clayhole Creek. In an 1895 letter to the Office of the Inspector of Police, it is outlined that one of the reasons that the Native Mounted Police had kept a presence near the Mein Telegraph station was that they felt that they could leave supplies safely there. This letter also notes that at there was nothing at the ‘old Police camp five miles away’ (presumably at Clayhole) except troopers’ huts (Anon 1897a).

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1896, an order was placed for the Native Mounted Police Camp at Clayhole for new tents as the older tents were worn through (Anon 1897a). These tents were 10’ x 8’ with flies to cover them which were 16’ x 14’ and were marked as an urgent order as ‘the constables have no other quarters here’ (Anon 1897a). It was also noted that on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 1897, the Native Mounted Police camp at Mein was closed and moved to Coen (Anon 1897a). Parry-Okeden’s (1897) report notes the Mein (Clayhole) Native Police camp as having housed (between July 1895 and June 1896): 2 Constable, 6 Trackers and 19 horses (Table 8), making it both a substantial camp and force in the region.

| Name of Detachment | Sub-Inspectors | Sergeants | Acting Sergeants | Constables | Trackers | Horses |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------|------------------|------------|----------|--------|
| Coen               |                |           | 1                | 1          | 6        | 18     |
| Eight-mile         |                |           |                  | 2          | 5        | 14     |
| Highbury           | 1              |           |                  | 2          | 11       | 31     |
| Mein (Clayholes)   |                |           |                  | 2          | 6        | 19     |
| Musgrave           |                | 1         |                  | 1          | 5        | 17     |
| Nigger Creek       |                |           |                  | 2          | 5        | 12     |
|                    |                |           |                  |            |          |        |
| Totals             | 1              | 1         | 1                | 10         | 37       | 111    |

**Table 5: Mein Native Police Detachment in 1896, compared to other detachments in far north Queensland (after Parry-Okeden 1897) .**

In his report, Parry-Okeden (1897) comments that during his 1896 meeting with seven Indigenous people at the Mein Telegraph station he managed to persuade them

to come to the Clayhole Native Mounted Police camp. It was on the way to the camp that he heard why the Indigenous people were so nervous, as there was a white man (unnamed) who was a 'Boss combo' or a 'terror to the niggers' (Parry-Okeden 1897:9). At the campsite, when Parry-Okeden called everyone together, the white man that made the Indigenous people nervous (not a Police employee) was also there. Parry-Okeden was distraught that such a person was even allowed near the Native Mounted Police camp.

Although the Native Mounted Police camp at Clayhole was closed in 1897, a site at Mein (most likely the telegraph station or a nearby building) was still used by Police when removing Indigenous people from the area. An example of this occurred in 1932 when Indigenous people from near Wenlock Goldfields were marched during a forced removal and held at Mein before eventually being taken to Palm Island (Kidd 1996:22). The Indigenous people in this group were held in tents at Mein, and from this journey police cruelty and rape were later recorded at Palm Island (O'Leary 1933).

The produced social space of the Native Mounted Police is interwoven with that of pastoralist and miners in the Wenlock region. However, it was a social space that was solely defined by violent domination of the area and was constructed as a part of the colonial frontier. This represented space (Lefebvre 1991) is depicted through the maps of patrolled areas, the poems of Urquhart, the violent renaming of the landscape and through the control of the historical record evidenced in the exclusion of the word 'killing' from official dispatches. The consequence of this represented social space is that these competing narratives of the past become difficult to trace. These examples from within the study area demonstrate how this form of social space can dominate other narratives and interpretations of cultural landscapes.

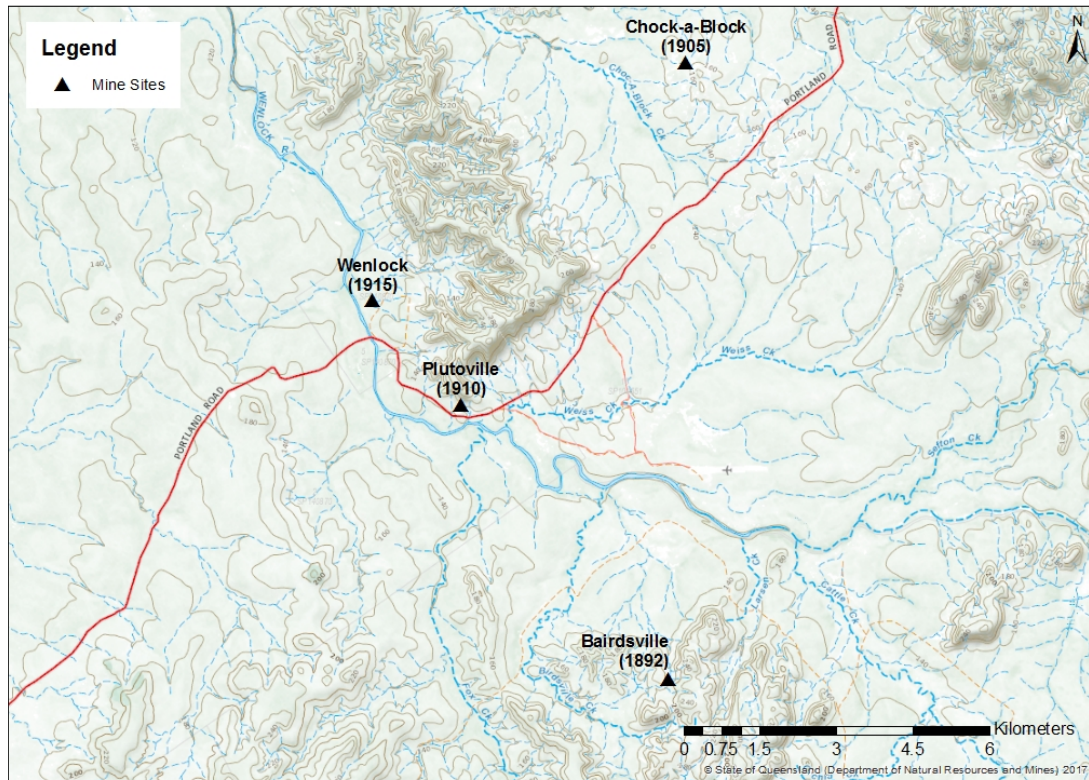
## **Mining**

The history of mining as an economic activity at the Wenlock Goldfields (including Plutoville [Upper Camp], Lower Camp [Batavia/Wenlock], Bairdsville and Chock-a-Block) is rich (Figure 42). Like many of Australia's isolated gold fields the history of

the region is complete with folklore and characters that seem to outweigh the actual amount of gold gained (see Table 6). It is these same characters that have produced the social spaces of the Wenlock region in their pursuit of mineral wealth. This is reflected in the renaming of the mining landscape in the Wenlock region, including Bairdsville and Plutoville and numerous associated places mining (Sefton Creek, Pluto's Gully, Weiss' Creek, Bairdsville Creek) (Jack 1921). It appears to be unusual for places within the colonial landscape to be named after an Indigenous man, such as Plutoville and Pluto's Gully, but it seems that this was an exception to the rule in the region.

| Name                         | Ref. No. | Production Period            | Alluvial Gold (kg) | Reef Gold (kg) |
|------------------------------|----------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Bairdsville                  | 162423   | 1892-1894                    | > 62               |                |
| Chock-a-Block                | 161561   | 1905, 1908, 1924, 1930, 1932 | > 0.45             | 3              |
| Top Camp (Plutoville)        | 121499   | 1910-1915, 1938, 1941        | 213.3              |                |
| Lower Camp (Batavia/Wenlock) | 107522   | 1915-1951, 1964-1965         | 936.6              | 297.9          |

**Table 6: Gold production figures and periods for the Wenlock region (Denaro and Morwood 1992:12).**



**Figure 42: Map of general major mine sites in the Wenlock area.**

### *Bairdsville*

In 1892, the proclamation of a gold field in the Wenlock region was made by William Baird. Baird, according to some sources had made and lost several fortunes while prospecting, and named the gold field after himself; Bairdsville (Anon 1892a). Baird discovered the gold field with the assistance of his ‘black boy’ an Indigenous man named Romeo, who had worked for Baird for some time, and the tin field ‘Romeoville’ bore his name in recognition of his role in its discovery (May 1994:12). There was a small brief rush to the diggings, which for a time held 150 men, but as little gold was found beyond the original claim area (Brown 2003:20). Both de Haviland (1989) and Denaro and Morwood (1992) estimate that at least 62kg of gold was produced at Bairdsville between 1892 and 1894 when the field showed signs of being played out.

In 1894, when Baird was working the claim with two other European men (Watson and Rogers) they were speared by local Indigenous people, Baird was fatally



wounded while Watson and Rogers were badly hurt (Anon 1894). Romeo, who survived, ran into Coen to pass on the news (Jack 1922:703). Baird was buried at the site of his death (Hooper 1993:231), and Romeo went on to become a Police tracker and passed away in Cooktown in 1915 (Ellwood 2014:70). In 1987, J. Harding stripped and sluiced an extensive area obliterating the original Bairdsville diggings with relatively poor returns (Denaro and Morwood 1992).

There were, however, some early smaller finds made by other prospectors in the Wenlock region, none of which were large enough to declare a site as 'payable'. Donald Lang was the first to find gold in the area in 1880 and was a prospector for a private company (de Havelland 1989:535). This conflicts with an account that places William Lakeland and Bob Sefton on the Batavia River and having named Sefton Creek in 1874 ('Curry' 1950). Pike (1983:80) also places Bob Sefton in 1880 with a party of well-provisioned prospectors (H. Lockhart, William Lakeland, Pat Fox, Ted Cox, H. Goodenough, George Brown, Jim Watson, and Miller) primarily in the Lockhart River area. However, they also apparently made their way to the Wenlock region. It was here that they were camping on the Batavia (Wenlock) River that the large group of Kandji (Kuuku I'yu) warriors that had been following them became enough of a threat to cause the prospectors to build a low stone wall at night for protection. The attack came at dawn the next day, and none of the prospectors were injured. The party then took great precautions and camped out in the open until they reached an old log hut (an old Native Mounted Police camp) in Coen (Pike 1983).

### *Chock-a-Block*

An Indigenous man named 'Pluto' from Rockhampton is credited with having found gold at Chock-a-Block in 1905, although only in small amounts (de Havelland 1989:537). However, in 1902 Ambrose Boyd found small amounts of gold in nearby Down's Gully, about six miles from Wenlock and is also associated with early finds at Chock-a-Block (Bawyang 1941:2).

It would seem that 'Pluto' had somewhat a checkered past before he came to the Wenlock region before approximately 1905. In July 1887, a William H. Davis, alias

Pluto Davis was arrested in Queensland with a William Naylor, for aggravated assault and robbery (Anon 1897b). In 1889, William Pluto, an Indigenous man, was fined two pounds for being involved in a fight with an unpopular European miner at Charters Towers (Anon 1889b). Later police records indicate William Davis, alias Pluto (born in 1869) was in 1890 sentenced to two years hard labour for burglary (see Figure 43 below).

|                                                                      |                                                                                     |                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| No. <u>54</u>                                                        | Name <u>Wm Davis d. Pluto.</u>                                                      | Date when Portrait was taken, <u>11. 4. 1890</u> |
| Native place <u>Queensland</u>                                       | Where and when tried <u>Ch. Tower 22. 3.</u>                                        | Offence <u>Burglary</u>                          |
| Year of birth <u>1869</u>                                            | Sentence <u>2 yrs H.L.</u>                                                          | Remarks                                          |
| Arrived in } Ship<br>Colony. } Year                                  |  |                                                  |
| Trade or occupation } <u>Laborer</u><br>previous to conviction }     |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Religion <u>Presby.</u>                                              |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Education, degree of <u>R.N.</u>                                     |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Height <u>5</u> feet <u>6</u> inches.                                |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Weight } On committal <u>111</u><br>in lbs. } On discharge           |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Colour of hair <u>BR.</u>                                            |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Colour of eyes <u>BR.</u>                                            |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| Marks or special features <u>Indistinct</u><br><u>tattoo on arm.</u> |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| (No. of previous Portrait _____)                                     |                                                                                     |                                                  |
| PREVIOUS CON                                                         |                                                                                     |                                                  |

**Figure 43: William Davis alias Pluto, his arrest record and details from Townsville in April of 1890 (QSA Digital image number 17429).**

The above record also demonstrates several key facts about the man also known as

Pluto. He was quite short with a height of 5'6" and had been a labourer by occupation, and he had a Lieutenant tattoo on his right arm. The record also comments that he can read and write and belonged to the Presbyterian Church. The tattoo is of particular interest as no Indigenous man would have been able to hold any rank within colonial Queensland, perhaps with the exception of the Native Mounted Police, which also often recruited men who were incarcerated instead of serving their remaining sentences (Richards 2008a).

It would seem of no matter to some that Chock-a-Block may have been found by an Indigenous man as Fisher (1998:37) recount a poem written about the naming of Chock-a-Block in a poem by Stan Boyd. This poem also gives an indication of the interracial interaction between early male European prospectors and Indigenous women.

Boyd of Choc-a-Bloc.

In a spirit of impish humour,  
By a touch of logical fact,  
Places are named forever  
By many who never came back.

So the naming of Choc-a-bloc  
Goldfield;  
The story of which is told  
By old timers 'round the campfire'  
A story that'll never grow old.

It is a tale of steely combat,  
With nature and rain and sun;  
Of hardship and peril and failure,  
And of struggle ere gold is won.

It was early in nineteen hundred,  
On a prospect that carried him wide  
That Boyd discovered the nugget,  
That proved his eternal pride.

But the why and how if its finding,  
And the naming of it is fact.  
At once a romantic and tragic,  
By the miner who did not come back.

The tale winds around a lubra,

Who happened to Boyd at his toil;  
Her maidenly charms all apparent,  
They acted on him as a foil.

It was here old Ambrose forgetting  
To remember the hue of his skin;  
Because pleasure tremendous,  
To be had in the arms of a gin.

He completed his task like a master,  
As we were reliably told;  
But his pulse could not have beat  
faster,  
When he saw her recumbent on gold.

'Tis sad to relate that he spurned her,  
The gin he earlier used,  
For there on the ground was his  
master.  
Gold in quartz he had always pursued.

He hurried away to record it,  
Batavia then heard him with shock.

I'll stand by the name I first thought  
of,  
I'll call it 'Choc-a-Bloc'.

So the history of finds great and small,

Of most marvel of good and of sin,  
Arises from peculiar causes,  
As did this from the rape of a gin.

The sexual exploitation of Indigenous woman and children in colonial Queensland was commonplace. The prevalence of this form of violence has been discussed in some depth relating to the history of the Queensland colonial frontier (Bottoms 2013:90). Bottoms (2013) discusses cases of exploitation including the keeping of sex slaves and paedophilia, predominately involving the pastoral industry.

In 1933 a report was collated on Palm Island regarding the mistreatment of Indigenous people in the Wenlock region (O'Leary 1933). This report focuses on the first-hand account of ten Indigenous detainees who were forcibly removed to the Island; five were women, four of whom report having sexual relations with European men in the Wenlock mining camp. These sexual relations were referred to as 'humbugging' and was not at all times consensual. The Indigenous women describe their relations to the miners as being kept (or paid) in clothing and 'tucker', although one account also discusses being paid a shilling for sex. This may have been a continuation of the pre-colonial practice of husbands 'lending' their wives in exchange for goods or goodwill.

The historical record of this period also describes an Indigenous man named Friday Wilson who operated and owned a mining lease at Chock-a-Block creek during the 1930s (Lennon and Pearce 1996; Reynolds 1930:497). Friday Wilson's story is told in a Townsville newspaper after his death and highlights an extraordinary life (Anon 1950). It was rare during this era for an Indigenous person to be 'free', but apparently, Friday was allowed to live for a time outside the *Aboriginal Protection Act*. For an Indigenous person to be considered exempt from the Act they were required not to be married or habitually associate with other Indigenous people, to be over the age of sixteen and be 'intelligent', the certificate of exemption was considered by some as an initiation into white society (May 1994). Friday was christened when only months old by his adoptive pioneer family (the Wilson's) when he was 'rescued' from his family while still in infancy. The Wilson's raised Friday as their own and educated him, he eventually worked with their son Johnny Wilson on a bullock team, which was used to transport goods to remote areas. Johnny was killed in a work-related accident, and after the death of his adopted parents, Friday Wilson began working the gold fields at Plutoville. Ellwood (2014:72) notes that Pluto worked for Johnny and Friday for a time helping with the bullock teams and also notes that in 1922 Friday Wilson was

removed from the Batavia area with Kitty Pluto. Ellwood (2014) also asserts that Pluto, Kitty and Friday were closely associated, yet offers no substantive evidence to indicate that this was the case. In 1933 an Indigenous man Alias 1<sup>1</sup>, reports that he was working a claim with Friday Wilson on the Batavia Goldfields. Alias 1 also comments that Friday Wilson was still on the Batavia Goldfields in 1933 (Anon 1943).

Friday Wilson is also recorded in 1936 as having owned a mine at Blue Mountain (40km north of Coen) and later taking in European partners in a mining venture, named 'Shakespeare', and that encompassed Pluto's original lease. Both of these leases were later forfeited for rent not being paid (Ellwood 2014:73). In 1942 Friday Wilson is also noted as taking up a claim at 'Jubilee' at Blue Mountain (Ellwood 2014). The same year Friday Wilson was documented as being exempt from the *Aboriginal Protection Act* of 1939 and as having lived outside it for several years. Wilson is also recorded as owing wages to Alias 2, another Indigenous man (Anon 1943). The matter of these unpaid wages is discussed in a number of letters between the Director of Native Affairs and the Protector of Aborigines, Coen. The Protector was quite intent on the retrieval of these wages, whereas the Director indicates that any attempt to make Friday Wilson pay these arrears is fruitless, mostly due to the fact the Royal Mint was not buying gold (as prospecting was still Wilson's principal occupation) during the period of WWII.

Later in life, Friday worked at the Coen Airfield and again as a gold prospector (Anon 1950). By 1946 Frederick Friday Wilson is recorded as applying to draw an old age pension, due to destitution in Coen, which he received until his death at age 69 in 1950 (Anon 1939a).

### *Plutoville*

In 1910 Pluto, discovered the gold field on the Wenlock River, approximately seven miles north of Bairdsville (Figure 42). This discovery was then named after him as

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<sup>1</sup> Alias' have been used in this section in consideration of the descendant community (as per the ethics agreement).

Plutoville (likely as a pun regarding the name of Bairdsville and was also later also known as Upper Camp). However, it was not announced as a gold field until 1911, and in that year, it is estimated that over 2000 ounces of gold was won from the field and attracted approximately 40-50 miners (Anon 1911:9). At Plutoville, where the mining was mainly alluvial, Pluto had as a digging partner a man named Anderson, and Wade Robinson, the superintendent at the Mein telegraph station as a financial backer who also co-signed all of Pluto's cheques (Anon 1911:2; Jack 1921:734). Robinson was a long-term supervisor at Mein Telegraph station, who was known for his hospitality to travellers, prospectors and sandalwood cutters was later moved to another telegraph station closer to civilisation (Dick 1916). In 1900, Robinson is also recorded as having donated £2 to the Queensland Patriotic Fund as an officer of the Telegraph service (Anon 1900b). Robinson later passed away in Sydney in 1917 (Jack 1921:735). The existence of Anderson, Pluto's presumed European 'digging partner', has been called into question, as he may have been created to help legitimise Pluto's claim on the field (Ellwood 2014:70). Contradicting this, Brown (2003:20) comments that Pluto was at the time of his discovery of Plutoville in fact employed by Wade Robinson to prospect for him.

Pluto's wife Kitty (Figure 44) of the 'Batavia tribe' (Bawyang 1938; Ellwood 2014; Fisher 1998) (presumably meaning Kaanju people), also worked the gold field, often to the acclaim of the old miners (E.K.P. 1940:37). Some current Kuuku I'yu knowledge holders refute that Kitty Pluto was of the Kuuku I'yu people (David Claudie, Pers. Comm., August 2015). Pluto is documented as dying in 1915 while going into Coen for supplies ('Sundowner' 1953:4; Dick 1916:43; Lack 1962:989). It has also been recorded that Pluto died penniless, despite having made a fortune having been robbed by some of his white associates (Anon 1939b; Copland 2005). In contrast, it has also been recorded that he died with £49 in a bank account that was controlled by the Queensland Department of Aborigines (E.K.P. 1940:37). According to Ellwood (2014:71), many local Indigenous people were also employed by Pluto and Kitty in their mining venture. However, this claim is not referenced in any way. If this were the same Pluto as shown in Figure 43, he would have been 46 years of age when he passed away in Coen in 1915. Interestingly, a later article (Bawyang 1938) also mentions that Pluto worked for Charlie Weiss for a time, but does not mention any dates, this may have occurred in the period between 1905 and 1910.

**Figure 44: Image of Kitty Pluto with a pipe (Wallace 2012:77).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

Plutoville contained three shops (Dehn, Armbrust and Shepherd traded at the Upper Camp), however much of this was bulldozed in the early 1980s during prospecting activities (Lennon and Pearce 1996). A Chinese market gardener attempted to set up a small garden nearby and was chased out of town, while fresh greens were purchased from another Chinese merchant who would pass through the area.

The Armbrust family (See Figure 45) ran the Coen Hotel for nine years (1921-1930), and they soon had a store opposite in order to sell other goods that they were already packing into the area. This eventually led to packing into Plutoville, by family member Archie. This business grew so much that a store was established in the mid-1920s and run by Jack Allen, who had married May Armbrust (Brown 2003:20). This prospered for a time until the introduction of truck carriers in the region in the early 1930s.



**Figure 45: Armbrust Family photo 1900 (Brown 2003:6).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

#### *Batavia Goldfields/Wenlock Goldfields*

In 1915, Pluto's wife, Kitty Pluto, discovered a new gold field at 'Lower Camp' on the Wenlock, a few kilometres north west of Plutoville (de Havelland 1989:537). Soon it became apparent that this site held a much richer lode, and it attracted even more miners to the area such that by the 1930s it was a large encampment with numerous mining leases (see Figure 46).

**Figure 46: Wenlock Lower Camp lease area in the 1930s (de Havelland 1989).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

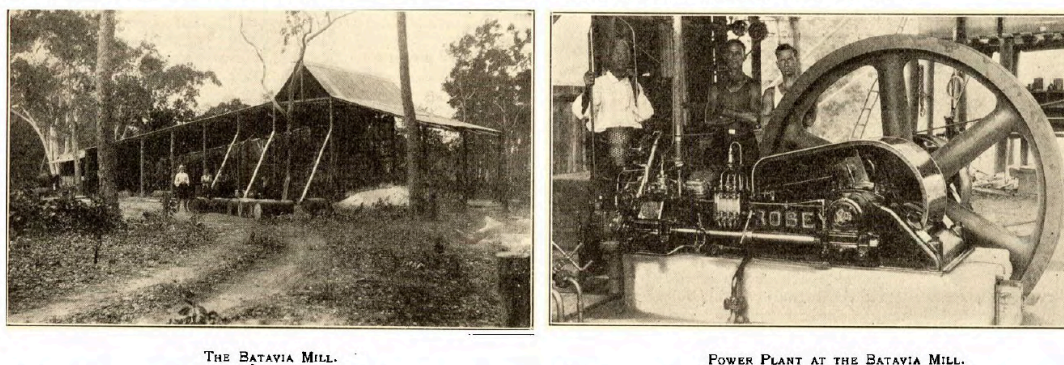
After Pluto's death and Kitty's discovery, apparently Kitty built herself a hut, two miles from the Lower Camp diggings and lived off bush food (supposedly with some supplies given to her by grateful miners). Kitty apparently had nothing to do with mining during this period as it had brought her such hardship (E.K.P. 1940:39). In 1922 Kitty was removed to the Yarrabah mission and later moved to the Lockhart River Mission, apparently 'to spend the last of her days in comfort' (Anon 1922), where from 1927 onwards she received a government pension for having found a gold field (E.K.P. 1940:39). However, as Ellwood (2014:72) notes, there is some conflicting information regarding Kitty's whereabouts between 1922 and the 1930s as indicated by Figure 47 which apparently shows Kitty, not on a mission but at the Wenlock Goldfields in 1930.



**Figure 47: Kitty Pluto out the front of her hut at lower camp (Reynolds 1930:496).**

In 1939 the name of the Batavia Goldfields was under consideration for change, and a local newspaper suggested it should be named after Kitty Pluto, in the tradition of Plutoville and Bairdsville. Kitty requested that the superintendent of the Lockhart River Mission at the time, Mr Johnson write a letter to the newspaper expressing her ‘delight’ for the idea, the letter was published in 1939 (Anon 1939b:6). This letter would indicate that Kitty Pluto was definitely at the Lockhart River Mission in 1939. The name of the gold field was changed to the Wenlock Goldfield in 1939 (Fisher 1998:31). Although there is mention of Kitty Pluto at the Lockhart River mission in 1946 (Bawyang 1946:4) her death certificate indicates that she was recorded as having died later that year (Anon 1946).

By 1922, some of smaller mining syndicates began sinking mine shafts in the area of Lower Camp with the intention of finding the main lead of quartz and gold, which required mechanical expansion (Figure 48). Subterranean mining led to the mechanisation of the Wenlock Goldfields and mills, boilers and other equipment were transported to the remote gold fields at some effort.



**Figure 48: Images of the Batavia Mill and Power Plant in the 1930s (Reynolds 1933:102).**

During the depression era, it was not uncommon for travellers looking for work to carry their swags to the Wenlock and other gold fields, they would usually camp down on the banks of the Wenlock River (Fisher 1998:31). A number of the miners were also known to live in tents around an old dam near the fields, as the cost of shipping building materials to the Wenlock was prohibitive. The small houses that were built on the gold fields were mainly for the married couples and were

constructed from tea-tree and messmate bark, with earthen floors (see Figure 49) (Brown 2003:22). By 1932 two boarding houses had been established, combined these housed approximately 75 people (Lennon and Pearce 1996:509).

**Figure 49: Photo of bark huts typical of the Wenlock (Brown 2003:22).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

In December of 1932 Constable Thies and Neil of the Queensland Police are recorded as having attacked several Indigenous people at Batavia River. One instance recorded the ‘taking away’ of the wife of a man who was a ‘king’ who had in the past, performed work for the local police. He was stripped of the remnants of his police uniform while it was burnt in front of him. He was also told ‘You are not King now!’ (Bleakley 1933a).

Constables Thies and Neil also perpetrated further acts of violence against the Indigenous population of the Wenlock with the intent of encouraging the combining of their scattered camps into a larger settlement, presumably to make them easier to control (Copland 2005:288). An onlooker, who had previously witnessed the persecution of Peruvian Indigenous people during the rubber atrocities, commented that he had never seen treatment more brutal (Bleakley 1933b).

Another example of the systemised exploitation of Indigenous people in the region was detected in the Coen township by Inspector Collyer in 1937. He discovered that the local Aboriginal Protector, a European officer, was arranging for a local shopkeeper to monopolise the Indigenous trade in the district at exorbitant prices. Of course, the local Aboriginal Protector gained a portion of the shopkeeper's profit. The storekeeper was overcharging on common items such as dresses and trousers and was often substituting expensive products for cheaper (Castle and Hagan 1997:69).

In 1938 a relative of the Fisher's (miners on the Blackcat lease) George, visited from Tasmania where he was a policeman (Fisher 1998). George was very interested in the local Indigenous people, and he was introduced to 'Kingie' Robertson, who wore a brass chest plate with his name on it, as was issued by the government to all 'kings'. Robertson was photographed with George demonstrating the use of a woomera (spear thrower) (Figure 50).

**Figure 50: Robertson (back right) demonstrating the use of a woomera in 1938 (Fisher 1998:43).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

This photograph (Figure 50) was captured across the Wenlock River from lower camp; other details that are also worth consideration are the dwellings in the background made of canvas and Robertson's clothing. Apparently, George Fisher and

Robertson got along well, as both were 'tough' men, and as Robertson had worked for the Police before, to assist his public standing George sent Robertson a Police uniform from Tasmania (Fisher 1998).

It is very probable that this uniform was intended as a replacement for the one destroyed in 1932 by Constable Thies and Neil, as it unlikely that there would have been another 'King' in the area in this period. Particularly one who had worked for the Police in the past. Robertson is also described as having been removed to Brisbane, but he managed to walk and work his way back up to Cape York Peninsula, via Cairns, over several years.

Fisher (1998:41) also describes the Indigenous camps in the area:

It was not always easy to know where the Wenlock tribe was camped. They had several dry season camps across the Wenlock River and would live in each for a few months until the game was eaten out and the camp was polluted with excreta and fleas, then move on to another until a couple of wet seasons purified the old camp sites. The tribe always had a very large number of dogs that generally appeared to be half starved and often mangy.

This description of the Indigenous camps that surrounded the Wenlock Goldfields obviously has a layer of euro-centrism embedded within it. However, it does elicit two useful facts; that the camps were moved periodically and that they were reused after a couple of wet seasons. Fisher (1998:40) also comments that the 'Batavia Tribe' also had a long association with the miners in the area, since the early 1900s.

During the early 1930s the Indigenous inhabitants in the area are discussed by "Viator" who comments that there are numerous 'blacks' in the area of the Batavia Goldfields. "Viator" notes that 'The blacks in the neighbourhood are of a very poor class and of course they are not employed on the claims; but a few of them come in handy for getting wood and water' ("Viator" 1932:85). Many Indigenous people associated with the Batavia Goldfields, particularly from 1910 onwards would frequently work multiple 'unofficial' professions depending upon demand, including as packers, miners, labourers and stockmen.

Until the start of WWII, there were extensive removals of Indigenous people on the Batavia Goldfields, with at least 58 people removed from 1899 to 1937 (Copland 2005:226). However, in 1937 alone there was the removal of 80 aged Indigenous people from the Coen and Batavia districts to the Lockhart River Mission, as they were deemed unable to look after themselves, even with government ration assistance (Bleakley 1937:6). This was a deliberate government policy to concentrate the Indigenous population of Cape York Peninsula onto reserves and missions.

During WWII in Cape York a 'scorched earth' tactic was employed, where European settlements were abandoned, and in the case of the Wenlock Goldfields numerous pieces of mining equipment dismantled and destroyed (Fisher 1998:38). Across the region, bridges were destroyed and at the Wenlock River, the vehicle flying fox was also dismantled. This destruction was intended to disable the movement of the advancing Japanese military so that a strategic advantage could not be gained in the area.

The telegraph line saw significant improvements during the war as remote communication in the area was considered a necessity. This meant that the telegraph line was extended from south of the Mein telegraph station at the Pinnacle, to near the Portland Roads and Iron Range area 70 miles away (Sheehy 1987:24). The laying of four 200-pound wires was required, and a substantial amount of labour was needed to achieve this. The refurbishment and operation of the telegraph system in far northern Queensland involved the employment of over 1800 men from both the U.S. and Australian signal Corps who were overseen by P.M.G. Line Staff (Sheehy 1987). Several telegraph stations also employed Indigenous 'Protection labourers' during WWII including Morton, Cape York, Coen and Walsh. The position of 'Protection Labourers' was in use from the 18<sup>th</sup> century on the telegraph line, and their role was to protect the linesmen from Indigenous aggression, this position was made redundant after WWII (Sheehy 1987).

After the end of WWII several mining families and syndicates returned to the Wenlock Goldfields and undertook the necessary major repairs of mining equipment,



the rebuilding of roads and bridges and the pumping of water from the mines. The reestablishment of the Wenlock Goldfields was made slightly easier with the abandoned supplies left by the US troops (fuel and molasses) along with the sale of ex-army equipment, such as housing and vehicles. The telegraph line to the Iron Range (to the north-east) was not used by the public. A telephone office had been established at Wenlock, but it was closed in the 1950s (Sheehy 1987). Eleanor Fisher (Joe Fisher's wife) became the post-mistress for the Wenlock during this post-war period, while also being the local barber and raising her children. She was the focus of an article in *The Australian Women's Weekly* in 1953 (Fisher 1998:136), however, this does not mention the Indigenous women who worked for the Fisher's as unpaid domestic servants during this period.

There is historical evidence that European children collected sugarbag on the Wenlock Goldfields, indicating that this may not have been exclusively an Indigenous occupation (Figure 51). It is likely that this skill was learnt from Indigenous domestic staff, along with Indigenous languages (Fisher 1998).

**Figure 51: Photo is showing European children collecting sugarbag at the Wenlock Goldfields with a full-sized axe in 1951 (Fisher 1998).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

WWII left a considerable labour shortage in many of Australia's rural areas, and Cape York Peninsula was no exception. The Fisher's took on some old European employees and also employed Indigenous people to help with the surface work such as the collecting of cordwood and water to run the boilers. Fisher (1998:98) mentions that this employment took place through the through the Coen Police Sergeant:

Wages were paid to the Protector and the employer was responsible for food, tobacco and housing. Money was advanced to the Aborigines by the Protector at the annual Coen Race meetings that we attended each year with the Aboriginal families, and at Christmas for clothing and spending money.

Fisher (1998) also notes the names of their Indigenous employees and their wives during the period after WWII. Silver Johnson was apparently an excellent worker (who had also had to spend a significant period in detention on Palm Island for the killing of other Indigenous people), who was married to Mary. Elderly Jackie was married to Nellie and Moonlight who was married to Polly. The Indigenous women assisted in household chores and were given tobacco and matches by their husbands; no payment was received for their work. This was not uncommon, 'on properties where their husbands were employed; the employer could work them [the wives] for two hours per day in return for their food. In practice, this could mean up to fourteen hours hard domestic work per day without pay' (Castle and Hagan 1997:69). The Indigenous 'employees' also looked after the animals (horses etc.). These formal agreements became scarcer over time as employers who were short on labourers did not ask too many questions regarding government-based agreements.

In a geological report, Connah (1951:301) comments that there was a white population on the Wenlock Goldfields of 15 in 1951, implying that there was also an Indigenous population in the area at this time. This supports records of this period commenting that there was 'an Ayapathu man working as a Coen Police tracker, [who] helps scour the Wenlock area, a former mining centre in Kaanju country, for Aboriginal people to remove to Lockhart River' (Kidd 1996:35, citing QSA A144804).

In the historical narrative of mining in the Wenlock region, it is evident that the social spaces produced reflect the dominance of Europeans and their social interactions within the colonial process. However, the role of Indigenous people in the historical mining industry was indisputable, and integral to the establishment of the Wenlock Goldfields as a major mining centre.

## **Sandalwood**

On the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula at Lloyd Bay (to the north east of the study area), a man of European descent, Hugh Giblett (also known as the ‘Sandalwood King’) was well known for his use of Indigenous labour. He was also known for the trust he placed in his labour force to operate his business in his absence. In 1910, government officials report that Giblett and two or three other Europeans were, under contract, employing approximately 100 Indigenous people each in the sandalwood trade (Wharton 2009). These numbers were not always fixed and changed dramatically both over time and with the seasons.

Giblett’s first base of operations in the Lloyds Bay area was on Lloyd Island in 1910, but later moved to Orchid Point, where there was a permanent spring fed water supply (Figure 52). It was here that the company Morey, for who Giblett acted as an agent, had leased land. Giblett was also not the first non-Indigenous person to collect sandalwood on the eastern coast of the Peninsula as Mr Pim was remembered as harvesting and shipping the wood from north of the Pascoe River (Wharton 2009). Giblett passed away in 1924 but he was well remembered by some Indigenous people who he had employed when Peter Sutton interviewed them in the 1970s (Wharton 2009). Wharton (2009) also comments that the areas where the sandalwood was harvested there were several camps along tracks through them. This includes a track through the Wenlock region that is clearly marked on a 1910 map, however no camps are marked (see Figure 52). Of note on this map is the emergence of European place names in the Wenlock region, such as Pine Tree Run and Sefton Creek.

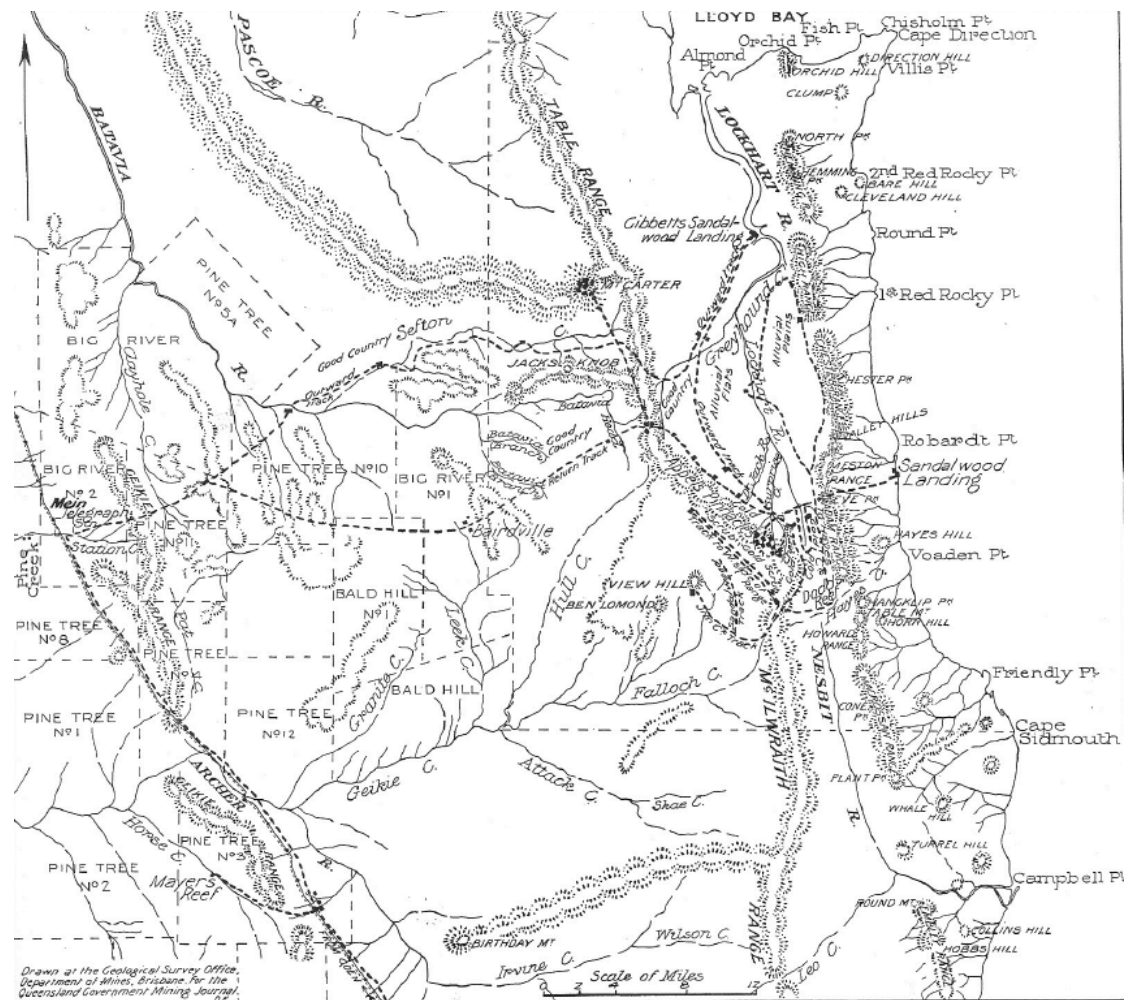


Figure 52: Sketch map published in the Queensland Government Mining Journal 1910, showing a sandalwood landings and tracks in the Lockhart River area, reproduced in (Wharton 2009).

In 1921, Giblett was recorded as commenting that the local Indigenous population was badly affected by venereal disease and there was at least one case of leprosy (Warby 2000:38). Giblett also commented that this was due to the influence of Japanese fisherman who plied the Indigenous population with 'grog' and when the men were 'hard up for smoke' (tobacco) they would loan their women to the Japanese. Giblett suggested that the government regularly supply the local Indigenous people (those who had been signed on to work on government vessels) with tobacco to stop this practice. Warby (2000) however, also notes that as early as 1900 Giblett had established a pub at Port Stewart and was known to have freely supplied alcohol and tobacco to the local Indigenous population and to have also kept a 'harem' of women (Warby 2000:39). The influence of Hugh Giblett and the sandalwood industry on the production of the social space within the Lockhart area of eastern Cape York Peninsula area was crucial to the formation of the early colonial interactions with Indigenous people in the region. This influence changed the way Indigenous labour and industry produced social spaces.

### **Lockhart River Mission**

Outside of the immediate study area, in 1908 an Aboriginal Reserve at Lloyd Bay (965 square miles) was established to the east of the Wenlock Goldfields (Anon 1908). These reserves were represented on maps (see Jack 1921) but were in this remote area essentially spaces that were imagined by Europeans. However, as Jack (1922:726) notes these reserves were most likely set aside to shrink the commercial interests of miners who were already occupying some of this space, rather than to provide an ample amount of space for local Indigenous groups. The reserve at Lloyd Bay was established on land traditionally held by the Uutaalnganu, Kuuku Ya'u and a sizable portion of Kuuku I'yu country (Rigsby and Chase 1998:195).

By 1912 this reserve was abandoned in favour of a site on the Pascoe River. This new reserve incorporated the parishes of Weymouth, Pascoe, Canoe, Lloyd, Westbury and Lockhart and covered a total area of 375,000 acres (Anon 1912:258). It was in 1924 however that another Aboriginal Reserve consisting of 380,400 acres in the County of Weymouth was established (controlled by Stephen Harris Davies and Cornelius

O'Leary) which included the parishes of Lockhart, Sherrand, Atholl, Chilcott, Arran and Cremorne (Anon 1924:1244). In 1944 a 14-acre Aboriginal Reserve at Coen was also gazetted but was later moved in 1961 and in 1986 the site was amended.

It was not until 1924, that the Anglican Church established the Lockhart River Mission. Many Indigenous people on the north east coast and far northern central Cape York Peninsula were, at least in the early days of the mission, still free to move between the mission and their homelands (Thompson 1996). Even though this was also the case during the 1920s and 1930s, the removal of substantial numbers of Indigenous people from areas both north and south of the mission by the state Native Affairs Department also occurred (Rigsby and Chase 1998:195). This 'freedom of movement' has been ascribed to the lack of funding for these missions and a reliance on Indigenous labour and food (Chase 1984:106). This argument is supported by the mission records (Bleakley 1937:20) which indicate that 50-60 'boys' were encouraged to sign up to the maritime industry, and from their earnings, they were able to support their families. Apart from a brief period of abandonment during WWII the principal focus of this mission appears to have been survival rather than asserting absolute control over the movement of Indigenous people in the area. The mission was moved again in 1969 to a more suitable area further north (near the present Lockhart settlement) (Harris 1975).

Thompson (1996) discusses the various phases of the Lockhart mission as being dependent upon the European who had effective control over the area. The period of time directly before the mission was established was known as Giblett time, after the sandalwood merchant Hugh Giblett. Followed by Harry Rowan (the first mission super-intendant); Johnson (who saw the mission through WWII), Briggs (a carpenter), John Warby (the post-World War II mission super-intendant who encouraged the co-operative movement); the post-mission era under government administration (which was assimilation orientated) and the current administration by the Aboriginal Council.

In 1924 when Harry Rowan and Reverend Done first arrived at Lloyd Bay they selected a place for the mission to the east of the Morey lease site (where Giblett had his base and had died the year before). This site was later moved to one with more arable soil and a better water supply near Bare Hill in 1925 (Warby 2000:43). Rowan

remained at Lloyd Bay from 1924 until 1938. Charles Cook and his wife assisted Rowan; Rowan would also later marry Miss Le Peor Trench, who also moved to the mission. Rowan time was considered to be one of relative peace in the area. However, he still attempted to break down 'traditional' belief systems and assimilate Indigenous people into European society through the use of Indigenous religious teachers from Pacific regions. There was always a funding deficiency, but even so, a relationship of dependence upon the mission was formed (or continued from Giblett's era) with the local Indigenous groups (Warby 2000:46).

In 1938 Rowan was replaced by Fr Nicholls an Anglo-Catholic priest, whose preaching (in Latin) was considered to be beyond the understanding of most of the Indigenous population (Warby 2000). However, Nicholls had varying success with several Indigenous men who enjoyed the ritualistic aspects of his preaching. However, in 1938 during his tenure, 35 people died from a bronchial disease. In 1939 a new assistant was posted to Fr Nicholls, Mr Johnson, who would later take over as superintendent of the mission in 1941 (Warby 2000).

There was some concern regarding Japanese and Indigenous collaboration in the Cape York Peninsula area during WWII. This suspicion was based on the close working relationship that various Indigenous groups and Japanese sea captains developed during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Indigenous people from the Lockhart River area also mention that those who worked with the Japanese respected them and often created lasting relationships between the sea captains and particular families (Urry 1981). These groups included the Kuuku ya'u, Umpila and Kaandya (Kaanju) people (May 1994:7). The fear of sympathetic Indigenous attitudes to the advancing Japanese during WWII startled a recent recruit at the Lockhart River Mission so much that they collected all the firearms from the Indigenous population and threw them into the sea, (Thompson 1996:152). When the Japanese threat during WWII appeared to be imminent, the missionaries were evacuated for six months, and the Indigenous population were told to set up bush camps, many of who used this opportunity to walk to back to their homelands (Rigsby and Chase 1998:195).

Johnson would see the mission through the WWII years, during which it was a challenge to maintain morale as many of the Indigenous men were either actively

serving in the Australian Army or had been shipped off to work as farm labourers in the south. This exodus left many women, children and old people in the area to fend for themselves without their most able bodied men (Warby 2000). There was a lack of 'morale' that led to a decrease in the assimilation of the Christian 'ideal' and a return to 'traditional' ways. This was evident as new outbreaks of disease were ascribed to supernatural causes or sorcery, particularly in 1942 when 42 Indigenous people died of influenza. After WWII, there were several factors that led to a general decline in the acceptance of the mission, including the breakdown of the family unit due to death and starvation. Johnson suffered a series of injuries and ill health and eventually left the mission in 1948 (Warby 2000).

Arthur Briggs would take over as mission superintendent in 1948 and as a trained carpenter who had worked in the Pacific with Indigenous groups he and his family attempted to repair the failing mission. With assistance, he built two or three small houses and repaired the broken windmill and salvaged some farming equipment. An elderly Priest A. E. Briggs from Tasmania supported Arthur Briggs during this period. Briggs' tenure was short, however, as he was diagnosed with tuberculosis in 1950 and he and his family left soon afterwards.

John Warby began his time as superintendent of the mission in 1951 until 1960 and led the first Indigenous co-operative in Australia amongst the mission population. As an ex-commercial pearl boat captain, he did this through encouraging the purchase and running of communal fishing boats as many of the Indigenous men were able and experienced fisherman (Thompson 1996). During this period the lack of church funding continued to be an issue for the mission.

Life at the Lockhart River Mission would remain turbulent due to various government and church funding issues. Eventually, the mission community was entitled a Deed of Grant In Trust (DOGIT) in the 1980s, which allowed the community a degree of autonomy. Later there was the establishment of the outstation or 'homelands' movement, of which there is an example of the Kuuku I'yu at Chuulangan, near the Wenlock Goldfields.



## Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that represented spaces were produced during the colonial era within the study area and that often these constructions were based solely on the conceptualised production of these spaces. These spaces are evident in the creation of European maps showing the claiming of mining and pastoral leases as well as poetry, propaganda, the establishment of Aboriginal Reserves and the surveying of an unknown 'wilderness'. These representations of space reflect the dominant colonial interests in the region. What becomes apparent is that on the whole Indigenous people are removed from how these spaces are imagined, as these are produced by the dominant social order.

The dominant European historical narrative of the region largely excludes the day-to-day histories of Indigenous men and women who laboured in the barely viable industries of region. For instance, there is no doubt many Indigenous stories behind the pastoral stations, the Native Mounted Police, mines and missions of the region that have not been recorded in a written form. This is a part of a legacy of structural and actual violence perpetrated against Indigenous people in the region that cannot be omitted from any balanced narrative of the past. However, the role of Indigenous miners in the region is at least partially represented and this chapter has synthesised the evidence available and added to this body of knowledge.

The documented history of the Wenlock region is unique, this is apparent in how the cross-cultural social relations in the area seem to have changed so dramatically in such a short period. From the violence in the region perpetrated by the Native Mounted Police in the name of 'protecting' the telegraph line, pastoralists and miners, in the next 20-30 years the Wenlock region became a place where Indigenous miners (Pluto, Kitty Pluto, Friday Wilson) had apparently altered the established dynamic, with Europeans and other Indigenous people who were also drawn to the region to 'deal' or trade (Smith 2005:32). However, these histories must also be understood as being within the constraints of the colonial project and have also been used to represent a form of manipulated social space. Although Indigenous people are

glimpsed within these spaces, these representations are not nuanced and do not recognise substantial changes in Indigenous agency.

What is also evident when compiling a chronological outline of the various European forms of production in the region is that these industries all only achieved short windows of success, and without Indigenous labour, even this limited success may not have occurred. In the Wenlock, despite the powerful effect of colonialism and the related loss, there has been a persistent Indigenous presence within the region. This persistence is a form of resistance to the colonial control of social spaces and cultural landscapes. This persistence is evident through labour within the industries discussed above and can be analysed within the spatial practices of the study area.

## **Chapter 6: Archaeological Research Methodologies**

This chapter outlines the archaeological research methods used to understand the complex social spaces and cultural landscapes of the Wenlock region of Cape York Peninsula. Additionally, discussed in this chapter are the ethical considerations involved in this project, the management of the data collected, the analytical process of creating a GIS based on the above sources of data, and the limitations of these forms of analysis.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The process of gaining ethics approval for this project was based on the guidelines provided by Flinders University. This required the completion of a number of university-based processes and permission to be granted from the Aboriginal Custodians of the area. This project was assessed as being of Low Risk by the Flinders Ethics Committee and was granted an SBRC number 6897 (See Appendix B). As portions of this project are based within an Indigenous Protected Area (IPA), administered by the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation, their express permission was also sought, and was granted (See Appendix A) and they also gave permission for various historical and ethnographic repositories to be researched to supplement the project.

This research was undertaken in co-operation with the Kuuku I'yu people who are Aboriginal Custodians for the Wenlock region and are represented by the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation. The involvement of Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation Indigenous Rangers was sought during this study, but, due to the lack of funding and other management priorities during the dry season, their assistance was only available occasionally. No formal interviews of Aboriginal Custodians were undertaken, however regular updates and conversations were held with rangers, elders and staff so that if at any time there were cultural considerations to take into account during field surveys (such as areas that should be avoided) these were respected without question. Regular updates of the project were given to both Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation representatives and Aboriginal Elders. Any publications or outputs related to this

project will be supplied to the Aboriginal Custodians based at the Chuulungan Aboriginal Corporation.

The major ethical concerns facing this project are related to respecting the material culture and privacy of Indigenous people in and surrounding the study area. An example would be the wider publication of personal records that could be considered to be sensitive to family members of deceased persons. To respect this issue, if any personal records are used that are not included in the public record an alias was used and a copy of the real names supplied to the Chuulungan Aboriginal Corporation. At the end of the second and third phases of field work community reports were written for the Chuulungan Aboriginal Corporation containing the aims, goals, historical background and archaeological evidence located in the area, as well as any heritage management recommendations (Tutchener 2016, 2017). All archaeological data (including site coordinate data) was shared with the Chuulungan Aboriginal Corporation and will not be made public unless at their request, for example to register sites on various heritage registers. This data has also been stored in a shared digital cloud-based repository.

Any issues related to the removal of material culture from the study area was negated, firstly by not excavating, and secondly by using a methodology that leaves the cultural material in place while undergoing recording. This approach meant that the overall fieldwork for the thesis took longer, but the use of digital recording technology (FileMakerPro©) assisted with this immeasurably. All electronic data generated from this thesis will be stored both by the author and by Flinders University for at least five years after the completion of the thesis.

### **Archaeological Survey**

The field work for this research involved remote area living with limited facilities; this work was based at a campsite operated by the Chuulungan Aboriginal Corporation in the Wenlock area in the Cape York Peninsula. The archaeological surveys for this project took place over three years and were comprised of three phases of field work.

During the initial phase of field work (Phase 1), a pedestrian survey was completed of a portion of the study area; the purpose of this survey was a reconnaissance survey. This work indicated that there was significant colonial era archaeological material in the area, for example, steel axe marked CMTs, glass bottle dumps, metal material, as well as flaked stone material. This initial phase (December 2014) served both as an introduction to the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation and as an opportunity to ground truth the Wenlock's archaeological potential and conditions. The data collected informed later field work, which was completed over field seasons in 2015 and 2016.

Phase 2 of field work involved detailed pedestrian transects in the study area while recording key features; this was the longest field trip for this study. During this phase of work, in August 2015, pedestrian transects were conducted with assistance from four student volunteers, along with occasional support from Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation Rangers.

One student volunteer and myself completed Phase 3 of field work in September and October of 2016. During this phase pedestrian transects were conducted with the specific aim of covering new areas. This phase covered considerable distances and recorded a significant number of CMTs and other artefacts.

### **Survey Strategy**

The survey strategy employed during this study was shaped by the location of historical places (mines, pastoral remnants etc.) in the historical and ethnographic literature. Non-probabilistic sampling methods (purposive survey) focussing on areas of likely occupation or use (for example water courses) were then also used to locate archaeological sites and artefacts.

The selection of survey areas was based upon their potential to contribute data relevant to the research question, and to produce a dataset that was representative of the landscape in the Wenlock region. These zones of research potential were divided

into areas based on different eras of European economic production: Wenlock, Chock-a-Block, Plutoville, Bairdsville, Billycan Yards and Clayhole Yards. These areas were selected as they exist in the historical record and there was a possibility the surrounding landscape of each area of European economic production could show indications of varied use.

Once a survey area was located, the survey team would travel by vehicle as close as practical to the area, then survey commenced irrespective of the distance to the intended location. This often depended upon the density of the vegetation and the availability of small 4x4 tracks in the survey area and allowed for survey coverage of the surrounding areas, which was often productive. The use of an 'off-site' (Blintoff 2000) archaeological sampling survey strategy (a survey of the greater landscape, not just arbitrarily defined archaeological sites) was considered appropriate to address continuous landscape use and change in the region. Using this approach included defining an archaeological site as a cluster of artefacts (for example the remains of a mine, or a pastoral remnant) and individual artefacts (for example an isolated lithic artefact, or a CMT as an artefact) (Dunnell and Dancey 1983). As no previous archaeological field work had been conducted in the study area, this survey method was also considered necessary to build a broader framework of landscape use and resource exploitation.

The survey intensity varied according to the number of participants. However, wherever possible, surveyors were spaced approximately 5m parallel to each other. This relatively high-intensity strategy was adopted due to the dense vegetation of the region. As safety was also a concern while working in a remote region it was also not possible to have surveyors hundreds of metres apart from one other.

### **Recording Methods and Object Analysis**

Once an archaeological site or artefact was identified, it was recorded according to its specific type. However, irrespective of its type, geodetic coordinates were obtained with a consumer grade GPS unit and recorded in longitude and latitude. This level of accuracy was considered adequate for this study, particularly considering the low

spatial density of artefacts which meant that the positional error of a hand-held GPS did not negatively impact the results. Once a site or artefact was located it was identified and recorded where possible. The surrounding landscape was then surveyed to define the extent of the place and any other artefacts that may be related to it. This included a purposive strategy (Richards 2008c) near water sources around and along rivers, lagoons and creeks (both dry and not) as these areas often reveal artefacts due to erosion and are likely production/occupation areas. Escarpment areas were also targeted, as these can contain rock shelters where rock art is more frequent, and the elevation provides good vantage points across the surrounding landscape. Often to reach an isolated area, significant portions of diverse landscapes were walked, although some of these were much less likely to contain archaeological sites (for example large flat flood plains).

Each site or artefact (listed in Table 3) was photographed and recorded on an iPad that was loaded with FilemakerGo© and running a custom-made database application designed for this project. If a site was judged to take over a day of recording, half a day was used, and key features were identified, and a sample of representative objects was recorded. If there were features such as concrete slabs or pastoral remnants, site plans were produced. Importantly, at no stage was any cultural material removed from the study area.

| Artefact and Site Types | Examples                                                                   |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lithic Material         | Purposely flaked and ground material both scatters and single flakes (ISO) |
| Glass                   | Bottles                                                                    |
| CMTs                    | Axe marked stumps, sugarbag, side removal scars                            |
| Metal                   | Barrels, cans, sheet metal, mining machinery                               |
| Miscellaneous           | Modern material, rubber                                                    |
| General Site            | Buildings, pastoral remains                                                |

**Table 7: Basic artefact and site types.**

Each site or artefact was assigned a code based on its type, the number of that type recorded that day, the day of the project it was recorded and a consecutive catalogue

number. For example, the 6<sup>th</sup> CMT (starting at 0 which was left blank) recorded on day 2 would look something like this:

CMT5 D2 2001

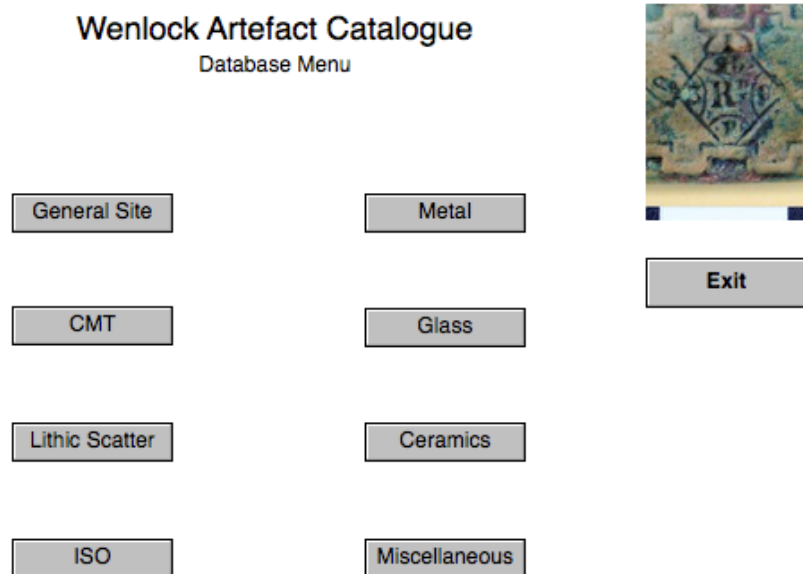
This individual artefact number was then used on the handwritten photo log, the FileMakerPro© database and hand-held GPS unit. Although a little time-consuming in the field this method has proven invaluable in cross checking data integrity. As the data for this project spans multiple years after the data was tabulated for the 2016 season (-16) was added to the catalogue number to avoid any numbers being reused. A photo log was kept of all photos taken on the non-iPad camera, while the iPad was used for the bulk of artefact photographs and scale images.

### **Artefact Types**

Each artefact type requires that a specific set of measurements be taken, for instance, the process of analysing a lithic artefact is very different to analysing a piece of metal or a CMT. The following section outlines the FilemakerPro© recording forms used for each artefact/site type. The artefact recording platform is based on that developed by Heather Burke and Mick Morrison at Flinders University. FileMaker Pro© is an object-orientated database program, which allows for the creation of fields to contain different data types for example text, numbers, generating geodetic co-ordinates and photographs. The database is designed in FilemakerPro© and can be run in FilemakerGo© on any Apple handheld device.

Upon opening the FilemakerGo© file the user is presented with a number of recording options (See Figure 53). Each form (for example Figure 54) needed to record the details of each specific artefact type as well as: a catalogue number, co-ordinate system, a photo and any notes that might need to be taken. If required, additional photos were taken with a camera.





**Figure 53: Main menu of customised catalogue for FileMakerPro©.**

**Wenlock Artefact Catalogue: CMT**

SurveyPoint

Site ID

UTM GDA '94

Easting

Northing

Add New Record

Main Menu

---

**Site attributes**

Type of tree

Tree species or common name

Tree Photos

Tree Girth

Approx Height

Stump height

Number of scars

Tree condition

Additional description

| Length                                   | Width                                    | HAG                                      | Scar type                                | Axe Type                                 | Photo number (indiv. scars only)         |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> |
| <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> |
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| <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/> |

Scale image of tree

Scale image of a scar

**Figure 54: CMT recording form.**

Each primary site or artefact type (Table 3) had its own digital form and was used when these were located in the field. For a full listing of fields recorded per form, see Appendix E. The output for the FileMakerPro© program means that all of these fields can be exported into Microsoft Excel, and if need be cleaned up to ensure uniformity and then linked to maps in ArcGIS to create vector layers for each artefact or site type. This collecting tool evolved as the study progressed, but the essential recording

elements of this database remained the same. A handheld consumer grade GPS unit was used for consistency (and budgetary constraints) throughout the study. By Phase 3 the handheld photo log was largely phased out and was recorded in specific fields in FileMakerGo©.

When a general historical site (such as a mine) it was recorded using a site recording form. These forms did not have enough detail for the varied types of artefacts, such as glass and metal. In these cases, the SiteID field was duplicated with the addition of a letter to another form, in order to record a selection of artefacts; these forms were often only representative samples of the material at the site as they were often too large (well over a day of recording) to record fully. Utilising this function, pastoral sites were recorded using a baseline offset method and plotted by hand (if time allowed) and multiple photographs and geodetic coordinates taken.

Lithic material was recorded at a basic level. This recording included: raw material type, length, width, thickness, platform type and dimensions and notes were taken of any other features (for example retouch). An isolated flake or core was also fully recorded, but if a lithic scatter contained more than 20 artefacts, the number, dimensions and material types present were recorded, and the site left for analysis at a later date. This method is consistent with the above idea that if the recording of a site looks like it will take more than a day to complete, that it be sampled and recorded to only a general level.

Pastoral sites in the study area mainly took the form of fencing posts and stockyards. This study defined a stockyard as:

Small structures, rarely >100 m across, designed to retain livestock for various management operations. The structures used are as variable as those found in fences, but are typically stronger and more robust to withstand the pressure from confined and often agitated stock (Pickard 2009: 151).

The attributes recorded for stockyard posts included post height and girth, wood type, preservation condition, and the type of technology used. If possible a plan of the site was made, using a baseline off-set method, however, consistent with other site types,

if this was estimated to take more than a day it was recorded in a general fashion and a geodetic co-ordinate was taken for each yard post.

| Attribute           | Method of Data Collection                                              |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HAG                 | Height from ground level to lowest axe mark of scar                    |
| Circumference       | Measured with a tape at chest height                                   |
| Height              | Measured with tape or estimated                                        |
| Dryface Scar length | Length of total scar on CMT (from bottom most axe mark to top most)    |
| Dryface Scar Width  | Width of total scar on CMT (from widest left axe mark to widest right) |
| Aperture Length     | Measured on scale photo in ImageJ (actual hole in wood bottom to top)  |
| Aperture Width      | Measured on scale photo in ImageJ (actual hole in wood left to right)  |
| Axe Type            | Steel/stone based on clarity of axe mark edge                          |
| Tree condition      | Dead/alive and any burn marks or insect activity noted                 |

**Table 8: CMT attribute data collection method.**

As CMTs are a crucial aspect of this study their recording needed to be consistent (Table 8). This is particularly true for each of the individual scars recorded, as the height above ground (HAG) was measured from the ground to the base of each scar and the dimensions of the scars themselves were measured from the dry face between axe marks. The circumference where possible was measured from chest height. Considering previous work (Morrison and Shepard 2013), these CMT metrics were judged to be the most efficient use of time, as this data would then be able to provide a comparison to other colonial era CMTs recorded in the greater region. Also recorded for each CMT where possible was: approximate (or actual) height, species, condition, axe type, the number of scars, the length and width of the scar dryface, and scale photographs. The scale photographs were used to measure the aperture width and length for the sugarbag scars after the fieldwork was completed on a computer using the program ImageJ. Below (Figure 55, Figure 56 and Figure 57) are examples of CMT types recorded.



**Figure 55: Woomera CMT.**



**Figure 56: CMT stump (left) and felled CMT (log) (right) (tape is 1m).**



**Figure 57: Sugarbag CMT.**



An important distinction was made between the type of axe used to create the CMT in the field at the time of recording and double checked when the data was collated. This artefact type was divided into two main categories based on whether they were created by a steel or stone axe (Figure 58). These scars were distinguished via the axe marks evident on the CMT. Steel axe marks, even after weathering leave a clear almost straight line, whereas stone axe marks are typically ‘broad, asymmetrical “bludgeon” marks, with possible crushing of the underlying sapwood’ (Burke and Smith 2004:227). This example is based upon a living CMT where axe marks are often very clear, however, due to decay not all CMTs will always maintain perfectly identifiable steel or stone axe marks. As a precaution, any subjectivity in the use of this metric has been avoided through the extra analysis of the aperture size of sugarbag CMT scars as per Morrison and Shepard (2013).



**Figure 58: Images of stone (left) and steel sugarbag CMT scars (right).**

If a CMT had multiple features, for example if a tree was both a felled tree and had sugarbag scars, it was categorised as a sugarbag CMT, as this had greater analytical value to this study. Only CMTs, felled CMTs and stumps that had clearly been altered

by people and showed clear axe marks were documented, this often meant not recording likely examples that were too degraded.

Where possible each metal and glass artefact were also dated through the use of historic reference material or diagnostic features. In the case of metal objects found in relation to mining areas, due to significant corrosion and because they tended to exhibit few diagnostic features, these objects were mainly dated based on the active period of mining for that area (for example 1920-1950). This did not provide pin point accuracy in terms of a date of use for the object but did provide an indication of a date range for the creation of the economic and social space in question.

To save time in the field, the dating of individual artefacts was often completed afterwards, during the analysis phase, based on photos and the data collected, as this allowed for greater survey coverage and more accurate analysis in the lab. This approach does have limitations, as there may be a tendency towards only recording rarer artefact types, potentially skewing the data for each site. This limitation was overcome through the recording of a variety of artefacts and artefact types, particularly at complicated sites that indicated greater temporal breadth. However, the analysis of much of the glass material for the area was straightforward, as many of the beer bottles had a date of manufacture on the base or side of the bottle and frequently comprised non-diagnostic fragments. The analysis of the historical material allowed for further examination of this material type by date within a spatial context, as these artefact types could be sorted and represented on maps of the area by date, indicating the creation and use of these sites over a period of time.

### **Spatial Analysis**

Lefebvre's (1991) concept of space is complicated and significantly shaped how the data was gathered and analysed as part of this research. This includes the material manifestation of a place as it has been laboured upon and allows for the interpretation of landscapes through the analysis of material culture. As social space is produced through labour, the archaeological data collected relates to the physical aspect of this

labour, for example mining remnants or CMTs. This data includes where possible a probable date (or date range) of site or artefact formation or use.

Each of the key spatial practices (or physical manifestations) in the study area—classical Indigenous lifeways, the Native Mounted Police camp, pastoral remnants and mining equipment was interpreted as spaces within themselves. Following this, a number of the material manifestations of these social spaces (for example historical sites of European economic activity and steel cut CMTs) and their spatial relationships were considered in relation to each other to explore the production of complex social spaces. By considering the first two approaches to the production of social space by Lefebvre (1991) (physical spaces and represented spaces) the spatial location of archaeological material culture, ethnographic sources and historic sources (such as maps and written sources) can provide a nuanced multi-scalar narrative of the past in the Wenlock region.

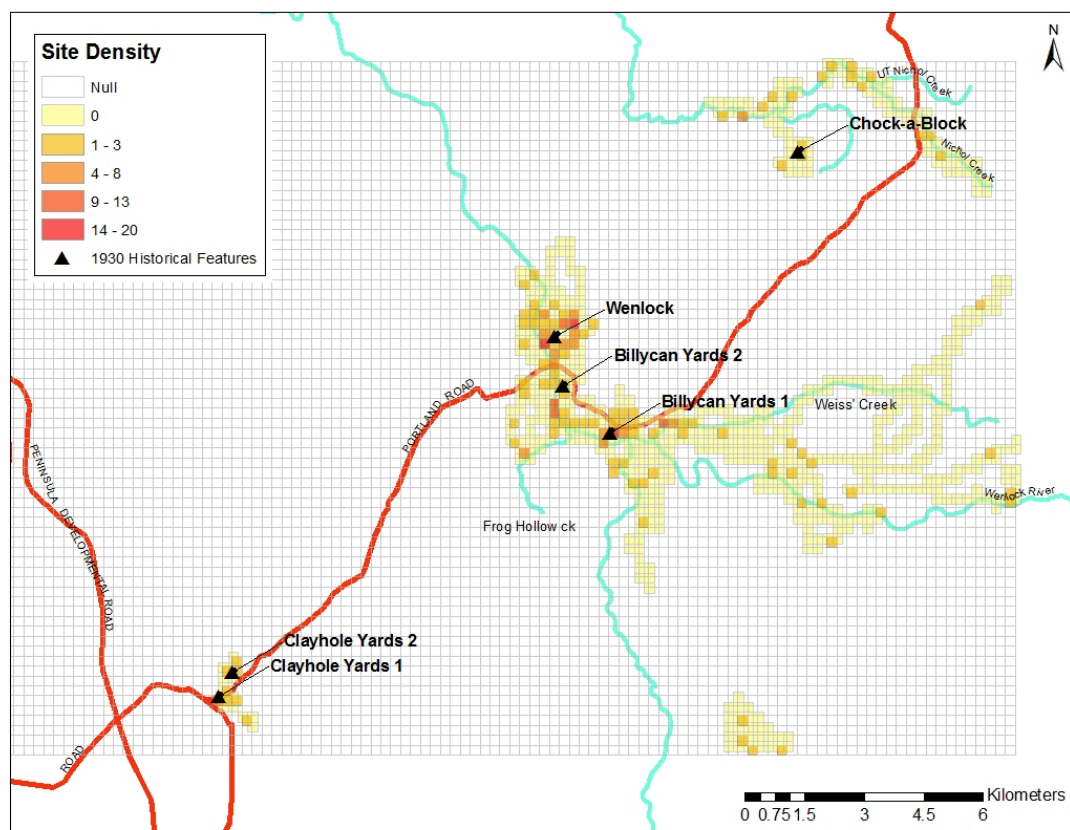
By using a GIS each of these spatial practices (the physical remnants of industry), these spaces can be represented as a layer or a grid, which was then placed over the study area on a map. If there is an historical reference, an ethnographic reference, an artefact or an archaeological site within this space it was represented by a value of 1. Each grid was then constructed within the GIS. This study used ArcMap 10.2 to show the concentration of site production in that space. These layers were then compared to consider the density of each type of space and the changes in social dynamics produced across time, this is explained further in the section below.

### **Grid Method**

The spatial practices (the physical remnants) in this research project were collated by associated site and artefact type, including pastoral remnants, CMTs, lithic material, glass and metal. As portions of this material proved to be condensed in small areas, when possible these were then analysed by decade or period in order to establish a refined pattern of the use of these spaces.



As each site and artefact type provided different material densities, a grid method was used to assist in the interpretation. An arbitrary grid of 250m x 250m was laid across the Wenlock area within the GIS (using the Fishnet tool in ArcGIS) and the location for each artefact type linked to the grid (using the Spatial Join tool in ArcGIS). Based upon the density of artefact frequency the value of each of the resulting squares was then assigned a colour. This method created a grid map of the area (see Figure 59 for an example), which shows in defined areas (squares) the density of artefact and sites that can then be easily compared, and spatial patterns of use and formation identified.



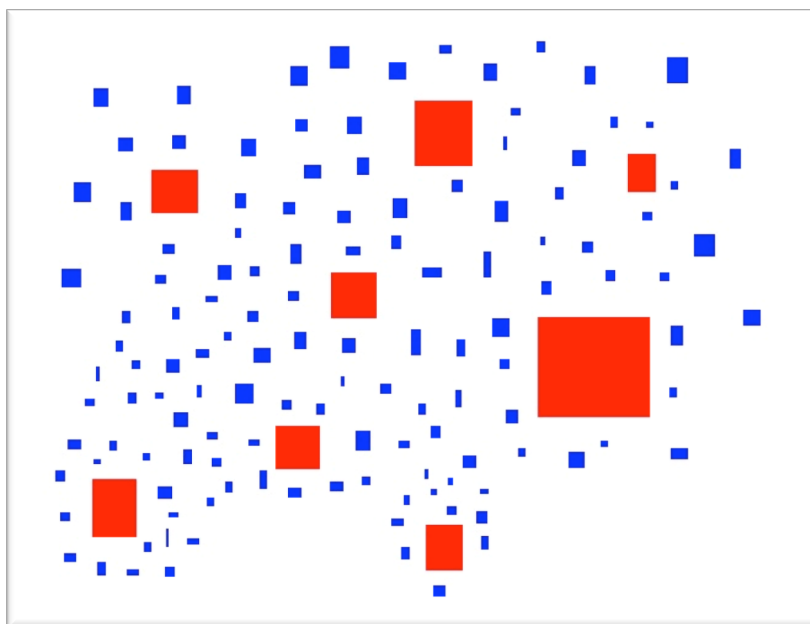
**Figure 59: Example of the grid method used to interpret the density of spatial practices of the study area.**

This method was used instead of ‘heat maps’ that also provide a useful way to interpret one area, but one that depends upon the scale or density of the data presented and when compared to other ‘heat maps’ of the same of area with different densities, this type of map can easily be misunderstood. The standardisation of the size of each grid square allowed for a clearer understanding of the space in each decade, clearly

showing lesser or greater intensity of the production of different social spaces. This form of analysis was restricted by the availability of diagnostic material that could be dated, in this case to the decade (or a range of decades), and the fact that a scatter may have a range of dates. Subsequently, this method is complemented by proximity analysis completed using ArcMap.

### **Proximity Analysis**

The grid method discussed above generated maps to highlight the intensity of how people used the physical space of the Wenlock region. However, the grid method is unable to show if there is any correlation between different sites and artefact types. The Near Table Tool in ArcGIS allows for proximity to be measured between features, or in this case sites and artefact types (although there are other tools equally suited to this purpose). This tool does not measure the proximity of all of one feature type to all of another feature type, but only the proximity of one feature to the closest of the other. For example (see Figure 60), if the proximity relationship between the red rectangles and the blue rectangles was required, then measuring the proximity of all red rectangles to all blue rectangles would not (in this case) create any meaningful data. However, if the proximity of each blue rectangle is measured to the closest red rectangle, a more meaningful data set (in this context) can be created.



**Figure 60: Image demonstrates the spatial relationship between two feature types.**

In the case of this study, the proximity of steel cut CMTs (created in the colonial period) was measured to the closest centre of European economic activity (for example pastoral remnants or mining centres). The date of site formation and use is known for many of the centres of European economic activity (at least within a date range). However, the date of production is unknown for steel cut CMTs. This means a correlation between proximity and the density of CMTs to sites of European economic activity can be argued to provide an indication of historic context (dating by correlation).

The number of CMTs closest (by direct line) to each site of European economic activity was recorded, as were the proximity measurements, which were then averaged to show the spatial correlation between the closest and furthest of each CMT type. This model was then further refined by examining different sub-types of steel-cut CMT (for example sugarbag, woomera, stumps/fallen CMTs) in relation to these centres of European economic activity. This method was completed as the grid method was per phase or decade (this highlights the presence or absence for centres of European economic activity, to the decade or phase) to establish if any patterns were created in space within discrete periods of time. This method allows the date (or date

range) of one known site (the centres of European economic activity) to assist in the estimation of the date of the creation of steel cut CMTs, which was previously unknown. The proximity of these CMTs will be discussed within a proximity matrix as follows (Table 5).

| Distance (km) | Relation to European Activity |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 0-1           | Highly probable               |
| 1.1-2         | Likely                        |
| 2.1-3.9       | Unlikely                      |
| >4            | Highly improbable             |

**Table 9: Probability matrix of CMT distance to centre of European economic activity.**

### **Limitations**

An archaeological limitation of this study was that only pedestrian surveys were carried out during this investigation and visibility was limited due to dense vegetation. However, this limitation does not apply to the major artefact type recorded, CMTs. Fortunately, their identification in the landscape is not limited by ground visibility. As this was the first major archaeological study in the Wenlock area, this form of survey is considered to be a non-invasive preliminary step to the further investigation of the region. Limiting this study to the pedestrian surveys did have a number of other positives: it enabled a large area of the region to be surveyed, no material culture was removed from the study area (which allowed for timely ethics clearance and adhered to Aboriginal Custodian's wishes), and less equipment and funding were required.

The use of a purposive survey strategy would generally lead to the selection of only specific geographical landscapes for a survey, creating a bias within the results. However, one of the significant constraints of this project was the inability to access survey areas by vehicle. Consequently, significant distances across varied geographical areas, for instance, floodplains were also surveyed as a form of control.

Recording artefacts while completing the pedestrian survey meant that the dating and diagnosing of material could be difficult. Partially this was due to the nature of the material, for example, the highly fragmented nature of the glass and the corrosion evident on the metal found. It is possible that this may have been performed with more accuracy in a controlled lab environment. However, this method was selected for its expediency, and it also reduced the need for access to a lab and the removal of material culture from the study area. Adequate photographic recording in the field allowed for reference material to be consulted later during the analysis process.

The methods used to analyse the spatial data creates a greater general understanding of the social space produced in the Wenlock. However, the frequency and proximity data by decade analysed are only useful (regarding the spatial correlation between steel cut CMTs and centres of European economic production) until the historical data reaches maturity, after that (where historical places remain) this information remains static. For this reason, the 'grid method' was also introduced as this shows the total density of the material culture for each decade (only the steel cut CMTs and European manufactured material culture). These grid maps become more useful as the densities of dateable European manufactured material culture emerge and increase. Previous to that the grid maps only demonstrate the distribution and density of steel cut CMTs. These two analytical spatial techniques complement each other in this study, however, used in isolation each would be inadequate. It is also important to note that the longer a place is occupied, the more 'background noise' is created within any analysis, including this study. This 'background noise' can occasionally lead to errors in the analysis of the density of the results, within this study this was minimised through the use of multiple lines of evidence (for instance through correlating archaeological and historical sources).

A general limitation of this study is that archaeological 'sites' and artefacts are still used to represent 'people', which is problematic. This limitation is particularly evident when artefact types are used as markers of race and ethnicity. When considering the oral tradition (David Claudie Pers. Comm. August 2015) regarding the harvesting and trade of sugarbag within the Wenlock region, and the anthropological record (Smith 2016) this has meant that all CMTs have been interpreted as Indigenous artefacts. Previous studies in the general region (Morrison

and Shepard 2013) support this contention. However, there is no reason why Europeans who had learnt Indigenous techniques for gathering honey could not have made a proportion of the sugarbag CMT scars. Similarly, there is also no way to distinguish the ethnicity of the end user of the material culture of European manufacture, for example, a cup or a bottle. This problem has been avoided by considering centres of European economic production as spatial analysis points, and material culture as reflective of spatial density, lifeways and the creation of social spaces.

Ultimately, this study was limited by being only a cooperative project with the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation. Perhaps in the future other projects in this region will be able to be fully collaborative with the Kuuku I'yu and move closer to the idea of a mutually produced space. Hopefully, the resultant spaces (and data from this project) can be of practical use to the Aboriginal Custodians of the Wenlock region and can assist in the persistence of Indigenous lifeways.

This chapter has demonstrated the ethical considerations of the thesis, the archaeological methods used to collect and analyse data and the various limitations of these methodologies. Specifically, these methodologies and analysis have been selected as they provide a multivalent perspective on how cross-cultural interactions in the Wenlock area have produced social spaces in a cultural landscape throughout time.

## Chapter 7: Spatial Practices - Archaeological Results

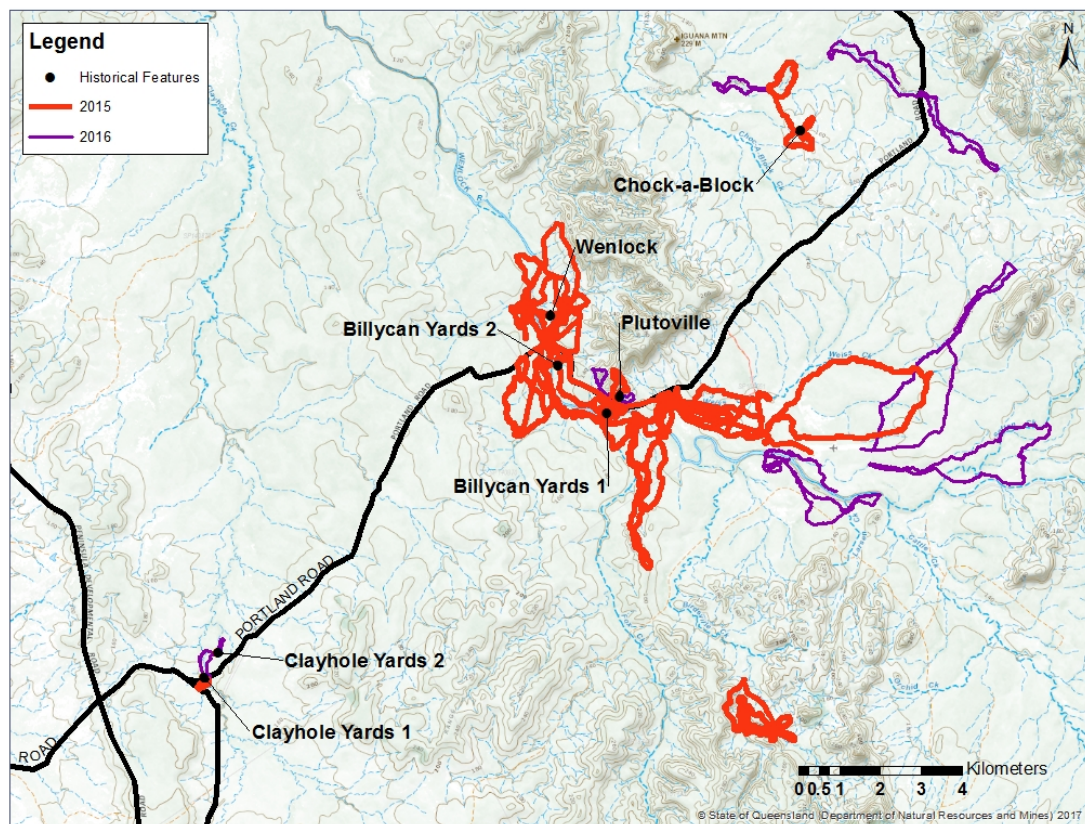
This chapter outlines the results of the archaeological surveys. This data set contributes to our understanding of the construction of the cultural landscape of the study area through the analysis of spatial practices (Lefebvre 1991), as revealed through the physical archaeology present. It begins by reporting the survey results and shows the resultant data by artefact type (lithic material, glass, etc.). Where possible the material culture has been dated to a time period (e.g. 1910-1920); this data are displayed by location to demonstrate spatial patterning. Detailed archaeological results are presented in tabular form in Appendix E.

### Survey results

The pedestrian surveys conducted during this study were in close proximity to known places (mines, pastoral remnants etc.), near water sources (lagoons, rivers and creeks) and ridgelines. This purposive survey strategy allowed for the use of a landscape approach to the study area suitable to answering the research question. This revealed a sparse archaeological footprint across the study area, that was often ephemeral.

During the second phase of fieldwork (2015) a total of 994km of pedestrian transects was walked with four participants. In the third phase of fieldwork, with two participants, a total of 183km was walked (a total of 1127km walked for both years). As each of the four participants in 2015 was ideally 5m apart, a total area of 4.97km<sup>2</sup> (497 hectares) was covered, while in 2016 with two participants 5m apart a total area of 0.915km<sup>2</sup> (91.5 hectares) was covered. When combined, this results in total survey coverage of some 5.88km<sup>2</sup> (588 hectares) surveyed (Figure 61). However, the limited ground visibility of approximately 25% within the survey area means that the effective ground survey coverage is less than 150 hectares. It is important to note that the archaeological record of the region is slight, and the archaeological record of the colonial period at times even more fleeting. To counterbalance these limitations historical sources were used to find European centres of economic activity, and waterways were surveyed for artefacts due to ground exposures. This limited ground visibility also meant that there might be numerous other hidden artefacts (for example

lithic or glass material) within the greater area. CMTs which are clearly visible, despite poor ground visibility were consequently also a focus.



**Figure 61: Field survey coverage during the 2015 and 2016 field seasons.**

The surveys for this project located 270 CMTs, which were divided into several subcategories, including 154 felled CMTs and stumps, 84 sugarbag CMTs, 30 woomera CMTs and two axe-marked CMTs. Eight lithic scatters and six isolated stone artefacts were also located. Three sites of ethnographic importance were mapped in the study area. The total number of glass fragments recorded was 50, and the total number of metal artefacts recorded was 103. The remains of four stockyards were also recorded, along with a Native Mounted Police Camp. The location of these features is presented in Figure 62.



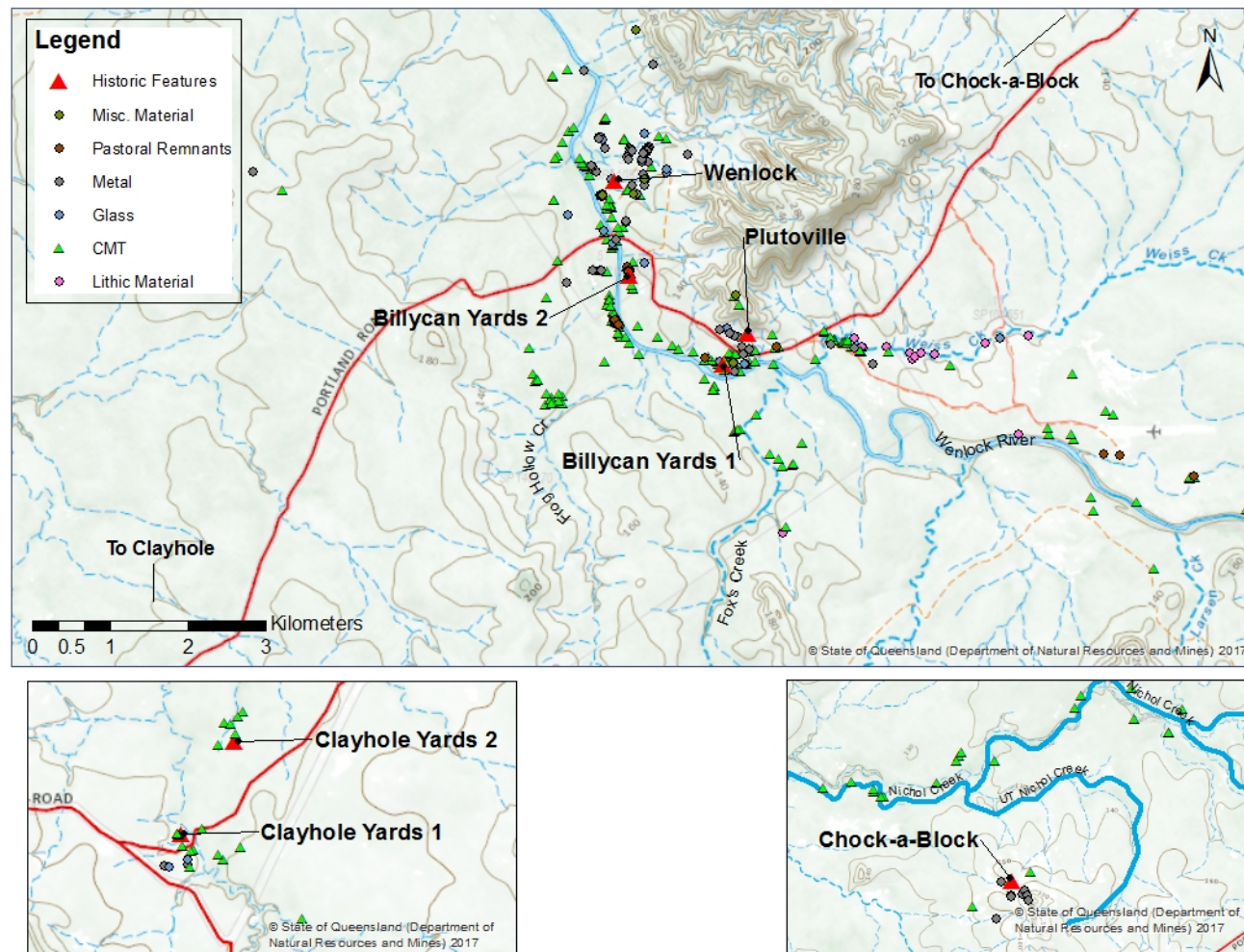


Figure 62: All archaeological material located in the Wenlock survey area during the 2015 and 2016 field seasons.

## Lithic Material

The lithic material found during this study formed only a small portion of the overall assemblage. This is due to three contributing factors: firstly, the dynamic nature of the landscape (particularly in the wet season) in the study area means that objects on the surface are prone to movement and become buried easily. Secondly, there has been significant disturbance of the study area due to historic mining activities. Finally, ground surface visibility was on average less than 25% due to dense vegetation, and this made the identification of artefacts difficult. The lithic material located during this study is outlined below (Table 10).

| Site No. | Type of site/ artefact | No. of artefacts | Raw material     | Location in relation to erosion/general | Distance to year-round water |
|----------|------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 2129     | Lithic scatter         | 50+              | Quartz, silcrete |                                         | 0-15m                        |
| 2137     | Lithic scatter         | 3                | Quartz           | Eroding from river bank                 | 0-15m                        |
| 2138     | Lithic scatter         | 10               | Quartz           | Eroding from cliff face                 | 0-15m                        |
| 2139     | Lithic scatter         | 7                | Quartz, silcrete | Eroding/deflation                       | 0-15m                        |
| 2140     | Lithic scatter         | 20+              | Quartz           | Eroding/deflation                       | 0-15m                        |
| 2141     | Lithic scatter         | 2                | Quartz           |                                         | 0-15m                        |
| 2143     | Lithic scatter         | 3                | Quartz           | Eroding/deflation                       | 0-15m                        |
| 2152     | Lithic scatter         | 2                | Metamorphic      | Ridgeline                               | 0.5km                        |
| 2121     | Flake                  | 1                | Quartz           |                                         | 0-15m                        |
| 2136     | Lateral broken flake   | 1                | Quartz           |                                         | 0-15m                        |
| 2142     | Secondary Flake        | 1                | Quartz           | Eroding/deflation                       | 0-15m                        |
| 2146     | Retouched Flake        | 1                | Silcrete         | Eroding from river bank                 | 0-15m                        |
| 2239     | Flake                  | 1                | Glass            | Rock Shelter                            | 0.5km                        |
| 1049     | Flake                  | 1                | Quartz           | Near Track                              | 0-15m                        |

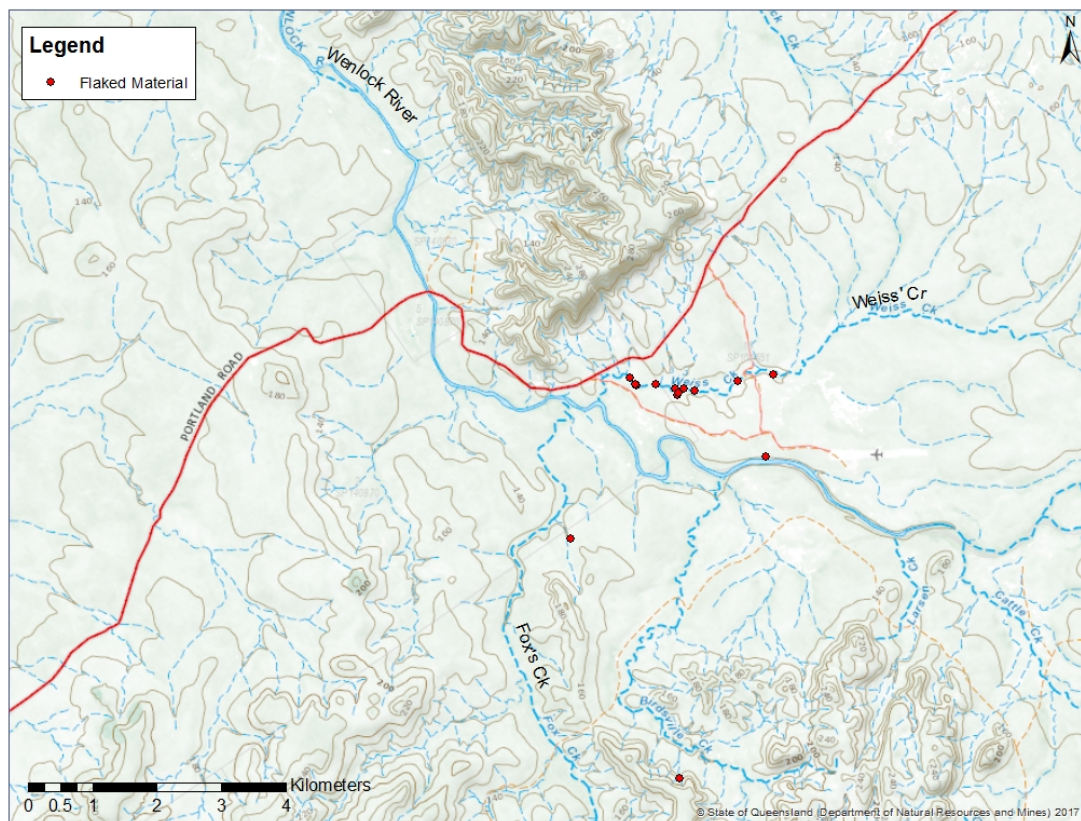
**Table 10: Summary of lithic material identified during the 2015 and 2016 field seasons.**

There was a total of eight lithic scatters and six isolated stone artefacts identified. The material type that dominated the assemblage was quartz, which is easily procured from abundant local sources and comprised 78% of the sites/artefacts located. The other common material type (21%) was silcrete (Figure 63), which was found both as isolated artefacts and within artefact scatters. Other material types located included metamorphic rock and historic glass.



**Figure 63: Silcrete flake with retouch from the bank of Weiss' Creek.**

The eight lithic scatters contained on average approximately 12 artefacts each, although in reality some contained over 50 artefacts while others had as little as two. However, it should be noted that the small sample number makes this average somewhat misleading. The isolated lithic artefacts were predominately primary flakes, with one showing use wear and another retouch. Also located was one ground object (a grinding base) in association with a flaked piece of chert. Of interest was a flake made from glass located in a rock shelter, which also contained rock art and a scatter of lithic material; this general site was recorded by Morrison (2015), and is not contained within these results.



**Figure 64: Distribution of identified lithic materials**

The lithic material found during this study was all located within 0.5km of a water source. Of this material, 85% was very near (within 20m) a watercourse that contains year-round water. The other 15% were within 0.5km of a year-round watercourse, but next to seasonal ephemeral channels (see Figure 64).

There is a notable concentration of lithic material along Weiss' Creek, a tributary of the Wenlock, significant portions of which holds water throughout the year.

According to a senior Aboriginal Custodian (David Claudie, Pers. Comm., August 2015) Weiss' Creek was where the Kuuku I'yu often camped to take advantage of large clearings of dense vegetation nearby, which were good for hunting large animals such as kangaroo, and later also provided grazing land for cattle. This physical space in the landscape of the Wenlock demonstrates the production of the Kuuku I'yu classical spatial practices and compliments the ethnohistorical research in Chapter 4.



## Culturally Modified Trees

Culturally modified trees form a significant focus of this study for two reasons. First, they are readily identifiable in the complex and often densely vegetated landscape of the Wenlock area, as they are elsewhere in Cape York Peninsula. Second, CMTs have been shown to demonstrate both a transition in the use of material culture (the cessation of the use of stone axes in favour of steel) by Indigenous people and the persistence of Indigenous life-ways from pre-colonial times through to the colonial era (Morrison et al. 2010; Morrison and Shepard 2013). These changes are evidenced in the axe marks (the use of steel or stone axes) created during honey extraction, and in the size of the sugarbag scar and aperture. The total number of these CMTs recorded is relatively small, this indicates that they are relatively rare in the landscape, and consequently of high significance. Listed below are the total number of CMT types recorded during this study (Table 11).

| Type               | Number |
|--------------------|--------|
| Stump              | 125    |
| Sugarbag           | 84     |
| Woomera            | 30     |
| Felled CMTs (logs) | 29     |
| Axe Marks          | 2      |
| Total              | 270    |

**Table 11: CMT Types recorded in the study area.**

A large majority of the CMTs recorded during this study were considered to be dead and in poor condition (n=213, 78.8%), with a large proportion of the assemblage being either felled CMTs or stumps (n=154, 57%). However, 17 (6.2%) of the CMTs recorded as ‘dead’ were considered to be in good condition and were still standing or propped up against a rock face. Although 40 (14.8%) of the CMTs recorded were still living, only 25 (9.2%) were healthy, while 15 (5.5%) were considered to be in poor condition. The highest number of CMTs, when recorded by species, was the Cooktown Ironwood (*Erythrophleum chlorostachys*); this dominated the assemblage

at 98.8% (n=267), with one each of messmate (*E. tetradonta*), tea tree (*Melaleuca* spp) and sandalwood (*Santalum spicatum*) also being recorded. The circumference of 260 CMTs was recorded during this study; the average circumference was 91.1cm, with a minimum of 23cm and a maximum of 259cm (see Table 12).

| Attribute      | CMT Circumference (cm) |
|----------------|------------------------|
| Minimum        | 23                     |
| Maximum        | 259                    |
| Average        | 91.1                   |
| Median         | 82                     |
| Total Recorded | 260                    |

**Table 12: Circumference data for CMTs recorded in the Wenlock region.**

#### *Felled CMTs and Stumps*

Felled CMTs form a significant proportion (n=29, 10.7%) of recorded CMTs. However, CMT stumps formed the largest of all the CMT categories forming approximately 46% (n=125) of the assemblage. All of the felled CMTs and stumps recorded were made with steel axes. Together both felled CMTs and CMT stumps represent over half of recorded CMTs in this study (n=154, 56%) (Figure 65).



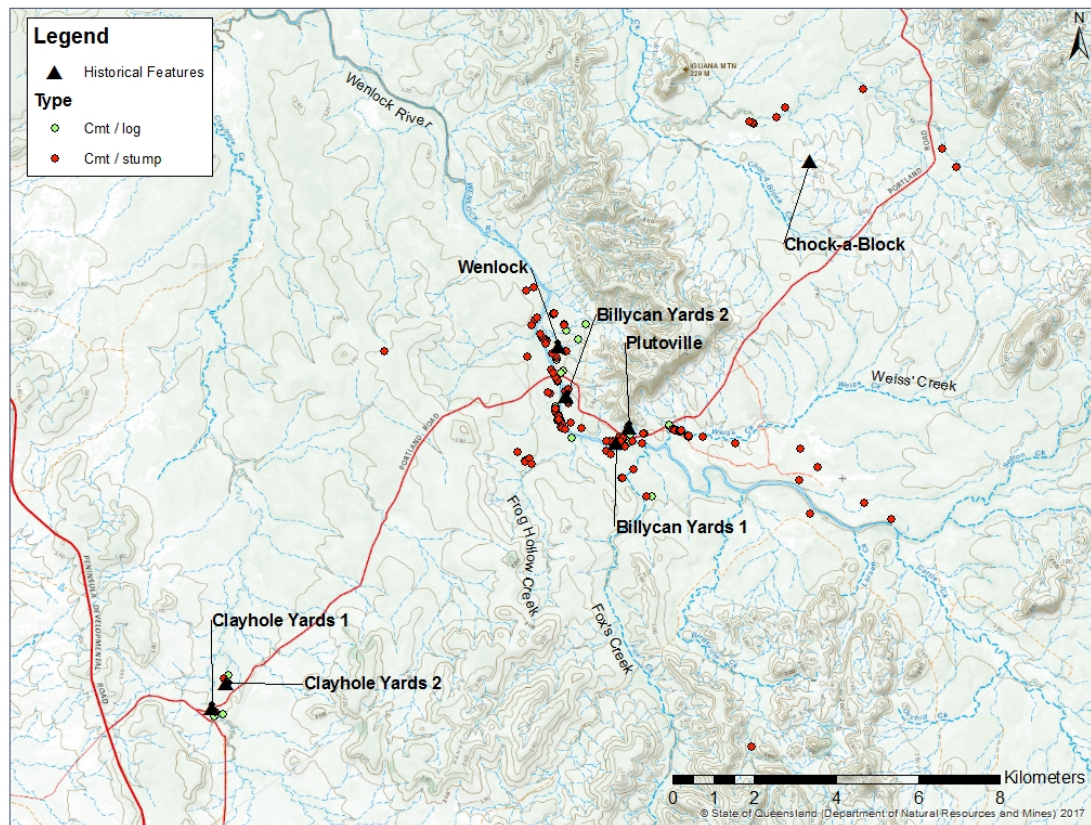
**Figure 65: The left image shows stump with clear axe marks at the top. The right image shows log on the ground with clear tapering axe marks toward the right of the image.**

Many of the felled CMTs were next to the stumps from which they were harvested, which, if they were still extant, were also recorded, and vice versa. Consequently, these two CMT categories are being treated as one throughout this study. The stump heights were recorded when available, as was the circumference of both the stumps and the felled CMTs (Table 13). With only occasional instances of regrowth, almost 100% of the recorded CMTs in these categories were dead and only three individual trees were considered to be dead but in good condition. The mean circumference of the felled CMTs and stumps was 78cm, while the average stump height was 91.4cm.

|                               | Valid Cases | Min  | Max | Mean |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|------|
| Felled CMT Circumference (cm) | 152         | 23.5 | 184 | 78   |
| Stump Height (cm)             | 150         | 46   | 275 | 91.4 |

**Table 13: Details of stump and felled CMT girth and height measurements.**

The spatial distribution of CMT logs shows clustering along the Wenlock River (Figure 66). There is a tight clustering of CMT logs and stumps near Plutoville/Billycan Yards and into the Wenlock Goldfields, along with scattered examples across the study area. There is a very tight spatial relationship between this form of CMT and year-round water sources.

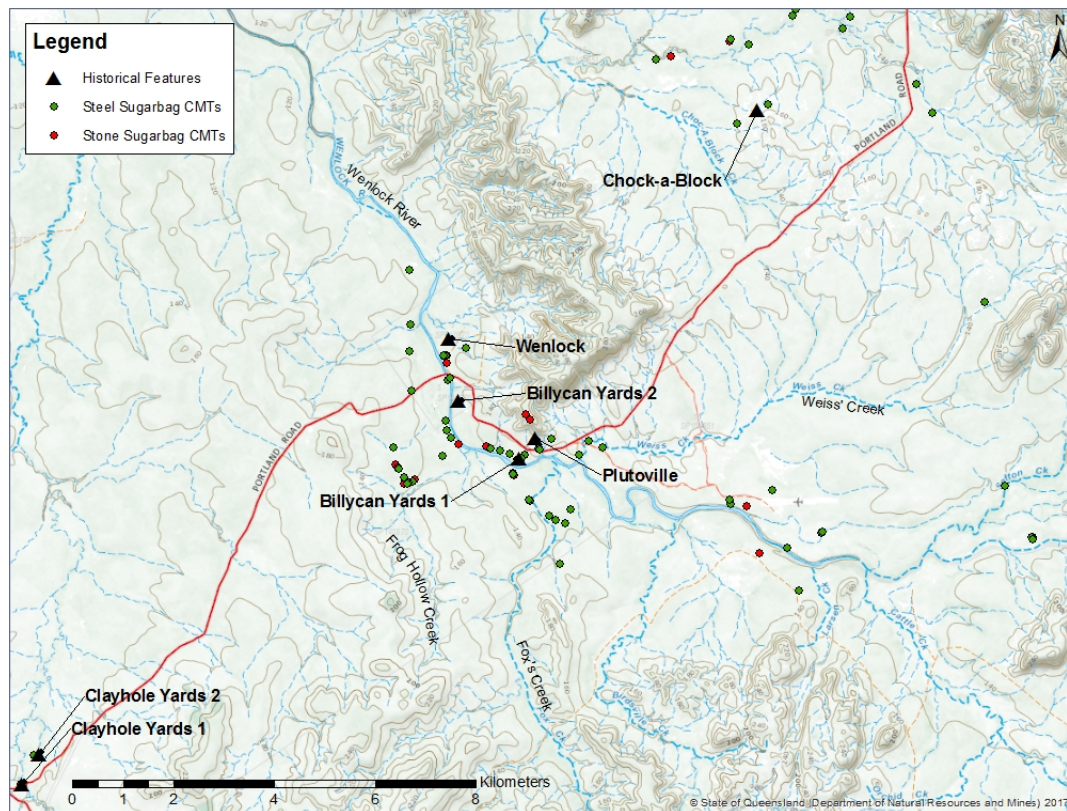


**Figure 66: Spatial distribution of felled CMTs (logs) and CMT stumps in the Wenlock region.**

### *Sugarbag*

The sugarbag CMTs can firstly be divided into two broad categories based upon the axe type used to create them; steel (n=69) and stone (n=15) (Figure 67).





**Figure 67: The spatial distribution of sugarbag trees in the Wenlock region recorded during this study.**

Figure 67 indicates that there are small concentrations of stone sugarbag CMTs along the Wenlock River, and near Choc-a-Block. However, the highest concentrations of stone-scarred CMTs appear to be near the remains of Billycan Yards and Plutoville and in small pockets to the south of the Wenlock River, particularly near Frog Hollow Creek. Crucially, this figure also shows the proximity of sugarbag trees to historical features and the lack of demarcation between pre-colonial places and colonial era places.

### *Sugarbag Scars*

The average number of scars recorded per sugarbag tree in this study was two. However, this average includes all types of cultural modification that resulted in scarring and includes axe marks and footholds. The total number of individual sugarbag scars recorded during this study is 162 from a total of 84 trees. However,

gaining accurate measurements on 100% of these was impossible due to degradation of scars from fire, rot, termites and the location of the scars being too high from the ground to safely measure without climbing. Table 14 shows the mean, minimum and maximum data for the steel, stone and total sugarbag scars recorded during this survey.

| Attribute                       | No. of Valid Cases | Min.  | Max. | Mean |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------|------|------|
|                                 |                    |       |      |      |
| <u>Total Scars</u>              |                    |       |      |      |
| Average Length (cm)             | 136                | 6     | 107  | 31   |
| Average Width (cm)              | 136                | 4.5   | 31   | 13   |
| Average Area (cm <sup>2</sup> ) | 136                | 36    | 2033 | 445  |
| Average HAG* (cm)               | 131                | 28    | 785  | 197  |
|                                 |                    |       |      |      |
| <u>Steel Scars</u>              | 112                |       |      |      |
| Average Length (cm)             |                    | 11    | 107  | 33   |
| Average Width (cm)              |                    | 5     | 31   | 14   |
| Average Area (cm <sup>2</sup> ) |                    | 74.25 | 2033 | 488  |
| Average HAG (cm)                |                    | 28    | 497  | 191  |
|                                 |                    |       |      |      |
| <u>Stone Scars</u>              | 32                 |       |      |      |
| Average Length (cm)             |                    | 6     | 85   | 24   |
| Average Width (cm)              |                    | 4.5   | 18   | 8    |
| Average Area (cm <sup>2</sup> ) |                    | 36    | 1530 | 225  |
| Average HAG (cm)                |                    | 40    | 78.5 | 226  |

**Table 14: Sugarbag measurements for CMTs recorded during 2015-2016 field seasons in the Wenlock region. Notes: \* Height Above Ground.**

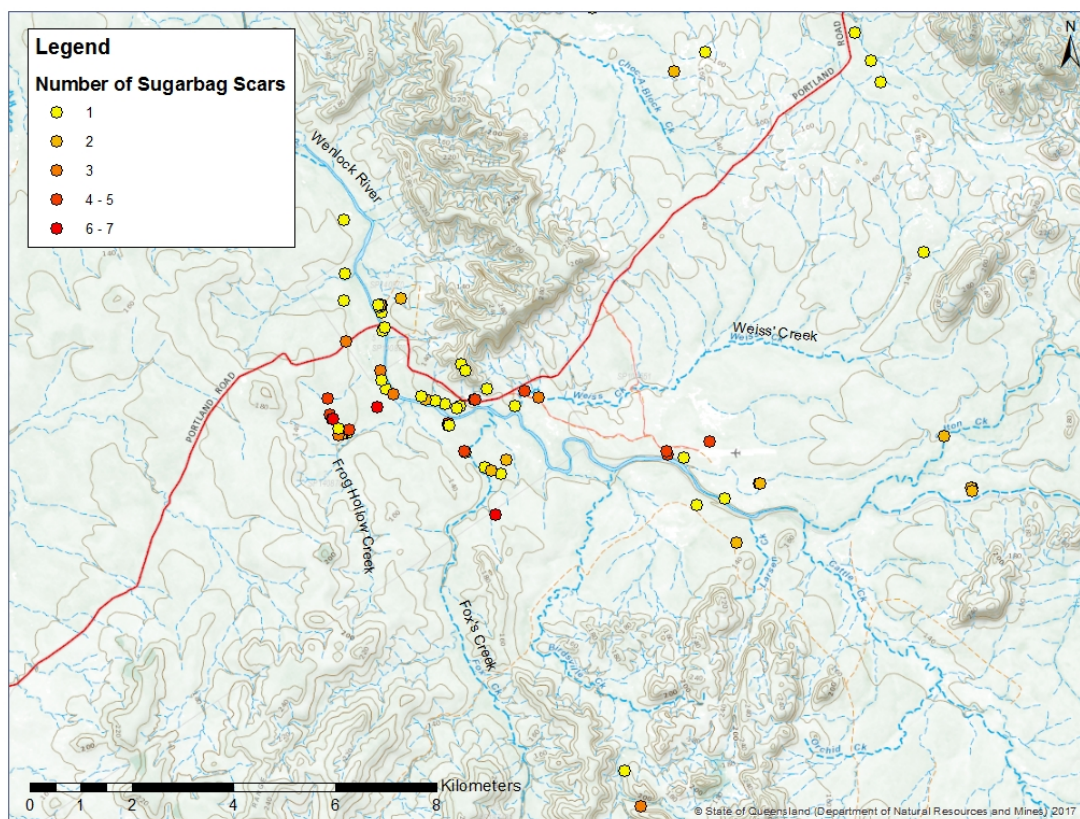
The number of sugarbag trees recorded during this study with more than one scar is 36 these are represented in Table 15.

| Number of Sugarbag Scars | Number of CMTs |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1                        | 47             |
| 2                        | 15             |
| 3                        | 7              |

| Number of Sugarbag Scars | Number of CMTs |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| 4                        | 10             |
| 5                        | 1              |
| 6                        | 2              |
| 7                        | 1              |

**Table 15: Number of sugarbag scars per sugarbag tree.**

The sugarbag trees with only a single scar are the most prominent, but trees with between 2-4 sugarbag scars were also highly represented. The sugarbag trees with multiple scars are focused near the Wenlock River, in proximity to both Fox's Creek and Frog Hollow Creek (Figure 68).



**Figure 68: This map shows the sugarbag CMTs and the sugarbag scar number per tree.**

There are also small clusters of sugarbag CMT with single scars near the Wenlock River and Nichol Creek. What is clear, however, is the presence of concentrations of not only sugarbag CMTs, but also sugarbag CMTs with multiple scars to the south of the Wenlock River.

#### *Aperture of Sugarbag Scars*

|                                 | Valid Cases | Min | Max  | Mean  | Median |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-----|------|-------|--------|
| Total CMT Aperture Measurements | 78          |     |      |       |        |
| Average Length (cm)             | 78          | 2   | 106  | 24    | 19     |
| Average Width (cm)              | 78          | 2   | 23   | 6.7   | 5      |
| Average Area (cm <sup>2</sup> ) | 78          | 4   | 1908 | 221.1 | 95     |

**Table 16: Shows the total average CMT apertures measured during this study.**

The aperture of 78 sugarbag CMT scars was recorded as part of this project (Table 16). Table 16 indicates that these sugarbag apertures range in size from quite small through to very large (Figure 71 and Figure 72 for distribution). The mean aperture area reflected in Table 15 of 222.1cm<sup>2</sup> indicates that these sugarbag CMT apertures are on average reasonably large.

#### *Woomera Scars*

CMTs with side removal scars show the removal of a long vertical section of heartwood (duramen) from the tree (Figure 69), sometimes on multiple occasions, leaving distinct scars (Figure 70). This type of scarring is associated with the harvesting of ironwood to create spear throwers (woomera) and short vertical removal scars are thought to be associated with creating a palette or a small wooden paddle, often with a tooth fixed to one end for working wax and engraving (Morrison et al. 2012). Woomera CMTs were very common in the Wenlock area; all of the woomera removal CMT scars recorded during this survey were made with steel axes.





**Figure 69: Woomera CMT scar.**



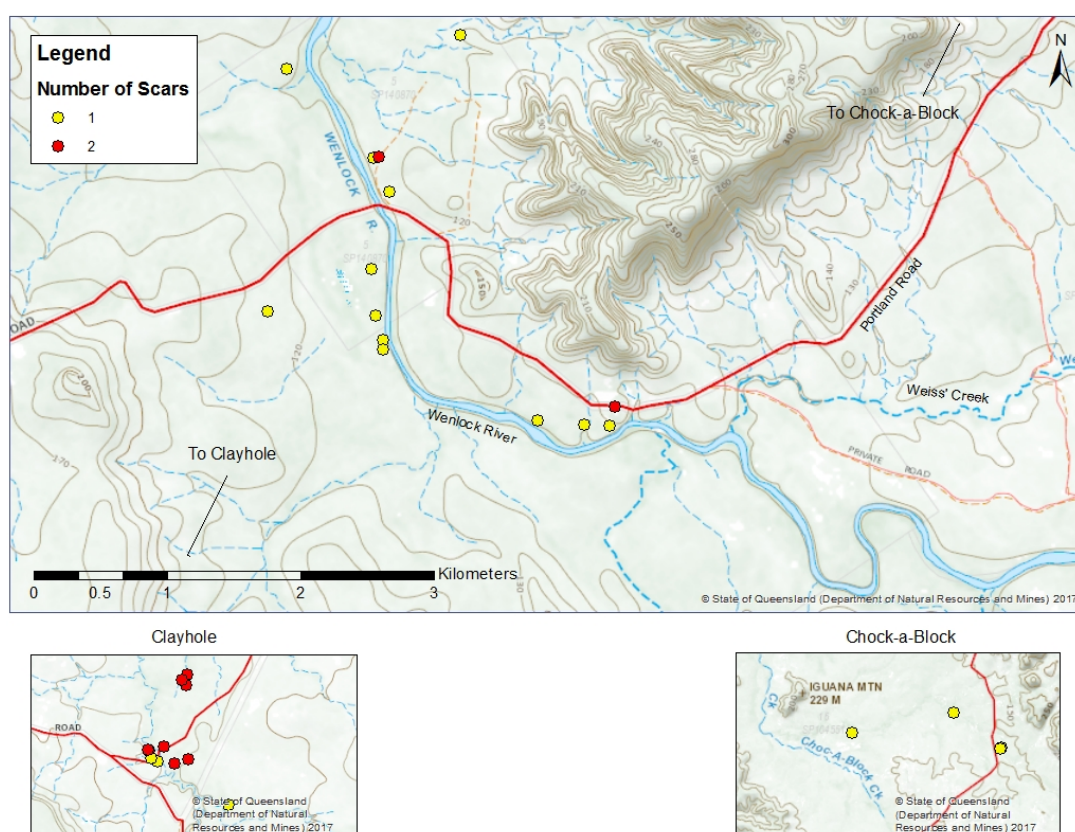
**Figure 70: CMT with multiple steel axe side removal scars near Clayhole Creek (marker is 11cm in width and used for photogrammetry).**

The data gathered from this site type is shown in Table 17. The average length is 85.6cm and is consistent with the woomera measured in ethnographic collections (See Chapter 4). The average HAG is quite low on the tree, at 53cm, while the average scar width is at 22.5cm.

|                                 | Valid Cases | Min | Max  | Mean |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-----|------|------|
| Average Length (cm)             | 35          | 12  | 180  | 85.6 |
| Average Width (cm)              | 35          | 8   | 76   | 22.5 |
| Average Area (cm <sup>2</sup> ) | 35          | 120 | 9900 | 2084 |
| Average HAG (cm)                | 32          | 12  | 114  | 53   |

**Table 17: Chart of woomera removal figures.**

The spatial distribution of the woomera removal scars in the Wenlock demonstrates that this was a widespread practice (Figure 71). This map indicates that there are also significant concentrations of side removal CMTs with more than one scar (n=10, 28.5%), the majority of which are in the vicinity of Clayhole Creek.



**Figure 71: Location and density of woomera removal CMTs. Bottom right inset offers a close up of Chock-a-Block, while the bottom left inset focuses near Clayhole Creek.**

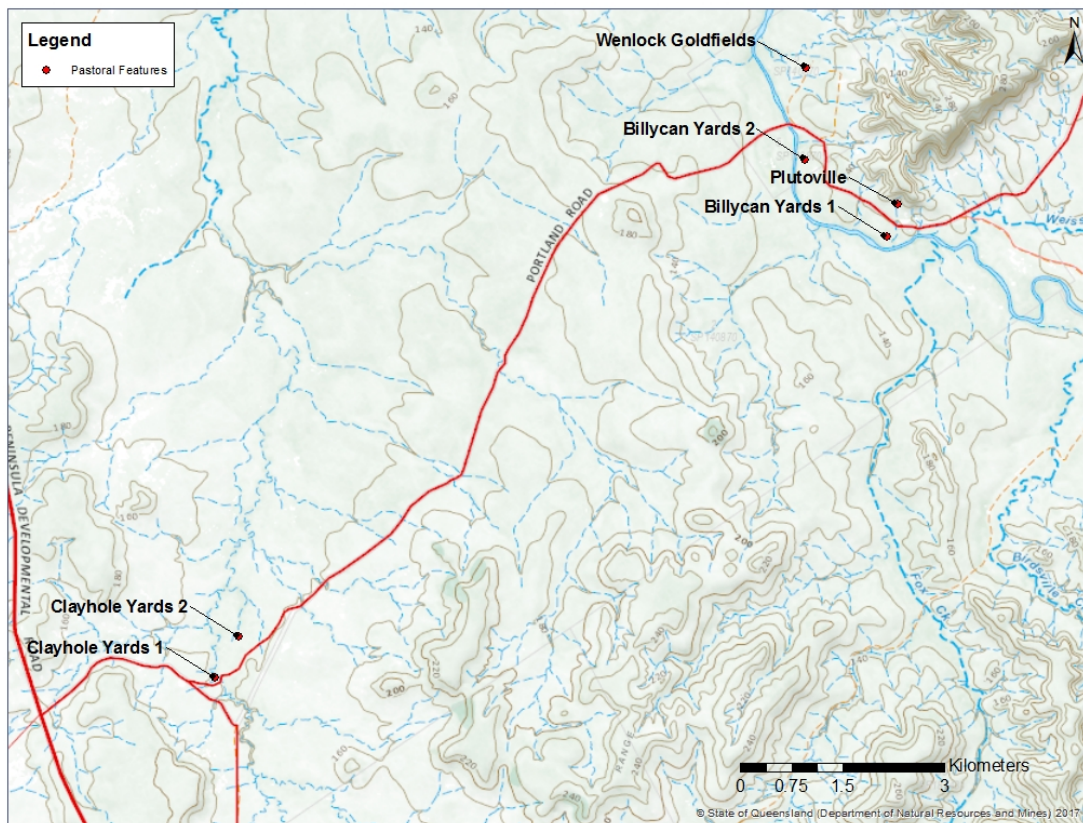
The harvesting of sugarbag in the Wenlock demonstrates the production of Kuuku I'yu spatial practices and the persistence of classical lifeways into the colonial era. The ethnohistorical research also compliments the data in Chapter 4. However, the general lack of its mention in Chapter 5 highlights the colonial bias of many of these sources and the invisibility of the Indigenous population of the region beyond police and labour related records.

### **Pastoral Remnants**

The pastoral industry has had a long-term effect on the landscape of the Cape York Peninsula; this is evident in the landscape and in current feral animal populations (pigs, cattle and horses). This long history is reflected in the archaeological record and the four stockyards were located during this survey.

Billycan Yards is comprised of two stockyards, Billycan Yards 1 and 2, which are located across Portland Road from the remains of Plutoville, but still on the northern bank of the Wenlock River. Billycan Yard 1 is the smaller of the two yards and is the most poorly preserved. Although the posts of Billycan Yard 2 are generally in better condition, the overall yard is incomplete along the southern edge of the yard closest to the Wenlock River.

The second set of yards identified is known as Clayhole Yards, comprising Clayhole Yard 1 and 2. Clayhole Yard 1 is a sizeable and well-preserved yard near the present-day road, and a smaller badly preserved yard, Clayhole Yard 2 is set further back along the creek (see Figure 72 below). Table 18 outlines the dimensions and any associated material of the stockyards located during this survey.



**Figure 72: Map showing Clayhole and Billycan stockyards in the Wenlock region.**

| Yard Name  | Site No. | Length (m) | Width (m) | No. of Posts | Ave. Height of Posts | Ave. Circ. of Posts | Comments                                                                                                          |
|------------|----------|------------|-----------|--------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Billycan 1 | 2196     | 16         | 11        | 7            | 161.5                | 52.3                | Saw and axe used                                                                                                  |
| Billycan 2 | 2209     | 25         | 34        | 13           | 155.2                | 50.07               | Axe only                                                                                                          |
| Clayhole 1 | 2249     | 44         | 44        | 36           | 167.1                | 64.8                | Cobb and Co wire knots in axe grooves, some horizontal rails in place, historic scatter nearby, corral faces west |



| Yard Name  | Site No. | Length (m) | Width (m) | No. of Posts | Ave. Height of Posts | Ave. Circ. of Posts | Comments                    |
|------------|----------|------------|-----------|--------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Clayhole 2 | 1049     | 20         | 17.1      | 14           | 157                  | 42.7                | Axe only, corral faces east |

**Table 18: Recorded details of stockyards in the Wenlock region.**

### *Billycan Yards 1*

Billycan Yards consists of two identifiable circles of wooden posts arranged as yards. Access to water is crucial to keeping cattle, and these yards are located in a prime place to take advantage of this, as the distance to the Wenlock River from Billycan Yards 1 is 66m, while the distance to the closest lagoon is 177m. Both were measured as portions of the banks of the Wenlock are steep and may not be suitable for watering stock.

Billycan Yards 1 is comparatively small (7 posts) when compared to the other yards in the area and is comprised of tall (average height 161.5cm), thin posts (average circumference 62.3cm), all made from Cooktown Ironwood (*Erythrophleum chlorostachys*). The majority of the posts recorded (6 of 7) had four horizontal sections removed, presumably to attach horizontal wooden rails; some were made with only a saw and some with both saw and axe (see Figure 73 left and right below). There is evidence of wire loops and bored holes through the posts that would have assisted in this function. The highest horizontal incision on each post also has a bored hole that appears to have gone over a top horizontal rail of wood (Figure 73 left).



**Figure 73 Posts at Billycan Yards. Left: showing saw marks at the bottom of fencing post-mark and axe marks at the top. Right: showing a post with three horizontal saw marks and at the top of the post a mark and wire loop through a bored hole for attaching a top rail.**

### *Billycan Yards 2*

Billycan Yards 2 is much larger than Billycan Yards 1, and for the most part is better preserved. However, the southern section of the yards nearest the river appears to be missing. This yard is comprised of 13 thin posts, with an average circumference of 50cm and an average height of 155cm. Two of the posts had fallen to the ground and were in various stages of decomposition but were clearly identifiable. There was no associated cultural material on the surface during this survey and construction techniques were very similar to Billycan Yards 1. The posts at Billycan Yards 2 all had four horizontal marks; the highest mark on each post included a bored hole and some extant wire to attach a top rail and a number were created using both a saw and steel axe (see Figure 74). Distance to the Wenlock River from Billycan Yards 2 is 102m, where the bank is currently fairly flat and at the right time of year could form a crossing. The distance to the nearest lagoon (although not full of water year-round) is 246m.



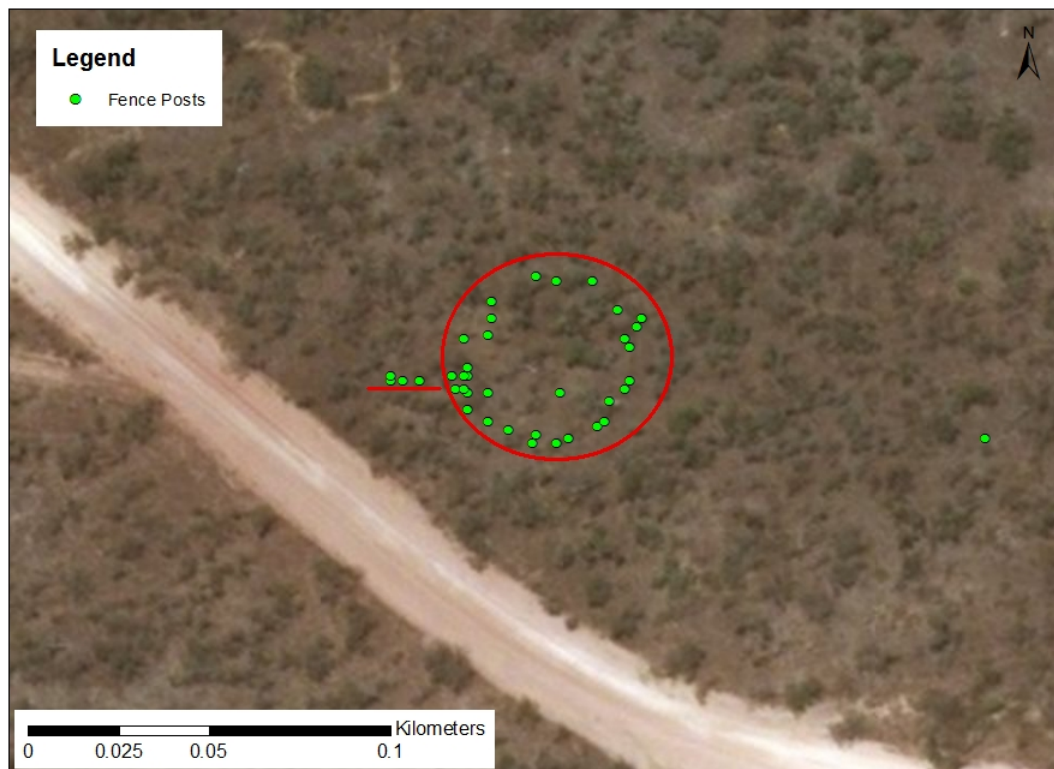
**Figure 74: Post at Billycan Yards 2 showing both saw (at the bottom of the incision) and axe marks (at the top).**

*Clayhole Yards 1*



**Figure 75: Entry post at Clayhole Yards 1, to the left of the main post are some horizontal rails still attached.**

Clayhole Yards 1 is the largest yard recorded, with 36 posts and approximately 50m wide. The stockyards have posts with the widest average circumference (64.8cm), the tallest average height (167.1cm) and also very tall front posts (286cm) (Figure 75). There were three living trees that showed evidence of being incorporated into the yard, two of these were messmate, and one was Cooktown Ironwood (*Erythrophleum chlorostachys*) (Figure 76 Right). The yard has a row of posts, or a corral leading from the main gate to near the present-day road in a western direction (see Figure 80). No plan of this site was recorded due to time constraints.



**Figure 76: Close up of the fencing poles at Clayhole Yards 1 near Portland Road. The dots represent the location of the stockyard posts, the red circle gives an indication of the general shape of the yard, while the red line shows the direction of the corral. The drawing error was introduced due to the inaccuracies of the GPS unit used.**



The construction technology used at Clayhole Yards 1 is different to that of Billycan Yards 1 and 2. These posts had no notch at the top for a top rail, and each post had been with a V shaped axe incision just enough to support the wire for each horizontal post (Figure 77 left). The horizontal rails are kept in place with a wire placed under significant tension using a Cobb & Co knot (Figure 81 centre).



**Figure 77: Left: Image of a typical post at Clayhole Yards 1 showing horizontal mark is only wide enough to support the wire for the horizontal rails. Centre: shows a Cobb and Co knot at Clayhole 1. Right: shows tree used as yard post with horizontal rails attached with wire through tension (tape is 1m in length).**

Clayhole Yards 1 is a short distance to Clayhole Creek (205m), but in this section the bank of the creek is quite steep, and during the dry season, this section does not always hold water. At a distance of 390m, there is a lagoon, which provides year-round water and has an easy flat approach for stock.

### *Clayhole Yards 2*

The other set of remnant stockyards at Clayhole Creek was recorded in 2016 and are significantly smaller than those at Clayhole Yards 1 (approximately 20m wide), and much closer in size to Billycan Yards 1 and 2. Clayhole Yards 2 is small with only 14 posts with an average height of 157cm with an average circumference of 42.7cm, the

thinnest average of any yard recorded during this survey. This set of yards differ from Billycan Yards 1 and 2 as it does not have notching on the side to support horizontal rails. Instead it has 3 holes drilled through the post (Figure 78 below) presumably to support horizontal rails with wire (which are still extant and include Cobb & Co knots in some cases). This yard showed no indication of the use of a top rail.



**Figure 78: Post at Clayhole Yards 2, although burnt the lack of horizontal marks are evident, as are significant bore-holes.**

Clayhole Yard 2 is located at a distance of 45m to Clayhole Creek. However, when this site was recorded (during the dry season) there was no water available in this section of the waterway, with the nearest water at least 400m away. This yard also showed indications of portions of a corral, which faced to the east (Figure 79). This yard is in a poorly preserved condition, and several posts are severely damaged by fire and termite activity. No plan of this site was recorded due to time constraints.



**Figure 79: Map of Clayhole Yards 2, the dots represent the location of stockyard posts, the red circle gives an indication of the general shape of the yards, while the red line shows the direction of the corral. The drawing error was introduced through the inaccuracies of the GPS unit used.**

The pastoral remnants in the Wenlock region show the importance of this industry within the physical colonial space of the region. However, these small remnants do not do justice to the wide-ranging effects of this industry in the region. When these spaces are articulated with colonial represented spaces (Chapter 5) their importance within this landscape becomes more evident.

## Glass

The glass located during this study was often in dense scatters of varied artefact types near areas where obvious economic activity had taken place (such as the Wenlock

Goldfields). Smaller scatters were also found in association with pastoral remnants (for example near Billycan Yard 1 and Clayhole Yard 1). The recorded assemblage contains few complete bottles 26% (n=13) as the majority of glass artefacts recorded were fragments 74% (n=37) (See Table 19).

| Vessel Completeness | Number |
|---------------------|--------|
| Complete (95-100%)  | 13     |
| Fragment (25-94%)   | 14     |
| Fragment (1-24%)    | 23     |

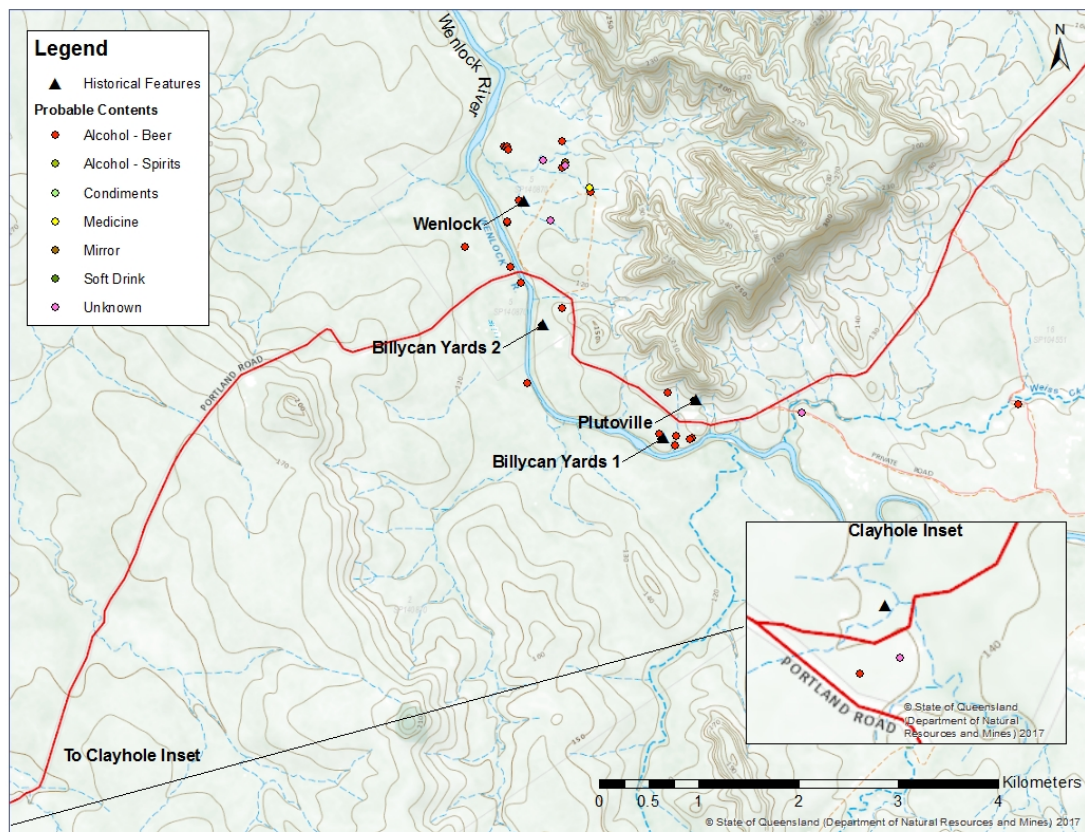
**Table 19: The completeness of glass vessels recorded.**

Beer bottles made up the majority of the assemblage 66% (n=33) (see Table 20). These dated primarily from the 1930s-1940s. Many bottles from this period are readily dated, as the year of manufacture is often on the base of the bottle. However, there were also a number (n=2) of beer bottles that were produced in 1918 located in the vicinity of Plutoville. Figure 80 shows the location of the glass bottles in the Wenlock area by probable content type.

| Probable Content            |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Alcohol – Beer              | 33 |
| Alcohol – Spirits (general) | 2  |
| Condiments                  | 4  |
| Medicine                    | 4  |
| Unknown                     | 6  |
| Mirror                      | 1  |

**Table 20: The probable content of glass vessels.**





**Figure 80: Glass bottle by probable content in the Wenlock region.**

There were several glass stoppers (likely from club sauce) recorded in the vicinity of the Wenlock Goldfields within a bower created by a Great Northern Bowerbird (*Chlamydera nuchalis*) (Tutchener et al. 2017) these are clearly out of context, however, and consequently, have not been included in this study. Of particular interest was the neck of a Champion vinegar bottle located near Clayhole Yards (See Figure 81), the date of manufacture predates 1910.



**Figure 81: Champion Vinegar bottle (pre-1910).**

A key trend that is evident is the general lack of dense concentrations of glass within any of the gold fields themselves, although, directly to the north of the Wenlock Goldfields, there is a large density of glass, particularly beer bottles. There is also a concentration of glass near Billycan Yards 1 and opposite Plutoville. The Plutoville scatter also has a high density of beer bottles. Both of these artefact concentrations may indicate the proximity of dumps or occupation zones rather than mine working areas.

There were also various medicinal bottles (n=4) recorded of three distinct manufactures/types:

1. Nyal Quality (Colourless bottle, with screw closure and rounded rectangular bottle shape) see Figure 82.



**Figure 82: Nyal Quality bottle.**

2. Dr Morse's Indian Root Pills (two examples of which were located during this survey, including one complete bottle and one fragment); both had a cork closure (Figure 83).



**Figure 83: Dr Morse's Indian Root Pills.**

3. A Cod Liver Fish Emulsion bottle that was highly fragmented (see Figure 84).



**Figure 84: Cod Liver Fish Emulsion.**

### *Wenlock Historical Glass by Period*

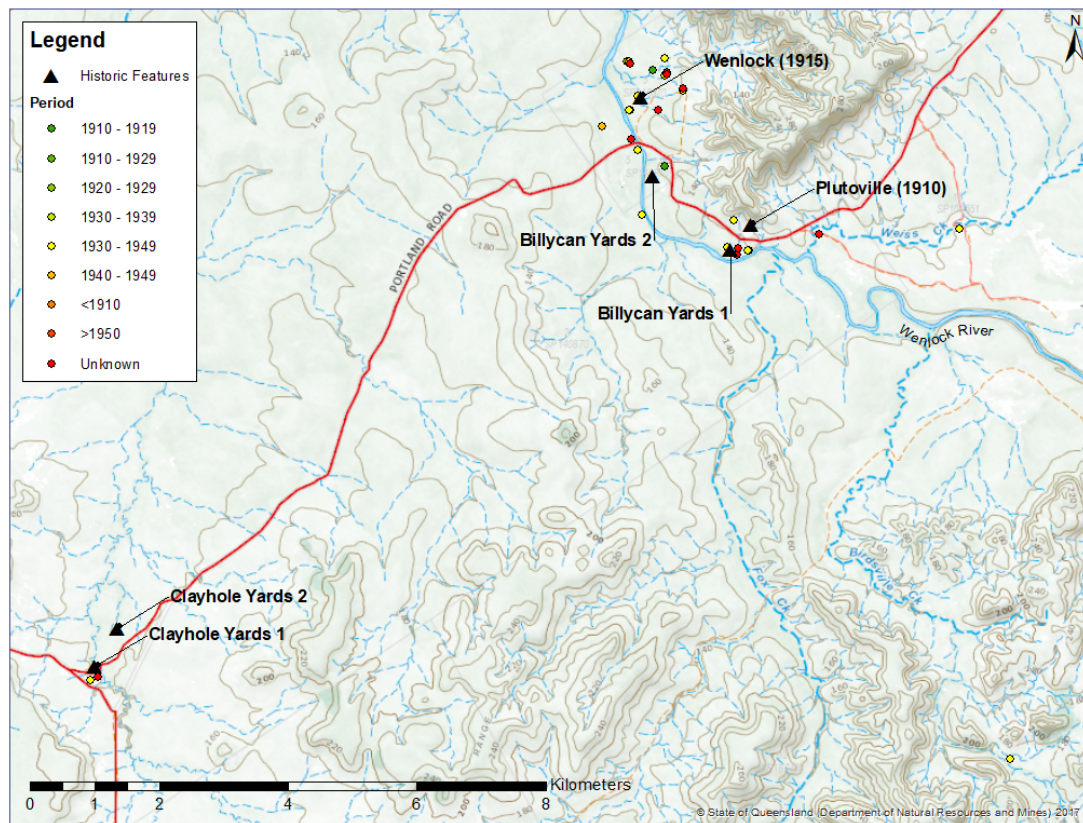
The following section breaks down the glass into various periods of manufacture. This has been achieved using the diagnostic features of each bottle where available (see Table 21). Where possible this was narrowed down to the decade, but some diagnostic features do not allow for such tight timeframes. In these cases, the date of manufacture has been narrowed down to a 20-year period.

| Period      | Number |
|-------------|--------|
| <1910       | 1      |
| 1910 - 1919 | 2      |
| 1910 - 1929 | 1      |
| 1920 - 1929 | 1      |
| 1930 - 1939 | 1      |
| 1930 - 1949 | 19     |
| 1940 - 1949 | 3      |
| >1950       | 1      |
| Unknown     | 21     |

**Table 21: Glass by period in the Wenlock region.**

Table 21 demonstrates that a significant proportion (n=21) of the glass within the assemblage is of an indeterminate age. This is due to the highly fragmented nature of much of the assemblage, and the lack of dateable diagnostic features. Of the glass that could be dated, it is evident that the most popular manufacture date for the bottles was between the 1930s and 1940s. The total spatial distribution of glass by temporal period is shown in Figure 85.





**Figure 85: Glass in the Wenlock region according to period of manufacture.**

Distribution of the glass by period of manufacture is illustrated above (Figure 85). This shows the earliest glass to be successfully dated (<1910-1929) is clustered around Billycan Yards/Plutoville and near Clayhole 1. The dateable glass for the period 1920-1929 indicates a similar use of space to the previous period and is primarily distributed around Clayhole and Billycan Yards. The glass artefacts from 1930-1939 indicate a different pattern and are found across a wider area (Figure 85). There is a large concentration to the north of the Wenlock Goldfield proper, likely associated with occupation sites. There is also scattered glass from this decade near the present-day river crossing, to the south of the Wenlock River and also near Weiss' Creek and the present-day roadway. Of interest is a cluster near Plutoville and Billycan Yards. Plutoville had only one known miner working a claim during this period, and this glass is likely associated with nearby Billycan Yards. In contrast, there is a lack of glass from this period at Clayhole, which may indicate that this site was not used during this time. Chock-a-Block also has a lack of glass from this

decade, but this may be due to the destruction caused by later mining operations in the area.

There is a fairly even distribution of glass from 1930-1949 across the northern portions of the study area, mainly in the form of beer bottles, with small concentrations near Billycan Yards 1 and 2 and the Wenlock Goldfields. Again, there is a notable lack of material from this period at either Clayhole Yards or Chock-a-Block. There is a notable decline in dateable glass from the 1950s onwards, with only a small cluster near Weiss' Creek dating to this period, this cluster also contained very small quantities of modern ceramics. The general patterning of glass recorded during these surveys indicate the density of site use, and the production of physical space during the colonial period. They also indicate that the people who occupied the area had access to western 'medicine' and alcohol.

## **Metal**

One hundred and three metal objects were located and recorded during the field surveys (Table 22). The majority of these relate to the mining industry or transportation in some way (for example mining machinery and plants) and the subsequent operation of machinery (for example barrels that were often used to carry fuel, as well as vehicle parts and even whole vehicles). In addition, a substantial amount of metal was associated with domestic occupation for example: parts of billy cans (a metal kettle), food tins, stoves, water tanks and corrugated iron (which, along with bark was often used for roofing). A number of old fuel barrels had been repurposed and used for hunting traps and targets.

| Metal Object          | Number |
|-----------------------|--------|
| Axe head              | 1      |
| Chain (from saddle)   | 1      |
| Iron weight           | 1      |
| Rivet                 | 1      |
| Billy (metal tea pot) | 2      |
| Stove piece (iron)    | 2      |
| Metal plate           | 2      |
| Repurposed barrel     | 3      |

| Metal Object       | Number |
|--------------------|--------|
| Telegraph pole     | 4      |
| Indeterminate      | 4      |
| Vehicle suspension | 4      |
| Fencing wire       | 5      |
| Pipe (metal)       | 5      |
| Sheet iron         | 5      |
| Vehicle            | 5      |
| Corrugated iron    | 6      |
| Water tank         | 6      |
| Mining equipment   | 15     |
| Barrel             | 30     |

**Table 22: Total metal assemblage.**

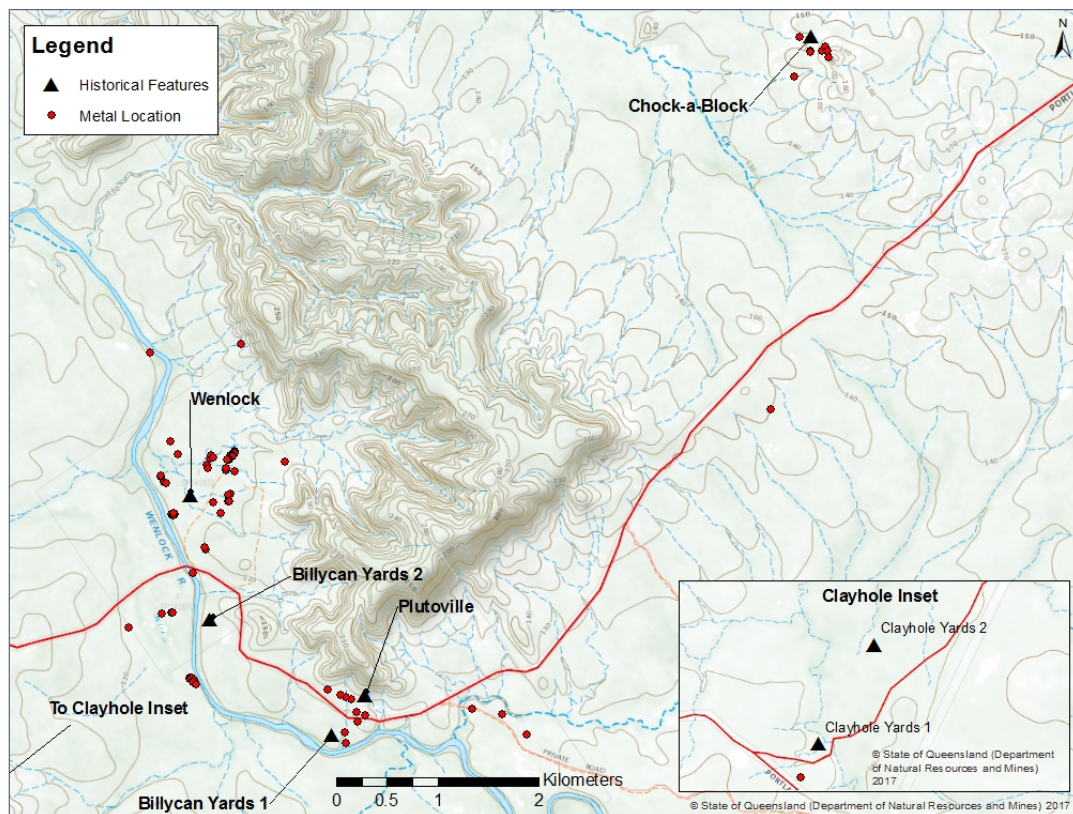
The frame of an International truck was recorded in the Wenlock Goldfields (Figure 86). The International V6 with double wheels on the rear (complete with asbestos brakes) was owned by Peter Larsen and was the one of the first vehicles used to bring in much of the heavy mining machinery to the Wenlock Goldfields in the 1920s. It was later used by Black Cat Amalgamated to haul wood to power their steam driven machinery (Fisher 1998).



**Figure 86: An International truck body with double wheels at the rear.**



Although much of the metal located during this investigation is related to industry, there are also several household items, such as the remnants of a cast iron stove, that indicate areas of occupation. The total metal assemblage recorded in the Wenlock region is shown in Figure 87, which indicates the clustering of metal near known areas of mining activity.



**Figure 87: Location of metal in the Wenlock region.**

#### *Wenlock Historical Metal by Period*

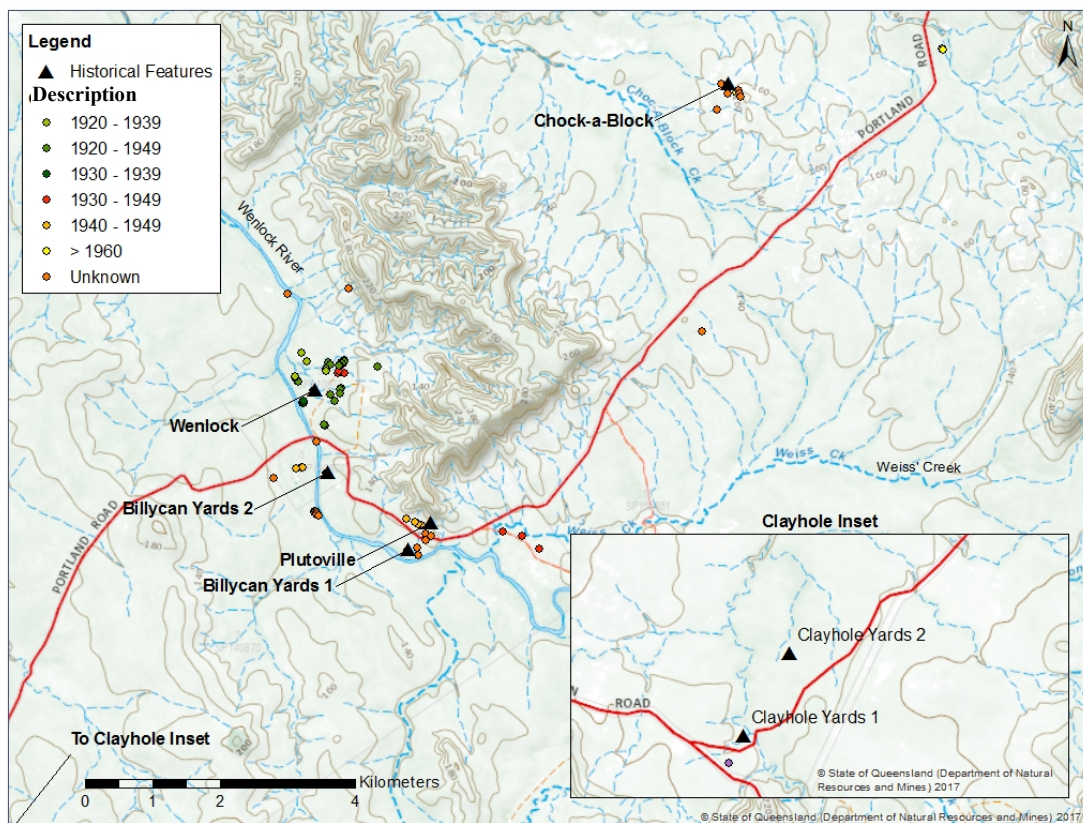
The location and context of the metal objects are by far the best indicator of how they were used in the study area. Table 23 shows the distribution of the metal artefacts in the study area by period.



| Period      | Number |
|-------------|--------|
| 1900 - 1939 | 1      |
| 1920 - 1939 | 27     |
| 1920 - 1949 | 20     |
| 1930 - 1939 | 18     |
| 1930 - 1949 | 10     |
| 1940 - 1949 | 10     |
| >1950       | 4      |
| Unknown     | 31     |

**Table 23: Identified historical metal by period.**

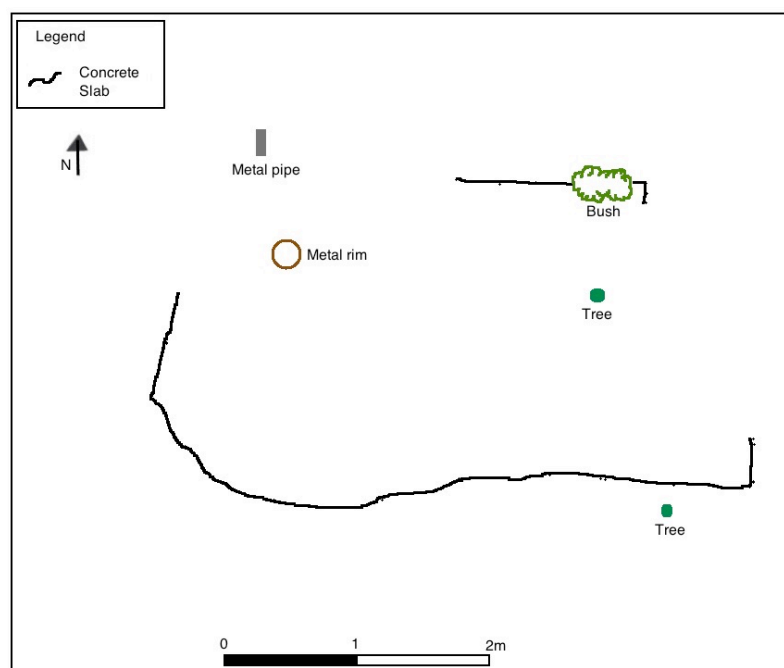
Although not clearly indicative of the different periods of economic production in the Wenlock region, the concentration of metal finds points very directly to the extent and density of later mining activity. These concentrations are evident in the three distinct clusters at Chock-a-Block, Plutoville and Wenlock (Figure 88).



**Figure 88: Metal by period in the Wenlock region.**

No metal was dated absolutely to 1920 – 1929. In the study area there are 27 metal objects dated to within the 1920 – 1939 period and 20 that can only be dated to the broader period of 1920 – 1949. All of these artefacts are exclusively clustered near the Wenlock Goldfields. The metal dated to the period 1930 – 1939 is indicative of high densities of mining machinery in the Wenlock Goldfield proper. This reflects accurately the volume of mining activity and the influx of people to the sites during this period.

The stamp battery constructed on the Wenlock River in the 1930s by John Forsythe (Fisher 1998) is likely the site recorded during this study as HIST 1045 and is included in this portion of the results section as there was metal related to mining activity located at this site. This site is historically identifiable as the remains of a battery (Fisher 1998) and it consists of the remnants of a partially buried concrete slab (see Figure 89 and Figure 90).



**Figure 89: Plan of site 1045, likely the remains of a stamp battery on the banks of the Wenlock River with concrete slab partially buried.**



**Figure 90: Site 1045 facing north-west (tape is 1m in length).**

There are numerous metal artefacts that date to the period 1940-1949. Near Plutoville there are a line of telegraph poles that date to the early 1940s (Sheehy 1987), some of which are in good condition complete with cross bars and insulators (see Figure 91).



**Figure 91: Metal telegraph pole near Plutoville likely dating to the 1940s (tape length is 1m).**



On each side of the Wenlock River there are the remnants of the footings for a flying fox (see Figure 92 left) erected by the military to transport vehicles. A direct line between both would diagonally cross both the Wenlock River and the current roadway. There is also a small cluster of mining machinery/possible flying fox gears and axles near the large lagoon immediately to the south of the Wenlock River crossing (see Figure 96 right). These are likely associated with the removal and dismantling of mining equipment and infrastructure from the Wenlock region during WWII (early to mid 1940s). It is possible that several of the large gears in this area are related to the flying fox.



**Figure 92: Left: photo of one of the flying fox footings on the banks of the Wenlock River. Right: photo of possible flying fox gears found near lagoon to the south of the Wenlock River.**

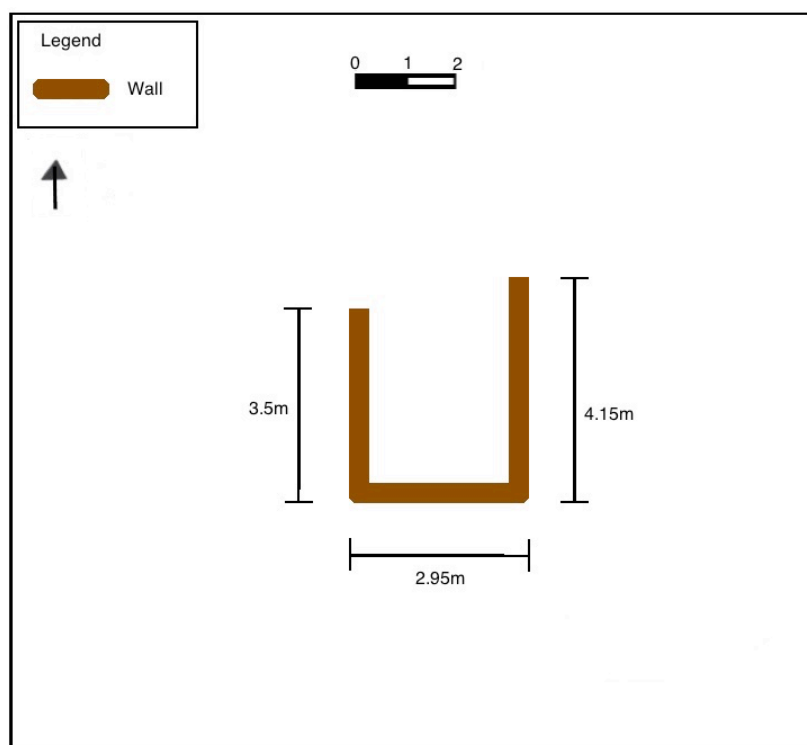
The metal located during these surveys assists in understanding how these social spaces were produced during the colonial era. What is mainly evident is that much of this material is linked to the industrial uses of the area particularly mining, and the related occupation.

## **Native Mounted Police Camp**

A stone foundation or structure (see Figure 93) was located and recorded near Clayhole Yard 1 that corresponds to research (Della-Sale 2013:56) which indicates that this may be the remains of a Native Mounted Police camp (Jack 1921). The site consists of three foundations/wall bases, two of which are parallel (also the longest walls) and have precisely a north to south orientation, whereas the shorter wall runs exactly east to west (see Figure 94). The structure was built from flat river stones, which occur in abundance within the nearby section of Clayhole Creek (approximately 50m to the north).



**Figure 93: Left: General site photograph, the tape is 1m; the row of trees in the background is Clayhole Creek. Right: Close up of stone wall/foundation.**



**Figure 94: Site plan of Native Mounted Police camp foundations.**

The remains of a wooden structure were located approximately 25m to the east of the stone wall/foundations. In total, this structure measured 3.2m in length by 2.4m in width and consisted of 4 – 5 posts that may have supported a roof, and a floor that was partially covered with flat river rocks. The posts were constructed of Cooktown Ironwood and are quite thin (see Table 24) when compared to the nearby Clayhole Yards 1; fencing wire was still in evidence through a borehole in the top of one post. The structure had suffered severe damage from fire. With the current information, the date of this structure is indeterminate (Figure 95).

| Post Number | Orientation | Height (cm) | Circumference (cm) |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1           | NW          | 179         | 42                 |
| 2           | NE          | 168         | 40                 |
| 3           | SE          | 162         | 40                 |
| 4           | SW          | 179         | 54                 |

**Table 24: Post dimensions of wooden structure near Clayhole Yards 1.**





**Figure 95: Four posted wooden structure with abandoned car in the background.**

These small remnants of the Native Mounted Police reflect the physical spaces that were occupied during a brutal period in the region. By themselves, these remnants do not speak to this brutality, but when combined with the historical narrative of the region (the colonial represented spaces) the devastating effect of this para-military group on the region is evident.

## **Summary**

This chapter outlines the results of the archaeological surveys of the Wenlock region that took place in 2015 and 2016, which reflect the spatial practices of the area. These results have been compiled according to material type and where possible analysed to within a decade of manufacture. Each material type and subsequent dating have also been displayed on a map of the study area to show their spatial distribution. The analysis of these spatial practices and how they produce social spaces is discussed in Chapter 8; this chapter also elaborates on key trends in this data. Compared with many other regions, the results of this archaeological survey are relatively sparse.

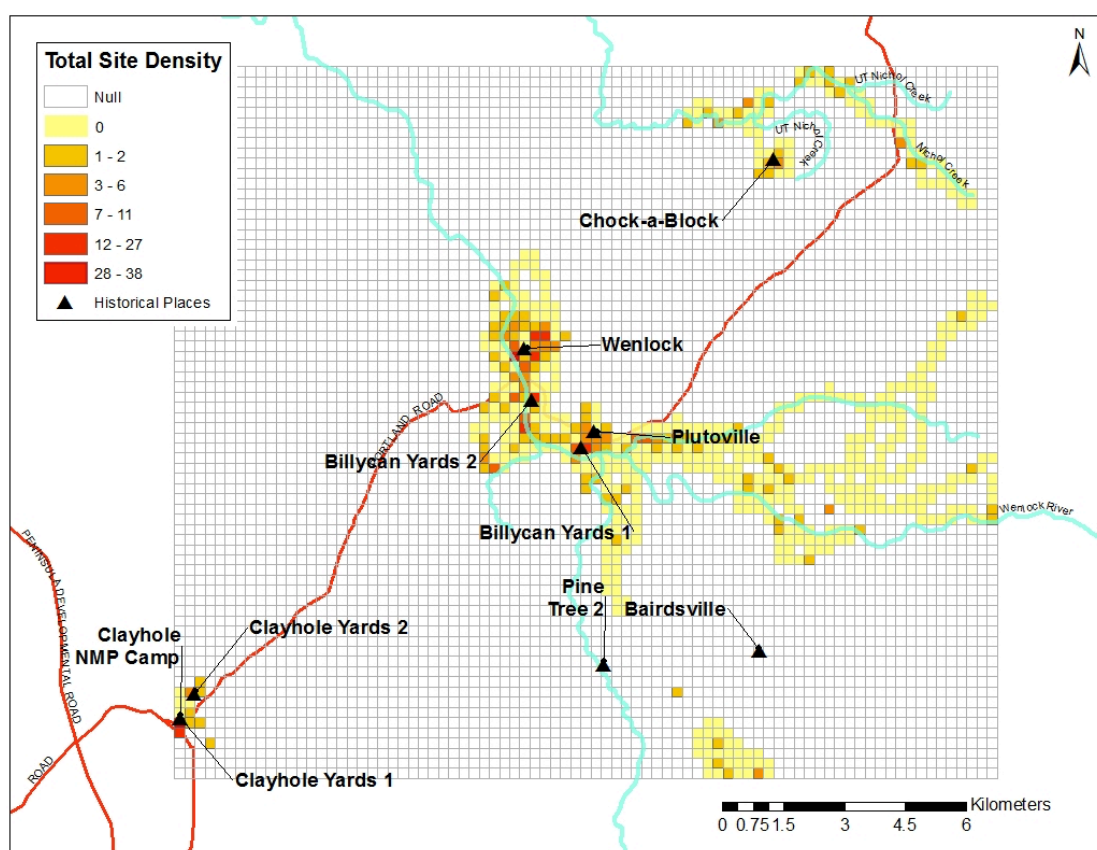
This scarcity is a result of the dynamic landscape and the transitory nature of many of the inhabitants of the area and industries. Consequently, this increases the overall significance of the archaeological record of the Wenlock region.

Importantly, what the recording of these artefacts and sites indicate is that there is not always a clear significant spatial demarcation between pre-colonial areas and colonial era artefacts and sites in the region, this demonstrated in Figure 67. However, there is some indication that water may serve as a social barrier. Regarding the spatial practices that are reflected in these physical remnants, the proximity (or at times lack of) between various artefact and site types demonstrate a spatial (and therefore social) connection or disconnect. What becomes evident in this study is the location of pre-colonial and colonial era Indigenous artefacts in the area and their proximity to dateable sites of European economic activity (or vice-versa) (see Figure 67). Crucially, the Indigenous artefacts in the area also highlight the tension between spatial practices (physical spaces) and the represented conceptual spaces of the colonial period. This persistence is an indication of Indigenous lifeways continuing through the articulation with European economic systems. These spaces are shown within colonial represented spaces, where the maps and historical sources of the colonial period often only mention Indigenous people and their labours in passing or as a fading memory in the landscape.



## Chapter 8: Analysis of Spatial Practices

This chapter presents the results of an analysis of spatial relationships between sites and artefacts in the study area that show the persistence of classical Indigenous technologies in relation to sites of European economic activity, using four key approaches to deconstruct the production of these spaces. Firstly, the spatial density of stone axe CMTs is combined with the distributions of lithic material and ethnographic places to develop an understanding of classical Indigenous settlement patterns and landscape use. Secondly, the aperture results (the inner gap in the sugarbag scar) are analysed relative to their proximity and the frequency to each site of European economic activity. This analysis draws upon the work of Morrison and Shepard (2013), who contend that there was an increase in the amount of foraging activity and sugarbag harvesting during the colonial era, to facilitate trade with Europeans. Thirdly, the distribution of steel axe CMTs is explored in relation to known sites of European economic activity (mines, pastoral centres and the Native Police Camp), through each decade from the 1880s until the 1950s. The motivation for this analysis is to estimate the age of steel axe marked CMTs in order to consider colonial era landscape use. These spatial relationships are analysed by measuring the number of CMTs closest to each established site of European economic activity and their average distances (m). Finally, the known archaeological artefacts from each decade (for example glass or metal) is combined with the recorded steel-cut CMTs to create a grid map, which highlights the overall density of areas in the region per decade, this demonstrates the production of these social spaces over time. The remote locations, difficult terrain, size of the study area, dense vegetation and survey strategy resulted in portions of the greater study area not being surveyed. Results have been analysed using the grid method to indicate the density of cultural activity within 250m<sup>2</sup> grids, with areas not surveyed represented as a null value (see Figure 96). Conversely, survey areas with no cultural material were assigned a 0 value. While significant parts of the region remain unsurveyed, the results presented here demonstrate specific patterns within the construction of social space.



**Figure 96: Total object grid density for the Wenlock region.**

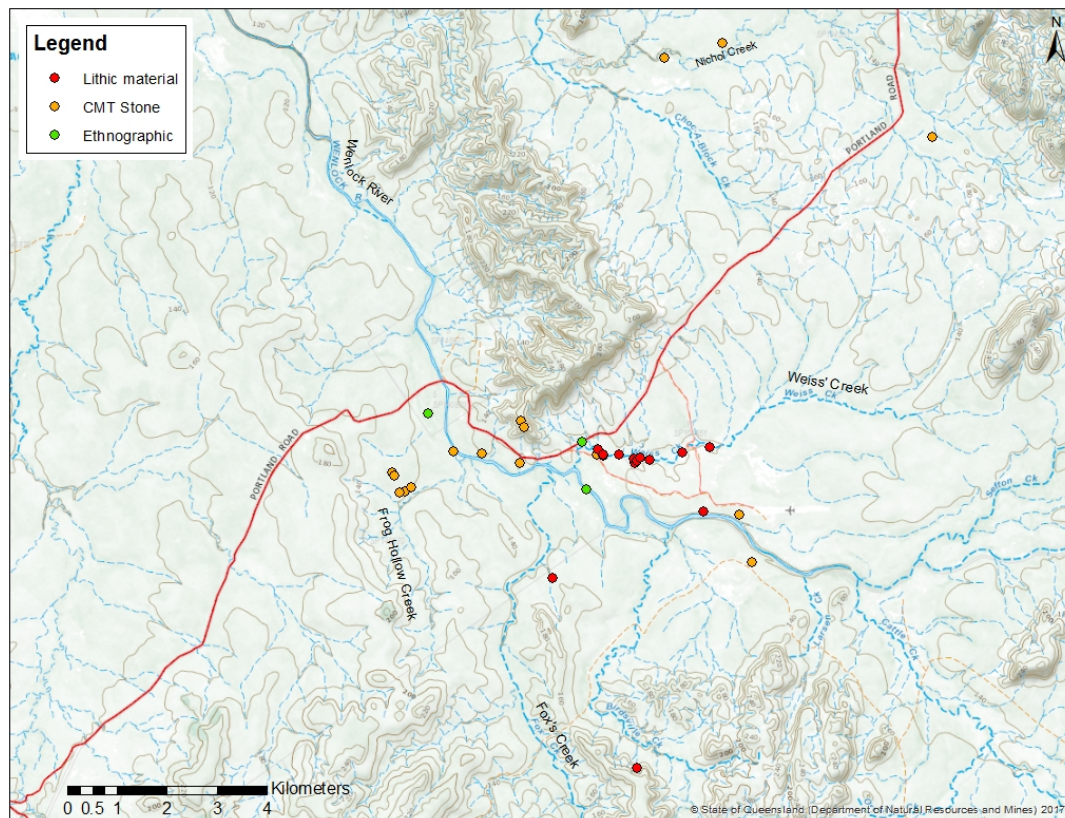
## Classical Lifeways

This section analyses the classical Indigenous lifeways of the study area, focussing on lithic material, stone axe CMTs and recorded ethnographic places. This approach does not mean that these artefact types were exclusively produced during the pre-colonial era. However, importantly, they are examples of the continuity in production of pre-colonial technological forms and economic practices, and their persistence into the colonial period demonstrates the continuation of Indigenous lifeways, and this is reflective of classical social spaces and landscape use. The number of these artefact and site types are shown in Table 25, see Figure 97 for the location of each of these places.

| Site and Artefact Type | Number |
|------------------------|--------|
| Ethnographic Places    | 2      |
| Stone CMT              | 15     |

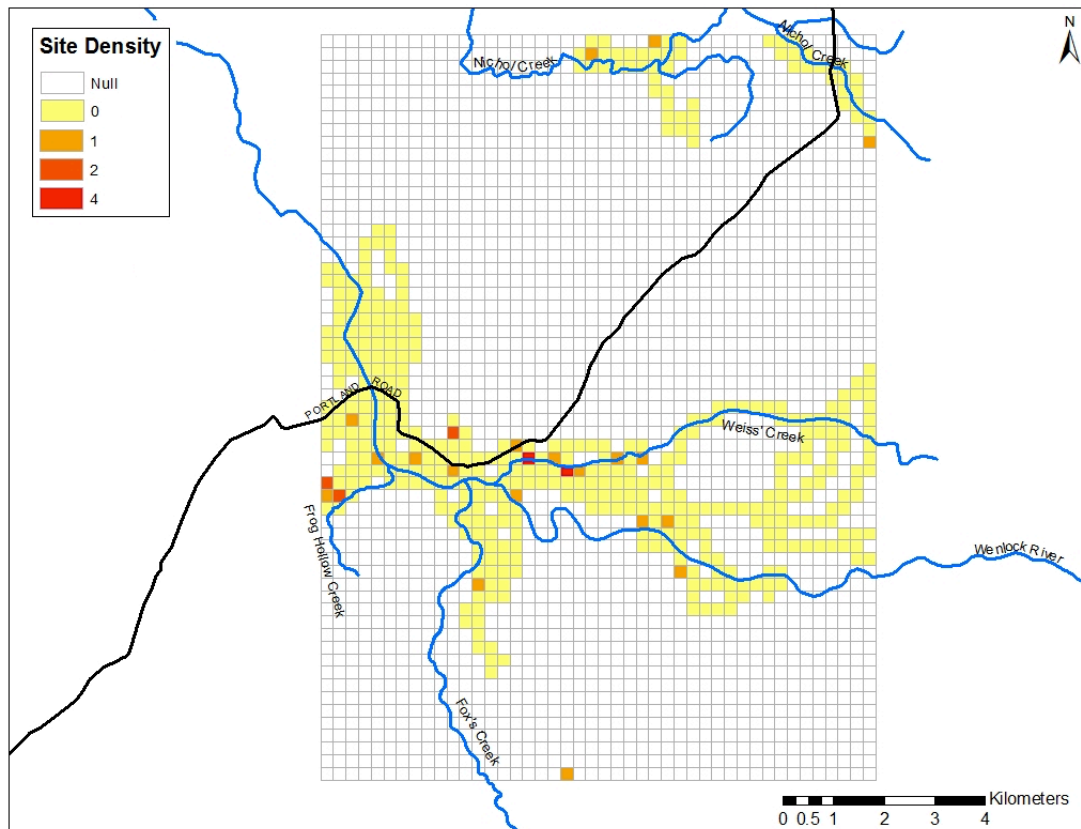
| Site and Artefact Type | Number |
|------------------------|--------|
| Lithic Material        | 14     |

**Table 25: Number of places using classical technologies in the Wenlock region.**



**Figure 97: Map showing the location of classical technology in the Wenlock region.**

In Figure 98 a grid has been placed over the relevant sections of the study area; each square in this grid is 250m by 250m. This grid layer shows the density of artefacts and sites which show the use of classical technology across the study area.



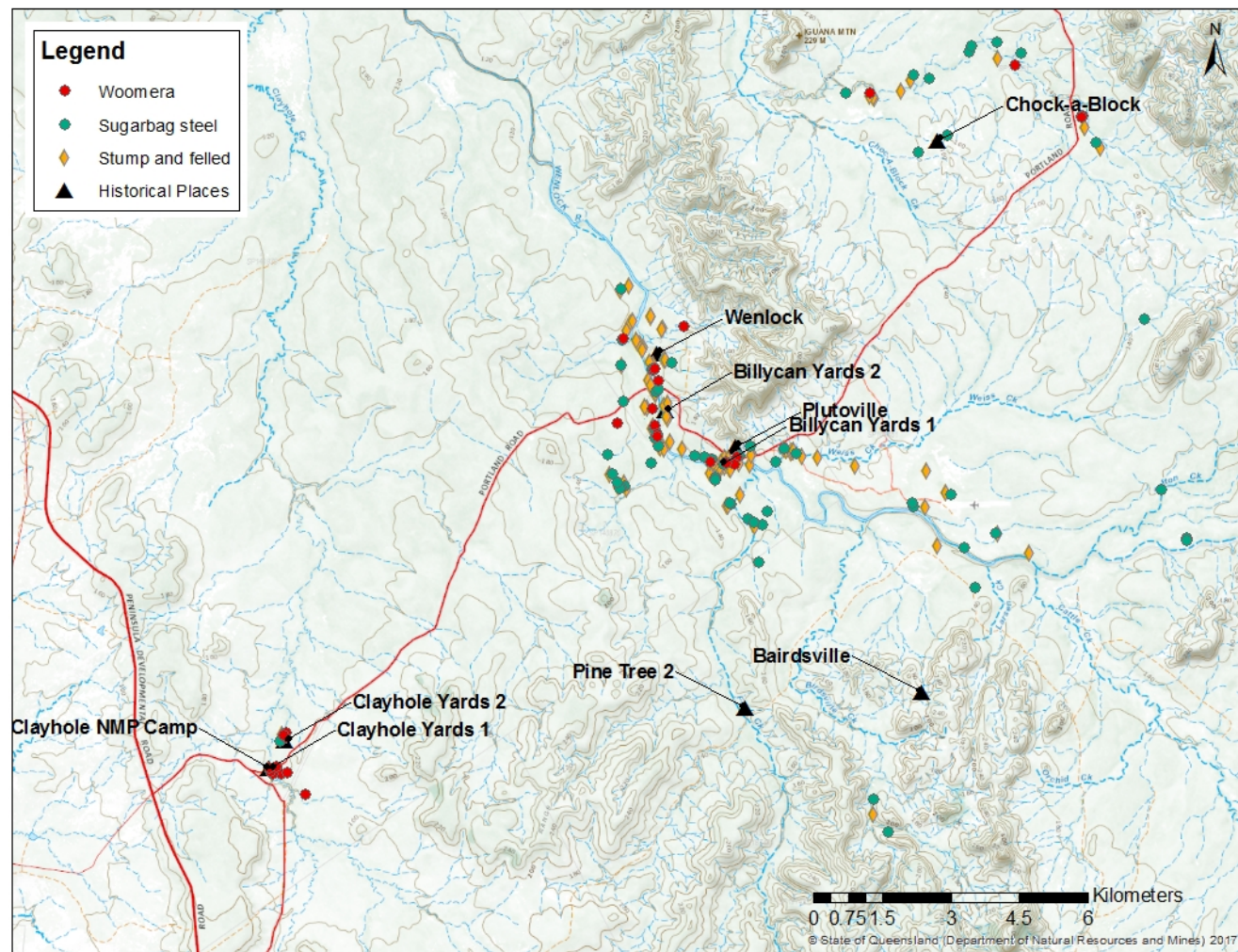
**Figure 98: Density of classical technologies in the Wenlock region.**

These results demonstrate that there are dense spatial clusters showing the use of classical technology near year-round secondary water sources (Figure 98). This includes concentrations along Frog Hollow Creek, Weiss' Creek, Nichol Creek, unnamed lagoons and to a lesser extent near the Wenlock River. These areas are therefore interpreted as key pre-colonial activity areas in the region. As the lithic scatters have only been given a value of 1, the same as an isolated flake, consequently, these numbers do not represent the actual density of the objects within these areas. It is important to recognise that limited ground visibility during these surveys may also have contributed to primarily locating lithic densities in these areas. At the current level of recording, these densities demonstrate the areas in which classical pre-colonial techniques were used in the Wenlock region.

## Colonial Era

This section considers the creation of space during each decade between 1880 and 1950 in order to examine the production of this space through the colonial era. The section draws on the historical information that is available regarding key historical sites (Chapter 5) that were active during each decade, as well as associated material culture (including CMTs that were created with steel axes). At this stage, the dating of CMTs is not possible (without destroying the tree), but some inferences can be made through the use of the analysis of proximity data and the densities of these sites in relation to sites of European economic development. Figure 99 shows the historical places analysed within this chapter in relation to the total distribution of steel cut CMTs which have been created during the colonial era. The timeframes for the use of these historical places are outlined in Table 26.





**Figure 99: Historical places and total steel cut CMTs.**

| Place                                                 | Survey Status                     | Sources                                                  | 1880 | 1890 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Pine Tree 1                                           | Not Surveyed                      | (Anon 1920; Boyd 1971)                                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Mein Telegraph Station (1887-1930's)                  | Not Surveyed                      | (Copland 2005; Jack 1921; Sheehy 1987)                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Clayhole Native Police Station                        | Surveyed (foundations)            | (Anon 1897a; Jack 1921)                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Pine Tree 2                                           | Some Survey                       | (Boyd 1971)                                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Bairdsville (1892-1894)                               | Some Survey (destroyed by mining) | (de Havelland 1989; Denaro and Morewood 1992; Jack 1921) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Chock-a-Block (1905)                                  | Some Survey                       | (de Havelland 1989; Denaro and Morewood 1992)            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Clayhole Yards 2 (earliest possible 1904-5 - Merluna) | Surveyed (posts)                  | (Lowenstein 1971)                                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Billycan Yards 1 (earliest possible 1904-5 - Merluna) | Surveyed (posts)                  | (Lowenstein 1971)                                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Clayhole Yards 1 (earliest possible 1904-5 - Merluna) | Surveyed (posts)                  | (Jack 1921)                                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

| Place                                                          | Survey Status                                                                        | Sources                                                                                     | 1880 | 1890 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Billycan Yards 2<br>(earliest possible<br>1904-5 -<br>Merluna) | Surveyed (posts)                                                                     | (Lowenstein 1971)                                                                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Batavia/ Wenlock                                               | Surveyed (metal<br>scatters, modern<br>disturbance,<br>glass, metal,<br>misc mining) | (de Havelland 1989;<br>Denaro and Morewood<br>1992; Fisher 1998; Lennon<br>and Pearce 1996) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Plutoville                                                     | Surveyed (metal<br>scatters, modern<br>mining)                                       | (de Havelland 1989;<br>Denaro and Morewood<br>1992; Fisher 1998; Lennon<br>and Pearce 1996) |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
|  | Intermittent use |
|--|------------------|

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
|  | No recorded use |
|--|-----------------|

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
|  | Continual use |
|--|---------------|

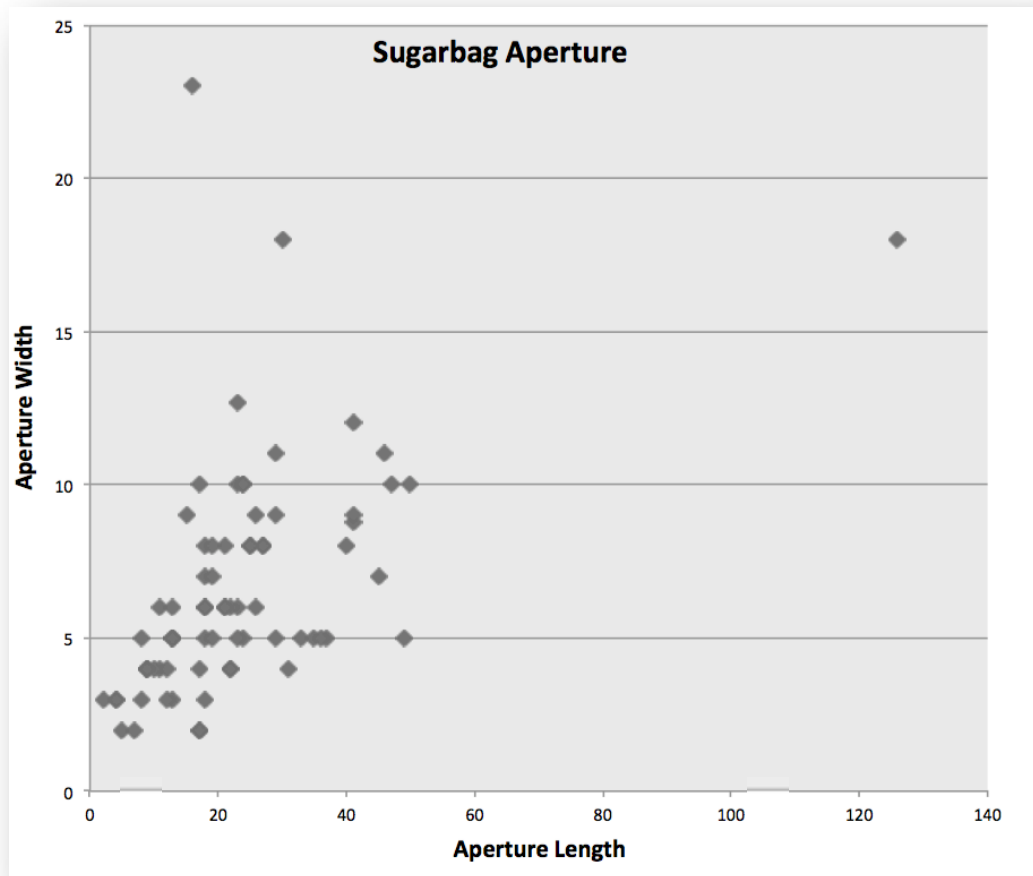
**Table 26: Summary of the creation and use of European settlements per decade in the Wenlock region, the significant historical reference material and the survey status of each site.**



The above table indicates the time periods that centres of European economic activity were used in the Wenlock region. This clearly shows the establishment of European industries in the area, and also shows periods where there was a lack of European economic activity, for instance in the 1890s, which were also decades of substantial frontier violence in the region. The analysis of these sites and related artefacts can often be dated, and therefore they are discussed by the decade in the Spatial Analysis section later in this Chapter.

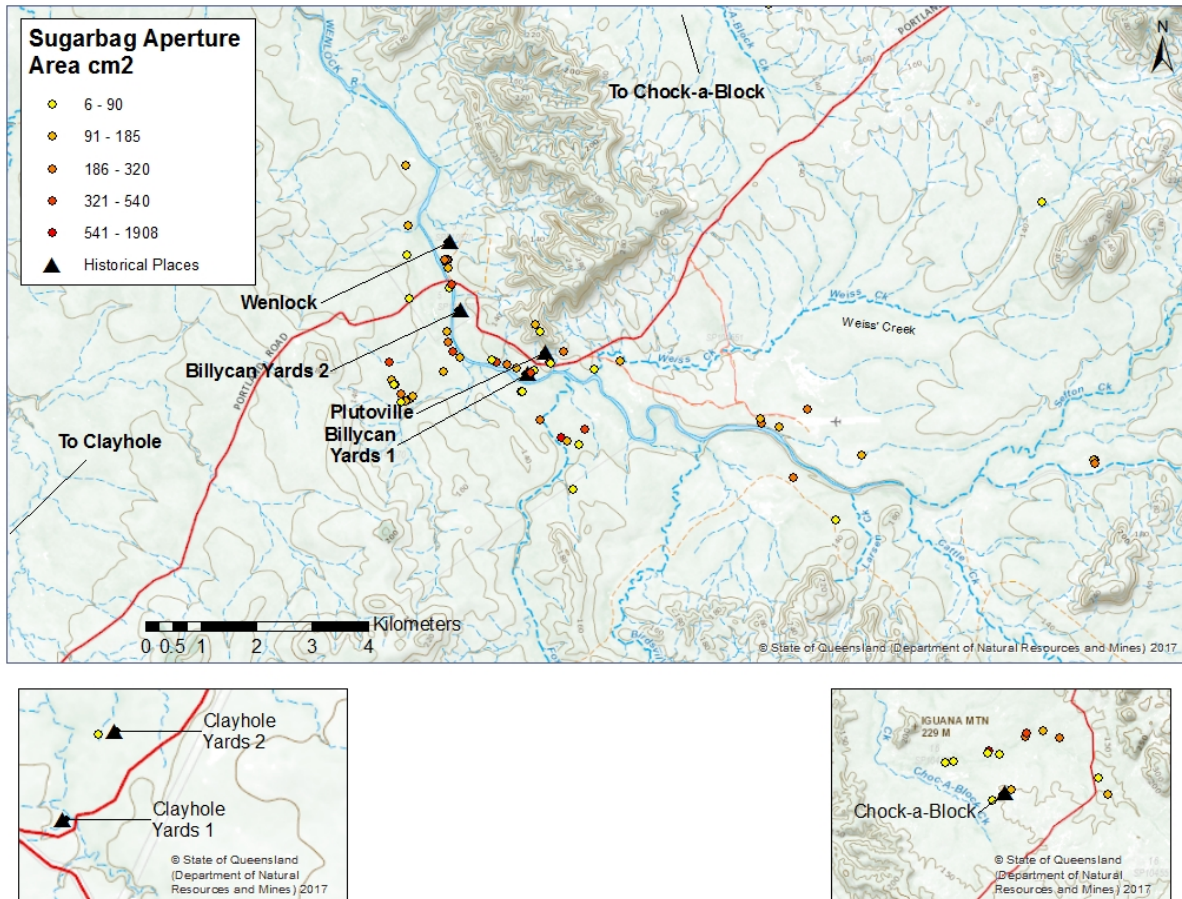
### **Sugarbag Aperture Analysis**

Spatial analysis was performed on the recorded aperture area of sugarbag CMTs to test the hypothesis of Morrison and Shepard's (2013) study to the west of the current study area. Morrison and Shepard (2013) argue that as the colonial process advanced there was an intensification of the harvesting of sugarbag. This metric can then be used as a proxy for the analysis of cross-cultural interaction and trade. This intensification is evident in larger aperture scars in sugarbag CMTs. Morrison and Shepard (2013) calculate the aperture areas of 333 sugarbag CMTs, the results ranged from a minimum of  $1\text{cm}^2$  to a maximum of  $1020\text{cm}^2$ , with a mean of  $145\text{cm}^2$ . The results of the current study (Figure 100) highlights the clustering of sugarbag apertures 10cm and less in width and 40cm and less in length, this demonstrates that there are a concentration of sugarbag CMTs with small apertures in the Wenlock region. The major limitation in the analysis of this artefact type is that CMTs degrade quickly and are continuously removed from the landscape by fire and rot, this means that older CMTs are rarer than younger ones. This limitation may mean that there were clusters of stone axe marked CMTs that no longer exist in the landscape making changes in these spatial patterns hard to discern. However, it is also likely that this resource was also harvested less frequently as the classical use of a stone axe make this very difficult.



**Figure 100: Sugarbag CMT aperture measurements (cm)**

An increase in the frequency of sugarbag scarring activity is also evident in the current study, and this is reflected in the density of sugarbag CMTs in relation to sites of European economic activity. The following proximity analysis is based upon the historical features of the Wenlock region as displayed in Table 26.



**Figure 101: The location of historical features and the spatial distribution of the sizes of sugarbag aperture scar areas.**

Figure 101 shows the distribution of sugarbag CMTs with different aperture sizes in relation to European historical features in the study area. This map shows concentrations of CMTs with larger aperture scars near Chock-a-Block and Billycan Yards but to the south of the Wenlock River — at Frog Hollow Creek and Fox’s Creek. Table 27 shows the number of sugarbag CMTs in relation to these centres of European economic development and the average distance between these sites and the average CMT aperture size.

| Place            | Number of Sugarbag CMTs | Average Distance to Historical Feature (m) | Average Aperture of Scar (cm <sup>2</sup> ) |
|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Clayhole Yards 2 | 1                       | 106                                        | 54                                          |
| Wenlock          | 8                       | 629                                        | 127                                         |
| Plutoville       | 18                      | 4039                                       | 163                                         |
| Billycan Yards 2 | 17                      | 1287                                       | 178                                         |
| Chock-a-Block    | 14                      | 2175                                       | 262                                         |
| Billycan Yards 1 | 16                      | 1744                                       | 299                                         |

**Table 27: Table indicates the average scar apertures and the frequency and average distance of sugarbag CMTs to historical features.**

Although the smallest average distance and average aperture area size in Table 27 is related to Clayhole Yards 2, as there is only one CMT recorded here, this is not considered to provide any meaningful interpretation. The CMTs within a highly probable range of proximity to the Wenlock Goldfields (n=8) all occur under an average distance of 700m and also have a low average aperture area of 127cm<sup>2</sup>. Billycan Yards 1 and 2 both display a likely average distance (under 1.8km) and moderate numbers of CMTs (Billycan Yard 1 [n=16] and 2 [n=17]). However, there is a significant difference in the average aperture size between the two yards, with the results at Billycan 1 measuring 299cm<sup>2</sup> and at Billycan 2 measuring 178cm<sup>2</sup>.

The longest average distance between sugarbag CMTs within this analysis and historical features is at Plutoville (+4km), followed by Chock-a-Block (2.1km). Plutoville's figures in Table 27 indicate that although there is a high frequency of sugarbag CMTs (n=18) they are not in close proximity. The average sugarbag CMT scar aperture area near Plutoville is still relatively small (163cm<sup>2</sup>). The sugarbag CMTs that are in proximity to Chock-a-Block (n=14) have a moderate average scar aperture area (262cm<sup>2</sup>). However, importantly this includes a large variation in aperture size, as there are clusters of both small and large apertures in the vicinity of Nicol Creek.

Sugarbag CMTs with an aperture area of less than 200cm<sup>2</sup> are found near the Wenlock Goldfields, Plutoville and Billycan Yards 2. These figures indicate that the sugarbag CMTs with smaller apertures are concentrated near (and opposite the river from) key historical centres and along secondary waterways, such as Frog Hollow Creek and Fox's Creek. This

supports Morrison and Shepard's (2013) hypothesis. There is a significant increase in the average aperture area size of the sugarbag CMTs in close proximity to some earlier sites of European economic activity such as Billycan Yards 1 and Chock-a-Block, at these sites the average aperture areas increases to greater than 200cm<sup>2</sup>. Although the average aperture area is high near these two centres, there are also significant numbers of smaller aperture CMTs near these centres. This evidence indicates that as the demand for sugarbag changed, likely due to trade with Europeans, so did the size of the aperture areas; this can be interpreted as meaning that sugarbag is likely to have been harvested in these areas over extended periods of time. The continuation of this classical lifeway in the region is reflective of the persistence of the Kuuku I'yu within this region and the continued production of these physical spaces. By considering the proximity of these lifeways to sites of European economic activity, a greater understanding of cross-cultural interactions during the colonial era can be gained.

### **Spatial Analysis by the Decade**

This section begins with the plotting of spatially referenced historical European economic activity in the Wenlock region (see Table 26). This material has been sorted by the decade in which these sites were known to be active. For each decade, these sites are analysed against the spatial data that exists for each type of steel cut CMT, which are also presumed to have occurred during the colonial period. The resulting frequency of CMTs and their average proximity are then used to consider a date range for the production of these CMTs. This form of analysis is applicable until the known historical sites (for example the Wenlock Goldfields) in the area remain in use for several decades (from 1915-1950s). At this stage attempting to narrow down CMT production to a decade using this method becomes difficult. Consequently, a grid map has been produced for each decade that uses both the densities of CMTs and the datable archaeological material (e.g. glass) to show changes in the spatial production of the region.

#### **1880s**

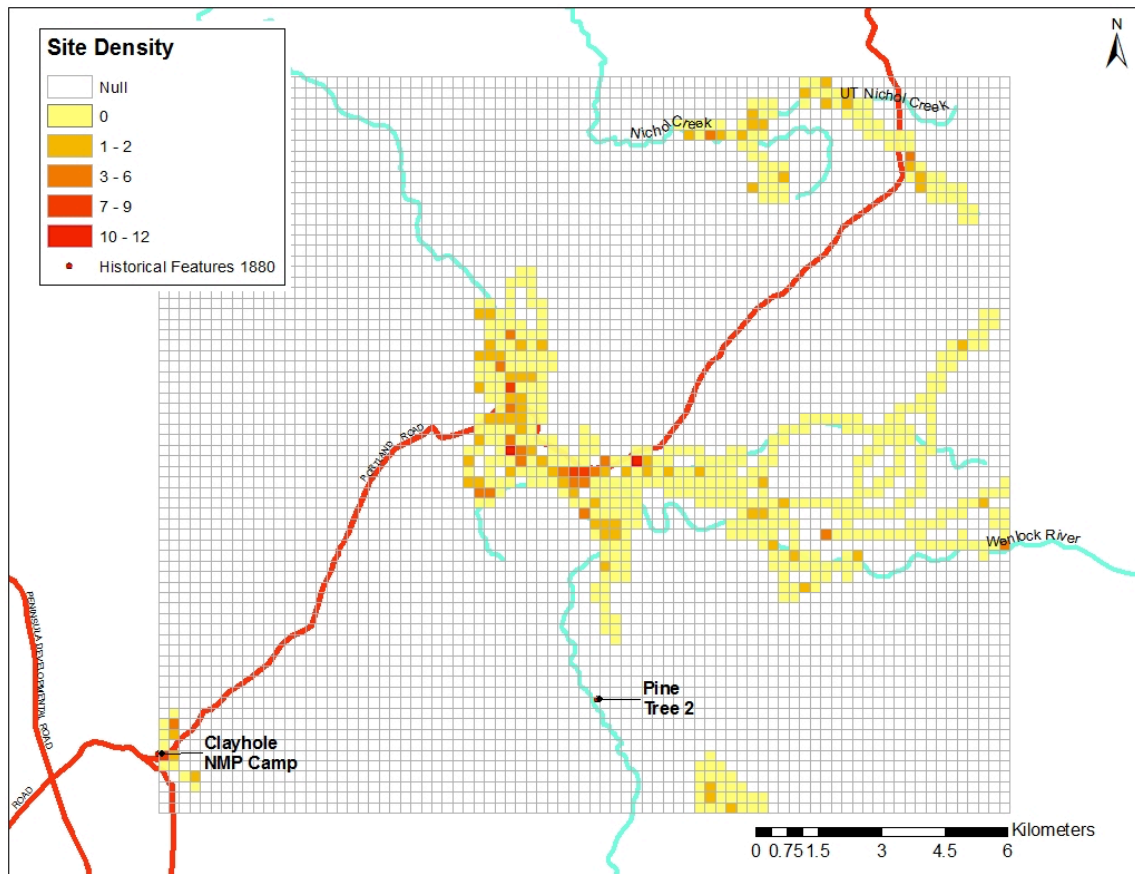
This decade saw the first sustained settler-colonial activity in the area, but, like other forms of evidence for this early period, the material record of the encounters between Europeans and

Indigenous people is limited. Pine Tree 2 (Pat Fox's second set of camps after 1889) is marked in this location (Figure 99) as Pat Fox was known to have frequently moved in this vicinity. The only archaeological site in the area dated to this period is the Native Mounted Police camp. Where Pine Tree 2 is marked on the map is only an estimation of the site location (based upon Lowenstein 1971), consequently the resultant analysis regarding this location is speculative. Figure 99 shows the historical sites of the Wenlock in relation to the various CMT types. Several analyses have been run in ArcMap to ascertain the frequency of CMTs and the average distance between each CMT type and historical features (Table 28).

| Place in the 1880s | CMT Type     | Number | Average Distance to known Historical Features (m) |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Pine Tree 2        | Sugarbag     | 68     | 7456                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 46     | 6665                                              |
|                    | Stumps       | 122    | 675                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 18     | 8218                                              |
| Clayhole NMP       | Sugarbag     | 1      | 612                                               |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 1      | 612                                               |
|                    | Stumps       | 2      | 445                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 10     | 427                                               |

**Table 28: Proximity table for CMTs to historical features of the 1880s.**

These results (Table 28) indicate that there is no spatial correlation between sugarbag CMTs, felled sugarbag logs, stumps or woomera production and Pine Tree Station 2. However, there is a greater positive spatial relationship between the CMTs of this period and the location of the Native Mounted Police camp at Clayhole Creek.



**Figure 102: Grid map of total steel cut CMTs and 1880 sites in the Wenlock region.**

The grid map for this decade (Figure 102) indicates that there are concentrations of CMTs near the Clayhole Native Mounted Police camp and year-round water sources, making a correlation between this site and CMTs types highly probable. Despite historical sources indicating European settlement, there is a lack of European material culture for this decade. The two areas of active European influence are the Clayhole Native Mounted Police camp and Pine Tree Station 2. Analysis of the spatial proximity between steel cut CMTs and these centres of European economic activity indicates that they had very little to do with each other. Many of the average distances of the CMTs are between 6 and 8km. These distances indicate that a correlation between European sites during this decade and CMTs is highly improbable. With the exception of the increased numbers and close proximity of woomera CMTs to the Clayhole Native Mounted Police camp there is no correlation between steel cut CMTs and centres of European economic activity during this decade.

## 1890s

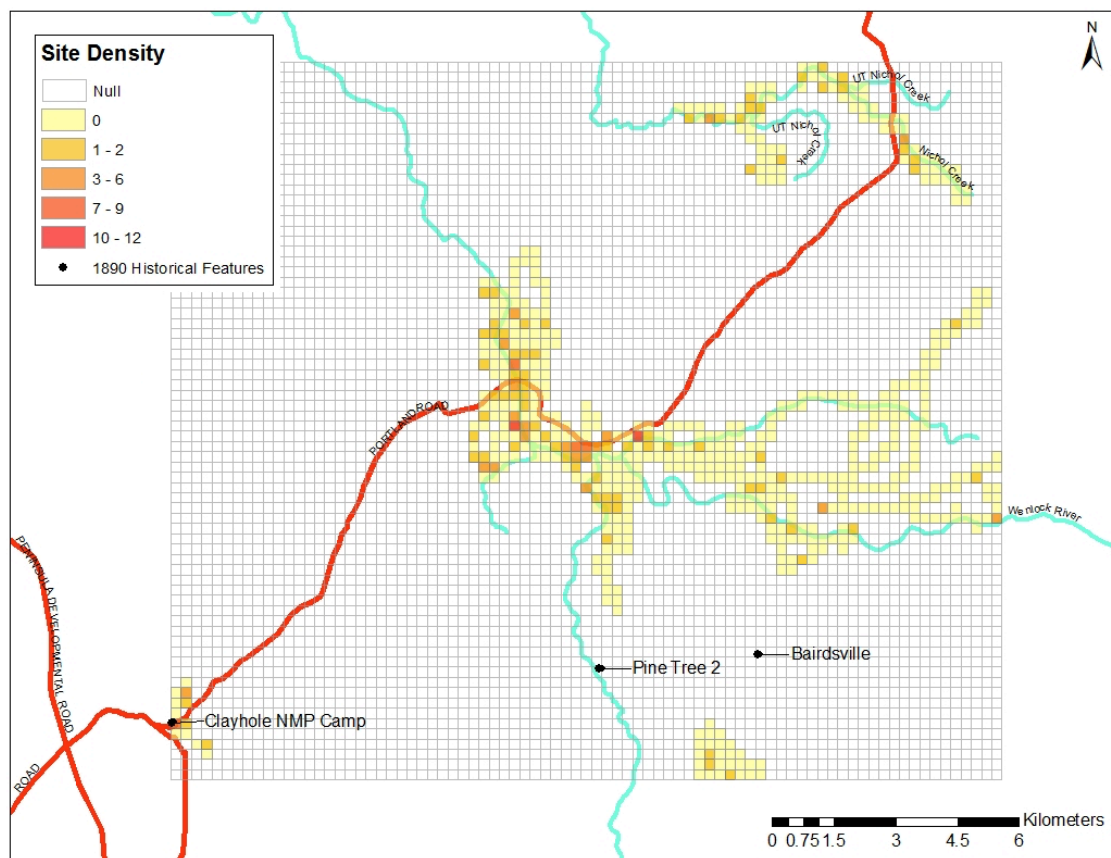
The 1890s saw a growth of the occupation by non-Indigenous settlers in the greater Wenlock region and included gold miners, telegraph line workers and sandalwood traders (see Table 26). The physical location of Bairdsville was not identified during this project this is likely due to the destruction of the site by modern mining (see Denaro and Morewood 1992). Consequently, the location of Bairdsville is only an estimate based upon information provided by Denaro and Morewood (1992), and de Havelland (1991). Figure 99 clearly shows that there is little relationship between steel cut CMTs and centres of European economic activity during the 1890s (again except at the Clayhole Native Mounted Police camp). As Bairdsville is established during this decade, there is a slight increase in the overall average proximity of CMTs in the study area.

| Place in the 1890s | CMT Type     | Number | Average Distance to known Historical Features (m) |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Pine Tree 2        | Sugarbag     | 41     | 5780                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 31     | 5892                                              |
|                    | Stumps       | 104    | 6227                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 13     | 6502                                              |
| Bairdsville        | Sugarbag     | 26     | 8514                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 15     | 6141                                              |
|                    | Stumps       | 18     | 8388                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 4      | 12866                                             |
| Clayhole NMP       | Sugarbag     | 2      | 316                                               |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 1      | 612                                               |
|                    | Stumps       | 2      | 445                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 10     | 427                                               |

**Table 29: Proximity table for CMTs to historical features 1890s.**



The spatial relationship between centres of European economic activity (Table 29) and CMTs does not indicate any significant correlation during this early period of colonial activity. However, there is the exception of the previously discussed proximity of woomera CMTs to the Native Mounted Police camp in the south of the study area. It is highly improbable that the elevated number of steel cut sugarbag, sugarbag logs and stump CMTs near Bairdsville have an association with the mining activity at Bairdsville because of the large distances between them.



**Figure 103: Grid Map of 1890s material culture and steel cut CMTs.**

The above map (Figure 103) shows the relationship between steel cut CMTs and the known sites of European occupation during this period. There is little difference to the spatial distributions evident in the 1880s, although this is probably related to the sparse archaeological record from these decades.

## 1900s

This decade saw the introduction of another mining centre in the Wenlock region at Chock-a-Block and the sale of cattle from Pine Tree Station by Pat Fox (see Table 26). The spatial distribution of sites during this decade and the distribution of steel cut CMTs is shown in Figure 99. Table 30 demonstrates a greater spatial correlation than during the previous decades. This can be seen through the proximity of clusters of CMTs near Billycan 1 and 2, near Clayhole Yards 1 and 2, and near to Chock-a-Block.

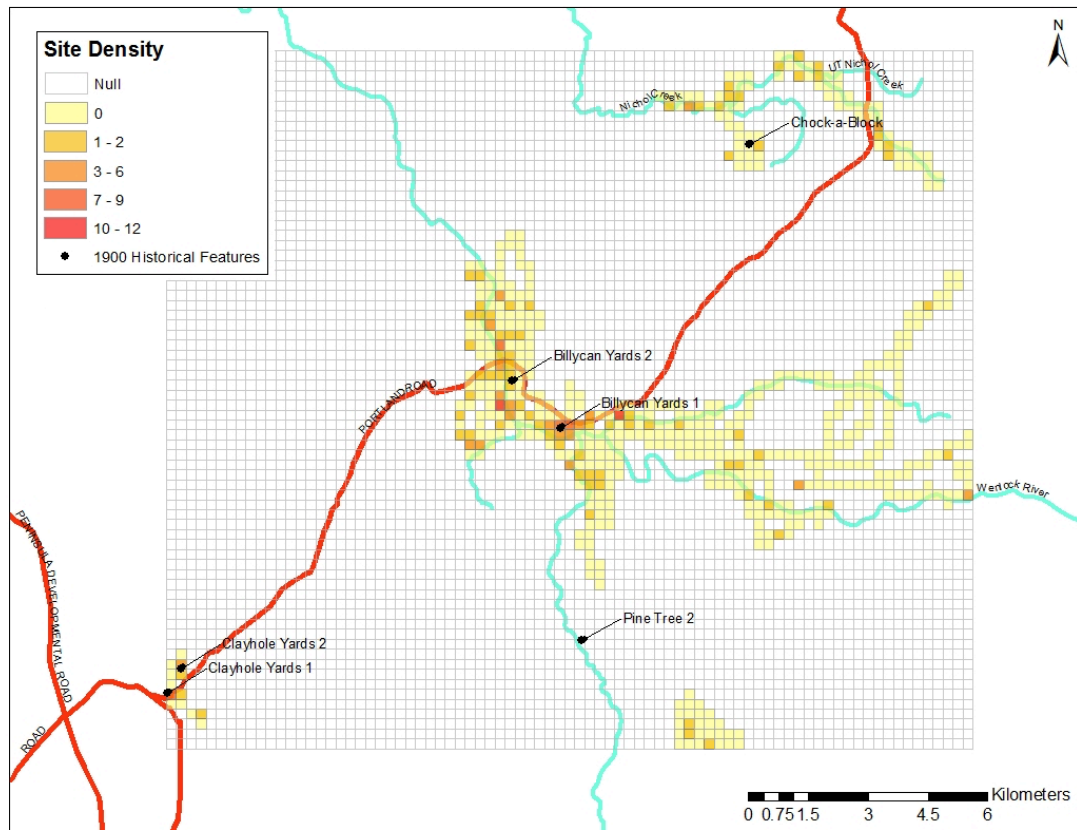
| Place in the 1900s | CMT Type     | Number | Average Distance to known Historical Features (m) |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Clayhole 2         | Sugarbag     | 1      | 106                                               |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 1      | 106                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 134                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 3      | 108                                               |
| Billycan Yards 1   | Sugarbag     | 26     | 1858                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 21     | 2044                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 52     | 1243                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 4      | 249                                               |
| Clayhole 1         | Sugarbag     | 1      | 21                                                |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 130                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 5      | 242                                               |
| Pine Tree 2        | Sugarbag     | 3      | 4287                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 2      | 3683                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 3521                                              |
| Chock-a-Block      | Sugarbag     | 17     | 4003                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 7      | 6246                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 9      | 2180                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 4      | 2566                                              |
| Billycan Yards 2   | Sugarbag     | 21     | 1248                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 16     | 1321                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 60     | 1139                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 10     | 892                                               |

**Table 30: Steel CMT type, number and average distance to the closest known site of European historical occupation and economic development in the 1900s.**

The proximity data for the first decade of the 1900s indicates that there is a strong correlation between centres of European economic activity dating to the 1900s and the frequency of steel cut CMTs. Sugarbag CMTs have a very low frequency (n=1) and proximity (<106m) at both Clayhole Yards 1 and 2. As these are only single examples, these findings are not considered indicative of an overall pattern. However, within the sugarbag category for this decade the proximity data indicates an elevated frequency (n=20+) of sugarbag CMTs within a likely distance of <1.8km from both Billycan 1 and Billycan 2. The felled sugarbag CMT (log) category for this period shows a similar pattern, with moderate frequencies (n=16+) of this artefact type within a likely average distance of approximately 2km from both Billycan 1 and Billycan 2. This pattern of close average proximities and higher frequencies of steel cut CMTs is also evident within the stump CMT category.

There is no evident correlation between Chock-a-Block and any CMT type during this decade. While the average frequencies of CMT are relatively high (as much as 17 for sugarbag CMTs), an association between Chock-a-Block and CMTs is considered to be unlikely to highly improbable as the average distances are also high, with no CMT type under 2km and seven CMTs over 6km. These large average distances indicate that the production of these CMTs are probably not related to Chock-a-Block.

During this decade there is an upturn in the number (n=10) of woomera CMTs are recorded within an average distance of 890m from Billycan Yards 2. There are also minor concentrations of woomera CMTs near to both Clayhole 1 (n=5) and 2 (n=3), with very low average distances of less than 250m, making a correlation highly probable.



**Figure 104: Grid Map of 1900s material culture and steel cut CMTs.**

There is little other archaeological activity from this decade to show any discernible difference in the total densities of each grid square (see Figure 104). However, there is now evident clustering of CMTs near centres of European economic production, with definite ‘hot spots’ of activity close to Billycan Yards 1 and 2.

## 1910s

This decade saw the establishment of two more centres of alluvial gold mining, Plutoville and the Batavia/Wenlock Goldfields. Table 26 and Figure 99 show the historical sites associated with this decade and the spatial distribution of steel cut CMTs. What is evident in this analysis is that as different forms of European economic activity are established in the region, CMTs in the area become more evenly distributed.

| Place in the 1910s | CMT Type     | Number | Average Distance to known Historical Features (m) |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Wenlock            | Sugarbag     | 8      | 616                                               |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 8      | 616                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 25     | 746                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 5      | 577                                               |
| Plutoville         | Sugarbag     | 16     | 4312                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 13     | 4766                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 24     | 2099                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 1      | 239                                               |
| Clayhole 2         | Sugarbag     | 1      | 106                                               |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 1      | 106                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 134                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 3      | 108                                               |
| Billycan Yards 1   | Sugarbag     | 16     | 1753                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 13     | 1867                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 29     | 537                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 2      | 211                                               |
| Clayhole 1         | Sugarbag     | 1      | 21                                                |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 130                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 8      | 245                                               |
| Chock-a-Block      | Sugarbag     | 14     | 2723                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 4      | 3448                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 9      | 2180                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 5      | 2566                                              |
| Billycan Yards 2   | Sugarbag     | 13     | 1205                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 8      | 1325                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 35     | 717                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 5      | 622                                               |

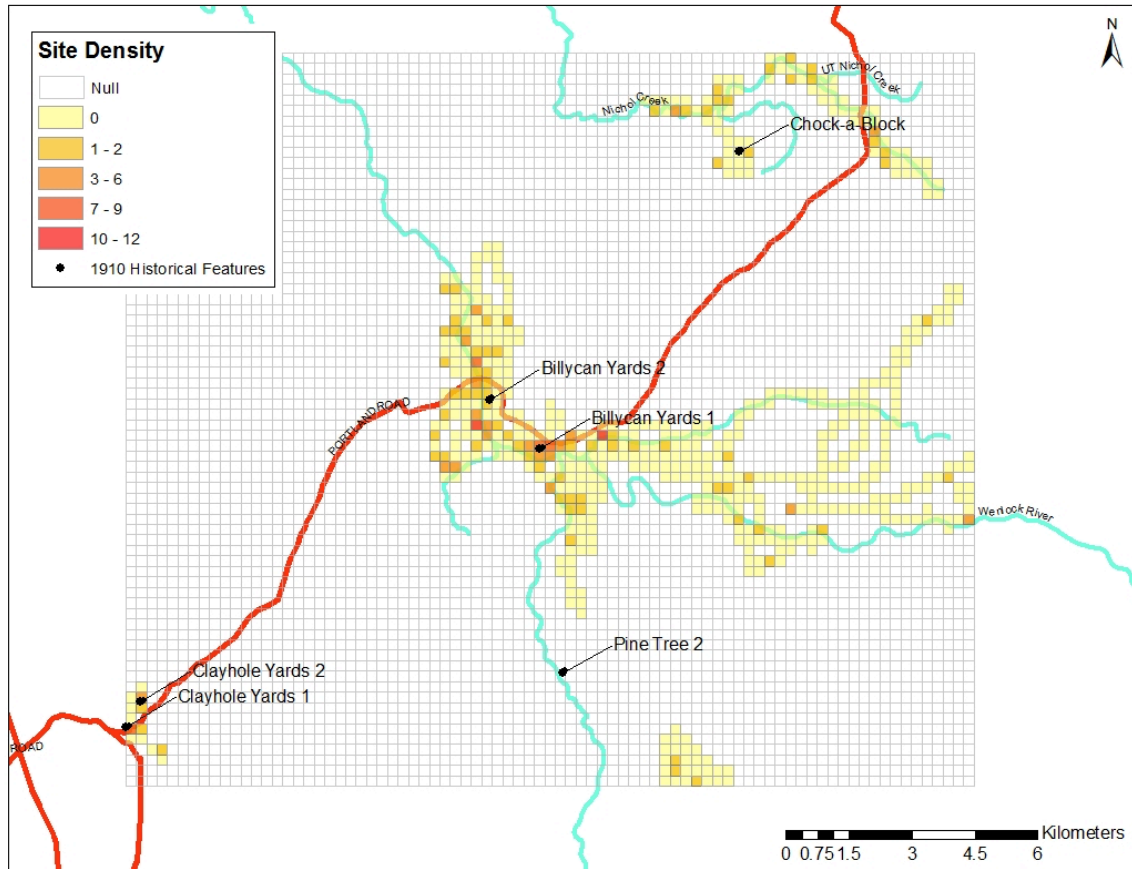
**Table 31: CMT number, average distance and type in relation to the historical features in the Wenlock area in the decade 1910-1919.**

The total frequency of sugarbag CMTs near mining areas, such as the Batavia/Wenlock, Plutoville and Chock-a-Block Goldfields, varies considerably (Table 31). The lowest average proximity (<650m) for sugarbag CMTs in relation to a mining site during this decade is at the Batavia Goldfields, making this correlation highly likely, where eight sugarbag CMTs were recorded nearby. In total there were 16 sugarbag CMTs closest to Plutoville. However, it is highly improbable that a significant proportion of these CMTs are related to Plutoville as they have an average proximity of over 4km. Chock-a-Block had several sugarbag CMTs (n=14) with a moderate average distance of over 2km, making a correlation unlikely.

Higher sugarbag frequencies dominate the pastoral centres active in this decade. This is evident at both Billycan Yards 1 (n=16) and 2 (n=13), all of which had a likely average distance of less than 2km. Billycan Yards 2 also has a likely average distance of sugarbag CMTs that was measured at 1.2km. There was also an elevated number of felled sugarbag CMTs (logs) near both of the Billycan Yards (1 and 2 combined n=21). This pattern also occurred at the Wenlock Goldfields, which had a number of felled sugarbag CMTs (logs) (n=8) in very close proximity, with an average distance of approximately 620m, making a correlation highly probable.

The highest density of CMT stumps also occurred closest to Billycan Yards 1 and 2, with very low average distances (under 720m) for all 64 stumps. These densities indicate a correlation between these pastoral sites and this CMT type is highly probable. There was also an increase in the number (n=25) of CMT stumps close to the Wenlock Goldfields, with almost an equally low average distance (746m), making this association also highly probable.

There were low concentrations of woomera scarred CMTs near the Wenlock Goldfields, Billycan Yards 2 and Chock-a-Block (each n=5); however, there are continuing concentrations of woomera CMTs in proximity to Clayhole Yards 1 (n=9) and 2 (n=3). The average distance for woomera scarred CMTs overall during this decade was under 630m, except for Chock-a-Block where the average distance was over 2.5km, suggesting that there is an unlikely correlation between woomera production and the activities occurring at Chock-a-Block. The grid map for this decade (Figure 105) shows a significant increase in the densities of archaeological activity near Clayhole Yards and on the opposite bank of the Wenlock River from Billycan Yards 2, with a concentration near Billycan Yards 1.



**Figure 105: Grid Map of 1910s material culture and steel cut CMTs.**

## 1920s

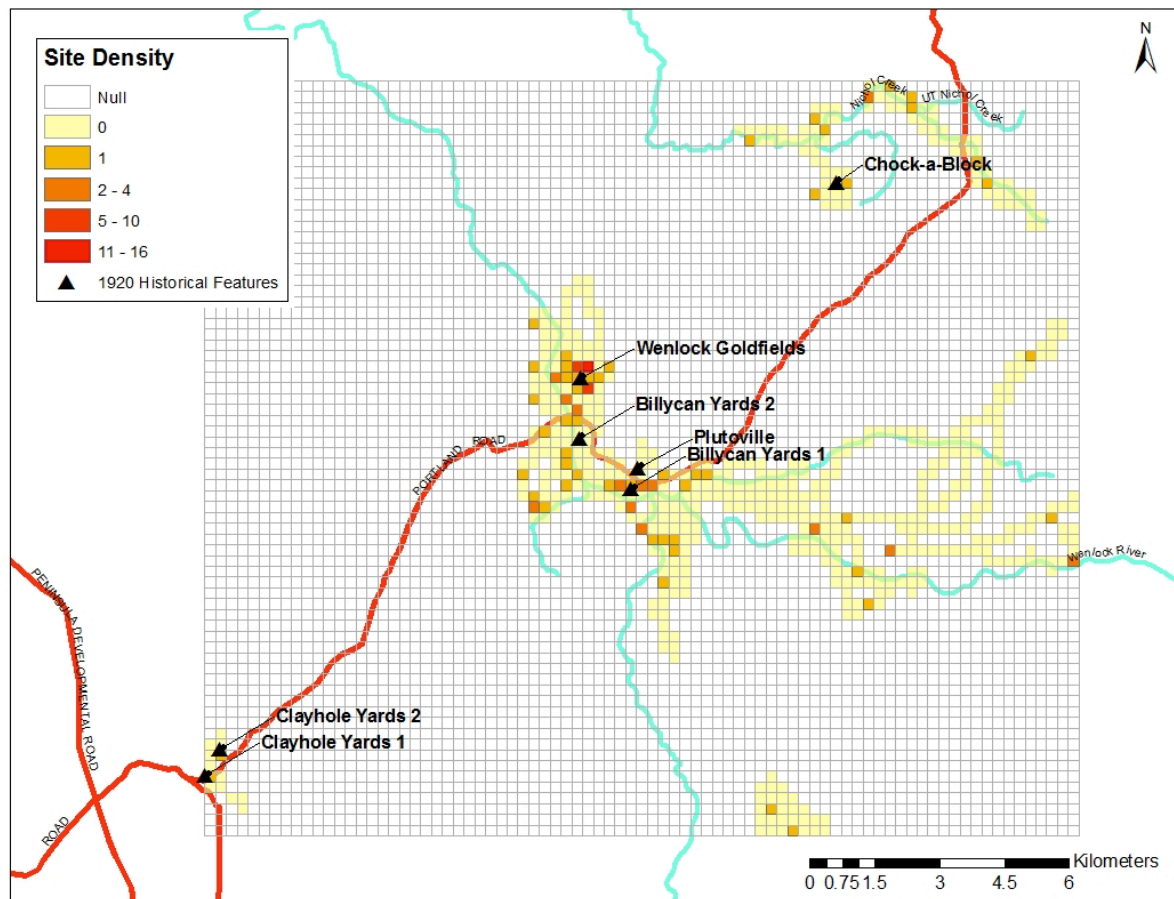
This decade saw the establishment of the Lockhart River Mission on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula, while the Wenlock Goldfields grew to include a road to Lockhart River which helped the transportation of equipment for subterranean mining to exploit the quartz leader. The historical sites active during this decade and the spatial distribution of CMTs are outlined in Table 26 and shown in Figure 99. The historical sites originating in the 1920s remains consistent with those of the previous decade (1910s), with the exception of the epicentre of the Wenlock Goldfields moving slightly to the north (Figure 106).

| Place in the 1920s | CMT Type     | Number | Average Distance to known Historical Features (m) |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Wenlock            | Sugarbag     | 8      | 616                                               |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 8      | 616                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 25     | 746                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 5      | 577                                               |
| Plutoville         | Sugarbag     | 16     | 4312                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 13     | 4766                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 24     | 2099                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 1      | 239                                               |
| Clayhole 2         | Sugarbag     | 1      | 106                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 134                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 134                                               |
| Billycan Yards 1   | Sugarbag     | 16     | 1753                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 1      | 106                                               |
|                    | Stump        | 29     | 537                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 3      | 211                                               |
| Clayhole 1         | Sugarbag     | 1      | 21                                                |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 13     | 1867                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 1      | 130                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 8      | 245                                               |
| Chock-a-Block      | Sugarbag     | 14     | 2723                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 4      | 3448                                              |
|                    | Woomera      | 4      | 2566                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 9      | 2180                                              |
| Billycan Yards 2   | Sugarbag     | 13     | 1205                                              |
|                    | Sugarbag Log | 8      | 1325                                              |
|                    | Stump        | 35     | 717                                               |
|                    | Woomera      | 5      | 577                                               |

**Table 32: Proximity table for CMTs to historical features in the 1920s.**

The occurrence of sugarbag CMTs in relation to historical features from this decade (Table 32) indicates clustering (both in terms of frequency and average distance) near Billycan Yards 1 and 2 and the Wenlock Goldfields. These densities are evident in the numbers of felled sugarbag CMTs that are clustered in densities near to pastoral yards, particularly both the Billycan Yards, but also near both the Clayhole Yards. This pattern is also the case at the Wenlock Goldfields.



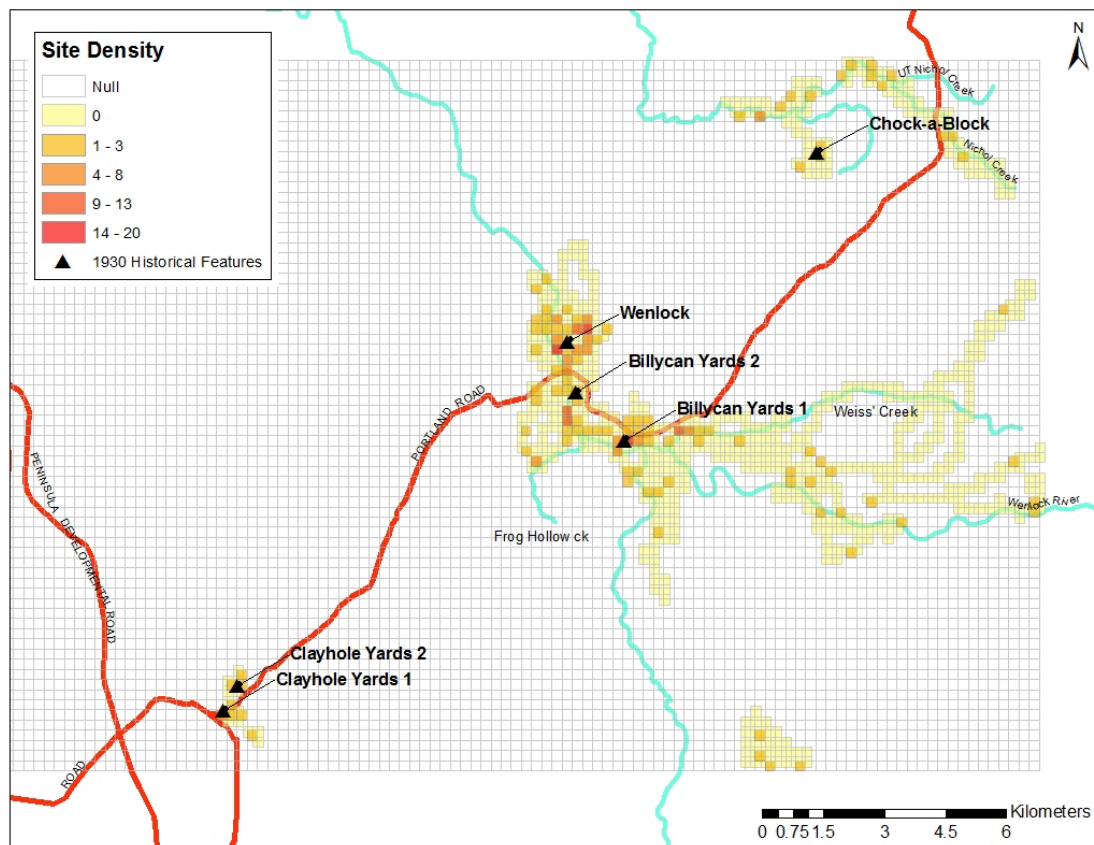


**Figure 106: Grid Map of steel cut CMTs and the material dated to the 1920s.**

The overall density of activity in this decade has risen considerably, as noted in Figure 110 showing the grid map for this period. The area of significantly increased archaeological activity during this decade is the Wenlock Goldfields; there is also a slight increase near Billycan Yards 1.

### 1930s

In general, the 1930s saw an increase in mining activities at the Wenlock Goldfields and the continued use (at varying intensities) of other mining sites in the region (Table 26). Increased activity at the Wenlock Goldfields is evident in the greater site density in this vicinity.

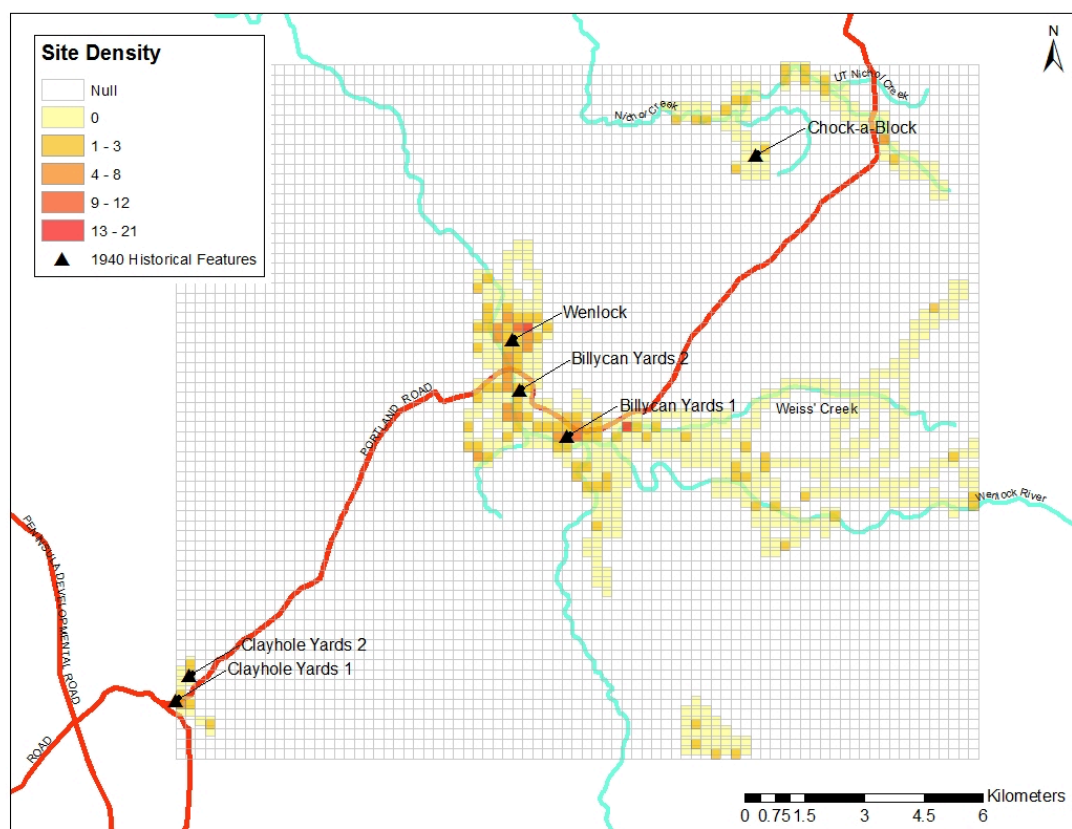


**Figure 107: Grid Map of 1930s material culture and steel cut CMTs.**

Although the scale of density has slightly altered from the grid maps of previous decades, the general activity in the Wenlock region has notably increased (Figure 107). This increase in activity is particularly apparent in the northern portion of the Wenlock Goldfields. Of note are two ‘hotspots’ on Weiss’ Creek and to the south of the Wenlock near Frog Hollow Creek.

## 1940s

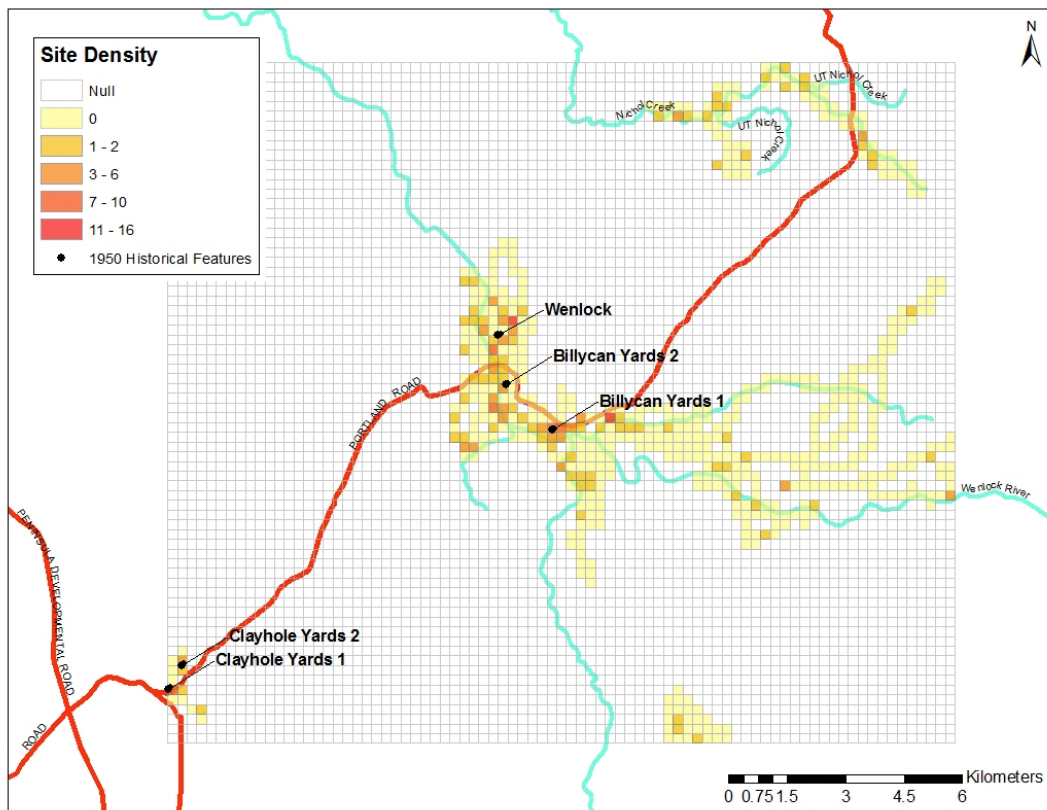
The 1940s (Table 26) saw numerous significant changes, the most dramatic of which was the onset of WWII and the dismantling and abandonment of the area by Europeans. The spatial relationship between historical sites that were occupied or in use during the 1940s and the distribution of CMTs in the area follows the same patterning as the 1920s and 1930s. The exception is the lack of mining activity at Chock-a-Block during the 1940s which makes the CMTs in this area much less likely to correlate with European activity during this decade. The 1940s has the highest density of recorded material culture in this study, which is concentrated near the Wenlock Goldfields and near Weiss’ Creek (see Figure 108).



**Figure 108: Grid Map of 1940s material culture and steel cut CMTs.**

## 1950s

The 1950s (Table 26) saw the general decline of the gold fields in the Wenlock region, and, although a few miners tried to revive their mining leases, by mid-decade these were mostly abandoned. This area was intermittently revisited by Europeans at various intervals to upgrade the infrastructure, such as Main Roads works during the 1960s, or cattle work in the area, until tourism became popular in the 1980s.



**Figure 109: Grid Map of 1950s material culture and steel cut CMTs.**

The 1950s, as seen in the above grid map (Figure 109), shows a decrease in the densities of material culture attributable to this decade. There are still densities near the Wenlock Goldfields, in this instance indicating a lack of activity due to abandoned mining equipment in the area.

## **Summary of Results and Spatial Patterns**

The above archaeological and spatial results are separated by decade to give more fine-grained attention to the spatial densities of various site types and artefacts. However, to draw out key trends in the resultant data, these decades will be summarised according to five separate sections. The first analysis summarises the spatial relations of classical technologies in the landscape. The second analysis summarises the spatial patterns between centres of European economic activity and sugarbag CMT aperture size. The final analyses consider the key trends in the spatial results based on time periods—pre-1900, 1900–1929 and 1930–1950s—based on the density and relative proximity of material culture during these decades. These results are interpreted and discussed comprehensively in relation to the production of social spaces in Chapter 9.

### **Classical Technologies**

The key trend in the results for these site and artefact types is an association between the use of classical technology and spatial proximity to secondary water systems, reflected in densities near Frog Hollow Creek and Weiss' Creek (Figure 98). Without the ability to date lithic scatters and stone axe cut CMTs, these spaces will be considered as part of the pre-colonial lifeways of the region. However, this does not mean that they could not have been produced during the colonial period, or that other areas of archaeological potential may not exist away from watercourses. The concentration of these places near secondary waterways indicates possible occupation areas along these water courses. Of interest is also the lack of this form of evidence near the Wenlock River itself, which may indicate a lack of occupation on this major river, or that this evidence has been destroyed by constant flooding. Within the lithic material, there is only one example of grinding technology, and the majority of the lithic artefacts appear to have been flaked from locally sourced material. These results establish a model of site patterning for the use of classical technologies in the study area.

## **Aperture Area Analysis**

The analysis of sugarbag CMT aperture scars indicates an increase in aperture area near to a number of centres of European economic activity, including Chock-a-Block and Billycan Yards 2. However, these centres of European economic activity also have significant numbers of small aperture sugarbag CMTs in close proximity. If Morrison and Shepard's (2013) hypothesis is correct, then the CMT assemblage in the study area was produced over an extended period of time. There is a second trend in the data that indicates that sugarbag CMTs with smaller apertures are concentrated near the earliest European outposts and are often on the opposite bank of large rivers and near secondary waterways. This could indicate that these are the areas that were used by Indigenous people during the early colonial period.

## **Pre-1900**

This period sees the early introduction of often transient European centres of economic activity in the broader Wenlock region, including pastoral ventures, Native Mounted Police camps, mining and prospecting, as well as the establishment of the telegraph line. Any European infrastructure constructed during this period was built within a context of ongoing violence.

The key trends in the spatial results outlined above indicate that there is little evidence of a spatial relationship between the steel cut CMTs to centres of European economic activity during this period. The average distance of CMTs to centres of European economic activity is significant, ranging between 6 and 8km, a distance that is highly improbable for the immediate transportation of sugarbag from CMTs, which occur in a high frequency across the landscape. There are some exceptions, however; there is a significant number of woomera scarred CMTs made with steel axes in close proximity to Clayhole Creek and the Native Mounted Police camp, making an association highly probable. There appears to be extended use of the Clayhole Creek area across a number of decades during the colonial era beginning before the 1900s. It also seems that the Clayhole Creek area is a locus for the Indigenous harvesting of woomera blanks. It is likely that these woomeras are being produced in order to facilitate food collection. However, there is not enough evidence to link the harvesting of

woomera at Clayhole to only the Native Mounted Police camp in the area, as this area was also later used by stockmen that may also have produced these scars. However, their dense concentration may be an indicator of restricted movement in the landscape, something a stockman would not have suffered from, making the presence of these CMTs more likely linked to Native Mounted Police Troopers.

## **1900-1929**

This period saw an increase in more permanent European settlement and in the numbers of settler-colonists, particularly after the introduction of more organised pastoralism and an increase in alluvial and later subterranean gold mining. Overall, the distribution of CMTs relating to the sites of European economic activity during this period demonstrates a positive association. This correlation can be seen in the proximity and frequency of CMT clusters near Billycan Yards 1 and 2, near Clayhole Yards 1 and 2, Wenlock and Chock-a-Block.

Higher frequencies and low average distances of sugarbag CMTs near to centres of European economic activity are evident during this period, particularly near to Billycan Yards 1 and 2 (average of <1.8km, n=29), making a correlation likely. These densities include concentrations (n=8) of felled sugarbag CMTs near to the Wenlock Goldfields (<700m), indicating that a connection between these area is highly probable.

These spatial patterns indicate close average proximities and higher frequencies of steel cut CMTs during this period, and this is clearly evident in the frequent stump CMTs (an average n=84) close to both Billycan Yards 1 and 2 with an average distance of under 1.2km. This provides initial support for the interpretation that there is an intensification of this resource use in the vicinity of centres of European economic activity. During this period, there is a clustering of CMTs near centres of European economic activity, with definite 'hot spots' of activity close to Billycan Yards 1 and 2. These likely indicate an increase in the exploitation of this resource during this period. This may be an indication of an increase in Indigenous population in the area or in the increase in trade of sugarbag, or both. It is also very likely that due to the decrease in physical frontier violence that cross-cultural relations in this period had changed and were based upon exchange and forms of employment.

## 1930-1950s

This period saw a significant increase in the European population in the area, partially due to the Great Depression, but also due to the relative success of the gold mining operations at the Wenlock Goldfields. Importantly, during the 1930s, substantial numbers of Indigenous people were removed from the Wenlock region. However, with the outbreak of WWII the political climate of northern Australia changed dramatically, this was also the case in the study area, which was abandoned by Europeans in the 1940s and resettled by only a few mining families in the 1950s. As there are no new European centres of economic activity from the 1930s onwards, there is little benefit in the use of the proximity method to gauge any spatial relationships based upon frequency and proximity. However, this is when the densities of other archaeological material of European manufacture inform our understanding the production of these spaces.

In the grid map of the 1930s and 1940s the scale was slightly altered from the grid maps of previous decades, as the general archaeological activity has notably increased (Figure 107). This higher level of activity is particularly evident in the northern portion of the Wenlock Goldfields and reflects the influx of European settlers and the most prosperous period of mining in the area. However, by the 1940s the Wenlock Goldfields has the highest concentration of artefacts from any single decade; this is in part due to the significant quantities of dateable glass and metal from this era. The grid map for the 1940s reflect these concentrations and show three main areas or significant 'hot-spots'. These areas are focussed near the Wenlock River, the first is just to the north east of the Wenlock Goldfields, the second is near to Billycan Yards, and the third is along Weiss' Creek. These 'hot-spots' are likely indicative of areas of occupied by European and Indigenous people during this period. By the 1950s, there is a decrease in the material culture attributable to this decade, which reflects the decrease in the European population in the area.

These four forms of spatial analysis reflect the changes in the production of spatial practices in the Wenlock Region over time, from the pre-colonial period to the 1950s. These changes demonstrate an intensification in the use of sugarbag in the general area from the pre-colonial period, which is indicative of an increase in either the consumption or trade of this resource. There is also an increase in the density of general archaeological material near and in these



centres of European economic activity. It is likely that some of these areas were also occupied by Indigenous people, for instance at Weiss' Creek during this period. This would have enabled easy access for Indigenous people to potential employment and trade opportunities. It appears this may be a continuation in the way these spaces were produced in earlier decades and indicate that areas of Indigenous occupation were often in areas opposite bodies of water from centres of European economic activity.

## Chapter 9: Discussion

The purpose of this thesis was to undertake an archaeological investigation of Indigenous-settler relations in central northern Cape York Peninsula, with a focus on the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While previous desktop studies are informative (Della-Sale 2013; Morrison et al. 2018), there is a considerable gap in field-based archaeological investigations in this region. This thesis significantly expands the current body of knowledge by contributing to the discussion of cross-cultural relations, social space and the general historical, ethnohistorical and the archaeological narrative of the region. It does this by building upon the broader Australian work of Byrne (2003); Harrison (2004a, 2004b); Morrison and Shepard (2013); Murray (1996) and Paterson (2008). Within this thesis a framework of social space is constructed based upon research into cultural landscapes through the investigation of cross-cultural colonial relations. This is achieved by analysing the labour used to produce social space and by addressing the following question:

How did the Indigenous and European use of space and place change over time at the Wenlock Goldfields and what does this reveal about cross-cultural relations?

The following aims assist in answering this research question:

1. Document Indigenous-settler relations by identifying the location of archaeological sites and artefacts in order to discuss the changing nature of the relations between Europeans and Indigenous people.
2. Analyse archaeological, ethnographic and historical data to consider Indigenous-settler relations and their impact on Indigenous lifeways.
3. Draw on the resultant data to expand the interpretation of the Indigenous and European use and creation of social space.

Although dominant conceptualisations of social space marginalised the visibility of Indigenous labour, it was very present, in fact persistent, in the region. Indigenous labour is still present and visible in the conceptualised and lived spaces of the Wenlock region today.

## **Creating Social Space — Beyond Shared Histories and Landscapes**

This thesis has been used to create a narrative of the past in the Wenlock region. A fundamental part of this study has been the use of Lefebvre's (1991) concept of social space and the consideration of how it is conceptualised and how these spaces reflect social relations and articulate with the means of production. Crucially, it explores the idea that social space is produced by society; this, in turn, means that during colonialism, the social space that is produced changes as these societies change and this is manifested in cultural landscapes. This study has attempted to record these changes in the Wenlock region.

The following discussion of the results are not presented in chronological order but rather within space, which is structured first by the Kuuku I'yu clan area in which they are located, then the European name for the area. This portion of the chapter focuses upon the latter half of the first and the second aim of the project. It will expand the discussion and documentation of the location and purpose of archaeological sites in the Wenlock region through the exploration of changing economic and cultural dynamics. It will address the second aim of the project by synthesising the archaeological, ethnographic and historical data and discussing how intercultural relations, Indigenous lifeways and spatial practices changed in the Wenlock region over time.

Cultural persistence is a form of opposition that is evident in the continued production of social space through labour. This is demonstrated in a number of ways within the study area including the continuation of classical lifeways, such as the harvesting of sugarbag, the production of woomera and the use of Indigenous languages and place names. However, analysing how the landscape was produced can assist in seeing how these complex cross-cultural relations altered previous landscape use. Opposition to the colonial process is more subtle and complex than can be observed within represented spaces but can be seen within spatial practices. It is through the synthesis of spatial practices and represented spaces the lived spaces of cultural persistence can contribute to the decolonised spaces within spaces of representation.

The production of spatial practices is evident in the physical remnants within the study area, from the use of pre-colonial technology (lithic material and stone cut CMTs) to the material culture left in the area by the Native Mounted Police, miners and pastoralists (mining

equipment, bottles, stockyards). These remnants create a complex layering of physical sites in the landscape of the Wenlock. As CMTs are now known to exist within this landscape, these sites indicate the persistence of Indigenous lifeways into colonial social spaces or represented spaces.

Spatial practices are reflective of labour within the cultural landscape and, although it is difficult to establish the ethnicity of those who laboured in a particular space or at a particular site in the colonial archaeological record, this interpretation can be supplemented by the historical and ethnographic records. It is the persistence of Indigenous lifeways through spatial practices, or labour, that have produced a number of these social spaces.

Subsequently, it is these spatial practices that create a tension, through contradiction, with represented spaces which can then progress to produce spaces of representation.

### **Kanthanampu — Lockhart River**

Research into the early stages of the sandalwood industry at Lockhart River provides considerable insight into at least one example of early inter-cultural relations in the region. Hugh Giblett was a sandalwood merchant who based his operations at Lloyd Bay, near Lockhart River. There had been previous substantial interaction with trepang fisherman sandalwood traders in the Lockhart area who had interacted with the Indigenous inhabitants at least several decades before the arrival of Hugh Giblett (Chase 1980a). However, the impact of the sandalwood trade in Cape York Peninsula was widespread, as it employed large numbers of Indigenous people including whole families.

Historical sources indicate that the sandalwood industry based at Lockhart River had a direct impact on the Wenlock region. The map published in the *Queensland Government Mining Journal* (Figure 52, Chapter 5) in 1910 indicates that the area of Weiss' creek to the north of the Wenlock River was followed closely by Indigenous sandalwood harvesters and it is possible there were regular colonial-era Indigenous camps in this vicinity. It is highly possible that these sandalwood cutters (who were likely Indigenous people working for Hugh Giblett) contributed to the material culture in these areas.

Giblett appears to have been integrated into the social and economic life of the Indigenous people of the region, and it would seem that he may have used his position to leverage Indigenous labour for his sandalwood operations. These intercultural relations were likely exploitative but also contained an element of 'boss' culture as discussed by Anderson (1983), where a European 'employer' was considered as a type of resource and association with this 'boss' figure provided significant social status and economic benefits for Indigenous people. Crucially, it seems that the social role of these European 'bosses' is not wholly an extension of pre-colonial era Indigenous 'big men' (Chase 1984:116), as famous 'big men' were 'loners' and lived in isolation to avoid the petty conflicts of day-to-day life. However, if they were not famous 'big men' they were also expected to mediate conflicts and be listened to regarding the everyday lives of the group (Chase 1984). However, it is likely that the role of Indigenous 'bosses' such as Friday Wilson and Pluto likely had some similarities to classical era 'big men' roles. It is apparent that within these employment relations Friday Wilson also had the ability to exploit other Indigenous people, as he left some wages unpaid (Anon 1943). These employment relations possibly took the form of 'boss' to 'employee', as Friday Wilson was an Indigenous man who was raised, educated and trained by Europeans. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that in general the labour relations in the Wenlock region were based upon power discrepancies reinforced by colonialism.

There are various references to the annual Coen races as an important event in the lives of Indigenous people in the wider region, as it was a chance for people to meet (Brown 2003). These races appear to have been one of the only times Indigenous people were allowed to draw on their wages (to bet on the race). It would also seem that these races held an element of pride and status for Indigenous people, as they wanted to be seen with their 'boss' as his success, wealth and status was reflective of their own (Chase 1972). Within the consideration of labour, economic and cultural intersections, the European as the 'boss' is a continuing theme in the region. The intricacies of the labour relations (for example contracts or pay rates) between European and Indigenous people are likely lost or never existed in the first place, particularly in the Wenlock region as many labour agreements existed outside the official channels. However, the role of Indigenous 'bosses' such as Friday Wilson and possibly Pluto raises the possibility that some labour relations in the area were not solely based on ethnicity, but also education and the ability to assimilate into European culture. These labour relations demonstrate a form of cultural entanglement that highlights changing

labour practices. It is these social relations that are reflected in the production of social space, and, without the persistence of Indigenous labour in the Wenlock region, European industries would have failed much sooner.

The Lockhart River Mission was established in 1924, the year after Hugh Giblett's death. This timing is significant, as the religious nature of the mission changed the pattern of intercultural relations that were established during Giblett's lifetime, as there were no more rumours of harems or supplying the Indigenous population with alcohol or opium. It is probable that with the establishment of the mission the role of a European 'boss' at Lockhart declined. However, this dynamic is likely to have altered depending upon the character of the superintendent at the time. With little funding, there was still reliance upon bush food and on Indigenous men seeking work outside the mission. With various mission superintendents (and equally varied approaches) across its lifespan, the mission's focus in the region changed significantly, from survival to religious indoctrination, cultural assimilation and finally assisting the inhabitants to achieve economic independence.

Indigenous labour was used to establish and continue the life of the mission, and this included farming, fishing and construction work. However, often the conditions for Indigenous fishermen working on boats run by Europeans, Japanese and Indonesian captains were terrible. Many Indigenous fishermen were not paid at all, confined to the boats and even marooned on islands far from their homelands, and Indigenous women often exchanged sex for tobacco and other goods (Chase 1984). However, working for Hugh Giblett and within the mission environment likely led to a different dynamic of interaction, both from classical social structures and the fishing industry, as Indigenous people were relatively free to come and go (Chase 1984:106) (See Chapter 5). The evidence suggests that cross-cultural relations between Indigenous people and sandalwood traders such as Hugh Giblett appear to have contained elements of exploitation and structural inequality, however they were also co-operative in nature. This pattern of cross-cultural relations appears to have continued in Lockhart as the missions were established.

## Nhanthanji — Clayhole Creek

Clayhole Creek was a place that has had a number of purposes over time. These have produced a multilayered social space that reflects the complexity of the region's history. Historical sources indicate that the Native Mounted Police used Clayhole intermittently during the years 1887–1897; this is supported by the location of a small stone foundation at the site. The Native Mounted Police in the Wenlock region had a dramatic impact on the lives of the Kuuku I'yu and other Indigenous groups in the region. As an extension of colonial policy in Queensland the Native Mounted Police implemented a number of massacres in the Wenlock region, as evidenced by the multiple 'dispersals' led by Sub Inspector Urquhart in May and June of 1889. From this time onward, it seems that the intercultural dynamics in the area are altered, and no violence is recorded as being perpetrated against a European until the killing of William Baird in 1894. The later police presence in the Wenlock region involved numerous violent removals of Indigenous people to Palm Island, Yarrabah, Lockhart and other missions in the 1930s and continued until the 1950s (Copland 2005).

The current Clayhole Yards 1 is also adjacent to a track used by sandalwood cutters, who would have passed through the area (Anon 1910). However, the most prominent pastoral remnants in the area are Clayhole Yards (1 and 2), which reflect the operation of the pastoral industry in the vicinity after the Native Mounted Police had left. There are other archaeological remains in the Clayhole area, including an early glass scatter, dating the use of this site to 1910, and a significant number of woomera CMTs.

Woomera scars located during this study in the Wenlock region were all created with steel axes, which indicates that they originate from during the colonial era and may be an indication of a change in spatial practices. The harvesting of woomeras is consistent with historical sources (Fisher 1998) that show Indigenous men using both spears and woomeras with proficiency in the 1930s. Woomera use and production in the wider region has also been verified in this study through various ethnographic collections. Despite the introduction of firearms to the area, these tools would have still been used to hunt well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indigenous people employed as Native Mounted Police, in the pastoral and in mining industries would have been required to hunt for their food, as wages were so low. Ultimately this is also what made Indigenous people attractive to European employers, as they were

often expected to cater to their own needs, particularly when away from stations (Cohen 1988; May 1994).

In the study area, there is a wide distribution of steel cut woomera CMTs, yet there is a distinct dense concentration of woomera CMTs near Clayhole Yards that likely span several decades, these dense areas of woomera CMTs at Clayhole are reflective of the persistence of Indigenous lifeways in the region. This evidence indicates both the persistent presence of Indigenous people in the region and highlights Indigenous invisibility in the colonial historical record. This disparity between these two forms of evidence emphasises the tensions between spatial practices and colonial represented spaces.

Another unique pattern evident in the spatial analysis of woomera CMTs at Clayhole is the high density of multiple woomera scars on individual CMTs, which is distinctive in this area. While this multiple removal technique is evident in two CMTs outside of the Clayhole vicinity, and so is not exclusive to the area, however, the relative density ( $n=7$ ) of these CMTs at Clayhole show a relative increase in the exploitation of this material in this area. This suggests that these multiply scarred woomera CMTs may have been harvested at a time when movement was restricted (perhaps due to violence), or alternatively may relate to the presence of the Native Mounted Police in the area, who would have been tied to their camps for periods of time.

### **Nhanthanji/Wa'tanchi — Pine Tree Station 1 and 2**

In the Wenlock region, pastoralism has been in evidence since the 1880s, consequently, the social relations that were produced in relation to the pastoral industry were crucial to the production of social space in the area. The early settler Pat Fox employed Indigenous stockmen from the 1880s until he left in the early 1900s. Pat Fox is recorded as droving his untamed stock with his Indigenous employees to sale (Lowenstein 1971). The dynamic between Indigenous and European people in the Wenlock region changed considerably during Pat Fox's time. The European response to the killing of Edmund Watson in 1889 was disproportionate, and many Indigenous people in the region were killed in retribution. It appears that Fox changed his behaviour from this time onwards and had no permanent house, no station and no large stores for rations. The large creek to the south of the Wenlock River is



still named after Pat Fox, and it is likely that perhaps some remnants of his pastoral activity and occupation may be located here, although none was located during this study.

From the mid-1950s onward, pastoralism became a larger scale industry, and in the Wenlock area it involved no direct settlement but only occasional mustering, as the region is well watered but peripheral to the larger stations to the west. The delineation of an Aboriginal Reserve to the east of the Wenlock Goldfields would have also meant that this area was not used for commercial purposes. However, the open style cattle runs of the region mean that stray cattle would have required mustering from the reserve and consequently pastoralism has maintained a presence in the area for some years. To some extent, neighbouring stations continue this today, as cattle are regularly mustered off the Kuuku I'yu Homelands by helicopter. The decline of settler pastoralism meant much less direct interaction between Europeans and Indigenous people at the Wenlock, and by the mid-1950s many Kuuku I'yu people were largely living between Coen and Lockhart. The presence of Indigenous stockmen in the area would have continued well into the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and several Indigenous families maintained a presence in the region.

The evidence suggests that, despite the inherent structural inequality apparent in colonial interactions, the cross-cultural relations between pastoralists and Indigenous people in the Wenlock region, after initial conflict in the 1880s and 1890s, were generally non-hostile and were often co-operative, and may have continued but redefined the pre-colonial 'boss' role for European employers. However, with the exception of Pat Fox until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were also no permanent pastoral activity in the Wenlock region. The later pastoral remnants that have significant densities of steel cut CMTs clustered nearby and may be indicative of these non-hostile cross-cultural interactions.

### **Wa'tanchi — Bairdsville**

The early social space at the mining centre of Bairdsville (which was active for only a brief period between 1892 and 1894) was likely a product of the tension that already existed in the region between early pastoralists and Indigenous people, compounded by the presence of the Native Mounted Police. After the death of William Baird, there was no other recorded incidence of violence against Europeans by Indigenous people; this is likely due to extreme acts of violent retribution, or the general non-recording of such acts.

No archaeological evidence of Bairdsville was located during this study, and the spatial results indicate a negative relationship between CMTs and the Bairdsville Goldfields. If anything, the lack of steel cut CMTs may be an indication that Indigenous people avoided the area near Bairdsville, or that Indigenous people were deliberately kept out of the vicinity. It is feasible that further pedestrian survey of this area may find additional indications of occupation originating to this period.

### **Chuula — Billycan Yards 1 and 2**

The data collected and analysed regarding this area indicate a long period of Indigenous use of these spaces, likely with fluctuations over time. Most of the stockyards at Billycan Yards were likely made by Indigenous stockmen to aid in mustering stock in the region. The stockyards recorded during this survey were all located near year-round water sources and used local Cooktown Ironwood (*Erythrophleum chlorostachys*) to construct post and rail fencing. The harvesting and modification of Cooktown Ironwood to create fence posts and stockyards would have been extremely taxing on any tool used for this purpose. The stockyards at Billycan appear to have been constructed over a period dating from the 1900s to the 1930s-1940s.

There were numerous fence posts located throughout the study area, often these were along old tracks, or near to the remnants of stockyards and may have been strung with wire, indicated by holes drilled through them. There is a group of fence posts on the south side of the Wenlock River opposite Billycan Yards that may be related to pastoralism, as the south side of the river also has access to large lagoons. It is probable that these posts formed a fence, sometimes known as a ‘wing’, which was used to muster cattle, similar to examples recorded at the former Wiepa Mission (Morrison et al. 2015:96) and may have been used to stop cattle crossing the Wenlock River when it was in flood. They do not align with any pastoral map of the region and do not reflect a boundary between cattle runs or properties.

At present, the stockyards at Billycan are difficult to date precisely, as they display little in the way of diagnostic technology. As Pat Fox sold his stock from Pine Tree Station in the early 1900s and was known for not building any yards on the Pine Tree Runs in his time there, the stockyards within the study area likely post-date the sale. However, based on the poorer preservation of Billycan Yard 1, it is likely older than Billycan Yard 2. Billycan Yards

1 and 2 are both located near to Plutoville and the Wenlock Goldfields and are very near the north-eastern boundary of the state-owned York Downs in 1920 (Anon 1920). Consequently, these yards may have been used to muster stock from the east back towards the Wenlock River and served to hold them at Wenlock.

There are clusters of CMTs with greater numbers of scars to the south of the Wenlock River and closer to centres of European economic activity. This is particularly true of clusters near and to the south of Billycan Yards 1 and 2. Within the sugarbag CMT category for the decade 1910-1920, the proximity data indicate a significant number of this CMT type within a distance of <1.8km from both Billycan 1 and Billycan 2. The felled sugarbag CMT (log) category for this period shows a similar pattern with high frequencies (n=16+) within an average distance of approximately 2km from both Billycan 1 and Billycan 2. This pattern of close average proximities and high frequencies of steel cut CMTs is continued within the CMT stump category. A particularly high frequency of axe marked stump CMTs (50+) was recorded nearest to both Billycan Yards 1 and 2 with an average distance of under 1.2km and may be related to the construction of the stockyards themselves. Overall, this data indicates that there was an escalation of the creation of CMTs in the vicinity of Billycan Yards 1 and 2 in the decades of the 1910s and 1920s. This demonstrates the Indigenous pre-colonial practice of harvesting sugarbag, was continued, and escalated during this period.

This pattern of CMT proximity and frequency of steel cut sugarbag CMTs to centres of European economic activity at Billycan Yards is also true across the general study area and indicates that the harvesting of this resource likely peaked in the decades of the 1910s and 1920s. Previous to this there is little verification of the intensified use of this resource type, this is likely evidence for a change in both how the landscape was exploited either for trade or consumption and how the mobility of the Kuuku I'yu changed during the colonial era. This is evidenced by the even spatial distribution of stone cut sugarbag CMTs, and the dense clusters of multiple, felled and large aperture steel cut sugarbag CMTs near centres of European economic activity. During this decade, there were also still shops in the area to trade with and before the European population peaked due to the Depression in the area (as this provided Indigenous employment opportunities). It should also be taken into account that sugarbag is only harvested from July to January (Chapter 4) which may indicate that these areas were not used as frequently by Indigenous people during the late wet or early dry seasons when 'classical' resources were scarcer.

This narrowing of the proximity and frequency of steel cut sugarbag CMTs during these two decades is important because it demonstrates a peak period of a certain type of cross-cultural interaction within the landscape of the Wenlock region. This shows that the Indigenous people of the Wenlock region maintained enough agency, despite asymmetrical power relations, to trade for other produced goods through the persistence of classical lifeways. However, by the 1930s it would appear that Indigenous removals in the area (Copland 2005:222) and violence towards Indigenous people (O'Leary 1933) had increased again. This combined with changes in government policy and the influx of European workers to the area during the Great Depression likely also caused other changes to these cross-cultural dynamics and social spaces. These changes during the 1930s may have also contributed to a decline of sugarbag production.

By drawing upon ethnographic sources in the Wenlock region, the harvesting of sugarbag is documented a number of times. Indigenous people referred to the road to New Lockhart as 'sugarbag road' (Smith 2005:34). This road was first constructed in the 1920s to carry machinery and supplies to the Wenlock Goldfield from Portland Roads and also coincided with the establishment of the 'new' Lockhart River Mission. This road made travel in the region with or without a vehicle much quicker and it is likely that this enabled Indigenous people to travel 'sugarbag road' from the coast to the Wenlock region.

Ethnographic evidence recorded by Smith (2005b:138) in an interview with George Wilson reports that it is likely that some Kuuku I'yu people would not have consumed sugarbag away from the tree from which it was harvested, as there were classical cultural prohibitions against this practice. This prohibition is not recorded by any of the classical ethnographers in the region (McConnel 1930a; Sharp 1952; Thomson 1939b). However, these ethnographies were all written between the 1930s and mid 1950s. It is possible with this prohibition in mind that the concentrations of CMTs, particularly sugarbag CMTs near both mining and pastoral sites, are the result of trade with Europeans and not produced exclusively for immediate Indigenous consumption (David Claudie pers. comm. 2015; Smith 2005:32). However, it is more likely that non-Kuuku I'yu speakers or even Indigenous people from other clan estates were beginning to concentrate in the Wenlock region as transportation (via 'sugarbag road') was quicker and there were potential employment and trade opportunities (Smith 2005:32). This concentration of Indigenous people could also have led to the increased harvesting of sugarbag during this period. Similar concentrations of multi-language groups of Indigenous

people during the colonial era are also recorded in the greater region near to centres of European economic activity, particularly missions and towns. Elsewhere the concentration of Indigenous populations in 'urban' centres led to numerous social issues regarding the ignoring of classical cultural prohibitions (e.g. Chase 1984; Smith 2000). These spatial practices in the Wenlock region indicate a continuation of classical Indigenous lifeways through the harvesting of sugarbag with steel axes. However, it may also demonstrate a very localised change in how and perhaps why this resource was exploited.

The sugarbag CMT aperture size data are varied in relation to both Billycan Yard 1 (n=16, average distance 1.7km, average aperture size 299cm) and Billycan Yard 2 (n=17, average distance 1.2km, average aperture size 178cm). This calculation takes into account the closest sugarbag CMTs and includes those on the opposite bank of the Wenlock River. The high numbers and low average distances of sugarbag CMTs demonstrates a concentration in the area of the yards. The main concentration of the multiple scarred sugarbag CMTs is in the area opposite the yards on the southern bank of the Wenlock. This may be an indication of a micro-variation in this area; where in an earlier period the sugarbag was harvested semi-intensely near the stockyards themselves and in a later period they were harvested more intensely in the areas that were frequently reused on the opposite side of the Wenlock as historical sources suggest (Fisher 1998:41). It also possible that these multiple scarred sugarbag CMTs are an indication of a lack of mobility in the landscape and may be linked to larger encampments of elderly people who were forcibly removed during the 1930s (Copland 2005).

Morrison and Shepard (2013) argue that as the colonial process advanced there was an intensification of the harvesting of sugarbag. This led to larger aperture scars in sugarbag CMTs to extract more honey and later to the felling of sugarbag CMTs to get even more honey. The mean aperture size (145cm<sup>2</sup>) for sugarbag CMTs recorded in the Weipa region by Morrison and Shepard (2013) is based on a significantly larger dataset (n=333) than the present study (n=78). However, the mean aperture area for the current study was significantly larger than the results on the western coast of the Peninsula (221cm<sup>2</sup>). When the current results are broken down by proximity to historical features, the mean aperture sizes cover a broad range from 127cm<sup>2</sup> to 299cm<sup>2</sup>. The mapping of these results (Figure 101) demonstrates that there are clusters of smaller aperture sugarbag CMTs found near the older centres of European activity, indicating that there was an intensification in the harvesting of honey, both

near these sites and at younger centres. This mapping also shows that there are also clusters of smaller aperture sugarbag CMTs found on the opposite banks of the Wenlock River from major centres of European activity (Billycan Yards and Wenlock Goldfields). These results support the findings of Morrison and Shepard (2013) and also indicate that rivers may have been used as a social barrier by Indigenous people.

At Billycan Yards 2 there is also a moderate number (n=10) of woomera CMTs within an average distance of 890m. This patterning is consistent with a possible link between woomera CMTs and the other pastoral site (Clayhole Yards) in the study area. This evidence would support the hypothesis that Indigenous pastoral workers were producing woomera while based in the Wenlock region and is another example of the persistence of a classical Indigenous lifeway into the colonial period.

At Billycan Yards 1 and 2, it is evident that glass dated to the 1930s and 1940s dominates the surface assemblage, with some earlier (1910-1920) examples of beer bottles in the vicinity. This evidence is consistent with the long-term use of these areas from the early-20<sup>th</sup> century until the 1940s. All three types of ‘medicine’ bottles located during this project would have been used to treat a variety of ailments, from headaches and stomach problems to constipation. These European forms of medicine were in common use during the early colonial period throughout rural and metropolitan Queensland. The practice of medicine was rudimentary in the region and injuries were common and were often treated at the Wenlock (Brown 2003). The location of these products informs us firstly that they were available in the area, that users could afford to buy them and that European medicines were in use. It is possible that these medicine bottles were purchased from shops at Plutoville. However, there is no evidence within the historical record at this stage to corroborate this. The grid maps near Billycan Yards 1 and 2 show increasing densities of material culture produced by Europeans from the 1910s (Figure 105) until the 1940s (Figure 108), possibly indicating an increase in population (which was true in the general area until the late 1930s) but also possibly increased consumption during this period.

## **Chuula — Chock-a-Block**

Chock-a-Block, a mining centre within the Chuula clan area, was first officially recorded as being found by an Indigenous man, Pluto, in 1905 (de Havelland 1989:537). However, Ambrose Boyd is also known to have found gold in the same area in 1902 (Bawyang 1941:2). Mining at Chock-a-Block has always been alluvial and on a relatively small scale. Another Indigenous miner visible in the historical record of the Wenlock region was Friday Wilson, who operated a sluicing claim at Chock-a-Block in the 1930s, he was officially exempt from the *Aboriginal Protection Act* and was able to employ and also not pay, other Indigenous people (Denaro and Morwood 1992:17).

According to the historical record, Chock-a-Block was peripheral to the main European occupation of the area by the 1930s (Table 25). The early decline of Chock-a-Block increases the likelihood of the creation of steel cut CMTs near to this site in the decades before the 1930s. When we consider the steel cut CMT proximity results for Chock-a-Block in the decades 1900-1920, some of the results are significant.

The spatial data indicates that during the decade from 1900 to 1910 the distribution of steel cut sugarbag CMTs compared to the known centres of European mining activity remains relatively static. However, during this decade at Chock-a-Block, the proximity data indicates a significant drop in the average distance from the previous decade for sugarbag (from 4km to 2.7km) and felled sugarbag CMTs (logs) (from 6.2km to 3.5km), making an increased correlation between Chock-a-Block and this CMT type more likely during this decade. This means that it is likely that there was an increase in cross-cultural interaction through the trade of sugarbag during this decade.

The frequency of CMTs near to Chock-a-Block also drops during this decade, meaning that a portion of these CMTs have been designated (by the GIS analysis) to a closer site of European economic activity, for example Plutoville. When compared to the densities of CMTs near the Wenlock Goldfields the average distances from this decade seem large, yet as Nichol Creek is the closest year-round water source to Chock-a-Block, this difference is put into context. Of note at Chock-a-Block are two steel cut sugarbag trees near the main mining area. There is also a high proportion of CMT stumps in the area surrounding Chock-a-Block, meaning these may have been exploited when felled and have since decayed.

Indications of the increased harvesting of CMTs is also evident in the aperture data for this area, where the aperture of 14 sugarbag CMTs had a high average area of 262cm<sup>2</sup> when compared to other European centres of economic activity in the Wenlock. Although this is the case, there is still a concentration of sugarbag CMTs with small aperture scars in the vicinity of Chock-a-Block (see Figure 101). This means that there are some sugarbag CMTs with apertures much greater than the average near Chock-a-Block. However, the majority of sugarbag CMTs near Chock-a-Block have only a single sugarbag scar, indicating less intensive exploitation over multiple occasions than the CMTs near the Wenlock River.

Overall, the CMTs near Chock-a-Block appear to indicate a prolonged use of this resource. This is seen through a decrease in the average distance of CMT, the range of sugarbag CMT apertures from small to very large which appear to have been intensely harvested in a single event. The evidence indicates that it is very probable that some of these CMTs date from the first decade of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to a later period such as the 1930s when the mine was less active. This is likely an indicator of cross-cultural interaction during this period. It is possible that the later exploitation of sugarbag CMTs at Chock-a-Block may intersect with the period that Friday Wilson held a lease for the area.

## **Chuula — Plutoville**

The social space of Plutoville is firstly marked by its naming, and Pluto is by far the most visible Indigenous man in the intercultural historical record of mining in the region. He would become best known for his discovery of Plutoville (or the Upper Camp) in 1910. It would seem that Pluto had a chequered past which included criminal convictions. However, he was still employed by various Europeans in the region including Charlie Weiss and Wade Robinson, mainly as a prospector (Brown 2003). According to Elwood (2014), Pluto was also an employer of Indigenous people in the Wenlock region and had a potentially fictitious European partner named Anderson. It is, however, unlikely that Pluto had any major labour demands at his alluvial claim, but if he did, they would have been temporary and unofficial.

After the initial rush at the Plutoville Goldfield, the field was the focus of mining activity in the area until approximately 1915, when gold was discovered at the Batavia (Wenlock) Goldfield. After this period, mining at Plutoville was only intermittent. By 1916, when the



alluvial gold at the Wenlock appeared to have been exhausted, several miners returned to Plutoville, but by the 1930s there was only one miner occasionally working a claim (E.K.P. 1940).

The presence of modern mining equipment at Plutoville corroborates with other historical material (Denaro and Morwood 1992) which indicates that modern mining (post-1960s) took place in this area, along with significant site disturbance. However, likely occupation areas for miners would have been near the river, ephemeral lagoons and near small clusters of mango trees apparently planted during this period (of which there are still some located near the river at Plutoville and the Wenlock Goldfield). This location would also place them upstream from the stockyards at Billycan that were likely contemporaneous, giving the miners access to cleaner water. Little evidence of occupation was located near Plutoville, perhaps due to recent mining or river flooding.

There were three general shops in the Plutoville area and it is likely that these were the focus of trade for a number of miners and Indigenous people. If, as in other areas of the Cape York Peninsula, sugarbag was used by Indigenous people as a trade good with Europeans (Morrison et al. 2010), there is a possible link between sugarbag CMTs and the ‘deals’ made by Indigenous people in the vicinity (Smith 2005). However, at this stage detailed historical evidence is lacking.

There is evidence of two stone cut sugarbag CMTs in close relation to Plutoville, both occur on the hill to the north of the mining centre, but due to the late commencement of mining at Plutoville, these are most likely to predate the settlement. Comparatively, Plutoville is a later site in the colonial record of the region, and by the decade 1910-1920 most of the other European sites of economic activity were already established. Regarding the steel cut CMT distribution and frequency, this makes the analysis of this decade onwards the most accurate. This also means that any Indigenous occupation sites in relation to Plutoville were likely already established as well, and the short distance to Billycan Yards from Plutoville may mean that some of the activity there (or on the opposite bank of the Wenlock) is also related to the establishment of Plutoville.

The aperture data for sugarbag CMTs closest ( $n=14$ , average distance 4km, average aperture size 163cm) to Plutoville, indicates a moderate number of CMTs at a high distance from the

site, suggesting that a correlation is highly improbable. This may be due to Plutoville being the furthest east of the historical centres and all CMTs in a large area will be considered in relation to it. A moderate number of felled sugarbag (logs) (n=13) are closer to Plutoville than any other historical site. However, with large average distances (4.7km), it is highly improbable that these CMTs have a positive correlation with the mining site. There are 24 CMT stumps much closer (2km) to Plutoville, perhaps being a greater indicator of this resource use and possible intensification. However, considering the mainly alluvial nature of mining at Plutoville, it is also possible that these CMT stumps are related to the construction of stock yards at nearby Billycan Yards. There is only one woomera CMT in close (250m) proximity to Plutoville, this and may be related to the production of food gathering technology in the area.

Other cultural material located near Plutoville includes one piece of glass from the 1930s and scatters of metal likely associated with the modern mining. There were several metal telegraph poles located to the north of the current road and to the west of Plutoville, and it is probable that these formed a portion of the telegraph line that was extended through the area during WWII to the Iron Range Airfield (Sheehy 1987). The Fisher brothers dismantled much of this line in the early 1950s, and a number of these steel telegraph poles have been adaptively re-used in present day buildings in the region.

### **Chuula — Batavia/Wenlock Goldfields**

The Wenlock Goldfields were active from 1915 until the mid-1950s and show the highest concentration of material culture in the study area. This evidence reflects the Wenlock Goldfields becoming a major mining centre in the Cape York Peninsula, consequently, there is a complex and multilayered narrative of the past at this place. Kitty Pluto is a major figure in the historical record due to her discovery of the Wenlock (Batavia) Goldfields in 1915. Part of the historical narrative of the past in this area is related to Indigenous employment, yet research undertaken here suggests that Kitty Pluto never worked the Wenlock Goldfields. However, the Fishers, who operated the Black Cat Mines, had Indigenous ‘helpers’ (Fisher 1998). The official labour performed by Indigenous men took the form of cutting and gathering the wood required for the steam engines that were crucial to the running of the equipment for the mine. These Indigenous ‘helpers’ were employed through the Aboriginal

Protector. In reality, Indigenous people were employed as couples, and the women were unpaid and would perform domestic work (child minding, cleaning, tending the animals).

The metal objects recorded at the Wenlock Goldfields fell into two major categories; mining related material and occupation related material. By far the densest cluster is at the most intensely mined areas of the Wenlock Goldfields. Within this metal scatter there is also a denser area of mining equipment in the northern portion of the field with a date range between 1920-1950, as this was when the non-alluvial deposits of the gold field were exploited.

The amount of metal mining equipment and related machinery at the Wenlock Goldfield is significant. Much of this belonged to two of the last groups that were known to have worked the subterranean lead after the reestablishment of the gold fields post-WWII, Larson Consolidated and Black Cat Amalgamated (Lennon and Pearce 1996:510) . Many of these metal artefacts are large and heavy machinery pieces and therefore would be difficult to remove, although as noted during the course of this study each year things ‘disappear’ from the gold field courtesy of tourists and prospectors. The large number of fuel barrels located which included one large dump near the Wenlock Goldfields, may be in part explained by the exiting of US troops from the Cape York Peninsula, who left barrels of fuel and molasses behind (Fisher 1998).

It is evident that glass dated to the 1930s and 1940s also dominates the Wenlock Goldfield. The probable content of the glass located during this study is telling of the overall pattern of consumption in the study area, with alcohol, particularly beer, forming a significant proportion of the collection. This is also the period where the population of the gold fields was at its highest.

The recorded condiment jars and bottles indicate that the European based diet of the Wenlock required seasoning and has parallels with other remote sites in Australia (Paterson 2008:90). Historical accounts of the Wenlock also indicate that there was a heavy meat-based diet among the miners in the area (Fisher 1998). This is consistent with the large number of club sauce bottles located near the Wenlock goldfields (Tutchener et al. 2017).

Historical sources (Fisher 1998:40) indicate that in general, despite asymmetrical power relations, cross-cultural interaction with miners in the Wenlock region, after the early period of mining in the area in the 1880s and 1890s, were generally non-violent (there are no recorded killings) and were often co-operative. The archaeological evidence supports this in the form of steel cut CMTs that are clustered near mining centres after the 1890s. In general, there are more CMTs in and around the Wenlock Goldfield than other historical centres in the study area, with the exception of Billycan Yards. As the major European mining and occupation hub of the area, these CMTs demonstrate that there is a persistence of the production of classical Indigenous lifeways within an otherwise ‘colonial’ space. The proximity data for sugarbag CMTs in relation to the Wenlock Goldfields indicate that there is likely a positive correlation between the Batavia/Wenlock Goldfield and eight sugarbag CMTs with an average distance of under 650m. Felled sugarbag CMTs as a subset of sugarbag CMTs show a similar pattern in relation to other mining centres. There is also some indication of the intensification of this CMT type at the Wenlock Goldfield as all eight of the sugarbag CMTs recorded nearby are felled sugarbag CMTs (logs). As a later mining centre in the region this is consistent with Morrison and Shepard’s (2013) results. The high frequency of stumps and felled sugarbag CMTs (logs) relatively close to the Wenlock Goldfields could be an indicator that at least some of the stumps in this category are a later stage of sugarbag reduction that have degraded. The presence of these stumps close to the Wenlock Goldfields may also be the result of heavy vegetation clearing in the area. There is a lack of multiple scarred sugarbag CMTs in proximity to the Wenlock Goldfield which may be an indication that there was not a gradual increase in the use of this resource in association with the mining in the area. There is no doubt that the Wenlock Goldfield was a hub of cross-cultural activity for many years and this has resulted in a place that reflects these varied and intertwined spatial practices.

The Wenlock Goldfield also shows a small concentration of woomera scarred CMTs (n=5) with a proximity of under 600m. This shows a clear connection between the Wenlock and this site type. However, unlike the concentration of woomera CMTs at Clayhole, there is only one example of a woomera CMT with more than one of this type of scar, indicating a much lower level of the re-use of existing CMTs for producing woomera.

The grid maps show a gradual increase in the density of cultural material at the Wenlock Goldfields (Figure 105 – Figure 108). This analysis begins with the dateable archaeological

material from the 1920s, however these densities of material culture change over time. From 1915 onwards until the decline of the gold fields in the 1950s, the Wenlock Goldfield becomes a hub of European economic activity, and this is revealed in the densities of material culture at this site. Importantly for the region, by 1937 there was an airstrip established at the Wenlock, which allowed for the delivery of food, mail, people and medical resources. This increase in material culture dated to this decade corresponds to the historical records (Brown 2003; Reynolds 1933) that indicates that these were the ‘boom’ years of the Wenlock Goldfields.

The grid map for the 1940s (Figure 108) reflects the highest concentrations of dateable artefact densities and indicate that the Wenlock Goldfield is one of three significant ‘hot-spots’ for the decade. Contributing to these high artefact concentrations is glass, as the date of manufacture for beer bottles during this era is clear and makes accurate dating simple. This pattern is contrasted with the lack of glass at the Wenlock Goldfield from the 1950s and is reflective of a general decline in the population in the area. The grid map for the 1950s at the Wenlock Goldfield reflects this reduction but demonstrates continued activity at the Wenlock Goldfield. Much of this is due to the remnants of abandoned mining machinery and objects (glass and metal) that could only be dated to a period (1930 to 1950) rather than a single decade.

### **Chuula — Weiss’ Creek**

This area of the Wenlock has a long history of Indigenous use, and the production of this space has further potential to demonstrate the complexity of cross-cultural relations in the area. The majority of the lithic material located during this study was clustered along the banks of Weiss’ Creek, a secondary tributary of the Wenlock River. Much of this material appears, due to the high percentage of (water-worn) cortex on analysed artefacts, to have been sourced from local waterways. There were no areas containing lithic material near the Wenlock River, however, it is possible that these areas have been altered significantly by flood waters and vegetation over time. This study has used the location of this lithic material to highlight the areas where there are examples of pre-colonial technological activity. These areas are not interpreted as exclusively having been created during the pre-colonial period and may well date to a later period. Instead, these places are understood as being an extension of ‘classical’ or pre-colonial lifeways.

Weiss's Creek had the highest density of Indigenous artefacts that reflect pre-colonial lifeways in the area; this is because several of the GPS points represent a lithic scatter of numerous artefacts. It was common during this study to find lithic material in deflations or eroded areas; this may be due to the movement of these objects from hydroturbation exposing artefacts in situ or conversely moving them downslope. These results are also somewhat biased because, although there was pedestrian survey coverage extended away from water sources, rivers, creeks and ridgelines were the primary focus of this investigation as this fits the general pattern of human occupation. This focus on waterways as a survey strategy has since been supported by the recent results of investigations on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula near Weipa, which established a strong correlation between lithic material and water (Shiner et al. 2018).

The general pattern of produced social space in the Wenlock indicates that occupation is largely reliant upon water resources, this is revealed in lithic scatters, as they were all located within 0.5km of year-round water sources. Of further interest is the proximity of these lithic scatters to either ephemeral creeks or sources of permanent water less than 20m distant. These results, when combined with ethnographic material (Smith 2005), provide strong evidence for the lithic scatters along Weiss' Creek being not merely lithic flaking production sites but also occupation sites.

There are also small dense pockets of CMTs along Weiss' Creek where Indigenous people were known to camp during the colonial period (David Claudie, Pers. Comm., August 2015). Historical sources, such as the map of sandalwood tracks through the Wenlock (Figure 52) indicate that Weiss' creek was a thoroughfare during the early colonial period. As steel axes were in use during this period a number of the CMTs in this area may be attributable to the period before 1924 (Hugh Gibett's death). There is an extended concentration of artefacts near Weiss' Creek attributable to the 1940s, and this is probably an indication of the continued presence of Indigenous people in this area during this period and may be related to the establishment of the airstrip to the east of Weiss' Creek in 1937. The continued use of this area is a physical indication that aspects of Indigenous lifeways, classical production, social space and landscape use persisted throughout the colonial process.

## **Wa'tanchi — Frog Hollow Creek**

Frog Hollow Creek is to the south of the Wenlock River and showed high concentrations of both stone and steel sugarbag CMTs. This evidence is consistent with the historical record, where Fisher (1998:43) notes the use of the areas opposite the Wenlock Goldfields by the Kuuku I'yu. In this area, occupation areas would have had access to relatively clean water all year round (despite the mining and pastoralism) and also good access to food resources (Harris 1975). The archaeological evidence indicates that the physical social space of Frog Hollow Creek to the south of the Wenlock River was produced by Indigenous people both before and during colonialism.

## **Synthesising Social Spaces**

The layering of representations of space (dominated and conceptualised social spaces, such as maps and regional histories) adds complexity to the physical places investigated during this study, as it recognises the multiple influences of social and economic drivers within the study area. To extend the logic of MacFarlane's (2010) work on entangled places, there is not one social space, but many contained within each other. This idea of entangled, intertwined and overlapping social spaces describes the complexity of these cross-cultural spaces. The following discussion will address the third aim of this project by using the data explored to expand the interpretation and conceptualisation of social space in the Wenlock region. It will do this by exploring the represented spaces, or dominant forms of social space, in the region and expand the discussion of Indigenous labour as a persistent feature of these social spaces.

The presence of CMTs is conceptualised within this study as being an indicator of the persistent presence of Indigenous people, their labour and their continued exploitation of natural resources. This persistence of classical lifeways demonstrates resilience to colonial processes and indicates that the produced social spaces are not entirely European dominated, but it also shows how the Indigenous occupation and use of this cultural landscape changed. The analysis of CMTs and lithic material also indicates that there is persistence in the use of space near year-round water sources in the Wenlock. Water plays a crucial role in the spiritual and practical lives of Indigenous and European people in Australia. However, its use as a group boundary by Indigenous people to separate European settlements and Indigenous

camps has also been identified by previous researchers (Byrne 2003; Goodall 1999; Merlan 1998). The results of this thesis support Byrne's (2003) contention that rivers can form both boundaries and conduits in colonial spaces. This is evident in the concentrations of steel cut CMTs on the southern banks of the Wenlock River opposite Billycan Yards, and the Wenlock and Plutoville Goldfields, and is also supported in the historical record (Fisher 1998:41).

Byrne (2003:181) considers the Indigenous use of space within the colonial landscape to be a type of 'in-betweenness' that is neither an overlay nor underlay to the European cadastral system. He also notes that one of the many reasons for the under-recording of Indigenous heritage-traces in the 'post-contact' period may be that they are 'poached' or created from European spaces. Byrne's (2003) argument does not seem to fit entirely with the present study area. The example used by Byrne considers the landscape of the Manning River in NSW, which is a valley that now contains farmland and pastoral holdings. In this project Byrne notes that a number of the oral accounts of this area's history involved families (and their descendants) who were friendly to Indigenous people. This example reflects the long-term European settlement of the Manning Valley that began in the 1840s.

Europeans in the current study area have had a long-term impact, but there are no long-term multi-generational permanent European settlements in the Wenlock region—the closest is Coen, almost 150km away. Consequently, this has manifested in the European production of multiple social and economic physical spaces which have only been temporary. Without the continued long-term physical production of social space, the recording of Indigenous heritage traces in the colonial period does not demonstrate a poaching of European spaces by Indigenous people (as in Byrne's NSW example). The European production of physical social space in the Wenlock region has been more a cultural entanglement, where the persistence of a lived Indigenous presence in the region has outlasted any intermittent physical European presence. This is seen in the historical under-representation of Indigenous people's labour in the represented spaces of the Wenlock region. However, when these historical sources are synthesised with the archaeological and ethnographic data it becomes apparent that the production of these European centres of economic output are only temporarily poaching Indigenous space, as Indigenous people continued to use these spaces as 'lived' spaces before, during and after the physical European occupation of the area.



Crucially, the tensions between spatial practices and representations of space shows a dramatic change in the cross-cultural narrative of the region. This is evident from between the mid-1880s, when John Embley's survey map of the region (Figure 33) was produced and the retributive killings of Indigenous people by the Native Mounted Police began, until approximately 1905-1910, when Indigenous people were winning major mining claims in the area. In less than 30 years the cross-cultural dynamic of the region had completely altered. This is seen in the lives of a few Indigenous people who were overcoming some of the structural limitations of colonialism. Pluto, Kitty Pluto and Friday Wilson are representative examples of Indigenous agency in this period. This may be partly due to the impermanence of Europeans in the area, exceptionally talented Indigenous people, the region's relative remoteness from other European settlements, or its marginal economy. Nevertheless, it is crucial to recognise that these examples also take place within the colonial system, which is constructed upon asymmetrical power relations.

The conceptualisation of the representations of space in the Wenlock region is based on the various social and economic enterprises in the area and consequently the changing intersection of European and Indigenous cross-cultural relations. To an extent these spaces all articulate with each other and intersect through Indigenous labour. Importantly the production of one space does not extinguish the layers that preceded it, or post-date it, but their existence may be denied. Consequently, the dominant represented space in the Wenlock does not reflect the role of Indigenous people in the region, as they become effectively invisible in the landscape. This creates a significant tension in the production of this space and the spatial practices of the Wenlock region.

## **Emancipated Cultural Landscapes**

The following section will discuss Lefebvre's (1991) spaces of representation in the Wenlock region and build upon the interpretation and conceptualisation of these layered, coexisting and interpenetrable social spaces. As Lefebvre (1991) comments, spaces of representation are lived spaces (making them subjectively experienced) that are often inhabited by social analysts, however, these social analysts often neglect the consideration of spatial practices or

represented spaces. In order to avoid this pitfall, this section will discuss the previous two understandings of social space in the Wenlock and consider their inherent tensions. Between the spatial practices of the Wenlock (the physical spaces) and the representations of these spaces (the dominant social images, like maps), there is a significant disjuncture in the role of Indigenous people in the landscape. The archaeological evidence suggests that Indigenous people have had a significant and continual presence in the region, albeit one which has changed during the colonial period. This presence is reflected in both the alteration and persistence of Indigenous lifeways. However, the colonial representations of space (for example the renaming of the landscape) only recognises the Indigenous presence in the region in a token fashion, as the intention of these created social spaces was to colonise.

Spaces within the Wenlock region have been continually represented and re-conceptualised through the dominant European social and economic framework and have been portrayed in a number of ways, for example: as a conquered space which has been colonised and pacified (Embley 1886), as a mining space (de Havelland 1989) or as a pastoral space (Anon 1920). The changing role of Indigenous people (often invisible within these spaces), their lifeways, labour and persistence are hardly mentioned at all within the dominant conceptualisations of these forms of social space. However, the archaeological record shows a landscape punctuated by later Indigenous use and a significant increase in the exploitation of resources during the first few decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The tension between spatial practices and represented spaces is an example of how intercultural relations within the colonial process in the Wenlock are based on an asymmetrical power dynamic. It is also an example of how the disciplines of history and archaeology can complement each other. Importantly a resolution of these tensions can assist in the production of spaces of representation.

Recognising that within social spaces there lies a significant power differential between Indigenous people and other Australians is crucial to interpreting and understanding our colonial past. This power disjuncture is evident in the discussion of the shared heritage of our Australian cultural landscapes. It is important to note that Harrison's (2004b) work justly implores and inspires the consideration of incorporating Indigenous histories and heritage into a shared history that is mutually constitutive and recognises the injustices directed towards Indigenous people during the colonial era. However, these shared histories; landscapes, heritage, places and spaces are not yet truly or adequately formed, as the production of these spaces are not consistently driven by Indigenous research agendas.

A conceptual tool that can assist in this process of the production of Lefebvre's (1991:39) 'spaces of representation', or, as Susen (2013:337) refers to them, 'emancipated spaces'. This third form of social space is the product of a Hegelian dialectic, where the tensions between the first two positions (in this case the first two forms of space) are synthesised in the third. Soja's (1996) 'Thirdspace' incorporates Lefebvre's (1991:39) 'spaces of representation', and the work of several other theorists, including Bhabha (1994) and Foucault (1982). However, 'Thirdspace' neglects the synthesis of other forms of social spaces as outlined by Lefebvre (1991), as it becomes an all-encompassing theory in itself. As Harrison (2004b) uses the concept of 'Thirdspace' in his study of shared landscapes within pastoral NSW, the synthesis of the tensions inherent between spatial practices and representations of space are lacking. These tensions are what highlights the asymmetrical social relations between coloniser and the colonised. The reclaiming of social space within spaces of representation enables the uneven colonial power dynamic to be recognised and allows a greater potential for it to be shifted. Without this crucial step, it seems that the places, spaces and historical narratives of the past are still ultimately defined by the research agendas and historical narrative of European Australia. Without change at a legislative level this power dynamic in the commercial heritage sector will continue to exist. However, research-based archaeology can continue to move in this direction.

Throughout this study, the colonial social spaces produced in the Wenlock have been explored through the extractive industries that became centres of economic production in the region. This understanding is based on the premise that capitalism is essentially extractive. However, the analysis of the social spaces created through these industries indicates a transience within this context. The physical and symbolic reclamation of this space by the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation is an example of Indigenous persistence in the region and their creation of an emancipated space (see Figure 110).

**Figure 110: Kuuku I'yu Clan Estate Map by David Claudie (Chuulangun 2010).** *Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.*

The early cross-cultural power dynamic in the region is defined by the early European explorers and mineral prospectors. However, between the 1880s and the 1890s the colonial process had continued to seep into the central inland region of the Cape York Peninsula with the broad scale arrival of pastoralism as the first of a number of colonial economic endeavours to graft itself to this culturally rich region. Concurrently, the Native Mounted Police, the sandalwood industry, mining, the telegraph line, the Lockhart River Mission, all influenced the production of social space in the Wenlock region. These waves of colonialism produced and left their own social spaces within the region, all of which intersected in some way with Indigenous labour. However, Indigenous socially produced spaces have continued to persist in the area, absorbing each of these other spaces and their products in turn.

This persistence should not be equated with the Indigenous people of the region having been outside the colonial process. This persistence should also not be mistaken for representing

Indigenous people as only binary ‘heroes or victims’ (Anderson 1983:474). This reclamation of the Wenlock through the DOGIT, the outstation movement, the persistence of classical Indigenous forms of governance, classical land management practices and the remapping of clan areas moves this region towards a produced ‘emancipatory space’ (Susen 2013). This persistence has been achieved through the creation of space, through the transformation of place through labour. This persistence is evident in the representation of the Kuuku I’yu clan map by David Claudie (Figure 110), which subverts the dominant discourse of colonialism and its impact in the region by reclaiming it as a ‘space of representation’. This shift in the colonial power dynamic does not disentangle colonial and Indigenous cultures, but it does create the opportunity to produce a new form of social space. It is within this reclaimed social space that the opportunity exists for the creation of a genuinely shared space, which is marked by its shared production.

## Chapter 10: Conclusion

This research demonstrates how Indigenous and European production of space and place change over time at the Wenlock Goldfields. Importantly, this has shown the persistence of Indigenous lifeways into the colonial era and is reflected within the social spaces of the study area. The focus on Indigenous and settler relations was considered through the intersection of labour relations and the production of social spaces and highlights the disconnect in these power relations. What has been established is that there were a number of Indigenous people ‘employed’ in the Wenlock region in various capacities: as Native Mounted Police Troopers, as stockmen, as miners and prospectors, as sandalwood cutters, as domestic servants and as ‘helpers’ within the mining community. Dominant colonial representations of the past have generally neglected the presence of an Indigenous labour force in the Wenlock region. This invisibility of Indigenous people within colonial represented spaces is in stark contrast to colonial era Indigenous physical spaces, these spatial practices show an abundance of colonial era CMTs in the region. The difference in how these forms of social space are produced, and how they affect the narrative of the past emphasise Indigenous invisibly during colonialism. The identification of the tensions between social spaces also highlights the power disconnect within cross-cultural interactions during the colonial process, and the utility of a multivalent approach to utilising archaeology, ethnohistory and history. Crucially, within this thesis, the synthesis of these spatial tensions illustrates the persistence of Indigenous lifeways and the creation of ‘emancipated spaces’.

The theoretical context for this thesis is outlined in Chapter 2 and places the current study within the larger body of literature. This chapter also introduces Lefebvre’s (1991) concept of social space and its three components. This thesis has demonstrated that there are tensions between how cross-cultural spaces are produced and these result in various distinctive spatial and therefore, social patterns. It is through the recognition of these tensions, and their social relations, that the re-imagining of social spaces that have emancipatory potential can be created. This thesis demonstrates that other frameworks such as Thirdspace outlined by Soja (1996) do not allow for this greater understanding of the tension between socially produced spaces, limiting the emancipatory potential social spaces within the current context. The present example, David Claudie’s clan map (Figure 110), of the production of this emancipatory space is linked to the lived space of the Wenlock region and the cooperative research agenda of the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation.

The ethnohistorical record for the Kuuku I'yu is explored in Chapter 4; this discussion investigates key classical lifeways, institutions and economics of the study area and where required draws upon research conducted among the inland Wik people. These lifeways are studied to understand changes in the patterning of Kuuku I'yu culture and the production of social space at the threshold of colonisation (Keen 2004). This chapter demonstrates that various pre-colonial spatial practices and represented spaces, such as the harvesting of sugarbag, the role of water and 'boss' culture continued into the colonial era. However, this chapter when combined with other forms of evidence also illustrates the adaptation of classical lifeways due to the constraints of colonialism, such as changes in population mobility, trade, material culture and occupation patterning.

The primary portion of the first research aim of this thesis is addressed in Chapters 5 and 7 by documenting Indigenous and settler relations through the identification of historical sources and colonial era archaeological sites and artefacts. This is evident in the historical (represented spaces), and archaeological results (spatial practices) recorded during this investigation. These two forms of space show that there is a disjuncture between how Indigenous people are represented and how they contributed to the production of these spaces. This is clearly seen in the historical record, where there is some, although minimal or coded references to Indigenous labour. These represented spaces are understood through the use of maps, historical records, photos, oral histories, poetry and archival material. However, this colonial narrative shows the decline or absence of a 'conquered' Indigenous population is in conflict with the spatial practices analysed within the archaeological record, for example, steel cut sugarbag CMTs. The analysis of this artefact type indicates that there is a persistent Indigenous presence in the area. This Indigenous presence was also a considerable labour force; which is evident in the production of these physical places, and in the continuing conceptual production of social space in the region.

The analyses of the spatial practices of the Wenlock region is undertaken in Chapter 8 to assess the social relations of Indigenous people to the means of production throughout various periods. There are a number of significant trends that become apparent. Pre-colonial Indigenous lifeways are concentrated along and near year-round secondary watercourses. Colonial era Indigenous cultural material (the extension of these pre-colonial lifeways, for example, steel cut CMTs) are also concentrated near the same water sources but show an

increase in utilisation and frequency near centres of European economic activity. European material culture is most densely located near these centres of economic development and is also concentrated near water, overlapping with the classical lifeways of the region.

The spatial patterning of steel and stone sugarbag CMTs, indicates that the Wenlock River was a spatial barrier during colonialism and that this choice in location was an extension of the production of classical lifeways. This interpretation builds upon the work of Byrne (2003) within a different context from pastoral NSW. This use of water as a barrier indicates a level of independence from European colonial control through the use and production of this space.

There is a concentration of steel cut CMTs in the vicinity of Billycan Yards 1 and 2 that likely date to between the 1910s and the 1920s. This spatial patterning indicates that Indigenous classical lifeways continued throughout the colonial process but likely intensified to include trade with Europeans. The focus on sugarbag CMTs builds upon the previous work on CMTs in the greater Cape York Peninsula region conducted by Morrison and Shepard (2013) and contributes to our understanding of trade, foraging and the changing inter-cultural relations of the colonial period.

The remaining research aims of the thesis are addressed in Chapter 9 through the discussion of the archaeological, historical and ethnographic material, this is used to expand the interpretation of the Indigenous and European use and production of social space. This is discussed within the context of cross-cultural social relations and the analysis of social spaces and cultural landscapes. Elements of the production of space and place by Indigenous and European people within the study area changed and remained static. Although the dominant conceptualisation of social space in the region changed over time and marginalised the existence of Indigenous people and their labour, they were both persistent and present in the region.

The nature of cross-cultural relations in the Wenlock region has been based upon asymmetrical power interactions. Throughout the colonial history of the Wenlock Region Indigenous people were not always 'kept out' from centres of European economic activity as there was significant cross-cultural trade and exchange, and Indigenous people were often the only affordable and available labour force in the area. The evidence of these cross-cultural



interactions is clear in the numerous steel cut sugarbag CMTs throughout the landscape and their clustering near these centres of colonial activity.

Indigenous life was dramatically altered during colonialism and these changes are seen in the alteration of Indigenous lifeways in the Wenlock region. This is reflected in the density and concentration of CMTs near the centres of European economic activity, specifically near Clayhole Creek, Billycan Yards, Plutoville and the Wenlock Goldfields. The analysis in this thesis contends that the spatial correlation between sugarbag CMTs and the above sites peaked between the 1910s-1920s, particularly near Billycan Yards 1 and 2. This concentration and intensification in the harvesting of sugarbag in the Wenlock region, specifically reflected in the use of steel cut CMTs, is a clear example of the persistence of Indigenous lifeways, which reflect social relations in respect to the means of production in the region. These changes in Indigenous population dynamics during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century may have been affected by the construction of roads through the area, the establishment of shops where trade was possible, the death of Hugh Gibblet to the north east of the direct study area and possible employment opportunities. These factors may have altered the classical patterns of sugarbag harvesting in the Wenlock region.

The presence of the Native Mounted Police in the Wenlock region was a destructive instrument of colonial policy that enabled the ‘opening up’ of Queensland. The positions of the Native Mounted Police camps, however, also generally illustrate the fluidity of a moving, interpenetrable and changing colonial frontier. With limited resources, these para-military groups in Cape York Peninsula were no doubt responsible for numerous massacres which would have left little or no historical or archaeological evidence. In the Wenlock region the location of the remnants of a Native Mounted Police camp at Clayhole Creek and associated records indicate that there were other reasons for relocating camps, apart from following the colonial frontier, such as selecting a campsite site that was prone to flooding. This is evident in the relocation of camps between Piccanniny Creek and Clayhole Creek. However, the presence of the Native Mounted Police also indicates the requirement of the state to suppress Indigenous populations in the area, perhaps suggesting that the placement of these camps was ‘within’ a frontier sphere of activity, rather than simply at its edge. To consider the placement of Native Mounted Police camps as the edge of a colonial frontier, the ‘battlefront’, is a very Eurocentric understanding of the concept which ignores the often porous and interpenetrable nature of actual frontiers, particularly in a remote setting.

The concentration of multiple steel cut woomera scarred trees near the Clayhole precinct is also highlighted in Chapter 9. This spatial patterning is unique in the region, as although there are also other concentrations of steel cut woomera CMTs near Billycan Yards, these were only single scarred trees. The correlation between multiple scarred woomera CMTs and Clayhole Creek may be an indication of limited mobility and were possibly created by the Native Mounted Police troopers, who would have returned often to camp.

This thesis has contributed to the knowledge of the central Northern Cape York Peninsula, as it is the first substantial archaeological project in the Wenlock region. Specifically, this project has contributed to exploring the cross-cultural relations evident in gold mining, the Native Mounted Police and pastoralism in the region, through the labour relations that produced various social spaces, addressing key gaps in the archaeological record. This project has worked cooperatively with the Kuuku I'yu in order to map the archaeology of the Wenlock region, record the history of the area in relation to Indigenous labour and write an ethnohistory of the Kuuku I'yu.

This thesis also explores Lefebvre's (1991) spaces of representation. This form of social space absorbs the previously created spaces in the region and this thesis argues that the production of this form of space is a crucial precursor to the reclaiming of the Wenlock region by the Kuuku I'yu and creates a basis for creating a mutually produced narrative of the past and the future of the region. This form of social space and the understanding of the tension that exists between the two previous forms of space acknowledges that there is room for some rectification of the unequal power dynamic inherent within the colonial endeavour.

The fragile nature of the landscape of the region is emphasised in the fleeting and sparse archaeological record of the region. The future management of the heritage of this region also needs to take this into account. Although this thesis sits within a decolonising agenda, by itself it is not a work of decolonising archaeology. However, optimistically it does provide a basis for future collaborative research in the region.

This thesis has demonstrated that Kuuku I'yu classical lifeways changed but continued into the colonial period. These changes illustrate how the production of space and place altered in

the Wenlock region during the colonial era. However, this is also evidence of Kuuku I'yu persistence in the region.

## **Future Research**

Directions for future archaeological research in the Wenlock region should firstly be discussed with the Aboriginal Custodians (represented by the Chuulangun Aboriginal Corporation) as fully collaborative research projects. There are significant future archaeological research opportunities both in the Wenlock Region and the greater Cape York Peninsula region. This includes colonial era and pre-colonial era investigations. Future research opportunities could exist in the analysis of woomera CMTs in relation to pastoral centres or located Native Mounted Police Camps. This may provide an indication of how Indigenous stockmen and Native Police Troopers overcame poor working conditions and rationing. There are also numerous Native Police Camps in the Wenlock region, to the north of the Archer River that that may be located and examined.

Potential colonial era research could include further exploration of stockyards in the region, as this may tell us much more about the lives of Indigenous stockmen and provide a model typology for assessing other stockyards in the greater region. Combined with anthropological and historical archival research, this would fill a significant gap in the record of the greater Cape York Peninsula region. To the northeast of the study area are the settlements created by Hugh Giblett and the later Lockhart River Mission. These sites may also provide a useful comparison to the present study particularly in regard to the density and frequency of sugarbag CMTs and the use of water as a barrier within the creation of space.

Pre-colonial Indigenous sites have an obvious potential research focus, as there is still much land to be surveyed and spaces to be understood. This includes significant lithic material in the area, that, due to the dynamic climate and landscape are likely best located through excavation. Further research could consider seasonal resource exploitation and the relationship between occupation areas and water sources. Each of these avenues of research would also be able to refine our current understanding of pre-colonial resource use, producing a model of regional occupation.

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