

# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

## CUSTOMARY MARINE TENURE IN SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA



*Duke of Orleans Bay overlooking Recherche Archipelago, Western Australia. ©Adele Millard*

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The aim of this annotated bibliography is to inform and guide future research for use in Native Title sea claims, particularly in southern Australia. This study is timely. The Yaegl people of New South Wales were awarded Native Title over 90 kilometres of coast, including 200 metres out to sea, in August 2017. The Mirning claim has been registered in South Australia but has not progressed yet; and several representative bodies (who would prefer to remain unnamed) are preparing to lodge sea claims in the near future. While there is a plethora of scholarly literature in relation to traditional Northern Australian systems of marine tenure (see Section 5 bibliography including Peterson & Rigsby 2014; Memmott & Trigger 1998; Gray & Zann 1985), there is a significant gap in relation to the country's southern seas. Just as we expect to find regional differences in law, custom, and spirituality in land tenure, it is arguably reasonable to expect that regional differences might be found in relation to marine tenure. The purpose of developing this bibliography is not necessarily to construct a presumed 'north versus south' difference, but to focus on what *is* for southern Australia – or at least, how it has been interpreted and represented in academic, ethnographic, historical, and legal records. This includes prosecutions of Aboriginal people under legislation protecting native fauna where a Native Title and/or customary defence have been at issue. As more southern Australian Native Title sea claims may be lodged in the future, researchers and claimants are disadvantaged by the lack of a consolidated body of literature.

This bibliography was constructed over a limited three-week period at the Centre for Native Title Anthropology at the Australian National University in Canberra, from 12 February to 2 March 2018. An additional week was spent reviewing rare books at the Battye Library in Perth. Study involved a comprehensive review of academic literature, historically early ethnographies, and histories that presented relevant material. The process was guided by Professor Nicolas Peterson and Dr Julie Finlayson at the Centre for Native Title Anthropology at the Australian National University. Valuable suggestions were made by Professor David Trigger, Dr David Martin, Dr Natalie Kwok (regarding New South Wales), and Dr Belinda Liebelt (regarding South Australia).

Generally, the focus follows the coast from the greater Sydney region (including the Hawkesbury River) in the east, around the Victorian, Tasmanian, and South Australian coasts, and up to the Swan River in Western Australia. The vast territory is broken down into four regions:

1. South-eastern New South Wales and Victoria
2. Tasmania
3. South Australia
4. South-western Australia

Any more scrupulous breakdown than that would have cut into valuable and limited research time in the three-week tenure at the CNTA. With more time, I would have preferred to separate Gippsland and Port Phillip Bay from the rest of the south-east; and to include more literature from this region.

There are another two sections including:

5. General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia
6. Further reading

Section 5 contains resources from other regions that, I felt, helped to construct clearer understandings of customary marine tenure in practice and/or in theory. Occasional diversions are made to northern or inland Australian studies when something particularly interesting shows up in the literature – such as Brown's (1916, General) argument that logs were used as ocean-going watercraft at Shark Bay, in rebuke of Thomas's (1905) claim that the logs 'had probably floated down the [Gascoyne] river'. Similarly, Peterson & Rigsby's (2014, General) volume includes many chapters by contributing authors documenting the complex, active, synonymously spiritual and economic relationships that contemporary northern peoples have with marine environments. These have been included owing to their usefulness for analogy or inference – e.g. similarities in spiritual beliefs, or social organisation customs. Other references may refer to peoples living inland but alongside

coastal peoples and engaging in trade or even possessing oral traditions about spiritual life that include stories about the sea. Archaeologists note a dramatic increase in shell materials in the Western Desert record over the last 500 years of the Holocene (Gibbs & Veth 2002, General).

Of Section 6, it was not possible to read everything within the limited time frame. Texts that appeared to be potentially useful (owing to the ways and contexts in which they were cited), but which remained unread or inaccessible have been listed here. Some were inaccessible owing to gender or commercial restrictions. Critically, a significant number of rare books housed in ANU's Chifley library were rendered inaccessible following a poorly-timed and destructive flood, on 25 February. It must be said that the Connection Report for the Yaegl #2 (Part B) Native Title sea claim would have made a valuable inclusion but is not publicly available.

In a one paragraph summary of my impression of customary marine tenure in southern Australia, I can say this: there is considerable regional variation among Australia's southern coastal peoples. Laws and customs are as variable over marine environments as they are over land. It is all country – some of it is just wet. Marine environments were and are hugely spiritual places for southern Australian Aboriginal peoples. It is inconceivable that cultures so rich in understandings about the land could ignore 'the big blue stuff' that dominates coastal views and lives – feeding them, bathing them, cooling them, frightening them, sometimes taking their lives. To conceive that peoples who have Dreamings about significant peaks and valleys on land, would not also have them about the islands and vast waters is, at best, naive. Spiritual beliefs abound in southern Australian customary marine tenure. Materially, regional variations occur and seem obvious. Fishhooks and watercraft were widely documented in the earliest written records from south-eastern Australia, but not in the south-west. Molluscs were much prized foods in Sydney and the Swan River Colony; but appear not to have been eaten at Streaky Bay. However, the spiritual domain indicates a thread of commonality. It is too soon to say whether beliefs regarding spirit beings creating seas and islands are as widespread as other great creation stories – such as those around the rainbow snake or the Seven Sisters. However, early indications are that this is so: that islands tend to be places created and inhabited by spirit beings (very often, though not always, by a snake); and that those spirit beings are great religious figures who may also often be ancestral spirits. And as the seas are conduits through which those beings travel to the mainland, their agitation and imminent danger is most evident in stormy weather (see Hassell 1936, Western Australia).

Hold that thought this southern winter.

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## 1. SOUTH-EASTERN NEW SOUTH WALES AND VICTORIA

### South-east NSW to Victoria

**Aberdeen, R. 1988[1941] Memories: past and present. In *Greenwell Point: An Early Shoalhaven Port*, in R.J. Wallis [ed], Pp.70-95. Greenwell Point, New South Wales: Greenwell Point Bi-Centennial Sub-Committee.**

Historical anecdotes of the fishing industry at Greenwell Point in south-east New South Wales. Includes an account of vast quantities of shell refuse from marine food consumption, plus stone tools, by local Aboriginal people prior to the arrival of non-Aboriginal people. Also provides a brief historical account of Aboriginal employment in the fishing and shell industries.

**Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies [ed] 1988 *La Perouse: The Place, the People and the Sea: A Collection of Writing by Members of the Aboriginal Community*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.**

Collections of short stories from La Perouse traditional owners including: Iris Williams, Beryl Beller, Clara Mason, Gloria Ardler, Sharon Williams, Lee-Anne Mason, Leslie Davison (including interview), Cyril Francis Cooley. Stories including:

- Iris Williams - *Dreaming trees; Emma Jane Foster; Aunty Liza Foster*.
- Lee-Anne Mason - *Selling the artefacts*.
- Iris Williams and Beryl Beller - *Wandering and trees*.
- Beryl Beller – *Shellwork; Fishing boats at Port Kembla; Sharing*.
- Gloria Ardler - *Remembering old folk; Great Granny Toliman ; My Grandmother and her family; Maney Toliman; When we were children*.
- Clara Mason – *Living off the seas; The gararra spear (as told by Leo Mason); Fishing with a net (as told by Ronny Ardler); Fishing; Nana Bella Simms*.
- Cyril Cooley – *Happy Valley*.
- Sharon Williams – *Wreck Bay*

**Banks, J. 1990[1768-1771] Journal. In *A Documentary History of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines 1770-1850*, M. Organ [ed], pp.3-4. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, University of Wollongong.**

Joseph Banks was the naturalist aboard Captain James Cook's ship the *Endeavour*. These extracts from Banks' journals include some basic observations of coastal Aboriginal life in south-eastern Australia, at the very least documenting habitations at Cape Howe, Cape Dromedary, Bateman's Bay, south of Pigeon House Mountain, Jervis Bay, Shoalhaven, Red Point, and Bulli. Most of these simply document the existence of Aboriginal campfires. However, observations on attempting to land at or near Bulli include documentation of Aboriginal canoes. The *Endeavour* crew made a successful landing at Botany Bay the following day.

**Barlow, R. 1990[1892]. The egg feast of Wagonga. In *A Documentary History of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines 1770-1850*, M. Organ [ed] Pp. 352-354. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, University of Wollongong.**

Reminiscences of the coastal Aboriginal people of Wagonga and Narooma, south of Moruya. Montague Island is also mentioned. Describes seasonal diets, food gathering and processing methods (focuses on seabird eggs), fishing, ocean-going canoe use and manufacture, social organisation, ceremony, ritual

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celebrations. Documents a tragedy at sea, in which several Aboriginal men lost their lives, and the ways in which society was customarily reorganised to ensure the needs of family groups were sustained in the aftermath.

**Barrington, G. 1810. *The History of New South Wales including Botany Bay, Port Jackson, Parramatta, Sydney*. London: W. Flint, Old Bailey.**

Barrington was an Irish-born convict who obtained the colony's first 'warrant of emancipation' in return for tipping off the ship's captain that his fellow convicts were planning to seize the ship. He later became superintendent of convicts, high constable of Parramatta, and an author. Barrington's book contains extensive ethnological observations of lifeways of Aboriginal peoples of the Sydney area, including the coastal zone. This book is thick with description too varied to itemise here; but mercifully it contains a comprehensive index. One entire chapter (pp.9-39) is devoted to description of lifeways including: food procurement, preparation and consumption – including fish; dress and adornment; ceremonies and rituals; mythologies including creation stories; fishing methods (including diving, spearing, line fishing with hooks by women from canoes, and hunting water birds); habitations and dwellings; children and their games; language; weapons and tools; religious life including funeral rites; social organisation including marriage and law; and adoption of new technologies introduced by British colonisers (see also p137). Also includes accounts of: Aboriginal people hunting whale (pp.90-91); many mentions of individual Aboriginal people by name; and multiple accounts throughout of variously amicable, tenuous and hostile relations between Aboriginal people and colonisers.

**Barton, G.B. 1889. *History of New South Wales from the Records. Vol. 1*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer. Produced by N. Overton. Available: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1204171h.html>**

Barton was a lawyer, journalist, early historian, and older brother of Australia's first Prime Minister. His is an extensive and rich collection of historical materials from many original sources and from a broad area of Australia – meaning that anecdotes can be found, but they require a lot of reading to find in relation to specific areas. E.g. includes direct citations from Governor Arthur Phillip and many other early British arrivals. Volume 1 particularly draws on Phillip in the south-east. The 'Index of Authorities' is comprehensive and could be helpful in identifying primary historical sources – several of which include hyperlinks to online copies. Chapter 1.14 includes accounts of the variable relationships between British officers and Aboriginal people of south-eastern New South Wales in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, including Arabanoo. Includes contestations over capture and/or distribution of fish. There are several references to areas further afield – e.g. citing Dr Lang in Captain Grey's journal (1841, in 'Notes on 1.14 Phillip and the Natives') says of Western Australia 'every tribe has its own district, the boundaries of which are well-known to the natives generally' (Notes on 1.14). Chapter 3.43 includes details of foods in the south-east, north-west and west of Australia, noting that large numbers of people come together to feast on whales washed ashore. For example, Chapter 2.1 cites John Hunter 1793 <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00063.html> at Botany Bay, as writing "a young whale being driven on the coast, all we met had large pieces, which appeared to have been lain on the fire until the outside was scorched, in which state they eat it".

**Bayley, W. 1973 *Behind Broulee: Central South Coast NSW*. Moruya, New South Wales: Eurobodalla Shire Council.**

A largely Eurocentric account of the history of the central south coast of New South Wales. Acknowledges Aboriginal occupation as environmental to British arrival. Contains anecdotes of dwellings (p12), Aboriginal

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resistance to British incursions (p12), and labour (p20). Worthwhile reading to glean the broader context for research on this region; and because the bibliography, including historical pamphlets regarding Aboriginal people, may be more useful than the book itself.

**Bennett, M. 2003. *For a Labourer Worthy of his Hire: Aboriginal Economic Responses to Colonisation in the Illawarra and Shoalhaven, 1770-1900*. Vols 1 & 2. PhD thesis. Canberra: University of Canberra.**

Historian Michael Bennett compares articulation and dependency theories regarding Indigenous people's economic responses to the colonisation of south-eastern New South Wales in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Dependency theory argues that settlers destroy traditional Indigenous modes of production, exploit Indigenous labour, and force Indigenous people into relationships of dependency. Articulation theory argues that the rate of capitalist penetration into Indigenous economies was variable and that non-capitalist modes of production may be preserved to create self-supporting sources of labour. Bennett argues that Indigenous people gained most of their subsistence from fishing, hunting and gathering at least until 1860; and fishing remained an important source of food and cash even before Aboriginal people were provided with boats and nets to assist their efforts.

**Bennett, M. 2007 *The economics of fishing: sustainable living in NSW*. *Aboriginal History* 31: 85-102.**

Further to his PhD thesis (above), Bennett built on the work of Brian Egloff and Scott Cane to examine Indigenous fishing from the pre-colonial period until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to consider the extent to which fishing offered a means for Indigenous peoples of Illawarra and Shoalhaven to enjoy, even partial, economic independence. Includes a useful summary of historical and archaeological research up to 2007.

**Berry, A. 1938 *Recollections of the Aborigines*. In *A Documentary History of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, 1770-1850*, M. Organ [ed] Pp. 229-241. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, University of Wollongong.**

Berry was a Scottish-born surgeon, merchant and explorer who arrived in Sydney in 1808. Anecdotes from Sydney and Shoalhaven including extensive evidence of dependence on Aboriginal labour force. Specifics include: Bungaree (implied from Sydney, but those with greater local historical knowledge may know otherwise) who was 'a favourite of Governor Macquarie' and who was punished under customary law (p229); dwellings and relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people at Shoalhaven (p229), along with mention of Aboriginal aide Broughton from Shoalhaven and 'Charcoal'; greeting customs at Shoalhaven (p231); a young Aboriginal boy named Billy (p232); encountering an armed group from Jervis Bay at Shoalhaven (p232); an Elder named Wajin (p232); Aboriginal place names (p233); overland trip to Bong Bong with Broughton (p234); adoption of suits and brass plates by Wajin and Yager (p234); contestations between local Aboriginal people over rights to speak for country at Shoalhaven (p234); mortal impacts and cultural interpretations of influenza (p235); use of mainland Aboriginal people in hunting and killing Tasmanian Aboriginal people, and in capturing bushrangers (p236); child-rearing (p236); customary reprisals (pp.237-239); battle between a convict settler and 'Saucy William' at Illawarra (p237); Yager's possibly customary dress (p237); 'Old Settler' and his sons Tommy Patalick and Monkey (pp.238-240). Includes: census of 242 Aboriginal people at Gerongong, Broughton Creek, Uurro, Shoalhaven, Numba, Wooragee and Jervis Bay (p240); and summary of blankets issued (p241). The editor has added McCarthy's (1943) sketches of lithic technology from Illawarra and the South Coast, with legend.

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**Besold, J. 2013** *Language Recovery of the NSW South Coast Aboriginal languages*. PhD thesis. Canberra: Australian National University.

Linguist Jutta Besold's thesis is a contribution towards language revival on the south-east New South Wales coast, looking particularly at Dharrawal, Dharumba, Dhurga and Djirringanj – from southern Sydney and botany Bay almost to the Victorian border. The language material comes from archives collected between 1834 and 1902 – especially those gathered by Andrew Mackenzie and Robert Hamilton Mathews. Besold says that 'these texts supply a significant amount of additional morphological and syntactical information, and insights into narrative and discourse features; as well as mythologies of the South Coast people' (Volume 1, piii). Volume 2 includes the details of these mythologies that ubiquitously connect sea, sky, land and society with the spiritual realm – e.g. 'Bundoola – King of the Sea' (Vol.2 p60).

**Britton, A. 1894** *History of New South Wales from the Records: Vol.2: Phillip & Grose*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer. Available: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks12/1204371h.html>

Alexander Britton's observations, anecdotes and cobbled-together history, from the era of Governor Phillip and Major Ross, including entries from the journals of many early administrators at Sydney and south-eastern New South Wales generally. Includes observations of local Aboriginal customs, marine foods and place names. Chapter 12 is short and devoted entirely to the subject of 'The Natives', focusing particularly on relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. It gives some insight into the perceived customary transgressions of both broad groups.

**Brough-Smyth, R. 1972 [1876].** *The Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: John Currey, O'Neil.

Brough Smith was a British civil servant and mining engineer who became honorary secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines and a voting member in the mid-1800s. This publication in his name relied heavily upon the reports of other people, others such as physician George Halford, early anthropologist Alfred Howitt, and surgeon and natural history enthusiast Joseph Milligan. This two-volume set is a detailed historical reference including ethnological information largely focusing on south-eastern Australia but including some anecdotal comparisons with the west and north. For example: Vol 1. (pp199-208) includes details of fishing methods and technologies in western Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia. For example, 'In the Port Lincoln district, the natives go into the water and push the fish before them with branches of trees until they are fairly driven ashore' (p199); and 'The Narrinyeri make fishing-lines and twine from two kinds of fibre. One is a bulrush which grows in fresh water and is called Menungkeri. The rushes or roots are, first of all, either boiled ... or steamed in the native oven, and then chewed by the women. A part of the will sit round the fire and masticate the fibrous material by the hour. While they do so, the masses of fibre which have been chewed are handed to the men who sit by, and they work it up, by twisting it on the thigh into hanks of twine, either stout or fine, according to the purpose to which it is to be applied' (p200). Also identifies technologies in contemporary use by Aboriginal people that had not been noted at the time of first British contact. Vol 2. Includes an Appendix by Chauncy comparing watercraft construction (materials and technologies) in the east and north (p249). Also includes details of south-eastern marine exploitation, including crayfish, 'sea cucumber', crabs, and varieties of fish (including dams for catching fish). Includes a transcontinental comparison of: fishing including practices at King George's Sound, the Swan River and South Australia (p248-249); spear-making for fish and netting (p249). Pp379-434 focuses exclusively on Aboriginal people of Tasmania, including canoe manufacturing and use. Includes extensive word lists, including place names for coastal places and

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marine features such as islands and seas from Victoria, South Australia, and southern Western Australia, as well as comparisons with northern languages (such as Croker Island).

**Cahir, F. 2012 *Nawi: Seeing the Land from an Aboriginal Canoe. Signals 100: 18-21***

Recommended reading for any work on customary marine tenure in Victoria and New South Wales. Aboriginal Studies scholar Fred Cahir argues that 'perhaps one of the most under-valued contributions Aboriginal people made in colonial times was guiding people and stock across the river systems of Australia' (p2). Cahir draws on archival research to show how Aboriginal canoes and 'ferrying expertise' contributed to the success of explorers and settlers. Includes anecdotes from inland and coastal regions of Victoria including (but not limited to) Orbost, Moe, the Murray, the Moorabool, Colac, and Portland Bay. And in NSW at Genoa and Namoi. Names many Aboriginal guides, their language/cultural groups, and their geographic regions. Also includes descriptions of methods used for the construction of watercraft and their propulsion.

**Cabbage, R. 1916 *Captain Cook's Pigeon House and Early South Coast Exploration. Sydney: Samuel E Lees.***

Includes several anecdotes from the crew of Captain James Cook's ship, the *Endeavour*, about their first encounter with local Aboriginal people at Koorbrua Beach (p2) – including living, firing the country, and social organisation along the coast. Also contains: notes of Surveyor-General John Oxley at Jervis Bay in 1819 (p9); Surveyor Thomas Florance documenting the Aboriginal place name Cunjurong (p15); the Aboriginal place name for Ulladulla as Woollahderrah (p15); and Aboriginal placenames for several sites between Bateman's Bay to Burrill (pp16-17), and Bateman's Bay to Moruya (pp17-18). Pp21 expressly addresses the problems of recording the Aboriginal place name for Pigeon House, recorded variously as *Dithol*, *Tytdel*, *Diddele*, and *Tithal*. Pp22-23 presents an account of early conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people at Ulladulla, with estimates of population, and social organisation.

**Cane, S. 2014 *Aboriginal fishing rights on the New South Wales south coast: a court case. In Customary Marine Tenure in Australia, N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds.], Pp. 111-146. Sydney: Sydney University Press.***

Cane gave expert evidence on traditional and contemporary social organisation in the first traditional fishing rights case in Australia, involving the prosecution of seven Aboriginal men from the NSW south coast after they were found in possession of mussels, rock lobsters and abalone in 1991 and 1992 (pre-Native Title). The men claimed their arrest was an infringement of their customary rights. The NSW Land Council defended them and their traditional rights through four phases of the court system (Local, Magistrates, Supreme, and Appeal). The outcome recognised their traditional right to fish but questioned whether they were practising that right at the time of arrest. Cane describes how enormously unprepared the ethnographic evidence was (owing to limitations of time and legal strategy) under duress from a legal system yet to fathom the implications of the Mabo Decision or the complexity of gathering, understanding, and reporting ethnographic data. Cane also argues that more attention should have been given by the judges to the formal descriptions of the traditions and rights claimed and to the nature of the group that held them. Cane summarises the customary rights held by each of the family groups and individuals. In the Supreme Court, Mr Justice Young, denied the existence of both proprietary and usufructuary rights, considered the latter to have as much real property value as a 'title of honour or an advowson' and indicated that he believed the current legislation did not discriminate against Aboriginal people because it was established to regulate the activities and competing rights of 'all people' (p134). He also ruled that Mason was not a biological descendent or connected with the relevant Aboriginal people

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who once exercised traditional and customary rights on the south coast of NSW. The Court of Appeal before Justice Kirby was satisfied that the appellant's genealogy was descended from Aboriginal Australia and that his forebears traditionally fished, including for abalone, but dismissed the appeal due to a lack of evidence, primarily on the basis that the defendant did not give personal testimony as to whether or not he was practising his traditional right at the time of arrest. Cane expressed concern that the Magistrate in the Local Court and some of the judges in the Court of Appeal appear to have missed some of the ethnographic evidence put before them, as to the fishing tradition among the Mason (Simms) line. The judges in the Court of Appeal either missed, misread or failed to refer to the evidence in relation to the key, maternal, side of the family of the defendant Mason (p138). In concluding, Cane says the traditions and practice today are clearly different to those in existence before contact but moulded by and adapted to, rather than being washed away by, the great changes in social and environmental circumstances.

**Castle, R.G., & Hagen, J.S. 1978 Dependence and independence: Aboriginal workers on the far south coast of New South Wales 1920-1974. *Labour History* 35: 158-171.**

Focuses on the coastal areas of the local government areas of Bega, Mumbulla and Imlay, on the New South Wales/Victorian border. Provides a brief general social and economic history of the area generically known as the 'Far South Coast' before developing a specific focus on its Aboriginal labour force. Includes documentation of Aboriginal employment in the local fishing industries.

**Chauncy, P. 1972 [1876] Notes and anecdotes of the Aborigines of Victoria. Appendix A in *The Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*, Vol. 2, J. Cross [ed], Pp. 222-284. Melbourne: John Currey, O'Neil.**

Compares watercraft construction (materials and technologies) in the east and north of Australia (p249). Also includes details of south-eastern marine exploitation, including crayfish, 'sea cucumber', crabs, and varieties of fish (including dams for catching fish). Includes a transcontinental comparison of: fishing including practices at King George's Sound, the Swan River and South Australia (p248-249); spear-making for fish and netting (p249).

**Clark, I 2000. *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Point Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate. Vol1-4. Melbourne: Heritage Matters***

Robinson's journals have been consolidated and edited into a four-volume set by Clark for publication. They include not only the annotations of Robinson but also a collection of correspondence to him from a huge variety of colonial government sources, newspaper articles, drawings, and word lists. Volume 1 contains Robinson's journals from the Chief Protector's Office in Melbourne from 1839-1850. Includes brief anecdotes of local Aboriginal people and as well as those further afield but under his jurisdiction – including along the south-west and south-east coasts of Victoria, Flinders Island, and Tasmania. There is no index, making a thorough search a labourious task. However, at the rear of Volume 1 are 'select endnotes' where Clark has consolidated information about named Aboriginal persons, including their names, aliases, countries of belonging, places of residence, family members, employment, colonial punishments, places of burial. Little if any ethnological information regarding custom, but at least helps to identify persons within the landscape around the time of sovereignty. Volume 2 is Robinson's collection of Aboriginal vocabularies from south-eastern Australia from 1839 to 1852. Places where vocabularies were gathered include Port Phillip, the Yarra River, Colac, Portland Bay, Twofold Bay, Sandy Beach, Cape Howe, Western Port, Port Fairy, and Stokes River. (Review of these materials by researchers with greater familiarity with local nomenclature may identify considerably more coastal places.) The notations may not necessarily be densely ethnological, but they often include census data, genealogical information and

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words relating to marine environments that may help to build a fuller picture of custom at sovereignty. While the word lists were gathered in these places, the origins of the Aboriginal people consulted are sometimes from further afield and care must be taken to ensure the two are not conflated. Includes an illustrations and descriptions of: burial customs (p248-249); equipment used to catch fish – e.g. dredges and baskets (pp.91-92) reed spears (p.102), along with narratives of how these are made and used. Robinson uses a variety of names for language groups and sections that may not be in use today, and it is possible that some are misnomers. Volume 3, entitled *Miscellanea*, includes more narrative observations from Robinson and numerous of his contemporary colonisers from Melbourne, Sydney, Flinders Island, Tasmania, Wollongong. Includes sketches of Aboriginal people, more vocabularies, sketches of and Aboriginal names for fish, newspaper articles, and Aboriginal Art. Volume 4 *Annual and Occasional Reports 1841-1849* includes Robinson's official reports from his expeditions into the interior, as well as annual reports from outstations including Loddon River, Goulburn River, Nerre Nerre Warren, Merri Creek, Mount Rouse, Western Australia, Geelong, Barwon River, and Yarra. Information is largely around administration of Aboriginal missions and protectorate stations, but researchers working closely with descendants of these people may be able to yield more specific and useful information according to their research agenda.

**Clark, I.D. 2011 Birrdhawal language and territory: a reconsideration. *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1: 34-50.**

Linguistic paper, focussing on the *Birddhawal* language of far eastern Victoria. Includes some comparison/contrast of the *Ganai* language, and the Yuin language cluster. Considers whether country in which the *Birddhawal* language was spoken was coastal or landlocked; and whether their country was subsumed by the *Krauatungalung* through succession (as argued by Wesson). Includes a critique of previous research.

**Clarke, W. 1990 [1797] William Clarke's journal: Cape Howe to the Shoalhaven. In *A Documentary History of Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines*, M. Organ [ed] Pp. 12-15. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, Wollongong.**

Documents late 18<sup>th</sup> century encounters between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in south-eastern New South Wales. Includes anecdotes of customary greetings, several instances of exchanging or sharing meals of shellfish and/or fish, exchanges of food, dwellings, use and manufacture of bark canoes. Ends with a summary by the Editor, saying 'Clarke's detailed account appears to tend in the vicinity of Jervis Bay'.

**Colley, S.M. 1997 A pre- and post-contact Aboriginal shell midden at Disaster Bay, New South Wales south coast. *Australian Archaeology* 45(1): 1-19.**

Archaeologist Sarah Colley's paper contributes to the argument that Aboriginal marine resource exploitation has persisted despite the seismic upheavals of colonisation. Colley originally sought older midden sites to study the 'mussel horizon' but adapted her research question to focus on contact and post-contact archaeology. Includes a summary of south-east coastal archaeology up to that time. Colley argues that the excavation site 'raises questions about the timing of British contact in the Disaster Bay area and its likely impact on the material cultural and the way of life of indigenous people living there' (p9). She says, 'the site provides material evidence for continuing use of the rockshelter, and for hunting, fishing, shellfish collecting as well as use of traditional tools and flaked bottle glass by Aboriginal people both before and after British colonisation' (p16).

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**Collins, D. 1796 *An account of the English colony in New South Wales with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners, &c. of the native inhabitants of that country: to which are added some particulars of New Zealand, compiled, by permission, from the mss of Lieutenant-Governor King.*** <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/5821112?online=true>

Collins' notes are detailed anecdotes rather than an ethnological record of the traditional owners predominantly from the Sydney, Botany Bay, Broken Bay, Port Jackson areas but also the Hawkesbury, Brisbane, Glasshouse Mountain, Norfolk Island, and New Zealand. See especially the section entitled "Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Natives of New South Wales" pp.350-394. Documentation includes: extensive use of canoes; fishing and disputes with colonials over fish hauls; reprisals for transgressions of local customs (amongst Aboriginal peoples as well as against British and Europeans); social organisation and living arrangements; material culture; language; religious customs, rites and ceremonies [e.g. pp.236-238]; courtship and marriage customs; physical attributes; disease management; burial customs following mass death from epidemics introduced by non-Aboriginal people. Detailed maps of inhabited and exploited areas. Early colonial encounters (violent, tense, and amicable) between British, French and Dutch and convicts sometimes provide insights to perceived transgressions of the colonisers. Names many Aboriginal people including (but not limited to) Bennillong, Cole-be, Pe-mul-wy, Yem-mer-rawan-nie, Gnung-a, Mur-re-mur-gan, Ca-ru-ey [multiple spellings of all names].

**Cruse, B., Stewart, L., & Norman S. 2005 *Mutton Fish: The Surviving Culture of Aboriginal People and Abalone on the South Coast of New South Wales.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press**

Elders Beryl Cruse and Liddy Stewart, with local archivist Sue Norman, have produced a valuable volume to tell the story of the Aboriginal people of the south coast of New South Wales 'through the metaphor of *Haliotis*, or mutton fish' (Norman p.xi) – a.k.a. abalone. Seven of the world's 75 known species of *Haliotis* occur off New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania. This book documents the places where and the names by which *Haoliotis* is known in south-eastern New South Wales, taking a chronological journey from pre-contact stories, through the early contact period, to the ethnographic present. From this book, the place of the marine environment in the living economy of Traditional Owners can be seen.

**Cunningham, P. 1827 *Two Years in New South Wales: A Series of Letters Comprising of Sketches of the Actual State of Society in that Colony.* Vol. 2 London: H. Colburn**

Beyond the Darwinism lie some insights into 'customs and manners' at Port Stephens, Port Jackson and Western Port (pp.17-18). P19 notes 'the Sydney tribes live chiefly by fishing, being supplied with hooks and lines by individuals in the town, to whom they bring all the fish they catch, receiving payment in old clothes, bread, and rum'. Includes observations of clothing and adornment (p20), rapid acquisition of new language fluency (p21), and the incorporation of colonial life into Aboriginal storytelling traditions (p21). Includes some anecdotes from the Hawkesbury (p25), Newcastle (p26), Port Macquarie (p27). The regions of which Cunningham writes are not always clear, particularly in his account of the good spirit *Koyan* and the evil spirit *Potoyan* (pp.40-42) but seems to be from around Sydney and Newcastle. Notes the inclusion of whale in Aboriginal diets (p42); the importance of travel in pursuit of subsistence (p48); and how customary law is maintained (p49-50).

**Davidson, D. 1935 The chronology of Australian watercraft. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 44(1): 1-16; (2): 69-84; (3): 137-152; (4): 193-207.**

Davidson correlates data from specific areas (that had been gathered by earlier researchers) into a chronological and geographic picture of the adoption of watercraft by Australian Aboriginal people. A

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diffusionist theoretical approach is applied throughout. Davidson identifies four types of watercraft and where they can be found in Australia and Tasmania including:

1. dugout canoes (plain dugout canoe; dugout canoe with a single-outrigger; and dugout canoe with a double-outrigger);
2. bark canoes (made from one or more pieces of bark);
3. rafts (logs or rolls of bark or bundles of reeds etc.); and
4. floats (consisting of a single log or roll or bark or bundle of reeds etc.)

Says watercraft are completely lacking along the seacoast between the Murray River in South Australia and Shark Bay in Western Australia. Says Ethel Hassell's account of a log being used as a floatation device to crossing streams between Albany and Esperance is the only evidence of any kind of watercraft for this part of Australia. Says this is similar to that used at the mouth of the Gascoyne River where Austin (1851) found a crude "one-log" sort of raft. Includes citations of early British journals describing watercraft and their manufacture around the country, and a basic map (p.144) shows distribution of rafts and swimming logs around Australia. Describes different methods and contexts of use – large and small, calm and tempestuous bodies of water. Includes early artworks of people using watercrafts - e.g. log used to access islands off the Pilbara coast near Roebourne (Fig 22, p.195). Says the lack of watercraft on south-western coastline "seems to be the result of historical forces which have not yet diffused the types of watercraft of the northern coast to this region, but toward which the diffusion of them has been progressing for some time"(p204).

**Davidson, R. 1987 *Whalemen of Twofold Bay*. Eden: Privately published.**

Historical photographs and artwork from the far south coast of New South Wales featuring more local Aboriginal people (whaling and non-whaling) than can be individually named in an annotated bibliography. Chapter 2 (pp.25-34). 'Aboriginals associated with Twofold Bay Whaling', is a history of Aboriginal engagement in whaling from at least 1842. Includes a detailed illustration of a 'Twofold Bay Canoe' (p28). Includes maps and notes that 'There are many notes in Oswald Brierly's diaries of the Aborigines making very good whalers' (p.vii). Includes a list of names of Aboriginal people to whom blankets were issued at Twofold Bay in 1841.

**Dyall, L. 1982 *Aboriginal fishing stations on the Newcastle coastline*. In *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia*, S. Bowdler [ed], Pp. 52-62. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.**

Archaeological study of shell middens north and south of Newcastle including Birubi (a shell fishhook 'factory'), Swansea, and Dark Point. Succinct but detailed description of tool manufacturing techniques with illustrations, lists of fish species and detailed discussion of methods of capture, lithic technologies, shellfish, birds, mammals, reptiles and other marine life.

**Eades, D. 1976 *The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales Coast*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.**

Linguistic analysis. Notes that there were 'no fluent speakers' at the time of writing (p20). Includes map of south-east coast of New South Wales showing distribution of language groups (inside front sleeve) and a summary of language names citing numerous historical sources including Tindale, O'Grady, Voeglin, Wurm, Capell, and Oates (p2). Dharawal and Dhurga are the coastal language groups that Eades between Wallaga Lake and Botany Bay (pp.4-5). Provides potentially useful summary of historical linguistic sources, and identifies other names by which Dharawal (Tharawal, Thurawal, Thurrawal, Thur'awal, Turwal,

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Turawal, Dharawal, Dharawa:l, Darawal) and Dhurga (Thurga, Thoorga, Dhurga, Dhu:rga, Durga) have been known and their literary sources (pp.6-7). Includes reference to 'The Story of Bundoola' (p13) and cites sources from which variations of that myth can be attained. Word list at the end of the book includes terms for fish, fishing tools, and marine activities (e.g. paddle, canoe paddle, fishing line)(see ppp86-87) and mythical characters (p88) which may help in more regionally-focused research.

**Egloff, B.J. 1990 *Wreck Bay: An Aboriginal Fishing Community*. Canberra: AIATSIS.**

Research materials for history of Wreck Bay community, including official and archaeological reports, genealogies, site information, movement along New South Wales south coast and between the NSW south coast and Monaro, correspondence, research notes, interview transcripts with Ann Nugent, field notes, chronology and maps.

**Egloff, B. 2000 'Sea long stretched between': perspectives of Aboriginal fishing on the south coast of New South Wales in the light of *Mason v Tritton*. *Aboriginal History*, 24: 200-211.**

Egloff was one of the three archaeologists commissioned to draft reports in the defence of seven Aboriginal men charged with 'shucking abalone' and with possessing an excessive number of abalone contrary to the *Fisheries and Oyster Farms (General) Regulations 1989 (NSW)*. Egloff reported on the historical significance of coastal maritime resources. This subsequently formed the basis of a submission to the Minister for Natural Resources seeking amendments to the *Fisheries and Oyster Farms Act 1935* and for possible inclusion in the legal proceedings. The other archaeologists were Sarah Colley (1992) who addressed the nature of prehistoric abalone and shellfish exploitation; and Scott Cane (1992) who reported on the family fishing traditions of the defendants. Egloff focuses on two types of maritime activity, both historically practised on south coast NSW: whaling (by the Thomas family), which has lapsed, and fishing (by the Brierly family) which is customary, historically and continues in the ethnographic present as a commercial practice. Includes detailed descriptions of historical whaling and fishing practices by Aboriginal people along the south-east New South Wales coast. Does not comment on pre-sovereignty customs regarding whales or whaling but cites Twomey (1981) saying that whaling complemented traditional skills and harpooning as specialities while the dangers of whaling promoted mutual respect with sufficient profits for all and was not prohibited (hunting and moving across the country in groups were prohibited). Describes historical living conditions and arrangements of early fishing and whaling peoples. Includes cross-references to publications arising from the *Mason v Tritton* case. Also refers to an article by Kennedy (1996) which discusses the case of *Dershaw v Sutton* on the exercising of native hunting rights in WA. Says Cane's report was exemplary under duress. As it was the first case of its kind, instructions from the defence to the researchers did not focus on a critical matter: the Aboriginal system regulating fishing and abalone gathering. Therefore, the court concluded that there was no material in Cane's report indicating an assertion by Aboriginal communities or Aboriginal members of communities of exclusive rights to fish in an area of the coasts of NSW. Includes translated lyrics of a song recorded by Howitt along New South Wales coast in 1887 (Howitt 1887, cited Egloff 2000: 200).

**Eurobodalla Shire Council 2008 *Aboriginal Men and Women's Heritage, Eurobodalla*. Moruya: Eurobodalla Shire Council.**

Detailed local histories, photos and maps of the coast, sea and islands from Durras to Narooma contributed by Eurobodalla Aboriginal Elders including: John Brierley, Wally Campbell, Margaret Carriage (nee Connell), Linda Cruse, Maureen Davis, Tom Davis, Mary Duroux (nee Hookwin), Patricia 'Trisha' Ellis, Pam Flanders (nee Thomas), Carol Larritt (nee Stewart), Vivienne Mason (nee Ella), Alan Mongta, Lionel Mongta, Doris Moore (nee Davis), Symalene 'Sym' Lye (nee Carriage), Keith Nye, Georgina 'Coopy'

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Parsons, Mervyn Penrith, and Harriett Walker. Includes ethnohistorical information on fishing (including use of nets, and catching fish, shellfish and crustaceans), hunting muttonbirds and their eggs, associations of family groups with particular areas of coast and sea, totemic affiliations, continuity of connections to country and sea.

### **Eurobodalla Shire Council 2012 *Invisible Places: Historical Aboriginal Reserves in the Eurobodalla Shire, New South Wales*. Eurobodalla, New South Wales: Eurobodalla Shire Council.**

This volume is the abridged version of a report to the Eurobodalla Shire Council's Aboriginal Advisory Committee by Susan Donaldson and Sue Feary (see Feary & Donaldson 2001, below) regarding former Aboriginal reserves in the shire. It includes input by archaeologist Jackie Taylor, historians Megan Goulding and Lurelle Pacey, the Moruya & District Historical Society, and traditional custodians including: Georgina Parsons, Violet Parsons, Tom Butler, Gloria Carberry, Lionel Mongta, Trisha Ellis, Doris Moore, Iris White, Lorraine Naylor, Ivan Thomas, Ken Campbell, Glen Campbell, Paula Campbell, Maureen Davis, Pam Flanders, and Leonard Nye. Marine references within this publication include (but are not limited to):

- 'Native Reserve' at Dalmeny (p6), on the mouth of Wagonga River, and which was established following the passing of the *Crown Lands Act 1861 (NSW)*. The site includes a large headland midden complex.
- The coastal 'Merriman's Reserve' at Tarourga Lake (pp.12-14), around which there are shell middens, scarred trees and burials. Oral histories account for continuity of ocean fishing practices by Aboriginal people who lived at the Reserve.
- 'Wallaga Lake Reserve', Akolele (pp.22-23) noting there are 'several places of spiritual and ceremonial significance.

The bibliography also points to some potentially valuable sources of more detailed ethnohistorical information.

### **Feary, S., & Donaldson, S. 2011 *Connecting with Country in the Eurobodalla, South Coast, New South Wales: Exploring the Connections between Aboriginal People, Places and Cultural Practices*. A report for the Eurobodalla Shire Council and the Aboriginal community. [Typescript]**

This report summarises the locations and cultural heritage significance of 36 sites following consultations with traditional custodians during an Aboriginal Heritage Study. Includes a summary of the shire's prehistory and social history, listing names of cultural and linguistic groups including multiple spellings. Information regarding the sites are contained within succinct tables but tend to focus on the coastline and areas inland – rather than cultural values specifically associated with the ocean. The names of custodians consulted may be helpful in eliciting further information for future fieldwork in relation to ocean environment.

### **FitzRoy, R. 1839 *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle Between the Years 1826 and 1836: Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe: In Three Volumes*. Available: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/161801>**

FitzRoy's volume really captures the tyranny and ethnocentrism of the colonial regime. Chapter XXI (pp.515-538) includes anecdotal observations about Aboriginal people who FitzRoy met as he travelled from Sydney to Bathurst (pp.519-520) but little of specific value in terms of customary marine tenure. He later records the forced removal of Aboriginal people from Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) to the Bass

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Strait islands (pp.533-534); and meeting 'the White Cockatoo men' and observing their ceremonial adornment and dancing (including the Emu Dance) at King George's Sound (pp.537-538).

**Flinders, M. 1966[1814] *Voyage to Terra Australis [etc]* 2 vols. London: G & W. Nicol.**

The detail is too vast and broad to cover fully here, however among the geographical records there are observations of encounters with Aboriginal people around the south, east and north coasts of Australia. Includes summary of observations made by earlier mariners, including their interpretations of Aboriginal people, which may provide helpful cues for further historical investigations— e.g. see Flinders' citation of Captain Tobias Furneaux's notes regarding his visit to Van Diemen's' Land in 1773, saying 'not the least mark of canoe or boat was seen, and it was generally thought they had none'; and Flinders cites George Vancouver who anchored near Cape Leeuwin in 1772 and observed that 'No marks of canoes, nor the remains of fish, even shell fish, were found near their habitations; and this circumstance, with the shyness of the birds and quadrupeds, induced a belief that the natives depended principally upon the woods for their subsistence'. However, such face-value observations should be considered in conjunction with subsequent evidence – e.g. the archaeological records of Charlie Dortch (see Dortch, C.E. in South-western Australia) arguing that midden evidence suggests otherwise). **Vol 1:** Chapter III includes observations of Aboriginal people at King George's Sound, including language. Chapter IV documents the voyage from King George's Sound through the Recherche Archipelago with observations of the mainland and islands, and across the Great Australian Bight. Chapter V focuses on Fowler's Bay, the St Francis isles, and Nuyts' Archipelago in South Australia. Chapter VI refers to mainland and islands between Anxious Bay and Port Lincoln. Chapter VII refers to Port Lincoln to Kangaroo Island, with an excursion inland. Chapter VIII journeys from Kangaroo Island to the Yorke Peninsula and return, then east from Cape Jervis, with remarks about French activities on the South Coast. Chapter IX includes observations from Tasmania and Victoria. Chapter X extends from Port Philip to Port Jackson with observations of mainland and islands between. **Vol 2.:** Chapters I-IX are devoted to voyages along the coasts of Queensland, the Torres Strait, the Northern Territory and Timor. Chapter X documents the return to Port Jackson via the Bass Strait. [Note: Versions of Flinders' vast work are available online, and not all of them are meticulously reproduced.]

**Flood, J. 1980 *The Moth Hunters: Aboriginal Prehistory of the Australian Alps*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal studies.**

Archaeological chronology of occupation of south-eastern Australia, but ultimately focuses on the Australian Capital Territory (i.e. inland). Includes a map of language groups along south-east coast from Hawkesbury River (New South Wales) to Western Port (Victoria) (p2) that may be a useful illustration for inclusion in reports.

**Flood, J. 1982 *Katungal, Paiendra and Bemeringal*. In *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia*, S. Bowdler [ed], Pp. 29-31. Canberra: Australian National University Press.**

Very brief but potentially illustrative summary of the connectedness of coastal and hinterland prehistory, identifying three types of land use practice. The *Katungal* or 'fishermen' are associated with the coast. Does not mention marine tenure, so much as coastal practices.

**Goodall, H. 1982 *A History of Aboriginal Communities in New South Wales, 1909-1939*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney.**

Historian Heather Goodall's PhD research focuses on New South Wales Aboriginal political activity from 1909 to 1939, whereby people persisted in demanding to exercise their customary rights – including exploitation of ocean resources. It looks at foundations of demands for land (and sea) rights that continue

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to the present day and includes: maps showing geographic locales of socio-linguistic and cultural groups (pp.16-17); documentation that 'on the coast, Aboriginal subsistence food sources included the sea and estuaries as well as the land and rivers' in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (p25); demands for fishing boats made by Guri people from the coast and the Hawkesbury during the 1860s (p26), adding that 'the land which Guris occupied or requested in this area was usually sandy land near the coast and appears to have been intended as a residential base from which to fish' (reiterated again on p34); reserves established south of Yass, and in the Macleay and Nambucca areas 'were reserves notified after requests by Aborigines and again those on the south coast were residential bases for fishing' (p43); the role of women and children in procurement of marine resources (p52); and the role of Mari people in catching and selling fish (p54) and Guri people in fishing for subsistence and commercially (p58). A section entitled 'The Coast' (pp. 115-128) provides an historical account of local Aboriginal subsistence and commercial interests in marine fishing. Chapter IV (pp.154-215) details community level resistance, identifying individuals and their experiences of forced removal and their modes of resistance. Goodall includes the oral histories of many south-east coast Aboriginal people who have subsequently passed away.

**Goodall, H. 1990 *Land in our country; the Aboriginal land rights movement in south-eastern Australia 1860-1914. Aboriginal History* 14(1-2): 1-24.**

Documents efforts made by people of south-eastern New South Wales to continue exercising their traditional rights to fish. Cites a 19<sup>th</sup> century police officer who noted the importance of access to marine resources among Kuri Elder Jack Bawn 'and his people' (p5). Includes a document drafted by Aboriginal people from Sydney and Jervis Bay demanding boats and nets for fishing (p7). Later says 'At Gloucester, 60 Aborigines were supporting themselves fishing and growing vegetables' (Report of Protector 1883, cited p7). Goodall identifies three elements in Aboriginal demands for land – of which one, for South Coast people, is reserve land as residential bases from which to fish for market as well as for subsistence (p8). Says 'Kuris on the north coast had less urgent economic needs as their traditional subsistence base was wider, including the sea, estuaries and rivers' (p12)

**Goodall, H. 2008[1996] *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972. Sydney: University of Sydney Press.***

Building on Goodall's PhD research, and involving further consultation with Aboriginal people from around New South Wales (many of whom have since passed away), this book includes more recently acquired information – such as updated spellings, so that *Kuri* is now spelled *Koori*, and *Muri* is *Murri*. It primarily supports arguments for continuity of connections to country, including marine environments but primarily focussing on 'land' as a generic construct for country that may include land and waters (inland, coastal, and sea). For example: 'Whites were forbidden to take fish from the rock fish traps by the 1842 and 1850 reservations' (p170); 'The reserve over the Brewarrina fisheries, which forbade whites from taking fish, was treated as a serious matter by both Aboriginal owners and police, who were continuing to stop white fishing there in 1906' (p63); and 'The centuries of use by the Wodi Wodi people were attested by the great shell middens in the area' (p367). Chapter 1 'Land and Meaning' explains local Aboriginal spiritual and economic values in relation to terrestrial realm, drawing anecdotes and inferences from Central Australia, the Western Desert, and Arnhem Land in order illustrate how they might similarly be understood in New South Wales. In terms of spirituality, Goodall writes 'Dreaming knowledge is demonstrated by the presence of stories about ancient and large-scale events such as rising sea levels and changing river courses' (p7).

**Harper, J. 1990[1826] The Journal of Mr Harper. In *A Documentary History of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines 1770-1850*, M. Organ [ed] Pp. 139-142. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, University of Wollongong.**

Harper was a Wesleyan missionary who visited Aboriginal people at Bowen Island, Jervis Bay and Batemans Bay, with a view to setting up a mission in the area. He notes Aboriginal people 'employed in Fishing' at Bowen's Island (p139), and their fish-cooking methods and customary beliefs. From Jervis Bay, Harper includes a songline without translation, description of dwellings, brief discussions of hunting, fishing, and marriage customs. At Batemans Bay, includes documentation of the use of coastal firing as a system of signalling, customary exchange of goods in greetings, marine resource exploitation (including fish and seals).

**Howitt, A.W. 1884a On some Australian beliefs. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 13: 185-198.**

Alfred William Howitt was an English-born 19<sup>th</sup> century explorer and natural scientist who migrated to Australia and took a keen interest in Aboriginal culture and social organisation. This paper specifically names several groups including the Kurnai of Gippsland, the Murring of the coast between Mallagoota Inlet and the Shoalhaven River, and several other inland and riverine groups. Says that 'The Wolgal, Ngarego, and coast Murring are, in fact, all "Murring" ... I have used the word "coast Murring," as merely a convenient term to distinguish these people from the allied mountain Murring (Ngarego) (p185). Provides a useful summary of the ways in which physical and spiritual worlds are one (p186). Notes that Tharamulun, or Thrumulun, or Daramulun, as the word is variously pronounced in the different Murring languages, was the Supreme Spirit believed in from the sea-coast across to the northern boundary claimed by the Wolgal, about Yass and Gundagai, and from Omeo to at least as far as the Shoalhaven River, in a line approximately east and west. He was not, it seems to me, everywhere thought to be a malevolent being, but he was dreaded as one who could severely punish the trespasses committed against those tribal ordinances and customs whose first institution is ascribed to him. He, it is said, taught the Murring all the arts they knew; he instituted the ceremonies of Initiation of Youths; he made the original Mudji (the Turndun of the Kurnai); ordered the animal names to be assumed by men; and directed what rules should be observed as to the food permitted or forbidden to certain person' (p192).

**Howitt, A. W. 1884b On some Australian ceremonies of initiation. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 13: 432-459.**

Focuses on five groups of south-eastern New South Wales and eastern Victoria, including Wolgal, Ngarego, Theddora, Coast Murring, and Wiraijuri. Documents sharing ceremonies between these groups – e.g. says 'the Coast Murring, according to their own account, attended the initiations not only of the Ngarego, but also of the Katungal (sea-coast people), and the Kurial (northern people), as far as or even beyond Sydney. They intermarried with the Krauatun-Kurnai about Mallagoota Inlet ... Similarly, the Wiraijuri attend the ceremonies of all the tribes adjoining them, as the Barkinghi and Wonghibon' (p434). Howitt draws inferences to ceremonial sharing from at least Sydney in the north, possibly extending into Queensland, and to South Australia in the west and north-west (p435). Provides intimate details of initiation ceremonies, including references to the sea (p447). Also summarises social organisation including moieties and totemic affiliations, and gender restrictions. Includes an account of how social organisation is adapted to changing circumstances – e.g. 'in cases where the social organisation has broken down, the procedure is different to some degree. I have said that among the Coast Murring it is the intermarrying local groups which are strongly exogamic, and this practice obscures the effect of the still existing restriction as to the totem. The local groups are arranged under two great geographical divisions, named respectively

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*Katungal*, that is, sea-coast people, and *Baiangal*, that is to say forest people' (pp.438-439). Says the *Katungal* 'live on fish, and other produce of the sea, and are therefore properly spoken of as "fishermen"' (Footnote 1, p439).

**Howitt, A.E. 1887 Notes of songs and songmakers of some Australian tribes. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 16: 327-335.**

Includes songs from groups including Coast Murring, the Woiworung of the Yarra River, and the Kurnai of Gippsland, also drawing a comparison to Narrinyeri of the Murray River in South Australia (p329). Includes a Coast Murring song about the sea (p331), with a citation noting 'He is a fisherman and owns a good Sydney-built boat, which he manages with the aid of his wife. In the olden times theses "sea coast men" (*katungal*) used to go out a mile or more from the coast in their bark canoes to spear fish' (Footnote 1, p331). Later notes the ways that some songs may be shared between or carried across by different cultural groups – e.g. 'A very favorite song of this kind has travelled in late years from the Murring to the Kurnai. It was composed by one Mragula, a noted song maker of the Wolgal, describing his attempt to cross the Snowy River in a leaky bark canoe during flood' (p332). Howitt also shows how the changing colonial environment was incorporated into existing customs around songmaking – e.g. 'A favorite song of this kind with the Murring is about "going to Melbourne in the steamer" (p332). Also notes the importance of songs to pacify or to invoking responses from spirit beings.

**Howitt, A.W. 1996[1904] *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.**

This very broad but comprehensive study includes useful anecdotes and summaries but is also embedded with opinion that requires prudent filtration and interpretation. For example, in terms of marine resource exploitation, says 'In 1896 an important find of aboriginal stone hatchets was made at Shea's Cree, near Sydney, at a depth of 11 feet below water-level, together with bones of dugong, bearing such cuts and scratches, not recent, as would be made by direct blows of a sharp-edge stone tomahawk' (p17). Chapter 1 takes a speculative Darwinian approach to understanding the origins of Tasmanian and Australian Aboriginal people, summarising what explorers had reported from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; and, as such, may at least be useful for identifying earlier bibliographic references. Of Tasmania's bark rafts, Howitt says 'there is not a tittle of evidence in support of the belief that the Tasmanians ever were acquainted with the art of constructing a canoe able to cross such a sea strait as that between Tasmania and Australia, much less wider extents of ocean' (p9). Chapter II offers information on coastal dwelling people of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. For example, 'The advantages of the coast lands increase on coming eastwards; and from the Gulf of St. Vincent the country afforded ample food supplies, from the lakes at the Murray mouth and the country bordering upon them and the sea. Still more favourable conditions existed in Victoria, and especially Gippsland, where again extensive lakes and adjacent country afforded an unfailing supply of fish ... The tribes of the New South Wales coast enjoyed similar advantages' (p35). Includes illustrations, tables, photographs, and artworks; and there is a list of 'tribal divisions' that Howitt that associates with given geographic areas – including coastal (p59). P65 defines country belonging to *Yerkla-mining* as extending 'from about 100 miles east to about 40 miles west of Eucla, along the coast, and as far inland as they dared go' (p65). Includes a Dreaming about a snake that occupies the Nullarbor Plain and Fowler Bay (pp.65-67). Pp.67-69 identifies custodian groups of the South Australian coast, with brief summaries of social organisation according to moieties. Pp.69-72 identifies coastal dwelling groups of Victoria, along with brief notes on social organisation, descent groups, and names of known Elders. Pp.73-77 includes detailed ethnological information on 'the Kurnai of Gippsland', including dialects spoken, group names in language, and customs relating to coastal and marine resources. For example, p74 notes that 'Any stranger who took swans' eggs on this island without the permission of

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the of the *Bunjil-baul* had to fight them, but there was no prohibition against friendly tribesmen who might visit the island taking any other kind of food or game'. Also includes brief information on 'the Biduelli Tribe who occupied the forest and jungle covered country between the high coast ranges and the immediate coast along which the Kurnai lived' (pp.79-81). Pp.81-86 identifies coastal groups of New South Wales, including language terms for group and sub-group names, and the coastal and sea country spoken for. Chapter III 'Social Organisation' (pp.88-155), like earlier chapters, shifts focus one region of Australia to another within quick succession; and readers are advised to become familiar with the many group names recorded/reported by explorers and historians over the centuries. There is some potentially useful information from South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales including: language terms, Dreamings, moieties, totemic affiliations, and descent groups. Chapter IV 'Relationship Terms' (pp.156-172) includes a description of the classificatory system, a table of Dieri relationships with an explanation of the system, as well explanation of *Nadada-wa*, *Kami* and *Noa* relationships, and a table of Kurnai terms and explanation of relationships. Chapter V 'Marriage Rules' (pp.173-294) is detailed, and includes specific information on custom, for example, noting similarities in custom in eastern Victoria and south-eastern New South Wales: 'The old men, when at the initiation ceremonies, told me that the rule was that the "waddy-men," that is, those who get their living by climbing trees for game, must go down to the sea-coast and obtain wives from the people who get their living by fishing' (p257). General rules of 'Tribal government' are similarly broad in Chapter VI (pp.295-354), with anecdotes and interpretations of coastal and inland groups from South Australia to Queensland. Chapter VII 'Medicine-men and Magic' (pp.355-425) draws analogies with groups from around Australia, while primarily focussing on Dieri, Narrinyeri, Wotjobaluk, Wurunjjerri, Wiimbaio, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and Kurnai. Despite the broadness, it is recommended that any research for sea claims in south-eastern Australia should include review of this literature. Includes songlines with bar music (pp.419-424), and a photograph of a Kurnai man in a bark canoe (p424). Chapter VIII 'Beliefs and Burial Practices' (pp.426-508) is particularly interesting, noting many examples of religious beliefs and customs in relation to the ocean – not necessarily as distinct from other water sources or terrestrial elements. For example: 'The Kapiiri legend shows that the earth is supposed to be bordered by water; the *Mura-mura* Madaputa-tupuru, and the *Mankara Waka* and *Pirna* have both reached it in their wanderings. The Wolgal belief is that there is water all round the flat earth. They know of the sea round the coast for a great distance, and heart of it from the more distant blacks, even before the white men came' (p426). Includes several Dreamings from southern coastal, northern and interior groups that associated the spiritual rainbow serpent with water (including the sea and sky) – e.g. 'The Bunya-Bunya people in Queensland are also very much afraid of the rainbow, which they call *Thugine* (large serpent). Once, they say, a camp of blacks was close to the beach, and all went out to hunt and fish, leaving only two boys in camp with strict orders not to go to the beach, or leave the camp till the elders returned. The boys played about for a time in the camp, and then getting tired of it, went down to the beach where the *Thugine* came out of the sea, and being always on the watch for unprotected children, caught the two boys and turned them into two rocks that now stand between Double Island Point and Inskip Point, and have deep water close up to them ... The Yuin believe that the thunder is the voice of *Daramulun*. The Gringai had a great dread of thunder ... According to the Tongaranka, thunder is the song of a corroboree held by the big old men in the sky, who are making rain' (p431). [Note: see also Ethel Hassell reference in Western Australia bibliography, where she notes terrified responses of Wheelman people to water spouts and thunder storms at sea'.] Howett writes 'The Kamilaroi believe that the spirit of a man when he dies goes to the dark patch in the Magellan clouds, which they call *Maiamba*, meaning endless water or river' (p439); 'As far back as 1795, when a man-of-war ... was anchored at Port Stephens, four men were found ... The natives had received them as "the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again" ... The old men of the tribes about Maryborough said when they first saw white men, "That is all right, they are the *Murthara* (ghosts) come back from the island"; and they recognised such men as their

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relatives, gave them names and a family' (p445). Burial customs (pp. 447-475) include those of Dieri, Yerkla-mining (south-eastern Western Australia and south-western South Australia), Narrang-ga, several groups around Adelaide, Wurunjerrri, several groups around Port Phillip Bay, Kurnai, Gippsland peoples, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and the Wolgal saying 'The Wolgal were very particular burying everything belonging to a dead man with him ; spears and nets were included ; even in one case a canoe was cut into pieces so that it could be put in the grave' (pp.461-462).

**Howitt, A.W. 1998[1885] *Australian Group Relations*. Washington: Government Printing Office.**

Paper presented by Howitt to the Anthropological Society of Washington, and subsequently published by the Smithsonian Institute. Offers a critique of early Australian anthropological interpretations before presenting generalised observations on: 'tribal structure'; social organisation according to moieties, descent groups, and totemic affiliations (including examples from groups and widely dispersed as Dieri in Central Australia and Kurnai and Murring on the south-east coast of New South Wales and Victoria); marriage laws, customs, and group names).

**Hughes, P.J., & Lampert, R.J. 1982 Prehistoric population change in southern coastal New South Wales. In *Coastal Archaeology in Eastern Australia*, S. Bowdler [ed], Pp. 16-28. Canberra: Australian National University Press.**

Archaeological analysis of 20 sites in south coastal New South Wales. Argues that there was a significant population increase during the Holocene, especially the late Holocene, as evidenced in an increase of the occurrence of archaeological sites. Could be useful to giving depth of time to contemporary resource exploitation. Summarises findings from Hughes' earlier work at several sites in the Sydney district including: rockshelters at Burrill Lake, Currarong and Sassafras; and a shell midden site at Bass Point. Proposes several reasons for increased intensity of occupation, including links between increases in: population, marine productivity, and extractive efficiency. Suggests that the population increase proposed for the coast also occurred inland. Demonstrates changes in resource use – particularly intensification of land-use practices. Shows major changes in lithic technology.

**Hunter, J. 1968[1793] *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island: With the Discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean, since the publication of Phillip's Voyage, compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governor Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; and the Voyages of the first Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792*. Australiana facsimile editions. No. 148. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia.**

Scottish born John Hunter was second captain of the HMS Sirius which was detailed to convoy the First Fleet to Australia, under the command of Governor Arthur Phillip in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. This account includes: brief mentions of encounters with Aboriginal people at Botany Bay (pp.39-40); interviews with Aboriginal people at Port Jackson (pp.56-67, 72), along with descriptions of hunting, weaponry, clothing and adornments, social customs, dwellings. This latter includes details of tensions between Aboriginal and British peoples, from which inferences as to customary transgressions may be deduced. Port Jackson is again mentioned in Chapter VI (pp.118-139), specifically regarding the impact of smallpox on local Aboriginal people, and the capture of two and escape of Aboriginal men. Identifies several Port Jackson Aboriginal people by name. Chapter VIII (pp.149-166) also documents interactions between Port Jackson Aboriginal people and the British at Port Jackson, specifically regarding intercultural relations and the customary spearing of Governor Phillip, and ceremonial adornments, dancing, music and singing. After travels to Norfolk Island, Lord Howe Island and New Zealand, Hunter returns to Port Jackson (pp. 288-299)

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and reproduces a vocabulary of the language terms gathered by Captain Collins (the judge-advocate) and Governor Phillip (p291-298), and records customs around eating, ceremonies, Dreamings (pp.299). Also records the British capture of Aboriginal people, by luring them with commodities such as fish (pp.289-290). Chapter XVII (pp319-324) includes further observations from Port Jackson, although primarily focusing on convicts and the state of settlement at Sydney Cove and Rose Hill; but it is Chapter XVIII (pp.324-335), also at Port Jackson, that includes comprehensive records of an interview with Bennelong, Colebe and Nanbarre. Chapter XIX (pp.336-346) describes domestic relations including marriage, child-rearing, and coastal foods (including naturally poisonous plants) and their preparation methods. Includes an interpretation of marriage custom in observation of the experiences of a young local woman, Boorong (pp.336-37). Chapter XX (pp.347-354) documents contestation for provisions, and cultural differences regarding material property and food stuffs. It also notes observations regarding initiation of two young men (pp.351-352). There are two chapters focusing on explorations inland (taking with them Aboriginal guides from the coast), before further 'Transactions at Port Jackson' in Chapter XXIII (pp.379-388), including more details on Bennelong, and the establishment of a whale-fishery on the south coast – which would subsequently be an industry attracting many Aboriginal people as employees and as fishers in their own right.

**Hutchinson, I., & Attenbrow, V. 2009 Late-Holocene mega-tsunamis in the Tasman Sea: an assessment of the coastal archaeological record of New South Wales. *The Holocene* 19(4): 599-609.**

Interpretation of geomorphological and archaeological evidence from 52 sites in south-central New South Wales, arguing that the archaeology does not support the hypothesis of inundation of the coast by mega-tsunamis in the late Holocene. Pambula Lake and Bass Point archaeological sites particularly show no sign that these camps were abandoned or that the marine diet of local Aboriginal people changed at the time of the two most recent mega-tsunamis. Also argues that changes in shellfish exploitation patterns and adoption of new fishing technologies by Aboriginal people on the coast do not coincide with the times of the inferred tsunamis.

**Jackomos, A. 1960 Political; mission activities; social activities; buildings.**  
**<https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/217492118?q&versionId=238635603>**

Photographic and sound archive of Alick Jackomos, including religious practices, socioeconomic and living conditions, transport, social events, sport, material culture, education, and named persons (Briggs, at : Port Augusta (western South Australia), Bookayana (south east South Australia), Framlingham / Purnim (Western Victoria), Melbourne area (Victoria), Queenscliff (Bellarine Peninsula, Victoria), Bung Yarnda / Lake Tyers (Gippsland, eastern Victoria). Persons named include: the Briggs family, Doug Nicholls 1906-1988, Margaret Tucker 1904-1996, Merle Robertha Jackomos 1929-, Eric Onus, Cooper family.

**James, A. 2001 *Batemans Bay – Story of a Town*. Batemans Bay, New South Wales: Self-published.**

At times romanticised (e.g. pp.vi-vii) historical account (pp.1-10) of the Aboriginal custodians of the Batemans Bay area in south-eastern New South Wales. Identifies Walbinga, Yuin and Thau people as the traditional owners of the greater region. Includes details of first contact between the British and local people from 1797. Notes seafood in local diets (p3), but then tends to focus on land matters. Includes an anecdote about an Aboriginal man named Harry Chapman who is said to have alternately sailed and rowed a small boat from Bairnsdale in Victoria all the way to Hanging Rock (p10).

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**Karskens, G. 2010 Barangaroo: a woman worth remembering. *The Age* 6 March 2010. Available: <http://www.theage.com.au/opinion/society-and-culture/barangaroo-a-woman-worth-remembering-20100305-pot6.html>**

Newspaper article providing some potentially useful background information on contemporary arguments around Barangaroo, a Cammeragal woman from the areas now known as North Harbour and Manly, and a wife of Bennelong. She was buried, by her husband, in the garden at Government House.

**Kwok, N. 2011 Owing your people: sustaining relatedness and identity in a south coast Aboriginal community. In *Ethnography and the Production of Anthropological Knowledge*, Y. Musharbash & M. Barber [eds], Pp.159-174. Available: <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/ethnography-production-anthropological-knowledge>**

Kwok explains how demand sharing among the Koori people of Jerrinja, on the South Coast of New South Wales, tests relationships between people and their commitments to Aboriginal identity. Her description of the Jerrinja Koori community could be aptly applied to many other Aboriginal communities in southern Australia (if not elsewhere): she says it is “best understood as a kin-based moral community in which relatedness provides the primary structural principle of social, economic and political organisation and in which a person’s identity and worth are measured ... by one’s recognition of and by family, and one’s participation in sociable relations with them” (p164). Kwok draws on Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of practice to juxtapose the theoretical relationships constructed by anthropologists with the relationships continually practised and cultivated by the Jerrinja Koori community. She draws attention to ways behaviours and utterances a person can use to demonstrate their South Coast Koori identity – acts which show that you ‘own your people’. These demonstrative behaviours may or may not bring acceptance or recognition of Koori identity from the broader Koori group (depending on other mitigating circumstances), but they certainly leave the person open to multiple disadvantages, as the broader society views Aboriginal identity unfavourably.

**Kwok, N. 2012 Shame and the embodiment of boundaries. *Oceania* 82(1):28-44.**

Kwok explores what she calls, ‘the genealogy of Koori shame’ (p28) at Jerrinja Aboriginal community on the New South Wales South Coast. She argues that shame is both the embodiment of racially-based social subordination, and bastion of Koori cultural autonomy. Kwok considers how historical observances of traditional custom, the ‘colonial project’ (p31), kinship, cross-cultural engagement, and political and moral agenda inform contemporary constructions of Koori shame. She ultimately argues that shame should not be seen only as a sign of Aboriginal people being oppressed, but also as sign of indigenous resistance of oppression.

**Lambie, J. 1842-45 Census of the Aborigines in the District of Maneroo for the years 1842-1845, New South Wales Governor’s Despatches. In *Illawarra & South Coast Aborigines 1770 – 1850*, M. Organ [ed], Pp. 270-285. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, University of Wollongong.**

Lambie was the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Maneroo district (including the far south coast) and often included observations of Aboriginal people in his reports to the Colonial Secretary. In 1842, he writes ‘last year three boats’ Crews, in number eighteen, were employed by the Messieurs Imlay in the Whale Fishery at Twofold Bay on the same lay or term as the whites. The Blacks were Stationed on the opposite side of the Bay to the other Fishermen, and they adopted the Same habits as the Whites. They lived in Huts, Slept in Beds, used utensils in cooking, and made the flour into bread; but, as soon as the fishing Season was over, they all returned to their tribes in the Bush (p270). Includes census details documenting

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where Aboriginal came from to live and work on the coast (pp. 271, 276, 278-279, 280-281). [Note of caution: Lambie's letters are published chronologically along with those of other early British recordists, and care should be taken to ensure the correct author is cited. Some of these other records also may be useful for research on customary marine tenure; however, without knowledge of all of these culturally rich areas, the relevance of these other entries is not immediately apparent.]

**Lampert, R. 1966 An excavation at Durras North, New South Wales. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 1(2): 83-118**

Archaeological excavation of a late-Holocene midden in a sea cave at Durras North on the south coast of New South Wales, that was occupied during the period of European settlement. Artefacts include bone points, shell fish hooks, fish hook files, flaked stone, and faunal remains of food. Lampert argues the materials demonstrate that diet was derived almost entirely from the sea, and that the Durras North bone point industry was peculiar to its locality, contrasting with sites of comparable date.

**Lampert, R.J., & Sanders, F. 1973 Plants and men on the Beecroft Peninsula, New South Wales. *Mankind* 9(2): 96-108.**

Lampert & Sanders argue for an integration of archaeology and life sciences with ethnographic methods to facilitate more holistic research; and ultimately demonstrate that continuity of connection to country takes many forms beyond the stereotype of pristine tradition. They engage an Aboriginal Elder who had 'some knowledge of traditional economy, Mr D. Carpenter' as an ethnoarchaeological consultant (p96). The survey also included ethnobotanical mapping. The Beecroft Peninsula (the northern headland of Jervis Bay) is chosen as it contains nearly 60 known camp sites (some intensively occupied), and because it is known to Mr Carpenter from his childhood and early adulthood. The result is 'an interesting speculation about Aboriginal impact on the vegetation ... Ethnographic evidence for plant species eaten by Aborigines in south-eastern Australia generally has been used in combination with the botanical inventory for Beecroft to produce a list of edible plants. The more direct evidence of Mr Carpenter vindicates the use of wider ranging ethnographic records.' (p102). Lampert *et al* note that 'although the use of plants as artefacts rather than food is better known for the area, Mr Carpenter adds some useful details' and that 'acculturated indigenous people should certainly not be ignored as a possible source of information' (p102).

**Mackenzie, A. 1874 Specimens of native Australian languages. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. 3: 247-261.**

Includes words, sentences, and grammar of 'Mudthugn or Thurumba' from Braidwood, Ulladulla, Moruya, and Jervis Bay, including comparisons and contrasts with other regions including the Lower Hunter at Kamilaroi, western Victoria, and Shoalhaven. Many of the language samples tell stories about fishing, including three versions of the Dreaming Story of Bundoola (pp.257-260), as told by Bimmoon of Ulladulla and Thooritgal of Ulladulla. The story conveys practices around fishing, spear fishing, canoeing, and social customs around country, and the creation of site at Bundarwa. The third version is told in English by Bimmoon and includes more detail. There are other Dreamings shared including: the Thurawal story of The Pleiades (p260); and 'How the Pheasant and Eel went to *Didthul* (the Pigeon-house Hill)' (p260-261).

**Massola, A. 1965 The Port Albert frog and the white rock. *Victorian Naturalist* 82: 111-113. Available: <http://www.fncv.org.au/the-victorian-naturalist/>**

A significant Dreaming story from Victoria concerning Tidelek the Frog and Borun, the white rock that which sits at the catchments of Port Albert, about 230km south-east of Melbourne. Other versions of this

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Dreaming have been recorded by E.M. Curr in *The Australian Race*, A.W. Howitt in several publications, and Robert Brough Smyth in *The Aborigines of Victoria*.

**Mathews, R.H. 1896 The bunan ceremony of New South Wales. *American Anthropologist* 9(10): 327-344.**

Robert Hamilton Mathews was born in 1841 at Narellan, New South Wales. He qualified as a licensed surveyor, but from 1889 he acted as deputy coroner. It was during his years as a surveyor that he developed an interest in traditional Aboriginal life and customs. From the 1890s he travelled widely interviewing people, conducting field research, and publishing his findings. This article describes in detail the initiation ceremonies of groups occupying the southeast coast of New South Wales from Bulli to about the Victorian border. Focuses particularly on the Shoalhaven River and adjacent districts. Describes customs around gender roles, 'gathering the tribes' (p330), arrival of contingents, daily performances on ceremonial ground, taking away the boys, 'ceremonies in the bush' (p336), return of the boys, and the final ceremony when the boys are shown to their mothers as men. Says 'during this term, which may extend over several months, the neophytes are not permitted to go into any water or to look into it' (p344).

**Mathews, R.H. 1898 Initiation ceremonies of Australian tribes. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 37(157): 54-73**

This article describes in detail the initiation practices among the Koombanggary people of the coast between Clarence River and Nambucca. Mathews describes their social organisation as being 'divided into four sections, with numerous totems consisting of animals, plants and other natural objects' (p55). He describes the circumstances in which initiation ceremonies are held, and the rituals and customs involved in that process – including gender roles, as well as the specific roles of initiates mothers, and older men. Says that 'each afternoon when the men return from the hunting or fishing expeditions, which have engaged them during the earlier portion of the day, the men of the local tribe start from the camp and walk away to the *eetteemat*, carrying a boomerang or some other weapon in each hand' (p59), then further describes an ensuing ceremony. Mathews says that 'North of the Hunter river and extending along the sea coast to about Cape Hawk there is an elementary ceremony called Dhalgai' (p68).

**Mathews, R.H. 1901 The Thurrawal language. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 35: 127-160.**

Describes the language spoken by people who Mathews says live between Port Hacking and Jervis Bay on the New South Wales south-east coast. Includes orthography, grammars, nouns and verbs in various tenses, conjugations, root words and suffixes. Says that many of the words recorded by Mr D. Collins and Captain John Hunter a century earlier are still in use, and recognisable, among the Dharruk people in Mathews' ethnographic present. Some of the sentences presented for linguistic deconstruction provide insight into the lifeways of people at the time of recording – e.g. 'the canoe from the other side I paddled, or, I paddled across in the canoe' (p147), and a model of an 'interrogation' concerning how many fish a person caught (pp.148-149). The appendix includes a considerably brief description of the Dharruk language, spoken by people adjoining the Thurrawal to the north, and extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River and inland to Windsor, Penrith, and Campbelltown (pp.155-160), concluding with an extensive word list.

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**Mathews, R.H., & Everitt, M. 1900** *The organisation, language and initiation ceremonies of the Aborigines of the south-east coast of New South Wales. Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 34: 262-279.

Mathews brings together his fascinations in language and initiation ceremonies in one unlikely journal article about the people who 'formerly inhabited' the south-east coast between the Hawkesbury River and Cape Howe, and inland to the Blue Mountains (p.262). Identifies the names of people interviewed and their places of residence including: "Jerry Murphy," a native of Bega, and also a resident for many years at Cooma; "Steve," of Braidwood; "Budthong," of Shoalhaven; "Timbery," of Wollongong; "Ned Carroll," of goulburn' and from many others, including some old women' (p262). Describes social organisation around marriage and child-rearing (pp.263-264). Says 'The Gun'-dung-ur—ra is one of the principle dialects used in the area' and proceeds to explain the grammar (pp.265-276). Some of the sentences give an insight into life and customs around the sea – e.g. 'that fish is mine' [etc] (p270). Jumps abruptly from grammar into description of the *Kudsha*, or *Nar'ramang*, 'abridged form of initiation ceremony' (pp.276). The description, while capturing regional variation relative to the two previous citations of Mathews (above), follows much the same format – gender roles, ritual separation of novices from their mothers, gathering of groups, thick description around initiation, and introduction of initiates to social life as men. Notes that the ceremony witness by D. Collins in 1795 was the *Kudsha* but it appears that 'he was not permitted to see the more sacred portions of the rite'. It may also be that Collins was more mindful and considerate of Aboriginal custom around secret-sacred ceremonies!

**McAndrew, A. 1989** *Memoirs of Mollymook, Milton and Ulladulla. Epping, New South Wales: Self-published.*

Self-published history of a fishing region of south-eastern New South Wales. Includes some ethnohistorical data on local Aboriginal people, including language spoken, word lists of marine resources, and a fair degree of conjecture. However, among the postulations (and terminology that would not be tolerated today) there exist some specific data such as locations and types of middens, useful historical ethnological references and citations, places of residence, documentation of employment in and customary exploitation of marine resources, and copies of drawings and photographs of local Aboriginal people in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**McCarthy, F.D. [ed] 1970.** *Aboriginal Antiquities in Australia: Their Nature and Preservation. Australian Aboriginal Studies No. 22, Prehistory and Material Culture Series No. 3. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.*

Archaeologist and anthropologist Fred McCarthy was the Foundation Principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and he worked at the Australian Museum in Sydney. This is a multidisciplinary volume, edited by McCarthy, concerning Australian material culture in ethnographic and timely context. It contains papers presented at the Conference on Prehistoric Monuments and Antiquities in Australia, as part of the Third General Meeting of the AIAS in May 1968. McCarthy's Introduction (pp. XI-XIV) explains the broader contexts informing critical thought around Australian Aboriginal material culture at the time. The volume includes texts, and photographic plates, sketches and maps of sites – including examples from marine-related environments. The illustrations are not always presented within the relevant chapter – e.g. a sketch of engravings from Sydney of a school of fish being attacked by a shark is replicated in the chapter on Victoria (p31). Eighteen authors have contributed from archaeology, anthropology, museum studies, geology, social welfare, education, chemistry, and the travel industry. The bibliographies of each author also point to useful primary sources – including early 19<sup>th</sup> century records.

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- **New South Wales:** McCarthy (pp15-26) says the principal antiquities in NSW include canoe trees, shell middens, and stone fish traps (along with other land-focussed materials). Also notes coastal burial sites and shell fish hooks (p21). Coastal cave paintings document pre-sovereignty marine resources and spirit beings (p16). The section on rock engravings includes ethnographic interpretations of coastal sites, including discussion of spiritual ancestors *Baiami* and *Daramulan*.
- **Victoria:** Palaeontologist, geomorphologist and museum administrator Edmund Gill (pp.27-34) tends to focus on inland environs. Includes brief notes on riverine fish traps and canoe trees (p30). Draws attention to differences between coastal and inland middens, demonstrating tangible differences in subsistence (pp.30-31).

(See also tables for Tasmania, South Australia and south-western Australia for more from this volume). Depending on research focus and angle, some may find useful comparisons, contrasts, and inferences from northern examples in this volume including: McCarthy re. the Northern Territory and central Australia (pp.51-72); Bruce Wright re. the Pilbara (pp.121-125); McCarthy re. north-western Australia (pp.73-90) – especially marine representations on petroglyphs (p78); Charles Macknight re. Northern Territory coast (pp.95-98); Stan Colliver re. Queensland (pp.2-14) – see especially middens, fish traps, weirs (pp.7-9), canoe trees (p10). Concludes with interesting insights into concerns around legislation, public education, and related tourism at the time (pp.151-188).

**McKee, G. 2016 *Killers of Eden*. Available: <http://www.killersofeden.com/Export4.htm>**

Greg McKee is a biological scientist with an interest in marine biology. This is far from a formal academic source but could serve as a good starting point to find out more about the relationship between the Yuin people of Twofold Bay and killer whales. McKee writes 'The indigenous Yuin people of the region called the Killers "Beowas", meaning brothers or kin. They believed that the killers were the embodiment of the returned spirits of their ancestors. When a valued member of the tribe passed away, he would "jump up" and return in killer whale form. The killers were treasured as sacred members of the tribe and it was believed that they would help to provide food for the tribe and protect tribal members in the water.'

**McKenna, M. 2002 *Looking for Blackfellas Point: An Australian History of Place*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.**

Arguably essential reading for any study of maritime Aboriginal peoples of south-coastal New South Wales. Focuses on Cape Howe to Batemans Bay, plus peoples of the hinterland who occasionally use marine resources – including descriptions of fishing, sealing and whaling activities by Traditional Owners. Toolkits and watercraft used in hunting and fishing in marine environments. Includes names, anecdotes and quotes of many contemporary and historical Aboriginal people from this region. Includes map showing 'South Coast Functional Names' of Aboriginal cultural groups – identifying *Kurregal Kurial* (northern fisher people), *Guyangal* (southern fisher people), and *Kunnerkwell Kundingal* (people who live by fishing) – as well as people associated with inland estuarine, river, and mountain environments. Says the coastal population was 'almost certainly greater' than that in the hinterland (p17). Cites archaeological evidence at Twofold Bay that Aboriginal subsistence patterns had been consistent from 5000BP to the time of European incursion in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Cites oral histories recorded by Wesson (1902) when Aboriginal people from the Monaro recounted their forebears travelling to the coast for whaling season and using killer whales to herd whales and fish close to shore to be killed for food - 'long before Europeans arrived with their harpoons and ships' (p20). Includes references from archival materials (of earlier explorers) that may provide useful bibliographic references. Also, discussions of continuity and change in local Aboriginal communities since colonisation. Reproduces historical sketches, maps, and other artwork.

**Meacham, S. 2011** *Writer challenges myths of Aborigines and saltwater culture. Sydney Morning Herald, 26 November 2011: 10.* Available: <http://www.smh.com.au/national/writer-challenges-myths-of-aborigines-and-saltwater-culture-20111125-1nz6q.html>

This newspaper article may serve as a useful background information for researchers new to studies of the coastal region between Sydney's North Head and Barrenjoey Head. Australian photographer, cinematographer and writer, John Ogden, argues that Aboriginal people of this coastal area were Australia's first surfers. Includes citations from historical sources that may also be useful in studies of customary marine tenure – including surveyor William Govett's observations of Aboriginal people free-diving at Newport Reef.

**Megaw, J.V.S. 1966** *The excavation of an Aboriginal rock-shelter on GyMEA Bay, Port Hacking, NSW. Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania 1(1): 23-50.*

Excavation of rockshelter sites including lithic technology (flakes, ground stone, blades, axes), bone implements, shell middens, and human remains at Port Hacking. Also draws on historical and pictorial sources to shed light on interpretation of materials. Says entrance to the Port was first sighted on a kangaroo-hunting expedition by Henry Hacking (1740-1831; Watson 1928). Megaw says the first published note found of any investigation of Port Hacking is Flinders' (1814). However, the references in Flinders' account are limited to the return journey in 1796: 'the explorers sheltered at Wattamolla ... about four miles south of the entrance to the Port and half a mile to the north of Curracurrang Cove. They "saw recent marks of native everywhere but none of the inhabitants themselves" (p36). Says that 'by the middle of the nineteenth century the ancient strand-looping economy was virtually at an end. Thus, one reads how "the Sydney tribes live chiefly by fishing, being supplied with hooks and lines by individuals in the town, to whom they bring all the fish they catch, receiving payment in old clothes, bread, and rum" (p36). Megaw includes a summary of fish-hook files and fishing on the south coast, and notes that there 'are various hints as to the possible contemporary use of the "fish-hook file" in the First Fleet diaries and elsewhere in connection with the manufacture of shell hooks ... in the journal of William Bradley, Lieutenant-Surveyor under Phillip, we learn how "one of the women made a fishing hook while we were by her, from the inside of what is commonly called the mud oyster shell, by rubbing it down on the rocks until thin enough and then cut it circular with another stone ; shape the hook with a strong point rather bent in and not bearded or barbed" ; or again he noted the natives "shape the hook in a curve with a sharp shell or stone" (p39). Also provides a summary of previous research into the Muduk and other bone points in eastern Australia (pp.40-42), considering the arguments as to whether the barbed spear was invented by Aboriginal people or acquired after colonisation. Includes summary of the 'general economy based on findings at the excavation site and in ethnohistorical journals (pp.42-44).

**National Native Title Tribunal 2006** *Registration Test: Yaegl People. NNTT No. NC96/38. Federal Court No. NSD6052 of 1998.*

The Yaegl People's native title rights were formally recognised in 2015 (Yaegl #1 NSD6052/1998) and in 2017 (Yaegl #2 NSD 168/2011 (Part A), which covered land and waters on the north coast of NSW. Native title rights over the seaward extent of the original Yaegl #2 claim (Part B), which was excluded from the determination made in 2015, were later recognised through a Consent Determination. This was the first time that Native Title rights over sea country were recognised in New South Wales. In Yaegl #2 (Part B), Native Title includes the land and waters between the mean high-water mark to a point 200m east of the mean low water mark, including the intertidal zone from Woody Head in the north to Wooli in the south. Statements by claimants include: avoidance of 'the back beach near Angourie by dark, for spiritual reasons' (Deirdre Randall p37); the importance of fishing in cultural life (Thelma Kapeen, Ron Herron and

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Deirdre Randall pp.33-34); laws and customs around sharing food resources (Judy Breckenridge and Thelma Kapeen p35); and laws and customs involving punishments and avoidance of oceans and islands at certain times (Thelma Kapeen, p36). [Note: After Registration, the Federal Court determination of Yaegl #1 (2015: 3), says later research submitted to support the Yaegl Native Title Claim included '39 witness affidavits and statements, seven anthropological reports, two historical reports, various genealogical reports', and evidence given on country in 2011. This materials could also be insightful in terms of inferences that might be drawn as to meanings.]

**Nicol, S. 2007 'J'etais convaincu qu'il dormait': European views of a unique Australian mammal. In *Rediscovering Recherche Bay*, J. Mulvaney & H. Tyndale-Biscoe [eds] Pp. 45-57. Canberra: Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.**

Primarily concerned with early records of Tasmanian fauna but includes list of French maritime expeditions to eastern mainland Australia. The list may be useful for seeking early French records in relation to specific regions of eastern Australia, and local Aboriginal customs. Includes:

1756 – Louise-Antoine de Bougainville, *La Boudense* and *L'Etoile*, Great Barrier Reef

1772 – Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne, *Le Marquis de Castries*, Marion Bay

1772 – Julien Crozet, *Le Mascarin*, Marion Bay

1788 – Jean-Francois de Galaup, comte de La Perouse, *L'Astrolabe*, and *La Boussole*, Botany Bay

1792 – Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, *La Recherche*, Recherche Bay

1793 – Huon de Kermadec and Jacque de Labillardiere (naturalist), *L'Esperance*, Recherche Bay

1802 – Nicolas Baudin, *Le Geographe*, D'Entrecasteaux Channel

1802 – Francois Peron (zoologist), Leseur (assistant gunner, drawings), Louise de Freycinet (junior officer) *Le Naturaliste*, Port Jackson

1819 – Louise Claude de Saulces de Freycinet, Paul Joseph Gaimard (surgeon and naturalist), Jean Rene Constant Quoy (surgeon and naturalist), Louise-Isidore Duperrey (ensign), *L'Uranie*, Sydney

1822 – Louis-Isidore Duperrey, Jules Dumont d'Urville (executive officer), Rene-Primavere Lesson (physician), Prosper Garnot (assistant surgeon, naturalist), *La Coquille*, Sydney

1825 – Hyacinthe de Bougainville, *Le Thetis*, *L'Esperance*, Sydney

1826 – Jules Dumont d'Urville, Joseph Paul Gaimard (surgeon and naturalist), Jean Rene Constant Quoy (surgeon and naturalist), *L'Astrolabe (La Coquille renamed)*, Sydney and Hobart.

**Organ, M. [ed] 1990 *A Documentary History of the Illawarra & South Coast Aborigines 1770-1850*. University of Wollongong, Aboriginal Education Unit.**

A vast and comprehensive collection of early British records (texts and illustrations) about Aboriginal peoples from the south-east coast of New South Wales. The index is thorough and useful. Includes a chronological bibliography from 1770-1990. A prudent inclusion in any research related to this region, as its assemblage involved extensive and ongoing consultation with Aboriginal people and organisations. Organ's Introduction explains the context in which the volume was collated, and the agenda behind its creation. Online version available at: <http://ro.uow.edu.au/uowbooks/7/>

**Organ, M. 1993 *Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines 1770-1900*. Report for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Wollongong: University of Wollongong.**

A supplement to Organ's consolidated volume of early records (Organ 1990, above). Says the latter was compiled in a relatively short (18-month) period between 1988 and 1989 – subsequent to which further material has been found. Emphasises the period 1850 to 1900. Includes additional materials such as: blanket issue returns from the period 1827-30; index entries concerning Illawarra and South Coast

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Aborigines taken from the Colonial Secretary's Correspondence and Aboriginal Protection Board files; Alexander Berry's 1820s materials from the Mitchell Library; Dreaming stories from the south-east coast; reports from the Lake Illawarra Aboriginal Mission; and references to the Coomaditchie Reserve at Port Kembla. Also includes an alphabetical list of over 2100 Illawarra and Shoalhaven Aboriginal words as an appendix.

**Pacey, L. 2005 [2001] *Narooma's Past – Steamers, Sawmills and Salmon*. Self-published.**

Chapter 1 'Before the Gubbas' provides a brief history of the Aboriginal people of Narooma and the area around Wagonga Inlet, in south-eastern New South Wales, including the creation story of this place, based on anthropologist Alfred Howett's papers. Identifies the Yuin or Murring people as the traditional owners. Quotes an 1879 edition of *The Bega Standard* to quote a local senior man, Merriman, speaking of his dislike of the diet of inland-dwelling people, 'compared with those living by the sea whose diet was largely fish' (p4). Includes several historical newspaper sources (with dates and publication numbers) for further descriptions of ceremonial gatherings, marine and coastal resource exploitation, social organisation, and employment.

**Peron, M.F. 2006[1809] *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*. [Volumes 1-3] Second Edition. Translated C. Cornell. Adelaide: State Library of South Australia.**

Includes detailed descriptions and illustrations of Peron's voyages from France to Western Australia's west and south coasts, Tasmania, Banks Strait, Bass Strait, and Port Jackson. Chapter VII (Cape Naturaliste to Cape Leeuwin) includes an account of coastal marine exploitation, firing, housing – e.g. "I everywhere found burnt trees and extinguished fires, near some of which I observed a king of mattress, made of that singular sort of bark of Melaleuca which I have before mentioned, and which seemed to have served as a bed to some of the natives, either together or singly. In a word, everything confirmed me in the opinion, that the savages had not settled their habitations in this situation, so far in the wood, but that they resided in preference on the borders of the salt river, and the adjoining places near the sea, where they could more easily procure their necessary food, for it was exclusively in, those parts that any of their huts were to be found, or their wells or springs of brackish water, to the use of which we ourselves were very soon reduced'. Chapter XI (from about Perth to Cape Naturaliste) noted that Rottnest Island was uninhabited 'and it did not appear that any of the natives of the continent had ever found their way thither'. Chapter XIV describes southern Tasmania, where Peron found Aboriginal people particularly eager to make company with the French mariners. Also notes canoes (with illustration and description of construction), customary greetings, dwellings, fires, tools, diet (including varieties of shellfish, cooking methods and utensils, body adornments, dancing). Chapter XV refers to south-eastern Tasmania, including reference to diet (including seafood), cremation, dress, dwellings, engravings, firing, animosity and camaraderie between Traditional Owner and early Europeans, clothing, goods exchange, water resources, and ochre mining. Chapter XVII from about Spencer Gulf to Western Port includes mostly nautical and physical geographic observations and illustrations, with brief mention of use of fire. Chapter XX includes brief observations of Traditional Owners of Western Port, Wilson's Promontory, Port Jackson, including illustrations, dwellings, place names, acknowledgement of 'Bennil-long' as 'chief'. Map included in back sleeve of book.

**Phillip, A. 1892[1789] *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island; compiled from Authentic Papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments to which are added the Journals of Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Ball and Capt. Marshall with an Account of their New Discoveries, embellished with fifty five Copper Plates, the Maps and Charts taken from Actual Surveys, and the plans and views drawn on the spot, by Capt. Hunter, Lieuts. Shortland, Watts, Dawes, Bradley, Capt. Marshall, etc.* Available: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00101.html>**

Extensive notes on Port Jackson and less on Botany Bay. Governor Phillip was in command on the expeditions also documented by John Hunter (see above). Like the journal attributed to Hunter, this journal includes contributions of many other early British officers. Care must be taken to ascertain authorship, and the original materials ought to be used for legal purposes. There are several excellent accounts of customary marine tenure – particularly those demonstrating retributions by Aboriginal people in response to transgressions of local custom by the colonising British. For example, an account dated 9 July 1788 of customary rights to fishing documented reads ‘an effort was made by a party of natives, which seems to indicate that they were still distressed for provisions, or that they very highly resent the encroachments [sic] made upon their fishing places. A general order had been issued to those sent out on fishing parties, to give a part of what was caught to the natives if they approached, however small the quantity taken might be; and by these means they had always been sent away apparently satisfied. But on this day, about twenty of them, armed with spears, came down to the spot where our men were fishing, and without any previous attempt to obtain their purpose by fair means, violently seized the greatest part of the fish which was in the seine. While this detachment performed this act of depredation, a much greater number stood at a small distance with their spears poised, ready to have thrown them if any resistance had been made. But the cockswain who commanded the fishing party, very prudently suffered them to take away what they chose, and they parted on good terms.’

**Roberts, A. 2010 *Aboriginal Women’s Fishing in New South Wales: A Thematic History*. Sydney: Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water NSW.**

An excellent contemporary resource aimed at a lay readership (i.e. with minimal jargon). Includes photographs of heritage sites such as middens, and fish engravings at Kuringai Chase National Park, and people catching/spearing fish. Notes the diversity of Aboriginal fishing practices around New South Wales, and outlines some of the reasons why early recorded evidence of non-Aboriginal explorers may be problematic, before providing a concise consolidation of contemporary and historical observations of fishing. Provides a brief introduction to the ubiquitous spirituality in Aboriginal cultural life. Says that ‘all activities associated with fishing and consuming fish and other seafood, including seasonal practices and restrictions on who can eat certain fish, can be guided by these Dreaming stories’ (p.5). Cites R.N. Mathews to say: ‘a spirit or wicked person named Gurugula hovers about in the clouds and in the air overhead. If he smells the fat of any animal, especially fish, being burnt in the fire at night, he gets very angry. In order not to provoke Gurugula, all cooking is done in the day time; and even then the people are careful not to let any fat burn during the process’ (p5); and ‘If a woman who is enceinte [pregnant] were to eat forbidden fish at such a time, the spirit of the unborn babe would go out of its mother’s body and frighten the fish away. If a male infant, it would have a fishing spear – if a female a yamstick – and stand on the water at the entrance to a fishing pen, or in front of a net, and turn the fish back. The fish are more afraid of a male infant, on account of its carrying a spear, than of a female. Although these spirit children are invisible to human eyes, the old men know they are present by the movements of the fish, and at once suspect some woman of having broken the food rules’ (p5). Several other Dreamings are shared from coastal New South Wales and South Australia, as well as Murray River Dreamings that link New South

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Wales with the Ngarrindjeri people of the lower Murray River and Coorong areas of South Australia (pp.6-7). Provides details of fish with Aboriginal and English names, their seasons, and their capture methods (pp.12-25). Methods of cooking and eating fish and shellfish are detailed (pp.26-34). Also explains why fishing is an important practice – that is, for subsistence but also as a cultural observance (pp.31-41). And it describes some of the barriers to participation in the present age (pp.42-45).

**Rose, D., James, D., & Watson C. 2003 *Indigenous Kinship with the Natural World in NSW*. Hurstville, New South Wales: NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.**

Anthropological and historical research project. Describes and explains the place of totemism in Aboriginal cultures in New South Wales. Includes a summary of early records from colonial times through to post-Federation. Breaks down kinship studies to categories of marriage and descent, ceremony and creation, clan totems, hunting, and individual totems. Includes an interpretation of the rainbow snake. Quotes Ngunnawal Elder Matilda House who explains the combined totems of the Dolphin, Black Duck, and Rainbow Snake as representative of the Queanbeyan Regional Council, saying “the Dolphin is for all the sea people, it travels around the coast” (p35). Presents case studies of contemporary totemism among the Yuin people of Wallaga Lake on the south coast of New South Wales, in consultation with Trisha Ellis, Dave Tout, Guboo Ted Thomas, Ann Thomas, Mary Duroux, Mervyn Penrith, Warren Foster, and Randall Mumbulla. Presents Yuin place names including Barunguba (Montague Island). Pp.43-47 explains how spirit beings interact with the Yuin nation, and with people in ‘tribes or named groups’ generally. Includes totem names, including Yeerimbine (south of Twofold Bay) for the killer whale totem.

**Schnierer, S., & Egan, H. 2010 *Impact of Management Changes on the Viability of Indigenous Commercial Fishers and the Flow on Effects to their Communities: Case Study in New South Wales*. Report to NSW Fisheries Research and Development Corporation.**

This report was based on desktop research, analysis of commercial catch data, and community consultations by questionnaires and focus groups. Section 2 (entitled ‘Need’) argues that ‘Indigenous people have a right to benefit from the exploitation of their traditional biological resource’ (p7). Section 5 identifies Aboriginal fishing people and companies in NSW, and the types of fish and methods used (pp. 14-53). Section 5.1.3 describes the cultural place of fishing (pp. 37-40). Section 6.3 ‘Cultural commercial fishing’ says that fishing is ‘an action that supports their own, and their peoples, subsistence needs, as well as their community’s cultural cohesion, spiritual identity, cultural connection and economic independence. The report ultimately calls for better understandings of the impact of fisheries management changes on continuing indigenous involvement in commercial fisheries which would help Aboriginal commercial fishers to plan for change, and to help the state fisheries regulator to ameliorate the impact of proposed management changes on Aboriginal commercial fishers. It also calls for better understandings of the numbers of Aboriginal commercial fishers and their contributions to indigenous communities.

**Schnierer, S., & Egan, H. 2016 *Composition of the Aboriginal harvest of fisheries resources in coastal New South Wales, Australia*. *Reviews in Fish Biology and Fisheries* 26(4): 693-709.**

Compares and combines data on Indigenous fish catch composition from two studies to produce a comprehensive synthesis of current knowledge of Indigenous fisheries in NSW. The species harvested include more than 150 species of finfish and invertebrates, over 90 % of which are also harvested by commercial and recreational fishers. The authors say that they aim ‘to provide an empirical basis for future development of policy and management initiatives to meet the needs of Indigenous fishers and other stakeholders, as well as the principles of sustainable fisheries harvest’ (p693). Says that ‘determinations of the rights of Indigenous Australians to access traditional hunting and fishing resources are often subject to

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legal arguments regarding common law and native title in the context of idiosyncratic, jurisdictional legislation' (p694). Notes that in 2004, the National Indigenous Fishing Technical Working Group proposed a set of national principles including 'customary fishing is to be defined and incorporated by Governments into fisheries management regimes, so as to afford it protection. Customary fishing is fishing in accordance with relevant Indigenous laws and customs for satisfying personal, domestic or non-commercial communal needs. Specific frameworks for customary fishing may vary throughout Australia by reference, for example, to marine zones, fish species, Indigenous community locations and traditions or their access to land and water' (p694). Includes a table identifying NSW midden sites and bibliographic references (p699), and a breakdown of marine resources exploited by Indigenous fishers in NSW. Makes broad comparisons with fisheries in other areas of Australia (p705).

**Sullivan, M. 1976 Archaeological occupation site locations on the south coast of New South Wales. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 11(1): 56-69.**

More than 200 Aboriginal sites were surveyed as a CSIRO project along the south coast of NSW (map showing site locations on p57). Most of these sites were coastal, which Sullivan says partly reflects the fact that the area was surveyed unevenly, with more emphasis being placed on the coastal strip. She says earlier research of Lampert and Flood indicates that there are greater concentrations of sites on the coast. Because of the large number of sites, it has been possible to analyse environmental factors which determine their locations. Provides analysis of Holocene environmental changes influencing food consumption. Details artefacts including shellfish and fish bones. Sullivan notes the availability of drinkable water within proximity of the sites. Says the most favoured site location is on the foredunes adjacent to a rock platform, and commonly on the northern side of the associated headland – as they represent 'a compromise between readily available shellfish, access to water which is often derived from drainage off the headland, sand to sit on and shelter from the prevailing winds'.

**Sullivan, M. 1981 Ninety years later: a re-survey of shell middens on Wagonga Inlet and Lake Pambula, N.S.W. *Archaeology in Oceania* 16(2): 81-86.**

Sullivan argues for greater efforts to protect midden sites on the south coast of NSW. She revisits sites first recorded by geological surveyor William Anderson and published in his 'Notes on the shell-heaps or Kitchen-middens accumulated by the Aborigines of the Southern Coastal District' (between Moruya and the Victorian Border) in 1890. Anderson focused on the Wagonga Inlet near Narooma, and Pambula Lake north of Eden (see map p82), where noted that these places were still used by local Aboriginal people at the time. Sullivan revisits these sites to undertake a more scientifically robust archaeological survey. Where Anderson's comments were generalised, Sullivan is more specific. She discusses the differences between the two sites – including in preservation from the elements and from development.

**Tench, W. 1998[1789] *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay With an Account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants, &c. To which is subjoined, A List of the Civil and Military Establishments at Port Jackson.* Sydney: University of Sydney Library.**

Watkin Tench was a British naval officer who worked with the First Fleet, which established a colonial settlement in Australia under Governor Arthur Phillip in 1788. (See also entries from Phillip and FitzRoy, above.) This publication includes notes on 'an interview' with traditional owners at Port Jackson (pp26-29), along with observations of tensions between Aboriginal people at Botany Bay and the British new arrivals. Chapter XI (p.37-43) makes some generalised observations about Aboriginal people of New South Wales. The events are generally those also referred to by Phillip and FitzRoy, but from the perspective of Tench. The accounts document differences in custom which, until page 47 (which records the first inland

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expedition), might be assumed to focus on coastal dwelling people and their customs. While noting tensions, Tench does not recognise that the tensions may have arisen out of perceived transgressions of custom. E.g. he says 'It would be trespassing on the reader's indulgence were I to impose on him an account of any civil regulations, or ordinances, which may possibly exist among this people. I declare to him, that I know not of any, and that excepting a little tributary respect which the younger part appear to pay those more advance in years, I never could observe any degrees of subordination among them. To their religious rites and opinions, I am equally a stranger. Had an opportunity offered of seeing the ceremonies observed at disposing of the dead, perhaps, some insight might have been gained; but all that we at present know with certainty is, that they burn the corpse, and afterwards heap up earth around it, somewhat in the manner of the small tumuli, found in many counties of England' (pp.41-42).

**Tench, W. 1961 *Sydney's First Four Years*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.**

Chapter XI (pp.46-53) is entitled 'A description of the natives of New South Wales and our transactions with them'. Includes detailed account of fishing nets and hooks (p47), and canoes (pp.48-49). Says that 'fishing, indeed, seems to engross nearly the whole of their time' (p48). Of maritime exploits, Tench says 'Their dexterous management [of canoes] added to the swiftness with which they paddle, and the boldness that leads them several miles in the open sea, are, nevertheless, highly deserving of admiration. A canoe is seldom seen without a fire in it, to dress the fish by, as soon as caught: they procure by attrition' (p48). While there are some factual observations, there is also some amount of conjecture as to the reasons why certain customs are practiced, as well as probabilities of unsighted customs occurring.

**Wallis, R.J. 1988 *Greenwell Point: An Early Shoalhaven Port*. Greenwell Point, New South Wales: Greenwell Point Bi-Centennial Sub-Committee, Greenwell Point, NSW.**

Produced for the Greenwell Point Bi-Centennial Sub-Committee. Chapter 3 entitled 'Aboriginal history' (pp11) includes historical drawings and photographs, including some named local Aboriginal people. Notes that 'The Aborigines practised a varied and wide ranging economy, exploiting almost every fauna food resource in the area ranging from Crookhaven Estuary to Jervis Bay' (p12). Provides extensive list of marine food resources, and describes tools and methods used to hunting, catching and gathering foods. Also includes 'tribal' names of groups, details of historical and more recent Aboriginal resistance to British and government encroachment.

**Wesson, S. 2000 *An Historical Atlas of the Aborigines of Eastern Victoria and Far South-eastern New South Wales*. Monash Publications in Geography and Environmental Science 53. School of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University.**

Wesson's publication is the product of a thorough research project into the languages and communities of the Aboriginal people of 19<sup>th</sup> century eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales. Includes detailed ethnographies, photographs, maps, and illustrations based on research from George Augustus Robinson, Charles James Tyers, William Thomas, John Lambie, Robert Brough Smyth, Edward Micklethwaite Curr, and Alfred William Howitt – plus brief biographies of these early recordists. Says south coast languages have been mapped by Tindale (1974) and Eades (1976) – noting that the two differ, in that Eades made a distinction between language groups and named groups. Pp129-167 provides details and maps of coastal heritage sites, with ethnographic notes identifying specific socio-cultural/linguistic groups, families, and individuals associated with given areas. Includes details of resource exploitation, social structure, and Aboriginal place names. Based on a wide range of 19<sup>th</sup> century sources including diaries and unpublished primary documents including blanket distribution census records, letters, reports, fieldnotes, government records and reports, newspapers, travelogues, journals and academic monographs.

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**White, J. 2012 Before the mission station: from the first encounters to the incorporation of settlers into indigenous relations of incorporation. In Indigenous participation in Australian economies II, N. Fijn, I. Keen, C. Lloyd & M. Pickering [eds], Pp.37-55. ANU epress. Available: <http://press.anu.edu.au?p=182561>**

Set in the Eurobodalla region. Explains the important resource that was Aboriginal labour in the local industries including fishing; and how low incomes were supplemented with the continuance of subsistence fishing. Compares this with studies from other regions of Australia; and says that Eurobodalla has a 'highly localised and specific experience of colonialism' (p50). Shows how missionaries recognised Indigenous cultural complexities and consciously facilitated 'incorporation of settlers into Indigenous relations of obligation'.

**Wylie, R., Clark, J., Lulith, H., & D. Smyth 2004 *Sea Country Planning. Presentation to Native Title Conference, Adelaide, June 2004.***

Colour printout of PowerPoint presentation by staff from the Australian Government's National Oceans Office to the 5<sup>th</sup> annual Native Title Conference held at the Stamford Grand Hotel, Adelaide, 2-4 June 2004. Identifies the policy context and the government's then intention regarding Indigenous peoples, seeing 'Sea Country Plans' as a potential vehicle for Indigenous involvement in natural resource management. Examples from south-west Victoria (with Framlingham Aboriginal Trust and Winda Mara Aboriginal Corporation) and south-east South Australia (with the Ngarrindjeri people and the Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement). Identifies names of sociocultural groups and their associated areas of land and sea, and marine resources. Includes maps. Outlines vision, proposed strategy, and potential outcomes.

## 2. TASMANIA

### Tasmania

**Anderson, S. 2000a French anthropology in Australia, a prelude: the encounters between Aboriginal Tasmanians and the expedition of Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, 1793. *Aboriginal History* 24: 212-223.**

Anderson uses French historical sources to re-examine the encounters between d'Entrecasteaux's expedition and the Aboriginal peoples of Tasmania. She suggests that there are two interrelated domains that situate the early voyages: the era known as the Enlightenment in Britain and Europe, and the voyages of d'Entrecasteaux and Cook. Anderson argues that d'Entrecasteaux and Baudin's expeditions can be 'paradigmatically thought of as the spirit of the Enlightenment: a voracious scientific appetite for knowing the natural world, including human beings' (pp.212-213). She analyses the former expedition with a view to understanding how and why the French arrived at certain conclusions about Aboriginal people and their customs. Anderson argues that the dominant Enlightenment ethos informed relations with, and therefore representations of, Aboriginal peoples in the French journals: 'The meetings that occurred between d'Entrecasteaux's crew and Tasmanians - Lyluequonny people at Recherche Bay and Nuenonne people of Bruny Island in February 1793 - are usually seen as fulfilling for the French a Rousseauesque ideal of life in the state of nature. This appears to be particularly valid when viewed against later less idyllic encounters. But while the crew may have been predisposed to seeing indigenous people in such a light and their instructions spoke of the need to use gentleness and humanity, things might have gone differently as they had for Marion du Fresne's expedition twenty years before when initially friendly relations turned sour, the French returning an attack of stones and weapons with gunfire, resulting in the death of a Tasmanian man' (p.215). Anderson says 'the artists were to draw not only sites and land profiles, and natural history specimens, but also portraits of indigenous inhabitants, their dress, ceremonies, games, buildings, sea-going vessels' (p215). Of sea use, Anderson writes 'for their part the French were aghast that the women of Recherche Bay seemed to be the sole providers of food, which they obtained by diving for shellfish' (p216), and later 'We saw that they were extremely perturbed by watching the women repeatedly dive for shellfish to feed their families' (p220). Anderson also notes 'thinking to advance the inhabitants' means of subsistence, they showed them the use of various implements' including fish hooks (p218). Of early French observations of Tasmanian Aboriginal religious life, Anderson writes 'D'Auribeau was more specific about this concluding ... that the party had spent "too short a time with these good natives to be able to discover any religious beliefs". "[M]etaphysical ideas", he maintains, "are not transmitted with the same ease as are physical ones and ... it is only after a long sojourn among a people that one can determine something in that connection"' (p219).

**Brimfield, B.H. 2016 *First Contacts: Tasmania's Aboriginal Peoples First Reactions to European Visitors 1772-1802 and Later Intrusions 1803-1816*. [Typescript]**

Refers to the Furneaux Group as "Islands of the Dead". Includes chronological tables and map of contact between government, commercial and settler colonisers that might point to other historical sources. Brimfield's interpretations of early encounters (variously amicable and/or territorial) should be read judiciously – to sort facts from value-laden interpretations that were typical of the era – e.g. problematic account suggesting Tasmanian Aboriginal people at first

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European contact could provide insight into human society in Africa 200,000 years ago. Lacks references for his assertions or statements of purported fact.

**Brough-Smyth, R. 1972 [1876]. *The Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: John Currey, O'Neil.**

Brough Smith was a British civil servant and mining engineer who became honorary secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines and a voting member in the mid-1800s. This publication in his name relied heavily upon the reports of other people, others such as physician George Halford, early anthropologist Alfred Howitt, and surgeon and natural history enthusiast Joseph Milligan. This two-volume set is a detailed historical reference including ethnological information largely focusing on south-eastern Australia but including some anecdotal comparisons with the west and north. For example: Vol 1. (pp199-208) includes details of fishing methods and technologies in western Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia. For example, '*In the Port Lincoln district, the natives go into the water and push the fish before them with branches of trees until they are fairly driven ashore*' (p199); and '*The Narrinyeri make fishing-lines and twine from two kinds of fibre. One is a bulrush which grows in fresh water and is called Menungkeri. The rushes or roots are, first of all, either boiled ... or steamed in the native oven, and then chewed by the women. A part of the will sit round the fire and masticate the fibrous material by the hour. While they do so, the masses of fibre which have been chewed are handed to the men who sit by, and they work it up, by twisting it on the thigh into hanks of twine, either stout or fine, according to the purpose to which it is to be applied*' (p200). Also identifies technologies in contemporary use by Aboriginal people that had not been noted at the time of first British contact. Vol 2. Includes an Appendix by Chauncy comparing watercraft construction (materials and technologies) in the east and north (p249). Also includes details of south-eastern marine exploitation, including crayfish, 'sea cucumber', crabs, and varieties of fish (including dams for catching fish). Includes a transcontinental comparison of: fishing including practices at King George's Sound, the Swan River and South Australia (p248-249); spear-making for fish and netting (p249). Pp379-434 focuses exclusively on Aboriginal people of Tasmania, including canoe manufacturing and use. Includes extensive word lists, including place names for coastal places and marine features such as islands and seas from Victoria, South Australia, and southern Western Australia, as well as comparisons with northern languages (such as Croker Island).

**Clark, I. 2000 *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Point Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*. Vol1-4. Melbourne: Heritage Matters.**

Robinson's journals have been consolidated and edited into a four volume set by Clark for publication. They include not only the annotations of Robinson but also a collection of correspondence to him from a huge variety of colonial government sources, newspaper articles, drawings, and word lists. Volume 1 contains Robinson's journals from the Chief Protector's Office in Melbourne from 1839-1850. Includes brief anecdotes of local Aboriginal people and as well as those further afield but under his jurisdiction – including along the south-west and south-east coasts of Victoria, Flinders Island, and Tasmania. There is no index, making a thorough search a labourious task. However, at the rear of Volume 1 are 'select endnotes' where Clark has consolidated information about named Aboriginal persons, including their names, aliases, countries of belonging, places of residence, family members, employment, colonial punishments, places of burial. Little if any ethnological information regarding custom, but at least helps to

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identify persons within the landscape around the time of sovereignty. Volume 2 is Robinson's collection of Aboriginal vocabularies from south-eastern Australia from 1839 to 1852. Places where vocabularies were gathered include Port Phillip, the Yarra River, Colac, Portland Bay, Twofold Bay, Sandy Beach, Cape Howe, Western Port, Port Fairy, and Stokes River. (Review of these materials by researchers with greater familiarity with local nomenclature may identify considerably more coastal places.) The notations may not necessarily be densely ethnological, but they often include census data, genealogical information and words relating to marine environments that may help to build a fuller picture of custom at sovereignty. While the word lists were gathered in these places, the origins of the Aboriginal people consulted are sometimes from further afield and care must be taken to ensure the two are not conflated. Includes an illustrations and descriptions of: burial customs (p248-249); equipment used to catch fish – e.g. dredges and baskets (pp.91-92) reed spears (p.102), along with narratives of how these are made and used. Robinson uses a variety of names for language groups and sections that may not be in use today, and it is possible that some are misnomers. Volume 3, entitled *Miscellanea*, includes more narrative observations from Robinson and numerous of his contemporary colonisers from Melbourne, Sydney, Flinders Island, Tasmania, Wollongong. Includes sketches of Aboriginal people, more vocabularies, sketches of and Aboriginal names for fish, newspaper articles, and Aboriginal art. Volume 4 *Annual and Occasional Reports 1841-1849* includes Robinson's official reports from his expeditions into the interior, as well as annual reports from outstations including Loddon River, Goulburn River, Nerre Nerre Warren, Merri Creek, Mount Rouse, Western Australia, Geelong, Barwon River, and Yarra. Information is largely around administration of Aboriginal missions and protectorate stations, but researchers working closely with descendants of these people may be able to yield more specific and useful information according to their research agenda.

### **D'Entrecasteaux, B. 1808 *Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux Envoye a la Recherche de La Perouse.***

Brief notes on what can be found in D'Entrecasteaux's original journals including records from Tasmania (re. firing, gift exchange, cremation, food, tools, dwellings, hearths) and Esperance (with fleeting glimpses of people's fires burning along the coast but no landfall and therefore no contact) and Cape Leeuwin (fires, but no contact). Better to use the more detailed English-language version by Duyker & Duyker.

### **Davidson, D. 1935 *The chronology of Australian watercraft. Journal of the Polynesian Society* 44(1): 1-16; (2): 69-84; (3): 137-152; (4): 193-207.**

Davidson correlates data from specific areas (that had been gathered by earlier researchers) into a chronological and geographic picture of the adoption of watercraft by Australian Aboriginal people. A diffusionist theoretical approach is applied throughout. Davidson identifies four types of watercraft and where they can be found in Australia and Tasmania including:

1. dugout canoes (plain dugout canoe; dugout canoe with a single-outrigger; and dugout canoe with a double-outrigger);
2. bark canoes (made from one or more pieces of bark);
3. rafts (logs or rolls of bark or bundles of reeds etc.); and
4. floats (consisting of a single log or roll or bark or bundle of reeds etc.)

Says watercraft are completely lacking along the seacoast between the Murray River in South Australia and Shark Bay in Western Australia. Says Ethel Hassell's account of a log being used as a floatation device to crossing streams between Albany and Esperance is the only evidence of any kind of watercraft for this part of Australia. Says this is similar to that used at the mouth of the

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Gascoyne River where Austin (1851) found a crude “one-log” sort of raft. Includes citations of early British journals describing watercraft and their manufacture around the country, and a basic map (p.144) shows distribution of rafts and swimming logs around Australia. Describes different methods and contexts of use – large and small, calm and tempestuous bodies of water. Includes early artworks of people using watercrafts - e.g. log used to access islands off the Pilbara coast near Roebourne (Fig 22, p.195). Says the lack of watercraft on south-western coastline “seems to be the result of historical forces which have not yet diffused the types of watercraft of the northern coast to this region, but toward which the diffusion of them has been progressing for some time”(p204).

**Davidson, I. 2007 *Tasmanian Aborigines and the origins of language*. In *Rediscovering Recherche Bay*, D. Mulvaney & H. Tyndale-Biscoe [eds] Pp. 69-86. Canberra: The Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.**

Considers the use of symbols in material and linguistic culture in south-eastern Tasmania. Says the first contact between Tasmanian Aboriginal people and Europeans was 1642. Includes the following quote: “The natives of the East Coast have a tradition that this Island was settled by emigrants from a far country, that they came here on land, that the sea was subsequently formed ... for aught we know V.D.L. [Van Diemen’s Land] might at an early period have been joined to N.H. [New Holland] in which case the tradition would be true.” (Plomley, N.J.B. [ed] 1971, *Friendly mission: the Tasmanian Journals and papers of George Augustus Robinson 1829-1834. A supplement*. Hobart” Tasmanian Historical Research Association.) Summarises research of archaeologist Rhys Jones. Says “As Rhys Jones and Jim Allen so graphically demonstrated in the Tom Hayden film *The Last Tasmanian?*, the watercraft depicted in an early-19<sup>th</sup> century picture from the Baudin expedition (Figure 6.3), were not suitable for travel on the open sea. Dismisses the work of Henry Roth on Recherche Bay as ‘one of the great classics of armchair anthropology’. Includes explanations of linguistic interpretations of symbolic material cultures of adornment – particularly beads.

**FitzRoy, R. 1839 *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle Between the Years 1826 and 1836: Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe: In Three Volumes*. Available: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/161801>**

FitzRoy’s volume really captures the tyranny and ethnocentrism of the colonial regime. Chapter XXI (pp.515-538) includes anecdotal observations about Aboriginal people who FitzRoy met as he travelled from Sydney to Bathurst (pp.519-520) but nothing of value in terms of customary marine tenure. He later records the forced removal of Aboriginal people from Tasmania (Van Diemen’s Land) to the Bass Strait islands (pp.533-534); and meeting ‘the White Cockatoo men’ and observing their ceremonial adornment and dancing (including the Emu Dance) at King George’s Sound (pp.537-538).

**Flinders, M. 1966[1814] *Voyage to Terra Australis [etc]* 2 vols. London: G & W. Nicol.**

The detail is too vast and broad to cover fully here, however among the geographical records there are observations of encounters with Aboriginal people around the south, east and north coasts of Australia. Includes summary of observations made by earlier mariners, including their interpretations of Aboriginal people, which may provide helpful cues for further historical investigations— e.g. see Flinders’ citation of Captain Tobias Furneaux’s notes regarding his visit to

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Van Diemen's Land in 1773, saying 'not the least mark of canoe or boat was seen, and it was generally thought they had none'; and Flinders cites George Vancouver who anchored near Cape Leeuwin in 1772 and observed that 'No marks of canoes, nor the remains of fish, even shell fish, were found near their habitations; and this circumstance, with the shyness of the birds and quadrupeds, induced a belief that the natives depended principally upon the woods for their subsistence'. However, such face-value observations should be considered in conjunction with subsequent evidence – e.g. the archaeological records of Charlie Dortch (see Dortch, C.E. in South-western Australia) arguing that midden evidence suggests otherwise). **Vol 1:** Chapter III includes observations of Aboriginal people at King George's Sound, including language. Chapter IV documents the voyage from King George's Sound through the Recherche Archipelago with observations of the mainland and islands, and across the Great Australian Bight. Chapter V focuses on Fowler's Bay, the St Francis isles, and Nuyts' Archipelago in South Australia. Chapter VI refers to mainland and islands between Anxious Bay and Port Lincoln. Chapter VII refers to Port Lincoln to Kangaroo Island, with an excursion inland. Chapter VIII journeys from Kangaroo Island to the Yorke Peninsula and return, then east from Cape Jervis, with remarks about French activities on the South Coast. Chapter IX includes observations from Tasmania and Victoria. Chapter X extends from Port Philip to Port Jackson with observations of mainland and islands between. **Vol 2.:** Chapters I-IX are devoted to voyages along the coasts of Queensland, the Torres Strait, the Northern Territory and Timor. Chapter X documents the return to Port Jackson via the Bass Strait. [Note: Versions of Flinders' vast work are available online, and not all of them are meticulously reproduced.]

**Frost, A. 2007 From the hills of Provence to the coast of Van Diemen's Land: the expedition of Antoine-Raymond-Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, 1791-1793/94. In *Rediscovering Recherche Bay*, D. Mulvaney & H. Tyndale-Biscoe [eds], Pp. 9-16. Canberra: The Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.**

Identifies several early European mariners and scientists who recorded ethnological, as well as scientific, data in relation to Aboriginal peoples of south eastern Australia, including: Johann Reinhold Forster, Johan Friedrich Blumenbach, William Marsden, JG Herder, and La Perouse. Includes brief biography of d'Entrecasteaux which identifies his intellectual influences and the disciplines of his crewmen; and may be useful for interpreting how d'Entrecasteaux arrived at his conclusions in descriptions of Aboriginal peoples. Says d'Entrecasteaux was on southeast coast of Tasmania from 21 April to 28 May 1792, and at the southwest corner of Western Australia on 13 October 1792. In December 1792 he stopped for eight days to examine Esperance Bay (9-17 December) before crossing the Great Australian Bight and putting into Recherche Bay again from 21 January to 27 February 1793. Citations include:

- Milet-Mureau, L.A. 1799 'Private instruction from the king to the Sieur de la Pérouse' and 'Plan of the voyage', in *A Voyage Round the World 1*: 11-47; and
- Cook, W.L. 1973 *Floodtide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1829*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

**Howitt, A.W. 1996[1904] *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.**

Occasional useful anecdotes and summaries but also embedded with opinion that requires prudent filtration and interpretation. In terms of marine resource exploitation, says 'In 1896 an important find of aboriginal stone hatchets was made at Shea's Cree, near Sydney, at a depth of

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11 feet below water-level, together with bones of dugong, bearing such cuts and scratches, not recent, as would be made by direct blows of a sharp-edge stone tomahawk' (p17). Chapter 1 takes a speculative Darwinian approach to understanding the origins of Tasmanian and Australian Aboriginal people, summarising what explorers had reported from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; and, as such, may at least be useful for identifying earlier bibliographic references. Of Tasmania's bark rafts, Howitt says 'there is not a tittle of evidence in support of the belief that the Tasmanians ever were acquainted with the art of constructing a canoe able to cross such a sea strait as that between Tasmania and Australia, much less wider extents of ocean' (p9). Chapter II offers information on coastal dwelling people of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. For example, 'The advantages of the coast lands increase on coming eastwards; and from the Gulf of St. Vincent the country afforded ample food supplies, from the lakes at the Murray mouth and the country bordering upon them and the sea. Still more favourable conditions existed in Victoria, and especially Gippsland, where again extensive lakes and adjacent country afforded an unfailing supply of fish ... The tribes of the New South Wales coast enjoyed similar advantages' (p35). Includes illustrations, tables, photographs, and artworks; and there is a list of 'tribal divisions' that Howitt that associates with given geographic areas – including coastal (p59). P65 defines country belonging to *Yerkla-mining* as extending 'from about 100 miles east to about 40 miles west of Eucla, along the coast, and as far inland as they dared go' (p65). Includes a Dreaming about a snake that occupies the Nullarbor Plain and Fowler Bay (pp.65-67). Pp.67-69 identifies custodian groups of the South Australian coast, with brief summaries of social organisation according to moieties. Pp.69-72 identifies coastal dwelling groups of Victoria, along with brief notes on social organisation, descent groups, and names of known Elders. Pp.73-77 includes detailed ethnological information on 'the Kurnai of Gippsland', including dialects spoken, group names in language, and customs relating to coastal and marine resources. For example, p74 notes that 'Any stranger who took swans' eggs on this island without the permission of the of the *Bunjil-baul* had to fight them, but there was no prohibition against friendly tribesmen who might visit the island taking any other kind of food or game'. Also includes brief information on 'the Biduelli Tribe who occupied the forest and jungle covered country between the high coast ranges and the immediate coast along which the Kurnai lived' (pp.79-81). Pp.81-86 identifies coastal groups of New South Wales, including language terms for group and sub-group names, and the coastal and sea country spoken for. Chapter III 'Social Organisation' (pp.88-155), like earlier chapters, shifts focus one region of Australia to another within quick succession; and readers are advised to become familiar with the many group names recorded/reported by explorers and historians over the centuries. There is some potentially useful information from South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales including: language terms, Dreamings, moieties, totemic affiliations, and descent groups. Chapter IV 'Relationship Terms' (pp.156-172) includes a description of the classificatory system, a table of Dieri relationships with an explanation of the system, as well explanation of *Nadada-wa*, *Kami* and *Noa* relationships, and a table of Kurnai terms and explanation of relationships. Chapter V 'Marriage Rules' (pp.173-294) is detailed, and includes specific information on custom, for example, noting similarities in custom in eastern Victoria and south-eastern New South Wales: 'The old men, when at the initiation ceremonies, told me that the rule was that the "waddy-men," that is, those who get their living by climbing trees for game, must go down to the sea-coast and obtain wives from the people who get their living by fishing' (p257). General rules of 'Tribal government' are similarly broad in Chapter VI (pp.295-354), with anecdotes and interpretations of coastal and inland groups from South Australia to Queensland. Chapter VII 'Medicine-men and Magic' (pp.355-425) draws analogies with groups from around Australia, while primarily focussing on Dieri, Narrinyeri, Wotjobaluk,

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Wurunjerri, Wiimbaio, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and Kurnai. Despite the broadness, it is recommended that any research for sea claims in south-eastern Australia should include review of this literature. Includes songlines with bar music (pp.419-424), and a photograph of a Kurnai man in a bark canoe (p424). Chapter VIII 'Beliefs and Burial Practices' (pp.426-508) is particularly interesting, noting many examples of religious beliefs and customs in relation to the ocean – not necessarily as distinct from other water sources or terrestrial elements. For example: 'The Kapiri legend shows that the earth is supposed to be bordered by water; the *Mura-mura* Madaputa-tupuru, and the *Mankara Waka* and *Pirna* have both reached it in their wanderings. The Wolgal belief is that there is water all round the flat earth. They know of the sea round the coast for a great distance, and heart of it from the more distant blacks, even before the white men came' (p426). Includes several Dreamings from southern coastal, northern and interior groups that associated the spiritual rainbow serpent with water (including the sea and sky) – e.g. 'The Bunya-Bunya people in Queensland are also very much afraid of the rainbow, which they call *Thugine* (large serpent). Once, they say, a camp of blacks was close to the beach, and all went out to hunt and fish, leaving only two boys in camp with strict orders not to go to the beach, or leave the camp till the elders returned. The boys played about for a time in the camp, and then getting tired of it, went down to the beach where the *Thugine* came out of the sea, and being always on the watch for unprotected children, caught the two boys and turned them into two rocks that now stand between Double Island Point and Inskip Point, and have deep water close up to them ... The Yuin believe that the thunder is the voice of *Daramulun*. The Gringai had a great dread of thunder ... According to the Tongaranka, thunder is the song of a corroboree held by the big old men in the sky, who are making rain' (p431). [Note: see also Ethel Hassell reference in Western Australia bibliography, where she notes terrified responses of Wheelman people to water spouts and thunder storms at sea'.] Howett writes 'The Kamilaroi believe that the spirit of a man when he dies goes to the dark patch in the Magellan clouds, which they call Maianba, meaning endless water or river' (p439); 'As far back as 1795, when a man-of-war ... was anchored at Port Stephens, four men were found ... The natives had received them as "the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again" ... The old men of the tribes about Maryborough said when they first saw white men, "That is all right, they are the *Murthara* (ghosts) come back from the island"; and they recognised such men as their relatives, gave them names and a family' (p445). Burial customs (pp. 447-475) include those of Dieri, Yerkla-mining (south-eastern Western Australia and south-western South Australia), Narrang-ga, several groups around Adelaide, Wurunjerri, several groups around Port Phillip Bay, Kurnai, Gippsland peoples, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and the Wolgal saying 'The Wolgal were very particular burying everything belonging to a dead man with him ; spears and nets were included ; even in one case a canoe was cut into pieces so that it could be put in the grave' (pp.461-462).

### **Jukes, J.B. 1847 Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of HMS "Fly" 2 vols. London.**

Very little cultural detail. More focused on physical and life sciences, with some linguistic interest of Indigenous peoples that Jukes encountered on this voyage (e.g. p237). Appendices from p278 contain word lists including those gathered at Port Lincoln, Murray Island, and Cape York (two languages/dialects); and from pp.314-320 word lists from Tasmania (including Macquarie Island) and King George's Sound.

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**McCarthy, F.D. [ed] 1970. *Aboriginal Antiquities in Australia: Their Nature and Preservation*. Australian Aboriginal Studies No. 22, Prehistory and Material Culture Series No. 3. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.**

Archaeologist and anthropologist Fred McCarthy was the Foundation Principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and he worked at the Australian Museum in Sydney. This is a multidisciplinary volume, edited by McCarthy, concerning Australian material culture in ethnographic and timely context. It contains papers presented at the Conference on Prehistoric Monuments and Antiquities in Australia, as part of the Third General Meeting of the AIAS in May 1968. McCarthy's Introduction (pp. XI-XIV) explains the broader contexts informing critical thought around Australian Aboriginal material culture at the time. The volume includes texts, and photographic plates, sketches and maps of sites – including examples from marine-related environments. The illustrations are not always presented within the relevant chapter – e.g. a sketch of engravings from Sydney of a school of fish being attacked by a shark is replicated in the chapter on Victoria (p31). Eighteen authors have contributed from archaeology, anthropology, museum studies, geology, social welfare, education, chemistry, and the travel industry. The bibliographies of each author also point to useful primary sources – including early 19<sup>th</sup> century records.

- **Tasmania:** Archaeologist Harry Lourandos (pp.35-38) says the island's material culture falls into two broad groups that can roughly be described as east and west. Marine-related sites include carving sites, citing valuable historical sources of ethnological interpretation from the likes of Robinson at Green's Creek and Peron at Maria Island (p35). Baring in mind considerably more archaeological research has occurred since this publication (see especially Bowdler), there is a helpful map of sites showing middens and carving sites around Tasmania – including its more islands (p37).

Depending on research focus and angle, some may find useful comparisons, contrasts, and inferences from northern examples in this volume including: McCarthy re. the Northern Territory and central Australia (pp.51-72); Bruce Wright re. the Pilbara (pp.121-125); McCarthy re. north-western Australia (pp.73-90) – especially marine representations on petroglyphs (p78); Charles Macknight re. Northern Territory coast (pp.95-98); Stan Colliver re. Queensland (pp.2-14) – see especially middens, fish traps, weirs (pp.7-9), canoe trees (p10). Concludes with interesting insights into concerns around legislation, public education, and related tourism at the time (pp.151-188). See also entry under McCarthy in sections on South-eastern NSW and Victoria, South Australia, and South-western Australia.

**Mulvaney, D. 2007 Meeting the Tasmanians. In *Rediscovering Recherche Bay*, D. Mulvaney & H. Tyndale-Biscoe [eds] Pp. 58-68. Canberra: The Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.**

Detailed interpretation of early French ethnographic data, which Mulvaney says is more detailed than previous British visits. Says "the French informal racial interaction was characterised by mutually respectful human values, so it proved more significant for human understanding beyond its mere ethnographic record" – citing instructions from King Louis XVI to that effect. Documents Aboriginal life at Recherche Bay, including living conditions, practices, customs, material culture (including shell technology and adornments, timber technologies, spear technology and techniques, dress, basketry and seaweed water containers), social customs and observances (including ethnomusicology, singing to country while travelling, cremation burial, firing, body language), diet (including shellfish, and hunting on land). Describes artworks by French crew of

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local social interactions and customs in practice. Notes that Captain d'Auribeau, Labillardiere, and Joseph Raoul made significant observations of local customs. Says d'Auribeau and Labillardiere collected word lists. Bibliography useful for region-specific research at sovereignty.

**Nicol, S. 2007 'J'étais convaincu qu'il dormait': European views of a unique Australian mammal. In *Rediscovering Recherche Bay*, J. Mulvaney & H. Tyndale-Biscoe [eds] Pp. 45-57. Canberra: Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.**

Primarily concerned with early records of Tasmanian fauna but includes list of French maritime expeditions to eastern Australia. The list may be useful for seeking early French records in relation to specific regions of eastern Australia, and local Aboriginal customs. Includes:

1756 – Louise-Antoine de Bougainville, *La Boudense* and *L'Etoile*, Great Barrier Reef

1772 – Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne, *Le Marquis de Castries*, Marion Bay

1772 – Julien Crozet, *Le Mascarin*, Marion Bay

1788 – Jean-Francois de Galaup, comte de La Perouse, *L'Astrolabe*, and *La Boussole*, Botany Bay

1792 – Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, *La Recherche*, Recherche Bay

1793 – Huon de Kermadec and Jacque de Labillardiere (naturalist), *L'Esperance*, Recherche Bay

1802 – Nicolas Baudin, *Le Geographe*, D'Entrecasteaux Channel

1802 – Francois Peron (zoologist), Leseur (assistant gunner, drawings), Louise de Freycinet (junior officer) *Le Naturaliste*, Port Jackson

1819 – Louise Claude de Saulces de Freycinet, Paul Joseph Gaimard (surgeon and naturalist), Jean Rene Constant Quoy (surgeon and naturalist), Louise-Isidore Duperrey (ensign), *L'Uranie*, Sydney

1822 – Louis-Isidore Duperrey, Jules Dumont d'Urville (executive officer), Rene-Primavere Lesson (physician), Prosper Garnot (assistant surgeon, naturalist), *La Coquille*, Sydney

1825 – Hyacinthe de Bougainville, *Le Thetis*, *L'Esperance*, Sydney

1826 – Jules Dumont d'Urville, Joseph Paul Gaimard (surgeon and naturalist), Jean Rene Constant Quoy (surgeon and naturalist), *L'Astrolabe* (*La Coquille renamed*), Sydney and Hobart.

**Peron, M.F. 2006[1809] *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands*. [Volumes 1-3] Second Edition. Translated C. Cornell. Adelaide: State Library of South Australia.**

Includes detailed descriptions and illustrations of Peron's voyages from France to Western Australia's west and south coasts, Tasmania, Banks Strait, Bass Strait, and Port Jackson. Chapter VII (Cape Naturaliste to Cape Leeuwin) includes an account of coastal marine exploitation, firing, housing – e.g. "I everywhere found burnt trees and extinguished fires, near some of which I observed a king of mattress, made of that singular sort of bark of Melaleuca which I have before mentioned, and which seemed to have served as a bed to some of the natives, either together or singly. In a word, everything confirmed me in the opinion, that the savages had not settled their habitations in this situation, so far in the wood, but that they resided in preference on the borders of the salt river, and the adjoining places near the sea, where they could more easily procure their necessary food, for it was exclusively in, those parts that any of their huts were to be found, or their wells or springs of brackish water, to the use of which we ourselves were very soon reduced'. Chapter XI (from about Perth to Cape Naturaliste) noted that Rottneest Island was uninhabited 'and it did not appear that any of the natives of the continent had ever found their way thither'. Chapter XIV describes southern Tasmania, where Peron found Aboriginal people particularly eager to make company with the French mariners. Also notes canoes (with illustration and description of construction), customary greetings, dwellings, fires, tools, diet (including varieties of shellfish, cooking methods and utensils, body adornments, dancing). Chapter XV refers

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to south-eastern Tasmania, including reference to diet (including seafood), cremation, dress, dwellings, engravings, firing, animosity and camaraderie between Traditional Owner and early Europeans, clothing, goods exchange, water resources, and ochre mining. Chapter XVII from about Spencer Gulf to Western Port includes mostly nautical and physical geographic observations and illustrations, with brief mention of use of fire. Chapter XX includes brief observations of Traditional Owners of Western Port, Wilson's Promontory, Port Jackson, including illustrations, dwellings, place names, acknowledgement of 'Bennil-long' as 'chief'. Map included in back sleeve of book.

**Roth, H.L. 1899 *The Aborigines of Tasmania*. Halifax, England: F. King & Sons.**

Henry Ling Roth was a British-born anthropologist and museum curator who visited Australia in 1878, preceded by his brothers (one of who was Walter Edmund Roth, whose work on watercraft is also cited in this bibliography – see general references). This 411-page publication contains detailed 19<sup>th</sup> century observations including: Chapter I, massacre of Tasmanian Aboriginal people (pp.1-6); Chapter II including social organisation and ability to discover existence of water (pp.7-22); Chapter III including botanical knowledge, twenty women interviewed, love of country, social customs including exchange, religious beliefs including good and bad spirits, laws around trespass, greetings, taboos, medicines, and medicine (pp.23-66); Chapter IV on conflict, spear making and throwing, retributions, 'probably real cause of original enmity towards Europeans, robbery as an object of attack, taboos regarding women fighting, and women's lives 'generally spared' (pp.67-82); Chapter V on use of fire, foods (including marine plant and animal resources), hunting and fishing, diving of women for shellfish, use of baskets in diving, and fish-hooks unknown (pp.83-103); Chapter VI on 'nomadic life' and the 'north-east coast frequented by shellfish', habitations, and 'agriculture entirely unknown', courtship and marriage, relations between sealers and local women, male initiation, tooth extraction, tombs, funeral and burial customs, mourning (pp.104-122); Chapter VII clothing, and adornment of body and hair (pp.123-132); Chapter VIII astronomy, singing, drawing, games (pp.133-142); Chapter IX manufacture of string for ropes and cords used to make rafts, baskets used in fishing, drinking vessels and pitchers made of sea-wrack, stone implements (pp.143-213); Chapter X on trade, communications, navigation of rafts or canoes – notes that 'not boats or canoes met with by early explorers' – log rafts, swimming, diving powers of women, wading to spear sting-rays (pp.214-161). Includes illustrations such as photographs, sketches and artworks of shell necklaces, basket weaving, kelp pitcher, canoes, and Aboriginal persons of Tasmania. Preface by Edward Tylor.

### 3. SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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**Angus, G.F. 1847 *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impressions of Countries and People at the Antipodes*. Vol 1. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.**

Artist George French Angus noted that: 'The Parnkalla and Nauo tribes inhabit the country around Port Lincoln and to the westward of Spencer's Gulf, beyond Coffin's Bay. During my visit to these people, I obtained some interesting and curious particulars connected with their customs and modes of life ; especially through my friend Mr. Schurrmann, a Lutheran missionary, who has for some time past been endeavouring, but in vain, to instruct these wild and savage tribes : they appear less tractable than those on the Adelaide side of the gulfs. They believe in the immateriality of the soul; yet the residence of the shades of the departed Nauos is said to be upon the islands in Spencer's Gulf; whilst the ghosts of the Parnkallas are supposed to take their departure to the islands of the westward, towards the Great Australian Bight. They have an idea, universally prevalent amongst them, that after death they change to white men; and there are several Europeans at the settlement at Boston Bay, whom they believe to contain the spirits of some of their deceased relatives, and actually call them by the names of the deceased' (p. 108).

**Berndt, R.M., Berndt, C.H., & Stanton, J.E. 1993 *A World That Was: The Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.**

Detailed ethnography of social and religious lives of the people of the Murray River and Lakes in South Australia. Includes detailed accounts about the importance of the sea for subsistence and in religious life (pp74-108). Includes extracts of historical journals by early non-Aboriginal explorers, detailed descriptions of seasonal marine resource exploitation, food collection and consumption techniques, and sketches of watercraft used for the procurement of marine resources. Includes a Dreaming story from the Fleurieu Peninsula (Ngarrindjeri country) about the creation of islands around the peninsular and using watercraft to travel to Kangaroo Island (pp226-227).

**Brough-Smyth, R. 1972 [1876]. *The Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: John Currey, O'Neil.**

Brough Smith was a British civil servant and mining engineer who became honorary secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines and a voting member in the mid-1800s. This publication in his name relied heavily upon the reports of other people, others such as physician George Halford, early anthropologist Alfred Howitt, and surgeon and natural history enthusiast Joseph Milligan. This two-volume set is a detailed historical reference including ethnological information largely focusing on south-eastern Australia but including some anecdotal comparisons with the west and north. For example: Vol 1. (pp199-208) includes details of fishing methods and technologies in western Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia. For example, '*In the Port Lincoln district, the natives go into the water and push the fish before them with branches of trees until they are fairly driven ashore*' (p199); and '*The Narrinyeri make fishing-lines and twine from two kinds of fibre. One is a bulrush which grows in fresh water and is called Menungkeri. The rushes or roots are, first of all, either boiled ... or steamed in the native oven, and then chewed by the women. A part of the will sit round the fire and masticate the fibrous material by the hour. While they do so, the masses of fibre which have been chewed are handed to the men who sit by,*

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*and they work it up, by twisting it on the thigh into hanks of twine, either stout or fine, according to the purpose to which it is to be applied'* (p200). Also identifies technologies in contemporary use by Aboriginal people that had not been noted at the time of first British contact. Vol 2. Includes an Appendix by Chauncy comparing watercraft construction (materials and technologies) in the east and north (p249). Also includes details of south-eastern marine exploitation, including crayfish, 'sea cucumber', crabs, and varieties of fish (including dams for catching fish). Includes a transcontinental comparison of: fishing including practices at King George's Sound, the Swan River and South Australia (p248-249); spear-making for fish and netting (p249). Pp379-434 focuses exclusively on Aboriginal people of Tasmania, including canoe manufacturing and use. Includes extensive word lists, including place names for coastal places and marine features such as islands and seas from Victoria, South Australia, and southern Western Australia, as well as comparisons with northern languages (such as Croker Island).

**Clarke, P.A. 1997 *The Aboriginal cosmic landscape of southern South Australia. Records of the South Australian Museum* 29(2): 125-145.**

This paper provides an overview of recorded accounts of traditional Aboriginal beliefs from southern South Australia concerning cosmologies. Cites Taplin (1862) as saying 'Aboriginal people in the Lower Murray had a belief that the spirits of the dead descended into the ocean at a place beyond Kangaroo Island' (p129). The 'Skyworld' was also a destination for the souls of dead people. Other details connecting the cosmos and features of marine environments include 'The Sun rested or slept at night while the Moon climbed and eventually died. By another account the Sun sat in her house at night and ate fish' (Wyatt 1879, cited p133). Clarke further develops concepts around Aboriginal relationships to space and provides star maps for the Adelaide and Lower Murray areas.

**Clements, J., Kelly, G., Kinnane, S., Oxenham, D., Pardoe, C., Strelein, L., Taylor, P., & Veth, P. 2006 *Sea Countries of the South: Indigenous Interests and Connections Within the South-west Marine Region of Australia*. Canberra: AIATSIS.**

A comprehensive collaboration between Traditional Custodians, anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists and historians, documenting the place of marine environments in Aboriginal cultural lives, extending from Cape Inscription (near Shark Bay in Western Australia) and extending to Kangaroo Island in South Australia (see map p18). Transects Yamatji, Noongar, Mirning and Nunga countries, and more than 30 Indigenous coastal language groups. Report examines Indigenous connections with the South-west Marine Region (SWMR) including: contemporary and historical use of resources; interests and values; natural resource and marine management; Native Title and its implications; representation and planning structures; and legislation impacting on connections to sea country – including legislative reform re. Indigenous customary fishing in WA and SA within the SWMR. Says 'for Indigenous people and others who know how to read the landscape, the south-west marine environment reveals evidence of continuous and ongoing Indigenous occupation' (p27). Section 3 includes several useful general references e.g. 'Key practices and strategies in the pre-colonial management of sea country included: the conduct of ceremonies ... with the purpose of nurturing the wellbeing of particular places, species and habitats; control of entry to marine clan estates by outsiders and restricting resources use to clan members and others by agreement; ... seasonal exploitation of particular marine resources; restriction on the harvesting of particular species based on age, gender, reproductive conditions, health, fat content; ... restrictions on resource use and distribution by clan members and others based on

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age, gender, initiation status, marital status and other factors; restrictions on the use of particular animals and plants of totemic significance to individual clans; ... and prohibition of entry to certain areas of land and sea, often associated with storms or other sources of danger (Smyth & Bahrdt 2001, cited p34). Section 3.2 focuses on continuities of connection to the SWMR post-sovereignty (including state specific summaries pp.35-37); Section 3.3 considers contemporary Indigenous peoples' connectedness to and use of the SWMR; and Chapter 5 looks at the integration of natural resource management and Indigenous peoples in the SWMR – which may be useful for illustrating continuous connections to country, and customary interests (see also Chapter 6 re. fisheries industries).

**Davidson, D. 1935 The chronology of Australian watercraft. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 44(1): 1-16; (2): 69-84; (3): 137-152; (4): 193-207.**

Davidson correlates data from specific areas (that had been gathered by earlier researchers) into a chronological and geographic picture of the adoption of watercraft by Australian Aboriginal people. A diffusionist theoretical approach is applied throughout. Davidson identifies four types of watercraft and where they can be found in Australia and Tasmania including:

1. dugout canoes (plain dugout canoe; dugout canoe with a single-outrigger; and dugout canoe with a double-outrigger);
2. bark canoes (made from one or more pieces of bark);
3. rafts (logs or rolls of bark or bundles of reeds etc.); and
4. floats (consisting of a single log or roll or bark or bundle of reeds etc.)

Says watercraft are completely lacking along the seacoast between the Murray River in South Australia and Shark Bay in Western Australia. Says Ethel Hassell's account of a log being used as a floatation device to crossing streams between Albany and Esperance is the only evidence of any kind of watercraft for this part of Australia. Says this is similar to that used at the mouth of the Gascoyne River where Austin (1851) found a crude "one-log" sort of raft. Includes citations of early British journals describing watercraft and their manufacture around the country, and a basic map (p.144) shows distribution of rafts and swimming logs around Australia. Describes different methods and contexts of use – large and small, calm and tempestuous bodies of water. Includes early artworks of people using watercrafts - e.g. log used to access islands off the Pilbara coast near Roebourne (Fig 22, p.195). Says the lack of watercraft on south-western coastline "seems to be the result of historical forces which have not yet diffused the types of watercraft of the northern coast to this region, but toward which the diffusion of them has been progressing for some time" (p204).

**Draper, N. 2015 Islands of the Dead? Prehistoric occupation of Kangaroo Island and other southern offshore islands and watercraft use by Aboriginal Australians. *Quaternary International* 385: 229-242.**

Archaeological. Challenges the notion that southern Australian Aboriginal people did not use watercraft or visit offshore islands, such as Kangaroo Island throughout the pre-colonial Holocene period. Argues that archaeological evidence is contrary to the fundamental tenets of the 'Kartan Mystery' – the notion that the island was abandoned for thousands of years before European colonisation of South Australia.

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**Eyre, E.J. 1845 *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound in the years 1840-1: Sent by the colonists of South Australia, with the sanction and support of the Government: including an account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans.* T. & W. Boone, London. Two volumes.**

Edward John Eyre's coastal expeditions took him from Adelaide along the coast to Albany, including the Eyre Peninsula coast. This feat was accomplished with the aid of Wylie, a Noongar man from King George's Sound. Eyre mostly documents the physical hardships and physical geographic features of the journey. Generally, he provides only anecdotal documentation of interactions with traditional custodians along the way. Vol. I. Chapters I-XV focus exclusively on South Australia, including inland journeys to Lake Eyre and Mount Hopeless. Eyre made three attempts to cross the Great Australian Bight, relying on local Aboriginal knowledge to find freshwater in the salt encroached plain. Among the anecdotes he notes: the presence of campfires at Spencer's Gulf (p62); engagement with Aboriginal people at Port Lincoln and tensions and proposed remedies in relations with Europeans (pp.127-133); says Aboriginal people at Streaky Bay do not eat oysters, unlike people at King George's Sound and Sydney, but mussels are eaten in South Australia and New South Wales but possibly not in Perth (p144); records evidence of circumcision and subincision practices at Smoky Bay (p154); and identifies a local Aboriginal man named 'Wilgudy' at Smoky Bay (p154). More detailed (though more wide-ranging in terms of source from around the country) are Eyre's interpretations of Aboriginal people's spiritual beliefs. He includes examples from around South Australia, including coastal areas, and some comparisons with those in Western Australia (p473-480). Vol I. Chapters XVI-XVIII relate to Western Australia. Volume II includes illustrations including graves, weapons, ornaments, implements (including nets, canoes, and spears used for fishing), woven baskets. Also documents dances of Aboriginal people of 'the Rufus and Lake Victoria (Tar-ru)' in Victoria (p408). Volume II Chapters I-V concern Western Australia's south coast, noting that Wylie understands the language spoken by the people at Point Malcolm. Notes the reluctance of local Aboriginal people to make contact: 'At night I observed native fires about a mile from us, in a direction towards the sea; but the natives did not come near us' (p326). Also notes that 'In travelling about from one place to another, I have always made it a point, if possible, to be accompanied by one or more natives, and I have often found great advantage from it. Attached to an exploring party they are frequently invaluable, as their perceptive powers are very great, and enable them both to see and hear anything at a much greater distance than a European. In tracking stray animals, and keeping on indistinct paths, they display a degree of perseverance and skill that is really wonderful. They are useful also in cutting bark canoes to cross a river, should such impede the progress of the party, and in diving for anything that may be lost in the water, &c. &c. The Aborigines generally, and almost always those living near large bodies of water, are admirable swimmers and divers, and are almost as much at home in the water as on dry land. I have known them even saw a small log or root at the bottom of a deep river. In a locality, however, which is badly watered, it sometimes happens that they cannot swim. At Meerkap, in Western Australia, while crossing with some friends, from the Sound to Swan River, we met with some who were in this predicament, and who seemed a good deal astonished at our venturing into the small ponds at that place. I have been told that the natives at the Sound could not swim before that settlement was occupied by Europeans—this seems hardly probable, however, upon the sea-coast; at all events, be this as it may, they all swim now' (pp.400-401). Vol. II Chapter III includes some broad generalisations

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about custom, that we now know vary considerably more around Australia (e.g. see Eyre's notes on fishing pp.421-422).

**Flinders, M. 1966[1814] *Voyage to Terra Australis [etc]* 2 vols. London: G & W. Nicol.**

The detail is too vast and broad to cover fully here, however among the geographical records there are observations of encounters with Aboriginal people around the south, east and north coasts of Australia. Includes summary of observations made by earlier mariners, including their interpretations of Aboriginal people, which may provide helpful cues for further historical investigations— e.g. see Flinders' citation of Captain Tobias Furneaux's notes regarding his visit to Van Diemens' Land in 1773, saying 'not the least mark of canoe or boat was seen, and it was generally thought they had none'; and Flinders cites George Vancouver who anchored near Cape Leeuwin in 1772 and observed that 'No marks of canoes, nor the remains of fish, even shell fish, were found near their habitations; and this circumstance, with the shyness of the birds and quadrupeds, induced a belief that the natives depended principally upon the woods for their subsistence'. However, such face-value observations should be considered in conjunction with subsequent evidence – e.g. the archaeological records of Charlie Dortch (see Dortch, C.E. in South-western Australia) arguing that midden evidence suggests otherwise). **Vol 1:** Chapter III includes observations of Aboriginal people at King George's Sound, including language. Chapter IV documents the voyage from King George's Sound through the Recherche Archipelago with observations of the mainland and islands, and across the Great Australian Bight. Chapter V focuses on Fowler's Bay, the St Francis isles, and Nuyts' Archipelago in South Australia. Chapter VI refers to mainland and islands between Anxious Bay and Port Lincoln. Chapter VII refers to Port Lincoln to Kangaroo Island, with an excursion inland. Chapter VIII journeys from Kangaroo Island to the Yorke Peninsula and return, then east from Cape Jervis, with remarks about French activities on the South Coast. Chapter IX includes observations from Tasmania and Victoria. Chapter X extends from Port Philip to Port Jackson with observations of mainland and islands between. **Vol 2.:** Chapters I-IX are devoted to voyages along the coasts of Queensland, the Torres Strait, the Northern Territory and Timor. Chapter X documents the return to Port Jackson via the Bass Strait. [Note: Versions of Flinders' vast work are available online, and not all of them are meticulously reproduced.]

**Fowler, M.E. 2015 'Now, are You Going to Believe This or Not?' Addressing Neglected Narratives through the Maritime Cultural Landscape of Point Pearce Aboriginal Mission/Burkiyana, South Australia. Archaeology PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide.**

Ethno-archaeological PhD thesis exploring Indigenous engagement within Australian maritime industries – including boatbuilding, labouring, and fishing. Includes 13 oral histories, as well as terrestrial, coastal and underwater archaeological research. Says 'Indigenous sea tenure ... is found in the ways in which "inshore fishermen [sic] perceive, name, partition, own and defend local sea space and resources"' (Helmreich 2011, cited p21); and 'The Point Pearce/Burkiyana community identify themselves, and are identified by other Aboriginal groups, as the 'Butterfish mob' (p38). Includes citations from South Australia's historic whale fishery including 'At Encounter Bay (SA), in 1839, it was reported that: "a boat is employed in the fishery which is entirely manned [sic] with natives. They take their part in the occupation equally with the white men and are found to be not less expert than they" (*The Southern Australian* p1839, cited p82; and "'the blacks gave the whalers much help as watchers. It was in their interest to do so, for ... the capture of the big

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'fish' meant a royal feast for them. Incidentally, one of the best harpoonists at the station was an Aboriginal – Black Dick" (*The Adelaide Chronicle* 1833, cited p82). Cites Gerritsen (2001) to say Taplin's (1878) observation that traditional fish hooks did not exist in the Murray region is contentious (p86). Documents reinvention of European materials for use in historical and contemporary fishing – e.g. lead from car batteries used for fishing line sinkers.

**Helms, R. 1896. Anthropology. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*. 16: 281-282.**

Helms variously includes observations, interviews and wordlists with Yunga, Ngadju, Kukatha people, among other northern and inland peoples, with descriptions of cultural boundaries, laws and customs, and word lists - including for marine environments. Helms notes that language difference coincides with cultural differences either side of the western circumcision/subincision line (p307). Includes input from 'C.A. Paterson of Perth' regarding *Tribes inhabiting the Coastal [sic] District from Geraldton to Albany* (pp.288-290), describing marine resource exploitation, and a wordlist from south-west Western Australian (pp.329-331), including features of marine environments.

**Howitt, A.E. 1887 Notes of songs and songmakers of some Australian tribes. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 16: 327-335.**

Includes songs from groups including Coast Murring, the Woiworung of the Yarra River, and the Kurnai of Gippsland, also drawing a comparison to Narrinyeri of the Murray River in South Australia (p329). Includes a Coast Murring song about the sea (p331), with a citation noting 'He is a fisherman and owns a good Sydney-built boat, which he manages with the aid of his wife. In the olden times theses "sea coast men" (katungal) used to go out a mile or more from the coast in their bark canoes to spear fish' (Footnote 1, p331). Later notes the ways that some songs may be shared between or carried across by different cultural groups – e.g. 'A very favorite song of this kind has travelled in late years from the Murring to the Kurnai. It was composed by one Mragula, a noted song maker of the Wolgal, describing his attempt to cross the Snowy River in a leaky bark canoe during flood' (p332). Howitt also shows how the changing colonial environment was incorporated into existing customs around songmaking – e.g. 'A favorite song of this kind with the Murring is about "going to Melbourne in the steamer"' (p332). Also notes the importance of songs to pacify or to invoking responses from spirit beings. Includes archaeological research involving the Narungga and Point Pierce/Burgiyana communities, identifying maritime themes in Dreamings (pp149) such as Creation of the Gulf, *Badhara*, *Birdumarda*, *Gurada/shark*, and *Nhudli gayinbara*/Butterfish people. Maps and photographs helpful for identifying places and relative geography.

**Howitt, A.W. 1996[1904] *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.**

Occasional useful anecdotes and summaries but also embedded with opinion that requires prudent filtration and interpretation. In terms of marine resource exploitation, says 'In 1896 an important find of aboriginal stone hatchets was made at Shea's Cree, near Sydney, at a depth of 11 feet below water-level, together with bones of dugong, bearing such cuts and scratches, not recent, as would be made by direct blows of a sharp-edge stone tomahawk' (p17). Chapter 1 takes a speculative Darwinian approach to understanding the origins of Tasmanian and Australian Aboriginal people, summarising what explorers had reported from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; and, as such, may at least be useful for identifying earlier bibliographic references. Of Tasmania's bark

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rafts, Howitt says 'there is not a tittle of evidence in support of the belief that the Tasmanians ever were acquainted with the art of constructing a canoe able to cross such a sea strait as that between Tasmania and Australia, much less wider extents of ocean' (p9). Chapter II offers information on coastal dwelling people of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. For example, 'The advantages of the coast lands increase on coming eastwards; and from the Gulf of St. Vincent the country afforded ample food supplies, from the lakes at the Murray mouth and the country bordering upon them and the sea. Still more favourable conditions existed in Victoria, and especially Gippsland, where again extensive lakes and adjacent country afforded an unfailling supply of fish ... The tribes of the New South Wales coast enjoyed similar advantages' (p35). Includes illustrations, tables, photographs, and artworks; and there is a list of 'tribal divisions' that Howitt that associates with given geographic areas – including coastal (p59). P65 defines country belonging to *Yerkla-mining* as extending 'from about 100 miles east to about 40 miles west of Eucla, along the coast, and as far inland as they dared go' (p65). Includes a Dreaming about a snake that occupies the Nullarbor Plain and Fowler Bay (pp.65-67). Pp.67-69 identifies custodian groups of the South Australian coast, with brief summaries of social organisation according to moieties. Pp.69-72 identifies coastal dwelling groups of Victoria, along with brief notes on social organisation, descent groups, and names of known Elders. Pp.73-77 includes detailed ethnological information on 'the Kurnai of Gippsland', including dialects spoken, group names in language, and customs relating to coastal and marine resources. For example, p74 notes that 'Any stranger who took swans' eggs on this island without the permission of the of the *Bunjil-baul* had to fight them, but there was no prohibition against friendly tribesmen who might visit the island taking any other kind of food or game'. Also includes brief information on 'the Biduelli Tribe who occupied the forest and jungle covered country between the high coast ranges and the immediate coast along which the Kurnai lived' (pp.79-81). Pp.81-86 identifies coastal groups of New South Wales, including language terms for group and sub-group names, and the coastal and sea country spoken for. Chapter III 'Social Organisation' (pp.88-155), like earlier chapters, shifts focus one region of Australia to another within quick succession; and readers are advised to become familiar with the many group names recorded/reported by explorers and historians over the centuries. There is some potentially useful information from South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales including: language terms, Dreamings, moieties, totemic affiliations, and descent groups. Chapter IV 'Relationship Terms' (pp.156-172) includes a description of the classificatory system, a table of Dieri relationships with an explanation of the system, as well explanation of *Nadada-wa*, *Kami* and *Noa* relationships, and a table of Kurnai terms and explanation of relationships. Chapter V 'Marriage Rules' (pp.173-294) is detailed, and includes specific information on custom, for example, noting similarities in custom in eastern Victoria and south-eastern New South Wales: 'The old men, when at the initiation ceremonies, told me that the rule was that the "waddy-men," that is, those who get their living by climbing trees for game, must go down to the sea-coast and obtain wives from the people who get their living by fishing' (p257). General rules of 'Tribal government' are similarly broad in Chapter VI (pp.295-354), with anecdotes and interpretations of coastal and inland groups from South Australia to Queensland. Chapter VII 'Medicine-men and Magic' (pp.355-425) draws analogies with groups from around Australia, while primarily focussing on Dieri, Narrinyeri, Wotjobaluk, Wurunjerrri, Wiimbaio, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and Kurnai. Despite the broadness, it is recommended that any research for sea claims in south-eastern Australia should include review of this literature. Includes songlines with bar music (pp.419-424), and a photograph of a Kurnai man in a bark canoe (p424). Chapter VIII 'Beliefs and Burial Practices' (pp.426-508) is particularly interesting, noting many examples of religious beliefs and customs in relation to the ocean – not necessarily as

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distinct from other water sources or terrestrial elements. For example: 'The Kapiri legend shows that the earth is supposed to be bordered by water; the *Mura-mura* Madaputa-tupuru, and the *Mankara Waka* and *Pirna* have both reached it in their wanderings. The Wolgal belief is that there is water all round the flat earth. They know of the sea round the coast for a great distance, and heart of it from the more distant blacks, even before the white men came' (p426). Includes several Dreamings from southern coastal, northern and interior groups that associated the spiritual rainbow serpent with water (including the sea and sky) – e.g. 'The Bunya-Bunya people in Queensland are also very much afraid of the rainbow, which they call *Thugine* (large serpent). Once, they say, a camp of blacks was close to the beach, and all went out to hunt and fish, leaving only two boys in camp with strict orders not to go to the beach, or leave the camp till the elders returned. The boys played about for a time in the camp, and then getting tired of it, went down to the beach where the *Thugine* came out of the sea, and being always on the watch for unprotected children, caught the two boys and turned them into two rocks that now stand between Double Island Point and Inskip Point, and have deep water close up to them ... The Yuin believe that the thunder is the voice of *Daramulun*. The Gringai had a great dread of thunder ... According to the Tongaranka, thunder is the song of a corroboree held by the big old men in the sky, who are making rain' (p431). [Note: see also Ethel Hassell reference in Western Australia bibliography, where she notes terrified responses of Wheelman people to water spouts and thunder storms at sea'.] Howett writes 'The Kamilaroi believe that the spirit of a man when he dies goes to the dark patch in the Magellan clouds, which they call Maianba, meaning endless water or river' (p439); 'As far back as 1795, when a man-of-war ... was anchored at Port Stephens, four men were found ... The natives had received them as "the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again" ... The old men of the tribes about Maryborough said when they first saw white men, "That is all right, they are the *Murthara* (ghosts) come back from the island"; and they recognised such men as their relatives, gave them names and a family' (p445). Burial customs (pp. 447-475) include those of Dieri, Yerkla-mining (south-eastern Western Australia and south-western South Australia), Narrang-ga, several groups around Adelaide, Wurunjjerri, several groups around Port Phillip Bay, Kurnai, Gippsland peoples, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and the Wolgal saying 'The Wolgal were very particular burying everything belonging to a dead man with him ; spears and nets were included ; even in one case a canoe was cut into pieces so that it could be put in the grave' (pp.461-462).

**Jackomos, A. 1960 Political; mission activities; social activities; buildings.**

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/217492118?q&versionId=238635603>

Photographic and sound archive of Alick Jackomos, including religious practices, socioeconomic and living conditions, transport, social events, sport, material culture, education, and named persons (Briggs, at : Port Augusta (western South Australia), Bookayana (south east South Australia), Framlingham / Purnim (Western Victoria), Melbourne area (Victoria), Queenscliff (Bellarine Peninsula, Victoria), Bung Yarnda / Lake Tyers (Gippsland, eastern Victoria). Persons named include: the Briggs family, Doug Nicholls 1906-1988, Margaret Tucker 1904-1996, Merle Robertha Jackomos 1929-, Eric Onus, Cooper family.

**Jukes, J.B. 1847 Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of HMS "Fly" 2 vols. London.**

Very little cultural detail. More focused on physical and life sciences, with some linguistic interest of Indigenous peoples that Jukes encountered on this voyage (e.g. p237). Appendices from p278 contain word lists including those gathered at Port Lincoln, Murray Island, and Cape York (two

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languages/dialects); and from p314-320 word lists from Tasmania (including Macquarie Island) and King George's Sound.

**McCarthy, F.D. [ed] 1970. *Aboriginal Antiquities in Australia: Their Nature and Preservation*. Australian Aboriginal Studies No. 22, Prehistory and Material Culture Series No. 3. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.**

Archaeologist and anthropologist Fred McCarthy was the Foundation Principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and he worked at the Australian Museum in Sydney. This is a multidisciplinary volume, edited by McCarthy, concerning Australian material culture in ethnographic and timely context. It contains papers presented at the Conference on Prehistoric Monuments and Antiquities in Australia, as part of the Third General Meeting of the AIAS in May 1968. McCarthy's Introduction (pp. XI-XIV) explains the broader contexts informing critical thought around Australian Aboriginal material culture at the time. The volume includes texts, and photographic plates, sketches and maps of sites – including examples from marine-related environments. The illustrations are not always presented within the relevant chapter – e.g. a sketch of engravings from Sydney of a school of fish being attacked by a shark is replicated in the chapter on Victoria (p31). Eighteen authors have contributed from archaeology, anthropology, museum studies, geology, social welfare, education, chemistry, and the travel industry. The bibliographies of each author also point to useful primary sources – including early 19<sup>th</sup> century records.

- **South Australia:** Museum curator Graeme Pretty (pp.39-50) includes records from the Eyre Peninsula (p39), with illustrations of rock paintings and engravings. Draws comparisons between art styles here and other named Australian regions (pp41-43). Documents known mythological sites along the coast – e.g. says 'the attachment of the myth system to the natural features of each tribal territory may have held generally for Aboriginal societies ... we may cite the string of soaks and native wells stretching south from Adelaide for some fifty miles along the coast to Second Valley. They are said to have been made when Tjirubuki sat down and wept while carrying his son's body from the Patawalonga down to his own country at Kongaratinga' (p43). Includes brief mention of coastal fish traps and weirs on the Eyre and York Peninsulas (p46).

Depending on research focus and angle, some may find useful comparisons, contrasts, and inferences from northern examples in this volume including: McCarthy re. the Northern Territory and central Australia (pp.51-72); Bruce Wright re. the Pilbara (pp.121-125); McCarthy re. north-western Australia (pp.73-90) – especially marine representations on petroglyphs (p78); Charles Macknight re. Northern Territory coast (pp.95-98); Stan Colliver re. Queensland (pp.2-14) – see especially middens, fish traps, weirs (pp.7-9), canoe trees (p10). Concludes with interesting insights into concerns around legislation, public education, and related tourism at the time (pp.151-188). See also entries under McCarthy in sections on South-eastern NSW and Victoria, Tasmania, and South-western Australia.

**McBryde, I. 2000 *Travellers in storied landscapes: a case study in exchanges and heritage*. *Aboriginal History* 24: 152-174.**

McBryde focuses mostly on the Adnyamathanha of the Flinders Ranges but acknowledges trade and ceremonial links with Western Desert speakers of the Nullarbor Plain – including coastal-dwelling people of the Nullarbor. This may be helpful for explaining customary law, and the sharing of knowledge about country and custom – e.g. where people from neighbouring regions

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have Dreamings and stories about each other's country, including sea, but cannot necessarily speak for that country. Cites Meinig (1979: 34, on p.156) to say 'any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads'. Explains the embeddedness of spirituality in landscapes that require ongoing ceremonial and daily responsibilities. Cites from Strehlow (1965; 1970, on pp.157-158) to point to extended song cycles rooted in places and the routes linking them; and from Myers (1986: 61-64, pp.158) to illustrate how the Dreaming and country are related and continuous spatial relationships. The narratives emphasise appropriate relations between people, the geographical expanse of such relations, and the consequences of failing to observe customary law.

**Nicholson, A., & Cane, S. 1991 Archaeology on the Anxious Coast. *Australian Archaeology* 33: 3-13.**

Archaeological with some ethnological considerations. Refers to the South Australian coast, from Port Lincoln to Ceduna. 350 km of rugged cliffs and vast bays are spread along the coast either side of Anxious Bay. The waters here are abundant with marine life, including sea lions, bluefin tuna, prawns, crayfish and abalone. Given the relative absence of middens known in the Holocene archaeological record (compared to the east coast of Australia), Nicholson & Crane ask why the people of the Anxious Coast 'did not eat shellfish'. The area is also home to many varieties of seafood, including sealions, bluefin tuna, prawns, crayfish, abalone, and the great white shark. Says 'the ethnographic information clearly illustrates the importance of coastal water sources. Bates (1938) lists a number of water sources which were of particular importance to the Wirangu. These include the permanent wells and soaks in the sand dunes at Head of Bight. This location, known as Illcumba, was a summer camp and had been "a gathering place from time immemorial" (Bates 1913). The wells and soaks in the dunes at Fowlers Bay were also important water sources. Edward Eyre (1845:219) who travelled overland along the west coast in 1840-41 described Aboriginal wells dug to a depth of 4 m to 5 m in these dunes. Further east along the coast (through both Wirangu and Nauo territory) Eyre visited numerous other soaks, wells and rockholes. Without his Aboriginal companions to guide him to these water sources, Eyre's overland journey would have been impossible' (p8). The authors never really answer their original question but present some possibilities – e.g. violent oceanic conditions preventing Aboriginal exploitation of littoral shores, fear of sharks, limited shellfish so less obvious in the archaeological record, or rapid decay of the archaeological record in the last 100 years (p12).

**Schürmann, C.W. 1846 *The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia, their Mode of Life, Manners, Customs, etc.* Adelaide: George Dehane.**

Pastor Schürmann was a German missionary on the Eyre Peninsula (Barnjarla and Nauo). He recorded from Aboriginal people around Port Lincoln in the 1840s that 'when a man dies, his soul goes to an island, where it lives in a state so ethereal that it requires no food. Some say that this island is situated towards the east, others towards the west ; so that they either do not agree about the locality or believe in the existence of more than one receptacle for departed souls. On its passage to its new habitation a species of Red-bill, a bird frequenting the sea-beach, and noted for its shrill shrieks during the night, accompanies it' (p18). Rich details of mourning, spiritual beliefs, including viewing shipwrecks as customary retribution (pp.18-22. Includes considerable detail regarding daily and ceremonial adornment and attire, social organisation, hunting and fishing techniques, male initiation (circumcision and subincision). For example, he records details of differences in spear technology between Port Lincoln and Adelaide peoples; and says 'the

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wadna, is the boomerang of other Australian tribes, only that it is longer, thinner, and clumsier. It is used solely for striking fish in the water, and seldom carried about by the natives but is generally left at the fishing places'. Later notes that 'there are articles of food, relished by white men, that a native would not touch ; for instance, some kinds of fish, oysters, or shell-fish of any kind, the common mushroom, &c.'; and 'the natives of Port Lincoln are not so expert in procuring fish as those of other parts of the Colony, for they neither use nets nor hooks. The larger kinds are speared, while the smaller sorts, particularly those that move about in shoals, are surrounded by a number of natives, each being provided with a branch of tea-tree, and slowly driven towards the shore, where they are secured by placing the branches round them and throwing them upon the sand. Some kinds of fish are attracted in the night by a light; knowing which, the natives go into the water with lighted torches of long dry pieces of bark and procure great quantities of them. Great excitement prevails among the natives when they are successful in hunting or fishing, each one exclaiming on those occasions ... my meat, my meat, patting his stomach all the time vigorously. Many eulogiums are also bestowed on him, to whose skill they owe the feast in prospect'.

**South Australian Museum 2018 *Ngurunderi: An Aboriginal Dreaming*. Available:**

<https://www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/gallery/ngurunderi/>

The South Australian Museum consolidates research and art from several sources in this website to tell the story of Ngurunduri. Says Ngarrindjeri burial practices including building raised rafts to assist the deceased to travel across the ocean to the spirit world. Says spirits follow Ngurunderi's path across the sea to Kangaroo Island, the land of the dead, before entering the spirit world.

**Sutton, T.M. 1887 *The Adjahdurah Tribe of Aborigines on Yorke's Peninsula: Some of Their Early Customs and Traditions*. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society South Australia Branch Vol. 1: 17-19.**

Sutton was the superintendent of the Methodist missions at Point Pearce and Point McLeay. From the Yorke Peninsula (Narungga country) he notes versions of the Dreaming story of Budara (sometimes spelled 'Budderer'), who is the main mythological ancestor for Narungga and who stands on Wardang Island to throw a club at a woman further down the peninsula (the ancestor is also known as 'Buthera'. Buthera is also the name that Narungga have chosen for their agreement paving their way to treaty with the South Australian government.

**Tindale, N. 1936 *Notes on the Natives on the Southern Portion of Yorke Peninsula*. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 60: 56-70.**

Tindale also records a version of the above story (see Sutton 1887) on Yorke Peninsula (p58). Tindale called Kangaroo island the 'Island of the Dead' in reference to its mythological significance to many southern Aboriginal groups. See also Draper (2015, above) which has a discussion of ethnographic evidence along with the archaeological evidence for watercraft/island occupation in this area.

**Weiner, J. 2000 *Notes and documents: the epistemological foundations of contemporary Aboriginal religion: some remarks on the Ngarrindjeri*. *Australian History* 24: 260-263.**

Reflects on matters arising out of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Affair, concerning continuity and change in knowledge, practices, and perceptions of Ngarrindjeri religious life. Says that 'Ngarrindjeri beliefs did evince features that set them apart from other well-documented religious

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systems [and while they] apparently had a myth-landscape nexus similar to the rest of Australia ... their religious life was somewhat differently centred: they had a central and well-developed notion of personal power and the importance of personal attributes in its quest' (p261). Ultimately argues that 'no longer do Aboriginal communities in settled Australia such as the Ngarrindjeri seek to objectify the ancestors through inspection of the present day traces of their primordial presence; they now have to objectify the tradition of ancestral authority itself for the benefit of anthropologists and lawyers who must characterise and make a case for a more westernised version of such tradition in the courts' (p263).

**Woods, J.D. 1878 *The Native Tribes of South Australia*. Available:**

<https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/15080/1/Narrinyeri.pdf>

James Dominick Woods was a British-born journalist who migrated to South Australia in 1852. While the book's title refers generically to South Australia, a considerable portion is focussed on 'The Narrinyeri, or Tribes of Aborigines Inhabiting The Lakes Alexandrina and Albert and Lower Murray' (see Chapter 1). Includes a table listing local group names, and the geographical places and totems with which they are associated (p4). Specific notes include canoe, fishing line, and spear use and manufacture (pp.41-42). Chapter VII on Mythology is thick with detail, including how the spirit ancestor 'Ngurunderi' made the islands around the peninsula, using canoes, and travelling to Kangaroo Island (pp.55-65). Other chapters include: Chapter II on social customs; Chapter III sorcery; Chapter IV tribal customs; Chapter V weapons, manufactures, taking game, cooking, diseases, medical and treatment; Chapter VIII history of the mission at Point Macleay; Chapter X language.

**Wylie, R., Clark, J., Lulith, H., & D. Smyth 2004 *Sea Country Planning*. Presentation to Native Title Conference, Adelaide, June 2004.**

Colour printout of PowerPoint presentation by staff from the Australian Government's National Oceans Office to the 5<sup>th</sup> annual Native Title Conference held at the Stamford Grand Hotel, Adelaide, 2-4 June 2004. Identifies the policy context and the government's then intention regarding Indigenous peoples, seeing 'Sea Country Plans' as a potential vehicle for Indigenous involvement in natural resource management. Examples from south-west Victoria (with Framlingham Aboriginal Trust and Winda Mara Aboriginal Corporation) and south-east South Australia (with the Ngarrindjeri people and the Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement). Identifies names of sociocultural groups and their associated areas of land and sea, and marine resources. Includes maps. Outlines vision, proposed strategy, and potential outcomes.

#### 4. SOUTH-WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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**Anderson, R. 2016. *Beneath the colonial gaze: Modelling maritime society and cross-cultural contact on Australia's Southern Ocean frontier—the Archipelago of the Recherche, Western Australia*. PhD thesis, University of Western Australia, School of Social Sciences, Archaeology.**

Historical and archaeological. Ross Anderson also undertook applied research with 'Wudjari Traditional Owners of Esperance' during research, and sometimes cites their oral evidence. Anderson presents a model for understanding maritime society, cross-cultural contact and informal colonisation processes. Looks at the cross-cultural contact made by sealers and whalers with Aboriginal people on the Southern Ocean frontier. Considers 'the two-way transfer of ideas, influences and technologies in contact situations' (pii). Focuses on the Recherche Archipelago and says key aspects of understanding the maritime frontier landscape include 'the importance of islands ... and the blending of Indigenous and newcomer cultures' (pii), among others. Says 'Nyoongar people in the Cape Leeuwin to Bunbury area, and Mirning people on South Australia's west coast recognised whales as totem animals, recognising a deep spiritual connection that extended back to their Dreaming ancestors ... A smoothed disc manufactured from a whale's vertebral epiphysis found near Kalgoorlie is thought to be evidence of the long-distance exchange of a marine object, most likely between south-west Aboriginal groups' (p131). Cites Francis Fraser Armstrong of the Swan River Colony as writing 'Noongar Wadjuk people in the Djerbarl Yerrigan/Swan River area: "... believe that the spirits, or 'goor-doo-mit' of deceased persons pass, immediately after death, through the bosom of the sea to some unknown and distant land, which becomes henceforth (as they believed before their intercourse with our settlers) their eternal residence" ... "It is invariably believed that their women conceive in consequence of the infant being conveyed, by some unknown agency, from somewhere across the sea into the mother's womb. When a person is in a very deep slumber, the Interpreter has heard them say of him, 'Now he is away over the sea!', meaning, as he has collected from them, that his spirit or mind, which had come here as an infant, had gone back to its own country' (Armstrong 1836, cited pp. 199-200). Includes other Noongar stories from Busselton, and says 'Noongar Wadjuk, Wiil, Minang, Wudjari and Ngatju from Western Australia's southwest and south coasts have described creation events involving people' (p200); and quotes oral evidence from Elder Doc Reynolds that 'Middle Island in the Archipelago of the Recherche is associated with a Noongar Wudjari dreamtime story about Thoort who created the coastline and islands, Middle Island representing the knees of Thjoort' (p201). Draws analogies about the significance of maritime environments and spiritual significance of high peaks (including islands) with other regions including Tasmania and South Australia. Includes photographs helpful for contextualising the historical narrative.

**Anonymous [nd] *Norseman Mission (1935 – 1985)***

<https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE00163b.htm>

Norseman Mission was a 'children's mission' established in 1935 by members of the Churches of Christ and then run from 1942 by the Churches of Christ Federal Aborigines Mission Board Inc. Its purpose was to provide accommodation, education and vocational training for children and young people aged 2-15 years. The number of children at the mission varied over time, with fewer than 30 children in some years (1948, 1965) and up to 70 in others (1958, 1970). Children from around the Eastern Goldfields and Nullarbor were taken from their families and raised at the Mission. It

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closed in 1985 and the pastoral lease was transferred to a local Aboriginal Community. There is nothing of immediate value; but a researcher with time on their hands could do well to trawl through the hyperlinks. The website provides hyperlink upon hyperlink to related websites, and these all variously include textual and photographic data, which may ultimately provide information about the many coastal-dwelling Aboriginal people who were taken away to this inland mission.

**Anonymous 1833 Report of an excursion in a whale boat, from six miles to the eastward of Ramé Point to six miles to the N.W. of Point D'Entrecasteaux, and from thence to the Murray River by land. In *Journals of Several Expeditions made in Western Australia*, J. Cross [ed], Pp. 114-131. London: J. Cross.**

Largely descriptive of physical geography and a rollicking journey around the Roaring 40s in a big rowboat. Notes interaction with local Aboriginal people who gave the expedition team 'some broiled fish, and conducted us to their wells; parted very good friends' (p115). There is no interpretation of this greeting or gifting in terms of custom. Notes campfires of local people p116) near Point d'Entrecasteaux. Identifies the locations of 'native waterholes' and 'native paths' (pp.124-125) along the coast. Documents an encounter with local Aboriginal people who were intrigued by the party's boat (pp.128-129), including mention of men and boys carrying fishing spears, engaging in fishing, and offering to exchange fish.

**Bannister, T. 1833 A report of Captain Bannister's Journey to King George's Sound, over land. In J. Cross (ed.) *Journals of Several Expeditions made in Western Australia*. London: J. Cross. Pp.98-109.**

Largely descriptive of physical geography on Bannister's overland journey from the Swan River Colony to King George's Sound. Notes dependence on 'the friendly aid' of local Aboriginal people who showed Bannister's party the way along 'the native path' through dense vegetation near today's Nornalup Inlet (p107). Names one John Gringer.

**Bates, D. 1859-1951 *Native vocabularies – Esperance*. Available:**

<https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/74245>

Wordlists compiled from vocabularies contributed by Richard Helms (Fraser Range, Hampton Plains, Knutsford, and Esperance), L.A. Wells (Fraser Range), W. Williams (Eucla and Eyre's Sandpatch), Campbell Taylor (Doubtful Bay and Israelite Bay), Eyre (from Curr's *Australian Race*). A search of these sources could disclose further useful information. Word list includes relationship terms, body parts and functions, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, natural features (material, climatic, and celestial), general vocabulary (including nouns, verbs, adjectives). Also contains Bates' observations – e.g. Helms' Esperance 'Yunga dialect', she notes the similarity between Esperance and Perth; and Campbell Taylor refers to people of Doubtful Bay to Israelite Bay as Ngokgurring or "shell people". Descriptions of country occupied by 'Wonunda Meening Tribe' from W. Williams' notes. Also notes regarding Helms' vocabularies gathered from diverse peoples at Fraser Range.

**Bates, D. 1859-1951. *Native vocabularies - Esperance Magisterial District*. Available:**

<https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/77080>

Word lists compiled by Bates with Deebungool who she describes as a "Bibbulmun Nyungar man of Kabbee kail (Esperance)" and that there were "only two Esperance natives left in 1912 –

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brothers called Dib & Dab". Vocabularies include relationship terms, animals, birds, reptiles, insects, and the social, material, climatic, and spiritual environment. While there is no detailed ethnographic account of customary marine tenure, the inclusion of names for deep ocean fish indicates that these resources were known – if not exploited or featured in oral traditions.

**Bates, D. 1859-1951 *Native vocabularies - Esperance Magisterial District 2*. Available: <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/77081>**

Wordlists compiled by Bates with Indar (of Mandooboornup – Frenchman's Peak, his grandfather's place), Joowel (of Kabee kail – Esperance) and Baiungan (Banjelungup – Bremer Bay) at Meerungup, in the Esperance Magisterial District. Terms include human relationships, parts and functions of the body, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, the physical, celestial, social, material environments, and a comprehensive list of nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Indicates regional variation between the word lists of Indar and Joowel (with Esperance Nyungar area) and Baiungan (in the south-west Noongar area). While there is no detailed ethnographic account of customary marine tenure, the inclusion of names for ocean fish indicates that these resources were known – if not exploited or featured in oral traditions.

**Bates, D. 1859-1951 *XI.1a. Dances, Songs. (From F30 of MSS of XI,1a.)* [Typescript]**

Dances and songs of the Aboriginal people of the south-western Australian coast including from: Eucla, Esperance, Murray, Cape Leeuwin, 'Mandura', Busselton, Bunbury, Esperance, Bremer Bay, Korrlup, Albany, Augusta, Vasse, Swan, Bridgetown and Capel – as well as from more northern and inland regions, including the Kimberley, Pilbara, Murchison and Gascoyne coasts. Notes that 'Joowal, a Bremer Bay district native ... stated that the Didarruk also had a *deedar ken-ing* or spear dance, their name Didarruk showing that they were spear people. These terms ... are quite local in their application, as in other Southwestern districts, *dedarr* was the equivalent for "sea", the Didarruk being "sea people" (p15). Bates documents a Noongar song from Augusta regarding shipwrecks, indicating incorporation of post-sovereignty events into Noongar cultural life (pp.38). She writes 'The "story" of the song relates to a man who was like a "male" spirit (white man) and who was wrecked at sea. The Southern spirits all come from the sea and from the various rocks in the sea and the spirit in the song was in distress a long way from the shore. He raised his glasses to see where the land was, and he saw the land that looked like clouds. Then as he came near the shore he looked round and saw some Koorannup women dancing. They had followed him from Koorannup and were dancing along at either side of him, but not showing their faces. As soon as he set foot on the shore, the women left him, still without showing their faces to him'. In a further example of incorporation of post-sovereignty events into Noongar songs, Bates writes 'Nebinyan of Two People Bay, Tambellup, etc., was the chief songmaker of his tribe ... In the recitative which dealt with Nebinyan's whaling experiences, the whole gamut of native feeling appeared to be expressed: the sorrow of Nebinyan, as he saw his fire (home) recede further and further away; the stealthy gliding over the water towards the resting whale, the sharp look out, the growing excitement as the huge fish was approached; the great seas that threatened to swamp the whale boat; the swift and sure harpooning; the final surrender of the whale; the triumphant towing back to ship or beach, and the great rejoicing over the whale feast – each of these formed a song in itself, and the actions peculiar to each "state" were faithfully rendered (p31). There is an increase ritual dance to the totemic sea mullet and salmon at Vasse and Capel, including descriptions of pre-ritual preparations (p23-25). The title page includes a manuscript note: "For additional accounts of dances, corroborees, see Jubytych's information, XI, 2". Jubytych was a Swan River

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Aboriginal man. A detailed list of the Daisy Bates papers is available on the State Library of Western Australia's website.

**Bates, D.M. 1985 *The Native Tribes of Australia*, I. White [ed]. Canberra: National Library of Australia.**

Essential and rich reading for any Noongar-related research (not to the exclusion of more northern and eastern regions), given the amount of time Bates spent with Noongar peoples in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – although not always uncontested. Includes photographs and illustrations. Includes descriptions of: fishes as totems (pp. 42, 196); a list of fish species in English and (where known) in several Aboriginal languages (pp.369-370); fish consumption and fishing methods around the Western Australian coast (pp.250-259) including diving for, nets, poison, spears, traps and weirs; includes description of rafts on the northwest and central west coasts (pp.257-259); seafood including sea mammals (pp.250-259); the *Jinyila* (Eucla) people including their totems (pp.39-46, 326); increase ceremonies for fish (pp.199, 212-213) and pelican (p199); kinship terms at Capel, Esperance and Perth (pp.80-82); Snake (*woggal*) Dreamings (p219-221); Dreaming about the *woggal* and a whale (p227); rainmaking (p237); Rottnest Island (pp.9, 33n); social organisation in coastal areas including the southwest (p46); the whale totem at Cape Leeuwin (pp.197-198). Says shellfish are a staple food along the Northern coast, yet the Southwestern natives will not eat any species of oyster' (p250). Says 'an extensive weir was built near Peel's Inlet ... in the Murray and Southwestern districts, the weirs were supplemented by a species of interwoven wire grass, with the tenacity and strength of the strongest fibre ... The Southern natives did not weave nets, but this wire grass answered all purposes in this respect ... When the Perth, Gingin and district people visit Mandura[h] in the fishing season (autumn) they were forbidden to go near the weir but were given all the fish food they could eat (p251). Includes extensive detailed accounts of spiritual beliefs regarding the home of the dead beyond the sea in coastal Noongar areas (pp.223-227) – e.g. Says 'In the Murray district, Nyeerganup-Koorannup was the name given to the home of the dead beyond the sea. In the middle of the sea, according to the Murray natives, and on the way to Nyeerganup-Koorannup, there is a *karrak* (black cockatoo, with red tail), whose nest is built on the road under the sea which the natives must take. The cockatoo sits on its nest and waits for the spirit of the dead man. When the spirit approaches the vicinity of the nest, he dives underneath it and comes up on the Koorannup side of the nest and thus gets to his final home. Sometimes he does not dive deep enough, and then the cockatoo catches him and eats him. Before the spirit goes on his way westward, the relatives of the dead call out, 'Where are you going?' The spirit on his way to Koorannup answers, 'Goo' (going or gone), and after that he goes away for good and never comes back to frighten them. When the spirit has successfully passed the cockatoo's nest, he continues to walk under the sea, and when he thinks he is close to Koorannup, he catches a wallaby, or some fish. Before Koorannup is reached there is dry land upon which the dead native walks when he comes out of the sea. It is kind of sloping country and on the top of the slope the Koorannup natives are waiting for him. As soon as he arrives, they take the food that he has caught from him, cook it, and give it to him to eat. When he has eaten he sleeps, and while he sleeps they take the nails off his fingers, and take all his skin off, and when he wakes up he is white like the other spirits. According to the Vasse and Augusta district natives, the dead go to Koorannup, which is "a land of plenty beyond the sea". Many of them dreamed of Koorannup and say the people there are numerous, and that all kinds of game abound.' (pp223-224). Of the *Jinyila* nation (Eucla) Bates says 'The coastal tribes included in the *Jinyila* Nation are called *Wilyaru* (coast people), *Bilia-um* (sea people), *Wailbi-um* (water people) and *Yau-um* (Great Diver people, *yau-u* – Great Diver). The first and second terms

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are applied by themselves, the third term by their western neighbours, and the last name by their north-eastern neighbours ... The Jinyila Nation was in being long before the borderline of Western and South Australia was marked out ... East of the border were the Nyumbuk or Yulbari (coast people) whose area extended to Fowlers Bay and probably further east. North of the Yulbari were the Badu wongga ... They are connected with the Jinyila Nation through intermarriages and the exchange of boys for initiation' (pp.40-41). Includes an extensive list of groups and their country across the Nullarbor coast. Bates refers to groups by way of the fresh waterholes with which they are associated. Says 'Kardala-um (large fish, salmon?0: are all long dead. Their country was in the Twilight Cove area ... Dhudhu-um (wild dog): Kuluna Point ... Kurdala (wild turnip) ... country was west of Twilight Cove ... they appear to have lived on the border of the circumcised and uncircumcised peoples about Point Malcolm ... Kunjiri-um: a root similar to the *kurdala* grew in the Bight country, and appears to have given its name to a group there ... All of the above groups are collectively Wilyaru – coast people and call themselves by that name' (pp.42-43). Volume editor Isobel White adds a note '[Most of the next paragraph has been omitted as it refers to South Australian people. (365/3/15-16)'(p40). White has done an excellent job, organising chapters according to: tribal organisation and geographic distribution; social organisation; initiation; totems; religion and magic; food; art and craft; diseases, remedies, death and burial; dances, songs and ceremonies.

**Battye, J.S. 1924 Western Australia: A History from its Discovery to the Inauguration of the Commonwealth. Oxford: Clarendon Press. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/30384692>**

Battye was an historian, after who the Battye Library was named. This summary of Western Australia's colonial history to the time of federation includes citations from the journals of Dutch and British early coastal, estuarine, and overland exploration. The citations are often anecdotal and value-laden. However, they provide some documentation of Aboriginal peoples from the west and south-west coasts of Australia and their interaction with early mariners, explorers, colonial officials, and squatters. There is also some information regarding the Murchison and Kimberley coasts. Descriptions include marine and coastal resources, contestations over property, abuses by white settlers, formal punishments for transgressions of custom, and the massacre of Aboriginal people by Captain Molloy's troupes at Minninup. Specific information regarding Yagan, Midgegooroo, Munday, Tommy Windich. This resource is heavily footnoted with original references, which may prove useful for more specific information on customs and practices.

**Berndt, R.M. 1979a Traditional Aboriginal life in Western Australia: as it was and is. In *Aborigines of the West*, R.M. & C.H. Berndt [eds.], Pp. 3-27. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.**

Overview of 'traditional Aboriginal life' in Western Australia – necessarily broad and general given that it represents one-third of the continent. Includes map showing traditional geographic distribution and movement (p6). Says that 'in at least three areas, new portmanteau terms have emerged – for example, Nyungar to refer to all persons of Aboriginal descent who are recognized as belonging to the south-west of the state (p7). A notable citation, that could be used for drawing inferences further afield is this: 'Two great driving forces in traditional Aboriginal life were all-pervasive, religion and economics: getting a livelihood from hunting and food-collecting, but *first* ensuring that this could be achieved and that the resources would continue to be available. Control over nature at a material level was minimal. People relied heavily on religion as a mechanism of intervention between themselves and the forces of nature. For this to be workable,

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all, or nearly all, Australian Aborigines relied on two ways of grouping the same people' (p9). Proceeds to describe descent groups then writes 'this focus on specific land and its mythology was expressive of the true significance of the group's members. The land was sacred because within it were manifested mythic beings of the Dreaming. Through these beings it was possible for men to perform land-renewing and land-sustaining rituals which were believed to ensure continuation of natural species. This kind of unit, then, was primarily religious. It enshrined for particular persons, males *and* females, their real identity derived from spirit beings who continued to occupy, in a spiritual sense, sections of their territory. It was religious, too, because persons belonging to such a unit were concerned with maintaining, through ritual endeavour, through direct and indirect aid from the spirit beings, the *status quo* of the socio-natural environment' (p9). Although Berndt's focus is on the land, the same perspective may be applied to waters – including marine environments, as other recordists have noted that south-western Australian peoples (not to the exclusion of others) have laws and customs in association with waters, including the sea and offshore islands. Berndt himself acknowledges in the same volume the role (and continuing presence) of spirit beings in the creation and association of marine environments – e.g. the Waugal (e.g. Berndt 1979b see below).

**Berndt, R.M. 1979b Aborigines of the south-west. In *Aborigines of the West*, R.M. & C.H. Berndt [eds], Pp. 81-89. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.**

Detailed anthropological description of Nyungar social organisation, cultural background, and post-sovereignty 'dispersal' (p86). Draws on and critiques historical and early anthropological data, including Berndt's own. Says 'the "true" South-West Aborigines ... did not practise circumcision. However, a merging of social units occurred quite early during the post contact period, when people from different language groups were obliged to live in mixed membership settlements (p81). Includes maps showing geographic areas of local units, associated matrilineal moieties (some with English language names for totems), and seasonal data. Says 'Moore (1842: 103) wrote of 'a huge winged serpent' called *Waugal*, living in "deep dark waters", who was especially inimical to pregnant females but was feared generally as being instrumental in bringing sickness: a woman who miscarried or became ill as a result of childbirth was termed *waugalan*. A similar mythic snake emerged at Mt Eliza and, crawling its way to the sea, created the Swan River' (p85). Includes some cosmologies, and dances from King George's Sound.

**Bindon, P. 1997 Aboriginal people and granite domes. *Journal of the Royal Society of Western Australia* 80: 173–179.**

Peter Bindon's focus on the importance of granite domes is of considerable relevance to south-western Australia, where granite peaks frequently rise up out of the sea and land plains. Bindon argues that 'granite domes provided Aboriginal people living on the surrounding plains with a variety of economic products. Granite domes also acted as focal points for the activities of ancestral heroes who journeyed throughout the landscape. Aboriginal religious practice includes ritual dramas which replicate the activities of these ancestral heroes at such sites. Surface geology therefore determines both the economic practices and religious activities undertaken by Aboriginal people within their territories' (p173). He describes not only their functional value, as places of water catchment and lizard traps (among other values), but also as 'places frequented by heroic ancestral figures (p175). Says 'Since all the members of any Aboriginal linguistic group claim to be a descendant of one or another of the ancestral beings, and since the people are living in the landscape created by these ancestors, it follows that every person is linked by their lineage

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to the landforms, to other living things in the same environment, and to the associated mythology. These various links dominate and to a great extent determine the actions of any individual' (p175). Includes summary of archaeology on the Recherche Archipelago (pp.177-178).

**Brandenstein, C. G. von 1970a** *Report on field work conducted July-August 1970 as part of the 1969/1970 project "Western Desert Fringe Study"*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

General linguistic situation, geographical grouping of languages in Dundas District (Mirning, Marlba, Frazer R. people, Norseman people, Windaga, Kallaa or Kallaagu) Esperance District (Njaginjagi, Wudjaarri) depth studies of Marlba & Wudjaarri; explanation of womens increase & initiation centre near Coolgardie, Dundas District - message sticks, constellations, procuring water from water trees, list of tape recordings taken in July and August 1970 (Pidandjatjarra, Ngadju, Kallaagu, Wonggai, ; Wudjaarri languages).

**Brandenstein, C. G. von 1970b** Linguistic salvage work on the Eastern Goldfields and the south-west of Western Australia. *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 12: 45-59.

Linguistic fieldwork among groups he names eastern and western Mirningj and Nungar, Ngadju, Marlba, Jurgala (Eucla), Windaga, Kallaa, Kallaagu, Njagi-Ngjagi, and Wudjaarri. Describes geographic regions that he associates with language groups from south western Australia across the Nullarbor coast to South Australia, and as far north as Cue. Includes the number of language speakers he encountered among some groups. Includes words and citations of earlier researchers.

**Brandenstein, C. G. von 1971a** *Report on Research by Dr. C. G. von Brandenstein carried out for the A.I.A.S.* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Summary of work completed in more detail in Linguistic Study of Transitional Traits on the Western Desert Fringes. Says the second part included fieldwork conducted with two linguistic groups: 'the "Dundas" group, mainly with Ngadju-maya in Balladonia and Norseman; the "Nungar" group with Wudjaarri in Esperance. The latter group was thought extinct for some time'. Includes cultural, religious, archaeological and ecological observations, bush medicine and food. Says 'two monographs, on Ngadju-maya and on Wudjaarri, are in preparation.'

**Brandenstein, C. G. von 1971b** *Report to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies on field work conducted September-December 1970 as part of the 1969/1970 project "Western Desert Fringe Study"*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Complete list of tape recordings from September to December 1970, including discussions about language, interviews, stories, and songs with Roy Nain and Norman Wicker (in Ngadju at Norseman), Charlie and Sam Dab in Wudjaarri and English at Picnic Cove, Bandy Creek and Esperance; Gordon Harris in Wudjaarri at Esperance; Albie Harris and Tommy Bullen in English (with Nungar names) at Esperance. Recordings include discussions about language (including testing Charlie Dab's new dentures!), as well as historical and mythological stories and songs:

- Roy Nain at Norseman telling the story about 'when I had to get the horses' in Ngadju;
- Norman Wicker at Norseman telling a short story 'Old people all gone' in Ngadju;
- Charlie Dab at Esperance sings the *Whaler's Song* in Wudjaarri 'by his father Joe'.
- Charlie Dab at Esperance sings *Quallalap* in Wudjaarri.

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- Charlie Dab at Picnic Cove sings *Crabfishing* in Wudjaarri 'by his grandfather'.
- Charlie Dab at Bandy Creek sings *Devil is Dancing* in Wudjaarri and makes comments on the song 'for father'.
- Albie Harris at Esperance tells the story of the genesis of:
  - emu, crow and mallee-hen;
  - genesis of the smoke-hawk 'fire, Willy Wagtail & Red Robin';
  - emu's breeding behaviour.
- Albie Harris at Esperance sings a corroboree song in a mix of Nungar and English;
- Tommy Bullen at Esperance tells the story of 'tshanaq maat (Devil's leg) a medicine bush' in English;
- Charlie Dab at Esperance tells short stories [not described] in Wudjaarri;
- Charlie Dab at Esperance sings songs in Wudjaarri including:
  - *The salmon sleeps on the water* 'by his father';
  - *Setting up camp* 'by his grandfather'; and
  - *'qabir paamin' (native black pudding)* – also in English.
- Sam Dab at Esperance sings in Wudjaarri and an unknown [to von Brandenstein] language:
  - *Corroboree sung for tucker from the white fellow* 'by his father Joe'; and
  - *Sheep eat everything out* 'by his mother'.

Includes descriptions of background to the project, plan modifications, general fieldwork conditions (including contemporary ethnographic situations in Coolgardie, Norseman and Esperance), geographical grouping of languages along the south coast from Bremer Range to South Australia. Detailed description of Esperance region language distribution, and Ngadju and Wudjaarri, and historical changes in language distribution and culture.

**Brandenstein, C.G. von 1977. 'Aboriginal ecological order in the south-west of Australia – meaning and examples'. *Oceania* 47.3 pp. 169-186.**

Linguistic report from south-western Australia. Largely focused on wordlists. Describes historical and traditional distribution of "Nungar" culture and language, extending from Jurien Bay in the north to Cape Leeuwin in the south, and inland beyond the Dividing Ranges and east to Israelite Bay, and about 80 kilometres inland from Ravensthorpe. Includes results of fieldwork with Dick Donaldson-Nurni (Kalaar-maay and Ngadju-maya background) and Charlie Dab (*Taap*, with Wudjaarri dialect of Nungar background). Data is not only linguistic but ethnographic, including mythologies, social organisation including totemic affiliations in the south-west moiety systems, organisation of the human and spiritual worlds.

**Brandenstein, C.G. von 1986. 'Address of Nyungar people, Albany 21st July 1986, "Nyungar as it was"'. Unpublished typescript, AIATSIS, Canberra.**

Photocopying not permitted. Paraphrasing only permitted. Says Nyungar sounds neither like English nor any other western Aboriginal language von Brandenstein has heard. Says south-eastern Nyungar people were known as the Shell People. They lived along the south coast between Dalyup River and Israelite Bay. Their north-eastern neighbours were the Ngadju, who originally lived in the area between Norseman, Balladonia and Israelite Bay. They had different religious beliefs and rituals to their eastern and northern neighbours - the latter practised circumcision and subincision. The south-east coastal people were culturally more like their western neighbours, practising *ngomporning* – cutting raised scars on chest, back and shoulders.

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Lapses into considerable speculation, with no sources of evidence to substantiate factual basis of conjecture.

**Brandenstein, C.G. von 1988. *Nyungar Anew*. Pacific Linguistics Series C-99. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.**

Phonology, text samples, etymological and historical 1500-word vocabulary of a recreation of the Nyungar language of south-western Australia. The introduction (pp.v-x) includes a summary of Brandenstein's work with Nyungar people and their language since 1964. It also includes some considerable detail, comparing and contrasting his work with that of Tindale, on cultural dynamism in the eastern region of the Nyungar cultural bloc (pp.vi-vii). This particularly concerns adoption of circumcision by some eastern Nyungar people, and refers to Nyungar coastal-dwellers as 'the Shell-people'. Includes word lists for marine resources (p158).

**Brough-Smyth, R. 1972 [1876]. *The Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*. Vol. 1. Melbourne: John Currey, O'Neil.**

Brough Smith was a British civil servant and mining engineer who became honorary secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines and a voting member in the mid-1800s. This publication in his name relied heavily upon the reports of other people, others such as physician George Halford, early anthropologist Alfred Howitt, and surgeon and natural history enthusiast Joseph Milligan. This two-volume set is a detailed historical reference including ethnological information largely focusing on south-eastern Australia but including some anecdotal comparisons with the west and north. For example: Vol 1. (pp199-208) includes details of fishing methods and technologies in western Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia. For example, '*In the Port Lincoln district, the natives go into the water and push the fish before them with branches of trees until they are fairly driven ashore*' (p199); and '*The Narrinyeri make fishing-lines and twine from two kinds of fibre. One is a bulrush which grows in fresh water, and is called Menungkeri. The rushes or roots are, first of all, either boiled ... or steamed in the native oven, and then chewed by the women. A part of the will sit round the fire and masticate the fibrous material by the hour. While they do so, the masses of fibre which have been chewed are handed to the men who sit by, and they work it up, by twisting it on the thigh into hanks of twine, either stout or fine, according to the purpose to which it is to be applied*' (p200). Also identifies technologies in contemporary use by Aboriginal people that had not been noted at the time of first British contact. Vol 2. Includes an Appendix by Chauncy comparing watercraft construction (materials and technologies) in the east and north (p249). Also includes details of south-eastern marine exploitation, including crayfish, 'sea cucumber', crabs, and varieties of fish (including dams for catching fish). Includes a transcontinental comparison of: fishing including practices at King George's Sound, the Swan River and South Australia (p248-249); spear-making for fish and netting (p249). Pp379-434 focuses exclusively on Aboriginal people of Tasmania, including canoe manufacturing and use. Includes extensive word lists, including place names for coastal places and marine features such as islands and seas from Victoria, South Australia, and southern Western Australia, as well as comparisons with northern languages (such as Croker Island).

**Brown, A.R. 1916 *Australian rafts*. *Man* 16: 8-9.**

Response to an early publication by N.W. Thomas (1905) regarding rafts, adding a perspective from Western Australia. Concerns two rafts found at the mouth of the Gascoyne River. Thomas

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had argued that the log rafts had probably floated down the river. Radcliffe-Brown says this is 'probably wrong' (p9), and that 'rafts were formerly in use along the coast, and it is highly probably that the rafts in question had been used for the purpose of crossing the sea-water creeks that separate Babbage Island from the mainland and that form the two mouths of the Gascoyne River (p9). Identifies two types of rafts used in Western Australia: one consists of a single log of light wood, or occasionally two logs pegged together side-by-side. These were in use from Shark Bay to Ninety Mile Beach. Each raft would carry only one man, who paddled with his hands, and were used for catching fish, turtle and dugong. Says single logs are occasionally used north from Ninety Mile Beach, but usually this region uses watercraft formed of several poles pegged together - with the narrow ends of the poles at the same end of the raft, giving it a triangular shape (p9).

**Browne, J. 1856a *The Aborigines of Australia. Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art* 1: 251-271.**

James Browne spent part of his childhood at King George's Sound. This article is a reflection on his time there, along with some second-hand anecdotes regarding Aboriginal from northern Australia. Includes descriptions of ceremonies, clothing and adornment, body piercing, dancing, social organisation and gender relations, child-rearing, music and singing, hunting and food regimes, regional distinctions, ownership and land-use, law and custom, death rites and burials, seasonal variations in subsistence, including increased coastal population and marine resource exploitation during summer. Includes description of fishing methods (pp260-261). Includes a citation of a letter from Browne's brother in the Swan River Colony (Perth) about the death of a Noongar man named Wattup as an exercise of customary law, and Noongar responses to this event.

**Clark, I. 2000 *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Point Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate. Vol. 1-4. Melbourne: Heritage Matters.***

Robinson's journals have been consolidated and edited into a four volume set by Clark for publication. They include not only the annotations of Robinson but also a collection of correspondence to him from a huge variety of colonial government sources, newspaper articles, drawings, and word lists. Volume 1 contains Robinson's journals from the Chief Protector's Office in Melbourne from 1839-1850. Includes brief anecdotes of local Aboriginal people and as well as those further afield but under his jurisdiction – including along the south-west and south-east coasts of Victoria, Flinders Island, and Tasmania. There is no index, making a thorough search a labourious task. However, at the rear of Volume 1 are 'select endnotes' where Clark has consolidated information about named Aboriginal persons, including their names, aliases, countries of belonging, places of residence, family members, employment, colonial punishments, places of burial. Little if any ethnological information regarding custom, but at least helps to identify persons within the landscape around the time of sovereignty. Volume 2 is Robinson's collection of Aboriginal vocabularies from south-eastern Australia from 1839 to 1852. Places where vocabularies were gathered include Port Phillip, the Yarra River, Colac, Portland Bay, Twofold Bay, Sandy Beach, Cape Howe, Western Port, Port Fairy, and Stokes River. (Review of these materials by researchers with greater familiarity with local nomenclature may identify considerably more coastal places.) The notations may not necessarily be densely ethnological, but they often include census data, genealogical information and words relating to marine environments that may help to build a fuller picture of custom at sovereignty. While the word lists were gathered in these

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places, the origins of the Aboriginal people consulted are sometimes from further afield and care must be taken to ensure the two are not conflated. Includes an illustrations and descriptions of: burial customs (p248-249); equipment used to catching fish – e.g. dredges and baskets (pp.91-92) reed spears (p.102), along with narratives of how these are made and used. Robinson uses a variety of names for language groups and sections that may not be in use today, and it is possible that some are misnomers. Volume 3, entitled *Miscellanea*, includes more narrative observations from Robinson and numerous of his contemporary colonisers from Melbourne, Sydney, Flinders Island, Tasmania, Wollongong. Includes sketches of Aboriginal people, more vocabularies, sketches of and Aboriginal names for fish, newspaper articles, and Aboriginal art. Volume 4 *Annual and Occasional Reports 1841-1849* includes Robinson's official reports from his expeditions into the interior, as well as annual reports from outstations including Loddon River, Goulburn River, Nerre Warren, Merri Creek, Mount Rouse, Western Australia, Geelong, Barwon River, and Yarra. Information is largely around administration of Aboriginal missions and protectorate stations, but researchers working closely with descendants of these people may be able to yield more specific and useful information according to their research agenda.

**Clark, W.N. 1804-1854 *Remarks Respecting the Islands on the Coast of S.W. Australia.***  
[Typescript, from the collection of historian Robert Stephens, State Library of Western Australia.]

Letter to the editor of the *Perth Gazette*, published 8 October 1842, regarding the nefarious exploits of sealers along Australia's south coast, particularly the south-west. Includes notes on contact with Aboriginal people, the Recherche Archipelago, Bald Island, and the pirate Black Jack Anderson [often believed to be African or African-American]. Says 'the first sealers on the south-west coast of Australia originally came from the penal settlement of Van Diemen's Land ... One party landed in the district of Port Phillip, and forcibly brought away with them several native women ... Several children were the fruits of this intercourse, some of whom are to be seen at King George's Sound ... The first aggression on the rights of the natives by sealers, since this Colony was formed, occurred at Port Phillip in the year 1831 ... They left that part of the territory of Australia and steered in a westerly direction along the coast' (p1). Later says 'The great rendezvous of the sealers was the Archipelago of Islands to the eastward of Doubtful Island Bay ... and occasionally made a run to King George's Sound (p2). Later says 'The favourite resort of [Black Jack] Anderson was Manduran Island, one of the isles of the Archipelago' (p2), above which Robert Stephens has handwritten (in pencil) '? Shelters Lucky Bay I think'.

**Clements, J., Kelly, G., Kinnane, S., Oxenham, D., Pardoe, C., Strelein, L., Taylor, P., & Veth, P. 2006 *Sea Countries of the South: Indigenous Interests and Connections Within the South-west Marine Region of Australia.* Canberra: AIATSIS.**

A comprehensive collaboration between Traditional Custodians, anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists and historians, documenting the place of marine environments in Aboriginal cultural lives, extending from Cape Inscription (near Shark Bay in Western Australia) and extending to Kangaroo Island in South Australia (see map p18). Transects Yamatji, Noongar, Mirning and Nunga countries, and more than 30 Indigenous coastal language groups. Report examines Indigenous connections with the South-west Marine Region (SWMR) including: contemporary and historical use of resources; interests and values; natural resource and marine management; Native Title and its implications; representation and planning structures; and legislation impacting on connections to sea country – including legislative reform re. Indigenous customary fishing in WA and SA within

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the SWMR. Says 'for Indigenous people and others who know how to read the landscape, the south-west marine environment reveals evidence of continuous and ongoing Indigenous occupation' (p27). Section 3 includes several useful general references e.g. 'Key practices and strategies in the pre-colonial management of sea country included: the conduct of ceremonies ... with the purpose of nurturing the wellbeing of particular places, species and habitats; control of entry to marine clan estates by outsiders and restricting resources use to clan members and others by agreement; ... seasonal exploitation of particular marine resources; restriction on the harvesting of particular species based on age, gender, reproductive conditions, health, fat content; ... restrictions on resource use and distribution by clan members and others based on age, gender, initiation status, marital status and other factors; restrictions on the use of particular animals and plants of totemic significance to individual clans; ... and prohibition of entry to certain areas of land and sea, often associated with storms or other sources of danger (Smyth & Bahrdt 2001, cited p34). Section 3.2 focuses on continuities of connection to the SWMR post-sovereignty (including state specific summaries pp.35-37); Section 3.3 considers contemporary Indigenous peoples' connectedness to and use of the SWMR; and Chapter 5 looks at the integration of natural resource management and Indigenous peoples in the SWMR – which may be useful for illustrating continuous connections to country, and customary interests (see also Chapter 6 re. fisheries industries).

**Collie, A. 1833a Account of an excursion to the north of King Georges Sound, between the 26<sup>th</sup> of April and the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1831, by Al. Collie, Surgeon. *Journals of Several Expeditions made in Western Australia*, J. Cross [ed], Pp. 132-154. London: J. Cross.**

Alexander Collie was a colonial surgeon at King George's Sound. Collie's expedition party includes his frequent companion Mokare. This account is largely of the region's physical geography, but it includes Noongar place names for coastal features (p132).

**Collie, A. 1833b Account of a short excursion from Albany up French River by A. Collie. In *Journals of Several Expeditions made in Western Australia*, J. Cross [ed], Pp. 168-177. London: J. Cross.**

A continuation of Collie (1833a, above), noting use of the littoral zone by local Aboriginal people, and Noongar placenames.

**Collie, A. 1834 *Anecdotes and Remarks Relative to the Aborigines of King George's Sound*. Collection of anonymously articles published in *The Perth Gazette*. 5 July 1834, 12 July 1834, 26 July 1834, 9 August 1834, 16 August 1834.**

These are published accounts of Collie's outsider observations of Noongar customs including: many accounts of punishments and retributions under customary law; consumption of crustaceans (p27); fishing, including trapping and herding fish (pp.34-36) and other coastal foods; social organisation; ritual observances; hunting and gathering; Kalgan River people including Botup, 'Mrs Botup', Tallyen 'or George' (p8-9) to as far as Napier; butchery methods for kangaroo meat (p11); and early documentation of 'tribe' names from different areas of Noongar coastal country (p19). Includes extensive mentions Noongar people including Nakina, Talwin, Koolburn, Charlie Brown, Gyallipert, Tatan, Waiter, Winnawar, Waddewokin, Metyalwin, Wong, Toolungatwalle, Munknar, Tnnake, Koondeetshee, Twattum, Moollungal, Manyat, Marke, and Mokare - also noting that the Noongar word 'Mokkar' means winter or 'the rainy season' (pp.3-4). Also says 'Talmamundy's natal ground was, I understood, on the borders of King George's Sound

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(Mongalan) tribe (p33). Identifies 'Wow-er-nung' as 'a native surgeon' (p49). The Noongar term for springtime is recorded by Collie as 'Mainungull' (p31), and the native season of Monyeunung is succeeded by Peerruck (p39), saying 'during its progress and especially towards its termination, fish are frequently caught by wading and spearing on the extensive flats of Princess Royal and Oyster harbours. Describes a convergence of British and Noongar burial rites and customs following the death of Mokare (pp.20-23). Some early attempts at recording Noongar words and sentence construction (e.g. p26).

### **D'Entrecasteaux, B. 1808 *Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux Envoye a la Recherche de La Perouse.***

Brief notes on what can be found in D'Entrecasteaux's original journals including records from Tasmania (re. firing, gift exchange, cremation, food, tools, dwellings, hearths) and Esperance (with fleeting glimpses of people's fires burning along the coast but no landfall and therefore no contact) and Cape Leeuwin (fires, but no contact). Better to use the more detailed English-language version by Duyker & Duyker.

### **Dale, R. 1833 *Mr Dale's journal of an expedition from King George's Sound to the Koikyennuruff range of mountains. In Journals of Several Expeditions made in Western Australia, J. Cross [ed], Pp. 161-167. London: J. Cross.***

Lieutenant Robert Dale was stationed at King George's Sound from about 1832 and led many expeditions out of there and the Swan River Colony in the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Relevance for customary marine tenure not immediately evidence. Largely descriptive of physical geography between Albany and the Stirling Ranges, often using Noongar placenames (including coastal sites). Noongar guide Nakina accompanied the expedition, and is cited several times. The party was joined by another Aboriginal person named Armie (p164). The intent of the journey was also 'to find out whether the Kui and Quannet, two kinds of grain described by the natives of King George's Sound, as used by those of that part of the country for food, grew in the vicinity of the range' (p161). Footnote notes description of the grains, and the ways in which they are used: 'Their account is that the White Cockatoo Tribe, who inhabit the district, eat the Kuik raw, but beat the Quannet tied up in their skins, bake it, and cook it in the ashes, like a damper' (p161).

### **Dale, R. 1834 *Descriptive Account of the Panoramic View, etc. of King George's Sound and the Adjacent Country.* London: J. Cross.**

This concise descriptive Account also includes a character description and biography of Yagan, of the Swan River region (pp.15-18), with a (frankly) horrific description in a letter penned by T.J. Pettigrew of the removal of Yagan's head and its subsequent 'treatment' for scientific research. Mentions 'Weeip, a mountain chief' (p16). Further includes mention of: Nakinna, who Dale describes as 'chief of the King George tribe' (p6), Noongar dress and adornment; septum piercing; gender relations; social organisation in relation to country; and burial ritual for 'Mokarree (the brother of the chief who is represented in the foreground of the view)' (p9). Says 'hunting and fishing give the principal support. Besides individual pursuit, strong parties often muster, and enclose a large tract, driving the game words the centre of the circle, which is gradually contracted, until the animals are collected together within reach ... The stormy weather of winter is chosen for hunting, and the hot days of summer, when the shoals of fish bask upon the shallows, for fishing. As soon as a shoal is perceived, those who are on the watch rush forward, shouting and splashing, and generally succeed in spearing some, and frightening many out of the water on to the shore. In the creeks and inlets weirs are used, made of the branches of trees, but

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as canoes are unknown, fishing operations cannot of course extend beyond the shores and shallows'(p8).

**Davidson, D. 1935 The chronology of Australian watercraft. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 44(1): 1-16; (2): 69-84; (3): 137-152; (4): 193-207.**

Davidson correlates data from specific areas (that had been gathered by earlier researchers) into a chronological and geographic picture of the adoption of watercraft by Australian Aboriginal people. A diffusionist theoretical approach is applied throughout. Davidson identifies four types of watercraft and where they can be found in Australia and Tasmania including:

1. dugout canoes (plain dugout canoe; dugout canoe with a single-outrigger; and dugout canoe with a double-outrigger);
2. bark canoes (made from one or more pieces of bark);
3. rafts (logs or rolls of bark or bundles of reeds etc.); and
4. floats (consisting of a single log or roll or bark or bundle of reeds etc.)

Says watercraft are completely lacking along the seacoast between the Murray River in South Australia and Shark Bay in Western Australia. Says Ethel Hassell's account of a log being used as a floatation device to crossing streams between Albany and Esperance is the only evidence of any kind of watercraft for this part of Australia. Says this is similar to that used at the mouth of the Gascoyne River where Austin (1851) found a crude "one-log" sort of raft. Includes citations of early British journals describing watercraft and their manufacture around the country, and a basic map (p.144) shows distribution of rafts and swimming logs around Australia. Describes different methods and contexts of use – large and small, calm and tempestuous bodies of water. Includes early artworks of people using watercrafts - e.g. log used to access islands off the Pilbara coast near Roebourne (Fig 22, p.195). Says the lack of watercraft on south-western coastline "seems to be the result of historical forces which have not yet diffused the types of watercraft of the northern coast to this region, but toward which the diffusion of them has been progressing for some time"(p204).

**Dix, W.C. & Meacher, S.J. 1976 Fish traps in the south-west of Western Australia. *Records of the Western Australian Museum* 4: 171-188.**

Lists historical expeditions by British and French mariners in which the presence of fish traps was documented – including citations. Says the remains of such structures are known at Oyster Harbour, Wilson Inlet, and Broke Inlet. Says late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century writers documented fish traps made from brushwood on the Serpentine and Murray River. Includes maps, photos, and a late 18<sup>th</sup> century description of a fishtrap by Menzies who accompanied Vancouver to King George's Sound, and a description of the fishtraps in use from colonial surgeon Isaac Scott Nind (see other citations, below). Also includes descriptions and drawings of riverine structures.

**Dortch, C.E. 1997 New Perceptions of the Chronology and Development of Aboriginal Fishing in South-Western Australia. *World Archaeology* 29(1): 15-35.**

Archaeological. Presents evidence to argue that 'the Late Holocene may be the period when south-western Aboriginal fishing gained the economic and socio-political importance that it had regionally during the period of European settlement' (p15).

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**Duyker, D., & Duyker, M. [eds] 2001 *Bruny d'Entrecasteaux: Voyage to Australia and the Pacific 1791-1793*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.**

This is the first translation of D'Entrecasteaux's journal from his expedition in search of La Perouse. Notes several instances of apparent reluctance of local Aboriginal peoples (in south-east Western Australia and in Tasmania) to make contact, as the French can see campfires smouldering on the coast as they approach but no people can be seen. Pp. 32-59 and 138-156 refer to Van Diemen's Land with several anecdotal descriptions and interpretations of Aboriginal material and social culture, including dwellings, fire, utensils exchanged, camps, diet, seafood, custom, child-rearing, marriage and possibility of polygamy, fishing methods, division of labour, religion, values in relation to property, technologies (including axes, saws, fish-hooks), gathering word lists, and movement. Pp. 111-138 focus on Esperance Bay in south-east Western Australia, and includes early interpretations of local Aboriginal habitations despite no actual contact – e.g. assumes no exploitation of marine resources, as no remains of fish or shells are found, and there is no evidence of watercraft (p. 114). Includes an account by M. Riche of his accidental solo foray into the hinterland. Again, while he has not direct contact with local Aboriginal people, he makes assumptions of their practices based on material evidence – e.g. use of fire, diet, movement.

**Erskin, A. 1833 *Journal of Lieut. Ad. Erskin, 63rd Regiment, travelling from Perth to the eastward, over Darling's Range, in the month of September 1830*. In *Journals of Several Expeditions made in Western Australia*, J. Cross [ed], Pp. 92-97. London: J. Cross.**

Largely physical geographic descriptions. Includes descriptions of encounters with local Noongar people, including dwellings. May, if nothing else, give an indication of post-sovereignty lives – e.g. Native huts, eight in number, very substantially built. Surface, iron stone and sand (p93).

**Eyre, E.J. 1845 *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound in the years 1840-1: Sent by the colonists of South Australia, with the sanction and support of the Government: including an account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*. T. & W. Boone, London. Two volumes.**

Edward John Eyre's coastal expeditions took him from Adelaide along the coast to Albany, including the Eyre Peninsula coast. This feat was accomplished with the aid of Wylie, a Noongar man from King George's Sound. Eyre mostly documents the physical hardships and physical geographic features of the journey. Generally, he provides only anecdotal documentation of interactions with traditional custodians along the way. Vol. I. Chapters I-XV focus exclusively on South Australia, including inland journeys to Lake Eyre and Mount Hopeless. Eyre made three attempts to cross the Great Australian Bight, relying on local Aboriginal knowledge to find freshwater in the salt encroached plain. Among the anecdotes he notes: the presence of campfires at Spencer's Gulf (p62); engagement with Aboriginal people at Port Lincoln and tensions and proposed remedies in relations with Europeans (pp.127-133); says Aboriginal people at Streaky Bay do not eat oysters, unlike people at King George's Sound and Sydney, but mussels are eaten in South Australia and New South Wales but possibly not in Perth (p144); records evidence of circumcision and subincision practices at Smoky Bay (p154); and identifies a local Aboriginal man named 'Wilgudy' at Smoky Bay (p154). More detailed (though more wide-ranging in terms of source from around the country) are Eyre's interpretations of Aboriginal people's spiritual beliefs. He includes examples from around South Australia, including coastal areas, and some comparisons with those in Western Australia (p473-480). Vol I. Chapters XVI-XVIII relate to

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Western Australia. Volume II includes illustrations including graves, weapons, ornaments, implements (including nets, canoes, and spears used for fishing), woven baskets. Also documents dances of Aboriginal people of 'the Rufus and Lake Victoria (Tar-ru)' in Victoria (p408). Volume II Chapters I-V concern Western Australia's south coast, noting that Wylie understands the language spoken by the people at Point Malcolm. Notes the reluctance of local Aboriginal people to make contact: 'At night I observed native fires about a mile from us, in a direction towards the sea; but the natives did not come near us' (p326). Also notes that 'In travelling about from one place to another, I have always made it a point, if possible, to be accompanied by one or more natives, and I have often found great advantage from it. Attached to an exploring party they are frequently invaluable, as their perceptive powers are very great, and enable them both to see and hear anything at a much greater distance than a European. In tracking stray animals, and keeping on indistinct paths, they display a degree of perseverance and skill that is really wonderful. They are useful also in cutting bark canoes to cross a river, should such impede the progress of the party, and in diving for anything that may be lost in the water, &c. &c. The Aborigines generally, and almost always those living near large bodies of water, are admirable swimmers and divers, and are almost as much at home in the water as on dry land. I have known them even saw a small log or root at the bottom of a deep river. In a locality, however, which is badly watered, it sometimes happens that they cannot swim. At Meerkap, in Western Australia, while crossing with some friends, from the Sound to Swan River, we met with some who were in this predicament, and who seemed a good deal astonished at our venturing into the small ponds at that place. I have been told that the natives at the Sound could not swim before that settlement was occupied by Europeans—this seems hardly probable, however, upon the sea-coast; at all events, be this as it may, they all swim now' (pp.400-401). Vol. II Chapter III includes some broad generalisations about custom, that we now know vary considerably more around Australia (e.g. see Eyre's notes on fishing pp.421-422).

**Ferguson, W.C. 1985. *A mid Holocene depopulation of the Australian southwest*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, School of General Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.**

Although Ferguson does not specifically address the issue of marine tenure or exploitation by pre-sovereignty Nyungar peoples, he provides comprehensive lists of non-Aboriginal vessels and their commanders who traversed the Western Australian south coast – even briefly. He notes those who did, did not, or may have had early contact with Nyungar people from the 18th century. They included explorers, sealers, whalers, convict ships, passenger ships, and merchants. The journals of the ships' commanders may provide further insights on early activities (if not customary marine tenure) in southern Australia. Ferguson primarily focuses on arguing that the southwestern Australia depopulated for at least 2000 years, from about 4000-6000 years BP, owing to Holocene climatic change reducing breadth and density of forests. Reports an increase in refined lithic matter and occurrence of sites from the mid to late Holocene; and equates this with a large population increase. Suggests there was a major conscious migration of people (from the increasingly desertified inland) seeking more abundant food and water in the south west; and that these people brought with them finer lithic technologies. Ferguson cites as evidence an increasing frequency and density of finer technologies in the archaeological record. Says only two main routes for an inward migration are possible: overland from adjacent deserts, or along the coast by boat. Cites Tindale (1974: 75) who said there was a total absence of floatable wood from which to manufacture rafts or boats in the Australian southwest, or south of Broome. Ferguson says such timber is abundant in the southwest, but there is no evidence that historic Nyungar made

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watercraft. He further suggest that 'a similar argument is also probably valid for the nearly 1200km southern coast from the Spencer Gulf in South Australia to the eastern boundary of the Australian Southwest' (Ferguson 1985: 500).

### Possible sources of anecdotes identified by Ferguson:

#### Vancouver 1801

- *Discovery Chatham 1791* – British - exploration 13 days – George Vancouver – did not meet with Aboriginal people (DNM)

#### Wace & Lovett 1973

- *Elligood 1800* - Whaling – British - C. Dixon – unknown if met with Aboriginal people (UNK)
- *Union 1803* – sealing – US – I. Pendleton - UNK
- *Charles 1803* – sealing – US – I. Percival - UNK
- *Independence 1804* – sealing – US – O.F. Smith - UNK
- *Hope 1807* – trading – US – R. Bromley - UNK
- *Tonquin 1808* – sealing – US – R. Bromley - UNK

#### Flinders 1814

- *Investigator 1801* – exploration 1 month – British - Matthew Flinders – met with Aboriginal people (MET)

#### Baudin 1800-04

- *Geographé Causarina 1803* – exploration 1 month – N. Baudin - MET

#### King 1827

- *Emu 1815* – convict transport – British - Lt. Forster RN – MET [hostile]
- *Mermaid 1818* – exploration 12 days – Col. – P.P. King - DNM
- *San Antonio 1820* – purpose unknown – US? – Hemmans - MET
- *Bathurst 1821* – exploration 14 days – Col. - MET
- *Bathurst 1822* – exploration 23 days – Col. - MET
- Schooner [name unknown] 1822 – purpose, origins, commander unknown – UNK

#### Lockyer 1827

- *Gov. Hunter 1825* – sealing – Col. - Robinson – MET [hostile]
- *Gov. Brisbane 1825* – sealing – Col. - Kemp – MET [hostile]

#### Dumont D'Urville 1830

- *L'Astrolabe 1826* – exploration 17 days – French – M.J. Dumont D'Urville – MET

**FitzRoy, R. 1839 *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle Between the Years 1826 and 1836: Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe: In Three Volumes.* Available: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/161801>**

FitzRoy's volume really captures the tyranny and ethnocentrism of the colonial regime. Chapter XXI (pp.515-538) includes anecdotal observations about Aboriginal people who FitzRoy met as he travelled from Sydney to Bathurst (pp.519-520) but nothing of value in terms of customary marine tenure. He later records the forced removal of Aboriginal people from Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) to the Bass Strait islands (pp.533-534); and meeting 'the White Cockatoo men' and observing their ceremonial adornment and dancing (including the Emu Dance) at King George's Sound (pp.537-538).

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**Flinders, M. 1966[1814] *Voyage to Terra Australis [etc]* 2 vols. London: G & W. Nicol.**

The detail is too vast and broad to cover fully here, however among the geographical records there are observations of encounters with Aboriginal people around the south, east and north coasts of Australia. Includes summary of observations made by earlier mariners, including their interpretations of Aboriginal people, which may provide helpful cues for further historical investigations— e.g. see Flinders' citation of Captain Tobias Furneaux's notes regarding his visit to Van Diemens' Land in 1773, saying 'not the least mark of canoe or boat was seen, and it was generally thought they had none'; and Flinders cites George Vancouver who anchored near Cape Leeuwin in 1772 and observed that 'No marks of canoes, nor the remains of fish, even shell fish, were found near their habitations; and this circumstance, with the shyness of the birds and quadrupeds, induced a belief that the natives depended principally upon the woods for their subsistence'. However, such face-value observations should be considered in conjunction with subsequent evidence – e.g. the archaeological records of Charlie Dortch (see Dortch, C.E. in South-western Australia) arguing that midden evidence suggests otherwise). **Vol 1:** Chapter III includes observations of Aboriginal people at King George's Sound, including language. Chapter IV documents the voyage from King George's Sound through the Recherche Archipelago with observations of the mainland and islands, and across the Great Australian Bight. Chapter V focuses on Fowler's Bay, the St Francis isles, and Nuyts' Archipelago in South Australia. Chapter VI refers to mainland and islands between Anxious Bay and Port Lincoln. Chapter VII refers to Port Lincoln to Kangaroo Island, with an excursion inland. Chapter VIII journeys from Kangaroo Island to the Yorke Peninsula and return, then east from Cape Jervis, with remarks about French activities on the South Coast. Chapter IX includes observations from Tasmania and Victoria. Chapter X extends from Port Philip to Port Jackson with observations of mainland and islands between. **Vol 2.:** Chapters I-IX are devoted to voyages along the coasts of Queensland, the Torres Strait, the Northern Territory and Timor. Chapter X documents the return to Port Jackson via the Bass Strait. [Note: Versions of Flinders' vast work are available online, and not all of them are meticulously reproduced.]

**Fremantle, C.H. 1979 [1928] *Diary and Letters of Admiral Sir C.H. Fremantle, G.C.B. Relating to the Founding of the Colony of Western Australia, 1829.* Lord Cottesloe [ed]. Fremantle, Western Australia: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.**

Descriptive. Largely focuses on colonisation of the Swan River area, with occasional anecdotes of local Aboriginal people including: resistance (including language) against non-Aboriginal encroachment (Pp.36-37, 54); dwellings (Pp.37-38); extraction of freshwater (p.38); greeting and exchange customs including 'a bit of string with which his hair was bound round' (Pp.38-39, 47-49, 53-54); adornment and dress (Pp.39, 48, 54-55); weapons and tools (Pp.39-40); customs regarding access to country – including sea and estuarine environments (Pp.40-41); fishing (Pp.49-50); social organisation around gender (p.56); conflict between colonists and local Aboriginal people (Pp.91-92).

**Forrest, J. 2004[1875] *Explorations in Australia.* London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle.**

Born in Bunbury in 1847, John Forrest made three significant expeditions, the second of which extended from Perth to Adelaide via the coast in 1870. In this volume, he not only documents his own journeys but also reflects on those of other explorers, including John Septimus and Edward John Eyre, who also explored the coast. However, he pays considerably less attention to Aboriginal peoples than do those other explorers. For example, Chapter 3 documents Forrest's

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second expedition from Perth to Adelaide around the Great Australian Bight, including Aboriginal guides Tommy Windich and Billy Noongale. Forrest largely documents coastal physical geography, logistics and weather, with occasional anecdotal observations of Aboriginal people in a purely functional capacity (e.g. that one or the other accompanied him, or waited for him). Particularly noticeable is the fear demonstrated by Aboriginal people of the white exploration parties (e.g. see notes on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1870, east of Esperance, west of Point Dover). Forrest's only observations of watercraft are those of European mariners; and he makes no documentation of fishing on this expedition – either European or Aboriginal.

**Frost, A. 2007 From the hills of Provence to the coast of Van Diemen's Land: the expedition of Antoine-Raymond-Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, 1791-1793/94. In *Rediscovering Recherche Bay*, D. Mulvaney & H. Tyndale-Biscoe [eds], Pp. 9-16. Canberra: The Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.**

Identifies several early European mariners and scientists who recorded ethnological, as well as scientific, data in relation to Aboriginal peoples of south eastern Australia, including: Johann Reinhold Forster, Johan Friedrich Blumenbach, William Marsden, JG Herder, and La Pérouse. Includes brief biography of d'Entrecasteaux which identifies his intellectual influences and the disciplines of his crewmen; and may be useful for interpreting how d'Entrecasteaux arrived at his conclusions in descriptions of Aboriginal peoples. Says d'Entrecasteaux was on southeast coast of Tasmania from 21 April to 28 May 1792, and at the southwest corner of Western Australia on 13 October 1792. In December 1792 he stopped for eight days to examine Esperance Bay (9-17 December) before crossing the Great Australian Bight and putting into Recherche Bay again from 21 January to 27 February 1793. Citations include:

- Milet-Mureau, L.A. 1799 'Private instruction from the king to the Sieur de la Pérouse' and 'Plan of the voyage', in *A Voyage Round the World 1*: 11-47; and
- Cook, W.L. 1973 *Floodtide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1829*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

**Gibbs, M. 1993 Nebiyan's songs: an Aboriginal whaler of south-west Western Australia. *Aboriginal History* 27: 1-15.**

Historical archaeologist Martin Gibbs says Mineng Nyungar songman Nebiyan was aged in his 70s when he met Daisy Bates in 1908. Originally from the south coast near Two Peoples Bay, he had been relocated to the government settlement at Katanning. Gibbs says that Nebiyan performed a song cycle for Bates, based on his work as a whaler. However, Bates 'did not record the words of the songs, the 'mere names' used to describe the whaling process, nor do her notes contain any further information on Nebiyan's career on the sea, or any further mention of Aboriginal whalers' (p1). With what literary evidence is available, Gibbs presents a history of 'Nebiyan the whaler' and other Aboriginal persons involved in the south coast whaling industry from 1836. He says 'prior to the whaling era, Nyungar people, including the Mineng, had traditionally consumed whale meat only on an opportunistic basis when animals stranded on the beach or carcasses washed ashore' (p4). Gibbs argues that whaling 'did not impose upon traditional resources' but, citing Green, argues that it brought other consequences for coastal Nyungar groups including, employment in the whaling industry from May to September meant Nyungar people (who would ordinarily migrate inland during winter months), remained on the coast exploiting coastal resources. Gibbs provides tables showing the names of known Aboriginal people employed in the whaling industry, their places and years of employment (including the

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Albany and Esperance areas), and their roles. He also documents the poor employment conditions of Aboriginal whalers. Gibbs says 'from the historical records available, the Aboriginal whalers working on the south-west coasts all appear to have been Nyungar, with one exception of a man brought from Tasmania' (pp.6-7). He also documents Nyungar men having worked aboard foreign whaling vessels and travelling interstate. He cites Henry Lawson (1890) as recording having met an Aboriginal man in Albany who had spent two years working on a French whaling boat 'and was fluent in the language' (p7). Gibbs says that 'despite being part of a European industrial activity, it would appear that Nebinyan translated his experiences aboard the whaleboats into the form of a traditional hunting narrative. Each song in the cycle represented a different stage in the hunting process, describing in word and action the nature of the quarry and the technique of the hunter(s) in stalking and killing the prey' (pp.9-10). Ultimately, Gibbs argues that while Bates saw contact between Aboriginal and European peoples as a destructive process, she overlooked the ways in which Nyungar people simply exploited opportunities to incorporate new narratives into existing traditional systems of storytelling.

**Gibbs, M. 1995 *The Historical Archaeology of Shore-based Whaling in Western Australia, 1836-1879*. PhD Thesis. University of Western Australia.**

Gibbs investigates the history and archaeology of shore whaling in Western Australia and, among other things, argues that whaling stations played an important role as some of the earliest sites of sustained Aboriginal-European contact. He says Aboriginal people were initially attracted to the supply of whale meat, but soon became part of the labour force 'particularly on the south coast' (p2). Gibbs argues that the role of whalers has almost been lost, and deserves closer attention. Chapters 2, 3 & 6 are devoted to studying, through historical and archaeological research, the relationships between colonial whalers and Aboriginal peoples where shore stations were located. Includes several potentially useful references for similar studies of eastern Australia (see e.g. Pearson 1981 in 'Further Reading', below). Chapter 2 also includes a useful summary of pre-sovereignty coastal (including offshore) exploration of Australia. Pp.86-94 focuses on south coast Aboriginal history in relation to whaling noting that 'as for other areas of the continent, the Aboriginal inhabitants of southwest Western Australia did not traditionally hunt for whale, locally known as *mimanga*' (pp.86-87). Goes on to say 'while this thesis does not allow further discussion of this matter, the range and nature of contact in the pre-settlement period needs serious re-appraisal. It is some measure of the level of European activity that by the first years of the 1820s members of the Aboriginal group resident in the area of what would several years later become the site of Albany were almost completely indifferent to the appearance and activities of Europeans' (p87), citing King (1827) and Fanning (1832) as his sources. Gibbs also analyses historical literature to consider the relatively low impact that the early whaling industry had on local Aboriginal subsistence strategies, other than providing a domain in which to trade land-based game for whale meat (p88).

**Gibbs, M. 2011 *An Aboriginal fish trap on the Swan coastal plain: the Barragup Mungah*. In *Fire and Hearth Forty Years On: Essays in Honour of Sylvia J. Hallam, C. Bird & R.E. Webb* [eds], Pp.4-15. Records of the WA Museum, Supplement 79.**

While the focus is on a riverine fishtrap, it may be relevant to broader understandings of marine resource exploitation. Gibbs says that 'during the drier months, the Peel, Harvey and Leschenault Inlets, as well as the lower reaches of some of the other river systems, become increasingly saline and are used by marine fish as a nursery environment after spawning in the oceans ... The first

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flood of fresh waters from the winter rains then flushes these species ... known to Nyungar people as *kalda* and *ngarri* ... back down into the lower reaches of the rivers. The weirs were constructed across channels to focus the flow of water and consequently the passage of the fish through one or more narrow channels' (pp.5-6). Says that pre-sovereignty, Aboriginal people on the Swan Coastal Plain would meet every winter at Barragup on the Serpentine River, sustained by the operation of a wooden *mungah* fishtrap which allowed harvesting of sea mullet and Australian salmon. This paper provides historical material on the nature and operation of the Barragup *mungah* and the associated gathering. Includes citations from Daisy Bates regarding use of Barragup Weir; and a Nyungar story about how Barragup was named (citing John Forrest in Richards 1978).

**Gibbs, M. & P. Veth 2002 Ritual engines and the archaeology of territorial ascendancy. In *Barriers, Borders, Boundaries: Proceedings of the 2001 Australian Archaeological Association Annual Conference*, S. Ulm, C. Westcott, J. Reid, A. Ross, I. Lilley, J. Prangnell and L. Kirkwood [eds], Pp. 11-19. St Lucia, Queensland: Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland.**

This paper supports the argument that south-western Australian and Western Desert traditions were increasingly interacting in the late Holocene, and influencing patterns of cultural continuity and change in the pre-sovereignty era. Gibbs & Veth say that during 'the period from approximately 500 years ago to the present, the Western Desert language moved into central Australia and the margins of the southwest' (p12). They add an archaeological dimension to linguistic and anthropological discussions by others (see Tindale, Bates, Brandenstein) in relation to contestations over rights to speak for country between Israelite Bay and Point Malcolm. Here, Ngadju and Noongar peoples meet, often sharing customs such as marriages and exchange, with each other; and sometimes sharing business with Mirning peoples. The extent of its usefulness in studies of customary marine tenure may not be evident immediately. However, it is an important background discussion potentially impacting customary marine tenure. For example, Gibbs *et al* note the increasing evidence of Western Desert trade in marine artefacts during the late Holocene.

**Green, N. [ed] 1979 *Nyungar – The People: Aboriginal Customs in the Southwest of Australia*. Perth: Creative Research Publishers.**

Consolidated collection of journals maintained by early British residents of south Western Australia, including Isaac Scott Nind (at King George's Sound), Alexander Collie (Swan River Colony and King George's Sound), George Fletcher Moore (at King George's Sound and more broadly), Robert Menli Lyon (particularly regarding customs and language), Francis Armstrong (interpreter from the south-west corner). Includes Armstrong's account of Noongar mythologies, including the 'waugal' 'an aquatic monster, whose haunt is supposed to be in deep waters ... it inhabits most deep waters, salt or fresh, and almost every lake or pool is haunted by one or more such monsters ... There are certain large round stones ... which they believe to be the eggs laid by the waugal. There was ... one such stone on the shore of Currie's Bay, near Mount Eliza' (pp188-189). Includes several accounts of fishing, customs, and day-to-day living in relation to the marine environment.

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**Grey, G. 1841 *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* (2 vols). London: T. & W. Boone.**

This is Governor George Grey's travelogue of his journeys around Western Australia. Vol. 2 Chapter XIV (pp. 259-299) contains the most descriptive data on Aboriginal marine resource exploitation, but Grey tends to 'lump' multiple cultural groups together in one great analysis – only sometimes naming specific locales in relation to given practices. Names of Aboriginal people are often given without identifying either where they were met or where they came from. Existing working knowledge of regional geographic and cultural differences should enable researchers to identify different cultural areas in Grey's descriptions of: methods of taking and cooking fish (p.275), feasting on a stranded whale (p. 276), consumption of seals (p. 278), turtle (p. 279), and shellfish (p.287). Says 'a whale is the greatest delicacy that a native can partake of' (p.276). Chapters IX-XVIII deal exclusively with Aboriginal customs, naming too many individual Aboriginal persons to include in a concise bibliography. Generalised and sometimes comparative observations from south-western Australia of: language (pp. 207-216) including word lists from Swan River, King George's Sound, South Australia and Sydney (pp. 212, 214); customary law as distinct from imposed British law (pp. 217-224) including comparisons and contrasts with Gantheaume Bay and New South Wales (p.221); customs relating to relationships, marriage, and inheritance (pp. 225-237) drawing comparisons with South Australia (naming Yungaree, who met Captain Matthew Flinders) and Gulf of Carpentaria (p. 226); customary law around retributions (pp. 238-245); social conditions and domestic habits (pp. 246-258); songs and poetry (pp. 300-316), including a song created and sung by a Swan River Noongar woman after her son, Miago, was temporarily taken away across the seas aboard the *HMS Beagle* (p.310), and which 'has ever since been a great favourite'; and funeral ceremonies, religious beliefs, and customs (pp. 317-344) at Swan River, Vasse River, and King George's Sound, including documentation of trade from as far afield as Moreton Bay (p.341), and comparisons with the Gulf of Carpentaria and St Vincent's Gulf (p.343). Chapter XVII 'Characteristic anecdotes' (pp. 345-364) includes: Miago's 'imaginary speech as governor' (p.345); Warrup's account of his journey with John Septimus Roe (pp. 346-350), including marine resource exploitation; and Grey's observations for King George's Sound with Moyee-en-nan, Peerat, and Dal-be-an (pp. 351-364) on customs surrounding gender relations, property, transgressions, and punishments. Appendices include brief Noongar genealogies (pp. 391-394). The first seven chapters of Vol. 1 are largely concerned with the north-west and are predominantly land-based observations – despite the fact that they document journeys that were mostly coastal. Chapter XIII (pp. 289-328) focuses on Grey's arrival at and exploration of the Swan River and regions further north and inland. Names many Aboriginal people from Western Australia without saying specifically which cultural or linguistic groups they represented. Chapter XIV (pp. 329-349) focuses on Grey's expedition from the Swan River north to Sharks Bay, with little of Aboriginal ethnohistorical interest. Chapter XV (pp. 349-366) describes Grey's exploration of the Gascoyne River including an interview with local Aboriginal people (pp. 363-366), where Grey also notes the deeply held religious fears of his Swan River Noongar guide, Kaiber. Chapter XVI is a travelogue from the Gascoyne to Kolaina and return (pp. 367-387). Includes an account (with illustration) of an attack on the expedition's beached boat by Aboriginal people at Kolaina Plains (pp. 376-379).

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**Guilfoyle, D.R. 2011 *Mandoowoornup (Cape Le Grande National Park) Heritage Project*. Unpublished report for Gabbie Kylie Foundation: National Trust of Australia (WA): West Perth.**

Ethno-archaeological report by David Guilfoyle under direction of Esperance Noongar traditional owners focusing mainly on coastal zone, but including some archaeological interpretations of islands. Forward by Elder Doc Reynolds explaining local place names and cultural significance of country (including marine environment) for contemporary Esperance Noongar peoples. The research programme behind the report was funded by the Federal Government, and provided an opportunity for young Esperance Noongar people to learn research skills under the direction of their Elders and Guilfoyle. Includes maritime archaeological assessment by Ross Anderson (see citation of Anderson's PhD thesis, above).

**Guilfoyle, D.R., Mitchell, M.B., & Webb, W. 2015 Identity and culturally-defined methods of adaptation among the Wadandi people of southwestern Australia. In *Identity and Heritage*, P.F. Biehl, D.C. Comer, C. Prescott & H.A. Soderland [eds]. DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-09689-6\_9**

Presents a case for collaborations between researchers and traditional owners in this study of/with the Wadandi people of the Noongar Nation from the south-western corner of Western Australia. Wadandi Elder Wayne Webb is a co-author. Includes brief social history of the Wadandi people, which could be helpful in getting the bigger picture (descriptions and images of the 'fringe dwellers at Caribunup river'). Primarily focuses on land-based economies but says 'seasonal movement was also an important part of the continuation of traditional customs, which focused on the coast as much as possible, but required periodic forays inland, via the river systems' (p94). The exact nature of marine-based customs is not elaborated on here.

**Hammond, J.E. 1936 *Western Pioneers: The Battle Well Fought*. O.K. Battye [ed.]. Perth: Imperial Printing.**

Predominantly focussed on non-Aboriginal expansion across Western Australia. Pp17-18 includes a detailed description of a south-western Australian Aboriginal fish trap.

**Hassell, E. 1901 *Myths and folktales of the Wheelman tribe of southwestern Australia. Selected & revised by D.S. Davidson*. [Typescript]**

Ethel Hassell married into a farming family and lived at Jerramungup near the south coast of Western Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Stories from Bremer Bay region including:

- *Legend of the Eclipse of the Sun;*
- *Legend of the Southern Cross;*
- *Orion's Belt and the Pleiades;*
- *Waitch and Gindie – Emu and Stars;*
- *Younger and Maak (kangaroo and moon);*
- *Legend of the flood;*
- *Legend of the spirit of fire;*
- *Younger and Omer (kangaroo and brush kangaroo);*
- *Balyet and the Echo;*

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- *Legend of the Woolgrum* ('the tale is said to be known all the way from Eucla ... to north-western West Australia');
- *Legend of the animals, birds and snakes*;
- *Legend of Ter and Cootup*;
- *Legend of the Wheelow (Curlew)*;
- *Legend of Dalyar and Gudgilan (parrots and hawks)*;
- *Legend of Waitch and Coorley (emu and wild turkey)*;
- *Legend of Waalich and Wording (wedge tailed eagle and crow)*;
- *Chudic, waitch, coomal, coorbardie and towran (The wild cat, emu and ringed tail opossum)* – with two other variants, from Esperance and from Port Hedland;
- *Norm and cubine (black snake and mopoak)*
- *Waalegh and chillion (wedge tailed eagle and sea eagle)*;
- *Waitch and coomal (emu and opossum)*;
- *Chitter and pinny pinch (willy wagtail and robin)*;
- *Witches and witchcraft.*

Six-page glossary and vocabulary.

### **Hassell, E. 1936 Notes on the ethnology of the Wheelman Tribe of South-western Australia. *Anthropos* 1936: 679-711.**

Regarding the traditional owners of Bremer Bay of Western Australia, plus those of adjoining inland region, eastern neighbours of Esperance Bay and Qualup. Includes descriptions of: social and political organisation; birth customs; betrothal and marriage; baby carrying; moieties and totems; large ceremonial meetings; ritual piercing of septum; formalisation of intergroup relations through ritual; games; worldviews; system of counting; food; technology; clothing and adornments; dances; intergroup clashes and weaponry; magic and medicines; death ceremonies; malevolent spirits. P.702 says:

*On the coast there were other jannock(s) [evil spirits]. Some lived in the sea and occasionally showed themselves in the form of water spouts. They were viewed with the greatest terror, for the meeting of the sea and the sky, except on the edge of the world, was regarded as a most unholy union which could bring nothing but misfortune to the unlucky witnesses. If a native saw the sea rising and the clouds lowering to meet it, he at once informed the tribe and they broke camp immediately to move as far inland as their boundaries would permit. They allowed a long time to elapse before they returned to that spot.'*

P703 describes *Marghet*, another malevolent spirit who inhabits inland waters.

### **Hassell, E. 1975 *My dusky friends : sketches of the south eastern natives of Western Australia : some of their legends and customs.***

Detailed description of Aboriginal people of the region, who she referred to as 'the Wheelman tribe' (within Noongar country) between 1878 and 1886. Includes observations of neighbouring groups. Anecdotes include material culture; food, particularly plant food gathered by women; dance and music; burial rites; sorcery; warfare; large number of myths and legends on many subjects; and vocabulary.

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**Helms, R. 1896. Anthropology. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*. 16: 281-282.**

Helms variously includes observations, interviews and wordlists with Yunga, Ngadju, Kukatha people, among other northern and inland peoples, with descriptions of cultural boundaries, laws and customs, and word lists - including for marine environments. Helms notes that language difference coincides with cultural differences either side of the western circumcision/subincision line (p307). Includes input from 'C.A. Paterson of Perth' regarding *Tribes inhabiting the Coastal [sic] District from Geraldton to Albany* (pp.288-290), describing marine resource exploitation, and a wordlist from south-west Western Australian (pp.329-331), including features of marine environments.

**Howitt, A.W. 1996[1904] *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.**

Occasional useful anecdotes and summaries but also embedded with opinion that requires prudent filtration and interpretation. In terms of marine resource exploitation, says 'In 1896 an important find of aboriginal stone hatchets was made at Shea's Cree, near Sydney, at a depth of 11 feet below water-level, together with bones of dugong, bearing such cuts and scratches, not recent, as would be made by direct blows of a sharp-edge stone tomahawk' (p17). Chapter 1 takes a speculative Darwinian approach to understanding the origins of Tasmanian and Australian Aboriginal people, summarising what explorers had reported from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; and, as such, may at least be useful for identifying earlier bibliographic references. Of Tasmania's bark rafts, Howitt says 'there is not a tittle of evidence in support of the belief that the Tasmanians ever were acquainted with the art of constructing a canoe able to cross such a sea strait as that between Tasmania and Australia, much less wider extents of ocean' (p9). Chapter II offers information on coastal dwelling people of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. For example, 'The advantages of the coast lands increase on coming eastwards; and from the Gulf of St. Vincent the country afforded ample food supplies, from the lakes at the Murray mouth and the country bordering upon them and the sea. Still more favourable conditions existed in Victoria, and especially Gippsland, where again extensive lakes and adjacent country afforded an unfailing supply of fish ... The tribes of the New South Wales coast enjoyed similar advantages' (p35). Includes illustrations, tables, photographs, and artworks; and there is a list of 'tribal divisions' that Howitt associates with given geographic areas – including coastal (p59). P65 defines country belonging to *Yerkla-mining* as extending 'from about 100 miles east to about 40 miles west of Eucla, along the coast, and as far inland as they dared go' (p65). Includes a Dreaming about a snake that occupies the Nullarbor Plain and Fowler Bay (pp.65-67). Pp.67-69 identifies custodian groups of the South Australian coast, with brief summaries of social organisation according to moieties. Pp.69-72 identifies coastal dwelling groups of Victoria, along with brief notes on social organisation, descent groups, and names of known Elders. Pp.73-77 includes detailed ethnological information on 'the Kurnai of Gippsland', including dialects spoken, group names in language, and customs relating to coastal and marine resources. For example, p74 notes that 'Any stranger who took swans' eggs on this island without the permission of the of the *Bunjil-baul* had to fight them, but there was no prohibition against friendly tribesmen who might visit the island taking any other kind of food or game'. Also includes brief information on 'the Biduelli Tribe who occupied the forest and jungle covered country between the high coast ranges and the immediate coast along which the Kurnai lived' (pp.79-81). Pp.81-86 identifies coastal groups of New South Wales, including language terms for group and sub-group names, and the coastal and sea country spoken for. Chapter III 'Social Organisation' (pp.88-155), like earlier

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chapters, shifts focus one region of Australia to another within quick succession; and readers are advised to become familiar with the many group names recorded/reported by explorers and historians over the centuries. There is some potentially useful information from South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales including: language terms, Dreamings, moieties, totemic affiliations, and descent groups. Chapter IV 'Relationship Terms' (pp.156-172) includes a description of the classificatory system, a table of Dieri relationships with an explanation of the system, as well explanation of *Nadada-wa*, *Kami* and *Noa* relationships, and a table of Kurnai terms and explanation of relationships. Chapter V 'Marriage Rules' (pp.173-294) is detailed, and includes specific information on custom, for example, noting similarities in custom in eastern Victoria and south-eastern New South Wales: 'The old men, when at the initiation ceremonies, told me that the rule was that the "waddy-men," that is, those who get their living by climbing trees for game, must go down to the sea-coast and obtain wives from the people who get their living by fishing' (p257). General rules of 'Tribal government' are similarly broad in Chapter VI (pp.295-354), with anecdotes and interpretations of coastal and inland groups from South Australia to Queensland. Chapter VII 'Medicine-men and Magic' (pp.355-425) draws analogies with groups from around Australia, while primarily focussing on Dieri, Narrinyeri, Wotjobaluk, Wurunjerri, Wiimbaio, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and Kurnai. Despite the broadness, it is recommended that any research for sea claims in south-eastern Australia should include review of this literature. Includes songlines with bar music (pp.419-424), and a photograph of a Kurnai man in a bark canoe (p424). Chapter VIII 'Beliefs and Burial Practices' (pp.426-508) is particularly interesting, noting many examples of religious beliefs and customs in relation to the ocean – not necessarily as distinct from other water sources or terrestrial elements. For example: 'The Kapiri legend shows that the earth is supposed to be bordered by water; the *Mura-mura* Madaputa-tupuru, and the *Mankara Waka* and *Pirna* have both reached it in their wanderings. The Wolgal belief is that there is water all round the flat earth. They know of the sea round the coast for a great distance, and heart of it from the more distant blacks, even before the white men came' (p426). Includes several Dreamings from southern coastal, northern and interior groups that associated the spiritual rainbow serpent with water (including the sea and sky) – e.g. 'The Bunya-Bunya people in Queensland are also very much afraid of the rainbow, which they call *Thugine* (large serpent). Once, they say, a camp of blacks was close to the beach, and all went out to hunt and fish, leaving only two boys in camp with strict orders not to go to the beach, or leave the camp till the elders returned. The boys played about for a time in the camp, and then getting tired of it, went down to the beach where the *Thugine* came out of the sea, and being always on the watch for unprotected children, caught the two boys and turned them into two rocks that now stand between Double Island Point and Inskip Point, and have deep water close up to them ... The Yuin believe that the thunder is the voice of *Daramulun*. The Gringai had a great dread of thunder ... According to the Tongaranka, thunder is the song of a corroboree held by the big old men in the sky, who are making rain' (p431). [Note: see also Ethel Hassell reference above, where she notes terrified responses of Wheelman people to water spouts and thunder storms at sea'.] Howett writes 'The Kamilaroi believe that the spirit of a man when he does goes to the dark patch in the Magellan clouds, which they call *Maiamba*, meaning endless water or river' (p439); 'As far back as 1795, when a man-of-war ... was anchored at Port Stephens, four men were found ... The natives had received them as "the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again" ... The old men of the tribes about Maryborough said when they first saw white men, "That is all right, they are the *Murthara* (ghosts) combe back from the island"; and they recognised such men as their relatives, gave them names and a family' (p445). Burial customs (pp. 447-475) include those of Dieri, Yerkla-mining (south-eastern Western Australia and

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south-western South Australia), Narrang-ga, several groups around Adelaide, Wurunjerri, several groups around Port Phillip Bay, Kurnai, Gippsland peoples, Yuin, Wiradjuri, and the Wolgal saying 'The Wolgal were very particular burying everything belonging to a dead man with him ; spears and nets were included ; even in one case a canoe was cut into pieces so that it could be put in the grave' (pp.461-462).

**Jukes, J.B. 1847 *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of HMS "Fly" 2 vols. London.***

Very little cultural detail. More focused on physical and life sciences, with some linguistic interest of Indigenous peoples that Jukes encountered on this voyage (e.g. p237). Appendices from p278 contain word lists including those gathered at Port Lincoln, Murray Island, and Cape York (two languages/dialects); and from p314-320 word lists from Tasmania (including Macquarie Island) and King George's Sound.

**Lindsay, D. 1893 *Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition 1891-2 Journal. Adelaide: C.E. Bristow, Government Printer.***

Largely descriptive of physical geography and amount/lack of service infrastructure, relationships with Aboriginal, Afghan, and white people living in the area explored. Includes anecdotal accounts of meeting and travelling with Aboriginal people at Esperance, Mount Ridley, and Fraser Range, but nothing relating to marine tenure. Includes some Mirning and Bindungu language terms. Pp125 includes description of greeting customs between men, men and women, and men and children at Mount Ridley. Back sleeve includes map of country explored.

**Lockyer, E. 1827 *Journal of Major Lockyer, Commandant of the Expedition Sent from Sydney in 1826 to Found a Settlement at King George's Sound, Western Australia. [Typescript of the original presented to the Public Library of New South Wales by Nicholas Lockyer Esq.]***

Major Edmund Lockyer was sent to King George's Sound expressly to claim the west of Australia for the British crown. Includes several accounts of 'the Oyster Bay tribe'(p30), and of liberating Aboriginal people (men, women and children) from capture on Michelmas Island (pp.7-9). Includes names of islands where sealers had been stationed and/or Aboriginal people held captive, including: Middle and Mondrian (opposite Thistles Cove and Lucky Bay) near Esperance; and Michelmas, Eclipse, Green, and Breaksea at King George's Sound. Specifically, names 'Two women – Dinah and Sally' and 'Black Boy Harry, Native woman Mooney' (p37) as being held captive. Says 'the natives here have no canoe, consequently could not have got out there of themselves' (p9), then relates an account of an Aboriginal person spearing a one of Lockyer's convict crew in the water, which may represent a matter of customary law. Lockyer later says (p36) of the Aboriginal man 'on looking at him I recognised him as one of the four who had been taken off Michelmas Island, and there is no doubt he must have been one who speared Denis Deneen. I immediately pointed to the island and he was quite astonished at being recognised, and though I tried all I could to quiet his fears, he slunk off evidently afraid that it was intended to retaliate on him'. Documents an attempted reconciliation between Lockyer's party and local Noongar people through 'a Sydney native, Pidgen from the Five Islands' (pp.16-18). Identifies Aboriginal people including 'Jack' (p17), 'Monga' (p18), and 'another man also answered to the name of Monga' (p18). Includes some typically horrific accounts about the treatment of Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal convicts and mariners – which may be deduced triggered violent acts of

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customary law against the invaders. For example, 'from the lawless manner in which these sealing gangs are wrangling about requires some immediate measures to control them. From what I have learnt and witnessed they are a complete set of pirates going from Island to Island along the southern coast of New Holland from Rottneest Island to Bass's Strait having their chief resort of den at Kangaroo Island making occasional descents on the Main and carry off by force females and no doubt when resisted carry their point by the superior effect of the fire arms with which they are armed, besides which each man has a large knife and a steal along by his side. Being left by vessels on these Islands with sometimes a month or two provisions at most, and do not call for them again for eight, ten, fourteen months and sometimes longer. From the nauseous food these people make use of, and the miserable life they lead, it is no wonder that they become actually savages. The great sense of villainy where to use the term of one of them, a great number of graves are to be seen and where some desperate characters are many of them runaways from Sydney and Van Diemen's Land (pp20-21). Documents the persistence of campfires or firing along the south coast – e.g. says 'the natives keep up large smoke in the country around us from Mount Gardner to West Cape Howe, and from the number of fires, if we may be allowed to judge from that, the country must be very numberously [sic] peopled' (p26).

**McBryde, I. 2000 Travellers in storied landscapes: a case study in exchanges and heritage. *Aboriginal History* 24: 152-174.**

McBryde focuses mostly on the Adnyamathanha of the Flinders Ranges, but acknowledges trade and ceremonial links with Western Desert speakers of the Nullarbor Plain – including coastal-dwelling people of the Nullarbor. This may be helpful for explaining customary law, and the sharing of knowledge about country and custom – e.g. where people from neighbouring regions have Dreamings and stories about each other's country, including sea, but cannot necessarily speak for that country. Cites Meinig (1979: 34, on p.156) to say 'any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads'. Explains the embeddedness of spirituality in landscapes that require ongoing ceremonial and daily responsibilities. Cites from Strehlow (1965; 1970, on pp.157-158) to point to extended song cycles rooted in places and the routes linking them; and from Myers (1986: 61-64, pp.158) to illustrate how the Dreaming and country are related and continuous spatial relationships. The narratives emphasise appropriate relations between people, the geographical expanse of such relations, and the consequences of failing to observe customary law.

**McCarthy, F.D. [ed] 1970. *Aboriginal Antiquities in Australia: Their Nature and Preservation*. Australian Aboriginal Studies No. 22, Prehistory and Material Culture Series No. 3. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.**

Archaeologist and anthropologist Fred McCarthy was the Foundation Principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and he worked at the Australian Museum in Sydney. This is a multidisciplinary volume, edited by McCarthy, concerning Australian material culture in ethnographic and timely context. It contains papers presented at the Conference on Prehistoric Monuments and Antiquities in Australia, as part of the Third General Meeting of the AIAS in May 1968. McCarthy's Introduction (pp. XI-XIV) explains the broader contexts informing critical thought around Australian Aboriginal material culture at the time. The volume includes texts, and photographic plates, sketches and maps of sites – including examples from marine-related environments. The illustrations are not always presented within the relevant chapter – e.g. a sketch of engravings from Sydney of a school of fish being attacked by a shark is replicated in the

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chapter on Victoria (p31). Eighteen authors have contributed from archaeology, anthropology, museum studies, geology, social welfare, education, chemistry, and the travel industry. The bibliographies of each author also point to useful primary sources – including early 19<sup>th</sup> century records.

- **South-western Australia:** McCarthy (pp.73-90) largely focuses on inland and northern regions, with brief discussion of middens. Fish traps within the Noongar regions (e.g. Oyster Harbour, Point Anne) had yet to be recorded on the state's register of Aboriginal heritage sites. Even McCarthy's citations of Bates (pp83, 84) focus on her work in the northern and inland regions.

Depending on research focus and angle, some may find useful comparisons, contrasts, and inferences from northern examples in this volume including: McCarthy re. the Northern Territory and central Australia (pp.51-72); Bruce Wright re. the Pilbara (pp.121-125); McCarthy re. north-western Australia (pp.73-90) – especially marine representations on petroglyphs (p78); Charles Macknight re. Northern Territory coast (pp.95-98); Stan Colliver re. Queensland (pp.2-14) – see especially middens, fish traps, weirs (pp.7-9), canoe trees (p10). Concludes with interesting insights into concerns around legislation, public education, and related tourism at the time (pp.151-188). [Note: see also McCarthy [ed] under South-eastern NSW and Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia.]

### **Meagher, S.J. 1974 The food resources of the Aborigines of the south-west of Western Australia. Records of the Western Australian Museum 3: 14-65.**

Includes details of marine resource exploitation. Pp.22-23 deals exclusively with fish, and lists historical sources (author, year, page number) where these details can be found. Says 'fish were a major source of food for people living near the coast, particularly during the summer ... The Aborigines confined their fishing activities to sheltered areas ... they were not seafaring people; they had no form of water transport; at King George Sound it was noted that they could not swim and were afraid of the water, although those living on the western coast were good swimmers ... fish were either speared or caught by hand. The Aborigines did not have any nets or lines ... nor is there any account of poisonous or narcotic plants being used to stun the fish' (p22). Describes methods of catching fish. Pp.23-24 details marine mammals in the south-western diet from 'just north of Perth to Eucla'. Elaborates on seasonal utilisation of food resources, with extensive citations early observers (pp.27-41).

### **Meagher, S.J., & Ride, W.D.L. 1979 Use of natural resources by the Aborigines of south-western Australia. In *Aborigines of the West*. R.M. & C.H. Berndt [eds], Pp. 66-80. Perth: UWA Press.**

Summary of relevant major historical, anthropological, and archaeological records to the time of publication. Also describes the natural environment, which may be helpful for researchers trying to get a clearer picture of the region's diverse landscape prior to fieldwork. Quotes Backhouse (1834) saying 'in the Swan River Country, as well as at King George's Sound, the Natives have their private property, clearly distinguished into hunting-grounds, the boundaries of which are definite, trees being often recognised by them as landmarks, and that the possession rests in the head of a family' (p66). Says 'concentrations of fish in the lower reaches of rivers and estuaries were a major food resource, and caught throughout the year. The local Aborigines were not a seafaring people, and had no form of water transport. Accordingly, they confined their fishing activities to the sheltered waters provide by rivers and estuaries. Fish were speared, caught by and or trapped. Aborigines in this area did not make nets or lines for fishing, and did not use poisonous or narcotic

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plants for this purpose either. In fishing at night, grass-tree torches were used to attract fish. When large numbers of people gathered together, usually in the summer months, fish-traps were built across rivers and in estuaries' (pp.73-74). Includes details of fish varieties not eaten. Notes consumption of whales and seals, especially at Doubtful Island Bay and Bremer Bay where whales 'are more prone to stranding' on the south coast (p74). Speculates that the absence of seal colonies from the south-west mainland and their presence on offshore islands is 'indicative of former predation' (p74). Says 'the dependence of the Aboriginal of south-western Australia on the land and its resources was absolute' (p77), but given the authors had already identified marine resources (see above), this statement could be more accurately phrased.

**Mercer, F.R. [n.d.] *Amazing Career: The Story of Western Australia's first Surveyor General*. Perth: Paterson Brokensha Pty Ltd.**

Largely a chronology of Roe's life, with little of Aboriginal ethnographic value. Mercer (p13) says 'this narrative is almost entirely factual' but does not say which bits are imagined. Identifies a long list of primary sources of which John Septimus Roe is author or object of study, and these are likely to be more useful sources of ethnological information. Chapter 5 'Native life: convicts and public hangings' (pp.63-75) includes Roe's observations of Aboriginal people at: Sydney (including Bidgie-Bidgie and Sally, Carang-gy (aka Mary) and Black Harry); Broken Bay (Bongaree); and the Peel Inlet region of Western Australia – with details of the Pinjarra Massacre. Further information on Bongaree's continental travel with Roe (Chapter 6 'The Mermaid's survey journeys: Roe's first visit to Western Australia' pp.76-87) but no cultural information. One would think that Roe explored Western Australia alone (pp.144-151). Includes mention of the Aboriginal guide, Bob, and the Noongar people of Jerramungup (p.154), as well as those of Bremer Bay (pp.163-163) on Roe's 1848-1849 journey across southern Australia (pp.152-166).

**Mitchell, M. 2017 *The Esperance Nyungars, at the Frontier: an archaeological investigation of mobility, aggregation and identity in late-Holocene Aboriginal society, Western Australia*. PhD thesis, National Centre for Indigenous Studies, Australian National University.**

Mitchell's ethno-archaeological thesis argues that Esperance Nyungar society was dynamic at and predating colonial interruption, and that this social dynamism continues in the present. The focus is predominantly land-based, but includes some insights into contemporary Esperance Nyungar interpretations of values in relation to offshore islands, where archaeological work has uncovered material culture. The traditional owners are working with geologists to examine dynamic human environmental interactions, including modelling patterns of sea level rise and flooding of the coastal plain and formation of the present-day coastline, to be used for public education and eco-tourism. Mitchell, whose undergraduate qualifications are in anthropology and archaeology, uses ethnographic and archaeological methodologies to gather data with Nyungar people. These people are also consulted in his analysis of rock art, stone arrangements and flaked stone artefacts. Mitchell notes the Esperance Nyungars favour the estuaries as food sources over the Southern Ocean coastline (p72). Mitchell's specific fieldsites are *Belinup* (at the mouth of the Thomas River) and *Marbaleerup* (Mount Ridley), from which the ocean is clearly visible. Very little data on customary law in relation to marine environments, other than coastal. His predominant aim is to understand the role of *Belinup* and *Marbaleerup* within patterns of movement that underpinned society and economy in the Esperance Nyungar region during the late-Holocene. His research explores concepts of Esperance Nyungar identity relative to the broader Noongar and

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Western Desert cultural blocs. His argument supports that of earlier researchers (including Tindale 1974, and Gibbs & Veth 2002) that the study area was a dynamic frontier of cultural change during the late Holocene. Mitchell says this highlights a historical legacy to the processes of cultural change underpinning Esperance Nyungar identity today. He is critical of the Native Title system, claiming that it often neglects to acknowledge dynamism in Australian Aboriginal societies 'and the inherent mutability of identity and connections across time and space' (pV). Cites Berndt (1980: 84) in acknowledging traditionally and historically exogamous marriage and patri-local descent groups. Bibliography contains sources that may be more useful specific to customary marine tenure in southern Australia.

**Mulvaney, D., & Green, N. 1992 *Collet Barker: The Journals of Captain Collet Barker 1828-1831*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.**

Diaries of early British government representative at King George's Sound, Collet Barker. Includes accounts of race relations, traditional society, vocabulary and place names at King Georges Sound (on the south coast of Australia) and at Raffles Bay (in the far north). Includes Noongar social categories, documentation of a massacre at King George's Sound region, religious beliefs (including spirit beings, creation, and cosmologies), fishing, property rights, weapons and tools, body rituals and burials, ceremonies including exchange, child-rearing, marriage, ceremonial role of women, dispute resolution, and vocabulary. Includes Mineng Noongar names of seasons; list of Noongar people 1821-1835. Includes maps and artworks.

**Nind, I.S. 1831 *Description of the natives of King George's Sound (Swan River Colony) and the adjoining country. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 1: 21-51.***

An extremely comprehensive and descriptive historical account of south-western Australia by Isaac Scott Nind, medical doctor stationed at King George's Sound in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Includes a brief history of colonial exploration. P28 includes details of marine exploitation, noting that 'an encampment rarely consists of more than seven or eight huts; for, except during the fishing and burning seasons, at which times large parties assemble together, their numbers are generally small, and two or three huts suffice'. Says 'those families who have locations on the sea-coast quit it during the winter for the interior; and the natives of the interior, in like manner, pay visits to the coast during the fishing season' (p28). Notes that 'except at these times, those natives who live together have the exclusive right of fishing or hunting upon the neighbouring grounds, which are, in fact, divided into individual properties; the quantity of land owned by each individual being very considerable. Yet it is not so exclusively his, but others of his family have certain rights over it; so that it may be considered as partly belonging to the tribe' (p28). Says that during summer and autumn, diet consists largely of fish. They have no watercraft and cannot swim 'in both of which points they differ materially from all other parts of the Australian continent with which we are acquainted' (p32). 'They can, therefore, only catch those fish which approach the shores, or come into shoal water. They have neither nets, nor hook and line, and the only weapon they use is the spear, with which they are very dexterous. In the mouths of streams or rivers, they take large quantities, by weirs made of bushes, but the most common method is pursuing the fish into shoal water and spearing them, or they like basking on the surface' (pp32-33). Also documents night-fishing, use of bait to lure fish, shellfish consumption, herding schools of fish, and cooking methods. Includes details of shark hunting and stingray hunting 'for amusement' but says they are not eaten (p33). Notes the stingray's barbs are used for spears 'on some part of the coast' 9p33). Says shellfish such as oysters were not

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consumed by local Aboriginal people prior to British settlement (p33). Consumption of whale meat (p34), crayfish (p36). Includes Aboriginal place names, and descriptions of Aboriginal clothing and adornment, hide-tanning methods, animal species used for food, clothing and adornment, mourning customs, social organisation, gender relations, child rearing, ritual scarring, septum piercing, firing, hunting methods, predominance of carrying fire-sticks, plant species used for food, diet, consumption and domestication of dingos, hunting rights around dog-ownership, tool and weapon types and manufacturing, living arrangements, medicine, law and custom (including punishments), funeral rites, dwellings (e.g. p27 says 'they are generally erected in a sheltered spot near water with the back towards the prevailing wind and a fire is kept burning constantly in the front'). Description of senior men who have supernatural powers, *mulgarraddock*, and details of the powers attributed to them (pp41-42). Noongar people identified by name include Naikennon, Gnewitt, Warti, Eringool, and Mawcurrie. Includes names of neighbouring groups. Includes a Noongar word list.

**Peron, M.F. 2006[1809] *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands.* [Volumes 1-3] Second Edition. Translated C. Cornell. Adelaide: State Library of South Australia.**

Includes detailed descriptions and illustrations of Peron's voyages from France to Western Australia's west and south coasts, Tasmania, Banks Strait, Bass Strait, and Port Jackson. Chapter VII (Cape Naturaliste to Cape Leeuwin) includes an account of coastal marine exploitation, firing, housing – e.g. "I everywhere found burnt trees and extinguished fires, near some of which I observed a king of mattress, made of that singular sort of bark of Melaleuca which I have before mentioned, and which seemed to have served as a bed to some of the natives, either together or singly. In a word, everything confirmed me in the opinion, that the savages had not settled their habitations in this situation, so far in the wood, but that they resided in preference on the borders of the salt river, and the adjoining places near the sea, where they could more easily procure their necessary food, for it was exclusively in, those parts that any of their huts were to be found, or their wells or springs of brackish water, to the use of which we ourselves were very soon reduced'. Chapter XI (from about Perth to Cape Naturaliste) noted that Rottneest Island was uninhabited 'and it did not appear that any of the natives of the continent had ever found their way thither'. Chapter XIV describes southern Tasmania, where Peron found Aboriginal people particularly eager to make company with the French mariners. Also notes canoes (with illustration and description of construction), customary greetings, dwellings, fires, tools, diet (including varieties of shellfish, cooking methods and utensils, body adornments, dancing). Chapter XV refers to south-eastern Tasmania, including reference to diet (including seafood), cremation, dress, dwellings, engravings, firing, animosity and camaraderie between Traditional Owner and early Europeans, clothing, goods exchange, water resources, and ochre mining. Chapter XVII from about Spencer Gulf to Western Port includes mostly nautical and physical geographic observations and illustrations, with brief mention of use of fire. Chapter XX includes brief observations of Traditional Owners of Western Port, Wilson's Promontory, Port Jackson, including illustrations, dwellings, place names, acknowledgement of 'Bennil-long' as 'chief'. Map included in back sleeve of book.

**Roe, J.S. 2014 *The Western Australian Explorations of John Septimus Roe 1829 - 1849.* Carlisle, Western Australia: Hesperian Press.**

Observations from the south and south-west coasts of Western Australia. Pp.157-168 includes notes on an expedition to Doubtful Island Bay in November-December 1835. P301 includes the

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Governor and Surveyor General's south-west coastal expedition in January 1838. Pp.419-465 includes journal and fieldnotes from an expedition in 1848-1849 from Cape Riche roughly to the present-day boundaries of the Single Noongar and Esperance Nyungar determination areas. Rottnest Island is examined by explorers for the purpose of establishing a penal establishment for forced labour of Aboriginal people (p.303); describes Aboriginal people from Champion Bay (p.407), including exchange of goods to create friendly relations, Aboriginal social relations, custom, material culture. Includes notes on meeting Aboriginal men who had worked on whaling ships in Esperance Bay: Bilyerup, Woorucum and Jubart (p.502).

**Smith, M. 1978 *Report of a Preliminary Archaeological Survey of the Thomas River Region of W.A.* Masters Thesis, University of Western Australia.**

Archaeological. Focuses on land-based prehistory of Thomas River, but includes some ethnohistory of the greater south coast area including Esperance – including citations from the journals of Forrest's (1875), Eyre (1845), and Chauncy (1878). Notes customs of dress, habitation, clothing, burial, and mourning. Notes that early explorers recorded seeing coastal occupation by Aboriginal people (in the form of campfires) many years before the first crew made landfall (p7). Includes maps of Thomas River region, location of original stations, photographs of fieldwork sites, and some poor-quality reproductions of photos of Aboriginal people.

**Smith, M. 1993 *Recherche A L'Esperance: A Prehistory of the Esperance Region of South-Western Australia.* PhD Thesis, University of Western Australia: Nedlands.**

Much-cited archaeology PhD thesis arguing that land use intensified north-east of Esperance during the late Holocene. Sites excavated include three rockshelters: Cheetup, Cape le Grand, and Barndi. Chapter 4 (pp69-113) includes comprehensive ethnohistorical summary including maritime exploration, and summaries of work undertaken by early writers – including Curr, Helms, Bates, McGill, Davidson, Tindale, and more recently von Brandenstein. Says there were at least 10 expeditions by Dutch, French and British ships between 1622 and 1827. Only three landed at Esperance: Vancouver (1791), D'Entrecasteaux (1792), and Flinders 1801. Nuyts' 1627 expedition sailed along the coast but did not explore. Includes secondary citation of Vancouver (1791, in Flinders 1814) stating there were 'no marks of canoes, nor the remains of fish, even shellfish... induced a belief that the natives depended principally upon the woods for their subsistence' (p71).

Says Nyungar people helped deliver two young men to King Georges Sound, after they had been left stranded on Middle Island by American Pirate and whaler, Black Jack Anderson, in 1835 (p73). Includes citations of early explorers including Eyre, Roe, and Forrest; and early British settlers including Dempster, Taylor, and Hassell. Some analysis of early and recent ethnographers and linguistics including Tindale, Bates, and Berndt.

Says Campbell Taylor's vocabulary collected from workers at his Thomas River station during the 1870s identifies the *Ngokgurring* or 'shell people' as occupying country from Doubtful Bay to Israelite Bay (p79). Says the *Wonunda Meening* belonged to country between Sand Patch and Point Culver. *Yircla Meening* country ran from approximately 65km west of Eucla to 165km east of Eucla and 50km inland. Cites Curr (1886) to say the two *Meening* groups practised circumcision while the *Ngokgurring* did not. Includes language and social group maps of Bates (in White 1985), Davidson (1938) and Tindale (1974) (p80).

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Cites Helms (1895: 281) describing Esperance Aboriginal people as *Yunga* 'a coastal tribe, the centre of their district being about Esperance Bay. The extent of their territory to the east and west I could not correctly ascertain, but they claim the ground inland to about 40 or 50 miles from the coast'. (p81). Cites Bates referring to people of the Esperance area as belonging to the Bibbulman nation – which ran from Jurien Bay to Point Malcom (p81). Says that 'according to Bates, the Jinyila tribes shared the term *Minung* for man, although each individual tribe took its name from the totem belonging to the locality. These tribes appear to be loosely linked into units relating to topographical or vegetation features as follows:

Coast or sea-water or Great Diver people (*Ilyaru, Bilia-um, Wailbi-um, Yaun*);

Saltbush people (*Wini-um*);

Sandplain or myall tree people (*Koondan-um, kardia-ngura*).

Says Bates lists the totems associated with each locality as a separate tribe – e.g. *Ngwarr-wuk*: black opossum at Balbinia; *Wilu-wuk*: curlew west of Point Malcolm; and *Kallara-wuk/Jijilop*: emu at Israelite Bay (p81). Cites from Bates who says Esperance Aboriginal people were known as *Waddarn—di*, sea people, or *Kurin-Bibbulman* (eastern *Bibbulman*). 'Along with other south coastal *Bibbulman*, the social organisation of Esperance area people was based on patrilineal descent through moieties, either white cockatoo (corella) or crow (White 1985: 9) in which Esperance people were identified as *Nungar Nardamanong* (literally south men)(p82). Smith is critical of Davidson's 1938 map, which she says appears to amalgamate information collected by Curr in 1886 and Helms in 1895. Davidson (1983: 664) – e.g. identifies the Esperance area as being *Ngokgurring-Yunga* country. Points out that Davidson's map contains several errors – e.g. plotting several tribes that were located around Jerramungup in a 1936 publication, but which are plotted in the 1938 map as being around Israelite Bay. Says Tindale identifies *Ngadjunmaia* as owning Israelite Bay, Point Malcolm and 'some coastal areas. And identifies *Nadjunmaia* and *Njunga* in dispute over ownership of country between Point Malcolm and *Ka:apkidjakidj*. Situates *Njunga* along a 50km stretch of coast from Young River and Israelite Bay. Says *Mirning* country ran from Point Culver 'into South Australia' (p83). Says von Brandenstein refers to Esperance Aboriginal people as 'the shell people', and dividing them into two groups: the *Wudjaarri* who ran away from circumcision-practicing people from the interior, and *Nyungurra* as 'young shell-people' who have been converted by the Ngadju to practice Western Desert law. Smith says that Aboriginal people she had worked with 'in the last ten years' identified variously as Nyungar, Ngadju or Mirning. They could have multiple identities. Their language was 'scanty' but they maintained knowledge of local myths and economic strategies including usable resources (p83).

Cites Jackman (in Chamberlayne 1853: 200, p94) as saying that the 'tribe' on the coast opposite Middle Island (i.e. around Cape Arid) numbered about 1500 people. PP98-108 includes comprehensive description of the ethnographic present including food resources and cultural observations. Says historical marine resources exploited include: Cape Barren geese, oyster catchers, penguins, salmon, bream, snapper, groper, mullet, whitebait, seals, crayfish, crabs, stingrays, beached whales. Says crabs and shellfish were also used as fish bait. Notes that a larger variety of marine resources was exploited at the time Smith did her research, although beached whales and seals tended not to be consumed. Includes comprehensive list of marine and other resources exploited, the Latin and common names, seasons exploited, distribution and additional comments as to methods of catching and desirability.

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**Tilbrook, L. 2007[1983] *Nyungar Tradition : Glimpses of Aborigines of South-western Australia 1829-1914*. Online version published by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in 2007, University of Western Australia Press, 1983, Available: [http://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue\\_resources/m0022954.pdf](http://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue_resources/m0022954.pdf)**

Extensive historical account of contact and immediate post-sovereignty period, including many named persons with photographs, artworks and kinship charts. Provides an account of women having been captured and taken from their homelands by sailors, 'usually sealers and whalers, and taken far from their homelands. One of these is of a group of five women who were brought to Fremantle in the late 1860s' (p132). Describes geographic variations in language, and seasonal changes in resource exploitation to present a dynamic regional picture of Nyungar people, while still presenting group identities within given areas - e.g. Nyungar people of Esperance, as distinct territorially from those in Albany and the Swan River Colony (p3). Little of immediate value specific to customary marine tenure, but important background information regarding the post-sovereignty context.

**Wright, G. & D.G Guilfoyle. 2007. *Bandy Creek Project: Along the Banks of the Bandy*. Unpublished Report for Esperance Nyungar Aboriginal Corporation, Goldfields Land and Sea Council and WA Department of Water.**

Bandy Creek is located near the Esperance coast. This report involved collaboration between anthropologist Guy Wright and archaeologist David Guilfoyle, along with Esperance Nyungar traditional owner Doc Reynolds who identifies sites of importance, and the people who are associated with them. Also notes the impact of development (e.g. p17). Documents spiritual information about the *Wudatji* who inhabited the area (p18); burials in coastal dunes (p19); ceremonies and the people associated with them (including sharing ceremonies with people from Warburton and the Goldfields (p20); fishing practices (pp.21-23); and the connection between waterways, land management, and identity (pp.25-33).

**Yorkshire-Selby, G. 2011. *Ngalang Wongi Ngalang Boodja: Our Language, Our Country*. Batchelor Press: Batchelor, Northern Territory.**

Yorkshire-Selby is a traditional custodian of many of the areas represented in this illustrated book. Her comprehensive autobiography can be found at the back (p91). She shares seven Dreaming stories of Noongar Wudjari and Ngatju peoples. *Manda Waarnup* tells the story of a significant granite peak that 'takes care of the land and the sea' from 'his' site overlooking Cape le Grande and Esperance. *Waalitj wer Koorli* is a Dreaming connecting Blackstone, with Frenchman's Peak, Twilight Bay and the Southern Ocean. *Waalitj Mandaboornap-ak* tells the story of the coastal-dwelling Shell People, two Wedge-tail Eagle spirit beings, and the creation of distant features in the deep sea. *Bilyariny* is a creation story telling how the Pink Lakes were created – the story includes reference to geographical features including the ocean and a giant inland sea. *Maanang wer Maarndawern* is a Dreaming about whales and their relationships with spirit beings. *Wardong Koondarminy* is a Crow Dreaming. *Kwilena Koondarminy* is a Dolphin Dreaming, and says that 'the first dolphins were Shell people'. *Wirt Koondarminy* is a White Ant Dreaming about the Lucky Bay area. Includes wordlist in Noongar and English.

## 5. GENERAL REFERENCES, AND INFERENCES FROM OTHER REGIONS OF AUSTRALIA

### General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia

**Akerman, K. 1975** The double raft or kalwa of the West Kimberley. *Mankind* 10: 20-23.

Identifies two types of raft construction and use in north-western Australia. May be useful to use as a point of contrast with watercraft (or lack thereof) elsewhere.

**Altman, J. 1987.** *Hunter-Gatherers Today: An Aboriginal Economy in North Australia.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

While Altman focuses on north-central Arnhem Land (the Maningrida region). Although this is a riverine fresh-water context, there are some potentially useful passages regarding the persistence and adaptation of cultural protocols in the distribution of traditional and contemporary resources – e.g. sharing and kinship (pp137-139), sharing and subsistence returns (pp139-146), conflicts in sharing (pp146-149), fishing (pp73-76), and labour distribution – especially the role of women in gathering shellfish (pp41-42).

**Altman, J. 2011** A genealogy of ‘demand sharing’: from pure anthropology to public policy. In **Musharbash, Y and M. Barber (eds).** *Ethnography and the production of anthropological knowledge.* Canberra: ANU E Press.

Altman looks at how the term ‘demand sharing’, coined by Nic Peterson as an anthropological concept, has been misappropriated in popular and policy discourse to legitimate the Northern Territory Emergency Response Intervention in June 2007. Argues that the term ‘demand sharing’ is often conflated with ‘humberging’ in public policy discourse, and thus it is linked to the rhetoric of failure in Indigenous affairs – i.e. as a hindrance to the mainstream individuated economy, and which perpetuates poverty and disadvantage. May be strategically useful in analysis of contemporary exercising of traditional rights for legal settings.

**Bagshaw, D. 2014** *Gapu Dhulway, Gapu Maramba: conceptualisation and ownership of saltwater among the Burarra and Yan-nhangu peoples of northeast Arnhem Land.* In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia.* N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp.247-284. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Case study from Crocodile Island region off the north coast of Arnhem Land. Customary marine tenure is not an extension of the system found on the adjacent land. However, the seabed appears to have a moiety affiliation of the land to which it is adjacent. Description of a patrilineal moiety system.

**Barker, B. 2014** Use and continuity in the customary marine tenure of the Whitsunday Islands. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia.* N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 147-158. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Archaeological. Shows that people with traditional interests in the Whitsunday Islands have a 6000 year history of sea use that continues in the present day. This sea use is now associated with an elaborate system of marine tenure involving the collective use of the region by a group of interrelated families who see themselves as holding the area communally. Barker asks what

## General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia

chance a long history of use has to be recognised when it is not characterised by any developed system of customs and traditions.

**Bauman, T. 2006. Nations and Tribes 'Within': Emerging Aboriginal 'Nationalism' in Katherine. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 17(3) :322-335**

Discusses the link between Aboriginal identification and subjectification in relation to Jawoyn, Wardaman and Dagoman nations in Katherine in the Native Title era. Useful background paper for considering: how statutory frameworks may/may not influence the ways groups of people represent themselves and others; and how anthropologists and legal representatives may be mindful of the potential implications.

**Berndt, R.M. 1948 Badu: islands of the spirits. *Oceania* 19(2): 93-103.**

Set in north-east Arnhem Land. Potentially useful for helping to explain the place of islands, including distant islands not visited by persons still living, in Aboriginal oral traditions – including songlines. May also help to explain Aboriginal beliefs of islands as places of and inhabited by spirit beings – creation and ancestral.

**Berndt, R. & C. Berndt 1977 *The World of the First Australians*. Sydney: Ure Smith.**

Primarily focuses on northern and inland Australia, and care must be taken not to impose assumptions upon regions less represented (namely those in southern Australia). A useful general reference to help articulate some of the variable forms and values in Aboriginal Australian social organisation (e.g. pp40-41, p360). Like many early references, the focus is on land tenure – or, more generally, country that includes primarily land but also freshwater and marine features as part of the landscape – to which people may also have totemic affiliations. For example, see land and marine animals, flora, and elements as interrelated moiety groups in Arnhem Land (pp64-65) and Bathurst and Melville Islands (pp66-68). Pages 107-129 explore the basis of economic life, including resource management, techniques, reciprocity, and division of labour. There is some brief discussion of watercraft in southern Australia (p116). Pages 227-256 cover the relatedness of totemism and mythology in social life.

**Bradley, J. 2014 'We always look north': Yanyua identity and the maritime environment. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp.201-226. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Considers the significance of the sea in the constitution of Yanyuwa identity, looking at the attachment as expressed in language and song. Shows how the same terminology used for land-based features is applied to the seabed confirming a widespread interest in it. A complex symbiotic relationship, expressed as kinship, exists between animals and their environment, as well as between sea animal and their hunters, who are seen as mutually beneficial to each other, such that if hunters do not hunt dugong, their numbers will decrease. Likewise, if seabirds do not hunt fish, then both fish and birds will suffer.

## General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia

**Collins, N., & Falk, V. 2008** *Water: Aboriginal peoples in Australia and their spiritual relationship with waterscapes. In Indigenous Australians and the Law*, E. Johnston, M. Hinton & D. Rigney [eds], Pp. 131-146. London: Routledge-Cavendish.

Argues that in Australian Aboriginal culture, generally, there is 'no clinical distinction between the land and water, either of water that flows over the land, rests upon it or flows beneath it. Land and water interface as equal components of "country", all require care and nurturing, and for which there are ongoing cultural responsibilities'.

**Cooke, P., & Armstrong, G. 2014** *Customary marine tenure at Groote Eylandt. In Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 227-246. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Liverpool River region of the Arnhem Land Coast. Primary emphasis on patrilineal rights but a complex of other rights and interests allow people access to a range of sea country. Describes a ritualised fishing expedition, *Lurra*, held by the Kunabidji to persuade the ancestors to be generous in allowing people to make good catches. Having participated in the *Lurra* men could harvest seabird eggs on Haul Round Island in the portion of the Island allocated to their clan, the football oval-sized island being divided up between the clans on the opposite mainland.

**Cordell, J. 1993** *Indigenous peoples' coastal-marine domains: some matters of cultural documentation. In Turning the Tide: Papers presented at the conference on indigenous peoples and sea rights*. Darwin: Faculty of Law, Northern Territory University. Pp. 159-173.

Outlines issues arising in relation to customary marine tenure generally, with discussion around government and international recognition. Argues for better documentation of CMT in Australia. Discussion of sea rights in Mabo. Useful background reading to increase awareness around how and why CMT developed as a legal process.

**Curr, E.M. 1886. *The Australian Race: Its Origins, Languages, Customs, Vol.1-4*. Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer.**

Edward Micklethwaite Curr was a white Australian squatter and author. This four-volume work relied upon information gathered from many sources, including Curr's employees on his pastoral station in the western Goulbourn Valley. The accuracy of sources cannot necessarily be relied upon as scientific, however, this set identifies the geographic sites and the data recorders enabling informed readers to make educated assessments. The geographic regions covered are from all over Australia and include reasonably extensive word lists.

**Elkin, A.P. 1961 [1938]. *The Australian Aborigines: how to understand them*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.**

Includes generalised and anecdotal evidence for diverse beliefs and customs predominantly in relation to the land, but occasional inclusion of marine or aquatic environments, some with illustrations – e.g. spearing fish in central Arnhem Land (p91). The most abundant information includes the centre and north of Australia; and while the south-east mainland is more detailed, there is little regarding the south-west. Chapter IX 'Aboriginal Philosophy, Rites and Beliefs' (pp.220-261) contains potentially useful citations to explain how social, physical and spiritual worlds are indivisible. The section on 'Sky-heroes' in Baiame, Daramulum, Nurunderi, Bunjil, Goin,

## General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia

and Biral (Pp.255-259) refers to regional variations regarding the creation of waterways – including in relation to the sea. Although predominantly in relation to northern Australia, there are similarities to some regions of southern Australia. E.g. p256 refers to ‘the north-east Arnhem Land cycle of the Djanggawul. These heroes and heroines came to the land from Beralku, the Island of the Dead far to the east [and] caused water to flow and natural species and trees to grow’.

**Gray, F., & Zann, L. [eds] 1985 *Traditional Knowledge of the Marine Environment in Northern Australia. Proceedings of a Workshop Held in Townsville, Australia, 29-30 July 1985.* Townsville: Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority.**

Interesting to reflect on the way researchers phrase and construct their arguments prior to and after Native Title. This is a terrific collection that covers economic and spiritual values (which are the same) in customary marine tenure. Part A includes papers in archaeology, anthropology and ethnobiology with contributions from: John Campbell on the role of fishing in Aboriginal society prior to European arrival (with a focus on northern Australia); Kingsley Palmer on fishing and marine hunting in northern Australia; Nic Green on ‘Aboriginal affiliations with the sea in Western Australia’ – still focusing on the north-west; and R.E. Johannes on researching traditional tropical fisheries, with implications for TI and Australian Aboriginal fisheries. Part B contains contributions from some big and historical names among traditional custodians of maritime communities including: From the Great Barrier Reef, Isaac Hobson (Lockhart River); Lester Rosendale (Hopevale); Jimmy Johnson (Wujal Wujal); Bryce Barlow (Yarrabah); Eric Bunn (Palm Island). From the Torres Strait communities, Ephraim Bani (Badu and Thursday Islands), and Eddie Mabo (Murray Island). From the Gulf of Carpentaria Graeme Friday and Johnson Timothy (Borroloola). And Joe Davey (Bardi Community, One Arm Point, in North-western Australia). Part C presents studies on the use of marine resources by traditional communities including: Andrew Smith on the usage of marine resources at Hopevale; Stephen Davis on customary marine tenure in northern Arnhem Land; John Bradley on the concurrence of knowledge and tradition in the hunting of dugongs and sea turtles in the Sir Edward Pellew Islands; and Robert Prince on traditional knowledge of the marine environment, fisheries, and conservation of marine wildlife in Western Australia. Part D is dedicated to biology of traditional marine resources.

**MacDonald, G. 2000 *Economies and personhood: demand sharing among the Wiradjuri of New South Wales.* In *The Social Economy of Sharing: Resource Allocation and Modern Hunter-Gatherers*, G. Wenzel, G. Hovelsrud-Broad & N. Kishigami [eds], Pp. 87-111. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.**

Gaynor MacDonald explains how traditional Aboriginal practices of demand sharing have been able to continue post-sovereignty ‘because kinship continues to govern the social world’ (p104) - even in situations where kinship has been under pressure from government forces and the market economy. MacDonald also argues that Koori people attribute different values to ‘items, including cash’ in terms of the source. May be helpful in explaining how marine resources (including income earned in maritime employment) are valued and shared.

## General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia

**Memmett, P. & Trigger D. 2014 Marine tenure in the Wellesley Islands region, Gulf of Carpentaria. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 181-200. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Account of customary marine tenure in central Gulf of Carpentaria. Patrilineal clan-based land system is extended into the sea and there is well-defined boundary location close to the coast in the intertidal zone but fuzzier boundaries further out to sea. Along the coast and on reefs out at sea there are important places which can be used either to create storms or to make them abate. People have an interest in areas beyond their fields of vision both in terms of their deep involvement with clouds and more through their travels into distant waters particularly in the past with Macassans, pearlshers, fishers and missionaries.

**Palmer, K. 2014 Customary marine tenure at Groote Eylandt. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp.227-245. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Discusses the system of tenure in the Groote Eylandt area. Broadly similar to that described by Memmett & Trigger in the same volume. While land-based interests extend out into the sea, movement across the sea seems less regulated, although permission is required. The seascape is structured around the travels of mythological beings responsible for the creation of many places, some of which are dangerous.

**Pannell, S. 2014 The promise of native title and the predicament of customary marine tenure. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp.369-408. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Challenges the notion of customary marine tenure. Says the term has come to be so all-embracing that it is in danger of becoming meaningless and of producing the very categories and beliefs it is said to be a study of. Rather than an empirical reality, it is coming to stand for an endangered reality, for a system of tenure that is community-based, traditional, caring, conservative, sustainable, sensitive, primitive and associated with the past as against the self-interested open-access systems of European ideas about the sea.

**Peterson, N. 1993. Demand sharing: reciprocity and the pressure for generosity among foragers. *American Anthropologist* 95(4): 860-874.**

Nic Peterson argues that 'despite the prevalence of an ethic of generosity among foragers, much sharing is by demand rather than by unsolicited giving'. Citing examples from around Australia, Peterson illustrates how social customs demand of individuals to share. May be a useful reference for explaining a diversity of Aboriginal responses to early European arrivals – e.g. from those records noting the generosity of Traditional Owners towards the newcomers, to those noting the aggression in response to perceived failure to observe custom. See Peterson & Taylor 2003, below, for a more recent publication on demand sharing.

## General references, and inferences from other regions of Australia

**Peterson, N. 2003** *On the Visibility of Indigenous Australian Systems of Marine Tenure*. Paper presented to New Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Indigenous Use and Management of Migratory Marine Resources symposium, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan, 2-6 December 2002. [Later published in the Senri Ethnological Studies Series, edited by N. Kishigami]

Says there is a well-developed and dynamic system of marine tenure along the Arnhem Land Coast, yet between 1921 and 1977 12 anthropologists worked in those communities and not one of them mentioned the existence of a system of customary marine tenure. Suggest that this tenure is ostensibly 'invisible' which raises questions about how old the systems are and why they have not been more visible. Explores the impact of foreign visitors on marine tenure through history and prehistory, and in the present day. Includes quotes from Croker Islanders about their view of Macassans using their marine, littoral, and land resources. Demonstrates that Aboriginal people's relationships with the sea have been conceptualised very differently by them and by outsiders. Concludes that 'Whether talking about permission seeking, boundaries or the rights of a person of mixed descent who had grown up on the Island but left many years ago, the issue that kept resurfacing was social relationships and the language of respect and acknowledgement, even between mother and son. This asking or letting the appropriate people know where one is going is the fleeting and virtually invisible day-to-day social expression of the system of sea tenure' (pp.18-19).

**Peterson, N. & Rigsby, B. 2014** Introduction. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 3-36. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

The introduction to this edited volume includes a useful summary on the acknowledgement of customary marine tenure in Australian commonwealth, state and territory statutory law, as well as considerations on the impact of the imposed legal systems on the exercise of customary rights. Includes considerations of exercising rights over marine estates that may extend beyond field of vision, and issues of permission, customary and contemporary rights of fishing and access, and controlling behaviour of people who may transgress custom. Considers the ubiquitousness of the rainbow serpeant 'wherever there are bodies of water', and the adoption of ocean-going technologies. Also includes a comprehensive summary of chapters. Although the book focuses predominantly on northern Australia, it includes a chapter by archaeologist Scott Cane on his experience as an expert witness for the defence in a prosecution in south-eastern New South Wales. Peterson & Rigsby follow the development of customary marine tenure in Australia starting from the 1980s, in response to the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 (Cth)*. They note that "although native title is now driving the interest in marine tenure, it is important to maintain some conceptual separation between research for an ethnographic documentation of such tenure and research for an application for the recognition of native title rights in the sea ... Court rulings and legal discourse are now defining and structuring the kinds of evidence required for a native title application, placing limitations on a purely ethnographic account concerned with local categories, perceptions and understandings, some of which have only a marginal place in the evidence required by the court." (pp.4-5) Identifies earlier anthropologists who have explored related areas, but says Betty Meehan's ethnography (1982) is the only systematic documentation of the economic usage of the sea. Describes archaeological literature on coastal economies as 'enormously rich' and cites Bowdler (1982) as 'irrefutable evidence of the long term economic significance of the sea'. Explores the difficulties associated with exercising customary rights not only within field of vision or traversable distance, but also

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where the presence of rights are perceived but beyond field of vision. Says that one of the difficulties for Aboriginal people in sustaining this definition of the extent of their sea estates is that rarely do they use these more distant areas. Thus the rule of thumb is that standing on the shore a person can see about 20 kilometres out to sea ... However, just because parts of the sea country were not used, visited or policed does not make them any less part of their sea country as Australia's difficulties with parts of its sea territory in the southern ocean, which are rarely visited and/or policed and almost unpoliceable, makes clear. Says that much contemporary discourse around marine tenure tends to be framed in legal discourses that alienate Aboriginal people from their own experience and practice at the same time as it makes those experiences and practices recognisable by the state. Cites *Mason v Tritton* as an example. Also explores the implications of a Western Australian case where Aboriginal men in relied on a native title rights defence when prosecuted in 1993 for netting 66 mullet in Six Mile Creek near Port Hedland against regulations. They too lost their case. (see Kennedy 1996: 31-2, Derschaw et al 1996): is there a native title right which is commercial in nature? Also asks if fishing regulations can limit a native title right to fish. Looks at the decision of October 1996 in the case of *Eaton v Yanner* in the Mt Isa Magistrate's Court. Prosecuted under the *Queensland Fauna Conservation Act* for taking crocodiles for food, Murandoo Yanner was acquitted on the grounds that he was exercising his native title rights.

**Peterson, N., & Taylor, J. 2003 The modernising of the Indigenous domestic moral economy: kinship, accumulation and household composition. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 4(1&2): 105-122.**

Builds on Peterson's (1993) earlier work on demand sharing, looking at the place of sharing in a dynamic economic environment. Cites examples from around Australia. Considers the ways in which kinship obligations are observed and renegotiated. These are theoretically important considerations in explaining customary marine tenure – e.g. sharing, distribution, and restriction of access to marine resources.

**Rigsby, B. 2014 A survey of property theory and tenure types. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 37-77. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Rigsby presents a summary of property theory around customary marine and land tenure: the social contraction argument that property rights arise as an alternative to constant conflict over the use of land and resources; and the conventional economists' position that property rights emerge in land and resources when the gains from assigning property rights outweigh the costs of foregoing them. Considers the character of property rights and provides a useful checklist. Concludes with a consideration of tenure types, drawing attention to the term 'common property', which has been used somewhat confusingly to signify both joint communal property and open-access situations. Provides cues for further reading including Cordell (1989, 1993), Hviding (1989), Hallowell (1955[1943]), Sahlins (1996), Sutton (1996), and Stanner (1969). Rigsby argues that anthropologists need to familiarise themselves with the theory and concepts of property and ownership while continuing to study territoriality, range and use. He says (pp38-39) that "anthropologists and our clients must present to native title tribunals and federal courts evidence of fact and expert opinion that there is an ongoing system of traditional laws and customs that connects people to their land and waters. This includes a system of tenure, as well as a system of use." Says that Demsetz's and Umbeck's respective theories on the instituting of private property rights are relevant to customary marine tenure in Australia [because] they lead us to believe that property rights in offshore sea country and its resources only developed when

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Aboriginal people got watercraft that made them accessible and when they acquired technology and techniques that made the hunting of dugongs and sea turtles on reefs and seagrass beds possible (p50). Similarly, property rights in bailer shell, cone shell, giant clams, mother-of-pearl shell and other reef resources would have arisen with new demand and with new technology and techniques to harvest them. Argues that groups assigned property rights in the new resources when it became too costly not to do so, whether by way of reduced production or of increased intergroup violence. Cites from Cordell (1993) to argue that land and marine tenure may be divisible for the sake of analysis but that they may be indivisible for coastal indigenous coastal peoples. Further says that “any serious consideration of customary marine tenure in Australia must refer to the work of John Cordell. It was Cordell’s (1989) excellent collection of papers on sea tenure that helped to frame a general field for study, and it is his (Cordell 1992, 1993) less inclusive term ‘customary marine tenure’ that has captured a wider audience”.

**Rigsby, B., & Chase, A. 2014 The Sandbeach People and dugong hunters of Eastern Cape York Peninsula: property in land and sea country. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 307-350. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

The Sandbeach People of the east coast of Cape York whose maritime orientation was first described by Donald Thomson in the 1930s. It has undergone change. The pre-European technology of dugout canoes with outriggers has been replaced by aluminium dinghies and fibreglass boats powered by outboards. But the sea, and land, as property still plays a central part in economic and social life and in social relations.

**Roth, W.E. 1908 Australian canoes and rafts. *Man* vol. 8, London.**

Refers to the north-eastern Australian coast and the Gulf of Carpentaria. This is a far less thorough article than that of Davidson’s on watercraft of Australia, but includes photographs of different types. May be helpful in drawing contrasts between southern and northern Australian watercraft.

**Rowland, M. 1987 The distribution of Aboriginal watercraft on the east coast of Queensland: implications for culture contact. *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2: 38-45.**

Archaeologist Michael Rowland focuses on the Queensland coast north from the Keppel Islands. Cites historical records of customary beliefs in relation to the sea. Says that ‘a very long time ago before the Mamburra tribe had any marriage or other ceremonies, Coorooma the good spirit came in a large outrigger canoe from a long way across the salt water or sea (Coolorra), he stayed with them a short time and taught them many things’ (Fox 1899, p40).

**Ruddle, K. 1994 Traditional marine tenure in the 90s. In *Traditional Marine Tenure and Sustainable Management of Marine Resources in Asia and the Pacific*, G. Smith, D. Goulet, S. Tuqiri & M. Church [eds], Pp. 6-45. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific.**

Kenneth Ruddle’s professional specialisation is human ecological studies in tropical societies. In this article, he states that ‘traditional systems of fishing rights and rules and the tenurial relationships of small-scale fishers to resources and resource areas have been documented throughout the Asia-Pacific Region’ (APR) (p6). The article largely focuses on the legacy of colonialism in contemporary policies of marine management. Despite this, Ruddle says (p11), ‘traditional systems remain extensive and diverse’ in many areas of the APR – among which he

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includes the Torres Strait Islands. Some researchers working in southern Australian waters may be able to draw on Ruddle's argument to demonstrate continuity and/or change in their settings. Ruddle itemises the principal factors forcing change in traditional management of systems (pp.12-18); and he demonstrates the potential outcomes where traditions are back by state support (pp.18-21).

**Sharp, N. 1997 Why indigenous sea rights are not recognised in Australia: the 'facts' of Mabo and their cultural roots. *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1: 28-37.**

Useful background reading by Nonie Sharp on a school of thought that developed early in the Native Title era. Posits that, at the time of writing, Native Title legislation was more easily applied to land – in which holdings historically had been allotted, whereas ascertaining marine boundaries was a less familiar domain. Also argues that land was the priority in Native Title because that was where people live – on the land - even if they depend on marine environments for economic and spiritual sustenance. Deconstructions Justice Monyihan's rejection of the Meriam sea claims, and 'the hidden principles of Meriam sea holdings' (p29). And explains why she believes that the 'sea misunderstandings are part of a more general Eurocentricity' (p30). Includes a constructive summary of anthropological studies of customary marine tenure (pp.34-35).

**Southon, M. & the Kaurareg Tribal Elders 2014 The Sea of Waubin: the Kaurareg and their marine environment. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 351-367. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Co-authored by Michael Southon and the Kaurareg Elders of the seas around the Prince of Wales and neighbouring islands in the Torres Strait. Explains what customary marine tenure means to Kaurareg people, not only as ownership or control over areas of sea, but also to ownership or control over marine species therein (p351). Explains the creation belief central to their marine tenure, the mythological figure *Waubin*, who created many features on and around the islands. Similarities may be drawn with other regions, such as the Yorke Peninsula, Recherche Archipelago, and south-eastern New South Wales (not to the exclusion of other areas) where spirit beings created and continue to live in the ocean and islands.

**Storey, M. 1996 The black sea. *Aboriginal Law Bulletin* 79: 4-8.**

Michael Storey examines Native Title in seas and submerged lands from a property law perspective. It makes interesting background reading for anthropologists. Includes consideration of property in sea fisheries, the legal status of submerged lands, the common law in relation to the sea, property in submerged lands, Native Title in seas and submerged lands. Ultimately argues that 'there can be no other owner of the sea bed than native title holders (in the vast majority of cases), due to the impossibility of title without sovereignty under intrusive law' (p8).

**Sullivan, P. 2014 Salt water, fresh water and Yawuru social organisation. In *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. N. Peterson & B. Rigsby [eds] Pp. 159-180. Sydney: Sydney University Press.**

Describes the tenure system among the Yawuru in Broome. Argues that the tenure-holding unit is best characterised as the 'society'. Describes a complex system of relationships to sea and land in which people have attachment to localised areas on the basis of conception, birth, link through either parent or long knowledge and association and, at the same time, enjoy rights in the combined land and water of the wider 'society' which, following Berndt, he defines as the widest

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functional grouping characterised by interactions for ceremonies. This is not a grouping that excludes others from entry onto land and sea but one that does exclude others from the right to possession. The sea is held as communal property among all members of the society, rather than some much smaller group, and this he believes to have been a long-standing arrangement which is partly accounted for by the ecology of both the land and sea elements of their country.

**Sutton, P. 1995 *Country: Aboriginal Boundaries and Land Ownership in Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal History.**

Compiled and published in the early days of Native Title, this Contains some useful summaries of how Aboriginal group identities are articulated in the present day relative to their respective histories and identities, as well as contemporary requirements (pp47-51). For example, refers to 'the new tribes' (p47), which are 'likely to be self-identified as a corporation named after a language, and hold more or less uniform collective political, sometimes legal, responsibility for a single tract of land. There is nothing inherently illegitimate about such innovations. Their emergence is invited by the dominant culture and its requirements for legal incorporation, just as much as the historical preconditions of their emergence were set by the arrival of that dominant culture and its land law'. Discusses the political importance of language groups that have sometimes become the main name by which people maintain local Aboriginal and community land-owning group identities. Says 'Tindale's 1974 map, or similar maps, have sometimes provided a guide as to the geographical areas of interest of such corporate bodies. Pp.50-51 discusses the distinctiveness of delineating country according to physical geographic features – e.g. 'One can pull up at regular intervals and point to systems which exemplify different kinds and degrees of relative boundedness ... these intervals are usually associated with different kinds of country. It is not too difficult ... to identify a hard core Western Desert/Nullarbor type, a fringe desert type ... coastal hinterland type ... and a full coastal type' (p50). The Appendices include useful summaries of literature Sutton considers important to understand Aboriginal boundaries and land ownership in northern and central Australia, but there is no such material relating to coastal dwelling peoples (or their interests in customary marine tenure) from southern Australia - that is, southern-eastern New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia south of the Yamaji region.

**Sutton, P. 1998 *Native Title and the Descent of Rights*. Perth: National Native Title Tribunal.**

Introductory text to Aboriginal land tenure from early years of Native Title. While the focus is on land tenure, analogies may/may not be drawn with customary marine tenure – given that coast-dwelling peoples *tend* to have creation stories that link lands, seas, and features and creatures therein. (Not all do - see Bagshaw reference).

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