ABORIGINAL MARITIME CULTURE

By Dermot Smyth

CONSULTANCY REPORT

ABORIGINAL MARITIME CULTURE IN THE CAIRNS SECTION OF THE GREAT BARRIER REEF MARINE PARK

By Dr Dermot Smyth

PMB 21

Bloomfield River

Via Cooktown

Qld 4871

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1. SUMMARY

Investigations on the location and significance of Aboriginal maritime cultural sites within the Cairns Section of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park and the Cairns Marine Park were carried out during March and April 1990.

Assisting this study were knowledgable elders, Community Rangers and Council members from the following four coastal Aboriginal communities: Hopevale, Gungarde, Wujal Wujal and Yarrabah.

This Report documents these maritime Aboriginal sites and also provides information on the locations and contemporary importance of traditional coastal clan estates associated with the above communities.

Suggestions are made about the management of maritime cultural sites, including the establishment of Aboriginal Management Zones in inshore and tidal waters of the marine parks adjacent to Aboriginal Trust Areas, and other areas of Aboriginal significance.

Advice is given on the development of interpretive programs which utilize Aboriginal cultural and environmental knowledge, and which convey the marine park estate as part of an ongoing Aboriginal belief system.

Attention is also drawn to the need for special interpretive programs to communicate the goals and management strategies of the Authority to Aboriginal people.

The Report makes a number of recommendations relating to further research in this field, and strategies for greater Aboriginal involvement in marine park management.

2. PROJECT BACKGROUND

This project has its origins in recommendations made in a previous GBRMPA Consultancy Report (Smyth, 1989), compiled during the first stage of the current review of the Cairns Section Zoning Plan. That Report primarily sought to convey the views of two Aborigional Communities (Gungarde and Wujal Wujal) in relation to the new Zoning Plan. The Report also included 13 recommendations relating to future Aboriginal involvement in marine park management and planning.

The current project pursues three of those recommendations, as well as examining a fourth issue, namely the possibility of establishing zones specifically for traditional use (hunting and fishing).

3. PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The project comprised the following four discrete tasks:
1. Identification and interpretation of marine Aboriginal sacred and other sites of significance to the following communities:

- Hopevale
- Gungarde
- Wujal Wujal
- Yarrabah.
- 2. Identification of the location and current importance of clan territorial boundaries in the marine and intertidal environment in the same areas as above,
- 3. Provide advice on the development of interpretive programs/information utilizing Aboriginal Cultural and environmental expertise, and incorporating Aboriginal beliefs and perspectives concerning the marine environment throughout the Cairns Section.
- 4. Preliminary investigations of the possibility of zoning in the Cairns Section specifically for traditional use (hunting and fishing).

4. CONSULTANT'S CONTRACT

Under the terms of the consultancy, the above objectives were to be met during a total of 23 working days (including travel, community consultations, site recording trips and report writing) during the period March to September 1990. The project was in fact completed by the end of April 1990 and a final report was submitted at that time to GBRMPA Project Officer. Minor amendments to the report were made in September 1990 following receipt by the consultant of referees' reports from Dr Christopher Anderson and Dr John Taylor.

5. COMMUNITY PROFILES

The four Aboriginal communities lie along the north Queensland coast adjacent to the Cairns Section of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park and the Cairns Marine Park.

5. 1 HOPEVALE

Hopevale is a community of approximately 700 Guugu Yimidhirr speaking people situated approximately 65 km north-west of Cooktown. It is the administrative centre of the Hopevale Trust Area, which includes a coastal strip up to 30 km wide and extending from the Endeavour River northwards to Point Lookout Point.

The Trust Area, formerly a Lutheran Mission, includes most of the coastline of the traditional Guugu Yimidhirr Country. The establishment of the mission at Cape Bedford in 1886 provided refuge for Guugu Yimidhirr who were being displaced by the rapid development of Cooktown as a gold-mining port, and allowed for the continuation of some aspects of tra_ditional culture, including language. However, many aspects of mission life, in particular the separation of children from parents, resulted in considerable loss of environmental cultural information.

For further information on Hopevale see Haviland and Haviland (1980), Haviland (1985), Pohlner (1986) and Smith (1987).

5.2 GUNGARDE

The Gungarde Community is made up of about 100 Aboriginal residents in the Cooktown area. Most belong to the Guugu Yimidhirr language group, though some have moved to Cooktown from elsewhere in the Peninsula.

Most Gungarde members live in houses throughout Cooktown, while some live in camps outside of town. Two families currently live on the Cooktown Aboriginal Reserve, a 10.4 Ha block of land about three km from the centre of town.

For some years the Aboriginal people of Cooktown have been trying to obtain some form of title over this land. In 1983 the Gungarde Community Centre was established with the purpose of gaining title to the Reserve and co-ordinating other community activities. The name Gungarde is derived from a Gungu Yimidhirr word for a white rock that is found in this area.

For further information on Gungarde see Graham (1988).

5.3 WUJAL WUJAL

Wujal Wujal is a township with a population of approximately 300 Aboriginal people located 7km upstream from the mouth of the Bloomfield River. The township lies within the Wujal Wujal Trust Area, comprising some 2000Ha of river flats and steep forested hills.

Most Wujal Wujal inhabitants belong to the Kuku-Yalanji language group for whom the coastal ranges and inshore waters between Archer Point to the north, and Daintree River to the south, were their traditional domain before European settlement.

A Lutheran Mission was established on the Bloomfield River in the 1880's and then abandoned after 16 years. For most of this century, the <u>Kuku-Yalanji</u> people have been engaged in a mixed economy which included working for tin miners and hunter/gatherer subsistence. In the early 1960's the Hopevale Mission Board established the Bloomfield River Mission on the site of the present township.

The Wujal Wujal Council was granted a Deed of Grant In Trust over the former mission in December 1987. Wujal Wujal is the Guugu Yalanji name for a spectacular waterfall located 2 km upstream from the township.

For further information on Wujal Wujal see Anderson (1984).

5.4. YARRABAH

Yarrabah is a large Aboriginal Community (population approximately 2000) located just across Trinity Bay from Cairns, but an hour by road south of the city.

The settled community began as an Anglican mission in 1892. While providing a refuge for the Gungganyji speaking people who occupied the Cape Grafton/False Cape Peninsula, it also became home to Yidinji people from the Trinity Bay area and Aboriginal people from elsewhere in Queensland.

Disapproval by the church of native languages and other cultural practices, combined with the separation of children from parents, has drastically diminished environmental cultural knowledge among the present population. English is now the language of Yarrabah, though attempts are being currently made by the Community Rangers to record Gungganyji words for animals, plant and places from old people.

Fiztroy Island to the east of Yarrabah was once part of the Yarrabah Aboriginal Reserve. It was removed from the reserve

for defence puposes during world war two and never subsequently returned.

For further information on Yarrabah see Craig (1979), Hume (1988), Long (1970) and Thomson (1989).



Hopevale elders and Community Rangers

Left to right: Eric Deeral, Frank McIvor, Keith Pearson,
Willie Michael, Albert Lakefield, Malcom Bally, Cedric Naylor.

6. COMMUNITY CONSULTATIONS & FIELDWORK

In each of the four communities, research was undertaken in consultation with their respective councils, and via meetings and fieldtrips with appropriate elders and Community Rangers.

Elders were selected on the advice of Community Rangers and/or Councils and/or on the basis of available anthropological information.

The involvement of Community Rangers in this project was undertaken in consultation with the Cairns TAFE College training co-ordinators for the Aboriginal Community Ranger Course, in which all Community Rangers in far north Queensland are enrolled. This was to ensure appropriate timing for visits to communities, and to enable experience gained during this project to be credited towards one or more of the course modules.

Funding for the payment of elders and Community Rangers was provided, the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, under the auspices of their Contract Employment Program for Aboriginals In Natural Resource Management.

Discussions with elders and Community Rangers at each community covered the following topics:

- Origins and objectives of the project;
- Boundaries, management and zoning plans for the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park (Cairns Section) and the Cairns Marine Park;
- Traditional clan territories ("countries" in Aboriginal English) along the Trust Area coastline;
- Significance of traditional territorial boundaries in contemporary community life;
- Existence, nature, location and significance of cultural sites which may lie within the boundaries of either marine park;
- Management options for such sites (e.g. remain secret, or mark on zoning plan maps, or make information of cultural significance publicly available etc.);
- Possibility of specifically Aboriginal use zones for hunting and fishing;
- Options for the interpretation of Aboriginal environmental culture to marine park users;

6.1 HOPEVALE CONSULTATIONS

Two visits were made to Hopevale for discussions with Community Rangers. At the meeting held at the Hopevale Education Centre on 27th March 1990 my informants were:

Malcolm Bally - senior Community Ranger Keith Pearson - Community Ranger Cedric Naylor - Community Ranger

Cedric Naylor - Community Ranger Willie Michael - Community Ranger Frank McIvor - Community Ranger

Mitchell McGreen - Elder Peter Costello - Elder Roger Hart - Elder Albert Lakefield - Elder Walter Jack - Elder.

Also present for part of the meeting was Ray Rex, Aboriginal Ranger Training Co-ordinator from the Cairns TAFE College.

At the meeting held at Hopevale Education Centre on 11th April 1990 my informants included all the above Community Rangers, plus the following elders:

Mitchell McGreen, Albert Lakefield, Martin James Eric Deeral Victor Cobus.

The elders are all long-term residents of the Hopevale area and regarded by the community as knowledgable in matters of language, sites, stories, bush foods and medicines, traditional hunding practices etc. Their individual traditional clan estates ("countries") do not, however, all lie within the Hopevale Trust Area.

In addition to the above meetings, this project was discussed with the Deputy Cahirman of Hopevale Council, Mr Willie Gordon, at the Council Office on 11th April 1990.

6.2 GUNGARDE CONSULTATIONS

Two meetings in Cooktown, and one field trip to the mouth of the Annan River, were held with members of the Gungarde community.

Present at the meeting held at the Gungarde office on 28th March 1990 were:

Robert Ross Gungarde Chairman (since resigned) Stephen Doughboy Community Ranger John Ross Community Ranger Connie Michael Community Ranger Clive Henderson Community Ranger Alvie Baird Community Ranger Jack Harrigan Gungarde Director (elder) Paddy Bassini Gungarde Director (elder) Michael Ross Gungarde member

Present at the meeting held at the Gungarde office on 10th April 1990 were all the above Community Rangers and Jack Harrigan.

Present on the field trip to the Annan River on 11th April 1990 were the above Community Rangers (with the exception of Connie Michael), Jack Harrigan and Freddie Harrigan (Gungarde member).



At Walker Bay with Gungarde Community Rangers (L to R) John Ross, Alvie Baird, Clive Henderson and Stephen Doughboy, learning from elder Jack Harrigan (right).

6.3 WUJAL WUJAL CONSULTATIONS

Consultations and a coastal field trip were held with Wujal Wujal elders and a Wujal Wujal Community Ranger over a four day period, 20th to 23rd April 1990.

Community members involved in those consultations were:

Adelaide Chittendon	Community Ranger
Harry Shipton	Elder
Bobby Yerri	Elder
Loraine Baird	Elder
Eileen Walker	Elder
Jimmy Johnson	Elder
Billy King	Elder
Alec Obar	Elder.

Adelaide Chittendon and Harry Shipton were also present on the site recording boat trip along the coast from Rattlesnake point to Cape Tribulation.

On 23rd April I discussed the project with the newly elected chairman of Wujal Wujal Council, George Kulka.

In addition to the above consultations, I attended several meetings with Wujal Wujal Councilor Doreen Fullagher and Council Clerk Ailsa Hooker prior to the commencement of the project to discuss the objectives, funding arrangements etc. of the study.



Wujal Wujal elder Harry Shipton talks about an old camping place at Cape Tribulation with Community Ranger Adelaide Chittendon.

6. 4 YARRABAH CONSULTATIONS

Three meetings and one field trip were held with Yarrabah Community Rangers and elders.

Present at the meeting held at Yarrabah on 4th April 1990 were:

Leonard Harris Senior Community Ranger

James Andrews Community Ranger
Errol Thomas Community Ranger
Elvarina Murgha Community Ranger

Alf Neal Elder

Present on the field trip (survey of Yarrabah coastal sites by boat) on 5th April 1990 were:

Leonard Harris Senior Community Rangers

Errol Thomas Community Ranger

Jack Mulroney Elder

Drew Danga Deputy council clerk

Present the meeting on 6th April 1990 were:

Leonard Harris Senior Community Ranger

Rosy Cannon Elder Fred Mundraby Elder

On 6th April discussions were also held with Daren Miller, Deputy Chairman of the Yarrabah Council.



Yarrabah senior Community Ranger Leonard Harris (left) with elders Rosy Cannon and Fred Mundraby.

7. MARINE AND INTERTIDAL SITES

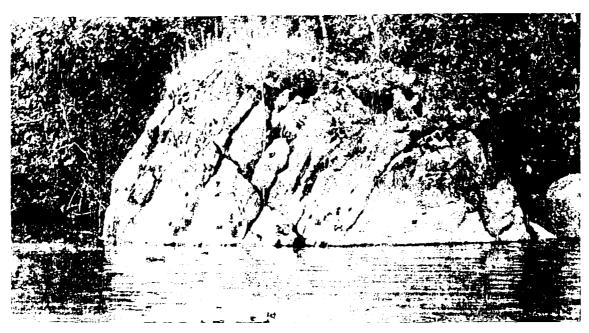
The locations listed below are all "story places", rather than modified archaeological sites. That is, they are places which feature in local dreamtime stories which describe history, origins of rock formations, animals etc. and explanations for natural phenomena such as wind or lightning.

Some sites impose particular behavioural constraints on people in the area, while others may primarily serve as reminders, or evidence, that particular events in dreamtime stories did actually happen.

The information about the sites is presented as described by informants. Expressions such as "people should keep away from that place" are the words of community elders, not merely my recommendations. Events in the stories are reported as factual happenings since that is the status accorded to them by local people.

In addition to these story sites, there are many named places (bays, points, reefs) to which no special dreamtime significance is ascribed. The recording of such places is beyond the scope the current study and they do not appear on the following lists.

The location of all maritime cultural sites recorded during this project are shown on Figures 1 & 2.



Blue-tongued lizard story place (site number WW1)in the Bloomfield River.

7. 1 HOPEVALE SITES

SITE NUMBER: HV1

NAME: Pethebridge Islets (language name not known)

LOCATION: 14°43'S, 145°05'E

DESCRIPTION: Fringing reef around islets approximately five nautical miles north-east of Starcke River mouth.

SIGNIFICANCE: Formerly this was the main collecting location for baler shells for trading with inland tribes.

ACCESS: Unrestricted.

SITE NUMBER: HV2

NAME: Gamayru (water snake)

LOCATION: 14°56'S, 145°15'E (approx.)

DESCRIPTION: Two freshwater springs emerging from rocks in the intertidal zone near the mouth of Blackwater Creek, approximately four nautical miles west of Cape Flattery.

SIGNIFICANCE: The springs are connected to an important story centred at nearby Wuyii, involving the origin of water, and all sea and land animals. The water is believed to spring from two Dugul sisters (turtles) (see Gordon and Haviland, 1980).

ACCESS: Unrestricted, but the area around the site should be protected to maintain the flow of water from the springs. The drying up of one of the springs is believed to have been caused by nearby bulldozing by the sand mining company.

SITE NUMBER: HV3

NAME: (not known)

LOCATION: 14°58'30"S, 145°21' (approximately)

DESCRIPTION: Large horizontal rock supported by two upright rocks in intertidal zone in a bay approximately two nautical miles south of Cape Flattery.

SIGNIFICANCE: Old burial place.

ACCESS: People should stay away.

SITE NUMBER: HV4

NAME: Burrirkha (Beor Reef)

LOCATION: 15°10'S, 145°16'E

DESCRIPTION: Small inshore reef approximately 2 nautical miles

south-east of the McIvor River mouth.

SIGNIFICANCE: People fishing or going near that place can be pulled under water by Burrirkha, the octopus.

ACCESS: People should stay away from that reef.

N.B. It was not possible to visit any of the above sites during the course of this study.



Whale munter story place (Tom Rock, site number YB2) near false Cape off the Yarrabah Trust Area.

7.2 GUNGARDE SITES

SITE NUMBER: GG1

NAME: Draper Patch (language name not known)

LOCATION: 15°32'48"S, 145°18'20"E

DESCRIPTION: Submerged reef and rocks extending over an area of approximately 0.5 sq. nautical mile, commencing about 0.5 nautical mile north-west of Grave Point at the eastern end of Walker Bay.

SIGNIFICANCE: This is an important story place (story unrecorded).

ACCESS: This is a dangerous place where people should not anchor or fish.

SITE NUMBER: GG 2

NAME: (not known)

LOCATION: 15°32'52"S, 145°17'13"E

DESCRIPTION: Two spherical-shaped rocks off low point approximately one nautical mile south-east of the mouth of the Annan River.

SIGNIFICANCE: These two rocks are the heads of two men who died hunting in this area. The rocks are believed to move around, sometimes moving closer to the mouth of the Annan, sometimes further around the Bay.

ACCESS: People should keep away from these rocks.

SITE NUMBER: GG 3

NAME: (not known)

LOCATION: 15°32'30"S, 145°16'43"E

DESCRIPTION: Two small rocks in the water adjacent to the shore approximately 0.5 nautical mile south of the Annan River mouth.

SIGNIFICANCE: As for site GG2.

ACCESS: People should keep away from these rocks.

7.3 WUJAL WUJAL SITES

SITE NUMBER: WW1

NAME:

Bajabaja

LOCATION:

15°56'24"S, 145°20'24"E

DESCRIPTION: Prominent large, boulder emerging from the water adjacent to the north bank of the Bloomfield River 30 metres upstream from Harrigan's Landing. Top of boulder is always above water at high tide.

SIGNIFICANCE: The boulder is the egg of the blue-tongued lizard and is part of a story which extends up into the hill overlooking this stretch of the river. At the top of the hill is the mouth of the blue-tongued lizard, the source of a perennial spring.

ACCESS: Unrestricted

SITE NUMBER: WW2

NAME: Kurrbi (also reffered to as Muyar by Anderson (1984))

LOCATION: 15°56'24"S, 145°24'06"E

DESCRIPTION: Circular white object (approx. 0.5 m diameter) lying under water about 5 metres off the point at Kangkaji on the coast at the southern end of Weary Bay.

SIGNIFICANCE: This is the major wind story place for the Weary Bay/Bloomfield River area. Disturbance of this place can cause very strong winds.

ACCESS: People can pass by but it must not be touched, e.g. with an anchor, and fish or turtles should not be caught nearby.

SITE NUMBER: WW3

NAME: Jibul

LOCATION: 15°57'06"S, 145°24'36"E

DESCRIPTION: A 50 metre stretch of sheer rocky coastline containing two prominent vertical fissures extending into the water and one deep cave, with a circular opening about 3 metres in diameter, at the high tide level.

SIGNIFICANCE: The cave and fissures are connected and were created by the small birds (Jibul - possibly swiftlets) who

nest in them. Guarding this area is a giant white sea snake, which can sometimes be seen just below the surface. This place is part of a story which also involves the summit of nearby Cowie Hill, from which springs water which must not be drunk.

ACCESS: This is a very dangerous area for strangers, who may go past safely, but must not stop nearby, or fish, or interfere with the caves or fissures. Strangers who do any of those things are liable to be sucked under the water by the giant sea snake.

SITE NUMBER: WW4

NAME: Jina (footprint)

LOCATION: 16°03'06"S, 145°27'54"E

DESCRIPTION: A giant footprint, about 50 cm long on the surface of a flat rock which is exposed at low tide on the fringing reef platform about 20 metres from the shoreline.

SIGNIFICANCE: This is the footprint left by a hunter who chased two sisters down the coast from Bloomfield River. The women, one of whom he had speared in the leg, turned inland at this point and escaped by climbing to the top of Mt Peter Botte. The elder sister died, but the younger one remains there still.

ACCESS: Unrestricted, but should be respected as an important story place. (The custodian of this place, Jimmy Johnson, said he has discussed with national park rangers and Cape Tribulation tour guide Paul Mason the possibility of taking tourists to show them the footprint and charging them to photograph it.)

SITE NUMBER: WW5

NAME: Kabakaday

LOCATION: 16°12'20"S, 145°26'36"E

DESCRIPTION: High white cliff extending into the water just south of the mouth of Bailey's Creek. (N.B. this site was not visited during this study, but only sighted in the distance from Cape Tribulation).

SIGNIFICANCE: This is referred to as a lightning place, disturbance of which can cause severe lightning storms.

ACCESS: (not known)

SITE NUMBER: WW6

NAME: Kulki (Cape Tribulation)

LOCATION: 16°04'40"S, 145°28'36"E

DESCRIPTION: The place name refers to the whole of the coastal protuberance known as Cape Tribulation.

SIGNIFICANCE: This is a place where old people go after death. It is also home of Gurriyala, the carpet snake.

ACCESS: Unrestricted, but visitors should respect it as the spiritual home of the dead. In particular, people must not shout or scream, for if they do their voices will be taken from them and remain caught in the trees.

SITE NUMBER: WW7

NAME: Marbaymba

LOCATION: 15°50'54"S, 145°22'14"E

DESCRIPTION: The mouth of Fritz Creek, just south of Rattlesnake Point.

SIGNIFICANCE: This is a strong poison place, where fish or crabs must not be caught, or water must not be drunk. (Also, disturbance of the headwaters of this creek, e.g. by collecting timber, causes heavy rainfall.)

ACCESS: Everyone should keep away. People fishing there or drinking the water risk death. (There are several accounts of such deaths (Aboriginal and European) in living memory.)

SITE NUMBER: WW8

NAME: (not known)

LOCATION: 15°46'40"S, 145°21'48"E

DESCRIPTION: Mangroves near the mouth of a creek at the north end of Cedar Bay.

SIGNIFICANCE: At this place Darkay, the mangrove mussel, must not be collected.

ACCESS: Unrestricted. Fishing and crabbing is permitted, but the mussels must not be touched.

SITE NUMBER: WW9

NAME: Bularr

LOCATION: 15°56'36"S, 145°19'30"E

DESCRIPTION: North bank of Bloomfield River. approximately 100m upstream from the junction with Granite Creek.

SIGNIFICANCE: The site is a cave in the bank which is lit up by fireflies (Bularr) at night. The course of the river has changed and the cave can no longer be seen.

ACCESS: Unrestricted, but this is not a good place for strangers. If strangers pass by, the water turns blue.

SITE NUMBER: WW10

NAME: Ngurrku

LOCATION: 15°55'42"S, 145°19'40"E

DESCRIPTION: Long, high rock which is exposed at low tide midstream between the south bank of the Bloomfield River and an island near the junction with Granite Creek.

SIGNIFICANCE: This is the story place for the mopoke owl. In earlier times the rock would move up and down the river, but has not moved since a charge of dynamite was thrown into the water nearby by an white settler many years ago.

ACCESS: Unrestricted, but the rock should respected and looked after.



Jibul, a powerful sea snake story place south of Weary Bay (site number WW3).

7. 4 YARRABAH SITES

SITE NUMBER: YB1

NAME: Whale Rock (language name unknown)

LOCATION: 16°53'06"S, 145°51'18"E

DESCRIPTION: Sloping boulder (approx 10 \times 20 metres) with the marking in white of a whale, including an eye marked with a black spot, at water's edge.

SIGNIFICANCE: The whale was being chased by a hunter (see site number YB2) and went on to the shore to escape, where it remains.

ACCESS: Unrestricted.

SITE NUMBER: YB2

NAME: Tom Rock (language name not known)

LOCATION: 16°52'36"S, 145°51'06"E

DESCRIPTION: Large, round rock exposed at low tide about 30 metres east-south-east of False Cape.

SIGNIFICANCE: The rock is the head of the hunter chasing the whale (see above). The hunter is still waiting for the whale to return to the water. This rock moves around.

ACCESS: People can fish nearby, but not stand on it, or drop an anchor there. People who interfere with it may die.

SITE NUMBER: YB3

NAME: Bunda (meaning mountain) Rock

LOCATION: 16°53'27"S, 145°51'30"E

DESCRIPTION: Large boulder at water's edge, approximately 0.5 nautical mile north of Gribble Point (in Mission Bay).

SIGNIFICANCE: Story not known.

ACCESS: Unrestricted.

SITE NUMBER: YB4

NAME: Banggiilan (Pelican Rocks)

LOCATION: 16°57'18"S, 145°55'42"E

DESCRIPTION: Group of three rocks emerging from the water approximately 0.5 nautical mile south of Deception Point.

SIGNIFICANCE: Place where canoes of an invading tribe from Russell River were sunk.

ACCESS: Unrestricted.

SITE NUMBER: YB5

NAME: Yellamuka

DESCRIPTION: Creek mouth at northern end of King Beach, just south of Deception Point.

SIGNIFICANCE: Water in creek has healing properties.

ACCESS: Unrestricted.

SITE NUMBER: YB6

NAME: Giriiga

LOCATION: 16°52'06"S, 145°54'50"E

DESCRIPTION: Large, upright boulder (with cave beneath and behind) at waters edge approximately 0.2 nautical mile south of Cape Grafton inside Mission Bay.

SIGNIFICANCE: Story unknown. Giriiga literally means "noise of children".

ACCESS: Unrestricted.

SITE NUMBER: YB7

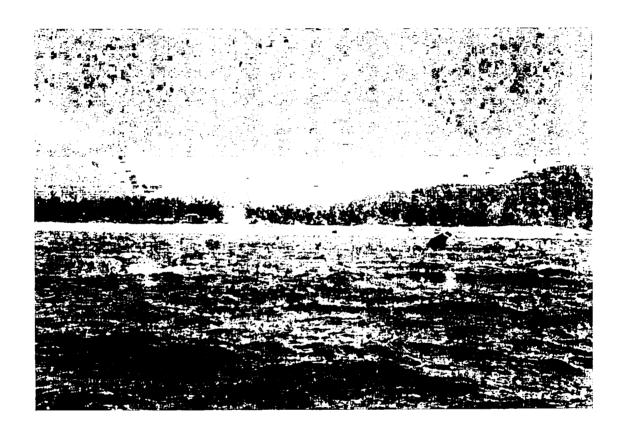
NAME: Badabadu

LOCATION: 17°00'24"S, 145°54'00"E

DESCRIPTION: Rock in the mouth of a tidal creek draining a large lagoon approximately two nautical miles north of Bramston Point.

 ${\tt SIGNIFICANCE:}$ Place where a woman was killed by a man during the dreamtime.

ACCESS: People should stay away from the rock.



Canoe-sinking story place, Pelican Rocks just south of Deception Point off the Yarrabah Trust Area (site number YB4).

8. CLAN BOUNDARIES

In pre-contact times, the Australian landscape, and inshore seascape, was divided into distinct clan estates which were recognized by those occupying them and by their neighbours. The estates were defined by important places within them (story places, camping places, increase centres etc.) rather than by discrete borders between them. Nevertheless, in order to portray a mozaic of estates in a particular area, it is possible to draw border lines on maps. But these are schematic representations only; they should not be read as territorial demarcation lines equivalent to those on government landholding maps.

In practice there are areas of stronger or weaker clan territorial claim, and there can be recognized areas of nomans land between individual estates. Furthermore, the notional borders of clan estates can change over time, although at any one time they tend to be regarded as fixed.

Coastal clan estates extend into the marine environment and may include offshore reefs and islands. The contemporary significance of these estates varies from place to place, among the three Trust Area communities included in this study (Hopevale, Wujal Wujal and Yarrabah) the following conclusions were common to all.

- 1. That individuals are aware of where their own proper place (clan estate) is:
- 2. That people are aware of who is the proper person or family to speak about a particular piece of country;
- 3. That use of each estate area, e.g. for hunting, is no longer restricted to the 'proper' people, although such people would still be consulted about major proposed developments, e.g. roads.
- 4. That for some clan estates the 'proper' people have died out, leaving responsibility for particular sites to knowledgable elders from other clans.

Schematic diagrams for coastal estates associated with Hopevale, Wujal Wujal and Yarrabah communities are shown on Figures 1 &2. On the following pages are listed the estate names and/or living individuals or families who can speak for those areas. This information is based on published Anthropological data*combined with information provided by informants during this study.

Some members of the Gungarde community have affiliations to coastal estates to the north (Hopevale) and the south (Wujal Wujal), but indications are that the 'proper' people for the coast on the south side of the Endeavour River have died out. *Haviland and Haviland (1980), and Anderson (1984). and Pohlner (1986).

ESTATE	NO. ESTATE N	AME APPROPRIATE PEOPLE			
(G y ugu	YIMIDHIRR LANGUA	AGE)			
1	Yalmba	?			
2	Gunydyarr	?			
3	Munbarr	Mitchell McGreen?			
4	Mangaar	?			
5	Dhanhil	Mitchell McGreen			
6	Ngurrumung	victor Cobus			
7	Vuuru	?			
8	Dingaal	Yorens, Barus and Charlies			
9	Gulaal	Martin James			
10	Ngaadha	Linda Jacko			
1 1	Dhiidhaarr	Deemals			
12	Gamay	Eric Deeral, Martin Jacko			
13	Waymbuurr	?			
(GUUGU YALANJI LANGUAGE)					
14	Yuuru	?			
15	Mangkal	?			
16	Julkur	?			
17	Yalmba	?			
18	Balabay	Alec Obar			
19	Kangkaji	Eileen Walker			
20	Wujalwujal	Bobby Yerri, Billy King			
21	Kaway	?			
22	Ngamujin	?			
23	Kulki	Jimmy Johnson			

(GUNGGANYJI LANGUAGE)

24	Kurraminja	Murghas
25	Kurrabana	Leonard Harris
26	Kurrukulu	Rosy Cannon/Choikee family
27	(Yidinji)	Language name in neighbouring region

9. ZONING FOR ABORIGINAL USE

The possibility of establishing zones in the Cairns Section specifically for traditional use (hunting and fishing) received little response from the elders, Community Rangers and Council members involved in the project.

General satisfaction was expressed with the current permit system which effectively gives large "zones" in which hunting activity can take place. Some informants expressed concern that the establishment of specific Aboriginal use zones may lead to a reduction in the area currently available for hunting.

The one positive response to the idea of a traditional use zone came from a Wujal Wujal Community Ranger, Adelaide Chittendon. She suggested that a traditional use zone on the beach at the southern lip of the Bloomfield River mouth would be welcomed by Wujal Wujal women. The beaches on both north and south lips of the river mouth are used frequently by many members of the Wujal Wujal community, but the northern beach is also accessible, and at times well patronized, by tourists in four wheel drive vehicles. Many community members don't like to fish and camp in the company of strangers; exclusive use of the southern beach would 'protect' them from tourists with their own boats.

One Wujal Wujal elder said that the possibility of traditional use zones should be discussed at a community meeting — i.e a meeting to which all the community is invited. It is a suggestion which could legitimately apply also to the other communities.

Discussion on the possibility of traditional use zones, and discussion on options for managing coastal cultural sites, led to discussion on Aboriginal involvement in looking after areas of the marine park of importance to the communities. Community Rangers and elders spoke of their obligation to look after sites of significance but they were unsure of how they would be able to do that within the marine park.

Such discussions led to the idea that what was required were zones in which Aboriginal involvement in management was officially recognized by the Authority and by general park users. These zones would include marine park waters immediately adjacent to trust Areas, and others areas containing marine sites of significance. Aboriginal involvement in managing such zones could consist of:

- consultation with elders traditionally responsible for sites of cultural significance within the zones; and/or
 - patrolling of the zones by Community Rangers; and/or

- joint management of the zones by the Authority and an appropriate group of Aboriginal people appointed by the relevant Aboriginal Community Council.

Such zones could be called Aboriginal Management Zones

The idea of Aboriginal Management Zones arose independently during discussions at Hopevale and Yarrabah. It was subsequently discussed during meetings at Gungarde and Wujal Wujal. The emphasis at each community was on involvement in management of the zones, rather than exclusive use of them. I was asked by elders, Community Rangers and Council members in each community to recommend to the Authority that negotiations be commenced on the establishment of such zones as soon as possible.

Such zones have several potential benefits to the communities and to the Authority. Aboriginal Management Zones could:

- Provide a degree of control over seaward access to Trust Area lands;
- Enable active involvement in the management and protection of sites of significance by their traditional custodians and Community Rangers;
- Provide some degree of official recognition of the inclusion of inshore waters in traditional clan estates;
- Provide improved surveillance and management of the marine park generally.
- Provide the Authority with a structured process for consultation about, and management of, sites of Aboriginal significance within the marine park.

Potential areas of the Cairns Section of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park (including parts of the Cairns Marine Park) for inclusion in Aboriginal Management Zones are as follows:

HOPEVALE: Inshore and tidal waters from the northern boundary of the Cairns Section to the southern boundary of the present General Use 'B' Zone of the Cairns Marine Park in the bay just north of Cape Flattery, AND the inshore and tidal waters between Murray Reef and Cape Bedford.

GUNGARDE: Tidal waters of the Endeavour River lying within the Cairns Marine Park, AND inshore and tidal waters in Walker Bay and Annan River lying within the Cairns Marine Park.

WUJAL WUJAL: Inshore and tidal waters between Archer Point and Cape Tribulation.

YARRABAH: Inshore and tidal waters between False Cape and Palmer Point.

The seaward boundaries of Aboriginal Management Zones could be negotiated with each community.



Kulki (Cape Tribulation) - an important place for Kuku-Yalanji people (site number WW6)

10. INTERPRETATION OF ABORIGINAL MARITIME CULTURE

There are many aspects of Aboriginal maritime culture which are of potential interest to users and managers of the Cairns Section of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park. Some of those aspects are already known (e.g. in the anthropological literature), others will require further research, while yet others would be accessible directly to the Authority on an ongoing basis once appropriate strategies for Aboriginal involvement in planning and managing the marine park were in place. The following comments aim to highlight the major types of information which could be used in interpretive programs, with some suggestions on the interpretive process itself.

10. 1 INFORMATION TYPES

10.1.1 Traditional and contemporary social organization and their relevance to the marine environment. The concept of the coastline and inshore waters being divided up into territorial estates is a valuable starting point for marine park users wishing to understand the importance of the marine environment to traditional and contemporary Aboriginal culture.

Information contained in this Report (section 8) could form the basis for interpretive material on this subject, possibility supplemented by additional information from areas outside the study area of this project. It would be erroneous to give the impression that traditional estates only existed adjacent to the current artificial boundaries of Trust Areas.

- 10.1.2 Traditional and current hunting practices. While I have been critical of the Authority's exclusive focus on this aspect of Aboriginal maritime culture in the past (Smyth, 1989), it is obviously important to maintain and develop interpretive material on this subject. Information on seasonality, technology, skills and cultural limitations/obligations would provide the basis for valuable interpretive material.
- 10.1.3 Sites, stories and customary law. Interpretive material on these subjects would help communicate that the marine and intertidal environment was and is more than just a hunting ground for Aboriginal people. Well presented material on important stories, involving events and sites on land and sea, would encourage an understanding of the integration of all environments and life forms with the lives of Aboriginal people. It could provide an added, i.e. cultural, dimension to the rationale for the compatible and complementary management of terrestrial national parks and adjacent marine parks.

10. 1. 4 Aboriginal environmental knowledge. Interpretive material on this aspect of Aboriginal maritime culture could complement, or be integrated with, information based on scientific research. Such information would increase park users' knowledge of the marine park waters and its biota, while also heightening their appreciation of Aboriginal culture itself.

Such information could include:

- The relationship between biological phenomena on land and sea (e.g. the blossoming of particular trees indicating that shellfish are ready (i.e. fat) for collecting;
- Ethnoclassication, i.e. the taxonomic relationship between and within groups of marine biota.
- Ethnobiology, i.e. information on species behaviour, habitats, language names etc.
- 10.1.5 Totemic relationships between marine biota and Aboriginal people. Clan totems, usually animal or plant species, help define individual and group identity, while also bestowing behavioural constraints and obligations. They are still important, to varying extents, in contemporary Aboriginal communities. Interpretive material on marine organisms as totems would provide a further dimension to the marine park experience.
- 10.1.6. Using marine parks adjacent to Aboriginal Trust Areas. There is a need for practical, up to date information for park users on how to behave responsibly and respectfully in areas adjacent to Trust Areas. Information on brochures and/or maps could include the following:
- Location of Trust Area boundaries and administrative centres;
- Procedures/restrictions for camping on Trust Area foreshores;
- Presence, location and role of Community Rangers on Trust Areas;
- Etiquette for camping/fishing/boating in vicinity of Aboriginal dwelling places and/or sites of significance.

10.1.7 Aboriginal rights and restrictions in marine parks. Interpreting Aboriginal maritime culture to marine park users in general should include information on current rights and restriction imposed on Aboriginal people by marine park and other leg slation. Such information would not only inform users on an important aspect of management, but would remove potential areas of confusion and conflict bewtween Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal users of the marine park.

Such interpretive material could include information on:

- Traditional hunting and fishing permits, the areas in which they apply and the conditions imposed by them;
- Exemption from general zo ning plan restrictions, and the reasons for such exemptions.
- Current and proposed strategies for Aboriginal involvement in marine park management, and the reasons for such involvement.

10. 2 INTERPRETIVE FORMATS

All the existing interpretive formats used by the Authority (Reef Notes, Reeflections, videos, and Zoning Plans, Activity Guide) could all successfully be employed for communicating the above aspects of Aboriginal maritime culture to general marine park users. The high standard and wide distribution of, and public familiarity with, these productions make them excellent vehicles for adding an Aboriginal dimension to appreciating the marine park. Specific suggestions for making best use of the above formats are as follows:

- Individual editions of Reef Notes could be produced dealing with each of the above aspects of Aboriginal maritime culture.
- Articles on contemporary issues relating to Aboriginal involvement in marine park management could appear in Reeflection. These could include topics such as the establishment of Community Rangers on each far north Queensland Trust Area, etiquette for using Trust Area inshore waters and foreshores, or Authority initiatives such as the current project.
- Videos dealing with any of the above aspects of Aboriginal maritime culture; and possibly one video dealing which all the above issues as an integrated presentation suitable for schools, fishing clubs, tourist operators etc.
- Activity Guides modified to provide information on Trust Area boundaries, Trust Area etiquette, Community Rangers, language names of prominent coastal features, location of

sites of significance (after appropriate consultation with communities - see section 11 of this report).

In addition to the existing publications, there is a need for a single brochure integrating all the above aspects of Aboriginal maritime culture. Such a brochure would not need to be comprehensive in detail for all areas, but could contain general information on traditional and contemporary Aboriginal/marine issues, while providing specific examples of Aboriginal maritime culture (stories, sites, hunting practices, ethnoclassification etc.) to illustrate the generalities.

Such a brochure could also be used to educate park users about the inherent and practical value of Aboriginal maritime culture in marine park management. In particular it could stress that conserving and interpreting the cultural properties of the marine park estate are as valid as conserving and interpreting its biological, scenic and economic properties.

10.3. Interpetation of GBRMPA planning and management strategies for Aboriginal communities. Current interpretive material used by GBRMPA targets marine park users in general, with an apparent assumption that they are literate, familiar with two dimensional maps and understand the use of different colours to represent various levels of restriction in certain areas of the marine park (zoning). These are probably valid assumptions for the majority of non-Aboriginal marine park users. They are not, however, valid for many Aboriginal users of the marine park.

As a consequence, there is considerable confusion about the goals and management strategies employed by the Authority. When that confusion is superimposed on a belief of traditional "ownership" of at least the inshore areas of the marine park, it is not surprising that a degree of resentment can develop.

There is, then, a clear need for interpretive material about the aims and methods employed by the Authority itself targetted specifically at Aboriginal communities adjacent to, and with traditional estates within, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park.

How that can best be achieved could arguably be the subject of a separate investigation, but the following suggestions may provide a starting point for developing such material:

- An independent Aboriginal media production unit (such as already exists in Townsville?) could be employed by the Authority to produce, or assist in the development of such material;

- Communication techniques using simple English and/or minimal use of the written word could be employed;
- Videos and other interpretive material, in addition to conveying the objectives and strategies of the Authority, should focus on issues which most concern individual Aboriginal communities. These could include hunting rights, protection of significant sites, adequate consultation, acknowledgement of traditional rights to coastal estates and inshore waters, recognition of Aboriginal management strategies (e.g. Community Rangers), potential conflicts between contemporary Aboriginal hunting practices and the Authority's conservation objectives etc.
- Interpretive material should target Aboriginal people living both within and outside Trust Areas. In particular, the Authority should communicate its position on traditional hunting rights for non-Trust Area Aboriginal people (e.g. Gungarde, Mossman).
- Such material is likely to be best received if it also addresses options for improved Aboriginal involvement in marine park management (see recommendations made in Smyth (1989) and section 12 of this Report).

10. 4 DEVELOPING INTERPRETIVE MATERIAL

The development of interpretive material relating to Aboriginal maritime culture should be seen as part of a package involving increased Aboriginal involvement in marine park management. It is unrealistic to access and interpret Aboriginal environmental knowledge, social and territorial organization, hunting practices, belief systems etc., without also providing for Aboriginal access to the decision making processes of the Authority.

That package could take a variety of forms, depending on political will, public support, commitment within the Authority itself etc., but whatever its form it will place new demands on the resources of the organizations.

The first strategy for developing Aboriginal interpretive material, therefore, should be a recognition that additional funds and human and other resources must be devoted to this aspect of management and planning. This will either mean reordering existing priorities or seeking additional operational funds.

The second strategy, which is clearly dependent on the first, is to allow existing or specifically appointed staff sufficient time and freedom of movement to effectively communicate with Aboriginal communities, their councils, elders and Community Rangers. I also endorse the comments

made by Andrew Smith in his report on Aboriginal usage of marine resources (Smith, 1987) on the need for the continuity of conservation agency personnel working with Aboriginal communities. This applies both to QNPWS and GBRMPA personnel; and my comments on the need for an Aboriginal liaison unit within GBRMPA, as exists in ANPWS and CCNT, still apply (Smyth, 1989).

Whatever strategies are employed by the Authority to develop interpretive material they must be seen as ongoing. Traditional and contemporary Aboriginal interpretive issues are inseparable. Like biological processes, cultural processes are living phenomena which require constant review: there will be no definitive interpretive material for Aboriginal maritime culture.

The third strategy, essentially one of corporate philosophy, is to make it clear to Authority staff, the general public, politicians and Aboriginal communities, that recording, nurturing and respecting Aboriginal maritime culture are legitimate conservation management activities of the organization.



A major wind story place at Kangkaji, Weary Bay. The site itself lies under the water off the point. (Site number WW2)

11. GENERAL DISCUSSION

11.1 PROJECT CONSTRAINTS

There are severe constraints imposed by the brief duration of people-oriented projects such as this. Sufficient time is needed to build up trust between researcher and informant, and to communicate effectively the scope of the project. Some of the limitations imposed by the brevity of this study were offset by my previous association with the Community Rangers at each Community, while employed last year by the Cairns TAFE College to initiate the Community Ranger Training course. My earlier GBRMPA consultancy at Wujal Wujal and Gungarde also provided a good basis from which to open discussions with those communities.

Nevertheless, the data provided in this report should be regarded as preliminary and subject to further investigation and refinement in the future. In each community, advice about potential new informants and new information on sites, estate boundaries etc. was forthcoming in the concluding moments of my visits.

Notwithstanding this, the current project has yielded useful information on which to build co-operative relationships between GBRMPA and the communities regarding managing their cultural marine sites, and their involvement in marine park management generally.

11.2 MANAGEMENT OF MARINE CULTURAL SITES

In all communities there was initial enthusiasm for making information publicly available, e.g. on Activity Guide maps, on the location of cultural sites. As the project developed, however, there was some discussion among Community Rangers and elders about the wisdom of publicly identifying sites which they, the traditional custodians, would have no legal responsibility or authority to look after.

The consensus at the end of the project was that people were happy for the Authority to have a record of the sites so that they could be taken into account when making planning and management decisions. However, it was felt that public identification of the sites should await a more developed system of Aboriginal involvement in marine park management, for example via Aboriginal Management Zones.

This position should not, however, be regarded as final. Following circulation of this report to the respective Community Councils, follow-up consultation should be undertaken to obtain their comments, and those of elders and Community Rangers, on the management implications of the data presented and on my recommendations.

Only three of the cultural sites recorded during this study (HV1, HV4 and WW2) lie within the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park. The remainder (with the exception of HV3) lie within the Cairns Marine Park. There is an obvious need for commonality of management strategies between the two marine parks as regards such Aboriginal sites. Likewise, negotiations to establish Aboriginal Management zones must of necessity involve both Marine Parks.

The little interest shown in the idea of specific zones for Aboriginal hunting and fishing can be taken as a measure of success of the current strategy of multiple use areas and the permit system. Enthusiasm for the idea of Aboriginal Management Zones should indicate to the Authority that Aboriginal interest in the marine park extends beyond access to hunting grounds.

The Authority now has an opportunity to participate in the major developments that have taken place in Aboriginal involvement in conservation management elsewhere in Australia in the last decade. Indeed the Authority has the opportunity to be a leader in embracing indigenous cultural values into marine park management. While concentration elsewhere in the world continues to focus on recognition of indigenous fishing rights (see Cordell, 1988), Australia is likely to pioneer indigenous involvement in marine park management, just as it did in national park management at Kakadu in the 1970's.

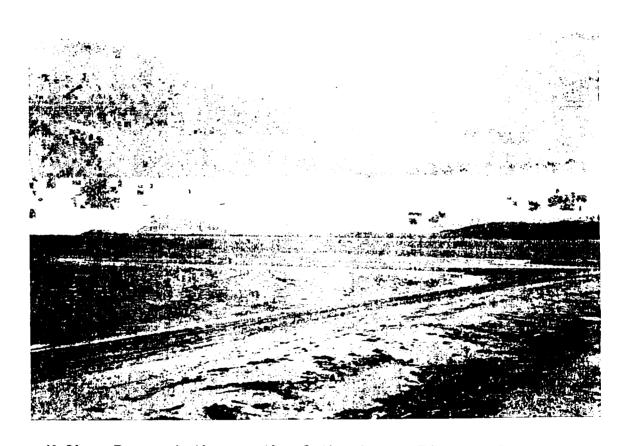
NON-TRUST AREA COMMUNITIES

Non-Trust Area communities such as Gungarde (and Mossman) present a special challenge for the Authority in trying to accommodate Aboriginal interests in management of the marine park. Members of the Gungarde community do not have traditional hunting rights because of restrictions imposed by Queensland legislation. Nevertheless, Gungarde is looking to the Authority for support in their struggle to gain traditional rights. The inclusion of their community in the present project was seen in terms of providing such support.

Without a land base, Gungarde lacks a focus for environmental cultural activities (hunting, looking after sites, camping on traditional estates etc.). In such circumstances recognition of traditional rights to hunting in the marine environment is all the more important.

Though Gungarde members have been dispossessed of their traditional lands for over a hundred years, they have a strong case to participate in future strategies to involve Aboriginal poeple in conservation management. Their proximity to Endeavour River Nation. Park and the Cairns Marine Park at the Endeavour and Annan Rivers, and their establishment of a Community Rangers Service makes it reasonable for the

Authority to continue to accord them equal status with the trust Area communities adjacent to the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park.



Walker Bay, at the mouth of the Annan River. There are story places at the extreme left and right of this picture, sites GG 1 and GG 2 respectively.

12. RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. That follow-up research be undertaken with the four communities to expand on the work undertaken in this study.
- 2. That similar studies be undertaken elsewhere in the Cairns Section of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park (e.g. with the Aboriginal community at Mossman, and with appropriate Aboriginal people along the coast south of Yarrabah).
- 3. That negotiations be entered into with each of the four communities with the view to establishing Aboriginal Management Zones as outlined in Section 9 of this report.
- 4. That suggestions made in Section 10 of this report about interpreting Aboriginal maritime culture to general marine park users be implemented by the Authority.
- 5. That suggestions made in Section 10.3 of this report about communicating the Authority's goals and management strategies to Aboriginal communities be implemented.
- 6. That this report be sent to each of the four community Councils (as agreed prior to the commencement of this study).
- 7. That authorization be sought from each of the four Community Councils to send a copy of this report to the Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service.

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I wish to acknowledge the consistant support this project has received from community Councillors, elders and Rangers in each of the four communities. Without their enthusiasm and willingness to share their knowledge, a project such as this would be an impossible undertaking. That this preliminary study was completed in such a relatively short time is an indication of the strength of interest in the subject matter within those communities.

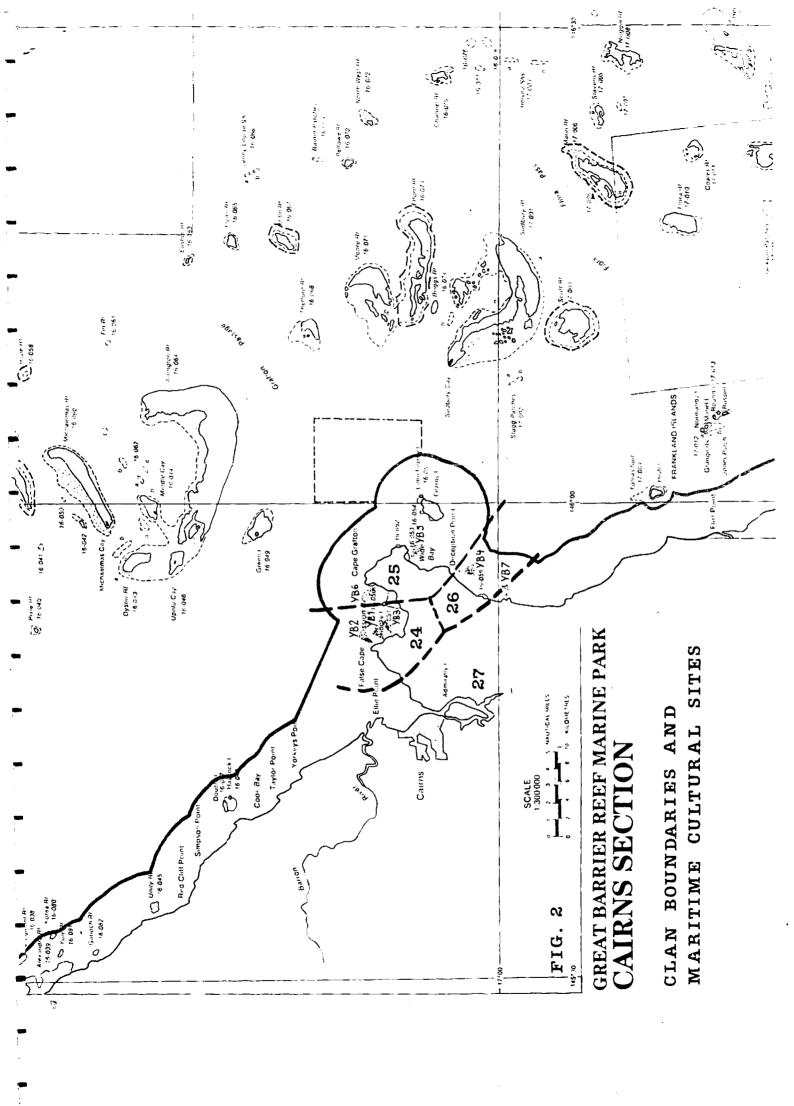
I would also like to thank Mr Ray Rex, Community Ranger Training Co-ordinator at Cairns TAFE College, for his assistance and advice in arranging meetings with appropriate people at three communities.

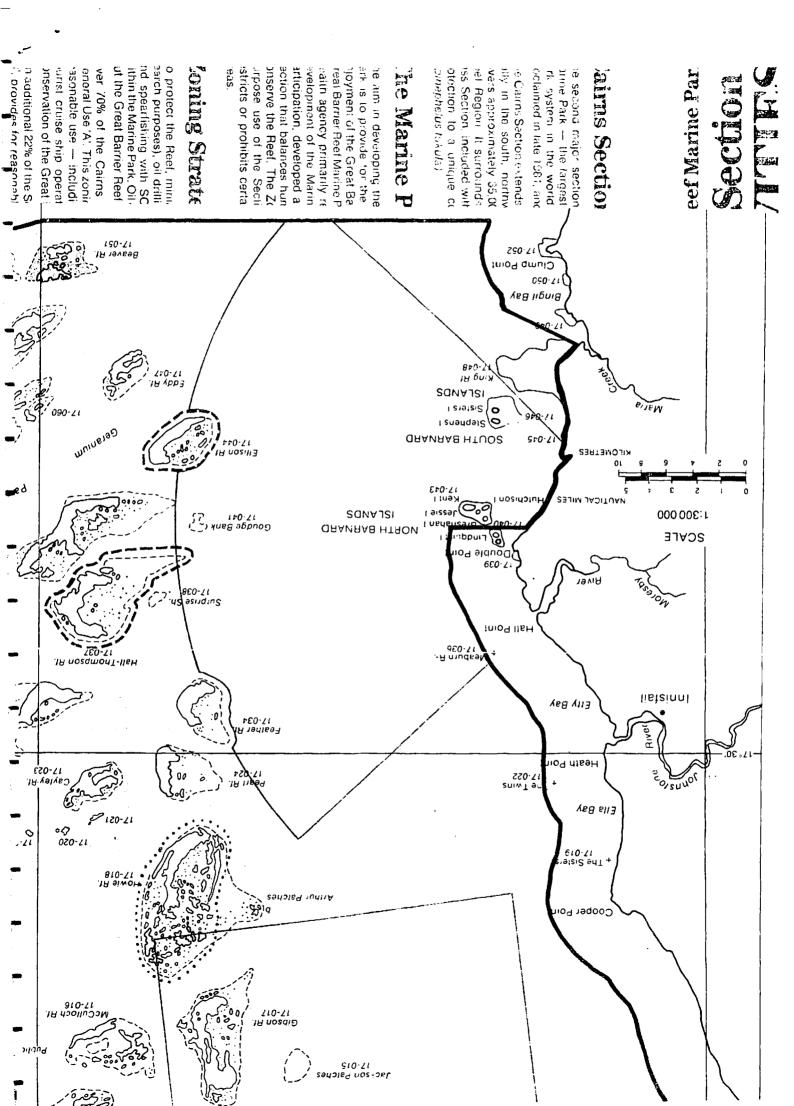
Dr Christopher Anderson, Acting-Head, Division of Anthropology, South Australian Museum, generously provided data on Kuku-Yalanji estate names and boundaries.

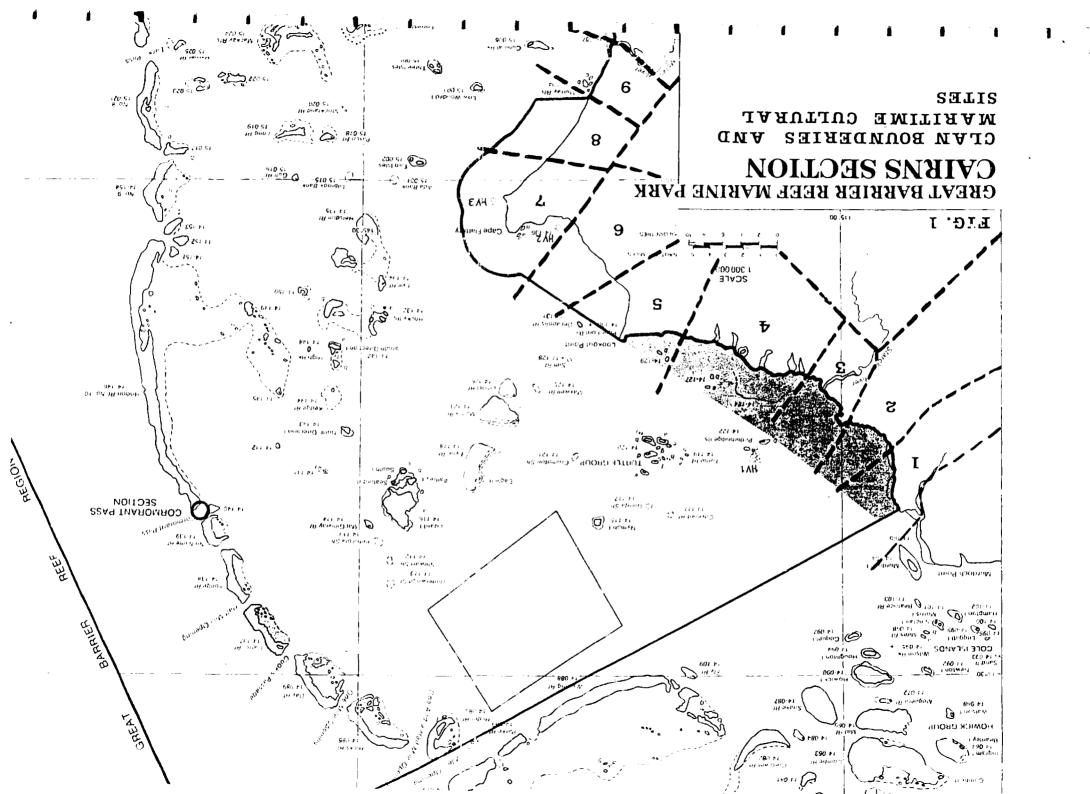
Consultant anthropologist Eruce White assisted with references for published material on Hopevale.

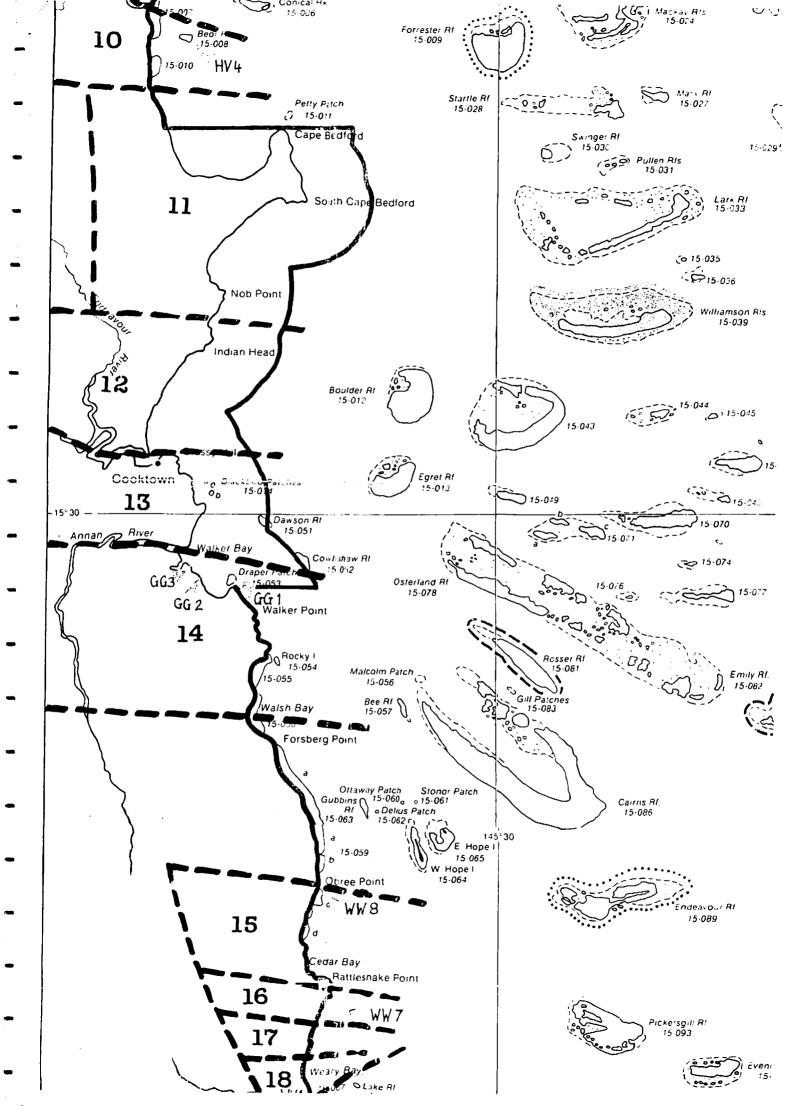
I wish to thank Christina Bahrdt for the preparation of the maps used in this report.

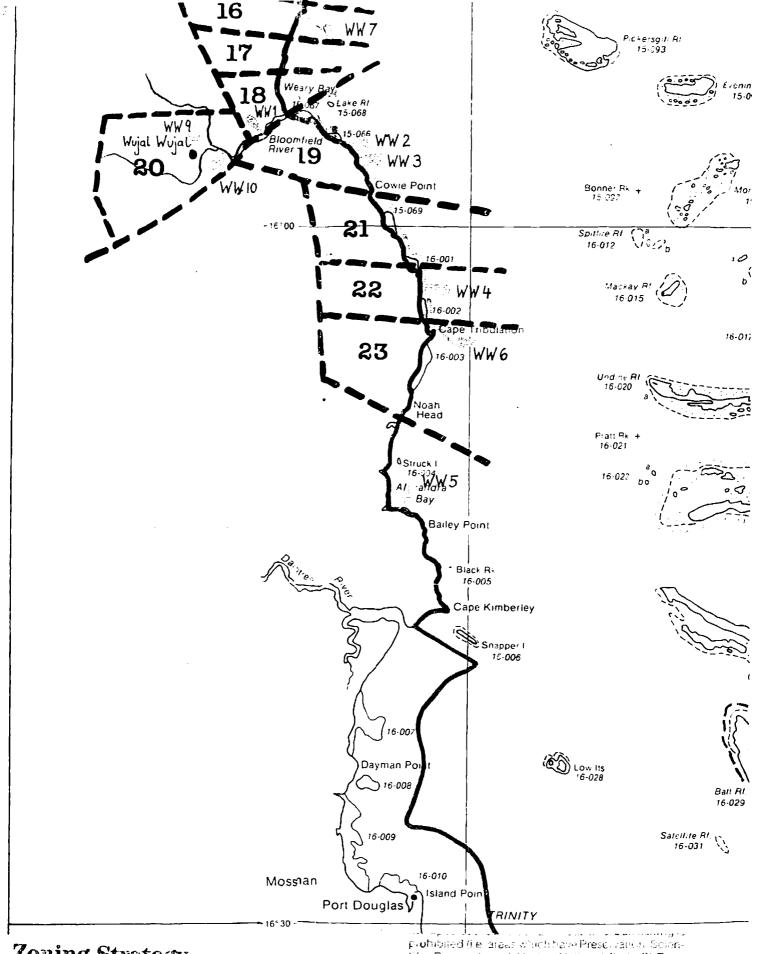
Finally, sincere thanks to the referees of this report, Dr Christopher Anderson, South Australian Museum, and Dr John Tayor, James Cook University, for their thoughtful, constructive comments on this study, and their suggestions for further work in this area.











Zoning Strategy

To protect the Reef, mining (except for approved remarks, purposes), on criming, earliered speak seing and spearfishing with SCUBA are strictly prohibited within the Marine Park, Oil drilling is prohibited throughat the Great Barrier Reef Region.

ver 70% of the Cairns Section has been zoned as eneral Use 'A'. This zoning provides opportunities for asonable use — including commercial traviling and urist cruise ship operations — consistent with the

prohibited file larges which have Prese, values. Scientific Research and Marine National Park (B) Zone status)

There are foreigned as a fine tishing reafoin the Cairns Section where the surrounded by a Mindie a Mindie and Park Buffer Zone.

Scientific Research Zone

The objective of the Scientific Research Tone is to provide areas where pointind research may be carried out free from the influences of other activities.