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Remembering the Mother Mission:

Exploring Trauma, Cultural Heritage Values and Identity at Mapoon,
a Former Mission Village in Western Cape York, Queensland.

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Abstract

In the middle of the night on 15 November, 1963 the Queensland State Government forcibly removed Indigenous families from their homes in Mapoon, a former Moravian (later Presbyterian) mission village in western Cape York, Queensland. This event coupled with the prior mission closure and the successive struggle against the Queensland State Government by Indigenous families to return to Mapoon were experiences that have shaped their collective and individual identity and relationships within and outside Mapoon. These events traumatised Indigenous families that belong to Mapoon. This thesis shows such trauma is still experienced and remembered today by Mapoon families and missionary families and influences how they interact, remember the mission time, and generate cultural heritage values. Mission time heritage in Mapoon is thus a form of 'dark heritage'.

This thesis is a covenantal archaeological study, documenting the cultural heritage values of Indigenous families and former missionary families who resided in the former Mapoon Mission and their relationship to remembered experiences of trauma and struggle with the Queensland State Government. Temporal focus is primarily the birth and death of the Mapoon Mission from 1891 to 1963 and the struggle for its resurrection by Indigenous families and some missionary families from 1963 to 1975. The thesis also documents the cultural heritage values of Indigenous families and surviving missionary families associated with Mapoon from 2010 to 2014. The thesis draws on different methods within archaeological practice (archival research, oral history, archaeological survey, ground-penetrating radar and interpretation) to document values expressed by Mapoon and missionary families through four case studies. These case studies include the documentation of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, Mapoon Mission Compound, remains of mission time family homes, and expressions of value in the construction of monuments, commemorative acts and in town planning studies in Mapoon. The results of these investigations have provided new archaeological and historical information on mortuary traditions, cultural practices and interaction between missionaries and Indigenous families in western Cape York.

Mapoon's mission time cultural heritage is presented in this dissertation as a case study to explore how cultural heritage values are generated and to critique the significance assessment process in Australia. The dissertation contributes to existing research on missionisation in Australia through examining the relationships between missionary

families and Indigenous families in Mapoon. In doing so it deconstructs social classifications of missionary vs Indigenous and “white fella vs black fella” as well as colonial representations of identity drawn in current historical and anthropological literature concerning the Mapoon Mission. This study concludes historical trauma from violence and dispossession, including the destruction of one’s home, affects wellbeing and is intricately connected to places of high cultural significance within Mapoon. This research explores how archaeological practice and other acts of commemoration and cultural heritage management has potential as catharsis for redressing trauma experienced in the past and may itself be a process of value creation. In this case study, Mapoon families’ most significant cultural heritage places are predominantly intangible forms of dark heritage interconnected to experiences of historical trauma. These places of experienced historical trauma are also used by Indigenous and missionary families to create and renew collective identity and kinship through archaeological practice, perform narratives and acts of commemoration. These places are also where Mapoon families and missionary families recreate new heritage through monuments and reinterpretation.

The dissertation provides a research contribution through exploring the cultural heritage values of not only Indigenous families but missionary families who resided in the former mission village of Mapoon. Mapoon has been nominated as having potential national heritage value (Mulvaney, 1989). It is the first Moravian mission in Cape York and one of the oldest missions in Queensland. A complete archaeological survey of extant mission time heritage including areas of unmarked graves and cemeteries was undertaken in this study to document national heritage values. This thesis demonstrates through historical research, oral testimony and archaeological investigations the importance of Mapoon’s mission time heritage in Australia and its urgency for protection and further management. This study comments on the complexity of cultural heritage values and significance assessment process and critiques archaeological practice in this process.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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Publications during candidature

Peer-reviewed papers

Sutton, M.-J. and L. Conyers 2013 Understanding Cultural History Using Ground-Penetrating Radar Mapping of Unmarked Graves in the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, Western Cape York, Queensland, Australia. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17(4):782-805.

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Conference Abstracts

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Contributor – Sutton and Conyers (2013)	Statement of contribution
Author Sutton (Candidate)	Conducted oral history and historical research (100%) Wrote the paper (50%)
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Author Sutton (Candidate)	Conducted research (85%) Wrote and edited the paper (65%)
Author Huntley	Conducted research (10%) Wrote and edited paper (30%)
Author Anderson	Conducted research (5%) Wrote and edited the paper (5%)

Contributions by others to the thesis

Prof. Lawrence B. Conyers provided significant input into Chapter 5 (specifically Section 5.4 to Section 5.6), led the GPR investigations, provided research data and conclusions for these investigations (which were also included in a non-published report to Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council) discussed in this Chapter of the thesis.

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Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers contributed copies of film footage and recordings they had taken of myself and Elders during fieldwork and post fieldwork for this project for my research.

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None.

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Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AERC	Aboriginal Environments Research Centre
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AFMC	Australian Foreign Missions Committee
APBM	Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions
APC	Australian Presbyterian Church
CAT	Centre for Appropriate Technology, Cairns
CDEP	Community Development Employment Program
CPCI	Centre for Public Culture and Ideas, Griffith University
DAIA	Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (Queensland)
DNA	Department of Native Affairs (Queensland)
DOGIT	Deed of Grant in Trust
FCAATSI	Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders
GAA	General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia
GPR	Ground-penetrating Radar
IDA	International Development Action Team
MAC	Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation
MASC	Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council
MLSAC	Mapoon Land and Sea Aboriginal Corporation
MMC	Mapoon Mission Cemetery
OPAL	One People of Australia League
ORAC	Office of the Registrar of Aboriginal Corporations
PCA	Presbyterian Church of Australia
QCAATI	Queensland State Council for Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Islanders
TO	Traditional Owner
WCCCA	Western Cape Communities Co-Existence Agreement

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Chapter 1 About Mapoon

1.1 INTRODUCTION

they came for the people at night and took them away to Bamaga and the last lot went to Weipa (Flinders et al. 1992:185-186; Moran 2006).

my wedding dress, photos .. all our belongings were in our home .. all gone .. this photo survived (Elder A 2011: pers. comm.).

On 15 November 1963, in the middle of the night, armed police came on boats to Mapoon to forcibly remove Mapoon families from their homes and the Mapoon Mission village. Police were following orders from the Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (DAIA) (Madua 1992; Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a, 2010b; Moran 2006; Wharton 1996). After the closure of the mission store and school earlier that month, the DAIA had already attempted several times to move Mapoon people and met strong resistance (Madua 1992; Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a, 2010b; Moran 2006; Wharton 1996). Police kept Mapoon people under armed guard at the mission house until the following morning. The next day Mapoon people were forced into boats by police and taken away to Cowal Creek Reserve or New Mapoon (Hidden Valley Reserve). At Mapoon, the police put coconut branches underneath most of the family homes and burnt them down to the ground (Madua 1992; Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a, 2010b; Moran 2006; Wharton 1996).

From 1963 to 1974, Mapoon people fought for their right to return and live in Mapoon (Roberts et al. 1975-1976; Wharton 1996). In 1974, Mapoon families began to move back to Mapoon despite attempts by the Queensland State Government (specifically the DAIA) to stop and arrest them for doing so. In 1975, the Commonwealth government supported the return of these families to Mapoon (International Development Action Team (IDA) 1975-1976; Wharton 1996). In the same year, 1975, the Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation (MAC) formed. The MAC's lobbying eventually led to the Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) granted to Mapoon trustees on 5 December 1988, over their lands. Subsequently, in 2000, the Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council (MASC) was established, leading to increased housing and the gradual return of many Indigenous families to Mapoon.

The trauma expressed by Elders in the narrative of the burning of Mapoon is inextricably linked to their hopes and aspirations to protect and document the cultural heritage of the mission time, their identity and relationships within and outside Mapoon. Often as a visitor to Mapoon, this narrative and such aspirations form the topic of first conversations with Elders. Images of the Mapoon Mission Compound and village adorn the lobby of the MASC foyer, as well as meeting and waiting rooms. These portraits hang alongside a portrait of Mrs Jean Jimmy (deceased), an Elder and key social actor in the rebirth of Mapoon and the struggle to move back home after the events of that night in 1963.

Elders' of Mapoon aspire to protect their mission time cultural heritage places, document their stories for future generations and to repatriate home their personal and family histories and their cultural materials. These histories and materials were strewn across many different archives and museums. These aspirations for protection, documentation and repatriation are intertwined with my thesis research aims. In February 2010, the Chairperson of the Mapoon Interim Land and Sea Advisory Committee (MLSAC¹), Uncle William Busch and then Ranger Co-ordinator, Lana Polglase, invited me to visit Mapoon and discuss with Elders a PhD project that could assist with realising these aspirations.

I sat on the grass under the hibiscus bushes outside the front of the Council chambers with Aunty Alma Day and Aunty Harriet Flinders (Traditional Owners and Tjungundji Elders) listen to their aspirations and stories of Mapoon. We later talked about what skills I had to assist Elders, my background, and my research interests. Later that day I visited the homes of several other Elders to listen to their aspirations and discuss a possible PhD project focusing on the mission time. During early discussions, Elders spoke of the importance of the mission time and associated cultural heritage places and hoped that a research project could assist with their documentation and protection of places.

¹ MLSAC is an organisation run by Rangers, Elders and interested Mapoon people who undertake and develop ecological and cultural works within the Mapoon DOGIT, primarily funded by Commonwealth grants.

1.2 THESIS AIMS

This thesis presents an archaeological study of the cultural heritage values (both tangible and intangible) of Indigenous families and missionary families who resided in the former Mapoon Mission, a Moravian (later Presbyterian) missionary village in western Cape York, Queensland. Mapoon is a place of potential national heritage value (Mulvaney 1989, p. Afterword), the first Moravian mission in Cape York and one of the oldest missions in Queensland. The primary aim of the research is to examine the complexity of Aboriginal cultural heritage values that are shaped and generated by cultural change, related to missionisation. Experiences involving missionaries and missionisation, traumatic removal from country and later migration back to resurrect place have created the core of heritage values in the Mapoon community. The historical context for this set of dynamic values raises critical questions for analyzing cultural heritage values of groups who have undergone traumatic changes that meaningfully affect their identity (especially aspects of their identity that relate to place).

In addition to my primary research aim to explore the dynamism of Indigenous cultural heritage values, taking into consideration cultural change, and undertake a critique of the significance assessment process, my research developed more specific aims in collaboration with Mapoon Elders:

- 1) To explore cultural heritage values of Indigenous families and missionary families (who resided in the former Mapoon mission village) in order to examine the co-production of heritage value;
- 2) To investigate through historical research, oral testimony, and archaeological investigations, Mapoon's 'mission time' heritage and the urgency for its protection and management;
- 3) To contribute to existing histories of Mapoon with more detailed oral history research with Elders and missionaries about the mission itself and places within it and episodes of cultural change that shape their values for these places;
- 4) To document the physical remains of the former Mapoon Mission, an archaeological site of national significance (Mulvaney 1989, Section 1.6), including unmarked Aboriginal graves and cemeteries through archaeological survey;

- 5) To critically engage with archaeological approaches to evaluating and assessing cultural heritage (for example, survey and significance assessment) and contribute key insights into the international literature on heritage value; and
- 6) Using conceptual material on trauma, memory, cultural changes and relationships, narratives and methodological approaches from outside conventional archaeological practice (including environmental psychology and concepts, e.g. 'solastalgia') to assist in the analysis of the emotional dimensions of Mapoon people's heritage values and their dynamism.

These aims are investigated through case studies of expressions of cultural heritage values by Mapoon people relating to cultural change stemming from missionisation (refer to Section 1.8 for chapter outline).

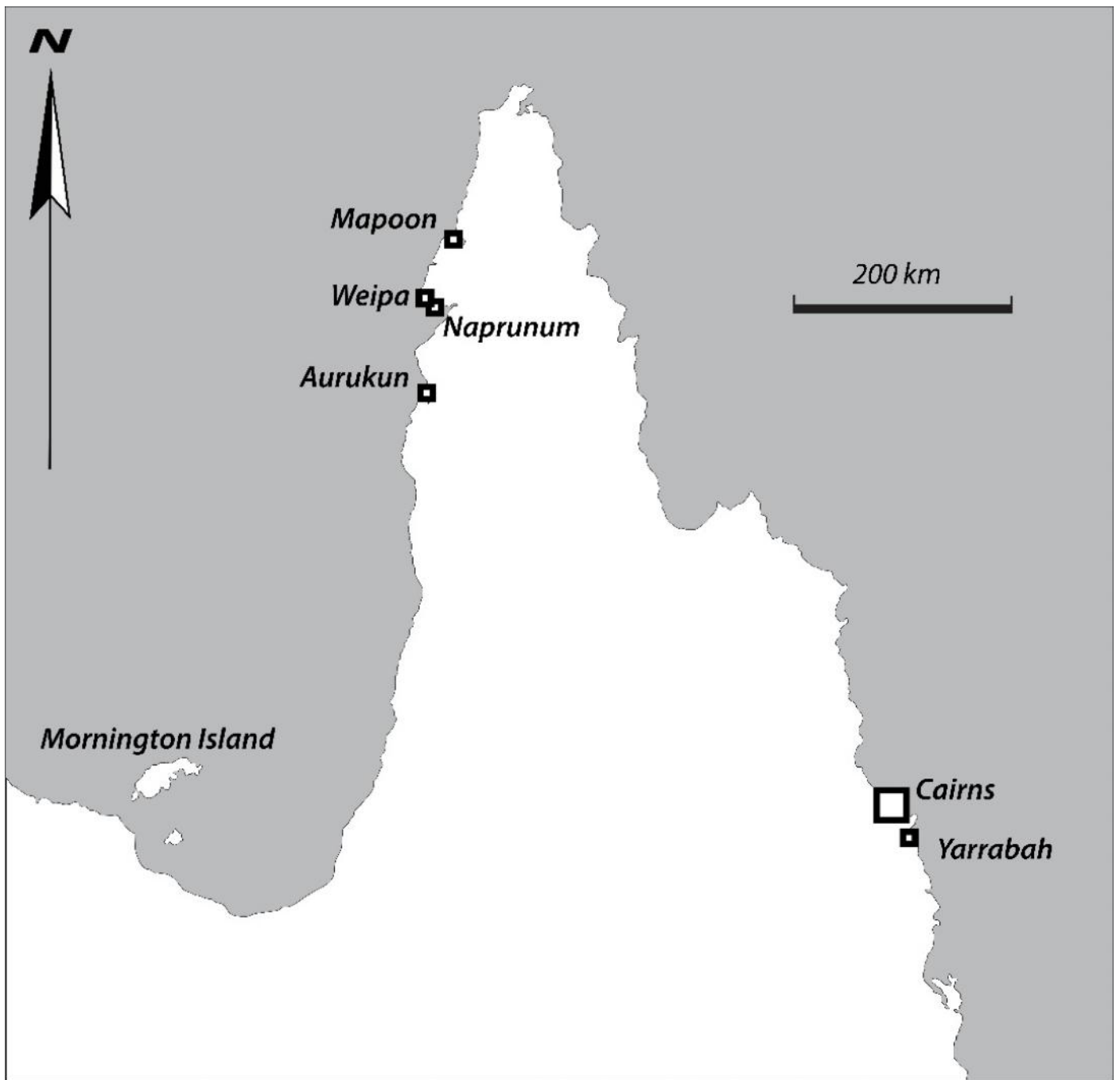


Figure 1 Schematic map of Cape York showing location of Mapoon and daughter missions of Aurukun, Weipa and Mornington Island (Source: Author, C. Jennings).

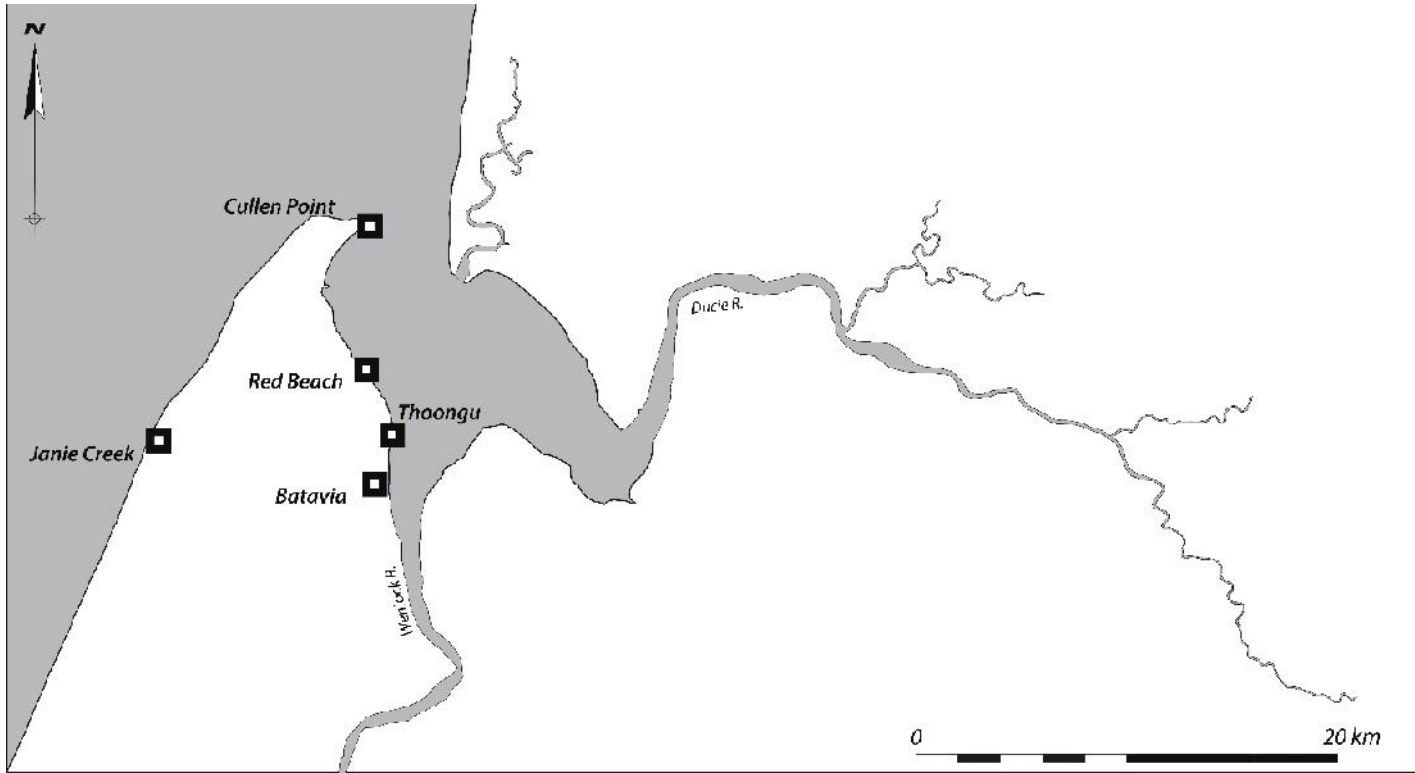


Figure 2 Locality map of Mapoon (Source: Author, C. Jennings).

1.3 MAPOON MISSION SITE

Mapoon is located within western Cape York Peninsula, Queensland, approximately 100 km, north of Weipa (Figure 1). Weipa is the closest regional centre and hospital to Mapoon as well as the home of Rio Tinto Alcan's bauxite mine. Mapoon today has a population of 263 people (64 families) with a median age of 30 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011:86). Of these, over 90% are identified as being of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). In 2011, 69 occupied houses and 14 unoccupied dwellings were identified within Mapoon and the median number of people per household was 3.3 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011:86). Mapoon today is situated around the main town of Red Beach (Figure 2). Camping grounds for tourists, who are mostly attracted to big game fishing, are located at Cullen Point (near the remains of the Mission Compound) and further west along the coast line at Janie Creek (Figure 2). My research area includes Cullen Point and extends to Red Beach, Janie Creek, Batavia River, Thoongu and country surrounding these locations (Figure 2) to think about cultural heritage values for the Mapoon mission time.

In 1891, Mapoon was established as the first mission by the Moravian church in Cape York (on the invitation to establish the mission by the Presbyterian Church) by the Rev. Nicholas Hey and Rev. James Gibson Ward (both married to sisters, nee Barnes) (Centre for Public Culture and Ideas (CPCI), Griffith University 2009, Ward 1908:186). These were followed by others in the region (Chapter 3). 'Mapoon' is the name commonly used to refer to the historical mission community, which takes in an area nearby Cullen Point leading down to the modern town of Mapoon at Red Beach and also includes parts of former outstations at Batavia River and Janie Creek (Figure 2). The activities of the mining company Comalco, in bauxite mining and exploration of western Cape York in the 1960s, jointly impacted the former mission villages of Aurukun, Mapoon and Weipa and continues to impact contemporary communities associated with these places today (Roberts *et al.* 1975-1976).

1.4 TEMPORAL FOCUS

I acknowledge that Traditional Owners belong to Mapoon, and were custodians of those lands long before the arrival of missionaries. However, the temporal focus of the thesis is the Mapoon Mission time from 1891 to 1963. Cultural knowledge and practice of Traditional Owners has continued since the 'before time' (the time before the mission's establishment),

and has influenced the cultural heritage values and relationships of Mapoon families in the present. However, I focus on the mission time heritage which is the subject of more recent cultural changes which continue to effect the ways in which people continue to value cultural heritage today. This thesis focuses on the ways mission places have come to be valued in addition to, and alongside, places that are more traditionally understood as Indigenous cultural heritage (like 'sacred sites').

1.5 FIRST IMPRESSIONS

My first impressions of the former Mapoon Mission compound and the remains of former mission village houses were ones of neglect and desolation. It felt like a sad place to me but had a ruined beauty. The remains of the compound were overgrown with weeds, building debris and ashen remains of buildings and foundations littered across the beach dunes. Well-established beech almond, coconut and mango trees dating from the mission time still grow there. However, there are few tangible remains of the compound or former mission village housing. The ruins are less than 30 m from the beach and look out to Cullen Point. From there, four wheel drive tracks to nearby camping grounds intersect the place. The modern town of Mapoon situated at Red Beach was also beautiful with a village-type organisation, reminiscent of the early mission time. Weatherboard houses with hibiscus, frangipani and mango trees dot both sides of a bitumen road (recently paved by the Australian Army in 2009) leading from Red Beach to Cullen Point. Houses east of this road front Red Beach and houses west of this road back onto swamps and lagoons. Humidity assaults you during the day but there are ocean breezes in the evening.

During my first day in Mapoon in February 2010, I met several other Elders, Mapoon people, and Rangers escorted by Dianne Nicholls-Pitt (a traditional owner and Tjungundji woman). It was after this visit, with the permission of Elders and their commitment for involvement in the project, that I committed to a research project in Mapoon and started organising a visit to Mapoon focusing on mission time in June-July that year in consultation with the MLSAC. During these early meetings with Elders, the narratives of the burning of Mapoon, the arrival of the missionaries (birth of the mission) and Mapoon's resurrection through families returning and forming the Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation (MAC) (hereafter, referred to as 'Mapoon narratives') were often evoked by Mapoon people interwoven with aspirations for cultural heritage management and how important Elders value mission time cultural heritage

places, particularly for education for their children and future generations. Elders elicit these narratives throughout archaeological practice and being in place throughout this study.

1.6 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE MAPOON MISSION

There is a substantial body of previous archaeological, anthropological and historical research relating to north-western Cape York and the former Presbyterian missions of this region (Chase 1980; Dalley and Memmott 2010; Greer 1996; Greer 2009; Halse 1993; Hicks *et al.* 2009; Morrison 2010; Ratican 2009; Strang 1997; von Sturmer 1980; Warby 2000). This research predominantly focuses on the missions of Mornington Island, Aurukun and Weipa as well as other Christian mission villages and government settlements throughout the region, and there is little specific research on Mapoon. Early ethnographic sources include Walter E. Roth's *North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins* written around 1900 (McDougall and Davidson 2008; Roth 1897, 1900, 1907, 1984). An assemblage of artefacts collected by Roth from Mapoon comprises part of the Australian Museum's collections in Sydney and the Queensland Museum, Brisbane. Anthropologist Ursula McConnel (1936-1937, 1957) and Donald Thomson (1934) also carried out some anthropological study of traditional lifeways at Mapoon in the 1930s. These studies were less extensive than those carried out at Aurukun, where Aboriginal culture was perceived as subject to less interference by missionaries.

Rev. Hey attempted to record languages at Mapoon (1903) and Crowley (1981) published a study on one dialect used within the Mapoon DOGIT. Hey also wrote some publications about the Mapoon mission and life at the mission during his administration, which are published by the Australian Presbyterian Church (APC). These provide some detail of the buildings and routine of mission life at that time, and give some insights to Hey's character. In 1908, after his death Rev. Ward's brother, Arthur Ward, compiled a history of the establishment of the Mapoon mission titled, *The Miracle of Mapoon*. This history is based on the early correspondence of Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey which are held in the Moravian archives in Herrnhut, Germany. While the language and attitudes of the time make this history somewhat problematic, it provides insight into missionaries' early encounters with Traditional Owners, the environment of Mapoon prior to the mission's establishment, and the evolution of the early mission.

Since the mission closure, Mapoon people have begun to rewrite and retell their history and personal stories as well as publish them. Some of the first examples are the involvement of Jean Jimmy and several other Mapoon families in Roberts *et al.*'s (1975) *Mapoon Story*, volumes 1 to 3. This publication helped Mapoon people gain Commonwealth government support to return home. In 1963, Jubilee Woodley and Jack Callope wrote accounts to Joe McGinness (Director, DAIA) to publicly announce their discontent and the exact nature of their circumstances after the mission closure (Callope 1961; Woodley 1961). In the same year, Jean Jimmy was involved in several public lectures on Mapoon's closure including a formal presentation to AIATSIS in Canberra (National Museum of Australia 2007-2008). Since the return to Mapoon in 1975, Mapoon people have continued to document and retell their history.

In 1992, the MAC engaged anthropologist Frank McKeown with an appointed Mapoon research assistant, Mr Ricky Guivarra (now the Deputy Mayor of Mapoon) as part of the community-based history project, The Mapoon History Project (AIATSIS 2009). This oral history project of Elders, Mapoon families and missionaries focused on the events of the mission closure and the movement to return to Mapoon. The interviews were conducted in Mapoon, Napranum, Weipa, Yarrabah, Cairns, Brisbane and Sydney between April 1992 and October 1992 (AIATSIS 2009). These interviews encompass about 67 hours of recordings. Approximately 30 families were interviewed, including the members of missionary families, Rev. Hartshorn, Rev. Jim Sweet, Rev. Calder Allan and Miss Ina Hey (Rev. Hey's youngest daughter). The interviews are not transcribed nor compiled, due to incomplete funding but include generations of Mapoon people who were adults at the time of forced removal of the families from the mission. I had access to 33 hours² of interviews from this collection and compared these with interviews I conducted in Mapoon through 2010 to 2014. There are many common threads, including Mapoon families' expressed yearning for return to their country, the trauma of the burning of Mapoon, their homes and the mission closure, expressed through sadness, sometimes anger and nostalgia. McKeown and Guivarra's (1992) interviews focus on the reasons behind Mapoon's closure and the role of

² Access to these interviews requires a 12 month process, including written permission and signatures of all originally interviewed individuals. In many interviews, more than one individual was present and either was deceased or not living in Mapoon. Access therefore, was not possible for my thesis research for many of these interviews due to these two factors.

the Church, State and mining companies in this process. In contrast, my interviews with Elders and missionary families focus on their feelings and connections to places and memories of the mission time, with targeted interview material drawing on stimuli from visits to cultural places, historical photographs and maps of cultural heritage places from the mission time. While there are many common threads, the research I undertook had a more place-based focus to the mission time.

Approximately four hours of the McKeown-Guivarra interviews include an audio-visual tour of the remains of the Mission Compound and some of the remains of mission time houses. This is with different individuals and families (the Daniel and Hudson families) than those Elders who have taken me on a similar tour (AIATSIS 2009). My fieldwork between 2010 to 2014 contributes considerable new interview footage to the existing film and audio files which record the remains of the Mission Compound and mission time houses. Several families interviewed by McKeown and Guivarra in Weipa and Cairns have since returned to Mapoon including the Days, Flinders, Luff and Busch families. During my interviews with them in 2010 to 2014 many other Indigenous families had moved/returned to Mapoon and were living in Mapoon that were not doing so in 1992. I also undertook my research after the Queensland State Government and Australian Presbyterian Church's (APC) apologies to Mapoon for the mission closure and forced removal of families from their country and after the formation of the MASC and the granting of the DOGIT. My research was undertaken in a period of more formally recognised self-governance in Mapoon. Interview footage from my 2010 to 2013 fieldwork is used by MLSAC for interpretation of the remains of the Mission Compound and to protect cultural heritage places through their newly constructed internal heritage inventory maintained by Rangers. These changes in political and historical circumstance have great bearing on the results of my oral history interviews with Mapoon Elders and missionaries compared to the McKeown and Guivarra interviews 19-22 years later. The last missionaries associated with the closure, the Filmer family, are also notably absent from the McKeown and Guivarra interviews, and any documented historical research of the Mapoon Mission to date, despite their relationships with Indigenous families over 7 years and their role as the last APC missionaries at Mapoon. My work addresses this gap in the oral historical record.

Since 1992, Mapoon people were actively involved in several community history projects. Geoff Wharton, a historian (formerly an archivist for Comalco, now based in Brisbane) has worked with Elders on bush food projects, the construction of a War Memorial, the First Contact Memorial and the provision of numerous black-and-white historical photography of the mission time displayed in the MASC building. Wharton also completed his Honours thesis on the history of the burning of Mapoon and the events that lead to its closure (Wharton 1996). Wharton's work focused mostly on review of archival records at the Australian Presbyterian Church (APC) and Queensland State Archives. Wharton has produced several unpublished historical papers and history projects in Mapoon including the Duyfken first contact memorial and the Anzac memorial in Mapoon (Wharton 1996, 2000, 2005), which included the input of Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous Families in Mapoon. Wharton continues to work in Mapoon today and is well-respected by many Mapoon families, MLSAC and the MASC.

Other community-based archaeological research projects have been undertaken in the broader region. For example, Susan McIntyre-Tamwoy's PhD thesis focused on a study area including the "northern part of Cape York Peninsula from Silver Plains and Coen north to the Prince of Wales Group" (2000:5), which includes Mapoon. McIntyre-Tamwoy's research included oral history interviews with the Bond family (one of the families within Mapoon, including Mabel Bond, an Elder, initially involved in my research during inception and the consent process, who passed away prior to the commencement of oral history interviews), a Ranger Training Program from Injinoo to identify the former Mapoon Mission site (while the Mission house was still standing) and house remains of Mapoon families (McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000). McIntyre-Tamwoy's survey of the house remains at Mapoon was conducted in 1990 and involved one Mapoon Ranger and a different group of families to those involved in my research. There are no records of this Ranger Training Program survey within Mapoon based on consultation with the MLSAC, MASC and a review of MASC's existing archives in 2010. McIntyre-Tamwoy's work is situated within her broader thesis research, which has a regional focus that encompasses the cultural heritage values of northern Cape York Peninsula. Previous to her work, archaeological research was limited and includes only some unpublished work on middens in the area by Morrison and Cribb. More recently there have been investigations of a traditional Indigenous burial in the

Pennefather region south of Mapoon by Michael Westaway (Griffith University, pers. comm., 2014) in partnership with Thomas Wales and other Mapoon people.

In 2006 during his PhD research on comparative settlement planning, including Mapoon, Mark Moran and local Elders identified the remains of former mission houses (Moran 2006). During Moran's research, Elders and Moran pegged out the locations of former mission time houses with the intent of rebuilding their houses there at a later date as part of the new town plan for Mapoon. Moran's focus was on the location of former homes only for rebuilding houses, and did not record visible material culture, associated cemeteries, wells and other cultural places or natural features (trees and gardens planted in the mission time). Moran's maps of names of former families and homes formed the basis of some of my archaeological survey of former mission time homes. Elders involved in my fieldwork provided knowledge of additional house remains and cultural heritage places to Moran's maps (Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) 1995). Mark Moran was still working on this project with 'World Vision' in Mapoon to assist Mapoon people with obtaining funding to rebuild their homes, during the time of my PhD project.

My work builds on and extends these previous studies in important ways through historical research involving missionary families not previously consulted and through investigating the connection of Mapoon people and missionary families to cultural heritage places where historical trauma was experienced through the burning of Mapoon.

1.7 RESEARCH THEMES

My research focuses on understanding the relationship between the causes and mechanisms of cultural change and the experience of trauma to how Indigenous and missionary families create cultural heritage values for places and in place through engagement in archaeological practice and narratives. I explore in my study how such creation is also interconnected with the creation and renewal of cultural, community and family identity. I critically engage with archaeological approaches to evaluating and assessing cultural heritage and draw on unconventional approaches to contribute insights from research in Mapoon into the international literature on heritage value. I draw on conceptual material from environmental psychology and trauma studies to assist in the

analysis of the emotional dimensions of Mapoon people's heritage values. I investigate the following research themes:

- 1) Defining cultural heritage through values and significance;
- 2) Trauma, memory and dark heritage;
- 3) Archaeology, relationships and identity;
- 4) Cultural heritage values expressed and created in:
 - a. Narratives;
 - b. Cultural Heritage Places (with intangible and tangible heritage); and
 - c. Archaeological practice.

I briefly outline my working models of these concepts below, which are then further explored and analysed through subsequent chapters.

1.7.1 Defining Cultural Heritage through Values and Significance

Cultural heritage is defined in my research as material culture, places, and practices

that define who we are as individuals, as communities, as nations or civilisations and as a species. It is that which we want to keep, share and pass on (Donald Horne Institute for Cultural Heritage 2012).

Cultural heritage is an important element of life in Mapoon that underpins relationships within and outside Mapoon for Elders and younger generations and is interconnected with the renewal of community and family identity. As noted by UNESCO, cultural heritage encompasses (but is not limited to) "natural heritage, monuments, objects, underwater heritage, maritime heritage, historical heritage, Indigenous heritage and intangible heritage" (United Nations Educational 2014). Cultural heritage includes destroyed and remembered places, artefacts and the narratives, memories and rituals performed and created in place that are shared and transmitted between generations and peoples. Cultural heritage in Mapoon includes natural heritage, and both cultural heritage places and natural heritage values are encompassed in a cultural landscape, referred to by Mapoon families as 'country' or 'Mapoon' (discussed further in Chapter 6). Mapoon's cultural heritage encompasses natural and environmental features, including but not limited to animals, plants, sea and weather phenomenon, valued by Indigenous families through expressions of language, narrative, ritual, activities to care for country and totems.

Mapoon's mission time heritage is a form of Aboriginal historical heritage (also referred to in many studies as post-contact heritage) (Byrne and Nugent 2004:5). Post-contact heritage refers to Aboriginal heritage places that also may have value for non-Indigenous people and date to post-European settlement (Byrne and Nugent 2004:5, Smith 1996:73). These places include mission villages, government settlements, pastoral properties, homesteads, cemeteries and other types of places that have shared or contested values for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Many researchers in this field argue that post-contact heritage was perhaps inadvertently excluded by archaeological research up to the 1990s due to the focus of research questions on the archaeology of Aboriginal objects (Brown 2008; Godwin 2010; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000, 2004). Some researchers also argue that this exclusion can be traced to the institutionalised divide in cultural heritage management in Australia between 'historic' and 'Aboriginal' heritage, the former focusing on only non-Indigenous heritage and the latter focusing on Indigenous heritage that dates to before 1788 (Byrne 2002; Godwin 2010; Harrison 2004a; Harrison 2004b; Lydon 2004; Murray 2004b; Smith 2004). This institutionalised divide also pervades the Queensland heritage system through the existence of separate legislation: the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act, 2003*, which governs Aboriginal cultural heritage and the *Queensland Heritage Act, 1992*, which governs historical or non-Indigenous heritage.

This division and focus on tangible heritage, artefacts and objects in archaeology may also explain the absence of mission villages and government settlements and other forms of post-contact heritage places on heritage listings managed by Australian government agencies (Brown 2008; Byrne 1991; Godwin 2010; Smith 2006; Sutton 1999, 2003). Mission places often contain very little physical evidence and originate from a recent living history, in some cases including violent episodes and painful memories. These forms of cultural heritage places and the focus on archaeology as a science interested in objects may have led to some experts to not recognise post-contact heritage places as 'archaeology'. Former mission villages and government settlements have strong intangible heritage values (sound, taste, visual nature, feeling and act as a trigger for memories of the past). In this thesis, I investigate how these places are valued by Mapoon people and missionary families, through engaging in archaeological practice and narrative and the ways in which these places are critical to identity.

Post-contact heritage places were not considered by archaeologists and other academics who devised early heritage legislation in Australia, due to a focus on objects and tangible heritage as lobbied by experts (Brown 2008:609-615; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2004; Harrison and Williamson 2004; Ireland 2010; Murray 2004a, 2004b). Wateron *et al.* (2006:105-106) argue that elevation of the heritage practitioner as an authority who interprets and assesses cultural significance institutionalised by legislation, through the embodied values of tangible heritage (places and fabric) regulates 'non-expert' and community values as non-essential to the assessment of cultural significance. The power imbalance between heritage practitioner/archaeologists and community groups in heritage management can cause conflicts and tensions over heritage (Meskell 2010:843). Nonetheless, former mission villages and government settlements have gained popularity as the focus of research projects and studies in heritage and archaeology over the last 40 years (e.g. Dalley 2012; Dalley and Memmott 2010; Lydon 2009a, 2009b; Morrison *et al.* 2010; Ratican 2009).

Post-contact heritage places contain very few physical remains and are predominantly intangible heritage. Intangible heritage is defined by UNESCO under the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage* as:

it does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts (United Nations Educational 2014).

The Convention was approved in 2003 and led to a changed focus from international heritage protection of tangible, physical artefacts and places to heritage that is embodied in people through practices, knowledge and rituals (Logan 2007:33). Critics of UNESCO's definition of intangible heritage raise concerns about rituals and practices and aspects of human behavior that are incompatible with policies on international human rights (Logan 2007:37; Ruggles and Silverman 2009:2-3). For example, female circumcision, female foot binding and widow burning (sati) are some examples of rituals and social practices that are 'traditional' but are now considered by many nations as morally and socially unacceptable

(Logan 2007:37; Ruggles and Silverman 2009:2-3). Who has the right to ethically judge and decide on which traditions, social practices and knowledge are conserved as intangible heritage and that which is disregarded? This question is heavily debated within heritage research and there is no clear answer or solution. Other concerns for this definition centre on ethical questions of how to protect and manage heritage that is embodied in people. Legislation protected tangible heritage through ownership and conservation of physical places and objects; it is not “ethically possible to ‘own’ people or protect people in the same ways” (Logan 2007:37).

In my research, I explore how different forms of intangible heritage values are expressed and created by Mapoon people and missionary families for the mission time. I have adopted UNESCO’s definition of intangible heritage as a working definition for this study but with an awareness of the problems associated with this definition. The Convention is also limited and does not demonstrate how to manage when these practices and traditions change over time with future generations. Like people’s cultural heritage values for places, heritage legislation has difficulty recognising and adapting to changes at a practice and agency level. I ask, what kinds of intangible heritage values are created in Mapoon relating to the mission time? Where are they created, and by whom? Throughout this thesis I examine these questions and the definition of cultural heritage through documenting expressions of value and significance by Mapoon people and missionary families.

In cultural heritage management literature, there is debate and inconsistency over the definition of cultural heritage values, significance and the application of heritage charters for best practice (The Burra Charter) (Johnston 2006:1-3; Smith 2006:102-106; Wateron *et al.* 2006:339-355). While value has been treated as an objective category within significance assessment, research in this area demonstrates that it must be treated conceptually, rather than as a measurable attribute or absolute truth. *The Burra Charter: The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (Australian ICOMOS 2013) is the standard heritage best practice policy within Australian heritage management and forms the basis for Commonwealth and State heritage agency guidelines. The Burra Charter is the current standard used in the assessment of World Heritage values of Cape York, which include the Mapoon DOGIT, a process which is being undertaken by government agencies with the involvement of Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council (and many other Indigenous councils)

during my research. The Burra Charter was revised in (1999) and 2013, with the intent to be more inclusive of community involvement and engagement in heritage significance assessment (1988; Australian International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Incorporated (2013). Values are only defined in relation to cultural significance in the Burra Charter:

Aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places* and *related objects* (Australian ICOMOS 2013, emphasis in original).

The Burra Charter still defines cultural significance as intrinsic to place and fabric (Australian ICOMOS 2013:2). Places are defined as having inherent, embodied values (Australian ICOMOS 2013:2). Values and cultural significance are synonymous in the Burra Charter.

Some authors argue the Burra Charter (Australian ICOMOS 2013, 1999) is flawed in its ambiguous definition of values and significance which lead to misinterpretation (Johnston 2006:1-2; Smith 2006:102-106; Wateron *et al.* 2006:339-355). Additional problems, as noted above, are power imbalances between the role of heritage practitioner and community in the significance assessment process due to a focus on heritage values being physically embedded within fabric (tangible heritage) (Smith 2006:102-106; Wateron *et al.* 2006:339-355). Some archaeologists and heritage practitioners in Australia and overseas criticise the lack of recognition of social and cultural values by government agencies compared to the elevation of scientific values (e.g. Boyd *et al.* 1996; Brown 2008:21; Byrne 2008:614; Darvill, 2005:21-42; Pocock 2003:273; Rowland 1995:357-367; Smith 1996:67). Scientific values can be measured through empirical evidence and therefore only through, tangible heritage, objects and physical material culture. Pocock (2003:267, 273) also discusses the problem of separating aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual values in the significance assessment, since, she argues, “all values are social values”, made and shared by people. Pocock (2003) shows that attempting to measure these values separately is perhaps flawed and at the very least problematic, because of the social nature of values and their inherent dynamism.

In addition, recent studies in environmental psychology also identify problems within the significance assessment process and the application of heritage legislation and policy. Reser and Berntrupperbaumer (2005:125-146) and Berntrupperbaumer *et al.* (2006) criticise the use of 'environmental' and 'World Heritage values' in management discourse, identifying the confusion of these constructs in environmental assessment practice and heritage legislation since the late 1960s. These researchers argue that confusion lies where "as soon as it is said that places have values rather than value, clear meaning and reference slip precariously" (Berntrupperbaumer *et al.* 2006:727). This confusion partly stems from heritage practitioners/agencies assuming that values are embedded in place and a denial that significance is social in nature. In other words, if embedded in place, values become an objective and measurable attribute for a practitioner or agency to assess and manage rather than a subjective attachment or judgment made by people influenced by a myriad of outside social, political, environmental and cultural causes that can lead to episodes of dramatic cultural change. The crux of the issue is that heritage practitioners and agencies are attempting to capture and measure cultural heritage values held by people for cultural heritage places and these factors change over time and are dynamic. Attachments people make to place are based on emotions in the here and now and therefore are neither absolute nor static.

Similar criticisms of the misuse of significance and value in cultural heritage management are also recognised by Australian archaeologists. Byrne (2008:614) argues that "archaeological heritage sites" have been erroneously referred to as "values" in the environmental assessment process. Byrne (2008:614) also argues there is a misconception that the task of archaeologists is to map cultural heritage values as if they are conceptually similar to biodiversity values, "we find ourselves having to insist that the value archaeological materials have is not intrinsic to them, rather is ascribed to them by past and present people". Similarly, Brown (2008:21) argues there are problems within key heritage guidelines adopted by State agencies based on The Burra Charter, because "cultural significance, synonymous with cultural heritage value" is considered as something "inherent, immutable or somehow 'fixed within'" a place, rather than as "ascribed" by people to a place. Thomas and Ross (2013:221) also critique what they refer to as "authenticity... a focus on the tangible, the past, the unchanging (static) site" in legislation and definitions of heritage as "seriously flawed" because "every culture ... is continually changing, with connections,

meanings and relationships between people and places, and between people, places and landscapes, changing as well". The issue of authenticity and a concept of unchanging tangible heritage are some of the many problems with the existing Queensland heritage legislation, the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act, 2003* and the *Queensland Heritage Act, 1992*. These problems I also encountered within my professional experience as a heritage consultant and archaeologist working within Australian heritage legislation. How do archaeologists deal with the changing nature of heritage and values in our methodology for assessing and understanding cultural heritage values and working with communities experiencing or who experienced cultural change? This question is at the heart of this thesis and I explore potential interdisciplinary methods within my research methodology to grapple with this problem.

I draw on environmental psychology to refine the above definition of cultural heritage. Following Berntrupperbaumer and Reser (2005:142), cultural heritage is understood as "individual and shared community or societal beliefs about the significance, importance of cultural heritage and how it should be viewed and treated by humans". Cultural heritage and environmental values can be found within people and are expressed through "human activities, relationships and cultural products and also incorporate shared beliefs" for protection, conservation and management of places (Berntrupperbaumer and Reser 2005:142). Significance may be understood as the subjective values held by people for their heritage, which can be influenced over time by myriad factors, including political and historical circumstances, customs, tradition and beliefs. Significance is not embedded in place and cannot be considered an objectively measurable attribute over space and time (Brown 2008:21; Byrne 2008:614). Along the same lines, values cannot be considered as intrinsic to places, landscapes or objects; they originate and dwell within the hearts and minds of people and can only be assessed, as argued in Smith (2006:1-2), through the genuine engagement and involvement of the people who ascribe these values to places.

1.7.2 Trauma, Memory and Dark Heritage

Trauma

As recounted in the opening narratives of Mapoon Elders, the mission closure was a source of trauma and an episode of abrupt cultural change for many Mapoon families. At Mapoon, people's trauma is central to memories of the place and key events associated with it. This

thesis explores the importance of memory and how painful memories are associated with place and heritage places like Mapoon. Trauma was experienced by missionary families during the mission closure at Mapoon in different ways to Indigenous families. Trauma is defined in this study as an experience or assault on the body or mind that produces emotional shock, distress or injury (Denham 2008; Eyerman 2013, 2004; Eyerman *et al.* 2011; Steensland 2005). Experiences or assaults on the mind and body do not always predicate trauma in all individuals due to a range of complex physical, cultural and psychological reasons (Denham 2008:35). Trauma is the affected response of an individual to this experience.

Trauma and desolation experienced by people through the loss or “assault” on their home or environment is characterised by Albrecht (2005:45) as “solastalgia”. Albrecht (2005:54) argues solastalgia is experienced at a potentially deeper level by Indigenous people due to their strong spiritual and emotional connections to ‘country’, with distress manifest from the ongoing destruction and transformation of the landscape since European invasion. Albrecht (2005:47-49) has suggested solastalgia as a potential contributor to high Indigenous suicide rates and premature death rates because of the transformation of traditional lands and the links to a sense of powerlessness and challenges to individual and group identity. Similar arguments are also presented in Connor *et al.* (2008:84-86) and Connor *et al.* (2004) in their review of coal mining impacts on the Hunter Valley Indigenous communities. They argue that Indigenous attachment to the environment is an intimate spiritual connection, and the impacts of coal mining therefore not only destroys that environment but irrevocably damages people’s connections to country Connor *et al.* (2008:84-86).

Growing research in social sciences supports a connection between well-being, cultural heritage and environment (for example, Grieves 2006; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997; Reser *et al.* 2011). Reser *et al.* (2011:28) links environmental change (including natural disasters and climate change) and environmental degradation within Indigenous communities throughout the world as “exacting very real though largely undocumented human costs”. This concept can be applied more broadly within Australia and overseas in places where there is rapid development, major physical environmental change (including natural disasters) and environmental degradation which are causes of subsequent cultural change. Such changes may result in psychological distress including

identity crisis potentially manifested in physical health conditions within affected communities (e.g. Kwiatkowski *et al.* 2009:57-67; Reser *et al.* 2011:18). Critics of these studies such as MacSuibhne (2009) argue that distress experienced by individuals and groups by environmental change is well-known but not sufficiently proven to be a mental illness. This critique indicates solastalgia may be too broad in definition to critically understand as a separate concept to environmental distress.

In this thesis, I explore the experiences of trauma of Mapoon families relating to the destruction of valued places and home during episodes of dramatic cultural change for Mapoon people. Mapoon people experienced such things through initial dispossession and removal to the Mapoon Mission and then secondary dispossession through forced removal during the mission closure. Missionaries also experienced extreme forms of change to place and relationships through displacement in the mission closure.

Memory

Throughout this study, Mapoon Elders' and missionary families' memories (including memories of historical trauma and episodes of cultural change) provide critical input into understanding cultural heritage values, identification of cultural heritage places and the history of the Mapoon mission. Memory is defined following the Oxford Dictionary's definition as "the faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information" (2014:1). Memory is not well-defined in social theory. I explore memory and its relationship to collective identity. Memory is a representation of events and experiences. Memory studies is a well-established field in social sciences and sciences, with research examining the cognitive abilities and physiological functions of the brain and memory ranging to cultural studies of memory, including social memory, historical memory and collective memory (Bell 2006; Blatz and Ross 2009; Boyer and Wertsch 2009; Edkins 2003; Jones 2007; Jones and Russell 2012; Kidron 2013; Maek and Ebooks 2014; Nünning and Erll 2008; Peterson 2013; Whitehead 2009). This study explores the transmission of memory (including recollections of traumatic history) through ritual and social practices in cultural heritage places as related in Connerton (1989) and Peterson (2013). This study delves into social and collective memory, where memories "sustain a distinctive identity, which is what social groups need, maintain and transmit to further generations" and works with memory as a cultural process (Boyer 2009:9).

I recognise the biases of attempting to understand memories of cultural groups as identified in Blatz and Ross (2009:223-237), who argue that group historical memories “are often tilted in favour of their in-groups and against other groups” and biased by how these memories are remembered and to whom they are presented. Similarly, Connerton (1989:2) argues that our “experiences of the present very largely depends on our knowledge of the past” because our present is experienced in “a context causally connected with past events and objects” (1989:2). Past circumstances, can also “distort” how we remember the past in the present (Connerton 1989:2). I explore the relationship (if any) of trauma to identity and interaction between Indigenous and missionary families and the formation of families values for mission time culture heritage. I investigate how, during archaeological practice, including relocating material culture and being in places, Mapoon people remember mission time history. Thus I explore archaeological practice as a way in which Mapoon Elders may collectively remember, and the significance of these memories for group identity and relationships between Mapoon people and former missionary families.

Dark Heritage

Dark heritage refers to heritage places and landscapes that are related to traumatic events and death including slavery, terrorism, atrocities, murder, genocide, violence and acts of war and conflict (Nugent, 2013; Podoshen 2013:19-20; Sather-Wagstaff and Ebooks 2011:30; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Dark tourism is the act of visiting these places of dark heritage and is generally considered different from ‘pale tourism’ because motivations for visiting these places are due to some form of pilgrimage, sacred/spiritual visit and/or voyeurism or engagement and attraction to death and experiences of that place (Podoshen 2013:263-265). Researchers of such places also refer to dark heritage as “thanatourism”, “dissonant heritage”, “contested heritage”, “sites of memory” and “heritage that hurts” (Lennon and Foley 2000:13; Podoshen 2013:263-265; Sather-Wagstaff and Ebooks 2011:30; Schofield *et al.* 2002:1; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Winter 2009:252-261). On the other side of this binary, ‘pale heritage’ differs from ‘dark heritage’ because it is not “associated with some form of atrocity”, favouring the “historic” over the “visual and experiential” presentations for tourism (Podoshen 2013:264). These elements of dark heritage indicate the importance of performance and acts of commemoration to valuing dark heritage places. Researchers in cultural memory, Winter (2009) and Young (1993) argue

that commemoration and remembrance are critical to the valuing dark heritage places. Young (1993:35) writes that:

commemoration ... is an act arising out of a conviction, shared by a broad community, that the moment recalled is both significant and informed by a moral message. Sites of memory materialize that message ... The critical point ... is that they are there as points of reference not only for those who survived traumatic events, but also for those born long after them.

Commemorative acts are performances of remembering. These may be manifested by individuals, groups and organisations through storytelling, celebrations/festivals, public holidays, services, re-enactments, writing history, interpretative works and monument construction.

Dark heritage places differ from pre-twentieth century battle sites according to Lennon and Foley (2000:11) due to temporal scale and absence of living memories of these events and secondly, these places do not “posit questions, or introduce anxiety and doubt about, modernity and its consequences”. Sites of twentieth century conflict are included within common definitions of dark heritage applied by some researchers (Schofield *et al.* 2002:4).

Dark heritage places often contain little tangible (physical remains) material culture and their significance tends to lie in the memory and emotional experience of people connected to the events that occurred at this place. The significance of dark heritage places lies not just in the events that occurred in the past but in the places themselves, because “they are spaces that are continuously negotiated, constructed, and reconstructed into meaningful places through ongoing human action” (Bodnar 1992:75 cited in Sather-Wagstaff and Ebooks 2011:19-20). The remains of the former mission time homes and Mapoon Mission Compound contain very few remains of tangible, physical, material culture. I explore Jones’ (2007:19-22) argument that people and material culture including monuments are “engaged in the process of remembering... not to say that objects, experience, contain or store memory; it is simply that objects provide the ground for humans to experience memory”.

I explore the extant material culture and the destroyed places of the mission time to understand if Mapoon people and missionary families experience memory and engage in remembering in these places more than other types of cultural heritage places. The significance of the mission time cultural heritage places is explored in this thesis in the memories of Mapoon Elders connected to their three key Mapoon narratives (birth-death-resurrection) in relation to the mission time and three episodes of major cultural change in Mapoon. Rituals and practices that relate to and bring up memory and trauma are central to valuing and creating and recreating attachment to heritage and dark heritage places.

1.7.3 Archaeology, Relationships among Indigenous and Non-Indigenous People and Identity

Many different models of relationships of power between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who lived in/or administered former missions and government settlements, have gained currency in recent anthropological, historical and archaeological debates. These models also deal with the reproduction and change of cultural forms and phenomena. These models include 'domination and resistance', 'domains' and 'intercultural engagement'. These models are ways in which researchers have tried to explain the formation of social groups and their interaction. In this study I am interested in the relationships of people to place. In Mapoon, there are multiple kinds of relationships occurring within a history of control and domination of the State over Indigenous families, I am interested in examining these relationships between Indigenous families, the State and missionary families, exploring episodes of cultural change and how these relationships affect how cultural heritage places are valued and identified.

Ways of Understanding Cultural Interaction and Relationships

'Domination-and-resistance' is one of the most commonly applied conceptual models of the last 40 years to characterise relationships and cultural interaction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Birmingham 1992, Birmingham and Wilson 2010; Davison 1979:35-36; Griffin 2010:164; Ireland 2010:148; Lydon 2009a, 2009b, 2004; Russell 2000). Since the late 1970s, many, if not all, anthropological and archaeological studies of former missions and government settlements have recognised that Indigenous people resisted the control of the State and Church during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and continued to maintain cultural practices in different and varying ways. Resistance to control ranges from

overt resistance through war and massacres to more covert forms of resistance such as the continuation of traditional practices despite missionary and State prohibition, intervention and control (Birmingham 1992, Birmingham and Wilson 2010; Davison 1979:35-36; Griffin 2010:164; Ireland 2010:148; Lydon 2009a, 2009b, 2004; Russell 2000). Russell (2001:4-6) refers to a spectrum of resistance by Aboriginal people to the process of colonisation: from more subtle resistance to overt conflict and war.

Mulvaney (1989), Kabaila (1995a,1995b) and Lydon (2009a; 2009b;) argue against characterising Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in terms of a dichotomy or as two separate, opposing and homogenous groups. I agree that this approach can oversimplify and generalise interaction among people. Broad examples of the complexity of relations include the fact that Aboriginal people sometimes integrated missionaries into their kinship systems and missionaries chose the locations of missions based on the support and input of local Indigenous communities (Attwood 1989:30; Krichauff, 2013; Vincent, 2013). In this study, I explore the complexity of relationships between the State, Indigenous families and the former missionary families and how these relationships, particularly during times of conflict and cultural change, affect what places are valued and memorialised.

The idea of 'domains' refers to a separation of different cultural/social groups' activity in space by one group to "the exclusion of another" (Dalley and Memmott 2010). Spatial domains within Aboriginal settlements (for example, "whitefella" and "blackfella" domains) were explored in anthropological studies by von Sturmer (1984), Harris (1990) and discussed by Rowse (1992). Trigger (1985, 1992:100-103) applied the concept of spatial domains to relationships at the former Doomadgee mission village in the Gulf of Carpentaria. This spatial model is used to identify cultural groups' use of different spaces but also to explain power relations between these two groups. In Doomadgee, Aboriginal people were using spatial domains to exclude White interference from social behaviour but also as "in part an arena of resistance to the colonial imperative of assimilating the colonised to the beliefs and practices of the colonizing society" (Trigger 1992:101). Social groups can use these spaces or domains as forums for resistance.

Critics of the application of domains include anthropologists interested in the 'intercultural' model of engagement between people. Merlan (2005:13-15) writes that an "intercultural

account should plausibly deal with socio-cultural difference, similarity, boundedness and transformation". In other words, an intercultural account of interaction (interpersonal relationships, transactions and engagement between social actors and groups) between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people would start by deconstructing these categories, but also focus on the ways in which cultures are transformed through interaction and the similarities and differences between responses and meanings in this process (Dalley and Memmott 2010:179; Merlan 2005:13-15). Several anthropologists critically engage with intercultural approaches in a volume of *Oceania* (Hinkson and Smith 2005; Holcombe 2005; Redmond 2005).³ Merlan (2013:637) stresses that intercultural accounts "focus attention on forms of indigenous-nonindigenous relationality, a notion that includes but is not limited to direct interaction (or conscious avoidance of it)". Merlan's intercultural approach does not just focus on interaction between social groups but examines diversity of human relationships throughout their history and the social and political forces that influence the ways in which people understand themselves (2013:638).

Dalley and Memmott (2010) argued that understanding cultural interaction through an intercultural account and the operation of domains are not mutually exclusive concepts and can occur side-by-side. Dalley and Memmott (2010) supported their argument through an analysis of interaction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples at the Mornington Island Presbyterian mission during Rev. Wilson's administration from 1914 to 1942. They examine the enforced spatial domains of the mission (for example, the dormitory system and mission compound) and argue Aboriginal people had "multiple roles within this domain", but these domains were "contingent on an ongoing dialogue of interaction between missionaries and Aboriginal people" (Dalley and Memmott 2010:132-135). Therefore, Dalley and Memmott argue that Mornington Island Mission, "was the focus of an intercultural engagement, despite the existence of distinct spatial domains" during 1914 to 1942 (2010:132-135). In my study, I critically examine the historical and political history of Mapoon

³ Merlan (2013) and Morphy and Morphy (2013) have recently debated the concept of intercultural and its application for the Yolgnu and broader accounts of cultural interaction in Australia in *American Anthropologist*. Critiques of the intercultural concept are also presented in Mansfield's case study of heavy metal mobs in Wadeye in Australia in *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* (2013:148-165), where metal mobs "constitute a highly codified system of social organisation, and one in which non-Aboriginal cultural influences are quite peripheral" (Mansfield 2013:148).

from the mission time as these perspectives contribute a framework for an analysis of historical and contemporary identity and value for Mapoon as a place.

Another model of interaction is one based on 'transaction' and 'self-interest'. Pearson (1998:135, 139) argues that at the Lutheran Mission, Hopevale, in northern Queensland, Guugu Yimidhirr people took on those selective parts of the missionary life and Christianity, which suited them and strengthened their cultural practices, creating their own 'mission experience'. Similarly, at Mornington Island, Labumore Elsie Roughsey tells of her diet as a dormitory child at the former mission village, being supplemented by "our folks" who brought in "dugong, turtle, fish, crabs and oysters" and bush foods, which were important to the health of the children (1984:10-12). Similar accounts of 'self-interest' are documented in McIntyre-Tamwoy's (2004:185), Torrence and Clarke (2000), Ireland (2010) and Birmingham and Wilson (2010:15-38). Torrence (2000) argues that cultural contact "is a cultural exchange or negotiation". Torrence and Clarke (2000) and McIntyre-Tamwoy's (2004) approach assert that groups maintain their own identity, but that interaction involves a transaction where groups take what suits them based on self-interest. Transactional models of interaction have been discussed more broadly and applied to other forms of post-contact heritage sites. For example, Harrison and Williamson (2004:6) and Murray (2004a:75) understand Aboriginal people as experiencing and adapting to cultural change as not unique to post-contact times but a continuation of traditional culture. That is they emphasise Aboriginal conscious agency. This way of understanding cultural relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people differs from intercultural forms presented by Merlan (2005, 2013), where to some extent, Aboriginal agency is encapsulated and dominated within the discourse of the State. In my thesis, I investigate if the dynamics of relationships between missionaries and Mapoon people through oral history interviews and archival research has aided in valuing the Mapoon Mission cultural heritage.

Archaeology and Identity

Archaeology is argued by Liebmann (2008:6-7) to have a role in producing representations of identity throughout history and deconstructing "colonial discourses". Liebmann argues that archaeology has produced essentialist representations of Indigenous people vs colonisers in binaries, where the colonisers are presented favourably as superior to Indigenous people who are represented as colonised and negatively in inferior and more

passive terms of reference (2008:6). These binary representations form the basis of colonial discourses which are used to justify Western colonialism and the basis of political and economic hegemony and control over Indigenous peoples (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008:6). Archaeology historically has assisted in the creation of colonial discourses through essentialist representations of Indigenous people as the Other (Foucault 1994; Smith 2006). Liebmann's post-colonial critique of archaeology and identity draws on Edward Said's (1978, revised in 2003) *Orientalism*. (Said 2003) *Orientalism* was a critique of 'the West's' stereotypical representations of 'Other' cultures particularly 'the East' as inferior, to justify political and cultural imperialism. Said (2003:332) writes that identity of self and other are "reciprocal", not "static" and involves "establishing opposites and others whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from us". Therefore, how the West sees itself is interlinked with how it sees 'Other' cultures, and these representations are constantly in flux.

Critics of Said (2003) have argued that a focus on representation has led to excessive relativism, where no attempt at revealing truth can be found (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia 2008:5). In the case of heritage legislation and the significance assessment process in Australia, colonial representations of Indigenous people are enshrined in policy through the separation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage legislation, statutory heritage registers for protection, agencies and practices (Byrne 1991; Smith 2000, 1996). Places with values for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are often described today as shared values but this distinction still suggests binary distinctions, a separation of peoples and communities, rather than a holistic approach to understanding the formation of heritage values of people to places. It is also simplistic as it does not frame values held by social groups as potentially being contested within these groups or between them. Differences in forms of attachment to place held by social groups that may be cultural, shared values implies a homogeneous valuing of place and landscape within social groups, which is also potentially fraught.

Similarly, Liebmann (2008:6) argues that archaeology can deconstruct colonial discourses and essential representations. She draws on the case of the Mound builders and archaeology's role in revealing that the colonial interpretation of mounds being constructed by Europeans (instead of Native Americans) was false. This interpretation was used in America to construct representations of Native Americans as primitive and to justify policies

of racial control and dispossession (Liebmann 2008:7). David *et al.* (2012:20) and Brady *et al.* (2003) show in their research in the Torres Strait Islands, that archaeology can in collaboration with Elders and community members assist “with cultural continuity and ... uncover newer revived aspects of community history”. Archaeology through collaborative research methodologies with Indigenous people may provide potential to heal past trauma experienced due to colonial hegemony through exchange of knowledge and potential renewal of cultural practices and cultural heritage places (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004, 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al.* 2010; Schmidt 2010:255). I explore archaeology’s potential in this thesis to deconstruct colonial representations of Mapoon’s mission time history and to create value for social groups and catharsis for the historical and present-day effects of colonial representation.

Identities at Mapoon

This thesis focuses on narratives of interaction, teasing out factors which influenced the formation of cultural heritage values including the influences of the State and Church and local governance, individuals and families. I define Mapoon people as individuals and families who reside or once lived in mission time family homes in Mapoon and predominantly identify as from Mapoon. Most Mapoon people have an Indigenous family history, although in some rare cases, there are non-Indigenous persons living in Mapoon and connected with it historically, who are referred to as Mapoon people. For example, one non-Indigenous man, who married an Indigenous Mapoon woman, and is referred to in Mapoon as an Elder participated in my project in this capacity. I define ‘community’ as Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who lived in these places during the institutional period, and their descendants, and people who temporarily occupied these places for part of the institutional period from 1891 to 1963. My definition of community encompasses interviewees and project participants, Elders or individuals, representing the views of a specific family or group of people and younger generations including Rangers, children of occupants of the former mission dormitories or settlement. In order to be able to differentiate between the values of Mapoon people, I separate missionary families, Elders, Rangers, Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous families as different social and cultural groups to explore my research themes, recognizing the enmeshing of these categories.

Missionary families are those family members who lived in the mission house and who are within the same nuclear family as the missionary administrating the mission at Mapoon up to 1963. David Allan, Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer are living members of missionary families, involved in this study. All previous missionary families are deceased, too frail or not contactable for this study (as determined through consultation with the APC, Brisbane). Although I have used a distinction between Mapoon families and missionary families in this study, there are those, such as David Allan, who is considered by Indigenous Mapoon families, especially members of the Savo/De Jersey family, Day/Mamoose family and Callopes, a member of their family. Similarly, David Allan considers members of these families, his sisters and aunties. In the case of the Filmer family their extended family included deceased and living members of the Woodley and Charger families.

In considering Mapoon people's and missionary families' identity, I explore how identity is a dynamic rather than fixed concept. Identities can be activated by social actors and groups at certain moments, sometimes consciously and for political or emotional reasons. Representations of identity affect the ways in which Mapoon people value cultural heritage places and how these places are managed. Through archaeological site analysis, I show that places of greater potential antiquity have less cultural heritage value to Mapoon people as they are not associated with the core Mapoon narratives. I investigate how narratives are connected to specific places valued by Mapoon people. I explore how material culture and being in place, can trigger Mapoon Elders' memories and narratives and create and renew identity.

1.7.4 Expressing Cultural Heritage Values

This study examines cultural heritage values expressed by Mapoon people and missionary families. Values for cultural heritage places are expressed by Elders and missionary families in narratives through remembered episodes of cultural change, in place and engagement in archaeological practice.

Narratives

The three Mapoon narratives of the birth, death and resurrection of Mapoon structures chronologically the case studies presented in this study to understand and identify expressions of cultural heritage value by Mapoon people and missionary families. I examine

narrative as a social phenomena, where stories are “embedded in a network” of complex social and cultural relations (Cobley 2013:2; Hall 1997). My narratives can be understood as stories that people tell as part of “the general process of representation which takes place in human discourse” to reflect meaning in the world, to make the world meaningful and to construct meaning in the world (Cobley 2013:3; Hall and Open 1997). Narratives “are an integral part of a community’s shared culture as well as being instrumental in negotiating and (re)generating it” (Georgakopoulou and De Fina, 2008:384). Narratives are remembered in the present through the experiences of the past (Babidge 2010; Connerton 1989). Appropriating Denham (2008:400) I discuss narrative in terms of the stories evoked by Mapoon people to transmit key messages and memories, including experiences of trauma. I explore the potential of narratives to assert identity, a form of regenerating culture and a way in which to relive and reconnect with the past.

Narrative has an important role to play in the creation and renewal of identity. Oral history interviews and fieldwork include recording of Elders and missionary families’ narratives, which as Cobley (2013:36) writes “memory embodied in narrative made a significant contribution to the formation and maintenance of the self-image of peoples, especially when writing may not have been available physically to store records of past events and details of a people’s most cherished ideals”. I analyse the potential of narrative to empower the storyteller through recreating the past in their own terms and also to potentially restrict relationships with outsiders or reinforce traumatic history. Storytelling by Elders to younger generations during archaeological investigations is one kind of narrative I draw attention to (see also Denham 2008:400; Gorrington 2011; Sider 2003:8-11). Denham (2008:392) refers to the importance of narratives of traumatic experiences in family and personal history as “a significant carrier of cultural and family identity”. In Denham’s case study of Native American family, he found that trauma “was framed and integrated into both their family foundation and individual identity, which is inextricably linked to the larger family identity of those living and past” through the construction and telling of narratives with content that and meaning “to communicate specific resilience strategies” (2008:393). These narratives are part of a long oral tradition within Native American families of “listening and learning that culminates in sharing ... wisdom with others” within family circles and kinship networks (Denham, 2008:393). I explore how narrative and performing rituals are a crucial part of archaeological practice, and the identification, documenting and conserving of cultural heritage places in

Mapoon. I examine how the experiences of families told in these narratives to younger generations today, may constitute a framework for interaction with outsiders in the present and to create and renew collective identity and resilience in younger members of Mapoon families.

Cultural Heritage Places

According to the Burra Charter, cultural heritage places are the places which are valued and presented by communities to share with present and future generations and outsiders that are critical to identity. My research draws less on theories of place than other authors with a similar interest in value (e.g. Carleton 2001; Kreutz 2012; Long 2005; Malpas 2011, 2007; Roxana 2009). While those works explore identity and place attachment in environmental heritage (particularly in relation to climate change and globalisation) through studies in environmental and ecological psychology, I do not draw on these works to define cultural heritage places (Boyd 1996; Hernandez 2007; Mishra 2010; Proshansky 1983; Reser 2005; Rollero 2010). Cultural heritage places are defined in this study as physical locations where events, activities and experiences occurred, are remembered and valued by Elders, missionary families and other Mapoon people (Casey 1996:13; Thomas and Ross 2013:222). Cultural heritage places can be buildings, created places such as monuments and memorials, and destroyed places, such as the locations of mission time family homes with no or little material culture. Cultural heritage places can include spaces where traces of the past not yet remembered, can be identified by archaeological and social practice. These places can include created monuments by Elders.

Cultural landscapes are the broader geographic spaces that contain cultural heritage places and include a representation of lived and commemorated relationships between these places (Byrne and Nugent 2004; Thomas and Ross 2013). Greater focus on cultural landscapes has developed over the last 20 years in archaeological and heritage research, particularly to take a focus away from an isolated dots on map approach to mapping archaeological and cultural places and to bringing greater attention to people's use and knowledge between sites and places in a landscape (Byrne 2010; Department of Environment 2010; Smith 2006). In this study I examine case studies of specific cultural heritage places, but I recognise Mapoon is part of a broader cultural landscape with values that date well before the mission time.

Archaeological Practice

Present archaeological practice can create values and new meanings to people for heritage places (Thomas and Ross 2013:221). Archaeological practice is a broad term I adopt to refer to the efforts and participation in archaeological practice and the methods used in investigating and understanding the past through the study of material culture. This does not preclude oral history, archival research or geophysical techniques used to record and identify material culture. These forms of archaeological practice are well utilised in historical archaeology and social archaeology in Australia and abroad, particularly focusing on former missions and government settlements (Birmingham 1992; 2010; David *et al.* 2006; Godwin 2010; Griffin 2010; Lydon 2009b; Majewski and Gaimster 2009; Middleton 2008; Morrison 2010). I document evidence of Mapoon peoples' cultural heritage values through engagement in archaeological practice, following Samuels' (2010:82) argument that value is produced by the "efforts people put in to maintain, protect and preserve" places and landscapes. I argue involvement in archaeological practices by Elders are acts of 'valuing; cultural heritage, archaeological practice is an act of valuing as argued by some authors (Samuels 2010:91; Smith 2006:1-7; Wateron *et al.* 2006:106-111). I record and analyse these examples of value-making to understand Mapoon peoples' attachments and cultural heritage values. I document these examples of value making as part of my data set. In my thesis methodology, I follow the premise that archaeological discourse and the involvement and engagement of the people whose values are being assessed in this discourse is integral to Australian archaeology (Colley 2002:101; Dalley 2004:1, Davidson *et al.* 1995:3-5). Therefore, engagement of families and individuals in archaeological practice (survey, excavation and investigation) and in management measures to protect and renew heritage, are expressions of their cultural heritage values. Analysis of these expressions of value is one way, people's values for heritage can be documented and understood.

1.8 THESIS STRUCTURE AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

In order to address the aims of this study and to devise a research methodology culturally appropriate to the sensitivities of the traumatic history experienced by Indigenous and former missionary families, I employed a variety of methods within a broader theoretical framework of social archaeology. In Chapter 2, I critically engage with research in social and community archaeology, particularly in relation to post-contact and intangible heritage. This leads to the

discussion of my methods and research methodology and the relevance of these techniques to the thesis objectives.

All of the Indigenous Elders and missionary families involved in this thesis are key social actors (and descendants of families focal to the birth of the Mission) in the narratives of the burning of the Mapoon Mission and its resurrection. In order to understand and provide context to the attachments of these families to cultural heritage places, Chapter 3 provides a critical history of Mapoon (including before, and after the mission time) through these key social actors, families and agencies. The aim of Chapter 3 is to also provide important contextual and descriptive information to understanding the values expressed in case studies presented in Chapters 4 to 8.

In Chapters 4 to 8, case studies demonstrating missionary and Indigenous people's expressions of cultural heritage values for Mapoon are presented. These case studies support the primary aim of understanding the complexity of Aboriginal cultural heritage values shaped by the experience of cultural change experiences. These chapters are structured chronologically following the narratives of birth, death and resurrection of the Mapoon Mission.

A previously undocumented cultural heritage place, the Mapoon Mission Compound, is identified in Chapter 4. Mapoon Elders and missionary families assert its value showing the complexity of cultural heritage values at Mapoon, since the establishment of the Mission until today. I analyse the relationships between missionaries and Mapoon people to deconstruct colonial representations of identity, drawing on Said (2003) and McNiven and Russell (2005). I discuss the relevance of other understandings of identity formation in relation to cultural domains (Trigger, 1985, 1992) and 'intercultural analysis' (Merlan 2005; Hinkson and Smith 2005) to show how cultural heritage values for this place are associated with these identity formations.

Chapter 5 examines a second case study of the first Mapoon Mission Cemetery, a previously unrecorded cultural heritage place identified by Mapoon Elders and missionary families that contains pre-mission burials to post-contact mission time burials dating to the 1930s. I describe how archaeology may create cultural heritage values, deconstruct colonial

representations of identity, and renew collective identity in Mapoon. I draw on a discussion of the results of recent ground-penetrating radar (GPR) investigations completed by Prof. Lawrence B. Conyers and their use by Indigenous and missionary families to create cultural heritage values and renew identity. I also draw on my experiences of assisting Mapoon Elders with the interpretation of this place to explore the syncretism of values expressed and realised through the memorializing of its recreation.

Chapter 6 is a study of the use of narratives of the burning of Mapoon and the resurrection of Mapoon by Mapoon Elders during archaeological survey of the remains of mission time houses (previously unrecorded cultural heritage places by archaeologists) to examine the emotional aspects of cultural heritage. I draw on Denham's (2008) notion of trauma narratives and the characterisation of dark heritage to analyse the narratives of Mapoon families and missionaries surrounding the closure of the Mapoon Mission, the attempted destruction of this community by the State, and the aftermath of these events. I demonstrate in Chapter 6 how the experience of trauma from an episode of violence, experienced differently by missionary families and Indigenous families, is intimately connected to the cultural heritage values of places at Mapoon. Conceptual material including trauma narratives and dark heritage are used to link emotion and value and archaeology's potential for catharsis.

Chapter 7 presents a fourth case study on cultural heritage places at Mapoon through an examination of monuments and commemorative events instigated by Indigenous families that relate to the mission time. I investigate if these events and monuments resurrect or aim to recreate the past, renew relationships and assert identity. I explore the importance of Mapoon families' exclusion and inclusion of social actors, including missionary families in the rituals and commemoration of these events and in monument-making. I explore commemoration and monuments as part of the Mapoon's Elders' resurrection of the mission, bringing the past into the present, particularly in reference to the conceptual material on dark heritage.

Chapter 8 examines the cultural heritage values of Indigenous families in Mapoon as expressed through town planning studies. This chapter constitutes the final case study to illustrate the complexity of cultural heritage values of Indigenous families in Mapoon and the

inter-relationship of these values to the before time, the mission time and the traumatic history of the burning of Mapoon. Chapter 8 investigates how cultural heritage places and the values for new housing (creating homes) are valued differently by different generations and the conflicting cultural heritage values for the past and present and aspirations for the future. This case study is also an example of changing values for places and difficulties in the management of conflicting values for cultural heritage places between different generations.

Chapter 9 presents my conclusions to research questions and themes. I conclude that cultural heritage values are created and expressed by Mapoon people through archaeological practice and that these values are interconnected to experiences of trauma and historical narratives remembered by Mapoon people in place. I conclude that archaeological practice can create and renew identity.

Chapter 2 Research Methodology and Methods

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Social archaeology focuses on the social and political contexts of artefacts and material culture in past and present communities, with a recognition of archaeological discourse as socially and politically embedded (Shanks and Tilley 1987). The research methodology for my thesis draws heavily on conceptual frameworks and approaches developed in social archaeology. The purpose of this chapter is to critically engage with the Australian and broader international literature on social archaeology to develop my research methodology and articulate the relevance of my data collection and analysis techniques to understanding the cultural heritage of Mapoon. I outline the various methods used during my research including consultation and collaboration with Elders, archaeological survey, oral history interviews, archival research, ground-penetrating radar survey (GPR), interpretation, repatriation of cultural and historical documents and photographs and the presentation and publication of research with Elders and Rangers. Chapters 4 to 8 present the data collected from investigations of case studies of different cultural heritage places, including the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and other unmarked graves, Mapoon Mission Compound, remains of Indigenous family mission time homes, monuments and festivals and expressions of cultural heritage values through town planning studies using these different research methods. I discuss a research methodology that was developed in collaboration with Elders in Mapoon, which theoretically sits in what is referred to as covenantal archaeology. I critically engage counter-mapping as a method to understand Mapoon and missionary families' cultural heritage.

2.2 SOCIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Social archaeology first developed in the 1930s with the work of archaeologists such as Vere Gordon Childe and Graham Clarke (1939) started to focus the discipline on the study of past societies and linking the "practice of archaeology" to "modern social and political interests" (Meskell and Preucell 2004; Paterson 2008:81). Social archaeology grew as a sub-discipline within archaeology with increasing self-awareness with the post-processual works of Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley (1987) of "archaeology as a practice conducted in the present and ... [being] is thus socially and politically 'embedded'" (Meskell and Preucell 2004; Paterson 2008:81). Shanks and Tilley's (1987) work is predicated on the argument that, due to the political embeddedness of how interpretations are developed, there can be

no universal truth uncovered by scientific methods through positivism (as postulated by the New Archaeology), nor a single, correct archaeological interpretation of the past (Shanks and Tilley 1987:1-2; 102). Therefore, all interpretations of the past are equal and must be equally respected (Paterson 2008:81; Shanks and Tilley 1987:198,204-405).

Post-processual archaeology was in part a reaction to the New Archaeology championed by Lewis Binford in the 1970s, where archaeology as science was the focus of the discipline. Critics of Shanks and Tilley disagree with their critiques of the use of evolutionary theory and processual methods in archaeology arguing post-processualist's views of all interpretations of the past as equal are too extreme, when some scientific interpretations (such as evolution) are well evidenced (Meltzer 1990:187; Pardoe 1994; Yoffee and Sherratt 1993). Since the late 1980s to date, post-processual and processual archaeologists have debated these issues with little resolution (Duke and Wilson, 1995; Hodder 1982, 1985, 1986; Hodder and Shanks 1995; Pardoe 1994; Shanks and Tilley, 1987; Trigger 1995 and Yoffee and Sherratt, 1993;). Post-processual archaeology aspired to give greater voice to different interpretations of the past, including Indigenous ways of seeing on a level platform with other types of scientific archaeological approaches and a greater focus on other forms of material culture and heritage that are not scientifically measurable or tangible (Hodder 1982, 1985; Hodder and Shanks 1995; Shanks and Tilley, 1987). However, post-processual archaeologists still work within similar systems of representation and power that processual archaeologists work within, complicating a comparison of the two areas of archaeological thought.

Post-processual archaeology has also opened the door for poorer quality archaeological research and interpretations of the past (including 'cult archaeology') to be examined on an equal playing field to scientific methods in archaeology. In my opinion, opening this door has not aided the growth of the discipline. These forms of interpretation or cult archaeology (refer to numerous examples on the website Bad Archaeology at www.badarchaeology.com) often disenfranchise Indigenous interpretations of the past by insisting on an Egyptian, alien or European presence, or on ingenuity for the construction of Indigenous heritage places and other cultural international monuments (e.g., the Wandjina rock art in the Kimberley's being attributed by cult archaeology to aliens). Indigenous communities often find certain scientific methods in archaeology culturally appropriate in attempts to understand more about their

own history, which contradicts Shanks and Tilley's (1987) criticism of scientific interpretations in archaeology (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009, 2011, 2013; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al.* 2010). For example, in Mapoon, Traditional Owners worked together recently with archaeologist Michael Westaway and the Queensland Museum on excavation and conservation of a traditional burial in the Pennefather region. This work included scientific analysis of human remains and the results of this analysis were presented with Traditional Owners at the Australian Archaeological Association Conference in 2013.

Social archaeology today is distinguished by its recognition of archaeological practice as socially and politically embedded and its focus on the archaeology of past *and* present societies. Community-based archaeology is a form of social archaeology that originates from the recognition of the social nature of archaeological practice and the growing awareness of archaeologists during the development of post-processual archaeology that different interpretations of the past by communities should be considered and respected alongside archaeological interpretations (Atalay 2012:30; Greer 2010:46-48). A premise of equal respect by archaeologists for both archaeological and Indigenous interpretations and ways of knowing the past is important for community-based archaeological projects where archaeologists collaborate with Indigenous communities.

2.2.1 Community-Based Archaeology

Community-based archaeology refers to methodological approaches which involve the communities studied in a collaborative or "interactive" role with archaeologists (Greer 2010:46-48). This form of collaboration or interaction between the community and archaeologist varies from a spectrum of legislative requirements for consultation and consent from communities in archaeological research to full community control. It also includes projects initiated by communities engaging archaeologists as research partners or specialists to assist with identifying and protecting community cultural heritage values and material culture. This range of applications of the definition of community-based archaeology is referred to by some researchers as the "collaboration continuum" (Atalay 2012:30; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2008). Community-based approaches in Australia are developed in studies in Cape York by Greer (1996, 2009, 2010), Harrison (2004), McIntyre-Tamwoy (2000), Pardoe (1990) Ross (2007) and Thomas and Ross (2013). These approaches have

had a long development in Australian archaeology (commentary published in 1975 in *Australian Archaeological Association Newsletter*) with collaborative projects between Indigenous communities and archaeologists in cultural heritage management evolving from concerns from archaeologists on the role of experts working with communities (Crawford 1975; Creamer 1975; Golson 1975; Kelly 1975; Lampert, 1975; Moore 1975; Stockton 1975; Sullivan 1975 cited in Greer *et al.* 2002:266).

Community-based archaeology developed with cultural heritage management and heritage legislation and related legal consultation requirements. These approaches were different to other processual-driven archaeological approaches in the 1990s, as this approach did not “seek out universal truths of human behavior” (Greer, 2010:48, see also Smith 1996; Smith 2006) but focused on Indigenous and local knowledge and values for cultural heritage places and landscapes. Similar methodological approaches to archaeology were presented in a session at the Australian Archaeological Association conference in 2011, convened by Annie Ross focusing on the “sociality” of archaeology (called “Mapping Archaeology for the Present”), that “exists in both the past and the present and in doing archaeology, especially in a heritage context, the living heritage connection to place provides a map of archaeology in the present (Ross, Conference Session abstract, AAA program, 2010).

Similarly, McNiven *et al.* (2006:19) define social archaeology as “a remembrance of people past in present social practices; with chalk in hand, to inscribe people onto history, in the present and into the past”. McNiven *et al.* (2006:19) are arguing that an archaeologist’s role at the most basic level when communicating and interpreting the past is to remember those people whose history is being interpreted. I would take this definition one step further and argue that archaeological practice in the present can affect how future generations interpret their past, their connections to heritage places, and their memories of and attachments to people associated with these places.

Social archaeology’s methodological approaches are reactive to processual archaeology, which often focused on Aboriginal culture prior to European contact and which dominates the earlier history of the discipline in Australia (Shanks and Tilley, 1987:198, 204). This domination could be attributed to a focus on attempting to manage tangible material culture and objects and sites in the development of early heritage legislation to focus on objects

and scientific evidence. This focus led to less protection for Indigenous cultural values and attachments to cultural landscapes and the recognition of intangible heritage values. The history of processual archaeology within Australia and the lack of recognition of intangible and cultural values in legislation is critiqued by Smith (1996, 2006) and other researchers (Brown 2008:23, Byrne 2008, Dalley 2012; Gorrington 2011; Harrison and Williamson 2004, Ireland 2010, McIntyre-Tamwoy 2004; Murray 2004a;). Nonetheless, early heritage legislation developed by universities and concerned members of the public in NSW (and later in other States in Australia) was effective in developing a regime of protection for endangered Aboriginal objects and places and intangible heritage was not always recognised (Smith 2000).

2.2.2 Covenantal Archaeology

Critics of community-based archaeological approaches to research come from both Indigenous communities and other archaeologists. This criticism includes whether these approaches in practice are often collaborative and interactive with Indigenous people or just rhetoric (Dalley 2004; Meskell 2005; Schmidt 2010:257; Yellowhorn 2013:453). I agree with these criticisms. Unless a project or study by an archaeologist collaborates with Indigenous people as true research partners, with clearly articulated goals and agreed outcomes and risks of a project are discussed and realised up front then it is not truly community-based. Indigenous research partners need to have avenues for input, criticism and consultation for project outputs throughout a study and the opportunity to end their involvement at any time in a project. There must be benefits for Indigenous peoples in the long-term and short-term, not just for the researcher (Smith and Jackson 2008). I favour the definition of covenantal archaeology as defined by Preucel and Cipolla (2008:136) which is a form of collaborative and community-based archaeology, that centres on “an agreement between archaeologists and indigenous people working together to produce results of interest to both archaeological and indigenous communities”. Covenantal archaeology provides a stronger commitment to Indigenous communities by the researcher and also indicates a mutual agreement of both parties for research to occur. Covenantal archaeology also includes an emphasis on training Indigenous peoples in archaeology to apply these methods to undertake their own independent cultural heritage investigations and research (Preucel and Cipolla 2008:136). A commitment for training, which I also agreed to undertake with my fieldwork in Mapoon with the MLSAC. This covenantal form of archaeology is also recognised in the Australian

Archaeological Association's *Code of Ethics* (Australian Archaeological Association n.d.) specifically Section 3, the principles relating to Indigenous Archaeology.

Some criticism of community-based archaeology also comes from Indigenous communities who feel archaeologists working in this branch of the discipline often disregard scientific techniques as useful to assist with helping understand Indigenous history. Yellowhorn (2013:453) stresses that community-based archaeological approaches sometimes disregard quantitative (more traditional scientific) archaeological methods that can be favoured at times by Indigenous communities to achieve aspirations for cultural heritage (for example, radiocarbon dating and scientific analyses of artefacts and sites). I agree with Yellowhorn (2013:453) that some Indigenous communities are interested in more scientific forms of analysis to document and identify cultural heritage. However, the decision for using such methods should not necessarily be determined primarily by the Traditional Owners of heritage. Many scientific forms of archaeological methods, such as sampling and dating of bone or excavation, are destructive techniques and must be considered by the Traditional Owners. Social and collaborative archaeological approaches such as counter-mapping, have flexibility in the availability of techniques to address Yellowhorn's (2013:453) criticism and for communities to select and engage with techniques, which they find culturally appropriate to identify and record their cultural heritage.

2.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

During my first visit to Mapoon, Elders invited me to work with them to document the cultural heritage of the mission time at Mapoon. In Mapoon, my fieldwork commenced after my commitment to collaborate with Elders and to address community objectives for heritage and historical repatriation in line with my own research objectives. My research methodology is situated in a community-based archaeology where "archaeologists ... engage local communities as collaborators, [and] where community members ideally and organically initiate activities that they see in their best interests" (Schmidt 2010:269). Mapoon Elders initiated dialogue as well as activities (discussed specifically in Section 2.5) to document and protect cultural heritage places. Prescribed methodologies for local engagement of Indigenous and other community stakeholders can be flawed and is well-critiqued in archaeology (Ross 2007, Ross *et al.* 2011). Thus, an integral aspect of my research methods was to work with Mapoon people and former missionary families to maintain

“dialogue, a flexible interchange about local needs and perspectives” (Schmidt 2010:269). My attempt to establish this dialogue was through a clear process established with all involved Mapoon people and former missionary families at the beginning of my research during initial face-to-face meetings. We discussed potential risks and benefits, and opened channels of communication for negative and positive comment articulated through the ethics approval consent form process. Follow-up consultation occurred prior to any commencement of interviewing, fieldwork or involvement in my research. Regular contact through telephone calls, emails and meeting updates throughout my research with all involved Mapoon people, MLSAC, MASC and missionary families also assisted with maintaining dialogue critical to the research methodology.

Being ‘self-reflexive’ in your methodology is something that a lot of archaeologists are talking about but it is generally not well-defined (Shanks and Tilley, 1987:2, 198, 202; Smith 1996:75). In my research I am aware of the institutional biases in archaeological ideology enshrined in heritage legislation and practice. To attempt to counter these biases, I develop research agendas, activities and interviews with the MLSAC, Elders and missionary families and engage them in the review of written work that contained their input such as draft chapters, posters and presentations and co-present and co-author research material, if possible. I carried out interviews mindful of broader political issues and power structures within Mapoon during fieldwork, including native title, mining exploration within the Mapoon DOGIT and other development projects. At the commencement of each fieldwork trip, I discussed research methods and the separation of the research project from these other projects with collaborators. Elders, Rangers and members of the MLSAC and missionary families were actively involved in the work plans for each visit and the structure of oral history interviews, site surveys and in the review of all project outputs. These methods had already assisted in gaining a broad understanding of some values of Mapoon people (Rangers, Elders and family members) and missionary families and their cultural heritage places.

2.3.1 Counter-Mapping

Counter-mapping is a social and community-based archaeological methodological approach developed further by Byrne (2003), whereby people narrate their past places into the present during the practice of archaeology (Byrne 2008). Counter-mapping was first referred to in

environmental anthropology by Peluso (1995), an anthropologist interested in mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia. Byrne develops this approach further in his book (Byrne and Nugent 2004), by recording oral history testimony and stories of attachment and connection to place, from Elders and Indigenous families from the former Purfleet mission, and translating these maps of valued cultural heritage places enmeshed within a broader cultural landscape. Byrne and Nugent's (2004) approach draws upon not only qualitative research techniques but quantitative methods to assist with community aspirations for cultural heritage. Similar approaches are adopted by social archaeologists in other forms of Aboriginal heritage places (Greer *et al.* 2001; Harrison 2011; Prangnell *et al.* 2010; Thomas and Ross 2013). Byrne's (2005) counter-mapping approach to documenting cultural heritage places has potential to assist in identifying intangible heritage because it does not solely focus on Aboriginal objects and tangible material culture. Counter-mapping uses a variety of methods to identify the multiple layers of values within cultural landscapes including Indigenous contemporary, mission time and 'traditional' cultural places, non-Indigenous history and places with contested heritage. Byrne's (2005) counter-mapping approach does not try to 'reconcile' contested values but recognises their independent values, meanings and attachments to different communities and individuals of age and gender.

The strength of this approach is also one of its inherent weaknesses. As Byrne's approach (2005) does not attempt to rank levels of significance or values held by communities or individuals, management of heritage places can be difficult to implement for communities and agencies, particularly in relation to funding for conservation and protection on a practical level. The counter-mapping approach takes all values of participants and information provided as equal and possibly, at face value, without exploring other personal motivations and political and social circumstances being experienced by participants during a period of research. This approach does not critically engage with how reliable or accurate information provided by project participants or knowledge-holders is and the biases that may come from gender, age or cultural language group affiliation and families or from memory. From my consulting experience working with Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, there are often conflicts over knowledge and information and the values for places. I have attempted to address these issues in my research in Mapoon through working with Elders from different

cultural backgrounds⁴, families, ages and generations in Mapoon and with the missionary families. However, many times information was resolved through discussions with Elders and other project participants during fieldwork or subsequent interviews, mostly due to initial poor recollection or perhaps greater levels of mutual trust and respect. Where information provided by Elders and other project collaborators was contested, this information is recognised in the study and discussed. If this information was not directly relevant to the research themes and objectives set out in the study and was not considered to jeopardise research integrity, it was excluded from the study.

Counter-mapping by Byrne and Nugent (2004) and Harrison (2011) is also criticised for despite attempting “to generate constructions of place representation that are alternatives to point data mapping”, in many cases it may still produce an end product that is a two dimensional map with fixed geographical points (Thomas and Ross 2013:23). This criticism may be harsh, as the map within these studies is only one component of their total outcomes. In the case of Byrne and Nugent (2004), their map is part of a book compiled with the input of local Indigenous people from the Great Lakes and Manning Valley region, which provides a story of the cultural heritage of the region and recognises the attachments and history of the area in a way that was not previously attempted. This study is also easily accessible on the internet and is provided as a free download. The Prezi software used in Thomas and Ross (2013) to generate a more interactive counter-map for the Gummingurru cultural landscape has only been around since 2009. The strength of the Gummingurru Prezi map is the potential to incorporate changes to a place and it does not “freeze the heritage values of place” (Thomas and Ross, 2013:235). However, there are additional problems with utilising software to map these places including the compatibility of the software over time, training and computer literacy to access and utilise these maps and issues with privacy and storage of culturally sensitive material within a database program over large periods of time.

Despite its weaknesses, counter-mapping is a flexible methodological approach that was culturally appropriate to understand and record the cultural values of Mapoon people and

⁴ I worked with Elders that represent different language groups within the Mapoon DOGIT including Tjungundji, Taepithiggi, Thaynakwith, and Yupungathi and families who were historically removed to Mapoon from their birth country and descendants of Samoans and Solomon Islander families that also lived at the Mapoon Mission. Chapter 3 provides further detailed explanations.

former missionary families to the Mapoon Mission cultural landscape. Processual and research question-focused archaeology utilising primarily quantitative methodologies was not appropriate for places with mostly intangible cultural heritage values, because of its inherent focus on physical/empirical evidence. The remains of the former Mapoon Mission Compound and mission time family homes mostly have intangible cultural heritage values for Mapoon people and former mission families. There are few physical remains of the mission time within the cultural landscape of the Mapoon DOGIT. As recognised by Ruggles and Silverman (2009) “sites of memory”, places with few physical remains that have been destroyed in the past have “meaning of heritage to living people” that “cannot be underestimated”, these places are “venues for intangible performances” (Ruggles and Silverman 2009:11). Counter-mapping is a research methodology that uses diverse interdisciplinary methods to achieve research objectives and collaborate with communities to achieve their objectives. This research methodology does not limit either qualitative or quantitative techniques but provides a framework within which to collaborate with communities to select techniques or methods that are culturally appropriate and allows for recording of intangible heritage. These methods as utilised in Byrne (2003, 2008) and Byrne and Nugent (2004) include (but are not limited to) GIS mapping, geophysical techniques, archival research, oral history interviews and archaeological survey and investigations.

2.4 METHODS

The methods I used during my fieldwork included a combination of archaeological survey and mapping, geophysical investigations using ground-penetrating radar (GPR) (led by Prof. Conyers assisted by myself and Mapoon Rangers and Elders), oral history interviews, archival research and other activities involving Elders including interpretation projects, repatriation of cultural and historical documents and the presentation and publication of research with Elders and Rangers. My research included six periods of fieldwork in Mapoon to undertake oral history, archaeological survey and mapping from February 2010 to August 2013. I assisted Prof. Conyers with ground-penetrating radar investigations for a week in December 2010 and 10 days in August 2013. These periods included a total of approximately seven weeks in Mapoon.

Oral history interviews with missionary families included an additional six days in locations throughout Brisbane, including review of missionary family personal collections and

archives. Historical research, conference presentations and assistance with repatriation of cultural materials with Elders from Mapoon were undertaken in Sydney and in Brisbane in December 2011, June 2013, November and December 2014 for an additional three and half weeks. An additional week of fieldwork was also undertaken in Niesky and Herrnhut, eastern Germany in October 2011 to examine key Moravian connections with Mapoon and to conduct archival research at the Moravian Church Archives. Archival research for this thesis also included several months reviewing relevant records of the Presbyterian Church Archives, Brisbane; Mitchell Library, Sydney; John Oxley Library, Brisbane; Nelson Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland; Queensland State Archives; Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council's archives; Queensland Museum; Centre for Appropriate Technology, Cairns and the Australian Museum. Throughout my research I repatriated copies of relevant historical photographs and documents pertinent to Elders' family histories back to Elders and their families and deposited material into the Mapoon Land and Sea Keeping Place and Library.

I maintained continued social communications and contact through Facebook, telephone calls and SMS messages, letters and emails with Elders and other families in Mapoon throughout the duration of my thesis. These forms of follow-up communication were important tools to discuss memories and additional information during archival research and analysis of oral history interviews. I regularly sent historical research and images of Mapoon and Mapoon people from the mission time to the MASC. Mapoon families and the MLSAC were sent copies of draft research papers for review and comment. Uncle William Busch stayed with my family on five occasions to undertake research, review and co-write presentations and attend conferences and to meet with missionary families.

2.4.1 Archaeological Methods

Archaeological methods including survey and mapping the material culture and intangible heritage of the mission time were considered culturally appropriate tools to identify and record the mission time heritage by Mapoon people. I carried out archaeological survey with Elders and Rangers to identify cultural heritage place values. Standardised recording sheets were employed to identify material culture and other intangible values. The material culture of the mission time was recorded using a digital camera with appropriate scales, a compass and a hand-held non-differential GPS with a 3 to 5 m accuracy. Site plans were drawn for

substantial features such as the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound using hand-held tapes and a drawing board.

Copies of the 1957 historical aerial photograph of Mapoon, taken prior to the mission's closure and destruction, were printed poster size and laminated and taken into the field with Elders and Rangers to map and identify the former remains of the mission time, particularly the remains of the mission time family homes, wells and historical trees and gardens and other known cultural places. Archaeological survey was carried out in small groups and sometimes with individual Elders and Rangers, based on who they wished to work with. The results of archaeological survey of the Mapoon Mission Compound and the remains of the mission time family homes are presented as case studies in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 respectively.

At the completion of the archaeological survey, I mapped all cultural heritage places using QGIS, a free user, GIS software. Draft maps were discussed with Elders for their review and comment prior to their finalisation and presentation in this thesis. Maps of unmarked Aboriginal graves and cultural places (mostly before the mission time) with gender or cultural knowledge sensitivities were restricted and not presented in the thesis at the wishes of the Elders and families involved in their identification. Finalised records of mission time cultural heritage places including images, plans and maps with Elders' permission are deposited with the MLSAC's Cultural Heritage Keeping Place room and are being actively used by Rangers to protect and manage cultural heritage in Mapoon.

2.4.2 Mixed Methods

Several other methods were initiated by Elders with my assistance and which were useful in achieving the thesis aims of documenting and identifying Mapoon's mission time cultural heritage, exploring the cultural heritage values of Indigenous families and missionary families, and providing an account of the history of the former Mapoon Mission's closure. The use of mixed methods such as oral history interviews and archival research were employed as appropriate following from Byrne and Nugent's (2005) counter-mapping techniques (Section 2.3.1).

Ground-Penetrating Radar Investigations

Ground-penetrating radar (GPR) investigations were requested by Elders in Mapoon during the early stages of my fieldwork in 2010 as a culturally appropriate method to identify the boundary of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and other unmarked graves in Mapoon. Other types of non-invasive detection of unmarked graves such as sniffer dogs trained to detect human remains and invasive methods such as excavation were considered and disregarded by Elders as culturally inappropriate. The history of how these investigations came about in Mapoon with Lawrence B. Conyers and his team and the methods employed during the investigations are outlined in specific detail in Chapter 5. However, it should be noted that the GPR was a method known to Elders and which they felt met their aspiration to document and protect unmarked Aboriginal graves and known Cemeteries. Elders, Rangers, myself and other archaeologists and specialists assisted Conyers during these investigations in December 2010 and in August 2013.

The involvement of Elders, Rangers and Mapoon families in these investigations is critical to their success as a culturally appropriate method to identify unmarked graves. This method was successful because Elders considered it a respectful technique to investigate marked graves. This method was non-invasive and also engaged their children and grandchildren (represented by Rangers and school children) and assisted with the data collection through use of the radar.

Oral History Interviews

Oral histories have been undertaken during this project with the collaboration of the Ranger Co-ordinator at MLSAC in December 2009 to February 2010 to record history and memory of Elders about the mission time of Mapoon. Oral history interviews were undertaken with Elders in suitable venues (chosen by Elders) in small groups (chosen with Elders' input on who they wanted to work with) following intensive meetings with individual Elders concerning the ethics approval process and addressing any concerns or queries on the conduct, recording, repository and content of interviews. Similarly, missionary families were interviewed after a period of consultation on the ethics consent process and discussions of any concerns and queries. Missionary families were interviewed in their homes or at locations of their choice. Fourteen Elders and three former missionaries or descendants of missionaries participated in oral history interviews throughout my research.

Oral history interviews, included semi-structured sessions with Elders (with the involvement of other family members and Rangers) to review nearly 1,200 historical photographs of Mapoon Mission, dating from 1890s to 1970s. MLSAC Rangers filmed many of the interviews as they wanted to keep a record of their Elders’ stories and memories. Interviews involved small groups of Elders, usually four people at a time, over several days and four separate field trips with subsequent group and individual discussions of written draft information or via email or post.

In meetings with participants in the oral history interviews, I used a projector to zoom into images on the wall and to focus in on faces, buildings and features within the image. Elders examined hard copies of images in folders to examine the contents of photographs. I showed images chronologically and we discussed each image in order to identify places and people, and document memories, stories and feelings about the mission time at Mapoon. Most interviews were taped using a voice recorder and audio files were stored on a computer. Each group I interviewed represented a range of age groups and generations who had lived at the mission at different times (ranging from 1929 to 1930s, 1930s to 1940s and 1950s to 1960s, Table 1). An even gender split was attempted (four male Elders became involved in the project as opposed to seven female Elders). However, more women than men were involved which is representative of the gender disparity in remaining living male Elders in the community and also involved in the MLSAC.

Table 1 Gender and Generational Distribution of Elders involved in my research

Decade of birth	1921 to 1930	1931 to 1940	1941 to 1950	Total
Male		3	2	5
Female	2	3	4	9
Total	2	6	6	14

Elders did not answer my direct questions about why the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound are an important cultural heritage place. Elders of Mapoon with whom I worked perhaps did not answer as they did not see this question as relevant or perhaps culturally appropriate (further discussion in Chapter 6 and Chapter 9) Semi-structured interviews

commenced with structured questions which I soon discarded as they were not appropriate to Elders and were not answered or evaded in the early interviews to examining historical photographs. However, it was clear to me in other ways that the Mapoon Mission is an integral part of who they are, their story and the foundation of their contemporary community. For example, Elders collaborating in this project referred to Mapoon as “our mother”, the “mother mission” and through the retelling of stories about people and events (particularly, the burning of Mapoon, the rebuilding of contemporary Mapoon and life during the mission time) (William Busch and Susie Madua, July 2010, Rangers film footage at Mapoon Mission house remains, Cullen Point). These statements and stories were made by Elders with a high degree of emotion, hand-in-hand with aspirations for future management and interpretation of the old mission site and cemeteries. These statements and stories about protecting places represent shared beliefs by Elders that participated in the research and evidence that these places are valued by many Mapoon people. I was told by Elders of many more traditional cultural places during fieldwork, however the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound were selected by Elders as requiring urgent protection and is now through Elders and Rangers successfully applying for Commonwealth and State heritage funding in 2013, being interpreted and conserved. The results of oral history interviews that pertain to research objectives are integrated throughout Chapter 4 to Chapter 8 of the thesis.

Archival Research

As already outlined above, archival research was carried out in the major collections of Moravian and Presbyterian missionary records for Mapoon throughout Australia and overseas. These archival materials were important to understand the relationships between Indigenous and historical families in Mapoon with missionary families throughout the mission time and to understand the documentary history of the mission time at Mapoon. Archival research was also undertaken at the Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council archives, Red Beach to understand the history of cultural heritage values during the MAC and MASC’s administration of Mapoon since 1975 and to better understand Indigenous perspectives on the history of Mapoon and the closure of the mission. Photographic collections at Church, State archives and the private photographic family collections of the Allan (which includes some of the Hartshorn family photographs) and Filmer families were also reviewed and copied to meet Mapoon Elders’ aspirations for repatriation. These collections were also reviewed to better understand the context and history of Mapoon people’s cultural heritage

values for the mission time. During interviews, these photographs triggered memories of the mission time for Elders and missionaries. Photographs of the mission buildings, gardens and houses were used during archaeological survey to reconstruct and identify cultural heritage places. I also used these photographs in other activities such as school children's activity days for education, preparation of posters, presentations and publications and interpretation projects.

Other Community Activities

Throughout my research, Elders and the MLSAC initiated activities (often with little to no notice) for my involvement in school activity days on the mission time with Elders (including visits to the mission time cultural heritage places), presentations to school children and training of Rangers to record mission time cultural heritage places as part of their TAFE ranger training program and my involvement in an interpretation and design of a monument for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery. Elders insisted on engagement of younger generations of Mapoon people in the documenting of mission time cultural heritage was important. My involvement in these activities and the participation of my family members, greatly assisted my understanding of the intricacies of the complexity of cultural heritage values in Mapoon and the emotional aspects of these values to Elders and their families. I continued to provide opportunities for Elders, Rangers and younger generations of Mapoon people and the former missionary families to be involved in presentation and publication of research (including the review and authorship of these presentations/publications), assisted with the repatriation of historical documents, photographs and films (as sources and recipients of repatriated materials) to Mapoon and attended celebrations of the conclusion of fieldwork in Mapoon (planned lunches and meals at the commencement and conclusion of fieldwork in Mapoon and at my home and other places between missionaries and visiting Mapoon Elders).

2.5 DISCUSSION – RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS TO MAPOON

A research methodology grounded in social archaeology, particularly community-based archaeology is relevant to my research in Mapoon, because this branch of the discipline recognises the political and socially embedded nature of archaeological practice in Australia (particularly between non-Indigenous 'experts' and Indigenous communities). As my

previous educational background and professional experience, prior to my study was from an archaeology and cultural heritage management background, I also had a strong professional and personal interest in understanding how to better collaborate with Indigenous communities within the practice of archaeology. During my professional consultancy experience working with Indigenous communities, I often felt at odds with the process, frustrated and constrained by the legislative framework and consultation requirements of regulatory agencies which shaped the archaeologist's roles and methods of assessment and interactions with Indigenous communities. I was also aware of the power imbalances within the Australian heritage legislation and significance assessment process for Indigenous communities. Community-based archaeology, particularly counter-mapping has the flexibility to adopt a range of interdisciplinary methods to document and understand the complexity of cultural heritage places and values in Mapoon. The flexibility of this methodological approach appealed to me because it allowed for Mapoon Elders to select culturally appropriate methods during our collaboration.

Mapoon Elders favoured engagement and connection during my research, an exchange of knowledge and an equal personal investment. Collaboration with Mapoon Elders and Rangers during the use of different methods, such as oral history interviews, repatriation of historical photographs, archaeological survey, ground-penetrating radar investigations, presentation and publication of research also allowed me to provide some training to Rangers to assist with the protection and conservation of the mission time cultural heritage and for Rangers to use these skills in future Mapoon community heritage aspirations. Elders also rejected my initial attempts at professional distance which I thought at the beginning of my research was necessary for the research to be less subject to bias and to also avoid 'putting myself' in interviews. Elders often encouraged me to be personally more open and encouraged the inclusion of my partner and other family members in fieldwork to be part of Mapoon; the exchange of knowledge was a partnership and a connection. This encouragement seemed at odds with my heritage and archaeological training prior to coming to Mapoon. Elders also turned the tables in oral history interviews and turned interviews into conversations. Similarly, missionary families required a fair degree of personal knowledge of my family, personal and spiritual beliefs before commencing oral history interviews. There were substantial breaks in between my visits to Mapoon and missionary families for oral history interviewing and archaeological surveying. I believe these

breaks were important to the emotional and traumatic nature of much of the subject material discussed and remembered by Elders and missionary families during fieldwork. The breaks between fieldwork were also important for Elders and also for missionary families to remember, reflect and think about the mission time and the results of archaeological and historical investigations.

Elders encouragement for my family to be included in fieldwork may also be attributed to an understanding of heritage as what Smith (2006:1) refers to as “a process of engagement” and with heritage practice as “being in place, renewing memories and associations, sharing experiences ... to cement present and future social and familial relationships”. Mapoon people and ex-missionary families accepted qualitative research approaches (which I then consciously adopted) and rejected early attempts at solely quantitative approaches to understand their cultural heritage values and attachments to place. Elders also felt that the repatriation of historical photographs, films and oral history interviews (to be kept in the MLSAC Interpretation Centre’s Cultural Heritage Keeping Place and in some cases, the Mapoon Primary School) were integral to the protection of the cultural heritage values of Mapoon people (William Busch pers. comm.2013, Susie Madua pers. comm.2010).

2.6 CONCLUSION

Mapoon’s mission time cultural heritage has a complicated set of intangible and tangible cultural heritage places with values shared by Elders, Rangers and younger generations of Mapoon families and former missionary families. A community-based archaeological approach provides recognition of the complexity of the historical social and political milieu surrounding Mapoon’s cultural heritage.

Community-based archaeology provides a variety of methods to collaborate with Indigenous people and missionary families to explore cultural heritage values in Mapoon. Covenantal archaeology was adopted to provide a strong commitment to Mapoon people and missionary families on mutually beneficial research outcomes and training for archaeological research and investigations to Rangers and younger generations. This approach also presupposed the recognition of my own and Mapoon people’s different aspirations and outcomes for a project. Counter-mapping is a recent methodological approach in community-based archaeology that provides a breadth of interdisciplinary methods to document, identify and

understand the cultural heritage values of Mapoon people. Interdisciplinary methods such as archaeological survey, ground-penetrating radar investigations, oral history interviews, archival research and other activities focussing on community engagement in repatriation, conservation and interpretation of cultural heritage places are used in this study to understand cultural heritage values of Mapoon people and missionary families. Through these techniques, I was able to analyse and engage directly with the cultural heritage values of Mapoon people and missionary families and the relevance of these values to broader approaches of evaluating and assessing cultural heritage values using social archaeological methodologies in international and Australian contexts.

Chapter 3 Belonging in Mapoon: Key Social Actors, Families and Agencies in Mapoon's Narratives

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine Mapoon's history through key social actors, families and agencies that are important to understanding Mapoon's cultural heritage places. This chapter provides historical context for my thesis through describing who belongs to Mapoon. Belonging relates to those individuals, families and agencies who are part of narratives evoked by Mapoon Elders and the role of these actors in cultural change experiences (missionisation, traumatic removal from country and the return to rebuild Mapoon). These cultural change experiences are articulated by Elders through narratives, as the birth of Mapoon, the burning of Mapoon and the resurrection of Mapoon (Field Note book 2010, Book 1; Field Note Book 2012, Book 3). These experiences throughout the mission time history of Mapoon shape the cultural heritage values of Indigenous families in Mapoon and aspects of their identity that relate to place (case studies 1 to 4, outlined in Chapters 4 to 8).

The key groups of actors in the three Mapoon narratives and examined in this chapter include: Traditional Owners of lands within the Mapoon DOGIT, Indigenous people forcibly removed from their traditional country and brought to Mapoon Mission (the Historical Indigenous Families), Moravian and Presbyterian Churches (represented by missionaries and their families) and the Queensland State Government (through public servants, Chief Protectors and local protectors). I draw on my archival research of early historical records of the first missionaries (held in Mitchell Library, Sydney and also in the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany) and the oral history testimony of Mapoon Indigenous families to describe the relationships between these people and their belonging to Mapoon, particularly the experiences of early interactions between Historical Indigenous Families and the Tjungundji people (the Traditional Owners of the Mapoon Mission site at Cullen Point). I also provide an overview of Queensland government legislation, policy and practice and the Moravian and Presbyterian Church's missionary endeavour in Mapoon. Understanding these described experiences and their historical context is critical to examining the co-production of cultural heritage value for Mapoon by Indigenous families and missionary families. Understanding and deconstructing social groups and the similarities and differences between groups and social actors is integral to an intercultural analysis of relationships described in these historical narratives.

3.2 BEFORE TIME

Prior to the establishment of the Mapoon Mission in 1891, Cullen Point, Red Beach, Batavia and Thoongu (the lands that later comprised the Mapoon Mission village) were home to only the Traditional Owners (TOs) of Mapoon. These TOs comprised of families of several Indigenous language groups, including the Tjungundji, Mpakwithi, Taepithiggi, Thaynakwith, Warrangku and Yupungathi (Crowley 1981:149; Fletcher 2007:14; Guivarra 2010:1; Tindale 1974:149). Tindale's (1974) *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* Map depicts most of these Indigenous groups and their possible territory within the Mapoon DOGIT; however it does not depict the territory of the Mpakwithi, Thaynakwith and Warrangku groups (Figure 3). Thanakupi, a famous artist and Elder in Weipa, who grew up on the former mission village at Jessica Point, Weipa identifies her language (and identity) as Thaynakwith, from her father's family (Fletcher 2007:14). According to Thanakupi, Thaynakwith land includes part of Mission River, from its headwaters to Bouchat and to small Pine River, including all of Andoom (2007:14). Mpakwithi refers to a dialect spoken of the Anguthimri language (Crowley, 1981:149). Warrangku was "first publicly used in association with the Traditional Owners' claims in connection with the Skardon Kaolin developments during the 1990s" (Geoffrey Wharton, pers. comm., 27 June 2013). The exact territory of the Mpakwithi and Warrangku is not identified in these sources, however these names are commonly inscribed on monuments by MASC including the First Contact Memorial and Anzac Day Memorial (Chapter 7), despite some dispute in Mapoon between Elders over the exact boundary of these territories (Alma Day and Harriet Flinders, pers. comm., 17 August, 2013).

Tindale (1974) provides a detailed summary of the various alternative names used by early settlers and explorers for the Tjungundji people of Cullen Point, traditional lands include an area of approximately 400 km² at Cullen Point. An area, which includes the former Mapoon Mission Compound and the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (Tindale, 1974). Aunty Alma Day, Aunty Harriet Flinders, Aunty Florence Luff, Uncle Patrick Callope and Aunty Zoe Driscoll are Tjungundji Elders who collaborated in my research.⁵ Aunty Florence Luff and Aunty Harriet Flinders lived in the Mapoon Mission girls' dormitory during the administration of Rev.

⁵ It is common among many contemporary Indigenous groups to refer to all people considered Elders within the honorific title 'aunt' or 'uncle', unless where the individual is an actual relative, wherein the appropriate kin term is used (Sutton 1982). The practice is extended to some non-Indigenous people working closely with the Mapoon community.

McLelland and Rev. Hartshorn. Aunty Alma Day and Uncle Patrick Callope lived in the Mapoon Mission during later generations of missionaries, including Rev. and Mrs Filmer. During the project, Tjungundji Rangers, Geraldine Mamoose and Diane Nicholls, assisted with fieldwork, in presentations at conferences and activity days. Diane Nicholls is now the Cultural Heritage Officer at the Jean Jimmy Cultural Heritage Centre and Keeping Place. During my first visit in February 2010, Ms Nicholls initially introduced me to Elders in Mapoon and to the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and village.

Jupungati people's traditional lands include "south of Batavia River on the Gulf of Carpentaria coast as far as Duyfken Point and Nomenade Creek (Pine River)" (Tindale, 1974). Aunty Roberta Toeby has connections to the Yuupngati people and is one of the Elders who collaborated in this research. Tepiti language group's traditional lands include small areas of land surrounding the Middle Ducie River (Tindale 1974).

These families continue to maintain cultural practices and customs in Mapoon. Chivarri (the seagull man) "traveled from south of Aurukun along the coast to the Torres Strait Islands" including Mapoon to create people, places and languages (Fletcher 2007:23). Elders showed me cultural places that were created by Chivarri in Mapoon. These places are culturally restricted and not included in this study. Elders continue to share knowledge and practice their language, bush foods, kinship and cultural protocols in Mapoon to younger generations.

3.3 MISSION TIME

The historical context of key groups and actors critical to understanding the formation of cultural heritage values by Mapoon missionary and Indigenous families is structured by the three narratives evoked by Elders: the birth of the Mapoon Mission, the burning of Mapoon (death of Mapoon) and the resurrection of Mapoon.



Figure 3 Circle shows the location of Mapoon and relevant language groups within Tindale's (1974) Aboriginal Tribes of Australia Map (Source: Tindale 1974 with author's annotation).



Figure 4 "The first of Many Sleepless Nights" (Source: Ward 1908: Illustration between pages 62-63).

3.3.1 Birth of Mapoon Mission

The Moravian Church and the Presbyterian Church of Australia were instrumental in the establishment (birth) of the Mapoon Mission in 1891. The history of the Moravian Church and Presbyterian Church and the biographies of key figures in the Mapoon Mission's establishment, Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward and their families are critical to understanding the cultural changes on Indigenous families by missionisation that is inter-related to their valuing the remains of former mission time places. The relationships between Indigenous families and the Presbyterian and the Moravian missionaries shaped each other's memories and attachments to the Mapoon Mission.

The Moravian Church

The Moravian Church originated in the theology of Jan Hus in the Czech Republic during the fifteenth century and his attempted reformation of the Catholic Church in Bohemia and Moravia (modern-day Czech Republic) (Jensz 2010:16; Ostrogorsky 1965:1-18; Schattschneider 1984:1-63). Hus's reforms included a liturgy in Czech, the involvement of non-priests in distribution of communion and the papal funding of wars (Jensz 2010:16). Hus's movement gained support of the monarchy and he was later burned at the stake in 1415 for being a heretic, causing a series of wars between the Roman Catholics and Hus's acolytes, known as the "Hussites" (Koch 2001:10). In 1457, within 50 years of Huss's death, some of the Hussites formed the "Unity of the Brethren" or "Bohemian Brethren" in 1457, which were a form of early Protestant Christian tradition (Jensz, 2010:16; Koch 2001:10; Schattschneider 1984:5). Suppression by the monarchy and Catholics in Bohemia from 1618 to 1620 lead to a revolt and the eventual suppression of the Bohemian Brethren, forcing them underground (Jensz 2010:16).

In 1722, a small group of 11 Bohemian Brethren sought refuge at the German estate of Count Nikolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf, a Pietist (Jensz 2010:16; Koch 2001:5-6). Zinzendorf's charity led to this group settling on his lands in Upper Lusatia in eastern Germany and the establishment of a new village called Herrnhut (Jensz 2010; Koch 2001:16-18). In 1727, Zinzendorf brought unity to factions within the Herrnhut community, referred to as the 'Renewed Unity' and what is now considered the Moravian Church or "Unitas Fratrum" (Jensz 2010:16-18; Koch 2001:9-10). 'Herrnhut' literally means "those living under the protection or watch (Hut) of the Hutberg (name of the hill), belonging to Lord (Herr) Zinzendorf" (Koch

2001:8). However, Herrnhut's literal meaning was given an adapted meaning by settlers in the eighteenth century to mean "We are under the protection of our Lord Jesus Christ in Herrnhut" or "God's watch" (Jensz 2010:18; Koch 2001:8). Herrnhut became the centre of the Moravian Church missionary movement from the 18th century to date. The Moravian Church sent missionaries to the Americas, Jamaica, Africa, Asia and Australia and dominated international missionary endeavour in the nineteenth century (Jensz 2001:27).

From 1834, the Moravian Church became interested in missionary endeavour in Australia and several German congregations, including Herrnhut and Niesky collected funds for "the possibility of converting the aborigines (sic)" (Ward 1908:18); however, they were not to establish themselves on Cape York until much later in the nineteenth century. The Moravian missionaries established missions in Mapoon (1891-1919), Weipa (20 Mile), Aurukun (1898-1919) and Mornington Island (1914-1919), prior to their withdrawal from Cape York and the changeover of control of all of these missions to the Presbyterian Church in 1919 (Centre for Public Culture and Ideas, 2009). Mapoon is referred to as "the mother mission" by Mapoon people today and in the monuments constructed in modern times throughout Mapoon and the satellite missions of Weipa, Aurukun and Mornington Island as "her daughter missions" (her, referring to Mapoon) (Plaques on the First Contact Memorial, Mapoon, the Anzac War Memorial, Mapoon and the Bicentenary Monument, Mapoon); (Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a). The origins of female engendering of the missions is unclear, as it is not identifiable in Moravian traditions and theology.

Moravian missionaries first ventured into Victoria due to the influence of Charles La Trobe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Victoria. La Trobe had a strong Moravian upbringing (Jensz 2006,2010:1; Lydon 2009b:5-19). La Trobe was instrumental in the establishment of Aboriginal missions at Lake Boga (1850-1856) and other early Victorian missions, including Ebenezer (1858-1904) and Ramahyuck (1862-1907) (Jensz 2006; 2010:1; Lydon 2009b). Ebenezer and Ramahyuck were established by the Moravian Church in partnership with the Presbyterian Church (Ward, 1908:19). Zion Hill, the first Aboriginal mission in Queensland was established in 1838 (now known as Nundah, near the modern day location of Mary MacKillop College in the northern suburbs of Brisbane) following a strong Moravian influence (Centre for Public Culture and Ideas 2009; Sutton 1999:9). The Moravian Church also attempted a mission at Lake Kopperamanna in South Australia (1866-1868) before their

interest turned to western Cape York and to Mapoon (Jensz 2006:23). The Moravian Church's early missionary ventures into Mapoon were with the assistance of the Presbyterian Church.

The Presbyterian Church

The Presbyterian Church is a Christian church formed after the Reformation of Christian churches in Scotland in 1560 (Presbyterian Church of Australia 2004:1). The Presbyterian Church of Australia (PCA) is "a federation of State Presbyterian Churches formed in 1901", enabling each of the churches to "preserve their own identity" but are "voluntarily" administered in some areas by "the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia" (GAA) (Presbyterian Church of Australia 2004:3-4). The Church does not have "individuals with the power or authority of bishops in the way that word is used in some churches today" and "does not function as a simple congregational democracy" (Presbyterian Church of Australia 2004:1). However, the GAA are responsible for "guarding the doctrine of the Church and its practice of Church worship and discipline, world mission training of denominations" (Presbyterian Church of Australia 2004:3-4). Local congregations and States have the authority to suggest changes for local church practice to the GAA, however, any decision to change church practice or policy is made by the GAA and must be followed by church members (Presbyterian Church of Australia 2004:4).

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Presbyterian Church expressed interest in commencing a mission in Queensland in partnership with Moravian missionaries in Victoria to assist with the establishment of Aboriginal missions. Rev. Hagenauer (a Moravian missionary instrumental in the establishment of the Victorian missions) inspected several possible sites for a Queensland mission, and raised interest and support by the Queensland government. In 1890, following these journeys, Andrew Hardie, Convenor of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Federal Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania sent a letter to the Moravian Mission Board requesting assistance of potential missionaries to establish missions in Queensland (Edwards 1994:165-166; Hey c.1947:13-15; Ward 1908:22-24). The call for potential missionaries went out from the Moravian Mission Board to Australia, East Africa, California, Ireland and Trinidad (Ward 1908:24-25). The Moravian Mission Board selected Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey as candidates for the mission work in Queensland (Hey c.1947:13). In 1891, Ward and Hey arrived in Melbourne

and were soon told that Hardie and a second committee member, Robinson had selected a site for the mission on “Cullen Point at the mouth of the Batavia River, a narrow strip of land full of sand-dunes” (Ward 1908:46-47). Hon. John Douglas, Governor of Thursday Island assisted with selection of the mission site at Cullen Point, because of his concerns that pearl shell and the beche-de-mer fishermen were kidnapping local Aboriginal children and men into the boats and then abusing them (McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000:115-125). On 15 December 1891, Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey (with a party of Samoan and other members of a boat crew) made their first visit to Mapoon to find a suitable place at Cullen Point to construct the mission house (Ward 1891:5-8).

Reverend James Gibson Ward

Rev. James Gibson Ward was born into a Moravian missionary family in Jamaica in 1857. Ward's father was a missionary in Jamaica, where James grew up on the mission for eight years (Ward 1908:27). Rev. Ward educated at the Fulneck School for seven years, before travelling to Niesky in eastern Germany to be trained as a Moravian missionary (Ward, 1908:29-30). After his training at Niesky College in Germany, Rev. Ward continued to work as a teacher at Neuwied School, a German Moravian school until he travelled to the United Kingdom to work in the Ockbrook School and a ministry at Brockweir (Ward 1908:27-30). Rev. Ward married Mathilda, one of twin sisters in Ballinderry, who joined him in the establishment of the Mapoon Mission. Rev. Ward was senior to Rev. Hey during the establishment of the Mapoon Mission due to his training, his greater experience of Moravian missionary work and fluency in English (Ward 1908:36-40; Wharton 1996:1-10). Ward died in the early days of the Mapoon Mission in 1895 due to a form of tropical fever (Ward 1908:36-40; Wharton 1996:1-10). Rev. Ward's grave is still visible on the Mapoon Mission Compound, near the location of the mission house facing the ocean. Rev. Ward is regarded as the founder of the Mapoon Mission and a central figure in the memories of Elders at Mapoon, despite his early death. Rev. Ward's influence and relationships with Tjungundji people were critical to the early success of the mission and also influential in its layout and building construction (Ward 1908:36-40; Wharton 1996:1-10). The Church at Mapoon was named after Rev. Ward in memorial to his influence and importance to the establishment of the Mapoon Mission (Ward 1908:36-40; Wharton 1996:1-10).

Reverend Nicholas Hey

Reverend Nicholas (Nikolaus) Hey was born in the village of Doerrenbach in Germany into a farming family on 7 March 1862 (Hey c.1947:1; Ward 1908:36). Hey's parents were deeply religiously and committed Moravians (Hey c.1947:1). After his parent's death, Hey ran the family farm despite a strong desire ('calling') to be a missionary with the Moravian Church (Centre of Public Ideas 2009; Hey c.1947:3-7; Ward 1908:36). At age 31, he wrote to the Mission Board of the Moravian Church who sent Hey to the training college at Niesky, in eastern Germany (Ward 1908:37-40). Hey's situation is unusual as he came to be a missionary quite late in age and he did not have the benefits of a Moravian school education as had Rev. Ward (Centre for Public Ideas, 2009). Hey trained for two years in Niesky before he was sent to Ballinderry, Ireland to meet James Ward prior to their commission to begin a mission in North Queensland together (Ward, 1908:36-40). In Ballinderry, Hey became engaged to Maryanne, Mrs Ward's twin sister and he became Rev. Ward's brother-in-law (Hey c.1947:10). After Ward's death, Hey was in charge of the Mapoon Mission by default and faced difficulties being placed in this position, particularly without fluent English (Centre for Public Ideas 2009). Hey was instrumental in the training and establishment of the 'daughter missions' of Weipa, Aurukun and Mornington Island. Hey's style of mission was more rigid and pious than Rev. Ward's interpretation of the Moravian ideal and Hey followed the Moravian template of strictly segregated spaces within its missions (Centre for Public Ideas 2009).

In the early twentieth century with the outbreak of war with Germany in World War I, the Hey family endured substantial prejudice and surveillance from the Queensland State Government due to Rev. Hey's German heritage. Rev. Hey and his wife are remembered by Elders as "Father and Mother Hey" (Mr William Busch 2010c:File VN680007. 2 July 2010; Mrs Zoe and Mr Stan De Jersey 2010:Audio File VN680011. 23 July 2010) Rev. Hey was subject to intense media scrutiny in 1907 due to an alleged public whipping of a young Indigenous girl at Mapoon as a punishment, known as the 'Baltzer controversy' (Centre for Public Culture and Ideas 2009; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000:145-148), which resulted in negative publicity for the Moravian missions (Centre for Public Culture and Ideas 2009; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000:145-148). Rev. Hey's control of the North Queensland Missions did include acts of physical punishment and strict discipline (McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000:145). Hey's daughter, Miss Ina Hey (now deceased) was interviewed by Frank McKeown and Ricky

Guivarra as part of the Mapoon History Project (AIATSIS 2009). Janie Creek, an important camping and cultural place is also named after one of Rev. Hey's daughters, Janie (Mrs Harriet Flinders 2010b:Audio File VN680004. 23 October 2010). Miss Ina Hey's niece, Barbara Burgess took part in the Mapoon Centenary celebrations at the former Mapoon Mission Compound and is still living in Brisbane (Burgess 1991). Several Indigenous women (Elders, now deceased) at the former Weipa and Mapoon Missions share the name of Ina, after Rev. Hey's youngest daughter (Mrs Harriet Flinders 2010b:Audio File VN680004. 23 October 2010).

Ways of Seeing Each Other – Early Accounts of the Mission's Establishment

The earliest and most detailed account of the beginning of the Mapoon Mission recorded in the letters and diaries of Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey portray emotions of fear, uncertainty and curiosity. In the early days of the mission's establishment, 1891 to 1900, the mission was predominantly occupied by the missionaries, the Traditional Owner families, and some Solomon Islander and Samoan builders (who formed part of the crew of the *Albatross*, the government steamer) that transported the missionaries to Mapoon. The earliest account by Rev. Ward of his first experiences at Mapoon is a letter dated, 15 December, 1891 to Brother La Trobe in Herrnhut, Germany (Ward 1891). Rev Ward relates his first impressions of Cullen Point (Mapoon) (Ward 1891:5-8):

Low, sandy ridges, sparsely timbered first met our gaze .. entering the bay the Peninsula for a little distance presented the same appearance. But as the eye wandered along the coast line in a south easterly direction the timber is tall and thicker. For about 2 1/2 miles there is no open sandy beach. But afterwards along the circumference except where the rivers Batavia, Ducie, etc flow in -there was mangrove - more or less dense. The country .. seemed to be very flat ..

.. While at breakfast about half dozen of the natives, who had been fishing higher up the bay came along the shore, and sat down to appreciate the life under one of a few shady trees. They were perfectly self-confident and evidently expecting good things. Five of them had each a skirt and a pair of trousers! The others stripe of coloured material about the loins.

Ward's letter illustrates that Tjungundji people had encountered other non-Indigenous people, well before the arrival of the missionaries. The environment in Mapoon on the sandy beach ridges described as "sparsely timbered" by Ward (1891) is similar to observations of Mapoon today, with vegetation increasing along the southeastern coastline, particularly around swamps. Use of the coast for fishing and camping by Indigenous families, particularly around Cullen Point, as noted by Ward (1891), continues today in Mapoon. The early meeting on the beach as outlined in Ward's letter indicates mutual curiosity between the missionaries and Tjungundji people, but perhaps this curiosity was mixed with fear and distrust.

During the early days of establishing the Mapoon Mission, fear and distrust are emotions displayed by the correspondence of Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey. In Ward's 1891 letter to Brother La Trobe at Herrnhut (Ward 1891:8), he writes of the police arrangements at Mapoon as a "surprise" but he "raised no protest" because

The fact of the matter is that whites and blacks have come into awkward even deadly conflict. Blacks have been shot for acts of theft and when they have strictly carried out one of their laws of revenge – "an eye for an eye – tooth for a tooth policy" and have killed the first white man who came across their path, then it has happened that one of their camps has been surrounded by whites and indiscriminate shooting has caused a sufficient number of blacks to compensate for the death of the white man ... a white man unarmed stands a very poor chance indeed

Rev. Ward's commentary is indicative of attitudes of white Europeans at that time, but it is clear that conflict, punctuated by acts of violence and fear dominated relationships between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people prior to 1891. Rev. Hey and Rev. J.G. Ward are depicted in his brother's, Mr Arthur Ward's illustrations in *The Miracle of Mapoon* during the first nights of the missionaries at Cullen Point, as sleepless in a homemade bunker awake in bed at midnight, with a shot gun at their side, watching Tjungundji people dancing around a large bonfire with spears in hand (Ward 1908: Illustration between pages 62-63, Figure 4). Ward placed a caption below the illustration "The first of Many Sleepless Nights" (Figure 4). The illustration indicates that Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey were fearful of their

situation. Fear may not have only been shared by the missionaries towards Tjungundji people.

Uncle William Busch's grandfather, Charles De Bosch, the Samoan captain of the *Albatross*, was part of the initial party sent out to Cullen Point to find a site for the mission prior to the arrival of Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward and their wives in 1891 (William Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). Uncle William tells of a story related back to him from his grandfather, that when they landed on the beach, Charles gave the other party members a pistol and told them to shoot themselves if he had not returned within an hour, due to the notorious reputation of the "ferocity" of the local Indigenous people (Busch Jul 2013:pers. comm, July 2013). However, Uncle William's grandfather made friends with the Tjungundji people and returned with missionaries to establish the mission (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). There is little oral history surviving in Mapoon Elders' memories concerning this early time. However, some Elders have related that Tjungundji people were fearful of the 'white' men, due to the history of the Jardines and certain other early settlers in the region and related incidents of violence and massacres (Flinders, 2010a; see also McIntyre-Tamwoy, 2000 for a detailed history of the Jardine family, frontier violence and massacres). The legacy of the violent history of early interactions between settlers, pearl shellers and Traditional Owners across the Somerset region prior to the establishment of the mission, was still in the minds of both missionaries as indicated in Rev. Ward's letters (1891) and perhaps, the Tjungundji people during their early meetings.

These early interactions between missionaries and the Tjungundji people, as recorded by the missionaries indicates these two groups initially focused on each other's differences. Arthur Ward (1908:95-100) writes that Rev. Hey and Ward's early impressions of Indigenous people at Mapoon was repulsion at their physical differences, habits, customs and domestic life. However, it is clear from Ward (1908) that Tjungundji people may have also felt repulsion and ridicule for the missionaries. Ward (1908:112-113) writes:

We shall try to avoid both extremes and to understand why the Australian black, who is regarded by the whites as the most degraded specimen of the human race, speaks of the "stupid white fellow". Unless we can see that that phrase of theirs is

not ridiculous, but expresses a legitimate view of the relative value of the two races in certain circumstances, we shall not understand the history of Mapoon.

Ward's (1908) language again is indicative of that period, but he does argue that it is impossible to understand the early relationships between the missionaries and Tjungundji people at Mapoon Mission without trying to understand the other's culture and the way either group "sees each other" as "outsider" or as Said (2003) puts it, "the other". Ward's (1908) narrative and Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey's early correspondence may reflect aspects of Said's (2003) theory of *Orientalism*. Tjungundji people referring to missionaries as "stupid white fellow" as recorded in Ward (1908:112-113), perhaps because they see themselves as the opposite of that judgment. Similarly, Ward's (1891) letter to Brother La Trobe, shows his fears of the Tjungundji people being "murderous" and "wretched" perhaps attributed to his perception of the missionaries as moral and fortunate. The entire mission endeavour in Mapoon is predicated on the missionaries and Queensland State Government's view of Aboriginal people as the 'other', 'poor', and 'wretched', requiring the saving of their souls by Christianity and the "protection" of the State, but also on fear. Fear of violence, fear of conflict and fear of the unknown. The missionaries' souls are saved through their belief in God and following his 'calling' to preach the word of the Gospel to those peoples ignorant of Christianity who require saving. These characterisations are based on colonial representations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous of 'civilised' and 'primitive' to justify control of Indigenous people by the State through cultural and political hegemony.

Historical Families and Mapoon as a Reformatory

In October 1901, Mapoon was gazetted as an industrial school under the Queensland *Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act 1865* and then licensed as such in 1937 under the *State Children Act 1911* (Huggins 1994:12-14; Kidd 1997; Kidd 2000:9-23; Kidd 2006:28-32; Loos 1982:2-20). Forcibly removed children of mixed descent (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) (known today as the Stolen Generations) across Queensland (including Normanton, Burketown, and Thursday Island) were sent to the Mapoon dormitories.

*Historical Indigenous Families*⁶

The Historical Indigenous Families of Mapoon mostly comprise of families originating from the Stolen Generations, children forcibly removed from their families across Queensland by the Chief Protector dating back to 1900 and placed in the dormitories of the Mapoon Mission. The majority of forcibly removed children that were placed in Mapoon came from Weipa, Burketown and Normanton (De Jersey 2010b; Madua 1992). These children grew up in the dormitories of the Mapoon Mission Compound, later had families of their own, who were born at Mapoon (De Jersey 2010b:9 July 2010. Audio File VN680012; Madua 1992). These families have a historical connection, as well as in many cases intermarried to Traditional Owner families in Mapoon and adjoining areas, but their attachment to Mapoon should not be underestimated. Mapoon became home to these families after the trauma of forced removal from their original families and traditional country as young children (Busch *et al.* 2010e; De Jersey *et al.* 2010b; Madua 1992). These children were also adopted into the Traditional Owner families of Mapoon following Aboriginal custom. The destruction of Mapoon, their second home and their second forced removal during the mission's closure in 1963 is a source of repeated trauma for these families, a second dispossession repeated by the Queensland State Government (Chapter 6 for further discussion of the attachments of Historical Indigenous families to Mapoon). Historical Indigenous families with connections to Mapoon, also include Samoans, Solomon Islanders, Europeans and Chinese who married Indigenous women/men while working on the Mapoon Mission or who married Indigenous men/women outside of Mapoon and returned to Mapoon with their partners.

Elders and families who participated in my PhD, who are part of these Historical Indigenous Families, include Uncle William Busch and Granny Susie Madua. Granny Susie Madua was a young child who lived in the girls' dormitory in Mapoon in the 1930s, her mother was

⁶ Please note that the distinction between Historical Indigenous Families and Traditional Owners is not used as a comment or classification on native title or land ownership rights nor is it used to oversimplify the complexity of relationships between families and intermarriage in Mapoon. This distinction is only made as it is more critical in the discussions of trauma in Chapter 6 and recreation of cultural heritage places in Chapter 7, as Historical Indigenous Families have experienced more than one episode of dispossession and in relation to cultural change. This thesis is not a detailed anthropological study of genealogies in Mapoon as any attempt to analyse these relationships was rejected in Mapoon during fieldwork, particularly as native title investigations were occurring and dividing families during the preparation of this thesis.

forcibly removed to Mapoon from Normanton. Granny Susie lived in Mapoon as a girl through World War II but also is a recognised Traditional Owner of the Alngith people in Weipa. Uncle William Busch is the grandson of the Samoan captain of the Albatross, Charles de Bosch who married an Indigenous woman from Mapoon. Uncle William Busch lived in the Mapoon boys' dormitory during World War II and worked as a pearl shell diver with contemporaries such as Seaman Dan and Mr Eddie Mabo.

3.3.2 The Burning of Mapoon – Mapoon Mission Closure

As already noted at the beginning of the thesis, the burning of Mapoon by the Queensland State Government on the 15 November, 1963, was a violent episode of forced removal perpetrated by the DAIA against Mapoon Indigenous families, that led to far-reaching cultural changes that shape the cultural heritage values of Mapoon people and their relationships with missionary families and outsiders today. The Queensland State Government including the then Director of the DAIA, Mr Patrick Killoran, the Allan family (former missionaries for Mapoon), the Filmer family (the last missionaries at Mapoon) and Mrs Jean Jimmy are some of the key social actors and groups that are part of the story of the Mapoon Mission's closure. The role of these actors and groups in this narrative is provided below to set the framework for later discussions in case studies of cultural heritage places and values (Chapter 4 to Chapter 8).

Queensland State Government

The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act legislated in 1897 and the subsequent amendments throughout the early to mid-twentieth century ushered in an era of oppressive policies and intense surveillance of Aboriginal people in Queensland. This legislation was oppressive and sought control of Indigenous peoples in Queensland with far-reaching implications (Kidd 2000:9-23; Kidd 2006:26). Control was administered by the Queensland State Government through Protectors (later, the Directors and agents of the DNA and DAIA), the establishment of government settlements (often referred to as reserves) and the use of missions to forcibly remove Indigenous children (particularly children produced from Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships, perceived threatening to White Australia, commonly referred to as the “half caste problem”) and to restrict and control marriages, labour and consequent, wages (Huggins 1994:12-14; Kidd 1997; Kidd 2000:9-23; Kidd 2006:28-32; Loos 1982:2-20). The phrase, “Livin’ under the Act” is used by

Indigenous people to characterise that time and negative impacts of this Act and successive legislation up to the fall of the Bjelke-Peterson regime through his resignation as leader of the National Party in 1987 (Gilbert, 1977:55; Kidd, 1997; 2000:18-22; 2006:72-102; Rosser 1985:1-20). Protectors were individuals (often public servants, police or missionaries) appointed by the State to administer these policies and to segregate Indigenous people from non-Indigenous people, thus enforcing the provisions of the Act.

The original legislation was influential throughout Australia to establish policies by other States and Territories to restrict and control Indigenous people (for example, Western Australia in 1905, the Northern Territory in 1910 and South Australia in 1911 (Kidd 1997, 2006: 85-20; Loos 1982:2-43). *The Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islanders' Affairs Act, 1965* and the later *Aborigines Act, 1971* and the *Torres Strait Islanders Act, 1971* continued repressive policies of the original 1897 legislation with a policy focus changing from protectionism to assimilation (Parliament 2013). The 1965 legislation led to the creation of the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (Kidd 2006:142).

Control over who lives on a mission or reserve and subsequent removals, gaoling, and the maintenance of “discipline and order” (which is a common section to all of the above legislation) gave the Director of Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (DAIA), protectors and district officers’ extraordinary power over the lives of Indigenous people (Kidd 2000:38-42; 1997). Although these powers were restrictive, many Indigenous people in Queensland still maintained cultural practices, kinship networks and in some cases, their language (for examples in Cape York Peninsula and Gulf of Carpentaria, refer to anthropological case studies undertaken at Mornington Island, Weipa, Aurukun, Weipa, Hopevale and Doomadgee (Dalley and Memmott 2010; McConnel 1936-1937; McConnel 1957; Memmott 1979, 2007; Morrison *et al.* 2010; Pearson 1986, 1998; Trigger 1985, 1992). Indigenous people also resisted these restrictive policies through protests, notably at Mapoon Jean Jimmy, for example, contacted the United Nations and Commonwealth to gain support against the forced removal of Mapoon people from their homes. Organisations established in 1960-1961 to fight for Indigenous rights in Queensland included the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement (later FCAATSI), and the Queensland Cairns Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (QCAATI) and One People of Australia League (OPAL) (Indigenous Suffrage, Queensland Parliament website, accessed online on 28 July 2013).

A key figure in the Queensland State Government at that time, was the Director of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, Mr Patrick Killoran.

Mr Patrick Killoran

Mr Patrick Killoran, the former Director of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (and former Director of Native Affairs) was a key actor instrumental in the closure and burning of Mapoon. He is a personality remembered with fear, anger and suspicion by both Mapoon Elders and former missionaries. Patrick Killoran is remembered by Mapoon Elders as a tall man “dressed in white” who threw lollies out onto the ground for the children when he arrived. One Elder recounts in relation to the closure of Mapoon Mission “if I knew then what I did now about Patrick Killoran I wouldn’t have eaten his lollies” (De Jersey *et al.* 2010c). Mr Killoran’s white clothing is remembered in several Elders’ oral history testimony and it is not clear if it has any special significance but the use of white clothing is an important Moravian tradition (discussed further in Chapter 5). Mrs Filmer remembers Mr Killoran, “Pat Killoran wasn’t thought well of by Aborigines back then ... I can remember there were meetings and lots of expressed frustration and anger” (Filmer and Filmer 2011a:Audio File VN680016. 8 June 2011.).

Mr Killoran requested a Removal Order under Section 22 of the *Protection Act* to move Mapoon residents off the Mapoon Mission (Wharton 1996:19). The Thursday Island Police who removed 23 Mapoon residents to Bamaga (New Mapoon) on the night of 14 November 1963, acted on the instructions of Mr Killoran whose orders were to “effect the transfer of the families listed in the removal order and an Islander work party who were requested to ‘commence demolition of the vacated shanties on the Reserve” (Director of Native Affairs, Office of Deputy Director of Native Affairs, Thursday Island to Director of Native Affairs, Brisbane, 14 November 1963, DNAO File 6D/25, A/69496, QSA cited in Wharton 1996:20). Mr Killoran is a key figure in the narratives of the burning of Mapoon and Mapoon’s resurrection (discussed Chapters 4 and 5). Mr Killoran’s legacy has far-reaching implications for Mapoon people’s relationships with the Queensland State Government and with non-Indigenous outsiders.

The Allan Family

Rev. John Calder Allan was the superintendent and missionary of the Mapoon Mission for two periods of administration from November 1948 to August 1951 and February 1955 to December 1955 (Allan 2011). The interruption to a continuous period of administration was due to Mrs Allan developing poliomyelitis in mid-1951 (Allan 2011). Despite contracting this condition, Mrs Allan continued to steadfastly work by her husband's side and returned to the Mapoon Mission (Allan 2011). Mrs Allan's dedication to the Mapoon Mission is felt by her family to have contributed to the deterioration of her condition in later life, due to a lack of access to proper treatment (Allan 2011). As discussed later in Chapter 5, Mrs Allan was buried at the Mapoon Mission and her grave and Rev. Allan's is often tended to by Mapoon Indigenous families.

Rev. John Calder Allan attempted to develop commercial opportunities, particularly in agriculture and was a popular figure with many Indigenous families due to his attempts to lobby against the mission's closure and his reported generous nature (De Jersey 2010b, 2010c; Wharton 1996:49). The Allans also assisted Indigenous families to return to Mapoon and felt a call to return home for the Centenary celebrations of Mapoon. Rev. John Calder Allan's ashes are buried in a grave with Mrs Allan's ashes (buried side by side in one interment) beside Rev. Hey's grave near the remains of the mission house at Cullen Point, facing out to sea. The Allans were interred at Mapoon after the mission closure, indicative of their strong connection with Mapoon. Rev. Allan's son David, a doctor who works throughout northern Queensland, has a Tjungundji language name (Chularthee meaning west wind) and adopted by the Tjungundji people (a recognised Tjungundji man in Mapoon), was instrumental in the organisation of the Centenary celebrations at Mapoon and frequently returns home. David Allan was interviewed during the preparation of my thesis.

The Filmer Family

Rev. Garth Filmer and his wife, Patricia (Pat) Filmer were the last Presbyterian missionaries at Mapoon. Rev. Filmer became superintendent of Mapoon Mission in May 1958 to July 1963 (Filmer and Filmer 2011a). Mapoon was the first ministry for the young couple and their family, after a short stay to assist missionaries at the Aurukun Mission (Filmer and Filmer 2011a). The Filmers were at Mapoon during conflicts over the closure of the Mapoon Mission but were not present during the forced removals of families to Bamaga (New

Mapoon) and the burning of Mapoon (Filmer and Filmer 2011b). Prior to the Filmers arriving at Mapoon, Indigenous residents at Mapoon had endured a change of superintendent nearly once every 12 months, changes causing considerable community upheaval and discord (Wharton 1996:57). The Filmer family lived in Mapoon at a period of immense upheaval between the Presbyterian Church of Australia, the DAIA and Indigenous families (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b).

According to Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer, at their arrival, the mission buildings were neglected and in a state of serious disrepair (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). Rev. and Mrs Filmer found on their arrival, that the mission was seriously underfunded and the DAIA's Director, Patrick Killoran was set on the closure of the mission; they were told in addition to their spiritual ministry to prepare the mission and ready Mapoon residents for its closure (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). The state of affairs portrayed by Mr and Mrs Filmer is supported in Australian Presbyterian Board of Mission correspondence files, particularly those between the Rev. Stuckey and Mr Killoran (APBM correspondence files, Boxes 1958 to 1962, APC Archives, Brisbane).

In the *Mapoon Story* (International Development Action Team (IDA) 1975-1976) Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer are referred to as "Mr and Mrs White man", contentious figures, held responsible with Patrick Killoran for the closure of the mission. A portrayal perhaps skewed to achieve political gains for Mapoon Indigenous families to return to Mapoon. Some conflict between Rev. Filmer and some of the Mapoon residents is noticeable in correspondence files of the Presbyterian mission archives (APBM correspondence files, Boxes 1958 to 1962) from this period and in the memories of some Mapoon Elders (Busch 2010d, 2010e), particularly during the days leading up to the mission closure. There is also evidence to show that both Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer and their children had a strong emotional attachment to some Indigenous families from Mapoon and were caught up in an episode of intense change in Mapoon's history triggered by the policies of the DAIA and mining interests for bauxite exploration at Mapoon. Evidence from Presbyterian Church, DNA and DAIA correspondence regarding discussion to close the Mapoon Mission date back to the late 1940s, long before the Filmer family arrived at Mapoon. Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer had connections with some of the Mapoon Indigenous families after the mission closure, including Mrs Rosie and Mr Jubilee Woodley and the Mark families, who corresponded and

visited the Filmer family. These families feature in the Filmer family photographic albums and in letters exchanged between the families still kept in the Filmer family home. Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer's children were also given Tjungundji language names. Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer adopted Edna Mark and schooled her in Gordonvale, Queensland. Rev. Filmer has returned to Weipa, since the Mapoon Mission closure, as well as his son Ewan on an independent visit to meet Mapoon families (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). Mrs Filmer also expressed a strong desire to return to Mapoon during oral history interviews for this thesis. Rev. Filmer and Mrs Filmer were interviewed during the preparation of my thesis and assisted with repatriating their private photographs to Mapoon Elders.

3.4 MAPOON TODAY

After the mission closure in 1963 and the forced removal of Indigenous families to settlements across Queensland including Hidden Valley (New Mapoon), the Queensland State Government impeded Mapoon people from returning to their country through force and legislation as administered by the DAIA. From 1963 to 1974, Mapoon people continued to fight for their right to return to live in Mapoon. Mrs Jean Jimmy, Hazel Miller, Granny Susie Madua and other Elders in 1974 continued to lobby the Commonwealth and Queensland State Governments to return to their country (Roberts *et al.* 1975:16).

3.4.1 Resurrecting Mapoon

The rebirth of Mapoon was enabled by Commonwealth intervention and grants to assist able Mapoon people to return to country. The formation of the Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation eventually led to the Deed of Grant in Trust over the Mapoon lands and the foundation of the Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council. In 1999, the then Premier Peter Beattie, gave an apology in Queensland Parliament to Mapoon people, on behalf of the Queensland State Government for the events between 1950 to 15 November 1963 (Guivarra 2010). Premier Beattie awarded Mapoon local government status in 2000 (Guivarra 2010; Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013b). Despite this apology, the legacy of the mission closure and the racist policies of the DAIA (DNA) over Indigenous people in Queensland affect relationships between Mapoon people and the State in Mapoon. Some form of Christianity is still the prevalent religion (mostly Uniting Church, followed by Anglican, Catholic and Pentecostal approximately 49% of the total population) in Mapoon (ABS 2006). The destruction of the Mapoon Church during the mission closure is a source of considerable

trauma for several Mapoon Elders. The Uniting Church predominance in Mapoon's population is directly related to the narratives of the mission time as the Uniting Church chaplain supported Mapoon Elders living in New Mapoon to return to Mapoon (Taylor 1963, 1965a, 1965b). There is also a roving Uniting Church minister and his family that minister the congregation at Mapoon and conduct church services at the veranda of the Mapoon clinic. The Uniting Church is building a new church in Mapoon with assistance from the MASC.

Key players in the recent history of Mapoon's resurrection are the MAC, the MASC, MLSAC and the Old Mapoon Aboriginal Corporation. Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous Families are members and involved in these different agencies, as Councilors, elected officers, employees, rent payers and members. The history of these corporations and governance bodies is important in understanding the effects of cultural changes from missionisation on Indigenous families in Mapoon and is interrelated to Mapoon people's aspirations for cultural heritage places in the present and the future.

Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation (MAC)

After 1963, several families returned to Mapoon including Jerry and Ina Hudson, Jean Jimmy and Granny Susie Madua and formed the Marpuna Community Aboriginal Corporation (MAC) in 1974 (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013b). In 1984, under the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act, 1976* (Cth), the MAC was formally incorporated. Moran writes that the "Annual General Meetings of the Corporation were significant events during the 1990's, with Mapoon people from other settlements travelling far to cast their vote" (2006:86). The MAC were instrumental in gaining Commonwealth and Queensland State Government recognition of Mapoon people's rights to return home and rebuild Mapoon. Resettlement focused at Rugapayn (Red Beach). Mrs Jimmy was the first Chairperson of the Marpuna Community Aboriginal Corporation in 1984. The Corporation was established by Traditional Owners and historical Indigenous families who returned to Mapoon as a form of administration to assist with Mapoon's 'rebirth' and encouraging more families to return. Mrs Jimmy was also one of the three Elders to be given the Deed of Grant of Land in Trust to Mapoon in 1989 by the then Queensland Minister for Community Services, Bob Katter (Wharton 1996:24). Mrs Jimmy's framed portrait is hung above the foyer of the entrance to the Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council chambers. The Cultural Heritage Centre and Keeping

Place at Mapoon opened in 2012 is named in memoriam of Mrs Jimmy, recognising her achievements for Mapoon people. On 26 April 1989, Mapoon people were granted a Deed of Grant of Land in Trust (DOGIT) for 'Aboriginal Reserve Purposes' under the *Land Act* (Qld.) including 1,839 km² (encompassing Cullen Point and the remains of the Mission Compound and remains of mission time family homes) by the Queensland Government (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013b).

The trustees to the DOGIT included several Traditional Owners and two historical owners appointed by the Queensland State Government (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013b:11). Since granting of the original DOGIT, "the land mass was later reduced in size and the trustee representatives also reduced to three Trustees" appointed by the Queensland State Government (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013b:11). Prior to 2000, the MAC were a "defacto local government authority of the area" from 1974 to March 2000 (Moran 2006 86). In May 2013, the MAC trustees were no longer involved in the governance of the Mapoon DOGIT. Two of the trustees had moved out of Mapoon earlier in September 2011 due to internal conflict with other Mapoon families and the MASC over the governance of the Mapoon DOGIT and conflict over decision-making. The MAC still exists today as an Indigenous corporation registered on the Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations (ORAC - Office of the Registrar of Aboriginal Corporations 2013). Two trustees now reside in Cairns. However, the membership list of the MAC is outdated for 2013 and at present they no longer have any politically recognised stake in the administration and control of the DOGIT by the MASC or the Queensland State Government.

Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council (MASC)

In 1984, with the establishment of the *Community Services (Torres Strait) Act 1984* and *Community Services (Aborigines) Act 1984*, under the Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) was administered by "Indigenous community councils (or DOGIT councils) which were set up to administer the land covered in the deed on behalf of the community" (McDougall 2006:27). In 2000, the Queensland State Government awarded Mapoon with local government status (Moran 2006 82). The MASC is an elected body responsible for the "good rule and government" of its local government area as provided for in the constitution of Queensland 2001, Section 71 (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2010:2). After this time, several informal bodies (over the last 10 years), including the Mapoon Justice Group, the Men's Group, the

Women's Group, the sporting group 'Ruggu Poin Magpies' and the Home and Community Care (HACC) centre were established in Mapoon (Moran 2006:88). After 2007, "Aboriginal Shire Councils" and "Island Councils" (formerly management bodies) obtained "additional powers associated with local governments" in Queensland (McDougall 2006:27). MASC has an elected Mayor, Deputy Mayor and several Councillors. In 2014, Peter Guivarra is currently the elected Mayor of Mapoon with Deputy Mayor Polly Smith and three Councillors, Aileen Addo, Beryl Woodley and Ricky Guivarra. As of May 2013, the MASC are now responsible solely for the town of modern Mapoon, Red Beach and its administration and future land use.

Mapoon Land and Sea Advisory Committee (MLSAC)

The Mapoon Interim Land and Sea Advisory Committee are a committee of Elders, Rangers and other Mapoon family members who meet to manage land and sea, natural and cultural heritage within the Mapoon DOGIT. Rangers include younger generations of Traditional Owner and Historical family members and new residents in Mapoon who have relationships with Mapoon families, employed by the MASC to look after country and undertake environmental conservation and management activities within the Mapoon DOGIT. Some Rangers were hired by the MASC from outside Mapoon and include non-Indigenous people, who were looking for work in environmental management. The Committee is chaired by Uncle William Busch and is co-ordinated by the Land and Sea Ranger Co-ordinator. This Committee is within MASC's administration and advises MASC on land and sea matters through reporting from the Land and Sea Ranger Co-ordinator. The MLSAC are funded through Commonwealth Land and Sea and funding programs and State environmental programs. Rangers undertake environmental programs and conservation projects throughout the Mapoon DOGIT. There are two recently appointed Cultural Heritage Rangers in 2013 who maintain the newly opened Cultural Heritage Keeping Place room (established with Commonwealth funding obtained through assistance with my doctoral research), which includes all repatriated historical films and photographs of the mission time.

The Old Mapoon Aboriginal Corporation

In 2013, the structure of the DOGIT administration was restructured into two parts with assigning of two new Trustees with different responsibilities and an obligation to "work together" for "land administration matters and land use for the future needs of Mapoon"

(Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013c:11). The Old Mapoon Aboriginal Corporation “assumed responsibility for the majority of the DOGIT land” and the Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council “assumed responsibility for a newly created town area” (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013c:11). The Old Mapoon Aboriginal Corporation formed in late 2012, contains membership of Elders, Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous Families of Mapoon. Members of the Corporation are also part of MASC, Councillors, Elders, Rangers and other Mapoon families. This Corporation does not include the directors/public officers of the MCAC (ORAC - Office of the Registrar of Aboriginal Corporations 2013). As this Corporation is recently formed and its new powers for the DOGIT were only recently appointed in mid-November 2013, it is unclear how it will formally administer land use at this time.

3.4.2 Mining Companies in Mapoon

Bauxite mining in the Mapoon DOGIT began with exploration by Consolidated Zinc (later known as Comalco) in 1955 and Alcan. Andoom within the Mapoon DOGIT, approximately 70 km south of Mapoon is actively mined by Rio Tinto Alcan (formerly Comalco). Weipa is the "largest bauxite mine in the world" (*Sydney Morning Herald* 2008). The Port of Weipa opened in 1962 to supply Queensland Alumina Limited and refineries in Gladstone as well as general export overseas (Rio Tinto Alcan 2009). No published material provides evidence that Comalco and Alcan had a direct hand in the closure of the Mapoon Mission in 1963 (Wharton 1996). However missionaries remember that workers from Comalco and Alcan came and undertook exploratory drilling in the Mission area (Kidd 1997; Mr and Mrs Filmer 2013:pers.comm.).

Under the *Commonwealth Aluminum Corporation Pty Limited Agreement Act, 1957* (Qld), Comalco were provided with powers to administer and mine lands for bauxite within the Mapoon DOGIT, including the remains of the Mission Compound and former mission time family homes. Today, Rio Tinto Alcan (Rio Tinto acquired 100% of Comalco in 2000 and acquired Alcan in 2007) administers bauxite mining within Weipa and Mapoon. Rio Tinto Alcan work directly with MASC and Traditional Owners through the Western Cape Communities Co-Existence Agreement (WCCCA) to continue to access bauxite within the Mapoon DOGIT.

3.5 DISCUSSION

The history of Mapoon, particularly the relationships of Indigenous families with non-Indigenous people has been characterised in the early frontier history as violent and turbulent, with partial dispossession and encroachment of country. Ways of seeing each other in Mapoon, both missionary and Indigenous, are heavily influenced by colonial representations of identity, similar to those discussed in Said (2003) between the West and East in *Orientalism*, for the State to justify oppression of other cultures. In Mapoon's case this history of oppression is predominantly by the State (there are also earlier acts of violence by pastoralists such as the Jardines and the kidnapping of children and men for trepang and pearl shell fishing by Indonesians) as administered through the Queensland State Government's various racist policies from initial *The Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* legislated in 1897 and the subsequent amendments and similar forms of legislation throughout the early-to-mid-twentieth century (Kidd 2000:9-23; Kidd 2006:26). History's legacy for the identity and relationships between Traditional Owner and Historical Indigenous Families within Mapoon and missionary families is characterised by suspicion in times of struggle due to this history of oppression, control and dispossession (Chapter 6). As discussed, missionary families, such as the children of the Allans and Filmers born in Mapoon were given traditional names by Traditional Owners. Indigenous children in the dormitories used the words 'mother' and 'father' (and continue today to do so) to describe the missionaries that founded the mission and administered the mission in their living memory. Therefore, identity is also not as simplified as suggested in these colonial representations or in historical representations of these narratives (analysed further in case studies in Chapter 5, 6, 7 and 9).

From 1891 to 1963, the Traditional Owners of Mapoon, particularly the Tjungundji people maintained their connections to country and custom despite the considerable changes from missionisation. The burning of the Mapoon Mission by the DAIA, the role of mining companies and the Australian Presbyterian Church in this event through support of the DAIA and withdrawal of the missionaries, is a cause of trauma and dramatic cultural change for Indigenous families in Mapoon (particularly the Historical Indigenous Families who suffered a second episode of dispossession and forced removal from their home and related trauma) during this event. Changes which included disruption to caring for country, spiritual connections to cultural places, destruction of family homes and possessions and disruption

to an entire lifestyle of Indigenous families predicated on knowledge of hunting, gathering and fishing from the land and sea. These changes also included the rupturing of relationships between Indigenous and missionary Mapoon families who had formed their own community identity, through forced migration across Queensland to different settlements and through pressures to take an exemption and move their families into city and country towns prior to the mission closure in 1963.

The return and resurrection of Mapoon by some Indigenous families in 1975 and the later formation of the MAC, MASC and Old Mapoon Aboriginal Corporation has seen the rebirth and recreation of a new Mapoon community, whose values and visions for the future are interlinked to the history of the mission time. Many families forced away from Mapoon in 1963 have where possible returned and reconnected. These values belonging to Indigenous families in Mapoon are discussed in Chapters 4 to 8 through several case studies, to demonstrate the complexities of the formation of cultural heritage values and the interrelationship of these values with historical, religious and political circumstances. The Christian concepts of birth, death and resurrection were and continue to be used throughout Mapoon by Elders and other Indigenous persons to describe the history of the Mapoon Mission (Field Note Books 1 to 5). Birth relates to the coming of the missionaries in 1891 and the “birth of the Mapoon Mission”, as commonly referred to in Mapoon by Elders. Death is applied by Elders and other family members, including some Rangers (those that are Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous Families) to the burning and destruction of Mapoon Mission by the Queensland State Government in 1963. Resurrection is a term used by MASC as well as Elders and other Indigenous family members in Mapoon to describe the return to Mapoon by forcibly removed families originally from the mission and the recreation of Mapoon from 1975 to date (Flinders *et al.* 2010b; De Jersey *et al.* 2010a; 2010e; Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013d).

The use of these concepts by Elders could be attributed to their introduction during the mission time by the Moravian and Presbyterian missionaries as part of missionisation, but it is not completely clear if this is the case. Some Elders (particularly, female Elders that lived in the girls’ dormitory) evoke these words to describe their experiences of the mission time at Mapoon and still identify as Christian (though during fieldwork only two Elders were practicing). The New Testament of the King James Bible, as told in Corinthians (15:12-20),

describes the Christian belief that Jesus achieved salvation and eternal paradise with God through his birth and life in the mortal world, followed by suffering, painful death and resurrection. Therefore, Christians can reconcile with God through death and resurrection and reach heaven for eternal life. The Mapoon Mission created a new community between the missionaries, Historical Indigenous Families and Traditional Owners. The injustices experienced by Indigenous families in Mapoon from before and during the mission time, during the burning of Mapoon and the destruction of their community, to the return and resurrection of Mapoon may for those Indigenous families that adopted Christianity (or some form of Christian beliefs) have parallels with the birth, suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus. The history of epic struggle for Mapoon Indigenous families during the burning and the resurrection of Mapoon has overtones of suffering, redemption and renewal also common in the parables and stories of the Bible and also in Greek mythology such as Ulysees and the Odyssey. Further discussion of Christian theology and its inter-relationship with cultural heritage values of Mapoon people is presented through case studies on the remains of the mission village homes in Chapter 5 and for acts of commemoration in Chapter 7.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I introduced the key social actors to the three narratives: the birth of the Mapoon Mission, the burning of Mapoon and Mapoon's resurrection, evoked by Elders in Mapoon during archaeological investigations. These key actors include Indigenous Traditional Owner groups of the Mapoon DOGIT, the Historical Indigenous Families of Mapoon, Moravian Church, Presbyterian Church of Australia including missionary families and the Queensland State Government. As part of my thesis background, I also provided an overview of Queensland legislation and local governance's evolution in Mapoon in recent times pertinent to understanding the political context surrounding these narratives. I outlined some of the accounts of key actors first meetings and perceptions of Mapoon at the establishment of the Mapoon Mission. These accounts are analysed in relation to Said's (2003) *Orientalism* and colonial representations of identity. Identity is created by perception of the "other" – the "outsider" by social actors and their perceptions are influenced by political, social and environmental circumstance. As shown through the description and analysis of social actors and their relationships, these divisions between social actors and groups of Indigenous vs non-Indigenous are over-simplified as relationships were much

more complicated throughout the history of the mission and today in Mapoon. The lines between identity in these groups is blurred based on individual agency. I will examine the impact of these historical narratives, through case studies of cultural heritage places and how these places are valued by Indigenous and missionary families in Mapoon in Chapters 4 to 8. I attempt to deconstruct these groups further through these case studies and focus on their shared and contested experiences and their interconnection to the complexity of the formation of cultural heritage value.

Chapter 4 Mapoon Mission Compound

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The former Mapoon Mission is a cultural, social and political landscape encompassing the attachment of families (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) who maintain connections with other former missions and government settlements in western Cape York. In his review of Australian post-contact cultural heritage places for the Register of the Estate Prof. D.J Mulvaney recognised the remains of the former Mapoon Mission Compound as having national significance to Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians and “worthy of national heritage conservation and protection” (Mulvaney 1989:Afterword). This chapter’s purpose is to present a case study of a previously undocumented cultural heritage place identified to me by Mapoon Elders and missionary families that demonstrates the complexity of cultural heritage values at Mapoon.

I begin by describing the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound today, the history of construction of this place during the ministries of the Moravian and Presbyterian missionaries (Figure 5 to 8). I then outline the significant features within this place identified to me by Elders and missionary families, during oral history interviews and fieldwork from 2010 to 2014. These features include landscaping of trees and gardens, symbols used in gardens, segregation of spaces in dormitories, the church and mission house. I illustrate the remembered Mapoon Mission Compound through maps constructed during oral history interviews and through fieldwork with both Indigenous and missionary families. I examine the construction of missionary and Indigenous families’ values for these features through narratives presented in the personal correspondence of missionaries in Herrnhut, Germany and in Australia and through the narratives in oral history interviews. I analyse how these families’ values have changed over time and the differences in these values between generations of Indigenous families in Mapoon. I present the results of this research, specifically shared values between missionaries and Elders, such as the Moravian Advent Star and other forms of Moravian symbolism.

4.2 DESCRIPTION OF MAPOON MISSION COMPOUND

In 2013, the physical remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound include building foundations, fence posts, house stumps and other partially buried domestic material culture (Figure 5 and 6). The remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound are within an area of

approximately 270 m in length and 65 m in width, bounded to the north-west by swamp and mangroves and to the south-east by the beach and sea. The remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound are within sand dunes and floodplain landforms within Cullen Point. No standing structures or buildings are visible or have survived at Mapoon Mission Compound after the mission closure and the burning of Mapoon in 1963, the decay and dismantling of remains of buildings since that time and the subsequent destruction of the mission house by MASC in 2000 and Mrs Madua's remaining mission time family house by a cyclone in 2012. Remains visible at the Mapoon Mission Compound during my fieldwork in 2013 include the footings, foundations and debris associated with the former mission house, the former girls' dormitories, the cookhouse slab, the generator shed, the bell tower, church, an oven/fireplace and several mission-planted trees as identified by Elders and through analysis of historical photographs (Figure 7). The Mapoon Mission Compound constituted the home of missionaries, their families and non-Indigenous school and administration staff as well as the girls' and boys' dormitories for Indigenous children and Indigenous matrons who worked in the dormitories.

Following Trigger's (1985, 1992) model of cultural domains mentioned above, the Mapoon Mission Compound from 1891 to 1963 was the missionary/"whitefella" domain of Mapoon during the mission time. The layout of this place and its architecture was planned and developed with strong similarities to other types of institutions across the State, with surveillance and regulated spaces and fencing strong pervading influences (Sutton 1999; Sutton 2003). However as discussed in Chapter 2, Indigenous families maintain strong attachments to this place as it was their home in the dormitories as children and the location of the school and church, where they spent a great deal of their day and Indigenous families celebrated Christmas and other celebrations in this domain. Missionaries such as the Rev. Ward were also buried in this place and the graves were maintained not only by missionary families during the mission time but by Indigenous families (Sweet 1957). Therefore, the Mapoon Mission Compound was also an intercultural space during this period.

The Mapoon Mission Compound does not include the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (except the graves of Rev. Ward and Rev. and Mrs Allan) or the Mapoon Mission Village (the Indigenous family homes) (discussed Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 respectively). In 2013, the Mapoon Mission Compound was overgrown with long grass; tourists driving from camping



Figure 5 Facing south-east, overview of Mapoon Mission Compound (Author, 1 July 2010).



Figure 6 “View from Port Musgrave looking west towards the Mapoon Presbyterian Mission, Queensland, ca. 1958” (Source: 2804/37 Uniting Church in Australia, Synod of Queensland Records 1938-1984, Queensland State Library website)..

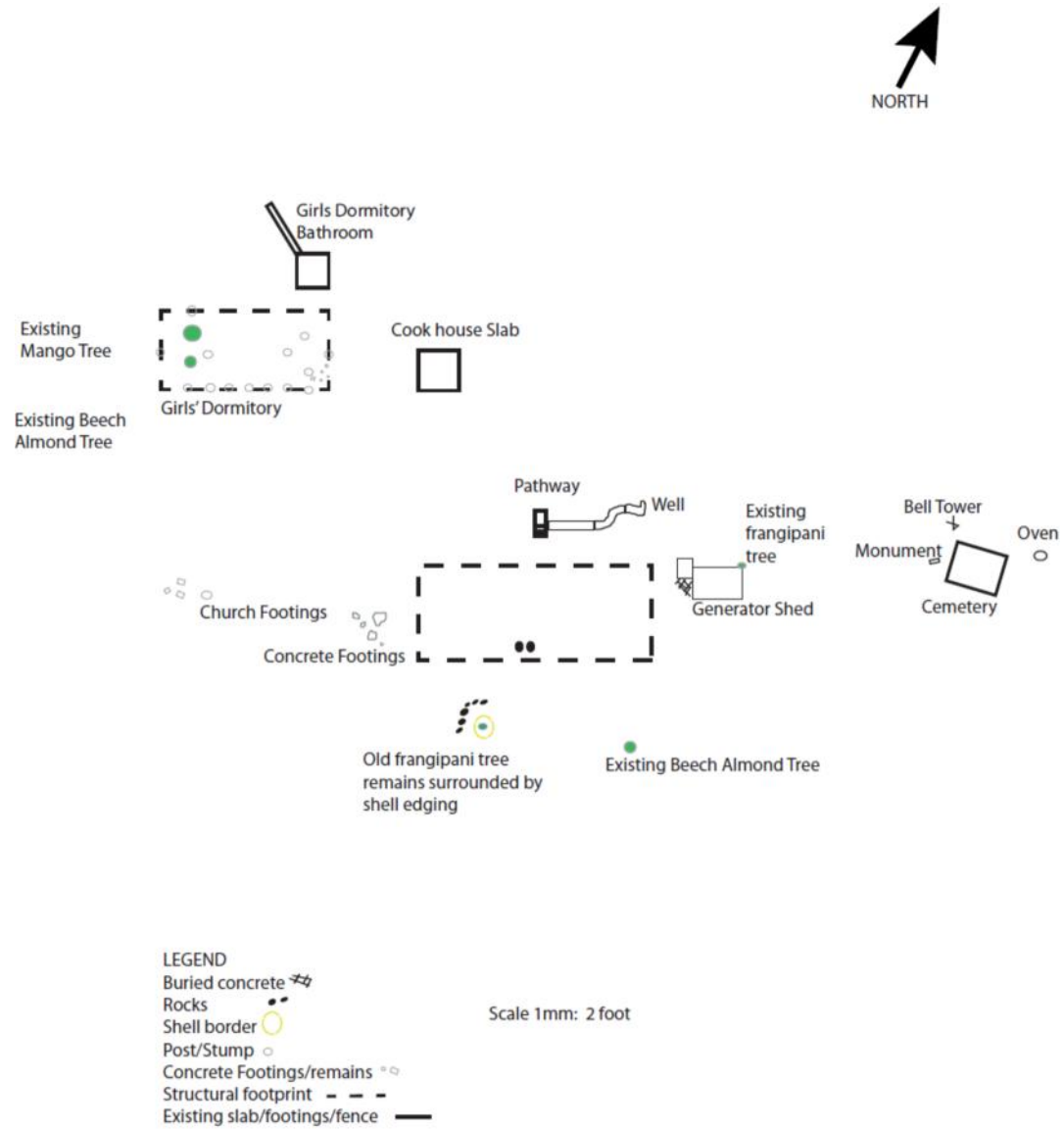


Figure 7 Remains of Mapoon Mission Compound in October, 2010 (Source: Author).

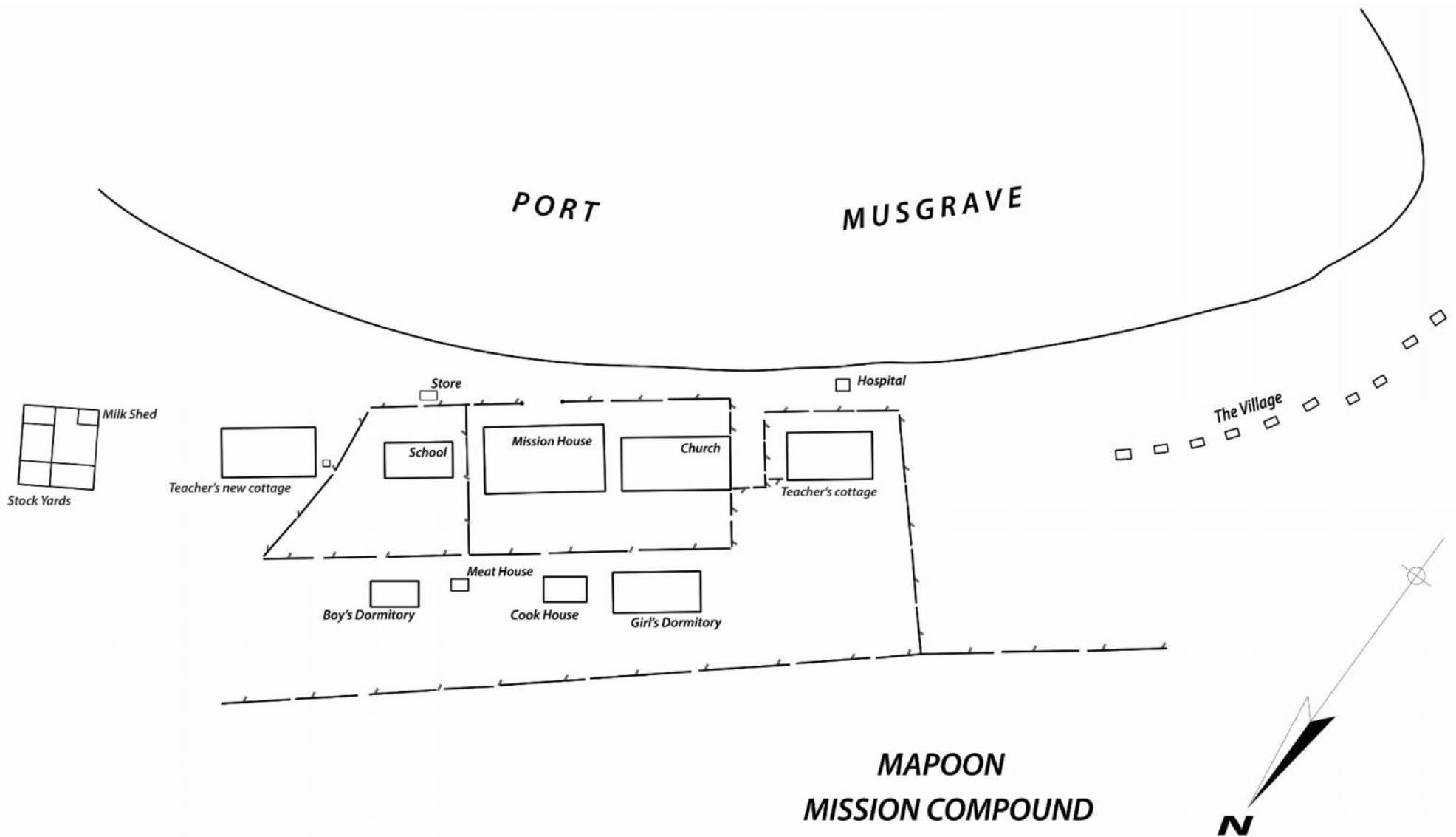


Figure 8 Mapoon Mission Compound in 1936 surveyed by Norman F. Nelson (Source: Author's traced copy from photograph of original plan from Fryer Library, Norman F. Nelson Collection, C. Jennings).

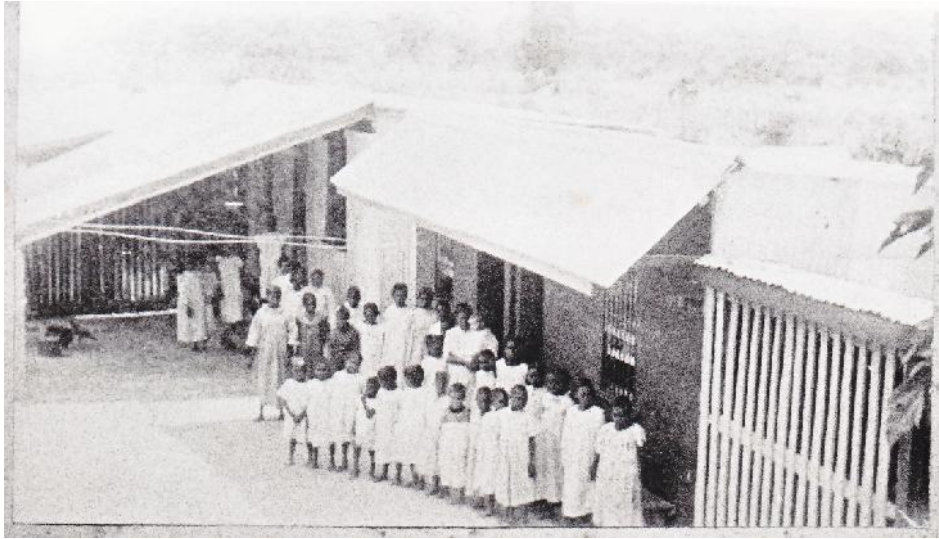


Figure 9 Girls dormitory in approximately 1915-1919 (Source: Girls Dorm Mapoon P20p1.jpg, Presbyterian Church of Australia Archives, Brisbane).

grounds at Cullen Point drove through the Mapoon Mission Compound remains on the beach track that intersects the remains of the former mission house and the burial sites of Rev. Hey and Rev. and Mrs Allan.

Remnant mission-planted coconut, beach almond, mango, and frangipani trees are also visible within the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound. These trees were planted to line avenues, mark visits of important guests, and constituted gardens and other forms of deliberate landscaping made by the Moravian missionaries during the mission time as evident in the photographic collections for the Mapoon Mission in several Australian and overseas archives (Anon. 1891-1919 circa.-a, 1891-1919 circa., 1891 to 1919 circa.-a, 1891 to 1919 circa.-b). More recent additions to the former remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound indicate contemporary connections with the broader non-Indigenous community. A monument erected in 1991 (plaque made in 1988) commemorating the establishment of the Mapoon Mission in 1891, were designed and built by the Weipa Bicentennial Community Committee and the Mapoon Community Council (Chapter 7 for further discussion concerning this monument). Rev. and Mrs Allans' graves beside Rev. Ward's grave within the Mapoon Mission were interred after the mission closure in 1963 in the last decade. Other cultural heritage places exist within this landscape, interconnected before and after the mission time, including story places, hunting, gathering and fishing places.

A sign carved in wood erected by MASC states "Welcome to Old Mapoon" is now placed near the access road to the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound. This sign was erected originally outside the modern town of Mapoon at Red Beach by the Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP) in 2011. The relocation of the sign by MASC came in response to Elders' anger at referring to the modern Mapoon as 'Old Mapoon' and the associated significance of these terms used by the Queensland State Government after the burning of Mapoon in 1963. Old Mapoon is not used in this study as it is considered culturally inappropriate and a legitimisation of the mission closure in 1963. However, it should be noted that the naming of Hidden Valley as 'New Mapoon' after the mission closure and removal of some Mapoon families to this government settlement shows the use of the contested nature of the name 'Mapoon' as a toponym. A toponym is a place name that can reflect "the history or nature of a place" such as the forced migration of a cultural group; the name can be "contested for political, cultural, and historical reasons" (Castree et al. 2013).

Therefore, both the names Old Mapoon and New Mapoon reflect the contested history of the mission closure in 1963 and the cultural changes to the Mapoon families during this forced migration and their return to Mapoon from 1975 to recent times. These place names also show historical, political and familial connections between Mapoon and New Mapoon's communities.

4.2.1 1891 to 1919, The Moravians

Construction of the Mapoon Mission Compound began in 1891, a few days after the arrival of the Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey to Cullen Point assisted by Samoan and Solomon Islander builders and the Tjungundji people. The first structure completed was one to house chickens brought with the missionaries, followed by the constructions of a small "fort" for the missionaries, using store boxes and provisions covered in corrugated iron (Ward 1908:61-62). Ten days later, a store room and kitchen were built as the first rooms of the mission house, and a water tank was also constructed and in use (Ward 1908:63). The missionaries camped in the store room and the carpenters in the kitchen until the bedrooms of the mission house were finished later in December, 1891 (Ward 1908:68). According to Ward (1908:68) discussions on the creation of dormitories for "single men and the single women arose as early as 13th of January" 1892 but were implemented much "later"; the men's dormitory was constructed in October 1892 and the women's dormitory was not constructed until approximately 1894. Building commenced for the church (referred to after Rev. Ward's death as the Rev. J.G. Ward Memorial Church) in August 1892 and was fully constructed on 19 November, 1892 (Ward 1908:91). Cattle and livestock (chickens and horses) were kept during the early time of the mission's establishment but often fell prey to dingoes, snakes and ticks (Ward 1908:68, 93). Gardens were created and other fencing and huts for carpenters and the police escort (who accompanied the missionaries to Cullen Point in 1891), were erected during this early stage within the Mapoon Mission Compound area. The Mapoon Mission Compound area contained a series of fences demarcating this area from the Tjugundji camps (Anon. 1891-1919 circa; Ward 1908:68). There is no known surviving plan of the original mission layout during 1891. ⁷

⁷ The earliest photographs of the Mapoon Mission are held in Unistatarchiv, Moravian Archives, Herrnhut associated with the personal correspondence of Rev. Hey to Rev. Ward from 1891 to 1919.

4.2.2 1919 to 1963, The Presbyterians

In 1936, during his tour of Presbyterian Missions (including the daughter missions of Aurukun, Weipa and Mornington Island) Norman F. Nelson (1936), prepared a complete surveyed plan of the Mapoon Mission Compound (Figure 8). Nelson's surveyed plan of the Mapoon Mission Compound shows the mission house (manse), two school teachers' houses, cookhouse, girls' and boys' dormitories, church, meat house, hospital, store, stockyards, fences, milk shed, and school (Figure 7 and Figure 8). Oral history interviews with Elders and former missionary families (David Allan and Mr and Mrs Filmer) regarding the use of the Mapoon Mission Compound during their time of residence to identify the remains identified during fieldwork in June-July 2010, indicate that Nelson's 1936 plan indicated very little change over the history of the mission, particularly, in terms of the construction of additional buildings and structures (Allan 2011; Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b).

There are some missing features from Nelson's (1936) plan. Some fences are shown but there are other fences, remembered by Elders and missionary families and mentioned in historical documents, clearly missing. The fences and gates connecting the mission house to the girl's dormitory to keep the children under lock and key are not shown but are well-documented in the historical correspondence of missionaries and Elders' oral history testimony (Flinders *et al.* 2010b; Flinders *et al.* 2010c; Flinders *et al.* 2010d; Hey 1923:10). Photographs of these fences are also evident in collections from 1915-1950 (Figure 9). There are some significant changes in use of buildings not shown in Nelson's 1936 plan.

A fire in the girls' dormitory (Figure 9) sometime in the 1950s and an uproar of Indigenous families, led to its closure by the missionaries (Flinders *et al.* 2010b; Flinders *et al.* 2010c; Flinders *et al.* 2010d). Nevertheless, The storage room below the mission house was used by the missionary up to mission closure time, as a penitentiary to lock up people who were 'uncontrollable' and violent (Missionary pers.⁸ comm. June 2013). Formal omission of these features used to control or punish Indigenous people, particularly children, is not unusual in Queensland in mission and government settlement records. Sutton (2003, 1999) presents

⁸ For all comments made by project participants during the editing of interview transcripts and/or comments which were requested by participants to be anonymous, referencing as personal communication is adopted with the date of the comment.

several cases where historical records demonstrate such omissions; the most notable being at the opening of the girls' dormitory by the Governor of Queensland, at the former government settlement of Cherbourg. In the publicity photographs there was no evidence of fencing or bars. However, a tiered barbed wire fence and bars on windows were erected around the girls' dormitory following the official opening; these did not show in subsequent publicity photographs taken from a considerable distance.

4.3 FEATURES OF MAPOON MISSION COMPOUND

Throughout my fieldwork, several key features of the Mapoon Mission Compound were frequently identified by Elders as warranting archaeological survey, interpretation and protection. These key features included the mission house, the church, dormitories and gardens and landscaping of the former mission time. While the Mapoon Mission Compound has very few physical remains, I was often taken there by Elders and Rangers to talk about the cultural heritage values and history of the mission time. During these visits, Elders took me to the remains of the former mission house underneath the beach almond tree to start our visits or to picnic. During my first fieldwork trip in June 2010, a picnic and gathering was held at the conclusion of the trip comprising 13 Elders, several Rangers, and myself. We met together under the trees to talk of the mission time and aspirations for protecting the mission. During that day Elders noted their regrets at the neglect of this place and of the infrequency of occasions when they could all meet together in one place. Elders remembered that during the mission time regular meetings at Church and during Christmas and religious special occasions, weddings and christenings and funerals brought people together in Mapoon regularly. Many female Elders talked about missing their "sisters" and growing up together in the dormitory, where they supported each other, when they felt lonely and sad and missed their families from whom they were forcibly taken by the Queensland State Government (Susie Madua 5 July 2010:pers. comm.; Harriet Flinders 5 July 2010: pers. comm.). Two Elders stated that they felt more isolated during modern times than during the mission due to the lack of transport and facilities in contemporary Mapoon (Busch *et al.* 2010e; Flinders *et al.* 2010b, 2010c, 2010d). This picnic was the first time that many of these Elders had met together for some time and the choice of the mission house remains as the location was not of my making but selected by the majority of the Elders.

Since the burning of Mapoon in 1963, Mapoon Indigenous families have used the remains of the Mapoon Mission house as the location for other meetings, festivals (the Centenary celebration and Bicentennial Monument discussed further in Chapter 7), commemorative events, fishing and picnics (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013c; Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation 1991; Moran 2006; Slater 2011:123-135). The remains of the Mapoon Mission house is also where Elders in Mapoon take non-Indigenous outsiders for commemorative events such as the Centenary celebration of the 100 years since the mission's establishment in 1891, for church and reconciliation services and opening and closing speeches for the recent Paanja Culture Country Music Festival (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013c; Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation 1991; Moran 2006; Slater 2011:123-135) (to commemorate the burning of Mapoon, Chapter 7). These events have included invitations to non-Indigenous people from outside of Mapoon by MASC and Mapoon Elders including former missionary families, historians, anthropologists, journalists, government ministers and officials, dignitaries and mining company representatives. On the front page of *The Australian* newspaper in November, 2013, Aunty Roberta Toeby is reported as taking the journalist to the Mapoon Mission Compound site and standing at the remains of the former Mapoon Mission house to tell the story of the mission closure and burning of Mapoon in 1963 (discussed further in Chapter 7) (Elks 2013:1). After my fieldwork periods ended, Elders repeatedly visited these mission house remains with Rangers and school children to continue filming their stories and imparting cultural knowledge of the mission time, independent from my research (Madua 1992; Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a, 2010b). Repeated visits to this feature of the Mapoon Mission Compound and the remains of the dormitories, independent of fieldwork for this thesis, may illustrate the importance of the Mapoon Mission Compound to Elders.

Elders also focused on identifying the remains of the church, Rev. Ward and Rev. and Mrs Allans' graves and remains of the dormitories during visits to the Mapoon Mission Compound as key features for protection. As already noted earlier in the chapter, the physical remains of the dormitories and the church constitute some of the surviving tangible markers, predominantly stumps, remains of corrugated iron and some domestic material culture. These features were revisited by Elders during fieldwork from 2010 to 2014 on numerous occasions. Visits to these features triggered narratives from Elders about the mission time, the present and the future (examples discussed in Chapter 6).

The remains of the school house, assistant's cottage, dispensary, meat house, storage room and other functional buildings were not highlighted to me during fieldwork by Elders or Rangers as having a high agenda for protection. These remains were recorded during fieldwork as part of the Mapoon Mission Compound but were not isolated with a specific agenda for conservation or interpretation by Elders. To my knowledge, not one of these remains was repeatedly revisited by Elders and Rangers for cultural heritage documentaries, picnics or commemorative events. The lack of repeated visitation may suggest these features of the Mapoon Mission Compound are less valued by Elders. In 2013, the remains of the school and assistant's cottage were also partially destroyed by the construction of the Duyfken First Contact Memorial (further discussion in Chapter 8). The location of this Memorial on these remains occurred through a consultation process with an historian and Traditional Owners from Mapoon (with little consultation with Historical Indigenous Families) and the MASC, Dutch Consulate and Queensland State Government, to comply with the provisions of the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act, 2003 (Queensland)*. Construction of this Memorial on these remains may indicate they are valued less by Traditional Owners from Mapoon than other features of the Mapoon Mission Compound. The destruction of artefacts and material culture dating to 1891 and potentially earlier associated with these remains during the construction of the Monument also indicates conflict between the scientific (research) values of the Mapoon Mission Compound and the social and cultural values of this feature to Traditional Owners. This episode also highlights the weaknesses of the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act, 2003 (Queensland)* that do not specify the requirement for an archaeologist to be involved in this process to assess the scientific values of an archaeological site prior to its destruction. The *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act, 2003 (Queensland)* does not recognise the historical and emotional connections of Historical Indigenous Families (generations of forcibly removed children) to these places and their rights to be involved in the consultation process to decide on the protection or destruction of cultural heritage places (discussed further in Chapter 7 and Chapter 9).

Throughout oral history interviews with Elders (apart from family portraits), the mission house, church, dormitories and images of gardens and landscaping with coconut trees showing lined avenues and segregation of the landscape were the most frequently requested images by Elders for copies (Figures 8 to 9). By the end of my fieldwork, I had

printed more than (or well over) one hundred images containing these features which were selected by Elders. The selection of valued items from a range of images by Elders may indicate an expression not only of valued places but also that reflect individual and group identity (Smith 1996:68). These features are also displayed in a selection of historical photographs of the mission that hang in the MASC Council Chambers and offices.

Gardens, with coconut trees and other trees used to segregate and order the landscape, are features of the Mapoon Mission Compound identified by Elders for protection and use in present and future cultural heritage and commemorative events. During oral history interviews and fieldwork, Elders often expressed the desire for the Mapoon Mission Compound to have pathways, coconut trees, tree lined avenues and ordered village landscape as it had looked during the mission time. There are three images from the Nelson collection, 1936 photographs (Figures 8 to 9) that were often selected by Elders to demonstrate their visualisation of this remembered place. During an interpretation project for a monument design, proposed for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, Elders also all agreed that a pathway, avenue of coconut trees, fencing with gates and archways were all critical to the final design. Samoan and Solomon Islanders that also came to Mapoon brought coconut trees, mango trees, frangipani trees and beach almond trees, which were used throughout the mission. Elders remembered a pathway lined with shells and coral that led from the Mapoon Mission Compound to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and requested this pathway be reinstated as part of conservation works.

These features of the Mapoon Mission Compound as remembered by Elders during the mission time were being incorporated into this cultural heritage project for the future as critical elements of design. During October 2010 fieldwork one Elder requested one of the field team scrape some of the sand away in an area near the Mapoon Mission House to attempt to identify an old frangipani tree that the Elder remembered having once contained a garden feature with a star design made in shells when she was a girl in the dormitories. I remember turning round to hear screams of laughter and rejoicing from the same Elder, when the frangipani tree became exposed from the shallow sand and a mixture of shells as remembered. The Elder cried and told of her memories of the beautiful star design made by the missionaries when she lived in the dormitories, and her wishes for this garden to be reinstated as she remembered it. These examples illustrate the importance of non-

Indigenous forms of landscaping and gardens to Mapoon Elders, particularly in the future management and interpretation of cultural heritage places.

Throughout fieldwork and consultation for my PhD, Elders often recounted their desire for the reinstatement of a church at Mapoon. The Uniting and Aboriginal Islander Christian Congress (UAICC) had a mobile minister who came to Mapoon and held services on the clinic verandah during my fieldwork. However, an ongoing project between the UAICC and MASC demonstrated a strong aspiration of Elders and many Indigenous families for a new church to be built at Mapoon. During 2013, the plans and design of the proposed church are displayed in the MASC conference room. William Bee, a Samoan, built the original 1892 Rev. J.G. Ward Memorial Church in Mapoon and built a church for 20 Mile mission, Weipa and Aurukun missions (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). The church is also a focal point in the memories of missionary families interviewed for this project (Allan 2011; Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). As already discussed, the church was not just a place of worship but also for celebrations, christenings, weddings and funerals, a place where Elders and missionaries recall coming together as a 'community' during the mission time. Some Elders attended church services during my fieldwork programs. Christian prayers and blessings were also made at the instigation of Elders during fieldwork at Mapoon Mission Compound and Mapoon Mission Cemetery works, to thank God for the archaeological works "at Mapoon to help Elders to protect our old people" (Roberta Toby, July, 2010; December 2010 – Field Note books 1 and 3).

4.4 MORAVIAN SYMBOLISM

The results of archaeological fieldwork and initial interviews with Elders and missionary families at the Mapoon Mission Compound led me to undertake further archival research into the significance of features within this place valued by Elders and missionary families. Archival research, particularly in Herrnhut, Germany and further detailed oral history interviews with Elders and missionary families, indicates the importance of Moravian symbols and tradition in shaping the construction of past and the present values of these families and the complexity of such values for the Mapoon Mission Compound. Some of the Moravian symbols and traditions that have importance to both Elders and missionary families include the Moravian Advent Star, the Moravian Church and Moravian village landscaping and segregation.

4.4.1 Moravian Advent Star

The symbol of the Moravian Advent star (also known as “Herrnhuter Stern” and “the star from Herrnhut”) originates from the star of Bethlehem and the birth of Jesus Christ (Koch 2001; Theile 2008). The Moravians used the star as a Christmas decoration in homes and in public spaces in east Germany (Fischer 2004). Moravians believe the star gives “people a feeling of security and living at home” (Theile 2008:5). The symbol is visible throughout Herrnhut today in mosaics in street paving and hung as lanterns in windows (Figure 11). The symbol consists of a 25 pointed star, often made out of cardboard. In 1821, the first stars recorded were made by missionary children in the dormitories at Niesky and were hung as lanterns during “the Epiphany holiday as a symbol for Wise Men” in 1821 (Thiele 2008:23). The origins of the star lanterns are believed to be from the teachings of a soldier from the battle of Waterloo who visited the children to illustrate mathematics by making shapes with paper and metal (Thiele 2008:23). Moravians used these stars to create feelings of solace and comfort within the missionary children being raised by the Moravian ‘community’ often far away from their families (Thiele 2008:23). The star is also a symbol of attachment and connection between these children and their families, as a symbol of “Christ’s shining light” being followed by the missionaries in their quest to spread the Gospel to the outside world (Thiele 2008:29-32). The first Moravian Advent Star factory which sold kits to make the lanterns was established in 1894 in Herrnhut (Thiele 2008:37).

Connections to Mapoon

Evidence of use of the Moravian Advent Star symbol at Mapoon can be found in the mission time within the landscape of the Mapoon Mission Compound and in Mapoon today. As already outlined, one Elder had strong emotions regarding this symbol and its depiction in shells surrounding the frangipani tree near the mission house and requested we attempt to find the shell feature during cleaning up the mission compound for recording in July 2010. A photograph of this feature from early collections of photographs of the Mapoon Mission held in Herrnhut show a garden with a frangipani tree and a star design in shells with nine points, similar to a one dimensional drawing of the Moravian Advent Star (Figure 12 to 13). This is the symbol, the Moravian Advent Star remembered by Elders as featured at the front of the mission house as the design made in shells in the garden ornamentation surrounding the frangipani tree (Flinders *et al.* 2010b, 2010c, 2010d) (Figure 13). Elders in Mapoon do not

remember the particular name of Moravian Advent Star for the garden ornamentation (Harriet Flinders, pers. comm. September 2011).

Aunty Harriet Flinders and Aunty Florence Luff remember this symbol at the front of the mission house as “the morning star or first light”, they remember that Rev. Hey first saw this star and an associated comet at Mapoon during the mission time and made the pattern because it provided comfort and symbolised the “light of Christ” (17 August, 2013, field notes by author). Aunty Harriet Flinders and Aunty Florence Luff called Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward, “the first light”, who came to Mapoon to “shine the light of the Gospel and share God’s message with their people, the Tjungundji” (17 August, 2013, field notes by author after discussion with Elders regarding research and photographs). This symbol also appears in the lacework and needlepoint made by Mapoon Indigenous women in the early mission time as shown in historical photographs (Figure 14). These photographs hang in the lobby of the MASC chambers. This symbol is still being used in Mapoon in lacework by Elders as I found when shown a hand crocheted tablecloth in the home of an Elder when viewing her works in June 2010 during an initial visit (Field Note book 1).

The frangipani tree outside the mission house also has special significance to former missionary families. The tree features heavily in the photograph albums of the Allan family for recent times 1991 to date and also during their ministry at the Mapoon Mission (Allan family photograph albums). David Allan’s personal photographs (1991, photograph 65 and 66:33) show the importance of this tree to his memories of growing up at the mission house, through the family photographs he kept in this album climbing the tree and then revisiting it in 1991 to photograph it during the Centenary celebrations and where he took a cutting of the tree, which he planted at the front of his home in Brisbane. The Filmer photograph albums from 1958 to 1963 contain many photographs of their children and family portraits standing in front of this tree at the mission house.



Figure 10 Avenue of coconut trees lining a pathway from the Mapoon Mission Compound to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and Village (Source: UQFL57_006_0867r.jpg, Nelson Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland).



Figure 11 The Moravian Advent Star symbol prevalent in pavements and gardens in Herrnhut, Germany (Source: Author, October 2011).



Figure 12 Frangipani tree at the front of the mission house, shell pattern in garden may be the Moravian Advent Star symbol 1892-1919 circa (Source: Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany, North Queensland Album, 963.B).



Figure 13 Frangipani tree at the front of the mission house, shell pattern in garden surrounding the tree is not discernible in this photograph, 1936 (Source: UQFL57_006_0916r.jpg, Nelson Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland).

The Moravian Advent Star was most likely introduced to Mapoon by the missionaries in 1891 due to the associations of Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward with Niesky and Herrnhut, where the symbol originated in connection to the Moravian Church. The Heys had children sent to the mission schools in Herrnhut for their education (Ward 1908). These children most likely resided in the same dormitories as Moravian missionary children in 1821 who were first taught to make these symbols. The use of the Moravian Advent Star in these dormitories was still in practice during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Fischer 2004; Theile 2008). Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward had also both trained at Niesky and Herrnhut where this symbol was used throughout the towns. Although there is no documentation to suggest the Hey children made Advent Stars or were directly exposed to them during Christmas and Advent, it is likely that this is the case, based on the dates they were sent to these schools and the widespread use of the Advent Star at this time in these schools. The use of the Advent Star by Rev. Hey and Mrs Hey may indicate a longing for home. The Advent Star was a source of comfort and solace and the Heys and Wards were a long way from their homes of Germany and Ireland respectively. Visits by immediate family to the mission from Ireland and Germany respectively were highly unlikely and home sickness pervades some of the early letters of Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey through drawing comparisons between Mapoon and Niesky and Herrnhut (Ward 1891; Ward 1908:250-251). The positioning of this symbol by the missionaries in the garden surrounding the frangipani tree at the front of the Mapoon Mission House with a pathway leading to this feature from a front entry gate also indicates that its location was a deliberate and prominent feature of their home and one of the first visual images seen by any visitors to the house.

The Moravian Advent star is highly visible today in Herrnhut, Germany, in mosaics in pavements, hanging as lanterns and decorations adorning house and shopfront windows. The Moravian Advent star lanterns and decorations are still sold and made in Herrnhut as observed during my visit to Herrnhut in October 2011. During this visit, I purchased Moravian Advent star lanterns and woven straw star Christmas ornaments to send back to Mapoon Elders as Christmas presents. Mapoon Elders also agreed to incorporate the Moravian Advent Star and a line/avenue of coconut trees into the proposed monument for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery to integrate Moravian symbolism valued from the mission time (Author's field notes, 17 August 2013). Elders vocalised the importance of paying homage to the Moravians, the first missionaries associated with Mapoon and the Mapoon Mission

Cemetery side-by-side with traditional images of Mapoon people to be inscribed on the monument.

4.4.2 Moravian Church Architecture and Religious Custom

One integral Moravian tradition connected to Mapoon's past, present and future is the Moravian Church, particularly church architecture and design. During a visit to Herrnhut, Germany for part of my PhD research, I also visited the Moravian church at Berthelsdorf, an adjoining town to Herrnhut (prior 1720 – the earliest surviving Moravian Church associated with Herrnhut). The Berthelsdorf church has strong stylistic similarities to the original Mapoon church (Figure 15 and 16). Both churches had a similar style, steeple and bell tower. The Church at Mapoon, originally built by Indigenous and Islander workers, was designed by Rev. Hey and named the Rev. James Gibson Ward Memorial church (Ward 1908). The Church was internally segregated by gender and had two entrances; for women and girls and boys and men (Busch *et al.* 2010a, 2010c, 2010b, 2010d, 2010e). Similarly segregation through separate entrances and segregation of males and females at Church originates from Moravian tradition (Koch 2001:10) (Figure 15 to 17). Following the Moravian and Protestant tradition, both churches contained very little decoration and no iconography.

White is used by Moravians throughout their religious traditions (Koch 2001:10). White is considered in Moravian tradition to be "the colour of happiness" and is commonly used to paint churches (Anon. 2010). Elders memories of the Church at Mapoon, testify to evidence of Indigenous people wearing white or changing in the Church into good clothes on Sundays to attend church walking in procession (Aunty Harriet Flinders and Aunty Florence Luff, 17 August interview). Solomon Islanders and Samoans wore white to church and often wore white clothes (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). Pacific Islanders including Samoans are known to wear white to church services, a tradition originating from missionaries, such as the London Missionary Society, which suggests this practice is not uniquely Moravian (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.; Roach, 1988:173-175). Old Louie, who was a Samoan ministered a congregation at the church at Batavia and wore white (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). After 1919, Old Louie left Batavia outstation and went to Badu Island to live, around the same time as Rev. Hey's departure and the beginning of the Presbyterian's ministry of the Mapoon Mission (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.).

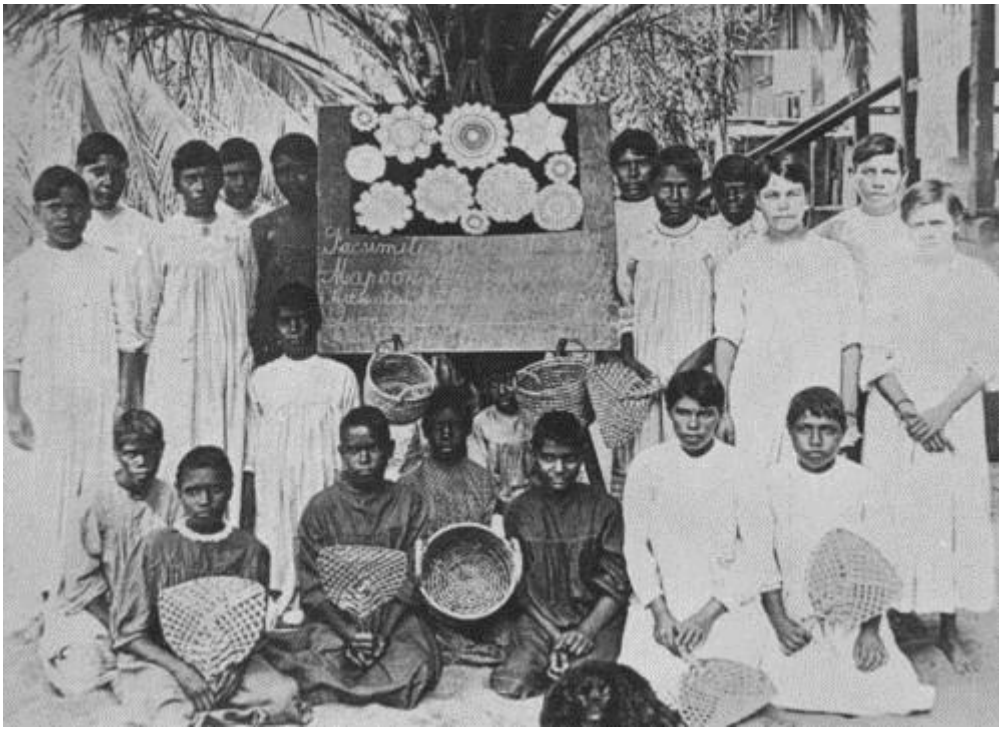


Figure 14 Lace doilies made by Mapoon girls in 1916 during Rev. Hey's ministry of the Mapoon Mission, note the top far right pattern that is in the shape of the Moravian Advent Star (Source: Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, North Queensland Album).



Figure 15 Rev. J.G. Ward Memorial Church, Mapoon Mission Compound 1919 circa (Source: John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland).

Batavia outstation closed and the people moved down to Mapoon at that time (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). Use of Batavia for gardens after that time as Uncle William remembers in the early 1930s and early 1940s was for pineapples and mango trees and for picnics for children on the *Reliance* (one of the mission boats) (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). The J.G. Ward Memorial Church at Mapoon had a red roof and green walls during the Presbyterian time during the late 1940s (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.) but the Moravians painted the Church white as shown in historical photographs (Figure 14). The proposed new church for Mapoon is also white in the model displayed in the MASC Council Chambers. Moravian funeral caskets are also traditionally white (Koch 2001:10). White, simple dress is worn by Moravian worshippers and clergy during church service is displayed in an early painting depicting Moravian worshippers at Herrnhut in a funeral procession: they are wearing white and walking through avenues of trees in the God's Acre Cemetery at Herrnhut in the eighteenth century as part of the service (Koch 2001:10). During the Moravian missionary time at Mapoon children all wore white uniforms. This practice changed with the Presbyterians where children wearing different coloured uniforms was based on what was available (In the Filmer family photographs, Indigenous children are wearing blue uniforms compared to the early PCA Archives photographs and Moravian Archives photographs dating from 1891 to 1919). A formal procession to service sometimes with hymns and a Christian minister is still adopted in Mapoon and Weipa during funerals by some Indigenous families (Fletcher 2007:26-29). The importance of the Moravian church architecture is part of present and future aspirations and hopes of Elders and Indigenous families in Mapoon for a new church.



Figure 16 Berthelsdorf Moravian Church near Herrnhut, dating to circa 1722 (Source: Author, October 2011). This church maybe the model for the Rev. J.G. Ward Memorial Church at Mapoon, and there are some stylistic similarities, including the steeple, bell tower and gender segregated entrances.



Figure 17 Gender segregated entrances to the church at Berthelsdorf Moravian Church are also notable in the photographs of the Rev. J.G. Ward Memorial Church (Source: Author, October 2011).

4.4.3 Moravian Village and Landscaping

Segregation and division of the landscape in Mapoon into a village layout may have Moravian origins. Since Herrnhut's creation as a town in the 1800s, Zinzendorf created the town around the "Hut", a hill with a constructed tower symbolising the town being "under God's watch" and "protection" (Koch 2001:8). Since 1722, Herrnhut's town layout is structured with avenues of trees lining roads leading up to the "Hut" (Koch 2001:8). During a field visit to Herrnhut in October 2011, the town layout of Herrnhut still fits with this original design (Figure 18 and 19). The Hut stands above the town towering over the God's Acre Cemetery and provides spectacular views across the surrounding landscape. During visits to both Herrnhut and Niesky, Germany, the training grounds of the Moravian missionaries in October 2011, the villages both use trees, hedging, gardens and stone to delineate pathways, roads and divisions in the landscape.

In Mapoon the centrality of the mission house to the layout of the Mapoon Mission is common in historical photographs and films from 1891 to 1963. Use of trees and other forms of topiary, shells and stone to form avenues, lines and structure in the landscape, to create a village and avenues of coconut trees feature heavily in historical photographs from Herrnhut to 1963 at Mapoon (Figure 9). Similarly, at Mapoon, the missionaries planted rows of coconut trees and lined paths with stones leading up to the mission house. The verandah of the mission house was elevated and had full views out to the dormitories, across the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and "village". As Hey describes the Mapoon Mission Compound's layout "the eye of the missionary is everywhere" (Hey 1923:10). Hey connected the doors of the children's dormitories to the mission house through overhead wires "so that matron can either close or open them from the verandah" (Hey 1923:10). Surveillance of dormitories or 'protection' by the missionaries, segregation of the children by gender and the removal of children from their families to be 'cared for' by the missionaries and staff, are practices originally Moravian in tradition. Similarly, the watchful eye of the missionary is similar to the Hut, in Herrnhut, which symbolises God's watchful eye over the Moravian people of Herrnhut.



Figure 18 Standing on top of the 'Hut berg', a hill referred to as God's watch, which overlooks the village of Herrnhut in the foreground. Lines of trees are used to demarcate parks and pathways through the village as also shown in engravings and paintings of Herrnhut in 1722 (Source: Author, October 2011).



Figure 19 God's Acre Moravian cemetery dating from 1722 beneath the Hut. Avenues of trees line pathways throughout this cemetery as is common throughout Herrnhut (Source: Author, October 2011).

Segregation of the sexes into girls and boys brigades, brass bands and the layout of the school room also shows strong Moravian traditions displayed in Herrnhut and Niesky (Koch 2001:10; Thiele 2008:28-29). Elders often refer to missionaries as 'mother' and 'father' and the use of these terms could also be traced back to the Moravian tradition of children kept in dormitories being raised by the Moravian community, as an extension of their family (Thiele 2008:28-31). During fieldwork for my thesis, Elders often expressed the desire to segregate knowledge by gender and for certain activities and for my accommodation when working with other male archaeologists and researchers in Mapoon as culturally appropriate (Authors, field notes, 16 August 2013). Segregation of knowledge and certain activities (for example, gathering fruits) are believed by Elders to originate from pre-mission Tjungundji custom and law (Authors field notes, 16 August 2013). Segregation of the sexes in accommodation may stem from Moravian traditions which are now appropriated by Mapoon Elders on what is 'proper' or 'moral' behavior but also perhaps from gender segregated knowledge in Aboriginal culture.

4.5 REMEMBERING AND RECREATING THE MAPOON MISSION COMPOUND – CHANGES OVER TIME

The Mapoon Mission Compound has changing values to different generations of Mapoon Indigenous families. As outlined earlier in this chapter, Elders from Mapoon that grew up in the dormitories of the Mapoon Mission Compound have strong connections to this place. Elders who were forcibly removed as children from other parts of Queensland and came to Mapoon without their original families, consider the mission their home, the other children, their sisters and brothers and the missionaries, their mother and father. Elders aspired to recreate the Mapoon Mission Compound throughout my research through an interpretation project. Mapoon Interim Land and Sea Committee (MLSAC) and Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council (MASC) are in the final stages of a proposed tourist interpretative walk of the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound. The proposal for a tourist walk includes interpretative signs, demarcating the remains of each of the buildings and features of the MMC with an historical photograph from the mission time on each sign and some text describing the building and its use. In June-July and October 2010, as part of our fieldwork for this project, with Rangers and Elders, I surveyed in the location of each former building and recorded a survey plan of the remains. A high flow of tourists come into Cullen Point and onto Janie Creek for camping and fishing (barramundi is an attraction) and drive past

the Mapoon Mission Compound remains. These remains to date are not formally demarcated except for the graves of Rev. Ward and the Allan's, which is currently fenced. The interpretative walk was originally a long-term goal of the Elders in 2010 to be able to take tourists on tours with Rangers on site and to talk about the history of the mission time and the events of November 1963.

The proposed interpretation and tourist walk of the mission remains is being engineered by MASC with assistance from a non-Indigenous historian to provide Mapoon's version of history of the mission time and the mission closure. At 15 November, 2013, signage was installed for the proposed interpretation and tourist walk's opening at the Paanja Culture Country Music Festival. This interpretation may be empowering for some Mapoon people who are engineering the social production of this place and its potential social consumption by tourists, initiating a new dialogue and education on their history to 'outsiders'. Outsiders are predominantly non-Indigenous Australian or international tourists coming to Mapoon for recreational fishing and camping. The proposed tourist heritage walk may be a stark, visceral reminder to tourists of the DAIA's destruction of Mapoon people's homes and the forced removal of children into dormitories during the mission time. As Lennon and Foley's (2000) definition of dark heritage, this place as a tourist walk may produce potential anxiety in tourists and lead them to questioning of the history of modernity and its effects on Indigenous people in Australia. If this walk will involve a charge/fee then it may also be a commodification of this experience of anxiety to tourists. The presence of such a tourist walk (if consultation is undertaken with Elders) may ensure that once Elders with living memory of the burning of Mapoon are deceased, their narratives will continue to be inscribed physically on the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound to remind future generations of this period of history. The burnt remains of the former mission time buildings consist of only footings, stumps and small amounts of artefactual/domestic debris. Through the construction of the tourist heritage walk, Mapoon people will be adding to this place; place-making. Ongoing human interaction through a heritage walk such as this, will ensure that past the lifetime of the Mapoon Elders subjected to the events of 1963, people will still be remembering and engaging with their story. This form of interpretation is a kind of 'dark tourism' (dark heritage is discussed further in Chapter 7).

The meaning of the Mapoon Mission Compound is different for younger generations of Mapoon families who did not grow up on the mission. Rangers often comprised of younger generations of Mapoon family members, the grandchildren and children of Elders. Rangers would comment during fieldwork and presentation of papers at a conference respectively, that recording the features of the Mapoon Mission Compound was important to them because “they are important to our Elders” and “we do this to make our Elders proud” (Ranger October 2010:pers. comm. Field Notebook 2; Ranger B December 2012: pers. comm.). Rangers spoke very little about the Mapoon Mission Compound’s values during recording this place and expressed little excitement for material culture there, compared to the survey of the mission time family homes in October 2010 (Chapter 6 for further discussion). During oral history interviews with Elders and also during the archaeological documentation of the Mapoon Mission Compound, two Elders expressed a desire to rebuild the dormitories (Elder July 2010: pers.comm. Field Notebook 1; Elder pers.comm. October 2010:FieldNotebook 2,). This desire was never reiterated by Rangers or supported vocally by Rangers or children of Elders present on these occasions.

The differences in values held by Rangers and by Elders for the Mapoon Mission Compound are perhaps shaped by their experiences and also by diversity within the Mapoon community over time. Elders experiences of this cultural heritage place were shaped at childhood and are interrelated to their connections and attachments to other families and missionaries and to their concept of home within the dormitories. For Rangers, the Mapoon Mission Compound does not have this intimate connection. This cultural heritage place is known to most Rangers as mostly a destroyed place, where they have no connection as children or as their home. The Mapoon Mission Compound is a place that Rangers know as part of a system of government policies that removed their families from their traditional country and attempted to missionise their Elders and ancestors. These differences in valuing places by Elders and Rangers show a dynamism and diversity in values for the Mapoon Mission Compound within Mapoon shaped by historical experiences and social change.

4.6 DISCUSSION

The Mapoon Mission Compound contains the last physical remains of the arrival of the Moravian (and subsequent, Presbyterian missionaries) to Mapoon. Mission compounds are traditionally considered in anthropological literature as “white fella domains” (Trigger, 1985,

1992). However, as data presented in this chapter convey, the Mapoon Mission Compound is a cultural heritage place valued by missionary and Indigenous families in Mapoon. These values are dynamic and fluid and change over time particularly during periods of upheaval and social change. During the mission time, the Mapoon Mission Compound (particularly the Mapoon Mission house) could be considered a former “white fella domain” (following Trigger, 1985, 1992), home of the missionaries and the central focal point for mission’s administration and secular authority. With the celebration of commemorative events at the remains of the Mapoon Mission house with both Indigenous families and non-Indigenous visitors and missionary families, revisiting the Mapoon Mission Compound for cultural heritage documentaries by Rangers and Elders and the transformation of this place through interpretative signage and tourism development as designed by the MLSAC, indicates that the Mapoon Mission Compound remains an intercultural space. A cultural heritage place that is a place of continuing engagement and transaction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Mapoon that is evolving over time.

Mapoon is a cultural landscape of multiple layers of meaning and values: cultural, natural, spiritual and historical. All of these values are inter-related and all values by nature are social values (Pocock 2003). During oral history interviews and discussions for protection of cultural heritage places, Mapoon people continued to raise, the Mapoon Mission Compound and the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (Chapter 5) as two of the most highly ‘valued’ places. Significant features within the Mapoon Mission Compound were prioritised by Elders for protection and management; the remains of the former Mapoon Mission house, the former dormitories and the location of remnant coconut trees which lined a pathway through the centre of the mission and other garden features and the church. The Mapoon Mission cultural landscape has intangible cultural heritage values to Mapoon people and former missionary families. This landscape has places including the former Mapoon Mission Compound that Elders use to evoke memories, including the Birth of the Mapoon Mission. Moravian symbolism and tradition, including segregation of gender, the Moravian Advent Star symbol, the religious architecture of the church (segregated entries and exits by gender), use of white, funeral processions and avenues of trees are still valued by Mapoon people and a strong (unconscious) influence on the attitudes of Mapoon people concerning the protection and management of cultural heritage places. Moravian symbolism and tradition at Mapoon shows the attempts by the early missionaries to transform the

environment into a landscape with which they are familiar. The value of Moravian symbolism and tradition by Mapoon people is one way in which the past is continuing to be evoked in the present at Mapoon. It is also evidence of a syncretism of cultural values and Indigenous agency where Mapoon people have selected some elements of the Christian tradition (some such as segregation of gender which in the case of knowledge was already segregated prior to the missionaries' arrival). Other Moravian symbols such as the Moravian Advent Star are incorporated and valued by Elders as they promote emotion and memory, a form of comfort that has resonated through the decades from the symbol's first introduction by the Moravian missionaries.

Elders' involvement in surveys and revisiting the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and mission homes with Rangers is an act of power of reclaiming their country, enacted over and over again with the crucial presence of non-Indigenous social actors (such as CAT 1995; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2010; McKeown 1993; Moran 2006; Slater 2007 and myself and my family members in 2010 to 2013) to be present and recognise the destruction of these places by the Queensland State Government (DAIA) in 1963. These acts of retelling and rewriting history by Mapoon Elders' and other Mapoon people and performing these historical mission time narratives (particularly as discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7), in archaeological practice and also through acts of commemoration are key elements of dark heritage.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

Mapoon people and former missionary families have strong attachment to the remains of the former Mapoon Mission Compound, which were renewed during archaeological fieldwork and oral history interviews. This case study demonstrates that the Mapoon Mission Compound is a place where cultural domains and intercultural frames of interaction co-existed, similar to the history of the Mornington Island Mission analysis by Dalley and Memmott (2010). Attachments to features within the Mapoon Mission Compound are strongest for Elders, mostly unconsciously to the symbols and traditions connected with the Moravian Church. Choice of some Christian traditions and symbols for incorporation into culture in Mapoon today and rejection of other elements, such as a strictly regulated timetable, suggests the operation of Indigenous agency. Similarly some missionary family members have kept their Traditional Tjungundji names and kept relationships in Mapoon alive.

The Mapoon Mission Compound contains cultural heritage places linked to the narratives of the burning of Mapoon and the birth of the Mapoon Mission (Coming of the Light as referred to in Torres Strait Islands and New Mapoon). Archaeological investigation of this place with involvement by Elders and Rangers (different generations of Mapoon people) may be considered part of remembering ancestors in the present and inscribing the past into the present and future. Elders' continued use of Moravian symbolism in Mapoon through the design of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery monument, rebuilding of the Church and through syncretism in mortuary practices is evidence of evoking the Moravian missionaries, Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward and their families and inscribing them in place. For later generations, the Mapoon Mission Compound is a contentious feature of Mapoon's history and symbolic of the Queensland State Government's policies of forced removal of their grandparents and parents and other ancestors from their families. The value of the Mapoon Mission Compound as a cultural heritage place is dynamic with different generations of Mapoon families and for missionary families. However, the Moravian traditions and symbolism that are unconsciously evoked by Elders and Mapoon people today through the reconstruction of the new church and in the interpretation program for the Mapoon Mission Compound and Mapoon Mission Cemetery today will continue to pervade the attachments Mapoon families form to these cultural heritage places in the future.

Chapter 5 Mapoon Mission Cemetery

5.1 INTRODUCTION

“Avow (greeting in Mapoon) ... old people”, Granny Susie Madua called out the window one morning as we drove past the Mapoon Mission Cemetery on our way to the site of the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound. Many times as we drove past the cemeteries in Mapoon, Granny Susie told me the importance of looking after the old people, the ancestors of Mapoon Elders and their families in Mapoon today. Looking after the old people includes looking after their graves and caring for country. The Mapoon Mission Cemetery is one of five cemeteries and several areas of unmarked graves associated with the mission time at Mapoon. This cemetery contains the earliest Indigenous burials identified to date within Mapoon. This chapter’s purpose is to provide the second case study of a previously unrecorded cultural heritage place identified to me by Mapoon Elders and missionary families, and investigation of its cultural heritage values through ground-penetrating radar (led by Prof. Lawrence B. Conyers), oral history and archival research. I describe the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and its history (both oral history from Elders and missionaries and archival research) within the broader record of cemeteries within Mapoon during the mission time. As part of this description, I also discuss and critique anthropological records and oral history testimony from Elders concerning mortuary practices in northwestern Cape York, Queensland. Through discussion of these investigations, I explore archaeology’s role in traditionally finding values for cultural heritage places and also critiques of its historical role in power and colonial representations of identity (Foucault 1991; Liebmann and Rizvi, 2008, Ross *et al.* 2010). However, I also examine how archaeological discourse may create cultural heritage values and renew identities, particularly through identifying new information concerning mortuary practices and burials within Mapoon.

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE MAPOON MISSION CEMETERY

The Mapoon Mission Cemetery is within sand dunes, located approximately 100 m east of the ocean and approximately 210 m south of the Mapoon Mission Compound (Figure 20). My first visit to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery was in June 2010 with Uncle William Busch (Elder and the Chairperson of the MLSAC). At that time, the Cemetery was overgrown with acacia and native vegetation. The Cemetery has no surviving physically constructed boundary or fence. The remembered Cemetery boundary by Elders in 2010, included an area of approximately 30 m by 40 m, geographically bounded by an access track to the

north, a small drainage depression to the west, the ocean and shoreline to the east and dense scrub to the south.

The Mapoon Mission Cemetery was not actively managed or protected from 2010 to late 2013 during my fieldwork. The Mapoon Mission Cemetery is accessible via a four wheel drive vehicle track, which runs parallel to the beach leading up to Cullen Point. A local resident's home is situated north of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery. The remainder of the Cemetery is surrounded by thick scrub and a small drainage channel that runs through the eastern boundary. Some Mapoon people gave reports of spirits in the Cemetery or within the nearby resident's home (Mrs Alma Day 14 December 2010 interview: Field Note Book 2; Maude Presley 14 December 2010: pers. comm.). The only existing headstone in the Cemetery with the remains of a formal burial plot, belongs to Charles De Bosch, who died on February 19, 1918. Charles De Bosch is Uncle William's grandfather as discussed in Chapter 3 (Figure 21). Charles's eldest uncle made the headstone and burial plot at Mapoon using local coral, boiled down to make cement (Busch 19 March 2014: pers. comm.) (Figure 21).

During early research visits in 2010, other noticeable physical remains within the Cemetery included two metal and timber posts, which may be the remains of head posts for burials. Other remains include coral rock and scatterings of small white shells and stones across the Cemetery site, likely to have once delineated burial locations, as these materials were remembered by some Elders as commonly used to mark graves in historic and pre-mission times (De Jersey *et al.* 2010d, 2010e; Flinders *et al.* 2010a). Wild horses frequented the Cemetery, disturbing actively eroding sand dunes and moving many of the coral pieces and shells across the ground surface. The neglect of the Cemetery was distressing to Uncle William and to other Elders with family members buried in its grounds.

5.3 OTHER CEMETERIES AND BURIAL PLACES WITHIN MAPOON

The Mapoon Mission Cemetery is one of five known cemeteries within Mapoon (Appendix B). The remaining four cemeteries include the Missionary Cemetery, the Outstation Cemetery, Batavia Cemetery and Mapoon Cemetery. The Missionary Cemetery has a formal boundary and is located near the remains of the Mission House at Cullen Point. This Cemetery contains the graves of Rev. Ward, Rev. Allan and Mrs Allan (Figure 22).



Figure 20 Facing east, overview of Mapoon Mission Cemetery after partial clearing (Source: Author, 14 December 2010).



Figure 21 Uncle William Busch standing at the grave of his grandfather, Charles De Bosch within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (Source: Author, 14 December 2010).

This Cemetery was first established in 1895 with the death of Rev. Ward and its last use was for the graves of Rev. Allan and Mrs Allan in 2008 and 2006 respectively. The third Cemetery, known as Outstation Cemetery is located off the road leading up to Cullen Point, approximately 500 m south of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (Figure 23). The Outstation was established about 1907 (Busch 9 March 2014:pers.comm.). Outstation was a satellite settlement to the Mapoon Mission and Village established by the Moravian missionaries in 1892 (Busch 9 March 2014:pers.comm.). The earliest use of the Outstation Cemetery based on existing standing grave markers is the burial of Charlotte Alan dated August 1934. It is likely that earlier graves exist in the Outstation Cemetery as many of the burial plots have broken or partially destroyed headstones. Outstation Cemetery was in use at the same time as the Mapoon Mission Cemetery. This Cemetery is fenced and contains several types of formal headstones and burial plots.

A third Cemetery, known as Batavia Cemetery may have been laid out and in use from 1892 to 1919 at Batavia outstation, approximately 5 km south of Red Beach (Busch 9 March 2014:pers.comm.) (its exact location is unknown to Elders). A Samoan known as Old Louie was a Moravian and came to Mapoon with the missionaries. Old Louie ministered a small community south of Cullen Point, that included their own church due to the distance from Batavia to Cullen Point (Busch 9 March 2014:pers.comm.). Old Louie left Mapoon, at around the same time that the Moravians left Mapoon in 1919, and went to live on Badu Island (Busch 9 March 2014:pers.comm.). At that time, the Batavia outstation closed and people moved north to the Mapoon Mission village (Busch 9 March 2014:pers.comm.). The specific extent of this Cemetery is unknown, there is no record of its extent or location nor is its extent remembered by Elders. There are no known headstones or grave markers in this area where Batavia settlement was once located and similar to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, if this Cemetery exists, it may contain evidence of early mission time graves.

The fourth Cemetery is the Mapoon Cemetery, the modern Cemetery currently in use by all residents of Mapoon. The Mapoon Cemetery is located further south of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, access is off the road leading to Cullen Point. The Mapoon Cemetery has a formal boundary and contains the burials of many families who returned to Mapoon after the mission closure in 1963. The Mapoon Cemetery is the closest Cemetery to Red Beach and is maintained by MASC. The Mapoon Cemetery contains headstones and formal burial

plots. Flowers (artificial and natural), vases, personal mementoes and photographs, which decorate the Cemetery and graves have been placed by mourners. This Cemetery is similar to the Outstation Cemetery. It contains grave plots decorated with streamers and banners and temporary fences during the funeral service. Several areas of unmarked family Aboriginal graves were also identified to me during my PhD fieldwork in areas close to mission time family homes and in the sand dunes extending from Janie Creek to Cullen Point and further south to Red Beach. These burials date potentially from pre-contact to the mission time and are smaller locations where families have buried small groups of family members or individual children (Appendix B).

5.3.1 History: Mortuary Practices and Mapoon Cemeteries

Preceding this study, there was no formal oral history investigation with Mapoon Elders regarding mortuary practices, cemeteries or unmarked burial places within Mapoon. The earliest records of mortuary practices for the Tjungundji and other Traditional Owner families for Mapoon were documented by the former Chief Protector, Walter E. Roth (Roth, 1907), Rev. Hey (Hey 1900-1901; Hey 1903, c.1947; Hey 1923) and by the work of anthropologist, Ursula McConnel (McConnel 1936-1937; McConnel 1957), as discussed in Chapter 1. Elders in Mapoon remember oral history passed down by their ancestors and I documented these stories and customs as part of oral history interviews for my thesis. The history of mortuary and burial practices is important to understanding Elders' formation of cultural heritage values for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and for later discussion in this chapter concerning archaeology creating value and attachments for Mapoon people to this place.

Early Mortuary Practices

Little information exists concerning mortuary practices of the local Tjungundji people. Some Elders were told that it was customary in the past for family members to carry the bones of their deceased wrapped in a particular tree bark for "three moons," not talking to anyone during this time (Flinders *et al.* 2010a). This description is reiterated by documented early mortuary practices at Mapoon Mission by missionaries who observed:

The bone is wrapped up in a piece of bark, and carried about for three months by the nearest male relative. During this time he never speaks. Indeed, he is

supposed to have lost his power of speech, and only the old men have the power of restoring it (Ward 1908:121-122).

Mortuary practices were also perhaps influenced by age, gender and whether the deceased had surviving kin. Walter E. Roth documented mortuary practices in the Pennefather River region in about 1898 as being “fairly typical” of other parts of “the upper portions of Cape York Peninsula”, where “Old men and women, as well as young women, are buried within a day or two after deceased in the neighbourhood of the camping ground, and the camp shifted” (Roth 1907:368). Roth reports that children “are usually put out of sight directly after death, though sometimes they may be carried about, wrapped up in bark, until they get dried, before being stowed away rather than buried among the roots of a tree, in a cave, etc.” (Roth 1907:368). During oral history interviews, Elders recollected similar stories handed down to them by their Elders relating to burial practices in caves (Flinders *et al.* 2010a). Documentary material indicates that younger men who died at the Mapoon Mission and other sites throughout Cape York were bound in “a sheet of bark” and “slung to a pole supported by two forks” and then burnt, “the nearest tree is marked ... and the camp shifted” (Roth 1907:368-370).

Roth (1907:370) noted that partial cremation was the next step in the mortuary practices for the region. His observations indicate that around 1898, in the vicinity of the Mapoon Mission, the remains of old men and women were buried, while the remains of young men were partially cremated and the bodies of deceased children were wrapped and kept in caves and other places. Roth’s (1907) records are subject to nineteenth century biases of racism and prejudice and it may be the case that knowledge imparted to Roth by Traditional Owners was selective due to cultural sensitivities. It is also unclear from Roth’s (1907) records how much impact the Moravian missionaries had on Traditional Owners’ mortuary practices in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. However, when examining Roth’s records (1907) and knowledge passed down in oral history testimony from Elders in Mapoon, there is some concurrence between these two sources, that in the pre-mission era, in Cullen Point and surrounding locality, burials perhaps occurred differentially based on age and gender.

However, it is not clear if contemporary Mapoon people also had access to and read Roth which may also be the reason for this concurrence⁹.

In the twentieth century, Ursula McConnel (1936/37:346, 350-357) carried out ethnography in western Cape York (including lands now within the Mapoon DOGIT) and provided published descriptions of mortuary practices. McConnel focused intensively on the Wik-mungkan language group but also conducted fieldwork in the lower Batavia, Embley, Archer, Kendall-Holroyd and Edward Rivers (north side only) on the Gulf of Carpentaria. McConnel (1936/37:349) discussed different mortuary practices including placing dead bodies in “bark bundles” in caves and interment of the dead by burial, mummification and cremation. McConnel (1936/37:349) attributed changes in mortuary practices due to the decrease in the numbers of “mourners” in the mission times to perform elaborate rituals of mummification and cremation and due to the encouragement by missionaries for adoption of Christian burial.

Prior to missionary influence and contact with Europeans, McConnel (1936/1937:340) maintained that within the “tribes of the lower Archer, Batavia, Embley, Kendall-Holroyd and Edward Rivers,” mummification was the “orthodox procedure”. Her description of traditional mortuary practices (McConnel 1936/1937:350) share similarities with those of Roth, specifically with respect to the removal of internal organs from the body and placing the corpse on “a platform supported on four forked sticks ... in some tribes it is tied to a pole which is supported on two forked sticks.” A photograph in the Moravian archives, Herrnhut also shows this form of mortuary practice in Mapoon within the collection of Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward’s personal correspondence (Anon. 1891-1919 circa.-b). Similarly to Roth, McConnel documents bodies were dried using fire and, “wrapped” in “sheets of tea-tree bark,” interred for over a few years during an elaborate mourning process involving family members (McConnel 1936/1937:350). Based on McConnel’s (1936/37:355) observation of a cremation ceremony on the Archer River in 1927, after an appropriate mourning period (up to two years or more), the body was then finally cremated.

⁹ As already discussed in Chapter 1, some Elders in Mapoon were involved in earlier oral history interviews with Frank McKeown and Ricky Guivarra in 1992 and are also continuing to assist Geoffrey Wharton with historical research, where this information may have already previously been provided or viewed. There is no evidence to support or dispute this possible scenario.

The mission experience in Aurukun, where much of McConnel's fieldwork observations were concentrated, was different to that at the Mapoon Mission, particularly in relation to the individual personalities and the degree to which Indigenous cultural practices could be maintained without persecution, coercion and discouragement by the Church or State. As observed by Rev. Hey (Hey 1901:10), burials were the predominant, if not the only method of mortuary practice from this time as a result of his or other missionaries' coercion:

It was formerly the custom of our natives to keep their dead friends and relatives for a considerable time, the corpses being hung and dried. During this ... process the nearest relatives had to remain beside the corpse day and night, while the rest of the camp performed various ceremonies, which consisted chiefly of dancing ... Knowing the bad effects such proceedings produced on all, or more especially on the young, we did our best to discontinue such unhealthy and immoral practices but at first with little effect. We then tried another method, namely to give the natives something better instead. We rigged out our school children with a number of flags of all descriptions, who march in procession to the newly laid out burial ground, where a number of hymns are sung, and a short Gospel service is conducted. This small act of sympathy on our part has won the hearts of not a few, and the blacks bring now their dead from many miles to receive the same honour as their friends of Mapoon and with the burial of the corpse all further ceremonies have ceased. This instance has taught us that it is not wise to pull down the idols of others without giving them something better instead.

Hey's account indicates Christian burial was accepted by some, but may have been rejected by other Indigenous people of Mapoon Mission in the earliest decade of its establishment. If Indigenous people did accept some form of Christian burial as Hey reported, it is likely to have occurred from 1900 onwards based on the absence of earlier archival, oral or archaeological evidence that suggests the use of Christian burials in Mapoon. Hey's account also indicates that the Mapoon Mission Cemetery was what he terms the "newly laid out Cemetery" in his report and was predominantly used from 1900. This statement does not preclude the idea that burials in the area of the Cemetery were not undertaken in pre-mission



Figure 22 Overview of Rev. Allan and Mrs Allan's grave (to the left) and Rev. Hey's grave (to the right) at the Missionary Cemetery, Mapoon within the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound, Cullen Point (Source: Author, 14 August 2013).



Figure 23 Overview of graves within the Outstation Cemetery, circa 1958 to 1963 (Source: Filmer Family Photograph Collection, ME81.jpg).



Figure 24 Overview of decorated grave during tombstone ceremony within the Outstation Cemetery, circa 1958 to 1963 (Source: Filmer Family Photograph Collection, ME197.jpg).



Figure 25 Remains of one of the Indigenous family mission time homes in Mapoon (Source: Author October 2010).

times. In the early correspondence of Reverends Hey and Ward, Aboriginal people are reported as camping at Cullen Point (the later location of the Mapoon Mission Compound) and surrounding lands, which include the sand dunes associated with the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (Ward 1908:62-74). It is possible these people buried their dead or partially interred them in the Cemetery's sand dunes before 1891 and Hey reused a traditional Tjungundji burial ground to establish the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (Sutton *et al.* 2013). While it is not definitively discussed in the early historical records of the Mapoon Mission, it appears that Indigenous people were gradually influenced by missionaries to bury their dead using Christian methods by the establishment of cemeteries in Mapoon.

The sawmill was operational at the Mapoon Mission from late 1920s to 1930s and timber was used to make caskets during this time. Elders believe that Mr Alan Parry (Mapoon Elder, Mrs Harriet Flinders' father and a Tjungundji man) made the first wooden caskets, from a nonda plum, which has a yellow fruit, called "gurruku fruit" (Flinders *et al.* 2010a). In 1950, the sawmill at the Mapoon Mission still remained in operation (Department of Native Affairs Office, File 6G/17, Queensland State Archives). However, not everyone at the mission who died was buried in coffins. For example, Peter Peter a man who died around this time from a crocodile attack, was carried to the Cemetery on a canvas stretcher, laid out covered in blankets. He was later buried wrapped in a blanket tied with "rope and string" (Flinders *et al.* 2010a). Also during the 1950s there was a similar burial at the Outstation Cemetery (second mission time Cemetery) located south of Cullen Point, where a woman called Amy, who had died, was buried, wrapped in sewn blankets (Flinders *et al.* 2010b; 2010c; 2010d). Blankets were also used to wrap deceased persons in the early days of 1930s and prior to that (1925) tea-tree bark was used to wrap up deceased persons (Flinders *et al.* 2010b; 2010c; 2010d).

Coral and shell were often used to decorate burial places, and evidence of this practice is visible at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and Outstation Cemetery today. During the mission time the "old people" would collect shells from the beach in handmade baskets and later use them to line graves (Flinders *et al.* 2010a). The coral and shell originally may have shown the general location of individual plots within the Cemetery, indicating burial locations and a pathway through the centre of the Cemetery (De Jersey *et al.* 2010d, 2010e; Flinders *et al.* 2010a). This practice has continued in the other mission time cemeteries at Mapoon. However, photographs of burials in the Outstation Cemetery (from the Filmer photographic

collection from 1958 to 1963), do not show the use of shell and coral to demarcate graves, instead headstones with cement grave marker, cut logs and tree branches are used to shape fences with streamers and flowers to demarcate the graves (Figure 24). During the funeral service, family members stand inside the fenced area, while prayers are read and this practice continues on today in Mapoon (Busch 19 March 2014:pers. comm.). These photographs suggest a possible change in mortuary practices after 1958.

Mapoon Elders do not remember with confidence if a fence bordered the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, although it is possible one constructed of barbed wire may have existed in the 1930s (Mrs Alma Day and Mrs Harriet Flinders interview, September 7, 2011, Field Notes; Mrs Susie Madua interview, September 6, 2011, Field Notes). Graves may also have been oriented towards the west and in line with the abovementioned pathway (Mrs Alma Day and Mrs Harriet Flinders interview, September 7, 2011, Field Notes; Mrs Susie Madua interview, September 6, 2011, Field Notes). Elders remember that the Cemetery went out of use sometime in the mid-1940s, because it was full.

5.4 HOW ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORKS CAME ABOUT – GPR

In fieldwork carried out over 2010-2013, Elders expressed repeated concerns of the neglect of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and the need to fence the Cemetery. The care of these cemeteries and the identification of unmarked graves, looking “after our old people” is a strong concern, expressed by Mapoon community members for some time (e.g., Moran 2006). During oral history interviews with Elders in June-July 2010 to document the cultural heritage values of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and other Aboriginal unmarked graves, Mapoon Elders requested a form of “geophysics”, “that machine they push along that can see through the ground”; to help find the boundary of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery to build a fence to protect the graves from horses (Busch *et al.* 2010a, 2010c, 2010b, 2010d, 2010e)¹⁰.

At that time, we discussed a potential non-invasive archaeological investigation, through use of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery to assist in identifying the limits of the Cemetery for fencing. Elders requested I find a specialist that could use the

¹⁰ Some Elders had seen this “machine” on recently installed cable television on the English archaeological documentary, *Time Team*.

ground-penetrating radar to identify a place to put the fence safely without disturbing human remains in the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and bring them to Mapoon. Non-invasive techniques such as GPR were recognised by Elders as culturally appropriate because they did not involve disturbance to the burials within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery. Elders chose a scientific method in archaeology to contribute to Indigenous knowledge of the Cemetery and to protect their important cultural place. At that time, MASC and MLSAC had no funding to pay for a ground-penetrating radar investigation of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery.

On advice from a colleague who had experience in this kind of investigation and an introduction via email, I was put into contact with Prof. Lawrence B. Conyers at the University of Denver, who was undertaking a seminar and training workshop for archaeologists on ground-penetrating radar investigations, during a visit to Australia in December 2010, for the Australian Archaeological Association Conference as a keynote speaker. Conyers is an international expert in using GPR for archaeological investigations. Conyers accepted my invitation to Mapoon in consultation with Elders (during a field trip in October 2010), and travelled with me to Mapoon for three days to attempt to find a boundary for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery with assistance from Rangers in December 2010.

5.4.1 Methods

GPR investigations in December 2010 involved Conyers, myself, Elders and Rangers working in the Mapoon Mission Cemetery over a three day period. Clearing had to be undertaken while the survey was being carried out. The GPR investigation in December 2010 included transects within the remembered boundary of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery of 30 m by 40 m. However, it soon became apparent through the use of the GPR by Conyers, that the Cemetery contained a much larger number of graves over a much broader area than remembered by Elders. Clearing had to be undertaken at the same time as the GPR investigation to try and find the limits of the Cemetery as it became clear a much greater area needed to be investigated with the GPR. I undertook additional oral history and ground-truthing of the Cemetery area with Elders as the GPR survey was being undertaken to attempt to assist with finding additional information to find the boundary of the Cemetery during these three days.

As it was not possible to determine the boundaries of the Cemetery in December 2010, MASC and Elders (particularly Uncle William Busch) obtained funding from the WCCCA to continue additional GPR investigations of the Cemetery with Conyers. This funding led to a second intensive GPR program with new techniques not used before including “high-resolution low-amplitude photos, magnetometry and laser-theodolite total station global-positional system surveying” within a grid of approximately 150 m by 130 m (Conyers 2013:3). This second investigation was undertaken with an interdisciplinary team led by Prof. Conyers assisted by myself and Uncle William Busch in August 2013. Aerial mapping using a remote control kite with a special camera attached allowed for highly accurate mapping of individual graves and survey data during the second GPR investigations in August 2013 (Conyers, 2013:9). Specific details of the methodology for ground-penetrating radar investigations are discussed in Chapter 2.

5.4.2 Results

The results of the 2010 and 2013 GPR investigations led by Prof. Conyers identified 95 burials within 10 clusters of graves in an area of approximately 120 m by 90 m (2013:3). This area of graves and the number of graves is considerably greater than that remembered by Elders in initial oral history interviews in 2010. There may be many more burials within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery as indicated by Conyers (2013:3) which “may be very old and deteriorated” however, these graves were not interpreted as “known” unless he could be “very sure of their location and extent” (2013:3). Burials identified during the GPR surveys at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery may contain: evidence of different types of potential mortuary practices during pre-contact times and very early mission time (from about 1891-99); partially cremated, dismembered or interred human remains with grave goods; Christian burials using blankets and tea-tree bark wrappings (possibly from 1900-20s) and the use of locally made wooden caskets with lead or cement casing or coverings (1920s-45) (Conyers 2013; Sutton *et al.* 2013).

Conyers found evidence of burials and mortuary practices within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, which were not Christian and could be considered traditional Aboriginal burials. Conyers indicates the scattered and random weak reflections from burials are likely pre-contact burials (or the very early mission burials made between 1891-99 which may have included partially dismembered and interred remains, mortuary practices described in Roth

(1907) and McConnel (1936-37) (Sutton *et al.* 2013). This is especially the case for those that are very low in amplitude, indicating a period of time that would have allowed significant decomposition of remains with only some remaining burial wrappings of cloth or other materials still remaining in the ground to reflect radar waves (Sutton *et al.* 2013). Areas that may contain traditional pre-mission burials within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery included “two clusters ... not orientated east-west, as Christian graves are” (Conyers 2013:44). These clusters are interpreted by Conyers (2013:44) to be linked generally to the coral stones located on the surface of the Cemetery, and may “suggest family or kin groups knew of the grave locations of their Elders by markings, and newly deceased were placed in these same areas”.

Approximately 20% of the total number of graves identified by Conyers “appear to be traditional interments, some of which may pre-date the mission’s founding” but may represent people who continue to be buried in traditional ways after the mission was established (2013:44). Pre-contact burials are concentrated in the middle of the investigated area and are likely of some antiquity, at the latest between 1891-99, before the missionaries began to enforce Christian burials based on the review of historical records and oral testimony (Flinders *et al.* 2010, Audio#VN680010 cited in Sutton *et al.* 2013; Hey 1901:10; Ward, 1908:121-122). These burials date to potentially much earlier than 1891, before contact with missionaries. These pre-contact burials are most likely the remains of Tjungundji people, the recognised traditional owners of Mapoon based on oral history testimony (Flinders *et al.* 2010, Audio#VN680010 cited in Sutton *et al.* 2013). Identification of traditional Aboriginal burials within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery were not remembered by Mapoon Elders and indicates that this Cemetery was used prior to the mission time and before living memory (Conyers 2013:3-5; Sutton *et al.* 2013).

The GPR investigations also led to the identification of formal burial areas with Christian tradition graves, at least 70% of all known graves. Conyers found that a formal burial area (referred to as Cluster 1) was identified in “formal rows of burials none of which are marked on the surface. They are uniformly oriented east-west, which is typical of Christian graves” (2013:44). Conyers found that it was likely that “elaborate graves are mission burials, and likely Christian-tradition burials”, and “many less-elaborate burials, which are likely mission burials of Aboriginal people” (2013:44). Conyers identified “many European-style burials that

were interred in substantial wooden coffins” and four “substantial graves” with “metal linings in the coffins” (2013:44). Two concentrations of child graves were also found, mostly in Christian traditional graves (Conyers 2013:45). These two areas of Christian-style burials “are likely to be Aboriginal people” (Conyers 2013:45). Aboriginal people identified in these burials are likely to be Tjungundji people (the traditional residents of the former Mapoon Mission) known to have lived at the Mapoon Mission prior to the arrival of the missionaries and from the other neighboring lands, Mpakwithi, Taepithiggi, Thaynakwith, Warrangku and Yupungathi clans and other language groups across North Queensland and the Samoan and Solomon Islanders and other family members (De Jersey *et al.* 2010d, 2010e; Flinders *et al.* 2010a). The results of consultation with the Presbyterian Church, Brisbane, the review of State and Church historical records to date (2011), the memories of surviving Elders and missionary families do not indicate that former missionaries and staff were buried in the Mapoon Mission Cemetery.

The 2010 preliminary GPR survey and 2013 results and ethnohistorical investigations also indicate that other areas in the locality which were easy to dig by hand and stick with loose sandy soil or within the sand dunes along the coast (for example, heading north from the Mapoon Mission Cemetery to Cullen Point, from Cullen Point leading down to Red Beach and from Cullen Point to Janie Creek) are also likely to be sensitive for potential pre-mission and mission time, unmarked Aboriginal burials (Sutton *et al.* 2013). Other unmarked burial places known to exist in these areas from oral history testimony provided by Elders and in some locations through spot checks with the GPR (De Jersey *et al.* 2010d, 2010e, Flinders *et al.* 2010a; Sutton *et al.* 2013). Spot checks with the GPR indicated in many of these locations that more than three to four times the remembered number of burials were identified by the GPR than remembered by Elders. These spot checks in every location also indicated that much greater investigation by GPR was necessary to define the limits of burials in these areas. The detection of concentrations of potential pre-mission unmarked Aboriginal graves using GPR within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and outside the boundary as remembered by the Elders, provides good evidence of Aboriginal occupation and burial in this area long before the establishment of the Mapoon Mission.

5.5 HOW ARCHAEOLOGY CREATES VALUE

The results of the initial 2010 and later 2013 GPR investigations, showed that the Mapoon Mission Cemetery contained traditional Aboriginal burials that pre-date the mission and a larger number of burials within a much greater area remembered by Elders. The GPR results also indicated that some interments were shallow and eroding out of the sandy soil and requiring urgent protective measures. These results led to heightened concerns by Elders, Rangers, MLSAC and MASC to protect the Cemetery, find the boundary of the Cemetery, mark graves and undertake additional protective and interpretative measures. In 2011, MASC, with support of Elders, particularly Uncle William Busch, applied for a substantial grant from the WCCCA to undertake further GPR investigations, fence the Cemetery, construct grave markers and a substantial fence and monument at the Cemetery. The monument was proposed due to Elders and MASC's heightened appreciation of the age of the burials within the Cemetery as well as their expressions of interest in looking after their old people. After the initial results of the GPR investigation, families that lived close to the Cemetery and some Elders' reported more frequent visitations by spirits of the old people who were buried in the Cemetery, stressing the importance of protecting the Cemetery. As part of MASC and Elders' attempts to obtain funding and highlight the need to protect the Cemetery, Elders co-authored a paper with myself and Conyers on the initial 2010 results and a Ranger and Elder co-presented with me at the Australian Archaeological Association Conference, on some of the results of the 2010 initial work (Sutton *et al.* 2013).

The Mapoon Mission Cemetery's high cultural value to Mapoon people is demonstrated through their united efforts to carry out archaeological investigations and cultural heritage works to protect and conserve this place. The GPR survey brought together Mapoon people for a common aspiration to protect and identify the resting place of their 'old people'. This cultural heritage place contains the remains of not only Tjungundji people, but other Indigenous Traditional Owner groups from the Mapoon DOGIT and the historical Indigenous families. Many Mapoon families today believe they have ancestors buried in this Cemetery. The GPR survey saw Rangers coming out to the site on their lunch breaks and before the start of their work day to assist and use the GPR with Conyers.

The Mapoon Mayor, Peter Guivarra and his brother Ricky Guivarra and other Mapoon Councilors, Uncle William Busch (Chairperson of MLSAC) and other Elders followed through

with the aspiration to continue the GPR investigations at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery (and other unmarked graves) and obtained substantial funding from the Western Cape Co-existence Agreement to protect the resting place of their 'old people'. The receipt of the WCCCA funding in 2012 required a united effort from Tjungundji people, other Indigenous Traditional Owner groups from the Mapoon DOGIT, the historical Indigenous families, MLSAC and MASC and archaeologists (including Conyers) over three years.

Involvement and participation by members of the Mapoon community increased with the second stage of GPR investigations in August 2013. Younger members of the Mapoon community including the great grandchildren, grandchildren and children of Elders cleared the Cemetery of vegetation to assist with the second stage of GPR investigations, prior to the arrival of the archaeological team. These family members also assisted voluntarily for the GPR survey. Elders' grandchildren living close to the Cemetery assisted with marking out grid lines for the radar survey, photographing the Cemetery, flying the remote control kite (that held an aerial camera) recording headstones and grave markers on their weekend. These same children visited with their classmates during an open day at the Cemetery for the local school and were actively involved in the presentation of the GPR works talking about the use of the different archaeological equipment, the remote control camera on the kite, the 'robot' – laser theodolite and the GPR unit and how important the archaeological techniques were being used for the first time at Mapoon. During the GPR survey days, Elders visited the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and assisted in identifying unmarked graves in December 2010, August 2013 and late December 2013. Elders actively engaged media and the local mining companies to advertise the GPR survey and the importance of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery.

Since the initial 2010 GPR survey of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, Elders, myself and Conyers worked together on a publication (now published by the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (Sutton *et. al.* 2013) on the results of this investigation, oral history testimony and historical archival research. As part of this process, of writing up the archaeology and history of this Cemetery, Elders interest in mortuary practices in other cultures and discussions about these practices, led to a 'clearing of the air' and redress for the past racist and prejudicial description of their ancestors as being 'primitive' in their treatment of the dead. During an interview with two Elders who are Traditional Owners, I

read through some early descriptions by ‘ethnographers’ (McConnel 1936/1937), Roth (1907) and Hey (1901) on the treatment of human remains, in particular, interment and the display of human remains by Indigenous people within the region of Mapoon as outlined earlier in this Chapter. On one description, one Elder looked at me shyly and agreed that was the same story related to her by her family and she was ashamed of these practices, because they were told these practices were not ‘civilised’ by the Queensland State Government and the missionaries.

We discussed some of the many ways Europeans have dealt with and continue in some cases to deal with their deceased family members. For example, I talked about how in Russia and in Czech Republic there are famous churches, where the skulls and remains of people are interred and displayed and two or three famous Neolithic archaeological sites in England and Orkney Islands, for example, Skara Brae, where people lived with human remains under their floor boards and in their roofs. The two Elders laughed and looked incredulous as I explained that the missionaries who had told their families their burial practices were primitive and had instilled that sense of shame, actually come from cultures with very similar (if not more culturally biased judged ‘gruesome’) mortuary practices. At the end of the review of the draft paper, Elders appeared more comfortable and proud to document the mortuary practices of their family and wanted copies of the final paper to distribute to family and other interested parties. Elders openly discussed mortuary practices with archaeologists and other visitors to Mapoon after the initial 2010 survey and requested further presentation of this information in papers and presentations. On the publication of this paper in August 2013, Elders expressed excitement at becoming ‘authors’, to have their paper in press to an international audience and are now planning further publications on Mapoon Mission and their cemeteries, including a book of oral histories.

5.6 HOW ARCHAEOLOGY CREATES IDENTITY

Since the first GPR investigation in December 2010, during several return trips to Mapoon in 2011 and 2013, I witnessed Tjungundji Elders and younger generations of Traditional Owners use the examples of pre-contact burials at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery to assert their continued connection and attachments to Cullen Point and lands within the Mapoon DOGIT. As discussed earlier, the potential pre-contact burials were not known to Tjungundji people and other Elders before the archaeological investigations. The results concerning

potential pre-contact burials is an example of how archaeology has created value rather than emphasised existing values of Mapoon people to this place. Tjungundji people have long asserted that their connection to the Cullen Point as substantially longer than indicated in the ethnohistorical record. The results of GPR investigations (December 2010 and August 2013) provides possible scientific evidence that Tjungundji Traditional Owners can use to support their claims. During later visits, some Tjungundji Elders spoke of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery as Tjungundji's burial ground and home of their ancestors. I was told by some Mapoon people, that this issue had been raised by Traditional Owner families during native title meetings and mine meetings to assert their connection and the antiquity of this attachment to country. Similarly, during a school excursion in August 2013, one grandchild of a Tjungundji Elder corrected another child that the Cemetery did not belong to their family but was "Tjungundji land" and the burial ground of Tjungundji families long before the mission time. Tjungundji families continue to express their desire to undertake additional GPR surveys of other locations within Mapoon to identify unmarked graves. Since the initial 2010 GPR survey, Elders have identified several new areas of unmarked graves to me that are now on their agenda for protection and documentation.

Historical Indigenous Families from Mapoon, particularly the Busch family, whose grandfather Charles De Bosch to Uncle William Busch is buried within the Mapoon Mission Cemetery have actively expressed their connection to this place and to their family identity. The grave of Charles De Bosch is the most well-established surviving grave in the Cemetery and is visually prominent. Uncle William Busch's involvement in the Cemetery was continuous from the outset and his continued drive to find funding for additional GPR works and Cemetery protection and management within Mapoon helped unite Elders as a collective to document these places.

As part of the development of a design for a monument at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, both Elders from Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous Families have worked together as a collective to care for country and to create new values and connections to this place and renew existing values. The proposed monument includes a reflection garden area with an avenue of coconut trees, a fenced boundary and an archway gated entry to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery. Two plaques are proposed on each pillar of the gated entry. Drafts of the design of the proposed plaques on the Cemetery monument include Indigenous

artwork and Moravian symbols. The first plaque pays homage to the “the first resting place of our old people” and includes words that acknowledge the Tjungundji people as Traditional Owners of Cullen Point and the cemetery and their belonging to this place as shown by GPR possibly dating back to before the mission time. The first plaque also acknowledges stolen generations and the different families from South Sea Islands who lived in Mapoon during the mission time. The missionary families and the establishment of the mission are also acknowledged on this plaque and their belonging to this cemetery. The second plaque discusses the “symbolism and artwork which recognises the historical, cultural and spiritual values of the Mapoon Cemetery” used within the proposed monument. The wording for the second plaque discusses the use of Moravian symbols such as the archway and Advent Star to acknowledge the missionary presence at Mapoon and its connection to this cemetery. The second plaque also acknowledges the Traditional Owners and other families of Mapoon that are buried within the Cemetery through Indigenous artwork and symbols and discussion of traditional mortuary practices and results from GPR investigation. The names of all Mapoon family members, the archaeologists and other participants such as MLSAC and MASC in the cemetery project are acknowledged on this second plaque. The recognition of the archaeologists and inscribing their names and place in this project in the second plaque indicates that archaeology has created new value to this place for Mapoon families.

Elders were involved in the wording of these plaques during the second stage of GPR fieldwork, individual and small group meetings and a final meeting of all Elders together. Elders designed a monument that recognised both the Tjungundji ownership of the Cemetery, the presence and adoption of the Historical Indigenous Families by the Tjungundji people at the Cemetery and the missionaries. The words of the monument also recognise all of these different families and groups as their own separate entities, but also as one collective identity, as ‘our old people’ and the Cemetery as a place that belongs to this collective as their ‘final resting place’. During the design of the monument, Elders wanted the results of the GPR investigations integrated into the plaques and a third sign to be put beside the Cemetery that documented the GPR process. This sign will be designed by MASC.

5.7 DISCUSSION

The GPR and oral history investigations of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery has shown that archaeology can not only find value but archaeology may create value. The results of GPR investigations provide new information about the Mapoon Mission Cemetery not previously known to Elders and Mapoon families. This new information, specifically the presence of large numbers of graves and different forms of mortuary practices including traditional Aboriginal burials dating to potentially before and during the mission time, led to new values and attachments being created to this place. Archaeological discourse through the results of the GPR surveys at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery may have assisted Mapoon people asserting their attachments to Mapoon and their identity, by providing new light on the physical evidence, connecting Tjungundji and other Indigenous families to Mapoon over the course of its history. Archaeological evidence may assist these families to assert their pre-mission connection to Mapoon in native title determinations and current disputes over mining and land ownership by showing a continued connection to country in antiquity.

Involvement by Elders, Rangers and their families, including school children in the GPR and archaeological investigation created new memories and attachments in this cultural place to Mapoon people. The Mapoon Mission Cemetery was the focus of an investigation that has attracted international experts in GPR. GPR investigations have empowered Elders and other Mapoon people to assert their connections to country (particularly, the length of time of these connections) by using the potential evidence for pre-contact burials as evidence of their presence and attachment to country and their identity as Traditional Owners. Oral history interviews and historical research into mortuary practices has also helped Elders' confront some of the historical legacies of the missionary attitudes and potentially alleviate stress caused by past prejudice. As discussed earlier in Chapter 1, archaeological discourse is criticised historically (and, in some cases continues) to promote colonial representations of identity (Foucault 1994; Liebmann 2008; Shanks and Tilley 1987) and imbalances of power between Indigenous communities and researchers (Smith 2012, 2006, 1996; Schmidt 2010). In this case study, archaeological discourse has deconstructed colonial representations of primitivism in mortuary practices and assisted in healing some past hurts for Indigenous Elders caused by these representations. The project also provided multiple opportunities for Mapoon people to perform culture in place through embodied performance. Examples of these performances included involvement in the GPR investigation, clearing,

surveying, mapping as ways to care for country and look after the old people through documenting and managing the Cemetery and to speak narratives of the before time and mission time and transfer cultural knowledge of the mission time. Elders, Rangers and school children involved in the GPR investigations, different generations of Mapoon families, connected to this Cemetery with their ancestors interred within it, were also honouring and looking after their old people and continuing their cultural practices and obligations of kinship and family.

Archaeological investigations and the publication of this work may have assisted Elders in renewing their attachments to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery through caring for country and protecting the graves of the old people. These investigations and the publication, assisted Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council gain funding from private enterprise and government agencies to protect this important cultural heritage place through future GPR survey, fencing and signage. Presentation and publication of archaeological research, the archaeological investigations at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and the interpretation of this place through the monument design has brought Elders, MASC, MLSAC and younger generations together. The information in this publication also changed some missionary families' values for this Cemetery. The Filmers were surprised and very interested in the results of geophysical investigations and the history of missionary involvement in this Cemetery's use. Elders' requests to include the results of the archaeological investigations and the names of the archaeologists in the plaques for the monument and the GPR investigations in a third sign near the Mapoon Mission Cemetery also indicates the importance of archaeological practice in place making by Mapoon Elders. In the Elders' design of the final Mapoon Mission Cemetery (after conservation and interpretation works are completed), the archaeologists as well as the missionaries are recognised in the final recreated place. The design of the plaques and the recognition of past families in the wording, and the proposed Indigenous and Moravian art friezes for the monument are also examples of Elders' consciously inscribing the past into the present, representing their history for memorial by future generations. Therefore, archaeological practice has created new cultural heritage values for Elders, Mapoon families and missionary families for this cultural heritage place as well as emphasised existing values held by Elders.

5.8 CONCLUSION

The Mapoon Mission Cemetery is the oldest Aboriginal Cemetery documented in the region, with recognised potential to contain unmarked pre-contact burials. Despite such potential heritage value, Mapoon and its cemeteries are not listed on the National Heritage List or on Queensland Heritage databases, and as a result are not afforded protection under a local, regional or State cultural heritage conservation agreements. Mapoon Mission Cemetery is potentially the earliest known Moravian Aboriginal mission Cemetery in Queensland. Since Mapoon Mission was one of the Queensland State's largest removal centres for Aboriginal children during the first 30 years of its establishment, the Mapoon Mission Cemetery contains the remains of Aboriginal people from many different language groups across Queensland. Elders chose and actively lobbied for geophysical investigations to be carried out at the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, a scientific method, which they deemed culturally appropriate. The Elders' choice of method is an example that scientific methods can be valued by Indigenous communities and are not always in conflict to Indigenous knowledge and cultural heritage values as suggested in some post-processual and post-colonial critique of archaeology (Smith 2000; Shanks and Tilley, 1987).

The results of the archaeological investigations indicate that the Mapoon Mission Cemetery has evidence of traditional Aboriginal burials and mission time Christian burials and hints that the use of this burial place was of greater antiquity than the mission time. This result is being appropriated by Traditional Owner families to assert their connection and their identity in Mapoon in native title and mining meetings. Elders' plans for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery in partnership with MLSAC and MASC to construct a monument that pays tribute to their ancestors but also to the GPR investigations undertaken at the Cemetery, indicates the renewal and creation of cultural heritage values through archaeology. The archaeological investigations of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery has also brought Mapoon people together and to continue cultural practices relating to kinship and culture, to take care of country (transferring this knowledge to younger generations) and to protect the resting place of their old people. Archaeology has perhaps created new values for Mapoon people to the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, through the involvement of Elders, Rangers and families in the GPR investigations, publication and presentation of research involving this important cultural heritage place. This case study is an example of where Liebmann (2008:6) argues archaeology has the potential to deconstruct colonial representations of identity. Moreover,

through the collaboration of Mapoon Elders and researchers, new understandings of mortuary practices are developed and protection of an important cultural heritage place is ensured.

Chapter 6 Trauma Narratives during House Survey – Archaeology and Catharsis

6.1 INTRODUCTION

“Why? Why did the Director burn down our homes?” This question was often asked rhetorically of me by Elders during the archaeological survey of the remains of the mission time family homes in Mapoon. The closure of Mapoon Mission in 1963 involved forced removal of families from Mapoon by police following orders from the Queensland DAIA and subsequent burning of many Indigenous family homes. I explore the historical legacy of these acts, since 1963, for Mapoon Indigenous families and former missionary families. I describe a key narrative about these events, referred to by Elders as “the burning of Mapoon” and the contested history of these events as recounted in APC, Queensland State Government, Mapoon Elders and former missionary families’ oral history (Busch *et al.* 2010e; De Jersey *et al.* 2010a, 2010c; Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a, 2010b;). The burnt remains of the mission time family homes (also referred to as the ‘mission village’) provide a third case study of important cultural heritage places identified by Mapoon Elders. This chapter aims to examine the emotional aspects of cultural heritage value through accounts of Indigenous people and missionaries forced removal from the Mapoon Mission. I demonstrate how trauma narratives (Denham 2008) generated by Elders who experienced this episode of violence and upheaval and the impact of this event to missionary and Indigenous family relationships, is intimately connected to their formation of cultural heritage values. Conceptual material, ‘solastalgia’ (Albrecht 2005, 2006a; Albrecht 2006b) and trauma narratives (Denham 2008) are used to link emotion and value and archaeological practice’s potential for catharsis.

6.2 TRAUMA AND NARRATIVES

Trauma is memorialised by some cultural groups through narrative. Denham refers to episodes of historical trauma memorialised in narrative as “trauma narratives”, stories which are used to “transmit strength” by Elders for younger generations to draw on for strength in times of adversity (2008:392-409). Denham’s analysis of Native American families and their stories showed that Elders within these families used the history of traumatic events (for example, stories of genocide, violence, destruction of traditional lands) to “communicate specific resilience strategies” to younger generations (2008:392-393). Narratives are framed within and integrated into both “their family foundation and individual identity” (Denham

2008:392-393). Stories of trauma are used by Elders to construct a “sense of self” in younger generations and can date back to episodes of trauma from hundreds and hundreds of years past (Denham 2008:400). Denham stresses that these narratives are used to instill resilience and strength in younger generations rather than to transmit knowledge and continue transgenerational trauma (2008:400). Aboriginal grief and intergenerational trauma due to historical trauma experienced by Indigenous people from dispossession, forced removal of children from families and other acts of violence and discrimination caused by colonialism is not a new field of research (Atkinson 2002; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997; Raphael *et al.* 2007; Wanganeen 2014; Wyvill 1991).

In Mapoon, the connection between the burning of Mapoon and the Mapoon Mission closure and associated trauma was used as part of the defense against the prosecution of Alwyn Peters for murder as portrayed in David Bradbury’s (1991) film *State of Shock*. Bradbury’s film portrays that the trauma and dispossession of the Peters’ family from Mapoon and the long-term effects of loss of culture, connection to country, loss of identity and his family’s known entire way of life contributed to his despair and alcoholism which led to the murder. The case of Alwyn Peters and the distress and trauma from a disconnection to country may be expressions of symptoms of historical trauma. Blatz and Ross argue that groups “preserve memories of tragedies” to “enhance in group solidarity” and set themselves “apart from other groups” but also these memories can “fuel bad feelings and intergroup hostility because “earlier grievances remain unresolved” (2009:230). Trauma narratives therefore, can also preserve and enhance collective identity but also preserve hostility towards other groups/agencies due to unresolved issues from the past.

In Mapoon, narratives of trauma are expressed by Elders and some former missionary families regarding the events relating to the burning of Mapoon. I investigate if narratives of historical trauma are remembered by Elders to transmit grief or if similarly to Denham (2008) to transmit strength and resilience to younger generations. In this section I explore the different expressions of trauma for the Indigenous families of Mapoon and the former missionary families of these events through contested history. This contested history is intricately interconnected with the ways in which these two groups relate and also value places in Mapoon today.

6.3 THE CONTESTED HISTORY OF THE BURNING OF MAPOON

In this section, I examine the contested history of the Mapoon Mission closure as documented in the APC and DAIA records and in the oral testimony of Elders and missionary families. This examination is important because this contested history frames Elders' and missionary families' emotions for cultural heritage places in Mapoon, particularly the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and mission time family homes; as well as attitudes of these families today towards one another, with the APC and the Queensland State Government. Contested history based on different familial experiences also frames relationships between missionary families, Queensland State Government and Mapoon families.

6.3.1 Presbyterian Church and Queensland State Government

Official written sources describing Mapoon Mission's closure from non-Indigenous sources, include the correspondence files of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, Brisbane (specifically the Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions (APBM) and Australian Foreign Missions Committee (AFMC) and the DNA/DAIA held in the Queensland State Archives, Community and Personal Histories files. The reasons for the Mission's closure as articulated in these records, include general neglect of the mission during World War II due to a lack of funding and assistance from within the Church and from the DNA (later renamed the DAIA). Discussion over Mapoon's possible closure and/or transfer back to the State between the APBM, AFMC and the DNA/DAIA date back to correspondence records from 1941 (Sweet 1957; Signature unknown 1958). By the early 1950s, Cornelius O'Leary, the then Director of Native Affairs expounded the view that Mapoon Mission must be closed and Mapoon children of mixed descent be sent to Weipa. Weipa Mission was to be set up as a "half caste' mission" and "all 'full bloods' from Mapoon and Weipa were to be sent onto Aurukun Mission" (Coombes 1954). However, this initiative never came about due to local resistance by Indigenous people to these plans within the three missions.

In the early 1950s, former Mapoon Mission superintendent, Rev. Calder Allan attempted to keep Mapoon Mission open and presented a plan to the Australian Foreign Mission Committee and the DNA "emphasizing the commercial opportunities which could be created by Mapoon's proximity to Thursday Island market"; to enable Mapoon people to eventually become independent (Wharton 1996:50). With bauxite exploration encroaching on the

missions in western Cape York, AFMC were increasingly pressured by the DNA to relinquish control over Mapoon and Weipa missions (Sweet 1957). Rev. Allan's proposal was never considered by the DNA, perhaps due to the Queensland State Government's interests in obtaining mining royalties (Wharton 1996:50). With Alcan and other mineral companies undertaking mineral exploration in the western Cape in 1956 and the development of the *Commonwealth Aluminium Corporation Pty Ltd Agreement Bill, 1957* pressures heightened. As shown in a letter from the Secretary of AFMC, Rev. Jim Sweet to Mr Frank Green, Mapoon (dated 9 December, 1957), the Presbyterian Church attempted to negotiate with the Department to place "safeguards for the rights" of Mapoon people into mining legislation. However, such attempts proved futile. In his letter, Rev. Sweet (1957) writes:

You can assure the people at Mapoon that the Church will not desert them in any decision they make ... we recognize that the Mapoon folk must have a say in any decision reached ... For your information the Mapoon village falls within the mining lease granted to Comalco. The agreement is effective as from the 1st January, 1958. In a letter of undertaking to the Minister for Mines, 75 acres at Weipa together with an area to be defined at Mapoon will be surrendered by the Company for an Aboriginal reserve for the Mapoon and Weipa villages. At the present time it would be unwise for you to let the Mapoon folk know of the effects of this legislation.

Earlier passages of Rev. Sweet's (1957) letter document several attempts by the Church to lobby for the rights of Mapoon people to be either compensated with mining royalties or to continue living in Mapoon. Rev. Sweet's (1957) letter also indicates an agreement existed between the APC, DAIA and Comalco, prior to the mission's closure (which never eventuated for Mapoon people) for Mapoon Indigenous families to continue living in Mapoon as an "Aboriginal reserve", as part of a commitment under the Bill by Comalco. Rev. Sweet's (1957) letter also reveals that the APC were concerned that Mapoon people could become aware of the effects of the Bill, perhaps due to Indigenous concerns at the new powers of the mining companies in the region, the lack of recognition of both Traditional Owners and Historical Indigenous Families' rights to land ownership of home and also due to Indigenous resistance to these new powers.



Figure 26 Burnt plates, broken ceramic and glass and melted and rusted roofing iron, the remaining debris of one of the former Indigenous mission time family homes, Mapoon (Source: Author October 2010).



Figure 27 The only standing Indigenous family mission time home in 2010 belonging to Granny Susie Madua's family and located near her modern day family home in Mapoon (immediately behind this house) (Source Author, October 2010).

Since 1957, Comalco and Alcan had interest in Mapoon and Weipa for bauxite mining exploration. Since 1953, there is some dispute about whether Comalco played an active role and lobbied for the closure of Mapoon in discussions with the Department of Native Affairs (Missionary, pers. comm. October 2013). Roberts *et al.* (1975) and Fitzgerald (1984) argue that Comalco and Alcan were influential and the direct cause of the Mission's closure. Wharton's (1996) research, including a review of Church and State records, however, found no direct evidence to support this argument. However, Wharton's (1996) research does not include a review of correspondence records from either Comalco or Alcan which may be more likely to contain evidence of lobbying. Wharton's research also did not include consultation or oral history from Rev. Filmer and his family. It is also possible that any damning evidence of corruption by Comalco or Alcan may not have survived in DAIA files. Given renowned corruption of the Queensland State Government of this period, suspicions of corporate influence may be well-founded, while there was also the factor of planned mission closure (Kidd 1997:27,96).

Correspondence contained within the APBM files state that the Mapoon Mission was shut down in 1963 due to lack of drinking water, disease (particularly hookworm), unsuitable soil for agriculture and inaccessible and isolated location (Sweet 1962; Unknown 1960). Since the Mapoon Mission's closure, the APC and Queensland State Government have apologised for "the distress and hurt" caused by these events (Mason 2001), however, compensation offered by the government to the MASC in November 2013 is limited to the far reaching implications of these events on Indigenous families. Despite these apologies, members of the Liberal-National Coalition (the governing Party during the removal of Mapoon families in 1963) expressed their resentment and opposition to the then Queensland Labor Government's apology (Mason 2001). The reasons for the mission's closure are disputed by Mapoon families and the former missionary families involved in the closure.

6.3.2 Mapoon Families' History

Oral history testimony from the Mapoon Indigenous families and former Mapoon Missionary families involved in the mission closure, dispute the APC and the DAIA's versions of the history of the Mapoon Mission closure.

Elders' Oral History and Mapoon Story (Roberts et al. 1975)

The Indigenous families of Mapoon tell a different story behind the reasons for the mission closure. Analysis of historical records and oral history interviews undertaken for this thesis and earlier oral history testimony completed as part of the Mapoon History Project by Frank McKeown and Ricky Guivarra (1992), indicate that the reasons presented by the APC and DAIA for the closure are exaggerated, if not fallacious. Mapoon has never run out of water, as it is built on numerous fresh springs (Alma Day August 2013:pers.comm.; Roberts *et al.* 1975; Wharton, 1996). Disease was not distinguishably different than any other time in the history of the Mapoon Mission and thus was overstated as a reason for the closure (Busch *et al.* 2010a, 2010c, 2010d, 2010e). The soil at Mapoon was successfully used for agriculture during World War II and gardens were heavily relied on at the mission to support the diet of families (Busch October 2010: pers. comm. Field Notebook 1). Mapoon was not particularly more isolated as a location than any of the other missions and much less so than Aurukun, being approximately 90 km north of Weipa and accessible via the air strip and by sea to Cullen Point.

These official reasons presented by APC and the DAIA were also questioned internally within the APC and Uniting Church. For example, the Chaplain at New Mapoon pondered just prior to the closure of Mapoon in November 1963:

I often wonder whether Mapoon is closed or not. With the prospect of people being allowed to go there, and present residents still "digging in", the question comes to me, is Old Mapoon as dangerous to health as we are led to believe? If the people can still stay there, why was the move made to here in the first place? These are merely questions which puzzle me at the moment (Taylor 1963).

From late 1963, the DAIA and Presbyterian Church made various attempts to shift Mapoon people to other missions of Cape York Peninsula. Mapoon people were opposed to the move, despite DAIA records (Wharton argues that DAIA sometimes doctored these records) arguing that Mapoon people "welcomed the closure" (Wharton 1996:61). However, it is clear from these records that many Mapoon people were not happy about the closure of the mission (particularly correspondence files by Rev. and Mrs Filmer in 1963 noting the rage

expressed by some Elders during community meetings in Mapoon about the proposed closure) (Filmer 1962a, 1962b).

As outlined at the beginning of the thesis, on 15 November 1963, the DAIA forcibly removed remaining Indigenous families at Mapoon from their homes to Hidden Valley Reserve, also referred to as New Mapoon (Taylor 1965b). The use of force through numerous visits by the DAIA to push families to take exemptions prior to this use of force is in direct contradiction to the public story presented by the APC in 1962. For example in a letter to Mrs B.I. Passey, as part of public reaction to negative press on the attempts of APC and DAIA to close the Mapoon Mission, Sweet denied that Mapoon people were “being compelled to go to Bamaga” and leave Mapoon (Sweet 1962). The use of armed police and the raid on Mapoon at night to remove people from the mission in 1963 are acts of force. While Sweet may not have foreseen the Department Director Killoran’s plans to use force to remove people, it was indeed used and Mapoon people were not provided legal recognition of ownership of their homes and Mapoon land or compensation for the removal.

Mapoon people’s resistance to the mission closure is evident throughout the APC records, particularly from 1961 in statements made by Jack Callope to well-known Aboriginal activist, Joe McGinness, Federal Council for the Advancement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Cairns, to highlight the plight of Mapoon people with the exploration of bauxite mining and attempts by the State and Church to close the mission. Joe McGinness assisted Mapoon families resisting the State and Church’s attempts to close the Mapoon Mission and remove them from Mapoon through highlighting their plight in the media and lobbying Queensland State and Commonwealth Governments. Mr Jack Callope was a respected Mapoon Elder and Traditional Owner. Mr Callope states:

People wish to stay – Mapoon people do not want to leave. They are not dependent on the Mission. They work at crocodile shooting, on stations, mining. The women make shell beads, feather flowers and fans. The ground is all right and they grow spuds, vegetables, and crabs, ducks and geese and other game. We can live all right.

...The Mission said “If you don’t make up your minds to leave we’ll close the store, close everything”.

The people said, “That’s all right, we’ll manage. We’ll just stay here and the people at T.I. and others will manage transport for us”.

People independent of Mission - What hurts the Government is that Mapoon people are not dependent on the Mission. They are self-supporting and have been for a long time. The Moravian priest who was there before the Presbyterians took over taught the people to help themselves. And the present generations has got new ideas (Callope 1961:1).

Mr Callope’s statement shows that Mapoon people were against leaving Mapoon and were happy to stay, even if the Mission closed. Mr Callope’s statement indicates that the Moravians (Rev. Hey) were perceived as different by some Mapoon Indigenous families to the APC and perhaps more supportive of assisting Mapoon people with independence (further discussion in this Chapter and in Chapter 7 relating to relationships between missionaries and Mapoon Indigenous families).

Another statement to Mr McGinness made by Mr Jubilee Woodley also shows that Mapoon people strongly resisted leaving their homes:

About 60 people are still at Mapoon. They say they won’t leave. I was the fool to go. But my wife wanted to go, the Church told her to, and the Church said we would have a decent home and I did not want to stay at Mapoon without my wife and break up our married life, so I came too (Woodley 1961:1).

Mr Jubilee Woodley was the head stockman at Mapoon Mission and married to Mrs Rosie Woodley and they were key figures in the mission’s day-to-day administration and leaders in Mapoon (De Jersey *et al.*, 2011; Filmer and Filmer, 2011a). Correspondence between the APC and the Uniting Church Chaplain at New Mapoon from 4 January 1965 to 26 September, 1967 illustrates Mapoon people’s continued visits to the former Mapoon Mission after the closure to gather shells and berries and stockmen often camped there during their travels (Taylor 1965a, 1967). This correspondence also notes Mapoon people’s anger over the mission closure and a refusal to accept New Mapoon as their home. For example in a letter dated 25 May 1965 to Rev. J.R. Sweet by Chaplain Rev. G.W. Taylor describes

continued dialogue by Mapoon people to return home to Mapoon on a visit to New Mapoon by the Director of DAIA, Patrick Killoran:

We had a visit from the Minister of Education (Mr Pizzy), Mr Killoran and other members of State Parliament yesterday. Mr Killoran was tackled again about going back to Mapoon! They wanted to take us with them, and when we asked what about the house etc., they said “Oh we can pull it down and Alan Parry and Gilbert Jimmy can build him up again at Mapoon!

So it seems that while this spirit is still prevailing ...

(Taylor 1965a).

Mapoon people's spirit of resistance did prevail, many families never gave up their hopes to return to Mapoon. These hopes are illustrated in numerous oral history interviews with Mapoon families living in Bamaga, New Mapoon, Cairns and Weipa undertaken by Frank McKeown and Ricky Guivarra in 1991-1992 for the Mapoon History project, who were waiting on a house so they could return home to Mapoon (Flinders *et al.* 1992; Madua 1992).

Former Missionary Families and Other Sources

The Filmer family are the former missionaries involved in the story of the Mapoon Mission's closure. Mr and Mrs Filmer found at their arrival to Mapoon, the mission buildings were neglected and in serious disrepair and the APC were in consultation with the DAIA, Director, Mr Killoran concerning the imminent closure of the Mapoon Mission (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). Little money was made available to fix dilapidated buildings and the APC were not willing to invest in future commercial enterprises for the Mission's future (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). The Filmers believe that from the outset, the Church and State placed them in an “impossible situation” which influenced their relationships within the mission community (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). The Filmer family's memories of that time are also consistent with Wharton's conclusions in his thesis on the history of the burning of Mapoon. Wharton (1996:92) argues that Mapoon Mission's closure was attributed to “long term failure” of the APC and DAIA to “provide necessary secular support and training for missionary staff, combined with poor financial support from Presbyterian congregations and government budgetary restrictions”. The role of the Filmer family in the mission leading up to this event, however, is not consistent with some of their memories and relationships with

some Mapoon families (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). Wharton (1996), Roberts *et al.* (1975), and some but not all, Mapoon Elders are strongly critical of the Filmers (Elders, June-July oral history interviews 2010). Through a closer analysis of oral history testimony and historical records, I demonstrate how the Filmer family's relationships with the Mapoon people are more complex than suggested in these sources.

6.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF REMAINS OF FAMILY MISSION TIME HOMES

Burnt timber piers, twisted and melted corrugated iron sheeting, ash and the shattered remains of domestic items characterise all that remains of much of Indigenous families' mission time family homes, visible during my archaeological survey in 2010 (Figure 25 and 26). These remains are a visceral reminder of the DAIA's assault on Mapoon and Indigenous families on 15 November, 1963. In October 2010, I carried out an archaeological survey of the remains of mission time family homes assisted by Rangers and Elders. As part of the survey, we documented the visible remains of material culture at each family home location and other features including the associated family unmarked graves (often child burials), the remains of yards, wells, gardens and trees planted by families during the mission time. We recorded story places, picnic places, boat landings, pathways, fish traps and cultural places. Only one standing house remained in Mapoon until late 2012 (a cyclone destroyed the house) (Figure 27). This house belonged to Granny Susie Madua's family, this house is believed to have survived by her family because the police ran out of diesel fuel to burn homes (Field Note book, Book 1, June 2010).

During the survey the remains of 60 mission time family homes were identified, most remains (one or two remains of houses and structures identified during survey that were not remembered by Elders) were known to Elders living at Mapoon from 1928 to 1963 (Appendix A for Figure A.1 to Figure A.15). Fifteen family wells and the remains of seven gardens with mission time trees were also located during the survey (Appendix A for Figure A.1 to Figure A.15). During this survey, 10 areas of unmarked children's (over 80%) and family graves associated with the remains of family homes were also identified by Elders (locations are not provided in the thesis due to cultural sensitivities). Elders believe these burials occurred during the mission time. In many modern Mapoon homes, the footings and remains of the mission time houses are visible in the yards of these homes (Chapter 8 for further discussion of mission time cultural heritage values and town planning schemes in Mapoon). Of the 60 house remains identified, 40 houses have been rebuilt at the locations or within close

proximity to the family plots (Appendix C for Figure C.1 to Figure C.13). The remains of these houses are neither protected or conserved or registered on any local, State or Commonwealth heritage listing. However, they are shown by Mapoon families during archaeological survey that they trigger narratives that relive the trauma of the burning of Mapoon and the strength of Elders to rebuild Mapoon. Mapoon people's involvement in archaeological survey of these original house locations may be a way to recognise their family's heritage and their belonging to these places.

6.4.1 Indigenous Families and Trauma

Indigenous families' narratives of the burning of Mapoon express the trauma of this event and some Mapoon families link this event to illnesses experienced by family members. Mrs Jimmy remembers:

that when you burning down a home it means you burn the whole body of our Aboriginal custom and they die so fast. This is the custom, we believe in it because it is definitely true. I have seen since the removal of Mapoon how people just died away after the burning down of our homes. And with my husband's illness now I thought a great deal, because I was thinking of our custom which we still carry in ourselves. (Roberts *et al.* 1975:74).

Mr Don also remembers: "When they burnt our homes down they had some old clothes, most of our old clothes were in the house. At once we fell very sick, I got the heart attack ... I nearly died" (IDA 1975:74). Similar stories of the mission closure's effects and trauma on Mapoon people are noted in the oral histories of Mapoon Elders, including Mrs Harriet Flinders, (Flinders *et al.* 1992) her brother William Perry, his wife Peggy and Alma Day, 30 September 1992, Interview by Frank McKeown in Napranum). At the heart of this experienced trauma, is the tearing people away from their home.

Home in some Elders' memories is not just limited to the mission time family homes:

the dormitory was home to us when they burnt it down I cry, I cry such tears for Mapoon ... even walking around today [*on site during fieldwork*] I cry .. It was home. It was home to us (Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010b).

It is clear in Granny Susie Madua's oral testimony above that the destruction of the dormitory was traumatic for her (Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010b). The dormitory was Granny Susie's mother's home after her mother was stolen away from her family in Lawn Hill and brought to Mapoon. The act of repeated forced removal for generations of Mapoon Historical Indigenous Families already stolen from their traditional country and brought to Mapoon compounds the trauma of these events.

The connection of Mapoon people (particularly, Historical Indigenous Families) to country is illustrated in Mr Charger's story, he tells of his experiences as a nine year old boy on 15 November 1963. Mr Charger remembers, while being forced to march away from his home escorted by police, he grabbed a handful of sand and placed it in his Uncle's pocket to hold onto a piece of his home knowing he may never return:

I have been back to Old Mapoon. I was 25 when I went back. When I looked at the burnt buildings I cried. I would like to go back again and to build a house there. I think I will build a home there. A lot of the old people now are going back (Andersen 2013).

Trauma experienced by forced removal of families from country features predominantly in all 14 Elders' stories I worked with during my fieldwork. This is expressed through their crying, changes in voice, and facial expressions indicating sadness and anger when retelling these events, and the reiteration of emotions experienced at that time, such as sadness and despair as well as illnesses. Of 55 Mapoon people interviewed by Frank McKeown and Ricky Guivarra as part of the Mapoon History Project, 53 of these people interviewed express similar emotions regarding the burning of Mapoon and the mission closure.

Not all Elders' oral history testimony agrees about the extent of destruction of Mapoon Mission by DAIA or with the DAIA historical records. One Elder, Harriet Flinders recounted that her family home and others were dismantled by Mapoon families returning in 1975 to rebuild homes prior to her return. Elders believe the Mapoon Mission house was bulldozed by MASC due to white ants and safety issues approximately 10 years ago (Field Note book 1, June 2010). The DAIA did not destroy the Mapoon Mission

house in 1963 as the Sabai police used it as a radio house for police during the removals (Granny Susie Madua December 2010:pers. comm. Field note book 2,).

Assault on Mapoon as 'Mother'

A central feature to understanding Mapoon Elders' experiences of trauma during 1963, is their relationship with Mapoon as a person, engendered as their mother. As stated by an Elder to me in Mapoon early in my fieldwork "Mapoon is our mother .. she looks after us" (Busch, December 2011:pers.comm.). Mapoon as a mother, as a female was repeated to me in conversations with Mapoon people throughout fieldwork (Flinders *et al.* 2010b; De Jersey *et al.* 2010a; Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a, 2010b;). As already discussed Mapoon is referred to as the 'mother mission' and the foundation of the Moravian Church missions across the western Cape. Mapoon was the mother, whose children the Tjungundji people and other Traditional Owner families adopted the stolen children forcibly removed from outside of Mapoon and brought into the dormitories. An attack on Mapoon including the burning of homes, the desolation of crops, animals and the closure of the Mission by the DAIA and the forced removal of her 'children', her 'people' from her country is perceived by Mapoon people on a deeper and spiritual level as an assault on an entity, the maternal entity that looks after Mapoon people and their cultural and spiritual home.

The responsibilities of this kinship between Mapoon and Mapoon people is reciprocal and neglect of country can lead to punishment of Mapoon people by Mapoon. Assaults on Mapoon and her desolation, removal of Traditional Owners and adopted Historical Indigenous Families led to their inability to care for country. Under Aboriginal law, both groups were responsible for caring for country. The most cited concerns of Elders during oral history interviews demonstrating this reciprocal relationship between Mapoon people and Mapoon, related to the cemeteries and unmarked Aboriginal graves as well as the remains of mission time family homes (Chapter 5). Fears of Elders and other generations of Mapoon people that a lack of protection for cultural heritage places, such as the cemeteries, were expressed through fears of illness that a lack of action would make people "sick" or lead to "something bad happening" (Anon. Mapoon community member September 2011:pers. comm.). Trauma experienced during the mission closure was also expressed by the former missionary families but in different ways. Mapoon Elders expressed sadness and anger at their treatment during the Mapoon Mission closure and their continued distrust of the APC and Queensland State Government. The connection of Mapoon Elders to Mapoon

is one of deeper time of intimate, spiritual connection interlinked to hunting, fishing and camping sites, natural resources, cultural sites and story places and family homes.

Missionary Families and Connections

Trauma at the burning of Mapoon and forced removal of families were also expressed to me during oral history interviews with the Filmer family and David Allan. Rev. and Mrs Filmer were saddened and upset at the DAIA's agenda to close the mission prior to their arrival and the powerlessness they felt during the process to be able to change the course of the Mission's future and their later exile from Mapoon (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). The Filmers were also deeply traumatised by later judgment of their life at Mapoon and involvement in the events of 1963 in written works about Mapoon, which were read by their children and deeply affected them, without consultation or input on their side of the story (for example, Wharton 1996 and Roberts *et. al.* 1975). However, Mapoon Mission was not a place that the Filmer family felt was their 'home', although they continue to have fond memories of Mapoon and kept close relationships with some Mapoon families (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). Further discussion of these relationships and their complexity is provided in Section 6.6.

David Allan was saddened by the APC and DAIA's treatment of Mapoon people during the closure and the impact this event had on his parents and friends at Mapoon. The Allan family also saw Mapoon as their 'home', similar to Mapoon families as part of their own extended 'family'. Rev. Allan and his family returned to Mapoon for a second period of ministry during the mission time and actively lobbied against the closure of the Mission. As previously discussed in Chapter 4, Rev. Allan and Mrs Allan are buried on the site of the Mapoon Mission, many decades after they had lived at Mapoon, indicating the intimacy of their connection to this place. These graves are maintained by Mapoon people and were also the wish of Mapoon people for their ashes to be returned to Mapoon, so they can look after their family who belong to Mapoon.

Importance of Narrative in Fieldwork

Narrative was an important part of Elders' remembering of Mapoon and in identifying the aspirations of Mapoon Elders and people during the archaeological survey of the mission time homes and other forms of fieldwork in Mapoon. During school activity days, engineered

by the Ranger Co-ordinator, I was asked to participate with Elders and Rangers in October 2010, Elders sat and told school children the story of the burning of Mapoon and the resilience of their families to return and rebuild. During these stories, children were captivated and asked many questions about the mission time (Figure 28 and 29). Mapoon Elders used these trauma narratives to teach the younger generations about the history of the Mapoon Mission, the struggles of their ancestors and the founding of their contemporary settlement.

During oral history interviews at Mapoon from 2010 to 2014, the retelling of the burning of Mapoon by Elders is also retold along with the story of the rebuilding and growth of Mapoon by those people who returned in the 1970s to the present. Often at the end of this story Elders mentioned mining interests and present-day issues such as native title or home ownership. For example, during a trip to Weipa in February 2010, a Rio Tinto archaeologist noted that in their experience, the burning of Mapoon narrative was often recounted by Elders in mining meetings, community consultation and negotiations. The story seems to frame Mapoon Elders distrust of mining companies in the area. These present-day issues are inter-related to the past, particularly the politics of power demonstrated through mining, governance and land rights. The story of Mapoon's burning and its rebirth could be argued to be what Babidge refers to as "an affirmation of belonging" as well as "revealing plays of power" in the "politics of the present" (2010:18). That is, modern Mapoon's struggles with land rights, employment, health concerns, infrastructure, housing and governance today are interlinked to the past mission closure and the violent way in which the State moved families away from their country and destroyed their homes without compensation. The struggle for compensation to Mapoon families from the State, Church and the mining companies (as perceived by Elders to be the cause of their removal by the State) continues today and is therefore, raised in all forums perceived to be related with these three agencies.



Figure 28 An Elder and her granddaughter during the school children's day standing outside the remains of their family mission time home at Thoongu, Mapoon (Source: Author, October 2010).



Figure 29 Granny Susie Madua and Elders telling stories of the mission time and answering questions from students during the school children's activity day at the remains of their family mission time home (Source: Author, October 2010).

Narrative and remembering in places is a way of Mapoon Elders demonstrating the value and significance of these places to younger generations of Mapoon people. It is the way Elders demonstrate the value and significance of these places in the history of Mapoon but also their importance and role in Mapoon's future, as places where we can remember the past and draw strength for the future. The burning of Mapoon is also a reminder to younger generations that the State is powerful and can dramatically alter the lives of Mapoon people, it is a cautionary tale against complacency and evidence for continued distrust, and fear. It is a motivating force for community cohesion and resistance against these forces. During detailed survey of the Mapoon Mission Compound in July 2010 with Rangers, one Elder deliberately asked a Ranger (who was isolating himself from the group and was known to be struggling with a mental health condition and was having problems working with the other Rangers) to come and sit with us and share lunch, the Elder then proceeded to tell stories of the mission time related to the community working together against adversity. This experience illustrated a similar use of trauma narratives as outlined by Denham (2008:400).

The importance Mapoon Elders place on teaching these narratives to their younger generations is perhaps to show the strength and resilience of Mapoon people, the importance of remembering and teaching what mission time meant for the regeneration and negotiation of Mapoon's identity. Cultural heritage places and material culture that constitute the physical remains of the fabric of the mission time at Mapoon are linked to these narratives by Elders as a way in which to make these narratives "tangible" (Smith 2006:2; Young 2008). The exchange of information in these narratives and the process of exchange is crucial in documenting cultural heritage values more than the physicality and condition of the fabric of the mission time. While Elders would tell stories of the mission time during archaeological practice through survey and recording places, they would also share knowledge of bush foods and cultural knowledge. The Elders trauma narratives heal and make place by engaging younger generations in place making activities through archaeological practice. Elders engaging with younger generations through archaeological practice, is one avenue for Elders to continue to share cultural knowledge in place with their children and grandchildren and teach caring and protecting country.

6.5 CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES AND BURNED FAMILY HOMES

The cultural heritage values of Indigenous Mapoon families for the remains of mission time family homes (and other case studies presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 7) are embedded within the trauma experienced by Indigenous families from the mission closure and the burning of Mapoon and the history of these events. For example, Granny Susie Madua recollects:

it was very sad ... it brought tears ... people didn't have a lot of things of their own ... animals dogs and fowls and cats geese all had to be left just like that large animals left to die ... the dogs the English dogs they don't cope with dingoes the dingoes get hold of them they get torn apart ... don't know about the horses they were left ... all belongings home furniture and things like that left ... not only left but some them were burnt ... burnt so that people get on that boat ... it is hard to believe it ... in their eyes they were sitting and watching their homes go up in flames ... all their pots and plates and cups and spoons and beds ... were just left in the house and all burnt down (Madua 1992).

Granny Susie's trauma narrative shows that Mapoon families' witnessing of the physical destruction of homes including possessions and their animals and hearing second hand through other family members is intricately linked to this trauma.

The emotional trauma of the burning of Mapoon influences Mapoon people's aspirations for cultural heritage protection and management through the yearning of Elders to reconnect with destroyed homes and the Mapoon Mission Compound and renew these places through archaeological investigations and conservation works. Mapoon Elders and Rangers surveyed and marked out the locations of former family houses from the mission time because Mapoon families said it was important to come back and rebuild their family homes at the *same* places. Young argues for families' artefacts that are commonplace domestic items have potential to "yield stories about their owners in a deeper sense" than the more "grandiose items" held in museums (2008:1016). Similarly, during the survey of the burnt remains of houses in Mapoon, Rangers were fascinated by small family household items, teapots, oven lids and perfume bottles, commonplace items that once belonged to their family members. Many of the Rangers are descendants of the Elders who lived during the

burning of these homes. These items and the trauma narrative of the burning of Mapoon told on site by Elders could provide what Young refers to as a “hook for children into their own heritage ...they are the way we learn our place in the world and to a great extent who we are” (2008:1016). Elders are therefore, using remaining artefacts as mnemonic triggers to link their trauma narratives to former personal possessions of families related to Rangers and school children.

Similar to my observations of Elders reactions to the remains of burnt homes at Mapoon are those noted by Slater in her visit for the Mapoon festival in 2006. She writes of her visit to the remains of a burnt mission time family home with two female Elders as the material culture and destroyed remains of homes were like “memorials, which evoked nostalgia and grief from the women” (Slater, 2011:123). During my fieldwork, I witnessed a similar reverence from Elders and Rangers, during the survey of the remains of mission time family homes for the remains of domestic material culture, objects as unobtrusive as a perfume bottle or a tin plate, evoked silence and then expressions of sadness from Elders through retelling the trauma narrative of events of 1963 and the destruction of their homes (in Chapter 7, I discuss further the Mapoon Mission as a memorial and apply the concept of ‘dark heritage’).

6.5.1 Archaeology and Healing – Creating Value

During the archaeological survey of the remains of mission time family homes, Elders talked about healing and fixing Mapoon through these acts. As already discussed, Elders identifying the remains of their former houses during archaeological survey, did so partially to assist future families in rebuilding their homes. Archaeological survey of former houses and remains of the mission formerly destroyed by the burning and mission closure in 1963 assists with ‘repairing’ Mapoon, as noted by Granny Susie Madua during the survey of the mission site with Rangers;

with the Rangers and all the boys and girls that are willing to help ... we are going to make Mapoon beautiful before like she was in our days ... when she was destroyed, it took a lot of hearts away (Mapoon Land and Sea Rangers and Madua 2010a)

As Uncle William Busch stated during fieldwork in relation to the survey of the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and the family homes, he felt it is important “to bring the old girl back to what she once was ... clean her up for the community and make her better again” (Field notes, 16 August, 2013). Mapping and recording cultural heritage sites is linked by Elders to health. Just as the destruction of Mapoon during the mission closure made Elders feel sick, recording cultural heritage was associated by Elders with feeling “good”, “happy” and “healing” (Field Note book 2, October 2010). Remains of houses exposed have been mapped and demarcated in the landscape and are to be integrated by MLSAC into the town plan and Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Plan for conservation. Similarly, archaeological survey, mapping and recording the remains of family homes, recovering artefacts and identifying these places for future protection appeared to me to be empowering acts of repair or restoration for Mapoon by Elders. Archaeological practice was perhaps, being utilised by Mapoon Elders as a tool to address some of the injuries of Mapoon, caused by the events of 1963.

6.5.2 Mapoon Mission – Performing Narrative and Identity

Performance of culture and identity within cultural heritage places can intensify the relationship of place. As the remains of former mission time homes and the Mapoon Mission Compound itself are difficult to interpret, the values of these places are created by Elders through “performance” (Sathers-Wagstaff and Ebooks 2011:30). Elders’ and Rangers’ involvement in surveying, recording cultural heritage places, GPR investigations, storytelling, picnics, school children’s activity days, construction of monuments and conservation works of cultural heritage places could fall under ways to perform culture. The remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and the mission time family homes are not significant in terms of aesthetic or visual remains or intact structural features. These partially destroyed remains are significant due to the engagement of Mapoon people with material culture in these places through performance and remembering.

Performing culture can connote premeditation by the actor and can also be sub-conscious. Between 2010 to 2013 I observed organisation by Elders before their participation in any survey day, particularly for stories which were told about the mission time. For example, coconut fronds were brought to site and were woven by Elders to make mission school toys and sisal was brought to site with tools by Elders to show Rangers how to make rope from

the strands of fibre. During June-July and October 2010 fieldwork, Rangers videotaped Elders narratives and cultural practices at the remains of former mission times and former Mapoon Mission Compound on their own initiative. Story-telling, singing and prayers were told by Elders to younger generations as we located different common-place household items mixed in with the charred remains of house stumps and corrugated iron that were once family homes in 1963. The survey of the mission time family homes provided opportunities for Elders to carry out embodied performances of culture and activities that intensified the properties of place. Elders told narratives with these cultural activities to make a more complex ritual and relationship with place.

During a school activity day with Elders and Rangers organised by MLSAC, we visited the remains of one of the Elders' ancestors, Johnny and Mary Savo's home with school children. During the day, Elders again made mission time children's toys out of woven coconut palm fronds and told stories of the mission time to children. Rangers filmed the School Day and assisted Elders during their activities with children. Grandchildren of Elders present on the day wanted to learn how to use the GPS, camera and recording equipment to record the remains of their ancestor's home. Throughout, the project at the request of Mapoon families, school and Elders, school children have come out to participate in different parts of fieldwork (similar to 2010 and 2014 GPR works on the Cemetery to use archaeological equipment discussed in Chapter 5) and listen to Elders tell their stories about cultural heritage places from the mission time. Transmission of cultural knowledge about these places from Elders to Rangers and school children and the creation of identity through these practices is an integral part of archaeological fieldwork in Mapoon. Archaeological practice is a way in which Elders, Rangers and school children reconnect to place through history and talking about the value these cultural heritage places bring. Archaeological practice is part of the performance by Mapoon people to create values for cultural heritage places and perform their identity to it to intensify their relationship to Mapoon.

The small remains of domestic material culture are triggers for remembering the past, tangible cues to help Elders be in place, to remember and create attachment to place. As noted in Schofield *et al.* (2002:4) artefacts, which are objects related to conflict or trauma "have immense interpretative value and will often provoke strong reactions amongst those who view them". Perhaps the intensity of these emotions related to the trauma of the burning

of Mapoon and the subsequent repeated dispossession of Mapoon people from their home country is interrelated with the cultural heritage values of these dark heritage places to Mapoon people. If these objects belonged to family members or friends, they “become precious heirlooms, however insignificant they must have been in purely functional or monetary terms” (Schofield *et al.* 2002:4). Similarly, in Jones’s study of memory and material culture in Neolithic Britain, he argues that artefacts, due to their physicality provide “an authentic link to the past and as such can be re-experienced” (2007:3). Jones argues that “memory occurs as the person engages with the objects they encounter in the world they perceive; people remember as they are remembered by things” (2007:224). The remains of mission time family homes, have made the narrative of the mission closure and the burning of Mapoon tangible to Elders, school children and Rangers during archaeological fieldwork and through the school activity days. Archaeological practice has potentially created values for new generations of Mapoon Indigenous families as place making activities and forum for Elders to share knowledge through trauma narratives.

6.6 RELATIONSHIPS TO PLACE AND PEOPLE – IDENTITY

The burning of Mapoon fractured relationships between Mapoon people, missionaries and the Church and the DAIA. The burning of Mapoon and the mission closure and subsequent forced removal of families heightened Mapoon people’s suspicions and anger towards non-Aboriginal people, particularly the Church and the State. Missionaries involved in the closure of Mapoon Mission, notably Rev. and Mrs Filmer and Rev. Jim Sweet, Rev. Stuckey, Queensland State Government representatives, specifically Mr Patrick Killoran, are remembered by many Mapoon people with distrust and in some cases, anger. The legacy of these emotions towards the Church and the State are still encountered in Mapoon today. Distrust of the State was evoked by Mapoon people during meetings regarding new housing projects in Mapoon during fieldwork in 2010-2012. Families were angered at why they were being consulted on buying new homes as part of the new housing projects, when the DAIA had burnt their family homes to the ground with no compensation in November 1963. Distrust of the State by Mapoon people was also evoked during visits by other Queensland State Government agencies, notably the Wild Rivers legislation (discussed during fieldwork in 2011-2012 in Mapoon). People placed signs on the road which intersects Mapoon, leading from Red Beach to Cullen Point saying, “We have been here more than 40,000 years and don’t need any wild ideas”, indicating community opposition to the State’s interference into

Indigenous rights for fishing and use of rivers in Mapoon DOGIT. These emotions were expressed in Mapoon during episodes of Queensland State Government intervention into Mapoon families' lives, particularly with little consultation.

However, to characterise relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people as in opposition and conflict to one another is oversimplifying the situation in Mapoon; relationships were far more complex. The results of oral history interviews about the mission time at Mapoon in 2010 with Elders indicates binary classifications of people into 'Indigenous' and 'non-Indigenous' and into 'other' and 'us' were not relevant after the establishment of the mission and the introduction of the forcibly removed children to Mapoon dormitories in 1900 for day-to-day living. Some Elders referred to certain missionaries as "mother" and "father" and to the matrons of dormitories and teachers as part of the family. However, in relation to times of conflict, such as the mission closure, other missionaries were referred to in more negative terms. During native title conflicts within Mapoon, some Traditional Owners have been characterising Historical Indigenous Families using negative terms, such as "driftwood", someone who moves around and has no home. 'Driftwood' was a term I had not heard until September 2011, and then only in the midst of several native title determinations and meetings within Mapoon. However the use of these terms was not permanent; after late 2011, conflicts were more or less resolved and I no longer heard this term applied by the same Traditional Owners to other families. This change in ways of seeing families by some Traditional Owners may indicate that episodes of conflict, particularly interference by the State, can divide groups of social actors. However, these divisions are not necessarily permanent and can shift over time.

The relationships between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people vary throughout the history of Mapoon. For example, there are records within Presbyterian and Uniting Church files for the former missions in western Cape York, indicating a policy of moving staff members every two years to lessen the likelihood of attachment of staff to the mission and its Indigenous inhabitants (PCA Correspondence files, boxes 1957-1962). There are also records that show the quick dismissal of staff members who spoke out against the Church and Queensland State Government authorities regarding the rights of Indigenous people in these institutions (PCA Correspondence files, boxes 1957-1962). Prior to the burning of Mapoon, some of the staff from Weipa Mission organised rations and food to be sent by

boat to those Indigenous people who refused to move to New Mapoon, against the wishes of the DAIA (PCA Correspondence files, boxes 1957-1965). Some Mapoon Elders still maintain connections with certain missionary families and their children and nominated these family members to document their stories of the mission time. The graves of former Mapoon Missionaries Rev. John Calder Allan and Rev. J.G. Ward were also nominated many times by Elders as an important priority for maintenance and protection in oral history interviews during fieldwork (Busch *et al.* 2010e).

The last missionaries, Rev. and Mrs Filmer are criticised in previous research (Wharton, 1996) (and in some cases, demonised as Mr and Mrs Whiteman in Roberts *et al.* 1975) and by several Mapoon Elders as strongly disliked by Mapoon people during the mission time, as being authoritarian and unsuitable for missionary work. Some Elders remember their hair being cut as punishment (Elder A. 14 August, 2013:pers. comm., Alma Day 14 August, 2013:pers.comm.). Although Mrs Filmer remembers the hair cuts as a request by some of the young girls at the time and she went about cutting their hair short as was fashionable at that time and similar to her own hair and that of her daughters as illustrated in family photographs (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b).

Historical records of the APC, oral history interviews with the Filmer family and review of family photographs and correspondence show that the Filmers had close relationships with some Mapoon families, including Mr Jubilee Woodley and his wife, Rosie (Figure 30). The Queensland Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union provide a glowing portrait of Mrs Rosie Woodley illustrating her high esteem among the missionaries:

To the staff she has been a friend such as few are privileged to number. She has supported, advised, comforted and laughed with us all and has helped us to see things in perspective ...Today she is an example of the power of Christ in a person entirely yielded to Him. Her desire in life is to help others as she has been helped – to point her people to the Saviour. This she does - and not only for her own people, To be with Rosie is to be little nearer Him (Forrest 1962).

Similarly in the same record, Mrs Filmer, writes “Rosie is the best Missionary Mapoon has ever known!” (Forrest 1962).

Mrs Filmer goes on in her correspondence to request assistance for Rosie and Jubilee Woodley and their family with items for their move from Mapoon to Mareeba. The Woodleys and the Filmers visited each other after the mission closure and kept in contact through letters. Photographs of the Woodleys are kept in the Filmer family albums. Rosie and Jubilee Woodley are affectionately remembered by Elders in Mapoon during oral histories (Busch *et al.* 2010e). The Woodleys could not be characterised as aligned with the missionaries during the closure, but instead as people held in esteem by the missionaries and Mapoon Indigenous families. Other indications that the Filmers were not as estranged from the Mapoon community, as suggested in Roberts *et al.* (1975) and Wharton (1996) include their adoption of one of the Mark daughters to assist with her schooling after the Mapoon Mission closure. Mrs Filmer's niece and nephew grew up with the Woodley's children in Stanthorpe on her sister's property (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). Mrs Filmer's niece named her children after the Woodleys and they maintain close contact with that family (Filmer and Filmer 2011a, 2011b). The Filmer's son, Ewan born at Mapoon was given a language name "Tuingee" meaning "boy of Mapoon" by Mapoon people (Rev. Garth Filmer 1962a). Rev. Filmer had revisited Weipa to visit Mapoon families after the mission closure. Rev. Filmer's son also revisited Mapoon during a visit to Cape York in the 1990s and visited Elders and families at Mapoon.

The missionaries and Mapoon people's relationships cannot be characterised as polarised and in conflict throughout the entire history of Mapoon Mission. Genuine affection for the missionaries by Mapoon people and vice versa is notable throughout the historical records and oral history testimony of Elders. For example, a letter to Rev. J. Sweet from The Manse, Innisfail, 29 August 1958 from signature unknown, illustrates this affection:

Flowers were placed on Mr Ward's grave daily for over forty years – daily. I was there in 1939-40, more than forty years after his death and they were always there I did not enquire who placed them there, but assume it was ... Mabel Lee.. It is safe to say that flowers were placed daily on the grave for nearly 50 years! (Signature unknown 1958).

Mrs Lee was the Indigenous matron of the girls' dormitory at Mapoon and had lived at the mission for most of her life. Similarly, Rev. Calder Allan's son David also was given a Tjungundji language name, adopted into the Tjungundji tribe and regularly revisits Mapoon and is in close contact with Mapoon families he grew up with on the mission (Allan 2011). Rev. Calder Allan's fight to keep Mapoon Mission open during the late 1950s and he and his wife, Myrtle's later burial on the Mapoon Mission site is evidence of the importance of Mapoon and Mapoon people to the Allan family. The Hartshorns, Heys and Wards are other missionary families remembered with great affection by Elders in Mapoon.

The results of oral history interviews about the mission time at Mapoon in 2010 with Elders indicates classifications of people into two categories of person, Indigenous and non-Indigenous; Tjungundji, Tepiti, Yuupngati, missionary and inmates were often irrelevant. McNiven and Russell's (2005) work critiques binary classifications of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Australia. My work also finds that such classifications are oversimplified characterisations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous social groups. For example, as indicated in Mabel Lee's actions of lying flowers on Rev. Ward's grave, different connections existed between Indigenous and missionary social actors based on experience. Mabel Lee ran the girl's dormitory and her daily life consisted of greater personal contact with the missionary families. Similarly, Rosie Woodley was also matron of the dispensary and worked closely with Mrs Filmer there from 1958 to 1961.

David Allan grew up as a child at school in the mission with several Elders including Aunty Jean Little, Eddie Woodley and many other families and their friendships and connections continued in later life. Some Elders referred to certain missionaries as "mother" and "father" and to the matrons of dormitories and teachers as part of the family (Busch *et al.* 2010d; Flinders *et al.* 2010c). Preliminary results of fieldwork at Mapoon indicate that both in the past and today certain non-Indigenous people and former missionaries were integrated into kinship systems, dependent on the personality of these individuals and their relationships with local people. Engagement and relationships with Elders and Mapoon people was as crucial to missionaries as it is still today for non-Indigenous researchers and those working on research projects in Mapoon. Similarly, children removed from their homes outside Mapoon and brought to live in the dormitories of the Mapoon Mission were adopted by the Traditional Owners, the Tjungundji people, into their families and kinship system.



Figure 30 Mrs Filmer with her two daughters and Mrs Rosie Woodley (centre) at Mapoon, 1958 - 1963 (Source: Filmer Family Photograph Collection, ME182.jpg).

However, at times individual approaches and personalities of non-Indigenous missionaries and workers, as well as conflicts during the history of the mission highlight the divisions of difference in the memories of Elders today.

6.7 DISCUSSION

Mapoon people's oral history testimony show that none of the reasons provided by the Church or DAIA for the mission closure were completely accurate. Since 1941 Mapoon people clearly resisted the possible mission closure and took initiatives to be independent from the State and Church and still remain at Mapoon. In the sub-text of these sources, although not directly stated, Comalco and Alcan were part of a dialogue for removal and the mission closure, but the extent of this role is unclear. The Queensland State Government was eager to obtain mining royalties in this region from the 1950s and still are today not just for bauxite but for sand and rutile mining. The distrust, anger and sadness felt by Mapoon people at the Mapoon Mission closure and their forced removal continues to shape relationships with the Queensland State Government and APBM today and with non-Indigenous outsiders. The events of November 1963 - the closure and burning of the Mapoon Mission and the related trauma experienced by Indigenous families in Mapoon - is inter-related to the creation of cultural heritage values. This contested history forms the trauma narrative of the burning of Mapoon as told by Elders. This trauma narrative is evoked during archaeological practices, such as the survey of the mission time homes to teach younger generation's resilience and strength (similar to Denham 2008; Barney and Mackinlay 2010) and also other forms of performed rituals and cultural practice in place to enhance and intensify the relationships of Mapoon families to place.

Valued cultural heritage sites for Mapoon people, particularly Elders are those most visceral and evocative of the trauma related to these events, the burnt remains of family homes and the buildings within the mission compound, the sources of home, comfort and solace to these Elders during their childhood and in some cases, much of their adult life. Grief for the destruction of these places and the yearning expressed by Elders (while in these partially destroyed places during fieldwork) to rebuild and remember may be symptoms of what has been referred to as solastalgia (Albrecht 2005) and other intergenerational grief and trauma related to the aftermath of the burning of Mapoon. These partially destroyed places valued by Elders, their families and former missionary families constitute a form of dark heritage.

These places are magnets drawing people back together to protect and conserve these memories and perform these narratives in place, triggered by the remnant material culture partially destroyed by the events of 1963. These narratives triggered by the remnant material culture of the remains of the mission time family homes are then used by Elders to instill identity and strength in younger generations, Rangers and school children and to teach about culture. These narratives of trauma could also be compared to Barney and Mackinlay's study of how stories of trauma and healing are expressed in song by Indigenous people to "tell the story of the past, present and transgenerational trauma of the Stolen Children so that the same mistakes will not be made again" (2010:1).

The burning of Mapoon narrative is also interconnected with group and family identity through bringing Mapoon people together to resist Queensland State Government policies regarding housing and the environmental restrictions and mining projects. As argued by Jones:

Memory can no longer be thought to reside solely in the mind but emerges through intersubjective experience within the material world. People typically share memories of events and objects. This statement points up the fact that people inhabit worlds that extend beyond themselves. Memories are not simply shared but are actively created or constructed through collective remembering (2007:41).

The shared trauma of destruction of mission time family homes of Mapoon Elders and their families that night in November 1963 binds together these families today through collective remembering. Although these families may not always get on personally, this shared experience and remembering in place brings these families together in times of adversity. The narrative of the burning of Mapoon is sometimes evoked to construct divisions in identity between Mapoon people and outsiders into classifications of black vs white, non-Indigenous vs Indigenous, but only during times of conflict. This division is not applied to the families such as the Allans that aided Mapoon people in their time of need and are also still part of Mapoon. This narrative is also used by Elders to instill a sense of unity in younger generations and connection to place and through memorialising this story in monuments and festivals (Chapter 7). Narrative plays an important part in documenting the heritage values of Mapoon people, through the remembering of the past and in identifying the

aspirations of Mapoon Elders and people. It is an important part of all archaeological survey and cultural heritage documentation for these projects.

6.8 CONCLUSION

Mapoon is a cultural landscape with a violent and traumatic history, of dark heritage. The remains of the former family mission time homes are physical reminders of the destruction of the Mapoon Mission in 1963, and constitute dark heritage. Dark heritage places are valued by individuals and groups through performing cultural practices and rituals to intensify place. Performances are essential to the significance of these places, the retelling and reimagining of past events connected to the trauma and violence of the events occurring or reminding us at these places, are interrelated to their significance. At Mapoon, Elders perform story-telling, refashion mission toys from coconut palms, picnic, celebrate and are involved in archaeological survey and protection with younger generations of Mapoon people, school children and Rangers, to reconnect to these places.

Narratives and remembering in places is a way for Mapoon Elders to demonstrate the value and significance of these places to younger generations of Mapoon people. Trauma narratives remembered and told by Elders demonstrate the value and significance of these places in the history of Mapoon but also their importance and role in Mapoon's future, as places where they remember the past and draw strength (similar to Denham 2008). The burning of Mapoon is also a reminder to younger generations that the State is powerful and can dramatically alter the lives of Mapoon people. It is a cautionary tale against complacency and evidence for continued distrust, and fear. It is a motivating force for community cohesion and resistance against these forces. During fieldwork with Rangers and during school visits, Elders told certain narratives to "transmit strength" and a "sense of self" to younger generations (Denham 2008:400). The importance Mapoon Elders place on teaching these narratives to their children's children not only strength and resilience but the importance of remembering and teaching what mission time meant for the regeneration and negotiation of Mapoon's identity. The events of 1963 and the memories of this place may also symbolise current struggles with the State for housing, cultural heritage funding, mining agreements and land rights. Cultural heritage places and material culture that constitute the physical remains of the fabric of the mission time at Mapoon are linked to these narratives by Elders as a way in which to make these narratives "tangible" (Smith 2006:2; Young 2008). The

exchange of information in these narratives and the process of exchange is crucial in documenting cultural heritage values more than the physicality and condition of the fabric of the mission time. The trauma of the burning of Mapoon is interconnected to the intensity of these performances and acts of commemoration and interrelated to broader community issues confronting Mapoon today including health, housing, governance and religion.

The narrative of the burning of Mapoon is interconnected to Mapoon people's collective and familial identity, formation of cultural heritage values and relationships with the Church and State. The remains of mission time family homes and the Mapoon Mission Compound are examples of dark heritage – linked to the trauma of the burning of Mapoon. The value of these places to Mapoon Elders is interconnected to the trauma they experienced during this event. Elders perform their identity to these places through narrative, transmitting cultural knowledge, renewal of attachments and creating identity. Involvement in archaeological practice by Mapoon people is part of this performance of being in place and also a catharsis and process of decolonisation for Mapoon people. Archaeological practice is enabling Mapoon Elders to identify and protect their important cultural heritage places, but also to assist with a catharsis by some Mapoon people to address the past trauma of the burning of Mapoon and subsequent denial of the State for Mapoon people to return to country until 1975. Archaeological practice is used by Elders as a means of taking care of country, particularly cultural heritage places that were once the stage for experienced trauma by Mapoon families and missionary families during the events of November, 1963.

Chapter 7 Monuments and Commemoration – Remembering and Resurrecting Mapoon’s Past in the Present

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the Mapoon Mission closure and subsequent burning of the mission compound and family homes in 1963, Mapoon people memorialise the mission and this event through monuments, festivals, ceremonies and other commemorative acts (often involving missionaries and key non-Indigenous social actors and groups). In this chapter, I examine the history of commemorative acts by Mapoon people for the burning of Mapoon, describe these acts, their location, context and potential purposes. This chapter constitutes a fourth case study on cultural heritage places at Mapoon through an examination of how Mapoon families create places and cultural heritage values through commemorative events and monuments. I analyse the exclusion and inclusion of certain social actors in these acts by Mapoon people and the interconnection of these memorial acts with the events of 1963. The events that are analysed in detail in this chapter are: the Centenary celebrations and the erection/dedication of the monument commemorating 100 years of Mapoon Mission’s establishment, held by the Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation in 1991; the Paanja Culture Country Music Festival held on 15 November 2013; and the construction of the Duyfken First Contact Memorial (Figure 31). I explore acts of commemoration as a way Mapoon people and missionary families may illustrate value for cultural heritage places. I apply the concept of ‘dark heritage’ (Chapter 1) to these valued cultural heritage places, specifically places connected to the events of 1963 and to the broader cultural landscape of Mapoon. I explore the interconnection of commemoration by Mapoon people and missionary families to the narrative of the burning of Mapoon and creation of group or ‘community’ identity as an assertion of resistance.

7.2 MAPOON’S DARK HERITAGE

The cultural landscape of the Mapoon Mission conforms to the definition of dark heritage: it is a place where conflict and forcible removal during and since the arrival of Europeans traumatised Mapoon people. Prior to the mission’s establishment in 1891 Mapoon had a violent history. The Jardines, local landowners, and the Native Police were well-known to have massacred local Aboriginal people during conflicts over land and pastoral leases encroaching on the hunting and camping grounds of Aboriginal land owners (McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000; Ward, 1908; Wharton 1996). Prior to the establishment of the mission,

beche-de-mer and pearl shell fishers from Indonesia and Samoan islands carried out 'blackbirding', enticing local Aboriginal children and men into fishing boats, and then kidnapping them to dive for these two commodities (Hey 1900-1901; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000; Ward 1908; Wharton 1996). Establishment of the Mapoon Mission was partially due to the colonial government's reaction to blackbirding, and was an attempt to protect Aboriginal people from such predation and violence. However, the mission was also a form of control, an institution to dictate Aboriginal people's movements and was intended to halt resistance and violence against encroaching pastoralists and other settler land users.

Forcible removal of 'half-caste' children from outside of Mapoon into the mission dormitories, particularly from 1901 to 1945, is another form of violence that remains in the memories of Mapoon people. The memories held by some Mapoon Elders of authoritarian measures by certain missionaries, for example, hair cutting, use of punishments (e.g. isolation) and the restrictive, racist policies of the Queensland State Government enforced by the Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs (DAIA), also connect the remains of the former Mapoon Mission to trauma experienced by Mapoon families (as outlined in greater detail in Chapter 6).

Mapoon's history of violent encounters between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people, therefore date back to before the twentieth century; most dark heritage places are defined temporally in Lennon and Foley's (200:11) criteria for dark heritage as being within "post-modern times". It is clear, however, from the long history of conflict, massacre and violence at Mapoon, that dark heritage can also originate from 'pre-modern times'; prior to the twentieth century. The events of the mission closure, the burning of Mapoon by the DAIA, and attempts by Mapoon people to return to Mapoon were post-modern events, well-broadcast in media from 1964 to 1975, and this attention encouraged Commonwealth government support for former mission residents to return to Mapoon. This media attention fits into Lennon's and Foley's (2000) second characterisation of dark heritage: media portrayal and broadcast of these places, which heightens consciousness and value of such places by people, particularly outsiders (2000:10). Lennon's and Foley's third category of "educative elements of sites" being commoditised could fit with MLSAC and MASC's plans for interpretation of the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound as a form of tourism Lennon and Foley (2000:10-13). Dark heritage places often contain very little material

culture and the construction of monuments and enactment of commemorative events heighten the experiential dimensions of these places for people visiting them.

The key facet of Mapoon's dark heritage is that these places are where trauma was experienced within the living memory of Elders and their families and missionary families. Therefore, the mission time cultural heritage places, such as the Mapoon Mission Compound (particularly the Mapoon Mission house) and the family mission time homes are the focal locations of remembered trauma narratives of Elders and missionary families, the stage of the key violent episodes central to the events of the mission closure.

7.3 REMEMBERING AND COMMEMORATION

Monuments and memorialising the trauma narratives of the burning of Mapoon are important to valuing dark heritage, through regular performance and a legacy and testament to these memories for future generations. Remembrance or commemoration is defined by Young (1993:9) as a:

vital human activity that shapes our links to the past, and the ways we remember define us in the present. As individuals and societies, we need the past to construct and to anchor our identities and to nurture a vision of the future ...

Commemoration and remembrance are critical to valuing dark heritage places (Young 1993:9). Dark heritage places such as the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and mission time family homes are places where Elders and younger generations of Mapoon people would revisit to remember the past through narratives and involvement in archaeological investigations. Young writes that:

commemoration ... is an act arising out of a conviction, shared by a broad community, that the moment recalled is both significant and by a moral message. Sites of memory materialise that message ... The critical point ... is that they are there as points of reference not only for those who survived traumatic events, but also for those born along after them (1993:9).

Young (1993) considers commemoration as applicable to the acts of remembering and monument-making. Through monument-making and acts of remembering, communities remember their past in the present. Jones argues that place values are not “static” and can be “enhanced by reference to other places” (2007:226). These “other places” that enhance place values as noted in Jones, could be monuments and places where acts of commemoration take place (2007:226). These other places are related to and connected to the remembered narrative and are part of the broader remembered cultural landscape. There are several key monuments and commemorative events instigated by Mapoon people, particularly the MAC and later the MASC to remember the mission time through the eyes of Elders and their families. These commemorative events and monuments have historical links to the mission time.

7.3.1 History of Commemoration of Mission Time Events

Early missionary records and oral history from former missionary families indicates a history of commemoration by Indigenous families and missionaries during the mission time at Mapoon. Mrs Filmer remembers the active participation of Mapoon people in the mission time celebrations through singing, dressing up, organising, hunting/fishing, gathering and cooking for celebrations including Christmas, Easter and weddings (Filmer October 30, 2013: pers.comm.). Family photographs from the Filmer collection show active involvement of Mapoon people in these celebrations (Filmer family albums). Early films of the Mapoon Mission from National Film and Sound Archives from the McCarthy and East families’ collections also show evidence of Indigenous and missionary families celebrating Christmas, Easter and other special events together (NFSA McCarthy and East films). Mission records from New Mapoon in the Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions from 1941 show that Mapoon Mission held a commemoration of the first 50 years of the Mapoon Mission’s establishment. Activities at this celebration included a special church service, visitors, a feast and dancing. Elders Granny Susie Madua, Aunty Roberta Toby and several other Mapoon people recall similar celebrations and their active involvement during their childhood (Busch *et al.* 2010e). After removal of Mapoon people to New Mapoon in 1963, celebrations were still held by Mapoon people to commemorate the mission’s establishment. It is not clear from the APBM records if Mapoon people initiated these celebrations, but there is evidence of their active participation. After the mission closure, Mapoon people living at New Mapoon continued these celebrations as evident in a report by the Chaplain at New Mapoon:

Anniversary – a special Service of Thanksgiving to celebrate the Anniversary of the founding of Mapoon Mission was held on Sunday 27th November. Some of the women had gone to some trouble in decorating the hall and cleaning it out for this special occasion, and the hall really did look very attractive.

The building was packed for the Service at which the Manager, (Mr Griffin) attended with Father Moresby of the Anglican Church, and the Chairmen of each Village with their Deputies and wives.

A small Choir was formed amongst our people who sang an old favourite of the early days of the Mission... (Taylor, 1966:1-3).

Since the mission time, celebrations of commemoration initiated by Mapoon people include the construction of the Bicentennial Monument, the Centenary of the mission's establishment and the 'Coming of the Light' of Christianity to Mapoon in 1991, the Mapoon Day Festival and the Paanja Country Culture Music Festival celebrating 50 years of the mission closure on 15 November 1963 and the First Contact Memorial. These examples of commemoration are explored as evidence of Mapoon families creating cultural heritage values through the recreation and remembering of place through monuments and festivals.

7.3.2 Bicentennial Monument

The first monument constructed in Mapoon post-1963 (post-mission time) is the Bicentennial Monument. This monument currently stands between the remains of the Mapoon Mission House and the Missionary Cemetery (Figure 31 and 32). It consists of a white painted timber cross sitting on a bauxite and coral concrete plinth with a plaque that commemorates the establishment of the mission. The monument has started to decay in recent times, with white ants partially disintegrating the wooden cross. The plaque on the monument contains the following inscription:

This monument marks the site of the original Mapoon Mission Station established by Reverend J.G. Ward (1857-1893) and Reverend J.N. Hey (1862-1951) on 28th November 1891.

Mapoon was the mother station for the establishment of other Presbyterian missions in the Gulf of Carpentaria, Weipa (1896), Aurukun (1904) and Mornington Island

(1914). Erected by the Mapoon Community Council and The Weipa Bicentennial Community Committee, 1988.

The wording of the monument chosen by Mapoon and Weipa Indigenous families recognises the importance of the Mapoon Mission Compound remains to the families across all Presbyterian missions in the Gulf of Carpentaria and the attachments of these families to the first Moravian missionaries, Rev. Ward and Rev. Hey. The monument is the first collaborative effort between Mapoon people and outsiders (including non-Indigenous people from Weipa) to inscribe on the former mission landscape a reminder of this time and remembering this event. My understanding is that no services or specific celebrations were held at this monument during the last 15 years. It is the first attempt to draw in tourists to Mapoon to understand the use of the Mapoon Mission Compound. Constructed in 1988, the interpretation and messaging on this memorial are different from recent monuments such as the First Contact Memorial (constructed in 2013). Monuments in Mapoon are also no longer constructed of wooden features, the First Contact Memorial, the Anzac Memorial and the interpretation signage in the Mapoon Mission Compound do not contain wood and are constructed of more hardy materials (concrete blocks, bronze plaques and metal sculpture) due to the destruction of this first monument by termites. Since the mission closure, the Bicentennial Monument can be considered the first prototype monument in Mapoon developed by Indigenous families and non-Indigenous families (including the involvement of former missionary families).



Figure 31 Overview of monuments within Mapoon (Source: Aerial photograph supplied by Chris Newman, Rio Tinto Alcan, Mapping data by M. Sutton and mapping by C. Evenden).



Figure 32 Bicentennial monument at the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound, Cullen Point (Source: Author, February 2010)



Figure 33 The Allan Family celebrating with Mapoon Indigenous families at the Centenary celebrations at the remains of the mission house at the former Mapoon Mission Compound, 1991 (Source: David Allan Photograph Collection:4).



Figure 34 The Paanja Country Culture Music Festival phoenix artwork depicted on the front and back covers of the Information Booklet for this event. This artwork was drawn by a Tjungundji Traditional Owner and Cultural Heritage Ranger and was adopted on banners and all printed material for the event (Source: MASC 2013).



Figure 35 Facing northwest, the First Contact Memorial located on the remains of the School and School Master's Cottage. To the right of the photograph is the remains of the oven that belonged in the former cottage (Source: Author, August 2013).

7.3.3 Anniversary of Mission Establishment

Between 28 and 30 November, 1991, Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation (MAC) organised a celebration of the 100 year anniversary of the establishment of the Mapoon Mission with festivities centered at the remains of the former Mapoon Mission house. As part of this celebration, invitations were sent out to former missionary families from Mapoon including Miss Ina Hey, (the last surviving daughter of the Hey family, daughter of Rev. Nicholas Hey and Mrs Hey), and her niece Barbara Burgess, Mrs McLelland, the Hartshorns and the Allan family (who also felt a call to return to Mapoon). Other invitees included members of the Uniting Church, as well as other Indigenous Mapoon families from Weipa, Normanton, New Mapoon and other places across Australia (MASC records, unmarked box, Correspondence Files, 1991) (Figure 33). Celebration invitations were sent out to communities with a request that people come and “help and share with the activities throughout the Celebration” and “local dancers are cordially invited to perform” (MAC 1991:2). Food was supplied by MAC for the celebration on 30 November 1991 at Cullen Point. The Official Program for the Old Mapoon Centenary Celebrations included a “Day of Feasting and Celebration, ending speeches, displays, planting of native trees, feast, dancing and entertainment, dancing and end of celebration” on the final day (Marpuna Aboriginal Corporation 1991:4).

A report prepared by Jean A. Jans (for MAC) (formerly, Jean Ling, a well-known local Aboriginal activist and poet, now Jean Little) (Jans 1991) after the celebrations provides insights into that day’s activities:

Over a thousand (1000) people participated in celebrations over the 3 days – this included current church Dignitaries: ex Mapoon Missionaries as well as adult children of ex Missionaries, Comalco workers, Mapoon people from Normanton, New Mapoon, Townsville, Cairns, Palm Island, Thursday Island, Napranum, Weipa North and Gladstone. These also included descendants (born away) of Mapoon families.

A Flexible program was developed

Thursday AM 1) Reenactment of the arrival of the Missionaries

Unveiling of a plaque dedicated to the Celebration

A Memorial Ecumenical Service

Thursday PM - Free time to hunt, yarn and to get to know one another

Evening – Informal dancing/singing

Friday AM Free day to hunt and gather for feasting on Saturday

Marpuna held its A.G.M

Evening Informal dancing/singing

Saturday AM Free time

Preparation of food for feasting in PM

Early PM 1) roll call of all families

speeches paying tribute to:

2.1) The South Sea Islander people for their contribution to the building of Mapoon

2.2) The Traditional People

2.3) The Old People – after settlement

2.4) The children who are our future

3) Planting of trees (native)

3.1) Four (4) trees were planted around the monument and grave of Rev. J.G. Ward

First tree was a tribute to the tribes of Mapoon.

The second tree was a tribute to the South Sea Islander people.

Third tree was a tribute to the Missionaries.

Fourth tree was a tribute to the past; the present and the future.

The Ceremony commenced after the speeches and involved our half a dozen Elders and all the children. As they proceeded up the hill – everyone else remained seated, singing and watching the ceremony – this was a significant event.

Saturday mid PM – preparation for feasting in the evening

...

Displays

Throughout the 3 days – Comalco's Library Staff and Mapoon people had displays of Mapoon craft work and old photographs.

Promotional Material

A banner was developed and displayed depicting tribal Mapoon.

Logo t-shirts were printed and sold.

A cake with Mapoon's Dreaming was baked for the occasion.

Special invitations were printed.

A visitor's book was available for all to sign.

As indicated in the Report, the celebration brought together different groups of people including former Church dignitaries and former Mapoon Missionaries and their families, as well as different groups within former Mapoon Mission families including South Sea Islanders, 'traditional people' as well as different generations within these families and Comalco. As shown in the tree planting around the monument and in the speeches made in the program, each of these groups are also recognised individually during the commemoration. This celebration also makes reference to the celebration of "survival as Mapoon people" after the mission closure in 1963 and the arrival of the missionaries in 1891 (Jans 1991:1-3).

Jans (1991:1) stresses that the success of this celebration was predicated on the acknowledgement of the past in the present by "the dreams of Mapoon B.C. and the contemporary activities were blended harmoniously throughout the celebration in a way that both were acknowledged and respected". The success of this celebration also hinges in Jans's account on the support and partnership of former missionary families, Church authorities, "traditional" and "old people", younger generations and the bringing together of these parties (1991:1). Similar to Jan's account Ms Barbara Burgess (niece of Rev. Hey) who, in a letter of thanks to Mrs Georgina Blanco at Mapoon, talks of the "joy in gathering together" both missionaries and Mapoon people (Burgess 1991). Missionary families, Historical Indigenous Families and Traditional Owners' involvement in this event were all critical to the success of the celebration.

The commemoration of Mapoon people's connection to mission is indicated in the program through the reenactment of the roll call of families, and a public voicing of their presence again in the destroyed space of the remains of the former Mapoon Mission Compound. Planting of trees as tributes to visitors is another practice seen in early mission photographs (but with the use of coconut trees not native plants) (discussion in Chapter 4) and re-enacted in this commemoration. This activity is rich in symbolism for the different groups within Mapoon. As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, the Moravian missionaries planted coconut trees during special celebrations and to welcome visitors from 1891 to 1919 at Mapoon, as evident in historical photographs from this period in various archives (Moravian Archives, Herrnhut

photographic albums). Comalco assisted with funding these celebrations. Invitations to the celebration were made and selected by MAC. The use of a visitor's book adopted by Mapoon people and processions were also first introduced to Mapoon by the Moravian missionaries during celebrations and may be a continuation of these traditions from that time (although I recognise that a visitor's book and processions are not uniquely Moravian traditions). Feasting, yarning, dancing, including singing of traditional songs in language and free time for hunting and gathering in the early parts of this program also indicate that Mapoon people structured activities with their own preferences for incorporating culturally appropriate Indigenous practices. Commemorative acts show evidence of syncretism and acculturation of Indigenous cultural practices with Moravian and Presbyterian religious traditions. Acculturation of cultural practices within these commemorative acts continue in later celebrations including the Paanja Country Culture Music Festival

7.3.4 Paanja Country Culture Music Festival

The Paanja Country Culture Music Festival is “an event that marks 50 years since the forced removal and the burning of past residents' homes for the purposes of mining” and celebrates the “re-formation of the Mapoon Community” (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013a). The first celebration of the Festival was on 15 November 2013. “Out of the Ashes the community has been reborn” with a phoenix motif is the key messaging for the Festival chosen by MASC and Mapoon families for banners, artwork, Information Booklets and the Festival Program (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013a). This festival marks the 50 year anniversary of the burning of Mapoon and forced removal of families.

The festival was organised by MASC as a celebration. The words “Out of the Ashes the community has been reborn” are evocative of Christian theology on the resurrection of Christ, Christ's rebirth after his torture and persecution by the Romans and his later crucifixion on the Cross (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013a). The use of the phoenix motif as MASC's choice of symbol for the festival is also evocative of resurrection. The phoenix is a Classical myth/legend from Greece and Egypt. The phoenix is a mythological bird that after it was burned within its nest, would then rise up from the ashes the following morning, reborn (Herodotus 2003). Herodotus recounts that these birds would be reborn once every 500 years (Herodotus 2003). The phoenix is used by selected Indigenous artist, Dianne Nichols (Traditional Owner and Cultural Heritage Ranger) in the artwork for the

Information Booklet and Festival Program for this festival and banners and artwork used during the festival. Resurrection following Christian theology does not mean a replication of the original but recreation and improvement, as in the case of Christ, he was reborn to immortality to live in Heaven. The phoenix is depicted with its wings spread on a blue backdrop (Figure 34). As noted in the Festival Program (MASC, 2013c:2) “the image symbolises the phoenix rising from the ashes – this is in keeping with the theme of the festival”. This imagery is also evoked in the Mayor Peter Guivarra’s message in the Information Booklet to mark the significance of the festival “a time for us to all come together to remember the past and more to celebrate our resilience to achieve our goals. Mapoon has come full circle and has ‘arisen from the ashes’” (MASC 2013c:5). It is not a coincidence that the metaphors of resurrection and rebirth from the ashes are evoked by Mapoon people to portray their plight since November 1963. Mapoon people’s persecution by the Queensland State Government through the restrictive racist policies inflicted upon them, their dispossession by pastoralists and later mining companies and the control of the DAIA, are some of the many injustices endured (Kidd 2006, 2000, 1997).

Despite being forcibly removed from their land, Mapoon families continued to visit the Mapoon Mission Compound and remains of their family homes for holidays. The burning of Mapoon in November 1963 and forced removal of families, was destruction of the old mission time. Fire and burning are also historically metaphors of purification and renewal. In Christianity, for example, the burning fires of purgatory (a now defunct Catholic belief in recent times) which led to atonement and the use of incense and smoke to the purify air, symbolise purifying souls as common to both Christian and non-Christian religions. Similarly, burning and fire are used by Mapoon people to regenerate bush and vegetation, originating from cultural practices prior to the mission time (Busch *et al.* 2010e). The narrative of the trauma and burning of Mapoon evoked by Mapoon people and MASC in their organisation of the Paanja Country Music Cultural Festival, particularly through events and planned activities in the Festival program are evocative of these Christian influences. The new community was reborn from the ashes from the destruction of the old community. The strong message of resurrection is evoked throughout the events of the Paanja Country Music Cultural Festival by the MASC. The strong community identity of Mapoon celebrated at this festival could be argued to be forged by the collective trauma of the burning of Mapoon in 1963.

The organisation of the festival indicates a shift between generations on the meaning of the 50 years since the burning of Mapoon. The Testimonial provided in the Information Booklet for the festival by MASC states:

This Festival is in honor of all the people of Mapoon and who have gone before. It commemorates the past events which live with us: the struggles of our forebears and the hardship which has been endured. It is also symbolic of the resilience and strength of the Mapoon people. May the legacy of the past be forever remembered and the capacity to endure demonstrated well into the future. Stay strong, stay proud and believe in your dreams (MASC, 2013c:14).

The Testimonial references the festival as commemorating and respecting the past but links these struggles since the burning of Mapoon with the present and hopes for the future. For Elders, this event commemorates sadness and the trauma of their removal from their country. However, the event is a celebration, a Country Music Culture festival, MASC have framed to celebrate the achievements and return of Mapoon people home and also as an opportunity to further “partnership opportunities” in the future (MASC 2013c:5). The Festival’s sponsors included Rio Tinto Alcan, Cape Alumina, Ely Bauxite Mine Beneficiaries Corp. Pty Ltd and the Queensland State Government. Sponsorship from mining companies and the Queensland State Government indicates MASC’s willingness to work with them for future enterprises. Acceptance of these agencies’ funding for the event also highlights differences between MASC’s relationships with the mining companies and the State compared to many Elders’ relationships with these companies. Elders’ relationships with the mining companies and the State are characterised by distrust due to the legacy of the history of the mission closure (as shown in the oral history of Elders in Chapter 6).

The program for the festival included a mix of activities themed with traditional Indigenous customs, Christian tradition and contemporary entertainment. Speeches in the program tied in both connections to Traditional Owners and to Historical Indigenous Families, through a traditional welcome to country followed by a “community welcome” by the Mayor on behalf of Mapoon Shire Council (Mapoon Aboriginal Shire Council 2013d:2). Program activities with ties to traditional Indigenous customs included eight different “Traditional Dance

performances”, two “Traditional Indigenous games” and a smoking ceremony during the three day festival program. Program activities with ties to Historical Indigenous Families and the former Mapoon Mission included two film presentations with historical photographs from the mission time scheduled in the evenings of each of the program days (MASC 2013c:2-3). “Contemporary dance performances” and “Live Performances”, as well as displays from the Western Cape College and Ranger tours also linked historical and traditional events to modern life in Mapoon (MASC c 2013:2-3). A church service, held at the mission house site on the final morning of the festival by a Uniting Church minister, attended by some members of former missionary families, Elders and other Mapoon people, also tied the historical mission time to the present day during the festival celebrations.

Presentations and speeches by the Queensland State Government also formed part of the program as important features of the festival in the opening day. The Minister for Housing and Public Works officially opened the festival and presented a commemorative plaque for the 50 year anniversary of the mission closure and burning of Mapoon Mission (MASC 2013 c:2). During this speech, the Minister for Housing and Public Works also announced a \$2 million housing grant to assist with returning former Mapoon residents home and building new housing, as compensation for the mission closure. Considerable positive media attention reported on this announcement and interviews were conducted with members of the MASC (Elks 2013).

The MASC as festival organisers presented strong messaging on the festival, bringing people and agencies (including the Queensland State Government and mining companies) together in Mapoon to work together for the future (MASC 2013:1). This messaging was strongest in the closing events of the last day of the Festival through the “gathering” at Cullen Point, the final smoking ceremony, “Community Feasting” and “Closing Ceremony – bonfire and closing songs”. These parts of the program at renewing attachments to country, as all of these events were scheduled at Cullen Point, the location of the former Mapoon Mission Compound and also at enabling new connections and renewing relationships between participants. Similar to the Centenary celebration, these sections of the Festival program were organised and instigated by Mapoon Indigenous people. These final events scheduled in the program requested the attendance of “everyone” and were inclusive of all participants (MASC 2013:3). These events differ to the first two days of the program as they are focused

on bringing people together rather than focusing on displays of Mapoon's achievements in the present, speeches about Mapoon's future or historical photographs and dances connected to Mapoon's past. Although there are many achievements to celebrate in Mapoon, there are also stark realities that concern Elders, particularly that not all removed families have been able to return home due to housing shortages, and employment and funding for infrastructure to support a larger population. MASC also celebrate Mapoon's achievements annually through the Mapoon Day public holiday.

7.3.5 The Duyfken First Contact Memorial

The Duyfken First Contact Memorial recently constructed in early 2013 by MASC and the Honorary Dutch Consul aims to commemorate the first point of European contact with Tjungundji people – in Australia, phrased as 'first contact' in 1606 "probably somewhere near Mapoon, possibly on the shores of Port Musgrave or in the Wenlock River" (Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands 2013:1). The Europeans "were the crew of the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – VOC) sailing vessel, *Duyfken*, meaning Little Dove" (Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands 2013:1). This Memorial is a substantial concrete structure, a long wall rendered and painted with 12 bronze plaques with detailed text and a metal sculpture of the Duyfken sitting above the structure. Of these 12 bronze plaques, 3 plaques contain information pertaining to the Duyfken and episode of first contact between the European and Tjungundji people. The remaining plaques, include a detailed history of the Mapoon Mission, Mapoon today, the Before time – Aboriginal custom and tradition, a Tjungundji calendar and information about the opening of the Memorial, its construction and sponsors. The Memorial also includes detailed panels on the history of the Mapoon Mission including the burning of Mapoon in 1963. The Memorial's location is facing the sea and visible from the road leading up to Cullen Point off Andoom Road – a highly visible location for tourists travelling to Cullen Point camping ground, the ramp used for boat access to the beach, and also to the turn off to access Back Beach, Big Swamp and Janie Creek.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the Memorial was constructed on the location of the former School master's cottage and School within the remains of the former Mapoon Mission Compound (Figure 35). The location of this Memorial on the remains of the School master's cottage is significant, because this feature of the mission site was not seen as important for

conservation to three Elders/Traditional Owners involved in its selection in consultation with an historian. The remains of this feature of the mission were destroyed when the Memorial was constructed. Material culture, including buttons, belt buckles, coins and domestic artefacts were revealed during the construction of the monument and asbestos clearance/remediation works and taken off site by different Mapoon people (Councillor 17 August 2013:pers. comm.). This visibility is perhaps one of the key features for the selection of the site, as there are other locations off the vehicle access track from Andoom Road to the camping ground that contain no known remains of the Mission Compound, cleared, and well-drained, but which are less visible to tourist line-of-sight when travelling to the Cullen Point camping ground. The Memorial is also not situated in close proximity to the potential site of first contact in 1606 between the Dutch and Traditional Owners. Possible locations for first contact in 1606 are not as highly visible to tourists as this location with Mapoon. The Memorial was opened in 2013 following a tree planting ceremony with Rangers, school children, Elders and other Mapoon families and dignitaries of the Dutch Government, Queensland State Government and local dignitaries.

The remains of the School and School master's cottage may not be a significant feature of the Mission compared to the dormitories or church selected by some Elders during fieldwork (as discussed in Chapter 6). The cottage is not evocative of their narratives of the mission time, nor is it essential to the creation of identity or to their memories of the mission time. The First Contact Memorial commemorates an event in 1606 that is not directly relevant to the mission time cultural heritage places of Mapoon, but is constructed within the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound. The First Contact Memorial's presentation of history of the mission time, particularly the Burning of Mapoon narrative, mixes the commemoration of events in the use of the numerous plaques with detailed history. The narratives of the Before time, Birth of Mapoon Mission, the Burning of the Mapoon Mission and the Resurrection of Mapoon are all presented within this Monument. The first contact event of 1606's commemoration in Mapoon is embedded within the narratives of the mission time of Mapoon.

7.4 DISCUSSION

All of these commemorative events described celebrate different events in Mapoon's history but all are linked to the narrative of the Burning of Mapoon. The Centenary celebrations (as

noted in Jans's account) hinged also on the celebration of Mapoon people's survival since the mission closure in 1963. The First Contact Memorial contains detailed historical panels about the mission time in Mapoon, particularly the Burning of Mapoon, despite the Dutch having no involvement in the mission time history of Mapoon. These monuments and activities commemorate trauma narratives of the burning of Mapoon and the dispossession and violence of the Mapoon's early history. These trauma narratives are commemorated and remembered in places critical to the experience of this narrative to Elders. These places are dark heritage. The Mapoon Mission is a form of dark heritage; the place where these experiences of trauma and conflict occurred. The remains of the Mapoon Mission house are the place where monuments such as the First Contact Memorial and Bicentenary Monument were constructed within close vicinity. The commemorative events such as the Paanja Country Culture Music Festival and the roll call at the Centenary celebrations occurred at this place. The mission house was a symbol of State and Church power, where missionaries and agents of the State resided and also where Mapoon families were forced to wait overnight before boarding boats to New Mapoon during the burning of Mapoon. This place has a special attachment and is a form of dark heritage.

As argued by Ruggles and Silverman (2009:11), attachments people feel for intangible heritage places, including dark heritage, "expressed through pilgrimage, religious devotion, story-telling, and tourism – can be a vital means of constructing group identity". These commemorative events and monuments are constructed as part of creating group identity, not only within Mapoon but also with the former missionary families that are still connected to Mapoon. Acts of commemoration, narratives and monument-making are part of a process of valuing these places by Mapoon people and former missionary families, but also a way in which collective identity is recreated. As Connerton (1989) argues through commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices, social groups can remember their past together and perform social memory to place. Similarly, in Mapoon Indigenous families performing culture with former missionary families and non-Indigenous outsiders is critical to the trauma narratives, in these destroyed places, to remember the past and to induct new people into these trauma narratives to form collective identity. These commemorative acts include celebrations, public holidays and monument making. Monument making is critical to Mapoon Elders remembering the past on their terms and presenting this past to missionary families, non-Indigenous outsiders and younger generations of their families.

7.4.1 Remembering and Monuments in the Remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound

The location of celebrations and commemoration within the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound, particularly within close proximity or adjacent to the mission house in the case of the Centenary and the First Contact Memorial adjacent to this space, indicates the importance of this place to Mapoon people (already discussed in Chapter 4). This siting also indicates, perhaps, that Mapoon people are actively appropriating this place as their own. Under Queensland legislation, the missionary had powers which were restrictive and damaging to Mapoon people. Although some missionaries were not authoritarian, they still occupied a place of power, with rights recognised by the State to control Mapoon people's movements and wages. Appropriation of this space by Mapoon people for picnics, commemorative events etc. indicates their power to be in a space which was formerly restricted to them in the mission time. Recognition of Tjungundji people on panels of First Contact Memorial as Traditional Owners, also asserts this space as belonging to these people. The mission closure was an act of dispossession by the State for Tjungundji people from their land and a negation of their rights as Traditional Owners of Cullen Point. Although the missionaries had built the mission on Tjungundji land, they had to negotiate with the Mamoose, the Tjungundji 'headman' or 'chief' as regarded in Ward (1908) to first gain and maintain a presence in Cullen Point.

Tjungundji and other Mapoon people, particularly South Sea Islanders, built the mission and mission homes at Mapoon. The mission was a place constructed not only by the missionaries' involvement but by Mapoon people's engineering, skill and labour. The invitations of favoured missionaries with close connections to Mapoon families and the exclusion of certain Church and State representatives involved in the mission closure at the Centenary celebrations and Paanja Country Culture Music Festival indicates that Mapoon people are now empowered to exclude those people from their country and from the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound, to perhaps assert that the tables have turned.

7.4.2 Role of Missionary Families in Remembering

The selection of missionary families in the commemorative events of the Centenary indicate that it is crucial for non-Aboriginal people involved in the history of the mission to be engaged in these acts of commemoration and celebration. The missionary families are part of Mapoon

and some families' close connection to Mapoon people blurs the lines of divisions based on race and cultural background. In Mapoon today, four non-Indigenous white men live in the community and are married to Indigenous women. These men have made a significant contribution to Mapoon through different services, including Ranger services and construction and the word 'Elder' is now applied to them by certain Mapoon families (MLSAC Ranger Co-ordinator September 2013: pers. comm. Field Note Book 3). The early Tjungundji practice of adopting outsiders into their kinship system and families still continues in Mapoon today. The missionaries were also adopted into this system and to Mapoon families. Some missionaries kept true to their connections to these adopted families, while other connections have broken over time. Reconnection and reconstruction of family and a Mapoon Mission community identity is critical to these acts of commemoration, as too is the non-invitation of parties that were involved in their forced removal from their homes. The Centenary celebration could be interpreted as a performance to show the Church and outside world the positive achievements of Mapoon since the mission closure. It is the first post-mission-closure attempt to provide a public display and celebration of self-determination and to remember the mission time together within the context of reconciliation discourses.

The missionary families' role in the celebrations and acts of commemoration of Mapoon Mission time has perhaps changed over time. In the 1991 Centenary celebrations missionary families and the Presbyterian and Uniting Church were key to the celebrations (invited to attend). The Presbyterian Church's apology for their role in the mission closure at the Centenary was important and significant event for Mapoon people that day, although frustrations with funding for housing and rebuilding a church since that time has in some Elders' eyes lessened the significance of an apology. The re-enactment of arrival of missionaries using descendants of missionary families and Traditional Owner groups directed by Mapoon people and the mission roll call are also critical parts of this celebration that required involvement of missionary families. These parts of the celebration were organised and directed by Mapoon people.

These re-enactments are a retelling of events, a narrative, but constructed in place on the mission site on Mapoon people's terms. The roll call was a 'tongue in cheek' comedic performance but also an important feature of the celebration. Missionary families were part

of the trauma narrative of the burning of Mapoon and are critical to the memorialising of these narratives in place today. David Allan (Rev. Calder Allan's eldest son) and William Allan (Rev Calder Allan's second eldest son) were selected to orate the roll call, indicative of the familiarity and trust of his family with Mapoon Elders. The roll call may be a 'voicing' in place, an assertion that these families are still here and connected to each other, despite the Queensland State Government's attempts to stop them returning, destroying their community identity and an assertion of these families belonging to Mapoon.

Similarly, the reconstruction of a church in Mapoon is being finalised with involvement from Uniting Church and MASC. The church's reconstruction is critical to involvement of both Mapoon people and the Church. One cannot occur without the genuine participation of the other in time and space. Co-dependence and negotiation of 'self interest' is in some form typical of missionary and Mapoon people's relationship since 1891. The missionaries could not have established the Mapoon Mission without the co-operation of the ancestors of Mapoon people, particularly the Tjungundji people's co-operation. Tjungundji people needed the missionaries (who arrived with armed guards) to assist with the ceasing of 'blackbirding' and conflict with pastoralists. When the mission closed in 1963, it ended the mission, but not relationships between missionary and Mapoon people or the sense of community between missionary and Mapoon people. Tjungundji and Historical Indigenous Families' relationships endured State and Church interference. Missionaries are crucial to Mapoon's people's commemorations and performances within these dark heritage places. Missionary family involvement is selective by Mapoon families but critical to the catharsis that takes place, due to the trauma of the history of the burning of Mapoon and the history of the mission.

7.4.3 Celebration

The acts of celebration, feasting, yarning, dancing and storytelling are also striking assertions of power during these different episodes of commemoration in Mapoon, particularly as noted in the programs for the Centenary celebrations and the Paanja Country Culture Music Festival. Celebrations for the opening of the Bicentennial Monument and the First Contact Memorial also occurred within Mapoon. Celebration is a way Mapoon people strike out and turn a negative, traumatic event, the mission closure and forced removal of families from Mapoon in 1963 into a celebration of the 'survival' and achievements of Mapoon people. Although, these celebrations are bitter-sweet, they frame a way for Mapoon

people to engage with outsiders and missionary families about their traumatic history with a positive outlook. Celebration is common to all acts of commemoration discussed in this Chapter.

Similarly, during every field trip, (except the initial introductory visit in February 2010) we 'feasted', picnicked and held gatherings with Elders and other Mapoon people, Rangers and school children. Part of this 'feasting' and celebrating on my part was due to Elders often bringing me large plates of food during interviews; special foods, barramundi, mud crabs, coconut buns, casseroles, food specifically cooked as treats which I then reciprocated with similar contributions. Later, we shared celebratory meals after major milestones on field trips (e.g. at the end of interviews, at completion of survey of houses or at the completion of ground penetrating radar survey) with invitations to school children, Elders, clinic staff and other Mapoon people outside our working group of Elders. Eating and sharing food and knowledge of recipes was an important knowledge exchange with Elders and other Mapoon people. I felt that these feasts and days of coming together became integral to comfort for Elders and provided some form of renewal after talking about traumatic history and events relating to the mission. Similarly, I would argue that celebrations and feasts are important parts of the programs for all of the events and openings of the monuments outlined in this Chapter, as it is not only brings Mapoon people together as a collective, it provides comfort and a renewal of relationships and identity after remembering the trauma narratives of the burning of Mapoon. Celebrations during memorialising trauma narratives is a way Elders share cultural knowledge with younger generations and outsiders and create collective identity.

7.4.4 Indebted Relationships with State and Church

Through retelling the narrative of the burning of Mapoon and the mission closure, Mapoon people, particularly Elders have made political, social and economic gains for the resurrection of Mapoon. Invitations to Comalco and the Uniting and Presbyterian Churches at the Centenary celebrations of Mapoon Mission's establishment in 1991 and also at the Paanja Country Culture Music Festival by MCAC and MASC respectively has engaged these parties in a process of recognition of the history of Mapoon Mission through the eyes of Mapoon families, particularly the closure and its legacy on Mapoon people today. After the completion of these events MAC and MASC respectively have continued these

relationships to achieve community outcomes. As shown below in a letter from the Chairperson of MCAC to the Uniting Church after the Centenary of the Mapoon Mission establishment in 1991:

The Corporation and the people of Mapoon are very eager to write our own history not only because it provides us with the opportunity to tell our own story but also because we believe it will contribute to our efforts to rebuild our community and I do hope the Uniting Church will assist us in this task (Blanco 1992a).

A similar letter with nearly identical text was sent by Mr Blanco to the former missionary at Mapoon Rev. Calder Allan (Blanco 1992b) to assist with this aspiration.

These letters indicate the importance of Elders retelling trauma narratives of the burning of Mapoon to create identity but also to assist with the effort to “rebuild our community” so to recreate the community of Mapoon again. These letters reveal evidence of creating community identity and retelling these narratives by MAC. The Uniting Church and former Presbyterian missionaries had an important role in this process to assist MAC rebuild Mapoon. The APC’s role in the burning of Mapoon has indebted them to Mapoon people and also interconnected them with Mapoon’s future due to the events of 15 November, 1963 and the establishment of the Moravian Mission in 1891. The APC’s apology for the burning of Mapoon at the Centenary in 1991 and the Premier Peter Beattie’s apology in 1999 has not changed in some Elders’ eyes the debt owed to their families for the destruction of their homes and the violent and traumatic nature of their forced removal from Mapoon. The mission time community of Mapoon is still dispersed in other parts of Queensland.

Commemorative acts and remembering narratives are place-making activities. Elders are creating these monuments, substantial physical structures which will be extant after the life span of many Elders and perhaps also after the decay of the few physical remains associated with the Mission Compound and mission time houses. These acts also create collective identity through collective remembering. Elders are creating place and cultural heritage values for future generations through their active design and interpretation of trauma narratives in these monuments and activities. All of these monuments, particularly the First Contact Memorial and the proposed Mapoon Mission Cemetery Memorial (and

other Memorials not related to the mission time such as the Anzac War Memorial) have or are proposed to contain lengthy inscriptions on all individuals involved in the construction of the monument. The act of constructing the monument and the story behind this process is also important to Mapoon Elders and families and is etched into the physical monument and created a cultural heritage place. These monuments link the narrative of the burning of Mapoon and the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and mission time homes and highlight their values to Mapoon people at a place in time.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Monument-making, the inscription of the cultural landscape with physical monuments to commemorate events by Mapoon people is an important part of valuing the past and connecting it to the present. Mapoon people are recreating the past in the present, and a remembered past which is reflective of Mapoon today. Monument-making and commemorative events in Mapoon are ways in which the significance of dark heritage places such as the former Mapoon Mission Compound (Chapter 4) and the remains of the Indigenous mission time homes (Chapter 6) are enhanced for Mapoon people, and for outsiders, through their connection to other physical places (i.e. the monuments). The burning of Mapoon is evoked in several events/festivals by Mapoon people through acts of commemoration and remembering. Events do not just focus on the burning of the mission, but also include celebration of the formal return of former Mapoon Mission residents to Mapoon in 1975 and recent community achievements. These events are part of healing and catharsis of creating resilience and strength through collective identity. Commemoration of events through celebration has a history in Mapoon that pre-dates the return to Mapoon, to the mission time.

Organised acts of remembering and commemoration by Mapoon people at dark heritage places are focal to their relevance in Mapoon today. Commemoration through celebrations, festivals, monuments and memorials involving younger generations of Mapoon Elders' families is essential to the survival of these heritage places. Essential because these places are partially destroyed and the little material culture that remains is fading over time. The generation of Elders who experienced and remember trauma narratives in these places are also ageing. These acts are part of a ritual to intensify the valuing of these dark heritage places and the relationship of these places to present and future generations. The use of

monuments, gazettal of public holidays and commemorations to relay Mapoon's history also shows Mapoon people's strong beliefs in the importance of telling their stories of the past and for these narratives to survive in the landscape, long after the Elders who experienced these events have departed this place. These acts also indicate cultural syncretism of Christian and Indigenous cultural practices and traditions. Mapoon people are actively involved in creating cultural heritage places, place-making and creating values to these places. These monuments are also visual markers to draw in outsiders, tourists to visit and read these plaques and to engage with the outside world of Mapoon's history on Mapoon people's terms. These monuments are constructed spaces, rich in symbolism, important to Mapoon people to structure outsiders and future generations of Mapoon families' memories and history of Mapoon for the future. These places and monuments cannot be characterised as just Aboriginal or non-Indigenous cultural domains, Aboriginal or historical heritage as classified under Queensland State government heritage legislation, but are intercultural spaces with different values to Mapoon and missionary families.

Chapter 8 Expressions of Values in Town Planning Studies

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the return of Elders and their families to Mapoon in 1975, the MAC and later the MASC (from 2000), have initiated town planning studies to rebuild Mapoon and provide new homes to families (CAT 1995; Moran 2006; unnamed c. 1980s, RPS 2013). Town planning studies were driven by the goals of the Mapoon people to resurrect former Mapoon family homes and create the new community of Mapoon. The aim of this Chapter is to explore the cultural heritage values of Mapoon Elders and their families as expressed through town planning studies from 1975 to present. I begin this chapter with a historical overview of Indigenous housing and settlement planning in Mapoon before and during the mission time. I describe the history of town planning schemes in Mapoon, including the mid-1980s schemes and The Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) (a non-profit organisation based in Cairns) initial town plan (CAT, 1995), which included the involvement of engineer, Mark Moran, who later evaluated the implementation of the town plan in his doctoral research at Mapoon (Moran 2006). Moran refers to the initial CAT town plan as the “planning study” and his later doctoral research in Mapoon as the “evaluation study” (2006:92). I also analyse the recent RPS (2013) draft town plan. I discuss tensions over cultural heritage places between Mapoon Elders and other younger generations, conflicting values for housing needs between Mapoon people and town planners. I explore the emotional connections of Mapoon Elders and their families to the past – the ‘before time’ and the ‘mission time’ and their conflicts in the present during town planning studies and housing schemes, particularly in relation to the Queensland State Government’s role in funding these studies. Finally, I discuss the complexity of expressions of cultural heritage values by Mapoon people during town planning studies and their potential legacy from interconnections with historical cultural change experiences involving missionisation and the traumatic removal from country.

8.2 HISTORY OF HOUSING AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN MAPOON

Prior to the mission time, Traditional Owners of Mapoon lived in camps, timber-framed shelters clad with paperbark and tree branches from the local forests (Ward 1908; Ward 1891). These shelters are recorded as being constructed in various ways including from ridge pole and platform construction in the Embley River area, dome and triangular prism shaped shelters in the Pennefather area of Mapoon (Memmott 2007:Figure 1.1:10). Hey’s



Figure 36 Examples of early Aboriginal housing in Mapoon, 1891 (Source: Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany, North Queensland Album, 193.B).



Figure 37 An example of Indigenous family housing in Mapoon mission village in 1936 (Source: Fryer Library, Norman F Nelson Collection, UQ57_006_0903r.jpg).



Figure 38 Filmer collection example of Indigenous family housing in Mapoon mission village in 1958 to 1963 (Source: Filmer family photographic collection).

and Ward's early correspondence also describes shelters during the early days of the mission as being constructed of local timber, branches and paperbark (Ward 1891; Ward 1908). Early photographs of Indigenous family housing at Mapoon (held at the Moravian archives at Herrnhut, Germany and in the Queensland State Library's John Oxley Collection), specifically at Cullen Point, Red Beach and Batavia show Indigenous families living predominantly in these forms of shelters in camps during the early days of the mission during Rev. Ward's and Rev. Hey's ministry (1891-1918) and less frequently after World War II (Figure 36). As described in Memmott, layout of Indigenous camps was "generated and regulated by cultural belief systems that included behavioural customs and moral codes" (2007:11-12). Different language groups held different territories within Mapoon based on spiritual and cultural connections and responsibilities to country (Aunty Harriet Flinders, pers. comm., December 2013). Similar to Mapoon today, the boundaries and extent of these territories, were often disputed (Aunty Harriet Flinders December 2013: pers. comm.). Camps were made on well-drained and slightly elevated landforms, within close proximity of swamps and the beach where freshwater, food resources and prey species were prevalent (Hey 1923; Ward 1908). The coastal strip from Janie Creek to Cullen Point and Cullen Point to Batavia provides excellent conditions for occupation as a network of swamps and freshwater lagoons and lies within easy walking distance (approximately 500 m) west of the shoreline for much of this area. This area also contains several other types of cultural places including dancing grounds, fighting grounds and mythological places relating to the spirit warrior, Chivaree (Moran, 2006; Uncle Patrick Callope 14 August 2013: pers.comm.). Camps of the old people still existed at the Mapoon Mission up to the mission closure in 1963 and during the first stages of housing for Indigenous families at the Mapoon Mission in 1896 (Filmer and Filmer, 2011a; Ward 1891, 1908).

8.2.1 First European-Style Timber Housing

The first formal timber housing in Mapoon was constructed by Solomon Islander and Samoan builders (who came to Mapoon with the missionaries in 1891) with assistance by Traditional Owners and the Moravian missionaries for the occupation of missionaries and carpenters in 1891 (Ward 1908). The first houses for Indigenous families were built in 1896 by these families with assistance from Samoan and/or Solomon Islanders and constructed in a village layout, in rows outside the Mapoon Mission Compound leading down sand dunes facing the beach or backing onto the nearby swamps from Cullen Point to Red Beach. Ward

(1908:213) records that the first hut belonged to a couple, Jimmy and Sarah, “who were also the first who applied for baptism”. Ward writes that these “little dwellings were at first arranged on either side of a broad street; but it was eventually found best to build them in single row” (1908:213). Hey described Aboriginal houses at Mapoon mission in 1923 as “built chiefly of local timber with iron roofs and walls, painted white or pink, mostly native pigments being used” (1923:28). Satellite communities called ‘outstations’ were constructed by the Samoan families in earlier times, such as Old Louie (Chapter 5) who ministered the Batavia outstation up till 1918. These early houses were constructed of local timber (sawn using a saw bench (1891 to 1918) and later a saw mill at the Mapoon Mission Compound (1930s to 1963), corrugated roofing iron, messmate and paperbark. Housing continued to be constructed for and by families throughout the mission time (as shown in Nelson 1936 photograph collection and Filmer family photograph collection, 1958-1963, Figures 37 and 38).

The houses were surrounded by fruit and vegetable gardens, ornamental trees (Christmas and frangipani trees), fruit trees, yards and shelters for dogs, horses and livestock, wells and in some cases, sheds and outbuildings (as noted in the results of field survey and oral history investigations presented in Chapter 6). Indigenous family homes were built purposefully to catch the ocean breezes and to be within proximity to the bush food and water resources that supplemented their diet during the mission time and continue to today (Moran 2006). Animals and livestock were prized by Mapoon families during this time as illustrated in missionary correspondence. Ward writes that Rev. Hey could not get Indigenous families to consent to have their dogs and dingoes shot to control the predation of the domestic livestock (1908:213-214). Although the domesticated animals such as chickens, ducks and geese provided food, the camp dogs and dingoes remained as companion animals and were valued for hunting wild game. Most Mapoon family homes were destroyed by the Queensland State Government during the events of the burning of Mapoon in 1963 and its aftermath. With Indigenous families returning to Mapoon in 1975 and the formation of the MAC, aspirations to rebuild Mapoon were partially realised through town planning studies, supported by State and Commonwealth funding.

8.3 TOWN PLANNING STUDIES

There have been three attempts at town planning in Mapoon since the 1980s to date that have included different levels of consultation with Mapoon Elders and their families. These studies include an early Queensland State Government initiated town plan in the 1980s, Centre for Appropriate Technology (1995) plan involving Mark Moran and his research on planning in Mapoon (2006) and a recent town plan commissioned in 2013 by the MASC from the firm RPS, an east-coast based, surveying and environmental management firm. Some varying degrees of recognition of Mapoon people's expressions of emotional attachments and values for cultural heritage places within Mapoon and aspirations for the future are included in these studies. There are no known studies of housing and settlement patterns for Mapoon prior to 1980s (Moran 2006:89). McIntyre-Tamwoy provides some comment on housing in Mapoon, during her fieldwork in 1990. McIntyre-Tamwoy describes housing as "scarce" with only a few families living in Mapoon (2000:96).

8.3.1 Early Town Planning Attempts

Early town planning attempts for Mapoon were made by government planners consulting with a small number of Mapoon Indigenous families in the late 1980s during the period of time the Queensland State Government issued Mapoon's DOGIT status (Moran 2006:89). I located this town plan "Report on Town Planning for Old Mapoon" (compiled using an old dot matrix printer) dated Monday 29 May, (but no year or author is provided) in the MASC and MAC archives in a shed at Red Beach. This study involved limited consultation with Indigenous families in Mapoon. During this study, Elders expressed hopes to rebuild on mission time family blocks (Anon. n.d.:1). The history of the removal of Mapoon people and the connections of family mission time homes to proposed future housing was expressed by Mapoon Elders throughout this old study (undated report, page 1). Elders and many Mapoon people felt that identification of the sites of the original mission-time family homes which were destroyed and burnt by the State, were important for planning the location and assignment of families for future housing (Anon. n.d.:1).

This early town planning study also shows some of the tensions between the past and present, as well as the present and future in Mapoon. Younger generations who did not grow up in Mapoon were not as "keen to return" as Elders and "they did not really have the same feelings as the Elders, as their ties were at Bamaga – having grown up there" (Anon. n.d:5-

6). Part of this lack of enthusiasm was attributed to younger generations being accustomed to “services”, such as shops, school, television etc (Anon. n.d.:5-6).

The study recommended all future development to be centralised around Red Beach, which was against the wishes of many Elders at that time and still to date (Moran 2006:89; Elders interviews 2010-2013). The continued aspirations of Elders to remain connected to the mission time family blocks to rebuild their homes was reiterated in later planning studies (CAT 1995, Moran 2006).

8.3.2 Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT) (1995) and Moran (2006)

In 1995, the CAT was engaged by Queensland Health to undertake a pilot study and a settlement plan to “improve environmental health and infrastructure, including housing and engineering services” (Moran 2006:92). This plan was initiated by two Mapoon people working as Indigenous health workers as part of the Tropical Health Unit of Queensland Health (Moran 2006:92). The Plan was a response by Mapoon people to put forth their vision of future development in response to a proposed residential development in Red Beach by the Queensland State Government (perhaps an outcome of the unnamed study discussed in Section 8.3.1), not favoured by many Mapoon families as part of the committed “large capital works program of \$3 million” with ongoing financial support to build housing and infrastructure in Mapoon (CAT 1995; Moran 2006). The CAT plan involved a multi-disciplinary team of professionals including health workers, engineers, architects and town planners and a Planning Committee of Mapoon people made up of different age, gender, language and cultural groups as well as representatives from MASC and MAC (Moran 2006:94).

Cultural Heritage Values

Over 95% of interviewed Mapoon families involved in the CAT planning study (1995) decided that “family blocks should generally be one hectare in area ... and that neighbouring family groups should be approximately fifty metres part” (Moran 2006:94). Moran (2006:92) and CAT (1995) recognised that the Mapoon families’ preference for this settlement pattern originated from the mission time and the former mission time village family home layout. The CAT planning study then mapped the remains of mission time homes with the Mapoon families and integrated this information into the development of the future town plan, based

on five zones associated with the mission time (Moran 2006:96). Proposed house areas by Mapoon people included bush buffers for privacy and proximity to beach and swamps for fishing and hunting (CAT 1995). The plan also included isolation of the Mapoon Mission Compound, cemeteries and other cultural places (such as dancing grounds) for conservation and protection due to Mapoon families' cultural, spiritual and historical values and attachments to these places (Moran 2006:96-98).

Moran's evaluation study of the implementation of the CAT town plan (1995) in 2000 for his doctoral research (2006) also showed that Mapoon people continued to reject the Queensland State Government's original proposal for a town plan with housing centralised in Red Beach (Moran 2006:101). Moran found that the "spatial relationship between house sites and the old mission layout was still intact" and "almost all people interviewed indicated that they were living on their family block" and were happy there with no aspirations to live elsewhere (2006:101). Moran also found that the remains of mission time cultural heritage places, namely those of the Mapoon (2006:102). Moran reported that from 1995 to 2006, at least 50 percent of interviewed Mapoon people were growing vegetables and regularly eating "bush tucker or seafood in the week preceding the survey" (2006:101). Moran argued the trend continued on from his earlier survey in 1994 suggesting that "the Mapoon way of living close to country with a diet supplemented by bush tucker had not been adversely affected" (2006:349). Moran found that "historical associations" to the Mapoon Mission were evident by retained "coconut palms and fruits trees from the Old Mission ... as well as significant historical sites, including the old mission church buildings and Cemetery" (2006:349). Moran identified that there was little overcrowding at houses or tensions between neighbours because housing was spaced at "considerable distances", there was "little crowding of house sites" and "concentration of housing in the Red Beach area was avoided" and the protection of a "50 metre wide esplanade protected the sensitive beach foreshore and maintained public access for fishing" (2006:349).

Moran's PhD showed that Mapoon people from 1995 to 2000 built their homes close to the original mission time layout stretching out following the coastline from Cullen Point to Thoongu to Batavia Outstation. These homes continued to be occupied and highly prized locations by Mapoon Elders and their families from 2010 to 2014 during my research for the same reasons outlined in Moran (2006) above.

8.3.3 The RPS Group (2013) Town Planning Scheme

MASC engaged RPS Group (RPS) (2013) to prepare a draft Town Planning Scheme for Mapoon (RPS 2013). RPS were the second consultants engaged to undertake this Scheme by MASC; the first consultant engaged was terminated during my research. The RPS (2013) plan is very similar to the original 1980s, Queensland State Government town plan discussed in Section 8.3.1 of this Chapter. The RPS draft Town Planning Scheme (2013) shows a dramatic shift from the focus of future housing connected to mission time family blocks presented in CAT (1995) and Moran (2006), stretching from Cullen Point to Thoongu to a proposed concentrated housing development at Red Beach. This shift to Red Beach is argued in the RPS draft planning scheme (2013) to be based on practical issues relating to environmental concerns. The authors of the plan argue that recent flood mapping completed for the draft Mapoon RPS (2013) town plan indicates that the sand dunes and beach areas, particularly around Cullen Point are susceptible to future flooding from predicted sea-level rises. However, how accurate the flooding predictions are in this study is not clear and the likelihood of this flooding over time is not clearly detailed in the study. Areas around Red Beach are the new focal points for proposed housing construction by MASC as they are outside the predicted flood zones (RPS 2013). The remains of the Mission Compound and much of the mission time homes (excluding Thoongu and Batavia outstation) are within the flood zone of the beach blocks and coastal strip from Cullen Point south to Thoongu. The risk of flooding is a driving force in MASC's town planning consultant's vision for future town planning and location of proposed housing and infrastructure.

Red Beach

The RPS (2013) draft Planning Scheme presents a very different view of Mapoon's aspirations for cultural heritage than CAT (1995) and Moran (2006). The Scheme aims for "Red Beach and the Land and Sea Centre ... [to be] promoted as the cultural hub of the community" (RPS 2013:3-5). In the mission-time, Red Beach was originally put up by APC as a possible option for relocating the Mapoon Mission in the 1950s prior to the mission closure due to health concerns, particularly hookworm. MAC also temporarily established their camp at Red Beach in 1975. Red Beach is not the focus of Mapoon families' aspirations for cultural heritage for the earlier Mapoon town planning studies (CAT, 1995; Moran, 2006). Aspirations articulated by Mapoon families for cultural heritage include rebuilding homes following the

former mission village layout from Cullen Point to Thoongu, access to the beach and swamps and wide spaces for privacy around family blocks. Red Beach is not a focal point articulated by Mapoon families and Elders as central to the town plan in CAT (1995) or Moran (2006).

Cultural Heritage Values

RPS (2013) draft Planning Scheme also contains ambiguous management of cultural heritage at Mapoon. The Scheme states that the “Traditional knowledge and the history of Mapoon Mission are respected and utilised to identify, protect, manage and promote Mapoon people and their culturally significant areas and practices, where appropriate” (RPS 2013:3-7). The words, “where appropriate” qualify this statement to recognise and protect cultural heritage and it is not clear in the draft Scheme what the limits are of this qualification or who decides when it is appropriate to exercise it. Similarly RPS (2013), use the words “where appropriate” to qualify the protection of cultural heritage sites from “development” (RPS 2013:3-7). However, it is clear from the draft Scheme that it is at odds with this goal, as it does not show a clear management strategy to manage these values or discuss who is responsible to implement the management and protection of these values.

The RPS draft Town Planning Scheme also aims to ensure the “original Mapoon Mission Village is protected and conserved to promote the Mapoon people’s history and cultural identity” (2013:3-7). Similar to earlier studies by Moran (2006, 1995), RPS recognises the importance of the remains of the Mapoon Mission to Mapoon people. However, this statement does not accurately protect all of the remains of the Mapoon Mission, as the Mapoon Mission Village extended from Cullen Point to Thoongu and included Batavia Outstation (Chapter 6). The area designated as the original Mapoon Village in the RPS (2013) report includes the majority of the Mapoon Mission Compound remains rather than remains of mission time family homes. The remains of the mission time family homes also constitute the original Mapoon Mission Village. The omission by RPS (2013) of the remains of these homes from the original Mapoon Village shows a focus on the non-Indigenous elements of the former Mapoon Mission Compound, not the intimate connection of Indigenous families to the remains of the mission time family homes and unmarked family graves. These family mission time home remains are within areas proposed for infrastructure and possible flooding in the future in the RPS (2013) plan. Elders expressed concerns to me frequently during fieldwork on the disclosure of the locations of these graves outside of their families because the burial of still born babies and

children are painful and intimate to family members and knowledge of these graves is intensely private. All of these graves are within close proximity to the original mission time family homes and many are within recent housing (1995) that has been rebuilt on these mission time family blocks. The intimate connection of Mapoon people to unmarked graves of their families near their original mission time homes needs management in future Mapoon town planning. These concerns were generally (without disclosure of names and grave locations) expressed by me frequently during my research to MASC, MLSAC and through a submission to RPS as part of the draft town planning consultation process.

Moran's (2006) interviews and my oral history interviews in Mapoon from 2010 to 2013 indicate that Mapoon people have a continued connection to the remains of the former mission time homes and continue to fish, gather bush foods and visit story places. The proposed RPS (2013) town plan does not recognise or identify this connection as critical to the future housing and town planning of Mapoon and to their success. The large spaces between former mission time housing and reuse of this layout to date for housing has assisted Mapoon people with avoiding issues of conflict over access to water, seafood and privacy (Moran 2006). These remains are not adequately mapped or identified in the RPS (2013) draft Scheme and constitute a significant omission for planning the future of Mapoon's community growth, compared to previous town plans that have been successfully adopted in Mapoon to date (CAT 1995; Moran 2006). The draft Planning Scheme was displayed online for comment by the Mapoon community in November 2013. Elders do not use the internet (I know of none that have Internet access in their homes). Consultation for the draft Planning Scheme (RPS 2013) through an online display and mostly online submission process will considerably limit Elders' input into this process.

8.4 MISSION-TIME LAYOUT AND GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

The mission-time settlement layout has remained culturally important to Mapoon people for rebuilding their new homes since the return to Mapoon in 1975 (Appendix A and C). Cultural importance of the mission time house layout to rebuilding new homes to Elders, younger generations and some Rangers was prevalent in Mapoon in earlier town planning studies (Anon. n.d; CAT 1995). These town planning studies were written before the return of many families from Bamaga, Weipa, Yarrabah and other parts of Queensland back to Mapoon. These returned families included many members of younger generations who had

maintained a connection to their family mission-time blocks in Mapoon (CAT 1995, Moran 2006). However, Red Beach is today the site of the recent Mapoon town, the Council Chambers, Western Cape College campus, the Store, the recent 2013 Cultural Heritage Keeping Place and other features (for example, Telstra tower, water tower, playground, War memorial and other health and infrastructure features) of modern Mapoon. During my fieldwork, I observed that Red Beach is a focal point of daily life in Mapoon, where many people go to meet, work, gain access to services and shop. A War Memorial was built nearby the Council Chambers by the historian, Geoffrey Wharton with assistance from MASC and in consultation with Elders in 2010. This Memorial includes an old World War II land mine transported from Cullen Point and incorporated into the monument, a garden, seating, a reflective space, flags and a concrete plinth with extensive bronze plaques. However, the majority of fishing, camping and cultural places identified to me during fieldwork were outside of Red Beach and at the locations of Cullen Point, Janie Creek, Thoongu and Batavia. The development of Red Beach, particularly the Store and Council Chambers has increased its importance to Mapoon people for day-to-day life but perhaps not for customary or historical values (except perhaps for the exception of the War Memorial). Red Beach's historical and social value may increase to younger generations of Mapoon families over time because it is an important meeting place and social space today.

There were two examples throughout my research of generational differences for some Mapoon families relating to housing and planning. The first example occurred during my survey with Rangers and Elders to identify the remains of family houses in a fieldwork trip October 2010. Elders believed it was important to identify former family home sites to enable families removed from Mapoon in November 1963 to return and rebuild their homes in the same location (as discussed in Chapter 6). The remains of homes identified were mostly burnt house stumps, fragments of corrugated iron and some domestic objects. During the survey, Elders assisted with identifying these few remains as the house location of particular families including review of historical air photographs and use of GPS mapping. Once a house location was verified by Elders, we would then place a survey stake with a reference number at that location. One Ranger took advantage of this paucity of material culture and attempted to change his family's former home location from inland near the swamps to close to the beach side of Mapoon. Several Elders told me that the location was incorrect and it is also not mapped in CAT's (1995) plans of mission-time family house remains. The beach

side of Mapoon has much more favorable breezes and ocean views. This attempt by a Ranger showed that, to some younger members of the Mapoon community, the location of new homes outside of original historical family blocks was of greater value than keeping to their original location and some conflict over family blocks is possibly not new.

Another example of generational differences expressed by Rangers is illustrated by a Ranger's mock documentary of Mapoon during my fieldwork for recording mission time family home remains in October 2010. Ranger B (original name not used) took a large amount of video footage as part of his MLSAC's cultural heritage TAFE training certification. As part of the Rangers' testing for certification, Rangers assisted with my fieldwork to mark out family homes. Ranger B with two other Rangers decided to make a separate film on Mapoon in their own free time. Ranger B chose to film Red Beach and his film, which he called a "documentary" was about "his Mapoon". Ranger B filmed the Council Chamber, the Land and Sea Rangers shed, the War Memorial, the Store and talked to other friends and family about the Rugapayne Magpies, the Men's group and life at Red Beach.

In his film, Ranger B stands in front of the camera with a serious facial expression as he takes the viewer on a tour of his Mapoon. Ranger B's film is a considerably longer length of footage than the other videos of the cultural heritage fieldwork (at least ten times) filmed by Ranger B and his colleagues that same day. In this, Ranger B stands in front of the camera with evident pride showing the viewer around his town and the different new facilities constructed in recent times. The film features younger Mapoon people talking about their life in Mapoon today, yarning outside the Store. None of the film was taken outside of Red Beach or draws on the mission time history. During discussions with Rangers during their filming of the house survey and also during clearing for the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, we discussed if the mission and the mission time homes were important places to them. Some Rangers (including Ranger B) did show expressions of value for the burnt domestic remains of their family homes from the mission time, through carefully retrieving broken perfume bottles, pieces of ceramic, toys and coins etc. from the ashy remains of these homes and asking Elders and myself questions about these items and then in some cases, taking them home at the end of the day. Other Rangers commented that the mission time homes and mission were important to their old people, our Elders and that is why these places are important to the Rangers.

Ranger B's film may indicate that to younger generations of Mapoon people, who have returned to Mapoon and were raised at Red Beach maintain stronger ties to this place or it has different values to them than their Elders. Similarly, in 1990 during fieldwork, McIntyre-Tamwoy's observation of working with Injinoo and New Mapoon Rangers, also saw a generational difference between Elders and younger generations, she writes while, many Elders in New Mapoon

dream of their homelands, Mapoon the land of milk and honey ... younger people "have no desire to move back 'home' and so there is tension in some families between some who would like to return to their land and the young who want to stay at New Mapoon. Even the young, however, see themselves as having a communal identity related to their homelands and hence the popular name for themselves "Punja People" and the name of the local football team Tongandji (Tjungantji) Brothers" (2000:96-97).

This difference in value between generations may relate to Elders having lived in the former mission time family homes that were destroyed in their living memory, while Rangers are more connected to their new family homes and to Red Beach, where they spend part of their working day and where new facilities and community buildings are located over the last 15 years.

8.5 CONFLICTING CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES: PAST VS PRESENT

The mission time cultural heritage places within Mapoon, the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound, cemeteries and the remains of mission-time family homes are sometimes the subject of conflicting cultural heritage values related to the past and the present experiences of Mapoon families and local and Queensland State Government agencies. The remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound are evidence of history where Indigenous Mapoon families were segregated in dormitories and moved away from their families. They are a symbol of institutionalisation and State and Church attempts to control the freedom of these families through various Acts. One official recounted his frustrations to me during visits to Mapoon and phone calls from August to September 2013, that these places were an obstacle for the new town planning scheme (RPS 2013) and proposed housing developments. As some Elders did not want to disclose the location of unmarked graves to MASC or cultural sites

including their family house remains, this official felt frustrated that these remains were some way impinging on Mapoon 'moving forward' and an obstacle for the creation of housing and infrastructure in these locations for a growing population. To Elders, however, these remains of family homes were focal to the development of new housing as they believed new homes should be connected to the original mission time location of that family. Similar frustrations were also relayed to me during my research, by non-Indigenous planners and a non-Indigenous officer working with MLSAC, who were often hostile or indifferent to the sensitivities of Elders to disclose cultural heritage places to them for mapping and to any discussion of managing cultural heritage in Mapoon as a broader cultural landscape rather than a dots on map approach to places.

Similar values to those of the Elders were also shared by some of the Rangers during my fieldwork, who felt a connection to their family home sites, wanted to live in close proximity to their original home sites and linked these places to their identity as Mapoon people. One of the crucial elements of the cultural heritage values of these mission-time family home sites identified during my fieldwork by Rangers and Elders is the location of unmarked family burials, particularly children, stillborn babies and miscarriages nearby these house remains. Knowledge is intimate to families of the location of these burials and who is buried there, and often passed down to only one or two family members based on their gender and relationship in the family. These unmarked graves have high sensitivity and similar to the mission-time cultural places are linked to a form of trauma and high emotional attachment, in this case caused by the death of a child. Initial ground-penetrating radar spot checks of several areas of unmarked graves by Conyers and I, in December 2010 also led to the identification of up to 12 graves in some of these individual locations where only one or two burials were known to the current generation of Elders or Rangers. The ground-penetrating radar initial spot checks also indicate through the visible decaying remains of the burial that they are of different periods of internment over time. These results may indicate that the tradition of burying family members, particularly children, near their homes was a custom passed down through generations of Mapoon families and that wherever the remains of homes are identified, it is highly likely that unmarked graves of family members are within close proximity.

8.6 DISCUSSION

The Queensland State Government's funding of housing and the planning studies discussed here also complicate Mapoon people's values expressed in these studies, particularly those of Mapoon Elders. Elders and their families that experienced the burning of Mapoon in 1963 are still traumatised by these events and carry the historical legacy of emotions of distrust and anger from the actions of the Government in the past, particularly their actions in 1963. Elders expressed combinations of hatred, fear, distrust and anger towards the Queensland State Government and the impact of past and present policies on their families. Elders, prior to the commitment of funding in 2013, often expressed that they were owed new homes by the Queensland State Government for destroying their homes and should not be renting or trying to buy the homes they were in from the same agency responsible for destroying their original homes. At the time of writing, Mapoon is experiencing another period of intensive change. The Queensland State Government's \$2 million housing compensation project to compensate Mapoon people announced at the 50th anniversary of the burning of Mapoon, on 15 November 2013 will assist with future housing in Mapoon.

However, this amount does not compensate, in many Elders' minds, (relating to today's land value in Mapoon), for the housing destroyed by the State on 15 November 1963 (Field Note Book 4). This amount is not considered to constitute adequate compensation for the trauma experienced by families during the mission closure or recompense Mapoon families for the loss of personal belongings and domestic possessions. MASC are planning on using this funding to construct Indigenous housing with locally trained carpenters.

The RPS (2013) draft planning scheme prepared for MASC may be evidence of tension between the past and future in Mapoon. As already outlined, the Scheme struggles to adequately identify or manage identified cultural heritage values of the mission time for Elders and other generations of Mapoon people. The Scheme only deals with cultural heritage values by acknowledging the existence of the remains of the Mission Compound and isolating this area in Cullen Point as a historical precinct to be protected and quarantined from development. However, the Scheme does not manage the mission house remains or unmarked Aboriginal burials which follow the coastline from Cullen Point to Batavia Outstation or Elders and other family members' values and strong emotional connection to these places. Nor does the plan allow for families' close connection to sensitive cultural and

mythological sites, also within this cultural strip (such as the story place for Chivaree and dancing ground). Failure to manage these cultural heritage values by MASC and RPS (2013) within the draft planning scheme is perhaps due to tensions arising from MASC's pressures to provide new housing and infrastructure for a growing town and a failure to gain Elders' active input into the plan. This failure is partially due to feelings of distrust of governance by Elders and their lack of formal engagement in the consultation process. It is also most likely due to problems in the Queensland State Government's heritage and environmental legislation which necessitates heritage places to be mapped and spatially defined (Chapter 1) and does not manage intangible heritage or cultural landscapes (and the connections between places) within the provisions of the Act.

Future housing construction, if based on the new draft planning scheme (RPS, 2013) is likely to change the way in which Mapoon people are currently living and their connection with the remains of the mission time family homes and unmarked and marked family burials, which are often sited near their original mission time homes, also believed to be connected to the traditional camping areas of Indigenous families. Privacy and distance between neighbours may lead to greater conflict as future housing is proposed to be within a concentrated block in Red Beach based on the RPS draft planning scheme (2013) (Busch 17 December 2013: pers. comm.), a source of Elders' fears when comparing Mapoon from 1980 to today to Napranum (recent housing in Napranum is more closely constructed in a smaller geographical area with little privacy) in earlier planning studies (Anon. n.d.; CAT, 1995). Bush foods and seafood may not be as readily available because greater numbers of people will be concentrated in one small area rather than spaced out along the coast at a considerable distance from Cullen Point to Thoongu.

8.7 CONCLUSIONS

Mapoon families' involvement in town planning studies since the 1980s, includes expressions of strong emotional attachment of Elders and other family members to the original mission-time layout of the former family homes. Mapoon families' values for this original mission-time layout also predate the mission due to the connection of not only unmarked child and family graves but also traditional values for camping within language group territory and within access to the beaches and swamps. Mapoon people's aspirations for housing are interlinked with the historical legacy of the burning of Mapoon and emotions

for future housing and town planning are interconnected to this event. There are some examples of conflicting values expressed during town planning studies and housing discussions between Mapoon Elders and younger generations of Mapoon families and the MASC. These conflicting values include the preferred future town plan to centre around Red Beach, rather than the mission time and traditional values of planning to be connected to Cullen Point and the coastal strip leading down to Thoongu. Elders do not want to live in Red Beach away from their family blocks and are opposed to the disconnection of living on their original mission time family sites. Rangers and younger generations that did not have a lived connection to the mission are more favourable towards Red Beach as a location for future housing, as it is the centre for infrastructure and facilities in modern Mapoon. Rangers however, respect the values of the mission time homes to their Elders and part of this respect includes their aspirations to conserve and protect these places, particularly family burials.

Chapter 9 Conclusions

9.1 INTRODUCTION

On my return visits to Mapoon, Granny Susie Madua would ask me: "have you missed Mapoon? She has missed you. Your mother missed you and welcomes you home". Granny Susie's words indicate the extent to which Mapoon, the place, is part of Mapoon people's identity and is also a living place, where relationships of individuals and families are enmeshed in kinship. Kinship with Mapoon means that there are responsibilities to Mapoon and Mapoon people are defined within these relationships. As I was helping Elders protect and document Mapoon's cultural heritage; I became connected to Mapoon with responsibilities to Mapoon people and place. Mapoon is a living entity for the Elders and people of Mapoon, a landscape with emotions and an identity, to which each individual is intimately connected. Mapoon people experienced trauma through their history, when they were torn away from Mapoon becoming disconnected from their 'mother' and unable to care for country from 1963 to 1975. Many families are still unable to return to Mapoon due to housing shortages and other contemporary factors.

The history expressed by Elders in the Mapoon narratives is a legacy for Mapoon people's relationships within Mapoon, former missionary families, the Church and the State. The inter-relationship of this traumatic to identity and cultural heritage values of Mapoon people and missionary families is the subject of this thesis. My study has explored the emotions felt by Mapoon Elders today towards key actors in events surrounding the burning of Mapoon, particularly the State and Church (including former missionary families) both in the past and in the present. I have explored how trauma experienced by Mapoon Elders in these events is remembered and interconnected to Elders' values for mission time cultural heritage places through oral history interviews, historical research and archaeological practice. Mapoon people have defined what cultural heritage places they value in Mapoon by focusing on the protection of former mission time places. However, valuing these places is intricately connected to the trauma experienced by Elders due to the causes of cultural change from missionisation and oppression by the State. I applied the concept of 'dark heritage' to Mapoon's mission time cultural heritage and Elders' cultural heritage values to these places, because they are examples of traumatic and violent history in Elders' and missionary families living memory. I have argued that the continued neglect of Mapoon's cultural heritage (including rebuilding mission time family homes) by the Queensland State

Government as expressed in town planning studies and narratives (Chapters 6 to 8) is a continued violence against Mapoon people connected back to the trauma of that night in November, 1963. I have argued that Elders' aspirations to regenerate and interpret the cultural heritage places of the mission time aims to redress past hurts caused by the State.

My study contributes to archaeological and heritage literature by providing Mapoon as an example of where archaeological practice has potential for catharsis of experienced trauma from dramatic cultural change, by assisting Elders and families renew and create values for cultural heritage places. Some of this experienced trauma is inter-related to colonial representations of identity within State legislation and archaeology has potential for catharsis to deconstruct colonial representations of identity. The Mapoon Mission cultural landscape is remembered and experienced through archaeological practice and through being in country to evoke memories and perform narratives, create and renew attachments by Indigenous people to country through works to protect places. Research in Mapoon indicates that the depth of traumatic experiences (from the denial by the State of Mapoon families returning to their home country and the violent destruction of their homes and community) and the subsequent episodes of struggle and resilience by these families to return and rebuild has heightened and intensified the value of places associated with these episodes to families. These places are not significant to Mapoon people just because they contain material culture that is of rare, scientific, historical or of aesthetic value. These places are significant because they are where this history is remembered with present and future generations and these places are chosen by Mapoon people to renew identity, share knowledge and learn resilience. I conclude this study through a final commentary on the research themes and research questions set out in Chapter 1, drawing conclusions and discussion back to the central thesis argument.

9.2 VALUES AND SIGNIFICANCE

As outlined in Chapter 1, State cultural heritage legislation and the significance assessment process is flawed due to the history of colonial representations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people becoming enshrined in policy through processes of institutional racism (Smith 2000, 1996). Legislation does not provide a framework that can manage changes in values of people for cultural heritage places and their management. Legislation also focuses on tangible heritage (artefacts and material culture) and does not effectively protect post-

contact heritage and intangible heritage values (Byrne 1991, 1996, 2002; Byrne and Nugent 2004; Smith 2006). In Mapoon, the mission time cultural heritage places valued by Mapoon Elders and missionary families are nearly all examples of intangible heritage, destroyed places that are shrouded in memories of traumatic history. These places are not listed on any State or Commonwealth heritage register as valued examples of cultural or historical heritage. These places had not been protected from development or actively conserved under any State or Commonwealth heritage funding at the beginning of this study (funding was eventually obtained for interpretation and management with my assistance to MLSAC and MASC and some intensive lobbying by Uncle William Busch during this project). Cultural places of the 'before time' had greater management protection from the State, such as middens within the Mapoon DOGIT than the mission time heritage. These places of the before time, were not as intensely remembered and revisited by Elders and the families during fieldwork, perhaps not only because they are not threatened but because these places are not the subject of recent trauma remembered in living memory.

The legislative and policy framework for significance assessment does not effectively manage dynamism of cultural change, specifically the changes in people's values for places or in their wishes for management of these places over time. The cultural heritage values of the Mapoon people have changed since 1963 and are influenced by the personalities of individuals and their personal response to change, political actions, economic threats, State and Church policies, cultural beliefs and broader social changes. Social groupings and kinship networks are framed based on the experiences of families and individuals to the narratives of the birth, burning and resurrection of Mapoon Mission. I agree with (Pocock 2003) that all values are social. Therefore, in order to assess and identify cultural heritage values, a social methodology was employed and one which was culturally appropriate to the Mapoon Elders. In Chapter 4, 5, 6 and 8 cultural heritage values are demonstrated to be dynamic for different generations of Indigenous families in Mapoon, for example Elders and Rangers, values change over time and due to shifts in attachment and meanings of place that can be generational and based on experience. Through a research methodology of counter-mapping and covenantal archaeology as presented in Chapter 2, Mapoon Elders and families assisted in my mapping and identifying their values for cultural heritage places both intangible and tangible. This method also assisted in grappling with the changing values

of families for places through time and the dynamism of cultural change (as presented in Chapter 8).

9.3 ARCHAEOLOGY, RELATIONSHIPS AND IDENTITY

Through depiction of social actors and agencies in Chapter 2 and the history of Mapoon presented in Chapter 3, I argue that relationships and identity were asserted by the Mapoon families and missionary families during times of conflict and trauma (particularly, the events of forced removal). As argued in Chapter 6, in periods punctuated by conflict and struggle, specifically those that challenged or may change Mapoon people's access to their homes, to camping, fishing and to their cultural heritage places, particularly with the State (through the DAIA) and mining companies, the social divisions come into play between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, the missionary and Indigenous, and the Traditional Owner and Historical Indigenous Families. These classifications also were drawn, when Mapoon people needed to achieve an outcome or when forced due to governance by the policies and the legislation of the State, particularly in more recent times.

During periods of conflict, particularly the mission closure, the State through the DAIA operated on the divisions and colonial representations of racial identity to dispossess Mapoon people from their country, close the Mission and burn Mapoon. The triple impact of removal of the missionaries, the DAIA's forcible removal of families using the Sabai police and the burning of Mapoon and the encroachment of mining on Mapoon was undertaken by non-Indigenous agencies and in the eyes of some Mapoon people, damaged forever their perception of 'white', non-Indigenous people and led to a large degree of bitterness and anger amongst families. These events also led to some Mapoon people drawing lines of judgement in the sand between black and white, missionary and Mapoon people. From 1963 to 1975, families exiled from Mapoon could not bury their loved ones in country. Families were forced to move, lost their homes (which they had built with their own money and resources), pastoral stock, possessions and access to country for spiritual and cultural purposes as well as their resources of bush foods and sea foods that comprised much of Mapoon people's diet.

I contribute to previous archaeological and historical research of Mapoon (AIATSIS 1992; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2000; Roberts *et al.* 1975; Wharton 1996) and this field by interviewing

the Rev. and Mrs. Filmer (never previously consulted or interviewed) to shed further light on historical interpretations on relationships between missionaries and Indigenous people in Mapoon during the final years of the Mapoon Mission. I argue, similarly to McNiven and Russell (2005), that the continued relationships which the different Mapoon families have with several Mapoon Missionary families indicate that the classifications of non-Indigenous versus Indigenous, black versus white, missionary versus Indigenous are more often than not over-simplifications and colonial representations of social relationships. As presented, in Chapters 6 and 7, I argue that that missionary and Indigenous families had closer relationships than suggested, in historical research to date (Roberts *et al.* 1975), and particularly during the events and aftermath of the mission closure, where these families maintained personal relationships and lived in some cases, with each other. Similarly forcibly removed Indigenous children (Chapter 3), missionaries and their families, and Samoan and Solomon Islanders and other groups were also adopted into the Tjungundji kinship system during the mission time.

As argued in Chapter 2, the missionaries although adopted in, were also called 'mother' and 'father', and these titles seemed to operate as roles of responsibility not just within the mission but within the Tjungundji kinship system and for forcibly removed children these missionaries were part of a family. Removal of the missionaries during the closure of the Mapoon Mission brought a severe break in the relationships between Mapoon people and the missionaries and an abrupt change to the existing social order. This change may have brought some positives to Mapoon families through increased freedom from the mission system through the exemption ticket but also brought some negative consequences. It is a change which many Mapoon families found traumatic, particularly forcibly removed children who had lived in the dormitory system, where the missionaries and the dormitory matrons were modeled as 'father' and 'mother' figures were perceived to have a direct link with Christ. Many of the mission children were converted to Christianity and some Mapoon people and Elders firmly remain still Christian in their beliefs. As argued in Chapter 3, the legacy of Rev. Hey and Rev. Ward and their sister wives as the first Mapoon Missionaries, at Mapoon including Moravian symbolism and tradition which are still valued by Mapoon people and have a strong influence on the attitudes of Mapoon people concerning the protection and management of cultural heritage places and on Mapoon people's spirituality.

I have considered identity and relationships with Mapoon people and missionary families through an intercultural frame (Dalley and Memmott 2010:179; Merlan 2005:13-15) deconstructing these two categories as presented through Chapter 3's critical history and description of social actors and families and then through the case studies, presented in Chapter 4 to Chapter 8 breaking down the changes, similarities and differences within these groups' relationships and valuing of cultural heritage. Similar to Memmott and Dalley's (2010) study of the Mornington Island mission time, I found during my research that an intercultural mode of interaction in Mapoon co-existed from 1891 to 1963 with enforced and separated cultural domains. As presented in Chapters 4 to 6, the Mapoon Mission Compound, Mapoon Mission Cemetery and the mission time family homes are all examples of enforced social domains but Indigenous and missionary families also had many different roles and relationships within them. These mission time places were also constructed on the traditional country of the Tjungundji people and Traditional Owners continued to care for country and maintain cultural practices (although these practices are still encapsulated in the State's enforcement of the mission system), as indicated in the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and from oral history interviews with Elders during the mission time. Today, these places continue to be interpreted and used in an intercultural frame. Mapoon families have constructed monuments and carry out commemorative events with missionary family members and other non-Indigenous people in these places, but are still subject to the limitations of the State's heritage legislation that does not adequately protect or recognise the values of these places. The mission time family home remains are within the yards of present-day constructed family homes.

9.4 CULTURAL HERITAGE, MEMORY AND TRAUMA

There is growing focus on the emotional aspects of cultural heritage values in recent heritage research to understand the full depth of behavioural connections between people and place (David *et al.* 2006; David *et al.* 2012; Denham 2008; Kidron 2013.). As outlined in Chapter 1, one of my research themes is to explore the inter-relationship between people's experiences of trauma and their formation of cultural heritage values for places, particularly those places that can trigger individual and families (particularly contemporary Elders of Mapoon) remembering this trauma. In my research, Mapoon Elders and families and some of the missionary families, identify Mapoon as their home and country. The destruction of Mapoon through the events during the burning of Mapoon is part of a traumatic history

presented in Chapter 6. I argue that Mapoon's mission time cultural heritage places are forms of 'dark heritage' (including the Mapoon Mission Compound, Mapoon Mission Cemetery, mission time family homes remains and monuments) as they are associated with experiences of violence, pain, loss and conflict with the State (Podoshen 2013:19-20; Sather-Wagstaff and Ebooks 2011:30; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

These places also are where Elders remember and carry out commemorative and ritual acts with younger generations and missionary families to remember this traumatic history of the past in the present, an attribute common to dark heritage places. As presented, in Chapter 7, commemorative acts and monument-making also ensure that this remembered traumatic history by Elders is remembered by future generations and does not die with them. In Mapoon, the commemorative events and monuments recreated in the mission time cultural landscape by Mapoon families and involving former missionary families, as described in Chapter 7, are instigated in order for recollections of traumatic history to be presented to and realised by younger generations and outsiders. As noted also by Connerton (1989) and Peterson (2013), for Mapoon, I found that Elders and missionary families transmit memory of trauma to others through these events and interpretation of these monuments. The acts of interpretation of monuments and commemoration of these dark heritage places are acts of power by Elders to also control how these places are remembered and reified in future and interpreted by outsiders. Elders are asserting their narratives of history and I argue resisting interpretations of this history as previously officially presented by the Queensland State Government.

A recently increasing focus of research by archaeologists and anthropologists, particularly in the United Kingdom is on the connections between heritage and well-being (e.g. at the Theoretical Archaeological Group Conference in date 2014 on Heritage and Wellbeing in Bristol). Destruction of heritage places is increasingly being connected by researchers to negative social impacts including damaging psychological effects and detrimental impacts to physical health. One emerging significant concept is that of solastalgia as developed by environmental psychologist, Glenn Albrecht (2005). Solastalgia is the pain and trauma experienced by someone when their home or place of residence is under "attack" manifesting in feelings of "dislocation; of being undermined by forces that destroy the potential for solace to be derived from the present, a disconnection with a valued place

causing emotional distress (Albrecht 2005:45). Further interdisciplinary research into the concept of solastalgia and its application to communities like Mapoon in the future, particularly in relation to links with illness, mental health, suicide and social problems may reveal some interesting results in understanding the connections between the impact of past events affecting present and future generations. I agree with Sneddon that cultural heritage management "is a much broader church" where "there is value in other disciplines attempts to assess" and understand the depth of people's cultural heritage values and attachments to cultural heritage places (2011:94-95). Environmental psychology married with anthropology could provide some assistance in understanding the long-term effects of Mapoon's mission closure on families in Mapoon and other heritage places through a more detailed analysis of how Elders and their families value the mission time cultural heritage over time. Environmental psychology may also provide some assistance in understanding the causes and effects of cultural change and interrelationship to the dynamism of cultural heritage values.

9.5 CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES EXPRESSED THROUGH NARRATIVES AND IN PLACE

Mapoon Elders' tenacity to rebuild Mapoon, to return and rise up from the ashes of destruction inflicted by the DAIA on 15 November 1963 is an epic narrative of injustice, trauma and the resilience and strength of Mapoon families. Mapoon's strong community drive for protection of cultural heritage places associated with the mission time largely emanates from Elders and their families. Many of the same Elders that returned to Mapoon in 1975 are responsible for the establishment of modern Mapoon and the granting of the Mapoon DOGIT and formation of MASC. In Chapters 6 and 7, I showed how Elders pass down their knowledge to Rangers and other younger generations of Mapoon people and to archaeologists, anthropologists and other researchers through these trauma narratives to create resilience and collective identity (Denham 2008). As described in Chapter 6, since the early fieldwork completed for this project in 2010, Elders' mentoring of Rangers has led to the appointment of several Cultural Heritage Rangers, who are now actively working in Mapoon to record oral histories and further cultural heritage protection. I argue that narrative – story-telling - by Elders is a necessary feature of archaeological practice in Mapoon. As discussed in Chapters 3 to 5, Mapoon Elders transmit knowledge of the past and cultural history through story-telling to Rangers and school children during engagement in

archaeological practice in country, evoking their memories, emotions and experiences of the mission time history and their triumph over adversity through the return of Mapoon. These narratives frame relationships within Mapoon to forge collective identity and also create other attitudinal frameworks of suspicion outside of Mapoon towards the State and Church.

The few remains of tangible heritage within Mapoon in the remains of the Mapoon Mission Compound and the remains of the Mapoon Mission time family homes are material anchors (Young 2008) for Elders to link these narratives to the present; these anchors act as triggers for Elders' memories to evoke their narratives. Small common-place objects from the recent mission time (c. 1963) mixed in with the charred remains of former family houses and the Mission Compound hold intimate cultural value to the contemporary Mapoon people, despite these destroyed places and their remnant material culture being fading physical links or traces to their former homes and their families. As explored in Chapter 7, Mapoon families actively create their cultural heritage and remember these narratives through commemoration and monument-building. These acts also demonstrate creating and reproducing of places and values for future generations.

The results of my fieldwork in Mapoon demonstrate that the Elders and families who have to date returned to Mapoon, shared a common yearning to return and rebuild their community and homes after their experienced trauma in 1963. As presented in Chapter 8, town planning schemes are forums for expression of this yearning to return to Mapoon and to rebuild the destroyed mission time family homes of Indigenous families following the original mission time layout.

9.6 CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES EXPRESSED THROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE

My thesis shows that in Mapoon, archaeological practice is critical to Mapoon people renewing their attachments to country, continuing caring for country and re-establishing kinship networks. Archaeological practice is integral to significance assessment, as the emotional reactions of Mapoon people to 'doing fieldwork' and being in country create attachment, form cultural heritage values and also create a form of well-being healing. I have argued that Mapoon Elders' involvement in archaeological practice by Elders are acts of 'valuing cultural heritage' (Lafrenz Samuels 2010:91, Smith 2006:1-7; and Wateron *et al.*

2006:106-111). The incorporation of missionary families and other non-Indigenous social actors and agencies in archaeological practice and acts of commemoration is integral to Mapoon people valuing these cultural heritage places. As outlined in Chapter 1, mission time cultural heritage places with intangible heritage have usually not been recognised by the State of Queensland for protection or conservation during the twentieth century. Archaeology as outlined in Chapter 1, following Smith (1996) is argued historically to have been used by the State as way of disempowering Indigenous people and communities. In this thesis, I have tried to show how archaeological practice can be appropriated by Indigenous people to assert their identity and their authority, through recognising, recording and protecting previously overlooked places as valuable in the significance assessment process, such as the Mapoon Mission Cemetery presented in Chapter 5. It is an action which is simultaneously one of control/power and of resistance.

As outlined in Chapter 5, archaeological practice (not only in survey and ground-penetrating radar) but writing papers and oral history interviews, may be a powerful tool to empower Indigenous families and also missionary families to address past wrongs by the discipline in the past through colonial representations. For example, in the past, anthropologists and relic hunters have taken objects, burial objects, human remains and personal historical records away from Mapoon people and out of country. As presented in case studies in Chapters 4 to 6, the same disciplines of archaeology and anthropology have potential to be put to work in repairing and rebuilding relationships with Mapoon people through repatriation and conservation programs, such as the interpretation and mapping of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery, mission time family homes, and the Mapoon Mission Compound. Mapoon families and MASC have also used archaeological practice to create future heritage for present and future generations through the creation of monuments (Chapter 7).

Archaeological investigations of cultural heritage places in Mapoon shed new light on possible interpretations of the identity and relationships of Mapoon families and missionary families in the narrative of the Birth of Mapoon in the past and into the present. The Mapoon Mission Cemetery is a subject of strong attachments by Mapoon and its archaeological investigation provided new information that contributes to this historical narrative, through the possible identification of pre-contact traditional burials, new information on mortuary practices and a much greater number of graves within that cemetery than ever remembered

in living history by Elders and missionary families. Cultural heritage values were created by Mapoon families and missionary families for this place by archaeological practice providing new information on the history and use of this cemetery. Mapoon Elders involvement in archaeological investigations in mission time cultural heritage places presented in Chapters 4 to 7 evoke memories and traditions of the past in present social practices and in their engagement in archaeological practice. Elders engaged in archaeological practice assisted by Rangers retold Mapoon narratives during field surveys and GPR investigations, like McNiven *et al.*'s (2006:19) statement to remember and "inscribe" their history and anchor it to place. Archaeological investigations of the Mapoon Mission Cemetery and other mission time cultural heritage places led to the renewal of Indigenous and former missionary families' attachment to this place. Elders have used archaeological practice as a form of healing or catharsis to repair some of the hurts caused by trauma of the mission closure. As presented in Chapters 4 to 7, identification and recording of cultural heritage places has provided a forum for Elders and missionary families to tell their stories, but also opportunities for some willing families to reconcile with the APC and Queensland State Government through cultural repatriation.

In this study, covenantal archaeology has provided a useful and productive framework for archaeologists and Mapoon people to work together to achieve initial community goals for cultural heritage in Mapoon. The initial archival research, oral history interviews and documentation of mission time cultural heritage undertaken here constitute the first step in Mapoon's mission time 'counter map'. The data presented in this study is one component of the counter-map. Exchange of knowledge through this partnership between archaeologists and Rangers and Elders has also assisted MLSAC to obtain cultural heritage funding, record oral history interviews, undertake historical research, repatriate cultural materials and family history and identify and map cultural heritage places. At the time of completing this thesis, further work now is being completed by MLSAC including Rangers using archaeological practice to protect and manage places identified in this study. Rangers were also developing an online heritage database and interpretative programs of this information that can be updated with new values, places and narratives over time and by future generations of Mapoon people. Mapoon Elders' grandchildren and children through the Ranger and Junior Ranger program and representation on MLSAC and MASC are continuing to care for country and document the history of their community through these new programs.

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Appendix A Maps of Remains of Mission Time Homes and Heritage

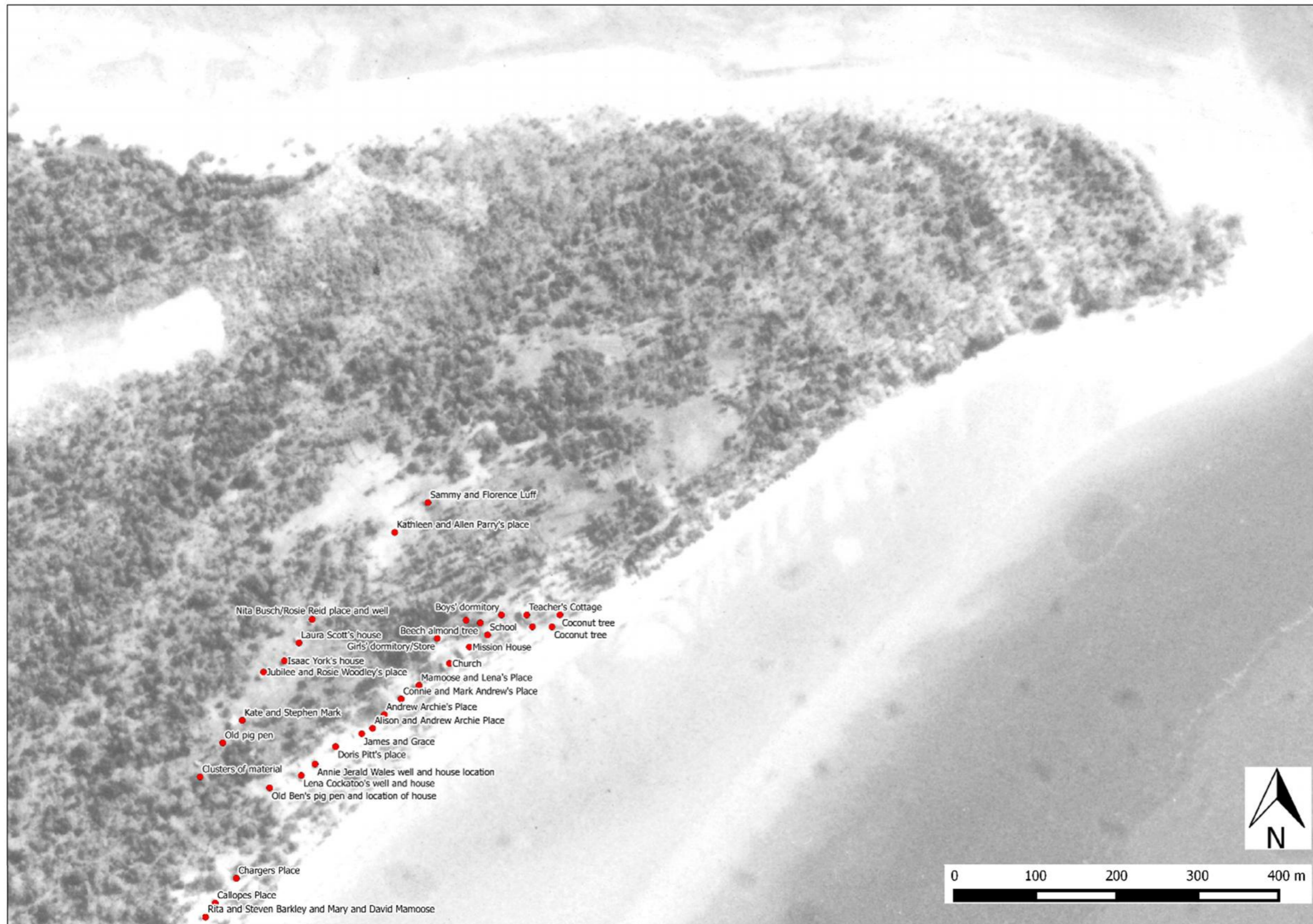


Figure A.1 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

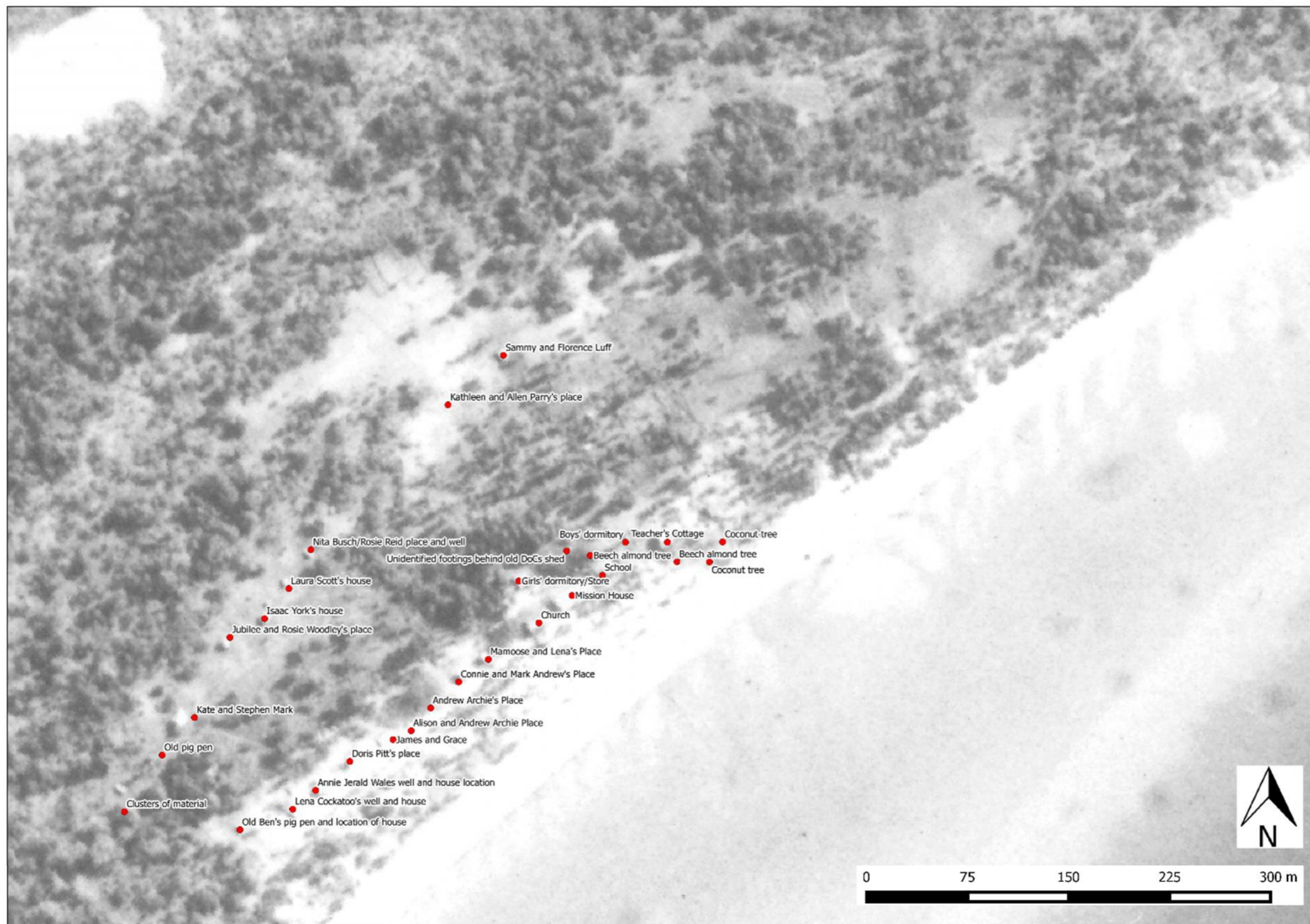


Figure A.2 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.3 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph, further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.4 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.5 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.6 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

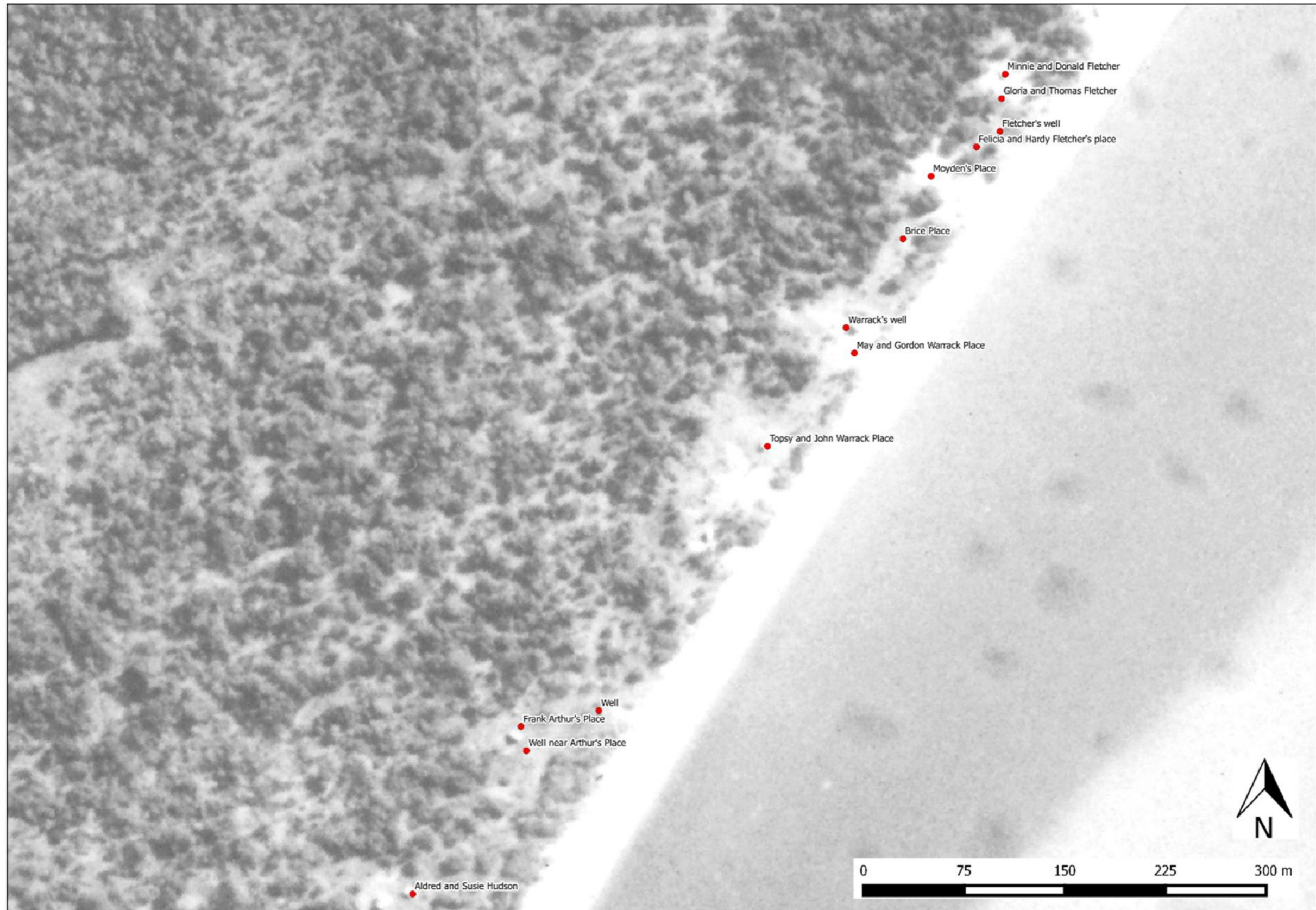


Figure A.7 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.8 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.9 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

Figure A.10 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

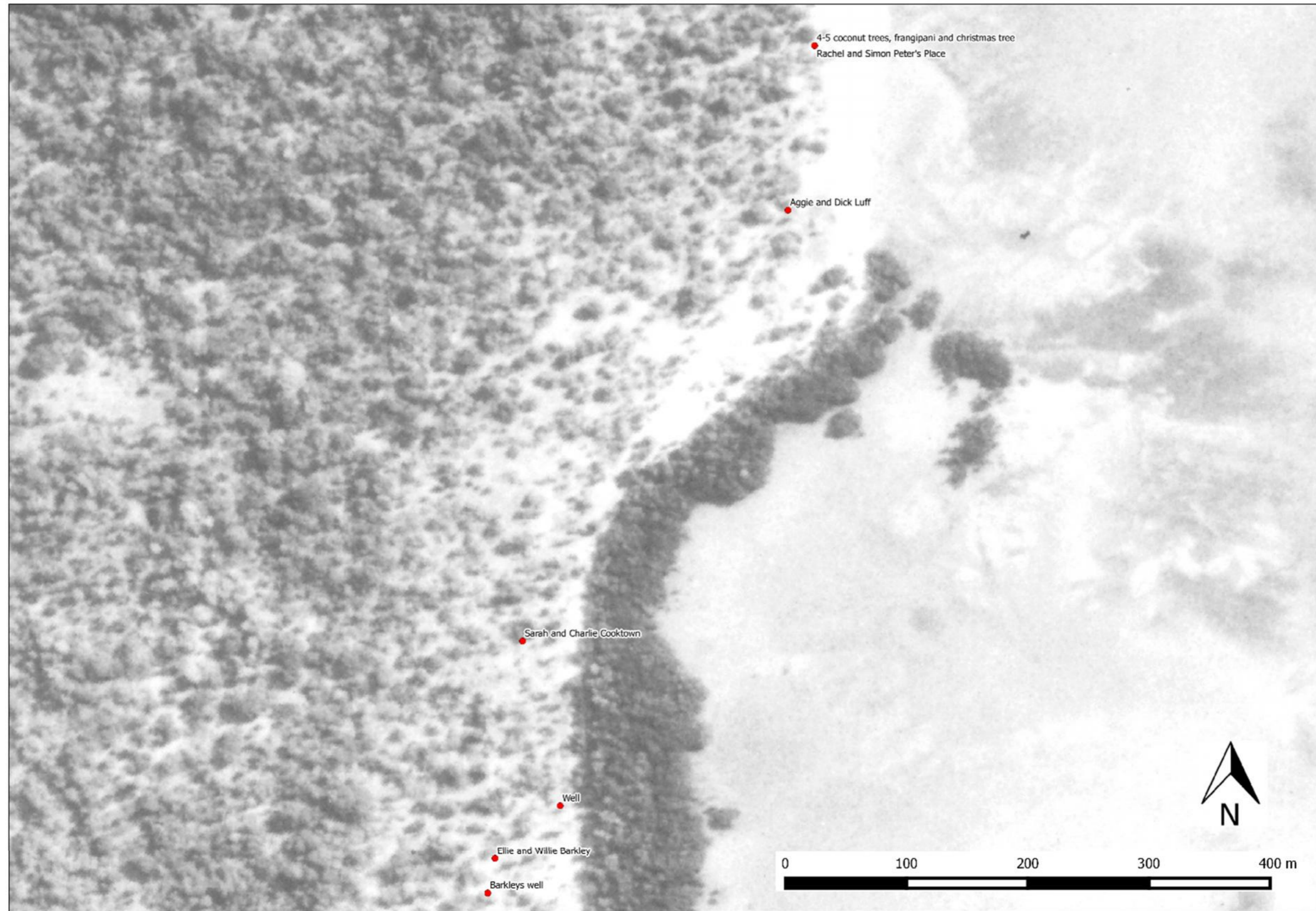


Figure A.11 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph –further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

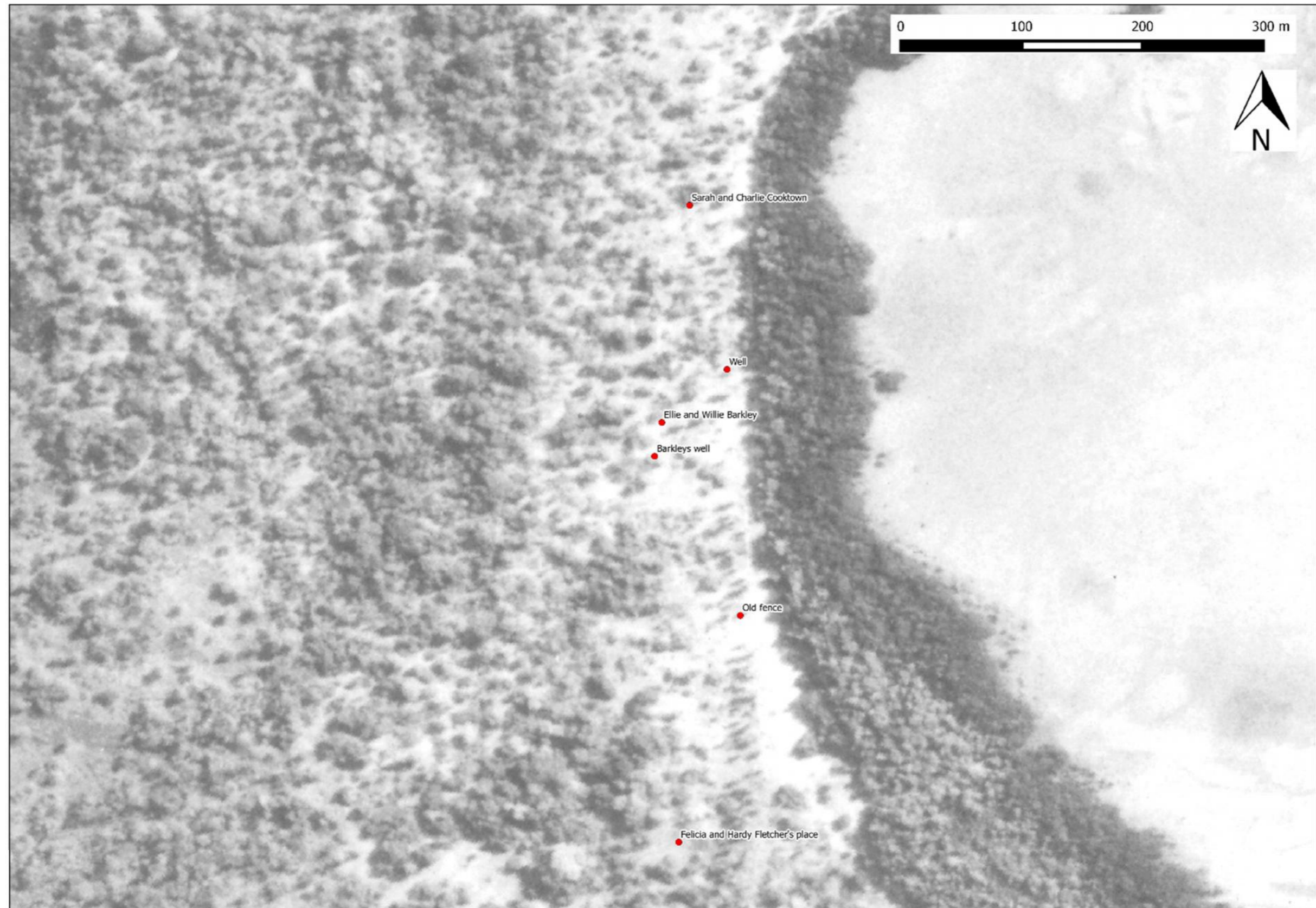


Figure A.12 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

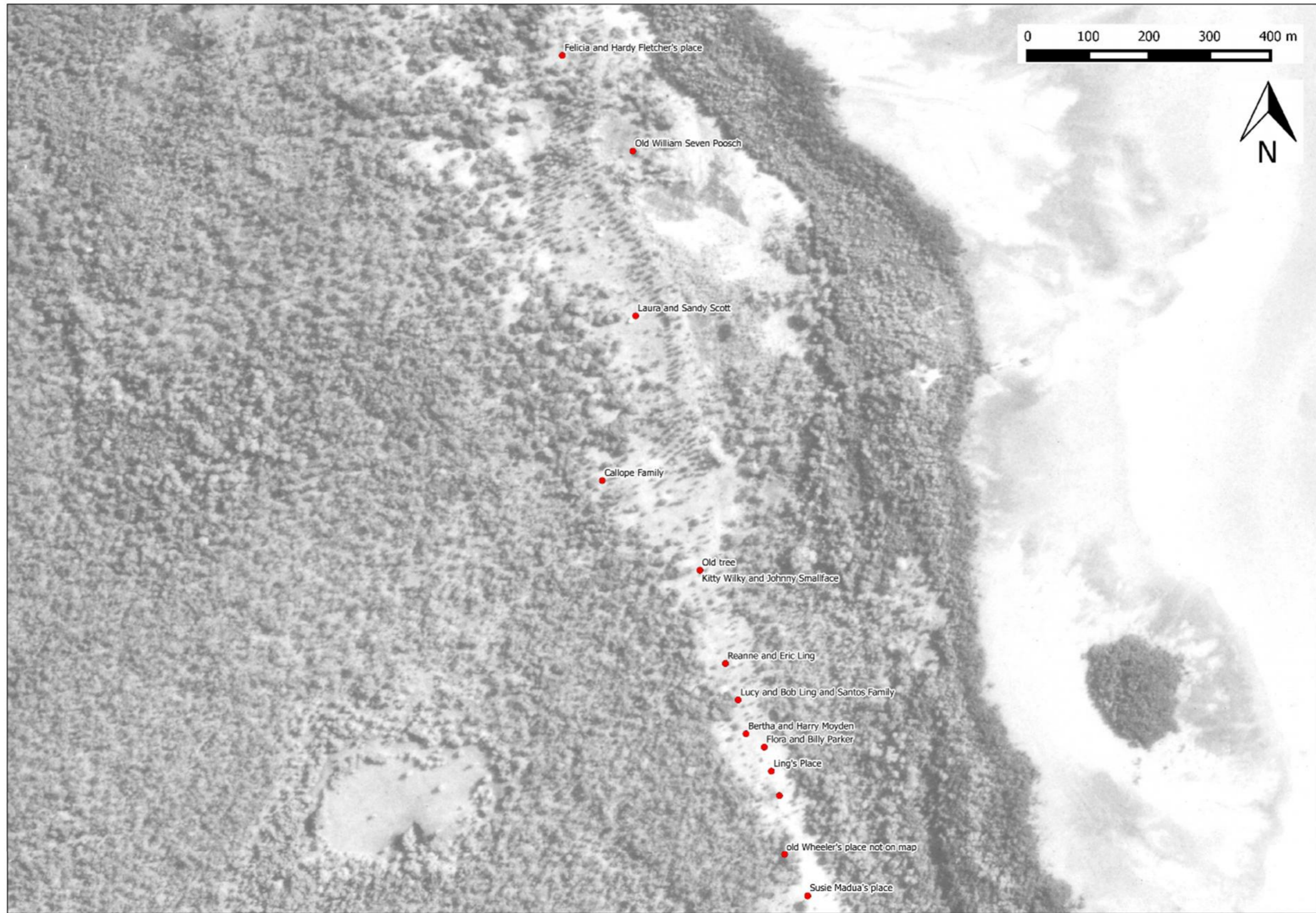


Figure A.13 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

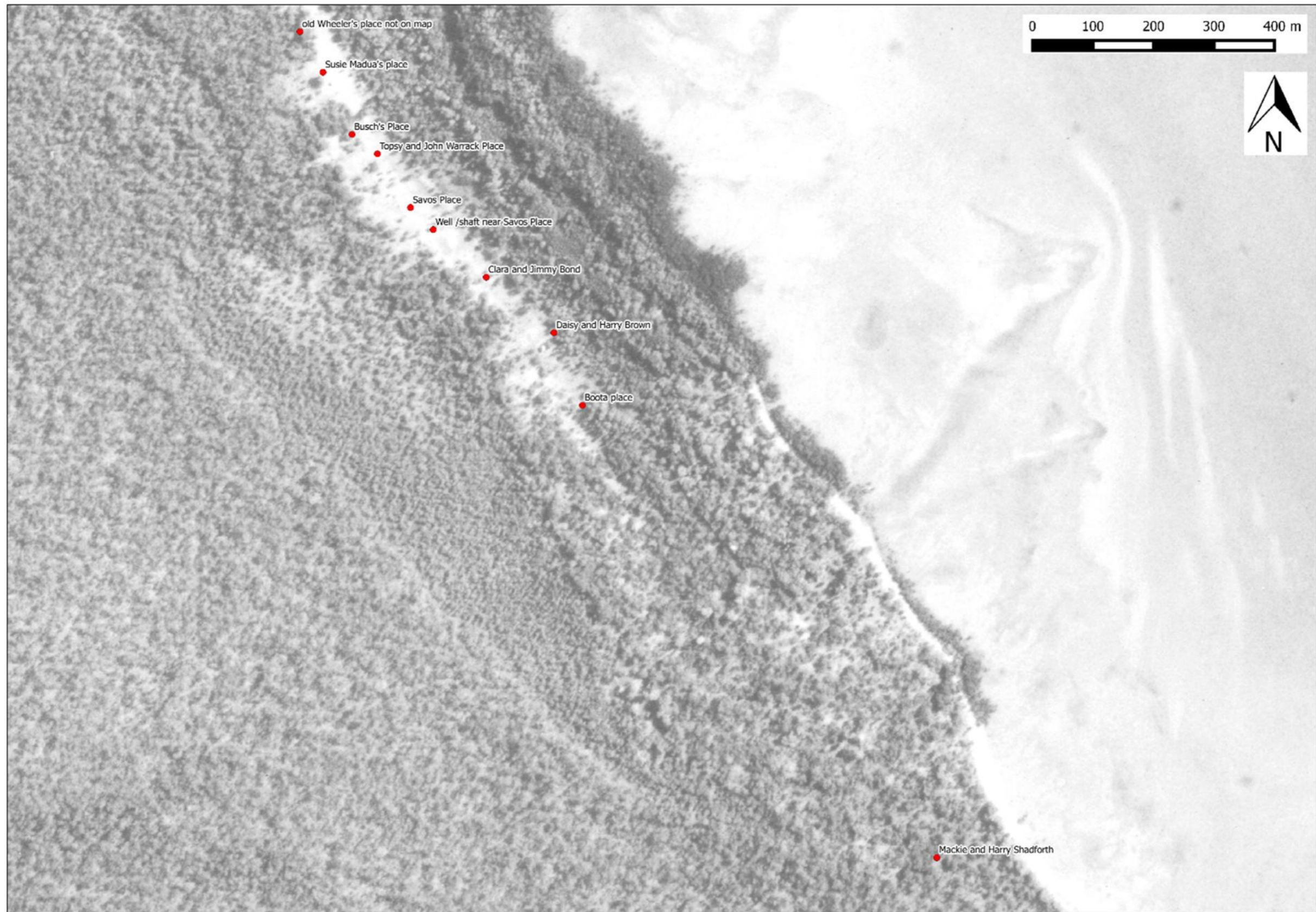


Figure A.14 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)

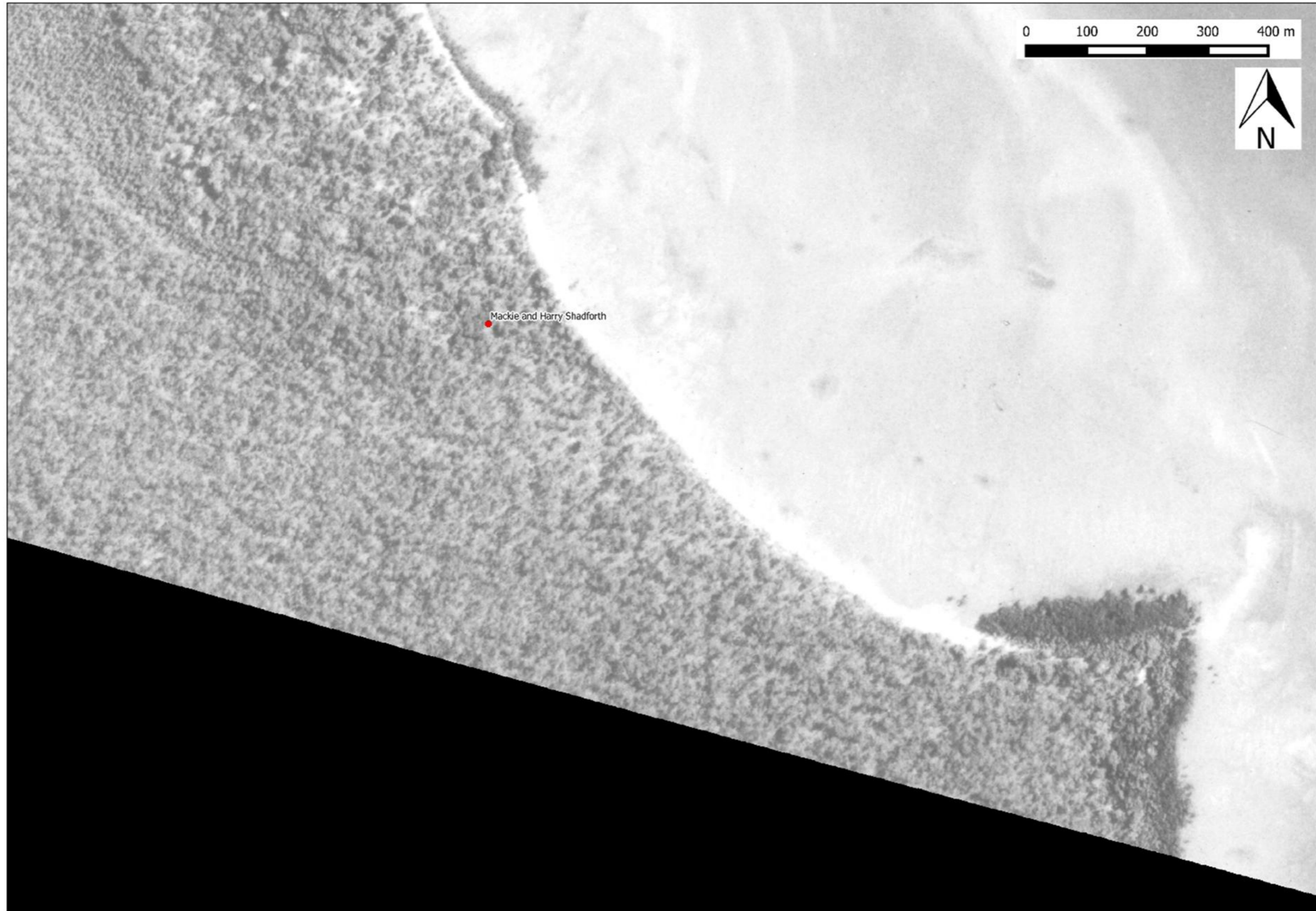


Figure A.15 The remains of Indigenous family homes (including wells and trees) and Mapoon Mission Compound remains identified during fieldwork in 2010 with Mapoon Elders on 1958 historical air photograph further south of Cullen Point (Source for 1958 air photograph, Chris Newman Rio Tinto Alcan; family names supplied by Mr William Busch, Mrs Susie Madua, Mrs Harriet Flinders, Mrs Alma Day, Mr Kenny Savo and Elder A)