

AFTERWORD: BARROW POINT IN THE 1990S

Roger Hart and I made another, very different trip to Barrow Point in mid 1989. Times had changed. We drove direct to Iipwulin in a line of four-wheel-drive vehicles, tracking a caravan of Cairns fishermen who had hauled their motorboats right to Roger's birthplace. Luckily they had not—yet—discovered Roger's oyster beds.

Our party included a diverse bunch of people: a Hopevale community councilor, a Cairns Aboriginal activist, a young Sydney University law student from Hopevale named Noelie Pearson, who brought along a couple of **wangarr** 'white' friends and his mother, a Kuku Yalanji woman. Tulo Gordon, ill with severe emphysema, had sent his youngest son Reggie with us. I took my family, and we were also joined by the late Tim Asch, an American anthropological filmmaker who had long wanted to share an adventure in Hopevale and who insisted on swimming in what Roger told him were shark- and crocodile-infested seas.

Noelie, who had perhaps glimpsed the possibilities for Queensland Aboriginal land rights on the political horizon, had taken an interest in Roger Hart's language, a relative of his own tribal Jeannie River tongue, now extinct. There was talk about tourist development, ecological protection, putting rangers on the land. Noelie and Reggie, anxious to get their hands on a boat, offered to take the Cairns fishermen out to look for turtle, but brought back only a few stingrays. Once again, Roger Hart torched the bush to "keep it clean."

Since then Roger Hart has been back again to his homeland several times, as the senior claimant to various tribal territories and as a recognized expert on land and tradition. He has flown over his own country by helicopter, preparing to give evidence for the ultimately successful Flinders Island, Cape Melville, and Cape Bowen land claim,¹ which unfortunately fails to include precisely the area at Barrow Point he himself claims as his own.² Roger told me in early 1995 that he had begun to suffer from chronic back pain, the result, he thought, of being obliged to take white folks to visit so many sacred Aboriginal sites.

Since 1991, the Starcke holding, which grew in the 1930s to encompass all the land from the McIvor River to Cape Melville under a single huge pastoral lease, has been the object of intense land rights efforts on the part of Aboriginal groups with traditional claims to the territory. Under provisions of Queensland state law, those areas already gazetted as National Parks were available to claims by the descendants of their original owners, subject to the parkland's being immediately leased back to

the government.³ Other areas of the pastoral lease are being considered for government buy-back for the benefit of the tribal owners. Still other areas are disputed under controversial judicial and legislative provisions for a "Native Title" that predates even the crown's conquest of the lands.⁴ In January 1998, Roger told me he had put a rough shack on the beach where he was born, planning to use it as a vacation home despite the facts of legal ownership.

How the history and stories of the Barrow Point people figure in the current discourse about land, ownership, and genealogy would take us far beyond the scope of the book Roger Hart, Tulo Gordon, and I set out to write almost twenty years ago. Roger Hart remains a central player in the drama, and his language lives on in maps, sites, and legal argument about legitimacy and tradition. Even old Wurrey still travels about the territory, as his adventures mapping the land are recounted by lawyers and judges.⁵

None of this will be enough to keep the language and traditions of Barrow Point alive. The dismantling of Aboriginal life throughout the north was cruelly effective and irrevocable. What survives is radically transformed. What were once moral tales for initiated adults have become "fairy tales" for children's books. What were once the special words for respect or intimacy have now become arcane counters in a calculus of claims for legitimacy and land. What were once elaborate social institutions for sharing resources, honoring the law, and educating human beings have been reduced to boundaries, titles, racial distinctions, and a decidedly European notion of "ownership."

Seventy years ago, the Cape Bedford missionary G. H. Schwarz pronounced a pessimistic prospectus for the Barrow Point people and their immediate neighbors to the north.

In a few years time it may be said that there once were two tribes living between Cape Flattery and Cape Melville but that they have died out.⁶

Roger Hart's life shows Schwarz's epitaph for the Barrow Point people to have been slightly premature. Perhaps also our book will help leave a little something to remember them by.

GLOSSARY

Note: GY is an abbreviation for Guugu Yimithirr, the language of the Cooktown area; BP stands for Roger Hart's Barrow Point language.

anggatha	'friend' in BP language; <i>anggatha athu</i> , 'my friend'
bama	GY word for Australian Aboriginal person
baramundi	a large, especially tasty game fish
bêche-de-mer	a sea slug or sea cucumber, prized as food in certain Asian cuisines
billy, or billycan	a tin can or old milk tin, with a wire handle, for hanging over the fire to boil water
bull dust	a penetrating powdery dry dust in the Australian bush
dagu	GY expression, literally meaning 'thing,' used as an exclamation meaning, 'why' or 'well'
damper	Australian bush quick bread, made from flour, water, salt, and baking powder, and customarily baked in the ashes of a fire
dilly bag	a carrying bag woven from grass or other natural fibers
duburrubun	GY word for species of magpie
fair dinkum	Australian for "true"
fossick	to search for valuables in refuse, in dirt, etc.
Gambiilmugu-warra	GY name for the Barrow Point clan to which Roger Hart belongs
gaw	GY exclamation, or call for attention, "Hey!"
gin	an Australian term for Aboriginal woman, nowadays considered offensive
goanna	one of a variety of native lizards
grog	alcoholic beverages
guya	GY for 'no, nothing, none'
humpy	Australian term for Aboriginal bark shelter
larrikin	Australian for mischievous, troublemaking person
ma	GY expression used as a prompt to action: "OK, let's go . . ."
mayi	GY for edible vegetable 'food'
minha	GY for 'meat' or edible animal
muster	Australian verb for "round up (cattle)"
ngaanhigay	GY exclamation of pain
offsider	companion, assistant
round scrub	a discrete area of rain forest surrounded by less dense vegetation
scrub	Australian term for an area of rainforest
sugar-bag	a drink made from native-honey mixed with water
swag	the Australian term for one's bedroll
thawuunh	'friend' in GY

Glossary

wangarr	GY word for non-Aboriginal person, European, 'ghost'
wommerera	the Australia-wide term for spear-thrower, derived from an Aboriginal word of New South Wales
yimpal	BP term for 'story' or 'news'

NOTES

HOPEVALE AND HOPE VALLEY

1. The following historical summary draws heavily on Haviland 1985; see also Haviland and Haviland 1980 for a general account of the founding of the mission at Cape Bedford.
2. See Haviland 1974.
3. Queensland State Archives Colonial Secretary's Files, A314, no. 2395 of 1881. Letter from St. George (police magistrate) to colonial secretary, 27 May 1881.
4. See Haviland and Haviland 1980.
5. Letter from Missionary Schwarz to the mission inspector, Archives of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society, Bavaria, Germany, 527, July 25 1906. Missionary Schwarz partially justifies the heavy losses in the mission budget for the year by saying that he thought it would be useful to get better acquainted with "new blacks" from Cape Melville. Subsequently he had kept them at the mission longer than he should have, having, he said, to feed them in the meantime.
6. For example, the elders actively discouraged intermarriage between Cape Bedford and Woorabinda people.
7. See Haviland 1993.
8. See Haviland 1979a, b.
9. The research in the 1970s and early 1980s was conducted jointly with Dr. Leslie Knox Devereaux of the Australian National University.
10. An Australian expression that suggests rummaging around through ruins, discarded waste, old mine sites, and the like, looking for something of value. This and other Australian or Aboriginal terms appear in the Glossary below.
11. This comment came from the late Bob Flinders, of Cape Melville, one of Roger Hart's countrymen and schoolmates from the early mission days.
12. Roger first refers to the late Billy **Muundu** Jacko, a man who took me under his wing when I first went to Hopevale to teach me the language. Muundu was a senior claimant of the clan estate at **Junyju** on the Starcke River. Because under normal circumstances, people from Hopevale avoid mentioning the names of the deceased, I have preserved polite usage in the text and largely moved the names of these departed kinsmen to footnotes.
13. Roger here refers to the late Tulo Gordon, of the **Nugal** clan area, co-author of Gordon and Haviland 1980 and the artist who painted the illustrations for this book.
14. Toby Gordon (*Urrguunh*, or *Wurrukuyn*), Roger Hart's childhood friend and later housemate at Mossman in the 1970s, was, along with his brother Banjo (*Udhaay*), from the same area as Roger at Barrow Point. He was photographed by the anthropologist Norman Tindale at Flinders Island in 1927, when he

appears to have been no more than about eight years old. He was later an informant for Peter Sutton in the 1970s (see Sutton 1993 for further genealogical details). He was a fluent speaker of both Barrow Point and Flinders Island languages.

15. See Haviland 1979a, 1979b for a description of some of these specialized linguistic forms and the social conditions that inspired their use.

WURREY

1. Throughout this and other translated narratives, cardinal direction terms abound, since directional insistence is characteristic of both the spoken Guugu Yimithirr and Barrow Point language. The terms should be understood not as Western compass points, but as directional “quadrants” rotated slightly clockwise from their compass equivalents. “West,” for example, is a quadrant of the horizon centered slightly north of standard west. See Haviland 1993, 1998. The places named in Wurrey’s story appear on Tulo Gordon’s painted map of the Barrow Point area.

FOG VISITS GURAABAN

1. Literally, “thing,”—here, a rough equivalent of “gee!”

THE GIANT DINGO DOG

1. **Mayi**, or ‘food’, denotes an edible plant, and thus contrasts with **minha**, ‘edible animal’ or ‘meat’.
2. Mischievous persons or troublemakers.
3. In Guugu Yimithirr storytelling, narrators often use such strings of nonsense syllables to denote the passage of time or distance.
4. According to Roger Hart, the head of an animal was customarily reserved for the hunter himself.
5. Aboriginal people.

THE STORIES: OWNERS AND MORALS

1. Parts of Roger’s story have appeared in other guises. Dick Roughsey and Percy Tresize published a version of the Devil Dingo story (Roughsey 1973), without locating it geographically the way Roger does. Similarly, Tulo Gordon’s collection of “Guugu Yimithirr” tales “from the Endeavour River” (Gordon and Haviland 1980) includes a somewhat expurgated version of the Thunder and Fog episode, recounted below, which Tulo learned growing up at Cape Bedford, where the story was widely known among older people. These stories were originally carefully fixed geographically, although there were probably variant versions associated with different Aboriginal groups.

2. A reference to the late Mary Ann Mundy, a woman who lived in the same camp as Roger when he was a child and who spent all of her life in close contact with the Barrow Point people.
3. Like all Guugu Yimithirr or Barrow Point language kin terms, the word **gami** denotes a classificatory relationship, implying both a genealogical link and a social category equivalent to a person “like” a mother’s mother or a father’s father. The **gami/gamintharr** relationship was perhaps the prototypical “joking relationship” (see Thomson 1935, Haviland 1979a) in this part of Australia. In Barrow Point language, the terms are reciprocal; thus, a man calls his paternal grandfather **amithu** and his grandfather calls him by the same term.
4. Literally, a ‘non-salty, sweet, or bland’ person.

SWALLOWED BY THE EARTH

1. These are the English words Roger Hart used to introduce this story, distinguishing it explicitly from some of the other tales that appear in this book. This version of the story of the demise of the Pinnacle mob is based on Roger Hart’s telling on 18 September 1984.
2. Sutton 1992 lists this as clan area no. 10, including Barrow Point proper and the eastern side of Cape Melville. This is Roger Hart’s own traditional country, inherited from his Aboriginal father. As the story indicates, the area extended considerably inland to the southwest and was divided socially into two halves.
3. Sutton 1992 lists the territory known by this name as clan area no. 12, described as “part of coast south of Barrow Point; Barrow Point to Cape Bowen,” claimed as the traditional territory of several of Roger Hart’s relatives named in later chapters.
4. There was evidently a basic similarity between the coastal and inland dialects of Barrow Point language despite different words in the two dialects for common objects and actions.
5. The Guugu Yimithirr word **yiirmbal** refers to spirits associated with dangerous or sacred places. **Yiirmbal** often take the form of gigantic animals, but they can equally well be manifested by powerful destructive forces, punishing everything from serious wrongdoing to simple disrespect.
6. Some residents of modern Hopevale worked in the 1950s and early 1960s as stockmen on the Starcke Station that ultimately grew to include areas as far north as Wakooka and Cape Melville. Older men with knowledge of these areas, including Roger Hart’s childhood playmate Banjo Gordon, were still doing stockwork at the time and passed on scattered bits of local lore to the younger men.
7. Guugu Yimithirr-speaking people from the south used to refer to the northern tribes—including Barrow Point people—collectively as **Yiithuu**.

BARROW POINT AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

1. See Haviland and Haviland 1980 and Loos 1982 for the Cooktown area. Sutton 1993 gives 1890 as the date of the discovery of payable gold at Munburra on the Starcke River, and he mentions gold prospecting inland from Ninian Bay in 1884.
2. Sutton 1993, vol. 1, pp. 5-13, summarizes the historical record for the wider area encompassing Flinders Island and Cape Melville and extending south beyond Barrow Point to Cape Bowen.
3. Roth's report to the commissioner of police, "On the Aborigines occupying the 'hinter-land' of Princess Charlotte Bay," 30 December 1898, MS. photocopy, Mitchell Library.
4. Ibid.
5. See "The Tragic History of Mrs. Watson," a booklet dated 24 January 1882 that reports on the inquest into the Lizard Island affair (whose date is set at 12 October 1881), also reprinting Mrs. Watson's diaries, J. C. M. Oxley Library.
6. Sutton 1992 shows this clan area (no. 21) as "Jack River, Battle Camp area."
7. Queensland Parliamentary Papers 1903 14 no. 1 / 1902, Roth's annual report for 1902.
8. Queensland State Archives (hereafter cited as QSA) Police records 13a/G1, pp. 68-69, 20 December 1910 (hereafter cited as POL). Bodman goes on to ask for reimbursement of £3 for the costs of the trip to Red Point on the boat *Seabreeze*. He excuses the failed mission by saying that he had had it on good authority they could get Chucky at Red Point, suggesting that some sort of a network of Aboriginal informers was already in place. QSA POL/13a/G1, p. 70, 3 January 1911.
9. QSA POL/13a/G1, p. 153, 5 April 1911, memo from Bodman to the inspector of police at Townsville, who had issued the warrant for Chucky's arrest.
10. QSA POL/13a/G1, p. 160, 18 April 1911, letter from Bodman to the chief protector Brisbane.
11. QSA POL/13a/G1, p. 172, 3 May 1911, letter from Bodman. During World War II, when Roger Hart and other young men from Hopevale visited Cherbourg on labor gangs, Roger was shown the graves of several men said to be his "relations" from Barrow Point who had been "removed" to the south decades before.
12. QSA POL/13a/G1 (Cooktown Police letterbook 1910-1912), pp. 4ff., 10 November 1910.
13. QSA POL/13a/G1, letter from Constable W. K. Aird, submitted by Sgt. Bodman, 10 November 1910.
14. QSA POL/13a/G1, letter apparently to the harbormaster. The boys' names and ages are listed in Mackett's index to the QSA Aboriginal papers, Mackett 1992, volume 36.
15. Archives of the Lutheran Church of Australia, 1, 28 November 1925, Schwarz

- letter in reply to protector's inquiry of 19 December. "Sugar-bag" refers to the sweet drink made from water and native honey. Archives of the Lutheran Church of Australia are hereafter cited as ALCA.
16. Ibid.
 17. "Island men" were natives of the Torres Strait Islands, Melanesians not considered to be quite *bama*, i.e., not true Australian Aborigines.
 18. ALCA, 1, 28 November 1925, Schwarz letter in reply to protector's inquiry of 19 December.
 19. In his reply to Schwarz's letter, Chief Protector of Aborigines Bleakley quoted "the regulation wages for mainland aborigines" as "£2/5 to £2/10 per month and clothes, tobacco, food, and blankets, for Torres Straits men £3/15 to £4 with food and blankets, Torres Straits men in charge of boats £7 per month." QSA A/58682, letter from chief protector to Schwarz, 17 February 1926.
 20. See Sutton 1993, 17ff.
 21. King Harry was stepfather of the late Bob Flinders, of Hopevale, one of the biological children of the Danish lighthouse keeper mentioned.
 22. The protectors of aborigines bestowed a crescent-shaped metal plate on the men they named "kings." Norman Tindale photographed King Harry with his plate at Flinders Island in 1927. See Sutton 1993.
 23. From Guugu Yimithirr *milbi-thirr*, 'news-COMIT,' i.e., "bearing news."
 24. The Abbey Peak property ultimately came to encompass both Occupation Licenses 394 and 395, whose histories were officially distinct but intertwined.
 25. A Lands Ministry minute dated 12 April 1916 described the official situation as follows: "The land in the locality is part of a large area (4,500 sq. miles) which was opened for occupation license in May 1889 and remained open for over 26 years until the area not applied for was withdrawn last September." Lands OL 394 Cook, QSA.
 26. QSA (Lands OL 394 Cook): 27 March 1916, letter from James Bennett, late 15th AJJ, c/o Cooktown, to Brig. Gen. Command 1st Military district, Brisbane, forwarded to Minister of Lands, 4 April 1916, including a map that shows OL 373 [Kalpowar] leased to Maurice Hart at £6/-, and Mount Hope to O'Beirne & O'Beirne for 30 years. Bennett visited the property and made an official application on 11 April 1916.
Maurice Hart is a recurrent player in this history. The O'Beirne brothers also reappear in local histories as landowners, as well as in the biographies of Aborigines to whom they gave their surname.
 27. The annual rent was £4/16/6 for the two blocks. QSA Lands OL 394 Cook, entries dated 21 August 1916, 31 August 1916, and 6 September 1916 (no. 27920).
 28. QSA Lands OL 394 Cook (no. 06064).
 29. Applications from Allan Crichtley Instone of Cooktown appear in QSA Lands OL 395 Cook. On 11 June 1918, OL 395, Sapper Bennett's original property, was transferred to Instone. Instone applied to take over OL 394 as well (QSA Lands OL 394 no. 17405, 14 June 1918). Applications from Gordon and Stew-

- art, the leaseholders of Starcke, appear in QSA Lands OL 394, 11 July 1918. The ubiquitous Maurice Hart's application appears in QSA Lands OL 394 Cook, 11 September 1918.
30. Government Gazette, 10 October 1919, p. 1208: Abbey Peak, 228 square miles, "Commencing on the coast at a point about 2 miles 40 chains N-Wly from Cape Bowen and bounded thence by Wakooka Holding, bearing west about 15 miles to Birthday Plains holding, by that holding bearing north about 10 miles 48 chains to the coast," inclusive of Ols 378, 394 and 395. (QSA LAN/AF run 1228).
 31. Preference had originally again been given to a returning soldier, since Abbey Peak was leased to John Phillip O'Beirne, of the 12th Australian Light Horse Regiment, Moascar, Egypt on 10 December 1919. O'Beirne, evidently from the same family as the leaseholders of the original "Mt. Hope" occupation license, applied for the Abbey Peak property on 24 November 1919; the 228-mile property was gazetted on 10 December 1919 and sent for charting on 16 March 1920 (QSA LAN/AF run 1228). Instone's lease appears in QSA LAN/AF run 1228, 18 June 1920. The lease was to run for 30 years from 1 January 1920, at an annual rent of £85 until 1924, and £57 thereafter (QSA LAN N143).
 32. ALCA, 1, letter dated 28 November 1925, Schwarz's reply to Protector Bleakley's inquiry of 19 November 1925.
 33. Sam Malaya was reputed to have worked as a gardener for many other European station owners, and no one knew how he had come to Barrow Point. He had worked at Kalpowar, far to the south at King's Plain, and at Olivevale. While he was at Barrow Point he had no wife, but he was rumored to be the biological father of Hopevale resident Charlie Maclean, who was born in the area called **Jugun** at King's Plain. Malaya died in Cairns sometime after World War II.
 34. QSA Lands OL 378 Cook no. 20561, 4 April 1916; Hart asked in an urgent telegram to be allowed to lease a 50-square-mile block adjoining Starcke to the north.
 35. QSA Lands OL 378 Cook (no. 26902, 1 September 1916), telegram sent on 10 August 1916 from O'Beirne at Cooktown to "Hart, Grazier, c/o Donald, Laura."
 36. The tract had been gazetted on 29 September 1916. QSA Lands OL 397 Cook, letter 8 November 1916. Government Gazette, 29 September 1916, p. 973.
 37. A certain cowboy free-for-all atmosphere seems to have obtained in the area at the time. The official records pertaining to the Wakooka holding attest to a series of running battles between Hart and his neighbors, ostensibly over grazing rights. See QSA Lands OL 394, and OL 397 files, especially QSA LAN/AF 1247, Wakooka Run 2623 Cook, ranger's report dated 10 March 1920, QSA LAN/AF 1247, Wakooka 2623 Cook, letters dated 26 June, 12 July 1922; QSA LAN/AF 1238, Howick 2621 Cook, letter of 26 September 1924, QSA LAN/AF 1238, Howick 2621 Cook, letter dated 19 November 1924, from A. Wallace, Glenrock, to the Lands Commissioner, QSA LAN/AF 1238, Howick

- 2621 Cook, Land Ranger report 2 December 1924, QSA LAN/AF 1238, Howick 2621 Cook, minute 10 December 1924.
- Roger Hart suggests that since these properties were vast in area and sparsely patrolled, cattle wandered freely from one station to the next. Maurice Hart believed that his neighbors were "duffing" (i.e., rustling) his cattle, and in retaliation when he came upon his neighbors' animals, he invited bama living on his property to dispatch them for food.
38. ALCA, 1, letter dated 28 November 1925, Schwarz's reply to Protector Bleakley's inquiry of 19 November 1925.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Maurice Hart had a large family of his own, and Roger Hart has kept track of some of the other descendants of his presumed biological father. Just before the war, when Roger and other Cape Bedford men were working to clear a mission outstation north of the McIvor River, at what was later to become Mt. Webb Station, they encountered a group of men shifting cattle south to Hughendon. "I seen his son there, Barney Hart . . . He was a young fellow—might as well call him **yaba**, 'older brother'." After the war while living in Mossman, Roger met a European woman from Port Douglas who identified herself as Hart's daughter. Another daughter, Madge, had a son Brian who operates bus tours from Moree, N.S.W., and who has visited Roger Hart at Hopevale. See Sutton 1993, p. 24.
 41. A certain Mr. White had the sandalwood business, and he gave his surname to Tiger White—"the brother of old Charlie Burns"—who worked for him. He also employed a number of Aboriginal horseboys and other workers. Roger Hart identifies Jupert Bairy ("father of Lindsay Bairy") as White's horseboy, who took care of the pack horses, and old man Wulba, from Rossville, as another of his main employees. Jupert, from the Battle Camp area called **Balng-garr**, later worked at the Cooktown slaughteryard. Roger Hart remembers that he still recognized the former sandalwood worker when he saw him many years later in Cooktown.
 42. Sutton 1993 records the spelling *Ipolyin*, from Toby Gordon, as the cover term for the Barrow Point area. He gives the Flinders Island equivalent as **Ip-wolthan** and the Guugu Yimithirr name as **Dhibuuldhin**. (The latter appears transparently to translate as 'Place of Bats' < **thiibuul**, 'bat' + **thi(rr)** COMITATIVE), although Roger Hart remembers the Barrow Point equivalent of Guugu Yimithirr **thiibuul** as *mali:rr*, meaning 'bat'.) Sutton 1993 comments that "specific names refer to smaller parts of" the whole Barrow Point area. For Roger Hart, *lipwulin* is the proper name for the Aboriginal camp on the eastern side of the rocky outcrop that bisects the southern shore of Ninian Bay.
- Variant pronunciations of place names, such as those for Eumangin or Roger's camp (lipwulin, Ipolyin, lipwolin, Ipuulin, etc.) attest to a complex vowel system in the Barrow Point language whose proper reconstruction is probably now impossible.
43. One nearby spot where people used to camp when traveling south and east—where Roger, Tulo, and I stopped to eat a coconut on our first trek to Roger's

homeland—is still remembered by name: *thulgumuway*, on the eastern shore south of Barrow Point itself. Sutton 1993 lists a Barrow Point language site called *tholkamoway*, which Toby Gordon identified as belonging to *ama Al-thanmungu* near Cape Bowen. Roger Hart puts the site squarely in his Gambiilmugu area. He translates *thulgu* as the name for a species of large flying fox, whose neck is ringed with white fur. The name *thulgumuway* would thus denote a place where such animals are plentiful.

44. Roger Hart glosses the word *uwuru* as 'deaf'. Sutton 1993 gives the name of this same creek, provided by Toby Gordon, as *Owuro*, 'Alligator Creek'.
45. Sutton 1993, following Toby Gordon, lists the Eumangin Creek, as it is known to stockmen, as *Yamaaynthin*.
46. Sutton 1993 shows this clan area (no. 11), "part of coast just north of Barrow Point," as beginning somewhat farther south on the coast than Roger himself remembers, in an area which Roger Hart identifies as still associated with his own Gambiilmugu group.
47. Several large shell middens are still evident in this area, attesting to sizeable Aboriginal settlement here up until the 1930s.

BUSH TUCKER

1. At Hopevale macromoiety, whose importance for social identity has faded somewhat before massive numbers of marriages, "crooked" by traditional standards, are alternatively identified by reference to totemic bee or bird species.
2. In Guugu Yimithirr two closely related species are the cognate *muunhthiina* and *mabil*. There are several other named varieties in both languages, but people rarely, if ever, collect these roots for food in modern times.
3. In Guugu Yimithirr, *babunh*.
4. In Barrow Point, *Warninil*, sometimes also known in English as "barra barra" nuts.
5. Nicholas Wallace, brother of Hector, and according to Roger, son of a Barrow Point man known as Barney.
6. Long Billy McGreen was later a native trooper, a tracker for the Cooktown police, the wardsman for the Cooktown lepers camp, and a celebrated victim of a witchcraft killing.

YIITHUU-WARRA

1. The reconstruction of the past has been further complicated by contemporary efforts to reclaim land rights for the descendants of the original Aboriginal owners of this part of Queensland. See, for example, Haviland 1997.
2. Literally, "they have a single intestine," i.e., they are both stubborn and easily angered.
3. "Old woman."
4. Roger describes Toby Gordon's wife Topsy—whom Toby married after being sent away to Lockhart—as a 'cousin' of Rosie, wife of King Nicholas.

5. Classificatory father's younger sister, i.e., a paternal aunt, who would normally be married to a man in the opposite moiety and thus be the mother of an appropriate cross-cousin bride.
6. Grandchild of the same moiety, e.g., a classificatory son's child, an appropriate joking partner but an inappropriate marriage partner.
7. The Guugu Yimithirr word for the practice is *gunyjil*.
8. The Lutheran church had founded another mission for the Aboriginal inhabitants in the Bowen-Proserpine area in the latter part of the previous century. Ultimately the mission failed for financial reasons, and a large group of former residents was sent to Cape Bedford in 1902. Most of these people were quickly returned to the south, since the Hope Valley missionaries found that they had been "spoiled" by inappropriately free contact with Europeans in their homeland. A small group of these "strangers" from the south, however, stayed on at Cape Bedford.
9. A Marie Yamba man who became an important leader at Cape Bedford and who was, coincidentally, Roger Hart's father-in-law.

THE PORCUPINE

1. The animal is actually an echidna.
2. Tulo Gordon remembered having heard another detail of this story, that the angry people from the camp also hit the porcupine-woman with their womeras, leaving a hollow space at the base of where the modern echidna has its ears, thus rendering her not only "disobedient" (i.e., "without ears") but permanently deaf.

NGANYJA

1. Sutton 1992 gives the name as *Wurrkulnthin*. He mentions it as a "Carpet Snake" story place and cites as well a "Tiger Snake" story associated with the island. Roger Hart explicitly denies that his own *Mungurru*, 'Carpet Snake', story has an association with Noble Island, contrasting the owners of that island with the Cape Bowen, Barrow Point, and Cape Melville people that share his version of the story.
2. Roger contrasts the burial customs of his people at Barrow Point with the Guugu Yimithirr practice of keeping parts of bodies, especially the fingertips, in a small bag to use in hunting magic, i.e., to attract game. Barrow Point people would keep bits of skin and hair as "remembrances."
3. The Aboriginal people at Iipwulin used to call the European settler, Instone, by the uncomplimentary and somewhat terrifying name *damu munun urdiiga*, i.e., 'ghost with skin removed'.
4. The man was Toby Flinders, also known as Toby Cape Bowen, described by Roger Hart as a "paternal grandfather" of Mitchell McGreen.
5. See Dixon 1971, Haviland 1979a, 1979b.
6. In Barrow Point language, literally, 'name-with'.

7. Johnny Flinders was a Cape Melville man who, until his death in 1979, was a central figure in helping anthropologists to reconstruct Aboriginal territorial and genealogical ties in the whole Cape Melville area. Sutton 1993 gives two Flinders Island language names for him, **Wodhyethi** and **Orpayin**. According to Sutton's account, John Flinders saw his brother Diver Flinders initiated at Bathhurst Head around 1908. Sutton reports John Flinders's belief that this was the last initiation in the area. On the other hand, Roger Hart remembers John Flinders to have been about fifteen years old at the time the ceremony he describes took place.

Roger's description of the **nganyja** is apparently based both on his own childhood memory and on accounts of others with whom he shared memories of the Cape Melville camps in later years. It is likely that the rituals he describes here were something less than a full initiation.

8. The two brothers, Nelson and Wathi (also known as Billy Salt, or **Nhimaarbulu**) were from the area called **Wuuri**, and lived most of the time in the Barrow Point camp at Iipwulin during Roger Hart's childhood. They were **thuway**, or 'nephew' to Roger.
9. Roger is reluctant to use the Guugu Yimithirr word **nganyja** for this ceremony, saying "that's what *they* [i.e., the Cape Bedford people] call it." The ritual Roger describes he identifies closely with worship and respect accorded to the Carpet Snake, whose spirit inhabited Cape Melville.
10. The reference is to the totemic bee species representing the two moieties.

WITCHES

1. One of the first children to be born to newly Christianized parents at the Cape Bedford Mission, Mickey Bluetongue is shown in mission records as having been born in 1886, son of "Mickey" and "Rosie," and later married to "Nellie."
2. McGreen was also known as Billy **Galbay**, "Long Billy" or Billy **Tharrathan**, after his father; taped conversation with the late Tulo Gordon (80:45) and Sutton's genealogy, Sutton 1993, 2:18.
3. A man with the clan association known as **Yalnggaal-mugu**, inland south of Red Point, Burns was known to the young Roger Hart as a stockman working for Maurice Hart at the Wakooka Station in the late teens. His father was old man **Waarigan**, 'Moon'. Burns's brother Tiger White worked at Wakooka in sandalwood cutting. Burns later returned from Palm Island to Laura, and thence to Hopevale, where two of his daughters married Hopevale men.
4. Haviland fieldnotes; taped conversations with the late Billy Jacko (79:17).
5. The death of McGreen was reported to the protector of Aborigines in Cooktown by his brother, Jackson, in 1937; Queensland State Archives, Protector of Aborigines Occurrences Book.
6. This story was told by the late George Bowen, long-time master of the mission boat *Pearl Queen*.
7. The late Tulo Gordon remembered hearing this story as a young lad.

THE PROBLEM OF "HALF-CASTE" CHILDREN

1. Despite the fact that this term is in frequent use even at modern Hopevale, it is offensive to many Aboriginal people. I apologize for having been unable to avoid citing archival documents that make free use of the expression.
2. Queensland Votes and Papers, vol. 4, 1896, 723-36, 731, A. Meston's Report on North Queensland Aborigines.
3. Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines for 1899, 1 July 1900. Roth also opposed suggestions that half-caste women be allowed exemptions from the provisions of restrictive legislation governing the status and employment of Aborigines, on the grounds that this could leave them without legal protection and relegate them to "nothing else than slavery."
4. Roth, Report of Northern Protector of Aborigines, 2 January 1901.
5. Ibid.
6. Queensland State Archives, Police records 13a/G1, 20 April 1910.
7. Roth, Report of Northern Protector of Aborigines, 2 January 1901.
8. ALCA, 1.2, tape no. 3, 24 April 1900, letter from undersecretary for Home to Pastor Rechner, condemning management at Bloomfield and mentioning a telegram in which the mission worker "has made a written and witnessed confession to having had connection with some of the girls at the Station" during the missionary's absence.
9. In a letter to the mission inspector, Schwarz said he first refused to accept the delegation of twenty-five Marie Yamba people who were transferred to Bloomfield (Archives of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society, Bavaria, Germany, 477, no. 2, 3 September 1901, and Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und über Nordamerika, Neuendettelsau 1886-1907, nos. 2 and 3, p. 471, March 1902). Subsequently, in July 1902, twenty-four of the Marie Yamba people were allowed to move to Hope Valley, at Cape Bedford (Archives of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society, Bavaria, Germany, 488, no. 2, 12 July 1902, letter from Schwarz to mission inspector). Roger Hart's history is intertwined with that of the Marie Yamba people, since he ultimately married the daughter of one of them.
10. In one case, a European man who had admitted paternity of a mixed-descent child applied for her to be placed at Cape Bedford after protracted correspondence about who should be financially and morally responsible for her upbringing. See QSA A/58749. The European later became a friend of Missionary Schwarz and a periodic visitor to the mission. He was praised by mission authorities as the only white man in the region to accept responsibility for a part-Aboriginal child he had fathered.
11. Schwarz in fact furnished most of the ethnographic and linguistic information about the Aboriginal groups living north of Cooktown that Roth later published. See, for example, Roth 1984 (1901-6).
12. A large Anglican mission station near Cairns.
13. Letter from Schwarz to Roth, 2 February 1902. QSA A/58749 northern protector of Aborigines. The man called Matyi (Schwarz's rendition of the Guugu

- Yimithirr word **mathi**, 'rain') was still remembered by the oldest people at Hopevale in the early 1970s; photographs of him taken by the early missionaries show a grizzled sorcerer with white hair and a formidable nose-pin. Matyi's picture appears in Pohlner 1986.
14. QSA A/58749, letter 24 February 1902, from office of the northern protector to undersecretary.
 15. QSA A/58749, letter from Kenny to his superior officer, 26 June 1902.
 16. QSA A/58749, note from Kenny to Inspector Garroway, Laura, 30 June 1902.
 17. QSA A/58749, letter 23 June 1902, from Wallace, Glenrock, to the home secretary.
 18. Roth, as the northern protector of Aborigines, had of course ordered the removal. Despite Wallace's appeal to Roth's opinion, Roth himself was not well viewed by the settlers in the Cooktown area because of his interventions on behalf of local Aborigines. Wallace also wrote to his parliamentary representative complaining about Roth's attempts to have the girl Dora removed, and the legislator in turn forwarded the letter (from "an old and respected squatter in the Cook District") to the home secretary, with the comment that in a similar case "Dr Roth's action in forcibly taking a young gin from a comfortable and respectable home where she was treated by the whole family as one of themselves resulted eventually in the gin becoming a prostitute." QSA A/58749, letter from J. Hamilton, Brisbane, to home secretary, 8 July 1902.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. Guugu Yimithirr, **Binhthi-warra**, a clan group whose traditional tribal estate included both the properties Glenrock and Elderslie on the McIvor River.
 21. Protector Roth, later reviewing his own correspondence book, finds "that on 19th June 1899 I had to write to this same Charles Wallace as follows: 'I have just returned from a patrol along the coast and lower McIvor. At the 'landing' an Aboriginal named Jimmy whom I examined and found suffering from recent marks of violence, complained about your having whipped him, giving me full particulars and asking me to take action. I should be glad to hear what you have to say.' I remember distinctly his replying to the effect that he fully admitted it and would do it again"; QSA A/58749, letter of 22 August 1902, signed by W. E. Roth, northern protector of Aborigines, to home secretary. Wallace was frequently in dispute with the neighboring Cape Bedford mission over boundaries and cattle rights in the area.
 22. QSA A/58749, report from J. Martin Kenny, Constable 419, Eight-Mile [Cooktown], to Subinspector Garroway, Laura, 15 August 1902.
 23. QSA A/58749, Roth's letter of 22 August 1902. Roth requested that the settler Wallace not be told that Dora's situation had been raised by the Cape Bedford missionary, since "were Charlie Wallace ever to know that the Missionaries had first drawn my attention to the case I fear that something might happen to the latter's cattle on the [Aboriginal Mission] reserve."
 24. QSA A/58749, letter from Wallace at Glenrock to home secretary, 20 September 1902. The removal orders from the under secretary for home affairs, W. H. Ryder, was dated 8 September 1902.

25. QSA A/58749, Kenny's report dated Eight Mile, 23 October 1902. This and subsequent correspondence in the case originally appeared in a separate file of the correspondence of the northern protector, with ID numbers 748/1902 and 945/1902.
26. QSA A/58749, letter from Wallace, Glenrock, to the home secretary, Brisbane, 14 December 1903. "Constable Kenny I hear caught the father of this gin and threatened to send him away to another country unless he came over and took the gin away from me."
27. QSA A/58749, Kenny's report to Garroway, Laura, 22 October 1903. The home secretary's telegram authorizing Dora to stay at Cape Bedford was also dated 22 October 1903.
28. QSA A/58749, letter from Wallace, Glenrock, to the home secretary, Brisbane, 14 December 1903.
29. Theile here refers to three women of mixed ancestry, considered "sisters" by the Hope Valley community, who went on to raise important families at Hopevale; one of them became a main schoolteacher at the mission.
30. Report from Theile, based on a letter from Schwarz, Deutsche Kirche-und Missions Zeitung, Tanunda, SA, 1885-1917 23 May 1916.
31. Removal records of the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Islander Advancement (computer notes from Prof. Bruce Rigsby), 604 REM & DEP for 1912, include a reference to the removal to Cape Bedford of the late Dolly Wallace with her brothers, Ned and Harold, from Mayneside, at the recommendation of the protector from Hughendon. I am grateful to Bruce Rigsby for a copy of the relevant records. See also Pohlner 1986:85-86.
32. Sutton 1993:16-18. See also Pohlner 1986:171.

FROM BARROW POINT TO CAPE BEDFORD

1. Roger has heard details about only one of his maternal uncles, a big burly man who was said to have died in Cairns after signing on to a boat crew.
2. German Harry was the father of Helen Rootsey, whom Roger considers to be a classificatory sister-in-law, since he counts her husband Joe Rootsey as "like a brother." German Harry's Guugu Yimithirr nickname is a vulgar reference to his unusual hairiness.
3. Some material in this section is drawn from Haviland 1991.
4. Roger's reminiscences frequently mix languages, as in this example, in which he puts Guugu Yimithirr, rather than Barrow Point, words into his Aboriginal father's mouth.
5. Late elder claimant for the tribal area at Cape Flattery known as **Dingaal**.
6. Dabunhthin was a mission-educated mixed-descent man from the **Binhthi-warra** clan who was one of Missionary Schwarz's most trusted Aboriginal leaders, in charge of the mission outstation on the McIvor River. Rather than stay at the mission, he ultimately chose to go voluntarily to Palm Island, to accompany his "full-blood" brother whom Schwarz had ordered removed from the mission and deported.

7. Willie Mt. Webb is one of the senior claimants to the clan known as **Daarrrbarra**, whose traditional estate includes the area at Mt. Webb near the Morgan River.
8. The late Leo Rosendale, from the Maytown area, and the late Bob Flinders, the part-European boy taken some years earlier from Cape Melville, were both old hands at mission life by this time.

A SUNSET GLOW

1. Deutsche Kirche- und Missions Zeitung, Tanunda, SA, 1885-1917, 30, no. 11, p. 425 June 1898, report from J. Flierl on the Cape Bedford mission.
2. The two kings mentioned were government-recognized leaders of two groups of Guugu Yimithirr-speaking people, King Johnny (**Ngamu Binga**) of the McIvor River, and King Jacko, originally of Munburra on the Starcke River and later of Cape Bedford Reserve. Both men had been given their brass plates, symbols of office, in 1911, with the justification that with such authority the men "would be of great assistance to the police when any occurrence" of interest to the authorities occurred in their respective areas. (QSA POL/13a/g1 Cooktown Police letterbook 1910-1912, pp. 278-79, dated 25 October 1911.) Both kings left many descendants at modern Hopevale.
3. ALCA, 3 no. 1 27 July 1926, Dr. F. O. Theile, "Report on Visit to HV July 1926."
4. Official mission policy was also to educate children in English, but the mission authorities considered Guugu Yimithirr a necessary instrument for religious instruction.

THE SCRUB PYTHON AT CAPE MELVILLE

1. This is the range called in English Altanmoui. Sutton 1993 notes a Barrow Point name for the mountains as *Althanmughuy*, corresponding to the clan name Roger Hart gives as *Althanmugu-ngu* for the area on the coast just to the north of Cape Bowen.
2. Roger Hart associates the area where the granite outcroppings stand today with the clan of the late Johnny Flinders, a group referred to in Guugu Yimithirr as **Yuurrguungu**.

THE BARROW POINT PEOPLE VISIT THE SOUTH

1. ALCA, Schwarz letter to chief protector, 20 November 1919 (quoted in Pohlner 1986:104).
2. Pohlner 1986:104.
3. In January 1924, the chief protector informed Schwarz that he was exploring the matter with both lands and marine authorities, but that for the moment only land at Cape Flattery and Lookout Point, at the northern extreme of the mission's boundary, would be reserved. ALCA, letter from chief protector to Schwarz, 14 January 1924 (quoted in Pohlner 1986:104).

4. Old man Jujurr, Roger Hart's relation on his mother's side, belonged to the tribal area around the Jack River, called Muunhthi.
5. See QSA A/58682, letter from chief protector to protector, Cooktown, 23 September 1925, suggesting that McGreen could give information about possible violations of the Aboriginal protection laws by Instone at Barrow Point.
6. QSA A/58682, note from chief protector to Schwarz, 19 November 1925.
7. QSA A/58682, letter from chief protector to protector, Cooktown, 17 August 1925, quoting cable from Mullins, the protector at Laura.
8. QSA A/58682, Chief Protector of Aborigines series (restricted), letter from Protector Mullins, Laura, to chief protector, 1 August 1925.
9. QSA A/58682, letter from chief protector to protector, Cooktown, 17 August 1925, quoting cable from Mullins.
10. QSA A/58682, chief protector to protector, Cooktown, 23 September 1925.
11. QSA A/58682, letter from chief protector to protector, Cooktown, 17 August 1925.
12. QSA A/58682, letter, 25/4948 from chief protector to chief superintendent, Palm Island, 23 September 1925. The results of the interrogation were inconclusive: in a letter to chief protector, 13 October 1925 (QSA A/58682), the Palm Island superintendent wrote that the Aborigine "states that he was employed by Mr Instone but never received any wages from him, only clothes. He uses the launch to convey food to and from Cooktown to his own station. The boy also states that he was sent to work for Mr Wallace, but never received any wages."
13. QSA A/58682, letter from Sgt. Guilfoyle, protector, Cooktown, to chief protector, 14 September 1925.
14. Sgt. Guilfoyle had written, in response to the chief protector's question about changing the supply depot to the McIvor River, a walk of several hundred kilometers from Barrow Point, that "the aboriginals referred to by the Laura protector could easily come to Cape Bedford outstation on the McIvor River for their supplies. The strong aboriginals are always willing to carry out anything to weak or old aboriginals and they think nothing of walking 50 or 100 miles at blanket time"; QSA A/58682, letter from Sgt. Guilfoyle, protector, Cooktown, to chief protector, 14 September 1925.
15. QSA A/58682, confidential letter from the chief protector to Schwarz superintendent, Cape Bedford, 24 September 1925.
16. QSA A/58682, 29 October 25 telegram from protector to Allan Instone, Cooktown.
17. QSA A/58682, letter from Instone, Abbey Peak station via Cooktown, to chief protector, 29 October 1925. In a marginal note Instone adds: "while I have been here the boys have been contented and well behaved, as they have been looked after, and Nicholas King of BP has aided the police in tracking and holding boys who had run away from boats on several occasions." Such policing of Aborigines under contract to European and other employers was one of the main reasons the government instituted the system of "kings" in the first place.

18. Ibid. The chief protector replied to Instone that "it is the desire to draw these people into the care of the mission where already some of their friends have taken up residence. The numbers of them that in the recent [past] have had to be treated in Cooktown for venereal disease also emphasizes the wisdom of this course"; QSA A/58682, letter from chief protector to Instone, 19 November 1925.
19. ALCA, letter from Schwarz to Bleakley dated 28 November 1925.
20. Ibid.
21. This is the late Bob Flinders, who in 1919 was transferred to Cape Bedford from Laura, where he had been taken the previous year.
22. Namely, Roger Hart.
23. A probable reference to Banjo and Toby Gordon.
24. Probably that of **Wanhthawanhtha** (Tommy Cook), whom the late Tulo Gordon remembered from his earliest childhood.
25. This is a reference to the Starcke Station, which included the area **Junyju** at Manbara, which was King Jacko's original tribal territory and where he was officially appointed king in 1911.
26. Possibly a reference to Nelson and his wife.
27. This may have been the late Mitchell McGreen, who despite reporting his birthplace and date as the same as those of his older brother Billy, Jr. (i.e., Laura in 1918), was remembered by all to be have been several years Billy's junior, having been born when Billy, Sr., was already living in the Cooktown area.
28. A reference to Yuuniji (Lizzie), Long Billy's wife, whose tribal territory was **Thanhil** in the Point Lookout area.
29. A reference to Roger Hart's mother.
30. A reference to Roger's half brother Jimmy Hart, who Roger believes was born at the North Shore camp.
31. ALCA, letter from Schwarz to Bleakley dated 28 November 1925.
32. Ibid.
33. QSA A/58682, report from Schwarz to chief protector, 12 January 1925.
34. ALCA, 1-2, letter dated 14 December 1925, from Schwarz to Theile, director of Lutheran Board of Foreign Missions. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Schwarz was in a constant (and ultimately unsuccessful) battle with the mission board to procure an appropriate second missionary who could both adapt to the conditions at Cape Bedford and get along with Schwarz—a tall order.
35. ALCA, letter from Theile to protector, dated 10 March 1926. The mission strategy was apparent in Theile's letter to Schwarz, 10 March 1926 (ALCA), in which he described his negotiations with the chief protector: "I wanted to put the application [for a fishing boat] in writing without referring to the Cape Melville and Point Barrow blacks at all. Because I hold that the Cape Bedford aboriginals are quite entitled to help on the part of the government just as well as other similar groups of Natives further north. But he thought if I would mention these natives it would be of great influence with himself or with someone else who has to pass on the matter. At any rate I told him that

- I would bring the matter into my application only in the manner which I did now. We would not get the Cape Melville natives first and then apply for the boat, we would apply for the boat and see what we can do with regard to the Cape Melville blacks afterwards."
36. ALCA, no. 2 (also QSA A/58682) letter from Bleakley to Schwarz, 17 February 1926. The government further imposed severe legal restrictions on Japanese who attempted to recruit Aboriginal boat crews from camps on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula (ALCA, letter dated 17 February 1926, from Chief Protector Bleakley to Schwarz). Bleakley asked Schwarz whether the new restrictions had brought any more of the Barrow Point people to Cape Bedford in search of rations.
 37. ALCA, 16 no. 3, Theile, Report on Visit to HV July 1926, 27 July 1926.
 38. On occasion Roger has reported that ex-tracker Charlie (Chookie) McGreen was the one who brought his brother Jimmy to the mission.

THE SECOND TRIP SOUTH

1. Schwarz reported that the group from Barrow Point arrived for rations at Cape Bedford on 5 February 1926. Roger Hart remembers the date 9 May 1925 carved on a **gabagarr** tree at Cape Bedford when his kinsmen were camped there. Perhaps some people from Barrow Point visited Cape Bedford on more than one occasion in this period, although Roger remembers only this one, final visit.
2. The man known as "Charlie Chookie."
3. Barney Warner's older brother.
4. This was Roger Hart's Aboriginal father, Charlie Lefthander.
5. Possibly Billy McGreen's brother, also known as Jackson.
6. The Barrow Point king.
7. Perhaps this was the sorcerer "old man Johnny," **Ngamu Wuthurru**.
8. **Walbamun**, Toby Flinder's mother.
9. Probably Albert **Wuuringu**.
10. Probably Toby Flinders.
11. The list accompanied QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to chief protector, 1 March 1926.
12. QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to chief protector, 1 March 1926.
13. **Barrbaarr**, or Bridge Creek, was the site of the main camp of "heathen" adult Aborigines living on the Cape Bedford reserve. Most of these people were Guugu Yimithirr speakers from local clans. Many of them had children at the mission school, and they were often called upon by the missionary to do odd jobs or agricultural work in return for rations.
14. Barney and Yaalugurr were one of the early couples at Cape Bedford, whose sons, Yoren and Baru, became the heads of two large Hopevale families.
15. William, from the area around Cooktown, or **Waaymburr** was the father of Johnny, in turn father of Joseph and Alick Johnny, later of Hopevale, with descendants at Palm Island.

POINT LOOKOUT

1. QSA A/58682, Cooktown protector's annual report, minute dated 17 March 1927.
2. That is, Jackie Red Point.
3. QSA A/58682, letter from Guilfoyle, Cooktown protector, to chief protector, S. Brisbane, 3 May 1927.
4. Gordon was the owner of Starcke Station.
5. QSA A/58682, letter from Allen C. Instone, Abbey Peak, to protector of Aborigines, Cooktown, 24 February 1927(?).
6. QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to chief protector, 2 April 1927.
7. QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to protector, Cooktown, 2 May 1927.
8. As always, Schwarz was worried about his limited finances and inability to feed all the people living on the reserve. He wrote:

Amongst the lot on the place now there are only about five or six men able to do some work. The rest are old men, women and children. We allow those who wish to do so to help occasionally at our beche-de-mer business but naturally we cannot on account of so few helping when it suits them supply the whole camp with food regularly. I do not think it necessary nor advisable either. (ibid.).

Schwarz further asked Chief Protector Bleakley to supplement his food allowances and to help prevent Japanese boats from contracting young Aboriginal men from these groups who might otherwise join the mission fishing operation at Point Lookout.

9. QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to protector, Cooktown, 2 May 1927.
10. QSA A/58682, letter from Guilfoyle, Cooktown protector, to chief protector, S. Brisbane, 3 May 1927.
11. QSA A/58682, letter from Bleakley to Schwarz, 29 June 1927. He also requisitioned khaki uniforms and felt hats to outfit the new policeman; QSA A/58682, requisition dated 1 July 1927.
12. QSA A/58682, letter from Guilfoyle, Cooktown protector, to chief protector, S. Brisbane, 3 May 1927.
13. QSA A/58682, Schwarz to chief protector Brisbane, 11 July 1927.

ESCAPE FROM WAWU NGALAN

1. QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to chief protector Brisbane, 22 August 1927.

THE MISSIONER'S REVENGE

1. ALCA, 1 no. 2, report from Schwarz to Bleakley, dated 18 January 1927 (yearly report for 1926).
2. Ibid.

3. It is unclear whether King Harry and King Charlie are the same man or two different men; current Hopevale memory gives the name associated with Cape Melville as King Harry.
4. QSA A/58682, letter from Schwarz to chief protector, Brisbane, 22 August 1927.
5. QSA POL/13a/G1, p. 144, memo from Bodman to chief protector, Brisbane, 25 March 1911. The same Aboriginal Occurrences Book shows that Protector Bodman recommended that King Johnny (known as Mechan Euchan) be named king in October 1911, and a brass plate was issued the following month; QSA POL/13a/G1, Cooktown police letterbook, p. 279, 29 October 1911.

Queensland removal records show that a King Johnny (Mechan Euchan) was removed from the McIvor to Barambah in 1913; the records describe him as "a troublesome character, a notorious sorcerer, spreads dissension and quarreling among other natives, [and] seriously interferes with mission life."

Hopevale memory suggests that **Ngamu Binga** was deported because he was unwilling to send his mixed-race social children to the mission for school. Ultimately, **Ngamu Binga** escaped from Cherbourg and returned to his own country on foot. He later was speared near Cooktown and was buried at Four-Mile.

Schwarz continued to have people officially "removed" from Cape Bedford right up until World War II.
6. QSA A/58682, chief protector to protector, Cooktown, 17 February 1927.
7. QSA A/58682, letter from Bleakley to Laura protector, D. W. McConnell, 22 September 1927.
8. QSA A/58682, letter from office of protector, Laura, to chief protector, 28 September 1927.
9. Ibid.
10. Roger Hart's **gami**, same side grandparent.

EXILE

1. Authorization for the surprise raids on fishing vessels suspected of illegally harboring Aborigines was requested in a letter from chief protector to under-secretary, Home Dept., 26 July 1927 (QSA A/58682).
2. QSA A/58682, doc. 28/6839, a letter from Guilfoyle, acting sergeant 1064, Cairns Police District, Cooktown, dated 21 November 1928. The police intended to use a mission boat for the expedition, but the local protector was "of opinion the mission lugger *Pearl Queen* is not a suitable boat to use on the patrol herein referred to owing to it having to be made at the most likely time to find the Japanese luggers anchored near where the Aborigines are camped and this is generally when the weather is too rough for the luggers at the reefs which then compels them to sail back to the mainland or islands for shelter and it is then the illegal employment of Aboriginal women would take place. I understand the *Pearl Queen* is not a fast sailing lugger and if the Japanese or others sighted her approaching their luggers when they had any Aboriginal

women or male Aboriginals who are not signed on under agreement with them on board they could easily hoist their sails and sail away from the *Pearl Queen*."

3. In his report for 1928 to the chief protector, dated 25 January 1929 (ALCA, 1-2, 26-185, also QSA A/58682), Schwarz makes it clear that he wants more land for these non-Christian adults to hunt on. He also argues that he has moved them into closer proximity to their younger Christian relatives in hopes of some spontaneous evangelization, although mission memory suggests that the non-Christian adults were expected to do heavy agricultural work for the newly established mission farm.
4. *Ibid.*, ALCA, 26-185.
5. QSA A/58682, report of superintendent, Cape Bedford, 21 November 1927.
6. QSA A/58682, memorandum dated 5 March 1928 from Chief Protector Bleakley, to Superintendent of Cape Bedford mission via Cooktown.
7. The only official documentation of this removal we have discovered is a handwritten note, appended to the front of the Cape Bedford file QSA A/58682, which reads "11 Cape Melville Natives removed to L.R.M [Lockhart River Mission]" with the apparent date 5 December 1929.
8. QSA 181 Starcke Pt 1 (also Lands OL 378 Cook), 8 September 1915.
9. QSA LAN/AF 1247, Wakooka 2623 Cook: Stewart obtained Wakooka on 5 February 1932. Further changes in the percentages of ownership appear in QSA LAN N143, 19 July 1932; see also QSA 181 Starcke Pt 1, 20 April 1933, 31 December 1935; QSA LAN/AF 1228 Abbey Peak, 5 April 1936.
10. The Lands Department inspector's report for 1928 on Abbey Peak remarked that the lease was "not subject to personal residence" as the actual leaseholders lived on distant properties (QSA LAN/AF 1228 Abbey Peak, 31 July 1928). In 1930, Abbey Peak showed a holding capacity of 3 head of cattle per square mile, with a total count of 684 head (QSA LAN/AF 1228 Abbey Peak, 11 July 1930). Land Ranger Charles Gordon reported that on his visit to Abbey Peak from 13 to 16 August 1931 he observed a large dwelling, outbuildings, 7 tailing yards, a horse paddock and bullock paddock with 1600 head of mixed cattle and 40 head of horses, branded QAK and RX9. He went on, "The lessees reside on other properties held by them but visit this holding fairly regularly" (QSA LAN/AF 1228 Abbey Peak, 7 September 1931).
11. He told Roger Hart that he had worked for one Sam Carlson, a man who later owned a property at Streamlet near Cooktown.
12. Bendie's father, Long Jack, was associated with **Wunuurr-warra**, the clan area around the headwaters of the McIvor River.
13. The Cooktown Police Occurrences Book for 1937 contains the following two entries.

"Const. Costello left 9 AM 28/7/37 on Patrol to Starcke Station to serve summons on Manager Mr. Hales for Breach of Aboriginal Protection and Restriction on Sale of Opium Act, and to bring back two boys Bindy and Freddie who are to be sent to Mission."

"Const. Costello returned from Patrol to Starcke Station at 3:30 PM on 2nd. Freddy and Bindy brought to Cooktown"; QSA POL/13a/N6, 28 July 1937 and 5 August 1937. "Freddy" here was Fred Grogan, later of Hopevale.

ROGER HART AT THE CAPE BEDFORD MISSION

1. South from Cape Bedford, on the coast.
2. The late Jellico Jacko, **ngathu warra biiba**, was son of King Jacko of Cape Bedford and a senior claimant to the tribal country called **Junyju** up the Starcke River near Manbara.
3. This was Albert Lakefield, another of Roger's brothers, whose Aboriginal stepfather was Albert Lakefield, Sr., also called **Mayi-ngandaalga**, from Jeannie Tableland; Sutton 1993:24.

WARTIME

1. ALCA, no. 1 (27-11), 16 June 1932, Official Cape Bedford report enclosed in letter from Protector Bleakley to Dr. Theile of the Lutheran Church of Australia.
2. One such man was the late Billy **Muundu**, **ngathu warra biiba**, who arrived back at Spring Hill to find his wife and children gone, along with everyone else. Unlike the people from the bush camps, who merely fled farther into the bush, **Muundu** embarked on a solitary odyssey to find his family in the south, arriving on his own in Woorabinda many months after the main group had been evacuated.
3. Roger Hart had this news from Helen Rootsey and the late Mary Ann Mundy, who recounted having taken part in the burial.
4. Roger Hart still smart's with the memory that he was never allowed to visit his childhood playmate while she was ill in Cooktown hospital, since in those early days it was difficult for Hopevale people to get permission from the mission superintendent to travel freely. Barney Warner, who was "closely trusted" by the then Hopevale pastor and superintendent Wenke, visited Leah several times in Cooktown before she was transferred to Cairns.

IIPWULIN

1. Sutton 1993 shows clan area no. 9, corresponding to "part of the coast between Barrow Point and Red Point" by this Guugu Yimithirr name, called **Ama Alth(a)nmungu** in Barrow Point language. By Hopevale reckoning it is the area "north of Red Point." The mountain range known in English as Altanmoui (**Althanmughuy** in Barrow Point language) rises inland from Cape Bowen, in a clan area known as **Manyamarr**, the starting place for the giant Scrub Python who escapes to Cape Melville in Roger Hart's story.

2. A clan area associated with the coast between the mouth of the Starcke River and Point Lookout, including the area now known as Twelve-Mile (clan no. 64 in Sutton 1993).
3. Guugu Yimithirr **thawuunh** and Barrow Point **anggatha**, both meaning 'friend', are terms of address Roger Hart frequently uses with people whose exact kinship relation to him is not clearly established. Having considered the fictive kinship relations more carefully, we now call each other 'cousin'.
4. Bruce Rigsby (n.d.) identifies both these men as follows: "The Wallace family are Lakefield claimants by descent from Hector, Nicholas and Kathleen Wallace, who were Mbarruyu and/or Mbarrubarram clan members and Koko Warra by language and tribal identity." By contrast, Roger Hart associates Nicholas and Hector Wallace (also known as Hector Lai-Fook) with the area called Muunhthi (clan no. 21 in Sutton 1993), the Jack River area, where Thunder lived in the Fog story.
5. The late Jack Harrigan, of Cooktown, was a traditional owner of **Balnggarr**, an area around Battle Camp. The common core of shared social knowledge in this part of Aboriginal Queensland extends over both traditional and modern Aboriginal communities. The wide-ranging interaction of Aboriginal people in traditional times has its analogs in the period of disruption described here as well as in the present, when conversation typically concentrates as much on genealogy as on events.
6. Barney Warner belonged to the southern or inland half of the Gambiilmugu people, along with Yagay.
7. See note 4.
8. **Thuway** means classificatory nephew, or sister's son.
9. On first memory, Roger Hart mistakenly called the mountain by the name Wuuri. Toby Gordon gave Peter Sutton the name **Wuri-thamol** for a mountain range inland from the coast about halfway between Barrow Point and Weigall reefs, citing it as his mother's birthplace. Sutton 1993 gives **wuri-warra** or **wuriingu** as clan area no. 12, the country belonging to, e.g., Joe Rootsey. For Roger Hart the word Wuuri rightly describes a tribal estate between Barrow Point and Cape Bowen, starting somewhere around the mouth of the Wakooka Creek.

DELOUSING

1. According to Roger Hart, women were not allowed to visit *Indayin* at all. Roger recalls being told that men visited the island for ceremonial purposes and that they went about totally naked while they were there. See Sutton 1993, on *Yindayin*. There remains some confusion about whether the landing place for Wurrey's genitals was Stanley Island or the nearby Clack Island. Roger Hart remembers the episode as told here.

ON THE BEACH AT BARROW POINT

1. 'Our [dual] country', i.e., 'the country belonging to the two of us'.
2. Department of Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, although at the time the actual government office was that of the chief protector.
3. Tulo Gordon was senior claimant to the Guugu Yimithirr-speaking estate called **Nugal**, inside the Hopevale reserve itself. Like Gambiilmugu, Nugal was traditionally divided into two "nations," in this case called "younger sister" and "older sister."
4. The Eight-Mile Bridge on the Endeavour River was near a Cape Bedford Mission outstation established just before World War II. Young men from the mission worked on a farming operation there. Eight-mile is the site of the present-day Cooktown airport.
5. Wife of tracker Long Billy McGreen, Sr.

"ALL THESE PEOPLE GONE"

1. By contrast, the Cape Bedford elder who oversaw this process of supplemental christening, George Bowen, took his own surname from his community of origin; he had originally been sent to Cape Bedford as a young boy from the failed Lutheran mission at Proserpine, near the town of Bowen.
2. Roger Hart believes that women intentionally treated themselves with bush medicine in order to prevent pregnancies, so that, as he puts it, "they could easily get away," i.e., escape from native police. His explanation for why so many of the women from his area had no children contrasts with the received wisdom of the time that attributed low Aboriginal fertility to introduced venereal disease and malnutrition.
3. This little exemplary passage is translated from a short explanation Roger Hart recorded on 2 October 1982, as we sat gorging ourselves on the oyster beds at Ninian Bay.
4. The same term includes also father's sisters.
5. The Guugu Yimithirr form combines a place or area name, like **Wuuri**, with a purposive case suffix, e.g., **-ngu** (thus, **Wuuriingu**, 'for the area Wuuri'), or with a derivational suffix **-warra**, 'people from the area' (thus, **Wuuri-warra**, 'people from Wuuri').

THUNDER AND FOG

1. In Guugu Yimithirr, the word **daman** denotes an area rich in food resources reserved for the tribal owners of a specific tract. The owners had first rights over such resources, whether deliberately planted or wild, whether explicitly tended or merely exploited on a seasonal basis.

CAMPING AT UWURU

1. Tracker McGreen's sons both went to school at Cape Bedford, and Billy McGreen, Jr., died at Hopevale in the 1980s. His younger brother, the late Mitchell McGreen, was probably too young to have visited Barrow Point as a child.
2. Another version of this story, told together by Roger Hart and Toby Gordon, was recorded by Peter Sutton in Mossman in 1970 (see tape in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now AIATSIS) Archive LA4947a).
3. Literally, until they are "satisfied [and their] soul falls."

AFTERWARD: BARROW POINT IN THE 1990S

1. "Successful" under the provisions of Queensland's 1991–92 legislation rather than under still disputed provisions for Native Title.
2. See Sutton 1993, Land Tribunal 1994.
3. See Rigsby 1995.
4. See Bartlett 1993, Rigsby 1996, and Haviland 1997.
5. Land Tribunal 1994.
6. QSA A/58682, report of superintendent, Cape Bedford, 21 November 1927.

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