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**INDIGENOUS CULTURAL TOURISM: AN EXAMINATION OF PROCESS AND
REPRESENTATION IN CANADA AND AUSTRALIA**

By

Gwyneth E. M. Parry, B.A. (Hon.)

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

January 3rd, 2000

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and Research acceptance of the thesis

**Indigenous Cultural Tourism: An Examination of Process and
Representation in Canada and Australia**

submitted by Gwyneth E.M. Parry, B.A. Hons.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

Valda Blundell, Co-supervisor

Gwen Reimer, Co-supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
January 17, 2000

ABSTRACT

Indigenous cultural tourism is becoming increasingly popular in both Canada and Australia. As a result, Indigenous communities in both these countries are becoming more involved in the cultural tourism industry in order to retain control over cultural materials and traditions that may otherwise be misrepresented in tourist attractions that depict Indigenous cultures. This thesis will focus on the process whereby Indigenous people become part of the cultural tourism industry, as well as examining how these groups (re)present their culture once they've become established as Indigenous tourism operators. This will be accomplished through the analysis of current tourism sites where Indigenous cultures are depicted at the site, as well as being involved in the running of the operation. Two case studies will be used, firstly Petroglyphs Provincial Park in Ontario, Canada, and secondly, Geikie Gorge National Park in the Kimberley region of Western Australia.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ANPWS** - Australian National Park and Wildlife Services
- ATSIC** - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
- CALM** - Department of Conservation and Land Management
- CPR** - Canadian Pacific Railway
- DAC** - Darlangunaya Aboriginal Corporation
- KLC** - Kimberley Land Council
- OMNR** - Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources
- PC** - Police Constable
- WA** - Western Australia
- ybp** - Years Before Present

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to consider links between Indigenous peoples and tourism. Today, tourism is one of the fastest growing global industries. The past decade has seen increased expansion in this market, particularly in the number of tourist operations in both Canada and Australia that depict Indigenous peoples.¹ This development mirrors the global growth of tourism as well as the rising demand from tourists for Indigenous cultural experiences. This growth has also been encouraged by government strategies that promote the commoditisation of Indigenous cultures for a form of pleasure travel, which has widely been referred to as 'cultural tourism.'

In Canada, First Nations people have long been associated with Canadian tourism, but in more recent years, these First Nations people have become more strongly linked with tourism. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1885 encouraged cultural tourism in Canada (Hart, 1983:11). Railway advertisements used First Nations imagery to seduce would-be travelers to Canada's scenic

¹ The term 'First Nations' will be used when referring to Canadian Indigenous people. The term 'Aboriginal' will be used when referring to Australian Indigenous people and the term 'Indigenous' will be used in a more general sense when referring to Indigenous people on a global level.

wilderness (Blundell, 1993b:14). At first photographic displays were used, eventually evolving to live stage acts involving First Nations People who entertained passengers during station stops.² "The Indians and the bears were splendid stage properties to have at a station where both east and west bound trains would stop (...) for lunch" (Francis, 1992:179).

Since then, the promotion and commodification of Canada's First Nations people has become part of a wider governmental strategy to increase Canadian tourism through this distinct cultural form.

Since the mid 1980s, a central argument of policy makers has been that developing Canadian cultural forms, including 'Native' and 'ethnic' ones, can facilitate [growth in the nation's economy through tourism] (Blundell, 1993b:3).

These government tourism initiatives which link First Nations cultures with tourism are not only affected by the current economic context, "but they also take place within the context of changing relations between [First Nations people] and the Canadian State (Blundell, 1993b:7). As a result, sites of struggle and resistance in First Nations cultural politics were created as these groups try to maintain their own cultural forms and identities within the larger Canadian State.

Among these sites of struggle are tourist attractions,

² This led to the creation of Banff Indian Days, an annual festival sponsored by the CPR and local Banff businesses.

for example museums whose displays of First Nations people are not culturally sensitive and reproduce or reinforce cultural stereotypes. A pivotal event occurred in 1988, when the Cree of the Lubicon Lake Band in Alberta called for a boycott of an exhibit of First Nations artifacts entitled "The Spirit Sings", held at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary. The Lubicon Cree objected to the main sponsor of the exhibit, the Shell Oil Company, whose activities had disrupted their trapping way of life.

The Lubicon Cree had support from the larger First Nations community in Canada and the controversy led to the formation of a task force. This task force was created by the Canadian Museum Association and the Assembly of First Nations to examine long-standing issues between First Nations and Canadian museums. In its report, the task force proposed a number of initiatives, including improved access to museum collections for First Nations people, as well as museum training programs for them (Blundell, 1993b). As a result, there has been a shift towards a publicly recognized and strong First Nations cultural identity within the Canadian State.

The boycott of "the Spirit Sings" exhibit, along with other events, such as the 1990 Oka Crisis,³ have forced major changes in museum policies not only in Canada, but

³ The Oka Crisis in 1990 was another event that brought First Nations issues to the forefront of the debate on Canadian-First Nation relations. See Blundell (1993c) for more information.

similar protests have brought change in other post-colonial states (see Bennett & Blundell, 1995). The movement to repatriate cultural materials to their traditional owners was finally set in motion, even though First Nation people have been calling for the return of artifacts and skeletal remains housed in museums long before "The Spirit Sings" debate (Blundell, 1993b:9).

As First Nations people have achieved more control over their cultural forms, many have looked to tourism as a opportunity to gain economically in ways that are respectful of their cultural traditions. Thus, many Indigenous groups have taken on the entrepreneurial task of owning and operating their own tourism businesses. Goals have included, providing an Indigenous community with a stronger economic base, maintaining control over how and what cultural materials are presented and represented to tourists, and working to prevent misrepresentation and cultural appropriation. Indigenous-operated tourism is also used as a method of cultural revitalization within an Indigenous community, for example as a way of reviving traditional languages, cultural activities like hunting, story telling or ceremonial activities, not to mention rekindling community and cultural pride.

As Indigenous people have become more involved in cultural tourism, so too has anthropological interest in this development grown. Since the early 1970s,

anthropologists have taken an interest in links between Indigenous peoples and tourism. I will elaborate on this shortly. Anthropological research has generally focused on the effects of tourism on Indigenous cultures. As a result, the discipline has amassed a large body of literature on tourism, which will also be discussed.

Anthropological study to date, however, has focused primarily on tourist attractions once they have been opened, and as a result, what is not as common is information on the *process* whereby Indigenous groups come to participate in cultural tourism operations. This thesis, however, will not attempt to be a definitive source on this process. The limitations and constraints that are part of writing a Masters thesis prevented me from conducting detailed research on the political, economic, and historical backgrounds of each of my case studies.

Therefore, this thesis will examine only certain 'aspects' of this process by which Indigenous groups gain entry to the cultural tourism industry, particularly in government run parks. In doing so, this thesis will begin to shed light on an otherwise overlooked area of cultural tourism research. Another goal of this thesis is to document and analyze the methods by which each Indigenous group have chosen to (re)present their culture and traditions in tourist attractions.

This dual focus on *process* and on *representation* will be accomplished through the analysis of two current sites where Indigenous cultures are depicted for tourism. These attractions are Petroglyphs Provincial Park, near Peterborough, Ontario, Canada, and Geikie Gorge National Park in Western Australia. In both cases, the Indigenous people whose cultures are depicted at these sites have called for more control over tourism at these locales, which are linked to their ancient or 'prehistoric' parent culture.

Introduction to Tourism Sites Selected for Case Studies

The first case study in this thesis, Petroglyphs Provincial Park, is located approximately 50 km north of Peterborough, Ontario. The main feature of the park is a large expanse of white crystalline limestone onto which close to 1000 images were carved during the area's prehistoric period. This site first came to the attention of Europeans in 1954,⁴ when the petroglyphs were (re)discovered by mining officials. Anthropological studies have been conducted on these petroglyphs and although there is no positive way to identify the creators of the glyphs, archaeological methods have enabled

⁴ The petroglyphs site was initially discovered in 1924 by Mr. Charles Kingam, a local resident and member of the Peterborough Historical Society, however, his discovery was not widely publicized.

researchers to establish that the creators belonged to the larger Algonquian language family.⁵ This will be discussed further in Chapter II.

The Peterborough Crown Game Preserve, which includes in its southern section, Petroglyphs Provincial Park, was established in 1927 as a wildlife refuge. In the 1930s the discovery of nepheline syenite, a valuable rock used for industrial filler, was made 8 km from the location of the present day Park and it was mining prospectors who came across the site. After its (re)discovery, the site and its surrounding area were turned over to the appropriate government agency:

In 1959, the actual petroglyphs site was reserved as a Type B reservation under The Public Lands Act. An area of 939 ha, including the petroglyphs site, was reserved in 1971 as a Type C reservation under both the Public Lands Act and the Mining Act (OMNR, 1977:7)

The petroglyph site became a Provincial Park in 1976 in order to provide the delicate site with a better means of protection. Ontario Parks, a subdivision of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR), is the main government agency that manages the park.

The 1980s saw important changes within the park's infrastructure and administration. Firstly, there was the construction of a large protective building in 1984 (opened

⁵ The term 'Algonquian' will be used throughout this text, despite the several versions of spelling. Other versions will appear only in direct quotations, book titles, etc.

in 1985), which sealed off the entire petroglyph site from the exterior environment. Secondly, in 1988, there was increased interest in and involvement from the people of the Curve Lake First Nation community in terms of operating the gate and later in the development of the Visitor's Centre displays. Again, this will be discussed in Chapter II and Chapter III respectively.

The second site of Indigenous cultural tourism analyzed in this thesis is Geikie Gorge National Park, which is approximately 20 km northeast of the town of Fitzroy Crossing in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. Geikie Gorge is a gorge that has been eroded out of an ancient limestone range by the flow of the Fitzroy River. Geikie Gorge is located in the traditional lands of the Bunuba people, a West Kimberley Aboriginal group. The gorge has been used by the Bunuba people for thousands of years for hunting, fishing, and ceremonial purposes. The relationship between the Bunuba and the gorge will be explored further in Chapter IV.

Geikie Gorge National Park was established in 1967 and is managed by the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM), which is the State Government agency responsible for the management of the state of Western Australia's national parks, conservation parks, and marine parks. Tourism at Geikie Gorge National Park differs from the individual, self-directed tour around the petroglyph

site and the soon to be completed interpretive centre. At Geikie Gorge, there are two simultaneous group tours offered at the Park. One is a boat tour operated and managed by CALM and the other is Danguu Heritage Cruise, which is owned and run by a Bunuba family. Again, these tours will be described in detail in Chapter V.

Anthropology and the Study of Tourism

It wasn't until anthropologist Valene Smith wrote her ground-breaking work, Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism, in the late 1970s that tourism was acknowledged as an object of serious anthropological research (see Smith, 1988). The papers in this collection reveal the roots of anthropology's interest in tourism as one form of culture contact and culture change.

There is now a growing literature in the social sciences on so called cultural tourism. Many researchers, for example Daniel Boorstin (1964) and Victor Turner (1989), have focused on the tourist in their studies. In his seminal study, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, anthropologist Dean MacCannell argues that tourists seek authentic representations of Indigenous cultures, but their acceptance of what is marked as authentic is often hampered by stereotypes and preconceived notions about that particular culture (MacCannell, 1999:96). Therefore, some tourism operators cater to these preconceptions and what

are depicted are in fact forms of 'staged authenticity' (see also Culler, 1981).

In another highly influential study entitled The Tourist's Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies, John Urry argues that tourists consume goods and services while on holiday because they generate pleasurable experiences that differ from what they would experience in their normal day to day life (Urry, 1990:66). According to Urry, an element of this pleasurable experience is to 'gaze upon' or to look at scenes (a street full of cafes in Paris), landscapes (the dales of northern England), or objects (the Great Wall of China), which are again, extraordinary⁶ (Urry, 1990:12).

Theories such as MacCannell's or Urry's, however, only focus on two main units of analysis: firstly, the tourists as they interact with the host culture, and secondly, the tourist attraction once it has been open to the public as well as the cultural changes incurred due to the introduction of tourism into the community. What these theories fail to uncover, or in other words what is missing from the literature on tourism, are data on the process Indigenous people must go through to get their foot in the cultural tourism door.

⁶ See Kenneth Little's paper (1991) for support of Urry's theory of the tourist's gaze as he writes about his own experiences with popular African safari tourism.

Moreover, more recent anthropological study has focused on the politics concerning tourism and Indigenous cultures. Much of this work has identified sites of struggle in the areas of tourist art and the perpetuation of cultural stereotypes at attractions (Blundell, 1993b, 1995/96; Reimer, 1993:69-70; Graburn, 1976:1-33). While the area of analysis has shifted over to Indigenous people, very little has been said, however, on the positive role tourism plays within Indigenous communities.

Therefore, as noted above, what this thesis will examine is how Indigenous groups, in this case the Curve Lake First Nation Band and the Bunuba of the Fitzroy Valley, negotiate with the gatekeepers of the cultural tourism industry. Also to be examined is how their cultural representations compare with how their culture is represented in other sources, for example through academic sources and at other tourist attractions.

Methodology

In order to address these topics, I have employed a multi-method research strategy. In the early stages of the research process, an extensive literature review of all relevant academic and non-academic sources available was undertaken. This documentary search was conducted at the Carleton University Library, the research library at the main office of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources

(OMNR) in Peterborough, Ontario, and the research library of the Kimberley Land Council (KLC) in Derby, Western Australia.

This thesis topic has also been addressed through ethnographic research, and therefore, ethnographic methods relevant to the scope of the analysis were employed. Given the focus on tourism, it was necessary to become a tourist and participate in all aspects of the two park's attractions, while maintaining the observational and analytical eye of an anthropologist. Therefore, participant observation (Berg, 1998; Kottak, 1991:24-25) was a critical method used in this research.

I visited Petroglyphs Provincial Park in September of 1998 and February of 1999. I visited Geikie Gorge National Park on three separate occasions during my two-month fieldwork session in the Kimberley, June 4th, 1999; July 3rd, 1999; and July 9th, 1999.

Interviews, both formal and informal, were also conducted during the course of this research. In the case of Petroglyph Provincial Park, I spoke on several occasions with Mr. Ron Speck, Park Superintendent and Mr. Jay Johnson, Assistant Superintendent and member of the Curve Lake First Nation Band, located approximately 50 km northwest of the Park.

In Australia I interviewed CALM Area Manager, Mr. Allan Grose at the CALM office in Broome, WA. Moreover, a

meeting with the former administrator of Danguu Heritage Cruise Mr. Joe Ross gave me the initial contact with the Bunuba people. CALM Park Rangers provided information during and at the end of each tour operated by CALM. Finally, Mr. Clive Aiken and his family, current proprietor of Danguu Heritage Cruise, while taking his tour, provided me with the essential information required to write the Australian sections of this thesis (see Chapters IV and V).

This fieldwork provided opportunities to observe and speak with Indigenous people who are involved in cultural tourism as well as understanding the government policies that influence both my chosen tourism sites of cultural tourism.

CHAPTER II

CASE STUDY: PETROGLYPH PROVINCIAL PARK

Historical Background to the Site

Petroglyphs Provincial Park is located approximately 55 km northeast of Peterborough, Ontario, in the scenic heart of the Kawartha's cottage country (See Map: *Fig. 1*). The feature attraction at Petroglyphs Provincial Park is a large escarpment of white crystalline limestone, onto which close to one thousand prehistoric, non-European images have been carved.

The site was first discovered by Charles Kingam, in 1924, as mentioned in the Introduction, and was (re)discovered on May 12th 1954, when three men of Industrial Minerals of Canada, Ernest Craig, Charles Phipps and Everitt Davis, were sent out to examine mining claims a few miles north of Stony Lake. While resting on a limestone outcropping, geologically unusual for the area, they noticed several impressions on its surface (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:9). What they found on this rock face were the now much studied petroglyphs of Peterborough. There are no (known) records regarding the petroglyph site prior to its (re)discovery in 1954.

News of the petroglyph site spread quickly and even though access to the site located on the Crown Game

Fig. 1. Area of Research in Ontario, Canada (Adapted from Kawartha Lakes Spirit Walks, Tourist Pamphlet:1999).

Preserve, was difficult, it became a popular tourist attraction (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:10). This attention to the culturally valuable and vulnerable site led to the creation of a survey team to evaluate it, record and document the petroglyphs, and recommend strategies for its preservation from overly curious visitors and those with destructive intentions.

Anthropological studies conducted during the late 1960s and early 1970s concluded from archaeological evidence that the probable creators of the petroglyphs were a group from the greater Algonquian language family, who inhabited the upper Great Lakes region and Northern Ontario. Modern day descendants are the Anishinabe, which include the Curve Lake First Nation (Missisauga) that is currently involved with the running of the Park, as well as the Ojibwa and Ottawa First Nations groups (Smith, 1975: 212). The involvement of the Anishinabe with the petroglyph site will be elaborated on in a later section of this chapter. It was also argued from these studies that the petroglyphs could be linked to this unknown First Nation's spirituality, perhaps a spiritual iconography. This too will be discussed in a section to follow.

Petroglyphs Provincial Park: A Chronology

- ca. 1600s First contact between Europeans and Anishinabe groups.
- ca. 1700s After succeeding in battle against the Iroquois, Anishinabe groups settle in southern Ontario.
- ca. 1800s The Curve Lake First Nation community is established on the shores of the Buckhorn and Chemong Lakes.
- 1924 Discovery of petroglyph site by Mr. Charles Kingam. Received very little publicity. No written documentation.
- 1927 The Peterborough Crown Game Preserve is established, which includes the current Petroglyphs Provincial Park.
- 1954 (Re)discovery of petroglyph site by mining officials prospecting for the nepheline mine.
- 1955 Sweetman publishes his preliminary report on the petroglyph site.
- (1950s) Introduction of a clear hiking trail to the petroglyph site.
- 1959 Petroglyph site is reserved as a Type B reserve under The Public Lands Act.
- 1966 Access road was created to allow for easier access to the site for visitors.
- 1967 The Vastokases, anthropologists from Trent University in Peterborough, begin their study of the petroglyph site.
- (since) 1968 The petroglyph site has been open to the public with limited staffing, facilities and services.

Fig. 2. Petroglyphs Provincial Park: Important dates.

Petroglyphs Provincial Park: A Chronology (continued)

- 1971 939 ha, including the petroglyph site was designated as a Type C reserve under The Public Lands Act and the Mining Act.
- Burton and Hogeekamp publish their preliminary ecological survey on the petroglyph site.
- 1973 The Vastokases publish Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Case Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs.
- 1976 The petroglyph site officially attains Provincial Park status and is now subject to regulation under the Provincial Parks Act.
- 1976-77 The Master Plan: Petroglyphs Provincial Park is published by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.
- 1984 Construction completed on protective building Designed to enclose and house the petroglyph site.
- 1985 Protective building is opened to the public.
- 1988 Tentative partnership created between Curve Lake First Nation and Ontario Parks to manage the gate. (One-year basis.)
- Construction of the building to be the Visitor Centre was completed. (No funding for interior exhibits so building was left empty)
- 1989 Ontario Parks agreed to make Curve Lake First Nation the permanent contractors for the gate.
- (by) 1994 Ontario Parks and Curve Lake First Nation have developed a solid working relationship and decide to tackle the designs for the Visitor Centre.

Fig. 2. (continued) Petroglyphs Provincial Park: Important dates.

Petroglyphs Provincial Park: A Chronology (continued)

1997	New designs for the interior of the Visitor Centre, re-named The Learning Place, are submitted and approved.
1998-99	Construction starts and continues on interior of The Learning Place.
2000	Proposed opening of The Learning Place to the public.

Fig. 2. (continued) Petroglyphs Provincial Park: Important dates.

Academic Studies of the Petroglyph Site

The Sweetman Report

In response to increasing tourist visitation to the petroglyph site, Paul Sweetman of the University of Toronto headed a survey team composed of a variety of researchers and scientists. The team was given the task of mapping, photographing and making plaster casts of the petroglyphs and did so in July of 1954 (Sweetman, 1955: 101). The outcome of the survey was a document entitled: "A Preliminary Report on the Peterborough Petroglyphs."

The team decided that in addition to mapping the site, an archaeological search should be undertaken of the surrounding area for artifacts such as tools or campsite and village remains that could possibly be associated with the creators of the images. Despite the excavation of eighty-one test pits at different geographical intervals in relation to the petroglyph site, nothing was uncovered that indicated a campsite or a village that could potentially have been left by the artists of the site (Sweetman, 1954:104).⁷ This was discouraging, as many scholars, visitors, and the team itself had hoped to identify the creators of the glyphs.

⁷ Sweetman and his team uncovered a Iroquoian village several miles from the petroglyph site, however, there is no record that the Ontario Iroquois engaged in rock carving, nor do the pottery sherds found later by Vastokas, match what was found at this archaeological site (Vastokas, 1973: 24-6), thus, eliminating them as possible creators of the site.

The work on the petroglyphs proved to be time consuming and exhausting for the survey team as erosion had worn down the edges of some images, making it hard to tell what was an image and what was a natural feature of the rock face:

The subtlety of the problem of glyph designation certainly tests the patience and endurance of the researcher, and produces at times a condition and attitude which might be described as 'glyph-happy,' where one is quite prepared to doubt his own perception. However, many of the glyphs were clearly outlined and did not present quite a problem of delineation. The glyphs, once isolated, were then blackened with charcoal to aid in both the photographic record and scale-graph records (Sweetman, 1955:104).

Sweetman's survey uncovered ninety-two petroglyphs divided between two areas on the surface of the rock outcropping: eighty-one in Area I and eleven in Area II (Sweetman, 1955:105). These glyphs were further divided into three categories: animal, human (human-like), and triangular shapes.

As there was, and still is, no positive means of dating the petroglyphs, analysis of the images and their interpreted subjects they are thought to depict has been used in order approximate a time frame for the glyphs. In the Sweetman report, the previously mentioned triangular shapes played a distinct role in this determination, as two different dates can potentially correspond with two different interpretations of these images.

One interpretation considers the stemmed triangular points to represent projectile points similar to those of the Laurentian culture of the Archaic Period, thus dating the site at approximately thirty-five hundred years before present (ybp) (Sweetman, 1955:106). The second interpretation gives credit to an Algonquian group of the late Woodlands Period as potential creators of the glyphs, favouring a more recent date of around four hundred to five hundred ybp for their creation.

This theory interprets the triangular points, not as projectile points, but as coniferous trees. "Those who argue for the relative recency of the glyphs base their conclusions upon the remarkable similarity between the glyph and the paintings upon Ojibway birch-bark scroll and baskets" (Sweetman, 1955:107). From this statement, I have concluded Sweetman to be referring to the Midé scrolls of the Ojibwa shamanistic order, the Midéwewin. This link between the petroglyphs and the Midé scrolls will be addressed shortly.

Another factor that supports this more recent date is the intact physical condition of the petroglyph site. Supporters of the more recent date believe if the images dated any later than 500 years ago, then environmental erosion would have claimed much more of the site than is evident.

Sweetman's report concluded therefore, that the site is dated between 3500 to 500 ybp,⁶ and acknowledged that there was much more to be done at this site as more questions had been raised than answered. He predicted that the site would provide material for debate by anthropologists and archaeologists in the years to come and should be preserved for future generations of Canadians to enjoy.

It is in essence a 'natural sanctuary,' secluded and beautiful in the rugged Laurentian hill country. It is secluded and isolated, protected from unwanted intrusion. But viewing it is a rewarding experience for the hardy visitor. The site perhaps could be fenced and designated, and thus be preserved as an educational and historic site of prime importance (Sweetman, 1955:108).

The Burton and Hogenkamp Survey

Through the later half of the 1950s and on into the 1960s the petroglyph site continued to be a popular attraction for visitors and scholars alike. In 1971 T.J. Burton and J. Hogenkamp, working for the Ontario Provincial government's Environmental Planning Supervisor - Park Planning Branch, wrote A Preliminary Ecological Survey concerning the Peterborough petroglyph site. The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR), acting on the ever-increasing attention visitors were paying to the petroglyph

⁶ The tourist pamphlet available at the Park, dates the site between 600-1100 years ago, and gives credit to an "Algonkian-speaking aboriginal people" as the creators of the site (Ontario Parks/OMNR, 1998).

site, decided to conduct another survey of the area. The objective was to build on and enhance the work done by Sweetman and his research group, and provide a more in-depth ecological and geological analysis regarding the petroglyph site.

Although Sweetman's report had acknowledged a group of unknown First Nations people as the ancient creators of the site, he did not mention anything about the First Nations people living in the area at the time of his study, nor their current potential interests in the site. Burton and Hogenkamp, however, were more enlightened than Sweetman, as their concerns extended beyond the petroglyph site itself. For the first time since the (re)discovery of the site, there was official recognition of the issues concerning not only the First Nations people who created the glyphs, but also for those who continued to use the site for traditional purposes:

It is apparent even today that many Indians still regard the site with peculiar respect. This significance, what ever it may be, should not be ground out by mawkish interpretation, but preserved, if not explained. (...) Difficulty arises in trying to create a facility which not only does not intrude on the site and its meaning but adequately conveys the appropriate feelings to those who chose to visit the area. The integrity of the carvings and of the people who created them should be of uppermost consideration. At this point we can only make this statement and trust that those responsible for the park's development will recognize its validity (Burton & Hogenkamp, 1971:17).

Burton and Hogenkamp's main objective was to solve two problems that face many historic sites: erosion and vandalism. Environmental erosion could be stopped by putting a roof over the site, preventing acid rain and snow from coming in contact with the rock face (Pp. 18). Fencing off the petroglyph site could prevent people from walking on it, causing the limestone to crumble and damaging the carvings.

A climate controlled building would keep the petroglyphs free from moss and algae that thrive in damp places and, at the time of the 1971 study, had already started to appear on the rock. (The million dollar building was completed and opened to the public in 1985)

A solution was also needed for the prevention of vandalism, which had already begun to deface the petroglyph site. Evidence of the vandalism can still be seen today if one looks hard enough.

Here you can see a bit of vandalism. You see the P-A-U-L? Now, there may have been a Native person named Paul, but it's not very likely. You can see a little bit more over here, but like I say, the building has prevented that now. I think that's partially why we don't have camping as well
(Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb 18th, 1999).

Several suggestions were made for the protection of the site, but up until 1984 a chain-link fence and boardwalk surrounding the petroglyphs served as the sole protective measure for the site. Burton and Hogenkamp suggested several methods to remove the damage that had already

occurred. However, based on their evaluation, the authors found that the majority of vandalism could be blamed on the inappropriate facilities surrounding the petroglyph site:

Existing facilities probably contribute to an unfortunate attitude on the part of the visitors. The access road reflects its origin and purpose for forest management. It crosses the limestone ridge within 100 feet of the major concentration of glyphs. We can only endorse the decision to remove it. Picnic tables, garbage containers, and pit toilets within 25 feet of the fenced area contribute little to creating a suitable atmosphere. Trail signs painted on the rocks and the trees are really quite unnecessary. In addition we suspect they are strongly suggestive to those who might vandalize the site (Burton & Hogenkamp, 1971:20).

Burton and Hogenkamp make weighty recommendations for the development of the petroglyph site as a Provincial Park under the OMNR's watchful eye. These recommendations have likely had a strong influence over the planning of the Park and how it is run today:

It is our firm belief that every effort should be made to create an appropriate mood or atmosphere around the site proper, and that all facilities should be designed and executed with a sensitivity towards this objective. Anything less would be, we feel, a prostitution of the feelings, emotions, indeed culture of the creators of the petroglyphs (Burton & Hogenkamp, 1971:20).

The Vastokases Study

Anthropologists Joan and Romas Vastokas of Trent University did a comprehensive re-examination of the petroglyphs site in the summer of 1967. Their findings

were published in what is now considered the seminal scholarly work on the petroglyphs site, entitled Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs. This study rediscovered, including the images documented by Sweetman, over three hundred identifiable glyphs, as well as approximately six hundred glyphs that were vague or undefined (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:10). The Vastokases counted the total number of images at approximately one thousand. The Vastokases study also located glyphs outside of the protective chain-link fence, some as far as 700 feet from the protected area (Burton & Hogenkamp: Addendum, 1970:2).

In Sacred Art of the Algonkians, the Vastokases include an extensive examination of First Nation culture, which focuses on Algonquian language family groups of the area of the petroglyph site, having already credited them as the potential creators of the carvings. Drawing from Sweetman's report and their own current research, they found they could eliminate the possible date of 3500 ybp, mainly because the theory was based solely on direct symbolic interpretation of the glyphs:

[The argument for the date of 3500 ybp is] difficult to maintain when one considers that the triangular forms may represent abstract, human figures, [and] that there are large as well as small animals depicted [and] that fertility symbolism is frequent [at other sites of] prehistoric rock art (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:25).

The fact that these symbolic categories are found at many different prehistoric rock art sites for example in New Mexico and in Hawaii, and are therefore, not unique to the petroglyphs in Peterborough, work against the theory of the older date.

One important find that allowed the Vastokases to narrow the 'creation time frame' was the discovery of seven pottery 'sherds' which were recovered from the cracks and crevasses of the petroglyph site and apparently had been overlooked by the Sweetman team. These sherds had retained their patterns of decoration and construction, which were primarily a distinct oval dentate impression flanked by the partial remains of two other impressions arranged in a row (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:24).

A comparison revealed a close resemblance to middle woodland pottery found in Algonquin Park, which is located further north in Ontario (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:24). The sherds are additional proof that an Algonquian group created the petroglyphs (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:26).

The most important link made by the Vastokases, is between the petroglyphs and the Midé scrolls of the Ojibwa Midéwewin⁹ shamans. Selwyn Dewdney, in his important work entitled The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway,

⁹ Again, there are different spellings for this word. 'Midéwewin' is preferred by Dewdney and will be used in this thesis. Vastokas & Vastokas prefer 'Midewiwin,' which will only be used in a direct quotation.

documents the importance and symbolic meaning of a collection of scrolls owned by the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta. He also traces the origins of the Midéwewin society.

This highly organized group of Ojibwa shamans, which has been ethnographically documented, specialized in the curing of the sick as well as the preservation of traditional Ojibwa oral history. During their long and intensive rituals, these shamans would refer to symbols etched onto pieces of birch bark to aid them in the lengthy ceremonies (Dewdney, 1975:23). Researchers have compared the images on these mnemonic devices to the images at the petroglyph site and many similarities were found. This offers another possibility to the purpose of the petroglyphs.

Inadequately translated, the word Midéwewin means 'Grand Medicine Society' (Dewdney, 1975:4). The summer months were the most active for the Midéwewin, as the individual winter hunting groups had congregated to form the larger summer fishing village. It was during this time that the Midéwewins would conduct their initiation ceremonies and medicinal cures (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:31).

There has been academic debate as to the origins of the Midéwewin society. One school of thought feels that the society extends into prehistory, whereas the other

believes that the Midéwewin emerged within the contact period as a reaction or alternative to European religions (Dewdney, 1975:4; Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:38). The presence of the cross, widely recognized as a Christian symbol, has been found on Midé scrolls and is considered strong evidence that the Midéwewin society is a product of European contact (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:38).

Anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell has mentioned the Midéwewin in his research with the Ojibwa (Hallowell, 1976:362-363), but it was Dewdney's extensive work with the Midé scrolls that allowed for the creation of six categories: Origin scrolls, that symbolize the origin traditions of the Midéwewin; Migration scrolls, which summarize and chart Ojibwa origin or creation lore; Master scrolls, that provide instruction in the lore and rites in preparation to initiation; Ghost Lodge and Sky Degree scrolls, which instruct in special Midéwewin rite; Deviant scrolls, which have been suspected to have been used in destructive sorcery; and finally Enigmatic scrolls, which reflect the diffusion and decline of the Midéwewin society (Dewdney, 1975:21-22).

The Vastokases study compares the petroglyphs at Peterborough to a vast data base of Algonquian prehistoric rock art and other sites elsewhere, as well as the Midé

scrolls, and found enough similarities to draw conclusions as to the purpose of the petroglyph site:¹⁰

If, indeed the Midewiwin is a specialized development out of the more widespread practices and beliefs of Algonkian shamanism, then so would the Mide bark scrolls used in the rituals of this society also be a specialized iconographic system that evolved from a less hieratically classified Algonkian [sic] pictography (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:46).

The permanence of the petroglyphs, along with the vast amount of time and effort the artist(s) invested in the creation of the site, led the Vastokases to conclude that the petroglyphs site may have been reserved for "only the most significant forms of pictography, [such as] the recording of extraordinary vision-experiences by shamans" (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:46). The Vastokases note then, it is possible that:

(...) we cannot read the Peterborough Petroglyphs as we do the Mide birch bark records; the glyphs are not mnemonic devices for the narration of Midewiwin chants, songs, or origin myths. The Peterborough Petroglyphs, therefore do not tell a story (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:46).

The Vastokases study concludes with an extensive visually comparative section of the petroglyphs at Peterborough, other prehistoric rock art sites and the Midé scrolls. (See *Figs. 7 & 8*)

¹⁰ Jay Johnson believes the ultimate purpose of the petroglyph site is to stimulate the visitor's imagination. Interpretation of the images is left up to the visitor, as people see things differently, different images will have different meaning for different people.

The Creation of Petroglyph Provincial Park

The petroglyph site attained official Provincial Park status in 1976. There is evidence that the environmental survey done by Burton and Hogenkamp, previously discussed in this section, was the springboard for the development of the Park and its original facilities. Burton and Hogenkamp's sentiments and suggestions are reflected in the Minister's Approval Statement at the beginning of the OMNR's Master Plan, published in 1977:

In acknowledging the importance of this unique feature in both a provincial and national context, it was imperative that the petroglyph site be safeguarded and protected while remaining accessible to the interested visitor. A park master plan was prepared to satisfy these concerns and also recognized that the facilities to be developed should not intrude on the area's undisturbed settings (OMNR, [Hon. Frank S. Miller] 1977).

This document is the most extensive government report to date on the petroglyph site and its surrounding area. Much of the information in this document has been drawn from other sources, particularly those already mentioned in this thesis. However, it also includes new information and ideas. When the OMNR published this document, the Park had already been open to the public since 1968 with a limited number of services, facilities and staff (one maintenance person and two interpreters).

Four hectares of forest surrounding the site were fenced in by a 1.8-metre high chain link fence with a similar fence enclosing the actual site. This was used as

a temporary measure until better protective means could be designed and funded. Limited public facilities completed the development of the park in 1977.

Key to the Master Plan document is its stated goal for Petroglyph Provincial Park, which is as follows:

The goal of Petroglyphs Provincial Park is to provide for the continuous physical protection and preservation of a unique and important archaeological resource in a natural setting, while providing visitors with the opportunity to view the petroglyphs on a day-use basis in a manner which will increase their understanding appreciation and enjoyment of this and other archaeological/historical resources in the province (OMNR, 1977:37).

These sentiments were also expressed in the park objectives for the development of park facilities. Any development must be complementary to the natural setting of the Park along with a stimulation and encouragement of vegetative growth that must be maintained. This provides a natural noise-reducing buffer between the petroglyph site and the day-use area. It becomes apparent by reading this document that the intention is to maintain the Park as natural and as green as possible. An interesting point that supports this is the document's policy on roads:

The road system will be designed and built as a narrow, twisty, scenic one way route designed to create a tunnel effect. This design will greatly reduce vehicle speed and noise. It will also encourage a visitor to feel that he [sic] is heading into a special isolated place (OMNR, 1977:42).

One does experience that "feeling" driving into the park, and the narrow and twisting road leads visitors to believe

that they are much farther from the main road than they actually are.

At the time of the OMNR's 1976-77 study, Petroglyphs Provincial Park was considered only one part of the larger Kawartha Lakes recreational opportunities. With the opening of a proposed Visitor's Centre, (proposed in 1976, funding was not available until 1988 to complete the exterior construction of the building), it was believed by park officials that the Park's role in the greater Peterborough tourism market would increase by leaps and bounds. A market analysis was done in order to estimate the potential public demand for the facilities at the park. As overnight camping in the park was ruled out for fear of vandalism to the petroglyph site (OMNR, 1977:40), the analysis focused on the development of day-use facilities and trends using data from a survey done seven years earlier¹¹:

Based on the results of a survey in 1970, an estimated 300,000 day-users visited nine selected sites during the summer. Over 80 percent stayed for one hour or less and listed sightseeing as the major reason for their visit. (...) The Trent-Severn study emphasized the need for more intensely developed day-use sites and a wider variety of facilities (OMNR, 1977:14).

At that time (1976-77), the Park promoted attractions such as canoe routes, hiking trails, unusual natural features

¹¹ Federal-Provincial Rideau-Trent-Severn Recreational Development Study.

and the petroglyphs themselves as lures to entice tourists into the Park. These continue to be elements the Park promotes to tourists.

The services and facilities for visitors described in the Master Plan are fairly close to what is in existence today for tourists. In 1976, the visitor could expect to see the petroglyphs with an unobstructed view, thanks to a raised wooden boardwalk. Interpreters were available on the site to answer any questions that arise from the visitors. Promises of the Visitor Centre which would provide an educational program for tourists would again, not be fulfilled until the fall of 2000, more than twenty years from it's initial conception. The Visitor Centre has been built but the interior displays are currently under construction.

Valda Blundell visited the petroglyph site in June of 1991 and reports that a small trailer was in place near the unfinished Visitor Centre (personal communication). A video was played in the trailer for visitors. The video provided some historical and cultural context for the petroglyphs, with particular attention to the damage inflicted on the glyphs after 1954 when tourists started to remove the protective pine needles, which blanketed the site.

The First Nations narrator also stated that the carvings told "us" about "life way back". The narrator

also noted the important role of women in First Nations cultures and that First Nations Elders who visited the site could learn from it.

It is significant to note that although the 1977 Master Plan raises the all important issue of cultural relevance and First Nations involvement with the petroglyphs, it, like most of the other studies previously discussed, has done so only in a historical sense. The report focuses on ancient First Nations People only as the carvers of the glyphs, and not the role the petroglyphs play in current First Nations communities.

Cultural Affiliations to the Petroglyph Site

According to Vastokas and Vastokas, at the time of European contact (ca. 1600-1650), the petroglyph site near Peterborough would have been located at the borderline between the territories of the Algonquian, to whom the petroglyphs have now been linked, and the Iroquois (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:29). Algonquian groups had been middlemen in the European fur trade, a lucrative position, which was highly sought after by the Iroquois, thus beginning a violent dispersal of the Algonquian groups in the early historic period (Trigger, 1994; Rogers, 1978). I will provide a brief historical outline as to the movements of these First Nation groups during this volatile time:

Early in the seventeenth century, when the

Five Nations¹² of the Iroquois were trying to break into the fur trade north of Lake Ontario, an alliance of Huron and Algonkian stood in the way. By 1650 the Huron villages bordering Georgian Bay had been wiped out by the Five Nations. Many of the surviving Huron fled north, while continuing Iroquois raids banded the Algonkian hunters together defensively, [however,] they too [were forced out of their territories] (Dewdney, 1975:58).

After a series of territorial battles against the Iroquois, the Algonquian group, which refers(ed) to themselves as 'Anishinabe'¹³ (Dewdney, 1975:163; Smith, 1975:211), had laid claim to southern Ontario (Rogers, 1978:761). With their arrival on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, (ca. 1700), this group became known as the Mississauga¹⁴ (Rogers, 1978:761). The local First Nations of the Peterborough area, the Curve Lake First Nation included, are often referred to as Mississauga, Ojibwa, and Chippewa. These names, or tribal affiliations were imposed on First Nation Bands by the European explorers, anthropologists, and subsequently the Canadian government. The Anishinabe, from whom the Curve Lake First Nation are descended, were nomadic hunters and gatherers whose lives of subsistence were permanently linked to the seasonal

¹² The Iroquoian Five Nations, also referred to as the Five Nation Confederacy, was comprised of the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca (Smith, 1975:211).

¹³ The word 'Anishinabe' has several spellings. Smith (1975) uses the spelling 'Anishinaubag'. Other sources use the spellings 'Anishnaabeg', Ahnishinahbaig, and 'Anishinabeg.' Translated, according to Dewdney (1975:163), the term means 'original men'.

¹⁴ Again, there are several spellings for 'Mississauga'. 'Mississauga', 'Mississaga', and 'Messissauga' spellings have also been used when referring to this First Nation group. See Smith (1975; 1981) for details.

cycle. During the harsh winters, individual families joined other, blood related families, where they proceeded to their winter hunting ground as a group (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:30).

Fundamental to the Northern Ojibwa mode of hunting, (...) was the hunting-territory system. Since sons usually hunted with fathers or fathers-in-law, or brothers with brothers, rights to the (...) tracts of land by successive generations of male hunters was institutionalized (Hallowell, 1955:119).

As anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell, who is considered to be one, if not the seminal researcher of Ojibwa culture, elaborates:

Typically, the winter hunting group was an extended family. It was composed of at least two married couples and their children united by kinship bonds between parents and children or between siblings. (Hallowell, 1976:334).

The responsibility for food collection was divided amongst every member of the family, with the men hunting larger game animals like deer and moose, and the women and children snaring rabbits and catching fish (Hallowell, 1976:334; Hallowell, 1955:119).

With the onset of the spring months, the group moved to the sugar bush. Women collected sap and the men hunted smaller game animals and fished. The summer months were the busiest in terms of food production for the Anishinabe. The individual winter hunting groups joined together at a fishing spot, creating a large, semi-permanent camp or village. Using spears and weirs, men would catch fish day

and night, as their abundance made fish their main food staple (Hallowell, 1976:334, Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:31). Women cleaned and dried the catches to be stored for the winter months.

Summer was also the time to strip birch bark and build canoes, repair any damage to their dwellings, and make containers in preparation for the coming winter. Bark from the White Birch tree was also the medium for the Midé scrolls, previously discussed (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:31). Wild rice was harvested in the late summer and larger fish, like sturgeon, were speared. With the approaching cold, the summer village was abandoned as the individual hunting band dispersed and the cycle was repeated.

As previously noted, the Anishinabe were first contacted by Europeans in the 1600s, by which over an extended period of time brought change to their lifestyles. The sociopolitical organization of the Anishinabe, specifically the Southeastern Ojibwa, as described by the anthropologist E.S. Rogers, who notes that there is very little documentation on the topic, primarily because this early historical period was a time of major cultural change for first Nation people (Rogers, 1978:762):

The native people were often on the move, preventing stabilized conditions. The regrouping of peoples, often of diverse origins, disrupted the sociopolitical organization, and the continued recurrence of reamalgamations throughout the period hampered the development of new

structures (Rogers, 1978:762).

Rogers continues:

Moreover, attempts were often made by Europeans to gain political control over the Indians, and this had a tendency to suppress and native political organization that might have emerged. Nevertheless, these events did not prevent some formal sociopolitical system from existing (Rogers, 1978:762).

The Anishinabe were organized in small bands, numbering anywhere from one hundred to several hundred people, depending on the ability of their territory to provide sufficient food. Each band was headed by a male chief, whose selection was based on hunting ability or shamanistic qualities and were sometimes installed by means of a special ceremony (Rogers, 1978:762; Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:30).

During this early historical period of changing social units, patrilineal and nonlocalized totemic associations emerged among the Anishinabe of southern Ontario. In order to cope with the intermingling and dispersal of many of the smaller bands, a totemic system of identification is believed to have been assumed which allowed people to maintain bonds with one another (Rogers, 1978:763).

Anishinabe Spirituality

Traditional religion and spirituality remained strong among the Anishinabe of Southern Ontario during these years of European contact, despite the presence of active

missionaries in the area (Rogers, 1978:763). The concept of the wheel of life, or the medicine wheel, is a fundamental one in Anishinabe spirituality. First Nation author Sharilyn Calliou notes:

Medicine wheels can be pedagogical tools for teaching, learning, contemplating and understanding our human journeys at the individual, band/community, nation, global and even cosmic levels. [Their] configuration reminds us of when the world was guided by the law of right relationship, and humans respected themselves and all their relations - mineral, plant, animal, spirit - on the Mother Earth (Calliou, 1995:53).

The multi-leveled teachings of the medicine wheel effect every element of human existence, the four directions, the four colours which represent races, the four life givers, the four seasons, the four vices, and so on. The teachings of the medicine wheel describe an interconnectedness and an encompassing relatedness between everything (Calliou, 1995: 50).

A quote from the text planned for the displays at The Learning Place, scheduled to open in 2000, explains this inter-relationship between humans, their emotions, the four directions, and so on.:

The North gives us the rocks, which speak to us of strength. The East gives us the animals, which talk to us about sharing. From the South we get the trees, which teach us about honesty, and from the West we are given the grasses, which teach us about kindness (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 3).

The medicine wheel traditionally contains a number of fixed elements, for example the sacred directions, the sacred

medicine, animals, etc. First Nation author Robert Regneir notes, however, that the medicine wheel is capable of expanding and adapting to seek answers to more contemporary questions (Regneir, 1995:318).

For many First Nations in Canada, the medicine wheel and its teachings are considered the 'sacred centre' of their community (Graveline, 1998:14), connecting the individual to the Earth, to their community, and so on. These inherent concepts of 'connection' and 'community' within the philosophies of the medicine wheel, along with its ability to adapt to present day issues, while maintaining a link to the First Nations heritage, makes it an effective information medium for the exhibits in The Learning Place to open in the fall of 2000.

The ritual known as the vision quest was extremely important in the initiation of young boys into adulthood. The Ojibwa are said to have had the most intense version of the vision quest. A young boy at the precipice of puberty was told to fast, alone in the woods, for several days, until his guardian spirit appeared in a vision. A guardian spirit might be a bear, a bird, etc., and this spirit will act as the individual's guide throughout his life (Rogers: 1978:763).

There has been informal discussion which link the petroglyph site to the vision quest ritual, based on the

Anishinabe's tendency to wear images of totems and images received through visions either woven into clothing or as protective amulets (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:35).

Creative abilities exhibited by individuals were often interpreted from visionary experiences. Perhaps the creators of the petroglyphs were young Anishinabe vision questers who were passing the time during their fast, or shamans recording their most incredible visions (Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:46).

Another element of Anishinabe spirituality that has been linked to the petroglyphs is the Ojibwa shamanistic society, the Midéwewins, and their symbolic iconography, which is etched onto birch bark scrolls. The Vastokases' study also thoroughly examines and compares the symbols of the scrolls to the Peterborough Petroglyphs, which has been addressed in a previous section.

A New Partnership Between First Nations People and the Ontario Government

The Curve Lake First Nation community was settled on the shores of Buckhorn and Chemong Lakes, approximately two hundred years ago. It is important to note, however, that the members of the Curve Lake First Nations Band do not claim to be descendants of the creators of the petroglyphs, nor do they claim ownership of the site. The Curve Lake First Nation Band was given the title, and responsibilities therein, of 'sacred custodians' of the petroglyph site by

the United Anishnaabeg Councils¹⁵ in the late 1980s (Ontario Parks, 1999:5). One reason for this bestowal is because the Curve Lake First Nations Band is the closest in proximity to the petroglyph site.

As a point of interest, the Curve Lake First Nation community has long had a receptiveness to tourism, and has successfully run tourist attractions, such as art galleries and small museums on the reserve for many years. This entrepreneurial experience in tourism appears to have been a factor in the Council's choice of Curve Lake First Nation and the sacred protectors of the petroglyph site. What is also important to note, is that although it was probable that the ancestors of Curve Lake First Nation did not create the Peterborough Petroglyphs, it is not impossible that they could have.

Although officially declared a Provincial Park in 1976, the public who had been visiting the petroglyph site since 1968 were forced to cope with minimal facilities and services, as previously discussed.

In 1984, construction started on the large and impressive steel and glass building that would enclose the petroglyph site, which was then opened to the public in

¹⁵ Formerly known as the United Indian Council, the United Anishnaabeg Councils represent eight First Nations in the South-central region of Ontario. These include the Pottawatami First Nation of Moosedeer Point, the Missisauga First Nations of Alderville, Curve Lake, Hiawatha and Scugog Island, and the Chippewa First Nations of Beausoleil, Georgina Island and Mnijikaning. (See UAC web site for additional details).

1985. This was felt to be a priority, and having consulted with and received permission from the Curve Lake First Nation Chief and Council (Ontario Parks, 1999:2), government funding was funneled into this project to protect the site from the unstoppable and devastating effects of acid rain, algae, frost and vandals. Ontario Parks recognized the First Nations belief regarding the sacredness of the carvings, and for that reason a protocol was put into place to permit First Nations people access to the sacred site and the park as a whole, for First Nations ceremonies, traditional teachings, and spiritual visits (Ontario Parks, 1999:5).

Although the building seals off the site entirely from the outdoors, First Nations people are still able to use the site for personal and ceremonial purposes. Special arrangements can be made with Park staff prior to these events and the site can be temporarily closed to the public. However, on many occasions the public is allowed to respectfully observe the ceremony, providing an additional cultural experience for those lucky enough to watch.

In 1988, Ontario Parks solicited the Curve Lake First Nation Band, because of its status as official sacred custodians, to be contractors of the Park's gate on a temporary one-year basis. This proved to be successful and the following year Curve Lake First Nation made the case

that because they were the sacred custodians of the petroglyph site, they should be the rightful contractors of the gate. From that point of view, Ontario Parks agreed to the claim and the Curve Lake First Nation has managed the gate ever since.

Shortly after the initial gate contract with Curve Lake First Nation in 1988, the building for the Visitor Centre (which was initially propose in 1976) was constructed and completed. The government funds for the interior exhibits had been, however, redirected to another First Nations tourism operation, once again postponing the completion of the Visitor Centre (Interview with Ron Speck, Dec. 14th, 1999).

In 1994, Ontario Parks re-evaluated the 1976 designs for the Visitor Centre exhibits. The original concepts for the displays had focused on the petroglyphs, how they were rediscovered, the archaeological techniques used to excavate the site, and those used by the various survey teams. Overall, the proposed displays were conventional museum oriented exhibits that focused directly on the petroglyphs.

Depiction of First Nation involvement with the site was only recognized in their historical capacity as the ancient creators of the images. Although the exhibit designs were educational, by not providing information on the current cultural links of the First Nations people who

still use the Teaching Rocks¹⁶ for various personal ceremonies, the displays lacked an important cultural foundation or context.

This omission raised problems with Curve Lake First Nation and other First Nation communities, mainly because the petroglyph site had played and continues to play a large, active and growing role within the Curve Lake First Nation and with many of the surrounding Bands. If the design committee proceeded with the proposed displays, the visitor would see the petroglyphs through the eyes of the archaeologists and anthropologists, not through the eyes of those who had the traditional right to the site, namely the First Nations people. Steps were taken to prevent and change this (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 12th, 1999).

By 1994, a solid working partnership had been established between Ontario Parks and the Curve Lake First Nation Band. Ontario Parks, because of its dealing with Curve Lake First Nation and the Park, sends representatives to periodically sit in on the Curve Lake First Nation Band Council meetings (3-4 times a year), to provide updates on the day to day operation of the Park, including the progress of the Visitor Centre. This provides an open forum for the constructive and positive discussion of

¹⁶ The petroglyphs are also referred to as The Teaching Rocks and Kinomagewapkong, translated means 'the rocks that teach.'

issues concerning the park from both the Curve Lake First Nation and Ontario Parks.

The Rights and Resources Committee, a sub-committee of the Band Council that works very closely with Ontario Parks, handles any issues regarding First Nations concerns in relation to the Park (Interview with Ron Speck, Dec. 14th, 1999). Members from the Rights and Resources Committee volunteered to sit on the Ontario Parks design committee and, in the same year, they slated the unfinished visitor centre as 'priority one', and agreed that it needed to be completed and opened to the public as soon as possible. A major re-organization of the exhibits was necessary, fostered by the belief that the message of the Teaching Rocks could only reach visitors if the exhibits and stories were presented through the eyes and the voices of the First Nations People.

It took the committee two years to prepare the new design concept and terms of reference. The Visitor Centre, re-named The Learning Place, would be an integral part of the Teaching Rocks site, and a place that would prepare the visitors for what they were about to see by providing culturally significant information, and allowing visitors the opportunity to obtain the desired mindset before viewing the petroglyph site.

Because of the importance, both nationally and internationally, of the petroglyph site, funds were

solicited from appropriate agencies in both Provincial and Federal Governments on a matching basis. The total cost of The Learning Place project was CAN\$ 960,000.00. Ontario Parks committed approximately 40% of the total required funds and the design committee has approached other government agencies, including the Canada Millennium Project, for the remainder of the cost (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 2).

In sum, the process undergone by Curve Lake First Nation to enter into Petroglyphs Provincial Park as an officially recognized contributor to the planning, design and cultural continuity of the site, was done so with relative ease. Ontario Park superintendent Ron Speck was pleased at how smoothly the transition went to incorporate Curve Lake First Nation into the administration of the Park. He gives credit primarily to the fact that there are no currently pending land claims issues that involve the site. Had it been otherwise, perhaps things would have turned out differently.

Ron Speck places a lot of stock in the fact that Ontario Parks has always had a very positive relationship with the Curve Lake First Nation and to Ontario Parks' commitment to hire Curve Lake First Nation staff. This has gone a long way in solidifying that positive relationship. The fact that Jay Johnson, Assistant Park Superintendent, is also a member of the Curve Lake First Nation, and is

well known and respected within the community, has been very beneficial to the operation of the Park (Interview with Ron Speck, Dec. 14th, 1999).

This partnership is certainly not taken lightly, or for granted. It is something taken very seriously by Ontario Parks, and it is nurtured in order to maintain the current situation. With the completion of the Learning Place, and its culturally appropriate displays, which will be discussed at length in the following chapter, Curve Lake First Nation has reinvested a sacred meaning into what was just considered prehistoric rock art and not connected to any living people. The Learning Place project and the operation of Petroglyphs Provincial Park continue to constitute a positive partnership between Curve Lake First Nation and Ontario Parks.

CHAPTER III

REPRESENTING FIRST NATIONS CULTURE AT PETROGLYPHS PROVINCIAL PARK

During Petroglyph Provincial Park's open season from early May to the Canadian Thanksgiving weekend in October, park hours are from 10am to 5pm, which provide visitors with ample time to experience the Park. From the main gate (See *Fig. 9*), visitor traffic moves on to the Park Attendant's office where they pay the park admission fee (\$CAN 7.50 per vehicle).¹⁷ Visitors are then directed to the parking areas.

Visitors can then choose from several activities: picnicking in the day-use areas, hiking on one of four marked walking trails, visiting the interpretive visitor centre 'The Learning Place,' which will be described in-depth in a following section, or going directly to the petroglyph site (See Map: *Fig. 3*).

Choosing to visit the petroglyph site, visitors are led along a footpath to the original chain-link fence erected in the 1970s by the OMNR. A sign, also erected in the 1970s, just past the gate indicates that the petroglyph site, and the surrounding wilderness, is sacred and still used for sacred purposes by First Nations people and,

¹⁷ Park admission fee as of 1998.

Fig. 3. Site Map of Petroglyphs Provincial Park (Adapted from Ontario Parks, Petroglyphs Provincial Park Hiking Trails - Tourist Pamphlet:1998).

therefore, it is to be respected as such (See *Fig. 10*). Farther along the path the visitor can begin to see the large, looming gray steel and glass building that encloses the entire petroglyph site.

As noted in the last chapter, the protective building was built in 1984 and opened to the public in 1985, with its purpose to house and protect the petroglyph site from vandalism and from the natural process of erosion (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 18, 1998). Its architecture is very modern, very angular, and with large, full-length windows around the entirety of the building (See *Fig. 11*). Plaques erected outside the building explain the dramatic architectural designs as well as the reasoning behind the construction and design of the building itself, and how because of the design, the building is able to automatically control its internal environment.

When I first visited the site in the fall of 1998, my impression of the building, as a tourist and researcher, was that the building seems totally out of context and competes with the serenity and greenness of the surrounding forest. Efforts were made to keep the park as natural as possible, even the driving portion of the park shows very little evidence of human contact. All of the park's outbuildings, such as the park offices, maintenance buildings, and even the washroom facilities, are made out

of natural materials and stained or painted in neutral or earth tones. They are designed in such a way as to be visible, but as unobtrusive as possible, and are a stark contrast to the brushed steel look of the protective building that would seem more at home in the downtown of a big city than in the middle of a mature forest. While I agree that protection for the site is completely necessary, the look of the building is a little hard to process. I believe however, that my impression changed once I entered the building, as I saw the petroglyphs for the first time.

The building's entrance, two sets of glass doors, creates a small alcove where additional park information is posted on boards. Upon entering, the visitor's senses are immediately stimulated. Aside from the visual attraction of the petroglyphs themselves, the sense of smell is incorporated with soothing aromas of cedar and sweetgrass. 'New Age-type' music is piped throughout the enormous room on a continuous basis. Perhaps it was thought that the music would evoke a sense of sacredness and provide a stronger First Nation presence. However, the music was distracting and at times intrusive. Perhaps this was due to the small number of people in the building, causing the music to seem quite loud. For me, the petroglyphs do not need any help in setting the mood for the visitor; they are breathtaking and awe-inspiring on their own.

The massive crystalline limestone outcropping is situated at the centre of the building and is surrounded by a raised and undulating cement walkway that follows the natural shape of the rock formation, allowing onlookers to get the best view of any particular section of the petroglyphs.

I did take a number of photographs during my 1998 visit to the site. Since then, however, a request from the Curve Lake Elders was granted that prohibits the taking of photographs within the protective building in order to preserve the sacredness of the petroglyphs. "It is believed that cameras and video steal the spirit of the rock and thereby diminish its living power" (Ontario Parks, 1999:5). In respect of this request, I have not included my photographs of the site in this thesis.

Of the close to one thousand images, only three hundred are considered distinct enough to be seen and identified without any special indicators. When the petroglyphs were being surveyed and documented in the 1950s and 1970s (See Chapter II), researchers used charcoal to colour in the images, which improved their appearance for photographing. The charcoal has been allowed to fade over the years and I was told the petroglyphs are no longer retouched in any way (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 12th, 1999). The vast expanse of windows provides enough natural light and contrasting shadows to make the viewing of the

petroglyphs quite easy, even for those images that no longer have any of the charcoal's distinguishing marks.

Making use of the information in the pamphlets provided by the park entrance officials and the interpretive plaques situated at different intervals along the railings, visitors can take themselves on a self guided tour of the site. An official interpreter is present during the hours of operation to answer any questions a visitor might have regarding the site.

Jay Johnson, the parks' Assistant Superintendent, told me the interpretation of the images is left up to the individual, as different images will mean different things for different people, and he feels that stimulating the individuals imagination is the ultimate purpose of the petroglyphs (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 12th, 1999). The Park, however, does provide tourists with information as to possible interpretations for the images, gathered from First Nations elders. The main tourist pamphlet provides general information on the history of the area, information on the petroglyphs and flora and fauna in both French and English.

Plaques located on the railing identify some of the more prominent glyphs of that section, for example, Nanabush the Trickster, the Thunderbird, Gitchi Manitou or the Great Spirit (See *Figs. 12, 13 & 14*). Animals depicted are birds, snakes, and turtles. There are also images of

boats and what are believed to be shamans on the surface of the rock.

The railing continues around the entire perimeter of the rock outcropping with a small padlocked gate allowing for access onto the rock for ceremonial and maintenance purposes. Presently, the utmost care is taken by all who venture out on to the rock:

Everybody that does go on the teaching rock, certainly does so with respect. We ask that they do wear moccasins when they are on it because the rock is very, very fragile. It's very soft (Interview with Jay Johnson, February 18th, 1999).

A round flat stone situated on the rock surface near the gate is used as a burning surface for sweetgrass, tobacco, sage and cedar, the four sacred medicines that will be further mentioned in the following section on The Learning Place. Visitors may also notice small clumps of tobacco and other offerings left near specific petroglyphs. First Nations People, who require access to the rock surface, or wish to have the site to themselves for ceremonial purposes, need only to ask prior to their visit and special consideration is made through the temporary closing of the site to the public, if it is desired.

Previous mention was made of the four hiking trails maintained by the park during the open season. These trails may be accessed during the winter months but visitors do so at their own risk. The Marsh Trail is 7 km and takes approximately 2.5 hours to complete, the West

Day-Use trail is 5.5 km and takes 1.5 hours to finish, and the longest is the High Falls Trail that is 16 km and is estimated at 4.5 hours to finish. As the park gate is locked at 5:30pm sharp, it is not recommended that this trail be started after 12pm so the people are not locked in for the night.

The fourth trail, the Nanabush Trail, is 5.5 km long and takes approximately one and a half hours to complete. I chose to hike this particular trail because of its linkage to the petroglyph site through the inclusion of eleven interpretive cairns that provided tidbits of local First Nations lore and legends pertaining directly to the petroglyphs.

This short and easy interpretive trail takes you through a mixed forest with exposed marble outcroppings interspersed with low wetland areas. Two boardwalks and a bridge will take you across marshes and swamps. The trail loops around the north shore of Minnow Lake and a steep hill near the start of this segment of the trail.
(Ontario Parks/OMNR, Petroglyphs Provincial Park: Hiking Trails: 1998)

The cairns work in combination with a supplementary trail guide booklet entitled, "Petroglyphs Provincial Park Hiking Trails: Featuring the Nanabush Trail", which one can purchase for \$.50 at the parks' entrance. The booklet has the description of what was being identified at each cairn. For example, Cairn Five is in an area of the forest where the trees have been heavily visited by woodpeckers and the booklet tells the story of how, according to First Nations

legend, the woodpecker got its red crest. During my hike, the trail proved to be quite full of animal and bird wildlife, providing a generous showing of the local natural history.

Although the Trail Guide booklet described the trail as short and easy, it certainly proved challenging in spots, particularly going up and down hilly parts where sure footing was definitely required. The trail continues on in a circle with picturesque sites overlooking Minnow Lake and, with the help of the Trail Guide, uncovering the ruins of an old loggers' cabin. Having the cairns certainly made the hike more educational as they described the local history of the area, wildlife and its connection to the First Nations people and the petroglyphs.

The Learning Place

Scheduled to open in the Fall of 2000, work began in early Fall of 1998 on the interior construction of the visitor's centre, aptly re-named The Learning Place.

Today the project is very much alive. Through a unique working partnership between Ontario Parks and the leaders of the Curve Lake First Nations community, the interpretive message now reflects our understanding of the relevance of the site to the First Nations People and to us all. No longer viewed as rock art, the site is recognized as sacred (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 2).

The challenge faced by the design team was how to change the expectations of the visitor by altering their

perceptions from that of a tourist's experience to that of a spiritual experience (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 2). The overall message The Learning Place will project is that the Teaching Rocks are a source of spiritual wisdom for all people and are there for all that seek such wisdom. As it is the first building the visitor comes upon on the way to the petroglyph site, one of the functions of The Learning Place is to welcome the visitors and inform them that the site is indeed considered a sacred site for the First Nations People (See *Fig. 15*).

Generally, The Learning Place will also provide an overview of the First Nation People who created the petroglyphs, indicating what the petroglyphs are and what they signify. In doing so, it is hoped the visitor will leave the Park with a better understanding of the sacred nature of the site, who the Anishnabe are, and the importance of the site to them, as well as an understanding of the Anishnabe world view and spirituality (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 3).

It is also hoped that The Learning Place will stimulate the visitor's desire to learn and to seek more knowledge and understanding through the instilling of an emotional sense of reverence for the Teaching Rocks and the wisdom they contain not just for First Nations People but for all people (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 3). With this in mind, the interpretive design method that was agreed

upon by the steering committee and design team to invoke this understanding is the medicine wheel.

The flow of the building will move the visitor through the exhibit as one would move around the medicine wheel; East, South, West and North, and the different areas of the exhibit will focus on the Teaching Rocks in relation to that section of the medicine wheel:

[The Learning Place] will revolve around the medicine wheel and the teachings of the medicine wheel. I guess it's sort of a common thing that is found in a lot of Native First Nations, even throughout Canada and North America, that there seems to be a medicine wheel philosophy and that is based on the four points of the compass, the North, the East, South and the West, whereby life begins in the East. (...) It's a really multi-layered teaching. You know I could sit and talk about the medicine wheel, probably for days and days and (...) still not cover it all and certainly there are a lot of different opinions and view points and I guess that is sort of [how the Teaching Rocks] fit into the teachings of the medicine wheel as well (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 12th, 1999).

Although Assistant Park Superintendent Jay Johnson emphasizes that the petroglyph images are open to all interpretations, and that open interpretation of the Teaching Rocks is encouraged, one can interpret the images in accordance with the philosophies of the medicine wheel:

In terms of directly relating [the images] to the medicine wheel (...) I think you can certainly make different inferences because the images are very subjective. You know, I can say the image of what I perceive to be Gitchi Manitou, the Great Spirit, is in the East and you know the sun rises in the East and the slope of the rock faces the East and that's why he is placed there (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 12th, 1999).

The visitor will enter the building from the main entrance and will be directed forward into the Welcome section of the exhibit, passing an activity room on the right and a cloakroom and public washroom on the left. From their first steps into the building, the visitor will continue to feel as though they are in the forest, this being aided by a simulated forest floor and backdrops (See *Figs, 16 & 17*). From the Welcome Area, a greeter person, as well as stone guiding markers that reoccur throughout, direct the visitor to the left and into the Introduction section of the exhibit where the visitor is prepared for the journey on which they are about to embark.

In this area the visitor will be introduced for the first time to the Anishinabe First Nation People, the Algonquian oral tradition, and Kinomagewapkong - The Teaching Rocks. Here, the importance of the medicine wheel will be used as the interpretive model to understanding the First Nations worldview, along with the role of the drum illustrated through the use of visual graphics and audio sounds of various drum recordings.

In this section, and continuing throughout the entirety of the exhibit, the visitor will pass beneath large lodge poles: four main or primary poles are grounded in each of the four quadrants of the medicine wheel as are several secondary and major linking poles. These poles will support large canopies, which are intended to simulate

enormous lodge like structures, similar in form to huge tee-pees. Various images will be projected onto these canopies, such as petroglyph and forest images, thus changing the feeling and atmosphere of the room at any given time. The main purpose of this section will be to create a link between the Teaching Rocks, the medicine wheel, the drum and the environment before the visitor moves on to the East section of the exhibit.

The East

In the East quadrant of the exhibit, the visitor will be introduced to the eastern section of the medicine wheel. As the East is associated with the elements of Creation, Birth and Renewal, the visitor will be shown images of sunrises, and spring and the colour red, the symbolic colour of the East. Tobacco, one of the four sacred medicines, will be displayed in the Eastern section as well as the important role of women with regard to birth and creation, to be depicted by a display of cradleboards.

Symbolic animal images to be featured in this section are that of the Eagle and that of the Turtle which will be illustrated "emerging from the water with the Earth on its back providing a living place for human beings and all creatures between sky and water" (Ontario Parks File,

1999:doc 4).¹⁸ Audio-visual technology will allow the visitor to hear stories related to the turtle, narrated by Curve Lake Elders, reinforcing the notion of the importance of oral history and storytelling in the First Nation worldview.

The South

From the East, the visitor will then be guided towards the South component of the exhibit where the primary message is to be 'learning - the receiving of knowledge - related to the environment.' In this section, there will be displays that highlight how First Nation Elders teach children about the environment using the stories of Nanabush and the passing down of knowledge in general. Sage is the second of the four sacred medicines to be introduced in the exhibit along with its role in women's ceremonies.

The significance of woman and her role as provider will be enforced through a display of women's dress regalia and deer hide ornamentation. It is in this section that the visitor will begin to develop a sense of the whole, the complete picture of how the medicine wheel works on so many different cyclical levels, especially the journey of

¹⁸ To allow for a better flow, I will abstain from referencing in the East, South, West and North sections of this text. All the information is from an (Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 4) unpublished source.

creation - beginning, learning, knowledge and wisdom, the life cycle, the seasons of the Earth, etc.

The floor of the southern component will be integral to this section as it is to be inscribed with quotations and images encouraging visitors to take a closer look, seek and discover, hence, to learn. Animal symbolism represented in the South quadrant of the medicine wheel will include the deer and the moose along with the sacred colour yellow, which typically represents the late morning sun. The overall intent of this section will be to reinforce the relationship and interpretation of the environment through the medicine wheel and the Teaching Rocks along with the joy of discovery, learning and the passing of knowledge from one generation to the next.

The West

Visitors will then pass through into the Western quadrant of the exhibit where they will face a rock outcropping containing a functioning water spring, accompanied by quotation, most likely from elders, describing the importance of water. The south and west will become linked through the role of the woman as provider is entitled 'Keeper of Water'. The third sacred medicine, cedar, to be represented in the West quadrant will be in the form of cedar water carriers as well as the sacred colour blue that can be representative of water and

the coming together of earth, sky and water. The elements that will be focused on in this section will progress from learning from the south to the absorption of knowledge, of maturity and adulthood.

There will also be a focus on the concept of the family, reinforcing the stages of adulthood and maturity, providing a sense of progression around the medicine wheel, from birth through childhood learning to adult maturity. Symbolic animal imagery will be represented by the image of the Thunderbird. The overall intent of the West section will be to provide a serene, cool area, which sets the mood of knowledge being received and understood.

The next section the visitor will come upon is a transitional stage between the West and North, the link between the two being the progression of knowledge into understanding and wisdom. The season to be represented here is that of Winter, which for the Anishnabe is a time for storytelling. The special feature in this section will be a rock outcropping that depicts the petroglyphs covered in snow which will be used as an informal seating area for live story telling and audiovisual presentations. Symbolic animal imagery will be represented by the Thunderbird carried over from the West and the Bear, a precursor of the North quadrant yet to come. This will be The Learning Places' primary area for communication with the visitors while at the same time maintaining the ambiance and

atmosphere essential to the environment of The Learning Place.

The North

The North will be the second last stop in the visitor's journey around the medicine wheel. It will represent the completion of the cycle through the many layers of the medicine wheel within the sections of the exhibit - the seasons, the stages of learning, the circle of life - to a higher stage, wisdom. The sacred colour white will be represented here as a reflection of the winter season and snow. Sacred symbolic animal imagery will continue to be the Bear, which represents the wisdom and strength of the First Nation Elders, by using the image of an Elder with his shadow in the form of a Bear. The fourth sacred medicine, sweetgrass will be represented in this section.

The snow covered rock outcropping from the West-North transitional area will extend over into the North quadrant and connect to the Primary North Pole, the last of the four primary poles of the medicine wheel. The winter rock imagery will merge into imagery of spring, and reconnect the exhibit and the visitor back to the East, expressing the perpetual continuum of the medicine wheel philosophy. It is this message of perpetual renewal that will be offered to the visitor as they either leave the building to

proceed to the Teaching Rocks site or enter the Video Theater.

Visible from all quadrants of the medicine wheel will be the medicine wheel core at the centre of the exhibit space. The medicine wheel core is where the four primary poles of the wheel will come together, along with the secondary poles, over a central rock outcropping. Again, canopies will act as projection screens depicting the sacred animal imagery of the Eagle-East, Moose-South, Thunderbird-West and Bear-North.

The four sacred medicines are to be repeated in displays at the medicine wheel core. The rock-like floor will also be used as a projection surface, displaying images of the seasons, the elements of earth, sky, water and fire. The intent of this section will be to link together all four quadrants of the medicine wheel, providing the visitor with a sense of continuum, of understanding, and in a sense, the spirit of The Learning Place. The overall and intentional calm atmosphere at the core of the medicine wheel will provide an optimal setting for storytelling and ceremonies. It will be in essence the centre stage of the exhibit.

From the medicine wheel core, again, one will be able to proceed out of The Learning Place on to the Teaching Rocks site, or remain inside and view the Teaching Rocks video, which will be shown repeatedly every half hour or so

in the video theater situated just off the Northern component. It will be up to the visitor to decide how s/he wishes to proceed, as there is to be no set path.

However, after viewing the Teaching Rocks themselves, the visitor will be encouraged to return to The Learning Place and visit the research-resource centre where various forms of information will be made available to those who might wish to get a head start on learning more about the Teaching Rocks, petroglyphs in general, the Anishnabe culture and Curve Lake First Nation.

This section will also feature a World in Context area, where, using online computers, visitors will be able to connect via the internet, to other petroglyph and rock art sites around the world. Another main area the visitor may wish to utilize is the reflection area, which intended to be a quiet, calm area where visitors can reflect, absorb and ponder the images and information they have had the privilege to see.

Roles of The Learning Place

Up until this point, discussion of The Learning Place has been as an instructional medium for the visitor in general, but upon its completion, The Learning Place will have two distinct roles. Not only will The Learning Place provide visitors with invaluable information concerning First Nations culture, but it will also provide First

Nations communities with a place to congregate, learn about and celebrate their culture.

Jay Johnson, Assistant Park Superintendent and member of Curve Lake First Nation Band, believes that their children are experiencing a cultural gap as there are many distractions such as sports, school, television etc., all vying for their attention and time (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 18th, 1999). He believes that The Learning Place will become a cultural home base for his and other communities and a place to share First Nations teachings:

The Learning Place will be a place where we can share a little bit about ourselves, about our teachings and beliefs. (...) There's nothing really concrete in terms of an experience for our children to go out and learn. They can certainly sit and listen to the Elders but they do have a lot of distractions. Years ago, (...) Conversation was an absolute art and everybody practiced it and it was easy to sit down and chat and listen. I think that we have to look at different ways of learning. You know, now that people don't listen as well (Interview with Jay Johnson, February 12th, 1999).

Jay Johnson believes that The Learning Place will enable people from any ancestry to find the link that connects them to all cultures and he believes that link to be the Earth. There has been nothing but praise for the work being done on The Learning Place and everyone involved with the project feels that the power of the Learning Place will only be increased thanks to its close connection to the Teaching Rocks.

The hope is that The Learning Place, along with the Teaching Rocks, will initiate or stimulate a cultural and spiritual revitalization within the Curve Lake First Nation as well as the surrounding First Nations communities, aided by the philosophy of the medicine wheel and it's common link with many First Nations groups. Suggestions have been made to have Elders come in for special teaching sessions and storytelling. Jay Johnson sums up the feeling of The Learning Place in one sentence: "It's something we've been looking forward to for a long time." (Interview with Jay Johnson, Feb. 12th, 1999)

Since the petroglyph site was turned into a provincial park, the site and the park are closed during the winter months to public vehicles. However, many hardy nature lovers tend to trek into the park from the main road. The site building and the chain-link fence surrounding the site are locked to the general public until spring. First Nations people, however, frequently ask permission to use the site and hold private ceremonies all year round. But with completion nearing on The Learning Place, one of the long-term goals of the Park is for it to be open year round. As it stands now, the park is open from the second Friday in May to the second Friday in October, and because of this many school groups miss out on field-trip opportunities to the Park as large group space tends to fill up quickly. Having The Learning place open all year

would provide more of an opportunity for schools to utilize and benefit from the facilities the Park offers.

There will also be considerations made to traveling museum exhibits, particularly those which the steering committee believe to be appropriate and complementary to the permanent displays of The Learning Place. Jay Johnson believes that additional exhibits could be displayed in the resource areas or activity room. There is also the possibility for a small gift shop area to find a space in The Learning Place. Tourists, wherever they visit enjoy being able to take home a souvenir or a keepsake from their trip, whether it's a picture or a T-shirt, and most tourists find it extremely hard to leave without taking or buying something.¹⁹ Many experience regret in not having bought a particular item or not having taken a photograph of something that will enable them to remember the experience more vividly and show their friends that they were indeed, actually there.

The park does, however, make available to the public the opportunity to make rubbings of some of the more prominent carvings. Wooden blocks with the petroglyph images carved into them allow, typically a child to transfer the image they want onto a piece of paper using a wax crayon. Also available at the cost of a donation (the

¹⁹ See Blundell (1993a) for a thorough study on the souvenir trade in Canada and its cultural effects on First Nation communities and artists.

amount is left to the discretion of the visitor), are two beautiful posters featuring various views of the Teaching Rocks.

Although no merchandise deals have been made (as of 1999), the design committee would have the final word on what items would be stocked and sold in the gift shop, again insuring appropriate and high quality merchandise such as First Nations art and crafts, related books, media information kits, educational kits, clothing, Teaching Rocks videos, etc. This economic venture would provide the Park with an additional income source as well as an alternative promotional capability as their merchandise will be seen by a larger amount of people, and perhaps enticing them to the Park the following season. The gift shop would also provide an excellent medium for aboriginal artists to display and sell their work, thus allowing them to compete with souvenirs and crafts made by off shore companies and sold as authentic First Nation pieces.

In sum, the members of the Rights and Resources Committee from Curve Lake who volunteered to be on the design committee with Ontario Parks official, were able to inject cultural insights into the displays for The Learning Place which had been ignored in the original design plans from 1976. The petroglyph site, which was once lacking a First Nations presence and a strong cultural context, has

now become rich with First Nations cultural meaning, and has been re-infused with sacredness and spirituality.

The process Curve Lake First Nation used to integrate and involve themselves in the administrative operations of Petroglyphs Provincial Park went extremely smoothly, primarily because the partnership was desired by both Curve Lake First Nation and Ontario Parks and that both groups were willing to work at the partnership constructively. This exceptional partnership, which is in stark contrast to the Australian example which is forthcoming, is certainly one to be emulated by other First Nations and Indigenous groups who wish to work with government agencies in similar situations.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY: GEIKIE GORGE NATIONAL PARK

History of the Site

Geikie Gorge National Park is one of forty-three parks managed by the Department of Conservation and Land Management (CALM) in the state of Western Australia. The Park is categorized as an 'A' class reserve and Natural Park under the Western Australia State Act. The gorge was named in 1883 after Sir Archibald Geikie who was, at the time, the Director General of the Geological Survey for Great Britain and Ireland. Geikie Gorge officially became a National Park in 1967, and additional lands, to be known as the Geikie Gorge Conservation Park, were added to it in 1994 (See Map: *Fig 4*).

The distinct physical characteristics of the gorge were formed by the eroding forces of the Fitzroy River that constantly flows through an ancient limestone reef, which has been dated to the Devonian period some three hundred and fifty million years ago. These reefs, with the receding of the ancient oceans, became the Napier and King Leopold limestone ranges that distinguish the Kimberley landscape today. The gorge walls tower 100 metres above the Fitzroy River, which is 30 metres at its deepest point.

Fig. 4. Area of Research in Western Australia - Geikie Gorge National Park (Adapted from Pederson, 1995:204).

The walls of the gorge are embedded with hundreds of fossilized shells and ancient ocean animals.

Not a very long river by Australian standards, the Fitzroy runs for approximately 800 km from its northern source at Mt. Hann, winding its way down through Geikie Gorge and exiting into King Sound in the Indian Ocean, about 60 km southeast of the town of Derby. Geikie Gorge National Park is located approximately half way up the Fitzroy River, at 350 km.

Geikie Gorge is an oasis to hundreds of species of plants and animals because of its permanent water. During the wet season (November to April), the water in the Fitzroy River rises approximately 16.5 metres up the gorge walls, often flooding the Ranger Station and sometimes the visitor parking lot.²⁰ Visitors have an excellent opportunity to spot many water birds as well as several Johnston's Freshwater Crocodiles, either swimming in the water along side the boat, or sunning themselves on the sandy banks of the river.

The gorge is also located in the traditional lands of the Bunuba People, and it has been the site of struggle and armed conflict between whites and the Bunuba during the course of European settlement in the area, during the late

²⁰ Flood levels vary from year to year. The great flood of 1993 submerged the Ranger Station and parking lot under 7 metres of water (See *Fig. 18*).

1800s. This link will be explored in detail later in this chapter.

Aboriginal tourism at Geikie Gorge occurs through three separate tours. Firstly, there is Danguu Heritage Cruise, a tour owned and run by The Aiken's, a Bunuba family from Fitzroy Crossing. This will be fully described in Chapter V. Secondly, Geikie Gorge is also part of a self-guided driving tour called the Pigeon Heritage Trail, which takes tourists to several locations that were made famous by Jandamarra (a.k.a. Pigeon²¹), a hero to his Bunuba tribesman and an outlaw to the European pastoralists who occupied Bunuba lands to run livestock.

Jandamarra and the Bunuba resistance have achieved a status of mythic proportion in the Kimberley area. Representations of Jandamarra are an important element in Aboriginal tourism in this area and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Finally, during the CALM boat tours, which will be discussed shortly, there is some reference made to local Aboriginal culture.

Aboriginal People and Tourism in Australia

Tourism is a major contributor to the Australian economy, particularly funds generated by international tourists (Craik, 1994). Moreover, like Canada, Australia

²¹ The Lennard River Station manager nicknamed him Pigeon after the perky Crested Spinifex Pigeon, which could be seen darting around the livestock run at the Station.

has an Indigenous population whose distinct cultural forms are depicted in Australian tourism advertisements, and increasingly (re)presented as tourist attractions and destinations. There does not seem to be a specific text written on the history of Aboriginal cultural tourism in Australia, although several anthropologists have written on Aboriginal involvement in tourism and its impact on Aboriginal cultures. Australian state tourism policies, similar to those in Canada, influence the content of these attractions. Like other Indigenous peoples in post-colonial states, Aboriginal people in Australia have begun to assess the potential benefits that a greater involvement in tourism might bring them.

In the case of the Kimberley area, which is still an extremely remote area of Australia, Aboriginal tourism is in its early stages. White settlement began in the area only in the late 1800s. As Blundell writes, although Indonesian fishermen had limited contact with coastal Aboriginal People as early as the 1600s, European settlement did not occur until some two hundred years later when there were reports of fertile lands described by British explorers such as Captain George Grey and Alexander Forrest (Blundell, 1975:32).²²

In the 1800s and early 1900s, European settlers were

²² Exploration and tourism must not be confused. Tourism is a leisure activity, whereas exploration is more an occupation.

more interested in making their fortunes in cattle and sheep ranches and there was little, if any tourism in the area. Aboriginal people were typically thought of as nuisances, stealing food supplies from homesteads, stealing and killing livestock, engaging in armed confrontations with stockmen in defense of their territories, etc., and attempts were made to remove them from their lands.

Although the Kimberley area was just being settled in the early 1900s, elsewhere in Australia tourism was expanding. A boom in international tourism to Australia occurred as the continent became more accessible by ship in the early 1900s and later in the century by aircraft (Craik, 1994), along with the Post World War II growth in tourism amongst the middle class or Western Nations (Urry, 1990:27). As part of Australia's expanding tourism industry, the interest in Aboriginal Cultural tourism in Australia has also grown over the last twenty to thirty years, again reflecting global tourism trends. Moreover, demand has increased for tours that offer tourists experiences of traditional Aboriginal lifestyles, leading some observers to raise concerns about the exploitation of Aboriginal people:

Many studies (...) of cultural impacts of tourism have recorded how tourist pressure can subvert host cultural traditions and turn culture into a commodity. There are some instances of this 'staging' of pseudo cultural activities in relation to Aboriginal tourism (Brokensha & Guldberg, 1992:98).

Today, the Kimberley, although remote, is beginning to attract numerous tourists, both domestic and international, who are drawn to the area for its breathtaking scenery - gorges, sites of rock art, and local Aboriginal cultures. In the Kimberley, as elsewhere in Australia, it is sites of conflict between Aboriginal people and whites, among other Aboriginal sites, that have become tourism attractions as Peter Brokensha and Hans Guldberg note in their government²³ commissioned report on cultural tourism in Australia:

[G]reat galleries of rock art in Arnhem Land and Cape York, rock engravings, ceremonial grounds, trees, stone arrangements, middens, fish traps, and Aboriginal-white contact sites such as mission stations and massacre sites [are promoted as tourist attraction] (Brokensha & Guldberg, 1992:67).

Examples of these sites in the Kimberley include the Prison Boab Tree, which is a large boab tree with an interior cavity, on the outskirts of the West Kimberley town of Derby. It is said that ten or more shackled and chained Aboriginal men were held captive within the trees' cavity in temperatures which often exceeded 40°C (See *Fig. 19*). Another example is the previously mentioned Pigeon Heritage Trail, which includes confrontational sites between Police and Bunuba leader Jandamarra, to be described in detail later in this chapter.

²³ Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment and Territories, June 1992.

The Bunuba²⁴

Aboriginal people have lived in the Kimberley region of the Fitzroy Valley for at least the last 30,000 years. The Bunuba are an Australian Aboriginal tribal group located in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. More specifically, Bunuba country "extends from the township of Fitzroy Crossing (...), north along the Fitzroy River to Jijidju (Dimond Gorge), and follows Miluwindi (King Leopold Ranges) to Napier Ranges in the west." (Thangani Bunuba²⁵, 1998, vi) This includes Bandilngan (Windjana Gorge National Park) and Tunnel Creek National Parks,²⁶ each of which I visited during my fieldwork in Australia, as well as Danguu²⁷ (Geikie Gorge National Park) which is the focus of the case study discussed in this thesis (See Map: Fig. 5). It is important to note here that in contrast to Petroglyphs Provincial Park, where historical links are uncertain, the Bunuba's connection to Geikie Gorge is clear.

Prior to white settlement on their lands, the Bunuba benefited from a lush and plentiful environment:

Their rivers and creeks were laden with fish

²⁴ The Bunuba are also referred to in historical literature as the Banuba (Austen, 1998), Punaba, Punamba, Bunapa, and Booneba (Tindale, 1974:256).

²⁵ The book Thangani Bunuba, created by a partnership between the Bunuba Elders of the Fitzroy Valley and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, is a published collection Bunuba Dreamtime stories.

²⁶ Both Windjana Gorge National Park and Tunnel Creek National Park are stops on the Pigeon Heritage Trail.

²⁷ Once again, there are several spellings for 'Danguu'. 'Danguu', 'Darngku' are also used in reference to Geikie Gorge.

Fig. 5. Area of Research in Western Australia - The Kimberley Region (Adapted from Pederson, 1995:162).

life and freshwater crocodiles. Over the lands existed a large variety of animal life such as kangaroos, rock wallabies, bush turkeys, goannas, emus, snakes lizards and bats. Fruits and vegetables grew all year round but flourished during the monsoonal rains during the summer months. (...) Hunting was governed by religious and kinship principles that bound the people's spiritual relationship to the land and made sure that food supply was guaranteed forever (Pederson, 1995, 14-15).

As a consequence of European pastoralist settlement, cattle and sheep devastated Bunuba territory by driving off the natural fauna, over-grazing or trampling the flora, as well as contaminating the few and precious permanent and sacred water holes.

Despite extensive linguistic research on the Bunuba language (see Muecke, Rumsey, and Wirrunmarra, 1985), the Bunuba people have been largely overlooked by cultural anthropologists. As a result, there is no seminal ethnography on the Bunuba and very little academic written material. The famous Australian anthropologist Norman Tindale did include the Bunuba in his index of Aboriginal Tribes, published in 1974. All that he provides, however, is the location of the Bunuba people's traditional lands (Tindale, 1974:256), along with a map, the parameters of which are documented at the beginning of this section.

Aboriginal Spirituality: The Dreantime

For Aboriginal people in the Kimberley, as elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia, the Dreantime is considered to be

the centre of their cosmology (Blundell, 1982:8). During the Dreamtime, both natural and human worlds were created by powers, which although they are less visible now, still are present in the world. As Blundell, a Canadian anthropologist who has done extensive work with Aboriginal groups in the Kimberley, notes:

For Aborigines there is neither a past nor history in the Western sense. Instead Aboriginal 'history' is non-linear in the sense that all aspects of the present are believed to have been set down during the Dreamtime so that the present constitutes a re-enactment of these Dreamtime events (Blundell, 1982:8).

The mystical conditions known as the Dreamtime are often difficult for 'Western-reared' individuals to understand (Roberts & Roberts, 1975:9).

The Dreamtime is thought to be a theory of time and space, rather than, as Maddock notes, a theory of creation. "The earth and life are conceived to have already been in existence when the powers began their work" (Maddock, 1974:109). It is believed that the Australian continent was just a flat piece of earth surrounded by the oceans and that it was during the Dreamtime when events took place giving the land its geographical features, for example giving form to Uluru (Ayers Rock) and Kata Tjuta (the Olga Range) in the Northern Territory.

It is generally believed, then, that the geographic features of the world, humans, plants and animals were molded by certain Supernatural Beings during the Dreamtime,

who afterward, disappeared either into the sky or down into the earth (Eliade, 1973:1). Many Dreamtime stories tell of the wanderings of these Supernatural beings, as they carried out similar tasks to those of tribal Aboriginal people, such as making camp, making fires, digging for water and fighting each other (Roberts & Mountford, 1965:13). These beings performed much larger tasks, however, such as the molding of the landscape, creating plants and animals and performing rituals, which have been reproduced by Aboriginal people ever since (Eliade, 1973:2). It is through these rituals and ceremonies that the performers can re-enter the Dreamtime.

"The Dreaming of each Aboriginal encompassed everything with which he [sic] had been associated since the dawn of consciousness. Before that it extended into the Dreamtime" (Roberts & Roberts, 1975:9). An individual's Dreaming is a combination of both spiritual and physical aspects, which become the way for individuals to live their life. A person's Dreaming could include laws of nature, of their totem and of their tribe and these were typically confirmed through physically strenuous initiation ceremonies. During the Dreamtime, birds and animals were like humans, and they were often the players in stories about how laws and rules were made which would then govern Aboriginal life and that still governs it today.

One way Dreamtime stories are maintained is through their depiction in art, particularly rock art. These rock art sites, which are numerous in the Kimberley, have become a popular feature in many tours.

According to anthropologists who have written about the art, its images visually re-present activities that took place during the Aboriginal Dreamtime. (Crawford, 1968; Blundell, 1982; Layton, 1992). Aboriginal rock art in the Kimberley has a similar function to that of the Midé Scrolls of the Ojibwa Midéwewin shamans, in that the images are mnemonic devices, which allow Aboriginal people to remember the rich mythology of their country (Blundell, 1982:12). While Aboriginal people believe the paintings originated in the Dreamtime, there is also the belief that humans must maintain the images, through the regular reapplication of the ochre and charcoal pigments.²⁸

The Dreamtime stories are also maintained through an oral tradition passed from grandparents to parents to children. The Bunuba People, in particular the Bunuba Elders of Fitzroy Crossing, together with Aboriginal artists, created and published a Dreamtime stories book, entitled Thangani Bunuba. This and other similar projects are part of the struggle to maintain the knowledge of

²⁸ Controversy arose when several sites on Mt. Barnett Station and Mt. Elizabeth Station were re-freshed with non-traditional materials. See Jebb (1998) for additional details.

Aboriginal languages, Aboriginal laws, songs, dances and bushtucker.²⁹

If the people don't have their land and language they will be lost. They won't know the names of the hills or waterholes, the trees or the animals. They won't know the dreaming stories for their country. (...) If the language is lost then knowledge is lost. Our languages need to be recorded [through projects like Thangani Bunuba], and renewed for the next generation - they must be kept going (Thangani Bunuba, 1998:iv).

It is hoped that this collection of stories will be remembered and told by generations to come, and help to keep Bunuba language³⁰ and cultural tradition alive (Thangani Bunuba, 1998:vi).

One story in particular that is significant to my research area of Danguu or Geikie Gorge is the story of Old Man Rock. The story is short enough for me to quote in its entirety:

Linyjiya - Old Man Rock

This is a Dreamtime one
my old grandfather named Gaminangu
he told me this story
a Dreamtime man went along and his eyes went bad
on them at that sand bar
where the old people used to camp in the
Dreamtime
they used to camp there - he was left by others
they left from there
they went far away
they left him and then his bad eyes went blind
altogether
he told them he was going away then

²⁹ 'Bushtucker' is a local term that refers to the natural foods found in the bush, such as goanna, kangaroo and sugarbag.

³⁰ There are approximately one hundred Bunuba speakers, most of whom are older people. They live in Junjuwa, an Aboriginal community in Fitzroy Crossing (Thangani Bunuba, 1998:vi).

that old man said *I'm going, I'm going to leave
you now*
 alright, he drowned in this water then
 he said *pwaaaa* and came back to life then
 now there are two small rocks down there in the
 water
waaaa he sneezed *I've come back to you* he said to
 them
 there's a Dreamtime one there now
 he turned to stone and that stone has been there
 ever since
 everyone hears him
 he sneezed at night
 that blind man
 that's the Dreamtime story
 the one I was told, from Gaminang, this story
 as it was told to me by Gaminangu my mother's
 father.
 (Nyawanday [Casey Ross], Thangani Bunuba, 1998,
 2-3).

Conflict: White Colonization

Australian Aboriginal people have endured, despite white colonization, over approximately the past two hundred years. Colonization has taken its toll on Aboriginal rules and laws, Aboriginal spirituality and religion, cultural traditions and rights to lands and country which Aboriginal people had been sole occupants of, up until the late 1800s, for tens of thousands of years.

The Kimberley region of Western Australia was the last part of the continent to be colonized. As noted earlier, it wasn't until 1837 that the first explorers landed on its shores ready to assess the potential of the area to sustain white settlements and agricultural operations (Pederson, 1995:15).

Although, as also noted earlier, coastal Aboriginal groups had experienced contact with Asian fishing people prior to white settlement of the area, Aboriginal groups further inland, like the Bunuba people, had had little to no outside contact until the early to mid 1800s (Pederson, 1995:12). The extremely fertile lands beginning at the Fitzroy River, in Bunuba country, became highly desirable and sought after by the white pastoralists who had dreams of making their fortunes in cattle and sheep ranches (Jebb, 1998:66).

Australian history, as in countries colonized by Europeans, has been documented by the conquerors, and according to Howard Pederson, author of the critically acclaimed book Jandamarra and the Bunuba Resistance, this has also been the case for the Bunuba. Pederson's book documents at length the barbarism of the white European colonizers, who slaughtered hundreds of Bunuba people during the occupation of their lands. Survivors and descendants worked (mainly out of fear for their lives) for the very people who killed their countrymen, as servants to these cattle barons (Pederson, 1995:195).

For the people of the Bunuba tribe, trouble started in early 1885 when two white prospectors, named Baird and Morrison, were inspecting their new pastoral property in Bunuba territory. They were confronted and threatened by a

Geikie Gorge National Park: A Chronology

1600s	Indonesian fishermen are said to have had contact with coastal Aboriginal tribes.
(late)1700s -(early)1800s	Start of White settlement in Australia.
1837	First European explorers land on the shores Of the Kimberley Region of Western Australia.
(late)1860s	North-western colonization amounted to a few scattered sheep stations, caused by high transport costs, low wool prices and severe labour shortages.
End of 1882	More than 44 million acres of Kimberley lands had been leased to only 77 European pastoralists.
1883	Geikie Gorge is named after Sir Archibald Geikie.
mid-1885	Baird and Morrison, European settlers, are threatened by spear-brandishing Bunuba.
June 1885	Bunuba leader Ellemarra is shot and wounded when he was stealing station implements from Lillimoolloora Station.
Oct. 1885	Settlers violently attack Bunuba who show up at their campfire, collapsing any hope of goodwill between the groups.
July 1893	Ongoing Bunuba raids, low wool prices lead to the economic ruin of Lillimoolloora Station which is put on the auction block. Receiving no bids, it passed into the hands of the bank.
July 1894	Lillimoolloora becomes the new Police Station.

Fig. 6. Geikie Gorge National Park: Important dates.

Geikie Gorge National Park: A Chronology (continued)

31/10/1894	Jandamarra frees his imprisoned tribesmen and kills PC Richardson.
9/11/1894	Derby police are informed of PC Richardson's death and manhunt commences for Jandamarra.
10/11/1894	Jandamarra and his followers attack a group of European settlers. Firearms are stolen and two settlers, Gibbs and Burke are killed at the entrance to Windjana Gorge.
Apr. 1897	Aboriginal tracker Micki, finds and kills Jandamarra at his hideout at Tunnel Creek.
1967	Geikie Gorge officially becomes a National Park. This includes the length of the Fitzroy River on which the CALM tour boats run back and forth.
<1983	CALM boat tours established. CALM records do not go further back than 1983, and the tour boats were operating then.
1994	Additional area of land to the west of the Gorge was incorporated into the Park and is referred to as the Geikie Gorge Conservation Park.

CALM and the Bunuba Darlangunaya Aboriginal Corporation receive government grant and start up Danguu Heritage Cruise. |
1997	Danguu Heritage Cruise begins to experience administrative problems within the CALM-Bunuba partnership. Problems so severe that it resulted in the splitting of the partnership, leaving the Aboriginal Corporation to run the tours.
1999	Danguu Heritage Cruise run by the Bunuba Corporation shuts down permanently.
July 1999	Danguu Heritage Cruise is resurrected and is now owned and run by Mowie Enterprises, a local Bunuba family.

Fig. 6. Geikie Gorge National Park: Important dates (continued)

group of spear brandishing Bunuba, who demanded they leave the area (Pederson, 1995:33). This incident was the first recorded hostile confrontation in this area between Aboriginal people and the white settlers.

Prior to this report, Aboriginal people in this area, according to explorers, and later pastoralists, William Lukin and William Forrester,³¹ had been hospitable and peaceful (Pederson, 1995:33). This supposed peacefulness is questionable, however, as it is probable that individual or small Aboriginal groups in this area who showed the slightest resistance to the demands of European settlers were dealt with extremely harshly, and that the actions taken were never documented in written (published) accounts. It was not uncommon, nor against the law, to shoot and kill an Aboriginal person, for any reason:

Led by Sergeant Brophy, the police were instructed to "disperse" Aborigines along the Ord, Osmond and other rivers (...). The word 'disperse' in Australian colonial language really meant randomly shooting Aboriginal people with the intent to instill fearful submissiveness (Pederson, 1995:93).

Many Aboriginal people and Aboriginal groups conceded to

³¹ Forrester, who later established Lillimooloorra Station, initially tried to establish friendly relationship with the Bunuba. He was also one of the few explorers who accorded important places shown to him by the Bunuba, like Windjana Gorge, with their Aboriginal names. Some of which, however, he got terribly wrong (Pederson, 1995:33).

European pastoralists³² demands only out of fear for their personal and their families' safety. This has been perpetuated by a legacy of hatred, prejudice and anger in white-Aboriginal relations even today.

As it is now, Windjana Gorge and its permanent water supply was an important place to the Bunuba people for the obvious reason that it provided water, but also because of its sacred nature. Windjana Gorge was also important to white pastoralists for its water because, even during the dry season, it allowed for the sustainability of livestock year round (See *Fig. 20*). William Forrester built Lillimooloora Station³³, only a short distance from Windjana Gorge, for probably just that reason.

Lillimooloora's close proximity to the Napier Range, however, allowed Bunuba men to observe the goings on at the station, but from the secrecy provided by the limestone cliffs. The range also provided a close and safe retreat after the small raids conducted by the Bunuba on Lillimooloora, where they would steal food and material goods such as billy-cans, axes, and glass bottles which were prized for making spearheads.

³² Western Australian historian Mary Anne Jebb (1998) has extensively documented life histories of Aboriginal pastoral workers in the Kimberley in the context of the movements towards pastoral stations in the early 1900s and away from them in the 1960s and 1970s.

³³ The name Lillimooloora has been spelled several different ways in this historical body of literature. 'Lillimilura', and 'Lilmaloora' also refer to the same Station near Windjana Gorge.

This behaviour, which Europeans saw as thievery, continued without serious retaliation from the white settlers until October of 1885. During a confrontation at a white campsite near Lillimooloorra, Bunuba leader Ellemarra was wounded. But it wasn't just the wounding of their leader that fueled the hostilities between Bunuba and whites, it was also the complete disregard for Bunuba sacred sites and special places by whites (Pederson, 1995:35; Austen, 1998:63), caused by the construction of sheep paddocks near or at sacred waterholes, which resulted in the fouling of the precious water.

A series of violent attacks and raids were carried out by the Bunuba on Lillimooloorra stockmen and the homestead until Forrester had had enough and sent word to Derby for police reinforcements. It was common for the police to use Aboriginal troopers or trackers when in pursuit of an Aboriginal group (Reynolds, 1981:103-104).³⁴ Their knowledge of the terrain as well as being skilled survivalists provided Police with what they thought to be the upper hand against the Bunuba.

More often it was typical for these trackers to either lead police astray by following old tracks to a deserted campsite, or abandon them entirely:

On one occasion an Aboriginal trooper named Peter absconded from a routine Robinson River

³⁴ Henry Reynolds, author of the book The Other Side of the Frontier, provides further accounts of Aboriginal resistance to Europeans in other parts of Australia.

patrol. It took three weeks to find the scattered horses and, even then, the police became hopelessly lost returning to Derby (Pederson, 1995:95).

The high frequency of the Aboriginal trackers disloyalties contributed to the police's immobility and anger against the Bunuba.

However, the Kimberley police did have several loyal trackers (Jebb, 1998: 94), a term which according to Pederson is a misnomer:

More accurately, they were armed black troopers who were vital in police (...) operations. Their multi-faceted role involved locating food and water, gathering intelligence either by stealth or torture, and guiding police troopers to aboriginal encampments (Pederson, 1995:41).

It was these troopers who were used to capture Ellemarra, Bunuba leader, near Lillimooloorra Station.

It was often the case that Aboriginal people in custody, were sent to work on infrastructure projects, like road or building construction as prisons were drastically overcrowded and full of disease. Conditions at these project sites were often just as deplorable, with prisoners labouring long hours, wearing neck and leg chains, which burned into their flesh from the heat of the sun (Pederson, 1995:37). Ellemarra was sent to work on the construction of a causeway³⁵ and it was here that he planned and

³⁵ Ellemarra was sentenced to serve six months and was transported by sea to Roebourne WA, where he and sixty other Aboriginal prisoners built the twenty-mile long causeway and tram-track that linked Roebourne to its port at Cossack across the parched saltbush flats (Pederson, 1995:37).

succeeded in his daring escape. A posse, which included two black trackers, was dispatched immediately and attacked Ellemarra's camp killing an Aboriginal man, but Ellemarra escaped in the confusion (Pederson, 1995:38).

The police were no match for the skilled Bunuba with their knowledge of the terrain as well as the limestone ranges with all the caves, ledges, nooks and crannies that provided them shelter, cover and the ability to see without being seen. This maintained the Bunuba element of surprise. One incident, however, led to the killing of two Bunuba, an old man and a young boy, both by the pistol of young Police Constable (PC) Ritchie. It was this act that convinced white settlers in the area that the only way to win against the Bunuba was with the deadly force of the gun (Pederson, 1995:39).

Jandamarra: The Bunuba Rebellion³⁶

Hostilities between Bunuba and white pastoralists continued during the late 1880s through small raids on homesteads and, with the integration of mutton into the Bunuba diet, sheep were also victims of theft. Bunuba hunters would tell stories about the ease of capturing an

³⁶ It is important to note that the story of Jandamarra reached and has maintained mythic proportions in the Kimberley and elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia. During my fieldwork in 1999, there were rumours about a Hollywood movie interpreting the Bunuba resistance, which would star Mel Gibson in a leading role.

unaware sheep.³⁷ Yet there was no way to stop the raids, as they would happen unexpectedly and the protection of the limestone ranges made going after the Bunuba virtually impossible.

During one of these raids a Bunuba man named Jandamarra³⁸ along with several others, were captured, chained around the neck and forced to walk to the jail in Derby, some 200 km away. As a young man,³⁹ like many other young Aboriginal children, Jandamarra had worked on pastoral stations (Jebb, 1998:94), where he quickly learned European skills such as sheep shearing, horseback riding, shooting, and the English language (Austen, 1998:129; Pederson, 1995: 69). His work with Europeans allowed him to learn their logic and their methods, which would prove extremely useful in the years to come.

When Jandamarra disobeyed a tribal kinship law, however, he was banished from "mainstream Bunuba life" (Pederson, 1995:77), forcing him to live temporarily at Lillimooloorra Station (where he had been occasionally living). It was at Lillimooloorra Station where

³⁷ These raids resulted in the loss of over four thousand sheep at Lillimooloorra Station by 1888 (Pederson, 1995:45).

³⁸ Jandamarra was also said to have been held captive in the Prison Boab Tree, mentioned earlier in this section.

³⁹ Around the age of 14-15, Jandamarra completed his Bunuba tribal initiation, after which he left the station, re-joined his Bunuba countrymen and participated in the raids on European settler homesteads (Austen, 1998:129)

Jandamarra met and befriended a young European settler named William Richardson. Richardson⁴⁰ had come to the Kimberley in 1886 in hopes of making his fortune in the Halls Creek gold rush. Having no luck, he became a boundary rider at Lillimooloora Station (Pederson, 1995:77). Although from opposing cultures, the fact that both Jandamarra and Richardson were outsiders in their respective cultures drew them together into the bond of friendship.

In 1893, discouraged with the progress of their sheep stocks, the pastoralists moved large herds of cattle into Bunuba territory. Sheep had proved to be easy targets and were thought of as jokes by the skilled Aboriginal hunters, as previously mentioned. Cattle were much larger and frightening and were dealt with by chasing them from their sacred places or spearing them (Pederson, 1995:79).

In July of 1893, due to dropping wool prices and the loss of livestock through the continuing Aboriginal raids, Lillimooloora Station was put up for auction by Lukin and Forrester. The station was turned over to the bank which, with no money to replenish livestock, was only the caretaker (Pederson, 1995:80).

In 1894, Aboriginal raids on homesteads had escalated to such a point that Police reinforcements were sent to the

⁴⁰ Richardson married Mary O'Connell, Derby's only single white woman. The terribly mismatched marriage only lasted a few months (Pederson, 1995:77-78).

area to put a stop to the Bunuba "defiance" (Austen, 1998: 129). Police, who seemed to be on a search and destroy mission, arrested⁴¹ or killed countless Aboriginal people, regardless of whether they had been identified by witnesses as being part of the Bunuba raids (Austen, 1998; Pederson, 1995:93). By this time, Jandamarra, now in his early 20s, had been indentured to work on a Station. Jandamarra fled his forced servitude after hearing news of the slaughtering of several Aboriginal people by Police, only to be captured by them (Austen, 1998:130).

In lieu of a jail sentence, Jandamarra agreed to become a police tracker and was employed by William Richardson who had, in the interim, become a police constable⁴² and was posted at Lillimoolloora and Lennard River Stations (Austen, 1998:130; Pederson, 1995:94).

In October of 1894, PC Richardson and Jandamarra, captured seventeen Bunuba, including Ellemarra, Bunuba leader and Jandamarra's mentor, during a patrol of the Napier Ranges (Austen, 1998:130; Pederson, 1995:117). They were taken to the new Lillimoolloora Police Station⁴³ at the base of Windjana Gorge for seven days, as the longer

⁴¹ By mid-1894, Aboriginal prisoners outnumbered the remaining European settlers in the small Kimberley town of Derby (Pederson, 1995:98).

⁴² There seems to be some confusion in the literature as to when Richardson officially became a Police Constable. Pederson dates it at May, 1895 (1995: 94), however, this is after his death, which occurred on October 31st, 1894. This is perhaps, a typo.

⁴³ At some point (ca. 1894), Lillimoolloora Station came to double as a Police outpost.

Richardson kept them at Lillimooloorra, the more reward he would receive in the form of prisoner rations (Pederson, 1995:117). This act of greed would prove to be Richardson's undoing.

During those seven days, the captive Bunuba, who had once banished Jandamarra from their tribal group, pleaded with him to help them escape. His tribal loyalties and respect for Ellemarra won out over his friendship with PC Richardson. On October 31st, 1894, Jandamarra freed his tribesmen, shot and killed PC Richardson, stole the Stations' firearms and fled into the limestone cliffs (Pederson, 1995:118; Austen, 1998:130).

A few days later, the tables turned in favour of the Bunuba when on November 10th, 1894, Jandamarra and his followers attacked a group of Europeans who were attempting to set up a large cattle station in the heart of Bunuba country. This was the first confrontation where firearms were used against the Europeans and two men, Gibbs and Burke, were shot and killed at the entrance to Windjana Gorge (Pederson, 1995:120).

The Derby Police, upon hearing the news of the killings of Richardson, Gibbs, and Burke, immediately mustered a posse of approximately 30 armed police and sent them to attack Jandamarra and his tribesmen who, expecting this course of action, were waiting for them in ambush at Windjana Gorge (Austen, 1998:131). During the attack,

Ellemarra was killed and Jandamarra was shot and seriously wounded. He managed to retreat to the safety of the caves in Tunnel Creek, where he rested and healed his wounds in secret. Jandamarra was believed dead by both police and his Bunuba tribesmen.

The presumed death of Jandamarra gave no satisfaction to the police, however, revenging the death of their comrade PC Richardson, a military-style operation was employed against Aboriginal camps at Fitzroy Crossing, slaughtering Aboriginal people, even those who were not connected with the Bunuba rebellion (Pederson, 1995:143). Jandamarra recovered from his wounds with the care of his mother and his wife, and for three years he defended Bunuba territory against the tireless efforts of the police and the white settlers.

In March of 1897, he led a raid on the Oscar Range Station (Austen, 1998:137), and shortly after, one on the Lillimooloorra Police Station, after which he was followed back to his hideout at Tunnel Creek. However, his knowledge of the caves allowed him to disappear instantly, evading his would be captors once again. The Bunuba people believe(d) that Jandamarra possessed magical powers⁴⁴ that helped him to fly like a bird and disappear like a ghost. They also believe that these magical powers made him

⁴⁴ In the eyes of the Bunuba, Jandamarra had now transcended from mortal being to someone blessed with magical powers. The Bunuba said that Jandamarra was Jalnggangurru (Pederson, 1995:152).

immortal and that only one with the same powers could kill him (Pederson, 1995:152).

The police, in a last ditch effort, recruited Micki, an Aboriginal tracker from the Pilbara Desert region. It was said that Micki too possessed magical powers and that he was not afraid of Jandamarra, the now Bunuba legend. On April 1st 1897, Micki tracked Jandamarra to his refuge at Tunnel Creek where he shot him dead, ending the battle for Bunuba territory in favour of the white settlers (Pederson, 1995:193; Austen, 1998:138).

A Contentious Partnership Between Aboriginal People and the West Australian Government

When I arrived in the Kimberley at the beginning of June 1999, I learned that the Aboriginal tourist operation I had hoped to compare with my Canadian case study of Petroglyph Provincial Park, had ceased to exist. This tour had been called the Danguu Heritage Cruise.⁴⁵ I was told that there had been major problems with tour guides not showing up for work and leaving disappointed tourists stranded in Fitzroy Crossing wanting their money back.

During an interview with Allan Grose, Area Manager of the CALM District Office in Broome, W.A., it was revealed that the proposal for this now defunct project had come from CALM. There had been a cooperative venture, ca.

⁴⁵ Note that both the defunct Aboriginal tour and the current Aboriginal tour use the same name, Danguu Heritage Cruise.

1994, between CALM and Darlangunaya Aboriginal Corporation (DAC), which resulted in the Danguu Heritage Cruise, which operated for five years. The tour was initially funded by a government training grant (AUS\$ 180,000.00) from the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Services (ANPWS) and ran under a fifty-fifty split management framework that made CALM responsible for all administrative duties and the DAC responsible for the actual running the cruise tours.

ATSIC (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission), a federal body, provides funds to Aboriginal groups for Aboriginal run tourism on Aboriginal lands. But, because Geikie Gorge is not on legally recognized Aboriginal land but is rather a National Park and classified as public lands, ATSIC would not fund the Bunuba run tours and as a result made the DAC quite dependent on CALM for financial support.

CALM and the DAC agreed to imitate the same highly successful tourism model used at Uluru⁴⁶ (Ayers Rock National Park) and the Bunuba community received fifty percent of the tours' gate money, which was initially paid to CALM and then re-distributed.

According to the interview with Mr. Grose, the Danguu Heritage Cruise tours ran very smoothly for the first two and a half years, with minor changes such as switching from

⁴⁶ See Jon Altman's works (1988; 1989) for more information on Aboriginal tourism in the Northern Territory and at Uluru.

a seven day to a five day working week. However, issues arose over accounting practices and Grose thought there were also internal issues among the Bunuba regarding the operation, including how profits should be divided among the Aboriginal community members.

Consequently, these conflicts generated a loss of motivation and morale amongst the Aboriginal tour guides and resulted in them not showing up for some of the scheduled tours, leaving tourists unhappily stranded in the very small town of Fitzroy Crossing. During a phone call to the Fitzroy Tourist Bureau, the staff told me that they could no longer recommend Danguu Heritage Cruise to interested tourists because of its unreliability in the past.

There were also issues between CALM and the DAC, particularly with Joe Ross, a driving force in the DAC, who called for the dissolution of the CALM-DAC partnership and for full control over both the administration and the actual running of the tours to rest with the DAC.

An interesting point worth mentioning here is that, according to CALM policy, nature-based or ecotourism is expected to and counted on to fund State conservation efforts. According to Grose, there were also disagreements between CALM and the DAC regarding the need for an environmental impact survey at Geikie Gorge National Park in relation to the Aboriginal cruise tours. This is

certainly in contrast to the measures taken at Petroglyphs Provincial Park to assure the parks ecology from tourists' uses.

Before CALM abandoned the tour altogether, the suggestion was made to make Danguu Heritage Cruise a family run operation, independent from the DAC. CALM indicated that the problems Danguu Heritage Cruise was experiencing at the time could be rectified if a smaller group, such as an individual Aboriginal family, took over the running of the tour. Having a smaller group in control of the tours would increase the profit, as there would be fewer employees paid a wage. This suggestion was, however, not taken up at that time and the tour limped along for a few months before stopping altogether.

Danguu Heritage Cruise was revived in July of 1999, and is now run by a Bunuba family, independent from the larger Bunuba Aboriginal Corporation. The tour, which operates under its original name, is run by Mowie Enterprises, which belongs to the Aiken's. Bill Aiken is a white Australian married to a Bunuba woman and their children, which include Clive Aiken, a former CALM Park Ranger and tour guide for the old Danguu Heritage Cruise. Bill acted as more of a facilitator, whereas Clive runs the tour. I took the Danguu Heritage Cruise as well as the CALM Boat tours during my time in the Kimberley in June and July of 1999.

CHAPTER V

REPRESENTING ABORIGINAL CULTURE AT GEIKIE GORGE NATIONAL PARK

As we saw in Chapter IV, in contrast to Petroglyphs Provincial Park, which has only one attraction, Geikie Gorge National Park is shared by two tourism operations: the state government run CALM boat tours and the now family owned and Aboriginal operated Danguu Heritage Cruise. The Park itself operates on a day-use basis, open from 6:30am to 6:30pm during the dry season only (April-November), due to the extensive flooding of the Fitzroy River during the wet season. The Park is fitted with all the amenities tourists might require during their visit to the Park: flush toilets, drinking water, gas barbecues, and access for disabled people.

Information detailing the history of the Park, natural history, Aboriginal links, etc., is posted in a series of seventeen permanent information panels erected inside a wooden gazebo. This gazebo is also where visitors pay admission for the CALM boat tours.

Geikie Gorge National Park maintains two hiking trails visitors can take if they choose to. The Reef Walk is a pleasant walk along the base of one of the gorge walls. Its total length is 3 km and should take the average person one hour to complete the circuit. This walk allows for an

up close look at the limestone reef as well at the hundreds of varieties of plant life. The second trail, The River Walk, is a short 20 minute return walk along the banks of the Fitzroy River to the sandbar that marks the connecting point of the Fitzroy and Margaret Rivers. This sandbar is a very popular place for visitors who want to try their hand at some fishing, and perhaps catch a barramundi.

Swimming, although technically permitted, is not recommended as there is a healthy population of freshwater crocodiles in Geikie Gorge (See *Fig. 21*). Although this species is not harmful to humans, they have been known to confuse a foot for a fish and will bite if tempted. There are also no lifeguards at the sandbar and because of this, combined with the crocodiles, swimming at Geikie Gorge is done so at the swimmer's own risk.

The CALM Boat Tour

The CALM boat tours run three times a day, 8:00am, 11:00am and 3:00pm, and afford tourists with an excellent view of the reclusive crocodiles from the safety of the tour boat as well as many other wonderful sites. I was able to take this tour twice during my stay in the Kimberley, each time with a different Park Ranger as guide. The boat itself is a rather large aluminum pontoon boat with a protective canopy over top to shade the tourists

from the sun, which can be quite intense late in the day (see *Fig. 22*). The size of the boat depends on the number of tourists who show up for each tour, as additional boats (up to two more) can be attached or removed from the main boat as needed.

Each boat is wired for sound with loud speakers at the front and towards the middle of each section, and the Park Rangers use a microphone to amplify their speech. Safety measures are built in to the boat itself, with floatation tanks on each side of the boat, preventing the boat from sinking should it tip over. Life vests are also stowed under every second row of seats and number the boats' maximum capacity. These measures came into use when one of the boats tipped over in 1999, spilling its tourists into the river, and although no one was hurt, it pays to listen to the Park Ranger when they are telling you the safety protocol at the beginning of the tour.

The tour itself lasts approximately one and a half hours and costs AUS\$ 17.50. As I have mentioned, I took the tour twice, with different Park Rangers, however the narrative was mainly the same, with focuses on geography, geology in the formation of the gorge walls by the river, natural history including the crocodiles, plants, trees, fruit bats and birds such as the Fairy Martin Swallow and Rainbow Bee-Eaters, and local European history.

On both CALM tours we were provided with a very brief sampling of Aboriginal history, specifically the Bunuba relationship to the gorge. Each tour guide spoke about the Aboriginal uses for different plants as well as significant areas along the banks of the River that were sacred or used for ceremonial purposes. Each also mentioned the significance of Danguu Rock (the Dreamtime story of which is provided in the Aboriginal Spirituality section), and told their version of the Dreamtime story. Although the Rangers did not provide extensive information about the Aboriginal ties to the Gorge, they were open to questions at the end of the tour.

According to Allan Grose, CALM Area Manager, CALM Park Rangers are told not to represent Aboriginal people during the tour. "If tourists want an Aboriginal experience they need to take the Danguu Aboriginal Heritage Cruise".⁴⁷ According to Grose, this is in keeping with the wishes of Joe Ross, previously the coordinator for the now defunct Bunuba owned tour that was run by the DAC.

The CALM tour finishes at the same dock from where the boat left. The relaxed pace of the boat ride along with the beautiful scenery and wildlife leaves visitors with a feeling of contentment as well as coming away with knowledge about Geikie Gorge.

⁴⁷ Information from authors' personal fieldnotes, 1999.

Danguu Heritage Cruise

Before I begin to describe the Danguu Heritage Cruise, it is necessary to emphasize the important concept of ownership of land to Australian Aboriginal people. Although not unique, as North American First Nations people have been fighting legal battles over land rights for years, the connection between Australia's Aboriginal groups and their traditional lands is an issue that has remained at the forefront of Aboriginal-white relations since European contact.

Unlike in Canada, where those First Nations groups who experienced first contact with European explorers, fur traders and missionaries in the 1600s have long since passed away, there are Aboriginal people in parts of the West Kimberley still living who were alive at first contact in the early 1900s.

These experiences of being forcibly and violently removed from their traditional lands by European pastoralists, of abuse and random violence by whites, which often caused the deaths of many Aboriginal people, and the disregard of Aboriginal sacred and spiritual places, are memories still prevalent in the minds of some Aboriginal people today. Complicated, drawn-out, and financially draining court proceedings, the Australian government's method for returning territories to their traditional owners, is viewed by many Aboriginal groups as only a

perpetuation of the European subordination of Aboriginal people.

The Bunuba people of the Fitzroy Valley, as previously noted, had a particularly violent history in terms of the White - Aboriginal relationship at the time of contact. The story of Jandamarra, and the Bunuba resistance in general is one that is very prevalent in Bunuba oral history, and is academically documented in books like those by Pederson, Austen, and Reynolds, who have recorded these events from the perspective of the Aboriginal people.

Consequently, land plays an enormous part in the cultural politics that envelop Aboriginal cultural tourism in the Kimberley, particularly at Geikie Gorge National Park, which contains several sacred sites for the Bunuba people. Moreover, access to these sacred sites and the importance of being connected physically to one's traditional lands, as previously discussed, is directly connected to Aboriginal language. If both are lost, so too will the Dreamtime stories, the names of the plants, animals and Aboriginal knowledge. The maintaining of these traditional elements are of extreme importance to the Bunuba people and is evident in how the Aiken family has chosen to (re)present Bunuba culture in the Danguu Heritage Cruise.

As noted earlier, the Danguu Heritage Cruise remained inoperative until July 9th of 1999, when I was fortunate to

be a part of its second tour. The proposal to operate the tour as a family-run organization had left its mark and Danguu Heritage Cruise now belongs to Mowie Enterprises, a company owned by the Aiken family (See *Fig. 23*).

On the day I took the tour, it started at 7:45am so that we could stay ahead of the CALM tour boat that left the dock at 8:00am. The price of the tour is much more costly than the CALM tour at AU\$ 95.00, but it is also four times as long at just over five and a half hours and includes lunch. As Clive was formerly a CALM Ranger, much of his dialogue was influenced by the CALM boat tour script. One of the differences, however, was the incorporation of Bunuba names for animals and plants, such as lalagnara (crocodile), warapa (flood), and beringalli (fairy martin swallow).

We were told the previously mentioned Dreamtime story of Danguu Rock, however, this time it seemed more authentic to have it told by Clive, rather than interpretation told by the white CALM Park Rangers (See *Fig. 24*). We were also told about the significance of a smaller rock near Danguu Rock, called Mingalli Rock which, when rubbed and spoken to in Bunuba language will give a fisherman luck to catch a fat fish. The whiteness of the rock represents barramundi fat, minga = fish, galli = fat. An ongoing topic was the story of Jandamarra. Clive told the legend of this Bunuba hero and pointed out various caves where Jandamarra is said

to have used as hideouts during the Bunuba resistance, as discussed in Chapter IV.

Where Danguu Heritage Cruise differs immensely from the CALM boat tour is that the Aboriginal tour boat stops several times along the way for short walks on the banks and sandbars. One stop in particular is at the Bunbura sand bank on the East wall of the gorge, which was used as a communal camping area for Bunuba people. Here, tourists get a chance to sample some bush tucker, like Wild Mango which is used by the Bunuba as an anesthetic, completely numbing the tongue, gums and insides of the mouth, and the Wild Passionfruit which has a mild laxative effect if too much is consumed.

Clive's cousin Lloyd took the opportunity to quiz us on various animal tracks that he traced in the sand. This stop culminated with the climbing of the steep gorge wall to the Banbara Lookout. This climb lets the tourist have a firsthand experience of the limestone reef, and really should only be attempted by fit and sure-footed individuals as a miss-step would certainly end up with serious injury or death.

As we were pressured to keep ahead of the CALM boat tour, our time spent on land was slightly rushed. Although Banbara Lookout was indeed spectacular, the climb itself was a rough and scary journey if only for our being hurried

along. The climbing experience would have been more enjoyable if we had been left to climb at our own pace.

Returning to the boat, we continued along the river to our next stop, Mangunambi, which translated means 'eye of the water python.' Mangunambi is a sacred natural spring and waterhole where the Bunuba would hold boys initiation ceremonies. Prior to Geikie Gorge becoming a National Park in 1967, this sacred site was restricted to women, who for their protection, were not permitted to look at the site, nor drink from the spring. When CALM took over the Gorge, it was suggested that the Bunuba find another location for their ceremonies and Mangunambi was abandoned. The site maintains its sacredness however and women are now permitted to visit the site but they are still not allowed to drink directly from the waterhole.

Mangunambi is also accompanied by a Dreamtime story,⁴⁸ the story of Galurru, the Rainbow Serpent who lives in the waterhole at Mangunambi and was said to have eaten two boys who were taking part in an initiation ceremony. A search party was sent out to look for the two boys. They found Galurru with a fat belly, asleep on a rock ledge. They cut open his belly in attempts to save the boys but it was too late as one boy had turned into a frog and the other a parrot, both of which can be seen in and around Mangunambi.

⁴⁸ This, and versions of Dreamtime stories to follow, were documented in fieldnotes from oral accounts taken during the Aboriginal tour. Therefore, details may be slightly inaccurate.

Clive went on to say the reason for not allowing women to drink from the spring is for protection, as the water is very powerful and could cause harm.

Back on the boat, we continued along the river on to Geikie Strait, which is past where the CALM boat tour turns around back towards the landing. Cruising along the gorge walls Clive took the opportunity to tell more Dreamtime stories. One was about how the Bunuba people stole fire from Lalagnara, the crocodile. Lalagnara was a very greedy man, who kept all the fires sticks for himself. Because of this, the Bunuba people lived in the dark and had to eat raw meat.

A brave Bunuba man asked Lalagnara if he would share his fire and the crocodile refused. This forced the Bunuba man to transform into the Brown Falcon and swoop down when Lalagnara was sleeping and steal the fire from him. As the Brown Falcon flew, he dropped the burning sticks into the grass setting everything alight and creating the sun. This story helps to explain why crocodiles are seen basking in the sun, trying to keep warm, and why Brown Falcons will pick up burning sticks and drop them in other grassy areas to help flush out their prey.

We then came to a spot in the gorge wall that was very sheer and Clive said that atop the cliff is a sacred spot where Bunuba men would receive their tribal scarring. Then he told the Dreamtime story that corresponds with the site.

This is where Lalagnara, fearing the pain caused by the scarring process (cutting of the flesh and rubbing the bleeding wound with ashes to create distinct, raised scars), dived off the cliff into the water turning himself into the form of the crocodile permanently.

As a man, Lalagnara had very distinct features. He would wear his hair in a big pointy Afro held stiff with mud. He would keep his spear points in his hair for safekeeping. It is said that his hair became Lalagnara's snout and the spear points became his teeth. The turtle has three strips on its back, which represent its tribal scarring received during the Dreamtime. When the turtle and the crocodile are on the riverbank together, the turtle is considered a man whereas the crocodile is still a boy for having evaded the ceremony.

We continued to leisurely cruise along the river until we reached the spot for lunch, a heavily treed area between the river and gorge wall. Picnic tables with table cloths, were covered with a lavish spread of cold chicken, salads and bread with tea served afterwards. Although the food that was served was wonderful, a simpler menu of sandwiches would have perhaps been just as appreciated and satisfying. All of a sudden, we were being catered to (which might be what some tourists want) and this seemed to conflict with the rest of the tour's relaxed and laid back atmosphere.

After lunch, Clive showed us the technique of lighting a 'match-less' fire by spinning a tall skinny stick between his hands on a dry flat piece of wood. Kangaroo dung and other dry material is used as tinder to help catch the sparks. It seemed as though the Aboriginal aspects of the tour were very spontaneous, depending on the things Clive found along the way.

The lunch break was also a good time to talk to Lloyd and Kelly, Clive's younger sister. She sang songs to us in Bunuba, which she learned in school, and informed us that the Bunuba language has its own period in school. I believe having Kelly with us on the tour really added to its quality in addition to giving her the opportunity to practice her traditional skills, language, and involving her in the family business through a direct interaction with the tourists.

On our way back to the boat landing, we tried our hand at fishing in hopes of taking home a barramundi. Unfortunately we did not catch a thing, perhaps because we did not rub Mingalli Rock for luck, and our tour ended five and a half hours after it started.

Danguu Heritage Cruise, although similar in general content to that offered by CALM, provides tourists with a much more comprehensive look into Bunuba culture and encourages an understanding and respect for many of the cultural aspects of the Park. The inclusion of Bunuba

language and Dreamtime stories throughout the tour provide the dual function of allowing tourists to understand Bunuba spirituality, while at the same time it allows for the younger Bunuba generation to hear their language and stories, reinforcing them in their minds and re-connecting them to their ancestors, lands, and spirituality.

Although the methods of cultural (re)presentation differ in these two case studies, Clive Aiken and his family have done what the Curve Lake First Nation has accomplished with their involvement at Petroglyphs Provincial Park. That being, they have re-established a sense of Bunuba sacredness at Geikie Gorge through the presence of their tour. They have also re-established a connection between living Aboriginal people and the gorge, while continuing to maintain and (re)present the importance of the Aboriginal history of the area.

Being able to see the gorge with and through the eyes of the Aboriginal traditional owners and share in the vast knowledge and stories, Danguu Heritage Cruise offers a wonderfully enriching experience for all that take the tour.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISONS, CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As we have seen, in the case of the two tourism sites described in this thesis, Indigenous groups in Canada and Australia are taking bold steps into the cultural tourism industry. This is occurring within a context of changing relations between Indigenous people and the State. In the case of the Canadian study, relations appear to have changed for the better. Aboriginal-State relations at Geikie Gorge, however, seem to have been hampered by issues which have been plaguing White-Aboriginal relations in much of Australia since the dawn of European contact.

These two cases also indicate how tourism attractions which depict, or are connected to Indigenous cultures have become sites/sights of Indigenous politics. Such attractions become sites/sights of an Indigenous cultural struggle, as Indigenous people attempt to sustain a cultural identity distinct from that of the larger state. One way they are doing this, as this thesis has demonstrated, is by becoming proactively involved in operating attractions and in cultural tourism as a whole.

Comparison of Process

The limitations of time and space in terms of writing a Masters thesis has prevented me from doing an in-depth examination on the process whereby Indigenous people become involved in the cultural tourism industry. To have accomplished that, I would have had to have gather and consider a much broader set of data, which would have included specific political, economic and historical factors for each site and each Indigenous group. Therefore, what I have done is bring to the forefront certain procedural aspects that marked each group's journey towards becoming involved in cultural tourism. Certainly, both these case studies can be revisited and more thorough and complete analysis of the process could be conducted.

It becomes rather clear, when reading the previous chapters, that the process the Curve Lake First Nation community underwent to become an officially recognized partner with Ontario Parks in the running and development of the tourist attractions at Petroglyphs Provincial Park was a smooth and desirable transition between both willing parties.

It also becomes apparent that the process the Bunuba underwent to become involved in Aboriginal cultural tourism at Geikie Gorge National Park was much more bumpy as both parties involved, CALM and Darlangunaya Aboriginal

Corporation, seemed to be working at cross-purposes, rather than collaboratively, in order to achieve the desirable goal of having a successful tourism operation.

CALM's involvement with nature-based (Aboriginal) cultural tourism, as previously stated, is not for the promotion of Aboriginal culture, but is for the generation of funds to support conservation efforts throughout the state of Western Australia. The DAC was also involved in cultural tourism to supplement the Aboriginal community's income, however, it would seem that neither side could see the other's point of view, resulting with the tour being stopped, and with both the DAC and CALM blaming each other.

It became obvious to me, through interviews with CALM's Allan Grose and the DAC's Joe Ross that neither side was ready to work together to form a partnership similar to that, which has been established at Petroglyphs Provincial Park. Perhaps the dissolution of the 'partnership' with CALM was, however, really what was needed to create the drive and motivation within the Bunuba community to succeed at the tourism project alone, when their dealings with the state government had only seemed to hold them back.

What arose from the ashes of the defunct Aboriginal tour, the family owned and run Danguu Heritage Cruise, however, (although it is still very early in the game, only having run for one season), is potentially a very successful model for Aboriginal cultural tourism. As it

stands now, Danguu Heritage Cruise provides tourists with a wonderful opportunity to learn about Bunuba traditions, Dreamtime stories, and bushtucker, as told through their voices, which is exactly the intent of Curve Lake First Nations with their visions for The Learning Place at Petroglyphs Provincial Park.

The partnership with the Curve Lake First Nation and Ontario Parks, along with the opening of The Learning Place in the fall of 2000, has allowed for a visible connection to living First Nations people, and moreover, a reinvestment of sacred meaning into what was perceived, by many tourists, to be merely prehistoric rock art. Joe Ross, Clive Aiken (and his family), and the DAC, are still struggling to achieve that goal. But what they have discovered in the process is that it is possible to achieve that goal independently from state government agencies like CALM.

Comparison of Representation

The methods of (re)presentation of Indigenous peoples at both the Canadian and Australian tourist sites are appropriate for the individual type of attraction promoted at each site. Petroglyphs Provincial Park's main attraction is the petroglyph site. When tourists visit the park, they want to see the petroglyphs. The main attraction at Geikie Gorge National Park, is its scenery;

the distinctive gorge walls, the Fitzroy River, its diverse wildlife, in particular the crocodiles, and that is what tourists go there to see.

The forms of Indigenous cultural representation chosen by the two sites are complementary in respect to what each site has to offer to the tourist. At Petroglyphs Provincial Park, it will be in the form of an interpretive centre, which will be named The Learning Place. It will be a multi-media, multi-sensory experience that will inform and educate tourists on the sacredness of the petroglyph site as well as First Nations cultural connections to the site in both their historical link and their present day involvement with the petroglyph site and Park in general.

The Learning Place will also endeavour to inspire and encourage tourists to develop their own interpretations of what they believe the images depict. Moreover, The Learning Place will play a central role in the Curve Lake First Nation community, acting as a gathering place for all First Nations people to revive and maintain traditional cultural activities, such as story telling. A supplementary interpretive hiking trail permits tourists to enjoy the Park's rich biodiversity as well as learn First Nation legends and how they relate to some of the images depicted at the petroglyph site.

In contrast to the static, and limited physical area of the petroglyph site as a main attraction, the vastness

of Geikie Gorge National Park required Mowie Enterprises to adapt a different but equally effective tourism strategy, that of the boat tour. The relaxing pace of the boat ride really allows tourists to fully absorb the beauty and natural diversity surrounding them.

The direct interaction between tourists and the Bunuba tour guides, Clive, Lloyd and Kelly, provide tourists with their desired, and authentic Aboriginal cultural experience, while it allows for the Bunuba to maintain control over how their traditions are (re)presented, as well as maintaining a strong link to and a physical presence in their traditional country.

The relatively small size of the Danguu Heritage Cruise tour group allows for a high level of comfort and direct interaction with the Aboriginal tour guides. When I took the tour in early July 1999, the novelty of the tour was very apparent, and was reflected in the reserved attitudes and shyness of the tour guides, some of whom appeared to have not quite yet settled themselves with the idea of interacting with white foreigners. As the tour neared its end, however, those who were quiet in the beginning began to open up.

Clive, a former CALM Park Ranger, spoke with relative ease to our group as he guided us to various spots that maintain strong Bunuba sacredness. His training with CALM had no doubt taught him how to speak effectively to large

groups of people. Having taken the CALM run boat tour myself, I recognized similarities in the information Clive told us during the Danguu tour. Perhaps, as it was only his second tour, as he conducts more tours for Danguu, he will gradually develop his own style. This, and the general progress of Danguu Heritage Cruise, certainly merits further observation.

What both attractions have achieved is a reinstatement or a reinvestment of the sacredness to the sites. The petroglyphs have been located within a current First Nations culture, and they have been given a strong First Nations voice in terms of the involvement of Curve Lake First Nation and the construction of the culturally appropriate exhibits within The Learning Place. The same can be said for the fact that Danguu Heritage Cruise has located Geikie Gorge National Park within a living Aboriginal culture, and whose physical presence in the gorge enriches its history and experiences for Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people alike.

Directions for Future Research

As noted earlier, Aboriginal tourism has only started to come into its own in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, unlike elsewhere in Australia, for example the Northern Territory, and Canada where there are now quite a few successful First Nations tourism operations. Examples

are the Haida Gwaii Watchman program in the Queen Charlotte Islands, which offers tourists information on the ancient totem poles, while at the same time, and more importantly, serving to protect the delicate and vulnerable poles from tourists (May, 1990). Another example is the First Nations involvement with tourism at the First Nations communities of Moosonee and Moose Factory in Northern Ontario (Blundell, 1995/96), and The Woodlands Cultural Centre Museum in Brantford Ontario, run by the Mohawk of Six Nations.

There is also extensive First Nations involvement in tourism in the area surrounding Peterborough. As I previously mentioned, the Curve Lake First Nations has a very successful tourist trade, independent from Petroglyphs Provincial Park, in their community. Also in the Peterborough area, Serpent Mounds Park is operated by the Hiawatha First Nation, and the Alderville First Nation runs a Heritage tour out of their community. One can predict First Nations tourism to be an important economic strategy for the newly established government of Nunavut.

With the exclusion of the tourism potential in Nunavut, sites of First Nations tourism in Canada have been extensively documented. Where I see a need for further research is in the Kimberley region where Aboriginal tourism is still in its infancy, and as a researcher I would like to return to conduct further studies in this

area. During my stay in the Kimberley, I had the chance to take part in or observe several of these tourism sites. In an earlier chapter, I touched upon the increasing popularity of contemporary Indigenous art forms as tourist commodities. This phenomenon is prevalent in Canada, but has really come to the forefront of the tourism industry in Australia (Williams, 1976) and more recently in the Kimberley. Therefore, many Aboriginal communities have started small tourism operations to supply this ever-increasing demand.

In the town of Fitzroy Crossing, a successful and well known artist cooperative called Mangkaja, specializes in Aboriginal paintings, prints, didgeridoos, carved boab nuts, etc. Several of the artists who developed their craft at Mangkaja, have had their works purchased by both national and international art galleries and museums.⁴⁹

The Aboriginal community of Mowanjum, located a short distance from the town of Derby, has developed a lucrative artist cooperative, whose art production, which is (re)presented by paintings on both canvas and paper, and the carving of pearl shell, has become a viable means for many Mowanjum community members to supplement their personal incomes. This increasing demand for Mowanjum Aboriginal art was reflected through the success of a

⁴⁹ The Art Gallery of Western Australia in Perth, boasts one of the largest and finest collections of Aboriginal art in the world. Several of the artists are from the Fitzroy area.

recent art exhibition tour organized in 1998 by a group of artists⁵⁰ from Mowanjum.

Highlights of the trip to the southeastern state of New South Wales included exhibitions of their works in both Sydney and Melbourne. These showings received critical acclaim by local media and art critics alike. Most of the artists on the trip were also able to find buyers for some of their pieces. The trip was so successful, that plans are already in the works for similar trips to England, the United States and Canada.

I had the opportunity to observe this tourism frenzy over the art during the annual Mowanjum Festival at the beginning of July 1999. Close to one thousand people attended the festival, some who had traveled from as far as Perth, Brisbane and even Sydney to take part in the festivities, watch the junbas (ceremonial dances), and purchase some art. For all intents and purposes, the Mowanjum Festival was heralded as a success, not only for the money made in the selling of art, but more so for the opportunity provided by The Mowanjum Families Museum,⁵¹ for tourists to learn about the history of the community and

⁵⁰ The artists' trip was self funded through previous art sales.

⁵¹ The Mowanjum women's group, Nya, with support from Valda Blundell, Paz Blundell, and myself, worked together to create a historical display on the people of Mowanjum and their movements from missions settlements in the north to the present location of the community. Many visitors championed the work done at the Museum as it provided them with a cultural background to the people living at Mowanjum, which, for some led to a better understanding of their art.

the cultural background of its members.

The day following the Festival, I was also able to participate in the first ever Mowanjum Bushtucker Tour, where a group from Mowanjum led approximately twenty tourists⁵² along a sand track, past Old Site, where Mowanjum had been originally established, to a large waterhole. There, two senior Aboriginal women, Pudja Barunga⁵³ and Mabel King built a fire, made and cooked damper and brewed billy tea⁵⁴ for the tourist mob, who were hungry for both the food and for a 'traditional Aboriginal experience.'

It seemed as though, by the general disorganization of the tour, that the idea was concocted the night before. The number of tourists who turned out, however, suggests there to be a definite demand for such an Aboriginal experience. With a bit more planning, perhaps a bit more Aboriginal content (billy tea and damper are more pan-Australia rather than specifically Aboriginal) and smaller tourist groups, I believe the Mowanjum Bushtucker Tour will prove itself to be quite successful.

Also during my fieldwork in the Kimberley, I was fortunate to have had the opportunity of participating in

⁵² Tourists were to take their own vehicle, several of which were incompatible with the rugged terrain and became bogged in the soft sand and had to be pushed out.

⁵³ Pudja Barunga is a consulting elder for Nya. Her knowledge and assistance was instrumental in the success of the displays at the Mowanjum Families Museum.

⁵⁴ Damper is a sweetbread that is cooked in a pot on the coals of a fire. It is often eaten with Golden Syrup or Jam. Billy tea is tea, boiled in a billy-can, a multi-purpose cooking vessel.

two additional Aboriginal tours, one on Mt. Elizabeth Station, and the other at Windjana Gorge with the Go Bush Safaris.

Our guides for the Mt. Elizabeth Station tour, Peter Lacy, the current Boss of the Station, and Scotty Martin, a former Station stockman and current resident and Chairman of Dodnun Aboriginal Community (Jebb, 1998:iv), took us to several Aboriginal rock art sites, some of which were involved in the controversial re-freshing project referred to in an earlier section. We ate lunch, which we supplied ourselves, and took a dip in a beautiful billabong before we returned to the homestead and our campsite.

The Go Bush Safaris tour at Windjana Gorge was of particular interest to me as it was a newly formed partnership between the owner of the tour company, which is based in Broome, WA, and Bunuba man Joe Ross who was the coordinator of the defunct Danguu Heritage Cruise. Go Bush Safaris has formed partnerships with several Aboriginal communities, which are stops along the tour bus route from Darwin to Broome. At each stop, the tourists are introduced to representatives in that particular Aboriginal community and then participate in whatever activities they have planned.

At Windjana Gorge, Joe Ross provided each person in the group with either a yellow or red shirt, which symbolized their moiety affiliation within the Bunuba

kinship laws. They were also provided with a skin group and throughout the tour, they had to pay attention to and obey the extremely complicated Bunuba kinship rules. This method proved to be amusing, as one man had been given four different wives, as well as educational, for it allowed the tourists to understand the socio-political complexities of the Bunuba.

As we sat on the sandy banks of the Lennard River, drinking tea and eating biscuits, Joe recounted the Jandamarra story to the attentive tourists, while a mob of young Bunuba children borrowed their cameras to take a multitude of pictures. Speaking with some of the tourists afterwards, I was told that this part of their tour had been the most interactive, educating, and fun.

Conclusions

To conclude, what I have attempted to do in writing this thesis is not to fill the gap in the anthropological literature on tourism, but, through the examination of two case studies, to begin to provide information on some of the 'processual' aspects undertaken by Indigenous groups in order to become part of their respective cultural tourism industry, as well as considering how these groups (re)present their culture once they have become established as Indigenous tourism operators. Again, future research

could be undertaken to produce a more in-depth study on both of these case studies.

I have also provided data on some of the positive roles Indigenous cultural tourism can play within an Indigenous community. It is hoped that the data in this thesis will provide models for other Indigenous groups who intend to participate in cultural tourism, allowing Aboriginal groups from the Kimberley the opportunity to benefit from the experience of Canada's First Nations people as tourism operators. The thesis has provided examples of both successful and struggling Indigenous tourism ventures and it will perhaps foster inspiration and provide a starting point for some Indigenous groups, assisting them in choosing the method that will work best for them.

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FIGURES

Triangular forms, Peterborough Petroglyphs.

Triangular figures in Algonkian pictography: (a) birch bark scroll figure; (b) Ojibwa, hunting record on birch bark; (c) birch bark scroll figures.

Fig. 7. Comparison of triangular symbols at Peterborough petroglyphs to other sources, including Ojibwa birch bark scrolls (Adapted from Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:117).

Shaman figures with conical headdress and related Algonkian images: (a) and (b) Peterborough Petroglyphs; (c) to (g) and (i) Ojibwa birch bark scroll figures; (h) pictograph, Lake of the Woods, Ontario.

Fig. 8. Comparison of shaman figures at Peterborough petroglyphs with other sources, including Ojibwa birch bark scrolls (Adapted from Vastokas & Vastokas, 1973:67).

Fig. 9. Sign at entrance to Petroglyphs Provincial Park.

Fig. 10. Sign asking visitors to respect and preserve the sacredness of the site, Petroglyphs Provincial Park.

Fig. 11. Glass and steel protective building, constructed in 1984 and opened to the public in 1985, Petroglyphs Provincial Park.

Fig. 12. Nanabush, the Trickster. (Adapted from OMNR/Ontario Parks, Petroglyphs Provincial Park Hiking Trails: Featuring the Nanabush Trail. Tourist Pamphlet 1998.)

Fig. 13. The Thunderbird. (Adapted from OMNR/Ontario Parks, Petroglyphs Provincial Park Hiking Trails: Featuring the Nanabush Trail. Tourist Pamphlet 1998.)

Fig. 14. Gitchi Manitou, the Great Spirit. (Adapted from OMNR/Ontario Parks, Petroglyphs Provincial Park Hiking Trails: Featuring the Nanabush Trail. Tourist Pamphlet 1998.)

Fig. 15. Visitor Centre building was constructed in 1988, but the interior will not be opened until the fall of 2000.

Fig. 16. The Learning Place exhibit floor plan (Adapted from Ontario Parks File, 1999:doc 5).

Fig. 18. Western gorge wall. White rock indicates the Fitzroy River's average flood level during the wet season, Geikie Gorge National Park.

Fig. 19. Prison Boab Tree located on the outskirts of the Kimberley town of Derby. Photo taken in 1994.

Fig. 20. Although a permanent water supply, the Lennard River during the dry season is reduced to standing water at Windjana Gorge.

Fig. 21. Johnston's Freshwater Crocodile, Fitzroy River, Geikie Gorge National Park.

Fig. 22. CALM tour boat, Fitzroy River, Geikie Gorge National Park

Fig. 23. Clive Aiken. Tour guide and part owner of Danguu Heritage Cruise, Geikie Gorge National Park.

Fig. 24. Danguu Rock (centre) fell from the gorge wall over one hundred years ago.