# The Reinvention of the Goori Cultural Landscape: Telling the Country: Mapping Two Pockets: Appendix

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# Discussion of specific sites on the map

The ethnographic and historical properties of the Aboriginal places on the St Lucia-Long Pocket map have been compiled co-author historian Ray Kerkhove who has written generally of the area:

"Hilly and variegated, the Toowong [local suburb name] environs had many micro-environments and diverse flora. It consequently enjoyed diverse use and – perhaps honouring the ecotones (the rich meeting of different environments) – sported half-a-dozen ceremonial, tournament and dancing grounds. It also held five camps in the area of the map and another five in the immediate vicinity, making it rather closely populated, although none of these camps seem to have been large." (Kerkhove 2015:131-132.)

i) The named places on the map are based on research Kerkhove conducted during 2011-14 into the scattered archives of the former *Queensland Place Names Board* (1900-1985), housed between Queensland State Archives, Fryer Library Archives (UQ) and the John Oxley Library collection. Kerkhove also relied on reminiscences in early newspapers and the input and publications of local historical societies:

# 'Tu-wong' (Koel or cuckoo/nightjar call)

"Onomatopoetic ... the note (call) of the black goatsucker bird...originally a creek flowing into the Brisbane River" (Watson 1943; QSA SRS 444/1 Letter 17 May 1942 C S Colliver). Earliest settlers used 'Toowong' for only a small area: between today's Brisbane Boys College and Alpha Street. Resident John Collings named 'Toowong Creek' within this patch of land (Gregory 1990: 104-105). However, it is also stated that Tu-wong denoted the reach of the Brisbane River below the Indooroopilly Bridge, as far as Long Pocket. (Watson 1936:14; Place Names List No 283) The black goat-sucker is the Eastern Koel cuckoo or Rainbird (*Eudynamys orientalis*). On the other hand, Fred Watson states Toowong "is now known as Long Pocket" (Watson n/d UQ FL 2/2606-2607; F Watson Itr to Sydney ay, 17 May 1943, QSA ID 489481 Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Place Names, Series 444 Queensland Place Names Research and General Files Box 5). In other words, Toowong seems to have indicated both a river reach and the adjacent land.

# 'Noana/ Noona/ Ngoa-nga'

Watson defined this word as denoting 'fig tree', from 'Ngoa-nga' 'Moreton Bay Fig' (F Watson, letter to Sydney May, 17 May 1943, QSA ID 489481 Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Place Names, Series 444 Queensland Place Names Research and

General Files Box 5). He said this was the name of the "site of (Toowong) township" – specifically the "site of the saw mills", "opposite side of Church of England, opposite railway line in Curlew Street"; thus the area of "the (Toowong) village...the first land sale" (QSA M646 Box 7, 5434 Place Name Reference Items pending; Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir, 1924, p. 155). Some historians have viewed Noona as a non-Indigenous word (Deeth 2005: 9).

# 'Nyinduru-pili' or 'Yinduru-pilli' (Leech gully/ Witton Creek, Rain making)

McConnel (1933) identified this creek. It was named after Witton Manor built by the first white settler in 1861. An owner of the Manor informed McConnel in c1876 that the Aboriginal name for the creek meant 'leechy creek' [or place of leeches]. "Leech is 'nyinduru'... Nyindurupilly means "leech gully," (Watson 1944:105) and signified "a gully in the vicinity of Indooroopilly railway station" (Watson 1935b). This was "near to, and above, the traffic bridge at Indooroopilly" (Watson 1944:105). Leon Meston describes it as being the name of "a specific small creek or inlet... infested with leeches" (Meston, L. 1935a). Meston notes Petrie sometimes gave the meaning for Indooroopilly as 'running water' (Meston, quoted in JOL Brisbane Suburbs and Localities – Information from the Queensland Place Names Board 198?).

#### 'Tar'au-nga/Toroa-nga/ Tatau-nga' (place of stones)

"A common term (for stones) ... 'tarra', 'darra', or 'dhar'... more nearly correct ...would be 'Dharranga,' meaning 'stony' ... The name is ... (of) a quarry or its vicinity in the present locality of Taringa" (Watson 1933). Watson also describes it as "stony from toroa, loose stones, and nga an affix indicating condition" (JOL OM Box 5625). Watson adds that 'tarra' conveyed 'strong' – 'tarau' (cited in John Oxley Library OM Box 5625 Qld Place Names Board "Brisbane Suburbs and Localities Information from the Place Names Board Research") which might relate to the fights held here. Taringa was sometimes translated also as 'healthy' (Kirwan 1933) which suggests a place of recuperation near a fighting ground – a feature of Indigenous landscapes elsewhere near Brisbane.

## 'Banaraba' (or 'Bunauba gurara') (Bloodwood place)

Fred Watson states "between the present day Sylvan Road and the railway station...a small hill on which the district aborigines camped ...was called by them Buneraba or Bunaraba" (Fred Watson to Sydney May 17 May 1943 QSA ID 489481, Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and newspaper cuttings relating to place names, 19733, Box 1, 489467-489477). He likewise writes: "Bunar-a-ba ...may have been the site of an ancient blacks' camp which I am told once existed on the rise on the Brisbane side of Toowong Railway Station" (F Watson Itr to Sydney May 17 May 1943, QSA ID 489481 Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and Newspaper Cuttings Relating to

Place Names, Series 444 Queensland Place Names Research and General Files Box 5 The given location meant of the 'small hill' meant it was probably the Sherwood Road/ Clayton Lane area. However, Watson also gives this name to the former Peterson's sawmill area close to the current Toowong CBD that he elsewhere calls Noona: "Tom Petrie gave the natives' name of this place as Bunaraba ... probably [meaning] 'Place of bloodwood trees.'" (Watson 1941). Petrie described Bunaraba as not a hill but rather a rainforest scrub. Fred Watson insisted the correct spelling was *Bunauba gurara* (Watson 1935b).

## • 'Banawara' (or 'Bennawarra', 'Beemirraba')

This is the area around Oxley Creek estuary - presumably the former scrub [rainforest]. Meston spells it 'Beemirraba' and states it is the "mouth" of Oxley Creek (OM 64-17/10 Archibald Meston Box 8431 'Book of Posted Notes, Old Native Names and Meanings,' OM 64-17/11 Box 841 Notebook 'Aboriginal Names and Meanings, Anecdotes, Extracts and Writings'). It may have applied to the creek itself, or at least the lower reach, as Archibald Meston also gives 'Oxley Creek' as the meaning for 'Benarrawa' (OM 64-17/10 Archibald Meston Box 8431 'Book of Posted Notes, Old Native Names and Meanings,' OM 64-17/11 Box 841 Notebook 'Aboriginal Names and Meanings, Anecdotes, Extracts and Writings'). The name also appears in Ralph Fones' book on Oxley (Fones 2006:13). Berrinba ('to the south') was a place name once used towards Yerongpilly (JOL 'Brisbane Suburbs and Localities, Information from the Queensland Place Names Board' 198?) but it is unclear whether this denotes the same area or whether the word is local or introduced.

#### Doolmoora/ Joolmoora

This designated the "flat this side" of Oxley Creek (Meston (n.d. (b)) Meston's Notebook Vocabulary JOL OM 64/17-1). Meston also identifies it as "flat on north side of mouth of Oxley Creek" that was used for corroborees (OM 64-17/10 Box 8431 pp.71-72). This area was observed by Oxley as being grassy in contrast to the rainforest fringes of the creek on the other bank and further along. Presumably the camp (see below) was near here.

#### 'Cahbinpan/Moola Moolabbin'

Cahbinpan is given as a name for Oxley Creek (OM 64-17/11 Box 8431 – Notebook). Meston elsewhere says the creek's name is *Moola Moolabbin* (OM 64-17/10 Box 8431 pp.71-72), or that the word denotes the "flat this side" of Oxley Creek (hence same position as Doolmoora - OM 64-17/10 Archibald Meston Box 8431 'Book of Posted Notes, Old Native Names and Meanings,' OM 64-17/11 Box 841 Notebook 'Aboriginal Names and Meanings, Anecdotes, Extracts and Writings').

#### • 'Jo-ai Jo-ai'

This was the estuary of a small creek, now the Regatta Hotel on Coronation Drive (Watson 9 August 1941; Petrie 1904: 316, 318). It probably named both the camp and the unusual, unvegetated rocky outcrop that once was a feature of the creek mouth and river bank here. This was doubtless used as a platform for fishing. 'Yo-ai' meant 'yes' (Ridley 1875: 87); jow-aw meant 'fish' (Cleveland Police Station, QSA ID 489481, Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and newspaper cuttings relating to place names, 19733, Box 1, 489467-489477).

#### • 'Mirbarpa'

Indooroopilly Railway Bridge area (Petrie 1904:318; Fones 2006:13) — apparently a place name honouring the confluence of creeks that emptied at this point. This spot should not be confused with the site of the famous Indooroopilly (Walter Taylor) Bridge. The latter was not built till 1932, whereas Petrie specifically says Mirbarpa related to the "railway bridge" (Petrie 1904: 318). Today, this area would be the site of the current Indooroopilly railway station and Indooroopilly CBD.

# 'Yerong-pili' Yurong-pilli/ Yeerong-pilly (sandy gully, rain place)

'Yoorong' is rain; 'yerong' is sand, and 'pilli' denotes a gully or gullies (see Meston, L. 1935b; Buch & Kerkhove 2016:83-85; 'Do you know...'1929). Yar'ung: is literally coarse, gravelly sand (Watson 103). This is sometimes translated as 'rain coming' (Meston Vocabulary 1900? OM 64/17-1 p. 3). Thus the term signifies enough rain to dislodge gravelly sand and make the gullies (pilli) run with it. Similarly *yurong-kuroomba* meant 'big fella rain come' (Meston, quoted in Brisbane Suburbs and Localities – Information from the Queensland Place Names Board 198?).

# Gootcha

This was the word for 'wild honey' - usually the name for Mt Coot-tha (Fred Watson 3 June 1939 to Sydney May QSA ID 489481, Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and newspaper cuttings relating to place names, 19733, Box 1, 489467-489477). However, in Meston's Notebook Vocabulary JOL OM 64/17-1, according to the Aboriginal informant "Old Charlie", "Toowong was called Gootcha, one of the names of honey, which was also the name of One Tree Hill. There were two native bees... one was called Gootcha" (Meston 1923). Inland areas of Toowong constitute hilly open woodland, forming the foothills of Mt Coot-tha. Thus the name probably referred to the entire uplands area between here and Mt Coot-tha.

## ii) Sacred Landscape (rain, leech and koel)

The evidence clearly shows this region was central to rain-making. Anthropologist Adolphus Elkin found medicine men were called 'rain makers' around Brisbane. They dove into deep pools and creeks, and "were also supposed to send rain and squalls and to cut the rainbow off where it was held to the river bottom." (Elkin 1977:96). The Turrbal people purportedly:

... had an idea that when a rainbow was seen in the sky, the stem or end of it had become entangled in the river bed, and so with great ceremony they would proceed to a certain part on the Brisbane River and cut the rainbow loose again (Swan 1928).

Which exact "part on the Brisbane River" is unknown, but there were an unusually large number of boras, dance grounds and lagoon-waterholes between Moggill, Brisbane and Corinda. The lagoons at Chelmer and Toowong waterhole were especially significant. Petrie describes medicine men such as Dalaipi diving deeply into river reaches and lagoons to perform these rituals, sometimes emerging with crystals (Petrie 1904: 185-6). King Banjo [Banjo according to Petrie derived his name from his skin name, Banjur](Petrie 1904: 202) – is similarly described by Petrie as a rain-maker, in this case from Ninderry, who oversaw the clearing of Toowong Scrub (Petrie 1904: 204). His authority over Toowong may pertain to privileges and duties of a medicine man/ rain-maker regarding Toowong waterhole, as he was not a local elder. In fact, Constance Petrie notes Banjo "took Dalaipi's place when that good old man had died" (Petrie 1904: 206). As noted, Dalaipi was a rain-maker.

Leeches seem to have been integral to rain-making lore. 'Leech gully' (Indooroopilly) also meant 'rain coming' (Petrie 1904:318), and leeches in SE Queensland were honoured with important boras (e.g. 'Leech-sitting-down' bora at Petrie – just 500 metres from the rain-making site used by Dalapai - see Steele 1983:129-131). As leeches hibernate during drier seasons, they were viewed as rain-heralds. The rain-maker Banjur was 'King' of a leech-Dreaming at Ninderry near Yandina (the word meaning "Place of the Bush Leech" (F Watson, 'Queensland Place Names and their Meaning' p., 4, QSA ID 489481 Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Place Names, Series 444 Queensland Place Names Research and General Files Box 5). Ninderry had an "abundance of leeches" (Watson 1944: 107). Significantly, Indooroopilly, Chelmer, Petrie and Ninderry rain-making sites were all river bends characterised by waterholes and patches of rainforest.

Leeches and rainbirds seem to have been related in traditional lore. 'Toowong' was often translated as 'rich lands… good for foraging' (Perry 1941) or 'rich and fertile place' (Croffs 1979: 43). This aptly describes the area's summer bounty (Gregory 1990: 104), trumpeted by the Koel's (Rainbird's/ Stormbird's) frequent call issuing from this area - one of its favourite nesting grounds (Chamberlain in Trotter 2005: 61). *Tu-wong* was regarded an onomatopoeic rendition of the Stormbird's call, the Stormbird being the Dreamtime

Rainmaker. Thus the Rainbird – like the leech – was a herald of the rainy season: a time of great abundance. Each summer the bird migrates to southern Queensland from Indonesia, making its distinctive call as it seeks suitable nests. Like the leech, it was a parasite (laying eggs in others' nests). This and the fact that the male and female Koel have markings strikingly similar to the Brisbane leech (respectively glossy black and chequered brown) might have made these species totemic associates or siblings.

#### iii) Specialized hunting, fishing and gathering places

This region had many niche micro-environments with attendant camps, suggesting a quite rich region.

Milton-Auchenflower open forest was observed by the explorer Oxley as "two and a half miles of forest land" along the river reach. He saw low open forest, good grass and iron bark (Steele 1972: 111-2). The land was watered by a number of creeks and swamps and would have provided woodland game such as kangaroo and goanna. The ironbark was valued for spears and clubs. (Palmer in Leggett & Grant 2003:2-3).

Toowong- St Lucia "scrub" (rainforest/ vineforest) of *Banaraba* existed in patches as far as Toowong Cemetery and Coronation Drive, Milton (Petrie 1904: 204; Morrison 2003), but mostly ran from the heart of today's Toowong, past Perrin Park and into the northern sections of St Lucia. It contained "lots of pine and yellow wood" (Petrie 1904: 204). Oxley also observed groves of hoop pine at what is now Sandford Street (Steele 1972: 112). Banaraba scrub formed the most important post-bora hunting ground for groups from the Ipswich, Brisbane and the Wivenhoe areas. (Petrie 1904:162). Figs, fruits, medicines, hoop pine resin (an adhesive), useful fibres, scrub-turkey eggs, snakes, pademelons and birds (especially parrots) are mentioned being procured here (Kerkhove 2015:132.)

**Taringa wattle scrub** Taringa was a stony area of wattle thickets, iron bark and springs (Harbison 200; Wall 2008: 167).

**Swann Road Open Forest** provided ridges of dry sclerophyll forest (St Lucia History Group, 2009: 1). Game here included kangaroos, wallabies, kangaroo rats, opossums, bandicoots, carpet snake and goanna (Kirwan 1933). A tongue of this "forest land" was observed by Oxley to extend into what is now the Emmanuel and Kings College area of University of Queensland (Steele 1972: 112f).

**Long Pocket scrub** is reported by Oxley as "all brush lands" that were "entirely tropical" (meaning vine forest from his description of the contents). He noticed this "tropical" scrub extended from the St Lucia Esplanade west around the current Golf Links, all of Long Pocket and adjacent parts of Indooroopilly (Steele 1972: 88, 111f). It comprised thickets of cottontree and other vines valued for fibre (Melton 1915,

Kerkhove 2015:133). Sandy Creek within this precinct was noted for its fish and snakes ('Historic School ...' 1936). At this location, farmers recall numerous "stones ...on which they used to make their damper" ('Veteran Pioneers...' 1917). This, and mention of 'cunjevoi' growing at Indooroopilly ('Cunjevoy: Aboriginal Bread' 1931) suggest Long Pocket scrub was used to process toxins out of rainforest staples such as 'cunjevoi' and black bean.

**Indooroopilly Island** swarmed with edible crabs, and was a favoured place for fishing (Coren 1991: 22). It had useful mangroves and vast flying fox colonies which would doubtless have been hunted (Wall 2008: 168).

Creeks (especially Witton Creek), swamps, lagoons and ponds occurred in low areas of Long Pocket and St Lucia, offering tea-tree bark and swamp resources such as waterlilies, wild ducks, swans, water hens, edible bulrushes, reeds for basketry, mud crab, white perch, catfish, and jewfish." ('Milton and Rosalie' 1931, Pearn 1997:12, Kerkhove 2015:134.). St Lucia's eastern portion featured sand beaches, grassy banks and many lagoons and small swamps with yabbies and water lilies (Wall 2008: 167).

The Brisbane River had key fishing sites in areas above Chelmer, at the entrance of Oxley Creek, by Indooroopilly Island, and under the Indooroopilly Railway Bridge. Great quantities of jew fish, perch, prawns and crabs could be caught "with very little effort" (Coren 1991: 22, 45) in these parts. Oxley encountered very large flocks of ducks and black swans on the river here (Steele 1972: 88, 113).

#### iv) Fresh water sources

Our map shows some of the many creeks and creeklets that ran into the Brisbane River (Vietch 2018). These were for the most part freshwater, although their mouths may have become semi-tidal and inundated by saltwater, as Oxley found the river was "drinkable (but) still brackish" at what is now Jindalee (Steele 1972: 113) and in fact still slightly brackish as far north as Wivenhoe. By contrast, Oxley noted the "river quite fresh during low water" around St Lucia (Steele 1972: 112). During subsequent trips, this 'sweet spot' was targeted for obtaining water. Oxley noted that water only a little further down the river was too salty to consume (Steele 1972: 113). It is unclear how this pocket of freshwater originated. It was possibly a combination of creek flow and an underwater spring close to the shore.

There were other sources of freshwater in the waterholes, springs and swamps of the upper reaches of the surrounding creeks (Kerkhove 2020), particularly on the flat valleys between the Taringa and St Lucia ridges. From Banaraba camp "a spring ran down onto the flat and formed a waterhole... now built over" (Fred Watson to Sydney May 17 May 1943 QSA ID 489481, Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and newspaper cuttings relating to place names, 19733, Box 1, 489467-489477). The

mouth of this gully according to Watson lay at Jo-ai Jo-ai (JOL OM Box 5625 Brisbane Suburbs and Localities: Information from the Place Names Board Research) thus it was evidently the small creek that ran here.

#### v) Campsites, including specialized camps

#### Tar-aunga Camp

This lay "on the ridge between Moggill Road and the Taringa Railway Bridge, towards the foot of Mt Coottha". ('Local Intelligence' 1863, Kerkhove 2015:131.). It had springs ('Junior Award' 1933), and served as "sort of a health retreat" (Kirwan 1933, Kerkhove 2015:134) presumably in connection with the tournaments held nearby.

#### Jo-ai Jo-ai camp

This camp was twice encountered by Oxley:

...at commencement of the reach on the left bank a very large assemblage of natives in the same spot we saw them last year. It was evidently a favourite place for them, most probably on account of water being convenient... full proportion of women and children (Steele 1972: 67, 111).

The position was along the river, roughly from Regatta Hotel to Moorlands Park. Artefacts and a scared tree have been found at Wesley Hospital, the bottom of Toowong Memorial Park and Dunmore Park, indicating significant use of the area (Pearn 1997:14, Kerkhove 2015:131). Oxley exchanged gifts and shot one of a party of men who visited him from this camp (Miles 1978:5; Steele 1972:76; Kerkhove 2015:136). This seems to be the same camp described in 1863 as being "a little beyond Mr Cribbs" on "the Moggill Road" (the old name for Coronation Drive – 'Local Intelligence' 1863).

#### Banaraba Camp

Fred Watson (who resided in Toowong) describes "a small hill on which the district aborigines camped and which was called by them Buneraba or Bunaraba." (Fred Watson to Sydney May 17 May 1943 QSA ID 489481, Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and newspaper cuttings relating to place names, 19733, Box 1, 489467-489477). It lay between Sylvan Road and Toowong Railway Station, facing the gully (Watson, F.J. 1943 Ltr to Sydney May 17/5/1943 QSA Item 489477) though Watson also places it at "the rise on the Brisbane side of Toowong Railway Station" (F Watson to Sydney May, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1943, QSA ID 489481 Sydney May's Collection of Papers, Correspondence and Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Place Names, Series 444 Queensland Place Names Research and General Files Box 5 The only hill between Sylvan Road and the Station is the area that is now the junction of Sherwood Road and Davenport Road, whereas the 'rise' directly east of the station (Brisbane side) would be the hillock now within Toowong Memorial Park. As both these spots are

directly inland from the Jo-ai Jo-ai camp (Watson places the mouth of the gully from this camp at Regatta Hotel - JOL OM Box 5625 Brisbane Suburbs and Localities: Information from the Place Names Board Research), they probably represent two sub-camps that served as the rainy season position for the Jo-a Jo-ai camp. At any rate, the camp was still in use in the 1860s and 1870s (Kerkhove 2015:13; Perry 1941:7).

# Nyinduru-Pili Camp.

This camp was strung along Witton Creek and to the river (Wall 2008), but chiefly within what is now Moore Park. It was a stop-off place for Mt Coot-tha people travelling to the Brisbane River (Woolard 2005a:39, Kerkhove 2015:131).

#### Sandy Creek Camp.

Sandy creek, formerly Anderson Creek, ran between Ironside and St Peters schools to St Lucia Golf Club ('Historic School...' 1936; Kerkhove 2015:131.) This was evidently an important camp - it had "hundreds" of residents ('Veteran Pioneers...' 1917) - huts being scattered all along the creek ('Historic School...' 1936) as far north as what is now St Peter's Lutheran College ('Toowong Woman...' 1947). It was a favoured spot for spearing fish ('Veteran Pioneers...' 1917).

#### Oxley Creek Camp

There was a 'village' near the mouth of Oxley Creek (Brisbane Courier 1922; 'Domestic Intelligence,' 1848). This presumably occupied the grassy flat Oxley noticed in this area.

### vi) Dispute resolution sites

An area of "flats" at "the foot of Mount Coot-tha" between Tar'aunga and Nyinduru-pili Camps was used for inter-group dispute resolution - 'sham fights' ('The Early Days ...' 1933; Berry 1930; Kirwan 1933; Kerkhove 2015:134). Considering topographical and vegetative features, this was most likely situated at what is today Indooroopilly High School and Jack Speare Park. A fight occurred here between Ipswich and Moreton Bay groups in the 1850s, involving resistance leader Dundalli ('In the Early Days' in Kerkhove 2015:136.

# vii) Dance Grounds and Bora Grounds

Early sources do not necessarily differentiate between these two types of sites. The flat on the north side of the mouth of Oxley Creek was a corroboree ground (OM 64-17/10 Box 8431 pp.71-72). At Chapel Hill, there was a bora ground with earthen rings very close to the Mt Cootah forest border (Blackstone Street, formerly Land's Paddock) (Woolard c2005b:41). Bora or dance grounds were also recalled at Toowong Scrub, Moore Park and Chelmer sports grounds – the latter being purportedly a floating island in the lagoon (Colliver and

Woolston 1978:61; 'Toowong was a popular...' 1950; 'A Station Homestead...' 1954; Colliver & Woolston, 1978: p. 61). Another "corroboree ground" occupied what is now the entry of today's Toowong Cemetery ('Montville Centenarian...' 1942). There is also a vague reference to the "foot of Mt Coot-tha" towards Taringa being the location for "quaint corroborees and (where they) initiated their youths in the mysteries and powers of adult warriors" (Kirwan 1933). This was likely a reference to either the Blackstone Street or Toowong Cemetery bora.

#### viii) Pathways and River Crossings

Open sclerophyll woodland ridges provided natural pathways linking back to the main pathway: Moggill Road. Significantly, the camps at Kenmore, Moore Park, Taringa and Toowong were strung along this route (Cook & Darbyshire 2017: 2,8,11). Swann Road formed another ancient ridge-top bush track, probably for Anderson Creek camp (Kirwan 1933; Kerkhove 2015:132).

A track beside Witton Creek and its camp were part of a major north-south travel route to the border ranges, Pine Rivers and beyond. There was an annual movement of people between Mt Coot-tha and the Brisbane River along this Witton Creek route (Woolard 2005a:39, Kerkhove 2015:131)

Oxley Creek, aka Canoe Creek, was named when explorer John Oxley found canoes regularly moored here to enable river crossings. It seems this and the current route of the Walter Taylor Bridge formed significant crossing points (Kerkhove 2015:140, 142-143).

# ix) Lookouts/signal sites

Long-distance communication was conducted by smoke signals from specific hills throughout South-east Queensland (Hall 1987: 47-8). Quite often a camp was positioned near a lookout hill or tree, to assist communication, or for hunting and defence. The knoll at Toowong Memorial Park and the high ground at the corner of Swann Road and Carmody Road St Lucia are close to former camps, with views to other parts of the river, and to peaks such as Mt Gravatt and Mt Samson. These were likely signal sites.

## x) Stone tool manufacturing sites and Quarries

Taringa was an Aboriginal quarry (Watson 1933: 21). Hall & Love (1985) recorded a stone tool manufacturing site – 'Prickly Bush' archaeological site (LB:A53) – very close to, and probably related to, Sandy Creek campsite. This area saw 2000 years of use (Hall and Love 1985, Kerkhove 2015:134.)

[No. of words = 4,042 for Appendix – 11,192 for both including Bibliography]

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