# Aboriginal uses of seaweeds in temperate Australia: an archival assessment

- 2 Ruth H. Thurstan<sup>1,2</sup>, Zoë Brittain<sup>3</sup>, David S. Jones<sup>4</sup>, Elizabeth Cameron<sup>5</sup>, Jennifer Dearnaley<sup>4</sup>,
- 3 Alecia Bellgrove<sup>1\*</sup>

1

- 4 Deakin University, School of Life and Environmental Sciences, Centre for Integrative
- 5 Ecology, Warrnambool Campus, PO Box 423, Warrnambool, Victoria 3280, Australia.
- 6 <sup>2</sup> University of Exeter, Centre for Ecology and Conservation, College of Life and
- 7 Environmental Sciences, Penryn, TR10 9FE, United Kingdom.
- 8 <sup>3</sup> Deakin University, School of Life and Environmental Sciences, Waurn Ponds Campus, 75
- 9 Pigdons Rd, Waurn Ponds, Victoria 3216, Australia.
- 10 <sup>4</sup> Deakin University, School of Architecture and Built Environment, Geelong Waterfront
- 11 Campus, 1 Gheringhap Street, Geelong, Victoria 3220, Australia.
- <sup>5</sup> Deakin University, Institute for Koorie Education, Waurn Ponds Campus, 75 Pigdons Road,
- Waurn Ponds, Victoria 3216, Australia.

- \*Corresponding author: Alecia Bellgrove (alecia.bellgrove@deakin.edu.au); Ph: +61-3-5563-
- 16 3099; Fax: +61-3-5563-3462
- 17 ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0499-3439
- 18 **Acknowledgements:** Ruth Thurstan was supported by an Alfred Deakin Postdoctoral
- 19 Research Fellowship. Zoë Brittain was supported by student funding from the School of Life
- and Environmental Sciences and the Centre for Integrative Ecology at Deakin University.
- 21 Jennifer Dearnaley was supported by a Deakin University Postgraduate Research Scholarship
- 22 and funding from the School of Architecture and Built Environment at Deakin University.

23

24 We acknowledge the Gunditimara, Boon Wurrung and Wadawurrung peoples, the traditional 25 custodians of the lands and waters, of elders past and present, on which this work was 26 conducted and who contributed their knowledge to this paper; and the Saltwater people of 27 Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples whose historical cultural practices 28 are documented in this paper. We wish to especially thank the assistance of Uncle Bryon 29 Powell, Gareth Powell, Aunty Fay Stewart-Muir, N'Arweet Carolyn Briggs, Tandop David 30 Tournier (dec.), Mandy Nicholson, Dr Phillip Clarke, Jamie Lowe, Dr Chris Eira, Paul Paton 31 and Joel Wright together with the Wadawurrung (Wathaurong Aboriginal Corporation) 32 (WWAC), the Boon Wurrung Foundation Inc., the Laka Gunditi Language Program (LGLP), 33 the Gunditi Mirring Traditional Owner Aboriginal Corporation (GMTOAC), the Eastern 34 Maar Aboriginal Corporation (EMAC), and the Victorian Corporation for Aboriginal 35 Languages (VCAL) for their linguistic assistance. John A. Lewis and Gerry T. Kraft are 36 thanked for assistance with identifying species from historical records. Research associated 37 with this paper has been subject to an approved Deakin University Human Research Ethics 38 Committee ethics application #2014-107 dated 17 June 2014. This manuscript was improved 39 by comments from John Huisman and another anonymous referee. 41 **Abstract**: Global demand for seaweed has increased dramatically over recent decades and the 42 potential for seaweed aquaculture to address issues around food security and climate-change

40

mitigation are being recognised. Australia is a global hotspot for seaweed biodiversity with a 43 44 rich, diverse Indigenous history dating back 65,000 years, including an extensive traditional knowledge of Australian natural resources. In our present review of archival literature, we 45 46 explored the contemporary and historical uses and cultural significance of seaweeds to 47 Indigenous Australians. We found records of seaweed use by Indigenous Saltwater 48 Australians for a variety of purposes including: cultural activities, ceremonial activities, 49 medicinal uses, clothing, cultural history, food, fishing, shelter and domestic uses. Speciesspecific records were rarely recorded (and/or accurately translated) in the archival literature, with the exception of the use of the fucoid bull kelp, *Durvillaea potatorum*, which was prevalent. Our research is a step forward in the important task of recovering and conserving Indigenous Australian knowledge and customary traditions surrounding coastal resource use. Unlocking this knowledge creates opportunities for the continuance and revitalization of traditional customary practices that may enable innovative Indigenous business activities and product creation, based around food, sustainable natural-fibre technologies and health. Such research also has the potential to enhance a developing Australian seaweed industry by guiding species selection, preparation, use and sustainable resource management. We recommend our findings are used to inform the direction and locations of further research conducted in conjunction with Indigenous coastal communities in Australia's temperate regions, to explore in more detail the Indigenous Australian's historical heritage associated with coastal seaweed resources and their uses.

Keywords: historical ecology, Indigenous knowledge, macroalgae, traditional ecological knowledge, TEK, seaweed industry

# Introduction

Increasing recognition in Western cultures of the health and nutritional benefits of eating seaweeds (Cornish *et al.* 2015), alongside growth of the Western wholefood movement and seaweed-based hydrocolloid industry (Bouga and Combet 2015; Mouritsen 2016; Porse and Rudolph 2017), have in part driven a dramatic increase in global production of seaweed.

There is also growing recognition that the production of seaweeds for food and other commercial applications represents part of a viable solution for climate-change mitigation,

without compromising the availability of agricultural land and water resources (Duarte et al. 2017; Sondak et al. 2017a, b). Annual production of seaweeds has more than doubled in the past 10 years, with global harvests now exceeding 28 Mt wet weight (83% for human consumption (Loureiro et al. 2015)) valued at > US\$6 billion (FAO 2016). While production is firmly centred on the Asian Pacific and species found in this region (Sondak et al. 2017a, b), the taxonomically-related northern hemisphere seaweed flora of Western European countries, the USA and Canada, has facilitated rapid expansion of seaweed aquaculture into these regions, with application of culture techniques developed in Asia (Redmond et al. 2014; Kim et al. 2017). Southern Australia is a global hotspot of seaweed biodiversity with the highest level of endemism (~ 60%) globally (Phillips 2001 and Womersley's extensive works cited therein), yet none of the commercially cultured seaweed species occur naturally in Australia. Increasing concerns about global food security (Godfray et al. 2010), climate change (Schmidhuber and Tubiello 2007; Sondak et al. 2017a, b) and increasing demand for seaweed products (Mohamed et al. 2012; Porse and Rudolph 2017), suggests further investigation into the aquaculture potential of the diverse southern Australian seaweed flora is warranted (Lee 2010; Winberg et al. 2011; Skrzypczyk et al. in review). However, an incomplete knowledge of the palatability, culture techniques, viable markets, nutritional value and potential toxicity of Australian species currently limits commercial exploitation. Research from around the world has shown that the inclusion of traditional ecological knowledge in modern natural resource management leads to an increase in favourable economic, environmental and social outcomes for industries and communities involved (Berkes et al. 2000; Horstman and Wightman 2001; Ross et al. 2011). Australian Aboriginal

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

93

culture is a living culture, not a historical culture. It includes Indigenous knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge. 'Indigenous knowledge', in Australia, is both a philosophy or a way of thinking by Indigenous peoples, as well as Indigenous environmental knowledge (Berndt et al. 1993; Briggs 2008; Clarke 2015a, b, c; Ens et al. 2015; Ens et al. 2017; Jones et al. 2017; O'Brien 2017; Jones and Clarke 2018). Over the past few decades, Indigenous knowledge systems in Australia have been described using various descriptors, such as 'traditional knowledge' (TK), 'traditional ecological knowledges' (TEK) and 'local knowledges' (Hutchings and Morrison 2017). Writing on First Nation knowledge in Canada, ethnolinguist Mailhot (1994) explains, that this is "...the sum of the data and ideas acquired by a human group on its environment as a result of the group's use and occupation of a region over very many generations". Similarly, the International Council of Science (ICSU 2002) defines 'traditional knowledges' as "... a cumulative body of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations maintained and developed by peoples with extended histories of interaction with the natural environment. These sophisticated sets of understandings, interpretations and meanings are integral to a culture that encompasses language, naming and classification systems, resource use practices, ritual, spirituality and worldview. We also view that research with Indigenous peoples in Australia is an avenue towards conserving their living cultural knowledge, rather than preserving their cultural knowledge" (Australia ICOMOS 2013). Many Indigenous Australians, often termed 'Saltwater people', resided in Australia's coastal areas and represent the longest continuous cultural history in the world, dating back 65,000 years (Clarkson et al. 2017). The term 'Saltwater people' does not relate only to Indigenous peoples from northern Australia, but rather, under Indigenous Australians' interpretations, the terminology refers to Australian Aboriginal peoples from coastal areas across the nation who

95

96

97

98

99

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

are the Traditional Owners/Guardians and custodians of the lands and waters characterised by saltwater environments. There are over 250 known Australian Indigenous languages across the nation (AIATSIS 2017), and as a consequence each saltwater Indigenous culture group has a Country-specific relationship to their particular lands and waters of which language is integral in this relationship (e.g. the Gunditimara peoples will have different words and cultural associations to seaweed as distinct from the *Boon Wurrung* peoples some 250 kilometres away). Thus there is both extensive diversity in seaweeds and extensive diversity of Indigenous culture groups (centred around language groups) in Australia, and with this diverse Indigenous history comes a culture of rich traditional ecological knowledge. Further, because traditional ecological knowledge varies from one Indigenous Country to another, a generic 'Indigenous Australian' language does not exist and similarly generic knowledge about seaweed will not exist because it is *Country*-specific. The contemporary and historical uses and cultural significance of coastal resources, such as shellfish, marine mammals and finfish, to Aboriginal communities have been studied in a variety of locations around Australia (e.g. Barker and Ross 2003; McNiven and Feldman 2003; Fleming et al. 2015); however, Aboriginal uses of seaweeds have been less documented. Australia also has a long history of devaluing and dismissing Indigenous knowledge as 'simple' or 'primitive' (Lewis 1989), and marginalising and discriminating against Indigenous peoples (Hunter 2007). As a result, much traditional knowledge surrounding coastal resource use has been lost from Indigenous communities. Examination of archival sources is thus one route to rediscovering and subsequently conserving Indigenous knowledge. Unlocking this knowledge may also create opportunities for the continuance or revival of traditional customary practices that can enable innovative Indigenous (and Indigenous + non-Indigenous co-operative) business activities and product creation, based

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

129

130

131

132

133

134

135

136

137

138

139

140

141

around food, sustainable natural-fibre technologies and human and animal health. Finally, a developing temperate Australian seaweed industry may benefit from understanding the species of seaweeds that were traditionally used by Saltwater peoples, what they were used for and how they were prepared, and how the resources were managed.

We hypothesise that Australia's Aboriginal Saltwater peoples used abundant and easily accessible temperate seaweed species for a variety of purposes related to nutrition, healing and domestic needs. Assuming these uses occurred, we expect these to be recorded in the archival records of early Western explorers and settlers in coastal regions, and/or for these uses to have continued in contemporary Indigenous activities. As seaweed diversity and abundance is highest in temperate Australian coastal waters, and European settlement occurred in these regions first, we expect a predominance of accounts from these regions. This paper represents some of the first steps in valuing and learning from Indigenous Australians' use of seaweeds by reviewing and collating contemporary scientific and anthropological data, as well as archival and historical literature, in relation to types of seaweeds used and their application by Australia's Aboriginal Saltwater peoples.

### Methods

#### Sources searched

Searches for descriptions of Australian Indigenous uses of seaweed were conducted using online databases, state and academic library catalogues. Subject-specific knowledge of several co-authors (DJ, JD, EC) was also used to identify additional references that may include seaweed-related uses by Indigenous Australians, but which do not have an online presence (e.g. unpublished academic/archival collections), or which would likely be missed

using seaweed/macroalgal-related keyword searches. References searched in these contexts included unpublished ethnobotanical inventories, unpublished academic theses, and Aboriginal writings known to the authors. To maximise early observations of Indigenous activities, our searches specifically aimed to include non-academic sources such as newspapers, books and personal accounts such as diaries. Search terms were chosen that reflected the type of articles held by each online database (e.g. scientific, anthropological or popular media articles) and that were deemed most likely to elicit articles relevant to Indigenous use of seaweeds, past and present, including historical spelling variations (Table 1; Table S1). Only Australian Indigenous uses were catalogued for this study; non-Indigenous use or reference to Indigenous use in other nations were disregarded. Both primary (e.g. direct observations) and secondary sources (e.g. reference to an earlier publication or records of observations by another party) were collated, but where possible, secondary sources were traced back to the primary source and the original publication substituted. Where it was obvious that an earlier observation was being repeated without appropriate referencing of the primary source, the earliest-dated observation was used and later or indirect reference(s) discarded. All results returned from the searches were explored in full, with the exception of Google Scholar. In this case, articles were sorted by 'relevance' and article exploration was halted when no new information had been extracted from 50 consecutive individual article searches.

### **Categorisation of articles**

165

166

167

168

169

170

171

172

173

174

175

176

177

178

179

180

181

182

183

184

185

186

187

Once individual articles had been collated, the descriptive information was categorised using a content analysis approach. For each article, the activity/activities referring to the use of seaweed were extracted and categories were subsequently developed to capture the range of

seaweed-related uses and/or activities mentioned in the archival sources. Locations where the observation occurred were identified where possible (most commonly to state-level, but occasionally Indigenous nation/group/clan names were provided). Where physical descriptions and/or names of seaweeds were provided, these were used to identify the family, genus or species being used by the last author (AB), a macroalgal specialist, with reference to Womersley (1987) and AlgaeBase (Guiry and Guiry 2017), and assistance from highly regarded phycologists in Australia (JA Lewis and GT Kraft).

#### \*Table 1 here

### Results

### Literature sources examined

Existing literature references can be broken into colonial narratives and recollections, contemporary syntheses, contemporary Aboriginal writings and *Land* and *Sea Country* management plans. Period inquiries tended to be included within diaries, travel journals, and popular media such as newspapers and narratives often involving direct observations of, and conversations with, Aboriginal people harvesting and using plant materials, and inventories of Indigenous names and words. Contemporary disciplines that have explored Aboriginal natural resource use include archaeology, the social sciences, landscape architecture, ethnobotany and anthropology. While recorded uses of terrestrial plants by Aboriginal peoples are numerous and knowledge of specific Indigenous nations/peoples are widely recorded (e.g. Hope and Coutts 1971; Sullivan 1981; Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984; Rhodes and Bell 2004 on *Boon Wurrung Country*; Niewójt 2009 on *Gadubanud Country*; Terra Culture 2012; Dearnaley 2014; 2015 on *Wadawurrung Country*; Clarke 2008a, b, 2015a, b, c;

210 Jones and Clarke 2018 on *Kaurna* and *Ngarrindjeri Country*; Oates 1977; Oates and Seeman 211 1979; Gott 1985; Gott and Conran 1991; Zola and Gott 1992; Bonney 1994, 2004), with 212 occasional exceptions (e.g. Lane 1975, 1980, 1996; Heyes 1999), seaweed is rarely mentioned in this literature. 213 214 Contemporary academic Aboriginal-authored or direct-participatory recollections, narratives 215 and 'yarning circles' (Arbon 2008; Martin 2008; Wilson 2008; Yunkaporta 2010; Smith 216 2012; Rose 2017), and Land and Sea Country management plans (FAT and WMAC 2004; 217 Jones and Clarke 2018) also offered little insight into the history and current relationships and 218 practices to seaweed. Sea Country management plans, a recent recognition of the Sea 219 Country custodian responsibilities of various communities, have prioritised sustainable 220 management of sea resources and waters aligned to traditional perspectives (National Ocean 221 Office 2002). Strategies by the *Ngarrindjeri* people of The Coorong region in South Australia 222 (Ngarrindjeri Tendi et al. 2006) and Gunditimara people of south-western Victoria (FAT and 223 WMAC 2004), that includes the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape (Australian 224 Government 2017), offer narratives of close relationships to their respective Sea Country's 225 but little specific guidance as to seaweed use, harvesting or management. The Gunditimara 226 (FAT and WMAC 2004) have noted that "Indigenous organisations are investing in and 227 operating commercial ventures based on currently unexploited marine resources such as 228 velvet crabs, sea urchins, kelp, sea weed and sea grasses, bait aquaculture and whale tourism" 229 but have little explained the significance of seaweed in their *Country*. 230

### Indigenous seaweed use recorded in the literature

231

232

In total, co-authors' subject-specific knowledge and the database searches uncovered 77 sources that provided descriptions or recorded observations of Indigenous Australian seaweed use and nomenclature (SOM 2). Nearly half (49%) of these records were sourced from newspaper reports or magazines. The rest were sourced from academic literature (published and unpublished), popular narratives, online resources or monographs. Once categorised, these provided 92 descriptions of seaweed-related uses, names and/or activities involving seaweed. Publications spanned 183 years, from 1834 to 2017, although a source from as early as 1791 was referenced by one author. Sources included descriptions from early explorers, anthropologists, natural scientists and contemporary Indigenous authors. However, Indigenous voices were not represented within the historical literature, which was instead dominated by observations of Indigenous use and subsequent interpretations by colonial authors, the vast majority of which were male (Table 2). All Australian states and territories (with the exception of the Australian Capital Territory) were represented. Activities mentioning seaweed use were most commonly reported for South Australia and Tasmania (30% and 24% of reports, respectively). Activities/reports of seaweed use were sorted into the following categories: cultural activities, ceremonial activities, medicinal use, clothing, cultural history, diet, fishing, language/nomenclature and shelter/domestic use. These categories are explored in detail below.

### **Cultural activities and cultural history**

233

234

235

236

237

238

239

240

241

242

243

244

245

246

247

248

249

250

251

252

253

254

255

Early anthropological investigations in the coastal regions of South Australia recognised that the peoples of *Moandik* (*Meintangk*) and *Potaruwutj* (*Bodaruwitj* or *Bindjali*) communities both articulated a common narrative about a Supreme Male Ancestor called *Ngurunderi* (Clarke 1995), which mentions seaweed:

"Alf Watson said reference was being made indirectly to the area of still water in the sea at Cape Jaffa. Great mats of sea-weed calm the waves along the shore at Kingston and at Cape Jaffa. This sea-weed has still on it the 'ears' left by the nephews of Ngurunderi." Tindale (1934-37).

In this narrative content, *Moandik* man Watson believed that seaweed represents the 'cloak' of *Ngurunderi*'s "sons". Similar references to Aboriginal mythology occurred in both early writings (1840s, Table 2) and contemporary sources. References to Indigenous cultural history (within which we include mythology and sacred songs) comprised 11% of the articles found during our searches. It is not clear from any of these records of particular species of seaweed being of significant importance to cultural activities/histories, although the citation above may refer to *Ecklonia radiata*, a laminarian kelp found in southern Australia, or even an accumulation of drift-plant matter such as detached blades of the seagrass *Posidonia australis*, both commonly observed in this location today.

### **Ceremonial activities**

References to ceremonial activities ranged from the year 1933 to 2013, comprising 8% of articles. Seaweed was recorded as being burned or being used to make smoke during ceremonial events, and was also burnt during daily rituals (Table 2). While most references to these activities did not explain their significance, one contemporary source referred to the ritualistic use of smoke (generated by either green leaves or seaweed being placed on top of a fire) to "eliminate strange scents from the visitors which allows the country to recognise them" (Vigilante et al. 2013). This smoking is analogous to the Australian Aboriginal contemporary and historical burning of *Eucalyptus* spp. leaves to cleanse the air of evil spirits before an event or meeting commenced or commences.

#### Medicinal use

Aboriginal medicinal knowledge and the activities of medical practitioners was written about by Meyer (1843) in *Ngarrindjeri Country*, in South Australia, who noted the term *parraityeorn*, which he translated as 'sea-weed man' or 'doctor'. This person was said to:

"[pretend] to cure diseases by chewing a small piece of a red-coloured species of seaweed, which he gives to the patient, bidding him to conceal it about his person. As soon as the seaweed becomes dry it is supposed the disease will have evaporated with the moisture". (Meyer 1843).

Seaweed was recorded as being used for medicinal purposes in 4% of articles, and included references to the use of seaweeds as bandages, as well as seaweed being used to line 'birthing holes' so that women could maintain connections to their land by giving birth directly upon it (Table 2). Records exist of the *Wadawurrung* people (Victoria) using "pink seaweed" as medicinal jelly poultice for reducing painful jellyfish stings (Lane 1980).

### Clothing

References to clothing span the years 1846-2013, and comprise 13% of discovered articles. References to the use of seaweed or rushes (likely seagrasses such as *Posidonia*, *Amphibolis* or *Zostera*) to make garments were most common, although it is likely that a number of the references draw upon a limited number of primary sources.

Angas (1847) produced a drawing of an Indigenous man from South Australia wearing an ornately designed cloak reported to be made of seaweed, but the species was not mentioned and it is unclear if the cloak was made from seaweed or seagrass (or a combination of both). The authors respect Indigenous Australian protocols about reproducing images and names of Aboriginal people whom have passed so while the image is not reproduced in this article, the

following open access link leads to the image being discussed:

https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+15276/18/continue. In Tasmania, references were made to shoes made from seaweed, almost certainly bull kelp (*Durvillaea potatorum*) (Table 2).

#### Diet

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

307

308

309

310

311

312

313

314

315

316

317

318

319

320

321

322

The use of seaweed in diet and cooking was referenced in 13% of articles, once again spanning early European history to the present day (1834 - 2007). The majority of these references pertained to Tasmania and eating of bull kelp (presumed *D. potatorum*). Records indicate that this species was prepared for eating by initial sun-drying, followed by careful roasting over a fire where it was turned frequently and then finally soaking for 10-12 hours in freshwater before eating alone or with meat or fish (Table 2). Once bull kelp was dried and roasted it could be preserved for many months. Other references to species used for food in Tasmania included *D. antarctica* (Irvine 1957), not known to occur in Tasmania (Fraser et al. 2010); Cystophora porulosa (Hiatt 1967), presumably a misspelling of Cystophora torulosa; C. paniculata (Hiatt 1967), now known as Acrocarpia paniculata (Guiry and Guiry 2017); and Fucus palmatus (Hiatt 1967), now known as Palmaria palmata (Guiry and Guiry 2017); however, this species has no known distribution in Australia, and Australian records are apparently synonymous with D. potatorum (Plomley et al. 1990). Euchemia speciosa (assumed Eucheuma speciosum now Betaphycus speciosus (Guiry and Guiry 2017) was recorded as being used by Indigenous Australians for jelly in Western Australia (Irvine 1957), but the original source (Maiden 1889) is ambiguous as to whether this use was by Indigenous Australians or European settlers. Research on the Wadawurrung people recorded that *Ulva lactuca* and *Porphyra* sp. (or possibly *Pyropia*, Sutherland et al. 2011) were

foraged as vegetables, and "strings of sea grapes" (the name not given, but most likely referring to *Hormosira banksii* – Neptune's Necklace or *Chaetomorpha coliformis* – Mermaids Necklace) were eaten as an accompaniment to seafood (Lane 1980).

### **Fishing**

In addition to being eaten directly, seaweed was also used in the capture of fish and invertebrates, referenced in 10% of articles from 1846 to the present day. Ropes and fishing nets were observed being made from seaweed by Indigenous peoples in South Australia, while in Tasmania, Indigenous women were observed using the attached fronds of kelp to help pull themselves underwater while diving for crayfish (Backhouse 1843). Seaweed was also used to line fish traps, or in some cases were likely the principal component of fish traps, constructed to form the entrance and guiding wall of the trap (Ross 2009, Table 2). Specific references to species are not given for these uses.

## Language/nomenclature

21% of articles referred to Indigenous names for, or nomenclature highlighting the presence of, seaweed in an area. Words for seaweed were extracted for all coastal states, although we cannot be sure that the European interpretation of these Aboriginal words were always accurate, particularly when these were found in popular media articles without an original reference. Words included place names attributed to the presence or smell of seaweed, the given names of individuals, and a variety of names referencing seaweed directly, including (in Tasmania) different names for seaweed when raw or once dried for eating (Table 2). For example, in contemporary *Boon Wurrung* language, 'buath wareeny' (pronounced as 'boo-art wha-reen') means 'grass of the sea' (Stewart-Muir 2017, *pers. comm.*). In *the Dhauwurd Wurrung* language of the *Gunditjmara*, 'ngapanyoong' means 'air vessel of seaweed'

(pneumatocysts); 'ngapanyoong peek koorrook' means 'weed' in / of 'water'; 'peek koorrook peek' means 'kelp' and also 'saltwater algae' but 'peek peekoy' is also used for 'kelp'. The word 'peekoy' is also given as 'saltwater algae' (Wright 2017, *pers. comm.*).

### Shelter/domestic use

346

347

348

349

350

351

352

353

354

355

356

357

358

359

360

361

362

363

364

365

366

367

368

Seaweed, particularly kelp, was recorded being used for a variety of domestic uses (18% of articles), spanning the years 1842 – 2016. In Victoria and South Australia, seaweed was used in the construction of Aboriginal coastal shelters (Cawthorne 1858, Table 2). Some shelters in South Australia were recorded as being constructed from whale bones with seaweed used as a waterproof and windproof covering. In the early 1800s, seaweed 'carpeting' was observed in a cavern shelter (Konishi 2008). The red seaweed, Euchemia speciosa (assumed Betaphycus speciosus as above, Guiry and Guiry 2017) was used in construction for size and cement in Western Australia, but the archival records are ambiguous in attributing this use to Australian Aboriginal people (Maiden 1889; Irvine 1957). However, there are records of stone, permanent dwellings being constructed by Indigenous Australians across the volcanic plains of Victoria. This occurred during a period of hunter-gatherer intensification between 3000 and 1000 BCE (Lourandos 1983), characterised by population growth, an increase in human manipulation of the environment (e.g. the construction of Short-finned Eel (Anguilla australis) traps in Victoria), an increase in trade between groups, a more elaborate social structure, and other cultural changes (Lourandos 1977). In Tasmania, kelp (most records referring to bull kelp or *D. potatorum*) was observed being used to construct water carriers or baskets (Fig. 1) as early as 1791 (Mortimer 1791), a craft that continues today (National Museum of Australia 2017). Lane (1975), in surveying the Wadawurrung ethnobotany, and interchangeably using 'bull' and 'giant' kelp in her writings

to describe what is certainly *D. potatorum*, records a "water pitcher made from a broad, hollow root-stock [holdfast] of a giant kelp", thus differing from the vessels/baskets made from the blade of this alga (Backhouse 1843, Fig. 1).

Several references were made to seaweed being routinely used in the cooking or preservation

of fish. Seaweed was observed to form the base of fires in canoes, allowing the fish to be cooked directly upon capture. Fish and invertebrates were also wrapped in seaweed to keep them cool and preserve them for longer (Panangharry 1903).

### \*Table 2 here

# Discussion

## Seaweed uses by Indigenous Australians

Seaweed use by Indigenous cultures outside of Australia is well known but often indifferently documented, with some contemporary Indigenous cultures maintaining and reviving traditional customs and knowledge relating to seaweed (e.g. the First Peoples of coastal British Columbia, Turner 2003; the Wailaki of California, Nelson 2013). In some regions Indigenous knowledge and use of seaweeds has been incorporated into contemporary management. For example, sustainable harvest strategies for seaweed stocks in New Zealand have been tested using traditional harvesting techniques used for generations by Māori communities (O'Connell-Milne and Hepburn 2015).

In contrast to these examples, we know relatively little about the use and significance of seaweeds to Indigenous Australians. As anticipated, we found that the archival records of early Western explorers and settlers in coastal regions recorded use of seaweeds by

Indigenous Saltwater peoples from around Australia. Although our archival literature searches only brought up a limited number of reports of Indigenous seaweed use, it is clear from these results that seaweed played a role in the day-to-day life of Indigenous Australians across different regions of coastal Australia. Seaweed was clearly exploited as a versatile resource for a variety of uses. Additionally, the wide geographical spread of reported Indigenous Australian names for seaweed (across all states) is an indication that in precolonial times, Indigenous coastal communities harboured some level of traditional knowledge related to seaweed resources (Turner 2003). Our research thus points to the value of further exploration of Australian Indigenous seaweed use via oral histories for greater depth than is available in published accounts. The variety of uses, wide range of locations and period of time over which seaweed use was documented in the literature, in addition to the variety of Indigenous names for seaweed, suggests that the low frequency of archival results stems not from a lack of use of this resource historically, but instead a lack of written documentation on seaweed use. This most likely stemmed from colonial attitudes towards the (in)significance of Indigenous knowledge and resource use more broadly, as well as the perceived insignificance of seaweed in relation to other coastal resources, such as shellfish or finfish, by predominately English settlers (with likely little traditional use of seaweeds themselves). Another driving factor is likely to be the early dispossession of coastal Indigenous people relative to inland nations. Coastal Indigenous groups were often affected by settlement in the earliest years of occupation, prior to the broad-scale publication of print media, and prior to the emergence of scientific and anthropological interest in Indigenous peoples and their activities (Berndt et al. 1993; Pascoe 2007).

390

391

392

393

394

395

396

397

398

399

400

401

402

403

404

405

406

407

408

409

410

411

Links between historical and contemporary uses of seaweed by Indigenous Australians are still maintained, however. These include the use of seaweeds in contemporary Indigenous art (Matson-Green and Maiden 2008; Aboriginal Art Directory 2014), and the continued use of seaweeds in traditional activities (e.g. modern versions of seaweed water carriers; National Museum of Australia 2017) and surviving cultural heritage (e.g. Indigenous mythologies). These continuing practises highlight the likelihood that further traditional knowledge exists within Indigenous communities, particularly those communities who maintain unbroken links and strong connections to their ancestral lands and traditional practices.

### Relevance of historical data for contemporary aquaculture/sustainable industries

South-eastern Australia has a diverse and unique seaweed flora (Phillips 2001) but naturally lacks the species that are most commonly commercially harvested or cultured in other parts of the world (FAO 2016), posing both opportunities and challenges for the development of a temperate Australian seaweed industry. On the one hand, the opportunities to discover Australian seaweeds with unique flavour and nutritional profiles, medicinal and pharmaceutical qualities (Reichelt and Borowitzka 1984), or applications in the phycocolloid (Chiovitti et al. 2001) or innovative natural-fibre technologies (e.g. flame-retardant textiles, Zhang et al. 2011), for example, are vast. But on the other hand, in a contemporary industry sense, we are starting from a limited knowledge base (e.g. Madgwick and Ralph 1972; Reichelt and Borowitzka 1984; Lie et al. 1990; Chiovitti et al. 2001), and working out which species to start looking at, how they may be used and how we might sustainably harvest or modify existing methods to bring them into aquaculture are particular challenges. Exploring the historical uses of seaweeds in the Australian context, by the Indigenous peoples who have inhabited this land for at least 65,000 years (Clarkson et al. 2017) before European

settlement, provides an opportunity to conserve aspects and values of Indigenous knowledge that have been largely overlooked by researchers, and that are likely to be at risk of being further lost from Indigenous communities without concerted efforts to record and conserve such knowledge. If conservation efforts are successful and communities are empowered to take ownership of this knowledge, it may be that it can help inform a sustainable temperate Australian seaweed industry in the future, one that ideally provides Indigenous training, employment and business opportunities in coastal communities (Lee 2010). Although the records are few, our expectation that Indigenous use would be focussed on species that were easily accessible is confirmed, with shallow-water species and common contributors to beach wrack (Kirkman and Kendrick 1997) predominating records. D. potatorum (bull kelp) had the broadest reported application, with uses in roofing material for shelters, footwear, moulding of cups and water-carriers, and a "highly nutritious" food that was suitable for preservation and transport. The shallow-subtidal species Cystophora torulosa and Acrocarpia paniculata (as Cystophora paniculata (Guiry and Guiry 2017)) were also mentioned. Recent preliminary research has shown both D. potatorum and C. torulosa scored highly on palatability tests and are nutritionally rich, warranting further investigation as potential contemporary food sources (Skrzypczyk et al. in review) and C. torulosa has promising antimicrobial properties (Reichelt and Borowitzka 1984). D. potatorum has also been harvested from beach wrack on King Island, Tasmania, since 1973 for commercial extraction of alginates (Kirkman and Kendrick 1997). Whilst attribution to use by Indigenous Australians is ambiguous in the archival records (Maiden 1889; Irvine 1957), the red algal carrageenophyte Betaphycus speciosus (as Euchema speciosa (Guiry and Guiry 2017)) was recorded as being used in the late 1800's as a food for making jelly, and in construction for size and cement; presumably by virtue of the gelling capacity of the sulphated

436

437

438

439

440

441

442

443

444

445

446

447

448

449

450

451

452

453

454

455

456

457

458

polysaccharides in the cell walls of this species that would assist in bonding the cement and rendering walls of dwellings. Recent preliminary trials to use alginates derived from Australian brown algae in carbon-sequestering-bricks for construction effectively build on this premise (ABC Catalyst *Can seaweed save the world*?).

### **Future research needs**

460

461

462

463

464

465

466

467

468

469

470

471

472

473

474

475

476

477

478

479

480

481

482

This research is a first step in understanding the historical uses and significance of seaweed to Indigenous Australian societies. Given our methodological approach the results, however, were largely limited to Western, colonial perspectives, with Indigenous perspectives only being recorded in more recent literature. Given the limitations in the archival sources, and that ecological knowledge in Indigenous Australian cultures is traditionally handed down through oral teachings (Horstman and Wightman 2001), interviews with Traditional Owners/Guardians and the collation of oral histories using established methods (Arbon 2008; Martin 2008; Rose 2017; Smith 2012; Wilson 2008; Yunkaporta 2010) is a clear next step towards eliciting a comprehensive understanding of the nature and variety of uses of seaweed by Indigenous Australian peoples. The historical dispossession of Indigenous nations from their ancestral lands may mean that much traditional ecological knowledge has already been lost from many communities. Moreover, historical devaluation of traditional ecological knowledge has also resulted in researchers recording or using Indigenous knowledge without appropriate consent or acknowledgement (Wynberg et al. 2009). Therefore, documentation and synthesis of remaining knowledge should be performed with Indigenous communities' informed consent, and preferably with the communities as active, equal partners in the process of data collection and distribution (Horstman and Wightman 2001), and subsequent potential commercial application of their knowledge (e.g. Ball and Janyst 2008; Hudson

2009). As the importance and use of seaweed was likely to vary among communities (depending on the availability of other resources and geographical distributions of temperate seaweed species (Phillips 2001)), further research could initially be focused upon communities and/or language groups that have known words for seaweed, or who maintain traditional cultural practises focused upon seaweed. Moreover, given that the currently increasing interest in expanding the temperate Australian aquaculture industry to include seaweeds (including in an integrated multi-trophic aquaculture setting) is focused around Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia (with financial and in-kind support from the shellfish and fin-fish growers, State governments and regulators), involving Indigenous communities in the seaweed-industry development stages in these regions has the greatest potential to lead to both positive outcomes for the industry and business/economic opportunities for coastal Indigenous communities in south-eastern Australia.

### References

483

484

485

486

487

488

489

490

491

492

493

494

495

496

497

498

499

500

501

502

503

Aboriginal Art Directory (2014) Jenny Crompton wins Victoria's richest Indigenous art award. https://news.aboriginalartdirectory.com/2014/08/jenny-crompton-wins-victoriasrichest-indigenous-art-award.php. Accessed 10 Oct 2017 Akerman K (2005) Shoes of invisibility and invisible shoes: Australian hunters and gatherers and ideas on the origins of footwear. Australian Aboriginal Studies 2: 55-64 Angas G (1847) South Australia Illustrated. Thomas McLean, London Arbon V (2008) Arlathirnda Ngurkarnda Ityirnda: Being-Knowing-Doing: de-colonising

Indigenous tertiary education. PostPressed, Teneriffe, Qld

504	Australia ICOMOS (2013) The Burra Charter: the Australia ICOMOS charter for places of
505	cultural significance. Australia ICOMOS. <a href="http://australia.icomos.org/publications/charters/">http://australia.icomos.org/publications/charters/</a> .
506	Accessed 15 December 2017
507	Australian Government (2017) National heritage places - Budj Bim national heritage
508	landscape. <a href="http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/places/national/budj-bim">http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/places/national/budj-bim</a> . Accessed 15
509	December 2017
510	Backhouse J (1843) A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies. Adams and Co.,
511	London
512	Ball J, Janyst P (2008) Enacting research ethics in partnerships with Indigenous communities
513	in Canada: "Do it in a good way". Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics
514	3 33-51
515	Barker T, Ross A (2003) Exploring cultural constraints: the case of sea mullet management in
516	Moreton Bay, South East Queensland, Australia. In: Haggan N, Brignall C, Wood L (eds)
517	Putting fishers' knowledge to work, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 2003.
518	Fishers Centre Research Report 11, British Columbia, Vancouver, pp 290-305
519	Bell D (1998) Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin: A World that Is, Was, and Will be. Spinifex Press,
520	Australia
521	Berkes F, Colding J, Folke C (2000) Rediscovery of traditional ecological knowledge as
522	adaptive management. Ecol Appl 10 (5):1251-1262

523 Berndt R, Berndt C, Stanton J (1993) A World That Was: The Yaraldi of the Murray River 524 and the Lakes, South Australia. Miegunyah Press / Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 525 Victoria 526 Bonney N (1994) Uses of native plants in the south east of South Australia by the Indigenous 527 Peoples before 1839. South East Book Promotion Group, Naracoorte, SA 528 Bonney N (2004) Common Native Plants of the Coorong Region: Identification, Propagation, 529 Historical Use. Australia Plants Society (SA Region) Inc., Unley, SA 530 Bouga M, Combet E (2015) Emergence of Seaweed and Seaweed-Containing Foods in the UK: Focus on Labeling, Iodine Content, Toxicity and Nutrition. Foods 4 (2):240 531 532 Briggs C (2008) The journey cycles of the Boonwurrung: stories with Boonwurrung 533 language. Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages, Melbourne 534 Bryden W (1974) Aborigines. In: Williams WD (ed) Biogeography and ecology in Tasmania. Monographiae Biologicae, vol 25. Springer, Dordrecht, pp 417-433 535 Cawthorne W (1858) The legend of Kupirri or The red kangaroo: an Aboriginal tradition of 536 537 the Port Lincoln tribe. JH Lewis Printer, Adelaide 538 Chiovitti A, Kraft GT, Bacic A, Liao M-L (2001) Gelling polysaccharides from Australian 539 seaweeds: research and potential. Mar Freshw Res 52 (7):917-935. 540 doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1071/MF01028 541 Clarke P (1995) Myth as history: The Ngurunderi mythology of the Lower Murray, South 542 Australia, . Rec S Aust Mus (Adel) 28 (2):143-157

543 Clarke P (2008a) Aboriginal healing practices and Australian bush medicine. Journal of the 544 Anthropological Society of South Australia 33:3-38 545 Clarke P (2008b) Aboriginal Plant collectors: Botanist and Australian Aboriginal People in 546 the Nineteenth Century. Rosenberg Publishing, Dural, NSW 547 Clarke P (2012) Australian plants as Aboriginal Tools. Rosenberg Publishing, New South 548 Wales 549 Clarke P (2015a) The Aboriginal ethnobotany of the south east of South Australia region. 550 Part 1: seasonal life and material culture. Trans R Soc S Aust 139 (2):216-246 551 Clarke P (2015b) The Aboriginal ethnobotany of the South East of South Australia region. 552 Part 2: foods, medicines and narcotics. Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, 553 139 (2):247-272 554 Clarke P (2015c) The Aboriginal ethnobotany of the South East of South Australia region. 555 Part 3: mythology and language. Trans R Soc S Aust 139 (2):273-305 556 Clarkson C, Jacobs Z, Marwick B, Fullagar R, Wallis L, Smith M, Roberts RG, Hayes E, 557 Lowe K, Carah X, Florin SA, McNeil J, Cox D, Arnold LJ, Hua Q, Huntley J, Brand HEA, 558 Manne T, Fairbairn A, Shulmeister J, Lyle L, Salinas M, Page M, Connell K, Park G, 559 Norman K, Murphy T, Pardoe C (2017) Human occupation of northern Australia by 65,000 560 years ago. Nature 547 (7663):306-310. doi:10.1038/nature22968 561 http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v547/n7663/abs/nature22968.html#supplementary-562 information

563 Cornish ML, Critchley AT, Mouritsen OG (2015) A role for dietary macroalgae in the 564 amelioration of certain risk factors associated with cardiovascular disease. Phycologia 54 565 (6):649-666. doi:doi:10.2216/15-77.1 566 Dawson J (1881) Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of 567 Aborigines in the western district of Victoria. George Robinson, Melbourne 568 Dearnaley J (2014) Wathaurong medicinal plant walk. Deakin University, Geelong, Vic Dearnaley J (2015) Obituary: Librarian became expert in indigenous culture - Louis Lane, 569 570 Amateur archaeologist 29-8-1919 - 4-1-2015. The Age 7 April, 571 Duarte CM, Wu J, Xiao X, Bruhn A, Krause-Jensen D (2017) Can seaweed farming play a 572 role in climate change mitigation and adaptation? Front Mar Sci 4 (100). 573 doi:10.3389/fmars.2017.00100 574 Ens E, Walsh F, Clarke P (2017) Aboriginal People and Australia's Vegetation: Past and 575 Current Interactions,. In: Keith D (ed) Australian Vegetation. 3rd edn. Cambridge University 576 Press, Cambridge, pp 89-112 577 Ens EJ, Pert P, Clarke PA, Budden M, Clubb L, Doran B, Douras C, Gaikwad J, Gott B, 578 Leonard S, Locke J, Packer J, Turpin G, Wason S (2015) Indigenous biocultural knowledge 579 in ecosystem science and management: Review and insight from Australia. Biol Conserv 580 181:133-149 581 FAO (2016) FAO yearbook. Fisheries and Aquaculture statistics 2014. Food and Agriculture 582 Organization of the United Nations.

583 http://www.fao.org/fishery/static/Yearbook/YB2014 CD Master/navigation/index intro e.ht 584 m. 585 FAT, WMAC (2004) Kooyong Sea Country Plan. Framlingham Aboriginal Trust (FAT) and 586 Winda Mara Aboriginal Corporation (WMAC), Purnim/Heywood, Vic 587 Fleming A, Petheram L, Stacey N (2015) Australian indigenous women's seafood harvesting 588 practices and prospects for integrating aquaculture. Journal of Enterprising Communities: 589 People and Places in the Global Economy 9:156-181 Fraser CI, Winter DJ, Spencer HG, Waters JM (2010) Multigene phylogeny of the southern 590 591 bull-kelp genus Durvillaea (Phaeophyceae: Fucales). Mol Phylogen Evol 57 (3):1301-1311. 592 doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ympev.2010.10.011 593 Gaughwin D, Sullivan H (1984) Aboriginal boundaries and movements in Western Port, 594 Victoria. Aboriginal History 8 (1):80-98 595 Godfray HCJ, Beddington JR, Crute IR, Haddad L, Lawrence D, Muir JF, Pretty J, Robinson 596 S, Thomas SM, Toulmin C (2010) Food Security: The Challenge of Feeding 9 Billion People. 597 Science 327 (5967):812-818 598 Gott B (1985) Plants mentioned in Dawson's "Australian Aborigines". The Artefact 10:3-14 599 Gott B, Conran J (1991) Victorian Koorie Plants. Aboriginal Keeping Place, Hamilton, Vic 600 Guiry MD, Guiry GM (2017) AlgaeBase. World-wide electronic publication. National 601 University of Ireland. http://www.algaebase.org. Accessed 1 September 2017

602 Heyes S (1999) The Kaurna Calendar: Seasons of the Adelaide Plains. University of 603 Adelaide, Adelaide, South Australia 604 Hiatt B (1967) The food quest and the economy of the Tasmanian Aborigines. Oceania 38 605 (2):99-133 606 Hope G, Coutts P (1971) Past and present food resources at Wilson's Promontory. Mankind 607 8:104-114 Horstman M, Wightman G (2001) Karparti ecology: Recognition of Aboriginal ecological 608 609 knowledge and its application to management in north-western Australia. Ecol Manage 610 Restor 2 (2):99-109. doi:10.1046/j.1442-8903.2001.00073.x 611 Hudson M (2009) Think globally, act locally: collective consent and the ethics of knowledge 612 production. Int Soc Sci J 60:125-133 613 Hunter A (2007) The origin and debate surrounding the development of Aboriginal Evidence 614 Acts in Western Australia in the early 1840s. University of Notre Dame Australia Law 615 Review 9:115-146 616 Hutchings S, Morrison A (2017) Indigenous Knowledges: Introduction. In: Hutchings S, 617 Morrison A (eds) Indigenous Knowledges: Proceedings of the water sustainability and wild 618 fire mitigation symposia 2012 and 2013. University of South Australia, Adelaide, pp 1-21 619 ICSU (2002) Science and Traditional Knowledge: report from the ICSU Study Group on 620 Science and Traditional Knowledge. International Council for Science (ICSU) / Conseil 621 International pour la Science, Paris

622 Irvine F (1957) Wild and Emergency Foods of Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines. 623 Oceania 28 (2):113-142 624 Jones D, Clarke P (2018) Aboriginal culture and food-landscape relationships in Australia: 625 Indigenous knowledge for *Country* and Landscape. In: Zeunert J, Waterman T (eds) 626 Routledge Handbook to Landscape and Food. Routledge, London, UK, pp 41-60 627 Jones D, Low Choy D, Tucker R, Heyes S, Revell G, Bird S (2017) Indigenous Knowledge 628 in the built environment: a guide for tertiary educators. Australian Government Department 629 of Education and Training, Canberra 630 Kim JK, Yarish C, Hwang EK, Park M, Kim Y (2017) Seaweed aquaculture: cultivation 631 technologies, challenges and its ecosystem services. Algae 32 (1):1-13 632 Kirkman H, Kendrick GA (1997) Ecological significance and commercial harvesting of drifting and beach-cast macro-algae and seagrasses in Australia: a review. J Appl Phycol 9 633 634 (4):311-326. doi:Doi 10.1023/A:1007965506873 Konishi S (2008) "Inhabited by a race of formidable giants": French explorers, Aborigines, 635 636 and the endurance of the fantastic in the Great South Land, 1803. Australian Humanities 637 Review 44:7-22 638 Lane L (1975) The Legend of the Stolen Bride: an excerpt from "Tan:Gambalang Talisman". 639 Unpublished paper 640 Lane L (1980) The Mullet Festival. Unpublished paper 641 Lane L (1996) Shellfish, Baskets & Proper Names; an essay in conjunction with Jan Mitchell's Baywalk Bollards. Unpublished paper 642

643 Layton R (1992) Australian rock art: a new synthesis. Cambridge University Press, 644 Cambridge 645 Lee B (2010) Cultivated Seaweed and Seaweed Industry Development in Australia, 646 Publication No. 10/164, Project No PRJ-004681. Rural Industries Research and Development 647 Corporation, Canberra 648 Lewis H (1989) Ecological and technological knowledge of fire - Aborigines versus park 649 rangers in Northern Australia. Am Anthropol 91:940-961 650 Lie YA, Stuetz RM, Madgwick JC (1990) Australian brown seaweeds as a source of 651 polysaccharide and inorganic elements. Australian Journal of Biotechnology 4 (4):279-281 652 Lourandos H (1977) Aboriginal spatial organisation and population: south-western Victoria 653 reconsidered. Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania 12 (202-225) 654 Lourandos H (1983) Intensification: a late Pleistocene-Holocene archaeological sequence 655 from southwestern Victoria. Archaeology in Oceania 18 (2):81-94 Loureiro R, Gachon CMM, Rebours C (2015) Seaweed cultivation: potential and challenges 656 657 of crop domestication at an unprecedented pace. New Phytol 206 (2):489-492. 658 doi:10.1111/nph.13278 659 Madgwick JC, Ralph BJ (1972) Free amino-acids in Australian marine algae. Bot Mar 15 (4):205-209. doi:10.1515/botm.1972.15.4.205 660 661 Maiden J (1889) The useful plants of Australia (including Tasmania). Turner and Henderson, 662 Sydney

663 Mailhot J (1994) Traditional Ecological Knowledge: The diversity of knowledge systems 664 and their study (translated Harvey, A). Great Whale Environmental Assessment -665 Background Paper no 4. Great Whale Public Review Support Office, Montréal 666 Martin K (2008) Please knock before you enter: Aboriginal regulation of Outsiders and the 667 implications for research and researchers. PostPressed, Teneriffe, Qld 668 Matson-Green V, Maiden S (2008) Bernice Condie keeps her ancestors' traditions alive. ABC 669 http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2008/07/09/2298488.htm. Accessed 10 October 2017 670 McFarlane I (2002) Aboriginal society in north west Tasmania: Dispossession and Genocide. University of Tasmania, Tasmania 671 672 McNiven I, Feldman R (2003) Ritually orchestrated seascapes: hunting magic and dugong 673 bone mounds in Torres Strait, NE Australia. Cambridge Archaeological Journal 13:169-194 674 Meyer H (1843) Vocabulary of the language spoken by the Aborigines of South Australia. Allen, Adelaide 675 Meyer H (1846) Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe. South 676 677 Australian Government, Adelaide 678 Mohamed S, Hashim SN, Rahman HA (2012) Seaweeds: A sustainable functional food for 679 complementary and alternative therapy. Trends Food Sci Technol 23 (2):83-96. 680 doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tifs.2011.09.001 Mouritsen OG (2016) Those tasty weeds. J Appl Phycol. doi:10.1007/s10811-016-0986-1 681

682 National Museum of Australia (2017) Collection explorer. National Museum of Australia. http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/ce/?f[0]=obj party name%3AVicki%20West&solrsort=ra 683 684 ndom%20asc. Accessed 9 October 2017 685 National Ocean Office (2002) Sea Country - an Indigenous perspective: South-east Regional 686 Marine Plan Assessment Reports. National Oceans Office, Hobart, Tasmania 687 Nelson N (2013) Protecting the Sanctity of Native Foods. In: Institute W (ed) State of the 688 World. Island Press, Washington, DC., pp 201-209 689 Niewójt L (2009) Gadubanud society in the Otway Ranges, Victoria: an environmental 690 history. Aboriginal History 33:175-199 691 O'Connell-Milne SA, Hepburn CD (2015) A harvest method informed by traditional 692 knowledge maximises yield and regeneration post harvest for karengo (Bangiaceae). J Appl Phycol 27 (1):447-454 693 694 O'Brien L (2017) Aboriginal ways of thinking and sustainability. In: Hutchings S, Morrison 695 A (eds) Indigenous Knowledges: Proceedings of the water sustainability and wild fire 696 mitigation symposia 2012 and 2013. University of South Australia, Adelaide, pp 22-33 697 Oates A (1977) Plant Food Utilization by Victorian Aborigines. LaTrobe University, 698 Bundoora, Vic 699 Oates A, Seeman A (1979) Victorian Aborigines: Plant Foods. National Museum of Victoria, 700 Melbourne, Vic 701 Ogle N (1839) The Colony of Western Australia: A Manual for Emigrants to that Settlement 702 or Its Dependencies. James Fraser,, London

703 Panangharry (1903) Early recollections of Glencoe, Lake Leake, and the South-East No.5. 704 Border Watch, 1 August, p 4 705 Pascoe B (2007) Convincing Ground: Learning to fall in love with your country. Aboriginal 706 Studies Press, Canberra, ACT 707 Phillips JA (2001) Marine macroalgal biodiversity hotspots: why is there high species 708 richness and endemism in southern Australian marine benthic flora? Biodivers Conserv 709 10:1555-1577 710 Plomley B, Cornell C, Banks M (1990) François Péron's Natural History of Maria Island, 711 Tasmania. Rec Queen Vic Mus 99:1-50 712 Porse H, Rudolph B (2017) The seaweed hydrocolloid industry: 2016 updates, requirements, 713 and outlook. J Appl Phycol. doi:10.1007/s10811-017-1144-0 Redmond S, Green L, Yarish C, Kim J, Neefus C (2014) New England Seaweed Culture 714 715 Handbook-Nursery Systems. Connecticut Sea Grant CTSG-14-01, 716 Reichelt JL, Borowitzka MA (1984) Antimicrobial activity from marine algae: Results of a 717 large-scale screening programme. Hydrobiologia 116 (Sep):158-168 718 Rhodes D, Bell J (2004) Shire of Cardinia Urban Growth Corridor Aboriginal Heritage 719 Study: Report to the Shire of Cardinia. Heritage Insight, Richmond, Vic

Rose M (2017) The Black Academy: a renaissance seen through a paradigmatic prism. In:

Ling I, Ling P (eds) Methods and paradigms in education research. IGI Global, Philadelphia,

720

721

722

pp 326-343

- Ross A, Pickering Sherman K, Snodgrass J, Delcore H, Sherman R (2011) Indigenous
- peoples and the collaborative stewardship of nature: knowledge binds and institutional
- 725 conflicts. Left Coast Press, Routledge., Walnut Creek, CA
- Ross P (2009) Ngarrindjeri Fish Traps of the Lower Murray Lakes and Northern Coorong
- 727 Estuary, South Australia. Flinders University, South Australia
- 728 Schmidhuber J, Tubiello FN (2007) Global food security under climate change. Proceedings
- of the National Academy of Sciences 104 (50):19703-19708. doi:10.1073/pnas.0701976104
- 730 Skrzypczyk V, Hermon K, Norumbuena F, Turchini G, Keast R, Bellgrove A (in review) Is
- Australian seaweed worth eating? Nutritional and sensorial properties of wild-harvested
- Australian versus commercially-produced Japanese seaweeds. J Appl Phycol
- 733 Smith L (2012) Decolonising methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples. 2nd edn. Zed
- 734 Books, London
- Sondak CFA, Ang PO, Beardall J, Bellgrove A, Boo SM, Gerung GS, Hepburn CD, Hong
- DD, Hu Z, Kawai H, Largo D, Lee JA, Lim P-E, Mayakun J, Nelson WA, Oak JH, Phang S-
- 737 M, Sahoo D, Peerapornpis Y, Yang Y, Chung IK (2017a) Carbon dioxide mitigation potential
- 738 of seaweed aquaculture beds (SABs). J Appl Phycol 29 (5):2363–2373. doi:10.1007/s10811-
- 739 016-1022-1
- Sondak CFA, Ang PO, Beardall J, Bellgrove A, Boo SM, Gerung GS, Hepburn CD, Hong
- DD, Hu Z, Kawai H, Largo D, Lee JA, Lim P-E, Mayakun J, Nelson WA, Oak JH, Phang S-
- M, Sahoo D, Peerapornpis Y, Yang Y, Chung IK (2017b) Erratum to: Carbon dioxide
- mitigation potential of seaweed aquaculture beds (SABs). J Appl Phycol 29 (5):2375–2376.
- 744 doi:10.1007/s10811-017-1147-x

745 Sullivan H (1981) An Archaeological Survey of the Mornington Peninsula, Victoria. 746 Ministry for Conservation, Victoria, Melbourne, Vic 747 Sutherland JE, Lindstrom SC, Nelson WA, Brodie J, Lynch MDJ, Hwang MS, Choi H-G, 748 Miyata M, Kikuchi N, Oliveira MC, Farr T, Neefus C, Mols-Mortensen A, Milstein D, 749 Müller KM (2011) A new look at an ancient order: generic revision of the Bangiales 750 (Rhodophyta). J Phycol 47 (5):1131-1151. doi:10.1111/j.1529-8817.2011.01052.x 751 Terra Culture (2012) Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Conservation Manual: GORCC Crown 752 Land Reserves between Torquay and Lorne. Terra Culture, Northcote, Vic 753 Turner NJ (2003) The ethnobotany of edible seaweed (Porphyra abbottae and related species; 754 Rhodophyta: Bangiales) and its use by First Nations on the Pacific Coast of Canada. 755 Canadian Journal of Botany-Revue Canadienne De Botanique 81 (4):283-293 756 Wilson S (2008) Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods. Fernwood Publishing, 757 Black Point, Nova Scotia 758 Winberg PC, Skropeta D, Ullrich A (2011) Seaweed cultivation pilot trials - towards culture 759 systems and marketable products. 760 Womersley HBS (1987) The marine benthic flora of southern Australia, Part II. South 761 Australian Government Printing Division, Adelaide 762 Wynberg R, Schroeder D, Chennells R (2009) Indigenous Peoples, Consent and Benefit 763 Sharing: Lessons from the San-Hoodia Case. Springer, New York

764	Yunkaporta T (2010) Our ways of learning in Aboriginal languages. In: Hobson J, Lowe K,
765	Poetsch S, Walsh M (eds) Re-awakening languages: theory and practice in the revitalisation
766	of Australian's Indigenous languages. Sydney University Press, Sydney, pp 37-49
767	Yunupingu D, Muller S (2009) Cross-cultural challenges for Indigenous sea country
768	management in Australia. Australasian Journal of Environmental Management 16:158-167
769	Zhang J, Ji Q, Shen X, Xia Y, Tan L, Kong Q (2011) Pyrolysis products and thermal
770	degradation mechanism of intrinsically flame-retardant calcium alginate fibre. Polym
771	Degradation Stab 96 (5):936-942.
772	doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.polymdegradstab.2011.01.029
773	Zola N, Gott B (1992) Koorie Plants Koore People: Traditional Aboriginal food, fibre and
774	healing plants of Victoria. The Koorie Heritage Trust, Melbourne, Vic
775	
776	

777 Table 1. Terms used in search of online databases.

Database	<b>Database Type</b>	Search Terms
Environment Complete	Scientific	indigenous seaweed*
Web Of Science		ethnobotany seaweed*
		aboriginal seaweed*
		ethnobotany alga*
		aboriginal alga*
		traditional seaweed*
		traditional alga*
Anthropology Online	Anthropological	Marine Botany
AnthroSource		Seaweed*
Australian Institute of		Ethnobotany
Aboriginal and Torres		
Strait Islander Studies		
Informit: Indigenous		
Collection		
National Library of	Popular/scientific	(aboriginal OR aborigine
Australia		OR native OR savage)
Google Scholar		AND (seaweed OR algae
		OR sea-weed OR
		seeweed)

Table 2. Examples of uses of, activities and nomenclature involving seaweed.

Category	Quote and citation
Culture and cultural	"Kuratje and Kanmari became small fish. The latter was dressed in a good
history	kangaroo skin, and the former only a mat made of <b>seaweed</b> , which is the
	reason they say, that the kanmari contains a great deal of oil under the
	skin." (Meyer 1846).
	"Everything that exists in the sea has a place in the sacred songs
	<b>Seaweed</b> , floating anemones, turtle, fish etc. The songs follow them out
	from the deep water into the beach" (from Marika 1999). (Yunupingu and
	Muller 2009).
Ceremonial activities	"Now the old man was a rainmaker. He took a bamboo tube, stuffed it
	loosely with <b>seaweed</b> , and set fire to it. Soon it smoked like a smoke
	screen warship, with the old man chanting magic words over it". Daily
	News 11 Nov 1933.
	"Fragments of a <b>seaweed</b> cloak containing the remains of a two-year-old
	aboriginal child have been presented to the South Australian Museum It
	had been the custom of coastal tribes, he said, to bury their dead in
	seaweed cloaks". The Advertiser 24 Apr 1954.
	"As soon as the baby is born, he is subjected to a daily rite called
	Wudur Its purpose is to ensure the child learns to abide by the code of
	behaviour established by the Wandjina and maintained through wunan.

	Djalam ( <b>seaweed</b> or freshwater algae) is placed over a fire in a pit. The
	child's hands are warmed over the fire" (Layton 1992).
Medicinal use	"Nearly every tribe has its own doctor, who has but one remedy for every
	disease; but every doctor has a different one, and this is the object, animal
	or vegetable, which he regards as his friend and protector - thus one has a
	snake, another an ant, another <b>seaweed</b> , etc. etc." (Meyer 1846).
	"Wet, tight bandages of plant leaves and <b>seaweed</b> were used to relieve
	pain and to stop bleeding" (Bryden 1974).
Clothing	"A man of the Milmendura tribe, wearing the <b>Seaweed</b> Cloak". (Angas
	1847).
	"Some tribes use <b>seaweed</b> and rushes for temporary clothing or to make a
	blanket" Albury Banner and Wodonga Express 19 Apr 1918.
	"In 1802, Baudin noted of the Tasmanians, 'Their drinking vessels are
	made from a type of <b>seaweed</b> with very broad thick leaves. These they
	also use as shoes when they have sore feet'." (Akerman 2005).
	"Tasmanians were able to gather the large sheets of bull kelp to make
	drinking cups, larger water-carrying vessels and shoes for sore feet."
	(Clarke 2012).
Diet / cooking	"Bound by rock and washed by salt water, is a <b>sea-weed</b> , known by the
	name of 'Bull Kelp' it varies in length and substance, according to its
	local position, — it has a thick stem, and flat oval-shaped leaf, and is

about the thickness of sole leather. The aborigines of this country, New South Wales, and New Zealand, and probably those of every sea-girt shore, highly prize this weed as an article of food; they estimate it, indeed, as highly nutritious and palatable..." Cornwall Chronicle 15 Oct 1853.

"...birds, native honey, shellfish, native fruits, eggs, seals, edible plants and roots, and **seaweeds** all formed part of the diet..." (Bryden 1974).

"Labillardiere reported "on 9 February 1793, a party of natives seated by their fires were making a meal of mussels, and eating with them pieces of the **seaweed** (*Fucus palmatus*), which had been softened by cooking..." (McFarlane 2002).

## **Fishing**

"Some of the women went into the water among the large sea-tangle, to take Cray-fish. These women seem quite at home in the water, and frequently immerse their faces to enable them to see objects at the bottom. When they discover the object of their search, they dive, often using the long stems of the **kelp** to enable them to reach the bottom; these they handle as dexterously in descending, as a sailor would a rope, in ascending." (Backhouse 1843).

"...the native fishermen of South Australia make rope, twine, and most durable fishing nets from the local varieties [of **seaweed**]." Evening News 21 Jun 1922.

"The **seaweed** would come in and up the channel, and go down as far as the Bonney Reserve. We'd pull out rolls of it, and the fish... would be

there." (Bell 1998). "Coorong fish traps also made use of natural barriers other than stone." Tindale described a trap at Najenu where **seaweed** formed the entrance and one guiding wall of the trap, while the shore was used as the opposite wall of the trap (Tindale 1934–1937: 5–7). The same taláipar basket ware trap was placed at the bottom of the V to collect fish. It is possible that the wall of **seaweed** was formed by the weed adhering to a calcreted dune remnant, although Tindale made no reference to this." (Ross 2009). "Language of Van Diemens Land: Fucus palmatus = "rugona", seaweed Language / nomenclature = "roenan, inu", **seaweed** dried for eating = "rori"." (Ogle 1839). "This is Ligwidgi Trucaninni, who is still under the tender care of Mr and Mrs Dandridge, and whose name, so apparently unpronounceable, means simply "seaweed by the river's side."" Weekly Examiner 20 Sept 1873. "The Port Fairy tribe is called 'Peek whuurong', and a member of it Peek whurrong kuurndit'. Its language, 'Peek whurrong,' 'kelp lip,' is taken from the broad-leafed **seaweed** so very abundant on the sea shore." (Dawson 1881). Shelter/domestic use "Some of the kelp or **sea-weed**, washed up on this shore, is of gigantic magnitude; a palmate species has a stem thicker than a man's arm, and proportionately long. The flat portion between the stem and the ribbonlike appendages, is so large as to be converted by the Blacks, into vessels

for carrying water. For this purpose, they either open an oblong piece, so as to form a flat bag, or run a string through holes in the margin of a circular piece, so as to form a round one..." (Backhouse 1843).

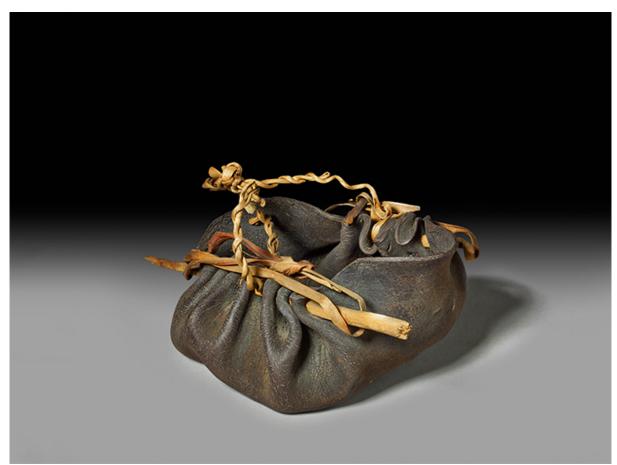
"Native huts, made from the boughs of trees, and in winter strongly constructed, of a dome shape, and capable of holding from six to a dozen persons. Near whaling stations, the ribs of whales are employed as the framework, and the divisions filled up with boughs and **seaweed**." (Cawthorne 1858).

"When out fishing the 'dusky crew' not infrequently made a fire, (on a little head of sand and **seaweed**) and cooked their dinner in these canoes." Register 29 Jul 1913.

"Péron was also intrigued to find some caverns that were clearly used as shelters, for they had ledges carved out of the walls to store 'household utensils', and were 'carpeted with a thick layer of **seaweed'**." (Konishi 2008).

## **Figures**

Figure 1. Kelp water container from Tasmania made from bull kelp (*Durvillaea potatorum*),
 dated 1850. Source: National Museum of Australia.



## **Supplementary materials**

Table S1. Databases and web-sources utilized for gathering information on Indigenous seaweed use.

Database Title	URL
Anthropology Online	http://alexanderstreet.com/products/anthropology-online
AnthroSource	http://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com

Australian Institute of Aboriginal http://aiatsis.gov.au/ and Torres Strait Islander Studies **Environment Complete** https://www.ebsco.com/products/researchdatabases/environment-complete Google Scholar https://scholar.google.com.au Informit: Indigenous Collection http://search.informit.com.au/search;res=IELIND National Library of Australia http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/ Web of Science http://webofknowledge.com Supplementary materials S2: Bibliography of sources **Books:** Angas GF (1847) South Australia Illustrated. Thomas McLean, London. Backhouse J (1843) A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies. Adams and Co, London. Berndt, RM (1974) Australian Aboriginal Religions. In: Iconography of religions (TP van Baaren, L Leertouwer and H Buning, Eds). EJ Brill, Leiden, Netherlands. Bell D (1998) Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin: A World that Is, Was, and Will be. Spinifex Press, Australia. Briscoe G (2010) Racial folly: a twentieth century Aboriginal family. Aboriginal history monograph; 20. ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Incorporated.

788

789

790

791

792

793

794

795

796

797

798

799

800

801 Bryden W (1974) Aborigines. In: Williams WD (ed) Biogeography and Ecology in 802 Tasmania. Monographiae Biologicae, vol 25. Springer, Dordrecht. 803 Cawthorne WA (1858) The legend of Kupirri or the red kangaroo: an Aboriginal tradition of 804 the Port Lincoln tribe. Adelaide, JH Lewis Printer. 805 Clarke, PA (2012) Australian plants as Aboriginal Tools. Rosenberg Publishing, New South 806 Wales, Australia. 807 Clarke PA (2013) The Aboriginal Ethnobotany of the Adelaide Region, South Australia, 808 Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia 137: 97-126. 809 Clarke PA (2015) The Aboriginal ethnobotany of the South East of South Australia region. 810 Part 1: seasonal life and material culture. Transactions of the Royal Society of South 811 Australia 139: 216-246. 812 Clarke PA (2015) The Aboriginal ethnobotany of the South East of South Australia region. 813 Part 3: mythology and language. Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia 139: 814 273-305. 815 Dawson J (1881) Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of 816 Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia. George Robertson, Melbourne. Layton R (1992) Australian Rock Art: a new synthesis. Cambridge Univ Press, Cambridge. 817 818 McKay HF, McLeod PE, Firebrace Jones F, Barber JE (Eds) (2001) Gadi Mirrabooka: 819 Australian Aboriginal Tales from the Dreaming. Libraries Unlimited, Englewood, Colorado.

820 Meyer, HEA (1846) Manners and customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; 821 South Australia; SA Government, Adelaide. 822 Pascoe B (2014) Dark Emu: Black seeds agriculture or accident? Magabala Books 823 Aboriginal, Western Australia. 824 Journals/academic publications: 825 Akerman K (2005) Shoes of invisibility and invisible shoes: Australian hunters and gatherers and ideas on the origins of footwear. Australian Aboriginal Studies 2: 55-64. 826 827 Berndt RM and Berndt CH (1948) Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land. 828 Oceania, 18(4): 309-326. 829 Ellis RW (1976) The Aboriginal inhabitants and their environment. In: Natural history of the 830 Adelaide region, 1976. In: Heyes SA (1999) The Kaurna Calendar: Seasons of the Adelaide Plains. Unpublished BLArch Honours thesis, University of Adelaide, South Australia. 831 832 Ford LJ (1998) A description of the Emmil of the Northern Territory of Australia. PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra. 833 Hiatt B (1967) The Food Quest and the Economy of the Tasmanian Aborigines. Oceania, 38: 834 835 99-133. Irvine FR (1957) Wild and emergency Foods of Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines. 836 837 Oceania 28: 113-142.

838 Konishi S (2008) 'Inhabited by a race of formidable giants': French explorers, Aborigines, 839 and the endurance of the fantastic in the Great South Land, 1803. Australian Humanities 840 Review 44: 7-22. 841 Lane LN (1980) The Mullet Festival. Unpublished paper. Alfred Deakin Library, Deakin 842 University. 843 Lane, LN (ed.) (1996) Shellfish, Baskets & Proper Names; an essay in conjunction with Jan Mitchell's Baywalk Bollards. Unpublished paper. Alfred Deakin Library, Deakin University. 844 845 Lane, LN (1975) The Legend of the Stolen Bride: an excerpt from "Tan: Gambalang Talisman". Unpublished paper. Alfred Deakin Library, Deakin University. 846 847 Mitchell J (2011). 'Bearing rule in this isolated place': Bishop Nixon's voyages to the Bass 848 Strait islands [online]. Tasmanian Historical Studies 16: 55-71. Availability: http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=8973219248 849 850 10620;res=IELAPA. 851 McDonald J, Donlon D, Field J, Fullagar R, Coltrain J, Mitchell P, Rawson M (2007) The 852 first archaeological evidence for death by spearing in Australia. Antiquity 81: 877-885. 853 McFarlane I (2002) Aboriginal society in north west Tasmania: dispossession and genocide. 854 PhD thesis, University of Tasmania. 855 Petkovic J (2009) Some Early North West Indigenous Wordlists. In: Indigenous Languages 856 in the Stefano Manuscript, IM: Interactive Media e-journal, No 3 (2009 addendum). 857 Availability:

858	$\underline{http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/11701/1/Stefano\_3.4\_Talandji\_Wordlists.}$
859	<u>pdf</u> .
860	Ross PJ (2009) Ngarrindjeri Fish Traps of the Lower Murray Lakes and Northern Coorong
861	Estuary, South Australia. MSc Thesis, Archaeology Dept, Flinders University, South
862	Australia. Availability:
863	http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.465.5303&rep=rep1&type=pdf
864	Vigilante T, Toohey J, Gorring A, Blundell V, Saunders T, Mangolamara S, George K,
865	Oobagooma J, Waina M, Morgan K, Doohan K (2013) Island country: Aboriginal
866	connections, values and knowledge of the Western Australian Kimberley islands in the
867	context of an island biological survey. Records of the Western Australian Museum,
868	Supplement 81: 145-182.
869	Wiltshire K (2006) Unfinished Business: The Lower Murray Lakes Archaeological Study
870	within a historical and political context. Flinders University. Availability:
871	http://www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology_files/dig_library/theses/KellyWiltshire2006
872	<u>pdf</u> .
873	Yunupingu D and Muller S (2009) Cross-cultural challenges for Indigenous sea country
874	management in Australia, Australasian Journal of Environmental Management, 16:3, 158-
875	167.
876	Newspapers/magazines:
877	Adelaide Observer (SA: 1843 - 1904), Saturday 10 May 1851, page 6.
878	Advertiser (Adelaide, SA: 1931 - 1954), Wednesday 28 December 1932, page 11.

- Albury Banner and Wodonga Express (NSW: 1896 1938), Friday 19 April 1918, page 4.
- Australasian Chronicle (Sydney, NSW: 1839 1843), Thursday 17 March 1842, page 4.
- Australian Women's Weekly (1933 1982), Wednesday 20 December 1961, page 28.
- Australian Women's Weekly (1933 1982), Wednesday 26 February 1975, page 28.
- Australian Women's Weekly (1933 1982), Wednesday 27 April 1966, page 32.
- 884 Canberra Times (ACT: 1926 1995), Thursday 20 April 1967, page 21.
- Chronicle (Adelaide, SA: 1895 1954), Thursday 7 September 1950, page 2.
- Cornwall Chronicle (Launceston, Tas.: 1835 1880), Saturday 15 October 1853, page 2.
- Cornwall Chronicle (Launceston, Tas.: 1835 1880), Saturday 29 June 1861, page 3.
- 888 Daily News (Perth, WA: 1882 1950), Saturday 11 November 1933, page 19.
- 889 Evening News (Sydney, NSW: 1869 1931) Wed 21 Jun 1922 page 6.
- 890 Express and Telegraph (Adelaide, SA: 1867 1922), Wednesday 6 December 1893, page 3.
- Fletcher D, Gapps S (2012) Nawi: Exploring Indigenous watercraft. Signals 100: 4-11.
- 892 Availability:
- http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.library.ug.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=0707519478
- 894 <u>82261;res=IELAPA</u>
- 895 Glenelg Guardian (SA: 1914 1936), Thursday 24 December 1914, page 2.
- 896 Hobart Town Courier (Tas.: 1827 1839), Friday 25 April 1834, page 4.

- 897 Inquirer (Perth, WA: 1840 1855), Wednesday 17 June 1846, page 3.
- 898 Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (NSW: 1843 1893), Wednesday 11
- 899 March 1846, page 2.
- 900 Mercury (Hobart, Tas.: 1860 1954), Saturday 19 December 1953, page 17.
- 901 Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser (Qld.: 1861 1908), Tuesday 18
- 902 July 1865.
- 903 Queenslander (Brisbane, Qld: 1866 1939), Saturday 27 April 1895, page 789.
- 904 Register (Adelaide, SA: 1901 1929), Tuesday 29 July 1913, page 6.
- 905 Singleton Argus (NSW: 1880 1954), Wednesday 8 June 1949, page 1.
- 906 Smith P (2015). Woodfiring at the top end. Ceramics Technical, No. 41, 01 Nov 2015: 58-63.
- 907 Availability:
- 908 http://search.informit.com.au.ezproxy.library.uq.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=6485433280
- 909 28640;res=IELHSS.
- 910 Southern Cross (Adelaide, SA: 1889 1954) Fri 27 Nov 1942, page 3.
- 911 Sunday Times (Perth, WA: 1902 1954) Sun 24 Feb 1935.
- 912 Sydney Mail (NSW: 1912 1938), Wednesday 20 April 1921, page 12.
- 913 Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser (NSW: 1871 1912), Saturday 4 April 1896,
- 914 page 703.

- 915 Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser (NSW: 1871 1912), Wednesday 3 February
- 916 1909, page 31.
- 917 The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA: 1931 1954) Sat 24 Apr 1954, page 5.
- 918 The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 1954) Sat 13 Oct 1888
- 919 The Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts
- 920 (Barcaldine, Qld.: 1892 1922) Sat 4 Sep 1915 Page 3.
- 921 Thomas D (2010). String Bags and Starry Skies: Aboriginal Fibre Art at QAG. Art Monthly
- 922 Australia, No. 226, Dec 2009 Feb 2010: 9-12. Availability:
- 923 http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=702767811778426;res=IELLCC.
- 924 Toowoomba Chronicle and Queensland Advertiser (Qld.: 1861 1875), Saturday 10 October
- 925 1874, page 3.
- Weekly Examiner (Launceston, Tas.: 1872 1878), Saturday 20 September 1873, page 12.
- 927 Wellington Times (NSW: 1899 1954), Thursday 11 February 1909, page 7.
- 928 Wingham Chronicle and Manning River Observer (NSW: 1898 1954), Friday 30 July 1926,
- 929 page 6.
- 930 Other online resources:
- Dharawal: The story of the Dharawal-speaking people of southern Sydney. Availability:
- http://www.doryanthes.info/Portable%20documents/ Dharawal 4Sep.pdf.

933 Mooro Nyoongar Katitjin Bidi, Mooro People's Knowledge Trail. City of Stirling. 934 Availability: www.stirling.wa.gov.au. 935 National Museum of Australia (2017). Availability: 936 http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/encounters/mapping/oyster\_cove National Museum of Australia (2017). Availability: 937 938 http://www.nma.gov.au/ data/assets/pdf file/0018/306207/NMA Goree November2010.pd 939 <u>f</u>. Ngurunderi - Dreaming of the Ngarrindjeri People Murray River (2017) Availability: 940

http://www.murrayriver.com.au/about-the-murray/ponde-dreamtime/.

941