Cedar Creek

Introduction

The Aboriginal campground located at Cedar Creek in Ravenshoe is generally referred to as the ‘Golf Links’, ‘the old golf course’ or the ‘old peoples’ campground’ by senior Indigenous and non-Indigenous Ravenshoe residents. It has previously been suggested that the Golf Links property and surrounding land along Cedar Creek is most probably where, in 1913, Swedish scientist Eric Mjöberg documented Aboriginal culture and society and collected ethnographic items (see Chapter 3), a location he referred to as Cedar Creek (Duke and Collins 1994:61). Jirrbal elder Lizzie Wood remembers her early childhood years living at the Cedar Creek campground before the campsites and ceremonial ground were turned into a golf course in the early 1920s:

We were told not to go to the rainforest anymore in those days and had to stay in the old campground, where the old golf course is you know. That’s where I was born. We were hungry living there on the old campground. We had no food and weren’t allowed to go and get any; they’d [Europeans] shoot at us if we tried to go to the rainforest or go bush. Then they started to give us food and we lived there for a while longer but then they moved us to farms and our parents had to go to work. They moved us around and we never stayed in one place for very long. After that I was sent out to work on a station away from the rainforest (L. Wood, pers. comm., 2004).

Oral traditions have also identified the location of a traditional ceremonial ground at Cedar Creek and its use in the early 1900s. One significant piece of information gleaned from the narrative below is that, for a period after European arrival, the Jirrbal people of Cedar Creek and surrounding areas had been settled on their old ceremonial ground:

I was born in Bill Roger’s paddock
My mother and father …
They came down from Kirrima Station …
For *Buyab* ceremony.
That was very important business.
Always have that business same place …
Ceremony ground.

Then we lived in humpy.
Not in the bush like we should.
We just lived around the edge of town.
They settled us on our old ceremony ground …

That Ravenshoe Golf Course,
Our ceremony ground,
Our people had to camp there … And they died there.

(Tom Murray in Bird 1999:23)

Based on oral history testimonies and Eric Mjöberg’s travel book (1918, 2015), Aboriginal occupation at Cedar Creek at the time of European arrival to the area has been described as ‘an Aboriginal settlement site complex that consisted of a large camp as well as a ceremonial meeting and fighting ground’ (Duke and Collins 1994:61). In the context of this research project, it was hypothesised that
the area may have the archaeological research potential to contribute new information on Aboriginal rainforest occupation and adaptations in the recent past. Information about Aboriginal occupation at Cedar Creek has survived in Jirrbal oral traditions and in the ethnohistory. This information is drawn on here to expand on the interpretative possibilities of the archaeological record.

**Geographical setting**

The Golf Links property is located at the southern edge of the township of Ravenshoe (Fig. 8.1). It comprises approximately 38 hectares of grassland and woodland on a basalt plateau bordered by North Cedar Creek, South Cedar Creek and the Millstream River in the west. It represents a eucalypt 'pocket' once located at the edge of the rainforest, as described by Eric Mjöberg (1913). The topography is relatively flat with some sloping areas falling away to the Millstream River and North and South Cedar Creeks. The Millstream National Park is located west of the property, on the opposite banks of the Millstream River, which forms a natural boundary between the Cainozoic olivine basalt on the property and a Palaeozoic rhyolite in the adjacent National Park (Bird 1999:6). A permanent spring has been identified amongst basaltic rocks in the wooded western section of the property, along the creek line (Bird 1999). Large basalt blocks and steep slopes characterise this area, including one 80–100 m long sharp decline that terminates at Millstream River. Previous vegetation surveys carried out in the context of a cultural heritage investigation estimated that two thirds of the property is today covered with open grasslands, which represent the remains of an old golf course (Bird 1999:7) that was in operation from the early 1920s to the mid-1980s (V. van der Vliet, pers. comm., 2007). The remaining third is covered with open woodland vegetation dominated by one tree species, the rough barked apple (*Angophora floribunda*), and probably represents regrowth of some 30 to 40 years (Winter in Bird 1999:7).

Figure 8.1 Map with the Golf Links property approximately in the centre of the picture (Lot 1 on Plan SP101802). The area highlighted represents a former eucalypt pocket that is bordered by North and South Cedar Creeks and the Millstream River to the west (refer to Table 8.2 for archaeological features and finds).

Source: Produced by J. de Lange.
**Historical background**

Historical documents show that stands of red cedar (*Toona ciliatis*) along the South and North Cedar Creeks had attracted Europeans to this part of the rainforest region by the late 1800s. Selections were available from 1907, and at the time of Eric Mjöberg’s visit in 1913, a pub had been erected and a small European settlement was established in the eucalypt pocket (bounded by South Cedar Creek, North Cedar Creek, and the Millstream River). The location of a traditional ceremonial ground in this eucalypt pocket is remembered by Jirrbal elders and senior residents in Ravenshoe. According to oral traditions and local history, this is where the Jirrbal people of Cedar Creek and upper Tully River hosted the large *buyah* (ceremony or corroboree). This ceremony involved hundreds of people who would walk to Cedar Creek from across the Tablelands and up from the coast at the beginning of the wet season (M. Barlow, pers. comm., 2006). Some of the first European settlers observed this event, when Jirrbal people still occupied the pocket in the early 1900s (A. Duke, pers. comm., 2007). The construction of the golf course took place in a portion of the pocket in the early 1920s and in effect ended Aboriginal occupation of traditional campsites and use of the ceremonial ground (M. Barlow, pers. comm., 2004; L. Wood, pers. comm., 2004).

**Eric Mjöberg and Cedar Creek**

Mjöberg described Cedar Creek as ‘a small European settlement established at the edge of the rainforest’ (1913a). He provides a description of the landscape that surrounded an Aboriginal camp at Cedar Creek in the summer of 1913:

> From Herberton, located in open forest country, I travelled accompanied by a white gentleman and three natures, with a small horse caravan to Cedar Creek, a place located at the edge of dark rainforests. How far these forests stretch is still unknown, these territories are yet to be explored. A few settlers have set camp at the fringe of the rainforest and are clearing rainforest growing on their land to plant crops. We set camp not far from the edge of the rainforest. Around one hundred metres away was the location of a large native camp. I was very interested in the native black race and discovered many new and interesting facts about the natives in the camps close to Cedar Creek that I had not come across earlier in my travels (Mjöberg 1918:170–171).

Many of Mjöberg’s photographs and films from the rainforest were unfortunately destroyed due to the wet tropical conditions, but a small number have survived. Some of these depict Aboriginal people climbing trees at the Cedar Creek campsite (Fig. 8.2), and the campsite is briefly referred to in his diary:

> At Cedar Creek I encountered a traditional wet season native rainforest village used by a large group of native people that inhabit areas around Cedar Creek and Tully River (Mjöberg 1913a).
Relative of living Jirrbal elders were born at Cedar Creek (M. Barlow, pers. comm., 2004) and a number of people remember the location and use of the traditional ceremonial ground on what became the Golf Links in the early 1920s. Oral history testimonies recorded in the 1990s with descendants of the first European settlers describe events taking place on the ceremonial ground in the early 1900s:
Aboriginal groups would visit from Millaa Millaa, Malanda and Atherton way and my mother, who was the first white woman in Ravenshoe, wouldn’t let the children out as spears were flying and she was afraid they would get hurt. The old ceremonial ground was across Cedar Creek from our house in Ethel Street (E. Condon in Duke and Collins 1994:61).

Evidence gathered in talks with local historians, past and present oral histories and ethnohistorical information, thus indicates that the Golf Links and surrounding area is where Eric Mjöberg observed and documented ‘a native village’ in 1913.

**Previous cultural heritage investigations**

Previous investigations on the Golf Links include Duke and Collins’ (1994) anthropological cultural mapping study and a cultural heritage assessment by Michelle Bird (1999). Both reports identify the property and surrounds as a place of very high cultural and social significance to the Jirrbal people: ‘the area represents a cultural landscape which contains several sites and places that are highly significant to the Jiddabul [jirrbal] people’ (Bird 1999:20). In the current research, the cultural significance of the area has also been identified from oral testimonies given by a number of Jirrbal elders, non-Indigenous Ravenshoe residents and the ethnographic record (Mjöberg 1913a, 1913b, 1918, 1925; M. Barlow, pers. comm., 2004; A. Durham, pers. comm., 2004; V. Van der Vliet, pers. comm., 2006; B. White, pers. comm., 2006; L. Wood, pers. comm., 2004). The combined evidence supports the interpretation of the area as a ‘site complex’ or a ‘cultural landscape’ consisting of a number of Aboriginal cultural heritage places.

Aboriginal cultural heritage sites previously recorded on the Golf Links include a traditional ceremonial ground, campsites, at least one burial, a 1930s walking track, a track-marker tree, a post-contact food collecting and food-processing site for taro and several unidentified stone arrangements (Bird 1999:20). In addition, the owner of the Golf Links in 2004, Mrs Audrey Durham, provided further information related to Aboriginal activities on South Cedar Creek. She recalled that when her family first moved to Ravenshoe, Aboriginal women used to come down to the creek behind the family house and put their lawyer cane baskets in the creek to leach toxic nuts. The women also erected little huts along the banks of South Cedar Creek (A. Durham, pers. comm., 2004).

**European impacts**

Bird (1999) reports that, for the majority of the cultural heritage sites on the Golf Links, no tangible archaeological evidence was located. No physical traces of the ceremonial ground, campsites, or burials were visible at the time of the archaeological survey and a number of previously recorded stone arrangements remained unidentified. However, a small number of quartz fragments were located in the golf course zone (Bird 1999:28). This led Bird to suggest that the lack of tangible evidence for Aboriginal occupation on the Golf Links was due to European disturbances combined with a lack of surface visibility at the time of the survey. European modifications of the Golf Links include early twentieth-century small-scale cattle grazing by Bill Roger, the first European owner of the property, and construction of the golf course in the early 1920s that allegedly destroyed the ceremonial ground (Bird 1999; L. Wood, pers. comm., 2004). Motor-cross bike riding continues to take place on the old golf course surface. Aboriginal sites and numerous Aboriginal burials were also destroyed in the construction of a roadhouse and camping ground along South Cedar Creek (Bird 1999; M. Barlow, pers. comm., 2004), opposite the Golf Links and the Kennedy Highway, which runs in an east–west direction through the eucalypt pocket at its southern end (Fig. 8.1). Bird (1999:18) concludes that, in addition to European disturbances in the area, thick grass cover was a major constraint to effective survey coverage. The possibility of subsurface archaeological deposits cannot be ruled out as dense grass cover may have obscured any surviving surface remains (Bird 1999:21).
Archaeological investigations

Survey methods 2004

Two archaeological surveys were conducted on the Golf Links in the context of this project: one on a visit in 2004, and the other covering five days in late 2006. Despite large-scale European disturbances in the area, it was hypothesised that the northern section on the Golf Links (outside the golf course zone) may still contain archaeological evidence. Permission was granted by the property’s owner to conduct a surface survey in 2004. The objective of the survey was to see if any archaeological evidence related to Aboriginal occupation was visible on the surface in areas away from the disturbed and grass-covered golf course zone (Fig. 8.1). During the 2004 archaeological survey, two clusters of oval-shaped clearings were identified in the northern section. Glass and stone artefacts were found on the surface nearby. The clusters are approximately 200 m apart. The first consists of five oval-shaped clearings and the second of seven. These clearings vary slightly in size and shape but are, on average, 2 x 3 m in diameter (Fig. 8.3). Compared to the surrounding ground, the surface of the clearings was more compacted and they were interpreted as possibly being the remains of floors where Aboriginal huts had once stood; it was decided to conduct archaeological investigations in one of the clusters.

Figure 8.3 Oval-shaped clearing on the Golf Links identified in the 2004 survey.
Source: Photograph by Å. Ferrier.

Survey methods 2006

In 2004 permission to conduct archaeological excavations in one of the clusters was requested from the landowner. It was not granted, however, probably because the Golf Links was for sale at the time. The Golf Links was bought in late 2005 by a local family, who were prepared to allow excavations to proceed if permission from the traditional owners was granted. The owners had proposed to set aside
some 1.8 hectares from future development on the Golf Links, an area containing some of the cultural heritage sites previously identified by Duke and Collins (1994) and Bird (1999). Archaeological excavations in one of the clusters had the potential to provide information about archaeological deposits in locations outside the area that was going to be excluded from development, prior to it commencing. The Jiddibal Aboriginal Corporation, representing the Aboriginal party as defined by the *Queensland Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act* (2003), allowed for a pedestrian survey and a small test excavation to take place in one of the two clusters, with the aim of establishing their origin and cultural and scientific significance. The second phase of archaeological investigations on the Golf Links was undertaken in November 2006. Due to dense and long grassy vegetation, a burn-off was arranged (Fig. 8.4). This improved ground surface visibility and aided the archaeological surveys and excavations. Three members of the field crew spent two days walking in transect lines across sections of the property that were assumed to be less disturbed than the golf course zone. Visibility after the burn-off was reasonable but smouldering logs, smoke and ash on the ground was blown by wind and stirred by feet, making conditions very uncomfortable. Plastic rakes were used in places where the ash layer was too thick to see the ground surface.

Figure 8.4 Burn-off on the Golf Links property. The flat grassy area in the front of the photo is part of the old golf course and was not surveyed in 2006.

Source: Photograph by Á. Ferrier.

Artefacts and other archaeological features identified during the surveys were flagged and subsequently revisited and recorded. Single surface artefact finds were logged into a handheld GPS and stone structures, mounds and a track-marker tree (bent tree) were photographed and also logged into the GPS. Stone arrangements and other archaeological features were photographed. Stone and glass artefacts were collected and brought back to the laboratory for analysis.
Survey results

Stone structures

A number of previously recorded archaeological features on the Golf Links were relocated and inspected in attempts to distinguish Aboriginal from non-Aboriginal features (Fig. 8.1/GPS points 8–9). Bird (1999) describes ‘stone arrangements’ near the Millstream River in the western section of the property and two stone arrangements were relocated and inspected during the 2006 survey (Figs. 8.5 and 8.6). This section of the Golf Links is undulating with basalt rocks and with many large boulders on the surface.

A visit to well-preserved World War I sniper pits in an area northwest of Ravenshoe, together with local historians from the Eacham Historical Society, demonstrated that at least one of the stone arrangements on the Golf Links (Fig. 8.6) is similarly orientated and constructed with basalt rocks stacked to create a small shelter (Fig. 8.7).

The Tablelands, including areas near Ravenshoe, was the location for much World War II army training activity (Bird 1999; R. Grant, pers. comm., 2006). Stone pits or shelters were used by the Australian Army and the US Army Air Force in sniper practice, and were commonly built in clusters of seven on two hills opposite one another (R. Grant, pers. comm., 2006). The location of at least two stone arrangements in the high and stony western section on the Golf Links, aiming into the hill opposite the Golf Links in the Millstream National Park across the Millstream River, suggests that sniper practice was carried out in this area (R. Grant, pers. comm., 2006). Thus, the two stone structures revisited in the western section on the Golf Links are interpreted as being the remains of World War II sniper pits, and of non-Aboriginal origin.
A third stone arrangement described by Bird (1999:31) was relocated in the 2006 survey (GPS7), just north of where the old ceremonial ground was once located (Fig. 8.8). It is a roughly rectangular arrangement, 3 x 2 m in size, constructed with volcanic rocks around a small somewhat flat-topped mound that is approximately 40 cm in height. The origin of this arrangement is unknown. Although it might be Aboriginal, it is also possible that it is the remains of a golf tee. Four golf tees located during the survey consisted of square flat-topped mounds but with no associated rocks. All are located on the plateau in the northern section of the property, right on the edge of the old golf course (refer to Table 8.2 for GPS coordinates).

Bent tree/track-marker tree

The stone arrangement in Figure 8.9 is in close proximity to the location of the destroyed ceremonial ground and in the immediate vicinity of a bent tree (Fig. 8.9). Bent trees have previously been observed along rainforest walking tracks and have been described as track-marker trees (Pentecost and Milne 1994).

The age of the tree is unknown but may be part of a 1930s walking track that was used by Jirrbal people, then living in the Millstream Reserve, who were allowed to cross the golf course to get into town (Duke and Collins 1994).

Subsurface investigations

The cluster of clearings described above and investigated in 2006, is located in the northern section of the Golf Links and was relocated using GPS coordinates recorded during the 2004 archaeological survey (Fig. 8.1: GPS1). Due to the delay in gaining access to the property for this research project, as well as organising permission from the Jiddibal Aboriginal Corporation to carry out subsurface investigations, a time frame of five days was allocated to complete the excavations and carry out a survey of approximately one third of the property. Six 50 x 50 cm pits were considered a sufficient and manageable size to address the aims of the investigation. The six pits were located 10 m apart along a 50 m transect crossing six clearings (Fig. 8.10). This method resulted in two of the...
pits being located inside clearings, two between clearings, and two just outside of clearings, thereby
testing all possibilities for subsurface archaeological deposits or features within the cluster. The pits
were excavated in 10 cm spits. The excavated soil was dry-sieved using 10 and 3 mm mesh. Soil
colour was not recorded due to time constraints.

Table 8.1 shows that charcoal weighing a total of 99.8 g was recovered in a layer 20–30 cm below the
surface in Pit 1 and 2.3 g of charcoal was recovered in Pit 4. No artefacts or other cultural material
were present in Pit 4. The origin of the charcoal is unknown and cannot be interpreted as a result of
human activity. Two quartz artefacts were recovered from around 30 cm below the surface in Pit 6.
The quartz is similar to the type of quartz that was described in the Urumbal Pocket stone artefact
analysis. A concentration of glass artefacts, approximately 20 x 20 m in diameter, was recorded on
the surface around Pit 6 (Fig. 8.1: GPS 2), and was collected and bagged separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pit</th>
<th>Location Description</th>
<th>Depth of finds (cm)</th>
<th>Excavated material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Outside clearing</td>
<td>20–30</td>
<td>Charcoal (99.8 g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Inside clearing</td>
<td>20–30</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Middle of clearing</td>
<td>20–30</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Middle of clearing</td>
<td>20–30</td>
<td>Charcoal (2.3 g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Outside clearing</td>
<td>20–30</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Part inside / partly outside clearing</td>
<td>30–40</td>
<td>Quartz artefacts (n=2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s data.

Table 8.2 Summary of the archaeological evidence identified on the Golf Links property in 2006
(GPS datum AGD66 UTM 55K) (see Fig. 8.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GPS Point</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Two quartz artefacts</td>
<td>338950</td>
<td>8051614</td>
<td>In subsurface deposit in Pit 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Glass assemblage</td>
<td>338951</td>
<td>8051611</td>
<td>Glass fragments (n=65) and one chert flake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>River cobble</td>
<td>338787</td>
<td>8051427</td>
<td>Isolated surface find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rhyolite core</td>
<td>338789</td>
<td>8051427</td>
<td>Isolated surface find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chert flake</td>
<td>338812</td>
<td>8051481</td>
<td>Isolated surface find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rhyolite flake</td>
<td>338709</td>
<td>8051305</td>
<td>Isolated surface find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Stone structure</td>
<td>338765</td>
<td>8051410</td>
<td>Square stone structure and earth mound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Stone structure</td>
<td>338583</td>
<td>8051309</td>
<td>Circular structure. WW2 relic?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Stone structure</td>
<td>338578</td>
<td>8051285</td>
<td>WW2 sniper pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bent tree</td>
<td>338765</td>
<td>8051421</td>
<td>Track-marker tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mound</td>
<td>338738</td>
<td>8051358</td>
<td>Probable golf tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mound</td>
<td>338712</td>
<td>8051354</td>
<td>Probable golf tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mound</td>
<td>338685</td>
<td>8051229</td>
<td>Probable golf tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Mound</td>
<td>338671</td>
<td>8051214</td>
<td>Probable golf tee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s data.

Table 8.2 is a summary of the archaeological evidence identified on the Golf Links during the 2006
investigations. It shows the UTM East and North values recorded for 14 GPS points followed by
a brief description of the archaeological feature or artefact represented by each point. Figure 8.1
illustrates where each of the archaeological features and artefact finds were identified on the
Golf Links.
The material culture record

Artefacts recorded in the 2004 survey

During the 2004 survey, unmodified glass fragments, flaked glass artefacts, glass fragments with potential usewear evidence and glass cores were identified on the surface of a slightly raised plateau-like area north of the golf course zone. In addition, two artefacts made of chert were located. Artefacts were photographed and recorded but not collected. Figure 8.11 illustrates two of the artefacts found in 2004 near the cluster discussed above.

Surface and excavated artefacts recorded in 2006

Six stone artefacts were found, with most collected from the surface. The attributes recorded for each artefact are the same as those in the Urumbal Pocket stone artefact assemblage. The 65 glass artefacts were analysed for indications of Aboriginal use using the definitions described in the Boignjul glass assemblage.

Lithics analysis

The raw materials represented in the flaked stone artefact assemblage are quartz, chert, and rhyolite. No outcrops or exposures of these raw materials are present in the immediate vicinity of the Golf Links. Rhyolite sources are available relatively closely, in the open and drier areas to the west of Cedar Creek (approximately 10 km away), whilst chert sources are located further away, to the northwest of the study area (see Chapter 5). The nearest known source of good quality white quartz, represented in the two artefacts excavated from Pit 6, is at a place called Evelyn, located in open sclerophyll forest approximately 15 km northwest of Ravenshoe (Fig. 8.12).

In addition to flaked stone artefacts, one worked cobble was identified on the Golf Links (Fig. 8.13). It is made of an unknown volcanic material and was found on the ground in the central part of the survey area (Fig. 8.1: GPS 3). This type of cobble is found in abundance in the Millstream River, which borders the eucalypt pocket to the west.
Two complete flakes, one proximal flake, one single platform core, and two worked cobbles were identified in the artefact assemblage. They were all collected from the surface in the northern section of the property, which is slightly higher in elevation than the golf course zone (Fig. 8.1). This is in the same area that the stone and glass artefacts, illustrated in Figure 8.11, were found in 2004. In addition, during a site visit in heavy rain, stone artefacts made from a variety of raw materials, including chert, slate, quartz and crystal quartz, were observed eroding out from a road cutting adjacent to the Kennedy Highway (personal observation 2004).

Not much can be inferred from such a small number of artefacts in terms of artefact manufacture or usage. However, the presence of stone artefacts corroborates the oral traditions about Aboriginal use of this eucalypt pocket before Europeans arrived in the area. None of the flaked stone artefacts collected on the Golf Links show any evidence of use. Usewear on the two cobbles suggests that they may have been used as hammer stones, one of them possibly in some sort of grinding activity. Flaking technologies used in stone artefact manufacture on the Golf Links include freehand percussion technology, where a hammer stone or other hard object is used to strike flakes off another stone (Holdaway and Stern 2004:11). This technique was used to detach the chert and rhyolite flakes represented in the Golf Links assemblage. The bipolar technique is also present on quartz in the Golf Links stone assemblage.

The glass assemblage

A glass assemblage made up of 65 artefacts was collected from the ground surface in an area approximately 20 x 20 m in diameter around Pit 6 (Fig. 8.1: GPS2.) The presence of glass artefacts in the northern section on the Golf Links suggests that Aboriginal people were in this area in the contact period. The glass artefacts are brown (n=42), clear (n=14) and green (n=9) in colour. Information
on sources of glass in the study area and on the use of glass in Aboriginal artefact manufacture in the contact period was discussed in Chapter 6. Table 8.3 shows the types and numbers of brown, clear and green glass artefacts represented in the surface collection.

Table 8.3 Types and numbers of glass artefacts in the surface collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glass colour</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Finish</th>
<th>Fragment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s data.

One artefact of a European origin that can be dated is a bottle base with a maker’s mark consisting of a large clover and the letters MBVC (Manufacturer Bottle Company of Victoria). This has a minimum date of 1903 (Boow 1991). The presence of glass artefacts may demonstrate Aboriginal use of the eucalypt pocket after European contact, which corroborates Mjöberg’s descriptions of Aboriginal people living at Cedar Creek in 1913. The glass assemblage from the Golf Links is similar in appearance to the glass assemblage from the Boignjul open site in that it mostly consists of relatively flat pieces of glass from the body of bottles. Artefacts average 48 mm in maximum dimension and range in thickness between 2 and 6.5 mm.

The edges on each glass artefact from the Golf Links were examined under magnification (7–40X) in an effort to distinguish between edge modification as a result of human activity, and post-depositional damage. The result was that 25 of the glass artefacts showed a continuous series of crushing (i.e. micro-sized) flake scars along one or more edges. Three artefacts appeared to have been deliberately retouched along one edge. A lack of post-depositional disturbance at the Boignjul open site, combined with Arthur Baillie’s description of Aboriginal activities in the clearing, led to the suggestion that evidence of usewear was present on some of the surface glass artefacts. European disturbance of the Golf Links, which include early cattle grazing, construction of the golf course, and recent ploughing could easily have created the edge modifications present on some of the glass artefacts from the Golf Links. Although the northern section of the Golf Links is assumed to be less disturbed by European activities, the impact from the construction of the golf course in this section of the property is unknown. For example, four probable golf tees were identified at the edge of the golf course and soil has been dumped in places, probably from levelling out of the golf course surface (personal observation).

Usewear analysis

To verify the interpretation that Aboriginal people may have used some of the glass artefacts, two of them were analysed for usewear by Richard Fullagar (2007). The study of a bottle base fragment (Fig. 8.14) showed that continuous flaking along one edge most likely represents deliberate retouch. The edge showed slight to moderate rounding and early stages of polish had started to form. The opposite surface has some small bending initiated scars and abundant striations, and it was suggested that the base was used as a scraper on a light to medium density (low silica) wood (Fullagar 2007).

A second analysed artefact is a clear glass fragment, probably originating from a jar or a bottle (Fig. 8.15). One edge has been continuously flaked, which most likely represents deliberate retouch (Fullagar 2007). The retouched edge is very steep at about 90 degrees but shows little or no rounding. Its suggested use was a scraping activity, but it could not be determined what material had been worked (Fullagar 2007).
Based on these results, it is possible that a further 17 glass artefacts in the assemblage have been used. The majority (n=13) of these have one modified edge, three have two opposing edges, and one has three modified edges. In addition, five of the glass artefacts were classified as notches and one bipolar core on brown glass was also identified.

**Summary**

Archaeological excavations did not establish the origin of the two clusters of oval-shaped clearings on the Golf Links. The possibility that they are the remains of Aboriginal huts cannot be conclusively ruled out but appears unlikely. It has been established that stone used in artefact manufacture on the Golf Links comes from raw material sources located at least 10 km to the west. Stone could have been traded or exchanged at the time of ceremonial gatherings or collected during hunting and gathering expeditions in areas west of Cedar Creek. This area is within the traditional territory of the Jirrbal people and dominated by open woodlands. The historical records demonstrate that the proximity of this grassy eucalypt pocket to rainforest and open woodlands made it ideally placed for an Aboriginal campsite and associated ceremonial ground. It has been established that at Cedar Creek Aboriginal groups would come together and participate in elaborate ceremonies in the wet season, with the local Jirrbal people hosting these events. Traditional rainforest foods were processed at the site, and probably partly facilitated these large ceremonial gatherings. However, the extent and nature of Aboriginal activities that took place at Cedar Creek in either the recent or more distant past is difficult to infer from the archaeological record.