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From Rambling to Elevated Walkways: Piecemeal Planning Histories in National Parks

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Abstract

From the late nineteenth century, ramblers, trampers and bushwalkers have been instrumental in the creation of national parks. Their advocacy combined interests in nature conservation with recreational pursuits, heralding the two competing and often contradictory purposes of national park estates. In Australia, protected wilderness areas were invariably repositories of sacred sites linked by networks of walking pads across landscapes shaped by millennia of Indigenous occupation. From the mid-twentieth century, new infrastructure was required in national parks to cater for the growth in tourism. In Australia, the state-based system of "national" parks resulted in an uneven approach to both the creation of protected areas and the design of infrastructure for the hosts and guests. This approach was in marked contrast to the United States, where the Mission 66 program – approved by Congress in 1955 – resulted in a decade-long programme of expenditure on infrastructure that established the reputation of their national park system, and ensured a systematic national approach.

This paper examines the piecemeal history of planning for bushwalkers in Australian national parks through a comparison of competing interests – the minimal needs of the self-sufficient rambler with infrastructure that caters for diverse tourism experiences. Australian case studies illustrate a contested but changing approach to planning for pedestrians in protected areas, from the making of tracks by volunteers and depression-era work gangs to elevated walks through forest canopies. A historical analysis highlights the changing attitudes to tourism and conservation challenges, now informed by greater knowledge of ecology and the belated recognition of Indigenous ownership and pre-colonial land management regimes. Threats to the biodiversity in protected areas suggest that

a planning approach, which combines multiple disciplines and interests, will increasingly elevate both the bushwalker and tourist in their experience of nature.

Introduction: "The Tremendous Danger in the Alienation of all Lands for Industry"[1]

The early history of Australian national parks owes much to adventurous recreational bushwalkers exploring unsettled Indigenous landscapes. The search for scenery, the therapeutic benefits of nature and the want of vigorous exercise coincided with the settler's increasing interest in native flora and fauna. By the late nineteenth century, recognition of these values in remnant landscapes led individuals and associations to lobby governments to protect area of so-called "wilderness."[2] This was particularly evident in colonial settler states where landscapes shaped by Indigenous stewardship had been cleared rapidly by settlers.

The protection of Australian landscapes largely followed the example set in North America.[3] Proclaimed in 1872, Yellowstone National Park represented a significant victory for environmental protection, but this first in the creation of national parks was rationalised and promoted as a reserve for recreation. Almost two decades would pass before the movement extended to Australia, with the National Park, south of Kamay, or Botany Bay, declared in 1889 (renamed the Royal National Park in 1954).

John Muir's lifelong advocacy for national parks in the United States was inspired by walking and climbing expeditions across Sierra Nevada and Yosemite Valley and effected through environmental publications and political lobbying. Likewise in Australia, the direct experiences of bushwalkers were integral to the establishment the early national parks. Associations of enthusiasts lobbied governments for the expansion of protected lands and management plans to improve conservation and visitor infrastructure.[4]

Consistent themes emerge around the protection of scenery, its vulnerable flora and fauna and the recreational potential of parks. The dual purpose of national parks – for both recreation and conservation – continues to create different types of challenges for planning of infrastructure, however the primary purpose of the first Australian national park was recreation. It included a deer sanctuary and a dam on the Hacking River for boating, with imported swans.[5] Many of these themes were apparent in 1906 when the Queensland Secretary for Public Lands argued before Parliament for the preservation of places that, "may not, from a purely timber point of view, be desirable to conserve," but "from a climatic or scientific point of view" might "become popular resorts … for those who desire to take a holiday… and know that they

will get pure air, good scenery, and country life."[6] Wary of the opposition his scheme might attract, he added, "I do not wish it to be understood that… I have any scheme up my sleeve for asking for a large sum of money for developing these parks."[7]

In Australia, the term "national park," first used prior to federation, is in fact a misnomer that complicates a uniform narrative of policy or planning. Unlike in the United States, each Australian state and territory gazette and administer their own national park estate.[8] The federally administered Parks Australia is also responsible for six national parks and 60 marine parks.[9] The creation of national parks has therefore been fragmented historically and spatially, reliant on politicians balancing public interest in landscapes set aside for recreation with other demands on lands of high conservation value.[10]

In the early 2020s, the national park estate varied considerably in area across the state and territory borders: from 8% of Queensland to 42% of Tasmania and 20% nationally.[11] In this same decade, planned increases in the protected areas, such as the international 30 by 30 movement, aligned with state agendas to increase the area of protected lands to mitigate threats to biodiversity.[12] The *Threatened Species Action Plan*, announced in October 2022, is part of the Australian Government's attempt to align with this international target.[13]

Likewise, state-based administration has been uneven, and dedicated national park services were relatively late in formation. The Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service (QNPWS), for example, was created in 1975 through an amalgamation of the National Parks Branch of the Department of Forestry with the Fauna Conservation Branch of the Department of Primary Industries.[14] National Parks and Wildlife Service in New South Wales arose from a similar administrative background in 1967.

This paper compares two Queensland national parks – both proclaimed in the early decades of the twentieth century – to examine the evolution of walking tracks across different periods and in different regions. Histories of Lamington National Park and Carnarvon National Park elicit contrasting approaches to visitor infrastructure, reflecting changing concepts of protection, leisure and technologies. Our focus is on the origins and design of the walking tracks. Who planned the walking tracks, for what purpose, and how has their design adapted to changing concepts of leisure and conservation?

The paper is based on preliminary research for a proposed larger study of infrastructure design in Australian national parks. This terrain is complicated by incomplete Indigenous histories of

these places compared to settler and administrative records, which provide evidence of the planning decisions. Yet prior to their dispossession, Aboriginal people used and maintained networks of paths that connected camp sites, resource sites and scared places. Explorers, timber-getters and recreational walkers followed these paths, some formalised as national park walking tracks, but most remain unrecorded. Despite Lamington and Carnarvon being named after British peers, the numerous Indigenous toponyms in each park are one register of their Aboriginal histories.

Lamington National Park: "The Scenery in this Area is Second to Nothing in Australia"[15]

Lamington National Park was gazetted in 1915 to preserve the subtropical rainforests and landscapes over the McPherson Range, located on the Queensland/New South Wales border just to the west of the Gold Coast. This mountainous area of 20,6000 hectares covers a large area of the Wangerriburra clan estate. Dispossession of the Wangerriburra and neighbouring Yugambeh clans began in the 1840s. While not the first national park in Queensland, Lamington is perhaps the most significant in the history of protected areas because of its three principal advocates – Robert Collins, Romeo Lahey and Arthur Groom – who were instrumental in establishing state legislation and the broader national parks movement in Queensland. The well-documented history of the Lamington Plateau, and its journey to national park status, highlights the ideas and advocacy leading to protected landscapes, and ongoing questions about the requirements of visitors.[16]

Robert Collins (1843-1913), who grew up in the northern foothills of the ranges at Mundoolun Station, served as the local member for the region in the Queensland Legislative Assembly between 1896 and 1898.[17] Corresponding with advocates of the US national parks movement – he had visited Yosemite in 1878 – Collins campaigned within parliament for recognition and protection of the uncleared McPherson ranges and used his presidency of the Royal Geographical Society of Queensland to promote their scientific value. He introduced the Queensland Governor Lord Lamington to the scenic landscapes in 1899, which was renamed the Lamington Plateau after this tour.[18] In 1906, after much lobbying by Collins, the Queensland Parliament passed an *Act to Preserve State Forest and National Parks*.[19] Collins continued to campaign for a national park across the Lamington Plateau until his death in 1913.

The Lahey family owned the very successful Canungra sawmill, in the northern foothills of the ranges. In his early twenties, Romeo Lahey's extended walks through the ranges inspired his plans for a national park that protected the subtropical rainforests. He lobbied the Minister for

Lands to create a much larger national park than had been proposed by Collins. In a precocious use of visual media, Lahey traversed the ranges with a camera in 1913, using the glass slides in townhall meetings across the electorate to persuade locals to support his petition for the National Park.[20] With 521 signatures, the state declared 42,000 acres a national park in 1915.[21]

The ranges had initially been considered “too rough and inaccessible for a national park.”[22] Lahey’s engineering background and local knowledge were put to use in planning walking tracks and designing roads to reach the park. With Arthur Groom, Lahey formed a company in 1933 that established lodgings at Binna Burra, an isolated parcel of freehold land in the national park.[23] The rude local timber buildings would become one of two well-known “resorts” within the park. During the building of Binna Burra, Lahey plotted and surveyed “his graded walking-tracks,” which guided the Binna Burra guests to the scenic features.[24]

In 1936, the state government announced funding for walking tracks and access roads to national parks across southern Queensland.[25] By the end of the year many future tracks had been plotted out in Lamington National Park. Lahey had crawled in and out of thicket gullies, up and down waterfalls and along the mountain ridges in his trial surveys. In 1949, Groom recounted:

> Romeo’s sympathies were with the old people who were beyond the stage of scrambling and crawling over dizzy heights and down into tangled depths. … the newly graded walking-tracks would enable the active to go further afield in their scrambling: and the walking-tracks would let the old people wander slowly through the bushland of fern and giant forest and brilliant bird and passing wildlife.[26]

Lahey designed the tracks to have a gradient not greater than 10% – a decision that would ensure accessibility of the walkways for decades. Having noticed that the Canungra dairy cows were comfortable traversing the foothills of the range, he decided a ratio of 1 in10 was the maximum incline for tracks suited to a range of walkers.[27]

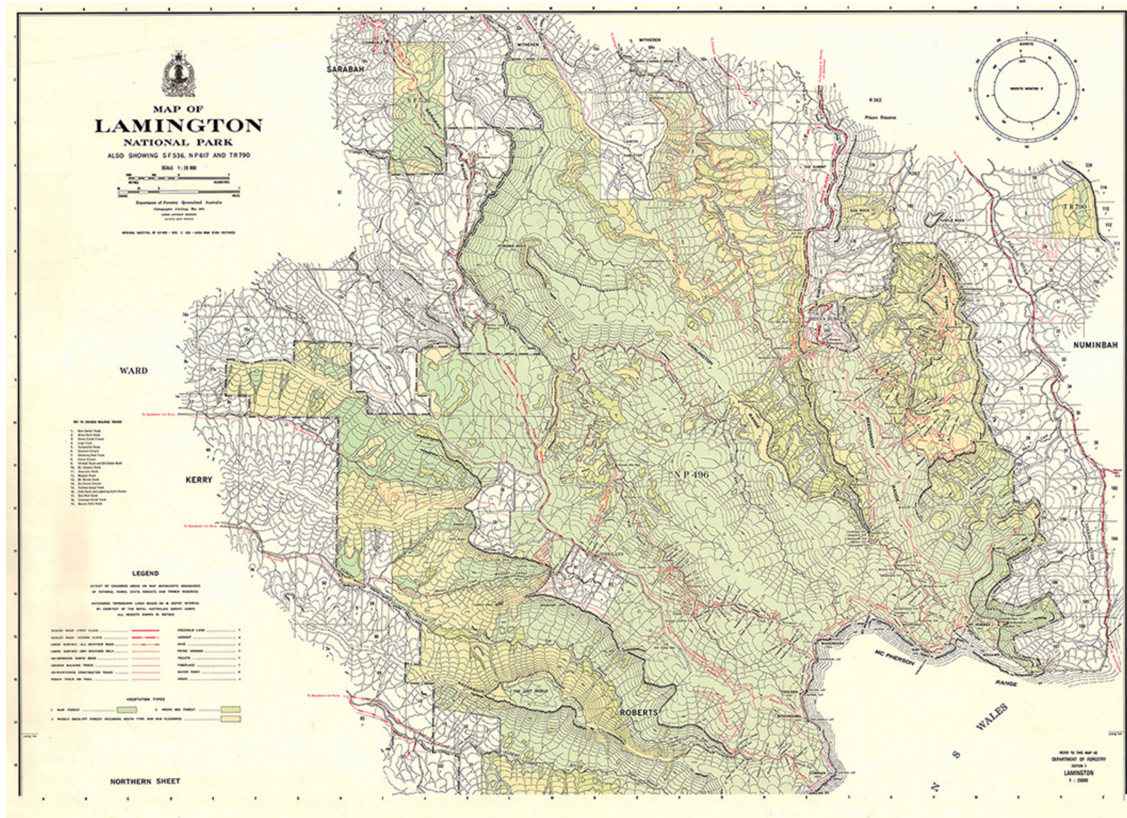

Figure 1. Department of Forestry Edition 1 Map of Lamington National Park, 1975, showing location of O'Reilly's and Binna Burra leases, guest houses, camping areas, access roads and 19 graded walking tracks identified via a numbered key. Hachured topography at 40 metre intervals demonstrates rugged landscape profile (Queensland State Archives).

From 1936 to 1945, Lamington accounted for just over half of the state's National Park budget, much of it directed from stimulus programmes during the depression years.[28] In 1938 relief workers were engaged in building tracks to lookouts and scenic features in Lamington National Park and they also completed construction of the arterial graded track between Binna Burra Lodge and O'Reilly's Guest House.[29] At the opening of the latter, one government official raised concern about overdevelopment of the parks – evidently more related to his concerns for return on expenditure than the impact of infrastructure.[30] Park expenditure peaked between 1938 and 1940, resulting in "over a hundred miles of graded pathways" before the war affected labour supply and reduced funding.[31]

The benefits of such investment were evident in 1939 when a party comprising of 50 walkers from the National Parks Association set off to showcase Lamington's newly constructed network of graded walkways. The *Brisbane Telegraph* celebrated that the expedition included "many novices with ages up to 60," on a trip that, until recently, could only have included

experienced bushwalkers. The new walkways not only broadened the accessibility of the track to walkers of different ages and levels of experience, but the "advanced walking track systems," were anticipated to reduce the journey time from two days to five hours, while still allowing for "lunch on the track and plenty of time for sightseeing."[32]

Usage declined during World War II, and the park reportedly fell into disrepair – due in no small part to the 1942 establishment of the Canungra Jungle Training Centre, located on the edge of Lamington National Park. With the blessing of the Park's trustees, the Army used parts of the park for intensive training exercises.[33] More than 100,000 trained at Canungra, known to many as "the greatest centre of planned discomfort in the world."[34]

Figure 2. Left, posing on a walking graded track, Lamington National Park, no date (National Library of Australia obj-146202316-1). Right, graded walking track through grass trees, Lamington National Park, no date (Queensland State Archive).

By 1946, over 160 kilometres of tracks linked scenic locations within the park.[35] Lamington's honorary ranger called for even greater investment in road infrastructure, accommodation and paid rangers. Anticipating resistance from the bushwalkers, he wrote:

> This may cause quite a stir among some, especially dyed in the wool hikers who frequent the park annually. Thousands of tourists will be invading Australia in the near future. They expect amenities offered by other countries, which cater for tourists.[36]

This discussion touched on many of the issues that had long been in play regarding the complex balance between the need to develop and protect, as well as the tensions between public and private interests. It also recognised the difficulty in introducing measures that would satisfy various types of park users, including scientists, bushwalkers and tourists.

After the war, Lamington National Park continued to grow in popularity with the network of tracks expanding to 360 kilometres. Popularity threatened overuse and degradation, presenting an enduring challenge of maintaining the network of tracks and signage in the mountainous region subject to high and intense rainfall. In September 2019, the historic Binna Burra Lodge was destroyed in a bushfire, a grim reminder of new threats to sub-tropical rainforests, a vegetation type classified by the absence of fire.

"Infinitely Better than Anything to be Seen in the Blue Mountains"[37]

Located in Queensland's southern central highlands, the landscape and extensive sites of the Carnarvon Ranges and its 130 kilometre-long sandstone gorge are highly significant to the Bidjara and Garingbal people. Their country is known as the "home of the rivers," and the extensive well-preserved rock art within the Carnarvon gorge further registers its significance as a focal cultural meeting place.[38] The dispossession of Bidjara and Garingbal/Kara Kara people began in the 1860s with the expansion of pastoral stations in the region.[39]

Although gazetted in 1932, at 750 kilometres from Brisbane, Carnarvon National Park remained isolated until post-war growth in car ownership improved roads to the region. Beginning with protection of the scenic gorge, the park progressively expanded to its current area of 300,000 hectares. From the late 1930s, the gorge attracted scientific expeditions that examined the natural history and tourist potential of the landscapes, which included extensive Aboriginal rock art. Unlike Lamington, the first recreational bushwalkers in Carnarvon were part of expeditions organised by institutions and the state, who reported their encounters to garner public interest in the remote park. The Royal Geographic Society of Queensland's expedition in the 1930s was presented via illustrated lectures to the public to promote tourism.

The scenery and vegetation were declared to exceed anything to be found in the Blue Mountains, with one well-travelled member of the party claiming it "compares favourably with

anything he has seen elsewhere." The party described encounters with Aboriginal cultural artefacts like those found in Europe, Asia or Africa. Some, they reported, had already been vandalised or removed by earlier visitors.[40]

With few amenities, the Country Women's Association constructed a visitor's hut in 1947, with accommodation and cooking facilities for visitors, and thereafter guides escorted tourists through the gorge. In 1950, the *Central Queensland Herald* reported, "In the rugged country of the gorge it is necessary at times to do some walking, but the views revealed to the climber make the effort worthwhile."[41] Access to the park, however, was somewhat inhibited by the poor condition of roads leading to it. In 1950, accounts emerged of 200-mile journeys taking more than 12 hours to drive, due largely to obstacles and poorly defined tracks.[42]

Figure 3. Members of the 1965 ministerial expedition walking across the dry bed of Carnarvon Creek in Carnarvon Gorge section of the park (Queensland State Archive).

The gorge and ranges were mapped in the late 1950s, recording many Aboriginal toponyms and identifying the significant art galleries. An expedition to the park in 1965 included the Tourism Minister John Herbert, experts in the natural sciences and commercial

representatives from transport, tourism and publicity. Photographs from both the 1959 and 1965 expeditions indicate that little infrastructure beyond unsealed gravel roads existed, and the party trekked with backpacks through dry riverbeds and visited the rock art galleries.

By 1973, pre-existing Indigenous paths were formalised and actively maintained as links between art galleries and developed facilities. In 2005, the increased amenity offered by a day-use facility and private campgrounds near the park led to a substantial increase in visitors to Carnarvon Gorge. High visitation led to unintended erosion of the relatively soft sandstone by visitor traffic, as well as more deliberate acts of graffiti and vandalism.

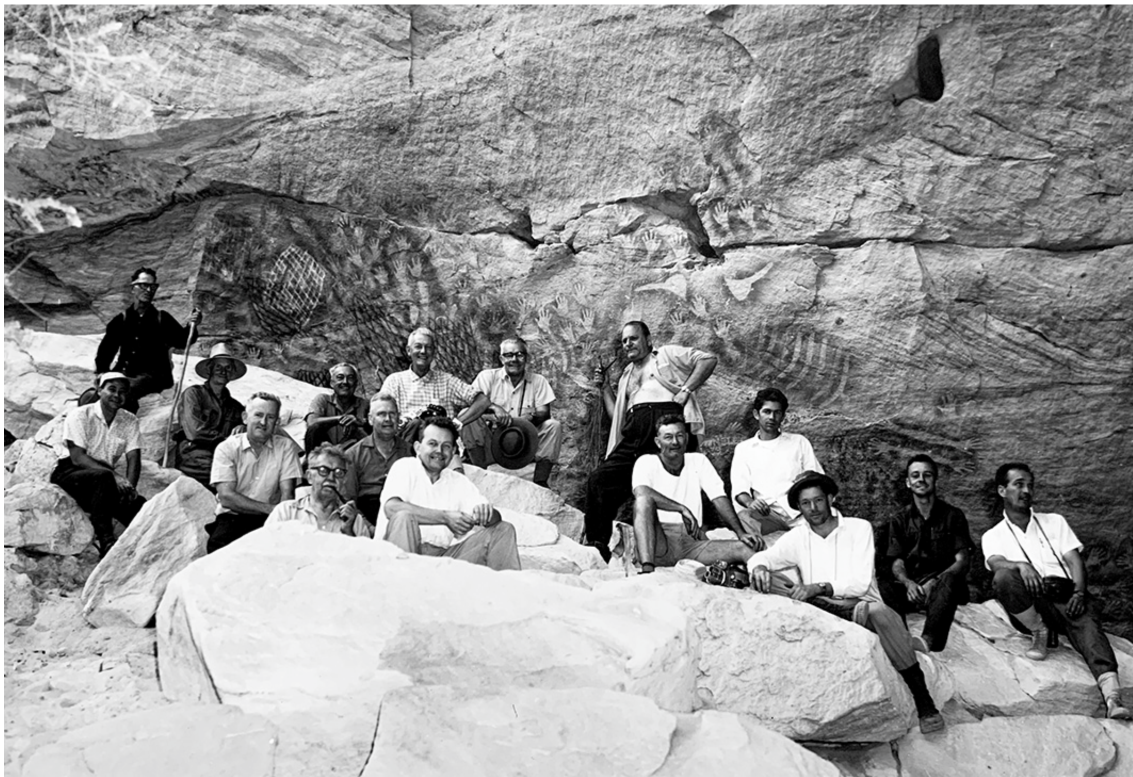

Figure 4. Members of the ministerial expedition to Carnarvon Gorge Section in 1965 at the Art Gallery (Queensland State Archive).

To protect the fragile artwork and terrain, in the 1980s Queensland Parks and Wildlife Service constructed boardwalks to control the route taken by an increasing number of visitors, and to reduce the temptation to touch the rock art. As archaeologists have noted, the boardwalks also "assisted in preventing the cumulative effect of dust from visitors disturbing the surface and its impact on the rock art preservation."[43] The measures were not entirely protective, as demonstrated in 2018 when plastic wood decking on a boardwalk in Carnarvon's Baloon Cave ignited during a bushfire. This caused an explosion that irreparably damaged the adjacent

rock art.[44] Marketed for its durability, cost and sustainability, the recycled plastic and wood decking was promoted by the Parks Service for structures because of its low maintenance compared to traditional timber decking. Subsequently, prominent archaeologists called for these kinds of materials to be removed from sensitive rock art locations globally.[45]

Boardwalks

The first walking tracks in national parks were planned to connect scenic places – walls of rock art, waterfalls, groves of Antarctic beech and vantage points for a sublime view. Changing landscapes between destinations provided a scenic journey, and both the path and lookout were essential to attracting a range of visitors. Not all national parks however provided gently graded tracks to their destinations. Miles Dunphy and fellow bushwalkers, for example, opened tracks in the Blue Mountains that were impassable without ropes and ladders, unaware of the well-trodden paths of the dispossessed first Australians.[46] As popularity of the parks grew after World War II, park administrators were required to balance accessibly and risk.

Over the twentieth century, infrastructure for walkers in Australia's national parks expanded from lookouts and paths to more elaborate structures including boardwalks and elevated walkways. Both costly and more conspicuous than the graded tracks, the elevated walks add variety to visitor experience, traversing wetlands and inaccessible terrain. Boardwalks are increasingly built to protect the landscapes from erosion, soil compaction and the introduction of plant pathogens through ground contact. Improving on Romeo Lahey's 10% gradient, more recent boardwalks also seek to improve universal access, and can serve as a form of passive control system. Despite the perceived long-term benefits to visitors and environments of a boardwalk intervention, this type of infrastructure is challenging to construct without disturbing the host ecosystem. Fire-prone landscapes and the reintroduction of cultural burning raise questions about the design briefs.

The 1987 Treetop Walk at O'Reilly's Guest House, in Lamington National Park, represented a new type of walking infrastructure for protected areas. Removed from the often challenging orienteering of the early enthusiasts, the elevated track has become the blueprint for similar types of infrastructure that alter tourism experiences of landscapes.[47] While the early walkways sought to manage the conflicting demands of the adventurous bushwalker and leisurely tourist, these more recent projects seek to appeal to the destination tourist – in some examples, improved accessibility may be part of the design rationale. The popularity of elevated walkways has resulted in an expansion of the type for protected areas around

Australia – notably, the Donaldson and Warn-designed Valley of the Giants Treetop Walkway in Walpole, Western Australia. Completed in 1996 at a cost of $1.8 million, the project represents a more ambitious and considered architectural solution to traversing the canopy. More recently, the $24 million skywalk in Kalbarri National Park was designed by Eastman Poletti Sherwood Architects and opened in 2020. The Kalbarri skywalk represents a considerable escalation of investment and infrastructure to attract nature-based tourism to the region.[48]

Planning Visitor Experience

As with almost any intervention in a protected landscape, these projects bring about their own sets of concerns, amplified by the growing popularity of national parks, their value as reservoirs of biodiversity and recognition as Indigenous cultural landscapes. Balancing these inherently conflicting purposes of national parks is a consistent theme across the history of the movement and will continue to challenge park administrators, conservation advocates and traditional owners alike in years to come.

Figure 5. Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park, 2020
(Photograph by Timothy O'Rourke).

Belated recognition of Australia's Indigenous ownership and stewardship of the land in national parks began to influence planning and management in the 1980s. Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park was handed back to the Aṉangu traditional owners in 1985. Despite the Aṉangu request to "Please Don't Climb" in the 1990s, many thousands of tourists climbed Uluṟu until

the track worn into the rock was finally closed in 2019. The fenced-off entry to the track is a reminder that the planning and construction of walks in national parks is still as much about controlling guests as it is about heightening their experience.

Endnotes

[1] Arthur Groom, *One Mountain After Another* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1949), 189.
[2] Recognition of Aboriginal use of fire to manage Australian landscapes indicates how little of the continent was not affected by these regimes. See Bill Gamage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011).
[3] Yellowstone, and its value as a tourist attraction, was cited as a precedent in the 1906 Parliamentary debates surrounding the establishment of the National Parks Bill in Queensland. Queensland Parliament. 1906. “Parliamentary Debates (Hansard).” November 7, 1906. https://documents.parliament.qld.gov.au/events/han/1906/1906_11_07_A.pdf
[4] For example, the effective advocacy of bushwalker Myles Dunphy for national parks in New South Wales: Richard Gowers, “Dunphy, Myles Joseph (1891–1985),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dunphy-myles-joseph-12446/text2238, (published first in hardcopy 2007) (accessed 23 July 2022); and P. Adam, “Royal National Park: Lessons for the Future from the Past,” *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales* 134 (2012): B7-B24.
[5] Adam, “Royal National Park,” B8.
[6] Queensland Parliament, “Parliamentary Debates (Hansard).” November 7, 1906. https://documents.parliament.qld.gov.au/events/han/1906/1906_11_07_A.pdf.
[7] Queensland Parliament, “Parliamentary Debates (Hansard).” November 7, 1906.
[8] The US National Parks Service set a high standard in planning and design in the post-war period. See Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).
[9] Parks Australia funds Kakadu, Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa, Norfolk Island and Christmas Island National Parks, as well as the Australian National Botanical Gardens in Canberra.
[10] Many of the larger coastal national parks along eastern seaboard have histories of sandmining or logging – on K ‘gari/ Fraser Island it was both. See, for example, Paul Sattler, *Five Million Hectares: A Conservation Memoir 1972-2008* (Mt Cotton, Qld: The Royal Society of Queensland, 2015), 17.
[11] Queensland Treasury Corporation, “Queensland Protected Areas Financial Sustainability Strategy Report,” unpublished report, 1 November 2018.
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[14] Sattler, *Five Million Hectares*.
[15] Petition to the Queensland Minister for Lands quoted in Arthur Groom, *One Mountain After Another,* 83.
[16] See, for example: J. Keith Jarrott, *History of Lamington National Park* (Brisbane: National Parks Association of Queensland Inc., 1990).
[17] Sally O‘Neill, “Collins, Robert Martin (1843-1913),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-robert-martin-237/text4905 (accessed 21 July 2022).
[18] “National Park,” *The Brisbane Courier,* 27 March 1930, 14. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article21505587.
[19] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 64-66.
[20] The state electorate of Albert was held by Robert Collins for three years.
[21] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 82.

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[22] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 77.
[23] Queensland Holiday Resorts was an unlisted public company.
[24] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 149.
[25] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 159.
[26] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 163-64.
[27] Thomas Lackner, *Discovering Binna Burra on Foot* (Sydney: Envirobook, 2000), 15.
[28] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 172-73.
[29] Claudius, “Happy in Full Time Jobs: Former Relief Men Look Forward.” [Letters To The Editor], *Courier-Mail,* 21 October 1938: 9 (Second Section), http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article38707734.
[30] Edward McKeown cautioned that in the US the previous year, expenditure of more than £4.5 million, had only returned £500,000 profit – a calculation that likely did not account for the full economic and social impact of the New Deal ‘s National Park-related programs. See “Keeping Our Scenic Beauty Safe For Posterity,” *Sunday Mail,* 16 October 1938, 40, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98000629.
[31] Groom, *One Mountain After Another*, 173.
[32] “New National Parks Walking Tracks To Be Traversed,” *The Telegraph,* 5 August 1939, 11 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article186296574
[33] Chas. J. Payne, “Lamington National Park Tracks,” *The Beaudesert Times,* 26 July 1946, 3, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article216079856; J. K. Jarrott, “The First 50 Years,” Romeo Lahey Memorial Lecture, 1980 (National Parks Association of Queensland, 1980), 7, https://npaq.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/RLML-1980-7.pdf; “Canungra-Jungle Warfare Training Centre,” *Australian Army Journal,* 80 (January 1956): 9, https://researchcentre.army.gov.au/sites/default/files/aaj_080_jan_1956_0.pdf. Arthur Groom, was among those who help train soldiers at the centre in jungle survival, by teaching them to identify edible plants. See “Troops who Trained at Canungra Called him ‘The Friendly Native’,” *Sunday Mail,* 15 November 1953, 20, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article100177603.
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[40] See, for example: “Aboriginal Life in the Carnarvon Gorge,” *The Wingham Chronicle and Manning River Observer,* 31 August 1937, 1, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article167096515.
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