

# The social construction of the John Forrest Australian Aboriginal ethnographic collection: past and present

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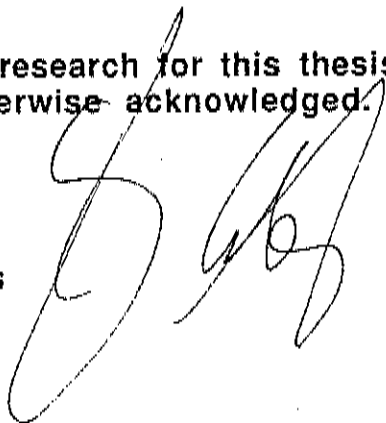
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All of the research for this thesis is my own work except  
where otherwise acknowledged.

Ian Coates

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'I' followed by a cursive 'C' and 'A'.

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# WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Railways shown Dashed  
 Telegraphs .....  
 Boundaries of Land Districts - - - - -  
 Routes of Steamships .....  
 Submarine Teleg. Cable - - - - -  
 Provenanced locations



Published at the Survey of General Office Perth W.A.

## CHAPTER 1 : THE PROBLEM

This thesis is an attempt to solve the problems involved in extracting information from museum ethnographic collections. Specifically, I examine how such collections may be used to provide information about human behaviour and its relationship to material culture. I further consider what role certain aspects of a collection, other than those embodied within the objects themselves, play in the social construction of an ethnographic collection. These aspects are the historical context within which the collection is acquired, and the museum practices which determine the collections' present form. I will show how knowledge of these can substantially affect the conclusions reached in the analysis of an ethnographic collection.

I have adopted a narrative approach in this thesis to show how my views about interpreting the objects in the collection have changed and developed as more information has been revealed by the research process. The thesis also incorporates a study of the attitudes of the people involved in the acquisition, and sometimes disposal, of the artefacts. Thus, this thesis considers the relationship between the growth of the researcher's knowledge about the collection, and the final outcome of the research. The proposition that objects are largely given meaning by the context within which they are viewed is central to this approach.

In order to explore these issues I examined the Forrest Ethnographic Collection of Western Australian Aboriginal artefacts. This collection was acquired in 1890 by what is currently known as the Museum of Victoria, through the services of John Forrest. Associated with the collection is information concerning the 'tribe' and location from which the artefacts were acquired, as well as information about the function of many of the artefacts. The collection had not been previously analysed.

The Forrest collection offered the opportunity to assess the value of historical data in interpreting a body of material culture. At the time the collection was acquired, John Forrest was one of Western Australia's most prominent public figures. In 1890 he concurrently held positions as the Western Australian Surveyor General, and Commissioner of Crown Lands, and membership of the Western Australian Legislative Council. Hence many records relevant to Forrest were archived, and his views on Aboriginal issues are well documented (Crowley 1971; Stannage and Goddard 1984).

Collections such as the Forrest collection are often seen as providing objective information or 'facts' about societies from which they were acquired. However, the nature of the collecting process makes the interpretation of the collected items



necessarily just as subjective as any written account based on participant observation. Both are "ethnographic fiction" (Clifford & Markus 1986:6).

Acquisition of ethnographic collections became a major focus of Nineteenth Century "arm chair anthropology" (Mulvaney 1958). This interest coincided with the intrusion of European colonialism into many areas of the world. By collecting objects as exotic souvenirs, European society was able to incorporate indigenous societies as the 'exotic other' (Breckenridge 1989). There was usually little importance placed on the need to collect information about the social context of the artefacts. Nineteenth Century researchers used these artefacts in cultural isolation to support theories about social progress (Chapman 1985). Thus the purposes for the establishment of ethnographic collections in the Nineteenth Century were seldom directly related to the research purposes for which they are used today.

Midway through the Twentieth Century anthropologists shifted the focus of their discipline away from studying objects (Kroeber 1947), towards studying the social practices surrounding the objects. Since this time research using ethnographic objects has predominantly occurred within the discipline of prehistoric archaeology. This has resulted from archaeologists seeing ethnographic collections as having the potential to provide them with 'missing data' concerning perishable material culture, and occasionally, descriptions of how these artefacts were used by the people from whom they were collected (McBryde 1978).

The analysis of both perishable (ethnographic) and non-perishable (excavated) material is aimed at the derivation of information about the processes of formation which determined the make-up of the assemblage.

In the following section I examine previous work on Australian ethnographic collections in order to show the directions and outcomes of such research.

Perhaps the best known early use of Australian Aboriginal ethnographic material is that of Pitt Rivers (Chapman 1985). During the latter half of the Nineteenth Century Pitt Rivers arranged his collections in order to illustrate his research into "the principles and the course of human cultural evolution" (Chapman 1985:39). At that time ethnographic collections were formed in an attempt to 'capture' an image of a culture in terms of its objects, rather than representing a level of descriptions of cultural practices. Due to the nature of this paradigm, there was little consideration of the context from which the artefacts had come. Instead, they were arranged according to the assumption of a pan-Australian homogeneous culture, with no consideration of differences in form due to age, location, or variations in function.

A more systematic research project using Australian Aboriginal ethnographic collections was that conducted by Davidson, who worked on the supposed diffusion of different artefact types and technologies across the Australian continent (eg Davidson 1934, 1936). His study was based on examination of Aboriginal artefacts held in a number of Australian museums, including the Museum of Victoria. In fact a number of the artefacts to which he makes reference are from the Forrest collection. A review of the more recent literature shows a tendency for research on ethnographic collections to simply produce catalogues of the contents of such collections. There is a lack of work which explicitly moves beyond the descriptive to an analytical, more generally applicable type of information.

Of the work on ethnographic collections which has been published, several dominant themes emerge, dependent upon the type of questions each researcher asked of the material. First, there are technical works in which collections are used to develop and test new analytical techniques. For example Buhmann, Robins and Cause (1976) describe techniques used to identify the species of wood used in the manufacture of artefacts.

Second, there are studies which use such collections to answer specific questions about the use and/or manufacture of specific artefacts. An example here is Wright's (1979) useful discussion of skin cloaks and rugs.

Third, there are catalogues of collections which seek to disseminate to a wider audience, information about the existence of different bodies of material culture. For example McCarthy (1958), Cooper *et. al.* (1981).

Less work is concerned with contextualising collections by investigating their historical backgrounds. The work done by Mulvaney (1983) and by (Cooper 1975) appear to be the only studies which examine these factors, yet it is these very factors which set the parameters within which specific questions are to be asked of the collections.

The different types of research, outlined above, are constrained by the content of the collections and by the way in which the contents are interpreted in the collections' accompanying documentation.

Previous research has been focused on only a few of the many collections held in Australian museums. The collections studied are usually those gathered by workers who provided detailed background information about the societies from which they were collected. For example, the Donald Thomson and the Roth ethnographic collections.

The majority of analyses of Australian ethnographic collections have been conducted during the course of honours theses (eg Sullivan 1964; Pickering 1979; Mulvaney 1983 and Block 1987). Apart from the work of Sculthorpe (1987) and Cosgrove (1984), there have been few higher degrees which have focused exclusively on the research potential of ethnographic collections. Much of the research which has been done uses ethnographic collections as ancillary to wider archaeological problems. Very few of the resulting theses have been published. Thus, much of the primary data relating to ethnographic collections is not generally available.

The type of research skills necessary to make use of ethnographic collections fall into a disciplinary domain between archaeology, anthropology and history (Sturtevant 1973). Whilst archaeologists are familiar with contextualizing sites within the landscape, contextualization of ethnographic collections requires a familiarity with the use of historical sources. Conversely, an historian would be unlikely to look at an ethnographic collection because of the way the discipline of history is defined (Chavis 1964:157). In any case, historians would not ask the same questions of the data as archaeologists do.

In order to move beyond simple empirical descriptions of such collections, and toward an account of the human behaviour that resulted in the material culture, it is first necessary to contextualize the contents of the collection within the processes which have shaped it.

**CHAPTER 2:  
THE SHAPING OF THE FORREST COLLECTION'S CONTENTS  
BEFORE REACHING THE MUSEUM OF VICTORIA**

The significance attributed to the artefacts present in an ethnographic collection is influenced by the relationship, or the perceived relationship, between the people who acquired the artefacts for the collection, and those who originally used and produced the artefacts. In this chapter I am concerned with locating the 'facts' about the acquisition of the Forrest collection from Aboriginal groups in Western Australia in 1889-90. I examine how this context of acquisition of the collection has structured its contents. Knowledge of such 'facts' is essential to any further analysis of the collection's contents.

My first impression of how the Forrest collection had been acquired was based on the small amount of background information held by the Museum of Victoria<sup>1</sup>. This information, including an inventory of the collection in the 1890 annual report of the Trustees of the Public Library, Museum and National Galleries of Victoria (P.L.M.N.G.V.<sup>2</sup>), titled "From Western Australia (collected for the Trustees by the Hon. J Forrest )" (P.L.M.N.G.V. 1890: 45), suggested that during the period 1889-1890, the P.L.M.N.G.V. had acquired the artefacts from John Forrest. This impression was further supported by evidence that the P.L.M.N.G.V. had paid John Forrest a fee of £100 in connection with the collection (Appendix 1c).

At a less pragmatic level, the aggregation of a number of different types of artefacts into such a 'collection' suggested to me that such a body of artefacts shared some similarity, outside the artefacts' formal qualities. These could include thematic similarity, similarity in regional location and/or contexts of acquisition. The title attached to the Forrest collection suggested that the artefacts' similarity was connected in some way to John Forrest.

Based on these impressions, I made the initial assumption that the collection had been personally acquired by Forrest, hence the collection's name.

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<sup>1</sup>This information had been gathered in response to an attempt by the W.A. government, on behalf of the Western Australian Museum, to have the collection returned to W.A. [The W.A. museum was only set up in 1896 (Meagher 1973:14), soon after the Forrest collection had been acquired]. The re-claiming of the collection was attempted on the basis that the collection had only been lent to the Museum of Victoria by Forrest. Research was conducted by the Victorian Museum to the extent of proving that the Victoria Museum had paid for the collection, thus legitimating its custody of the collection.

<sup>2</sup>The changes in the name of the museum currently titled the Museum of Victoria can cause confusion. The Forrest Collection was first received within the Ethnotypical Museum, which was part of the National Gallery, which itself operated under the auspices of the Public Library, Museum and National Galleries of Victoria.

## 2.1 THE ACQUISITION OF THE COLLECTION: THREE MODELS

Since, initially, there was no specific information about the context in which Forrest had acquired the artefacts, I inferred a number of 'common-sense' models for their acquisition, based on biographical information about Forrest (Crowley 1971; Forrest 1969). The choice of which of these models was the most appropriate to the Forrest Collection was to be determined on the basis of historical research.

Each of the three models resulted in different likelihoods about the ways in which individual artefacts were acquired. These different contexts could have resulted in different types of artefacts being obtained. Were the artefacts stolen? Were they found? Were they received as gifts? Were they bought or obtained through trade? (Parezo 1987:14-15).

### 2.1.1 Model 1: The artefacts chosen by Forrest from his personal collection

The first model for acquisition of the collection was that the contents had been selected by Forrest from his larger, personal collection, which he acquired between 1865 and 1883 during his years of periodic surveying and exploration in Western Australia (Crowley 1971).

This model allowed the possibility of examining the way in which late Nineteenth Century Australian-European society viewed and publicly represented Aboriginal society (Kuper 1988). At this time the ideology of Social Darwinism was at its height of popularity. It guided the ways in which many Europeans structured their perceptions of, and relationships with, Aborigines. Peterson (1985) discusses how popular photographs of Aborigines from the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century were ideological constructs. Subjects were arranged in poses reflecting the popular European perceptions of Aborigines as primitive savages, and highlighting weapons and fighting implements. McCall (1988) has also analysed how this selectivity in the images of Aborigines and in the content of ethnographic collections reinforced the myth of the 'primitive'.

The impact of such ideas in shaping the Forrest collection could be assessed through the analysis of its contents. In turn, this would reveal Forrest's 1889 perceptions concerning which items of Aboriginal material culture should be represented in an ethnographic collection bound for display in a public museum. Here Forrest's actions and choices would be assessed as representative of the dominant ideas of the time. Factors which Forrest may have been trying to stress in selecting artefacts from his own collection include which artefacts were important to

Aborigines, which artefacts were representative of Aboriginal society, and which artefacts were visually impressive.

### **2.1.2 Model 2: The artefacts acquired by Forrest in 1889-90**

The second model was that the collection was acquired by Forrest soon after he was commissioned by the P.L.M.N.G.V. in 1889. This model offered the attraction of interpreting the collection as a sample of artefacts gathered synchronically from different Aboriginal groups. Thus, in interpreting changes in the form and style of artefacts, changes over time could be largely ignored.

As with the first model, the relationship between Forrest's views of Aboriginal society (for example Forrest 1890, 1969) and the range and number of artefacts in the Forrest collection would be crucial in its subsequent analysis. Again, it might be possible to suggest ways in which his views had structured the contents of the collection.

### **2.1.3 Model 3: Forrest facilitated acquisition of the collection in 1889-90**

The third model of the acquisition, which I initially considered least likely, was that it resulted from Forrest's commissioning of a third party or parties to obtain the artefacts. An implication of this model was that direct historical information about Forrest and his relationship with the Aborigines of Western Australia would be of lesser significance.

## **2.2 EVALUATING THE MODELS OF ACQUISITION**

Detailed information available concerning Forrest's three major expeditions into the interior of Western Australia showed that there was no simple correlation between the areas in which Forrest explored, and the locations to which artefacts in the collection were provenanced (Crowley 1971; Forrest 1969).

Forrest's first expedition, in 1869, began from Perth and went northeast (Forrest 1969:17). His route did not traverse any of the locations to which artefacts in the Forrest collection were provenanced.

A map of Forrest's 1870 expedition from Perth to Adelaide, via the Great Australian Bight (Forrest 1969:74), shows that although he did go to Esperance Bay his route missed York and Mount Barker (Forrest 1969:87-90). No mention is made of the party meeting any Aborigines or seeing or acquiring artefacts.

With regard to his 1869 expedition, the Surveyor-General provided Forrest with the following specific instructions:

"I would urge you, in the interests of science, to make and preserve such specimens in natural history as may come within reach of yourself and party, especially in the departments of botany, geology, and zoology" (cited in Forrest 1969:22)

Given such instructions, it is likely that if Forrest had acquired Aboriginal artefacts during this or subsequent expeditions, then he would have documented them in his journals along with the geological and botanic specimens he collected (Forrest 1969: 325-327).

The route of Forrest's final large expedition, in 1874, was from the Western Australian west coast to the overland telegraph line in northern South Australia. Whilst it commenced at Geraldton, one of the locations to which artefacts in the collection were provenanced, again no mention was made of meeting Aborigines or of the acquisition of artefacts (Forrest 1969:158-160).

There was no similarly detailed information available about Forrest's years of surveying from 1863 to 1888. Although there may have been opportunities during this period for him collect such artefacts as are in the Forrest collection, there was no documentation concerning their acquisition, or their transport back to Perth.

In conclusion, it seems unlikely that the artefacts were acquired during the course of Forrest's three exploring expeditions. Forrest's period of surveying may have provided an opportunity for the acquisition of the artefacts in the collection, but the absence of documentary evidence makes it difficult to assess whether such an opportunity was exploited.

### **2.2.1 Forrest's movements in 1889-90**

My research into John Forrest's movements during the period from 1889 to 1890 suggested that he would have had little time available to travel to the different locations and personally gather artefacts for the collection. At this time he was heavily involved in political machinations that culminated in his appointment as Premier of Western Australia, in 1890 (Crowley 1971:201-236). This would seem to suggest that model two, that Forrest personally acquired the collection in 1889-90, was not possible.

The unlikelihood of Forrest's direct involvement in the acquisition of artefacts for the collection was further supported by the fact that the author of a detailed biography of Forrest was unaware of any mention in Forrest's papers concerning the collection (Crowley pers. comm.)

A number of events during the 1889-90 period could be directly connected to the acquisition of the collection. Forrest was away from Perth in, or en route to, Melbourne between 18/6/1889 and 3/8/1889 (Crowley 1971:211-12). I was unable to locate any information concerning Forrest's itinerary in Melbourne, but, as a result of his prominent position in the Western Australian colony, it is likely that he met Melbourne's civic leaders. Such meetings would have offered an opportunity to discuss the desire of the Public Library, Museum and National Galleries of Victoria for ethnographic material from Western Australia. This would have been done in the knowledge of Forrest's interest in Anthropology, culminating in his position as President of the Anthropology Section at the second meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1890 (Forrest 1890).

The problem remained; circumstances, and the title of the collection, suggested that Forrest was involved in its acquisition. However, the precise nature of this involvement remained unclear.

### **2.3 THE ACQUISITION OF THE COLLECTION: REDUCING THE UNCERTAINTY**

Thus my initial assumption concerning Forrest's role in the formation of the collection was incorrect. I located documents in the Victorian Public Records Office which showed that the artefacts in the collection were not personally acquired by Forrest (Appendix 1g). Rather, he had facilitated their acquisition by police officers in different police districts of Western Australia.

A letter from Forrest to the Museum (Appendix 1g) states in part:

"the total cost of the weapons etc was £33.12.6 and the cost of collecting has been fixed at the balance of £66.7.6 which on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Police and with the approval of His Excellency the Administrator, has been distributed amongst the constables in the respective districts within which the weapons etc were collected at the rate of about £2 to each constable."

As well as showing the limits of Forrest's involvement in its acquisition, this letter showed that the collection reflects the choices of approximately *thirty three* collectors, instead of those of a single individual, John Forrest. This has important implications for the way in which the content of the collection is interpreted.

The letter also indicated that all of the artefacts were obtained within a narrow period of time. Apart from the possible instances of artefacts being maintained in use for long periods within the Aboriginal societies (Schiffer 1987), variation in the collection due to change over time can be generally discounted in the analysis.



## 2.4 RECONSTRUCTING THE CONTEXT OF THE COLLECTION'S ACQUISITION

The discovery of the police role in the acquisition of the collection shifted the focus of the interpretation of the Forrest collection. Previously I had believed that an analysis might show that the number and range of types of artefacts in the collection had been structured by Forrest's views about Aborigines. Now, an examination of the relationship between police and Aborigines in each of the different locations from which artefacts were acquired became crucial in the interpretation of the contents of the Forrest collection.

A problem in examining the Aboriginal-police relations, is the small amount of primary evidence available concerning specific incidents of artefact acquisition. Instead, the approach used was to attempt to reconstruct these relationships by generalising how Aborigines and police interacted in different Western Australian locations, at around the time the collection was acquired. There was a danger here of subsuming variations in the relationship that resulted from fraternisation between individual police and Aborigines. This problem is later discussed in accounting for the unpredicted large range of artefacts from Northampton.

However, in general, it appears that the community expectations of those in positions of social authority, such as police, would have limited the ability of individual police to initiate and maintain more than superficial contact with Aborigines (Freund 1968).

### 2.4.1 The nature of the historical material

Primary historical sources have tended to focus on the 'frontier' situation of initial contact between Aborigines and Europeans. This phenomena has resulted in little published material about late Nineteenth Century Aboriginal-European relations in those areas of the Western Australia away from the frontier, particularly the southwest. From a reading of this literature, one almost gains the impression that Aborigines did not exist in those areas away from the 'frontier'.

The absence of such data cannot of course be interpreted as evidence of the absence of Aborigines from these regions (Rowse 1986:176). A more likely interpretation is that the absence is indicative of a stage in the European response to Aboriginal society. Aborigines were largely ignored, except in situations such as the frontier areas where the activities of Aborigines directly affected the activities of Europeans. This ignorance was such that

"they [Europeans] knew neither the number of tribes in the colony nor the position of tribal boundaries, let alone the nature of the internal structure of Aboriginal society" (Marchant 1981:5-6).

The political expediency of the *terra nullis* ideology (Reynolds 1987:167) was such that legally, lands were considered vacant before being occupied by Europeans. From such a perspective, frontier violence was re-interpreted, drawing on the tenets of Social Darwinism, as an inevitable part of the demise of indigenous populations.

#### **2.4.2 Factors affecting the Aboriginal-police relationship in 1889**

Elkin (1979:289) has suggested that Western Australia "began with and acted on the necessity of facing Aborigines with organised force". Marchant (1981:4) goes further to suggest that while there was an official policy of protection for Aborigines in the colony of Western Australia, it only operated within the "desire to maintain the social and political supremacy of the European race". It was most often left to the police, as enforcers of the European law, to articulate such policy during the course of regular interactions between Europeans and Aborigines. As discussed earlier, this would have been to the detriment of open and amicable contacts with Aborigines.

### **2.5 THREE REGIONS**

Although Aborigines throughout Western Australia during the post-contact period may have shared similar experiences of "social and personal subordination" with Aborigines across the continent (Berndt & Berndt 1979:xxii), at the time of the acquisition of the artefacts in the Forrest collection, this process was in different stages in different regions.

European occupation of Western Australia had begun during the 1830's in the southwest, and spread northwards, reaching the Kimberley's in the 1880's. In 1889, there was a continuum of different types, and intensities, of Aboriginal-European contact in different locations (Green 1981:117). These differences were a product of the duration of European occupation, the numbers of Europeans present, and the dominant European economic activity within a particular area.

In order to understand how these differences in the type and intensity of Aboriginal-European contact have affected the composition of the artefacts police acquired from each location, the twelve locations have been classified into three regions. These regions are based on the physiographic divisions suggested by Jutson (1914). Historically, European occupation of Western Australia began in the more temperate southwest areas and moved into harsher climatic areas later. This

gradual occupation resulted in the regions exhibiting differences in the state of Aboriginal-European relations in 1889-90.

The regions are the East Kimberleys, the Northwest, including Roebourne, Carnarvon, and Ashburton River; and the Southwest, including York, Esperance, Bunbury, and Mount Barker; see Map 2. The placement of the locations of Northampton, Geraldton, Dongara and Greenough within the regions is a problem, since they lie midway between the southwest and the northwest regions. Their placement will be determined by comparing the number and range of artefacts from these locations with the average artefact profiles of the northwest and southwest regions.

### 2.5.1 Region 1: The East Kimberleys

Towards the end of the Nineteenth Century, the East Kimberley region was characterised by violent conflict between Aborigines and Europeans as Aborigines resisted European occupation (Green 1981:116). The documented police role in these situations shows them serving the interests of the Europeans:

"the legal 'pacification' of the north was accomplished by the policeman, who travelled many slow and difficult miles with his 'plant' of horses and native boys, discovered the whereabouts of suspected offenders, pounced on their camp in the quiet hours just before dawn, and brought back on the chain as many natives as he could grab" (Hasluck 1970:110).

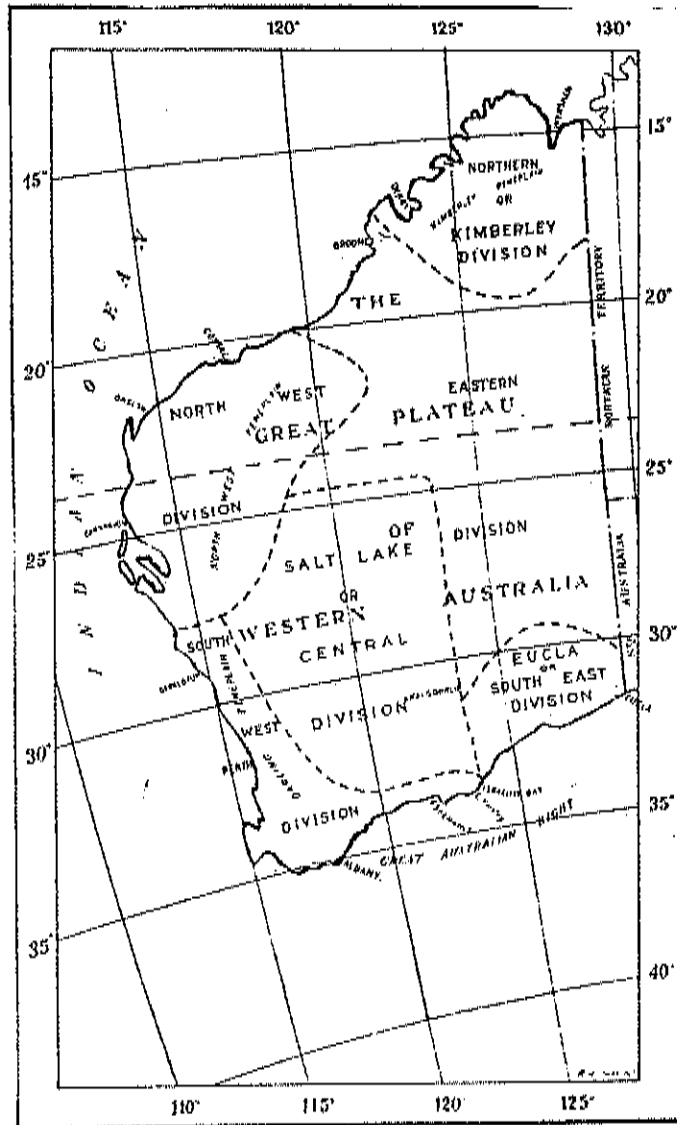
The Aboriginal response to this type of behaviour would have been, as far as possible, to avoid contact with the police. Thus it is unlikely that in acquiring the East Kimberley artefacts in the Forrest collection, the police would have had much contact with the Aborigines who were using or making the artefacts. It is more likely that they were acquired opportunistically, with no access to information about each artefact's specific social use or context. I have been able to locate only two accounts of police acquiring artefacts in the Kimberleys, both of which support this view. The first is from a police constable's notebook:

"...we then returned to their camp and got about 30 spears, and some shields, one axe, tomahawks, spears made of fencing wire for spearing sheep, and other warlike implements, all of which we broke and burnt" (W.A.L.C. 1888:9).

The second example of acquisition of Aboriginal artefacts, taken from a newspaper account of the day, also illustrates the absence of contact between artefact acquirer and artefact maker/user in the Kimberley region:

"The natives were evidently on the eve of a grand display, as in the last camp visited near the Panton there were at least 150 blacks. They must have collected nearly all the European axes that have been stolen from the whites. They also had

MAP 2: REGIONS OF W.A.  
(FROM JUTSON 1914)



Outline Map of Western Australia,  
showing the six physiographic divisions, with (in part) the  
corresponding peniclines. With the exception of narrow coastal  
strips, the whole of Western Australia is a plateau, called "The  
Great Plateau of Western Australia."

about 4cwt of red ochre, altogether it looked very much as if they intended to make a raid on some of the mines in their immediate vicinity. The police and party did not capture any of the natives, simply driving them away to the hills.; thousands of spears, axes, tomahawks and other warlike instruments were found in the different camps. The trophies brought back were two small boys found in a tree, no doubt left behind by their parents, and too young to look after themselves, a large number of glass and stone spears, beautifully carved spear heads, string made of bark, women's hair, and dog hair, Coolamans (boat shaped vessels for carrying water or infants in), and some beautiful pearl shells about 6 or 7 inches long....the party destroyed altogether about two tons of warlike material" (Annon. 1888)

These two examples reveal how the police's perception of Aboriginal artefacts was dominated by 'weapons' or 'fighting' types of artefacts. It is possible that in such a situation of overt violence between Aborigines and police, artefact production may have been concentrated on making 'weapons'. However, there would still have been other types of non-weapons being used.

The end result of this phase of Aboriginal-European relationships was that artefacts gathered in such situations are unlikely to approach anything like a representative sample of the Aboriginal artefacts in use at the time. Also, as a result of this situation, little or no information was gathered concerning the social context and use of those artefacts acquired.

In sum, I believe that the acquisition of the East Kimberleys artefacts in the Forrest collection resulted from opportunistic episodes similar to those quoted above. In such situations, both the range and number of artefacts available to the police would not have been representative of the complete material culture of Aboriginal society in the area. Further, the police's selection of those artefacts that were available, would have been conditioned by their preconceptions about the nature of Aboriginal society.

This interpretation of the relationship between the police and Aborigines in the Kimberleys is supported by the existence of a particular artefact in the Forrest collection. One artefact, a spear provenanced to the East Kimberleys, had a spearhead which had been made from a telegraph insulator (Appendix 1f). At one level, the raw material used in the manufacture of this artefact can be interpreted as evidence of Aboriginal exploitation of a new resource, introduced into the landscape by Europeans. At another level, this artefact reveals something about the relationship between the European occupiers and the Aborigines. The colonial authorities, because of the importance placed on the newly installed telegraph link between the north and the south of the colony, viewed Aboriginal possession of such artefacts as evidence of aggression towards European society. They reacted by ensuring that "even those in possession of spear heads made from insulators received two years hard labour with a flogging" (Green 1981:117).

The relationship between Aborigines and police in the Kimberleys region would have resulted in minimal amicable interaction between artefact acquirer and artefact user/maker. The police perceptions of the Aborigines as 'primitives', derived from the common Darwinian stereotypes of the time (Kuper 1988), would have been reinforced by the violent nature of most of their encounters with Aborigines.

On this basis I predict that police would not have had the opportunity to acquire artefacts similar to the non-weapon types of artefacts outlined in Chapter 4. In addition, there would be little opportunity or will for police to collect accurate information about the social context of the artefacts they had acquired. I suggest that the range of artefacts in the Forrest collection is not fully representative of Aboriginal material culture in the Kimberley region towards the close of the Nineteenth Century, for reasons which emerge directly from Aboriginal-police relationships of that time and place.

### **2.5.2 Region 2: The Northwest**

The Northwest region was occupied by Europeans at Roebourne in the 1860's (Hasluck 1970:104), and at Carnarvon and Ashburton River in the 1870's (Curr 1886: 306). Convict labour could not be used in the region above the 26° line of latitude because of the harsh climatic conditions. Thus the pastoral industry was forced to employ Aboriginal, mostly female, shepherds (W.A.L.C. 1882). A result of this was greater and more varied Aboriginal-European contact than that which was occurring in the East Kimberleys at the same time. Yet out of this contact developed new issues of violent conflict. These centered around perceived losses of stock due to Aborigines, and more frequent disputes between Europeans and Aborigines over women (Gribble 1987; W.A.L.C. 1882:5). Such conflict inevitably involved contact between Aborigines and police. Referring to the police's role in the Roebourne district, Hasluck notes:

"...even at the best the police could do little more than play the role of scarecrow in the Aboriginal field - terrifying figures at the sight of whom the marauder fled and the mischievously inclined postponed their little schemes" (Hasluck 1970:110).

It is unlikely that in such circumstances there would have been a great police familiarity with the intricacies of Aboriginal society.

The relationship between police and Aborigines in the Northwest region had developed from the initial violent 'dispersal' policy towards an antagonistic policy of 'control'. Open violence had become tempered by the need to use Aboriginal labour. Reflecting this, contacts between Aborigines and police had become more frequent, less explicitly violent, but still antagonistic. Thus there would have been some familiarity between police and Aborigines. It seems likely that this limited

increase in familiarity with Aboriginal society will be evident in the Forrest collection as a larger range of non-weapon artefact types than found in the sample acquired from the East Kimberleys. It should also be evident in increased information about each artefact's social context.

### 2.5.3 Region 3: The Southwest

By the time the Forrest collection was acquired, the southwest had been occupied by Europeans for over fifty years (Curr 1886:336). This greater duration of occupation, combined with the region's proximity to the administrative centre of the colony, resulted in a dramatically different Aboriginal-police relationship in this region.

Whilst the explicit, overt violence of the frontier may have passed, Aborigines in the region had begun to experience the covert violence of intrusive government legislation. Soon after the Forrest collection had been acquired this violence resulted in restrictions concerning the conditions of Aboriginal labour, Aborigines' rights to hunt kangaroos in 1892, possums in 1910, and their rights to keep dogs in 1903 (Haebich 1988:20-26).

A direct result of this was that southwest Aborigines' ability to pursue their previous economic activities, such as hunting, became more difficult as Europeans intruded into and altered the landscape, restricting Aborigines use of those areas. The proximity of this region to the administrative and population centre of the colony, and its more temperate climate, meant there was more European labour available and so less work for Aborigines. The end result of this was alienation of Aborigines in the southwest from the use of the land and a subsequent greater reliance on handouts from the Aboriginal Protection Board.

This resulted in more frequent contact between police and Aborigines, since police often acted as agents for the Aboriginal Protection Board in the distribution of rations and blankets to Aborigines (Haebich 1988:93). However this increased frequency of contact with Aborigines does not necessarily imply a more amicable relationship. As Haebich points out:

"Aborigines were either intimidated by the police or antagonistic towards them. Either way they could hardly look on them as their protectors....Promotion for police officers was not dependent on diligent and sympathetic treatment of Aborigines, but on factors such as the number of arrests and prosecutions to their credit ...There were few rulings from the Police or Aborigines Departments to follow, and new officers were socialized into their job by their colleagues, or were guided by their personal views. Ill-informed rumour and gossip in the white community often formed their introduction to local Aborigines" (Haebich 1988:93-94)

Bates' (1985) has described the existence of extensive trading networks operating between different Aboriginal groups in the southwest region at the turn of the Nineteenth Century. The the production of artefacts for consumption outside of the immediate domestic group, was not an alien concept. With increased familiarity between the police and Aborigines, it may have been that the police were unknowingly incorporated within the trading network, possibly trading food or goods for artefacts. Such a structured context for the acquisition of artefacts would have been in contrast to the contemporary situation in the northwest and Kimberley regions.

The result of the southwest region Aboriginal-police relationship is that whilst there may have been a greater police familiarity with Aboriginal society, it was still at a superficial level. In terms of the composition of artefacts collected from this region, it manifested itself in a greater police awareness of the range of artefact types being made and used by Aborigines. However, it is also associated with little detailed information about the social meaning or use of these artefacts by Aborigines.

In sum, although the range of artefacts and the quality of information varies, the Forrest collection as a whole contrasts with ethnographic collections acquired by more recent researchers (eg Donald Thomson) who, through more equitable relationships with the people from whom they were acquiring artefacts, gained both a large range of artefacts, and detailed social information about each artefact.

## **2.6 ASSESSMENT OF THE REGIONS**

I predicted that the relationship between police and Aborigines would be reflected in regional patterns consisting of both the quantity of artefacts, and the range of artefact type and the quality of contextual information gathered at each location.

Reflecting this, Table 2.1 shows that the East Kimberleys region is characterised by a low number of artefacts and a low percentage of non-weapon types, and that the southwest region shows a pattern of relatively high quantities of artefacts from each location, and a high percentage of non-weapon artefacts.

The results shown in Table 2.1 for Roebourne and Northampton locations were not predicted by the model and require explanation before assessing the patterning of the northwest regions and the placement of the Northampton, Geraldton, Dongara and Greenough locations within the regional structure.

The large number of artefacts from Roebourne may have resulted from the larger number of police stationed there. This would have allowed more opportunities to



**Table 2.1: Relationship between frontier region, number of police and the types of artefacts acquired.**

| Location       | No. of Police <sup>1</sup> | Total no. of artefacts per location | Quantity of non-weapons artefacts <sup>2</sup> |             | Frontier Region <sup>3</sup> |
|----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------------|------------------------------|
|                |                            |                                     | No.  | %           |                              |
| E. Kimberley   | 4-5                        | 15                                  | 0  | 0.0         | K                            |
| Roebourne      | 11                         | 37                                  | 11   | 29.7        | NW                           |
| Carnarvon      | 4                          | 14                                  | 1  | 7.1         | NW                           |
| Ashburton R.   | 3                          | 15                                  | 3  | 20.0        | NW                           |
| Northampton    | 3                          | 44                                  | 29   | 65.9        | NW/SW                        |
| Geraldton      | 6                          | 6                                   | 0  | 0.0         | NW/SW                        |
| Dongara        | 4                          | 9                                   | 0  | 0.0         | NW/SW                        |
| Greenough      | 2                          | 5                                   | 0  | 0.0         | NW/SW                        |
| York           | 5                          | 43                                  | 23   | 54.8        | SW                           |
| Esperance      | 4                          | 35                                  | 15   | 42.8        | SW                           |
| Bunbury        | 4                          | 29                                  | 10   | 32.3        | SW                           |
| Mt Barker      | 2                          | 10                                  | 4  | 44.4        | SW                           |
| <b>Average</b> |                            | <b>262</b>                          | <b>97</b>                                      | <b>37.0</b> |                              |

<sup>1</sup>From 'Report by the Commissioner of Police Force with criminal statistics for the year 1890' *W.A. Parliamentary Papers, Votes and Proceedings 1890-1 Session 1, Paper No. 42.*

<sup>2</sup>The basis for these types of artefacts is discussed in Chapter 4 .

<sup>3</sup>K-Kimberley; NW-Northwest; NW/SW-transition between Northwest and Southwest; SW-Southwest.

acquire artefacts. That the large number of artefacts is not associated with a large increase in the number of non-weapon artefacts, supports this interpretation.

The large quantity and range of non-weapon artefacts from Northampton is anomalous. The staffing levels at the station do not offer an adequate explanation. A possible explanation is that the large range of non-weapon artefacts, and the large total number of artefacts, may have resulted from an individual policeman's interest. This is supported by the fact that the artefacts from Northampton were the only ones which had specific information about the individual function(s) of artefacts. An example here is the three different functions recorded for the three different containers. Evidence for this interpretation of the Northampton data may be found in the police log books for the Northampton district.

The data presented in Table 2.1 suggests that the locations of Geraldton, Dongara, Greenough are more like the northwest than the southwest in terms of the quantity of artefacts and the percentage of non-weapon artefacts. This may suggest that the Aboriginal-police relationship in these locations was more like that of the northwest than the southwest.

Table 2.1 shows a relationship between the percentage of non-weapon artefacts which were acquired from each location, and the level of police 'familiarity', or the quality of the relationship between Aborigines and police, at that location.

## **2.7 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter I have demonstrated the necessity of analysing a Nineteenth Century collection as a product of the process of colonization. The Forrest collection is particularly rich in that it contains artefacts representing different moments in this process. Although collected at the same time, a spatial analysis shows a continuum of colonising relationships.

Out of this research into the 'real' forces behind the formation of the collection, I have shown that the contents of the collection reflect the relationship between the artefact acquirer and the artefact user/maker. In each location from which the collection has been drawn, this relationship is slightly different. Given this, I have suggested that at a level beyond these individual differences, there is regional patterning in the relationship, which reflects different stages in the colonising process.

In chapter 3, I will examine changes in the museum that have affected the collection, and again examine the commonsense view of what the collection represents.

## CHAPTER 3: THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE FORREST COLLECTION: THE ARTEFACTS AND THE DOCUMENTATION

Any ethnographic collection consists of both artefacts and their associated documentation. Such documentation should incorporate information about the artefacts both before and *after* acquisition. It may include details about the known or perceived use and function of objects, as well as changes to the artefacts that have occurred during their curation. A study of both of these components, object and text, which make up the Forrest collection illustrates the dynamic nature of such a collection, and leads to an understanding of the relationship between the range of artefacts in the original collection and the range in the analysis sample (Parezo 1987:7). Seen as such, the Forrest collection represents more than simply the material culture of a particular group or groups.

### 3.1 CHANGING CONTENTS

The Forrest collection, as recorded in the Museum of Victoria register, consists of 263 artefacts. However, only 183 artefacts, or approximately 70% of the collection, were analysed in this thesis. This reduction in the size of the available collection has resulted from the practical problems of curation, conservation and storage of ethnographic objects within the museum in the past and at present. These include both intentional events such as the exchange, donation and sale of artefacts, and unintentional events including destruction by insects and loss of artefacts. More detailed discussion of the events which have influenced the current form of the Forrest collection illustrates the dynamic nature of museum ethnographic collections generally.

#### 3.1.1.1 Artefacts as currency: exchange, presentation and sale

Many prominent ethnographic collections were originally established within the Natural History sections of museums where artefacts were curated in the same way as natural specimens; the aim was to possess a representative of each 'species' of artefact. Emphasis was placed on the possession of an example of each artefact type rather than considering the research value of a 'population' of the same artefact type. One result of this attitude was that 'duplicate' artefacts were expended in various ways; as a form of currency, to reward people, to obtain artefacts from other museums and individuals, and to help reinforce social networks between the museum and collectors.

The exchange of artefacts between museums and private collectors was a common occurrence during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries (Cooper

1978:18). In the National Museum of Victoria, exchange was used as a way of building up the range of artefacts in the museum's ethnographic collections (Pescott 1954:97). The practice reflected the perception of the value of such collections at the time.

Baldwin Spencer, Director of the National Museum of Victoria from 1899 to 1928, "...freely disposed of duplicate specimens for exchange arrangements with overseas museums...[C]rates crammed with Aboriginal items were dispatched as lures to museums, including the British Museum, Manchester, the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, and to institutions in New York, Florence, Genoa, and St Petersburg" (Mulvaney and Calaby 1985:250).

This social phenomena of exchange, presentation, and sale of artefacts resulted in the loss of nine artefacts from the Forrest collection. These are described below<sup>3</sup>. The details of each transaction, where quoted, have been taken from the current museum register.

A 'bone point' [x868] and a 'shield' [x1201] were exchanged with the Ethnographical Museum, Academy of Science, St Petersburg, in 1908. It is probable that these artefacts were part of a group of 160 which Spencer exchanged for a "Samoyed sledge, complete with harnessed reindeer and the costumes of a man and a woman" (Mulvaney & Calaby 1985:250).

A 'spearthrower' [x1172] and two 'spears' [x1640, x1645] were exchanged with the Field Museum in Chicago in September 1908. It is likely that these artefacts are some of those illustrated in Hambly (1931).

A 'spear' [x1624] is recorded as having been "exchanged P. Learmonth March 1912". 'P. Learmonth' was probably Peter Learmonth, who contributed a word list for the "Upper Wanna Tribe" near Hamilton, to Brough Smyth's volume *Aborigines of Victoria* (Smyth 1878 vol 2: 84-85 and 177).

A 'spearthrower' [x1153] was "exchanged with Baragwanath for New Hebrides club 2/1/10" The name 'Baragwanath' mentioned in this transaction probably refers to William Baragwanath [1878-1966], who at the time was a noted surveyor and geologist from Victoria. He later went on to become the president of the Royal Society of Victoria (Nairn & Serle 1979:167-68).

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<sup>3</sup>In this discussion, and throughout the thesis, specific artefacts are identified by their Museum of Victoria registration number in square brackets; and by an ascribed artefact type placed in inverted commas to indicate the arbitrary nature of such typologies.

A 'spear head' [x1211] was "exchanged W.S.Knowles 15/4/99". This artefact was one of nine artefacts given in exchange for twenty seven "Irish prehistoric objects" (P.L.M.N.G.V. 1899:24).

A 'boomerang' [x755] was "exchanged with savage club, Melbourne 30/10/06". My initial interpretation of this transaction was that "savage club" referred to a particular artefact type. However, further research revealed that the "Savage Club" was, and still is, a 'Gentlemen's' club in Melbourne.

An 'axe' [x841] and a 'shield' [x1204], were presented to the prominent Victorian stone artefact collector, A. S. Kenyon on the 14/9/1900. The presentation of these artefacts may have been in recognition of Kenyon's assistance in expanding the collection of stone artefacts held by the Museum (Mulvaney and Calaby 1985:251).

A 'club' [x1134] and a 'spear' [x1663], were both "sold by authority of Governer-in-Council 1/12/04". The purchaser of these artefacts is not documented.

The background of each these different transactions of artefact exchange, presentation and sale, reveals the wider social network within which the museum then operated. The currency of this network was artefacts and the fact that such a network existed reflects the Victorian society's interest in exotic primitive objects, *per se*, rather than the people who created them.

### 3.1.1.2 Missing artefacts

Thirty artefacts were recorded as 'missing' in the museum register. These consisted of four 'boomerangs' [x716, x734, x739, x759], two 'nets' [x793, x794], three 'circumcision stones' [x799, x800, x801], four 'decorated sticks' [x824, x830, x831, x832], two 'balls of ochre' [x897, x899], a 'woman's stick' [x1118], two 'spearthrowers' [x1155, x1157], and twelve 'spears' [x1609, x1612, x1613, x1615, x1618, x1632, x1651, x1652, x1657, x1659, x1660, x1669].

The location of eight artefacts was unknown. On the museum files these were usually indicated by a "?", and appear to be classified in this way before being finally pronounced as 'missing'. These artefacts were of four 'clubs' [x1124, x1135, x1137, x1145], a 'spearthrower' [x1197], two 'spear heads' [x1212, x1213], and a 'cloak' [x3812].

### 3.1.1.3 Damaged or altered artefacts

Two artefacts in the collection had been lost through destruction, or adaption to other uses. One of these had been used to replace part of another exhibit, a 'human

hair band' [x3834] "used on x5655 Central Aust.". With the other the wool on a 'wool twister' [x3825] had been partially destroyed by insects, and had been replaced by wool from another artefact [x267], brought in from outside of the Forrest Collection.

#### **3.1.1.4 Cancellation of artefacts**

Two artefacts had been 'cancelled'. These were a 'spearthrower' [x1163] and a 'feathered ornament' [x3819]. The precise meaning of this category is not known.

#### **3.1.1.5 Destruction of artefacts**

Two artefacts had been destroyed by insects: a 'waist belt' [x3837] "destroyed by insects 20/6/1901" and a 'ball of hair string' [x3829] "destroyed by insects 1901".

#### **3.1.1.6 Inaccessibility of artefacts**

Insufficient storage room for ethnographic material is a common problem in museums (Piggott 1975). In the Museum of Victoria, this has led to some unaccessioned material and large objects being temporarily stored in the aisles of the ethnographic store room<sup>4</sup>. This restricts the movement of the ladders necessary to reach the highest of the 3 metre racks on which artefacts are stored. This problem particularly limited the range of 'spears' and 'shields' which could be retrieved for analysis, resulting in 38% and 33% of these artefact types respectively being unavailable.

Twenty two artefacts could not be reached; fourteen 'spears' [x1607, x1610, x1611, 1620, x1641, x1644, x1653, x1655, x1661, x1662, x1664, x1666, x1668, and x1670], five 'shields' [x1186, x1196, x1198, x1199, x1207], two 'woman's sticks' [x1627, x1658], and a 'spearthrower' [x1180].

#### **3.1.1.7 Restricted artefacts**

Access to one artefact [x1119], described in the museum register as a 'sacred stick', was restricted because of its importance in traditional Aboriginal ceremonial life. The necessary permission to analyse this artefact was not sought from the Aboriginal groups concerned.

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<sup>4</sup>The planned move to a proposed new facility for the Museum of Victoria should alleviate these problems.

### 3.1.1.8 Summary

As a result of the factors listed above, only a sample of the collection was examined for analysis. Although Hogarth *et al* (1982:47) suggest that research using ethnographic collections "...is limited only by the range of the collections and by the imagination of the researcher", my experience suggest that the accessibility of material within collections, and a knowledge of the curatorial practises, are of equal importance.

### 3.1.2 The effect of changes in the content of the collection

It is important to determine how representative the 'analysis sample' is of the original collection. This was done by examining the range of locations of artefacts in the analysis sample compared with the original collection.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show the relationship between the artefacts in the 1890 collection, as recorded in the museum register, and the artefacts in the analysis sample. Table 3.1 documents changes in the representation of the artefacts from the different locations. It can be seen that the loss of 30% of the original collection has been fairly equally distributed across all areas. However, the East Kimberleys has been most affected, and Mount Barker has not been affected at all.

## 3.2 CHANGING DOCUMENTATION

Analysis of the documentation accompanying an ethnographic collection is of equal importance as analysis of the collection's artefacts, since it may provide details about the collection which cannot be derived from the artefacts alone. If the documentation is adequate, it will provide information about how, and by whom, the collection was formed, as well as details about the original social context of each artefact.

In addition, the documentation should provide information about the history of changes to the collection, such as those discussed above. Perhaps most importantly, such documentation includes information which is specific to individual artefacts in the collection. This type of information contrasts with generalised accounts about the use of artefact types which do not add to the knowledge about the social context of particular items. Such generalised accounts merely place objects within an existing framework, often leading to problems of circularity, because they confirm what is already known. The nature of the documentary evidence associated with the Forrest collection is reviewed below.

**Table 3.1: Numbers of artefacts from each location, both of the original collection as recorded in the museum register, and the artefacts examined in this study**

| Localities   | Original quantity artefacts/locality |      | Current quantity artefacts/locality |      |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|------|
|              | No.                                  | %    | No.                                 | %    |
| Northampton  | 44                                   | 16.8 | 30                                  | 16.5 |
| York         | 43                                   | 16.4 | 35                                  | 19.2 |
| Roebourne    | 37                                   | 14.1 | 25                                  | 13.7 |
| Esperance    | 35                                   | 13.4 | 24                                  | 13.2 |
| Bunbury      | 29                                   | 11.5 | 23                                  | 12.6 |
| Ashburton R. | 15                                   | 5.7  | 6                                   | 3.3  |
| E. Kimberley | 15                                   | 5.7  | 5                                   | 2.7  |
| Carnarvon    | 14                                   | 5.3  | 10                                  | 5.5  |
| Mt. Barker   | 10                                   | 3.8  | 9                                   | 4.9  |
| Dongara      | 9                                    | 3.4  | 7                                   | 3.8  |
| Geraldton    | 6                                    | 2.3  | 4                                   | 2.2  |
| Greenough    | 5                                    | 1.9  | 4                                   | 2.2  |
| Totals       | 262                                  | 100  | 182                                 | 100  |



### 3.2.1 Sources of documentation

There are three major sources of documentation directly related to the contents of the Forrest collection. These are:

1. The current register of the Museum of Victoria; referred to in this thesis as the 'register'<sup>5</sup>.
2. A list of the collection's contents written by Geo Philips, the W.A. Commissioner of Police in 1890 (Appendix 1f). This is referred to in this thesis as the 'police list'.
3. An inventory of the collection contained in the Report of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria for 1890. (Appendix 2). This is referred to in this thesis as the 'inventory'.

Each of these documents provides a slightly different account of the nature of the Forrest collection (see Table 3.2). By comparing them it is possible to go some way towards determining the origin of the information contained within the collection's documentation, and to assess the accuracy of the different pieces of information they provide about the collection.

#### 3.2.1.1 The Museum of Victoria Register

The Forrest collection was first entered into the register of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria on June 6 1890. At an unknown later date this register was transcribed into the current Museum of Victoria register. Comparisons of these two registers shows that the only difference between them was the addition of new registration numbers. The register which I used for this study was a microfiche copy of the current register. The original register is not included in the following discussion.

The entries in the registers were sometimes difficult to decipher. The spellings of unfamiliar words such as the names of 'tribes' and the Aboriginal terms for different artefacts were particularly problematic.

The types of information contained within the museum register can be classified as follows:

- a) the location from which each artefact was acquired,

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<sup>5</sup>This register is located in the Human Studies Division of the Museum of Victoria.

Table 3.2: Differences in the contents of the Forrest collection as reflected in the various forms of documentation which exist

| Location     | difference between 1890 report and police list  | difference between current museum register and police list     | difference between artefacts used in this analysis and police list   |
|--------------|---|--|--|
| Bunbury      | +1 corroboree stick   | -2 spears<br>-2 wool girdles<br>-1 hair band<br>+1 string ball | -4 spears<br>-1 boomerang<br>-1 spearthrower<br>-1 feather ornament<br>-1 cloak<br>-2 wool girdles<br>-1 hair band<br>+1 string ball                                   |
| Esperance    |   | -1 club<br>-2 spears<br>-1 inscribed stick                     | -1 boomerang<br>-6 spears<br>-3 spearthrowers<br>-5 incised sticks<br>-1 club  |
| Mt Barker    |   |  | -1 digging stick   |
| York         | -1 corroboree stick<br>-1 club<br>-1 knife<br>-1 shield<br>-2 letter sticks<br>-1 ochre ball<br>-1 head dress stick | -1 club<br>-2 feather ornaments<br>-1 fillet<br>+1 spear       | -2 spears<br>-1 shield<br>-1 spearthrower<br>-1 axe<br>-1 digging stick<br>-1 ochre ball<br>-1 club<br>-2 feather bunches<br>-1 fillet                                 |
| Geraldton    |   | -1 boomerang   | -2 boomerang<br>-1 spear   |
| Dongara      |   | -2 spears  | -2 shields<br>-2 spears  |
| Carnarvon    |   | -1 shield  | -1 boomerang<br>-1 spear<br>-2 shield<br>-1 spearthrower   |
| E. Kimberley |   |  | -5 spears<br>-1 shield<br>-1 spearthrower<br>-3 spearheads   |
| Greenough    | -3 spears<br>-1 spearthrower  | -2 spears  | -1 spearthrower<br>-2 spears   |
| Ashburton    | -3 spears   | -1 spear   | -7 spears<br>-1 club<br>-1 net<br>-1 hair ornament   |
| Roebourne    | -1 yandie<br>-1 hair ornament<br>-1 string ball<br>+1 unfinished net  | -1 yandie<br>+1 club<br>+1 net                                 | -1 boomerang<br>-5 spears<br>-1 clubs<br>-1 shield<br>-1 net bag<br>-1 yandie<br>-1 ochre ball<br>-1 string ball<br>+1 net   |
| Northampton  | -1 sacred stick<br>-1 digging stick<br>-2 spears<br>-1 ball of resin<br>+1 shield                                   | -1 spearthrower<br>-2 spears<br>-1 boomerang                   | -6 spears<br>-1 spearthrower<br>-1 boomerang<br>-2 clubs<br>-1 shield<br>-1 digging stick<br>-3 counda stones<br>-1 bone point<br>-1 sacred stick<br>-1 waist ornament |

- b) the type of artefact, often including a suggested Aboriginal name for the type,
- c) the Aboriginal group from which each artefact was acquired,
- d) a description of the artefact
- e) details concerning the function and manufacture of the artefact.

This information appears to provide an image of the material culture of the Aborigines of Western Australia at the time of the collection's acquirement in 1889-90. However, my research showed that the information contained in the museum register ~~could not be assumed to be accurate. In fact, information provided by the~~ original collectors was expanded, adapted and sometimes supplemented from a diverse range of external sources, after the collection reached the museum. Examples of this process are explored in Chapter 4.

### **3.2.1.2 The Police list**

The police list, compiled by the Commissioner of Police, was forwarded to the museum by John Forrest on May 15 1890 (Appendix 1f). The importance of this list in clarifying the context within which the collection was acquired was discussed fully in Chapter 2.

The police list included the district from which artefacts came, the name and quantity of each artefact type, and some general remarks about their use and manufacture.

### **3.2.1.3 The 1890 published inventory**

This inventory, Appendix 2, listed the collection under functional categories. It includes an Aboriginal term for each artefact, the tribe and the location from which it came, and some short notes on the function of some of the artefacts. As this inventory had been published (P.L.M.N.G.V. 1890), it was a useful aid in transcribing some of the handwritten information in the museum register.

### **3.2.3 Relating the available sources**

Table 3.2 compares the listed numbers and types of artefacts from these three sources, as well as in the sample analysed in this thesis. This shows that while there has been a trend for reduction in the size of the collection over time, at certain times the collection has grown as lost artefacts have been found within the museum. For example, some of the artefacts, lost during the period between the compilation of the police list and the 1890 inventory, had been found by the time the collection was entered into the museum register.

A comparison of the different sources of documentation shows the following:

1. Although the register included all the information in the police list; there were a number of types of additional information in the register which the police list did not contain. For example, the register provides an artefact's size, shape and wood type. All of this information could be derived from a visual inspection of the artefact.
2. For one type of artefact, 'counda stones', the register included a very detailed description of its social context:

"x799 - counda stone of metamorphic slate. Used by a tribe of natives whose territory commences about 60 miles from the coast in Victoria District and extends away out inland. Used to circumcize the young men. The edge of the stone is chipped before use to make it sharp. On no account do they use a knife in glass, for the work but only these stones. The aged men perform the operation. Eaw tribe Northampton W.A"

This information was not derived from the police list.

The uniqueness of such a level of detail about an artefact in the collection suggests that it was transcribed from another source. The "Victoria District" location is not given for any other artefacts in the Forrest collection, nor is it mentioned in any of the documents associated with the Forrest collection. It seems likely that this information was taken from another written source describing the context of similar artefacts in a different location. It could possibly be from one of Baldwin Spencer's accounts of Aborigines in Northern Australia, but this remains unknown. Thus this information is applied, rather than originating from the collection's initial documentation.

The earlier date of the police list and the high degree of correspondence between the information contained in the museum register and the police list, suggests that the museum register's information was largely derived from the police list. One exception to this was the absence of 'tribal' information, apart from the Minderoo 'tribe' from Ashburton River, in the police list. This raises concern about the basis, and thus legitimacy, of this class of information.

A possible source for this 'tribal' information suggested itself during my examination of the collection. I noticed that a small number of artefacts had different cataloguing slips attached (see example in Appendix 3). These slips were handwritten and appeared to be much older than the majority of the catalogue slips. They included information about the Aboriginal group from which the artefact was acquired. They also used different registration numbers from those used in the current museum register. It was possible that these slips were attached to the collection before being

sent to Melbourne from Perth. However, further enquiries suggested that these slips and numbers date back to when the collection was first accessioned in the Victorian Gallery, prior to the existence of the Museum of Victoria, and thus the 'tribal' information contained on them was added after the collection reached the museum.

I suggest that the information about the Aboriginal groups from which the artefacts were acquired was derived from E. M. Curr's 1886 tome "The Australian Race". It appears that curatorial staff at the museum related the districts mentioned in the police list (Appendix 1f) to tribal areas shown on the map in Curr (1886) (Map 3). My reasons for believing this are set out below.

### **3.2.4 Evidence supporting the Museum's use of Curr (1886) as a basis for assigning 'tribal' information to the collection**

1. Apart from the Minderoo 'tribe' at Ashburton River, all the 'tribes' mentioned in the Museum Register are the same as those used in Curr's discussion of similar areas of Western Australia. Importantly, Minderoo is the only 'tribal' name mentioned in the police list.

2. In the text of his book, Curr (1886:336-45) describes separately two groups. Curr's accompanying map these are grouped together within the same area (Map 3). The artefacts in the Forrest collection which originate from the York location are similarly grouped together and are frequently referred to as the "*Whajuk And Ballardong*".

3.. The only artefacts in the Forrest collection for which there is no 'tribal' information recorded in the Museum register, are provenanced to the East Kimberleys. The map in Curr shows no information about the names of Aboriginal 'tribes' in this area.

4 The spellings of the names of Aboriginal groups are the same in both the Museum Register and in Curr (1886).

5. In the 1890's, the Museum of Victoria was sending copies of *The Australian Race* to benefactors and donors, including Forrest, as a token of gratitude (eg Appendix 1f). This would suggest that at the time, Curr's work was considered to be a definitive work on Aboriginal social groups and their languages.

### 3.2.5 A re-construction of the method used to ascribe the collection's 'tribal' information

Table 3.3 shows that the ascription of tribal information to the twelve provenanced locations in the Forrest collection is not straight forward. The second column of Table 3.3 contains the names of the tribal areas, from Curr (1886), within which each of the twelve provenanced locations of the Forrest collection occur. The third column contains the tribal name which has been ascribed to each of the twelve locations in the collection. For seven locations - Esperance, Bunbury, Dongara, Geraldton, Roebourne, Greenough and Ashburton - the information in these two columns is different, a phenomenon which requires explanation.

In those cases where the geographically correct tribal name has not been used (Esperance, Bunbury, Dongara, Geraldton and Roebourne), Table 3.3 (column 2) shows that these are all 'tribal' names which do not include a 'native' (ie Aboriginal) name for the tribe. Further examination shows that the 'tribe' chosen from Curr's map for these five locations was the closest tribe, which did have a 'native' name (see Map 3).

In ascribing a tribe to the Greenough location, examination of Curr's map shows that the Greenough river flows through both the Champion Bay 'tribal' area, and the Cheangwa 'tribal' area. Once again, the 'tribe' which possesses a 'native' Aboriginal title is the one that was selected.

Artefacts from the Ashburton location were labelled according to the police ascription, as being from the Minderoo 'tribe'. Ashburton is the only location given an associated tribal group in the police list (Appendix 1f) .

On the balance of the inferential evidence presented here, it appears that the procedure used to 'assign tribal' groups, presumably at the Museum soon after the collection was received, was to consult the map of 'tribal' areas in Curr (1886) to see which 'tribal' area each locality lay within. This information was then entered into the museum register.

### 3.2.6 Ramifications of the use of Curr

Two levels of uncertainty are inherent in the suggested method by which the Forrest collection's 'tribal' information was derived.

First, there is uncertainty about whether Curr's map was accurately applied to the collection. From the above discussion it would appear that it has not. Accuracy in the provenancing of the artefacts from the Forrest collection has been sacrificed in

MAP: 3  
[EXTRACT FROM CURR (1886)]

NOTE.

Places where Circumcision is practised marked thus +  
 "The Terrible Rite" ○  
 both of the above Rites are in use ⊕  
 The numbers on the map refer to the tribes which are  
 treated under such numbers in the body of the work.

Scale, 100 Statute Miles to 1 inch

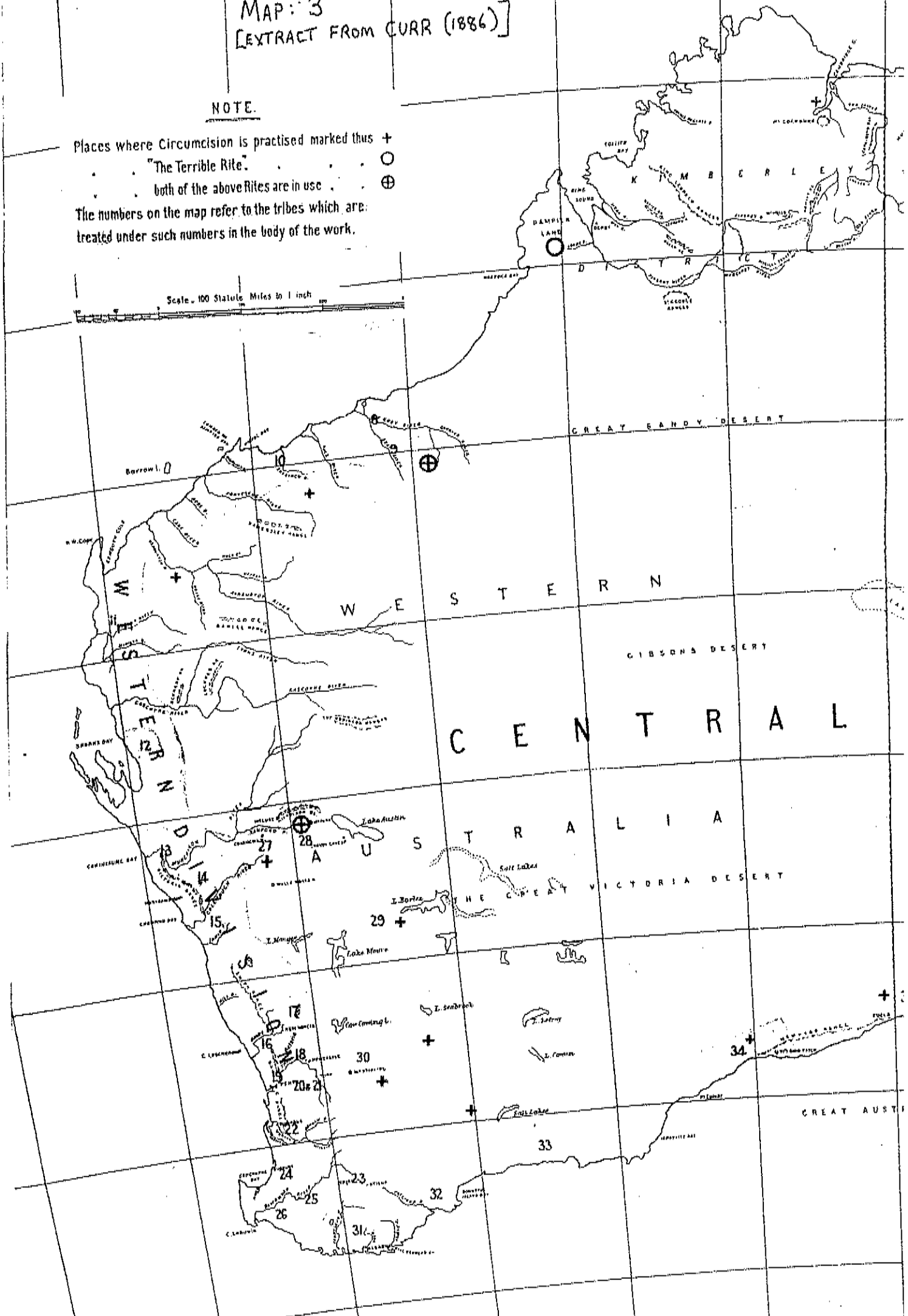
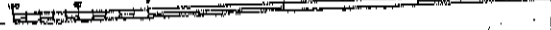


Table 3.3: Relationship between ascribed 'tribe' and geographically correct 'tribe'

| Location    | the 'tribal' area, from Curr, in which each provenanced location occurs    | the tribal area, from Curr, which is ascribed to the provenanced locations in the museum register |
|-------------|--|---|
| Esperance   | "No. 33.-From Doubtful Bay to Israelite Bay"<br>(Curr 1886:392)            | "No. 34 Eyes Sand Patch. Wonunda Meening Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:394)                                |
| Mt Barker   | "No.31 King George's Sound. Minung Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:386)               | "No.31 King George's Sound. Minung Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:386)                                      |
| Bunbury     | "No. 24.-Bunbury, Geographe Bay, Vasses, Udluc etc."<br>(Curr 1886:352)    | "No.25 Blackwood District. Kardagar Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:360)                                     |
| York        | "No.20 York District. Whajook Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:336)<br>&               | "No.20 York District. Whajook Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:336)<br>&                                      |
| Dongara     | "No.21 York District. Ballardong or Ballerdokking Tribe"<br>(Curr 886:342) | "No.21 York District. Ballardong or Ballerdokking Tribe"<br>(Curr 886:342)                        |
| Geraldton   | "No.15.-Champion Bay"<br>(Curr 1886:316)                                   | "No.27 Irwin and Murchison Rivers. Cheangwa"<br>(Curr 1886:368)                                   |
| Greenough   | "No.15.-Champion Bay"<br>(Curr 1886:316)<br>α                              | "No.14 Northampton. Eaw Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:314)   |
| Northampton | "No.27 Irwin and Murchison Rivers. Cheangwa"<br>(Curr 1886:368)            | "No.27 Irwin and Murchison Rivers. Cheangwa"<br>(Curr 1886:368)                                   |
| Carnarvon   | "No.14 Northampton. Eaw Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:314)                          | "No.14 Northampton. Eaw Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:314)   |
| Ashburton   | "No.12 Shark's Bay. The Majanna Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:306)<br>none          | "No.12 Shark's Bay. The Majanna Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:306)<br>"Minderoo" (Police list Appendix xx) |
| Roebourne   | "No.10.-Nickol Bay"<br>(Curr 1886:296)<br>none                             | "No.8 The mouth of the De Grey River. The Nguria Tribe"<br>(Curr 1886:287)<br>none                |
| E.Kimberley | none   | none  |



pursuit of a concept of 'authenticity'. This may have been a result of curating the collection for public consumption, where 'native' names would give an artefact a more exotic context, and hence more public appeal.

Second, the accuracy of Curr's 'tribal' map must be questioned. His work appears 'sound' in content; it has an authoritative style, it is comprehensive, and apparently manages to catalogue the complexities of Aboriginal society within a single framework. However, Barwick's research (1984) suggests that Curr undertook extensive editing of the information sent to him:

"The nineteenth-century gentlemen whose ethnographic publications influence modern research were not mere scribes: their jealousies, ambitions, loyalties and roles in colonial society shaped their inquiries and the content of their publications. They cannot be blamed for the ignorance which blinded them and others of their time to the complexity of indigenous concepts of identity and land ownership. But we should not forget that they wrote for a contemporary audience and their views were, sometimes, mere propaganda in the contemporary political context of Aboriginal dispossession...Recent reprints have made Curr's books widely accessible and his views are often uncritically quoted by modern authors unaware of their falsity. As Curr's papers have not survived it is impossible to assess his editing of questionnaire responses in his 1886-87 volumes; where his summaries and quotations can be checked against published material it is clear that he distorted sources in a most unscholarly fashion to support his arguments" (Barwick 1984:103).

As the 'tribal' information contained in the museum register is almost certainly based upon Curr's published work, distribution studies based on an uncritical acceptance of the register would incorporate inaccuracies into their structure.

Another problem in using the register concerns the use of its locational information. It is important to be clear about whether such information refers to specific places, or to larger regions. My research showed that the locations mentioned in the inventory were the names of Western Australian police subdistricts or stations (W.A.P.P.V.P. 1890-1). The magnitude of this problem is illustrated by a map of the Western Australian police districts. Map 4 shows that the Roebourne police district extended over an area which contains approximately 25 of Tindale's tribes (1974). Thus it is more accurate to consider the locational information contained in the museum register as reflecting the spatial organisation of the police, rather than the spatial distribution of Aboriginal groups.

### 3.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have reviewed the changes that have occurred in both the content and documentation of the Forrest collection, since it reached the Museum of Victoria in 1890. I have shown that both of these components of the collection have



changed. Further, investigation of the collection's documentation and provenancing, as contained in the museum register, has revealed that the meaning of such information is not what it appears to be. Clarification of what is meant by the spatial location attributed to each artefact suggests that these locations reflect European rather than Aboriginal spatial divisions. This necessitates a re-evaluation of the ways in which this information can be usefully incorporated into an analysis of the collection.

There is a need to establish an independent basis for the analysis of spatial patterning, using the artefacts themselves in conjunction with ethnographic sources. In regard to the Forrest collection's ascribed 'tribal' information, doubts raised about the authenticity of the information recorded in the museum register make its use invalid.

## CHAPTER 4: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE COLLECTION

The ultimate aim of using ethnographic collections is to understand the human behaviour which is both reflected by, and results in, the artefacts contained in such collections (Fenton 1974). My original intention in looking at and using the Forrest collection was to examine the relationships between material culture and Aboriginal social boundaries. This initial intention changed as my ongoing research demonstrated that the collection's contents and its documentation were not as they first appeared. This may suggest that the research potential of the collection was reduced, but this was not the case; establishing the limitations of the collection enabled a more rigorous analysis to be carried out.

In this chapter I present a descriptive analysis of the contents of the collection. Using the regions I set up in Chapter 2, based on physiographic and differing contexts of acquisition, I also examine how patterns in the spatial variation of the types and forms of artefacts in the collection compare with these boundaries. I then examine to what degree the congruences and disparities evident are due to human behaviour, or to the nature and history of the collection. From this I will be able to go some way towards isolating those aspects of the collection which are the result of the collection's history, and those aspects which are the result of differences in Aboriginal behaviour.

In order for the study to be of use to other researchers, including those who may not be interested in the specific questions I deal with, I present a descriptive inventory of the collection. This is composed of descriptions of the artefacts, their portrayal in the ethno-historical literature and some details of their manufacture.

The typology I have used in this analysis is based on the 1890 police list (Appendix 1f). This list uses both formal and functional properties to classify the artefacts. In instances where there are no formal differences between different functional types of artefacts, I have classified those artefacts using a separate formal classification. For example, the police list describes those artefacts I have included in the 'small sticks incised' type, as 'passport sticks', 'message sticks', and 'letter sticks'.

Using the typology outlined above, I have divided the collection, into 24 'weapon' and 'non-weapon' artefact types. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show the contents of the collection, organised according to artefact type and provenanced location. Table 4.1 shows those artefact types which can be considered as 'weapons', and Table 4.2 shows those artefact types which may be considered as non-weapons. This 'weapon/non-weapon' division of the artefacts, discussed in Chapter 2, is used to show how the relationships between the police, as artefact acquirer, and





Aborigines, as artefact users and/or manufacturers, differed from region to region and effected the composition of the collection.

Following this, the analysis of the sample of the collection which I examined, is divided into two sections. Part A analyses the five 'weapon' artefact types. These are the 'spears', 'boomerangs', 'spearthrowers', 'clubs', ' and shields'. Part B analyses the remaining thirteen 'non-weapon' artefact types in the analysis sample.

It should be noted that identification of species of timber used in the manufacture of artefacts was not attempted in this analysis because of problems encountered by other researchers who tried to do this (eg Mulvaney 1983). Where the species of wood used has been recorded in the museum register, this species is included.

## 4.2 'WEAPON' ARTEFACTS

### 4.2.1 SPEARS

The Museum register records 63 'spears' in the original collection. However only 32 of these artefacts were available to be examined for this analysis (Table 4.3). Variables measured were the length, the butt diameter and the maximum diameter of each specimen. Details concerning the presence or absence of indentations at the butt of each 'spear', the type and dimensions of any barbs, and the type and distribution of any decoration were also recorded. Facilities were not available to weigh the 'spears'.

Not all locations were represented in the sample of 'spears' analysed. Missing were 'spears' from the East Kimberleys, Geraldton, and Dongara. There were originally spears from each of these locations, except Dongara. The absence of any East Kimberley 'spears' was a particular problem since it was not possible to assess the trends emerging from the analysis of other artefact types, all of which suggested that the material culture of this region was particularly distinct from other locations in the collection.

#### **description**

The most obvious difference between the 'spears' in the sample was variation in the types of barbs displayed on the head of each 'spear', or the complete absence of barbs. Based on these variations, each 'spear' was classified into one of the following five formal types.

Type 1: Nine 'spears' with no barb (N). As with all of the 'spear' types in the sample analysed, except Type 5 (multiple wooden barbs), these spears had been manufactured from straight saplings, thinned to a point. The points were either oval or round in cross-section. Although the types of wood used were not identified (see discussion in the introduction to this chapter), the ethno-historical literature suggests a range of timber was utilised including 'Mallee or Mongup' (Hassell 1936:691), 'leptosperm' (King 1827:138), 'tea-tree' (Moore 1884b:45), and 'wattle' (Moore 1884b:78; Roth 1903:67).

Type 2: Eleven 'spears' with a single wooden barb (SWB). The shafts had been thinned down at the point, to fit a flattish, wooden barb against the shaft. The barb was attached to the shaft with resin. The eroding resin on one specimen [x1654] showed that underneath the resin, the barb was also bound on with sinew thread. These specimens are comparable with types mentioned in the ethno-historical



PLATE 1:  
(from left to right)

- [x1667] 'Spear', Roebourne
- [x1633] 'Spear', Bunbury
- [x1642] 'Spear', York
- [x1648] 'Spear', York



Table 4.3 - Analysis of spears













| Southwest region |           |           |                |                      |                      |                       |  |   |                  |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|---|------------------|
| Artefact No.     | Location  | Barb type | Barb size (mm) | Indented foot        | analysis length (mm) | shaft Ø (mm) max-foot | Resin Decoration   | Resin Decoration  | Resin Decoration |
| x1631            | Bunbury   | n         | N/A            | yes                  | 2478                 | 11.5-9.5              | 270mm band starting at tip, then 2 bands                     |    |                  |
| x1633            | Bunbury   | n         | N/A            | yes                  | 2416                 | 12-8.5                | 1 narrow band before 280mm band, then another narrow band    |    |                  |
| x1635            | Bunbury   | n         | N/A            | yes                  | 2388                 | 12-9                  | 2 narrow bands before 230mm band, then another narrow band   |    |                  |
| x1638            | Bunbury   | n         | N/A            | ?                    | 2348                 | 10.7-8.1              | 16 narrow bands  |    |                  |
| x1634            | Bunbury   | swb       | 35 x ?         | yes                  | 2429                 | 10.3-8.5              | 47mm band starting at 12mm, then 5 narrow bands              |    |                  |
| x1628            | Mt Barker | swb       | 36 x 11        | yes, resin & binding | 2396                 | 10.5-7.5              | 42mm band starting at 12mm, then 4 narrow bands              |    |                  |
| x1646            | York      | swb       | 28 x ?         | yes, resin & binding | 2256                 | 10.7-8                | 24mm band starting at 12mm, then 6 narrow bands & dark marks |    |                  |
| x1647            | York      | swb       | 43 x 10        | yes & scoring        | 2242                 | 11.3-8                | 36mm band starting at 16mm, then 4 narrow bands              |   |                  |
| x1648            | York      | swb       | 27 x 9         | yes, resin & binding | 2230                 | 10.5-8.5              | 60mm band starting at tip, then 2 narrow bands               |  |                  |
| x1649            | York      | swb       | 35 x 11        | yes                  | 2231                 | 10.5-8                | 51mm band starting at 8mm, then 3 narrow bands               |  |                  |
| x1650            | York      | swb       | 43 x 13        | yes                  | 2223                 | 11.7-8.7              | 55mm band starting at 7mm, then 7 narrow bands               |  |                  |
| x1636            | Bunbury   | srgb      | N/A            | yes & binding        | 2322                 | 10.8-8                | 240mm band starting at tip, then 1 narrow band               |  |                  |

Table 4.3 cont.









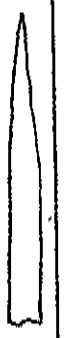










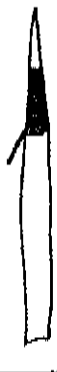
| Southwest region cont. |              |           |                |               |                   |                       |   |   |  |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| Artefact No.           | Location     | barb type | barb size (mm) | indented foot | shaft length (mm) | shaft Ø (mm) max-foot | Resin Decoration  | Resin Decoration  |  |
| x1637                  | Bunbury      | srgb      | N/A            | yes           | 2398              | 13.5-12               |    | 2 narrow bands, then 220mm band starting at 12mm, then 1 narrow band  |  |
| x1639                  | Bunbury      | srgb      | N/A            |               | 2306              | 11-9                  |    | 185mm band starting at tip, then 2 narrow bands                       |  |
| x1629                  | Mt Barker    | srgb      | N/A            | ?             | 2369              | 10.5-9                |    | 168mm band starting at 7mm  |  |
| x1642                  | York         | srgb      | N/A            | yes           | 2420              | 11-8.5                |    | 190mm band starting at 14mm   |  |
| x1643                  | York         | srgb      | N/A            | yes           | 2338              | 11-7.5                |    | 160mm band starting at 6mm, then 1 narrow band                        |  |
| x13041                 | York         | srgb      | N/A            | yes           | 2385              | 11-8.5                |    | 2 narrow bands, then 179mm band starting at 15mm, then 2 narrow bands |  |
| x1614                  | Ashburton R. | swb       | 40x17          | yes           | 2766              | 14 - 7.5              |   | 200mm band starting at 15mm from tip                                  |  |
| x1616                  | Ashburton R. | swb       | ?              | yes           | 2608              | 14 - 8.8              |  | 159mm band starting at 17mm from tip                                  |  |
| x1665                  | Roeboorne    | rwb       | N/A            | yes           | 3800              | 16.5 - 9              |  | none  |  |
| x1667                  | Roeboorne    | rwb       | N/A            | no            | 3402              | 23 - ?                |  | none  |  |
| x1619                  | Esperance    | n         | N/A            | yes           | 3145              | 15.5 - 9.5            |  | none  |  |
| x1623                  | Esperance    | n         | N/A            | yes           | 1955              | 12-6.2                |  | none  |  |

Table 4.3 cont.

| artefact no. | location    | barb type | barb size (mm) | Indented foot | analysis length (mm) | shaft Ø (mm) max-foot | Resin Decoration   |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| x1625        | Esperance   | n         | N/A            | yes           | 1701                 | 10.5-6.5              | none<br>  |
| x1626        | Esperance   | n         | N/A            | no            | 1885                 | 11.1-?                | none<br>  |
| x1621        | Esperance   | swb       | 15 x 7         | no            | 2865                 | 13.5-11.5             | 34mm band starting at 8mm<br>   |
| x1622        | Esperance   | srgb      | N/A            | yes           | 2071                 | 10.5-6.5              | 215mm band starting at tip<br>  |
| x1608        | Carmarvon   | dirgb     | N/A            | yes           | 2282                 | 15.5-15.5*            | 200mm band starting at 45mm<br>   |
| x1671        | Greenough   | srgb      | N/A            | yes & bound   | 2313                 | 11-8                  | 1 narrow band, then 211mm band starting at 21mm, then 1 narrow band<br> |
| x1656        | Northampton | n         | N/A            | yes & scored  | 2605                 | ?-10                  | none<br>  |
| x1654        | Northampton | swb       | 36 x 13        | yes           | 2815                 | 15.1-9                | 72mm band starting at 8mm<br>   |

literature For example, Nind (1831:26), Hassell (1936:691), Hammond (1933:33), and Gilbert (1906 :34).

Type 3: Two 'spears' with multiple wooden barbs (MWB), both from Roebourne. The larger size and composite structure of these specimens clearly distinguished them from all other 'spears' in the sample. They were composed of a solid head, out of which has been carved sets of wooden barbs. The head had been attached to the spear shaft using a complex inter-digitating joint, which had then been spliced over. Different types of wood are used for each part. The literature suggests that specimens of this type of spear, in other ethnographic collections, have been provenanced to Ashburton (Hambly 1931:13 fig 7d) and Carnarvon (Davidson 1943:64).

Type 4: Nine 'spears' with a single row of glass barbs (SRGB). The clear or green glass barbs (<15mm long) have been inserted in a band of dark brown to black resin. A similar-coloured resin has been used on each spear. A problem in the analysis of the size and number of the barbs was that over time, the barbs appear to be eroding out of the resin, often leaving holes rather than barbs.

Type 5: One 'spear' with a double row of quartz barbs (DRQB). This spear [x1608], from Carnarvon, was the only specimen which had two rows of resin ridges. Although there were no barbs, the resin contained embedded residual quartz fragments. This indicated that the barbs were originally quartz, making it the only 'spear' which utilised quartz rather than glass. One possible explanation for this difference is that the 'spear' is older than those with glass barbs. The 'spear' was also different from all other 'spears' in that it has a 548mm hollow extension spliced onto the butt.

#### **variation within the sample**

The relationship between the different types of 'spear' and their provenanced locations is presented in Table 4.3.

Analysis of the differences in spears between the regions discussed in the introduction to the analysis, was problematic because of the absence of any 'spears' from the East Kimberley region, and the relatively small number of 'spears' from the northwest region.

Instead, the approach used was to determine whether the southwest region, as reflected in the analysis of the spearthrowers, was reflected in the patterning of the 'spears' in the sample. A further goal was to clarify the relationship between the proposed southwest region, and the locations on the margin of the region—

Esperance, Geraldton, etc. In order to do this, 'spears' from the southwest region were analysed separately for each variable, to determine whether the region exhibited clustering. Equivalent variables on other 'spears' from the other locations were then compared with the southwest regional data.

### **length**

The lengths of the eighteen 'spears' from the southwest region were found to be tightly clustered, with an average of 2343mm and a range of 2223 to 2478mm. This similarity in length was irrespective of barb type and indicates that within the southwest region, the length of a spear was independent of the type of barb used on the head of the 'spear'. This suggests that any 'spear' shaft could be used for any of the different types of 'spear', with decisions about the kind of barbs applied to a shaft being independent of decisions about the size of the shaft. Comparison of these results with the lengths of spears from other locations (see Table 4.3) is interesting. Carnarvon and Greenough spear lengths fitted into the southwest regional range. Northampton; Roebourne and Ashburton were all distinctly longer. Esperance had four shorter and two longer. From these results it was concluded that in terms of spear lengths, spears from the southwest and Carnarvon were different from the rest.

### **indented butts**

Based on Davidson's (1934:43) work, Palter (1977:162-3) suggested that spears can be divided into two categories dependent upon the way in which they are launched. These are hand thrown spears as opposed to spears launched using a spearthrower (Palter 1977:162-3). He classified spears into these categories on the basis of whether the butt of the projectile was plain or exhibited a "carved indentation or a reinforced natural concavity intended for the insertion of a spearthrower peg" (Palter 1977:163). Of the 'spears' examined here only three did not have a concave butt.

### **barb type-glass**

The problem of the small sample size of this 'spear' type was compounded by my being unable to accurately determine the size of the glass barbs, since they were embedded in resin. I attempted to determine if there was any regular patterning in the width of the resin band into which the barbs were embedded. The average width of resin for 'spears' in the southwest region was 192mm, with a range between 160-240mm. Since this did not represent a pattern of tight clustering, and since the resin band widths for all other locations fitted into this range, I concluded

that there was no correlation between location and the width of resin within which the glass barbs were embedded.

### **barb type-wooden**

Similarly, there was no relation between the size (length and width) of the wooden barbs and a 'spear's' provenance. One feature which did stand out was the markedly smaller size of the only wooden-barbed 'spear' from Esperance. Whilst the uniqueness of this 'spear' makes it problematic to generalise, it is suggestive of a difference between the formal patterning of 'spears' from Esperance and the other locations in the southwest region. Another feature of this specimen [x1621] was that the timber used for the shaft was different from other specimens. It was heavier, a different colour and very straight. It was similar to a length of European manufactured dowelling and may be an example of the adoption of European materials for use in Aboriginal artefacts.

### **shaft diameter (Ø)**

Graph 4.1 shows the maximum shaft diameter against the length of each 'spear' for each barb type. Two main features are outstanding. First, the diameter and length of all 'spears' appear to be dependent variables, and second, there is a narrow range of variation in shaft diameters. The only exceptions are the two spears from Roebourne, but the radical differences between the form of these spears makes it inappropriate to relate them to other 'spear' types.

### **design/decoration.**

The presence of similarly placed dark marks along the shafts of ten 'spears' was interpreted as resulting from the packaging, transport or curation of the specimens at some time after the collection was assembled, since the marks occur on artefacts from a range of different locations.

The most visually apparent design feature of the spears were the bands of resin on the head of the spears. Table 4.3 shows a diagrammatic representation of the resin bands on each spear head. Although some of these bands had a utilitarian function in affixing both wooden and glass barbs to the shaft, they can vary in their appearance through variation in the length of the affixing resin band. For example, the wooden barbs on spears from Ashburton were different from all other wooden barbs, as the barbs are affixed further down the shaft, and the resin band extends beyond the wooden barbs. Analysis of these bands show that the 'spears' from the southwest region stand out by the exhibiting more elaborate band markings not directly related to the function of affixing barbs.

STANDARDIZATION OF THE MATHS EXAMINATION

MARKS

100

100 (100%)

90

80

70

60

PERCENTAGE



#### 4.2.2 BOOMERANGS

There were 33 'boomerangs' in the original collection of which 30 were examined in this analysis. All locations were represented in the analysis sample except Esperance, although there had been a 'boomerang' from Esperance when the collection was first received by the Museum. As a result, the relationship between the material culture of the southwest region and Esperance could not be attempted using the 'boomerang' artefact type.

#### Method

In consultation with Museum conservation staff, the outline of each 'boomerang' was traced onto non-static drafting film. I have termed these the 'planar' outline. Details of any design modification and/or use-wear marks were also sketched onto the tracings. These tracings were used to measure the length of the boomerang, the point along the length at which the apex lies, the distance from the baseline to the apex, the width at the apex, and the angle between the two arms. The tracings were also used to compare variation between the shapes of the different specimens.

Each 'boomerang' was weighed and its thickness measured. Cross-section shape, weight, thickness, colour and surface finish, as well as any other distinguishing feature, were recorded for each boomerang. Figure 4.1 illustrates how these dimensions were calculated. The values derived from these measurements are arranged into the four regions outlined in the introduction to the analysis, and presented in Table 4.4.

#### Description

The only measured variable which exhibited consistent regional patterning was a particular aspect of the planar shape of the 'boomerangs'. Three generalised planar shapes were identified in the analysis sample. These were the 'arc' shape, the 's' shape, and the inverted 'v' shape. Examples of each of these are shown in Diagram 4.2.

In the East Kimberley, only the inverted 'v' shape was present, although with only two East Kimberley 'boomerangs' in the analysis sample this apparent regional pattern may be misleading. Elsewhere all three 'boomerang' planar shapes are present, and no regional pattern is apparent. However, an additional feature of the planar shape is the shape of the tips of the different 'boomerangs'.

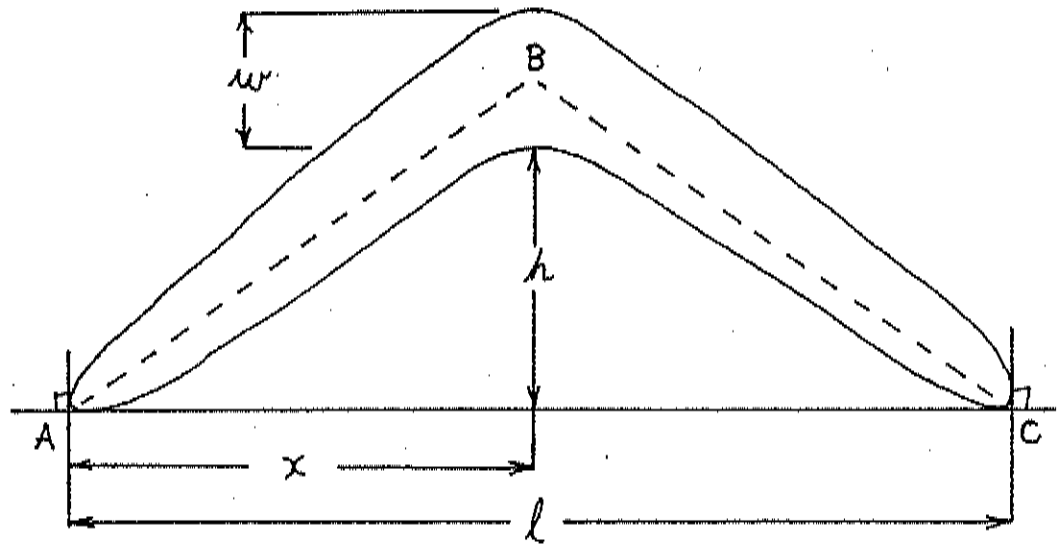
Diagram 4.2 and Table 4.4, shows a relationship between the shape of a 'boomerang's' tips, and its provenanced region. All nine 'boomerangs' from the

Table 4.4: boomerangs (all dimensions in mm)

| Southwest Region |           |        |         |        |       |        |        |             |          |       |                 |
|------------------|-----------|--------|---------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| Artefact No.     | Location  | Length | Apex at | Height | Width | Theta° | Weight | Thickness s | Tip type | Shape | Decoration      |
| x735             | Bunbury   | 518    | 0.48    | 165    | 54    | 125    | 143    | 9           | pointed  | V     |                 |
| x730             | Bunbury   | 555    | 0.52    | 177    | 55    | 125    | 142    | 6.6         | pointed  | S     | polished        |
| x731             | Bunbury   | 570    | 0.54    | 142    | 55    | 138    | 171    | 8.1         | pointed  | V     | incised/grooved |
| x732             | Bunbury   | 577    | 0.51    | 136    | 52    | 140    | 122    | 7.8         | pointed  | V     | incised/grooved |
| x733             | Bunbury   | 638    | 0.49    | 174    | 65    | 136    | 197.5  | 7           | pointed  | S-rev |                 |
| x729             | Mt Barker | 653    | 0.48    | 201    | 62    | 125    | 215    | ?           | pointed  | V     | incised b&l     |
| x741             | York      | 560    | 0.50    | 145    | 54    | 139    | 156    | 8.7         | pointed  | S     |                 |
| x742             | York      | 612    | 0.50    | 156    | 55    | 136    | 193.5  | 9.1         | pointed  | V     | incised b&l     |
| x743             | York      | 635    | 0.52    | 136    | 57    | 145    | 202    | 9           | pointed  | S     |                 |

| Northwest/southwest Region |             |        |         |        |       |        |        |             |          |           |               |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------|---------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| Artefact No.               | Location    | Length | Apex at | Height | Width | Theta° | Weight | Thickness s | Tip type | Shape     | Decoration    |
| x751                       | Dongara     | 615    | 0.49    | 168    | 50    | 131    | 186    | 7           | pointed  | V         |               |
| x752                       | Dongara     | 540    | 0.52    | 114    | 58    | 152    | 195    | 9.5         | rounded  | V         |               |
| x753                       | Dongara     | 645    | 0.46    | 156    | 66    | 141    | 177    | 7.4         | pointed  | arc       |               |
| x728                       | Greenough   | 684    | 0.51    | 153    | 66    | 145    | 229    | 9           | pointed  | S         |               |
| x726                       | Greenough   | 638    | 0.48    | 189    | 61    | 130    | 187.5  | ?           | pointed  | S         |               |
| x727                       | Greenough   | 705    | 0.48    | 164    | 67    | 142    | 214    | 8.2         | pointed  | S         |               |
| x740                       | Geraldton   | 576    | 0.53    | 115    | 59    | 151    | 236.5  | 9.4         | rounded  | arc       | scratched b&l |
| x756                       | Northampton | 560    | 0.45    | 167    | 48    | 127    | 102    | 7           | pointed  | S-rev     |               |
| x757                       | Northampton | 534    | 0.49    | 130    | 58    | 142    | 186.5  | 8.7         | rounded  | arc       |               |
| x760                       | Northampton | 538    | 0.41    | 145    | 48    | 135    | 145.5  | 6.25        | rounded  | S-rev/arc |               |
| x764                       | Northampton | 579    | 0.47    | 130    | 55    | 146    | 205    | 8.1         | rounded  | arc       |               |

DIAGRAM 4.1: Measurement of 'boomerangs'



$x$  = 'apex at'

$h$  = 'maximum height'

$l$  = 'length'

$w$  = 'width'

angle ABC = 'angle'

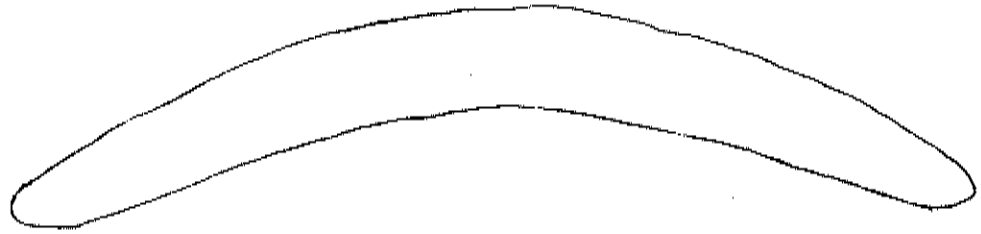
Table 4.4 cont.  
Northwest Region

| Artefact No. | Location     | Length | Apex at | Height | Width | Theta° | Weight | Thickness s | Tip type | Shape | Decoration |
|--------------|--------------|--------|---------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------------|----------|-------|------------|
| x754         | Camaron      | 590    | 0.47    | 131    | 55    | 145    | 190.5  | 7.3         | rounded  | arc   |            |
| x758         | Camaron      | 558    | 0.45    | 109    | 50    | 150    | 165    | 8.6         | rounded  | arc   |            |
| x765         | Camaron      | 555    | 0.47    | 165    | 48    | 130    | 162.5  | 7.4         | rounded  | arc   |            |
| x766         | Camaron      | 567    | 0.45    | 131    | 41    | 142    | 137    | 7.3         | rounded  | arc   |            |
| x761         | Ashburton R. | 603    | 0.49    | 128    | 60    | 148    | 245    | 8.8         | rounded  | arc   |            |
| x762         | Roebourne    | 567    | 0.42    | 173    | 54    | 128    | 239.5  | 10.5        | rounded  | V     |            |
| x763         | Roebourne    | 662    | 0.53    | 124    | 62    | 151    | 261    | 9.5         | rounded  | arc   |            |
| x736         | Roebourne    | 668    | 0.55    | 209    | 60    | 125    | 409    | 10.8        | rounded  | arc/V |            |

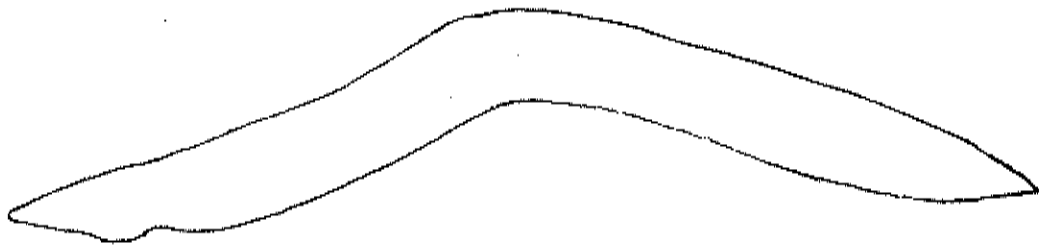
East Kimberley Region

| Artefact No. | Location     | Length | Apex at | Height | Width | Theta° | Weight | Thickness s | Tip type | Shape | Decoration |
|--------------|--------------|--------|---------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------------|----------|-------|------------|
| x737         | E. Kimberley | 500    | 0.37    | 189    | 70    | 114    | 216    | 11.6        | pointed  | Kim   |            |
| x738         | E. Kimberley | 541    | 0.49    | 138    | 77    | 143    | 219    | 10          | pointed  | Kim   |            |

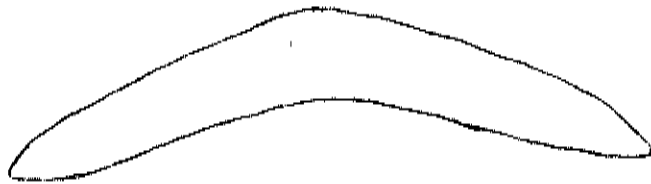
Figure 4.2.: Boomerang shapes



[x761] Arc - rounded tips



[x743] 'S' - pointed tips



[x738] Kimberley inverted 'V' - pointed tips



[x738] inverted 'V' - pointed tips

southwest region have pointed ends. All eight 'boomerangs' from the northwest region have rounded ends. Of eleven 'boomerangs' from the intermediate region, five have rounded ends, whilst the remainder have pointed ends. This mixture of end shapes supports the interpretation that the Dongara, Greenough, Geraldton and Northampton locations formed a transitional area between the northwest and southwest regions.

The East Kimberley boomerangs both had pointed ends. In fact, of all the 'boomerangs' examined, the two from the East Kimberleys were the most distinct. They were the only 'boomerangs' exhibiting the technique of painted decoration, as well as having a wider planar shape proportional to their lengths, and their ends more markedly pointed than 'boomerangs' from other regions.

Analysis of the sample revealed a relationship between the shape of a 'boomerang' and its provenanced region. The two distinct types of tip shapes, rounded and pointed, were identified with the northwest and the southwest regions respectively. Artefacts from the northwest/southwest intermediary region showed a combination of these tip shapes. This regional patterning was similar to that emerging from the analysis of spears and spearthrowers and clubs artefact types.

#### 4.2.3 SPEARTHROWERS

There were originally twenty nine 'spearthrowers' in the collection, of which twenty one were examined in this analysis. Apart from Greenough, all of the locations which were represented in the original contents of the collection, were also represented in the analysis sample.

The method used in the analysis of the 'spearthrowers' was to measure the length, the maximum width, the maximum thickness, the ratio of the length to the width (this was taken as a crude index of the shape of the artefact), the mass, and the length and diameter ( $\emptyset$ ) of the 'spearthrower' peg, for each artefact. Other features noted were the presence or absence of a resin knob forming the handle, whether such resin knobs included an inset flake, and the location and technique of any decoration on the 'spearthrower'. This information was then organised according to the regions discussed in the introduction (Table 4.5), to establish whether for any of the variable(s) there was a patterning of intra-regional homogeneity and at the same time, inter-regional heterogeneity.

Table 4.6, showing the averages and ranges of different measured variables, indicates the existence of three different regional 'types' of 'spearthrower'. These regional types were constructed on the assumption that when one regional range of any measured variable is discontinuous with another regional range for the same

Table 4.5: Spearthrowers examined in analysis

| Southwest/northwest Region |              |             |            |                |                  |          |              |            |                  |                 |        |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|----------------|------------------|----------|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------|
| artefact no.               | location     | length (mm) | width (mm) | thickness (mm) | ratio lgth/width | mass (g) | resin handle | adze Inset | decoration Front | decoration back | length | peg diameter |
| x1167                      | Camarvon     | 760         | 48         | 8.7            | 15.8             | 267.5    | yes          | no         | none             | none            | 14.4   | 5            |
| x1184                      | Camarvon     | 624         | 93         | 8              | 6.7              | 257.5    | yes          | no         | major            | major           | 7      | 3.5          |
| x1165                      | Dongara      | 722         | 81.5       | 6              | 8.9              | 245      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | 7      | 4.5          |
| x1169                      | Dongara      | 608         | 94         | 3.3            | 6.5              | 223      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | -      | -            |
| x1178                      | Gerakdton    | 795         | 43.7       | 7.9            | 18.2             | 217      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | 15.7   | 5.7          |
| x1170                      | Northampton  | 814         | 38.5       | 12.8           | 21.1             | 286      | yes          | yes        | minor            | none            | 16     | 5.3          |
| East Kimberley Region      |              |             |            |                |                  |          |              |            |                  |                 |        |              |
| x1166                      | E. Kimberley | 930         | 51         | 15             | 18.2             | 221      | no           | no         | major            | major           | 7.9    | 8.5          |
| x1168                      | E. Kimberley | 940         | 50         | 15.4           | 18.8             | 210.5    | no           | no         | major            | major           | 14     | 6            |
| Southwest Region           |              |             |            |                |                  |          |              |            |                  |                 |        |              |
| x1158                      | Bunbury      | 599         | 134        | 5.5            | 4.5              | 254      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | 9      | 6            |
| x1177                      | York         | 548         | 147        | 7              | 3.7              | 289.5    | yes          | yes        | none             | none            | 17     | 7            |
| x1159                      | Mt Barker    | 591         | 156        | 7              | 3.8              | 283      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | 15     | 7            |
| x1171                      | Mt Barker    | 610         | 137        | 6.5            | 4.5              | 280      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | 15     | 7            |
| Northwest Region           |              |             |            |                |                  |          |              |            |                  |                 |        |              |
| x1175                      | Ashburton R. | 651         | 145        | 6.5            | 4.5              | 434      | yes          | yes        | major            | none            | 6.4    | 4            |
| x1161                      | Roebourne    | 680         | 150        | 6              | 4.5              | 424      | yes          | yes        | major            | ?               | 10     | 4            |
| x1162                      | Roebourne    | 670         | 140        | 6.5            | 4.8              | 355      | yes          | yes        | major            | minor           | -      | -            |
| x1164                      | Roebourne    | 690         | 107        | 7              | 6.4              | 351      | yes          | no         | major            | none            | 4      | 3.5          |
| x1179                      | Roebourne    | 663         | 153        | 8              | 4.3              | 454.5    | yes          | yes        | major            | ?               | -      | -            |
| x1181                      | Roebourne    | 625         | 130        | 8              | 4.8              | 436      | yes          | no         | major            | minor           | 11     | 3            |
| Esperance                  |              |             |            |                |                  |          |              |            |                  |                 |        |              |
| x1154                      | Esperance    | 570         | 37.5       | 12             | 15.2             | 234.5    | yes          | yes        | none             | none            | 6      | 13.7         |
| x1156                      | Esperance    | 930         | 47.2       | 5.6            | 19.7             | 263      | yes          | no         | none             | none            | -      | -            |
| x1176                      | Esperance    | 897         | 35         | 10.8           | 25.6             | 268      | yes          | yes        | none             | none            | 15     | 5.3          |

Table 4.6: Spearthrower regional ranges

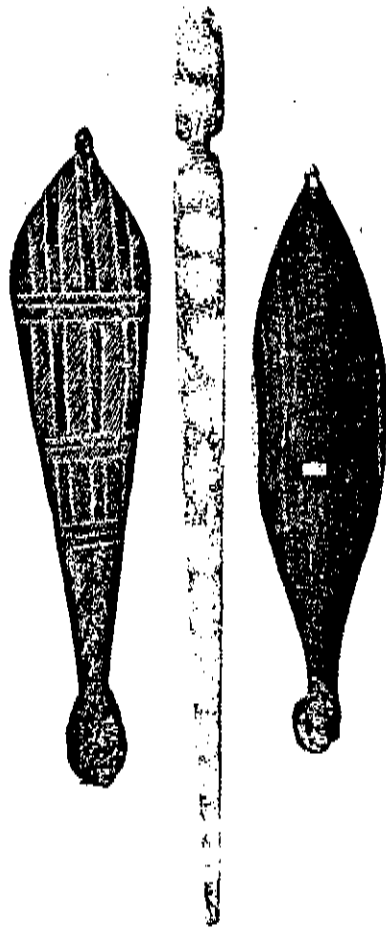
| Region    | Freq | Length (mm)<br>Average [Range] | Width (mm)<br>Average [Range] | Thickness (mm)<br>Average [Range] | Ratio length/width<br>Average [Range] | Mass (g)<br>Average [Range] |
|-----------|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Kimberley | 2    | 935.0 [930.0-940.0]            | 50.5 [50.0-51.0]              | 15.2 [15.0-15.4]                  | 18.5 [18.2-18.8]                      | 215.8 [210.5-221.0]         |
| Northwest | 6    | 663.2 [625.0-690.0]            | 137.5 [107.0-153.0]           | 7.0 [6.5-8.0]                     | 4.9 [4.3-6.4]                         | 409.1 [351.0-454.5]         |
| Southwest | 4    | 587.0 [548.0-610.0]            | 143.5 [134.0-156.0]           | 6.5 [5.5-7.0]                     | 4.1 [3.7-4.5]                         | 276.6 [254.0-289.5]         |
| Esperance | 3    | 799.0 [570.0-930.0]            | 39.9 [35.0-47.2]              | 9.5 [5.6-12.0]                    | 20.2 [15.2-25.6]                      | 255.2 [234.5-268.0]         |

| Region    | Freq | Peg length mm<br>Average [Range] | Peg Ømm<br>Average [Range] |
|-----------|------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Kimberley | 2    | 11.0 [7.9-14.0]                  | 7.3 [6.0-8.5]              |
| Northwest | 4    | 7.9 [4.0-11.0]                   | 3.6 [3.0-4.0]              |
| Southwest | 4    | 14.0 [9.0-17.0]                  | 6.8 [6.0-7.0]              |
| Esperance | 2    | 10.5 [6.0-15.0]                  | 9.5 [5.3-13.7]             |



PLATE 2:  
(from left to right)

- [x1162] 'Spearthrower', Roebourne
- [x1168] 'Spearthrower', East Kimberley
- [x1171] 'Spearthrower', Mt Barker



measured variable, then the ranges reflect two 'types'. The criteria for defining each of these regional types is defined below.

### **East Kimberleys**

Only two specimens from this region were present in the collection, but they were dramatically different from the 'spearthrowers' from all other locations. They were the most clearly distinct of all the 'spearthrowers' examined in the analysis. These differences were expressed in the shape of the artefacts, the species of wood they had been manufactured from, the absence of a resin knob forming the handles, the use of painted decoration, a greater length (apart from one specimen from Esperance), a greater thickness than all the other 'spearthrowers', and a slightly lower mass. The artefacts used the same technique of attaching the spearthrower peg, that of using resin and/or gum. Both 'spearthrowers' from the East Kimberley region were recorded in the Museum register as being manufactured from *Brachychiton acerifolium* or Flametree timber.

### **northwest**

This type consisted of five 'spearthrowers' from Roebourne, and one from Ashburton. The artefacts from this region showed a tight cluster of lengths, widths, thicknesses, and the ratios of length to width. They were distinctly heavier than other regional types, and were the only artefacts to show a major area of incised design on the front of artefact, with little or no incised work on the rear of the artefact. The only other artefacts similarly decorated are one from Carnarvon [x1184] which is decorated on both sides, and one from Northampton [x1170] which has a minor area of decoration on the front. Also, the majority (60%) of these northwest 'spearthrowers' have a flake set in the resin handle.

### **southwest**

These 'spearthrowers' have no decoration on the back or front, and only one specimen has a flake set in the resin knob forming the handle. The artefacts have a similar average length to width ratio compared to the northwest 'spearthrowers', but they have a lower mass.

### **other 'spearthrowers' which do not fit into the regional types**

On the basis of their formal attributes, the artefacts from Esperance, Carnarvon, Dongara, Geraldton, Northampton did not fit the criteria of any of the above regional types.

The Esperance 'spearthrowers' shared an absence of decoration with the artefacts in the southwest region. However they lie outside the length range, were too narrow, and had a dramatically higher length to width ratio. The large variation in the measured lengths and thicknesses of the 'spearthrowers' from Esperance also suggests that these artefacts may represent processes occurring which are not present in other areas in the southwest region. The research in Chapter 2 suggests that these variations are more likely to be the result of differences in Aboriginal society, than differences in the acquisition context. They may represent artefacts from a number of technical traditions.

One 'spearthrower' [x1184] from Carnarvon displays an incised design similar to those on 'spearthrowers' from the northwest region. However, it differs in having both sides decorated, whilst 'spearthrowers' from the northwest region have only one side decorated.

The close geographical proximity of Northampton, Geraldton and Dongara, initially suggested the construction of another type, but the high degree of variation between these artefacts invalidated such a construction.

## **Conclusion**

Analysis of the 'spearthrowers' shows a number of clear patterns emerging. There are distinct types of spearthrowers associated with the different regions. These patterns are emerging at the level of differences in the artefact form, and in the type and area of decoration on the 'spearthrower'. The potential flexibility in the shape of this artefact type, whilst still retaining its primary function, makes 'spearthrowers' one of the few artefact types in the Forrest collection which can offer a large space in which to decorate. Artefacts such as spears do not have as much room for stylistic differences to be clearly expressed.

Although a rigorous analysis of the different incised design motifs on the artefacts was not attempted, a preliminary assessment of these suggested that there was variation within the region. This different patterning may reflect another level of social organisation.

### **4.3.4 CLUBS**

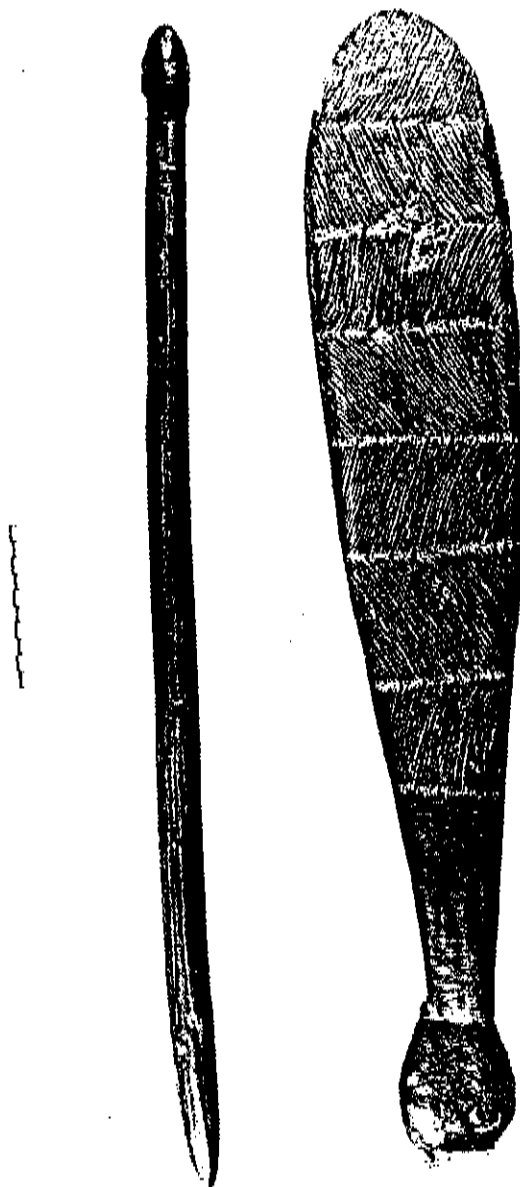
Table 4.7 contains data derived from the analysis of the fifteen 'clubs' examined. The method of analysis was similar to that used in the analysis of the other 'weapon' types. Although there were four distinct formal types of 'club', no regular patterning or regular distribution of these types emerged. This may have resulted from the small number of artefacts in each region. The four types were:

Table 4.7: clubs

| Esperance                  |           |           |             |        |              |                            |                |                 |                           |                   |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|--------|--------------|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Artefact No.               | Location  | Length mm | Diameter mm | Mass g | Resin Handle | Longitudinal shaft fluting | Shape of shaft | Inclined design | visible scoring on handle | Shape of ends     |
| x1128                      | Esperance | 710       | 25.75       | 382.5  | X            | X                          | W              | above fluting   | X                         | resin-pointed     |
| x1129                      | Esperance | 642       | 24.2        | 240    |              |                            | C              | on shaft        | X                         | blunt-pointed     |
| x1130                      | Esperance | 652       | 22.3        | 164.5  |              |                            | W              | -               | X                         | blunt-pointed     |
| Southwest Region           |           |           |             |        |              |                            |                |                 |                           |                   |
| x1131                      | Mt Barker | 656       | 25          | 292    |              |                            | S              | on shaft        |                           | pointed-pointed   |
| x1139                      | Bunbury   | 636       | 29.1        | 415    | X            |                            | S              | -               |                           | resin-semipointed |
| x1140                      | York      | 735       | 38          | 509    | X            | X                          | C              | above fluting   | X                         | resin-pointed     |
| x1141                      | York      | 713       | 27.7        | 357.5  | X            | X                          | S              | -               | X                         | resin-pointed     |
| Northwest Region           |           |           |             |        |              |                            |                |                 |                           |                   |
| x1132                      | Roebourne | 885       | 47.5        | 1158   |              | X                          | S              | -               | X                         | blunt-blunt       |
| x1143                      | Roebourne | 651       | 39.6        | 827.5  |              | X                          | S              | -               | X                         | blunt-blunt       |
| Southwest/northwest Region |           |           |             |        |              |                            |                |                 |                           |                   |
| x1136                      | Dongara   | 739       | 29.8        | 488    |              | X                          | S              | -               | X                         | resin-pointed     |
| x1133                      | Dongara   | 704       | 27          | 454.5  | X            | X                          | S              | -               |                           | resin-pointed     |
| x1142                      | Geraldton | 710       | 28          | 501    | X            | X                          | S              | -               | X                         | resin-pointed     |
| x1144                      | Carmanvon | 717       | 28.1        | 517    | X            | X                          | C              | above fluting   |                           | resin-pointed     |

PLATE 3:  
(from left to right)

[x1142] 'Club', Geraldton  
[x1183] 'Club', Roebourne



Type 1 [x1123] from Roebourne. This is referred to as a 'sword club' in the police list. It is a heavy curved implement, made from a dark-coloured timber, with a resin knob handle attached. There is no flake set in the resin. The body of the 'club' varies between 35mm and 60mm in width, and is 15mm thick. It is extensively incised on one side.

Type 2 [x1183], also from Roebourne. This is referred to as a 'club and cutting instrument' in the police list. It is shaped and decorated like the 'speargrowers' from this location, but does not have, and never has had, a peg. There is a flake set into the resin knob handle. It is more than twice as heavy as speargrowers from the same location, and slightly longer.

Type 3. Twelve 'clubs', from Esperance [x1128, x1129, x1130], Roebourne [x1132, x1143], Bunbury [x1139], York [x1140, x1141], Dongara [x1136, x1133], Geraldton [x1142] and Carnarvon [x1144]. These were long cylindrical-shaped sticks, some with fluting and all with a blunt end and/or resin knob forming the handle.

Type 4. One 'club' [x1131], from Mt Barker. This specimen has both ends pointed. Although designated a 'club' in the Museum register, the difference between this specimen and other 'clubs' from the same region suggests that it may actually be a message stick, rather than a 'club'.

#### 4.3.5 SHIELDS

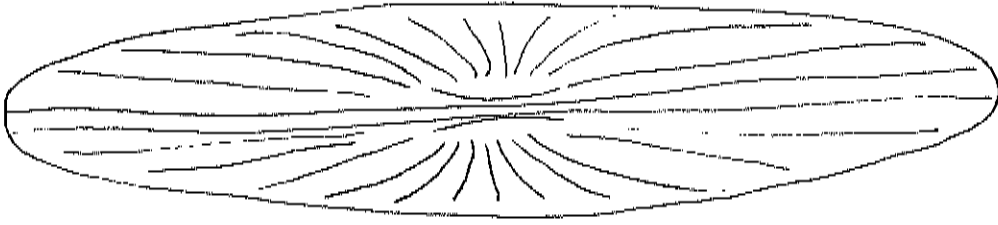
Nine shields were analysed. There were problems in the provenancing of two of these [x1202], and [x1208]. In the original police list they were listed with the Roebourne artefacts, as coming from "LaGrange Bay", which lies over 400km to the north of the township of Roebourne.

As with the 'clubs' the small size of the sample of 'shields' made it impractical to try to identify regional patterning.

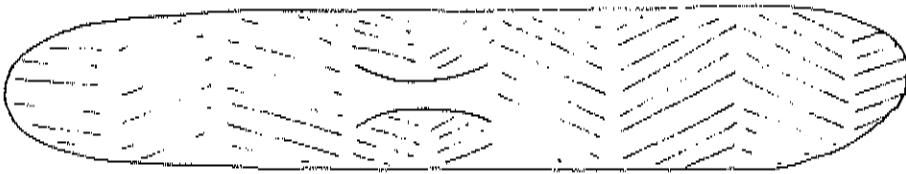
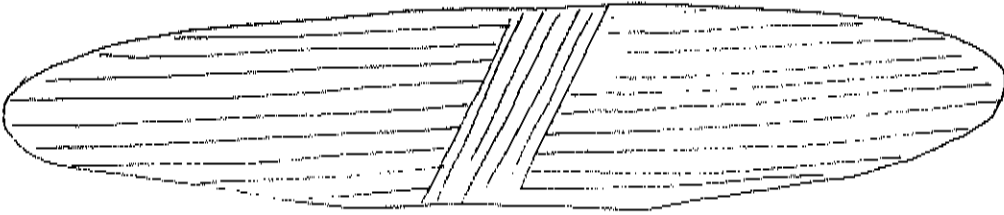
The most common method of decoration on the front of the 'shields' was to cover the upper and lower thirds of the shield with longitudinal fluting. In the middle third these flutes were continued, but at an angle of approximately 45°. On [x1196] and [x1195] this central section angled up to the right, and on [x1205, x1200, x1185, x1138, x1206] the central section angled up to the left. The flutes were generally coloured alternately red and white. (See Figure 4.3)

The handle each shield had been carved longitudinally out of the back of the shields'. The rear of the shields was sometimes also decorated

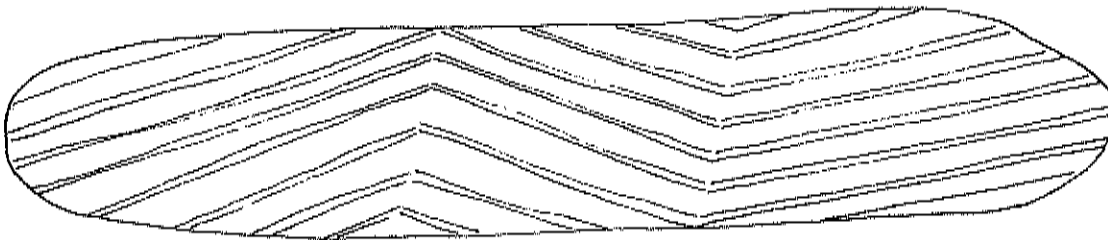
FIGURE 4.3



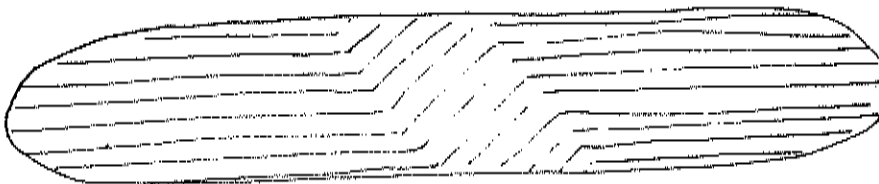
x 1185  
FRONT & BACK



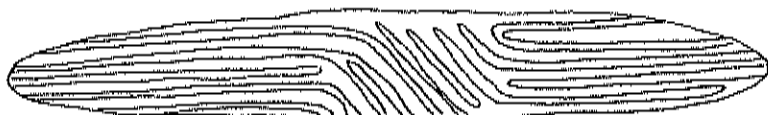
x 1138  
FRONT & BACK



x 1195



x 1200



x 1196

Table 4.8: Shields (all dimensions in mm)

| Artefact No. | location      | length | width | thickness | mass (g) |
|--------------|---------------|--------|-------|-----------|----------|
| x1195        | Ashburton     | 1050   | 195   | 12        | 751      |
| x1200        | Carnarvon     | 834    | 165   | 8         | 698      |
| x1138        | Geraldton     | 850    | 150   | 12        | 733      |
| x1206        | Northampton   | 803    | 164   |           |          |
| x1202        | Lagrange Bay? | 710    | 97    | 35        | 1198     |
| x1208        | Lagrange Bay? | 740    | 138   | 36        | 1078     |
| x1205        | Nichol Bay?   | 1130   | 210   | 12        | 1015     |
| x1196        | York          | 728    | 98    |           |          |
| x1185        | Bunbury       | 945    | 170   | 18        | 1317     |



Interpretation of the differences in the design and form of the 'shields', is complicated by the ethno-historical literature which specifically notes that few 'shields' were made in the southwest region. Instead they were traded into the region from northern areas Bates (1985: 277).

Some of the backs of the shields was also decorated. For example the backs of [x1206] and [x1185] were fluted and stained red.

## SECTION B: 'NON-WEAPON' ARTEFACTS

## 4.4.1 SMALL INCISED STICKS

The nineteen 'small incised sticks' which were examined were grouped into three formal types. Type one consisted of the sixteen 'sticks' which were round in cross-section, type two consisted of the two 'sticks which were flat in cross-section, and type three consisted of the uniquely shaped stick from York. Table 4.9 contains information about all of these artefacts, except the type three 'stick' from York.

Four of the incised sticks [x811, x812, x855 and x856] were from Northampton. [x855] and [x856] were very similar in size, shape and decoration (see Table 4.9). The remaining two sticks [x811]-illustrated in Plate 8, and [x812] whilst of a similar size and shape, differed in their incised designs.

The police list states that of the four incised sticks from Northampton, two were called "bumbarras", whose ascribed function was to ensure that "any Native is safe while carrying this stick from being molested", while the other two were called "knoolumbiddys" or "nose sticks".

The museum register has assigned [x855] and [x856] as being the 'bumbarras' and [x811] and [x812] as being the 'nose sticks'. It has also changed the information about the use of the 'bumbarras' to become "it is a safe passport for any native from tribe to tribe". The process by which these European concepts of "passport" and "tribe" are externally ascribed to Aboriginal society through interpretation of its artefacts is illustrated by Hambly, who when discussing other Western Australian incised sticks notes:

"the examples [of incised sticks]...are described as 'passport sticks'. This term *may* be used correctly. *While there is no definite information to justify its use in these circumstances*, it is known that natives carry such sticks when obtaining stone from a region outside their own territory" [my italics] (1931:2).

There were eleven incised sticks from Esperance. Of these, the dominant design found on eight sticks [x816, x817, x818, x819, x822, x823, x825, x826] was a spiral formed from incised marks or lines. The designs on the remaining three sticks consisted of two [x821 and x829] with similar infilled unsymmetrical polygons, and one [x820] with a zig-zag design. According to the police list, the Forrest collection originally included fifteen "cundells" which were "said to be used by natives for throwing towards the clouds from the top of a high hill to cause rain", and two "letter sticks" from Esperance.

Table 4.9: small incised sticks (all dimensions in mm)

| artifact no. | location    | length | diameter | shape of ends   | shape of shaft | description of decoration  |
|--------------|-------------|--------|----------|-----------------|----------------|--|
| x811         | Northampton | 198    | 10.5     | pointed/pointed | straight       | covered by non-parallel infilled bands.  |
| x812         | Northampton | 170    | 9.0      | pointed/pointed | straight       | infilled non-adjoining, nonsymmetrical polygons. almost figurative                 |
| x855         | Northampton | 131    | 13.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | 2 parallel single burnt bands at each end  |
| x856         | Northampton | 120    | 13.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | 2 parallel single burnt bands at each end  |
| x822         | Esperance   | 163    | 11.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | burnt spirals  |
| x826         | Esperance   | 149    | 12.5     | blunt/pointed   | straight       | burnt spirals  |
| x825         | Esperance   | 112    | 9.5      | blunt/blunt     | straight       | heavily incised burnt lines. in shape of complex spiral                            |
| x823         | Esperance   | 135    | 14.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | burnt incised parrallel spirals  |
| x817         | Esperance   | 111    | 8.5      | pointed/pointed | straight       | notches, & very fine nicks forming spiral  |
| x819         | Esperance   | 112    | 11.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | notches, & very fine nicks forming spiral  |
| x816         | Esperance   | 133    | 11.0     | pointed/blunt   | bent           | burnt spiral   |
| x818         | Esperance   | 131    | 10.0     | pointed/blunt   | bent           | thick burnt spiral between thin guiding cuts                                       |
| x821         | Esperance   | 164    | 15.0     | blunt/blunt     | straight       | shaft covered with non-symmetrical adjoining polygons, infilled with hatching      |
| x829         | Esperance   | 219    | 34.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | shaft covered with non-symmetrical adjoining polygons, infilled with hatching      |
| x820         | Esperance   | 156    | 10.5     | blunt/pointed   | straight       | burnt zigzag, 'lally marks'  |
| x1182        | York        | 499    | 23.0     | pointed/pointed | straight       | small quadrilateral infilled with hatching, single area of thin non-parallel lines |
| x805         | York        | 360    | 35 x 6.5 | pointed/pointed | straight       | extensively incised on both sides  |

Hassell's (1975:101) account of her experiences of Aborigines halfway between Albany and Esperance, provides a possible explanation for the different designs found on the incised sticks from Esperance. She notes: "the only carving I ever saw amongst the natives were these three sticks: the *cort*, love stick; *yourp*, evil stick; *yoump*, battle stick". Concerning the *yoump*, she further notes:

"it was a round piece of wood from six to seven inches long, and two to three inches thick, with both ends sharply pointed, while long lines to represent spears were carved down the length and two oval lines something like the *meera* was carved near each end. One end was split and a piece of sharp flint inserted, the split end was then bound together with hair and smeared round with blood, the other end had a long thread of woman's hair bound round and also smeared with blood" (Hassell 1975:100-101).

Comparison of this description with the 'incised sticks' in the analysis sample indicates that such an artefact is not represented. Thus the sticks from Esperance may represent *yourp* or *cort* sticks.

There were three small incised sticks [x1182, x805, x873] from York. One of these, [x1182], whilst being of a similar shape to the sticks from Northampton and Esperance, was significantly larger. Its design was also different in both the small area of the stick which was decorated and the combination of design elements present.

[x805] was also different from all other incised sticks analysed. Although pointed at both ends, it was not round in cross-section. It was also significantly longer than all other incised sticks, except [x1182], also from York. The extensive incised designs on both sides of [x805], was different from those found on the other sticks; however the differences in the shape of [x805], from the other incised sticks, made further interpretation of this comparison problematic.

The artefact [x873] from York, was not included in Table 4.9 because it differed dramatically from all other small incised sticks in both its shape and size. It was a straight stick 820mm long, with a round shaft, 22mm Ø, weighing 370g. One end was blunt, whilst the other end broadened out into a larger rounded shape 41mm across. The stick was similar in shape to a walking stick. The shaft was covered with many tiny holes and thin burnt incised, straight intersecting lines forming a tessellated pattern. The stick was light honey brown in colour with a polished surface. Both the police list and the museum register described the artefact as "incised with rules for corroboree".

The 'incised stick' from Roebourne [x804], was 425mm long, 31.5mm wide and 8 mm thick. It was 69g in weight. One end one end of the stick was sharp, while the other is rounded. It was a heavily incised on one side and plain on the other. The

police list described this artefact as a "mesh stick". This suggests its use in net manufacture. From the artefact alone, its ascribed function is not obvious.

The analysis indicates that whilst there was formal and design variation between sticks from different locations, there was also variation within artefacts from the same location. This pattern of variation appears to be related to the different ascribed functions of the sticks. The analysis also shows how some information contained in the Museum register concerning the function of some of the artefacts is not based on the information contained in the police list.

#### 4.4.2 CONTAINERS

##### Skin bags

There were four 'skin bags' in the sample. All used a similar technique of folding the hide in half, and sewing up the two sides. This forms an envelope with a sealed bottom formed by the folding of the skin, and the two sides formed by partially sewing the two halves of the skin together.

[x3808], from York, illustrated in Plate 4. This 'bag' consists of a 350mm x 300mm envelope with a loop handle. This handle is approximately 850mm long and formed by a strip of red fabric sewn and tied onto each of the two long, narrow, back leg extensions of the hide. Thread rather than sinew had been used in the manufacture of the 'bag'. The museum register noted the 'bag's' function as being "for carrying children and small articles" whereas the police list calls the artefact a "cootah", and comments that it is a "native woman's bag".

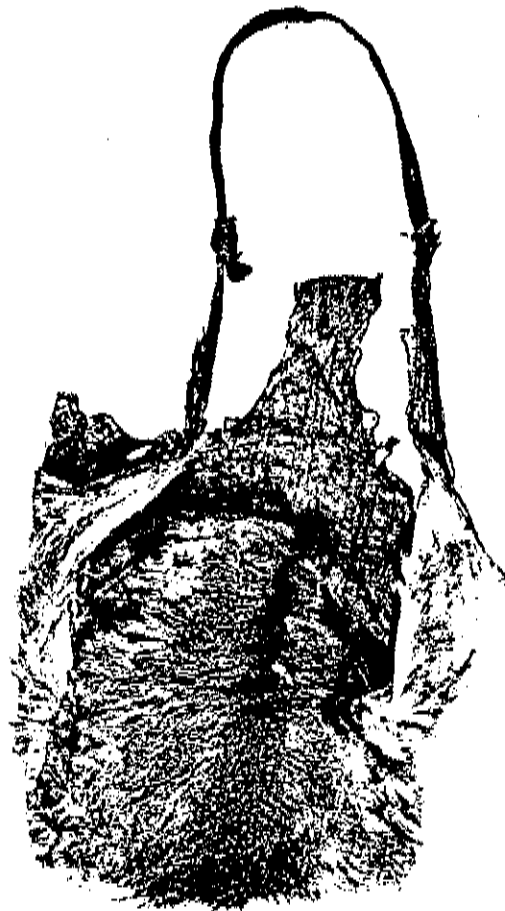
[x3811] from Mt Barker. This 'bag' consists of a 350mm x 450mm envelope, with an approximately 600mm handle loop, similar to that of [x3808], but without the fabric insert. Cotton thread had been used in the bag's manufacture. According to the museum register the function of this artefact was "for carrying children and various items". The police list noted that the 'bag', or "cootah", was "used by native women for carrying carrying children and small articles".

[x3809] from Bunbury. This 'bag' was 300mm x 480mm. It had no loop handle, but still had the leg extensions attached. The museum register noted that the 'bag' was "used to carrying children and provisions" whereas the police list mentions only that the "cootah" was used as a "native woman's bag".

[x3838] from Northampton. This 'bag' is 600mm x 380mm, with no handle. It has a slightly different construction from the other 'skin bags', with the leg extensions tied together in front of the 'bag'. The stitching of the 'bag' was also different from the other 'bags' in that sinew thread had been used. The museum register noted that

PLATE 4:

[x3808] 'Skin bag', York



the 'bag' was "used to carry children and food" while the police list called the 'bag' a "bookah<sup>6</sup>" and included no mention of its function.

All 'skin bags' in the sample, except one, were from the southwest region. Those from the southwest used European string or thread in their construction whilst the artefact from Northampton did not. Apart from the Northampton example, the 'bags' are similar in size.

### Wooden containers

Four 'wooden containers' were analysed.

[x802] from Roebourne, illustrated in Plate 5, was 615mm long x 320mm wide x 100mm deep. The 'container' weighed 1165g. Its interior surface was deeply grooved, with a small amount of possible food residue present. The exterior surface had a dappled finish, resulting from the shaping technique used in the artefact's manufacture. The grooved interior surface may have been both a decorative and functional feature. The museum register has classified the 'container' as being manufactured from *Eucalyptus marginata* or jarrah.

[x1203], also from Roebourne, was 900mm long x 335mm wide x 95mm deep, and approximately 11mm thick. The 'container' weighed 1609g. It was unpolished and golden brown in colour, with no incised or painted designs. There were some brown and grey stains on the interior surface. The museum register has classified the 'container' as being manufactured from *Eucalyptus gomphocephala* or tuart.

The police list records three "yandies" as coming from Roebourne, each with different ascribed functions. One was "used as a canoe when gathering seeds in pools", another "for carrying water" and the other "for winnowing seed when making bread".

On the basis of formal analysis of the two containers from Roebourne, it was not possible to determine which two of these three functions they were used for, although the presence of possible food residue inside [x802] (see Plate 5) suggests it may be the artefact used in the making of bread. Whilst this conclusion does not agree with the information in the museum register, [x802] "carrying water"

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<sup>6</sup>In the police list this artefact is called a "bookah", the same term used to describe the cloaks from the southwest. In the 1890 Report to the Trustees, the name has been changed to "Bourka". In the Museum register, the artefact is called a "Kutah". These differences may result from different interpretations of the original hand-written police list.

PLATE 5:

[x802] 'Wooden container', Roebourne





and [x1203] "winnowing seeds for making bread", it is probable that this information was, to an extent, randomly ascribed to the artefacts.

From Northampton, [x1187] was 557mm long x 258mm wide x 80mm deep and approximately 8mm thick. The 'container' weighed 1137g, and was dark brown inside and dark golden brown on the outside. Both the interior and exterior surfaces were fluted, with longitudinal parallel grooves. There were also some dark patches on the interior surface. The museum register has classified the container as being manufactured from *Eucalyptus marginata*, or jarrah, and used for "carrying water seeds etc". There is no mention of this artefact in the police list.

[x828] this artefact from Northampton was a different shape from the other 'wooden containers', having much higher sides. It is shaped like hollowed-out canoe 570mm long by 110mm wide and 170mm deep. The walls of the container are 10mm thick at the sides and 17mm at the ends. It weighs 1023g. The museum register has classified the container as being manufactured from *Eucalyptus grandis* or flooded gum. The exterior surface has been stained red, and covered with parallel discontinuous scratches. It appears to have originally been waterproof, but is splitting at one end, probably due to dessication.

[x828] is referred to in the police list as a "shackah", and is recorded as being used for "carrying water etc". The museum register lists the container as being manufactured from "flooded gum", and records it as being "used by women for carrying water or food, for digging waterholes, and for many other uses." Although it is not indicated in the museum register, the addition of these extra functions, as well as the attachment of gender to the artefact is not derived from the original documentation. It reflects only general knowledge about these types of artefacts, rather than being specifically about specimen [x828].

Bates offers the following description of this type of artefact from the northwest region:

"wooden scoops are not finished off at once. They are first cut from the tree with the aid of the axe, sometimes a solid block being cut off. They are roughly chipped into shape with the aid of the flint attached to club, spearthrower or chisel, and when this is done they may be brought into immediate use, afterwards receiving the groovings which form their ornamentation. The outer and inner surfaces of the scoop may be grooved according to the industry of the workman, or they may be chipped only and slightly smoothed. The scoop is held between or within the knees of the native who works the flint towards him. It is held by the knees when the outer surface is being grooved or smoothed. The outside is always covered with red ochre when finished, and some may have white pipeclay lines along the grooves. Men may take a week or more making these vessels" (Bates 1985:279-80).

PLATE 6:

[x795] 'Net bag', Roebourne

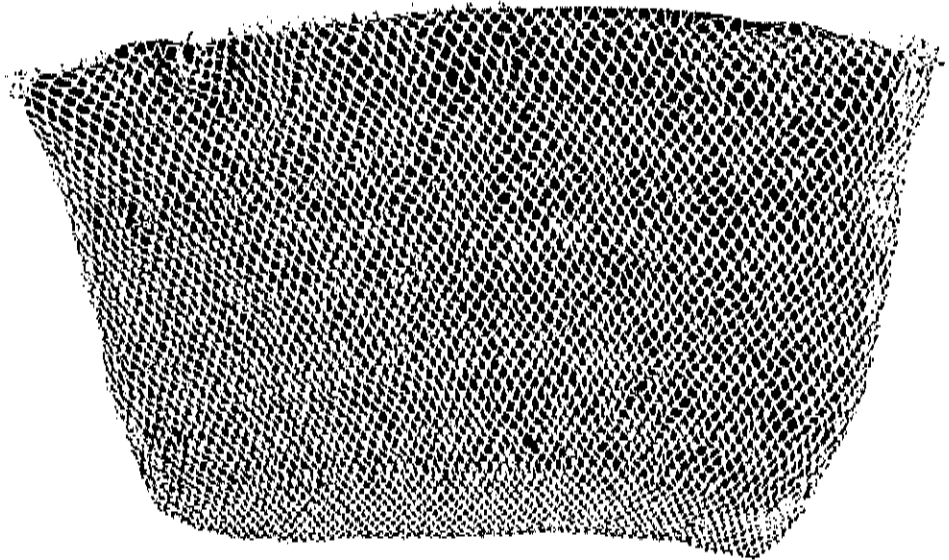


PLATE 7:

[x798] Reed basket', East Kimberley



## Mesh bags

Two mesh bags were analysed, [x795] and [x792]. Both bags are from Roebourne and were manufactured from spinifex fibre, using a similar technique as the net analysed from same location [x789]. There was one other mesh bag listed on the museum register. This artefact also came from Roebourne, but was recorded as 'missing'. The two bags were in the shape of a bilaterally symmetrical trapezium envelope, with only the 'top' of the bag, the longest parallel side, being open.

The top of [x795], illustrated in Plate 6, is 600mm long and the bottom 450mm long. The height of the bag is 400mm. The size of the mesh ranges from approximately 9mm at the top to 5mm at the bottom.

The top of [x792] is 400mm long and the bottom 300mm long. The height of the bag is 400mm. The size of the mesh ranges from approximately 8mm at the top to 5mm at the bottom. The bags are described in both the police list and the the museum register as being for "carrying fish, game etc."

## Reed basket

There was only one such artefact in the collection, a stiff-sided, round bottomed woven basket from the East Kimberleys [x796], illustrated in Plate 7,. The basket is 380mm deep with an oval shaped opening, 135mm x 75mm, at the top. It has a maximum circumference of 475mm halfway down the side, with the circumference at the top being 390mm. The basket is a golden brown colour with the top 30mm decorated with string woven into the basket. The ends of this string form two short tassels which may have been used as handles.

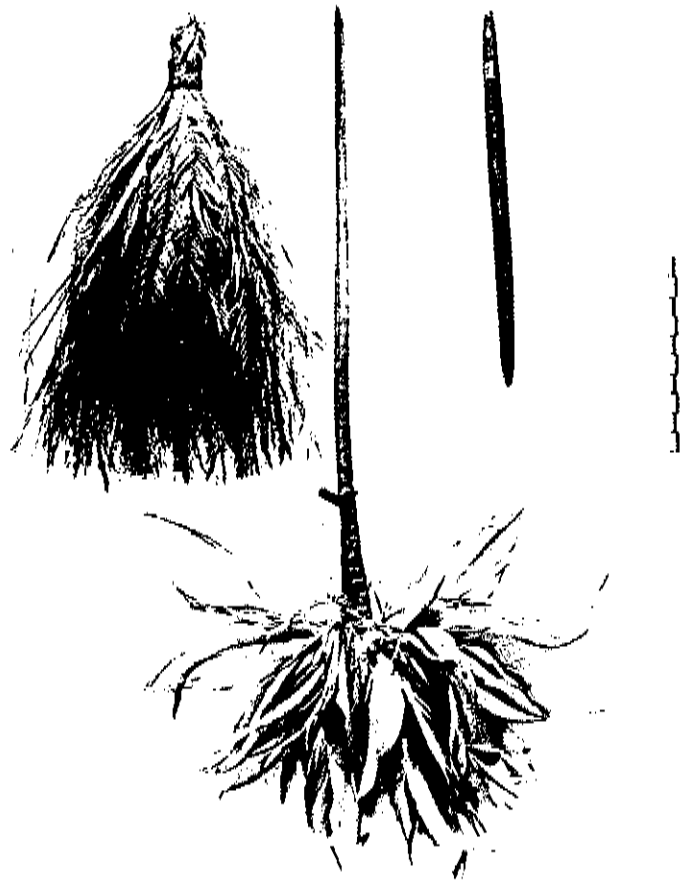
Both the register and the police list state that the basket is made from "rushes", with the register giving the precise identification of *funcus gracilis*. The museum register lists the basket's function as being "for food". However, there is no such information in the police list.

### 4.4.3 FEATHER ORNAMENTS

There were eleven 'feathered ornaments' in the analysis sample. Eight of these artefacts consisted of a feather bunch, bound at the base with either sinew, hair string or European string (see Plate 8). The binding of four of these had also been coated in resin. The remaining three of the 'feathered ornaments', all from Northampton, were bound with sinew to a kangaroo fibulae (see Plate 8). The length of these bone skewers was comparable to the length of the 'bone points' in

PLATE 8:  
(from left to right)

- [3827] 'Feathered ornament', York
- [x3823] 'Feathered ornament', Northampton
- [x811] 'Small stick - incised', Northampton



the collection. The presence or absence of this bone attachment formed the basis of the two classes outlined in Table 4.10.

The police list describes the function of four of the 'feather ornaments', [x3816; x3817, x3820 and x3827], as being "used by natives at corroboree to decorate their [?]". Of these, the museum register only mentions a function for [x3820] which is the same as the police list information.

For one artefact, [x3822], the museum register notes "hair ornament, stuck in the headband", yet the police list refers to this artefact only as a "hair ornament". The information about the function of three artefacts, [x859, x3823, and x3826], as being "hair ornaments" is the same in both the museum register and the police list.

Feather bunches are recorded in the ethno-historical literature as being either worn in the hair (Chauncy 1878:251; Bunbury 1930:86), or on the upper arms (Moore 1884:64; Chauncy 1878:251; Goldsworthy 1886:337). Although no explicit mention is made of feather bunches attached to a bone skewer, Moore (1884:67) mentions feather bunches attached to a skewer. However, Roth (1903:65) mentions feathers attached to a wooden skewer.

In a footnote to her analysis of ethnographic material from the southwest, Meagher (1973:220) questions whether a number of feather bunches, ascribed to the southwest and similar to those contained in the Forrest collection are correctly provenanced: "there is some suspicion that these specimens may not be from the south-west area, they have the same data as the wooden bowl which is discussed in section 3.1". The existence of similar artefacts from the southwest region in the Forrest collection suggests that her suspicions may be unfounded.

#### 4.3.4 SMALL STICKS - PLAIN

Eight artefacts in this category were examined in the analysis. This was also the original number of these artefacts in the Forrest collection as listed in the museum register. Their measurements are shown in Table 4.11. The sticks were classified into two types on the basis of their cross sectional shape.

##### Type 1

There were seven artefacts which were round in cross-sectional shape. Three of these [x813], [x814] and [x815], were from York. These were dark-brown, highly polished sticks with each end pointed and no additional decoration. The police list notes that the sticks were "for [a] head dress". The museum register notes that the sticks were made of *Maba germinata* or ebony.

Table 4.11: small plain sticks (all dimensions in mm)

Type 1: small sticks, round in cross-section, no incised decoration

| Artefact No | location    | length | diameter | type of decoration | shape of ends |
|-------------|-------------|--------|----------|--------------------|---------------|
| x814        | York        | 119    | 14.5     | -                  | both pointed  |
| x815        | York        | 115    | 15.0     | -                  | both pointed  |
| x851        | Northampton | 533    | 14.0     | stained            | both pointed  |
| x852        | Northampton | 432    | 15.0     | -                  | both pointed  |
| x853        | Northampton | 427    | 12.0     | white scatter      | both pointed  |
| x854        | Northampton | 417    | 11.5     | white scatter      | both pointed  |

Type 2: small sticks, not round in cross-section, no incised decoration

| Artefact No | location  | length | width | thickness | type of decoration | shape of ends |
|-------------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------|--------------------|---------------|
| x803        | Carmarvon | 419    | 33    | 6         | stained red        | both pointed  |

The remaining four round sticks [x851], [x852], [x853], and [x854], were all from Northampton. These were over three times as long as the similar artefacts from York. They all had each end pointed, with no decoration, apart from some very small scatterings of white colour on [x853] and [x854] and some red/brown staining on [x851]. Both the police list and the museum register indicated that the sticks were "hair ornaments", with the register also stating that [852] and [853] were 'men's artefacts'. The sticks were made from *Eucalyptus marginata* or jarrah, according to the register.

## Type 2

There was only one 'plain small stick' which was not round in cross-sectional shape. This was [x803], from Carnarvon. This artefact was made of light honey-coloured wood which has been stained a reddish hue. The museum register states that the stick is made from *Acacia acuminata* or jam wood. Both the police list and the museum register describe the function of the stick as for "hair decoration".

All the 'plain small sticks' had similar functions as items of decoration for the hair, and all had pointed ends. However, they vary in terms of their length. Sticks from the same location are similar. The sample was too small to infer regional patterns, except that the distribution of the artefacts was restricted to the northwest and southwest regions. However their absence from the Kimberley region, and other locations in the Northwest region may result from the differing contexts of acquisition discussed in Chapter 2.

### 4.3.5 SMALL STICKS-TUFTED

There were six 'tufted sticks' in the analysis sample, the total of such artefacts listed in the register. All of these are illustrated in Plate 9. Five of these were from York [x860, x862, x863, x864 and x865], and one was from Northampton [x861]. The measurements of each stick are contained in Table 4.12.

The artefacts were divided into two distinct formal types based on differences in the arrangement of the tufts along the shafts of the sticks. Although these types coincided with the different source locations of the artefacts further investigation of regional patterns was not possible because of the small sample size.

## Type 1

These five artefacts, all from York, consisted of a straight wooden shaft with one blunt end and one sharp end. The shafts were decorated with 'collars' of curled

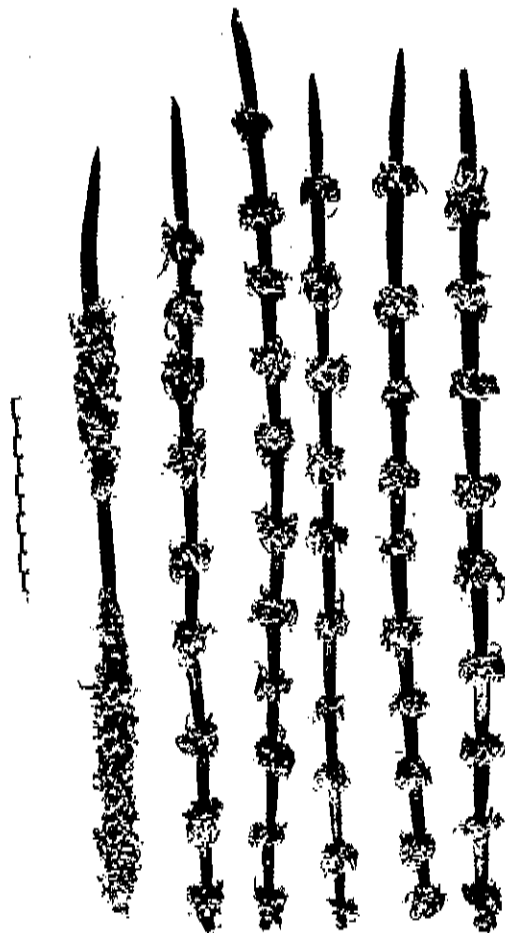


Table 4.12: Tufted sticks (all dimensions in mm)

| artefact no.<br>location                 | x860   |  | x862   |  | x863                                   |  | x864   |  | x865   |  | x861        |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|-------------|--|
|  | York   |  | York   |  | York                                   |  | York   |  | York   |  | Northampton |  |
| shaft length (mm)                        | 474  |  | 446  |  | 429                                    |  | 450  |  | 438  |  | 489         |  |
| shaft diam (mm)                          | 10   |  | 9.6  |  | 8                                      |  | 8.5  |  | 7.7  |  | 8.7         |  |
| no. of sets of tufts                     | 11   |  | 9  |  | 9                                      |  | 10   |  | 10   |  | 2           |  |
| dist from pointed end to first tuft (mm) | 61   |  | 71   |  | 78                                     |  | 64   |  | 62   |  | 78          |  |
| dist from last tuft to blunt end (mm)    | 14   |  | 18   |  | 15                                     |  | 8  |  | 6  |  | 5           |  |
| Distance between tufts (mm)              | 45<br>37<br>44<br>42<br>47<br>42<br>36<br>34<br>39<br>33 |  | 46<br>47<br>54<br>44<br>48<br>42<br>40<br>37 |  | 33<br>36<br>41<br>50<br>52<br>32<br>44 |  | 61<br>46<br>42<br>34<br>43<br>37<br>34<br>37<br>24 |  | 43<br>47<br>44<br>38<br>42<br>32<br>38<br>28 |  | 49          |  |
| mean distance between tufts              | 39.9   |  | 44.8   |  | 41.1                                   |  | 39.8   |  | 39   |  | 49          |  |

PLATE 9:  
(from left to right)

- [x861] 'Tufted stick', Northampton
- [x863] 'Tufted stick', York
- [x863] 'Tufted stick', York
- [x860] 'Tufted stick', York
- [x865] 'Tufted stick', York
- [x864] 'Tufted stick', York
- [x862] 'Tufted stick', York



wood shavings formed at regular intervals along the length of the shaft. They have been formed by repeatedly scraping the stick so that shavings have curled from, but remained attached to, the shaft.

Between each collar, the exposed shaft of these sticks was alternately coloured dark green-black and white. Irrespective of the total number of collars on a stick, the exposed shaft between the blunt end and the first collar was always coloured dark green-black. The next length of exposed shaft was coloured white and so on, the two colours alternating along the length of the stick. The space between the pointed end and the last 'collar' was always uncoloured.

Whilst there was some variation in the number of collars on a stick, the sticks had a high degree of homogeneity in their formal structure. The regular patterning of the black and white areas found on all of this type of stick, irrespective of the number of tufted collars, may be an expression of a stylistic grammar similar to that identified by Morphy (1977) on 'toas' from Lake Eyre.

## **Type 2**

Though utilising the same technology, this artefact from Northampton (illustrated in Plate 9), was different from the other sticks in the arrangement of the tufts. It had only two collars, but these were much longer than the type one sticks. All exposed areas of the shaft had been coloured red, the collars were not coloured.

The stick from Northampton is described as a "hair ornament" in the police list, whilst the remaining 'sticks' are described as "ornamental sticks used for marking out ground for corroboree".

Similar 'tufted sticks' have been recorded in the ethno-historical literature. Hassell makes mention of "...pieces of wood which have been shaved against the grain and the shavings left on the stick and curled, so they looked like white and brown feathers. These sticks were about six inches long and some of them had them stuck in their hair" (Hassell 1975:111).

Hassell also describes the use of such sticks in a ceremony.

"All the spears and curled sticks belonging to the men at the top and bottom ends of the 'S' were piled in heaps, the ends stuck in the ground, and the barbs upwards, one piled north, the other south of each fire, while the centre men planted their curled sticks one at the north, the other at the south of their fires" (Hassell 1975:112).

These descriptions suggests that the artefacts may have been used for both decorative and ceremonial purposes.

### 4.3.6 CUTTING INSTRUMENTS

#### Axes

There were two axes in the collection, both from Bunbury. The details of these artefacts are recorded in Table 4.13. The collection also originally contained a third axe from York. Both specimens were formed from two stones set in gum, into which had been placed a round, pointed stick as a handle.

[x838] one stone had a thin horizontal edge, the other stone had thin vertical edge. The stone was very coarse grained, with a rusty-yellow cortex and dark grey/black inside. The handle was, polished but otherwise undecorated.

[x839] both stones had flat functional edges, the stone was similar to that used in [x838].

#### Function

The axe has been recorded as being used for tree climbing, to catch possums and get honey (Hammond 1933:37, Haddleton 1952:103, Grey 1841:286, Browne 1856:543, Knight 1886:329. A description by Hassell suggests that axes were not used exclusively by men:

"we would sit under a tree, and one of the girls would suddenly wish she had brought her stone hammer so could climb it to get the opossum or coomal as they called them " (1975:10)

#### Taap knife

Both 'taap knives' examined were from the southwest region, [x809] from Bunbury, and [x810] from York. Although both were similar in their form, which consists of a number of flakes mounted longitudinally in gum along a pointed shaft; a major difference between the two knives was the use of quartz flakes in [x810] and glass flakes in [x809].

These knives are different from the knives used to treat animal skins. The blades of the knife are recorded as being used as 'saws' (Goldsworthy 1886:337 and the pointed handle used to climb trees (Hassell 1975:15)

### 4.3.7 BONE POINTS

There were four 'bone points' in the collection. These are illustrated in Plate 10, and their details recorded in Table 4.14. They are all made out of kangaroo fibulae. All

**Table 4.13: cutting instruments (all dimensions, except weight, in mm)  
axes**

| Artefact No. | Location | total length | handle length | handle max Ø | head length | head width | head thickness | weight (g) |
|--------------|----------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| x838         | Bunbury  | 347          | 266           | 12.1         | 159         | 81         | 41             | 578        |
| x839         | Bunbury  | 424          | 349           | 16.7         | 148         | 75         | 43             | 411        |

**knives**

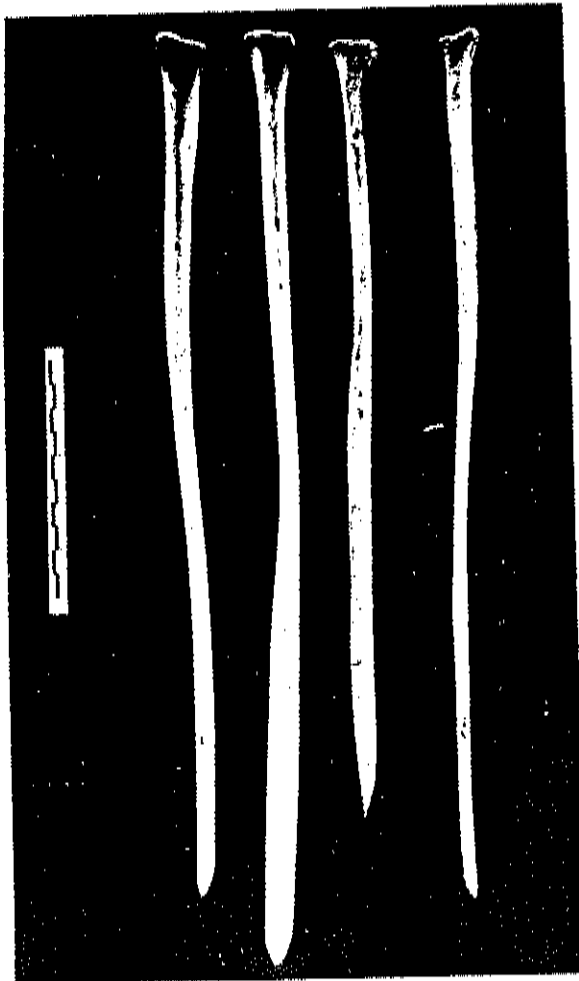
| Artefact No. | Location | total length | handle max Ø | length of resin | No of flakes | flake material | av. flake length (range) | weight (g) |
|--------------|----------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------|
| x809         | Bunbury  | 388          | 11.5         | 82              | 4            | green glass    | 13.0 (11.5-14.5)         | 45         |
| x610         | York     | 294          | 13.0         | 103             | 5            | white quartz   | 11.8 (7.1-16.2)          | 34.5       |

Table 4.14: bone points (all dimensions in mm)

| Artefact No. | Location    | Length | Width of head | Distal end shape | Ascribed function |
|--------------|-------------|--------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| x870         | Roebourne   | 325    | 20.6          | pointed          | awl               |
| x866         | Northampton | 393    | 22.2          | semi-rounded     | hair ornament     |
| x867         | Northampton | 363    | 15.4          | rounded          | hair ornament     |
| x869         | Northampton | 361    | 21.3          | pointed          | hair ornament     |

PLATE 10:  
(from left to right)

- [x869] 'Bone point', Northampton
- [x866] 'Bone point', Northampton
- [x870] 'Bone point', Roebourne
- [x867] 'Bone point', Northampton



the artefacts were from the northwest region and Northampton. There were no 'bone points' in the sample examined or even in the original contents of the collection.

This is interesting since there is frequent mention of 'bone points' in the ethno-historical literature for the southwest. Data provided by Bird and Beeck (1980) suggests that the 'bone points' from the southwest appear to have a different function, and are much smaller than those in the Forrest collection. The authors, drawing on the ethnography for the south west as well as Aboriginal informants, suggest six functions for the bone points: sewing, fastening, boring, preparation of animal skins, weapons, and ritual use. This is in contrast to the decorative function ascribed to the 'bone points' in the Forrest collection.

#### **4.3.8 WOMAN'S STICK**

Only one 'woman's stick' [X1630] out of the four listed on the register was examined. From Bunbury, this undecorated heavy 'stick' was 2303mm long with a 27mm max Ø. It had one pointed end, and blunt end. The 'stick also had similar marks on it as the 'transit' marks found on some of the spears.

#### **4.3.9 WOOL BALLS**

There were three 'balls of fur string/wool' in the analysis sample. All three were described in the museum register as opossum fur. The collection had also originally contained a ball of 'hair string' from Roebourne, but as discussed in chapter 3, this had been destroyed by insects.

The two 'balls' from Bunbury were sphericular shaped. [x3835] was a slightly squashed sphere, 44mm Ø, made up of thread Ø 1.7mm. [x3828] was a similar sized 'ball', 47mm Ø, as x3835, 29.5g in weight, thread 1.6mmØ

The third specimen, [x3830], from York, was a different shape. It was egg shaped, 86mm long 48mmØ, 43g in weight. Thread Ø 1.4mm. This shape was similar to that of the wool ball on the 'wool twister' [3824] illustrated in Plate 13. Thus [x3835] may have been made using a different spinning technique to that of the other balls.

#### **4.3.10 CLOAKS**

Two kangaroo skin cloaks were analysed. Both were from York. The museum register describes [x3807] as a woman's cloak, and [x3810] as a man's dress. These differences in the cloaks' gender ascriptions, were not reflected in the formal qualities of the artefact. The police list, the basis for much of the information in the



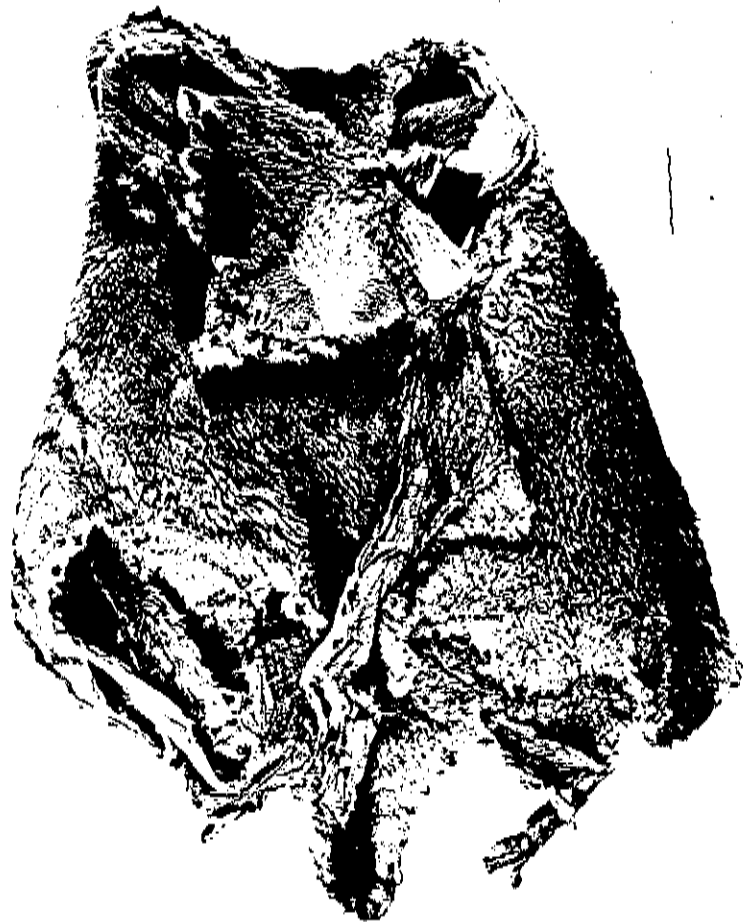
PLATE 11:

[x3810] 'Cloak', York



PLATE 12:

[x3807] 'Cloak', York



museum register, did not indicate which cloak was which, raising doubts about the accuracy of this information. However whilst it is likely that the *method* used to ascribe gender to each cloak was ad hoc; the information may be correct, since it has been noted in the ethno-historical literature that women's cloaks was often larger than men's cloaks (Nind 1831:31), (Hassell 1936:695).

Both cloaks had been manufactured from seven triangular shaped pieces of kangaroo hide. These had been sewn together, using a flat seam, to form the shape of an unrolled cone. Two rectangular pieces of hide have been sewn onto the two straight edges of this shape, to form a collar. The curved, outer edges of the cloak were uneven. The seams were sewn with thread, rather than sinew. A number of tears in [x3810] had also been repaired with cotton thread. Neither of the cloaks has a gusset such as that found on the cloaks from the southwest region analysed by Meagher.

The two rectangular pieces in [x3807], were approximately 100mm x 900mm, and in [x3810] were approximately 100mm x 700mm. The length of the triangular pieces along the sewn edges was approximately 900mm in [x3807] and approximately 700mm in [3810]. The fragility of the artefacts, and the absence of a space large enough to spread the cloaks out, made more detailed measurement of the cloaks impossible.

There were some patches of red colouring on the non-furry side of [3807], particularly around the part of the cloak rubbing against the neck and chest of the wearer.

The ethno-historical literature suggests that the artefacts were used as both cloaks and blankets (Backhouse 1843:525). The cloaks were worn with the fur inside during the colder parts of the year, the cloaks were reversed so as to be waterproof during the periods of rain, and often discarded during warmer periods (Browne 1856:535). The cloaks were secured around the neck or shoulder by a twig (Bradshaw 1857:114) piece of wood (Hassell 1936:695), kangaroo bone (Hammond 1933:31) or grass (Bunbury 1930:85).

#### 4.3.11 TAIL TIP ORNAMENTS

There were three artefacts in the analysis sample which were formed from the animal tail tips. There were no others which had been lost.

Two of these were tassels.

One of these [x3832] was from Mt Barker. It was formed from approximately 15 tail tips which had been bound at the base with sinew and then using the same

**Table 4.10**  
**Feathered ornaments without bone sticks (all dimensions in mm)**

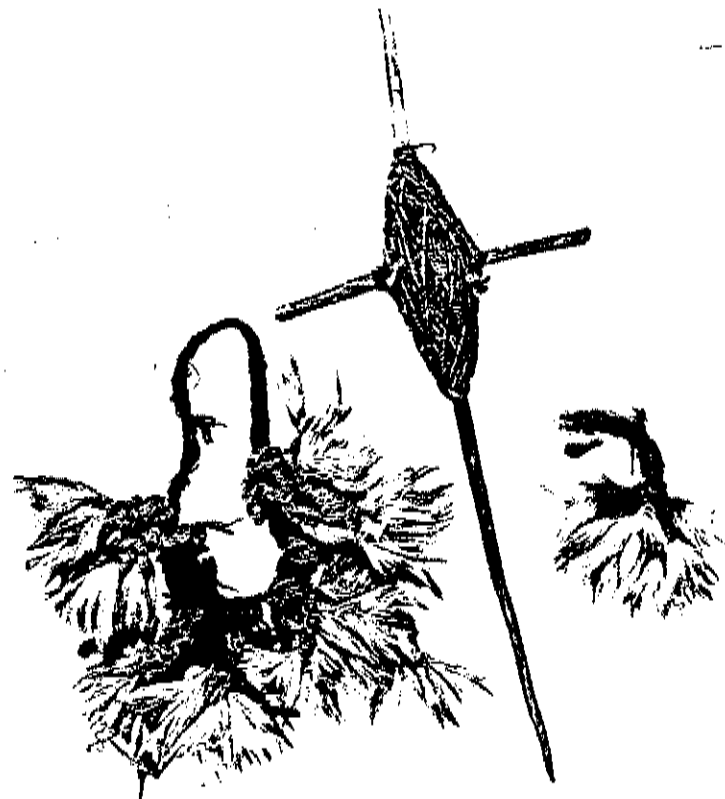
| artefact no. | location     | feather type | resin | binding     | feather height | feather width |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| x3816        | York         | emu          |       | string      | 260            | 130           |
| x3817        | York         | emu          |       | x           | 290            | 160           |
| x3820        | York         | emu          |       | string      | 340            | 190           |
| x3827        | York         | emu/stained  | x     | x           | 280            | 210           |
| x3818        | Northampton  | emu          | x     | x           | 220            | 240           |
| x3821        | Northampton  | emu          | x     | x           | 320            | 200           |
| x3815        | Mt Barker    |              |       | hair string | 220            | 190           |
| x3826        | Ashburton R. | emu          | x     | sinew       | 270            | 270           |

**Feathered ornaments with bone sticks (all dimensions in mm)**

| artefact no. | location    | feather type  | binding | length of feathers | width of feathers | length of bone |
|--------------|-------------|---|---------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| x859         | Northampton | white, orange & pink tinted, major mitchell cockatoo feathers | sinew   | 130                | 120               | 400            |
| x3822        | Northampton | emu   | sinew   | 270                |                   | 305            |
| x3823        | Northampton | sulphur crested cockatoo                                      | sinew   | 150                | 220               | 320            |

PLATE 13:  
(from left to right)

- [X3831] 'Tail tip ornament', Northampton
- [X3824] 'Wool twister', Bunbury
- [x3833] 'Tail tip ornament', Roebourne



technique, bound onto a 50mm length of multi-plyed opossum fur wool (of approximately 14mmØ) to form a tassel. The tips were up to 80mm long, and faded white in colour, with black bases.

The museum register describes the tail tips as being made from rabbit kangaroos, however in the ethno-historical literature there are references to similar ornaments made from dog-tails (Hassell 1936:695).

The second artefact [x3833], illustrated in Plate 13, was from Roebourne. It had a larger number of tail tips than [x3832], however the fragile nature of the artefact made it impossible to count the exact number. The tips were shorter than [x3832] approximately 45mm long. The tip bases were bound in a similar manner to [x3832], but then attached to a 130mm long fibrous multiply central thread, approx 15mm Ø. The binding was not as neat as in [x3832].

The third artefact [x3831], illustrated in Plate 13, also from Roebourne, was composed of ten tassels, similar to [x3832] and [x3833], regularly attached along 260mm of a 580mm loop of dark brown 5 ply fur string. The tassels were attached by very thin, twisted fibrous twine. Each tassel was composed of approximately ten animal tail tips. The tips were approximately 40mm long, faded white with remnant brown and ginger colouring.

Although exhibiting similar artefact form, [x3832] and [x3833] are manufactured using some different materials. This may be a result of differences in available resources as the two artefacts come from locations separated by over 1000km. Yet similar form. The high degree of formal correlation suggests interaction at some level.

Discuss large distance between these two artefacts, and the correlation between distance and artefact form, ascribed function.

#### **4.3.12 NETS**

only one net from Roebourne [x789], although originally there was another one from ashburton.

2300mm x 300mm, with two strings off one side. Mesh size 20-25mm. Police list says it is for creek fishing. Manufactured from spinifex fibre, using a knotted mesh technique. Register notes that net is unfinished.

#### **4.3.13 WOOL TWISTERS**

There are two wool twisters in the collection.

[x3824], illustrated in Plate 13, from Bunbury. This artefact is made of two very light yellow/brown coloured sticks, intersecting at right angles. The shorter stick (256mm x 12mm Ø) is bisected by the longer stick (630mm 12mm Ø) approximately 1/3 of the way down the shaft of the longer stick. Both ends of each stick are pointed. The shafts of both sticks have been thinned and are approximately round in cross-section. The register notes that the original opossum wool on the twister was destroyed by insects, and has been replaced by Bandicoot wool from Central Australia. The shape of the ball is the same as the egg shaped ball of wool [x3830]

[x3825] from Northampton. This artefact is made of three, light yellow/brown coloured, sticks. The arrangement of these sticks is the same as in [x3824] above, with the longer stick (564mm x 7mm Ø) bisecting a shorter stick (160mm x 7mm Ø). There is an additional third stick (estimated at 65mm x 7mm Ø), one end of which is embedded in the ball of wool, somewhere near the point of intersection. The point of intersection is approximately one third of the way down the shaft of the longest stick. The end of the longest stick, furthest from the point of intersection, is pointed. The other four visible stick ends are coated in dark brown/black resin. All sticks have been thinned and are roughly circular in cross-section. The opossum wool originally on this twister has been replaced by human hair string [x267]. This artefact was not originally from the Forrest collection. similar shape to other twister ball.

#### 4.4 COMPARISON OF FORREST COLLECTION WITH ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL HELD IN THE WESTERN AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM

To determine how the contents of the Forrest collection compared with the contents of other bodies of collected ethnographic material from the same region, I compared it<sup>7</sup> with Sarah Meagher's (1973) inventory of southwest Aboriginal artefacts held by the Museum of Western Australia. The results of this are presented in Table 4.15.

Since the Forrest collection was acquired from locations throughout Western Australia, it was necessary to select only those artefacts in the collection which were provenanced to within the boundaries of Meagher's southwest area. I have taken her northern boundary to be similar to that used by Tindale (1974) and Berndt (1980). Thus, Table 4.17 includes all the artefacts within the Forrest collection from Mt Barker, Bunbury, and York. It does not include artefacts from Northampton, Dongara and Geraldton, since they are at the very edge of the northern boundary of the southwest area. As Meagher excluded Esperance artefacts from the southwest area, the Esperance artefacts in the Forrest collection have also been left out.

<sup>7</sup>The artefacts used in the comparison were selected from the total contents of the Forrest collection as listed in the Museum register.

**Table 4.15: Comparison of the range, and quantity, of southwest regional Aboriginal artefacts within the ethnographic collections of the W.A. Museum, and the Museum of Victoria's Forrest collection**

**Weapon artefacts**

| artefact types | quantity of artefacts W.A. Museum |      | quantity of artefacts Forrest collection |      |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|------|--|------|
|                | No.                               | %    | No.                                      | %    |
| spears         | 68                                | 40.7 | 23                                       | 28.0 |
| boomerangs     | 28                                | 16.7 | 10                                       | 12.2 |
| clubs          | 21                                | 12.6 | 4  | 4.9  |
| spearthrowers  | 16                                | 9.6  | 6  | 7.3  |
| shields        | 5                                 | 3.0  | 2  | 2.4  |
| Sub-total      | 138                               | 82.6 | 45                                       | 54.9 |

**Non-weapon artefacts**

| artefact types              | quantity of artefacts W.A. Museum |      | quantity of artefacts Forrest collection |      |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------|--|------|
|                             | No.                               | %    | No.                                      | %    |
| cutting instruments         | 14                                | 8.4  | 5  | 6.1  |
| string ornaments            | 4                                 | 2.4  | 0  | 0    |
| ceremonial objects (wooden) | 3                                 | 1.8  | 0  | 0    |
| cloaks                      | 2                                 | 1.2  | 3  | 3.65 |
| bone points                 | 2                                 | 1.2  | 0  | 0    |
| feather bunches             | 2                                 | 1.2  | 6  | 7.3  |
| digging sticks              | 1                                 | 0.6  | 3  | 3.65 |
| spindle/twister             | 1                                 | 0.6  | 1  | 1.2  |
| tufted sticks               | 0                                 | 0    | 5  | 6.1  |
| skin bags                   | 0                                 | 0    | 3  | 3.65 |
| small sticks-plain          | 0                                 | 0    | 3  | 3.65 |
| incised sticks              | 0                                 | 0    | 3  | 3.65 |
| string balls                | 0                                 | 0    | 3  | 3.65 |
| tail tip ornaments          | 0                                 | 0    | 1  | 1.2  |
| ochre balls                 | 0                                 | 0    | 1  | 1.2  |
| Sub-total                   | 29                                | 17.4 | 37                                       | 45.1 |

|              |     |     |    |     |
|--------------|-----|-----|----|-----|
| <b>Total</b> | 167 | 100 | 82 | 100 |
|--------------|-----|-----|----|-----|



Table 4.15 shows that although there is a smaller total number of southwest artefacts in the Forrest collection, it contains a larger number of artefact types than the W.A. Museum collections.

There were three artefact types which were represented in the W.A. Museum collections, but which were not represented in the Forrest collection. These were wooden ceremonial objects, bone points, and string ornaments. There were seven artefact types which were represented in the Forrest collection but which were not represented in the Western Australian Museum collections. These were skin bags, small plain sticks, inscribed sticks, tufted sticks, string balls, tail tip ornaments, and balls of ochre.

Thus the Forrest sample is a more diverse, and thus comprehensive, sample of the material culture of Aboriginal groups in the southwest region, than the range of material examined by Meagher.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSION

Amalgamation of the results for different artefact types suggests the regions examined in this analysis do exhibit regular differences in material culture patterning. The make up of these regions is as follows:

1. The southwest region consisting of York, Bunbury and Mt Barker.
2. The northwest region consisting of Roebourne, Ashburton and sometimes Carnarvon.
3. The East Kimberley region.

These regions are seen most clearly in the patterns of variation of 'boomerangs', 'spearthrowers', and 'spears'. This is more a product of the larger sample size of each of these types, rather than resulting from any formal qualities of the artefacts.

The formal variation of artefacts from Carnarvon, Northampton, Geraldton, Greenough and Dongara do not fit into either the northwest or the southwest regions. The placement of these locations mid-way between the southwest and the northwest regions suggests that for artefact types, such as 'boomerangs' and 'spearthrowers', these locations may be reflecting an area of stylistic transition between the two regions.

Esperance exhibits a distinctly different artefact patterning from that of the southwest region.

The more locations represented in each class of artefacts, the clearer the resolution of the regions. This would suggest that a similar analysis of other ethnographic material from the same areas would further clarify the relationships between the regions. The meaning of these regional patterns will be discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATION OF THE ANALYSIS, AND CONCLUSION

### 5.1 THE EXPLANATION OF VARIATION IN THE COLLECTION

The contents of an ethnographic collection can represent two broad axes of variation; variation across space, and variation through time. On the basis of my research into the historical context of the acquirement of the Forrest Collection, which showed that the artefacts were acquired relatively synchronically by the police, it can be assumed that the variation in the collection primarily results from variation across space.

I suggest that the spatial patterning of artefacts evident from the analysis in Chapter 4 results from three factors:

1. Variation due to different environments in different locations
2. Variation due to the differences in the nature of the artefact's acquisition
3. Variation due to cultural factors

These factors are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but are separated for the purposes of the following discussion.

#### 5.1.1 Variation due to different environments

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Western Australian land-mass has been divided into three physiographic regions (Jutson 1914). Differences in the environments of these regions account for some of the variation in the Forrest collection. For example, the restriction of skin cloaks to the colder and wetter climate of the southwest region.

Environmental factors also offer an explanation for the clear differences between the form of Kimberley artefact types and similar types from all other locations. The Kimberley region is isolated from all other locations represented in the collection by large areas of extremely arid country. The isolation of this region by this probable cultural barrier is likely to have resulted in greater cultural interaction with Aboriginal groups to the east.

Turning to the Southwest region, the similarity of the environmental conditions at York, Mount Barker and Bunbury with those found at Esperance, and to some extent Northampton, Geraldton, Greenough and Dongara, is not reflected in homogeneous artefact patterning for all locations in this province. This shows that

similarity in environmental conditions does not always equate with similarity in artefact patterning.

Differences between the regional environments are reflected within the contents of the Forrest collection, but they operate only at a broad level, and do not satisfactorily explain the total variation found within the artefact types.

### **5.1.2 Variation due to the different contexts of artefact acquisition**

The three regions also equate with different historical contexts of acquisition of the Forrest collection. In Chapter 2, I was able to characterize different Aboriginal-police relationships occurring within each of these regions. By examining the content of the sample from each location, I was able to separate artefact variation due to police-Aboriginal relationships from variation due to other factors.

Without first considering the affects of environment and the context of acquisition on the contents of the collection, all variations in the range of artefact types could be seen as resulting from variation in the material culture of Aboriginal groups in different locations.

### **5.1.3 Variation due to cultural factors**

As discussed above, the variation due to differing contexts of acquisition and differing environments, does not fully account for the formal artefact variation described in Chapter 4. These factors largely affected the range of types rather variation within these types. This is not to suggest that cultural factors do not also affect the range of types.

It appears that the explanation for variation within artefact types is related to cultural factors. Description of the link between material culture and other aspects of social organisation has been a common problem for other researchers (Merlan 1981:134). Hodder (1982:11-12) notes that material culture carries a number of meanings, and thus is not a passive representation of any particular social reality. Rather, it plays an active role in structuring these realities.

In the past archaeologists have used examples of artefact distribution patterns to construct cultural groups or archaeological 'cultures' (Childe 1935). However, where information about other aspects of social organisation is available, defining culture areas on the basis of material culture patterns is too simplistic an approach (Shennan 1978).

In the Australian context, the concept of the 'tribe' or 'nation' has been used to describe and define Aboriginal social groups (Birdsell 1976; Tindale 1974; Curr 1886; Bates 1985:39). Tindale (1974) has constructed a map showing the distribution of Aboriginal tribes across Australia on the basis that "there is often a high degree of correlation between tribal limits and ecological and geographical boundaries" (Tindale 1974:56).

The temptation for the student of material culture to view Aboriginal society in terms of structured 'tribes' is strong. Radcliffe-Brown (in Kuper 1977:133) defines 'tribes' as discreet entities of "...persons having a certain amount of homogeneity of language and custom sufficient to permit them to be recognised as a group, and to demarcate them as distinct from other and neighbouring groups". Such a definition makes it relatively simple to interpret material culture patterns, such as those observed in Chapter 4, as defining 'tribal' boundaries. The results of the analysis done in this study could be described in this way, and result in a southwest tribe, a northwest tribe, and so on.

However when the concept of the 'tribe' has been tested in specific case studies, the complexities of Aboriginal social organisation have largely invalidated the concept of a universal fundamental social unit (McBryde 1986:82). White discusses how these complexities result in the entity described as the 'tribe', being in fact multi-dimensional; with different linguistic, economic, cultural and spatial distributions (1986:20).

Incorporating these criticisms into a different approach, Peterson (1976: 60-67) has divided the Australian continent into a number of 'culture areas'. These areas are "...defined by major drainage divisions which tend to restrict communication between regions and therefore lead to the development of distinctive regional styles" (Peterson 1976a:2-3).

As defined by Peterson (1967b:67), the culture areas which include the locations to which the Forrest collection is provenanced are the Kimberleys culture area, the Indian Ocean culture area which includes Roebourne, Ashburton Carnarvon, Northampton, Greenough, Geraldton and Dongara, and the south-west coastal culture area which includes York, Bunbury, Mt Barker, and Esperance.

These culture areas do bear similarity to the regional differences observed in the analysis of the Forrest collection. I suggest that artefact distribution patterns, similar to those identified in the analysis of the Forrest collection, do not define the social group. They merely reflect a limited number of aspects of the social interaction between groups.

Based on Roth's (1903) and Bates' (1985) description of the extensive trading networks in the southwest, I suggest that the patterning observed in the Forrest collection may represent different trading networks. Such networks facilitate more frequent contact and result in the development of regional formal and stylistic traditions in the artefacts within the network. These networks are not closed systems, but represent regions of more intensive contact.

The locations which lie between the northwest and southwest regions can be considered as transitional areas, with artefacts from these locations exhibiting combinations of the two regional styles. Such a pattern is found in the 'boomerangs' and to some extent in the 'spears' and 'spearthrowers'. The artefact patterning also suggest that the location of Esperance is part of a separate trading

This interpretation of the observed material culture patterning could be further assessed through examination of the artefact pattern in other ethnographic collections.

## 5.2 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE FORREST COLLECTION: PAST AND PRESENT

In conclusion, if artefacts from the Forrest collection had been analysed without reference to the collection's historical context, patterns in the artefacts would still have been observed. However by using an historically informed approach I have able to separate the aspects of observed artefact variation was due to aboriginal social dynamics versus those due to other process of formation with more certainty.

It is important recognise that an ethnographic collection consists of two interdependent parts; the artefacts and their associated documentation. In the case of the Forrest collection, I have demonstrated that before using this documentation to contextualise the artefacts, it is imperative to verify its origin, the method by which it was derived, and the reasons such information was compiled.

In this thesis I have demonstrated that the current contents of the Forrest collection has resulted from the interaction between three social elements. These are the Aborigines who made and/or used the artefacts, the police who acquired the artefacts, and the museum which has 'managed the artefacts. The link between each of these elements are the artefacts in the collection. In a sense, the collection has been produced by both Aboriginal society and European society. Therefore, in order to use the collection to derive information about Aboriginal society, it is necessary to abstract which aspect of the collection's variation is due to Aboriginal society.

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|                |          |  |
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|                | C.U.P.   | Cambridge University Press                     |
|                | O.U.P.   | Oxford University Press                        |
|                | Q.U.P.   | Queenland University Press                     |
|                | U.W.A.P. | University of Western Australia Press          |

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Appendix 1a: Forrest to Museum 19/10/1889

VPRS 800 UNIT 4 F.1354<sup>1</sup>

In the Register of Inward Mail 1889

[from Forrest, J]. Acknowledges the receipt, through the National Bank, of £100 for the purchase of curios for the National Gallery.

[Date of letter 19/10/1889. Received 28/10/1889]

[actual copy of this letter unavailable]

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<sup>1</sup>The actual copy of this letter was not located during research, only the details recorded in the Register of Inward Mail.

Appendix 1b: Museum to Forrest 4/11/1889

VPRS 802 UNIT 15 F.214

214

4th of November 89

Sir

I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to sign the attached voucher where indicated in lead pencil and to return it to me at your early convenience.

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your obedient Servant

[illegible signature]

Librarian

The honourable  
John Forrest  
Perth.

Appendix 1c: Forrest to Museum 13/11/1889

VPRS 800 UNIT 4 F.1485

In the Register of Inward Mail 1889

[from Forrest, J] Forwards receipted voucher - £100.

[date of letter 13/11/1889, received 22/11/1889]

[actual copy of letter unavailable]



Appendix 1d: Forrest to Museum 8/5/1890

VPRS 800 UNIT 4 F.645

[from Forrest,J] Receipt of Mueller's second census of Aust.  
plants pt 1.

[date of letter 8/5/1890, received 16/5/1890]

[letter has been destroyed]

Appendix 1e: Museum to Forrest 10/5/1890

VPRS 802 UNIT 16 F.77

10th May

[1890]

372

LLB

Sir,

Referring to your letter of 19th of October last acknowledging the receipt of £100 forwarded for the purchase and expense of procuring native weapons of Western Australia for the Ethnotypical Museum, and stating that you had handed the amount to the Commissioner of Police for the purpose of obtaining the desired specimens, I have the honour, by direction, to ask you to be good enough to inform me when the collection is likely to be forwarded to Melbourne.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant

[signature: Dowden?]

for the Librarian.

The hon  
John Forrest Esq.  
Commissioner of Crown Lands  
Perth

Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

VPRS 805 UNIT F.724

No 43/46

Crown Lands' Office  
Perth, May 15th 1890.

Sir,

In further reference to your letter of the 2nd of September last, I beg to inform you that I have had shipped to you 2 cases of Native Weapons by the S.S. Albany, and I hope they will reach you safely.

2. I forward a list of the weapons etc sent with the locality from which they were obtained.
3. I will send you an account of the expenditure in a few days.
4. The collection has been obtained through the assistance of the Commissioner of Police and I hope may be considered an interesting and valuable one.

The Honourable  
Edward Langton  
Servant  
The Public Library  
Melbourne  
Lands

I am Sir  
Your Obedient

John Forrest  
Council of Crown

## Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

Public Library, Museums & National Gallery of Victoria

Office Number: 724  
Writer of Letter: Forrest, Hon J.  
Date of Letter: 15/5/90  
When Received: 30/5/90  
Contents: Notifies the shipment per SS. "Albany" of 2 cases of native weapons obtained for the Ethnotypical Museum.

Two cases received £10/6/90. Cartage 3/10

Letter of thanks to be sent to Mr Forrest and also to the Commissioner of Police. Mr Forest to be also presented with a copy of Curr's Aborigines of Australia.

Trustees 10/6/90 [illegible signature]

Entered in Ethnotypical Stock  
Books No 1 & 2 West Australia.  
concluding in No 2 P.B. [initials]  
No 419. Forrest Collection  
[illegible signature]  
10/6/89.

## Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

List of Weapons, Implements, Dresses etc used by the Aboriginal Natives of the Western Australian Colony collected by Police.

### ESPERANCE BAY: South Coast of Archipeligo of Recherche

| No | Name           | Remarks   |
|----|----------------|---|
| 4  | Dowacks        | throwing sticks   |
| 1  | Womero or Mero | for throwing spears   |
| 12 | Spears         |   |
| 1  | Kiley          | used in fighting  |
| 13 | Cundells       | said to be used by natives for throwing towards the clouds from the top of a high hill to cause rain 2 over, 15 sent, ent as 13<br>[intialed] |
| 1  | Letter Stick   |   |
| 5  | Woordans [?]   |   |

### MOUNT BARKER: Near Albany K.G. Sound

|   |                           |   |
|---|---------------------------|---|
| 2 | Spears                    |   |
| 1 | Kiley                     |   |
| 1 | Dowack                    | throwing sticks   |
| 1 | Womero or Mero            | for throwing spears   |
| 1 | Wanna                     | a long stick used by women for digging roots and fighting                                 |
| 1 | Cootah                    | bag used by native women for ["digging" crossed out] carrying children and small articles |
| 1 | Bunch of<br>Gnow Feathers | head dress  |
| 1 | Bunch of<br>Dalgute Tails | ditto   |

## Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

### BUNBURY, VASSE AND BLACKWOOD: South West corner of Australia

|    |                    |  |
|----|--------------------|--|
| 12 | Spears             | 1 Dowak sent not entered                             |
| 1  | Wanna              |  |
| 1  | Bookah             | native dress   |
| 1  | Coolah             | native woman's bag                                   |
| 1  | Nooda              | Hair Band  |
| 2  | Nuibana            | Girdles used by native men manufactured from Opposum |
| 1  | Bunch Emu Feathers | Ornaments for the arms                               |
| 2  | Kadgos             | Native axes  |
| 1  | Dabah              | Native knife   |
| 3  | Womeroes           | For spear throwing                                   |
| 1  | Wandee             | Shield used to guard body from spears                |
| 1  | Ball of String     | made from Opposum fur                                |
| 1  | Boolgo             | Sticks used for making string from                   |
| 6  | Kylies             | not ent  |

### YORK: 60 miles East of Perth

|   |                         |  |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 5 | Glass Spears            | used in fighting   |
| 5 | Barbed Spears           | used when fighting or hunting                              |
| 1 | Wanna                   | Native woman's Stick                                       |
| 1 | Stick                   | Inscribed with rules for Corroboree                        |
| 1 | Native Knife            | 1 over   |
| 1 | Codga                   | Native Axe   |
| 1 | Bag of Wilgie           | Used by Natives at "Corroboree" to decorate their [faces?] |
| 4 | Bunches of Emu Feathers | Ditto 4 over   |
| 5 | Ornamental Sticks       | Used for marking out ground for "Corroboree"               |
| 1 | Ball of String          | made from fur  |
| 3 | Kileys                  |  |
| 3 | Dowacks                 | only 2 Dowaks 2 Womeras sent not ent                       |
| 1 | Native Letter           | 1 over   |
| 1 | Shield                  | Cootah, Native woman's bag not ent but sent                |
| 3 | Sticks                  | For head dress   |
| 1 | Bookah                  | Native Woman's dress                                       |
| 1 | Buka or Boka or         | Native man's dress   |
| 2 | Bunches of Emu feathers | for head dress   |
| 1 | Band or fillet          |  |

Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

GERALDTON

1 Shield  
1 Dowack Glass spear not entered [?]  
3 Kileys  
1 Womero

DONGARRA

2 Spears  
3 Kileys  
2 Womeroes  
2 Dowacks  
2 Shields

CARNARVON

2 Spears  
3 Womeroes  
1 Dowacks 1 stick for hair decoration not entered  
5 Kileys  
3 Yarrowondahs Shields

EAST KIMBERLEY

3 Spear Heads made from glass  
1 Bag made from rushes by Natives  
5 Spears One head made from insulators of  
telegraph line  
2 Kileys  
1 Shield  
3 Mero, bookas used for spear throwing

GREENOUGH: West Coast Lat 29<sup>o</sup>

1 Womero  
3 Spears  
3 Kileys

## Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

ASHBURTON RIVER: (native name) "Minderoo" N.W. Coast

|   |                       |  |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1 | Shield                |  |
| 1 | Dowack                |  |
| 1 | Womero                |  |
| 1 | Kiley                 |  |
| 9 | Spears                |  |
| 1 | Net                   | made from spinifix fibre - used for fishing in pools |
| 1 | Bunch of Emu Feathers | Arm Ornaments  |
| 1 | Hair Band             |  |

### ROEBOURNE

|   |                                |  |
|---|--------------------------------|--|
| 7 | Spears                         |  |
| 2 | Shields                        | from Lagrange Bay                              |
| 2 | Shields                        | from Roebourne                                 |
| 3 | Dowacks or Wocaburras          | Throwing Sticks killing game etc               |
| 3 | Bags                           | Made from spinifex for carrying fish, game etc |
| 1 | Yandie (No1)                   | used as a canoe when gathering seeds in pools  |
| 1 | Yandie (No2)                   | for carrying water                             |
| 1 | Yandie (No3)                   | for winnowing seed for making bread            |
| 5 | Womeroes                       |  |
| 1 | Hair Ornament                  |  |
| 4 | Noolamas                       | Kileys   |
| 2 | Clubs                          | used in fighting                               |
| 1 | Ball of String                 | made from human hair                           |
|   |                                | 1 mesh stick [ornaments]                       |
|   | Parcel of Wilgee not Roebourne | 1 Native awl<br>1 small [?]                    |



## Appendix 1f: Forrest to Museum 15/5/1890

### NORTHAMPTON

|   |                         |  |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Mero                    | used for warning women, by twisting around the head sharply makes a humming noise. |
| 2 | Dowacks                 | throwing sticks  |
| 2 | Meros or<br>Wameros     | for Spear throwing   |
| 1 | Shackah                 | for carrying water etc   |
| 2 | Woondahs                | Shields  |
| 8 | Spears                  |  |
| 1 | Wanna<br>and fighting   | Native womans stick - used for digging roots                                       |
| 1 | Bookah                  |  |
| 4 | Pingins                 | Hair ornaments   |
| 1 | Ginda                   | Ditto  |
| 2 | Bumbarras               | Any Native is safe while carrying this stick from being molested                   |
| 1 | Binda or<br>Bindays     | Ornaments  |
| 2 | Jinkarras               | hair ornaments   |
| 4 | Yowarda                 | ditto  |
|   | Moombarras              |  |
| 3 | Coonda Stones           | used for circumcision  |
| 1 | Khyalba                 | Black boy gum  |
| 1 | Yowarda                 | Hair Ornament  |
|   | Wanardy                 |  |
| 2 | Wanardys                | Emu feathers for decorating body   |
| 2 | Coonadas or<br>Walanoos | Kileys for amusement   |
| 3 | Wallanoos               | Kileys for fighting  |
| 1 | Nulbu [?]               | Waist Band   |
| 2 | Knoolumbiddys           | Nose Sticks  |
| 1 | Boorara                 | used in spinning fur   |

Geo Phillips  
Commissioner of Police

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

ESPERANCE BAY: South Coast of Archipelago of Recherche

|      |    |                             |  |
|------|----|-----------------------------|--|
| 1128 | 4  | Dowacks                     | throwing sticks  |
| 1129 |    |                             |  |
| 1130 |    |                             |  |
| ?    |    |                             |  |
| 1176 | 1  | Womero or Mero              | for throwing spears  |
| 1153 | 5  | Woodans [must be Womeroes?] |  |
| 1154 |    |                             |  |
| 1155 |    |                             |  |
| 1156 |    |                             |  |
| 1157 |    |                             |  |
| 1622 | 12 | Spears                      |  |
| 1625 |    |                             |  |
| 1626 |    |                             |  |
| 1617 |    |                             |  |
| 1618 |    |                             |  |
| 1619 |    |                             |  |
| 1623 |    |                             |  |
| 1624 |    |                             |  |
| 1620 |    |                             |  |
| 1621 |    |                             |  |
| ?    |    |                             |  |
| ?    |    |                             |  |
| 716  | 1  | Kiley                       | used in fighting   |
| 816  | 13 | Cundells                    | said to be used by natives for throwing towards the clouds from the top of a high hill to cause rain 2 over, 15 sent, ent as 13 [intialed] |
| 817  |    |                             |  |
| 818  |    |                             |  |
| 819  |    |                             |  |
| 820  |    |                             |  |
| 821  |    |                             |  |
| 822  |    |                             |  |
| 823  |    |                             |  |
| 824  |    |                             |  |
| 825  |    |                             |  |
| 826  |    |                             |  |
| 830  |    |                             |  |
| 831  |    |                             |  |
| 832  |    |                             |  |
| ?    |    |                             |  |
| 829  | 1  | Letter Stick                |  |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| MOUNT BARKER: Near Albany K.G. Sound |   |                        |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| 1629                                 | 2 | Spears                 |   |
| 1628                                 |   |                        |   |
| 729                                  | 1 | Kiley                  |   |
| 1131                                 | 1 | Dowack                 | throwing sticks   |
| 1171                                 | 1 | Womero or Mero         | for throwing spears   |
| 1627                                 | 1 | Wanna                  | a long stick used by women for digging roots and fighting                                 |
| 3811                                 | 1 | Cootah                 | bag used by native women for ["digging" crossed out] carrying children and small articles |
| 3815                                 | 1 | Bunch of Gnow Feathers | head-dress  |
| 3832                                 | 1 | Bunch of Dalgute Tails | ditto   |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

BUNBURY, VASSE AND BLACKWOOD: South West corner of Australia

|                 |    |                                 |  |
|-----------------|----|---------------------------------|--|
| 1639            | 12 | Spears                          |  |
| 1631            |    |                                 |  |
| 1632            |    |                                 |  |
| 1633            |    |                                 |  |
| 1634            |    |                                 |  |
| 1635            |    |                                 |  |
| 1636            |    |                                 |  |
| 1637            |    |                                 |  |
| 1638            |    |                                 |  |
| 1640            |    |                                 |  |
| ?               |    |                                 |  |
| ?               |    |                                 |  |
| 1139            |    | <i>1 Dowak sent not entered</i> |  |
| 1630            | 1  | Wanna                           |  |
| 3812            | 1  | Bookah                          | native dress   |
| 3809            | 1  | Cootah                          | native woman's bag   |
| ?               | 1  | Nooda                           | Hair Band  |
| ?               | 2  | Nulbana                         | Girdles used by native men manufactured ?<br>from Oppossum |
| 3819            | 1  | Bunch Emu<br>Feathers           | Ornaments for the arms                                     |
| 838             | 2  | Kadgos                          | Native axes  |
| 839             |    |                                 |  |
| 809?            | 1  | Dabah                           | Native knife   |
| 1158            | 3  | Womeroes                        | For spear throwing   |
| 1159            |    |                                 |  |
| 1160            |    |                                 |  |
| 1185            | 1  | Wandee                          | Shield used to guard body from spears                      |
| 3835            | 1  | Ball of String                  | made from Oppossum fur                                     |
| 3824<br>or 3828 | 1  | Boolgo                          | Sticks used for making string from                         |
| 730             | 6  | Kylies                          | <i>not ent</i>   |
| 731             |    |                                 |  |
| 732             |    |                                 |  |
| 733             |    |                                 |  |
| 734             |    |                                 |  |
| 735             |    |                                 |  |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| YORK: 60 miles East of Perth |   |   |  |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 1644                         | 5 | Glass Spears                                | used in fighting   |
| 1647                         | 5 | Barbed Spears                               | used when fighting or hunting                              |
| 1648                         |   |   |  |
| 1649                         |   |   |  |
| 1650                         |   |   |  |
| 1641                         |   |   |  |
| 1642                         |   |   |  |
| 1643                         |   |   |  |
| 1645                         |   |   |  |
| 1646                         |   |   |  |
| 13041                        |   |   |  |
| 1118                         | 1 | Wanna                                       | Native woman's Stick                                       |
| 873                          | 1 | Stick                                       | Inscribed with rules for Corroboree                        |
| 810?                         | 1 | Native Knife                                | 1 over   |
| 841                          | 1 | Codga                                       | Native Axe   |
| 897                          | 1 | Bag of Wilgie                               | Used by Natives at "Corroboree" to decorate their [faces?] |
| 3816                         | 4 | Bunches of Emu Feathers                     | Ditto 4 over   |
| 3817                         |   |   |  |
| 3820                         |   |   |  |
| 3827                         |   |   |  |
| 860                          | 5 | Ornamental Sticks                           | Used for marking out ground for "Corroboree"               |
| 862                          |   |   |  |
| 863                          |   |   |  |
| 864                          |   |   |  |
| 865                          |   |   |  |
| 3830                         | 1 | Ball of String                              | made from fur  |
| 741                          | 3 | Kileys                                      |  |
| 742                          |   |   |  |
| 743                          |   |   |  |
| 1140                         | 3 | Dowacks                                     | only 2 Dowaks  |
| 1141                         |   |   |  |
| ?                            |   |   |  |
| 1163                         | 2 | Womeras sent not ent                        |  |
| 1177                         |   |   |  |
| 805                          | 1 | Native Letter                               |  |
| 1182                         |   | 1 over                                      |  |
| 1196                         | 1 | Shield                                      |  |
| 3808                         |   | Cootah, Native woman's bag sent but not ent |  |
| 813                          | 3 | Sticks                                      | For head dress   |
| 814                          |   |   |  |
| 815                          |   |   |  |
| 3807                         | 1 | Bookah                                      | Native Woman's dress                                       |
| 3810                         | 1 | Buka or Boka or Native man's dress          |  |
|                              | 2 | Bunches of Emu feathers for head dress      |  |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| GERALDTON       |   |                                    |
|-----------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1138            | 1 | Shield                             |
| 1142            | 1 | Dowack                             |
| 1651            |   | <i>Glass spear not entered [?]</i> |
| 739<br>740<br>? | 3 | Kileys                             |
| 1178            | 1 | Womero                             |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

DONGARRA

? 2 Spears  
?

---

751 3 Kileys  
752  
753

---

1165 2 Womeroes  
1169

---

1133 2 Dowacks  
1136

---

1198 2 Shields  
1199

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| CARNARVON |   |  |         |
|-----------|---|--|---------|
| 1607      | 2 | Spears   |         |
| 1608      |   |  |         |
| 1167      | 3 | Womeroes                                       |         |
| 1180      |   |  |         |
| 1184      |   |  |         |
| 1144      | 1 | Dowacks  |         |
| 803       |   | <i>1 stick for hair decoration not entered</i> |         |
| 754       | 5 | Kileys   |         |
| 755       |   |  |         |
| 758       |   |  |         |
| 765       |   |  |         |
| 766       |   |  |         |
| 1200      | 3 | Yarrowondahs                                   | Shields |
| 1201      |   |  |         |
| ?         |   |  |         |



Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| EAST KIMBERLEY |   |               |   |
|----------------|---|---------------|---|
| 1211           | 3 | Spear Heads   | made from glass                                 |
| 1212           |   |               |   |
| 1213           |   |               |   |
| 798            | 1 | Bag           | made from rushes by Natives                     |
| 1659           | 5 | Spears        | One head made from insulators of telegraph line |
| 1660           |   |               |   |
| 1660           |   |               |   |
| 1661           |   |               |   |
| 1662           |   |               |   |
| 1663           |   |               |   |
| 737            | 2 | Kileys        |   |
| 738            |   |               |   |
| 1186           | 1 | Shield        |   |
| 1168           | 3 | Mero, bookkas | used for spear throwing                         |
| 1166           |   |               |   |
| 1197           |   |               |   |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

GREENOUGH: West Coast Lat 29°

1172      1      Womers

---

1671      3      Spears

?

?

---

728      3      Kileys

727

726

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| ASHBURTON RIVER: (native name) "Minderoo" N.W. Coast |   |                       |  |
|--|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1195   | 1 | Shield                |  |
| 1124   | 1 | Dowack                |  |
| 1175   | 1 | Womero                |  |
| 761  | 1 | Kiley                 |  |
| 1614   | 9 | Spears                |  |
| 1616   |   |                       |  |
| 1609   |   |                       |  |
| 1610   |   |                       |  |
| 1611   |   |                       |  |
| 1612   |   |                       |  |
| 1613   |   |                       |  |
| 1615   |   |                       |  |
| ?  |   |                       |  |
| 794  | 1 | Net                   | made from spinifex fibre - used for fishing in pools |
| 3826   | 1 | Bunch of Emu Feathers | Arm Ornaments  |
| 3834   | 1 | Hair Band             |  |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

| ROEBOURNE                          |   |                       |  |
|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1664                               | 7 | Spears                |  |
| 1665                               |   |                       |  |
| 1666                               |   |                       |  |
| 1667                               |   |                       |  |
| 1668                               |   |                       |  |
| 1669                               |   |                       |  |
| 1670                               |   |                       |  |
| 1208                               | 2 | Shields               | from Lagrange Bay                              |
| 1202                               |   |                       |  |
| 1204                               | 2 | Shields               | from Roebourne                                 |
| 1205                               |   |                       |  |
| 1134                               | 3 | Dowacks or Wocaburras | Throwing Sticks killing game etc               |
| 1183                               |   |                       |  |
| 1135                               |   |                       |  |
| 1123                               | 2 | Clubs                 | used in fighting                               |
| 1143                               |   |                       |  |
| 795                                | 3 | Bags                  | Made from spinifex for carrying fish, game etc |
| 792                                |   |                       |  |
| 793                                |   |                       |  |
| ?                                  | 1 | Yandie (No1)          | used as a canoe when gathering seeds in pools  |
| 802                                | 1 | Yandie (No2)          | for carrying water                             |
| 1203                               | 1 | Yandie (No3)          | for winnowing seed for making bread            |
| 1161                               | 5 | Womeroes              |  |
| 1162                               |   |                       |  |
| 1164                               |   |                       |  |
| 1179                               |   |                       |  |
| 1181                               |   |                       |  |
| 3833                               | 1 | Hair Ornament         |  |
| 736                                | 4 | Noolamas              | Kileys   |
| 759                                |   |                       |  |
| 762                                |   |                       |  |
| 763                                |   |                       |  |
| 3829                               | 1 | Ball of String        | made from human hair                           |
| 804 1 mesh stick [ornaments]       |   |                       |  |
| 899 Parcel of Wilgee not Roebourne |   |                       |  |
| 8701 Native awl                    |   |                       |  |
| 1 small [?]                        |   |                       |  |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

868

| NORTHAMPTON  |   |                         |  |
|--|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1119   | 1 | Mero                    | used for warning women, by twisting around the head sharply makes a humming noise. |
| 1137<br>1145   | 2 | Dowacks                 | throwing sticks  |
| 1170<br>?  | 2 | Meros or Wameros        | for Spear throwing   |
| 828  | 1 | Shackah                 | for carrying water etc   |
| 1206<br>1207   | 2 | Woondahs                | Shields  |
| 1656<br>1657<br>1653<br>1654<br>1652<br>1655<br>?<br>? | 8 | Spears                  |  |
| 1658   | 1 | Wanna                   | Native womans stick - used for digging roots and fighting                          |
| ?  | 1 | Bookah                  |  |
| 851<br>852<br>853<br>854                               | 4 | Pingins                 | Hair ornaments   |
| 3831   | 1 | Ginda                   | Ditto  |
| 855<br>856   | 2 | Bumbarras               | Any Native is safe while carrying this stick from being molested                   |
| 861  | 1 | Binda or Bindays        | Ornaments  |
| 3823<br>859  | 2 | Jinkarras               | hair ornaments   |
| 866<br>867<br>869                                      | 4 | Yowarda<br>Moombarras   | ditto  |
| 799<br>800<br>801                                      | 3 | Coonda Stones           | used for circumcision  |
| 898  | 1 | Khyalba                 | Black boy gum  |
| 3822   | 1 | Yowarda<br>Wanardy      | Hair Ornament  |
| 3818<br>3821   | 2 | Wanardys                | Emu feathers for decorating body   |
| 756<br>757   | 2 | Coonadas or<br>Walanoos | Kileys for amusement   |

Appendix 1f, with the addition of probable artefact registration numbers

|      |   |               |                      |
|------|---|---------------|----------------------|
| 760  |   |               |                      |
| 764  | 3 | Wallanoos     | Kileys for fighting  |
| ?    |   |               |                      |
| ?    |   |               |                      |
| 3837 | 1 | Nulbu [?]     | Waist Band           |
| 811  | 2 | Knoolumbiddys | Nose Sticks          |
| 812  |   |               |                      |
| 3825 | 1 | Boorara       | used in spinning fur |



## APPENDIX 4.

### Key to artefact status information

- #1 missing on museum files
- #2 exchanged 30/1/6
- #3 presented to A.S. Kenyon 14/9/00
- #4 unrecorded but known
- #5 exchanged St Petersburg 6/08
- #6 secret/sacred artefact, rack 37-38/J
- #7 provisionally missing
- #8 sold 1/12/04
- #9 exchanged Baragwanath 2/1/10
- #10 cancelled
- #11 exchanged Field Museum, Chicago 9/08
- #12 exchanged W.S. Knowles 15/4/99
- #13 inaccessible within museum
- #14 exchanged P. Learmont(?) 3/1912
- #15 used in another exhibit
- #16 destroyed by insects 20/6/1901
- #17 destroyed by insects 1901



| RES NO.<br>716 | LOCATION<br>ESPERANCE | ARTEFACT TYPE<br>BOOMERANG | GROUP<br>W.M. | STATUS<br>#1 |
|----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 726            | GREENOUGH             | BOOMERANG                  | C             | CAB 7/16     |
| 727            | GREENOUGH             | BOOMERANG                  | C             | CAB 7/16     |
| 728            | GREENOUGH             | BOOMERANG                  | C             | CAB 7/16     |
| 729            | MT BARKER             | BOOMERANG                  | MH            | CAB 7/19     |
| 730            | BUNBURY               | BOOMERANG                  | K             | CAB 7/16     |
| 731            | BUNBURY               | BOOMERANG                  | K             | CAB 7/19     |
| 732            | BUNBURY               | BOOMERANG                  | K             | CAB 7/17     |
| 733            | BUNBURY               | BOOMERANG                  | K             | CAB 7/16     |
| 734            | BUNBURY               | BOOMERANG                  | K             | #1           |
| 735            | BUNBURY               | BOOMERANG                  | K             | CAB 7/17     |
| 736            | ROEBOURNE             | BOOMERANG                  | N             | CAB 8/10     |
| 737            | EAST KIMBERLEY        | BOOMERANG                  | ?             | CAB 8/10     |
| 738            | EAST KIMBERLEY        | BOOMERANG                  | ?             | CAB 8/10     |
| 739            | GERALDTON             | BOOMERANG                  | E             | #1           |
| 740            | GERALDTON             | BOOMERANG                  | E             | CAB 8/3      |
| 741            | YORK                  | BOOMERANG                  | E             | CAB 7/16     |
| 742            | YORK                  | BOOMERANG                  | W & B         | CAB 7/17     |
| 743            | YORK                  | BOOMERANG                  | W & B         | CAB 7/16     |
| 751            | DONGARA               | BOOMERANG                  | C             | CAB 7/17     |
| 752            | DONGARA               | BOOMERANG                  | C             | CAB 8/2      |
| 753            | DONGARA               | BOOMERANG                  | C             | CAB 7/17     |

| REG NO. | LOCATION        | ARTEFACT TYPE                  | GROUP | STATUS    |
|---------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| 754     | CARNARVON       | BOOMERANG                      | Ma    | CAB 8/4   |
| 755     | CARNARVON       | BOOMERANG                      | Ma    | #2        |
| 756     | NORTHAMPTON     | BOOMERANG                      | E     | CAB 7/16  |
| 757     | NORTHAMPTON     | BOOMERANG                      | E     | CAB 8/5   |
| 758     | CARNARVON       | BOOMERANG                      | Ma    | CAB 8/5   |
| 759     | ROEBOURNE       | BOOMERANG                      | N     | #1        |
| 760     | NORTHAMPTON     | BOOMERANG                      | E     | CAB 8/4   |
| 761     | ASHBURTON RIVER | BOOMERANG                      | M     | CAB 8/4   |
| 762     | ROEBOURNE       | BOOMERANG                      | N     | CAB 7/16  |
| 763     | ROEBOURNE       | BOOMERANG                      | N     | CAB 8/5   |
| 764     | NORTHAMPTON     | BOOMERANG                      | E     | CAB 8/5   |
| 765     | CARNARVON       | BOOMERANG                      | Ma    | CAB 7/19  |
| 766     | CARNARVON       | BOOMERANG                      | Ma    | CAB 8/3   |
| 769     | ROEBOURNE       | NET                            | N     | CAB 25/11 |
| 792     | ROEBOURNE       | MESH BAG                       | N     | CAB 25/10 |
| 793     | ROEBOURNE       | NET OR BAG                     | N     | #1        |
| 794     | ASHBURTON RIVER | NET                            | M     | #1        |
| 795     | ROEBOURNE       | MESH BAG                       | N     | CAB 25/10 |
| 796     | EAST KIMBERLY   | BASKET                         | ?     | CAB 53/3  |
| 799     | NORTHAMPTON     | COUNDA STONE -<br>CIRCUMCISION |       | #1        |
| 800     | NORTHAMPTON     | COUNDA STONE -<br>CIRCUMCISION |       | #1        |

| REG NO. | LOCATION     | ARTEFACT TYPE                  | GROUP | STATUS #     |
|---------|--------------|--------------------------------|-------|--------------|
| 801     | NORTHHAMPTON | COONDA STONE -<br>CIRCUMCISION |       |              |
| 802     | ROEBOURNE    | CONTAINER                      | N     | BACK 51-52/0 |
| 803     | CARNARVON    | HAIR STICK                     | Ha    | CAB 69/1     |
| 804     | ROEBOURNE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | N     | CAB 23/2     |
| 805     | YORK         | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W & B | CAB 95/2     |
| 809     | BUNBURY      | KNIFE                          | K     | CAB 176/5    |
| 810     | YORK         | KNIFE                          | W & B | CAB 176/5    |
| 811     | NORTHAMPTON  | SMALL INCISED STICK            | E     | CAB 74/1     |
| 812     | NORTHAMPTON  | SMALL INCISED STICK            | E     | CAB 74/1     |
| 813     | YORK         | SMALL STICK PLAIN              | W&B   | CAB 69/1     |
| 814     | YORK         | SMALL STICK PLAIN              | W&B   | CAB 69/1     |
| 815     | YORK         | SMALL STICK PLAIN              | W&B   | CAB 69/1     |
| 816     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 817     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 818     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 819     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 820     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 821     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 822     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 823     | ESPERANCE    | SMALL INCISED STICK            | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 824     | ESPERANCE    | MESSAGE STICK                  |       | # 1          |

| REG NO. | LOCATION    | ARTIFACT TYPE           | GROUP | STATUS       |
|---------|-------------|-------------------------|-------|--------------|
| 825     | ESPERANCE   | SMALL INCISED STICK     | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 826     | ESPERANCE   | SMALL INCISED STICK     | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 828     | NORTHAMPTON | CONTAINER               | E     | BACK 51-52/F |
| 829     | ESPERANCE   | SMALL INCISED STICK     | W.M.  | CAB 84/16    |
| 830     | ESPERANCE   | CUNDLE/MESSAGE<br>STICK | W.M.  | #1           |
| 831     | ESPERANCE   | CUNDLE/MESSAGE<br>STICK | W.M.  | #1           |
| 832     | ESPERANCE   | CUNDLE/MESSAGE<br>STICK | W.M.  | #1           |
| 836     | BUNBURY     | AXE                     | K     | CAB 178/10   |
| 839     | BUNBURY     | AXE                     | K     | CAB 178/10   |
| 841     | YORK        | AXE                     | W & B | #3           |
| 851     | NORTHAMPTON | SMALL STICK PLAIN       | E     | #4           |
| 852     | NORTHAMPTON | SMALL STICK PLAIN       | E     | #4           |
| 853     | NORTHAMPTON | SMALL STICK PLAIN       | E     | #4           |
| 854     | NORTHAMPTON | SMALL STICK PLAIN       | E     | #4           |
| 855     | NORTHAMPTON | SMALL INCISED STICK     | E     | CAB 84/16    |
| 856     | NORTHAMPTON | SMALL INCISED STICK     | E     | CAB 84/16    |
| 859     | NORTHAMPTON | FEATHER BUNCH           | E     | CAB 68/9     |
| 860     | YORK        | TUFTED STICK            | B     | CAB 69/2     |
| 861     | NORTHAMPTON | TUFTED STICK            | B     | CAB 69/2     |
| 862     | YORK        | TUFTED STICK            | B     | CAB 69/2     |
| 863     | YORK        | TUFTED STICK            | B     | CAB 69/2     |

| REG NO. | LOCATION        | ARTIFACT TYPE     | GROUP | STATUS       |
|---------|-----------------|-------------------|-------|--------------|
| 864     | YORK            | TWISTED STICK     | B     | CAB 69/2     |
| 865     | YORK            | TWISTED STICK     | B     | CAB 69/2     |
| 866     | NORTHAMPTON     | BONE POINT        | E     | CAB 45/46    |
| 867     | NORTHAMPTON     | BONE POINT        | E     | CAB 22/13    |
| 868     | NORTHAMPTON     | BONE POINT        | E     | #5           |
| 869     | NORTHAMPTON     | BONE POINT        | E     | CAB 22/13    |
| 870     | ROEBOURNE       | BONE POINT        | N     | CAB 22/13    |
| 873     | YORK            | CORROBORREE STICK | W & B | CAB 84/17    |
| 897     | YORK            | OCHRE             | W & B | #1           |
| 898     | ?               | RESIN/GUM         | ?     | CAB 21/17    |
| 899     | ROEBOURNE       | OCHRE             | N     | #1           |
| 1118    | YORK            | WOMAN'S STICK     | W & B | #1           |
| 1119    | NORTHAMPTON     | SACRED STICK      | E     | #6           |
| 1123    | ROEBOURNE       | CLUB              | N     | RACK 40-41/K |
| 1124    | ASHBURTON RIVER | CLUB              | M     | #7           |
| 1128    | ESPERANCE       | CLUB              | W. M. | CAB 13/15    |
| 1129    | ESPERANCE       | CLUB              | W. M. | CAB 13/14    |
| 1130    | ESPERANCE       | CLUB              | W. M. | CAB 13/12    |
| 1131    | MT BARKER       | CLUB              | M1    | CAB 13/14    |
| 1132    | ROEBOURNE       | CLUB              | N     | CAB 13/14    |
| 1133    | DONGARA         | CLUB              | C     | CAB 13/15    |
| 1134    | ROEBOURNE       | CLUB              | N     | #8           |

| REG NO. | LOCATION    | ARTIFACT TYPE | GROUP | STATUS       |
|---------|-------------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| 1135    | ROEBOURNE   | CLUB          | N     | #7           |
| 1136    | BONGARA     | CLUB          | C     | CAB 13/12    |
| 1137    | NORTHAMPTON | CLUB          | E     | #7           |
| 1138    | GERALDTON   | SHIELD        | E     | PACK 47-48/6 |
| 1139    | BUNBURY     | CLUB          | K     | CAB 13/14    |
| 1140    | YORK        | CLUB          | W & B | CAB 13/15    |
| 1141    | YORK        | CLUB          | W & B | CAB 13/15    |
| 1142    | GERALDTON   | CLUB          | E     | CAB 13/15    |
| 1143    | ROEBOURNE   | CLUB/STICK    | N     | CAB 13/14    |
| 1144    | CARNARVON   | CLUB          | Ma    | CAB 13/15    |
| 1145    | NORTHAMPTON |               |       | #7           |
| 1153    | ESPERANCE   | SPEAR THROWER | W.M.  | #9           |
| 1154    | ESPERANCE   | SPEAR THROWER | W.M.  | CAB 17/18    |
| 1155    | ESPERANCE   | SPEAR THROWER | W.M.  | #1           |
| 1156    | ESPERANCE   | SPEAR THROWER | W.M.  | CAB 17/18    |
| 1157    | ESPERANCE   | SPEAR THROWER | W.M.  | #1           |
| 1158    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR THROWER | K     | CAB 18/2     |
| 1159    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR THROWER | K     | CAB 18/2     |
| 1160    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR THROWER | K     | CAB 18/2     |
| 1161    | ROEBOURNE   | SPEAR THROWER | N     | CAB 18/8     |
| 1162    | ROEBOURNE   | SPEAR THROWER | N     | CAB 18/8     |
| 1163    | YORK        | SPEAR THROWER | W & B | #10          |

| REG NO. | LOCATION        | ARTIFACT TYPE             | GROUP | STATUS       |
|---------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------|--------------|
| 1164    | ROEBOURNE       | SPEAR THROWER             | N     | CAB 18/4     |
| 1165    | DONGARA         | SPEAR THROWER             | C     | CAB 17/19    |
| 1166    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | SPEAR THROWER             | ?     | RACK 40-41/F |
| 1167    | CARNARVON       | SPEAR THROWER             | Ma    | CAB 17/18    |
| 1168    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | SPEAR THROWER             | ?     | CAB 17/17    |
| 1169    | DONGARA         | SPEAR THROWER             | C     | CAB 17/19    |
| 1170    | NORTHAMPTON     | SPEAR THROWER             | E     | CAB 17/18    |
| 1171    | MT BARKER       | SPEAR THROWER             | M1    | CAB 18/1     |
| 1172    | GREENOUGH       | SPEAR THROWER             | C     | #11          |
| 1175    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR THROWER             | M     | CAB 18/8     |
| 1176    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR THROWER             | W.M.  | CAB 17/18    |
| 1177    | YORK            | SPEAR THROWER             | B     | CAB 18/2     |
| 1178    | GERALDTON       | SPEAR THROWER             | E     | CAB 17/18    |
| 1179    | ROEBOURNE       | SPEAR THROWER             | N     | CAB 18/8     |
| 1180    | CARNARVON       | SPEAR THROWER             | Ma    | ?            |
| 1181    | ROEBOURNE       | SPEAR THROWER             | N     | CAB 18/9     |
| 1182    | YORK            | DECORATED STICK           | W & B | CAB 84/16    |
| 1183    | ROEBOURNE       | CLUB & CUTTING INSTRUMENT | N     | CAB 14/1     |
| 1184    | CARNARVON       | SPEAR THROWER             | Ma    | CAB 18/9     |
| 1185    | BUNBURY         | SHIELD                    | K     | RACK 47-48/B |
| 1186    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | SHIELD                    | ?     | ?            |

| REG NO. | LOCATION        | ARTEFACT TYPE | GROUP | STATUS       |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| 1157    | NORTHAMPTON     | CONTAINER     | E     | RACK 51-52/0 |
| 1195    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SHIELD        | M     | RACK 47-48/0 |
| 1196    | YORK            | SHIELD        | W & B | ?            |
| 1197    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | SPEAR THROWER | O     | #7           |
| 1198    | DONGARA         | SHIELD        | O     | ?            |
| 1199    | DONGARA         | SHIELD        | O     | ?            |
| 1200    | CARNARVON       | SHIELD        | Ma    | RACK 47-48/0 |
| 1201    | CARNARVON       | SHIELD        | Ma    | #5           |
| 1202    | ROEBOURNE       | SHIELD        | N     | RACK 47-48/B |
| 1203    | ROEBOURNE       | CONTAINER     | N     | RACK 47-48/B |
| 1204    | ROEBOURNE       | SHIELD        | N     | #3           |
| 1205    | ROEBOURNE       | SHIELD        | N     | RACK 47-48/B |
| 1206    | NORTHAMPTON     | SHIELD        | E     | RACK 47-48/0 |
| 1207    | NORTHAMPTON     | SHIELD        | E     | ?            |
| 1208    | ROEBOURNE       | SHIELD        | N     | RACK 47-48/B |
| 1211    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | HEAD OF SPEAR | ?     | #12          |
| 1212    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | HEAD OF SPEAR | ?     | #7           |
| 1213    | EAST KIMBERLEY  | HEAD OF SPEAR | ?     | #7           |
| 1607    | CARNARVON       | SPEAR         | Ma    | #13          |
| 1608    | CARNARVON       | SPEAR         | Ma    | RACK 70/0    |
| 1609    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | #1           |
| 1610    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | #13          |



| REG NO. | LOCATION        | ARTEFACT TYPE | GROUP | STATUS    |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|-------|-----------|
| 1611    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | #13       |
| 1612    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | #1        |
| 1613    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | #1        |
| 1614    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | RACK 70/G |
| 1615    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | #1        |
| 1616    | ASHBURTON RIVER | SPEAR         | M     | RACK 70/J |
| 1617    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | #13       |
| 1618    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | #1        |
| 1619    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | RACK 70/F |
| 1620    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | ?         |
| 1621    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | RACK 70/G |
| 1622    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | RACK 70/G |
| 1623    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | RACK 70/G |
| 1624    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | #14       |
| 1625    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | RACK 70/G |
| 1626    | ESPERANCE       | SPEAR         | W.M.  | RACK 70/G |
| 1627    | MT BARKER       | WOMAN'S STICK | M1    | #13       |
| 1628    | MT BARKER       | SPEAR         | M1    | RACK 70/G |
| 1629    | MT BARKER       | SPEAR         | M1    | RACK 70/G |
| 1630    | BUNBURY         | WOMAN'S STICK | K     | RACK 70/F |
| 1631    | BUNBURY         | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/G |
| 1632    | BUNBURY         | SPEAR         | K     | #1        |

| REG NO. | LOCATION    | ARTEFACT TYPE | GROUP | STATUS       |
|---------|-------------|---------------|-------|--------------|
| 1633    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/6    |
| 1634    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/6    |
| 1635    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/6    |
| 1636    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/6    |
| 1637    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/6    |
| 1638    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | CAB WEST END |
| 1639    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | RACK 70/6    |
| 1640    | BUNBURY     | SPEAR         | K     | #11          |
| 1641    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | ?            |
| 1642    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | RACK 70/6    |
| 1643    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | RACK 70/6    |
| 1644    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | #7           |
| 1645    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | #11          |
| 1646    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | ?            |
| 1647    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | RACK 70/6    |
| 1648    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | RACK 70/6    |
| 1649    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | RACK 70/6    |
| 1650    | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | RACK 70/6    |
| 1651    | GERALDTON   | SPEAR         | E     | #1           |
| 1652    | NORTHAMPTON | SPEAR         | E     | #1           |
| 1653    | NORTHAMPTON | SPEAR         | E     | #7           |
| 1654    | NORTHAMPTON | SPEAR         | E     | RACK 70/6*   |

| REG NO | LOCATION       | ARTEFACT TYPE | GROUP | STATUS    |
|--------|----------------|---------------|-------|-----------|
| 1655   | NORTHAMPTON    | SPEAR         | E     | #13       |
| 1656   | NORTHAMPTON    | SPEAR         | E     | RACK 70/F |
| 1657   | NORTHAMPTON    | SPEAR         | E     | #1        |
| 1658   | NORTHAMPTON    | WOMAN'S STICK | E     | #13       |
| 1659   | EAST KIMBERLEY | SPEAR         | ?     | #1        |
| 1660   | EAST KIMBERLEY | SPEAR         | ?     | #1        |
| 1661   | EAST KIMBERLEY | SPEAR         | ?     | #13       |
| 1662   | EAST KIMBERLEY | SPEAR         | ?     | ?         |
| 1663   | EAST KIMBERLEY | SPEAR         | ?     | #8        |
| 1664   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | ?         |
| 1665   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | RACK 74/O |
| 1666   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | #13       |
| 1667   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | RACK 74/O |
| 1668   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | #13       |
| 1669   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | #1        |
| 1670   | ROEBOURNE      | SPEAR         | N     | ?         |
| 1671   | GREENOUGH      | SPEAR         | C     | RACK 70/B |
| 3807   | YORK           | CLOAK         | W & B | CAB 52/3  |
| 3808   | YORK           | BAG           | W & B | CAB 54/4  |
| 3809   | BUNBURY        | BAG           | K     | CAB 54/4  |
| 3810   | YORK           | CLOAK         | W & B | CAB 52/2  |
| 3811   | MT BARKER      | BAG           | M1    | CAB 54/5  |

| REG NO. | LOCATION        | ARTIFACT TYPE              | GROUP | STATUS    |
|---------|-----------------|----------------------------|-------|-----------|
| 3812    | BUNBURY         | CLONAK                     | K     | #7        |
| 3815    | MT BARKER       | FEATHER BUNCH              | M1    | CAB 68/9  |
| 3816    | YORK            | FEATHER BUNCH              | W & B | CAB 67/7  |
| 3817    | YORK            | FEATHER BUNCH              | W & B | CAB 67/7  |
| 3818    | NORTHAMPTON     | FEATHER BUNCH              | E     | CAB 67/7  |
| 3819    | BUNBURY         | FEATHER BUNCH              | K     | #10       |
| 3820    | YORK            | FEATHER BUNCH              | W & B | CAB 67/7  |
| 3821    | NORTHAMPTON     | FEATHER BUNCH              | E     | CAB 67/7  |
| 3822    | NORTHAMPTON     | FEATHER BUNCH<br>WITH BONE | E     | CAB 67/7  |
| 3823    | NORTHAMPTON     | FEATHER BUNCH<br>WITH BONE | E     | CAB 68/9  |
| 3824    | BUNBURY         | WOOL TWISTER               | K     | CAB 23/2  |
| 3825    | NORTHAMPTON     | WOOL TWISTER               | E     | CAB 23/1  |
| 3826    | ASHBURTON RIVER | FEATHER BUNCH              | M     | CAB 67/10 |
| 3827    | YORK            | FEATHER BUNCH              | W & B | CAB 67/7  |
| 3828    | BUNBURY         | WOOL BALL                  | K     | CAB 58/15 |
| 3830    | YORK            | WOOL BALL                  | W & B | CAB 58/15 |
| 3831    | NORTHAMPTON     | TAIL TIP ORNAMENT          | E     | CAB 58/13 |
| 3832    | MT BARKER       | TAIL TIP ORNAMENT          | M1    | CAB 71/16 |
| 3833    | ROEBOURNE       | TAIL TIP ORNAMENT          | N     | CAB 71/16 |
| 3834    | ASHBURTON RIVER | HAIR HEAD ORNAMENT         |       | #15       |
| 3835    | BUNBURY         | STRING BALL                | K     | CAB 58/15 |

| REG NO. | LOCATION    | ARTEFACT TYPE | GROUP | STATUS   |
|---------|-------------|---------------|-------|----------|
| 3837    | NORTHAMPTON | WAIST BELT    | E     | #16      |
| 3838    | NORTHAMPTON | BAG           | E     | CAS 54/5 |
| 13041   | YORK        | SPEAR         | W & B | 706      |
| 3829    | ROEBOURNE   | STRING BALL   | N     | #17      |



