UTS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

Wilay badhang: an analysis of past and present relationships with and around possum-skin cloaks

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the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

under the supervision of Distinguished Professor Peter McNeil,
Professor Benedict Anderson and Associate Professor Gregory Martin

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Professor Michael John McDaniel, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

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Long Abstract

This research considers the south-eastern Australian Aboriginal cultural practice of making wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks). Possum skin cloak-making is both a phenomenon and a movement; as a cultural practice, it belongs not only to my Wiradjuri community but is shared with other Aboriginal communities across south-east Australia. 'Wilay badhang' is an analysis of past and present relationships with and around possum-skin cloaks'. My thesis seeks to provide an understanding of the importance of possum-skin cloaks and the factors that have brought about their recent re-emergence; and, further, what this re-emergence means for south-east Aboriginal people today. My research asks: why did possum-skin cloaks disappear, how and why were they revived so, and why so enthusiastically? What does this re-emergence mean for south-east Aboriginal people today?

'Wilay badhang' references written and visual historical accounts to investigate the factors contributing to the disappearance of possum-skin cloaks, and considers how and why the practice of possum skin cloak-making has re-emerged across the south-east region. This research breaks new ground as it combines personal reflection and my experience as a cloak-maker together with an interrogation of the historical context of possum-skin cloaks.

I have engaged different research approaches and methodologies in the conceptualising and planning of my research. I analysed the historical record, relying on well-known written sources, such as explorers' and squatters' diaries and accounts, while also uncovering a plethora of unique historical accounts from 19th-century journals and newspapers. I then chart the revitalisation movement through an illustrated timeline.

A key contribution to Aboriginal studies is the development of an Image appendix of historical imagery depicting possum-skin cloaks, which both serves as evidence of European engagement but also has the potential to help Aboriginal people in researching cloaks, showing various designs and methods of making and wearing. Including paintings, drawings, sketches, etchings, prints, lithographs and photographs, this material is highly significant as it helps us understand the context in which possum-skin cloaks were traditionally made and worn.

We have relatively recently witnessed within Aboriginal culture of south-east Australia the extraordinary re-emergence of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks). For well over a century, possum-skin cloaks had not been made. They had largely slipped out of the memory and language of many Aboriginal communities who historically had made cloaks and for whom cloaks would have played a vital part in everyday life. As objects, possum-skin cloaks had virtually become extinct. But possum skin cloak-making and wearing has re-emerged in recent decades, a phenomenon best understood through the connectedness of south-eastern

Aboriginal nations, increased access to resources, knowledge kept alive within communities and the determination of makers.

Short Abstract

This research considers the south-eastern Australian Aboriginal cultural practice of making wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks). As a phenomenon, a movement and as a cultural practice it belongs not only to my Wiradjuri community but is now shared with other Aboriginal communities. Why did possum-skin cloaks disappear, how and why were they revived so, and why so enthusiastically? What does this re-emergence mean for south-east Aboriginal people today? As well as collecting and analysing written and visual historical accounts to investigate the factors contributing to the disappearance of possum-skin cloaks, the research breaks new ground in combining personal reflection and my experience as a cloak-maker, together with an interrogation of their historical context and illustrated chronology. This both serves as evidence of European engagement and has the potential to help Aboriginal people in researching such cloaks. We see designs and methods of making and wearing via analysis of paintings, drawings, etchings, prints, lithographs and photographs. I argue that possum skin cloak-making and wearing has re-emerged in recent decades, a phenomenon best understood through the connectedness of south-eastern Aboriginal nations, increased access to resources, knowledge kept alive within communities and the determination of makers.

Statement to be read at graduation

This research breaks new ground concerning the south-eastern Australian Aboriginal cultural practice of making wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks). My research asks: why did possum-skin cloaks disappear, how, why and when were they revived, and why so enthusiastically? The research breaks new ground as it combines my personal experience as a cloak-maker with material, historical and cultural context. This research belongs not only to my Wiradjuri community but is now shared with other Aboriginal peoples.

Acknowledgements

I begin by acknowledging Biyaami, the Sky Father and giver of life and law, who is also Marramarramaldhaany, the creator of all things.

I pay my deepest respects and give gratitude to my ancestors, who have passed down their teachings and have cared for our beautiful Wiradjuri ngurambang.bu mayinygalang.bu (country and people) since the beginning of time.

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Thank you to the Wiradjuri Council of Elders for their cultural guidance and their initial support of my possum skin cloak-making, in particular Dr Uncle Stan Grant AM (Snr), the late Aunty Flo Grant, the late Aunty Vonnie Gilchrist and the late Aunty Sandy Warren.

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Thank you to Dr Jonathan Jones and Genevieve O'Callaghan for their guidance and incredible support.

Finally, I would like to pay my deepest respects to the four Victorian Koorie women who have led the current possum skin cloak-making revival, Vicki Couzens, Debra Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm. It has been a privilege to be part of this important movement.

Note to the reader

Aboriginal language words used in this thesis are spelt according to the respective community's standard language orthography. Archaic spelling and terminology, some examples of which are today considered unacceptable, remain in quotes from historical sources. Language groups are included for Aboriginal artists and historical figures. For Image appendix figure captions, measurements are in centimetres; height precedes width.

Definitions

Assimilation

> In 1937, the Commonwealth government held a national conference on Aboriginal affairs which agreed that Aboriginal people not "of full blood" should be absorbed into the wider population. The aim of assimilation was that the "Aboriginal problem" would ultimately disappear - that Aboriginal people would lose their identity in the wider community.[1]

The expressions 'assimilation', 'half-caste' and 'Protection'; were all used at different times and with racist effects to control and manage Indigenous Australian peoples.

Full-blood

"A race-based term which referred to Indigenous people whose parents were of Indigenous, 'unmixed' ancestry. It is a part of the language of assimilation."[2]

Half-caste

> A race-based term that classified Indigenous people of mixed Indigenous and European descent. 'Half-caste' people were defined as those Indigenous people who had one Indigenous parent. Now accepted as an offensive term and no longer used to refer to Aborigines in official records.[3]

'Indigenous' and 'Aboriginal'

I use the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) definition here:

> Australia's Indigenous peoples are two distinct cultural groups made up of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. But there is great diversity within these two broadly described groups exemplified by the over 250 different language groups spread across the nation.

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[1] See Australian Human Rights Commission. (2007). Bringing Them Home *Education Module: Glossary*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/education/bth/download/glossary.pdf.
[2] See Footnote 1.
[3] See Footnote 1.

> An accepted definition of an Indigenous Australian proposed by the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs in the 1980s and still used by some Australian Government departments today is; *a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent who identifies as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and is accepted as such by the community in which he or she lives*.[4]

Limits of location

In 1829, The NSW Governor Sir Ralph Darling marked out a semicircular line 400 kilometres from the centre of Sydney. This inked-in map was the 'limits of location', beyond which no-one could graze animals.[5]

Protectionism

> This involved a range of practices and beliefs about how Indigenous people should be 'managed' by governments and their institutions from the 1850s to the mid 1900s. Different State and Territory laws established protection boards and native affairs departments which managed the protection/segregation of a considerable number of Indigenous people.[6]

Protectors

> The Protectors in each state administered government protection policies. They had wide ranging powers, including giving permission to marry, control over movements to and from reserves, social contact between Indigenous people and the removal of Indigenous children from their families.[7]

In NSW, the Aborigines Protection Board operated from 1883–1940 and managed about 9000 people in the 1880s. It was part of the Police Department. Legislation from 1909–1935 restricted where, when and how Aboriginal people could live and work, drink alcohol and be educated amongst other things. In 1940 it was replaced by a body called The Aborigines Welfare Board.[8]

Robertson Land Acts

The Robertson Land Acts were passed in NSW in 1861. They provided for the purchase of Crown Land, much of which had been squatted illegally.[9]

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[4] See AIATSIS. (2020). *Indigenous Australians: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/indigenous-australians-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-people.
[5] See Museums of History NSW. (2022). *Limits of location*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://mhnsw.au/stories/convict-sydney/limits-location/.
[6] See Footnote 1.
[7] See Footnote 1.
[8] See Find & Connect. (2014). *Aborigines Protection Board: Summary*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/nsw/NE00034.
[9] See National Museum of Australia. (2022). *Robertson Land Acts*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/robertson-land-acts.

Soldier Settlements

Solider Settlements was a Government Scheme that allocated land to returned soldiers with the aim of creating economic self sufficiency in areas that had not been much farmed to date.[10]

Songlines

> Songlines are the Aboriginal walking routes that crossed the country, linking important sites and locations. Before colonisation they were maintained by regular use, burning off and clearing.
>
> The term 'Songline' describes the features and directions of travel that were included in a song that had to be sung and memorised for the traveller to know the route to their destination. Certain Songlines were referred to as 'Dreaming Pathways' because of the tracks forged by Creator Spirits during the Dreaming. These special Songlines have specific ancestral stories attached to them.[11]

William Buckley

William Buckley (1780–1856) was an English-born convict known as the 'wild white man' who absconded from camp at Port Philip. Befriended by Watourong Aboriginal people, he lived away from white people for 32 years and was married to an Aboriginal woman. He gave himself up in 1835. Various portraits were made of him.[12]

[10] See Australian War Memorial. (2021). *Soldier settlement after the First World War*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://www.awm.gov.au/learn/schools/resources/anzac-diversity/aboriginal-anzacs/soldier-settlement.
[11] See Deadly Story. (n.d.). *Songlines*. Accessed Feb 6 2024, from https://deadlystory.com/page/culture/Life_Lore/Songlines.
[12] See Marjorie J. Tipping, 'Buckley, William (1780–1856)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/buckley-william-1844/text2133, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed Feb 6 2024.

Warning

Members of Aboriginal communities are respectfully advised that several people mentioned in writing or depicted in imagery in this thesis have passed away.

Permissions

For the purpose of this thesis and giving the extensive use of images I have not sought permission to use the images and do not intend to pursue permission to do so as to do this would take an enormous amount of time and involve extensive consultation. Therefore, in the final and public version of the thesis my intention is to delete all images. Removal of ‘non free rights’ images for copyright reasons is also standard practice in Australian universities once the thesis is made freely available in digital repositories.

1 Introduction

1.1 Research subject

In the first two decades of the 21st century, we have witnessed within Aboriginal culture of south-east Australia the extraordinary re-emergence of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks). For well over a century possum-skin cloaks had not been made or made in any significant number. Furthermore, cloaks had largely slipped out of the memory and language of many Aboriginal peoples and communities who historically had not only made them but for whom possum-skin cloaks would have played a vital part in their everyday lives. As objects, possum-skin cloaks had arguably become extinct.

Since the early 1990s we have gone from a position where there were only six heritage cloaks or remnants of cloaks in existence, held in museum collections (see Chapter 3), and no known practitioners to the present a situation where there are likely dozens of cloaks either in existence, being made or being planned, and practitioners increasing in numbers throughout the south-east. Leading this revival is four Victorian Koorie women, Lee Darroch, Treahna Hamm, both Yorta Yorta women, and Gunditjmara sisters Vicki Couzens and Debra Couzens, marked by their 1999 commission from Museums Victoria to make replicas of two surviving cloaks, an 1872 Gunditjmara cloak from Lake Condah and an 1853 Yorta Yorta cloak from Maiden's Punt, Echuca. These replica cloaks were subsequently acquired by the National Museum of Australia (NMA) in 2003 as part of the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection and exhibition of the same name. In 2005 the NMA produced a small publication, *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak*, by writer and curator Amanda Reynolds in collaboration with Debra Couzens, Vicki Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm (2005). This was the first book I had seen in relation to possum-skin cloaks.

The Tooloyn Koortakay Collection project, in turn, led to the four cultural practitioners' supervision of a Victoria-wide, government-funded cloak-making project culminating in 35 cloaks being made by Victorian Koorie elders. These cloaks were subsequently worn during the Opening Ceremony of the 2006 Melbourne Commonwealth Games. Since then there have been numerous cloak-related projects and initiatives across the south-east, a significant number of which have been led by Couzens, Couzens, Darroch and Hamm (see Chapter 5).

To the best of my knowledge no single Aboriginal artefact or cultural practice has transitioned from a situation of near-complete disappearance to one of enthusiastic revival over such a relatively short period of time. Nor has any other Aboriginal artefact of south-eastern Australia captured the attention and imagination of non-Indigenous Australians. As a subsequent cloak-maker myself, I have witnessed the impact of cloak-making and wearing on both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. I have also heard reports from other Aboriginal people about making and wearing cloaks; and in each case the impact, while varied, is substantial and noteworthy. In short, for Aboriginal people, possum skin cloak-making and wearing is usually emotional and

results in some sort of verbalised reflection on self, culture, ancestors, country, loss, identity and pride. This object elicits a strong emotional response. In addition, there is also, and almost without exception, a strong positive response from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to the sight of cloaks and of Aboriginal people wearing cloaks that is interestingly consistent with the responses of early non-Aboriginal settlers and explorers, as recorded by them (see Chapter 3).

Possum skin cloak-making is a both a phenomenon and a movement. The questions I seek to explore in this research are why did possum-skin cloaks disappear, why were they revived, and why so enthusiastically?

1.2 My cultural position within this research

In asking and subsequently exploring these questions I must state that I am not an impartial observer, I am a participant in this possum-skin cloak movement.

I have lived through the last 50 or so years and have witnessed the changing position of Indigenous peoples both within Australia and internationally; or, to be more specific, Indigenous people from democratic, First World, former British colonies. I have experienced my own increasing Wiradjuri awareness and personal cultural revival, as have my Wiradjuri countrymen and countrywomen.

I have been a participant in the growing contact and collaboration between Indigenous peoples worldwide and have been affected by their experiences and aspirations.

I have been inspired by the work of Couzens, Couzens, Darroch and Hamm. I have made possum-skin cloaks, worn them, and taught others to make them, and in doing so I have been an observer in relation to the impact of cloaks on others. At the same time I would like to particularly acknowledge the work of these four Koorie women—Couzens, Couzens, Darroch and Hamm—who have been instrumental in the momentum of the current possum-skin cloak movement.

I have been a participant in conversations about choices of techniques for making possum-skin cloaks. I have been involved in conversations about imagery, cultural authenticity, gender roles, the use of ethical fur, cultural continuity and cultural boundaries.

I have been involved in conversations about the spiritual role of cloaks and have witnessed and felt their power firsthand.

I have been involved with cloaks not only as a cultural practice but as an art form that has financial value for collectors. In other words, having sold cloaks, I have participated in the commodification of cloaks. In various ways I have been engaging not only with Aboriginal people but also with non-Indigenous people around cloaks and have reflected upon their interest. These levels of engagement have at times been one-on-one and therefore conscious; at other times this engagement has been societal, indirect and not obvious.

I have been involved in discussions and plans in relation to my own Wiradjuri nation and our interests in Wiradjuri nation-building/strengthening and have discussed the potential for cloak-making in this process.

In short, I have been immersed in the practice of possum skin cloak-making and wearing and have been conducting non-traditional research on this topic for years. Having done that, and with more research to do, I believe I have valuable questions to ask and a story to tell.

Regarding my personal research journey it is interesting to reflect on my own consciousness-raising in relation to possum-skin cloaks and the factors leading to my own participation in this movement.

1.2.1 My earliest recollections of possum-skin cloaks and growing consciousness

My first recollection of a cloak being worn was in the *Women of the sun* (1981) series, which over four episodes portrayed the experience of Aboriginal women in south-east Australia in the 1820s, 1890s, 1930s and 1980s. From memory, two cloaks appeared in the television program: one was a cloak worn by the character Alinta (The Flame), a woman born in pre-contact Victoria who had lived through some significantly troubling experiences; the second was a cloak worn by a male elder with a long white beard during a burial scene on a Victorian Aboriginal reserve in the late 1800s. I also recall seeing an image of the elder and activist Burnum Burnum wearing a kangaroo-skin cloak during the 1970s (see Figure 1.1), which along with his long white beard looked extremely impressive. That said, while I obviously registered seeing these cloaks and felt a positive response to them, it is reasonable to say that I didn't think of making a cloak at the time.

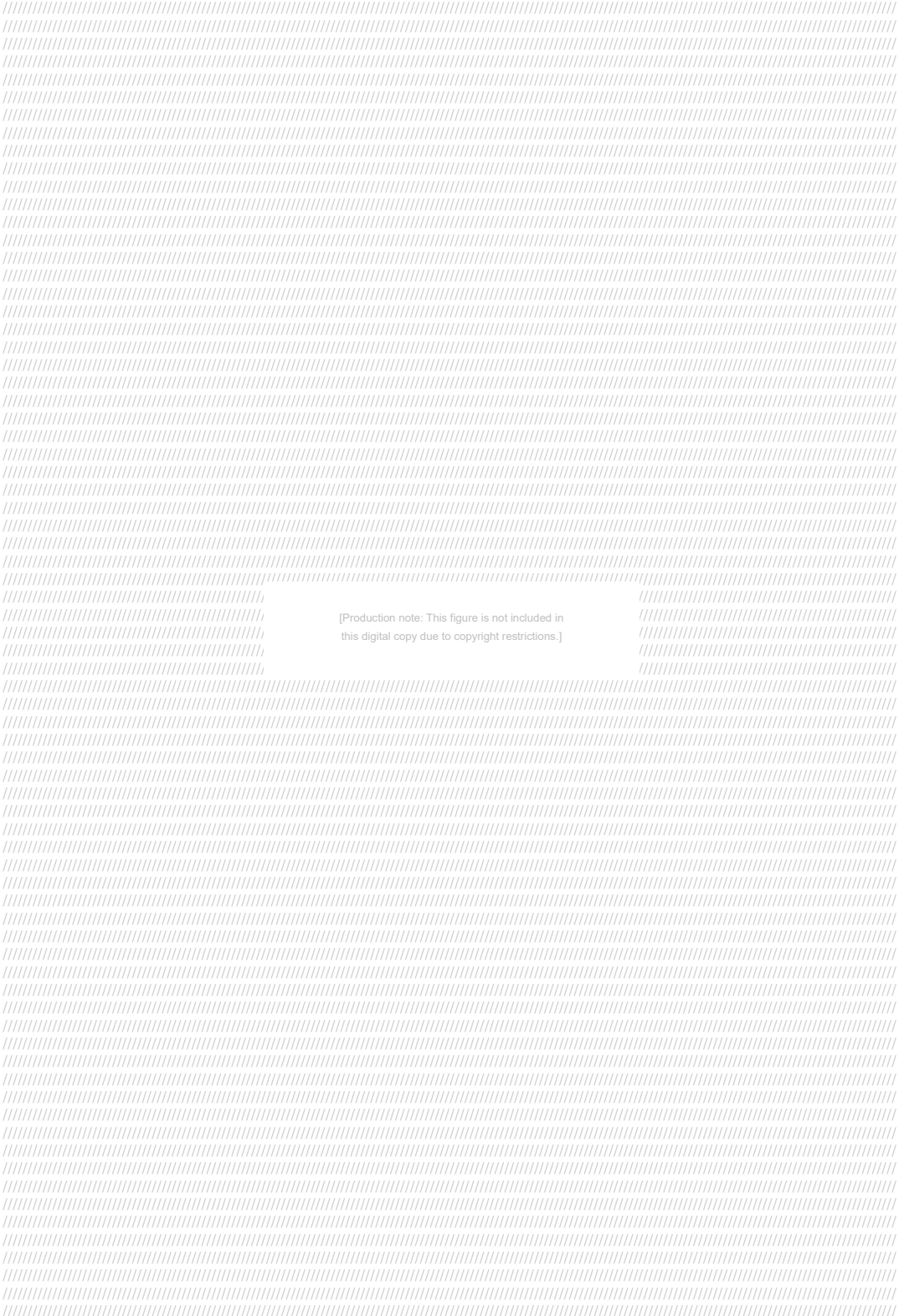


Figure 1.1: John B. Ellis, *Harry Penrith (Burnum Burnum) at Movement Against Uranium Mining march, 3 August 1978*, 1978, photograph, University of Melbourne Archives, 1999.0081.00146

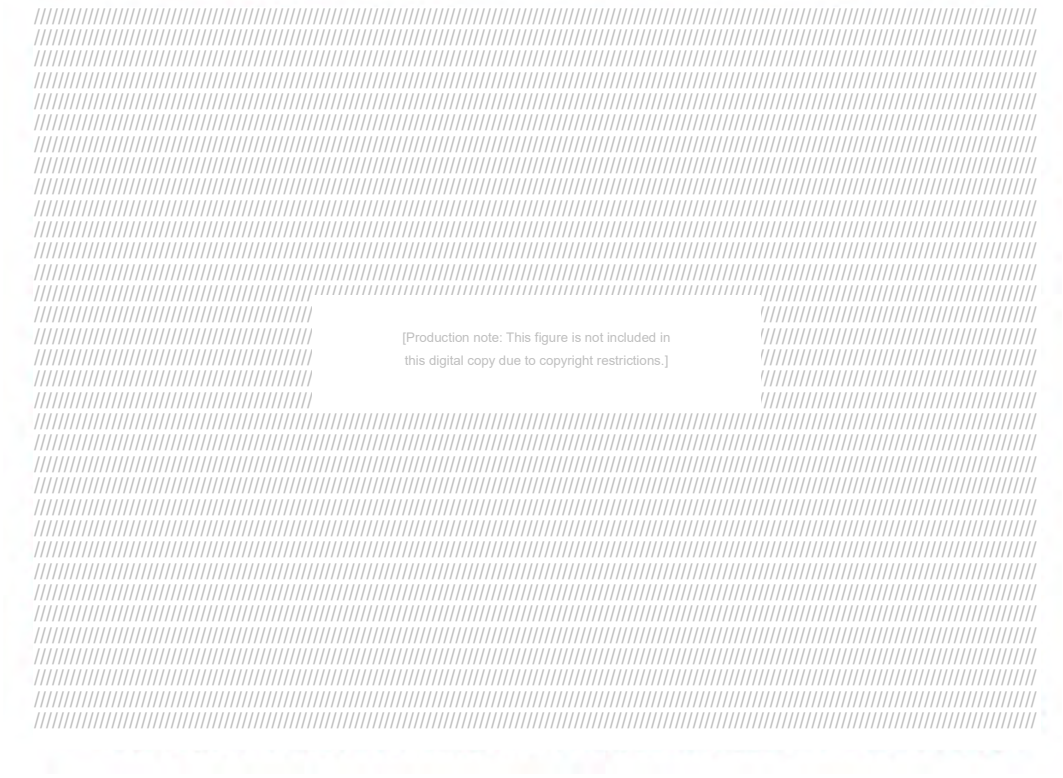


Figure 1.2: *Platypus skin rug*, c.1900, 125 x 170 cm, Carter's Price Guide to Antiques, sourced <https://www.carters.com.au/index.cfm/item/803154-a-platypus-skin-rug-circa-1900-170-x-125-cm/>

While there isn't an immediate relationship between the abovementioned cloaks and the present possum-skin cloak movement, these 1970s and 1980s examples of representation are part of a larger narrative—that narrative being the deliberate and increasingly successful journey of Aboriginal people in south-east Australia from the margins of Australian society further towards the centre, from a position of irrelevance to non-Indigenous society to one of relevance. This journey is characterised by greater cultural safety for Aboriginal people and a more confident cultural position and political assertion.

This journey has also included the pursuit of a more prominent place in the national identity. Ironically, while there has been an historical pursuit for economic, social and political 'inclusion', it has also been a movement whereby Aboriginal people have asserted to an increasingly successful degree our right to be different, to not disappear into the broader non-Indigenous society and to not always be treated the same as everyone else. For non-Indigenous Australians this has been a journey of self-education, of discomfort, and has seen the development of an increasing ability to accommodate Aboriginal inclusion and difference without fear. I would say in relation to cloak-making and wearing, non-Indigenous Australians are even seeing various types of personal value in it.

There is also an international Indigenous context here. The experiences of Aboriginal Australians sit within a broader global colonial narrative. Indigenous peoples worldwide have had similar histories and have developed similar resistance methodologies, including in some cases cloak-making.

Being an academic for the past two-and-a-half decades, I have been painfully aware of my south-east Aboriginal community's sense of cultural loss and lack of material culture, in particular worn expressions of identity. This has been most obvious and discussed by my peers when in international Indigenous situations where we have been surrounded by the traditional attire of fellow Indigenous peoples. I cannot recall the number of international Indigenous events and conferences that I have attended at which Indigenous peoples of the world have been expected to wear or have chosen to wear iconic cultural dress and share some elements of ceremonial practice during opening and closing ceremonies or when visiting local Indigenous communities overseas. I can recall many international Indigenous conferences where I've heard conversations among Australian Aboriginal people suggesting that 'we should get organised and wear something next time' or 'we should perform something next time'.

The question, though, has always been 'but wear and perform what?' The degree to which we have been distanced from our performance, linguistic and material culture is obvious, occasionally embarrassing and I would argue even at times painful. While we invariably have the Aboriginal flag to carry or even wear as a signifier of identity, the flag is by its nature a western artefact and clearly not an object of Aboriginal cultural origin or deep spiritual significance. The Aboriginal flag fails to represent our more meaningful and ancient identities of clan and nation.

I recall attending the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education (WIPCE) held in Hamilton, New Zealand (Aotearoa), in 2006. The WIPCE is essentially an international Indigenous education conference but it is also a celebration of culture and the relevance of culture to education and Indigenous identities and broader social and political agendas. In 2006 the WIPCE was attended by approximately 5000 predominantly Indigenous delegates. Most of the delegates came from First World nations that were at some time British colonies, such as the United States of America including Hawaii, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Being in New Zealand, the conference was hosted by Maori people and predominantly attended by Maori people. Maori are a particularly proud and culturally impressive people with strong language and cultural revival programs. They subsequently are in terms of their creative practices an impressive people.

I recall being particularly impressed by Maori speakers at the conference, articulate and highly educated academics, dressed in black suits or dresses with finely woven flax and feather cloaks of various sizes. I remember the bearing and confidence the speakers exuded, and remember thinking that this must in part come from the cloaks on their shoulders. I've always felt culturally challenged at these conferences as well as culturally enthused.

It was at this conference in 2006 that I recall turning to a colleague, Wiradjuri countrywoman Dr Anita Heiss, and saying that we have our own cloak-making tradition and that we should be making them. In fact, I remember stating that when I return home to Australia I'm going to make a possum-skin cloak and I'm going to learn some of my language. I'm pleased to say I have done both. This was an interesting moment, though, as it was the first time I can recall consciously thinking that I wanted to make a possum-skin cloak.

This consciousness also arose from being given a book on possum skin cloak-making by a dear friend and Wiradjuri countrywoman, Jennifer Newman. The book was *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak* by Reynolds in collaboration with Darroch, Hamm, Couzens, Couzens Darroch and Hamm, published (2005) to accompany the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection and exhibition at the NMA.

1.2.2 My own practice commences

The next part of my journey involved me approaching the Wiradjuri Council of Elders at a meeting in Parkes, NSW (on Wiradjuri country) in 2007, in order to seek their approval for me to make a possum-skin cloak. I recall that there was considerable discussion at that meeting, chaired by Aunty Flo Grant. Some of the elders weren't familiar with possum-skin cloaks and no-one could recall having seen one. I remember that Uncle Stan Grant Senior, instigator of the Wiradjuri language revival movement, advised the elders that the term for 'possum-skin cloak' is 'wilay badhang' in our own language and gave a great degree of personal support for me to make one. The only sensitivities that arose during that meeting were a desire that I didn't copy actual known patterns due to their unknown and possibly sacred nature, however it was determined that I could design patterns in a 'Wiradjuri style'; and that my making a cloak would not lead to the wholesale slaughter of possums purely to make cloaks. I advised Aunty Flo Grant, the principal elder with this concern, that the skins of Australian brush-tailed possums (wilay-galang) could be acquired from New Zealand where the possum is an introduced species and an environmental pest. With that, and on the condition that I brought the cloak back to the Wiradjuri Council of Elders for their view when finished, permission was enthusiastically given. From memory, my seeking of permission was on behalf of Wiradjuri people generally and not simply for my own practice.

Gaining this permission was a vital element in establishing my practice, not only in terms of cultural integrity and spiritual safety, but for the integrity of the object itself. To my mind, without the support of my elders, the cloak would neither have been possible nor sufficiently culturally authentic; authentic in the sense that for something to be truly cultural and contemporary, it needs to sit within a contemporary communal context. I recall and would like to particularly acknowledge the enthusiastic support and cultural advice given to me that day by the following members of the Wiradjuri Council of Elders: Aunty Flo Grant, Uncle Stan Grant Senior, Uncle Ralph Smith, Uncle Russell Dunn, Uncle Cecil Grant, Aunty Yvonne 'Vonnie' Gilchrist and Aunty Sandy Warren. While many more warmly gave their support, the guidance and support of these elders was particularly memorable.

Another interesting connection arose at that time, when the evening before the meeting I had dinner with my mother's first cousin, Uncle Ralph Smith, a respected Wiradjuri elder in the Parkes community and a member of the Wiradjuri Council of Elders. On explaining what a possum-skin cloak was Uncle Ralph produced a kangaroo-skin rug with red felt lining and scalloping—an example of the marsupial-skin rugs of colonial Australia (see for example Figure 1.2). The rug was made by his non-Indigenous grandfather and passed down to him. I asked Uncle Ralph if he would allow me to use it at the Wiradjuri Council of Elders meeting as an example of what a cloak might look like when finished. It certainly caught the elders' attention. I offer this as a contemporary example of how something may have in fact come full circle, in that it is possible that historical possum-skin and kangaroo-skin cloaks influenced the emergence of the non-Indigenous rural colonial craft of making marsupial-skin rugs. This in turn contributed that day at the Wiradjuri Council of Elders meeting to the influencing of my Wiradjuri elders in support of possum skin cloak-making.

The first cloak I made was completed in 2008 and acquired by the National Gallery of Australia in 2009. Since then I have made another four cloaks—one acquired by a private art collector; one completed in 2012 and gifted to Aunty Joan Tranter, then Elder-in-Residence at Jumbunna Institute for Indigenous Education and Research, UTS (see Figure 1.3); one for my son Lachlan McDaniel (Figure 1.4), completed in 2011, which I was involved with collaboratively, in teaching my son and helping to make the cloak; and one for my daughter, Emily McDaniel, completed in 2015, which again I was involved with collaboratively, in teaching my daughter and assisting in making.

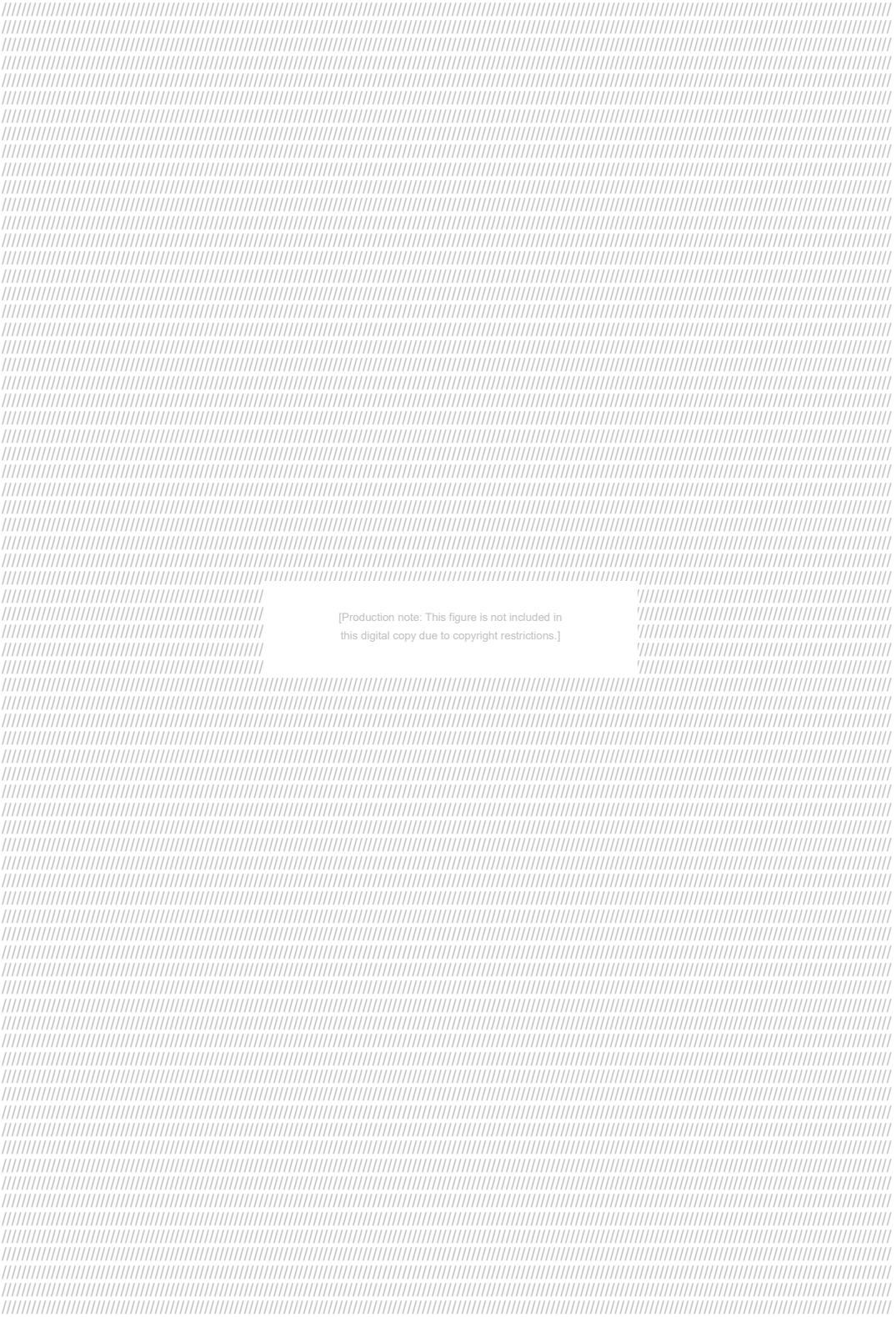


Figure 1.3: Jane Nicol, *Aunty Joan Tranter*, 2013, acrylic on canvas, UTS Art Collection, UTS2013.021, sourced <https://art.uts.edu.au/index.php/collection/aunty-joan-tranter/>

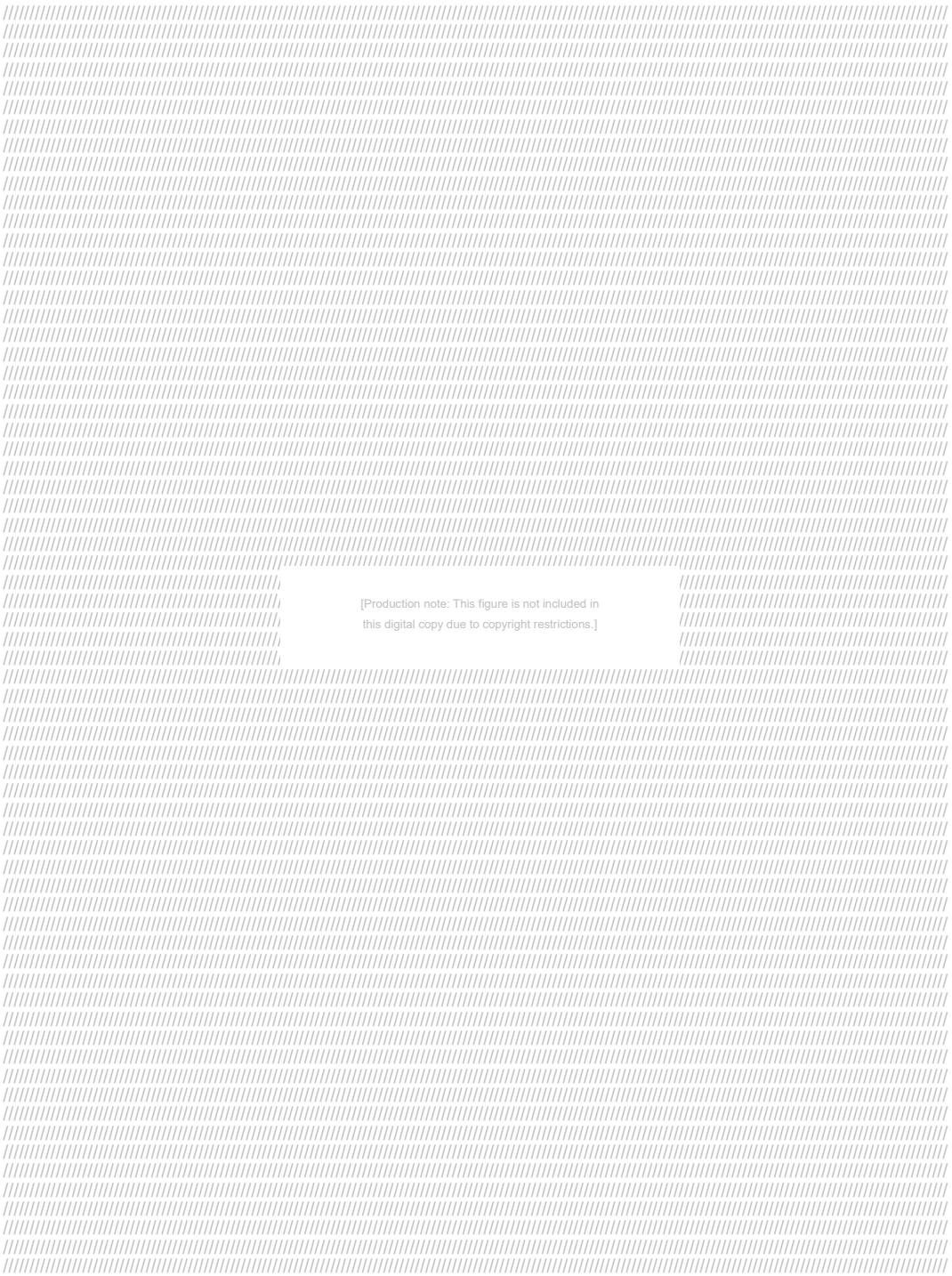


Figure 1.4: Lachlan McDaniel graduating from Macquarie University, Sydney, with a Bachelor of Arts/Laws in 2011; Lachlan is understood to be the first Aboriginal student in Australia to have graduated in a possum-skin cloak; sourced <http://mq.dev.survivor.mq.edu.au/newsroom/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/LachlanMcDanielNewsroom.jpg>

Emily's cloak was completed with a view to her wearing it on her graduation at UTS, but unfortunately the cloak wasn't completed in time for the graduation. That said, then UTS Elder-in-Residence Aunty Joan Tranter did agree to lend Emily her cloak for her graduation. However,

on the day of graduation Emily was advised by the university that the cloak could only be worn under the academic gown as it should not cover the hood and its colours. This suggestion was made despite having seen the size and bulk of the cloak. Wearing the cloak under academic dress was of course totally impractical and therefore amounted to no approval to wear it during the graduation ceremony. But Emily was granted permission to have her photo taken with the Chancellor, Professor Vicki Sara, following the graduation ceremony, this time wearing her cloak on the outside of her academic dress.

Emily took up the offer of the photo opportunity (Figure 1.5) and I'm pleased to report that the Chancellor, on seeing Emily in her cloak, was delighted at the sight of it and ironically commented that Emily should have worn it during her graduation ceremony. Emily then told the story of how she was denied permission by administration but was given permission to have a photograph with the Chancellor. Surprised to hear this, the Chancellor asked Emily to write to her outlining the story. Emily did so and received an apology in writing from the Chancellor. Interestingly, the cloak elicits a strong emotional response through two very different reactions to the proposition of wearing it.

This incident did cause me to further reflect on the wearing of cloaks. What was it about the cloak that was problematic? UTS did have in place an Indigenous Education and Employment Policy that allowed for it, other Indigenous peoples do wear elements of traditional dress during graduation, and there was no university regulation quoted at the time in relation to the stated problem that the cloak would cover the hood and its colours. Was it that the shear size of the cloak and its dominance over the academic dress would be seen as challenging the academic dress? In short, was the cloak too great a cultural statement, was it viewed as too great an act of nonconformity within what is a highly conservative ceremony? Simply put, was the object too much of a cultural statement, too challenging, too powerful? I suspect it was.

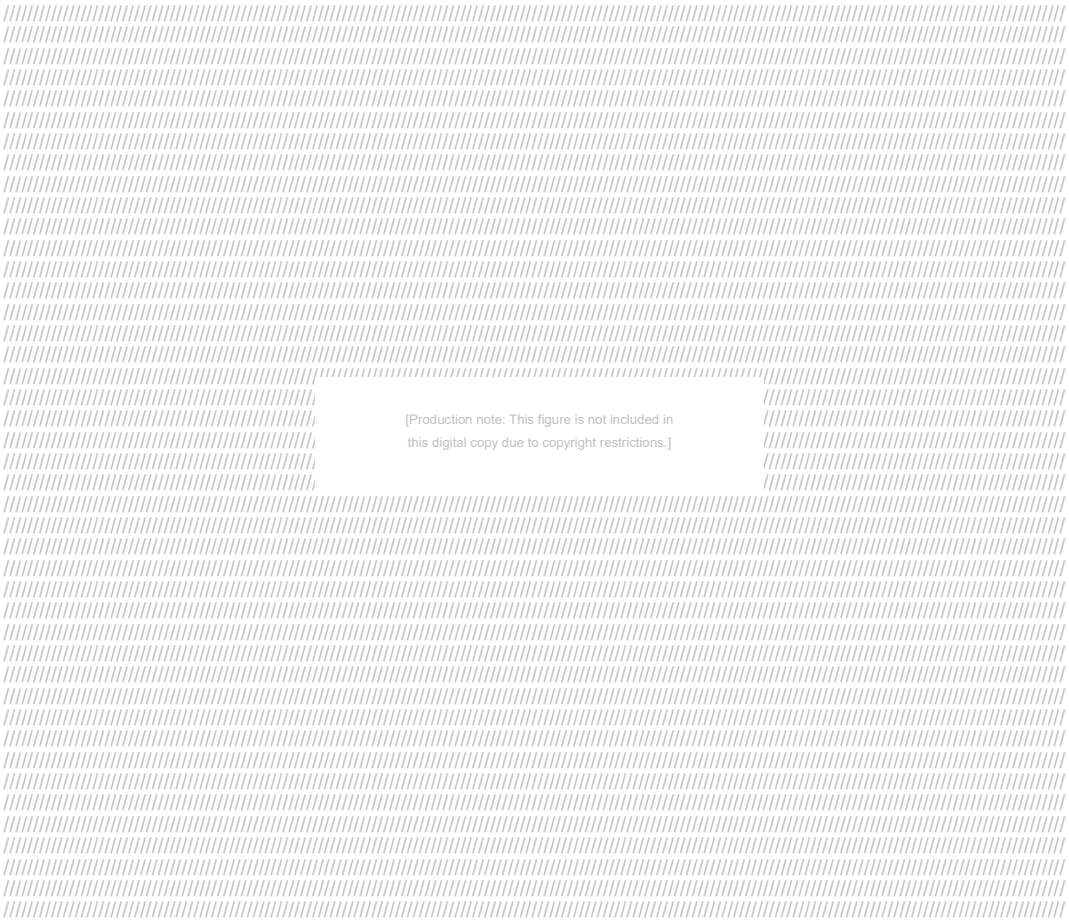


Figure 1.5: Emily McDaniel with UTS Chancellor, Professor Vicki Sara AO

Making possum-skin cloaks has been a personally profound experience. It has been a cultural and spiritual journey. It has also been a journey that in part has involved me in a new economy, as cloaks are an item with economic value. It has involved me sharing my practice and knowledge with others, either in full cloak production or simply information/technique sharing. I've also engaged in discussions with fellow Wiradjuri people and family members about how cloak-making and other cultural practices, if sufficiently revived, can contribute to Wiradjuri nation-building/strengthening.

Having engaged with cloaks in these ways, I would now like to intellectually investigate the process of making possum-skin cloaks and the possum-skin cloak movement in more depth. Principally I would like to explore the question of 'why now', or why the timeliness of the current practice and movement? This will in part require an understanding of the recorded existence of possum-skin cloaks prior to their disappearance and the factors contributing to that disappearance. This may in turn shed light on those factors now in place or 'no longer in place' that have contributed to the re-emergence of the practice. As part of this analysis I'm also interested in exploring the power or impact of the cloaks, not only for Aboriginal people, but for all parties involved.

1.3 Research significance

My research project is titled 'Wilay badhang: an analysis of past and present relationships with and around possum-skin cloaks', and brings together analysis of written and visual historical documents; analysis of contemporary events and consideration of their meaning and relevance within the context of the research; and reflections on personal experiences and my understandings developed as a cloak-maker.

My thesis seeks to provide an understanding of the importance of possum-skin cloaks and what factors have brought about their re-emergence in recent years; and, further, what does this re-emergence mean for south-east Aboriginal people today. To do this I referenced historical accounts, both written and visual, and investigated the factors contributing to the disappearance of possum-skin cloaks. Then, based on personal experiences and those of peer makers, I considered how and why the practice of possum skin cloak-making has re-emerged, and what implications this re-emergence has. My research is significant and breaks new ground as it combines personal reflection and experience as a cloak-maker together with an interrogation of the historical context of possum-skin cloaks, to ascertain why they disappeared and why they are now being revived.

1.4 Chapter breakdowns

Having engaged with cloaks as an observer and subsequently a maker, I now propose to intellectually interrogate the movement in more depth, exploring the question of 'why now' and the timeliness of the possum skin cloak-making revival movement. This will require an understanding of the existence of cloaks prior to their disappearance and of the factors contributing to their disappearance. This may, in turn, shed light on those factors now in place or no longer in place that have contributed to the re-emergence of possum skin cloak-making. As part of this analysis I am also interested in understanding the power or impact of cloaks, not only for Aboriginal people but for all parties involved. I intend to move through these questions and ultimately answer the question of 'why now' through the following chapters.

1.4.1 Chapter 2

Chapter 2 is titled 'The production and role of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) in pre-invasion society and during the early stages of European contact', and considers the history of possum-skin cloaks, seeking to uncover not only how they were made but the roles they played in pre-invasion Aboriginal society and during the early stages of European contact. I rely here on 19th-century written sources such as journals by explorers and squatters, anthropological texts, and newspaper and journal articles. I also reference possum-skin cloaks and fragments of cloaks that exist in museum collections, including two cloaks held in the Melbourne Museum collection of Museums Victoria.

1.4.2 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 is titled 'The role of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) as objects of mutual engagement following invasion', and explores how possum-skin cloaks were perceived by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the post-invasion period. Here, I work with the historical written and visual record to understand cloaks as gifts, cloaks in trade and cloaks as collected objects. I include four case studies examining the role of cloaks in gift-giving: the 1815 Wiradjuri gift to Lachlan Macquarie in Bathurst; the 1835 Wurundjeri gift to John Batman in Melbourne; the Kulin nations' gift of objects at the Governor's Levee in Melbourne in 1863; and the gift from the Burragorang 'tribe' to the Pope in 1874. Key to this chapter is the vast visual record that exists in painted, drawn and photographic form: not only did Aboriginal artists such as William Barak and Tommy McRae record their memories and experiences of people wearing cloaks in their artworks, but non-Aboriginal artists and photographers represented cloak-wearing Aboriginal people in their frontier perspectives and portraiture.

1.4.3 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 is titled 'The decline, disappearance and forgetting of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks)', and begins with the post-1890s period and its dramatically changing environmental and sociopolitical contexts. I consider the collapse of the possum-skin cloak market after the end of the gold rush, when people started living much more sedentary lives. I explore the domestication of the frontier and the emergence of colonial marsupial-skin rugs made by non-Indigenous makers. I then turn to the loss of habitat and decrease in population of the possum, and finally consider how an environment of cultural oppression and cultural fear was created for Aboriginal people. To do this I rely on a variety of sources, from books and newspaper articles to court notices, legislation and the objects themselves.

1.4.4 Chapter 5

I then consider the recent re-emergence of the practice of possum skin cloak-making and wearing. Chapter 5 is titled 'Analysis of the contemporary wilay badhang (possum-skin cloak) movement as a phenomenon', and looks at contemporary events in the revival of possum skin cloak-making in south-eastern Australia, tracking the major participants and a select chronology. This timeline includes cloaks created in the past few decades, the 2003 acquisition of the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection by the NMA, my own cloak-making milestones, the opening of the 2006 Commonwealth Games, and the opening of Federal Parliament in 2008, at which Ngambri/Ngunnawal elder Matilda House wore a possum-skin cloak. The timeline will also focus on events across the region, from Albury to Bathurst, from the Hunter Valley to Melbourne. In this chapter I work with exhibition catalogues and collection books, with websites, videos and newspaper articles. The chapter then investigates the possum-skin cloak revival movement as a phenomenon, asking what are the factors contributing to this rapid revival and examining what has taken place to bring this practice back.

1.4.5 Image appendix

In the process of conducting this research, it became evident that there is an enormous amount of historical imagery in relation to possum-skin cloaks, which serves as both evidence of European engagement but also has the potential to help Aboriginal people in researching cloaks, showing various designs and methods of making and of wearing. This vast trove of material has been brought together in the Image appendix attached to this research (see Appendix A). This appendix compiles images featuring possum-skin cloaks and animal-skin cloaks, and government-issued blankets, in national and international gallery, museum and library collections. Included are paintings and drawings (by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal artists), sketches, etchings, prints, lithographs, photographs and ephemera such as postcards. Also included are images that show other types of attire relevant to the research. More than 460 images are listed, and nearly all are available online. Those images that aren't easily searchable online have been included as they represent important collections key to this research. This resource is by no means exhaustive, as libraries are continuously releasing more digital images. This resource represents images that were found during my research, over approximately 2017–20.

1.5 Reading the archive

1.5.1 Historical and contemporary written and visual sources

As the possum-skin cloak as an art form and object of material culture has suffered a near extinction, there is limited existing research. Key historical sources include primary objects such as heritage cloaks, paintings and various imagery, while secondary sources include written and visual records. My research framework is therefore personal, communal, chronological and interrogative.

I have engaged different research approaches and methodologies in the conceptualising and planning of my research. I analysed the historical records, relying on well-known written sources, such as explorers' and squatters' diaries and accounts. My research has also uncovered a plethora of unique historical accounts of possum-skin cloaks and other cloaks in 19th-century journals and newspapers, through the National Library of Australia's Trove website resource. Similarly, through Trove and the individual websites of organisations such as the State Library of Victoria, State Library of New South Wales, the National Gallery of Victoria and National Gallery of Australia, I have been able to assemble a resource of more than 460 images of cloaks, made from both possum skin and other skins, and of people wearing cloaks (see Appendix A). These pictures range from drawings, etchings and paintings, to interior and exterior studio photography. This resource of both newspaper accounts and images is crucial to understanding the widespread knowledge and appreciation of cloaks in 19th-century south-east Australia. These records are key to my understanding of not only the history, interpretation and representation of possum-skin cloaks, but also the revival movement, as contemporary

appreciation and knowledge of cloaks by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have been shaped by access to this archive.

To understand the production and role of possum-skin cloaks in pre-invasion society and during early stages of European contact and the role of possum-skin cloaks as objects of mutual engagement following invasion, I have relied on key 19th-century written sources including Alfred William Howitt (1904/2001), Edward M. Curr (1883; 1887) and Peter Beveridge (1889). Similar accounts about the roles cloaks played in pre-invasion societies also appear in newspapers throughout south-eastern Australia. These include the *Corowa Free Press* ('A visit to the border' 1886), *Australian Town and Country Journal* ('Aborigines preparing for a corrobboree [sic]' 1874), and *The Colonist* ('Grand corrobory' 1835). While these 19th-century sources tell the story of how cloaks were traditionally made and what role they played, the history and details were recorded by non-Aboriginal writers who ranged from collectors to squatters, from anthropologists to enthusiasts. As in the case of Curr, a squatter who wrote his recollections while establishing a farm on Aboriginal land, texts such as these must be read through a critical framework, appreciating the context of these non-Indigenous voices, and what details may or may not have been recorded, and for what purpose. These texts will therefore be referenced in my thesis but questioned and critiqued accordingly.

Fortunately, 19th-century sources made by Aboriginal people exist, and these provide significant evidence regarding possum-skin cloaks and the ubiquity of the object in the everyday life of Aboriginal people in the south-east of Australia. While William Barak was a key informant for Howitt, Barak's own unfiltered perspectives on cloaks exist in the form of his paintings, many of which are held in public museum and gallery collections in Victoria. As seen in *Figures in possum-skin cloaks* (1898; Figure 2.14), in the National Gallery of Victoria collection, pre-invasion Wurundjeri society is visible and the role cloaks play can be appreciated. Similarly, in the scenes Tommy McRae detailed, such as in *Aboriginal family and nesting emus, Wahgunyah region, Victoria* (1881; Figure 3.43), people are shown going about everyday activities in their cloaks. McRae was based at Lake Moodemere near the New South Wales–Victoria border towns of Corowa and Wahgunyah on the Murray River, and his visions of Aboriginal society in the south-east show a world of hunting, ceremony and family life.

In addition to this, some 19th-century heritage cloaks still exist. Melbourne Museum holds two damaged cloaks, one from Maiden's Punt, Echuca, the other from Lake Condah; the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, in the United States of America holds one cloak; and there is a single decorated possum-skin pelt in the British Museum in London. In addition to this there are other various skins and parts of cloaks in collections around Australia; for instance, fragments of a possum-skin cloak from Michelago, New South Wales, are held in the Australian Museum collection in Sydney. These items provide much information on the historical production, uses and roles of skin cloaks, with their images and documentation helping shape our understanding of design, form, provenance and distribution.

Two written surveys of cloaks exist. Charles Mountford's article 'Australian Aboriginal skin rugs' (1963) provides an inventory of cloaks, which Mountford calls 'rugs', in museum collections and details their distribution, type, technique of manufacture, methods of wearing, description, decoration and their meaning. Importantly, Mountford drew the shape and design of the Maiden's Punt/Echuca, Hunter River and Flinders Ranges cloaks, providing detail of the designs. R.V.S. Wright (1979) authored another survey, titled 'A modicum of taste: Aboriginal cloaks and rugs' for the *Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Newsletter*. This discusses the distribution, techniques and modes of wearing cloaks, and provides an inventory of cloaks existing in museum collections.

More recent literature includes the NMA catalogue *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak: the Tooloyn Koortakay collection in the National Museum of Australia* (2005), edited by Amanda Reynolds. This profiles the very personal journey of four Victorian Koorie women, Debra Couzens, Vicki Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm, as they worked from the Melbourne Museum Maiden's Punt/Echuca and Lake Condah heritage cloaks to remake each, creating their own cloaks and a collection of other artworks in the process. This book provides some historical information, but is generally an account of Couzens, Couzens, Darroch and Hamm's personal artistic journey and the resulting artworks and cultural objects.

So far no writer or practitioner has investigated why possum-skin cloaks disappeared and why have they returned and so enthusiastically, linking the history and trajectory of cloaks to the legislation regarding land use and settlement and exploring the complex reasons for the return of the practice. My research aims to draw on the strengths of the existing literature, while focusing on appreciating and conveying the power I have witnessed in cloaks during my practice.

1.5.2 Methodology

In terms of methodology, throughout my research I have drawn on a Wiradjuri-specific research methodology established by Dr Jonathan Jones with Dr Uncle Stan Grant Senior for Jones's PhD dissertation, 'Murruwaygu: following in the footsteps of our ancestors', submitted to UTS (2018).

This methodology, titled Yindyamarra Winhanganha (Respectful Thinking), was designed by Jones and Uncle Stan to create a culturally safe and appropriate way for Wiradjuri and south-east Aboriginal researchers to conduct and present research (Jones 2018, p. 66). Centred on yindyamarra, the Wiradjuri concept of cultural respect, this methodology is appropriate for my research as it provides a decolonising framework, thereby enabling me to reclaim from the western archive south-east Aboriginal culture and knowledge particular to the practice of making possum-skin cloaks.

Yindyamarra Winhanganha is composed of seven principles. These are:

1. Dhulu-ya-rra-bu wudha-gar-bin-ya-bu yindyamal-dhuray-bu (talk straight, listen deeply and act respectably

2. Buram-ba-bi-rra ngayi-ny (share thought)
3. Marraga-la-dha (care for community)
4. Gulba-ngi-dyili-nya (know yourself and your position)
5. Walan-ma-ya Wiradjuri mayiny-galang (Wiradjuri self-determination)
6. Wama-rra Wiradjuri gulbanha (build Wiradjuri knowledge systems)
7. Nganga-dha nguram-bang (look after country)

These principles act as guidance for the researcher when working with the historical record. As the historical written and visual record depicting and discussing possum-skin cloaks—including books, journal entries and articles, drawings, paintings and etchings—was largely created by non-Indigenous people, the seven principles of Yindyamarra Winhanganha has helped to guide my interpretation and discussion of these objects.

Jones (2018) states in his thesis: 'Indigenous research methodologies are not only frameworks for decolonising historical research and current paradigms, they also create culturally appropriate platforms for Indigenous knowledge' (p. 60). As possum-skin cloaks are specific to Aboriginal Australian cultures, and as designed cloaks are particularly specific to the south-east region, it is therefore appropriate they be understood through a regionally specific knowledge system and framework. Limited western knowledge frameworks have historically failed to recognise the significance of possum-skin cloaks and to understand their roles and relationships within Aboriginal culture and society. Underpinning my research with this Wiradjuri-specific research methodology ensures that we understand as much as possible about these significant objects.

I have also followed the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies *Guidelines for ethical research in Australian Indigenous studies* (2012) in this research.

1.6 Summary

In this introduction I have outlined the research subject—possum skin cloak-making as a both a phenomenon and a movement—and posed the questions why did possum-skin cloaks disappear, why were they revived, and why so enthusiastically? I then discussed my cultural position within this research, as a cloak-maker and therefore a participant in this movement. It is also notable that as a Wiradjuri man, possum skin cloak-making and wearing is a cultural practice that not only belongs to my community but is shared with other Aboriginal communities across south-east Australia. In prefacing the beginnings of my own cloak-making practice, I outlined my earliest recollections of seeing and recognising cloaks in contemporary visual culture, pointing to a memorable moment at the 2006 World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education (WIPCE) when I decided to make a cloak of my own.

In breaking down the chapters to follow, I proposed my three principal points of investigation. In Chapter 2 I explore the production and role of cloaks in pre-invasion society. In doing so I will explore how cloaks were made, why and how were they used, and what purposes they served. I suspect that cloaks served practical, ceremonial, spiritual, economic and social purposes. In

Chapter 3 I consider the role of cloaks as objects of mutual engagement following invasion, including an examination of early European reference to cloaks as gifts, 19th-century photography, etchings and paintings, and collected and institutionalised cloaks, as well as cloaks as economic commodities. In Chapter 4 I investigate the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum-skin cloaks, asking why, how and when did possum-skin cloaks disappear as significant objects in the lives of Aboriginal people of south-eastern Australia and, in particular, from the lives of my own Wiradjuri people. In Chapter 5 I survey the factors contributing to the re-emergence of possum skin cloak-making and wearing in recent years.

In this introduction I outlined the sources I have engaged with, as I work with written and visual archival material, and with objects in institutional collections through a personal, communal, chronological and interrogative research framework. I also referenced a Wiradjuri-specific research methodology established by Dr Jonathan Jones with Dr Uncle Stan Grant Senior for Jones's PhD research (2018), which has guided my investigations.

The following chapter considers the history of possum-skin cloaks, seeking to uncover not only how they were made but also the roles they played in pre-invasion society and during the early stages of European contact.

2 The production and role of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) in pre-invasion society and during the early stages of European contact

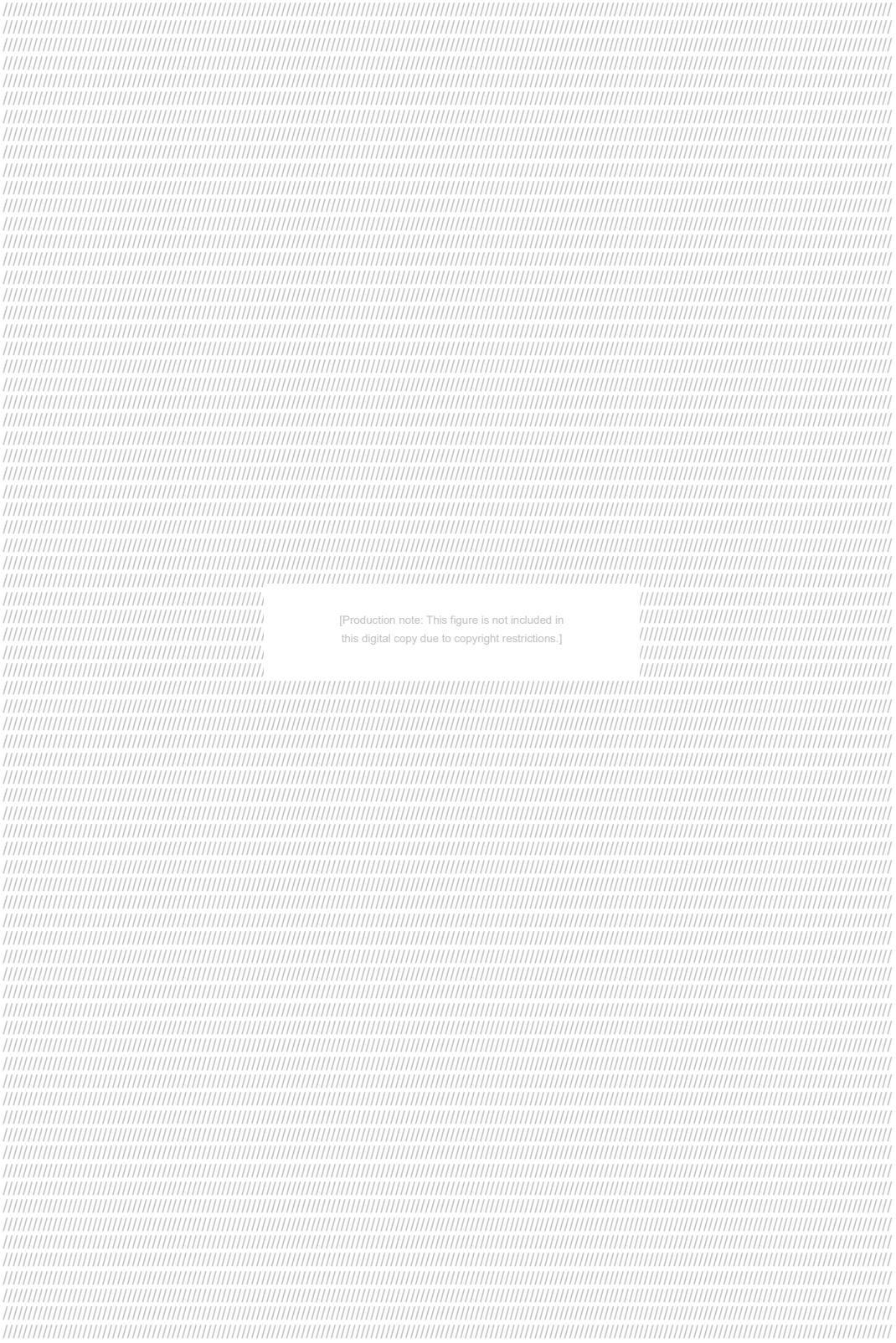
2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the production and role of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) in pre-invasion society and during the early stages of European contact. I ask how possum-skin cloaks were made, why they were made and how they were used. I also ask what purpose possum-skin cloaks served, investigating the practical, ceremonial, spiritual, economic and social purposes. I consider types of cloaks including possum-skin and kangaroo-skin cloaks, production methods including form, sewing, design and colour application, and the geographic range, from the south-east of Australia to the south-west. Considering all these elements, I show that possum skin cloak-making represents an intelligent investment given the multiple and intersecting practical, social, ceremonial, spiritual, political and economic impacts cloaks have on wearers. I then investigate the purpose of possum-skin cloaks to the individual and the community, showing how cloaks bridge the space between the sacred and the mundane. I look at the many purposes of possum-skin cloaks in people's lives, from bedding, clothing and ceremonial use, to musical, healing, trade and burial.

2.2 Types of cloaks and production methods

2.2.1 Types and geographic range

Capes and cloaks of various materials and sizes seem to have existed across the continent prior to and at the point of British invasion. These cloaks were made from skins, which are sometimes sewn, treated and decorated, or from woven reeds (see Figure 2.1), bark or seaweed. With the exception of kangaroo-skin cloaks and possum-skin cloaks from south-eastern Australia, production of these cultural objects has largely ceased and in many cases entirely slipped from the cultural memory and knowledge of many people. It was only through my very recent research relating to possum-skin cloaks that I became aware of the former existence of some of these cloak types.



An unnamed Wiradjuri woman wearing a woven fibre mat-shaped cloak with a kangaroo-skin cloak underneath.

Figure 2.1: Sir Thomas Mitchell, *Female and child of Australia Felix* from *Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia: with descriptions of the recently explored region of Australia Felix, and of the present colony of New South Wales*, 1838, State Library of New South Wales, D 83/248-249

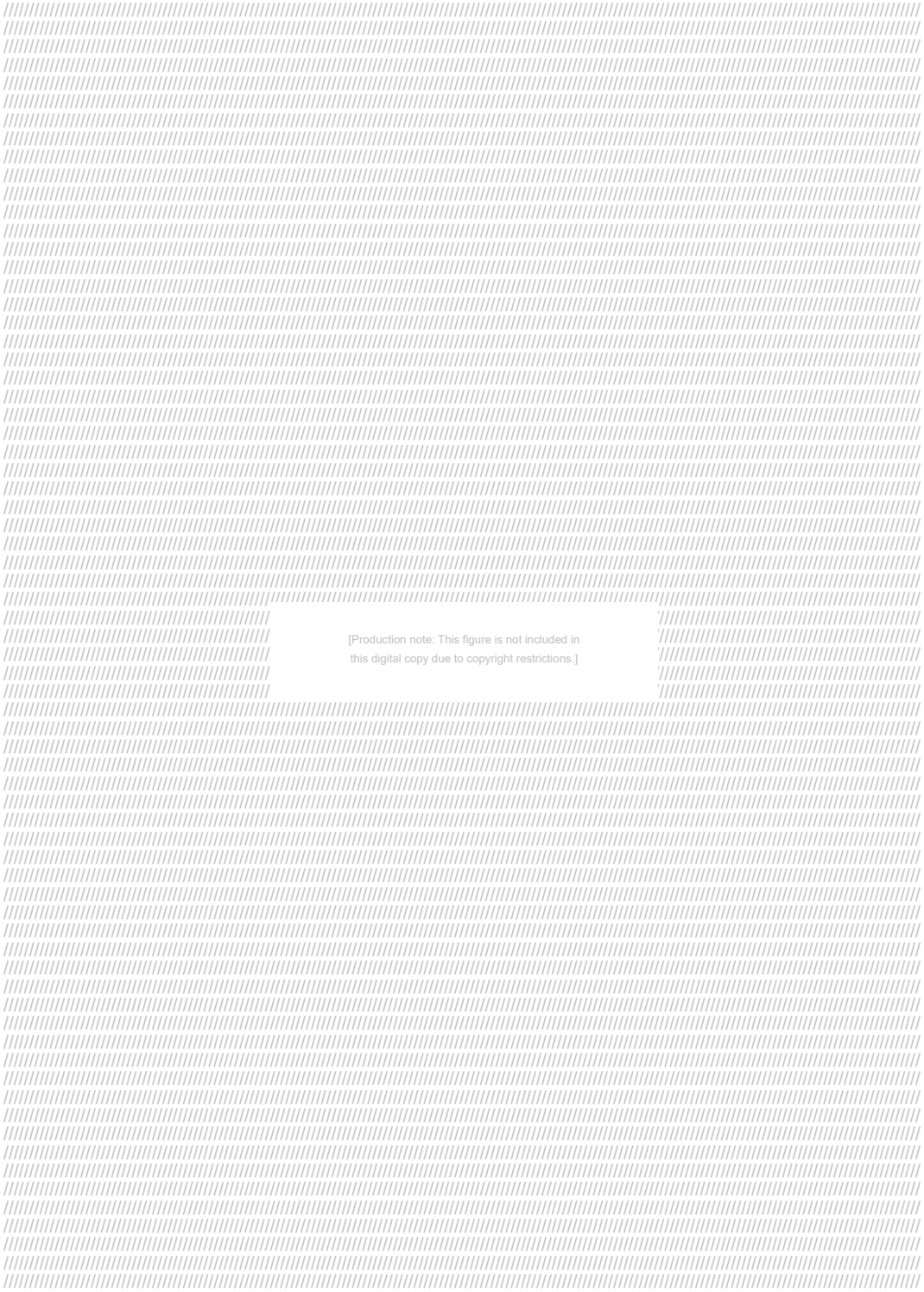


Figure 2.2: George French Angas, *A man of the Milmendura tribe, wearing the Seaweed Cloak* (bottom left) from *Portraits of the Aboriginal inhabitants*, c.1846, lithograph, 43.7 x 32.7 cm, State Library of South Australia, B 15276/18

Figure 2.2 was created by English naturalist and painter George French Angas, most likely produced during one of Angas's two visits to South Australia, first in 1844 and again in 1845.

Angas was fascinated by Indigenous peoples and seems to have had a particular interest in recording their costumes; as a reference, there are a substantial number of illustrations by Angas of Maori people wearing cloaks, for example (Angas c.1845).

The man at bottom left in Figure 2.2 is reportedly from Encounter Bay, South Australia, and is recorded as wearing a seagrass cloak. The publication *Ngurunderi, an Aboriginal dreaming: the culture of the Ngarrindjeri people* describes how 'Ramindjeri people at Encounter Bay wore clothing made from the seagrass found on local beaches. This was woven together to form a durable garment' (Hemming, Jones & Clarke 1989, p. 16). George Taplin (1879, cited in Jacob 1991), a missionary and teacher who researched Ngarrindjeri culture, recorded that:

> Sometimes a quantity of the shaggy seaweed, which is found on the shore, is washed in fresh water and dried, and worked into the mat, forming a sort of shaggy nap. Such a mat would be used as a bed. (p. 256)

No examples of seagrass cloaks are known to have survived into the present. These objects may have been held in less esteem by Europeans and therefore seen as less collectable. Their non-survival into the present is also probably due to the plant material being less robust than leather.

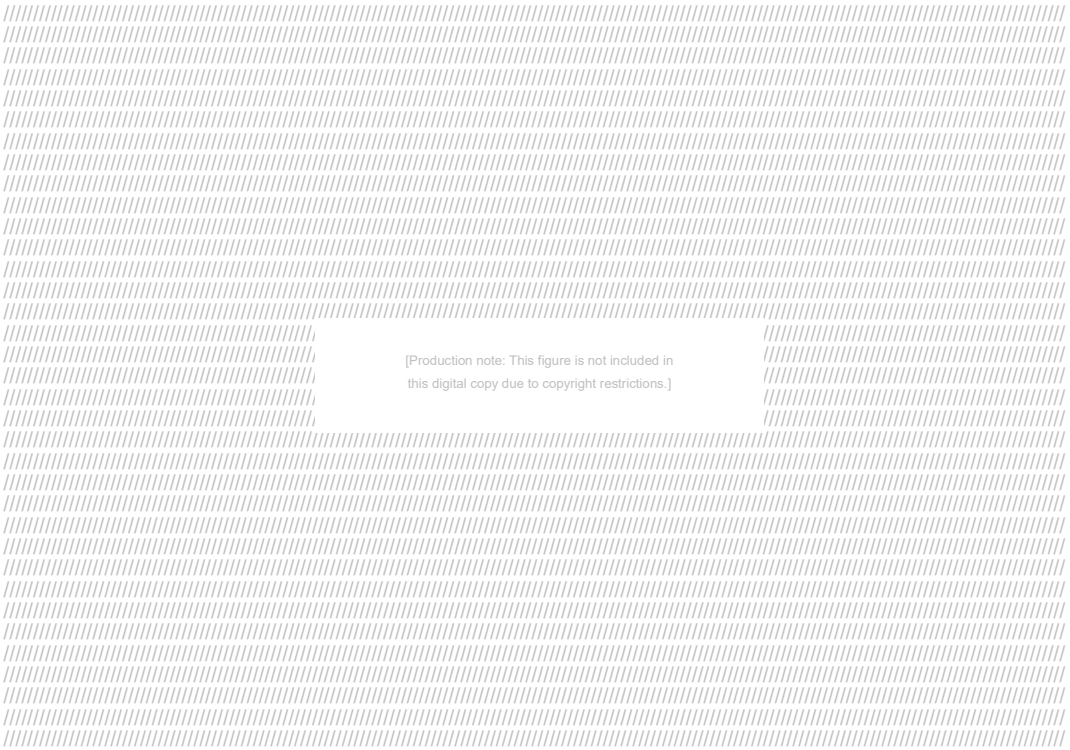


Figure 2.3: *Blanket* from North Queensland, early 19thc (before 1895), bark, red ochre, 148 x 51 cm, British Museum, Oc1895,-.253, sourced <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc1895-253>

Figure 2.3 shows a bark blanket in the British Museum collection in London. These items were commonly made in the rainforest region of Queensland. Museums Victoria, Melbourne (Museums Victoria Collections n.d.), records the following about a Tully River, Queensland, bark cloth:

> The bark was cut with a stone axe and stripped from the inner part of the tree, and once peeled off, the thin sheets were made pliable by pounding them with a wooden mallet over a smooth tree-root anvil. The finished blankets were able to be folded into small parcels and carried inside baskets when traveling between camps. (para. 1)

Another form of cloak reported to have existed is the emu-skin or emu-feather cloak. Research has uncovered only two references to these, both photographic. One is shown in Figure 2.4 in which an unnamed Queensland Aboriginal woman wears a cloak that appears to be made of a single emu skin with the feathers still attached. This is the only non-studio photograph and reference of this particular type of covering that I have found.

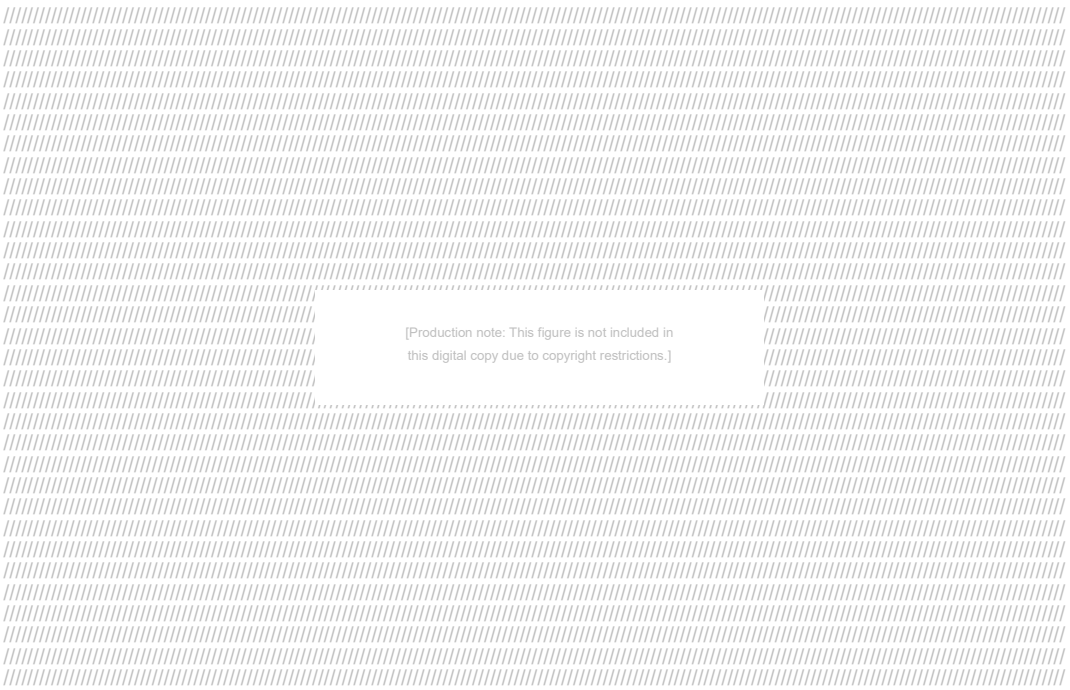


Figure 2.4: ***A Murri family group in QLD, featuring a woman wearing an emu feather cloak, and men garbed in lap laps (likely kangaroo, wallaby)*****, A.P. Elkin,** ***Les Aborigènes Australiens*** **(Gallimard 1967), sourced <http://koorihistory.com/traditional-aboriginal-clothing/>**

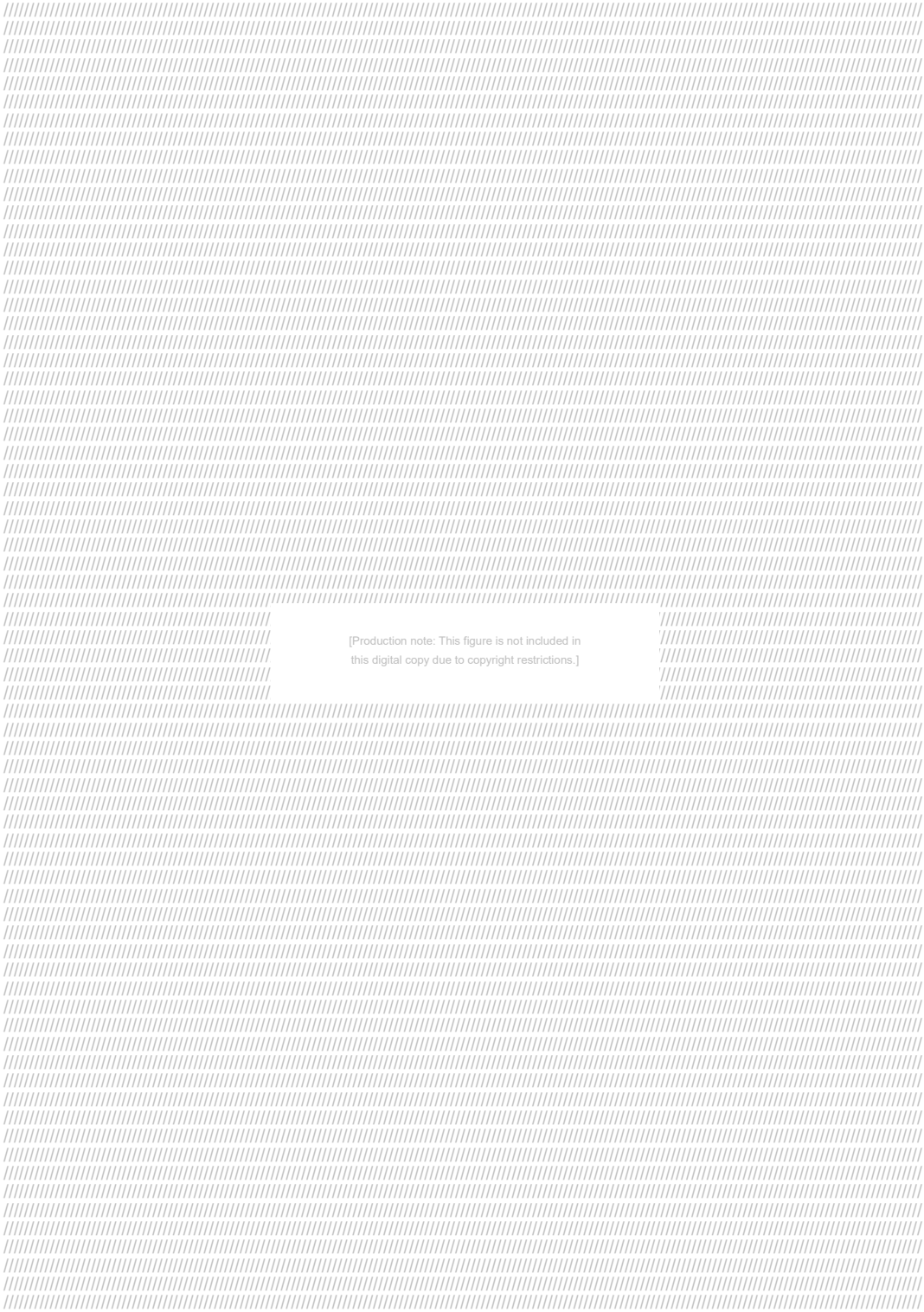


Figure 2.5: George Freeman, *Unidentified Aboriginal child*, c.1884, photograph, from an album of 66 photographs, The George Freeman album, loaned to the University of Newcastle Cultural Collections by Pamela Goodhart Dodd and Andrew Dodd to be digitised

Figure 2.5 is an example of a studio photograph. It depicts an unnamed Aboriginal girl wearing what appears to be an emu-feather cloak, and was taken by George Freeman in the mid-1880s.

Freeman produced a range of postcard-style commercial images for non-Aboriginal Australian and British consumption. This photograph is part of a collection portraying colonial life and is one of three depicting Aboriginal people, each involving children with props and taken in studios. The album is now in the University of Newcastle Cultural Collections. On close examination the cloak appears to be a feather cloak with a fibre backing tied at the top with cord. In this regard it resembles a Maori korowai, or short, feathered cloak on a flax backing. It must be acknowledged, though, that the photograph does show what seems to be emu tail feathers on the collar of the cloak (identifiable as long, lighter-coloured feathers). Again, given the unique nature of Figures 2.4 and 2.5, and the lack of any historical references to these types of cloak, there is reason to suspect that both images are staged using fabricated props, which was not an uncommon 19th-century photographic practice. There is therefore inconclusive knowledge regarding the production method for emu-skin and emu-feather cloaks.

Traditionally, the production and wearing of sewn animal-skin cloaks seem to have been limited to the south-western and south-eastern regions of Australia; that is, the temperate and heavily wooded areas of the continent. In the south-west, short cloaks or capes referred to as ‘bouka’ were made from kangaroo skins (Wright 1979, p. 51). While kangaroo and wallaby skins were used to make cloaks in the south-east, evidence in the form of colonial recording and objects in collections suggest that brush-tailed possum-skin cloaks were favoured in this region. While a temperate to cold climate, woodlands and the geographical distribution of possums may have contributed to the preference for possum skin cloak-making in south-east mainland Australia, the existence of these factors was clearly not predetermining. Possum-skin cloaks are reported as existing as far north as the Comet River, just inland of present-day Rockhampton, Queensland, and the as far south-east as the Yorke Peninsula, South Australia (Wright 1979, p. 60).

The geographic range of possum-skin cloaks, correlating with the availability of possums, was in fact speculated on by Captain Charles Sturt (1883), who noted during his 1828 expedition along the Macquarie and Darling rivers that:

> The natives of the Darling are a clean-limbed, well-conditioned race, generally speaking. They seemingly occupy permanent huts, but their tribe did not bear any proportion to the size or number of their habitations. It was evident their population had been thinned … We saw but few cloaks among them, since the opossum does not inhabit the interior. Those that were noticed, were made of the red kangaroo skin. (chapter 3, para. 10)

His latter comment suggests that he either expected, or was used to, seeing such cloaks.

In the Sydney area, possum-skin cloaks appear in early colonial accounts. First Fleet judge advocate David Collins in *An account of the English colony in New South Wales* (1798/1971) described ‘an elderly woman with a cloak on her shoulders (made of opossum skins very neatly sewn together)’ (p. 584) who participates in a ceremony near the township of Sydney. ‘The

contending parties consisted of most of our Sydney acquaintance,' Collins explained, 'and some natives from the south shore of Botany Bay' (p. 584).

In 1845 an Aboriginal man named Mahroot (cited in Willey 1979) from Botany Bay in Sydney gave evidence to the New South Wales Legislative Council's Select Committee on Aborigines:

> The whites' presence had drastically affected food gathering, Mahroot said, reducing the supply of fish because of the quantities netted. By 1845 'you look all day to get one or two' opossums, whereas when he was a little boy a hunter would gather within a week the 20 or 30 skins needed to make an opossum rug. (p. 218)

Furthermore, in *Sydney's Aboriginal past: investigating the archaeological and historical records* Val Attenbrow (2010) cites several mentions of possum-skin cloaks in the Sydney region. A report from August 1788 described a man wearing a reddish-coloured skin around his shoulders (Attenbrow 2010, p. 107). The party had encountered him just north of Narrabeen after a trip to Broken Bay. The next year Watkin Tench sighted a cloak near Richmond Hill on the Hawkesbury–Nepean River, as Governor Arthur Phillip (cited in Attenbrow 2010) reported:

> The natives [sic] fires are frequently seen on the tops of the mountains, where the air in winter must be very sharp; and a small cloak has been found, made of the skins of the opossum and flying squirrel, very neatly sewed together, the inside ornamented in diamonds of curved lines, by raising the skin with the point of a small bone, which is made sharp for that purpose. This cloak they put over their heads when they sleep—and cloaks made by beating the bark of the brown gum tree are common, and used for the same purpose, or to keep the rain from their heads and shoulders. (p. 107)

Such a comment regarding the 'diamonds of curved lines' is an indication of the importance of what is called 'design' in Western-centric cultures, that is executing and implementing a considered system. The study of such cloaks is therefore important for building contemporary understandings of Indigenous Australian design and storytelling, such as Walbanga and Wadi Wadi woman Alison Page has been undertaking.

Cloaks from the Nepean River region can be seen in Figure 2.6, engraved by Louis Philippe Alphonse Bichebois in 1828 and depicting a group of Aboriginal people camping by the river (Attenbrow 2010, p. 46). Within the group at least five people appear to wear cloaks, some of which are decorated with designs.

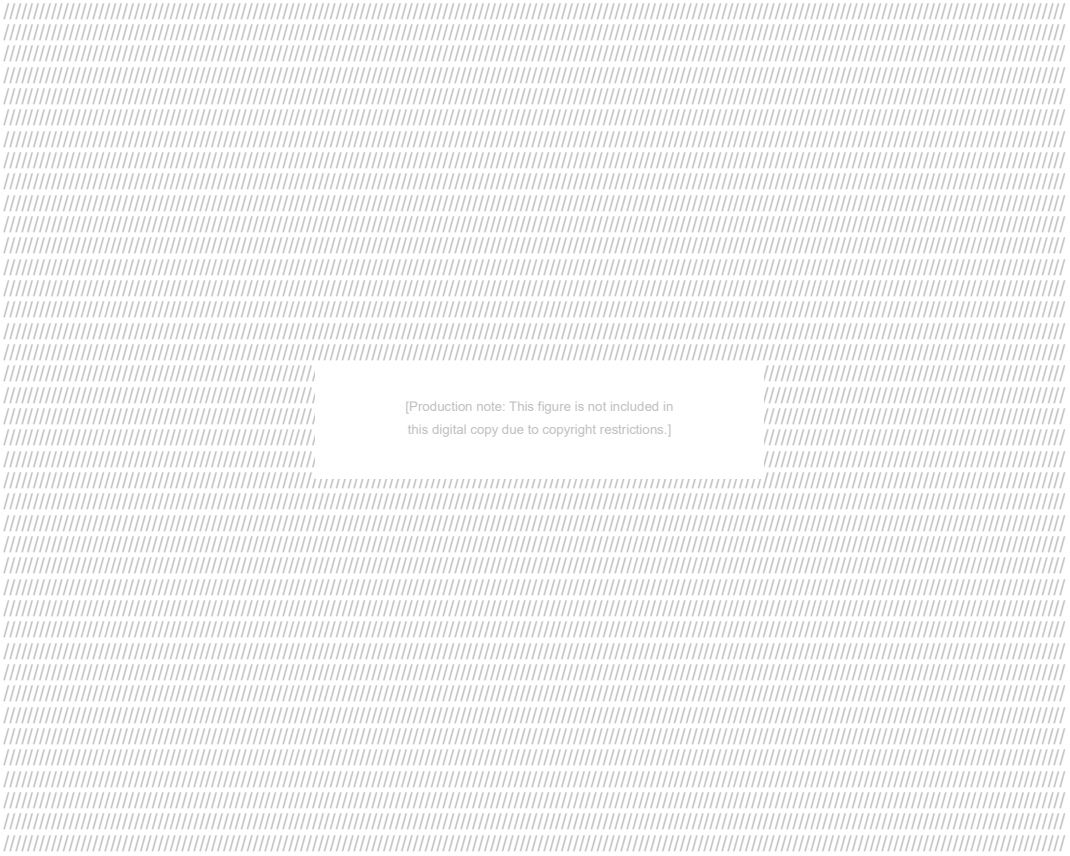
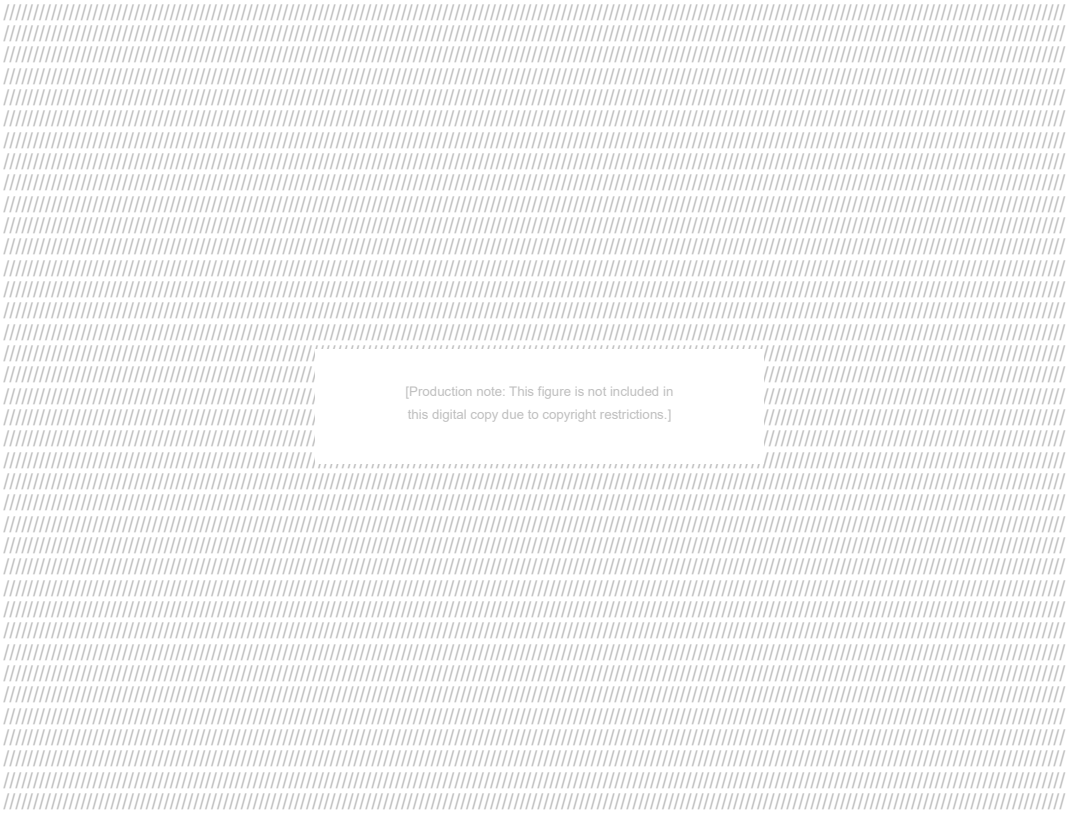


Figure 2.6: Louis Philippe Alphonse Bichebois, *Nouvelle Galles, meridionale [picture]: vue prise sur le cours de la riviere Nepean, au dessus de l'habitation de Mr Macarthur, dans le Camdenshire*, 1828, print: lithograph, 20.5 x 29.4 cm (image), National Library of Australia, PIC Volume 582 #S11039/32, nla.obj-136369594



A 19th-century photograph of group of Victorian Koorie men, the back row wearing sewn, body-length possum-skin cloaks.

Figure 2.7: Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery, *[Aboriginal camp]*, c.1858, albumen silver photograph, 20.5 x 26.3 cm, State Library of Victoria, H84.167/48

While all the above factors existed in Tasmania, Aboriginal people of Tasmania are not recorded as having worn possum-skin cloaks; furthermore, contemporary Aboriginal Tasmanians, Palawa, do not claim this as part of their past or present cultural practice. While single and fastened animal-skin coverings were worn, the sewing together of skins seems not to have been practised in Tasmania prior to or at the point of British invasion. If cloaks sewn together from multiple skins did exist traditionally in Tasmania, the early colonial etchings and paintings do not appear to have recorded them and all references to coverings are of single skins. If this technology was absent in Tasmania, then clearly cloaks made from multiple small pelts would have been impossible.

If the temperate climate, woodland density and, subsequently, possum density predetermined the preference for possum skin cloak-making, one would imagine that these cloaks would have equally appealed to Aboriginal peoples of temperate and forested south-western Australia, however they did not. Kangaroo-skin cloaks seem to have been used exclusively in the region. Wright (1979) explains:

> If the absence of reports of possum-skin cloaks in the south-west reflects a real absence, and there are enough reports to suggest that this is so, the reasons seem likely to be cultural rather than technological. (p. 63)

Therefore, while environmental factors may have had an influence on the production of possum-skin cloaks, the environment was simply one of a number of contributing factors. Cultural tradition or preference and technological availability have also impacted on the geographical range of possum skin cloak-making as a practice.

2.2.2 Production methods

Possum skin cloak-making was a relatively complex and time-consuming activity, representing a significant investment in individual and collective effort and resources. As a cloak could be made from as many as 70 possum skins, these objects were one of the largest and most complex cultural artefacts produced, with each cloak possibly being made or expanded over several years. Investment, in terms of the time, labour and patience needed, would have been considerable. While it is suggested that a cloak would be made at birth for a baby and added to as the individual grew in status and knowledge (Reynolds et al. 2005), this would not have precluded cloaks being made in full at other times. As Indigenous Australian society was generally a ‘low’ material culture society – a society not so interested in things and possessions – then the existence of the possum capes is even more remarkable as in some ways they ‘exceed’ functionality.

Confirming the sometimes-gradual nature of cloak-making is the observation of the Victorian squatter and author Peter Beveridge. Beveridge (1889) recorded the following after a discussion with Aboriginal elders, comparing the coming and going of the moon to the production and life cycle of a possum-skin cloak:

> According to their computation the moon lasts as many nights as three times the number of their fingers, or 30 days; they compare it to an opossum cloak after this fashion:
>
> When a native has a rug to make he does not wait until he has acquired a sufficient number of skins to complete it, for as soon as he has two or three skins he sews them together and wears them mantilla fashion across his shoulders, going on day by day adding thereto as he procures the skins, but wearing it all the time, until it becomes a finished cloak. Shortly after the completion (in fact frequently before that achievement) of the cloak, as a matter of course it generally begins to fray at the edges, until by use, like the moon, it is worn completely out, necessitating the commencement of a new one after the same manner. (p. 122)

Beveridge's last sentence also makes clear that in relation to their production, and apart from representing a significant personal and collective investment, possum-skin cloaks were fragile and needed repair and replacement. This fragility was no doubt in part due to the intensive use of the cloak, the environmental exposure it was subjected to and the relative fragility of the organic materials used. This goes towards explaining why so few heritage possum-skin cloaks have survived into the present and why those that have survived are often damaged or in fragments.

The heritage Maiden's Punt, Echuca, cloak from 1853, drawn by Charles Mountford in Figure 2.8, seems not only to demonstrate the fragility or wear and tear of the item but also possibly represents the progressive development of a cloak. A close study of the image below suggests that the cloak could be the result of as many as four stages of development, starting with an initial smaller cloak marked by neatly meeting edges, followed by another two extensions, with the fourth being the undecorated row at left in the diagram.

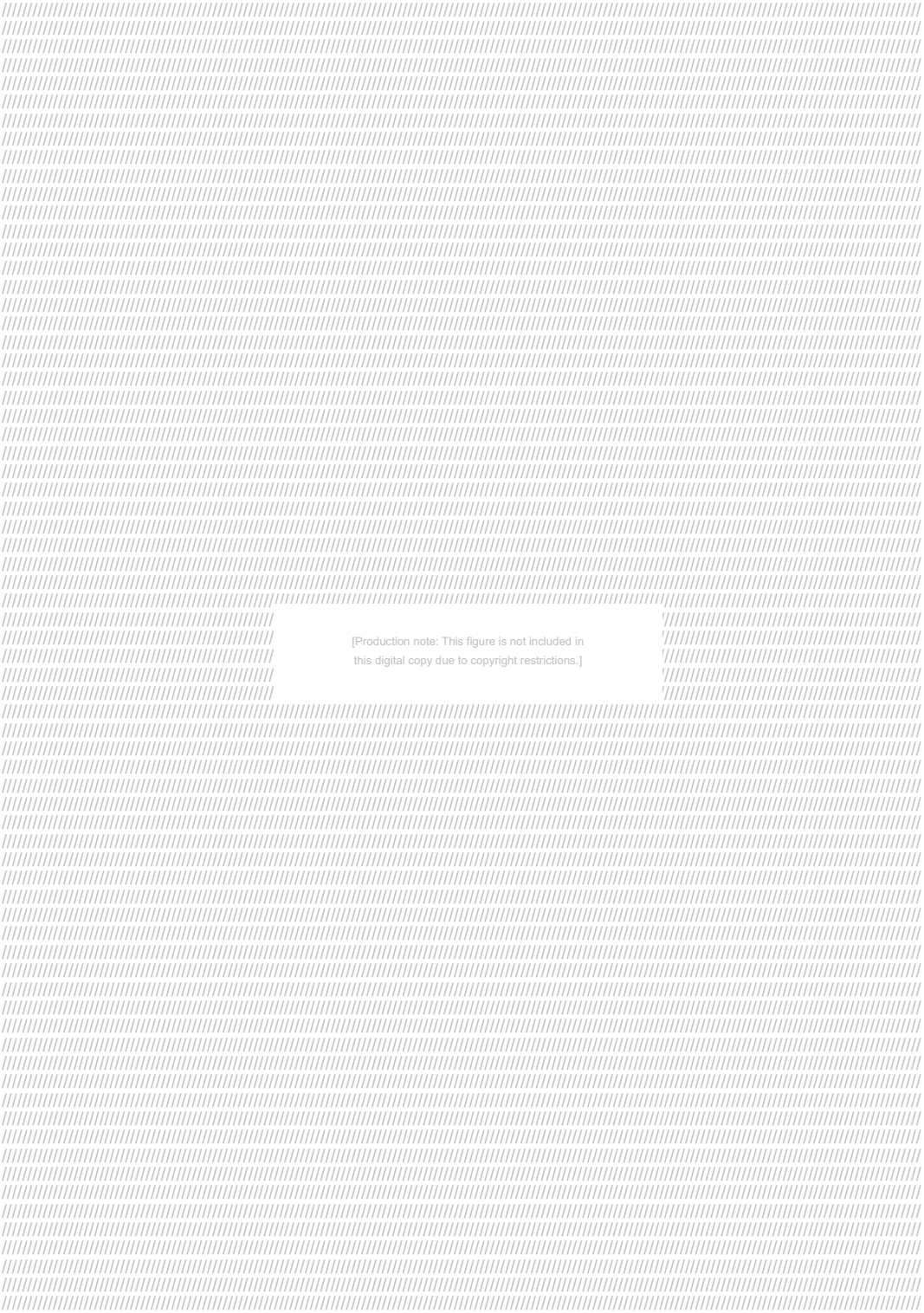


Figure 2.8: Charles P. Mountford, drawing of *Possum-skin cloak* from Maiden's Punt, Echuca, Victoria, 1853 (collected), figure 2 in Mountford, 'Australian Aboriginal skin rugs', *Records of the South Australian Museum*, vol. 14, no. 3, 23 August 1963, p. 531. This drawing represents a cloak collected at Echuca on the Murray River in 1853. Mountford photographed the cloak at the Museum Victoria, Melbourne, where it is held, X 016274 (see Figures 3.53 and 3.54)

2.2.2A Skin preparation

Possum skins were no doubt the by-product of hunting for food. Once the possum was skinned with a sharp piece of flint or shell (and later, glass), the pelts were scraped with the same tool to remove excess flesh or fat (Bunce 1857, p. 76). The pelts were then dried.

In 1862 the German explorer and natural scientist William Blandowski (cited in Allen 2010) noted the following in his illustrated encyclopedia of Aboriginal life, titled *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen nach zehnjährigen Erfahrungen (Australia in 142 photographic illustrations from ten years' experience)*:

> When the first cold nights appear in winter, the Aborigines use fur blankets to keep warm. For this reason the entire possum is not placed in a fire but is skinned and the fur is stretched across a piece of bark and then dried near a fire. The fur skins are treated late into the night and it is very lively in the camp (p. 83).

Blandowski's text is accompanied by an etching by Gustav Mützel that depicts, in a composed way, the various stages of cloak production, ranging from hunting in the background of the image to skin preparation by the group in the foreground (see Figure 2.9). This image is one of many that Blandowski and Mützel produced in an attempt to accurately and, apparently respectfully, record various elements of Aboriginal society and culture.

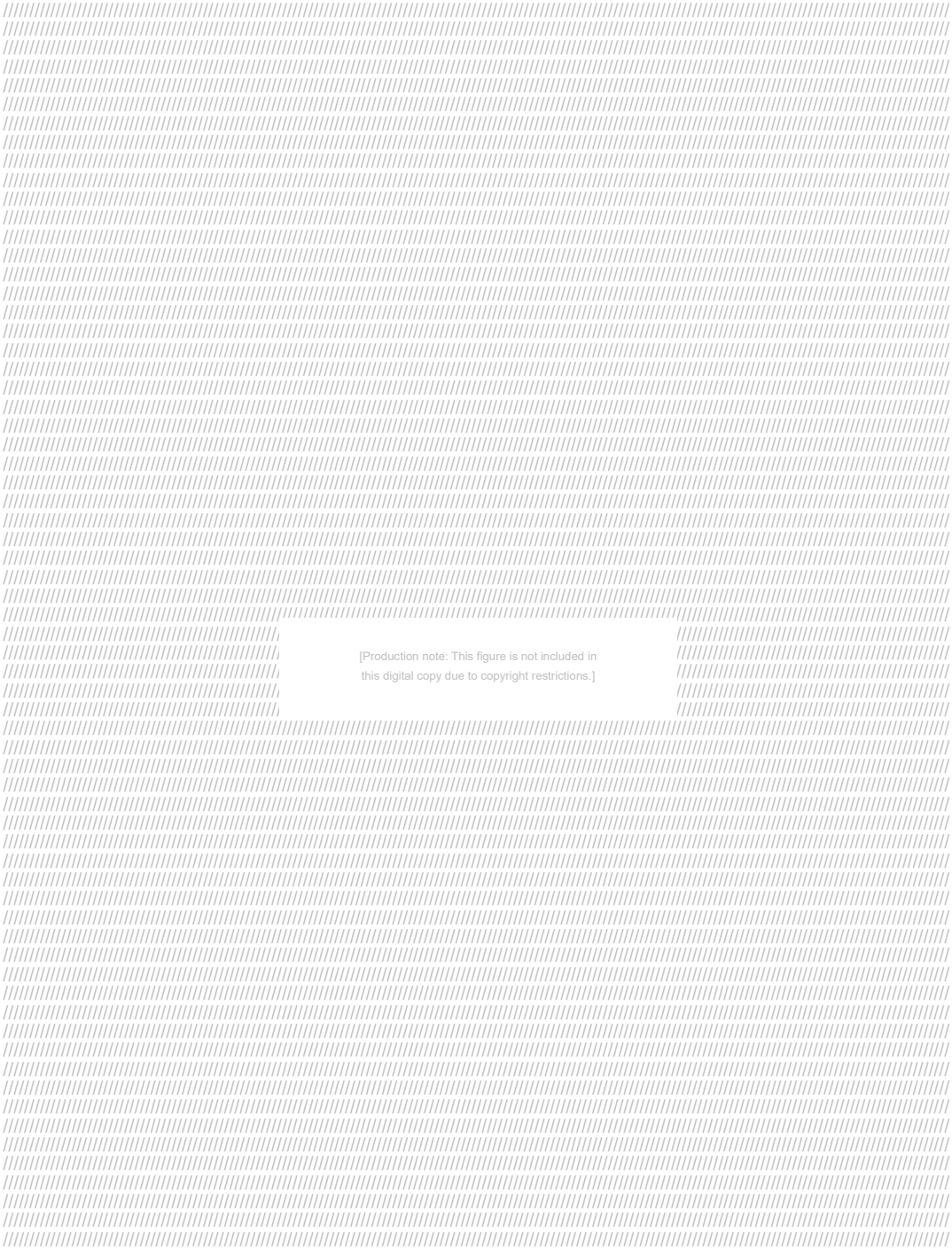


Figure 2.9: William Blandowski and G. Mutzel, *Domestic life of the natives*, plate 131 from *Aborigines of Australia*, c.1862, Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge, #064

Figure 2.9 shows the skins being pegged to pieces of bark. The pegs have been recorded as wood or sometimes 'porcupine' (echidna) quill. Writing about the cultural practices of Aboriginal people in the Sutton Forest area of New South Wales, Louisa Atkinson (1854) corroborated Blandowski and Mützel's representation, noting that:

> when the native intends to make a cloak, the skin is carefully removed and pegged by means of numerous wooden skewers to a small sheet of bark cut for the purpose (p. 141).

The squared and pegged skins were then propped up to dry facing a fire, as seen in Figure 2.9, adding an element of smoke to the process. The process of smoking would have, resulted in an application of formaldehyde to varying degrees, thus giving the pelt some protection from natural decay and insect attack.

Atkinson (1863) also noted that in the preparation of squared skins, 'warm ashes are rubbed over it to expedite its drying' (p. 2). As with all heat-dried or air-dried skins these possum pelts would then have been quite stiff. Consequently, fat, sometimes mixed with red ochre, was rubbed into the skins in order to make them softer and more pliable, as seen in the action of makers in Figure 2.9.

Not only would squaring the skins have given a tidy edge for sewing the holes, from personal practice I can attest that it would have ultimately contributed to the production of a more durable and more effective cloak in terms of protection from the elements. Regarding the skin and later the leather, the thickest part of the possum pelt is in the lower two thirds, around the back legs and along the ridge of the possum's back—those parts exposed to sun, frost, predators and rivals. Squaring off and leaving only the toughest part of the leather would have strengthened the finished cloak, as during the process of squaring the makers would have removed the peripheral thinner leather, leaving only the thickest part.

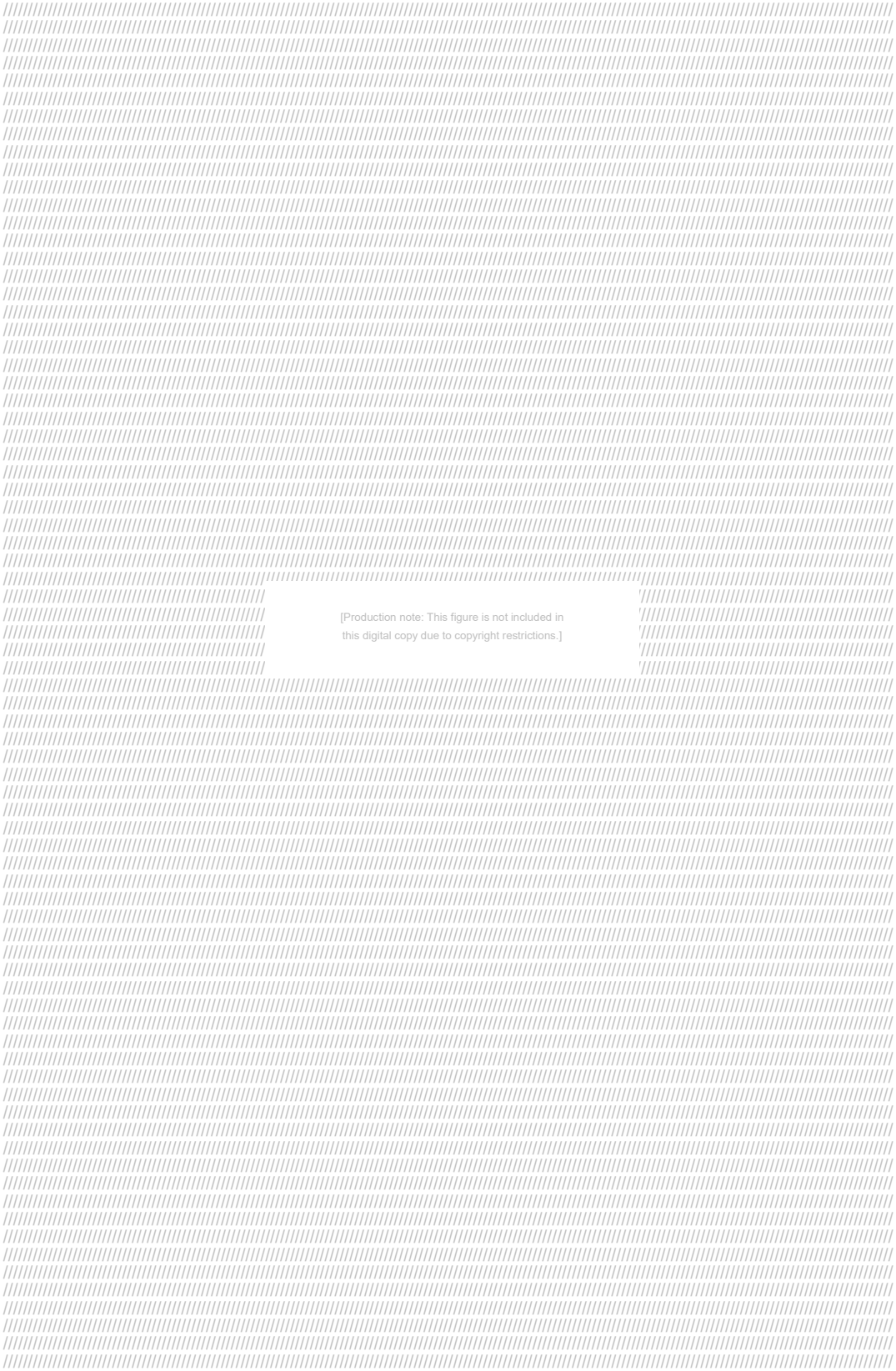
Similarly, cutting away the peripheral parts of the skin where the fur is thinnest would have produced a thicker-furred cloak, and therefore a more weather-resistant cloak. Furthermore, given the pan-Aboriginal cultural belief that as much of any animal as possible should be used, trimmed fur and leather would have found other uses such as belts, cuffs and strings.

Regarding the preparation of skins, it is interesting to note that during John Oxley's expedition along the lower Lachlan River in 1817 the explorer came across what was possibly pieces of bark prepared for the purpose of stretching and pegging out possum skins. Oxley and his companions were puzzled by these objects and speculated on their purpose, as botanist and explorer Allan Cunningham (cited in Lee 1925/2014) recorded:

> June 24th, 1817. Tuesday. … Of the many hypotheses formed upon matters connected with this expedition, the use to which the natives appropriate the oblong square pieces of bark (cut from the stem of the Blue Gum and so frequently observed on the river) is one. There were two of these 'Barks' at this Australian Camp, perforated with holes in lines after the following manner.
>
> Fraser who had seen similar pieces of bark round the native fires under Mount Bowen on the 22nd inst., found them with little wooden pegs in the holes. Those found at this place had none. Mr Oxley is of the opinion that they might be conversation cards, by which one division of a tribe is enabled to give information to another party coming after them, the course they are pursuing or any other matters that they may deem necessary.

> Their different ideas may be expressed by a transposition of the pegs understood by each party? These cards when perused by the succeeding troop of natives are destroyed and the pegs taken out which we observed in one of the pieces that had been broken. (chapter 7, 24 June, paras 1–2)
>
> 1817 July 4th. Friday. … Resuming our route westerly about 2 miles we came to extensive low swamps and inundated woods of Blue Gum, on the margin of which were several native huts, … Upon entering these abandoned Aboriginean houses, I found several conversation cards or barks perforated as before described, some fish, a snake bone and some mussel shells. (chapter 7, 4 July, para. 1)

These ‘conversation cards’—described by Cunningham as ‘oblong square pieces of bark’ with ‘perforated with holes in lines’ found in ‘Aboriginean houses’ and ‘round the native fires’—were no doubt the rectangular pieces of bark prepared for pegging and drying possum skins for cloak production, as depicted by Blandowski and Mützel in Figure 2.9, again by Mützel in Figure 2.10, and described by Atkinson (1854, p. 141). The mussel shells lying nearby in Cunningham’s account also relate to possum skin preparation and decoration.



This illustration shows a woman seated with a possum-skin cloak on her lap; in front of her are three possum-skin pelts with designs carved into their surface, pegged-out to dry on pieces of bark.

Figure 2.10: G. Mutzel, *Eine Australierfamilie von Neu-Sudwales*, [188-?], print: chromolithograph, 20.9 x 12.9 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 4006 #S10740, nla.obj-136198158

A *Benalla Standard* newspaper article (‘History of Benalla’ 1906), in which the anonymous writer described pre-invasion Aboriginal practices, expands on the technique of stretching skins on bark templates, this time with the description of ‘porcupine’ (echidna) quills as pegs:

> On one tree may be seen the bare wood, surrounded by green bark, the shape of the cut showing plainly that a canoe has been taken out of it. On the next the black man’s shield is clearly outlined. Then, again, higher up the tree are the holes, made by the natives, from which the opossums were dragged. This animal supplied the inhabitants with their clothing. The ’possum skin was neatly stretched out on bark, and fastened to it by means of porcupine quills. When dry, flowers were traced on the inner surface of the skin by scraping it with mussel shell. (p. 3)

2.2.3 Decoration

Following the squaring and drying processes each possum-skin pelt was decorated with a pattern. Patterns were essentially incised into the skin using a sharp stone or piece of shell. Incising the skins would have been challenging both artistically and physically, given the delicacy of the material. The possibility of unintentionally cutting through the skin is enormous. Given this, it would be expected that the process of decorating a skin would not only be delicate but time-consuming. Atkinson (1863) described the process as ‘so slow … that a single skin will occupy a woman all day to carve’ (p. 2). On this basis, and if correct, a cloak involving 70 skins might take 70 days just to decorate, let alone to sew together.

Beyond its aesthetic value, incising the skins would also have added flexibility to the material. Dried pelts are essentially stiff and inflexible, certainly not comfortable to wear against the skin. The process of incising the pelt would have made it more flexible and therefore more wearable. However, incising the possum skin would have also introduced potential weaknesses, contributing to disintegration of the cloak over time.

In appearance the decorations on possum-skin cloaks could broadly be described as stylized abstractions of nature rather than mimetic, figurative images. Designs were usually either geometric in style and/or flowing, whirling and circular. Atkinson (1863) said the patterns were ‘usually angles or curves’ (p. 2). Earlier Atkinson (1854) explained that ‘the carvings are in woves and circles (p. 141). By ‘woves’ Atkinson could be referring to a woven pattern, presumably the crosshatching/diamond pattern sometimes seen on heritage cloaks and in historical images.

In fact it has been suggested that the later use of more figurative images on possum-skin cloaks was in response to European influences. Beveridge (1889) expressed his understanding that ‘before the advent of Europeans the cloak patterns usually took a scrolly shape, and striking objects in nature, such as flowers, foliage or animals, were never copied’ (p. 138). Essentially these traditional abstract-geometric and circular or whirling patterns were consistent with the styles of art generally found in south-east Australia and often present on carved trees, shields,

boomerangs and other decorated cultural objects. In *The Aborigines of Victoria*, Robert Brough Smyth (1878) connected cloak designs with those of shields:

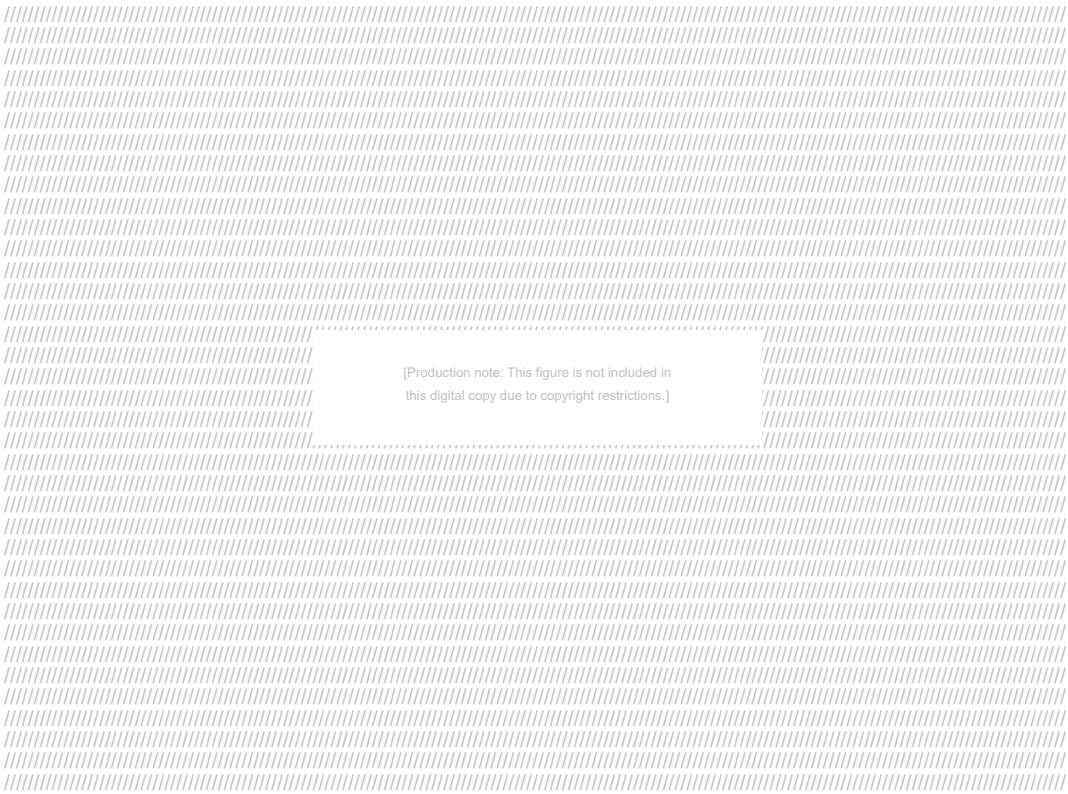
> The inner sides of the opossum rugs … were usually ornamented. They inscribed lines on the skins, and darkened them with powdered charcoal and fat, or with other colours. The figures were the same as those on their weapons, namely, the herringbone, chevron and saltier [sic], with representations of animals in outline (vol. 1, p. 288).

In relation to diagonal designs, whether correct or not it was Beveridge's opinion (1889), which was based on his accounts of Aboriginal people from Victoria and the Riverina region, that:

> Should a rug-maker be entirely lacking in artistic taste he merely scrapes the skin diagonally. When the whole skin has been thus scraped he turns the skin round and again scrapes diagonally, this time, of course, the scraping crosses the lines first made, thus forming a lossenge-shaped [sic] design. This latter method, as regards utility, is unequalled by any other, for thus treated, if the pattern be a small one, the skins become pliant and soft as well-prepared doeskin. (p. 138)

In other words, it is Beveridge's understanding or presumption that the crosshatching/diamond patterns often found on cloaks were not meaningful and communicative but were purely decorative. That said, he also does note the softening effect of this pattern of the pelts.

In the Wiradjuri language these designs are referred to as either 'murru' or 'gurilgang'. Murru can mean a number of related things including nose, line, path or track of an animal or any passing thing (Grant & Rudder 2010, pp. 420, 89); essentially, a mark of some sort. Gurilgang specifically refers to 'marks, as on an opossum-skin cloak' (Grant & Rudder 2010, p. 391).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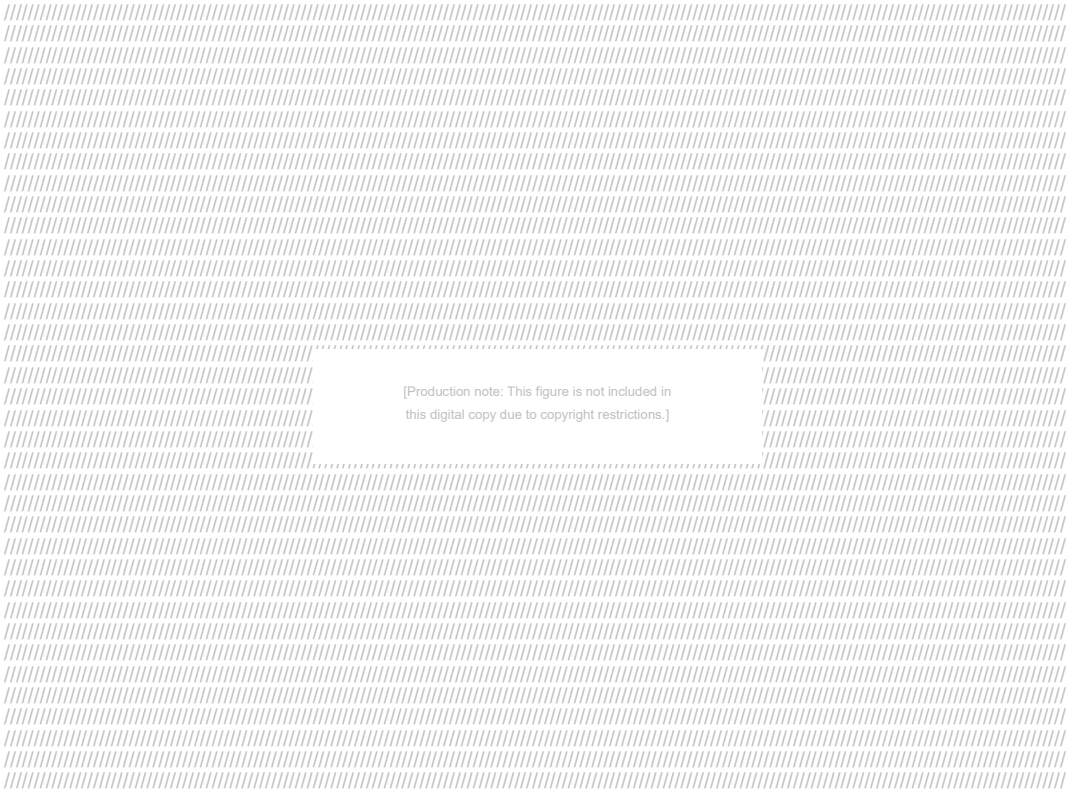
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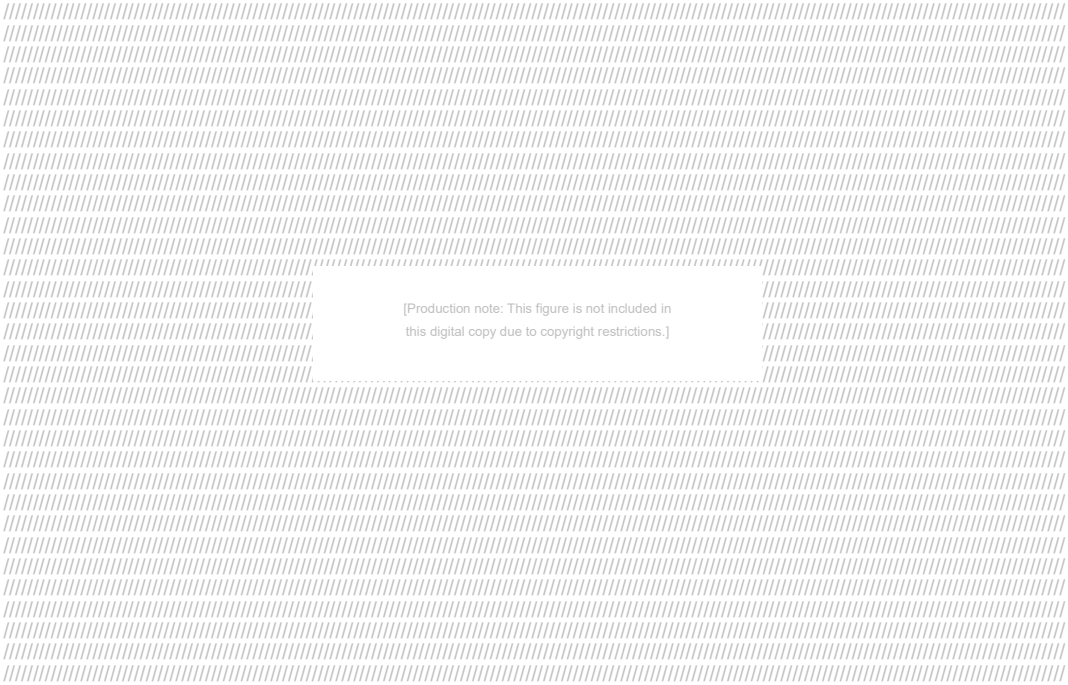


gurilgang (marks, as on a possum-skin cloak)

Figures 2.11–2.13: *Possum-skin cloak* from Hunter River, NSW (attributed), 1839–40, details, brush-tailed possum skin, kangaroo skin, 148.5 x 144.5 cm, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, E5803, sourced <https://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/>

While the Wiradjuri word gurilgang is not recorded as having a communication element to it, it is reasonable to presume it does. One of the purposes of decorating a tree or object was to express a person's identity in terms of country (ngurambang) and family/kinship/totemic affiliations (miyagan). One of the principal purposes in communicating this to others, particularly at the point of approach or first contact, was to introduce the owner and allow the viewer to place the owner/wearer within the social/kinship system. By stating who an individual was, an individual could be advised by the viewer what their relationship was to them within the broader kinship-centric system. By being given a kinship position in relation to the other, the individual would understand all other social expectations and responsibilities. This was a society ordered along kinship lines and emphasising responsibilities above rights. To know your kinship relationship to someone, if only meeting for the first time, was to understand your responsibilities to them and their responsibilities to you. It is reasonable therefore to presume that gurilgang-galang (designs, the plural of gurilgang) communicate identity.

This is consistent with the observations of John Fraser (1892), a 19th-century commentator in his publication *The Aborigines of New South Wales*. Fraser recorded that each family had their own design and that these 'mombarai' were incised into cloaks to help others know who the wearer was:

> These I shall call ‘mombarai’—a local native word in New South Wales which answers to the English word ‘brand’. … ‘Mombarai’ is also used to mean a mark of ownership on an opossum cloak or on a tree in the forest. …
>
> I think it likely that, like trademarks among us, each family has its own ‘mombarai’; for a friend tells me that he had an opossum cloak made for him long ago by a man of the Kamalarai [sic] tribe, who marked it with his own ‘mombarai’. When this cloak was shown to another black some time after, he at once exclaimed, ‘I know who made this; here is his “mombarai”’. (p. 45)

The explorer, natural scientist and early anthropologist Alfred William Howitt (1904/2001) also referred to ‘mombari’ as signifying one’s family: ‘the marks on his back being his Mombari, or family marks’ (p. 445). Howitt told how designs of a cloak for Kurnai people were intended to communicate identity to an observer:

> They did not dress the skins but merely dried them, and to make them more pliable cut markings on the skin side by means of mussel shells (nanduwung). These markings are called waribruk, and each man had his own. (p. 742)

The Australian race by Edward M. Curr (1887) contains a section on the people of Condobolin written by William H. Suttor (cited in Curr 1887), who explained how ‘families [in] this neighbourhood have totems or yooloo with which they mark trees around the graves of their dead and also their opossum rugs’ (p. 388). Fraser (1892) confirmed that these designs have meaning, and were more than markings (p. 45). They were personal, collective and relational, intending to communicate to others and presumably for a social purpose. Furthermore, a newspaper article by W.H. Pinkstone (1906) titled ‘Early colonial days: the biography of a reliable old native, John McGuire’ told how during burial ‘the bare parts of the trees marks are made to correspond with the marks on the dead man’s ’possum rug or cloak’ (p. 2). Pinkstone further explained how ‘each man’s rug is peculiarly marked in order to signify its respective ownership’ (p. 2). In his book profiling the carved trees of New South Wales, Robert Etheridge (1918) cited Reverend Canon Greenway, who described how ‘certain marks’ are cut on trees ‘to correspond with the marks on the dead man’s possum rug or cloak’ (p. 29). Greenway further asserted that ‘each man’s rug is particularly marked in order to signify its respective ownership’ (p. 29).

2.2.3A Use of colour

Once the patterns were incised into the possum skin the designs were often highlighted by rubbing in ash or natural pigments such as ochres. These ochres could have been mixed with animal fat or water. Whether or not correct, oils are also recorded as a base for mixing ochres (Reynolds et al. 2005), as indicated by Beveridge (1889): ‘colours are made by mixing pigments of different shades with fish oil, and laying the shades on the respective portions of the designs requiring them’ (p. 138).

The range of colours available for design would have been black, red, brown, yellow and white. Judging from the existing heritage cloaks, colouring seems to have been sparingly and subtly

used. These colours are also suggested in the paintings of late-19th century Wurundjeri elder and artist William Barak, whose palette relies on ochres and whose compositions are populated with people wearing cloaks.

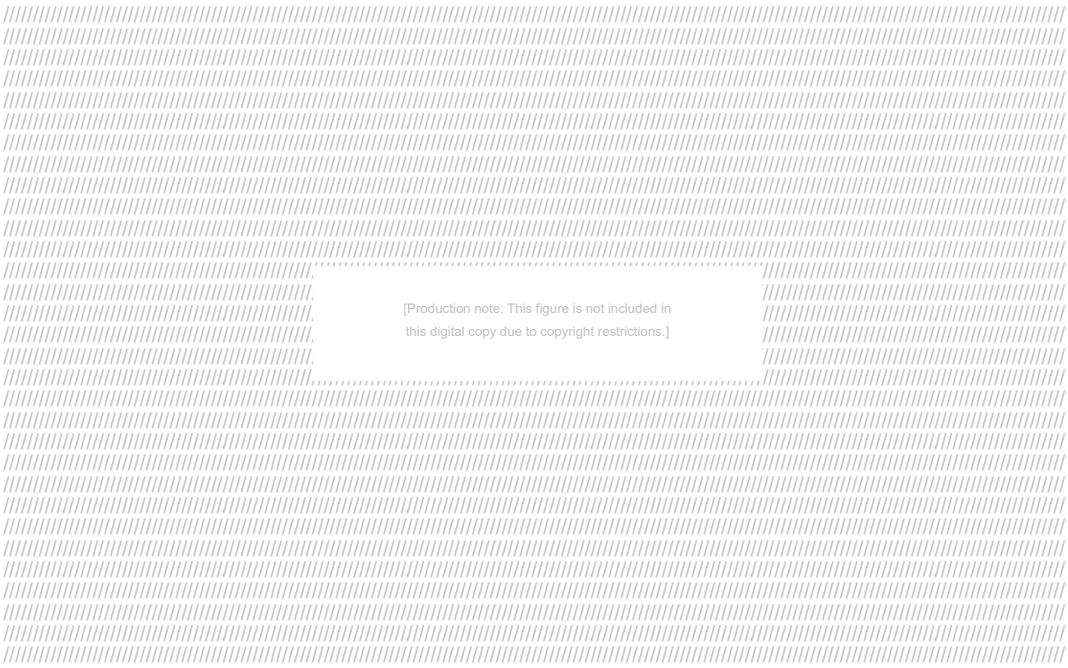


Figure 2.14: William Barak (Wurundjeri), *Figures in possum-skin cloaks*, 1898, pencil, wash, charcoal solution, gouache and earth pigments on paper, 57 x 88.8 cm (image and sheet), National Gallery of Victoria, 1215A-5

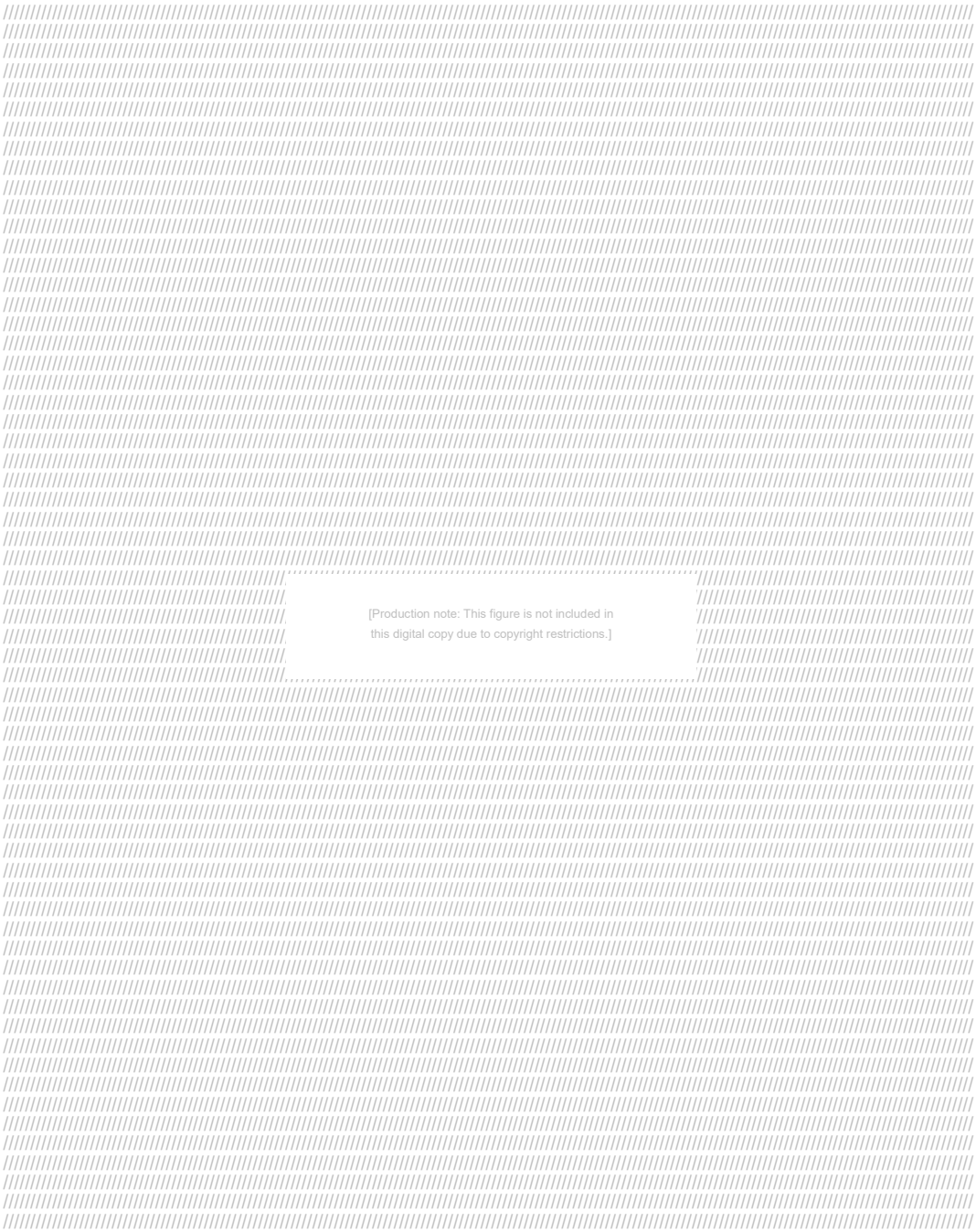
Atkinson (1854) however witnessed to the general reddish appearance of cloaks: 'During the process of carving, the skin is softened by fat and ochre, and becomes, in consequence, of a red hue within' (p. 141). This 'red hue' can still be seen in the remaining heritage cloaks.

2.2.4 Sewing

Cloaks were sewn together using sinew, which was taken from the tail of kangaroos (Atkinson 1863, p. 2). Clearly, given the size of the cloaks and the fact that anywhere from 12 to 16 metres of sewing would be needed, this would have required sinew from a considerable number of kangaroos, which again would have significantly added to the investment in and value of any cloak. Holes were pierced through the possum skins using a sharp pointed stick or a pointed bone needle. The sinew was then threaded through these holes to sew the skins together, forming the cloak. As Samuel Rinder (1853, cited in Mendelawitz 2011) noted: 'They stitch the skins together with a pointed bone for needle, and the long fine sinews drawn from the kangaroo's tail for their thread' (p. 209).

Based on surviving examples, the sewing was extremely small and neat. By the mid-19th century kangaroo sinew is recorded as being replaced by some with cotton thread and presumably the use of steel needles, as recorded in Victoria (Bunce 1857, p. 76). It is

inconclusive from visual and written accounts whether the sewing of skins and decoration of cloaks were the responsibility of men or women or whether the responsibility was shared or divided, as discussed further in the following section.



An example of fine sewing done with sinew.

Figure 2.15: *Possum-skin cloak* from Lake Condah, Victoria, 1872, detail, Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria, X 016257, photograph Jonathan Jones

Regarding the sewing of cloaks Beveridge (1889) reported the use of possum tail sinew:

> The prepared skins are sewn together by means of fine sinews, which are drawn from opossum tails, instead of thread; these sinews are used whilst in a damp state, therefore when well shrunk, which they become from drying, the seams formed by them are both strong and firm. Needles not being known to them in their savage state, a bodkin made of bone was the instrument by which the punctures to receive the sinews were made, and the quickness and dexterity displayed in the manipulation of these rude instruments and appliances is truly astonishing. (pp. 138–139)

The accuracy of Beveridge's reported use of sinew from possum tails is interesting as most references cite the use of kangaroo sinew. Even more intriguing is the use of bark string for the sewing of cloaks; Atkinson (1854) documented the following:

> So far prepared, the bark of the currijong [sic] is stripped and the fibres next the wood selected: two skins are placed together and pierced, and the currijong [sic] fibres passed through, securing and neatly sewing the skins together. The cloak is thus gradually enlarged, often to a great size, and is, when completed, a warm and durable robe. (p. 141)

2.2.5 Gender and traditional roles in cloak production

It is reasonable to assume that gender roles were well established in relation to the various elements of cloak production in south-east Australia. It is also quite possible that some elements of production were shared between men and women.

Gender roles are a significant feature of Aboriginal societies past and present. Today, many such roles are referred to in Aboriginal English as 'women's business' and 'men's business'; terms that now often hold greater meaning than simply a division of labour, implying an element of 'spiritual role and exclusivity' and to a degree implying cultural authority and power.

Blandowski and Mützel's etching *Domestic life of the natives* (see Figure 2.9) focuses on those elements conducted by men, such as possum hunting and skin preparation, so much so that the viewer could be led to believe that the production of cloaks was entirely male-dominated. Again, it is reasonable to assume that hunting large game such as kangaroo, sinew preparation, possum hunting and skin preparation were largely conducted by men. However, the hunting of small game was done by women and it is not unlikely that possum skins available for cloak-making were sometimes the result of women's hunting activities. In fact, regarding skin preparation, decoration and sewing, while all historical references found are to women sewing, it seems that skin preparation and design may have been done by either gender. Writing about Aboriginal people of the Sutton Forest district in New South Wales, Atkinson (1854) posited that 'the process of carving' was 'done by the females, and is a very tedious task' (p. 141). In fact so slow was the process that a woman could spend an entire day carving just one skin (Atkinson 1863, p. 2). Then again, a closer read of John Fraser's (1892) comments, based on Kamilaroi people from northern New South Wales, suggests that a man has made the designs on a certain cloak: 'a man of the Kamalarai [sic] tribe … marked it with his own "mombarai"' (p. 45).

In summary, cloak production resulted from the knowledge and labour of both men and women. There may have been elements exclusively performed by women, such as sewing, but from known hunting practices and historical reports, elements including hunting, skin preparation and decorating were done by either gender and to varying degrees. The degree to which gender roles may have been strictly assigned and enforced is more difficult to say.

2.3 What purpose did cloaks serve?

Possum-skin cloaks seem to have served a variety of purposes, ranging from the practical through to the ceremonial, from non-sacred to sacred; they have musical, spiritual and healing uses, economic and social purposes, and even a funerary role. In short, cloaks seem to have played a central part in people's lives from childhood to death and beyond.

2.3.1 Bedding and clothing

In this 19th-century account from *Empire* magazine, J.H. Palmer (1857) declared that:

> In the more remote portions of the country … and occasionally among those who visit our towns, [the possum-skin cloak] is the chief and by far the most valuable portion of their wardrobe. … it is their cloak by day, their bed and blanket by night. (p. 2)

Apart from providing a plush form of bedding, particularly valuable in the frosty winter nights of south-eastern Australia, possum-skin cloaks, like those made of kangaroo and wallaby skins, were worn as clothing. From historical images and written accounts cloaks appear to have been worn a number of ways. Cloaks were worn with the fur side out or in, depending on weather conditions. During wet weather, for example, cloaks were worn with the fur side facing out. Possum fur is very thick and has multiple layers and in this way the cloak afforded the wearer the same protection that the fur would have had on the possums. Smaller cloaks could be fastened either in the middle of the chest or at the shoulder with a pin made of bone or wood, or pinned above the shoulder. Generally, larger cloaks would have been held in place rather than pinned, due to their substantial weight. A pin would have torn through the possum skin, which is not as robust as kangaroo or wallaby skin. Cloaks were also worn over one shoulder and under the other arm, leaving that arm free to engage in a range of everyday activities.

The following are observations by 19th-century Europeans regarding cloaks and methods of wearing. Writing about people from Victoria and the Riverina region, Beveridge (1889) explained how:

> In wet weather the rug is invariably worn with the fur to the weather. Worn in this manner they are almost impervious to rain, whereas when the flesh side is exposed to the wet the cloak becomes saturated and consequently unpleasant in a very short space of time. (p.139)

Further attesting to the rain-repellent nature of possum-skin cloaks, Beveridge (1889) described how a cloak could provide shelter from the rain during fire-making:

> Should it be necessary to make fire when the timber has been saturated by continued rains the native cuts down the log on which he intends to operate until he has got beyond the saturated portion, then he cuts a groove to take the place of the sun crack, and the rubber is split from the heart of a smaller log to ensure dryness. If it be raining at the time fire is required an opossum cloak is held over the operator until the desired end is achieved. (p.136)

Another way in which women routinely wore cloaks was to allow a baby or small child to be carried on the back, as seen in Figures 2.16 and 2.17. Explorer and surveyor-general Major Thomas Mitchell (1839) recorded this wearing style in his journal *Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia*. In his at times self-righteous style, Mitchell noted that:

> The [women] never carry a child in arms as our females do, but always in a skin on the back. The infant is seized by an arm and thrown with little care over the shoulders, when it soon finds its way to its warm berth, holding by the back of the mother's head while it slides down into it. These women usually carry besides their children, thus mounted, bags containing all the things which they and the men possess, consisting of nets for the hair or for catching ducks; whetstones; yellow, white and red ochre; pins for dressing and drying opossum skins, or for net-making; small boomerangs and shovels for the children's amusement; and often many other things apparently of little use to them. (11 September, para. 7)

From available historical images this method of wearing cloaks seems to have been achieved through the creation of a looser wrapping at the top of the mother, allowing for the placement of a child on her upper back. The child is supported at the back by the loosened, almost pouch-like cloak space, while also supported underneath by either a cord wrapped around the outside of the cloak or by an attached mat-like cloak, as seen in Figure 2.1.

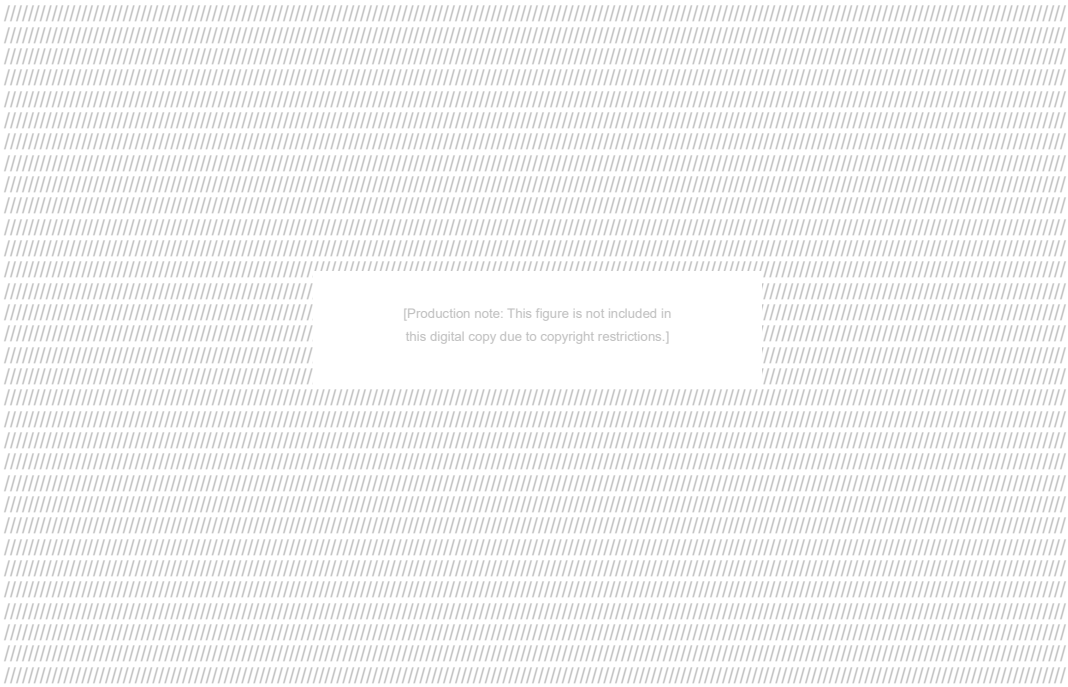


Figure 2.16: Fred Kruger, *Aboriginal group at Coranderrk*, c.1883, detail, albumen silver photograph, 13.2 x 20.2 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, PH236-1979

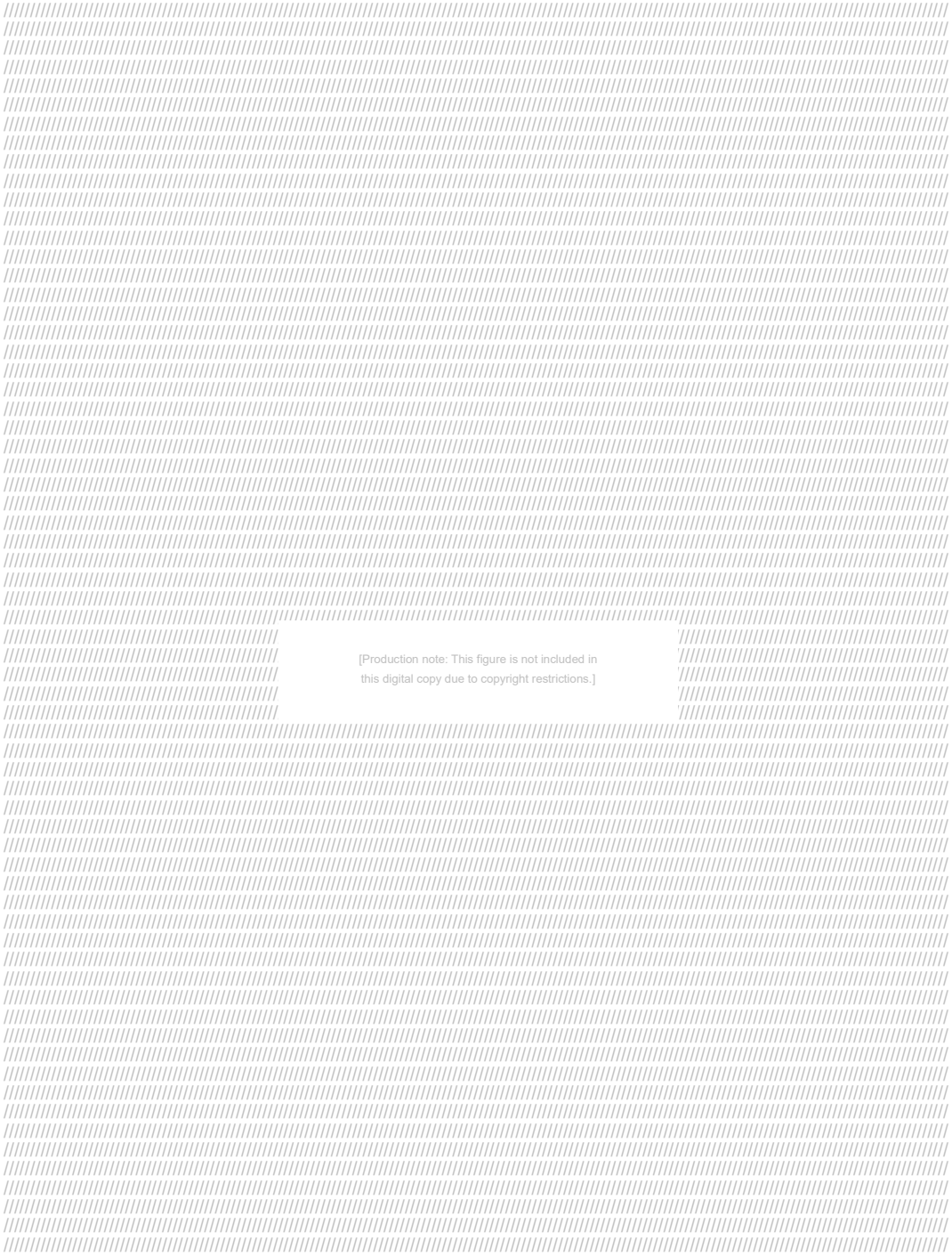


Figure 2.17: Samuel White Sweet, *Portrait Aboriginal woman Teenminnie, wife of Pelican, wearing a kangaroo skin cloak, Point McLeay region, South Australia*, c.1860, photograph: sepia, 22.2 x 16.6 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC/8510/49 LOC Album 1040, nla.obj-148825818

2.3.2 Ceremonial and musical

Apart from the practical uses, possum-skin cloaks appear to have also had a ceremonial and therefore spiritual role. Possum-skin cloaks were worn in ceremony, as evidenced in the paintings of Wurundjeri elder and artist William Barak (see Figures 2.18 and 2.21).

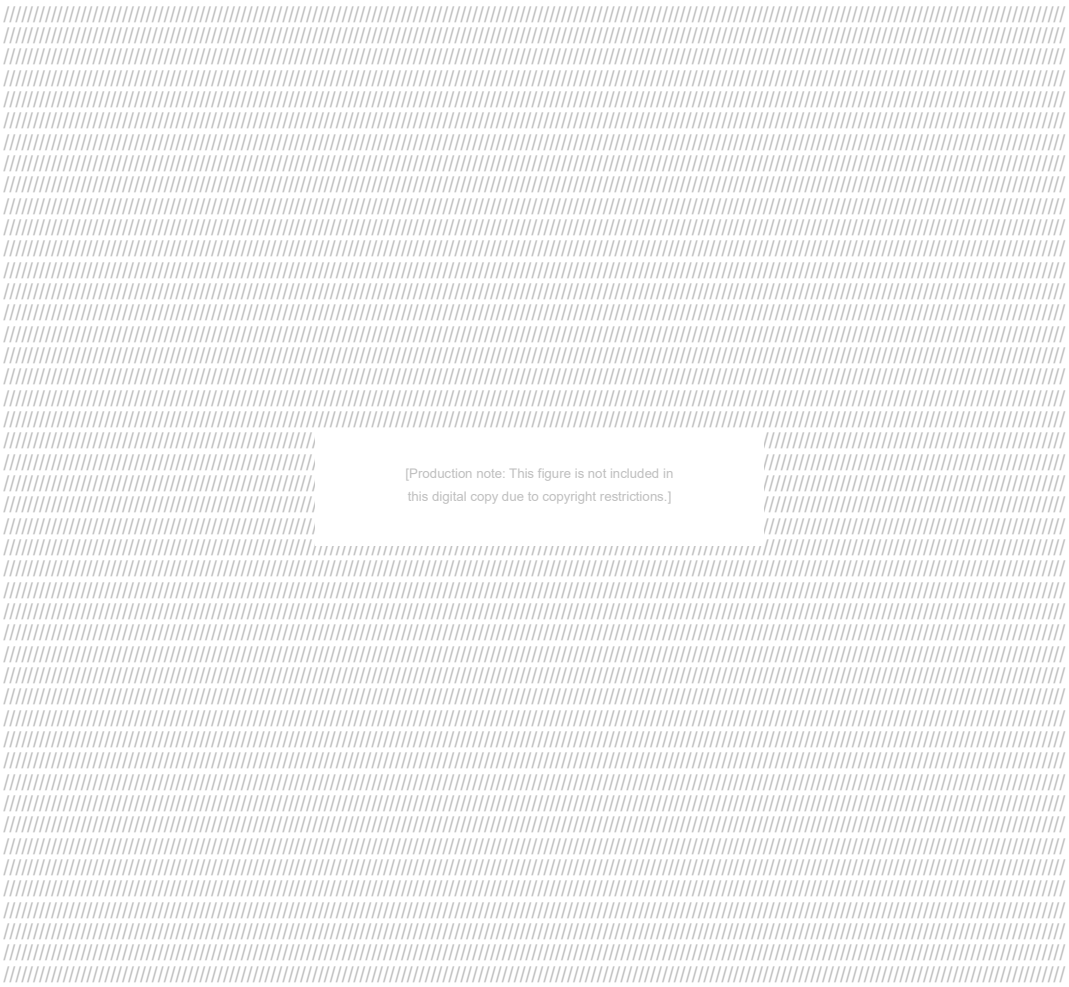


Figure 2.18: Johannes Heyer, *William Barak at work on a drawing at Coranderrk*, 1902, gelatin silver photograph, sepia toned, 8.7 x 8.7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, 2000.33

Barak was born circa 1824 at Brushy Creek in the Yarra Valley, Victoria, and as a child witnessed his own culture during its strongest and least-interrupted times. Barak was also a significant cultural leader and had a passion for passing on knowledge of his culture. Apart from doing so orally during the later years of his life, Barak was a prolific drawer and painter, usually depicting elements of ceremony, dress and performance. There is no doubt that these images were incredibly important to him. They were and are his method of communicating life as it was to future generations; and, given that, we should study his images carefully. It is clear that Barak was at the very least communicating to the viewer that possum-skin cloaks played a significant role in ceremony and differed in individual design style, as seen in Figures 2.14, 2.19 and 2.20.

It also seems from Barak's paintings that during these ceremonies possum-skin cloaks were worn with the designed side facing out. Given the personal spiritual significance of the designs and the interrelated nature of the identity of the participants, their spiritual affiliations with each other and with country, there is no doubt that the displaying of images/designs during ceremonies was deliberate and important. During such times cloaks were a central element of the ceremony.

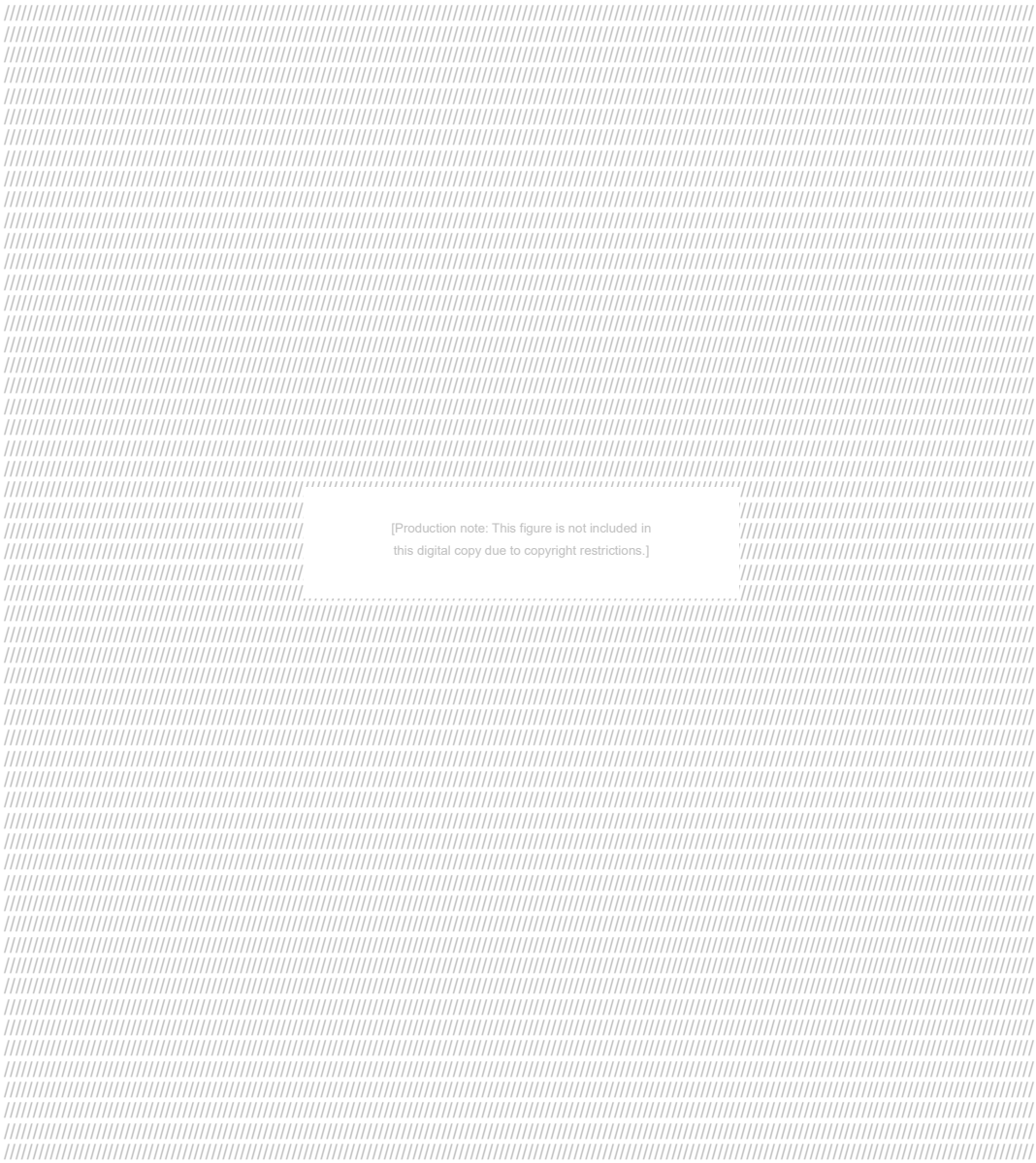


Figure 2.19: William Barak (Wurundjeri), *Dancers and women in possum-skin cloaks*, 1880s, drawings, drawing in charcoal and natural earth pigments, over black pencil; paper mounted on paper, 25.8 x 19.6 cm (image), National Gallery of Australia, NGA 94.1262

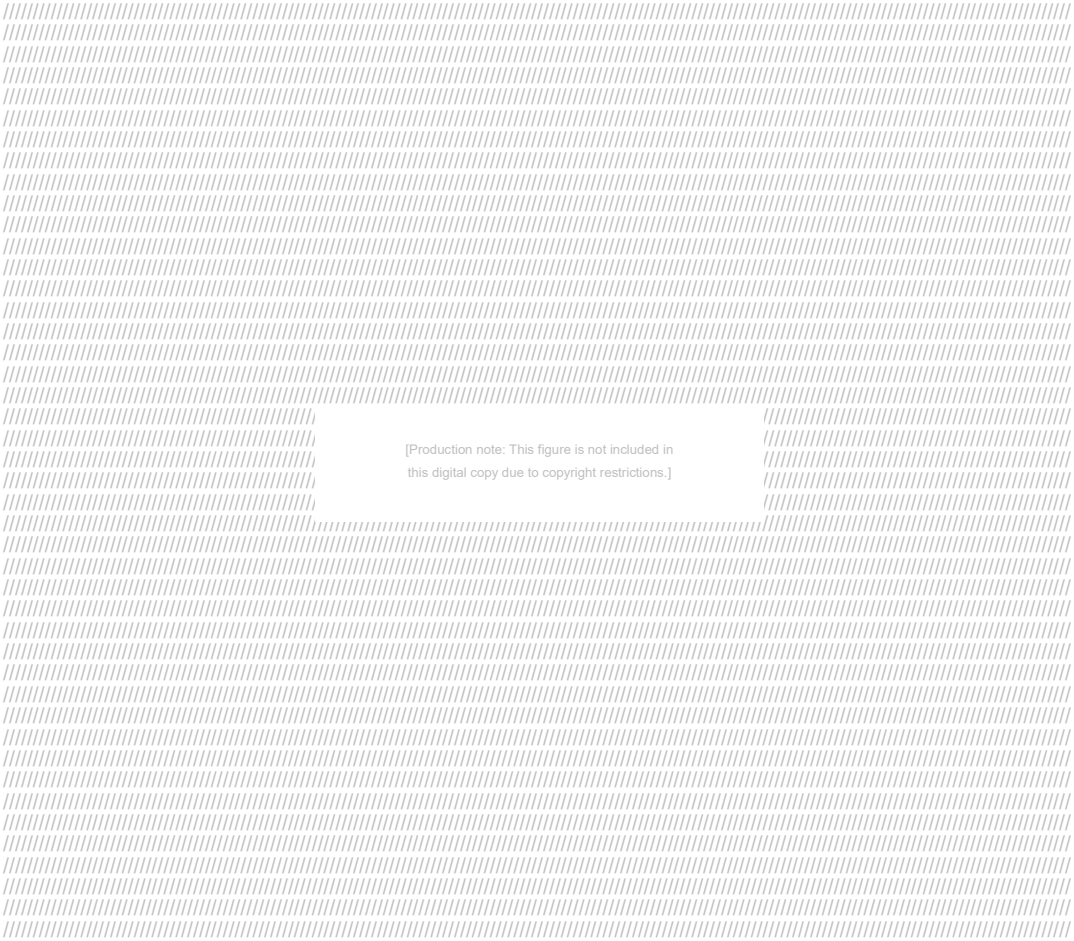


Figure 2.20: William Barak (Wurundjeri), *Figures in possum-skin cloaks and lyrebird*, 1880–1940, drawing, pencil wash, ochres and charcoal, 47 x 51 cm, South Australian Museum, AA 795/1/1

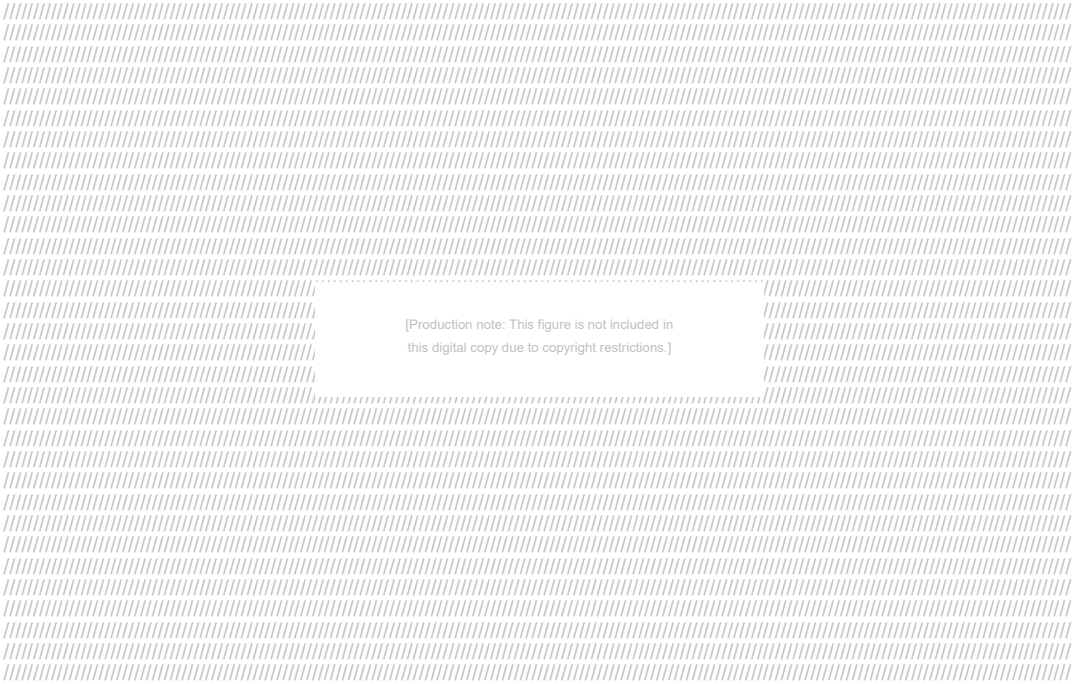


Figure 2.21: ***Last of Victorian Aboriginals [i.e. Aborigines] - Corranderk [i.e. Coranderrk]*****, n.d., photograph on mount, 10.7 x 16.5 cm (on mount) approx., State Library of Victoria, H6008**

2.3.2A Initiation

In some areas of south-eastern Australia possum-skin cloaks are known to have played a role in male initiation. Leading up to the ceremony and as part of the removal of the boys from their mothers, in the evening a certain sound was made with a bullroarer. In Wiradjuri, this sound was believed to have been the voice of the great spiritual being and man-maker Dharramalin, who is sometimes referred to as the son of Biyaami, the Sky Father. With the commencement of that sound and the responsive sound of crying, the mothers would hide themselves and their boys under their possum-skin cloaks, shielding them from Dharramalin. Taking them from their mothers, Dharramalin ritually wounded the boys, and with that commenced their passage into manhood.

Other accounts exist linking the initiation of males and possum-skin cloaks. The Protector of Aborigines on the Goulburn River, Albert A.C. Le Souëf (cited in Smyth 1878), told of 'some tribes' where a boy is sent naked into the bush armed with only a tomahawk; he 'cannot return until he has clothed himself in a cloak of opossum skins, made by his own hands' (vol. 2, p. 297).

In *People of the Merri Merri: the Wurundjeri in colonial days*, Isabel Ellender and Peter Christiansen (2001) note a ceremony at which a young William Barak was presented with a number of objects marking his entrance into manhood. At the ceremony, which would have occurred in c.1830s/40s, during a period of significant social and cultural disruption in the Wurundjeri/Melbourne region, three senior Wurundjeri men, Ninggalobin, Poleorong and Billibellary, gathered at South Yarra and inducted the young Barak into Aboriginal lore. This involved the formal presentation to Barak of symbols of manhood—strips of possum skin tied around his upper arms, a reed necklace and an apron. At the end of the ceremony Barak presented his uncle, Billibellary, with a possum-skin cloak as a sign of respect (p. 52).

2.3.2B Musical use

Apart from being worn during ceremony, possum-skins cloaks also served as musical instruments. Reporting on the customs of Wiradjuri people from Mudgee, New South Wales, the anonymous writer 'Pioneer' ('Outdoor Australia: Aboriginal customs, by "Pioneer"' 1913) detailed the use of possum-skin cloaks as percussion instruments:

> Among the many customs of the aboriginals when I was a child was their corrobboree [sic], which was always held at night beside a big fire, the blacks forming a half-circle around it. The [women] sat down with the skin side of their opossum cloak outwards, and stretched across their knees, on which they beat time … while the blackfellows, whose bodies were streaked with white, and their hair decorated with feathers, danced around … (p. 10)

It is reasonable to presume that, based on the 1913 date, the author is reporting an event witnessed during the mid-to-late 19th century. This perspective is corroborated by other sources, such as the *Australian Town and Country Journal* article 'Aborigines preparing for a corrobboree [sic]' (1874, p. 508). By playing a musical part in ceremony, cloaks were by extension inhabiting a ceremonial and presumably spiritual role.

There is a question that can be asked: were cloaks by their general nature considered spiritual/sacred objects. I think, in part, the answer is yes, in the sense that all things are related to the sacred and therefore are to varying degrees sacred. Water, trees, stars, people were and are all part of a sacred whole. In this regard it could be presumed that sacredness was recognised in cloaks. This is to propose that something similar to the Polynesian concept of sacred power or life force in all living and non-living things would have been recognised as existing in cloaks. That said, it is clear that cloaks were a part of everyday life as well as part of ceremonial life, as evidenced in the way they were used as both bedding and clothing and as musical instruments during ceremony. It is also possible that when worn during ceremony or used musically during ceremony possum-skin cloaks gained a spiritual importance that they may not normally have had. In other words, they possessed a transient or situational degree of sacred importance. This may also explain the ability of Aboriginal people to trade in cloaks as an economic commodity during the mid-19th century, as discussed in an upcoming section.

2.3.3 Healing

Possum-skin cloaks also had a role in healing. In Figure 2.22 Blandowski and Mützel represent a healing practice featuring a possum-skin cloak. A cloak would be draped over the head and shoulders of a patient. The patient would stand over a smouldering fire, on top of which were placed medicinal plants, the medicinal vapour of which the patient inhaled. At the same time, the healer would call on spiritual forces by singing. Figure 2.22 is accompanied by the following comment from William Blandowski (cited in Allen 2010):

> People with rheumatism are cured in the following manner: climbing plants are laid onto glowing coals, the patient, wrapped in a possum blanket, leans over it with his spear and the blanket gathers the smoke while the doctor mumbles incomprehensible things while making unfathomable facial expressions. The crowd is silent and watches devoutly. These treatments occur mostly when the moon is waning or waxing and always on windless dark nights. (p. 135)

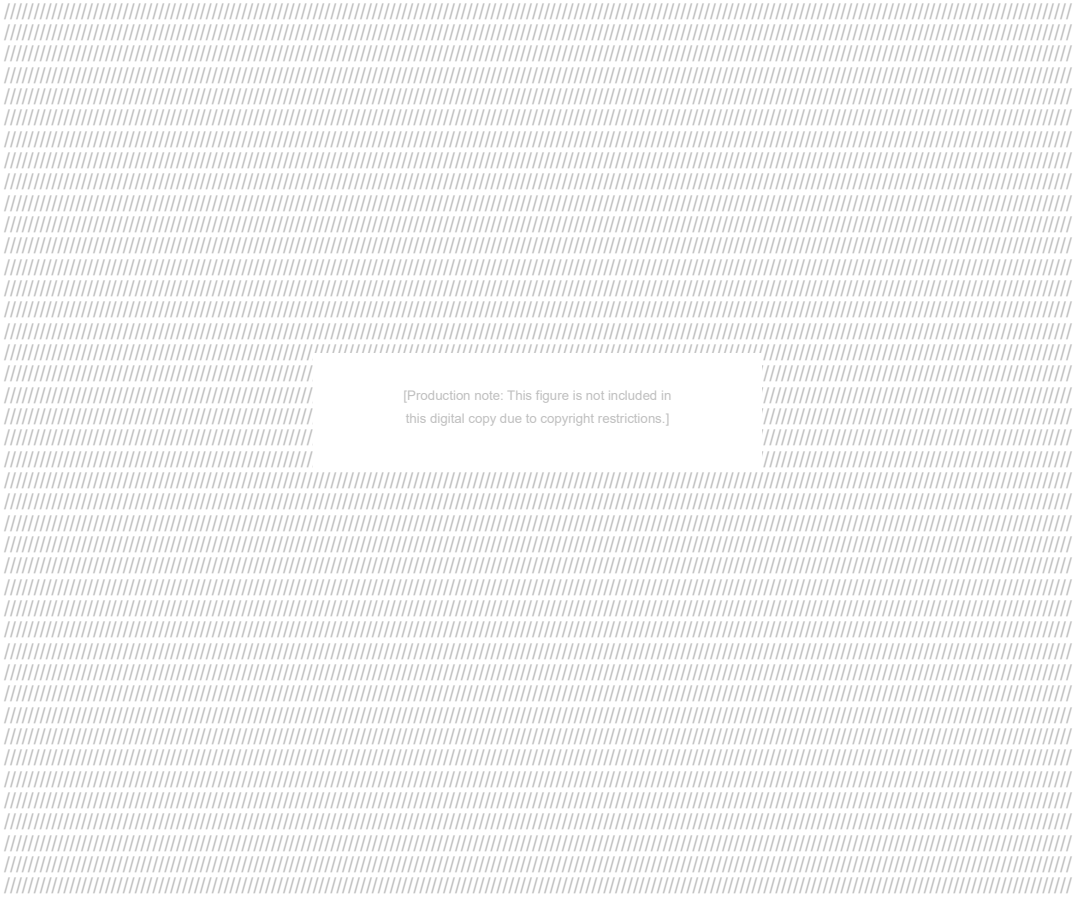


Figure 2.22: William Blandowski and G. Mutzel, *Sickness removing*, plate 196? from *Aborigines of Australia*, c.1862, Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge, #116

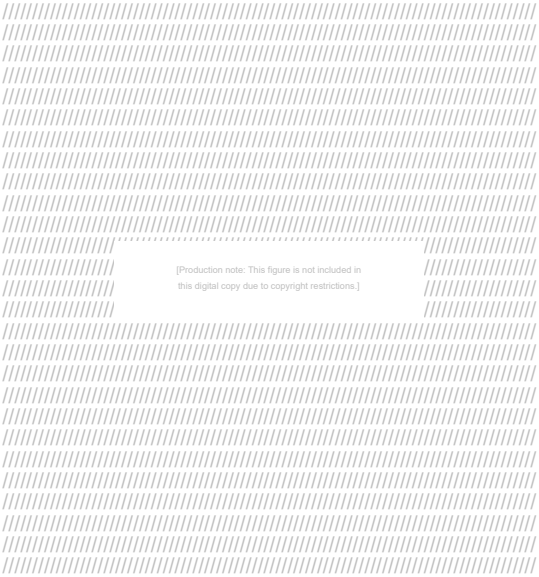


Figure 2.22 detail

An alternative method of using a possum-skin cloak in a healing practice was described in some detail by Peter Beveridge, a squatter on the lower Murray River. As Beveridge (1889) observed:

> For pulmonary affections and rheumatic fever (both of which diseases are very common and very fatal with the aborigines) they make use of the vapour bath, from which much relief is obtained. The bath is constructed in a very similar manner to their cooking ovens, the only real difference being simply that the hole for the bath is made sufficiently large to contain the body of the patient, and the glowing bottom of the hole is covered to the depth of a foot and a half with green boughs which had previously been made damp, instead of a thin sprinkling of moist grass, as is the case when cooking. When the hole has been sufficiently heated the ashes, etc., are scraped out, and the damp green boughs nicely spread, upon which the patient is carefully placed. He is then covered all over by an opossum cloak, with the exception of his face, which is left bare. Then all over the cloak earth is spread of a thickness capable of retaining the steam without weighing too heavily upon the patient. To attain the former and obviate the latter the finest earth that can be procured is used—that is, in the absence of sand, sand in all cases being preferred when obtainable. During the progress of the bath the perspiration exudes from the face in great globules, and the hair becomes quite wet from the same cause. A female attendant is seated by the side of the patient, and it is her duty to wipe off the perspiration as occasion requires, the napkin used for this purpose being a soft piece of the ever-useful opossum skin.
>
> When the banyal, or wise man of the tribe, thinks that the patient has been baked enough he is removed from the pit, carefully and expeditiously rubbed dry, after which he is closely rolled up in cloaks and laid so that a breath of wind cannot reach him. (pp. 51–52)

A very similar steam bath was witnessed by Annabella Boswell in the 1830s in the Capertee Valley, New South Wales. In her book *Recollections of some Australian blacks: Bathurst district, 1835–40; Port Macquarie, 1844; Hunter's River, 1850* Boswell (1890) noted Wiradjuri people engaging in the following healing practice:

> One evening when we went to see them we found that old Jacky was ill. He had a bad cold, and all were busy preparing a very primitive sort of hot bath for him. They dug a hole in the soft earth just large enough for one to lie in doubled up. This hole they lined with stones taken from the bed of the creek. They made a good fire in it, and when the wood was all consumed they swept it out with green boughs, then threw in a quantity of the young leaves of the gum tree (Eucalyptus) and poured water over them; of course, a great steam rose from the hot stones. I did not see the whole process, but we understood that Jacky was laid in the hole on the gum leaves and covered with an opossum-skin rug, and that he was quite cured by the hot air and the gum leaves. (p. 5)

The grazier Alfred Leonard Bennett (cited in Smith 2014) also recorded in 1912 having seen the same healing method used in the Burragorang Valley, not far from the Capertee Valley in New South Wales:

> You will remember me making some enquiries for the name of a Eucalyptus described by me as oily Eucalyptus from Kedumba (the Aboriginal's name being 'Yerragang'). And they state that the leaves from this tree were used by them in cases of sickness. A trench was dug and heated stones placed therein then a thick layer of above leaves then the ill Aboriginal who was then covered over with more leaves on top of which were his rugs. It was considered that this treatment gave relief in many cases. (p. 21)

While the above descriptions clearly outline the observed process and elements involved they fail to consider the spiritual elements and healing power that might be seen as dwelling in any of the stones and plants used, or for that matter in the possum-skin cloak itself. As a Wiradjuri man I would be very surprised if the cloaks were not viewed as having a spiritual role in healing.

2.3.4 Trade items, gifts and political tools

Possum-skin cloaks were traditionally traded with neighbouring groups and as a result have been worn across a geographical range far greater than their range of manufacture.

Prior to European contact Aboriginal nations maintained extremely complex and far-reaching trade networks across the continent. Weapons, implements, ochre, valuable stones, plant materials, shells and skins were traded across huge areas and with peoples. This trade often followed social, political and cultural affiliations. Like dreaming tracks and songlines, these connections could traverse the continent from one end to the other.

In Fred Cahir's paper 'Dallong, possum-skin rugs: a study of an intercultural trade item in Victoria' (2005) he cites the work of anthropologists William E.H. Stanner, Donald Thomson, and Ronald Berndt and Catherine Berndt in researching established Aboriginal trade networks. Cahir (2005) also cites Isabel McBryde, whose work focuses on pre-colonisation and 19th-century Aboriginal economic organisation in Victoria and demonstrates that 'diversity and pervasiveness characterise exchange in the life of the Aboriginal societies of south-eastern Australia as revealed in the historical records of contact' (para. 2).

While trade was for material benefit in the sense that it gave access to materials otherwise not available, Aboriginal trade also served to establish, reinforce and heal interpersonal relationships that could be either individual or collective in nature. McBryde (1984) explains how goods were routinely exchanged to signal the end of a meeting, or as a diplomatic way to strengthen bonds. McBryde (1984) cites Howitt's account of a ceremony performed by coastal groups in southern New South Wales:

> At the end of the Bunan, when the boys have gone off by themselves and before the different lots of peoples return to their own localities, a kind of market was held, in some clear space near the camp where the people laid out the things they had brought with them. A man would say 'I have such and such things', another would bargain for them. A complete set of one ngulia (belt of possum-fur cord), four Burrian (kilt), one gumbun and one complete set of Kul butgun, that is corroboree things. It was the rule that complete sets of things went together, weapons might be given in exchange. A complete set of weapons was ten fighting boomerangs (straight-going ones) warangun, ten grass tree

> and jagged wood-pointed spears (gumma), one of each shield—for stopping spears (bembaia)—for club fighting (Millidu), one Knib dub (gug-ju-rung) or (Bundi) and one spear-thrower (wommera). The women also engaged in this trade exchanging possum rugs, bags—yamsticks (tuali). (p. 140)

Howitt (1904/2001) also recorded some other instances of possum-skin cloak exchange in pre-invasion society. He wrote of cloaks being given on the occasion of marriage—'The proposal was made by the father of the girl, and if the boy's father approved, he gave the girl a present of an opossum rug' (p. 251)—and as an ongoing familial duty—'It was the duty of a man to care for his wife's father, to give things to him, such as opossum rugs' (pp. 256). He described a 'medicine man' being 'paid by the youth with weapons, opossum rugs, and other things' (p. 276). Howitt also revealed an instance where a possum-skin cloak would be given as reparation:

> When a man ran off with the wife of another … It sometimes happened that such a case was made up by the man giving presents to the husband, such as opossum rugs, weapons, and other things as her equivalent. (p. 247)

In this regard, the trading of items was as much a political act as it was trade. Trade allowed objects that had an obvious practical use in terms of physical survival to also serve as tools for political survival, an object around which relationships could be renegotiated, confirmed and, if necessary, improved.

While not trade as such, there was also the practice of gift-giving or presenting objects for the purpose of cementing relationships. In this regard, gift-giving, like trade, was a means of managing relationships, of managing the political or human environment for benefit. I explore the practice of gift-giving more in four case studies from the 19th century (see Chapter 3). McBryde (1984) references William Thomas, Assistant Protector and Guardian of Aboriginals, who noted that possum-skin cloaks were included in a bridal gift exchange:

> Marriage is regarded as an exchange; its arrangement also involves forms of transfer of goods and gift-giving between the families concerned. William Thomas specifically mentions 'purchase of a wife' and lists the bride price. Among material goods European items such as clothing, handkerchiefs, tomahawks, twine, sugar, flour and rice early join the hatchet heads, spears, opossum rugs, nets and mats that feature in the records of exchange. (p. 135)

2.3.5 Burial practices

Apart from sustaining life as clothing and through art, ceremony, music, trade, politics and healing, possum-skin cloaks also played a role in burial practices. Within traditional Aboriginal societies it was not desirable to keep a diseased person's belongings, for various spiritual reasons; these objects were therefore either destroyed, often by fire, or buried with the deceased.

Howwit (1904/2001) noted that ‘everything belonging to the deceased was buried with him’ (p. 462); this would have included his possum-skin cloak. Howitt went on to describe the burial customs of the Wiradjuri, referencing the accounts of Reverend John Brown Gribble:

> After death, the body is rolled tightly in a skin rug, and then placed in a grave about 4 feet deep. All the personal property, except perhaps some choice articles, are then laid on the corpse … (p. 466)

It was common practice to bury the dead wrapped in their possum-skin cloak and there are records of particular burials in which the body of the deceased was wrapped in multiple cloaks. This no doubt includes the deceased’s personal cloak and cloaks gifted by others as a mark of love and respect.

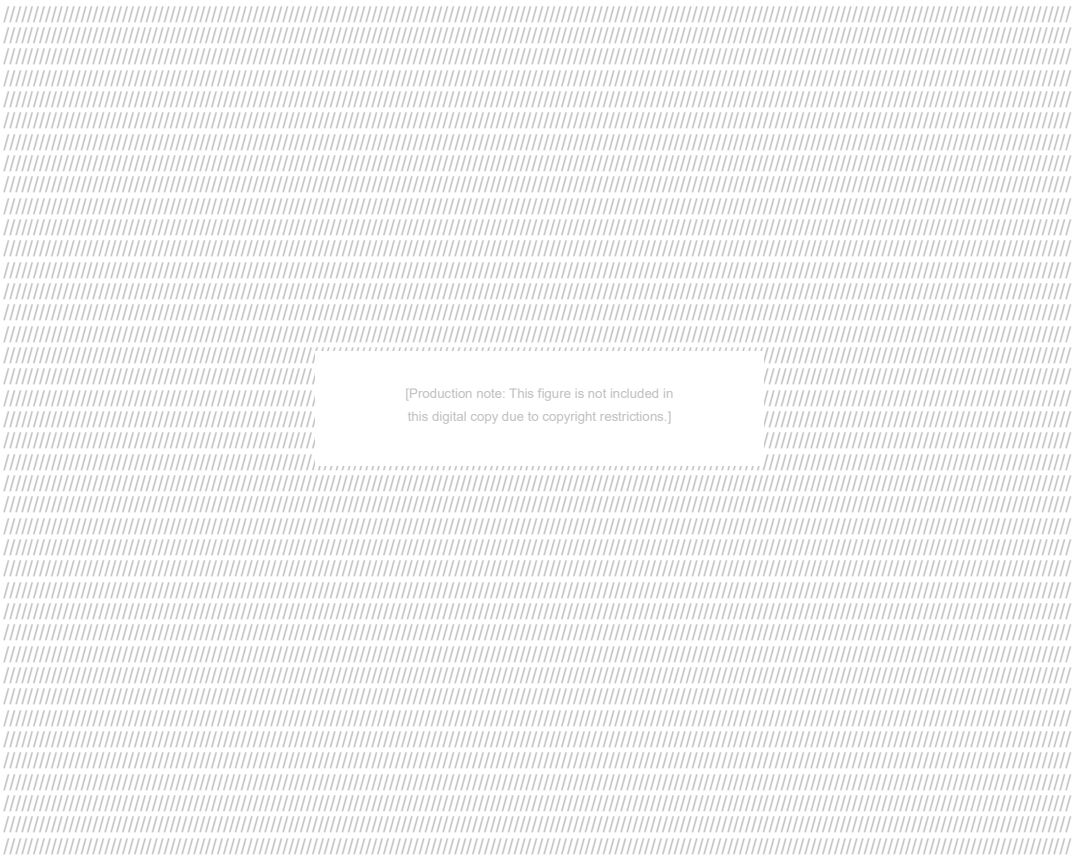


Figure 2.23: drawn by G.H. [i.e. G.W.] Evans, engraved by R. Havell & Son, *The grave of a native of Australia*, 1 February 1820, print: aquatint, hand col., 22.5 x 28.7 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 4042 #S4290, nla.obj-135903737, sourced <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135903737>

The following account is from John Oxley (1820), who in his 1817–18 expedition into Wiradjuri country came across a gravesite situated between Condobolin and Euabalong on the banks of the Kalari Bila, or Lachlan River as it is more commonly known by non-Wiradjuri people:

July 29.—Almost directly under the hill near our halting place, we saw a tumulus, which was apparently of recent construction (within a year at most). It would seem that some person of consideration among the natives had been buried in it, from the exterior marks of a form which had certainly been observed in the construction of the tomb and surrounding seats. The form of the whole was semicircular. Three rows of seats occupied one half, the grave and an outer row of seats the other; the seats formed segments of circles of 50, 45 and 40 feet each, and were formed by the soil being trenched up from between them. The centre part of the grave was about 5 feet high, and about 9 long, forming an oblong pointed cone. (29 July, para. 6)

I hope I shall not be considered as either wantonly disturbing the remains of the dead, or needlessly violating the religious rites of an harmless people, in having caused the tomb to be opened, that we might examine its interior construction. The whole outward form and appearance of the place was so totally different from that of any custom or ceremony in use by the natives on the eastern coast, where the body is merely covered with a piece of bark and buried in a grave about 4 feet deep, that we were induced to think that the manner of interring the body might also be different. On removing the soil from one end of the tumulus, and about 2 feet beneath the solid surface of the ground, we came to three or four layers of wood, lying across the grave, serving as an arch to bear the weight of the earthy cone or tomb above. On removing one end of those layers, sheet after sheet of dry bark was taken out, then dry grass and leaves in a perfect state of preservation, the wet or damp having apparently never penetrated even to the first covering of wood. We were obliged to suspend our operation for the night, as the corpse became extremely offensive to the smell, resolving to remove on the morrow all the earth from the top of the grave, and expose it for some time to the external air before we searched farther. (29 July, para. 7)

July 30.—Employed in preparing dead cypress trees for the timber of the raft. The rain continued throughout the day without intermission, and prevented us from making much progress with it. This morning we removed all the earth from the tomb and grave, and found the body deposited about 4 feet deep in an oval grave …

It had been very carefully wrapped in a great number of oppossum skins, the head bound round with the net usually worn by the natives, and also the girdle: it appeared after being enclosed in those skins to have been placed in a larger net, and then deposited in the manner before mentioned. The bones and head showed that they were the remains of a powerful tall man. The hair on the head was perfect, being long and black; the under part of the body was not totally decayed, giving us reason to think that he could not have been interred above six or eight months. Judging from his hair and teeth, he might have been between 30 and 40 years of age: to the west and north of the grave were two cypress trees distant between 50 and 60 feet; the sides towards the tomb were barked, and curious characters deeply cut upon them, in a manner which, considering the tools they possess, must have been a work of great labour and time. Having satisfied our curiosity, the whole was carefully re-interred, and restored as near as possible to the station in which it was found. The river fell in the course of the day near 2 feet. (30 July, para. 1)

Interestingly, and rather contrary to Oxley's claim of having 'satisfied our curiosity' and 'carefully re-interred' the 'whole' and 'restored as near as possible to the station in which it was found', Cunningham (cited in Lee 1925/2014) recorded the desecration of the body:

> Our people took up his skull, which had the hair very fresh upon it. Its upper jaw wanted one of the front teeth, which loss may be occasioned by the same custom prevailing here as is adopted on the Eastern coast. The skull Mr Oxley intends to take with us, as a subject for study by craniologists. (chapter 8, 30 July, para. 2)

Each of these accounts supports the central role of possum-skin cloaks in burial customs in south-east Australia, showing that cloaks were as meaningful in death as in life.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter I outlined the production and role of possum-skin cloaks in pre-invasion society and during early stages of European contact. I considered the types of cloaks and production methods, and the geographic range, and found that possum-skin cloak production and wearing was essentially limited to south-eastern Australia, at least involving all of what is now Victoria, the south-eastern corner of South Australia, most of New South Wales and the south-eastern corner of Queensland, with cloaks recorded as existing whether by means of local production or trade as far north as present-day Rockhampton. I then looked at production methods and the role of sewing and colour, revealing that possum skin cloak-making was a complex process that represented a substantial investment in time, energy and resources. This practice was an intelligent investment in Aboriginal society, given the multiple and intersecting practical, social, ceremonial, spiritual, political and economic contributions possum-skin cloaks gave to the people.

I then asked in this chapter what was the purpose of possum-skin cloaks. I have shown that cloaks were tools for managing the environment, while also occupying that space between the sacred and the mundane. Examples explored in this chapter reveal that possum-skin cloaks had different roles in a person's and community's life. From bedding and clothing to ceremonial use, from musical and healing to trade and burial, cloaks were found to be multipurpose. The overall purpose was to manage the environment, naturally, socially and spiritually, in order not only to survive but thrive. Through the examples drawn on I have shown that cloaks were tools for survival, a way of manipulating or managing the environment in terms of spirit, health, politics and people in good ways, a way of creating positive outcomes. In other words, possum-skin cloaks facilitated much for the people. They came into the lives of the people, were given by Biyaami, the Sky Father, who is also the Marramarramaldhaayn or the Maker of Makers. Through possum-skin cloaks and around possum-skin cloaks we lived healthy, effective, meaningful and proud existences.

The following chapter investigates the role of possum-skin cloaks as objects of mutual engagement in the period following invasion.

3 The role of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) as objects of mutual engagement following invasion

3.1 Introduction

While wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) traditionally played an important role in the lives of Aboriginal people, with the commencement of European invasion another party became involved in the cloak relationship. No longer was the relationship solely between the Marramarramaldhaayn, which in the Wiradjuri language means the Maker-Maker, a name given to Biyaami, the Sky Father, Aboriginal people and the cloaks themselves; a fourth party—European, primarily British and Irish colonists—was now to become involved.

Throughout most of the 19th century, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in south-eastern Australia were mutually and actively engaged with and around cloaks, and in particular with possum-skin cloaks. Apart from recording in images and writing, the existence of possum-skin cloaks, Europeans and Aboriginal people mutually engaged with each other around and through cloaks, creating relationships and benefits. These relationships varied in the degree to which they were mutually beneficial and consensual.

The contexts in which this engagement took place ranged from first contact experiences through to diplomacy and, by extension, gift-giving, through commercial trade, colonial administration, painting, photography and early anthropology, involving in part the collection of cloaks. It is through these contexts in the post-invasion period that possum-skin cloaks became objects around which relationships and environments were managed by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike. It is with some irony and perhaps even discomfort that a great deal of what contemporary Aboriginal people know of possum-skin cloaks of the past, in relation to their appearance, decoration, manufacture, style of wearing, and so on, is based upon the surviving non-Aboriginal written, visual and material remnants of these exchanges.

In this section of my thesis I explore these historical relationships more fully, analysing the benefits for at least two parties, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In exploring these relationships and the motivations behind them, I also hope to develop a framework of engagement against which I can compare the motivations and relationships involved in the present-day possum-skin cloak movement, as discussed later in my thesis (see Chapter 5); considering areas of historical/contemporary similarity and difference. In other words, I am as interested in the spaces or relationships between parties as much as the cloaks themselves; relationships that are not only historical and fixed, but are perhaps unintentionally influential in facilitating contemporary and differing relationships.

In the process of conducting this research, it became evident that there is an enormous amount of historical imagery of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks and animal-skin cloaks (see Appendix A). This trove of images serves as both evidence of European engagement but also has the potential to assist Aboriginal researchers in understanding the various designs, methods of making and of wearing. These records are key to my understanding of not only the history, interpretation and representation of possum-skin cloaks, but also the revival movement, as contemporary appreciation and knowledge of cloaks by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have been shaped by access to this archive.

3.2 Written record

Not only did non-Aboriginal people witness possum-skin cloaks, they wrote about what they saw. Furthermore, this was a choice, as evidenced from the extensive and numerous writings I have drawn upon in Chapter 2. From these written accounts it appears that while cloaks were recorded, the context varied from experiences of first contact, either through exploration or personal travel, to gift-giving, trade, mining or in situations of a ceremonial nature. What is clear is that the cloaks had an impact on non-Aboriginal observers, one that was noteworthy. Among those who wrote about possum-skin cloaks were explorers, pastoralists, government officials, missionaries, prospectors and miners.

Why was this attention given to cloaks? Clearly this was not just recording on an objective basis; there was an element of choice or discrimination at play. This is reinforced by the scarcity of historical record in relation to other elements of Aboriginal culture. For example, there is little historical reference to Aboriginal agriculture, astronomy, scientific knowledge, architecture, philosophy, women's business, sexuality, cross-gender roles, as well as the existence and use of multiple tools and objects. No doubt European presumptions and prejudices contributed much to the choice of notable topics, practices and objects; in fact, much has already been written on the issue of non-Aboriginal male bias in preferencing the study of male-related Aboriginal cultural material.

I propose that in writing about possum-skin cloaks Europeans were in part responding to their own cultural biases; these biases being towards the material, to objects that were understood to be exotic/dramatic, hierarchical and status-giving. Regarding this fascination for the material, in many ways Europeans were most drawn to those societies that reflected own. For Europeans, progress and civility/civilisation were evidenced through European-like hierarchical social structures—European-like activities, lifestyles, high levels of materialism and hierarchical societies. This triggered in Europeans a type of narcissistic hierarchy of admiration on which Indigenous peoples were placed; that is, a 'scale of civilisation'. European colonists favoured the study and recording of those societies and practices most like their own. By studying these societies—societies that could been seen as striving towards a level of civilisation—Europeans were engaging in a degree of self-assuredness and self-congratulation in relation to their own materially focused culture and level of 'attainment'.

Recording the sensual, material and exotic elements of Indigenous peoples' cultures also enabled the process of colonialism by adding drama and colour to the colonial enterprise and to a colonist's individual colonial situation. It was a common part of the storytelling of Empire. While the frontier may have been peripheral in terms of British imperial power and 'society', and while colonial status for individuals may have been seen from the centre of Empire as an inferior status, life on the frontier could nonetheless be portrayed as an exotic experience. Certainly, references to possum-skin cloaks, to their drama and dignity, added to these colonial accounts.

There was also a degree to which the dignity and nobility of the conquered and subsequently colonised peoples could be used to reflect the even greater dignity and status of the coloniser. Any Indigenous cultural practice that could be considered noble or admirable had the ability to provide this status to the colonisers. This was, in some way, non-Indigenous self-image-making, a form of co-opting.

Finally, and more specifically, in relation to the topic of possum-skin cloaks, cloaks had the added advantage in terms of gaining attention, in that cloaks had a cultural currency in European society. In European culture, cloaks, capes and trains represented wealth, status, power, dignity and nobility. Possums with their rich fur coats were 'understood', even if incorrectly as objects of status, and triggered emotional responses that preferenced the recording of these objects above other elements of Aboriginal material culture.

In summary, not only were Europeans responding to their own cultural biases when documenting possum-skin cloaks in written and visual accounts, they were engaging with cloaks, and in choosing to document them, adding something to their own image both individually and collectively. In other words, possum-skin cloaks variously delivered benefits for Europeans and it was in this environment, the greater part of the 19th century—the first full century of the Australian invasion—that cloaks not only survived but in some circumstances thrived.

3.2.1 Books and publications

3.2.1A Fascination for the material

As mentioned above, during colonisation Europeans were most drawn to elements within the colonised society that most resembled and reflected their own. Europeans had an established market and culture for fur coats and impressive embroidered and decorated clothes. Stitched, carved and designed possum skins, therefore, spoke to Europeans in a language they understood.

Examples abound in the literature of European writers acknowledging the dual purposes of the material: its beauty and functionality, status and ubiquity. In a newspaper article in *The Argus* ('The Aborigines: copy of a letter from the Superintendent of Port Phillip, to the Colonial Secretary' 1849) the writer reported that:

> the opossum-skin cloak … forms almost the only garment of the Aboriginal native in the state of nature. But the blanket as a garment has less power than the native opossum cloak, to resist either cold or heat, or the wear and tear of the scrub. (p. 4)

Another *Argus* article ('Opening of the International Exhibition' 1872) described possum-skin cloaks as 'quite marvels in the way of delicate manipulation' (p. 1). An article from a decade later, written by Donald Cameron (1881) for the *Singleton Argus*, stated: 'The blacks make very fine rugs, marking the skins with certain geometrical figures imparted by pressing sticks upon it' (p. 4).

The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser reported on an agricultural show in south-eastern New South Wales at the end of the 19th century ('The Bombala Agricultural Society's show' 1880), describing how 'in furs there were platypus, ringtail 'possum, bear, and other rugs and cloaks, the skins beautifully tanned and tastefully put together' (p. 567). While it is not clear if these objects were made by Aboriginal people, it shows the fascination European colonists had with native furs. After leaving his ship in Melbourne, with a view to venturing into the interior, R. Howitt (1845) recorded the value of a possum-skin cloak:

> Here we made our fire in a deep glen, boiled our tea, and made and comfortable, and you may depend upon it, a most palatable meal. Wrapped in a large opossum-skin rug, the fire blazing up cheerfully before us as we slept in fits. (p. 88)

3.2.1B Drama and colour

Descriptions of Aboriginal people in cloaks feature heavily in the early colonial literature of Australia, and characterisations often rely on the concept of 'the other' and on exotic features. As aforementioned, these characterisations added drama and colour to the colonial enterprise.

For example, Thomas Mitchell's expedition into the interior of eastern Australia (1839) is marked by these sorts of descriptions. Near the junction of the Bogan and Darling rivers, Mitchell came across an old man of 'extraordinary appearance'. On seeing a group engaged in ceremony, Mitchell commented on their attire: 'None, except himself and other ancients, wore any kind of dress; and this consisted of a small cloak of skins fastened over the left shoulder' (p. 249). Further on into Mitchell's journey, he again described a scene heavy with the drama of frontier engagements:

> Early in the morning, we observed a smoke in the woods near the river, at a distance of about 2 miles. At length, I saw through my glass a native with a skin cloak advancing over the naked plains towards us, but he soon disappeared, then I perceived two others coming rapidly forward. (p. 284)

Similarly, in his *Recollections*, Edward M. Curr (1883) chronicled a scene where the possum-skin cloak plays a role in characterising his subject:

> I then noticed that Kilbangaroo's sulkiness had been replaced by her constitutional good-humour; her cheeks were red with noronoro; her well-greased hair was neatly combed and tied up; she had on quite a showy opossum rug, elaborately scored with

> approved aboriginal designs, enveloped in which, peeping over her shoulder, was a little black thing, which seemed the delight of its mother. (p. 147)

As established earlier, the possum-skin cloak is diverse in uses, and this was captured in the colonial literature. Robert Brough Smyth (1878) cited a man named Mr Thomas in describing a corroboree, or 'ordinary dance of the natives of Victoria' (vol. 1, p. 167), in which people form themselves into groups. The women, who act as musicians, 'are quite naked, and each holds on her knees an opossum rug, neatly folded and stretched lightly, skin outwards' (vol. 1, p. 168). Then 'the leader appears in the ordinary costume of a native. He wears his opossum rug, and is not painted or otherwise decorated' (vol. 1, p. 168).

3.2.1C Dignity and nobility

Emphasising the nobility, dignity and purity of the 'native' elevated the status and dignity of the colonial writer, and therefore many examples following this theme exist in the literature. Smyth (1878), evoking the archetype of the 'noble savage', declared: 'The only property claimed by a native is his wife, his weapons, his cloak, girdle, ornaments, and his name' (vol. 2, p. 278).

Curr's following account (1883) is marked by the dignity that he allows his subject, which in turn reflects his sense of nobility for simply noticing these characteristics:

> The mother and her baby were alone, the sparkling black eyes of the child fixed on its parent. She was not wanting in good looks of a sort, and had evidently just come out of the water. Her opossum-rug was drawn tightly round her, the uncovered portions of her skin showing a light copper-colour. Her black hair, which glistened with water drops, was confined by the fillet commonly worn round the brow, and in it was inserted a plume of white feathers. In fact, altogether she might just then have been considered a decidedly favourable specimen of an aboriginal belle. (p. 168)

Mitchell (1839) provided a similar characterisation, wherein, again, his acknowledgement of the nobility of his subject can be understood to represent his own dignity:

> We were accompanied in our travels this morning, first by several young natives, and afterwards by a chief who came before us rather ceremoniously, and halted in an open plain, until I went up to him. His costume was rather imposing, consisting of a net-work, which confined his hair into the form of a round cap, having in the front, a plume of which, light feathers; a rather short cloak of opossum skins was drawn tightly around his body with one hand, his boomerangs and waddy being grasped fast in the other. (p. 322)

3.2.1D Objects of status

As mentioned above, possums triggered emotional responses in Europeans, and were therefore recorded above other elements of Aboriginal material culture. When discussing cloaks, many writers focus on the source of the prized material, the possum. Cameron (1881), writing in the *Singleton Argus*, described how 'in the art of catching 'possums and preparing

their skins the aborigine is unrivalled. A blackfellow can, at a glance, tell a 'possum is in a tree by the freshness of its claw marks' (p. 4).

Curr (1883) noted Aboriginal people's reliance on possums for food resources: 'The animal on which the Bagerang and the Blacks of the southern portion of the continent generally were chiefly dependent for their supply of meat was the opossum' (p. 260). Throughout his *Recollections* Curr (1883) repeatedly mentions possums and cloaks.

Both Smyth and Howitt similarly refer to opossums throughout their comprehensive publications. Smyth (1878) explained that 'a warrior is usually wrapped in his opossum rug, tied tightly' (p. xxvii); that 'birds and beasts are the gods of the Australians' (p. lx); and that 'the opossum … and many others who distinguished themselves on earth, are set in the sky and appear as bright stars' (p. lx). Possums and possum-skin cloaks feature throughout Smyth's publication, where he told of the role of possum-skin cloaks in male initiation ceremonies (p. 60), burial (p. 100), corroborees (p. 168) and exchange (p. 181). Howitt (1904/2001) similarly recognised the significance of the possum, and talked of the role of possum-skin cloaks in marriage (pp. 247, 251, 256), in healing ceremonies (p. 276), in trade (p. 305) and in burial (pp. 452, 456), among other areas of life.

3.2.2 Newspapers and journals

3.2.2A Fascination for the material

Newspapers and journal articles from the 19th century also feature descriptions of possum-skin cloaks, many from the perspective of frontier bushmen, on the object's undeniable value and benefits. Focusing on the material, writers described how 'nothing on earth' can rival its warmth and waterproofing, its comfort and its absolute necessity in the Australian environment. These quotes again reveal how colonial Europeans could easily associate with a material that seemed familiar. Alexander Harris (1961) described a possum-skin cloak as follows from his personal knowledge gained during the early 1830s; Harris's autobiography was based on a series of articles he published in the mid-19th century:

> The opossum [of a large species] trapped by the wandering shepherd for amusement, as he follows his flock along by the woodside, furnish the material for a blanket [or cloak, to use the phrase of the country] of the most luxurious, furry softness. Sixty-three [nine x seven] of these skins are the stated complement for one blanket or cloak; when made it is large enough doubled to envelope a tall man completely beyond head and feet. As a bed and blanket in one, there is, I suppose, nothing on earth that surpasses it, whilst as a protection against a day's rain it is as efficacious as a roof of a house. The warm and weatherproof possum-skin cloaks were also recognised and appreciated by European settlers in the outback, where they became a highly regarded personal item. (pp. 129–130)

In his essay describing the wildlife of the continent to potential immigrants to Australia, which included possums and, in turn, Aboriginal people manufacturing possum-skin cloaks from their skins, Samuel Rinder (1853, cited in Mendelawitz 2011) wrote:

> The skins are now much valued by the colonists, and no bushman considers that he is fully equipped for travelling if he has not a good 'possum-skin rug' strapped to his saddle, or, if he be a pedestrian, across his shoulders. (p. 209)

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, articles in newspapers often took the form of reminiscences by old frontier bushmen. In one such piece in the *Australian Town and Country Journal* ('On the Murrumbidgee 30 years ago' 1870), an anonymous figure is cited:

> 'In my wild youth', said he, 'two countrymen of mine, and myself, fond of novelty and full of enthusiasm, made up our minds to find out what sort of a country it was to the south. We were all single young men. We provided ourselves at starting with a good possum cloak each, a tomahawk well steeled, and rations for a week, which we intended to eke out so as to make them last 14 days, supplying the deficiency by what we could procure of wild animals, berries, and roots …' (p. 17)

These accounts show possum-skin cloaks to be not only key to the survival of Aboriginal people, but indeed to that of the colonists as they pushed the frontier further into the interior. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal experience is united in the comfort and life-sustaining qualities of this essential object.

3.2.2B Drama and colour

In 19th-century newspaper and journal writings, the possum-skin cloak, particularly on the back of an Aboriginal person, served to add drama and colour to the colonial enterprise and to the colonial experiences of the individual writers.

This description from the mid-19th century (Palmer 1857) perfectly encapsulates how the 'exotic Aborigine' fit within the established European idea of 'the other':

> The ordinary or walking dress of a New Holland gentleman is a girdle formed of opossum furs spun together and then woven into a net, forming a kind of purse in which he puts his most valuable property, and the ends hang down in front. Around his head he wears a beandeau of similar material and coloured red by an ochry earth; into this is stuck the pipe when that indispensable implement is not engaged in active service … In the more remote portions of the country, however, and occasionally among those who visit our towns, [the opossum-skin cloak] is the chief and by far the most valuable portion of their wardrobe. Like the hyke of the Arab, it is their cloak by day, their bed and blanket by night. (p. 2)

3.2.2C Dignity and nobility

Even as early as in the decades following invasion, Europeans understood where the cloak of the 'conquered' Aboriginal sat in the hierarchy of power. As aforementioned, cloaks were included in colonial literature, focusing on the dignity and nobility of the conquered and

subsequently colonised peoples, to reflect the even greater dignity and status of the coloniser. This is evidenced in countless newspaper and journal articles of the time.

In social events in Sydney in the years 1844 and 1886 non-Aboriginal people are recorded as wearing cloaks to 'fancy dress' parties. *The Australian* ('The Mayor's fancy dress ball' 1844) reported on one instance:

> We cannot, however, omit to mention a few who, in addition to costume, created a degree of interest by the characters which they were almost called upon to sustain, in consequence of the originality thereof. We allude more particularly to two Aboriginal chiefs—one was well sustained by Mr Hamley, who, with boomerang and spear, and wearing an old blanket, danced a war dance; the other by Mr Councillor Little, wearing an opossum-skin cloak, who discoursed most eloquent lingo; and to a New Zealand chief, personated by Mr Hugh Chambers. (p. 603)

The *Sydney Morning Herald* ('The Jubilee Ball' 1886) reported the other:

> Side by side … stood two sisters representing Australia past and present, the former in sleeveless cloak of 'possum skin, through which her sable arms were plainly visible, a necklace of shells her only ornament. The typical Young Australia wore a white flowing robe, a gold coronet, and carried the flag of New South Wales. (p. 8)

The colonial understanding of possum-skin cloaks as regal objects persisted into the early 20th century, even if people wrote about the nobility of Aboriginal people in a wistful tone. In this vein, a newspaper article in *The Avon Gazette and York Times* ('Out and about' 1916) mused about the pastoral beauty and 'closeness to nature' of Aboriginal women:

> A public ball is notified to commemorate St Patrick's Day. What a difference at night and in the morning. Everywhere war activity is still in progress—accepting and rejecting of country bumpkins weekly. The eastern districts must vie with others too. A farmer's queen seems a novelty, though there are many such in reality. Ceres, we are told by mythology, is the goddess of agriculture. Haven't the bees a queen, eh? To be consistent, we should have an aborigines queen. She might be crowned with everlasting flowers and mantled with o'possum skins. (p. 2)

3.2.2D Objects of status

Just as with other forms of colonial literature, descriptions of cloaks as objects of status can be found in newspaper articles spanning the turn of the 19th century into the 20th century. An article in *The Colonist* ('Grand corrobory' 1835) told of a man, Terribalong, from Broken Bay, who

> was in the character of a colonial Barrister. His gown was a cloak of bandicoot skins, and his bushy hair was tied up tastefully with native grass, in imitation of a wig. (p. 116)

Another newspaper article ('Gulf echoes' 1902), this time in *The Port Augusta Dispatch, Newcastle and Flinders Chronicle*, described a man named Yarraman preparing for battle:

> Yarraman himself already stood outside his place of abode in full battle array, impatiently awaiting the arrival of his men. A magnificent specimen of physical manhood, Yarraman was considerably over 6ft in height and broad in proportion. A short grey beard gave added dignity to his stature. With the exception of an opossum-skin cloak gracefully and negligently thrown over one shoulder like a Roman toga, he stood out in all his native splendour. As his men halted before him and waited, be scanned them with the practised eye of a skilled veteran. (p. 3)

Two decades on, the piece 'Victoria's country towns, their rise and development: no. 12—history of Yarrawonga' in the *Weekly Times* featured F. Whitcombe's (1928) recollections of the frontier:

> He remembers the blackfellows were almost in a state of nature even though the gins were wearing a mixed costume of wincey dresses extended by crinolines, and over all a cloak of possum skins which would now cause envy amongst modern millionairesses. These furs they wore 'woolly-side in and skinny-side out'. (pp. 5, 10)

Each of these examples provide evidence of how colonial writers appreciated possum-skin cloaks as objects of status.

3.3 Visual record

As with the abundance of reference to possums and possum-skin cloaks in the written record, these objects are clearly recorded in historical imagery too, in paintings, etchings, photography and postcards. The fact that possum-skin cloaks were recorded in imagery supports the idea of mutual engagement—the idea that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people could form a relationship within the context of the cloak. The paintings, prints, photography and postcards produced within the historical visual record also follow some well-established tropes of empire-building.

All types of images focus on the material of the possum-skin cloak. In these images, cloaks are always very carefully and purposefully arranged on Aboriginal bodies to show the European fascination with the material—whether it is the decorated side facing out, punctuated by a fur trim, or the all-enveloping style of the dress, completely coating the subject in what Europeans identify as a regal material.

Landscapes and scenes showing Aboriginal people as background or peripheral subjects exist to frame the non-Aboriginal subject, documenting and adding drama and colour to the colonial enterprise. For Europeans, progress and civility/civilisation were evidenced through European-like hierarchical social structures, triggering within them a type of narcissistic hierarchy of admiration, the 'scale of civilisation', on which Indigenous peoples were placed.

There are highly artificial and posed portraits of Aboriginal people, shot either in studios with props or outside for seemingly natural re-enactments of 'traditional' practices. The arrangement of props, of housing, weapons, utensils and other wares, of people in relation to each other, in camp scenes and battle scenes, serves to reflect the even greater dignity and status of the

coloniser. Any Indigenous cultural practice that could be considered noble or admirable could provide this sense of dignity to the colonisers. This process underpins non-Indigenous self-image-making.

Beyond the arrangement of Aboriginal people wearing cloaks, there is a particular trope that marks the work of several 19th-century photographers—the 'still life' arrangement of objects, namely spears, cloaks, baskets. In these images, the objects have been severed from their original context, collected and preserved, and then arranged in what can be understood as a hierarchical display of culture. Here, the European understanding of possums and possum-skin cloaks as objects of status is revealed, alongside other objects that obviously evoked emotional responses from European colonists.

All these complex threads that appear in the historical visual record are encapsulated in the paintings of English artist Robert Hawker Dowling, who was active in Tasmania from the mid-19th century onwards: the appreciation of native materials, the contrast of the European colonial experience against the exotic element of Aboriginal people, the depiction of Aboriginal people as dignified and noble, and the documentation of Aboriginal people wearing their cloaks.

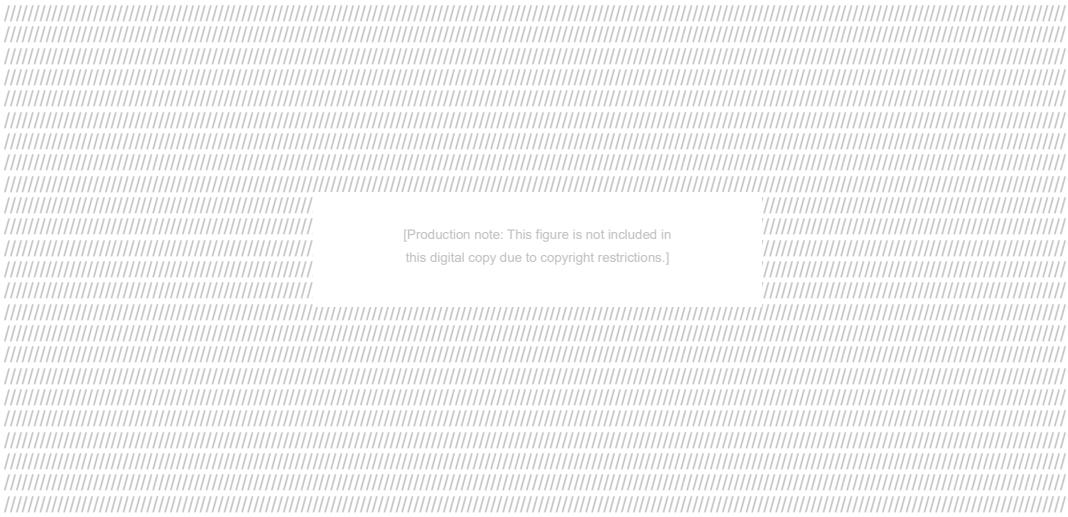


Figure 3.1: Robert Dowling, *Weerat Kuyuut and the Mopor people, Spring Creek, Victoria*, 1856, oil on canvas, 52 x 108.5 cm, University of Queensland

Figure 3.2: Robert Dowling, *Tasmanian Aborigines*, 1856–57, oil on canvas, 66.2 x 121.2 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, 2102-4

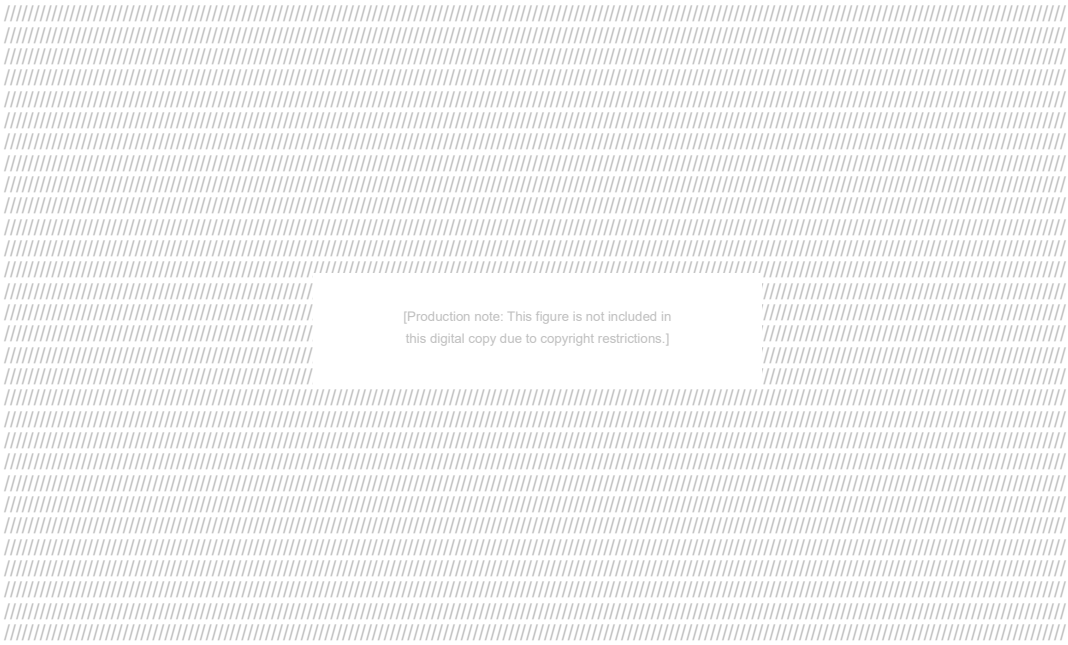


Figure 3.3: Robert Dowling, *Early effort – Art in Australia*, c.1860s, oil on canvas on composition board, 76.6 x 122.3 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, 218-4

Figure 3.3 by Dowling demonstrates the European fascination with cloaks twice over. Firstly, it depicts a reality—Aboriginal people wearing cloaks was a subject that was painted. Cloaks were valued in this regard. It also is, in itself, a painting of cloaks made by Dowling for a commercial purpose. The value in the artwork is therefore multiple, encompassing family life and the intergenerational mantel; power by Europeans over Indigenous people; Indigenous

nobility, in part expressed through the wearing of cloaks; but also the idea that regardless of Indigenous nobility, there is a deference to non-Indigenous people, even a child. Here, the inclusion of the cloak has ennobled the European above the cloak-wearer.

3.3.1 Paintings, drawings and etchings

3.3.1A Fascination for the material

Paintings have the ability to focus the viewer's attention on the material, revealing the artist's fascination for possum skins and the decoration of cloaks.

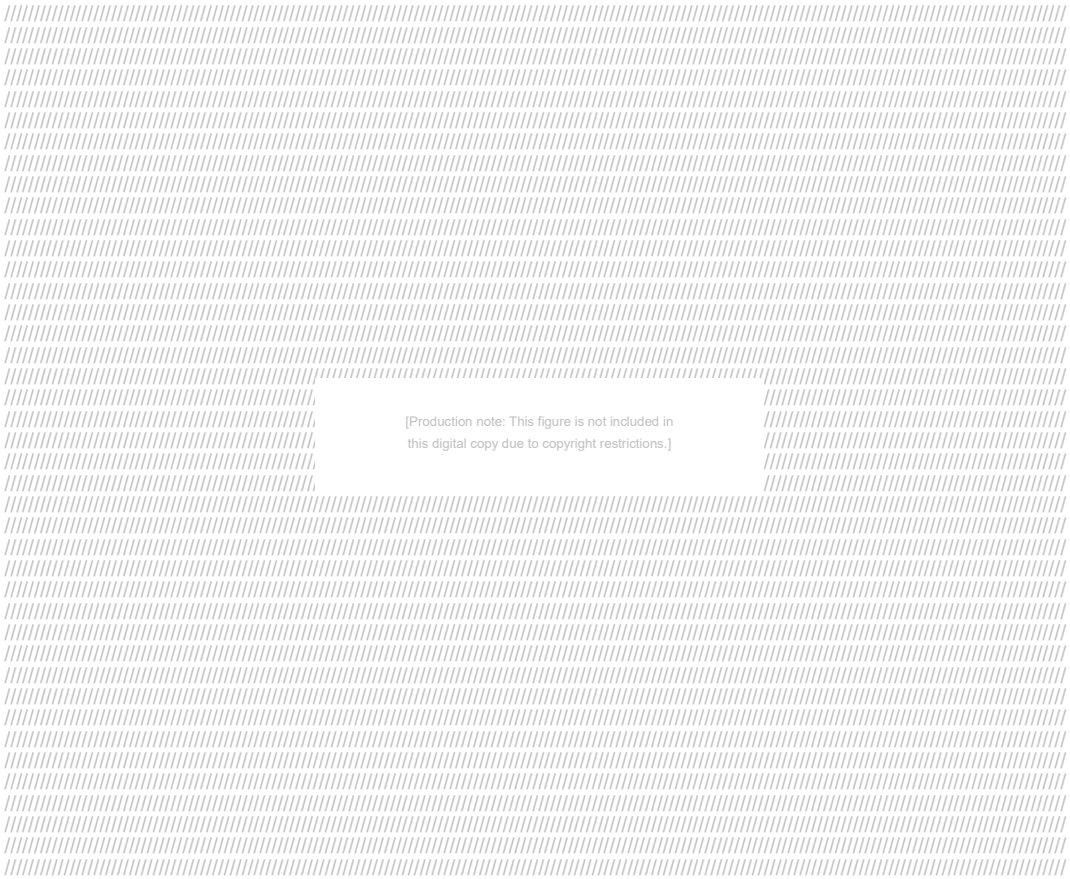


Figure 3.4: William Romaine Govett, *Cambo and two natives of the Bogan Tribe*, [c.1840], drawing: pen and wash, 23 x 27.7 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 4051 #R7085, nla.obj-135219439

Figure 3.4 shows how non-Aboriginal people were fascinated with cloaks. *Cambo and two natives of the Bogan Tribe* by William Romaine Govett reveals the artist's appreciation of the intricate designs of cloaks, as he recorded these elements with detail and sensitivity, showing both the individual cloak-maker's 'hand' and the variety of clothing styles and types.

3.3.1B Drama and colour

Paintings also have the ability to stage characters or subjects in relation to each other visually. In many historical artworks we see Aboriginal people in the background or on the periphery, usually adding context to or framing the non-Aboriginal subject, sometimes European colonists or a 'settled' landscape. Often Aboriginal people are seen as adjacent to the action or as 'sidekicks' to the non-Aboriginal bushmen surviving the rough conditions of the frontier.

In the first image (Figure 3.5) the Aboriginal people depicted act as a framework for 'settled' stories of the frontier, adding elements of drama and colour to the scene. The second image (Figure 3.6) helps define the boundaries of the frontier, contrasting the European colonists—mobile, resourceful and inquisitive—with the uncivilised Aboriginal family—cornered, diminished and clinging to the past. In the third image (Figure 3.7), the bushman's Aboriginal companion, clothed in a possum-skin cloak, helps dramatise a scene that seeks to impress upon the viewer the dangers of the frontier.

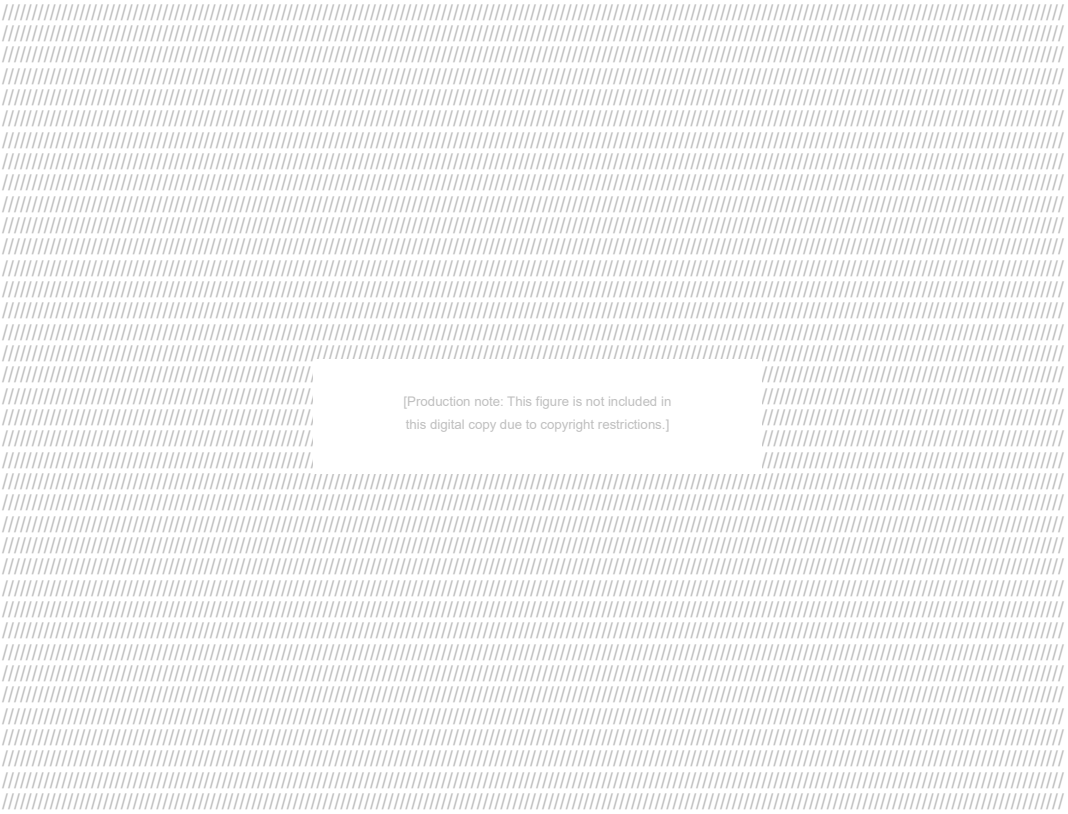


Figure 3.5: Martha Berkeley, *Mount Lofty from The Terrace, Adelaide*, c.1840, watercolour on paper, 34.5 x 45 cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, # 0.851

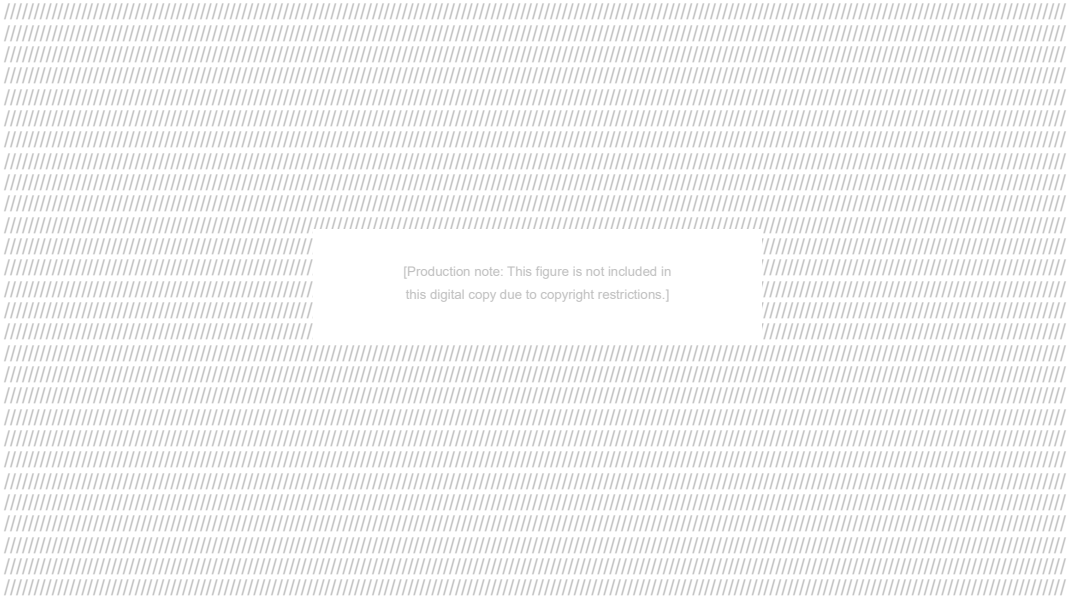


Figure 3.6: S.T. Gill, *The inquiry*, (1880s), watercolour with gum arabic and scratching out over pencil, 38.2 x 65 cm (image), National Gallery of Victoria, 3135-4

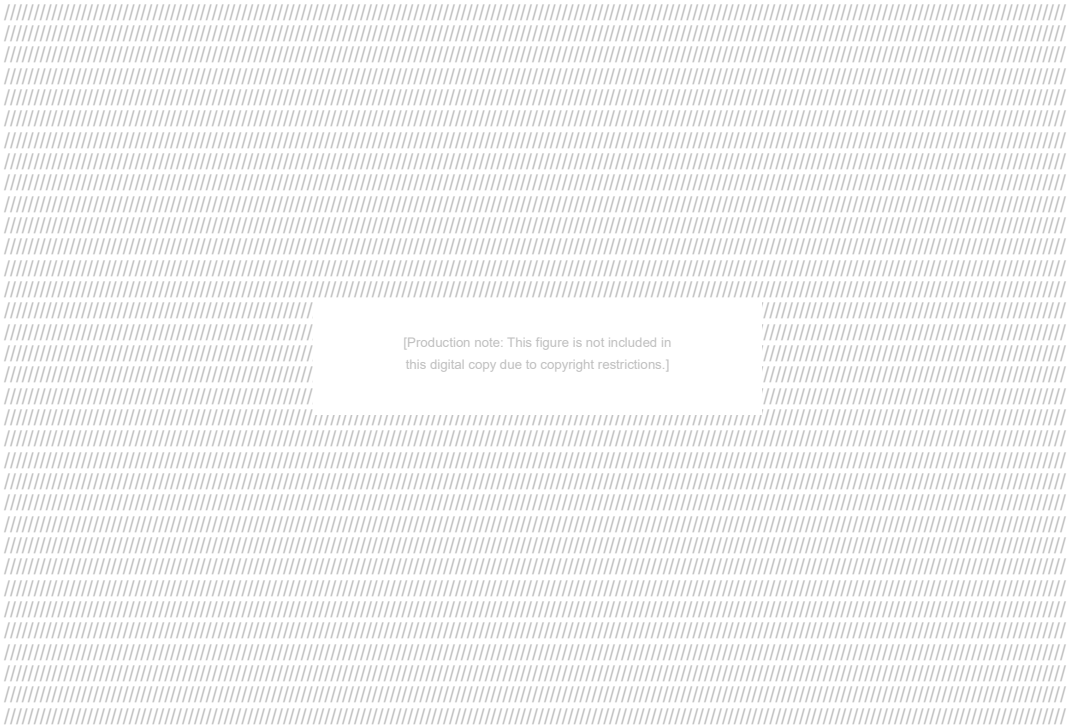


Figure 3.7: S.T. Gill, *Grim evidence*, no date recorded, watercolour over pencil and gum arabic, 24.5 x 35 cm (image and sheet), National Gallery of Victoria, 3418-4

3.3.1C Dignity and nobility

Some painted portraits exist of Aboriginal people sitting in a similar way to European portraits, where the artist has sought to cast the subject in a dignified light. These portraits all appear somewhat similar—a bust of the sitter, three-quarter profile or front-on, and draped in either the opulent fur side of the cloak or the designed side facing out with the fur trim visible at the edges. The effect is of seeing the 'native' in a state of rarefied nature, playing into the archetype of the 'noble savage'. Sometimes these portraits take a wider angle, showing people either in a 'traditional' camp or holding weapons and other accoutrements.

European-like portraits such as those by Dowling (Figures 3.8 and 3.9) and by John William Lewin (Figures 3.10 and 3.11) clearly display the nobility and dignity that Europeans recognised in Aboriginal people, which is also used in the empirical machine as a reflection on the dignity of the coloniser.

Many artists chose to depict the 'noble savage' in his and her 'natural state', and many paintings, drawings and etchings show Aboriginal people within landscapes (Figures 3.12–3.14). The artist often establishes a hierarchy within the composition: Figure 3.12 shows a lone man atop a rock, with spears, shield, cloak and headdress, while Figure 3.14 shows a family, with the cloak-wearing father standing above the reclining mother and dependent child.

As we move through the historical record of the 19th century, and as the colonies and towns of Australia develop, we get a type of image such as Figure 3.15, wherein Aboriginal people, this time clothed in blankets worn as cloaks, are juxtaposed against the progress of European civilisation, represented here by the development of Melbourne city. This artwork by William Knight also plays into the idea of adding drama and colour to the colonial enterprise, as it sets the Aboriginal subjects in the foreground as a framing device for the 'real' subject, the progression of European civilisation as symbolised by the growing town of Melbourne.

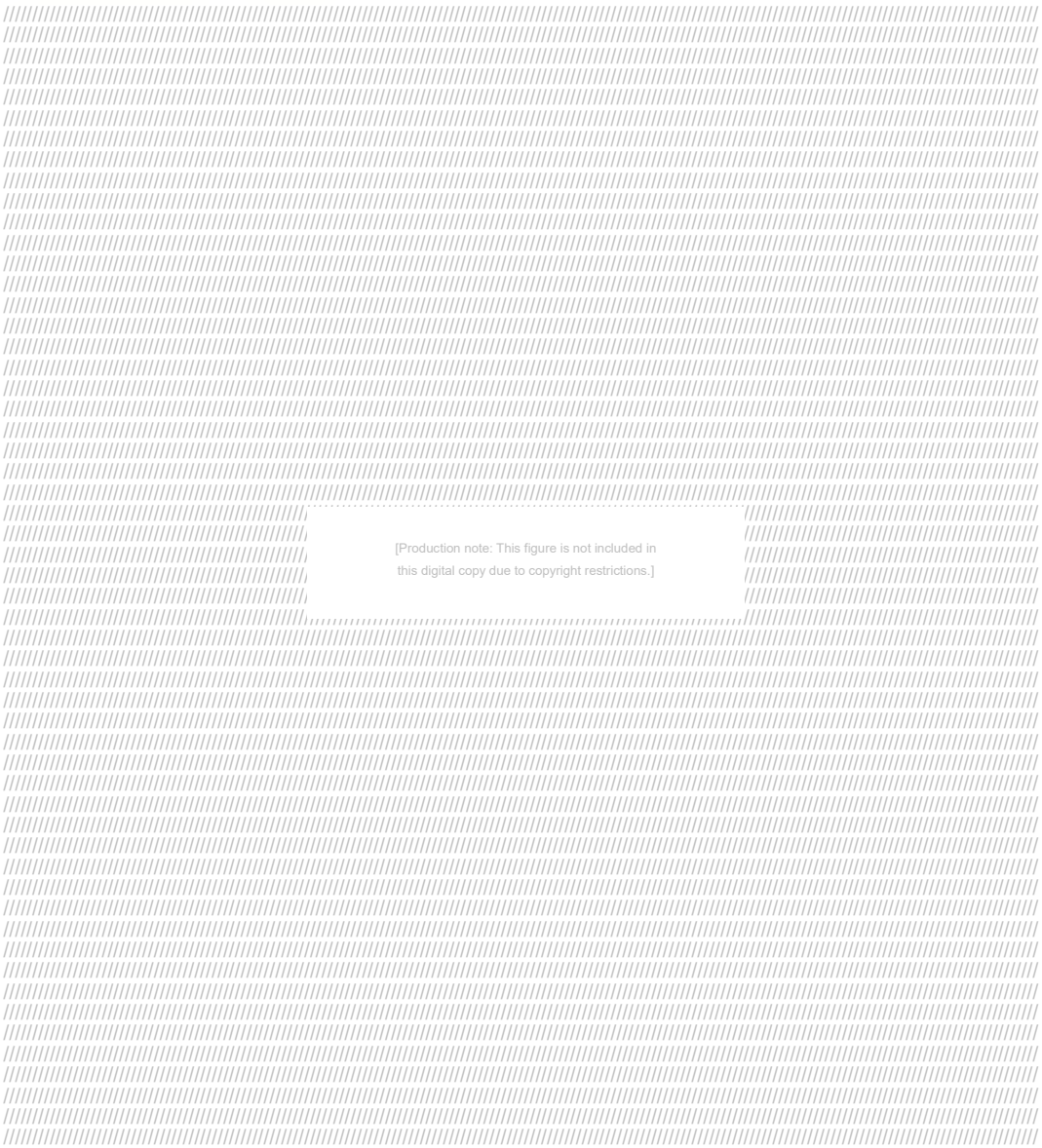


Figure 3.8: Robert Hawker Dowling, *Jack native of Spring Creek near Port Fairy, Victoria*, 1856, oil painting, 12 x 14.3 cm, British Museum, Oc2006,Ptg.2

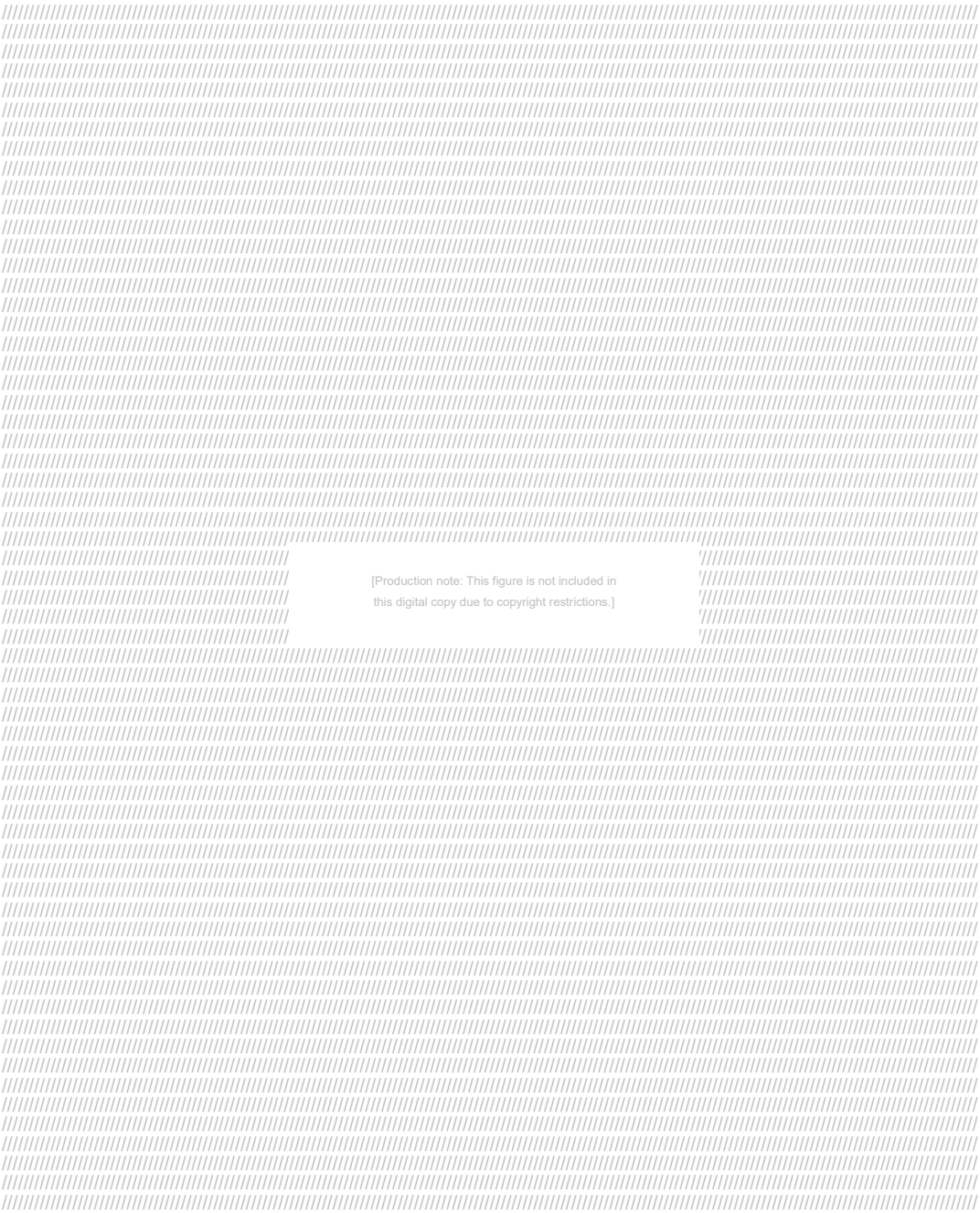


Figure 3.9: Robert Hawker Dowling, *Queen Marpoura*, 1856, oil painting, 11.7 x 14 cm, British Museum, Oc2006,Ptg.11

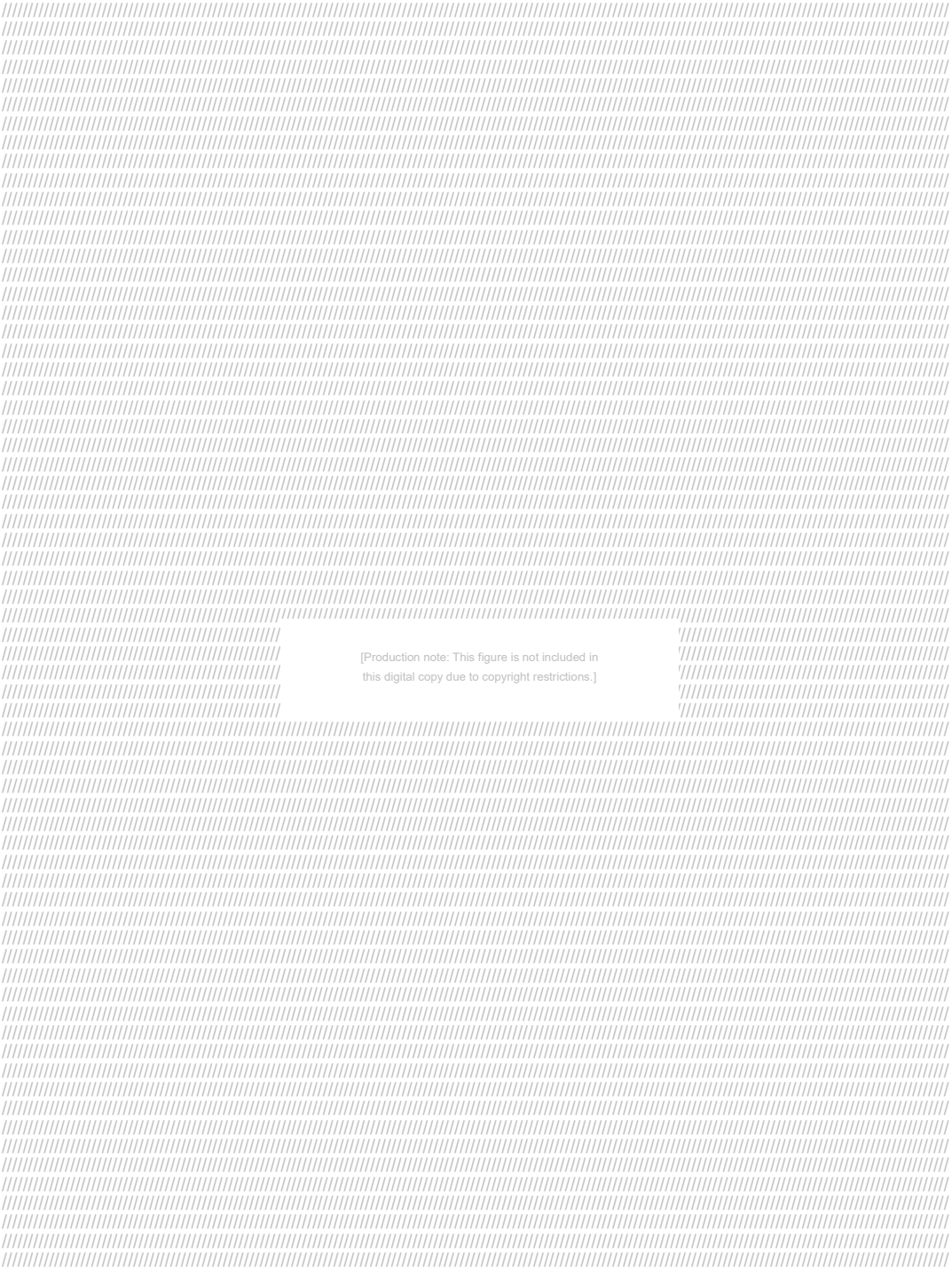


Figure 3.10: drawn by J.W. Lewin, N.S. Wales, engraved by R. Havell & Son, *A native chief of Baturst [i.e. Bathurst]*, February 1820, print: engraving, hand col., 26.5 x 21.5 cm (plate mark), National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 20 #U2168 NK4978, nla.obj-135691441

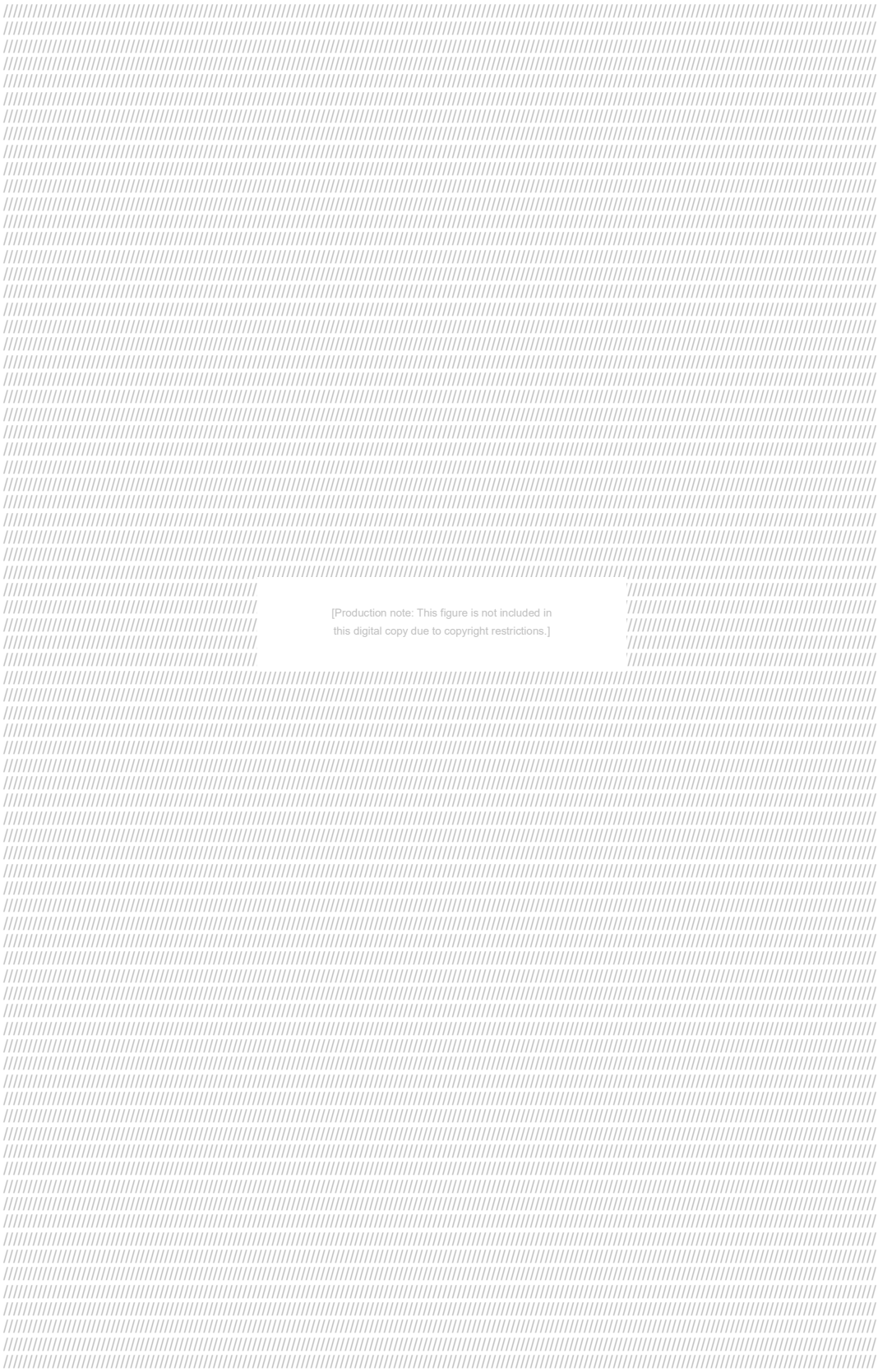


Figure 3.11: J.W. (John William) Lewin, *Yango Mungo Y'eyango*, c.1817–19, hand-coloured stipple engraving, 22.5 x 13.7 cm (sheet), Dixson Galleries, State Library of New South Wales, DG P1/16

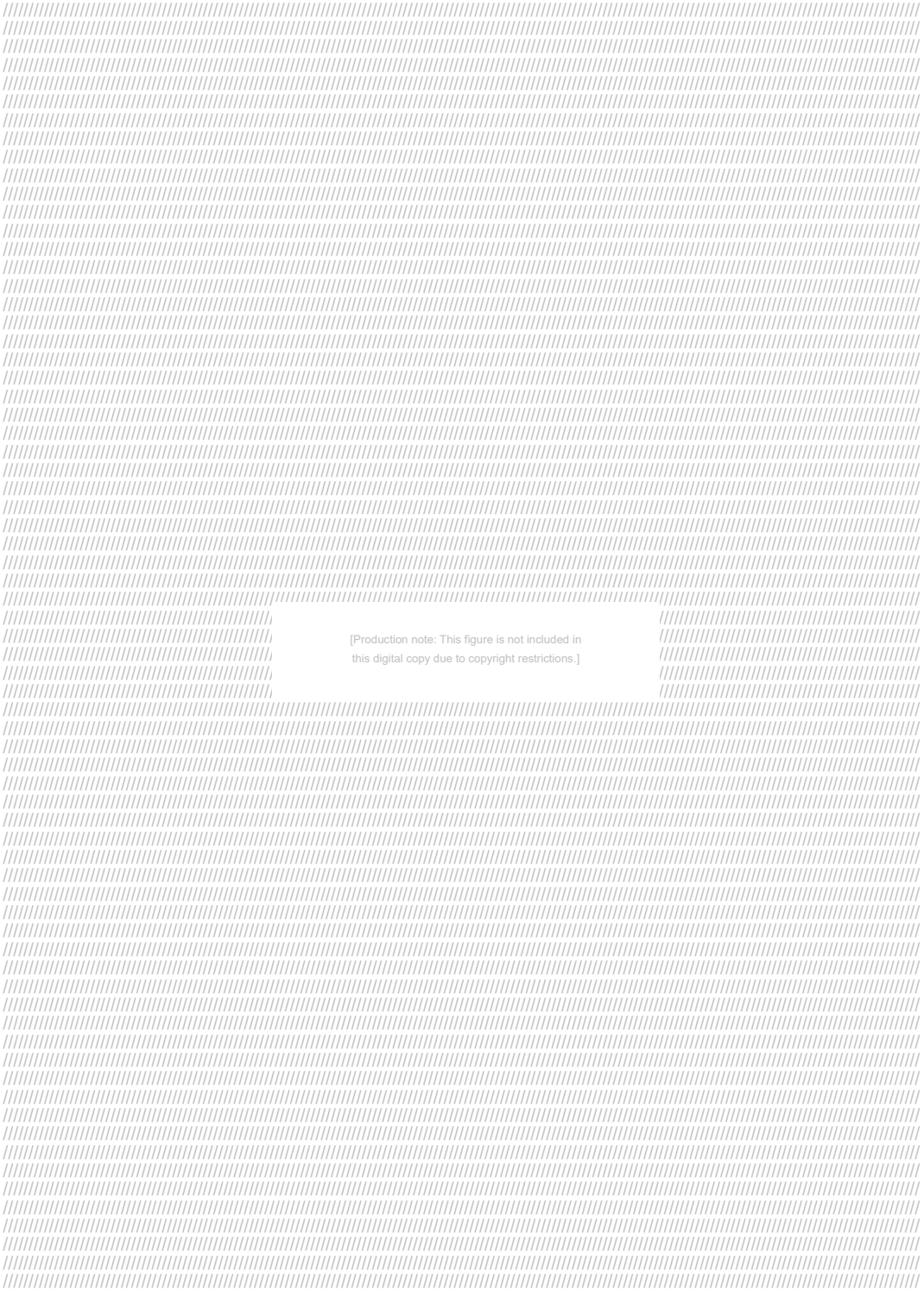


Figure 3.12: William Anderson Cawthorne, *47. Aborigine wearing cloak standing on a rock* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]*, c.1844–64, drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings, 35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, PX*D 70

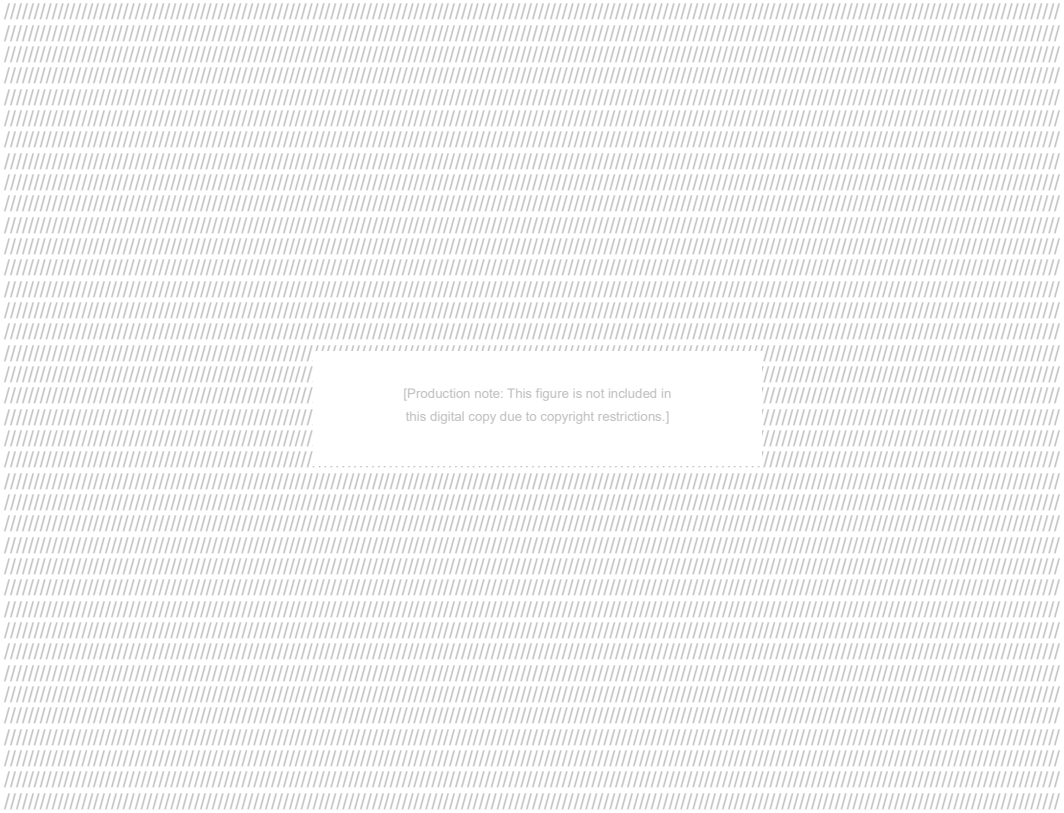


Figure 3.13: S.T. Gill, *Native miami*, [1864], print: colour lithograph on white paper, 17.5 x 25 cm, State Library of Victoria, H17150

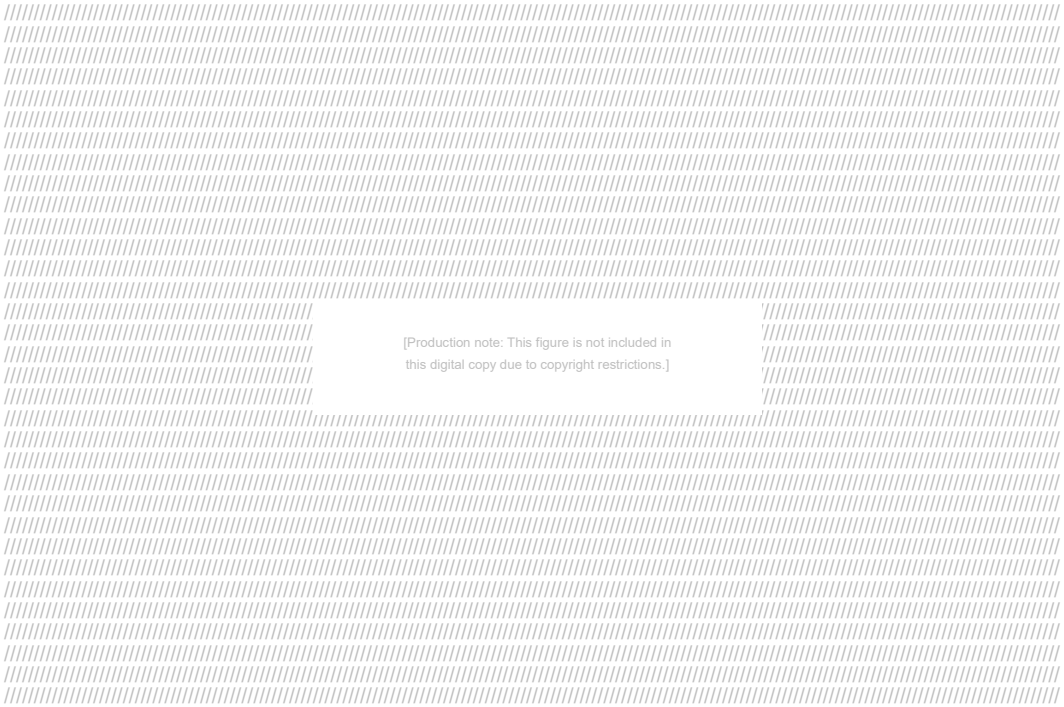


Figure 3.14: S.T. Gill, *Natives of So. [i.e. South] Australia, Adelaide, Jany 29th, 1849*, [1849], drawing: wash, 15.7 x 23.7 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Solander Box A45 #T248 NK7063/10/nla.obj-134367689

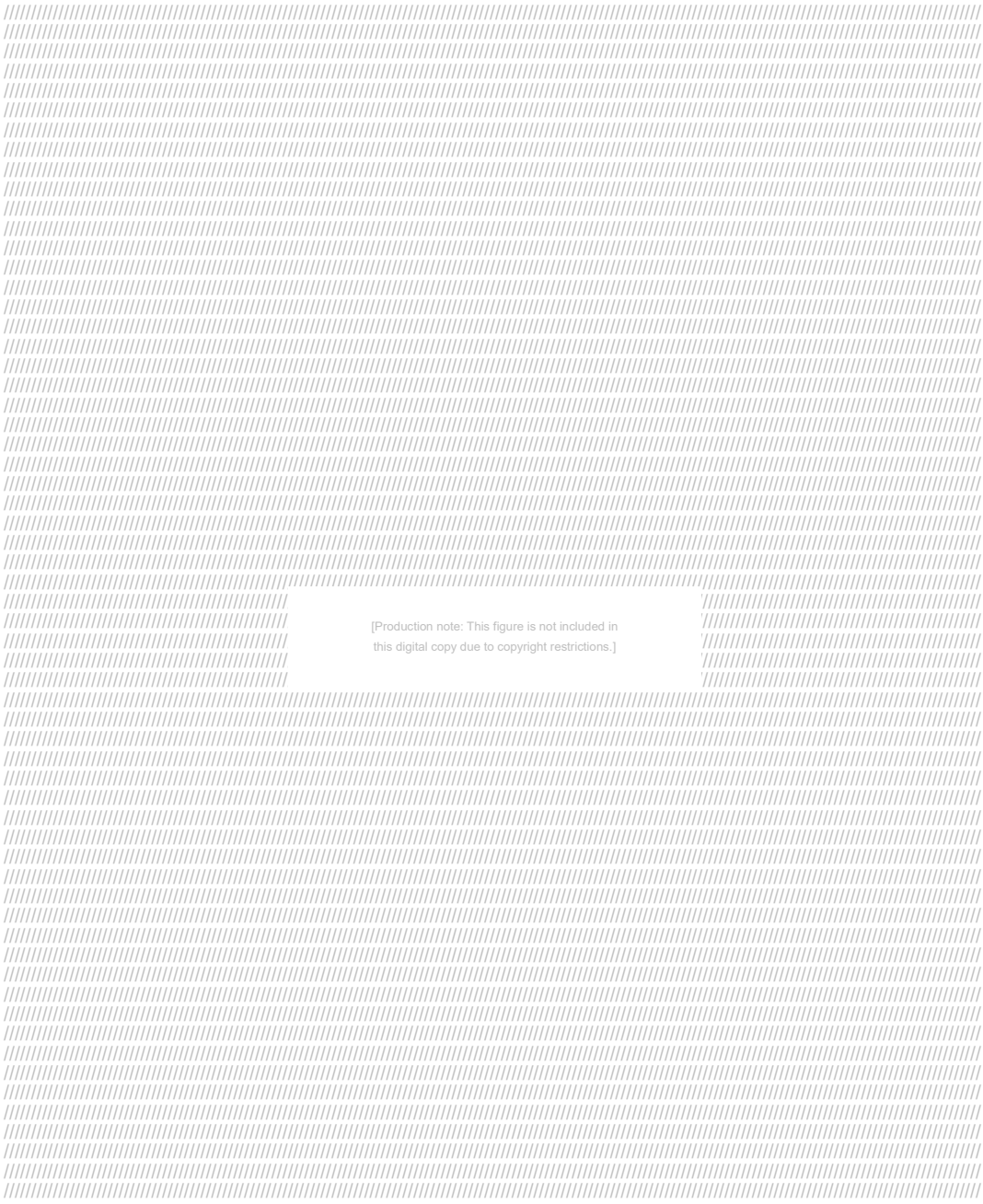


Figure 3.15: W. (William) Knight, *Collins Street, town of Melbourne*, 1839?, painting: watercolour, 49.2 x 39.3 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 2985 #T2295 NK142, nla.obj-135240584

3.3.1D Objects of status

Historical paintings, drawings and etchings show Aboriginal people hunting possums (see Figure 3.16), revealing how non-Aboriginal people appreciated the value of possums in Aboriginal society.

The status of the possum-skin cloak is not only evidenced in the hunting of possums for food resources, but in the attribution of cloak-wearing to senior figures in Aboriginal societies. In Fred

Kruger's 1890 *Album of the Kings and Queens of Victoria*, which is a printed version (see Figures 3.17 and 3.18) of a series of photographs Kruger produced (see Figures 3.32 and 3.33), two figures, Queen Mary and King William, are adorned in their cloaks, purposefully arranged to show both the designed and fur sides facing outwards, and surrounded by ceremonial objects.

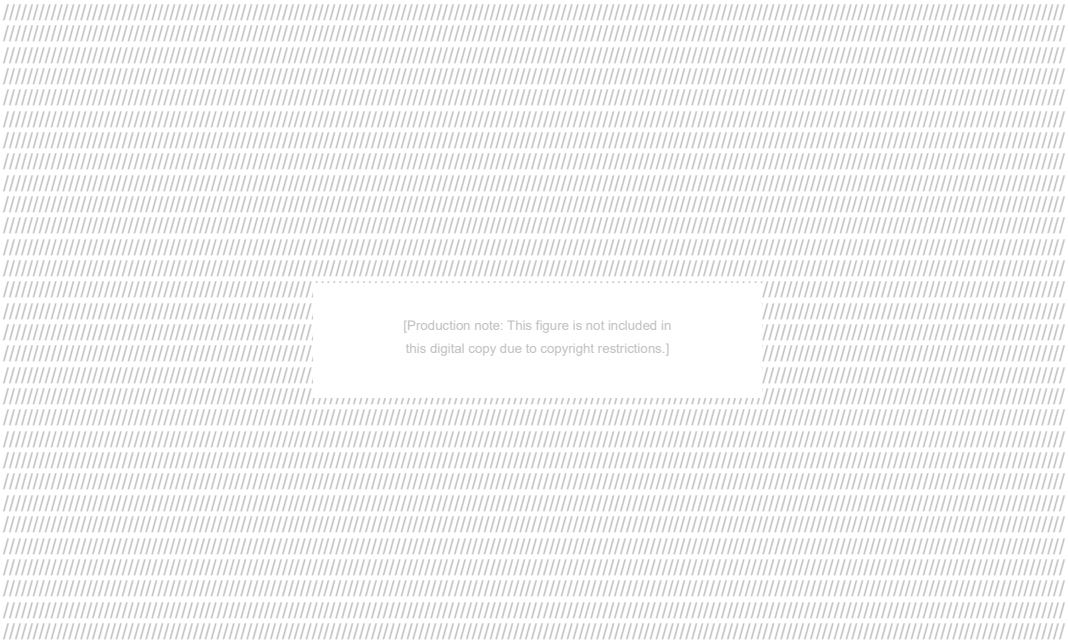


Figure 3.16: Robert Marsh Westmacott, *View in the Kangaroo Valley showing the manner the Natives climb the trees for opossums and bandicoots*, 1840–46, watercolour, 15 x 24.5 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Volume 162 #T701 NK762/30, nla.obj-138710546

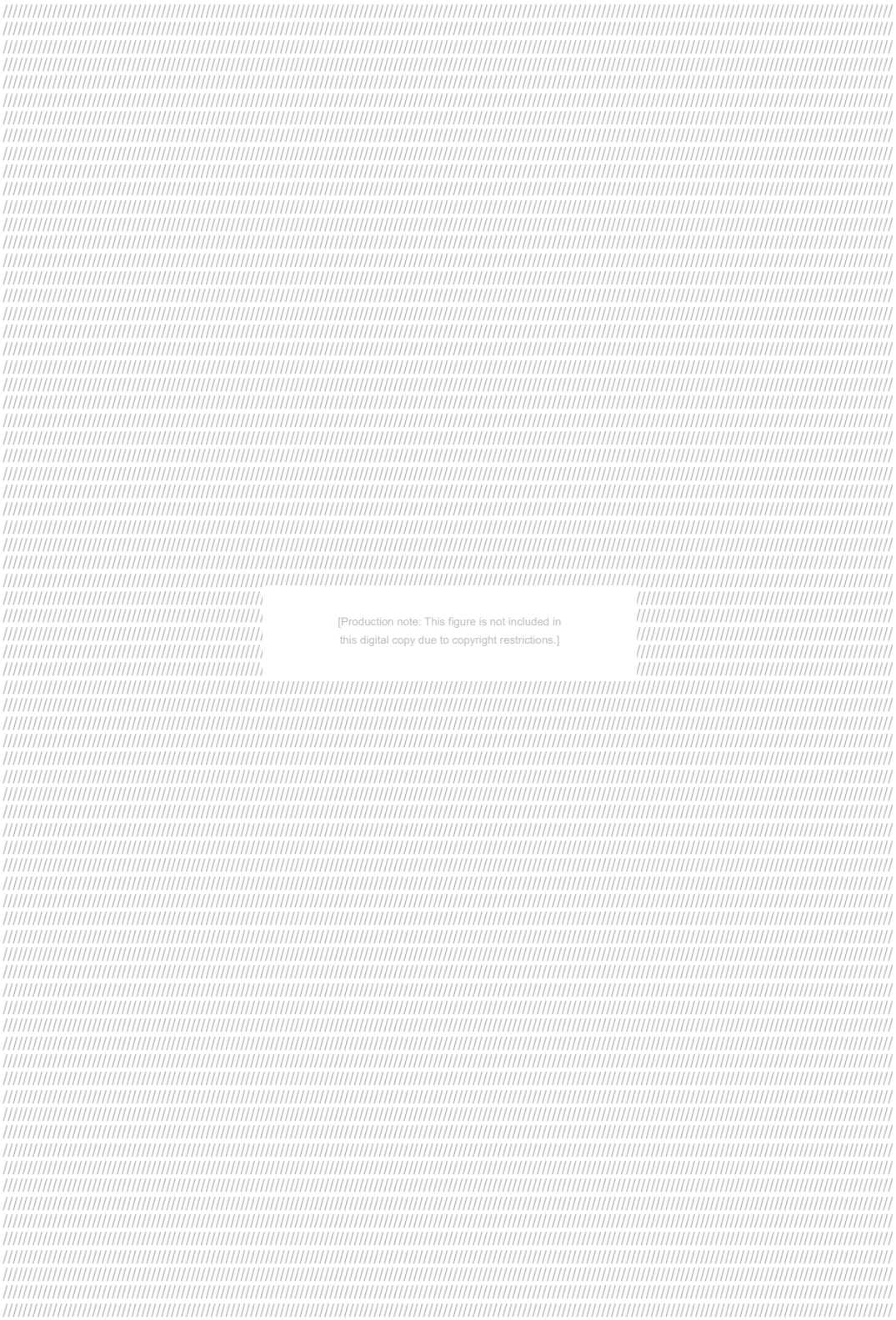


Figure 3.17: Fred Kruger, *Queen Mary, Ballarat Tribe* from *Album of the kings & queens of Victoria*, [1890?], album, 17 pages, National Library of Australia, SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227

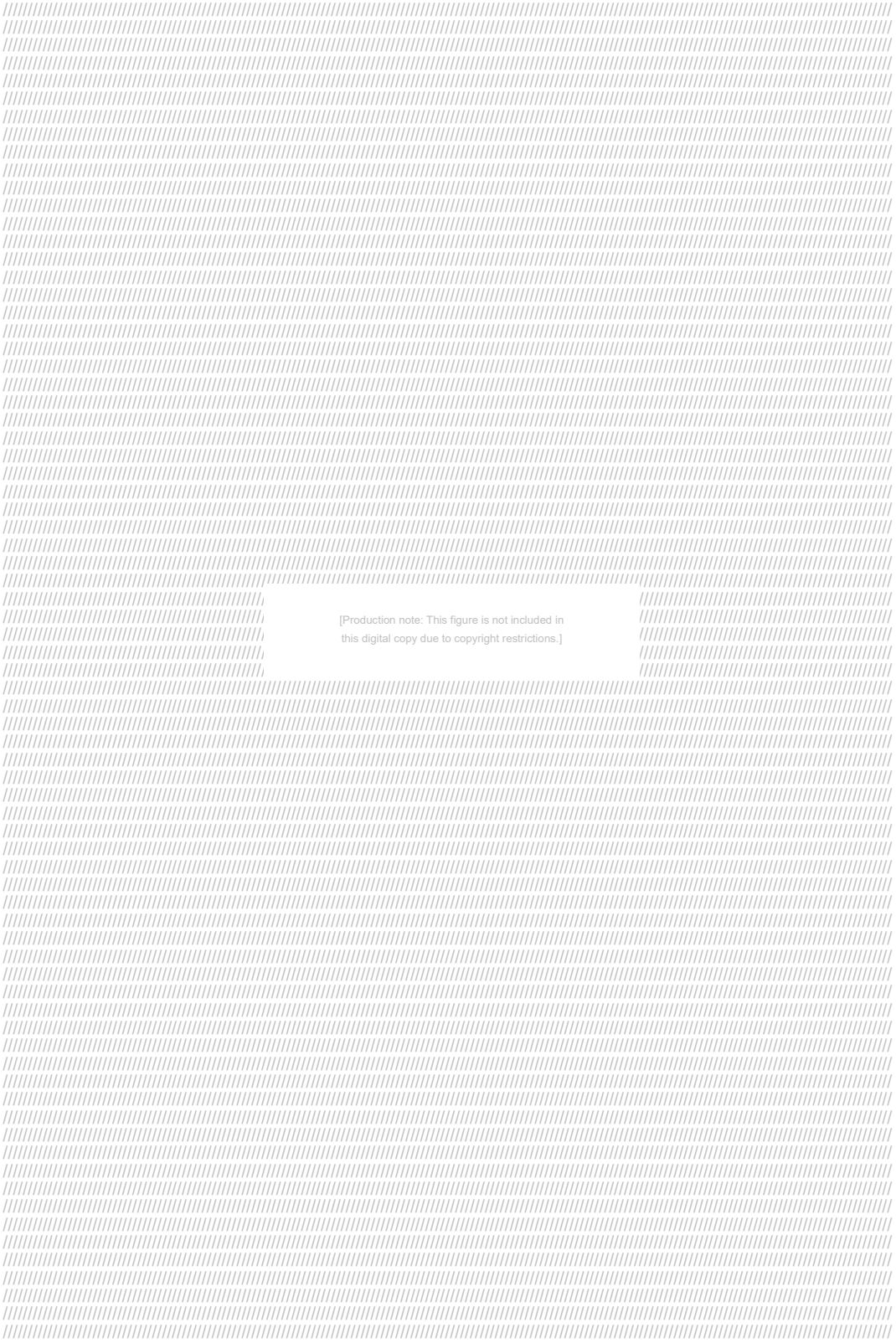


Figure 3.18: Fred Kruger, *King William, Mount Cole Tribe* from *Album of the kings & queens of Victoria*, [1890?], album, 17 pages, National Library of Australia, SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227

3.3.2 Photography

3.3.2A Fascination for the material

19th-century photography studios captured many images of Aboriginal people, often in highly stylised and arranged compositions. These images, attempting to show the Aboriginal Australian in their ‘natural state’, routinely use animal skins and animal-skin cloaks, often possum or kangaroo, to convey the concept of a pre-contact existence. The British Museum photograph (Figure 3.19) is interesting as it shows Aboriginal people in a mix of skin cloaks and blankets, with the European photographer centring the two cloak-wearing figures, obviously identifying the ‘authenticity’ and hierarchy of this object within Aboriginal society.

The 1870–83 photographic series by John William Lindt, represented here by three images in which skins play a central role (Figures 3.20–3.22), is also significant for the highly arranged and composed nature of the images. Animal skins are again prized by the photographer, who seems fascinated with and obsessed by this material.

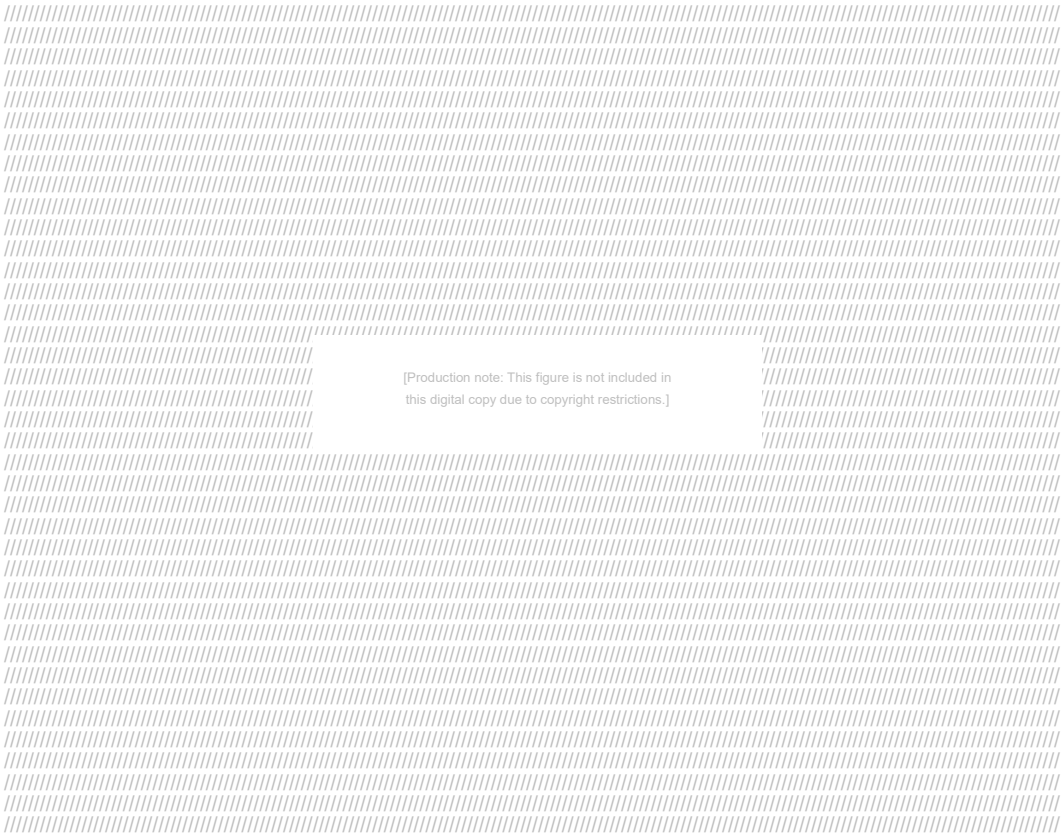


Figure 3.19: Antoine Julien Nicolas Fauchery (?) and Richard Daintree (?), 1858?, photographic print (black and white), albumen printing, 9.2 x 11.7 cm (image), British Museum, Oc,B80.6, mm034109/10 (Museum of Mankind number)

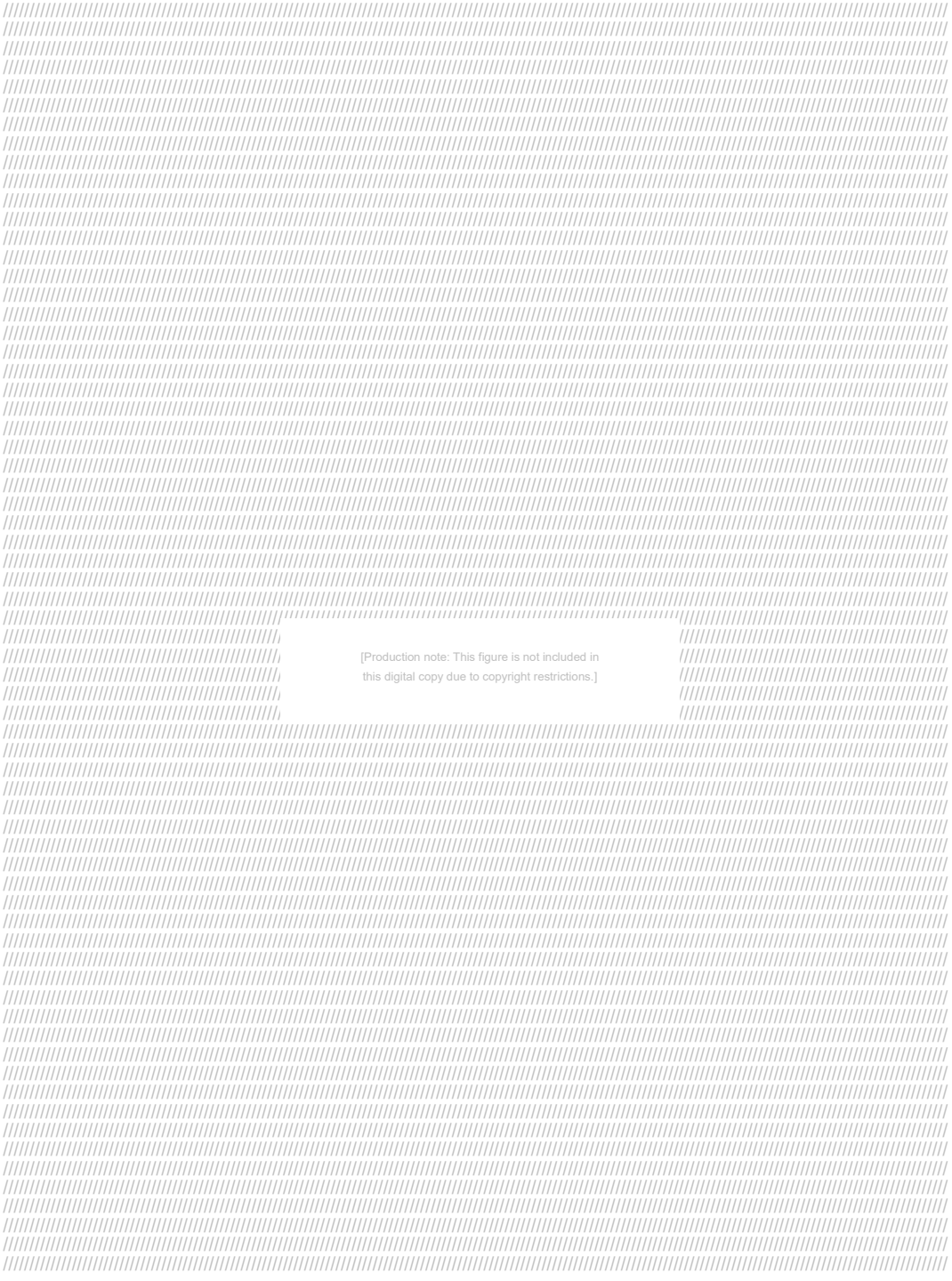


Figure 3.20: John William Lindt, *9. Snowy and his gin*, 1870–73, albumen print, 20 x 15 cm, Grafton Regional Gallery, 2005-13

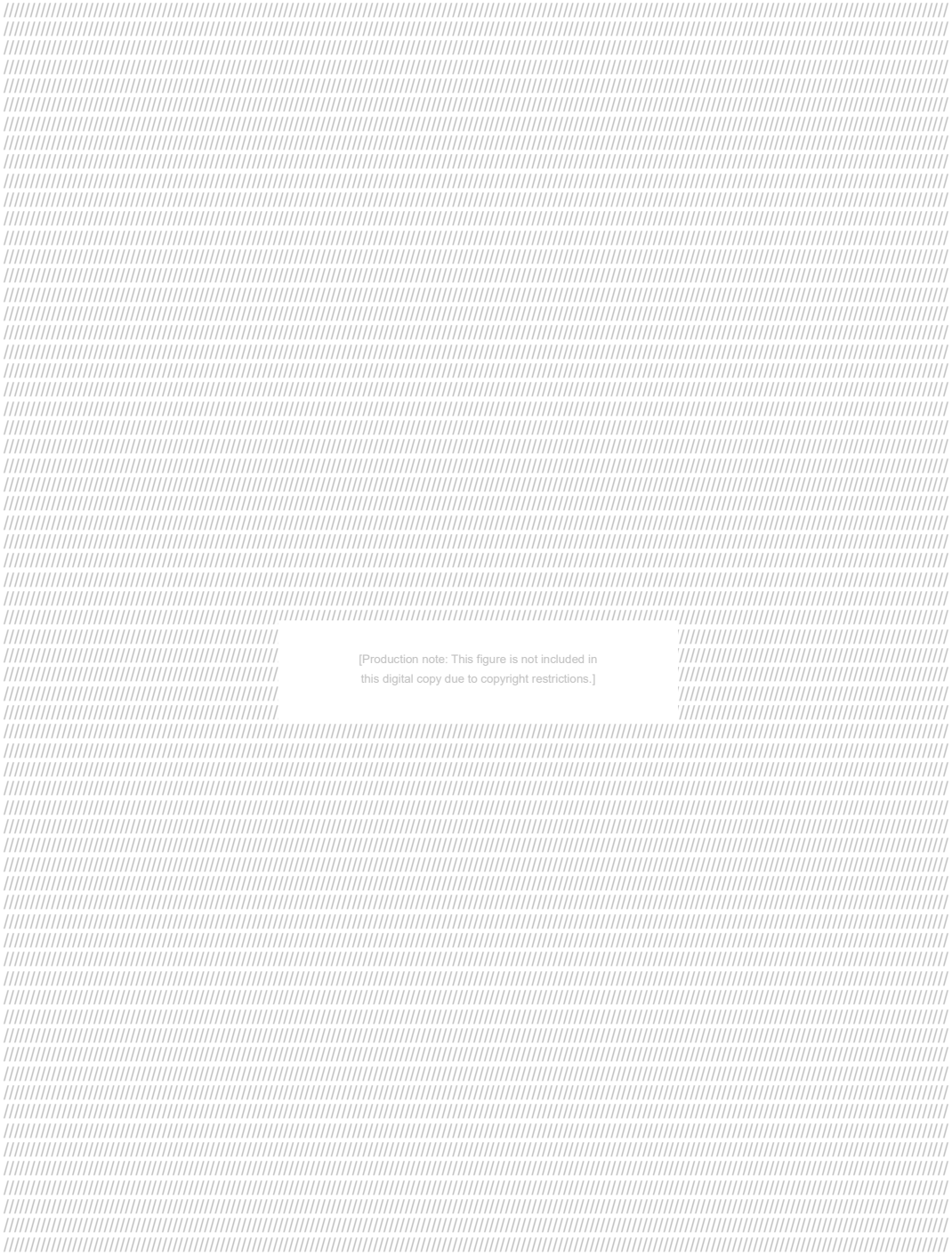


Figure 3.21: John William Lindt, *23. Two coastal men, one standing one reclining*, 1870–73, albumen print, 20 x 15 cm, Grafton Regional Gallery, 2005-27

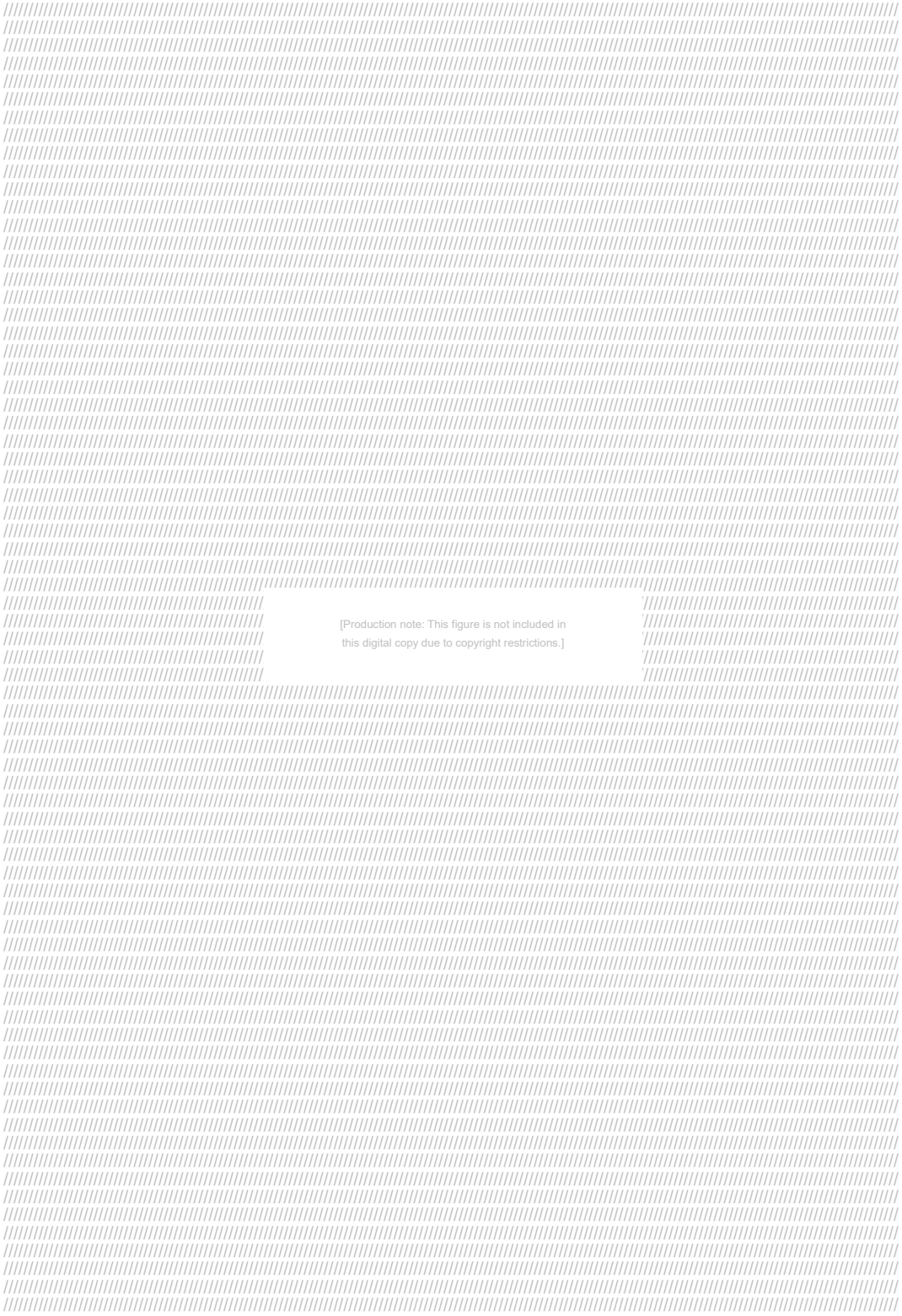


Figure 3.22: John William Lindt, *28. Orara William*, 1870–73, albumen print, 20 x 15 cm, Grafton Regional Gallery, 2005-32

3.3.2B Drama and colour

A series of photographs by Fred Kruger, shot in the areas surrounding Melbourne as the colony is growing in the late 19th century, show Aboriginal people engaged in all types of 'traditional' activities. The images are highly staged, with people, houses, a boat, and weapons, utensils and implements all part of a network of arranged symbols. In the five photographs shown here (Figures 3.23–3.27), all of Kruger's subjects are fully enveloped in possum-skin cloaks. Kruger chose to show people living in a state of nature or a pre-colonial state to add to the colonial enterprise. These images are easily read as part of the storytelling of Empire, portraying the colonial project as an exotic experience. Notable is the ubiquity of the possum-skin cloak and its documented use in a range of activities.

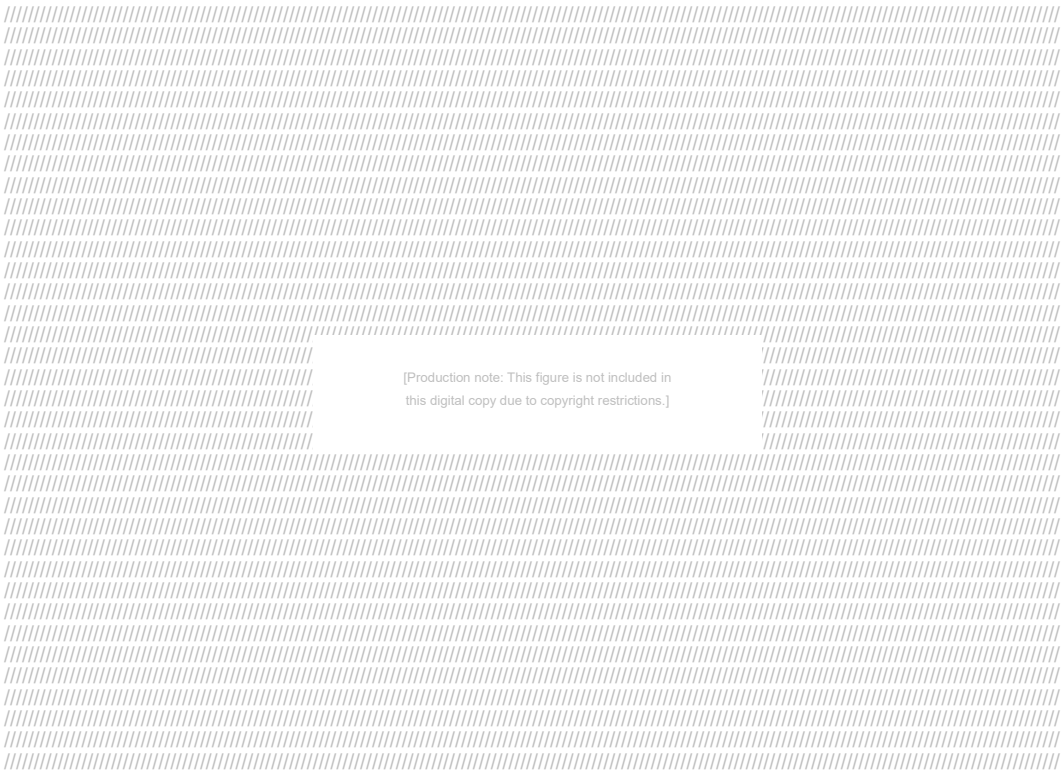


Figure 3.23: Fred Kruger, *No title (Victorian Aborigines in front of mia-mia)*, c.1866–87, albumen silver photograph, 19.9 x 27.2 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, PH239-1979

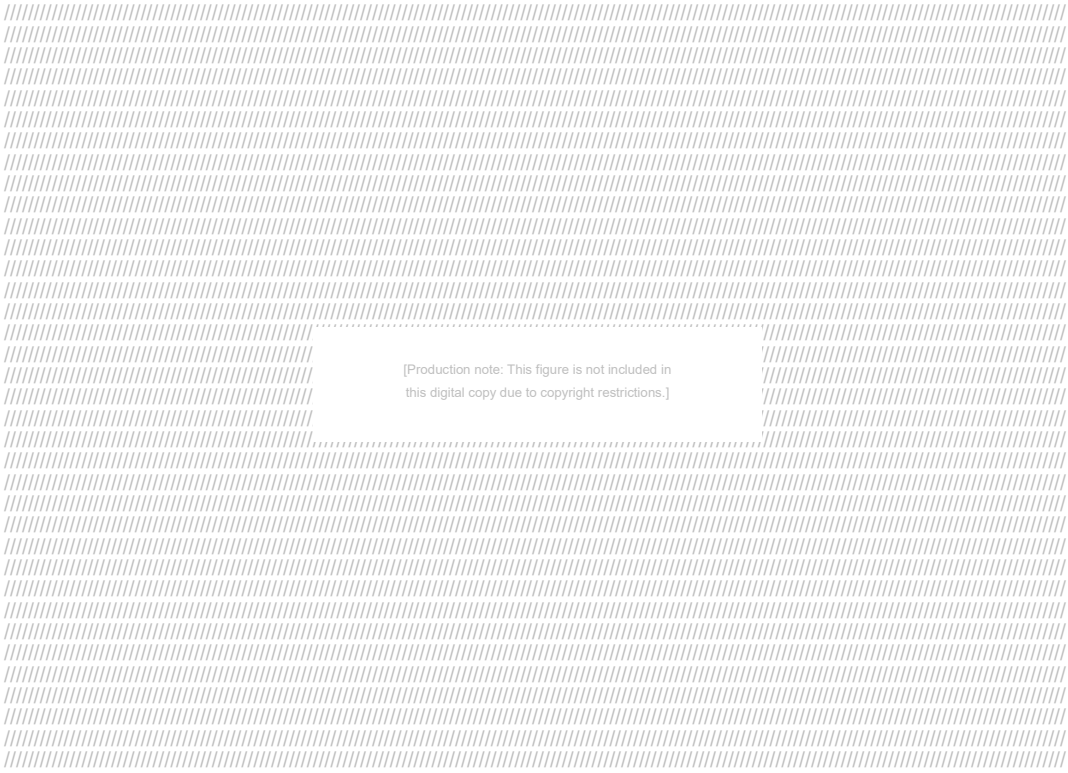


Figure 3.24: Fred Kruger, *Aboriginal men in canoe, Coranderrk Aboriginal Station*, c.1883, albumen silver photograph, 19.9 x 27.1 cm (image), National Gallery of Victoria, PH327-1979

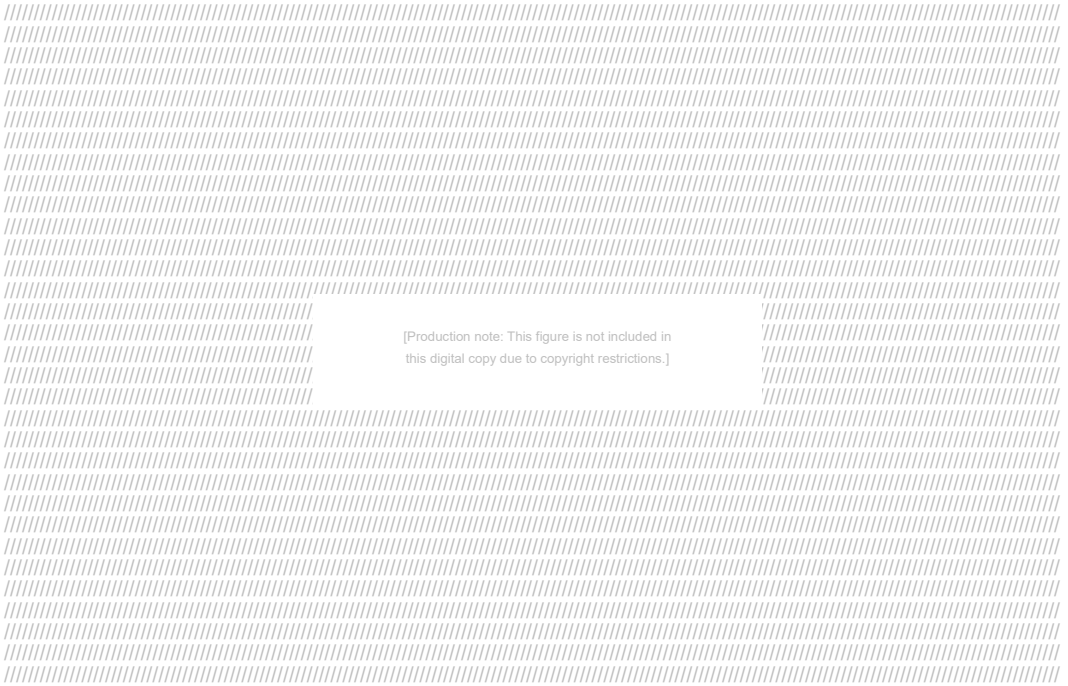


Figure 3.25: Fred Kruger, *No title (Victorian Aborigines and hunting implements)*, c.1866–87, albumen silver photograph, 13.2 x 20.2 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, PH209-1979

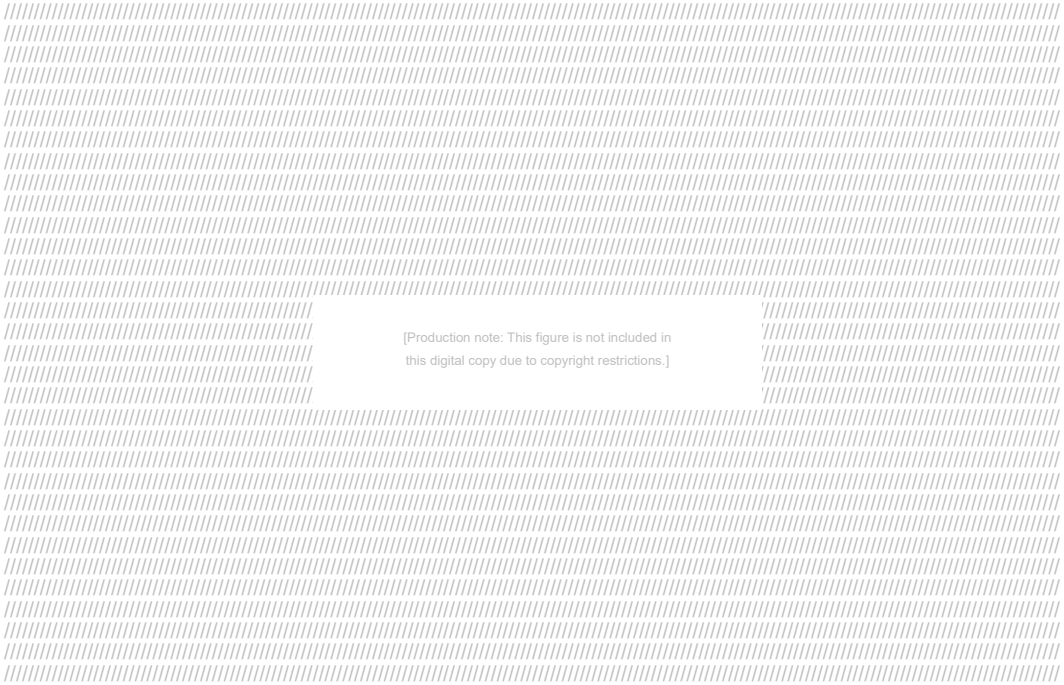


Figure 3.26: Fred Kruger, *Victorian Aboriginals and war implements*, c.1883, albumen silver photograph, 13.2 x 20.2 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, PH230-1979

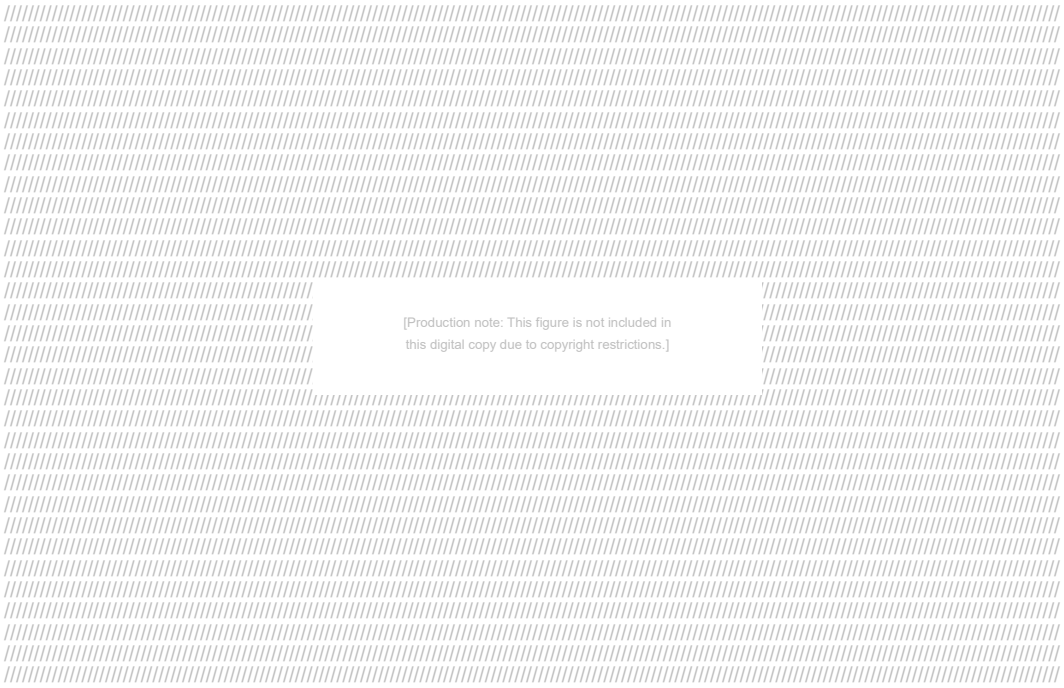


Figure 3.27: Fred Kruger, *Aboriginal group at Coranderrk*, c.1883, albumen silver photograph, 13.2 x 20.2 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, PH236-1979 (see detail at Figure 2.16)

Postcards are another more literal way of adding colour to the colonial enterprise, as these examples (Figures 3.28–3.31) show, where show black-and-white photography has been hand-

coloured for mass consumption. Depicting landscapes with campsites, battle scenes and arrangements of weapons, with men wearing a mix of European and ‘traditional’ clothing, these postcards reinforce the idea of the warring, violent native. These ideas further exoticise the experience of colonial Europeans on the frontier, as set against the more ‘civilised’ culture of the developing city of Melbourne in the early 20th century.

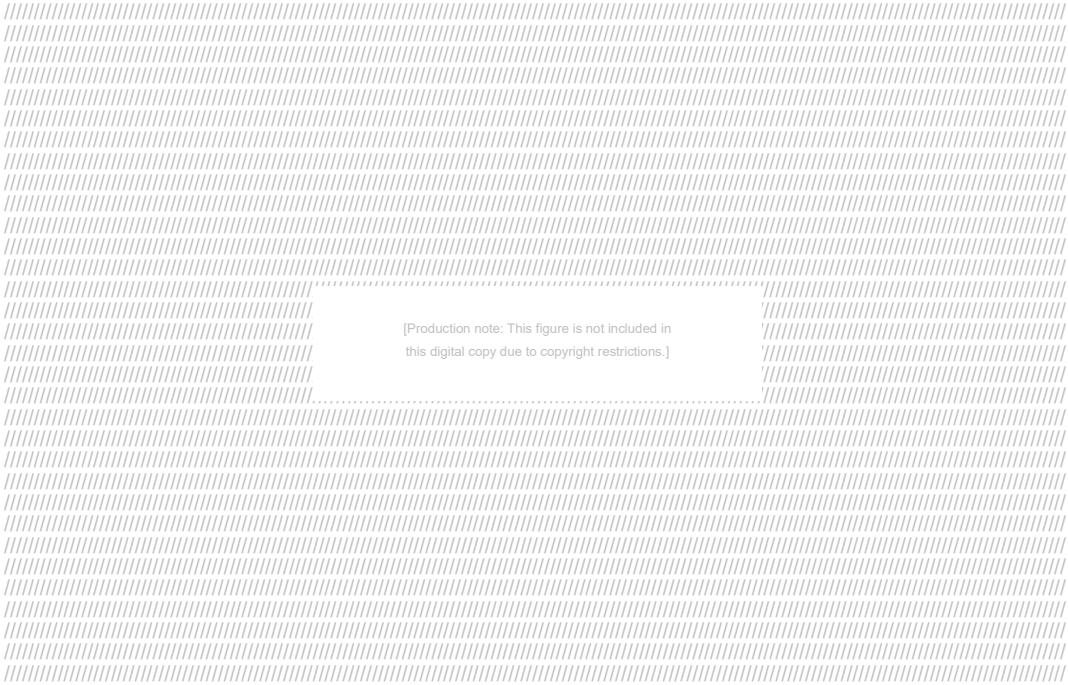


Figure 3.28: Victoria Stamp Market, *[Aboriginals in camp, Victoria]*, c.1909, collotype colour postcard, 8.8 x 13.8 cm approx., State Library of Victoria, H96.200/903

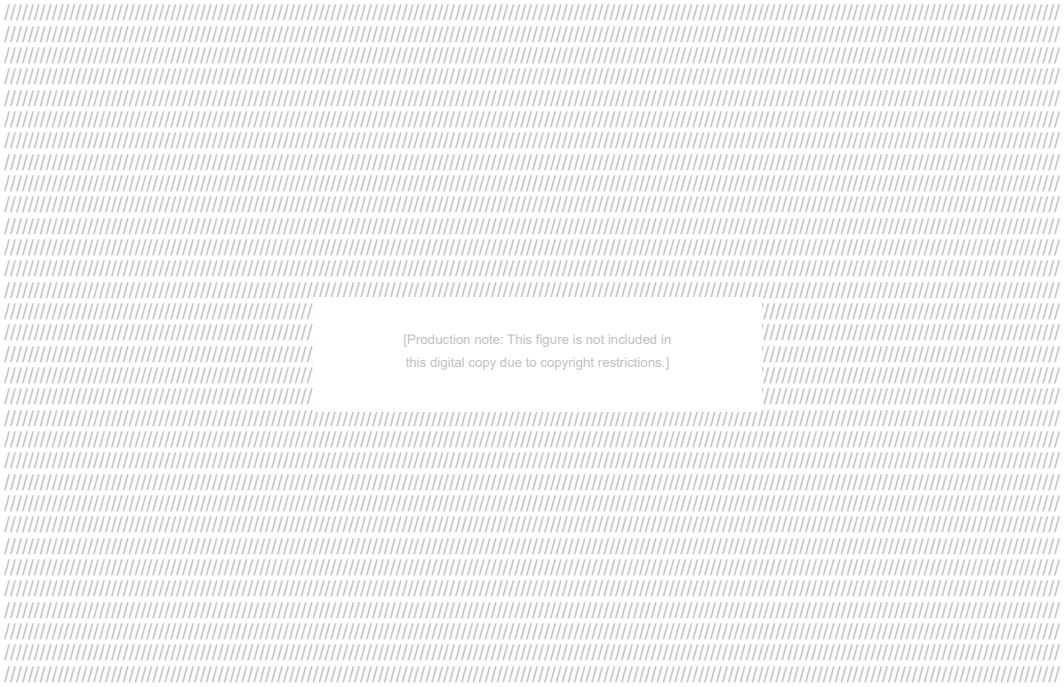


Figure 3.29: Victoria Stamp Market, *[Aboriginal men with spears and boomerangs at Coranderrk Station, Victoria]*, c.1909, collotype colour postcard, 8.8 x 13.8 cm approx., State Library of Victoria, H96.200/904

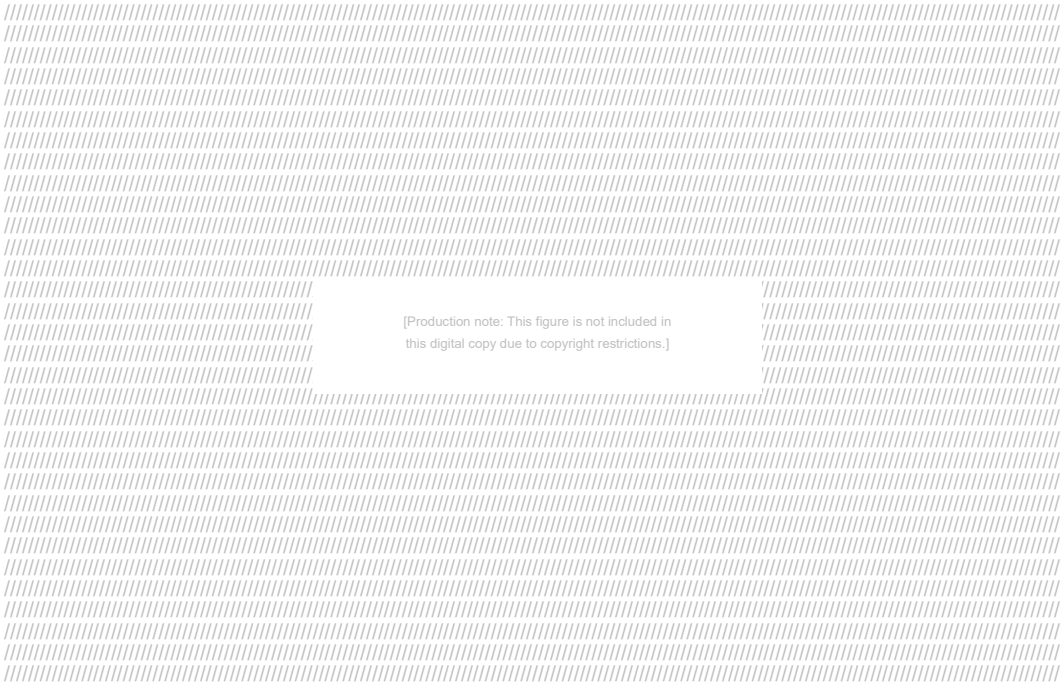


Figure 3.30: Victoria Stamp Market, *[Aboriginal men dressed for a corroboree and brandishing weapons at Coranderrk Station, Victoria]*, c.1909, collotype colour postcard, 8.8 x 13.8 cm approx., State Library of Victoria, H96.200/905

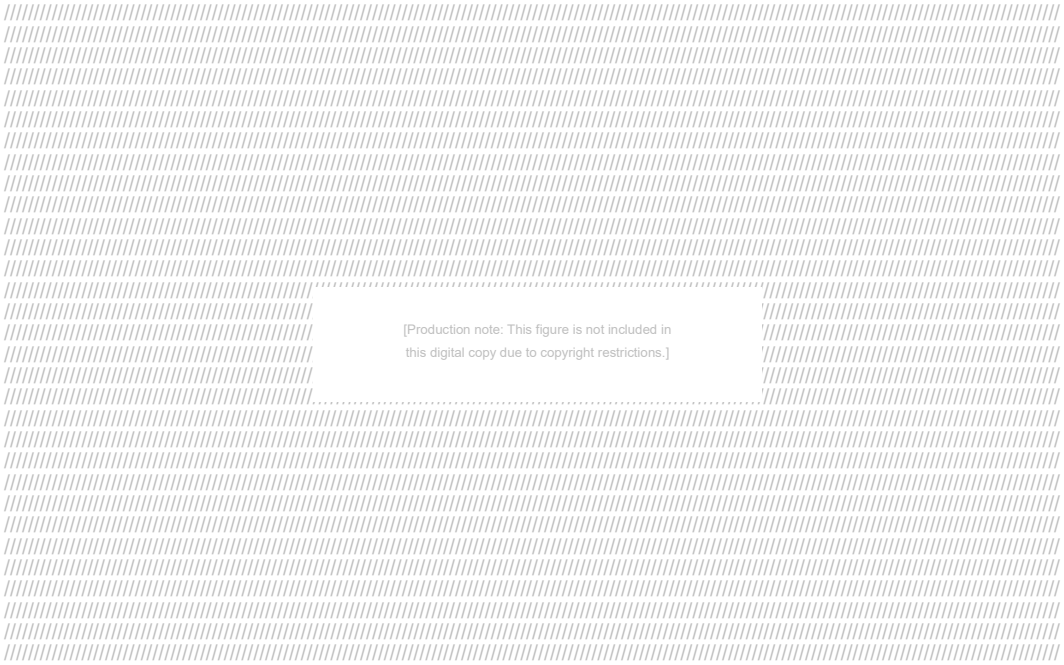


Figure 3.31: Victoria Stamp Market, *[Aboriginal men making firesticks at Coranderrk, Vic.]*, c.1909, collotype colour postcard, 8.8 x 13.8 cm approx., State Library of Victoria, H96.200/906

3.3.2C Dignity and nobility

Historical photographs highlighting the hierarchy of Aboriginal society abound, and these images, showing Aboriginal subjects as regal, can be understood from within the same context as the gold breastplates that many colonists gifted to certain Aboriginal people, declaring them ‘King’ and ‘Queen’. These photographs are often sensitively shot and can be argued to have depicted Aboriginal people in a more appreciative light (Lydon 2005, pp. 73–85), but considering the lack of agency of Aboriginal people at the time, and the construct of power within the photographer’s studio, we can understand these images as reflecting more about the coloniser’s perceived even greater dignity and status.

The first two images (Figures 3.32 and 3.33), depicted earlier as prints, were taken by Fred Kruger and show two subjects, ‘Queen Mary’ and ‘King William’. Both figures are shown wearing their cloaks and surrounded by objects that signal Aboriginal cultural practices.

The three portrait images by Carl Walter (Figures 3.34–3.36), taken as part of a portrait series of Coranderrk residents for the 1866 Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne, present three people from Coranderrk wearing two different cloaks. Not only do these images represent recognition of the nobility of the dress of Aboriginal people, but what is most interesting is that the cloak itself becomes almost dominant in the image, enveloping the subject so that only their head remains.

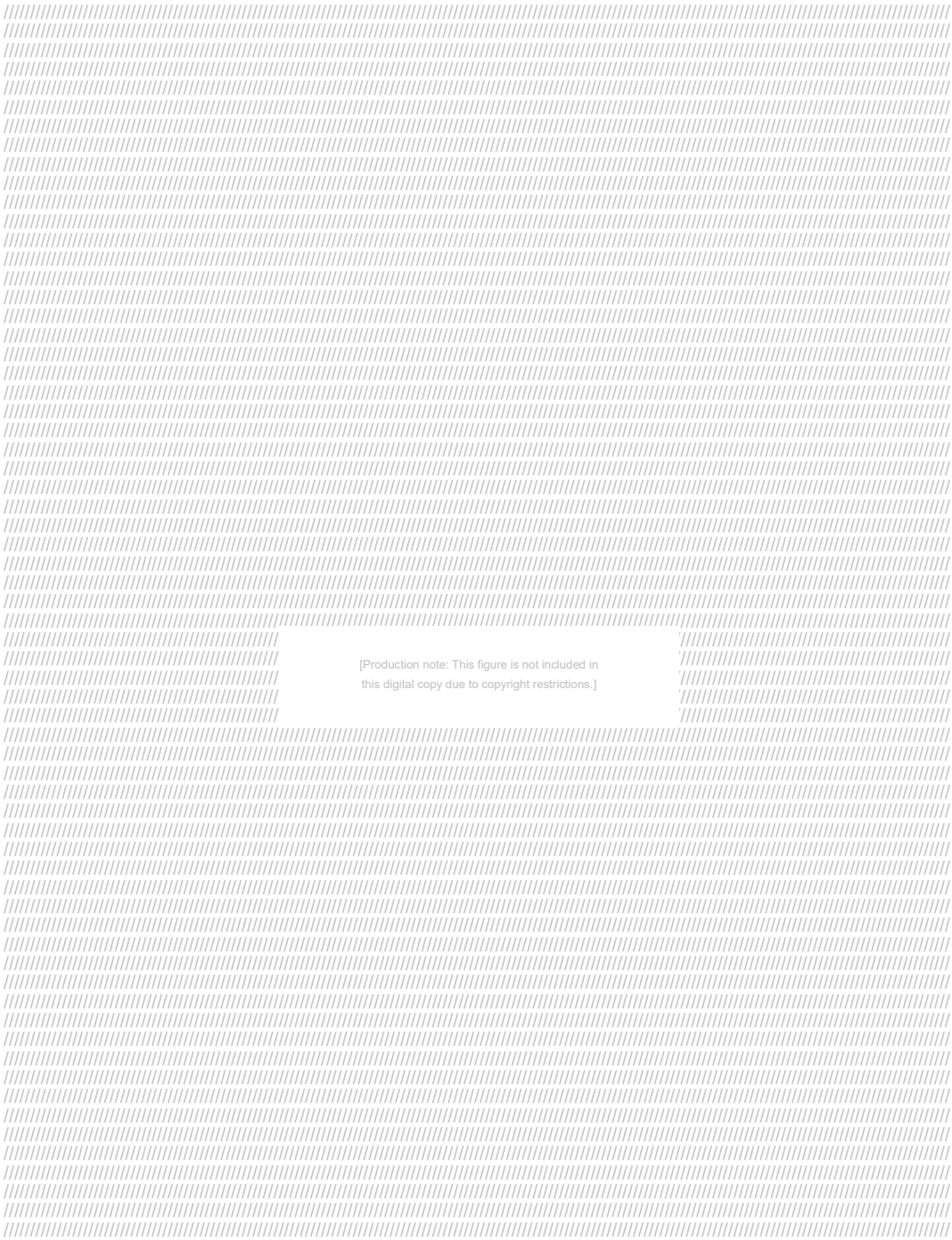


Figure 3.32: Fred Kruger, *Queen Mary - Ballarat tribe* [Leaf 3]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."*, 1866–87, albumen silver photograph, 10.2 x 6.6 cm (image), National Gallery of Australia, NGA 81.2444.3 (see illustrated version at Figure 3.17)

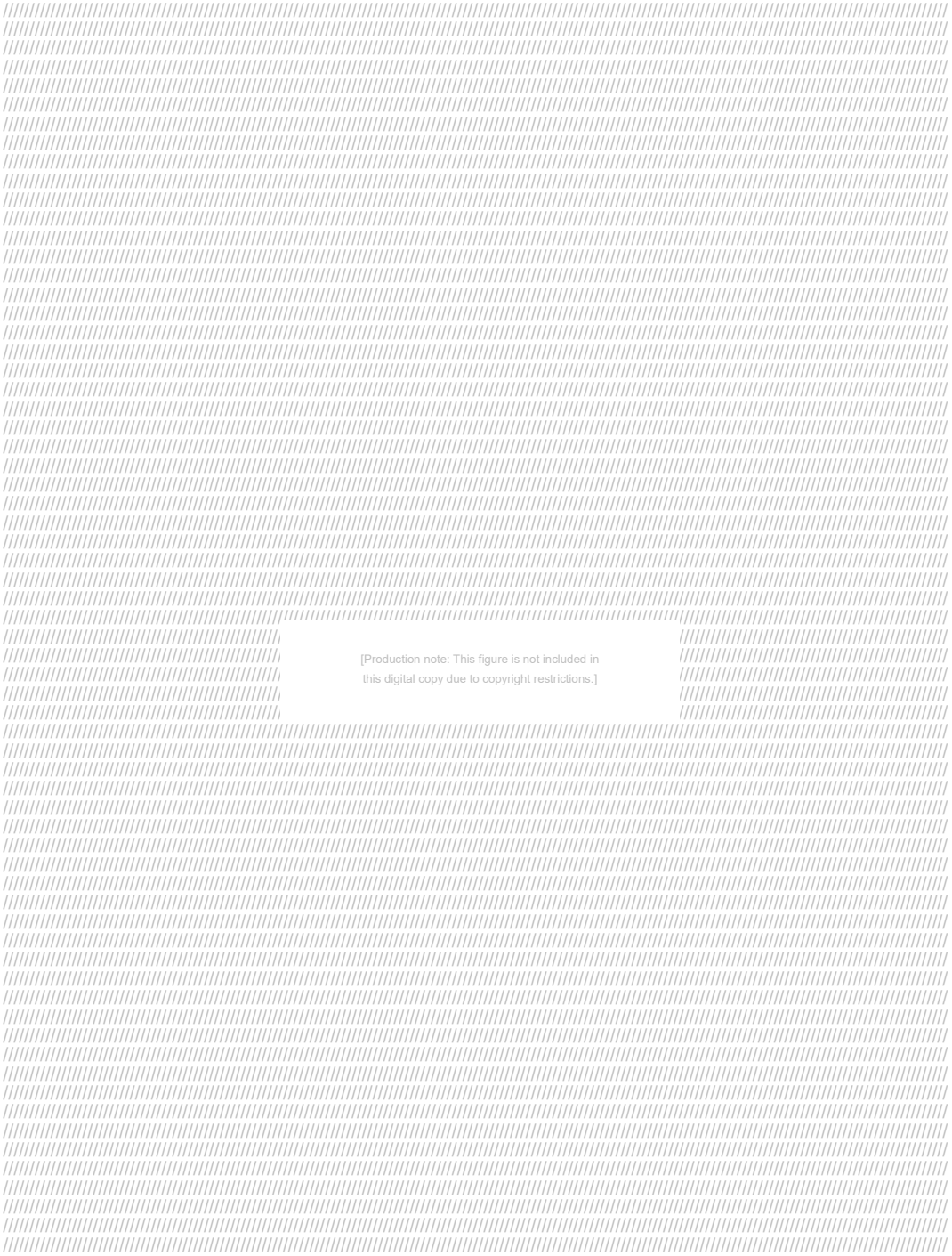


Figure 3.33: Fred Kruger, *King William - Mount Cole tribe* [Leaf 4]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."*, 1866–87, albumen silver photograph, 10.2 x 6.6 cm (image), National Gallery of Australia, NGA 81.2444.4 (see illustrated version at Figure 3.18)

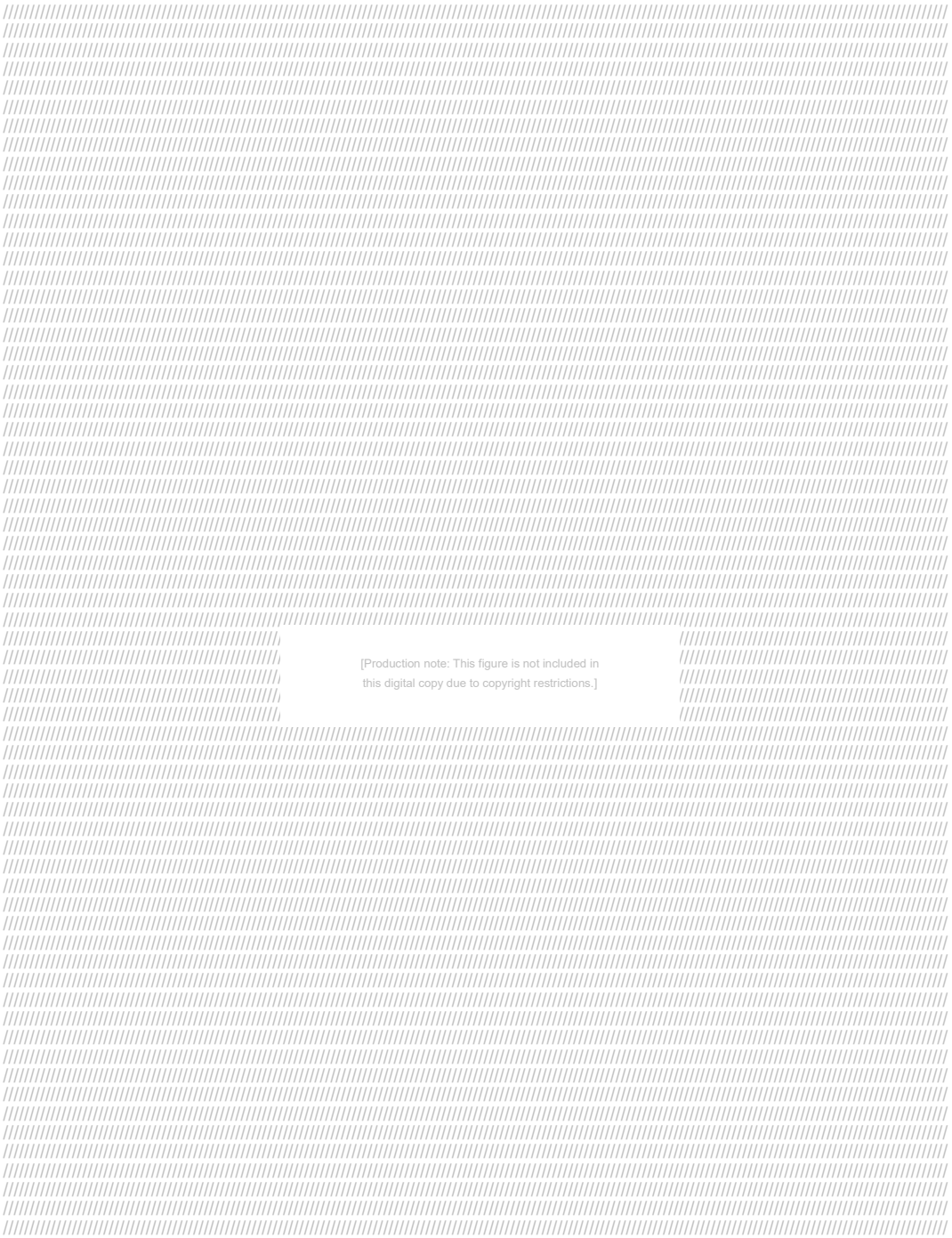


Figure 3.34: Carl Walter, *Mr Colten [i.e. Cotten] - age 90 - "Bandowick" Goulburne [Goulburn] Tribe. The oldest [aboriginal] in the Colony*, 1866, albumen silver photograph, approx. 10 x 6.7 cm, laid down on panels to form a composite image 101.2 x 146.8 cm, State Library of Victoria, H91.1/1

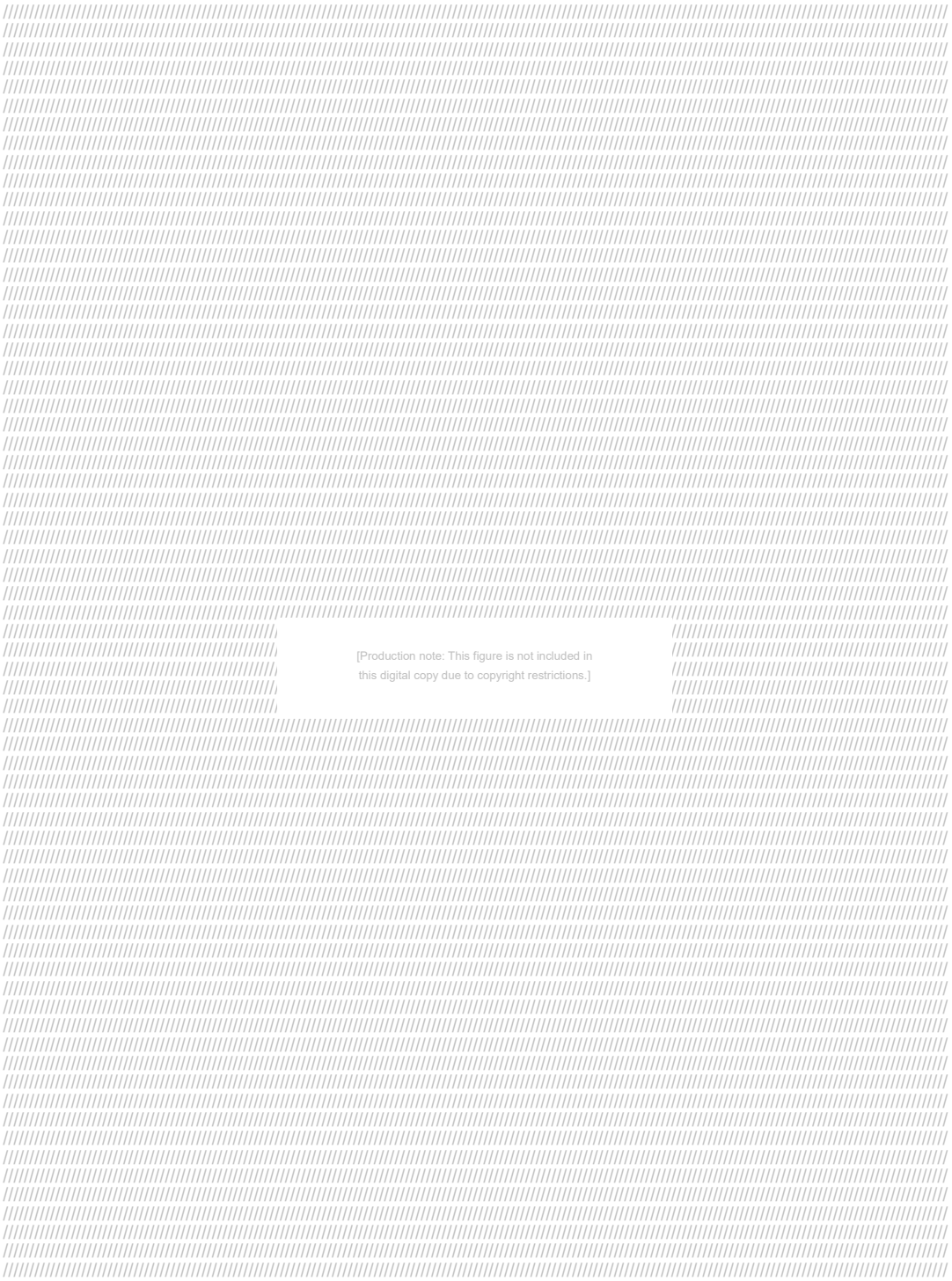


Figure 3.35: Carl Walter, *Mr King - age 63 - "Mussy Flundert" Chief of the Goulburne [Goulburn] Tribe*, 1866, albumen silver photograph, approx. 10 x 6.7 cm, laid down on panels to form a composite image 101.2 x 146.8 cm, State Library of Victoria, H91.1/3

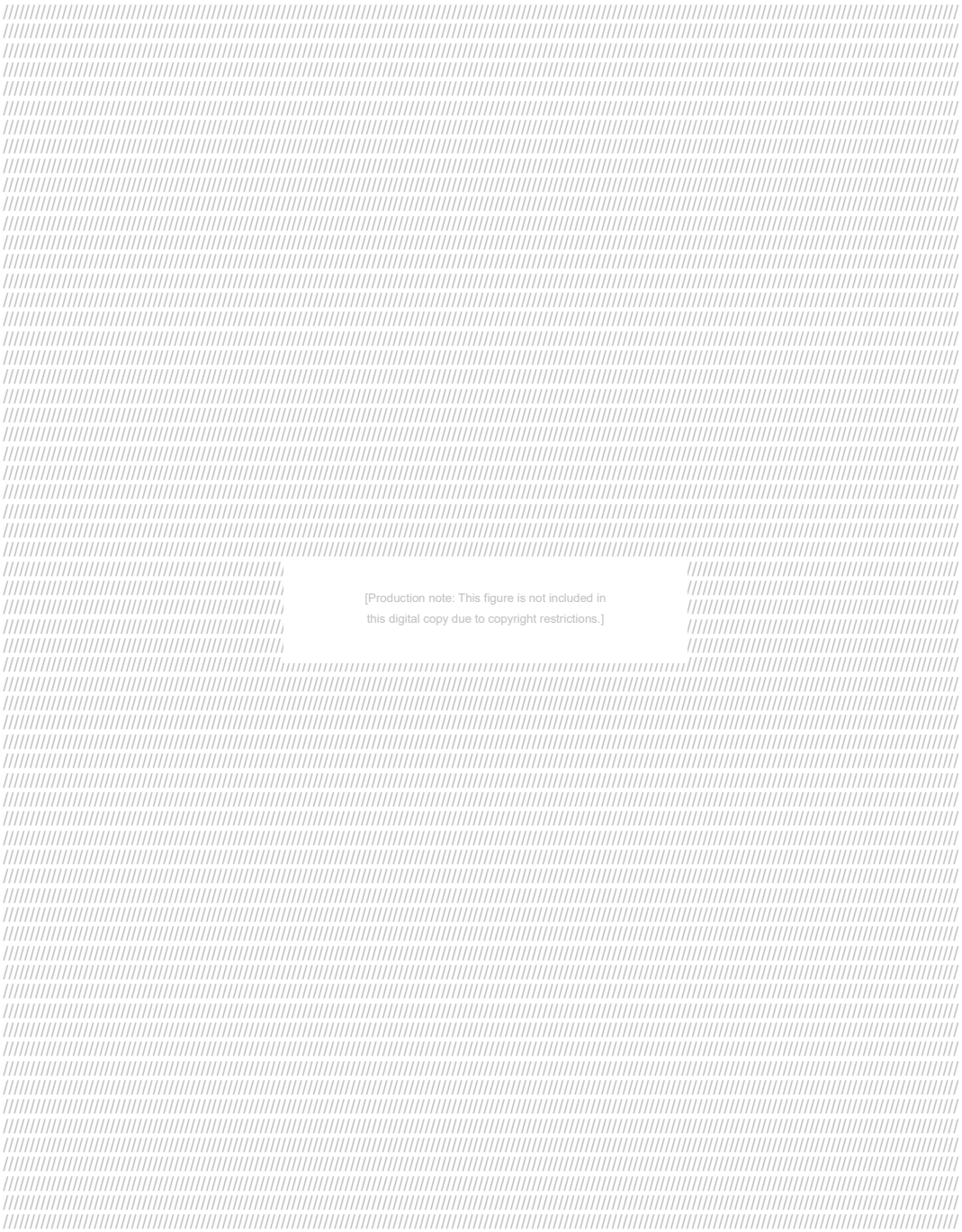


Figure 3.36: Carl Walter, *Betty - age 20 - Johnny Webster's [woman] Goulbourne [Goulburn] Tribe*, 1866, albumen silver photograph, approx. 10 x 6.7 cm, laid down on panels to form a composite image 101.2 x 146.8 cm, State Library of Victoria, H91.1/49

3.3.2D Objects of status

19th-century photographers working in Australia had a fascination for Aboriginal cultural objects and an appreciation of their production, materials, use and aesthetic. These objects obviously triggered emotional responses for European colonists and this is revealed in the custom of staging and photographing arrangements of objects. These three images, Figure 3.37 by

George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr and Figures 3.38 and 3.39 by Kruger, all feature a possum-skin cloak, here stripped from the Aboriginal body and used as a backdrop for the arrangement of objects along visual lines. While these images can be read as violent in their severing of objects from Aboriginal culture, and their flattening and rearranging of the network of meanings the objects all have to one another, cloaks are clearly recognised by the European photographer as objects of status, and are recorded along with other 'exotic' items from Aboriginal peoples, signalling their importance.

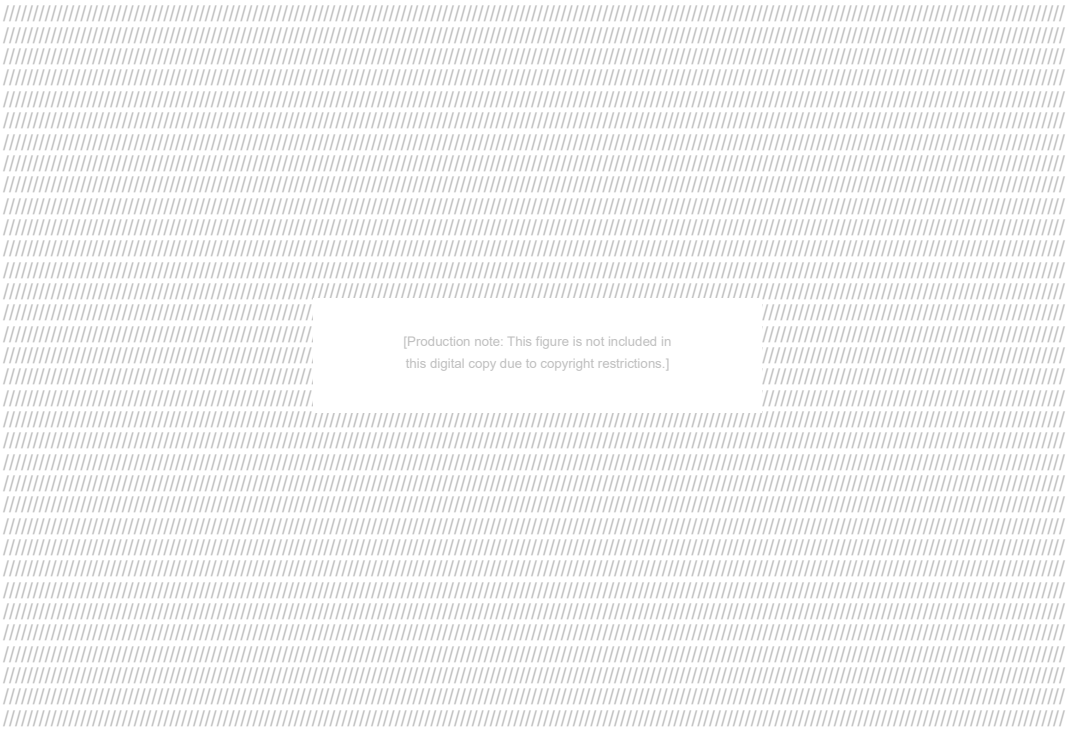


Figure 3.37: George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr, *[Aboriginal spears, boomerangs and implements]*, c.1865–75, photographic print: albumen silver, 12.4 x 20.3 cm, on mount, State Library of Victoria, H30158/29

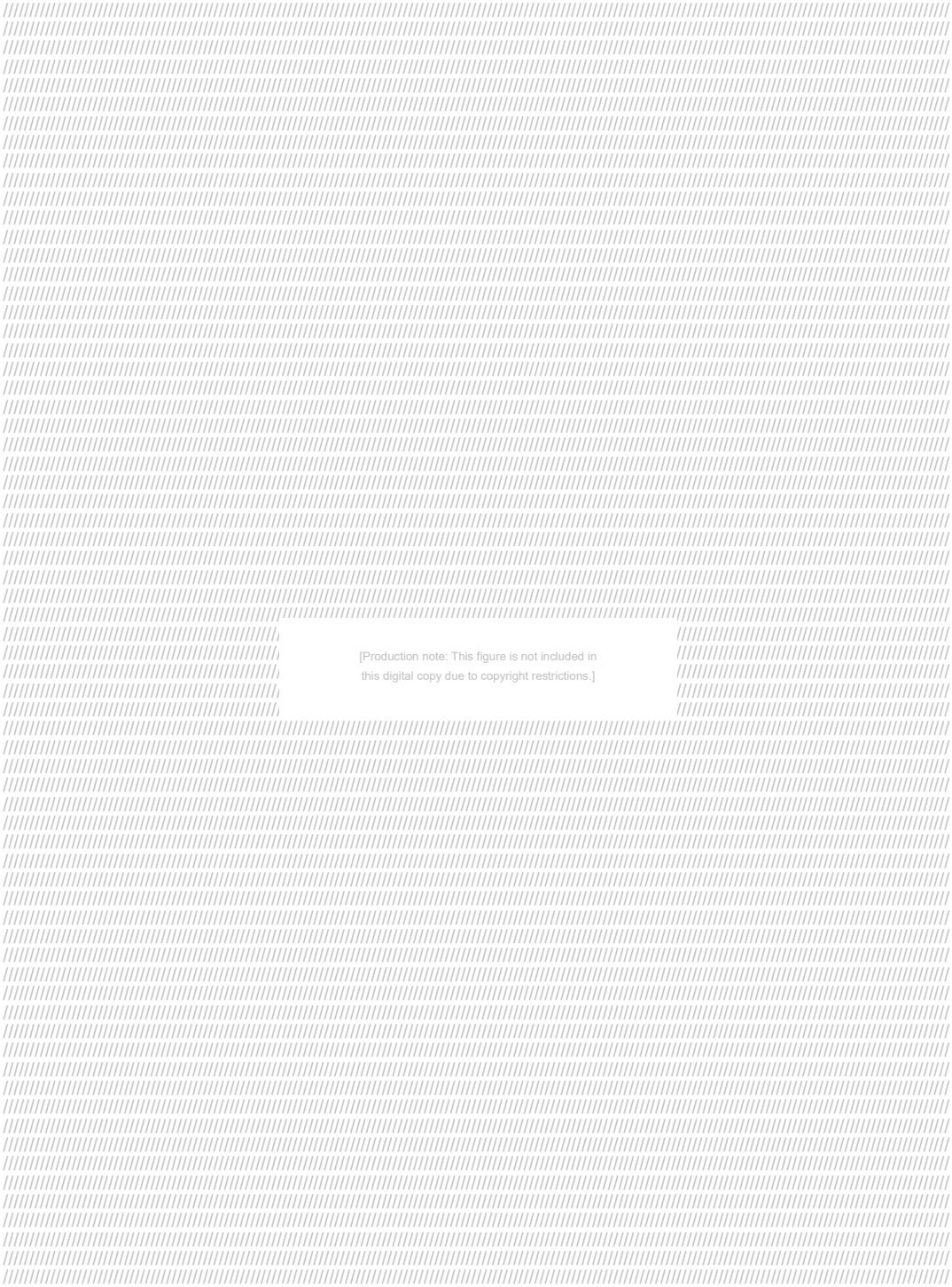


Figure 3.38: Fred Kruger, *Victorian Aboriginals' war implements, Coranderrk*, c.1877, albumen silver photograph, 27.2 x 19.9 cm (image), National Gallery of Victoria, PH226-1979

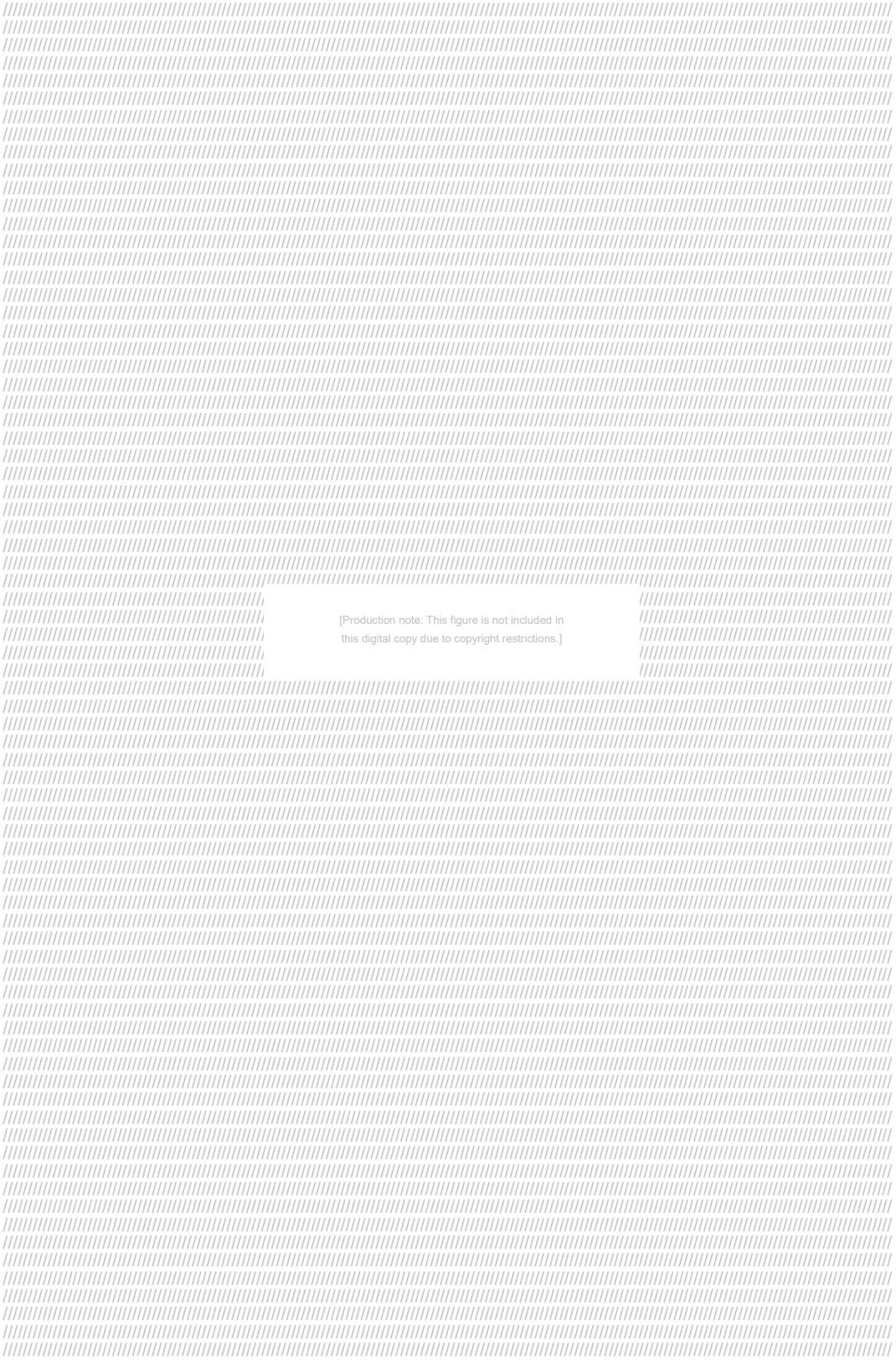


Figure 3.39: Fred Kruger, *War implements*, 1878?, albumen black-and-white photographic print, 12.5 x 8.2 cm, State Library of Victoria, H41139/2

3.3.3 Pictures by Aboriginal creators

Possum-skin cloaks also figure in artworks created by Aboriginal artists of the 19th century. Two of the most renowned creators are Tommy McRae and William Barak, and both their works show people in various circumstances wearing cloaks. The following two biographies come from the exhibition didactic labels (Jones 2015) for *Murruwaygu: following in the footsteps of our ancestors*, curated by Jonathan Jones and presented at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, over 2015–16:

> Tommy McRae (c.1835–1901) lived and worked on the central Murray River border between New South Wales and Victoria near the present-day towns of Corowa and Wahgunyah. It is understood that McRae's traditional name was Yackaduna, appearing on drawings held in the collection of the State Library of New South Wales, and that he belonged to the Kwat Kwat clan. McRae witnessed the dispossession of Wiradjuri and Yorta Yorta country through the impact of the 1880s gold rush and the development of the pastoral industry. McRae had a traditional upbringing. Adapting his knowledge of country, he gained a reputation as a stockman and worked throughout the region. He was a fiercely independent man and a renowned teetotaller. At Lake Moodemere he established a camp for his extended family where he generated an income selling chicken and fish, making shields, boomerangs and possum-skin cloaks, and from his pen-and-ink drawings. Despite his success, McRae, like most Aboriginal people of the time, was victim to the policies of the day and his children were taken away by the authorities. Working mainly with pen and ink in sketchbooks, McRae offers a rare insight into the dramatically changing world of the mid to late 1800s. Dominated by scenes of ceremony, fighting and hunting, McRae's images are reflective, recalling a past for future generations. Small lines are built up to create minimal works that are alive with movement, humour and detail. His silhouette style achieves a balance of positive and negative, which can be understood as an extension of his practice of creating carved objects such as parrying shields.
>
> William Barak (c.1824–1903) was a Wurundjeri man of the Woiwurrung nation, whose lands include present-day Melbourne. As a young boy he remembers the first incursion on Woiwurrung country. This took place in 1835 when John Batman of the Port Phillip Association claimed land via a so-called treaty with local clan leaders including Barak's father, Bebejern. After colonisation Barak was schooled at a mission school, and in 1844 he was recruited into the Native Police where he was given the name William. Barak, along with his cousin Simon Wonga, led the 1863 establishment of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station on the junction of the Yarra River and Badger Creek, near what's known today as Healesville in Woiwurrung country. Here, Barak assumed the role of Ngurungaeta (leader) of the community, started a family and fought relentlessly for the rights of his people. Barak worked closely with the amateur anthropologist Alfred William Howitt, who appropriated much of Barak's knowledge in his 1904 publication *The native tribes of south-east Australia*. Barak is best known for the paintings he made at Coranderrk from the 1880s onwards. His works engage a strong use of line, infilled with blocks of colour often from natural pigments. His paintings record the world he knew

> before invasion, where festive ceremonial scenes show a landscape crowded with his kin. Barak's figures are often clad in possum-skin cloaks, and both human and animal figures are adorned with distinctive designs and patterns, such as those seen on shields and other objects.

These two artists represent two sides of Aboriginal cloak-wearing. McRae's artworks, which often took the form of a series of drawings and paintings within a notebook, have been titled 'sketches of Aboriginal life' and 'Aboriginal family and nesting emus', for example. These images are complete with mothers and fathers and their children, showing family units within Aboriginal society. The adults are shown wearing cloaks in a range of activities, from ceremony and hunting or fishing to moving through country on foot and witnessing historical events such as William Buckley's escape. McRae's artworks are intricate line drawings, with the cloaks usually shown as a dark mass of lines, without the detail of decoration included. But people unmistakably wear possum-skin cloaks in McRae's depictions and cloaks can be understood as a part of everyday life.

Barak's paintings and drawings, on the other hand, show Aboriginal men and women engaged in ceremonies. Many figures within his compositions wear possum-skin cloaks, which are rendered in all their designed glory—depicted with the designed side out, showing dominant geometric shapes and forms. The cloaks become such a key feature of Barak's paintings that the object almost collapses the individuality of the cloak-wearer, so much so that people become designs, all within a network of similar and contrasting patterns, signifying distinct groups of people within the complex action of ceremony. In Barak's paintings the cloak becomes an extension of the wearer's body. His people almost become one with the cloak, its decoration a substitute for their own features.

Cloaks featured heavily in the lives of both artists. We know that McRae was making and selling possum-skin cloaks from his camp at Lake Moodemere ('A visit to the border' 1886, p. 3), and we know that Barak was surrounded by cloaks at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station; this is evident in the images by photographers Kruger (Figures 3.24 and 3.27) and Walter (Figures 3.34–3.36). What the work of both McRae and Barak does is reinforce just how ubiquitous the possum-skin cloak was in 19th-century south-east Australia, affirming that in Aboriginal societies the cloak has dual functions, as an everyday item and also for ceremony.

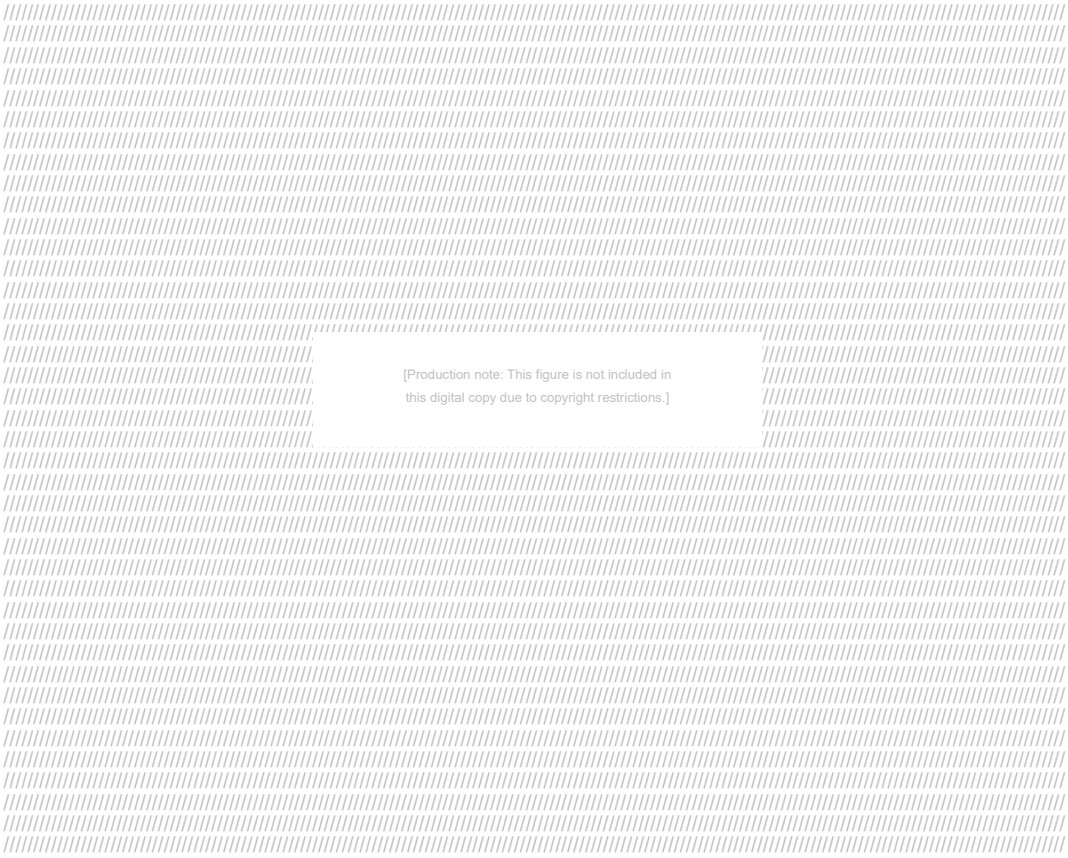


Figure 3.40: Tommy McRae (Aboriginal), *[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]*, 18—[1880s?], 1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink, 25.1 x 31.5 cm, State Library of Victoria, H89.185/18

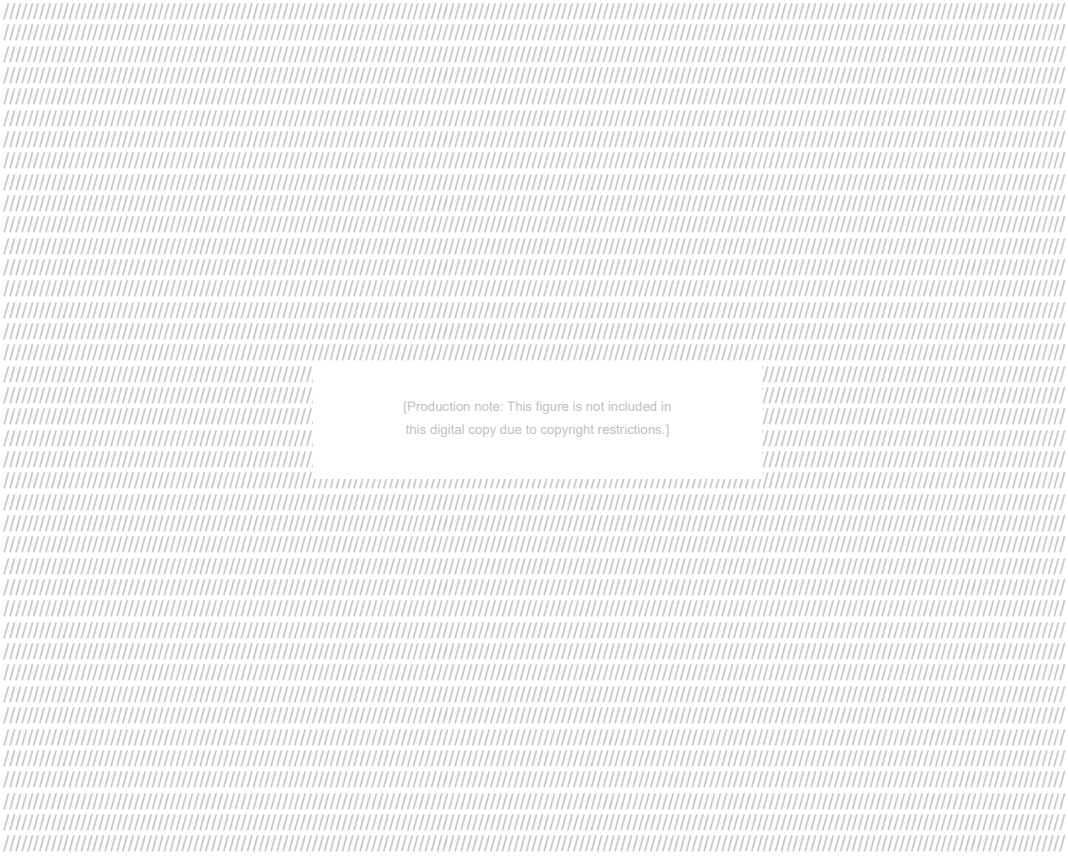


Figure 3.41: Tommy McRae (Aboriginal), *[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]*, 18—[1880s?], 1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink, 25.1 x 31.5 cm, State Library of Victoria, H89.185/19

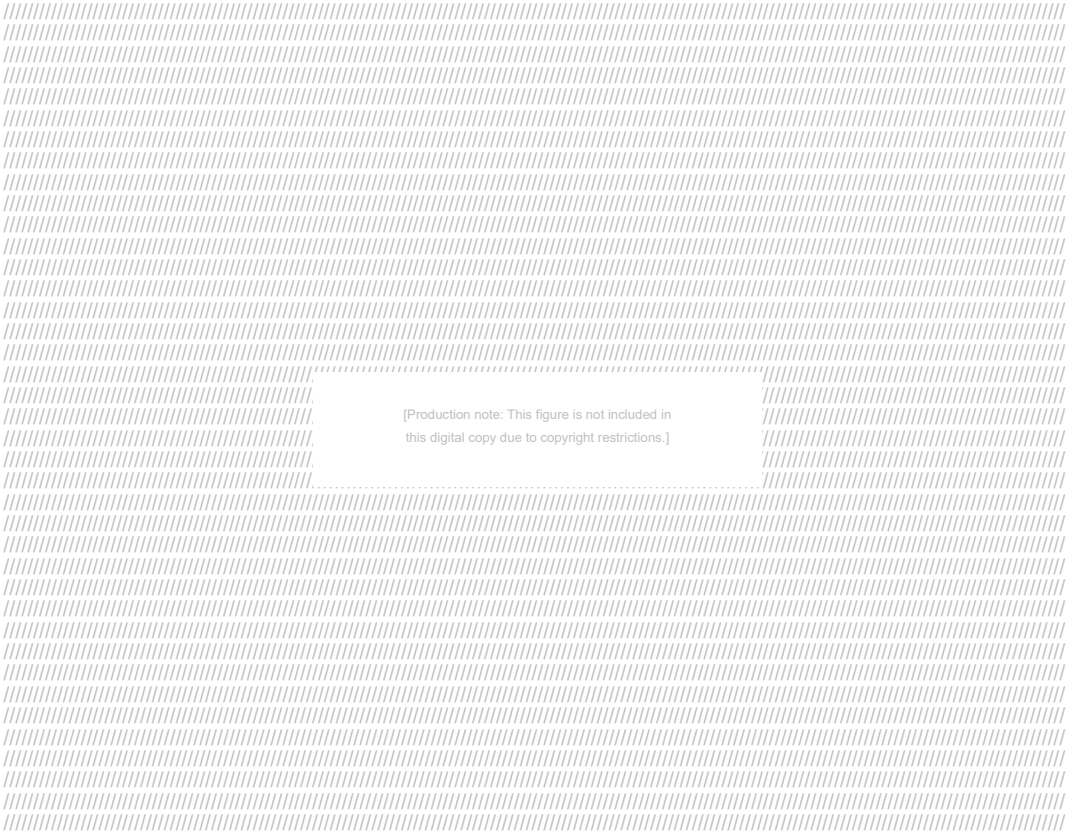


Figure 3.42: Tommy McRae (Aboriginal), *[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]*, 18—[1880s?], 1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink, 25.1 x 31.5 cm, State Library of Victoria, H89.185/3

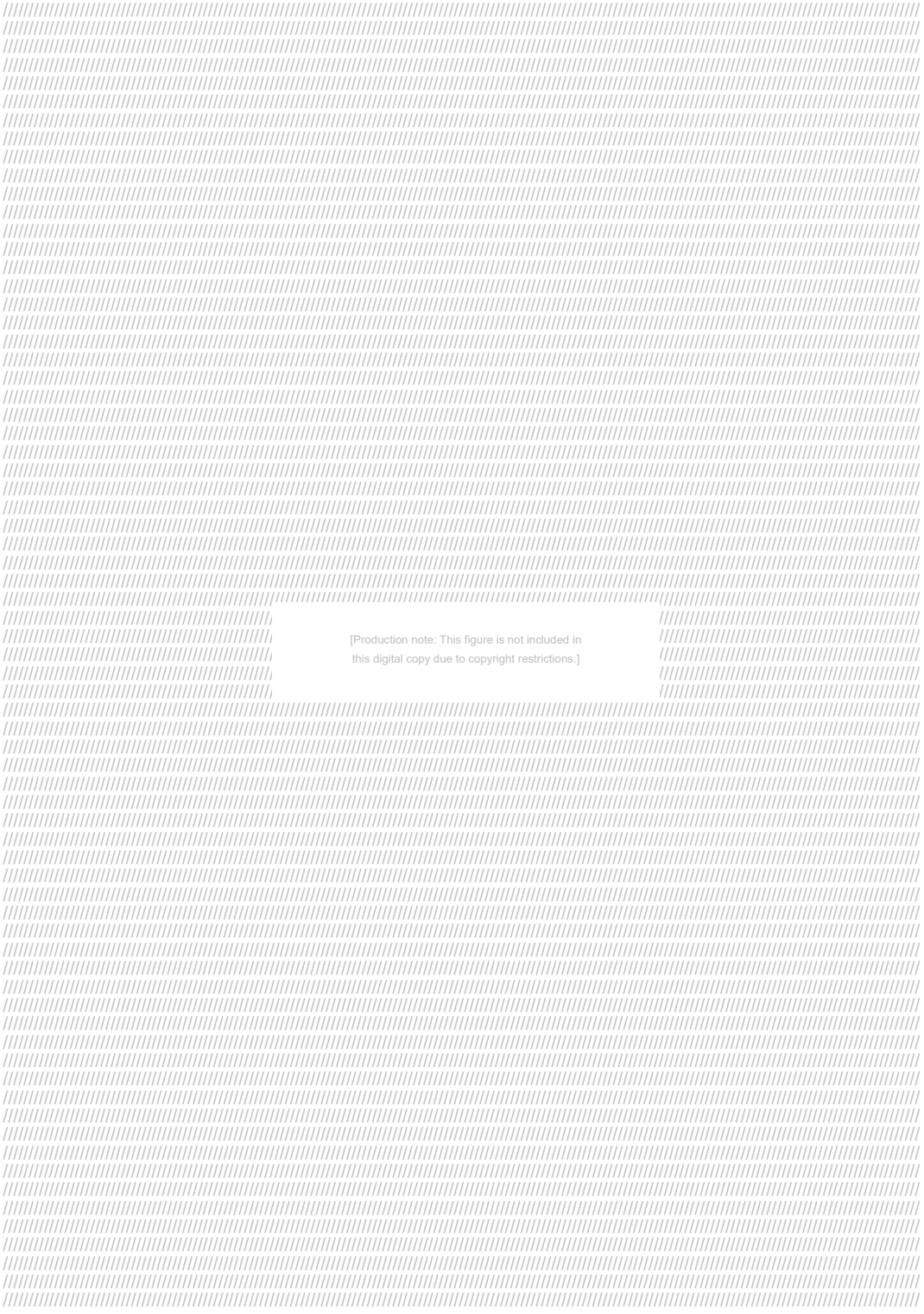


Figure 3.43: Tommy McRae (Aboriginal), *Aboriginal family and nesting emus, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria*, 1880, drawing: pen, ink, 18 x 12 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 3981 #R6219, nla.obj-139420192

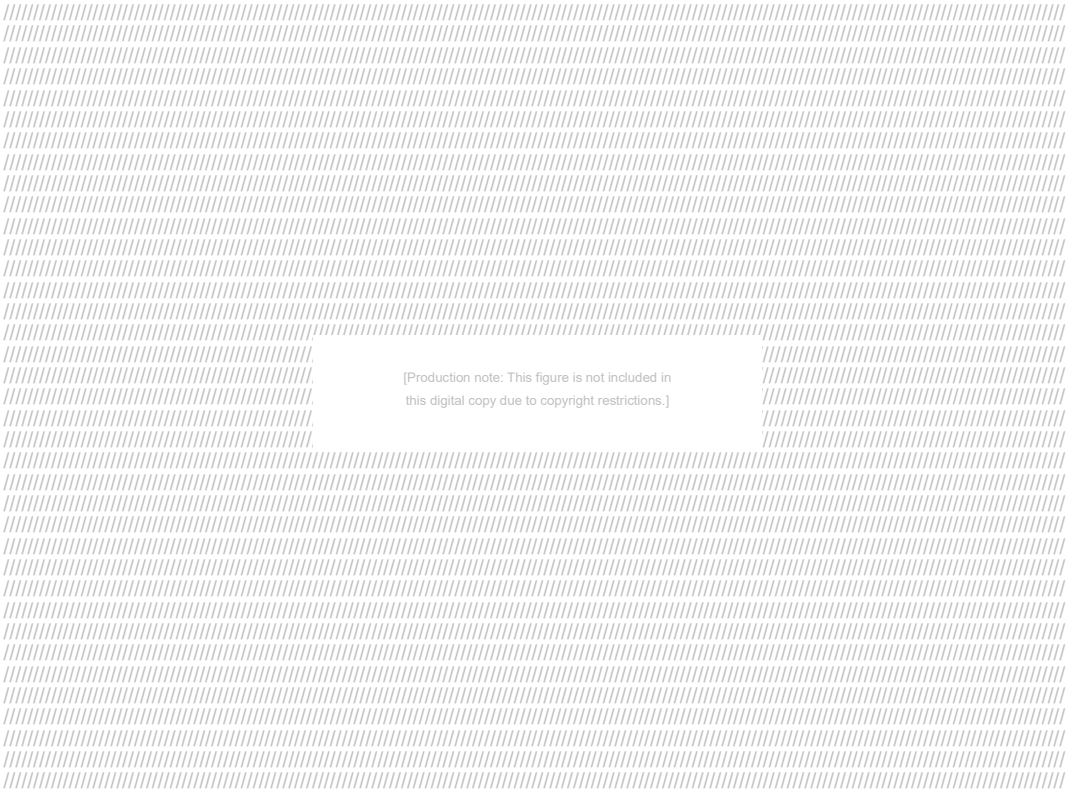


Figure 3.44: Tommy McRae (Aboriginal), *Aboriginal family hunting goanna, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria*, 1881, drawing: ink, black, 21.5 x 28.2 cm, National Library of Australia, PIC MSR 12/1/4 #PIC/15641/11, nla.obj-153003497

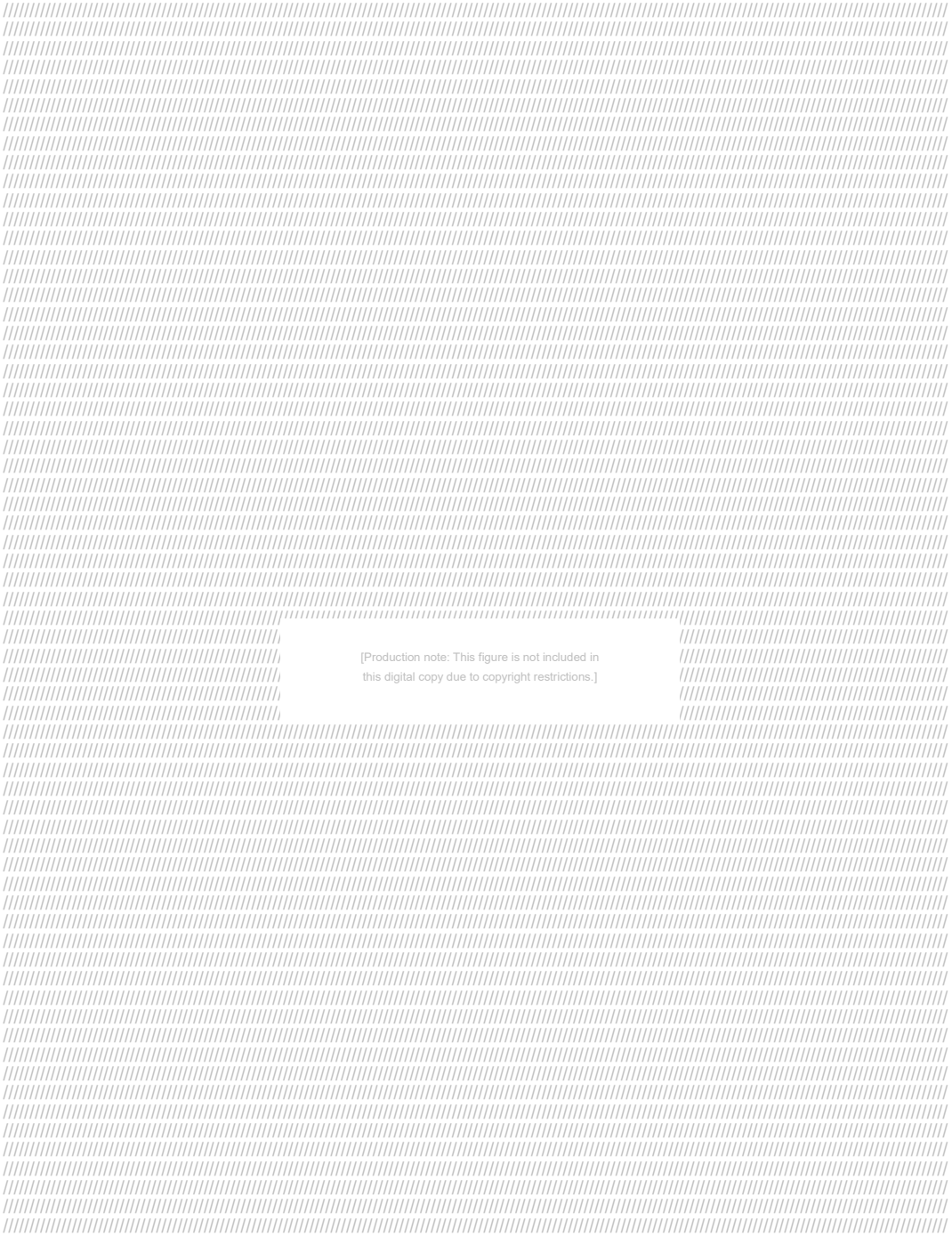


Figure 3.45: William Barak (Wurundjeri), *[Aboriginal ceremony]*, c.1880–90, brown ochre and charcoal on cardboard, 73.2 x 55.5 cm, State Library of Victoria, H29640

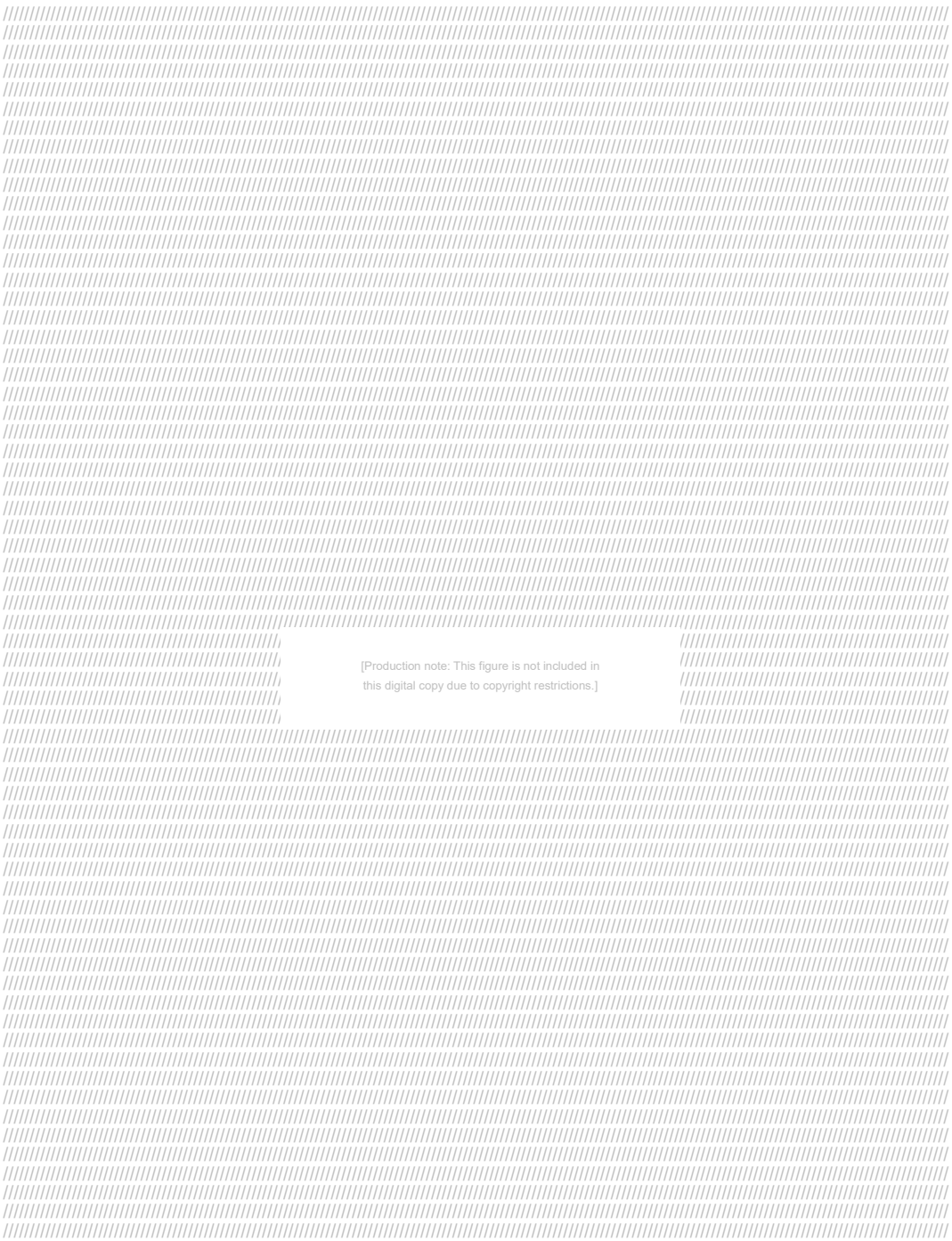


Figure 3.46: William Barak (Wurundjeri), *[Aboriginal ceremony, with wallaby and emu]*, c.1880–90, brown ochre and charcoal on cardboard, 73 x 56 cm, State Library of Victoria, H29641

3.4 Cloaks as gifts

In Aboriginal cultures, as in most cultures, a gift is not simply the presentation of an object, a one-way transaction; it is a way of bringing someone or a group of people into a relationship, possibly for mutual benefit, but at least for some benefit to the giver. In Aboriginal cultures gift-giving with strangers often accompanied the giving or exchanging of kinship names and the establishment of a framework of mutual responsibility based upon those names. Gift giving is a

way of making order, influencing outcomes and managing the world of human relationships. Gift-giving is a form of social agency. The exchanging of gifts or the unilateral presenting of gifts, and in particular high-value gifts, is an internationally understood practice that continues in the world of diplomacy to this day.

3.4.1 Case studies

The following four case studies show the way Aboriginal people were managing relationships across the changing social context of 19th-century south-east Australia. In these examples, cloaks are gifted to people of high standing and at important meetings: in Bathurst, Australia's first inland town, the 1815 gift of a possum-skin cloak by Wiradjuri people is undertaken to control the situation of Governor Lachlan Macquarie invading the Bathurst Plains; similarly, Wurundjeri gift John Batman a cloak during the alleged signing of the Batman Treaty in 1835, again over the purported negotiation of land; in Melbourne at the 1863 Governor's Levee, delegates from the Kulin nations gift a cloak and other items to raise awareness about the plight of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, which was at the time coming under increasing governmental restraints; and at Burragorang in 1874, the local Aboriginal community gifts a cloak to the Pope of the Catholic Church to show appreciation. In these case studies the gift of a possum-skin cloak is complex and multifaceted in intention and meaning; we can assume that people are trying to assert their society and culture while also adapting to a new context that has been imposed upon them. In all instances, the cloak is seen as a gift of high degree and is employed in these contexts for the dignity and power it symbolises.

3.4.1A Case study: Wiradjuri and Lachlan Macquarie in Bathurst

In 1815 during an inspection of the lands west of the Blue Mountains and at the newly established town of Bathurst, Lachlan Macquarie met with a number of Wiradjuri men wearing possum-skin cloaks. In his journal, Macquarie (cited in Elder 1988) recounted how three Wiradjuri men, possibly led by the Wiradjuri leader and later war leader Windradyne, visited him:

> They were all clothed with Mantles made of the skins of o'possums which were very neatly sewn together and the outside of the skins were carved in a remarkably neat manner. They appear to be very inoffensive and cleanly in their persons. (p. 51)

Macquarie recorded that gifts were exchanged: Macquarie presented Windradyne with a 'tomahawk' and 'piece of yellow cloth'; Windradyne in return presented Macquarie with a possum-skin cloak. Clearly the exchange of gifts and the intention by both parties to manage a situation to the benefit of each was understood. In this way, the possum-skin cloak presented to Macquarie, possibly by Windradyne, was no doubt intended to bring Macquarie into a relationship of respect and reciprocity with Windradyne and his people. The fact that a possum-skin cloak was the gift of choice in this important exchange between high-status individuals again speaks to the importance and symbolic value of possum-skin cloaks in Wiradjuri society.

The unfortunate fact is that this gift did not secure respect or peace for the Wiradjuri. Within years, the interests of the invaders had pushed Wiradjuri people to the brink and war ensued, resulting in the 1824 declaration of martial law by Governor Brisbane, which saw local pastoralists armed with guns and encouraged to kill local Wiradjuri. This was disastrous for the Wiradjuri, as was the next almost two centuries of dispossession, humiliation and utter control.

3.4.1B Case study: Wurundjeri and John Batman in Melbourne

Another significant historical example of possum-skin cloaks being used as gifts in a cross-cultural encounter was between Wurundjeri people and John Batman at Merri Creek (later to become the site of the city of Melbourne) on 6 June 1835. Batman (cited in Billot 1979), on the conclusion of their meeting (one at which he purported to have entered into a treaty securing himself vast tracts of land), wrote that

> the chiefs, to manifest their friendly feeling towards me, insisted upon my receiving from them two native cloaks and several baskets made by the women, and also some of the implements of defence. (p. 118)

It is culturally unlikely that the Wurundjeri believed themselves to be transferring 'ownership' of their country to another people. However, what is clear is that the engagement was viewed as one significant enough for the Wurundjeri to present possum-skin cloaks to Batman. Again, regardless of the falsity of the claim to treaty, the Wurundjeri were attempting to manage a relationship, to exercise some agency in a situation they no doubt would have preferred to have not found themselves in; again, it is significant that possum-skin cloaks are among the high-value items given.

Figure 3.47: John Wesley Burtt, *Batman's treaty with the Aborigines at Merri Creek, 6th June 1835*, c.1888, oil on canvas, 125.3 x 271.2 cm (sight), State Library of Victoria, H92.196

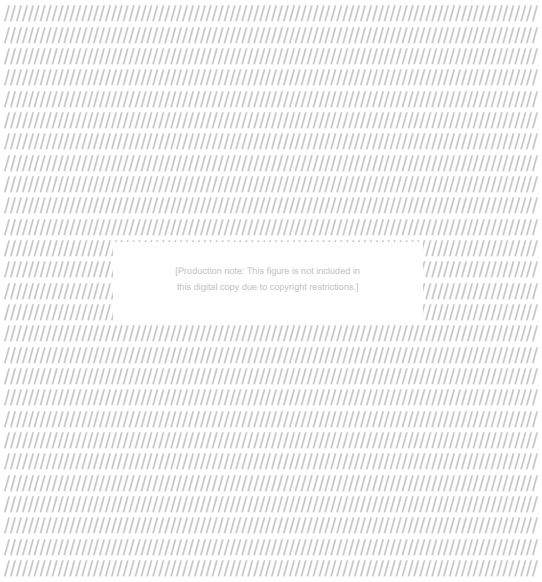


Figure 3.47 detail

3.4.1C Case study: Kulin nations and Queen Victoria in Melbourne

A further example of agency through possum skin cloak-giving can be found in the pictorial record (see Figure 3.48), when in 1863, and to mark the birthday of Queen Victoria and the marriage of her son, the Prince of Wales (Lydon 2005, p. 39), Aboriginal leaders from a number of Kulin nations, included among them a young William Barak, attended an event hosted by the Governor, wearing European clothes with their cloaks over the top:

> accompanied by chiefs of the Goulburn, Yarra, Western Port, and Gipps Land blacks, and several members of the respective tribes to the number of about 16, clothes in European costume, but wrapped in opossum rugs and carrying spears. (Lydon 2002, p. 83)

At this event the Aboriginal dignitaries gave possum-skin cloaks, among other gifts.

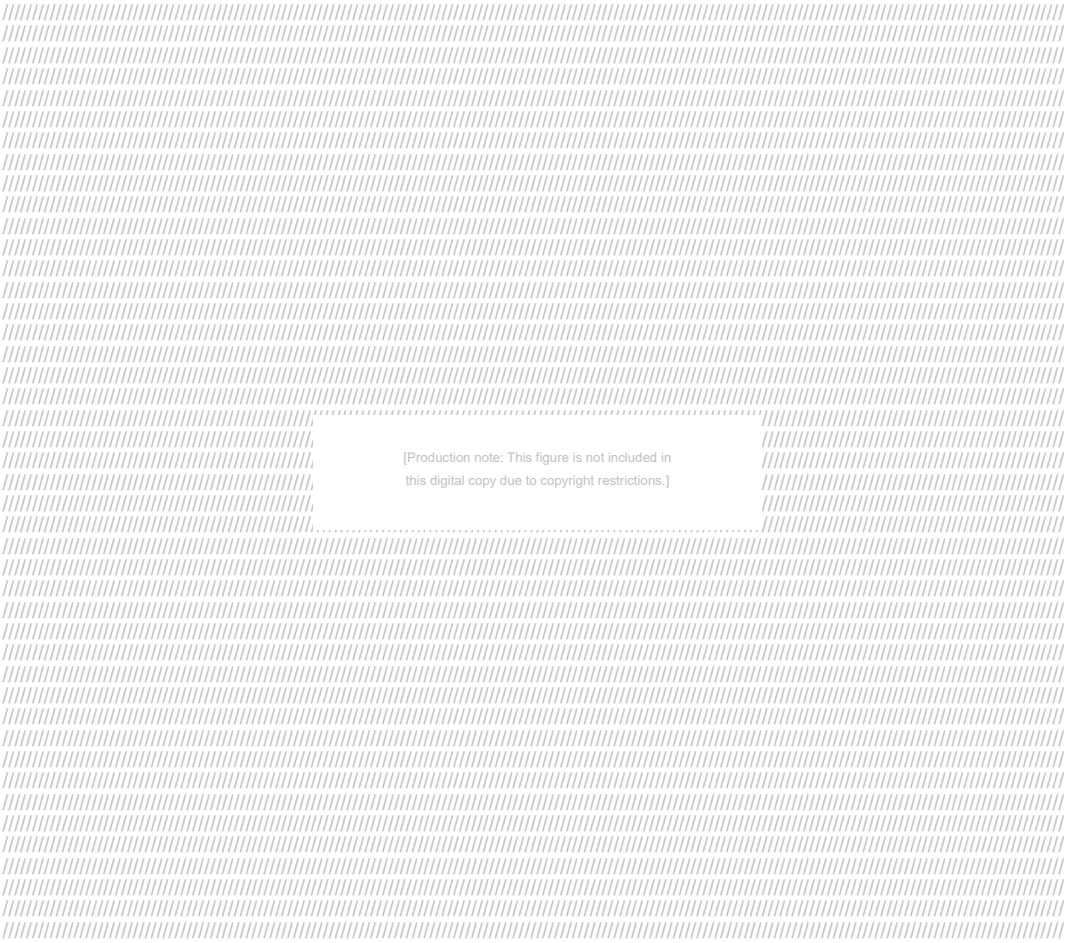


Figure 3.48: Samuel Calvert, *Deputation of Victorian Aborigines at the Governor's Levee*, 25 June 1863, wood engraving, State Library of Victoria, IMP05/07/62/8

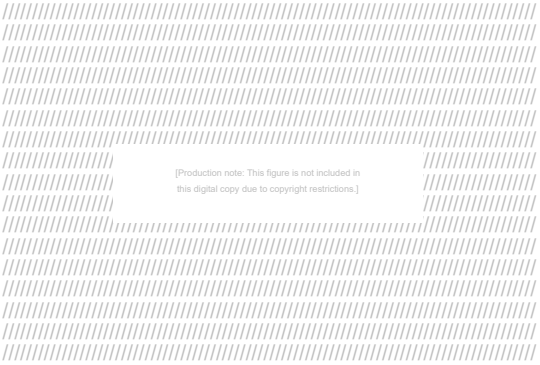


Figure 3.48 detail

Shirley Wiencke (1984) described the event:

> Barak remembered Barkly well, and believed him to be a special friend to the Aborigines. This view was held by the majority of natives who moved to settle at the new

> station, as they believed him to be entirely responsible for allocating the chosen site to them. After so many disappointments, the Goulburn and Yarra blacks were anxious to have the land officially approved so that they could move down and establish themselves on the new location. They understood that the Governor's consent was necessary before this official consent could be given, so they decided that they would walk down to Melbourne and talk about the matter with him in person. With this in mind they decided to attend the Governor's Public Levee on the 24th May 1863 which celebrated both the Queen's birthday and also the recent marriage of the Prince of Wales—an occasion for much celebration in the colony. Under the leadership of Simon Wonga, the men of the Yarra and Goulburn tribes walked to Melbourne to present baskets, weapons, and a crochet collar, together with an address in the Woiwurrung language, conveying their loyalty. They did as they planned, and spoke to their host, Sir Henry Barkly, about securing tenure of the land … The site was gazette on the 30th June 1863, and called Coranderrk at the Aborigines' suggestion. (p. 50)

3.4.1D Case study: Burragorang 'tribe' and the Pope, New South Wales

An article from the *Harp and Southern Cross* newspaper ('Opening of the Church of the Guardian Angel, Burragorang, by His Grace the Coadjutor Archbishop' 1874) detailed a visit of the Archbishop Vaughan to Burragorang to open a Catholic church. While there, the Archbishop is presented with a possum-skin cloak by an Aboriginal boy named John Riley:

> This deputation advanced with the chief bearing a large opossum cloak in his arms. Then came an intelligent aboriginal boy, named John Riley, dressed in the cassock and surplice of an altar boy, with an address in manuscript, which he read with great distinctness. The men of the tribe stood round. (p. 6)

Riley (cited in 'Opening of the Church of the Guardian Angel, Burragorang, by His Grace the Coadjutor Archbishop' 1874) is quoted as delivering the following speech at the event:

> Most Reverend Father,—We are your children everyone of us. We are the aboriginal, now Catholic tribe of Burragorang. We heard you were coming, and we prepared to welcome you, for we know you are our great father, the father of us and our priest, who taught us our religion. Some of us were baptised a long time ago; but many of us were not, and few of us knew our prayers or catechism. We could not learn, but our good father got schools for our little children and the little children taught us, and now we all know what is right and wrong, and our religion. That makes us very happy. Before we were Catholics we were very wicked, but we did not know the evil we were doing. We do not leave our valley often now, and we do not sell the blankets our good Queen gives us for drink as we once used to do. Our children are clothed, and many can read and write well. We still live in gunyahs, but we will build huts when we can get land to cultivate in our valley near the schools. We permit no strangers in our camp, and we say the rosary together, for we love to pray to God's Holy Mother.
>
> The white man took all our land from us, and he shoots our 'possums for eating his corn, but he [is] very kind to us, and gives our men work in fencing, and stockkeeping, and farming, and our women can wash, and sew, and fish. The white man signed a petition

> to Government to give us land. We were promised the land, but there is none fit for cultivation in our valley the Government could give us; and if we left our valley our hearts would break. Our priest told us you would be our father, and try and get us land fit for corn and potatoes. If you do we will never leave our valley, and will be sober and good.
>
> We heard you were told by the Holy Father, our Pope, to look after us. We know from our holy catechism that the Holy Father is the vicar of Jesus Christ. He is very good to think of us when no-one does. We heard bad men took away all he had. If we had money we would send it to him; but we have nothing but 'possums. We are making him a 'possum cloak to keep him warm, and we will give it to you to send it to him. We pray for him every day.
>
> We were always a small tribe; but the tribes over the mountains are gone, and we are more numerous than ever. God is very good to us since we became Christians. We used to fight with other tribes long ago—with the Shoalhaven and Illawarra tribes. Now we know that was wrong, and we wish they were all Christians and good.
>
> We heard your brother in England had compassion on the black men in a distant country and sent holy priests to teach them. We wish you would ask your brother for someone to teach our brothers how to be Catholics, and to be good and to be happy as we are.
>
> We made this 'possum cloak for you. Our old men killed the 'possums; our young men tanned their skins; our women sewed it; and letters were put upon it in the school by our children. We give it to you, and ask your blessing. (p. 6)

The article then described the Archbishop's response, which included the passage:

> And I accept your 'possum cloak with many thanks, and though I cannot promise to wear it today, I will make great use of it, for your sakes. And I will do something else that I am sure will give you pleasure. I will have this address, which I hold in my hand, translated into Italian, word for word, and I will send it to our Holy Father myself, and tell him all about you, and how much you love him and the holy Church of God. And may our Lord bless you all and your children, and make you happy and prosperous here and in the world to come. (p. 6)

Clearly in each of the above case studies Aboriginal people were attempting to influence non-Aboriginal people. They were attempting to introduce some element of personal agency in order to create a situation in which they might better survive, a colonial and oppressive situation they would prefer not to be in, but as they found themselves in the situation they chose to make use of one of their most powerful and impacting cultural objects, possum-skin cloaks. In choosing to present cloaks, there seems to have been an element of cultural continuity. This was not a practice that simply emerged as a response to the new colonial environment. However, the fact that Europeans were impressed by possum-skin cloaks was no doubt noted and contributed to the gift choice and therefore the continuity of the practice.

3.4.2 Possum-skin cloaks and power through dress

Apart from exercising agency through the giving of cloaks, it is also noteworthy that the practice of cloak-wearing was an element in the engagements mentioned above; engagements that have been, in either a direct or indirect way, deliberately captured by Europeans in literature and artworks.

Throughout human history we have communicated through personal decoration, adornment and dress. We communicate or signal identity in terms of our role and position in society, relationship to others, individual identity, collective and subgroup identities, our intent, profession, livelihood, wealth, gender, sexuality, conformity and non-conformity, and our values or worldview. We do this at varying times and to varying degrees consciously and subconsciously. National dress, uniforms and ceremonial regalia, religious vestments, and professional and trade codes are all part of the world in which we live. This form of visual communication, as with all communication, is in order to elicit a preferred and personally beneficial response, to exercise a degree of control over a situation. An excellent contemporary example of this is ‘dress politics’, the intention to dress to impress in order to communicate and therefore secure power. It is a form of theatre, a means of exercising agency.

Apart from the above case studies, wherein Aboriginal people present themselves wearing possum-skin cloaks, there are, as noted, even earlier and numerous accounts of Aboriginal people appearing to explorers and settlers wearing possum-skin cloaks. This may have just been practical and likely, given that possum-skin cloaks were a body covering in existence, being worn daily at times and for purely practical reasons. However, this doesn’t preclude the possibility that at times Aboriginal people may have deliberately presented themselves with a view to impress, and in so doing have some influence over the outcome of the meeting.

While this may have been a motive in Aboriginal people wearing cloaks at the Macquarie and Batman meetings, we can only speculate. However, in relation to the Governor’s Levee (see Figure 3.48), we see that the wearing of cloaks was a deliberate choice. Clearly, the men wearing the cloaks have first put on European clothing. They are, for practical purposes, covered and warm. Given that, they have then collectively decided to drape themselves in possum-skin cloaks, to decorate their hair with feathers and hold in their hands their traditional weapons. This may just be recognition of the ceremonial nature of the occasion, however it could also be a statement, an intention to impress the other powerful people in attendance, who obviously are themselves dressed for affect. There may well have been an intention to add to themselves external signifiers of dignity but also of difference. They have not chosen to present themselves in a European-only fashion, but to clearly state their difference.

In wearing cloaks, Aboriginal people were tapping into a pre-existing European cultural context in which capes, mantles and trains had a meaning, one of status, grandeur, dignity, power and beauty. Cloaks or draped items of apparel were seen as signifiers of status as early as Greek and Roman classical times, and have continued into our own times in the form of royal trains,

academic robes, mayoral robes, legal robes, fur stoles and capes. This abundance of material has always signified significant access to resources and a degree of impracticality of garment, hereby differentiating the wearer from the labouring classes. When Europeans saw Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks, they were impressed and their sense of impression would have been read by Aboriginal people, who no doubt responded in a personally and collectively beneficial way by appearing in cloaks.

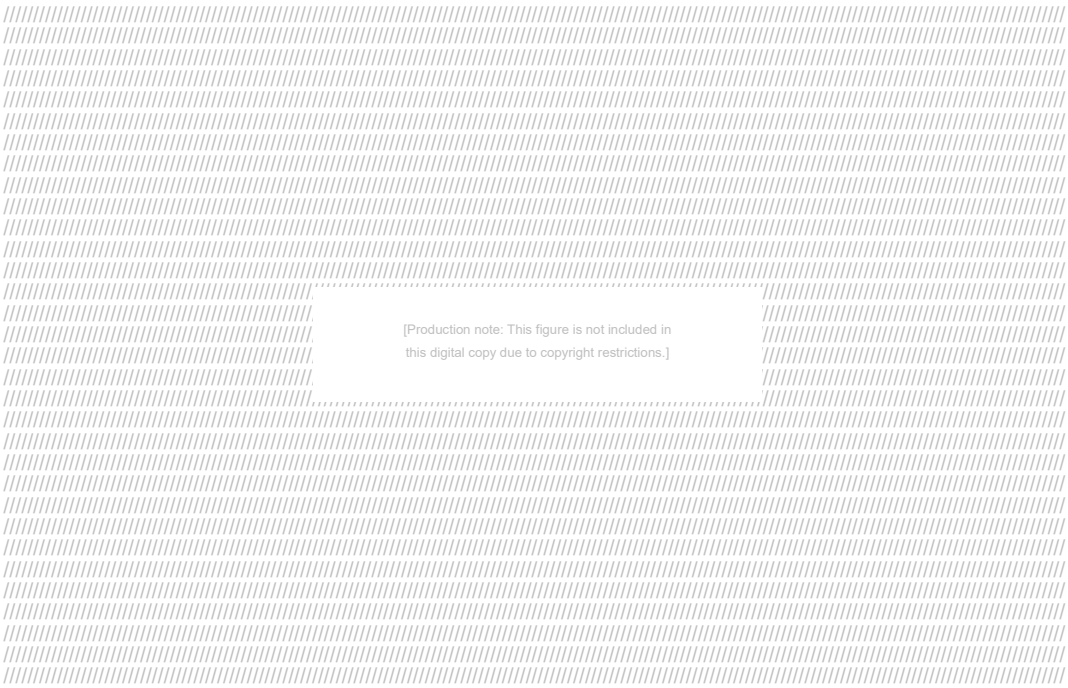


Figure 3.49: Frederick Woodhouse, *The first settlers discover Buckley*, 1861, oil on canvas, 62.5 x 95.5 cm, State Library of Victoria, H26103

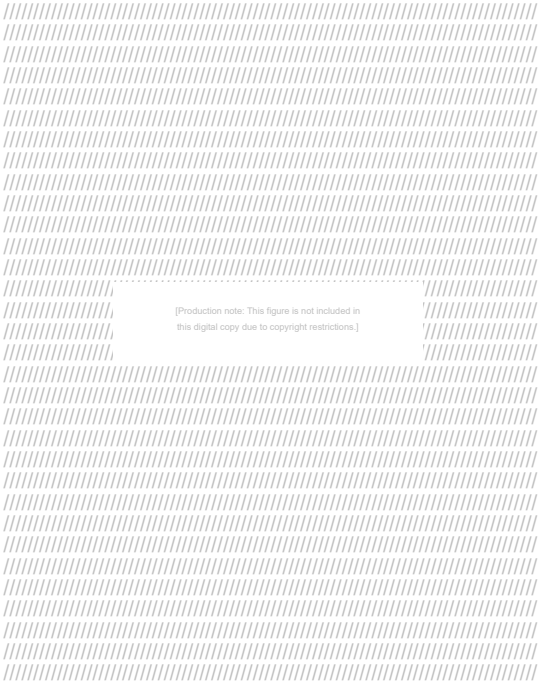


Figure 3.49 detail

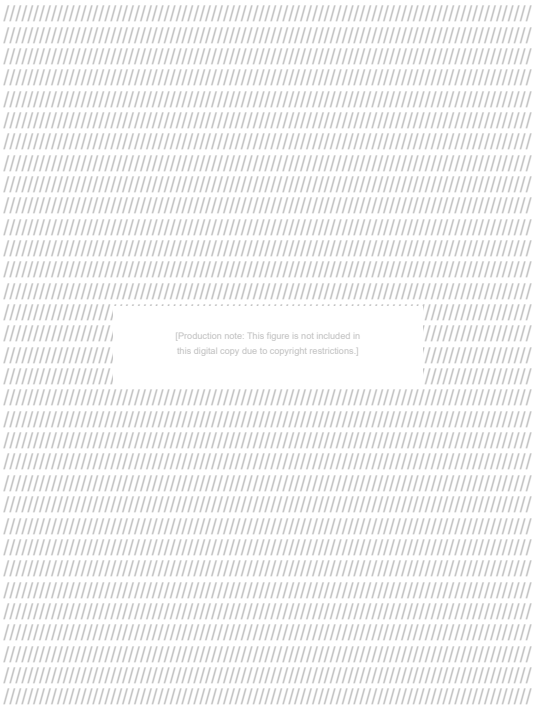


Figure 3.49 detail

An interesting figure through which to understand the power of dress is William Buckley (Figure 3.49). Buckley was an English convict who escaped from the short-lived British penal colony at present-day Sorrento in Victoria in December 1803. He lived for more than three decades on the coast of southern Victoria, surviving because of his friendship with Aboriginal people of the Wathaurong nation. Cahir (2005) describes how ‘exchange in Aboriginal societies involved

more than just economics' (para. 9), an argument evidenced in the example of Buckley. Buckley (cited in Cahir 2005) stated:

> That night there was another great Corroberree, with shakes of the hand, and congratulations at my return. When these ceremonies were over, I went with my new relations to their hut, where they regaled me with roots, and gum, and with opossum roasted after their fashion … They presented me also with an opossum-skin rug, for which I gave my new sister-in-law my old jacket in exchange … (para. 10)

Even from the early decades of the colony, Europeans understood where the cloak of the 'conquered' Aboriginal sat in the hierarchy of their power. As mentioned earlier, in social events in Sydney in the years 1844 and 1886 non-Aboriginal people are recorded wearing cloaks as 'fancy dress' to parties ('The Mayor's fancy dress ball' 1844, p. 603; 'The Jubilee Ball' 1886, p. 8). These examples support this argument.

3.5 Cloaks in trade

Apart from their nobility, possum-skin cloaks were also recognised and appreciated by Europeans on the frontier for their very practical life-sustaining and enhancing qualities of warmth and comfort. As such, cloaks became a much sought-after piece of the colonial kit. We are reminded here of bushmen on the frontier who were not only fascinated with the material but claimed the possum-skin cloak, or 'rug' as they termed it, as an essential item of frontier life. Alexander Harris (1961) declared that 'nothing on earth surpasses it' (pp. 129–130) and Samuel Rinder (1853, cited in Mendelawitz 2011) said how 'no bushman considers that he is fully equipped for travelling' without a good possum-skin rug (p. 209). It is clear that people on the frontier would have purchased these items from Aboriginal people. Erika Block (1987) references some examples of trade in the early records:

> Exchange with Europeans must have occurred quite frequently, for possum rugs were much sought after, yet remarkably few such transactions were described in the literature read. One of Leichhardt's men swapped his jacket for a rug, but later had to return the rug, receiving back his jacket. Macquarie procured a rug for some yellow cloth, in Brisbane, one could be got 'for a comparative song'. Bennett gave a piece of tobacco for the skin of a glider. The exchanges proved in some cases to be destructive—'Wherever you see them, they are crowding about the public-houses for spirits. They fish and hunt, make baskets and opossum-rugs, and sell their produce to the white men and drink it'. (p. 45)

There is also evidence in paintings and journal entries that Aboriginal people were actively involved in making and selling cloaks. This built on an existing system of trade within Aboriginal society, which saw people exchanging goods with other nations. As the frontier moved through the south-east in the 19th century, trade between Aboriginal cloak-makers and non-Aboriginal people working and living in Australia occurred; this can be divided into frontier trade, goldfields trade and tourist trade. In a *Smith's Weekly* article ('By the way' 1930) the unnamed writer recalled how common possum cloaks and rugs:

> Bush Rugs—Before the extensive trapping and poisoning set in, 'possum rugs were common in country homes, but few are seen now. Most of them were made by bushwomen, and others were purchased from blacks. The most highly prized rug was made of platypus skins, but they were not plentiful. The next best were made of the dark-figured and silver-grey 'possum skins, which were easily got. It was common to hear 'possums on the roof of the house at night, and to find them sleeping in the corners of sheds and barns in the daytime. Caps, muffs, coats, vests, and mats were also made of the skin. A handsome rug was made of the pelts of the black-and-white native cats, but only a few people took the trouble to make it, on account of the unpleasant smell of the little beast. The koala's skin, which has a denser fur than any other bush animal, was used only for mats and seats of chairs.—Willeroo. (p. 17)

3.5.1 Traditional trade

Trade took various forms within pre-contact Aboriginal societies in south-eastern Australia, encompassing marriage, payment for healing, and exchange between leaders of distinct clans. Howitt (1904/2001) described the following instances, which relate to various language groups and clans within the south-east:

> When a man ran off with the wife of another, the husband, accompanied by all the men at the camp, married and single, who were not related to her, pursued the fugitives. If caught, the man would be severely beaten by the pursuers, and the woman either speared, perhaps in the legs, or be given to the men who had followed her to be common to them for a time. It sometimes happened that such a case was made up by the man giving presents to the husband, such as opossum rugs, weapons, and other things as her equivalent. (p. 247)

> Mr Dawson further says that children were betrothed when just able to walk. The proposal was made by the father of the girl, and if the boy's father approved, he gave the girl a present of an opossum rug, showed her attentions, and gave her nice things to eat when he saw her at great meetings. (p. 251)

> It was not common for a man to have more than one wife, but Berak remembered one who had three, one who had four, and one who had six. In the latter case the man was a noted hunter of game, and men gave him their daughters because he could supply them with much food. It was the duty of a man to care for his wife's father, to give things to him, such as opossum rugs, and to provide him with game, which was under this practice called Ngul-lurp. (p. 256)

> Another medicine man had to use his art to send them to sleep. At the time of the Jeraeil which I mentioned a few pages back, this man was the renowned Bunjil-daua-ngun mentioned later on, and his proceeding was as follows. Being paid by the youth with weapons, opossum rugs, and other things, he stuck his magical spear-thrower into the ground, slanting towards the camp of the parents, and with such an inclination that after a time it fell down. (p. 276)

> The choice being thus made, presents were given to the new head by the other Headmen, who had collected things from their people, such as opossum or other skin rugs or weapons. (p. 305)

> Not only were these things bartered, but presents were made to friends and to the Headmen by the other men. The women also gave things to the wives of the Headmen. A Headman who was held in great esteem might have as many things given to him as he could well carry away. (p. 719)

As mentioned before, possum-skin cloaks play a central role in the paintings of Wurundjeri artist and leader William Barak. While these objects are not shown to specifically be traded in his paintings, there are often in his compositions clearly two different groups involved and possum-skin cloaks are ubiquitous. An article in the *Gilgandra Weekly* ('Victoria's stone-age factory: where Aborigines made their tomahawks' 1929) told how a relative of Barak's was engaged in the trade of possum-skin cloaks:

> Skins as payment—Business was done by exchange. Billi-billerie received word from a tribe that it required so many bits of diorite from the quarry and would give for them, say, possum-skin rugs. The message was followed by the customers themselves. They camped near the quarry, to take delivery of the goods, and handed over payment in kind. Square deals were the rule; old Billi-bellerie could not be bluffed; and, on his part, gave honest measure. But there were raids on the quarry. Blacks from a neighbouring tribe would come sneaking by night to the hill, and try to slip away with lumps of stone. Sometimes the thieves were caught red-handed. Then followed a fight. On lower slopes of the mount we found axe shapes, dropped perhaps by raiders in flight. (p. 8)

These examples show that trade of possum-skin cloaks was already an established practice for Aboriginal people in the south-east. It is therefore only natural that people would have transformed this practice after invasion within the context of the frontier and sold these items to European colonists.

3.5.2 Frontier trade

As evidenced in the examples included in the introduction to this section, it is clearly established that Aboriginal people were making and selling possum-skin cloaks to European colonists on the frontier, as this *Queenslander* newspaper article shows ('Opossum rugs' 1895):

> Those who remember Brisbane in the early days will recall the fact that many a fine warm rug could be bought for a comparative song, with the skins well-cured and sewn together with sinews. We know of instances in which these native rugs have been hunted for by interested collectors who desired to send them home to England and Germany. (pp. 69–70)

Perhaps the most high-profile possum skin cloak-maker and trader is the famous south-east Aboriginal artist Tommy McRae, who is discussed earlier in this chapter and elsewhere in this research. McRae is recorded as having made possum-skin cloaks from his home at Lake

Moodemere, and selling these to local non-Aboriginal people 'settling' in the area. An anonymous writer reported the following in *The Corowa Free Press* ('A visit to the border' 1886):

> It is said, however, that Tommy is not over-scrupulous as to how he makes money as long as he gets it. He raises poultry, spears the Murray cod, and manufactures possum rugs; nor is he above accepting white money without working for it, while Lilly can beg admirably when visiting the townships, the clothing of herself and piccaninnies being thus obtained. (p. 3)

Other accounts of Aboriginal people making and selling cloaks abound in Australian colonial literature. Newland (1897) told of Joe, 'a splendid tree-climber' who occupied his time 'in 'possum-hunting, making rugs of their skins' (p. 35). Newland continued: 'he prepared [these skins] in such a skilful manner that his rugs found a ready sale at high prices among the squatters and others with money' (p. 35). In an article in *The Albany Mail and King George's Sound Advertiser* ('The Contributor, through Western Australia: Albany' 1886) the writer described how:

> I had not gone far before I came upon a quaint old fellow perched upon a store doorstep, waiting to dispose of a lot of curios in the shape of 'possum rugs, emu eggs and legs, spears, &c., which were deposited on a fence close at hand. Seeing a chance of a customer, he asked if I wouldn't buy, and I was soon the proud possessor of a 'possum rug and a pair of emu legs, which were destined to be made into stands for lamps when I returned to my native land. (p. 3)

Another article written about Albany, Western Australia, in the *Western Mail* revealed a similar type of trade. Thomson (1910) described the 'quiet little town' of Albany 'waking up when the mail steamers put in an appearance' (p. 43). When this happened, the 'natives sold 'possum skins, rugs, boomerangs, woomeras, and shells to passengers, who soon exhausted the sights of the town and returned on board' (p. 43).

Back in the south-east, Honorary Correspondent for the Aborigines in the Ballarat District Andrew Porteous (1866, cited in Sovereign Hill Museum & Cahir 2015) said of the district:

> The tribe still continue to make possum rugs, and if steady, might make a good living by it, as they generally get 20 shillings to 30 shillings for each rug, which they can make in 14 days. The women also employ themselves in making baskets and nets, which they sell to the European. They sometimes offer fish for sale, with the proceeds of which they supply themselves with rations, and sometimes with clothes, such as hats, handkerchiefs and some of them with boots… they have been travelling amongst the stations, only a few calling for rations… they still fish when fish can be got, and hunt the opossum, and make rugs of the skins. (para. 3)

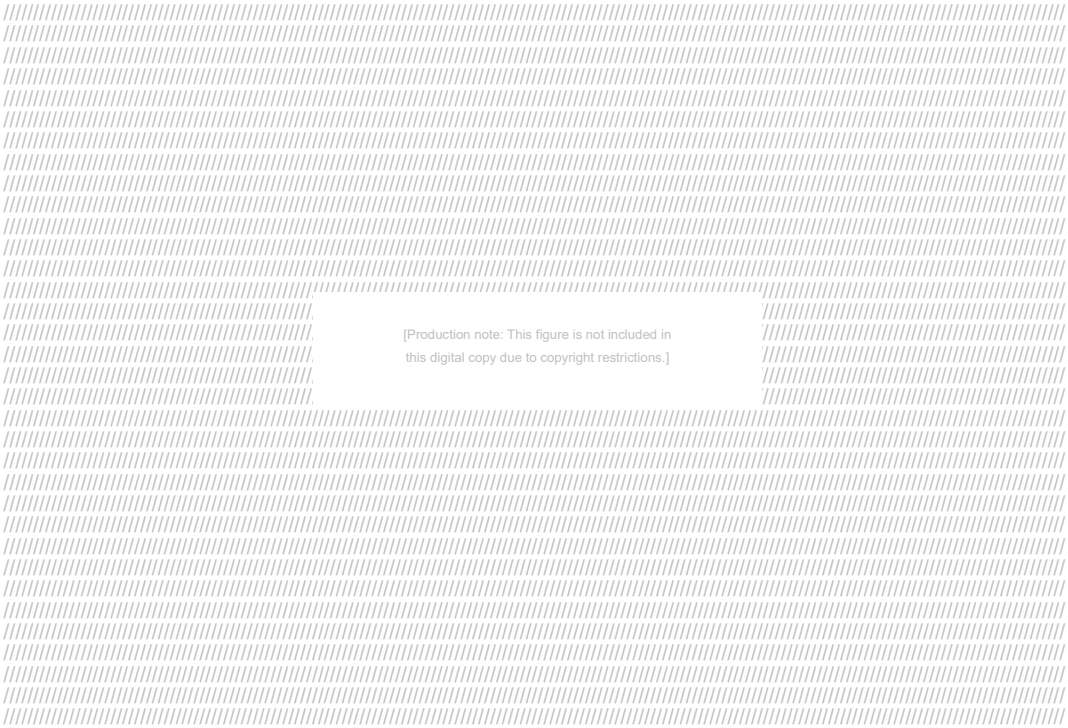


Figure 3.50: Charles Hill, *The Bargain*, c.1888, oil on canvas, National Trust of South Australia, AH 735

These written examples are best illustrated in the 1888 painting *The Bargain* by English artist Charles Hill in the collection of the National Trust of South Australia (Figure 3.50). Two things are happening in the scene of this painting. This work records an exchange, wherein the European party is valuing the cloak and the Aboriginal party is engaging in commerce around the cloak. Furthermore, this artwork has been produced by a painter with a view to a commercial gain, confirming the commercial value of the image of cloaks and of cloaks themselves; confirming European admiration of, economic engagement with and benefit derived from engagement with cloaks. The image is also used in such a way as to demonstrate a power relationship between the European woman and the Aboriginal men. There is a suggested hierarchy in the painting.

From these examples it is clear that a market existed on the frontier, across the country, for possum-skin cloaks made by Aboriginal people to be worn by European colonists. The cloaks were prized for not only their functional use and durability but for their beauty and design.

3.5.3 Goldfields trade

This cross-cultural market, wherein Aboriginal makers sold possum-skin cloaks to non-Aboriginal customers, reaches its peak during the gold rush in the mid-to-late 19th century. The painting *Aborigines met on the road to the diggings* by Eugene von Guérard (Figure 3.51) shows a goldminer stopped on the track to the goldfields, bartering over a cloak with an Aboriginal family.

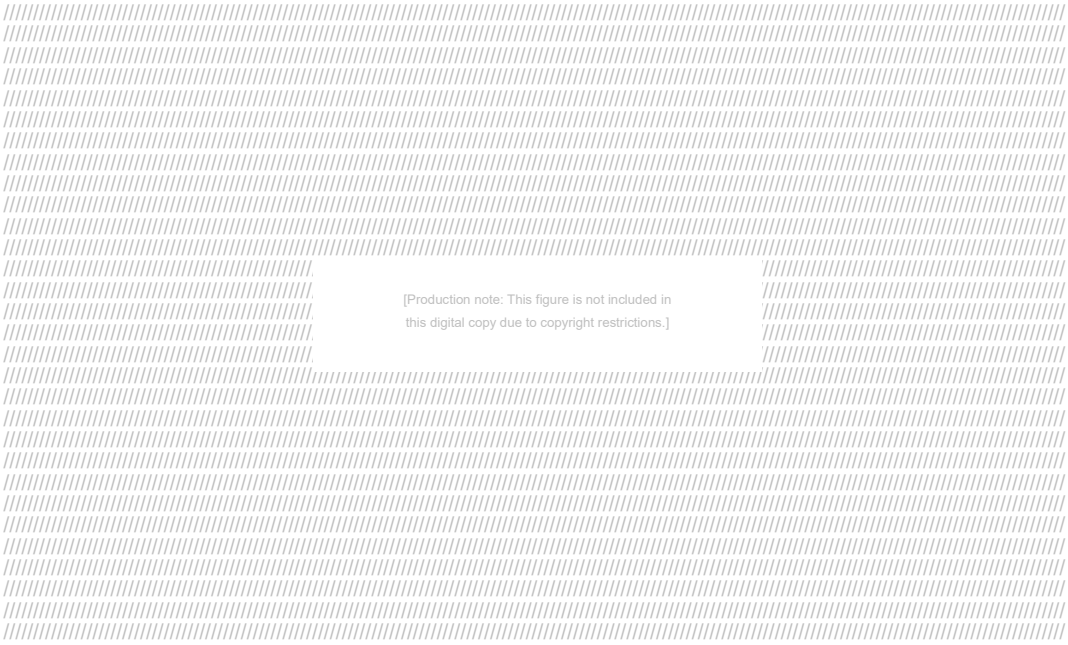


Figure 3.51: Eugene von Guérard, *Aborigines met on the road to the diggings*, 1854, oil on canvas, 46 x 75.5 cm, Geelong Gallery

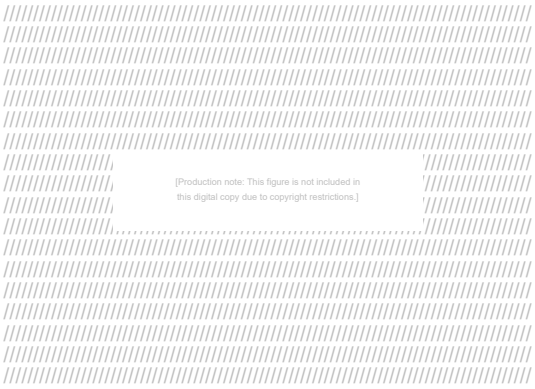


Figure 3.51 detail

Fred Cahir (2005, 2012) has researched interactions such as this extensively, and has found much evidence for the engagement of Aboriginal people in the goldfields markets. In *Black Gold*, Cahir (2012) explains:

> Similarly, the Aboriginal skills of possum skin rug-making were readily employed by miners. Whilst many 'diggers were very fond' of hunting possums and 'making beautiful rugs of them, by sewing their skins together', miners and others more commonly accepted that Aboriginal people were more adept at the trade and thus engaged in what Edward Tame described as a 'good item of commerce'. Samuel Clutterbuck, a miner at Mount Alexander, described in some detail his trade in 'opossum skins for a rug' stressing that 'The present of skins was accompanied by the usual application of 'Give it flour, Bit bacci powder, lead, shot &c. &c.'. A.B. Pierce also extolled Aboriginal peoples' manufacturing skills, noting 'they are very adept in curing skins perfectly' which are

> ‘taken into the townships for sale’. A number of miners were tutored by Aboriginal people in the method of possum-skin rug manufacture. (pp. 71–72)

Cahir (2012) goes on to describe the cloak’s appeal to miners:

> It is not difficult to determine why non-Indigenous miners sought to purchase the Aboriginal-made rugs. Miners considered that one rug – imparted as much warmth as a dozen blankets. The importance of possum-skin rugs for the miners is exemplified when in 1865 a miner in the Carngham district, Henry Davies, sought to get the local Guardian of Aborigines to ‘get an opossum rug made for him, to take home to the old country, to show what the pioneers of the goldfields frequently used to sleep in. An Aboriginal couple was engaged to make a rug that they completed in four days and were paid 30 shillings’. (p. 73)

Another source supports the evidence of Aboriginal people trading cloaks on the goldfields. In his memoirs, miner G.H. Wathen, cited in the website *Gold! Opportunities for Aborigines* (Victorian Cultural Collaboration n.d.), spoke highly of an opossum rug he had purchased:

> I was soon asleep on the ground, by the fire, under an over-bowering banksia, wrapped in the warm folds of my opossum rug. For a night bivouac, there is nothing comparable to the opossum rug; and it is perhaps the only good thing the white man has borrowed from the blacks. (para. 5)

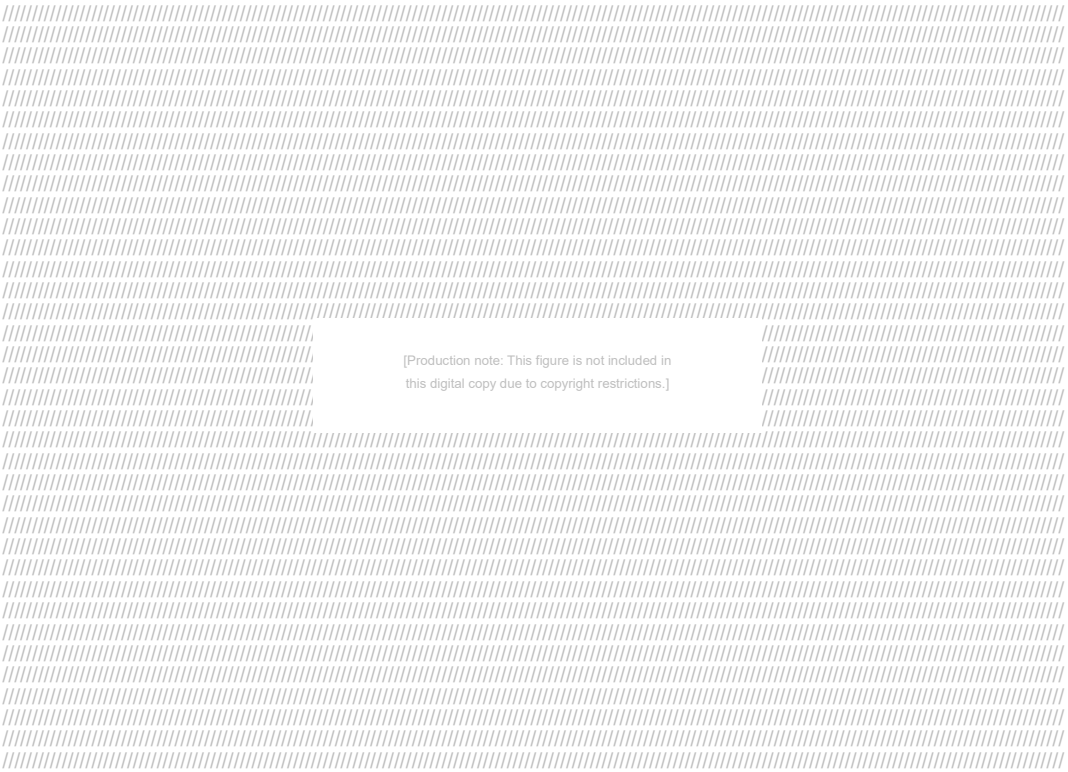


Figure 3.52: American & Australasian Photographic Company, *Miner’s camp, Hill End*, 1870–75, glass photonegative, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, ON 4 Box 8 No 18765

The reliance of gold miners on the possum-skin cloak for warmth and security is evidenced in this 1870–75 photograph taken by the American & Australasian Photographic Company, wherein four miners are arranged outside their temporary dwellings (Figure 3.52). All stare directly into the camera, clad in just their daytime work clothes. One man, the second from the left, has chosen to drape himself in his possum-skin cloak, obviously proud of his purchase and showing off his prized possession, which keeps him warm and comfortable on cold nights in Hill End, New South Wales.

But Aboriginal people were not only making money from the sale of possum-skin rugs on the frontier. They were also engaged in other work on the goldfields. As James Nisbet (cited in Sovereign Hill Museum & Cahir 2015), told, he met a group of six or so people in Ballarat who were sometimes 'employed by the diggers in remote gullies to strip trees of their bark for a hut' (para. 5). For this they were paid either 'a little bread or a English shilling' (para. 5).

3.5.4 Tourist trade

Trade of possum-skin cloaks transforms at the end of the gold rush, when the land is cleared and European colonists starting 'settling' the areas. In the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th century, before restrictions on hunting possums are enacted, trade of cloaks is done within a tourism framework.

At Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, a few hours north-west of Melbourne by horse and buggy, many people visited at the weekend to tour the area and see demonstrations of Aboriginal practices. Aboriginal people living at Coranderrk were engaged in making and selling possum-skin cloaks, as described by both Massola (1975) and Wiencke (1984). Massola (1975) quotes the 1888 *Travel guide Coranderrk*, which described the station and its attractions to tourists:

> Noticeable on the right hand, about a mile or so from the Yarra, is the entrance gate to the Coranderrk Station, for the remnant of aboriginals still existing. It is a large reserve of over 4000 acres, and during the long regime of Mr Green, that gentleman introduced hop-growing as one of the industries of the place, and fairly tested the district for the growth of that crop. The place is now presided over by Mr Shaw, who seems to have secured the goodwill of the unfortunate people, who are fast being thinned by age and disease. A good deal of work is got though at times, the women being expert with the needle, and skilled in the manipulation, from indigenous vegetation, of basketware, nets, and other articles of an ornamental or useful nature. Visitors wishing to take away mementos of their trip may purchase many articles of great interest as exhibiting the skill and patience of their fabricators. Opossum rugs and fancy mats of wallaby and bear skins are also to be purchased by those desiring such. (p. 56)

Wiencke (1984) reveals how 'some natives' from Coranderrk 'brought skins to Melbourne to sell' (p. 42), which implies that people were catching possums on the station, drying and treating the skins, and preparing them for an established market of non-Aboriginal possum-skin rug production in the city. Wiencke goes on to describe how:

> Four months after their arrival at Coranderrk, Green reported that the natives had nearly finished nine bark huts. 'In the course of one week or so they will all be living in huts instead of their Willams; they have also, during that time, made as many rugs, which has enabled them to buy boots, hats, coats, etc., and some of them has even bought horses'. (p. 52)

Wiencke (1984) continues:

> The Board ruled that all able-bodied men must support themselves and their families, and that basic supplies were to be given only to the sick, aged and orphaned children. Encouraged by Green the people worked in a variety of ways to earn a private income. Rugs made from wallaby and opossum skins had a ready sale at 20 to 35 shillings in 1865. These and other traditional manufactures—nets, bags, baskets and weapons helped to earn extra money. (p. 60)

In his research *'A peep at the Blacks'*, Clark (2015) explains how

> Coranderrk's proximity to Melbourne privileged its positions in Victoria in terms of the focus of visitor attention—this was especially the case in the early 20th century when Melbourne was Australia's capital city. (p. 5)

While both these examples come from Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, previous quotes and images can be understood within this same framework of tourist trade, which would have happened across the country. Coranderrk is a generous example from an archival and research perspective, as much about the station exists in writing and documentary photography. From these examples, which speak to a broader trend of 'mission tourism' (Clark 2015, p. 1), we can understand that Aboriginal people were engaged in making possum-skin cloaks for a non-Aboriginal tourist market.

3.6 19th-century cloaks as collected objects

The high value that Europeans placed on possum-skin cloaks is also evidenced in the collection and institutionalisation of these objects. Several 19th-century cloaks were collected by public institutions, presumably with the intention to preserve these objects out of respect for their artistic value and what they symbolised at the time, or for what they were understood to symbolise.

The following list is a selection of heritage cloaks and fragments of cloaks that are known to exist in public collections. In addition to these objects, there are skins of kangaroo, rabbit and possum in other collections that may be considered parts of rugs or cloaks; these objects are not included in this list as they do not exemplify the cloaks this thesis covers.

The following heritage cloaks are arranged chronologically according to the dates recorded in the relevant collection notes.

3.6.1 Smithsonian Museum

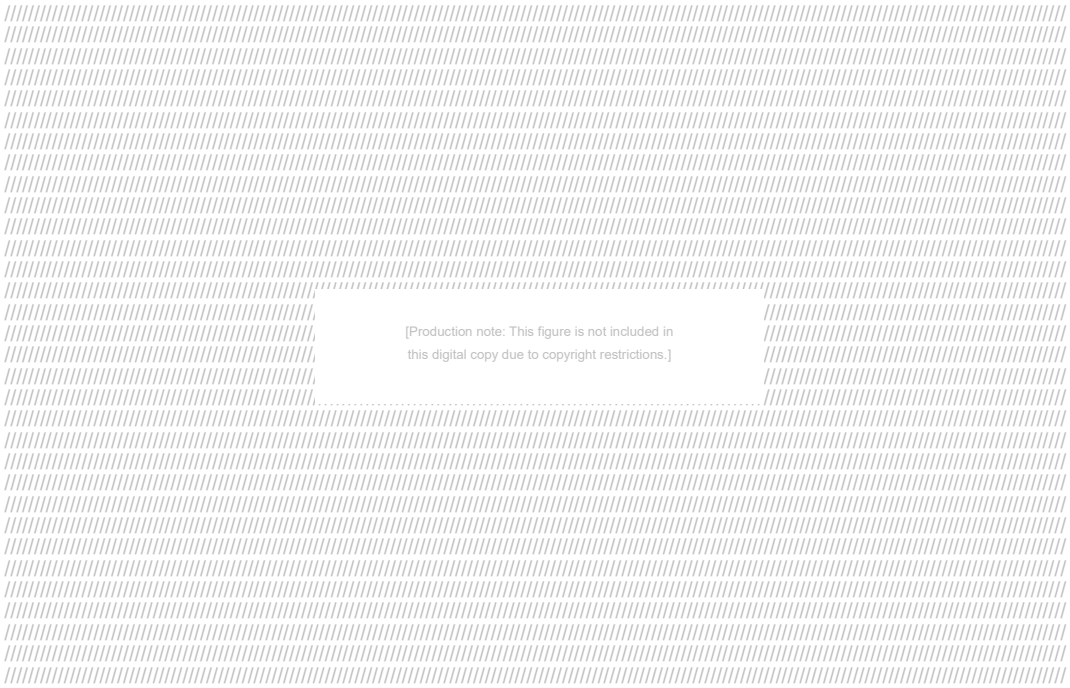


Figure 3.53: *Possum-skin cloak* from Hunter River, NSW (attributed), 1839–40, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, E5803, sourced <https://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/>

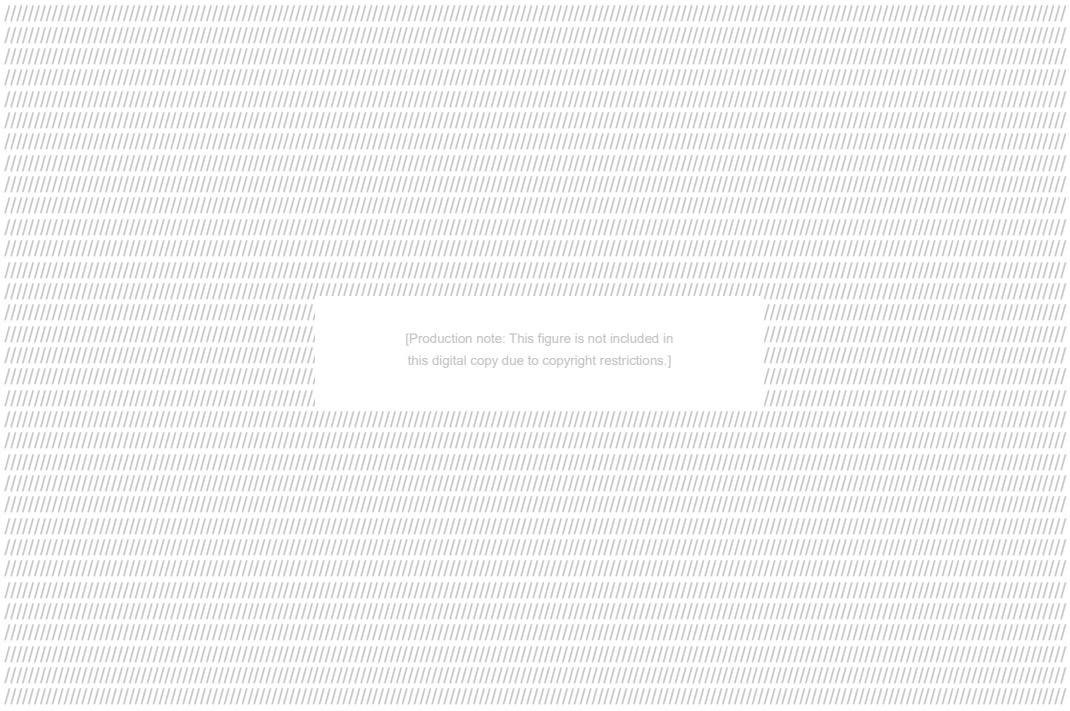


Figure 3.54: *Possum-skin cloak* from Hunter River, NSW (attributed), 1839–40, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, E5803, sourced <https://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/>

Object description: Possum-skin cloak; it features 22.25 skins of the brush-tailed opossum and one skin on one side that appears to be the great grey kangaroo; the skins are laid out in four rows of six skins each and sewn on the back with cotton cord; the backside of the skins completely covered with large diamond shaped designs made by scraping up a thin layer of the skin; identifications were made by Dr David Johnson, Div. of Mammalogy on 28 June 1962

Region: N. Holland, Australia, near Sydney

Date: 1839–40

Medium: Brush-tailed opossum skins and great grey kangaroo skin

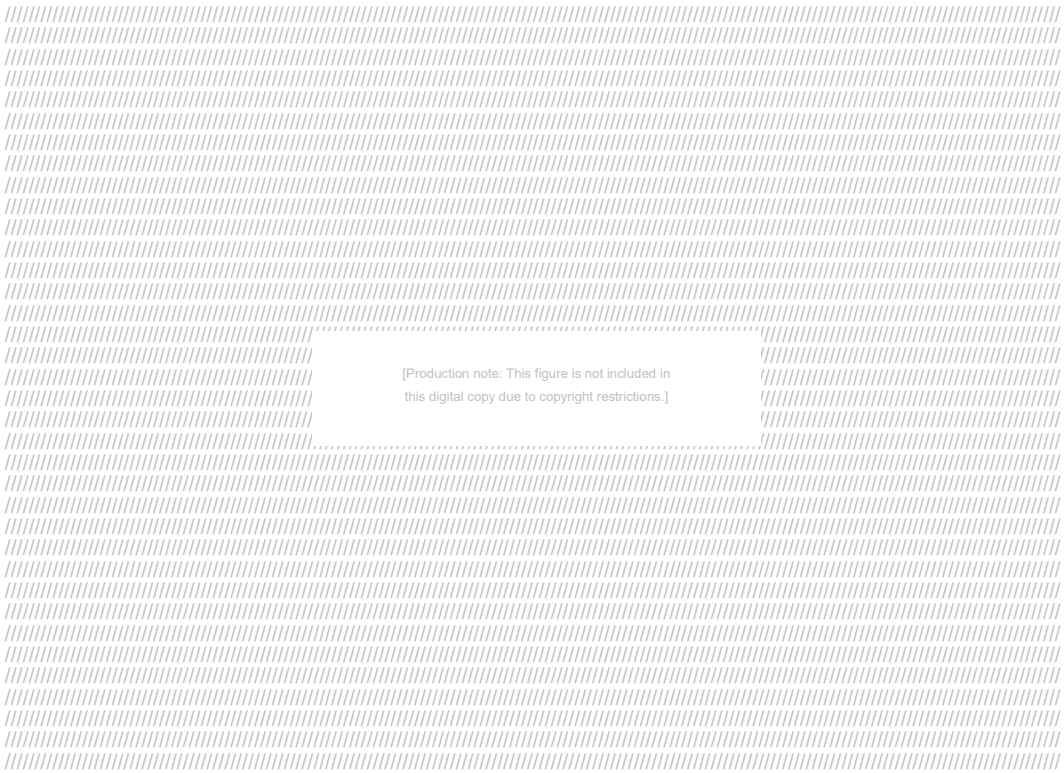
Dimensions: 148.5 x 144.5 cm

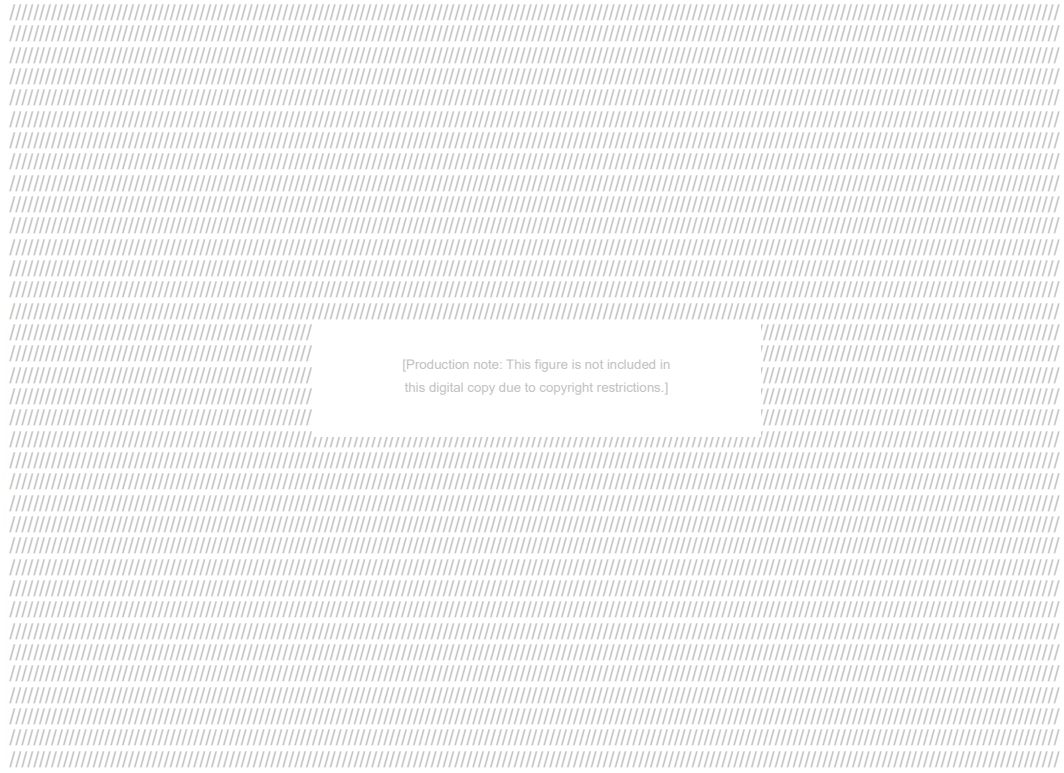
Collection: National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC

Purchased: Collected by H. Hale and the Wilkes Exploring Party in 1838–42

Identifying Numbers: E5803-0

3.6.2 Museums Victoria, Maiden's Punt, Echuca





Figures 3.55 and 3.56: *Possum-skin cloak* from Maiden Punt (Echuca), Victoria, 1853 (collected), Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria, X 016274, sourced Museums Victoria

Object description: A cloak made of 76 decorated and seven undecorated possum skins laid in eleven rows; the skins are sewn together with sinews with designs cut into the surface; several of the skins in the lower left-hand corner are coloured with natural pigment (red ochre)

Region: Echuca, North-east Victoria

Date: Obtained in 1853 from the Aboriginals, Maiden's Punt, Echuca, Victoria; purchased from Tuckett and Styles in the estate of R.E. Johns

Medium: Possum skin, sinew, natural pigments

Dimensions: Dimensions variable

Collection: Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria

Purchased: Reynell E. Johns Collection; purchased from Tuckett and Styles in the Estate of R.E. Johns, 7 September 1910

Identifying Numbers: X 016274

3.6.3 British Museum

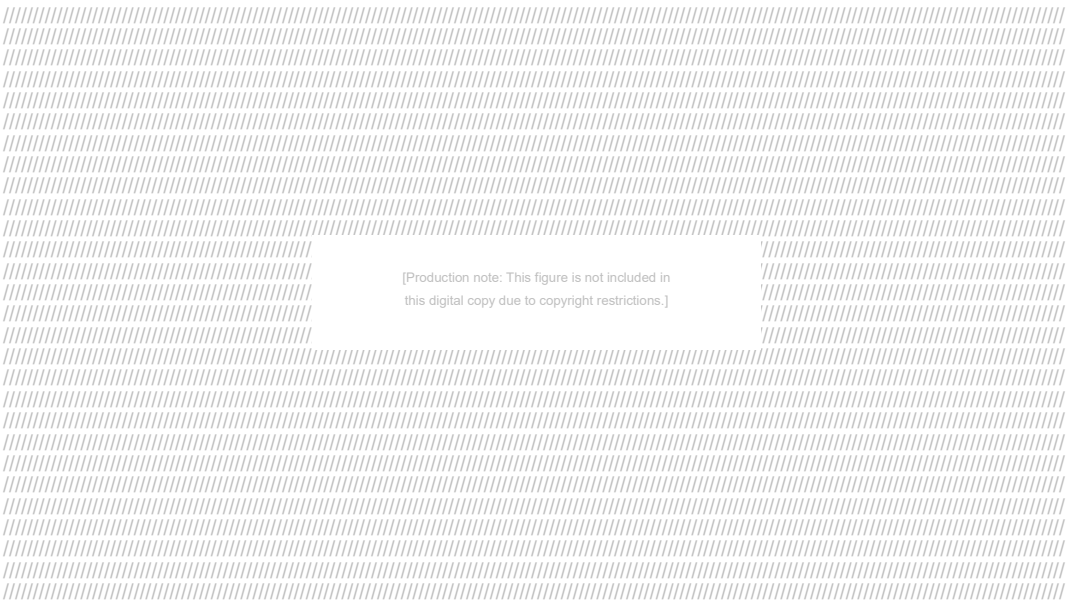


Figure 3.57: *Possum-skin cloak (part of)* from New South Wales, 19thc (before 1868), British Museum, Oc.4571, sourced <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc-4571>

Object description: Decorated fragment of possum-skin cloak retaining the fur on exterior side and having the inner side painted with brown patterns of lozenges and angular lines, the plain parts scored with lines; designs made with red pigment

Region: New South Wales

Date: Before 1868

Medium: Opossum skin, painted (natural pigment)

Dimensions: 19 x 34 cm

Collection: British Museum, London

Purchased: Donated by William Blackmore Esq., 1 February 1868

Identifying Numbers: Oc.4571

3.6.4 Museums Victoria, Lake Condah

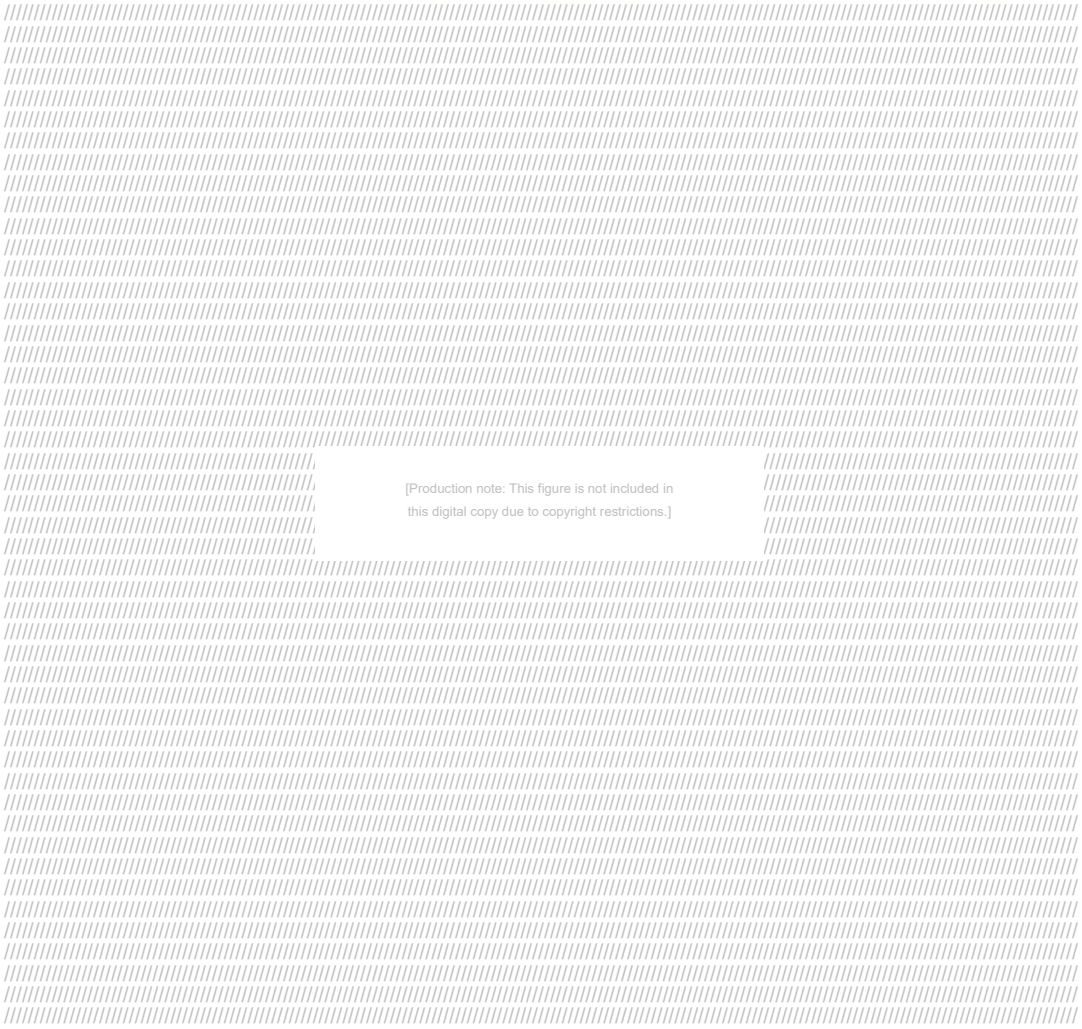


Figure 3.58: *Possum-skin cloak* from Lake Condah, Victoria, 1872, Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria, X 016275, sourced Museums Victoria

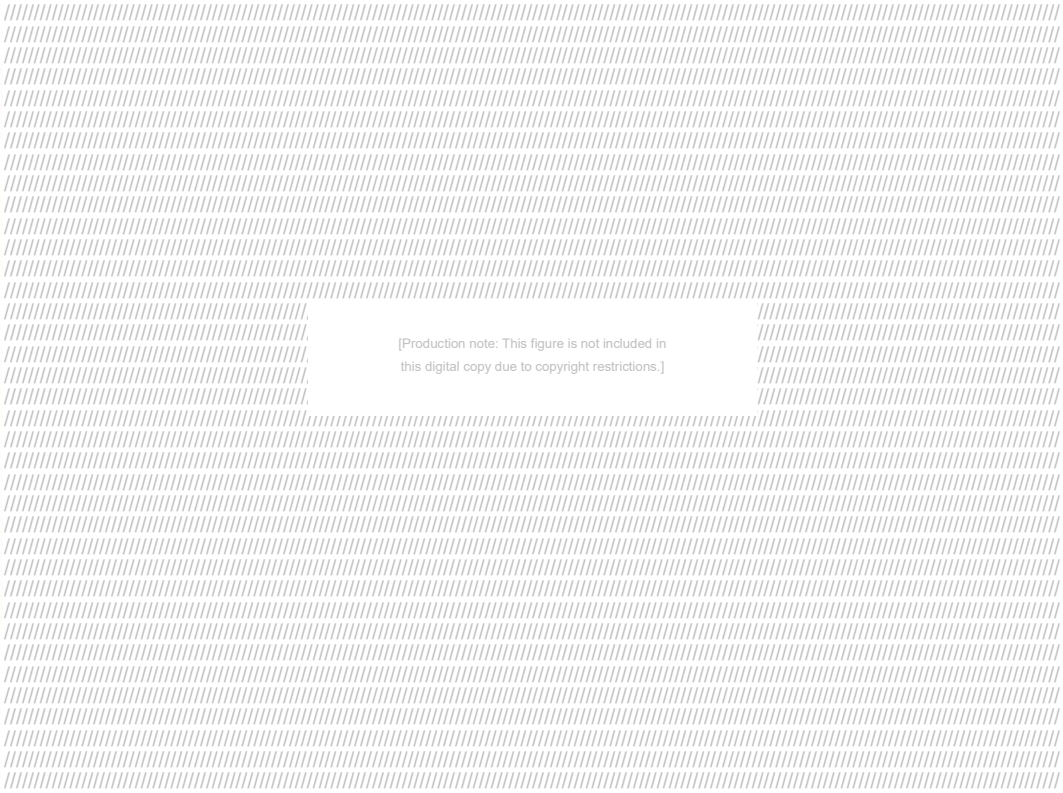


Figure 3.59: *Possum-skin cloak* from Lake Condah, Victoria, 1872, Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria, X 016275, sourced Museums Victoria

Object description: Possum-skin cloak, Lake Condah, Victoria, 1872; a cloak made of 50 possum pelts stitched together with sinews and decorated with designs and natural pigments

Region: Lake Condah, Western District, Victoria

Date: Made 1872

Medium: Possum skin, sinew, natural pigments

Dimensions: Dimensions variable

Collection: Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria

Purchased: Reynell E. Johns Collection; object acquired from Tuckett and Styles in the Estate of R.E. Johns, 7 September 1910

Identifying Numbers: X 016275

Notes: Original label written by R.E. Johns for this cloak: ‘Aboriginal ’possum rug, obtained about 1872 by Mr Begg, Principal of the Academy at Hamilton, Victoria, from the maker and wearer, a person living at the Aboriginal Station at Condah. The decorations on the back of the skins are of genuine native design, and the rug is a fair example of those worn as cloaks before Victoria was colonised by Europeans. It is sewn with the sinews from the tail of the kangaroo’

3.6.5 Berlin Museum of Ethnology

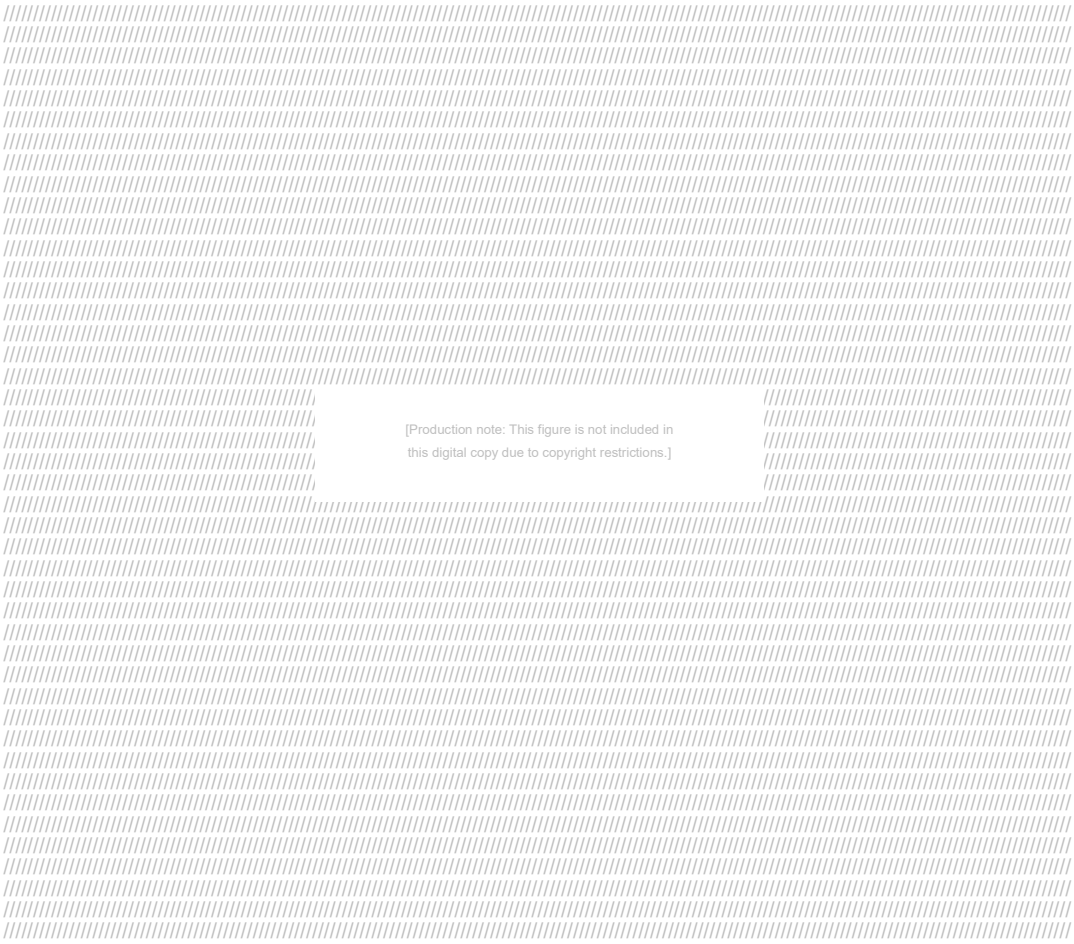


Figure 3.60: *Blanket of opossum fur (part of)* collected by Eugene von Guérard, 1880 (museum acquired), Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, VI 2580, sourced Ethnologisches Museum

Object description: Blanket of opossum fur; Eugene von Guérard described the object as 'eight opossum furs as an example of the way in which the natives treat them to make fur blankets'

Region: Not recorded

Date: Before 1880

Medium: Possum skin, carved, dyed

Dimensions: 84 x 76 cm

Collection: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Purchased: Collected by artist Eugene von Guérard; acquired by the museum, 1880

Identifying Numbers: VI 2580

3.6.6 Australian Museum

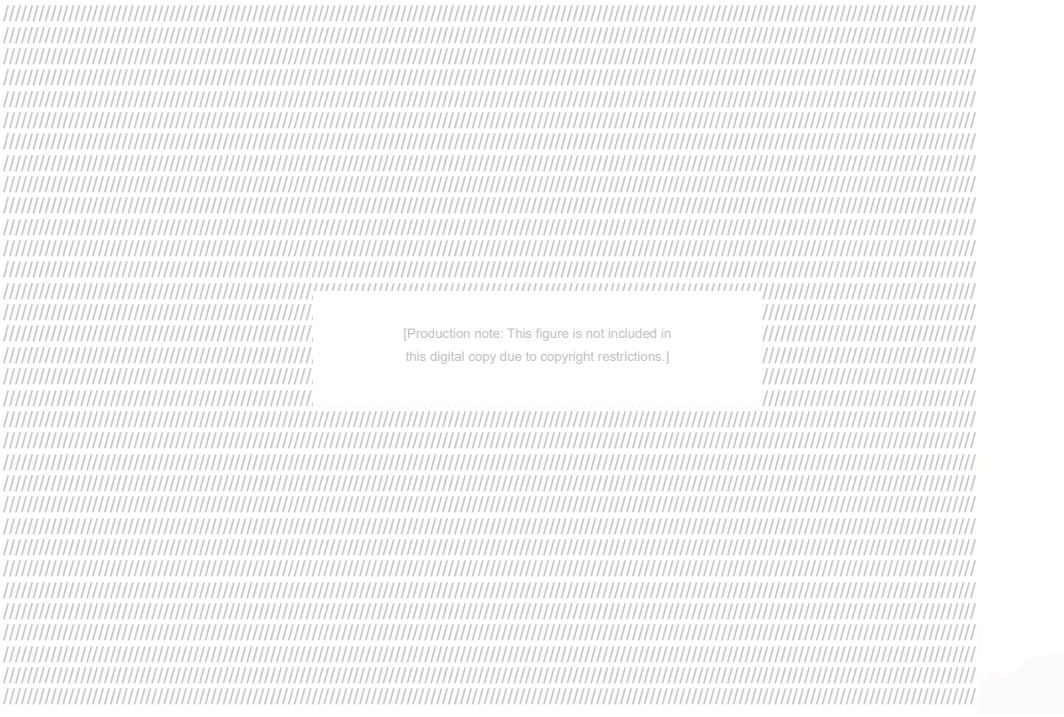


Figure 3.61: *Possum skin from Aboriginal grave* from Michelago, New South Wales, Australian Museum, E005517, sourced Australian Museum

Object description: Fragments of possum-skin coat from Aboriginal grave

Region: Michelago, Snowy Mountains, New South Wales; attributed to Wiradjuri people

Date: Before 1896 (registered by museum 1 April 1896)

Medium: Possum skin

Dimensions: Dimensions variable

Collection: Australian Museum, Sydney

Purchased: Donated by E.O. Milne

Identifying Numbers: E005517

3.7 Summary

A late 19th century newspaper article in the *Illustrated Sydney News and New South Wales Agriculturalist and Grazier* recounted the dream of a traveller during Christmas time in Australia (Wilson 1874). Father Christmas, an archetype of western cultures, is recast in a distinctly Australian fashion, clad in ‘a tunic of sheepskins’ and wrapped in ‘a large ’possum-skin mantle’ that ‘fell in graceful folds from his shoulders and swept the ground at his feet’ (p. 11). Not only does this account reveal the extent to which colonists saw the possum-skin cloak as an object of status, but it reaffirms the sense of the old and the new within Australia’s history—the ‘before’

of the native possum and the ‘future’ of the introduced sheep—speaking more broadly about the place of Aboriginal culture and practices within colonial Australia.

In this chapter I have explored the role of possum-skin cloaks as objects of mutual engagement following invasion. This chapter takes as its time period the era after invasion, as the frontier spread inland and the south-east was colonised. With the commencement of European invasion another party, primarily British and Irish colonists, become involved in our relationship with possum-skin cloaks. The contexts in which this engagement took place ranged from first contact experiences through to diplomacy involving gift-giving, commercial trade, colonial administration, painting, photography and early anthropology involving in part the collection of cloaks. Cloaks had an impact on non-Aboriginal observers and this is reflected in the written and visual record.

Citing multiple and varied examples I have investigated the written record, through books, publications, newspapers and journals, and the visual record, through paintings, drawings, etchings and photography by non-Aboriginal and, importantly, Aboriginal creators. This chapter also importantly includes key case studies that show possum-skin cloaks being utilised by various Aboriginal leaders and communities as gifts and as items of exchange. I have also outlined the trade of possum-skin cloaks, which increased during the gold rush, and the 19th century cloaks that are held in museum collections.

From the vast evidence found in the written and visual record, and from the collection of cloaks and/or their fragments by public collections the world over, it becomes undeniable that the European colonists appreciated the Aboriginal-made possum-skin cloak. Regarding fascination for the material, in many ways Europeans were most drawn to those societies that reflected their own. Recording the sensual, material and exotic elements of Indigenous peoples’ cultures also enabled and fostered colonialism by adding drama and colour to the colonial enterprise and to colonists’ individual situations. There was also a degree to which the dignity and nobility of the conquered and subsequently colonised peoples could be used to reflect the even greater dignity and status of the coloniser. Possums were ‘understood’, even if incorrectly, as objects of status and triggered emotional responses that preferenced the recording of cloaks above other elements of Aboriginal material culture.

Of particular interest in the visual record are pictures made by Aboriginal creators, showing possum-skin cloaks in everyday wear but also in ceremony, thus giving the most ‘complete’ understanding of the many roles cloaks played pre-contact and during the colonial period. The outline of 19th-century cloaks held in public collections the world over also demonstrates the value placed on these objects by Europeans, as they were seen as something worth preserving.

Fascinated with the material, engaged with the drama and colour the cloak added to situations, revering the dignity and nobility it signalled and appreciating it as an object of status, colonists and Aboriginal people can be understood to have been mutually engaged through the possum-skin cloak.

The following chapter looks at the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum-skin cloaks, surveying how and when these objects disappeared from our lives.

4 The decline, disappearance and forgetting of wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter considers when, how and why wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) disappeared as significant objects in the lives of Aboriginal people of south-eastern Australia, in particular from the lives of my own people, Wiradjuri people. Prior to the gold rushes, Aboriginal communities in the south-east had already suffered significantly as a result of European colonial expansion, disease and violence alone taking an enormous toll on the ability of Aboriginal people to maintain traditional practices. By the latter part of the 19th century Aboriginal possum skin cloak-making and wearing was in significant decline, due to dramatic changes in the non-Indigenous economic and social environment, a degradation and alteration of forest habitat, and the increasingly controlling policies aimed at governing Indigenous people.

As told by primary and secondary sources, Aboriginal people's possum-skin cloaks were intentionally stolen or destroyed by non-Indigenous bushmen as the frontier pushed forward. In *Convincing Ground* Bruce Pascoe (2007) describes how in the Western District of Victoria in the first half of the 1800s 'the theft of possum-skin cloaks and bedding, [and] the destruction of the houses created hardships from which the clans suffered greatly' (p. 43). Edmund Morey (1908), in his *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* article 'Reminisces of a pioneer', recounted an incident in Victoria during which he and his companion, named Smith, engaged in destroying an Aboriginal camp:

> there were only three gunyahs, and a small lot of natives, who appeared to be making merry, judging by their shouting and laughter. So, taking a tight grip of our reins, we rode at them with a shout, pointing the ends of our whip-handles at them, pretending to shoot, and this so took them by surprise that they bolted, leaving all their weapons in camp … Smith had evidently thrown a lot of the camp's belonging on the fires, for they were blazing up, and I caught a glimpse of broken spears, dillybags, 'possum cloaks, and other treasures burning. (p. 211)

While these outright attacks literally destroyed possum-skin cloaks, the decline and disappearance of these significant objects was also brought about through more insidious and systematic ways. Aboriginal cultural practices such as possum skin cloak-making were impacted by the loss of habitat of native animals, the pollution of waterways, the increasing vulnerability in Aboriginal people's lives due to the violence committed against them and dispossession from country, and an increasing inability to maintain a traditional lifestyle and economic and cultural practices.

While some Aboriginal communities had been able to derive a degree of benefit from the goldfields, a market that stimulated the making and selling of possum-skin cloaks (though within a significantly altered cultural context for Aboriginal makers), when the gold rush ended this

major market collapsed. In the second half of the 19th century, after the gold rush, government legislation in the form of land acts ushered in a new era of expansion and settlement, bringing about the establishment of small-scale farms and regional towns. These changes in structure saw Aboriginal populations pushed to the edges of their country. At the same time, national parks were created on Crown Land, effectively inhibiting Aboriginal peoples' access to country, and also to traditional hunting grounds.

Aboriginal peoples' access to possums was further impacted during this time by the increase in non-Indigenous hunting. This hunting of native animals fueled a booming international fur industry, while also providing employment for non-Indigenous people on the land during times of drought and hardship. Non-Indigenous hunting became so overwhelming that in a matter of decades government legislation was introduced to protect native fauna and mitigate destruction.

As the frontier was settled, with towns established and small-scale farms fenced off, more and more women immigrated to Australia. The once-wild frontier, the domain of 'intrepid' bushmen and 'dangerous' bushrangers, became increasingly domesticated. Adopting the Aboriginal possum-skin cloak, non-Indigenous people made possum-skin rugs or marsupial-skin rugs for their homes and cars, and these colonial objects sit with other such items, including carved emu eggs and armed services badges and headwear incorporating Aboriginal symbols, as objects of Australian self-image-making. Made by non-Indigenous Australians, these objects appropriate and repurpose Aboriginal materials, practices and cultural signifiers, replacing and attempting to erase the original in the process. These objects are key to the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum-skin cloaks.

In addition to these factors, Aboriginal people were also subjected to an environment of fear, created and meticulously maintained by the government- and church-controlled missions, stations and reserves, through policies ranging from protection and segregation to assimilation. Missions sought to stamp out Aboriginal culture, replacing significant cultural objects with apparently inferior items, repressing certain cultural practices and encouraging other practices deemed non-threatening to the dominant non-Indigenous culture. Under these conditions, Aboriginal people were forbidden from connecting with and continuing cultural practices; possum skin cloak-making was one such key practice that was impacted.

4.2 Collapse of a major market

As established in see Chapter 3, Aboriginal makers sold possum-skin cloaks to non-Indigenous customers during the gold rushes. Historian Fred Cahir (2012) tells how 'miners and others more commonly accepted that Aboriginal people were more adept at the trade and thus engaged in what Edward Tame described as a "good item of commerce"' (pp. 71–72); Cahir goes on to say that 'miners considered that one rug imparted as much warmth as a dozen blankets' (p. 73).

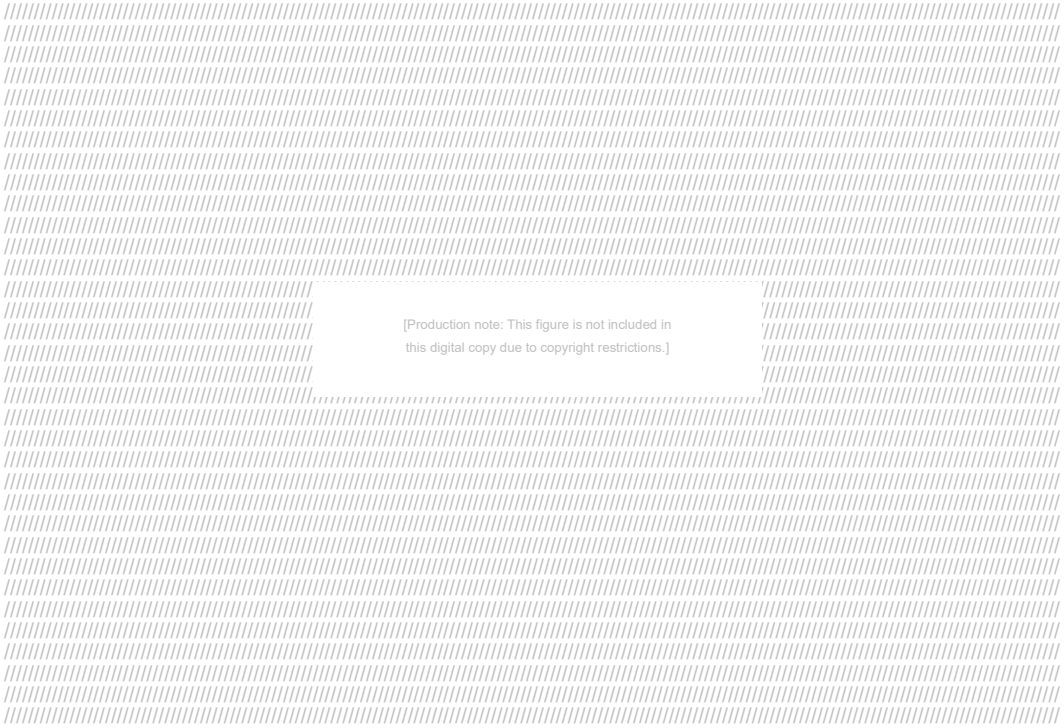


Figure 4.1: Edward Roper, *Gold diggings, Ararat*, 1858?, painting - oil on canvas, 44 x 75 cm (image), 63 x 93 cm (frame), Dixson Galleries, State Library of New South Wales, DG 15

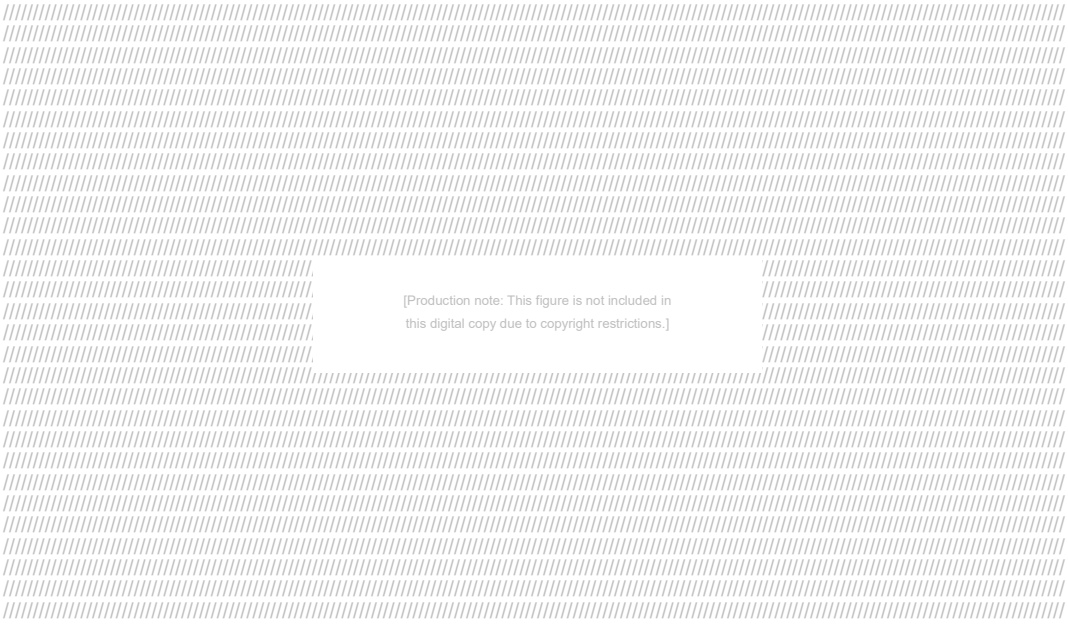


Figure 4.2: Robert Marsh Westmacott, *18a. The Diggings at "Ophir" Creek - near Bathurst* from *Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales*, 1831–52?, 1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages), 26.2 x 36.5 cm (album), Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales, DL PX 53

While Figures 4.1 and 4.2, Edward Roper's c.1858 painting *Gold diggings, Ararat* and Robert Marsh Westmacott's watercolour *The Diggings at "Ophir" Creek - near Bathurst* from around the mid-19th century, depict Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks either on the goldfields

or on the periphery, two images included in Chapter 3 provide key evidence of goldfields trade: Eugene von Guérard's painting *Aborigines met on the road to the diggings*, 1854 (Figure 3.51) documents the sale of a cloak, and an 1870–75 photograph (Figure 3.52) shows four miners outside their temporary dwellings at the Hill End goldfields in New South Wales, one wearing a possum-skin cloak. When the goldfields market collapsed, possum skin cloak-making suffered greatly. A short history of the gold rushes in New South Wales and Victoria helps paint a picture of the social and economic context.

Early discoveries of gold particles at the Fish River in New South Wales in 1823 by surveyor James McBrien (State Library of New South Wales 2020d), followed by the 1841 discovery of gold particles in Hartley, New South Wales, by Reverend William Branwhite Clarke (National Museum of Australia 2014b), preceded the first discoveries of payable gold in 1851 in New South Wales and Victoria. On 12 February 1851, Edward Hammond Hargraves found the first payable goldfields at a site near Bathurst, New South Wales (State Library of New South Wales 2020a), which he named Ophir. Within two months, hundreds of miners had arrived in Ophir, a tent town rapidly springing up. From here, miners moved north along the Turon River into Sofala, Gulgong, Hill End and Bathurst, and south to Lambing Flat (Young), Braidwood, Tilba Tilba and Kiandra in the Snowy Mountains (State Library of New South Wales 2020c).

To combat the flow of men from the recently established state of Victoria into New South Wales towards the goldfields, the Victorian Government established the Gold Discovery Committee on 9 June 1851 (State Library of New South Wales 2020e) and offered 'a reward of £200 to anyone finding gold within 200 miles of Melbourne' (National Museum of Australia 2014b), thus incentivising Victorian miners to remain in the state. The scheme worked, and within six months gold had been found at Clunes, Ballarat, Castlemaine and Bendigo. The Victorian goldfields eventually eclipsed the New South Wales fields, 'accounting for more than a third of the world's gold production in the 1850s' (National Museum of Australia 2014b). Gold was later found in Tasmania in 1852, Queensland in 1857 and the Northern Territory in 1871, with gold rushes triggered by the 1890s discovery of the Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie goldfields in Western Australia (National Museum of Australia 2014b).

Over the major period of the gold rushes in south-east Australia, dating approximately 1851–71, as immigrants flocked to Australian shores in search of gold, the population in quadrupled from 430,000 people to 1.7 million (National Museum of Australia 2014b). In 1852, for example, following the major discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria, 370,000 immigrants arrived in Australia (State Library of New South Wales 2020a).

The country's enormous reserves of gold put Australia on the map, as it became a viable destination in which to live and invest. The gold rushes transformed the former convict colonies into cosmopolitan cities, as hopeful miners brought new skills and professions to Australia, many staying on after their time on the goldfields (State Library of New South Wales 2020a). The gold rushes also triggered a mass rollout of infrastructure, linking regional areas with port towns. Victoria is a key example, with the country's first steam-powered railway, a suburban line

from Melbourne to Port Melbourne, opened in 1854: 'Melbourne became the main entry port to the Victorian goldfields and consequently developed into Australia's largest city and financial centre for the next half-century' (State Library of New South Wales 2020b).

But from the late 1860s, the gradual ending of the gold rushes in Victoria and New South Wales resulted in significant changes in the social and economic environment for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous people. The once-booming and male-dominated goldfields collapsed, along with the market for particular goods and equipment. One of the effects of this was no doubt a decline in the demand for possum-skin cloaks as bedding or cold weather protection for those living rough and virtually outdoors. In short, the much-valued possum-skin cloak was no longer needed. While the impact on Aboriginal producers of possum-skin cloaks was not recorded, we can by logic presume that the number of cloaks being made for trade had significantly reduced at the end of the era of large goldmining camps. However, not only can the closure of the goldfields as a market for trading possum-skin cloaks be understood to have had an impact upon the level of production of Aboriginal makers, the broader concurrent social changes within non-Indigenous society further reduced the viability of possum skin cloak-making.

4.3 Aboriginal people denied access to possums

During this period, post-gold rush and continuing into the 20th century, Aboriginal people were increasingly displaced from their traditional countries. As vast tracts of land were cleared and apportioned as small-scale farms to freeholders, country was fenced off. Where Aboriginal people could once have moved relatively freely about the large land leases of the frontier, these smaller lots, often cleared of bush, meant that access to country was severely impacted and habitats for possums lost.

The establishment of national parks throughout each Australian state, from 1879 onwards, brought with it the indoctrination of the idea of 'protecting wilderness'. But wilderness was a concept foreign to Aboriginal communities and cultures. While national parks can be understood as maintaining habitat for possums on the one hand, they are also, on the other, designed to separate Aboriginal people from their lands, thereby inhibiting access to material and practices.

Another factor in denying Aboriginal people access to possums was increased non-Indigenous hunting, which soared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,[13] driving and responding to an international market in demand of fur. As a result, possum populations across the country plunge and government legislation is brought in to protect native animals.

[13] Alison Matthews, Daniel Lunney, Kelly Waples and Jeff Hardy, Brushtail Possums: "Champion of the suburbs" or "Our tormentors"? in *Urban Wildlife: more than meets the eye*, ed. Daniel Lunney and Shelley Burgin, Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales, Mosman, NSW, 2004, pp.159–168.

4.3.1 Land clearance and the establishment of small-scale farms

After the gold rush the increased population of Australia needed to be consolidated, and with infrastructure and the Robertson's land acts of 1861 portions of the interior were opened up. As land was cleared and small-scale agricultural production intensified, significant forest and woodland habitat for possums was lost and Aboriginal people were kept off their country.

4.3.1A Robertson's land acts

While the gold rushes of the 1850s to early 1860s caused enormous upheaval to colonial society (and, probably to a far greater degree, to Aboriginal communities) the growth in demand for wool and meat also contributed to the increasing wealth for squatters. At the same time, the gold rushes brought new and competing visions for society. With the influx of Irishmen, Americans and other nationalities, a growing spirit of anti-conservativism, egalitarianism and a desire for equal opportunity became prevalent; the 1854 Eureka Stockade is one expression of these emerging social aspirations. But this was totally at odds with the conservative vision and interests of the squatters. The *Crown Lands Alienation Act 1861* and the *Crown Lands Occupation Act 1861* were in part a response to the end of the gold rush by urban middle-class politicians trying to curb the power of the large land-leasing pastoralists, or squatters as they were known.

It had long been the intention of the colonial government to control the distribution of land to settlers, to ensure the ability to provide services and to maintain control of society. The Limits of Location were established by the government in 1826, essentially providing a boundary within which land was sold or awarded by government to settlers. Beyond the set Limits of Location all land remained Crown Land and any white occupation was unlawful. But despite the best efforts of government, many people did move out and occupy lands beyond the Limits of Location. Initially, many of these were ticket-of-leave convicts and ex-convicts, driving sheep and cattle into the interior and occupying vast tracts of land for their exclusive use. As a class these people were referred to as 'squatters', a label literally meaning people unlawfully occupying another's property. In this case the property being squatted on was, in the eyes of the government, the property of the Crown.

But by the 1830s government policy had moved from one of opposition to the squatters to one of regulation and control, with squatters being granted conditional pastoral leases over their vast occupied properties. While these leases provided a form of exclusive use, the land remained property of the Crown. By the 1840s the class profile of the squatters had changed: many were now considered upper class, well connected and comparatively wealthy. With that wealth came ambition. Now mockingly referred to as the 'squattocracy', squatters were socially conservative and elitist in outlook, favouring the continuation of convict transport and the free labour it provided.

By the end of the gold rush, an alliance between middle-class urban reformers and farmers resulted in two priorities. The first was to provide a means of employment for former gold

prospectors, allowing them to thrive and make a contribution to society. The other priority was the desire to break the land monopoly and political dominance of the squatters. Farmers in particular were resentful of the exclusive right of pastoralists to hold leases on Crown Land, and over comparatively far larger areas of land than were available to farmers, who had to purchase their much smaller freehold properties. In short, squatters were viewed as unfairly privileged, locking up land and stifling the ambitions of farmers.

One expression of this growing spirit of egalitarianism was the introduction of a degree of self-government. In 1856, among a range of changes affecting most Australian colonies, Britain introduced a new constitution for the colony of New South Wales allowing for the establishment of an elected legislative assembly. It was in this environment that John Robertson became an influential politician and the Premier of New South Wales, an office he held five times over three decades. Robertson entered Parliament in 1856 based on his commitment to significant social change. More specifically, he advocated for free trade, (white) male suffrage, the secret ballot, electorates based on population size, abolition of government funding for churches, introduction of non-faith government schools, and land allocation reform (Nairn 1976). In 1861 Robertson, as Premier, and out of his commitment to land reform, introduced the New South Wales land acts, the *Crown Lands Alienation Act* and the *Crown Lands Occupation Act*.

These acts essentially introduced a system by which any white male could ‘select’ and purchase at a relatively modest price a portion of Crown Land, including Crown Land that could previously have been occupied under a lease by a pastoralist. The selected areas could be between 40 to 320 acres in size and purchased as freehold at the price of £1 per acre, paid for over a period of three years. However, security of the title was subject to conditions: selectors had to live on the property, develop the property and make improvements, which meant clearing trees and natural bushland, sowing crops, erecting fences and building dwellings, and increase its value by at least £1 per acre over the three years. Selectors chose, cleared and fenced the most fertile lands and those with water access (State Archives and Records New South Wales 2016).

While as a social experiment the lands acts had mixed results (being in place until 1885), for Aboriginal people the process was devastating: ‘In enabling close settlement of pastoral lands still available for use by Aboriginal people, the acts further limited the lands and economy of the first occupants’ (Legislative Assembly of New South Wales 1861). The acts brought on an explosion in agricultural intensity in previously relatively pristine and ecologically rich natural environments, which was disastrous for the native flora and fauna, including the brush-tailed possum. Large-scale clearances of natural vegetation including old trees and fallen wood compounded the environmental impact by removing many of the natural foods and shelters of native animals. The exclusive occupation of waterways and the ownership of waterholes also heavily impacted native fauna, much of which was now viewed as being in competition with crops and therefore vermin to be systematically destroyed.

The result of the land acts was a growing inability for Aboriginal people and communities to maintain their traditional lifestyles, economies and autonomy. Hunting, fishing and harvesting of carefully nurtured native foods as well as the maintenance of large-scale traditional Aboriginal agricultural practices became increasingly impossible. Similarly, the maintenance of ceremonial life, requiring access to sacred sites as well as the ability for people to come together from long distances, became impossible. Not only was there no longer an economic driver for producing possum-skin cloaks, but access to possums in previously known numbers would have declined significantly, as did the freedom of movement required for hunting.

4.3.1B Comparable land acts around the world

As with many things that Indigenous Australians have experienced during our time with non-Indigenous people, these changes often mirrored larger international trends relating to colonialism and the treatment of Indigenous peoples worldwide. Given this, it is worth noting the similarity of the Australian lands acts to legislation introduced elsewhere in colonised and subsequently English-speaking countries, and the impact of such legislation both environmentally and culturally on the Indigenous populations of these countries.

In 19th-century New Zealand all country not cultivated by Maori people was deemed ‘waste land’ of the Crown (Fairweather 1985, p. 3). This decision was made by the Maori Land Court in spite of the provisions regarding the sale of land decided in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. Over 1854–77 most provinces of New Zealand passed *Waste Land Acts*, with the American term ‘homestead’ employed in the terminology. This legislation gave applicants up to 320 acres of land for the cost of a survey. Applicants had to reside on the land for six years, construct a dwelling, cultivate the land and clear the bush. This practice resulted in significant environmental damage and severely limited Maori cultural practices requiring access to natural resources.

Beginning with the *Homestead Act 1862*, a series of homestead laws passed by the government of the United States of America enabled applicants to acquire land that had been declared public domain land. A homestead was an area of public land, usually 160 acres in size, in the west of the United States (the region west of the Mississippi River). Homesteaders paid $1.25 per acre for more than 80 acres and $2.20 per acre for less than 80 acres. On filing an application, the applicant would be granted land that they would then improve, before finally filing for a patent or deed. The applicant had to live on the land for five years and improve it within that time, although they could take seven years to complete the whole process. To be eligible to apply, an applicant had to be a United States of America citizen who had never taken up arms against the Federal Government; they had to be over 21 years of age and the head of a household. Women were eligible to apply; immigrants who had registered for citizenship were eligible; and after the 14th amendment to the Constitution in 1868, freed slaves were eligible. (Although the *Homestead Act 1868* included African Americans, and freed slaves were encouraged to apply, discrimination and barriers were still major obstacles.) The homestead acts coincided with the American Civil War (1861–65), and embodied the spirit of the Free Soil

policy of the Northerners, who wanted to own and run their own land. By the end of the war, more than 15,000 land claims had been approved (A&E Television Networks 2009). Overall, 10 per cent of the total area of the United States of America was apportioned to 1.6 million homesteaders (Bradsher 2012, p. 27). Homesteading was abandoned in 1976 in every American state except Alaska, where it continued until 1986 (Bradsher 2012, pp. 28, 35).

Canada similarly desired to entice its citizens into unsettled parts of the country. Focusing on the vast northern region between the Lower Ottawa River and Georgian Bay (Villemaire 2015), the Legislative Assembly of Ontario passed the *Free Grants and Homestead Act 1868*, which gave applicants a portion of land and the option to purchase more in 100-acre lots for 50 cents per acre. As with the United States acts, if the Canadian homesteader cleared and cultivated at least 15 acres of land within five years, they could apply for title to it (Villemaire 2015). The Canadian *Public Lands Act 1913* consolidated several acts, and was extended in 1948 to grant land to former members of the Canadian Forces, similar to Soldier Settlements in Australia following World Wars I and II. These provisions for Canadian settlers were repealed in 1951, with remaining provisions repealed in 1961.

As with deforestation in Australia, the New Zealand, American and Canadian homestead acts had disastrous impacts for country and Indigenous populations. In the United States the acts also resulted in 'land rushes'. One infamous land rush occurred in Oklahoma at 'high noon' on 22 April 1889; as many as 40 Native American nations were displaced (Landry 2017) when 50,000 people lined up to race for 2 million acres of 'unassigned land' (Nelson 2020).

In North America, the impact of land acts on Native Americans and their ability to maintain cultural practices, including the hunting of buffalo (bison) and the production of buffalo robes, was devastating. Similarly to Australia, this was further compounded by development of roads and railways and the non-Indigenous buffalo hunting and processing industries enabled by this infrastructure. It is estimated that millions of bison inhabited North America in the late 18th century (Holt 2018, p. 107); by 1889 the number had declined to as few as 456 (Holt 2018, p. 107).

4.3.2 Creation of 'wilderness': the establishment of national parks

Another factor inhibiting Australian Aboriginal peoples' access to possums is the establishment of national parks, which coincides with post-gold rush era in the latter half of the 19th century.

Founded in 1879, Australia's first national park was the Royal National Park south of Sydney. The Royal National Park is the world's second national park, after Yellowstone National Park in the United States of America, which was listed five years earlier in 1872. South Australia's Belair National Park was established in 1891 and Wilson's Promontory National Park was declared in Victoria in 1898; by 1916, with the listing of Tasmania's Mount Field and Freycinet national parks, every state in Australia had at least one designated park. Today, Australia has the largest number of national parks and equivalent reserves of any country in the world,

numbering more than 600 and covering an area greater than 28 million hectares (The Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts 2007).

Mendel (1999) charts the establishment of Sydney's Royal National Park, which was founded in the 19th century as 'an urban pleasure ground' (p. 1). But as Mendel shows the reasons for forming national parks were multifarious, encompassing nature conservation, tourism, recreation and cultural heritage preservation. National parks also play a role in combating the loss of rare and unique flora and fauna; in infrastructure, with some national parks providing water supplies and electricity generation for cities; and in scientific research. Mendel (1999) argues that the origins of national parks in New World countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America all share similar justifications:

> the national park idea is thought to have emerged as part of the Romantic movement, which developed in rejection of the dominant exploitative ethos of 19th-century modernism. Desires to protect nature were linked with new ecocentric and wilderness philosophies, developed by individuals such as Thoreau and Muir. It has also been argued that the search for a national identity was central to the origins of national parks in the United States, leading to a focus on the preservation of unique monumental scenery in the mountainous west. (p. 4)

This ethos is still current with the National Parks Association of NSW (2019) clearly outlining its contemporary imperative as one of 'protection':

> National parks protect the best of our natural heritage: stunning landscapes, extraordinary wildlife and majestic forests. Together with other protected areas they form the basis of our economic and social wellbeing, attract millions of visitors annually, and help to protect Australia's unique wildlife by acting as a refuge for threatened species. … Our national parks protect these vital and fragile places; areas where the traces of a history extending back more than 22,000 years can remain undisturbed. (paras 1, 4)

In Australia, national parks were established in areas deemed 'largely worthless' (Mendel 1999, p. 4), designed to 'protect' sites that should 'remain undisturbed'. But this creation of 'wilderness', a European concept thrust onto Aboriginal country, meant that while some habitat was preserved for certain animals, large swathes of country were inaccessible to Aboriginal people, essentially locking Aboriginal communities out of their traditional lands, therefore denying access to traditional materials and inhibiting ability to practice culture. The establishment of national parks therefore plays a significant role in the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum skin cloak-making.

4.3.3 Fur trade

4.3.3A Increased non-Indigenous hunting

Another factor impacting on the ability of Aboriginal people to continue possum skin cloak-making was the decline of possum population numbers as a result of the possum fur trade that thrived largely during the final decade of the 19th century through to the 1930s. For the greater part of this period an open season was allowed, not only for hunting possums but also koalas, these two native animals having the finest quality and thickness of fur. The furs were exported to Britain, Europe and the United States of America.

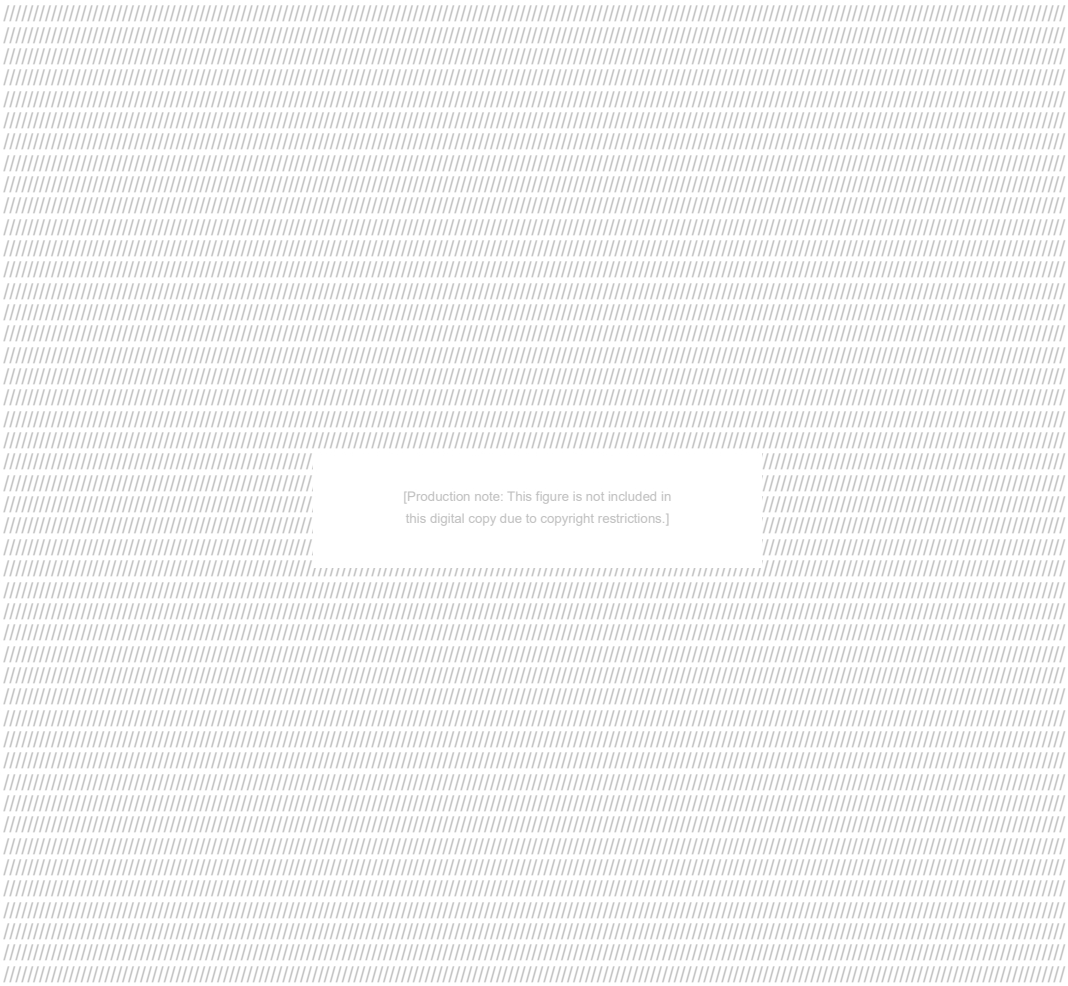


Figure 4.3: J.W. (John William) Lindt, *Hunting party outside original homestead Ramahyuck Mission Station*, 1880, photograph, 48.5 x 58.5 cm, University of Melbourne Library, 1976.0013.00086

Furs were considered a natural resource of Australia to be exploited, with those involved in this 'harvesting' ranging from professional hunters to farmers and agricultural workers wanting to supplement their incomes. Trapping and skinning also provided occasional income for seasonal workers and the unemployed, with an increase in the importance of this as an income or income supplement during the Depression years commencing in 1930. In fact, the notion of possum skins as a resource for mass wholesale export is evidenced by their inclusion among the range

of Australian colonial resources, such as timbers, minerals and wool, displayed at international exhibitions during the second half of the 19th century (see Figure 4.4).

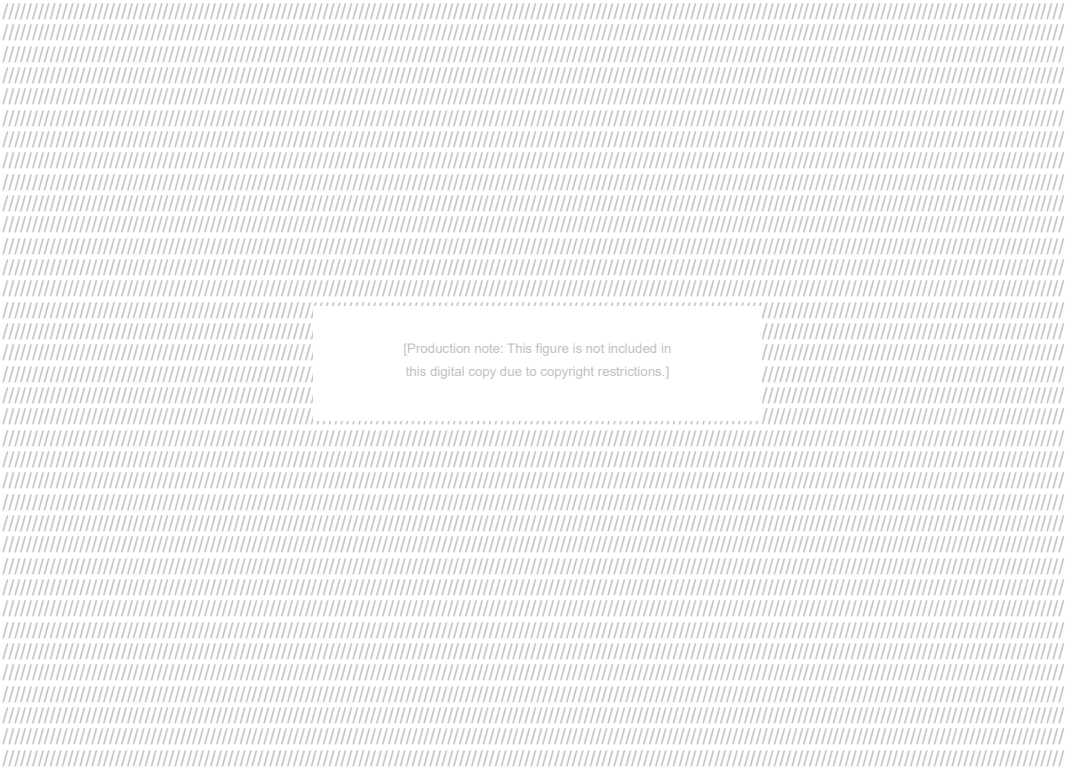


Figure 4.4: ***The Tasmanian Court at the Sydney Exhibition*****, published in** ***The Australasian Sketcher*****, 25 October 1879, engraving, via Trove, National Library of Australia, sourced <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article244700365>**

Open seasons were discontinued in some Australian states in the early 1900s, but these regulations were not always welcomed or complied with:

> Following on the recent complaints of illegal ’possum shooting in the Geelong district, Mounted-Constable Peyton, of Inverleigh, has reported the seizure of a number of opossum skins found drying on a farmer’s fence. He was assured, however, that the animals had been shot in May, before the close season commenced, and he states that the dryness of the skins supported the statement. The constable adds that he is not aware of any illegal shooting in his district. (‘’Possum shooting’ 1906, p. 2)

> An open season for opossums will begin in Queensland on July 1. The Minister for Agriculture expects that about 1,500,000 skins will be obtained. The decision to declare an open season had been made after consultation with London, which was the chief clearing centre for skins. There had not been an open season for opossums for a number of years, and the London trade expressed the opinion that, if there was a close season this year, it would cause buyers to seek skins other than opossum, and a fashion in other skins would develop, ultimately resulting in the exclusion of opossum skins. Which is a rotten sort of argument, anyhow! (‘Murdering the ’possum’ 1936, p. 7)

There was an awareness of the devastation caused by possum harvesting by non-Indigenous hunters as early as the first decade of the 20th century. The driving factors behind this concern varied. Sometimes this was out of a concern for the sustainability of the industry. Hence possum farming was openly discussed as an option right through to the 1940s, although it was eventually not undertaken:

> ‘500 ’possums to the acre,’ could be realised, and the market value of skins maintained at this highly profitable level, we see opening up a vista of production and wealth from hitherto barren country that would make many of our standard industries look unprofitable by comparison. That good ‘gum country’, however infertile in other respects, would well maintain 200 to 500 ’possums to the acre is a proposition which offers no challenge to the mind of those familiar with the nature and the habits of this animal. (‘On the land, farm and station: ’possum farming’ 1910, p. 9)

> Australian ’possum fur is still climbing to fabulous prices, and in Victoria just how the police are having a busy time chasing men who are willing to risk gaol for poisoning the little Australian for the sake of the currency represented in his coat. This district is one of the most ’possum populated in Australia and if he breeds so well in his wild state here there is reason to suppose that money could be made out of farming him. (‘’Possum farming’ 1922, p. 98)

At other times this concern was in relation to the observed ecological flow-on effect that declining possum numbers had on livestock profitability. For example, there was also an acknowledgement that the decline in possum numbers was leading to an increase in sawfly larvae and therefore the death of livestock that had unintentionally digesting the larvae:

> Heavy losses among cattle which have eaten the larvae of the sawfly are reported in the Maranoa, where, owing to the decrease in the number of opossums, the sawfly is on the increase. More stock are said to be killed in this fashion in this State than in any other. That beasts eat sawfly larvae has been put down to a craving for salt, or a phosphorus deficiency. (‘Sawfly killing cattle in Maranoa: decreased ’possum numbers assist pest’ 1936, p. 2)

On other occasions, and to a lesser degree, there was genuine concern for the wellbeing and survival of the species. Stead (1937) argued:

> Great concern and even anxiety has been felt by us, in common with a great section of the Australian people, at the repeated onslaught on the possum in each of the Eastern States through many years past. When it was not Victoria it was New South Wales, and when it was not New South Wales it was Queensland and sometimes all three together. 7,500,000 Killed in One Year. In our annual report for 1920–21 we recorded that public agitation regarding the wholesale slaughter of possums and native bears, which had been going on in Queensland for many years, had at last attracted the attention of the northern Government. The Queensland Minister for Agriculture had admitted that during the year 1919–20 no less than five-and-a-quarter million possums and one million native

> bears had been slaughtered, and actually traced through the markets. He admitted further that the official record did not nearly represent the stupendous slaughter which actually occurred. (p. 2)

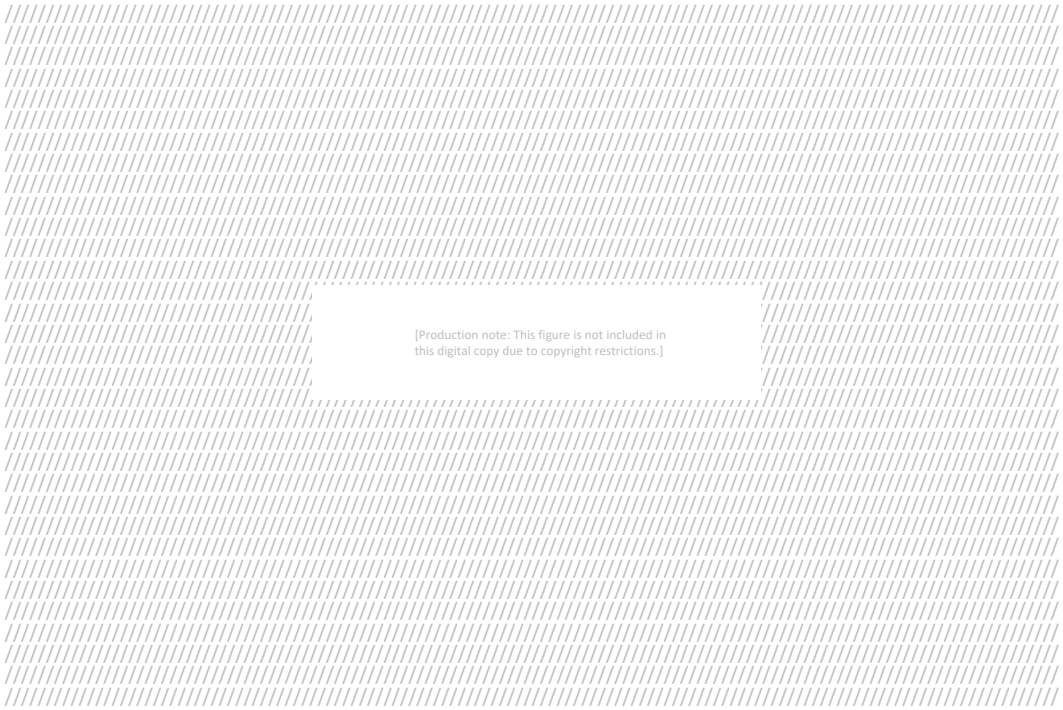


Figure 4.5: Rural jobseekers were given licences to kill as many koalas they could in the month of August 1927, *ABC News*, 30 August 2017, supplied Australian Koala Foundation, sourced <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-29/koala-pelts-queensland-august-1927/8853464?nw=0>

4.3.3B Legislation to protect native animals

In response to the environmental impacts of unchecked non-Indigenous hunting of native fauna, the fever of the international market for possum and koala fur and the resulting dwindling numbers of possum populations, government legislation to protect native animals was passed.

In the 1910s and 1920s it became obvious that the fur industries had resulted in the rapid decline of possum populations. In the mid-20th century public sentiment for protection of native flora and fauna grew because of the environmental movement (Office of Environment and Heritage NSW 2014, p. 1).

As the Australian constitution makes no mention of the continent's native animals, responsibility for protection of these species falls under the states and territories (Englefield et al. 2019). In New South Wales, for example, native animals are today protected under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*, which, in its wildlife provisions, brings together laws from the 1920s that evolved in the 1960s and 1970s, for example; the *Fauna Protection Act 1948*, which legislated that dealers for opossum skins required a licence to operate. In Western Australia, for instance, the common brush-tailed possum and the western ringtail possum are protected under

provisions of the *Wildlife Conservation Act 1950* (WA) (Department of Environment and Conservation 2009).

Research on the koala-skin and possum-skin industries in Queensland has been undertaken by Frances Hrdina and Greg Gordon, and this example proves as a representative case study for understanding how legislation to protect native animals such as the Australia species of possum evolved across the country in the late 19th to mid-20th century.

4.3.3C Case study: Queensland koala and possum skin industry

In the late 1800s in Queensland, concurrent with the massacre of Aboriginal communities, the destruction of Aboriginal economies and the dispossession of Aboriginal populations from their countries, koala and possum numbers surged. In response a non-Indigenous fur harvesting industry flourished. Hrdina and Gordon (2004) describe the environmental context:

> Possums were abundant [in southern Queensland] from at least the late 1860s and they sustained a harvest into the 1930s, which was comparatively very profitable during the Depression years, but they had become rare following the last open season in 1936. Koalas were also very numerous in the 1890s, but were rare by the turn of the century and no longer supported an industry in that district. (p. 545)

At this time in New South Wales the koala and possum fur industries were also experiencing growth. In 1895 the number of possum skins sold in New South Wales was 3.25 million. Worldwide, the numbers were equally as staggering. In 1889 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that 900,000 possum skins were traded through the London markets; two years later, in 1891, the number of possum skins sold in London had trebled to three million. The market for fur from Australia increased again after the Russo–Japanese War of 1904–05.

But debate existed as to whether the industry was sustainable from both an economic and environmental standpoint. Hrdina and Gordon (2004) explain that ‘there was strong rural sentiment that viewed the koala and possum industry as a standby source of income for rural people when times were hard, especially the small selectors’ (p. 545). Many different sectors of Queensland society were therefore parties to the debate, from squatters to scientists, trappers to politicians, selectors to conservationists. Hrdina and Gordon (2004) distil these to four main interest groups: ‘rural people seeking an alternative source of income, graziers wishing to keep trappers off their properties, proponents of a sustainable industry, and conservationists and opponents of killing wildlife’ (p. 546).

The *Native Animals Protection Act 1906* (Qld) set a season, generally six months long and over summer, for the ‘native bear’ (koala) and the possum to be hunted (Parliament of Queensland 1906). The act sought to ensure the survival of the koala and possum and maintain the viability of the fur industry (Hrdina & Gordon 2004). While from 1907 there were fewer koala seasons, in 1927 there was a final open season of one month. Possum seasons, on the other hand, operated regularly in Queensland over 1907–31, with a final open season in 1936. In 1911–12

an inquiry by the state's Department of Agriculture and Stock found possum numbers to be nearing extinction, as a result of the 'progress of settlement' (Hrdina & Gordon 2004, p. 546).

The media also played a role in securing legislation to protect both the koala and the possum in Queensland. From about 1919 newspaper articles strongly opposed koala seasons, with numerous citizens writing letters objecting to the open seasons of 1912–18; from the mid-1930s this opposition shifted to include possum seasons.

Building on the 1906 act, two further pieces of Queensland legislation gave complete and permanent protection to the koala and removed possums from the list of species subject to open seasons; these were the *Animals and Birds Act 1921* and the *Fauna Protection Act 1937*.

Legislation such as these passed in Queensland, while protecting native animals from extinction due to the 'progress of settlement', further separated Aboriginal communities from traditional practices, including that of possum skin cloak-making. This legislation went hand in hand with the 'progress of settlement', which had dispossessed Aboriginal communities of their countries, with the earlier laws that regulated the seasons allowing the continuation of non-Indigenous hunting and harvesting, thereby also devastating the Aboriginal economy of making and selling possum-skin cloaks.

4.4 Domestication of the frontier

The decline of the goldfields in the latter part of the 19th century also resulted in the emergence of a more settled non-Indigenous lifestyle, a more domesticated existence. Where once enormous goldfield camps existed, permanent towns emerged as commercial hubs servicing growing and successful agricultural communities. Towns were places in which families (non-Indigenous) were encouraged and prevalent, and where women (non-Indigenous) could lead a relatively comfortable and safe existence, with the home being their central place for self-expression.

As a result, homes became increasingly refined places, places that were largely an attempt to demonstrate European achievement, civilisation and values; an attempt to create interiors reflecting British Victorian homes in the Antipodes. Homes were, as they still are, places that represent or communicate the identity and values of their inhabitants. Homes tell a story about their occupiers, one that is carefully, though not necessarily consciously, curated. It was in this changing frontier environment that possum-skin cloaks were Europeanised, domesticated and separated from Aboriginal people or any Aboriginal cultural or spiritual connection. This process essentially involved non-Aboriginal people replacing Aboriginal-made possum-skin cloaks with colonial possum-skin rugs.

Increasingly, over the late 19th century and through to the mid-20th century, non-Aboriginal people took up the practice of making marsupial-skin objects very similar to possum-skin rugs. But rather than limiting production to possum skins, these colonial marsupial-skin rugs were

made from a range of native animals including quoll, kangaroo, wallaby, koala, platypus and even thylacine (see Figure 4.6). With the emergence of colonial marsupial-skin rugs, to answer a need that was far more decorative and representational than for survival, Aboriginal people had lost exclusive production of these significant objects.

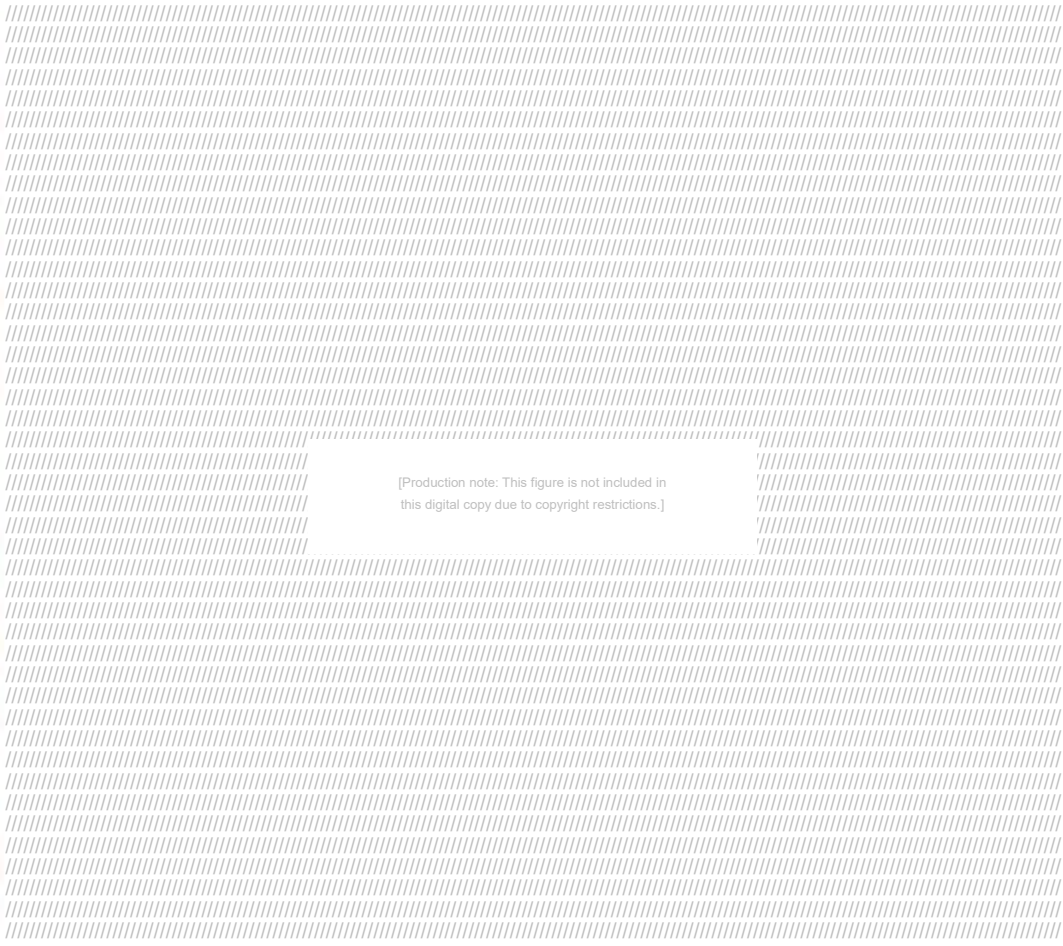


Figure 4.6: Robert David Stephenson, *Buggy rug*, c.1903, animal skin (thylacine), textile (wool baize), metal (brass fitting), 118 x 108 cm, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, and the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston, P2002.63, sourced <http://static.tmag.tas.gov.au/decorativeart/objects/misc/P2002.63/index.html>

4.4.1 Female immigration

While early non-Indigenous populations in the Australian colonies were overwhelmingly male, derived from convict origins and early immigrants, there were women living with their families on the frontier as early as the 1820s. In Bathurst, for example, the first inland town, founded in 1815, the 1828 census recorded ‘just over 2000 British and their children in the district’, clarifying that ‘of the 60 gentleman landholders, some 30 of them were living in the district with their families’ (Doust 2009, p. 144). Focusing on this region in New South Wales, Doust (2009) calls the families that moved to Bathurst ‘aspirant gentry families’ (p. 137) and explains how the family was ‘at the heart’ of the colonial enterprise, ‘as wives and husbands set about replicating

British genteel culture in the Australian wilderness' (p. 137). The family and home had power, authority and influence, understood as 'an outpost of British civilisation' (p. 138).

Governor Brisbane, acting on directions from the Colonial Office, 'made generous land grants and provided other assistance to enable men of some wealth and respectability, and their families, to settle on the land' (Doust 2009, p. 140), thereby 'civilising' the country of and around Bathurst by the western family unit. Key to this 'civilising' of country was the destruction of Aboriginal communities. In 1824 Governor Brisbane declared martial law in the Bathurst region, encouraging non-Indigenous settlers to take up arms and resulting in the near-total destruction of the local Wiradjuri.

Mothers and daughters, 'critical to the management of their households' (Doust 2009, p. 145), played an integral role in taming and domesticating the 'wild' frontier. Indeed, Doust proclaims that 'carefully cultivating a polite society amidst the rawness of the frontier was a major preoccupation for the gentry settlers in the Bathurst district' (p. 150). But in the 1820s in the colony of New South Wales there were still four times as many men as women (Washington 2019), and so the British government set about funding young single women to migrate to Australia from the United Kingdom. Thousands of women, some as young as 13 years old, made the trip over the three decades of 1830s–50s, some travelling to Hobart, others to Sydney, where they stayed at the Immigration Depot in the Hyde Park Barracks, before being placed with families. Women skilled in agricultural work as well as in specific domestic tasks were encouraged to migrate, and while some of these women stayed in the townships, many found work in country postings.

The immigration of women to Australia in the mid-19th century saw a massive increase in the population of the two eastern colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, and contributed to the colonial project by effectively civilising and domesticating the frontier.

4.4.2 Colonial marsupial-skin rugs

When looking at colonial marsupial-skin rugs such as Figures 4.7–4.9, the lineage of the objects back to the Aboriginal-made possum-skin cloak is obvious. The origin of these rugs, the inspiration for their form, design, construction and function clearly lies in Aboriginal-made possum-skin cloaks.

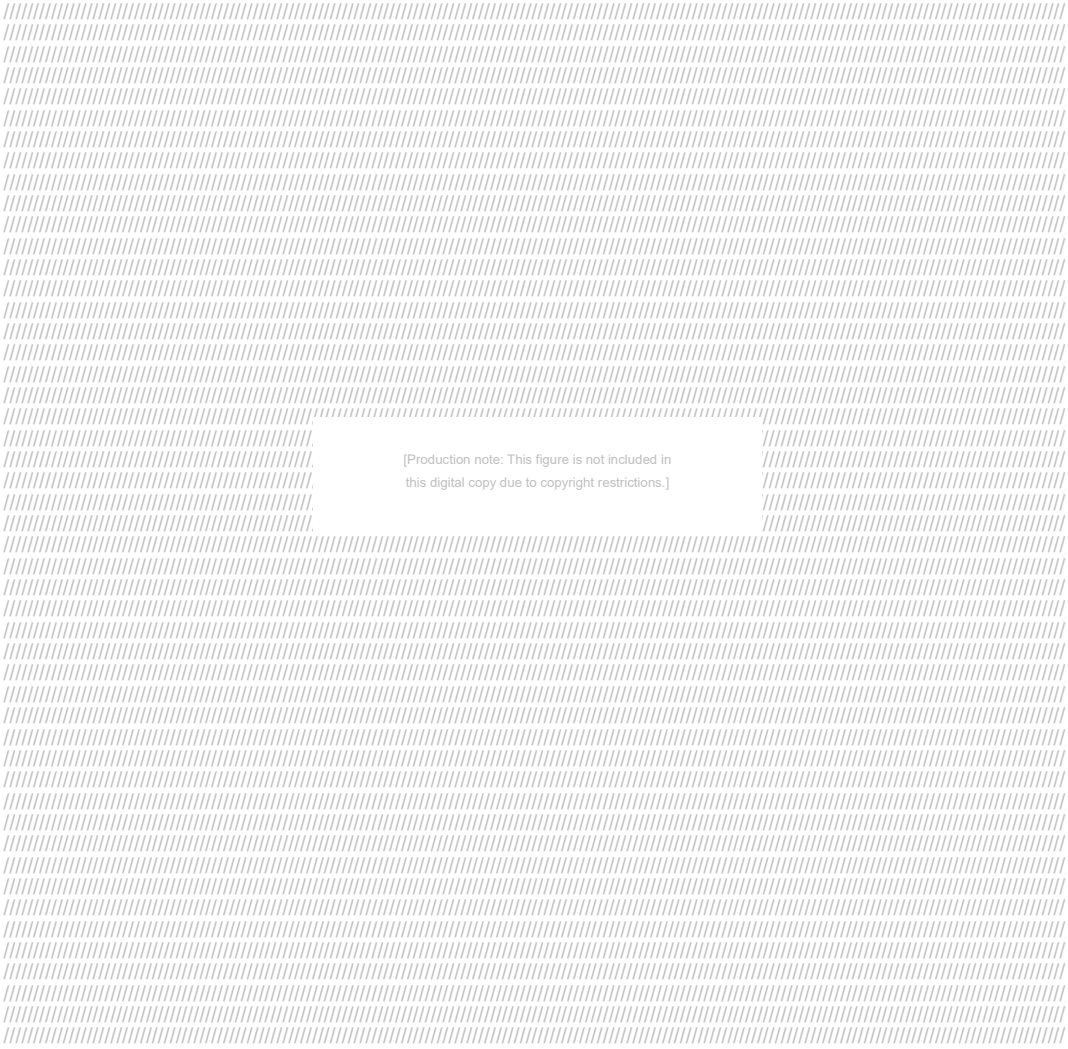


Figure 4.7: Maker unknown, *Possum-skin rug* from Bathurst, New South Wales, c.1935, Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, Sydney, 87/306, sourced <https://ma.as/75192>

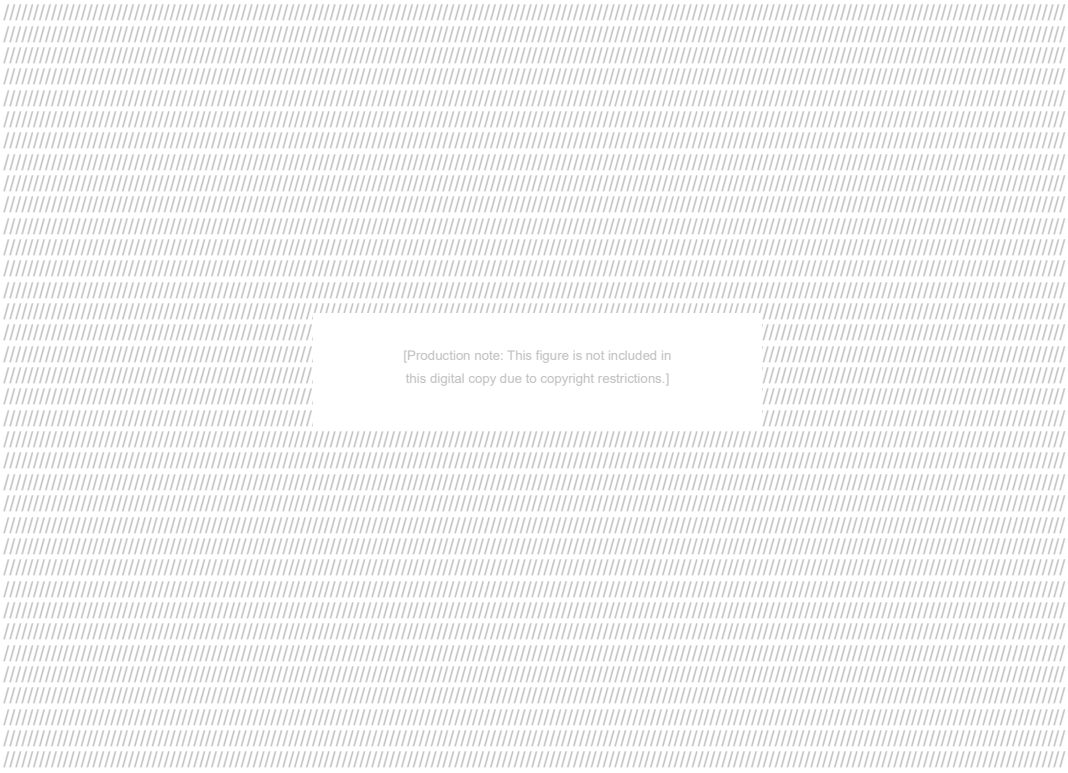


Figure 4.8: Maker unknown, *Car rug made of possum skin*, n.d., used by Helen Easton (1903–1962), Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, Sydney, 2007/73/1, sourced <https://ma.as/365877>

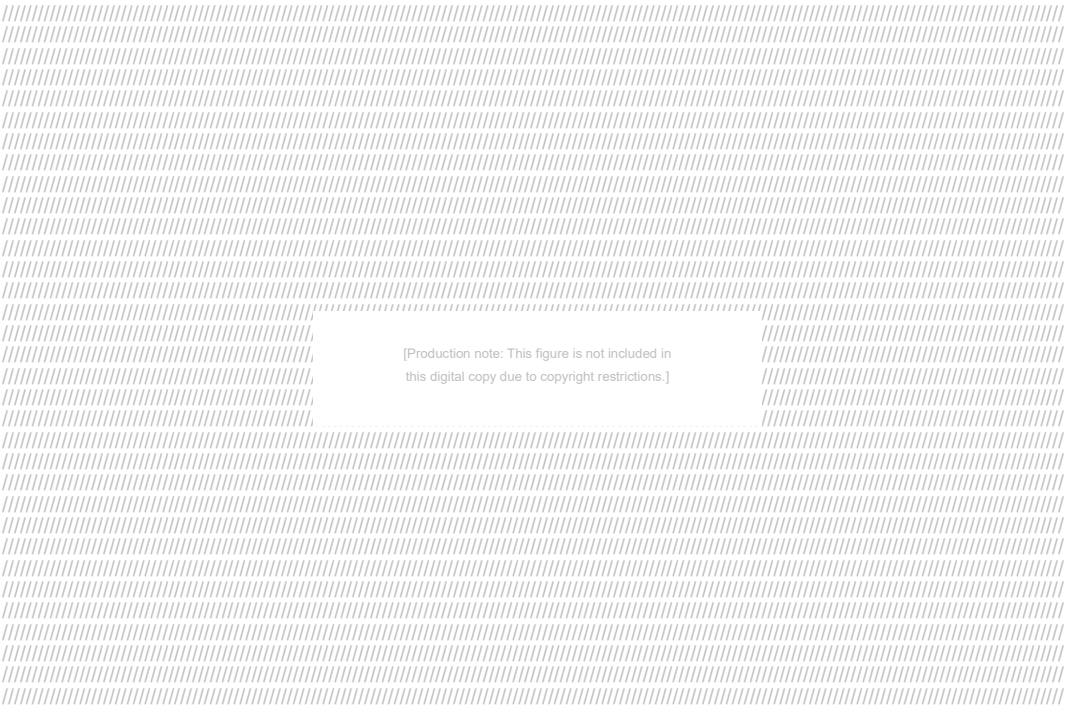


Figure 4.9: Maker unknown, *Platypus-skin rug* from New South Wales, 1880–1930, Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, 2004/71/1, sourced <https://ma.as/343335>

But while there are similarities, there are several key differences. First, there is a degree of domestication that has occurred. These newer, non-Aboriginal made objects are commonly felt-lined (usually with red or brown felt) and generally feature a scalloped edge. The rougher outdoor object of the Aboriginal-made possum-skin cloak has been squared-off and beautified for interior use, the cloak's animal edge replaced with an edging that is western-manufactured, essentially civilising the object and removing any potential for believing the object is Aboriginal-made. The cloak, by the hands of Europeans, had essentially been appropriated, tamed and domesticated.

These objects are also renamed and repositioned. Rather than being referred to as cloaks, something to adorn the body, they are referred to as rugs, domestic furnishings to be placed on beds, furniture or on the floor. Their relationship to the body ceases to exist. In some ways the placing of a cloak-like object on the floor, from my own Wiradjuri perspective, seems an act of cultural demotion, of domination and even desecration. Reverence in these cloak-like objects disappears with this act. They become without spirit, placed on the floor, to be trodden on and simply to serve a domestic and practical purpose.

This renaming and repositioning is further evidenced in the colonial and 20th-century written record. Numerous newspaper articles reveal how the cloak made by Aboriginal people evolved into the marsupial-skin rug made by Australian colonists. This marsupial-skin rug then made its way from the bodies of non-Aboriginal people, to the furniture of their households, to the floors of their homes and eventually to their cars.

> In Australia the sportsman can decorate his house with no trophy of the chase. He may have a few parrots or an ibis in a glass case to assist him to recall some happy week he has passed amongst the duck, teal, and avacet. But of this enjoyment he can bring no lasting memento home, and the most in the way of house decoration that can be expected from the Australian fauna is a 'possum rug or an emu mat. ('A correction' 1880, p. 473)

> At night our hostess will fling down arms-full of rugs into our bedroom—beautiful silver-grey 'possum skins, which you may throw about the floor and on the bed, for there are plenty of them, and to spare. ('The Kiandra carnival' 1901, p. 7)

> The feminine craze for furs continues. One matron recently paraded Hay-street in a mysterious article which on close examination proved to be a metamorphosed 'possum rug. ('Perth prattle' 1918, p. 14)

> In the meantime, Glynne had drawn the curtains of his cosy sitting room, where 'possum rugs made a luxurious covering for the battered Chesterfield, and tanned skins of wallaby and foxes carpeted the floor of polished pine. On the walls there hung many trophies of his chase, for skins of platypus and the tail feathers of lyrebirds reposed side by side with those of wild cats and gorgeous parrots. (Swales 1929, p. 44)

> A short while ago I visited a bush home which was easily the most Australian I have seen. As you entered the front door you stepped over a mat made from an emu skin, while the walls of the hall were decorated with abo. boomerangs, spears, nulla-nullas, and other abo. weapons. The seats of the homemade chairs were made from 'possum skins while a beautiful rug made from platypus skins adorned the sofa. This rug had been made years before there was any restriction placed on the killing of the platypus. The wife of the owner of this bush home had a fine fur coat made from black rabbit skins; the farmer himself had a coat made from kangaroo skins. In each bedroom there were rugs made from the skins of 'possums, wallabies, and rabbits, while every room had an emu-skin mat. Most of the furniture was homemade, and what was not homemade was made from Australian timber.—'WOOLAHRA'. ('Real Australian' 1937, p. 2)

The journey of the possum-skin cloak away from Aboriginal hands and bodies reflects the success of the colonial project in distancing Aboriginal people from their traditional cultural practices. There is also, in these colonial marsupial-skin rugs, a degree of disrespect being given to the creatures that have given their lives and provided their skins.

While the appropriation of cloak-making served new domestic and now entirely non-spiritual purposes, this whitewashed cultural practice, along with its accompanying sanitised history and myth-making, made a contribution to Australian colonial legitimisation and emerging nationalism. On the other hand, for Aboriginal people the impacts were detrimental and largely twofold. Firstly, for those able to continue making possum-skin cloaks for a commercial purpose, that market had largely collapsed with the decline of the goldfields. Secondly, and in part as a result of social movements that followed the end of the gold rush, the social environment was changing—Aboriginal displays of cultural primacy in relation to place were becoming a threat to a society wishing to increasingly assert its own primacy.

4.4.3 Trophies and Australiana

In many ways, these cloak-like objects became trophies of Empire, a colonial craft adding to colonial status. They were also harnessed as a means of self-image-making, supporting a new identity and nationalism. Today these objects are viewed and valued as part of non-Aboriginal Australian heritage.

This cultural appropriation for the sake of developing an identity less British and more 'native' took diverse forms. From the adoption of 'Cooee' as a uniquely Australian call, to the use of native animals and plants within emblems of Australian identity, from the Anglicisation of Aboriginal placenames and their corruption as town names, to the practice of giving colonial homesteads Aboriginal names, from the incorporation of Aboriginal weaponry and native flora and fauna into military badges and headwear, to the integration of Aboriginal culture into modern mainstream Australian literature, cultural appropriation worked to continue the colonial project. Academic Tom Griffiths (cited in Furphy 2009), argues that:

> Throughout their history-making, Europeans sought to take hold of the land emotionally and spiritually, and they could not help but deny, displace and sometimes accommodate Aboriginal perceptions of place. They were feeling their way towards the realisation that becoming Australian would, in some senses, mean becoming 'Aboriginal'. (p. 59)

Australiana is a broad subject matter. Placenames of Aboriginal origins—for example, Dubbo, Echuca and Berri, in the south-east of the country—can be considered examples of Australiana. Another example is the appropriation of the Bunyip into Australian folklore and its transformation from a revered spiritual being into anything from a derogatory phrase, a synonym for myth or fake, through to a clumsy if not endearing swamp monster for children's consumption and the title for a country town newspaper (The Bunyip 2000). Bunyip also appears as the name of an anthropomorphised koala, Bunyip Bluegum, in Norman Lindsay's contribution to Australian children's folklore, *The magic pudding*.

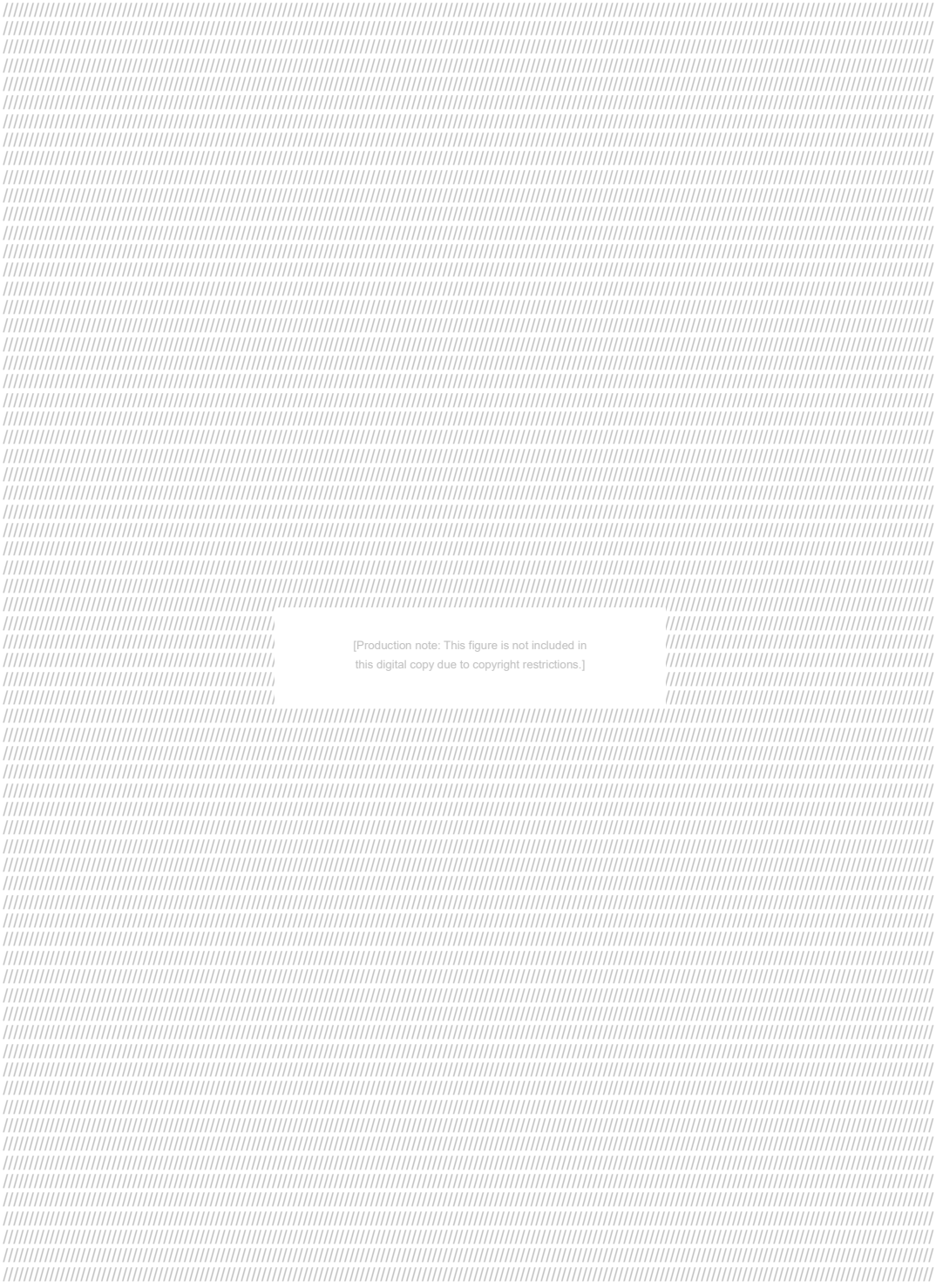


Figure 4.10: Troedel & Co. (artist), Alfred Martin Ebsworth, Melbourne (publisher), *The story of the bunyip*, 29 July 1882, print: wood engraving, col., State Library of Victoria, A/S29/07/82/Supp

Other examples of attempts to create a homegrown and legitimate Australian culture include the stories of May Gibbs and her gumnut bush baby characters Snugglepot and Cuddlepie, and the adoption of an Aboriginal name, Moomba, for a unique Melbourne festival along with its now defunct Sydney equivalent, the Waratah Festival. In literature, the Jindyworobak Movement of the 1930s–50s appropriated Aboriginal subjects, language and beliefs for use in wider Australian culture. Wanting to fully integrate Aboriginal culture into their own work, the Jindys,

led by poet Rex Ingamells, shared perspective with non-Indigenous visual artists such as Margaret Preston.

The following four case studies examine the appropriation of Aboriginal subjects, materials, language and culture in the service of an emerging Australian national identity.

4.4.3A Case study: Corroboree

First performed at Sydney's Empire Theatre on 3 July 1950, *Corroboree* is a 1940s symphonic ballet composed by John Antill and choreographed by Rex Reid. The Robin Lovejoy-designed costumes for the ballet appropriated Aboriginal designs, creating a pastiche totemic identity. Antill directed the performers to make 'grotesque facial expressions' (Potter 2004, p. 12), playing into colonial stereotypes of Aboriginal people. The work was based on Antill's childhood memories of visiting the La Perouse Aboriginal settlement in Sydney (National Film and Sound Archive of Australia 2020).

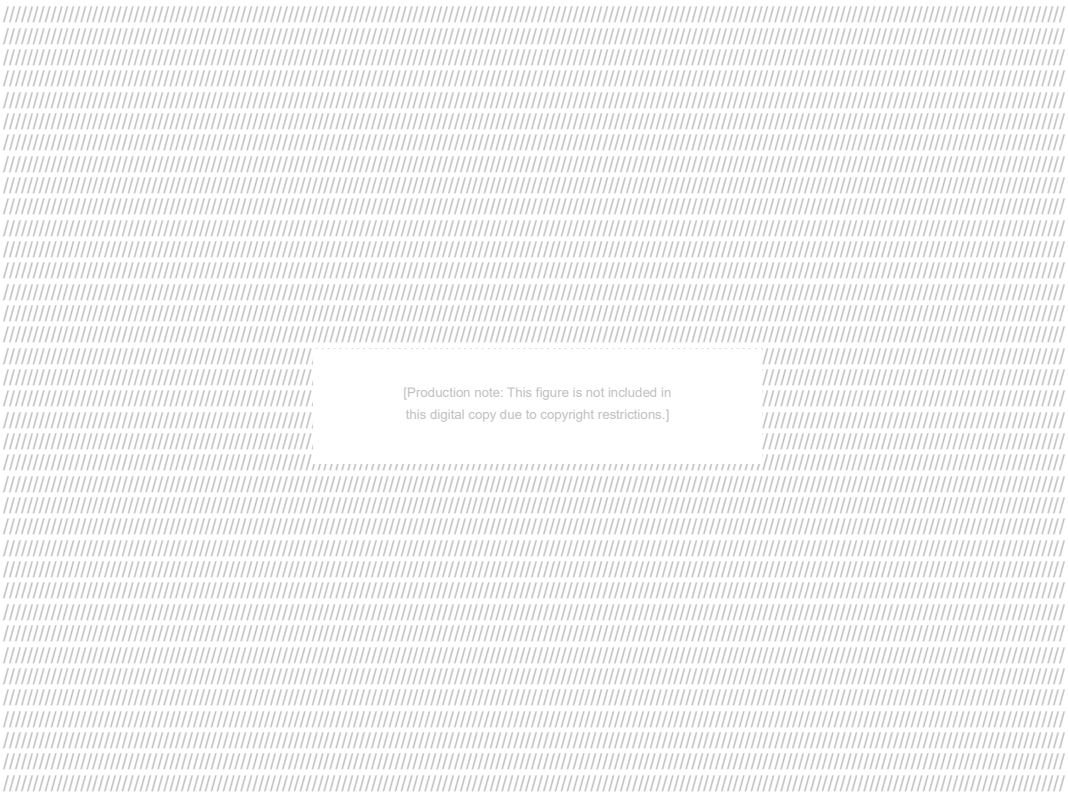


Figure 4.11: Bill Brindle, *During the rain dance in* Corroboree*, the sky darkens, lightning flashes, thunder peals but, as so often happens in inland Australia, all this fury is followed by only a few drops of rain*, 1950?, photograph: b&w, 22 x 17 cm or smaller, National Library of Australia, PIC Box P2181/2 #P2181/2, nla.obj-143662211, sourced <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-143662211>

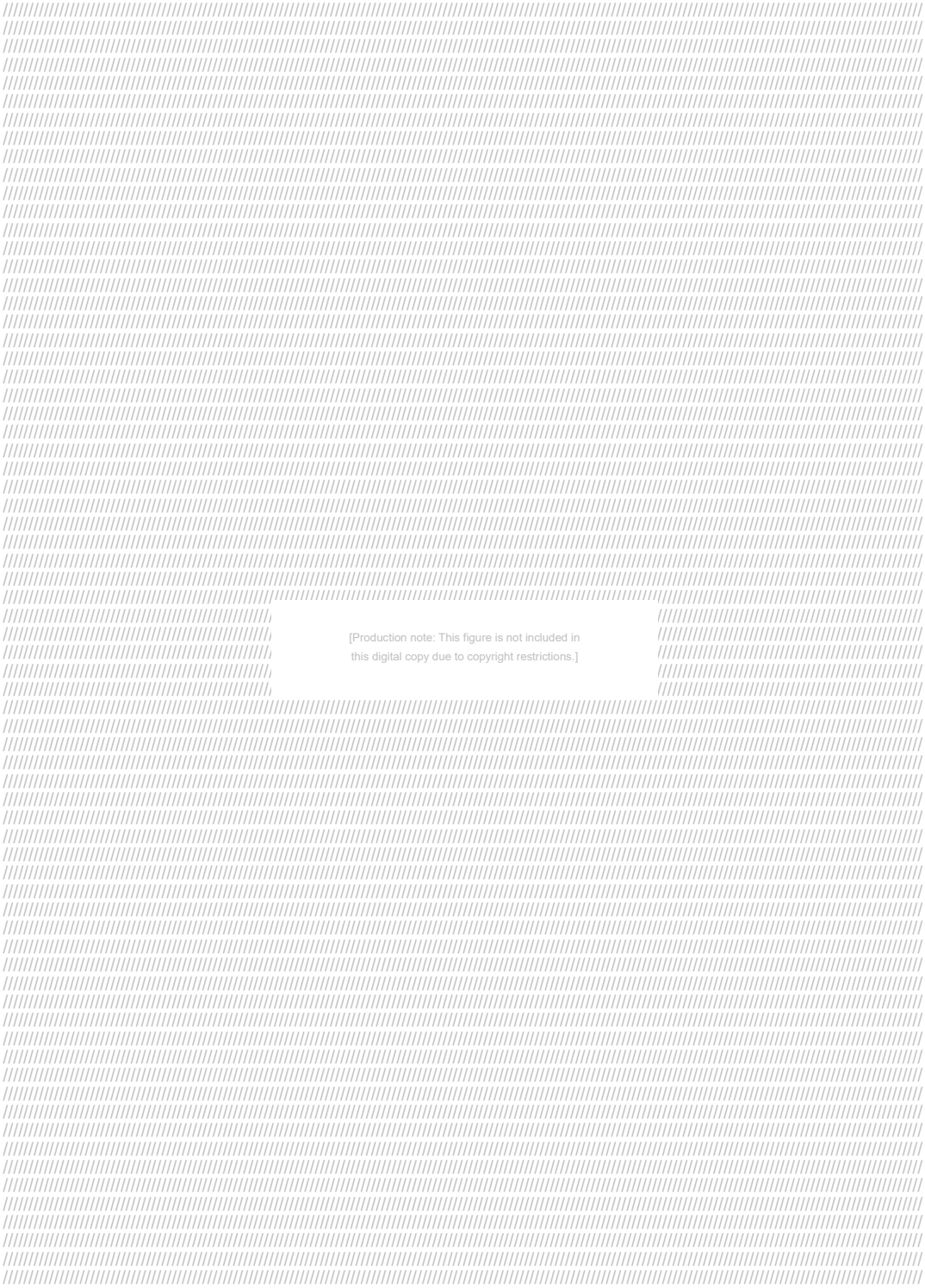


Figure 4.12: Australian Film Collection, *The Australian Ballet* Corroboree*, 1951*, 2011, poster, National Film and Sound Archive, sourced <http://shop.nfsa.gov.au/australian-ballet-the-corroboree>

Corroboree is celebrated as 'the first ballet work by an Australian composer on an Australian subject to become internationally performed, recorded and released' (National Film and Sound Archive of Australia 2020). The ballet was staged for Queen Elizabeth II during her 1954 Royal Tour, and a regional tour followed, with *Corroboree* performed 87 times in 20 country towns to more than 55,000 people (National Film and Sound Archive of Australia 2020). In 1970, on the

200th anniversary of James Cook's first voyage, the ballet was restaged (National Film and Sound Archive of Australia 2020).

In *Corroboree* the once-unfamiliar and alien environment of Australia is tamed, secularised, infantilised and domesticated. This ballet represents a pivotal moment in the creation of an Australian identity with Aboriginal culture, albeit appropriated, at its core. It stands for something completely Australian, but also sets modern Australia apart from its 'exotic' and 'savage' past, signifying progress and modernisation.

4.4.3B Case study: Cooee

Cooee is a world-famous Australian word. First recorded by First Fleet officer Watkin Tench, the Dharug word was understood as a way to call out to people through the bush, and is today associated with the long distances of the Australian outback. As early as the 1820s the word 'cooee' had entered the Australian and New Zealand vernacular, and by the 1840s it had been heard on the streets of London (Bowen 2008). In 1865 the word, spelled 'cooey', was included in an English slang dictionary (Hotten 1865).

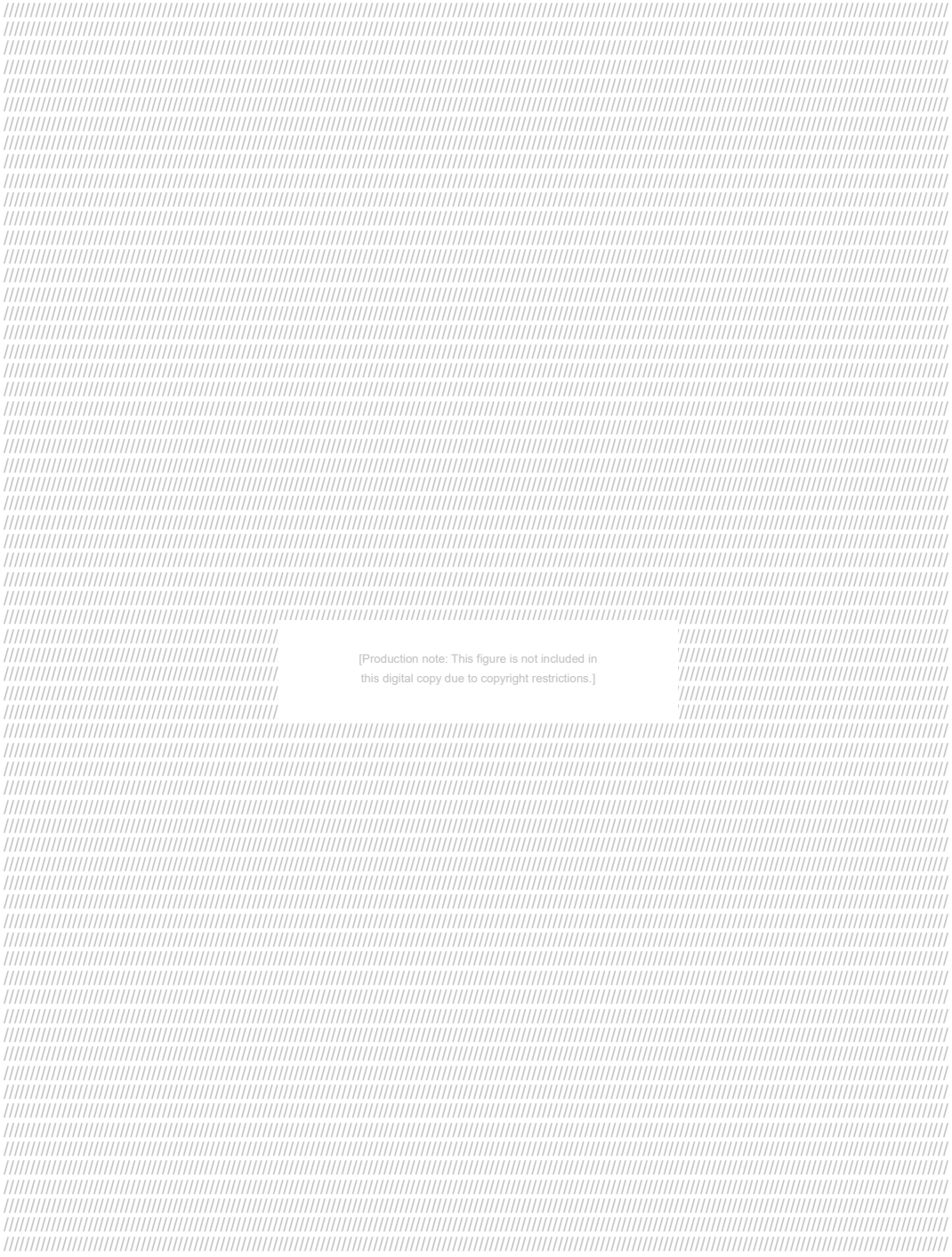


Figure 4.13: Frank G. King (words and music), W.J. Deane & Son, Sydney (publisher), *Coo-ee Mary, my little gum tree queen*, c.1908, National Library of Australia, MUS NL mba 784.71994 K52, sourced <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-166430855/view?partId=nla.obj-166430864#>

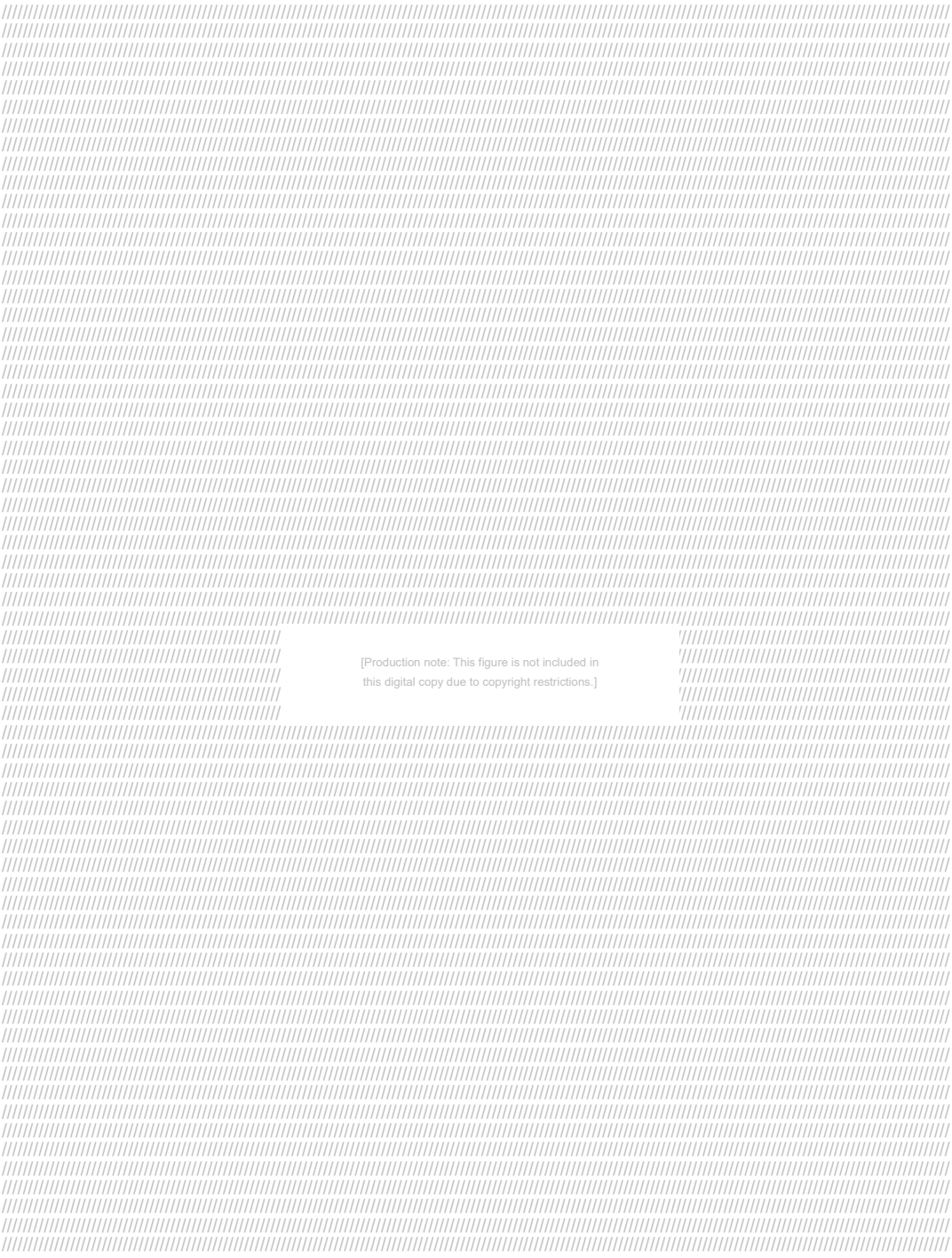


Figure 4.14: H.M. Burton, *A call from the Dardanelles*, 1915, poster for the Defence Department of the Commonwealth, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, ARTV05167, sourced <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/ARTV05167/>

In Australia ‘cooee’ is adopted by organisations and for placenames, most famously used during World War I for the Cooee March (see Figure 4.15), a recruitment march that started in Gilgandra in Central New South Wales with 35 men, ending in Sydney having increased to more than 270 men (Davies 2015). The word is used throughout the war, appearing on sheet music and magazine covers (see Figures 4.13, 4.14, 4.16 and 4.17), employed for its

embodiment of the quintessence of Australia and its potential as a galvanising and uniting force, metaphorically bridging the long distances suffered as a result of war.

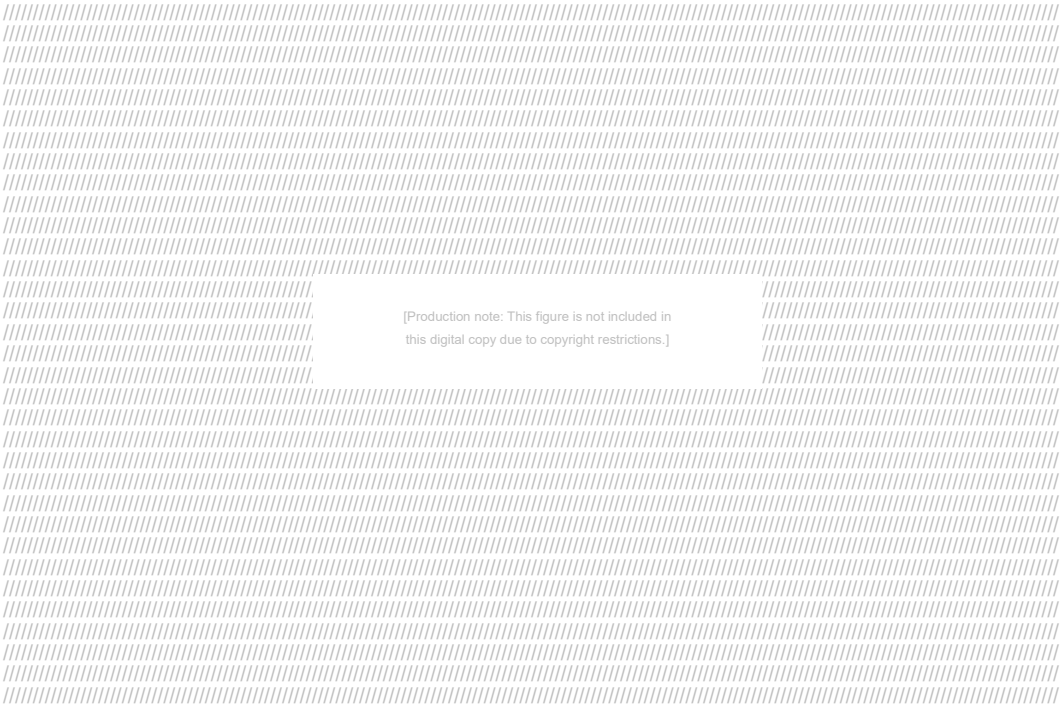


Figure 4.15: *Cooee March*, 10 October 1915, Gilgandra Shire Library, North-Western Library, New South Wales, 118756, sourced <https://nwls.spydus.com/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/ENQ/WPAC/BIBENQ?SETLVL=&BRN=118756>

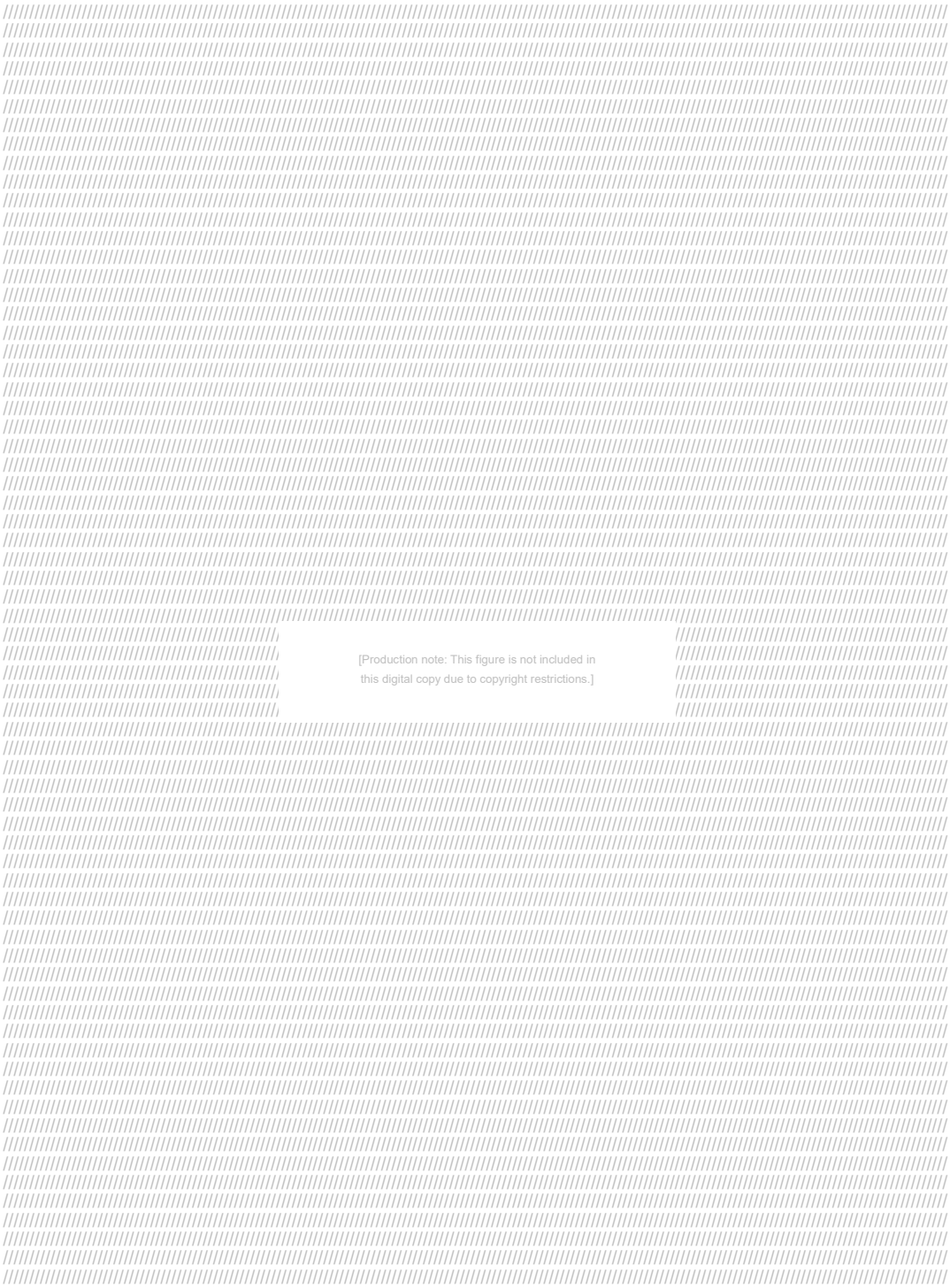


Figure 4.16: Sam Cowan and Edward H. Tyrrell, *Cooee's answer (to the call from the Dardanelles)*, 1915, National Library of Australia, MUS N mba 783.2421599 T993, sourced <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-178028686>

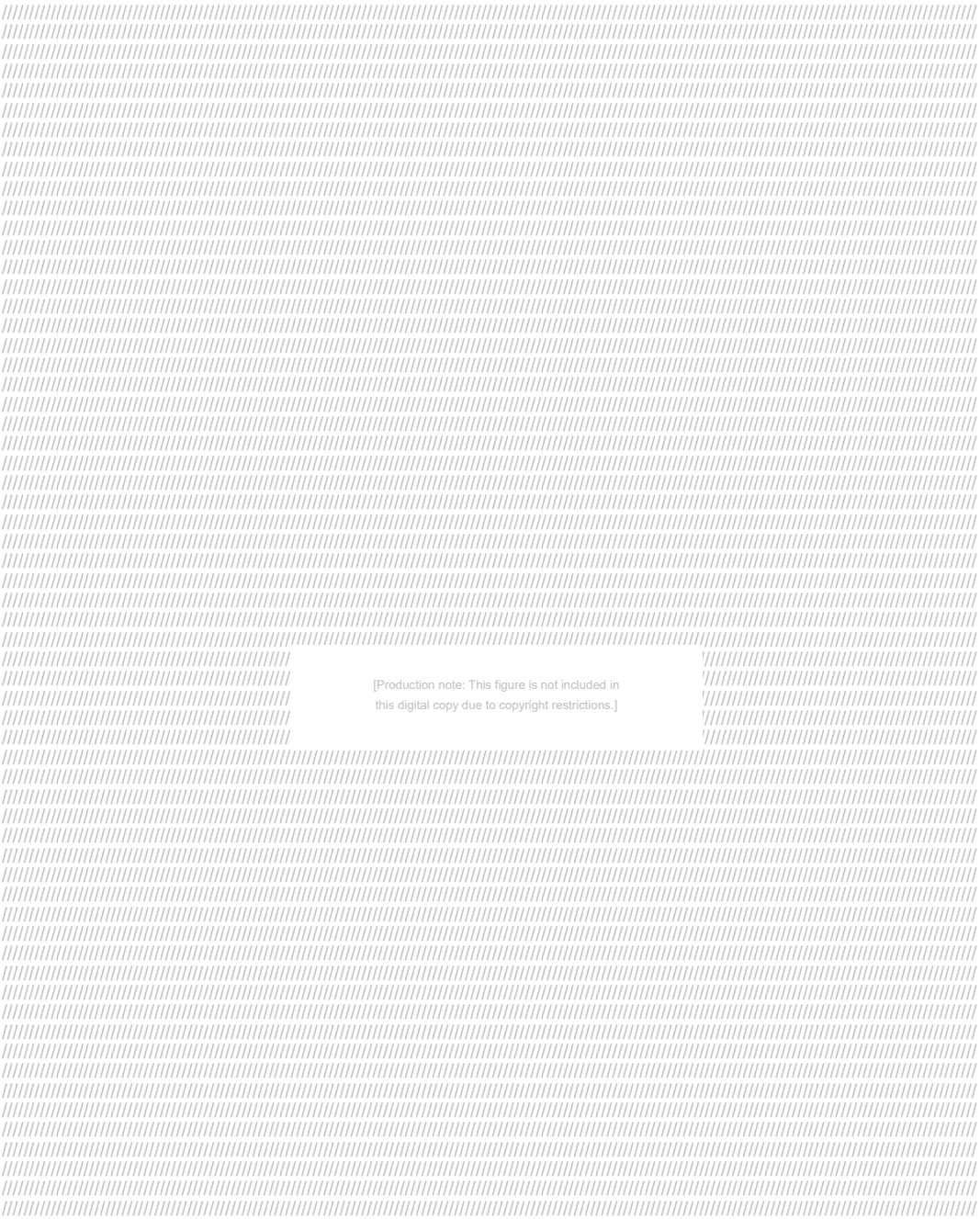


Figure 4.17: David Barker (illustrator), *The Kia Ora Coo-ee, no. 3*, 15 September 1918, Museums Victoria, HT 11614, sourced <https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/1183017>

4.4.3C Case study: badges and headwear

Just as the word ‘cooee’ was utilised by the Gilgandra diggers in the 1915 Cooee March, native visual elements were co-opted throughout the armed services. Badges feature Australian native plants such as wattle and native animals including kangaroos, emus and black swans, and other insignia feature Aboriginal male figures and Aboriginal cultural objects, including clubs and axes, in particular boomerangs. Hats feature plumage of emu feathers and bands of possum fur.

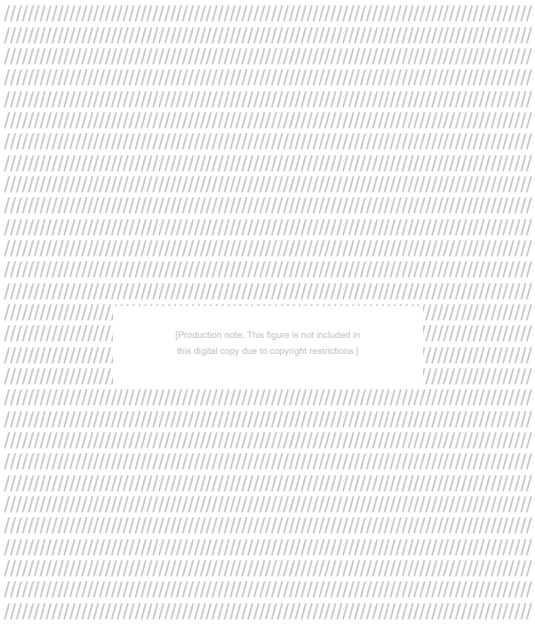


Figure 4.18: Bi-metal hat badge of the 9th Australian Light Horse Regiment (Victorian mounted Rifles), c.1903–12, Australian War Memorial, REL/05784.207, sourced <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C120563>

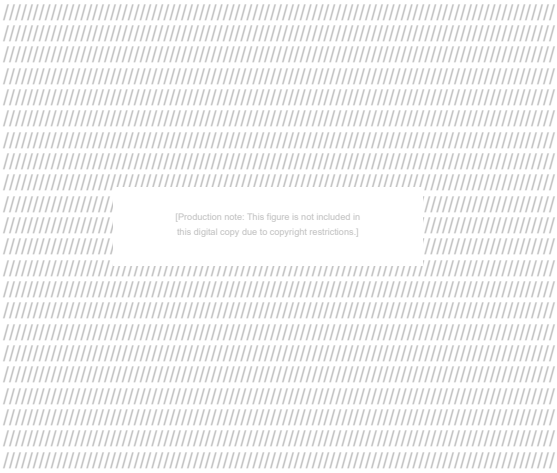


Figure 4.19: Badge of the 1st Australian Horse Regiment, sourced <http://www.diggerhistory.info/pages-conflicts-periods/ww1/lt-horse/first-aust-horse.htm>

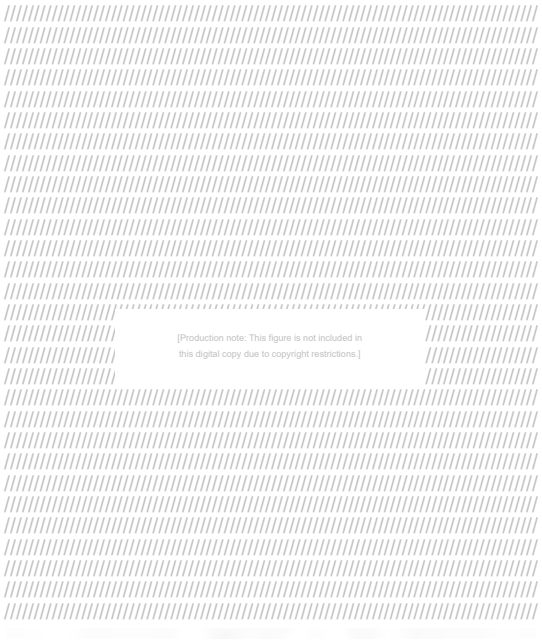


Figure 4.20: Badge of the 10th Light Horse Regiment, sourced <http://www.diggerhistory.info/pages-army-today/state-regts/10-lt-horse.htm>

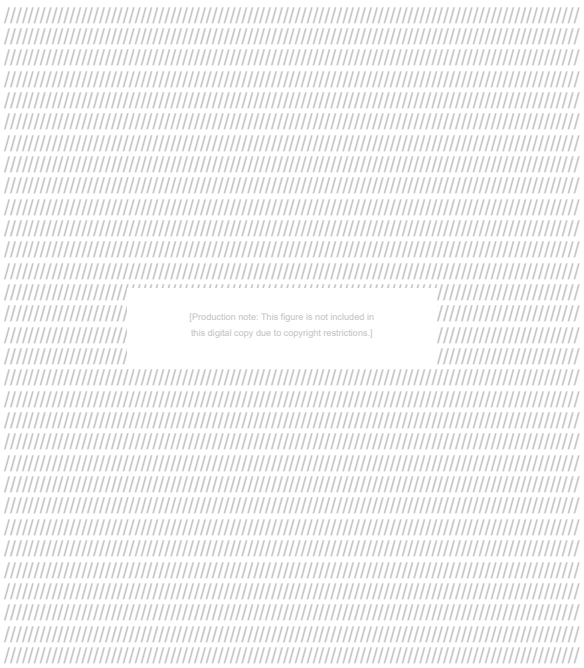


Figure 4.21: *HMAS Arunta (II)* crest, sourced <https://www.navy.gov.au/hmas-arunta-ii>

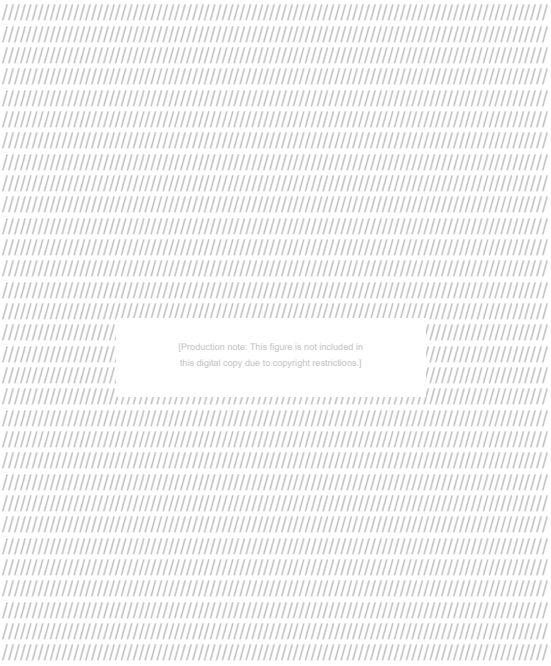


Figure 4.22: *HMAS Warramunga (II)* crest, sourced <https://www.navy.gov.au/hmas-warramunga-ii>

Within the armed forces, the boomerang becomes a symbol of the safe return home. The Australian War Memorial (2020) tells how badges featuring boomerangs

> were commonly presented to servicemen and servicewomen before their departure for war service to symbolise their safe return home. They have also been used in designs for sweetheart badges, which were worn by female relatives of men serving in wartime as a symbol of hope for the safe return of their loved ones. (para. 1)

In Queensland during World War I, the light horse unit wore emu plumes in their hats (see Figure 4.23), and soon this practice spread to most units. One exception was the 6th Light Horse (Figure 4.24), the members of which wore a puggaree or band of possum fur (Rutherford 2014).

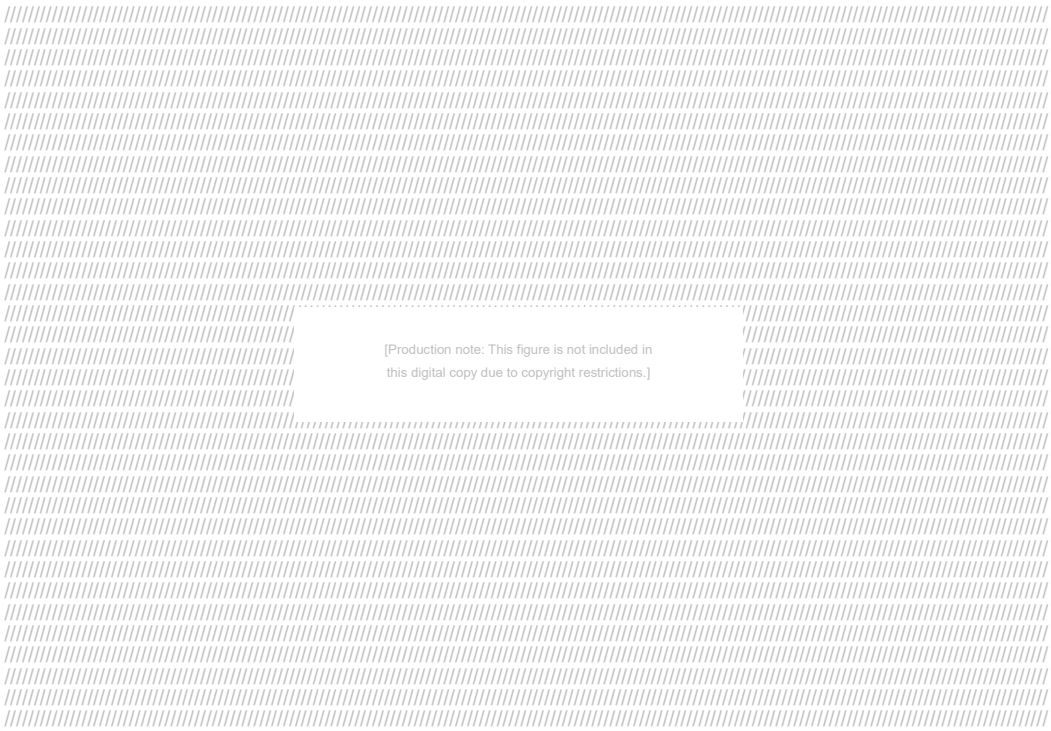


Figure 4.23: Light Horse slouch hat with pleated puggaree and emu plume. This puggaree may have come from a cork helmet. It is common to see Light Horsemen wearing that style of puggaree on their slouch hats, or their pleated prewar unit puggaree, sourced <https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/australian-imperial-force-aif-headwear-1914-1918>

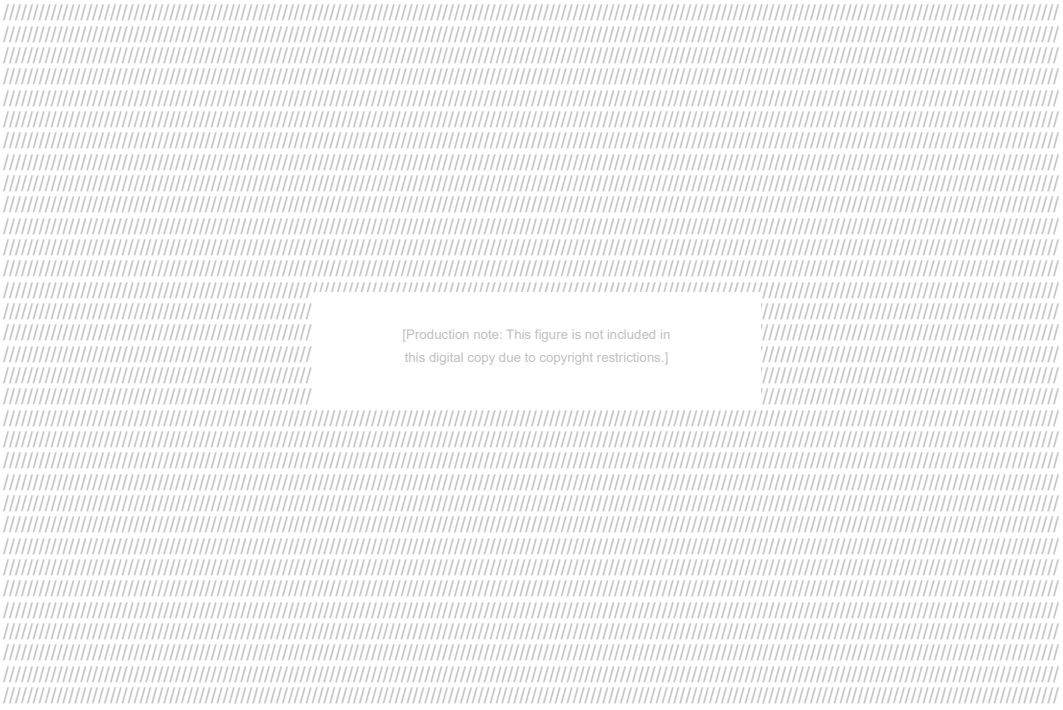


Figure 4.24: Akubra First World War 6th Australian Light Horse Slouch Hat (reproduction), sourced <https://www.lawranceordnance.com/default/akubra-first-world-war-6th-australian-light-horse-slouch-hat.html>

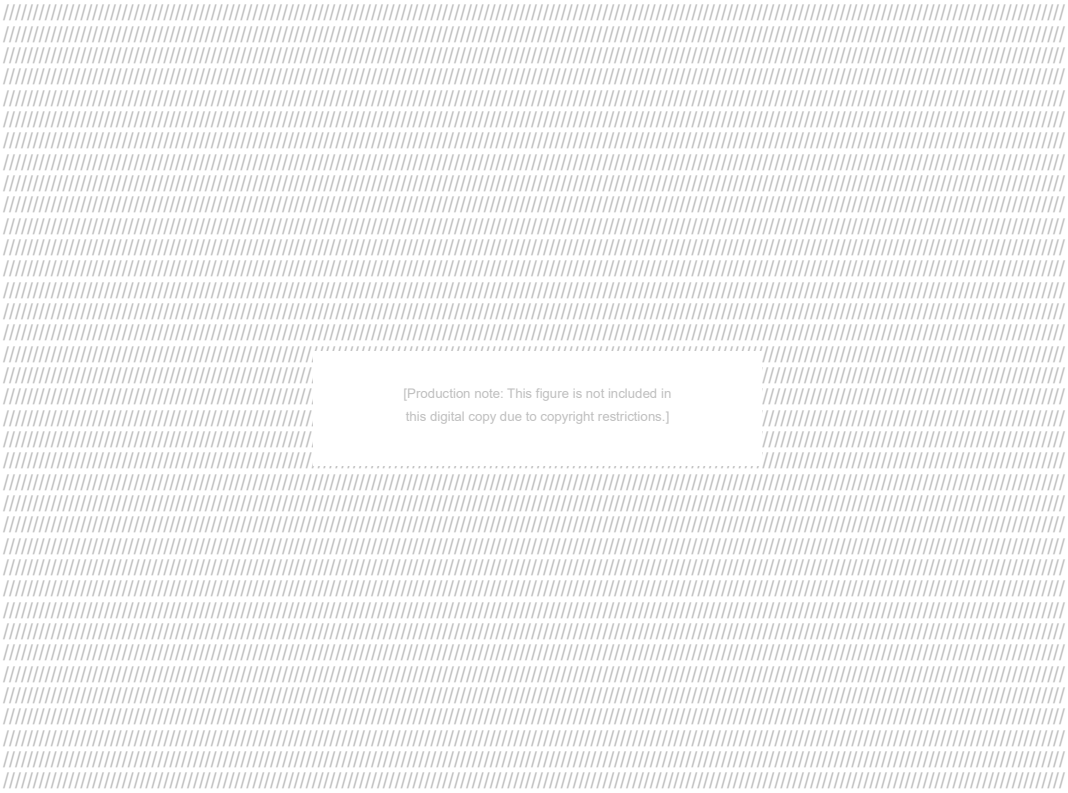


Figure 4.25: Josiah Barnes, photograph from Josiah Barnes collection of First World War negatives and prints, 10 May 1917, Australian War Memorial, PB0271, source <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1042883>

The adoption of these elements in the emblems and attire of the Australian armed forces shows how Aboriginal cultural signifiers hold power for non-Aboriginal Australians. These items were and are adopted not only for their uniqueness and their quintessential representation of Australia, but for the way they represent strength, power and status.

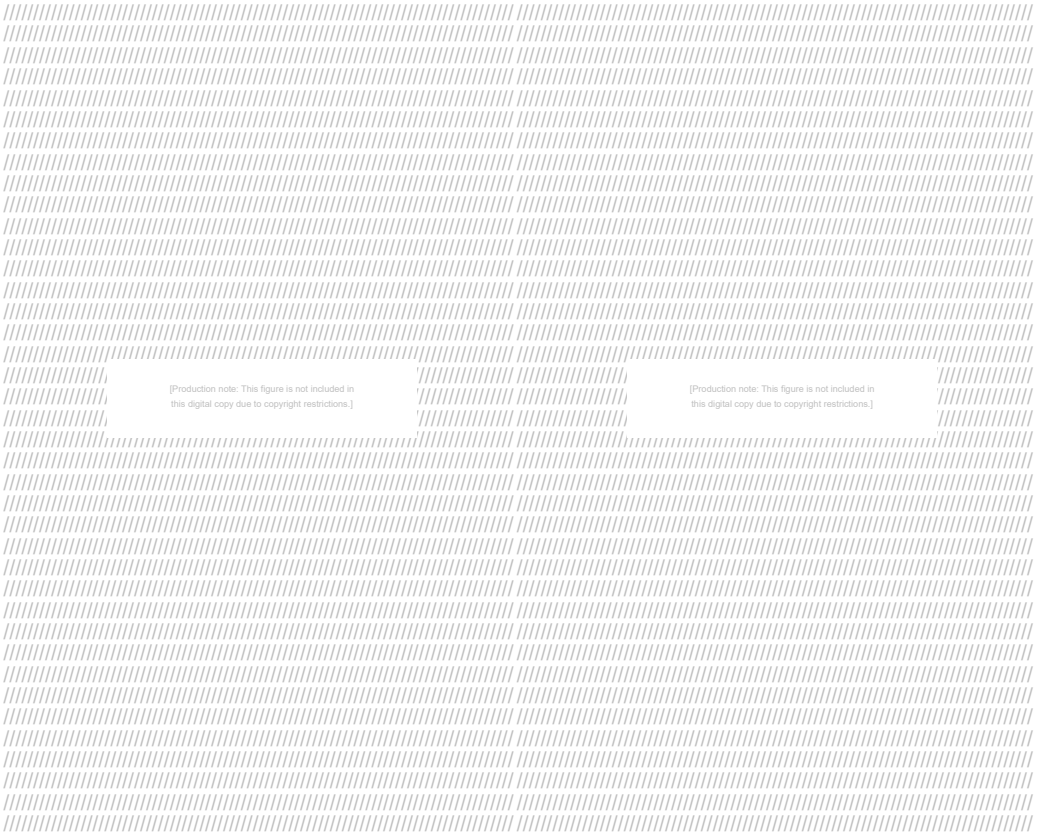
4.4.3D Case study: emu egg sculptures

Early Australian silversmiths also demonstrated colonial identity by incorporating native plants, animals, figures and even materials such as emu eggs into their works, these works often being created for inclusion in international industrial exhibitions of the 19th century as examples of colonial creativity and identity.

Dating to the mid-1850s, and flourishing throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, emu-egg carving was practised by some of the colonies' first immigrant silversmiths. Creating silver-mounted emu eggs carved in the cameo style for gifts and ornaments, these silversmiths sold their work locally and sometimes to markets in England and Europe. Subjects include Australian native flora and fauna such as emus, kookaburras and kangaroos, Aboriginal hunting scenes, and stockmen and swagmen, and objects range from perfume bottles, teapots and jewellery cases, to vessels and ornaments. Understood as curios, silver-mounted carved emu eggs present 'exotic' elements of Australian culture to the world.

Figures 4.26 and 4.27: Julius Schomburgk, *Inkwell with mounted emu egg and Aboriginal figures*, c.1870, metalwork, inkstands, sterling silver: cast, chased and repoussé decoration, emu egg, 31 x 25.5 x 16.5 cm, National Gallery of Australia, NGA 2007.1223, sourced <https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=166764>

Figures 4.26 and 4.27 show a work by Julius Schomburgk depicting a hunting scene: an Aboriginal man clad in a possum-skin cloak stands atop the carcass of a emu that he has just slain with the spear he holds, beneath him on the mount two kangaroos frame another Aboriginal figure in a cloak (National Gallery of Australia 2014). Similarly, Figures 4.28 and 4.29, again a work by Schomburgk, bring together the Aboriginal hunter with native animals. Aboriginal materials along with Aboriginal figures and subject matter are employed in making curios that speak to place, and speak to a taming of that place, a commodification of native elements in the seeking of an Australian identity.



Figures 4.28 and 4.29: Julius Schomburgk, *Cup with mounted emu egg*, c.1862, metalwork, cups, sterling silver: cast, chased and repoussé decoration, emu egg, 32 x 13 x 13 cm, National Gallery of Australia, NGA 2007.1222, sourced <https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=166768>

Emu eggs became protected in the 20th century, resulting in a decline of this craft, but now with emu farming, Aboriginal people can access eggs and carving has been picked up by Aboriginal makers.

In a move to both domesticate the wild frontier and to form a national identity separate from the motherland, colonial Australians 'borrowed' native imagery, subject matter and symbolism, even the raw materials themselves. These items helped to define the colony's achievements while characterising its non-Indigenous inhabitants as a modern, progressive and civilised counterpoint to the 'uncivilised natives'. These actions at once cast Aboriginal people and culture as 'other' and as 'historical', while destroying Aboriginal cultural practices, economy and trade.

4.5 An environment of fear

In the late 19th century the church and government established missions, reserves and stations across Australia to corral and control Aboriginal people. As Aboriginal communities were massacred, displaced from country by settlement are marginalised by pastoralists, Aboriginal people became increasingly seen as a burden on the state and a 'problem' that needed to be solved. In fact, the plight of Aboriginal people was often referred to in 19th and 20th centuries newspapers as the 'Aboriginal Problem'.

Missions, stations and reserves were administered by churches but also through the overarching Protection Board, which implemented various policies to 'deal' with Aboriginal people, including separation, protection and assimilation. One particularly devastating piece of legislation was the *Half-Caste Act*, which saw any Aboriginal person of mixed descent separated from their family, and if a child they were sent to boys and girls homes or into service with non-Aboriginal families. The impacts of this act are explored in the following case study (section 4.5.3A Case study: Coranderrk Aboriginal Station), addressing the history of Coranderrk.

From the very beginning of non-Aboriginal history in Australia, engagement with Aboriginal people was often from the perspective of 'protection'. This is seen in how the colonial government issues blankets to Aboriginal people in place of their possum-skin cloaks, and as a way of taking a census of the Aboriginal population of an area. 'Protection' gained traction and became a specific policy of the various Boards of Protection for the states of Australia in the early 20th century. Removing Aboriginal children from their parents came under these powers, as did the authority of missions, stations and reserves to control all facets of an Aboriginal person's life.

The Boards then shifted to policy of assimilation, which went hand in hand with the repression of Aboriginal people's traditional cultural practices, from object-making, such as the creation of carved wooden objects and possum-skin cloaks, to the speaking of language. The purpose of this policy was to 'blend' Aboriginal people into mainstream society, thus solving the 'Aboriginal Problem'. But while some cultural practices were forbidden, others were encouraged; those encouraged were considered not a threat to the civilised mainstream society. One key example of this trend was at La Perouse Aboriginal mission in Sydney, where a booming tourist industry in the late 19th to mid-20th century saw daytrippers make the visit to the picturesque seaside location to buy carved boomerangs and shell-worked boxes and trinkets.

All these elements come together to create an environment of fear, one in which Aboriginal people understandably no longer feel safe in creating cultural objects such as possum-skin cloaks.

4.5.1 The 'Aboriginal Problem'

During the period this chapter covers, post-gold rush and into the 20th century, the Aboriginal populations of Australia were increasingly understood as a 'problem'. (Arguably, this was the perspective since the beginning of contact and invasion, and can be understood as a persistent perspective in the way Aboriginal communities are spoken about in terms of deficit.) But at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, as towns were established, small-scale farms proliferated and the agricultural industry grew, non-Indigenous residents of country towns did not want Aboriginal families and who had by then been marginalised and pushed to

the fringes of settlements, occupying the towns. Aboriginal people had to be managed, the problem either eliminated or assimilated.

This is evidenced in the written record. The following two quotes, taken from Australian regional newspapers from around the turn of the century, are emblematic of the public mood that persisted well into the 20th century, revealing how non-Aboriginal Australians felt about the 'Aboriginal Problem':

> There must be large reserves set apart, native settlements encouraged, and a 'protector' or superintendent placed over the whole, whose knowledge of and sympathy with the blacks shall secure that the best possible course shall be taken. ('The case of the Aborigines' 1895, p. 886)

> As is known the constant complaints of townspeople against the nomadic half-caste remnant which appeared to idle away time in the mission camp at North Yass, and beg from house to house for subsistence, led to the breaking up of the quarters here, the authorities setting apart a reserve on the Pudman as a mission camp, to which these unfortunate wanderers were ordered to go, if they wished to have their claims recognised and to receive Government assistance. Those of them who had become accustomed to the town life offered a sullen resistance to the change of location as long as they could, but gradually they have followed each other out to this reserve and are making for themselves there some sort of rude homes and are entering upon the pursuit of ruder conditions, practically out with supervision and without restraint. As both correspondents point out, their children have overrun the local school, exceeding the children of the white population, and to all intents and purposes elbowing them out of the school altogether. This is a state of affairs which cannot long be tolerated; it is improbable the parents of the district will care for the association of their children of tender years—if only half-a-dozen of them, with the ill-regulated, ill-clad and doubtless more [often?] filthy offspring of the mission camp, and there are the strongest possible reasons why the association should be spared the children of the settlers. ('The Aboriginal problem' 1903, p. 2)

4.5.2 Protection Board

In 1837 in London a Parliamentary Select Committee presented a *Report on Aboriginal Tribes* to the House of Commons; this report (cited in AIATSIS 2010) included a suggestions chapter recommending that

> the protection of Aborigines should be considered as a duty belonging to the executive government; religious instruction and education be provided to Aborigines; missionaries be encouraged to work with Aborigines. (para. 10)

Thus so the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, known as the Board for Protection or the Protection Board, was established in various Australian states. While Victoria had had a Protector for Aborigines since 1839, the Board was only established there in the 1860s; in New South Wales and Western Australia the Boards were established in the 1880s; in South Australia there had been a Protector since 1836, and the Board was established in 1939.

The Board administered state-run institutions and appointed Protectors to each region. These Protectors controlled almost all aspects of the lives of Aboriginal people, determining where Aboriginal people could live and work, representing Aboriginal people in legal proceedings, and issuing permits for Aboriginal people to travel off missions, stations and reserves.

4.5.3 Half-Caste Act

Known colloquially as the *Half-Caste Act*, this series of legislation was implemented across Australia throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In Victoria, for example, it is known as the *Half-Caste Act 1886*, in Western Australia, the *Aborigines Protection Act 1886*; in New South Wales, while the official removal of 'half-castes' was legislated under the *Aborigines Protection Act 1909* the removal of Aboriginal children had occurred under general welfare legislation for decades prior (Read 1981/2006), stretching back to the founding of the Native Institution in Parramatta in the early 1800s (Campbell 1814).

The *Half-Caste Act* allowed the removal of mixed-race children from their Aboriginal parents, to send the children to either boys or girls homes and then into mainstream society. This removal was purported to provide a 'better life' for the child, but in reality was a form of social engineering. It also removed evidence of frontier violence towards Aboriginal women, and sought to destroy the framework of Aboriginal family and community units. The act was also designed to remove a whole generation from Aboriginal society, thereby rendering that society futureless; this is best understood in the example of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station.

4.5.3A Case study: Coranderrk Aboriginal Station

Dr Jonathan Jones (2018) in his PhD 'Murruwaygu: following in the footsteps of our ancestors' provides a short history of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station:

> Under the leadership of Barak's cousin and Ngurungaeta Simon Wonga, and together with Scottish Presbyterian lay preacher and trusted ally John Green (1830–1903), Woiwurrung walked to an old Wurundjeri campsite at the junction of the Birrarung and Badger Creek, near present-day Healesville in the Yarra Valley. There they established Coranderrk Aboriginal Station in 1863. Named after the Victorian Christmas bush (*Prostanthera lasianthos*) that blooms in profusion in the region, Coranderrk was originally plotted out at 2300 acres and became a sanctuary for 40 Woiwurrung and other displaced Aboriginals. … With Green's assistance, Coranderrk became self-sufficient. They cleared and fenced large tracts of land for vegetables and fruit trees and started running stock. By 1866 the station had grown to 4850 acres and was supporting a population of 300 people. A storeroom, schoolroom, dormitory and bark huts had been built, along with a bakery and brick kiln. … People on Coranderrk made and sold baskets, possum-skin cloaks and carvings such as boomerangs, clubs and shields to supplement their income. (pp. 190–192)

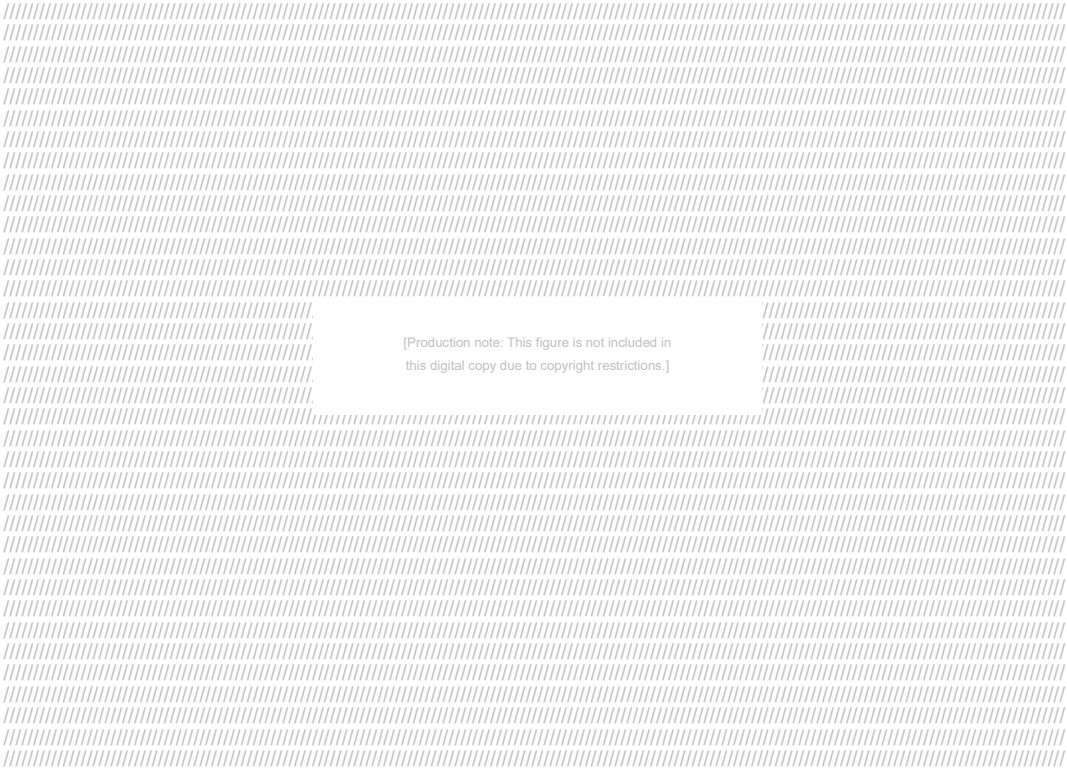


Figure 4.30: Fred Kruger, *Aboriginals in the hop gardens at Coranderrk*, c.1880–82?, photographic print: albumen silver, 14.3 x 20.6 cm, State Library of Victoria, H41138/22, sourced <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295063>

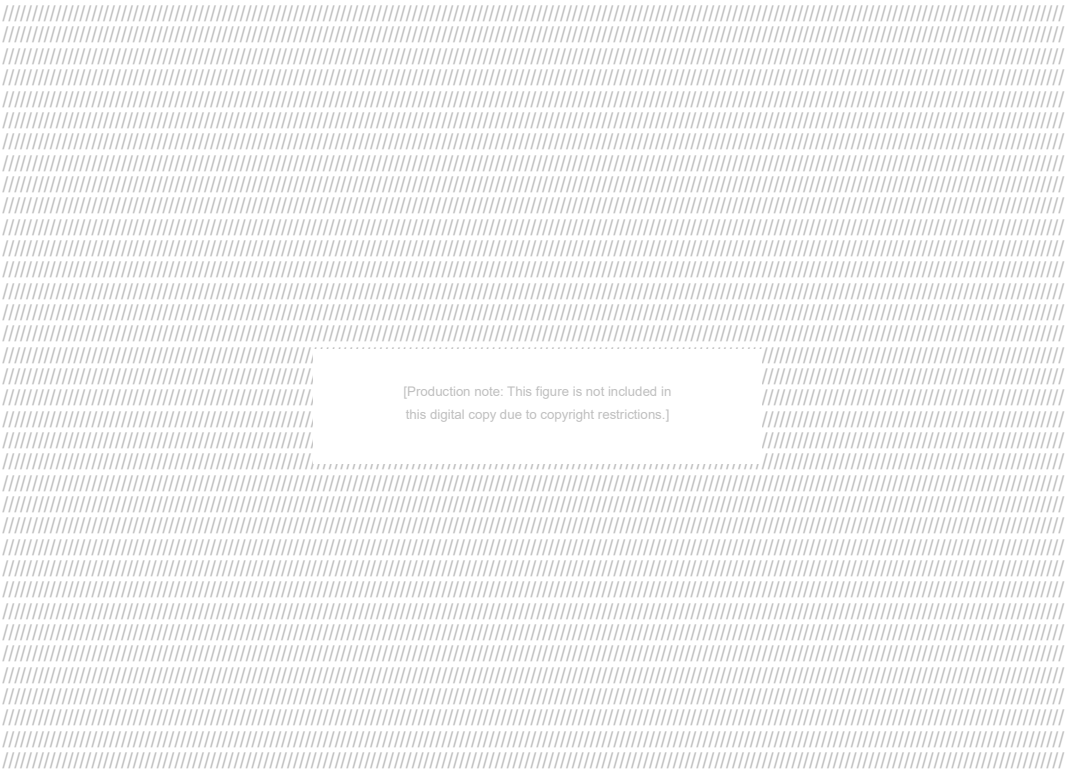


Figure 4.31: Stephens (photographer), *Group of Aborigines at Coranderrk in 1903*, 1903, photographic print, 11.2 x 15.6 cm, State Library of Victoria, H141215, sourced <http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1707390>

But Coranderrk soon felt the effects of government legislation that sought to break up the community. Following the 1881 Coranderrk Inquiry, which saw the removal of then manager Reverend Strickland and halted the relocating of Coranderrk residents to other stations and reserves, five years later, in 1886, the *Half-Caste Act* was passed in Victoria. The act, interpreted as 'an attempt at legal genocide' (Michael Christie, cited in Morrison 2016, para. 10), increased the power of the Protection Board to control the lives of Aboriginal people, and on Coranderrk Aboriginal Station the implementation of the act resulted in the removal of roughly half the population. The act allowed the Board to decree that 'all able-bodied half-castes under the age of 35 years should be told to look out for employment, or seek settlement elsewhere' (Minutes of Evidence 2013, para. 13). Jones (2018) goes on to explain the impacts of the *Half-Caste Act* on Coranderrk:

> With the implementation of the 'half-caste act', slowly the younger, more able-bodied members of the community were expelled from Coranderrk, often taken to Lake Tyers Mission in Gippsland, leaving the old people unable to maintain the station. …The dwindling elderly population were unable to work the land, thus legitimising the Board's breaking up of Coranderrk. (pp. 194–195)

Coranderrk leaders petitioned government and the Victorian public for decades. Jones (2018) cites an appeal written by the Coranderrk Aboriginal community to *The Argus* newspaper ('Coranderrk Aborigines' 1923):

> We are very much in sad distress thinking of how members of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines are breaking our homes up at Coranderrk, and trying to transfer us natives to Lake Tyers against our wish … Remember, we are no more slaves because we are coloured. We are under the British flag, too … They might just as well shoot us than shift us against our will. Will someone fight for us? (p. 15)

But unfortunately the Board prevailed and a year later, in 1924, Coranderrk was closed. In Victoria, the *Half-Caste Act* (cited in Minutes of Evidence 2013) has left a legacy that is felt today, causing

> a level of cultural and social devastation that would reverberate profoundly across future generations, as almost all Victorian Aboriginal people today are descended from the former residents of the reserves. (para. 14)

4.5.4 Protection policy

As per the Board's name, the basis of its operation was the 'protection' of Aboriginal populations of Australia, and policies of segregation and protection were at play until the 1940s, which brought the closure of missions, stations and reserves, the *Freedom of Movement Act* and the change of Board's name from 'protection' to 'welfare'. Anita Heiss (2013) explains the policy of protection:

> The Board's policy was based on a belief that 'protection' of Aboriginal people would lead to their 'advancement' to the point where they would eventually fit into the white community. (para. 7)

By 1911 every state and territory on the Australian mainland had implemented protection policies, as the Board sought total control over Aboriginal peoples' lives, from movement and labour to child welfare and management of personal property (Australians Together 2020). The policies of protection meant that the Boards could determine where Aboriginal people lived, where they could travel and whom they could visit. The Board had the power to

> move Aboriginal people out of towns; set up managers, local committees and local guardians (police) for the reserves; control reserves; prevent liquor being sold to Aboriginals; and to stop whites from associating with Aboriginals or entering the reserves. (National Museum of Australia 2014a, para. 10)

A key symbol of the protection policy, and related to the research topic of possum-skin cloaks, is the government-issued blanket, which were given to Aboriginal people but never truly belonged to them, as the state retained ownership of the blanket.

4.5.4A Government-issued blankets

While blanket-issuing and blanket-wearing in Australia commenced from the earliest colonial times, it increased dramatically during the protection era when Protection Boards were established and tightened their control. As recognised by colonial illustrators and photographers, Aboriginal people often wore blankets like traditional animal-skin cloaks, thus continuing cultural expression.

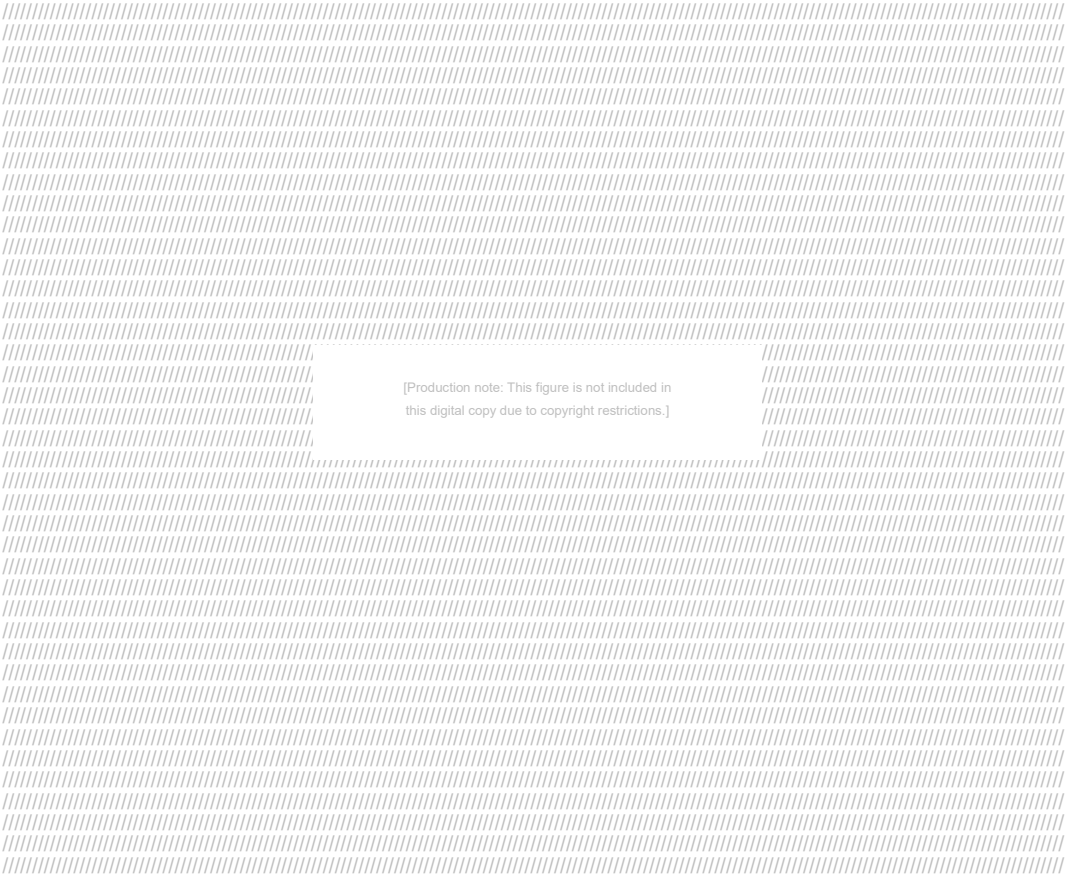


Figure 4.32: Kerry & Co., *Govt. agents distributing blankets to Aboriginals*, no. 13 from the album *Australian Aboriginals*, c.1890–98, album (150 albumen photoprints), 41 x 28 cm, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, PX*D 398, sourced <http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110325829>

A State Library of New South Wales resource (2020f) contextualising an 1867–88 'blanket list', titled *Number of blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst*, tells of the history of government-issued blankets:

> The first general distribution of blankets and slops took place across the Nineteen Counties of the colony on 23 April 1827, the King's Birthday. Although the process soon descended into complete confusion, the Aboriginal reaction was most instructive. People began to move towards Parramatta and Sydney to demand the promised blankets. It was not until 1829 that the distributions were properly organised and limited to blankets. (para. 6)

This resource (State Library of New South Wales 2020f) also introduces the concept of 'blanket diplomacy', which ultimately failed:

> Blankets played a crucial part in negotiations with the Aboriginal people … The success of the scheme, however, was underpinned by the willingness of Aboriginal people to participate. By issuing blankets, the colonists had unwittingly chosen an item which, in its traditional skin rug form, was a potent element of Aboriginal gift exchange … By participating in the annual distribution of blankets, Aboriginal people sought to contain the overwhelming European threat, restore some semblance of order to a world now

> shared with Europeans, who were at least meeting some traditional obligations, and ensure a measure of security for themselves. Their hopes proved illusionary. (para. 7)

In images included in previous chapters of this research (see Figures 2.7 and 3.19), Aboriginal figures are shown wearing blankets in place of possum-skin cloaks. But while Aboriginal people worked to adopt this new object into their long-held cultural practices and expressions, the act of giving wool blankets in place of possum-skin cloaks proved a deadly move, as Bruce Pascoe (2007) tells in *Convincing Ground*:

> The cloak was replaced by the blanket which unlike the possum skin would not repel water and conspired to increase the risk of new pulmonary diseases. (p. 174)

4.5.4B Cultural repression

The era of the Protection Board, from the late 19th century to beyond the mid-20th century, is characterised by cultural repression, surveillance and punishment, as external signifiers of Aboriginality were discouraged. While the removal of Aboriginal children from families intensified in the 20th century, supported by the creation of state-funded infrastructure in the form of children's homes, institutions like these had been established since the beginning of the colony of New South Wales. Evidence of the practice of repressing Aboriginal peoples' culture is seen in the aims of the Native Institution, which was founded in 1814 in Parramatta. The institute was established to civilise local Aboriginal children, specifically 'to effect the Civilisation of the Aborigines of New South Wales, and to render their Habit more domesticated and industrious' (Campbell 1814, para. 4).

This practice was adopted by missionaries, the processes of civilisation and christianisation becoming symbiotic, and was implemented across Australia in various missions, stations and reserves. Woolmington (1986) explains that:

> The work of Christian missionaries during the 19th century generally had a twofold aim: to convert the heathen to Christianity and to introduce them to European civilisation. The 'civilising' process consisted partly of teaching the sorts of skills which would enable indigenous peoples to fit into European society, but it also involved weaving them from their own customs and cultures. (p. 90)

Woolmington goes on to outline the aims of James Günther, who established a mission for Wiradjuri people in Wellington Valley, New South Wales; Günther (cited in Woolmington 1986) believed that:

> the Aborigines of Wellington Valley would never be fully civilised until they became Christians and the Christian principle was 'implanted in their minds'. This was the only way to prevent them from reverting to their former habits, the only way to overcome their innate dispositions. (p. 96)

In New South Wales, various Aboriginal people have spoken about the impacts of cultural repression. Jimmie Barker (cited in 'Jimmie Barker interviewed by Janet Mathews' 1970–71), a Muruwari man from Brewarrina, told how missions 'robbed the Aboriginals of his own belief ' (p.

224). Wiradjuri artist Roy Kennedy (cited in Jones 2018) speaks openly of the control mission managers had over every Aboriginal person's life on his Police Paddock Reserve in New South Wales, referring to missionaries as 'brainwashers' and the police as 'the Gestapo' (p. 239). And Val Simpson (cited in Read 1983), a Wiradjuri woman from Cowra, told historian Peter Read how the Wiradjuri language was deliberately withheld from her mother's generation:

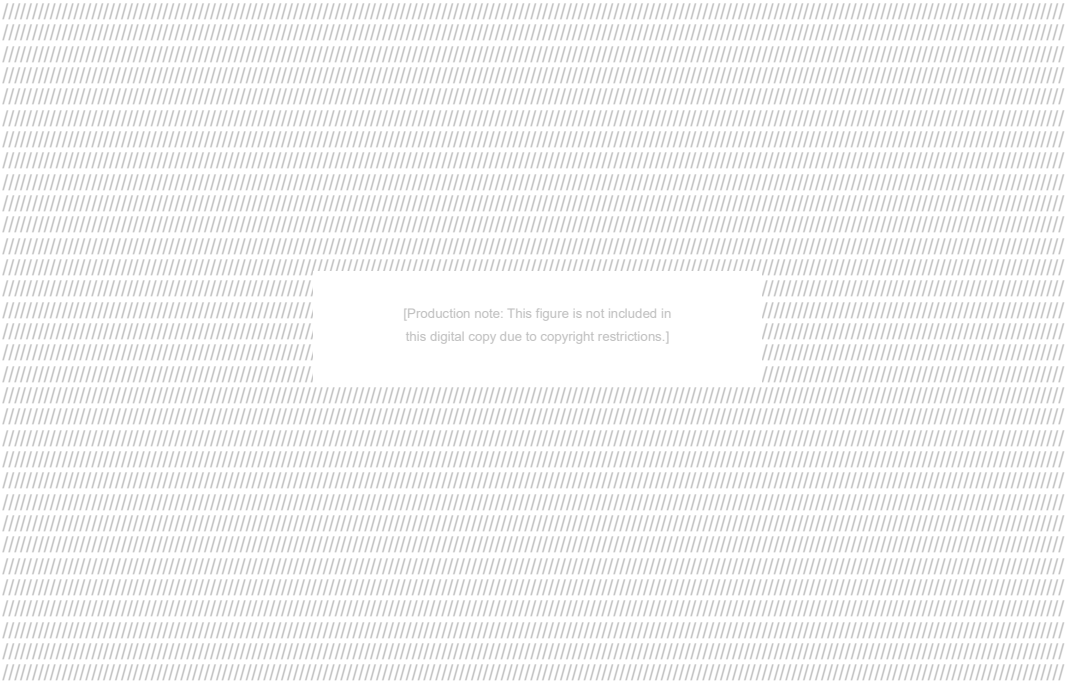
> You weren't allowed to sit down and listen to them talk. Wouldn't talk in front of you. … They had to get in that little group, all that one age group, and they'd talk among themselves. But if you walked up, say you were an Aborigine, you walked up, they'd just close up like a clam. (p. 98)

Read (1983) tells of the wide-ranging and intergenerational impacts of the repression of cultural practices and cultural identity, which includes the making of possum-skin cloaks. He explains:

> Southern Aborigines were held to be trapped between the lost traditional culture and the unobtainable European. … Many later observers took up the theme of a 'culturally impoverished and weakly organised' society, or in the belief that the traditional culture was of little or no influence, described European models which Aborigines appeared to have imitated. (pp. 198–199)

4.5.4C Craft-making industry

Working in tandem with the repression of traditional Aboriginal practices such as possum skin cloak-making was the encouragement of craft-making. This craft industry saw missions, stations and reserves encourage their Aboriginal inhabitants to create objects for sale to tourists. While these objects did include artefacts that can be considered traditional, they were generally small, domestic objects of a souvenir and non-threatening nature.



Man and woman with three children, wearing European dress, seated on grass, holding shell necklaces, and possibly new baby shoes and clothing.

Figure 4.33: *Wollongong Aboriginals on a visit to La Perouse*, c.1906, postcard: printed, col., 8.8 x 13.8 cm approx., State Library of Victoria, H88.18/136, sourced <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/214008>

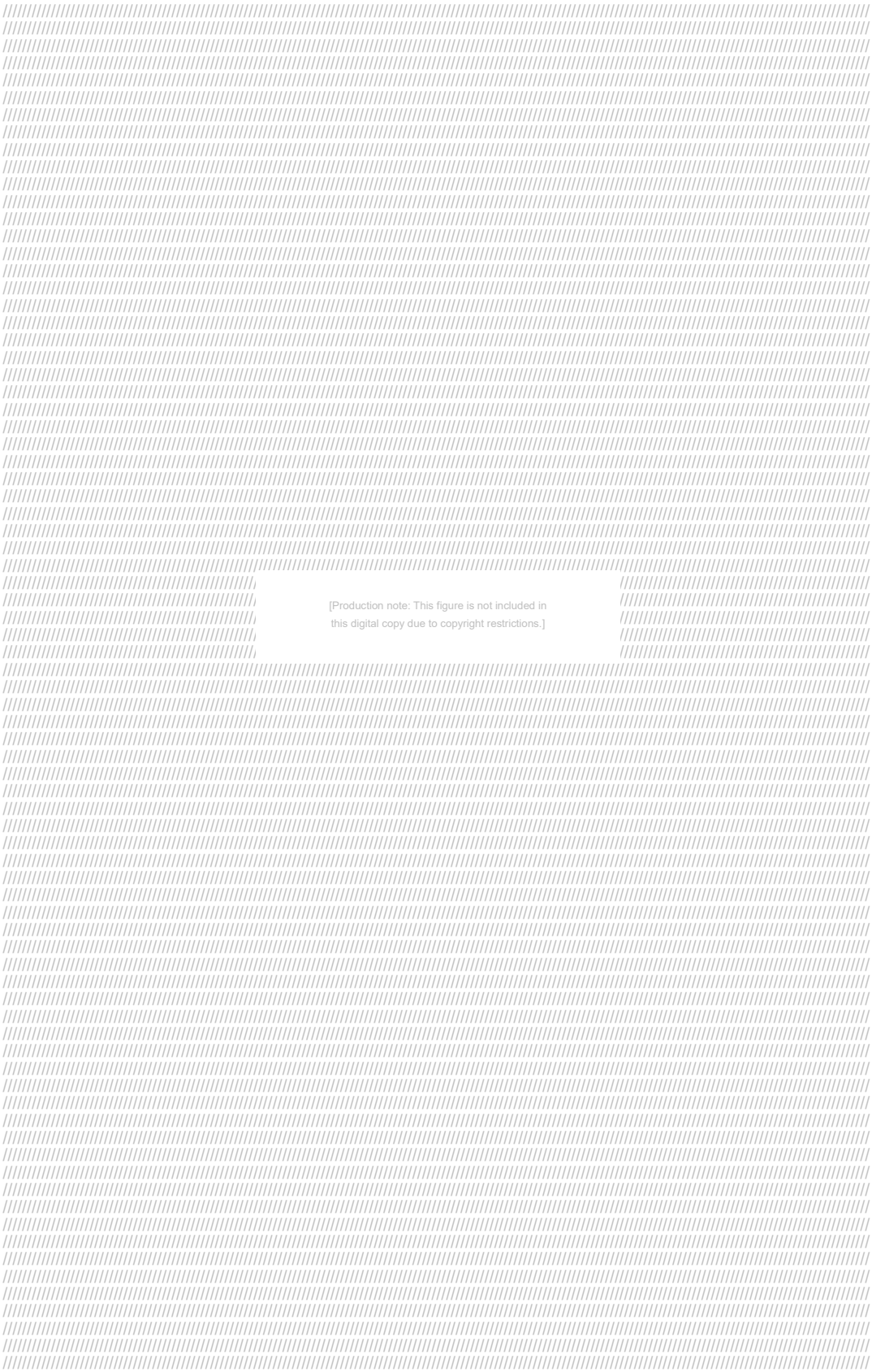


Figure 4.34: Jeff Carter, *Timbery family standing outside their boomerang shop at the Joe Timbery Museum, La Perouse, New South Wales*, 1963, photograph: b&w, 41.9 x 26 cm (image), 48.4 x 33 cm (sheet), National Library

of Australia, PIC/11827/11 LOC Drawer PIC/11827, nla.obj-147887176, sourced <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-147887176>

La Perouse in Sydney is a key example of the boom in Aboriginal 'craft-making'. While the area was officially gazzetted as an Aboriginal reserve in 1895, and soon a Methodist mission was established, for more than a decade prior the area had been used by the colonial government of Sydney to relocate Aboriginal people from Circular Quay and Darling Point, and from other places around Sydney.

In an 1883 letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* ('To the editor of the Herald' 1883), predating the establishment of the mission by 12 years, the writer praised the civilising process of craft-making and the tourism industry:

> That the women make and sell shell baskets, &c, to help keep their own and their children's bodies and souls together, betokens an integrity of disposition deserving of praise, rather than of paltry sneering. To my own knowledge, some of them have trudged very many weary miles vending their manufactures, rather than go begging, or stealing. (p. 7)

A few years later an article in the *Evening News* ('The blacks at La Perouse' 1891) reiterated the role of craft-making in supporting the community:

> The Government kindly allows them to fish with hooks and lines, and they have also small boats in which they can sit and wait until the fish bite; they are also allowed to gather shells on the beaches far and near (with which they make pretty baskets), and to get wildflowers and ferns, which they arrange nicely for sale to the white people who visit La Perouse on the Sabbath day, and this, with the Government rations for women and children (who are residents) is their only means of subsistence. (p. 6)

La Perouse crafts—shell-work made by the women and boomerangs carved by the men—grew throughout the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, with one article reporting that 'trade is brisk in the holiday season' ('The Australian Black: what of the future' 1910, p. 7). Queen Emma Timbery, a revered shell-worker, had her creations exhibited and collected in London in 1910, and subsequent generations of La Perouse women sold their work through the New South Wales Royal Easter Show in the 1950s and 1960s. Today, Esme Timbery is a famous La Perouse shell-work artist, with her work held in national and state collections. Born in 1931, Esme Timbery grew up when the tourist industry was booming at La Perouse. The tramline from Sydney city to the Loop at La Perouse, which ran 1902–61, was key to this development.

But although the craft-making industry can be considered non-threatening to non-Indigenous cultural supremacy, there is agency for the Aboriginal makers within this structure. In La Perouse, shell collecting continued long-established traditions and practices, providing Aboriginal women with a way to maintain knowledge of and engagement with certain beaches and tracts of country; boomerang-making served a similar purpose for La Perouse men.

In Victoria, at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, the craft industry was also a source of agency for local Wurundjeri. Ian Clark's paper *'A peep at the Blacks': a history of tourism at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, 1863–1924* (2015) details the tourist industry there:

> Aboriginal residents of Coranderrk appropriated tourism at many levels—as a means of cultural retention and identity—through performances of traditional skills such as basket-making, fire-making, tree-climbing, and spear- and boomerang-throwing and through the sale of artefacts; as a means of livelihood. (p. 11)

4.5.5 Assimilation policy

In 1940 the Board changed its name to the Aborigines Welfare Board and transformed its policy for dealing with Aboriginal people from protection to assimilation. The Board then closed and defunded many of its missions and Aboriginal people were 'free to leave, to seek employment and assimilate into a mainstream community that for the most part did not want them' (Jones 2018, p. 243). Anita Heiss (2013) explains how

> the assimilation policy aimed at breaking up these reserves and 'encouraging' people to give up seasonal and casual work, replacing this with regular work for wages (which remained unequal). The stations were considered as 'stepping-stones to civilisation'. (para. 8)

But control of Aboriginal peoples' lives still came under government policy. Even in the 1960s, all facets of an Aboriginal person's life was administered by government: the custody of children, labour, movement, residence, education, marriage, engaging in social activities, and voting and political agency. Aboriginal cultural practices have suffered greatly as a result.

In summary, when successive church and government policies for managing missions, from separation and protection to assimilation, are understood, alongside the casting of Aboriginal people and society as a 'problem', it is easy to understand how an environment of fear was created and maintained, severing Aboriginal people's ties with their traditional practices, including possum skin cloak-making and wearing.

4.6 Summary

As shown in this chapter, the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum-skin cloaks for Aboriginal people happened in a range of ways, each one successful in distancing people from their cultural practices. From the outset, cloaks and other cultural items were intentionally destroyed during massacres of Aboriginal people and attacks against Aboriginal families and communities on the frontier and as settlement occurred.

While Aboriginal people had developed a market for selling possum-skin cloaks to gold miners on the goldfields, when the gold rush ended that market collapsed, leaving Aboriginal people without a key economic reason to continue making possum-skin cloaks. As towns were established, the country cleared and fenced off to make small-scale farms, Aboriginal people were denied access to possums, further impacting their ability to continue the practice of

making cloaks. At the same time, vast tracts of Aboriginal country was allocated as national parks, further separating Aboriginal people from their traditional hunting grounds. As has been shown, another major factor in denying Aboriginal people access to possums was the dramatic increase in non-Indigenous hunting, which became an industry in its own right, servicing an enormous national and international market for exotic fur. This industry saw native fauna hunted to near extinction.

As Aboriginal people were being denied access to country and animals, non-Indigenous people were also appropriating and repurposing Aboriginal objects and materials. The Aboriginal cloak became the non-Indigenous rug, the rug a marker of comfort and civility in rural homesteads. These examples seem to signal the final colonial wrestling of this practice from Aboriginal hands.

All these contributing factors were reinforced by the environment of fear under which Aboriginal people lived, wherein Aboriginal people were forbidden and discouraged to practice traditional culture. As shown, this environment was created and fostered by the missions, stations and reserves and by church and government officials. These factors came together to collectively bring about the decline and disappearance of possum skin cloak-making. The environment of fear ensured that the practice was forgotten by Aboriginal people of the south-east.

5 Analysis of the contemporary wilay badhang (possum-skin cloak) movement as a phenomenon

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the contemporary wilay badhang (possum-skin cloak) movement as a phenomenon, beginning with a timeline that includes the major participants and significant events of this cultural revival. This timeline presents just a selection of events, and cannot be considered exhaustive, as countless possum skin cloak-making workshops and outcomes ranging in size and impact have been carried out across south-east Australia in the last several decades.

Following on from the timeline, I then analyse the factors contributing to the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, which I argue meets not only multiple Aboriginal needs but also the needs of non-Indigenous people. I consider how possum-skin cloaks reinforce Aboriginality and culture, and how cloaks are culturally accessible objects of power. I look specifically at the materiality of possum-skin cloaks, the potential of possum skin as a medium for art-making, and what the physicality of this medium enables. I then discuss how possum-skin cloaks meet the needs of non-Indigenous people, and finally interrogate how the revival of possum skin cloak-making is timely.

Evidence for these ideas is found in examples from the timeline, and in this section I include quotes from participants of cloak-making workshops and events. It should be noted that many examples in the timeline are understood as multipurpose and can be interpreted to represent more than one of the factors outlined; for example, a cloak-making workshop provides evidence of the communal nature of cloak-making while its result, the cloak, may act as a statement of the wearer's identity. The multifarious nature of these examples points to the complex role the cloak now plays in contemporary Australian society.

5.2 Timeline

1994 Wamba Wamba/Wertigkia/Dhuduroa/Nyeri Nyeri artist Gayle Maddigan makes a possum-skin cloak, now held in the Koorie Heritage Trust collection Melbourne (accession number AH0756). Maddigan (cited in Keeler & Couzens 2010) tells how 'the artwork represents my mother's storyline of birthing. This is one of the first possum-skin cloaks made in contemporary times' (p. 78).

Late 1990s Wergaia/Wamba Wamba artist Kelly Koumalatsos makes a possum-skin cloak, now held in the Koorie Heritage Trust collection (accession number AH2628, Figure 5.1). Koumalatsos (cited in Keeler & Couzens 2010) states:

> Possum-skin cloaks were very common as everyone wore them for protection against the elements. I have a passion for the cloaks and, at the time I started making them, I

> wondered what had happened to them all. There were only a few known to be in existence. Previously I enjoyed working with textiles so moving into making cloaks was a natural progression. Studying the designs on cloaks was also important. The motifs on this cloak don't necessarily tell a story, they are an examination of design work, based on traditional linear motifs. (p. 77)

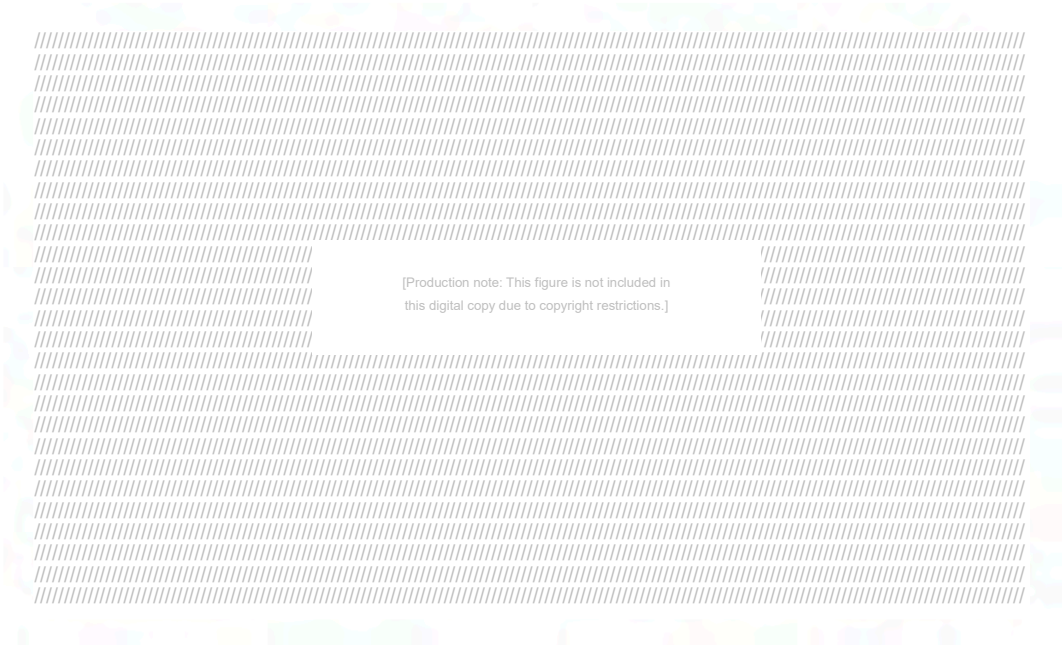


Figure 5.1: Kelly Koumalatsos, *Possum-skin cloak*, late 1990s, possum skin, paint, 122 x 193 cm, Koorie Heritage Trust, Melbourne, AH2628, sourced <https://netsvictoria.org.au/artist/kelly-koumalatsos-wergaiawamba-wamba/>

1999 Vicki Couzens (Gunditjmara/Keerray Woorroong) and Lee Darroch (Yorta Yorta/Mutti Mutti/Boon Wurrung) attend a print workshop and see the Lake Condah heritage possum-skin cloak in the Melbourne Museum collection. Darroch and Treahna Hamm (Yorta Yorta) set out to remake the Maiden's Punt, Echuca, heritage cloak, also held in the Melbourne Museum collection, while sisters Vicki Couzens and Debra Couzens (Gunditjmara/Keerray Woorroong) remake the Lake Condah cloak. The four practitioners are provided with drawings of the designs on the cloaks and collection notes, describing when and how the objects were acquired by the museum. This is the extent of the information available to them as they set out on remaking the cloaks (Reynolds et al. 2005, p. 6). But before they begin the process of creating replicas of these heritage cloaks, the women seek permission and guidance from their elders. Darroch (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) explains:

> Because the cloak was really old and because it was owned by our whole Yorta Yotra tribal area, we had to get permission from a number of people to actually re-create it with a traditional design. (p. 22)

Hamm (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) speaks of the role of elders in their endeavour:

> We do have our Council of Elders for specific reasons … using a traditional design we really needed that support in the first place. That's the proper way that we do things. We've got to make sure, talk to people, ask our elders. (p. 22)

These replicas form the basis of the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection, as curator Amanda Reynolds (Reynolds et al. 2005) explains:

> The women also began creating a series of prints, drawings and other work inspired by the possum-skin cloaks and named their project Tooloyn Koortakay—a term Vicki Couzens translates as 'squaring skins for rugs'. (p. 2)

2000 Yorta Yorta/Moidaban artist Wally Cooper makes a possum-skin cloak, now held in the Koorie Heritage Trust collection (accession number AH3063, Figure 5.2).

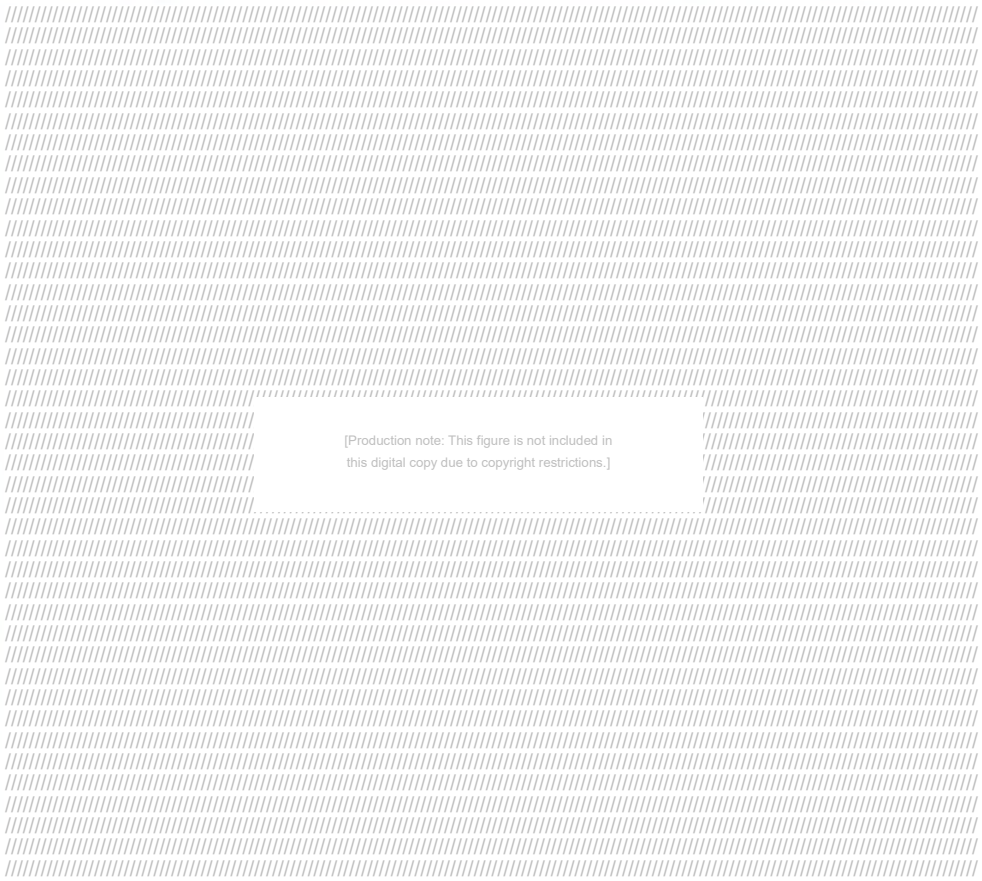


Figure 5.2: Wally Cooper, *Possum-skin cloak*, 2000, possum skin, paint, 115 x 113.5 cm, Koorie Heritage Trust, Melbourne, AH3063, sourced <https://cv.vic.gov.au/stories/aboriginal-culture/meerreeng-an-here-is-my-country/possum-skin-cloak/>

2001–04 The Tooloyn Koortakay Collection, consisting of cloaks, prints, weavings, dance ornaments and tools created by Debra Couzens, Vicki Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm, is shown at the Bunjilaka Aboriginal Cultural Centre, Melbourne Museum. In 2003 the National Museum of Australia (NMA) acquires the collection, and in 2004 the NMA exhibits the collection alongside a documentary film (Figure 5.3). Debra Couzens (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) says of the intention of the collection:

> Let the world see we're still very rich in our culture—that it's not been lost through European settlement. As European culture has evolved so too does ours and some things will never be lost. (p. 57)

For Couzens, Couzens, Darroch and Hamm, re-creating the Maiden's Punt/Echuca and Lake Condah heritage cloaks connected them to the long history of possum skin cloak-making, as Hamm (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) explains:

> There's lots of people who continue to adapt and look at old ways and old artefacts, and bridge the gap between an old world and new world as part of evolving as people and culture. The cloak is testament to that. (p. 52)

Vicki Couzens (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) shares Hamm's sentiment, saying:

> The idea and then it coming to fruition in the end, it just wouldn't have happened if it wasn't allowed to be. For me personally, it's a great learning thing. It's been a real journey and I'm continuing—it's an ongoing cycle. It's a journey of self-discovery. That's really important, that's very strengthening. (p. 47)

[Production note: This figure is not included in this digital copy due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 5.3: The *Tooloyn Koortakay* exhibit in the First Australians gallery, National Museum of Australia, photograph Dragi Markovic, National Museum of Australia, sourced <https://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/vol_5_no_1/papers/we_have_survived#15>

15 March 2006 In 2005–06, ahead of the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne, possum skin cloak-making workshops are held in communities across Victoria. The project is led by Vicki Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm, along with Maree Clarke and the East Gippsland Aboriginal Arts centre (Edmonds 2010), with Regional Arts Victoria as project coordinator. Vicki Couzens (2017) tells the story of how the project began:

> In 2005, I was attending a 'think tank' I had been invited to along with other Victorian Aboriginal artists, elders and producers. The 'think tank' was to develop concepts for Aboriginal contribution to the Opening Ceremony of the forthcoming Melbourne 2006 Commonwealth Games. It was at this think tank that the idea for having cloaks as part of the Opening Ceremony was seeded. I had one of my possum cloaks returned to me at that meeting and so many people at that meeting were able to have a first time, up close and personal experience of a possum-skin cloak. Many were overwhelmed, especially Wesley Enoch, the Artistic Director of the Opening Ceremony. Bambu, Joy Murphy Wandin, Senior Wurundjeri elder, was present and was inspired to say 'let's do possum cloaks in the Opening Ceremony'. And so the larger possum cloak story began. (p. 31)

The project results in 35 cloaks being made for the Commonwealth Games, worn by elders and community representatives from the 35 Victorian Aboriginal language groups at the Opening Ceremony (see Figure 5.5):

> This was the first time in over 150 years that possum-skin cloaks had been worn collectively to a ceremony. The cloaks continue to represent a cultural resurgence with connections to the past, while reflecting the contemporary nature of Aboriginal art practices. They emphasise cultural negotiation, rather than a fixed cultural purity. (Edmonds 2010, para. 55)

The cloak-making workshops and subsequent wearing of the cloaks at the Opening Ceremony in front of a live and televised national and international audience (see Figure 5.4) had far-reaching effects. Couzens (2017) reflects on the impact:

> The Games Cloak Project offered the opportunity for community cultural development on a large scale. Stories were told and shared with other community participants and groups; knowledge and skills passed on from elders to the younger generations. This all involved the incorporation of different Aboriginal languages where people were stimulated to seek language for the names of possums and the making of the cloak, and language for the development of songs and ceremony relating to the cloaks. The project was effective in the strengthening of cultural identity and pride, the healing of our spirit and the reawakening of a continuing cultural practice that had been sleeping for a while. (p. 33)

Figure 5.4: Victorian Aboriginal elders proudly display their possum-skin cloaks during the Opening Ceremony of the 2006 Commonwealth Games in Melbourne, Toru Yamanaka/AFP/Getty Images, sourced <https://aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/possum-skin-cloak>

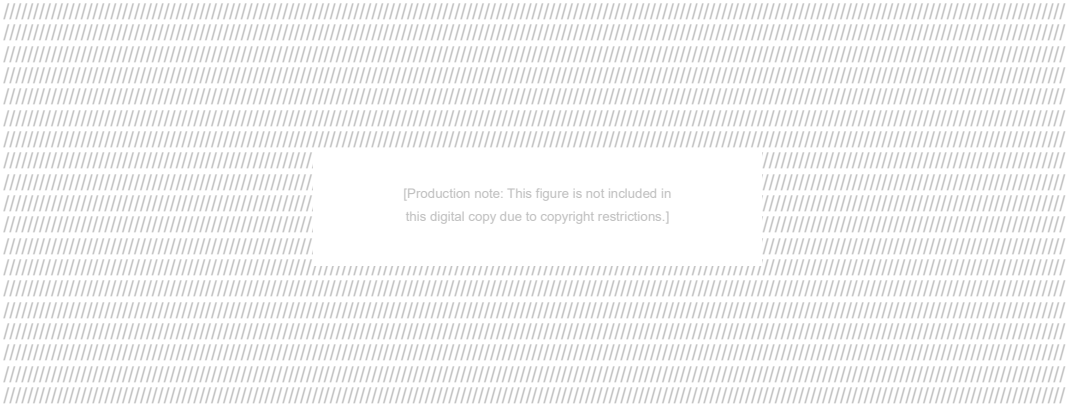


Figure 5.5: Elders and community representatives from 35 Victorian language groups in possum-skin cloaks for the Opening Ceremony, Commonwealth Games, Melbourne, March 2006, photograph Mick Harding, courtesy Vicki Couzens, sourced <https://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/vol_5_no_1/papers/we_have_survived#15>

1–26 May 2007 Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi in Melbourne presents the exhibition *O'possum-skin cloaks and narbongs* by Waradgerie artist Lorraine Connelly-Northey. The show features 17 possum-skin cloaks made from a range of found materials including rusted barbed wire, woven wire mesh, fencing wire, rusted galvanised iron, and emu, pelican and galah feathers.

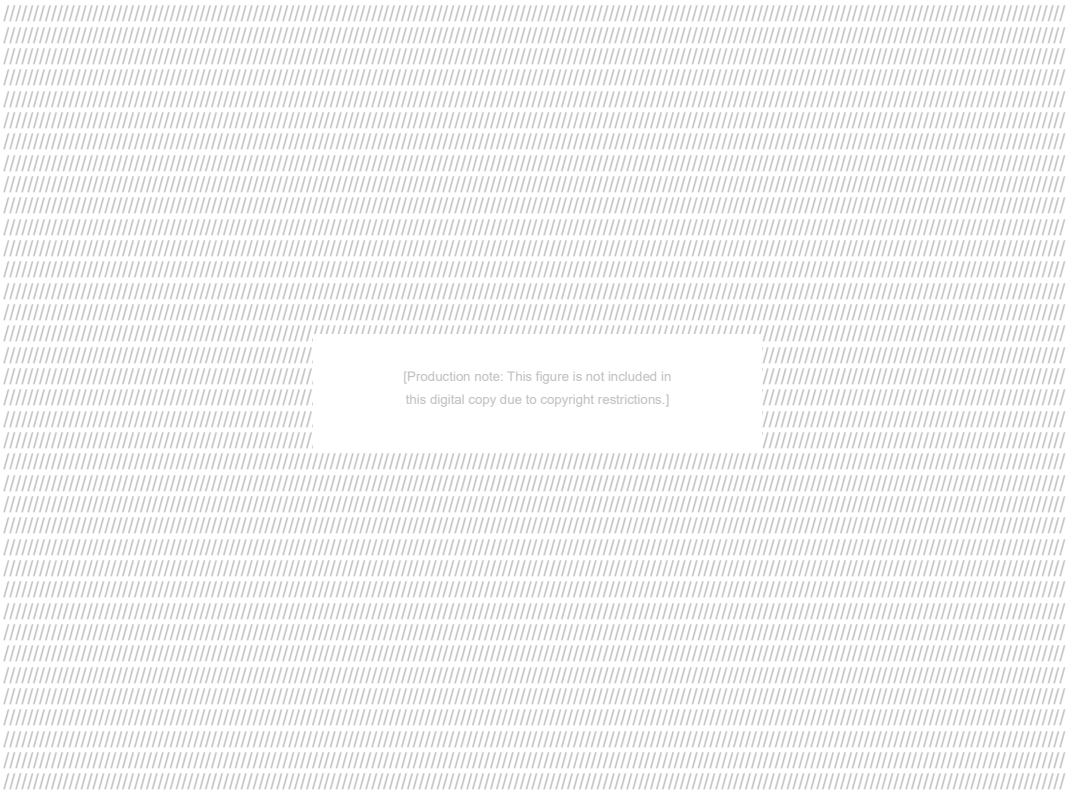


Figure 5.6: Lorraine Connelly-Northey, *O'possum-skin cloak*, 2007, fencing wire mesh with pelican feather, 93 x 150 cm, Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, sourced <https://www.gabriellepizzi.com.au/exhibitions/gallery_gabrielle_pizzi_0705northey.html>

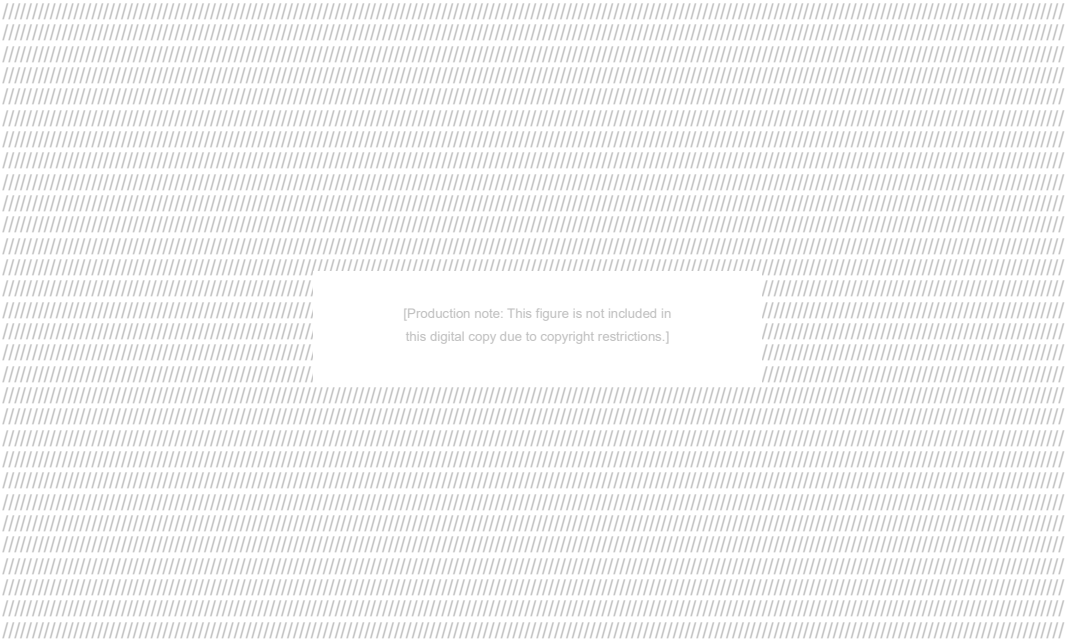


Figure 5.7: Lorraine Connelly-Northey, *O'possum-skin cloak*, 2007, rusted galvanised iron, 71 x 155 cm, Gallery Gabrielle Pizzi, sourced <https://www.gabriellepizzi.com.au/exhibitions/gallery_gabrielle_pizzi_0705northey.html>

12 February 2008 Ngambri-Ngunnawal elder Matilda House wears a cloak made by Treahna Hamm to the opening of the 42nd Federal Parliament at Parliament House, Canberra, on the eve of Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's Apology to the Stolen Generations (see Figure 5.8). Hamm's cloak was created for the opening of the Albury Library Museum and is purchased by Albury City for its collection in 2008.

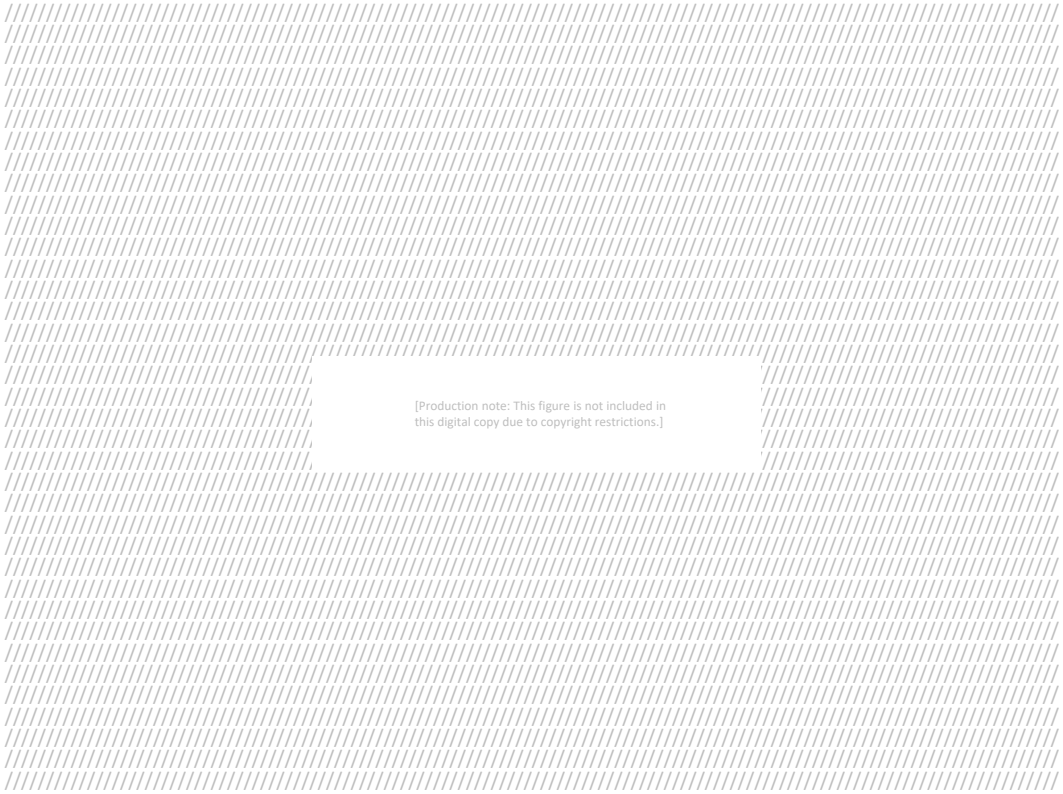


Figure 5.8: Aboriginal elder Matilda House with Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd (left) and Opposition Leader Brendan Nelson (right) at the opening of the 42nd Parliament at Parliament House on 12 February 2008 in Canberra, Andrew Sheargold/Getty Images News/Getty Images, sourced <https://aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/possum-skin-cloak>

2008 The Australian Museum displays a possum-skin cloak made by Mutthi Mutthi artist Mor Mor (Maureen Reyland). The cloak was made in 2005 for the 2006 Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony in Melbourne. The Australian Museum accessions the cloak into its collection in 2010. For Mor Mor (cited in 'Possum-skin cloak' 2008) 'this cloak is a spiritual connection to her ancestors of the Mutthi Mutthi people and an acknowledgement of her late mother, Alice Kelly'.

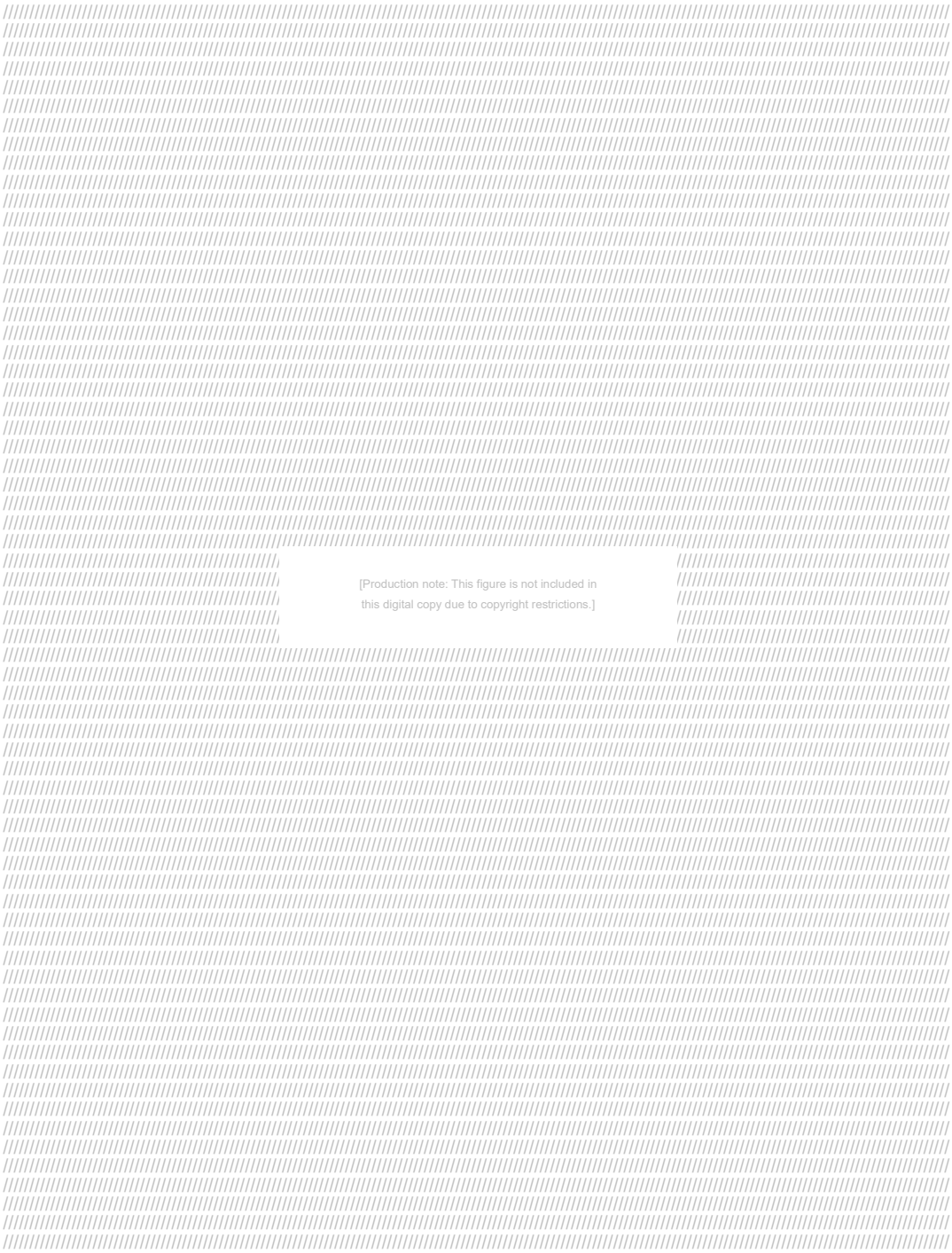


Figure 5.9: Mor Mor (Maureen Reyland), *Possum-skin cloak*, 2005, pokerwork and acrylic paint on possum pelts, dimensions variable, Australian Museum, photograph Jonathan Jones

2009 The cloak I created in 2008, titled *Badhang*, is acquired by the National Gallery of Australia for the national collection (accession number NGA 2009.93).

13–15 August 2010 The play *Coranderrk: we will show the country* undergoes pilot readings at La Mama Courthouse Theatre in Melbourne. Yiman/Bidjara artist Ruby Langton-Batty makes a possum-skin cloak for the performance representing the work of Coranderrk leader and artist William Barak. The cloak is worn by actor Jack Charles throughout the play (see Figure 5.10), and is later gifted to Wurundjeri elder Aunty Joy Murphy Wandin, descendant of William Barak.

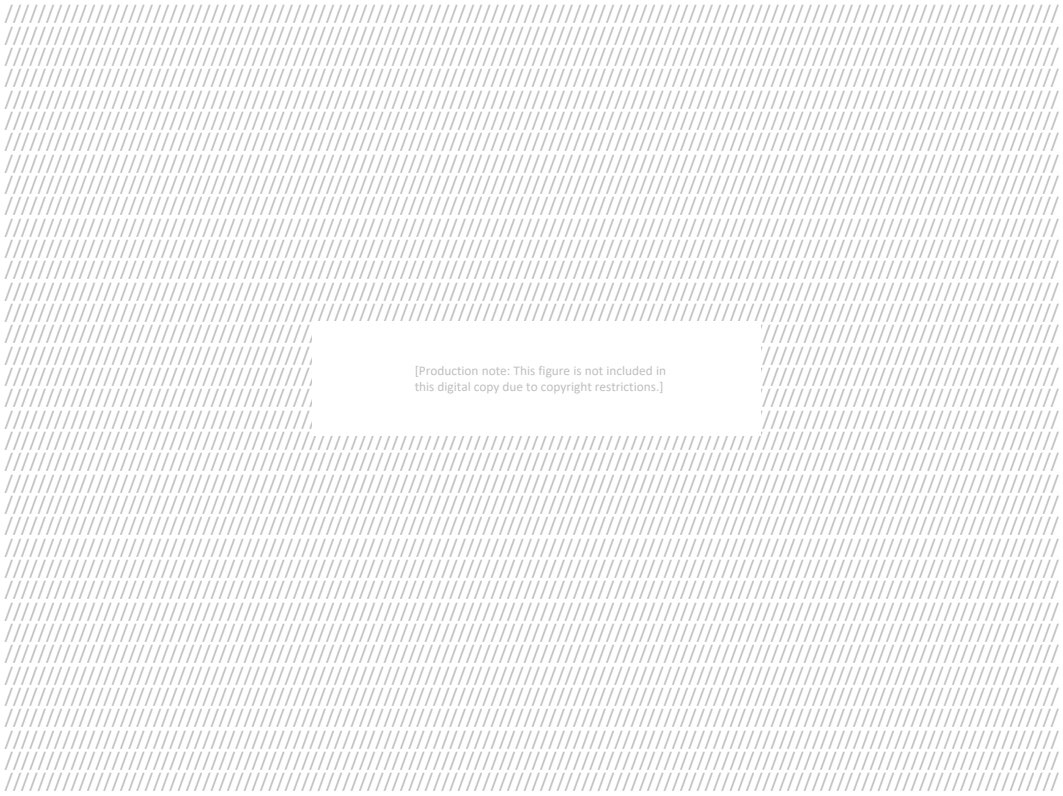


Figure 5.10: Bjorn Stewart, Jack Charles (as William Barak) and Matthew Cooper in a still from the latest version of Ilbijerri's *Coranderrk: we will show the country*, photograph Patrick Boland, image courtesy Belvoir St Theatre, sourced <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/awaye/coranderrk-on-stage/5150612>

29 September 2010 The Honourable Ken Wyatt AM MP (Yamatji-Noongar) delivers his maiden speech to parliament, in the House of Representatives in Canberra, wearing a booka or kangaroo-skin cloak. As the Liberal Party of Australia member for Hasluck, Wyatt makes history as the first Indigenous person elected to the House of Representatives. The cloak he wears on the occasion (see Figure 5.11) was gifted to him by the Noongar community (The Hon Ken Wyatt AM MP 2020).

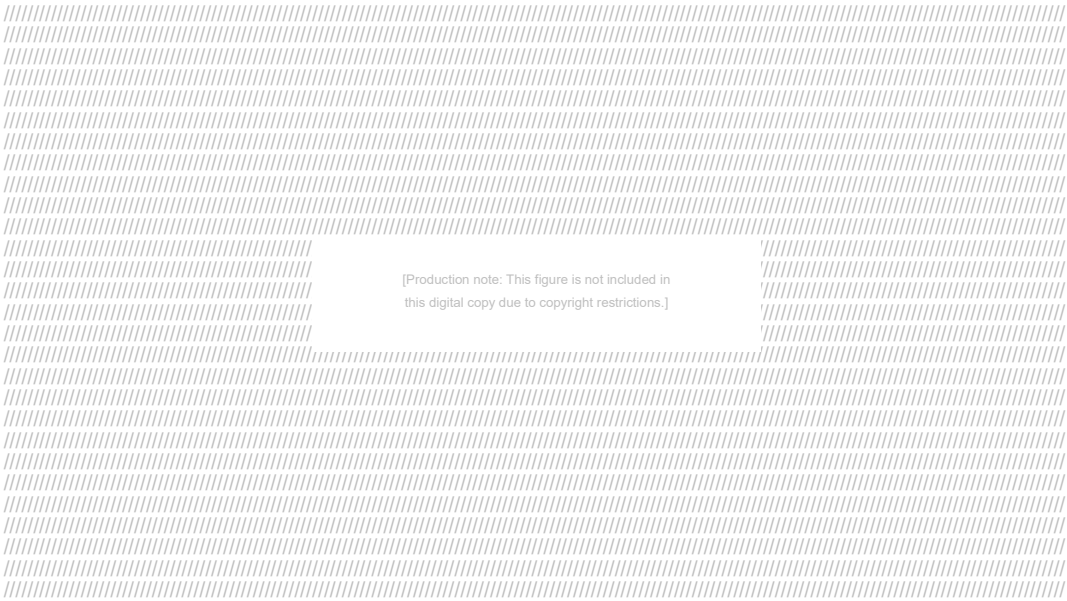


Figure 5.11: Ken Wyatt delivers his maiden speech to the House of Representatives in Canberra, Wednesday, 29 September 2010, AAP, sourced <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2015/09/20/turnbulls-historic-ministry-ken-wyatt-becomes-australias-first-indigenous>

2010–11 Over October 2010 – January 2011 the Lake Macquarie City Art Gallery's Aboriginal Reference Group, Lake Macquarie City Art Gallery and Lake Macquarie City Library undertake possum skin cloak-making workshops with Vicki Couzens, Maree Clarke, Lee Darroch and Amanda Reynolds. Participants from the local Hunter Aboriginal community are Doug Archibald, Selena Archibald, Trevor Archibald, Sue Archibald, Amy Buesnel, Gary Biles, Donna Fernando, Laura Fernando, Brittany Biles, Indianna Biles, Bud Gibson, Dawn Townsend, Cherie Johnson, Fred Goolmeer, Neil Goolmeer, Teagan Goolmeer, Louise Charles, Kim Charles, Scott Luschwitz, Dianne Luschwitz, Sonya Erskine, Tazmyne Luschwitz, Tyrah-Ruby Luschwitz, Sue Stewart, Elizabeth Deaves, India Latimore, Kash Latimore, Simone Place (Mantor), Adam Ridgeway, Sharon Carrette, Alex Brennan, Lachlan Brennan, Sophie Brennan, Christine Everrit, Tamara Drylie, Dhani Drylie, Yinaa Drylie, Nirikai Drylie and Jen Balancire. Over 18 March – 31 July 2011 the cloak features in the exhibition *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak by the Lake* at the Australian Museum in Sydney (see Figure 5.12).

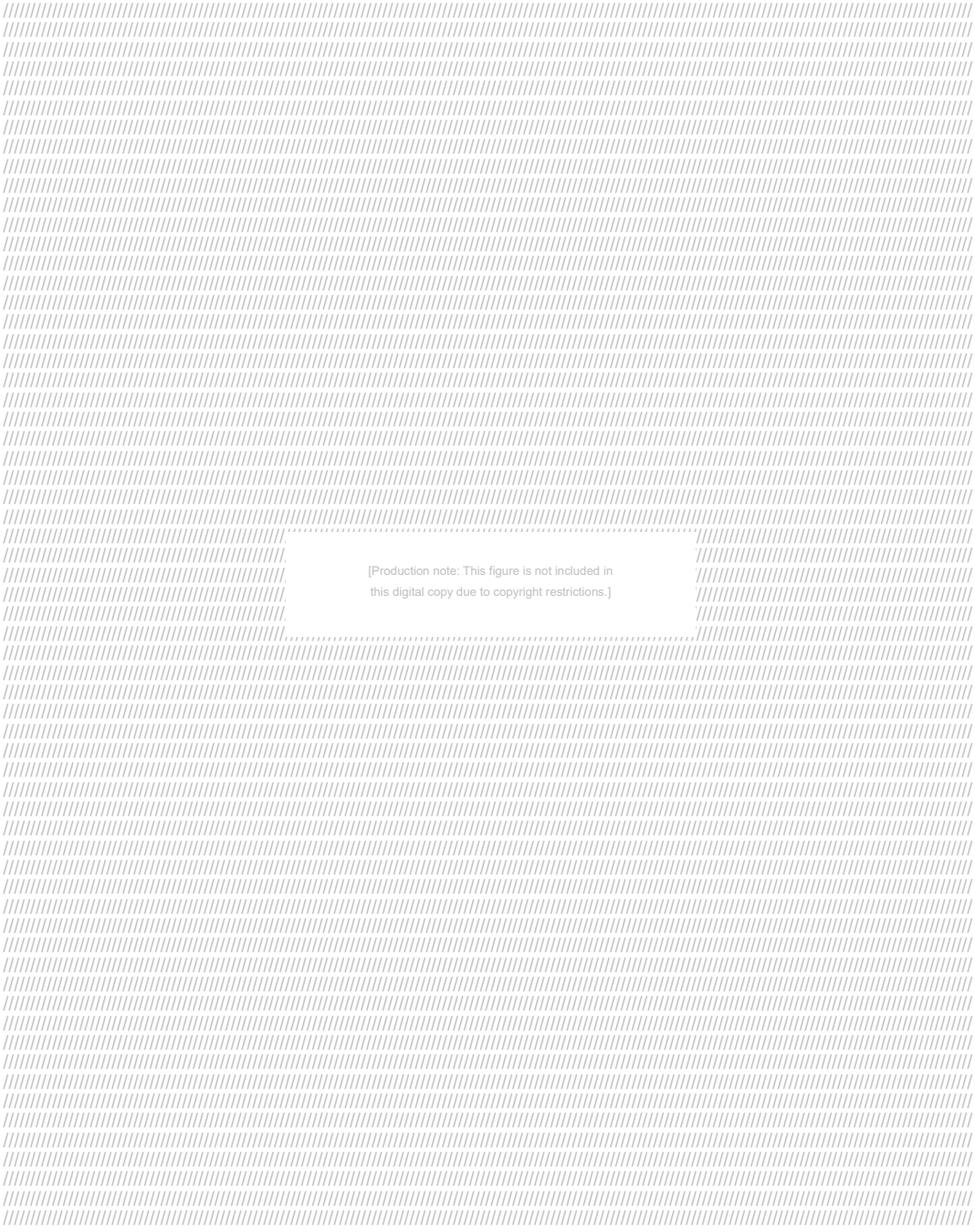


Figure 5.12: The launch of *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak by the Lake* exhibition, photograph Stuart Humphreys, courtesy Australian Museum, sourced <https://australianmuseum.net.au/blog-archive/at-the-museum/wrapped-in-a-possum-skin-cloak-by-the-lake-exhibition-is-launched/>

2011 My son Lachlan McDaniel graduates from Macquarie University wearing a possum-skin cloak he made, marking the first occasion a cloak is worn with conventional academic dress.

2011–13 Australian photographer Sarah Rhodes creates a series of nine photographic portraits depicting Aboriginal elders wearing ceremonial possum-skin cloaks in places of cultural significance to them, from their living rooms to garden sheds to sites on country (see Figure

5.13). The series is then exhibited as *Home/on country* at the Albury Library Museum over 30 March – 12 May 2013. Rhodes (cited in Cooke 2013) 'wanted to show the power that the cloaks had in empowering people and passing on culture and reinforcing culture in communities' (para. 6). The exhibition is a touring exhibition from Murray Art Museum Albury and tours to Hurstville in Sydney.

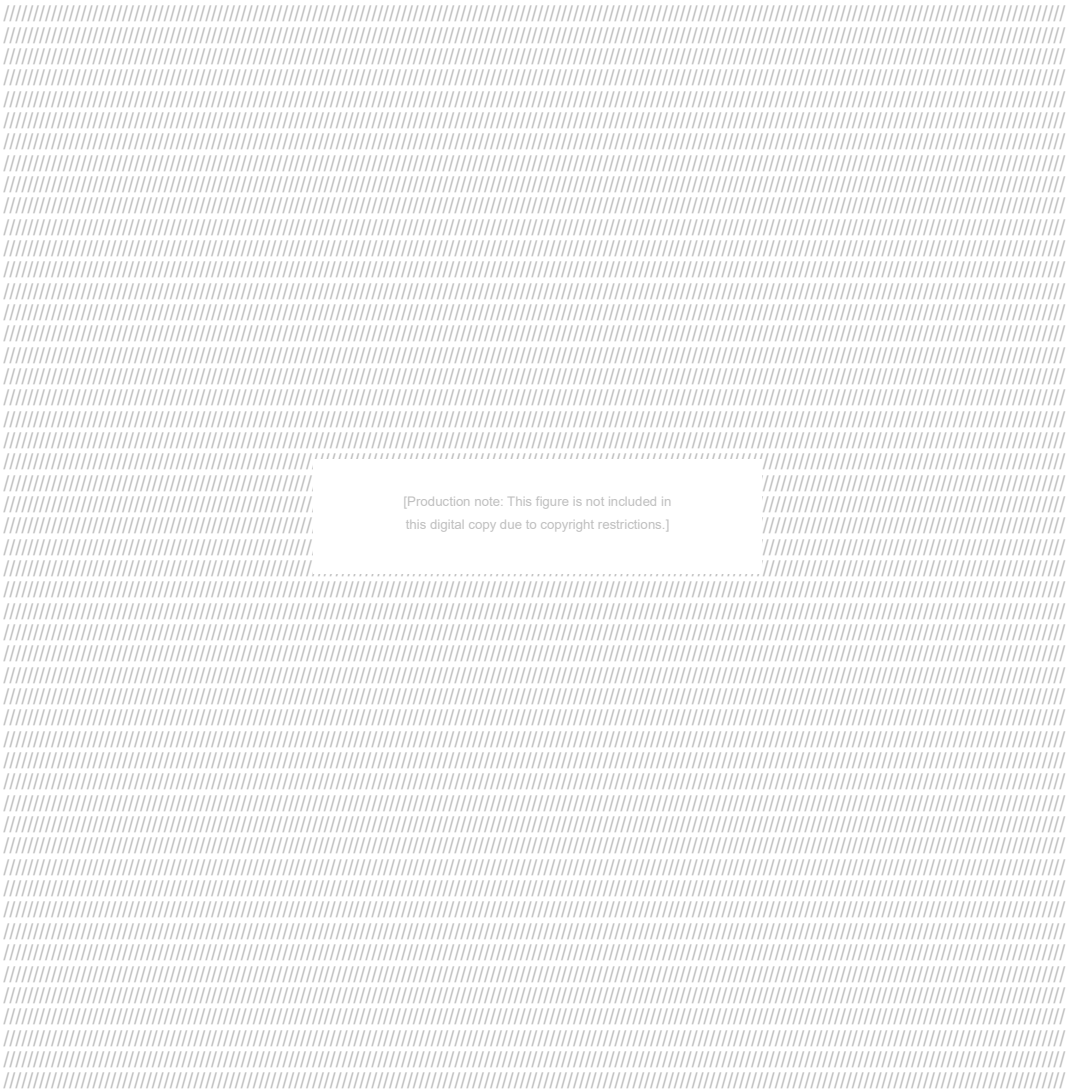


Figure 5.13: Sarah Rhodes, *The Shed: Taungurung Elder Mick Harding*, 2011, silver gelatin print, 60 x 60 cm, Koorie Heritage Trust, sourced <https://www.sarahrhodes.com/Art-Projects/Possum-Skin-Cloaks-2011-2013/7>

February 2013 Ngambri-Ngunnawal elder Matilda House wears a cloak made by Treahna Hamm to the opening of the 44th Federal Parliament at Parliament House in Canberra.

December 2013 A possum-skin cloak made by Treahna Hamm is displayed at Charles Sturt University Library in Wagga Wagga (see Figure 5.14). Titled *Emu Cummeragunja Woka (Emu homelands)*, the cloak

> highlights the evolution of the artist's practice and technique using ochre as well as other traditional methods of painting derived from the landscape of Dhungala—the Murray River. The emu feathers, which adorn the cloak, have strong family links and are symbolic of the stories to one of Dr Hamm's family clans the Wollithica of the Yorta Yorta nation. (Charles Sturt University 2020, para. 1)

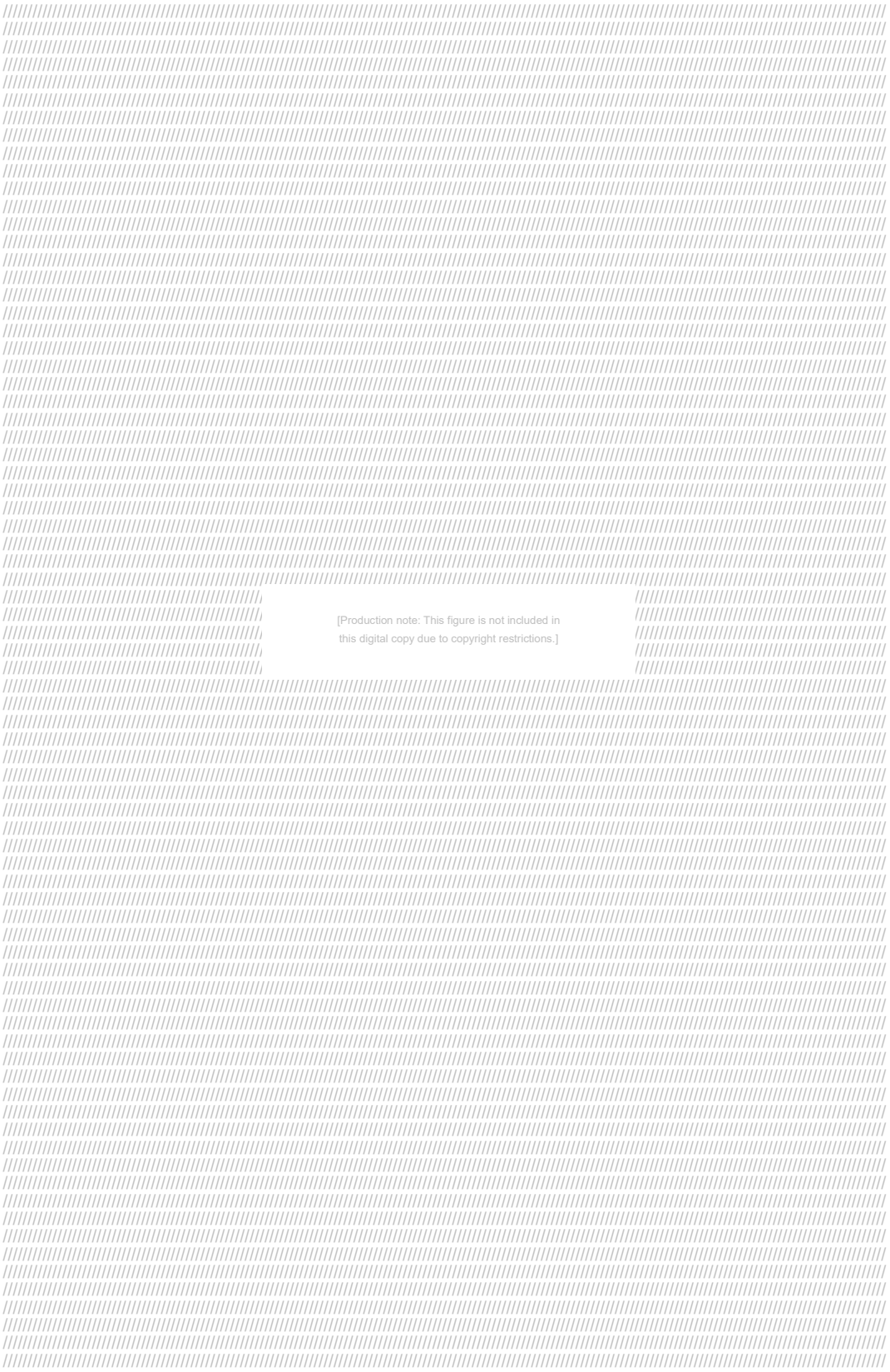


Figure 5.14: Treahna Hamm's possum-skin cloak exhibition in the CSU Wagga Library December 2013, sourced <https://library-blog.csu.edu.au/2013/12/04/treahna-hamms-possum-skin-cloak/>

2014 The University of Melbourne commissions a possum-skin cloak from Wurundjeri-willam artist Mandy Nicholson for use during major university events. The cloak, which features Wurundjeri designs, ‘welcomes all students, from local areas and from all over the world’ (Nicholson, cited in ‘Possum-skin cloak’ 2014).

2014 The National Gallery of Victoria purchases the major work *Possum-skin cloak: Blackfella road*, made in 2011–13 by Waradgerie artist Lorraine Connelly-Northey (see Figure 5.15). Connelly-Northey has long made cloaks from rusted iron, tin and found fencing materials, but this particular work is the artist’s largest cloak to date. The work ‘references the desecration of culturally sensitive burial sites resulting from the construction of an unsealed road near Swan Hill’ (National Gallery of Victoria 2014, para. 2), where the artist grew up. National Gallery of Victoria (2014) provides the following interpretation of the work:

> The huge, rusted corrugated iron and barbed wire installation reads as the apotheosis of a possum-skin cloak that commemorates a particular tract of the riverland disrupted by the road and the wheels of its motorised vehicles, symbolised by circles of barbed wire stretching across it. The fringe of the cloak represents hunters and gatherers whose skeletal remains were desecrated, signified by their multiple artefacts and disembodied hands that clamour for social justice. (para. 2)

Figure 5.15: Lorraine Connelly-Northey, *Possum-skin cloak: Blackfella road*, 2011–13, rusted iron and tin, fencing and barbed wire, wire, 268.5 x 703 cm irreg., National Gallery of Victoria, 2014.1978, sourced <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/108726/>

20 February 2014 Following its first Reconciliation Action Plan in 2009, Life Without Barriers commissions Boon Wurrung/Barkindji artist Mitch Mahoney to create a possum-skin cloak ‘to represent the National Cultural Respect Steering Committee (NCRSC) and its members’ contribution to the Life Without Barriers Reconciliation Journey’ (Life Without Barriers 2014, p. 2). The cloak’s design is based on the sun (see Figure 5.16), with each of the 2013 members—Ashely Cousins, Jane Longbottom, Selina Holtz, Tony Sibasado, Peter Singh, Loretta Perry, Natasha Woodleigh, Leoni Lippitt, Les Ahoy, Terri Bird, Maddie Fenn, Nazra Imbraham, Claire Robbs, Kerri Clarke and Malcolm Gollan—contributing an individual image to represent their journey within the committee.

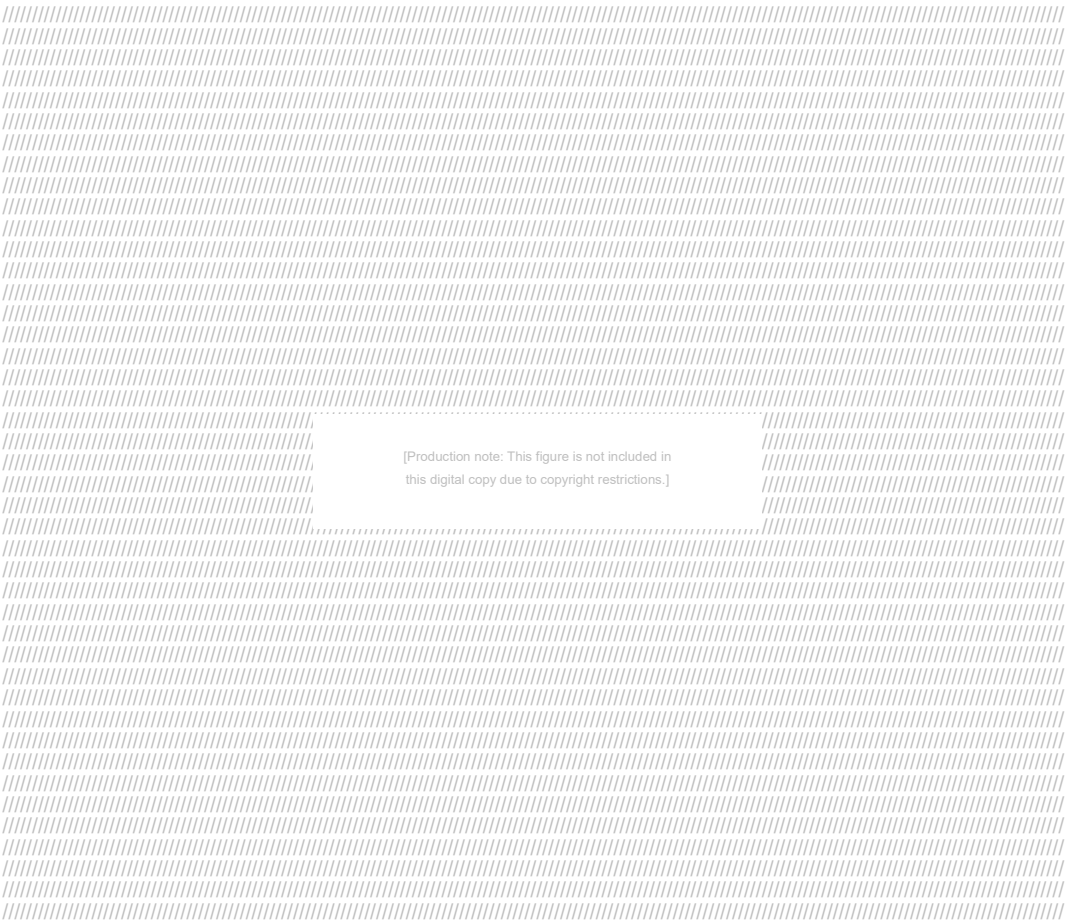


Figure 5.16: Mitch Mahoney and National Cultural Respect Steering Committee, *Possum-skin cloak*, 2009–13, sourced Life Without Barriers

5 June 2014 To mark Andrew Demetriou's last day as the Australian Football League's CEO, the Gunditjmara community gifts Demetriou a possum-skin cloak (see Figure 5.17), presented to him by Jason Mifsud, the AFL's head of diversity.

Figure 5.17: The presentation of a possum-skin coat was a fitting finale to Andrew Demetriou's term, photograph AFL Media, sourced <https://www.afl.com.au/news/46221/andy-ds-fur-farewell>

31 October – 2 November 2014 In the lead-up to the 2015 bicentenary of the proclamation of Bathurst, Australia's first inland town, Banmirra Arts (Vicki Couzens, Maree Clarke and Lee Darroch) runs a possum skin cloak-making workshop at Bathurst Regional Art Gallery, during which the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders make two possum-skin cloaks, to be worn at official ceremonies and displayed in 2015 as part of the city's bicentenary events.

7 May 2015 One of the cloaks made by the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders in 2014 is presented by Dinawan Dyirribang Uncle Bill Allen to the Mayor of Bathurst, Gary Rush, at a ceremony on 7 May to mark the bicentenary of Bathurst (Ferrett 2015a) (see Figure 5.18). Mayor Rush wears the cloak for the entire ceremony (see Figure 5.19), proclaiming 'if you look back in the history, the last person to get a possum-skin coat was a governor' (Rush, cited in Morton 2015, para. 20), referring to the 1815 gifting of a possum-skin cloak to Governor Lachlan Macquarie by local Wiradjuri.

In May 2015 the Bathurst possum skin cloak-making workshops are highly commended in the Indigenous Project or Keeping Place category of the Museum's Australia Museums and Galleries National Awards (MAGNA). The MAGNA judges (cited in 'National recognition for cloak initiative' 2015) describe the project as 'an important and culturally significant extension of the ever-growing movement of revival of possum skin cloak-making', judging the workshop as

> bound to leave a long-term impact in Bathurst, especially through the intended use of the two cloaks produced. What an honour for present and future Bathurst mayors to be offered a possum-skin cloak to wear on ceremonial occasions. (paras 10–11)

In June one of the cloaks is displayed in the exhibition *Marra marra badhang* at Charles Sturt University, Bathurst. The exhibition is opened by the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders with a smoking ceremony (Ferrett 2015b). On 29 August, the cloak-making workshops receive two awards at the Bathurst Bicentenary National Trust Heritage Awards—the Outstanding Community Contribution to Local Heritage Award and the John Copeman Award as the overall winner across all categories.

Figure 5.18: Possum-skin cloak is presented at Bathurst Proclamation day celebrations, photograph Grant Paterson, courtesy Bathurst Regional Art Gallery, sourced <https://mgnsw.org.au/articles/2015-imagine-awards-profile-bathurst-possum-skin-cloak-healing-workshop/>

Figure 5.19: A possum-skin cloak is presented to Bathurst Mayor, Gary Rush, by elder Dinawan Dyirribang (Bill Allen) during the city's bicentenary in 2015, ABC Central West: Melanie Pearce, sourced <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-04-01/bathurst-mayor-gary-rush-in-possum-skin-cloak/7293084?nw=0>

2 October – 22 November 2015 A solo exhibition of Wiradjuri/Kamilaroi artist Jonathan Jones titled *guwiinyguliya yirgabiyi ngay yuwin.gu gulbalangidyal ngunhi (they made a solitude and called it peace)* is held at Bathurst Regional Art Gallery. The exhibition features the two possum-skin cloaks made by the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders in 2014 (see Figure 5.20).

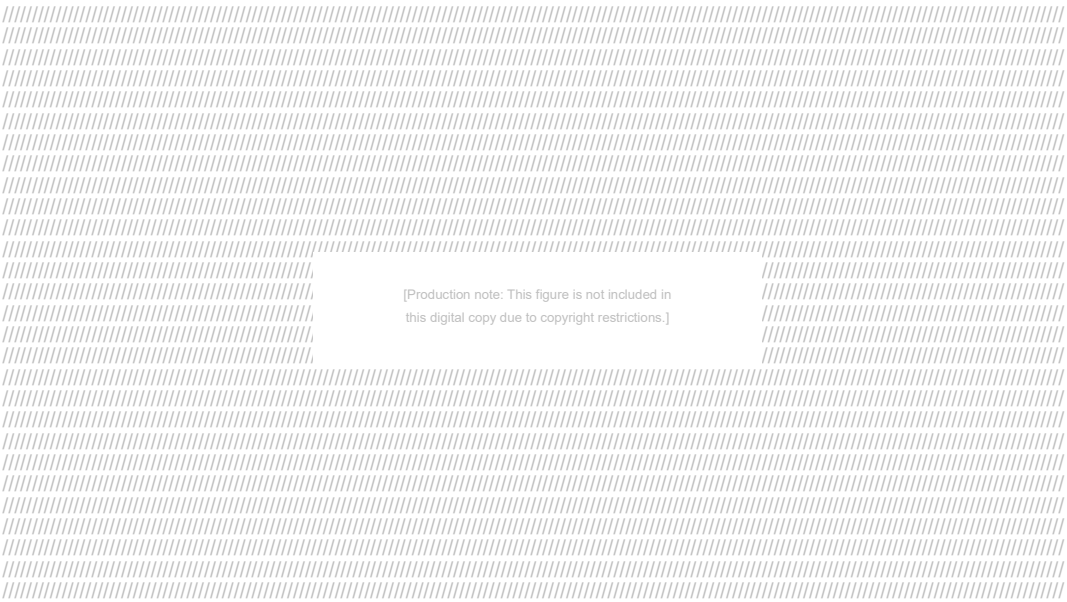


Figure 5.20: Jonathan Jones, *badhangbu murrubu (possum-skin cloak and designs)*, 2014–15, *murru (designs)*, 2015, from the exhibition *guwiinyguliya yirgabiyi ngay yuwin.gu gulbalangidyal ngunhi (they made a solitude and called it peace)*, Bathurst Regional Art Gallery, 2 October – 22 November 2015, photograph Sharon Hickey, sourced <https://mgnsw.org.au/articles/2015-imagine-awards-profile-bathurst-possum-skin-cloak-healing-workshop/>

2015–16 The City of Port Phillip commissions Boonwurrung artist Caroline Martin to make a possum-skin cloak, titled *Boonwurrung walert possum-skin cloak*, for the Port Phillip City Collection (see Figure 5.21). Martin (cited in City of Port Phillip 2016), speaks of the symbolism featured in her cloak:

> The central feature of my cloak is a map of Boonwurrung country, which extends from the mouth of the Werribee River, including what is now known as Port Phillip Bay, to the Mornington Peninsula and along the coast to Wilsons Promontory. The overall design is a tangible reminder of the legacy of my ancestors, a story that speaks of a tradition that continues to survive and, in doing so, celebrates 2000 generations of our rich vibrant living culture. (para. 4)

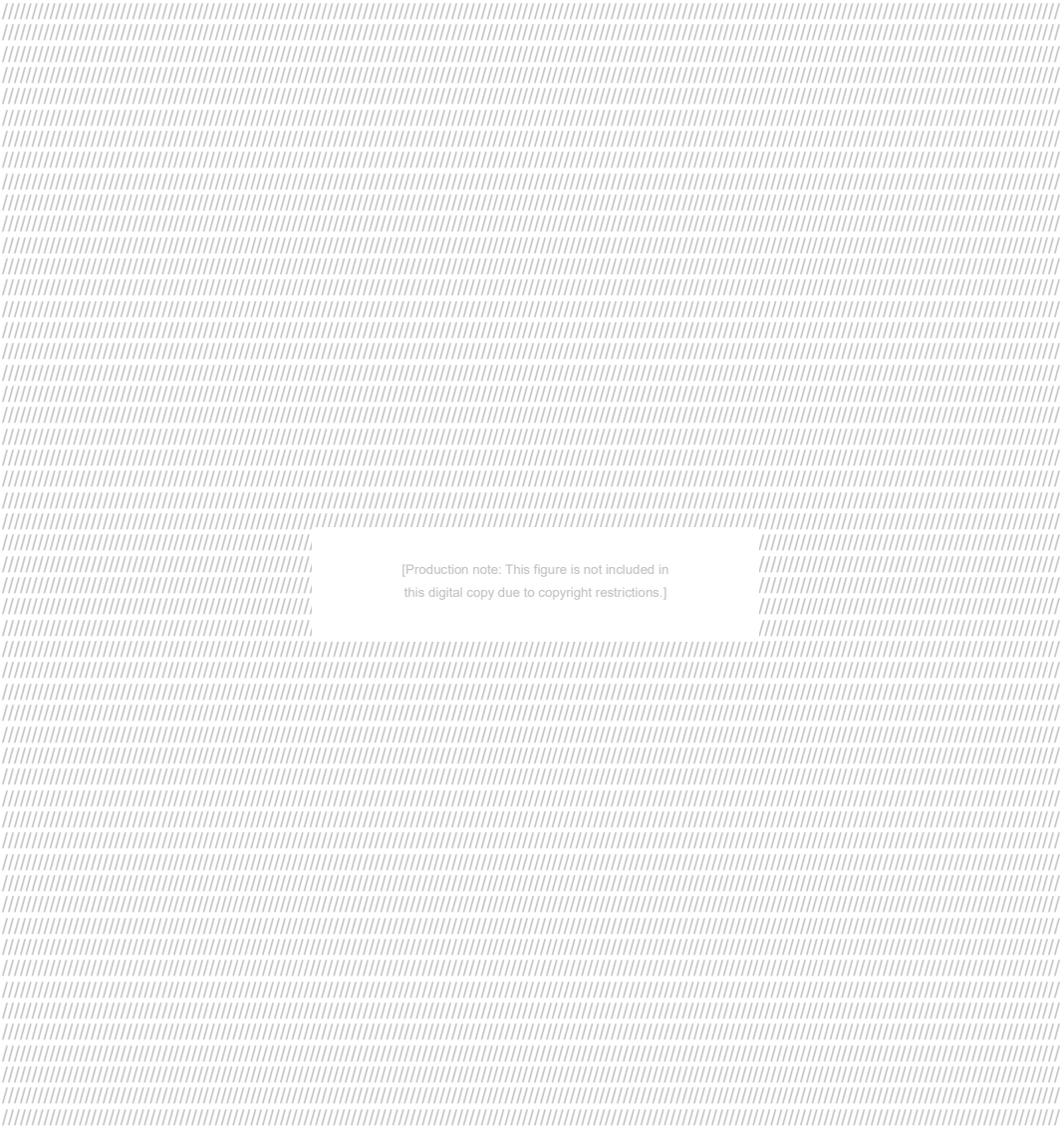


Figure 5.21: Caroline Martin, *Boonwurrung walert possum-skin cloak*, 2015–16, possum skins, waxed thread, ochre pigments, glue, sesame oil, dimensions variable, Port Phillip City Collection, sourced <https://heritage.portphillip.vic.gov.au/Aboriginal_heritage/Boonwurrung_Walert_Possum_Skin_Cloak>

2016–17 The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) commissions Yorta Yorta/Mutti Mutti/Boon Wurrung artist Lee Darroch in 2016 to create a possum-skin cloak for its collection. The cloak is designed to tell of the history and purpose of AIATSIS, with its iconography described and explained on the institute's webpage dedicated to the collection item (AIATSIS 2017). AIATSIS (2017) describes the cloak as 'the first artistic acquisition intended to be worn by AIATSIS representatives on significant occasions' (para. 18). The cloak is accepted by Professor Mick Dodson AM into the institute's collection in 2017.

Darroch's cloak is divided into six segments, which the artist has based on canoe shapes. Each of these shape tells 'a different part of the AIATSIS story' (AIATSIS 2017, para. 21). The symbolism employed in the possum-skin cloak's design (see Figure 5.22) is explained as follows:

(Top left) Films, videos and tapes of ceremonies, dance, language and song; the circular forms recognises AIATSIS' vast, diverse and unique recorded collection of songs, dance, ceremonies and language from communities across the country.

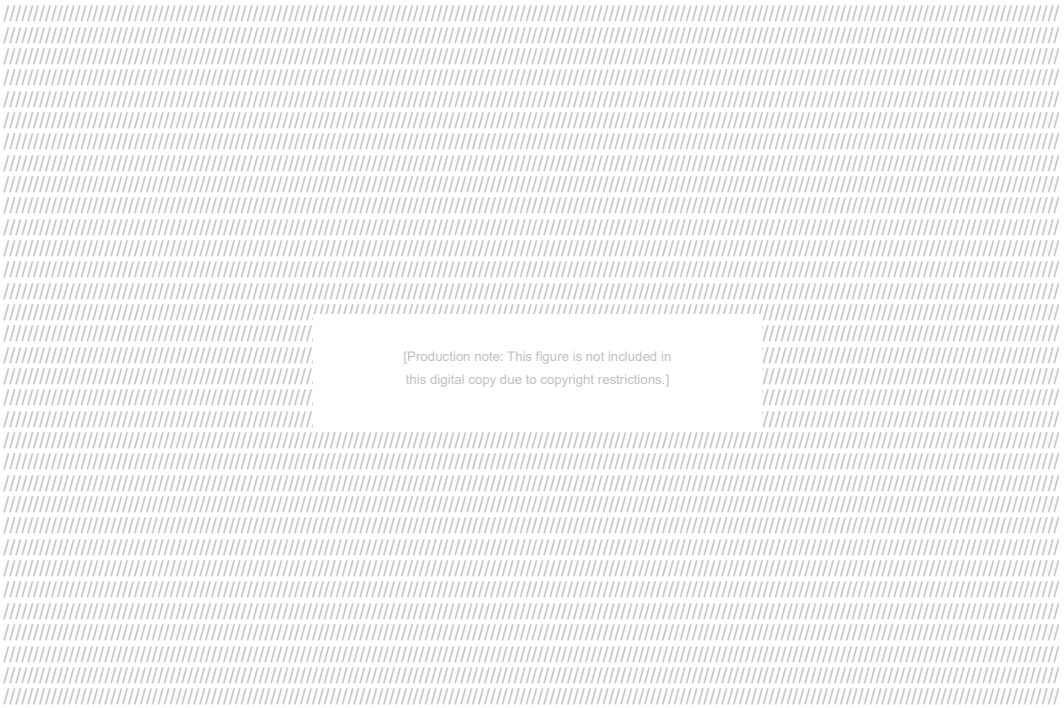
(Top middle) Research, Aboriginal Studies Press and the Library; fishing nets are represented by interwoven lines and symbolically reflect AIATSIS role and functions—the harvesting and sharing of knowledge and information about the rich and evolving cultural practices and heritage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

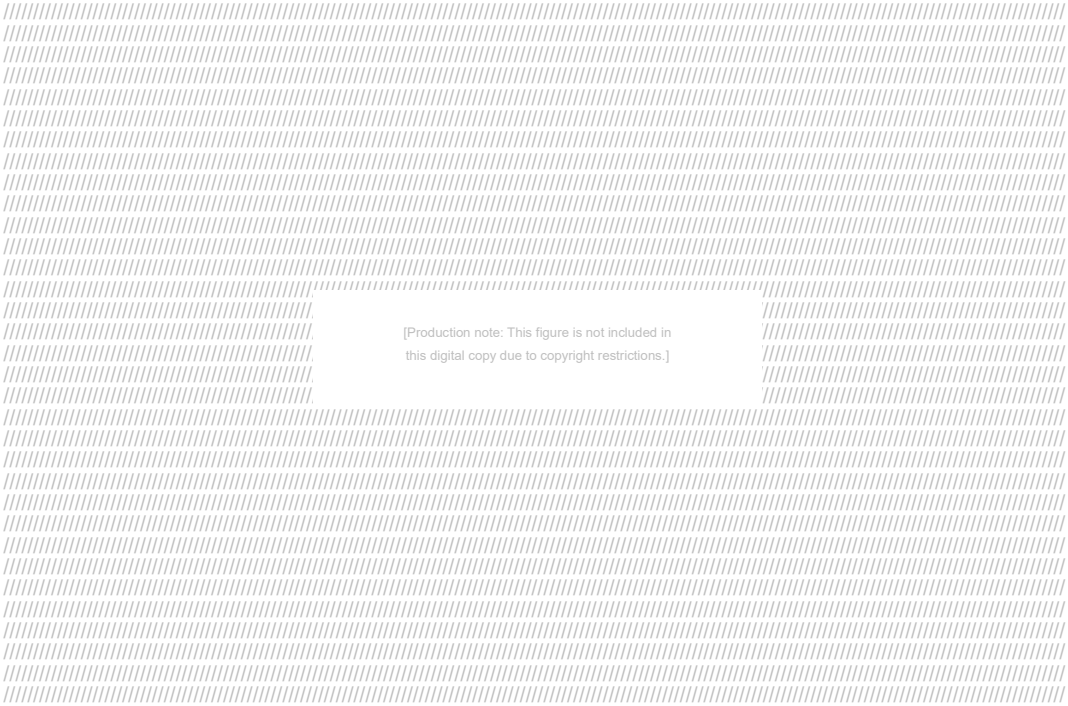
(Top right) Native Title conferences and ongoing support for language maintenance and revival work; this bold sinuous line represents the land and language connections between past and present peoples, as well as acknowledging AIATSIS' role in supporting native title and language revival.

(Bottom left) Eaglehawk and Crow letter; in 1974 a group that collectively called themselves Eaglehawk and Crow wrote to the Council demanding that Indigenous people were represented in the organisation and decision-making of the Institute. This letter made the then Council reassess its relationship with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The design shows Eaglehawk feathers morphing into Crow feathers, illustrating the transformation of the Institute over the first 50 years.

(Bottom middle) Ceremony and Lore-Law (three diamond shapes); the three diamond shapes at the base of the cloak represent the fundamental importance of law and ceremony to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture as the foundation to our identity and being.

(Bottom right) Family History Unit and importance of the photographic collection; the basket weave design represents how knowledge of family connections weaves us all back together as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. (AIATSIS 2017, para. 21)





Figures 5.22 and 5.23: Lee Darroch, *The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies possum-skin cloak*, 2016–17, AIATSIS, Canberra, R02220 ATS 1082, sourced <https://aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/possum-skin-cloak>

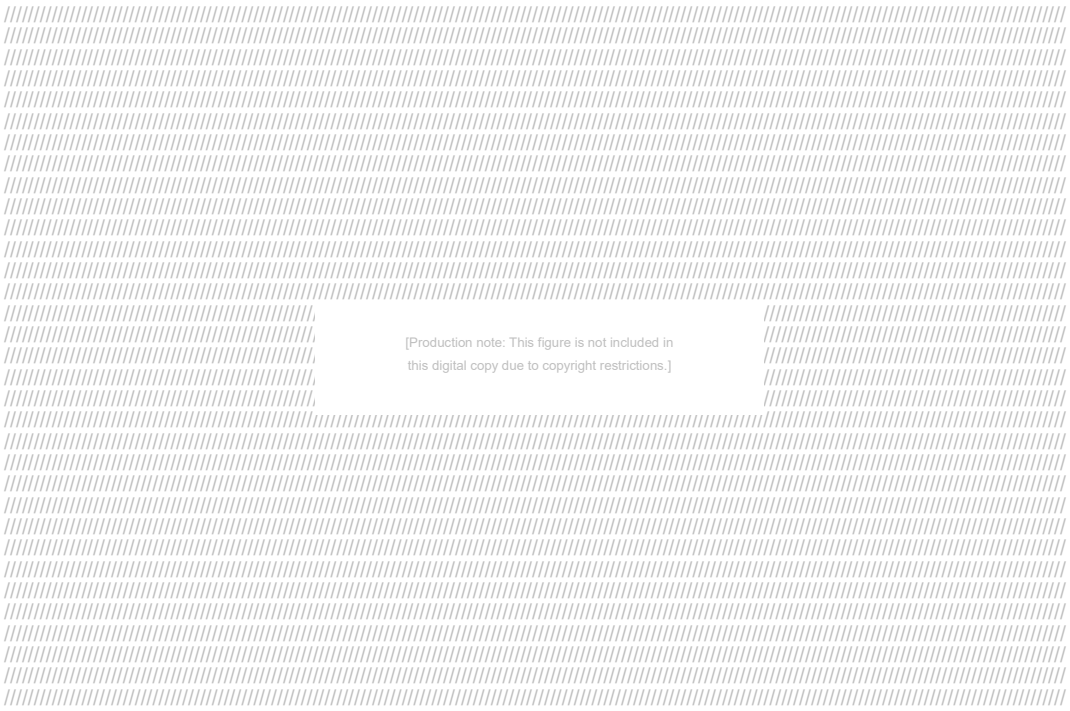


Figure 5.24: Lee Darroch, *The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies possum-skin cloak*, 2016–17, AIATSIS, Canberra, R02220 ATS 1082, sourced <https://aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/possum-skin-cloak>

25 June – 20 November 2016 The *Art of the skins* exhibition is presented by the State Library of Queensland (see Figure 5.25). The exhibition showcases six elaborately designed possum-skin cloaks, the result of workshops led by Wathaurung researcher Carol McGregor and Taungwurrung/Yorta Yorta artist Glennys Briggs with more than 120 Indigenous artists, elders and community members from the Brisbane, Gold Coast, Gubbi Gubbi/Kabi Kabi and Wiruungga communities (Mitchell-Whittington 2016).

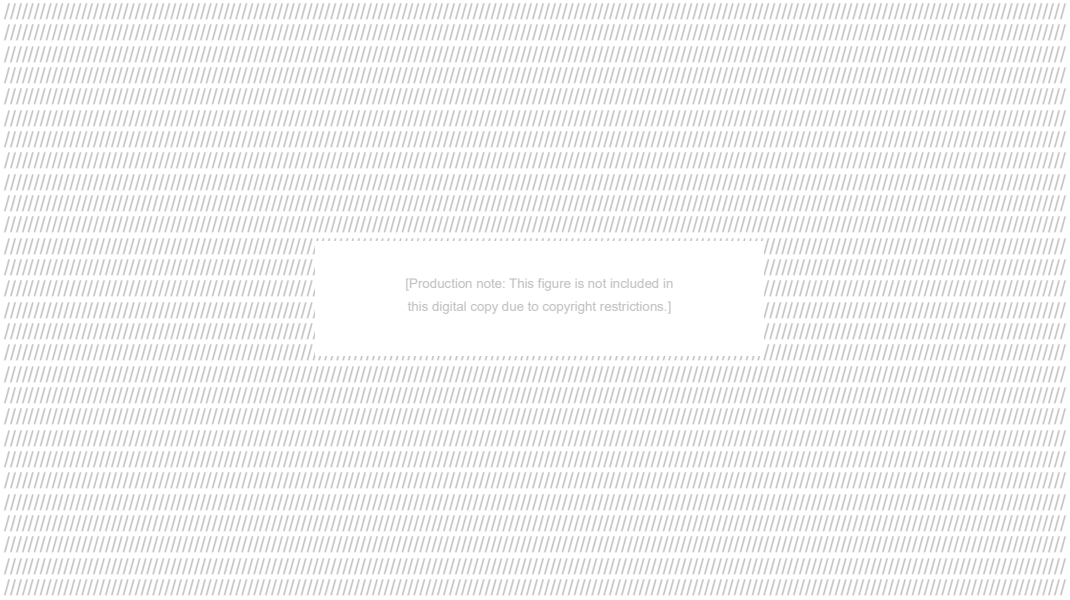


Figure 5.25: *Art of the skins*, State Library of Queensland, visitors are invited to explore the space and listen to stories from each community, photograph Bradley Kanaris, sourced <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/art-of-skins-exhibition-revives-traditional-indigenous-technique-20160624-gpr23l.html>

31 August 2016 The Honourable Linda Burney MP (Wiradjuri) delivers her maiden speech to parliament, in the House of Representatives in Canberra, wearing a kangaroo-skin cloak (see Figure 5.26). As the Australian Labor Party member for Barton, Burney makes history as the first Indigenous woman to be elected to the House of Representatives. Burney (cited in AustralianPolitics.com 2016) says of the cloak:

> Nor is the significance of a first speech lost on me. It is defining; it sets out what has made you, what you believe in and what you stand for. It talks about the seat and the people whose hopes, hurts, aspirations and loves you carry into this place. It talks of the deep affection you have for those people. Because of the significance, I carry into this chamber this cloak. This cloak was made by my Wiradjuri sister, Lynette Riley, who will sing us into this place now. This cloak tells my story. It charts my life. On it is my clan totem, the goanna, and my personal totem, the white cockatoo—a messenger bird and very noisy. (Hansard transcript, para. 11)

Figure 5.26: Linda Burney delivers her maiden speech to the House of Representatives, sourced <https://australianpolitics.com/2016/08/31/linda-burney-alp-barton-maiden-speech.html>

2017 Vicki Couzens completes and submits the thesis 'Possum-skin cloak story reconnecting communities and culture, telling the story of possum-skin cloaks: Kooramookyan-an yakeeneeyt-an kooweekoowee-yan' (2017) for a Doctor of Philosophy degree from RMIT University, Melbourne.

29 June 2017 A joint initiative between the Peter MacCallum Cancer Centre and Breast Cancer Network Australia sees the creation of a possum-skin cloak for use by cancer patients. The cloak, handmade by Aboriginal cancer survivors, is presented to the centre by Vicki Couzens and breast cancer survivor Aunty Pam Pederson.

10 March – 27 May 2018 The Koorie Heritage Trust presents a solo exhibition of Wergaia/Wemba Wemba artist Kelly Koumalatsos's work, titled *Benim: cloaked history*. Koumalatsos references both pre-contact cloaks and blankets worn during colonisation, creating prints using possum-skin pelts, woolen blankets and other materials (see Figures 5.27 and 5.28).

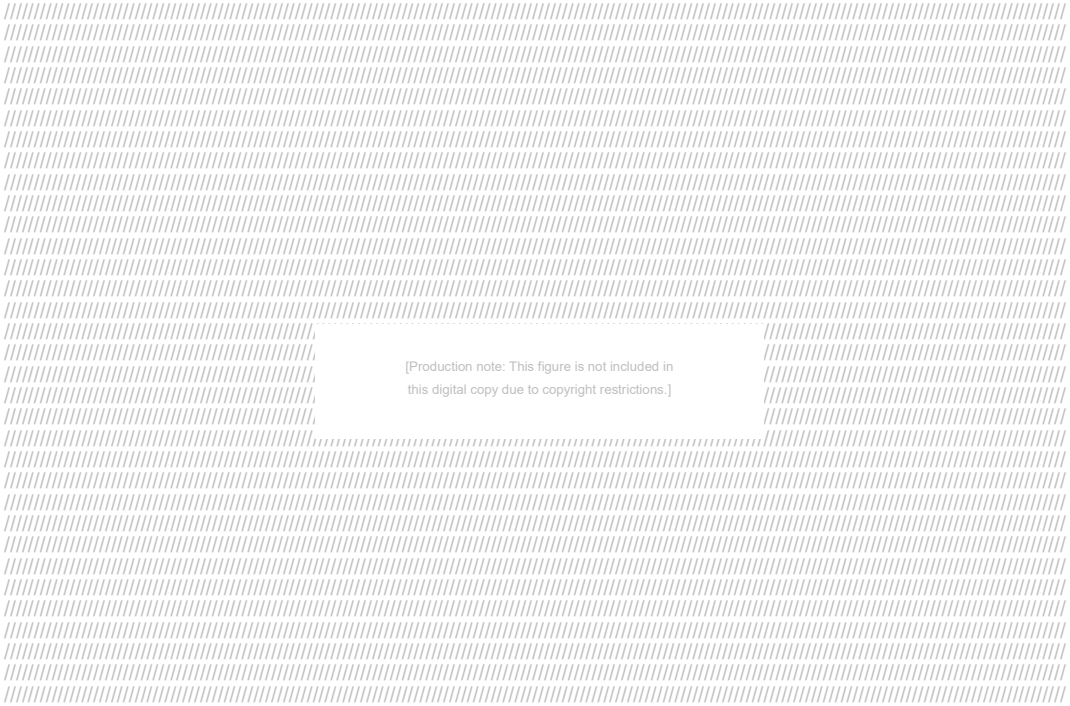


Figure 5.27: Kelly Koumalatsos, *Wergaia / Wemba Wemba Boort men*, 2014, ink on fabric, installation view, *Benim: Cloaked History*, 2018, Koorie Heritage Trust, sourced <https://www.facebook.com/koorieheritagetrust/posts/our-current-exhibitions-benim-cloaked-histories-and-baga-k-gaabi-brunga-biik-sym/10157045727177289/>

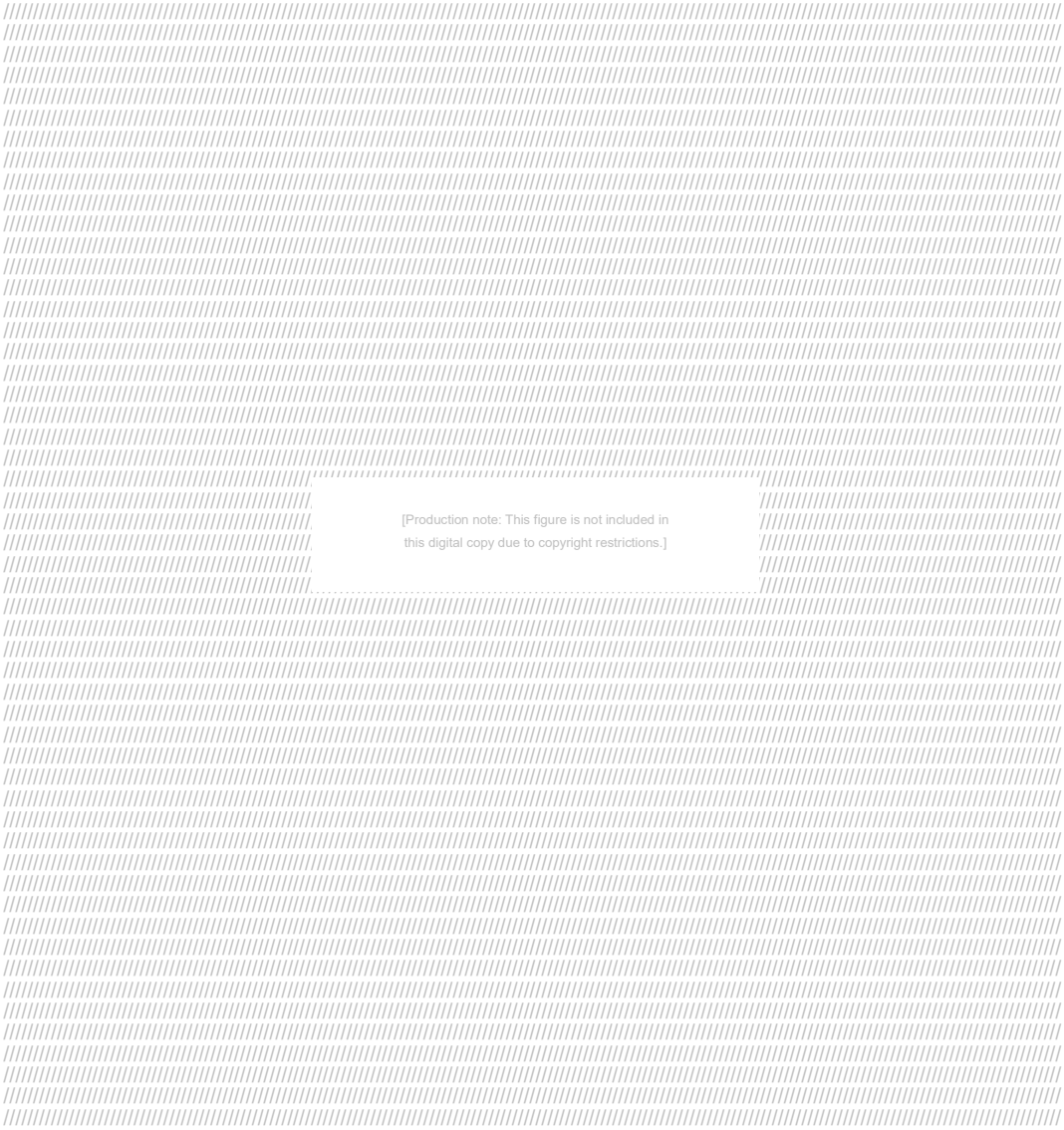


Figure: 5.28: Kelly Koumalatsos, *Benim wile: to cover over with possum blanket*, sourced <https://www.art-almanac.com.au/koorie-art-show-2018-winners/koorie_art_show_2018_koumalatsos/>

May 2019 Yuin artist Theresa Ardler (cited in Moldovan 2020) makes a budbili or possum-skin cloak featuring a painted representation of her mother's Gweagal country of Botany Bay (see Figure 5.29): 'Having my story on my budbili explains that I am from the ocean, connected to the sea' (para. 10). Ardler plans to donate the cloak to the Australian Catholic University during her doctoral studies, which she starts in June 2019, and make a second budbili with pokerwork designs to show her father's Wandandian country on the New South Wales South Coast.

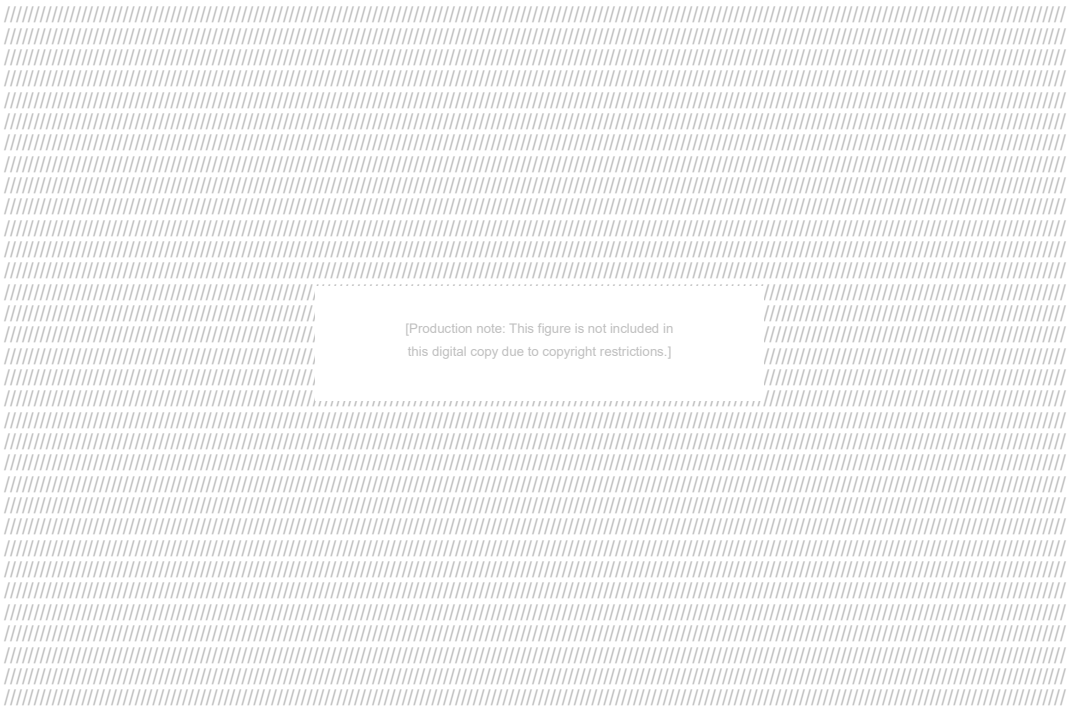
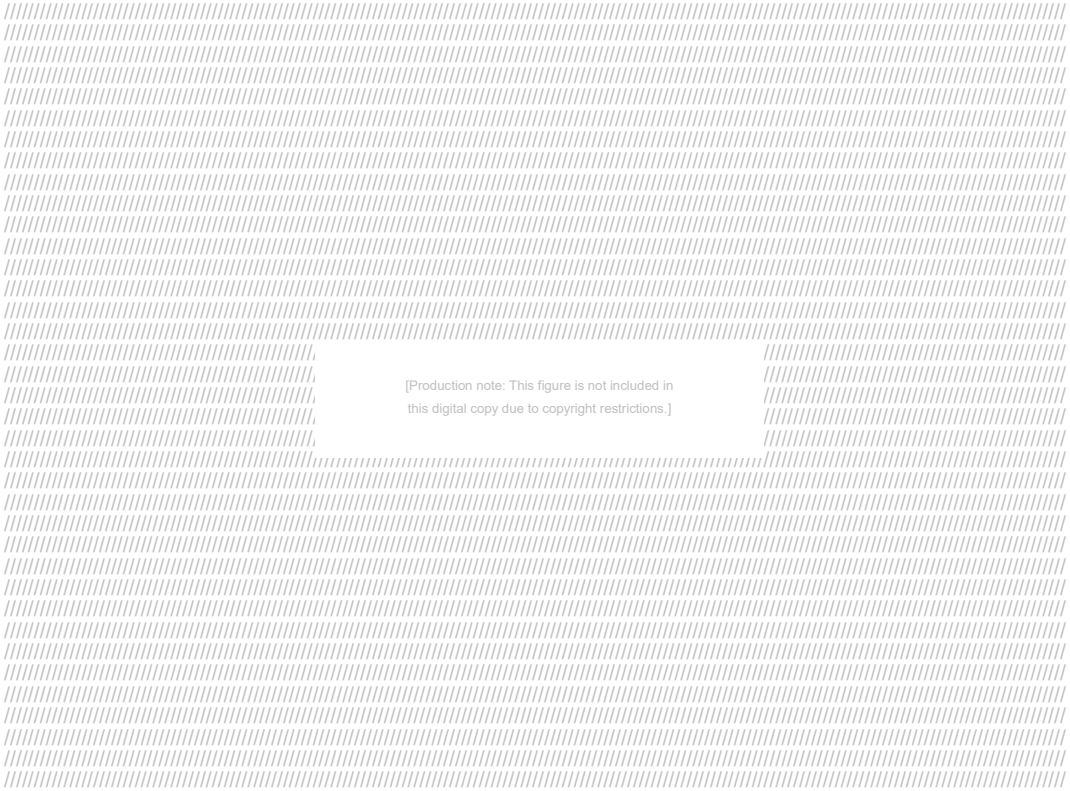
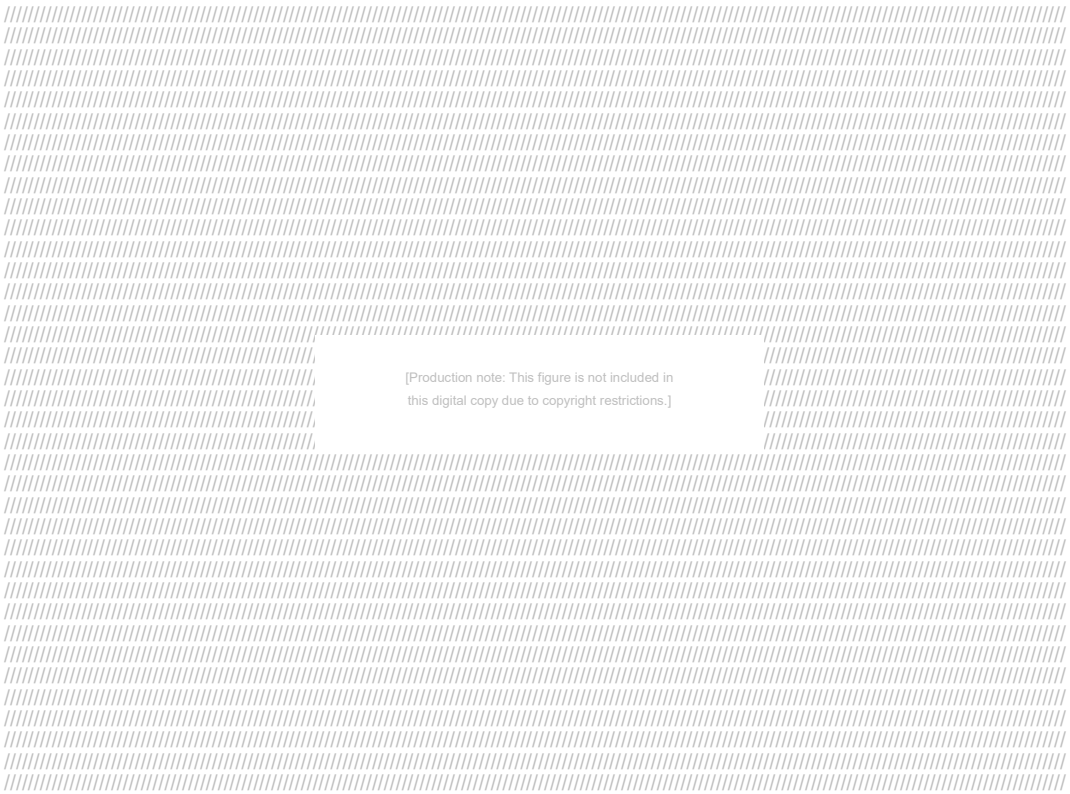


Figure 5.29: The handmade possum-skin cloak tells the story of Theresa Ardler's mother's country of Kamay (Botany Bay), photograph Phong Lam, sourced <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-31/why-theresa-covered-her-graduation-gown-with-a-possum-skin-cloak/11157272>

Mid-2019 In honour of the Lake Condah heritage possum-skin cloak in the Melbourne Museum collection of Museums Victoria, the museum commissions two new cloaks from the Gunditjmara community, made by a group of 26 adults and 11 children. The new cloaks tell contemporary Gunditjmara stories, with contributor Diana 'Titta' Secombe (cited in Hinchliffe 2019) etching three designs onto one of the cloaks: 'There's one that I did with the eagle over the top and there's a person standin' and you can see the dimples in the bum' (para. 25). Vicki Couzens also contributes to the cloak, as her 'great-grandfather was one of six men who made the historic Lake Condah cloak' (Hinchliffe 2019, para. 29). Couzens explains that key to understanding the new cloak's iconography was recognising the inclusion of Lake Condah and Gariwerd (Grampians) in the designs (Hinchliffe 2019).





Figures 5.30 and 5.31: The contemporary Gunditjmara cloak, photograph Rodney Stuart, courtesy Museums Victoria, sourced <https://museumsvictoria.com.au/article/the-timeless-and-living-art-of-possum-skin-cloaks/>

11 July 2019 Images of possum-skin pelts by Wergaia/Wamba Wamba artist Kelly Koumalatsos adorn the acoustic sheds for the construction of the Metro Tunnel in Melbourne, on Franklin and A'Beckett streets (see Figure 5.32). The images are based on an original work by Koumalatsos featured in the 2018 *Koorie Art Show* at the Koorie Heritage Trust, a work that goes on to win the Metro Tunnel Creative Program 2D award.

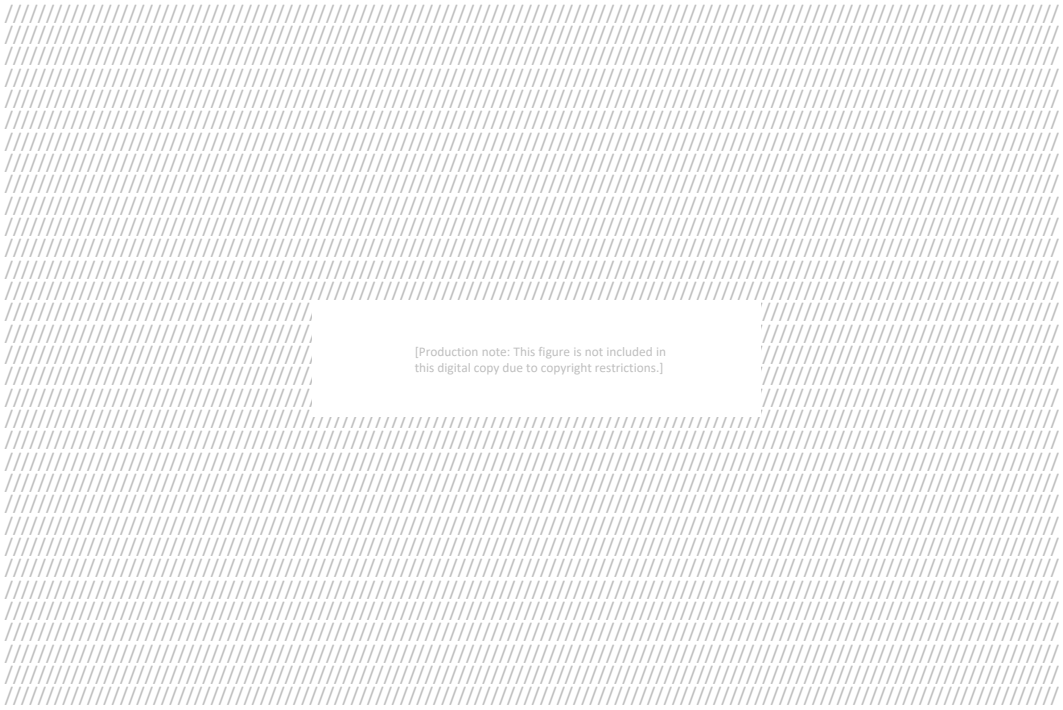


Figure 5.32: Kelly Koumalatsos's work *Benim wile: to cover over with possum blanket*, 2009, on acoustic sheds for the construction of Metro Tunnel, Melbourne, 2019, photograph James Henry, sourced <https://www.facebook.com/metrotunnel/posts/2431727530382839>

October 2019 A possum-skin cloak representing the discussion about a treaty in Victoria is made by Yuin/Monaro cloak-maker Gina Bundle and the Victorian Aboriginal community through 30 meetings and workshops facilitated by the Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission in 2018. The cloak, created with approximately 70 possum-skin pelts sourced from New Zealand, is shown at the Bunjilaka Aboriginal Culture Centre at Melbourne Museum in 2019 (see Figure 5.33).

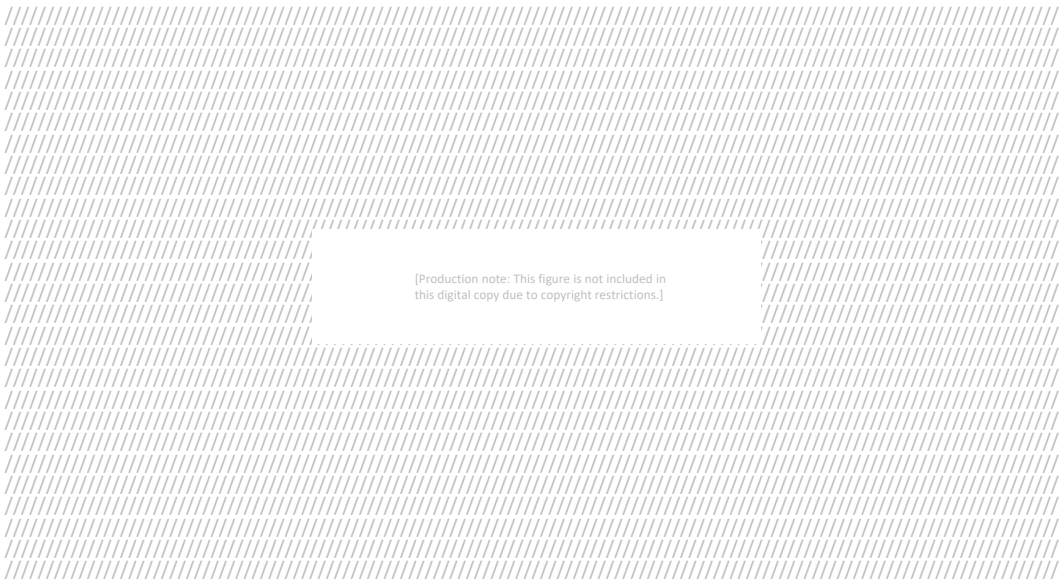


Figure 5.33: The Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission's possum-skin cloak on display at the Melbourne Museum, photograph NITV News, sourced <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2019/10/28/treaty-cloak-showcases-stories-victorian-aboriginal-community>

13–15 December 2019 Ahead of the Four Winds Festival, which is scheduled for Easter 2020 (but was subsequently cancelled due to the coronavirus pandemic), Walbunja/Ngarigo artist Cheryl Davison holds possum skin cloak-making workshops with her Yuin community and cloak-makers Vicki Couzens and Gina Bundle. A brown possum-skin cloak and a representation of Gulaga's white possum-skin cloak (see Figure 5.34) are made for the welcome ceremony of the Four Winds Festival (Four Winds 2020).

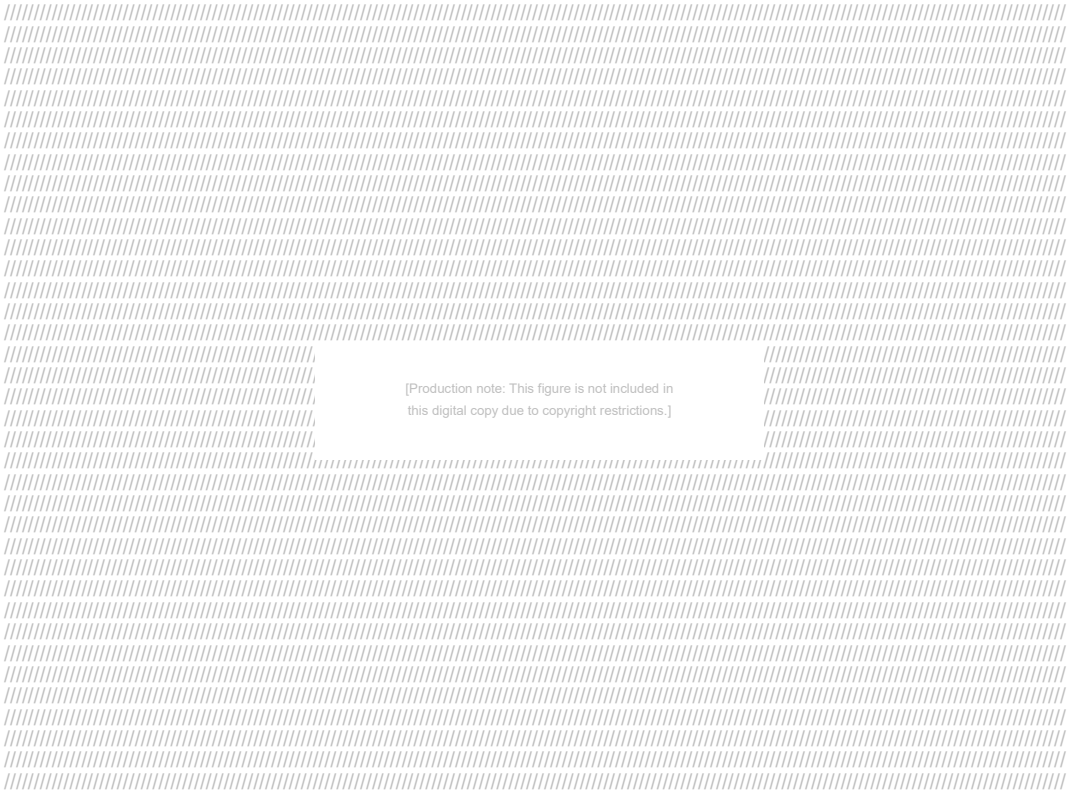


Figure 5.34: Cheryl Davison and Vicki Couzens during a possum skin cloak-making workshop on the New South Wales South Coast in December 2019, sourced <http://fourwinds.com.au/gallery/2019-create-and-inspire/>

5.3 Factors contributing to the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making

As can be judged from the preceding timeline, the possum skin cloak-making and wearing movement has gained significant momentum in the past couple of decades. There are many factors contributing to the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing.

I suspect that possum skin cloak-making and wearing as cultural practice meets multiple Aboriginal needs. For Aboriginal people cloak-making is an empowering practice and the cloak is therefore felt to be, and often articulated as, an object of power. But cloak-making and wearing can also be understood to meet the contemporary and differing needs of non-Aboriginal

people, people who in many ways create the larger social environment in which the practice is welcomed and therefore thrives, or otherwise.

In this section I consider how possum-skin cloaks reinforce Aboriginality and culture, and how cloaks are regarded as objects of power. I investigate how crucial the materiality of possum-skin cloaks is, and I then explore if and how possum-skin cloaks meet the needs of non-Indigenous people. I believe the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing is timely, and I include evidence of this argument in the form of examples from the timeline.

5.3.1 Possum-skin cloaks reinforce Aboriginality and culture

Cloaks may reinforce Aboriginality for those Aboriginal people involved in cloak-making, in that cloak-making and wearing reconnect the maker and/or the wearer to custom and to country. Cloak-making is a highly visible symbol of Aboriginality and pride, empowering people from elders to children and creating ceremony and law/custom. This can be seen in the 2011–13 photographic portraits of Victorian elders by Sarah Rhodes (see Figure 5.13). Rhodes's subjects, which include elders Carolyn Briggs (Boonwurrung), Esther Kirby (Baraparapa), and Professor Henry Atkinson (Yorta Yorta), appear not only comfortable and informal but respected and dignified. The series sees domestic spaces and sites on country converge as places of significance, which adds to the role of the possum-skin cloak as a marker of identity in everyday life.

Possum-skin cloaks channel something for Aboriginal people. For a non-Indigenous person whose traditions do not include possum skin cloak-making and wearing, they can look at the cloaks and recognise the beauty. But for an Aboriginal person, to know that this is your tradition, to put a cloak on your shoulders—that has a profound impact on you. Possum-skin cloaks have an impact on my people, physically, emotionally, psychologically and spiritually. I have never seen this impact matched by another object.

Possum-skin cloaks act as icons, as a physical connection to things and people that are lost or long gone. I have witnessed this firsthand, when I took the cloak I had asked the Wiradjuri Council of Elders permission to make back to the council to see. I was nervous, thinking that if I had done something wrong, the elders would rightly be quick to call me out. But when I pulled the cloak out, it was like a joy-bomb had just gone off in the room. The elders rushed forward like little kids, they grabbed the cloak and put it on themselves, and hugged it, and put it on each other. We spent the rest of that morning just with the cloak. Forget the agenda, everything was forgotten. Everyone was happy, everyone was laughing, getting their photographs taken. People were saying 'I have never seen one of these' or 'I never thought I would see this in my life' or 'I've never touched that before'. And everyone started talking about memories—'I remember lying on something like this when I was a little child'—and talking about people who had passed on, and remembering culture that was lost. When I showed the cloak to the Wiradjuri Council of Elders, so many people present spoke about elders who had passed, about

parents, grandparents, great-grandparents. The cloak triggered memories for them, of them; in a way it channelled their memories.

This response is also evident in process undertaken by Debra Couzens, Vicki Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm to make the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection, held in the National Museum of Australia (Figure 5.3), which was created in response to the Maiden's Punt, Echuca, heritage cloak (Figures 3.53 and 3.54) and Lake Condah heritage cloak (Figures 3.55 and 3.56), held in the Melbourne Museum collection of Museums Victoria. Couzens (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) describes being in the presence of the heritage cloak as 'a loop to your ancestors … you could almost hear them whispering' (p. 4), while Darroch (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) says of the experience of viewing the heritage cloak:

> The pulled the Lake Condah cloak out of its box. Instead of it being under perspex or glass we were right next to it … and then the whole room just burst out crying—even the fellow. It was a really strong emotion from the cloak itself that the Old Ones were right there and everyone felt it. (p. 2)

Possum-skin cloaks can be understood as a public and now socially welcomed statement of identity. This role is represented in Lachlan McDaniel's decision to wear the possum-skin cloak he made to his graduation ceremony at Macquarie University in 2011, as he proudly displayed his culture and identity to his university peers. Similarly, Matilda House wearing a possum-skin cloak made by Treahna Hamm to the opening of Federal Parliament in 2008 and again in 2013 can be interpreted as a public statement of Aboriginal identity.

Making and wearing possum-skin cloaks is an inherently communal act that connects the maker/wearer to people, community, country and culture. As a cloak-maker who has worked on many varied cloak-making workshops and projects across the region, Vicki Couzens (cited in Breast Cancer Network Australia 2017b) explains that:

> Cloaks are vessels for the body and spirit, they connect people with country and community, and they offer pride, dignity and respect. At the same time, cloaks can be one of our most intimate belongings used in a variety of everyday activities—sleeping, wrapping babies, teaching country and sharing stories.

The ability of possum skin cloak-making to successfully bring groups of people together around a common purpose is best understood through the many workshops and the resulting group cloaks that have been made. These events include the Hunter Aboriginal community making the cloak featured in the 2011 exhibition *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak by the Lake* (Figure 5.12); the 2009–13 Life Without Barriers possum-skin cloak made by Mitch Mahoney and others (Figure 5.16); the two possum-skin cloaks made in 2014 by the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders ahead of Bathurst's bicentenary (Figures 5.18–5.20); and the six possum-skin cloaks designed by more than 120 elders, artists and community members of the Brisbane, Gold Coast, Gubbi Gubbi/Kabi Kabi and Wiruungga communities, instructed by Carol McGregor and Glennys Briggs, for the 2016 exhibition *Art of the skins* (Figure 5.25). Of the *Art of the skins*

project, workshop leader Taungwurrung/Yorta Yorta artist Glennys Briggs (cited in *Art of the skins* 2016a) explains:

> *Art of the skins* has given me the opportunity to pass on cultural knowledge about possum-skin cloaks to the community. In giving back this cultural information, the practices of making the cloaks that has been dormant, has given the community pride and empowerment to know this belongs to them. This practice and the workshops have been met with enthusiasm and has brought the communities closer together, healing old rifts. (p. 39)

5.3.2 Possum-skin cloaks are culturally accessible objects of power

Another contributing factor to the rise of cloak-making is that cloaks are democratic in nature within Aboriginal cultures. Anyone whose tradition they form a part of can make and wear possum-skin cloaks. They are not limited to those of a particular class or a particular gender.

Possum-skin cloaks can be understood as culturally accessible objects of power. 'Dress politics' is understood as the intention to dress to impress in order to communicate and therefore secure power (see Chapter 3). It is form of theatre, a means of exercising agency. Cloaks are employed within a system of dress politics by many contemporary Aboriginal figures and communities as a way of indicating the wearer's identity and position in relation to their community, as seen in both the Honourable Ken Wyatt AM MP and the Honourable Linda Burney MP wearing kangaroo-skin cloaks to the House of Representatives for their respective maiden speeches in 2010 and 2016 (Figures 5.11 and 5.26). Cloaks are also utilised to broker relationships, bridging divides and establishing common ground for equal collaboration, as seen in Matilda House wearing a possum-skin cloak to the opening of Federal Parliament in 2008 (Figure 5.8) and again in 2013, and in the gifting of a possum-skin cloak to the Mayor of Bathurst, Gary Rush, by the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders at the Proclamation Day commemoration and celebration of Bathurst bicentenary in 2015 (Figures 5.18 and 5.19).

Cloaks as objects facilitate a reversed exclusivity, placing the Aboriginal owner/wearer at the centre rather than the periphery. Cloaks can be understood to reverse marginalisation. This potential of the cloak is perhaps best understood in the example of the 2006 Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony, for which 35 Aboriginal elders and community representatives created a portrait of contemporary Victoria through wearing the cloaks that each language group had made at community workshops the year before. These figures, the cloaks, their languages and communities were literally centred in the Opening Ceremony performance in what was an impressive display of culture and agency (see Figure 5.4). Artistic Director of the Commonwealth Games project Vicki Couzens (cited in Culture Victoria 2016) says of the experience:

> [the cloaks] represent our people and … show the continuing of our culture and that we're still here, and I know that a lot of people are feeling really proud and strong about that and looking forward to showing the world 'Hey, this is who we are, this is about our

> country, this is about our spirit, this is about our land, you know, and that we're still here'. (para. 1)

I believe that possum-skin cloaks act also as objects of envy for non-Aboriginal people. I suspect that the response of admiration and envy that the cloaks elicit in non-Aboriginal people as members of the dominant society must be empowering for Aboriginal people. It could be that cloaks reverse admiration and envy and in doing so empower Aboriginal people involved in the cultural practice of either making or wearing cloaks.

A significant result of the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making is that cloaks are once again economic commodities, objects of trade. This has benefits for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. As shown in the timeline, possum-skin cloaks created by me, by Debra Couzens, Vicki Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm, by Caroline Martin, by Mandy Nicholson and by Maureen Reyland have been collected by national and state institutions; cloaks made in materials other than skins, for example the work of Lorraine Connelly-Northey, have also been collected. Cloaks have been commissioned by councils, museums, health services, community organisations and festivals. Possum skin cloak-making is therefore a key contemporary economic commodity for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants.

5.3.3 The materiality of possum-skin cloaks is crucial

The physicality of the possum-skin cloak is a key factor in the contemporary possum-skin cloak movement as a phenomenon. Makers and wearers often speak of the 'love' contained within cloaks, wrapped around oneself and those we love as nurturing, comforting and therefore healing objects. Cloaks are understood as human/mother-like, as having spirit and personality. Vicki Couzens (cited in Reynolds et al. 2005) speaks of this 'love' in relation to the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection project:

> The safety and the warmth of the cloaks is a real thing in practical terms, you wrap it around you and carry your children, it's used in everyday life. In most instances it's used in death as well. You're wrapped in your cloak and buried. I read a quote once about a blanket of love. For me the possum-skin cloak is symbolic of wrapping that love and that culture around you and that's also symbolic in the warmth and the safety of belonging and of knowing who you are. (p. 18)

A key example from the timeline of the healing potential of the medium is the possum-skin cloak made in 2017 for the Peter MacCallum Cancer Centre. The cloak was commissioned by the centre 'so that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people receiving cancer treatment can be physically wrapped in culture' (Breast Cancer Network Australia 2017a, para. 2), with the aim to increase survivor rates among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander patients. Similarly, Dental Health Services Victoria undertook a workshop in 2019 with Vicki Couzens and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal staff and patients to make a cloak for Aboriginal patients (Dental Health Services Victoria 2019).

In her PhD thesis Vicki Couzens (2017) tells how cloak-making brings 'healing in individuals, families and communities' and 'strengthens their heart, mind, body and spirit' (p. 36). She explains:

> When a person is enfolded in a cloak for the first time, a sense of empowerment is tangible to the viewer. An array of emotions flit in rapid succession moving across the person's face. There are smiles, tears and laughter in between moments of reflection. You can see a quietness and stillness, a withdrawing inward, then more smiles and a standing tall. There is a pulling back of shoulders with head held high and chests swell with pride. Men become 'warriors', women stand regally. Mothers and grandmothers call their families to come and snuggle together in the cloak and to pose for family photos. All this speaks of a sense of strengthening and empowerment, of homecoming in a physical and spiritual sense. … In a cloak-making workshop different generations interact. Stories are told, family and kinship networks are strengthened and this supports the transference of knowledge and the responsibilities that come with being given and holding knowledge. (pp. 35–36)

Couzens's co-creator and cloak-maker Lee Darroch (cited in AIATSIS 2017) echoes these sentiments:

> When we run a cloak-healing workshop with community and we have a group of people from one language group altogether and it is really powerful because the elders will be telling the stories that should go on that cloak. They're the storytellers and knowledge-keepers … and the parents are listening, the young people or teenagers are listening, the little kids are listening. Everyone gets to hear and those stories get put on the cloak and that is really powerful because that's the Telling. (para. 10)

Possum skin as a material is the focus of this role of healing and for the coming-together of generations, communities and cultures. The material here is crucial, as it provides space for these diverse needs and roles to converge.

From a Wiradjuri worldview, non-living objects and materials have their own power, personality and purpose. We can relate the potential within possum skin to that of a stone, where the Wiradjuri concept of dhawin-dyuray applies—a term created through the use of the Wiradjuri suffix -dyuray, meaning 'having'. Speaking of a 2015 video work he had made titled *dhawin-dyuray (axe-having)*, Wiradjuri/Kamilaroi artist Jonathan Jones (cited in Baum 2017) explained:

> While dhawin-dyuray describes a 'stone for making an axe', it literally translates to 'axe-having', meaning that the axe already exists inside the stone waiting to be brought out by the maker, demonstrating that knowledge is in country. (p. 79)

This concept can likewise be applied to possum-skin cloaks, where the possum skin has the cloak inside it waiting to be awakened by the cloak-maker.

The materiality of the possum skins is key to the power and potential the cloaks possess. As seen in the 2019 Victorian Treaty Advancement Commission cloak (Figure 5.33), the possum skins act as a canvas for story and statement, the pelts becoming a document representing the

community and its aspirations. The possum-skin cloak made for the actor Uncle Jack Charles to wear in portraying William Barak in the play *Coranderrk: we will show the country* (Figure 5.10) features replicas of Barak's very own artworks on the skin side, showing the versatility of possum skin as a material for representation. Contemporary artists Kelly Koumalatsos and Lorraine Connelly-Northey have similarly tested the boundaries of possum skin as a material and possum-skin cloaks as subject matter: Koumalatsos's 2018 Koorie Heritage Trust exhibition saw the artist engage in printmaking with pelts of possum fur as the imprint (see Figure 5.28); while Connelly-Northey has long made cloaks from a range of materials, such as rust galvanised iron, fencing wire mesh with pelican, emu or galah feathers, and chicken wire (Figures 5.6 and 5.7).

Cloak-making is a technologically accessible practice. As cloak-making doesn't require a high level of training or high artistic ability, most Aboriginal people can make a cloak, and this is therefore a key factor in the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making.

Cloak-making is an ecologically sound and relatively guilt-free practice. For a fur object, the possum-skin cloak is morally relatively safe, as it does not make a negative impact on the Australian ecology, with skins used the by-product of an ecologically sound practice of trying to exterminate a destructive invader species in New Zealand. Consequently, cloak-makers and wearers are not subject to the type of persecution and protest that other users of fur might attract. This again can be understood to contribute to the re-emergence of this cultural practice.

As has been shown in these reasons, I believe that possum skin cloak-making and wearing as a cultural practice meets multiple Aboriginal needs. For Aboriginal people cloak-making is an empowering practice and cloaks are therefore felt to be, and often articulated as, objects of power.

5.3.4 Possum-skin cloaks meet the needs of non-Indigenous people

Possum-skin cloaks are one of the few Aboriginal cultural artefacts that have a pre-existing and positive cultural meaning for non-Aboriginal people. That is to say, cloaks as objects have cultural currency within non-Aboriginal culture. They are usually objects symbolising power, status, beauty, wealth, luxury and dignity (see Chapters 3 and 4). I therefore argue that non-Aboriginal people are culturally predisposed to have positive responses to possum-skin cloaks that again result in very empowering experiences for Aboriginal people. This can be understood to have contributed to the re-emergence of possum-skin cloak-making and wearing.

It is clear from the mutual engagement by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parties throughout the examples in the preceding timeline that cloaks meet the contemporary and differing needs of non-Aboriginal people, people who in many ways have determined to create the social environment in which the practice of possum skin cloak-making and wearing is welcomed and therefore thrives.

Possum-skin cloaks made by contemporary Aboriginal artists and makers are understood by non-Aboriginal people and institutions as valuable, and many local, state and national organisations have acquired cloaks for their collections. These cloaks then go on to serve a range of roles for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous parties, from welcoming Australian and foreign students to universities to being utilised during a council's official events. It is meaningful that the Bathurst Wiradyuri & Aboriginal Community Elders gifted a possum-skin cloak they had made to the city's mayor in 2015 on the bicentenary of the proclamation of Bathurst, particularly as the history surrounding Australia's first inland town is brutal, with martial law and the licensed killing of Wiradjuri declared in 1824 within a decade of the town's establishment in 1815. But this gift also commemorates and mirrors the 1815 gift of a possum-skin cloak by local Wiradjuri to Governor Lachlan Macquarie on the occasion of invasion (see Chapter 3). In Bathurst, centuries apart, the possum-skin cloak is understood to mean something significant to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parties.

Cloak-making and wearing has met with or coincides with many interests of members of the dominant society, non-Aboriginal people; these interests range from political, professional and nationalistic, to emotional, psychological and artistic. Consider the symbolic value of a possum-skin cloak being worn by Matilda House at the opening of parliament in 2008 and again in 2013, or at the Opening Ceremony of the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne in 2006, where 35 Aboriginal elders and community members from Victoria wore cloaks their communities had created. These appearances mark Australian society as having a unique identity. Perhaps for non-Aboriginal people the existence and sight of cloaks subconsciously affirms the survival of Aboriginal people and cultural practice in south-eastern Australia, thereby subconsciously relieving the burden of guilt, the narrative of cultural extermination and assimilation. In other words, I propose that cloaks meet the needs of both groups and that cloak-making is in part a symbiotic practice, a communal practice across cultures.

5.3.5 The revival of possum skin cloak-making is timely

The rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, understood from the timeline to have gained significant momentum in the past 20 years, is a timely phenomenon. Cloaks are symbols, signifiers or barometers of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australia; cloaks are a metaphor for the health of the society, for Aboriginal safety and social repositioning within Australian society. Cloaks can also be understood as mediators, facilitators of relationships; in one sense within Aboriginal society, that is, within families and communities, as well as between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people. As witnessed in the many examples in the preceding timeline, Aboriginal people are currently using cloaks to exercise control over the environment for ends remarkably similar to those of our ancestors.

The rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing is timely in the sense that the inhibiting cultural factors have been removed. Since the 1960s there has been a growing interest among particularly English-speaking first world nations into First Nations cultures, practices and philosophies, which is essentially the result of westerners questioning the values

underpinning their own societies and becoming increasingly aware of the cost of that value system on themselves and on the environment generally. This interest is evidenced in the wealth of historical imagery that is now available, as libraries, museums and other institutions open up their vast archives, as shown in the Image appendix attached to this research (see Appendix A). Aboriginal people can now look to this trove of visual material, they can connect through technological advances, and this has been a factor in the revival of cloak-making and wearing. In some ways this process has been about the removal of barriers, while at same time resulting in the opening up of opportunities.

But the timely nature of the re-emergence of possum-skin cloaks also has a sacred element. These everyday things are also sacred things, they're powerful things, and they have come back to us at the right time. Wiradjuri elder and knowledge-holder Uncle Stan Grant Senior talks about Biyaami, the Sky Father, in a conversation he had with Jonathan Jones (2015, pers. comm.). Jonathan asked Uncle Stan, 'Uncle, why are carving and language coming back, why is that?' And Uncle Stan said, 'Biyaami has made all this happen'. This reasoning is philosophically in-line with culture, in the sense that another word for Biyaami is Marramarramaldhaany or the Maker-Maker. Biyaami is the maker of the makers, so we, the makers of this generation, are being made by the Maker.

The return of possum skin cloak-making and wearing is a signifier of safety for Aboriginal people. There has been no other time in the last hundred or so years when many would have dared to wear this object in public, let alone be allowed to wear it. Its revival is a signifier of health. I therefore propose that the cloak's revival, this phenomenon, is not just about Aboriginal people, it's not just about our culture, it's about other people's culture as well. There are three parties participating in the cloak-making, three entities, three beings. One is us, the Aboriginal people whose tradition it is. Another party is the cloaks: we make them, they make us. Non-Aboriginal people are the third party to the cloak-making revival, because non-Aboriginal people have decided to develop their society to a point wherein we as Aboriginal people are safe to wear this object. And not only are we safe to wear this object, we're welcomed to wear it, we're encouraged to wear it.

So the revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing is not just about us as cloak-makers. It is about other people wanting us to make cloaks. Because by us making cloaks we are delivering something for other people, we are part of a symbiotic relationship of three parties: us makers, the cloaks, and non-Aboriginal people. But perhaps this phenomenon represents a four-way partnership: us makers, the cloaks, non-Aboriginal people, and Marramarramaldhaany, the Maker-Maker.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter I have charted the major participants and the significant events of the contemporary possum-skin cloak movement as a phenomenon through a chronological timeline. The timeline began with some of the earliest contemporary possum-skin cloaks, made

by Victorian Aboriginal artists Gayle Maddigan, Kelly Koumalatsos and Wally Cooper from the 1990s onwards, and ended with a December 2019 possum skin cloak-making workshop on the New South Wales South Coast ahead of the Four Winds Festival, which was due for Easter 2020 but was cancelled due to the coronavirus pandemic. Notable events in the timeline include the 2004 Tooloyn Koortakay Collection acquisition by the National Museum of Australia, the 2006 Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony, the wearing of cloaks to parliament from 2008 onwards, and the 2015 gifting of a possum-skin cloak to the Bathurst Mayor.

I then examined the factors contributing to the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, combining my observations and research with illustrative examples from the timeline. I argued that possum-skin cloaks meet not only multiple Aboriginal needs but also the needs of non-Indigenous people. In this section I showed that possum-skin cloaks reinforce Aboriginality and culture, as the cloak is a highly visible symbol of Aboriginality and pride. I described cloaks as culturally accessible objects of power, as evidenced in Ngambri-Ngunnawal elder Matilda House wearing a possum-skin cloak to the opening of Federal Parliament in 2008 and again in 2013. I then considered the crucial role the material of possum skin plays in the revival of cloak-making and wearing, examining its healing properties through the examples of cloaks made by Victorian medical services. I then discussed how possum-skin cloaks meet the needs of not only Aboriginal people but also of non-Indigenous people, how cloaks are understood by non-Aboriginal people and institutions as valuable and meaningful. Here I showed that cloak-making and wearing has met with or coincides with the many interests of members of the dominant society, ranging from political, professional and nationalistic, to emotional, psychological and artistic interests. Finally, in this section I argued that the revival of possum skin cloak-making is timely, that it has happened at this time for a reason. I explained how non-Aboriginal people have removed barriers and opened up opportunities, creating a safe space for Aboriginal people to display culture within. But I also showed that from a Wiradjuri worldview, this timeliness is also sacred, related to the actions and influence of Biyaami or Marramarramaldhaany, the Maker-Maker.

Evidence for these contributing factors abounds in the timeline, and in this chapter I illustrated these arguments with quotes from participants of cloak-making workshops and events.

Conclusion

This research, ‘Wilay badhang: an analysis of past and present relationships with and around possum-skin cloaks’, has investigated the importance of possum-skin cloaks, asking why did possum-skin cloaks disappear, why have they been revived, and why so enthusiastically?

This thesis has analysed which factors have contributed to the re-emergence of possum-skin cloaks in recent decades, and, further, what this re-emergence means for south-eastern Aboriginal people today.

As a research project, ‘Wilay badhang’ breaks new ground as it combines personal reflection and my experience as a cloak-maker together with an interrogation of the historical context of possum-skin cloaks to ascertain why these culturally significant objects disappeared and why they are now being revived.

My research has found that while possum-skin cloaks were tools for managing the environment, they also occupied that space between the sacred and the mundane. Traditionally, through possum-skin cloaks and around possum-skin cloaks we, as south-eastern Aboriginal people, lived healthy, effective, meaningful and proud existences.

Chapter 4 of this thesis examined the environment of fear under which Aboriginal people lived, post-invasion and throughout the colonial period, wherein Aboriginal people were forbidden and discouraged from practising traditional culture such as possum skin cloak-making. In this chapter I charted the multiple factors contributing to the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum skin cloak-making and wearing.

But in recent decades, possum-skin cloaks have been reappearing, alongside many other cultural practices. This south-east cultural revitalisation movement is multilayered and has many strands, owing to the connectedness of south-east nations and communities, increasing access to resources, the sharing of resources and knowledge, and importantly the knowledge kept alive within communities through oral traditions.

Through analysing the context of the decline and subsequent re-emergence of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, and by charting a select chronology, my thesis proposed that possum-skin cloaks meet the needs of not only Aboriginal people but also of non-Indigenous people. The fact that cloaks are understood by non-Aboriginal people and institutions as valuable and meaningful is evidence of this, and contributes to the environment in which the re-emergence of cloaks is not only accepted but celebrated.

This thesis, ‘Wilay badhang’, makes a valuable contribution to south-east Aboriginal research through a thorough analysis of the archive, with one key result being the compilation of an Image appendix. In the process of conducting this research over 2017–20, I came across a vast trove of historical imagery related to possum-skin cloaks. Included in this thesis are more than 460 images featuring possum-skin cloaks, animal-skin cloaks and government-issued blankets, in national and international gallery, museum and library collections, depicted in paintings and

drawings (by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal artists), sketches, etchings, prints, lithographs, photographs and ephemera such as postcards. This Image appendix, which includes links to collections and image resources and shows the breadth and depth of the various possum-skin cloak designs and methods of making and of wearing, has the potential to aid other Aboriginal makers and cultural practitioners in researching cloaks. This resource is by no means exhaustive, as libraries, galleries and museums are continuously releasing more digital images.

In posing the questions what role did possum-skin cloaks traditionally play in our south-east communities, why did they disappear, why were they revived, and why so enthusiastically, this research has been structured chronologically, charting the 'life' of possum-skin cloaks from invasion to today. This linear western understanding of history is appropriate here to understand the disappearance and reappearance of this culturally significant object within a colonial Australian context.

The research unfolds over four main chapters: Chapter 2 considered the history of possum-skin cloaks, seeking to uncover not only how these objects were made but the roles they played in pre-invasion Aboriginal society and during the early stages of European contact; Chapter 3 explored how possum-skin cloaks were perceived by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the post-invasion period; Chapter 4 examined the decline, disappearance and forgetting of possum-skin cloaks through the collapse of the market, the 'settling' and domestication of the frontier, and habitat loss and possum population decrease; and Chapter 5 charted the contemporary events in the revival of possum skin cloak-making in south-eastern Australia, tracking the major participants and a select chronology. Ultimately, my thesis has investigated the possum-skin cloak revival movement as a phenomenon, asking what are the factors contributing to this rapid revival and examining what has taken place to bring this practice back.

As stated in my Introduction, in conducting this research I have declared that I am not an impartial observer, I am a participant in this possum-skin cloak movement. Like other Aboriginal researchers, whose research is combined with cultural practices of making, I have been immersed in the practice of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, and have conducted non-traditional research on this topic for years.

I have been in contact with and collaborated with Indigenous peoples worldwide. I have participated in conversations about how to make possum-skin cloaks, and about imagery, cultural authenticity, gender roles, the use of ethical fur, cultural continuity and cultural boundaries. I have discussed the spiritual role of cloaks, have witnessed and felt their power firsthand. I have sold cloaks to public gallery and museum collections and to private collectors. I have engaged with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people around cloaks and have reflected upon their interest. I have discussed the potential for cloak-making in the process of Wiradjuri nation-building/strengthening.

To date, to my knowledge, no researcher or cultural practitioner has explored these lines of investigation related to the south-eastern practice of possum skin cloak-making. My research has drawn on the strengths of the existing literature, uncovered lesser-known accounts and imagery, and focused on conveying the power I have witnessed in cloaks during my own cloak-making practice. This research position is unique and celebrates the south-east revitalisation movement, particularly through the use of my Wiradjuri language in the thesis title, 'Wilay badhang'.

My approach, throughout this research, has been rooted in the Wiradjuri philosophy and law of Yindyamarra, which has at its core a deep appreciation of cause and effect and of the interconnectedness of all things. Yindyamarra is a framework that considers the ecosystem of relationships, the spaces between, and human connections, whether good or bad, not just the object. In developing 'Wilay badhang', I have been guided by Yindyamarra and have therefore sought to not only understand the history of possum-skin cloaks and their relationship to Aboriginal people, but also their relationship to non-Aboriginal people.

In researching the role possum-skin cloaks traditionally played in our communities, as this art form and object of material culture had suffered a near extinction, I found limited existing research to draw from. Key historical sources included primary objects such as heritage cloaks, paintings and various imagery, and secondary sources included written and visual records. The research framework for 'Wilay badhang' has therefore taken on a personal, communal, chronological and interrogative form.

I engaged different research approaches and methodologies in planning my research. This thesis relies on well-known written sources, such as explorers' and squatters' diaries and accounts. To understand the production and role of possum-skin cloaks in pre-invasion society and during the early stages of European contact, my research has referenced key 19th-century written sources including Alfred William Howitt (1904/2001), Edward M. Curr (1883; 1887) and Peter Beveridge (1889). Lesser-known historical newspaper accounts and images I found to be crucial to understanding the widespread knowledge and appreciation of cloaks in 19th-century south-east Australia. These records illuminate not only the history, interpretation and representation of possum-skin cloaks, but help us today to fully grasp the importance of the revival movement, as contemporary appreciation and knowledge of cloaks by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have been shaped by access to this archive.

Fortunately, 19th-century sources made by Aboriginal people exist, and these provide significant evidence regarding possum-skin cloaks in the everyday life of Aboriginal people in south-east Australia. William Barak's own unfiltered perspectives on cloaks are present in his celebrated paintings, held in public museum and gallery collections in Victoria. In addition to this, several 19th-century heritage cloaks still exist, providing information on the historical production, uses and roles of skin cloaks, with their images and documentation helping shape our understanding of design, form, provenance and distribution.

More recent literature includes the exhibition catalogue *Wrapped in a possum-skin cloak* (2005), documenting the cultural objects of the Tooloyn Koortakay Collection and the personal artistic journey of artists and cloak-makers Vicki Couzens, Debra Couzens, Lee Darroch and Treahna Hamm in making the body of works.

Throughout my research I have drawn on the work of Dr Jonathan Jones with Dr Uncle Stan Grant Senior, presented by Jones in his PhD dissertation, 'Murruwaygu: following in the footsteps of our ancestors' (2018). Jones and Grant created a seven-part Wiradjuri-specific research methodology, Yindyamarra Winhanganha (Respectful Thinking), to guide Jones's research, and this has been crucial to navigating the historical record and discussing knowledge held within Aboriginal communities in a culturally appropriate way.

The rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, understood from the Chapter 5 timeline to have gained significant momentum in the past 20 years, is a timely phenomenon. In this thesis I propose that this is owed to multiple factors, and quintessentially a south-east Aboriginal phenomenon.

Chapter 2 found that possum-skin cloak production and wearing was essentially limited to south-eastern Australia, with cloaks recorded as existing through local production and/or trade. Possum skin cloak-making was a complex process that represented a substantial investment in time, energy and resources. It was an intelligent investment in Aboriginal society, given the multiple and intersecting practical, social, ceremonial, spiritual, political and economic contributions possum-skin cloaks gave to the people. My research has found that the primary purpose of possum skin cloak-making and wearing was to naturally, socially and spiritually manage the environment in order not only to survive but to thrive.

Cloaks had a clear impact on non-Aboriginal observers, as reflected in the written and visual historical record. Colonists—explorers, squatters, surveyors, for instance—recorded the sensual, material and exotic elements of Indigenous peoples' cultures, thereby adding drama and colour to the colonial enterprise. The dignity and nobility of conquered and subsequently colonised peoples was used to reflect the even greater dignity and status of the coloniser.

Possum-skin cloaks were 'understood' as objects of status, and cloaks triggered emotional responses that preferenced their recording over other elements of Aboriginal material culture.

This thesis found that although for well over a century wilay badhang-galang (possum-skin cloaks) had not been made or made in any significant number, from a position of disappearance, decline and forgetting, possum skin cloak-making and wearing has re-emerged in recent decades. My research shows that this phenomenon is best understood through acknowledging the interconnectedness of south-eastern Aboriginal nations, increased access to resources, knowledge kept alive within communities and the determination of makers.

Chapter 5 demonstrated the rapid revival of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, combining my observations and research with illustrative examples from the timeline. Here, I promoted the voices, perspectives and experiences of south-east makers and practitioners. I argued that possum-skin cloaks meet not only multiple Aboriginal needs but also the needs of non-Indigenous people, and that possum-skin cloaks reinforce Aboriginality and culture, as the cloak is a highly visible symbol of Aboriginality and pride. I described cloaks as culturally accessible objects of power. Aboriginal people are currently using cloaks to exercise control over the environment for ends remarkably similar to those of our ancestors.

This research, and my own possum skin cloak-making practice, has led me to understand that, today, cloaks can be understood as symbols, signifiers or barometers of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australia. My research has found that cloaks are a metaphor for the health of the society, for Aboriginal safety and social repositioning within broader Australian society. Cloaks can also be understood as mediators, facilitators of relationships, both within Aboriginal society, within families and communities, as well as between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people.

By charting the re-emergence of possum skin cloak-making and wearing, my research has shown that this revival is timely. ‘Wilay badhang’ has demonstrated that this timeliness is owed not only to non-Aboriginal people removing barriers, but that this timeliness is also sacred, from a Wiradjuri worldview, related to the actions and influence of Biyaami or Marramarramaldhaany, the Maker-Maker, who guides us in all things.

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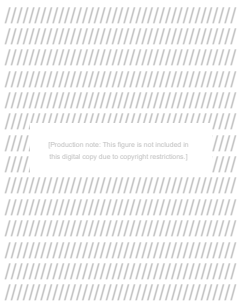
Appendix A: Image appendix

This image appendix brings together images featuring possum-skin cloaks and animal-skin cloaks, and government-issued blankets, in national and international gallery, museum and library collections. Included are paintings and drawings (by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal artists), sketches, etchings, prints, lithographs, photography and ephemera such as postcards. Also included are images that show other types of attire relevant to the research.

More than 460 images are listed, and nearly all are available online. Those images that aren't easily searchable online have been included as they represent important collections key to this research.

This resource is by no means exhaustive, as libraries are continuously releasing more digital images. This resource represents images that were found during my research, over approximately 2017–20.

Entries are ordered chronologically. Where the dates of images were not recorded, these entries appear at the end of the resource under 'no date'. Details for each entry match collection information, and were correct at the time of printing. Where details were not recorded by the collection, that category is designated N/A. Descriptions are included, combining details provided by collections together with notes I have made to enable navigation through the resource.



SLNSW: a1120031h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***31. A Native of the Bogan Tribe / Australia*** **from** ***[Collection of views predominantly of Sydney, Liverpool, and the Sunda Straits, and portraits, ca 1807, 1829-1847, 1887] / owned by A.W.F. Fuller***

Date: **c.1807, 1829–47, 1887**

Medium: **22 watercolour, 11 pencil, and 2 pen & ink drawings; 19 lithographs and prints; 1 carte de visite photoprint**

Dimensions: **drawings 24.7 x 25.9 cm or smaller**

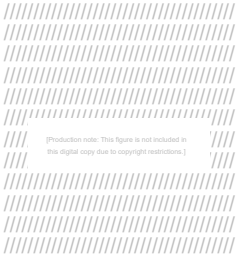
Collection: **State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Mrs E. Fuller in memory of her husband, Capt. A.W.F. Fuller, in 1963**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 41, Reference code 404873, IE3322822, FL3323065, Digital order no. Album ID 823417, a1120031h**

URL:
http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314908?_ga=2.202517205.53876597.1500774639-517118067.1478474437

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



SLNSW: a128458h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Item 08: [One of the NSW Aborigines befriended by Governor Macquarie]***

Date: **1810–21**

Medium: **oil on wood panel**

Dimensions: **33.4 x 27.8 cm (panel)**

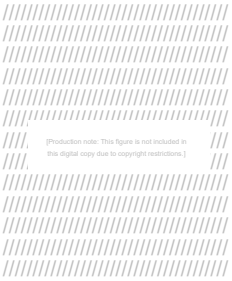
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **“Painting was for years in the possession of Gov. Macquarie. It belonged to Mrs Agnes Flockhart, youngest daughter of Robert Porter, who was for 20 years in the service of Gen. Lachlan Macquarie and his widow as manager for their estate at Glen Forsa, Scotland”—handwritten in pencil on reverse**

Identifying Numbers: **ML 696, Reference code 430585, IE1603582, FL1603589, a128458h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110321275***

Description: **oil painting depicting Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: H2232.png

Artist: **M. Dubourg**

Title: ***Smoking out the opossum***

Date: **1813**

Medium: **print: lithograph, hand col.**

Dimensions: **30 x 21.8 cm (sheet)**

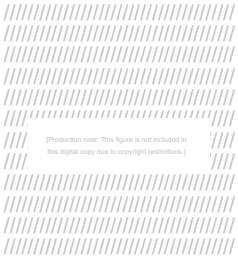
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned 1926**

Identifying Numbers: **H2232**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1853245***

Description: **shows Aboriginal Australian man holding burning reeds or dry grass to hole in trunk of tree, another man with club has climbed tree and waits for animals to escape smoke**



SLNSW: a3419001h.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lewin**

Title: ***Yango Mungo Y'eyango***

Date: **1815–19**

Medium: **grey wash drawing with pencil, cut out and pasted onto card**

Dimensions: **13.9 x 13 cm irreg.**

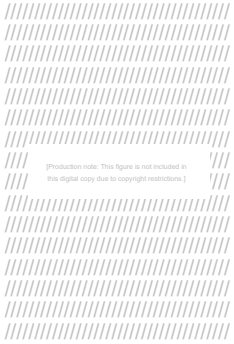
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **This drawing was once in the possession of ethnographic collector Captain A.W.F. Fuller. After his death in 1961, his widow gave the drawing to Phyllis Mander Jones in 1962. Miss Mander Jones kept the drawing till her death in 1984 (but presented the Library with a slide of it: G.N. 26 no.3), when it came to the Library with her papers. The drawing was removed from her papers in December 1996, and catalogued separately**

Identifying Numbers: **P2/417, Reference code 132606, IE1056142, FL1056150, Digital order no. Album ID 89664, a3419001h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110084402***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



SLNSW: a5067001h.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lewin**

Title: ***Yango Mungo Y'eyango***

Date: **c.1817–19**

Medium: **hand coloured stipple engraving**

Dimensions: **22.5 x 13.7 cm (sheet)**

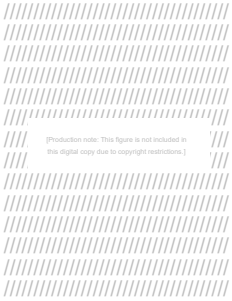
Collection: **Dixson Galleries, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Purchased 1975**

Identifying Numbers: **DG P1/16, Reference code 844852, IE3270479, FL3270490, Digital order no. a5067001**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110337020***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-135691441-1.jpg

Artist: **drawn by J.W. Lewin, N.S. Wales; engraved by R. Havell & Son**

Title: ***A native chief of Baturst [i.e. Bathurst]***

Date: **February 1820**

Medium: **print: engraving, hand col.**

Dimensions: **26.5 x 21.5 cm (plate mark)**

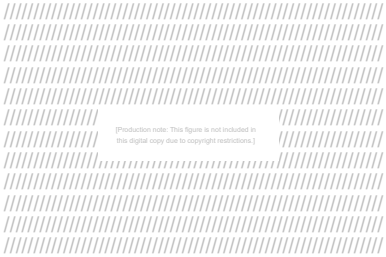
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 20 #U2168 NK4978, nla.obj-135691441**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135691441***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-134500174-1.jpg

Artist: **Augustus Earle**

Title: ***A native family of New South Wales sitting down on an English settlers farm***

Date: **[1826?]**

Medium: **painting: watercolour**

Dimensions: **17.5 x 25.7 cm**

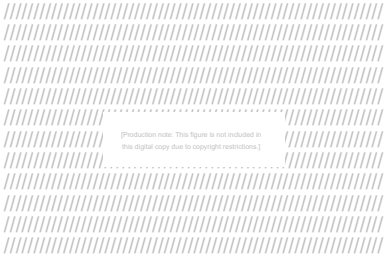
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK12/45**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A33 #T83 NK12/45, nla.obj-134500174**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134500174***

Description: **the house is probably Glenfield, built c.1817, the home of Dr Charles Throsby, at Casula, near Liverpool; depicts an Aboriginal family; the mother wears a skin cloak or blanket; the father wears a western jacket**



NLA: nla.obj-136369482-1.jpg

Artist: **Louis Philippe Alphonse Bichebois**

Title: ***Nouvelle Galles, meridionale [picture]: vue du bassin Norton, sur le cours de la riviere Nepean***

Date: **1828**

Medium: **print: lithograph**

Dimensions: **21 x 30.1 cm (image)**

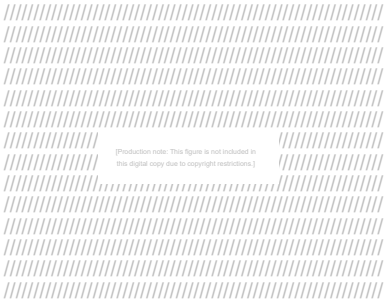
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 582 #S11039/31, nla.obj-136369482**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136369482***

Description: **lithograph featuring group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-136369594-1.jpg

Artist: **Louis Philippe Alphonse Bichebois**

Title: ***Nouvelle Galles, meridionale [picture]: vue prise sur le cours de la riviere Nepean, au dessus de l'habitation de Mr Macarthur, dans le Camdenshire***

Date: **1828**

Medium: **print: lithograph**

Dimensions: **20.5 x 29.4 cm (image)**

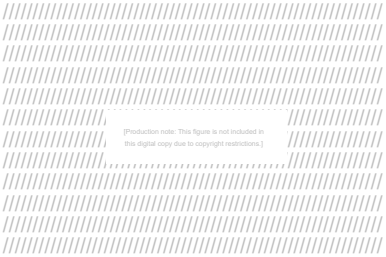
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 582 #S11039/32, nla.obj-136369594**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136369594***

Description: **lithograph featuring group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a2444017h.jpg

Artist: **Sir Thomas Mitchell**

Title: ***f. 17. [Talambe a young native of the Bogan tribe. 1835]*** **from** ***[Expeditions into the interior of Eastern Australia, ca 1831-35]***

Date: **c.1831–35**

Medium: **13 pencil drawings, 3 watercolours**

Dimensions: **27 x 28 cm or smaller**

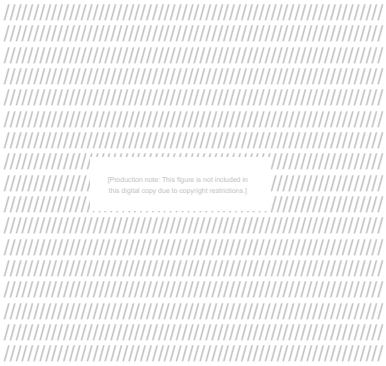
Collection: **State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PXX 21, Reference code 457919, IE3242880, FL3243041, Digital order no. Album ID 872496, a2444017h**

URL:
http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110332498?_ga=2.171180516.53876597.1500774639-517118067.1478474437

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out; a note at upper left reads 'slight cloud to relieve upper feathers white' (Pl.19, v. 1)**



SLNSW: a1143007h.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***6. Mountain Pass from "Jamberoo" to "Bong Bong" Illawarra - N.S.W.*** **from** ***Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales***

Date: **1831–52?**

Medium: **1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages)**

Dimensions: **26.2 x 36.5 cm (album)**

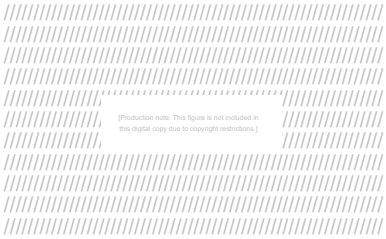
Collection: **Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 53, Reference code 442947, IE3312487, FL3312626, a1143007h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327164***

Description: **landscape drawing with a figure in a possum-skin cloak at left**



SLNSW: a1143013h.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***11a. Encamping for the night at the foot of the Maneroo Range of Mountains*** **from** ***Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales***

Date: **1831–52?**

Medium: **1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages)**

Dimensions: **26.2 x 36.5 cm (album)**

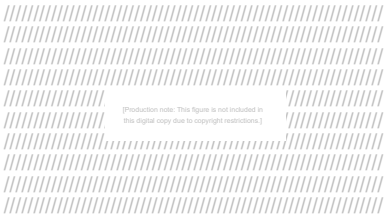
Collection: **Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 53, Reference code 442947, IE3312487, FL3312650, a1143013h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327164***

Description: **drawing depicting a camp scene, with Aboriginal figures at centre, wearing cloaks and carrying spears**



SLNSW: a1143021h.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***17. The road to the Diggings at Bathurst*** **from** ***Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales***

Date: **1831–52?**

Medium: **1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages)**

Dimensions: **26.2 x 36.5 cm (album)**

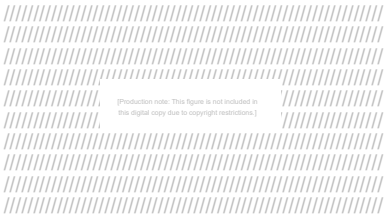
Collection: **Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 53, Reference code 442947, IE3312487, FL3312685, a1143021h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327164***

Description: **landscape drawing with two figures in possum-skin cloaks at centre**



SLNSW: a1143022h.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***18a. The Diggings at "Ophir" Creek - near Bathurst*** **from** ***Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales***

Date: **1831–52?**

Medium: **1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages)**

Dimensions: **26.2 x 36.5 cm (album)**

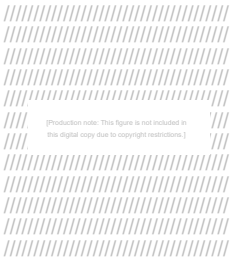
Collection: **Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 53, Reference code 442947, IE3312487, FL3312689, a1143022h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327164***

Description: **landscape drawing with group of four figures in possum-skin cloaks at right**



SLNSW: a1143026h.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***20a. Native Women - of the Murray River N.S.Wales*** **from** ***Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales***

Date: **1831–52?**

Medium: **1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages)**

Dimensions: **26.2 x 36.5 cm (album)**

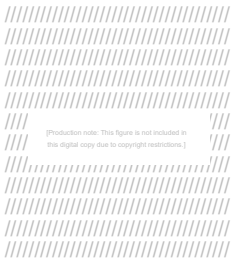
Collection: **Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 53, Reference code 442947, IE3312487, FL3312712, a1143026h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327164***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: a1143027h.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***20b. Native Women* from *Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales***

Date: **1831–52?**

Medium: **1 album (28 watercolour drawings on 21 pages)**

Dimensions: **26.2 x 36.5 cm (album)**

Collection: **Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 53, Reference code 442947, IE3312487, FL3312717, a1143027h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327164***

Description: **drawing depicting two Aboriginal woman wearing either cloaks or blankets**

SLNSW: PXA 1760.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***Album of drawings and watercolours of New South Wales***

Date: **1832–51**

Medium: **1 album (29 drawings) – 17 sepia, 10 pencil, 2 watercolour**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1760, Reference code 862608**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110340087***

Description: **drawing showing two Aboriginal figures; man in foreground wears a skin cloak. The sketches were attributed to Westmacott by Bernard Smith who considered them similar to those in a volume in the Nan Kivell collection. None of the sketches are dated; the dates given are for the period Westmacott is known to have been in N.S.W.**

SLNSW: a5296002h.jpg

Artist: **William Thomas**

Title: ***2–3. Two sketches of Aboriginal ceremonies around a camp fire*** **from** ***William Thomas, protector of Aborigines, pictorial material***

Date: **1832–75**

Medium: **3 pencil drawings**

Dimensions: **16 x 22.5 cm, 13 x 20.5 cm**

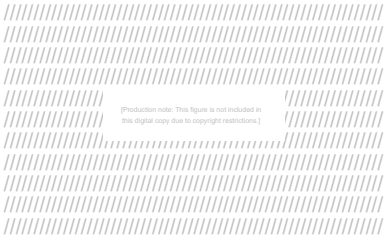
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented 1960**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1321 | MIN 452, Reference code 107327, IE922700, FL922723, a5296002h**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110068730***

Description: **drawing depicting a ceremony, with standing male figure and seated female figures wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a5296003h.jpg

Artist: **William Thomas**

Title: ***2–3. Two sketches of Aboriginal ceremonies around a camp fire*** **from** ***William Thomas, protector of Aborigines, pictorial material***

Date: **1832–75**

Medium: **3 pencil drawings**

Dimensions: **16 x 22.5 cm, 13 x 20.5 cm**

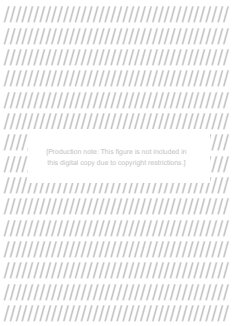
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented 1960**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1321 | MIN 452, Reference code 107327, IE922700, FL922724, a5296003h**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110068730***

Description: **drawing of a camp, with figures all dressed in skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a5296004h.jpg

Artist: **William Thomas**

Title: ***Portrait of a male Aborigine, with fur cloak & spear, entitled "Wynberry"*** **from** ***William Thomas, protector of Aborigines, pictorial material***

Date: **1832–75**

Medium: **3 pencil drawings**

Dimensions: **16 x 22.5 cm, 13 x 20.5 cm**

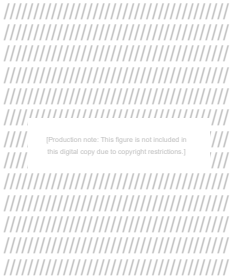
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented 1960**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1321 | MIN 452, Reference code 107327, IE922700, FL922725, a5296004h**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110068730***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLV: 703739009.jpg

Artist: **Charles Rodius**

Title: ***Morirang, Shoalhaven Tribe, N. S. Wales***

Date: **1834**

Medium: **print: lithograph**

Dimensions: **27 x 22.5 cm**

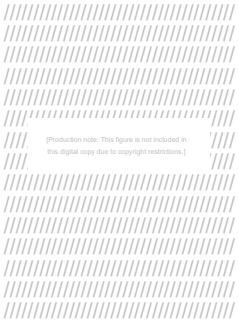
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1938**

Identifying Numbers: **H8847**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER3286322***

Description: **young Aboriginal Australian woman: Bust, full face, short curly hair, wearing cloak over left shoulder and tied under right arm, traditional scarification on upper arm**



SLV: H32835.png

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***Truggernana***

Date: **1835**

Medium: **etching**

Dimensions: **26 x 17.5 cm**

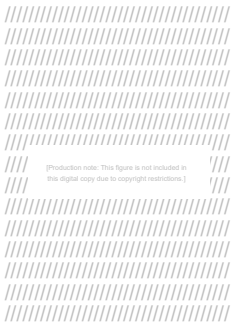
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mr T.F. Audley, 1970**

Identifying Numbers: **H32835**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1809879***

Description: **shows Truggernana (more popularly known as Truganini), an Aboriginal Australian woman from the southern part of Tasmania (then Van Dieman's Land). She was wife to Woureddy, who was attached to the mission, 1829. She is depicted wearing an animal-skin cloak and shell (?) necklaces; her head appears to be shaved**



SLV: H32836.png

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***Woureddy***

Date: **1835**

Medium: **etching**

Dimensions: **26 x 17.5 cm**

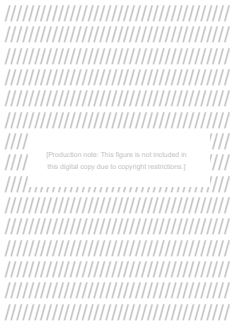
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mr T.F. Audley, 1970**

Identifying Numbers: **H32836**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1809882***

Description: **shows Woureddy, an Aboriginal Australian from Brune (i.e., Bruny) Island. He was attached to the mission, Tasmania, 1929 and is described (l.c.) as: "...one of Mr Robinson's most faithful attendants." He wears an animal-skin cloak and holds a spear in his right hand**



SLV: H32837.png

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***Manalargerna***

Date: **1835**

Medium: **etching**

Dimensions: **26 x 17.5 cm**

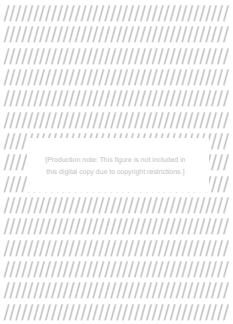
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mr T.F. Audley, 1970**

Identifying Numbers: **H32837**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1809878***

Description: **shows Manalargerna, a chieftain of the east coast of Tasmania (then Van Dieman's Land). He was an attendant at the mission run by Mr Robinson, 1831. He is depicted wearing an animal skin around his waist and holding a spear and a firestick**



SLV: H32838.png

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***Tanleboueyer***

Date: **1835**

Medium: **etching**

Dimensions: **26 x 17.5 cm**

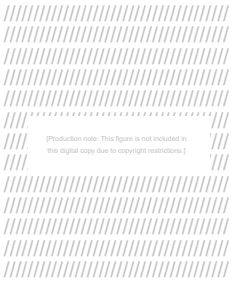
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mr T.F. Audley, 1970**

Identifying Numbers: **H32838**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1809880***

Description: **shows Tanleboueyer, an Aboriginal Australian woman from the district of Oyster Bay and wife to Manalargerna who was attached to the mission, 1830. She is depicted wearing an animal-skin cloak and shell (?) necklaces; her head appears to be shaved**



NLA: nla.obj-134311667-1.jpg

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***Portrait of Truganini, daughter of the Chief of Bruny Island, Van Diemen's Land***

Date: **c.1835**

Medium: **painting: oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **88.2 x 68.1 cm**

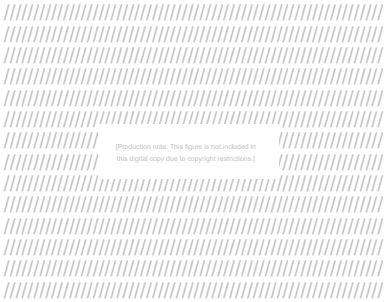
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Screen 94 #R7, nla.obj-134311667**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134311667***

Description: **drawing depicting Truganini, wearing a skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-135197785-1.jpg

Artist: **Sir Thomas Mitchell**

Title: ***Talambe, a young native of the Bogan tribe***

Date: **[1835]**

Medium: **drawing: pencil**

Dimensions: **13.4 x 21.3 cm**

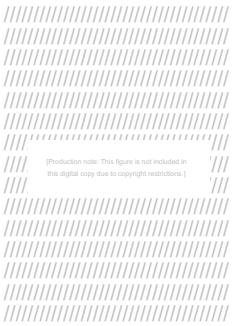
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 8462 #R9817, nla.obj-135197785**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135197785***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-136107455-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas Mitchell**

Title: ***[Studies for Piper, Cambo and Old Man]***

Date: **[1835?]**

Medium: **drawing: pencil and wash**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 7.1 cm**

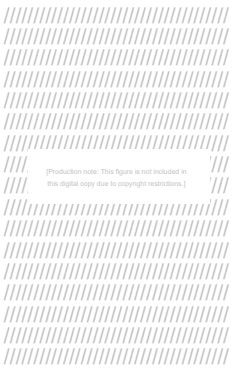
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 8462 #T2689 NK 6937, nla.obj-136107455**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136107455***

Description: **drawing of three Aboriginal men; man at back wears a possum-skin cloak with the designed side facing out**



SLNSW: a1108004h.jpg

Artist: **W.H. Fernyhough**

Title: ***3. Punch, Wife of Cullabaa, Broken Bay Tribe*** **from** ***[Sketches of Aborigines of New South Wales]***

Date: **c.1836**

Medium: **1 album with marbled covers (containing 8 pencil drawings) stored in rectangular box with hinged lid and beige coloured cloth cover**

Dimensions: **23.4 x 14.7 cm (sketchbook)**

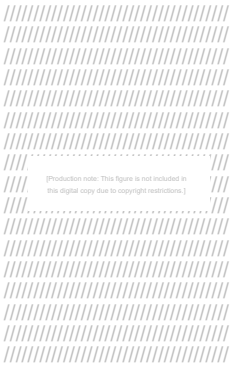
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 47, Reference code 442795, IE1077989, FL1078014, a1108004h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327020***

Description: **drawing of Punch, shown wearing a blanket as a cloak**



SLNSW: a1108006h.jpg

Artist: **W.H. Fernyhough**

Title: ***5. Goosberry, Widow of King Bungaree*** **from** ***[Sketches of Aborigines of New South Wales]***

Date: **c.1836**

Medium: **1 album with marbled covers (containing 8 pencil drawings) stored in rectangular box with hinged lid and beige coloured cloth cover**

Dimensions: **23.4 x 14.7 cm (sketchbook)**

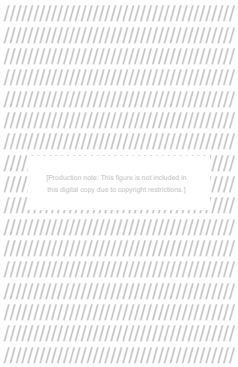
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 47, Reference code 442795, IE1077989, FL1078016, a1108006h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327020***

Description: **drawing of Gooseberry, shown wearing a blanket as a cloak**



SLNSW: a1108008h.jpg

Artist: **W.H. Fernyhough**

Title: ***7. Mary, Botany Bay, Tribe*** **from** ***[Sketches of Aborigines of New South Wales]***

Date: **c.1836**

Medium: **1 album with marbled covers (containing 8 pencil drawings) stored in rectangular box with hinged lid and beige coloured cloth cover**

Dimensions: **23.4 x 14.7 cm (sketchbook)**

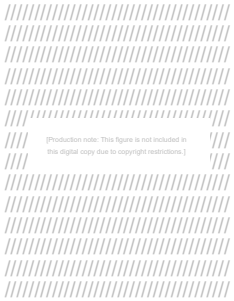
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **DL PX 47, Reference code 442795, IE1077989, FL1078018, a1108008h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110327020***

Description: **drawing of Mary, shown wearing a blanket as a cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-134329735-1.jpg

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***Tasmanian Aborigine***

Date: **1837**

Medium: **painting: oil on canvas relined on masonite**

Dimensions: **88.2 x 68.1 cm**

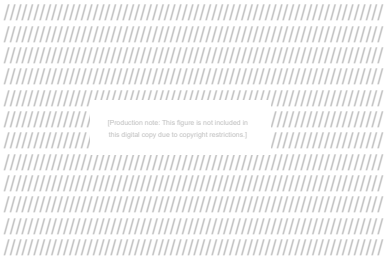
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Screen 89 #R6, nla.obj-134329735**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134329735***

Description: **drawing depicting Tasmanian Aboriginal man, wearing an animal skin**



NLA: nla.obj-136374179-1.jpg

Artist: **Léon Jean Baptiste Sabatier**

Title: ***Cours de la Nepean, au dessous de l'habitation M. Mac-Arthur (Camden-Shire, Nouvelle Galles meridionale)***

Date: **1837**

Medium: **print: lithograph**

Dimensions: **18.6 x 26.5 cm**

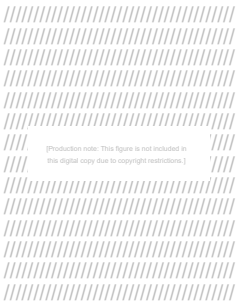
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 584 #S11040/17, nla.obj-136374179**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136374179***

Description: **lithograph of a landscape, with Aboriginal family of three shown wearing cloaks at right**



SLNSW: a928499h.jpg

Artist: **Thomas Bock**

Title: ***Jemmy / Native of the Hampshire Hills***

Date: **c.1837**

Medium: **watercolour drawing mounted on board**

Dimensions: **29.9 x 21.7 cm**

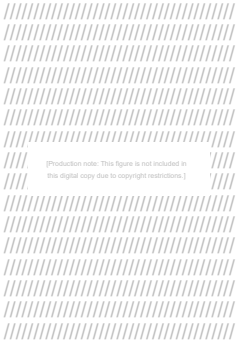
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Mrs E. Fuller in memory of her husband, Capt. A.W.F. Fuller, in 1963**

Identifying Numbers: **V/109, Reference code 442837, IE3324818, FL3324828, a928499h**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110327055***

Description: **drawing of Jemmy, shown wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a044005h.jpg

Artist: **Sir Thomas Mitchell**

Title: ***Female and child of Australia Felix*** **from** ***Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia: with descriptions of the recently explored region of Australia Felix, and of the present colony of New South Wales***

Date: **1838**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **D 83/248-249, IE3745738, FL3745788, a044005h**

URL:
http://digital.sl.nsw.gov.au/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?embedded=true&toolbar=false&dps_pid=IE3745738

Description: **image of an Aboriginal mother and child; the mother wears a woven reed mat, fastened to her with a skin cloak; the child, seated inside the mat on their mother's back, wears a skin cloak**

NLA: nla.obj-136107024-1.jpg

Artist: **Major T.L. Mitchell**

Title: ***Talambe, a young native of the Bogan tribe***

Date: **[1839]**

Medium: **print: lithograph**

Dimensions: **9.6 x 18.5 cm**

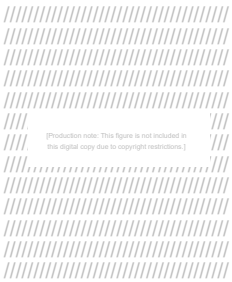
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 8461 #S990, nla.obj-136107024**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136107024***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-135240584-1.jpg

Artist: **W. (William) Knight**

Title: ***Collins Street, town of Melbourne***

Date: **1839?**

Medium: **painting: watercolour**

Dimensions: **49.2 x 39.3 cm**

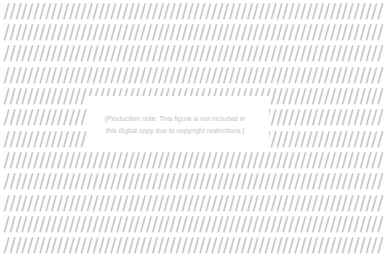
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 2985 #T2295 NK142, nla.obj-135240584**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135240584***

Description: **view of Collins Street, Melbourne; Aboriginal family in foreground wear cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-134357012-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Natives hunting opposums [i.e. opossums]***

Date: **1 January 1840**

Medium: **drawing: wash**

Dimensions: **12.3 x 17.1 cm**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A55 #R375, nla.obj-134357012**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134357012***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal man hunting possums; two figures at left wear possum-skin cloaks**

TMAG: latrobe-86-044a.jpg

Artist: **Benjamin Duterrau**

Title: ***The Conciliation***

Date: **1840**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **N/A**

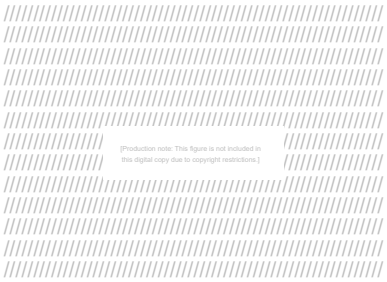
Collection: **Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **AG 79**

URL: ***http://latrobejournal.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-86/fig-latrobe-86-044a.html***

Description: **painting depicting figures in skin clothes**



AGSA: OL-HQ-0.851.jpg

Artist: **Martha Berkeley**

Title: ***Mount Lofty from The Terrace, Adelaide***

Date: **c.1840**

Medium: **watercolour on paper**

Dimensions: **34.5 x 45 cm**

Collection: **Art Gallery of South Australia**

Purchased: **South Australian Government Grant, 1935**

Identifying Numbers: **# 0.851**

URL: ***http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/agsa/home/Collection/detail.jsp?accNo=0.851***

Description: **watercolour painting depicting an Aboriginal figure wearing a possum-skin cloak in the foreground, and two Aboriginal adults and Aboriginal child wearing cloaks in background**

NLA: nla.obj-135219439-1.jpg

Artist: **William Romaine Govett**

Title: ***Cambo and two natives of the Bogan Tribe***

Date: **[c.1840]**

Medium: **drawing: pen and wash**

Dimensions: **23 x 27.7 cm**

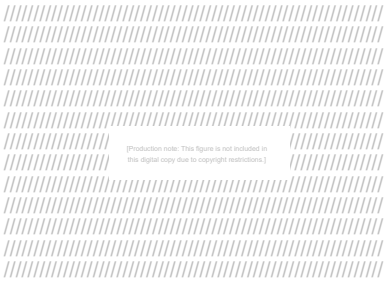
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 4051 #R7085, nla.obj-135219439**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135219439***

Description: **drawing of three Aboriginal men; two figures at right wear possum-skin cloaks with the designed side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-138706795-1.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***View from Mount Terry, looking towards Illawarra Lake, New South Wales***

Date: **1840–46**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **17.7 x 23.7 cm**

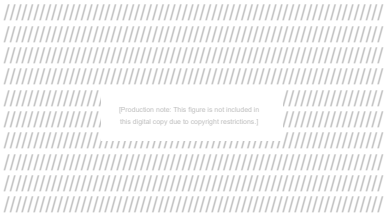
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 162 #T676 NK762/5, nla.obj-138706795**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138706795***

Description: **drawing of a landscape with an Aboriginal figure wearing a possum-skin cloak at centre**



NLA: nla.obj-138709048-1.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***Bulli, Illawarra, N.S.W.***

Date: **1840–46**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **13.9 x 22.7 cm**

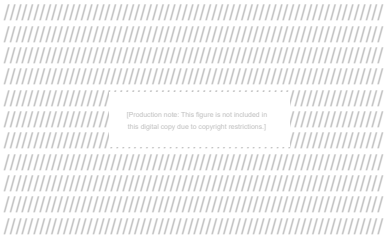
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 162 #T691 NK762/20, nla.obj-138709048**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138709048***

Description: **drawing of a landscape with Aboriginal figures wearing skin cloaks at right**



NLA: nla.obj-138710546-1.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***View in the Kangaroo Valley showing the manner the Natives climb the trees for opossums and bandicoots***

Date: **1840–46**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **15 x 24.5 cm**

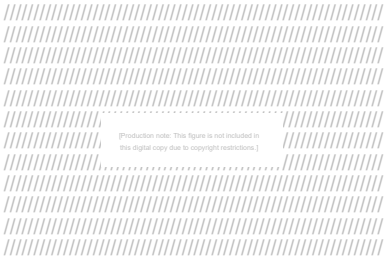
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 162 #T701 NK762/30, nla.obj-138710546**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138710546***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal figures hunting possum**



NLA: nla.obj-138710696-1.jpg

Artist: **Robert Marsh Westmacott**

Title: ***Sydney from the lighthouse***

Date: **1840–46**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **14.8 x 23 cm**

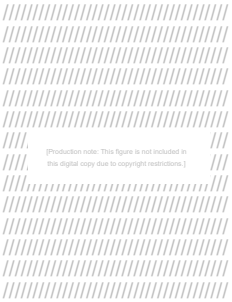
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 162 #T702 NK762/31, nla.obj-138710696**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138710696***

Description: **drawing of a landscape with Aboriginal figures wearing skin cloaks at right**



Libraries Australia, Libraries Tasmania: AUTAS001144588753.jpg

Artist: **John Skinner Prout**

Title: ***[Drawing of an Aboriginal woman]***

Date: **1840–48**

Medium: **drawing: graphite, brush, pen and sepia wash on paper**

Dimensions: **19.6 x 14.8 cm**

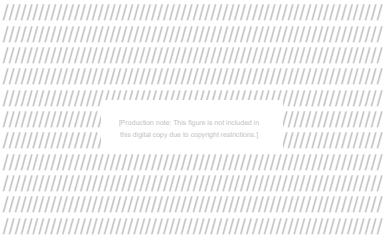
Collection: **Libraries Australia, Libraries Tasmania**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **ID 58831689, AUTAS001144588753**

URL: ***http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/235297060*, *https://stors.tas.gov.au/AUTAS001144588753***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal woman seated on a bench dressed in a cloak and skirts**



Libraries Australia, Libraries Tasmania: AUTAS001144589157.jpg

Artist: **John Skinner Prout**

Title: ***[An Aboriginal group, Port Phillip, Victoria]***

Date: **1840–48**

Medium: **drawing: graphite and watercolour on paper**

Dimensions: **13.7 x 22.1 cm**

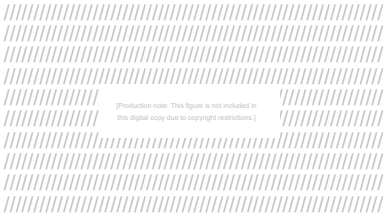
Collection: **Libraries Australia, Libraries Tasmania**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **ID 58847979, AUTAS001144589157**

URL: ***http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/235582562*, *https://stors.tas.gov.au/AUTAS001144589157***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal couple wrapped in cloaks seated with a dog on the ground; another seated figure is included in the background**



SLV: FL15887920.jpg

Artist: **Henry Godfrey**

Title: ***November 1st./43 Loubras [i.e. Lubras]*** **from** ***Sketchbook of drawings by Henry Godfrey, with views in England, Tasmania and Victoria***

Date: **1841–64**

Medium: **1 album (144 drawings): pencil, watercolour and ink on cream paper**

Dimensions: **9.7 x 16 cm**

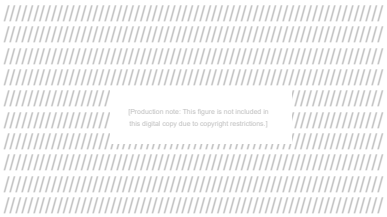
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1980**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.53/1, BIB ID 1645191, Filename sk0055-080-p0077**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1645191***

Description: **p.77 of the album; scene depicting Aboriginal women and children, many wearing possum-skin cloaks with the fur side out**



SLV: b27131.jpg

Artist: **Henry Godfrey**

Title: ***“Chalurmin” - Prince Charlie***

Date: **c.1841–45**

Medium: **drawing: watercolour**

Dimensions: **9.7 x 16 cm**

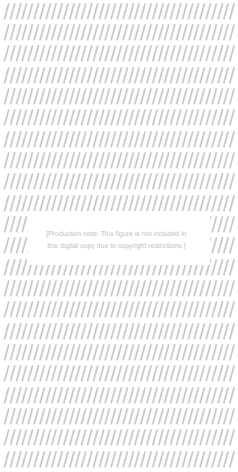
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.53/1/113, Image no. b27131**

URL: ***https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/gid/slv-pic-aab34026***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: c028710006h.jpg

Artist: **Oswald W.B. Brierly**

Title: ***5. Australian Gin Twofold Bay June 29th 1843 Wanderer H.M.S.*** **from** ***[Sketches made in Australia, and during the voyage of the H.M.S. Maeander, in New Zealand, Tonga, and South America]***

Date: **1842–44, 1850**

Medium: **drawings - 28 watercolour - pencil drawings, hinged mounted onto preservation board**

Dimensions: **67.2 x 42.5 cm or smaller**

Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by D.S. Mitchell, 1907**

Identifying Numbers: **PXD 81, Reference code 422040, Digital order no. Album ID 824231, IE1005665, FL1005736**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110319122***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal woman (and child?), seated on a possum-skin cloak**

SLNSW: c028710007h.jpg

Artist: **Oswald W.B. Brierly**

Title: ***6. Char-Ree-Lerro. Twofold Bay Sept. 5 1843. O.W.B. 1843 Wanderer H.M.S.*** **from** ***[Sketches made in Australia, and during the voyage of the H.M.S. Maeander, in New Zealand, Tonga, and South America]***

Date: **1842–44, 1850**

Medium: **drawings - 28 watercolour - pencil drawings, hinged mounted onto preservation board**

Dimensions: **67.2 x 42.5 cm or smaller**

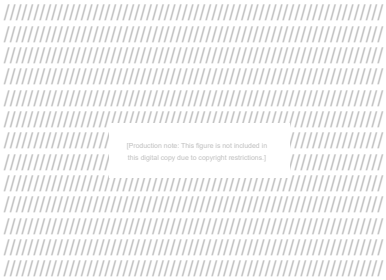
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by D.S. Mitchell, 1907**

Identifying Numbers: **PXD 81, Reference code 422040, Digital order no. Album ID 824231, IE1005665, FL1005737**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110319122***

Description: **drawing of a seated Aboriginal woman wearing a blanket as a cloak**



SLNSW: c028710010h.jpg

Artist: **Oswald W.B. Brierly**

Title: ***9. Budginbro? Chief Twofold Bay Tribe N.S.W. / O.W.B. Wanderer H.M.S.*** **from** ***[Sketches made in Australia, and during the voyage of the H.M.S. Maeander, in New Zealand, Tonga, and South America]***

Date: **1842–44, 1850**

Medium: **drawings - 28 watercolour - pencil drawings, hinged mounted onto preservation board**

Dimensions: **67.2 x 42.5 cm or smaller**

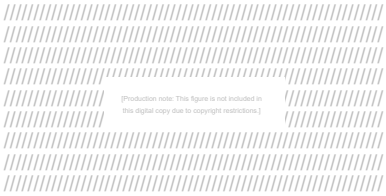
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by D.S. Mitchell, 1907**

Identifying Numbers: **PXD 81, Reference code 422040, Digital order no. Album ID 824231, IE1005665, FL1005740**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110319122***

Description: **drawing of a seated Aboriginal woman wearing a skin cloak; figure in background also wears a cloak**



SLNSW: c028710013h.jpg

Artist: **Oswald W.B. Brierly**

Title: ***11. Murarowra Gsqure? Bundyang [possibly Australian Aboriginal at Twofold Bay]*** **from** ***[Sketches made in Australia, and during the voyage of the H.M.S. Maeander, in New Zealand, Tonga, and South America]***

Date: **1842–44, 1850**

Medium: **drawings - 28 watercolour - pencil drawings, hinged mounted onto preservation board**

Dimensions: **67.2 x 42.5 cm or smaller**

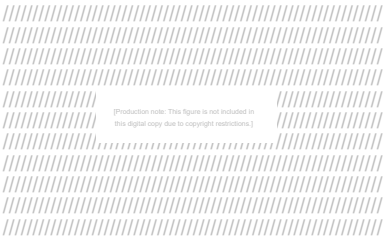
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by D.S. Mitchell, 1907**

Identifying Numbers: **PXD 81, Reference code 422040, Digital order no. Album ID 824231, IE1005665, FL1005743**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110319122***

Description: **drawing of a reclining Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: H97.136/23.png

Artist: **Edward Wilson**

Title: ***He meets a few friends***

Date: **c.1842–78**

Medium: **drawing: watercolour with ink and pencil (traces) on paper**

Dimensions: **11.3 x 17.7 cm (approx.) 16.5 x 22.9 cm (on page)**

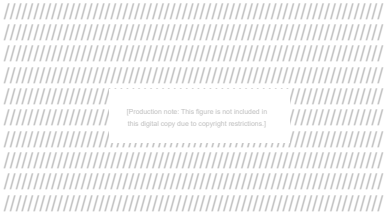
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Miss Sheila Schon, 1997**

Identifying Numbers: **H97.136/23**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1670029***

Description: **shows a man meeting with a group of Aborigines, wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: b27103.jpg

Artist: **Henry Godfrey**

Title: ***"Tom" Yarra Tribe P.P. "Jim" Taken Novr.8/43***

Date: **[1843?]**

Medium: **drawing: pen, ink and watercolour**

Dimensions: **9.7 x 16 cm**

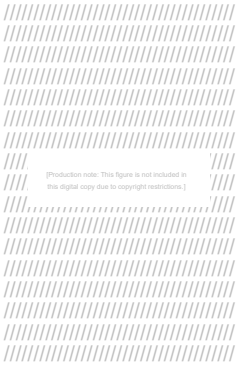
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.53/1/81, Image no. b27103**

URL: ***https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/gid/slv-pic-aab33994***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: a670004h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***2b. Native from life* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

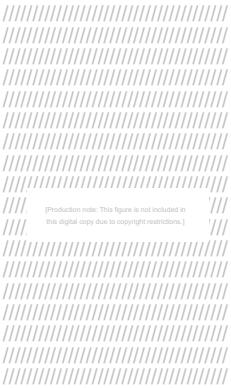
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141284, a670004h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670006h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***3b. Te Kartoo* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

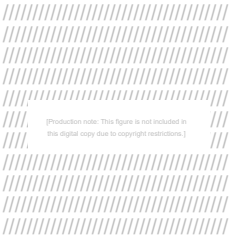
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141287, a670006h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670009h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***5. A native of the Murundee tribe*** **from** ***[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

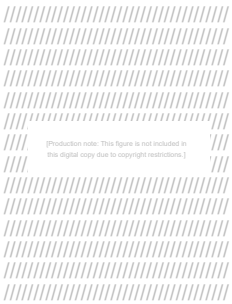
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141290, a670009h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670017h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***12a. Aboriginal man* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

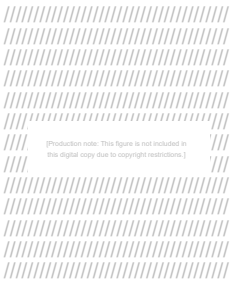
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141300, a670017h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670032h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***22. Tantana Koo* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

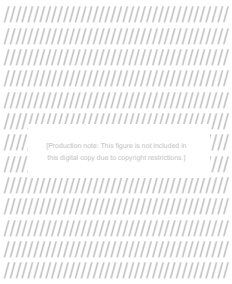
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141317, a670032h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670040h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***30. Old woman two portraits* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

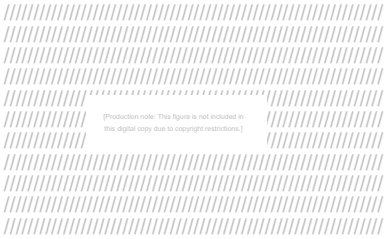
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141326, a670040h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal woman, possibly wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670043h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***33a. Aboriginal ceremonial ground* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

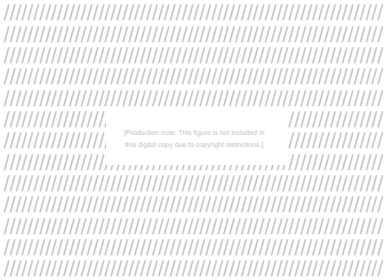
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141330, a670043h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal ceremonial ground; several figures wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a670048h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***36. Natives camping* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

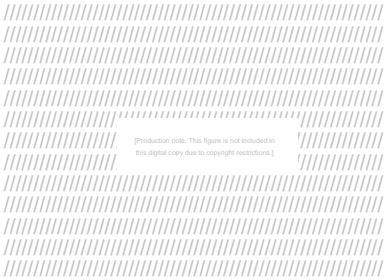
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141337, a670048h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of a landscape scene featuring an Aboriginal camp; figures wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a670050h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***38. Aboriginal family* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

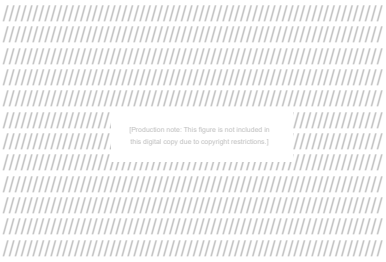
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141340, a670050h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal family, figures wear skin cloaks in foreground and background**



SLNSW: a670051h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***39. Aborigines in canoes* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

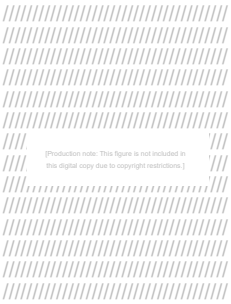
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141341, a670051h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal people fishing from canoes, figures wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a670052h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***40. Aborigines preparing to go hunting* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

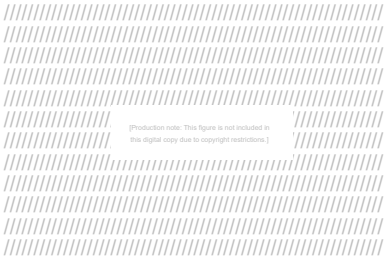
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141342, a670052h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal men preparing to hunt, figures in the background wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a670054h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***42. Aborigines walking through scrub with spears and shields*** **from** ***[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

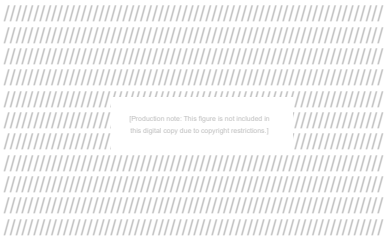
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141345, a670054h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of a landscape scene, Aboriginal family carry items on their backs, possibly wrapped in skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a670055h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***43. Shelters made of branches with oval-shaped contents*** **from** ***[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

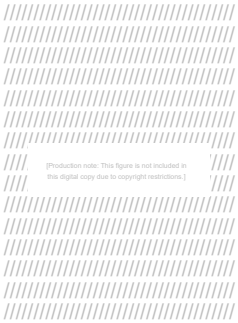
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141346, a670055h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal shelters, figures in foreground seated on skin cloaks, standing man in middle-ground wears skin cloak**



SLNSW: a670059h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***47. Aborigine wearing cloak standing on a rock*** **from** ***[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

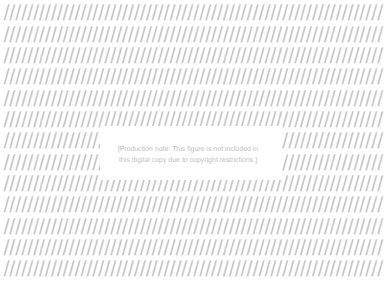
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141351, a670059h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: a670060h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***48. Aboriginal family walking through scrub country* from *[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

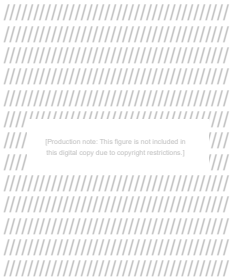
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141352, a670060h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of a landscape scene, with Aboriginal family in foreground; mother wears a skin cloak with child wrapped on her back**



SLNSW: a670063h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***50. Aborigines possibly holding a corroboree*** **from** ***[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

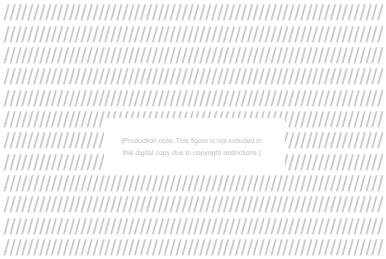
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141356, a670063h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of a ceremony, seated figures wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a670067h.jpg

Artist: **William Anderson Cawthorne**

Title: ***53. Aborigines possibly holding a corroboree*** **from** ***[Drawings of Australian Aborigines and objects of material culture, ca. 1844-1864 / attributed to William Anderson Cawthorne]***

Date: **c.1844–64**

Medium: **drawings - 45 watercolour - 32 pencil - 6 pen drawings**

Dimensions: **35.6 x 48.4 cm or smaller**

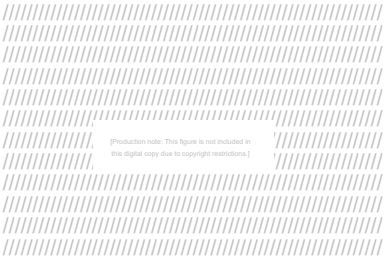
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 70, Reference code 404770, Digital order no. Album ID 824113, IE3141035, FL3141362, a670067h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110314803***

Description: **drawing of a ceremony, seated figures at right wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a955003h.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***3. [Adult male surrounded by various implements]*** **from** ***Australian aborigines, their implements & weapons***

Date: **c.1845**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **27 x 39 cm or smaller**

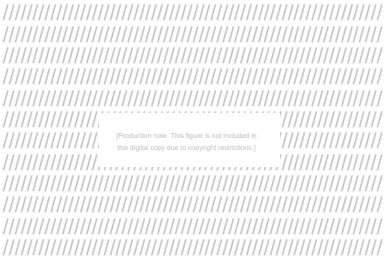
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 73, Reference code 446141, IE3310950, FL3310979, a955003h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327194***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: a955004h.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***4. [Mother and child, surrounded by various implements and ornaments]*** **from** ***Australian aborigines, their implements & weapons***

Date: **c.1845**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **27 x 39 cm or smaller**

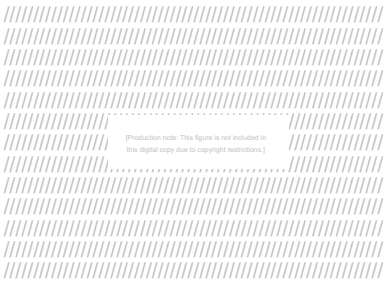
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 73, Reference code 446141, IE3310950, FL3310980, a955004h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327194***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal mother and child wearing a blanket as a cloak**



SLSA: B-29488.jpeg

Artist: **Alex C. Kelly**

Title: ***Ngarrindjeri raft***

Date: **c.1845**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **11 x 15.8 cm**

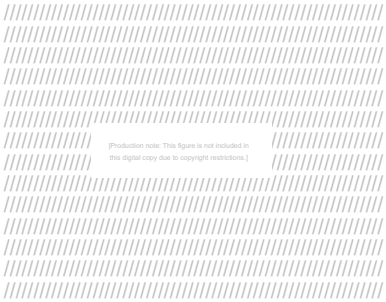
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection. Part of A.C. Kelly Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 29488, Original in album numbered B 5755-B 5773 /B 29486- B 29497**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+29488***

Description: **Ngarrindjeri raft with people cooking, a fire and a windbreak; standing figure wears a skin cloak**



SLV: b28308.jpg

Artist: **John Cotton**

Title: ***An encampment of Aboriginal Australians on the banks of the Yarra***

Date: **c.1845**

Medium: **watercolour with graphite pencil and glazing medium**

Dimensions: **22.4 x 28 cm**

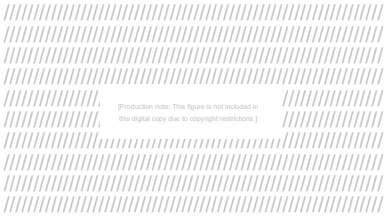
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Otway Falkiner, 1929**

Identifying Numbers: **H252**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1656273***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal camp, woman in foreground wears a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: b27120.jpg

Artist: **Henry Godfrey**

Title: ***[Billy Hamilton]***

Date: **[1845?]**

Medium: **drawing: pen, ink and watercolour**

Dimensions: **9.7 x 16 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.53/1/101, Image no. b27120**

URL: ***https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/gid/slv-pic-aab34015***

Description: **drawing of a landscape, with five figures gathered around a campfire; two Aboriginal figures wear possum-skin cloaks with the fur side facing out**

SLV: 704583257.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Calvert**

Title: ***Ballymering Cattle Station Port Philip [i.e. Phillip]***

Date: **c.1845–50**

Medium: **drawing: sepia wash on cream paper**

Dimensions: **15.2 x 28.1 cm, 24.5 x 37.5 cm (pasted to sheet)**

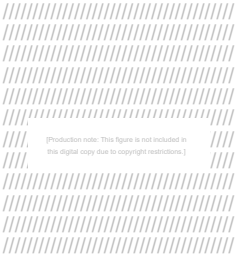
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H85.27**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1663771***

Description: **shows a collection of primitive thatch and slab huts on the shore of a large body of water. Various people are visible including two people in cloaks, including an Aboriginal; According to Billis & Kenyon's Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, an Alexander McNaughton held a pastoral run named Ballamarin at Western Port between May 1846 and September 1847. There is also an Alexander McNaughton listed at Balnarring, Western Port in the 1847 Victorian Directory**



BM: AN01389120_001_l.jpg

Artist: **John Skinner Prout**

Title: ***Family Group, Australia Felix [Victoria]***

Date: **1846**

Medium: **graphite and watercolour on paper**

Dimensions: **18 x 15.5 cm**

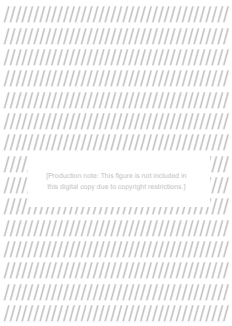
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **Donated by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, ex-collection Dr Barnard Davis**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Drg.1**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Drg-1***

Description: **depicting an Aboriginal man with a beard, and two young Aboriginal women wearing blankets or garments. The man is also wearing a headband and is holding a long club at front**



BM: AN00076418_001_l.jpg

Artist: **John Skinner Prout**

Title: ***Nerree Buck, Goulburn Tribe, Melbourne***

Date: **1846**

Medium: **drawing, graphite and watercolour**

Dimensions: **22.5 x 16 cm**

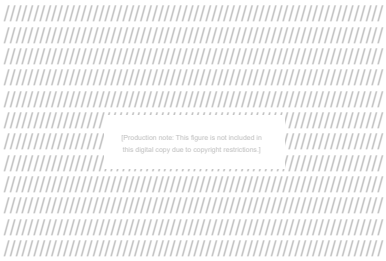
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **In 1856 the artist John Skinner Prout sold Joseph Barnard Davis a collection of 36 of his portraits of Australian Aborigines and Maori people. After Davis's death in 1881, these portraits, along with other pictorial and ethnographic material, were acquired by the British Museum**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Drg.32**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Drg-32***

Description: **it depicts Nerree Buck, a bearded Australian Aboriginal man from Victoria, wearing a red headband with a single feather, and wrapped in a decorated possum-skin cloak. A dog sitting next to his feet**



BM: AN00076409_001_l.jpg

Artist: **John Skinner Prout**

Title: ***Yurunduk, Devil's River at Melbourne***

Date: **1846**

Medium: **drawing, graphite and watercolour**

Dimensions: **18 x 26 cm**

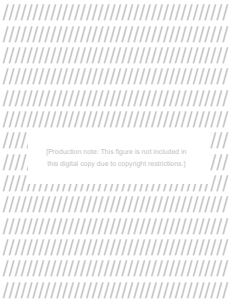
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **In 1856 the artist John Skinner Prout sold Joseph Barnard Davis a collection of 36 of his portraits of Australian Aborigines and Maori people. After Davis's death in 1881, these portraits, along with other pictorial and ethnographic material, were acquired by the British Museum**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Drg.36**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Drg-36***

Description: **it depicts Yurunduk, a bearded Australian Aboriginal man, in a reclined position, wearing a headband and possum-skin cloak.**



SLSA: B-15276-18.jpeg

Artist: **George French Angas**

Title: ***Portraits of the Aboriginal inhabitants***

Date: **c.1846**

Medium: **lithograph**

Dimensions: **43.7 x 32.7 cm**

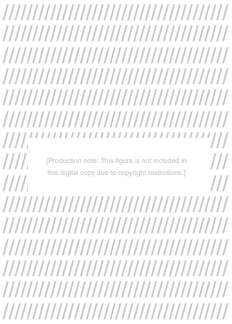
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of General Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 15276/18**

URL: ***https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+15276/18***

Description: **Plate 18: Portraits of the Aboriginal inhabitants. Comprises 4 vignettes of Aboriginal people: 'Milliltie, a man of the Battara tribe, beyond Port Lincoln' (top left); 'Tuarau, an old man of Moorundi, on the river Murray' (top right); 'A man of the Milmendura tribe, wearing the Seaweed Cloak' (bottom left); and 'Poodnobummin, a young man of the Tatta-yarra country' (bottom right). This is one of 60 coloured lithographs found in the 1847 edition of 'South Australia Illustrated' by colonial artist George French Angas, together with a descriptive passage for each. The lithograph was created by W. Hawkins from Angas's original painting. The date assigned is assumed to be approximately when the lithographs were created; the original paintings were done in earlier years**



NGA: 43870.jpg

Artist: **George French Angas**

Title: ***Portraits of the aboriginal inhabitants [7]***

Date: **1846–47**

Medium: **paper lithograph, printed in colour inks, from multiple stones**

Dimensions: **37 x 55.6 cm (sheet)**

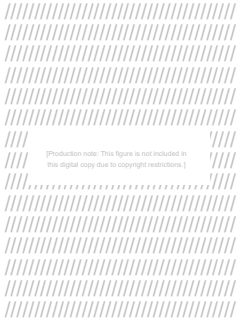
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Gift of anonymous donor 1966. Gift to the C.A.A.B. (Commonwealth Art Advisory Board), from a private collection, Adelaide, 1966**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 66.7.7.6**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?IRN=43870&PICTAUS=TRUE***

Description: **lithograph depicting scenes featuring Aboriginal people; lower left shows a woman wearing a skin cloak**



NMA: nma-5310376-004-wm-vs1_o3_640.jpg

Artist: **George French Angas**

Title: ***The aboriginal inhabitants***

Date: **1847**

Medium: **colour lithograph**

Dimensions: **34.3 x 46.8 x 1 cm**

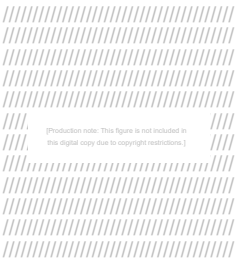
Collection: **National Museum of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **1995.0006.0065**

URL: ***http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/?object=56200***

Description: **The Aboriginal Inhabitants Plate 47. Native inhabitants and their implements P1 47, from 'South Australia Illustrated'. Inscribed: LL: George French Angas. Publisher: Thomas McLean, 26 Haymarket, London. 1847; female figure in centre wears a blanket as a cloak**



NGA: 163154.jpg

Artist: **Douglas Kilburn**

Title: ***South-east Australian Aboriginal man and two younger companions***

Date: **1847**

Medium: **daguerreotype**

Dimensions: **8 x 6.8 cm (plate)**

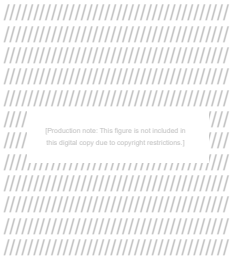
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 2007**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 2007.81.122**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?IRN=163154&PICTAUS=TRUE***

Description: **daguerreotype photograph depicting Aboriginal man and two women, wearing blankets**



NGV: De100585.jpg

Artist: **Douglas T. Kilburn (attributed to)**

Title: ***No title (Group of Koori women)***

Date: **1847**

Medium: **daguerreotype, glass, brass, gold**

Dimensions: **6.6 x 5.4 cm (image)**

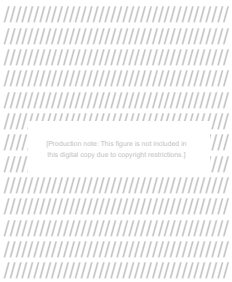
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1999**

Identifying Numbers: **1999.97**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/66206/***

Description: **daguerreotype photograph depicting one Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak and two women wearing blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-135639381-1.jpg

Artist: **James William Giles**

Title: ***Portraits of the Aboriginal inhabitants***

Date: **[1847]**

Medium: **print: lithograph, hand col.**

Dimensions: **53.2 x 35.8 cm (sheet)**

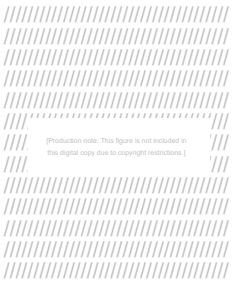
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 511 #S10083, nla.obj-135639381**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135639381***

Description: **lithograph depicting four portrait vignettes; the top two figures wear reed mats and skin cloaks; the bottom left wears a skin cloak**



NGV: De100660.jpg

Artist: **Douglas T. Kilburn**

Title: ***No title (Group of Koori men)***

Date: **c.1847**

Medium: **daguerreotype, leather, wood, velvet, brass**

Dimensions: **7.5 x 6.5 cm (image)**

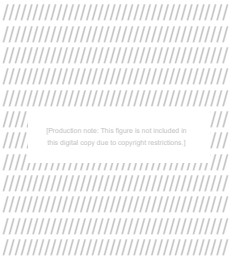
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased from Admission Funds, 1983**

Identifying Numbers: **PH407-1983**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/10001/***

Description: **daguerreotype photograph of Aboriginal men and child wearing possum-skin cloaks and blanket**



NGV: De102086.jpg

Artist: **Douglas T. Kilburn**

Title: ***No title (Two Koori women)***

Date: **c.1847**

Medium: **daguerreotype, brass, glass, gold, velvet**

Dimensions: **6.7 x 5.4 cm (image)**

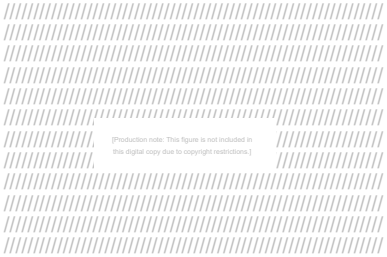
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2004.603**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/76826/***

Description: **daguerreotype photograph of two Aboriginal women in possum-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-134364816-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Native method of obtaining fire, So. [i.e. South] Australia, Adelaide, Jany 1849***

Date: **1849**

Medium: **drawing: wash**

Dimensions: **15.7 x 23.7 cm**

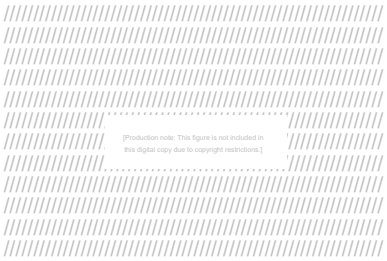
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A45 #T246 NK7063/6, nla.obj-134364816**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134364816***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a blanket or cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-134367689-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Natives of So. [i.e. South] Australia, Adelaide, Jany 29th, 1849***

Date: **[1849]**

Medium: **drawing: wash**

Dimensions: **15.7 x 23.7 cm**

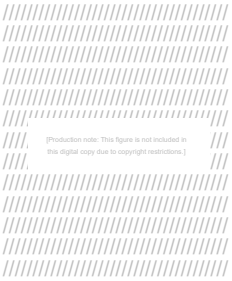
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A45 #T248 NK7063/10/nla.obj-134367689**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134367689***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal family; mother wears a blanket or cloak, father wears a skin cloak with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: a928673h.jpg

Artist: **Thomas Balcombe (attributed)**

Title: ***[Aboriginal hunting]***

Date: **c.1850**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **57 x 45 cm**

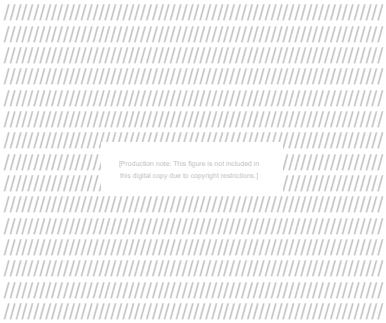
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transferred from Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1920**

Identifying Numbers: **ML 568, Reference code 404718, IE3141597, FL3141604, Digital order no. a928673**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110314755***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak with the fur side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-134368165-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***[Two natives and child by a creek]***

Date: **[c.1850]**

Medium: **drawing: watercolour**

Dimensions: **10 x 12 cm**

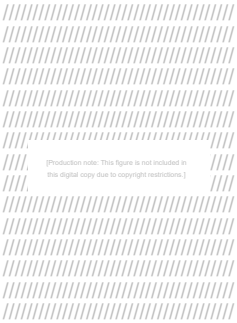
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A45 #T244 NK7073/5, nla.obj-134368165**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134368165***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal family wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-134368969-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Natives opposum [i.e. opossum] hunting***

Date: **[c.1850]**

Medium: **drawing: wash**

Dimensions: **26.3 x 18 cm**

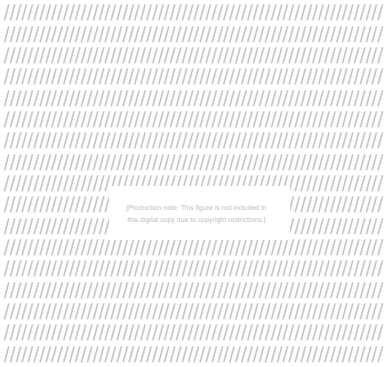
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A45 #R3311, nla.obj-134368969**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134368969***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal figures wearing skin cloaks, seated at base of tree**



NLA: nla.obj-134353861-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Hut door [picture]***

Date: **[185-]**

Medium: **drawing; pencil on col. scraper board**

Dimensions: **22.7 cm (diam.)**

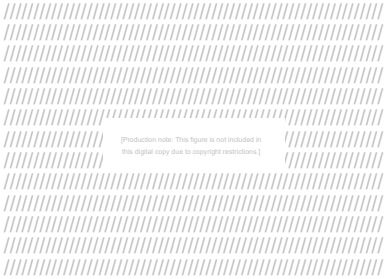
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A44 #T238 NK6833/B, nla.obj-134353861**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134353861***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal family at the door of a non-Aboriginal family; Aboriginal man wears a skin cloak with the fur side out**



SLV: 701269234.jpg

Artist: **T. Ham (engraver)**

Title: ***New diggings, Ballarat***

Date: **1851**

Medium: **print: engraving**

Dimensions: **14.8 x 19.8 cm (visible image), 39.3 x 42.7 cm (in double mount)**

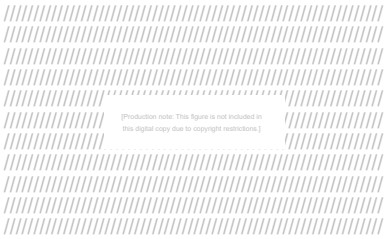
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H25135**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2239321***

Description: **shows a water stream with many miners working along the banks, Aborigines at fire in the foreground, tents in the background; Aboriginal figures in foreground wear possum-skin cloaks and blankets**



SLV: 702060822.jpg

Artist: **John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***"A Corrorobby" (Victoria) (1840)***

Date: **c.1851–55**

Medium: **salted paper photograph**

Dimensions: **14 x 21.5 cm**

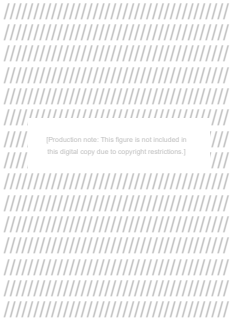
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mr Bruce Lang, 1982**

Identifying Numbers: **H82.277/10**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1720591***

Description: **corroboree danced during daylight hours especially for photographer; depicts Aboriginal figures seated in foreground wearing blankets as cloaks**



BM: AN00191843_001_l.jpg

Artist: **William Strutt**

Title: ***Waran-drenin***

Date: **1852**

Medium: **drawing, watercolour**

Dimensions: **21.5 x 14.6 cm**

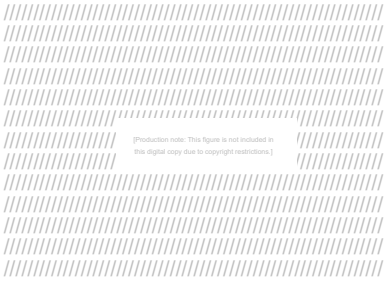
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **This drawing was amongst the material Franks acquired at the sale of JB Davis's estate in early 1883. It was one of a series of drawings. prints, paintings and ethnographic objects relating to Australia which JB Davis purchased in 1867 from Rose Robinson, G.A. Robinson's widow**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Drg.41**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Drg-41***

Description: **watercolour drawing of Waran-drenin, aka Mary and wife of Morum-morum-been, an Aboriginal woman from the Ballarat region of Victoria, wearing a possum-skin cloak**



NGA: 45586.jpg

Artist: **George Baxter and Harden S. Melville**

Title: ***Australia. News from home***

Date: **1853**

Medium: **paper etching, wood engraving (Baxter print) printed in colour inks**

Dimensions: **11 x 14.9 cm (image)**

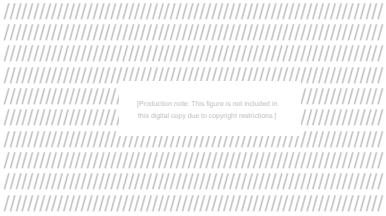
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **The Oscar Paul Collection, Gift of Henriette von Dallwitz and of Richard Paul in honour of his father, 1965**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 65.143.9**

URL: ***https://cs.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?IRN=45586***

Description: **engraving showing man wearing skin cloak in doorway at background**



Geelong Gallery: 214_stories_4-eugene-von-guwekjfnwe.jpg

Artist: **Eugene von Guérard**

Title: ***Aborigines met on the road to the diggings***

Date: **1854**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **46 x 75.5 cm**

Collection: **Geelong Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of W. Max Bell and Norman Belcher, 1923**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***https://www.geelonggallery.org.au/learn/keys-to-the-collection/aborigines-met-on-the-road-to-the-diggings***

Description: **painting depicting Aboriginal family selling a possum-skin cloak to gold miners; the family wears a combination of possum-skin cloaks and blankets**

NLA: nla.obj-135590256-1.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Ballarat, Victoria***

Date: **c.1854**

Medium: **print: watercolour**

Dimensions: **18 x 50.7 cm**

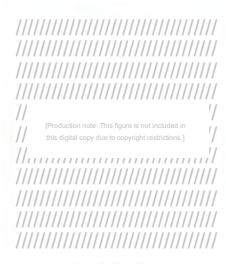
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 6159 #T2252 NK166, nla.obj-135590256**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135590256***

Description: **view of Ballarat, Victoria, during the gold rush; two Aboriginal figures, wearing possum-skin cloaks, appear at left**



BM: AN00089994_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Jimmy native of River Blackmans near Port Fairy, Victoria***

Date: **1854–57**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **12 x 14.3 cm**

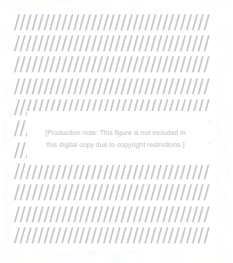
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **Presented to the British Museum 1924 by the McClintock family**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.1**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-1***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen; back view of a Victorian Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak over his right shoulder**



BM: AN00089993_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Jack native of Spring Creek near Port Fairy, Victoria***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **12 x 14.3 cm**

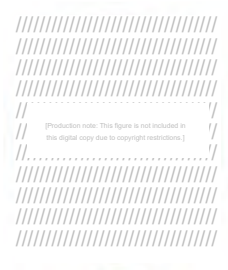
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **Presented to the British Museum 1924 by the McClintock family**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.2**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-2***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen; Victorian Aboriginal man with beard, and a long painted band across his forehead; he is wearing a thick fur collar garment**



BM: AN00092672_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***King Marpoura***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **11.9 x 14.3 cm**

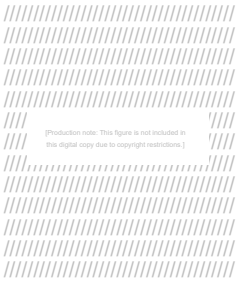
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.10**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-10***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen. An Aboriginal man from Spring Creek, near Port Fairy, Victoria; wearing hat, possum-skin cloak, and holding a club of a style often referred to as a 'leangle', common to Western Victoria**



BM: AN00092671_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Queen Marpoura***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **11.7 x 14 cm**

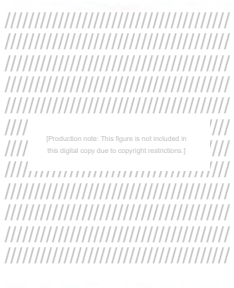
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.11**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-11***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen. An Aboriginal Australian woman from Spring Creek, near Port Fairy, Victoria; wearing headband and possum-skin cloak**



BM: AN00199447_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Victoria Native***

Date: **1856?**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **14.3 x 12 cm**

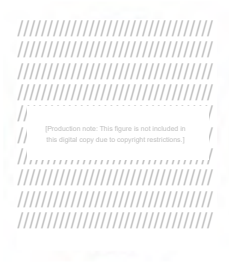
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.13**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-13***

Description: **from a collection of twelve. Bearded Aboriginal man wearing a red headband and possum-skin cloak. Port Fairy, Victoria**



BM: AN00092669_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Man from Maria River***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **14.3 x 12 cm**

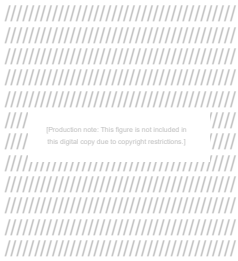
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.14**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-14***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen. Young adult male wearing red headband and possum-skin cloak**



BM: AN00092668_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Man from Maria River***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **14.3 x 12 cm**

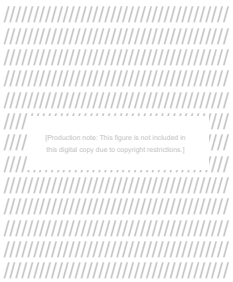
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.15**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-15***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen. Aboriginal man with beard; wearing a red headband and possum-skin cloak**



BM: AN00092667_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Queen Laratong***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **11.3 x 13.9 cm**

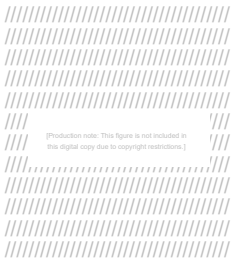
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.16**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-16***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen. An Aboriginal woman from Spring Creek, Port Fairy, Victoria; wearing red headband, nose ornament and a garment hanging from her left shoulder; scarification on her right shoulder; holding a long staff at the back of her head**



BM: AN00092666_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***King Laratong***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **11.3 x 13.8 cm**

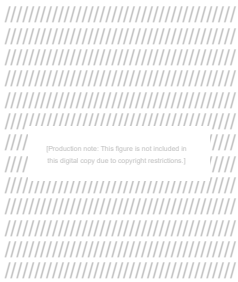
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.17**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-17***

Description: **from a collection of seventeen. An Aboriginal man from Spring Creek, Port Fairy, Victoria. Bearded adult male wearing garment over his left shoulder**



BM: AN00092663_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Mary***

Date: **1856?**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **14.4 x 12 cm**

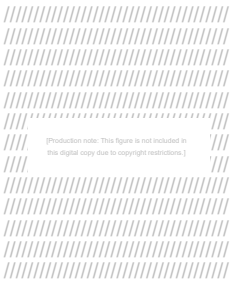
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.20**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-20***

Description: **from a collection of twelve. Side view of an Aboriginal woman smoking a pipe; wearing headband and garment hanging over her left shoulder. Mount Gambier, South Australia**



BM: AN00092662_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Mount Gambier Native***

Date: **1856?**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **14.4 x 12 cm**

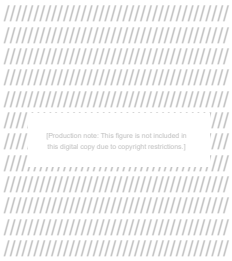
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.21**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-21***

Description: **from a collection of twelve. Bearded Aboriginal man wearing a red and white headband and a possum-skin cloak. Mount Gambier, South Australia**



BM: AN00092673_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Robert Hawker Dowling**

Title: ***Victoria Native***

Date: **1856?**

Medium: **oil painting**

Dimensions: **14.3 x 12 cm**

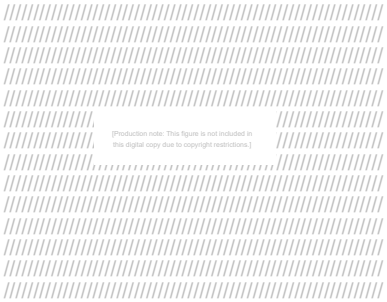
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc2006,Ptg.21**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Oc2006-Ptg-21***

Description: **from a collection of twelve. Bearded Aboriginal man wearing a red and white headband and a possum-skin cloak. Mount Gambier, South Australia**



NGV: Dd102575.jpg

Artist: **Robert Dowling**

Title: ***Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with the Aborigine Jamie Ware***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **63.7 x 76.4 cm**

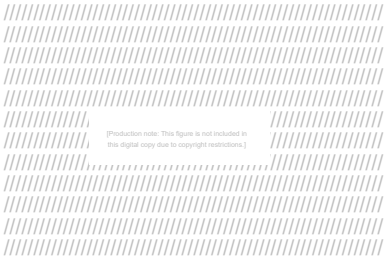
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Eleanor M. Borrow Bequest, 2007**

Identifying Numbers: **2007.115**

URL: ***https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/83997/***

Description: **the Dowling and Ware families, connected by the marriage of Robert Dowling's brother Thomas to Maria Ware, were among the earliest Baptists in Tasmania. Three of the Ware brothers had become successful pastoralists in the Western District in the 1830s and provided much-needed patronage to Dowling throughout his career. This painting illustrates the warm relationship that existed between the Ware family and local Mopor people; depicts an Aboriginal man (Jamie Ware) in western attire**



SLV: 702867444.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Kangaroo stalking***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **print mounted on paper: lithograph, black & white**

Dimensions: **15.2 x 22.2 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned [1934?]**

Identifying Numbers: **H12628**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2514058***

Description: **two men, one Aboriginal Australian, the other in shirt pants and brimmed hat, crouched behind the tree in bushland, man in European clothes pointing a rifle at some kangaroos standing in a clearing beyond; the Aboriginal man wears a possum-skin cloak with the fur side facing out**

UQ: 192008.jpg

Artist: **Robert Dowling**

Title: ***Weerat Kuyuut and the Mopor people, Spring Creek, Victoria***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **52 x 108.5 cm**

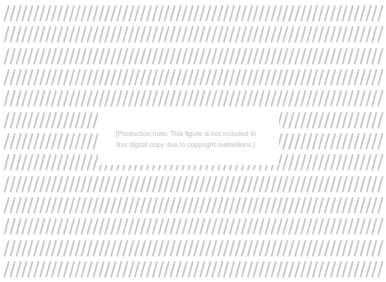
Collection: **University of Queensland**

Purchased: **Gift of Miss Marjorie Dowling, 1952**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL:
https://nga.gov.au/exhibition/dowling/default.cfm?IRN=192008&BioArtistIRN=22797&mystartrow=25&realstartrow=25&MnuID=3&GalID=0&ViewID=2

Description: **Weerat Kuyuut and the Mopor people includes the same participants as those in *Minjah in the Old Time*, with some additional figures: Wombeet Tuulawarn, husband of Yarruum Parpurr Tarneen, stands behind his wife. The site is likely to be the now drained Maramook Swamp, some six kilometres west of the Minjah homestead, and a place of cultural significance to the Mopor people. As with Minjah in the Old Time, Dowling based this work on his own detailed oil portraits of the participants; painting depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing blankets and skin cloaks**



Warrnambool Art Gallery: 192024.jpg

Artist: **Robert Dowling**

Title: ***Minjah in the old time (Weerat Kuyuut and the Mopor people at Minjah Station)***

Date: **1856**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **76.4 x 101.7 cm**

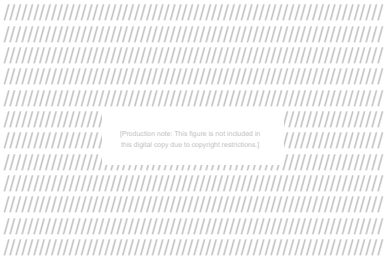
Collection: **Warrnambool Art Gallery**

Purchased: **Presented by Joseph Ware, 1886**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***https://nga.gov.au/exhibition/dowling/default.cfm?IRN=192024&MnuID=3&ViewID=2***

Description: **Dowling's first group portrait of the Victorian Aboriginal people, Minjah in the Old Time, is thought to be a commission from Joseph Ware. The painting shows the Spring Creek or Mopor Aborigines of the Gunditjmara people near the Minjah Station homestead. The central figure is 'King Mopor' (Marpoura), the elder Weerat Kuyuut. His daughter 'Queen Mopor', Yarruum Parpurr Tarneen, sits to his right. The two standing figures are visiting the campsite and are likely to be Johnny Dawson, 'King Laratong' (Kangatong?), the head stock-keeper at nearby Kangatong Station and his wife Sarah ('Queen Laratong'); painting depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing blankets and skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-135636390-1.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Stockman's hut***

Date: **[1856]**

Medium: **print: lithograph, hand col.**

Dimensions: **12.8 x 19.2 cm**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 202 #S3279, nla.obj-135636390**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135636390***

Description: **print depicting an Aboriginal couple wearing either blankets or skin cloaks**

NLA: nla.obj-134364977-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***[Native boys fishing]***

Date: **[c.1856]**

Medium: **watercolour**

Dimensions: **9.4 x 10.8 cm**

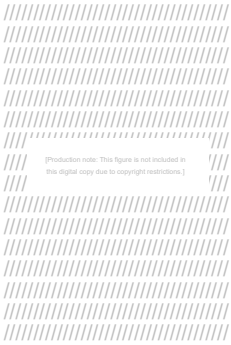
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A45 #T243 NK 7073/3, nla.obj-134364977**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134364977***

Description: **drawing depicting group of Aboriginal boys; two figures wear what could be animal skins**



NLA: nla.obj-134365335-1.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Native method of climbing the trees when hunting oppossums [i.e. opossums], So. [i.e. South] Australia, Adelaide, Jany 1849***

Date: **[c.1856]**

Medium: **drawing: wash**

Dimensions: **23.7 x 15.7 cm**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Solander Box A45 #T249 NK7063, 11/nla.obj-134365335**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134365335***

Description: **drawing of Aboriginal man hunting possum; two figures seated in foreground wearing skin cloaks**

NGV: Dd103363.jpg

Artist: **Robert Dowling**

Title: ***Tasmanian Aborigines***

Date: **1856–57**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **66.2 x 121.2 cm**

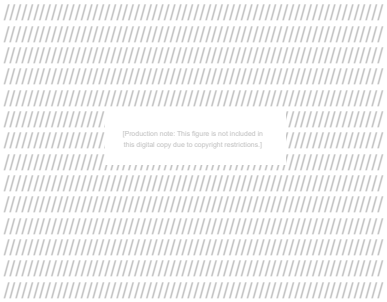
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1949**

Identifying Numbers: **2102-4**

URL: ***https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/5514/***

Description: **painting of a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



SLV: 703454002.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Two Aboriginal Australian men climbing over rocks***

Date: **1856–70**

Medium: **drawing: pencil on paper**

Dimensions: **20 x 26 cm (image), 42 x 26 cm (sheet)**

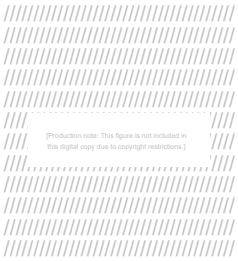
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1990**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.91/445**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2989955***

Description: **sketch of two men, bare chested, one crouched behind boulder, the other holding a club, climbing up over the rocks, possibly hunters, bushland lightly sketched in behind them; the figure on left appears to wear a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a843005h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***5. Wonko Mary in mourning, with white plaster on her head, face and body*** **from** ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines at Momba sheep and cattle station, New South Wale***

Date: **c.1856–80s**

Medium: **13 photoprints including albumen and silver gelatin**

Dimensions: **29 x 25 cm or smaller**

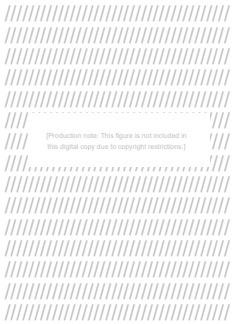
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 562, Reference code 442471, IE16026521, FL16026555, a843005h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326702***

Description: **photoprint of an Aboriginal woman (Wonko Mary) wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a843006h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***6. [Wonko Mary wearing a widow's cap of kopi, or gypsum]*** **from** ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines at Momba sheep and cattle station, New South Wale***

Date: **c.1856–80s**

Medium: **13 photoprints including albumen and silver gelatin**

Dimensions: **29 x 25 cm or smaller**

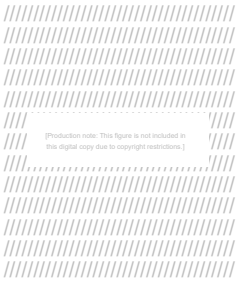
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 562, Reference code 442471, IE16026521, FL16026556, a843006h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326702***

Description: **photoprint of an Aboriginal woman (Wonko Mary) wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a843007h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***7. [Wonko Mary in widow's cap - now crumbling]*** **from** ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines at Momba sheep and cattle station, New South Wale***

Date: **c.1856–80s**

Medium: **13 photoprints including albumen and silver gelatin**

Dimensions: **29 x 25 cm or smaller**

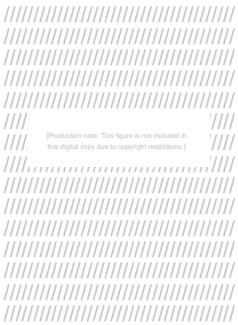
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 562, Reference code 442471, IE16026521, FL16026557, a843007h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326702***

Description: **photoprint of an Aboriginal woman (Wonko Mary) wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a843008h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***8. A mother, Weelpilla, carrying her child, Nango*** **from** ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines at Momba sheep and cattle station, New South Wale***

Date: **c.1856–80s**

Medium: **13 photoprints including albumen and silver gelatin**

Dimensions: **29 x 25 cm or smaller**

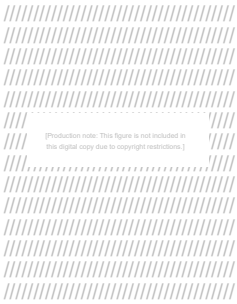
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 562, Reference code 442471, IE16026521, FL16026558, a843008h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326702***

Description: **photoprint of an Aboriginal mother (Weelpilla) carrying a child on her back, wrapped in a blanket**



SLNSW: a843009h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***9. [Aboriginal mother and child; possibly Weelpilla and Nango]*** **from** ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines at Momba sheep and cattle station, New South Wale***

Date: **c.1856–80s**

Medium: **13 photoprints including albumen and silver gelatin**

Dimensions: **29 x 25 cm or smaller**

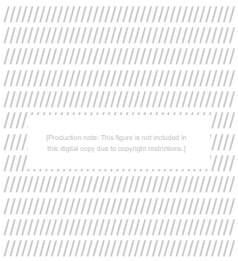
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 562, Reference code 442471, IE16026521, FL16026559, a843009h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326702***

Description: **photoprint of an Aboriginal mother (possibly Weelpilla) carrying a child on her back, wrapped in a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a843010h.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***10. [Jacob and Mary sitting in a winter camp, with daughter Doughboy]*** **from** ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines at Momba sheep and cattle station, New South Wale***

Date: **c.1856–80s**

Medium: **13 photoprints including albumen and silver gelatin**

Dimensions: **29 x 25 cm or smaller**

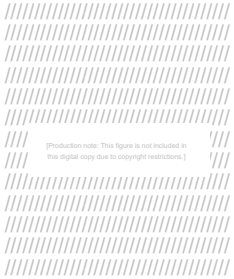
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 562, Reference code 442471, IE16026521, FL16026560, a843010h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326702***

Description: **photoprint of an Aboriginal family; the women wear a blanket and a skin mantle or cloak**



SLNSW: c16530_0202_c.jpg

Artist: **Sir William Macarthur**

Title: ***73(b). Native of Albany King Georges Sound 1858*** **from** ***Album of views, illustrations and Macarthur family photographs***

Date: **1857–66, 1879**

Medium: **1 album (approx. 500 items incl. approx. 50 photographs including cartes-de-visite, cabinet photographs, stereo albumen photoprints; pencil sketches; reproductions & prints)**

Dimensions: **37 x 28 cm**

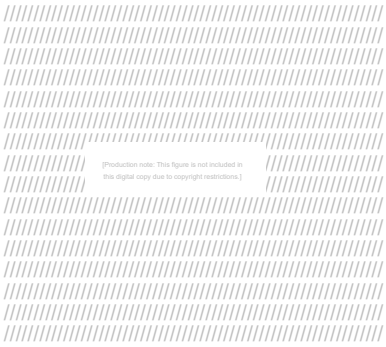
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Lady Stanham, August 1957**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 4358/Vol. 1, Digital order no. Album ID 824195, IE9749256, FL9750305, a840079h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326756***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: c16530_0215_c.jpg

Artist: **Sir William Macarthur**

Title: ***78(a). Native Woman King Georges Sound 1858*** **from** ***Album of views, illustrations and Macarthur family photographs***

Date: **1857–66, 1879**

Medium: **1 album (approx. 500 items incl. approx. 50 photographs including cartes-de-visite, cabinet photographs, stereo albumen photoprints; pencil sketches; reproductions & prints)**

Dimensions: **37 x 28 cm**

Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Lady Stanham, August 1957**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 4358/Vol. 1, Digital order no. Album ID 824195, IE9749256, FL9750318**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326756***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal woman wearing a skin cloak**

SLNSW: c16530_0376_c.jpg

Artist: **Sir William Macarthur**

Title: ***130(b). Native Woman, Albany King George's Sound, 1858*** **from** ***Album of views, illustrations and Macarthur family photographs***

Date: **1857–66, 1879**

Medium: **1 album (approx. 500 items incl. approx. 50 photographs including cartes-de-visite, cabinet photographs, stereo albumen photoprints; pencil sketches; reproductions & prints)**

Dimensions: **37 x 28 cm**

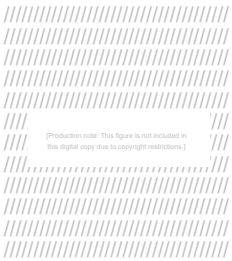
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Lady Stanham, August 1957**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 4358/Vol. 1, Digital order no. Album ID 824195, IE9749256, FL9750479, a840136h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326756***

Description: **photograph of three Aboriginal women wearing skin cloaks**



SLNSW: c16530_0404_c.jpg

Artist: **Sir William Macarthur**

Title: ***148(b). [Probably Australian aborigines]*** **from** ***Album of views, illustrations and Macarthur family photographs***

Date: **1857–66, 1879**

Medium: **1 album (approx. 500 items incl. approx. 50 photographs including cartes-de-visite, cabinet photographs, stereo albumen photoprints; pencil sketches; reproductions & prints)**

Dimensions: **37 x 28 cm**

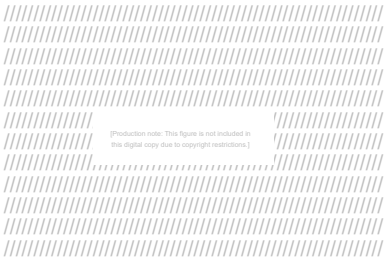
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Lady Stanham, August 1957**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 4358/Vol. 1, Digital order no. Album ID 824195, IE9749256, FL9750507, a840147h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326756***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal women wearing skin cloaks**



SLNSW: c16530_0407_c.jpg

Artist: **Sir William Macarthur**

Title: ***149(a). [Group probably of Australian aborigines]*** **from** ***Album of views, illustrations and Macarthur family photographs***

Date: **1857–66, 1879**

Medium: **1 album (approx. 500 items incl. approx. 50 photographs including cartes-de-visite, cabinet photographs, stereo albumen photoprints; pencil sketches; reproductions & prints)**

Dimensions: **37 x 28 cm**

Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Lady Stanham, August 1957**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 4358/Vol. 1, Digital order no. Album ID 824195, IE9749256, FL9750510, a840148h**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326756***

Description: **photograph of a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and western clothes**

KHT: b22483_1360.jpg

Artist: **Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery**

Title: ***Aboriginal woman and child*, from the album *Sun Pictures of Victoria***

Date: **c.1858**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

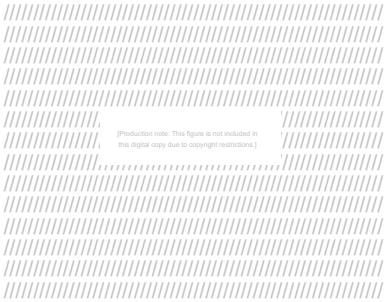
Collection: **Koorie Heritage Trust**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***https://cv.vic.gov.au/stories/aboriginal-culture/early-photographs-indigenous-victorians/aboriginal-woman-and-child/aboriginal-woman-and-child/***

Description: **Aboriginal woman and child, both wearing blankets**



SLV: 701519275.jpg OR FL16347061.jpg

Artist: **Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery**

Title: ***[Group of Aborigines, sitting and standing, whole-length, full face, wearing animal skins, some holding weapons]***

Date: **c.1858**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **19 x 24.6 cm**

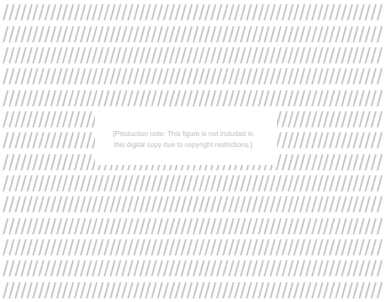
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H84.167/44**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1656088***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal camp; figures wear blankets and possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 702357763.jpg

Artist: **Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery**

Title: ***Lubras [i.e. Aboriginal Australian women] tattood [i.e. tattooed] to show they have borne children***

Date: **[c.1858]**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **17.7 x 22.6 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H84.167/45**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1656092***

Description: **shows cicatrisation scarring on the chest and upper arms of the women; photograph of two Aboriginal women wearing blankets**

SLV: 701216074.jpg

Artist: **Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery**

Title: ***[Aboriginal camp]***

Date: **c.1858**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **20.5 x 26.3 cm**

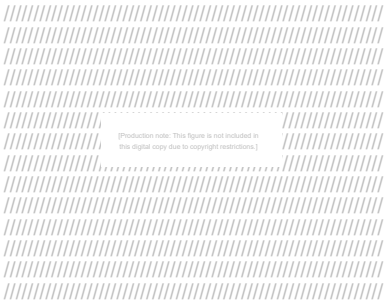
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H84.167/48**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1656099***

Description: **photograph of a group of Aboriginal people; seated figures wear blankets, standing figures wear possum-skin cloaks with the fur side out**



SLV: 701519276.jpg

Artist: **Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery**

Title: ***[Group of Aboriginal women and children, sitting in bushland setting]***

Date: **[c.1858]**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **19 x 24.4 cm**

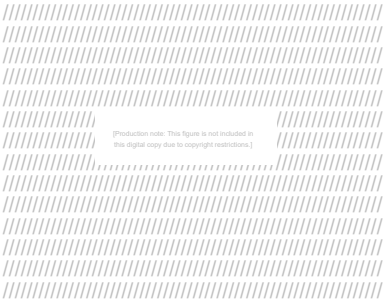
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H84.167/49**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1656100***

Description: **photograph of Aboriginal women and children, wearing a mix of blankets and possum-skin cloaks**



BM: AN00449124_001_l.jpg

Artist: **Antoine Julien Nicolas Fauchery (?) and Richard Daintree (?)**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **1858?**

Medium: **photographic print (black and white), albumen printing**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 11.7 cm (image)**

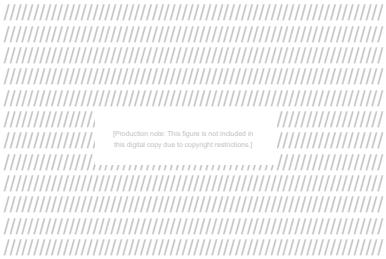
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc,B80.6, mm034109/10 (Museum of Mankind number)**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/EA_Oc-B80-6***

Description: **two men and three women posing in front of a studio backdrop; they all wear either a blanket or a possum-skin cloak; some have headbands and body scarification; Victoria, Australia**



SLNSW: a7476001h.jpg

Artist: **Edward Roper**

Title: ***Gold diggings, Ararat***

Date: **1858?**

Medium: **painting - oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **44 x 75 cm (image), 63 x 93 cm (frame)**

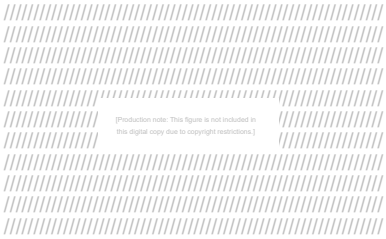
Collection: **Dixson Galleries, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Sir William Dixson, 1929**

Identifying Numbers: **DG 15, Reference code 840136, Digital order no. Album ID 866996, IE3263482, FL3263527**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110335416***

Description: **painting of the goldfields at Ararat in Victoria; an Aboriginal family is pictured in the middle ground; the figures standing wear blankets as cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-135647207-1.jpg

Artist: **Frederick Grosse**

Title: ***Portraits of an aboriginal woman, an average type of the native woman of Victoria, and Simon, the son of Jagga Jagga, the celebrated Port Phillip chief and friend of Batman***

Date: **[1858?]**

Medium: **print: wood engraving**

Dimensions: **9.7 x 14 cm (sheet)**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC S1815 LOC 78, nla.obj-135647207**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135647207***

Description: **portrait of Aboriginal woman and man; both wear animal-skin cloaks**

SLV: b47477.jpg

Artist: **Richard Daintree and Antoine Fauchery**

Title: ***Group of natives***

Date: **[c.1859–63]**

Medium: **photographic print: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **11.2 x 16.5 cm**

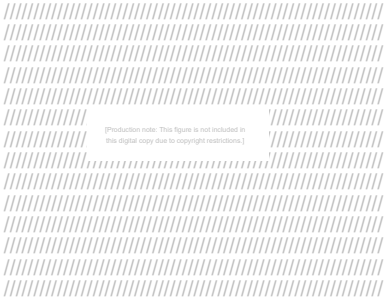
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Sir Redmond Barry collection**

Identifying Numbers: **H2468**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1716976***

Description: **photograph of a group of Aboriginal people; seated figures wear blankets, standing figures wear possum-skin cloaks with the fur side out**



NLA: nla.obj-138225295-1.jpg

Artist:

Title: ***Certificate with Australian Aboriginal men and wildlife***

Date: **c.1860**

Medium: **print: lithograph, black and white**

Dimensions: **21.6 x 26.17 cm**

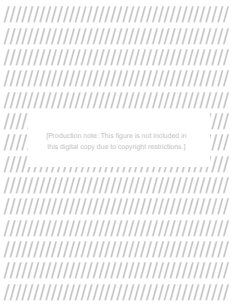
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Pic Drawer 12822 #PIC/15787, nla.obj-138225295**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-138225295***

Description: **print certificate featuring scene of native wildlife and Aboriginal people hunting; a possum is seen in the top right corner swinging from a tree branch**



NLA: nla.obj-148825818-1.jpg

Artist: **Samuel White Sweet**

Title: ***Portrait Aboriginal woman Teenminnie, wife of Pelican, wearing a kangaroo skin cloak, Point McLeay region, South Australia***

Date: **c.1860**

Medium: **photograph: sepia**

Dimensions: **22.2 x 16.6 cm**

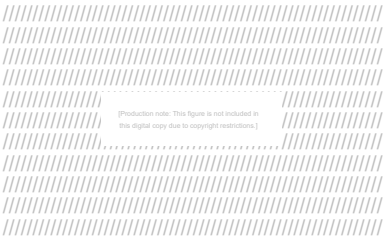
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/8510/49 LOC Album 1040, nla.obj-148825818**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-148825818***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal mother and child wearing a skin cloak**



SLV: 703816524.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Kangaroo Hunting No. 3 The Death***

Date: **1860?**

Medium: **print: colour lithograph, watercolour and gum arabic**

Dimensions: **30.5 x 48.7 cm (image), 37.7 x 54.7 cm (sheet)**

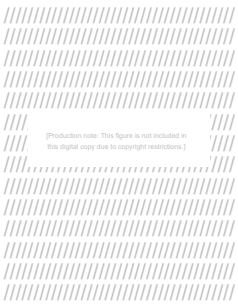
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased; 1938**

Identifying Numbers: **H32892**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1670063***

Description: **four men are grouped around a dead kangaroo with their horses, one of them is mounted and is hailing a number of Aborigines who are approaching from the left. One of the men has a knife and is preparing to remove the kangaroo's tail. Three dogs watch patiently. There is a fifth man on horseback in the background at the right; the Aboriginal family in the background wear skin cloaks**



SLWA: slwa_b4167024_1.jpg

Artist: **Alfred Hawes Stone**

Title: ***Youar and Daakin***

Date: **1860–68**

Medium: **digital image**

Dimensions: **N/A**

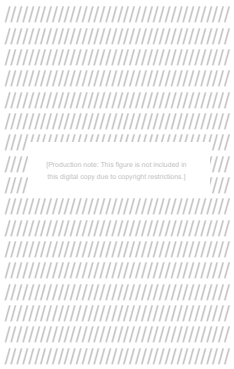
Collection: **State Library of Western Australia**

Purchased: **Digital image donated by Mrs Dorothy Croft**

Identifying Numbers: **6923B/25**

URL: ***https://catalogue.slwa.wa.gov.au/search/,?b4167024***

Description: **two men dressed in kangaroo skins; collection of photographs taken by A.H. Stone during the 1860s and featuring people, buildings and scenes in Perth**



SLV: H90.91/125.png

Artist: **Alfred Wren**

Title: ***Studio photograph of an Aboriginal Australian man***

Date: **1860–70**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print on carte-de-visite mount**

Dimensions: **11 x 8.2 cm (image), 42 x 26 cm (sheet)**

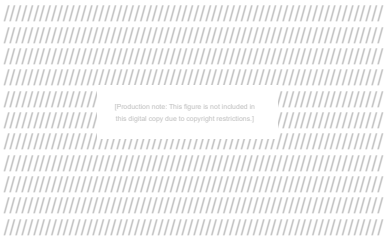
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1990**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.91/125**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3189496***

Description: **half-length, full face, full beard and moustache, wrapped in a blanket; Undated, possible date range assigned from activity dates for photographer and time of compilation of scrapbook**



NGV: Dd103362.jpg

Artist: **Robert Dowling**

Title: ***Early effort – Art in Australia***

Date: **c.1860s**

Medium: **oil on canvas on composition board**

Dimensions: **76.6 x 122.3 cm**

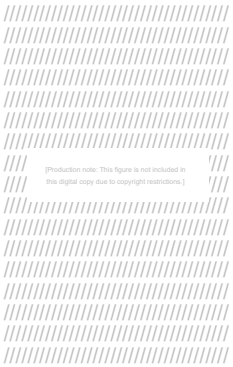
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Felton Bequest, 1934**

Identifying Numbers: **218-4**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/5509/***

Description: **painting of a group of Aboriginal people posing for a portrait by a non-Aboriginal artist; Aboriginal figures wearing blankets or animal skins**



Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford: 1998_249_33_2-O.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **1860s?**

Medium: **black-and-white print**

Dimensions: **9.5 x 6 cm**

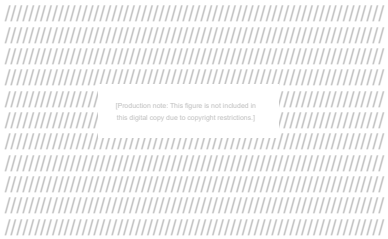
Collection: **Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford**

Purchased: **The Estate of Henry Wentworth Dyke Acland – Donated 1902**

Identifying Numbers: **1998.249.33.2**

URL: ***http://databases.prm.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#Photos_PRM***

Description: **half-length frontal portrait of man with scarification on chest and shoulders, wearing a kangaroo skin cloak and sitting on a chair. [The same man can be seen in 1998.249.33.5.] Plain studio background. South Australia**



Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford: 1998_249_33_5-O.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **1860s?**

Medium: **black-and-white print**

Dimensions: **6.5 x 10.5 cm**

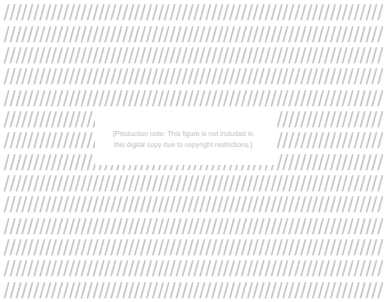
Collection: **Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford**

Purchased: **The Estate of Henry Wentworth Dyke Acland – Donated 1902**

Identifying Numbers: **1998.249.33.5**

URL: ***http://databases.prm.ox.ac.uk/fmi/webd#Photos_PRM***

Description: **portrait of three seated men, wearing face and body paint, with scarification on their chests and shoulders. The man on the right [the same individual as in 1998.249.33.2] wears trousers; the other two have a kangaroo skin cloak over their knees. Plain studio background. Encounter Bay, South Australia**



SLV: 703361829.jpg

Artist: **Carl Walter**

Title: ***[Group of Aboriginal Australian men and children]***

Date: **c.1860–80**

Medium: **photographic print: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **6.9 x 9.4 cm**

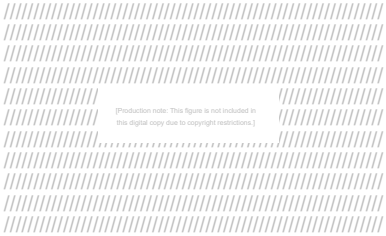
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H13881/13**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1710717***

Description: **four men and six children: Whole-length, full face, children wearing knee length smocks, the men wrapped in possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 70376188.jpg

Artist: **Frederick Woodhouse**

Title: ***The first settlers discover Buckley***

Date: **1861**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **62.5 x 95.5 cm**

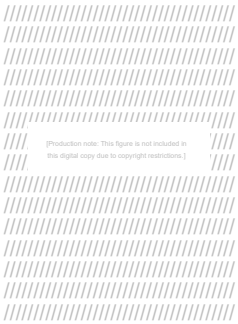
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned 1934**

Identifying Numbers: **H26103**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1654251***

Description: **William Buckley (1780–1857) escaped from custody at the ill-fated settlement at Sorrento in 1803, and lived for 30 years with the Aboriginal people of the Bellarine Peninsula region. This painting depicts the moment when, on 6 July 1835, Buckley walked into the base camp established by John Batman at Indented Head; Buckley is depicted wearing an animal-skin cloak**



MV: XP 20271.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***A mother and her child, Ballarat, Victoria***

Date: **c.1861**

Medium: **black-and-white print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

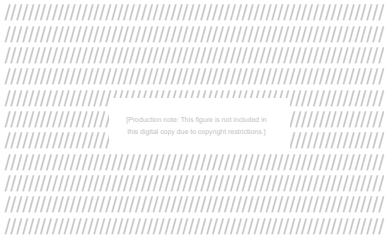
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 20271**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal mother and child; the woman wears a possum-skin cloak on her lap, with the fur side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-136433860-1.jpg

Artist: **H.L. (Henricus Leonardus) van den Houten**

Title: ***The exploring party coming upon an encampment of natives***

Date: **[1861?]**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **132 x 220 cm**

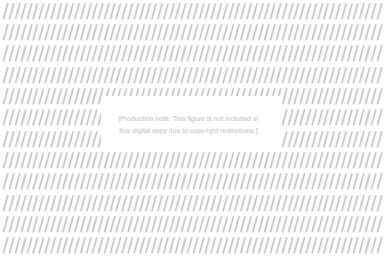
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC R11532 LOC PIC Screen 202/nla.obj-136433860**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136433860***

Description: **painting depicting a group of explorers and Aboriginal camp; Aboriginal figures wear blankets and skin cloaks**



SLV: b48520.jpg

Artist: **Nicholas Chevalier**

Title: ***Native man and woman***

Date: **5 July 1862**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IMP05/07/62/8**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1771217***

Description: **wood engraving published in *The Illustrated Melbourne Post*; depicts an Aboriginal woman and man wearing skin cloaks or blankets**

BM: AN00449264_001_l.jpg

Artist: **William Knight**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **photographic print (black and white), albumen printing**

Dimensions: **15.4 x 20 cm (image)**

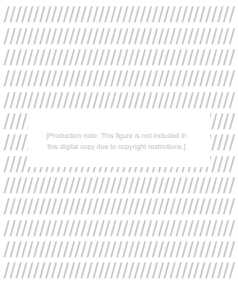
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc,B80.16**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/EA_Oc-B80-16***

Description: **three men and a woman posing in front of a studio backdrop amongst furs; they all have body scarification; Brisbane, Australia**



BM: AN00449265_001_l.jpg

Artist: **William Knight**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **photographic print (black and white), albumen printing**

Dimensions: **18 x 13.4 cm (image)**

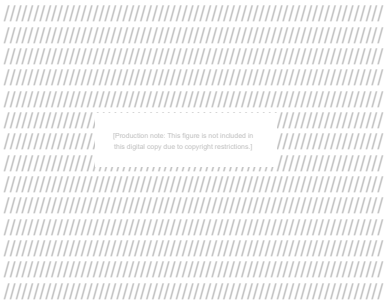
Collection: **British Museum**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks**

Identifying Numbers: **Oc,B80.17**

URL: ***https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/EA_Oc-B80-17***

Description: **three Aboriginal men and an Aboriginal woman posing in front of a studio backdrop amongst possum-skin cloaks; they all have body scarification; Brisbane, Australia**



Haddon: Blandowski021.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***Mondellimin near the junction of the Darling and Murray rivers***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

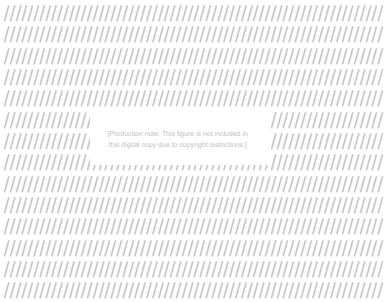
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **021**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 160, *Scenery in Australia*, based on a wood engraving from the *Illustrated Melbourne News*, 6 February 1858; depicts several groups of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



Haddon: Blandowski022.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Blandowski's camp***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

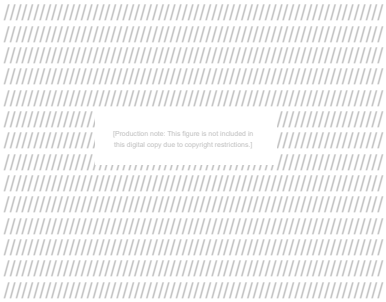
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **022**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 194, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



Haddon: Blandowski023.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***A campfire at night***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

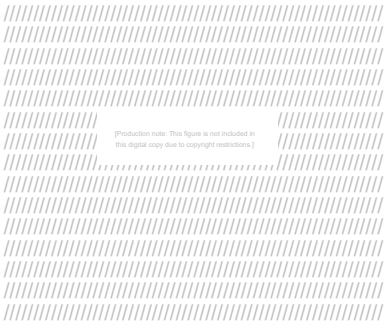
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **023**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 137, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts Aboriginal men and possibly explorers or the artist; figures wear blankets and/or skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski024.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***Natives visiting Europeans***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

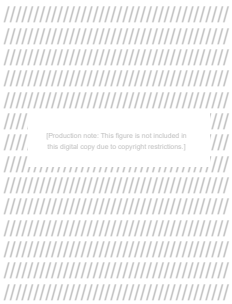
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **024**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 130, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts Aboriginal figures wearing skin cloaks and blankets**



Haddon: Blandowski027.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***An old woman on the Compaspe and Murray River Junction***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

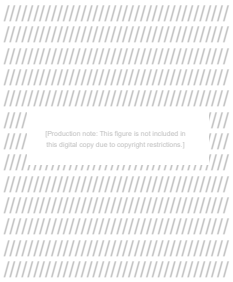
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **027**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 147, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski028.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***Mattingere***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

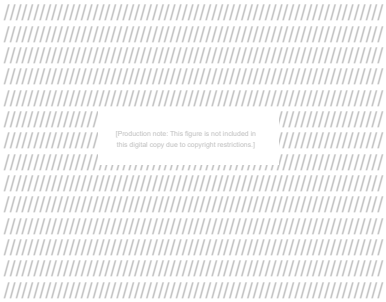
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **028**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 117, *Australia Terra Cognita*; depicts an Aboriginal woman wearing a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski029.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***What is the intention of each? …***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

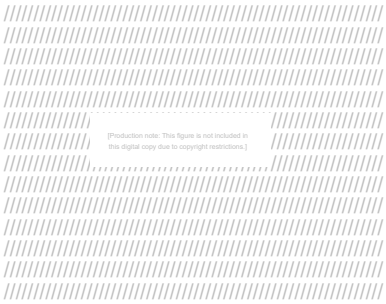
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **029**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 201, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large group of Aboriginal people; several figures wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski031.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Water collecting in the desert***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

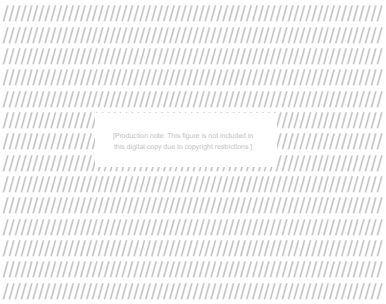
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **031**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 202, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts an Aboriginal family; figure at left wears a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski033.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Seed of panicum preparing for food …***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

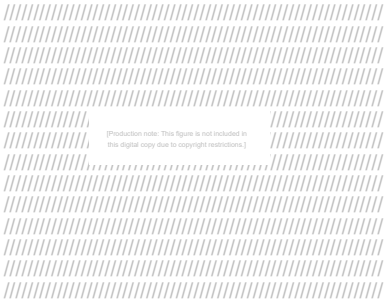
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **033**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 181, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people; figure in background wears a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski034.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Natives making a canoe on the Murray River***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **034**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 197?, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal men making a canoe; folded skin cloaks appear in the foreground, while in the background on a canoe several figures wear skin cloaks**

Haddon: Blandowski041.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Domestic occupations of the summer season on the Lower Murray River***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

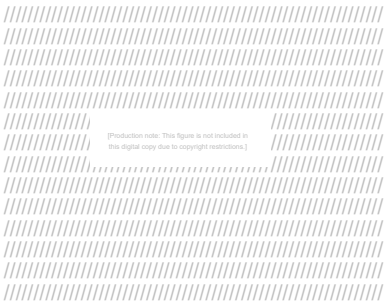
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **041**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 133, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski042.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***The natives shifting their encampment***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

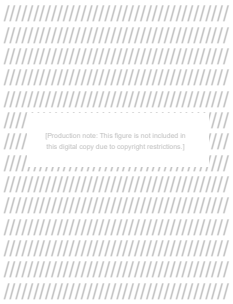
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **042**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 128, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski064.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Domestic life of the natives***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

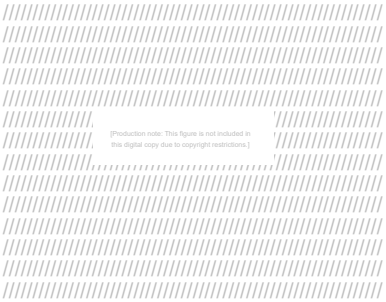
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **064**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 131, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks, working on possum-skin pelts for making cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski068.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Roasting of a kangaroo***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

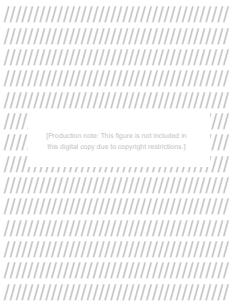
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **068**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 182, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people around a campfire; figures at left and right wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski076.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***The different tatoos (sic) of the Australian women***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

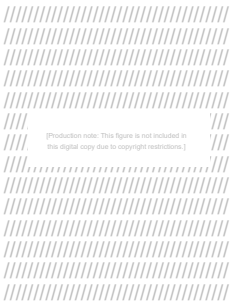
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **076**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 167, *Aborigines of Australia*; portraits depict four Aboriginal women wearing skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski077.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***The different tatooing (sic) of the Australian men***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

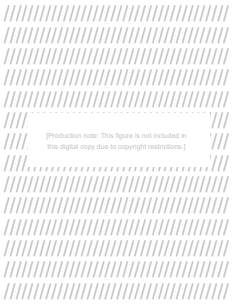
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **077**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 149, *Aborigines of Australia*; portraits depict four Aboriginal men; man at bottom right wears a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski078.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***The different tatoos (sic) of the Australian men***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

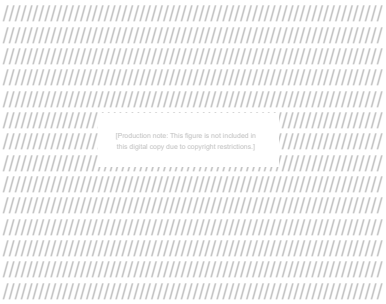
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **078**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 156, *Aborigines of Australia*; portraits depict four Aboriginal men; man at top left wears a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski083.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Armed circle***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

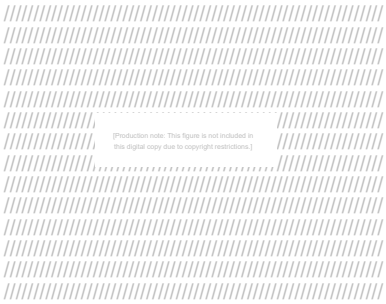
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **083**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 215, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures at right wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski084.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***Public ceremony removing a bone out of his body***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

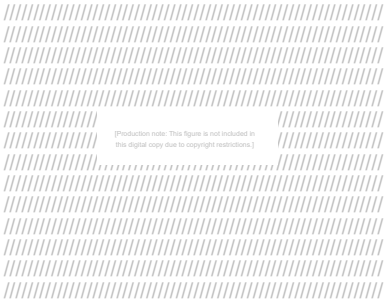
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **084**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 184, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures at right wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski086.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Public ceremony of manhood***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

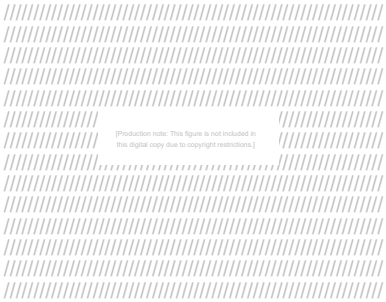
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **086**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 166, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski087.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Demonstration of a kangaroo hunt***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

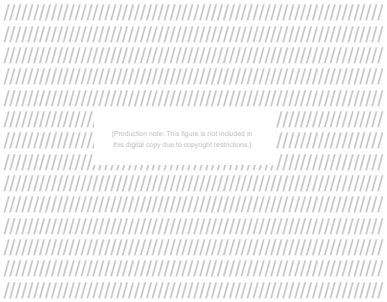
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **087**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 214, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in middle-ground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski090.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Public ceremony of the boys … of the spears***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

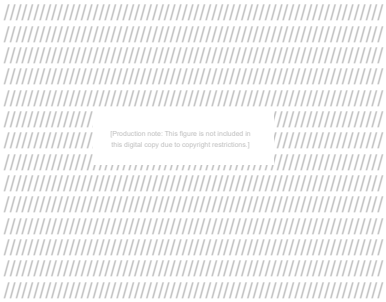
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **090**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 160, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski092.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Natives performing the ceremony of knocking the front tooth out***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

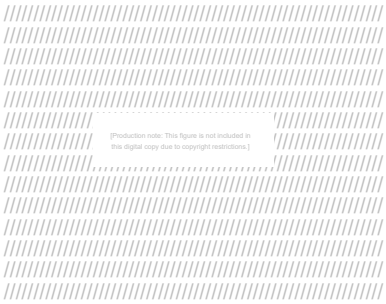
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **092**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 151, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal men; many figures wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski097.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Athletic exercises***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

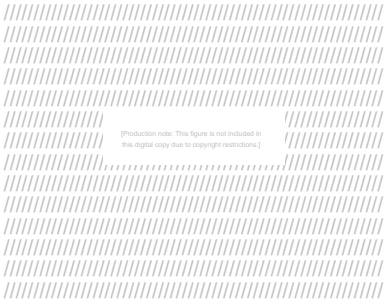
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **097**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 187, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski098.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Wrestling for emu feathers***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

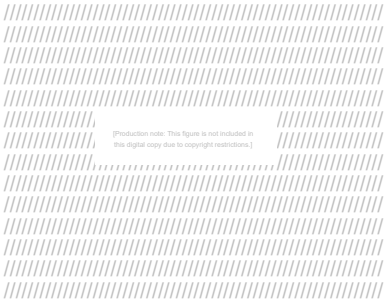
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **098**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 186, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground and to left wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski099.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Natives wrestling***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

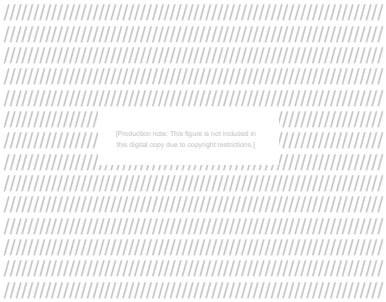
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **099**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 192, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski100.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***Untitled***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

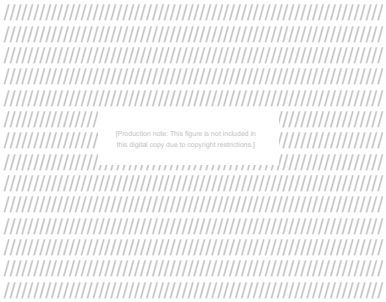
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **100**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **reproduction of Plate 119, *Australia Terra Cognita*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski102.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski**

Title: ***Untitled***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

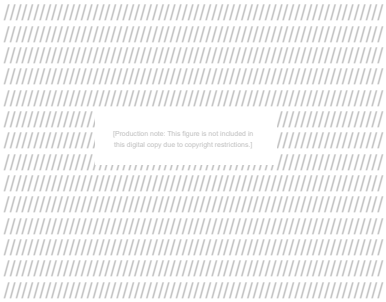
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **102**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **reproduction of Plate 120, *Australia Terra Cognita*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski103.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Native women dance***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

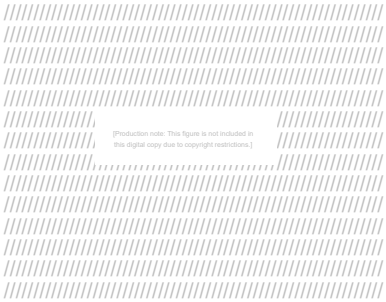
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **103**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate ?, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski104.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Native women using scurrilous language***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

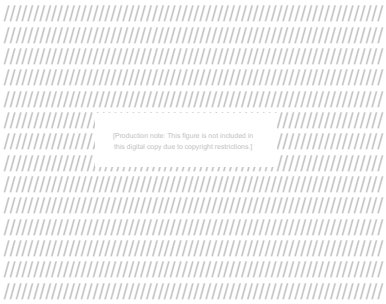
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **104**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 162, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground and background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski105.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Native women quarrel***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

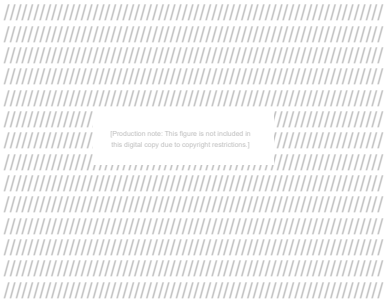
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **105**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 163 (GM61), *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski106.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***A native dance with hand weapons***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

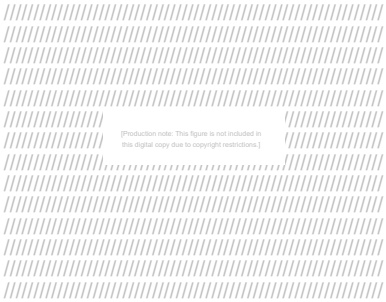
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **106**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 212, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground and background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski109.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Single combat in southeast Australia***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

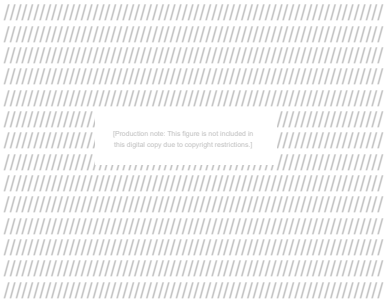
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **109**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 177, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in background wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski110.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***… natives contest warriors with weapons***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

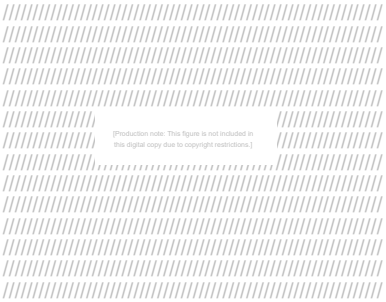
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **110**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 135?, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figure in foreground wears a cloak and a reed mat**



Haddon: Blandowski111.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***The wounded young warrior***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

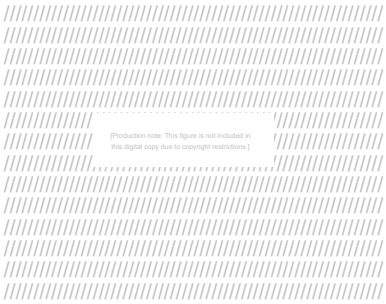
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **111**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 136, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground and background wear skin cloaks and/or blankets**



Haddon: Blandowski112.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Natives crossing a river***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

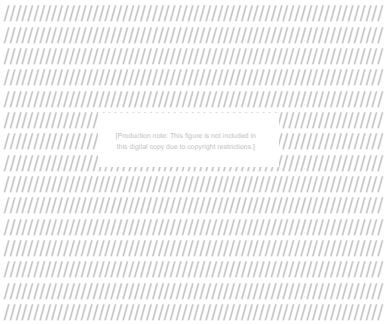
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **112**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 204, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people, some wearing skin cloaks and reed mats**



Haddon: Blandowski115.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***A council of natives hold consultation***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

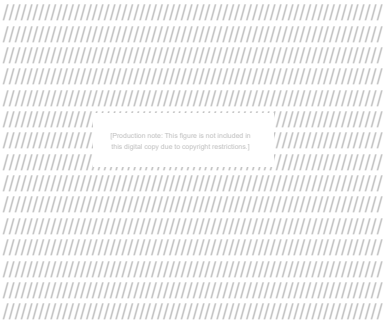
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **115**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 138, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski116.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Sickness removing***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

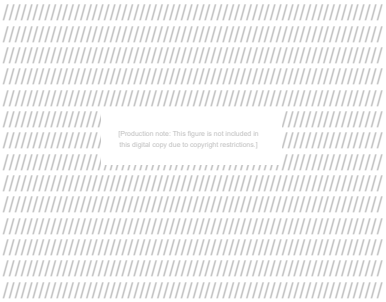
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **116**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 196?, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts an Aboriginal healing process using a possum-skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski117.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Ventriloquism***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

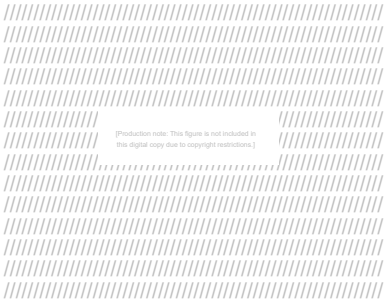
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **117**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 197, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski118.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***[Title indecipherable]***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

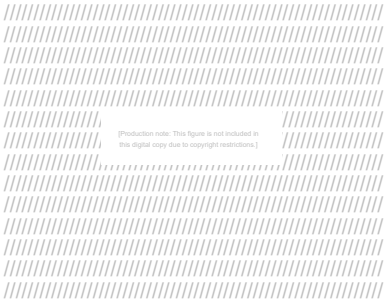
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **118**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 221, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski119.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Funeral [certificate] to the brother. Women acknowledging … the property of the brother of their deceased husband***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

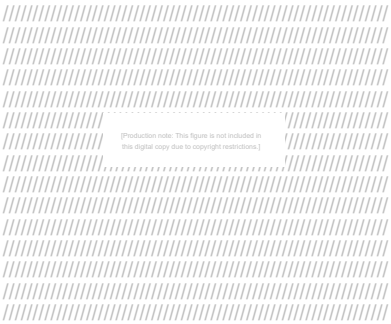
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **119**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 267, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a large gathering of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski127.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***A native preaching on the grave***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

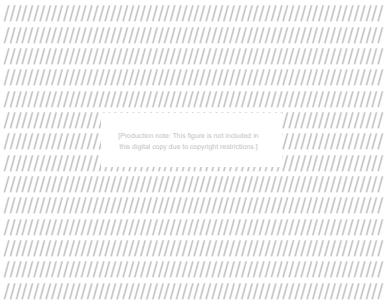
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **127**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 135, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts an Aboriginal burial ceremony, with figure of the deceased wrapped in a possum-skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski128.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Funeral ceremony***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

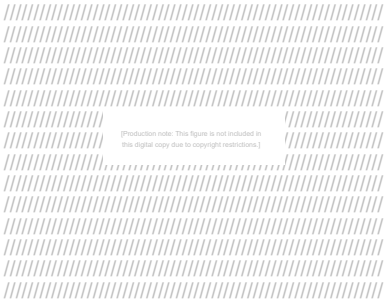
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **128**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 185, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people; figures at left wear skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski131.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel, after Thomas Mitchell**

Title: ***Burying ground on the Bogan River***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

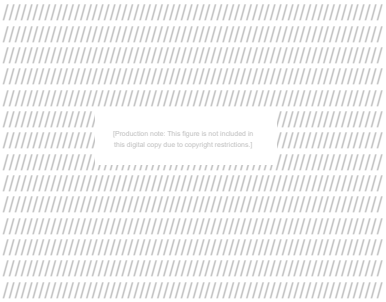
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **131**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 163 (GM60), *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts two Aboriginal men in the foreground wearing skin cloaks**



Haddon: Blandowski132.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Native tomb of a fisherman on the lower Murray River***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

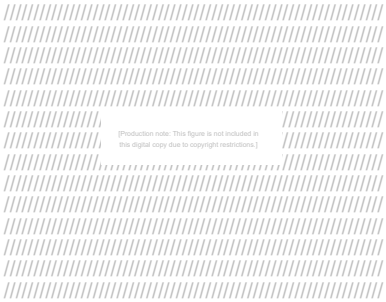
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **132**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 144, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts an Aboriginal man wearing a skin cloak**



Haddon: Blandowski135.jpg

Artist: **William Blandowski and G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Native tomb near Swan Hill, Murray River***

Date: **c.1862**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

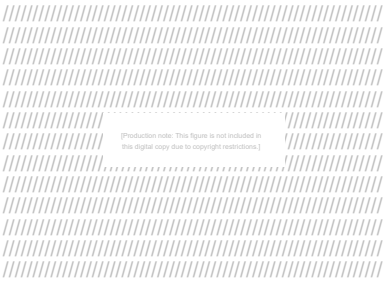
Collection: **Haddon Library of Archaeology & Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **135**

URL: ***http://www.haddon.archanth.cam.ac.uk/haddon-specials/library-online/blandowskipublscans/***

Description: **Plate 143, *Aborigines of Australia*; depicts two Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a939002h.jpg

Artist: **John Thomas Doyle and Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***f.1 Title page - J.T. Doyle's Sketches In Australia* from *Dr Doyle's sketch book***

Date: **c.1862–63**

Medium: **44 watercolours**

Dimensions: **27 x 35 cm or smaller**

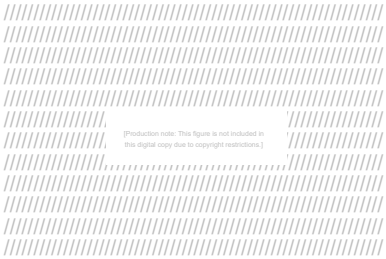
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1983, Reference code 446327, IE1002343, FL1002438, a939002h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327344***

Description: **front page of sketchbook, depicting non-Aboriginal artist alongside Aboriginal group, with figure in front wearing a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a939004h.jpg

Artist: **John Thomas Doyle and Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***f.3 Fall on South Creek near Exeter Farm N.S.Wales* from *Dr Doyle's sketch book***

Date: **c.1862–63**

Medium: **44 watercolours**

Dimensions: **27 x 35 cm or smaller**

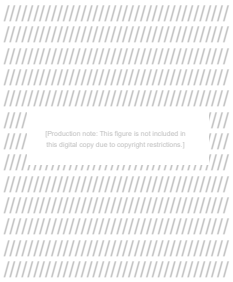
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1983, Reference code 446327, IE1002343, FL1002440, a939004h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327344***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal family, figures wearing skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a939009h.jpg

Artist: **John Thomas Doyle and Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***f.8 Natives snake hunting on the grass tree Ranges Omeo district*** **from** ***Dr Doyle's sketch book***

Date: **c.1862–63**

Medium: **44 watercolours**

Dimensions: **27 x 35 cm or smaller**

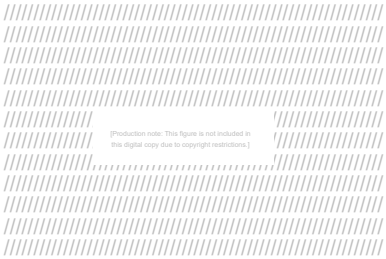
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1983, Reference code 446327, IE1002343, FL1002445, a939009h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327344***

Description: **drawing of two Aboriginal men, figure on left wears a skin cloak**



SLNSW: a939030h.jpg

Artist: **John Thomas Doyle and Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***f.29 Corrobboree* from *Dr Doyle's sketch book***

Date: **c.1862–63**

Medium: **44 watercolours**

Dimensions: **27 x 35 cm or smaller**

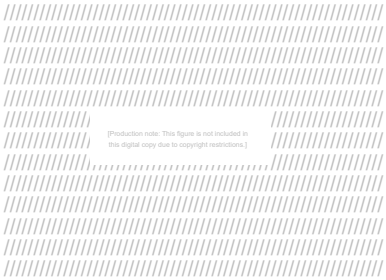
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1983, Reference code 446327, IE1002343, FL1002466, a939030h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327344***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal ceremony; seated figures wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a939041h.jpg

Artist: **John Thomas Doyle and Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***f.40 Squatter of N.S.Wales. Monarch of all he Surveys 1788*** **from** ***Dr Doyle's sketch book***

Date: **c.1862–63**

Medium: **44 watercolours**

Dimensions: **27 x 35 cm or smaller**

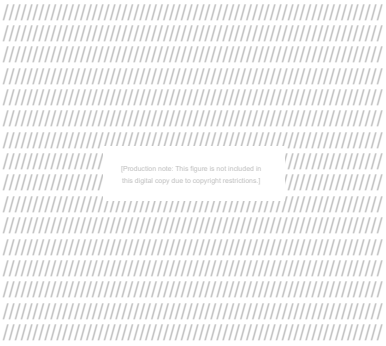
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 1983, Reference code 446327, IE1002343, FL1002477, a939041h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327344***

Description: **drawing of an Aboriginal group; figure in front wears a skin cloak with the fur side facing out; figure in background wears a skin cloak**



SLV: 702840042.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Calvert**

Title: ***Deputation of Victorian Aborigines at the Governor's Levee***

Date: **25 June 1863**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

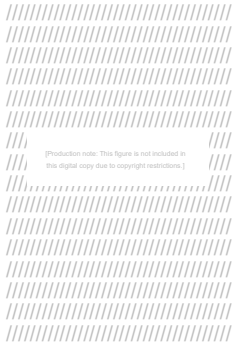
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IMP05/07/62/8**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1771217***

Description: **wood engraving published in *The Illustrated Melbourne Post*; depicts a group of Aboriginal men wearing possum-skin cloaks and blankets**



Museum Victoria: 273178-medium.jpg

Artist: **Timothy (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Drawing, Coranderrk, Port Phillip, Victoria, Australia***

Date: **1863–75**

Medium: **pencil on paper**

Dimensions: **89.5 x 66 cm**

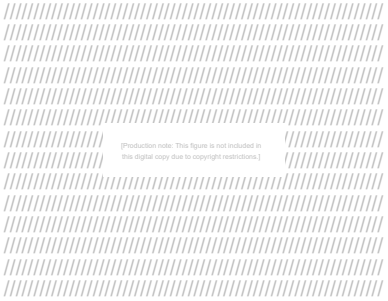
Collection: **Museum Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **X 86705**

URL: ***https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/232111***

Description: **this pencil sketch was though to have been the only work known to have been produced by this man, however recent research by other scholars indicates that he may have produced other sketches. His work predates both Barak and McRae's work by at least a few decades, and the imagery has similarities with the work of both men. Tommy McRae's pen and ink sketches have multiple registers; and William Barak's corroboree paintings portray bearded men in the same way they are shown here. Hunting scenes were a common theme for McRae as well, and the one here shows a party of men with a dog hunting a kangaroo. Interesting Timothy has included himself in the imagery—a squatting or sitting figure to the left of the 'signature'. Charles Walter's photographic portrait of Timothy bears a striking resemblance to this figure and his suite of photographic portraits from Coranderrk were exhibited in the 1866 Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne. The most extraordinary element in this work however is the imagery in the top panel that appears to portray either an eclipse or some other lunar phenomenon; figures wear possum-skin cloaks throughout**



NLA: nla.obj-139537521-1.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Emu sneaking***

Date: **1864**

Medium: **print: chromolithograph, col.**

Dimensions: **19.4 x 25.5 cm (image and text)**

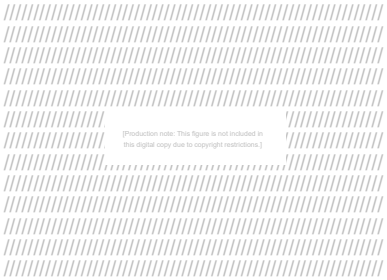
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 537 #S3227, nla.obj-139537521**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-139537521***

Description: **print depicting two Aboriginal men hunting; figure in front wears a possum-skin cloak with the fur side facing out; figure in back wears a blanket**



SLV: H17149.png

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Night fishing***

Date: **1864**

Medium: **print: colour lithograph on white paper**

Dimensions: **17.5 x 25.2 cm (image), 29 x 43.3 cm (sheet)**

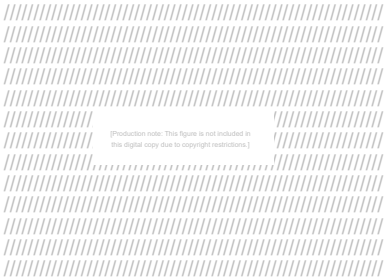
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mrs J. E. Minifie, 1956**

Identifying Numbers: **H17149**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2395059***

Description: **shows groups of Aboriginal Australian men in canoes fishing on a lake by moonlight. Small fires are lit in their canoes. In the nearest canoe, one man is lowering a line into the water, while another stands holding what is either a spear or a punting pole; the figures wear skin cloaks or blankets**



SLV: 703913752.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Calvert**

Title: ***Distribution of blankets to the Australian Natives [i.e. Aboriginal Australians]***

Date: **25 August 1864**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

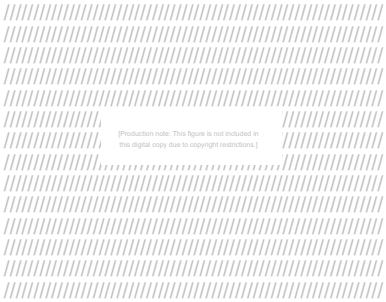
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IMP25/08/64/9**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646011***

Description: **wood engraving published in *The Illustrated Melbourne Post*; Aboriginal figures in foreground wear blankets as cloaks**



SLV: 702687419.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Kangaroo stalking***

Date: **[1864]**

Medium: **print: colour lithograph on white paper**

Dimensions: **17.6 x 25.3 cm**

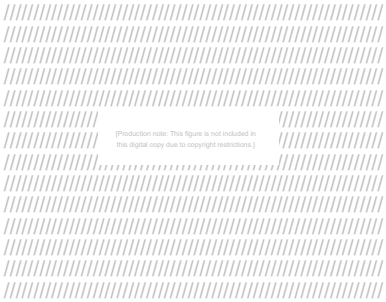
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mrs J. E. Minifie, 1956**

Identifying Numbers: **H17154**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2395037***

Description: **shows two men stalking a pair of grazing kangaroos from cover. One man is a European levelling a rifle at the kangaroos; the other is an Aboriginal Australian man, wearing a blanket kilt**



SLV: 702687426.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Native miami***

Date: **[1864]**

Medium: **print: colour lithograph on white paper**

Dimensions: **17.5 x 25 cm**

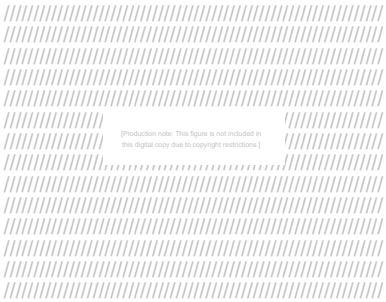
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift, Mrs J. E. Minifie, 1956**

Identifying Numbers: **H17150**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2395127***

Description: **shows an Aboriginal Australian family who have made camp under a temporary shelter, by the bank of a creek. They wear blankets and sit around a small fire. Two recently killed marsupials lie nearby. In the foreground, a man crouches to drink from the stream while a dog drinks beside him**



SLV: 703372102.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Bushman's hut***

Date: **1864?**

Medium: **chalk lithograph on paper, colour**

Dimensions: **17.5 x 25 cm (image), 29 x 35.5 cm (sheet)**

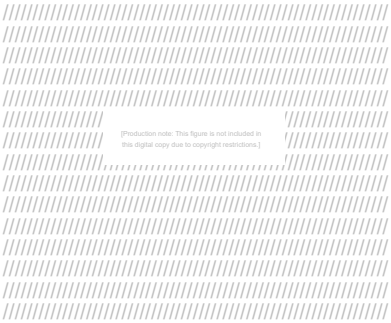
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Mrs Kirby; [1966?]**

Identifying Numbers: **H28316**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2981989***

Description: **man in red smock and hat leaning on the door jamb of his bark hut, his dog beside him, chatting to two Aboriginal Australian men seated on ground before him, one holding a dog; another Aboriginal Australian man walking towards hut carrying a log; fenced paddocks in left background, campfire in left foreground; Aboriginal figures wear skin cloaks or blankets**



SLV: 703372104.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Thomas Gill**

Title: ***Corroboree***

Date: **1864?**

Medium: **chalk lithograph on paper, colour**

Dimensions: **17.5 x 25.4 cm (image), 24.5 x 31.4 cm (sheet)**

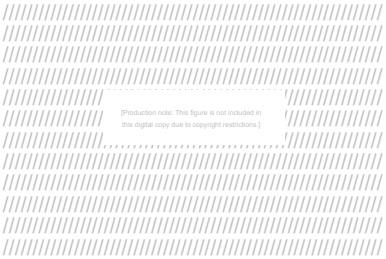
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Mrs M. L. Richardson; 1939.**

Identifying Numbers: **H10689**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2982005***

Description: **night scene under a full moon, Aboriginal Australian men standing in circle around a camp fire, brandishing spears, performing traditional dance, group of women seated on ground on right making music with clapsticks; seated figures and standing figure at right wear skin cloaks**



NGV: 3049.3-4.png

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Native Miami*, plate 2 from *The Australian Sketchbook* 1864**

Date: **1865**

Medium: **colour lithograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

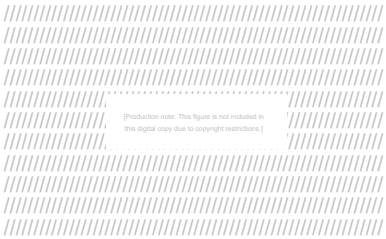
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1953**

Identifying Numbers: **3049.3-4**

URL: ***https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/29424/***

Description: **lithograph depicting an Aboriginal camp; figures wear skin cloaks**



MV: XP 1927.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Billy with his wives Rose and Mary at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1865–69**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

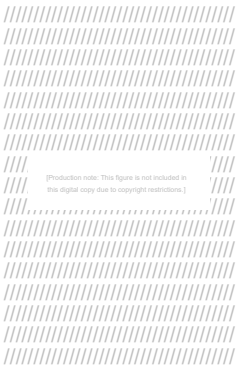
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Board for the Protection of Aborigines Photographic Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1927**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting two Aboriginal women and a man; the woman at left wears a possum-skin cloak, as does the man, while the woman at right wears a blanket as a cloak**



SLV: H32549/3.png

Artist: **Thomas J.J. Wyatt**

Title: ***[Studio portrait of Aboriginal Australian man and woman]***

Date: **c.1865**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print on carte-de-visite mount**

Dimensions: **10.5 x 6 cm**

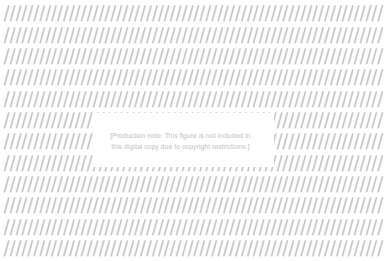
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H32549/3**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1809891***

Description: **studio portrait photograph, carte de visite, of an Aboriginal Australian man and woman. They pose in a combination of western and traditional clothing, man appears to be wearing a possum cloak, holding club and shield, the woman wrapped in a blanket**



SLV: 702363732.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Group of unidentified Aboriginal people sitting on ground outside a bark shelter]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **13.8 x 20.5 cm, on mount**

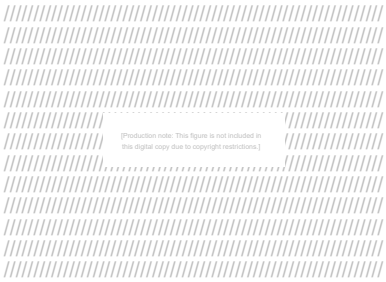
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/2**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719359***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks and blankets**



SLV: 703370713.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Three Aboriginal Australian women]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **14.2 x 19.4 cm, on mount**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/3**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719363***

Description: **whole-length, all wearing possum-skin cloaks, two sitting and one reclining with her head in other woman's lap, beside ashes of a campfire**

SLV: 703370714.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Aborigines]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **14.4 x 19.5 cm, on mount**

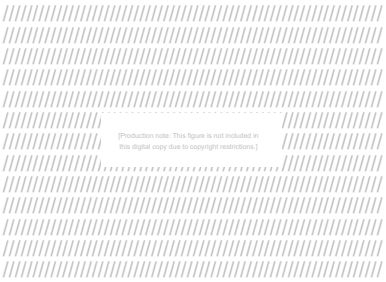
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/4**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719368***

Description: **shows Aboriginal Australian men and women and a child, some in blankets, some in skins, sitting on the ground in front of a bark shelter**



SLV: 703370716.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[View of two Aboriginal men and two Aboriginal women, wrapped in blankets, sitting on ground in front of a pile of wood]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **14.9 x 20.4 cm, on mount**

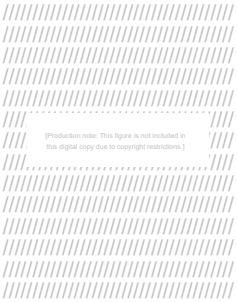
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/6**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719370***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloak and blankets**



SLV: 703370718.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of an Aboriginal Australian child lying in a bark shelter]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **20.5 x 14.8 cm, on mount**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/8**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719372***

Description: **whole-length, full face, wearing skin over waist, lying on left side resting chin on hand, bark shelter behind them**

SLV: 70511646.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of two Aboriginal women wearing animal skins and one aboriginal man wearing European clothes]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **14.6 x 20.1 cm, on mount**

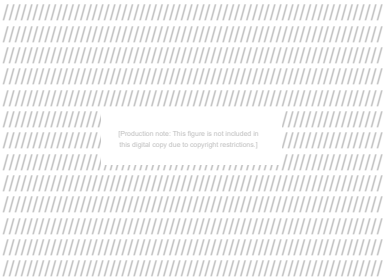
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/10**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1719374***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts two Aboriginal women wearing possum-skin cloaks and an Aboriginal man in western clothes**



SLV: 703370719.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Group of Aboriginal Australian men and women]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **14.3 x 20.1 cm, on mount**

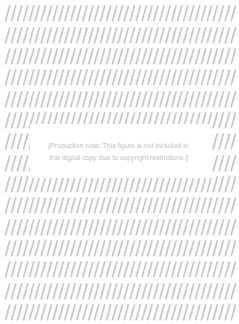
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/11**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719375***

Description: **whole-length, two men standing, posed by photographer, holding weapons; two women sitting on ground behind them. Men wearing blankets, women wearing skins**



SLV: 702363733.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Three-quarter-length portrait of a man sitting, wearing animal skins and holding a stone axe]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **16.2 x 11.5 cm, on mount**

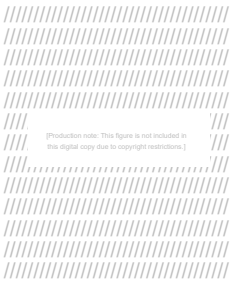
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/13**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719378***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts an Aboriginal man in a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 703370723.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of two Aboriginal Australian women sitting under the window of a building]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **18.8 x 14.9 cm, on mount**

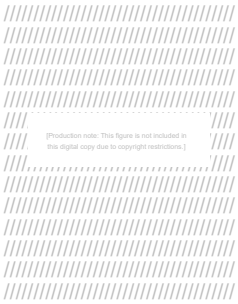
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/16**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719406***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts two Aboriginal women; one wears a possum-skin cloak, the other a blanket as a cloak**



SLV: 702363734.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of Aboriginal man seated on ground, holding a shield and waddie]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **20.2 x 14.2 cm, on mount**

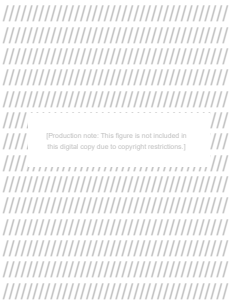
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/18**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719410***

Description: **[hotographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 702363735.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of Aboriginal man standing, holding shield and unidentified, curved, blade-like tool or weapon]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **18.3 x 13.8 cm, on mount**

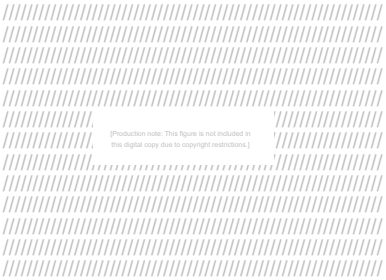
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/19**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719411***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 703370727.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Group of young Aboriginal Australian men sitting in Mia Mia]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **15 x 20.2 cm, on mount**

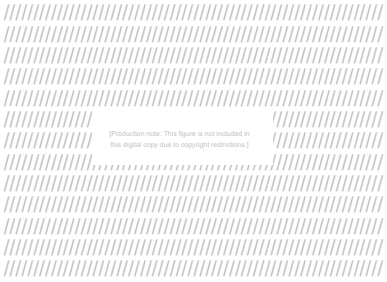
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/23**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719417***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts a group of Aboriginal men wearing possum-skin cloaks and/or blankets**



SLV: 703370728.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of two Aboriginal Australian men sitting against the wooden wall of a building]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **15 x 20.4 cm, on mount**

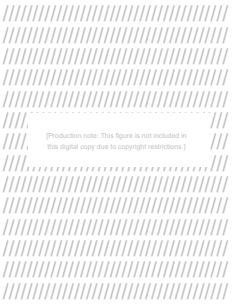
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/24**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719418***

Description: **both men, bearded, wrapped in skins, man on left showing traditional scarification on chest**



SLV: 702618856.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Three-quarter-length portrait of Aboriginal man standing, with rifle, in firing pose]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **19.3 x 14.3 cm, on mount**

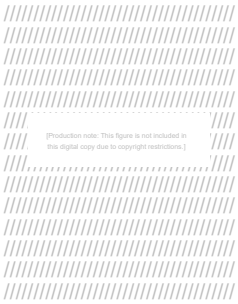
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/25**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1719419***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak with the fur side facing out**



SLV: 703370729.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Portrait photograph of young Aboriginal Australian man]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **20.2 x 14.1 cm, on mount**

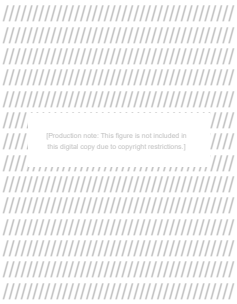
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/26**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719420***

Description: **whole-length, full face, animal skin across his lap, sitting cross-legged, holding a tool or weapon of some kind**



SLV: 703370730.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Full-length portrait of Aboriginal Australian child sitting on animal skins, holding weapons]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print mounted on cardboard**

Dimensions: **20.2 x 15 cm, on mount**

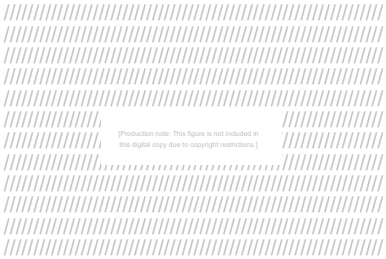
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/27**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1719421***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts an Aboriginal child reclining on a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 70278660.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Aboriginal spears, boomerangs and implements]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photographic print: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **12.4 x 20.3 cm, on mount**

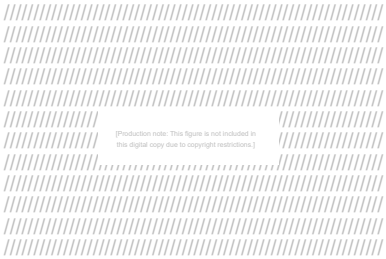
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/29**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1666400***

Description: **shows a range of weapons and implements, hanging in front of a cloak, pinned to the wall of a timber building**



SLV: 70817756.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Two Aboriginal men sitting against a wall, wearing cloaks, one holding a shield and spear]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photographic print mounted on cardboard: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **12.4 x 20.3 cm**

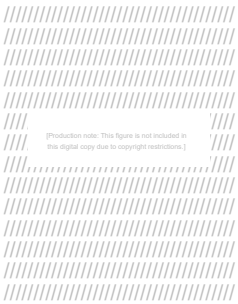
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/30**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1666401***

Description: **photographic print attributed to George W. Priston, made from negative created by John Hunter Kerr; depicts two Aboriginal men wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 702694162.jpg

Artist: **George W. Priston and John Hunter Kerr**

Title: ***[Two Aboriginal men, wearing cloaks, one holding a spear, the other a boomerang.]***

Date: **c.1865–75**

Medium: **photograph: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **19.4 x 14.2 cm, on mount**

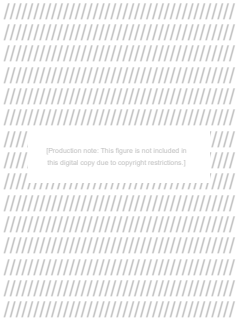
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned into the Library's bookstock, c.1878**

Identifying Numbers: **H30158/33**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1666404***

Description: **photographed against a wall, one standing, and one sitting; depicts two Aboriginal men wearing possum-skin cloaks**



MV: XP 2643.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***King Charles Tattambo***

Date: **before 1866**

Medium: **N/A**

Dimensions: **N/A**

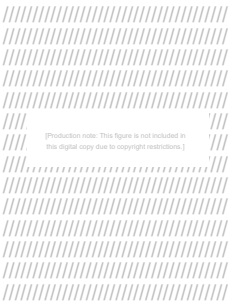
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2643**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



SLV: 70393825.jpg

Artist: **Carl Walter**

Title: ***Mr Colten [i.e. Cotten] - age 90 - "Bandowick" Goulburne [Goulburn] Tribe. The oldest [aboriginal] in the Colony***

Date: **1866**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **approx. 10 x 6.7 cm, laid down on panels to form a composite image 101.2 x 146.8 cm**

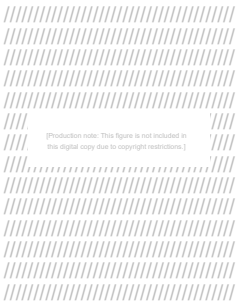
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Presented by the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Exhibition, Melbourne, 1866**

Identifying Numbers: **H91.1/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1792701***

Description: **portraits of [Aboriginals] Settled at Coranderrk, near Healesville; about 42 miles from Melbourne. Also views of the Station and [women] basket-making; Portrait of Baundaurrong, senior elder of the Taungurung. Half-length, full face, with beard, wearing a decorative cape**



SLV: 703142183.jpg

Artist: **Carl Walter**

Title: ***Mr King - age 63 - "Mussy Flundert" Chief of the Goulburne [Goulburn] Tribe***

Date: **1866**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **approx. 10 x 6.7 cm, laid down on panels to form a composite image 101.2 x 146.8 cm**

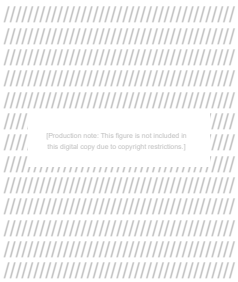
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Presented by the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Exhibition, Melbourne, 1866**

Identifying Numbers: **H91.1/3**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1792702***

Description: **portraits of [Aboriginals] Settled at Coranderrk, near Healesville; about 42 miles from Melbourne. Also views of the Station and [women] basket-making. Half-length, to left, with beard, wearing patterned cape around shoulders; Half-length, to left, with beard, wearing patterned cape around shoulders**



SLV: 703363019.jpg

Artist: **Carl Walter**

Title: ***Betty - age 20 - Johnny Webster's [woman] Goulbourne [Goulburn] Tribe***

Date: **1866**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **approx. 10 x 6.7 cm, laid down on panels to form a composite image 101.2 x 146.8 cm**

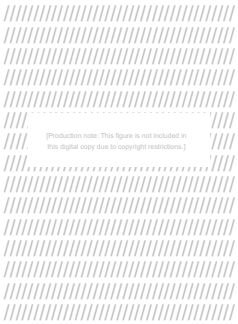
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Presented by the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Exhibition, Melbourne, 1866**

Identifying Numbers: **H91.1/49**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1792816***

Description: **portraits of [Aboriginals] Settled at Coranderrk, near Healesville; about 42 miles from Melbourne. Also views of the Station and [women] basket-making; Half-length, to right, wearing buttoned dress, hands clasped**



SLV: 703458685.jpg

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Native dignity***

Date: **1866**

Medium: **print: chalk lithograph with tint stone on buff paper**

Dimensions: **31 x 23.5 cm on sheet 41.8 x 27.5 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred; Rare Books collection; 1997**

Identifying Numbers: **H97.109/4**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1668708***

Description: **shows an Aboriginal Australian couple dressed in ragged cast-offs of European clothing; their attitude mimics the assurance of a well-dressed European couple. In the background, a respectable citizen, out walking with his wife, is horrified at this inversion of the proper order. The Aboriginal man meets the viewer's eye directly and confidently: despite the humorous intention of this print, it is one of the few depictions of urban Aboriginal Australian people, in the colonial period, which shows them as something other than objects of scorn or pity**

SLV: 702990325.jpg

Artist: **Ebenezer and David Syme, Melbourne (publisher)**

Title: ***GROG IN THE CAMP***

Date: **27 June 1866**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

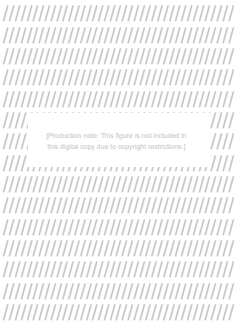
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IAN27/06/66/12**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1688719***

Description: **shows a group of aboriginals fighting and arguing; figures wear possum-skin cloaks or blankets**



SLWA: slwa_b4167025_1.jpg

Artist: **Alfred Hawes Stone**

Title: ***Daakin***

Date: **1866–68**

Medium: **digital image**

Dimensions: **N/A**

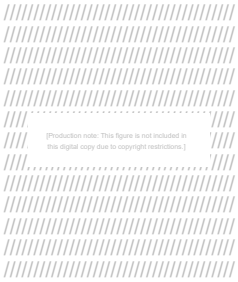
Collection: **State Library of Western Australia**

Purchased: **Digital image donated by Mrs Dorothy Croft**

Identifying Numbers: **6923B/26**

URL: ***https://catalogue.slwa.wa.gov.au/search/,?b4167025***

Description: **dressed in kangaroo skins; collection of photographs taken by A.H. Stone during the 1860s and featuring people, buildings and scenes in Perth**



NGA: 30241.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Mary - Ballarat tribe*** **[Leaf 3]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

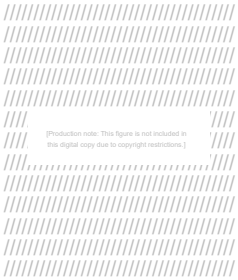
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.3**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30241***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal woman in a possum-skin cloak**



NGA: 30243.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***King William - Mount Cole tribe*** **[Leaf 4]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

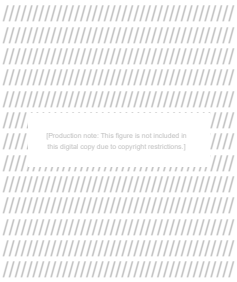
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.4**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30243***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal man in a possum-skin cloak**



NGA: 30244.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Eliza - Yarra tribe.*** **[Leaf 5]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

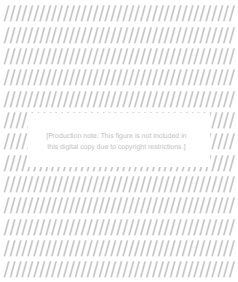
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.5**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30244***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal woman in a blanket**



NGA: 30246.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Rose - Ballarat tribe*** **[Leaf 7]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Kings, Queens etc."***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

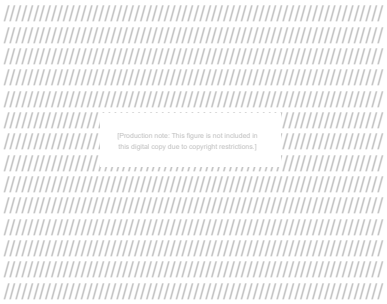
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.7**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30246***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal woman in a possum-skin cloak with child**



NGA: 30247.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***King Billy and his two wives.*** **[Leaf 8]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **6.6 x 10.2 cm (image)**

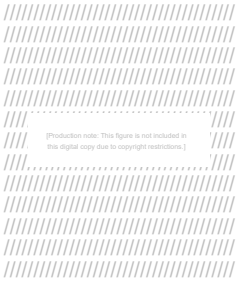
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.8**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30247***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting one Aboriginal man and two women, one in a possum-skin cloak and one in a blanket**



NGA: 30249.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Tom William - Echuca tribe*** **[Leaf 10]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

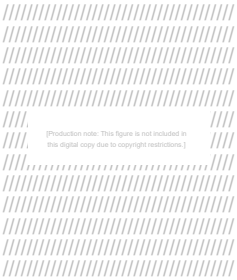
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.10**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30249***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal man in a blanket**



NGA: 30250.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Barker and son Heron - Bacchus Marsh tribe.*** **[Leaf 11]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals"***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

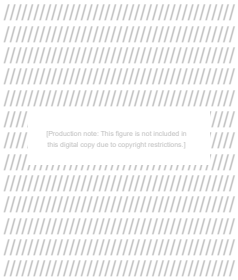
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.11**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30250***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal man in a possum-skin cloak and a child in a blanket**



NGA: 30251.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Dick - Goulburn tribe*** **[Leaf 12]: from a bound album entitled *"Souvenir. Album of Victorian Aboriginals, Kings, Queens etc."***

Date: **1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10.2 x 6.6 cm (image)**

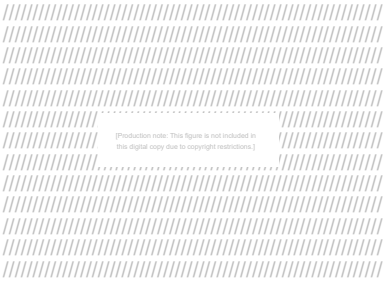
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1981**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 81.2444.12**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=30251***

Description: **photograph from album, carte-de-visite format, depicting an Aboriginal man in a blanket**



NGV: De103613.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***No title (Victorian Aborigines in front of mia-mia)***

Date: **c.1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **19.9 x 27.2 cm**

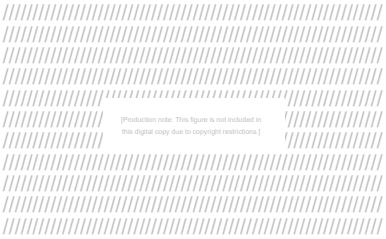
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Beryl M. Curl, 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **PH239-1979**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8822/***

Description: **photograph of a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks with the designed sides facing out**



NGV: De103649.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***No title (Victorian Aborigines and hunting implements)***

Date: **c.1866–87**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **13.2 x 20.2 cm**

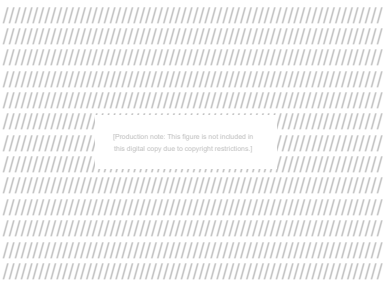
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Beryl M. Curl, 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **PH209-1979**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8789/***

Description: **photograph of a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: IAN20/04/67/1.png

Artist: **Ebenezer and David Syme, Melbourne (publisher)**

Title: ***SHOOTING WILD FOWL IN THE SWAMPS***

Date: **20 April 1867**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

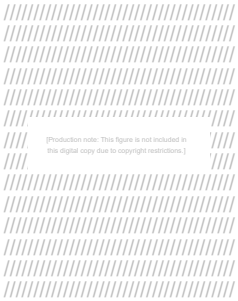
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IAN20/04/67/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1688908***

Description: **shows Aboriginal Australian man wrapped in cloak poling a row boat along a lake, another man is lying down on the floor of the boat shooting birds with a rifle**



NLA: nla.obj-138157208-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Victorian Aboriginal man, Neddy Mitchell in ca. 1869, wearing an animal skin cloak* from *Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.6 x 10.2 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

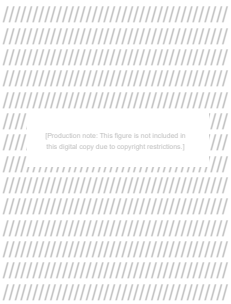
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138158452-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Studio portrait taken in ca. 1869 of King Billy, Barwidgee Tribe, wearing an animal skin cloak*** **from** ***Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.6 x 10 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

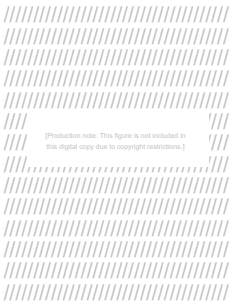
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138158619-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Studio portrait taken in ca. 1869 of Freddy Wheeler, a Victorian Aboriginal man standing with spears and a boomerang*** **from** ***Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.6 x 10 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

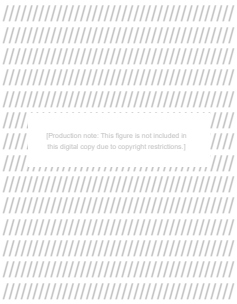
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138158773-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Studio portrait taken ca. 1869 of Victorian Aboriginal man, Freddy Wheeler sitting holding a boomerang*** **from** ***Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.7 x 10 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

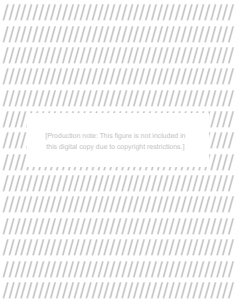
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138159097-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Portrait of a young Victorian Aboriginal woman ca. 1869, wearing an animal skin cloak* from *Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.6 x 10.1 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

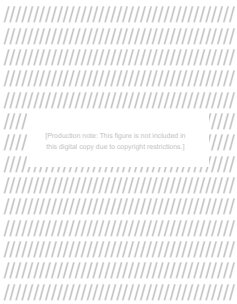
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138159253-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Studio portrait taken in ca. 1869 of Queen Mary of the Barwidgee, wearing an animal skin cloak*** **from** ***Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.6 x 10.1 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

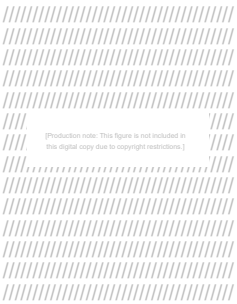
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138159410-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Victorian Aboriginal man, Neddy Mitchell in a studio portrait taken in ca. 1869, seated and wrapped in an animal skin cloak*** **from** ***Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.7 x 10 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

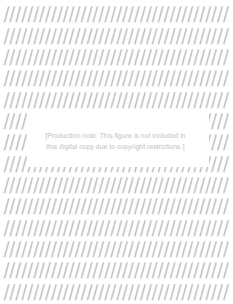
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-138159575-1.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Studio portrait taken in ca. 1869, of Queen Mary of the Barwidgee Tribe in Victoria, standing wrapped in an animal skin cloak holding a digging stick and a woven basket*** **from** ***Album of photographic portraits of Australian Aboriginal men and women***

Date: **c.1869 (album c.1890)**

Medium: **album (14 photographs): albumen**

Dimensions: **14.5 x 10 cm (image), 16.5 x 10.6 cm (on cabinet card)**

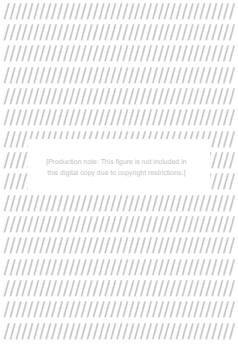
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/15590/1-14 LOC Album 1169, nla.obj-152857589**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-152857589***

Description: **album of photographs depicting Aboriginal men and women wearing animal-skin cloaks**



MV: XP 1893.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Susannah and Jerry, possibly taken in the Camperdown/Colac district, Victoria***

Date: **before 1870**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

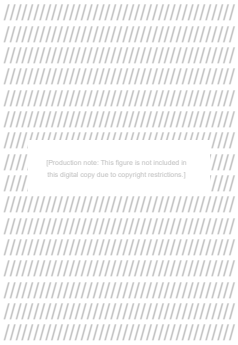
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1893**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman and man; the man wears a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



MV: XP 1914.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Camperdown George at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **before 1870**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

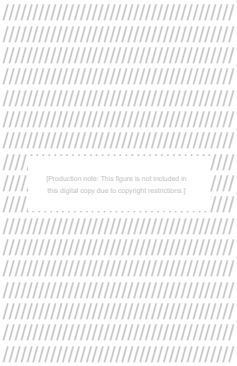
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Board for the Protection of Aborigines Photographic Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1914**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 703250821.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Queen Mary, Barwidgee Tribe, Victoria***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

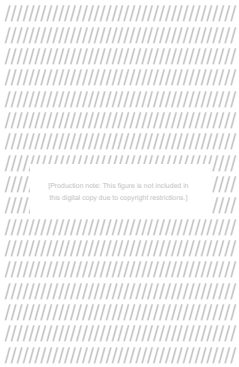
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1563**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801716***

Description: **studio portrait, full-length, of an Aboriginal Australian woman wearing an animal fur garment and holding a stick in one hand and woven basket in the other. Behind and next to her are gumtree branches**



SLV: 702616787.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***Freddy Wheeler, an Aboriginal Australian man***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

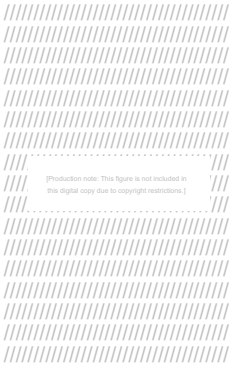
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1566**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801727***

Description: **a studio portrait photograph, half-length seated, of Freddy Wheeler, an Aboriginal Australian man from Victoria, wearing an animal fur garment**



SLV: 703250822.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***King Billy, Barwidgee Tribe, Victoria***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

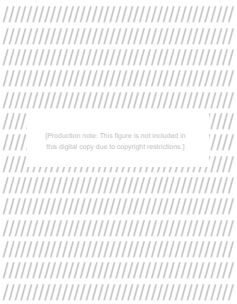
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1568**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801720***

Description: **studio portrait, full-length, of an Aboriginal Australian man wearing an animal fur garment and holding a thin shield. Behind him are gumtree branches and a dead fox hanging from wooden spears**



SLV: 70362827.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***[Aboriginal Australian woman and child]***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

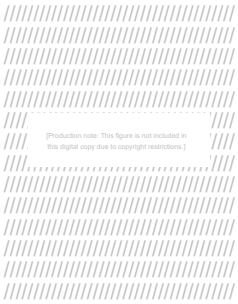
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1559**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801712***

Description: **studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian woman and a child, seated on a log, with fur garment around them. She has a woven basket at her feet to left and gumtree branches on either side**



SLV: 70362830.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***[Aboriginal Australian men with hunting implements]***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

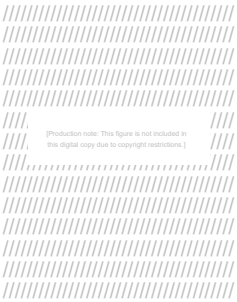
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1560**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801722***

Description: **three studio portrait photographs, full-length, of Aboriginal Australian men wearing animal fur garments and holding various hunting implements such as spears and boomerangs. Behind them are logs and gumtree branches**



SLV: 70362832.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***[Aboriginal Australian men with hunting implements]***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

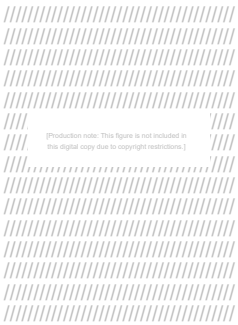
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1562**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801722***

Description: **Three studio portrait photographs, full-length, of Aboriginal Australian men wearing animal fur garments atd holding various hunting implements such as spears and boomerangs. Behind them are logs and gumtree branches**



SLV: 70362833.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***[Aboriginal Australian men with hunting implements]***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

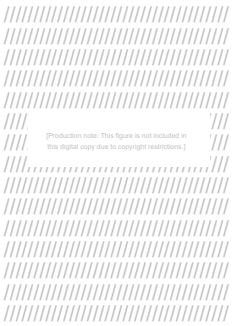
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1565**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801722***

Description: **three studio portrait photographs, full-length, of Aboriginal Australian men wearing animal fur garments and holding various hunting implements such as spears and boomerangs. Behind them are logs and gumtree branches**



SLV: 70362834.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***[Photographs of Neddy Mitchell]***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

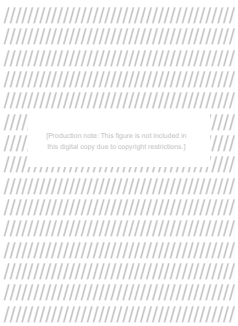
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1558**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801724***

Description: **two studio portrait photographs, one half and one full-length seated, of Neddy Mitchell, an Aboriginal Australian man from Victoria. He wears an animal fur garment and has gumtree branches behind him**



SLV: 70362835.jpg

Artist: **Thomas J. Washbourne**

Title: ***[Photographs of Neddy Mitchell]***

Date: **1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **10 x 6 cm**

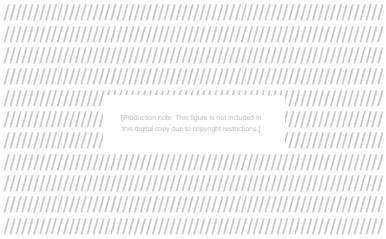
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/1567**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1801724***

Description: **two studio portrait photographs, one half and one full-length seated, of Neddy Mitchell, an Aboriginal Australian man from Victoria. He wears an animal fur garment and has gumtree branches behind him**



SLSA: PRG-1258-2-2351.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Two Aborigines in a bark canoe by the riverbank***

Date: **c.1870**

Medium: **photoprint**

Dimensions: **15 x 10 cm**

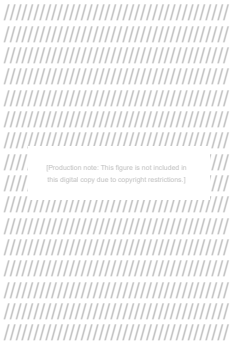
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Godson Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **PRG 1258/2/2351, (Godson number 118A/5)**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1258/2/2351***

Description: **two Aboriginal people in a bark canoe close to the river bank on the Murray, in the Moorundie area. The man standing is dressed in a fur cloak made of possum skins and is propelling the canoe with a long pole**



SLQ: w920.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Aboriginal woman wearing fur***

Date: **c.1870**

Medium: **photographic print, black and white**

Dimensions: **N/A**

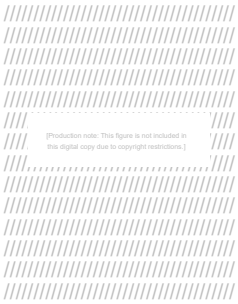
Collection: **John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Record nos 99183513278902061, 21220272960002061, Negative no. 33800**

URL: ***https://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/261391***

Description: **one of the few photographs of an unnamed Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak in South East Queensland**



SLV: 703372089.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***[Aboriginal Australian woman standing by a river with her tools and implements.]***

Date: **c.1870**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **27.2 x 20 cm approx. on mount**

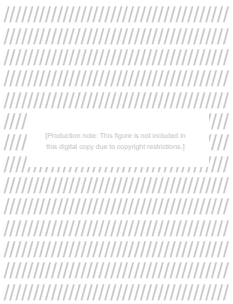
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H39299**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1716737***

Description: **elevated view of a river running through pasture land, on the right an Aboriginal Australian woman standing wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, implements propped on the ground beside her**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-4.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***1. Bushy-haired bearded man seated***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

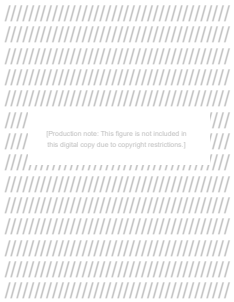
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-4**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **this collection was gifted to the gallery from Sam and Janet Cullen and family by the Friends of the Gallery and Ian and Florence Robinson. The collection forms a group of historically important photographs of the Clarence Valley. Lindt was one of the first photographers to use the camera creatively; to move beyond recording to make evocative pictures that are referred to as pictorialism; photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-5.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***2. Bearded man standing***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

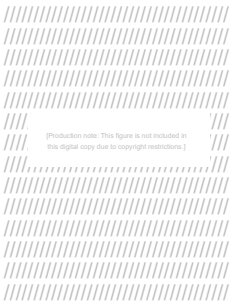
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-5**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-7.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***4. Bushy bearded man standing***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

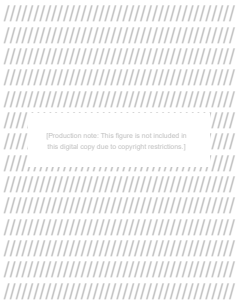
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-7**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-13.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***9. Snowy and his gin***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

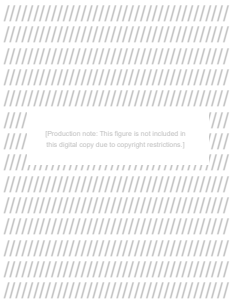
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-13**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal woman (seated) and man, who wears an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-14.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***10. Two warriors***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

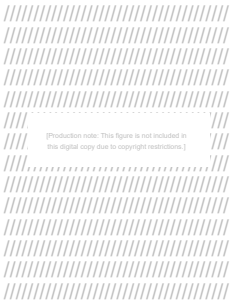
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-14**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal men; man on right wears a blanket, on left an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-18.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***14. Four generations***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

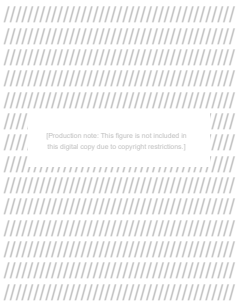
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-18**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of Aboriginal women wearing blankets as cloaks**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-20.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***16. Older man with a scarified chest seated holding a fishing net***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

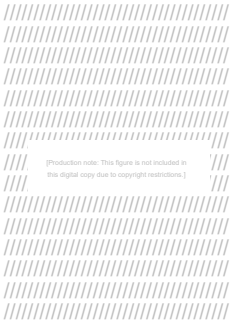
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-20**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-21.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***17. King Charley of Ulmarra with his mother and gin***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

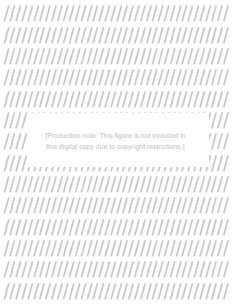
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-21**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal family wearing animal skins and blankets**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-24.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***20. Man wearing a headdress with a snake***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

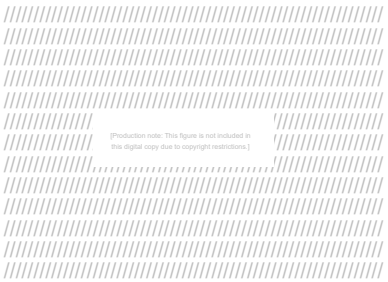
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-24**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing a blanket**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-25.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***21. Reclining man***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **15 x 20 cm**

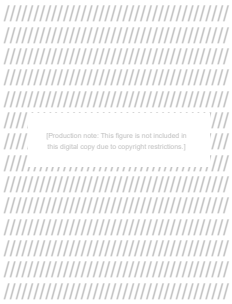
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-25**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-26.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***22. Two stalwart men of the coastal tribe***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

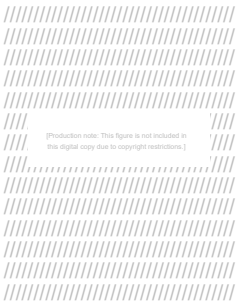
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-26**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal men wearing an animal skin (left) and western trousers (right)**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-27.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***23. Two coastal men, one standing one reclining***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

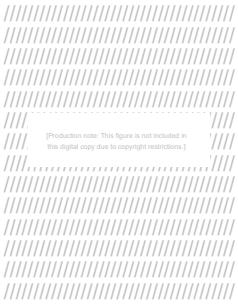
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-27**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal men wearing an animal skin (left) and western trousers (right)**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-28.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***24. Elderly man seated***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

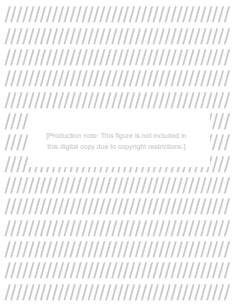
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-28**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing a blanket**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-29.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***25. Seated grey bearded man***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

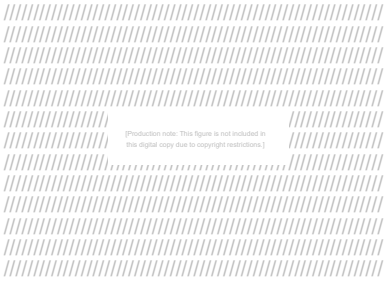
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-29**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-30.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***26. Seated man holding a fishing net***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **15 x 20 cm**

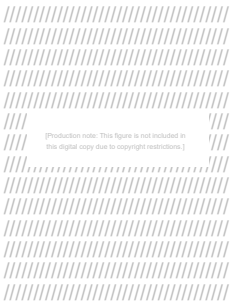
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-30**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-31.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***27. Boy seated on a rock***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

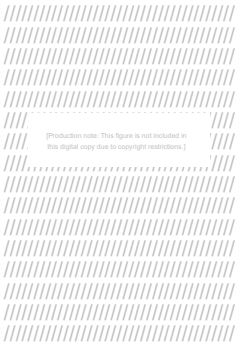
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-31**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal boy wearing a blanket**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-32.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***28. Orara William***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

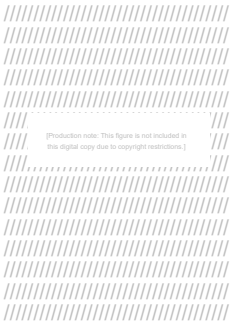
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-32**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



Grafton Regional Gallery: 2005-34.png

Artist: **John William Lindt**

Title: ***30. Seated man with two boomerangs***

Date: **1870–73**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **20 x 15 cm**

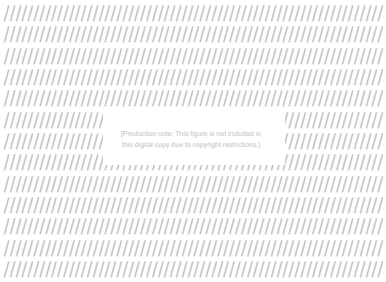
Collection: **Grafton Regional Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Sam and Janet Cullen and family, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2005-34**

URL:
http://collection.graftongallery.nsw.gov.au/artwork.asp?collection=teJohnWilliamLindtCollection

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a2822650h.jpg

Artist: **American & Australasian Photographic Company**

Title: ***Miner's camp, Hill End***

Date: **1870–75**

Medium: **glass photonegative**

Dimensions: **N/A**

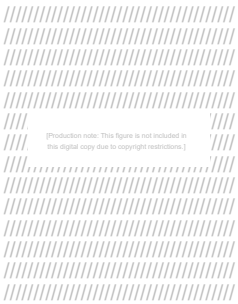
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **ON 4 Box 8 No 18765, Reference code 62617, Home and Away – 39339, IE1235551, FL1235564, Digital order no. a2822650**

URL: ***http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110040433***

Description: **photograph of gold miners in their camp; figure second from left wears a possum-skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-140830195-1.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian man holding an axe with shield at his feet***

Date: **1870–79**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **19.8 x 14.4 cm (image)**

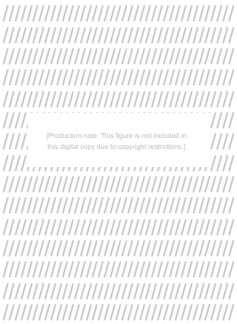
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/6126/7 LOC Album 392a, nla.obj-140830195**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-140830195***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



NLA: nla.obj-140830390-1.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Aboriginal Australian man and two women reclining by his side***

Date: **1870–79**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **19.8 x 14.4 cm (image)**

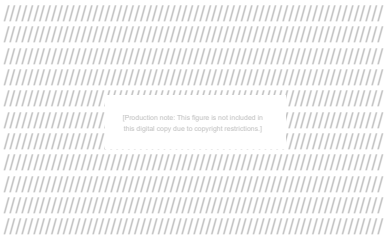
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/6126/9 LOC Album 392a, nla.obj-140830390**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-140830390***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal family wearing animal skins and blankets**



MV: XP 1878.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***William Phillips with his wives Rose and Mary at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1870s**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

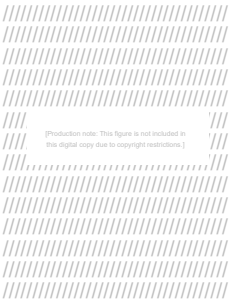
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Board for the Protection of Aborigines Photographic Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1878**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal family; the women wear possum-skin cloaks**



SLNSW: a7117003h.jpg

Artist: **Henry King**

Title: ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines***

Date: **c.1870–80**

Medium: **photographic prints – albumen**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

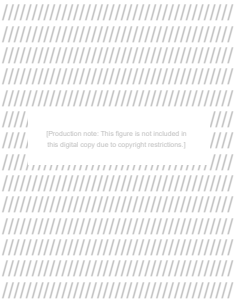
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 434, Reference code 844720, IE524790, FL524861, Digital order no. Album ID 1012382, a7117003h**

URL:
http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110336893?_ga=2.192761578.1380851866.1500086369-517118067.1478474437

Description: **the collection includes eight portraits of Australian aborigines, most of which are posed studio portraits, and three views of fish traps on the Darling river, New South Wales; photograph of two Aboriginal men wearing animal skins**



SLNSW: a7117004h.jpg

Artist: **Henry King**

Title: ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines***

Date: **c.1870–80**

Medium: **photographic prints – albumen**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

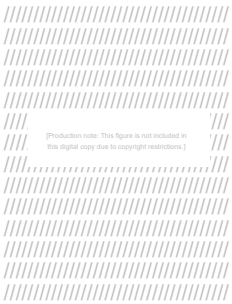
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 434, Reference code 844720, IE524790, FL524863, Digital order no. Album ID 1012382, a7117004h**

URL:
http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110336893?_ga=2.192761578.1380851866.1500086369-517118067.1478474437

Description: **the collection includes eight portraits of Australian aborigines, most of which are posed studio portraits, and three views of fish traps on the Darling river, New South Wales; photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a7117005h.jpg

Artist: **Henry King**

Title: ***Photographs of Australian Aborigines***

Date: **c.1870–80**

Medium: **photographic prints – albumen**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

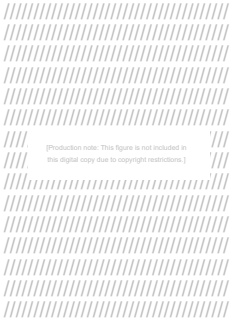
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PXA 434, Reference code 844720, IE524790, FL524865, Digital order no. Album ID 1012382, a7117005h**

URL:
http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110336893?_ga=2.192761578.1380851866.1500086369-517118067.1478474437

Description: **the collection includes eight portraits of Australian aborigines, most of which are posed studio portraits, and three views of fish traps on the Darling river, New South Wales; photograph of an Aboriginal woman wearing an animal skin**



MV: XP 2145.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***A woman preparing possum skins, Victoria***

Date: **1872**

Medium: **albumen print**

Dimensions: **N/A**

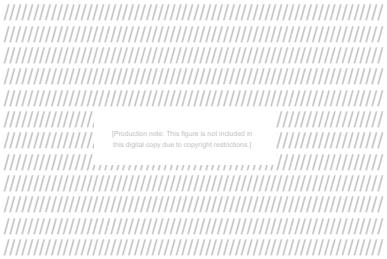
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Reynell E. Johns Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2145**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



MV: XP 2148.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Two women displaying use of digging sticks and a man outside a shelter, Gippsland, Victoria***

Date: **1872**

Medium: **albumen print, adhered to standard cardboard stock**

Dimensions: **N/A**

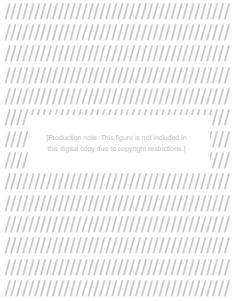
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Reynell E. Johns Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2148**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting two Aboriginal women and a man; the women wear possum-skin cloaks, with the designed side facing out**



NLA: nla.obj-140829648-1.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian man wearing an animal skin and with a shield at his feet***

Date: **c.1873**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **19.8 x 14.4 cm (image)**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/6126/2 LOC Album 392a, nla.obj-140829648**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-140829648***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man in an animal skin**

NLA: nla.obj-140830497-1.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian man with boomerangs and a net***

Date: **c.1873**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **14.4 x 19.7 cm (image)**

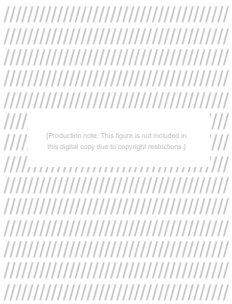
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/6126/10 LOC Album 392a, nla.obj-140830497**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-140830497***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man in an animal skin**



NLA: nla.obj-140830692-1.jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian man and woman with hunting weapons and a dead kangaroo***

Date: **c.1873**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **19.6 x 4.4 cm (image)**

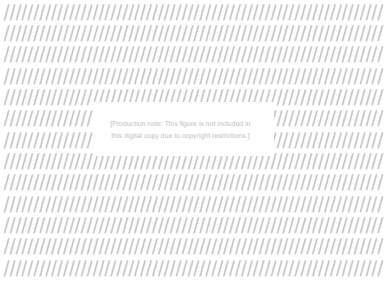
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/6126/12 LOC Album 392a, nla.obj-140830692**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-140830692***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal woman and man, who wears an animal skin**



SLQ: Blanket distribution in Brisbane 1874.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Blanket distribution in Brisbane***

Date: **1874**

Medium: **black-and-white copy print**

Dimensions: **N/A**

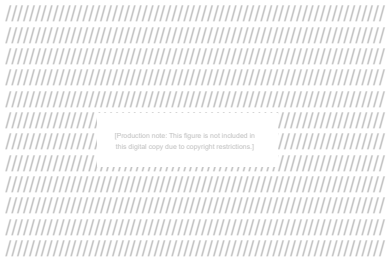
Collection: **John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Record no. 42511, Negative no. 4732**

URL: ***http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/142832***

Description: **ceremony of presenting blankets to local Aborigines 24/5/1874**



NLA: nla.news-article70473394.5.jpg

Artist: **Australian Town and Country Journal**

Title: ***Preparing for a corroboree***

Date: **28 March 1874**

Medium: **engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

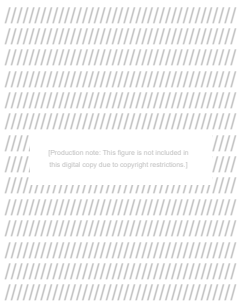
Collection: **via Trove, National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article70473394***

Description: **published in the *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 28 March 1874, p. 508; depicts an Aboriginal family, two figures wear skin cloaks**



SLSA: PRG-1258-2-1950.jpeg

Artist: **Captain Sweet**

Title: ***Point McLeay Aboriginal man with spear and throwing stick***

Date: **c.1875**

Medium: **photoprint**

Dimensions: **10 x 13 cm**

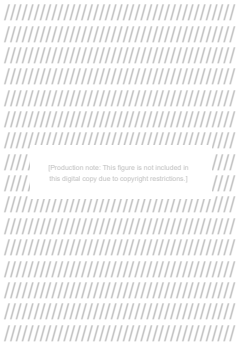
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Godson Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **PRG 1258/2/1950, (Godson number 217A/4)**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1258/2/1950***

Description: **Point McLeay Aboriginal man with throwing stick, spear, shield and kangaroo skin cloak, photographed by Captain Sweet, presumably in Point McLeay area**



SLSA: PRG-1258-2-2024.jpeg

Artist: **(photographer probably) Captain Samuel Sweet**

Title: ***Aboriginal man dressed in kangaroo skins with shield and weapon***

Date: **c.1875**

Medium: **photoprint**

Dimensions: **10 x 15 cm**

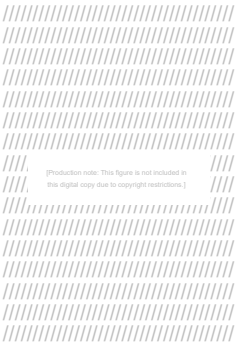
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Godson Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **PRG 1258/2/2024, (Godson number 28A/18)**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1258/2/2024***

Description: **Aboriginal man wearing kangaroo skin dress, carrying a shield and weapon called ‘Mypundi’, and posed for the photograph on a grassy and treeless plain**



SLSA: PRG-1258-2-2025.jpeg

Artist: **(photographer probably) Captain Samuel Sweet**

Title: ***Aboriginal warrior dressed in skins and carrying weapons***

Date: **c.1875**

Medium: **photoprint**

Dimensions: **10 x 15 cm**

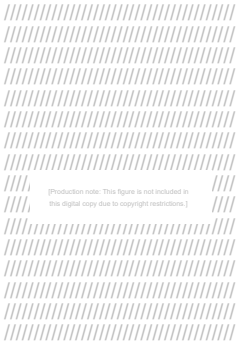
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Godson Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **PRG 1258/2/2025, (Godson number 29A/19, 28A/33)**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1258/2/2025***

Description: **Aboriginal man posed to face the camera, dressed in skins, and carrying a bent weapon and a spear. Caption does not provide details of personal name but S.A. Museum has his name as 'Pelican'. Bent weapon is 'Mypundi', the other is 'Plongie'. Photograph probably by Captain Sweet, presumbably in Point McLeay area**



SLSA: PRG-1258-2-2026.jpeg

Artist: **(photographer probably) Captain Samuel Sweet**

Title: ***Aboriginal woman and child wearing a kangaroo skin cloak***

Date: **c.1875**

Medium: **photoprint**

Dimensions: **10 x 15 cm**

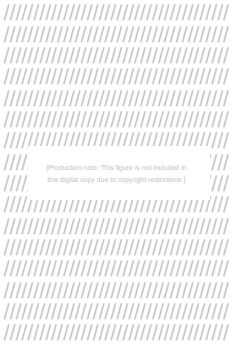
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Godson Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **PRG 1258/2/2026, (Godson number 28A/34)**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1258/2/2026***

Description: **portrait of an Aboriginal woman 'Teenminnie', in profile, carrying her small child on her back, both wrapped in a kangaroo skin cloak, and she has a walking stick. Photographer was probably Captain Samuel Sweet and the location was probably in Point McLeay Region. A later caption provides the name 'Narahminyerie'. She was the first Aboriginal woman convert to Christianity**



MV: XP 1889.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Lizzie/Eliza at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1875–76**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

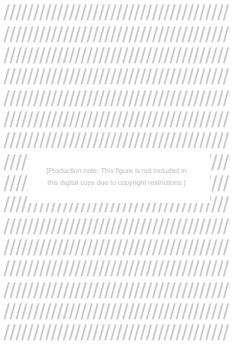
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Board for the Protection of Aborigines Photographic Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1889**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



SLSA: B-28493-21.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

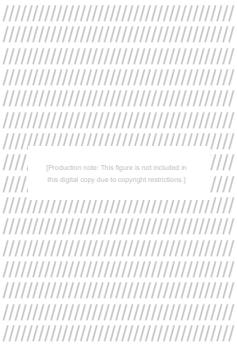
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/21**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/21***

Description: **portrait of an aboriginal woman wearing a blanket. During their visit to South Australia in June 1881, the Princes Albert Victor and George called briefly at Point McLeay. According to the newspapers of the day, the Princes were greeted there by a small group of Aboriginal people, before they travelled on to Mr Bowman's 'Campbell House' near Meningie, where they experienced a kangaroo hunt and a corroboree. About 250 aboriginal people from the tribes of the Lower Lakes were taken there by boat for the occasion**



SLSA: B-28493-22.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

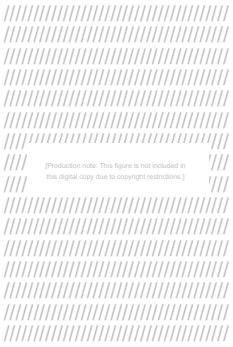
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/22**

URL: ***https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/22***

Description: **Aboriginal woman in a woollen shawl, nursing a white baby**



SLSA: B-28493-29.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

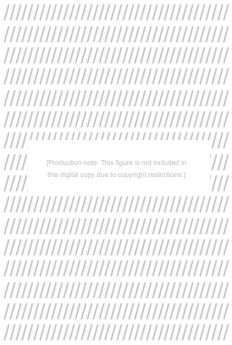
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/29**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/29***

Description: **studio portrait of an aboriginal woman in a cloak made from a woollen blanket, with a baby on her back**



SLSA: B-28493-30.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

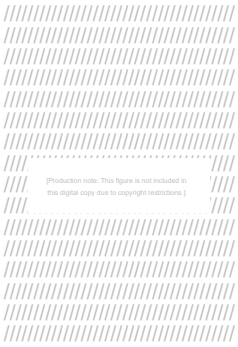
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/30**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/30***

Description: **formal studio portrait of an aboriginal man and woman in traditional animal-skin clothing, holding aboriginal weapons and implements**



SLSA: B-28493-32.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

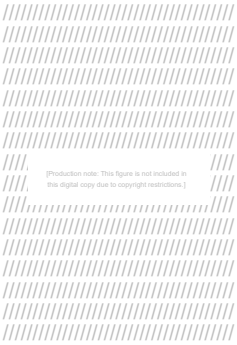
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/32**

URL: ***https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/32***

Description: **formal studio portrait of a woman in kangaroo skin garment, with a child at her back, holding an aboriginal implement**



SLSA: B-28493-33.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

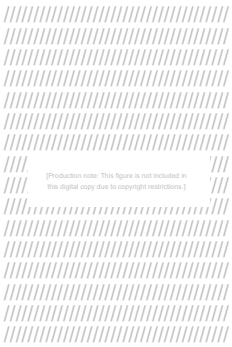
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/33**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/33***

Description: **studio portrait of a young aboriginal woman and a small girl in European style clothing. The woman has a cloak made from a woollen blanket, held in place at the shoulders by a piece of rope**



SLSA: B-28493-42.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

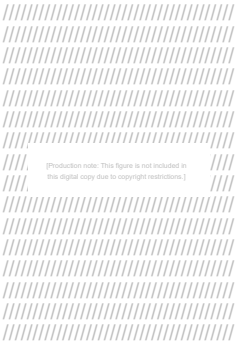
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/42**

URL: ***https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/42***

Description: **studio portrait of young aboriginal woman in animal skin garment with a young child at her back. The woman is holding what may be a digging stick and is pictured with a woven basket and other aboriginal implement**



SLSA: B-28493-46.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Album of views in and around Adelaide, including some portraits of Aboriginal people***

Date: **c.1875–90**

Medium: **sepia photograph**

Dimensions: **various sizes**

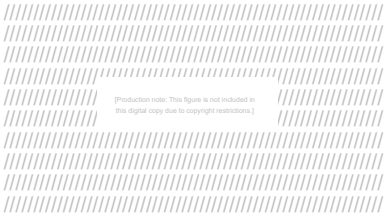
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Album Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **B 28493/46**

URL: ***https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+28493/46***

Description: **posed studio portrait of an aboriginal man with a long beard wearing an animal-skin cloak, holding a raised fighting stick and small shield**



NGV: 2004.159.png

Artist: **J.H. Carse**

Title: ***(The Weatherboard Falls, Blue Mountains)***

Date: **1876**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **61.4 x 107 cm**

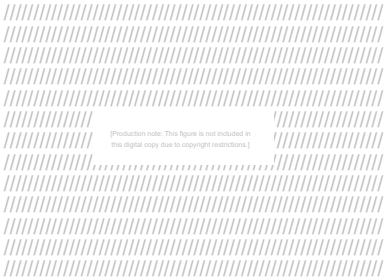
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **The Joseph Brown Collection. Presented through the NGV Foundation by Dr Joseph Brown AO OBE, Honorary Life Benefactor, 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **2004.159**

URL: ***https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/75829/***

Description: **painting of a landscape; Aboriginal figures at right wear skin cloaks and/or blankets**



SLV: 702840479.jpg

Artist: **Samuel Calvert**

Title: ***HAWKERS AT THE ABORIGINAL STATION, CORANDERRK***

Date: **12 June 1876**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

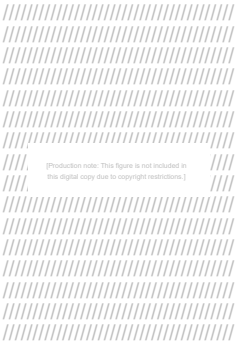
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IAN10/07/76/108**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1771217***

Description: **wood engraving published in *The Illustrated Australian News*; depicts 'outfitters' selling wares to Aboriginal residents of Coranderrk; two Aboriginal people in the foreground wear possum-skin cloaks and/or blankets**



MV: XP 1814.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Man displaying artefacts at Coranderrk Mission Station***

Date: **c.1876**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

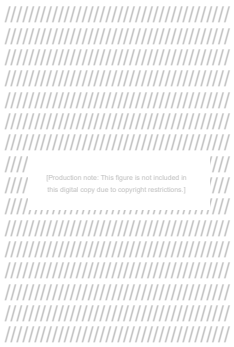
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Board for the Protection of Aborigines Photographic Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1814**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



MV: XP 1810.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Jemima of the Goulburn Tribe, at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1876–77**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

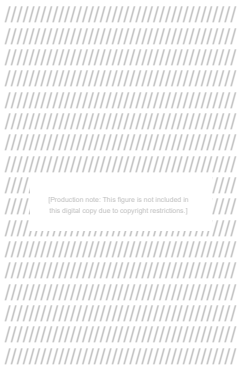
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1810**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman and child wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



MV: XP 1828.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Ellen Richards with unidentified child at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1876–77**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

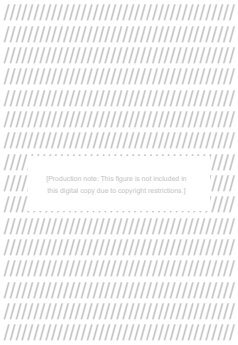
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1828**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman and child wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



MV: XP 1892.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Unidentified man and child at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1876–77**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

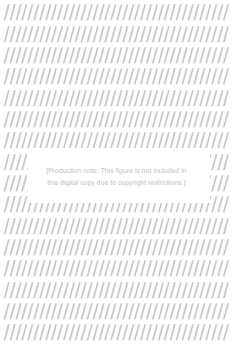
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **Board for the Protection of Aborigines Photographic Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1892**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal man and child; the man wears a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**



MV: XP 1899.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Jemima Lanky at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1876–77**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

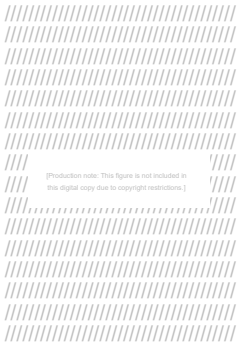
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1899**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak**



MV: XP 1907.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Maria Wonga/Carngham at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1876–77**

Medium: **albumen print, carte de visite format**

Dimensions: **N/A**

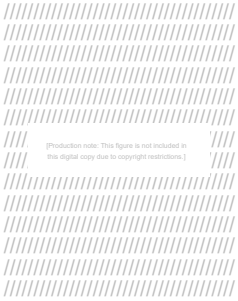
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 1907**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman and child wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



NGV: De103612.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Victorian Aboriginals' war implements, Coranderrk***

Date: **c.1877**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **27.2 x 19.9 cm (image)**

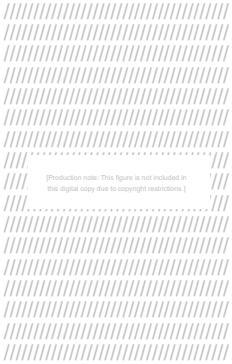
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Beryl M. Curl, 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **PH226-1979**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8807/***

Description: **Coranderrk, Victoria; printed in ink on accompanying paper label: Victorian Aboriginals' War Implements; possum-skin cloak pictured in foreground**



SLV: 703660379.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Maria***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **photographic print on carte de visite mount: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **10.4 x 6.2 cm**

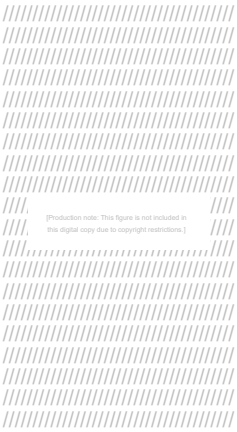
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss D. Shingler; 1985**

Identifying Numbers: **H90.64/4**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3256226***

Description: **portrait of an Aboriginal Australian woman: Whole-length, to left, standing, wearing European dress with skin cloak over right shoulder, and holding a long staff**



SLV: 703484335.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Colac Tribe—Yammerrwing***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9 x 5 cm**

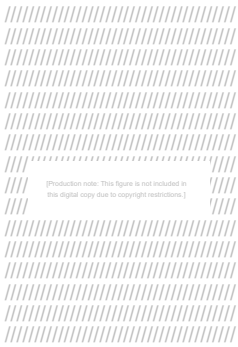
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2999330***

Description: **studio portrait of a woman: whole-length, full face, bare breasted with sarong around waist, seated on a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 703484336.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***War implements***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **12.5 x 8.2 cm**

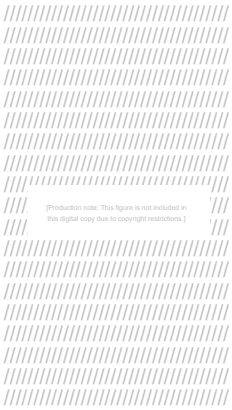
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/2**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2999332***

Description: **various Aboriginal Australian tools and implements mounted for display. Not all war implements, some are dilly bags, food receptacles and decorated panels**



SLV: 703484337.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Timboon Tribe—Camperdown George***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.5 x 5.3 cm**

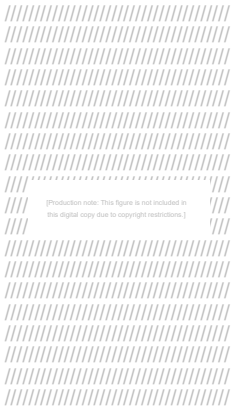
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/3**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2999340***

Description: **Studio portrait of a man: Whole-length, to right, white mutton chop whiskers, seated wrapped in a possum-skin cloak -- Whole-length, full face, grey beard, wrapped in quilted fabric, standing in outdoor setting, holding a staff, trees and paddocks behind him -- Half-length, to left, full grey beard, bare chest. Wombeetch Puyuun the last of the Liwura Gundidj people to live on his ancestral land at Camperdown**



SLV: 703484338.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Mount Cole Tribe—King William***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 5.2 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/4**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2999345***

Description: **studio portrait of a man: Whole-length, full face, beard, standing, wearing a European shirt, wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, holding spears in right hand and a boomerang in left, semi circular breast plate around his neck**

SLV: 703484339.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Ballarat Tribe—King Billy & his two wives***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **5.7 x 9.2 cm**

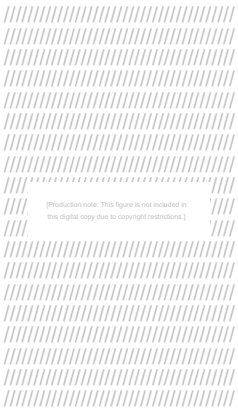
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/5 (with H41139/73)**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2999469***

Description: **man in European coat and pants seated on a blanket on the ground, two women, wrapped in possum-skin cloaks, seated on either side of him; bark shelter behind them -- Man in European clothes seated on a wooden bench, two women, wrapped in possum-skin cloaks, seated on either side of him, a bark hut behind them**



SLV: 703484340.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Yarra Yarra Tribe—Queen Eliza***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/6**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2999474***

Description: **studio portrait of a woman: Whole-length, almost full face, standing wrapped in a possum skin coat over European dress, holding a staff**

SLV: H41139/7.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Mia Mia, Ballarat Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **5.7 x 9.2 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/7**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2999479***

Description: **bark shelter with two women seated on ground and a man standing between them, wrapped in a possum skin and holding a spear**

SLV: H41139/8.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Mia Mia, Yarra Yarra Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **5.7 x 9.2 cm**

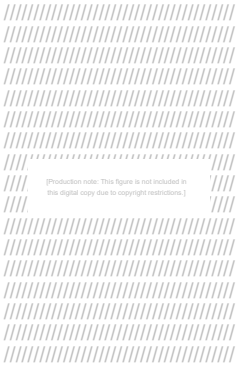
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/8**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2999482***

Description: **bark shelter with man and a group of children gathered in front, a woman seated at side of shelter on left, paddocks and houses with bark roofs in background**



SLV: 703491080.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Studio portraits of Aboriginal Australians, Goulburn & Echuca Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

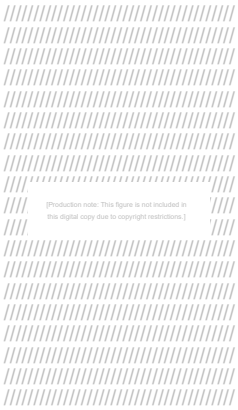
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/18**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000072***

Description: **Terrick & Gillman: Whole-length, to left, beards, man on left wearing headband, standing, wearing possum skins (?) around their shoulders, both holding spears**



SLV: 703491081.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Studio portraits of Aboriginal Australians, Goulburn & Echuca Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

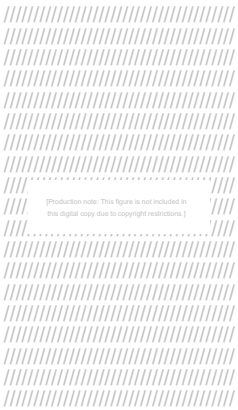
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/20**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000072***

Description: **Dick Richard: Whole-length, to left, full beard, standing, wrapped in a possum skin, holding boomerang and spear**



SLV: 703491082.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Studio portraits of Aboriginal Australians, Goulburn & Echuca Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

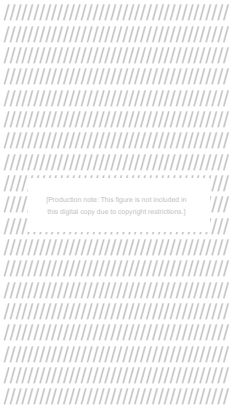
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/21**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000072***

Description: **Tom Banfield & children: Man, whole-length, to right, beard, band around forehead, wrapped in possum-skin cloak, standing between two children, both wrapped in blankets**



SLV: 703491083.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Studio portraits of Aboriginal Australians, Goulburn & Echuca Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

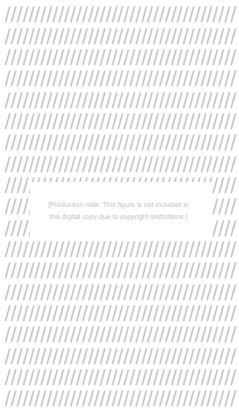
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/22**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000072***

Description: **Dick: Whole-length, to right, standing wrapped in a blanket, holding boomerang and spear or staff**



SLV: 703484365.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Marie, Ballarat Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

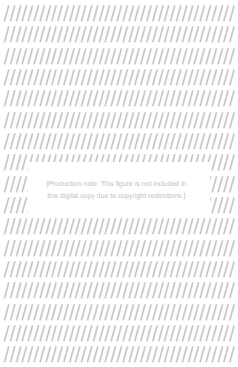
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/26**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000220***

Description: **studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian woman: Whole-length, to left, wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, standing holding a staff and boomerang, woven baskets and boomerang at her feet**



SLV: 703485599.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Hariet & Rose, Goulburn & Ballarat Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

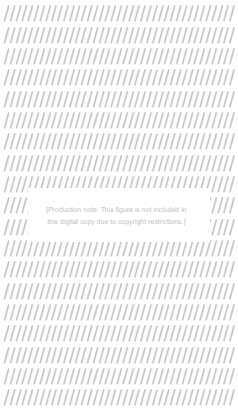
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/27**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000224***

Description: **studio portrait of two Aboriginal Australian women: Whole-length, woman on left wrapped in a blanket, with dilly bag over her shoulder, woman on right, wrapped in a possum-skin cloak, standing holding a staff, a baby on her back also wrapped in a fur**



SLV: 703499993.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Timboon Tribe—Camperdown George***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9 x 5.3 cm**

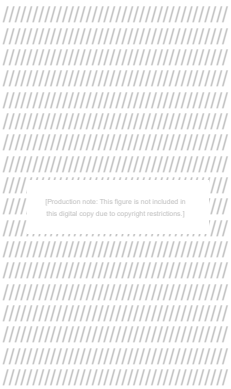
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/36 (with H41139/3)**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2999340***

Description: **studio portrait of a man: Whole-length, to right, white mutton chop whiskers, seated wrapped in a possum-skin cloak -- Whole-length, full face, grey beard, wrapped in quilted fabric, standing in outdoor setting, holding a staff, trees and paddocks behind him -- Half-length, to left, full grey beard, bare chest. Wombeetch Puyuun the last of the Liwura Gundidj people to live on his ancestral land at Camperdown**



SLV: 703491084.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Studio portraits of Aboriginal Australians, Goulburn & Echuca Tribe***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **9.2 x 5.7 cm**

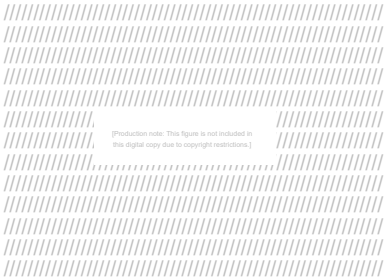
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/52**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER3000072***

Description: **Tom Gillman, Echuca Tribe: Whole-length, to left, standing, wrapped in skin and quilted fabric, holding a boomerang and staff**



SLV: 703494523.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Ballarat Tribe—King Billy & his two wives***

Date: **1878?**

Medium: **albumen black-and-white photographic print**

Dimensions: **5.7 x 9.2 cm**

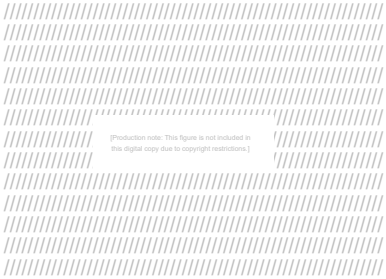
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift; Miss Silvie Taggart; 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **H41139/73 (with H41139/5)**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER2999469***

Description: **man in European coat and pants seated on a blanket on the ground, two women, wrapped in possum-skin cloaks, seated on either side of him; bark shelter behind them -- Man in European clothes seated on a wooden bench, two women, wrapped in possum-skin cloaks, seated on either side of him, a bark hut behind them**



NLA: nla.news-page000026852402-nla.news-article244700365-L3-dfabb12a9acf18c66ab15651232af970-0001.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***The Tasmanian Court at the Sydney Exhibition***

Date: **25 October 1879**

Medium: **engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

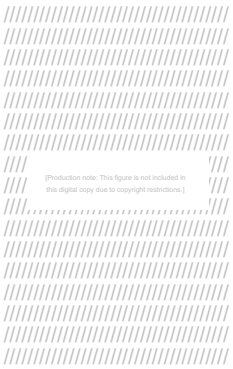
Collection: **via Trove, National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article244700365***

Description: **published in *The Australasian Sketcher*, 25 October 1879; depicts the Tasmanian Court at the Sydney International Exhibition at the Garden Palace, over 1879–82; the back wall of the court is hung with possum skins**



AGSA: 41468-WR-20087G541-3.c82cf3f.jpg

Artist: **Yertabrida Solomon (Ngarrindjeri), Frazer S. Crawford (lithographer)**

Title: ***no. 1 - Hunting party; no. 2 - Hunting scene; no. 3 - Native encampment***

Date: **1879**

Medium: **three lithographs on paper**

Dimensions: **37.7 x 19.5 cm (sheet, overall)**

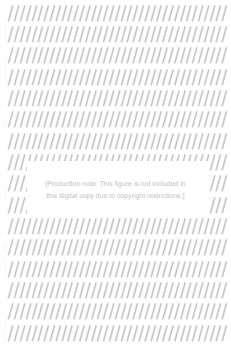
Collection: **Art Gallery of South Australia**

Purchased: **J.C. Earl Bequest Fund 2008**

Identifying Numbers: **20087G54(1-3)**

URL: ***https://www.agsa.sa.gov.au/collection-publications/collection/works/no-1-hunting-party-no-2-hunting-scene-no-3-native-encampment/29648/***

Description: **lithographs of various scenes featuring Aboriginal people; figures throughout wear animal-skin cloaks**



AGSA: 41470-WR-20087G561-3.eb5cbdd.jpg

Artist: **Yertabrida Solomon (Ngarrindjeri), Frazer S. Crawford (lithographer)**

Title: ***no. 7 - Hunting kangaroo; no. 8 - Group of animals; no. 9 - Group of warriors***

Date: **1879**

Medium: **three lithographs on paper**

Dimensions: **37.6 x 20.1 cm (sheet, overall)**

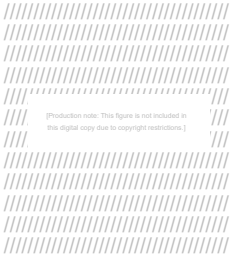
Collection: **Art Gallery of South Australia**

Purchased: **J.C. Earl Bequest Fund 2008**

Identifying Numbers: **20087G56(1-3)**

URL: ***https://www.agsa.sa.gov.au/collection-publications/collection/works/no-7-hunting-kangaroo-no-8-group-of-animals-no-9-group-of-warriors/29646/***

Description: **lithographs of various scenes featuring Aboriginal people; figures throughout wear animal-skin cloaks**



NGA: 2227

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Dancers and women in possum-skin cloaks***

Date: **1880s**

Medium: **drawings, drawing in charcoal and natural earth pigments, over black pencil; paper mounted on paper**

Dimensions: **25.8 x 19.6 cm (image)**

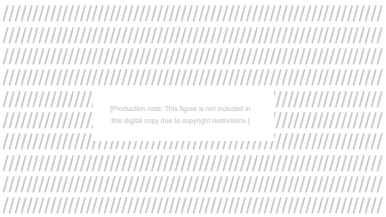
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Gift of John Harris, 1994**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 94.1262**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=2227***

Description: **drawing depicting figures in possum-skin cloaks**



NGV: 3135-4.png

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***The inquiry***

Date: **(1880s)**

Medium: **watercolour with gum arabic and scratching out over pencil**

Dimensions: **38.2 x 65 cm (image)**

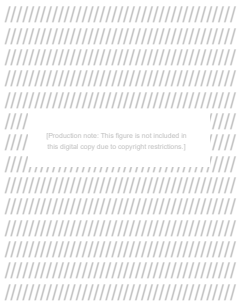
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1954**

Identifying Numbers: **3135-4**

URL: ***https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/27198/***

Description: **drawing of exchange between group of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people; Aboriginal figures at left wear skin cloaks**



NMA: rg_18179.640x640_640

Artist: **John W. Beattie**

Title: ***Coowedd***

Date: **(Beattie Studios 1880s)**

Medium: **postcard**

Dimensions: **13.6 x 8.5 cm**

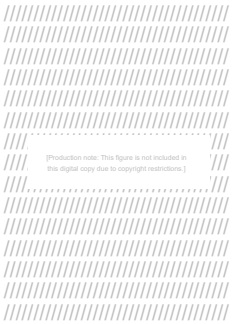
Collection: **National Museum of Australia**

Purchased: **Patricia Heath Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **1982.0084.0128**

URL:
http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/object/110985?f%5B0%5D=obj_party_name%3AJohn%20W.%20Beattie&solrsort=random%20asc

Description: **a postcard with a black and white picture of a bearded aboriginal man wearing a garment tied around his torso and bands around his neck. On the reverse is printed “Beattie Studios, Hobart” and handwritten in pencil “21 - Cooweddy”**



NMA: rg_18182.200x200_640

Artist: **John W. Beattie**

Title: ***Jinny - Port Sorell***

Date: **(Beattie Studios 1880s)**

Medium: **postcard**

Dimensions: **13.6 x 8.5 cm**

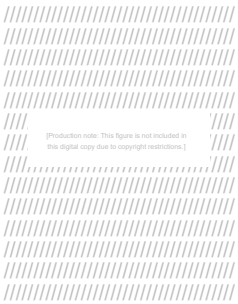
Collection: **National Museum of Australia**

Purchased: **Patricia Heath Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **1982.0084.0129**

URL:
http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/object/110920?f%5B0%5D=obj_party_name%3AJohn%20W.%20Beattie&solrsort=random%20asc

Description: **a postcard with a black and white picture of an aboriginal woman wearing a garment and a fur cowl around her neck. On the reverse is printed "Beattie Studios, Hobart" and handwritten in pencil "24 - Jinny - Port Sorell''. This image is based on a watercolour drawing by Thomas Bock (1790-1855) of Numbloote aka Jinny aka Jenny, The original is held in the British Museum**



NMA: rg_18196.640x640_640

Artist: **John W. Beattie**

Title: ***Truganama***

Date: **(Beattie Studios 1880s)**

Medium: **postcard**

Dimensions: **13.7 x 8.6 cm**

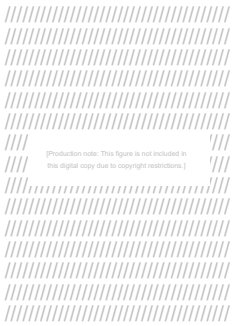
Collection: **National Museum of Australia**

Purchased: **Patricia Heath Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **1982.0084.0134**

URL:
http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/object/110931?f%5B0%5D=obj_party_name%3AJohn%20W.%20Beattie&solrsort=random%20asc

Description: **a postcard with a black and white picture of an aboriginal girl wearing a garment and bands around her neck. On the reverse is printed “Beattie Studios, Hobart” and handwritten in pencil “17 - Truganama”**



NMA: rg_18201.200x200_640.jpg

Artist: **John W. Beattie**

Title: ***Fanny***

Date: **(Beattie Studios 1880s)**

Medium: **postcard**

Dimensions: **13.7 x 8.6 cm**

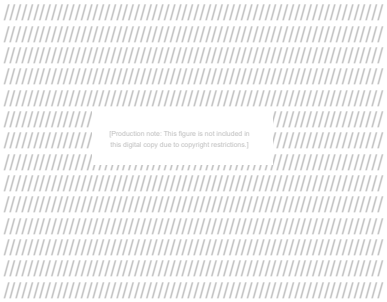
Collection: **National Museum of Australia**

Purchased: **Patricia Heath Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **1982.0084.0137**

URL:
http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/object/110945?f%5B0%5D=obj_party_name%3AJohn%20W.%20Beattie&solrsort=random%20asc

Description: **a postcard with a black and white picture of an aboriginal woman wearing a fur cloak, chokers and shell necklaces. On the reverse is printed “Beattie Studios, Hobart” and handwritten in pencil “28 - Fanny”**



SLV: 703347125.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]***

Date: **18—[1880s?]**

Medium: **1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink**

Dimensions: **25.1 x 31.5 cm**

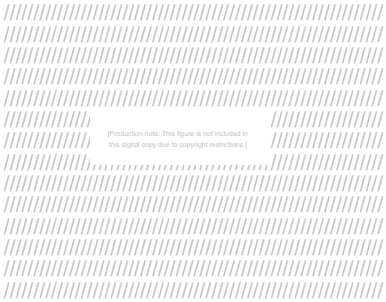
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H89.185/3**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646344***

Description: **drawing depicting a group of Aboriginal people in possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 703347152.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]***

Date: **18—[1880s?]**

Medium: **1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink**

Dimensions: **25.1 x 31.5 cm**

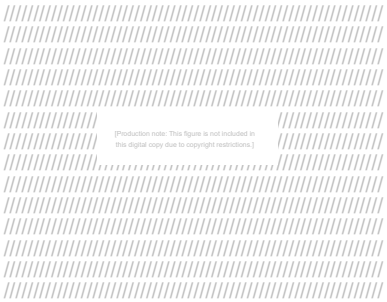
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H89.185/7**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646344***

Description: **drawing depicting two Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 703347160.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]***

Date: **18—[1880s?]**

Medium: **1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink**

Dimensions: **25.1 x 31.5 cm**

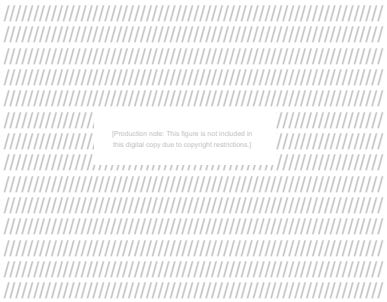
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H89.185/9**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646344***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal people hunting possum**



SLV: 703347170.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]***

Date: **18—[1880s?]**

Medium: **1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink**

Dimensions: **25.1 x 31.5 cm**

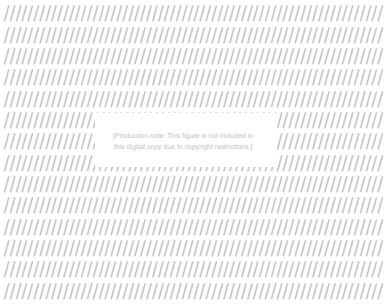
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H89.185/18**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646344***

Description: **drawing depicting a group of Aboriginal people; the figures at left wear possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 703347171.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]***

Date: **18—[1880s?]**

Medium: **1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink**

Dimensions: **25.1 x 31.5 cm**

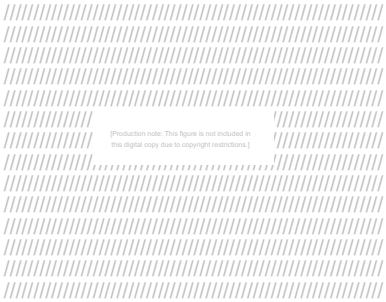
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H89.185/19**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646344***

Description: **drawing depicting two Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 703347173.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***[Book of sketches of Aboriginal life]***

Date: **18—[1880s?]**

Medium: **1 sketchbook (18 drawings): pen and ink**

Dimensions: **25.1 x 31.5 cm**

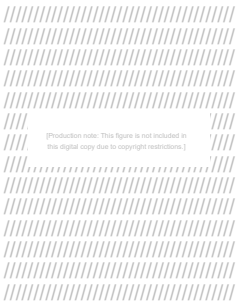
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H89.185/20**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1646344***

Description: **drawing depicting a group of Aboriginal people; figure at right wears a possum-skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-139419447-1.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***Possum sitting in the branch of a tree, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria***

Date: **1880**

Medium: **drawing: pen, ink**

Dimensions: **18 x 12 cm**

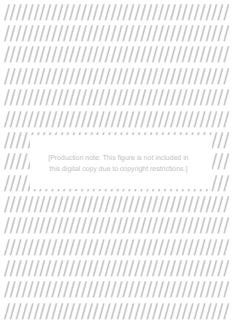
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 3981 #R6226, nla.obj-139419447**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-139419447***

Description: **drawing depicting possum in a tree**



NLA: nla.obj-139420192-1.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***Aboriginal family and nesting emus, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria***

Date: **1880**

Medium: **drawing: pen, ink**

Dimensions: **18 x 12 cm**

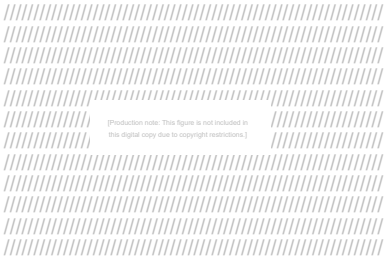
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 3981 #R6219, nla.obj-139420192**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-139420192***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal family, two adults wear possum-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-139420493-1.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***Aboriginal men hunting kangaroo, possum and goanna, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria***

Date: **1880**

Medium: **drawing: pen, ink**

Dimensions: **18 x 12 cm**

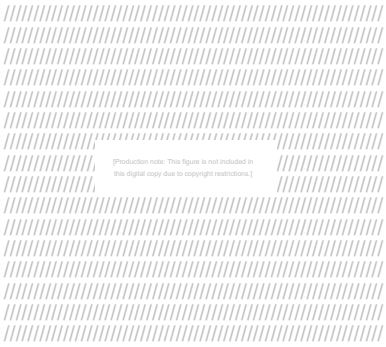
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 3981 #R6217/nla.obj-139420493**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-139420493***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal men hunting animals, including possums**



UniMelb: BWP.27,057 (Ramahyuck 1880).jpg

Artist: **J.W. (John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Hunting party outside original homestead Ramahyuck Mission Station***

Date: **1880**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **48.5 x 58.5 cm**

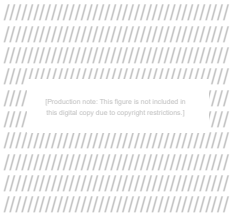
Collection: **University of Melbourne Library**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **1976.0013.00086**

URL: ***http://hdl.handle.net/11343/214327***

Description: **Hunting party of white men with guns and Indigenous men with traditional weapons, posing with young boys and their catch of koalas, magpies, a swan and other game. Identified by Phillip Pepper as [Left to Right] Rev. FA Hagenauer (far left in top hat); Old Bullocky Jack (in possum cloak holding shield and boomerang); possibly Harry Wheeler (old man sitting in with upturned brim, one of the oldest residents); George Gilbert (in possum cloak holding spear and weapons); Donald Cameron (wearing bowler hat and holding a koala); exhibited at Melbourne International Exhibition 1880**



MV: XP 2613.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Yarruun Parpur Tarneen, Victoria***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **black-and-white silver gelatin photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

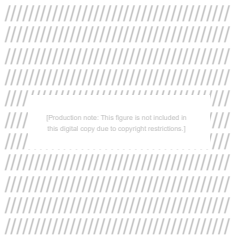
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2613**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



MV: XP 2614.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***George, Victoria***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **black-and-white silver gelatin photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

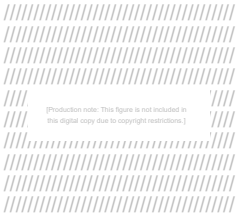
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2614**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak on his lap, with the designed side facing out**



MV: XP 20495.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Mary, Victoria***

Date: **c.1860**

Medium: **black-and-white silver gelatin photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

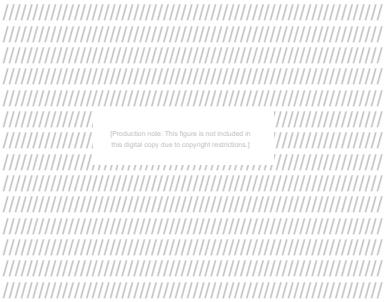
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 20495**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the designed side facing out**



NGV: O.1-1994.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Ceremony with Rainbow Serpent***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **pencil, gouache, earth pigments, charcoal on paper**

Dimensions: **48.5 x 58.5 cm**

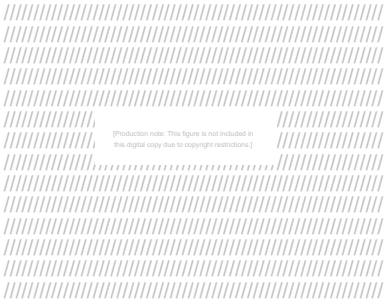
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased through The Art Foundation of Victoria with the assistance of the Alcoa Foundation, Governor, 1994**

Identifying Numbers: **O.1-1994**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/1753/***

Description: **drawing of a group of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wearing possum-skin cloaks with the designed sides out**



NGA: 118869.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***(Five aboriginal people outside slab hut in Victoria)***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **13.2 x 20.2 cm (image)**

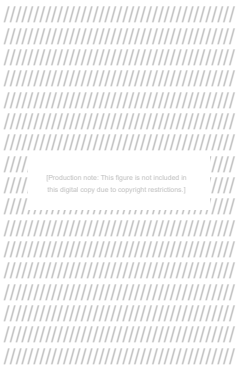
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 1990**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 90.1091**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=118869***

Description: **drawing depicting two Aboriginal women with children and one Aboriginal man, all wearing possum-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-137328286-1.jpg

Artist: **Batchelder & Co.**

Title: ***Portrait of G. W. Rusden dressed as an Aboriginal Australian, Melbourne, Victoria***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **photograph on carte-de-visite mount: albumen**

Dimensions: **10.4 x 6.3 cm**

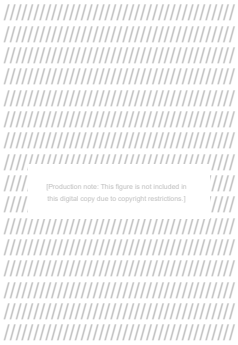
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Box PIC/11578 #PIC/11578, nla.obj-137328286**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-137328286***

Description: **photograph of a non-Aboriginal man 'dressed as an Aboriginal man', wearing a costume representing a stylised version of body paint and black face paint, and wearing a skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-144949363-1.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Portrait of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin cloak, Western Australia***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **9 x 5.7 cm**

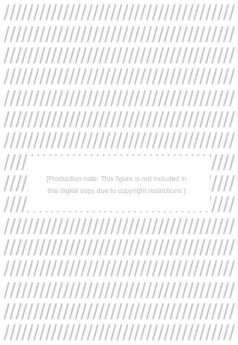
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/11202/5 LOC Album 1114, nla.obj-144949363**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-144949363***

Description: **Aboriginal man wearing an animal-skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-144949468-1.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Portrait of an Aboriginal woman wearing an animal skin cloak, Western Australia***

Date: **c.1880**

Medium: **photograph: sepia toned**

Dimensions: **9 x 5.7 cm**

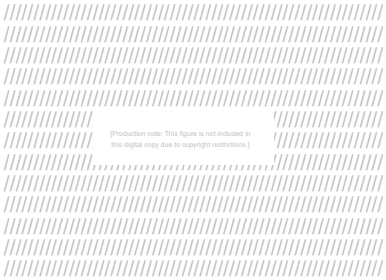
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/11202/6 LOC Album 1114, nla.obj-144949468**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-144949468***

Description: **Aboriginal woman wearing an animal-skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-120475205-1.jpg

Artist: **Chocolat-Louit, France**

Title: ***Chocolat-Louit: le monde des forèts, Tasmanie***

Date: **[1880?]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **2 pages**

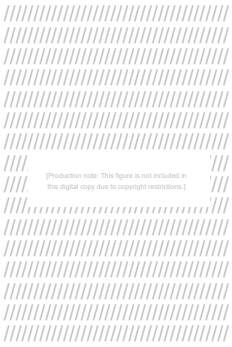
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade catalogues) - Trade cards, nla.obj-120475205**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-120475205***

Description: **trade card depicting Aboriginal man in skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-136198158-1.jpg

Artist: **G. Mutzel**

Title: ***Eine Australierfamilie von Neu-Sudwales***

Date: **[188-?]**

Medium: **print: chromolithograph**

Dimensions: **20.9 x 12.9 cm**

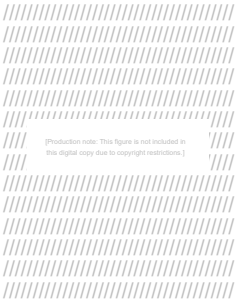
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Drawer 4006 #S10740, nla.obj-136198158**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-136198158***

Description: **image of an Aboriginal family; some figures wear skin cloaks**



SLV: 703601219.jpg

Artist: **Samuel White Sweet**

Title: ***Native Chief***

Date: **1880–85**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print**

Dimensions: **21.5 x 15.2 cm**

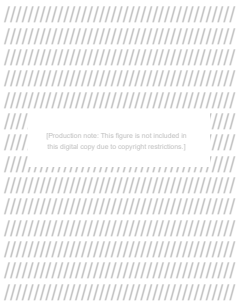
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Max Wagner collection**

Identifying Numbers: **H29679/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER3230475***

Description: **view shows an Aboriginal Australian man, full length, wearing possum-skin cloak, holding spear in right hand and shield in left hand, with a bag over his left shoulder**



SLV: 703601222.jpg

Artist: **Samuel White Sweet**

Title: ***Native on the warpath***

Date: **1880–85**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print**

Dimensions: **21.7 x 15.2 cm**

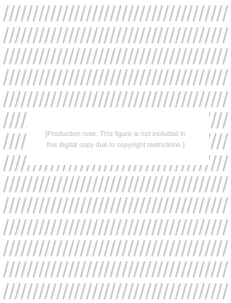
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Max Wagner collection**

Identifying Numbers: **H29680/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER3230485***

Description: **staged image of an Aboriginal Australian man, whole-length, to left, white beard, wearing possum-skin cloak, holding boomerang in right hand and shield in left hand**



SLV: 703601223.jpg

Artist: **Samuel White Sweet**

Title: ***Native woman***

Date: **1880–85**

Medium: **albumen silver photographic print**

Dimensions: **21.6 x 15.2 cm**

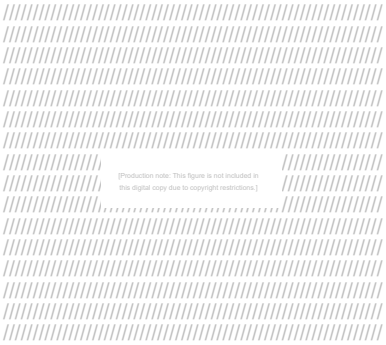
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Max Wagner collection**

Identifying Numbers: **H29681/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER3230487***

Description: **view shows an Aboriginal Australian woman, full length, to left, wearing possum-skin cloak, with child in fold of cloak on her back**



SAM: BAK-00001_00001_L

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Figures in possum-skin cloaks and lyrebird***

Date: **1880–1940**

Medium: **drawing, pencil wash, ochres and charcoal**

Dimensions: **47 x 51 cm**

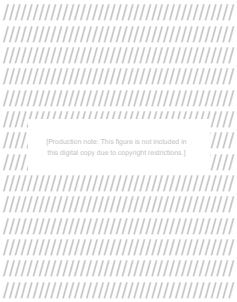
Collection: **South Australian Museum**

Purchased: **presented by Mrs LAM Rogers of Norwood dated 11 June 1940**

Identifying Numbers: **AA 795/1/1**

URL: ***http://archives.samuseum.sa.gov.au/aa795/AA%20795-1.htm***

Description: **drawing depicting figures in possum-skin cloaks surrounding a lyrebird**



SLV: H29640.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***[Aboriginal ceremony]***

Date: **c.1880–90**

Medium: **brown ochre and charcoal on cardboard**

Dimensions: **73.2 x 55.5 cm**

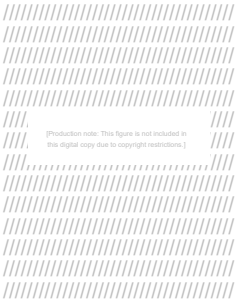
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H29640**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1657369***

Description: **painting showing figures in possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: H29641.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***[Aboriginal ceremony, with wallaby and emu]***

Date: **c.1880–90**

Medium: **brown ochre and charcoal on cardboard**

Dimensions: **73 x 56 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned, 1967**

Identifying Numbers: **H29641**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1785567***

Description: **painting showing figures in possum-skin cloaks**

NLA: nla.obj-153001990-1.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***A possum, two emus and a kangaroo amongst trees, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria***

Date: **1881**

Medium: **drawing: ink, black and blue**

Dimensions: **21.5 x 28.3 cm**

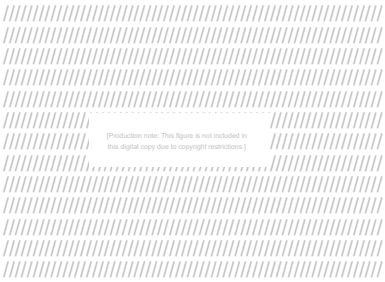
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC MSR 12/1/4 #PIC/15641/1, nla.obj-153001990**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-153001990***

Description: **drawing depicting possum in a tree**



NLA: nla.obj-153003195-1.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***Aboriginal men hunting possum, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria***

Date: **1881**

Medium: **drawing: ink, black**

Dimensions: **21.5 x 28.2 cm**

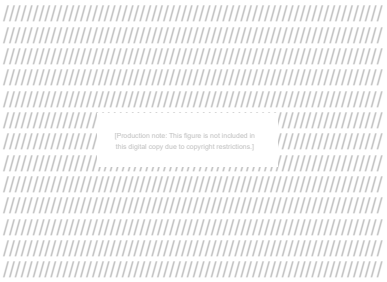
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC MSR 12/1/4 #PIC, 15641/9/nla.obj-153003195**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-153003195***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal men hunting possums**



NLA: nla.obj-153003497-1.jpg

Artist: **Tommy McRae (Aboriginal)**

Title: ***Aboriginal family hunting goanna, Wahgunyah Region, Victoria***

Date: **1881**

Medium: **drawing: ink, black**

Dimensions: **21.5 x 28.2 cm**

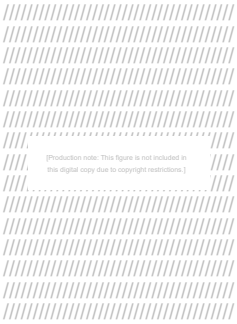
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC MSR 12/1/4 #PIC/15641/11, nla.obj-153003497**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-153003497***

Description: **drawing depicting Aboriginal family hunting goanna; figure at right wears a possum-skin cloak**



SLV: 703110106.jpg

Artist: **Troedel & Co. (artist), Alfred Martin Ebsworth, Melbourne (publisher)**

Title: ***The story of the bunyip***

Date: **29 July 1882**

Medium: **print: wood engraving, col.**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **A/S29/07/82/Supp**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1776668***

Description: **print published in colour supplement to *The Australasian Sketcher*; Aboriginal Australian man pointing out into the bush as he tells story to two children sitting by a cabin wall; central figure wears a cloak or blanket**

NGV: De103643.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Aboriginal men in canoe, Coranderrk Aboriginal Station***

Date: **c.1883**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **19.9 x 27.1 cm (image)**

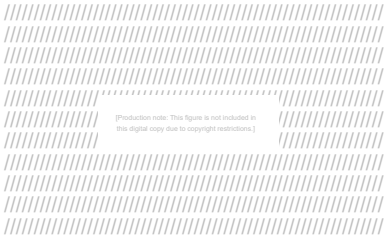
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Beryl M. Curl, 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **PH327-1979**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8919/***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal men wearing possum-skin cloaks**



NGV: De103654.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Victorian Aboriginals and war implements***

Date: **c.1883**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **13.2 x 20.2 cm**

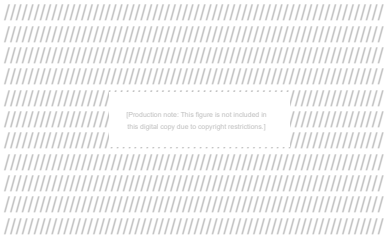
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Beryl M. Curl, 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **PH230-1979**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8812/***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal men wearing possum-skin cloaks with designed sides out**



NGV: De103656.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Aboriginal group at Coranderrk***

Date: **c.1883**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **13.2 x 20.2 cm**

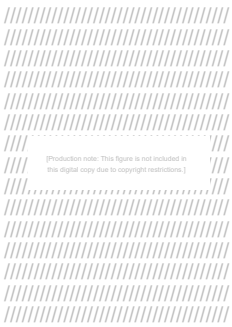
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Mrs Beryl M. Curl, 1979**

Identifying Numbers: **PH236-1979**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8818/***

Description: **photograph of a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks**



University of Newcastle (loan): 054-georgefreeman-aboriginalchild.jpg

Artist: **George Freeman**

Title: ***Unidentified Aboriginal child***

Date: **c.1884**

Medium: **photograph, from an album of 66 photographs**

Dimensions: **N/A**

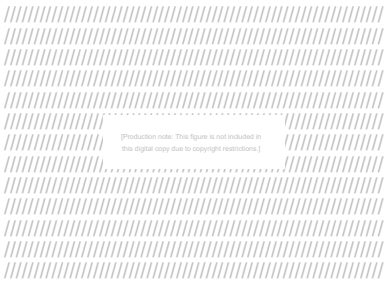
Collection: **University of Newcastle Cultural Collections (loan)**

Purchased: **The George Freeman album, loaned to the University of Newcastle Cultural Collections by Pamela Goodhart Dodd and Andrew Dodd to be digitised**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***https://uoncc.wordpress.com/2014/03/03/george-freeman/***

Description: **photograph of a child wearing possibly an emu-feather cloak**



NGA: 104077

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Corroboree [Corroboree (Figures in possum-skin cloaks)***

Date: **c.1885**

Medium: **drawing in charcoal and natural earth pigments, over black pencil; paperboard**

Dimensions: **56.2 x 76 cm (sheet)**

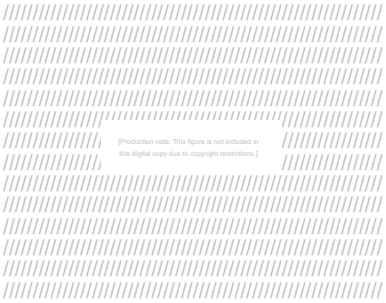
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased from Aboriginal Art Fund from admission charges, 1985**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 85.1692**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=104077***

Description: **drawing depicting figures in possum-skin cloaks**



SLNSW: c37232_0001_c.jpg

Artist: **William Pitt Wilshire**

Title: ***[A family group with canoe, possibly near Clovelly House, Watsons Bay]***

Date: **1886**

Medium: **oil on board**

Dimensions: **46 x 61 cm (image), 49 x 64 cm (frame)**

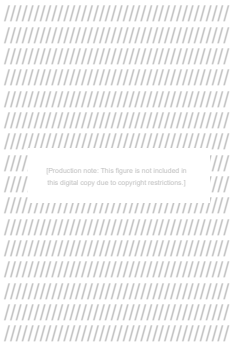
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Presented by Mrs John Bibb, 1919**

Identifying Numbers: **ML 569, Reference code 455884, Digital order no. a928887, IE9487963**

URL: ***https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110330521***

Description: **painting of an Aboriginal family; figure at right wears a skin cloak or blanket**



SLV: 703295618.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Old Aboriginal, Coranderrk***

Date: **1886**

Medium: **photographic print mounted on cardboard: albumen silver**

Dimensions: **20.5 x 13 cm**

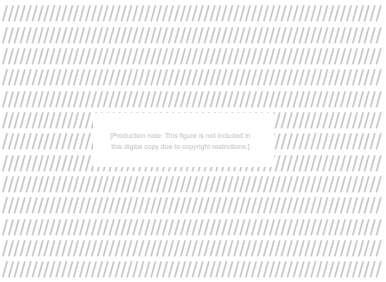
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H141266**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1712720***

Description: **other title(s): Old Aboriginal Australian, Coranderrk. As the subject is clearly a young man, possibly the "old" in the title refers to old time, as in pre European times. Young man: whole-length, to left, wearing skin, holding and surrounded by artifacts, standing by river**



SLV: IAN03/03/86/36.png

Artist: **F.A. Sleap (engraver)**

Title: ***ABORIGINAL GROUP FOR THE INDIAN AND COLONIAL EXHIBITION, [VIC.]***

Date: **3 March 1886**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

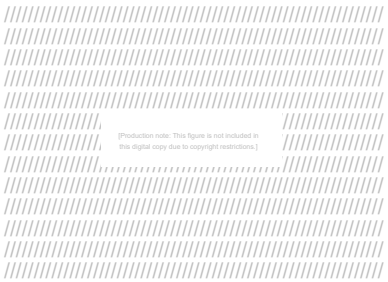
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **IAN03/03/86/36**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1767128***

Description: **wood engraving published in *The Illustrated Australian News*; depicts a group of Aboriginal people; figures at right wear possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: A/S07/04/86/53.png

Artist: **Fred Kruger (photographer)**

Title: ***A native canoe***

Date: **7 April 1886**

Medium: **wood engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

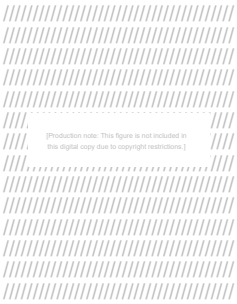
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **A/S07/04/86/53**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1777532***

Description: **two men, one seated, Gilmore, of Echuca, and Laidlaw, of the Yarra tribe, in bark canoe on stream; both figures wear possum-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.news-page5739633.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Aboriginal life at Coranderrk: a native canoe* and *Aboriginal life at Coranderrk: husband and wives***

Date: **7 April 1886**

Medium: **engravings**

Dimensions: **N/A**

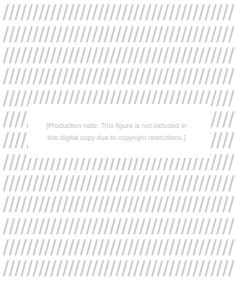
Collection: **via Trove, National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **N/A**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page5739633***

Description: **published in *The Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*, 7 April 1886, p. 53; engraving at top depicts two Aboriginal men in possum-skin cloaks; engraving at bottom depicts an Aboriginal family wearing possum-skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-149688330-1.jpg

Artist: **Henry King**

Title: ***Studio portrait of a man in a fighting pose, Australia***

Date: **c.1887**

Medium: **slide: glass, lantern, black and white**

Dimensions: **8.2 x 8.2 cm**

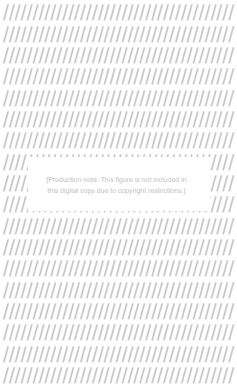
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/11565/29 LOC Cold store PIC KER Box 2, nla.obj-149688330**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-149688330***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



NLA: nla.obj-145313370-1.jpg

Artist: **Picturesque Atlas Publishing Co., Sydney**

Title: ***William Buckley***

Date: **1888**

Medium: **print: black and white**

Dimensions: **15 x 8 cm**

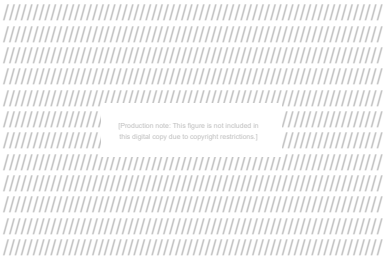
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC Volume 1024 #NK5768, nla.obj-145313370**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-145313370***

Description: **print depicting William Buckley wearing a possum-skin cloak**



MV: XP 2771.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Unknown family, probably taken at Royal Park, Melbourne***

Date: **c.1888**

Medium: **black-and-white print**

Dimensions: **N/A**

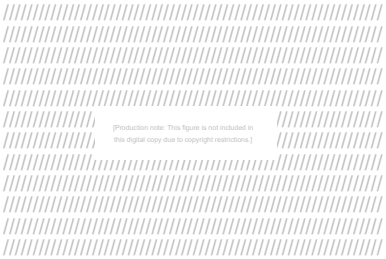
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2771**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal family, wearing possum-skin cloaks, with the fur side facing out**



National Trust of SA: AH 735.TIF

Artist: **Charles Hill**

Title: ***The Bargain***

Date: **c.1888**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **National Trust of South Australia**

Purchased: **Donated by family of Charles Hill in 1970s**

Identifying Numbers: **AH 735**

URL: **N/A**

Description: **drawing depicting the potential sale of a possum-skin cloak**

SLV: 702589894.jpg

Artist: **John Wesley Burtt**

Title: ***Batman's treaty with the Aborigines at Merri Creek, 6th June 1835***

Date: **c.1888**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **125.3 x 271.2 cm (sight)**

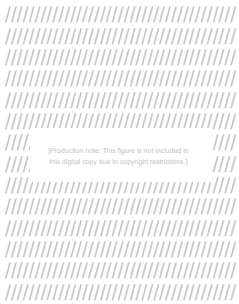
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Accessioned 1992**

Identifying Numbers: **H92.196**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1657201***

Description: **shows figure of Batman standing with Aboriginal Australian man in bush setting, Batman holding paper in his left hand, the other man with his hand on Batman's shoulder. Batman's companions and other Aboriginal Australian people behind them exchanging gifts (?); Aboriginal figures in the painting wear possum-skin cloaks**



NGV: 1995.43.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Ceremony***

Date: **1890s**

Medium: **watercolour over pencil and charcoal on paper**

Dimensions: **57.6 x 43.8 cm (image and sheet)**

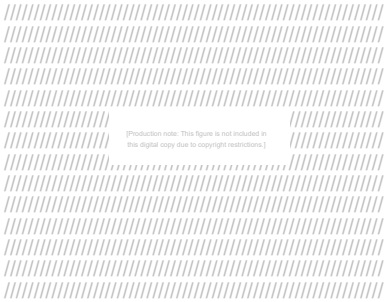
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Michael and Traudl Moon, 1995**

Identifying Numbers: **1995.43**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/56344/***

Description: **Wurundjeri dancers are depicted performing songs and dances, witnessed by figures in possum-skin cloaks, found in the lower section. Punctuated by native animals: echidna, platypus and goanna. Two campfires on the left and right. Symbolic marking adorn the figures, indicative of their clan identity**



NGV: 1995.44.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Group hunting animals***

Date: **1890s**

Medium: **watercolour over pencil and charcoal on paper**

Dimensions: **44.6 x 57.7 cm (image and sheet)**

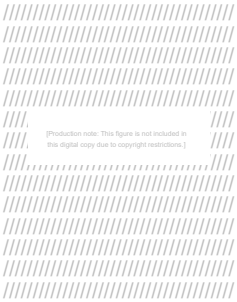
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of Michael and Traudl Moon, 1995**

Identifying Numbers: **1995.44**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/56345/***

Description: **drawing of a group of Aboriginal people hunting; figures wear possum-skin cloaks**



QAG: 1-1323_001.jpg

Artist: **Oscar Friström**

Title: ***Queensland Aboriginal, Springsure, west of Rockhampton***

Date: **c.1890s**

Medium: **oil on composition board**

Dimensions: **23.2 x 15.5 cm**

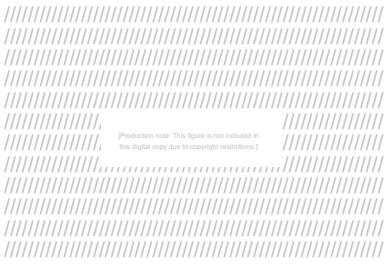
Collection: **Queensland Art Gallery**

Purchased: **Purchased 1974**

Identifying Numbers: **1:1323**

URL:
http://collection.qagoma.qld.gov.au/qag/imu.php?request=display&port=45000&id=74cf&flag=ecatalogue&offset=8&count=default&view=details

Description: **painting of woman, dressed in blanket, with child**



NPG: i5902.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***John Bulmer and the Aboriginal community of Lake Tyers, Gippsland***

Date: **c.1890**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **13.8 x 20.8 cm (image)**

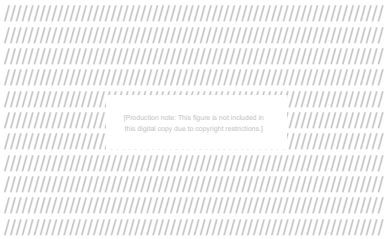
Collection: **National Portrait Gallery**

Purchased: **Purchased 2010**

Identifying Numbers: **2010.108**

URL: ***http://www.portrait.gov.au/portraits/2010.108/john-bulmer-and-the-aboriginal-community***

Description: **group of Aboriginal people; man in centre wears a blanket draped like a possum-skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-123410070-1.jpg

Artist: **Compagnie Liebig, Paris**

Title: ***Océanie: Véritable extrait de viande Liebig: la Terre et ses habitants [trade card]***

Date: **[1890 or 1900?]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **2 pages**

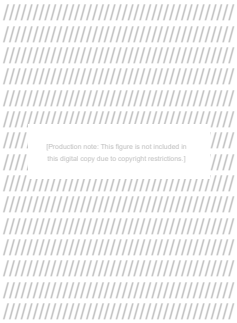
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade catalogues) - Trade cards, nla.obj-123410070**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-123410070***

Description: **trade card depicting various people in skin cloaks**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-2.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***King David, Warrnambool Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

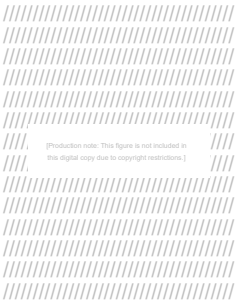
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-3.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Gellibrand, Colac Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

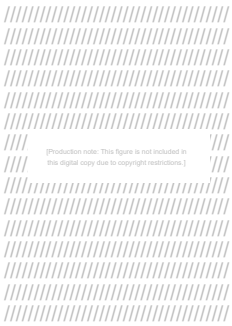
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-4.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Mary, Ballarat Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

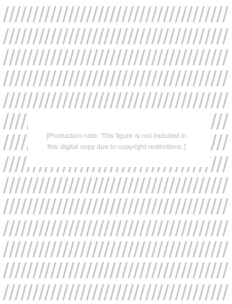
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-5.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***King William, Mount Cole Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

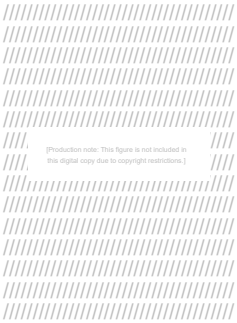
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-6.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Eliza, Yarra Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

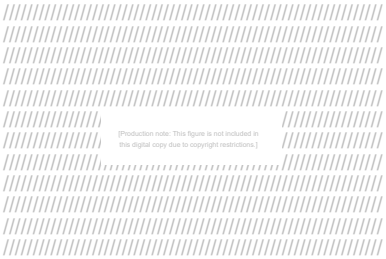
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-8.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Mia mia and royal family* from *Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

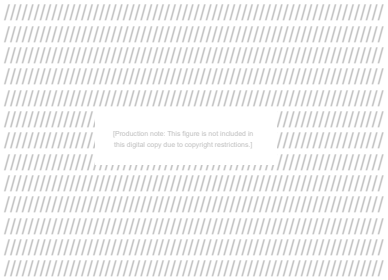
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-9.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***King Billy and his two wives*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

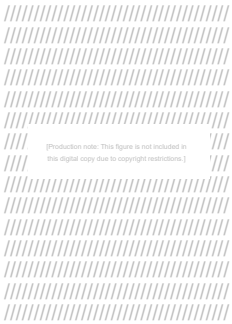
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-10.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Rose, Ballarat Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

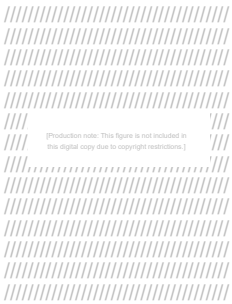
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-11.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Tom William, Echuca Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

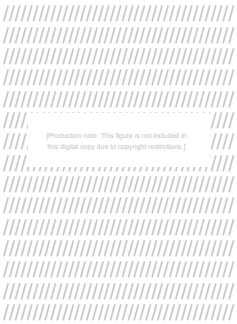
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-12.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Barker and son Heron, Bacchus Marsh Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

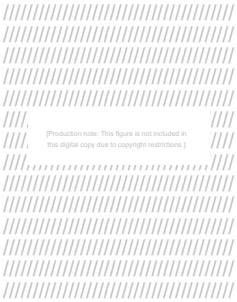
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-99730227-13.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Dick, Goulbourn Tribe*** **from** ***Album of the kings & queens of Victoria***

Date: **[1890?]**

Medium: **album**

Dimensions: **17 pages**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **SR 305.8991400222 A345, nla.obj-99730227**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-99730227***

Description: **album depicting Aboriginal men and women in skin cloaks or blankets**

SLNSW: a1348013h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***13. Govt. agents distributing blankets to Aboriginals*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

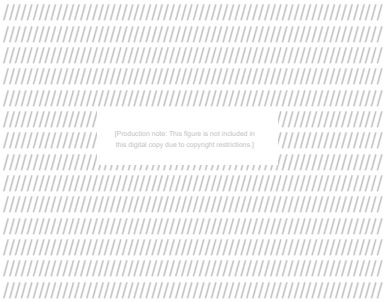
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221023, a1348013h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of blankets being distributed to Aboriginal people**



SLNSW: a1348015h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***15. Aboriginal Chief and Gin* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

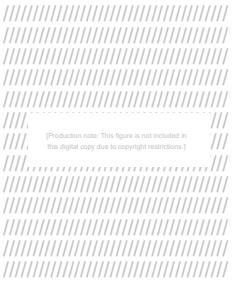
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221025, a1348015h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal couple; woman wears an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348042h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***42. Aboriginal Warriors* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

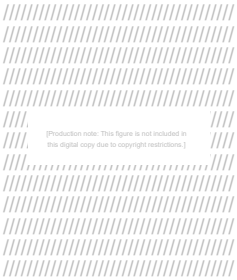
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221052, a1348042h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal men wearing animal skins**



SLNSW: a1348043h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***43. Aboriginal Chief and Gin*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

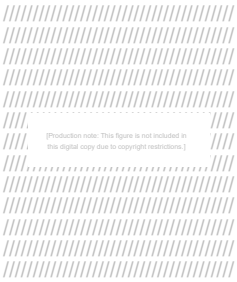
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221053, a1348043h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man and woman wearing animal skins**



SLNSW: a1348044h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***44. Aboriginal making fire with stick*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

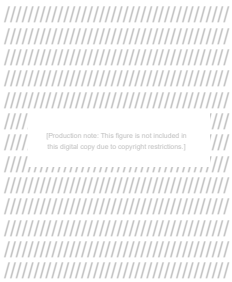
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221054, a1348044h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal men wearing animal skins**



SLNSW: a1348045h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***45. Aboriginal, Peel River, N.S.W.*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

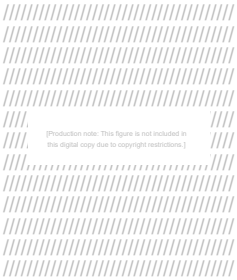
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221055, a1348045h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348046h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***46-47. Aboriginal making fire with piece of stick*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

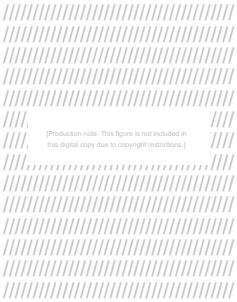
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221056, a1348046h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348047h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***46-47. Aboriginal making fire with piece of stick*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

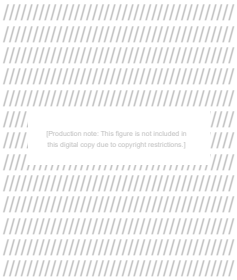
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221057, a1348047h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348049h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***49. Aboriginal throwing Nulllah-Nullah*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

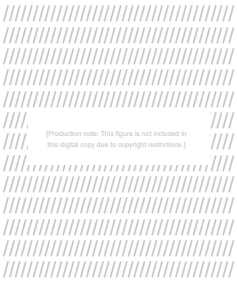
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221059, a1348049h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348050h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***50. Aboriginal throwing Boomerang*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

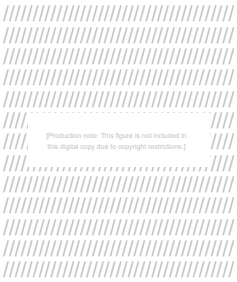
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221060, a1348050h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348051h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***51. Aboriginal girl, Coastal Tribe N.S.W.*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

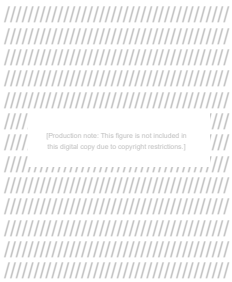
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221061, a1348051h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal girl wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348052h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***52. "Bhoolidhoo", Queen of Wagga Tribe*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

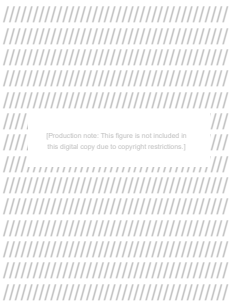
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221062, a1348052h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal woman wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348053h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***53. "Tewitt", Chief of Jervis Bay Tribe, N.S.W.*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

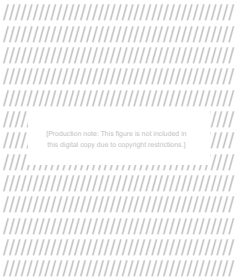
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221063, a1348053h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348056h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***56. Aboriginal throwing boomerang*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

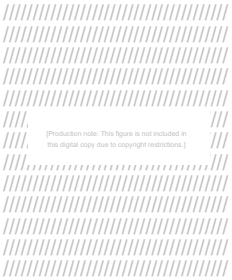
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221066, a1348056h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348057h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***57. Aboriginal women* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

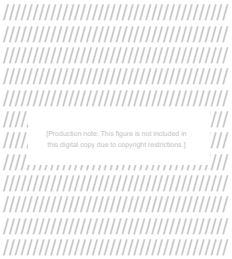
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221067, a1348057h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal women wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348058h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***58. Aboriginal fight* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

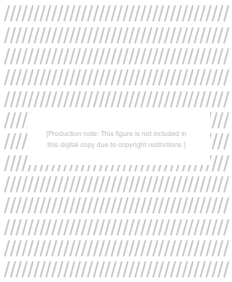
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221068, a1348058h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of two Aboriginal men wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348061h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***61. "Nerelle", Princess of Moruya Tribe N.S.W.*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

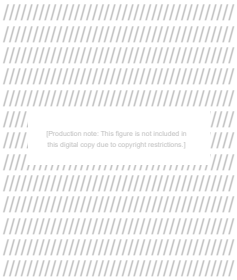
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221071, a1348061h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal girl wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348062h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***62. Aboriginal girl with Helieman* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

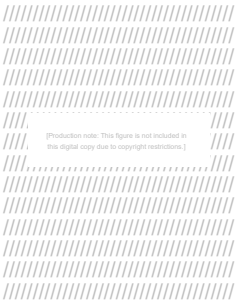
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221072, a1348062h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal girl wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348063h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***63. Aboriginal, Roma district, Q. [Queensland]*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

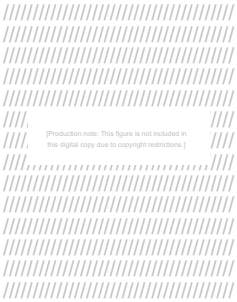
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221073, a1348063h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348064h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***64. "Gingung", Warrior, Bathurst District N.S.W.*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

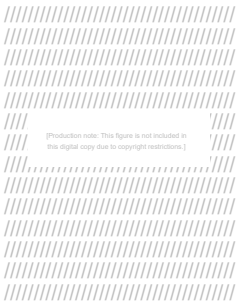
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221074, a1348064h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348066h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***66. "Gumbarlee", Warrior, Clarence River, N.S.W.* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

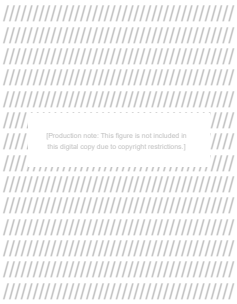
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221076, a1348066h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348067h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***67. Aboriginal, Namoi River N.S.W.* from *Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

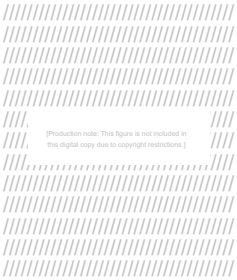
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221077, a1348067h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348076h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***76-77. "Nerelle", princess of Moruya Tribe*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

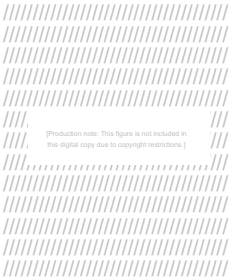
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221086, a1348076h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal girl wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348078h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***78. "Yendhah" girl, Tumut Tribe*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

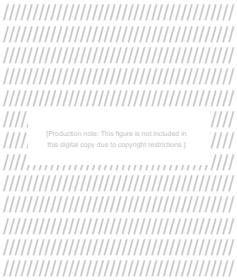
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221088, a1348078h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal girl wearing an animal skin**



SLNSW: a1348084h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***83-84. "Boona", Queen, Cooma Tribe*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

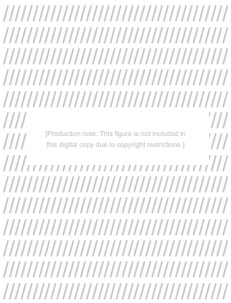
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221094, a1348084h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal woman wearing an animal skin cloak with emu feather trim**



SLNSW: a1348114h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***114."Karundi", Warrior, Myall Tribe, Queensland*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

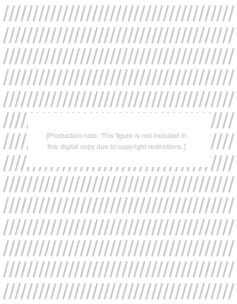
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221124, a1348114h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing possibly a possum-fur headband**



SLNSW: a1348145h.jpg

Artist: **Kerry & Co.**

Title: ***145. Aboriginal Warrior, Boogoolmurra tribe, Queensland*** **from** ***Australian Aboriginals***

Date: **c.1890–98**

Medium: **1 album (150 albumen photoprints)**

Dimensions: **41 x 28 cm**

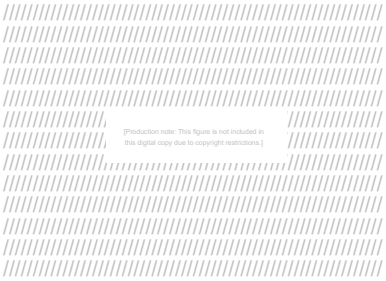
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Transfer from Mitchell Library Printed Books collection F572.9901/K, May 2004**

Identifying Numbers: **PX*D 398, Reference code 441547, Digital order no. Album ID 823573, IE3220707, FL3221155, a1348145h**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110325829***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing possibly a possum-fur headband and emu feather armband**



QAG: 2006.252_002.jpg

Artist: **Tom Roberts**

Title: ***(Indigenous gathering, Far North Queensland)***

Date: **1892**

Medium: **oil on canvas**

Dimensions: **37.7 x 55.9 cm**

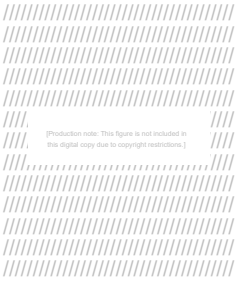
Collection: **Queensland Art Gallery**

Purchased: **Gift of Foster's Group Ltd through the Queensland Art Gallery Foundation 2006**

Identifying Numbers: **Acc. 2006.252**

URL:
http://collection.qagoma.qld.gov.au/qag/imu.php?request=display&port=45000&id=e2ef&flag=ecatalogue&offset=2&count=default&view=details

Description: **landscape painting depicting group of seated Aboriginal people; all wear cloaks or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-149730087-1.jpg

Artist: **Fred Hardie**

Title: ***Aborigine harrying an opossum's nest, New South Wales***

Date: **1892–93**

Medium: **slide: glass, lantern, black and white**

Dimensions: **8.2 x 8.2 cm**

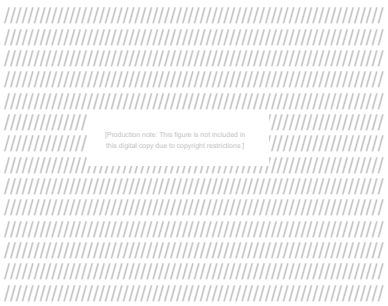
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/11584/36 LOC Cold Store PIC WIL, nla.obj-149730087**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-149730087***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man hunting possum**



NGA: 193404

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Corroboree***

Date: **1895**

Medium: **drawing in charcoal and natural earth pigments, over black pencil; prepared linen**

Dimensions: **60 x 76.4 cm (image)**

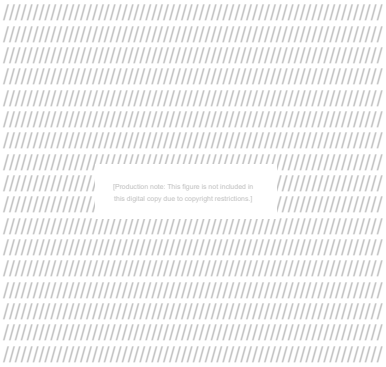
Collection: **National Gallery of Australia**

Purchased: **Purchased 2009**

Identifying Numbers: **NGA 2009.164**

URL: ***https://artsearch.nga.gov.au/detail.cfm?irn=193404***

Description: **drawing depicting figures in possum-skin cloaks**



NMA: nma.img-ci20061749-001-wm-vs1_o3_1100.jpg

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Drawing depicting figures performing ceremonial duties in the Coranderrk region of Victoria***

Date: **1895**

Medium: **pencil, pigment and watercolour drawing on heavy paper**

Dimensions: **57.1 x 55.5 cm**

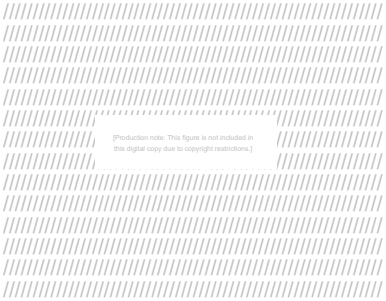
Collection: **National Museum of Australia**

Purchased: **The William Barak 1895 collection**

Identifying Numbers: **2004.0071.0001**

URL: ***http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/?object=76178***

Description: **drawing depicting figures seated in foreground, wearing possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: H96.160/530.png

Artist: **Thomas Cleary**

Title: ***Aborigines holding a meeting in connection with crime***

Date: **1897**

Medium: **albumen silver photograph**

Dimensions: **24.5 x 30 cm**

Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Transferred from The Victorian Patents Office to the Melbourne Public Library, 1908**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.160/530**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1799011***

Description: **a posed studio photograph of a gathering of five male and two female Aboriginal Australians, against a painted backdrop of water and trees. The women lie on an animal fur, one leaning over the other. The woman in foreground has animal fur around her throat and appears to be ill. The men form a semi-circle around them holding wooden spears, shields or other tools. The man to the far right (kneeling) wears a feather head dress, and all wear raffia skirts. It appears to be some form of meeting**

NGV: 1215A-5.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Figures in possum-skin cloaks***

Date: **1898**

Medium: **pencil, wash, charcoal solution, gouache and earth pigments on paper**

Dimensions: **57 x 88.8 cm (image and sheet)**

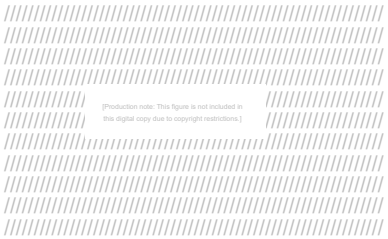
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1962**

Identifying Numbers: **1215A-5**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/26844/***

Description: **drawing of a group of Aboriginal people wearing possum-skin cloaks with the designed sides facing out**



NGV: 1215B-5.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Ceremony***

Date: **1898**

Medium: **pencil, wash, ground wash, charcoal solution, gouache and earth pigments on paper**

Dimensions: **57 x 88.8 cm (image and sheet)**

Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 1962**

Identifying Numbers: **1215B-5**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/30762***

Description: **drawing of a group of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear possum-skin cloaks with the designed sides facing out**

NGV: 1999.3.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Untitled (Hunting scene)***

Date: **1899**

Medium: **pencil and watercolour on paper**

Dimensions: **51.8 x 102.7 cm (image and sheet)**

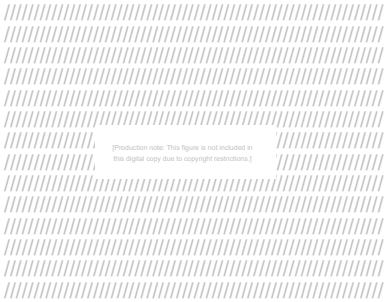
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased with the assistance of the Fraser family, 1999**

Identifying Numbers: **1999.3**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/62006/***

Description: **drawing of a group of Aboriginal people and animals; figures in foreground wear possum-skin cloaks with the designed sides facing out**



NGV: 2002.31.png

Artist: **William Barak (Wurundjeri)**

Title: ***Untitled (Ceremony)***

Date: **1900**

Medium: **earth pigments, watercolour and pencil on paper**

Dimensions: **50.5 x 63 cm (image and sheet)**

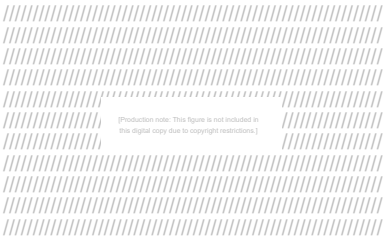
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **The Warren Clark Bequest, 2001**

Identifying Numbers: **2002.31**

URL: ***http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/68948/***

Description: **drawing of a group of Aboriginal people; figures in foreground wear possum-skin cloaks with the designed sides facing out**



SLV: 702351351.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***[Aboriginal Australian women and children, Maloga, NSW]***

Date: **1900**

Medium: **colour postcard**

Dimensions: **8.5 x 13.5 cm**

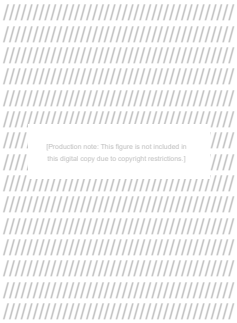
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Purchased 2012**

Identifying Numbers: **H2012.78/1**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER2326527***

Description: **group of women in bush setting, two standing beside bark shelter, two more seated at entrance of shelter, three of them holding babies. All the women are wearing European dress, woman on left also wrapped in animal fur**



SLSA: PRG-1258-2-2002.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Point McLeay Mission greeting card***

Date: **c.1900**

Medium: **photoprint**

Dimensions: **10 x 15.5 cm**

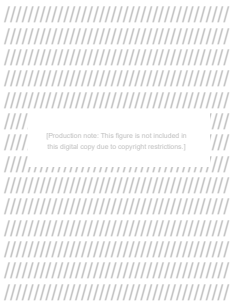
Collection: **State Library of South Australia**

Purchased: **Part of Godson Collection**

Identifying Numbers: **PRG 1258/2/2002**

URL: ***http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/PRG+1258/2/2002***

Description: **photograph of a Point McLeay Mission greeting card, featuring several portraits arranged in a boomerang shape, and a woman and small child wrapped in a warm fur cloak, with the words superimposed 'Greetings from South Australia'**



SLV: 70397394.jpg

Artist: **State Rivers and Water Supply Commission, Victoria**

Title: ***Yarruun Parpur Tarneen / (Victorious) / Chiefess of the Moopoor Tribe***

Date: **c.1900–53**

Medium: **glass negative**

Dimensions: **8.5 x 11 cm (quarter plate)**

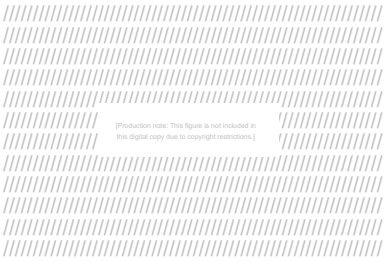
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Collection placed on long-term loan from Rural Water Corporation, 1995**

Identifying Numbers: **rwg/6045**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1660471***

Description: **studio portrait of an Aboriginal Australian woman: three-quarter length, to right, seated, wearing headband, necklace and wrapped in skin and fabric cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-119701376-1.jpg

Artist: **Chocolat Poulain, France**

Title: ***Géographie Pittoresque Australie - Le Cacao Poulain se digére bien premiére marque française [trade card showing Australian scenes]***

Date: **[1900?]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **2 pages**

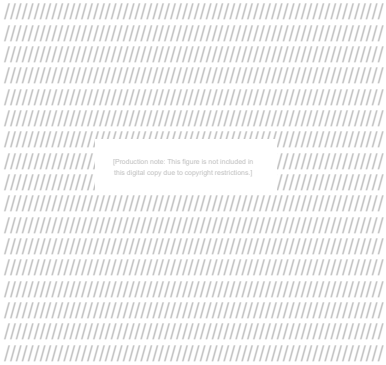
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade catalogues) - Trade cards, nla.obj-119701376**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-119701376***

Description: **trade card depicting Aboriginal man in skin cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-147416237-1.jpg

Artist: **W. Butcher & Sons**

Title: ***Australian Aborigines***

Date: **1901–06**

Medium: **slide: lantern, coloured**

Dimensions: **8.2 x 8.2 cm**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/8334/8 LOC Cold store PIC NEG Box 4, nla.obj-147416237**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-147416237***

Description: **slide depicting Aboriginal camp; figure in inset wears skin cloak**

NPG: i5201.jpg

Artist: **Johannes Heyer**

Title: ***William Barak at work on a drawing at Coranderrk***

Date: **1902**

Medium: **gelatin silver photograph, sepia toned**

Dimensions: **8.7 x 8.7 cm**

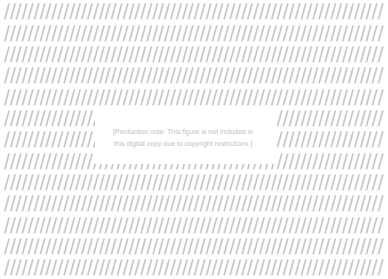
Collection: **National Portrait Gallery**

Purchased: **Purchased with the assistance of the Australian Decorative and Fine Arts Society, Canberra, 2000**

Identifying Numbers: **2000.33**

URL: ***http://www.portrait.gov.au/portraits/2000.33/william-barak-at-work-on-a-drawing-at-coranderrk***

Description: **Johannes Heyer, polymath, was born in Victoria and studied theology in Edinburgh and Leipzig. He took this photograph shortly after being called to the parish of Yarra Glen and Healesville in 1900; Barak is creating an artwork depicting figures in possum-skin cloaks**



SLV: 703282082.jpg

Artist: **N.J. Caire**

Title: ***Aboriginal Australian women and children, Coranderrk, Victoria***

Date: **1903?**

Medium: **photographic print (postcard): printed, black and white**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

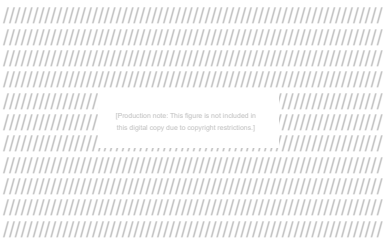
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H141212**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1684541***

Description: **original title on image l.r.: Lubras and children, Coranderrk; photographic print depicting group of Aboriginal man, women and children; women wear blankets as cloaks**



SLV: H96.200/903.png

Artist: **Victoria Stamp Market**

Title: ***[Aboriginals in camp, Victoria]***

Date: **c.1909**

Medium: **collotype colour postcard**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

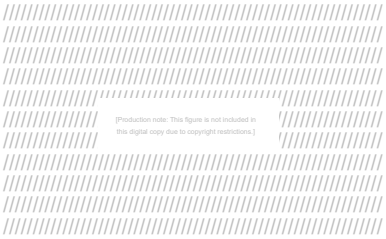
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Shirley Jones collection of Victorian postcards**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.200/903**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1668870***

Description: **shows four Aboriginal people seated on the ground, holding implements such as boomerangs; three figures wear blankets, one figure appears to wear a skin cloak**



SLV: H96.200/904.png

Artist: **Victoria Stamp Market**

Title: ***[Aboriginal men with spears and boomerangs at Coranderrk Station, Victoria]***

Date: **c.1909**

Medium: **collotype colour postcard**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

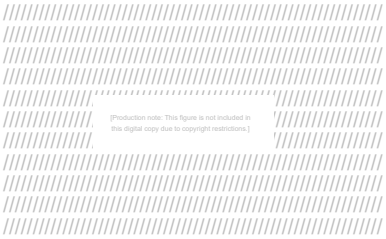
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Shirley Jones collection of Victorian postcards**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.200/904**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1668871***

Description: **original title printed on postcard u.c.: Natives and their weapons, Coranderrk, Vic.; seated figure wears blanket as cloak**



SLV: H96.200/905.png

Artist: **Victoria Stamp Market**

Title: ***[Aboriginal men dressed for a corroboree and brandishing weapons at Coranderrk Station, Victoria]***

Date: **c.1909**

Medium: **collotype colour postcard**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

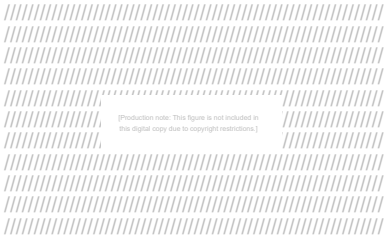
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Shirley Jones collection of Victorian postcards**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.200/905**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1668873***

Description: **original title printed on postcard l.r.: Corroboree men at Coranderrk native station, Vic.; seated figure wears a blanket or cloak**



SLV: H96.200/906.png

Artist: **Victoria Stamp Market**

Title: ***[Aboriginal men making firesticks at Coranderrk, Vic.]***

Date: **c.1909**

Medium: **collotype colour postcard**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

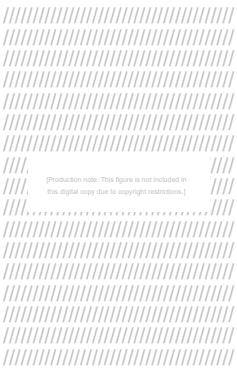
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Shirley Jones collection of Victorian postcards**

Identifying Numbers: **H96.200/906**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1668874***

Description: **original title printed on postcard u.l.: Natives making Firesticks at Coranderrk, Vic.; seated figure wears a blanket or cloak**



NLA: nla.obj-134303214-1.jpg

Artist: **Liebig's Fleisch-Extract, Germany**

Title: ***Australie: [trade card set depicting Australia]***

Date: **[1910]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **12 pages**

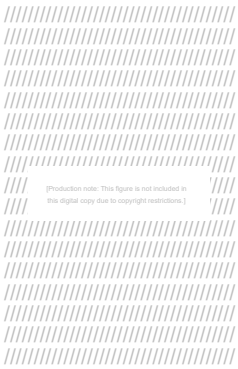
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade) - Trade Cards, nla.obj-134303214**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134303214***

Description: **trade cards depicting various Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-134303214-5.jpg

Artist: **Liebig's Fleisch-Extract, Germany**

Title: ***Australie: [trade card set depicting Australia]***

Date: **[1910]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **12 pages**

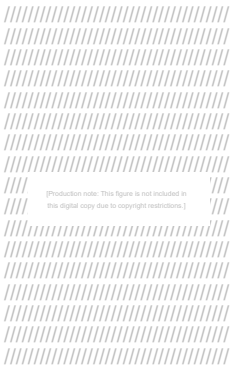
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade) - Trade Cards, nla.obj-134303214**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134303214***

Description: **trade cards depicting various Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-134303214-9.jpg

Artist: **Liebig's Fleisch-Extract, Germany**

Title: ***Australie: [trade card set depicting Australia]***

Date: **[1910]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **12 pages**

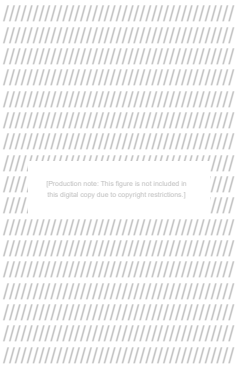
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade) - Trade Cards, nla.obj-134303214**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134303214***

Description: **trade cards depicting various Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



NLA: nla.obj-134303214-11.jpg

Artist: **Liebig's Fleisch-Extract, Germany**

Title: ***Australie: [trade card set depicting Australia]***

Date: **[1910]**

Medium: **trade card set**

Dimensions: **12 pages**

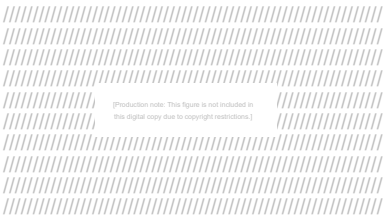
Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Ephemera (Trade) - Trade Cards, nla.obj-134303214**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134303214***

Description: **trade cards depicting various Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks and/or blankets**



SLQ: Possum skins drying at Wowan ca. 1922.jpeg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Possum skins drying at Wowan***

Date: **c.1922**

Medium: **photograph, black and white**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Accession no. 91-3-16, Record no. 395941, Negative no. 72975**

URL: ***http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/192869***

Description: **Edward Groth with possums shot during and open season at Woan [sic], c.1922**

SLQ: StateLibQld_2_153751_Display_of_Australian_animal_fur_products_at_the_British_Empire_Exhibition,_1924.jpg

Artist: **Queensland Newspapers Pty Ltd**

Title: ***Display of Australian animal fur products at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924***

Date: **1924**

Medium: **photographic print, black and white**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Negative no. 201462, Record nos 99183506630102061, 21218520310002061**

URL: ***http://onesearch.slq.qld.gov.au/permalink/f/1c7c5vg/slq_alma21218520310002061, https://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/117410***

Description: **the Exhibition was opened by King George V on 23 April 1924; photographic print depicting commercial display of Australian fur products including wallaby, opossum and grey kangaroo among other furs**

SLQ: Possum skins drying Nebo district ca. 1930.jpeg

Artist: **Unidentified**

Title: ***Possum skins drying, Nebo district***

Date: **c.1930**

Medium: **copy print, black and white**

Dimensions: **N/A**

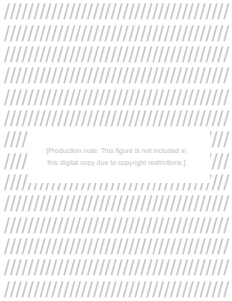
Collection: **John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **Accession no. 85-9-26, Record no. 395933, Negative no. 170483**

URL: ***http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/192867***

Description: **photographic print depicting the drying process for opossum skins; collection note names Noel, June & Alan Perry as figures in the image**



SLV: 703502986.jpg

Artist: **J. Lockwood Studios**

Title: ***[Studio portrait of Aboriginal Australian man]***

Date: **c.1939**

Medium: **postcard: printed, black and white; photographic print: gelatin silver**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx. (postcard); 22 x 17 cm (photographic print)**

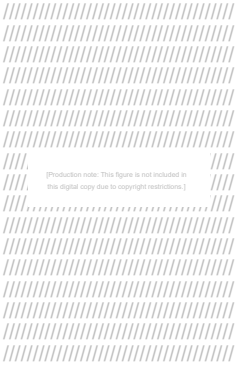
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **Gift of The A.C. Dreier Estate, 1960**

Identifying Numbers: **H23021, H19564**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1688337***

Description: **bearded Aboriginal seated wearing kangaroo skins holding skinned rabbit, shield and boomerang**



NLA: nla.obj-147887176-1.jpg

Artist: **Jeff Carter**

Title: ***Timbery family standing outside their boomerang shop at the Joe Timbery Museum, La Perouse, New South Wales***

Date: **1963**

Medium: **photograph: black and white**

Dimensions: **41.9 x 26 cm (image)**

Collection: **National Library of Australia**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **PIC/11827/11 LOC Drawer PIC/11827, nla.obj-147887176**

URL: ***http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-147887176***

Description: **photographic print of the Joe Timbery Museum; inside the shop are skins of various animals**

UniMelb: JE160-31.jpg

Artist: **John B. Ellis**

Title: ***Harry Penrith (Burnum Burnum) at Movement Against Uranium Mining march, 3 August 1978***

Date: **1978**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **University of Melbourne Archives**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **1999.0081.00146, Previous control no. UMA/I/524, Previous control no. JE160-31**

URL: ***http://hdl.handle.net/11343/76159***

Description: **Burnum Burnum wears a skin cloak backed with felt**

No date

Ballarat Heritage Services: VictorianCollections-large.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***A corrobboree***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **engraving**

Dimensions: **N/A**

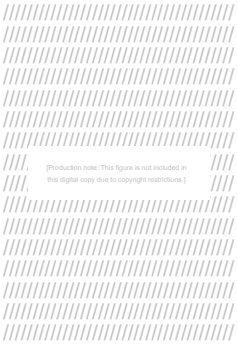
Collection: **Ballarat Heritage Services**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **#00023**

URL: ***https://victoriancollections.net.au/items/57affe8dd0cdd12018e56e2b***

Description: **line image of a Corroboree of Victorian Aborigines; figures seated in foreground and standing to the right wear possum-skin cloaks**



Gold Museum Ballarat: 7e9nb5_a9a7_m.jpg

Artist: **Johan Friedrich Kruger**

Title: ***Queen Mary Ballarat***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **10.3 x 6.4 cm**

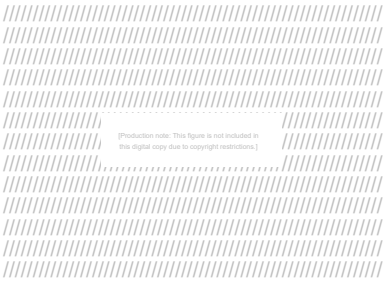
Collection: **Ballarat Historical Society Photograph Collection, Gold Museum Ballarat**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **364.79**

URL: ***https://ehive.com/collections/4819/objects/260547/queen-mary-ballarat***

Description: **sepia toned photograph of an aboriginal woman. Reverse reads: "Queen Mary Ballarat". The woman stands wearing a possum-skin cloak over western dress. She holds a basket, boomerang, digging stick and spear. At her feet are another two baskets and a boomerang. She stands inside a picket fence. According to Ian Clark in "Monash Publications in Geography No. 37" Queen Mary was of the Watha Wurrung, and the photo was taken at Coranderrk Mission (Healesville).**



MV: XP 2523.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **black-and-white silver gelatin acetate copy negative**

Dimensions: **N/A**

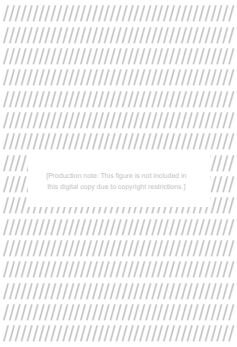
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2523**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting a group of Aboriginal men and children; the men at either side wear and hold possum-skin cloaks, with the fur side facing out**



MV: XP 2749.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Queen Mary, Barwidgee***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **black-and-white silver gelatin acetate copy negative**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2749**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting an Aboriginal woman wearing a possum-skin cloak, with the fur side facing out**

MV: XP 2891.png

Artist: **N/A**

Title: **N/A**

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **black-and-white silver gelatin acetate copy negative**

Dimensions: **N/A**

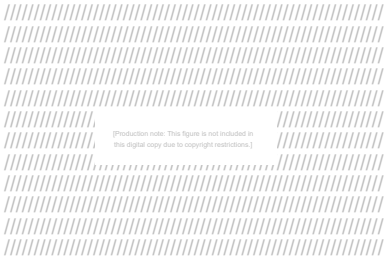
Collection: **Museums Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **XP 2891**

URL: ***https://museumsvictoria.com.au***

Description: **photograph depicting a group of Aboriginal people wearing skin cloaks, with the fur side facing out**



NGV: 3418-4.png

Artist: **S.T. Gill**

Title: ***Grim evidence***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **watercolour over pencil and gum arabic**

Dimensions: **24.5 x 35 cm (image and sheet)**

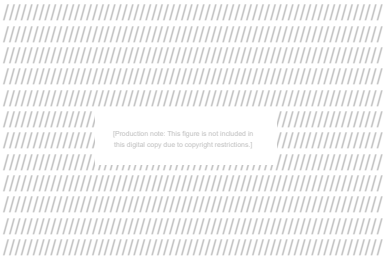
Collection: **National Gallery of Victoria**

Purchased: **Bequest of Allan R. Henderson, 1956**

Identifying Numbers: **3418-4**

URL: ***https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/27196/***

Description: **drawing of two figures, one Aboriginal and one non-Aboriginal; Aboriginal man wears a skin cloak with the fur side facing out**



SLNSW: a928876h.jpg

Artist: **Eugene Von Guérard**

Title: ***View of Moroit / or / Tower Hill. / Extinct volcano between Lady Bay & Port Fairy in Australia Felix***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **coloured lithograph with cloth backing**

Dimensions: **57 x 84.3 cm**

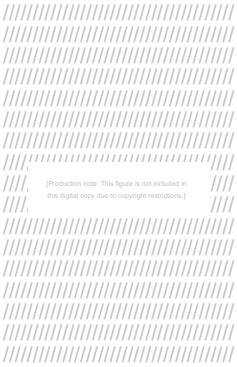
Collection: **Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **Bequeathed by D.S. Mitchell, 1907**

Identifying Numbers: **XV2B/Tow H/1, Reference code 446334, IE3314236, FL3314245, Digital order no. a928876**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/15rjecp/ADLIB110327351***

Description: **lithograph of landscape, with Aboriginal family in foreground; figures wear skin cloaks**



SLNSW: bcp_05982h.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Aborigine from 'Goulburn' tribe - Coranderrk, VIC***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

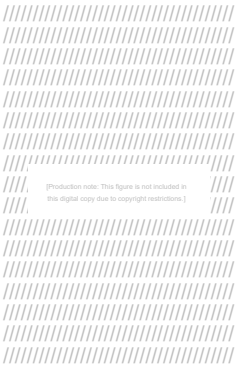
Collection: **State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **At Work and Play – 05982, Reference code 394021, IE1685735, FL1685743, Digital order no. bcp_05982**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110310616***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal figure wearing a blanket as a cloak**



SLNSW: bcp_05983h.jpg

Artist: **Fred Kruger**

Title: ***Aborigine from 'Avoca' Tribe - Coranderrk, VIC***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

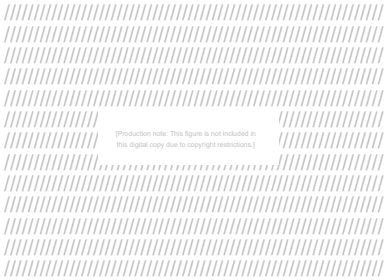
Collection: **State Library of New South Wales**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **At Work and Play – 05983, Reference code 394022, IE1671200, FL1671208, Digital order no. bcp_05983**

URL: ***https://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/1ocrdrt/ADLIB110310617***

Description: **photograph of an Aboriginal man wearing a possum-skin cloak with the designed side facing out**



SLV: a04976.jpg

Artist: **J.W.** (**John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Australian Aboriginal***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **postcard: printed, b&w**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

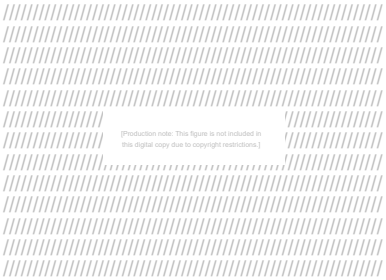
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H8660, Image no. a04976**

URL: ***https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/gid/slv-pic-aab44243***

Description: **postcard of a seated Aboriginal man wearing an animal skin**



SLV: a04979.jpg

Artist: **J.W.** (**John William) Lindt**

Title: ***Lubra & Child, River Murray, SA***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **postcard: printed, b&w**

Dimensions: **8.8 x 13.8 cm approx.**

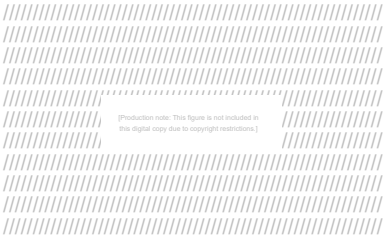
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H84.28/2, Image no. a04979**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/MAIN:Everything:SLV_VOYAGER1684569***

Description: **postcard of an Aboriginal mother and child, wearing a blanket as cloak**



SLV: 701003452.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Last of Victorian Aboriginals [i.e. Aborigines] - Corranderk [i.e. Coranderrk]***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **photograph on mount**

Dimensions: **10.7 x 16.5 cm (on mount) approx.**

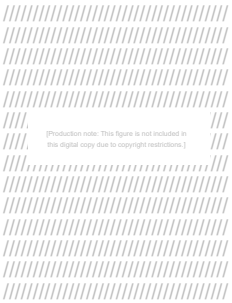
Collection: **State Library of Victoria**

Purchased: **N/A**

Identifying Numbers: **H6008**

URL: ***http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/permalink/f/1cl35st/SLV_VOYAGER1712729***

Description: **Inscribed on mount: With the Compliments of the Season / Last of Victorian Aborigines "Coranderk" / Last of the tribe; group of approximately eleven, various ages in semi-circle around fire, most figures wear blankets or cloaks**



Yarra Ranges Regional Museum: P7848.jpg

Artist: **N/A**

Title: ***Girl behind a possum skin rug***

Date: **N/A**

Medium: **photograph**

Dimensions: **N/A**

Collection: **Yarra Ranges Regional Museum**

Purchased: **Syme Family collection**

Identifying Numbers: **P7848**

URL:
http://ww1.yrrmuseumcollection.com/Presto/content/Detail.aspx?ctID=NjU2NTFmOTctNzgyNS00YTBlLWJjNzYtYjliNTFkYTI2MTBh&rID=MjgwOQ==&qrs=RmFsc2U=&q=WVJSTV9Db2xsZWN0aW9uLlJlZ2lzdHJhdGlvbl9OdW1iZXI9IlA3ODQ4Ig==&qcf=NjU2NTFmOTctNzgyNS00YTBlLWJjNzYtYjliNTFkYTI2MTBh&ph=VHJ1ZQ==&bckToL=VHJ1ZQ==&rrtc=VHJ1ZQ==

Description: **black and white image probably from a glass plate depicting a studio portrait of a girl with her elbows resting on a prop covered with a possum skin or kangaroo skin rug. The girl is looking right and wears a dark costume with a white pinnafore. Part of the Syme Collection of photographs**