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‘Wild Australia’: performers, productions and politics

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‘The (Not-So) Sacred Ibis’ – Archibald Meston, The Colonial Collector, and the Queensland Museum

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This paper focuses on Archibald Meston’s association with Queensland Museum through a detailed analysis of the collections and the transactions with Meston over six decades. The analysis gives key insights into the nature of Meston’s collecting, an aspect of his life not previously investigated. Consideration of items associated with Meston found in other collections at Queensland Museum has further allowed for a broader conceptualisation of what is the Archibald Meston collection. Meston’s relationship with the Queensland Museum is explored through the lens of the collections and reveals how the interests and policies of the museum may have shaped or even influenced Meston’s collecting at specific points in time. This paper further considers the history of a purportedly large collection of Aboriginal artefacts amassed by Meston that were used during performances and lectures for the Wild Australia Show tour (1892–1893). Reassembling what exactly is the Archibald Meston collection at the Queensland Museum has allowed for a reframing of our understanding of Meston the man, who, while neither serious or classic collector, nor scientist or scholar, was a self-proclaimed expert on Aboriginal ‘ethnography’, as well as a showman and entrepreneur.

□ Aboriginal artefacts, Archibald Meston, Indigenous History, Queensland Museum Collections, Wild Australia Show

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INTRODUCTION

Over six decades, from 1877 to 1923, Archibald Meston made seven sales, six exchanges, 63 donations and a possible loan to Queensland Museum (QM).¹ Despite the apparent paucity and erratic nature of documentation of items in the museum's collections, this paper reveals how these components have been reassembled to allow for an overall view, for the first time, of what is the Archibald Meston collection at QM. The collection has been reconstructed by collating details of all transaction types associated with Meston, and identifying all surviving records in the museum's registers, collection and donation schedules, as well as in the museum's archival correspondence and reports, and newspapers and other articles (see Appendices). Material relating to Meston located in other collections in the museum is framed here as part of a broader consideration of what might be defined as the 'Meston collection' at QM. Compiling all available data and interrogation of the records has allowed for important insights to be gained, not just into the so-called 'Archibald Meston collection', but of the man himself, as an amateur naturalist, self-proclaimed expert on Queensland Aboriginal people and collector, the latter being a chapter of his life and career not previously examined.

Our interest in Meston as a collector and the Archibald Meston collection at QM emerged from research on the 'Wild Australia Show',² a troupe of 27 Aboriginal people (twenty-one men, five women and a child) assembled at Meston's instigation in 1891. The Wild Australia Show was to tour to most Australian capital cities, then go on to New Zealand and Europe, before concluding at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 (see McKay and Memmott 2016; and other papers in this volume).³ Meston's vision was for a collection of Aboriginal artefacts to be amassed for the performers to use and to illustrate lectures he would give during the tour. An advertisement for these lectures shown in figure 1 noted the display of 'over 3,000 weapons and Ethnological specimens from all parts of Australia... will appear in Brisbane,

Sydney, Melbourne... The most Exciting, Interesting and Instructive Exhibition of the Nineteenth Century' (*Queensland Punch*, 1 November 1892). The original intention was to confirm what was in the Wild Australia Show collection and establish where it ended up. Given the overseas leg of the tour never eventuated due to financial difficulties, the most likely scenario was that it remained in Australia, however, the 'Wild Australia collection' has remained an enigma with only fragmentary information surviving.

NOVEMBER 1, 1892.] THE QUEENSL.

Wild Australia! Wild Queensland!

LECTURES ON
"Wild Australia" and "Wild Queensland"
BY
A. MESTON,
ILLUSTRATED BY
THIRTY ABORIGINES:
Selected chiefly from the Wild Tribes of North Queensland, including several men and women of that mysterious race who practise what STURT, the explorer, called the "Terrible Rite."

A Collection of over 3000 Weapons and Ethnological Specimens from all parts of Australia.

Every phase of aboriginal life as seen by the early settlers of Australia—Hunting, Fighting, Songs, Dances, Corroborees and "Boorool" (Bora) ceremonies.

The most Exciting, Interesting and Instructive Exhibition of the Nineteenth Century!

WILL APPEAR IN
Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne,
Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand
IN NOVEMBER,
ON THE WAY TO CHICAGO AND A TOUR OF THE WORLD!

The Lecturer, Mr. A. MESTON,
The well-known Queensland Writer and Explorer, is the greatest Living Authority on the Habits, Customs, Dialects and General Ethnology of the Australian aborigines.

Besides the finest existing Australian Ethnological Collection, Mr. Meston will take specimens of all Queensland's Native Products, and Limelight Pictures of the most beautiful of Queensland's Magnificent Scenery.

FIG. 1. A newspaper promotion of Meston's lectures for the Wild Australia Show. *Queensland Punch* 1 November 1892.

Clues as to what was in the Wild Australia Show collection have been very scant, one source being the few surviving images of the Troupe shown with artefacts during their performances. These photographs are unfortunately not generally of sufficient quality to enable identification of specific artefacts, beyond perhaps the distinctively shaped and painted shields, particularly those from the rainforest region of northeast Queensland. We have identified a number of museum collections with artefacts associated with Archibald Meston. The Miller-Meston Collection was purchased by the Australian Museum in Sydney in 1893 and around half of the original 417 artefacts survive, a significant number being from northwest Queensland. Some 20 of 60 Queensland Aboriginal artefacts collected by Meston for the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, Germany in 1897 remain,⁴ and twelve Queensland Aboriginal artefacts are to be found in the Meston-Stokes Collection at the South Australian Museum, most from K'gari (Fraser Island). The largest holdings, and the primary focus of our research and this paper, were located at Queensland Museum. Across all these collections are artefacts that can only be contextually associated with the Wild Australia Show collection, in particular, those collected by Brabazon 'Harry' Purcell on behalf of Meston while recruiting performers for the Troupe in northwest Queensland in 1891.

Our intensive interrogation of QM's records relating to Archibald Meston revealed a longstanding engagement with the museum that was sustained over 46 years. This sits in stark contrast to that of his contemporaries, such as Walter Roth, the Northern Protector of Aborigines (1898–1904) and Chief Protector of Aborigines (1904–1906), who donated 300 artefacts to QM in 1903 (see Rowlands 2011). Around the same time, though, Roth sold 2000 artefacts to the Australian Museum, a collection many believed 'to be the property of the Queensland Government' (Kahn 2008, p.166).⁵ In 1890, another of Meston's contemporaries, Clement Wragge, offered QM a large collection of artefacts amassed during his term as Meteorological Observer in the colony (1887–1898), of which only a portion was purchased.⁶

Jeremiah Coghlan, a pastoralist at Glenormiston Station in northwest Queensland, donated a significant collection to the museum in the late 1890s (see Robins 2008). What also emerged from these transactions was a clear trajectory in Meston's collecting that mirrored, to an extent, the collecting priorities of QM, which is discussed in detail here. His dealings with QM began during Charles de Vis' time as curator (1882–1902) and continued during his directorship (1902–1905), but not until the late 1890s did QM experience 'a burst of acquisition activity' (Robins 2008, p.65) and focus given to developing collections of Aboriginal artefacts. Meston, though, had been collecting Aboriginal artefacts with varying intensities up to this time.

The 1890s and 1900s was a period that also saw the steady trickle of overseas scientists to north Queensland and neighbouring British New Guinea, a number of whom amassed collections of Aboriginal artefacts for museums in Europe and the United Kingdom. These included Norwegian biologist, Carl Lumholtz, who, in 1882, made a collection from north Queensland for the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo; Alfred Cort Haddon, who led the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, during which he collected for Cambridge University (see Philp 2001); and anatomist, Hermann Klaatsch, who was in north Queensland and Cape York in 1904 and made collections for various German museums (see Allen 2003; Erckenbrecht 2016). With Meston's entrepreneurial interests singularly focused on the Wild Australia Show Troupe and tour in 1891, no doubt he considered the commercial potential of the Wild Australia Show collection. The following year he offered to secure the museum a set of 'twelve masks, or grotesque head dresses used in ceremonial dances by the natives of Prince of Wales Island for the sum of £4-10-00 [which was] considered and accepted' (Queensland Museum Board Meeting Minutes, July 1892). No evidence has been found in the QM's Purchase Register relating to masks or headdresses being acquired from Meston, his bold promise, perhaps, reflecting a naivety with respect to the complexities entailed in acquiring or having

and the intersection of his interests and those of QM over time. In establishing the when and how of what Meston collected from where, key trends emerged in Meston's collecting regimes, which, in general, mirrored the acquisition priorities of QM. Meston's collecting mirrored the changing nature of QM's collecting priorities which aligned with the appointment of each subsequent curator and director. Meston's engagement began with Charles de Vis, mentioned already, with whom Meston shared a keen interest in natural science; then, Ronald Hamlyn Harris, appointed in 1911, who Robins (2008, p.67) notes, 'established an active acquisition policy [for Aboriginal artefacts] through appeals to missionaries, government employees, [from which] the collection grew considerably'; C.J.Wild, appointed acting director after de Vis' retirement in 1905; and, lastly, Heber Longman, the former deputy director to Hamlyn Harris, 'who maintained an interest in physical anthropology actively collect[ing] human remains... at a rate greater than that of ethnographic objects' (Robins 2008, p.67). How the trajectory of Meston's collecting reflects the key interests of these men and the museum is explored in further detail below.

Given the broader context of Meston's activities (discussed elsewhere in this volume), we suggest that his primary motivation for collecting and entertaining a close association with QM and its directors was due largely to his desire to establish his credentials and enhance his status as an expert naturalist and, purportedly, the 'greatest living authority' (*Queensland Punch* 1 November 1892) on Aboriginal people. When Meston applied for the position of director following Hamlyn Harris' retirement in 1917, he reminded them of his long association and that '[m]useum records will show I have been a very consistent friend and contributor for the last 30 years' (Queensland State Archives Item ID ITM862630, General Correspondence).⁹ Our analysis of the history of the transactions between Meston and QM confirms it to be the longest ongoing relationship he maintained throughout his entire career, having regularly fallen out with those with whom he otherwise engaged in various capacities.

BACKGROUND

It is important to consider the broader context of QM's approach to ethnographic collections historically. The museum was founded in 1862 by the Philosophical Society,¹⁰ and although the Society's collections were relocated to the Parliamentary Building in Queen Street in 1868, the Queensland Colonial Government did not assume financial responsibility for the museum until 1871, with the first purpose-built museum opening in William Street in 1879. The colonial administration's concern for establishing a new colonial identity of Queensland saw the appointment of a series of curators and directors with the first custodian appointed in 1874 – K.T.Staiger, a chemist and assayer.¹¹ The focus was on building reference collections, particularly mineralogy and botany specimens that would support the economic development of Queensland's mining and agriculture industries. In fact, throughout its history, the museum's emphasis has been on developing natural science collections, with the directors almost exclusively being drawn from scientific disciplines. As the museum was being erected and collections grew, these collections were displayed and re-displayed in various venues, and throughout the 1870s and 1880s newspapers reported on the displays of mineralogy, palaeontology, botanical and zoological specimens, with much commentary on taxidermy and the preparation of mounts and articulation of animal skeletons, as well as a strong concern about the lack of space to accommodate these ever-expanding collections.¹²

Mather points out the museum acquired stone tools and Aboriginal artefacts before 1874 (1986, p.200),¹³ but these were displayed essentially as ad hoc additions framed within technological and industrial processes, rather than providing any cultural context.¹⁴ An 1869 article in *The Brisbane Courier*, the author of which is only referenced to by the alias, Cycus, noted that on a visit to the Queensland Museum, they saw a 'great number of native instruments, and articles of native manufacture, collected and presented to

the museum by many old colonists and explorers' (*The Brisbane Courier* 28 August 1869, p.6). Responsibility for Indigenous cultural collections rested with the directors and curators, all of whom were trained in the natural sciences, and, at times, various Trustees of the Board. With anthropology in its infancy in the latter half of the nineteenth century, any development of the ethnographic collections was situated within a social-evolutionary context and led to the unsystematic collecting 'before it is too late' of so-called 'genuine' and 'traditional' artefacts. In 1911, Ronald Hamlyn Harris sent a circular letter to all government officials across the state requesting they 'acquire those symbols of the life of the original Australian inhabitants' who were 'fast dying out', and to forward them to the museum (Queensland State Archives, Item ID ITM318640).¹⁵ To add further to this unsystematic collecting, the collections were poorly managed and given little or no priority for registration and display with curatorial interests and expertise residing in building the natural science collections.

The exception to this was the steady stream of artefacts arriving from British New Guinea (1888–98) from Sir William MacGregor, the first Administrator of British New Guinea. MacGregor had negotiated with the Queensland colonial administration to store and display the 'Official Collection' for British New Guinea, and within a decade, almost 11,000 items arrived at the museum (see Quinnell 2000; Torrence et al. 2020). These overwhelmed the display and storage space, and occupied much of the time of curator, Charles de Vis. Consequently, almost no focus was given to acquiring Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander artefacts, and what existed in the collections was essentially neglected by those with responsibility for their care and management. This was further compounded by multiple relocations of the collections to mostly inadequate storage facilities. While the museum's permanent home for 86 years (from 1899) was in the Old Exhibition Building on Gregory Terrace, the ongoing lack of adequate storage facilities and poor environmental controls resulted in further neglect of the Indigenous

collections and the deterioration and loss of many items. Artefacts remained essentially unregistered for decades, and any disposal of collections or items was not always documented in the museum's records. This was further compounded by the misplacement, exchange, and destruction of many items over time, and the re-registration of many others. These factors have all impacted significantly on our ability to identify what was the Archibald Meston collection and what of it survives today at QM, and, in particular, those elements which may have been part of Meston's Wild Australia Show collection.

THE ARCHIBALD MESTON COLLECTION

Establishing exactly what is the Archibald Meston collection at QM has required a multifaceted approach, beginning with a detailed search of the museum's archival registers and correspondence, together with the critical analysis of the museum's cataloguing systems. The museum, like many others, has habitually reinvented and replaced registration systems numerous times resulting in the re-registration of single items.¹⁶ During the physical examination of the collection, we observed, for instance, a number of objects with more than one catalogue number written on them.¹⁷ The interrogation of the collection required an extensive and intensive review of current and archival registers and documents, and at least 709 items (natural science specimens and Aboriginal artefacts) were identified as being transferred by Meston to QM between 1877 and 1923.

Table 1 shows that 457 of these items are currently registered in the current Collection Management System (CMS) database. Of those, 67 are not linked to any specific transactions, most likely a consequence of the disassociation of original information prior to their cataloguing and registration which could have taken place many years after they entered the museum. Given this disassociation, individual items may have been registered more than once and given a new unique identifier or catalogue number each time. There are 252 items recorded in the Ethnology Registers – Australia or listed on various donation or

purchase schedules or in annual reports that do not appear in the current collection database, and so have not been located in the collection stores. Some or all of the 67 items discussed previously could be amongst this group making the total number of items from Meston possibly less than 709. In the absence of further documentation any possible duplications cannot be reconciled.

Table 2 shows a breakdown of the 457 items currently present in QM's collection from Meston, categorised as Queensland Ethnography (QE), Australian Ethnography (excluding Queensland) (E), Biodiversity and Culturally Sensitive Collections accordingly. The data revealed the majority of items were Aboriginal artefacts, and of these, more than half were from Queensland, while a little more than fifteen per cent were natural science specimens.

A further breakdown of the QE and E registrations into 'types' in figure 3 allows for a more nuanced understanding of what is in the collection, and Meston's motivations and biases in collecting Aboriginal artefacts.¹⁸ While acknowledging the problematic nature of any such analysis, the categorisations here attempt to reframe these artefacts in terms of how they may have been used or thought of by Aboriginal people. Our intention is to avoid the classic typologies used by museums, such as 'weapons' or 'tools', however, unsurprisingly, it reveals that the majority of artefacts are 'things

relating to maintaining law and order', such as spears, spearthrowers and clubs, the types of artefacts that held great interest for male collectors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time, we acknowledge these can equally be classed as 'things used to live on country' or 'used in ceremony'. The next largest grouping is 'things that are worn', i.e. items of body wear and personal adornment, many again likely to be 'things used in ceremonial life'. Without more detail, it is impossible to be more definitive about the distinctions between objects and their uses, however, there is sufficient information to delineate that within this grouping 33 items were specifically worn by men, 15 by women, and four by children.

While the natural science component of the Archibald Meston collection is very modest in comparison to the cultural collections, the deposition of the specimens involved a significantly higher number of transactions and extended across the entire period of Meston's association with the museum. It began with de Vis as curator when the collecting priorities of the museum were targeted towards building the natural science collections as mentioned previously (see Appendix 1–3). The breakdown of natural science specimens is more straightforward, and figure 4 shows a predominance of herpetology and bird specimens. Meston, in fact, developed a strong reputation as an amateur naturalist, and in 1889, a decade after

Table 1: Numbers of items identified in transactions between Archibald Meston and Queensland Museum

Description	Quantity
Total number of registered items linked to Meston as collector	457
Number of registered items linked to a purchase, donation, or exchange record	390
Number of registered items not linked to a purchase, donation, or exchange record	67
Number of unregistered/unaccounted for objects	252
Number of objects (unregistered & registered) identified	709

Table 2: Numbers of entries currently in the Queensland Museum's database

Description	Quantity
Queensland Ethnography Collections (QE registrations)	279
Australian Ethnography Collections (E registrations)	88
Biodiversity Collections	72
Culturally Sensitive Collections	18
Number of objects (unregistered & registered) identified	457

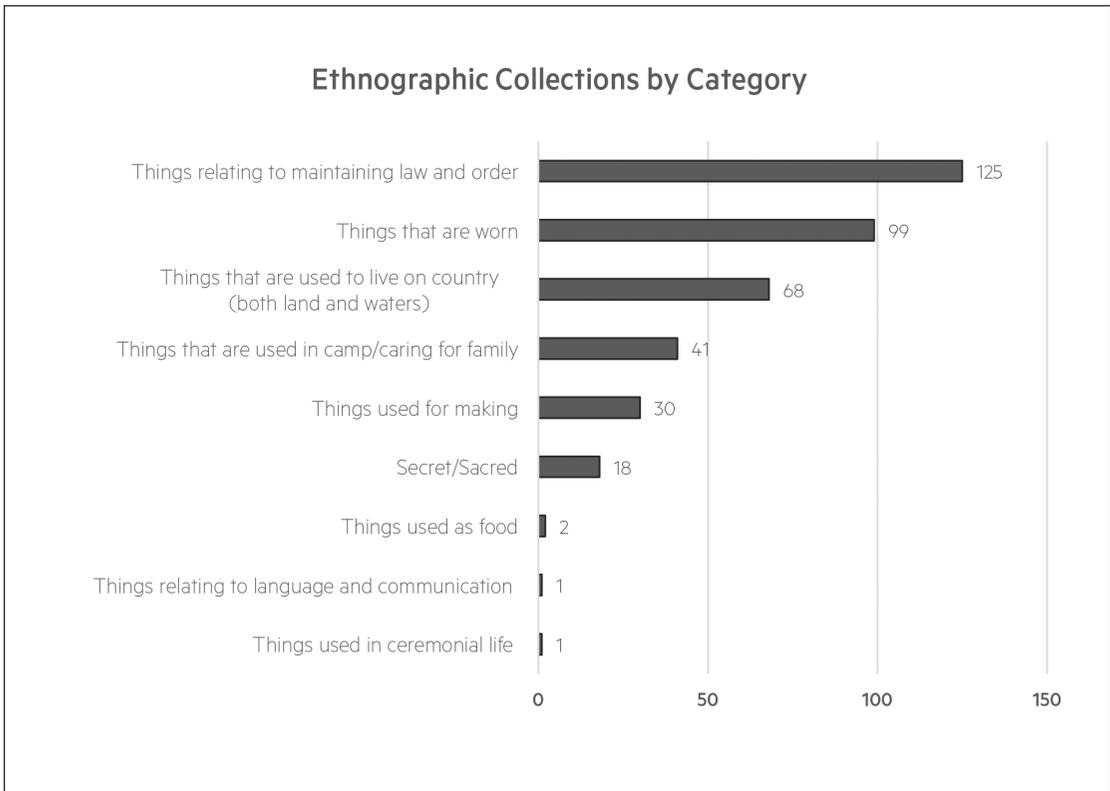


FIG. 3. Types of Australian ethnographic items received from Archibald Meston.

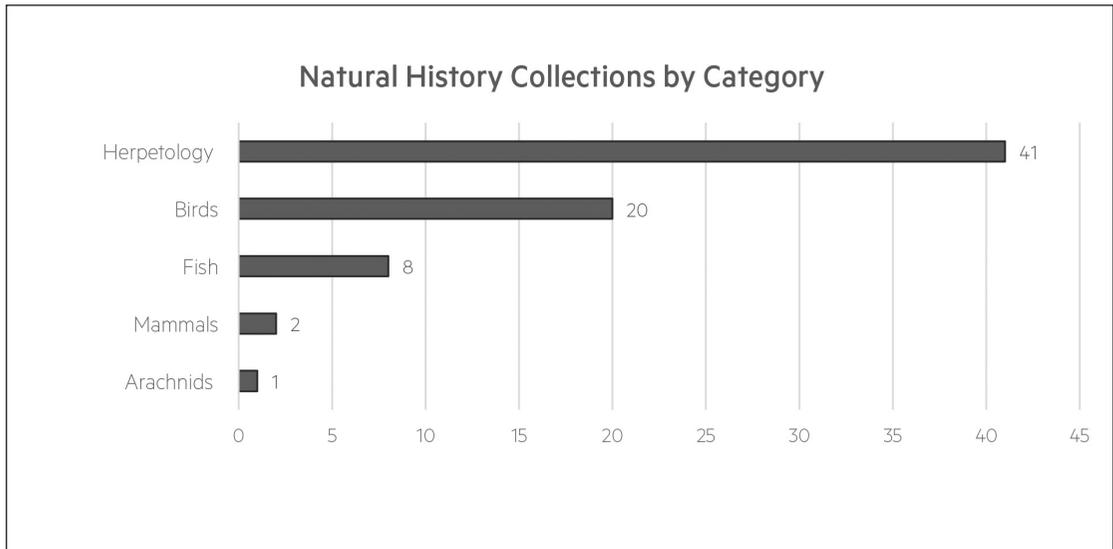


FIG. 4. Types of natural science specimens received from Archibald Meston.

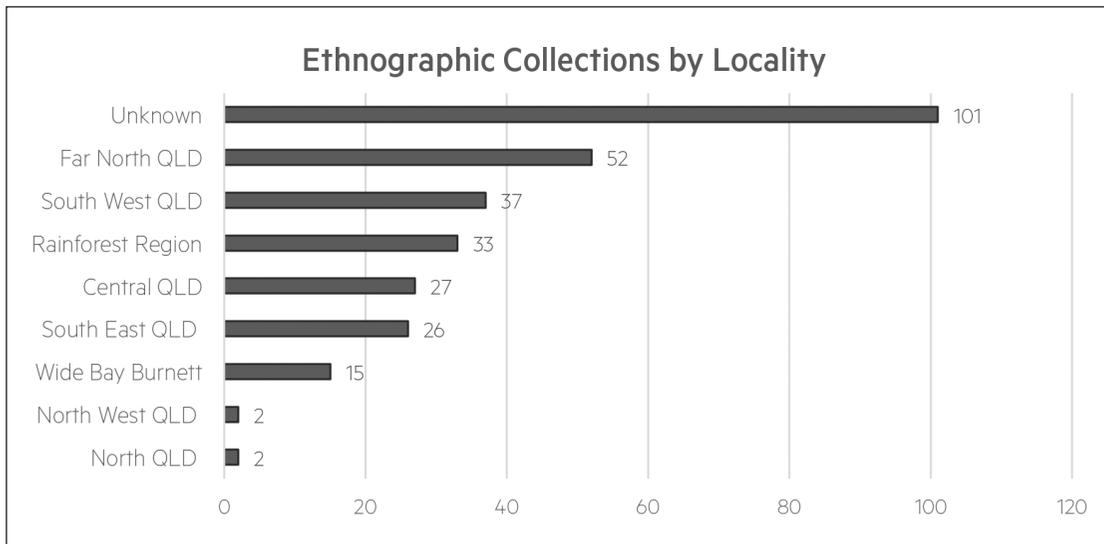


FIG. 5. Queensland Aboriginal artefacts per region.

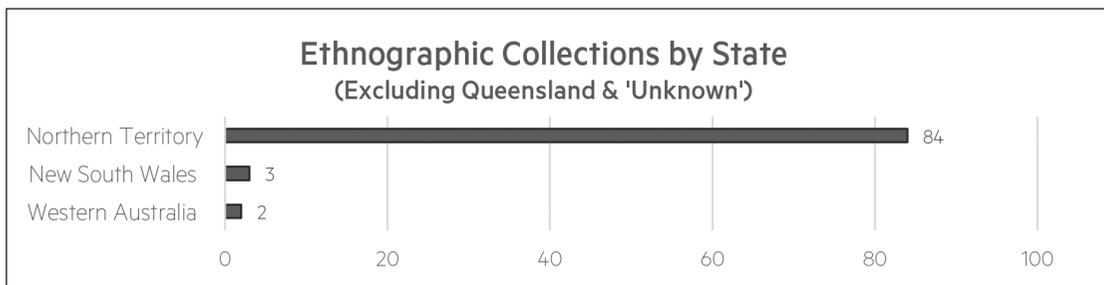


FIG. 6. Aboriginal artefacts by state (excluding Queensland).

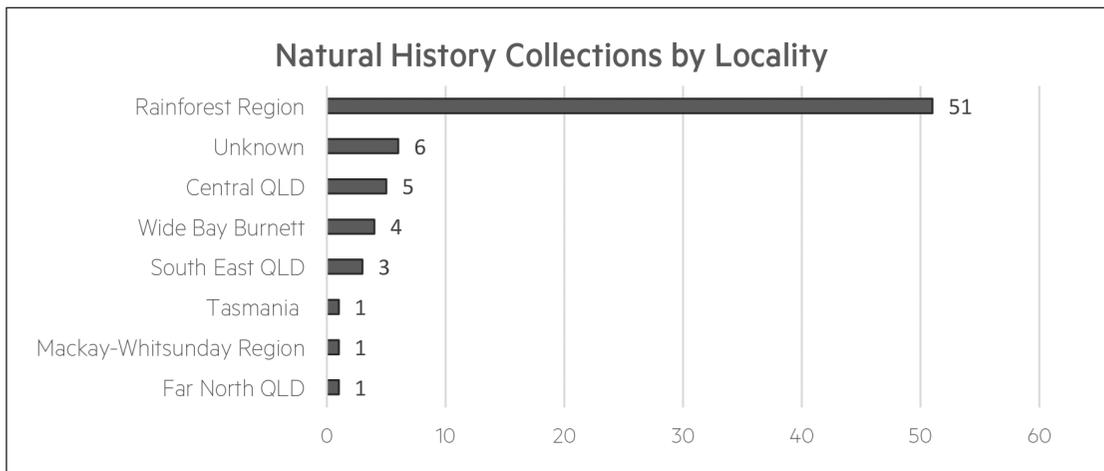


FIG. 7. Queensland natural history specimens per region.

he first donated specimens to the museum, was invited by the colonial administration to lead the first expedition to reach the summit of Mount Bellenden Ker (Meston 1889a, 1895a). Interestingly though, examples of two plants from the expedition named after Meston, *Garcinia mestonii* or Meston's mangosteen, which he describes as 'one of the finest wild fruits in Australia', and *Piper (Chavica) mestonii*, or long pepper, are absent amongst the 29 specimens he collected and donated to the museum at the time (Meston 1892a)¹⁹. The 1892 newspaper cartoon in figure 2 confirms Meston had established his reputation as a naturalist by this point, and an ongoing association with collecting on Mount Bellenden Ker, while at the same time recognising his emergence as an authority on Aboriginal 'ethnography'.

THE ORIGINS OF THE COLLECTION

The Archibald Meston collection has a predominance of items from Queensland, and figures 5 and 7 show the breakdown by regions within the state, while figure 6 shows the breakdown for those from elsewhere in Australia.²⁰ It has not always been possible to identify what Meston collected directly himself, what he commissioned others to collect, and what was gained from purchases or exchanges with other collectors, although instances of each are given in this paper. A particular strength of the ethnographic collections is from the rainforest region of north Queensland (see figure 5).²¹ By the early 1880s, Meston was involved in a business venture in the Russell River area that sought to attract potential investors in establishing a sugar industry there, and it is likely Meston collected some of these himself while others may have been acquired from landholders in the region with whom Meston aligned himself. Meston is very likely the collector of the natural history specimens from Queensland, although the six without a known place of origin (figure 7) could possibly be assigned an area of origin from comparative taxonomic research. Some of the 101 Queensland Aboriginal artefacts with no known location (figure 5) might also, in time, be attributed to a specific place or region through stylistic comparative research and engaging with Indigenous communities.

UNCOVERING THE ARCHIBALD MESTON COLLECTION

The complexities associated with identifying all the components of the Archibald Meston collection and the incomplete nature of the records is, as highlighted earlier, a consequence of a history of inconsistent museum processes and exacerbated by a consistent lack of, or inadequate storage and staff. While information has survived, it is further complicated by the fact that items may have been re-catalogued and given new registration numbers as cataloguing systems were retired and/or replaced over time, resulting not just in some items having multiple registration numbers but also in their disassociation from original information. Rather than registering all items associated with a single transaction as they entered the museum, QM has had a staggered registration process and items from a single lot have been catalogued separately over time. Objects were usually registered when put on display, the subject of a research or collection project, or when relocated within storerooms or to new facilities. It took several years, even decades, before all items from a single transaction were fully registered, and, in some cases, were never completely registered. In one instance, it took 110 years for a single item to be registered, having entered the museum in 1897 and registered in the current database in 2007.²²

Individual items were also entered into different registers at different times, but any original associations between items were not always maintained in the records. This dislocation and dissociation of items from original transactions made it difficult at the outset to conceptualise the extent or nature of the Archibald Meston collection at QM – how much there was, where it came from, and how it was collected and when – and necessitated the painstaking reconstruction of each transaction from the series of assorted registers created by the museum since the 1860s. Items were initially categorised according to how they were acquired, be it through donation, purchase, exchange, loan, or transfer; however, the cataloguing processes were random and inconsistent. Between 1890 and 1911, when most transactions with Meston took place,

189		190		191	
529	1/2 bone	Shingone bone	Same long	2325	7/1000
530	"	"	"	2437	"
531	"	"	1/2 bone	3092	"
532	"	"	6	2078	"
533	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
534	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
535	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
536	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
537	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
538	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
539	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
540	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
541	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
542	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
543	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
544	"	One bone	bone	2662	"
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FIG. 8. The Australian Ethnography (ER) Register (page 30–31) includes entries of items collected by Meston, part of Purchase 150 (1897).²⁶ Photographer: Geoff Thompson. Source: Queensland Museum.

five volumes of *Ethnology Registers – Australia* (ER registrations) were used for ethnographic items, but did not always include details about who was depositing the collections nor about the collections themselves. Items identified as coming from Meston in the various registers were matched with varying success to original transactions and then to current database records.

What was recorded in various generations of QM Registers differed; for example, the information recorded for each object in the *Ethnology Register – Australia* (begun in 1890) changed at least four times in the first thirty pages. On some pages of the *Ethnology Register – Australia*, registration number, name and description of the object, collector, and place collected was recorded, while in others, a column for the collector was removed (see figure 8). On other pages, entries recording the collector and the place an item was collected from were included in the same column, the space where collector was recorded instead recording the purchase, donation or exchange numbers. In 1911, the QE (*Queensland Ethnography*) and E (*Australian Ethnography*) Registers were developed, and then the MAC (*MacGregor Collection*) Register was created in 1915, in which items entered in the original QE and E Registers were re-registered with new numbers allocated.²³ The QE and E Registers had been established as an outcome of the recommendations of the Etheridge Report (1910) that identified the need for a thorough examination and overhaul of existing practices. The PA (*Physical Anthropology*) Register was not created until 1967, and it incorporated registrations of all human skeletal remains, many of which had been previously registered in the QE and E registers. The establishment of this register resulted in the consequent re-registration of these remains and the assigning of new registration numbers (see Appendix 7 for examples).²⁴ A number of the Aboriginal skeletal remains obtained from Meston were re-registered into the PA register after 1967, and subsequently deaccessioned from the museum's collections in the 1990s and 2000s.²⁵

Then in the late 1980s, the handwritten registers were transcribed into rudimentary databases, essentially electronic copies or versions of primary

materials, using R:Base from Microrim. A few years later, the 'Cultures and Histories' collections, which included Aboriginal collections, were converted into a separate MS Access database, while the Biodiversity collections remained in R:Base. Access databases developed by individual curators had their own idiosyncratic fields and terminology for inputting data, and there was no overall consistency in terminology, keywords or fields across the databases. In 2006, these separate databases were migrated to the Vernon Collection Management System and the issue compounded further by the loss of data that is inevitable in any mapping process. This is the foundation of the current Vernon CMS database system at QM, and no process has been implemented to validate or reconcile database records or apply consistent terminology.

The majority of the artefacts in the Archibald Meston collection entered the museum prior to 1911 and so were registered into the *Ethnology Registers – Australia*, and at a later stage, artefacts were re-registered in the QE and E Registers, and the PA Register (or both). As the current database records for these are drawn from the R:Base and MS Access databases, it is not surprising that many of the records have inaccurate acquisition dates and details about the collection and who it is from. For example, while Meston's large sale of ethnographic objects in 1897, Purchase 150 (Appendix 6), was given an initial acquisition date of 1 May 1897,²⁷ many of the Vernon database records have acquisition date as 29 April 1897.²⁸ One artefact associated with Meston acquired by the Museum in 1893 was transferred from the ER Register into the QE Register in 1916, then registered again with a different QE number in 1923, and at two later times was given further QE numbers. The Vernon database consequently has four QE entries for this same item.²⁹ Given this problematic history of collection management and record-keeping systems, information related to Meston's transactions with the museum has been lost, misdirected, disassociated, and, in several cases, attributed without confirmation; and a significant number of the current Vernon database records do not record an association with Meston. So, it should not be surprising that some hundreds

of items from Meston that are now known to have entered the museum between 1877 and 1923 are seemingly non-existent in the current database (refer Table 1).

While the details of the specific transactions involving Meston are explored in further detail in this paper, it is important to note that a significant outcome of this research has been the reconciling of the records, data and transaction details, and the updating of database records confirming they are part of the many transactions between Meston and QM, the original transaction details, and other details from those original records such as where it was collected. A significant reconciliation was the last acquisition from Meston, which was registered within weeks of his death in 1924 – a set of nine breastplates from Queensland that had been displayed from at least 1921 (Kobbi 1921, p.8), and the details of which are discussed further below.

MESTON AS COLLECTOR

Having identified the elements of the Archibald Meston collection at QM, it is possible to use the data to map the development of Meston's professional career and his activities as a collector, and trace the way he nurtured a mutually useful relationship with QM that would, in turn, secure him a level of influence and standing within Queensland's colonial society. As a public figure, Meston pursued multiple careers, as a journalist, a Member of Parliament and showman, and as a businessman, pursuing speculative enterprises that yielded him no financial gain. However, Meston's connection with the museum over a 46 year period allowed him to establish his credentials as an amateur naturalist, and, through his journalistic and other writings, lay claim to expertise on the landscape, terrain and resources of Queensland.

From the beginning of the 1890s, Meston appeared to have acquired significant expertise on Aboriginal 'ethnography', linked to his business venture, the Wild Australia Show tour of the eastern seaboard in 1892 and 1893. It was further secured with his

appointment as Southern Protector of Aborigines in 1898, yet it is worth noting that he had donated Aboriginal artefacts to the museum in the 1880s at which time he laid no claim to or demonstrated any specific knowledge or expertise about Aboriginal people. This specific and dramatic change in his regime of collecting is the primary focus here, and the analysis of the Archibald Meston collection reveals a shift in focus that aligns at times with the changing priorities of the museum and the interests of its directors. As a collector, Meston was opportunistic and reactive in acquiring natural science specimens and Aboriginal artefacts, the exception being the Wild Australia Show collection, for which he commissioned items, no doubt with the expectation of making money from its sale. Further detailed consideration of the records, of correspondence, and reviews and commentaries in the media are combined here to shed light on the machinations of Meston's collecting and his changing relationship with the museum through six decades, which we delineate into three major phases: the earliest collecting phase in the 1870s to 1880s; a middle phase being the 1890s; and the last phase from 1898 onwards.

THE EARLIEST COLLECTING PHASE – 1870s AND 1880s

Meston's initial engagement with the museum began in 1877, only fifteen years after its establishment, and his very first transaction was the donation of a single 'flying mouse with young' (Queensland Museum Annual Report 1878, p.4).³⁰ At the time, he was living in the Brisbane area. By 1882, he was living in the Barron River area acting as an agent to procure and secure investments for establishing a sugar industry there and speculating on land along a proposed route of a railway. In 1883, he made the first donation of Aboriginal artefacts (see figure 9), listed as 'Aboriginal Weapons. 1x nulla nulla, 1x heilaman (shield), 4x boomerangs, 1x waddy (all from Townsville), 1x sword (from Russell River)'.³¹

In a letter to the Editor of *The Brisbane Courier* in June 1883, Meston wrote about collecting in the Russell River area.

I present you with one of these extraordinary weapons, which I obtained on the Russell River... A party consisting of Mr. Jobson, of Mackay, Mr. J. Toohey, Mr. John Nairn, and myself, were ascending the Russell in a small boat, and in quietly rounding the bend, nearly ran into a huge war canoe coming down at full speed. They were close to the side, and the warriors just tumbled overboard head first sideways, and dived into the mangroves which fringed the solid scrub. In the canoe were four heavy swords, two or three spears, and a couple of shields half cut to pieces. I give you one of them so that you can form an idea of the force of the sword cuts. There had evidently been a big fight between the Russell River and Johnston River blacks, and the war party was returning home. So much for the wonderful discovery of the wooden swords. (Meston 1883, p.3)

The 'sword (from Russell River)' given in 1883 was very likely amongst the items that Meston and his party took from the canoe. Earlier in this same newspaper article, Meston described witnessing a fight between two Aboriginal men, one armed with a sword, after which he emerged from the undergrowth revealing his presence to the victor. Meston explained that he gestured, asking the man 'to retire from the scene [but] his idea is that

I wanted him to turn round so as to shoot him in the back' (Meston, 1883, p.3). Given Meston, in fact, admitted to being armed with a Swinbourne rifle, as most likely were the rest of the boat party, it is not surprising that the men in the canoe took cover in the mangroves. Further, it could be presumed that Meston obtained the sword that he donated to QM at this time or under similar circumstances, taking the item without consent, perhaps left behind by the 'war party' when they departed quickly, or taken under duress when Meston confronted the combatant. Whatever the real circumstances in this case, the descriptions of these incidents no doubt indicates the way in which Meston and his associates 'collected' Aboriginal artefacts at that time.

A further two transactions (a donation and an exchange) of natural science specimens were made in 1884 and 1887,³² but, by 1888, eleven years after his first donation, Meston appears to be procuring specific specimens for the museum. In correspondence with de Vis, he wrote 'Just a line to say I am going down to the Russell for a few weeks collecting and will – I hope – be able to obtain the crocodile skeleton you require. I hope also to find something new for you.' (Meston 1888).³³ Three more donations were made in 1889 of four birds from the Johnstone River, an earthworm, an indecipherable specimen in the '*mestoni*' species, and a selection of shells.³⁴ The level of familiarity



FIG. 9. A painted boomerang from the Mulgrave River, Queensland, that could have been collected by Meston in the 1880s. QE3608 (Acquired by QM 31 December 1904; Registered 9 April 1945; Previously Registered ER2581). Photographer: Peter Waddington, 2020. Source: Queensland Museum.

that Meston enjoyed with de Vis, and other staff, like malacologist, Charles Hedley, is clear in further correspondence. 'By post today have sent number of (live) shells for Hedley. All well and successful, will not forget what you want.' (Meston 1889b). By this period, QM was providing supplies for Meston to preserve specimens (Meston 1891a), and allowing him to borrow museum specimens to illustrate his lectures.

Notwithstanding the single donation of Aboriginal artefacts in 1883, Meston's collecting was consistently focused on natural history specimens in ten transactions over fourteen years.³⁵ Given that all but one was a donation, Meston's motivations for collecting were clearly not financial. Either by design or default, Meston appeared to be focused on building his reputation and credentials as a collector and naturalist, in particular, in relation to the flora and fauna of the rainforest region, and his credibility was, no doubt, enhanced by the fact QM engaged him to collect on its behalf. Through his journalistic writings, Meston promoted his expertise in a range of subjects relating to Queensland, like the geography and its railways (See Meston 1889a, 1891b, 1895a). Recognition of Meston's expertise as a naturalist was no doubt sealed with his appointment to lead the Mount Bellenden Ker Expedition in 1889, discussed previously.

THE MIDDLE PHASE – 1890s

By the early 1890s, Meston's collecting had taken a dramatic turn and 14 of 24 transactions between 1892 and 1893 involved Aboriginal artefacts.³⁶ With little or no information as to where, when or how he acquired these, one of our concerns has been to establish if any of these artefacts were part of the Wild Australia Show collection. As discussed elsewhere in this volume, in 1891 Meston engaged Harry Purcell to travel to northwest Queensland to recruit Aboriginal men for the Wild Australia Show Troupe, and to make a collection of Aboriginal artefacts, the only instance in which Meston is known to have directly commissioned a third party to collect for him, making Meston, in this instance,

the secondary collector and Purcell the primary collector. In correspondence with the Colonial Secretary's Office, Purcell acknowledged that 'a large number of curios' were delivered to Meston in Brisbane along with Aboriginal men recruited for the Wild Australia Show Troupe (Queensland State Archives, Item ID ITM847483). A newspaper article in June 1892 confirmed that Purcell had collected a 'really magnificent and varied' collection of artefacts, including 'spears, boomerangs, fighting sticks, shields, stone axes, stone knives, and sandals from the Workii [Wakaya] and Ullawarrie [Alyawarre]' (*The Northern Mining Register* 1892, p.13).

Meston had promised his financial backers that 30 performers and 3000 artefacts would be delivered for the Wild Australia Show (as discussed elsewhere in this volume), and while the final number of performers was 27, as mentioned previously, no record has been located as to the final number of artefacts. Given the dissociation of documentation and the nature of the records at QM described earlier, confirming what, if any, artefacts from the Wild Australia Show collection survive in the Archibald Meston collection at QM is complex. Artefacts from the Wakaya or Alyawarre are mentioned in the article, and while none have been identified in the collection at QM, they may be amongst the 101 items without a known location (see figure 5). The article recounted details of Purcell's travels from Cloncurry to Buckingham Downs, then to Warendra Station near Boulia, on to Herbert Downs, then to the Georgina River and Glenormiston, and the artefacts listed from Cloncurry, Boulia, Georgina River or Glenormiston in the Archibald Meston collection could have been part of the Wild Australia collection.

Troupe members used artefacts in their performances, as seen in figure 10, and reviews of the Show and Meston's lectures focused on the spectacular and unfamiliar items. The 'devil masks' worn by the Kaurareg men and discussed earlier here, and the Wakaya's elaborate tall ceremonial headgear were often part of the commentary in newspaper reports. As important and powerful items, they most likely were the personal possessions of those individual Troupe

members, which could explain their absence in the Archibald Meston collection at QM. Boomerangs, spears and clubs were used in many performances and demonstrations, such as the re-enactment of frontier conflict involving an armed 'native trooper' and Aboriginal men with spears and spearthrowers seen in figure 10. In this tableau, the swagman had been killed and the trooper retaliated, shooting and killing an Aboriginal man. Most images of the Troupe's performances in which artefacts appear are not sufficiently clear enough to allow the matching of specific items to those in the Archibald Meston collection at QM. The most likely artefacts for identification in the collection are the distinctively painted and shaped shields, and while a number are found in the collection at QM, it was not possible to match for example, the one held by the man on the far left in the image.

A review of Meston's lecture to the Royal Society of Queensland in 1892 gives an insight into the vision for the Wild Australia Show and the proposed tour to Europe and Chicago. It uses somewhat typical sensationalised descriptions of the collection, pointing out it had

many specimens never collected before... [and] would include all used to-day in every part of Australia and those that were used when white men first arrived... Mr. A. Meston then gave a most interesting description of an excellent exhibition of ethnological specimens recently collected by him. It is interesting to note that on no previous occasion has so fine a collection of aboriginal weapons been exhibited in the kindred societies of Australasia, several



FIG. 10. Performance at Bondi Pavilion, December 1892, with a painted backdrop of Mount Bellenden Ker. Photographer: Charles Kerry, 1892. Source: Michael Graham Stewart Collection.

of the exhibits being entirely new to anthropological research. The collection included fighting and throwing nullas, fighting and throwing boomerangs, broad-bladed spears from Boulia, spears from Cape York pointed with cruel-looking clusters of stingaree barbs, heavy hand spears barbed with shark teeth, 10ft. heavy hand spears made from black brigalow, finely made woomeras from the Russell River, Mackinlay [sic] Ranges, and Cape York, some of them ornamented with nautilus shell and red seeds, 15in. "paddiemella" sticks used chiefly for killing game, small shields from the far west and turtleshell shields from the east coast bearing the double red cross on a white ground, the war mark of the old Minyahgo-Wallo tribes. A specially interesting exhibit was the fire-stick of Cape York, a double wand with the ends in a waterproof cover. The method of use was clearly described. Mr. Meston gave a lucid description of the method of using the various weapons, and an account of their distribution over Australia. (*The Brisbane Courier* 14 June 1892, p.7)

The article concluded with an observation that while the display did not include artefacts collected by Purcell, '[w]hen Mr. B. H. Purcell returns with the far north-west specimens, an immense collection, Mr. Meston said he would give the Royal Society a far more interesting evening.' (*The Brisbane Courier* 14 June 1892, p.7). It is very likely though, that the display did include artefacts collected by Purcell, as the places mentioned include those where Purcell recruited the performers, or places they came from, and where he collected artefacts for the Wild Australia Show, such as Boulia, the McKinlay Ranges and Gilbert River. The 'finely made woomeras' from the Russell River may have been ones Meston or his associates collected in the 1880s, described earlier here, but he did return there for a short visit in 1892. The source/s of artefacts like those from Cape York is unclear, as Meston is not known to have visited that

area. The distinctive spears of stingray barbs and the encased firesticks and spearthrowers with shell discs referred to in the article were all highly sought by collectors at the time, and Meston could have easily obtained them from other collections. There are examples of the spearthrowers and firesticks in the Archibald Meston collection at QM, but it was not possible to confirm the inclusion of the spears as they were not accessible during our research.

No doubt other collectors attended Meston's lectures and if he had not already established connections with them, this would have given him access to a very active network of collectors in Aboriginal artefacts. He had also joined the Brisbane Aborigines Protection Society by this time, which allowed him to visit local missions and settlements (McKay and Memmott 2016), and possibly gain access to artefacts. His emergence as a serious collector of Aboriginal artefacts and an authority on Aboriginal ethnology was relatively sudden, both having been incidental to his interests previously, as evidenced by his transactions with QM. A letter from the Under Colonial Secretary of Queensland in 1892/93, dictated in the aforementioned article, further confirms the public recognition of his new role, 'I am desired by the Colonial Secretary to take the opportunity of expressing his favourable appreciation of your career in this colony, in which you have earned a well-merited distinction as an explorer, a journalist, and a specialist in Australian ethnology' (*The Brisbane Courier* 11 January 1893, p. 6).

The eminent ethnologist of the day, Alfred William Howitt attended the lectures delivered in Melbourne during the final leg of the Wild Australia Show tour at the beginning of 1893. Meston's early departure from Melbourne, however, meant that Howitt did not hear him lecture, instead writing to 'express my earnest regret for being deprived of a chance to spend an hour or two with you on our favourite subject' (Meston 1893). Purcell had been left with sole responsibility for the Troupe in Melbourne and for delivering the scheduled series of lectures. In his letter to Howitt, Meston took the opportunity to deflect attention away from Purcell's expertise on the subject, writing, '[y]ou were doubtless amused at his lectures. Twelve months

ago he was profoundly ignorant of Australian ethnology & what he knows now was obtained from my lectures, & the words of Curr, Brough Smyth & Dawson loaned from me. I do not think he had seen your work on the Central Australian tribes. Many of his statements as I'm doubtless conjectured were pure fiction' (Meston 1893).

The animosity between the men at this point was due to a financial dispute. Purcell claimed Meston had not paid him for artefacts Purcell collected for the Wild Australia Show collection. Meston defended himself on the matter, pointing out to Howitt that he had 'paid all the cost of the affair. Up to leaving Melbourne, a total of £1230, & paid Purcell's board & expenses for 13 months besides. In his schedule he put me as a creditor for £67 whereas he owed me about £200' (Meston 1893). The £67 mentioned as monies owed to Purcell most likely was what he owed for the artefacts, but Purcell had also accused Meston of appropriating items from the collection and selling them on to the Australian Museum in 1893.³⁷ In a letter to the colonial administration, he wrote 'Mr Meston in the meanwhile was doing his best to sell my private collection of weapons and curios to the Sydney Museum and others' (Queensland State Archives, Item ID ITM847483). A telegram dated 22 March 1893 from the Sydney police with regard to the matter confirmed, 'action taken and Meston states the collection has no connection with the Wild Australia

Exhibition. They are the property of Mr Miller' (PROV 937/P0000/338). Another telegram was sent to the Chief Commissioner of Police in Sydney with 'Mr Meston alleged to have stolen curios from Q'land Aborigines' annotated in red ink at the top, and the telegram itself stating that 'Papers re Meston & letter from Purcell received, but I can do nothing unless [Purcell] takes other action. Please inform' (PROV 937/P0000/338). Meston's letter to Howitt was written a month after this incident, and his disparaging attitude towards Purcell confirms the total breakdown of the relationship and partnership between these two men. Meston concludes the letter with the observation that '[h]ad I left him in the Brisbane jail from whence I liberated him on the 21st of December last, & became one of his bondsmen to enable him to leave Queensland, the aboriginals & I would now be in London & all well' (Meston 1893).³⁸

Meston had still not donated any more Aboriginal artefacts to QM up to this point, despite his sudden emergence as an expert on Aboriginal ethnology, but he does make thirteen donations of natural science specimens in 1893. The fact that QM continued to prioritize developing the natural science collections could explain why the Wild Australia collection was not offered to QM; however, in 1892, Meston offered to donate weapons in return for the museum having loaned him natural science specimens to illustrate his lectures.



FIG. 11. 'Waggara', a hafted stone axe with a handle wrapped in emu skin, from the Bunya Mountains. QE2269 (Acquired 1 May 1897; Registered 27 April 1923; Previously Registered ER638). Photographer: Peter Waddington, 2020. Source: Queensland Museum.

Being disappointed of receiving my expected skins of kangaroo and emu from the west in time for [my] lecture I have to ask if you will kindly allow me to have an emu and kangaroo for placing on the stage next week at the opera house. Every possible care will be taken, and I will accept a responsibility of £10 for their safe return...I will also present the museum with some interesting weapons in recognition of this favour if it is kindly granted. (Meston 1892b)

Even with his appointment by the colonial administration in 1894 to investigate the conditions of Aboriginal people in Queensland,³⁹ Meston's donations are of natural history specimens only – four transactions in 1894 and a further two the following year.⁴⁰ Then in 1896, he made two donations of Aboriginal artefacts to QM, and the following year offered the museum a collection of some 325 artefacts from across Queensland, that included some rare items, like the hafted stone axe from the Bunya Mountains with its handle wrapped in emu skin (figure 11).⁴¹ Only once had the museum purchased from Meston – a fish specimen in 1891 – but the second half of the 1890s was when QM experienced a 'burst of acquisition activity when collections of a number of government officials, including W.E. Roth and Archibald Meston... and Clement Wragge were acquired' (Robins 2008, p. 65).⁴²

THE LATE PHASE – 1898 ONWARDS

Meston was appointed Southern Protector of Aborigines from 1898 to 1903,⁴³ and, during that period, his transactions with QM focused on Aboriginal artefacts and Aboriginal skeletal remains (see Table 2, Culturally Sensitive Collections). The shift to actively collecting Aboriginal skeletal remains was no doubt due to his appointment, which gave him direct access to locations where these had been laid to rest. It also reflects a significant shift in the collecting priorities of the museum,⁴⁴ although Meston had donated skeletal remains in 1893. As Southern Protector, Meston could travel freely and extensively within his area of jurisdiction where he

could secure skeletal remains for the museum, as evident in his correspondence with de Vis in 1900.⁴⁵

I am sending to you a couple of parcels of ethnological specimens from the head of the Maranoa, some loose bones and a perfect specimen of a child in bark coffin. In the coffin you will find the plaited band which was tied round the coffin in the cave. It is an ancient piece of work, not woven now by the blacks of that district. Kindly acknowledge receipt of specimens and mention value of specimens to museum, as it will encourage minister to give me a free hand to visit the caves at head of Nogoa where the big lot of skeletons are. Some one had removed skulls and nets etc from the Maranoa caves so I was much disappointed. But the specimen I send is a good one and doubtless you will be very pleased with it. (Meston 1900)

It would appear that as early as the 1880s, the museum was requesting pastoralists forward Aboriginal skeletal remains to the museum. Charles Bedford at Normanton wrote to de Vis in 1882 saying he had received the 'circular' in which 'the Museum want[ed] aboriginal skulls [and] had I known this I could have brought you in several from my last trip' (Bedford 1882)⁴⁶. Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting in December 1891 further reveals that museum staff were also collecting Ancestral Remains, acknowledging the 'perseverance' of Henry Tyron, assistant curator of invertebrates, in searching for human remains in the Bunya Mountains in a quest to increase the 'far too scanty number of Aborigines skeletons in hand' (Board Meeting Minutes, December 1891; see Burden, 2017, p. 128; Mather, 1986, p. 328; *The Brisbane Courier* 12 December 1890, p. 6).

Two donations made by Meston in 1902 included human remains from the Mooloolah River,⁴⁷ and a donation after he had been removed as Southern Protector in 1904 contained a further set of remains.⁴⁸ Meston's capacity to collect Ancestral Remains or artefacts was severely curtailed

following this, and de Vis' retirement in 1905 saw his relationship with the museum drastically change. He had developed a personal relationship with de Vis, and, in the absence of a permanent replacement, the acting directors in the intervening years were less enthusiastic to engage with Meston. It was a period in which QM experienced a severe lack of funds and low staff numbers, resulting in much reduced acquisition activity – 'a period described as the "nadir" of the Museum' (Robins 2008, p.66, quoting Mather 1986, p.200).

In 1907, when Meston offered to sell a collection to the museum, he reminded them of his past generosity in the numerous donations made over many years.

During my recent tour in the Cape York Peninsula I had the rare opportunity of acquiring a parcel of carefully selected weapons which the Owner intended taking to London. They include 33 woomeras, the choicest lot I have seen for 20 years, 16 very fine spears with the war paint on, three pairs of fire sticks and 3 large dilly bags, a total of 55. These were purchased by me for £10 in the hope that the Trustees of the Museum would approve of them being bought for the Museum at the same price. I would have presented them if in a position to afford another gift to an Institution to whom I have been a fairly generous donor for the last 25 years. Such choice specimens of weapons are very difficult to obtain now anywhere in North Queensland as the blacks are rapidly abandoning their old habits and it seemed to me a mistake to let this lot go out of the country, as the time is rapidly approaching when such specimens will not be obtainable. (Meston 1907)

Clearly Meston admitted here to securing artefacts from third parties,⁴⁹ and, in this instance, that he purchased it from a collector for the purpose of offering it to the museum. Only twice before had a transaction with the museum involved a purchase, and, in this instance, he was paid £10 (see Board Meeting monthly report, July 27 1907; Appendix 8

for P798 object list). Meston was facing significant financial difficulties at the time, which, no doubt, contributed to the decision to sell rather than donate these to the museum. He had also put up a large collection of artefacts for auction in Brisbane a few years earlier in 1904.⁵⁰

Magnificent Australian Ethnological Collection. 1100 specimens. Collected from all parts of Queensland during the past thirty-five years, and containing specimens of great rarity, many of which are not now procurable, as the aboriginal tribes who made them are extinct. Under instructions from Archibald Meston, Esq., The Well-known Ethnologist, and the Greatest Living Authority on Customs, Language, and Weapons of the Australian Aborigines. (*The Brisbane Courier* 19 November 1904, p.8)

Given his marginal interest in Aboriginal artefacts before 1890, as discussed earlier, Meston's claim that some artefacts dated from at least the 1870s, when the museum was in its infancy, implies that he collected Aboriginal artefacts much earlier or acquired them from other collectors, as indicated above. He had only donated a handful of artefacts up to this point, but that may relate to the fact that QM's focus was on developing the natural science collections. Further, the size of the consignment for auction suggests it could have included artefacts from the Wild Australia Show collection, but in the absence of any detail as to what was consigned for auction, it is impossible to verify if any were amongst the collections offered to the museum in December 1904 and July 1907. No doubt what remained unsold from the auction was included in these transactions.

Meston made few donations of Aboriginal artefacts following these, and with C.J.Wild appointed acting director after de Vis' retirement in 1905, and Ronald Hamlyn Harris appointed director from 1911, the close relationship he enjoyed with the museum changed dramatically.⁵¹ Between 1912 and 1923, eighteen donations were made – thirteen involving natural history specimens and the remainder were Aboriginal

artefacts and human remains.⁵² During Hamlyn Harris' directorship, a period marked by a doubling in size of the Australian ethnographic collections, only two donations of Aboriginal artefacts were made by Meston. Heber Longman, deputy director to Hamlyn Harris, was appointed director in 1917, but like Wild and Hamlyn Harris, he gradually lost touch with the previous contacts and collectors regarding Aboriginal artefacts that the museum had engaged with (Mather 1986, p.211). As a palaeontologist, Longman's interest was in physical anthropology, and he requested police and others across the state to collect human remains and forward them to the museum. The 250 or so sets of human remains that entered the collections during this time included those donated by Meston.

THE FINAL DONATION

The final donation from Meston has been more complex to unravel. On 14 May 1924, a donation of a set of breastplates from Meston was recorded in the registers. It was done, however, within a month of Meston's death, although the breastplates had been in the possession of the museum for over fifteen years. The database entry for one of the breastplates states, 'Archibald Meston offered this breastplate along with 8 others for sale in 1908. He purchased them over a period of 25 years from the recipients' relatives. Breastplate probably acquired from Meston (see correspondence 19 June 1908)'.⁵³ The reference to correspondence concerns a letter from Meston from June 1908 in the collection documentation files. He claimed '[t]hese aborigines are now dead and those plates were purchased by me during the last 25 years from their relatives' (Meston 1908). It states that the breastplates 'are now in the care of Mr Wild the acting curator' (Meston 1908). Annotations made to the document a few days later by Wild make it clear he does not agree to accept them into the collections, pointing out that '[a]lthough the collecting of brass plates may be commercially worth £4.4.0 I hardly think their proper destination to be the museum' (Meston 1908).

Correspondence in Queensland State Archives, though, reveals that Wild may have had a change of heart on the matter. He wrote to Meston in August that year, '[r]eferring to our conversation with regard to the nine brass plates, left by you in my care some time ago, I certainly think they ought to become the property of the State and not be allowed to be scattered amongst private individuals'.⁵⁴ Meston attached this letter to one he sent the following day to the Under Secretary of the Home Office, and the amount he sought for them had increased.

Offering for sale 9 aboriginal brass plates, price £5, At present in the care of the Acting Curator of the Museum are nine brass plates which I am offering to the Home Secretary – as Minister in Charge of Aboriginal Affairs – for the sum of £5, about the amount they cost me during their collection in the last 25 years. I would present them to the Museum but as I have already given that institution specimens to the value of at least a hundred pounds, further gifts must be deferred until I can afford them. (Queensland State Archives, Item ID ITM847657)

Meston points out to the Home Secretary that his office could acquire them and gift them to the museum, perhaps realising that their purchase was a concern given the great financial difficulties experienced by the museum at that time. The request for their purchase was made in the context of being a reimbursement of costs incurred by Meston in collecting them, but was not an insubstantial amount given that a year earlier the museum had paid Meston £30 for a collection of over three hundred artefacts. In his letters to the Home Secretary and the museum, Meston states that he intends to write about the breastplates in an article for *The Brisbane Courier*, which would never eventuate. The Under Secretary eventually wrote back to Meston on declining the offer.⁵⁵ Appended to the letters was the listing of each breastplate and its inscription, each corresponding exactly to the nine breastplates registered in 1924.

Despite this, an entry in QM's Donation Register on 21 August 1908 seen in figure 12 indicates the

DATE	NUMBER	CLASS	NUMBER	NAME	ADDRESS	DISTRIBUTION	LOCALITY	NO. of Illustrations
August 1908	14127			Book for (Mrs) William Somers	Brisbane	1 Publication <i>in Regard to the</i> 1906-1907		
"	14128			William Somers	Brisbane	1 Report for year ending 31st Dec 1907		
"	14129			William Somers	Brisbane	1 Cards and Map of National History vol II p 19		
"	14130			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Language</i>		
"	14131			William Somers	Brisbane	2 Publications <i>Old Government Printing Journal</i> vol 12 p 100 pp 37-44		
"	14132			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14133			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i> vol 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100		
"	14134			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14135			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14136			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14137			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14138			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14139			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14140			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14141			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14142			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14143			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14144			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14145			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14146			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14147			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14148			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14149			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
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"	14151			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
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"	14153			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14154			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14155			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14156			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14157			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14158			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		
"	14159			William Somers	Brisbane	1 <i>Book</i>		

FIG. 12. Pages from the Donor Register (1899-1909) reveal an entry on the 21st August 1908 for a loan [150] from "Protector of Aborigines Brisbane", most likely related to Meston's offer to sell the breastplates to the museum. Photographer: Geoff Thompson. Source: Queensland Museum.

possibility that the breastplates were placed on loan to the museum, perhaps a temporary measure until the matter was resolved. No further trace of them is found in registers until 1924 when they are registered as a donation from Meston. In the meantime, they were in the possession of the museum, as they are described as being on display in a newspaper article in 1921 that details some of the individuals to whom the breastplates belonged. 'Several of the shields are to be seen in the Brisbane Museum, including those presented to Darby, "King" of Cockatoo; "King" Tommy, Glengallan; Ruben[sic], "King" of Caboolture; Jimmy, "King" of Pialba; Jacky, "King" of Degilbo. Also for saving life, to Ulowa, Forlurunki[sic], Paddy [see figure 13], and Poonipun' (*The World's News* 1921, p.3). However, no mention is made of Meston being the source of these. Meston's claim to have purchased them over a 25 year period would indicate some date from as early as the 1880s, while others, no doubt, relate to his years as Southern Protector of Aborigines in the early 1900s. While research on the named individuals was not possible during the project, it will, no doubt, provide clarity on how these may have come into the possession of Meston.

While Wild's initial assessment that the breastplates should not be acquired by the museum was reversed for reasons unknown, it would seem they were most likely received by the museum as a loan within days of his decision. Meston's action in seeking support

from the Home Secretary, a very senior public figure, may have had an influence on Wild's decision, but the transaction was clearly not a sale as no evidence can be found that Meston was paid. Following his death, the museum registered them into the collections, but this is not unusual, given the history of registering collections discussed previously. It is important, though, in this context to note Meston's strong conviction that these breastplates should be in the museum, something that was not exercised in any of the other transactions with the museum over the previous thirty years.

MESTON IN OTHER QM COLLECTIONS

HARRY PURCELL COLLECTION

The most obvious collection associated with Meston is that of Brabazon Harry Purcell, who, as discussed already, was engaged by Meston to make a collection while recruiting performers for the Wild Australia Show Troupe in 1891. The 1893 Annual Report (for the year 1892) lists Purcell as having donated five artefacts to the museum – 'glass spearheads, a woomera and two message sticks [see figure 14] from the western border of Queensland' (QM Annual Report 1893, p.3). These were no doubt collected while recruiting performers for the Wild Australia Show, mentioned previously, and collecting artefacts for Meston to



FIG. 13. A breastplate awarded to 'Paddy', a Keppel Island man, by the Queensland Colonial Government for saving lives. QE2625. Photographer: Peter Waddington. Source: Queensland Museum.



FIG. 14. Message stick (unknown location). Collected by Harry Purcell. QE1938. Photographer: Peter Waddington, 2020. Source: Queensland Museum.

use in illustrating his lectures. A newspaper report at the end of December 1891 reports 'Mr. B.H. Purcell, is at present west of Boulia among the Kalkadoon tribes, five or six of whom he will bring down to the coast. He is also making a complete ethnological collection from the blacks of the far west' (*Cairns Post* 30 December 1891, p.2). As discussed earlier, Purcell was in dispute with Meston over money he owed to him for the purchase of artefacts, and it is not unreasonable to assume Purcell retained some of these for himself.

In a letter written to de Vis in May 1892 from Warenda near Boulia, Purcell talks about collecting for Meston, but also acknowledged the involvement of Aboriginal people there in collecting a specimen of 'Moloch horridus (lizard)' which is listed as part of the donation (1893, p.3).

I am collecting some 'Mountain Devils' or Moloch lizards and have some blacks in the Georgina out getting me some live ones, I will send you one on receipt of them. They are the most interesting things I have ever seen out here and thought like many bushmen when here before I saw them but didn't take sufficient interest in them. They live a very long time without food 3 to 4 weeks and the one I have being dead does not retain their magnificent colouring that they possess when alive. I have been very fortunate in my collections of native curios for my Wild Show with Mr Meston, and have several valuable ones. (Purcell 1892)

In the Donor Register, the collector is recorded as 'Purcell C/O Mr A Meston'.⁵⁶

In 1895, Purcell wrote to de Vis again, but this time to express his disappointment about the two message sticks on display and lack of acknowledgement of him as the collector as well as the wording on the label describing the marks on them as 'meaningless'. He states that he, in fact, collected these for the museum, but our sense is they were originally intended to be part of the Wild Australia Show collection and could have belonged to any of the performers recruited in northwest Queensland.

When in Brisbane recently I chanced to go through the Museum with a friend, and in one of the cases I saw "Blackfellows letter or message stick" "Meaningless" written underneath on the cards. These are two that I gave you a year or two ago, and I would like to point out if they are message sticks how can they be meaningless – the remark looks rather pointed to myself – I went to great trouble to get these two for you and I think it hardly fair, that "Meaningless" should be attached to only mine in the whole collection.

I called to see you about it, but found you out – To further prove my case that the aborigines do understand these message sticks I have some just returned that I sent away to the tribe and the correct interpretation exactly as I got it from the boy has just come to hand, and I have always held that these people do understand them in spite of authorities on the subject who only get their information on the Aborigines second hand and in town. However I am writing for an English Society an article on the message stick which I can safely challenge anyone to disprove, I have always and will always impart correct knowledge as far as I can and when unable to do that scorn from making up languages that never existed to gall people with, as many are prone to do. (Purcell 1895)

The 'authorities on the subject' to whom he refers no doubt includes Meston, and the tone indicates that the acrimonious nature of the relationship between the two men discussed earlier had continued. The message sticks, like the breastplates collected by Meston, were not added to the QE Register for many years after they were received, and in this instance, were registered in 1923.⁵⁷ Purcell is not named as the collector, but this letter reveals that to be the case. The origin of the two message sticks is listed as Camboon, perhaps because Purcell's letter in 1895 was sent from there. He had, in fact, collected these in 1891 from any of the locations from where the Wild Australia Show Troupe members were recruited.

Additionally, the QE Register listed the message sticks as possibly being a part of purchase P150 from Meston in 1897, but this is not correct. The two objects have not been linked to D7422 in either register, nor on the current Vernon CMS. However, it is most likely that the two items were part of the donation of ethnological items transferred to the museum by Purcell in 1892, and, as with objects associated with Meston, have been disassociated from their contextual data. This research has allowed us to disentangle the data in museum records and restore the correct history of these items. Further, given the interconnectedness of Purcell, Meston, and the Wild Australia Show, they are included here as part of a broader consideration of the Archibald Meston collection at QM.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF, AND ASSOCIATED WITH, MESTON AT THE QUEENSLAND MUSEUM

Photographs have been an ad hoc addition to many museum collections and QM is no exception (Edwards & Lien 2014). Albums of photographs, or large framed works have been treated as objects and incorporated into the collections based on subject matter,⁵⁸ whereas individual prints or loose series were sometimes kept with associated archival material. The treatment of photographs at QM is inconsistent, being located in various repositories, including the photo library, library and archive, and within associated collection areas. Their place in the museum remains ambiguous, and, despite the importance of the collections as acknowledged by their frequent reproduction in academic articles and exhibitions (e.g. Aird 1993), photographs remain an outlier in terms of form, consistency of treatment and curation. The exception was the creation of the EH Register around 1989, when about 1200 photographs were identified and catalogued, some of which had previously been registered in the QE register and then transferred to the EH Register. In 1993, Indigenous curator and photographer Michael Aird was given a seven month contract to develop the collection further and the holdings expanded to

include over 5000 items.⁵⁹ From 1995 to 2000, as Curator of Aboriginal Studies, Aird added to the existing collections with new images and through copying images in albums held in private hands.⁶⁰

As noted by Aird and Memmott in this volume, research of the Wild Australia Show was stimulated by the many circulating prints of photographs and postcards of the Troupe members. Surprisingly, Meston, unlike his contemporary Roth, while well-versed in the value of image-making and the deployment of photographs, does not seem to have been a photographer himself, and nor did he donate photographs to the Queensland Museum. Photographs associated with Meston, the Wild Australia Show and several other performances engineered by Meston have come into the collections from a number of different sources. The presence of photographs relating to the Wild Australia Show in QM collections is not surprising, as images circulated widely and may have entered through multiple collections or by direct purchase from studios (see Aird and Memmott this volume). However, a key source for QM was Frederick 'Stan' Colliver (1908–1991), curator of the University of Queensland's Geology Museum, who undertook significant research on the life of Meston with the intention of producing a biography,⁶¹ and, in fact, met and corresponded with Meston's son, Archie.

Colliver was a foundation member of the Archaeological and Anthropological Society of Queensland, and maintained an active private interest in Queensland Aboriginal cultural practices and published on Aboriginal prehistory. On his death, much of his private library, archive and personal collection were gifted to QM,⁶² including several series of photographs. These included images of the Wild Australia Show and other Aboriginal troupes as well as images of Meston posed ready to throw a boomerang – in one he is bare-chested and holding two boomerangs, and the other Meston is dressed in a suit as seen in figure 15, possibly during his appointment as the Southern Protector.⁶³ Lantern slides amongst Colliver's donation include Meston images, and may, in fact, have been part of those used by



FIG 15. Meston demonstrates throwing a boomerang. Photographer: Unknown, pre-1901. Source: Queensland Museum, EH1138.

Meston in his lectures. A review of the photographs in the Colliver collection includes at least 35 prints that have very personal annotations in a hand very similar in style and orthography to Meston's. While there is no direct evidence how Colliver acquired these, we believe these were Meston's photographs and probably obtained from another of Meston's sons, Harold, or a close friend.

As some of these photographs could have belonged to Meston or his son, and were either given to or purchased by Colliver, we are including them as part of a broader Archibald Meston collection at QM. However, further research is needed to firmly establish which images might be included. Nevertheless, this Meston-related photographic archive demonstrates how the edges of any construction of a collection associated with a notable figure might always remain blurred.

COLLECTIONS FROM THE MESTON FAMILY

On July 10 1893, 'H Meston' donated a 'Bird' from Moreton Island to QM. On July 12 1893, 'Mrs Meston' donated 'Birds nests and moth' to QM.⁶⁵ H. Meston likely refers to Meston's son, Harold, and Mrs Meston, his wife,⁶⁶ and while it is not possible to know if these specimens were collected by Archibald Meston himself or his son, Mrs Meston was very likely not the collector of the birds' nest and moth. As with the photographs in the Colliver collection, these are included here as part of the Archibald Meston collection at QM given their direct connection to Meston.

THE ARCHIBALD MESTON COLLECTION AT QM AND THE WILD AUSTRALIA SHOW COLLECTION

Broadening the parameters of what constitutes the 'Archibald Meston collection at QM' by identifying and assembling elements within other collections with a link or association to Meston assisted in gaining a more comprehensive understanding of Meston and his activities as a collector. This approach is based on the concept of a collection itself being an artefact – a human-made construction that can bring together 'sets of other artefacts' according to specific criteria to give them 'coherence, a kind of integrity, as singular entities...the associations that link the individual elements of a collection giv[ing] the collection a presence in the world, an actuality, which extends beyond the existence of the individual elements that constitute it' (Satterthwait 2008, p.29). Meston here *is* the point of connection and our approach in reframing what is the Archibald Meston collection at QM has been done through interrogating and disassembling all Aboriginal artefacts at QM associated with Meston, going beyond the obvious ones that can be directly linked with confidence to donations, sales and exchanges made by Meston, as detailed in this paper. In reassembling all these related elements, it has been possible to construct what is best described as the distributed 'Archibald Meston collection' at QM.

Our initial inquiry was to establish the exact nature of the Wild Australia Show collection and what, if any of it survives amongst the artefacts that Meston donated and sold to or exchanged with QM over 65 years. It led to identifying and scrutinizing 76 transactions between Meston and QM working from the museum's records – registers, annual reports of the Board, and various correspondence in the museum's archives – and key documents in Queensland State Archives and newspaper articles. Only 457 artefacts of 709 items are confirmed as directly connected with Meston as collector and registered into the current QM collections – and only 390 of these definitely originate from recorded transactions between Meston and QM – but there is no definitive evidence linking any to the Wild Australia Show collection. The five objects from the 'western border of Queensland' donated by Purcell were likely destined for the Wild Australia Show collection, but Purcell, no doubt, kept them back from Meston because of money owed to him. It has been possible to contextually associate some artefacts from newspaper reviews of Meston's lectures, such as the one in 1892 to the Royal Society of Queensland which, as discussed previously, mentions a number of place names where Troupe members were recruited or came from. Cross-matching artefacts in images taken of the Wild Australia Show performers, however, has been less successful overall given the poor quality of those stills that have survived; and none of the distinctively painted shields or the masks and headdresses worn by the Wakaya and Kaurareg men have been able to be matched with examples in the QM collections or those in other museums.

Meston's transactions with QM after 1891 involved a number of somewhat large-sized collections of Aboriginal artefacts, many, if not all, of which may have their origins in the Wild Australia Show collection. Over 300 were offered in 1897, of which only 146 can be confidently identified today in the QM collection; 217 artefacts were part of the donation in 1904, 63 of which are currently listed in the QM database; and lastly 55 items were sold to the museum in 1907, with 47 surviving in the

current collection. Meston pointed out in the letter of offer for the sale of the latter, however, that a number, if not all, had been bought from another collector who intended taking them overseas. Was this a reference to his own Wild Australia Show collection? The largest collection associated with Meston appears to be the 1100 artefacts he sent to auction in 1904, which, as pointed out earlier, may have included, or perhaps represented the remaining artefacts from the Wild Australia collection. Even taking into account the artefacts from Meston in other museum collections, particularly the Meston-Miller collection at the Australian Museum, and even assuming that all had their origins in the Wild Australia collection, it most likely numbered closer to 2,000 artefacts than the 3,000 promoted in the advertisement in *Queensland Punch* in 1892, discussed in the Introduction and shown in figure 1.

CONCLUSION

Locating any part of the Wild Australia collection within the Archibald Meston collection at QM with a high level of confidence was not realised, but the process of working through the records revealed a prolonged, sustained and, at times, intensive association between Meston and QM over many decades. Seventy-six individual transactions – seven sales, six exchanges and 63 donations – is an extraordinary record of one collector's history with a single museum. Given the history of collection management and record-keeping systems at QM, it is not surprising that information related to Meston transactions has been lost, misdirected, disassociated, and, in several cases, attributed without confirmation. However, reassembling as much as possible about each transaction and interrogating of the museum's registers, annual reports, and correspondence has been sufficient to allow for key trends to be identified in Meston's collecting, and to trace his changing relationship with the museum through six decades. Three distinct phases of collecting emerged: his earliest being in the 1870s to 1880s and being almost exclusively

devoted to natural science specimens; a middle period through the 1890s during which time Meston transformed himself from an incidental collector of Aboriginal artefacts to a serious collector; and the last phase which begins in 1898 and ends with his death in 1924. In this phase he appears, at least in one instance, to purchase Aboriginal artefacts from other collectors.

However, the consequence of multiple generations of cataloguing systems since QM's inception to the present day, and a lack of rigor in maintaining links between the records and specific items, has left a very compromised information base necessitating careful reading and rationalisation of the record. For these reasons, museums are accused of a lack of transparency in relation to the collections, particularly from Indigenous people, however it remains the critical legacy of the machinations of museum processes that, in this instance, stretches back over a hundred and fifty years. It is only through the application of a forensic eye to all possible records, and complexities associated with collections and individual items, that this history has been able to be pieced together. In one instance, for example, four separate registration identities were given to one object from Meston, and the lists generated from the database records for our research included it as four separate artefacts. The application of an analytical approach in this study has ensured a level of confidence as to the true extent of what Meston donated, exchanged and sold to QM, and resulted in restoration of links between individual items and register entries, annual reports, relevant correspondence and newspaper and other reports. This has revealed important insights into Meston's various interactions with the museum.

Meston's behaviours in relation to donating and selling natural science specimens, Aboriginal artefacts and skeletal remains indicates he was most likely observing and responding to the interests of the museum's directors over time. This is seen with his return to collecting or at least transferring human remains to the museum when Longman becomes director. Key collecting phases emerge from the analysis of the collection and the

transactions: the early years when he lived in north Queensland that coincided with de Vis' term as curator and director; the Wild Australia Show years that was also in de Vis' time; the period that began with his appointment as Southern Protector of Aborigines and spanned the terms of two directors, Hamlyn Harris and Longman; as well as the period between directors when Wild was acting director. At the same time, Gemma Burden (2017) reminds us that government employees, including Meston, removed artefacts and remains, and Aboriginal people too, from their country. She emphasises that collecting practices were part of the power dynamic between white government employees and Aboriginal people, representing colonial violence and dispossession, and notes how, in particular, the museum benefitted from these acts (see Burden 2017, pp. 113–114, 117).⁶⁷ Aboriginal people under Meston's 'care' as Protector would have had no power to prevent the removal of their ancestors nor, as indicated in his letter to de Vis, any associated grave goods. Burden points out further that 'remains were plundered from massacre sites, often decades after the event, as well as former mission sites, and sent to the museum with the sanctioning of the police and protectors' (Burden 2018).

Researching and establishing what is the Archibald Meston collection has been complex and challenging, but the results proved to be an excellent foundation for considering an aspect of Meston's life and career not previously investigated or discussed – i.e. Meston as a collector. Meston's collecting aligned with the collecting priorities of the museum for decades from the formative years of Meston as a collector and QM as a major cultural institution. Meston had built a profile in colonial Queensland as a business entrepreneur and, almost incidentally, as a naturalist. Charles de Vis proved to be a strong ally of Meston, and the relationship between them proved mutually beneficial, with Meston collecting specimens at de Vis' request and Meston using his association with the museum as a mechanism to enhance his standing in colonial Queensland. The museum's priority was to build its natural science holdings, and both de Vis and Meston showed little interest in collecting Aboriginal artefacts, although

it appears Meston collected on the Russell and Mulgrave Rivers in the 1870s and possibly obtained breastplates from around this time. Meston's early views (see Meston 1895b), though, were the antithesis of his later writings and involvement with the Wild Australia Show, and his role as Southern Protector of Aborigines. By 1891, Meston's radical transformation in terms of his interest in collecting Aboriginal artefacts was no doubt as a consequence of his Wild Australia Show venture. Within a year, he was lauded as one of the foremost authorities on Aboriginal 'ethnology'. The museum, however, would not give serious attention to developing their holdings of Aboriginal artefacts until the late 1890s, which could explain why Meston does not appear to offer the Wild Australia Show collection to QM when the tour folds in 1893. Instead, the Australian Museum purchased the first of Meston's collections – the Miller-Meston Collection. It could be suggested that Meston, in fact, influenced de Vis in this regard, and within four or five years the museum's collection priorities would overtly shift in respect of Aboriginal collections, as discussed earlier.

Identifying and collating all the data associated with the Archibald Meston collection at QM provided the entry point for our research on the artefacts themselves, some examples, we believe, being singularly unique, like the stone axe from the Bunya Mountains with its handle wrapped with emu skin (see figure 11). Further research may reveal the agency of Aboriginal people in the collecting of these items as well as specimens, like the lizard from Purcell's donation in 1893. The collection and, in particular, specific items, like the breastplates, are seen as representative of the disempowerment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, and any collected by Meston during his time as Southern Protector can be considered within this frame of reference. Meston's rhetoric was often positioned within a paternalistic protectionist model, and he used the artefacts in lectures that promoted his own views of Aboriginal people in the minds of the public, enhancing his own personal reputation and status, and, at times, enabling him to make financial gains and securing influential colonial government posts.

The Wild Australia Show collection, however, still remains an enigma, and assertions can be made and have been made here in relation to its survival in the Archibald Meston collection at QM. Some items sold to the museum, particularly those in 1904, may have their origins in the component created by Purcell in northwest Queensland in 1891. However, establishing what actually constitutes the 'Archibald Meston collection' at QM has resulted in broadening our inquiry and highlighting items associated with Meston in other collections, obtained either through sale or donation from family members, from colleagues or business partners, like Purcell, or from other collectors, like Stan Colliver. It has revealed images taken of Meston and others he may have actually used in his lectures, such as the lantern slides in the Colliver collection. While this aspect requires further research and consideration, suffice to say it is important to understand the notion of a distributed 'Archibald Meston collection' at QM, notwithstanding the other 'Archibald Meston collections' or Meston related material in other museums. It is often too easy for researchers to confine their inquiries to holdings directly or most obviously relating to a specific individual or collector, but our approach demonstrates the value of pursuing a less-straightforwardly corralled notion of a monikered collection. This is regardless of whether these other components were part of the compiled or curated legacy that a donor may have sought to achieve.⁶⁸ This paper, we hope, provides the tools and information for other researchers to explore in greater detail the artefacts and communities represented by the 'Archibald Meston collection'. In understanding the collections, artefacts, photographs and papers that exist around and on the edges of the collection, we have sought to identify a fuller range of source material that can provide evidence in considering Meston, the man, and more importantly, evidence for descendent communities to consider when accessing the collections.

Notwithstanding the hostility extended towards Meston and contestation of his legacy in current Indigenous dialogues, where attention is drawn to

Meston's legacy and his portrayal as a racist figure, in social media particularly, this paper has sought to recontextualise the collection and give a level of certainty and context as to the origins of these things at QM. This is particularly important in relation to skeletal remains and to the breastplates, which Kate Darian Smith notes in relation to the latter, 'have become emblematic of the racially inscribed interactions on the contested "contact zone" between European and Indigenous peoples' (Darian Smith 2015, p.55). The contestation and rebounding of that zone has continued across time, from the time they were first given, their removal or return to a landowner or government agent, like Meston as a Protector, or to a third party like a private collector, a role that Meston occupies in this context, or to the museum, the current zone where the descendants of those individuals will come once they know of their existence in collections. This paper has sought to provide another perspective of Meston as colonial collector rather than as 'The Sacred Ibis' (Lergessner 2009), a phrase often used to refer to him during his lifetime, but not as the 'protector' as in ancient Egyptian mythology, but rather as a not-so 'Sacred Ibis' today.

ENDNOTES

1. See Appendix 1–3 for a full list of purchases, donations and exchanges.
2. The research is part of the ARC Linkage Project [LP160100415]: How Meston's 'Wild Australia Show' Shaped Aboriginal History, (University of Queensland, The Australian National University, Museums Victoria, Queensland Museum and State Library of New South Wales), 2016–2020; and Chantal Knowles and Lindy Allen are Partner Investigators on the project on behalf of Queensland Museum and Museums Victoria respectively.
3. Indigenous artefacts had been a key element of international and intercolonial exhibitions up to this time (e.g. see McKay 1997). Inspired by the great London 'Crystal Palace' Exhibition in 1851, the Sydney Exhibition and Melbourne Exhibition opened within months of each other in 1854, and exhibits were selected from both for the colonial exhibits in the Paris Exposition Universelle the following year. The commissioners for the Victorian Exhibition chose a number of Victorian Aboriginal artefacts shown at the Melbourne Exhibition, a number of which had been included in the Sandhurst (Bendigo) Exhibition in July 1854 (see Willis 2008). The Sydney International Exhibition of 1879/80 included New Guinean artefacts and Aboriginal artefacts; the latter being used as little more than set dressing. The New Guinean artefacts were re-displayed at the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880/81, and Aboriginal artefacts, dioramas of Aboriginal life and Aboriginal performers were also featured.
4. Meston requested assistance from the Colonial Secretary for the collection to be valued and packed by QM (Queensland State Archives Item ID ITM862078). The curator at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart provided the following information, 'In 1899 the Linden-Museum accessioned a collection by H. L. E. Rütthning, then "notary public" and solicitor in Brisbane... [in] associated correspondence in the museum's archive and in a letter dated 9 September 1897' Rütthning apparently answers a letter by count von Linden, founder of the Linden-Museum. Apparently Linden had requested in an earlier letter (lost) that an ethnographic collection should be sent to the Stuttgart museum. After discussing other topics, Rütthning writes in his letter, "The Premier has informed the concerned circle of officers of your wish for ethnographic objects. Unfortunately, nothing of that sort is presently on hand and only last night I received a letter by the Premier that the 'Protector of Aborigines' Mr Archibald Meston has been commissioned to bring together such a collection for you. Mr Meston is an enthusiast in this regard and the commission could not have been placed in better hands." (Email correspondence from Ulrich Menter to Lindy Allen 23 January 2019).
5. The Purchase Register of the Australian Museum for 7 February 1905 confirms the sale of the collection from Roth (Kahn 2008, p. 174). While predominantly collected during his time as Protector, it includes artefacts collected between 1895 and 1898 while he was a surgeon at Boulia, Cloncurry and Normanton hospitals (see Satterthwait 2008; Kahn 2008). This is the same region where Purcell recruited performers and purchased artefacts for the Wild Australia Show collection in 1891.
6. The South Australian Museum and National Museum of Victoria (now Museums Victoria) – see Museums Victoria Collections, accessed 28 July 2020). <https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/162564> – purchased collections from Wragge, although his hope had been for the entire collection to be kept together. A further holding of Aboriginal artefacts from Wragge are in the Auckland Museum in New Zealand
7. Two masks in the QM collection [E2456 & E4777] attributed to Kaurareg people have no known connection to Meston.
8. The mask E2456 at Queensland Museum is thought to have been collected by Douglas and given to Colonial Secretary Sir Arthur Palmer (Queensland Art Gallery 2011, p. 308).
9. We are indebted to Jonathan Richards for locating these and Meston's papers and writings referred here.
10. There is no evidence Meston was a member of the Society.
11. The museum also accommodated the Queensland Government Botanist F. M. (Frederick Manson) Bailey (1827–1915), who was appointed in 1881 and Acting Curator from 1880–82.
12. See for example Vileyse (1883), 'The Brisbane Museum' *The Brisbane Courier*, 24 January p. 5., 1883 and 'The Queensland Museum', *The Queenslander* 5 August 1871, p. 6, and 'The Museum', *The Queenslander* 4 March 1882, p. 270.
13. Robins (2008, p. 5) noted 47 records of Aboriginal collection items listed in the earliest Register (1874–1876), and the 1876 collection inventory lists 171 items, indicating Aboriginal collections were formed prior to the use of the Registers.
14. Richard Daintree's large format colour-tinted photographs commissioned as part of a Geological Survey of Queensland were exhibited at the museum, and as part of Queensland's contribution to the Exhibition of Arts and Industry in the Belgian Annexe (later the Queensland Annexe) at the first International Exhibition London in 1871.
15. Reprinted in Mather (1986, p. 209) and Robins (2008, p. 66).
16. For a valuable review and detailed listing of the Queensland Museum Registers see Robins & Agnew 1986, pp. 4–10.
17. The detailed identification of relevant records and initial analysis was undertaken by Sophie Price during an internship for the Masters of Museum Studies program at the University of Queensland (2017–2018), and as a volunteer at Queensland Museum and worked on in collaboration with Chantal Knowles (2018); and as Assistant Curator (2019–2021). A random sample of items were physically examined, essentially those that were easily accessible in the limited

time available to all authors to attend the museum together and the availability of collections staff to assist. The CMS database was updated with relevant and appropriate contextual information that emerged from the research.

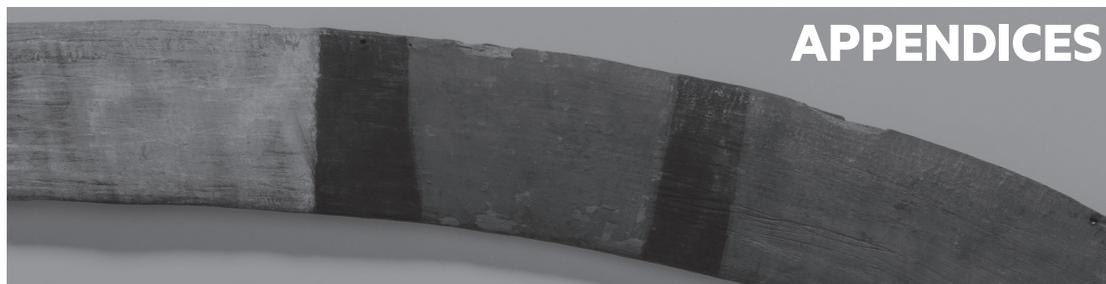
18. The items designated as being 'culturally sensitive' in Table 2 were given a QE or E registration prior to their deaccessioning. The data and records relating to these were not accessed for the project.
19. The Queensland Government Botanist from 1881, F.M. Bailey (1827–1915), travelled with Meston on the Mount Bellenden Ker Expedition and named the specimens in honour of Meston. He was also Acting Curator of QM between 1880 and 1882.
20. The regions are based on cultural and ecological distinctions across the State; See Appendix 4 and 5 for a complete list of places within these regions.
21. The 'rainforest region' is the Wet Tropics area that extends from Townsville north to Cooktown.
22. Item QE22810 was acquired as part of Purchase 150 in 1897 (Appendix 6). The item, a stone axe, had been mislabelled under another registration number in storage, and therefore never registered with its own individual item number prior to 2007.
23. The MAC register, using the prefix 'MAC' for all items, was developed to register separately artefacts and specimens relating to Sir William MacGregor's transfers as discussed earlier. This register, begun in 1915, remains problematic as it was started seventeen years after the last consignment had arrived, by which time MacGregor collection identifiers had in some cases become confused. 'MAC' items continued to be registered throughout the century with the last item being registered in 2001, and, as a consequence, several hundred items from British New Guinea mis-attributed to MacGregor have since been shown to have come from other sources. (Davies 2021 [forthcoming]).
24. Examples of objects re-registered to the PA register include PA323, PA314, PA101, PA417, PA19, PA409 from Purchase 580, 1904 (Appendix 7) (Ethnology Register – Australia 1890–1907: 47–49; Donor Register 4: 99); PA74 (Collection Schedule Dec 8 1917); PA320 (Donor Schedule #18/187, Dec 7 1918); PA386 (D10678, Donor Register 4, pp.26; Inward Correspondence #6207 (1900)); PA335 (D11429, Donor Register 4: 52).
25. Human Remains and Secret/Sacred items were first deaccessioned from QM's collections in late 1990, at which time, none were classified as Secret/Sacred objects by QM and some were on display or on loan to other institutions. QM's Repatriation Policy outlined how the museum would assist communities in having Indigenous cultural material and Human Remains deaccessioned and returned, and QM created a secure keeping place within the institution to store these and other culturally sensitive items.
26. The categories recorded are: Ethnology number, name of object, description of object, measurement, transaction number, and location collected. Some records have had additional QE registration numbers written in the column on the far right, indicating that the items were re-registered into the Queensland Ethnography registers in 1911 and onwards.
27. Purchase Register 1897–1907.
28. Correction of these errors has been a significant outcome of this research project. See Appendix 6 for full list of P150.
29. QE918/QE26591/QE26592/QE1832 are one single item.
30. See Appendix 3.
31. Donation number: D685 (see Appendix 3). QM Annual Report for the year 1883 (1884, p.2) lists 'Mrs Meston' as donor, while a newspaper report regarding the donation acknowledged Meston as the donor (see *The Queenslander* 18 August 1883, p.36).
32. Refer Appendix 2–3.
33. This is the earliest correspondence located to date between Meston and de Vis.
34. Appendix 3.
35. Appendix 1–3 (1877–1890). This doesn't include inward and outward loans between Meston and QM.
36. 22 donations, 1 exchange, 1 sale. Note the sale was of a selection of masks from Muralag (Prince of Wales Island, QLD) however there is no recorded purchase number for these masks and the items do not currently exist within the collection database. One of the ethnographic donations included culturally sensitive items (D7829) from Helidon.
37. The Australian Museum paid Meston the sum of £100 for 383 artefacts, with Meston acting 'on behalf of Miller Esq. Hensen Street Summerhill' (Australian Museum Purchase Schedule 1893, p.10). A significant proportion of the Miller-Meston collection are artefacts from northwest Queensland, and are likely to have been part of the Wild Australia Show collection.
38. The Wild Australia Show tour, like many of Meston's business ventures, ended in financial disaster. Meston had been declared bankrupt in 1881 following an unsuccessful land venture; and bankruptcy proceedings were taken against him by newspaper-owner John (Jean) Isambert, from whom Meston borrowed £250 in 1879 for a half share in a coal mine at Walloon near Ipswich (QSA Item ID 1058056, insolvency file, 17 November 1881).
39. Meston's commissioned work results in the implementation of the *Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* 1897 (see Memmott and Richardson in this volume).
40. Refer Appendix 3.

41. Purchase 150 (Appendix 6) in May 1897 records an offer of 325 artefacts, yet only 146 items are recorded in the current State Collection database. Appendix 1. Meston was paid £30 but the Board Minutes for 1897 indicate he initially requested £50, which was judged as fair by the curator. There is no information why the amount was reduced, but Meston had declared bankruptcy in October 1896 with debts of £2,152, and was declared insolvent in November 1896 (Queensland State Archives Item ID ITM1615768). He owed money to banks and his associates Purcell and Thomas Mylne. Again, it is unclear if any of these artefacts sold to the museum were from the Wild Australia Show collection.
42. de Vis enlisted amateur collectors to secure Aboriginal artefacts (see Meston, 1891a; Under Secretary, Department of Public Instruction, 1884), including Meston, Roth, Wragge and Coghlan, as well as others like Stephen Buhot and Revd. Hey. Collections from these sources accounted for 77.5% of the Aboriginal collections at QM in 1910 (approximately 3075) (Mather 1986, p.206); and currently the QM database lists 234–237 items associated with Roth; 578–586 with Wragge; 225 with Buhot; 72–73 with Hey; and 301–304 with Coghlan.
43. The role of Protector was to protect the rights and safety of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Queensland, but was largely an instrument of government to control the actions and finances of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.
44. 167 secret/sacred items (including Ancestral Remains) were acquired by the museum between 1882 and 1905.
45. The donation in 1900 is D10678; and the donation in 1893 is D7829. See Appendix 3.
46. This circular is referred to in Letter 237 sent to de Vis in 1884 (Under Secretary 1884), and Letter 195 from Bedford to de Vis in 1882 (Bedford 1882).
47. Donation number: D11429 (Appendix 3).
48. Donation number: D12236 (Appendix 3).
49. The Archibald Meston collection includes artefacts from other states, and, with no evidence he travelled to these places, should be considered as collected from third parties (see Appendix 4).
50. It is unclear if Meston had offered these to the museum beforehand.
51. Hamlyn Harris was given the task to 'rejuvenate the museum' following the Etheridge Report (1910). Robert Etheridge, curator at the Australian Museum, was engaged by the Queensland Premier to review the museum's administration, his findings being highly critical.
52. Five of the 18 donations have no attributed donation number, but are listed with an acquisition date that does not match any donation or purchase registers. The human remains are attributed to Cooktown, or an unknown locality.
53. Registration numbers are: QE2625, QE2626, QE2627, QE2628, QE2630, QE2631, QE2633, QE2634, and QE2636.
54. Jonathan Richards located three letters relating to the breastplates in the Queensland State Archives. (Queensland State Archives Item ID ITM847657, General Correspondence.)
55. Queensland State Archives Item ID ITM847657, General Correspondence.
56. Donor Register 3 1887–1899 records Purcell's donation as D7422, with a description of 'Ethnology, Zoology, Geology' from the Western Districts.
57. Registration numbers QE1938 and QE1940.
58. Probably the most well-known collection are large format exhibition prints used by Richard Daintree, Government Geologist for North Queensland in at least two international exhibitions (see Aird 2014).
59. This recognised his work on *Portraits of Our Elders* exhibition and the need to develop the collection further to include all prints, negatives and slides and not just those deemed significant. Michael Aird Pers. Comm. 11 August 2020.
60. Aird built on the then recently created EH Register that initially brought together 1200 significant photographs within the QM collections, expanding the number to around 5500 items. Rather than making judgements on form or quality of photographic items, his focus was on the subject matter and he compiled prints, negatives, reproductions, copy negatives, exhibition prints, lantern slides, and so on, into the 'EH' collection. Michael Aird Pers. Comm. 29 June 2020.
61. Pers. Comm. Geoff Thomson, QM. It was never published.
62. Colliver amassed a personal collection of over four hundred thousand Mollusca and five thousand geological specimens, which along with artefacts, an extensive library and personal papers including scrap books were transferred to the Queensland Museum in 1989. This transfer included at least 35 photographs registered to the EH collection. However, the full scope of material attributed to Colliver, which includes donations prior to his death and subsequent donations from his widow, Mary Colliver, is very difficult to determine.
63. Queensland Museum collection items: EH1138 and EH1139.
64. Donation number: D7737 (Appendix 3).
65. Donation number: D7746 (Appendix 3).
66. Born Margaret Frances Prowse Shaw (1853–1940), Mrs Meston was always known as "Frances".
67. QM has in recent years formally recognised their role in this and an Apology was produced as part of QM's Reflect Reconciliation Action Plan. It is installed in the public gallery space on Level 2 of the museum.

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS

Purchase number	Description (as sourced)	Date	Collection	Archived records
P127	“Fish”	29 April 1891	Biodiversity	Donation, Purchases [Register] 1886–1896 Donor Register 3 1887–1899
NA	“Offer of twelve masks, or grotesque head dresses used in ceremonial dances by the natives of Prince of Wales Island”	July 1892	Ethnographic	Annual Report for the year 1892
P150	“Aboriginal curios”	1 May 1897	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Board Meeting minutes February–May 1897 Donation, Purchases [Register] 1886–1896
P580	“Collection of Ethnological Specimens”	31 December 1904	Ethnographic	Board Meeting monthly report (1904) Donor Register 4 1899–1909
P798	“Spears, woomeras & Dilly Bags x 3 ... sticks”	29 July 1907	Ethnographic	Board Meeting monthly report (1907) Donor Register 4 1899–1909
Collection Schedule 16/007	Culturally Sensitive	4 October 1916	Ethnographic	Collection Schedule #16/007 (1916)
Collection Schedule dated December 8 1917	Culturally Sensitive	8 December 1917	Ethnographic	Collection Schedule (8 Dec 1917)

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS

Exchange number	Description (as sourced)	Date	Collection	Archived records
Ex49	"Cambanora"	1887	Biodiversity	Annual Report for the year 1887 Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907
Ex111	"6 New Guinea Spears"	10 June 1892	Ethnographic	Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907 Donor Register 2 1882–1887
Ex186	"Plumes of <i>P. raggiana</i> "	8 September 1897	Biodiversity or Ethnographic (undetermined)	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907
Ex188	"Mineral specimen of stalactite"	25 October 1897	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907
Ex194	Inward exchange of "aboriginal spear & knife"; Outward exchange of "Sundry plumes paradise reggiana"	31 October 1898	Ethnographic/ Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907 Exchange (Out) Register 1884–1907
Ex214	Inward exchange of "8 boomerangs 2169–76"; Outward exchange of "1 necklace of 5 sperm whale teeth"	23 March 1901	Ethnographic	Donor Register 4 1899–1909 Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907 Exchange (Out) Register 1884–1907

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF DONATION TRANSACTIONS

Donation number	Description (as sourced)	Date	Collection	Archived records
NA	"1 flying mouse with young"	13 October 1877	Biodiversity	Annual Report for the year 1887
D685	"Aboriginal weapons"	30 July 1883	Ethnographic	Donor Register 2 1882–1887 General Catalogue 1887–1893 'Queensland Museum'. <i>The Queenslander</i> 18 August, p. 36.
NA	"Musky rat-kangaroo"	1884	Biodiversity	Annual Report for the year 1884
D5312	"4 birds"	5 February 1889	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D5394	"...mestoni and an earthworm"	25 March 1889	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D5537	"Helix bipartita and Rhytida James"	25 July 1889	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D6060	"Snake - Brachyurophis australis"	20 February 1890	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D6351	"eggs of calornis and kingfisher"	27 September 1890	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D6366	"Fish"	9 October 1890	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D6472	"Bird"	19 January 1891	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D6805	"Birds eggs"	22 October 1891	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7005	"Reptiles"	12 February 1892	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7041	"Nuts (edible)"	1 March 1892	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7057	"Reptiles & fish"	21 March 1892	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7143	"Ethnological"	6 June 1892	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7146	"Birds"	7 June 1892	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7316	"Crab"	11 August 1892	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7335	"Birds & reptiles"	23 August 1892	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7417	"Ethnological"	24 October 1892	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7422	"Ethnology, Zoology, Geology"	1 November 1892	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1892
D7748	"Remains of old revolver"	1893	Social History	Donor Register 3 1887–1899 Annual Report for the year 1893
D7650	"Ethnological"	5 May 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7692	"Ethnological - Bullroarer"	7 June 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7708	"Ethnological - Grub Extractor"	20 June 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7718	"Ethnological - Spear point"	23 June 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7722	"Ethnological"	28 June 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7735	"Fish"	6 July 1893	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899
D7734	"Belemnites (cretaceous)"	8 July 1893	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887–1899

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF DONATION TRANSACTIONS-continued

Donation number	Description (as sourced)	Date	Collection	Archived records
D7772	"Piturie"	12 August 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D7829	Culturally Sensitive	26 October 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D7849	"Moths"	10 November 1893	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D7886	"Moths"	1 December 1893	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D7920	"Stone tomahawk & pieces of bone worked into rude tools"	14 December 1893	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D7957	"Moth"	10 January 1894	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D8202	"Fossils"	29 September 1894	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D8214	"Bird"	8 October 1894	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D8234	"Pamphlet - The Australian Cassowary"	30 October 1894	Literature	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D8409	"Handbook of Excursions"	9 March 1895	Literature	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D8580	"Bird"	12 August 1895	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D8989	"2 woomeras"	2 October 1896	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D9044	"Samples of cord woven from Natives Hair"	25 November 1896	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D9034	"Photograph of Aboriginals"	30 November 1896	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D9745	"Fish"	July 20 1898	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D9840	"Pipeclay frazers"	2 November 1898	Ethnographic	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D9919	"Fish"	19 December 1898	Biodiversity	Donor Register 3 1887-1899
D10221	"Bird"	5 August 1899	Biodiversity	Donor Register 4 1899-1909
D10243	"Egg of oyster catcher"	5 August 1899	Biodiversity	Donor Register 4 1899-1909
D10678	Culturally Sensitive	24 October 1900	Ethnographic	Donor Register 4 1899-1909 QM Inward Correspondence #6207
D11429	Culturally Sensitive	27 March 1902	Ethnographic	Donor Register 4 1899-1909
D11715	"Oyster catcher"	4 December 1902	Biodiversity	Donor Register 4 1899-1909
D12236	Culturally Sensitive	23 May 1904	Biodiversity	Donor Register 4 1899-1909
D13633	"1 hat made by Aboriginal out of straw procured from bottle covers. Bunch of spear grass embedded by hair of cows tail"	26 June 1907	Ethnographic	Donor Register 4 1899-1909
Donation Schedule 15/198	"Spinning top"	3 August 1915	Ethnographic	Donor Schedule #15/198 (1915)
Donation Schedule 18/104	"Spiny Sea Horse"	17 July 1918	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #18/104 (1918)

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF DONATION TRANSACTIONS-continued

Donation number	Description (as sourced)	Date	Collection	Archived records
Donation Schedule 18/00110	“Australian Egret”	26 July 1918	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #18/00110 (1918)
D18/187	Culturally Sensitive	7 December 7 1918	Biodiversity/ Ethnographic	Donor Schedule #18/187 (1918)
D20/29	“Bird”	14 February 1920	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #20/29 (1920)
D20/145	“Small wallaby & QLD Lung fish”	17 September 1920	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #20/145 (1920)
D20/155	“Eggs of Ceratodus”	27 September 1920	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #20/155 (1918)
D21/107	“Neoceratodus forsteri”	7 June 1921	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #21/107 (1921)
D23/34	“Snake”	21 February 1923	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #23/34 (1923)
D23/69	“Living larvae of moth” “Beetle: Rytiphora sp. (specimen incomplete)” “Remains of Barbook Owl (destroyed - useless)”	28 March 1923	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #23/69 (1923)
D23/75	“Skin of native porcupine”	1923	Biodiversity	Donor Schedule #23/75 (1923)
NA [note this was initially a ‘loan’ to QM in 1908, however was transitioned into a ‘donation’ in 1924]	Nine breastplates, originally loaned to QM in 1908 and then accessioned as a donation in 1924, following Meston’s death	14 May 1924 (accession date)	Ethnographic	Queensland Ethnography Register (1911–1966)

APPENDIX 4: ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS BY REGION & LOCALITY

Region	Locality
Far North Queensland	Albatross Bay Archer River Bertie Haugh Station Cape Bedford Cape York Coen River Embley River Kennedy River Mclvor River Moreton Telegraph Station Mulgrave River Wenlock River (also Batavia River)
Rainforest Region Queensland	Annan River Atherton Tablelands Barron River Cairns Cardwell Cooktown Daintree Johnson River Mareeba Russell River
North Queensland	Burdekin River
North West Queensland	Cloncurry
Central Queensland	Diamantina River Georgina River Gilbert River Glenormiston Great Keppel Island McKinlay Rockhampton Selwyn
Wide Bay-Burnett Region Queensland	Degilbo Double Island Point Fraser Island Gregory River Mary River Pialba Urangan
Northern Territory	Adelaide River Melville Island Port Darwin
New South Wales	Clarence River New England Region
Western Australia	Gascoigne River

Region	Locality
South West Queensland	Charleville Coopers Creek Condamine Maranoa Mitchell (The Tombs, Mt Moffatt Station) Roma Warrego Wilson River
South East Queensland	Blackall Range Bunya Mountains Caboolture Daandine Darling Downs Durundur Homestead Helidon Macalister Macintyre River McPherson Range Mooloolah River Nerang Creek Stanley River Tweed River

APPENDIX 5: NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTIONS BY REGION & LOCALITY

Region	Locality
Far North Queensland	Cape York Peninsula
Rainforest Region Queensland	Bellenden Ker Range Cairns Ingham Little Mulgrave River Mt Bartle Frere
Central Queensland	Emu Park Rockhampton
Mackay-Whitsunday Region Queensland	Mackay
Wide Bay-Burnett Region Queensland	Burnett District Burnett River
South East Queensland	Brisbane Darling Downs Macpherson Range
Tasmania	Ducane Ranges

APPENDIX 6: PURCHASE 150, ACQUISITION DATE 1 MAY 1897

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
E10009	Spearthrower	NT	Port Darwin	10 June 1974	514
E10012	Spearthrower	WA	Gascoyne River	13 June 1974	
QE11884	Firestick	QLD	Albatross Bay	26 September 1996	
QE11934	Firestick	QLD	Bertie Haugh	7 November 1996	502
QE1454	Basket	QLD	Cooktown	1 March 1921	724
QE1544	Club	Unknown	Unknown	1 March 1921	680
QE1545	Club	QLD	McKinley Range	1 March 1921	679
QE1658	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	668
QE1659	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	656
QE1660	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	667
QE1661	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	665
QE1662	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	654
QE1663	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	657
QE1664	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	647
QE1665	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	673
QE1666	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	663
QE1667	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	659
QE1670	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	666
QE1671	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	652
QE1673	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	669
QE1674	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	643
QE1678	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	655
QE1679	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	653
QE1680	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	640
QE1681	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	641
QE1682	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	651
QE1683	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	658
QE1684	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	650
QE1685	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	2 March 1921	648
QE1789	Necklace	QLD	Archer River	14 January 1923	730
QE1793	Neck ornament, full pearl shell	QLD	Ducie River	15 January 1923	692
QE1819	Head net	QLD	Diamantina River	18 January 1923	695
QE1828.1	Dugong Harpoon	QLD	Fraser Island	13 February 1923	
QE1828.2	Harpoon Tail	QLD	Fraser Island	13 February 1923	
QE1828.3	String	QLD	Fraser Island	13 February 1923	
QE183	Pituri bag & pituri	QLD	Lower Daintree	21 September 1912	737
QE1881	Clap sticks	Unknown	Unknown	17 February 1923	683
QE1949	Bag	QLD	Annan River	16 March 1923	722
QE1951	Bag	QLD	Mareeba, Barron River	16 March 1923	711
QE1956	Bag	QLD	Mclvor River	20 March 1923	720
QE1957	Bag	QLD	Batavia River	20 March 1923	714

APPENDIX 6: PURCHASE 150, ACQUISITION DATE 1 MAY 1897-continued

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
QE1959	Bag	QLD	Cape Bedford	20 March 1923	717
QE1968	Bag	QLD	Batavia River	20 March 1923	709
QE1969	Bag	QLD	Mclvor River	20 March 1923	713
QE1971	Bag	QLD	Albatross Bay	20 March 1923	718
QE1975	Bag	QLD	Cape Bedford	20 March 1923	721
QE1979	Bag	QLD	Cape Bedford	20 March 1923	719
QE1983	Bag	QLD	Cape Bedford	20 March 1923	712
QE2017	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	20 March 1923	649
QE2195	Apron	QLD	Batavia & Ducie River	6 April 1923	688
QE2201	Rubber, part of a dugong rib	QLD	West Cape York	7 April 1923	744
QE2205	Culturally sensitive item	NT	Adelaide River	10 April 1923	494
QE2255	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Batavia River		685
QE2269	Stone axe	QLD	Bunya Mountains	27 April 1923	638
QE22810	Axe head	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River	25 October 2007	630
QE2330	Stone knife	QLD	Georgina River	27 September 1923	687
QE2417	Stone axe	QLD	Rockhampton	11 October 1923	628
QE2420	Stone axe	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River	12 October 1923	622
QE2421	Stone axe	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River	12 October 1923	624
QE2422	Stone axe	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River	12 October 1923	632
QE2423	Stone axe	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River	12 October 1923	637
QE2425	Stone axe	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River	12 October 1923	621
QE2476	Firestick	QLD	Albatross Bay	25 October 1923	503
QE2488	Basket	QLD	Daintree River	26 October 1923	726
QE2492	Bag	QLD	Batavia & Ducie River	6 November 1923	703
QE2497	Basket	QLD	Unknown	6 November 1923	
QE2499	Bag	QLD	Batavia & Ducie River	6 November 1923	707
QE2500	Bag	QLD	Daintree River	6 November 1923	698
QE2555	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	23 November 1923	661
QE2571	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	644
QE2572	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	642
QE2574	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	639
QE2575	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	662

APPENDIX 6: PURCHASE 150, ACQUISITION DATE 1 MAY 1897-continued

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
QE2576	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	646
QE2584	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	671
QE2586	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	26 November 1923	672
QE2688	Club	QLD	Warrego	23 January 1925	682
QE2689	Club	QLD	Glenormiston	23 January 1925	765
QE2690	Club	QLD	Charleville	23 January 1925	37
QE2743	Club	QLD	Maranoa River	30 January 1925	681
QE283	Head nets	QLD	Unknown	21 March 1914	694
QE2842	Spearthrower	WA	Gascoigne River	26 March 1926	674
QE284	Head nets	QLD	Georgina River	30 March 1926	693
QE2927	Boomerang	QLD	Diamantina	27 October 1926	678
QE2929	Boomerang	QLD	Diamantina	27 October 1926	677
QE3000	Boomerang,	QLD	Darling Downs	17 October 1927	675
QE3644	Firestick	QLD	Bertie Haugh	30 August 1950	500
QE3778	Axe head	Unknown	Unknown	1 May 1897	636
QE3805	Axe head	QLD	Unknown		
QE3806	Axe head	QLD	Rockhampton to Tweed River		627
QE3810	Axe head	QLD	Unknown		
QE3813	Axe head	QLD	Unknown		
QE3819	Axe head	QLD	Unknown		
QE3820	Axe head	QLD	Unknown		
QE3863	Axe head	Unknown	Unknown		635
QE4709.1	Spear	QLD	Cardwell	1 July 1967	534
QE4709.2	Spear	QLD	Cardwell	1 July 1967	535
QE4715.1	Spear	QLD	Cardwell	1 July 1967	519
QE4715.2	Spear	QLD	Cardwell	1 July 1967	520
QE4715.3	Spear	QLD	Cardwell	1 July 1967	521
QE4723	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	543
QE4732	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	537
QE4738	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	538
QE4795	Spear	QLD	Albatross Point	1 July 1967	516
QE556	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Barron River		954
QE558	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Burdekin River		684
QE566	Bag	QLD	Daintree River	15 October 15 1914	726
QE567	Bag	QLD	Daintree River	15 October 15 1914	698
QE5921	String	QLD	Unknown	17 February 1969	742
QE5923	String	QLD	Unknown	17 February 1969	743
QE5992	Bag	QLD	Moreton, Telegraph St	20 February 1969	716
QE5998	Bag	QLD	Embley River	24 February 1969	715
QE6000	Bag	QLD	Moreton Telegraph St	24 February 1969	710

APPENDIX 6: PURCHASE 150, ACQUISITION DATE 1 MAY 1897-continued

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
QE6037	Pendant	QLD	Wenlock River	26 February 1969	690
QE6038	Pendant	QLD	Unknown	26 February 1969	691
QE6054	Necklace	QLD	Coen River	26 February 1969	729
QE6054	Necklace	QLD	Coen River	26 February 1969	729
QE6066	Necklace	QLD	North Queensland	26 February 1969	740
QE6067	Necklace	QLD	Wenlock and Ducie Rivers	26 February 1969	689
QE6068	Necklace	QLD	Coen River	26 February 1969	727
QE6069	Necklace	QLD	Coast at mouth of Wenlock River	26 February 1969	728
QE6100	Basket	QLD	Head of Daintree River	6 March 1969	696
QE6168	Bag	QLD	Wenlock River, sea coast	15 May 1969	699
QE6170	Bag	QLD	Wenlock River	15 May 1969	708
QE6173	Bag	QLD	Wenlock River	15 May 1969	701
QE6181	Bag	QLD	Wenlock and Ducie Rivers	16 May 1969	702
QE6183	Bag	QLD	Wenlock and Ducie Rivers	16 May 1969	706
QE6184	Bag	QLD	Wenlock and Ducie Rivers	16 May 1969	705
QE6187	Bag	QLD	Wenlock and Ducie Rivers	16 May 1969	704
QE6215	Spear	QLD	Unknown	9 June 1969	574
QE6216	Spear	QLD	Unknown	9 June 1969	577
QE6217	Spear	QLD	Unknown	9 June 1969	545
QE6238	Spear	QLD	Unknown	9 June 1969	518
QE6241	Spear	QLD	Unknown	9 June 1969	596
QE6262	Spear	QLD	Unknown	10 June 1969	542
QE6272	Necklace	QLD	Wenlock River	30 June 1969	731
QE6295	Firestick	QLD	Batavia River	25 July 1969	496
QE6297	Firestick	QLD	Batavia River	25 July 1969	495
QE6303	Firestick	QLD	Bertie Haugh	18 July 1969	502
QE6307	Firestick	QLD	Cape York	28 July 1969	620
QE6308	Firestick	QLD	Ducie River	28 July 1969	499
QE6310	Firestick	QLD	Cardwell	28 July 1969	619
QE6311	Firestick	QLD	Wenlock River	28 July 1969	497
QE6330	Firestick	QLD	Coen River	18 August 1969	498
QE6332	Firestick	QLD	Albatross Bay	18 August 1969	505
QE7289	Basket	Unknown	Unknown	27 April 1971	726
QE9960	Firestick	QLD	Wenlock River	9 May 1975	507

APPENDIX 7: PURCHASE 580, ACQUISITION DATE 31 DECEMBER 1904

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
PA101	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Daintree River	31 December 1904	2586
PA19	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Fraser Island	31 December 1904	2588
PA314	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Cooper's Creek	31 December 1904	2587
PA323	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Bunya Mountains	31 December 1904	2585
PA409	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Russell River	1 October 1967	2627
PA417	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Fraser Island	31 December 1904	2526
QE1817	Culturally sensitive item	QLD	Wilson River	18 January 1923	2645
QE1818	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	18 January 1923	2641
QE1820	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	18 January 1923	2640
QE1871	Shield	QLD	Fraser Island	16 February 1923	2657
QE1883	Plume	QLD	Coopers Creek	19 February 1923	2653
QE1885	Plume	QLD	Coopers Creek	19 February 1923	2651
QE1889	Plume	QLD	Diamantina	21 February 1923	2655
QE1890	Plume	QLD	Diamantina	21 February 1923	2656
QE1933	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	15 March 1923	2646
QE2172	Boomerang	QLD	Unknown	5 April 1923	
QE2173	Boomerang	QLD	Warrego	5 April 1923	2574
QE2473	Fishing net	QLD	Coopers Creek	24 October 1923	2663
QE2474	Fishing net	QLD	Coopers Creek	24 October 1923	2662
QE2501	Bag	QLD	Coopers Creek	6 November 1923	2665
QE2542	Boomerang	QLD	Johnson River	8 November 1923	2570
QE2543	Boomerang	QLD	Johnson River	8 November 1923	2571
QE2544	Boomerang	QLD	Johnson River	8 November 1923	2572
QE2881	Boomerang	QLD	Maranoa	14 October 1926	2568
QE2886	Boomerang	QLD	Warrego	14 October 1926	2573
QE2891	Boomerang	QLD	Rockhampton	15 October 1926	2613
QE2893	Boomerang	QLD	Macalister	15 October 1926	2614
QE2898	Boomerang	QLD	Fraser Island	15 October 1926	2619
QE2901	Boomerang	QLD	Russell River	15 October 1926	2579
QE2948	Boomerang	QLD	Maranoa	29 October 1926	2577
QE2949	Boomerang	QLD	Maranoa	29 October 1926	2575
QE2950	Boomerang	QLD	Maranoa	29 October 1926	2576
QE2955	Boomerang	QLD	Nerang Creek	29 October 1926	2592
QE2960	Boomerang	QLD	Russell River	29 October 1926	2578
QE2961	Boomerang	QLD	Mulgrave River	29 October 1926	2583
QE2964	Boomerang	QLD	Macalister	29 October 1926	2615
QE2965	Boomerang	QLD	Mary River	29 October 1926	2605
QE2967	Boomerang	QLD	Stanley River	29 October 1926	2609
QE2972	Boomerang	QLD	Nerang Creek	29 October 1926	2590
QE2975	Boomerang	QLD	Maranoa	29 October 1926	2569
QE3012	Boomerang	QLD	Mulgrave River	17 October 1927	2582

APPENDIX 7: PURCHASE 580, ACQUISITION DATE 31 DECEMBER 1904-continued

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
QE3014	Boomerang	QLD	Helidon	17 October 1927	2597
QE3556	Boomerang	QLD	Rockhampton	9 April 1945	2612
QE3584	Boomerang	QLD	Unknown	9 April 1945	2596
QE3608	Boomerang	QLD	Mulgrave River	9 April 1945	2581
QE5948	Bag	QLD	Bunya Mountains	18 February 1969	2630
QE5949	Bag	QLD	Daintree River	18 February 1969	2631
QE5965	Plume	QLD	Coopers Creek	18 February 1969	2652
QE5966	Plume	QLD	Coopers Creek	19 February 1969	2650
QE5967	Plume	QLD	Coopers Creek	19 February 1969	2649
QE5981	Ball of Human Hair	QLD	Diamantina River	20 February 1969	2647
QE6084	Fishing Net	QLD	Coopers Creek	27 February 1969	2661
QE6194	Basket	QLD	Bunya Mountains	16 May 1969	2628
QE6224	Head net	QLD	Cooper's Creek	9 June 1969	2636
QE6226	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1969	2636
QE6227	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1969	2637
QE6228	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1969	2642
QE6233	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1969	2643
QE6243	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1969	
QE6244	Head net	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1969	2638
QE6265	Necklace	QLD	Wilson River	9 June 1970	2632
QE6274	Necklace	QLD	Wilson River	20 June 1969	2633
QE6458	Yam stick	QLD	Albatross Bay	7 October 1969	2658

APPENDIX 8: PURCHASE 798, ACQUISITION DATE 28 JULY 1907

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
QE116	Spearthrower	QLD	Cooktown	24 April 1912	2705
QE118	Spearthrower	QLD	Cairns	24 April 1912	2729
QE1601	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2698
QE1602	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2701
QE1603	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2701
QE1604	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2702
QE1605	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2703
QE1606	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2704
QE1607	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2706
QE1608	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2707
QE1609	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2708
QE1610	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2709
QE1611	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2710
QE1612	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2711
QE1613	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2712
QE1614	Spearthrower	QLD	Cooktown	2 March 1921	2713
QE1616	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2720
QE1617	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2719
QE1618	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2717
QE1619	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2721
QE1620	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2724
QE1621	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2726
QE1622	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2769
QE1623	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2728
QE1624	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2723
QE1625	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2727
QE1626	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2725
QE1627	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2722
QE1630	Spearthrower	QLD	Unknown	2 March 1921	2715
QE4048	Spearthrower	Unknown	Unknown	29 July 1907	2730
QE4717.1	Spear	QLD	Unknown	1 July 1967	2692
QE4725.1	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2690
QE4725.2	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2690
QE4725.3	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2690
QE4725.4	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2690
QE4774.1	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2682
QE4774.2	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2683
QE4793.1	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2684
QE4793.2	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2685
QE4793.3	Spear	Unknown	Unknown	1 July 1967	2686
QE6192	Bag	QLD	Cardwell	16 May 1969	2732
QE6193	Bag	QLD	Unknown	16 May 1969	2732

APPENDIX 8: PURCHASE 798, ACQUISITION DATE 28 JULY 1907-continued

Registration number	Name	State	Locality	Registered date	Ethnology Register – Australia registration number (if known)
QE6213	Basket	QLD	Cardwell	9 June 1969	2731
QE6239	Spear	QLD	Unknown	9 June 1969	2694
QE6296	Firestick	QLD	Wenlock River	25 July 1969	2695
QE6313	Firestick	QLD	Unknown	28 July 1969	2697
QE6322	Firestick	QLD	Unknown	28 July 1969	2696

APPENDIX 9: LIST OF ARCHIVES FOR TRANSACTIONS

Correspondence	Reports and Publications	Registers	Donor and Collection schedules
Inward Correspondence #237 (1884)	Annual Report for the year 1887	Donor Register 1 1875–1881	Donor Schedule #15/198 (1915)
Inward Correspondence #2533 (1888)	QM Annual Reports 1890–1907	Donor Register 2 1882–1887	Collection Schedule #16/007 (1916)
Electric Telegraph #2810 (1889)	QM Ethnological Specimens offer to QM (1897)	Donor Register 3 1887–1899	Collection Schedule (8 Dec 1917)
Outward Correspondence #1639a (1889)	Board Meeting minutes February–May 1897	Donor Register 4 1899–1909	Donor Schedule #18/104 (1918)
Electric Telegraph #3540 (1891)	Board Meeting monthly report (1904)	Donation, Purchases [Register] 1886–1896	Donor Schedule #18/00110 (1918)
Inward Correspondence #3550 (1891)	Board Meeting monthly report (1907)	Purchase Register 1897–1907	Donor Schedule #18/187 (1918)
Inward Correspondence #3932 (1892)	Guide to Anthropology Registers (1986)	Exchange (In) Register 1884–1907	Donor Schedule #20/29 (1920)
Inward Correspondence #3584 (1892)		Exchange (Out) Register 1884–1907	Donor Schedule #20/155 (1918)
Outward Correspondence #2369 (1893)		Ethnology Register – Australia 1890–1907	Donor Schedule #20/145 (1920)
Inward Correspondence #4635 (1895)		Anthropological and Geological Lists 1870–1910	Donor Schedule #21/107 (1921)
Inward Correspondence #4700 (1895)		Extended Donor Register 1 1885–1888	Donor Schedule #23/69 (1923)
Inward Correspondence #4982 (1896)		Extended Donor Register 2 1887–1910	Donor Schedule #23/75 (1923)
Outward Correspondence #3038 (1898)		Purchase Schedules 1915–1943	Donor Schedule #23/34 (1923)
Outward Correspondence #3197 (1899)		General Catalogue 1887–1893	
Outward Correspondence #3211 (1900)		Queensland Ethnography Register (1911–1966)	
Inward Correspondence #6207 (1900)			
Inward Correspondence #7372 (1907)			