

THE COFFIN FAMILY OF REDCLIFFS STATION, PILBARA, WESTERN AUSTRALIA



Above: Bill Coffin (Battye Library Photo 66864P)

**by
Dr Bill Day**

**Tom Price
2005**

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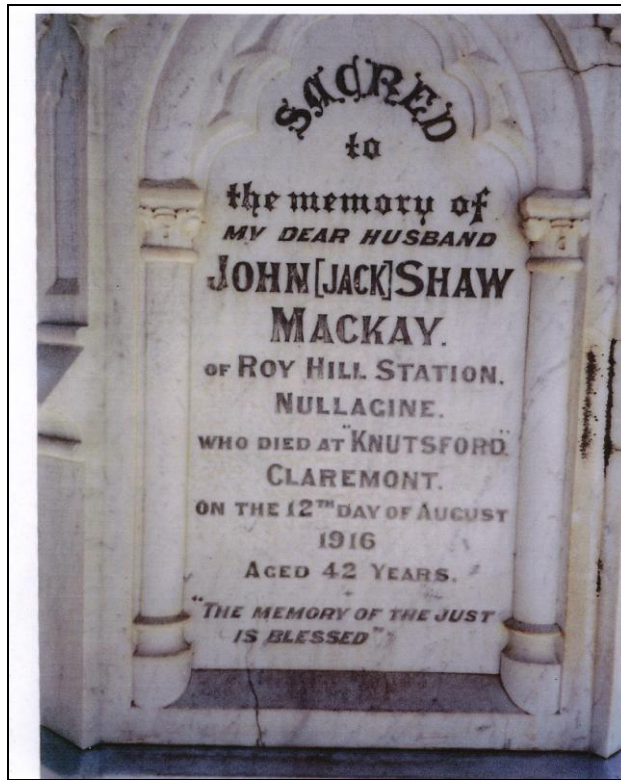
In the 1890s, Maggie Mardjuwiya and a Nyamal man named George Mackay were employed by the Mackay brothers on Mundabullangana Station. Some time before the birth of their first son the couple were relocated inland to the Mackay property at Roy Hill. Maggie and George's son, Gordon Mackay, was born on the station in about 1899 and his brother Roy Mackay in about 1900.¹ Both became acknowledged cultural leaders within the Nyiyaparli tribe. George Mackay died in 1927. Maggie's second partner was a 'half-caste' teamster named Billy Coffin who drove teams of seventeen horses from Port Hedland and Roebourne to Roy Hill carting goods for the Mackay brothers.²

On June 12, 1903, Maggie gave birth to a son at Roy Hill Station. The boy was named William Coffin, after his father. Later the station owner, John Shaw Mackay, became the father of Maggie's youngest son who she named Alec Mackay. At his mother's wishes, young William grew up with the Mackays as an insurance against his removal by the Department of Native Affairs.

The *Aborigines Act 1905* had prohibited interracial marriage without permission and made the Chief Protector the legal guardian of all Aboriginal children under the age of sixteen with the power to forcibly remove children from their parents if he deemed fit. Furthermore, the Act gave the Chief Protector the power to oversee and control the property of Aboriginal people in Western Australia.³

Maggie was a very strong willed woman. William described how she could fight. 'Once she start she'd have three or four laying down flat on the ground; she'd beat anyone walking around.'⁴ In a 1978 interview William was asked by Ronda Jamieson: 'How did you find the Mackay brothers that you worked for when you were young?' William replied:

Oh well, they were sort of friend up with all my people. In fact one of the Mackays, the boss, lived with my mother ... eventually he got his own wife, a white girl. They still got on alright, the white woman and my mother got on together good (page 76).



Above: Fremantle Cemetery - The headstone of John Shaw Mackay of Roy Hill Station.

William left Roy Hill Station in 1921 when he was about eighteen to help on his father's 20,000 acre Redcliffs station, near Woodstock and Abydos where Redmont railway siding is today.

Meanwhile, Billy was living with an Injibandi woman named Ivy Sandiford.

When William left Roy Hill, his half brothers and sisters were Jack (1915), Ada (1916), Clara (1920) and Albert (1921). Later Gordon (1927) and Allan (1929) were born.

Many years later, William Coffin was asked about his years at Redcliffs. He said:

Got on alright too, we got some cattle, big sixty pound bullocks, sold them, but the poor old fella died. He never left anything for us, to us.... Course the country was all hills you know. All you had to do was run a little bit of a fence across, we got a paddock. And not long we get a paddock when I got there, yes. Good that way. It's still there, now nobody owns it now. ...Yes, he was gathering up wild cattle too, here and there you know. It would have went ahead, that place, 'cos it cost nothing. But the old devil he never made a will out in writing to me, you see, or anyone in the other family, his wife and that. She was standing there with nothing in her hand, couldn't claim anything. And this Bray, the welfare bloke, he claimed everything.

William's half brother, Jack, recorded his memories of Redcliffs with Louis Warren in 1996. Jack said:

I was born on Roy Hill and my parents left when I was small. My father took up a bit of land to do some prospecting down here. Prospecting was new to him, he had worked on the stations doing stock work, fencing and well sinking and that sort of thing. Years ago they used only wooden posts for fencing and my father knew the timber that would stand up to all sorts of things. Blackheart was a good one. And there was Bloodwood and there was a yam tree, but they were hard to get. The lease was about 20,000 acres and there was nothing on it, so we built some holding paddocks for when we did some branding. We called the place Redcliffe [sic], but it's known as Redmont, now. I think that was in the early 1920's. There wasn't a lot of wild cattle around. My father always said if there was no ant hills around, then the land would be pretty good. Clear of pests or something I suppose. He thought the country would be better for the stock. He sank a well for water and we didn't have to go too far down. There were some springs around about, too. Tyler Springs we used a lot and another one was only a small spring. It was south west of where we were. Further up from Tyler Springs. I think. I

only ever saw it dry up once. I only ever heard it called an Aboriginal name. All the creeks ran up there. There was one we called Cadjebut Creek and another at Redmont. The junction was just above Redmont and they all emptied into the springs. But a lot of wild cattle moved in after we left and trampled everything down. There was always water in the springs when we were there, even all through the 1925 drought.

William's mother, Maggie, would sometimes visit Redcliffs from Roy Hill, where she was a musterer's cook. It was a great achievement for an Aboriginal man, a 'half-caste' as he was then known, to acquire a station and to stock the land. According to the *Lost Lands Report*:

Unable to obtain bank loans, the only way Aboriginal farmers could finance [their improvements] was to work for others. This would often take them away for a season at a time placing themselves at risk of being accused of having abandoned their farm.

On the morning of July 18, 1929, Billy Coffin was employed fencing for Draper and Sons of Woodstock Pastoral Company fifteen miles from Woodstock Station when he died suddenly. The following story, taken from released Government files, tells of the hardships the family faced after the death of Billy Coffin.

Jack Coffin remembers:

When I was a young boy I moved around with my father doing different jobs. When he died we couldn't keep the station. My half brother, (from a different mother), William (Bill), Amy's father, tried to work the station but was too inexperienced in the station life and couldn't manage it. He wasn't very old, but already had a few kids. Amy was born at Redcliffe[s]. I don't think Native Welfare helped very much. We didn't get much from them at all in those days. So the station closed. The family went out working the alluvial gold then.¹

In January the next year, Frank Leeds, the rationing officer at neighbouring Abydos Station, reported that Billy's son, William, had sold forty-one head of cattle from Redcliffs. Leeds continued: 'Up to the present all rates and taxes have been paid and stores to keep them going to about May. I still have forty pounds to their credit here.' Leeds suggested to the Chief Protector of Aborigines:

...they would be better left alone thus saving your department any expense as they are perfectly happy and contented ... Things are very dry about the district and we all are waiting for rain to fall, also to see wool prices go up.

Meanwhile, in the economic depression of the period, creditors were becoming concerned. Ah Tow, Draper and General Shopkeeper of Port Hedland wrote to William Coffin on January 4, 1930, 'I hear that you are winding up your father's estate' and enclosed an account of 12/1/6d that 'has been outstanding for some considerable time.' The Chief Protector of Aborigines wanted to know 'if the stores forwarded by Ah Tow have included liquor at any time.' He wrote in May, 1930: 'the matter of the administration of the estates of all deceased natives, aborigines and half castes is now entirely in my hands by direction of the Governor...' Apparently William was tiring of government paternalism, because he posted a brief hand written letter to the Department of Native Affairs from 'Red Cliffs' on May 30, 1930, stating simply, 'I am writing to ask you to let me off this blacks act.'

On May 27, 1930, the Inspector of Aborigines for the district reported:

¹ Interview with Jack Coffin by Louis Warren
16th July 1999 at Jack and Elsie's house Kingsmill Street Port Hedland.

In my opinion, Willie Coffin is making a noble unselfish attempt to carry the burden his father laid down when he died ... also the Estate should relieve him of the handicap of debt in consideration of the benefits the beneficiaries are receiving from his personal efforts.

In his report, the Inspector informed the Chief Protector:

There are 5 to 7 steers running on Redcliff, which could be sold now, profitably, beef in good demand the weather is cool, but it must be done now. Later the weather will be too warm to move them. These steers will not improve to any appreciable intent by keeping them.

When they were visited by the Inspector of Aborigines in May the Coffin family were reported to have about 25 cows and some horses at Redcliffs 'all in excellent condition and are quiet.' The Inspector reported:

Willie Coffin, the eldest son ... is employed at White Springs, paid two pounds a week and keep for all – good worker, useful; his younger brother Jack is also at White Springs and is doing well. The mother and family are living in the bush, removed from traffic, near their own place; ... the latter is a holding of Billie Coffin (deceased) ... H/c Willie Clifton is ...looking after Mrs Coffin and family, Willie Coffin agrees to this. Clifton claims cousinship to deceased Coffin ... they intend to go on kangarooing, and should be perfectly safe and quite happy, living out of harm's way on their little holding; with own cows to supply milk and butter. These poor people are living in dread of being taken away to a strange land.

Willie Coffin is half brother to Aleck McKay, but has no interest in Euro Springs, he visited there because the mother of both, Maggie, F.B.F.,⁵ goes to Euro [springs] to look after Aleck McKay. I saw Maggie who is now at Roy Hill waiting for Aleck's return from droving, when he and she will return to Euro. Recommend that they be allowed to remain at Redcliff, their own holding...

In July, 1930, the Under Secretary for Lands advised that the lease was paid to 30th June and an amount of four pounds as half yearly rental was due. The Chief Protector replied that the estate was now in the hands of the Curator of Intestate Estates 'and this Department is no therefore longer concerned in the matter.'

When the Curator assumed control of the file, a more inflexible attitude was apparent. The Curator wrote to the Chief Protector, 'Apparently your notifications that administration of all estates of deceased natives and half-castes [are] entirely in your hands have created difficulties... Monies belonging to the deceased cannot be used in this way...'

The Curator was referring to understandings given to local pastoralists. For example, in August 1930 Mr R. Draper of Woodstock Pastoral Company wrote that William Coffin had been mistakenly issued with seven pounds worth of rations after he had already been paid for a contract for five miles of fencing. Draper claimed:

Mr Mitchell has led me to believe that the department will settle this native's debts... His idea was that if this native was relieved of his own debts not the estates' he would be able to support his mother and her family but that it was not possible for him to carry on unless relieved of his liabilities. If you look at the account enclosed in my letter of 25th June, you will observe that the account was for foodstuffs.

Similarly, on November 24th the Curator of Intestate Estates replied to Frank Leeds regarding the forty-one head of cattle which had been sold in December 1929:

Your statement refers to transactions some considerable time after [Billy Coffin's] death and for which his estate is not in any way responsible ... failure on your part to remit [the proceeds of the sale] will result in my having to take proceedings for its recovery. This is regretted but unfortunately

any goods, etc, supplied by you since the date of death can not be set off against the proceeds of the 41 cattle. No authority was given by me to do this and no other person is legally entitled to do so.

Native Affairs also wrote that Leeds must now repay the money and threatened to take legal action against him. On November 29, 1930, Frank Leeds replied that he was only trying to help the Coffins and was practically insolvent himself since Abydos had debts of over thirteen thousand pounds. Leeds added, 'I had nothing whatever to do with them selling the cattle or delivering them and I only acted as a kind of bank and they got the money as they wanted from me to pay their debts ... Being a Rationing Officer I thought I would be doing right.'

The widow and her oldest son were continually frustrated in their attempts to keep the station solvent. Ivy wrote to Mr A. O. Neville in May 1931:

Dear Sir,

I have heard that you making inquiries re my whereabouts - at the present time I am at the Old Shaw tin field via Marble Bar, before coming here I was at the Western Shaw goldfields for 7 or 8 months.

Re my husband's property: Would you kindly let me know how I stand in the matter. I have a buyer for the cattle on the place but do not know what to do and if the cattle are left any longer they will be too wild to handle and also I may not get another chance to sell. I have heard that you wrote to me some time ago but I have not received any letters at all in connection with my husband's affairs.

Mrs W Coffin

Legally, it appears that the widow had no rights to her partner's estate because the two were never legally married. On May 9, 1932, Frank Leeds wrote to the Chief Protector:

Ivy Coffin has applied to me for rations for herself and 3 children. This is a deserving case and they are just about starving. They also need clothes and blankets. Names - Ivy Coffin, Clara Coffin 11 years, Gordon Coffin 5 years, Allan Coffin 4 years.

Rations were eventually issued to Mrs Coffin and her children from July 1932, at a cost of 7/0d per week, with the Department aiming to recover the cost from the estate. However, the Curator of Intestate Estates replied to the Chief Protector on August 1st:

The charge for rations to Mrs Coffin and her family will not be admitted by me as a claim against the estate of William Coffin. I have no proof that Mrs Coffin was legally married to the deceased ... should there be any balance ... the monies held will be paid to the Aborigines Trust Fund.

As the years passed since Billy Coffin's death, the debts accruing to the station continued to increase, with the Coffin family prevented from managing or selling the stock. It seemed contradictory that Ivy and her children were not legally recognised as inheritors of the property while the value of their rations was to be claimed by the Department from any money remaining in the estate. Hospital fees for William Coffin also amounted to 11/16/0d in 1934.

Summing up the assets, the Department reported that the 'only stock which could be found [on the 20,000 acres Lease 3149/96] were 13 head of cattle.' There was a station homestead of a bough shed with dining room, three bough shed huts with paperbark roofs, 'one stone fire place, one fenced horse paddock in front of humpies, approximately two miles [of fencing], well, windlass and bucket [and] one small stock yard.' They also reported that an offer of seventy pounds was received for Redcliffs from Mr Alan Le Lievre of Roy Hill but the deal had fallen through. Unsold assets were:

2 packsaddles and 1 set of pack bags.

10 horse collars, fair condition.

1 old cart saddle – worn out

1 pair winkers

- 2 sets of hames and traces
- 1 sulky saddle, out of repair
- 1 set leading harness
- 1 halter
- 1 set spring cart harness
- 3 buckets
- 1 shoeing kit assorted
- 3 dingo traps
- 1 old grinding stone
- 2 old sulkies – worn out

When it became clear that the property would not sell, the Chief Protector wrote to Curator of Intestate Estates on June 20, 1934:

I am prepared to transfer Lease No. 3149/96 for the purpose of an Aboriginal Reserve if your department will make the necessary arrangements and pay the outstanding rent, rates and taxes amounting to approximately 36/3/0d to 30/6/34, plus fees.

A week later the Chief Protector clarified his proposal for Redcliffs: 'My object in acquiring the lease as a reserve would be to hand it back to the family, and if it is to be no good to them we certainly would pay nothing for it.' Asking for advice, the Chief Protector wrote to Frank Leeds on June 28, 1934:

I shall be glad to learn if the Coffin family is still residing at Red Cliff Station... The lease is now on the market for disposal, and my object in making these inquiries is to see whether it is of any further use to the family, and whether it could be worked by them. If it is any use, the advisability of buying it could be considered.

Frank Leeds may have been tiring of the whole affair or he may have recognised that the opportunity to make a go of the station had passed. As rationing officer, he may also have given a biased opinion. He replied from Abydos on July 7 to the Chief Protector in Perth:

In reply to [your letter 28/6/34] it is impossible for the Coffin family to do anything as regards to Red Cliffs as they have no money so it would be better to sell the place. They are camped at Western Shaw and what with the Govt rations and what little bit of gold they get now and then they are able to carry on and look after themselves.

After considering Leeds' reply, the Chief Protector reflected on the bureaucratic interference which had prevented the Coffins from working their station. He wrote to the Curator on August 21, 1934:

I am now in receipt of a reply stating that it would be impossible for the Coffin family to do anything with Redcliffs as they have no money. The family is staying at the Western Shaw where they get a little bit of gold and this and Government rations make it possible for them to eke out an existence. ... It is now clear that it was a pity to disturb the family. They were getting a living on Redcliffs and now they have lost the property and are on Government rations, perhaps for many years.

The Curator was clearly offended by the Chief Protector's comments and replied on October 9:

What actually is intended to be conveyed by the above? So far as facts are known to this office this paragraph is certainly misleading and not in accordance with the fact.

The Coffin family was not at any time disturbed by this office and as a matter of fact the Police reports indicate the Coffin family were very seldom at Redcliff and never occupied it for more than 14 days in any one year and for the balance of the year were quartered over the country and actually at the date of death ... were at Shaw River...



Above: Mr A O Neville, the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Western Australia from 1915 to March 20, 1940.

In February, 1935, the outstanding rents amounted to 37/0/0d and by July the next year the Lands Department advised that the lease had been cancelled. The total owing of 43/16/0d had also been cancelled. It was noted that if the station had been sold for the asking price of sixty pounds, only sixteen pounds would have gone to the estate. However, there was now belated consideration of the rights of the widow, Ivy Coffin. On June 11, 1936, the Curator asked, 'In order that I may know whether to pay this balance to the widow or to the Aborigines Trust Account will you kindly advise me whether or not the deceased and his wife were legally married.'

In August, the Chief Protector wrote to Frank Leeds at Abydos: 'I do not know if this couple were legally married.' The answer was negative, so in September the Chief Protector advised the Curator: 're: William Coffin. Ivy Coffin was not legally married to the above.'

The Curator again asked the Chief Protector if Native Affairs still wished to acquire the station for a native reserve. By now the Department's advice was, 'as we do not acquire reserves in this manner and the property appears to be of no use to the Coffin family, I would suggest that we display no interest...'

In winding up the estate there was concern that if money 'is paid direct to [Mrs Coffin] I fear the Department will receive nothing...' Instead, the residue of the estate was paid into the 'Special Funds for Natives in part payment of the cost of rationing of Ivy and her children for four years.' In August 1936, the balance sheet was given as: 'sale of cattle 32/10/0d; sale of cattle by Coffin family refunded by Frank Leeds 40/0/0d; claim by Ah Tow 12/1/6d' with a balance of 34/5/5d.

The eldest son was unable to support his mother's family, as the Inspector of Aborigines reported to Chief Protector (November 16, 1936): 'Willie Coffin ... is married to May Lockyer and has six children of his own to support. He is working for Mr Bligh at three pounds a week which I doubt he will ever receive and also is trying to pay of a Departmental debt of eight pounds.'

Later in November Frank Leeds was informed that rations to Ivy and three of her children were to be discontinued at the end of the year. The Chief Protector wrote:

I understand that two or three of the older members of the family are working and earning wages and should be in a position to assist in the support of the mother and younger members of the family, and that further William Clifton is practically living with Mrs Coffin and earning his living by fossicking for alluvial gold.⁶

A 1939 Inspector's report from the Pilbara described how Ivy's family were being assisted by William Clifton, who was also the partner of Maud Lockyer from Roebourne:

At the present there are quite a number of halfcastes at Woodstock Station. Willie Coffin has casual work there, and will be employed until shearing is over, he then intends to return to Tamborah to fossick for gold. This family are more or less permanently located in the vicinity of Tamborah ... I did not see Clifton as he was away with the mustering camp. Woodstock was due to shear a few days after my visit. Clifton is about fifty years of age and is married to a halfcaste woman named Maud, aged about forty two years. The Cliftons have seven children. Clifton has another halfcaste woman living with him named Ivy Coffin. Ivy has eight children, four of the children are with her and the others are away working. From what I could learn, Ivy's husband has been dead for about seven years. Clifton has taken charge of this family and provides for them.⁷

Very little changed until A. O. Neville retired in March 1940, after twenty-five years. F. 'Sonny' Bray then became the Acting Commissioner. Mr Bray noticed that the files for the estate of Billy Coffin, 'deceased 18/7/1929,' 'have apparently been overlooked since 1936.' A summary was written noting that in September 1936 a cheque for 34/5/5d was received from the Curator of Intestate Estates' Office - with interest this came to 35/19/10d. Ivy Coffin was described as 'Next of kin (not legally married),' with children: 'Willie 33, Jack 25, Ada 24, Clara 20, Albert 19, Jordan 13, Allan 11, Freddy 9, Sandy 6.' The summary explained that the Department supplied Ivy, Clara, Gordon and Allan with rations with the intention of claiming the cost against the Estate. The Curator of Intestate Estates refused to recognise such a claim (because the couple were not legally married). Therefore, as there were no recognised next of kin, the Estate was transferred to the Department in September 1936. Although Native Affairs was refused repayment of rations paid, they still received the balance of the estate, 'paid into the Special Fund for the benefit of natives generally.'

In 1936 the Chief Protector of Native Affairs was renamed the Commissioner. The *Native Administration Act 1905-1936* which replaced the *Aborigines Act 1905* gave him the power to withhold consent to any Aboriginal marriage. The Commissioner wrote, 'if similar circumstances arose ... in regard to the estate of a native dying ... the tribal wife and children would be entitled to the balance of the estate.' An internal note added, 'As a special consideration you may consider paying the balance of the estate to the deceased's wife and the children living at the time of his death.' However, the Department insisted on repayment for rations supplied 'at a cost of over seventy pounds.' The Coffins lost their lease and received nothing from the balance.

In 1936, the Chief Protector wanted to start a small settlement and feeding depot to which 'full-blood' Aborigines could be moved and 'mixed-blood' Aborigines educated. Some of the families who worked on surrounding stations moved to Tambourah as well as about 20 school-aged children and a number of young women.⁸ Amongst them were the Coffins and Cliftons. The Tambourah Creek Reserve, number 21802, of 198,000 acres was created on January 21, 1938.⁹ The reserve has never been cancelled.

William Coffin worked around Tambourah Creek with a Mr Ryan making dry blowers for the alluvial fields. Mr Bligh managed the nearby battery.¹⁰ The ruins of a stone wall at Tambourah still mark the site of the William and May Coffin's house.¹¹ In 1941, Keith Bligh, the battery manager, wrote to the Commissioner that 'William Coffin wishes to marry his wife, May. I suppose this looks like this week's funny story, but William has asked me to let you know. He wants to be married for the children's sake.'

It is not surprising that William wanted to make his relationship legal after the difficulties the family had gone through since the death of his father and the loss of the family property. His concern for the children may well have been a result of the child removal policies affecting many Pilbara Aboriginal families in the 1940s. Also, amendments to the Commonwealth *Social Securities Act* in 1941 extended child endowment to 'detribalised' Aborigines.¹²

In February 1941 Mr Bray, the Commissioner of Native Affairs, congratulated the couple on their decision: 'They will show a good example to many other half-castes in the Port Hedland District. If they do I shall be grateful to William and May for their recognition of the social and christian necessities of their state.' On May 20, the Commissioner issued a formal statement that he had 'no objection under Section 45 of the *Native Administration Act 1905-40* to the marriage of William Coffin and May Lockyer.'

Mr Bligh at Tambourah informed the Commissioner:

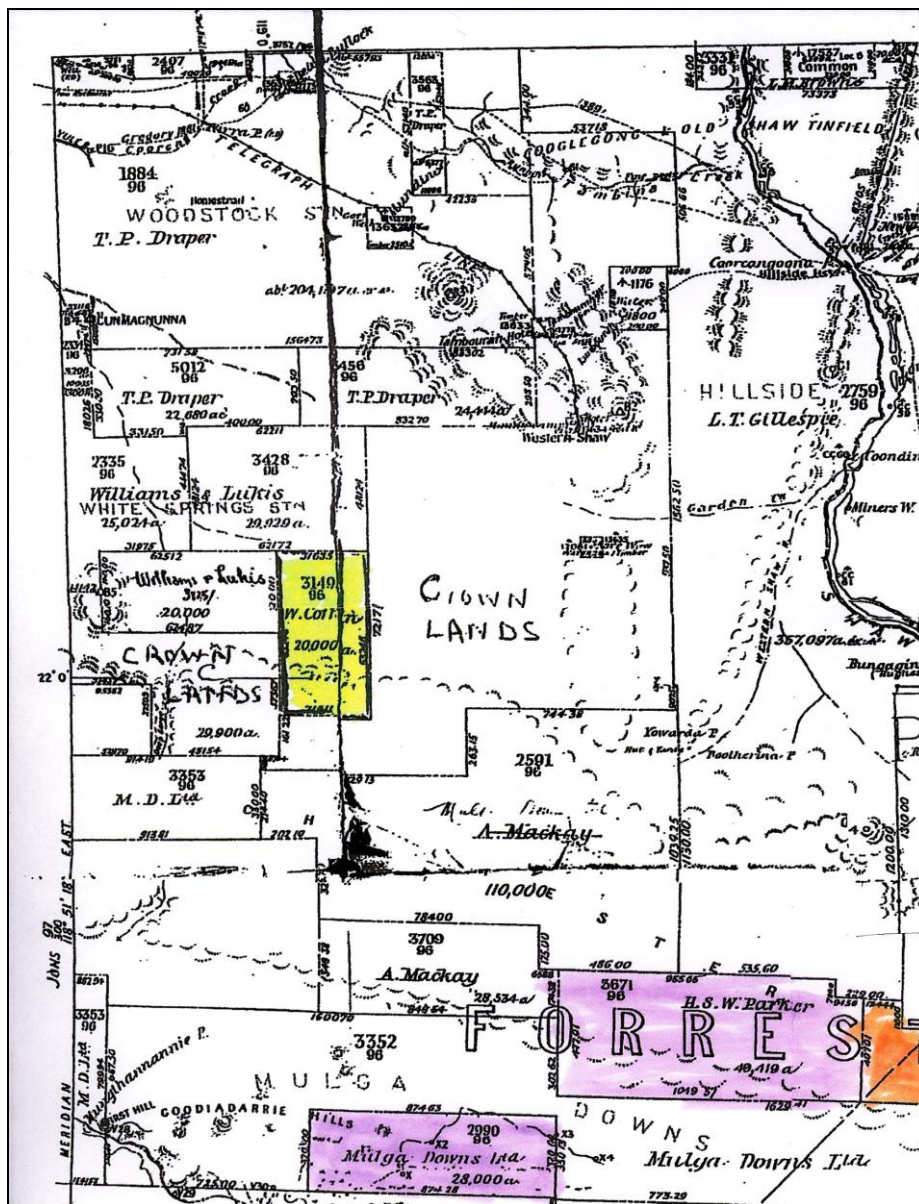
I have entered May's name as 'Coffin' as she is known here by that name. I read your letter to William and he was delighted by your remarks. He said, 'My word that Mr Bray must be a good sort of a bloke' I have known William for a good number of years and have found him to a very good clean liver. ... They have seven children and they are definitely all William's ... I am seriously thinking of starting up Matrimonial Agency here.

The happy event took place on September 24th at Bligh's home in Tambourah with Archdeacon Simpson officiating. Before the wedding, the priest baptised William, May and three of their children and four others present. Bligh reported, 'my wife and I were landed with 7 God Children.'

Despite their marriage, the Coffins were not Citizens of Australia. It wasn't until 1944 that the Western Australian Government passed the *Native (Citizenship Rights) Act* which gave citizenship to any Aborigine upon application to a magistrate, provided they could show that they 'had adopted the manner and habits of civilised life.'¹³ William applied for 'a Certificate of Exemption' in September 1945 which was approved five months later. Presumably this move was what William had in mind in his 1930 request to be free of 'this black's act'. On February 27, 1947, Ivy Coffin filled in a statutory declaration saying, 'I wish to become a citizen of the State of Western Australia in accordance with the provisions of the Natives (Citizenship Right) Act, 1944.' In June, the Inspector reported:

The Applicant is not educated, but speaks quite well. Her conduct apparently is very good, and she is apparently a clean living old soul without much very much vice.

Six months later, a Certificate of Citizenship was also issued to William and May Coffin. William passed away on September 2, 1984, and is buried in the Marble Bar cemetery.



Above: 1920s map showing Redcliffs Station, Lease number 3149/96

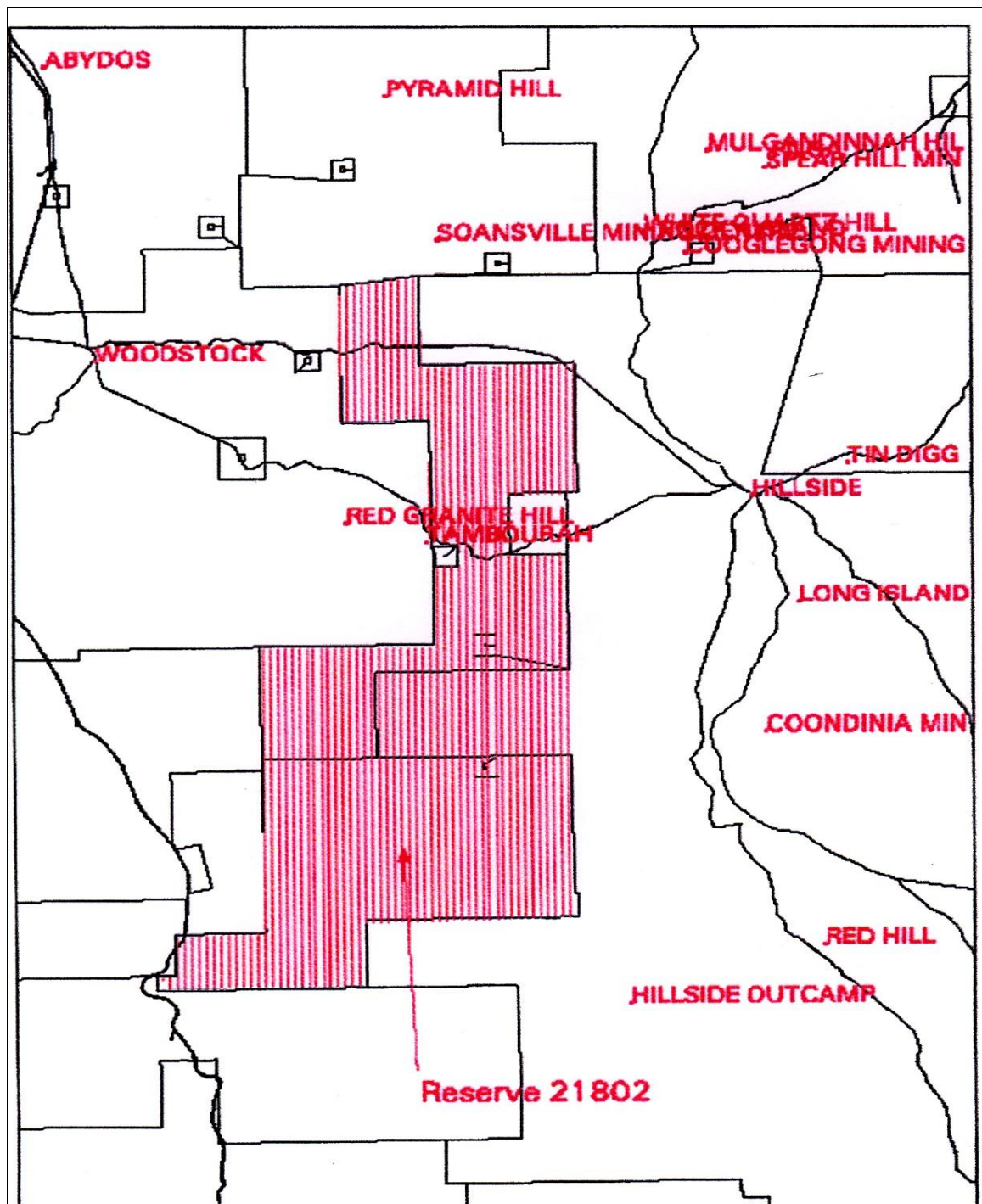
NAME *Boffin; William; 2701*
1930

Late of Receipts Station via Perth

Died *18* of *1924*

2214/20

Record in the Battye Library, Perth, WA



Above: Tambourah Reserve Number 21802, 198,000 acres, created 21 January 1938. AAD File Number 1733:780/1937 (from *Lost Lands Report* page 123)



Copy of an old photo of May and William Coffin and family.



Above: Headstone of William Coffin in the Marble Bar cemetery

ENDNOTES:

¹ See Norman Tindale 1953, page 72. Brandenstein says Gordon Mackay 'is the most sophisticated of all song makers known to me in the Pilbara, and he went to a good school in Perth in his youth ... Njijapali is his main language.' (C G von Brandenstein and A P Thomas 1974 *Taruru: Aboriginal song poetry from the Pilbara*, page 65.)

² *An Interview with William Coffin*, July 1978, page 12.

³ Department of Indigenous Affairs, *Lost Lands Report*, 2003, page 14.

⁴ *An Interview with William Coffin*, July 1978, page 76.

⁵ Full-Blood Female

⁶ William was said to be 29, Jack 21, Ada 19 and Albert 15.

⁷ Another report claimed that 'Ivy states that William Clifton is the father of Freddy and Sandy.'

⁸ From *Lost Lands Report*, Department of Indigenous Affairs, 2003, page 123.

⁹ Later, the adjoining White Springs Reserve number 23046 was created to start a Roman Catholic Mission (*A Conservation Plan for Former Yandying Camp Sites in the Marble Bar Area, Pilbara, Western Australia, 1888-1980s*, by Amy Dhu, Amanda Jean, Dagmar Tozer, Colleen Kitchen and Michael Bosworth, 2004, page 33)

¹⁰ *A Conservation Plan for Former Yandying Camp Sites*, page 51.

¹¹ *A Conservation Plan for Former Yandying Camp Sites*, page 52.

¹² *Lost Lands Report*, page 20

¹³ *Lost Lands Report*, page 20.