



Toy Stories



Toy Stories brings together artists, hobbyists, regional museums, and community groups in a showcase of contemporary and historic handmade toys from Western Australia, from the early 1920s to today.

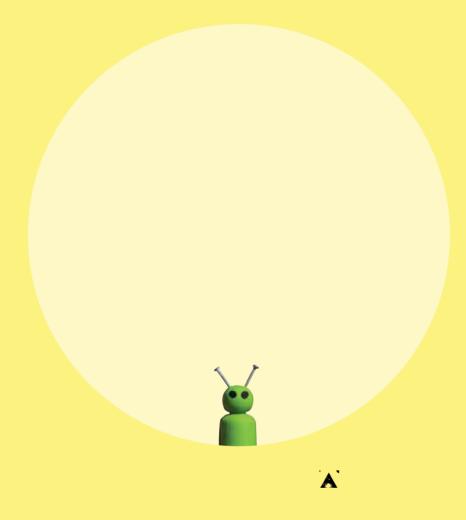
The exhibition presents local craft, social history, contemporary art, and childhood experiences of past and current generations.

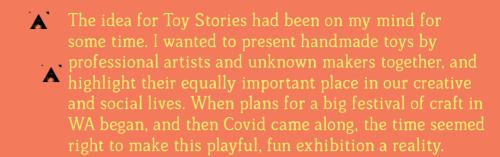
It celebrates the imagination and creativity of hobbyist toymakers and professional artists alike: their optimism, humour, and unstoppable urge to play.

Artists and Makers

Emanuel Arkeveld Clem Bond Len Bunn Kate Campbell-Pope Paul Caporn **Crystal Chong** Jennifer Cochrane Jane Davies Angela Ferolla Susan Flavell David Gregson Christine Groom Geri Hayden Adam Ismail Theo Koning Maxxi Minaxi May Sue McPhee Ellen Norrish Danielle Ryan Robert Smith Ross Smith Sarah Toohey Barry Tyrie Susie Vickery Yolande Ward-Yarran Cecile Williams

With loans from the Carnamah Historical Society and Museum, Narrogin Old Courthouse Museum and private collections.





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The exhibition brings domestic craft and hobbies have a toy-like element.

artisans. What the works have in common is that hands. For them, materials present possibility-playing, generating movement. Techniques are often labour found objects and recycled waste. What results are powerful, deceptively simple objects that hold meaning,

The toy stories tell of local backyard businesses,

Thanks to all the exhibitors for their generosity, and everyone who has helped make this exhibition possible.

Sarah Toohey Curator

FOREWORD

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(£)

This exhibition follows two streams, toys made by hobbyists and toys made by artists, but the distinctions are not always obvious. The unknown worker who made the locomotive on the sly in the Midland Railway Yards (the word for these private jobs is 'foreigners') brought to his creation the technical skill and attention to detail we'd expect from a skilled craftsperson. Some of the artists' works aspire to nothing more profound than whimsy, while others use toys as springboards into debates on consumption and mass-extinction.

The term that properly unites them is 'vernacular', in the sense of work created outside mainstream or commercial interests, its success measured only by the creator and reflecting his or her personal standards. The history of toy-making in Western Australia is really a history of the vernacular, of individuals and cottage industries, like the Narrogin Doll Factory, responding to necessity with improvisation.

Early Indigenous toys and games used natural, organic materials – leaves, nuts and sticks – to represent people. The Australian National Museum collection includes a set of shell dolls, several with scraps of fabric for clothing. Later, recycled materials like pegs and sauce bottles were used to make dolls. That tradition is continued today by Noongar Doll Makers, Yolande Ward-Yarran and Geri Hayden.

This transformation of common-place objects into toys is universal. The earliest records we have of toys in the Swan River Colony are advertisements from the Perth Gazette in the 1830s showing that George Shenton was selling imported dolls made from beeswax (alongside silk and lace gloves and parasols). Most children however would have to be content with hand-made toys. A rare survivor from Gold Rush Victoria is a clothes peg with scraps of material representing skirts, and that would have also been typical of dolls in colonial WA, which is one reason why they are in short supply in museum collections. No one built them to last. The solitaire game that Moreen Reading made for her children on a farm outside of Carnamah in the 1940s is as rudimentary as the peg doll, and another lucky survivor. The knucklebones that Carnamah children played with were sourced from the local butcher, who kept the ankles from slaughtered sheep aside for that purpose.

The tradition of homemade toys continues. Theo Koning, David Gregson, Sue McPhee and Jen Cochrane's works were made for their children or relatives, while Cecile Williams, Emanuel Arkeveld and Kate Campbell-Pope draw from their own childhoods to make personal works.

One of the most astonishing works on display is Barry Tyrie's **Tambilling Town**. Though the miniature town is fictional, each of the buildings is based

on a real site in the wheatbelt. And while it may look at first glance like a typical model railway, there's a story to be read into it about the return to school after the first term holidays.

Tambilling Town brings together the themes and responses of the other exhibits. There is that initial desire for something that must be made because it cannot be bought, the transformation of an idea into a vision and the dedication to standards that remain high because they are so private.

When Covid forced Australia into the first lockdown and pilot Crystal Chong suddenly found herself with more time on her hands than she'd ever anticipated, she combined her passions for flight and textiles, to create birds from crochet. Her story may be more typical than we think or realise. In this era of pandemics many of us are rediscovering old crafts and skills, appreciating that artists might have been on to something all along, that there is something essential in toys that all of us reach for at some time in our lives.

John Toohey Art Historian

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I wonder if making sculpture is sometimes like making toys for adults.



Duckshound. 2003. Photo Acorn.

Story 1

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Walking Man (x2). 1981. Photo Acorn.



Rup 1234. 1990. Photo Acorn.



Do I remember, or was it a dream?

When I was young, around seven or eight years old, my father took me to see a Dutch friend of his, somewhere in Shenton Park. Down the driveway of the house was a large garage shed. Inside it was full of bicycles, of every size and colour, across the floor and hung from the rafters. Somewhere towards the back of the shed was a woodworker's bench where brightly coloured toys were being made. At the time my brother and I had a pushcart, made from thick packing crate timber. I wondered if it was made from the packing crate our belongings had been shipped in from Rotterdam and made by this man. Years later, in 1985, I built a studio in my backyard and in a recurring dream there was a sign in the back lane entrance that read, 'THEO'S TOYSHOP'. I wonder if making sculpture is sometimes like making toys for adults.



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Tin Man. 1981. Photo Acorn.



Ducks and Ducklings. 2020. Photo Acorn.

DANIELLE RYAN

Long lovely locks striped stretchy worn socks ragged wool tousled hair bits and bobs from anywhere and everywhere fashioned together with a stitch or two from something old to something new, hello there, how do you do?



Creature Comforts. 2020. Photo Acorn

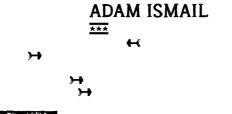
ELLEN NORRISH ***

Story 3



Animal Giant Floor Puzzle. 2021. Photo Acorn

The Animal Giant Floor Puzzle was a stand-out toy of my childhood. The resident toy of my grandparent's farmhouse, the 64-piece puzzle that has been seasonally assembled by myself, siblings and cousins for as long as I can remember. In this series I have repainted the commercial illustration, enjoying a variety of intriguing compositions created by segmented animal parts in each isolated puzzle piece. I'm still seeking the uncredited artist behind the mass produced puzzle.



Story 4

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The trees no longer recognize their fruit. 2020. Photo Adam Ismail

The trees no longer recognize their **fruit** is an installation piece which explores ideas of chaos and survival within a simulated landscape frenetic and busy with figures humanoid and other, structures half-broken or in mid-repair, unknowable rubble and miscellaneous debris. A sort of contracting reflection upon an ecosystem in freefall. A question of civilization with an almost nebular

darkness.

This said, there are flickers of light; transient embers winking in and out of the murk; a levity to the approach and construction of these worlds and its occupants is almost affectionate in its bizarreness...the assembly almost play-like.

As a kid I rendered similar worlds of cardboard and things, incorporating some of my existing toys, and though less realized in contrast, the seeds were sown for a life of play.





CRYSTAL CHONG



Cockatiel and Superb Fairy Wren. 2021. Photo Acorn.

Birds have always mesmerised me from a young age. The way they soar in the air with such grace, and effortlessness, make them the source of envy. When I was old enough to become a licensed commercial pilot, and join them in the skies, I wanted to find a way to capture and immortalise their beauty. Through thread and yarn, I am able to breathe life into my creations without sacrificing their freedom. I hope that my creations are able to elicit the joy in others that I feel when observing one, taking off by my side as I depart the runway into the wind.

Story 6



Yandi the Cherry Picker. 2015. Photo Acorn

YOLANDE WARD-YARRAN

I created Yandi (the Cherry Picker) to remind me of our time as a big family. We would go out during berry season picking our native food such as the quandong to make jam and also jewellery necklaces from the quandong seeds. Our family would be travelling around the outskirts of town, down dusty old tracks to pick the berries. These are special times I have with my family and it's great that we still do these things to keep our Noongar culture alive for our younger generations.

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Story 7

A model locomotive made in the WA Government Railway Workshops, Midland. The date it was made is not known. Illicit objects made in industrial workshops – in work hours, with work materials, for personal use – were known as 'PJ's' (private jobs) or 'foreigners'. The private jobs ranged from small tools and toys to larger-scale objects, smuggled out in pieces, including wheelbarrows, hills hoist washing lines and sheds. The Midland Railway Workshop ran from 1904 to 1994 and was one of the largest workshops in the state.



Model Locomotive. Date unknown. Photo Acorn

JANE DAVIES ***

Amos Davies with Fortunata. Photo Jane Davies



Fortunata Puppets. 1998. Photos John Toohey



Fortunata Puppets were originally created for performance purposes, bringing to life a Sicilian folktale "Unfortunate", at Spare Parts Puppet Theatre. An epic story of a young girl grappling with her identity and direction in life finally faces her destiny.

After the puppets retired from the stage, they became the play toys of my son Amos. Fortunata would sit in bed with Amos reading bedtime stories practising her reading too, making lots of mistakes, which Amos earnestly corrected. Sometimes she would hit Amos when I wasn't looking and deny her actions. Amos would insist she did. Having convinced Fortunata to own up and tell the truth, Fortunata apologised. Amos and Fortunata also built many cubbies together making up convoluted adventure stories.

ROBERT WILLIAM SMITH (1923 - 2006)

Story 9

Excavator. c1986. Photo Acorn



Robert Smith hand made models from various timbers available at the time. The excavator and crane are representative of a much larger number of toys similarly handmade, including dolls houses, chequer boards, various boats including working yachts. These designs are probably scaled from photographs and drawings from magazines. They were made for Robert's grandson when he was approximately six years of age (c1986).

The excavator has a rotating machine house and cabin, working wheels, and lifting digging arm with simulated hydraulic cylinders. It also has a moving digging bucket with simulated hydraulic cylinder and folding stabilisers at the front. It is painted yellow as is commonly found on real-life prototypes.



SUSAN FLAVELL ***

Story 10



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Think of all the storybooks filled with animal characters. What happens to the stories when those animals no longer exist?

Mass extinctions are being accelerated by pollution, habitat destruction and climate change. We may be able to keep a few animals alive in zoos, but an elephant in a zoo is not the same creature who protects, cares for, teaches and leads her family herd across thousands of kilometres of untamed bushland. A zoo elephant is a greatly diminished being.

We also are diminished by extinction and loss of habitat. The cycle of life on earth is sustained by interconnections between weather, water, soil, plants, fungi, bacteria, insects, fish, birds and animals. Each broken connection damages life on earth and us.



Soft Rocks. 2021. Photo Acorn

SARAH TOOHEY

Story 11

When I was little, mum sewed my doll a school uniform, complete with pleats, piping and an emblem. I thought this tiny replica of my uniform was incredible. I'd seen her make clothes, but a miniature was special. I imagined a little version of myself in it.

Some of the toys that stand out most clearly from my childhood weren't actually toys. I remember sweeping pine needles together to 'draw' a floorplan of a house with rooms and openings for doors. I was surprised I could make a life-size cubby with just lines.

I wanted to create toys out of almost nothing, so I've made felted rocks and dolls from scraps. I've been making fabric toys like this for years. My children still say they were a bit freaked out by them when they were little.



Dancing Man. 2021. Photo Acorn

I wanted to create toys out of almost nothing.

DAVID GREGSON (1934 - 2001)



Early 19th Century Sailing Ship. c1950. Photo Acorn

"The ship lived on top of my wardrobe for years. I think it was a birthday gift from David. It was more something to behold, rigged but without sails, but had a very clever cannon – hand fabricated, which used to launch timber dowel projectiles."

Roger Gregson

David Gregson's nephew

"I think the boat first 'sailed' into my bedroom when I was about 7 years old. My dad had made the boat for my much older cousin Roger, and it was now mine. I was amazed by the detail my dad had gone to in building this grand sailing ship, at the time it was almost too hard to believe that he could make such a thing... as I got older and played with it less, my appreciation for my father's craftsmanship grew. Multiple masts, many sails, rigging and ropes, a pully system to lower a net basket to load cargo, a cannon made of metal and copper, a turning wheel and moveable rudder, a big anchor with a winding winch on a spindle for the anchor chain... As a kid, I would load my Lego men aboard, climb the ropes and mast, and stand them in the crow's nest. Most of my games were of discovery voyages and adventure. No doubt I was told to 'look after' the boat, and I think overall I treated it kindly. It was something that you played with in your room or dragged out into the lounge room and sailed on the carpet 'ocean'. As I got older, and played with it less, the boat was 'docked' on a chest of drawers in my

bedroom, and remained there until I

Christopher Gregson, David Gregson's son

left the family home."

CHRISTINE GROOM

Story 13



Carnaby's Cockatoo Kite. 2021. Photo Sarah Toohey

Kites are an instantly recognisable toy that have entertained people of all ages for generations. Kites depicting Carnaby's Cockatoo have been used by the Carnaby's Cockatoo Action Group (CCAG) to connect with the Perth community and raise awareness of these endangered birds.

To create this (near) life-size kite for the exhibition, Christine Groom from CCAG collaborated with paper artist Ingrid Mulder. Christine designed the kite and Ingrid hand made the paper using mulberry fibres, dropping water over wet pulp to create the feather texture. The frame is constructed from bamboo.

Story 14

NARROGIN OLD COURTHOUSE MUSEUM (With Shire of Narrogin)



Narrogin Doll Factory. Papier-mâché Puppet Heads. c1920. Photo Casey Thornton

During the First World War, shortages due to import restrictions became a major cause of improvisation. Grace Burkitt, a Narrogin resident, together with her family, made papier-mâché and compound dolls to replace foreign-made dolls. They experimented with clay dug from the backyard but found it was too heavy and settled on papier-mâché. The popularity of the dolls led to the Burkitt family home being known as the 'Narrogin Doll Factory'. Eventually, staff were employed and up to forty dolls were produced weekly. The Narrogin dolls won the highest award at the West Australian Agricultural Show (Royal Show) in 1922.



...but most of all it's just a bit of FUN...!



Spaceship. 2014. Photo Acorn

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Story 15



EMANUEL ARKEVELD

My inspiration for making toys comes from small bits n bobs, like an old soft drink bottle that would be the perfect canopy for an aeroplane.

And animals like sheep, chickens, cows, pigs and dogs that are around me in my everyday life. I like to put them in human situations which can be a bit of a political comment but also just purely for a laugh.

I think toys are about fun, imagination, play and adventure. That's what I remember from when I was a kid playing.

When I think of a good idea for something, if it makes me or someone smile or laugh or agree on the idea, then I know it's a good idea, but most of all it's just a bit of FUN...!

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Meccano Gears. c1980. Photos Acorn



Meccano Club in the 1950s. Started in 1935 by Viv Malmgreen.

LEN BUNN

Meccano is a special toy. It is a toy in itself but also able to make more toys. The more sophisticated toys (especially for older children over 40) are animated with motors and gears.

However, the gears wear out, so when Meccano supplies became disrupted in the early 1980s the impact was felt worldwide. In Perth, Alan Bunn (my father) responded to a call for help from the Maylands Meccano Club. In 1981, he donated a small batch of gears hand made by him and his son, Len, in their backyard workshop with a lathe, drill press and many ingenious jigs and tools created by Alan. That little project grew over five years into a family business supplying thousands of parts worldwide, enabling hundreds to continue creating wonderful new toys. The quality was high enough to even have Meccano World UK as a client.

What toy can't you make with these simple metal pieces?

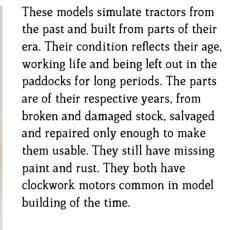


Story 17

ROSS SMITH

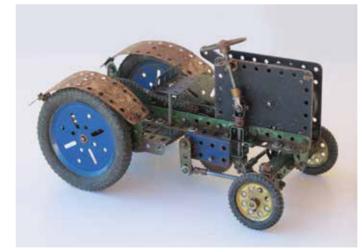


70 Year Old Tractor. 2021. Photo Ross Smith



The 50 year old tractor has rubber tyres and still has some sound paint. The rear axle has a modern-for-theday all pinion differential.

The 70 year old tractor has spoked front wheels and steel rim rear wheels with no rubber tyres. The rear axle has a traditional in-wheel differential arrangement.



50 Year Old Tractor. 2020. Photo Ross Smith



CLEM BOND

The Eiffel Tower was built for the World Exhibition in 1889, held in celebration of the French Revolution in 1789. This Meccano model is an adaptation of two 'Meccano Number Ten Set' designs. One from the 1940s and the other from the 1960s. The model was built over a six-month period.

Height: 2.4 metres (8 feet).
Lights: 120 LEDs (six sectors) - 100 white and 20 red (at top).
Six different light programs (approx 45 minutes in duration).
Operational Lifts: Two stages.
Note: Disabled for this exhibition.
Ground to Level Two then Level Two to Top.
Power voltage: 6 and 12 volt DC.
Duinotech Mega 2560 Controller with an 8 unit Relay Board.



Eiffel Tower. 2017. Photos Sarah Toohey

SUSIE VICKERY

Story 19

And Dropenling Tibetan Handicraft Centre

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Working with a Tibetan handicraft group over the last 15 years, in Lhasa and other places on the Tibetan plateau, we have steadily been creating toys and puppets to represent the animals that accompany Tibetan astrological years. To design them we use Tibetan paintings and images from monasteries, photos of animals in Tibet, and my imagination. We make them using the wool felt that is used in traditional robes. Before Covid-19 I would travel to Tibet and spend time teaching the tailors how to make the animals. I now make samples and

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Tibetan Horse. 2012. Photo Acorn

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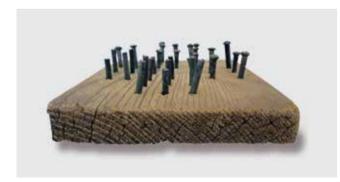


CARNAMAH Historical Society and Museum

The Carnamah Historical Society and Museum Collection features toys that filled the lives of children from Carnamah and Coorow in the 1940s and 1950s.

Ronald, a knitted rabbit, was made by Betty Read of Coorow. She knitted the black and white sections from wool that she'd spun from the fleece of their own sheep. Moreen Reading of Wellmeadow Farm used materials she could find on the farm to make a peg solitaire board for her three children. George Fowler of Fairview Farm, Winchester, made a tiny matchstick house when he was fourteen. The ging was made by Jill Tilly in the 1950s when she was about 11 years old.

"I'd put a small stone in the centre of the leather pad and hold it in place with one hand and stretch the rubber back as much as possible while my other hand held the bottom of the wooden V. I'd attempt to hit the target – usually an old empty fruit tin or Sunshine Milk tin. Gings were banned at Coorow School but on the weekend town boys and girls would set off on bicycles for nearby scrub and gings were used on various targets..."



Peg Solitaire Board. c1940s. Above, Ging. c1950s. Photos Andrew Bowman Bright



Elizabeth's Rocket. 2014. Photo Jennifer Cochrane

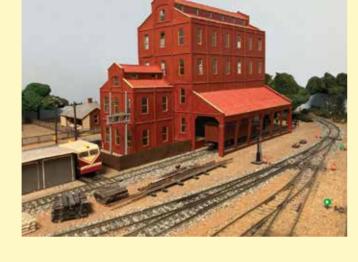
JENNIFER COCHRANE

When travelling on a family trip in 2013, my daughter Elizabeth (then 4 years old) asked if I would build her a rocket ship. On and off over the next year, I made the rocket ship using leftover materials from previous artworks and scrounged tin off-cuts from building sites nearby. It doesn't get used a lot these days so this exhibition is a nice opportunity to dust it off and show it to a new audience...perhaps find a new home?

Story 21







My first contact with model trains was when I was only 5 or 6 years old when on a visit to my grandparents' place (Grandpop was a train driver) my dad brought out a wind-up engine and some carriages and a circle of tinplate track. This kept me amused for hours. Other than this I was trainless for the next 30 years or so until I built a layout for my boys. Money was short and so everything was second hand and I began to build structures for the layout from cardboard. I am still using some of these buildings 40 years on. Tambilling Town represents in 1/87 scale the main street of a typical WA country town as it would have been in the early 1970s. It now forms the major background feature for a model railway which takes up a whole bedroom in the house.



Tambilling Town. 1984. Photos Barrie Tyrie

PAUL CAPORN

The sprue is the waste piece on a casting (as of metal or plastic) left by the hole through which the mold was filled.

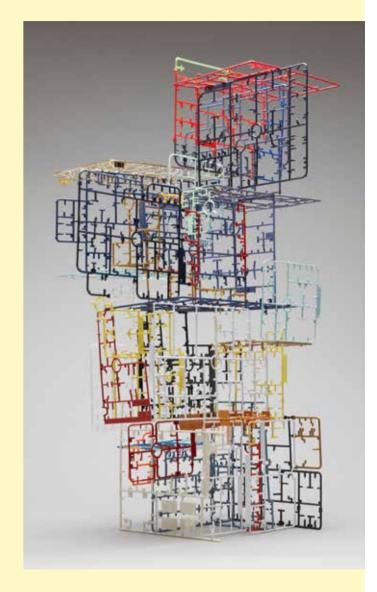
In the case of plastic model-making, the sprue also provides the key and instructions to how the model is built and where the final pieces exist once complete.

Generally discarded once the model is made, the sprue's importance is no longer potent; it becomes the cast off from the production process.

I've always enjoyed the possibilities found with using the discarded remains that occur through the consumption and production processes.

This quote from the 17th century chemist Antoine-Laurent de Lavoisier sums it up best; "nothing is created and nothing is destroyed but everything is transformed."

Thank you to Alex Yapp for the supply of the sprues.













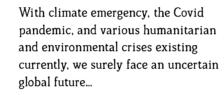
In Search of Answers-Past. 2021. Photo Acorn

Could the imagination actually be the most critical human skill we possess?



Story 24





What sense could be made of the world we inhabit, through the realm of play?

What stories might be told, toys developed, and games undertaken, to help enact the individual and collective psychodramas of current times?

Could the imagination actually be the most critical human skill we possess, in making our way through these multilayered complexities?

Taking broken parts and discarded dolls, reassembling these by way of stitch and simple construction techniques, the artist offers several 'toy stories' as responses to these questions.



In Search of Answers-Future. 2021. Photo Acorn



In Search of Answers-Present. 2021. Photo Acorn



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CECILE WILLIAMS

Toys that move have always fascinated me. There was always something a bit sneaky and unsettling about them, triggering an intrigue that has stayed with me.

Story 25

I have reflected on my childhood toys, including a soft white rabbit given to me over half a century ago. Its fragile nature is comforting and innocent, unlike its forbears. Having my vegetable garden decimated by rabbits earlier this year, I thought this animal a perfect candidate to expose as a toy. The movement accentuates its underlying naughtiness.

Inventor and electrical engineer John Davey was my mentor. He hand made the mechanisms and programmed the electronics. Using discarded electronic waste to elevate the rabbit, John has shed light into the foreign world of electronics, exposing new possibilities for me as a maker.

During the development stage, I also spent time with textile conservator Rinske Car whose first toy was also a white rabbit, handstitched by her mother. This serendipitous connection was to appear many times during my creative process.





Escape To The Country. 2021. Photo Michael Hemmings



Barbie's Clothes Collection. c1995. Photo Sarah Toohey

SUE MCPHEE

Story 26

I started making the clothes in about 1995 when my nieces were 6 and 7. Emma, the older niece, was given a barbie as a birthday present from a school friend. The clothes were very skimpy and very pink and synthetic so I thought I could improve on that. I had a craze making them and made a lot of tiny clothes, I enjoyed it. I was more dexterous then and they were not difficult to make from a pattern. Unfortunately, most of them went to the op shop when the girls grew up but now they want them back again for their own little girls. I wish my sight and ability to make such small clothes was still so easy.



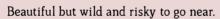


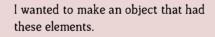


To be intrigued by the natural world.

Alluring things that attract. But also things that can trap.

Sea anemones, nudibranchs, tropical carnivorous plants, Venus flytraps, stinking corpse lilies and sweet dreams.





That enticed you in but with an edge.

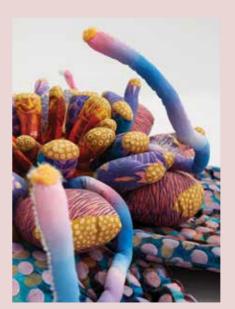
A sugary sweetness but also primal.
This soft sculpture was made with
various textile techniques such as screen
printing, disperse dyes, embellishing
and hand beading.







Carnivanemone Playtime. 2021. Photos Acorn





Character Statue (Humour), Warrior Statue (Strength), Child Statue (Excitement). 2021. Photos Maxxi Minaxi May



Little Houses Made of Ticky-Tacky. 2021. Photo Maxxi Minaxi May

Toys, Toys all over the world Plastic revolutionised, as extraordinary. Durable, soft, sizeable, minute, pristine, timeworn Malleable, mouldable, multiple uses -Everywhere colour

Toys, Toys all over the world Plastic becomes a crisis. Pollutant, imperishable, manufactured, synthetic, petroleum, oil Global warming, debris dilemma -Commonplace toxins

Toys, Toys all over the world Plastic entices play, everyday. Games, models, dolls, creatures, replicas, figurines Learning, recreation, fun imagination -Widespread anticipation

Toys, Toys all over the world Plastic purchased as routine. Clothes, objects, stationery, vehicles, technology, playthings Recycle, upcycle, reuse explicitly -Communally repurposed.



Koort Wangkiny - Heart Stories. 2017. Photo Acorn

GERI HAYDEN ***

I learnt making dolls in Narrogin with Elders and young women and children. We were following the journey that the Old Noongar Women had started and followed the footprint they left behind and that was to make dolls with Nalda Searles.



Nalda worked in Narrogin for many years with our old Elders and produced many dolls which later was sold to the Canberra Museum. So following the journey Nalda introduced the process to us and produced many dolls that was called Yarns for the Heart and our dolls travelled around Australia to museums for exhibitions. Yarns of the Heart was about a doll that reminded us of someone special in our lives. I continued to take the workshops into the schools and into communities to help express their thoughts...as a Healing Tool.



CURATORSAcknowledgement

I acknowledge the Noongar people, the traditional custodians of the land on which this exhibition is held.

Midland Junction Arts Centre













The Glow Studio

advance 7



I would like to thank the Mundaring Arts Centre staff and volunteers, the Department of Local Government, Sport and Cultural Industries, IOTA21, the City of Swan, the Shire of Narrogin, the Narrogin Old Courthouse Museum, the Carnamah Historical Society and Museum, the Maylands Meccano Club, the Gregson family, and Rob Frith from Acorn Photo.

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I would also like to thank Jude Bunn from The Glow Studio for designing the catalogue and for her help throughout the development of the project.

And thank you to all the artists who, time and time again, agree to create work for the enjoyment of the community for little or no financial reward.

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