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EDITORIAL

DURING AUGUST THIS YEAR the church in Darwin will be celebrating its centenary. Four Jesuit missionaries sailed into Darwin, or Palmerston as it was then called, on 24 September 1882. Three were Austrians, Fr A. Strehle, Fr Neubauer and Bro. G. Eberhard, and one Australian, Fr J. O'Brien. The mission was officially closed in 1899 and abandoned in 1901. Eight priests and eleven brothers had worked here.

The MSC Society took on the care of the diocese of Victoria-Palmerston in 1906. Its members are still here, providing most of the clergy for the diocese – 'of Darwin', as it has been called since 1938.

Nelen Yubu congratulates the Darwin church on its centenary, and reprints a potted history of the diocese up to 1954 as a gesture of goodwill.

Ted Evans' recollections of changes in government policy towards the Aboriginal inhabitants of the NT over the period of his service cover most of the last half of the centenary period.

Nelen Yubu finds itself, rather fortuitously, in the situation of being able to complete a quick round trip of the church's work for Aboriginal people in the diocese: some thoughts on practical social issues; an incisive questioning of the extent to which evangelisation has reached Aboriginal culture itself in the sense of the culturally formed personal outlooks of people; and an Aboriginal assessment of the relationship between the Christian church and Aboriginal culture.

Martin Wilson MSC

THE MECHANICS OF CHANGE

TED EVANS

I HAVE ENTITLED THIS ADDRESS 'The Mechanics of Change' as it attempts to describe the evolution of Government policy as it affected Aborigines in the Northern Territory between the years 1946-76. It will be by no means a definitive statement as I have not had the opportunity to do the detailed research which the subject merits. Nevertheless it is a subject which demands to be researched and recorded in detail, for it reflects a social and political phenomenon that is perhaps unique in this age with its emphasis on technological change, resource development and material goals.

Although the period I propose to cover is 1946-76, in order to set the scene for 1946, I have to go back to 1939. In that year the Minister for the Interior in Canberra decided there should be a new deal for Aborigines in the Northern Territory. The main effect of this was to create a new branch within the Northern Territory Administration – the Native Affairs Branch. A director, Mr E.W.P. Chinnery from the Papua New Guinea Administration was appointed to set up a new structure for the administration of welfare to the Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory. Prior to 1939 there was a Chief Protector of Aborigines within the Administration who usually also held some other responsibility – in 1939 it was Dr C.E. Cook who was also Chief Medical Officer for the Northern Territory. All police officers were appointed as Protectors of Aborigines and this by and large was the staff structure before the branch was established.

However, war intervened and the Branch did not become a visible reality until 1945/6. Following the Papua New Guinea pattern, Chinnery decided to establish a Patrol Officer scheme for the Northern Territory and late in 1945, advertisements appeared in Commonwealth Gazettes for the positions of Cadet Patrol Officers. For reasons that were in no way associated with an interest in Aborigines or Aboriginal welfare, I was an applicant. I was in the P.M.G.'s Department at the time and if I remember correctly I applied as a result of a bet with a friend that I had more chance than he of getting the job. So much for vocational guidance and career direction. I won the bet, and thereby was one of the first four Cadet Patrol Officers appointed to the Territory service, the others being Les Penhall, who is still working in the same field here in Darwin, Syd Kyle-Little, who left in 1949 and Fred Gubbins who also left about the same time.

Address given at a dinner to honour Bishop J.P. O'Loughlin MSC, Darwin, 22 July 1981

As an aide, it is perhaps of some significance and interest that the title of the newly formed Branch was 'Native' Affairs – the word 'native' as a description of the Australian indigenes has virtually disappeared from our vocabulary. There was a period in the sixties when there was argument and some uncertainty about 'Aborigine' as against 'Aboriginal', one school favouring 'Aborigine' as the noun and 'Aboriginal' as the adjective. Today we seem to have settled for 'Aboriginal' for all purposes.

The legislation under which we as Cadet Patrol Officers were trained and were required to operate was the Aboriginals Ordinance which was first introduced in 1918 and by 1946 had been amended frequently. It was based loosely on the current South Australian legislation and it reflected the 'smoothing the pillow of a dying race' philosophy which then prevailed and was exemplified by Daisy Bates and others of her time.

The Ordinance was basically protective, but extremely paternalistic and restrictive. It remained substantially the same with the creation of the Native Affairs Branch except that the title 'Director' replaced that of the 'Chief Protector'. Until the last few years of its existence it applied to persons known as 'half-castes' as well as to full-blood Aboriginals and, to any thinking person subject to its protection and aware of the activities of many non-Aboriginals in the community, it must have seemed in many of its facets to be a 'Do as I say and not as I do' type of legislation. Some of the powers and provisions were:

Section 4: There shall be a Director of Native Affairs appointed by the Minister who shall under the Administrator be responsible for the administration and execution of this Ordinance.

and one of his duties was –

Section 5(f): to exercise a general supervision and care over all matters affecting the welfare of Aboriginals and to protect them against immorality, injustice, imposition and fraud.

In addition to the Director, the Administrator could appoint other persons who were known as Protectors of Aboriginals and each of these persons had the responsibility to 'Exercise such powers as are prescribed'. In the early days all policemen were continued to be appointed as Protectors as were many Native Affairs Branch Officers. The practice of appointing police officers as Protectors was reviewed as Branch Officers increased and by the time the Ordinance was repealed the number of Police Protectors had been reduced considerably.

Under the Ordinance the Director could –

- (a) Take an Aboriginal or half-caste into custody if he thought fit even if it meant entering a house to do so.
- (b) Declare any place to be a prohibited area for Aboriginals [Tennant Creek was such a place] from which place any Aboriginal could be removed unless he had permission from a Protector 'issued in the prescribed form'.
- (c) Remove an Aboriginal to a Reserve or from one Reserve to another or cause an Aboriginal to be kept within the boundaries of a Reserve for an unlimited time unless the Aboriginal was lawfully employed, held a permit to be absent from the Reserve, was a female married to a person substantially of European descent or for whom in the opinion of the Director, satisfactory provision was otherwise made.

The Director had many other powers over the Class of person subject to the provisions of the Ordinance.

Some of the restrictions imposed upon Aboriginals by the Ordinance were that –

- (a) They could not be employed except by the holder of a Licence to Employ Aboriginals.
- (b) A female Aboriginal could not be employed by any person of Asiatic or Negro race.
- (c) They could not be employed on licenced premises.
- (d) Portion of the wages of an Aboriginal could be directed to be paid into the Aboriginal Trust Account on behalf of that Aboriginal without reference to the Aboriginal.
- (e) An Aboriginal could not possess or carry a firearm unless he had a special licence granted by a Protector and the penalty for an offence against this section of the Ordinance – Quote: ‘Imprisonment for two months’.
- (f) A female Aboriginal could not marry a non-Aboriginal without the permission in writing of the Director, and could not cohabit with a non-Aboriginal.
- (g) They could not drink intoxicating liquor.
- (h) An Aboriginal who lived at Bagot Compound in Darwin or the Bungalow Reserve near Alice Springs and was outside the boundaries of these Reserves between the hours of 8.00 pm and 5.00 am the following morning without the written permission of a Protector was committing an offence. Penalty: One month’s imprisonment.

Some, if not all, of these powers and provisions appear draconian today, but we should hesitate to pass judgement without first trying to project ourselves into the social, political and economic climate of the Territory in the twenties and thirties. I am not trying to justify the legislation in retrospect, but it is possible, even probable, that it was an example to the rest of Australia, when it was first introduced.

Understandably resentment began to develop and perhaps the first public demonstration was a march of protest of Aboriginals on the town of Darwin in late 1949 or early 1950. In those days there was only one Union in the Territory – the North Australian Workers Union – and its leadership was very left-wing in politics and public action. The executive decided to support a move for better wages for Aboriginals employed in Darwin – the main work was domestics, gardeners, rouseabouts etc. The prescribed wages ranged from 5/- to 10/- per week, although boat-hands received more. The protest took the form of a march on Darwin by some thirty or forty Aboriginals some of whom were armed with some pretty lethal weapons – iron bars, lengths of chain and the like. The Director of the day, Frank Moy, decided to confront them at the corner of Parap Road and the highway – the building on that corner in those days was the Parap Police Station – and although there were police in the background, Frank was able, unaided, to talk the leading Aboriginals into abandoning the march and to sit down and talk. I was on leave in Melbourne at the time and was recalled urgently to assist, for the trouble did not immediately disappear. Aided and abetted by the Union the Aboriginals took a hard stand and the number ‘on strike’ increased. The leaders were given fully paid up membership of the Union and the dispute’s front-line moved from Bagot to the union offices. Eventually the Administrator, Mick Driver, decided to take a hard line and he directed the removal of the chief leader – a Larakia elder named Fred Waters or, to give him his Aboriginal name, Fred Nadpur – from Darwin to the Haasts Bluff Reserve in Central Australia. This decision was not of course made publicly and in a cloak and dagger atmosphere I was detailed to pick up Fred from his camp and to head south towards Haasts Bluff. He joined me quite willingly and apart from expressing some apprehension when he learned his destination, showed no distress or resistance. The case immediately reached the national headlines for the NAWU sought a Court injunc-

tion restraining the Director from removing Fred. Eventually the High Court ruled that the Director had acted lawfully and within the powers given him by the Ordinance. But the nation's attention had been drawn to these extraordinary powers and a conscience began to stir. Incidentally, the removal of Fred had the desired effect and the strike ended. Meanwhile Fred, who had an initial fear of the desert Aboriginal, being convinced they had three toes 'all-the-same Emu' had adjusted to his new environment to the point that at the end of his six weeks exile he was beginning to rouse the Haasts Bluff folk to industrial action! He is remembered in Darwin by a street named after him in the Ludmilla sub-division.

'Half-Castes', as they were described in the Ordinance at that time, could be excused from the provisions of the Ordinance by making application to the Director of Native Affairs. If he thought them to be fit persons, he could issue them with a document, in card form, which declared that they were no longer subject to the provisions of the Ordinance. This declaration could be revoked. These cards were commonly referred to as 'dog tickets' and had to be produced if the demand was made by certain persons. This frequently happened especially in hotels, as the barman could be liable to six months' imprisonment for serving a half-caste person who did not possess a 'dog ticket'. Also policemen frequently demanded to see these tickets. This indignity caused great resentment amongst these people, especially immediately after the war when many of the men came back to Darwin as returned soldiers having fought alongside white mates and having been treated as equals in the Armed Forces, socially and economically. An organisation which was called the Australian Half-Caste Progressive Association was formed in Darwin in 1950 and the President attended the ACTU Conference in Melbourne in 1951 and made a well-reported plea for Darwin part-Aboriginals to be allowed to live as ordinary people. The Minister, Paul Hasluck, indicated his dissatisfaction with the exemption system and promised a change in policy in respect of these people. This came to reality in 1953.

Also at about the same time I played what I hope was a significant role in bringing about the cessation of the policy of removing half-caste children from pastoral properties and placing them in institutions. This practice had been in vogue from as far back as the early twenties and was given strong support by J.W. Bleakley, the Chief Protector of Aboriginals in Queensland who in 1928 was appointed by the Commonwealth Government to investigate conditions for Aboriginals and half-castes in the Northern Territory. It even received Federal approval in 1937 when at a meeting of State and Commonwealth officials in Canberra it was agreed by all States except Queensland that the 'destiny' of the part-Aboriginals lay in 'their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth'.

My patrol district included the Wave Hill/Victoria River Downs regions, and I was required to visit all pastoral properties and report on conditions. These reports included a census which of course disclosed the presence of half-caste children. In 1950 I was given written instructions to remove a total of seven such children, mainly from Wave Hill and neighbouring stations. Despite my efforts to assuage the fears of both mothers and children, the final attempt at separation was accompanied by such heart-rending scenes that I officially refused to continue to obey such future instructions, expressing my views on the practice in the strongest terms. My report came to the notice of the Minister – I suspect a 'leak' – and instructions were given from Canberra that the practice was to stop and that in future half-caste children were to be removed only at the request and with the full consent of the mothers. This in effect was the death-knell of the heartless practice.

As can be seen, 1950 was something of a bench-mark in the history of Aboriginal welfare in the Northern Territory. Through better counting of the population, plus other factors such

as better health facilities it was obvious that the Aboriginals were not a dying race if they ever were in the Northern Territory. The protective paternalism was no longer valid or desirable and a more positive approach was needed. A strong influence in the post-war period on the forming of policies for Aboriginal administration was Professor A.P. Elkin – he spoke and wrote at length on the futility of the protectionist attitudes and stressed the importance of informed, dynamic programmes of physical and social advancement. His was perhaps the greatest single motivating force in the development of modern policies and approaches in the field of Aboriginal welfare.

Accordingly, and almost inevitably in the early 1950s the then Minister for Territories stated what became known as the Policy of Assimilation. The wording of this Policy was slightly changed during the time it was in force, but its intention remained the same and it was restated subsequently by the Minister of Territories as follows:

The policy of assimilation seeks that all persons of Aboriginal descent will choose to attain a similar manner and standard of living to that of other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community – enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities and influenced by the same hopes and loyalties as other Australians. Any special measures taken are regarded as temporary measures, not based on race, but intended to meet their need for special care and assistance and to make the transition from one stage to another in such a way as will be favourable to their social, economic and political advancement..

A new Ordinance was drafted and its intention was to 'provide for the care and assistance of certain persons'. It was to be known by the short title of the Welfare Ordinance. It was reserved in about June 1953, assented to in the same year, but did not come into operation until 13 May 1957. The reason for the delay in commencement was mainly because of the tremendous administrative requirements which were necessary before the new Ordinance could be enforced, and which I will refer to later.

The two main changes in attitude demonstrated by this legislation was that it was no longer an Ordinance which dealt with a particular race of people, but an Ordinance which had the power to 'Provide Care and Assistance to Certain Persons' regardless of race. Aboriginals could be declared to be wards and subject to the provisions of the Ordinance, some of which were still restrictive, but there was the safeguard that a person could only be declared a ward by the Administrator in Council and he had a right of appeal to the Wards Appeal Tribunal constituted by a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory. This Ordinance was still paternal, restrictive and protective, but to a lesser degree than the Aboriginals' Ordinance.

In practice the Ordinance affected only Aboriginals who, to be brought under its provisions, had to be declared to be wards. This necessitated a complete census of all Aboriginals who had to be declared individually and by notice in the Gazette. This task took three years to complete and required that insofar as it was possible, every Aboriginal had to be contacted and personal details such as name, tribe, clan age, place of birth, place of residence, etc. be recorded. Having regard to the geographical spread and the manner of living of the Aboriginal population of the Northern Territory, that was a formidable task and the end result – which became known in many quarters as the Stud Book and contained some 22,000 entries – was proven to be extraordinarily accurate having regard to the circumstances under which it was compiled.

Some of the restrictions that remained in force under this new ordinance were those involving the marriage of a ward to a non-ward; prohibition against wards drinking liquor. The fact that prohibited areas could still be declared in which wards could not enter etc. Stirrings continued however. particularly with the movement of mining companies on to reserves for prospecting

purposes. Also a strong surge of pride in things traditional began to develop in Aboriginals, and with it, I suspect, an inward look at themselves and their situation in the Northern Territory scene generally.

About this time occurred a major confrontation with the Ordinance with the emergence of an incident that focussed national attention on the provisions regarding marriage between a ward and non-ward. It was a very complicated issue involving a white man, Mick Daly and an Aboriginal woman, Gladys Namagu in 1959. On appearing before a court on a charge of co-habiting with a female ward, Daly protested to the court magistrate that he wished to marry the girl. He was given a suspended sentence on his undertaking to report back in two months time on the result of his efforts to marry Gladys. At his next appearance, Daly reported that he had been refused permission to marry Gladys. So began an event that was to echo through the halls of Government in Canberra and Darwin, that was to involve bitter and exhausting legal debates, and was the subject of much anthropological pronouncement and evidence regarding tribal marriage. But above all, it captured the attention of the media and thereby highlighted at a national level the power invested in the Director in respect of his ability to withhold the permission to marry. Our honoured guest tonight, His Lordship, Bishop O'Loughlin, even became involved and eventually the story ended with the couple being married in the cathedral. But the significance of the event was its impact on subsequent events in matters such as marriage, co-habitation etc.

The early sixties saw the first visual emergence of a political awareness among the Aboriginals with the proposed exploitation of the bauxite deposits on Gove Peninsular. A petition on bark was presented to the Federal Parliament on behalf of the Yirrkala Aboriginals protesting against the issue of leases for mining etc.

As a result, a Parliamentary Select Committee was appointed to investigate the grievances and sat in Darwin and Yirrkala in 1963. The chairman was Roger Dean, who subsequently was to become an Administrator of the Northern Territory.

Of the recommendations of that Select Committee the following are perhaps the most significant in relation to subsequent events:

- That the Yirrkala people be consulted as early as possible on the location of their sacred places.
- That some building lots within the town site be reserved for Aborigines.
- That homes for European and Aboriginal Australians be developed simultaneously.
- That compensation for loss of traditional occupancy be made by way of –
 - land grant
 - capital grant
 - monetary compensation.

Shortly afterwards there was the legal challenge by the same community to the Australian Government's sovereignty over the Gove Peninsular and the area proposed to be leased to the mining company. This was heard by Justice Blackburn, who found in favour of the Commonwealth. However, from this was to be roused the sleeping demand for the recognition of land rights. Some people assert that the claim for land rights among Territory Aboriginals had its origins with the walk-off of the Gurundji from Wave Hill in 1966, but in my view the earlier action by the people of Yirrkala was the springboard for this movement.

Meanwhile there was a growing realization among Northern Territory leaders and Government officials that the whole question of legislation as it affected Aboriginals needed to be reviewed. Accordingly, in early 1964 a new Ordinance with completely new attitudes towards

Aboriginals and wards was mooted. A Select Committee of some members of the Legislative Council was formed and this committee enquired into the reaction of people in the Northern Territory to such an Ordinance. They took evidence from a variety of people throughout the Territory. They visited settlements, missions, pastoral properties, townships and mining areas and took evidence from both non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals.

Eventually and historically, on September 15, 1964, at midday the Social Welfare Ordinance commenced and the Welfare Ordinance was repealed.

These were the Firearms Ordinance, Registration of Dogs Ordinance, Licensing Ordinance, Poisonous and Dangerous Drugs Ordinance, Methylated Spirits Ordinance and Intestate Wards Ordinance. The outcome of this was that there was no Ordinance any longer in existence in the Northern Territory which placed any restriction on Aboriginals specifically as a race. They were now subject only to the restrictions to which any other citizen is subject.

The one aspect of these last changes in legislation which caught the public eye more than any other, was the fact that adult Aboriginals were now permitted to consume liquor and, therefore, it was no longer an offence to supply liquor to Aboriginals provided this was done in accordance with the Licensing Ordinance.

To get this legislative revolution into its proper perspective it should be pointed out that some other legislation already afforded special privileges to Aboriginals. For instance, in the Wild Life Ordinance, they were permitted to take protected game for their own consumption. This, of course, provided a facility for Aboriginals living in their natural state in the bush and dependent upon *ferae naturae* for their survival.

One other piece of legislation in which Aboriginals were then given special privileges was in relation to the Electoral Act. Aboriginals were given franchise in the early 1960s, but where a non-Aboriginal was required to register and be placed on the Electoral Roll, the choice was given to an Aboriginal to refrain from doing this. However, if a choice to do so was made, then voting was compulsory and he could be subject to the penalties which existed if he did not vote.

In the early 1970s the policies of the day were yet again coming under the scrutiny, not only of concerned non-Aboriginals, but also of Aboriginals themselves in a very unique but none the less emphatic way. We saw the beginnings of de-centralisation – a moving back to traditional country or homelands. This was motivated by:

- a disenchantment with some aspects of the western style of life resulting in:
 - a lessening of authority of elders over the young;
 - a desire to protect areas against mining interests and intrusion generally;
 - political intrigue in the artificial settlement/mission situation.

There was unrest among Aboriginal communities and a dichotomy was emerging between the old and the young. The earlier emergence of a pride in their tradition was blossoming into a determination to restore many of the traditional mores and values. This included sources of traditional discipline. They were therefore very fertile ground indeed for the dramatic changes that were to virtually descend upon them with the return to power of the Labour Party in December 1972. In opposition, Labour had been most vocal in the field of Aboriginal welfare, and on finding themselves suddenly with the reins of power and in control of the purse strings they reacted – some say over-reacted – with euphoric enthusiasm, and, in my view, some lack of foresight. There was an atmosphere of brushing aside all that had gone before as being reactionary and stultifying and replacing it with a so-called new era of self-determination.

The Labour Government immediately created a new Commonwealth Department of

Aboriginal Affairs mainly in recognition of the role which the Federal Parliament had been given as a result of the 1967 Referendum. There had for several years been an office of Aboriginal Affairs which now attained full departmental status.

Labour's policy on Aboriginal Affairs was clearly set out in the Launceston and Surfers Paradise Policy Statement which was summarised by the then Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Senator Jim Cavenagh in 1974 as follows:

To summarise the policy to its barest essentials, it could be described as one which seeks:

- (a) to make equality a reality for Aboriginal Australians by working to overcome those handicaps which generally face them in fields such as housing, health, education, employment and civil liberties;
- (b) in doing this, to act in the closest consultation with Aboriginal communities and individuals at both the national and local level, and indeed to help Aboriginals themselves to provide services designed to overcome handicaps – for instance, through Aboriginal housing societies, medical services and legal services;
- (c) to ensure and strengthen the capacity of Aboriginals to manage their own affairs and to increase their economic independence;
- (d) to enable Aboriginals to have a real freedom of choice about their life style and the extent to which, particularly in the more remote communities, their desire to maintain their traditional customs and culture – a freedom which can be exercised to the extent that communities have local authority, in particular through land ownership.

A number of seminars were conducted in the Northern Territory under the guidance of the Department of Continuing Education of the Australian National University and out of these seminars came the recommendation that *community self-determination should be the overriding principle of Government policy*. Self-determination was defined as 'Aboriginal communities deciding the pace and nature of their future development within the legal, social and economic restraints of Australian society'.

In the creation of a new department, the stage was set for the transfer of particular functions which had been the responsibility of the Welfare Branch of the Department of Interior to more appropriate Commonwealth Departments. Special education (for Aboriginals) quickly went to the Department of Education and Aboriginal health became the direct responsibility of the Department of Health. A little later Community Welfare became the responsibility of the Department of the Northern Territory and the Mobile Works Force was transferred to the Department of Construction. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs retained a policy-making role in respect of these functions. Along with these functional transfers was a devolvement of responsibilities from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs to Aboriginal communities as they considered themselves ready to accept them. For the intentions of this new policy to be achieved, it was necessary to have the involvement and support of the Christian Missions which had worked in a close partnership with Governments over many years.

It is appropriate at this point to pay a tribute to the work of those missions – I do so, not because of the nature of this occasion and dinner, but because I have a very high regard for the work performed by all missions in the field of Aboriginal welfare. After all they are all too frequently and too easily the butt of ill-informed or prejudiced criticism, but let me make it quite clear that had the missions not moved into the remoter areas of the Territory under conditions of great hardship and privations, and decades before Government saw the need, then the fate of the tribal Aboriginals of the Territory would have been that of their less fortunate brothers

of the southern states. The Aboriginal people therefore are indebted to them as is also Government, for the missions assumed a role in some areas that was properly that of Government, but who either did not see the need or was not sufficiently motivated. The missions always stood up for the Aboriginal whenever they felt it necessary, and Government was not spared their wrath or opposition if necessary.

In this brief historical overview, I have reached the year of my retirement – 1976. Much has happened since then, particularly in the matter of land rights and self-government for the Northern Territory. I have not had other than a peripheral involvement with these developments and I therefore do not choose to make any observations – although I have been fortunate to have had the opportunity to get an insight into the land rights issue over the past four months whilst relieving Les Penhall.

I may have given the impression that the majority of the changes and innovations were generated from outside Government whereas I would venture to say that the reverse was the case. This was particularly so during what has become known as the Hasluck era. He was a man of great drive and fostered planning and imagination. Whilst his policy of assimilation has now been superceded, it nevertheless provided a period of development that prepared the way for later policies. I can honestly say that at no stage in the thirty years did I work in an atmosphere of reaction, but rather one of dynamic enthusiasm. There was frustration, but never stagnation, for it has been my good fortune to have shared in and hopefully contributed to times of great change where a race of people in the space of thirty years have moved from a life of dependence, of control, even of bondage to one where they have full and free access to all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of citizenship of this country.

TOWARD A MURRINH-PATHA DEFINED NEED FOR REPENTANCE

CHESTER S. STREET

'I CAN'T UNDERSTAND IT. How is it that so many Christians are continually falling into sin? Surely they must know right from wrong; they regularly go to church. Does St Paul really mean it when he says, *When anyone is joined to Christ, he is a new being; the old has gone, the new has come.*' (2 Corinthians 5:17)

So where are all the 'new beings'? Why does the church lack spiritual vitality? What would happen if the European mission staff had to leave suddenly?

Have you ever thought about any of these or similar questions? I have, often – and it has been a concern to me. What is the answer? The subject of this paper is to determine the answer from Scripture together with an understanding of the Murrinh-patha¹ culture. The problem I believe is that of understanding the Scriptural usage of 'repentance' as well as defining what is 'sin'. I want also to show from Scripture that repentance of sin is the initial step in Christianity.

Biblical Principles Concerning Repentance

Below is a list of selected verses from the New Testament on the subject of repentance. It is included here at the beginning so we can gain a better understanding of this word and also see in what context Jesus used it, as well as the Apostles and others.

Reference ²	Speaker	Text	Comments
Matt 3:2 (JB)	John the Baptist	'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is close at hand.'	John's first message in Judea.
Luke 3:3	John the Baptist	'Turn away from your sins and be baptized, and God will forgive your sins.'	John's first message preached throughout the Jordan area.
Mark 1:15	Jesus	'Turn away from your sins and believe the Good News!'	Jesus' first message.

Chester Street is an SIL worker at Wadeye (Port Keats, NT).

1 Murrinh-patha (Murinbata) is the language spoken at Port Keats – Wadeye, Northern Territory, by approximately 1,000 Aborigines.

2 Unless otherwise noted, Scripture quotations are from the Good News Bible. Quotations marked JB are from the Jerusalem Bible.

MURRINH-PATHA NEED FOR REPENTANCE

Reference ²	Speaker	Text	Comments
Luke 5:32 (JB)	Jesus	'I have come . . . to call sinners to repentance.'	Jesus' reason for coming to earth.
Luke 24:47	Jesus	' . . . and in his name the message about repentance and the forgiveness of sins must be preached to all nations, beginning in Jerusalem.'	Jesus' last words to His disciples.
Mark 6:12	Jesus' disciples	So they went out and preached that people should turn away from their sins.	The first message Jesus' disciples proclaimed after He sent them out.
Acts 5:31	St Paul — referring to Jesus	'God raised him to his right side as Leader and Saviour, to give the people of Israel the opportunity to repent and have their sins forgiven.'	The reason for Jesus' death and resurrection.
Acts 11:18	The Apostles and others	'Then God has given to the Gentiles also the opportunity to repent and live!'	The privilege above now given to the Gentiles (non-Jews).
Acts 2:38	St Peter	'Each one of you must turn away from his sins and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, so that your sins will be forgiven; and you will receive God's gift, the Holy Spirit.'	Peter's first message after Jesus' ascension.
Acts 3:19	St Peter	'Repent, then, and turn to God, so that he will forgive your sins.'	One of Peter's early messages.
Acts 17:30 (JB)	St Paul	'God . . . now is telling everyone everywhere that they must repent.'	Paul's first message to the Athenians.
Acts 20:21	St Paul	'To Jews and Gentiles alike I gave solemn warning that they should turn from their sins to God and believe in our Lord Jesus.'	A solemn warning reported in Paul's farewell speech to the Elders at Ephesus.
Acts 26:20 (JB)	St Paul	'I started preaching . . . urging them to repent and turn to God, proving their change of heart by their deeds.'	Paul tells King Agrippa of the message he preached wherever he went.
Romans 2:4	St Paul — referring to God	Surely you know that God is kind, because he is trying to lead you to repent.	God leads people to repent — as an act of kindness, tolerance and patience.
2 Tim 2:25	St Paul — referring to God	. . . for it may be that God will give them the opportunity to repent and come to know the truth.	God gives people opportunity to repent.
2 Peter 3:9	St Peter — referring to God	Instead, he is patient with you, because he does not want anyone to be destroyed, but wants all to turn away from their sins.	God is patient. He wants all people to repent, rather than face destruction.
Luke 13:3 (JB)	Jesus	' . . . but unless you repent you will all perish . '	God's judgement for those who fail to repent.

From these few verses it becomes clear that repentance is the initial step to Christian faith. In fact it is called exactly that by the writer of the letter to the Hebrews: ‘... the first lessons of the Christian message ... of turning away from useless works and believing in God ...’ (Hebrews 6:1). We note too that repentance – or turning from one’s sins – is then accompanied by such things as to believe, to be baptized, a turning to God, with the result that God will forgive the sins of the repentant one. He then also gives true life, knowledge of His truth, and His Spirit to indwell that person. We also note that God is the one who leads people to repentance, and that He is tolerant, patient and kind with them, because He wants all men to repent, rather than perish in their sins.

Biblical Teaching on Sin

But what of the Aboriginal at Port Keats – or from any other part of Australia for that matter? It is true that he now has some understanding of God’s Word from Christian teaching over the years, but basically his life is built upon the traditional ideals of Aboriginal law.

Is it reasonable then to urge him to repent of his sins? Does he really know and understand what is right and wrong? Yes, he does. Although in the past Aborigines haven’t had God’s Word, they do have a God-given conscience, and so they can discern right from wrong. Any Aboriginal person at Port Keats could produce a list of actions that would be regarded as sinful for him – the basis of which would be very similar to the Ten Commandments that God gave to Moses, as we will later see.

The Gentiles do not have the Law; but whenever they do by instinct what the Law commands, they are their own law, even though they do not have the Law. Their conduct shows that what the Law commands is written in their hearts. Their consciences also show that this is true, since their thoughts sometimes accuse them and sometimes defend them.

(Romans 2:14, 15)

It is also interesting to note from those Scripture references listed at the beginning, that in not one case was the sin or sins to be repented of named by the one who preached repentance; because those people didn’t need anyone to tell them what they were doing wrong; they already knew from their God-given consciences. They knew from the guilt feelings they had within themselves. They certainly had a reasonable understanding of what displeased God, whether they were Jew or Gentile.

Anthropologists talk of shame and guilt cultures, but within both these types of cultures people are aware of their wrongdoing and will either try to justify their wrongdoing or find some sort of atonement.

Dye (1976:36) points out, *All people have an inner awareness of right and wrong which has been conditioned by their cultures but still reflects God’s truth. It is their battlefield for obedience to the universal law of love, and it is the ground on which God will judge them on ‘That Day’.* As St James puts it, ‘So then, the person who does not do the good *he knows he should do* is guilty of sin’ (James 4:17 – italics mine).

Common Pitfalls When Judging the Moral Behaviour of Aborigines

We all enter an Aboriginal community with our own cultural ethics well internalized. We know what is right and wrong for us and it doesn’t take long before we begin to judge the Aboriginal people through our own cultural grid. With this in mind I wonder if all the Aboriginal people at Port Keats fully understand the meaning of repentance. To elaborate on this state-

ment I think we need to go back to the beginning of the mission work at Port Keats.

In the following four points I want to list what I believe were the results of initial mission contact at Port Keats:

1. Basically the missionary preached against those things which seemed morally bad to him (as mentioned at the beginning of this section). His preaching perhaps touched on some things that the people of that time did regard as wrong, but basically he was their moral judge and strongly condemned such things as polygamy and the ceremonial life of the men, neither of which were considered to be morally wrong by the Aborigines.
2. The Aboriginal person very quickly learned what actions the missionary approved and disapproved of. He went along with the missionary in an effort perhaps to obtain more of the white man's goods.³ For example, he learned to say 'good morning', attend church in his best clothes, and send his children to school; but on the spiritual level he didn't really understand the moral wrong the missionary was condemning.
3. Then perhaps because of the benefits offered by the mission, or perhaps as an act of duty, he 'confessed' those things that the missionary had been accusing him of as wrong (he may also have given them up, reluctantly) and became a 'Christian'. But in actual fact he did not repent of those things that he knew were sin for him, those things that most troubled his conscience. And so that initial step in Christianity – repentance – was misunderstood and not followed, as we have noted in the Scriptural pattern.
4. Some individuals did respond to the message preached, but mainly the younger people. Few, if any, of the real leaders responded because they didn't see the relevance of the message. However, for those who did respond, repent of their sins and turn to God, they invariably had a hard time knowing what God really required of them, since often what they heard from the missionary didn't match what they heard from their consciences.

These then are briefly the steps I believe took place during early mission days. So if this is what the people of those early days understood as Christianity – and many of these people are still alive today – then no doubt that has been the concept of Christianity passed on.

Commenting further on No. 4 above, I believe those people today who have repented of their sins and who are trying to follow God's way still find it hard to understand what is involved for at least two reasons:

- i) Aboriginal people see us whites who identify as Christians behaving in ways that do not always agree with their Aboriginal consciences. For example, we could well be perceived of sinning by being stingy, or through showing our frustration or anger. Although we may be eager to do what is right and to be good examples, we may be communicating just the opposite because we lack understanding of Aboriginal culture and sensitivity to their life-style. As a result, we lose the respect of both non-Christians and Christians, and the Christian leaders seldom heed our advice, and find it difficult to live in obedience to God's Word, as well as becoming confused about what is right and wrong. This then leads to further judgement on our part because we see Aboriginal Christians not showing enough evidence of repentance and living by God's Word, so we feel obligated to 'teach' them how to live and make decisions for them.

³ It is important to realize that at the time when the mission was founded at Port Keats, the tribes in the area were already in a state of dispersion in search of the white man's goods and food. So the mission's coming met the need of the people in bringing those goods, as well as preventing the extinction of these tribes by dispersion. (Wilson 1979, gives further details on this.)

- ii) Aboriginal people see whites who identify as Christians behaving in ways that their own white consciences judge as wrong, behaviour that they know Scripture condemns. Let's suppose a European 'Christian' has a bad habit of swearing. First of all he knows from his own conscience that it is not right, and he should also know that God disapproves of it.

Nor is it fitting for you to use language which is obscene, profane, or vulgar.
(Ephesians 5:4)

So he is without excuse if he claims to be a Christian. On the other hand, the Aboriginal Christian knows that Aboriginal law allows an older man with authority to swear if he so desires, but for all children, women and younger men it is forbidden. Now for some Aboriginal Christian men, the Holy Spirit has been teaching them that it is wrong for them to swear at any time. Yet the words he hears coming from the mouth of the so-called 'Christian' European do not agree with what the Holy Spirit has been teaching him. And so another stumbling block is put before him as he seeks to live in obedience to God's Word.

Now even if these two stumbling blocks were put right, it is not for us to judge our Aboriginal Christian brethren.

Who are you to judge the servant of someone else? It is his own Master who will decide whether he succeeds or fails. And he will succeed, because the Lord is able to make him succeed.
(Romans 14:4)

A man must do what he believes pleases God.

Keep what you believe about this matter, then, between yourself and God. Happy is the person who does not feel guilty when he does something he judges is right!
(Romans 14:22)

And perhaps the Murrinh-patha will do different – maybe even opposite things than we would do in order to please God. Take for example St Paul's words to the early Christians in Rome:

One person's faith allows him to eat anything, but the person who is weak in the faith eats only vegetables. The person who will eat anything is not to despise the one who doesn't; while the one who eats only vegetables is not to pass judgement on the one who will eat anything; for God has accepted him.

One person thinks a certain day is more important than other days, while someone else thinks that all days are the same. Each one should firmly make up his own mind. Whoever thinks highly of a certain day does so in honour of the Lord; whoever will eat anything does so in honour of the Lord, because he gives thanks to God for the food. Whoever refuses to eat certain things does so in honour of the Lord, and he gives thanks to God.

(Romans 14:2, 3, 5, 6)

Murrinh-patha Law and the Ten Commandments

Dye (1976:30) says, . . . *there are similar characteristics in the behavioural ideals of all cultures. Prohibitions against lying, stealing, murder and adultery are virtually universal, though exactly what constitutes each can vary from culture to culture.* The Murrinh-patha are no exception here as we will now see.

The Ten Commandments as found in Exodus 20 can be divided in the following way:

1-4 Obligations to God.

5 Obligations to parents (with a promise, cf. Ephesians 6:1-3).

6-10 Obligations to fellow man.

Therefore, in drawing a comparison with traditional Murrinh-patha law and the Ten Commandments I will list only the last six commandments:

The Ten Commandments
(Exodus 20:12-17)

Traditional Murrinh-patha Law

- | | |
|--|--|
| # 5. 'Respect your father and your mother, so that you may live a long time in the land I am giving you.' | Listen to and obey your father and your mother. |
| # 6. 'Do not commit murder.' | Do not murder anyone. |
| # 7. 'Do not commit adultery.' | Do not be sexually promiscuous. |
| # 8. 'Do not steal.' | Do not steal. |
| # 9. 'Do not accuse anyone falsely.' | Do not lie; do not slander another. |
| # 10. 'Do not desire another man's house; do not desire his wife, his slaves, his cattle, his donkeys, or anything else that he owns.' | Do not covet another man's wife; do not covet another man's land; do not covet another man's food or belongings. |

As the Hebrews also had many other laws, so the Murrinh-patha also have others. But the Murrinh-patha laws above form the backbone of their ethical ideals, as did the Ten Commandments form the backbone of the Hebrew Law.

However, as Dye has pointed out, what actually constitutes each law, or the essence of each law, differs from culture to culture. Perhaps to us, the greatest difference in the above comparison can be seen in the parallel law to the Seventh Commandment. We know in our white society what 'Do not commit adultery' means. And if we break that law our conscience will quickly tell us. But what do the Murrinh-patha mean when they say 'Don't be sexually promiscuous'? Briefly, their law allows 'wife borrowing' between brothers, polygynous marriages and occasional periods of greater sexual freedom during certain ceremonies – but to go beyond that is sin for the Murrinh-patha. It is to be sexually promiscuous, and is condemned by Aboriginal conscience and Aboriginal law.

But, the important point remains that each culture has its own ethical code, a set of ideals that are laid down as goals to live to, and anything less than that is sin. We know ourselves that within our own culture actual behaviour falls short of the ideals laid down, and this is true of all cultures. St Paul says, 'everyone has sinned . . .' (Romans 3:23). The Murrinh-patha also agree.

So do we have any authority to tell a man he must get rid of his second wife before he can become a Christian? In our culture it is sinful to take a second wife, but not so for the Murrinh-patha. There is no guilt feeling attached to it, nor is his conscience bothered by it. How do the Murrinh-patha see our practice of leaving our ageing parents to the care of the state – a violation of the fifth commandment?

The fact remains that the Murrinh-patha do have a set of laws to follow, a God-given conscience to determine right and wrong, and it is upon this that God will judge them (Romans 2:14-16). And so the Christian message needs to be relevant to them.

Why did Jesus come to earth? *I have come . . . to call sinners to repentance* (Luke 5:32 JB). Jesus came to save people from the burden and misery of their sin and from eternal death. Think about this for a minute: God sent His Son for the Murrinh-patha because they fell short of their *own* rules. Jesus came to take their punishment for them and to re-unite them with God.

But the first step as we have already seen must be repentance. And so that God is able to

lead people to repentance, our preaching must deal with the issues that are bothering the consciences of the hearer. Note St Peter's message at Pentecost as recorded in Acts 2:17-17, especially verses 37 and 38 below (brackets and italics are mine).

When the people heard this (Peter's message), they were *deeply troubled* and said to Peter and the other apostles, 'What shall we do, brothers?' Peter said to them, 'Each one of you must turn away from his sins and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, so that your sins will be forgiven; and you will receive God's gift, the Holy Spirit.'

Repentance has been described as a 'turning from' and faith as a 'turning to'. But it is impossible to turn to God if we have not first turned from our sin, those actions which greatly displease God and sent His Son to the cross.

What, then, of the person who despises the Son of God? who treats as a cheap thing the blood of God's covenant which purified him from sin? who insults the Spirit of grace? Just think how much worse is the punishment he will deserve!

(Hebrews 10:29)

To fail to present repentance as the initial step in Christianity is to miss completely God's plan of salvation as presented in the Scriptures and we will bring upon the Aboriginal people the same condemnation that Jesus pronounced to the hypocritical Pharisees:

How right Isaiah was when he prophesied about you! You are hypocrites, just as he wrote: 'These people, says God, honour me with their words, but their heart is really far away from me. It is no use for them to worship me, because they teach man-made rules as though they were my laws!'

(Mark 7:6, 7)

In fact these words already ring true at Port Keats as we witness so clearly many people attending church and performing all the outward manifestations of a Christian. Yet these same people in everyday life appear to think little of swearing, lying, stealing, fighting, adultery and so on, and some go as far as sorcery and murder – but come Sunday and there they are again participating in church activities.

Where are the 'new beings' we spoke of earlier? What else does St Paul have to say about the matter?

Sin must no longer rule in your mortal bodies, so that you obey the desires of your natural self. Nor must you surrender any part of yourselves to sin to be used for wicked purposes. Instead, give yourselves to God, as those who have been brought from death to life, and surrender your whole being to him to be used for righteous purposes.

(Romans 6:12, 13)

St John also well conveys God's message:

Whoever continues to sin belongs to the Devil, because the Devil has sinned from the very beginning. The Son of God appeared for this very reason, to destroy what the Devil has done. Whoever is a child of God does not continue to sin, for God's very nature is in him; and because God is his Father, he cannot continue to sin.

(1 John 3:8, 9)

We need therefore to be truthful in our conclusions and say that not all who claim to be Christians are in fact Christians – that all are not joined to Christ and so not all are new beings. I sincerely believe that in the light of Scripture this must be our conclusion. Whether a person has been baptized, confirmed, says he's a Christian, says he believes in God, or whatever; unless he has taken that initial step of repentance and turned from his sins, then he can't be joined to

Christ. After all, St James tells us that demons also believe in God (James 2:19). But that kind of belief is not based upon repentance of sins, neither does it provide assurance of sins forgiven and eternal life in Heaven. Let's listen to St John's words again:

If someone says that he knows him, but does not obey his commands, such a person is a liar and there is no truth in him.

(1 John 2:4)

What has gone wrong? What can we do to help the Murrinh-patha truly discover God's Good News for them? I believe the *true meaning of repentance* has generally not been made clear to the Murrinh-patha nor has the *nature of sin* been adequately communicated to them.

Conclusion

In summary, I believe that we non-Aborigines who are identified as Christian, should seek to move in the following direction in an effort to help the Murrinh-patha at Port Keats truly discover God's Good News for them. We need to:

1. trust God and believe that He will lead people to repent of *their* sins (2 Timothy 2:24-26 – see below under No. 3). We can then expect the Holy Spirit to work in the life of every believer.

As long as his Spirit remains in you, you do not need anyone to teach you. For his Spirit teaches you about everything, and what he teaches is true, not false.

(1 John 2:27)

Those who live as the Spirit tells them to, have their minds controlled by what the Spirit wants.

(Romans 8:5)

2. try to understand the Aboriginal ethical system.
3. try to live a loving life by their cultural standards. After all, we are guests; so we need to go along with the host culture.

The Lord's servant must not quarrel. He must be kind toward all, a good and patient teacher, who is gentle as he corrects his opponents, for it may be that God will give them the opportunity to repent and come to know the truth. And they will come to their senses and escape from the trap of the Devil, who had caught them and made them obey his will.

(2 Timothy 2:24-26)

In all things you yourself must be an example of good behaviour. Be sincere and serious in your teaching.

(Titus 2:7)

4. preach repentance where the Holy Spirit is convicting people of *their* sins.

... and in his name the message about repentance and the forgiveness of sins must be preached ...

(Luke 24:47)

Remember, as St Peter says in Acts 2:38, 'each one' of us has to repent. It is an individual, personal decision. From this initial step the Christian then begins to grow in Christ. The writer to the Hebrews also encourages this:

Let us go forward, then, to mature teaching and leave behind us the first lessons of the Christian message.

(Hebrews 6:1)

5. teach that God expects obedience to His Word.

... and teach them to obey everything I have commanded you.

(Matthew 28:20)

The Law of Love is described by St Paul and St Matthew:

Be under obligation to no one – the only obligation you have is to love one another. Whoever does this has obeyed the Law. The commandments, ‘Do not commit adultery; do not commit murder; do not steal; do not desire what belongs to someone else’ – all these, and any others besides, are summed up in the one command, ‘Love your neighbour as you love yourself’. If you love someone, you will never do him wrong; to love, then, is to obey the whole law.

(Romans 13:8-10)

Jesus answered, “Love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind.” This is the greatest and most important commandment. The second most important commandment is like it: “Love your neighbour as you love yourself.” The whole Law of Moses and the teachings of the prophets depend on these two commandments.’

(Matthew 22:37-40)

Encourage Aboriginal Christians to read or listen to what the Scripture says on a given topic, when they have questions or when problems arise. This is far better than giving our thoughts on the subject.

6. teach them to keep clear consciences so that the Holy Spirit can use their consciences to teach them new truths. St Paul says:

And so I do my best always to have a clear conscience before God and man.

(Acts 24:16)

... and keep your faith and a clear conscience. Some men have not listened to their conscience and have made a ruin of their faith.

(1 Timothy 1:19)

Even though a man’s conscience can be spoiled by continually disregarding it, God can restore that one’s conscience for His glory and use.

His blood will purify our consciences from useless rituals, so that we may serve the living God.

(Hebrews 9:14)

7. Finally, let us not forget nor fail to teach the warnings in Scripture given to those who refuse to repent.

... but unless you repent you will all perish ...

(Luke 13:3 JB)

They were burned by the fierce heat, and they cursed the name of God ... But they would not turn from their sins and praise his greatness.

(Revelation 16:9)

There is no short cut to God’s salvation. St Matthew tells of the Pharisees and Sadducees who tried to get John to baptize them without first repenting of their sins. But what did John have to say to them?

You snakes – who told you that you could escape from the punishment God is about to send? Do those things that will show that you have turned from your sins.

(Matthew 3:7, 8)

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CHURCH AND CULTURE

ROSE KUNOTH-MONKS

I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN with a prayer –

Be present with us, O Holy Spirit, for it is in your Name we are specially gathered here today. Come to help us in our affairs, and be pleased to enter into our deliberations. Instruct us in what we should do. Let it be You, first of all, who inspires our suggestions.

May You who love justice let us not offend against justice and charity.

Grant also that we act intelligently. Keep us by the gifts of your grace in harmony with your will so that we may act as one with you.

Who, with the Father and the Son, live and reign – God for ever and ever. Amen.

I would like to begin with a definition. Throughout this paper, unless the contrary is specifically stated, the word 'Aboriginal' refers to people, past and present, who knew/know the greater of their Aboriginal traditions, and who followed/follow a life-style more or less attuned to these traditions. I will also be talking only of Central Australia and only about the Aranda and Anmatjera people in that area. Recollections of my childhood are that we lived in a closely-knit clan, governed strictly by our elders. Our skin kinship system left no doubts as to our relationship within the group which, in my childhood, numbered 1,000 or more people.

Our traditional life was no bed of roses. We lived in fear of superstitions, and in fear of the Kadaitja – who was not a figment of our imagination – invented by our parents to keep us from straying at nights. He was real and people had every reason to be afraid of him. I think it is very important to keep this in mind for it was in this situation that the message of Christ spoke most directly to the Aboriginal people.

Among Aboriginal people, sickness and death were not perceived as being caused by germs or viruses, nor as being caused by any of the things to which we attributed sickness and death. They were caused, so they believed, either by someone manipulating the Spirit world to do them harm; or by someone using arangutia (evil spirits) or by their having transgressed some tabu! Hence if you became sick, it was necessary to discover who or what had caused the sickness and also to seek a healer who could manipulate the spirit world for your healing. If it was deemed that a person was behind your sickness, it was also important to get back at him. If

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someone died, the matter became more serious. The person or persons who had caused the death had to be found and punished.

Ceremonies and practices existed for finding the guilty party(s) and, once this had been established, revenge had to be taken. Often innocent people were blamed and killed. If the guilty party could not be found or caught, any member of his extended family would do.

This, in turn, meant they had to take revenge, and this was the way 'pay back' started – and went on for years, at the loss of many lives on both sides. The practical effect of this was that people lived in considerable fear of the spirit world, in fear of people who might be manipulating the spirit world to do them harm. In fear of being wrongly implicated with someone's death or illness, and therefore, in fear of the Kadaitja killing them in the pay back for someone's death.

So, as I said earlier, the missionaries came into this kind of life, and, depending on the way the missionaries gave the Gospel to the people, it was in the true meaning of the word (a God Send) Gospel.

I have talked on why, to the Aboriginal, the Gospel of Jesus was readily acceptable. However, it is worth noting, that Aboriginal Christians did not accept all that the missionaries advocated, as being part of a Christian faith. I will hopefully expand.

In Central Australia it was discouraged by missionaries that Christian men should undergo initiation, as many missionaries considered this to be a heathen or non-christian act; but it is quite clear the Aboriginal people carried on the initiations and still do so, and many Aboriginal Christians do not see this as conflicting with their Christian faith. The two were not mutually conflicting to them.

For them, the initiation of boys had a social significance, apart from the religious aspects associated with the ceremony, and they were not prepared to give this up, and they didn't.

In his writings Professor Strehlow recounted the belief of the Aranda and other inland tribes in the way life emerged at the beginning from a bare and featureless earth. It emerged in the form of supernatural beings who awoke from eternal sleep and came up from various places in the plain. Their sites of emergence are sacred – caves, waterholes etc. The beings had both specific animal or plant and also human forms. All animals and plants of each particular species are their present-day descendants, and men and women of each totemic kind are likewise their descendants. Hence the vital link between human beings, particular animals and plant species, the totemic ancestors and the landscape forms the ancestors came from, formed or turned into at the end of their period of creative activity. Some remained also in the form of tjurunga slabs. Even in their present-day sleep the ancestors retain their creative powers and can be induced to exercise them still when their human descendants call on them to do so by performance of the rites of increase which they themselves have founded and first performed.

It should be clear from this that in pre-mission days, Aboriginals believed they continued the creative activity of their totemic ancestors, and that their food supply among other things was dependent on this continuing activity.

The Christian faith, on the other hand, holds that the God who revealed himself in the Christian scriptures, created the world and all that exists and that it is through his past and present activity that the needs of his children are met.

It will be appreciated that the Aboriginal and Christian beliefs at this point are diametrically opposed to each other, and mutually exclusive. The missionaries pointed this out to those who wished to embrace the Christian faith. They had to make a choice.

Those who became Christians did give up their traditional belief and practice. Of this there is clear evidence. However, together with this, the missionaries also advocated that the people give up their 'Tjurungas', particularly the slabs of rock or wood which were the representation of the totemic beings, and the songs associated with the wanderings and activities of the totemic ancestors.

These, too, were considered incompatible with the Christian faith. This view, however, was not shared by the Aboriginal Christians, because, for them the tjurungas also served important social purposes such as determining land boundaries; they therefore kept them for their social purpose while rejecting their religious content.

In other words, they clearly distinguished between differing functions served by the same object, giving up what they found to be incompatible with their new faith, but retained others.

While most Aboriginal Christian men have not performed increase rites for generations, the evidence that they retained their tjurungas for special purposes was recently confirmed at Hermannsburg, one of our oldest missions, when the mission assisted them in defining their traditional land boundaries on the basis of these tjurungas. Where dispute arose in the process of fixing boundaries, these were settled to everyone's satisfaction on the basis of traditional mythology and songs known by Aboriginal Christians.

To sum up then, it appears to me that what happened in the religious area was this. The Christian faith was readily accepted because it was seen to address itself relevantly to a great felt need.

However, the Aboriginal Christians discriminated between what they saw as the central tenets of the Christian faith, and the western application of that faith to their specific cultural situation. The latter they did not accept.

Conflict could have arisen at this point. The reason is this. Aboriginal people do not argue about aspects in regard to which they felt they could not convince the missionaries. The Aboriginal way is to listen to what is said, and then make up one's own mind, and simply do that. This is what most of my people did in the Centre; and of course in many cases they were not locked in an institution. They could come and go at will, and were therefore able to limit at will the influence of the mission to whatever they wished to limit it.

I now come to the part which, I believe, you as missionaries are asking: What emerges out of the culture contact situation which has relevance for today? It can quite safely be said that changes in Aboriginal societies are inevitable, for the simple reason that the social and physical environment in which Aboriginal people live today will ultimately face changes. If we are honest about giving Aboriginals choice about how or what they wish to change, then suggested change (innovation) must be offered in such a way that people actually do have a choice.

This seems to be the way in which the religious innovation was offered, especially at Hermannsburg. People did have genuine choice, and they chose the aspects which they found meaningful and rejected those they could not accommodate within their own system — and for the record — this occurred without conflict, simply because in the Aboriginal terms, there was actual choice.

If white people, with all the best will in the world, impose an innovation on the Aboriginal people, they must also accept the fact then that, in their eyes, the white people are at the same time assuming responsibility for the operation and the final effect of that innovation.

If this is correct, it will also explain to us why whites are required to service so many programmes, and why demands continue to escalate. For example, whites have made Aboriginal

health and living standards their responsibility by the way in which they have approached these matters. In this connection it is interesting to note that the things in regard to which Aboriginals see as belonging to the core and centre of their culture, and for which they accept responsibility, they make no request.

In short, what I am trying to say is: Innovations which do not offer real choice for rejection in Aboriginal terms, are destructive to Aboriginal society. This is where I believe our tensions and chaos have started. Here, of course, we have blacks (and I use that term to make it explicit that I am not referring to Aboriginals) who blame the whites; the whites blame the stirrers – and in the midst of this, the disease which is racism breeds, and of course, the Aboriginals are the ones who suffer, like the innocent children in marriage breakdowns.

I think of the Aboriginal Lutheran pastors in and around Alice Springs: Peter and Conrad at Hermannsburg, Emmanuel at Napperby, Davey at Alcoota, Paulas at Maryvale, Cyril in Alice Springs – and I think of Paul Albrecht, the man I go to with my Aboriginal problems when I am confused.

All these men I have mentioned make no apology for their Faith – in Christ and against criticism from people in high places.

In closing, don't ask me, an Aboriginal person, to apologise for my Faith in Jesus.

Lord, I believe.

SHARING – AN ABORIGINAL CUSTOM BEING ABUSED?

LEO McVEIGH FMS

MANY HAVE SEEN the gentle dignity of the older people in giving and receiving, and have glimpsed the tacit understanding of need and remedy between donor and recipient, a custom developed through centuries of close-knit living and necessary for the survival of the community. From parent to child and a flow-on from child to child, a sharing of food, drink and shelter continues among Aboriginal people.

As with any other custom in a changing society, the strengths and weaknesses of sharing need to be looked at for fear that blind tradition may have become a path to destruction of the morals and the morale of the present and consequently of future generations.

Alcohol

How does a boy or girl become a drunk or be frequently drunk in the early teens? Sometimes it is because of being pressured into accepting (sharing) by adults, sometimes through the 'sharing' process when they themselves ask an adult for alcohol. This happens with the full knowledge of both or either of the parents and must be called an abuse of sharing.

Why does it happen? The possibilities are that parents are afraid of resisting their children in the context of the customary minimal discipline for young children; that parents do not care much about their children when they reach the teens; that parental responsibilities are unevenly shared and the load-carrier gives up for lack of support; or that there is nothing of positive value sufficient to replace alcohol as an outlet or a 'recreation'. And yet there are examples where both parents share the upbringing of children, where discipline is quite strongly given and obedience demanded, and where parents know just where and with whom their teenagers are, and approve thereof.

Sex

Though it may have been customary for certain pre-marital sex exploits to be permitted, now it is common for even young teenagers to sleep around, ringing the changes as the whim takes them. Babies are born to those who have not been promised, to those who have no intention of a lasting alliance, and elders and parents are not evincing any perturbation. Some girls exploit themselves for money, for alcohol, with no censure from parents.

Bro. Leo McVeigh FMS is currently working in the bilingual section of the school at Santa Teresa. He taught in Australian schools for over thirty years before concentrating on the Aboriginal apostolate since 1977. For two years he worked at Yirara College (Alice Springs) as Youth Activities Officer.

Why does it happen? The possibilities are much the same as above.

If sharing is to work for the good of these youngsters, parents and adult relations must begin sharing a concern for their morals; not to do so is an abuse of the sharing system which seems to have conditioned people to be afraid of saying no.

Money

Possibly the most frequent abuse of sharing is seen in the insistence of a hand-out from the relations on pay day or pension day. Those who are 'broke' because they do not work or because they have spent their money unwisely on alcohol abuse the system by leaving older people with insufficient money for enough decent food to get through the next two weeks. In some cases the elderly live in fear of physical violence if they do not hand out.

Is there a counter for this abuse? An Aboriginal who refuses to share is in danger of becoming an outcast, which means shame, loneliness and loss of respect. Still, some are able to retain their place in society yet they bank their cheques and draw money as they need it, thus not having ready money on them; some give their money into the care of a non-Aboriginal. These may be called negative measures; there needs to be something positive 'preached' along the lines of sharing life, of a reciprocal contribution to the welfare of relations. If an Aboriginal can so easily ask another for money, cannot the other insist on his due in return before contributing further?

Nourishment of Children

This is not a question of malnutrition among babies in the bush, but of fairly vital deficiencies in school children in Settlements where mothers are taught through the Health Clinic the food balances required for good health in growing children.

Why is this? Possibly because anyone in the dwelling has access to whatever food there is and the mother cannot keep safe particular items essential to the children. People-proof and dog-proof cupboards, tuckerboxes or other containers may need to become a point of concern for healthworkers and housebuilders.

In some cases it is commonly known amongst the women that the children of certain mothers are undernourished, yet sharing and concern does not go far enough for them to act either individually or as a group and exert sanctional pressures that Aboriginal culture enables them so well to do. It may well be that sharing has developed into a negative thing, a matter of not being able to say no.

The abuse of sharing must be given a high listing among the priorities of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people for a sensitive and lengthy questioning; the progressive procedures consequent to this will give support to the development of the morals, the morale and the physical wellbeing of people in their Communities, whether they be Christian or not.

NORTHERN TERRITORY: DIOCESE AND MISSIONS

A Chronicle

M.J. WILSON MSC (1954)

1954 was the first centenary of the MSC Society. By way of celebration the MSC seminarians at Croydon (Vic.) produced a special enlarged issue of their student magazine. It was a history of the Australian MSC province called 'History of a Heritage', 107 closely typed, duplicated pages (some 50,000 words). I was both general editor and author of a chapter on Northern Territory. Looking over the chapter today I thought it might be worth while making the chronicle more publicly available. I ask the readers to take it as it really was: a young MSC seminarian's chronicle of events from severely limited resources in honour of an MSC centenary for MSC readers. I reproduce it as it first appeared: if one wanted to mend its defects one would do better to scrap the whole thing and start again. I must confess, all the same, to changing a few phrases that I could not wear today. I have easily withstood the temptation of bringing it up to date. I don't have the resources within reach that would enable me to do so, especially within its original style. All the same, I believe it is a handy record of ecclesiastical events in the NT up to 1954. This year (1982) marks the centenary of the Territory: the Jesuits sailed into Darwin on 24 September, 1882.

MJW (ed.)

NORTHERN TERRITORY IS A LAND of promise and failure. Its geography is a combination of tropical fertility and arid, stony wastes, of flat mangrove swamp and rocky, colourful mountains; its history as a white settlement is a succession of wonderful starts with dismal endings; in its story figure episodes of violence, injustice, immorality and of endurance and the heroic bearing of hardship; even its history as a mission is one of three starts and two failures.

Beginnings

During the French scare that prompted much of our colonization, a colony was founded at Fort Dundas, Melville Island, 1824. The Tiwi defended their land; fever and starvation aided them, so that the colony became untenable and, along with another trading station founded in 1827 at Fort Wellington, Raffles Bay, was abandoned in 1829. 1838 another settlement was made at Port Essington, named 'Victoria' after the Queen. 1845 the diocese of Perth was established under Bishop Brady, and in 1846 a young Italian priest, Don Confalonieri, was sent from Perth with two catechists to Victoria. Their vessel sank, only the captain and the priest escaping. Within two years Don Confalonieri died of fever and the debility brought on by poor diet (June 9, 1848). Britain had high hopes for Victoria: Rome was asked to set up a diocese there with the result that Dom Serra, in Europe to collect funds for Perth diocese and the mission he and Dom Salvado were labouring to form at 'New Norcia', was consecrated Bishop of the new diocese on August 15, 1848. The project of extensive colonization in Victoria was abandoned, and Bishop Serra was made Coadjutor to Bishop Brady of Perth. Next year Dom Salvado was sent to Europe to collect funds: the project had been resuscitated, and he too was consecrated as Bishop of Victoria. Before he could take up residence the settlement had been abandoned and he returned gladly to New Norcia.

1863 South Australia annexed the north and in 1865 a settlement was made at Port Darwin (Charles Darwin had passed through on the *Beagle* in 1836), and was named Palmerston: the name did not stick, except officially. 1872 Charles Todd finished the Overland Telegraph Line, and about the same time the first frantic goldrush to the north began. All this time the diocese of 'Victoria and Palmerston' was vacant; in 1882 however, it was entrusted to a band of Austrian Jesuits under Father Strehle SJ and Father O'Brien SJ. They set up a mission at Rapid Creek, eight miles east of Darwin – too close to Darwin to be a success. A few years later they moved to Daly River. They built a church in Darwin during the 80s: it was blown down by a cyclone in 1897, upon which they built the present Our Lady Star of the Sea Church (blown down by Cyclone 'Tracey' in 1974). They were twice flooded out on the Daly, especially in 1899; a copper mine was discovered near the mission, and the mission as a consequence became quite uncontrollable: all this, coupled with the apparent failure of their missionary efforts – they had registered 362 baptisms, mainly 'in articulo mortis' – induced them to abandon the Territory (1899).*

1897 Father Treand, returning from the General Chapter of 1897, brought with him twenty missionaries, including Fr de Boismenu and Fr F.X. Gsell. Father Gsell taught theology in our first scholasticate till 1900, when he sailed for Papua. 1906 our Society accepted from S.C. de Propaganda Fide the administration of Victoria-Palmerston, and April 23 Father Gsell was appointed Administrator Apostolic. Fr L. Cros MSC was sent to help him, and built a church at the then populous goldmining town of Pine Creek. Fr John O'Connell was the first Australian priest sent to Darwin, and Bro Aubrey Kelly the first laybrother. Fr O'Connell and a German laybrother, Bro Lambert, were sent there in 1908.

Father Gsell provided first for the whites, from two centres, Darwin and Pine Creek. Father Gsell and Fr O'Connell taught the Catholic children until the Sisters arrived. Father Gsell was

* This was the explanation that was allowed to circulate. Greg O'Kelly SJ has shown that the real reasons are to be sought in political European events (readmission of the Jesuits into Austria), unwillingness of the Irish Jesuit foundation in eastern Australia to take over the work in view of its own commitments, and disbelief in the relative value of the enterprise on the part of the General administration. (*The Jesuit Mission Stations in the Northern Territory, 1882-1899*, unpublished BA Honours thesis, Monash University, 1967.)

determined not to repeat what he saw as the earlier mistake with the Aborigines by leaving them within white man's influence. The year the north became Federal Territory (1911), he gained the lease of 10,000 acres on Bathurst Island – of which, more later.

Darwin

From this time onward the story of Darwin is the story of a parish rather than of a mission. A convent and school were built by Bro Philippe, a Dutch laybrother lent for the purpose by Archbishop Navarre. 1909 six OLSH sisters began a school: 100 pupils. The school is open to all colours and creeds; the number of pupils rose gradually from the 100 mark to the present (1954) 250-300, being taught by about ten nuns. Father Fanning went north to Darwin at the end of 1914 and was nominated Pro-Superior. Fr W. Henschke came to the Territory 1915. In 1919 Fr Fanning extended the church – Darwin's population then was about 3,000. About 1918 Fr John Forrest went to work in Darwin; he left it on being made superior of Brompton (SA) 1920. That same year Frs Len McCarthy and Jerome Barry set out for Darwin, and in 1924 Fr J. Long. About this time Fr Henschke left Bathurst Is. for Darwin and became parish priest and mission procurator. In 1927 there is noted that there were in Darwin a church, a presbytery, a convent and school (five sisters teaching 100 children, only half of them Catholic) and a club-house. 1928 saw the arrival of Fr R. Docherty soon after ordination to help Fr W. Henschke. Fr Henschke was made Religious Superior in 1932, and remained till he was succeeded by Fr Doyle in 1945, having been confirmed in office for another (third) term of three years in 1939 by the general indult of the Holy See given in view of war, and having been prorogued in office in 1942 by force of the same indult. Fr Doyle was succeeded in 1948 by Fr McDermott, and he by Fr V. Copas in 1954.

Fr Gsell came south for the Melbourne National Eucharistic Congress in 1934, and gave public addresses about the Northern Territory missions. He came down again in 1937 for the Plenary Synod, and stayed for the Missionary Congress at Newcastle in the beginning of 1938. Meanwhile he gave articles and statements on the Aborigines to the newspapers and spoke over the air on the national network at the invitation of a Melbourne radio station.

1938 brought two important events: first, an Apostolic Constitution of 29 March declared the Diocese of Victoria-Palmerston to be henceforth the Diocese of Darwin, and transferred Thursday Island from the Papuan Vicariate to the Diocese; secondly, Fr Gsell was appointed Bishop – a fit recognition of his magnificent achievement. He was consecrated at Randwick June 5, Pentecost Sunday, by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Panico; co-consecrators were Bishop Gilroy (Coadjutor, Sydney) and Bishop Bach MSC.

1939 war broke out. Darwin is a strategic post, so the army moved in. Most of our priests became chaplains during the war. 1949, the Government gave a great though simple boost to the missions (Bathurst Island, Melville Island, Port Keats and Darwin) in the form of wireless telephones. December 8, 1941 was Pearl Harbour. All white women and children were evacuated late December 1941. The sisters and the girls came in from Melville Island to prepare for evacuation just in time to be present for the first air raid, 19 February: all the sisters and children were evacuated the same day. There were sixty-five raids in all – five huge craters around the church and convent. Though (as a contemporary report observed) the only mission casualties were two fowls, the church was badly damaged by shrapnel and the convent by anti-personnel bombs. Bishop Gsell shifted his headquarters down to Alice Springs during the war; Fr Henschke and Br Quinn stayed on at Darwin. During the war Br Smith and the 'St Francis' both became RAN. 1944, American engineers extended the church; there is need now of a larger church, and a project of the future is the Cathedral of Our Lady, Star of the Sea, a

memorial to the Americans, Dutch and Australians who perished during the raids. During the war Fr Cosgrove, who came to Darwin 1939, was chaplain to the forces around Darwin; also Fr F. Flynn who went north soon after ordination in 1942, and Frs V. Dwyer and Doody for a time. 1945 the sisters were given permission to return, and they re-opened the school with 100 pupils 19 February, 1946, the fourth anniversary of their hurried departure. The civilians returned that same year. Bishop Gsell fought strenuously for our property rights in Darwin. The local administration had worked out a 'lease plan' to put a bit of order into the new Darwin. Result? – people tending to build outside the area and Darwin becoming more straggling than ever. In keeping with the new town plan we were to shift the site of our buildings and hold the property only on lease. Bishop Gsell argued that such interference with the church was contrary to the Commonwealth Constitution. He won his point, though not entirely, for although we retain the present site, we have it only on perpetual leasehold. The Holy See gave permission for a Cathedral to be erected on the leased land – against common law. Fr F. Flynn became parish priest around 1946.

1947: partial restoration of the church finished; water scheme completed; secondary school enlarged and boarding school opened; the Legion of Mary is set up in Darwin. 1948: a chapel for Sunday Mass was opened in the suburb of Parap – making two such centres, the other being in the seaside suburb of Nightcliff. Fr Witty arrived. This year Bishop Gsell resigned. He was made Titular of Paros but was asked by Propaganda to stay on as Administrator for a while. He was honoured by the Pope in 1949, being made an Assistant Bishop at the Papal Throne. He has honours from elsewhere too – the Legion of Honour from France and OBE from His Majesty King George VI in 1936. 1949: Fr J. O'Loughlin was nominated Bishop of Darwin: he was consecrated at St Francis Xavier's Cathedral, Adelaide, Wednesday April 20 by Archbishop Beovich; Co-Consecrators, Bishops Scharmach MSC and Vesters MSC; he was 'inducted' into his diocese 22 May. Bishop Gsell bade a sad farewell on October 17.

1951: Fr Bailey arrived; visit of the Fatima statue; that same year saw Fr Morris in the Territory. Channel Island Leprosarium is cared for by Our Lady of the Sacred Heart nuns and is served from Darwin, Fr Henschke, VG, going across each week. In the civilian flight from Darwin '42, the government asked us to take the place of the curator, so Br McCarthy became superintendent. He was succeeded by Br Carter, 1949, and Br Lilwall, 1951. At present there are about 100 patients. Darwin also serves the area as far down as Katherine; where a church was built in 1949; lately the church of St Barbara (patroness of miners) was erected at Batchelor, Rum Jungle – vice-president of the parish committee is Jack White, the man who discovered Rum Jungle's uranium. At present too, a new mission is being founded on the Daly.

This must suffice for the central station, Darwin, the 'Sedes Episcopalis'. Of the remaining missions I shall give only a brief, factual account of the main past events and of the chief (and traceable!) changes in personnel.

Thursday Is. and Hammond Is.

Thursday Is: 1878 a military outpost. 1884, October 19 the arrival of Frs Navarre and Hartzler and Br de Sanctis on their way to Papua. Blocked from entrance into Papua, they set up the parish of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart – Fr Hartzler first parish priest. February 24, 1885, arrival of Fr Verius, who built the first church – replaced by the present one in 1901, its interior decorated by a local Chinese artist. 1886 three French OLSH nuns arrived. A convent was built beside the church and a school opened for Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Parish priests after Fr Hartzler were Fr Buisson and Fr Bach. Fr Doyle came 1927 and that same year Fr Bach left to become Bishop Leray's successor in the Gilberts. 1930 Fr Finch, lately prefect

of scholastics, replaced Fr Doyle, while he went first to Samarai; later in the same year Br Barrett went to Thursday Fr Doyle returned next year and continued Bishop Bach's instruction work with the Japanese divers: he made some conversions. 1929: Fr McDermott arrived; soon after he began a half-caste settlement on Hammond Island – gardens, church of mangrove and galvanised iron, Fathers' residence. It was held up by the depression but soon had about 100 inhabitants – the men work on Thursday Is. and on the pearling luggers.

On Thursday, a new school was built. 1933 a church was erected on Horne Is. and in 1935 one on Nakhir. 1935 two OLSH nuns opened school on Hammond. 1938: Fr Doyle became rector of Downlands, his place being taken by Fr Taylor; Fr McCulloch came and took over Hammond from Fr McDermott; the drowning of Sr Marietta (Eileen Roche); this year, at Bishop de Boismenu's request Thursday and the surrounding islands were transferred from the Papuan vicariate to the Darwin diocese – Thursday is out of touch with Yule Island but on the shipping route to Darwin. 1940: Fr Conlan replaced Fr Taylor (to Eastern Papua as superior) and was later replaced by Fr W. Flynn; Br Carter went to Hammond. 1941 Fr Doody came from Palm Is. to Thursday, and Fr McCulloch was transferred to Eastern Papua. 1942: the sisters and children from Hammond and the sisters and orphans from Thursday (ninety-one in all) were evacuated to Cooyar, near Brisbane, under the care of Fr W. Flynn; Fr Doody went to Darwin, June-August, and returned as military chaplain. He kept his eye on things as best he could till 1946; he then went to Melville and returned to Thursday Island 1948 to the beginning of 1949, when he went to Yule Is. as Director of Education.

During the war white ants had a great time on Hammond; also a group from Badu ransacked the place. Fr Abbott came 1945. 1948 Fr Doody bought army installations from the radar station. Out of a Sidney Williams hut he built some homes and patched the presbytery roof. A cyclone blew Fr McDermott's old church down, and a new one was improvised. 1947 Fr McDermott returned again (from Palm Island), and next year Br A. Howley was sent there; also in '48 Fr Abbott went to Eastern Papua. 1949 Fr P. Power went to Hammond, and 1950 Fr Dixon succeeded Fr McDermott, who in 1948 had been made superior of Darwin and Northern Territory and had been helping on and off since then. The presbyteries on TI and HI were repaired, and when the convent on HI was made habitable by beings other than white ants two nuns came and took over the teaching from Br Howley. 1952 Fr J. Raymond succeeded Fr P. Power. Fr Dixon worked on supplying a good church for Hammond – out of natural blue granite and quartz, T shaped. 1954 Fr Dixon went to Santa Teresa, being succeeded by Fr McDermott. Population: Thursday Is. circa 1,400 people: 300 whites, and 100 to 120 Catholics mainly white and half-caste, with a few Islanders; Hammond Is. circa 100. The future? Thursday Is. stays much of a muchness – some good Catholics, but not a great deal of enthusiasm. Hammond is principally young people just married or soon to be so; the only draw-back is that it is only a mile away from Thursday. So far little has been able to be done for the surrounding islands – lack of men and the need of a good sea-going boat.

Bathurst Is.

Fr Gsell went to the Northern Territory 1906. It was considered that experience had proved that nothing could be done for the Aboriginal people if left in contact with whites. Hence Fr Gsell obtained from the government a grant of 10,000 acres on the southeast corner of Bathurst Is. about forty miles of water separating it from Darwin, and in spite of much official opposition got the whole island declared an Aboriginal reserve. There were about 2,000 Tiwi people on Bathurst and Melville Islands, 1,000 on each, all members of the one tribe and divided into ten sub-tribes. In April 1911 Fr Gsell made an exploratory visit deciding upon the spot for the mission. June 1 with four Philipinos who volunteered their services as sailors he set sail for

Bathurst Is. and on the feast of the Sacred Heart, June 8, celebrated his first Mass there. The Tiwi were not well prepared. Aborigines from the mainland who were shooting buffaloes for a white man on nearby Melville had been stealing Bathurst Is. wives. Lately the Bathurst Islanders had overcome a party of them and were now in possession of their rifles and expecting a punitive police expedition. Fr Gsell had qualms about landing, but confident as he said 'in his Mission Cross', he did so. For quite a while he saw no female Tiwi. Luckily the mission area was in what was, for all practical purposes, non-tribal ground. 1911 Fr Courbon was sent to help him, and in 1913 Fr Cros, who had been working on the mainland, and Fr Aubrey Kelly. Br Lambert came across from Darwin. Fr Gsell asked for some nuns to win the confidence of the Tiwi, so in 1914 two OLSH sisters (Srs Joseph and Kieran) were sent – with great success all round. As the children came and went at will, there could not be overmuch successful education. Fr Gsell therefore brought over about a dozen half-caste boys and girls from the mainland to form the nucleus of a permanent school. The half-caste experiment however, was not successful except inasmuch as its experience taught the founding principle of the later Melville Is. settlement: one must get the half-castes very young.* 1915 Fr W. Henschke set out for Bathurst Is. shortly after ordination.

By 1918 there were twenty-five half-caste and forty Aboriginal children in the school. The way Fr Gsell gained the first and subsequent children from amongst the Bathurst Islanders themselves is by now very well known. Boys became interested in the mission, a few asked to become Christians and escape the initiation ceremonies, a terrible ordeal that (according to the then current missiology) so set their characters that adult conversion became impossible. Fr Gsell managed to gain the consent of the old men to the proposal. But for a Christian settlement the young Catholic men must have young Catholic women to marry. The girl, however, was not even as free as the boy to make a choice of life: the girls were born married, or rather, they were born as mothers-in-law! The girl, on birth, was appointed to a certain man in such a way that her daughters would be his wives. The girl was bound fast by tribal law and there seemed no way of breaking through the bonds – a few years and along would come an old man to drag her off to his harem in the bush. But an idea came in the tension of a moment. Merapanui, an old polygamist, claimed as his wife by tribal law a fine young girl known to the missionaries as Martina. In terror she fled to Fr Gsell for protection. Merapanui would not be parleyed with, and he took her away. She fled back to the mission and refused to leave. The warriors came in, all war-paint and spears to claim her back. Fr Gsell spent a night of anxious prayer, and the God-sent thought came of putting out an array of goods – blankets, flour, tomahawks, etc; it proved too much for old Merapanui, and with the tribe standing by and approving he relinquished his claim in barter. Fr Gsell continued the practice: by 1929 he had sixty-five 'wives'; by 1934, 125; and after his consecration in 1938 he gained renown as the 'Bishop with 150 wives'. Martina died an inmate of Channel Is. leper station in 1945; her daughter Elizabeth is one of the outstanding Catholic women on Bathurst Is. now. Martina was, in a true sense, the founder of the Bathurst Is. mission.

During this time Frs Fanning and J. Forrest (from Darwin) used to bear a hand, also Frs Barry and L. McCarthy. Br Keeley was there around 1921. 1924 Br D. McCarthy set out for Northern Territory, also Fr J. McGrath. Fr McGrath did magnificent work in building up the mission. The Tiwi used to sit under the high stilted presbytery and talk at random for hours – and thus Fr McGrath above gained 'that splendid almost encyclopedic knowledge of the Tiwi language, and of the Aboriginal thought and custom which is the envy of all ethnologists who have visited Bathurst Is. The Tiwi thought he could read their minds.'

* The phraseology is not felicitous, but, unfortunately, it is historically accurate: hence I let it stand. – Ed.

1928 Fr Docherty came to the Northern Territory. Under Pius XI's inspiration in this regard, Bathurst Is. mission was adopted by the great Visitandine Convent of Mons, Belgium. 1930 Br A. Smith sailed for Bathurst; also a young layman, Pat Ritchie (later, author of *North of the Never Never*) offered his services – he rounded up the mission cattle run wild, helped on the land and cleared an emergency air-strip. 1928 Fr Gsell attended the Eucharistic Congress at Sydney with Noel, one of the Tiwi boys. After 1928 the mission really started to go ahead. Up to that time Australia had donated no more than £150 to the project; it took fifteen years to reach the 100 baptisms mark. 1931 Peter de Hayr, a Dutch carpenter, offered his remaining years to the mission, an invaluable service: he built the 'Pius' and many of the mission buildings. Br Carter and Br Farrar came 1933. 1935 preparations for Port Keats. 1936 Fr Abbott arrived. By this time there had been 450 baptisms. 'Not much' said Fr Gsell, 'not much'. But –! Before the war Japanese pearl-ers were obstructing the work by buying Tiwi girls and women for a higher price than the mission could pay.

1914 Fr Gsell had the 'St Francis' built in Thursday Is. The four Philippinos who sailed it across missed Bathurst Is. and were found approaching the stage of exhaustion by a cruiser searching for the 'Emden' near Cocos Is. Alfonso, a Philippino from Darwin, offered to captain the boat and with small return to himself sailed her for twenty years. During the war Frs Cros and R. Corbon were recalled to France for military service. Fr Cros died shortly after the war; Fr Corbon lost his health during it and so did not return to Australia (died 1949). A cyclone in 1919 completely wiped out the mission buildings – they had only been temporary but now had all to be rebuilt again.

1938 Bishop Gsell's consecration. 1939 Fr Connors (from Palm Is.) took Fr Abbott's place on Bathurst – preparations for Melville Is. 1940 Peter built the fourth church to hold 500, with school on the 'ground' floor: the first had gone down in a cyclone, the second washed away by a tidal wave, the third was too small. Br Commerford replaced Br Carter (to Hammond). 1941 Fr McGrath gained financial support from the Government under the Child Endowment Act.

1942, 19 February, the Japanese planes on their way to bomb Darwin machine-gunned Bathurst Is. – no casualties, as the Tiwi had gone bush. Fr McGrath wirelessly the news to Darwin, but his message was ignored. The sisters were evacuated, Br McCarthy was called south, Fr McGrath and Br Commerford roughed it for months in the bush. At this time there were 600-700 Tiwi, 350 Catholics, 100 girls and 50 boys on the mission. Br Pye (Port Keats) and Br Commerford exchanged places. The sisters returned 1945. 1946 Br Bennett succeeded Br Smith as skipper of the 'St Francis' (Br Smith went to Eastern Papua to skipper their new boat), and Fr Cuneo and Br Quinn left for Bathurst Is. Fr McGrath left finally 1948. 1949 Br Groves from Arltunga swapped places with Br Bushe. December of the same year BI sustained one of its worst cyclones – fifty coconut and thirty mango trees blown down. 1952 Fr Cosgrove went to Bathurst Is. taking over from Fr A. Cuneo, and about the same time Br A. Howley. 1954 Fr Corry was sent to lend a hand. During the recent years much building has been going on, mainly using native timber.

The mission is now 'grown up'. It is considered (unfortunately for the reverend superintendent) a show place. The purchase system has worked admirably: soon every girl will be free to choose her own husband, because the mission is buying out the girls born to the remaining pagans.

Melville Is.

A mission of promise – treatment must be brief! Dr Cook, Director of Native Affairs, instituted the policy whereby each denomination would take care of its own half-castes on some

special station. 1939 Fr Connors came to BI and he was appointed to begin the Catholic half-caste settlement on Melville Is. September 1940, with the grant of 130 square miles of land and £2,500. He chose the land at the old site of Fort Dundas, the money was used up in buying prepared wood from Townsville – with true irony Melville Is. nowadays sells timber to the Government. With the aid of thirty Bathurst Islanders and carpenters from Darwin he erected boys' school and girls' school of Queensland pine and silky oak. April 1941 Br Bennett came, and Bishop Gsell relieved Fr Connors for a while to enable him to pick up the few stone he had lost somewhere in the foundations. In July three OLSH nuns arrived, and in August young half-castes from all over the Territory. By the end of the year there were seventy to eighty children on the island. With the Japanese approach, the sisters and children were evacuated, as mentioned before. The girls went to Mandeville Hall, Melbourne, and finally to Carrieton, SA. While they were away Fr Connors and Br Bennett, with the thirty BI men, built a stone jetty, enlarged the buildings and installed electric light.

4 May 1945 the nuns returned, and in August the girls. 1946 Br Carter succeeded Br Bennett, Fr Connors went to Hindmarsh, and Frs Doody and J. Flynn came to take the place of Fr W. Flynn who had held the post after Fr Connor's departure. May 2 a great step: the first marriage. 1948 Fr Doody left for Thursday Island, thus leaving Fr J. Flynn in charge. 1949 Brs Clarke and Bennett took Br Carter's place; that year there were 115 half-castes on the mission. By 1951 there were six couples already married. Fr A. Cuneo (from Bathurst) took over from Fr J. Flynn in 1952; he left in a hospital plane March 1953, leaving Fr J. Leary in charge. The aim at Melville Is. is to set up a co-operative society thus providing a modern way of life and a Christian milieu to the mixed-race people.

Alice Springs

Alice Springs was named by one of the explorers preparing for the OT after Charles Todd's wife, Alice. Though it is above the 25th degree of south latitude, and so outside the diocese of Port Augusta (called diocese of Port Pirie since 1951), it was nevertheless due to Bishop Killian, consecrated 1924 and later Archbishop of Adelaide, that we went to the Centre. Bishop Killian mooted the question of an inland mission and we were asked to care for the residents of the Centre (100 whites, 50 half-caste children, 50 Aborigines) and for the men working on the Alice-Adelaide railway. Fr J. Long was sent there 1929. He purchased an acre of ground for a church, and 'starting building with nothing more than ecclesiastical approval'. Mr Kilgariff, owner of the Stuart Arms Hotel and a former builder, gave him board and advice on building; Mr Carwood, the Government Resident, gave him meals. With the help of an Aboriginal youth he made concrete bricks for his church and erected the church with the aid of Mr Kilgariff, Mr Carwood and Mr Walsh, the local policeman. Bishop Killian blessed it June 1930. Fr Long paid it off by running dances. March 20, 1929 he began 'The Bush School'. 1931 he erected a presbytery of wood and fibro-cement, with the generous assistance of the Australian Catholics.

1935 Fr Long was succeeded by Fr Moloney who came to start a mission for the Aborigines. March, a Mr Frank McGarry offered his services, and did great work as a teacher. The first site had to be abandoned – things were not going very well. Fr Moloney instituted a test case: he would make a novena for St Therese's feast-day; if she would give him as a sign one baptism on her feast, he would fill the church for her next feast-day. October 3 two half-caste children attended Mass; he went out to the Aborigines' camp and there found he could baptise not one but thirteen! Within the octave he gained permission to open school – teaching at the presbytery, Frank McGarry helping.

1936: Br Bennett came to help, staying till he left for Melville Is. 1941. Fr Moloney had to shift the mission a mile or so out of town, where Wurlie Town grew up – population 200. A

galvanised iron school-church was erected. By November there had been 109 baptisms, and on All Saints' Day Bishop Gsell confirmed sixteen Aborigines and seventeen half-castes. February 1938 three OLSH sisters arrived, and at the end of the year, three more. The presbytery became convent – Fr Moloney took up quarters in a tin shed. There were forty-fifty in the school, and about forty whites and half-castes were taught in the church in town. Br Bennett and an Aborigine, Rooley, made bricks for the new school.

1939: Fr Eather took Fr Moloney's place. In 1940 there were 207 baptised Aborigines – i.e. most of Wurlie Town. Convent extended, a new school, a new presbytery (Br Bennett and Rooley again making its 3,000 bricks) – the nucleus of 'Vatican City' as the locals call the Catholic block. The war brought about 5,000 soldiers to Alice. August 1942 Mr Abbott, Administrator of the Northern Territory, in keeping with his general policy of segregating the soldiers and the Aborigines, ordered the shifting of the camp to Arltunga, on account of a case of meningitis amongst the Aborigines (cf. later). Fr F. Flynn took Fr Eather's place in Alice till Fr Cox's coming in 1944 allowed Br Carter to return to the township. Bishop Gsell had collected money for a 'Soldiers' Hall' in Darwin; after the bombing and evacuation however Fr Flynn used the money to erect 'Soldiers' Hall' in Alice; it is still (1954) serving the purpose of a church on Sundays. Fr Long's is used on week days. Fr Eather was relieved for a time in 1944 by Fr Toohey. He left finally 1949, being succeeded by Fr J. Tierney 'pro tem'. 1953 Fr Conlon became parish priest.

Port Keats

The Port Keats people had proved themselves a spirited lot: they had been responsible early in the century for the murders on Bradshaw's Run (not without provocation!), and early in the 30s they had murdered the crew of a Japanese lugger and also a couple of prospectors on the Fitzmaurice R. To 'civilize' them and prevent their dying out the Government asked us to found a mission amongst them. Moreover the Holy See asked Fr Gsell to see what he could do for the Aborigines on the mainland. Fr Gsell decided to explore the possibilities of the Port Keats area: it was a good centre for the Aborigines and well away from white interference.

September 1934 Fr R. Docherty and Br Smith with Alphonso and five or six Aborigines, explored the Port Keats coast in the 'St Francis'. They found a fair enough site to begin the mission on. Back at Bathurst Is. they prepared their material and set out to make the foundation June 16, 1935 – 'St Francis' with Fr Docherty, Br Smith, Mr Stanner, the anthropologist, and Pat Richie, who had signed on for a year's service, and in another boat Alfonso and the 'grandest hearted T-model Ford ever made'. With them sailed Tommy the only surviving one of the four Port Keats men imprisoned for the Bradshaw murders, and having but recently finished his twenty years imprisonment. The passage was bad and long – four days. They unloaded hurriedly to let the boat go out on the tide they came in on. After two days forty Aborigines turned up. In three weeks they had their house erected: covered with iron, partly with canvas, sand floor, hessian partitions. The blacks insisted in camping right around the house: it took a week to get them about 100 yards away. Fr Docherty began school and out of school taught the Aborigines how to work: 'Ten of them used to lift what I (Fr Docherty speaking) could lift with one hand'.

Pat Richie and another lay helper, Johnson, an ex-Downlander, did not stay very long. Br McCarthy came down 1936 and Br Quinn after him. Fr Docherty and Br Quinn carried out extensive explorations north, then south, to find the most suitable spot for the mission – the qualities required: 1) good boat landing, 2) fresh water, 3) agricultural land, preferably self-watered, 4) timber, 5) room for air-strip, 6) building site, 7) good view to banish all claustro-

phobia! They could not find such a spot until one was pointed out by Tommy, the **kind hearted** old murderer. They prepared the spot during 1938. Next year the air-strip was built: **in return** for the Aborigines' aid the constructor helped move the materials in a Ford lorry, and **kept** the motor of the launch running. In spite of adverse weather conditions they got everything **shifted**, a convent built, and finally moved in June 1939. 1940 Bishop Gsell blessed the mission; the Government supplies wireless telephone; Br Quinn bought forty head of cattle from Tipperary Station, 300 miles away.* On August 16, 1941 the 'St Francis' left Darwin with Br Pye and three sisters – 'the soul of the mission' according to Fr Docherty. They were evacuated 1942, arriving in Darwin on the day after the first air-raid; they returned '45. Br Pye left **during** the war, returning from south to Bathurst Is; his place was taken by Br Commerford, **until he had** to leave through illness. 1942 Br McCarthy left to look after Channel Is. that the **civil officials** had deserted; during the war Br Quinn in Darwin took the place of Native Affairs, **seeing to** the supplies of all the missions in the area. He came south for a while through illness, **but both he** and Br McCarthy returned after the war. 1944 Fr Abbott took the place of Fr Docherty **for a** while. 1945 Fr W. Flynn joined the mission (1952 to Japan). The war put things **back three** years though some material advantage was gained. As in all the other missions the **contact** of the blacks with the white soldiers during the war was far from being of benefit.

1946: Sacraments of confirmation and communion administered for the **first time**. Fr Docherty had begun baptising quite early. The Bishop enjoined caution, but when told **how** the mothers were begging that their children be baptised, he let Father continue. 1950: a new presbytery built. Towards the end of the year Fr M. Bailey came, and this year, 1954, **Br Carter**.

The garden has an annual produce of 40,000-50,000lbs – a fit symbol of the **spiritual** progress made.

	Living Catholics	Baptisms
June 30 1935	—	1
1940	55	70
1950	152	209
1954	212	308

357 Aborigines on the mission (Hyland Bay and Moyle R. people have moved into the mission). In less than fifteen years Fr Docherty trusts to have all the mission Catholic. **He also** looks forward to the day when the Aborigines will own their own settlement.

Tennant Creek

In 1935 Fr W. Dew was sent to help Fr Moloney at Alice. Gold had been **discovered** 1933 at Tennant Creek, 315 miles north but still within the parish of Alice Springs. By 1936 there were 200 people in the township and 700 in the district, so Fr Dew was sent north **to be their pastor**. The indifference was utter. Goldfields are never exactly monastic. Father **bought** an acre of land but lacked the means to improve it. He used to say Mass in a Catholic's **tin shack** on an ant-bed floor, his alb red ant-bed to the knees; for a year he lived in a tent. **Next year** he moved into a dance hall for Sunday Mass – but after Saturday night's dance . . .! **Everything** was for spot cash; the river is seven miles away (the dray bringing the beer happened **to break** down here, so the town grew up around it). Water was 13/- a gallon. SOSs in the **Annals** brought in enough money to get a church and a car. For church, he shifted Fr Cros' church from Pine Ck. The wet found it and kept it on the road; and it was erected and finally **blessed** Nov. 13, 1937, just missing the Feast of Christ the King, to whom it is dedicated. '**It is a nice job**' writes

*The figure probably indicates the distance from Port Keats and back again. — Ed.

NELEN YUBU

Fr Dew 'and I think it rather liturgical except that it lacks orientation.' A residence was built onto it thus making it into an L-shaped building. Having obtained a car, Fr Dew travelled 5,000 miles in 1940 to contact 200 Catholics. Next year with Fr Hackett SJ another 5,000, and in October he came south for a holiday. He was succeeded by Fr Guest in 1946, and he in 1947 by Fr Cosgrove, who built a Catholic hall that might become a school one day. Fr Cox became PP in 1951. At the moment (1954) there are about 1,000 whites around, 250 Catholics, of whom about sixty attend Mass regularly. But the zeal of its pastors will not be forever unrewarded.

Arltunga

Fr Moloney's mission founded at Alice Springs had to be shifted eighty miles away by Fr Eather to Arltunga, an old police station, 1942 – 200 persons and a herd of 150 goats. Wells proved inadequate so after a few months the mission moved three miles further on, to Paddy's Rock Hole. 1942 Fr Guest replaced Fr Eather, who became a chaplain, and Br Groves came. Br Groves shifted the school-church, and the presbytery, convent and ration-house were ready by July '43. 1944: Fr Cox took over, Fr Guest going to Menindee; the first Nuptial Mass celebrated – Pompey Young gave Martha away to Rupert Palmer. During '45 Br Groves built three landing strips, thus enabling fortnightly mail, and a girls' dormitory and a new school were fashioned out of old army huts. They also bought the old police station. 1946 Br A. Howley replaced Br Groves, who however returned to Arltunga from DP* in 1948, and in 1949 swapped places with Bro Bushe on Bathurst Is. 1952 Br Guest returned to Arltunga, while Fr Cox moved north to Tennant Ck. and Fr Cosgrove from Tennant Ck. further north to Bathurst.

Santa Teresa

Arltunga proved difficult territory – water scarce, land could hardly carry a few goats, the Aboriginal people had 'an indefinable sadness about them'. Bishop O'Loughlin gained the lease of the Philipson Block, 280 sq. miles, fifty-six miles SE of Alice, with plenty of water, game, grasses, capable of supporting 2,000 head of cattle. Fr J. Flynn, Brs Carter and Welch (last mentioned arrived 1952) prepared the site. July 1, 1953 Fr Guest, Br Welch, the sisters and girls moved in, and the men on July 3. This is the 'new deal for the East Arandas'. Fr Dixon was sent to Santa Teresa in 1954.

Palm Island (Queensland)

Bishop McGuire, of Townsville, invited Fr Moloney who was giving missions in his diocese in 1931 to give a mission on Palm Island. That week's mission lasted until 1933, and longer! Bishop Shiel of Rockhampton (Townsville diocese was severed from Rockhampton only in 1930) had bought a few acres, set up a few buildings, but had been unable to provide a resident priest and so they fell into ruins: Fr Moloney made the dining room (the only part extant) into St Anne's Church. He found fifteen Catholics; within a year he had 145. Thus began the first of the 'Moloney Missions'. When Fr Connors succeeded Fr Moloney in 1933 there were 1,100 Aborigines, government schools, hospital, and on neighbouring Fantome Island a hospital for Aborigines. 1934 Archbishop Kelly blessed the foundation stone of a convent for his own institute, the Sisters of Our Lady Help of Christians – blessed later in July by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Bernadini. Palm Is. always had distinguished visitors passing through. St Anne's was made into a school-church. By 1937, 438 Catholics.

* · MSC-ese DP = Douglas Park, NSW, about eighty kilometres southwest of Sydney. · Ed.

1935 a chapel erected on Fantome Is. – ‘Our Lady of Victories’. 1939 the Queensland Government decided to erect a leprosarium on Fantome. The Sisters of Our Lady Help of Christians volunteered to staff it.

1939 Fr Connors went to Bathurst Is., swapping places with Fr Abbott. Fr Doody was on the mission 1940-1941, and Fr Eldridge 1941-1942. 1942 Fr Moloney went up from Croydon to take Fr Abbott’s place, staying till 1943. 1942 Fr Dixon came, and was joined by Fr McDermott 1944. At this time there were 304 adult Catholics and 90 school children – from beginning 710 baptisms, 59 marriages, 220 deaths. 1945 the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary took over Fantome Is. Leprosarium, and in 1947 Fr Foster of Townsville diocese took charge of Fantome Is. itself; Fr McDermott therefore returned to his ‘old stamping ground’, Thursday Is. The Government improved the set-up on Palm Is: a road to the town, a dynamo that could supply power besides light, two wells, better connection with Townsville. 1947 Br Rickards gave a hand. Next year Fr Corry came up from Downlands for a while, as Fr Dixon had sprained his ankle leaping a creek. By this time a third of the island’s 1,000 inhabitants were Catholics. 1949 Fr Conlan took Fr Dixon’s place, and that same year the mission was made over to the seculars.

Menindee-Wilcannia (NSW)

Between founding the missions on Palm Is. and Alice Springs, Fr Moloney was asked in 1934 by Bishop Fox of Wilcannia-Forbes to give a mission at the black settlement conducted at Menindee on the Darling, 625 miles west of Sydney, by the Government Aborigines’ Welfare Board. Fr Carmine used to come to Menindee every second month to say Mass, but that was not much, even though it was all that was possible. Fr Moloney gave the blacks a fortnight’s mission, and at the end baptised 129. Bishop Fox was delighted. Fr Moloney stayed for a short time and then had to go on to found Alice Springs mission.

A priest came regularly from Broken Hill to say Mass, and the blacks remained remarkably faithful, in spite of the efforts of the parson, a well meaning man, to get them back. After Bishop Fox’s repeated requests, we agreed to send a permanent man there: first of all Fr Ormonde in 1936. In Menindee township he added two sacristies to the church, and worked amongst the whites of the town and district, soon multiplying the number of Catholics there (three) by ten. At the blacks’ camp about eleven miles from town he built a temporary church out of wool-packs. There were at a maximum 300 Aborigines in the camp, dissociated from their tribes and tribal life, helping in the upkeep of the camp by their work on the stations and orchards around Mildura.

Two OLSH nuns arrived 1941 and used to go out regularly to the camp from Menindee and give catechetical instruction. 1942 Fr V. Dwyer replaced Fr Ormonde. During Fr Dwyer’s time a galvanised iron church took the place of the one out of wool-packs. 1943 Fr Dwyer was succeeded by Fr A. Guest, and Fr Guest in 1946 by Fr Toohey. Any real progress was held up until the government decided about the transfer that was projected. The camp was moved finally to just outside Wilcannia 1949, Fr Toohey still in charge. The nuns go out to the camp each day to teach in the church-school, and Fr Toohey says Mass in it on Sundays.

Sources

Various MSC publications and documents: *Analecta*, *Provincial Chronicle*, *Annals*, *Vox Missionum*, appointment lists, an historical typescript by Fr A. Goodman MSC; and some interviews with missionary personnel passing through Croydon in the early 1950s.