M A, 1951

"CULTURE CONTACT ON SUNDAY ISLAND."

"Thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Arts with Honours"

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C O N T E N T S

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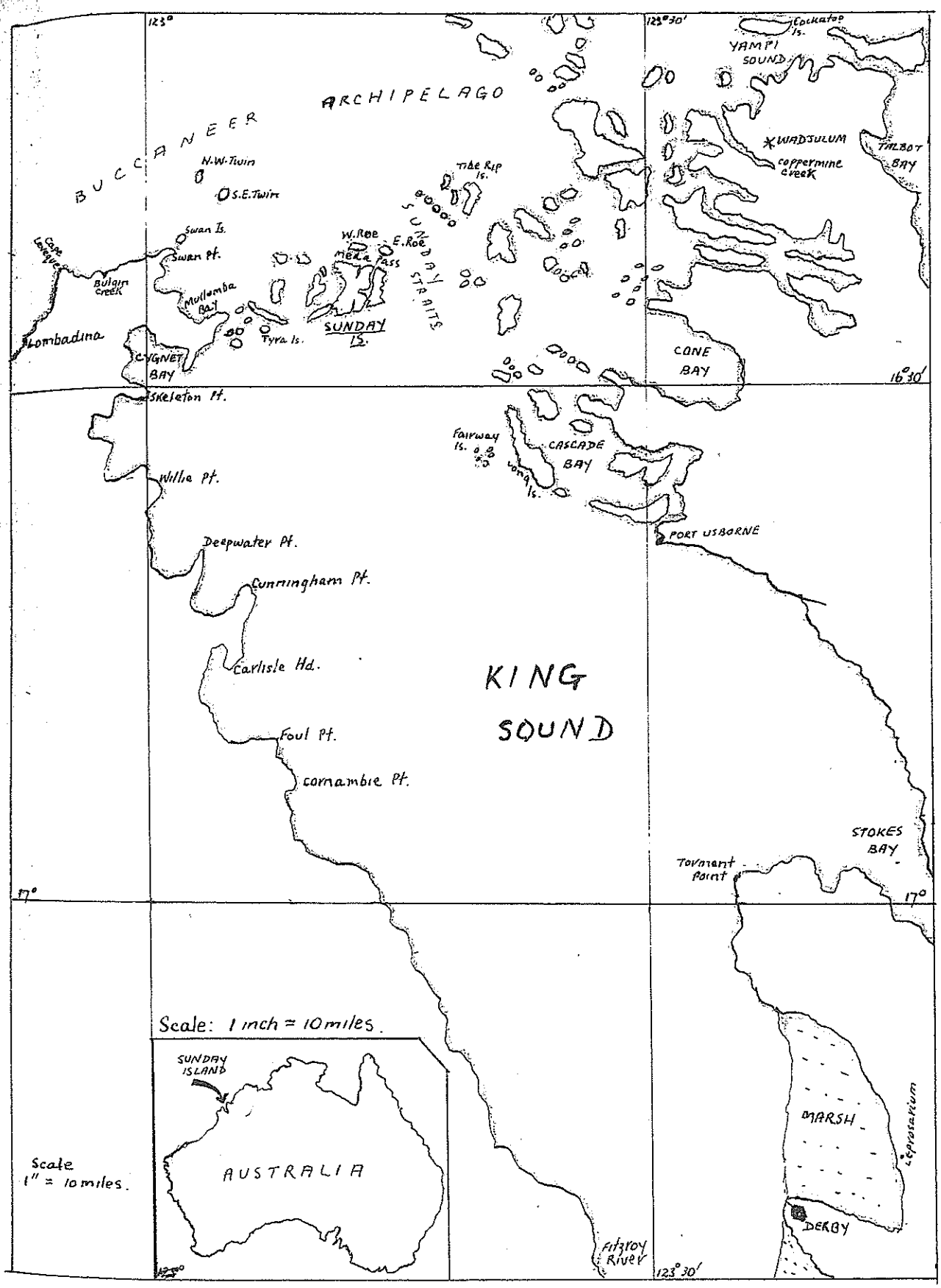
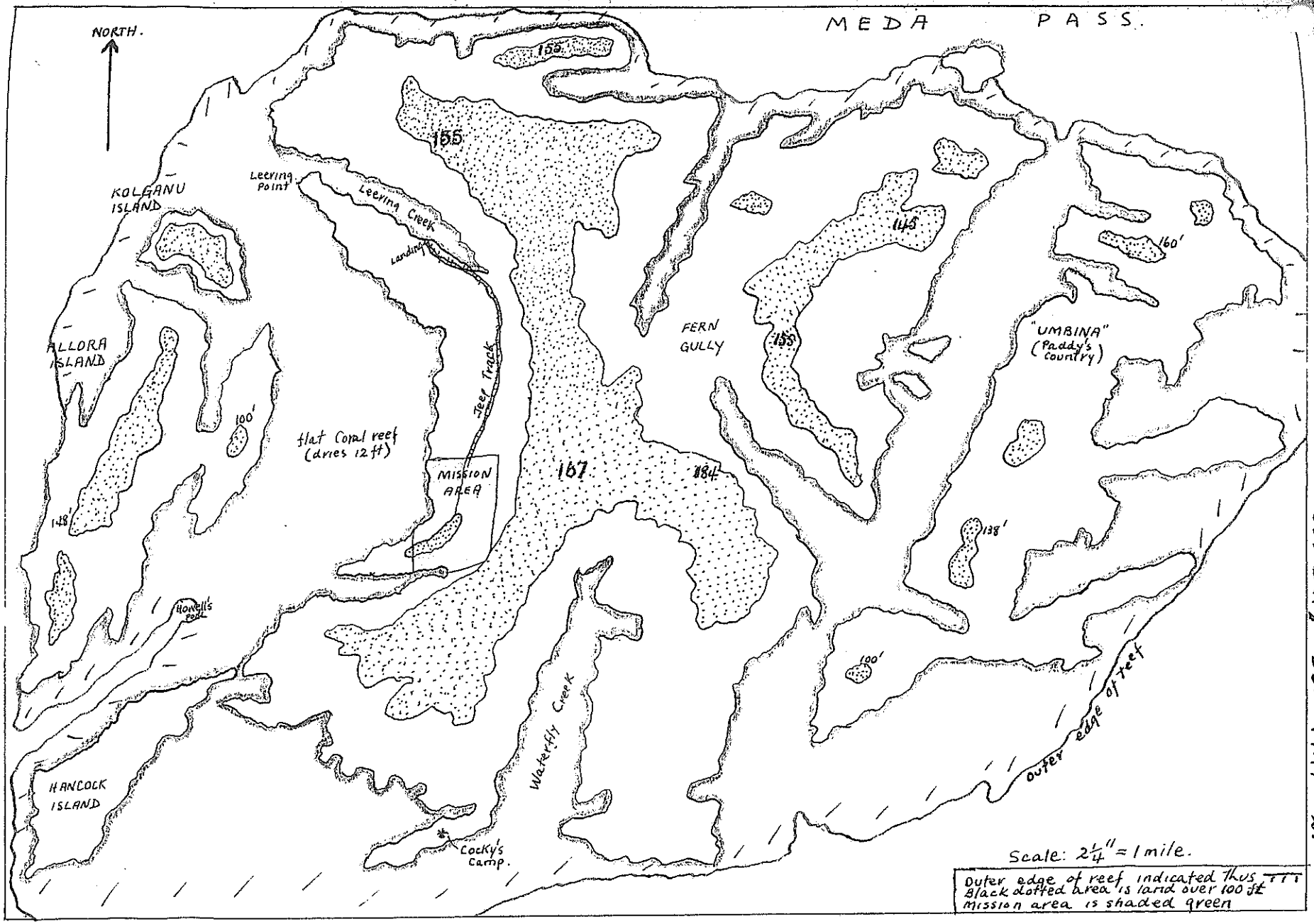
MAP 1.

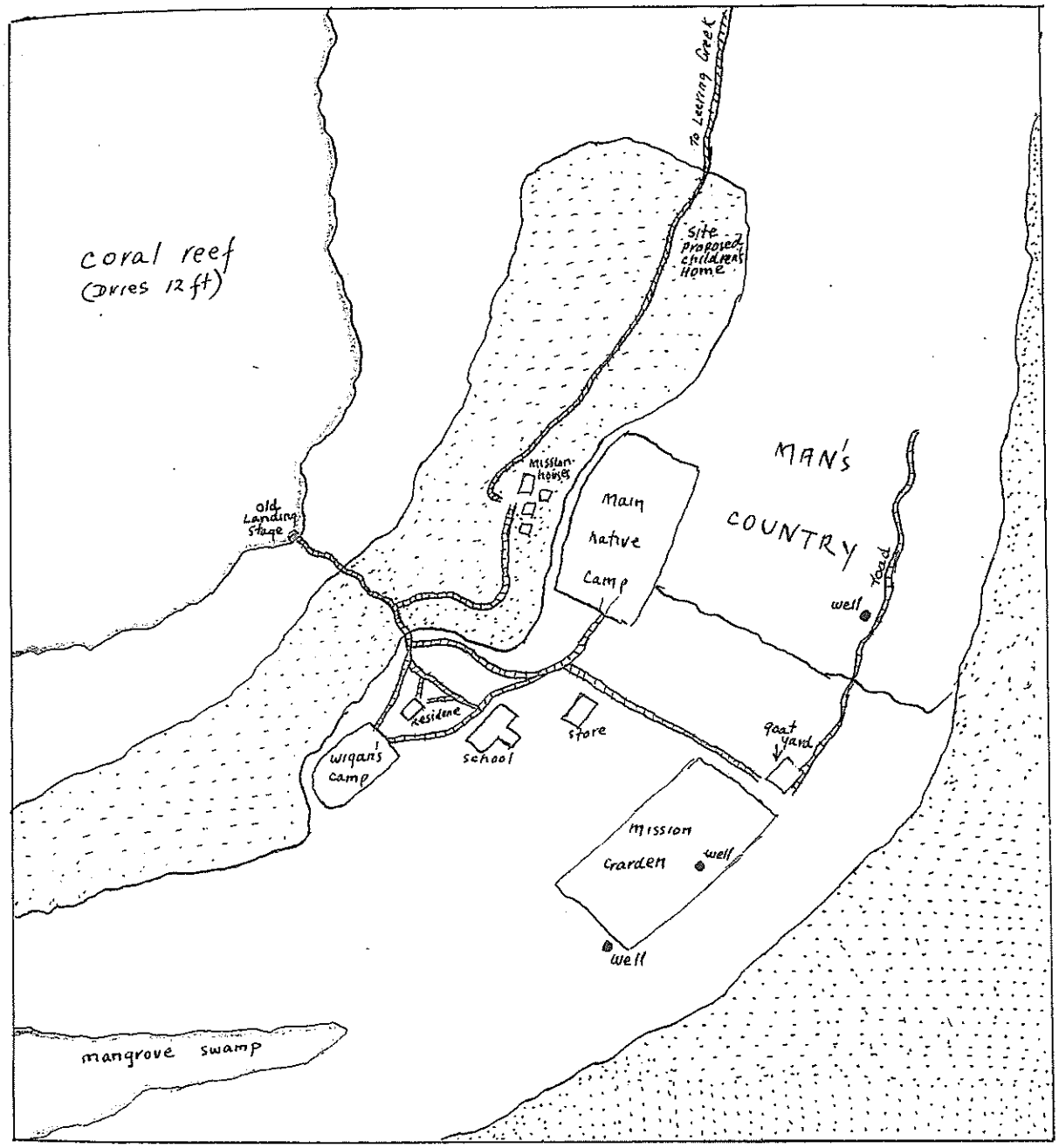

123°
123°30'
ARCHIPELAGO
BUCCANEER
Cockatoo Is.
YAMPI SOUND
WADJULUM
coppermine creek
TALBOT BAY
N.W. Twin
S.E. Twin
Tide Rip Is.
SUNDAY STRAITS
Swan Is.
Swan Pt.
W. Roe
E. Roe
Mekla Pass
Cape Leveque
Bulgin creek
Mullumba Bay
Lombadina
Tyra Is.
SUNDAY IS.
CYGNET BAY
CONE BAY
16°30'
Skeleton Pt.
Fairway Is.
Jona Is.
CASCADE BAY
Willie Pt.
PORT USBORNE
Deepwater Pt.
Cunningham Pt.
Carlisle Hd.
KING SOUND
Foul Pt.
Cornambie Pt.
STOKES BAY
Tournant Point
17°
Scale: 1 inch = 10 miles.
SUNDAY ISLAND
AUSTRALIA
MARSH
Leprosarium
DERBY
Fitzroy River
Scale 1" = 10 miles.



SUNDAY IS. MAP 2.

THE MISSION AREA.

MAP 3.



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Dotted area indicates land over 100 ft.

CHAPTER ONE

SUNDAY ISLAND AHOY!

Culture contact is a fascinating study. The story of white and native contact is particularly interesting in Australia. The cultures of white and black in this vast continent differ to an exceptional degree. But our early pioneers were full of enthusiasm for the quick success of their policies of approach and of civilization. E.J.B. Foxcroft has well put it as follows: (1) "For many years after the settlement of the continent, the natives of Australia were often subjected to the most thorough-going attempts to civilize them. They were to be transformed in a few months or years into policemen, Christians, tailors, agriculturalists, and gardeners. The sincerity of many of those who enforced this policy cannot be doubted. If only a few of the good wishes expressed towards the natives by so many had been realized, their lot would indeed have been a happy one." The early hopes were unrealized. Policies were often changed by way of expedient and experiment. There before our eyes has been one of the greatest modern experiments in culture contact. The continual break down under these social conditions has brought into relief many of the fundamental principles involved in culture contact.

Australia is a land of far horizons: it is also a land of great contrasts. Fertility gives place to sand dunes and the oppressive northern tropical heat merges into the cloudy bleakness of our southern "English" conditions. The contrast is not restricted to natural phenomena. The elaborate cities of the "whites" and their extensive farms of the hinterland are 'coloured' here and there by members of a vanishing black race. The pattern, however, in the northern areas of this vast continent is full of vivid contrast. The upper areas of Western Australia, Northern Australia,

and Queensland give the picture of a black civilization 'coloured' by the ever encroaching 'civilized' white. Here the theory of a 'vanishing' black race is becoming an open question. The early clash of white upon black resulted in social illhealth - at least for the black. For these last 150 years various attempts have been made by his white brothers to give him 'hospital' (though not always hospitable) treatment. One of the results of the clash was extensive shock. For many it was fatal. In the north, however, there are signs of recovery from this so often fatal, insidious and sometimes unfathomable complaint. He has 'come out' of the coma naturally rather than 'brought out' by the zealous 'medical' attention of the white, who so often hardly realized the full effects of these contacts or of the application of his "medicines".

The subject of this thesis is "Culture Contact on Sunday Island". From this isolated island in the North West of Australia comes a unique story in the annals of culture clash. We shall leave the elaboration of the principles of 'culture contact' and also its definition to a later chapter. As physical environment means much to the Australian Aboriginal culture and has played a large part in the processes of culture change on Sunday Island we shall first of all give some attention to a description of relevant aspects of this specific environmental situation.

THE APPROACH TO SUNDAY ISLAND

The contrast in attitudes and techniques, the constrasts of distances and of means to overcome them - all become apparent to any who should make it his business to visit Sunday Island. The 1500 miles from Perth (W.A.) are covered in just on twelve hours by plane arriving at Derby after having touched down at Geraldton, Carnarvon, Port Hedland, Broome, and a few outlying stations in between. At Derby the plane is replaced by the

"Balfour" (Fig. 24), the Sunday Island Mission Lugger, which takes some twelve hours to chug, with the aid of sail if the wind is propitious, to Sunday Island, 70 miles away. The "Balfour" is some 40-50 years old and was purchased from the Kunmunya Mission about 8 years ago. It is 36 feet in length with a beam of 10 feet and drawing a draught of 4½ feet. The 10/12 B.H.P. Simplex Marine engine is capable of sending along the hulk in quiet waters at some 6 knots and is an innovation of 4 years standing in this Mission's enterprise.

Four Sunday Island natives dressed only in shorts and open neck shirts manned the "Balfour". These men are lovers of the sea and make excellent seamen. Lennie, and one or two others, are able to handle the engine well and grasp something of its principles. Derby is at the southern end of King Sound in which the tide rises 30-35 feet. The daily differences between times of high tide move in a cycle (with periodical jumps) from 20 minutes to 2½ hours. King Sound can be treacherous. When the Nor'Westers blow this vast sheet of water of 75 miles long and various widths up to 50 miles becomes a danger spot for all small craft. But the greatest difficulty is with tidal currents. This body of water, say 70 by 40 miles falls and rises 30-35 feet twice a day. This volume pours into and out of the Sound through the many islands at its mouth (see Map No. 1) and creates numerous rips. On a calm night one on Sunday Island can hear the roar of the ingoing tide passing through Sunday Straits at anything up to 15 knots. Most coastal liners prefer to use the Meda Pass immediately to the north of Sunday Island for this reason although the Straits are deeper and wider. At Springs each month the rise and fall is greatest and movement of water at maximum. At such times the 6 knotter Balfour anchors in King Sound for

about 5 hours on its way to or from Derby. In the days of canvas only, a moving backwards and forwards in the Sound was not an unknown thing when, in the absence of wind to fill the sails, the barque was at the mercy of tidal currents.

On the occasion of my visit to Sunday Island my arrival was at 9 p.m. on a cloudless but moonless August night. The tide had gone out too far so the "Balfour" had to anchor out in Meda Pass till the incoming tide next day. Lennie, however, took the Superintendent and myself by the Balfour's dinghy and landed us on Leering Point. From here we scrambled up and over, around and down upon large and small uneven rocks until we came to a rough homemade landing. Usually the voyage from Derby to the Island is timed to terminate at the latter when the tide is in so that the "Balfour" can enter into Leering Creek and anchor just off this recently made landing. Leering Creek is a well protected anchorage though movement in and out is not possible between two hours before and after low tide. Fig. 22 shows the barge in the Leering Creek anchorage. At the landing the Missioner, H. Lupton, and I boarded a jeep which purred and bumped over stone and stick for two miles along a winding road till we climbed up the slope to the main mission house on the top of the hill. A warm welcome, chit-chat, refreshing tea and then off to bed. It may be noted that the landing on the island at Leering Creek is only a procedure of two years standing. With the purchase of a jeep it became possible to travel from the Mission Area to this better anchorage. The original landing whose position is indicated on Map 3 was at the foot of the hill on which the Mission house stands. The climb from this landing up to the house was impossible except on foot because of the grade and its ruggedness. Though the island has a

few small sandy beaches and numerous mangrove infested inlets yet the majority of its coastline is as rugged as is shown in figure 29.

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

Sunday Island is largely of broken down granite, and mica is quite evident in a number of rocks. Though exceedingly rocky the island is fairly well covered with grass and with trees similar to the Moreton Bay Fig, various gums and also Snake trees. The Admiralty, London, gives this official geographical description (2).

> "Sunday Islands (native name Yuwon) forming part of the western shore of Sunday Strait, are two rugged islands sparsely covered with scrub, of irregular form, and situated on the same reef, at about 1¼ miles south-ward of the Roe Islands, from which they are separated by Meda Pass. The islands are separated by a narrow passage which dries and extends in a north-north-easterly and south-south-westerly direction ..... The northern coasts of both islands are fringed by narrow coral reefs, but the reefs are more extensive on the eastern and southern sides and block the entrances to numerous mangrove-fronted indentations. The Western Sunday Island is 184 feet high, 3¼ miles long and 1½ miles broad; the Eastern Island is 160 feet high, 2½ miles long, and ¾ of a mile broad. The western side of the Western Sunday Island is fronted by an extensive flat, on the edge of which are Allora and other islands ....."

Civilization by its tremendous advancements in techniques has developed a great ability for adaptation of environment for biological and cultural needs. The Story of Sunday Island will demonstrate the tremendous influence of geographical environment in the Native social fabric and something of the failure of the representatives of White civilization to grapple, at this distant outpost, with this formidable environment with inadequate civilized techniques - an inadequacy arising firstly because of distance from the centres of civilization, then because of lack of support (largely financial) and also because of a failure to comprehend fully the nature of the task that confronted them - for the environment and the native were almost inextricably interwoven.

The main mission house commands a beautiful vista. In August there is a gentle S.W. breeze which can be extremely strong. On the top of the low range of some 150 feet we look out N.N.W. and see on the horizon in the dim haze the Twin Islands, and in the foreground the edge of the reef running across from the tip of Sunday Island to Kolganu Island. The tide which at Springs is about 34 feet can be seen pouring in from both ends. This incoming tide meets just opposite the Mission's old landing stage which is almost immediately at the foot of the Mission hill. The tide covers the bare reef by about 12 feet of water. Beyond the islands to the West you can see the edge of the ocean into which the sun hurriedly sinks but not before, because of the hills of Allora and Kolganu Islands, it causes long shadows and shades of blue and green to appear on the water moving in to cover the reef. Looking South-West down the reef we can see Howell's Pool, always filled with water at all tides; we note the mainland stretching right along the horizon some 10 miles away and seen in between the numerous little islands; while the variegated coloured seas of greyish blue to blue with various shades between add their contribution to the power of the vista to satisfy our aesthetic tastes.

These islands in the Buccaneer Archipelago, and also the surrounding country, have a two-season tropical climate. Latitude $16^{\circ}30'$ passes a few miles south of Sunday Island. This area is in the rainbelt described by Griffith Taylor (3) as "Regions favoured by Cyclones". Thus the rains are largely due to the prevalence of Tropical storms. These Equitorial Doldrums move south in Summer and produce for King Sound and its environs monsoonal rains which continue with diminishing energy for nearly six months of the year. The average rainfall is about 30 inches with January being the wettest month. December to March is the period of the "Willy-

willies" which are peculiar to the N.W. coast of Australia. Though the main course of these is usually further south they often visit the area of Sunday Island. These conditions produce a hot steamy summer inervating for Europeans and also creates potential treacherous conditions for small and large water craft - conditions which can become actual with hardly any previous notice being given. The dry period extends from April to October and is the period best suited for European activity on sea and on land.

REFERENCES

(1) Page 153 E.J.B. Foxcroft, "Australian Native Policy".

(2) Page 208/9 "Australia Pilot" Vol. V - Admiralty, London.

(3) Page 66 Griffith Taylor, "Australia", Menthuen, London 1940.

CHAPTER TWO

THINGS AS THEY ARE - THE TANGIBLES

In attempting to assess the process of culture change and the principles that are operating, it if first necessary to give some attention to 'things as they are'. Our method, to be scientific, needs to be empirical. To assess the true position before culture contact occurred requires the method of inference - often from inadequate data. The records available to us were written largely without any anthropological intuition, and describing native practices and thought in inadequate language; while the concept of culture change itself is quite fresh even in anthropological circles. In our approach, then, to the study of "Culture Contact on Sunday Island" we must commence with an empirical study of the present day conditions of the social fabric and of techniques. This chapter will be given over to such an investigation.

(A) PERSONNEL AND THEIR QUARTERS

In 1950 the United Aborigines Mission had five workers upon the Island - the Superintendent and his wife who had taken over the work in July 1947; two lady missionaries of quite some experience whose advents to this Mission station were dated April 1947, and March 1950 respectively; and lastly a young new single male worker who joined the staff also in March 1950. Every member of this team is new or comparatively new to the distinctive requirements of the Sunday Island Mission. None had previously worked in the tropics. One lady worker is housed in the quarters built on to the school (Fig. 10) and the second lady worker has newly built quarters in a small house on the hill (Fig. 8). This new residence is made of timber and of corrugated iron. The Missioner and his wife occupy the main mission house (Fig. 7) wherein is

located the pedal wireless for contacting the mainland through the Flying Doctor Service. The new male worker is housed on the top floor of the two storey house (Fig. 9), which is located in the valley between the two native camps. The lower floor of this particular residence is earthern and only one of the ground floor rooms is used - as a storehouse for the medical supplies. Grouped with the Main Mission house on the hill is also to be found an ex-military hut (to be used as a dispensary), a storehouse and a wash-house with bathroom attached. Figure 11 shows the only other mission building - the store. This was built out of stones and mud by S. Hadley, the founder of the Sunday Island Mission, and used by him as a residence for some time.

The total native population numbers 139 and the division into sexes and the age spread is given in the following table.

AGE	Under 5	5/17	18/30	31/40	41/50 *	51/60 *	Over 60 *	TOTAL
MALE	7	23	6	7	7	10	9	69
FEMALE	8	14	15	11	7	7	8	70

* The ages of some in these groups had to be estimated.

The group aged 18/30 show a preponderance of female and 7 of these and also 4 males of the same age group are unmarried though two females and two males are respectively mothers and fathers of children. There are only 3 older than 30 years who have never married - Pinjarra a man of some 60 summers and two women aged 33 and 31. Beena is tongue-tied while Molly also has some deformity. The latter, however, has had two children of whitemen - one of which has since died.

The native stock is comparatively pure as the castes tend to move away into the white man's domain. The following table shows the purity

of the stock and that it is becoming purer.

	TOTAL	FULL BLOOD	7/8 CASTE	¾ CASTE	½ CASTE
MEN	39	38		1	
WOMEN	48	42		4	2
BOYS	30	19	9	2	
GIRLS	22	13	6	1	2
TOTALS	139	112	15	8	4

The two half caste girls are Biddy and Iris. The former of these is the daughter of Molly, mentioned above, while Iris is the daughter of Nellie, the wife of Oobagooma Tom. Tom had two wives - Nellie and Rosie - when he migrated to the Island in 1948. Nellie, however, was found to be a leper and was removed to the Derby Leprosarium. Her half-caste child, Iris, has been 'mothered' ever since by the wife of the Superintendent. There is no man on the Island who has more than one wife. The two half-caste women listed in the above table were respectively daughters of D'Antoine and H. Hunter - who will be mentioned in a later chapter. All the 7/8 and ¾ received their caste through these two women. There appears to be no native anticaste social opinion.

Of the married women only 4 of those over 30 years have not had any children. Judicious enquiries failed to produce any evidence of the practice of abortion. The 13 married women between the ages of 30/45 have given birth to 50 children so that the number of children per couple in this group averages at 3.85 - quite comparable with figures of the civilizing white.

During the last twenty years 59 children have been born to the present parents on the Island. The births have been spread over those 20 years as follows:

	1930/4	1935/9	1940/4	1945/9	TOTAL
No.	7	15	20	17	59
Average Per Year	1.4	3	4	3.4	3

This gives an annual natural increase 3 in 140. Unfortunately I have been unable to obtain decreases by deaths over this same period.

There are 18 women over 45 years of age on the island. Of these, three have never given birth to a child. The other 15 have had 40 children of which 11 are now deceased. This gives an average of 2.6 per native mother - an average well below that of the present generation of Sunday Island parents mentioned above.

The natives are divided into two camps of 39 huts - 7 of which are at Wiggin's Camp. Most huts have a door and padlock. The latter is always locked whenever the place is left for even an hour or so. The main camp (see Map 3) is located in the valley over the coastal range which is precipitous on the camp's western side. Figures 5 and 6 give views of this main camp. The majority of the native huts are one-roomed buildings - mostly of corrugated iron or beaten out kerosene tins. They are built on white man's style as seen in Fig. 3. Some of the enterprising natives build also a summer house of reeds and/or thatch nearby, for the iron homes are fearfully hot in summer. Some of the older folk have retained something of the shape of the original reed hut and into which they have to crawl. Fig. 2 shows an old man, Dickie, in front of such a house - his own.

There is no children's home on the Island at present. A site, about half a mile from the camp, has been chosen and plans adopted by the Mission. The site has the approval of the Department for Native Affairs. It is deemed

advisable to set up the children's home some distance from the native camp so that the children's contact with the camp can be supervised. In the meantime, however, seven of the schoolgirls aged 8/13, live in the Superintendent's residence. Commonwealth endowment is received by the Mission for these girls who are seen in Fig. 15. By separating this age group the Mission seeks on the positive side to give a basic civilized and Christian training only possible under conditions which allow continual supervision. On the negative side, it reduces to a minimum the possibility of sexual relations. Living in camp would increase this possibility to a maximum. On reaching puberty the girls are considered to be in a grave danger of molestation in this direction.

(B) MEETING FOOD NEEDS

The natives usually have three meals a day though sometimes only two. Their main meat diet comes from the sea. The men at full tide fish off the mangroves while the women fish off the reef when the tide is out. They are very fond of gut lines which they buy from the store or when in Derby. Fishing is often done by the 'herola' - a native spear made of wattle from Mullumba Bay and of various lengths from 4 to 7 feet. It is tipped with a piece of iron or steel of anything from 6" to 18", which has been rescued from some whiteman's tip on the mainland. The point is sharpened by rubbing it on the rocks or by a file in true civilized style. The men make the herolas for the girls and are repaid in fish. The natives know thoroughly all the types of fish found in the waters around Sunday Island. The main fishes get nice and fat at different times. These in their due seasons are given special attention. During August the favourite is a blackfish with white and yellow stripes called by the natives, "barbulla".

The fish delicacies, however, are turtle and dugong, the distribution

of which follow a social pattern. Turtle may be found on the surrounding islands throughout the year, but in September to January special attention is given to the capture of 'married' turtles during the mating season. Turtle eggs are greatly relished. Into a hole in the ground fire and stones are put. When the stones are hot the eggs are placed upon them and finally covered with bark. The natives tell when these eggs are cooked by the use of the olfactory membranes. The native is more susceptible to olfactory sensations than the whites. From May to November the dugong is to be found in the surrounding waters. This sea mammal, Fig. 26, called or:dor by the natives, is often described as a sea-cow the taste of which is a cross between tender veal and pork.

The meat diet is supplemented by damper and the inevitable billy of sugared tea. These are regularly purchased from the store as well as other delicacies such as tinned meat, tinned fruit and jam. The natives are very fond of butter and often buy it when in Derby. Lack of refrigeration prevents the Mission from storing such a delicacy.

Certain native foods also are collected and eaten when shortage of store credit or unavailability of white man's foods or offseason for fishing compel them to do so, or when a change is fancied. The women had a wooden digging stick but a wire one is now more often used. Yams (gornain) are dug up from Leering Point, Fern Gully, or from Allora Island across the reef. Small yam-like potatoes (irelmi) are found around everywhere after the rains. These keep fresh for quite a long time. Another edible root (norara) of potato-like nature is found between the rocks in the wet season. The older natives enjoy gorir - the small figs taken off trees similar to our Moreton Bay fig trees. The young folk, however, find these hard on the stomach. During the dry season a little nut called nielbon is quite

plentiful and is dug up from the many sandy patches on the island. An everyday favourite is the pandanus palm nut. These nuts are in segments and turn bright red just before they are ripe. The natives roast them and break them open. The inside is full of small white nuts similar in size and taste to our peanut. These pandanus palms (Fig. 27) are numerous in Fern Gully. The products of the Mission garden are also relished by those who procure them by way of compensation for work done. Amely, who works a lot in the Mission garden, says that his favourites are lettuce, rockmelon and watermelon. Any surplus garden produce not required for the missionaries' needs are made available to the natives through the Store.

(C) ECONOMIC OCCUPATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

Both men and women may do the cooking although for the latter it is usual. Both sexes go fishing although the big game is left to the men. Only the women and children indulge in the collecting of roots, nuts and berries. The economic needs of the native are greater now than when in his native state and any attempt to live and keep a family on merely hunting and food collecting would be equated with starvation conditions. The acquiring of clothes, gut lines and love for whiteman's foods - particularly damper - place upon the native shoulders some need for work. The sources of income for the man are threefold. Firstly he may do manual work for the Mission. Avenues are found in gardening, water carrying, building and help in any constructual work undertaken by the Mission. The amount of work the Mission can provide in this direction is at the moment quite small. To take a day or afternoon off is not thought an untoward action. Secondly, certain of the younger men act as ships crew whenever the "Balfour" needs to be taken out on Mission business. The leader is paid £1 and the others 10/- for any trip into Derby that is undertaken. The third avenue is the most remuner-

ative - that of shell collecting. This occupation operates in three different ways. The native may collect the trochus shell on his own initiative by going over the reefs in close proximity to Sunday Island. To achieve this they use one of three watercraft. They may use the 'Kalwa', commonly called 'catamarans' composed of a number of white mangrove poles about 10 feet long. These poles are held together by pieces of heavier wood which are driven through the mangrove saplings. These of course are not waterproof (Fig. 20) and are falling out of fashion therefor. The native, however, may use a barrawarrah, which is a hollowed out tree. These they purchase from the Worora natives on the eastern mainland. Two or three of the men, however, now own dinghies. A native, Coomerang (Figs. 25,30) is a well-trained carpenter and has built a number of these dinghies. Not many, however, when left to individual initiative attempt to augment their income from this means. The reefs also in close proximity to the Island are quickly denuded of the required trochus shell. The Mission, in the second place, during the dry season undertakes visits to remote islands with large groups of native men. Once a year at least a lengthy trip to the Lacapedes Islands is arranged to obtain pearl shell. Bru reef is the favourite hunting ground for the trochus shell, while tortoise shell is sometimes concentrated upon. The "Balfour" is often utilized for these trips, but sometimes the Mission's barge is commissioned. This barge (Fig. 22) is 55 feet long, 14 feet wide and has a draught of 2'6" when empty. This watercraft is propelled by two V.8 Mercury engines, which enable the barge to reach 8 knots. This is the first barge owned by the Mission and was acquired from Military disposals early in 1947. A White missionary always goes out in the "Balfour" or barge on every shelling trip. The presence of the white man ensures a

more consistent application of the native to the work on hand while someone with a knowledge of engines is a necessity.

Thirdly, some natives work for people outside the Mission. For some little time a white pearler has utilized Sunday Island as his base. He used to have a crew of halfcastes from Broome. On one occasion being short of crew he took on some Sunday Island natives. He found them so much more satisfactory that he now regularly has a full Sunday Island crew. They receive from this pearler and beachcomber sustenance and a wage while out on the various trips. Quite a number of men have taken positions in Derby and as workers, have proved quite satisfactory. They do not, however, stay long before they return home to the Island. The "homing" urge is still deeprooted. Roy Wigan for instance had a position in one of Derby's stores and was receiving wages and keep to the value of £4 per week. But it wasn't long before he was back on the island again.

It is fitting that here we should give a description of a shelling trip to indicate something of the hazards faced and good seamanship required. This description by a previous missionary was written in 1929 but the trips are similar today only with this alteration that the 'Balfour' complements its sails with its marine engines and thereby reduces the hazard and increases the speed.

"For the past couple of days everyone has been busy putting catamarans in repair, splicing ropes to their harpoons, and making general arrangements for the trip, while I am attending to a few odd jobs on the boat and looking over the running gear to make sure that everything is in good order, in case it should be tested and found wanting. Very often on a trip like this our lives may depend on the state of the gear, especially if we strike any rough weather. We timed to leave about 11 o'clock to catch part of the flood tide as this gives us a good start. After calling out to the boys to shake

themselves lest we should miss the tide, we prepare to board our little craft. The native boys grabbed the remaining flour and other necessities that must keep us in food for a fortnight. The boat is already floated and as I appeared over the hill with a blanket under one arm and carrying a few personal belongings in a sugar bag, I can hear the boys calling to one another, "Master coming". Half the crew are aboard busily stowing their stuff below, while others are loading catamarans on the deck for working various islands en route. The last bit of firewood is stowed away, and the familiar clank of the anchor is heard, as the boys heave it up the sails are set and as the anchor leaves the bottom of the sea the jib is run up and we are off. As we move softly from the island, the deck is scrubbed and the provisions are stowed away. By this time the cook announces, "Billy boiling now." And to my query "What are you going to cook for this crowd?" (there are 28 all told), he looks a little helpless and says, "Damper, I s'pose". For the next half-hour he is busy rolling out dough and cooking it in a camp oven. Our first stop is at the Tide Rip Islands, which are reached well after dark; the distance we have travelled has not been great, but there has been no wind. Here several natives disembark to gather trocas to be picked up on the return journey.

Water is always a problem on these small boats and when we have only about 200 gallons on board, it is necessary to conserve it as much as possible. The Tide Rip Islands are true to name, as the tide tears in and out with such fury as to make it one of the biggest hair-raisers in the mouth of the Sound; and when we consider that the tide here has a rise and fall of about 30 feet raging in and out amongst great jagged, menacing rocks, whirlpools and rips, it is certainly calculated to give anyone a fright. Leaving again

at midnight, which is high-water, and with a gentle south-west wind blowing, we make fair headway, and, having the tide with us, we reach Bedford Islands just at daylight. We drop another lot of natives here, also at Cleft Island just alongside. The wind by this time has dropped off, and we arrive at Caffarelli just on dark. We leave another lot of men here, as it is the last place at which we can anchor before sailing for the reef. These and many other islands form the Buccaneer Archipelago - well known for the wonderful iron ore deposits at Yampi Sound, supposed to be the largest iron deposits in the world. They are practically pure iron.

We still have nine men on the boat. It is necessary to leave here also at midnight in order to be able to approach the reef in daylight. It will presently be seen how dangerous the approach is, as the reef is only uncovered at low water. We hear the same familiar clank of the windlass echoed back from the hills as the long length of chain is hauled in. Although so close to the shore the lead shows twelve fathoms. With little wind we make poor progress and the big ocean swell is making the boat roll considerably. There is a continual bumpingof the booms, and the banging and flapping of the sails and gear. Yet there is something extremely beautiful in being out on the ocean at night in these wild regions. The setting of the morning star is followed quickly by the first faint flush of dawn. Then one of the boys, with a shout, draws attention to a low black line away on the horizon. It looks menacing and dangerous in the half light, especially as the huge seas swell up with clock-like regularity, and appear as racing mountains approaching us. They rise in a great crest, curl over, and end in a roar in a mass of foam.

Breakfast over, we approach as close to the reef as possible, and after putting some of the natives ashore, we take the boat to an anchorage. This is by no means an easy task, as the water is deep, and there is a lot of

foul ground to avoid. After cruising around for some time the lead shows 19 fathoms and the boy standing by the anchor lets go and the chain goes out with a rattle and shakes the boat making it tremble all over. Fortyfive fathoms of chain is run out, and we are safe as long as the chain holds .... By the time the reef is covered up the boys return, and the awning is spread to keep off the burning rays of the tropical sun and as there is nothing in sight but a vast expanse of watery waste and we are all utterly weary we take a short nap to make up for sleep previously lost.

About 3 p.m. the reef begins to dry and all hands go ashore except the cook. The reef is still drying rapidly and in the scorching heat of the sun the most wonderful and fascinating sights meet our eyes. There are huge holes filled with multi-coloured fish of all descriptions, some being a deep sky-blue, others red, some pink, and many others of every other conceivable colour. Their beauty as seen in their natural state cannot be described: one can only gaze and wonder. The coral growths are equally wonderful, for every colour is there. While some of the coral is as delicate as the finest lace, some takes the form of flowers and yet other kinds extend like small trees, sending out hundreds of branches, amongst which the fish circle, and turn and circle again, waiting for the return of the tide. Hundreds of different crabs, and shell fish meet the eye, while much of the reef is built up of millions of coral cells, and is quite porous. As the big ocean swell rolls in, it gurgles and groans in the most uncanny manner, while the water in the holes quite a long way from the edge of the reef is seen to rise as if by magic.

As we worked over the reef, we saw some heavy wire cable - all that is left of a big schooner that was wrecked here a few years ago. Fortunately the schooner went on top of the reef so that when the rocks went through the

bottom she sank, but the crew were able to cling to the masts and rigging, and at low tide walk on the reef. They were then able to use the life boat to obtain help and all were saved. Had they struck the edge of the reef they would have gone straight down into deep water, for the sides are perpendicular.

It is dark when we get back to the ship and after supper we gather round for family worship, after which all hands turn in, but generally to sleep with one eye open. At 4.30 the next morning, we were drinking our coffee, and at the first streak of dawn all hands went ashore. Our visit here lasted three days, and then we set sail for home, picking up the companies of natives left on various islands."

The women folk also help to augment the larder and income. We have noted their participation in fishing and collecting. They also help the men in cleaning the shell brought home from a shelling trip. A number of the women-folk have taken up enthusiastically the crochet and fancywork taught them by the missionaries, who sell their work for them in the Australian cities. The sitting down in the shade of the trees doing fancywork has reduced the feminine rows in camp. The mission is anxious to establish a machine room for more extensive sewing. One native woman, Doris, (Fig. 18) is able to handle very well the Mission's one sewing machine. Her regular work in this direction is remunerative for her. Certain of the native women earn by working for the Missionaries in ironing, washing and milking of the Mission's goats. All payments are made by credits at the Store. The womenfolk make their own dresses usually and most have some concept of body contour. They also wash the clothes of both sexes when they think necessary. Necessity to us is a little more often than it means to them. The washing is done in cold water but with an abundance of soap. In spite of the fact that they have no irons the clothes in which they attend Church on Sundays is a credit to the women.

(D) HOME LIFE

The Sunday Island native because of his environment does not have to go "walkabout" looking for food to the same extent as his black brothers on the mainland. "Going bush" has no application here. The camp houses, therefore, are more in the nature of permanent dwellings. Periodically, however, a family goes visiting relatives at Lombadina, where the other section of the Bardi people live. These visits are sometimes just casual ones or for some definite ritual purpose such as attendance at an initiation ceremony. While I was on the island about 20 of the natives - men, women and children, took advantage of the moving into Derby of a pearler's barge to score a free lift to Long Island where they remained for a fortnight until picked up again on the return journey of the barge.

The natives use hurrican lamps left burning low all night in their camps even though they retire early and awake early. In the hot weather they sleep in the open and use their house only for shade. Some sleep on legless stretchers made of timber and bags though most sleep on blankets with blankets over them. The young girls living in the mission house doss on mattresses and rugs and delight in the use of sheets and of pillows. The camps are full of cats and dogs which serve as pets. The dog to the mainland native was of service for the catching of game. On the island, however, there is no game to catch. Whenever some white official from the mainland comes most of the animals are missing. For fear of their loss some of the women hurriedly collect them and "go bush".

Each family eats around its own fireside. The cooking is done in a "camp oven", which is a cut down drum or kerosene tin half-filled with sand. The dugong and turtle are cooked on the hot stones as indicated in the case of turtle eggs. This is the way their forefathers did it. Some, however,

boil or fry the dugong. The fowl eggs which they may purchase from Mission they always cook in water the white man's way for fowls were an introduction into the old native economy. It is the wife's responsibility to fetch the firewood though this is not rigidly observed.

A young couple on marriage seek the permission of the father of the bride or bridegroom to erect a hut in the vicinity of the father's hut. Usually a young man seeks this permission of his own father. To live too close to the in-laws is not very convenient because of avoidance rules. Babies are born in camp but the women are not keen on it for they say "Too much men about". Usually one of the older women takes the mother into her own camp for delivery and acts as midwife. Some of the women missionaries at times have seen the native women through their confinements. The children are still suckled until they are 4 or 5. It is not strange to see a mother in a meeting give a talking child of four years the breast as a "gag". It is quite effective! The young babes are carried in large 'tin' containers - usually a kerosene tin or similar tin cut diagonally in halves. These are also used as collecting baskets. The natives squeeze these tins at the ends to give an effect seen on their original bark Coolamins.

When not away working nor out catching the meal the men congregate around in the shade to chat and smoke. Nearly all, including the women, love tobacco. The older folk use pipes while the younger ones chew the weed. The Mission on principle, does not supply this commodity (much to the disgust of the natives generally), but supplies are obtained through Cape Leveque Lighthouse and by any native returning from Derby. The Camp is a comparatively quiet place. The fighting (if any) is done chiefly at night. Most quarrels occur over the subjects of food sharing,

of tobacco and of women. When the women quarrel it is extremely verbal at first and the outstanding accusation is framed thus, "The trouble with you is that you have too many men". This is shouted in English obviously so that it will reach the ears of the Mission staff. Normally all conversation between the natives is in Bardi with a sprinkling of Djaui words, while here and there is an English expression - usually a noun representing an object brought in by the whites. None of the Mission staff know the Bardi language. All conversation between the white and black has to be carried on in English.

(E) EDUCATION

Throughout 1950 school has been conducted on five days a week from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. for the 35 children attending. School attendance is compulsory. The children are divided into two age groups under the two lady missionaries who have not had any specific training in school teaching. The upper class of 19, composed of 13 boys and 6 girls, follows largely the Correspondence Lessons issued by the Education Department of W.A. In the weekly tests the boys have been giving better performances than the girls. All instruction is given in English and the scholars become quite proficient in the reading of English, in Arithmetic and in Geography. No systematic instruction in arts, crafts or trades is given. The girls, however, learn to sew, while one afternoon a week the young male mission worker takes the boys into the Mission garden for instruction in gardening. Over the years the efficiency of teaching has been impaired, often by lack of staff, sometimes by unsuitable staff and throughout by the lack of such equipment as would be considered essential in a modern state school.

The native children are quick to learn and exceedingly bright. There is no attempt at adult education but some literature for those able to read

is circulated by the Mission authorities. The adult group (over 18 years) is 52% literate. Those who are able to read learnt so to do as youngsters. The following table sets out the relevant literacy of the adult age groups.

AGE	18/30	31/40	41/50	51/60	Over 60	Total
TOTAL NUMBER	21	18	14	17	17	87
LITERATES	21	16	5	3	-	45

As the Mission is 50 years old it would appear that only of recent years has any thorough attempt been made to train in the art of reading and writing. It is difficult to carry on a conversation in English with most of those over 50. The two illiterates in the 31/40 group are Beena who is tongue-tied and Lennie. The latter (Fig. 17) was born on Tyra Island and spent his boyhood days there, so missing out in the elementary schooling. He is, however, one of the most faithful Christians and advocates of the Mission and has shown skill in mastering the control of and the principles involved in the "Balfour's" engine and in the mechanism of the Mission's jeep. The three literates in the 51/60 group are all men, while the one considered to be the best reader in camp is Sydney a man of 42 summers. As no white person on the island knows the Bardi language no attempt is made to instruct in native lore and language. Even the young girls residing in the Mission house converse in the native tongue. These bilinguists have a decided advantage over the whites who know only their own language.

The children here, as everywhere, spend their spare time in play - in sailing boats patterned on the "Balfour", in fishing (Fig. 13) and in generally imitating their elders. The trimmed down stem of a palm branch and an old tennis ball give endless fun as the ball is slogged about. They play also at 'bows and arrows' with which they 'shoot' birds. One

of their chief sports is a mock spear fight in which fine bamboo spears are thrown at each other with great speed and dexterity - and avoided with equal skill. This, of course, is good preparation for the real thing.

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(1) Pages 207/210 E.J. TELFER "Amongst Australian Aborigines"

CHAPTER THREE

THINGS AS THEY ARE - THE INTANGIBLES

In the last chapter we outlined something of the conditions now operating on the Island in the socio - physical realm. We now turn our attention to matters in the socio-psychical and religious realms. This division is for convenience in study only for in real life the matters of the previous chapter and those in this are continuously interwoven.

(A) THE TRIBE AND ITS UNITS

The Sunday Island natives are a branch of the Bard Tribe which is divided now into two local groups. Approximately half the tribe is located at Lombadina where the Roman Catholics have a mission 10-12 miles south of Cape Leveque. The second half is located on Sunday Island where the United Aborigines Mission (an Interdenominational Protestant body) operate. The social unit here is the family composed of parents and unmarried children.

The characteristic aboriginal section system has no place in the Bardi social set up. There is still a strong control of marriage. The parents do not now make promises of marriage before or at the birth of their children. The young are given the right to choose their own partners within certain limits. Consequently the young do not now marry the old for the former elects not to do so. Monogamy is also the accepted rule. There operates, however, quite firmly the system of generation levels. The members of alternate generations are grouped together. Thus all those of ego's same generation level are called "djandu", and cousins sisters, brothers, grandparents, grandchildren are classified thus. 'Inara' meaning 'skin' is the general name given to the other generation level of Ego. This is composed of mother, father, aunts and uncles. Marriage is allowed only in djandu. The new freedom of marriage assumed by the young has not yet overcome fully

the prejudice of the prohibition against the marriage of blood cousins; while second cousin falls within the prohibited generation level. The old pattern of cross cousin marriage is still the ideal but the smallness of the tribe has helped to enlarge the choice of relationships. A few years ago Lena and Stumpagee wished to marry. They are now aged 20 and 21 respectively. All those in camp at the time were agreeable to the marriage. So everything was arranged, but in the meantime Ruby an uncle to both, who had been away shelling, returned home and caused a fuss on the grounds that the parties were cousins. Though the marriage arrangements were not proceeded with, Lena and Stumpagee met often and now have a two year old daughter.

Ebony aged 25 and Roy Wigan aged 19 had exercised the new freedom of exchanging promises to marry. Last year a row occurred in the camp at night. A missionary went down to investigate and met Ebony's relations who informed him that the girl had been hit. Ebony had been talking with her sister, Joyce when, suddenly, Dindin - Roy's mother's mother - came up behind and attacked Ebony bruising her head and gashing her hand. The old men of the tribe had stated that if the young people wanted young wives then they had better go to Lombadina for them. Roy and Ebony were cousins. They are still unmarried. Roy knows that if he acts against the wishes of the old men he would probably be stepped down for some years. All this has occurred in spite of the fact that Ebony's sister, Marbidy, had been married to Roy's brother, David, without a fuss some time before.

(B) KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR

Most men have three names. At birth the child's father's mother chooses a native name for the child. There may be also an English name chosen by its parents. At initiation the old men confer a special secret name upon the initiate. This name is only used during Corrobories and ceremonial rites.

The older people do not use the English name in camp but regularly the native one bestowed at birth. Among the younger generation this is not adhered to. A mother's brother is still recognized as guardian of the new born child. This uncle's wife and also a man's mother - in-law are still regularly avoided. A circuitous route is taken when the party-to-be-avoided approaches in the opposite direction. Most of the older women involved in this avoidance, wear, when moving away from the immediate precincts of their home, a loose headdress in the nature of a large piece of cloth which can be readily thrown over the face to hide it when the avoidance rule demands. The women always go to church first, then, when all are settled the men leave camp and as they pass the church windows many cover their faces so as to avoid seeing certain women in the church. The men always sit at the back of the church and leave before the women.

The kinship tie still operates in the distribution of food. When a man secures a good haul of fish or has gained a large credit at the store through shelling, he is expected to make a worthy gift to his alor - his wife's mother. Inadequate provision in this regard leads to camp rows. If a man catches either a turtle or a dugong then certain relatives of that man have claims on definite portions of the catch. This only applies to these two foods. When a young child has his first haircut the locks cut off are given into the possession of his mother's brother to form a belt. At this particular time the individual "cuts" of the dugongs and the turtles which this child will catch in the future are selected by various relatives. These "cuts" once chosen are not changed while the man lives. Thus when Tudor brings home such a dugong he himself has the chest - his guardian uncle has the head, his mother the ribs, his alor the back and his grandmother the tail. On the otherhand Wilfred's catch is allocated thus - the head to his uncle, the arms and fins to his alor, the tail

to his father's sister and the ribs to be shared with his father's father, his brother and cousins.

(C) SICKNESS AND DEATH

At the end of 1949 Moogany died. He had been unwell for about three days at "Running Waters" before he attempted to come home. He was suffering from his old trouble in his kidneys and bladder and had stricture for about 3 days but hid this fact from the enquiring young missionary - lying about his condition. Later, when the missionary found out the trouble, Moogany refused to be treated and refused to go to Derby for medical help. He also had influenced the men not to help in his treatment nor to help take him to Derby. He willed to die rather than go on and so passed away in the early hours of the 22nd December. This young man of just over 30 wanted to die where he was born. He had remained at "Running Waters" ill until the Superintendent had left for Derby in the lugger. Then he had crawled to the camp. As a dying man's wishes are law the young missionary could not persuade Moogany's brother to help him against his request. Three of the younger men who professed to be Christians finally volunteered to get him into Derby. But death defeated their purpose. Moogany's body was not, however, put up a tree in old native style but was buried according to white custom. During the procession to the grave one man broke out of the crowd and lit three bunches of spinifex. The outward form of burial was more easily changed than the inner concepts of the spirit world with the belief in the efficacy of fire to secure a safe departure of the dead man's spirit. This departure reduced the amount of interference possible in the affairs of the living by the spirit of the now dead man. This non-interference was a most desirable condition of things to the native mind.

Earlier the same year another death occurred. The reaction here was somewhat different. W. Douglas, a missionery then on the Island, gives this record. "Lennie's little girl, June, died at our house after a desperate effort to save her life. She had been born with only one eye. An infection entering the blind eye socket went to the brain and caused June's death. We forbad Lennie and Doris to take the child's body back to the camp - although they asked that they be allowed to do so. At the time we were not sure of the nature of the infection, and as flies were so bad we thought it wiser for the body to be prepared for burial at the mission house. Although it seemed certain that Lennie wished to have the child in the camp only for a short time (presumably for ceremonial purposes) he gladly yielded to the suggestion that we have a quiet Christian burial when he saw that we had cleaned and dressed the body for interrment. It was a very quiet funeral (quieter than many in the South). We went to the grave in single file, and at the graveside had a simple Christian service at which I gave a message to all. After the service a number went forward and threw soil into the grave. There was some quiet crying on the way home, and at night there was a period of loud wailing." The child before burial had been wrapped in a blanket and put in the little room by the school on a stretcher with green leaves around. Len and Doris sat by all day and others brought wild flowers and sprinkled them on the bed and around the body. Some of them were loose and others in bunches. This wait was necessary to find out if the Doctor in Derby would require a post mortem. On receiving the answer in the negative the funeral proceeded.

Old Alex became sick and it was rumoured that the bone had been pointed at him. On investigation it was discovered that this was not so and when Alec was informed he quickly recovered. About 10 years ago Ruby (who is still

living) fell sick. He sent up to the Mission house for medicine which was duly despatched. On hearing that Ruby worsened the Missioner went down to the camp only to find that the sick man was not there but had crossed over to "Paddy's Country" at the South East corner of the Island where he had been born. It would take two hours walking through rough country to have reached the place. However, he recovered. Instinctively at the big crises in life the native tends to follow the customs which for centuries have been part and parcel of his reactions on such specific occasions.

The natives of Sunday Island now follow our custom of internment. A coffin of wood is made for the men but more often for the women it is simply a blanket. Most men on death are still subject to ritualistic ceremony. The uncle guardian of the dead man or the father (if the former is not available) is responsible for the internment. The dead man's thumbs are tied together and his big toes also. Fires are lighted at places along the path of the procession to the graveside. On some occasions sticks are placed about the grave - a stick for each of the neighbouring tribes around. The stick which had blood on it on the morrow indicated the tribe responsible for the death of the deceased. A corroboree on the area of Cocky's camp would be held and through this ritual the culprit in the offending tribe would be harmed by the processes of magic. This procedure is often, but not always, held when a man dies.

(D) MAKING MEN

No man or women appears to be ignorant at present of the biological cause of conception. The old men rationalise their old belief by postulating that children used to be born the old way but now things are changed.

The processes of making men, however, still hold tremendous sway over the tribe. In no case that I can find has the fact of initiation been

dispensed with. There have been a number of modifications of that outlined so fully by Dr. A.P. Elkin in his article "Initiation in the Bard Tribe, North-West Australia". (1) Though I did not witness the ritual descriptions given, yet answers to queries submitted to a number of natives elicited details of the following modifications. The major alteration is the omission of all those parts which entail the drawing of blood, save, of course the act of circumcision itself. Two of my informants, Tudor (29 years) and Wilfred (34 years) had not lost their teeth while the latter had no cicatrices but the former had. Lennie (36 years) who has been mentioned before underwent tooth avulsion.

The variations, then, in the three series outlined by Prof. Elkin are as follows. (a) Neminem-Lainyar-Palil. The rite of tooth avulsion has disappeared altogether. Thus the name Neminem is used of the initiate at the commencement of the main rites but this name gives way to Lainyer as soon as the preparations for the mitjo ceremonies are underway. The laying aside of European clothes and the painting of the participants have not in the least diminished. The circumcision is performed by an uncle type from another horde area. The tool is still a piece of glass. The seclusion following the initiate becoming Palil has now been shortened to two weeks from the usual monthly period. The Sunday Island natives usually have their circumcision rite performed on the mainland or on Tyra Island.

(b) Djurdu-Djaminanga. The rites of blood-letting and of eating congealed blood are now omitted in this section and the ceremony of Wlalon has simply become a series of corroborees. The introduction of the initiate, now Djaminanga, to the sight of the bullroarer and to something of its mysteries has in no way abated. I told Amely, the main gardener, that I would like to see a 'kalakor'. He led me into "Man's Country" looking

this way and that as he walked up the track. Obviously he was making sure that his actions would not be observed by woman or child. Amely showed me five bullroarers under a tree and lying on the ground alongside each other. They varied slightly in size being 12" - 14" long and 2 inches wide with 10-12 wavy lines of red ochre across each of them. Amely's explanation of these wavy lines was that they represented a series of advancing clouds. The men of the tribe have jealously guarded the privilege of "Man's Country" which lies adjacent to the main camp site and which occupies the best area for cultivation in the valley up above the Mission garden (see map No. 3). No woman or uninitiated child must trespass on this sacred area. While I was on the island one of the missionaries drove up through the area in the Jeep and he had three of the boys on board. A cry went up from the men loitering about. But the alarm subsided when it was discovered that the youths had been made Palil though as yet they had not reached the stage of Djaminanga. The practice of the making of cicatrices on the body has now also been abandoned.

(c) Gombel-Rungor-Bunin-Mambanana. The drinking of the blood taken from the initiates arm is now omitted. From my enquiries I gathered that a vanishing emphasis is being placed on this third series of rites and it would appear that before long they will be omitted altogether. The actual circumcision and the ritual associated with the revelations given through the Kalakor are the two pivots around which the present-day "man-making" revolve. Formerly subincision was practiced and the cut gradually extended through a series of initiations. Each action cutting the penis throughout the "man-making" ceremonies is not ~~omitted~~ committed. though my informants indicated that some of the older men who already have a subincised penis do at times cut them at various stages of the

initiation ceremonies.

It is interesting to note that tooth avulsion has also ceased for the women. They used to hold a special ceremony in which an old woman performed the operation. The young girl at about 17 or 18 years of age chose whom she liked of the old women to perform the operation. A sharp instrument made of pearl shell was probed into the gum. The instrument was hit twice with a stick and the tooth came out with the second hit. No men were allowed to be present though children were not barred. Many of the women rattled stones in tins as loudly as possible while the operation was being performed. No doubt this helped to drown the cries of the one losing her tooth. No dancing nor singing occurred in association with this ritual. The first age group who did not submit to tooth avulsion are now aged 30-35. When the men ceased to lose their teeth at initiation the women also dropped the practice.

Corroborees are normally held at Cocky's Camp area where it is wide and flat. (See Map 2 and Fig. 4). Native dances are sometimes held, other than those associated with initiation. Moochoo and Ruby have been appointed by the oldmen as responsible for these. None, however, had been held for over 8 months up to August 1950. The girls of the camp were expected to participate in these dances but they were not now forced to do so against their will. Ebony (25 years) and Dora (18 years) told me that they did not care to join in such dances when held.

(E) CHRISTIAN RITES AND PRACTICES

As the "Balfour" is cutting along merrily through the sea the natives off duty can often be heard singing the hymns and choruses learnt at the Mission. This singing is usually to the accompaniment of the mouth organ well played.

Devotional exercises and general Christian instruction is given to the children daily as part of the school curriculum. This is suplemented by specific Bible work on Sunday afternoon when Sunday School is held in the normal style of the whites in our cities. Quite a number of the adult men and women attend voluntarily the Bible Class associated with the Sunday School.

During the week two meetings are regularly held. On Wednesday afternoon the Women's Meeting takes place. (Fig. 23). Some 20 or more women put in appearance on this weekly occasion. Though under the care of a missionary the meeting is regularly chaired by a native woman. Though the whole service is conducted in English someone praying may suddenly lapse into Bardi or the chairwoman suddenly give an order in the native language. In active participation of the members in recognized religious exercises this women's meeting excells many of those I have seen conducted by the white ladies among their peers. There is no equivalent meeting held amongst the men.

The other gathering is the "Prayer Meeting" held on Thursday evenings for both sexes. This takes the form of a varying proportion of hymn singing, native testimony, bible exposition by a missionary, and extempore praying by both white and black of the two sexes. Though this meeting is on a voluntary basis a good attendance is maintained. In the absence of a church building all the "Church Meetings" are held in the school classroom.

Sunday also is given over to religious exercises. The morning service is at 9.30 and is attended by adults and children averaging in the vicinity of 75. Attendance here also is voluntary. This service is run in free church style as most if not all of the staff of the United Aborigines

Mission are drawn from the so-called "free churches". The congregation both male and female though barefooted and hatless are well dressed having donned their Sunday best. The children sit right down the front, the women next and the men at the rear. As mentioned above the men arrive last and leave the service first. Though the celebration of "Christian Communion" is normally celebrated regularly the practice has been temporarily waived because the missionaries considered that persistent obedience to the avoidance principle enunciated above by some of the participants negated the full significance of oneness and unity considered integral to the "Christian Communion" rite. The battle of the "old" versus the "new" manifests itself here. The position needs delicate handling. Ground can be either lost or gained here respectively by tactless or by tactful sympathetic action.

The Superintendent invites the natives to come to the Mission house on the hill for a "singsong" on Sunday evenings. The programme is normally prepared and run by a young Christian native - usually a woman or possibly two of them. Solos and duets play quite a large part here. The attendance, however, is not large as the native dislikes climbing the hill from the camp, normally retires early, and also possibly fears that the smallness of the room requiring close contact and restricted movement would inhibit the fulfilment of any action required under the avoidance principle. The men, too, I would gather are generally not keen on the fact that frequently the M.C. is a young native woman - and an unmarried one at that. The anti-female bias, of course, is not restricted to the "black Weltanschauung".

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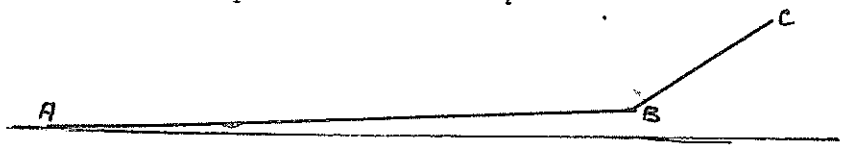
(1) Reprinted from the Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of N.S.W. Vol. LXIX PP. 190-208, 1935.

CHAPTER FOUR

THINGS AS THEY WERE

An overall picture has been given of the present day life of the natives on Sunday Island. In many of its aspects it is a far cry from that enjoyed or endured by their forefathers in the days when they could refer to their own country in the full flush of a pride that had no reservations for there was no white invader to lodge a counter claim and to back it up with shot and shell. If we are to judge accurately the effect of white contact on the black in this far North West corner of Australia we must try to catch again something of the life of the unmolested Sunday Islander. If there has been culture change we need to know both what these Islanders are and also what they were. All cultures are subject to change as the result both of inherent forces and of those external contacts with other cultures and culture traits. Diffusion of customs was continuously operating among the Aboriginals. The overall pattern, however, of the native lore and rite and life has a sameness throughout the continent with local variations demanded by topography and availability of food supplies. We may indicate the changing culture of Sunday Island by a line A,B,C, where A is the time of origin when the Island first became the home of these migrating darkskinned Dravidians of Eurasia; B is the point of contact of white upon black less than two centuries ago; and C indicates the position at this present time.



There is a gradual rise from A to B indicating gradual change under the processes of diffusion but immediately on contact by whites at B the grade immediately becomes steep. Not the processes of diffusion now but

those of acculturation are operating. The change resulting is tremendous. We have no means of estimating accurately the condition of the culture at A nor are we here interested in the gradual process of change operating from A to B. This thesis covers in point of history the period covered from B to C and an attempted analysis of the causes and course of the changed gradient BC. To gain an accurate estimate we must then turn back the pages of history and view our Sunday Islander immediately prior to the point B.

(A) THE ANCIENT SUNDAY ISLANDER.

Immediately prior to the point B Sunday Island was occupied by the Djaui tribe which appears to have covered the main islands around the entrance to King Sound and on both sides of Sunday Straits. Not very much is known of this particular tribe. Some details are given by W.H. Bird in his notes on the Buccaneer Islands (1). R.H. Wace, resident magistrate of Derby in a report to the Chief Protector in 1904 submitted a map (2) which indicated that the Twin Islands and all the islands around Sunday Island spoke the Chowi (his spelling) language and shows the Bardi on the Western mainland only. Ernest Worms points out in his article which appeared in 1944 (3) concerning Sunday Island that "it is inhabited by the Dyao, who are linguistically and anthropologically related to the Bad." Though this information may have been correct at the time of Father Worms' investigation it certainly was not true in 1944. The language now spoken on the island is Bardi and the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, are of that tribe. Prof. Elkin in 1933 wrote (4) "for all practicable purposes the Djaui seem, nowadays at least, to be identical with the Bardi. Many of the natives on Sunday Island, the only island now regularly inhabited,

are Bardi from the mainland." The story of how the Bardi have virtually replaced the Djaui on the Island is in itself a reflection of White man's policy the details of which will be given in the next chapter. As the present population are Bardi and as the Djaui are "linguistically and anthropologically related" to these Bardi invaders who absorbed them it will be necessary to review the Bardi Culture and social fabric existing before point B rather than those of the Djaui. To this we shall now turn.

(B) SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

It is not my purpose to write at length upon the characteristic social customs of the Australian Aboriginal. This general treatment is to be found in many excellent works and Prof. Elkin indicates in his Appendix (5) what additional reading apart from his own book could be profitably undertaken in this regard. It is proposed here to deal with those aspects peculiar to the Bardi tribe and merely to sketch the other aspects so as to have a complete picture - though of course some of these latter aspects, such as the Aboriginal view of life, are fundamental to the question of Culture Change.

(a) The Local Group.

The Bard tribe occupied that area bounded on the south roughly by a line running from Pender Bay on the coast due east across to King Sound at about Willie Point (see Map 1). The Nyul-Nyul tribe was the Bardi's southern neighbour and the Djaui, spread throughout the islands at the mouth of King Sound, was their northern neighbour. The Bardi tribe was grouped into a number of hordes which congregated around the waterholes at Lombadina, Cape Leveque, Bulgin Creek, Cygnet Bay, Swan Point and Mullumba Bay. The present position of the Lombadina Mission is some 5 miles south of the original native Lombadina. Bulgin Creek waterhole seems

to have had the greatest favour because of the part it plays in Bardi Mythology and its proximity to good fishing grounds.

(b) Family Group.

G. Reichard remarks: "The family consisting at least of parents and children is a universal social unit." It is always present no matter what other social units may co-exist with it. The Bardi were polygamists. Although divorce and change of wives was frequent it is yet true to say that the family was the fundamental unit in his society both in form and in function. Unlike in the Trobriands where the children - particularly the boys - leave home to go and live with the mother's brother, there is no immediate loss of children to the aboriginal family for the marriage was patrilocal and the son on marriage lived in the local group of his father.

(c) Kinship Groups.

Kinship is a genealogical relationship recognized for social purposes. As one would expect, the classificatory kinship system bound the Bardi in social relationships. It grouped the relatives into classes each of which class was denoted by a distinct term. All the members of the tribe found a place in one or other of these classificatory groups. There are a number of types of these classificatory groupings among the Aboriginals. The Bardi type is often given the name of Aluridja Type of Kinship. This is fully outlined by Prof. Elkin in his book on the Aboriginals (6) and in "Oceania" (7). Under this type a mother's, mother's brother's son is classified with a mother's brother and both called 'Kara' while a man's sister is classified as 'mother' and not as father's sister or wife's mother. Cross cousins are also classified as tribal brothers and sisters. The ideal marriage on this basis was a man with his mother's mother's brother's son's daughter, though it was also

possible with his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. A girl at birth was betrothed by her parents normally to a man of quite some years. A man in securing his wife usually was expected to make his sister (if any) available as spouse to the brother of his wife. Marriage with one's own second cousin was strictly prohibited.

(d) Social totemic groups.

Among the Aboriginals totemism is widespread and takes many forms. Whether the Bardi had any totemistic beliefs and practices is doubtful. The absence of any characteristic aboriginal section system here meant that the totemism had no great systematized social fabric to reinforce. The Bardi, however, had the normal native concepts of birth through the linking of spirit children with the eternal dream time. All the evidence of totemistic belief obtainable indicates that during the time when the early contacts of white and black were made there was "a totemism which has conceptional, dream and local aspects." (8) While on Sunday Island I had a talk with Paddy (aged 65) who is one of the few Djaui men left. The Eastern Sunday Island (Umbina) is affectionately called "Paddy's Country" as it is the place where he was born. On being questioned Paddy suggested that there were four totemic divisions before he was a boy - "long time since." These all bore the name of fish; Kundjala - similar to the pike about 4 feet long; Pidipu - a rock fish with a very large mouth; Kunduru - a large black and brown fish; Ilara - a rockfish with black and white markings. Enquiries from others only produced a reply that there were such but that it was before their time. It would appear that Paddy was speaking of some Djaui rather than Bardi tradition. The disintegration of the Djaui tribe and the dominance of the Bardi even before the founding of the Mission spelt the obsolesion of these Djaui concepts.

(e) Age groups

As in most human societies the Bardi exhibited these age groups viz: infants, children, adolescence, young adults, elders and old age. Those too old to be active are called the "close up dead." The transition from childhood to the status of an adult was effected for men by ceremonies of initiation. These were complicated and extensive and are described at length elsewhere. (9) Associated with the age grouping were generation lines. Thus, as we saw in Chapter Three, the members of alternate generations were grouped together. A person's own generation level was called "djandu" and those of the other level called "Inara". Marriage was only allowed in "djandu". A male was of more consequence in the Bardi concept of things. His rites and powers were extensive. We noticed also in Chapter Three that the women practiced tooth avulsion - obviously a copy of the masculine form and minus the religious content when performed for the male.

(f) THE FUNCTIONING OF THE GROUPS.

In the previous section we have outlined the structure of the main groups. Now we needs must indicate the functions each performs within the society as a whole. We must remember, however, that no function is isolated but fits into an integrated over-all pattern. Let us consider the main functions.

(1) Education. The family was the main educational group. The main function of the family was the cultural transfer from one generation to another. The stage of education was naturally related to both age and sex groupings. Puberty is the stage in which education was largely taken over from the family as such and vested in the tribe. Initiation, religious ceremonies and fixed cultural reactions emphasize the importance of the

social whole. The initiation tests and customs taught fortitude and inculcated obedience to elders and through them to the heros of the timeless past. The initiate was taught the religious secret of the kalakor (bullroarer). Such ceremonies and instruction brought home in a dramatic way that childhood was left behind. Everywhere the growing boy and girl was educated by rite and custom to be a citizen in a society whose tribal life was derived from the dream time.

(2) Marriage. As has been mentioned four ideals and practices controlled marriage among the Bardi. Generation levels existed requiring a person to marry only in his own level - "djandu". The concept of an ideal match was that a man marry the daughter of his mother's mother's brother's son. The doctrine of reciprocity in the matter of giving and receiving of a wife and the betrothal of a girl at birth to a man of quite a few summers were also characteristic. When a couple, who had not been so matched by parents, dared to elope they were beaten on being caught and then separated. If, however, they stayed away sufficiently long uncaught and children were born to them then separation was not enacted - provided they were not in the prohibited marriage degrees.

(3) Home. A. Goldenweiser remarks, "a home is not only a physical fact, it is also a psychological one." In an oversimplification of its analysis we may say "home" involves two things - fellowship and security. Gladys Reichard points out that the male is not an indispensible ingredient if economic stability is attainable by other means than a male bread winner. To the Bardi "home" was a locality over which he could roam, hunt and collect. It was the place of the spirits from which he was inseparable and from which he derived his mana adequate to conquer in the perpetual war of man verses environment.

(4) Economic. The family amongst the Bard was a self-sufficient economic unit though two or more related families often would hunt and collect together. There was the conventional division of labour based on sex. The women collected while the men hunted. Under the heading "Meeting Food Needs" in Chapter Two mention was made of various berries and roots collected by the women on Sunday Island. This would be characteristic of the Bard on the mainland, for kangaroo, wallaby and goana. The dogs were used effectively in these hunts but became mere pets when taken to Sunday Island where "game" was absent. It was the duty of the tribe as a whole to increase by the performance of magic that part of the food supply over which it had control for the benefit of the community generally. The present natives on the Island speak of increase ceremonies but could tell me nothing definite about them. There was also a distribution of food according to kinship patterning - mention of which has been made in a previous chapter.

(5) Government. Among the Aboriginals age is venerated. Women had no say in Bardi affairs. Though there was no formal administrative organisation the elders did the talking. The leading men constituted a natural informal council to talk over matters of common interest and make decisions. The machinations of solidarity and security lay not in authority vested in a man or men whose whims were changeable and who were subject to age and decay. Rather authority was vested in the heroes of the dreamtime whose laws and ways changeth not. The whole social fabric of the Bardi Tribe was so geared as to act as a perpetual trustee for the secrets committed to its charge by the culture Heroes of their forefathers and by education and rite to so keep in contact with that spirit world that the mana of the hero may so operate to the prosperity of his present day posterity.

(6) Ceremony and Religion. The religious group was strictly speaking the whole tribe. There were no denominational sections or classes of diverse beliefs. Each member of the tribe subscribed to the one set of ceremony and religion. Though various groups played different parts each was complementary. The education in religion was of course inseparable from education in citizenship and what is said above under the heading "Education" applies equally here.

(7) Behaviour Patterns. To a Bardi kinship involved some things one must do and somethings one must not do. Thus a classificatory system of kinship also operates in the patterning of behaviour. Ego was expected to act in a different but a customary way to each group under the classification. The principle of avoidance which we have already had cause to mention was deeply ingrained. Places taken at meal times and other social practices were determined largely by these kinship relationships. Thus a boy's mother's brother was his guardian. He received the locks of the boy's hair at his first hair cut and wove it into a belt. At initiation and burial of this man the guardian has his allotted task. The hair of the dead man was cut and put with the corpse of the dead man's wife on her decease. Junior levirate prevailed. When a man died his younger brother had the right to claim his wife or wives. If there was no brother or if he did not exercise his claim the wives passed on to cousins provided always that marriage was in djandu. The custom too of pirrauru, or wifelending, was practised as the norm for hospitality purposes. These and many others formed strands in the material out of which the Bardi pattern was woven.

(D) SOCIAL INTEGRATION.

The Bardi culture, like that of the Aboriginals generally, showed a high degree of integration. There were three main strands around which the

culture was woven and patterned. These were occupation, kinship and religion. The natives all engaged in the same occupation - they were food gatherers, fishers and hunters. The Horde thus acted as a unit within its own locality. But every member of the tribe was bound to every other by the cords of kinship. This unified behaviour. Customs and practices were backed up by a unified religious system of belief in spirit and re-incarnation. It was this spirit belief that gave "locality" its power and allowed a psychical adjustment to the conditions of life. Power to overcome environment is derived from the spirit world which is based on the dream-time of the cult heroes. These heroes performed certain activities at certain places within the tribal area. These are the sacred shrines of the cultus. Thus the necessary "mana" proceeds from the Spirit world but only in association with the country related to the hero activity.

Here is a typical myth of the hero Galalon, who is revered by Djaui and Bardi alike. E. Worms discovered near Disaster Bay a ground figure of over 10 feet picturing this hero (10). Galalon was held to be a lawgiver. He first "sat down" in Djalam Island between Jackson Island and the mainland. Here he remained for a long time. He also made a camp at Swan Point and gave instructions to all the people not to eat certain fish. He crossed for three days to Ngari, east of Tyra Island. On returning to Djalam he discovered that the people had broken his law by killing and eating the tabooed fish while he was absent. The hero grew angry with them and went away to bring fire to burn them all. When he returned from the east the people saw brightness and thought it was the sun shining but then they realized that it was fire to punish them and they were burned. This accomplished, Galalon crossed to Umbina (Paddy's country) where he dug a big hole, throwing the sand around. There he left a large foot print

about 18 inches long. Crossing over the marsh he came to Gwanguŋ (Cocky's Camp) where he knelt down on his knees and produced water from the ground. After this he commenced to walk along to some sharp rocks nearby called Bulgun. From here he sent some of the good people up to heaven with his dogs. "When you see a good place, call me", he instructed them. They called to him from the sky so he walked along again crossing at low tide to the little island stone called gardjadang and climbed up on top of a rock. From here he threw a long spear, over a hundred yards long, up into the sky and jumped up after it and sat down in the sky from whence he punishes all who do wrong. He created the islands, water, fish, turtle and dugong but his laws are mainly relative to food taboos and marriage. (11)

Djamar is also another important culture hero who came out of the ground at Swan point. His story is as follows. (12) "The coals of his camp fire and the hole out of which he came can be seen there, and there is a similar site on Jairi, or Jackson Island, near by ..... After remaining at Swan Point for some years he travelled south. He made some 'kalakor', bullroarers, but did not put a hole in their ends. He carried them in a bundle. He camped for about a month on a creek just south of Cape Leveque. When fishing one morning he took hold of a black fish, the spine of which pierced his hand, causing the blood to flow. He went on to a level stony place and let the blood run on to it. Noticing a little later that the blood had dried there, he decided to taste it; finding it agreeable he ate it all. His appetite being whetted, he decided to follow the accidental example set by the fish. He tied a ligature on his upper arm, and, when the veins were swollen up, he pierced the biggest one with a pointed kangaroo bone and let the blood flow into a gurndu or wooden dish. When it had dried he cut it into blocks and ate it all. It was so good that he

decided to make this blood-eating an initiation law, and so his performance is repeated at every Djaminanga time. He did it, and therefore it must now be done. Djamar then went into the bush and made some bullroarers, this time putting the holes in them and swinging them. The noise proving satisfactory, he made the law of making new "Kalakor" and swinging them every Djaminanga time. Djamar walked on to the sandhills just north of Lombadina, where he swung his bullroarers, but his further movements are not known."

The dugong (or:dor) is a great delicacy to the Sunday Islander. This is the story of the origin of the dugong. Certain men crossed from Mermaid Island and coming ashore on Sunday Island at Water Lily Point they made a camp. Here they danced the irema corroboree. Bado:lulu, a Sunday Islander, on returning from a fishing trip discovered them dancing. He thereupon ran to the camp to tell the Sunday Island people who went over and joined in the corroboree. Later that night when they were all resting the Dugong men grabbed the Sunday Island Women and ran away with them. The men gave chase so the girls and the dugong men dived off a point and began to swim under-water. Rising to the surface for a breath they found they were becoming dugongs. Again they went beneath the surface only again rising for another breath. On this occasion they became dugongs altogether - living dugongs of the sea. This gives an explanation of the dugong which is a mammal and suckles it young as does the human species.

The above myths illustrate the fundamental philosophy of life which helps to integrate the Bardi culture. The overt customs have their roots meshed into their spiritual view of life and the universe. The spirits of which the Bardi partake by dream conception find their origin in the activity of culture heroes like Galalon and Djamar. These incarnated spirits

now appearing as men come from and thrive in association with the places made sacred by their earthly activities. The 'Mana' of these culture heroes is transferred to his created spirits when the Bardi people reproduce in rite the activities through which he went. By aid of myth also the whole of the natural world that plays any essential part in the native's life is integrated into one whole and all of nature made akin.

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(8) P. 51 A.P. Elkin: "Studies in Australian Totemism". - where a lengthy discussion occurs on this question.

(9) Pgs 190/208 A.P. Elkin in Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of N.S.W. Vol. LXIX.

(10) P. 287 E. Worms, "Aboriginal Place Names in Kimberley, W.A." vide above.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE FIRST CONTACTS

First impressions count for much. The opinion of the Aboriginal formed by the first arrivals in Sydney Cove in 1788 was not a very high one. Lack of knowledge of the black man's ways meant lack of appreciation of his culture and a consequent derating of his capabilities and propensities. But the native's first contact with the white caused strong impressions in the former's mind as well as in the latter's. A readiness to adopt the culture of a newcomer bears some relation to the prestige of the new arrival. If this prestige is merely that of superior techniques for despatching men from this life a different reaction results than when the prestige arises from a recognition of kindliness andwell wishing in the heart of the invader. The cannibals of Oceania had their first real contacts with white missionaries. Only certain aspects of Western culture were therefore brought at the first into direct contact with the island natives. The Missionaries brought concepts and attitudes plus techniques - concepts of a high order and just those techniques that were well integrated with the concepts taught. In Australia the white "parachuted" into the new environs and from his bridge-head began tofan out. The Missionary lands for the purpose of contact, but these new Australians of the eighteenth century were otherwise minded. The elements of Western Civilization represented inthat first settlement in New South Wales contained a convict strain and contact with natives was for them both unsought and unfortunate. Contact was inevitable but undesired.

When we turn to Western Australia we find an attempt to found a colony of free settlers. Captain Fremantle, R.N., in 1827 took official possession of the whole of Western Australia and two years later the Colony was founded on the Swan River. Previous to this settlement various explorations had touched on Dampier Land and hence provided only a casual contact with the

natives of Bardi land. It was not till the sixties and later that any systematic settlement was attempted in the North West andit is from this time and onward that contact became more or less continuous. These white carriers of Western Civilization had the motives of the normal pearler and pastoralist of those days. Their general policy was opportunist and certainly not humanitarian. Civilization of the native was here an afterthought while the arrival of the missionary occurred when the day had well advanced. We shall for a brief moment turn our attention to a closer consideration of these first contacts.

(A) EARLY HISTORIC EXPLORATIONS

The first contact that the Bardi had with the Whites was (as far as we know) with William Dampier and his men in January 1688. This pirate of the China Sea had left this area planning to sail for England intending, for security purposes, to take a course further south than the normal route. The period of the year was January when the North-West winds, mentioned in Chapter one, were blowing hard. These contrary winds drove the sea rover into King Sound and he landed at Cygnet Bay at the north west corner of the Sound. This was probably then, as a couple of centuries later, one of the waterholes of the Bardi tribe. While the ship was beached for cleaning and repairs Dampier explored the surrounding country andmade certain observations of the local natives. Thus the very first knowledge that the Bardi had of these strange white men was that of an intruder and usurper of their indispensible water-hole. This "unconscious" theft on this very first contact was oft repeated in subsequent years in this same and also in different directions. The root cause of this theft was - ignorance. It is interesting to note that the earliest account of any extent given of the Australian Aboriginal is that of the Bardi as found in Dampier's account.

Because of this historic fact we append a somewhat full account of Dampier's description. He records for us, inter alia, the following (1).

"The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world ..... have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs etc .... They are tall, straight bodied and thin with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, they being so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them off .... They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips and wide mouths. The two foreteeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men andwomen, old and young. They are long-visaged..... Their hair is black, short and curled ... They have no sort of clothes but a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waists and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs full of leaves thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness .... They have no houses, but lie in the open air without any covering; the earth being their bed and the heavens their canopy .... They do live in companies, twenty to thirty men, women and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish, which they get by making weirs of stones across little coves or branches of the sea, every tide bringing in the small fish and these leave them a prey to these people who constantly attend there to search for them at low water. This small-fry I take to be the top of their fishery. They have no instruments to catch great fish should they come; and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water ... In other places at low water they seek for cockles, mussels and periwinkles. Of these shell fish there are fewer still so that their chiefest dependence is what the sea leaves in their weirs, which, be it much or little, they gather up and march to the places of their abode. There are old people that are not able to stir abroad by reason of their age and the tender infants wait their return; and

what Providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as makes them a plentiful banquet andat other times they scarce get everyone ataste; but be it little or much that they get, everyone has his part, as well the young andtender, the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, as the strong and lusty. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low water, andthen all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, 'tis all one! They must attend the weirs or else they must fast, for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse nor any sort of grain for them to eat that we saw, nor any sort of bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewithal to do so. I did not perceive that they did worship anything. These poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their ware or fight with their enemies, if they have any that will interfere with their poor fisheries. Some of them had wooden swords; others had a sort of lance. The sword isa piece of woodshaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long straight pole; sharp at one endandhardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron nor any other sort of metal."

The above description is fairly accurate in the details of observation but often wide of the mark in various deductions. To suggest that "their only food isa small sort of fish" goes beyond the observation. January would be in the offseason for their nuts and roots and the big fish difficult to find. This small fry seen by Dampier was certainly not the "top of their fishery". Dampier'saccount, unfortunately, passed on to the general English public of the day his low and inaccurate estimate of these Bardi as "the miserablest people in the world". This buccaneer also records that "we went over to the islands and there we founda great many of the natives. I do believe there were 40 on one Island, men, women and children ..... The islandwas so small

that they could not hide themselves." This reference could possibly refer to the Djaui who apparently then occupied most of the islands in the Sound opposite Cygnet Bay.

Dampier published in 1698 the account of his voyages. Englandas a result sent him out in the "Roebuck" under an admiralty commission to make further examination of the coast and to see if it was a series of islands or a continent. He landed first at Shark Bay and worked north till about 150 miles south of Cygnet Bay. The lack of water compelled him to sail away to Timor without actually touching Bardi territory on this occasion. Over a century elapsedbefore another contact by whites was made. The visit of Dampier would be by them but astory oft told. The French next appear upon the scene. A French expedition of three vessels - Geographe, Naturaliste, Casuarina - were sent out to find what happened to La Perouse after he left Botany Bay. Baudin, the Captain of the expedition, sailed down the coast from Cape Leveque in 1801 giving names to certain prominent features and discovering another entrance to Shark Bay. It does not appear that any landing was attempted in the vicinity of Cape Leveque.

Lieutenant Philip King seems to be the only other explorer of those early days who caught sight of Bardi land. On his first voyage he explored the Exmouth Gulf but on his second he commenced on the far north where Wyndham now stands and began to move south. It was not, however, till his fourth voyage in 1821 in the "Bathurst" that he came down past King Sound surveying the coastline as far south as Tréville. From here he crossed to Mauritius to refit. On returning to Australia at King George Sound he worked his way up the coast as far as Cape Leveque checking previous records. No land or native inspection in the vicinity of Cape Leveque seems to have occurred on these voyages.

It was in 1838 that the historic "Beagle" made its appearance along

our shores. A marine survey party under the command of Captain Wickham in the H.M.S. Beagle was sent out from England. The exploratory section of the survey party was under Lieut. (afterwards Sir George) Grey. Leaving Fremantle they landed at Roebuck Bay and proved that no river poured into this Bay. Beagle Bay, the next stopping place was named after His Majesty's ship and from thence they sailed into King Sound. Here they discoveredand named Fitzroy River and Stokes Bay. This latter was named after Lieut. Stokes - Wickham's second in command. Port Usborne and Cove Bay were also explored and named on this occasion.

These were the only visits made in those early days to this region of the North West. These were not direct contacts but fleeting observances andoflittle value for our estimate of culture contact. The purpose of these visits was not to observe natives but to make geographical observations for marine andother purposes. The only function they performed inthe processes of culture contact wouldbe the making of the blacks aware of the closeness of the whites and of the latter's interest of some description in the area. What tales were told around native camp fires concerning these visitors in strange garb and sailing strange craft will never be known.

(B) THE FIRST SETTLERS

In 1829 the colony on the Swan River was established. Captain Fremantle hoisted the British flag taking possession of "all that part of New Holland which is not included within the territory of New South Wales." This event helped gradually to make both the British, and the colonists in other Australian States, conscious of the presence of unclaimedareas in the West the potentialities of which at first sight appeared extremely high. Distant fields are usually green. Various attempts at settlement were made in the North-West during the sixties. In 1864 the Roebuck Bay Pastoral and Agricultural Association Ltd. was formed with the object of opening up

country in that area. Though an exploratory party of three were speared by hostile natives the settlement began to forge ahead. The area and its attractiveness were popularized by a pamphlet prepared by the Surveyor-General, Captain Roe.

About the same time an attempt was made to found a settlement at Camden Harbour - quite some 150 miles to the North of King Sound. Mr. R. J. Sholl was appointed Resident Magistrate of this settlement in 1865. The hardships of this venture were such that the attempt proved abortive and soon abandoned. It is recorded of those that made this attempt that (2) "they were surprised to see a number of Malay Proas and canoes, containing about 300 men enter the Harbour. Feeling somewhat alarmed, the party prepared for possible hostilities, but after spending some days in fishing and quarrelling with the natives, the visitors went away quietly. It was suggested that the real purpose of the visit was to secure aborigines as slaves for the Malay Islands." This introduces us to the question of the extent of Malayan contact with the natives of the North-West and with the Bardi in particular. Lieutenant Grey as far back as 1838 suggested the intermingling of Malayan with native blood. While at Roebuck Bay in the "Beagle" he with others, while looking for water, met a party of natives whose stature, physique and general demeanour was considered by them to be so far in advance of those seen in the vicinity of the more settled districts that they attributed this superiority to the intermingling of Malayan blood. This, however, was taking more out of the premise than was in it. Subsequent investigations have revealed that the natives of Dampier Land are generally of a superior type to many of the interior and areas further south. The natives from King Sound and northwards were, however, contacted frequently by the Malays - particularly in the upper Kimberley coasts. The traffic was largely in native women but these contacts did not affect the general native blood stream.

Beagle Bay is in Nyul-Nyul territory just south of Bardi tribal country. From this Bay explorations worked inland. Alexander Forrest in 1874 by his expeditions into the Kimberleys opened up this area for pastoral occupation. Forrest had been instructed to map out the area between the De Grey River (just south of Eighty Mile beach) and Victoria River in the Northern Territory. This was no mean task for those days. Forrest's party reached Beagle Bay in 1879. From this coastal point the explorers pressed inland across to King Sound andthen followed the Fitzroy penetrating into the hinterland until they arrived at Daly Waters in the Northern Territory. As a result of these expeditions Forrest reported that 25 million acres of suitable country were available for a pastoral industry. He also recommended Beagle Bay as an excellent landing place. This suggestion was followed up and the Bay became the landing place for pastoralists and many drove their stock from here into the areas watered by the Fitzroy and Media Rivers, both ofwhich flow into King Sound.

But Beagle Bay lost favour as a disembarkation point. In 1883 the ports of Broome and Derby were selected and named, as ports for supplies, by Governor Sir Napier Broome while on an official visit to this area. In 1886 the Kimberley gold rush set in and menbegan to pour into the area from Derby and from Wyndham.

All this expanding of the activities of the white man around the Bardi area brought the subject of the white man to the fore in the native mind. There were the inevitable clashes with hostile natives. The first settlers, drovers and gold diggers did not seek to utilize the native as a labour pool until some time later. Though the Bardi, at the north of Dampier Land, were a little off the beaten track yet we can without doubt postulate quite a number of passing contacts or brushes with this invader who used his waterholes and

killed his game without so much as "beg pardon".

(C) THE FISHING INDUSTRY

As we have seen above the contacts resulting from the explorations, the establishment ofpastoral pursuits and of the gold fever were only casual and unsought by the new Australians. When we turnto the Pearling industry we find contact is now sought as the black is recognised as being of economic value.

Gregory hadreported in 1861 the presence of pearl shell around Nickol Bay. By 1866 various pearling expeditions were undertaken but with but little success. However from Cossack and Shark Bay strung along the coast to King Sound were to be seen pearling schooners as men sought to exploit these newly discovered fields of potential wealth. The real pearling rush did not occur till 1874. The White pearlers began employing natives (particularly women) as pearl divers and as aids inbeach combing. Payment to the natives took the form of white man's food, tobacco and grog. The presence of two pearling schooners in Beagle Bay led Alex. Forrest to carry out an examination of the Lacepede Islands in 1879. Guana deposits had been found in the North-West and were a fruitful source of revenue and development. The opening up of the Lacepedes extended this aspect of the industry. The amounts exported in 1878/9 were quite large. This pursuit led to further contacts between the ships and the natives of the coasts opposite.

The pearling industry which had started in the sixties soon attracted Europeans of many nationalities and quite a number of Asiatic groups. P. Hasluck (3) points out concerning these Asiatic groups that the most numerous at the outset were described as Malays but that this was a loose term for any coloured person from the Malayan region. In 1874 there were 325 Malays employed as Pearlers and 989 in 1875. Then came the period of

aboriginal divers who were used because cheaper. The supply of Malays also was made short by the attempt of the Dutch Government to keep their natives out of Australian pearlers hands. However there was a return after a very few years to Asiatic labour again. The aboriginal diver disappeared when the fishing was pushedout into deeper waters. The remunerations of their labours - food, tobacco and grog - given to the natives developed in them a taste for these things. The loss of employment with the pearlers caused them to devise other means of acquiring the desired "fruits". Trading their lubras with the new employees of the pearlers yielded for them the required results. T.W. Smith - inspector of Pearl Shell Fisheries - said in 1892 in his report: "About the end of November the vessels commenced to disperse and prepare for the hurrican season, which lasts from December to the end of April; some of the vessels going to King Sound, others to the Westward of Cossack anda few remained at Roebuck Bay. The take of the shell this season is approx. 811 tons and value of pearls approx. £13,840." It was during this period of shelter and of repair in King Sound that the native's traded their lubras with the brown crews of the pearling luggers. Cygnet Bay in Bardi country was a favourite sheltering place for the ships. This prostitution led to a spread of quite an amount of contageous diseases. These mutual contacts through the pearling industry enabled a transfer to the natives of some of the worst customs of the White and of some ofhis diseases.

(D) PERSONALITIES OF THE PERIOD.

In the "History of the North-West of Australia" we are introduced to some of the leading lights of the area and period under review. Some of these early pioneers played a large part in the culture contact drama of the day. We shall briefly review some of these gentlemen.

(a) Henry James O'Grady. This pioneer was a pastoralist and pearler of

"Madana" Station at Cygnet Bay and an ardent Roman Catholic. Since the age of 14 he moved around the North Western waters andwas 10 years working on his father's pearling schooner. In 1904 he accepted the charge of a pearling lugger owned by John de Saxe and for three years based his operations at Broome. He then purchased the schooner "Minnie" and commenced his own business procuring the "Madana" station in 1909. Mr. O'Grady obtained the reputation of the principal trapper in the trochus shell industry. His humane treatment of his employees won an excellent reputation for the civilizing influence which he had exerted over his native servants.

(b) F.J. Norman. This pearler managed four luggers based on King Sound on behalf of Robinson and Norman Ltd. Mr. Norman lived on his schooner while in the Sound and commenced operations in March 1907. During that year he took 24 tons of shell from the Sound and in two years doubled the fishing fleet resulting in 48 tons of M.O.P. shell being shipped away in 1909. This firm later transferred to Broome as headquarters.

(c) Jean D'Antoine. Here we have a Frenchman from the Noyenelle Islands. He owned a pearling lugger and for over 25 years (before 1915) was in the North West waters. For his beach combing he was based on Bulgin Creek among the Bardi. D'Antoine had associations with Mandra, the mother of Annie, who has been mentioned previously. Mandra later ran away with an aboriginal husband and took refuge on Sunday Island where the half caste child, Annie, was brought up. Annie is now about 50 years and is hunched back - a defect caused by the chains of a white man when she was but a child. Annie, herself has had six children one of whom was by a chinaman. In 1905 in one of S. Hadley's reports to the Chief Protector we find this paragraph. "I have engaged another man who at present is a volunteer working here with us, to work the larger vessel, as he is well acquainted with the coast to

the eastward, and is also very interested in the welfare of the natives. He is a native of the Seychelles, a Frenchman by the name of D'Antoine, and I have great hopes that he will be a worthy addition to our staff here." This association with Hadley's sunday school mission seems to have been shortlived for he became the skipper of the schooner "Minnie" owned by O'Grady and general supervisor of the sculling and of the natives as engaged by O'Grady. D'Antoine became a well-known figure on the Sound through his position under O'Grady.

E.J. Banfield (.) in recording his journeyings through the North West in 1917 gives this record of D'Antoine, whom he met on Eyre Island - an island previously mentioned. "We reached Eyre ... four in the afternoon..... this is the camp of a man named D'Antoine who is better known as "Frenchy", and we found him standing on the deck of his small lugger, which was lying at her moorings .... This Frenchman has lived among the blacks for over 25 years ... He has made diving for many years beachcombing, but his main attention is directed to naked diving for pearlshell, the treatment of beche-de-mer, known as trepang, for the Chinese market, tortoise-shell and mother of pearl, the latter being usedin Japan for button making." Thus D'Antoine dealt directly and indirectly and quite an extensive influence upon the sculling seamen.

(d) Harry Hunter and Montague Sydney Hadley. Both of these men had been educated at Cambridge. The former was a Gallipolian and had French blood inhis veins. Hadley was from a seafaring family. One of my informants told me that Hadley had sufficient naval honours to gain him access to the ring. These two men became partners with their headquarters at Ralph Green. Hadley came to the North West in 1877 (?) at about the same time as Hunter. As seen in the quotation further on in this chapter, these two Cambridge men became partners in the lease of land about 1878. Hunter built the boats and Hadley worked them trading mainly in pearl, trochus, beche-de-mer, turtle shells.

Hunter, however, undertook many trips himself. The present natives of Sunda Island say that while on a schooner with Hunter on the Montgomery reef they first saw the barrawarra of the Prince Regent natives. The Bardi obtained with food for one of these barrawarra. Thereafter they made these boats themselves on the mainland at Bulgin Creek.

S. Hadley in a letter (dated 3/5/38) to the Chief Protector makes this statement in reference to their partnership: "I had been the previous leaseholder of all the land hereabouts since 1884 in partnership with Mr. H. Hunter and on my retiring he leased the land in his own name and when I found so - applied to you for a resumption for which I was sorry directly afterwards as it caused Mr. Hunter to be very offended and upbraid me with not coming straight to him and signing him for the lease, as he would have given it at once as he sympathised with my views in trying to better the condition of the natives." The old records were not available in Perth for me to check up on this lease but the Chief Protector on receiving such a letter would have corrected such a statement if false. It would appear that the lease covered the area from Lombadina up to Swan Point and over to at least Sunday Island. These two partners were thus established at the centre of the Bard tribe andhad a tremendous influence upon them.

To give an indication of H. Hunter's brand of civilization his outlook and his influence I quote from Inspector James' Report who had been sent to inspect the native situation in the region round about. He wrote in his diary under date 16th and 17th April 1908 as follows. "Rode over with Constable Fletcher to H. Hunter's homestead, Boolgin, situated in Boolgin Creek, 3 miles N.E. from Cape Leveque. Inspected all Hunter's natives this morning. 33 men, 40 women, boys under 14, 8, girls under 14, 9. Babies under 1 year, 4, half-caste boys 4, girls 3. There are amongst these 7 very old men and 9 very old women, in reality they are the progenitors of all the

natives of this place, some of the men have from 25 to 30 years continuous service with Hunter - there are families of 4 and 3 generations. Total number of natives being fed and clothed 100. Hunter is the father of 3 of the half-caste boys and the 3 girls." In submitting later his report to the Chief Protector, Isdell states concerning Hunter: "Mr Hunter owns a homestead lease there (Boolgin Creek) and is engaged in boatbuilding and repairing. He is the oldest coastal resident in the Kimberleys and is better known to the natives than any other man in Kimberley. It is certain that no one in W.A. is better acquainted with the natives, their customs, habits and modes of living and no one is better liked and trusted by the aborigines. He has natives who have lived with him for 30 years without a break ..... There are a large number of natives, very old, about Swan Point and Cygnet Bay and along the coast, who are deserving of relief and as Boolgin Creek is their main camping ground, they are content to abide in the neighbourhood. There is good fishing ground and plenty of native vegetables in the locality. Mr. Hunter runs his own boat every fortnight over to the Lacepedes, bringing back a load of live turtle for the natives." It was only a few years after this report that A. Hunter was drowned in King Sound when his boat was caught in one of the dangerous whirlpools which are prevalent around the islands at the mouth.

(E) HUNTER, HADLEY and BOLGIN ISLAND

At some stage in the history of the Hunter-Hadley partnership it was decided that Hadley should set up his headquarters on Sunday Island while Hunter remained at Bolgin. In attempting to do this Hadley brought over some Bardi with him from the mainland and established them in the valley of Sunday Island. With their aid he built the stone hut shown in Fig. 11.

The Djaui natives were fast dying out from three main causes. Firstly there was a shortage of Djaui women. This arose as the result of frequent deportations of the womenfold by the Malays. Secondly the whites sent a punitive expedition against them. The Djaui apparently were a very hostile group and despatched some whites as a reprisal for violation of their territory and the exploitation of their labour. Ruddy has vivid memories of the occasions when the white punitive expedition shot many of his tribe in cold blood. Thirdly their ranks were decimated by a plague of fever. The Bardi, however, had had a number of years in association with Hunter and Hadley on the mainland and gave Hadley full co-operation when he set up residence on the Island. There were fights frequently between Djaui and Bardi in those days, but the Djaui men took them wives of the Bardi tribe. The children of such unions were brought up at their mother's knee with Bardi as their main language. So there was ultimately no other possible result than a fusion of the two elements with the infiltrated Bardi predominating.

Both Hunter and Hadley lived as one with the natives that gathered around them. They entered to some degree into the native life and the natives meanwhile assumed some of the observable customs of these white leaders. It would appear that Hadley, after his headquarters had been set up at Sunday Island, was initiated into the tribe subjecting himself to the rite of initiation including both circumcision and subincision. The natives saw that there was an allocation to Hadley of three wives on his admission into the tribe. These three were, Derby, Mannon and Munree. The first two are still on the island and the last named is now living on the mainland. Hadley's initiation and its content is freely stated by the old residents of Derby. It would appear that towards the end of last century Hadley had financial difficulties. The output of pearl and shell peaked in

1883/7 at £111,000and £195,000. After this it fell considerably though the industry remained. Hadley then heavily in debt to many in Broome took a voyage to his old home in England. Some of the Bardi remained on Sunday Island though quite a few returned to their old haunts on the mainland. (8) The Sunday Island Mission. The natives of Dampier Land had had contact for some years with a certain brand of western civilization. The pearlers and their companies were largely opportunists and not particularly interested in the elevation of the native. Hunter, Hadley and D'Antoine who lived among theBardi certainly showed no signs of the accepted Victorian code of morals prevalent in the England of that day. The Church with its emphasis on the things of the spirit lagged behind in its supplying the philosophy of life and Christian outlook that had initially vitalized the original brand of modern Western civilization.

The Roman Catholics were the first to take any concrete action to Christianize the natives of Dampier Land. They first established a mission in the Country of the Nyul-Nyul, near Alms Cliff on Beagle Bay. It was founded in 1890 by Bishop Gibney of Perth and the Trappists. (9) The first attempt to mission among the Bardi was the opening of a Catholic mission at Cygnet Bay by the Spanish Trappist, Nicholas Ano, towards the end of last century. However, this was soon abolished (9). Meanwhile, S.Hadley while on his visit to England had "got religion." (10) There he went through some religious experience and finally returned to Australia intent on doing something to elevate the natives by way of recompense for his exploitation of them in his early days. Mr. Hadley joined himself to the Forrest River Anglican mission further up the coast. This mission, however, because of the native hostility, difficulties of staff and supplies was broken up. Two of the members, however,

fully persuaded of their ultimate success, settled upon Sunday Island at the entrance to King Sound, where, on my recommendation, they have been allowed to establish a private mission among the 60 or 70 inhabitants. The best feature of their enterprise is that they ask for no pecuniary assistance, their hope being to make enough by the collection of bêche-de-mer to pay expenses. Their tenure of the reserve is at the will of this Department, which will be guided by the quarterly reports which they are compelled to send in, as a condition of their occupation. It may be of interest to mention that I have received an autograph letter from two natives belonging to this Island, who were at the late Forrest River Mission, asking me to favour the establishment of the Mission on Sunday Island." So states the Annual Report for the year ended 30th June, 1899 of the Aborigines Department.

Thus Mr. Hadley assisted by Mr. Thos Omerod established the Sunday Island Mission. The present mission possesses a book on the first page of which in Hadley's handwriting occurs these words: "Sunday I. Mission. Founded July, 1st, 1899. Undenominational." So at the turn of the century there was a complete turn in the history of culture contact on Sunday Island. Christianization and civilization from now on is planned and attempted along the line of a religious approach. This dominant note in the approach has continued until this present day.

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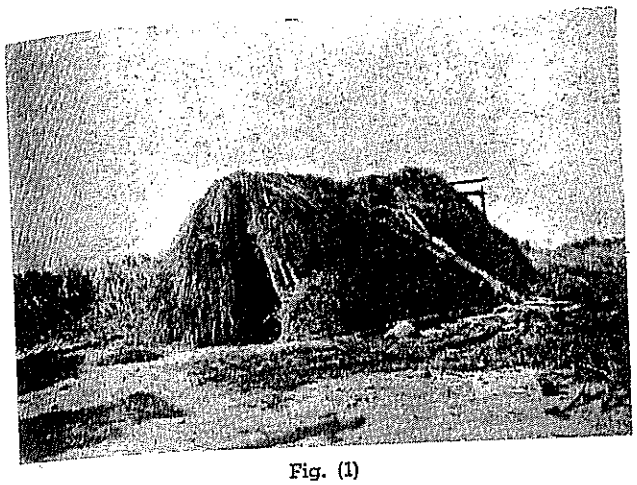

Fig. (1)

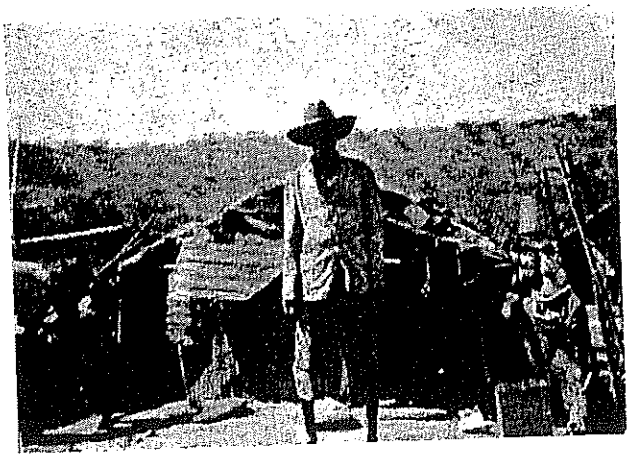

Fig. (2)

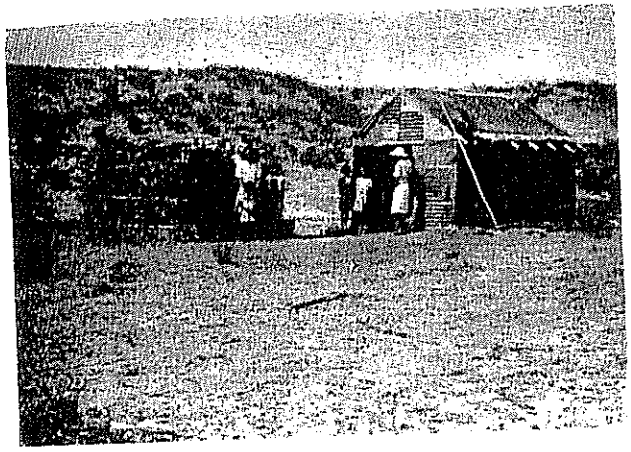

Fig. (3)

Fig. (4)

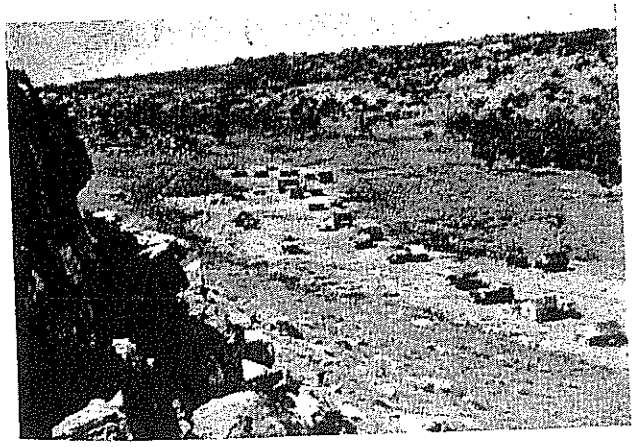

Fig. (5)

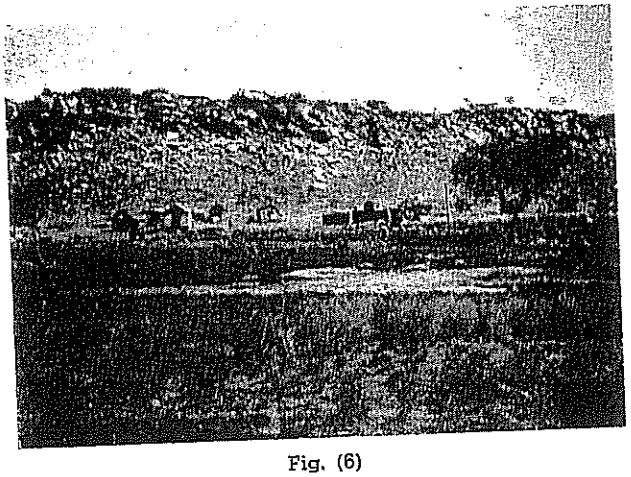

Fig. (6)

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(1) Old style of reed hut. (2) Medicine Man in front of tin humpy. (3) Typical iron one room house with summer house nearby. (4) Cocky's camp area — The corroboree ground (5) Main camp area looking East. (6) A portion of main camp with main mission houses on the hill behind.

CHAPTER SIX

THE NATIVE POLICIES - GOVERNMENT

In the previous chapter we reviewed contacts that had occurred fortuitously with an increasing deliberateness in the case of native labour for the boats and promiscous contacts by the brown men as well as the individualistic ventures of Hunter, Hadley and D'Antoine. On the foundation of the Mission (1899) we enter into an era of immediate deliberate policies for Sunday Island the purpose of which is its elevation and christianization. To understand the results seen in a changing culture we must be acquainted with the policies that were followed and the methods used for their implementation. Three separate policies affected the Sunday Islander. Two of these were governmental and covered respectively the control and supervision of the pearling industry and also the control and supervision of the black population of Western Australia. These two dovetailed into each other to form a framework into which the third policy, that of the Mission, was to fit. The two aspects of governmental policy were state wide and therefore general whereas the Mission policy was always immediate and particular. These three policies generally showed a fair degree of agreement but integration has never been perfect. As in point of time the governmental policies were in the field before that of the Mission we shall now review them in that order.

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND ATTITUDE. This will be considered in two chronological divisions - before and after the founding of the Mission. In the former era Sunday Island did not have special treatment but was simply a small part of a vast northwest area isolated and hard to control. In this century the Government policy for Sunday Island became particularized within the general framework of native policy.

(A) THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIVES BEFORE 1900. It is only from the sixties onwards that the Bardi and government control were in any way related. As settlement and industry were expanding over an increasing area of largely unknown country the efforts of the legislature were mainly directed towards the protection of the aborigines from cruelty and ill treatment. The abuses associated with the early employment of native women divers received early attention. Such employment was prohibited in 1868 by ordinance. During the debate on this question Mr. Maitland Brown stated that they were more numerous than the men and better divers. The prohibition against employing women led to the engagement - not always voluntary - of Malays. The conditions of employment for the Malays were so unhealthy that the Dutch Government made laws restricting their employment. Meanwhile the local government passed the Imported Labour Registry Act in 1874 to try and prevent the abuses. The cost of employment of Malays also was too great to allow a worthwhile profit so the registered number of Malays dropped and native men divers engaged. These native divers did not get money wages. The Gov. Resident at Roebourne gives this description in 1880 of the treatment of these native divers (1). "They are allowed flour, tea and sugar. At sea they help themselves to flour but when they are camped on shore or the vessel is anchored near the shore, they receive a ration of 2 lbs per diem, otherwise the flour would be wasted among their shore friends. They are also allowed tobacco. A plug of negrohead per week; for clothing they are allowed 1 shirt, 1 pair trousers and one blanket at the beginning, and the same at the end of the season. I think it fortunate that they do not receive money wages, as habits of intemperance would be encouraged from which at present they are free." As Hedley and Hunter were operating at Bulgin Creek in the seventies (see previous chapter) these conditions would be current there.

High native employment had a shortlived boom. There was a return in the early eighties to Asiatic crews and divers and the aboriginals have never returned generally to this industry. After Broome and Derby were founded in 1884 the white population of the coast and pastoral hinterland increased quickly. The natives often had a warlike demeanour as the whites were occupying their waterholes and depriving them of access to erstwhile game. The contact with whites generally, and the promiscous contact with the coloured pearling crews particularly, produced disease, deterioration. To combat this physical distress the government decided on a policy of protection which largely took the form of sustenance to destitute natives. The "Aborigines Protection Act" 1886 allowed for the setting up of an Aborigines Protection Board" and also defined the terms on which natives might be employed by settlers. These general "protective" duties of the Board were as follows: (2)

(1) To apportion and supply in their discretion all moneys granted out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund for the benefit of Aborigines.

(2) To distribute blankets, clothes and other relief among the Aborigines.

(3) To submit to the Governor any proposal relating to the care, custody or education of Aboriginal children.

(4) To provide as far as practicable for the supply of medicine, medical attendance, rations and shelter to sick, aged and infirm Aborigines.

(5) To manage and regulate the use of all native reserves.

(6) To supervise generally all matters affecting the Welfare of the Aboriginals and to protect them from ill treatment, imposition or fraud.

Thus there operated a "laissez-faire" policy with governmental regulations to mitigate the evils resulting from contact and to stipulate in regards to employment of natives the minima of requirements below which decency would be outraged. Though Western Australia received responsible government under the

"Constitution Act" 1889 the control of the aboriginal was reserved and confided in a Board responsible only to the Governor. As a result of strong agitation the full control was handed over to the W.A. Government in 1897. Meanwhile a humanitarian outlook was manifesting itself in the daily newspapers demanding a more realistic and positive approach to the native question in the North-West. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Perth - Bishop Gibney - did much to re-awaken the sleeping concept in Western Australian life of the Christian duty towards the natives. As we have already noted the R.C. Mission at Beagle Bay under the Trappist Fathers was founded in 1890 while a similar attempt at Cygnet Bay was not able to consolidate itself and was abandoned. This was the rising tide of "welfare thinking" which caught S. Hadley in its surge. This same current also found its first governmental climax in the Aborigines Act of 1905. There had not been, however, any official attempt to date to prevent the undesirable prostitution of the Aboriginal women particularly by the crews of the pearling luggers - except the appointment of a few police constables who were required to police vast impossible areas. Dr. Roth in reporting on his findings on native conditions remarked that "along the whole coastline extending from a few miles south of La Grange Bay to the Eastern Shores of King Sound drunkenness and prostitution, the former being the prelude to the latter, with consequent loathsome disease, are rife amongst the Aborigines." (3) Such was the general situation at the time of the founding of the Sunday Island Mission.

(B) <u>GOVERNMENT TWENTIETH CENTURY POLICY</u>. When Dr. W.E. Roth, the Chief Protector of Queensland was asked to investigate the native situation in W.A. he found that the whole machinery needed overhauling because of abuses and legal weaknesses. Under the 1886 Act fitness of an employer of a native was not a pertinent question while only 1 in every 7 cases of employment was a

wage paid. Natives were being arrested without warrant and chained by the neck to the saddle of the trooper's horse. Force was used to make a native plead guilty - the physical weapon he could see but the significance of pleading guilty he could not see - only feel after the case was over. The "Aborigines Act 1905", however, was conservative. Its object was humanitarian - for protection and care. The authority for protection and care was vested in an Aborigines Department with the aid of a Chief Protector, Deputy Chief Protector and ordinary Protectors. The Act abolished the old indenture system of employment and tightened up the conditions under which contracts could be entered into. This Department also was given the right to proclaim reserves not exceeding 2,000 acres in any one ministerial district.

S. Hadley in founding the Mission received permission to carry on under the old Act and his tenure of the Island was "only if regular reports were satisfactory." The Government's assistance lay in its benediction and allowance of free tenure. The Aboriginal Department's Report for the year ended 30/6/1902 states re Hadley: "The only assistance he now gets is the free tenure of the islands and a parcel of blankets. He also acts for the Department in relieving five decrepit old natives." Because of the firm establishment of the Mission, Hadley (on his request) was given a grant of £100 per year as a help towards the education of the children. This amount was increased to £150 in 1905. The Department was helping financially other Missions the grant bearing some relationship to the number of native scholars. In 1917 the Government altered its basis of financial help. Subsidy was paid on a capitation basis and the amount decreased or increased according to the number of children up to 16 years of age notified to the Department which considered itself responsible for such. Thus in 1918 S. Hadley noted in his diary that as from July 1st 1918 42 adults and 21 children were classified as indigents receiving government assistance.

S. Hadley reported in 1922 as follows: "The government allows us £5 per head per annum for all indigents and all children that have lost their parents. They are now paying us for 36 persons in all and the lists and the treatment are examined quarterly by the Police patrol. They also allow us blankets and clothing for these persons." (4) During the depression the subsidy ceased. This came very hard upon the Mission in the early thirties. Subsidies were subsequently paid and the policy of the Department still remains the same. The Chief Protector wrote in 1939 - "The subsidy has varied according to the number of indigents, but until the last year or two it has been between £200-£300 and altogether Sunday Island Mission has cost the Government £6,882. Recently the subsidy has fallen because the Missionaries have evidently not been looking after the place or neglecting to advise us of those who should be subsidised." (5) This letter shows that a subsidy of £7 per head per annum was paid and gives also the following table of sustenance and support.

	SUBSIDY			CLOTHING				
	ADULTS	CHILDREN	AMOUNT	BLANKETS	TROUSERS & SHIRTS	DRESSES & SHIRTS	GIRLS DRESSES	BOYS SHIRTS & TROUSERS
1934	38	3	£217	40	11	20	6	3
1935	35	1	£198	40	11	20	6	2
1936	21	1	£126	30	9	17	3	3
1937	21	-	£129	30	9	17	-	3
1938	17	-	£106	30	10	18	4	-
1939	19	1	£114	30	10	15	2	2

This policy of subsidy is still continued and the Native Affairs Department supplies a ration of 4/- per week plus an annual blanket and shirt with trousers or dress with undershirt. This ration becomes on Sunday Island for the old aged a weekly allowance of 8 lbs of flour, 1½ lbs of sugar, 3 oz of tea and a box of matches. Under the heading "Missions" in the 1949 Annual Report of the Commissioner for Native Affairs future financial assistance is referred to in the following terms: "Plans are afoot to not only increase the subsidy rates and food and clothing but to make available amounts for capital expenditure for

specific purposes. Whilst certain directives and standardisation, especially in education requirements, may be imposed, greater assistance than ever before is to be made to the private Mission in the interests of the native peoples. The untold gratitude of the Department goes to the Missionaries in their efforts to alleviate distress and wants."

Under the Act of 1905 power was given to proclaim protectors from time to time. Mr. Hadley found some difficulty in keeping undesirables off the Island so he wrote to Perth saying: "I am in the curious position of superintendent of a Government subsidised Mission without any authority even on my own island ..... " As a result of his plea the Government Gazette of 1 11/07 declared him to be a "Protector of Aborigines". The subsequent superintendents of the Mission have been so designated and have extensive powers over the natives and also in respect to the Island itself.

At the beginning of this century Missions were allowed to operate (with the full approval of the Government) to educate and civilize the natives. The attitude of the Departmental officials was to encourage and now is to gently insist on the teaching of crafts and trades to the native and to make him aware of the conditions and requirements of our monetary and agricultural economy. J. Isdell, visiting inspector, under date 9/4/08 writes in his diary concerning Sunday Island: "No trades of any description are being taught, even the simplest art of baking bread is unknown to them. Being able to read and write will neither make natives virtuous nor feed or clothe them." In submitting his report to the Chief Protector under date 25/4/08 Mr. Isdell enlarges as follows: "The majority of them do nothing. There is not even a decent cook amongst them. For the number of years Mr. Hadley has had these natives under his care, they seem to me to have learned very little of use to them ..... morally they are not a bit better than the bush natives; it is only the food,

clothes, and not having to work for it that keeps them on Sunday Island .... I strongly advised Mr. Hadley to remove his mission to some more suitable place on the East side of King Sound, where he can secure a lease of some pastoral lands." With a view to inducing the natives to adopt agriculture the Department has always been of the opinion that a transfer to the mainland where land was available was a desirable thing - as we shall note again in a later chapter.

This education in trades was included in the recommendations in 1935 of G.T. Wood who deprecated the production of "spoilt" natives. He remarks also: "I do with all emphasis suggest that this process of Christianising the native should take a more leisurely form; if it comes as part of a natural progress, well and good; but other elements of civilization should first be introduced into the native mentality - otherwise there will always be the risk of the ready response being in the mind of the native merely an easy means of obtaining food without trouble." (6) On the next page of his report Mr. Wood speaks specifically in regard to Sunday Island in the following terms. "The Superintendent regards it as a good site geographically but not industrially .... As indicated by my remarks in my interim report on the question of leprosy, I inclined to the view that Sunday Island might be a suitable site for a Leprosarium. I had not then seen the island. Since writing that report I have visited Sunday Island, and see no reason to change the opinion I then expressed. Buildings are there which might be taken over for the new purpose, and the Mission established in some other locality more suitable to its work."

The reorganization of Aboriginal matters in 1936 under a Department of Native Affairs, "having as its head a Commissioner for Native Affairs" has led to a more positive approach. This was the result of the "Native Administration Act 1936". The old laissez-faire in native matters/15 fast dying. The recent war delayed some of this new Department's plans. In the Annual Report of the

Commissioner in 1945 under "State Native Policy" we note however, the following policy. The quotation is given fully as it is pertinent today for all Aboriginal Mission work. The Report says (inter alia) "No objection is to be raised to the establishment of Mission posts on native reserves as centres of relief or medical attention, provided the Mission posts are under the control of accredited Mission Boards of the principal Churches. Such Mission posts must work in harmony with tribal customs and they are not to celebrate legal marriages contrary to the provisions of the Native Administration Act and contrary to the social laws of the natives ..... Detribalisation is inevitable. Already this is substantially so in Western Australia and for this reason the outlook must be towards the education and industrial training of detribalised natives, because their future is now mainly an economic one since their means of livelihood will depend on our industries and their mental development should be along these lines. Even so we must lay a steadying hand on undue influence with tribal life by protecting tribal natives from molestation as far as possible, except to medical attention and food assistance as may be necessary when bush food is scarce through bad seasons. Detribalised natives should be encouraged to industrious habits by training in farm and pastoral work, and elementary instruction in trades of interest to such industries. .... It is also necessary that there should be spiritual and moral guidance and whilst we must be thoughtful of the views of anthropological experts as well, especially in regard to tribal natives, the outstanding fact is that detribalisation is substantial, and for this reason our policy must have an economic bias through a unitary system of official and missionary effort .... Missions should be dual purposed, that is, besides their religious teachings they must undertake the mental development of detribalised and semi-detribalised natives, by education and training in order to fit them - at least the detribalised

natives - as economic units .... The dismemberment of full blood tribal families is not desirable, however, even for education or Christianity. Christianity can be taken to full blood tribal natives, but it is not necessary to disturb their families for this, or for any other purpose ..... Rural and pastoral pursuits are considered to be the most suitable avenues of employment for native labour. Socially they appear to be much happier in country districts"

In 1948 Mr. F.E.A. Bateman reported in a similar strain as follows. (7) "It appears to me that if missions are to play their full part in the uplifting of the native race then the first essential is for the Government to lay down a positive policy to which they must adhere. The day of evangelising the natives unaccompanied by other activities to uplift them has gone. Something more than religious training, accompanied by elementary teaching of the 3 R's, is necessary. The need for the teaching of hygiene and the imparting of technical knowledge and training in handcrafts must be concurrent with evangelism .... Mission workers should be carefully chosen and the Superintendent if possible should have anthropological training. Teachers including educational, technical and agricultural, nurses etc, should be specialists and not as at present obtains in some instances, persons of poor capacity who have heard the call and find something agreeable to them in Mission activity."

Within this general attitude to Missions we hear Mr. Bateman on page 7 of the same report express this estimate of Sunday Island in particular, viz. "Sunday Island is a barren piece of rock which offers no scope for cultivation of any type. Its only advantage is that it is isolated but that very isolation has in itself many objectionable features .... A better site for this Mission would appear to be on the mainland opposite the island in the vicinity of Molumba Bay. As the native camps are better constructed and cleaner than the usual type, I believe that these people would respond to better living con-

ditions. It is therefore desirable that huts be erected for these people at an early opportunity. I do not consider however that any new installations are desirable immediately as the possible advantages of changing the site of this Mission should be given further consideration by the Department."

The sum and substance of all this is that it is generally considered that the site of Sunday Island Mission is far from ideal and that all evangelisation should be accompanied by a positive program of technical, moral and religious education with an economic base. We will have cause to discuss these fully in a later chapter.

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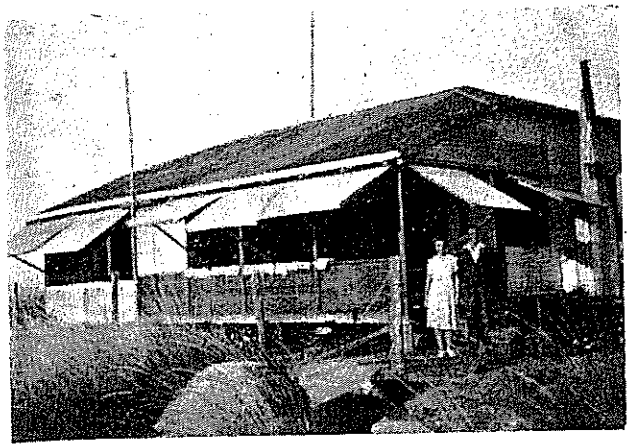
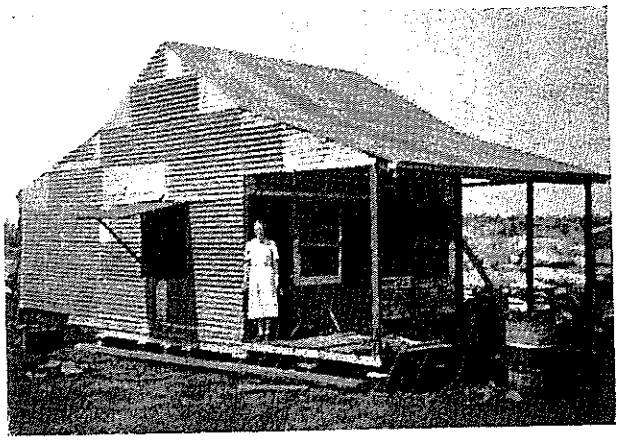


Fig. (7)



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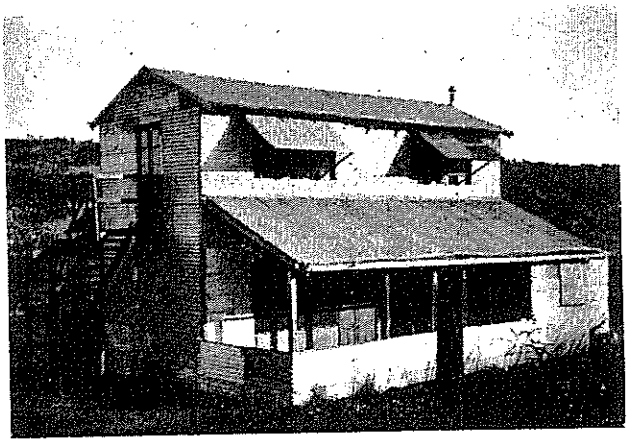

Fig. (9)

Fig. (10)

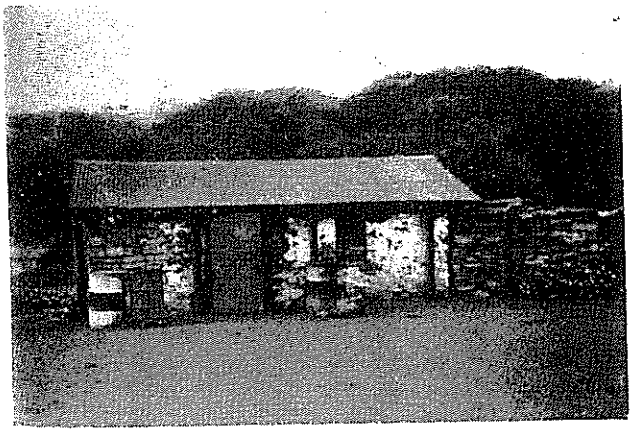

Fig. (11)

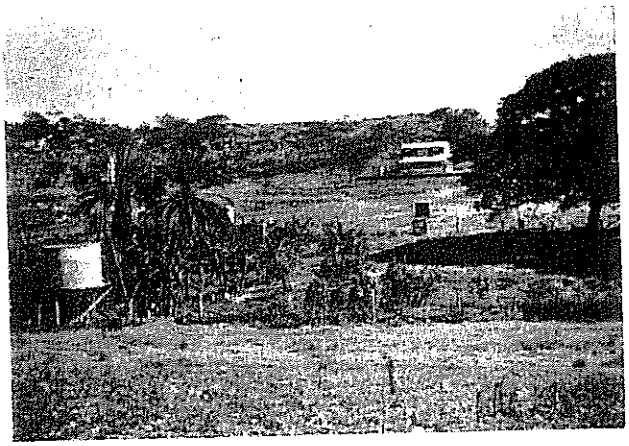

Fig. (12)

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(7) The main mission house on the hill. (8) Recently built house on the hill for a new worker. (9) Two storey house in the valley for mission workers. (10) School of two classrooms with residence at rear — between the main and Wigan's camps. (11) The present day store — originally S. Hadley's home built near the main camp. (12) The mission garden with the two storey residence in the background and showing one of the two large shady rubber trees.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MISSION'S NATIVE POLICY

The Sunday Island Mission was a private venture undertaken by S. Hadley and continued "at the will of the Government". Thus from 1899 to 1922 the Mission policy was that of S. Hadley. When the United Aborigines Mission took over the work at the close of 1922 a new era began. Policy in this latter period was a mixture of that of the official Council and that of the changing superintendents located on the Island or sometimes at Derby. We shall now give our attention to these in turn.

(1) THE PURPOSES AS SEEN BY S. HADLEY. In a letter to the Council of the U.A.M. dated 3/1/22 Mr. Hadley explained in the following terms why he chose the isolated Island as a Mission post. His words were: "As regards the reasons of the mission being on the island it is because the most of the natives belong to this and the surrounding islands and the mainland is overrun with the coloured crews from the Pearling luggers who debauch every woman they can find." It was a logical choice for Mr. Hadley. He was familiar with the Bardi natives and he had a hold over them while Sunday Island was his "home" for quite a number of years before the official founding of the mission. Certainly the coloured crews worried him. Most of his quarterly reports at the beginning of the Mission made reference to this problem. Here are two typical quotations illustrating the problem. The first is dated 1/12/1899. "The pearling vessels are now returning to Cygnet Bay to lay up for the hurricane season and I am afraid that a great many of the natives will leave here now and be going over there to the vessels but I do not mind it so much if the women can be kept here away from the coloured labour employed in the fleet ....." This yearly migration meant for Hadley a loss of manpower and, when the men returned, a lack of willingness to work. It also repeatedly meant

his attention being given to combatting "a very loathsome skin erruption" contracted by contact with the coloured crews. Under date 30/6/1912 he again writes: "I am very happy in being able to say that this past half year has Seen a great change for the better in the sexual question of the Asiatic labour and the native women. There has been comparatively no communication at all between the natives and the pearling fleet and a great deal of this is owing to the very excellent and zealous way in which Constable Johnson performs the duties that are allotted to him."

In a spirit of remorse for his early exploitation of the natives Mr. Hadley sought to elevate and help the natives. One of the residents of Broome indicated that Hadley on returning to the North-West after his trip to England was conscious of the debts he had incurred in his pearling days and that he vowed he would not shave until all his creditors were completely liquidated. He did pay back all his debts but continued to retain his beard. The founder of the Mission gave his "charges" all they needed provided they worked for him. For the natives given relief or established by the government he provided a meal twice a day receiving rice, bread, porridge and tea with a weekly allowance of tobacco. A.H. Wace, Resident Magistrate of Derby, reported to the Chief Protector in 14/6/1904 as follows: "They are not fed by the Mission unless they work and all work is paid for in kind. The men may work if they like .... when work has to be done volunteers are called for and as the work is paid for, labour is always forthcoming. The women look after the watering and the garden and in return are fed .. The boys and girls are taught in school and are fed and clothed." This policy of feeding the natives tended to attract natives to the Mission and there was a gradual influx of migrants - some to sojourn and some to stay.

Education was given to the boys and girls by the nuns who served

under Hadley and sometimes by himself when short staffed. The curriculum seems to have been very elementary. The material he had to work on was quite raw and he was satisfied with instructing in the three R's. No attempt was made at adult education nor to teach trades other than managing the boats. Mr. Hadley had the services of a Japanese lad as a cook.

It was Hadley's policy to change the native way of life slowly and without drastic change in tribal custom. He was slow to introduce improved shelters for the natives, his first venture being the erection of a "men's house" - not a great favourite with the men. In the report of R. Wace (mentioned above) we read: "It has been the aim of the Mission to educate the aboriginals without abolishing their tribal customs, rites and ceremonies. To inculcate some religious training and to teach the younger children to read and write as well. I have not seen before such intelligent natives - I was surprised to see the children writing to dictation and doing simple mental arithmetic - calculations that one has hitherto considered quite beyond the capacity of the black."

From the economic standpoint three things need to be noted. Mr. Hadley attempted to make the Mission self-supporting. The pearling was undertaken so that he might have sufficient funds to care for his charges and the employing of the natives for their own sake seems to have been only a secondary motive. With the same purpose in mind experiments for the growing of cotton and rubber on the island were undertaken. Realizing the restrictions of the soil on Sunday Island and believing that cultivation was extremely limited Mr. Hadley contemplated the possibility of transferring the Mission or expanding the Mission to the mainland. In James Isdell's diary (mentioned previously) we read under date 9/4/1908 as follows: "Started 5 p.m. in the cutter for Camagood Inlet, situated on east side of King Sound about 50 miles distant from Sunday Island to inspect and report on some land that Mr. Hadley has

applied for to start a fresh Mission Station." This transfer was recommended by Isdell but apparently it was refused by the Department. Subsequently we shall see such a transfer attempted under Mr. Hadley's successors. The third economic element was the approach to outside religious bodies to take over the work and to relieve Mr. Hadley of a great financial strain. From the very beginning the question of finance played a prominent part. The cost of financing such a project as the Mission then stood for was quite a formidable task.

At least five approaches were made by Mr. Hadley to other outside organizations to secure their aid and sustenance. As early as 12/9/1900 we see him reporting that he had approached the Aboriginal Friends Society "With view to placing the work under them." Not that Mr. Hadley at that stage desired to vacate the scene but rather that some of the financial burden should rest on other shoulders. This first approach did not result in any alteration of the status quo. Some time later a transfer to the Anglicans was mooted. The Annual Report of the Chief Protector in 1906 has this pertinent paragraph: "There has been a proposal that the Mission shall be undertaken by the South-Western Diocese and the Right Rev. Bishop Goldsmith has visited the north recently. Negotiations, however, are still pending and my dealings are as yet with Mr. Hadley, the original founder." When these negotiations failed with the Anglicans, Mr. Hadley approached the Wesleyans to solicit their support - but with similar result. These unsuccessful negotiations were partly responsible for Mr. Hadley contemplating a transfer of or an extension of the mission to the mainland as mentioned above. While seeking permission of the Government for a grant of land on the mainland Mr. Hadley in 1910 had discussions also with Australian Aborigines Mission (later known as United Aborigines Mission). In this case the approach seems to have been made by

the A.A.M. to discuss a joint venture centred on King Sound. Mr. Hadley gives this version of the discussions (1) "Mr. Telfer, the representative of the Australian Mission, has approached our Mission as to whether it will be possible to open up a branch mission on the east side of King Sound, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cone Bay, where we may be able to work in conjunction and mutually assist one another in carrying on some work amongst the natives there that shall be self-supporting having as its support tropical cultivation mainly rubber, but I replied that I was in no position to make any definite arrangements until the Department finally acceded to my requests for a block of land that I had applied for in that vicinity." Again these negotiations produced no alteration of the scope or in the control of the Mission.

During 1914 Mr. Hadley was absent from the Island on a visit to England. The superintendency of the island during his absence was vested in Mr. H. Smith. Immediately on his return Mr. Hadley approached the Australian Aborigines Mission to take over full control of the Sunday Island Mission. Three Minutes in the Minute Book of the A.A.M. tersely give the story. They are as follows: April, 1915. "A special meeting of Council was called by Mr. Blakemore to meet Mr. & Mrs Smith and hear of work on Sunday Island. Mr. Hadley wishing to dispose of his share there has offerred it to the A.A.M. for the sum of £1,000. It was decided that nothing could be done by Council until we have the usual monthly meeting." 17/5/1915 has briefly the minute: "A letter from Mr. Hadley of Sunday Island was read. The matter was referred to the executive committee to deal with." As a result of the recommendation of the executive the next meeting on 21/6/1915 passed this resolution: "that we write Mr. H. Smith asking him whether he would be willing to go back to Sunday Island under the old conditions, A.A.M. not being able to overtake the work there as suggested by Mr. Hadley." World War No. 1 was increasing in tempo and it was not felt by the

A.A.M. as being opportune that the Island should then be taken over. When the war was over Mr. Hadley again opened up negotiations with the A.A.M. The founder of the Mission was adding up his years and he was finding the work too strenuous. The War years had been exceedingly difficult ones. The relative Minute in the A.A.M. Minute Book under date 14/4/1919 reads as follows: "Letters were read from Mr. Hadley and Miss Lock offering Sunday Island to the Council. Owing to the A.A.M. being a faith mission it was decided that we could do nothing in the matter. At the same time we felt it would be a pity for the work on the Island to be lost when Mr. Hadley leaves. Mr. Thrum moved that the secretary write Rev. W. F. Turton of Albany and ask him whether his committee could move in the matter as the Presbyterians have a Mission in the North West .... " Thus, because of lack of finance, the A.A.M. did not attempt then to take over the station. The transfer, however, untimately occurred in 1923 as outlined in a later chapter. These details are given at length to indicate the constant financial strain the Superintendent bore and to show that a proper programme enabling the existence of a self-supporting unit was a policy existing from the beginning and extremely difficult in its implementation.

(B) THE PLANS AND ATTITUDES OF THE A.A.M. The Australian Aborigines Mission stated their objects thus: "The objects ... shall be the Evangelisation of the Aborigines of Australia, irrespective of Denominational distinction, and also, if necessary, to carry on industrial work amongst the natives." On the matter of Finance their constitution provided as follows: "The Mission is supported entirely by the Freewill offerings of those who wish to aid the work ... No more money is to be expended than is thus received, going into debt being considered inconsistent with entire dependence upon God. The Council seeks faithfully to distribute the funds available to meet the needs

of the Mission and its workers, but no promise or guarantee of any fixed amount of support is given in any case, and each Missionary and Worker is expected to recognise that his (or her) dependence for the supply of every need is on God, who has called him (or her) to labour, and not on any human organization." This financial policy of anti-debt and a dependence entirely upon freewill offerings are the hallmarks of what is commonly called a "faith Mission". Thus no expansion of the work undertaken was ever possible beyond the funds immediately in hand. The task or objects of the organization were pre-eminently spiritual for "Evangelisation of the Aborigines" was considered to be the preaching of the need for conversion to Christianity. This conversion entailed a break with all the evil of the old way of life and an embracing of the new. The two words "if necessary" used above in association with the object "to carry on industrial work amongst the natives", are to be read as indicating a reluctance for participating in the industrial work and such work was only to be indulged in when no alternative could be found and purely as a means to "Evangelisation".

This was the general policy and official attitude of the A.A.M. The program to carry out this policy was left almost entirely to the Missioner on each particular Mission Station. This discretion vested in the local missioner could work one of two ways. It could mean a fluid and adjustable policy conceived and carried out on the station itself or it could mean a changing policy of no durable continuity. Should the superintendent remain sufficiently long at his post the former was the most likely alternative while if there was a frequent change in the leadership there was a grave possibility of a fluctuating program and lack of continuity of detailed purpose. This latter course is just what has happened under the A.A.M. (later known as the U.A.M.). Mr. Hadley fathered the enterprise for 24½

years. After the A.A.M. took over the work at the close of 1922 there have been 25 workers (excluding the present personnel) on the Island averaging a stay of 3 yrs 3 mths. One man since 1936 did two separate terms of 6¼ and 3½ years but a part of that time he was alone on the island and it was the opinion of the Department that he was not temperamentally suited for the task. The next longest term of service was just over 6 years. This was rendered by a woman who in the midst of her work, married, resigned and then returned for a short while. Such changing of personnel created possibilities of changing fronts and this actually occurred. Some of these changes will be recorded in a succeeding chapter.

The attitude of the early workers of the A.A.M. was substantially the same as Mr. Hadley's particularly in relation to the general welfare of the natives. I quote in full an interesting report submitted by the Missioner to the Council and dated 8/11/1924. "There are 91 persons fed daily, of which 26 are girls, 39 women and 26 boys, the children getting two meals, the women one meal. 23 are given three meals a day. This includes the Baker, Native school teacher, Cattle boy, two goat girls, and the rest are little ones of the infant class and those younger still. These are included in the 91 above. This makes 68 of the 91 who are only partly fed, but in addition to these are 19 men who are only fed when they are working shelling etc. This brings the number of those partly fed to 87.

Evidently it is possible for the adults to maintain themselves, seeing that the men get no food only when they are working, except a man may have to maintain himself for 2 or 3 weeks at a stretch, as we cannot employ all at once. The women only get one meal a day, and this is the way they lived under Mr. Hadley's management. (also have multiplied). I think we cannot expect the adults to maintain themselves further than they are doing, nor do I think

things can be altered to any advantage under our present circumstances. There are one or two exceptions to the above particulars - sometimes in the winter months we have the big children watering the garden and this means three meals the days they work, also the missionary's kitchen girl (included in the 91) gets three meals on washing day and ironing day. There are other exceptions at different times according to the work in hand. We bake 50 lb. flour per day. This makes 15 loaves size 9 inches square and rise to 5 & 6 inches. These loaves are cut into two and each half into 5 making 10 slices from the loaf. This is the regular slice for a meal. At breakfast is given a pannican of wheatmeal porridge with the bread, also tea. At dinner a pannican of pea-soup or rice or sago etc. is given with the bread. This pannican measures 3½ inches deep and 3 inches across. The working boys Baker etc, and the kitchen girl get treacle or jam for breakfast and tea, and the working boys meat for dinner. The women's one meal is bread and tea, except that the old women get porridge."

The world depression which affected Australia in the late twenties had its repercussions on policy. As previously mentioned above, Government financial assistance fell considerably at this time while the bottom also was beginning to fall out of the shell market. The financial drag of feeding many people gratis was too great and something had to be done. It was decided then that in future supplies would be given only in return for shell and to those entitled to a ration when provided by the Government. Meals prepared for the natives were to cease; from then on they must be prepared to do things for themselves. This change of front was drastic but a change was certainly long overdue. Here is an outline of the change in policy as penned by one of the Missioners to the Council on 25/2/30. "The industrial work in the past, instead of proving a help to the preaching of the Gospel has been a definite hindrance.

Our reasons for saying so are: First there has never been the separation unto the Lord that there should be on the part of those who have professed faith in Christ. Secondly the tendency of almost every one who has professed faith in Christ has been to grow cold and go back to the old life, i.e., to smoking, fighting and corroborree etc. Thirdly the majority of our people have been becoming unthankful for what has been provided for them and have taken the attitudeof looking on the missionary as one whose duty it is to spend his time in providing the things of this life for them with as little effort as possible on their (the native's) part. All this leads us to the conclusion that our method of carrying on industrial work is not the best in the light of eternity. And on top of all this we are now placed in such a position that without capital to purchase equipment and stores we are unable to carry on industrial work. So with our whole confidence in our God we have decided to cease the Industrial work, at least along the lines on which it has been conducted in the past, and to devote our time and energy to the winning of souls for the Master. That means that Sunday Island is now in very truth, a faith mission. We gathered our people together and explained the position to them. They were plainly told that for the future no stores were to be given out excepting in payment for shell etc. and to the children. The Ration people will receive only what the Government allowance enables us to purchase. In the past we have had about 46 women coming to breakfast each morning and in payment for same carrying wood and water. Now we have from 3 to 6 according to the amount of work we require doing. The others have to go fishing etc. and it is surprising how much they get when they have to. Next we have ceased giving meals on Sunday. In the past the women who came to the service received breakfast while the men received a double slice of bread each "sufficient for two meals". Of course the attendance at the services has dropped off considerably but we rather

rejoice for those who do come are genuine seekers, we are sure. Never before have any of us known such power in the services and to the Glory of God fifteen of our dear people have in front of all the others confessed Christ as their Saviour ... For the future the only class of work we are going to encourage is that which the people can do on their own initiative. We will use the lugger mainly for visiting those of our people who go to the surrounding islands for food and shell, and for evangelising the surrounding peoples. Already our people are realizing the benefits of a little more industry in shell gathering; for we have increased the price of shell. Five of our young men who in the past have just loafed around when not employed on the boat went out last springs and returned with 180 lbs of shell between them. During the time they were away they caught fish and turtle to help out their little bit of flour and on their return received from 3/6 to 4/4 for their work, which to them is a large sum".....

This adverse attitude to "free meals" has been followed since the early thirties and is still operating today.

The unsuitableness of Sunday Island as a Mission site also was increasingly felt. This was an economic problem largely. The Island's surface was too rocky to offer sufficient scope for the advancement deemed imperative in this direction. In April 1930 two of the Missionaries - the man superintendent who had been 6 months on the island, and a single lady missionary who had been 19 months - submitted a joint recommendation of a shift to the mainland. The report is here submitted to show that the facts of the pros and cons were known by the missionaries. In a later chapter we shall see how the relative values of the pros and cons were wrongly estimated resulting in an attempted transfer to the mainland and consequent failure. The report reads as follows: "We have viewed the land which has been recommended to the Council by Mr. Neville as

being more suitable for a mission station than Sunday Island and we here present our report. Points in favour as compared with the Island.

1. All that is now being carried on at Sunday Island could be continued over there, such as shell work, crochet work. In addition there are great possibilities of cultivation as the water supply is splendid and we consider the the soil to be good judging from the wonderful growth there now. At Sunday Island the prospects of cultivation are nil as it is largely solid rock.

2. On the mainland there is scope for any number of stock, whereas the Island only yields a scanty supply of goats.

3. We consider it an advantage having access by land and sea and the tides which around the island are dangerous and very inconvenient have not to be contended with in the mainland waters. The access by land would make it possible to form a centre from which to carry on itinerating work inland.

4. On the mainland there is an abundance of timber for building purposes, whereas on the Island there is none.

We feel that the Christians should be separated from the main camp and a move to the mainland would help in this direction in that a portion of land could be set aside for the homes of those who love the Lord. We could in many ways make a fresh start.

Points against the mainland as compared with Sunday Island.

1. It is the natural home for the people and there is a possibility of some of our people refusing to leave. There is a danger of after having started on the mainland the folk growing tired of the garden work.

2. To begin on the mainland would necessitate implements for cultivation, also waggon and donkeys for transport as the Mission houses would need to be built some distance from the point of landing.

Conclusions: Sunday Island offers no prospect if we are to consider the

future of the people, while the mainland, if they settle down to the new conditions, there is a prospect of them becoming an industrious and self-supporting people. Note: We would not suggest trade with the outside world, but that our people may learn to provide for themselves and their dependents."

The Missionaries under the A.A.M. generally were not in favour of gradual evolution of customs from heathen to Christian as Hadley had been. The rate of progress and just what in the "old life" should be immediately dropped on the profession of conversion by a native was a subject of continual debate amongst the missionaries. Two missionaries posted to the island soon after Mr. Hadley had finally retired were horrified at "Christians living in the same old heathen way and in the same old heathen customs as ever." Other missionaries, however, tolerated what seemed to them much lower standards than the ideal. This toleration was because "we must not expect too much from the natives". The question of the supply of tobacco has been a thorny one and illustrative of the varying attitude. Mr. Hadley himself smoked. This problem was ultimately referred to the Council for decision. It was included in the rations normally supplied to the natives. When the policy of supplies to be given only as payment for work done became operative in the early thirties it was decided not to sell tobacco at the store. One of the Missionaries wrote subsequently to the Council on the matter and the relative Minute under date of 23/3/35 indicates the official view: "Lengthy discussion re tobacco. Finally it was moved that we, as a Christian Mission, do not sanction the use of tobacco, but that we make enquiry as to whether it is the Government's intention that tobacco should be issued with the rations".

So with the knowledge in mind of these varying and evolving policies of both Government and Mission we turn to consider the effects their implementation had upon the natives themselves.

Fig. (13)

Fig. (14)

Fig. (15)

Fig. (16)

Fig. (17)

Fig. (18)

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(13) Boys with herolas and the catch. (14) Boys in typical dress with baby goats. (15) The seven girls living at the mission house. (16) Long grass on the flats in "Paddy's Country". (17) Lennie. (18) Doris — wife of Lennie.

REFERENCES

1. Appendix to the Annual Report of the Chief Protector in Parliament Papers of Government of W.A. Proceedings, 1910.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NATIVE HISTORY AND PROGRESS TO 1934

In 1934 there was an abortive attempt to transfer the Mission and its people to the mainland. This was a critical stage in the history of the Sunday Islanders. This present chapter will be given over to a review, from the native angle, of the history of the Mission from its inception until this attempted transfer. This history falls logically into the two divisions coinciding with the two different administrations - Mr. S. Hadley then the A.A.M. To these we now turn.

(A) PROGRESS UNDER HADLEY 1900-1922. To estimate any progress it will be necessary to review separate departments of life as a cross section will reveal unequal advances in various domains.

(a) Economics: S. Hadley's economics were radically different from that of the raw native. There was an attempt to change the source of food supply. For the native, we saw in a previous chapter, food was provided by Hadley provided the natives worked when required. The question was not one of whether adequate service was rendered for the provisions. To provide provisions it was necessary in white man's economy to earn purchasing power. This purchasing power lay wholly in the hands of Hadley throughout. It could not of course have been otherwise at the very beginning. Farming was to be supplemented by the direct supply of necessary goods. Thus Hadley first turned his attention to the collecting and marketing of beech-de-mer. But the supply of this was about finished in 1900 and so he procured a boat to do shell fishing. Writing on 17/1/1901 Mr. Hadley said: "I have been able to ship away 3½ tons of shell up to the present and we have still two months work left before my return." Thus was introduced an industry which soon became and remained the main source of acquiring purchasing power. In these shelling trips the men were fed and

clothed by the Mission but did not share in the proceeds. To add to purchasing power various types of cultivation were attempted. Attention was given first to cotton. By June 1905 the report could say: "We now have 21 plants which is a very good start." The white ants, however, defeated them here, after the first crop. Rubber seemed more attractive and the quarterly report of March 1912 was able to record: "We have now over 100 young rubber trees ready to stump and the plant out." This venture also was defeated by ants and storm. Fig. 12 shows one of the two large shady rubber trees still in the Mission garden.

For household needs a garden also was cultivated. By 1903 a police report on Sunday Island was able to print that "there is a garden of about two acres in which all sorts of vegetables and bananas are grown, the work being done by the natives and one white man." Early attempts to induce the natives to cultivate gardens of their own were abortive. Home needs were augmented also by the introduction of stock. Fowls were introduced from the very beginning and thrive upon the Island. Goats were added the following year and have been a feature of the Mission throughout. They yielded both milk and flesh. The same year there were added 4 cows in calf, 4 young heifers and a young bull. James Isdell in his report dated 25/4/1908 stated; "Mr. Hadley had 11 head of cattle and a flock of goats - a hundred or so - Mr. Bird assures me that the Island is fully stocked." This latter statement is far from the truth as we shall mention later. In attending this stock and cultivation native labour was used in accordance with Hadley's policy. Meanwhile the natives augmented their food supplies from the Mission by their fishing and a little collecting.

The First World War 1914/18 caused havoc in the procedure of earning purchasing power. On 31/12/1914 T. Smith - then in charge during Mr. Hadley's

visit to England - reported to the Chief Protector: "The war has robbed us of the shelling for troca shell, so that many little things which seem necessaries in a white man's country but mere luxuries to the black man, have been dispensed with, that articles of food etc. might be procured. The difficulty in disposing of the troca shell meant that the natives were thrown more upon their own resources for procuring food. The Government report for 1919 says that because a succession of lean years through war conditions Mr. Hadley "was compelled to send some of his natives back to their country on the east of the Sound." From 1919 the position began to improve.

(b) Educational. To take one's place in white man's economy education is imperative. Mr. Hadley had the assistance of two men who commenced teaching the children the rude elements of the three R's. The difficulty in language was quite a formidable one. Mr. Hadley on 7/2/1902 reports: "I have 20 regular attendants at school..... They are all very forward in their writing, much better than the reading as we are hampered by our imperfect knowledge of one another's language which I am sorry to say that I make very little improvement in." No attempt, however, was made to commit the native language to writing or translate the scriptures. K. Smith in 1913 was the first to attempt the Lord's Prayer in Buka. Nothing much else was done. The girls were taught the domestic arts. By 1904 we learn that "all the older girls have become sufficiently good at sewing to make their own dresses" while by 1908 we find Mr. Bird instructing four of the older girls in domestic work and dairy work, and the whole of the cooking process. The boys also were taught carpentering, breadmaking, gardening, attending to stock, boating and building construction. The training in these things was certainly not very thorough. The changing personnel of Mr. Hadley's assistants did not help towards consistent training in these trades.

As early as 1904 the Aborigines Department were suggesting the aid of a lady assistant for the women's and girl's side of the work. The Resident Magistrate of Derby, Mr. A.H. Wace, wrote to the Chief Protector on 14/6/1904 in the following terms. "At Mr. Hadley's request I beg to inform you that in my opinion it would be a great folly to introduce any change into the administration of Sunday Island especially so drastic a one as the introduction of a white woman. Moreover it is no place for a lady. It is not uncommon to see a boy plastered with blood from head to heels, the subject of tribal rites - men and women are but for loin cloths unclad often. I think it would be better for a gradual evolution to take place before any such experiment be adopted as I fear that prurience instead of modesty is all that would be gained." For the first decade of the Mission, then, the work was carried on by men. A new departure came in 1909 for Mr. Hadley's annual report of 30/6/1910 records: "I have been able, however, to have the children instructed by some of the ladies that made lengthy visits to the mission last year; and now we have a permanent matron and schoolmistress with us, Miss Jose, who I am glad to say has taken up the work here." Though Matron Jose did not remain long the Mission has rarely been without a women since. The presence of the lady folk allowed the development of the girl's dormitory system which came into operation for the unmarried girls in 1912.

Attempts were made to use natives as teachers. This scheme was pursued by Mr. H. Smith who wrote in 1913 - "quite recently we have directed two Christian girls into the art of kindergarten teaching. Their place for instruction being under a large tree on the hillside"; and also recorded in 1914 - "during the first quarter the classroom was conducted by two young dark men, who have made more advance than the rest of the scholars .... Recently the plan of teaching adopted has been that of several classes of

small children each conducted by an older boy who himself becomes more interested in lessons. These are in the first place presented by myself whilst taking an older girls class." The following year Mr. & Mrs Smith left the Island after S. Hadley's return from England and his junior tutorship scheme lapsed.

(c) Medical: This side of the Mission's work was very elementary. None of the early missionaries were trained in medicine and no woman (and hence no nurse) was available for the first decade. Natives when first introduced to clothes do not remove them when they get wet. The consequences is influenza. Early in 1900 the natives passed through "a period of almost universal sickness - an epidemic of influenza which laid all the men up more or less though it does not seem to affect the women so much." Again in 1902 sickness was prevalent. That year saw "continuous cases of sickness among the natives of both sexes, not serious but keeping the natives in a low state of health by their frequency." The Government had powers to undertake alleviation of sickness but doctors' visits to the Island were very infrequent. Years passed at times without an official medical inspection. The isolation of the Island contributed largely to this neglect. During the year 1919 eight of the natives died from an influenza epidemic - 3 old women, 4 old men and 1 young man.

During Hadley's superintendancy 47 deaths took place on the island. The causes of death were as follows: (1)

26 OLD FOLK: Senile decay 15, speared 1, paralysis 3, influenza 7.

6 MEN: Drowned 1, T.B. 1, quinsy 1, tumour 1, influenza 1, unknown 1.

4 WOMEN: Tumour 1, paralysis 1, childbirth 1, unknown 1.

11 CHILDREN: Influenza 4, convulsions 3, Whooping cough 2, Burnt 1 and haemorrhage 1.

Even in the last few years the position on the island has altered but

little. No one of the present missionaries has had any medical training and doctor's visits are very infrequent.

(3) Persisting customs. It has been noted that Mr. Hadley's policy was non-interference with customs. New introductions were superimposed on the old rather than interposed in their stead. Mr. Hadley encouraged the wearing of clothing but as pressure of any kind was foreign to his system he hoped for a gradual adaptation of civilised habits. Improvement in personal cleanliness was slow in appearing.

The free mixing of the boys and girls in the one building was foreign to the native's conception of the fitness of things. The report under date 10/8/1902 records that: "there is a very general dislike amongst the girls and boys to coming together in one general Sunday School; as in the daily school, the classes are divided and do not come at the same time."

By 1905 a new building for school and for church use had been erected. This had a curtain down the centre and both sexes were able to attend at the same time both school and church. The two sexes were on different sides of the curtain but the leader could see both. It was a number of years before this custom was dropped. It broke down first with the children but still persists as we have noted in Church worship although the dividing curtain no longer exists.

Dr. Roth in his report of 1904 was very insistent on the advantage that accrues to the children by the erection of dormitories so as to separate them entirely from the influence of the camp. Mr. Hadley also subscribed to this. It was not until 1912 on the advent of ladies to the Mission personnel that a dormitory for the unmarried girls became a reality. The young girls greatly appreciated the new quarters. Attention, the following year, was given to the building of a boys' dormitory. The report reads "We have, during the last quarter, built a dormitory for the school boys 24 feet by 20 feet, the boys

themselves doing the carpentering and making the inside fittings, bunks, table, washstand etc., and they have turned out a very good piece of work." Buildings erected for the joint occupancy of the men were not appreciated by them though they received, in 1902, first attention in the matter of accommodation. James Isdell in his report of 1908 states. "There are also two other stone buildings, originally intended for the accommodation of natives, but which they refuse to occupy, preferring to live with their usual surroundings, in the usual aboriginal manner, under a few boughs erected to keep off the heat of the sun. All the natives live together in these humpies with their numerous dogs." During Mr. Hadley's regime the men still continued to live the same way. Mr. Hadley had also without success attempted to settle some families in individual stone houses.

All during this period of Mr. Hadley's direction no attempt was made to alter the native marriage custom. Polygamy continued as hitherto. As late as 1916 the process of claiming tribal wives was still operating. Mr. Hadley in his report of that year states: "Two or three of the elder girls have been claimed by their tribal husbands on the mainland who are in employment and they are lost to the mission after all our care and trouble in bringing them up but I did not think I was justified in withholding my consent to their departure as they were well matched couples and if kept apart it would only lead to continuous tribal fighting." Though this custom persisted nevertheless we read that as early as 1904 "two native girls ... without any prompting declined to be acquired in marriage by two men to whom by tribal custom they belonged - the most singular part of the whole thing being that the girls were allowed the exercise of their freewill by their relatives." This case proved, however, to be an exception but illustrative nevertheless of the presence of new evolutionary forces within the realm of custom.

It was in reference to the marriage question that Mr. Hadley had personal trouble in the early days of the Mission. During the 23½ years of his superintendency he had at least 11 assistants whose average stay with him was 3 years 2 months. The two longest sojourns during this period were 6½ years by Mr. Bird and nearly 6 years by Miss Lock. Mr. Omerod, who had commenced the Mission with Mr. Hadley, and Mr. Ketchler, who had joined the infant mission on its first birthday, both quitted over the question of marriage and the natives. Mr. Hadley told the Chief Protector that the reasons why Mr. Omerod and Mr. Ketchler left were "our not being of the same opinion in the treatment of the natives and also our views on the truths of the Gospel were very much at variance." Though no doubt the differences were at a number of points the accusation lay largely by the two quitters on the score of marriage. A copy of a letter was forwarded to the Chief Protector purporting to be a copy of a letter written by the Japanese cook, Y. Shigeno, who was then (1901) on the island. This letter reads: "On his (Mr. Hadley) arrival day from Roebuck Bay he told to the natives that he want two of the girls (Warna and Karupeniga) on second day of it he gave the silver ring to two girls and there were consisted the promise of the marriages between them. I think after I left the island he is accomplished his leiwedness." In the covering letter over the signature of Mr. Ketchler this further explanation was added. "The two girls mentioned are the two oldest school girls who had not lived with their assigned husbands. One was to have been married to a man on the mainland, the other's intended husband is not known to me. Their ages are about 17 and 15." As nothing could be proved in all this by the Chief Protector, Mr. Hadley was still allowed to carry on. It is interesting to note, however, that the two girls mentioned by Shigeno were two of the three wives assigned to Hadley (Chapter Five) when he became initiated into the tribe before he had established

the Mission. His "Warna" should be read as "Wannon" while "Karupeniga" was Shigeno's translation of Carby's native name.

In relation to the question of marriage it would be appropriate to quote Hadley's report of 1908, which reads as follows in reference to the question of birth rate: "We have had one birth of a male child and no deaths. I see, on looking back the nine years that the Mission has been founded, that the deaths and births of our mission, taken together on the mean average, leave us a yearly increase of 12 per thousand births over deaths, out of an average population of 110 natives .... I think it is a great argument in favour of our rule of not interfering with their own social and tribal laws, but just trying to bring home to them the great laws of Christianity. We have also (with the two exceptions of the two halfcasts that were here when we started) nothing but pure blooded natives on the Mission." We have already noted that the present birthrate is quite high and the process of disintegration of the social fabric has been quite strong during the last two decades. A declining native birthrate is not correlated only with the rate of destruction of the original tribal laws. It goes deeper than that. It is related to a continuity of relationship with country and with the past.

(e) <u>Religious exercises</u>: There was no deliberate attempt to delete or replace the native ceremonial practices. These continued unabated even though the economics were being revolutionized and outward customs gradually changing. It is difficult to discover just what Mr. Hadley did teach the natives by way of Christian truth and Christian morality. As soon as he had a suitable building he had Church services morning and evening which were united ones, with the dividing curtain down the centre. In the matter of marriage Mr. Hadley introduced a form of marriage ceremony in the Church and this appealed greatly to the natives. As he allowed polygamy one wonders just what form

the ceremony took. While on the Island I did not investigate this question. For the Divine Services Mr. Hadley introduced as a big feature the use of music. E.J. Stuart who visited the island in 1917 says that there was a gramophone "which had cost Mr. Hadley 700 dollars in America, and it was certainly the finest instrument I have heard in Australia." (2) Early in 1903 we find Mr. Hadley bewailing the fact of the absence of spiritual results. "I cannot say that I have been able to convert any native yet to be a true believer but I try my utmost and I must leave the results in His hands." But the tone is changed when in 1913 we are told that "six of the senior boys applied to us to be baptized this being the first fruits of 14 years work here." From subsequent history it would appear that this action of the boys was mainly an outward conformity to a new rite introduced but was not interpreted by them as being effective in cancelling out any of those that pertained to their fathers.

A missionary in 1924 reviewing the past made these pertinent remarks: "It is a remarkable fact that nothing has ever been done up to the present for the betterment of the natives, as you speak it. To us, it is just appalling to see the natives, many of whom have been confirmed and looked upon as Christians living in the same old heathen way and in the same old heathen customs as ever. Some men have two and some three wives and yet they are looked upon as Christians .... They still live in the old native huts made of branches and lie on the earth ..... The girls have no seats or tables to eat their meals on. They just squat down on the ground and eat like uncivilized people." This language appears a little extreme but it reflects the point we are making. Very little of the Christian ethic had really penetrated and rite and morality were quite divorced. The new had not yet conquered the old.

(B) <u>THE TRANSFER OF CONTROL</u> - 1922

In a previous chapter we noticed the various approaches Mr. Hadley made

to secure relief from the burden. Finally on 30/12/1922 an agreement of Transfer was signed which included the payment to Mr. Hadley of £270 for the purchase of "two cutters 'Meta' and 'Lotty' and all smaller boats including a new 11 foot dinghy and all sails, equipment and accessories (excepting the cutter "Rita"), 25 head of cattle, 28 goats, lot of fowls, household furniture, and all school, dormitory, dining room, kitchen and bakehouse equipment." An expanded list of buildings and equipment taken over is found in Appendix G.

The A.A.M. had received an assurance from the Government that tenure of the Island enjoyed by Mr. Hadley could be enjoyed undiminished by the A.A.M. At the time of transfer only Mr. Hadley and Miss Lock were missionaries on the Island. New workers, Mr. and Mrs Jago, came to take over the work although Miss Lock and Mr. Hadley did not leave until July and December respectively of 1923.

(C) THE A.A.M. IN OPERATION: 1923-1934.

It was during this period that we see more outward change of custom as the new supervisors seek to implement the new viewpoint that required an obvious distinction between the old and the new - between heathenism and Christianity. We shall direct our attention to individual aspects of the enterprise.

(a) Economics. Four things are outstanding here. The general economic set up developed by Mr. Hadley was continued. Unfortunately in the first few months the loss of the boat "Rita", owned by Miss Lock, was a great financial blow. It was not only a capital loss but also a loss of the means of profit. We will let Miss Lock tell the story herself. "I am sorry to have to report the wreck of 'Rita'. We left Sunday Island on Thursday in the 'Rita' to do a month's shell. We arrived Liderup the first night

and had a small gale of wind and rain. The natives worked again next morning and after work while tide came in they caught a large Dugong and would cut it up and so delayed us some on the tide. We left at high tide and got to Bedford at low tide and could not get right in to proper shelter. Just as the tide was coming in a very strong gale of wind and big sea struck us. The anchor began to drag and so they hasten the two girls and I off the boat. We got off and the native Captain shouted and shouted to the men. "Look after misses. Proper look after now. Look after misses good." We got to shore after some difficulty and got drenched. I went to the native fire and tried to get dry, but on all the fires Dugong was getting cooked. The girls got my dress dry and I tried to dry my clothes on. I watched the boat and storm calmed down and the men went back with the small dinghy. All seemed to be calm except the big sea. The men thought they could bring her in so pulled up anchor and found the under swell too great and they could not hold her and she went over a very big rock that was covered with the great waves and struck the side of the boat and made two big holes and dragged on the rock the other side and cracked two big planks and took off her Bilgekeel so left several holes. I got the men to work on her after Mr. Jago went for assistance but the tides gave her very little time to be repaired and by the time Mr. Hadley came she had too much water for him to see what repairs she needed. I had a week on the sand bank surrounded by the natives camps. The natives fixed me up a very nice tent with 'Rita' sails. They saved the flour, the men swam to shore with a bag of flour under each arm and got all they could until she sank. It meant a great struggle for the natives and Mr. Jago. I saw the 'Rita' go over the rocks and got a great shock when I saw her disappear. It made me very ill for over a week. It means a great loss to me of £200 beside other things I lost with her."

Then secondly there was an attempt to expand the income by trading in

sandalwood from the mainland. This was quite productive for a time but the market declined. Thirdly there occurred an important change in policy. We dealt with this previously. The "feeding" policy was replaced in 1930 by "working for kind". This new policy was as much the result of financial necessity at a time of cessation of subsidies and of declining markets as the result of a purposive action dictated by a prevailing ideal.

Immediately before the new policy was adopted the following occasions (written at the time) were the times of supplying "free meals":-

1. Six to eight men continually on the boat need three meals a day. If they happen to catch fish or dugong they do not get one meal. Of course work comes before catching fish or dugong. Their wives and children need a little extra to keep them from starving while they are away.

2. Every time the boat touches Sunday Island the tank has to be filled with water. This takes 8 women a full morning of hard work such as I would not like to undertake in this tropical climate. For this they receive breakfast and dinner. These same women also carry wood to the boat.

3. All trocas shell unloaded from the lugger or gathered by others has to be boiled and cleaned. This takes from 4 to 8 women anything between 3 hours and 3 days according to the quantity brought in. They only receive meals when working. If they do not work in the afternoon they do not get an evening meal.

4. Men are sent out to gather trocus and they are given a little flour when they are sent out.

5. Boat girls, kitchen girl, cattle and garden boys, native carpenter, 2 school teachers, girls for washing, ironing, sewing, scrubbing etc, any extra sick ones all receive meals when working.

6. Some payments for curios are made with a little flour, tea and sugar. These return good profits.

7. As we cannot get fresh meat here, we often buy a little fish for ourselves with a slice of bread and a tablespoonful of tea and sugar costing approximately 2d. each time. This is one of the few luxuries we enjoy.

8. The girls and women on crochet work receive breakfast and dinner five days a week.

The fourth feature was the determination to quit Sunday Island for economic reasons and migrate to greener fields and wider pastures. The

tremendous financial strain felt throughout by Mr. Hadley was soon felt with all its weight by the A.A.M. Thus at a meeting on 15/1/1925 a report by a special committee recommended "that owing to the smallness of the spiritual results and opportunity, the possibility of losing the boat at any time, the terrific expense out of all proportion to the amount of work to be done and the possibility of selling the boat at the present time at a good price, we recommend to the Council that we close down the Sunday Island work." Instead of closing down, however, more workers were sent and from 1925-1930 there was a greater concentration of personnel at the island than at any other period of its history. (See Appendix A).

The Chief Protector offerred to the A.A.M. a Reserve of 414,000 acres on the east side of the Sound extending from Cohen Bay to the beginning of Collier Bay. It was reported that 250 natives were living in this vicinity. But the reports in 1926 by some of the missionaries were so unfavourable concerning the proposed sites that the matter was dropped.

When a new superintendent replaced the old the matter was opened up again. So in due course after weighing the pros and cons (outlined in a previous chapter) the A.A.M. wrote to the Chief Protector on 18/4/1932, asking permission to remove the mission to "the Graveyard" - a place between Cone Bay and Whirlpool Pass. The Chief Protector in writing to the Under Secretary for Lands at this time indicated his attitude thus: "I support the application as I have always held the view that Sunday Island is a most unsuitable site for a Mission station .... The area required would be approximately one third of the Reserve comprising the coastal portion from Yampi Sound to Cone Bay."

In due course an area of some 122,400 acres was proclaimed a Reserve on 9/2/1933. This reserve was described thus in the schedule of the proclamation: "All that portion of land bounded by lines starting from a point on the seashore

of Cone Bay situated about 1080 chains west of Survey mark L.23 (on the Stewart River) and extending East about 25 degrees about 1100 chains to the westernmost shore of Talbot Bay, thence generally Northerly Westerly and Southerly along the said shore and that of the Indian Ocean to the starting point - excluding the islands adjacent thereto." And so with a sigh of relief and with great hopes the Mission pulled down practically all its buildings on the Island and set up business at Watjulum near the mouth of Coppermine Creek at a spring about 3 miles inland. This new site was on Yampi Sound. The effect on the natives of this transfer will be surveyed in the next chapter.

(b) Educational. The plan at this period showed little advance on previous methods. Teaching in the three R's still holds the field. An Industrial Department was formed and an expansion in this respect contemplated when the financial collapse before recorded t rew the plans into the melting pot. The Missionary personnel also changed. Crochet, however, was taught and became popular for a short while. Young native teachers were utilized in the school for instruction purposes. During this expansion period some genuine attention was given to translation work though teaching was restricted to the English language. One of the missionaries in 1930 wrote; "We would have you rejoice with us too in the way in which our Sister Pengelly (a missionary) and Katie (native) are progressing with the translation work. Already several hymns are completed and our people are singing in their own tongue of the love of God. Then too, Mark's Gospel is taking shape and being eagerly received by many who before were apparently indifferent, principally because they could not understand. We need a small printing outfit and calico for text sheets .... " It is disappointing to know that the translation work on Mark is still possessed by Miss Pengelly (now married) in the

embryo and no real attempt at translation work has occurred since that time. The Gospel message has always been an English thing and never adequately clothed in Bardi garb.

(c) Changing Custom: As we have already noted the policy of the U.A.M. in respect to heathen custom was more drastic than that of Hadley. It was during this period that burial replaced the old custom of disposing of the dead. The native way had been the placing of the body upon a rough elevated platform between trees. When all the flesh had gone the bones were brought back to camp amidst much ado. Then the bones were placed in bark and put under rocks on the hill overlooking the camp or in the cave up near "Running Waters".

In the matter of marriage, customs were changing. Junior levirite was prevented and the natives acquiesced. No one was allowed to take more than one wife although those already possessing more than one were allowed to retain them. There was no difficulty in enforcing these rules. In a letter dated 1924 we have this story indicative of changing sentiments in the matters of marriage and love. "Most of the fighting comes through some complication in love affairs. Now it was known that, Henry and Constance were a bit fond of each other, though Amerly, Henry's brother, seemed to have a bit to say about it. One day Amerly came and asked to see me. He came into our room and seemed very nervous, and opened the conversation in rather a funny way by asking me was I going for a holiday and telling me that I was "not a hard boss here". Having gained a little courage he then told his real object for seeing me which was this. Amerly was old enough to marry and Constance had before loved him and now seemed fond of Henry, and he said that he did not went to make a lot of trouble and fighting about it in the camp, but wanted Constance to meet him before us and in our presence say which boy she wanted. So in the evening we all met and after quite a little embarrassment Constance said she wanted Henry. Amerly seemed

satisfied, said "that's all" and left us. We felt very glad that he came to us of his own free will about such a matter, as we often feel concerned for the future of our young people with regard to marriage."

Amerly always was and is a follower of the new way and one of those quieter spirits. Here is another story set some years later (1933) and which begins just before the transfer to Watjulum. The result was far different than in the case of Amerly above.

Monty of Sunday Island wished to take possession of Eva his promised wife living at Lombadina. The District Magistrate at the request of the Chief Protector got in touch with the girl's parents and he was informed that Eva had not been promised to Monty but some time ago had been promised to Monty's brother, who now is too old and the parents did not wish him to have Eva. Eva, however, had run away from Lombadina with Monty on two occasions but had been brought back by her parents. The District Magistrate recommended that Eva and Monty do not marry as he estimated Eva's age at only 14 while others at Lombadina wanted her and to give her to Monty would probably lead to tribal fights. In the meantime Eva and her father came over to Sunday Island and asked the Missioner to marry Eva to Monty. As the two were living together in the camp the Missioner married them having received the father's written consent and his assurance that Eva was 16 years old.

The sequel was tragedy. Monty became sick and was taken to Derby where his condition was diagnosed as leprosy. He absconded from hospital, collected Eva from Sunday Island and crossed to Lombadina. They camped at Bulgin, then Swan Point and Shady Island. Both of them later were back in the Derby Hospital where Monty was not recognized as a former absconder. Eva was pregnant. When they saw the mission schooner in at Derby they both absconded lest their tale be told. They apparently dodged the waterholes lest they be apprehended. Both

became exhausted which in the case of Eva led to a premature delivery of a still born child and to her death thereupon. Monty died the same evening and both were buried by some nearby blacks.

Let the native, Coobier, tell in his own style the sad story. "Me sit down longa Mt. Clarkson after cold time. Middle of night that two fellow Monty and Eva come up. They very sick longa leg. I ask em "Where you two fellow go?" That man tell me "We go Sunday Island". I asked em. "You not look good. What you sick fellow?" He says, "Yes, me run away from hospital. I frightened to go Port Darwin." I told him, "You go back Derby getem medicine, too far you go Sunday Island." He say, "No, I want to go Sunday Island. Police won't after em me, I do nothing." Woman want to come back longa Derby but man won't let her. Woman sick all over. Next morning two fellow very bad, can't get up. I give em kangaroo, goanna, sugar bag. Couldn't eat, only drink water. All day them two fellow sick. That night woman sing out all night never sleep. Close up morning baby bin born. Water bag belonga baby no more come out. Him not proper baby, only little fellow, can't tell if he man or woman. He dead. Sunrise mother bin die. Afternoon time I start makin hole belonga that woman. I bury him longa hole baby too. Man very sick all day can't stand up. Close up sundown him die too. I bin bury him longside his woman close up to Mt. Clarkson Creek nother side yard."

The native hates the thought of separation from home and the worse his condition (close up dead) the nearer home he wants to be. By the thirties the parties to marriage were being allowed a freedom of choice - the prohibitive degrees, as we have seen, still being rigidly enforced.

(d) Rite and Ceremony: Under Hadley's regime the full native ceremonial life continued unabated. Now we see attempts to modify some of the practices obnoxious to the white Christian outlook. Tooth avulsion came in for first

attention. A Missionary on the Island. Mr. J. Jago, wrote in 1926. "An item of interest recently has been the initiation in to manhood of two of the boys. This ceremony has usually included the knocking out of their two front teeth. We have often spoken against this, feeling that it was a heathen custom contrary to the mind of our Lord, and on this occasion we felt that the right was challenged especially as the boys did not want their teeth taken out. So we called a special meeting with the men, when we felt that the presence of God was truly with us. The men were brought face to face with a choice between Christ and their old customs, and with great attention they listened. Afterwards the old men gave their word that the boys have their teeth. A week of corroborees are over, and the two boys one evening returned to camp followed by a procession of men singing and painted up for the occasions, but we are thankful to say the boys still have all their teeth."

In about 1929 Cocky (somewhat of a leader) informed the lady missionary while she was visiting his camp on the edge of the Corroboree ground that knocking teeth out was finished. Cocky "got religion" in his old days and exerted a tremendous influence upon the men towards the new way. He had voluntarily segregated himself from the main camp because of his complaint and feebleness. The cessation of tooth avulsion for the womenfolk automatically followed the cessation thereof in respect to the men.

The old Bardi custom associated with "making men" provided that upon initiation the men were allowed to marry. Until married the initiated men camped in man's country. This segregation broke down in 1931. For about 9 months three newly initiated young fellows were camped as per custom in Man's Country. Two of the three married and moved into quarters at the camp. The remaining fellow - called, Sunday Island Tom - preferred not to live alone so

though not married, he moved back into the camp. No fuss resulted. The newly made men have never camped on Man's Country since that day.

(e) Christian Manifestations. This period of the Mission's history - 1923 to 1933 - provided many examples of both professions of Christian faith and also serious lapses. Under the A.A.M. greater stress was placed on outward confession. There certainly was more of such. In spite of the lapses a real advance occurred here and some emancipation from rigid conformity to habits and customs physically unprofitable. Some few months after the A.A.M. took over from Mr. Hadley some cases of Christian profession occurred. One of the Missionaries writing at the time listed the five cases set out below. I use his own words:

"Case No. 1. One of our baker boys came to us one day and said he wanted to be a true Christian and not a sham like those in the camp and like he had been. He came along again that evening with his wife and we had a good time over the Bible teaching and as they prayed for forgiveness we knew there was great joy in heaven as they both truly repented. Next morning he came to see me and said that everything was so changed and that he was so satisfied with and happy in Jesus. Then a fortnight after he told me that he would like to talk to the people at the Sunday morning meeting. I was only too glad to let him do so and he stood up boldly, Bible in hand and gave a very fine, straightforward talk to a large congregation. As he spoke in his own language you could see by the faces of the people what a revelation it was to them. He told them that he was done with the old customs and corroborees, dancing, fighting and he was now going to be a true Christian in every way. Many told us afterwards what a fine talk it was. It was the first time such a talk had ever been given by one of their own people. He is still going on giving a bright, clear witness to a changed heart and life by the power of God. [illegible] I

Case No. 12. A young man of 15, confirmed and who prayed in the meetings was found out committing fornication with a girl of 13 and this had been going on for over 12 months. No correction or punishment was given to him but I spake kindly and straight to him and when he was truly penitent, it was to me that he came to say he was sorry for his sins and that he wanted to become a true Christian. Again there was joy in heaven as he truly repented. He is giving a good testimony and is speaking to others.

Case No. 13. The schoolmaster here has been looked on as a choice Christian but we refused to see it because we knew that he had no real experience. He has been away in Derby for a few months and only recently returned here. After a few Sundays he came to me and told me how thankful he was that the true preaching of the Gospel had at last come to Sunday Island and he thanked me for my honest preaching. These were his own words. The same night he came to me for another talk. I could see that he was longing for reality but I just left him in the hands of the Holy Spirit and sure enough the next night he came to our room again and said that God had shown him what a sham he had been all these years. He soon entered into the knowledge of the truth and went away rejoicing. Some nights afterward he brought his wife with him and she too wanted to truly repent of her sins. She did so and that made No. 5. Glory to God we will soon have a Christian crew to go round on a mission tour to the various camps of aborigines which have never yet been touched .... I am enclosing a copy of the schoolmaster's testimony ....

The copy of schoolmaster's testimony. 26th July, 1924.

Dear Brethren,

When I was confirmed first time, that to me was no good. I didn't have satisfaction in Jesus Christ, all that time of many long years. I have been living for the world only until the day of 6th July this year. I

came to Mr. --- to have explained to me the satisfaction in Jesus Christ and he explained it to me. Then I knew what is the satisfaction in the Lord Jesus Christ. I not only knew it but I also feel that I am quite satisfied in Jesus Christ. On the 16th July my wife came out also for Jesus our Lord and we are praying and believing for her that she may be strong for the Lord and we are longing and praying for our little girl, whose name is Ivy. We would like to see her coming out for the Lord. Still we are asking that she should come out for Jesus some day. I am, Your friend, TIGON."

Though lapse frequently occurred nevertheless it is true that most of the obvious Christian natives on the Island today trace their experience back to these particular years. One missionary writing in 1930 reported with rejoicing as follows. "We rejoice over the changed attitude of several men who though good workers before, have become my right hand men now. The beginning was the public confession of faith in our beloved Lord Jesus by Young Lion and dear old Ikymo with the complete restoral to Christ of Tigon, who after confessing Christ with tears in his eyes, as he stood before men and women, came to me and asked to be baptized as he wished to wholly follow Jesus. To the Glory of Christ our Lord we have 8 men, 1 boy, 19 women and girls who have put their trust in Him for salvation ..... "

The Christian confession cannot be divorced from social life. Each impinges on the other. The old life of social custom is ingrained and it is heavy going against strong undercurrents to drill the new way presented by the Missionary. The native also does not recognise the relationship between a confession of faith and certain social customs - a relationship normally obvious in the Missionary's mind. In closing this section I append part of a letter of a Missionary written in 1931 which gives an accurate estimate of the interrelationship of the spiritual and social and which gives a comment

on the spiritual results mentioned immediately above as occurring in the previous year.

He writes as follows: "Socially there has been very little progress except for a few cases. We do feel that there are some who want to better themselves in this respect but the camp life offers very little encouragement to them. The spiritual work naturally suffers because of existing social conditions. There is much that could be done to better conditions but ever since our Mission took over this work it has been more or less a struggle for existence and there has not been the workers nor the money to do what we all know should be done and what being left undone is so detrimental to the people and makes the work so difficult.

In a letter that we sent we spoke of a Home for the children, as it is impossible to lift them up socially while they are so much in the camp with its immoral atmosphere, and if nothing can be done in this direction the children are going to be no better socially than are their mothers and fathers of the present day. During the last twelve months there have been some thirty people who have confessed conversion, six of whom received baptism. For a time all ran well but evidently there was no depth and soon there was a drifting away.

There are a few who are bright and attend the Bible Class and prayer meetings regularly while the majority have grown very cold and indifferent to the claims of Christ upon them, and some have gone into open sin.

Our people need a mighty conviction of sin, of righteousness and of judgment."

REFERENCES

(1) Figures extracted from Mr. Hedley's book of Deaths and Christenings.

(2) P.17 M.J.Stuart, "A Land of Opportunities".

Fig. (19)

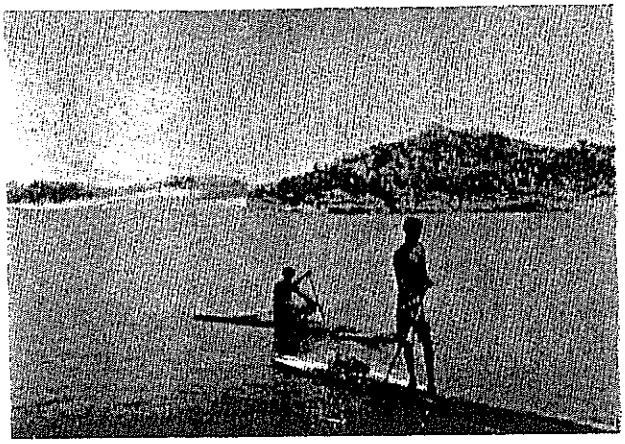

Fig. (20)

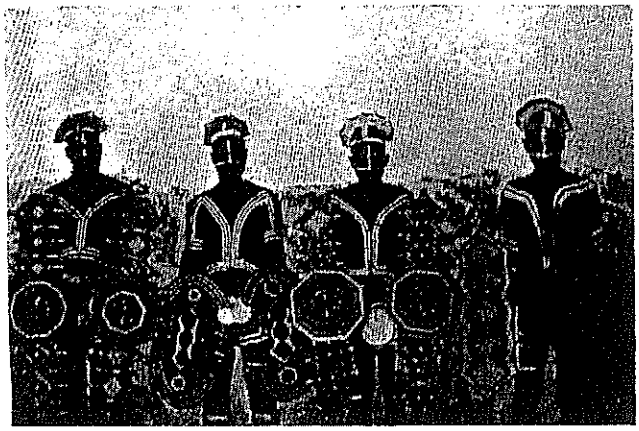

Fig. (21)

Fig. (22)

Fig. (23)

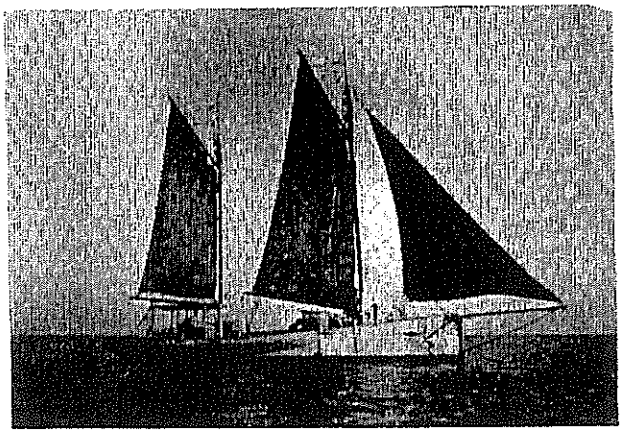

Fig. (24)

(19) Children and Christmas Tree. (20) Typical native scene on "Kalwas". (21) Dressed up for Corroboree Sing Song. (22) Missionary and crew pray before they take mission barge out on shelling trip. (23) The native women ready for a meeting. (24) The "Balfour".

CHAPTER NINE

ERA OF RETROGRESSION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The transfer of the Mission had the approval of the Aborigines Department. It was sanctioned by the U.A.M. Council. It was the result of investigation of many proposed sites. It was the fulfilment of many suggestions by many workers down the thirty or so years of Mission history. Yet it was a failure. The reason is not hard to find. It was not a dream of the natives neither did it meet with their approval. Pressure was necessary (possibly threats!) to induce them to migrate. Furthermore, the move was precipitous instead of being of a gentle grade as really planned by the full Mission authorities. This period then, from 1934, to the present day can be summarized under three headings: disaster: hanging on: recovery. Let us then look further into this story.

(A) DISASTER: 1934-1939. In the report submitted to the U.A.M. Council concerning the proposed move the pros and cons were stated fairly accurately (see Chapter 7). The error lay in the giving of the relative weights to those pros and cons. It was recognized that the venture was taking the Sunday Islanders into country that wasn't their own and because of this they wouldn't be keen on it. But "keenness" is hardly the right word. They were afraid of it and fear brings torment.

The site at Wadjulum to which the Mission was transferred in 1934 was not the one for which Government permission had been granted. The original plan of settling at the "Graveyard" was altered to Watjulum on Yampi Sound. This new site was good ground for cultivation but it was away from the sea and was surrounded by mountains. Not all the natives transferred to Watjulum. Quite a number migrated to Lombadina while about 20 natives refused to leave the Island to go anywhere. Until suitable buildings were erected at the new

site the natives had to live there under quite undesirable primitive conditions. The garden was soon under good production while the Government gave permission for the retention of Sunday Island merely as a base for the crocus collecting.

By the end of 1936 things had taken an awkward turn. The Superintendent wrote to the Chief Protector on 3/?/36 as follows: "Since we have been away, quite a number of our natives have returned to Sunday Island. The deaths earlier in the year have scared them very much and they are loth to return to Wotjulum just at present ..... our garden is flourishing at Wotjulum and the natives are benefiting greatly from an abundant supply of fresh vegetable each day. Our great shortage is meat ....! our building work is going ahead and we are hoping our second dwelling will be completed within the next few weeks." The restless natives, uncomfortable in their new surroundings, became afraid.

An epidemic of influenza broke out - an event full of illboding and, like homing pigeons, they were off to Sunday Island. H. Reid, Manager of the Government Munja Station was sent to report on affairs at Wotjulum. His report contained the following. "I cannot understand why this place was picked on as a Mission site. There are no resident natives anywhere in the vicinity and to my personal knowledge there were very few in this locality 25 years ago .... The present total population at the Mission (Native) is 21 and 7 children, 5 of whom attend school. Of these 21, 11 were brought from Sunday Island, 8 are Worora's Port George Mission boys and 2 other migratory from Derby side, so you can see there is not one local native at the Mission."

In the meantime there was a move by the Commonwealth to take over all the area in the vicinity of Yampi Sound in prospect of an extensive development of iron ore mining particularly on the adjacent islands. The position of the Mission site was declared by the Government surveyor to be the only place fit for a township. The death knell had sounded. First it was rung by the black

and then by the white.

Thus J. Heggie, the Superintendent, wrote to the Chief Protector under date 28/6/1937 saying: "The position at Wotjulum however, quite apart from the Yampi business, is altogether hopeless: there are two missionaries there, but only three natives at present, the majority being here at Sunday Island. I have been back here for 7 or 8 months now with my wife and children supervising the shelling and lugger work, and only feeding the oldest of the natives, but practically all the natives have returned, and nothing has been able to induce them to go back to Wotjulum." The U.A.M. Council officially recognized this position in its Minute of 26/7/1937 which reads: "Moved that this Council acquiesces in the judgment of the Field Council in the North, concerning leaving the work at Wotjulum, and that Field Council's recommendation be confirmed."

And why this failure from the native angle? The white had again underestimated the tie of the black to the land - but to his own land. Various rationalizations by natives were given to me and to others for the dislike of the place. Such reasons as these are given. It was too far away from the old fishing haunts and too far to go for dugong and turtle. There were too many hills, trees and strange fish. "We not used to catching 'roos". It was a bad place - too much leper sickness thereabouts. It was a dirty place - for they had so much dirt and soil about. Thus sentiment rooted in spiritual belief won the day. The unfamiliar was frightening and when the bout of sickness occurred it was more than they could take. Fear then took wings. It was a good thing that they went back. Depopulation would probably have been the result of a lengthy forced stay in such a locality. The economic advantages which weigh heavily in our view of things are of no consequence to the native when the supra-natural is adverse.

Inspector McBeath was sent by the Department to make a survey of the Mission now operating dispiritedly again on Sunday Island. On 3/8/1939 McBeath submitted the following eight findings, viz:-

1. From a Departmental view Sunday Island Mission and the Missionaries do not perform the functions and duties expected from an institution of its kind.

2. No natives are fed other than those on ration and one native woman employed by the Holmes.

3. No industrial work of any description has been attempted. I do not class the work of the lugger as industrial as its benefits are felt by a very small percentage of the inmates.

4. The majority of the natives were not very well clothed. The finances of the Mission are such that even this item cannot be supplied in sufficient quantity.

5. That generally the missionaries attached to this group are not the type suited for industrial work, or they will make no efforts in this direction, and by this neglect have contributed towards the present state of the Mission.

6. That before the shift to Wotjulum apparently the Mission possessed children's dormitories, cookhouse, church and other buildings necessary for the proper functioning of an institution. That since returning to Sunday Island no attempt whatever has been made to restore this order.

7. The superintendent has suggested that the Department may take over this mission. I certainly think that something along these lines should be done. The Mission's position financial and otherwise has steadily been growing worse, and will not recover under present circumstances.

8. These people have openly stated to me that they are not interested in the industrial work, and if they are not prepared to accept this obligation they will never be a success in the institutional field among the natives."

As a result of these findings the Government Subsidy ceased and Mr. McBeath was instructed to arrange a transfer of natives to Lombadina for the purposes of rationing. An official approach was made to Bishop Raible, R.C. vicar apostolic of Kimberley, to take on the oversight and send workers to Sunday Island. The Bishop, however, though sympathetically disposed was unable to provide the necessary workers. So the Mission passed in to the valley of shadows. Many of the natives dispersed and discontent reigned among the remainder. The unfortunate move to Wotjulum put back the clock many years in its registration of development and also interferred with the continuity of the forces producing satisfactory culture change.

(B) HANGING ON: 1940-1945. At this stage four things were outstanding. Firstly the U.A.M. was loathe to leave the Islanders "without spiritual guidance" when it was learnt that Bishop Raible was not able to come to the rescue - a sense of Christian duty was very strong. Secondly it revealed very strongly the U.A.M.'s emphasis upon the 'spiritual task' that was peculiarly theirs and that other aspects were only pursued reluctantly. Thirdly, the emphasis of the Department of Native Affairs upon the essential development of industrial work by any who undertake the work on Sunday Island. Fourthly, the natives, left largely to their own resources had fallen back upon their own beliefs and ways - the White man had failed, black man's ways are superior. Thus we see the setting for the revival of tribal solidarity and authority.

Four brief minutes from the U.A.M. Minute Book show the overall pattern of this initiatory year (1940) of hanging on. These minutes are as follows:-

(1) January: "It was decided to ask the Department if Mr. & Mrs Williams may remain on the Island, without subsidy if necessary, to do spiritual work and protect the natives from the whites."

(2) April: "The Secretary advised that he and Messrs. Wiltshire and N. Williams had met Mr. Coverley, the minister for Native Affairs, who had advised that he desired Mr. Williams to return to Sunday Island to carry on the work, provided a certain amount of industrial work such as gardening is taught to the natives."

(3) October: "Correspondence - letter from Department of Native Affairs, enclosing copies of letter from N. Williams to Department, and reply from Department re the position of the Mission work at Sunday Island. It appears that the Department will not be satisfied until industrial work is established on the Island in order to make the natives more self-supporting."

(4) November: "Correspondence - letter from Department of Native Affairs, re Sunday Island advising that the Inspector had reported favourably on the progress at Sunday Island, of the industrial work and advising that permits had been granted to Mr. & Mrs Williams for 12 months from 31/10/40."

It was not easy for just one white man and his wife to do the job Sunday Island then required. Reconstruction was crying out from every quarter. The Japanese entrance into World War II created another climax. Her advance into waters near to Australia had repercussions on Sunday Island. All boats in local waters in the N.W. were requisitioned by the Defence Department. Life on the island for Missionaries became impossible. The procuring of supplies was extremely difficult and all productive work was at a standstill. The Island was vacated by the white missionary early in 1942. Many of the natives migrated to the old haunts on the mainland and camped at Bulgin Creek. Mr. Knight reported in June, 1942 concerning these camps as follows: "When I visited these camps I found the occupants very wary and rather sullen. I attribute this to the fact that they cannot understand why the military authorities found it necessary to blow up so many luggers and take the beach combers away." They did not wish to go to Lombadina but were trading with the people at Hunter's old residence.

District Magistrate F.C. Goldring wrote to the Chief Protector in June of that year saying: "I have been approached by the native, Wigan, who has been left in charge of Sunday Island, to request that provisions may be made for the young children left destitute by the closing down of Sunday Island Mission. He points out that the adult native can adapt himself again to bush food, but for the children who have been reared on white food the results are disastrous." The

authorities sought to rectify these conditions by dumping supplies upon Leering Point. It was during this time that Commonwealth officials removed historic books and papers from Sunday Island, the whereabouts of which cannot be now traced. The gardening was carried on by the school children who were tought by the native Tigon. Devotional meetings were regularly conducted by natives also.

Left to their own resources the Sunday Islanders fell back upon their own system of control and management. The old men regained powers which had been transferred to the White overlord. This led to a development of old man prestige - never really dead - but now necessary. This prestige regained has not been lost again although the Mission as such has been restored.

At this particular time occurred the following story, supplied to me by a Missionary:

"Young Lion was not a young man, but was so called to distinguish him from another older man in the camp who went by the name of "Old Lion". It is rather interesting to note that Sunday Islanders were often named after the older members in the camp.

The Sunday Islanders are a quick tempered people and when suddenly aroused are seldom responsible for their actions. There is still a very strong parental control over the children and this extends to the married children and grandchildren. Young Lion is reported to have been a surly character and in this manner he ruled his family. It would appear also that this man's temper was not improving with age, (though he could not be classed as an old man) and Wilfred his son had come in for more than his fair share of it.

Wilfred on the other hand was, true to the nature of his people, quick

tempered. On one occasion he took exception to a rebuke given to him by one of the missionaries on the lugger, seized a stout stick and adopted a threatening attitude. The missionary realized that he himself had a stick in his hand so he dropped it, by this time the other members of the crew wrenched the one from Wilfred's hand. The missionary, a much more powerful man than Wilfred, took him by the trembling arm and talked him into sense. Wilfred later apologised for his behaviour.

The more surly a man is the more prepared for his outbursts are those concerned as a rule. However, it would not be just to say that Wilfred on this occasion was any more prepared than usual. The quarrel began over food. It seems that Wilfred had not divided the food equally and that the father, being the nature that he was, was not prepared to take less than his allotted amount, however small the day's catch might be. Voices rose and Young Lion's manner was so threatening that Wilfred siezed an iron bar and with a lightning blow hit his father over the head. The blow killed him. Realizing the worst had happened and for fear of the police the whole camp decided to keep the matter quiet and a story was circulated that he died in his sleep. The story, however, could not have been consistent from the start for the Light house keeper, Davidson, who was rationing the Sunday Island people for a short time was told that Lion was sick and later was told that he was dead.

The main story, however, leaked out when natives began going away to neighbouring Islands and when Young Wigan went to Kunmunya Mission lest they should be dragged into it. Wilfred was questioned by Lockie, one of the Sunday Island men who has spent much time in Broome, as to why he had not fulfilled tribal law and cut his hair off at the death of his father. It was evident to him that all was not right. It is reported that Davidson wrote to the Police in Broome and one of the constables with Knight of the

Native Hospital were sent to investigate.

On arrival, a conspiracy of silence prevailed. The body was exhumed and it was evident that Lion had at sometime had his scull broken. Tigon, one of the main head men, was interrogated by the police and by Knight, but he, like the rest, knew nothing.

This conspiracy of silence was not altogether unjustifiable when one remembers that informers would not be forgotten in any future dispute in the camp and revenge would ever be lurking in the dark. Also from their point of view, Wilfred had not murdered his father, but rather had hit him too hard in a quarrel.

Exasperated, the policeman took two women some distance away out of sight and after a little while shots were fired off. It was thought by this ruse to frighten the required information out of the people lest any more should be "shot". Although frightened little information was gleaned. The men were then told to man the lugger and sail it to the Lighthouse or to a point not far from it. The wind, however, was not favourable and little progress was made for some time and the policeman blamed Tigon for not making any headway and put him on the chain. The more Tigon tried to explain about the tides the more he was regarded as a rogue and a head. Probably the policeman was afraid the boys might run the lugger on to the rocks, swim ashore and make their escape or even wait until dark and dump him overboard to the sharks! If these were his fears he certainly used the wrong tactics and in any case it would seem that he did not understand the Sunday Island people.

The court was set in Derby and Dr. Oldmeadow, R.M. for Broome and Derby Districts sat on the bench. Mr. Trigg of the Native Hospital was asked by the Native Affairs Department to appear for Wilfred and it would seem that he had already arranged with the Derby Police to plead "Not Guilty". A few

days before the court Mr. H. Coate of the U.A.M. had arrived in the town and was to go out to the Island as the new superintendent. He was present at the court. It is reported that he questioned Mr. Trigg just before the proceedings commenced, as to what he was going to plead and he replied "Not Guilty". Upon this Coate suggested "Self Defence" as a more effective and just plea, but Mr. Trigg had made up his mind.

Quite unexpectedly Dr. Oldmeadow called upon Mr. Coate to give any evidence known to him bearing on Native laws and customs which might throw light on Wilfred's case. The police appeared to resent this very much but Dr. Oldmeadow was adamant. After taking the oath Mr. Coate then enlarged on the native sharing system with its obligation and privileges and the trouble invariably resulting from non-compliance with these laws. He was also asked why he considered the natives had tried so hard to keep the matter quiet to which he replied "Fear of the police".

A stout stick was produced in court which was supposed to have been the one used in the quarrel and with which Young Lion had been killed.

Nobody thought Wilfred was not guilty of the deed but Mr. Trigg pleaded "Not Guilty". The Court findings, however, were "guilty" and Wilfred was banished from Sunday Island and sent to Moola-Boola Government Station for two years.

Mr. H. Coate went in August 1942 to Oversee the Island on behalf of the United Aborigines Mission. It was no easy task. The actual Japanese danger was soon to pass but equipment was almost nil, reconstructive work abounding and where were the workers? The question arose as to the desirability of sending some of the natives into Derby to work. The Commission of Native Affairs wrote to indicate his policy of segregation as follows: "In principle I have no wish that Sunday Island natives should be encouraged to migrate to Derby for employment. If we permit such a situation to arise the Department

will most certainly be faced with a situation similar to Broome. A large native population will be built up within a very short time with no outlet in respect to general employment. If natives from the Island are compelled to reside in Derby for a period .... then I would have no objection to them securing employment for the period of their stay."

The camp on the island had become very untidy while sanitary conditions were in urgent need of reform. Moral problems also needed attention. A native named Albert was married to a woman named Ivy, who had a daughter by a previous husband. The stepdaughter, Daisy, was about 16 years. Albert was having intercourse with Daisy against her will and Ivy also complained about Albert's conduct. Daisy was a promised wife of a boy at Kunmunya. This and many other moral problems presented themselves at this particular time. The breakdown of the Mission, the disturbing contribution of war conditions tended to lead to anarchy. In November 1943 a dozen or so natives were sent to work on boats for the R.A.A.F. This brought them into contacts and aspects of white man's life and ways different from their thinking and observation while in the comparative shelter of King Sound. They did a splendid job in the national emergency.

(C) RECOVERY: 1945 TILL NOW. These last six years have shown quite a quick recovery. Reconstruction has been proceeded with tenaciously in spite of many difficulties and short supply of materials, finance and men. In May of 1945 Inspector L. O'Neill reported about the Island that "there is a poverty stricken atmosphere about Sunday Island Mission which will be difficult if not impossible to dispell without a good deal of outside financial assistance .... It appears to me that the only useful purpose which Sunday Island Mission serves is the distribution of rations to the indigent natives and a certain amount of schooling for the children and the issue of medicines to the sick

apart from the religious teachings of the missionaries." Yet recovery there has been. Appendix '8' shows an increase of population and during the last four years a larger team of workers have been operating upon the Island.

At first recovery was slow. Even in 1947 a report of the work showed that 42 children were being fed with the financial help of the Commonwealth Child Endowment scheme. The children received a piece of bread given into their hand twice daily to be taken up camp or around the back yard at play or anywhere else the children desired. Periodically stewed rice was served and molasses or a little jam would be spread on the bread but more often the bread was dry. Wheatmeal porridge was given each morning - sometimes with a little sugar but more often without. There wasn't any milk given, nor eggs, nor vegetables. The children did not have any chairs or plates, spoons or panicans. If stewed rice or some other such thing was given an empty tin or billycan from the camp was used. The girls slept in a small hut on a board floor with a blanket. The boys were located in the school building on the dusty dirt floor amongst forms and crude school desks. Though only girls are housed at the Superintendent's home at present (1950) the meals provided would be equal to what is put on the table for children in any ordinary home in Perth. Beds at least have mattresses, pillow, sheets and blankets.

Schemes for transfer to the mainland still continued to appear. A U.A.M. Minute under date 24/4/1945 records: "Mr. Wiltshire reported having interviewed Mr. McBeath re transferring the work to the mainland, but he was not favourable. The matter to be brought up again." An elaborate scheme was devised for the Sunday Island home to be established on the mainland at Mulumba Bay as the Department would not allow a girl's dormitory to be built near the main camp. This Mulumba Bay project was not feasible. There is

still no separate building used as a children's home though, as was mentioned in Chapter two, plans have been accepted and a site chosen on the Mission hill about half a mile from the camp.

Improvements in techniques during this period can briefly be listed. The pedal wireless, purchased at the end of 1944, has been a boon for contacts with the mainland through the Flying Doctor Service. This helped to reduce the isolation. By August, 1946, an engine had been installed in the lugger. This reduced travelling times and added to security in shipping tasks. A barge in May, 1947, was procured from Military Disposals. This allowed larger hauls to be made during a fishing trip though it is fairly costly to run. Ex military material found its way to the mission enabling building of some description to be undertaken. In April, 1949 a jeep was obtained at a very reasonable price and has been a tremendous asset. A road (of a sort) was built by native labour from the Mission area to a newly made landing in Leering Creek. This allowed better and safer anchorage for the boats and also moving into and away from the island at lower water heights than ever possible at the old landing at the foot of the mission hill.

The natives are expected to earn their own living. Their earning capacity depends greatly on the number of pearling trips the mission arranges in any given year as this is the main source of income. Appendix 'E' sets out the amount and main sources of income for the years 1946/49 inclusive. No accounts are kept by the Mission showing these details, but I extracted them from an analysis of the Store Ledger. (1) All payments for shell or work done are paid in store credit against which the natives draw when they so desire. It must be remembered that when a native works for other than the Missionhe is usually paid by allowance plus keep. These payments are not reflected in these store figures nor any barter conducted extra-mission. The Mission buys in rolls of

materials and unbleached calico which are purchased by the native women through the store and from which they make their own clothing. As can be seen by the Appendix 'B' Fancywork was seriously undertaken from 1947 onwards. Toilet sets, supper cloths, tea towels, handkerchiefs, doyleys, traycloths, table centres and runners are all beautifully made. The workmanship is so excellent that I purchased for my wife one of the supper cloths as a present for our wedding anniversary. Young unmarried women who acquire store credit for work done are allowed by native permission to use it as they so desire. Appendices 'C' and 'D' give a summary on a quarterly basis of how Lennie and Tommy used their acquired store credit for the years covered by the previous figures. These two men are somewhat typical of the working group of men. The older men and women who receive the Government ration do not work as hard. These rations are not shown in the income figures of Appendix 'E'. When a trip to Derby is undertaken on Mission business the leader is paid £1 per trip and 10/- for the crew plus rations during the trip. In 1924 the natives received 2/- for such trips. On shell trips the amount of rations consumed is apportioned to the men at cost and debited to their store account. Threepence per lb is credited to the men for cleaned trochus shell. The men often pay their relatives ½d. per lb for helping to clean the collected shell. Though the Mission provides the boat with its running costs free for such shelling trips the Government says that it is really in favour of using the straight out wage system rather than the piecework scheme.

Spiritual exercises are on a purely voluntary basis. Quite a number of professions of faith occurred during 1950 particularly among the teenage group. While I was on the island a daughter of Doris made a profession of faith and went and told her mother whose eyes filled immediately with tears.

There have been times during the last couple of years when one or two young folk expressed the desire to live "holy lives" and break from the old way absolutely but there was always present the fear of the old men, and a continual expression of an inability to understand the "hard English words of the Bible."

Bella was in a rage. She suddenly appeared at the Mission doorway and announced to the superintendent's wife: "I am going to finish Paddy." "But he is your brother" came the reply. "Yes, but my onlybrother and he will stick up for his wife instead of his only sister" was her lament. "I'm going to borrow cousin Lennie's spears", Bella then dramatically announced. But the quiet rejoinder come from the Missionery. "I don't believe you will. Don't you love the Lord, Bella?" "I will sorry about it", Bella reassured her then added: "You come down and see me do it." This only secured the firm but polite refusal, "No, I won't watch you do such a nasty thing." So off went Bella still in a rage. The next day the same lady remained behind after the ladies' weekly fellowship meeting and recounted her doings after leaving the Mission house the previous day. Bella explained how that when she was walking down the hill and saw the other Mission house (Fig. 9) in the valley she thought of the Lord who had done somuch for her. So she sat down under the tree and prayed to Jesus and He heard her and changed her heart. Here was a real imbibing of Christian sentiment and practice. The Christian had triumphed over the heathen. The covert sentiments must in time dominate the overt actions.

REFERENCES

(1) The writer is a member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Australia.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

The early Missions to the Aborigines, such as the New Norcia Mission near Perth and Langhorne's Mission near Melbourne, immediately upon commencement flourished and then soon faded away as the native succumbed and died out. The Sunday Island Mission has not been so. Inthe earlier Missions failure was due to the alienation of the land from the native and with such oftentimes a forcing of the displaced persons into other tribal areasresulting in intertribal warfare. The introduction of white man's vices - "the contaminating influence of evil whites" - helped to complete the disintegration.

Though the contacts of the last century with the Bardi on Dampiers Land reduced their numbers considerably yet during the Mission's history the fading away process has been stayed. Unfortunately the story of the Djaui people was different. We noted before how contacts decimated them until their small remnants were absorbed into the infiltratiting Bardi. There did not occur, however, the alienation of land to anything like the same extent in this far North West as in other areas. Intertribal fighting was not forced upon the Bardi to cause his downfall and loss. Furthermore the isolation of Sunday Island reduced to a minimum the influences of the bad disintegration effects of the evil aspects of white civilization.

(A) DISTINCTIVE ASPECTS OF THE CULTURAL CONTACT

Acculturation - the process of culture change involved when conquering groups settle amongst the conquered - has become a popular word in some quarters for the processes of change resulting from the coming together of European and primitive cultural groups. In assessing these processes on Sunday Island we need to realize that the Islanders have not come into

contact with white civilization in all its multifarious mechinations and ramifications. The fortuitous contacts of the early days were with men whose outlook was almost wholly economic, whose religion could almost be equated with a rabid materialism. During the Mission's history the policy has been highly selective. The Missionaries themselves could not be full representatives of the total white man's way of life as they did not represent a cross section of that life. Furthermore the presenting of culture and the inculcating of white ideals and religion was a deliberate process. Only those aspects were given as were deemed wise and beneficial. The delivery of white civilization to them in small parcels has had at least the advantage that they could take them piecemeal without a catastrophic upheaval with its resultant loss and not gain.

Though Daisy Bates was sold to the idea of a vanishing race and to a policy of soothing the dying man's pillow yet she spoke with much sagacity when she said: (1) "The one great fault in our attempts to Christianize the Australian Aborigines lies in our violent snapping of their own traditional beliefs in our endeavour to replace these by teaching them the rudiments of that special creed to which we ourselves belong, or rather to the beliefs which we have reached in our present state of culture. We forget the many, many stages through which those beliefs have passed before they became the supposedly perfected creeds of the present day. We have not taken the lessons of the early Christians to heart. These good men with characteristic prudence, merged as many of these pagan beliefs into the Christianity of those days as could be safely welded in, accordance with the tenets of their religion. Like St. Paul, they were all things to all men, and by this practice made their way among the pagans they had gone forth to Christianize."

We cannot expect them to catch up with us in one generation in every

particular. It is questionable whether we should expect them to catch up at all. The Bardi had elements in his culture that predisposes the manifestation of civilization or Christianity in a somewhat altered form than our particular brand even if it were not so that he was receiving only selected aspects of it. A common failure in Missions has been the failure to distinguish principles from their manifestations. We can hardly imagine Christianity without a Christmas tree and the inevitable "stocking" for the children. But essential Christianity has none of these things. They simply happen to be the peculiar manifestation of the Christian outlook occurring in our society. Attempts to transfer in toto all the manifestations display an ignorance of the fact that the circumstances or environment (such as cultural tradition) which determine the manifestations are very much different among the Bardi than among ourselves. Spontaneous expression of newly acquired sentiments oroutlooks are more likely to be better integrated into life than an expression predetermined by the onlooker.

(B) THE PATTERN OF THE CHANGE. Techniques for overt cultural habits and reactions effect the covert philosophies of life running as undercurrents throughout the culture. The latter also effects and restricts the former. The techniques also are more readily changed. The tangibles are not so tenacious and changeresisting as the intangibles.

Irrespective of whether we would subscribe wholly to Hadley's policy or not at least in this he was right - an attempt at total immediate change would have been detrimental. Both before and after the founding of the Mission Hadley and others had introduced to the Bardi new elements in the diet and a new economic system. This latter was superimposed upon the fishing and collecting though it tended to replace it - particularly the latter. The change of occupation was not a drastic one. Fishing was their delight and

and shelling was a related task - it involved the sea and boats - it allowed for the catch of turtle and dugong. Here was a common factor which allowed for easier cultural change. To this was added gardening. There was no common factor here and the natives generally have not taken up this industry. We need to remember, however, that the shelling industry has had an almost continuous history at the Island while agriculture was on a very small scale and extremely spasmodic. The policy of feeding the native may have been imperative at the very start but economic independence should not have waited thirty years before it was tried.

Hadley did not wish to interfere with the customs of the people and respected their taboos. He does not appear to have attempted to correct anything of the rites and ceremonies. We have noted that he was, according to the natives, himself an initiated member of the tribe. This no doubt gave him prestige and a means of influence. It showed that he was one with them. But the same result could have been achieved in other ways. Other white people have at times been recognised as a member of a tribe without submitting to a performance of the initiating rite. The ease with which some of the objectional features of the initiation ceremonies were eliminated in the early thirties indicates that modification could have been introduced earlier and also piecemeal.

The Bardi, like all Aboriginals, is socially conscious. The performance of such rules as avoidance by all gives the feeling of solidarity and to the individual performance a sense of social success. The initiation and ceremonial life also provide this social stimulus. The Mission needs to remember that the individualistic temperament peculiar to ourselves is quite foreign to the Bardi. Subjection of the individual to the social whole is ordained for him. Christianity elevates the individual and in

inducing him to make a profession this new faith tends to isolate him from this social solidarity that was his very breath and which in itself is not evil. The Mission needs to provide more of this social solidarity on a Christian level.

An increase in techniques and knowledge leads to a reduction of the mystical and magical. The old Bardi concept of the dreamtime is failing. The force of the Christian ethic and the greater power over nature (such as in the curing of sickness) allowed by the new techniques has led to a reduction of magic. The medicine man's powers have been greatly restricted. The knowledge of biological facts has destroyed the belief in the idea of dreamtime conception. These things allowed for the deletion of the blood-drinking etc. in the initiation ceremonies. There is no desire to repeat the procedures in rite of the activities of the culture heroes and thereby receive his mana. But the demand for social solidarity requires conformity even if to a greatly pruned performance. Continuity with the past also is safeguarded without the necessary full magical concept.

Law under the old Bardi conditions was based wholly on myth and tradition which were in the hands of the old men of the tribe. This law was not the personal whim of a present ruler but that of the unalterable decree of the culture hero of the eternal dreamtime. Such law was implicitly obeyed, largely without special sanctions from present day personalities. Education in this law came through the instructions given in the rites and in the myths. Thus with the new education there is an emancipation from the old authority. This emancipation was proceeding well until the catastrophe of the abortive attempt at transfer to the mainland. The failure of the white man's way has allowed a certain recovery of power for the old men of the tribe. The failure of the missionaries to master the Bardi language led to an isolation of the

older men who cannot converse very well in English. These still wield a very strong influence. The lack of teaching in Bardi has also meant for the young converts the difficulty of understanding the meaning of many expressions in the English Bible. There is always a certain reluctance to pass from the known to the unknown. There cannot be a full manifestation of the Christian ethic when its concepts are not adequately grasped. However, no "cults of despair" show any signs of appearing.

Kinship ties are still strong. The rations provided by the Government for the aged gives them a certain economic independence. The young women particularly have a certain economic independence and so can choose when and whom to marry. As in most primitive societies the Bardi women occupied a much lower place than the men. In the new scheme of things the women have received an elevation. The women's meeting on the Island gives an admirable avenue for self expression and a sense of importance in the community. On the otherhand the firm retention of the initiation ceremonies and the adament refusal to do away with "Men's Country" are in some way a reaction against the loss of prestige suffered by the men through the emancipation of the womenfolk.

(C) FUTURE POSSIBILITIES. The Bardi have adopted so many of whitemen's ways in diet, clothing and even housing that his economic needs are advancing. All along the Mission has been the provider of the means of production largely. Capital investment and initiative had to be in its own hands. Spending power depends on the number of shell trips arranged. This depends on white manpower. The amount of other work also depends on what the Mission gives the natives to do. Fuzzywork places the initiative more into the hands of the native - at least the women. There must be an expansion of the production of purchasing power. This expansion needs to have some relation to available markets. The repeated formulation of plans to shift to the mainland have been dictated by

the desire for more expansive areas for cultivation. But Sunday Island is not as barren as it is usually made out to be. Fern Gully is quite extensive and well watered. A.J. Pratt - a blue ribbon horticulturalist and market gardener of Perth - visited the Island in 1950. He has had the soil tested and he indicated that Fern Gully can take quite an area of bananas and citrus fruits as well as other garden products. The type of fertiliser required has been indicated by him. Fig. 27 indicates something of the type of country in Fern Gully. It is more extensive and better soil than the valley in which the camps nestle. Fig. 16 shows the long grass of Paddy's Country. A stock specialist of W.A.W. calling at the Island recently indicated that Paddy's Country could carry 1,000 head of sheep and that the natural grasses were very well suited for them. Men like Amely and Stampagee are quite garden conscious. The former has a garden of his own. The young schoolboys are showing quite an interest in the Mission garden which this year (1950) has done splendidly. Derby and other parts of the mainland are excellent markets for garden and poultry produce.

It is the desire of the parents of the young children that they be trained in the mission home. To take these children and to place them in a children's home under the missionaries' direct care secures a Commonwealth Child Allowance for each child. It has no adverse economic reaction on the native parents. Associated with this there needs to be a program for the educating of the people in hygiene. Actually the camp is quite clean compared with most others. But there needs to be made available also means of improving the housing units of the people. Having been trained in the home it is unsatisfactory to let the newly married set up homes that are not superior to the present units.

It is not too late to develop translation work. The U.A.M. should request

each of its missionaries to this Island that each learn the language. Someone qualified needs first to develop a grammar and dictionary thereupon. The Bible or at least the New Testament in Kerai should hold a high priority for the immediate future. Adult education in Kerai by the Laubach method could profitably be undertaken.

The principle of indirect rule needs to be adopted even though the transitional stage would be difficult. From the Mission's standpoint this indirect rule would have a twofold operation. General order in the camp should be administered through the elders, the co-operation of whom is a tremendous advantage. Conversing with these in the native tongue is an asset here. But in the Church activity and control the need is for an indigenous body. Religion in the old culture was man centred and controlled. Christianity emancipates the woman - and rightly so - but in its workings at many places and certainly at Sunday Island the women seem to have taken precedence over the men. To be male centred would not only give a better contact front but it is also Biblical. The elevation of woman does not necessarily involve her exaltation.

A program for Sunday Island is at the moment imperative. The program, to be successful, needs to embrace the economic, social, educational and spiritual. If the Mission authorities feel that they should concentrate on the spiritual alone, we have no fault to find. The Government must then see to it that the other social and economic aspects are catered for. Whether the task is split or vested in only one authority it must be done and done as a whole. Policies covering the different departments if in conflict would militate against the successful achievement of the processes of acculturation.

REFERENCE

(1) P.155 Daisy Bates, "The Passing of the Aborigines", 1944.

Fig. (25)

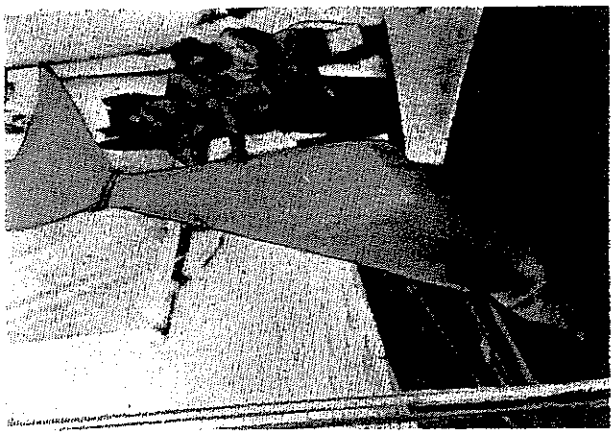

Fig. (26)

Fig. (27)

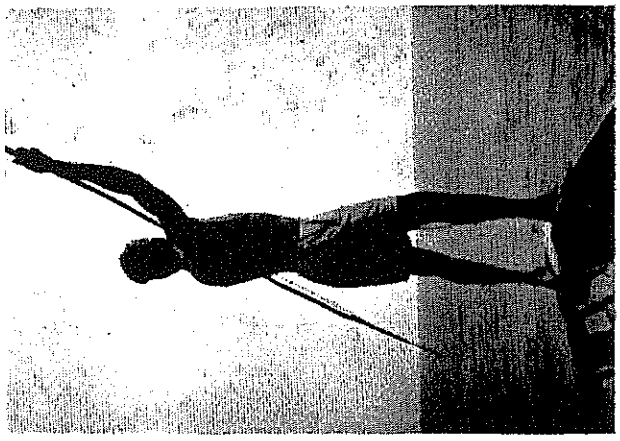

Fig. (28)

Fig. (29)

Fig. (30)

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(25) Coomerang & Plum with family. (26) Landing a dugong on to "Balfour". (27) Typical Pandanus Palms in Fern Gully. (28) Native poised awaiting appearance of dugong. (29) Characteristic approach to Sunday Island. (30) Coomerang building the missionary quarters behind the school in 1947.

APPENDIX 'A'

NATIVE POPULATION 1900 - 1933

Figures given as at 30th June

	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	SCHOLARS	MISSION WORKERS M.	F.	TOTAL
1900				70	20	3		3
1				74	26	3		3
2	22	24	30	76	18	2		2
3				72	20	3		3
4				94	23	3		3
5				110	27	3		3
6				105	29	3		3
7				110	29	3		3
8	36	38	45	119	32	2		2
9				120	31	2		2
1910				115	30	2	1	3
11				132	50	2		2
12	38	41	51	130	40	2	1	3
13				127	40	2	1	3
14				126	42	1	2	3
15	35	45	39	119	39	2	1	3
16				132	28	1	1	2
17	35	48	37	120	20	2	1	3
18				122	24	2	1	3
19	34	47	37	118	25	1	1	2
1920	30	50	45	125	29	1	1	2
21	28	43	45	116	30	1	1	2
22	29	42	41	112	29	1	1	2
23	31	48	42	121	27	2	2	4
24	27	39	37	103	23	2	2	4
25	28	37	38	103	29	2	1	3
26	39	50	37	126	25	3	2	5
27	34	35	37	106	24	3	2	5
28	46	59	40	145	30	2	2	4
29	43	60	45	148	33	2	2	4
1930	45	59	47	151	36	2	2	4
31	40	50	45	135	28	1	2	3
32	38	45	47	130	26	2	2	4
33	64	80	56	200	23	2	2	4

APPENDIX 'B'

NATIVE POPULATION 1934 - 1950
Figures given as at 30th June

	MALE	FEMALE	CHILDREN	TOTAL	SCHOLARS	MISSION WORKERS M.	F.	TOTAL
1934		(Transfer to Wadjulum)				2	2	4
35	38	41	41	120	23	2	2	4
36	60	90	50	200	20	2	1	3
37		(Vacating Wadjulum)				2	2	4
38	30	35	26	91	No School	2	1	3
39	35	42	31	108	16	1	-	1
1940						1	1	2
41		WORLD WAR II - No population				1	1	2
42		figures available				-	-	-
43						1		1
44	29	40	31	100		1	1	2
45	37	41	31	109		2	2	4
46	39	48	41	128		1	1	2
47	39	44	54	137		2	3	5
48	41	53	46	140		2	3	5
49	43	50	50	143		2	2	4
1950	39	48	52	139	35	2	3	5

NOTES

Figures for 1935, 1936 are for Sunday Island and Wadjulum.
Only in latter years have Department of Native Affairs kept records of population. The early figures have been gleaned from various correspondence and inspector's reports.
Excldding the present personnel (in 1950) there have been 37 workers (21 M, 16 F.) on the island since the mission began.
Omitting Hadley's record the other 36 have averaged a stay of 3 yrs 2 mths.

APPENDIX 'C'

LENNIE'S ACCOUNT 1946-1949
(Showing quarterly figures)

DATE	MAIN EDIBLES	JAM ETC.	CLOTHING	UTENSILS	CASH WITHDRAWN	TOTAL EXS.	INCOME IN	BALANCE ACCOUNT
1. 1.46								- - -
31. 3.46	2.14.06	2. 6	1. 2. 3	1. 3. 7	1. 5. 0	6. 7.10	10. 3. 0	3.15. 2
30. 6.46	2. 2. 6	6. -	1. 7. 9	1.10	1.10. 0	5. 8. 1	1.15. 0	2. 1
30. 9.46	1.15. 0	6. 6	9. 0	4. 6		2.15. 0	6. 3. 0	3.10. 1
31.12.46	4.19. 7	12. 1	4. 7. 7	1. 1. 2	1.10. 0	12.10. 5	9. 7. 0	6. 8
31. 3.47	3. 7. 0	7. 7	1. 6	18.10	3. 6	4.18. 5	4.18. 6	6. 9
30. 6.47	4.16. 6	9. 0	2. 5. 0	1.14. 1	1. 0. 0	10. 4. 7	11. 3. 3	1. 5. 5
30. 9. 47	3. 3. 0	1. 4. 9	2. 9. 2	12. 9		7. 9. 8	5.18. 3	6. 0D
31.12.47	5.14.10	1.16. 4	1.19.10	2. 4. 4	10. 0	12. 5. 4	13. 9. 2	17.10
31. 3.48	4. 9. 1	1. 4.11	3. 6. 0	1. 1. 7	1. 0. 0	11. 1. 7	11. 4. 0	1. 0. 3
30. 6.48	5. 9. 8	2.16. 6	1. 2. 0	1. 8. 5	6.15. 0	17.11. 7	18. 9. 0	1.17. 8
30. 9.48	2.19.11	18. 9	18. 9	8. 3		5. 5. 8	5.18. 4	2.10. 4
31.12.48	1.12. 4	18.11	4.19. 0	7. 8		7.17.11	5.11. 9	4. 2
31. 3.49	3. 5. 3	1. 6. 3	3.13. 6	15. 3	2. 0	9. 2. 3	8.19. 8	1. 7
30. 6.49	7.11. 4	2.14. 5	4.12. 3	2. 7. 9	1. 8. 0	18.13. 9	16.15. 3	1.16.11D
30.9.49	4. 3. 2	2.15. 9	6.13. 4	15. 6		14. 7. 9	15. 3. 9	1. 0.11D
31.12.49	5. 2. 2	2. 3. 9	3.14. 3	5. 6	1.18. 0	13. 3. 8	11. 7. 9	2.16.10D
	£63. 5.10	£20. 4. 0	£43. 1. 2	£15.11. 0	£17. 1. 6	£159. 3. 6	£156. 6. 8	

NOTES

Main Edibles include: Tea, sugar, flour, powdered milk, matches, soap.
Jam etc. includes: All other edibles of which Jam is typical.
Utensils covers fishing lines and household items.
D indicates account in Debit.
Lennie (36 yrs) is married to Doris (31 yrs) and they have six children aged 13, 12, 10, 7, 6, 4
Cash withdrawn covers amounts given in cash either to give to another native or spend when making a trip to Derby.

APPENDIX 'D'

TOMMY'S ACCOUNT 1946-1949
(Showing quarterly figures)

DATE	MAIN EDIBLES	JAM ETC.	CLOTHING	UTENSILS	CASH WITHDRAWN	TOTAL EXP.	INCOME	BALANCE IN ACCOUNT
								5. 0. 4
1. 1.46								
1. 3.46	2. 2. 1	10. 0	1. 0. 0	5. 1	4.10. 0	8. 7. 2	17.18. 0	14. 9. 2
0. 6.46	4. 3. 2	6. 0	3. 6. 6	3. 1	1.10. 0	9. 8. 9	10.16. 6	15.16.11
0.9. 46	3.13. 8	8. 0	1. 2. 6	9		5. 4.11	7.10. 6	18. 2. 6
1.12.46	3. 6. 8	17. 7	1. 7.11	7. 9. 9	1. 3. 6	14. 5. 5	8. 0. 6	11.17. 7
1. 3.47	3. 0. 2	5. 5	1. 5. 0	10. 8		5. 1. 3		6.16. 4
0. 6.47	2.19. 2	12. 3	2. 3. 6	15. 2		6.10. 1	5. 8. 6	5.14. 9
0. 9.47	3.18. 1	1. 3. 8	2. 3. 6	9. 6	14. 0	8. 8. 9	10.10. 3	7.16. 3
1.12 .47	5.11. 2	2. 19. 4	17. 1	13. 12. 4	10. 0	23. 9.11	18. 1. 6	2. 7.10
1. 3.48	4. 3. 3	2. 2. 1	2. 1. 1	1. 1. 6	2. 2. 0	11.13.11	10.16. 5	1.14. 4
0. 6.48	3.16. 3	2. 15. 1	10. 0	17. 8	1. 0. 0	8.19. 0	15. 4. 0	7.19. 4
0. 9.48	5.16.10	1. 9. 4	3.16. 6	15. 2		11.17.10	11. 3. 6	7. 5. 0
1.12.48	3.13. 5	1. 0.10	4.11. 4	8. 9	3. 5. 0	12.19. 4	5.12. 0	2.4D
1. 3.49	1. 2. 2	2. 4	6. 0			1.10. 6	6.14. 4	5. 1. 6
0. 6.49	4. 1. 4	1. 1. 1	3. 9. 6	12. 8	6. 0. 0	15. 4. 7	11.10. 0	1. 6.11
0. 9.49	6.15. 1	1. 4. 6	3. 2. 8	1. 15.11	10. 0	12.18. 2	16. 7. 3	4.16. 0
1.12.49	3. 2. 7	1. 0. 2	1. 3. 6	6. 3		5.12. 6	3.19. 6	3. 3. 0
TOTALS	£61. 5. 1	£17.17. 8	£32. 6. 7	£28.14. 3	£21.14. 6	£161. 8. 1	£159.10. 9	

N.B. The column "Utensils" covers fishing lines, household items, and also £19.4.0 for a dinghy. This item was lost but Tommy did not pay the balance owing. He could see no reason to keep paying when he did not have the dinghy.

Tommy (38 yrs) is married to Louisa (28 yrs) and they have one child - a girl aged one year.

Tommy is also called "Sunday Island Tom"

APPENDIX 'E'

INCOME OF NATIVES 1946 - 1949

SOURCE		1946 HOME	1946 WOMEN	1946 TOTAL	1947 HOME	1947 WOMEN	1947 TOTAL	1948 HOME	1948 WOMEN	1948 TOTAL	1949 HOME	1949 WOMEN	1949 TOTAL	FOUR YEAR TOTALS
SHELLING	H.	555. 6.11			390. 0. 5			419.11.11			522.15. 8			1887.14. 3
	W.		22. 3.11			11. 3. 8			12. 0. 4			9.18. 0		55. 5.11
	T.			577.10.10			401. 4. 1			431.12. 3			532.13. 8	1943. 0.10
WAGES	H.	190.10. 2			228.12. 4			256. 4. 2			276. 1. 1			951. 7. 9
	W.		8. 5. 7			5.12. 0			10.12. 0			49.13. 1		73.12. 8
	T.			198.15. 9			234. 4. 4			266.16. 2			325. 4. 2	1025. 0. 5
FANCY WORK	M.				9.15. 7			17.15.10			36. 9. 8			64. 1. 1
	W.					4. 1. 6			9. 2. 6			14.18. 0		28. 2. 0
	T.						13.17. 1			26.18. 4			51. 7. 8	92. 3. 1
TOTALS	H.	745.17. 1			628. 8. 4			693.11.11			635. 6. 5			2903. 3. 9
	W.		30. 9. 6			20.17. 2			31.14.10			73.19. 1		157. 0. 7
	T.			776. 6. 7			649. 5. 6			725. 6. 9			909. 5. 6	23060. 4. 4

"Home" refers to men and wife as a single unit.

"Women" included only those young women or widows who work for themselves and not their home.

APPENDIX 'F'

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE SUMMARY 1946 - 1949

	Expenses	Income	Balances	Debits
1946 - Balances in Store Ledger			£111.14. 1	£ 9.17. 4
1946	£765.13. 5	£776. 6. 7	£122. 7. 3	-
1947	731.16. 8	649. 5. 6	39.16. 1	5. 3.11
1948	746. 7. 2	725. 6. 9	18.15. 8	9. 3. 4
1949	919. 9.10	909. 5. 6	8.11. 4	17. 3.11
	£3163. 7. 1	£3060. 4. 4		

N.B. The figures under "Debits" give the total of accounts in debit. The balances in previous column have had the debits deducted.

APPENDIX 'G'

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT TAKEN OVER FROM S. HADLEY BY AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES MISSION

BUILDINGS

1 Large School House which we use also for public worship supplied with forms and desks and lined inside with metal lining, and all painted throughout inside, the woodwork in the roof being all dressed. This stands on high substantial blocks which are all coal tarred to keep away white ants.

Matron's Cottage with girls dormitory attached. This is of iron with back and front verandah, and furnished with all the requisites that are required, with bathroom in back verandah. The dormitory has bunks capable of accommodating 14 girls, with lockers for each. Both these buildings are on tarred blocks.

Stone Store House with walls 15 inches thick, and all the shelves that are required.

Stone dwelling house with similar walls, amply furnished with three iron bedsteads, large table, toilet table, book shelves and cocoanut matting laid down on the floor. These two last buildings join one another with verandah running down the front.

Boys' Dormitory of iron with accommodation for about 20 boys with bunks and tables. This is also on tarred blocks with front verandah.

Bake House with large brick oven.

Large stone cooking range with chimney, hot water fountain and boilers and pans etc. In front of this an open iron roofed shed with table running down centre for the school children and adjoining this a kitchen-dining room for ourselves, with concrete floor and with dressers, bread cupboard and safes with dining table in the centre.

Appendix 'G' Ctd.

STOCK etc.

25 head of cattle with cows for milk and one or two or three young beasts to kill for meat every cold weather season.

About 28 head of goats for milking and butchering. There are cattle and goat yards with large open stone work well, close to the yards.

A few well bred Leghorn fowls with fowl house andrun.

Garden fenced in for use in cool season as we can grow nothing in the summer season, also usual offices etc.

BOATS

The Lotty and Meta two half decked cutters which we use for shelling

The Vera one large ships longboat also cutter rigged. These boats have their own native captain and trained crew and are all licensed fishing boats.

MEANS OF INCOME

(1) The Government allow a little over £45 per quarter. This is for old and aged natives and school children, 36 in all, for whom they allow £5 per head per annum, also blankets and clothes for them.

(2) Trocas shell is now bringing £56 per ton and likely to advance.

S O U R C E S

Much of the present day conditions on the Island I gleaned by personal observation and native interviews. This was supplemented by contacts with missionaries personally and by correspondence.

Written or published material used or found suggestive included the following.

(A) REPORTS AND CORRESPONDENCE

1. Annual Reports of the Chief Protector or Commissioner for Native Affairs. These are available in Parliamentary Papers in Proceedings of W.A. Government. I had access to the filed copies of these Reports in the Department of Native Affairs, Perth.
2. Royal Commission Report by G.F. Wood, 1927.
3. Royal Commission Report by H.D. Moseley, 1935.
4. Report on Survey of Native Affairs - F.E.A. Bateman, 1948.
5. Correspondence and minute Books of the A.A.M. (C.M.S.)
6. The correspondence files of the Department of Native Affairs. Those up to 1913 are in the archives of the Perth Public Library - the others with the Department. Where in the text reference is made to correspondence to the Chief Protector, the Department or Inspectors Reports etc the papers are to be found in these files.
7. H. Coate's Field Notes.

(B) PRINTED WORKS

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1943/4 E. Worms, "Aboriginal Place Names in Kimberley, Western Australia", Vol. 14, Pgs. 284/313.

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1944/5 M. Reay, "A Half Caste Aboriginal Community in North West of N.S.W." Vol. 15 Pgs. 296/323.

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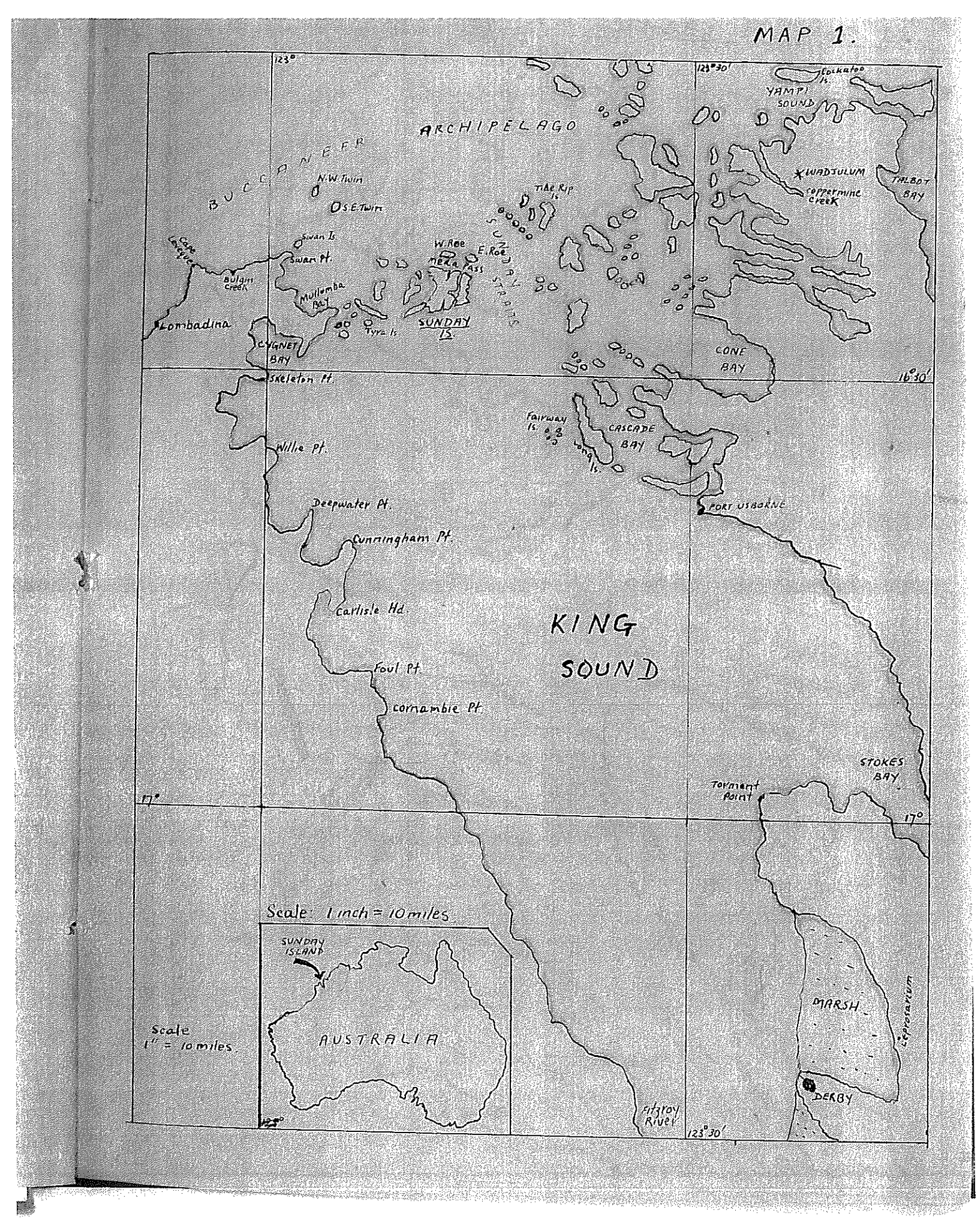
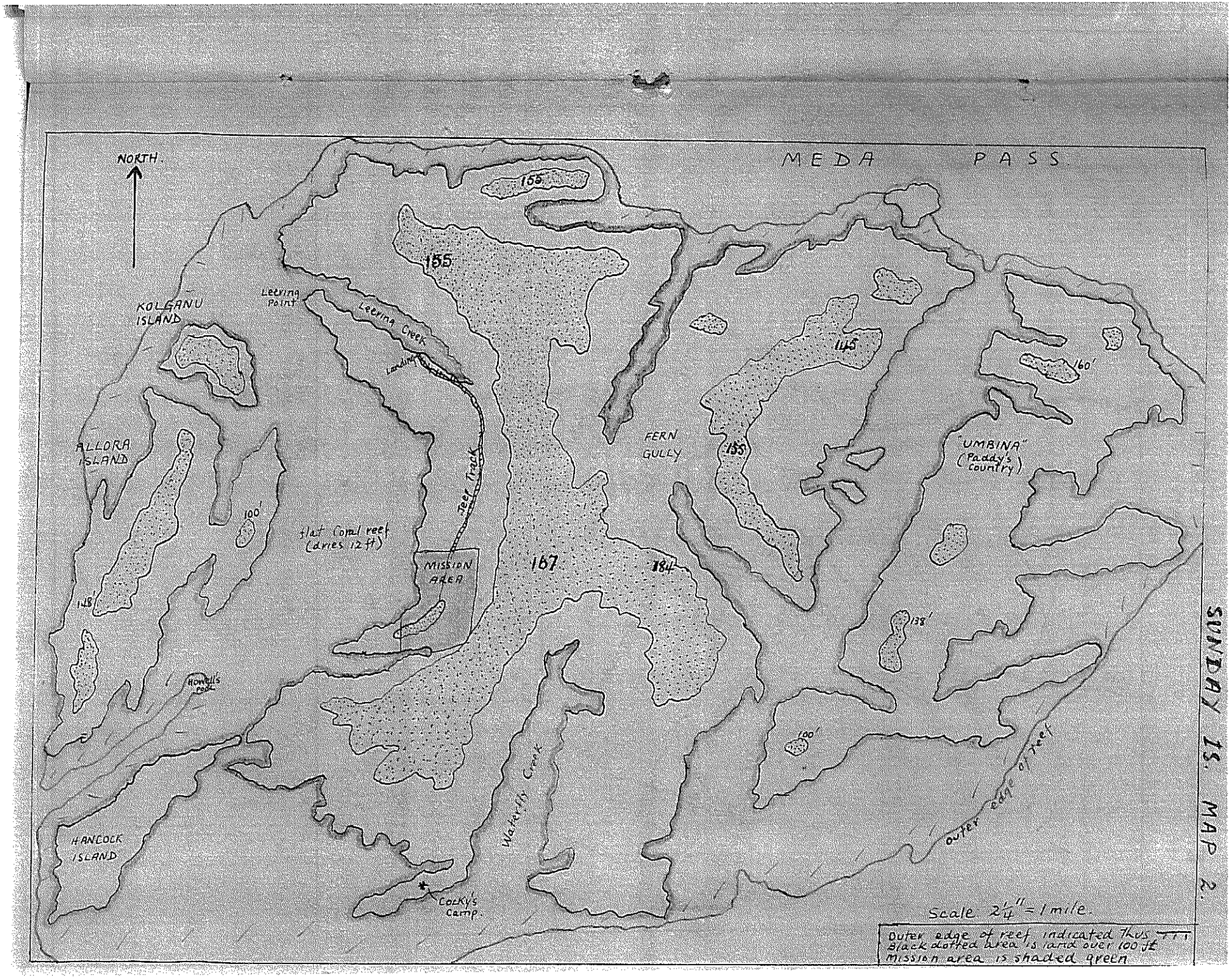
1947/8 M. Reay & G. Sitlington, "Class and ststusin a Mixed Blood Community", Vol. 18, Pgs 179/207.

Oceania Monographs No. 2. A. P. Elkin, "Studies in Australian Totemism", Pages 45/60, 1933.

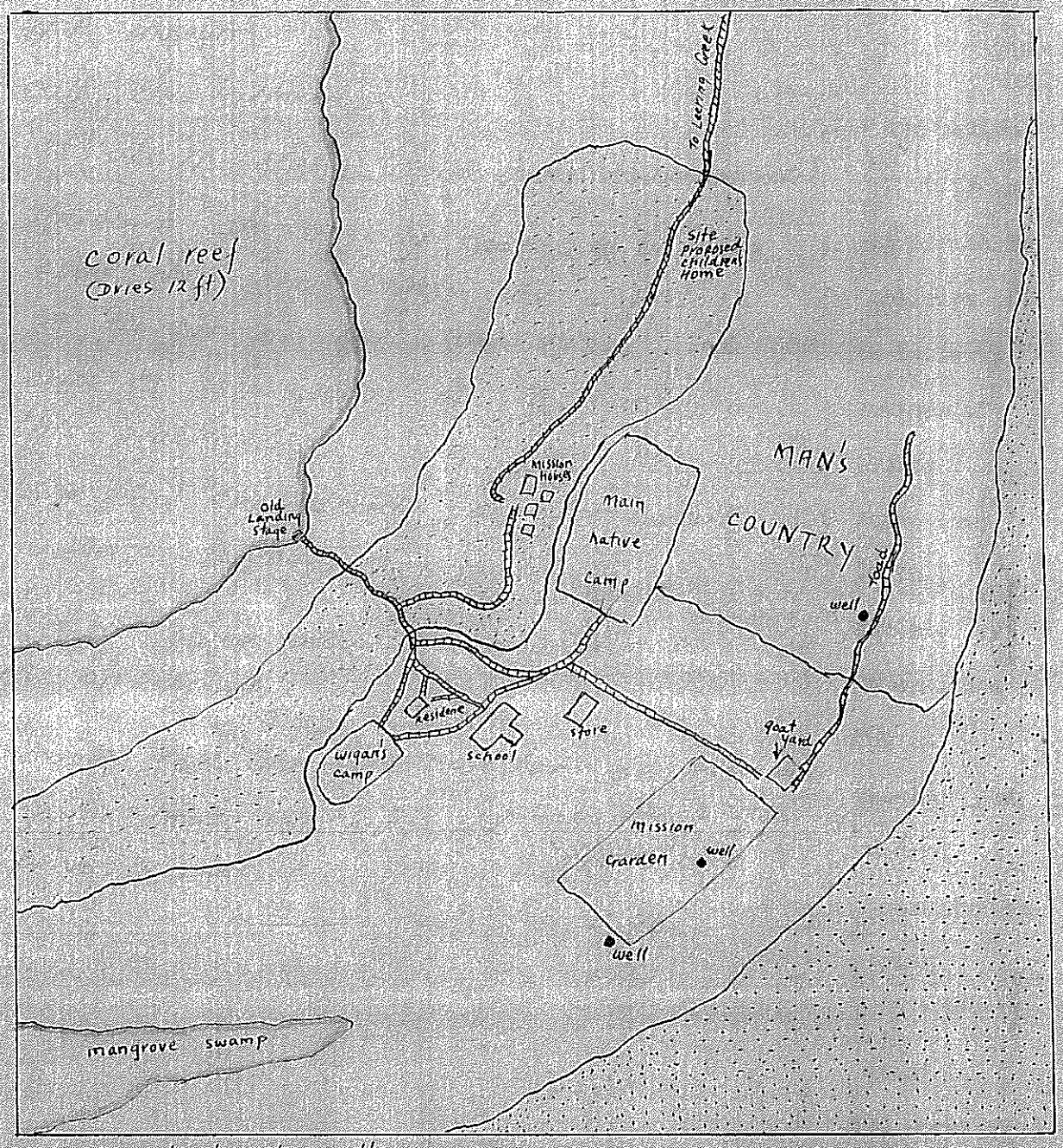


Copy of Plates


NORTH
MEDA PASS
155
155
KOLGANU ISLAND
Leering Point
Leering Creek
Landing
ALLORA ISLAND
Deer Track
FERN GULLY
145
160
155
"UMBINA" (Paddy's country)
100
flat (coral reef dries 12 ft)
MISSION AREA
167
184
148
138
HOWELLS POINT
100
Outer edge of reef
HANCOCK ISLAND
Wakefield Creek
Cocky's Camp
Scale 2¼" = 1 mile.
Outer edge of reef indicated thus
Black dotted area is land over 100 ft
Mission area is shaded green
SUNDAY IS. MAP 2.

THE MISSION AREA.

MAP 3.



made tracts shown thus ▭▭▭

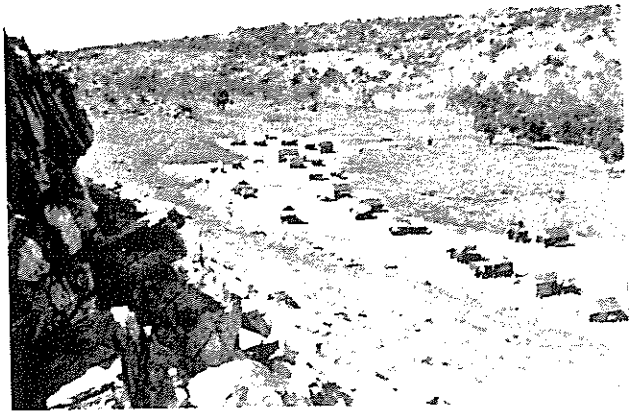
Dotted area indicates land over 100 ft.

Fig. (1)

Fig. (2)

Fig. (3)

Fig. (4)



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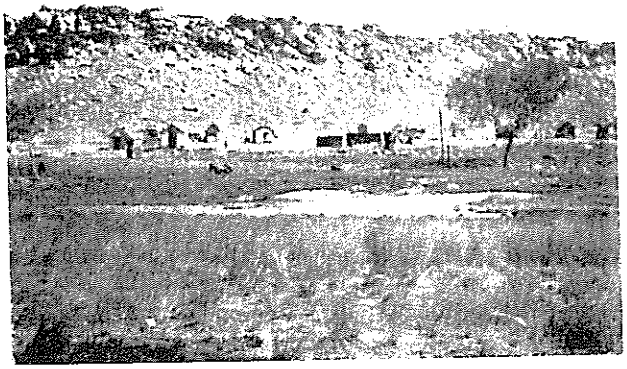

Fig. (6)

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(1) Old style of reed hut. (2) Medicine Man in front of tin humpy. (3) Typical iron one room house with summer house nearby. (4) Cocky's camp area – The corroboree ground (5) Main camp area looking East. (6) A portion of main camp with main mission houses on the hill behind.

Fig. (1)

Fig. (2)

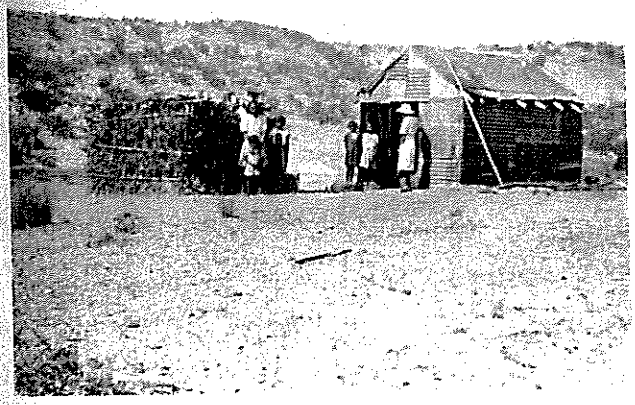
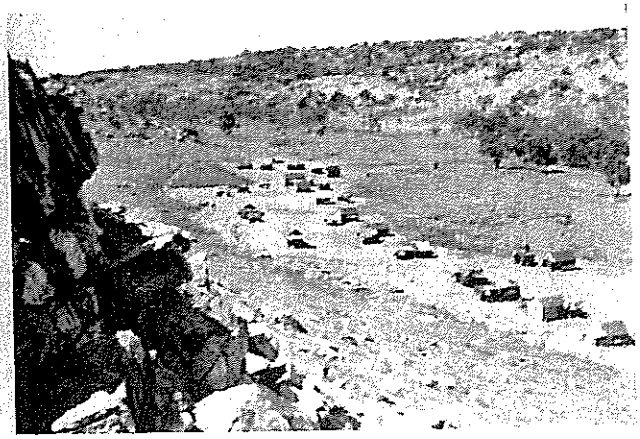


Fig. (3)

Fig. (4)



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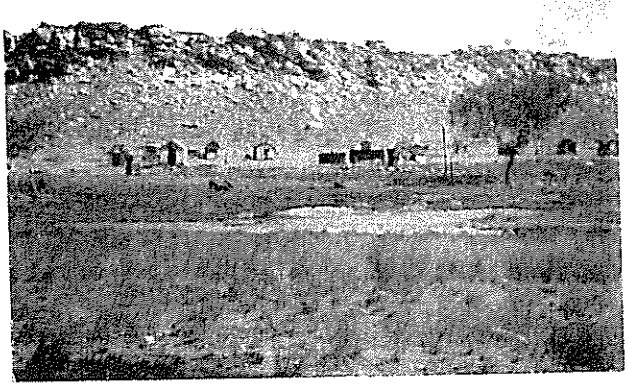

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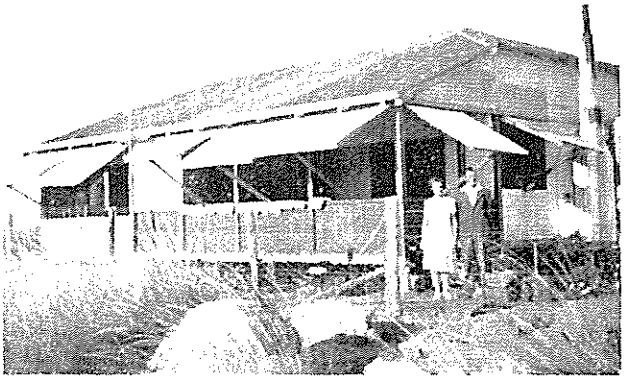

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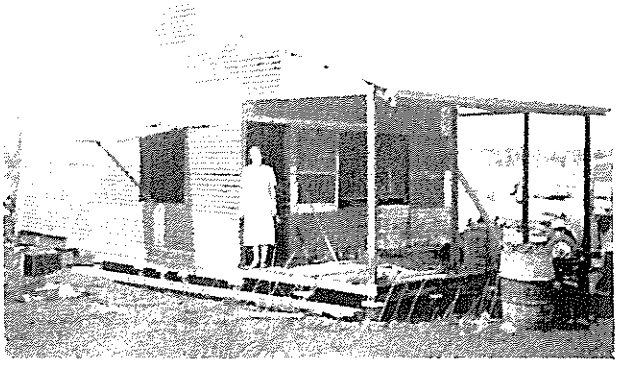

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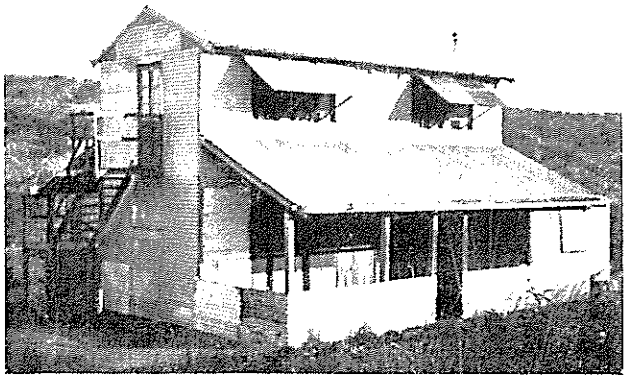


Fig. (9)

Fig. (10)

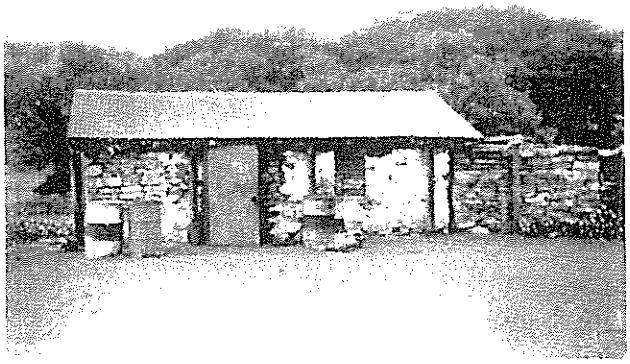
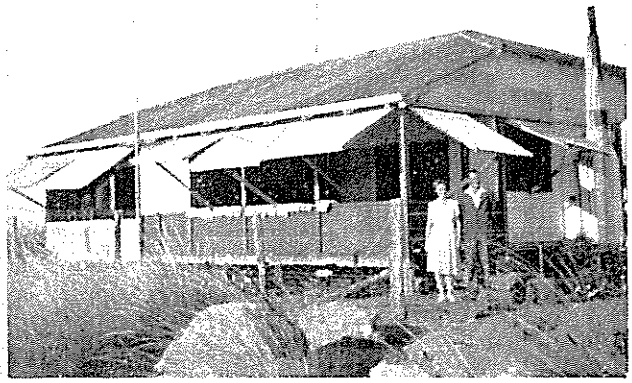


Fig. (11)

Fig. (12)

(7) The main mission house on the hill. (8) Recently built house on the hill for a new worker. (9) Two storey house in the valley for mission workers. (10) School of two classrooms with residence at rear – between the main and Wigan's camps. (11) The present day store – originally S. Hadley's home built near the main camp. (12) The mission garden with the two storey residence in the background and showing one of the two large shady rubber trees.



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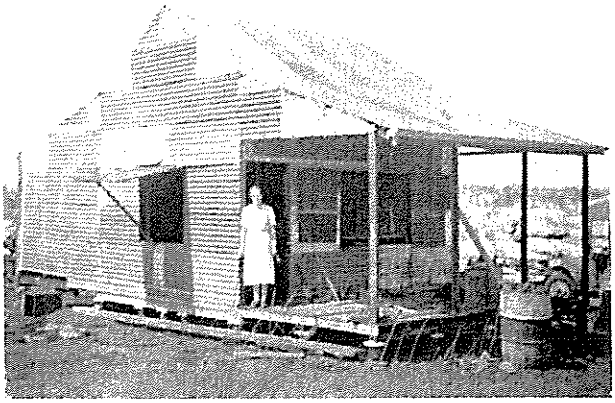

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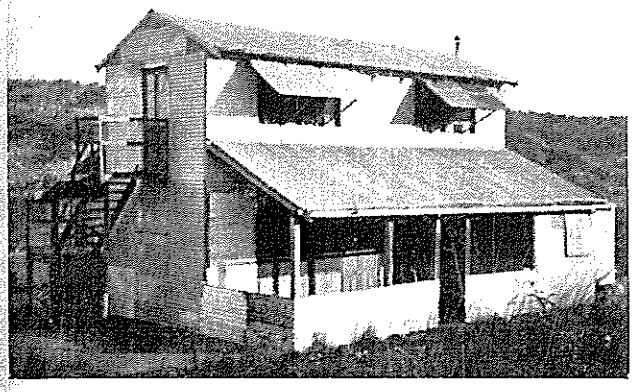

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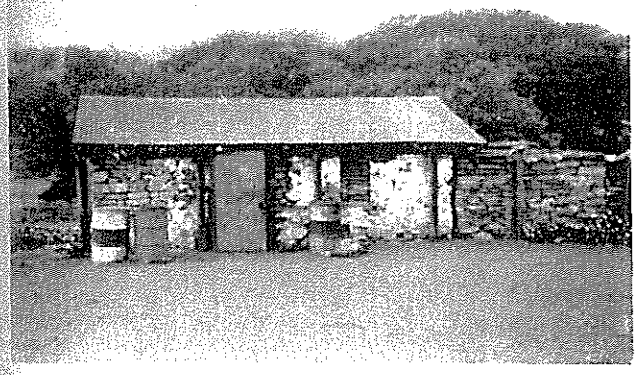

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Fig. (13)

Fig. (14)

Fig. (15)

Fig. (16)

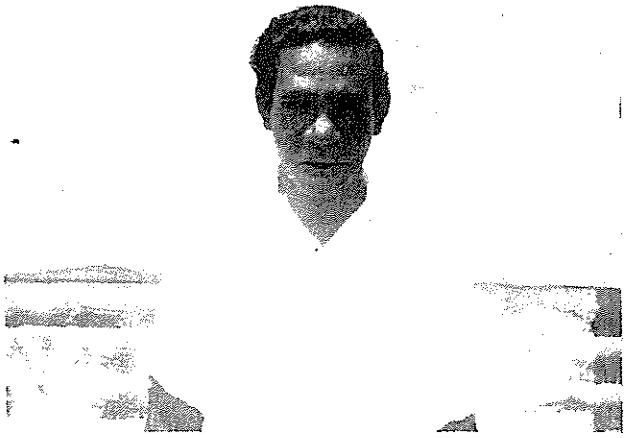


Fig. (17)

Fig. (18)

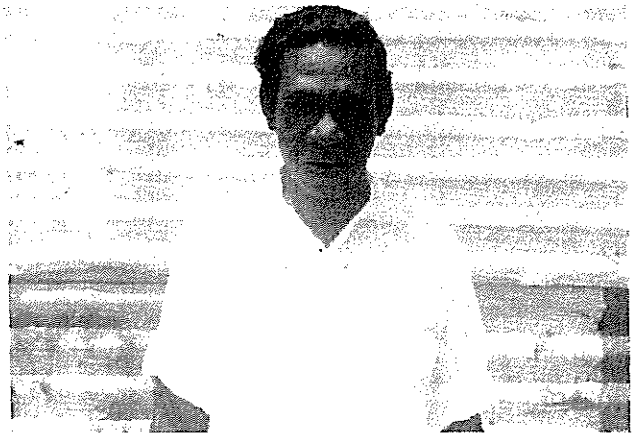
(13) Boys with herolas and the catch. (14) Boys in typical dress with baby goats. (15) The seven girls living at the mission house. (16) Long grass on the flats in "Paddy's Country". (17) Lennie. (18) Doris – wife of Lennie.

Fig. (13)

Fig. (14)

Fig. (15)

Fig. (16)



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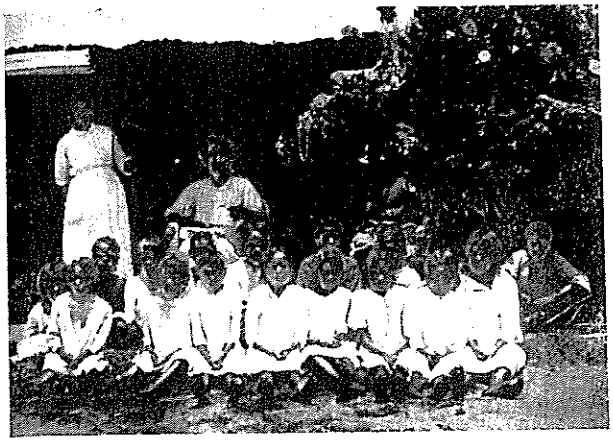
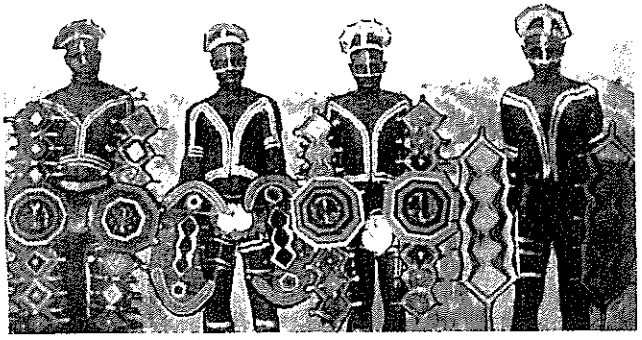


Fig. (19)

Fig. (20)



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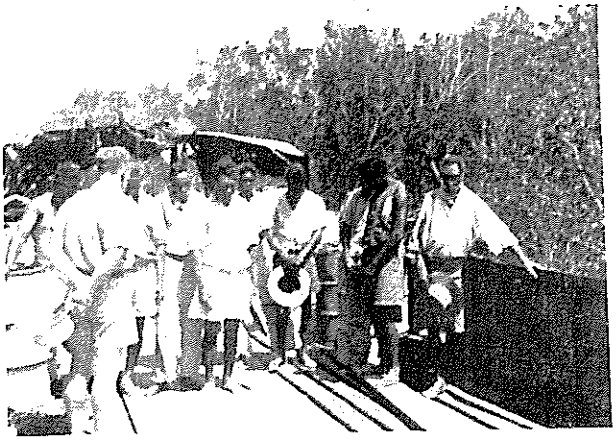

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Fig. (23)

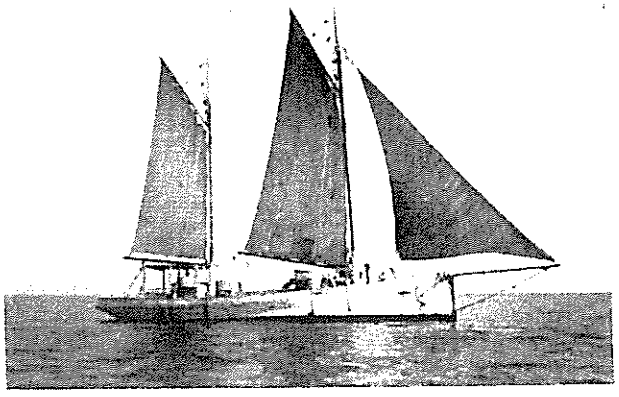
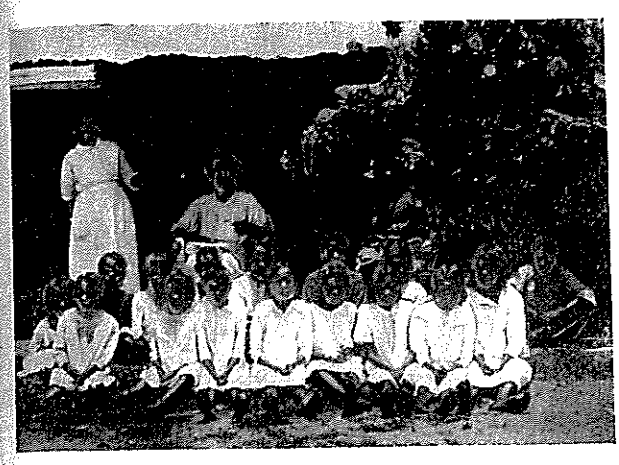


Fig. (24)

(19) Children and Christmas Tree. (20) Typical native scene on "Kalwas". (21) Dressed up for Corroboree Sing Song. (22) Missionary and crew pray before they take mission barge out on shelling trip. (23) The native women ready for a meeting. (24) The "Balfour".



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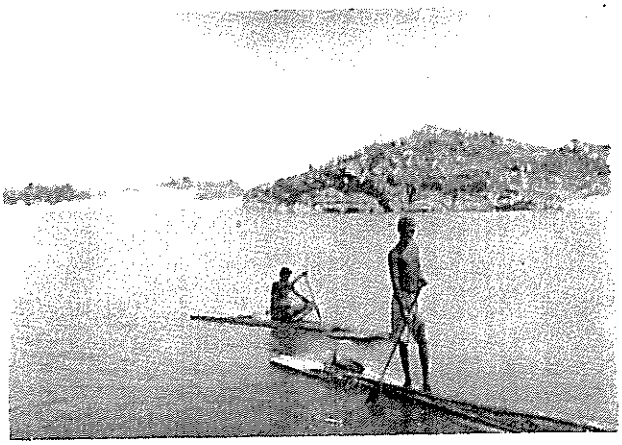

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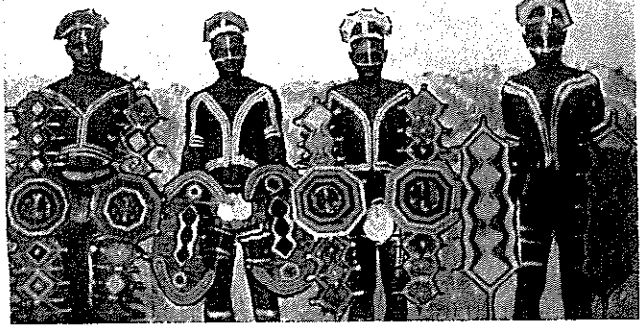

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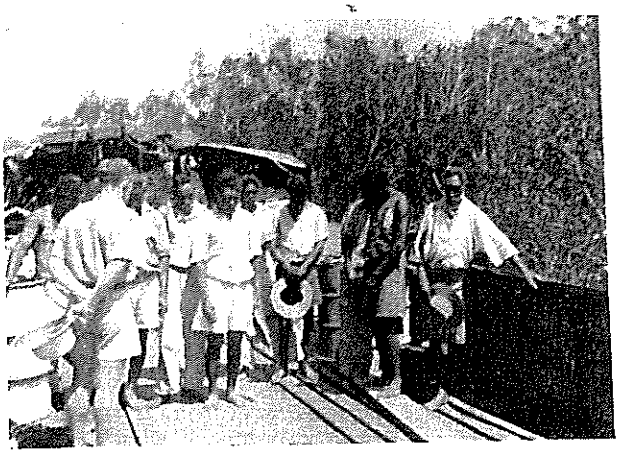

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Fig. (23)

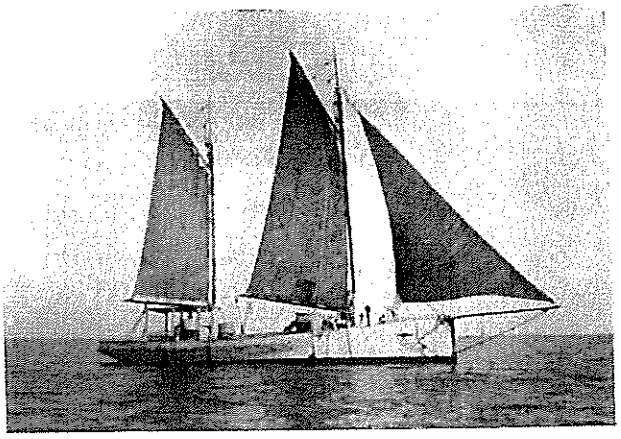

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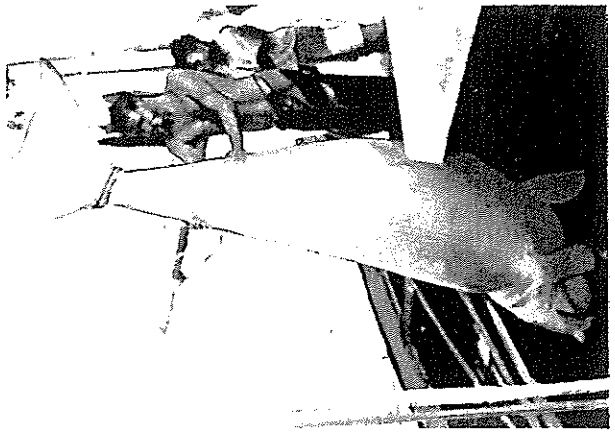
Fig. (25)



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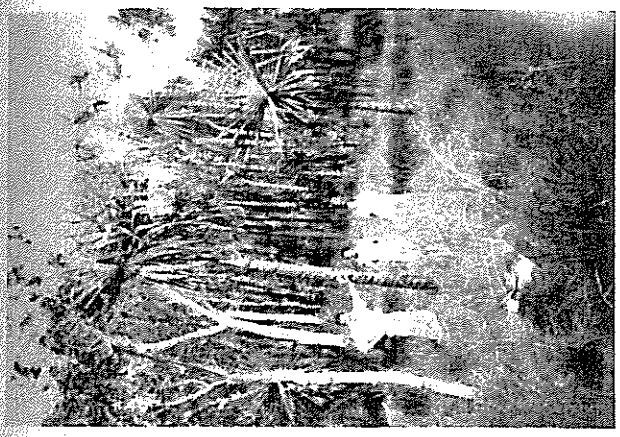

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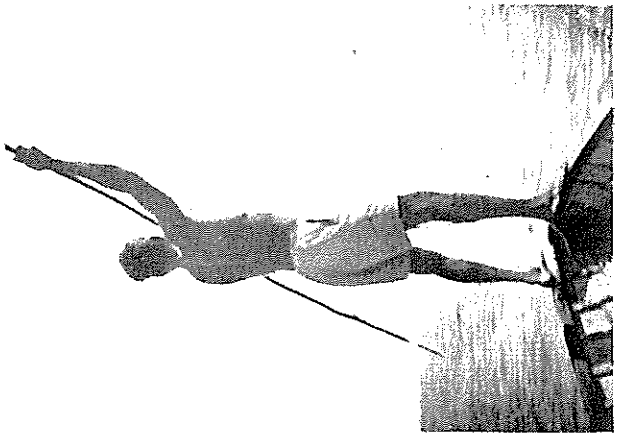

Fig. (28)

Fig. (29)

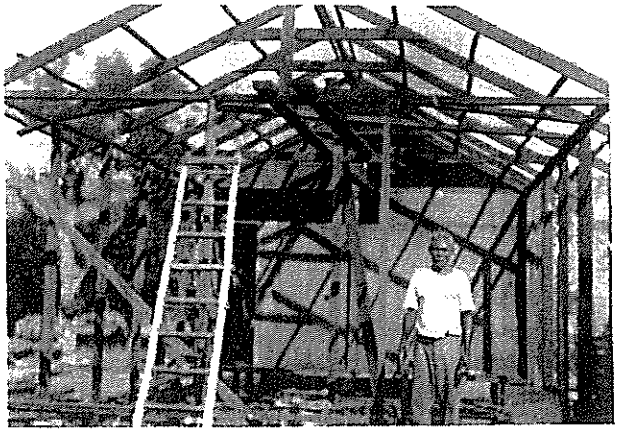

Fig. (30)

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(25) Coomerang & Plum with family. (26) Landing a dugong on to "Balfour". (27) Typical Pandanus Palms in Fern Gully. (28) Native poised awaiting appearance of dugong. (29) Characteristic approach to Sunday Island. (30) Coomerang building the missionary quarters behind the school in 1947.

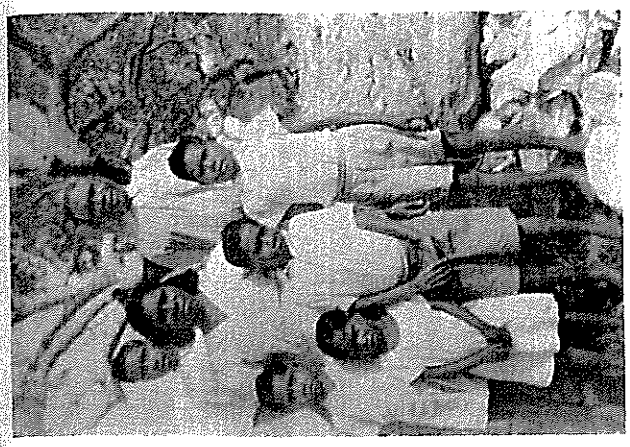

Fig. (25)

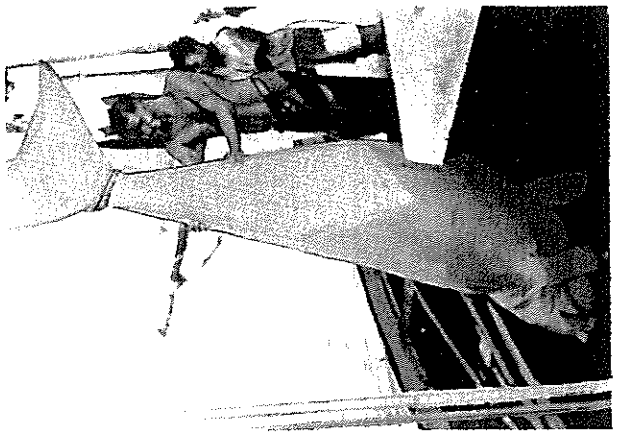

Fig. (26)

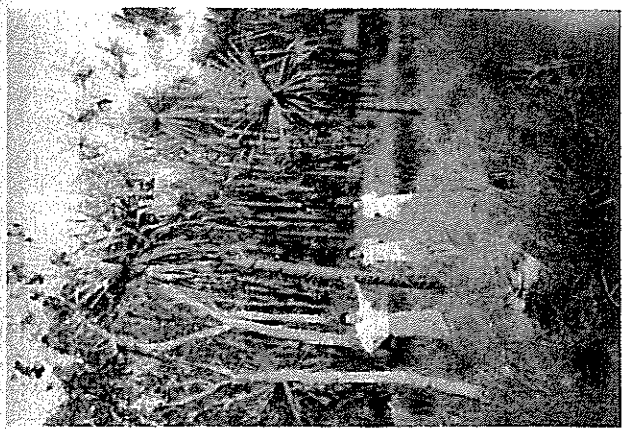

Fig. (27)

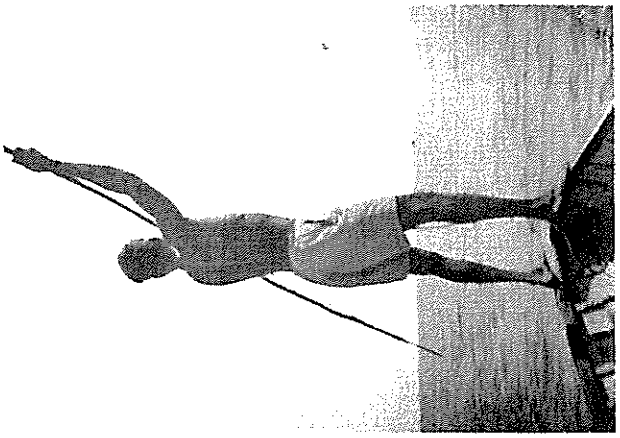

Fig. (28)

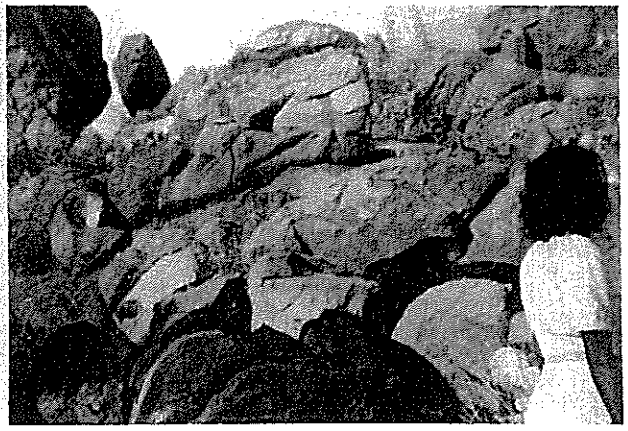

Fig. (29)

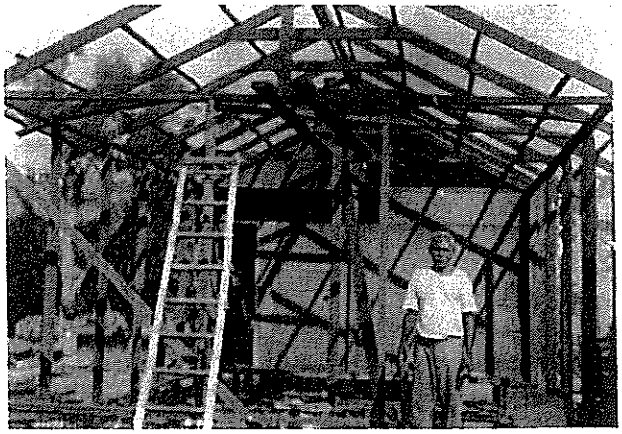

Fig. (30)

(25) Coomerang & Plum with family. (26) Landing a dugong on to "Balfour". (27) Typical Pandanus Palms in Fern Gully. (28) Native poised awaiting appearance of dugong. (29) Characteristic approach to Sunday Island. (30) Coomerang building the missionary quarters behind the school in 1947.