USE OF THESESES

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CONVERTING SALVATION: Protestant Missionaries in Central Australia, 1930s-40s

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CHAPTER FIVE: ‘Bad Taste and the Execrable’¹: continuing the Narrative of Charles Duguid, the Presbyterian Church, Scottish money, and the Establishment of Ernabella Mission

Duguid was receiving support from some quarters. The missionaries he had met in the Centre had not forgotten him. While Albrecht had offered unstinting endorsement, Ernest Kramer, the itinerant and intrepid missionary to the Aborigines of Central Australia since 1912, wrote to Duguid in his Swiss English:²

You champion a Cause in which I failed. However you know what held me Bound, the Lord is my Witness. I longed for the Best in every Man, regardless of Color or Creed, but I did not Excell to move the Border Land of Australia to new possibilities as you have done.³

Unfortunately for Kramer, he had also sent Duguid a copy of a letter he had written to Rev JA Barber of the AIM in which he said he had appreciated instances of cooperation by AIM nurses in dealing with acute sicknesses among full-blood Aborigines.⁴ Kramer’s implication that he was satisfied with the AIM’s treatment of Aborigines led to a sharp reprimand from Duguid, if Kramer’s reply to him is an indication. The missionary wrote that he was ‘deeply grieved if I have given misunderstanding.’ In looking back over ‘my many occasions of disappointments’ regarding the official policy of the AIM, he could in fact recall

¹ The phrase is one used by Duguid in a letter to the Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in 1937 regarding alleged remarks made by John Flynn of Aboriginal people: see n. 51 below. The inset photograph is from the Duguid Papers, National Library of Australia. It shows Dr. Duguid on one of his numerous patrols into Central Australia.
² Although an independent ‘faith’ missionary, Kramer had strong links to the Aborigines’ Friends’ Association (AFA) as a ‘agent’ for the organization: see the Kramer Papers, South Australian Museum. The AFA, the body which in the 1890s had had its annual grant from the Smith Fund choked off by the church, had also written to Duguid in support: Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": AFA (Rev. John Sexton) to Duguid, n.d., probably May 1935.
³ Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Kramer to Duguid, 2 Jun 1936.
⁴ Ibid., Kramer to Rev. JA Barber (copy to Duguid), n.d., probably May-June 1936.

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only two instances when the AIM had ‘cooperated’ with him to help Aborigines. He did not blame Flynn: ‘I personally recall the time when Rev John Flynn’s heart was moved to consider the possibility of a Special Ward for the Aborigines at the Back of the Alice Springs Hostel – during the time of its Completion – but the Public feeling in Alice Springs was so hot against it – that he had to abandon the idea.’ Duguid, hardly mollified, went hard at Kramer, trying to drag from him an agreement to use his second letter against the AIM:

Otherwise it simply means that you are prepared to see the native and myself sacrificed in the interests of the AIM...you must give me a free hand to prove my contention that at Alice Springs the native and half-caste are not admitted to the Hostel.\(^5\)

Suitably chastised, Kramer replied that ‘I am pleased for you to use the detail Information in anyway you see nessecy (sic)’, and added, stoically, that ‘Certain goodwill [has been] extended to me as a Missionary on Suffrage, for many Years defending a people for whom there was no Voice to plead for many days.’\(^7\)

Despite the bruising encounter, Kramer saw in Duguid an eloquent and combative Voice to plead for the Aborigines of the Centre.

**taking the blacks’ money**

Another significant supporter was JRB Love. The exemplary missionary at Kunmunya had evidently caught up with news of events at the State Assembly. He was ‘delighted’ about developments in the Smith of Dunesk matter:

I have been sore about this taking of blacks’ money to help the whites, who were never in so dire need, ever since I was interested in the blacks; but my small voice went nowhere with effect. I am very glad that you have taken steps to right this wrong. Mind, the AIM is, I think, one of the greatest forces for good in our branch of the Church.\(^8\)

Love made ‘a small contribution’ toward the Medical Mission and wished he

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\(^5\) Ibid., Kramer to Duguid, 12 Jul 1936.
\(^6\) Ibid., Duguid to Kramer (copy), 16 Jul 1936.
\(^7\) Ibid., Kramer to Duguid, 18 Jul 1936.
\(^8\) Ibid., Love to Duguid, 20 Apr 1936.
could ‘give enough to be some real help’:9

I always wanted to go up there myself; but got placed here and in North Queensland, and now feel that my life work is here, where I have acquired some of the language. I am too old to try and learn a new aboriginal language.10

the humane treatment of weak and backward races

Duguid’s Moderatorial Address had put forward his proposal for a Mission in broad terms only. The Board of Missions indicated that they would want to see a more comprehensive assessment of likely costs, revenue, and areas of support. Duguid set about producing such a detailed paper.11 ‘The Australian Aborigines’ is revealing as to the way he thought about Aboriginal people. It began with a citation that can stand as a summary of Duguid’s humanitarian stance: ‘The humane treatment of weak and backward races must everywhere be a special responsibility of the Christian conscience.’12 Duguid related the narrative of the female missionary patient who in the early 1930s had ‘fired [him] with a human interest in the aborigines’: ‘she troubled my conscience and awakened my sense of responsibility’.13 His subsequent investigation of ‘the Aboriginal problem’ had led him to the conclusion that the Aborigines had been ‘happy and healthy until the white man came’. The ‘signal mistake’ made was not to ‘seek their cooperation’: instead ‘we took it for granted they or we must go, and so the wholesale shootings and poisonings began’. Yet here we have, said Duguid, ‘the most interesting man on earth, without whom the full development of the interior cannot take place.’ Christians had, argued Duguid, as Love had before him, a special obligation to the Aborigines of Australia, and yet only one Church had established a mission in the interior: the German Lutherans: ‘It is a slur on the British race that we in Australia have stood by and seen this people perish and a

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9 Love’s wish to ‘give enough to be of real help’ took substantive shape when he offered to spend his furlough in 1937 conducting a reconnaissance of Ernabella and its environs for the Board of Missions: see below, this chapter.
10 Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Love to Duguid, 20 Apr 1936.
12 Cited in ibid. (Duguid), p. 98 (from a publication of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society).
13 Ibid., p. 99.
denial of the Christ that we, who call ourselves Christian, have not raised our voices in united protest to say that these things shall not be.\textsuperscript{14}

Duguid’s vision was of ‘an amazing field for missionary enterprise right in our midst’. There were myriad problems, he warned: ‘no medical man north of Hawker, in an area of 280, 000 square miles’; the dangerous autonomy and expansion of the cattle stations (‘From now on no white man should be allowed by any Government to take up land which is the property of a native tribe...the bullocks have gone on increasing at the expense of the lives of our native people’); the doggers who entered the ‘inviolable’ Reserves and exploited the natives for their scalps and their women; the rapid ‘detribalisation’ of the Musgrave people who were ‘bartering their most sacred ceremonial objects for the now much sought after flour, tea and sugar.’\textsuperscript{15} The ‘only hope’ for the Aborigines in the Great Australian Reserve was a Christian Mission in the Musgrave Ranges.

Duguid outlined what his Mission would do for the natives: it would provide a ‘spiritual prop’, education and training for the changed circumstances created by European settlement, and medical care. Duguid was still insistent that medical attention was needed, ‘the methods of their own medicine men being of the crudest...[yet] here again one must walk warily, and with a deep sympathy and understanding.’\textsuperscript{16} The Mission would have other benefits, claimed Duguid. It would ensure the inviolability of the Great Central Aboriginal Reserve, ‘keeping the natives in and the whites out’. It would also control the ‘drift’ of natives towards the Telegraph line and white centres of population, and eliminate the ‘dogging’ problem and ‘the exploitation of the native women’. Under his Scheme, also, half-castes would be ‘rescued’ for education at institutions such as ‘Quorn’\textsuperscript{17} where ‘useful work’ was being done.\textsuperscript{18} Duguid estimated costs of the

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 101.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 101-102.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 103.
\textsuperscript{17} Colebrook Children’s Home (United Aboriginal Mission (UAM) home for ‘half-caste’ children), situated from 1927 at Quorn, SA.
\textsuperscript{18} Duguid, “Duguid: Series 1: correspondence”, Duguid to Hudd (copy), n.d., probably sent after the September meeting of the GAA, which resulted in final approval for inauguration of the Scheme, pending finance and purchase of the lease. Note that this discourse of ‘rescue’ and half-castes being ‘sent in’ for
establishment of the Mission at about £3600, not including the price to be paid for the lease, and an annual expenditure/revenue balance sheet that left an estimated nett annual cost of £225, the revenue coming from ‘stock increase and wool’. Duguid’s yearly ‘cost’ worked out at a figure approximate to monies accruing from a good year’s rental from the Smith of Dunesk properties!

they are calling out for help

Duguid’s statement was a multilayered narrative which garnered racial and national pride (‘no British Church…’), economic motives (need indigenous labour for full development), Christian conscience (‘can we allow this to happen…’), anthropological curiosity (‘this most interesting people…’), missionary enterprise (‘an amazing field before us…’), pity (‘a weak and backward race…’), and guilt (‘and then the white man came…’), to build a powerful argument for his Mission. The core of his statement was, however, his progressive missiology: ‘the missionaries learning the language of the native and getting to understand their side of the clash of culture as well as ours’. In fact, it was a missiology strikingly similar to Love’s model of ‘enlightened gradualism’:

It is worse than useless to attempt to civilize and Christianize them [the Aborigines] in one fell swoop. Jesus must be lived among them before they can understand what Jesus is, and the best of their own culture must be retained. But when they have seen and experienced the best that the new civilization brings them they will desire it. We must be content to wait till then. The process will be slow in most cases but it is worthwhile. Up to date it has never been tried by any British Christian Church in the inland.19

Duguid’s discourse, however, more than Love’s, was essentially humanitarian and secular, not evangelical or even especially religious. His Gospel was the gospel of Social Justice, helping the ‘weak and backward’: the salvation he offered was not so much that of souls as salvation from death and disease, and exploitation by ‘dishonourable’ whites. But he was not, in the technical sense, a

education and training to become ‘civilized constructions’ sounds very like Love’s discourse: see above, chapters 2-3.

missionary, and so the Board turned to the experienced and exemplary missionary Love to comment on the feasibility of Duguid’s detailed proposal.\textsuperscript{20} He did so by letter in July 1936. He was enthusiastic about the proposal and the location: ‘To go there [to the Centre] was the dream of my youth.’ The condition of the Aborigines there ‘calls out for help’ and ‘who better to give it than the Presbyterian Church?’ Love was confident the Mission would succeed: ‘When we establish a mission, we rarely abandon it...it is the best hope for the Aborigines, we shall not desert them.’\textsuperscript{21} In reference to the Smith Fund, he confirmed Duguid’s reading of his opinion, and added a characteristic touch: ‘I believe I am right in saying that the original intention of Mrs. Henrietta Smith was to have the Gospel preached to the natives of South Australia. Is it too late to hope that the name of ‘Smith of Dunesk’, made honourable by the benefactress and such workers as Mitchell, Rolland, Baldwin, Flynn, Plowman and others...labouring among the whites, may yet be found for a fine work for the blacks of South Australia?\textsuperscript{22} Love did query some of Duguid’s estimates of the financial cost of establishing and maintaining the Mission, thinking him too sanguine in hoping to get Government subsidization for the costs of a schoolteacher, rations for workers, medical supplies, and clothing: ‘Nothing like that from the Government of WA.’\textsuperscript{23} He thought the financial problem of the mission would in the end be ‘the problem of the central desert’: the land was not good and would not produce returns, ‘that is why it is still unoccupied’. He concluded: ‘None of our missions is, ever has been, or is probably ever likely to be, self-supporting. We must do the work, if it costs money...’\textsuperscript{24}

\textit{soon ‘that problem will be solved’}

While Love’s support was crucial, Duguid did not rest. The Rev. David Munro had succeeded Duguid as Moderator and to gain further support for Ernabella in the South Australian Church, Duguid invited Munro to accompany him on a

\textsuperscript{20} Duguid’s statement must have been extant before the 1936 General Assembly, as Love seems to have had an abbreviated copy in 1935: see Love, “PRG 214, Series 1, correspondence”: item 70.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., Item 69: Love to Matthews, from Kunmunya, 13 July 1936.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., Item 69: Love to Matthews, from Kunmunya, 13 July 1936.
\textsuperscript{23} The Mission was, in fact, able to secure these ‘subsidiizations’.
\textsuperscript{24} Love, “PRG 214, Series 1, general correspondence”: Item 69: Love to Matthews, from Kunmunya, 13 July 1936.
‘fact-finding’ visit to the Centre in 1936. The *Presbyterian Banner* told the story in its inimitable way in its regular column, Moderator’s Movements:

The Moderator accompanied Dr. Charles Duguid to the centre of Australia, by car to Quorn, then train to Alice Springs... For the next few weeks the Moderator and Dr. Duguid travelled hundreds of miles west of Alice Springs, riding camels provided by Pastor Albrecht of Hermannsburg. Contact was made with many bush natives, who were found kindly and friendly. There is much to be said about them and for them. Later, in the church at the station, the Doctor and Moderator joined in worship with the natives there, as they had also with those beyond the camel-pads in the bush.25

In fact, the ‘kindly and friendly’ Aborigines, the Pintubi and Ngalia living around the Haasts Bluff area, in the Territory, 200 miles west of Alice Springs, had been savagely dispossessed of their land through the establishment of white pastoral leaseholdings.26 Albrecht and Duguid began a campaign to ‘save the country’ for the Aborigines.27 After nearly ten years as superintendent at Hermannsburg, Albrecht agreed with Duguid on two principal strategies in relation to remote Aborigines in the Centre: one, to keep them away from the overland telegraph line and centres of white activity; and two, to keep them as much as possible in ‘their own country’, unencumbered by white pastoral enterprises. In April of 1935, he wrote to Duguid:

> It makes my heart ache thinking there are hundreds of Natives from the still unoccupied areas going down to the line, to Ooldea and other places, only to find their grave. I am sure that tide could be checked...The present idea of the Government is that these Natives should continue living alongside with the bullocks, which is simply ridiculous.28

Both Albrecht and Duguid remained anxious about the possibility of the Government granting pastoral leases in the ‘unoccupied’ areas. Albrecht remembered when the ‘poor Ngalia’ had been pushed out of their land:

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25 *Presbyterian "Banner":* vol. 41, no. 8, p. 4.
26 See Marcus, *The indomitable Miss Pink*, pp. 52-55.
27 I am not suggesting they were the only people involved in this campaign. Olive Pink, the ‘indomitable’ anthropologist, was concerned, as was the Association for the Protection of Native Races. Julie Marcus, however, in her book on Pink confirms that ‘the proposal to reserve Haasts Bluff and Pikilyi to the Aboriginal people originated with Pastor Albrecht’; ibid., p. 55.
28FW Albrecht, "Burns-Albrecht Collection": Albrecht to Duguid (copy), 24 Apr 1935.
so now the poor Ngalia who have lived as long as can be remembered in
their old myths, near their Pikilli Water hole\textsuperscript{29}, they are scattered
everywhere. Their home district does not belong to them any
longer...family life is interfered with... and soon 'that problem will be
solved.'\textsuperscript{30}

**have we a moral right to dispossess the native?**

Albrecht articulated to the authorities a powerful, subversive view on
dispossession, one predicated on an acceptance, with the dispossession, of an
absolute obligation to support and feed, a view analogous to Love's discourse on
moral obligation,\textsuperscript{31} but based on an argument that threatened to undermine the
colonial premises of development and compensatory rations:

It is a well-known fact that natives and stock cannot be kept together, and
the Natives are therefore pushed off the run immediately the country is
stocked. On the other hand, there is no intention of replacing to the
Natives what they are losing through being dispossessed. And if we
wanted to keep them, it would cost many times the revenue of the whole
district, as we are experiencing here at the Mission every year. Then, if
there is no intention of fully recompensing these Natives, have we a moral
right to interfere and take away their means of livelihood? Giving some
rations to the aged and invalids cannot be considered even in this respect,
as it never aims at maintaining the whole tribe who is facing extinction.\textsuperscript{32}

Albrecht had put these awkward matters to Minister for the Interior Paterson on
his visit to Hermannsburg in April 1935, as well as later, and also to the
Administration in Darwin.\textsuperscript{33} But he believed the campaign needed ‘more energy
and pushing power’ and so he looked forward, with characteristic humility, to

\textsuperscript{29} Called ‘Picilli Springs’ by Duguid (he also calls the people of that country the ‘Gnallas’): Charles Duguid,
*Doctor and the Aborigines* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1972), p. 117. Julie Marcus, in her fine work on the
anthropologist and defender of Aborigines Olive Pink, spells the waterhole ‘Pikilly’ and refers to the Ngaria
people: Marcus, *The indomitable Miss Pink*: see (for example) p. 53. The European name for the specific
area was Vaughan Springs.

\textsuperscript{30} Albrecht, "Burns-Albrecht Collection": Albrecht to Duguid (copy), 11 May 1935.

\textsuperscript{31} See above, chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{32} Albrecht, "Burns-Albrecht Collection": Albrecht to Deputy Administrator, 28 Jan 1937. While this
articulation of Albrecht’s position was made in 1937, he had used it previously, both to the Minister (see next
footnote) and in the letter to Duguid of 11 May 1935. We also note here Albrecht’s concern with the survival
of the indigenous collective (‘the tribe’) which rationing did not always encompass: see n. 22, chapter 1
above, where I discuss this concern of the Central Australian missionaries. It indicates that their discourse of
saving bodies and feeding the hungry was more sophisticated and thoughtful that a simple Christian/
humanitarian desire to ‘aid their neighbour’ although it was this as well. Albrecht here is thinking clearly in
terms of the economic survival and development of the larger indigenous grouping faced with powerful
pastoralist interests, and how that could be morally justified.

\textsuperscript{33} See ibid., Albrecht to Minister for Interior (copy), 14 Aug 1935.
Duguid’s next visit: ‘These Natives here need spokesmen with a better and stronger voice than I have.’ But he offered, in a later letter, his words, if they were useful: ‘you can use anything I write here about the Natives in any way you see fit.’

As such a spokesman, and with an increasing commitment to ‘saving’ the indigenous people of the Centre, Duguid continued to correspond with the Minister. He wrote on 28 July 1936, after the visit to Central Australia, urging the Minister not to allow pastoralists in to the Haast Bluff area: ‘this is the sort of land they’ll want’. His language was Albrechtian: ‘No bush country can rear bullocks and natives at the same time and so far the bullocks have won.’ In 1936, Duguid raised the radical proposition, for the times, of returning the Davenport Ranges to the Ngalia people. He asked the Minister how much it would cost to give the land back ‘to its old owners’; he was sure he could raise the money. As a parting thrust, he added: ‘May I ask you not to allow any white man to take up the Haast Bluff country...’ Paterson’s curt reply was only that Duguid’s suggestions would ‘receive careful consideration.’ Never one to be deterred by bureaucratic machinations, the combative humanitarian three months later warned the Minister that unless an Aboriginal Reserve was proclaimed at Haasts Bluff, the native people there would be ‘scattered for ever’. Duguid’s vision was one of creating a buffer for the natives until they were ready for ‘white civilisation’: ‘I am happy as the years go on to help to develop the Inland Aborigines to meet the clash which is inevitable’. He asked if there was any word on the Davenport Ranges matter, pressing: ‘Can the Ngalia people be saved?’ ‘Saving’, to evangelical missionaries, would always carry the gloss of redemption from sin, Christ’s saving Grace, saving from the agonies of Hell. To Duguid, this sort of salvation appears almost irrelevant. It was a saving of indigenous peoples from what he saw as a sort of hell on earth in which he, and increasingly, even the Lutheran Albrecht, were more interested. Duguid

34 Ibid., Albrecht to Duguid (copy), 25 Jul 1935.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., Paterson to Duguid, 4 Aug 1936.
38 Ibid., Duguid to Paterson (copy), 26 Oct 1936.

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remained convinced that his Medical Mission would be the salvation of the Aborigines of the Musgrave Ranges.

with much regret

There was more tension between Duguid and the AIM when he resigned from the South Australian AIM Committee on the ground that he had made unsuccessful 'representations to the Rev John Flynn' regarding the policy of the AIM on Aborigines. The AIM Committee Convenor, Rev. RC Racklyeft, responded by accepting the resignation 'with much regret', and added, shrewdly, that Duguid would now have more time to devote to his work for Aborigines under 'the Foreign Mission Department of the Church, under which our Aborigine work is carried on.' This answer was intended to disarm since it contained the orthodox defence of the AIM to criticism of their exclusive focus on white people, which was that a separate Department of the Church, the Board of Missions, had responsibility for Aborigines; the AIM was simply another Department of the Church, with a different objective, the care and safety of whites in the Outback. The argument, according to the AIM, was simply a misunderstanding about the responsibilities of different instrumentalities of the one and the same Church. Duguid refused to be disarmed. He saw the division on Aborigines between the 'AIM men' such as Flynn, Partridge, Chapman, and himself and other 'friends of the Aborigines' as not so much an administrative or structural matter as a fundamental difference in thinking about Australia's indigenous people; or, it could be said, he saw the departmental structure of the church as an administrative convenience behind which people who felt either contempt or indifference towards indigenous Australians could hide. This reading in some sense obscured the similarities between Flynn and Duguid. They shared a discourse of responsibility. The objects of that responsibility were, however, very different. To Duguid, it did not appear that 'our Aborigine work' was contained at all within the political or moral universe of John Flynn and the AIM, and it was this that perplexed and outraged him. So he replied sharply to Racklyeft that he did not think the reason for his resignation could have been

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39 Ibid., Duguid to Convenor, AIM Committee, 7 Jul 1936.
40 Ibid., Convenor, AIM Committee, to Duguid, n.d., but probably as soon after Duguid's letter of 7 Jul 1936 as possible!
misunderstood: 'Lack of time and lack of interest did not enter into it. I resigned solely because of Christian principle.'

Duguid was continuing to burn his bridges with 'the other side'.

a declaration of civil war

And the AIM had to work out what to do with this loose cannon. The AIM leadership, including Flynn, had hitherto adopted a policy of studied indifference to Duguid's sallies but eventually it went on the offensive. In late 1936 Duguid had given an interview to the Victorian Presbyterian Church paper, The Messenger, in which he had escalated his criticism of the AIM's attitude to Aborigines, being quoted as saying that: 'If Jesus were alive in Central Australia, He could not be admitted to our hostel because of the darker colour of his skin.'

This was a potent charge against a Christian organization. The AIM brought considerable pressure to bear on the editor of The Messenger. Both amused and menaced by the experience, John Cormone wrote to Duguid:

The AIM Board rang me and threatened another 'civil war' stating that 'Cain was to be raised etc etc'. I was to be brought before the Assembly; the Moderator-General was to 'restrain' me. And all this because I allowed an article by Dr Duguid to be published in the Messenger – allowed also the AIM to be criticised. Apparently it is not done! So I suppose at the May Assembly I'll be torn to pieces. You had better be on hand to stitch me up. I may even need hemstitching.

The Moderator-General, Rev. John MacKenzie, also wrote to all parties, urging restraint. Duguid's reply was notable for his lack of restraint. He began immediately with a personal attack on Flynn: '...the swearing and the rough ways of the Rev John Flynn do not meet with the approval that he seems to think they do....Even the so-called rough people of the bush like a padre to be a padre'.

Duguid now referred to the 1936 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which had in fact been an important stage in the slow 'birth' of his Mission with the Assembly agreeing conditionally that the Mission be inaugurated. To the AIM

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41 Ibid., Duguid to Convenor, AIM Committee, 6 Aug 1936.
42 The Messenger, Presbyterian Church of Victoria publication, 25 December 1936, cited in Griffiths, The Silent Heart, p. 111; see also Griffiths, pp 110-113 for one interpretation of 'The Messenger' controversy.
43 Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Cormone to Duguid, 26 Jan 1937.
44 For example, ibid., MacKenzie to Duguid, 3 Feb 1937.
counter-charge that the matters now being raised by Duguid should have been raised at the last Assembly, Duguid claimed that the AIM had stopped him doing so. As well, Flynn confused the Assembly with half truths...[he] did everything in his power to stop the Mission I am sponsoring.46 Duguid also alleged that Flynn had said to HC Matthews, referring to Duguid: ‘His head should have been chopped off years ago’.47 Duguid charged that Flynn posed as a friend to the native: he recalled to MacKenzie ‘the dramatic scene at the Assembly’:

Flynn came down from the platform to the floor, with his back to the Chair, and addressed me over 6 or 8 benches: ‘I hope Dr Duguid is willing to co-operate with me in the necessary work that remains to be done for the natives in the Inland.’ You may recall my rising in my seat, looking you [MacKenzie had been the Chair] full in the face and saying, ‘Dr Duguid is prepared to co-operate with Mr Flynn in anything he may do for the native - (pause) - out of his heart love.’ The gentleman sitting beside me asked why I added ‘out of his heart love’. ‘Because’ I said ‘Mr Flynn has never at any time done anything for the native out of his heart love’.48

Duguid also related to the Moderator-General stories he had been told of Flynn telling a service at the Methodist Church in Alice Springs that when an attempt was made to have ‘niggers’ treated at the Hostel, he had stopped it: ‘We don’t want niggers at the Alice Springs Hostel.’49 There was also an alleged incident at the Oodnadatta Hostel when Flynn had said that he could ‘smell blackfellow’ after a ‘native’ had recently been there. Duguid continued:

These and other remarks of equal bad taste and execrable Christianity are resented by some people in SA...Alf Traeger50 first told me of the

46 Ibid.
47 Duguid states in Doctor and the Aborigines that Matthews had told him ‘that John Flynn was doing all he could to prevent it’: see Duguid, Doctor and the Aborigines, p. 120. Here, in the letter to the Moderator-General, it is put as his own opinion. Whether Matthews did tell him this, or whether he only relayed the acerbic line about chopping Duguid’s head off, and Duguid confused, or collated the two, years later is open to conjecture. The ‘chopping head’ remark is likely to be accurate, as MacKenzie presumably could have checked it with the proximate Matthews.
49 Duguid subsequently wrote to MacKenzie and Matthews on this incident: for example, he told Matthews that he had the name and address of the man who related the story of the Methodist service; he also proffered the name of the Methodist home missionary who ‘may be unwilling at first but in the end will tell you a good deal about Flynn’s attitude toward natives’: ibid., Duguid to Matthews (copy), 23 Feb 1937; see also letter to MacKenzie (dated same day).
50 Alf Traeger, Adelaide engineer who worked with Flynn on devising radio wireless networks for the outback. Traeger was an inherent part of the iconography of the AIM and Duguid must have known he was cutting close to the bone to introduce him as a witness against Flynn. But that is the last we hear of Traeger from Duguid, although, as with his use of Matthews as a witness, it is more likely than not to have some
seriousness of the padre’s attitude to the native, but I didn’t believe it till I saw for myself.\textsuperscript{51}

As he had done more than once, the combative humanitarian claimed the exemplary missionary as a witness:

\textit{JRB Love told me (on his last furlough) the hardest thing he and others serving the native on behalf of the Presbyterian Church had to put up with was the attitude of AIM to the native.}\textsuperscript{52}

Some notes that Duguid scribbled down at this time show his state of mind: ‘I have said my say. Others must do what they like. If the Presbyterian Church decides to back an unrepentant AIM I shall step aside and go elsewhere.’\textsuperscript{53} Duguid himself was unrepentant and continued to repeat his charges against Flynn.

We may make some tentative conclusions about these charges. On the evidence, there is a case for them.\textsuperscript{54} There does seem to have been some organised attempt at the 1936 General Assembly to obstruct the establishment of the Mission, which Flynn first supports while subsequently moving a bland motion about

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\item \textsuperscript{51} Ibid., Duguid to MacKenzie (copy), 11 Feb 1937.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Ibid., notes dated 12 and 13 Feb 1937.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Ibid., notes dated 12 and 13 Feb 1937.
\item \textsuperscript{54} The Minutes of the 1936 Assembly show that Duguid moved an early amendment ‘That until such time as the Federal Government builds a Public Hospital at Alice Springs the A.I.M. Hostel admit or treat anyone in medical need irrespective of colour.’ DD Munro, Duguid’s successor as Moderator of the South Australian Church, and his companion, with Albrecht, on the 1936 trek to the Centre, seconded the amendment. The Minutes then record that Duguid withdrew his amendment, intimating ‘after consultation with the Rev. John Flynn’ that he would later give notice of a substantive motion.\textsuperscript{34} The ‘he’ is ambiguous: was Duguid intending a later motion? Or had they agreed on Flynn doing so, which in fact he did, the later motion depriving the first of its point and power? This was understandable from Flynn, as the motion was a critical one, but Duguid’s motives in withdrawing are less clear. Later Rev. HC Matthews moved ‘the Deliverance’ for the Board of Missions, clause 9 of which ‘resolved to inaugurate a Mission amongst the aborigines in the Northern part of South Australia’. An amendment was moved which would have required the consent of the majority of the State Assemblies to the Mission, which if successful would have resulted in delaying, if not defeating, the venture. According to Duguid, Flynn spoke in support of the amendment but ‘a senior Presbyterian minister from Queensland’ (unnamed) who said he was ‘puzzled’ by the opposition to the venture, and called on the withdrawal of the amendment apparently turned the tide. It was withdrawn. At this point, according to the Minutes, Flynn, despite having just supported an amendment designed to delay, perhaps fatally, a mission to Central Australian aborigines, moved ‘that the Board be authorised to take appropriate steps towards ensuring adequate care of aborigines in Central Australia’: see Presbyterian Church, “Proceedings, GAA, 1936”, pp. 63-64; also Duguid, \textit{Doctor and the Aborigines}, pp. 120-121.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
adequate care for Aborigines in Central Australia. Why Duguid withdrew an earlier motion critical of discriminatory practices at the AIM Hostel in Alice Springs is not clear; perhaps he was promised support for the later, more substantive motion of the inauguration of the Mission, perhaps he was advised the motion would lose, unless moved by Flynn in a less 'offensive', more diplomatic form. Flynn's derogatory remark about Duguid probably reflects an irritation with Duguid's activism regarding Aborigines. Duguid's attacks on the AIM, Flynn's creation, and indeed his remarks about Flynn, littered about his writings, letters and, doubtless, his conversations, and perhaps his personal manner, abrasive and judgemental, were not likely to endear him to Flynn. But while personality differences must have played their part, what essentially seems to have divided Charles Duguid and John Flynn were their diverging discourses on Aboriginal people: Duguid with his humanitarian concerns for a 'weak and backward' race ill-treated by rapacious Europeans, Flynn believing (privately) that they were 'hopeless' and irrelevant to the nation's future, which he saw as dependent on a strong, developed, populated White Inland.\footnote{Brigid Hains, generally supportive of Flynn, cites a Duguid supporter (unnamed) as describing Flynn at the 1936 Assembly as 'the devil incarnate' for his ability to argue for increased Aboriginal missions, while at the same time undermining Duguid's own work at Ernabella: see Hains, "Inland Flynn", p. 33.\footnote{See Haines, *The Ice and the Inland*; also Flynn, "Flynn Papers, NLA"; see also the discussion towards the end of chapter 6, below.\footnote{Albrecht, "Burns-Albrecht Collection": Albrecht to Duguid (copy), 29 Nov 1935. Albrecht also suggested humbly that Presbyterian missionaries could come to Hermannsburg to learn about 'our' experience: '[they] could benefit by mistakes we have made in the past'.}}

**the Church is challenged by the Native question**

During this period, Pastor Albrecht continued to offer Duguid valuable support. He too, he confided to the Adelaide doctor, had had his differences with Church colleagues who thought 'it was a foolish thing to do to waste time and money on Aboriginals.' Such a view was deplorable, Albrecht wrote: 'I believe if the church is challenged anywhere at all, it is with regard to the Natives of this country, therefore, the proposal to establish a Mission Station in or near the Musgraves has my wholehearted support.'\footnote{Albrecht, "Burns-Albrecht Collection": Albrecht to Duguid (copy), 29 Nov 1935. Albrecht also suggested humbly that Presbyterian missionaries could come to Hermannsburg to learn about 'our' experience: '[they] could benefit by mistakes we have made in the past'.} Duguid also retained Love's full support. The Kunmunya missionary contacted Duguid and the Board in late 1936, offering his services to the Board regarding Ernabella to help prepare the ground for the new
venture, and ‘rejoicing that things are going ahead’.\textsuperscript{58} Love was forthright on the Scottish money issue and the AIM: he was ‘disappointed’ that John Flynn was hostile to the Mission. He understood, he said, the chief reason: ‘dislike of losing the ‘Smith of Dunesk’ money’. Love was sure, however, that the forfeiture would be just: ‘If Mrs Smith’s gift was intended for the Aborigines, the cause of Christ would no longer prosper if it is withheld from them for the noble mission of the AIM to the whites.’ He was critical of the \textit{modus operandi} of the AIM:

I have an uneasy feeling that our AIM Ministers tend to follow the lead of the station people in this attitude to the blacks, rather than give the lead. While quite seeing how [hard?] it would be for them to travel from station [to station] if hostile, I wish they would all in all show a bit more courage on this matter; and [earn?] more respect for the AIM as well as justice for the blacks.\textsuperscript{59}

He also indicated that he was giving serious thought to the intellectual preparations he deemed necessary for the success of the new Mission:

I would like to meet the Adelaide anthropologists. They and we are I think both anxious to do good for the black...But to say ‘let them alone’ is a wicked falsehood, for even the least practical anthropologist must know that no primitive race in the world is now being let alone, and in Australia, if white contact is not speedily made for good, it is fast being made for evil...Perhaps we and the anthropologists suspect each other too much. They think we wish to break down tribal organization – with the result of exterminating the tribe. We suspect they want to keep a museum of interesting data for their collection, without regard to the welfare of the souls and bodies of men. We should pull together for the common good of Aborigines.\textsuperscript{60}

Both Love and Duguid wished to incorporate, as far as possible, the discourse and discipline of anthropology with their missiology. It is apparent from Duguid’s statements that he wished to attach the public reputation of anthropology as a ‘disinterested’ and ‘expert’ discourse on Aborigines to his

\textsuperscript{58} Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Love to Board (copy to Duguid), n.d., probably late Nov 1936. On news of the conditional approval given to the Mission at the 1936 Assembly, Love had also sent a telegram to Duguid from Broome: ‘Delighted Musgrave Scheme approved stop speed the plough Love’: ibid.: Love to Duguid (cable) (date indecipherable, probably Sep-Oct 1936).
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., Love to Duguid (copy to BM/AFA), n.d., probably late Nov 1936.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., (Love’s underlining).
venture.61 Love himself was to comment that the ‘new’ missionary at Ernabella had to be both an anthropologist and a linguist ‘if he was to do any good’.62 In November 1936, Love advised the Board of Mission that he was honoured by suggestions that he could help establish the new Mission, and would be ‘proud’ to go to the Interior ‘wherein lay my youthful dreams’.63 However, he did not wish to leave Kunmunya permanently and lose the work he had done on the language; in another ten years he hoped ‘to have planted the Gospel in Worora.’ But Love offered ‘most gladly’ to give a year to Ernabella. The experienced missionary began to plan already: it was best to start in winter (‘I lived in North SA for 3 yrs, know the heat’) and the first essentials were a shelter, a well, a garden, and a dispensary.64

**we must go quietly if we are to get Ernabella**

The path for Duguid’s Mission had opened up after the conditional approval of the Scheme by the General Assembly in Sydney in 1936.65 On the strength of this ‘triumph’, Duguid appealed for assistance from the SA Government.66 He had no compunction in doing so as it was his opinion that the Mission would be doing the work the Government ought to be doing.67 The SA Cabinet duly approved a subsidy of £1000 on a pound-for-pound basis.68 On receipt of

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61 For example, see ibid., Duguid to Webster, 15 Jun 1939. Duguid’s and Love’s ‘anthropologists’ almost certainly included people such as Cleland and Frederic Wood Jones who were not strictly anthropologists (as we would now define them) but, in their cases, professors of anatomy (although note Warwick Anderson refers to Wood Jones as a ‘physical anthropologist’ in his *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, p. 135). However the term was more elastic then than it is now, with subsequent increasing professionalization and specialization. Love himself was considered by Presbyterian circles as an eminent ‘anthropologist’ although he may not have possessed that status in the academic world.


63 Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Love to BM/AFA (copy to Duguid), 27 Nov 1936.

64 Ibid., Love to BM/AFA (copy to Duguid), 27 Nov 1936. Love was also keen to make arrangements for his sons’ education at Scotch College SA. He also acknowledged gratefully that ‘the Wireless set (from AIM) has arrived [at the Mission].’

65 Approval was conditional on both the purchase of suitable land and the cooperation of State Government.


67 Matthews shared this view as well: ‘After all, the work we are to undertake is their responsibility [the Government’s] and in reality we are doing it for them’: ibid., Matthews to Duguid, 19 Dec 1936.

68 Ibid., Hudd to Matthews (Board), (copy to Duguid), 18 Nov 1936: that is, if the Church raised £1000 towards the cost of the Mission, the Government would match it. Note also that when the Board of Missions wrote later to Hudd, after the £1000 had been collected by the Church, and claiming the £1000 offered by the State Government on that basis (and incidentally and enterprisingly asking for more!); it (the Board) soft-pedalled diplomatically on issues Duguid had argued forcefully. For example, Duguid had said about the Reserve: ‘natives in, whites out, we’ll control the dogging problem’. The Board subsequently did not
promise of money from this source, plans proceeded to purchase land in the
Musgraves. Matthews on behalf of the Board reminded Duguid of the ‘need to
secure Ferguson’s property (Ernabella)’ as soon as possible.\textsuperscript{69} Optimism was
breaking out everywhere, along with paranoia. Duguid pleaded with Matthews:
‘may I ask you not to divulge any information to Partridge? We must go quietly if
we are to get Ernabella.’\textsuperscript{70} Matthews’ response on this point was rapid: ‘We have
not, of course, said anything to Partridge or to any of the AIM Representatives,
and we have made the matter quite vague in our Minutes, lest they should get
into the hands of any of them before we have got where we want to get.’\textsuperscript{71}

Negotiations to buy the lease at Ernabella were still under way at the end of the
year as Duguid was preparing to return to the United Kingdom for a year in
1937.\textsuperscript{72} In 1935 he had begun to correspond with Dr J. MacDonald Webster,
Convenor of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, about the
Smith of Dunesk money, seeking the support of the Committee in his attempts to
redirect the flow of the revenue to the missionary work for Aborigines. Duguid
was keenly aware of the continuing sensitivity of Australians of his generation to
opinion in England, as well as the possible tactical importance of the Colonial
Committee’s continuing legal trusteeship of the Smith of Dunesk gift.\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{footnotes}
\item mention the doggers, and stated as the first of its priorities ‘establishing friendly contact with white settlers’: ibid., BM to Hudd, 8 Feb 1937
\item ibid., Matthew to Duguid, 20 Nov 1936.
\item ibid., Duguid to Matthew (copy), 25 Nov 1936. Kingsley Partridge was the AIM Padre of the ‘Central Patrol’ in Central Australia.
\item ibid., Matthew to Duguid, 1 Dec 1936.
\item Ferguson, the holder of the lease on Ernabella, was holding out for £5000. At this point (late 1936) the
Board had offered him £3500 in cash (the Board did not want to be saddled with interest payments on a loan) plus the possibility of the Government waiving money he owed to it: see ibid., Ferguson to McIntosh, 4 Dec 1936. In regard to the visit ‘home’, as he called it, Duguid was looking forward to the voyage (‘I’ve had had little leisure in past 10 years’) but, in addition to updating himself on surgical developments, he was also
intending to put a case for the Aborigines to the Scottish General Assembly in 1937; see Duguid, \textit{Doctor and the Aborigines}, pp. 126-127; Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Duguid to Webster (Secretary, Colonial Committee, Free Church of Scotland), 1 Dec 1936 (copy); ibid., Duguid to Webster 27 May 1935.
\item Humanitarians such as Duguid and Mary Bennett were at pains both to bring matters of interest to the
notice of the British public, and to threaten to do so as often as was (tactically) useful in Australia: generally,
see Reynolds, \textit{Frontier: Aborigines, settlers and land}, pp 88-89. It was not, of course, merely a matter of
tactics. Duguid and Bennett and others of their generation, of course, still felt a tremendous affinity with the
Mother Country; Duguid had been born in Scotland and it was, in a real sense, ‘Home’ to him. An appeal to
‘Home’ seemed natural as well as useful.
\end{footnotes}
Both Matthews and Duguid considered it fortuitous for the new Mission for the exemplary missionary of the Presbyterian Church to support it so enthusiastically and they agreed that, during Duguid's absence, Love would undertake an inspection and survey of the new mission site in 1937, preparatory to the commissioning of the first Superintendent. Duguid particularly was grateful, and offered to put his home at Love's disposal during his absence.\textsuperscript{74} Matthews felt that 'Love's presence is going to be of tremendous value to us next year' although he cautioned Duguid that Love's long experience on impeccable missionary sites made him a most careful and pessimistic missionary entrepreneur: 'He (and us) are accustomed to the meagre provision the Church has always made for its work among the Aborigines.'\textsuperscript{75}

\textit{‘Albrecht’s people’: these are the people you are going to kill}

Even in the middle of his preparations for leaving for the United Kingdom, Duguid remained vigilant in the Aboriginal cause, and not only for Ernabella. His association with Albrecht on the 1936 visit had interested him in ‘Albrecht’s people’ and when the Hermannsburg missionary wrote urgently in January 1937 to advise that the Haast Bluff block near Hermannsburg had been acquired by a pastoralist to stock with sheep ('this will mean the death of 200 Natives...History in Central Australia will once more repeat itself in its most dreadful aspects')\textsuperscript{76} Duguid wrote immediately to Minister Paterson. On receipt of the news, he told Paterson forcefully, he felt sad, then 'a surge of resentment': 'Albrecht has successfully kept these fine natives away from station country for six years. I have a real love in my heart for these people...To turn over their vegetable foodstuffs to sheep, and to water the sheep at their few soaks and wells is, in my mind, nothing short of a crime.' He expressed the hope that the Minister would 'stop the decimation of these two tribes',\textsuperscript{77} but made clear his determination to

\textsuperscript{74} See Duguid, "Duguid: Series I: correspondence": Matthews to Duguid, 19 Dec 1936.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid. The Board had had a number of months to digest Love’s July 1936 response to Duguid’s more detailed proposal of the Mission which, as we have seen, is enthusiastic about the venture, while dubious about some of Duguid’s financial projections.
\textsuperscript{76} Albrecht, "Burns-Albrecht Collection": Albrecht to Duguid (copy), 29 Jan 1937; see also ibid., Albrecht to Deputy Administrator, NT (copy), 28 Jan 1937.
\textsuperscript{77} Duguid referred to them as the ‘Pintobi’ [Pintubi] and the ‘Gnaliias’ [Ngalia]. The Ngalia have been seen variously as a separate people or ‘tribe’, or as part of another, broader grouping, such as the Luriti: see David Horton, ed., \textit{Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australians: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander History}, 146
prevent it: ‘If, on the other hand, the Government has determined to make the native people in the Haast Bluff country suffer, I shall leave no stone unturned here and at home to sheet home the crime.’ Duguid began coordinating a campaign to ‘save’ the Haast Bluff people. The Association for the Protection of Native Races, for example, was asked to publicise the matter: the ‘matter of the Pintobi and Gnilia being sacrificed must be fought to the death and every publicity given to the matter. Will you at once communicate with Paterson?’ Duguid subsequently met with the Minister. Laying out on a table the photographs of the Aboriginal people he had taken on the 1936 trip, he told Paterson bluntly: ‘these are the people you are going to kill.’ Due at least in part to the powerful campaign conducted by Duguid and Albrecht, the Commonwealth Government cancelled pastoral licences in the area and subsequently, in 1940, Haasts Bluff was created an Aboriginal Reserve. Albrecht wrote to the combative humanitarian in admiration: ‘You have had to fight for every step taken, but it has not been in vain’.

**the purchase of Ernabella**

In 1937, with Duguid ‘home’ in Scotland, the Ernabella saga continued. In May, as Love began his first visit to Ernabella, the Board of Missions purchased the Ernabella site, a property of about 500 square miles, a ‘well-watered sheep station’ situated 275 miles north-west of Oodnadatta, with a mail and stores service once each five weeks from Oodnadatta. Its western boundary lay 20

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78 Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Duguid to Paterson (copy), 8 Feb 1937. The reference to ‘home’ is to the United Kingdom.

79 Ibid., Duguid to Morley (copy), 15 Feb 1937; Duguid adds that he has not brought the matter to the notice of Sexton (Secretary, AFA) ‘as it is hardly worthwhile leaning on him’ but was bringing it before the Aboriginal Protection League. Note that Duguid could be politic and discrete when necessary. He asks Morley that the Association not publicize ‘for the present’ a photograph of a native in chains ‘as the SA Govt are cooperating fully with us and they may resent us bringing up the matter (which I told them of 18 months ago).’

80 See Tim Rowse, *White flour, white power*, p. 86.


82 See Presbyterian Church, "Proceedings, GAA, 1939": pp. 135-136. In the end, it had to pay the ‘bedrock price’ the possessor of the lease wanted: £5000. Note a letter (undated) sent by Love to the editor of the *Banner*, published in the February 1938 issue, but probably written around October or November the previous year. The letter was an appeal for donations from Presbyterians to help pay for the Mission site. The site had been purchased for £5000, but only £3500 had been put down, with the balance due in April of 1938. According to Love, £1400 was ‘in the bank’ but £1000 of this was a loan without interest. Support
miles from the eastern boundary of the Great Australian Reserve. This corridor remained available to pastoralists or doggers for purchase, and it was the constant fear of the early Ernabella missionaries, and their sponsors in the South, that this strip of three blocks of land would be sold off and result in the 'contamination by whites' they so dreaded.

Even with Duguid overseas, however, divisions in the South Australian Church emerged again at the 1937 SA State Assembly when the Smith of Dunesk Committee brought down its Report. The Committee recommended that a grant of £20 be paid to the proposed mission to the Aborigines in satisfaction of the resolution of the previous year that 'a part' of the Smith revenue would go to Ernabella. An application had been made by the 'Ernabella Mission' Committee for half the proceeds of the 1936 Smith of Dunesk income to be dedicated to the mission. However, it was now moved as an amendment that the amount be £50 instead of £20, with the pro-Mission forces being persuaded that getting half of the Smith income was, at this stage, not possible. The amendment was lost. So in 1937, while 'the proposed Mission' received £20 from the SA State Assembly, the capital of the Smith Fund lay at £2170 and the rental income (£234 in 1937) was transferred, as it was each year, to the AIM.

been limited, wrote Love, to a very small number 'of our Church folk', and he invited those 'who believe the Church can help Aborigines and are proud the Church has taken this step' to help: Presbyterian "Banner": vol. 43, no. 2 (Feb 1938), p. 24.

83 According to Love’s 1937 report, it was 20 miles from Ernabella to the border of the ‘buffer’ area, and 40 miles from Ernabella to the border of the Reserve: Presbyterian Church, "Proceedings, GAA, 1939": Love, 1937 Report, p. 138.

84 This fear emerges initially in Love’s Report after his first visit to Ernabella. The first sentence of that report read: ‘I greatly regret that this Mission is not within, nor adjoining, the aborigines’ reserve’: ibid., pp. 137. However, the Board of Missions prefaced the publication of Love’s Report in the Blue Book of 1939 by specifically drawing attention to this sentence and noting that the Pastoral Board of South Australia had decided in the interim not to renew the leases of the properties lying between Ernabella and the great Central Reserve. Thus, in the Board’s view, ‘Ernabella becomes the property adjoining the Reserve, and thus occupies the position of being the buffer state between the Reserve and the settlers to the [east]’: ibid., pp. 136. This was, in fact, putting the very best light possible on the situation, and the blocks remained unaliened but potentially available for purchase.

85 Presbyterian Church, "Blue Books": 1937, Minutes, p. 9.

86 Ibid., 1937: Report of the Committee for the Medical Mission to the Aborigines, p. 35. The net Smith of Dunesk income for 1936 was £254; see ibid., 1937: Financial Statement of Smith of Dunesk Committee.

87 Moved by S. Martin and seconded by D. Munro.

88 From this decision Rev. S. Martin dissented, and asked that his dissent and its explanation be recorded in the Minutes. Five other members of the Assembly also asked for their dissent to be recorded. Dissent in this formal sense was rare in Presbyterian ‘parliaments’ indicating the strength of feeling the issue engendered.

how can you shoot these simple, confiding people

Meanwhile, Love was now on reconnaissance on camel at Ernabella. He spent nearly two months inspecting the mission site and environs for suitability. Love noted that all the country between Oodnadatta and the Reserve was now leased for pastoral purposes, so European intrusion into the area was well advanced. The missionaries had cause for concern. Also worrying was the presence of doggers: 'their tracks are everywhere.' Love recommended that Ernabella should not be a receiving depot for scalps from whites; instead full value should be paid to natives for scalps, removing the economic advantage of dogging for whites.

Love found 'these wild blacks', the Pitjantjatjara, 'an attractive people, very simple and unsophisticated'. Love's remarks were derived from a common European view that 'blacks' with more white contact, thus more 'sophisticated', became 'cheeky' and harder to 'control': the 'cheeky Abo' was a stereotype of Central Australian settler phraseology and occasionally reiterated in missionary discourse. In his Report, possibly with the 'cheeky' Aborigines in mind, Love made a curious remark, which seems anachronistic at first: 'How could any sane man shoot one of these simple, confiding people?' But Love was invoking a particular past. The heritage of violence in Central Australia, the white men he had seen in 1912 nervously fingering their guns at rumours and shadows, must still have been in the back of Love's mind. It had, after all, only been ten years since the Coniston massacre of 1928.

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90 Love made two trips to Ernabella in 1937. The first visit, from 24 May to 16 July, with HR Balfour and Dr. Lewis Balfour, saw Love making preliminary contact with the indigenous people in the area, and inspecting the site itself and its environs. The second visit, from 16 August to the beginning of November, was to establish the Mission itself and await the arrival of the first missionaries, Rev. Harry Taylor and his wife. The material on his visits which are used here and in the next chapter in particular are derived from three sources: (a) an official Report which he enclosed in a July 1937 letter to HC Matthews (Board of Missions): see Love, "PRG 214, Series 1, general correspondence": item 82, Love to Matthews, 16 Jul 1937. It is noted below in this chapter that a sanitised version of this Report (without criticisms of the AIM that were in the original 'letter') was both sent out to the Australian churches for perusal as well as published in the 1939 Proceedings of the General Assembly of Australia: see Presbyterian Church, "Proceedings, GAA, 1939", pp. 136-142; (b) other letters to Matthews; and (c) his diary of the two visits: J. R. B. Love, "Series 21: Diary of a Visit to Ernabella to establish a Presbyterian Mission: 24 May-24 Oct 1937. 102pp.", in Papers of J.R.B. Love: PRG 214 (State Library of South Australia: Adelaide).

91 Love, "PRG 214, Series 1, general correspondence": Item 82: Love to Matthews (copy), 16 Jul 1937.

Although Love advised a regular patrol from Ernabella through the Reserve, he now did not believe the 'Medical Missionary’ model, beloved of Presbyterians, was appropriate for Ernabella. The people, Love decided, were generally healthy, and there was not enough work for a doctor, who would 'go to seed' in his profession. It was partly a measure of Love's reputation, as well as a lack of resources, that this advice led to the ideal of a Medical Mission, which Duguid had so enthusiastically espoused, being quietly abandoned by the Board. So with the exemplary voice of experience Love enumerated the 'immediate needs' of Ernabella: a suitable Superintendent and wife, with two interests only: 'the Kingdom of God, and the welfare of the aborigines'; a stockman for the sheep, horses and camels; a dispensary, hospital, staff accommodation, dormitories (cottages), and later, school and church. Love was optimistic. The venture had received support from the Government of SA, and the Mission had been assured of the 'hearty cooperation' of the Hermannsburg Mission through Pastor Albrecht, and that of the Patrol Officer, TGH Strehlow. The Report’s concluding remarks combined optimism, compassion, and tolerance alongside a characteristic anxiety concerning hybridity:

I have condemned nobody. The black people need our help, there will be half-castes as long as there are black women in Australia, and these most unhappy people need our help more than all; the white men, living hard and isolated lives away out in this country, need our help too. I have found every section ready to be friendly. While by no means countenancing wrong, I hope that this Mission will let it be definitely understood that the Church is in the field to help all, of any colour who will and can be helped, in the name of a Christ who came not to condemn, but to save.

acquiescence in bush attitudes

Love's 1937 Report on the new Mission had an interesting and instructive history. The publicly circulated versions of the Report excised a section from

93 Dr. Lewis Balfour, who accompanied Love in the May-July 1937 visit to Ernabella, provided a supplementary Report to the Board which supported Love's position on a Medical Missionary at Ernabella: see ibid., pp. 142-143.
95 It was originally appended to a letter written by Love to the Board on 16 July 1937: Love, "PRG 214, Series 1, general correspondence": Item 82: Love to Matthews (copy), 16 Jul 1937. After its receipt, the Report was then published for all Presbyterians in Australia to peruse. The Blue Book for the SA State Assembly for 1938 states that the Love and Balfour Reports were sent to all congregations in Australia: see
Love's original Report that had trenchantly criticised the attitude of the AIM towards Aborigines. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Board of Missions had decided that it was neither politic nor sensible, with perhaps a Mission at stake, to fan the flames of division within the Church. The Board was not prepared to pit the exemplary missionary against the powerful and entrenched AIM at a time when the new Mission was still on shaky ground. The resistance to the mission proposal in 1936 had shaken the Board, and there were a number of shoals, not least financial ones, to be navigated safely before the Board could be confident that the Mission would be established and survive.

What had Love written? He had taken careful aim at one of Duguid's targets, the AIM Hostels:

I am shocked and distressed at the attitude of the Presbyterian Church towards the Aborigines, as evidenced by the AIM hostel at Oodnadatta. No one with long experience of life in the bush would advocate that Abs and whites should be cared for in the same ward; but the care of the Aborigines at this Hostel is far from satisfactory.96

Aborigines were accommodated at Oodnadatta in a 'disused and dilapidated motor garage'; whatever the AIM charged was too much as 'the value of the accommodation was nil':

That [the Sisters] acquiesce in the bush attitudes towards the Abs indicates that it is time the AIM arose and took the lead in, instead of following, public opinion towards the natives, and live and proclaim the AIM motto 'For Christ and the Continent.'97

Love had now lined up squarely behind Duguid in his attacks on the AIM. We may perhaps speculate on Love's motivation here.98 He never resiled from the

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Presbyterian Church, "Blue Books": 1938, Report of Ernabella Mission to the Aborigines Committee. When this occurred is not clear although Duguid in the United Kingdom must have had a copy of both the unexpurgated version and the edited one (or had been advised of the existence of the two extant versions) when he wrote critically to Matthews on 28 September 1938. The Report was then later printed in the Minutes of Proceedings of the 1939 General Assembly of Australia.

96 Love, "PRG 214, Series 1, general correspondence": Item 82: Love to Matthews (copy), 16 Jul 1937.
97 Ibid.
98 It can only be speculation as Love never referred directly to this uncharacteristically 'public' attack (which was in fact kept from the public). He did write to Matthews at this time to deny that there was any friction between the Foreign Missions [Board of Missions] department of the Church and the AIM: 'there is not, whatever may have occurred between individuals.' All the same, Love admitted, 'the AIM attitude to the
criticism he had made, or from his view that, taken as a whole, the AIM was a work for the greater good of God, and Australia. It may be, however, in this case and at this time, he wished to take a stand with Duguid on the subject. His emotional and spiritual investment in Duguid’s radical venture was beginning to intensify, possibly because of memories of his youthful ‘grand pilgrimage’. As well, the sacrifice of much of his long awaited furlough and the chance to be with his wife in Adelaide during the birth of their third child gives some indication as to the depth of his commitment to ‘the Kingdom of God and the welfare of the aborigines’. Love, despite the striations of ‘whiteness’ and even racism that marked his discourse, when it came to the crunch, usually came down on the side of the Aborigines.

Even the combative Duguid, in Scotland, learning of the diplomatic editorial excisions of the Board, was disappointed but understood. Writing from Scotland to Matthews in September of 1937, he commented: ‘we do not quarrel with your decision but you mustn’t be astonished if that leaves an effect.’ The effect seemed to be to leave Duguid, even ‘at home’, somewhat bitter and deflated. He also felt he was hitting a brick wall with the Colonial Committee; its Convenor would later chide Duguid about attacking an organization as respected and influential as the AIM. He was even becoming a little paranoid as his efforts in Scotland were ‘fouled’: ‘The Flynn organization is active over here.’ Duguid appeared to be getting towards the end of his tether:

Phyllis [his wife] and I are tired of the cunning, of the half-truth, the smear...[a] man can’t fight these imponderables. We have decided we can do no more. For the sake of the Musgrave Mission I shall remain a Presbyterian but not in the firing line. If the Presbyterian Church of Australia is going to stand for the hypocrisy that is being carried on under

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Aborigines must improve’: Presbyterian Church of Australia, "Board of Missions correspondence: ML MSS 1893 Add-on 1173/MLK box 2502/Folder 4/1941", (Mitchell Library, Sydney): Love to Matthews, 16 Aug 1937. Matthews’ equally conciliatory reply to Love’s comment on the AIM-Foreign Missions [BM] relationship should be noted: ‘We have no quarrel with the AIM. They are to meet HR Balfour and me next week (Flynn & Racklyeft). We will maintain the peace’: ibid., Matthews to Love, date unclear, probably early Sep 1937.


100 Duguid, "Duguid: Series 1: correspondence": Webster to Duguid, 7 Oct 1937.
the AIM that is its business...I’m finished with the Church except in the native cause.\textsuperscript{101}

However, when the resilient humanitarian returned to Australia in 1938, he was quickly back in harness, taking up the fight for Ernabella and against the AIM.

to watch our interests

Meanwhile his supporters had carried on his battles. Back in Adelaide after handing Ernabella over to the first Superintendent in October 1937, JRB Love attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the 1938 Assembly to divide the annual income ‘to be received from the gift of Mrs Smith of Dunesk’ in future equally between the AIM and Ernabella Mission. The Assembly once again backed the recommendation of the Smith of Dunesk Mission Report, moved by Rev. Chapman, ‘to approve payment of £50 to the Ernabella Mission to the Aborigines’.\textsuperscript{102} It should be noted that the AIM Board and Executive in Sydney (including Flynn) had been kept abreast of the situation in South Australia regarding the distribution of the Fund and had moved formally ‘That our SA members be required to watch our interests in the Assembly’.\textsuperscript{103} Concern was growing within the national AIM as to the ultimate trajectory of the distribution. The SA members were vigilant on the ‘watch’. So neither the recent inauguration of the new Mission, nor the absence of the irascible Dr. Duguid, nor the presence of the exemplary missionary, was enough yet to persuade the South Australian Assembly to accede fully to the now much publicised wishes of the long dead Mrs Smith.\textsuperscript{104} The vicissitudes of her gift continued to plague the parochial church ‘in the colonies’.

\textsuperscript{101} Presbyterian Church of Australia, ML.MSS1893/MLK02562 (Mitchell Library): Duguid to Matthews, 28 Sep 1937.
\textsuperscript{102} Presbyterian Church, "Blue Books": 1937: see Minutes 9 and 37.
\textsuperscript{103} Presbyterian Church of South Australia, "SRG 123/360 - AIM Papers - Minutes of the AIM Board and Executive (Sydney)", (Mortlock Library: Adelaide): Minutes of Executive 23 Feb 1938 (Min. 38/70).
\textsuperscript{104} Again, the Board and Executive of the AIM were advised of the 1938 distribution of the Fund, and that Duguid had applied for half of the Funds for Ernabella. The Executive’s reaction was to ask that ‘detailed information be obtained as to the authority for the distribution of the Smith of Dunesk income so the whole matter of the continuance of the Southern Patrol can be discussed fully by the Board’: ibid., Minutes of Executive 19 Apr 1938 (Min. 38/152).