

ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENTS

A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia

J.P.M. Long



ABORIGINES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

About half of the full-blood Aboriginal people of Australia and one in three of those who described themselves in the 1961 Census as having Aboriginal ancestry live in settlements—institutional communities established and managed by governments and church missions and to a large extent isolated from the rest of the community. Conditions in the settlements vary, but in most the standard of housing is poor and overcrowding common, there is little work available, and the life tends to perpetuate the dependence of the inhabitants on outside authority.

This is a report on a twelve-months' survey of such settlements. It includes a brief history of Aboriginal settlements in each state, detailed descriptions of those in the more closely settled parts of eastern Australia, and a chapter on remote settlements in far north Queensland. The range and variety of problems which these communities pose for the future of Aboriginal citizens in Australia are discussed, together with steps being taken to effect a greater measure of self-support.

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ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENTS

Aborigines in Australian Society 3

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The Social Science Research Council of Australia

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A SURVEY OF INSTITUTIONAL
COMMUNITIES IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA

J. P. M. Long

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ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENTS

NOTE ON THE SERIES

The Social Science Research Council of Australia, which was founded in its present form in 1952, is the national organisation of social scientists. Some of its major functions are:

- to encourage the advancement of the social sciences in Australia;
- to act as a co-ordinating group for the promotion of research and teaching in the social sciences;
- to foster research and to subsidise the publication of studies in the social sciences.

To these ends the Council has sponsored a number of major research projects. The first related to the role of women in public and professional life in Australia and was carried out by Mr Norman MacKenzie. His report, together with the associated study of the legal status of women in Australia by Dr Enid Campbell, was published in 1962 in a book, *Women in Australia* (F.W. Cheshire Pty Ltd, Melbourne).

The second major project, carried out by a group of economists, was concerned with the Australian taxation structure and under the authorship of R.I. Downing, H.W. Arndt, A.H. Boxer, and R.L. Mathews, the results were published in 1964 in *Taxation in Australia: Agenda for Reform* (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne).

In 1963 the Council approved its third and most ambitious major project, *Aborigines in Australian Society*, with the broad objectives of:

- elucidating the problems arising from contacts between Aborigines and non-Aborigines and formulating policy implications from these;

drawing together existing knowledge in various parts of Australia and undertaking such further original research as can be carried out over a period of three years.

In May 1964, Mr C.D. Rowley, formerly Principal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration in Sydney, was appointed Director of the Project, to work under the general guidance of a Project Committee appointed by the Council. The volumes now being published represent a major research enterprise in which many social scientists collaborated over the length and breadth of Australia.

However, the whole enterprise depended in very large measure on the magnificent support received, from the outset, from the Myer Foundation of Australia and the Sidney Myer Charity Trust. The Council wishes to acknowledge its gratitude for their generosity.

W.D. BORRIE

Canberra 1969

PREFACE

This study was carried out in twelve months I spent as a Research Fellow with the Social Science Research Council of Australia's research project, 'Aborigines in Australian Society', in 1965-6. Such a large proportion of the people of Aboriginal descent in Australia live in settlements that it seemed important that some study or studies of them should be included in the project's survey. An intensive study of one or two settlements might have allowed one to give a more vivid description of the situation of both staff and inmates in such places and might have revealed more clearly some of the problems that settlements present both to their residents and to the responsible authorities. But each community has its own peculiar problems and it seemed that there could be value in attempting a descriptive and comparative study of all such communities in at least a part of the country. The region I chose to survey comprised the three eastern States: Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland.

The focus of the project was on Aborigines in Australian society. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to examine all the settlements in the more closely settled areas and to look only at a sample of the more remote communities. Accordingly I visited every settlement community in the closely settled parts of the eastern States from Lake Tyers in Gippsland to Yarrabah near Cairns, a total of nineteen different communities. In the sparsely settled far north of Queensland I visited the solitary government settlement at Cape York and four missions, three of which I have described in this report. The decision not to examine the settlements in South Australia, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory was arbitrary, but it was not possible to visit every settlement in Australia in a one-year study. I have at other times visited a number of the settlements in these areas and have included brief accounts of the general history and importance of settlements in these States in appendixes.

This broad study was made partly in the hope that quantitative information about a number of features of these communities might provide useful 'base-line' data for later studies of particular regions and

particular communities. It is certain that there will be rapid change in the next few years in most of these communities and a general descriptive analysis of this kind may be of some use in assessing the nature and quality of the changes that will occur. Another aim has been to provide material for the more informed discussion of the issues involved in planning for the future of these communities, which present a range of different problems in different areas of the country.

The inadequacies in this study of which I am most conscious derive from the methods adopted in making the survey. It was possible in twelve months to spend at most a few days at each place and in some places only hours. This meant that I had to rely very largely on information that was available quickly from settlement records, and from the officers working on the settlements, rather than on data gathered at first-hand by observation and interviews with residents. I have not, therefore, been able to present information of comparable accuracy and scope about every community. As far as possible I have indicated in the text particular deficiencies and unreliability in the data.

I am grateful to the authorities responsible for Aboriginal welfare in the States and in particular to the New South Wales Aborigines Welfare Board, the Department of Native Affairs in Queensland (now the Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs), and the Aborigines Welfare Board of Victoria, each of which made it possible for me to visit their various establishments and to take up the time of their field officers. I acknowledge in particular the co-operation both of the New South Wales Board which allowed me free access to all relevant files and of the Board's officers who were all most tolerant of my periodic intrusions. Special thanks are also due to the members of the Victorian Welfare Board and the Superintendent of Aborigines who arranged for and conducted me on a weekend visit to Lake Tyers.

I was able to make this study because I was granted twelve months leave from the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration (Department of Territories).

To the Director of the project, Mr (now Professor) C.D. Rowley, I owe the opportunity to undertake the survey and whatever merit it may have is in a large measure a result of the many stimulating discussions we had in my months with the project. Only the patient work of Mrs Fancy Lawrence, Miss Helen Woodger, and Mrs Doris Middleton in typing my difficult manuscripts and drafts has made the publication of this report possible.

J.P.M.L.

Canberra 1969

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>C.P.P.</i>	Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers
<i>N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.</i>	New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings
<i>N.S.W. P.P.</i>	New South Wales Parliamentary Papers
<i>Qld Leg. Ass. V. & P.</i>	Queensland Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings
<i>Qld P.P.</i>	Queensland Parliamentary Papers
<i>S.A.P.P.</i>	South Australian Parliamentary Papers
<i>Vic. P.P.</i>	Victorian Parliamentary Papers
<i>W.A.P.P.</i>	Western Australian Parliamentary Papers

NOTE ON REFERENCES

A Selected Bibliography listing parliamentary papers and books, articles and unpublished theses referred to in the notes will be found on p. 217. Full publication details are given in this list and references in the notes are generally abbreviated.

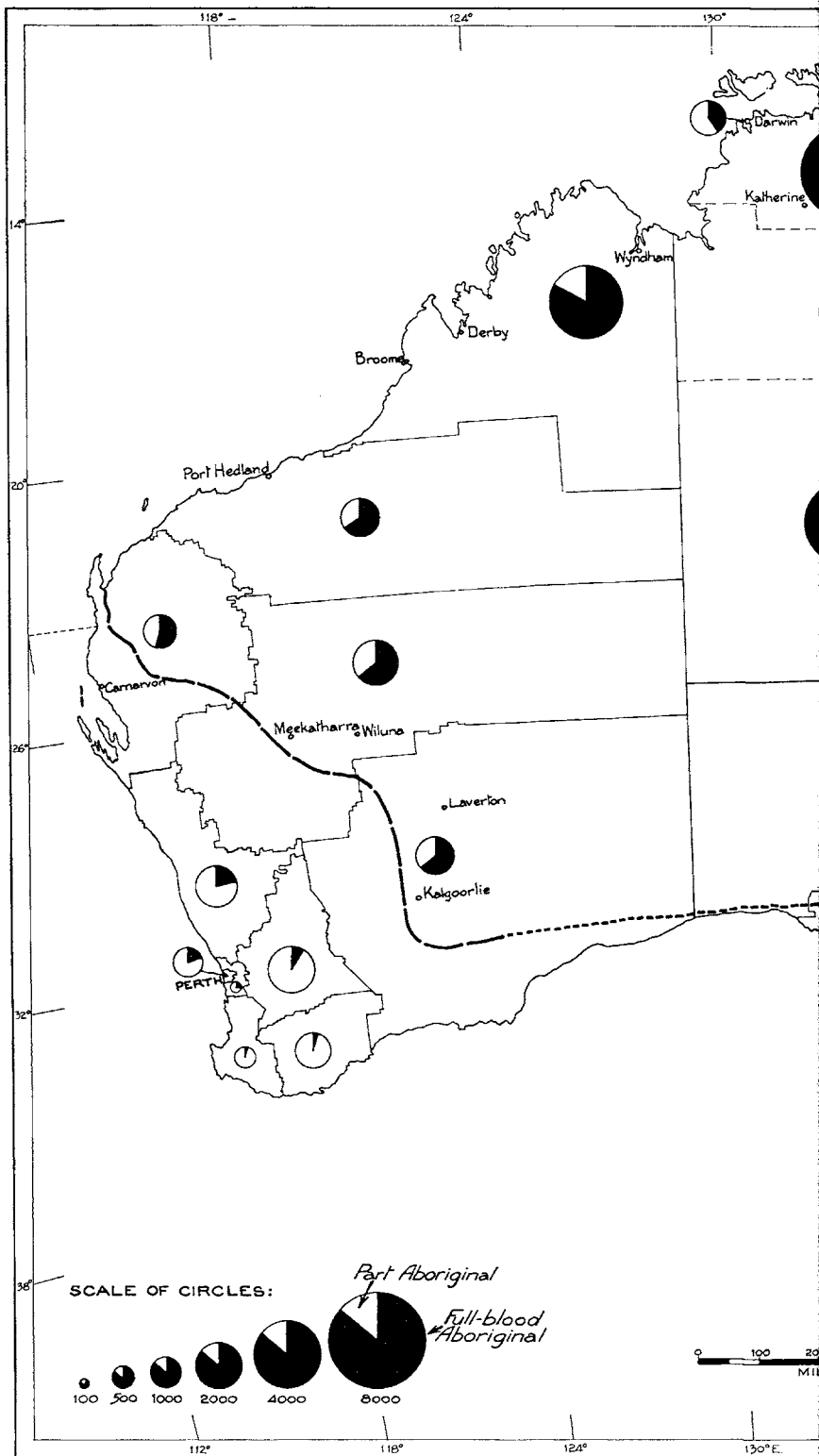
In note references to official reports bound in volumes of parliamentary papers, page references to the report itself and to the parliamentary papers are given thus:

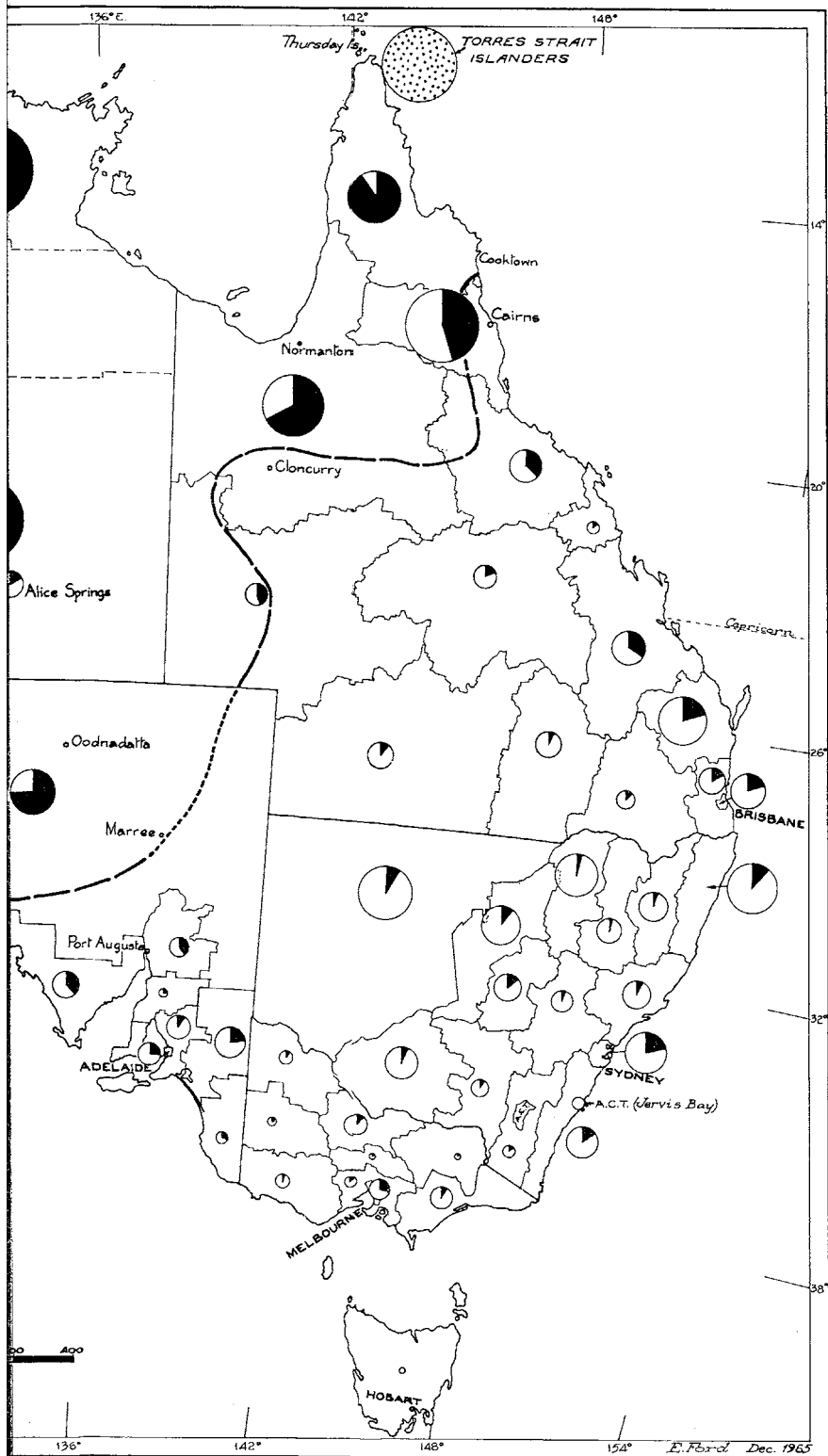
Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, 1913, p. 17 (*Qld P.P.* 1914, vol. III, p. 1029).

Any place where people of Aboriginal descent live in Australia is likely to be identified locally as 'the mission'.¹ The use of this term reflects the historical importance of church bodies in Aboriginal welfare work but, though some such places began as missions and some in the remote parts of the continent remain missions, many were and are secular, government establishments. Some were never more than camping places that have been recognised, officially or unofficially, as Aboriginal ghettos. In the survey reported here I was concerned to examine some aspects of only one kind of separate Aboriginal community, that which was established by some authority and which was characterised by the presence of resident, full-time, supervisory staff. Such institutional communities include not only the missions properly so called—communities established by church authorities and run by missionaries—but those established or taken over by government departments or boards and staffed with resident full-time officials. Those in New South Wales were known as 'stations', and those in Queensland as 'settlements' or 'missions'.

In some States another kind of institution exists specifically for Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal children. Such institutions have played a most important role in Aboriginal welfare administration, especially in New South Wales, but were not included in this survey. Only those institutions for

Overleaf: Map 1. The distribution of the Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal population, 1961. North of the broken line the majority of those identified as of Aboriginal descent at the 1961 census were recorded as full-blood Aborigines. In the census districts south of the line more people identified as half-caste Aborigines than as full-bloods.





Aborigines which were communities, at least in the limited sense that they provide a home for whole families as well as for individual adults and children, have been included.

At the time of the 1961 census nearly one-third of all Australians recorded as being of Aboriginal descent lived in settlements. In 1965 Aborigines living in settlements probably accounted for between 45 per cent and 50 per cent of the total full-blood Aboriginal population of Australia. About half of these Aborigines lived in mission and government settlements in the Northern Territory. On the other hand probably well under 20 per cent of the part-Aboriginal population of Australia lived in settlements. Something like half of these 'institutional' part-Aborigines were living in the Queensland settlements. Table 1 gives some indication of the relative importance of settlements in the States at the time of the 1961 census. Not all people of Aboriginal descent were enumerated in the categories of full-blood and half-caste Aboriginal at that census, but the census figures probably give a reasonably accurate indication of the total 'problem population' in each State.

Most full-blood Aborigines who do not live on settlements live on cattle stations in northern Australia. A smaller but growing number live in and near towns and hamlets and some live on sheep stations and farms.

A much higher proportion of part-Aborigines live in and near towns and cities and the number of people of Aboriginal descent in metropolitan areas has evidently been increasing rapidly since the 1961 census. The part-Aborigines then recorded as living in urban areas included many who lived on small reserves and in unofficial 'fringe camps' near towns. But many part-Aborigines (and some Aborigines) live as more or less completely integrated members of town and city populations. An unknown number of these for various reasons are not enumerated in the census counts as being of Aboriginal descent.²

The striking feature of the distribution of the Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal population at the 1961 census was that, in contrast to the non-Aboriginal population, it was predominantly non-urban. The Australian population was 82 per cent urban and 18 per cent rural; only just over 23 per cent of the total Aboriginal population was recorded in urban areas. In the Northern Territory and the three States with significant numbers of Aborigines only 6.8 per cent of the full-blood Aborigines lived in urban areas.

The existence of settlements has certainly had important effects on the distribution of the Aboriginal population and one might conclude that the most important function of settlements has been to keep many Abori-

gines and part-Aborigines away from the places where other Australians live. It would, however, be wrong to draw the further conclusion that in serving this function settlements have existed exclusively, or even primarily, for the convenience of non-Aboriginal Australians. As the colonies of immigrant settlement expanded over the continent in the nineteenth century the Aboriginal inhabitants of the land died out rapidly and they survived in any number only in areas where there were few immigrants or none at all. There are today substantial and increasing numbers of Aborigines in the remoter parts of Australia largely because settlements were established in those areas, mainly by missionaries from about 1890 onwards, and if these settlements had not been established the Aboriginal population would certainly be much smaller than it is today.

Two broad categories of settlements can, I think, usefully be distinguished: those in the more closely settled southern and eastern parts of the continent and those in areas in the north where White settlement is sparse or non-existent. The first category includes all the exclusively or predominantly part-Aboriginal communities. They are located in sheep and agricultural country, not in metropolitan areas, but most are not far from towns and most are to some extent integrated into the local communities. They were established to provide for the needs of Aborigines and part-Aborigines in the settled areas who had been exploited and demoralised by contact and were living in unsightly, unhealthy and disorderly fringe camps. Some were originally started by mission organisations but today

Table 1: *Aboriginal population living in settlements, 1961*

	Aboriginal population*						
	N.S.W. and A.C.T.	Vic.	Qld	S.A.	W.A.	N.T.	Total
Government settlements	2,885 (14)	139 (1)	4,357 (5)	667	—	4,390	12,438
Mission settlements	—	—	3,844 (11)	1,310	2,074	5,070	12,298
Total on settlements	2,885 (14)	139 (1)	8,201 (16)	1,977	2,074	9,460	24,736
Total Aboriginal population	14,859	1,796	19,696	4,884	16,276†	17,760†	75,271†
Percentage on settlements	19.4	7.7	41.6	40.4	12.7†	53.6†	32.8†

* Figures from census of 30 June 1961 and from departmental annual reports, 1961.

† An estimated 2,000 full-bloods in W.A. and 1,944 in the N.T. were not enumerated at the 1961 census. If these were included in the populations of W.A. and the N.T., the percentages of Aborigines on settlements would be reduced to 11.3 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. The numbers on settlements throughout Australia would represent 31.2 per cent of the total population, not 32.8 per cent.

all are administered by State government authorities. Such settlements are found in all States except Western Australia, Tasmania, and the Northern Territory.

The settlements in the sparsely populated north have almost wholly Aboriginal populations and a large proportion are administered by missions, rather than by governments. In Western Australia all are mission stations, and only in the Northern Territory were there many government settlements in 1965. Originally most were established by missions, primarily in order to convert Aborigines to Christianity, and originally they provided for Aborigines without, or with very limited, experience of contact. Some are located in sparsely settled cattle country, and some near towns, and these have more in common with the settlements in the first category. But most are found either on the edges of the Western Desert area that spreads over the Northern Territory, South Australia, and Western Australia or in the northern coastal areas from north-west Australia to the Cape York Peninsula.

Most of the communities in the remote north are largely self-contained. They are isolated physically by distance and poor communications from the society outside and the residents for the most part find their employment, their recreation, and their education on the settlement, and are born and die there. They are certainly communities and in most of them Aboriginal groups have maintained a vigorous corporate life. But they are just as definitely institutions, most aspects of life coming under a single authority. They are in fact what have been termed 'total institutions', where the barriers that in modern life normally separate the spheres in which people sleep, play, and work are broken down.³

The settlements in the settled areas are generally less 'closed', less all-encompassing, than those in the north but this is not true of all and in fact the settlements in Queensland and the settlement in Victoria have an institutional character at least as pronounced as any settlements in the north. Some of the main Queensland missions are, like the New South Wales settlements, rather less than 'total institutions' because many people make their livelihood outside.

Settlements in both categories share one key characteristic of the 'total institution' in that 'there is a basic split between a large managed group, conveniently called inmates, and a small supervisory staff'.⁴ This justifies one calling them 'institutional communities' and distinguishes them from 'normal' communities of similar size. This characteristic, with the tendencies it can breed for both staff and inmates to adopt stereotyped, often antagonistic, attitudes to each other and to maintain social distance, tends

to diminish their effectiveness as places where people are prepared for life in the general community.

Settlements in both categories are also 'multi-purpose' institutions, intended not simply to care for a single category of needy or handicapped person, or to provide temporary accommodation and sustenance for a class of people, or to provide a defined course of training, or to provide work for the unemployed, but to do several or all of these things. These diverse and ill-defined aims make it difficult, perhaps impossible, to measure their effectiveness and gauge progress from time to time, or to determine when their purpose has been achieved, or when a particular inmate should be discharged, or the institution, as such, closed.

The grouping of the settlements in these two categories is not completely satisfactory but it serves to indicate roughly two broad kinds of situation in which settlements exist and which must inevitably affect the kind of future these communities can have in Australian society. Both categories of settlement are represented in the states of eastern Australia and I have dealt in separate sections with the two categories. Some examination has been made of the history of the settlements in each State, the purposes for which they were established and the present functions and character of each one. In the general historical notes I have attempted not to write potted histories of Aboriginal welfare administration in the three States but only to provide a brief account of the part that settlements have played in Aboriginal administration.

THE COMMUNITIES
IN THE SETTLED AREAS

I

In the confined space of Tasmania the history of relations between the Aborigines and the alien settlers was brief and disastrous, but not greatly different in quality from the history of contact on the mainland. The idea of gathering *all* the Aborigines together and segregating them, preferably on an island, was urged in the local press within twenty years of the first settlement.¹ Such a resettlement could at once protect the Aborigines from the brutality and depravity of some of the colony's population and protect the isolated rural settlers from the attacks of the Aborigines. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur's establishment of a supervised community of Aborigines at Bruny Island in 1829, under G.A. Robinson, was a somewhat half-hearted effort at this kind of protective segregation of the races. Arthur had become 'convinced of the absolute necessity of separating the Aborigines altogether from the white inhabitants, and of removing the former entirely from the settled districts, until their habits shall become more civilised'.² But he resisted for some time the proposal to settle them on an island in Bass Strait, for humanitarian as much as practical reasons, hoping instead to divide the island between the colonists and the Aborigines by driving the Aborigines from the settled areas and establishing, in effect, large reserves for them in the west and north-east of the island.

Arthur's 'Black Line' operation in 1830, in and on the fringes of the settled areas, and the more successful activities of individuals dispatched to 'bring in' the wild and presumably hostile Aborigines fully revealed the truth of the earlier official assertion that 'the enemy' consisted of 'an inconsiderable number of a very feeble race'.³ It was then clearly not impractical to urge that all the native Tasmanians should be compelled to settle in one spot, where they could be provided with some of the necessities of life, be educated and converted, and be kept from the destructive intercourse with Europeans that had so reduced them during the preceding twenty-five years. There were those who, like John Batman, argued that those who could be and were being usefully employed by settlers should not be removed to such an establishment and it is possible that a few

remained to work for settlers.⁴ But the majority of the survivors became in 1831 and 1832 inmates of the 'asylum' situated (after unsatisfactory trials of other islands) on Flinders Island from 1832-47 and thereafter at Oyster Cove, south of Hobart. Few inmates made much progress in acquiring 'industrious and civilized habits' before they died and there was no second-generation of full-blood Tasmanians with whom the experiment could be continued. Only in the islands of Bass Strait, where some descendants of mainland and Tasmanian Aboriginal women and White sealers survived and increased, was there any legacy of Tasmania's Aboriginal problem. These people, having evaded the early effort at 'reforming' Aborigines, were never organised into an institutional community.

The Tasmanian experience undoubtedly was an important part of the background of attempts by the British Government to effect some control of Aboriginal-White relationships in the late 1830s; in several colonies attempts were made to establish Aboriginal communities in the period of the 'protectorates'. It was equally important in the later revival of public concern and governmental interest in Aboriginal affairs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The colonies could, by the late 1870s and 1880s, afford to consider again the situation of the dispossessed Aborigines, reflect on past injustices and mistakes, and develop more charitable policies for the future. In its long-term effects this general quickening of 'the conscience of the rich' in relation to the Aboriginal problem between about 1880 and 1900 was at least as important as the similar revival of interest in the 1930s. It seems significant that, for example, James Bonwick's first accounts of the Tasmanians and their extinction were published in 1869 and his second book in 1884.⁵ Missionaries and others published in the same period books with a similar message to Bonwick's, deploring the past and urging that something be done in the future. Bonwick, like the Moravian missionary Hagenauer, rejected the notion that the situation was hopeless:

If the *Natural Law of Selection* necessitates the destruction of inferior races, as History has illustrated thus far, is there not in Humanity a *Higher Law*, happily better recognized in our day, which should and could be employed, by moral force, to resist this fearfully selfish struggle for existence?⁶

It was possible to indicate what should not be done by recounting the history of the Tasmanians, and to indicate what could be done by referring to the relative success of mission settlements in Victoria. There was obvious need to restrict the contact with settlers which was so rapidly destroying the Aborigines, and to protect them from and prepare them for contact. These tasks could only be effected if mission settlements were established and laws

introduced to restrain the immigrant population and limit the freedom of the Aborigines to achieve their own destruction. Victoria had both missions and legislation twenty years and more before the other colonies achieved anything comparable and inevitably those interested in the other colonies looked closely at the Victorian administration and its problems.

Aboriginal stations have a long history in Victoria but only one small station remained in 1965. This station, Lake Tyers, had been the only station in the State since 1923 and in August 1965 only five households and fewer than fifty people remained. But there has probably been more public controversy about this one station than about all the other stations and settlements in Australia and it has acquired a kind of symbolic significance which could perpetuate controversy—and its own existence as an institution—indefinitely.

The policy of dealing with the problem of the Aborigines by settling them in one spot and improving 'their moral and social conditions' was followed from the start of officially recognised settlement in the Port Phillip area.¹ The first police magistrate was instructed to protect the Aborigines and 'to settle them in a village where they could be persuaded to work in return for food and clothing'.² A mission and school were briefly established on the Yarra (1837-9) but the missionary, the Reverend George Langhorne, concluded from the failure of this Yarra mission that the settlement policy was unrealistic and recommended a gradualist approach which would leave the Aborigines supporting themselves to some extent by hunting. Robinson and the other Protectors (1839-48) were instructed to induce the Aborigines, in due course, to settle, and to teach them to farm and build houses.³

The early efforts of the Protectors, and of missionaries in the 1850s, were not notably successful in inducing the Aborigines to settle. But no practicable alternatives were offered and when, after the separation of the colony and its attainment of responsible government, a Select Committee of the Legislative Council considered the problem in 1858 it recommended the

establishment of a number of reserves, distant from centres of White settlement, where missions supervised by local boards of trustees should teach the Aborigines ways of 'civilised life and industry'.⁴ It did, however, also recommend the issue of rations by local 'guardians' to those who refused to settle. A Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly made similar recommendations 'for the maintenance and management' of the Aborigines.⁵

A central Board to protect the Aborigines was appointed in 1860 and in 1869 an Aborigines Act was passed which created a Board for the Protection of the Aborigines with the Chief Secretary as chairman, responsible for administering the policy of the Board. Under the first Board five stations were established in the seven years after 1860. Apart from these, and one mission which survived from the period before the Board was established, no other institutional communities for Aborigines were provided in Victoria. The table overleaf summarises the history of the stations that existed in 1860 and were established after 1860.

Few who urged the establishment of stations for the Aborigines had high hopes for what they might achieve. It was apparent that the Aborigines were dying out rapidly and there was wide agreement that they were incapable of 'improvement'. This incapacity was thought to explain their failure to survive. The remaining Aborigines and the steadily increasing number of part-Aborigines were mostly regarded as no use and a considerable embarrassment. There was a need for something to be done to relieve their condition and stations seemed the best answer. The Board hoped, if it could 'not make them useful citizens, to prevent them at least from remaining a burden on the State'.⁶

There was some hope that the stations could be at least largely self-supporting, and that the government's financial commitment would be decreased by this means as well as by the decline in the numbers to be cared for. Some stations cost more than others but only Coranderrk became self-supporting and that for only a few years. The stations were required to be all-purpose institutions to meet all the disparate needs of the Aborigines. Coranderrk, for example, was founded to provide education and care for orphaned and neglected Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal children; food and shelter for the aged and infirm; and productive work (as well as food and shelter) for the able-bodied from the Acheron station and for others who had formerly earned their living in rural work.⁷ By requiring the stations to support many unproductive people, the Board reduced whatever chances they may have had to become self-supporting communities.

A Royal Commission in 1877, appointed as a result of criticism of the Board's management of the stations, reported in favour of the segregation

Table 2: *Aboriginal stations in Victoria**

Date established	Name	Controlling body	Date closed (as station)	
Before 1860				
1839	Mount Franklyn	Government	1864	Residents transferred to Coranderrk
1855	Yelta (Murray River)	C. of E.	1868	
1858	Ebenezer (Hindmarsh)	Moravian mission	1903	Residents moved to towns or Lake Tyers
1859	Acheron	Local trustees	1864	Residents moved to Coranderrk
After 1860				
1861-2	Lake Tyers	C. of E. (to 1908) Protection Board (1908-)	—	
1862	Ramahyuck (Lake Wellington)	Moravian mission	1908	Residents to Lake Tyers
1864	Coranderrk	Protection Board	1923	Some left for N.S.W. stations after 1879; most to Lake Tyers 1923; some on reserve to 1943
1864	Framlingham (Hopkins River)	C. of E. (1865-6) Protection Board (1869-90)	1890	Some to Lake Condah, Lake Tyers, Coranderrk, 1890; reserve still occupied
1867	Lake Condah	C. of E. (1867-1917) Protection Board reserve (1917-51)	1917	Some to Lake Tyers; reserve occupied till 1950 (school closed 1948)

* Based on data in D. Barwick, 'A Little More than Kin', revised version of ch. III.

of the Aborigines on the stations, under firm discipline, with the aim of making these places industrious, 'self sufficient communities'.⁸ Management problems and expense only increased, however, and another inquiry in 1881 (into the administration of Coranderrk) recommended that the station should remain a haven for true Aborigines but that others should be encouraged to work outside.⁹

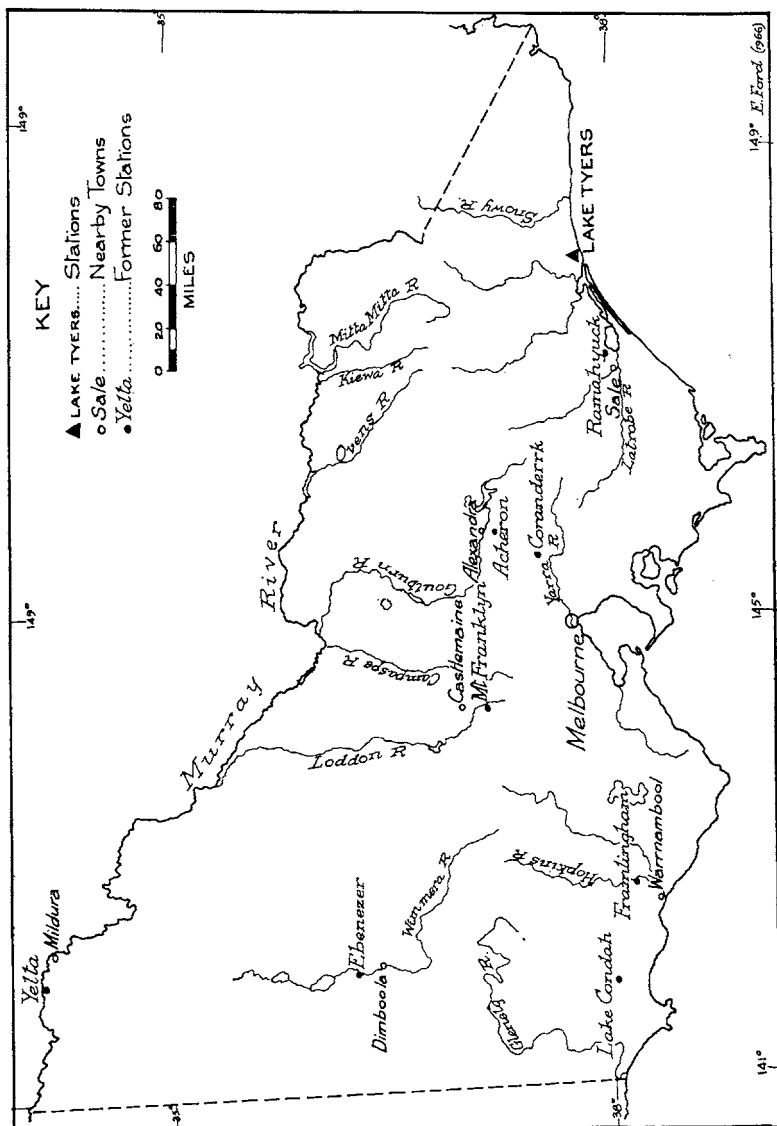
The Board strongly endorsed the view of the 1881 inquiry that measures should be taken to 'merge the half-castes' and in 1886 an amending Act was passed 'chiefly with the object of making the half-castes useful members of society and gradually relieving the State of the cost of their maintenance'.¹⁰

The later history of the stations and of the activity, and inactivity, of the Protection Board was largely dominated by the idea of limited responsibility expressed in the 1886 Act. An obligation to the original inhabitants was recognised but no such total responsibility for their part-Aboriginal descendants was admitted. The 1886 Act imposed time limits on the Board's powers to control and grant assistance to half-castes. These were removed by the 1910 Act and the Board was given discretion to help part-Aborigines. Some part-Aborigines were long allowed to remain on the stations, which were gradually reduced in number from six in 1886 to one after 1923, but the Board came to accept responsibility only for those whom they allowed to settle or remain on the stations or placed in other institutions.

The aims and functions of the stations were never clearly defined. Public criticism of the Board's administration of Aboriginal welfare in Victoria continued, aimed both at its administration of the one remaining station and at its neglect of the needs of part-Aborigines elsewhere. In 1956 an inquiry was instituted into the operation of the Aborigines Act and afterwards a new Act was passed, setting up an Aborigines Welfare Board with responsibility for advancing the welfare of all persons of Aboriginal descent. Apart from having access to what special services the Board provided, people of Aboriginal descent had 'all the normal rights and obligations of citizenship'.¹¹ The Lake Tyers station was, the Board decided, to be retained to be used both 'to encourage and assist those able-bodied residents who are capable of work and becoming self-supporting to leave the station when alternative accommodation in country towns is available' and to care for 'aged and infirm aborigines who have practically spent the whole of their lives there'.¹² As the new Board increased its staff and expanded its welfare services throughout the State, the station became relatively less important but it remained the focus of much of the public criticism of the Board's policy and administration.¹³

THE PROBLEM OF LAKE TYERS

From its foundation in 1861-2 until 1918, while Lake Tyers was one among several stations, it remained a relatively small and not especially important one, with a population varying between 20 and 120 people. The population tended to decrease from 1880 until about 1899 as the policy of dispersing part-Aborigines in the community was applied. Lake Tyers was handed over to the Protection Board by the Church of England in 1908, though the Board had had an officer there as sub-manager from 1905. As early as 1879



Map 2. Victoria: Lake Tyers and abandoned stations

the Board had envisaged it becoming one of two places where all the remaining Aborigines might live, and a politician who was Chief Secretary from 1915 to 1917 recommended the gathering of all Aborigines there. The population increased when some of the people from stations that were being closed were transferred there; with the closing of Lake Condah (1917) and Coranderk (1923) the population grew rapidly to over 270 in 1927.¹⁴

In the late 1930s and early 1940s the station sometimes had a population of over 290 but during the war there was a rapid reduction of the population. After the 1957 Act was passed, the population again decreased, from 198 in 1958 to 139 in 1961 and to 44 in August 1965. Of these 44 people 61·4 per cent were aged under 15 and only two were older than 40.

Table 3: *Lake Tyers: population by age groups, August 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	3	5	8	18·2
5-9	3	8	11	25·0
10-14	5	3	8	18·2
15-19	2	3	5	11·3
20-29	2	3	5	11·3
30-39	2	3	5	11·3
40-49	1	1	2	4·5
50-59	—	—	—	—
Over 60	—	—	—	—
Total	18	26	44	99·8

The Board reported in 1958 that all residents were fully maintained, receiving free 'housing, food, clothing, and medical attention' and they continued to be cared for in this way.¹⁵ Work was provided at low cash wages for some of the able-bodied men and women. On 30 June 1964, the population having by then been reduced to sixty-four, the manager was transferred and the assistant manager became the officer in charge, helped by a matron and a farm manager.

Living conditions. The cottages on the station were built in the 1920s. Most of the thirty-three that remained in 1958 had been demolished or removed for re-erection in nearby towns by 1965. In August 1965 only five cottages were occupied. A sixth house was still formally tenanted but the occupier, a widow with two adult sons, in August 1965 was staying with a married daughter in Bairnsdale, where she often lived. The basic unit was a three-roomed (two-bedroom) weatherboard house. Two had an additional bedroom built on and these each housed two adults and seven children. Two of the two-bedroom houses had seven occupants (four adults and three

children in one, and two adults and five children in the other). Only one house was grossly overcrowded, with five adults and seven children. There were, in all, twelve bedrooms for the forty-four residents at the time, an average of 3·6 per bedroom or less than 2·6 per room.

The houses were all in poor condition. Outside lavatories were provided behind the houses. The communal bath-house and laundry for the station was on the lake shore about half a mile from the houses and most washing and laundry was done in tubs at the houses. There were water taps outside the houses only (since 1962) and each house had a rainwater tank. Electricity had been connected to the houses since 1960. There were fuel stoves in the houses but some cooking was evidently done outside. Most of the houses were surrounded by an uncommonly large amount of litter.

Community services. The station was relatively isolated, being some 10 miles from Nowa Nowa (pop. 1961: 365), 20 miles from Lakes Entrance (pop. 1961: 1,602) and about 50 miles from the nearest large town, Bairnsdale (pop. 1961 about 7,800). The residents did not have cars. The officer in charge managed a small cash store, where a limited range of extra goods could be bought, in addition to the ration store.

A station school was run by the Education Department, and was staffed by one resident and two non-resident teachers. The school had an enrolment of twenty-six in 1965, including a number of staff children. Arrangements were made for those children who completed primary school to board elsewhere for secondary schooling if they wished, but few had done so.

Minor ailments were treated by the matron but for hospital treatment residents were taken to Bairnsdale. A doctor had for some years visited the station each month.

Employment. None of the residents had outside employment, and all were dependent either on the Board's relief or Commonwealth social service benefits. There were seventeen residents over 15 years old and of these, four received pensions (three widows and one invalid) and thirteen were kept by the Board. Some of them did some work and received a small cash wage as well as their rations. Latterly some five men and three women had been employed on the station. About 800 acres of land were cleared and a small cattle herd was grazed to provide milk and meat for the residents. A farm manager was employed to supervise the agricultural work.

Households and families. The Board in 1958 had envisaged that the station would finally become a settlement for the aged and infirm. There was, however, only one invalid pensioner (a woman) at Lake Tyers in August 1965, and not one person over 50. Of the five separate households, two were headed by widows and in all there were four single women on the station,

three of whom were raising young children. There were three households with a male breadwinner and two young couples shared houses with other families.

The Board, regarding Lake Tyers as 'an archaic survival of an old system'¹⁶ had, from 1957 to 1965, followed a policy of rehousing residents off the station. I had the impression in talking to the residents that most thought that they would in due course follow former residents into houses provided by the Board in Gippsland towns, if only because they saw little prospect of conditions improving at the station, and because they were relatively isolated there from normal community services and from their relatives and friends living in towns. But one man expressed his firm resolve to remain. All the adults had lived away from the station at one time or another. One might therefore have assumed that, within a few months of August 1965, all but perhaps one family would have left the station to live in houses in Gippsland towns, that the staff would have been withdrawn and the movable assets disposed of, and perhaps the buildings and the cemetery left in the care of the one man who was determined to stay.

In March 1965, however, the Chief Secretary, introducing a Bill amending the Aborigines Act, had announced the government's intention to establish a kind of transitional housing settlement at Morwell in the Latrobe Valley where people might be given training to help fit them for life in a normal community. The amending Bill itself had provided for a differently constituted Board which was duly appointed and had its first meeting in July 1965. The plan for a transitional settlement had its origins in proposals made by the Board late in 1964 that, if there was a need to provide an intermediate step between the life of almost total dependence at Lake Tyers and normal community life, it would be better to provide for this at some place less isolated from normal town life. This proposal itself was made in response to proposals for changes in the management of Lake Tyers, the improvement of conditions and development of the reserve in order to develop the competence and self-reliance of the people then living there and of any who were having difficulties in living at a satisfactory standard outside and who wished to return. The new Board was committed to support of neither the former Board's policies in relation to Lake Tyers nor the government's announced plan to build the transitional 'village' at Morwell. The Morwell plan was later abandoned but new proposals were made for the re-development of Lake Tyers.

The main recent criticisms of the Board's management of Lake Tyers have been that it did not provide anything like an adequate preparation for

living a decent life outside the reserve and did not allow people of Aboriginal descent the choice of maintaining an Aboriginal community on the reserve if they wanted to. There can be little argument that the first criticism is valid. The Board, in an account of Lake Tyers in its 1963 report, acknowledged this. The 'hand-out system', it noted, 'was a survival of an archaic scheme of benevolent protection'; there was 'almost complete segregation of the residents' who were 'dependent on the management'; and 'they were given no realistic training for future employment'. The Board had plans to introduce 'a positive programme of training' but 'because of staff difficulties no real programme has been instituted' and 'there is no argument about the general unsatisfactory conditions there'.¹⁷ The Board's solution then was to provide 'the opportunity to re-settle away from the station' where conditions would be better, rather than to attempt its 'positive programme' of preparation, entailing improvement of conditions at the station. The Board had evidently made life on the station less attractive than life in the community so as to ensure that residents would accept housing outside; any marked improvement of conditions on the reserve might persuade the people they were better off there than outside. The Board and the government were apparently convinced that it was more efficient to advise and help families after they left the station than to attempt to prepare them beforehand. Their critics argued that, given competent staff and enough money to improve living conditions at the station to the level of the town housing they were to be moved into, the adjustment would have been easier and the failures fewer. It is certainly difficult to see why at least the hand-out system was not abolished long ago and higher wages substituted for rations.

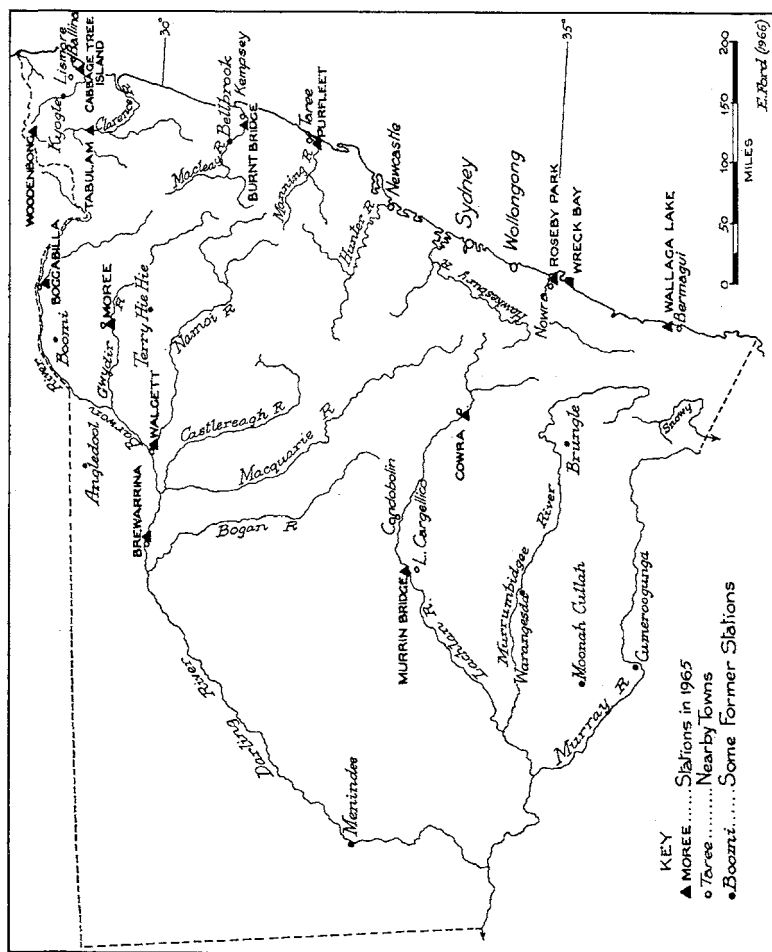
It would no doubt have been worth making such changes and improvements to provide the few families that remained with some preparation for life outside. But it could be argued that the time for initiating costly developmental and welfare programs at the station (or at any institutional-type settlement) was past. Given the limited trained staff available, the provision of the full-time services of one social worker at Lake Tyers would be hard to justify unless some families retreated to the station from the towns where they were then living. Nevertheless, by March 1966 it seemed probable that Lake Tyers would be given a new lease of life as a rehabilitation centre, with voluntary organisations sharing responsibility for its management with the Board and government.

More heat had been generated in controversy about the Board's failure to recognise an obligation to help those people with ties to the station to establish a permanent community there, in accordance with the expressed

wishes of at least some of them. The Board and the government had been sceptical of schemes for the development of the reserve and in particular for its being run on co-operative lines, and McLean in his 1957 Report dismissed such proposals as unlikely to succeed.¹⁸ The Board was satisfied 'that the schemes . . . are not capable of successful implementation and would in fact lead to greater despair'.¹⁹ One can share the view that it would be a fine thing if a small community could thrive without government financial aid and supervising staff, by raising cattle and sheep on the lush improved pastures of the reserve and growing and milling timber. It is an attractive spot and succeeding generations have lived there for more than a hundred years. But the practical difficulties are immense. Proposals that the government develop the potential of the reserve, which was made a permanent one in 1965, seem likely to entail a continuing expenditure of money and energy which may be out of proportion to the material use and benefit of the reserve to Victoria's Aborigines. But the importance Lake Tyers has come to assume for Aborigines and those interested in their welfare seems to guarantee that there will be continued efforts to develop the station with essentially the same aims which it was first established to serve more than a hundred years ago.

At the beginning of 1965 the Aborigines Welfare Board in New South Wales was responsible for fourteen Aboriginal stations, including one in the Australian Capital Territory near Jervis Bay which was managed for the Commonwealth Government. In June 1961 the population of these stations was given as 2,885, which was nearly 20 per cent of the total number of people in the State who identified themselves or were counted as full-blood or half-caste Aborigines at the census that year. In 1965, though the number of people on stations had decreased a little to less than 2,500, the management of the stations remained an important part of the work of the Welfare Board.

The stations and the Aborigines Welfare Board had their origins in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when a renewed and lasting effort was made in New South Wales to control the situation created by contact between White settlers and the Aborigines. In 1874 Daniel Matthews established Maloga (later Cumeroogunga), a private 'mission' for Aborigines, on a property near Moama on the Murray River. A few years later the Reverend J.B. Gribble, when a parish priest at Jerilderie, became aware of the conditions of Aborigines in the Riverina and campaigned with Matthews for public support for new efforts of the kind Matthews was making to deal with the problem. John Gribble advocated making extensive grants of land in the interior and providing government funds to support mission stations, under qualified management, where the Aborigines could be gathered and 'taught the arts of civilised life and receive instruction in the doctrines of Christianity'.¹ Thus, he argued, much could be done 'to wipe out that long-standing disgrace, viz. the unjustifiable neglect of the



heathen in our midst'. His addresses impressed a group of influential men in Sydney who formed the Aborigines Protection Association, which assumed responsibility for the support of Matthews's venture and a second mission, Warangesda, established by Gribble himself on the Murrumbidgee near Darlington Point in 1880.

The Association saw its task as the renewal of the previously unsuccessful effort 'to civilise the Aborigines'.² The first report of the Association records the history of failures from Governor Macquarie's efforts at Parramatta, through the missionary endeavours at Wellington and Lake Macquarie in the 1830s, to the efforts of the Reverend William Ridley in northern New South Wales and near Brisbane in the 1850s. Government activity until 1881 had been confined to desultory efforts to moderate conflict with the nomadic Aborigines as the frontier of White settlement expanded and then to mitigate the effects of contact on the Aborigines within the limits of settlement. By 1880 a few small reserves had been declared where Aborigines might camp if they chose. The police distributed some relief in the form of blankets and rations and occasional grants of boats and fishing gear, and made some attempt to limit contact and to control the supply of liquor to Aborigines. Probably the most effective work for the protection and civilisation of Aborigines, at least since Governor Gipps's time (1838-46), was done by some station owners who gave employment to able-bodied Aborigines and maintained local groups camped on their properties.

The Association advocated the establishment of a number of mission stations as Gribble had suggested, but it was also interested to have established in New South Wales some effective form of administrative control of the Aborigines on the lines of the system established in Victoria, in order to remedy the prevailing disorder resulting from contact between White settlers and Aborigines. The first move in this direction was the appointment in December 1881 of George Thornton, a former Mayor of Sydney and member of parliament, as Protector of the Aborigines. In 1882 he had a comprehensive census and survey made by the police of the condition and needs of Aborigines throughout the State and in the same year a special inquiry was made by a member of the Legislative Council and the Inspector-General of Police into the working of the Aboriginal Mission Stations at Warangesda and Maloga. This inquiry and the Protector reached broadly similar conclusions on the needs of the situation. Thornton considered it 'wise and beneficial that reserves of suitable land . . . should be set apart for the uses of the aborigines, for purposes of forming homes, cultivation and production of grain, vegetables, fruit, etc., for their own consumption, this

would prove a powerful means of domesticating, civilising, and making them comfortable'.³ He was doubtful of the value of religious instruction and urged that the young people should be taught useful trades. The committee of inquiry likewise recommended in favour of the secular management of stations by 'a public officer acting in the capacity of schoolmaster, storekeeper, and overseer, with an assistant if necessary'.⁴ Thornton argued that aid should be given to Aborigines '*in their own districts only*' and that 'they should be prevented from coming to or staying about the metropolis'. The committee recommended the establishment of rural stations so that Aborigines could remain in their 'tribal districts'.

Both were concerned about the future of the part-Aboriginal population. Thornton very reasonably concluded that 'the black aborigines' were 'destined soon to become extinct' and attributed 'this great calamity' primarily to drunkenness. Noting 'the great number of half-castes' shown in the census he argued that aid should be limited as far as possible to 'the true aborigines only' because, though he wished

to see the half-caste civilized, educated, and cared for, yet they should not be permitted to grow into a pauper or *quasi* gipsy class, but taught to be able and compelled to work for their own living, and thereby ultimately merge into the general population.⁵

The issue was a live one at this time because in Victoria a policy of not allowing half-castes to remain on the reserves was being developed. The committee similarly recommended that the younger half-castes should be withdrawn from the Aborigines and 'gradually absorbed into the general community'—the orphans first and later other children with parents' consent. They considered that Aboriginal children also should be trained for useful work.

In February 1883 the Premier and Colonial Secretary, Alexander Stuart, recommended the appointment of a Board for the protection of the Aborigines with an annual vote to expend at its discretion.⁶ The Board was to report to the Colonial Secretary and would have a secretary and district agents to report on abuses and cases of need. The object was 'a more systematic and enlightened treatment of the Aborigines' which would 'in some degree remove the natural stigma now resting upon the community for the almost total neglect of the race'. The Board's funds were to be used partly to supplement privately raised funds sustaining mission efforts and partly to support government stations and issues for the relief of needy Aborigines elsewhere. Both the Protection Association's stations and the proposed government ones were intended to provide a

resting place for the aged and infirm but as well to promote in the younger and able-bodied 'habits of useful work' and to be at least partly self-supporting. Stuart's proposals were adopted and these remained substantially the purposes of Aboriginal stations for many years.

A Board for the Protection of the Aborigines was duly appointed in June 1883 under the chairmanship of Thornton and later of the Inspector-General of Police. The Board, like the Protection Association, at once argued the need for legislation, such as Victoria had, to control the Aborigines and to provide penalties for those who injured them, but this was not provided until 1910. Meanwhile the Board set about establishing reserves and the number of these was increased rapidly from 18 in 1883 to 145 in 1903 and about 170 in 1910. As the knowledge of the ration system spread and Aborigines formerly dependent on private charity, especially that of station owners, became ration recipients there was a sharp increase in the numbers dependent on the Board's issues. By 1889, 1,509 Aborigines were fed and clothed at public expense, in addition to the 265 cared for at Maloga and Warangesda, and by 1896 the figure was 2,134 (in addition to the 244 on the three stations of the Protection Association) in a total population of just under 7,000 Aborigines and half-castes.

The Board argued the need for 'permanent resorts', staffed and supplied by the government, where the Aborigines, preferably in small groups, could be isolated and removed from the vicinity of towns and hotels.⁷ But progress was slow. A third station was established by the Aborigines Protection Association at Brewarrina in 1886, but though it had been the missionary enterprise of Matthews and Gribble that had led to the setting up of an administration for Aboriginal communities, this final period of missionary effort in New South Wales did not last long. In 1897 the Board took over the three stations of the Protection Association, because the Association was making almost no contribution to their upkeep.

The Board had itself by then established two other 'homes' at Grafton and Brungle. In 1899 it established a station with a resident manager at Wallaga Lake on the far South Coast, and by 1914 it was administering a total of eighteen stations. Although the Board wanted to settle wandering groups of Aborigines as much as possible on such stations, it had, at first, some hesitation in establishing stations because of the risk that the Aborigines would not gather at the chosen place or would leave it. This risk was reduced with the introduction in 1910 of the Aborigines Protection Act which provided long-sought powers allowing some control of the movement of Aborigines.

The Board still recognised the impossibility of thoroughgoing segregation, however, and hoped to equip the children for useful lives in the general community.⁸ Though the stations had been conceived as places to train the young 'to take their places amongst the rest of the community',⁹ the Board in 1910 concluded that the Aboriginal communities on stations and reserves were undesirable places for bringing up children to be useful citizens. The removal of orphan and neglected children to the Girls' Home established in 1912 at Cootamundra, and the Boys' Home established in 1918 at Singleton and transferred in 1925 to Kinchela on the North Coast, became an important aspect of the Board's work. For some years from 1915 a 'Home Finder' was employed to induce parents to apprentice their children and send them for training at the Cootamundra School and elsewhere for employment, especially as domestics. This policy of 'disassociating the children from camp life must', the Board reported in 1921 with undue faith, 'eventually solve the Aboriginal problem'.¹⁰ The institutions had some success in training children for 'useful work' but too few children were taken into these homes to transform the whole situation.

The problem of providing for the needy without making all 'indolent and useless', of impressing on the Aborigines, and especially the part-Aborigines, that they could not, in Thornton's words, 'rely entirely upon a continuous support from the Government' remained a difficult one.¹¹ The Board had noted in its first report that while in many areas the Aborigines were industrious, elsewhere many were 'degraded by habits of idleness and intemperance, to misery, disease and want'.¹² The problem of transforming such people, and their children, into industrious citizens remained largely unsolved throughout the Board's existence. The 1909 Act provided powers which the Board could use to compel the able-bodied to 'shift for themselves' and to keep the 'quadroons' and 'octaroons' off stations and reserves. But there were never any resolute or thoroughgoing efforts to get the part-Aborigines off the stations or reserves.

Some of the stations were, like the first missions, developed with the aim of becoming self-supporting, while others were always essentially places where Aborigines could live while they worked in outside employment, as were the reserves without resident managers. Some work was provided on all the stations, and the numbers working and being kept at the stations varied according to the demand for rural labour in the state. During and after World War I, especially in drought periods, a number of Aborigines were thrown out of work and in 1915 the Board noted that numbers of men who had earlier been expelled were being allowed to return to stations. After the war the Board again took up the practice of

trying, 'without inflicting undue hardships', to induce the part-Aborigines to leave the stations.¹³ But unemployment was acute in 1921 and the ration lists grew. There was some improvement in the situation in the mid-1920s, but in 1928 the Board again reported that numbers of adults were thrown out of work when it was made obligatory to pay them the same rates as White workers. In the following year drought again increased the numbers on rations and, as the Depression became worse in 1930 and 1931, an influx of people to all stations and reserves was reported. Accommodation, which had been improved in the previous decade, was over-taxed and tents were provided on many reserves. The scale of rations was improved in 1931 and again in 1938 to approximately the level of food relief provided to unemployed Whites. People formerly independent of the Board were allowed to draw food relief and, the Board being unable to have Aborigines accepted for jobs in unemployment relief camps, work was provided for the able-bodied on reserves and stations for rations in order to maintain their morale.¹⁴

In 1926 the total population on all reserves had been 2,239 but by 1939 there were just over 5,000 on the reserves, of whom 3,500 were on stations. The Board did not regard this shift in the population as an unmitigated evil. The Aborigines could be better provided for on stations and reserves and the Board urged that more power should be provided in the legislation to enable them to be further concentrated on the reserves.¹⁵ In 1934 the Board recorded its desire to 'reduce the numbers of these smaller reserves, and encourage the aborigines thereon to concentrate on the larger stations, where it is possible to provide much better conditions'.¹⁶ During the 1930s new stations were established, houses and other buildings were erected, services were improved, and agricultural projects were developed. The transfer of many Aborigines to stations was considered beneficial both to the Aborigines and to the general community and it was hoped to continue the process and thus eliminate the shanty camps.¹⁷ An amendment of the Act in 1936 provided such powers but as the employment situation improved a little many Aborigines refused to move from the camps where they could live close to the employment opportunities and services of the towns.¹⁸

There was a revival of public concern about the Aborigines in the 1930s and the Board was subjected to much criticism. An abortive parliamentary Select Committee inquiry was initiated in 1937 and in 1938 the Public Service Board examined and reported on the functioning of the Protection Board. A part-Aboriginal witness before the Select Committee had urged that the Board be abolished and the Aborigines left to their own devices

on the reserves,¹⁹ but the Public Service Board in its inquiry was concerned not with the possibility of such radical change but only with achieving greater efficiency within the existing framework of administration. It recommended the reconstitution of the system of administration by a Board with the aim of achieving 'the gradual assimilation of aborigines into the economic and social life of the community'.²⁰

The Public Service Board's recommendations make it clear that the process of assimilation was indeed to be very gradual. Stations were to be developed with additional staff, more buildings, and more agricultural projects, designed to make them largely self-supporting. On the other hand the siting of stations was to be reviewed and, in relocating them and establishing new stations, one of the criteria of a suitable site was to be the availability of employment near by. These improvements, it was considered, would make it possible effectively to train the Aborigines and make them fit for gradual assimilation. No recommendations for lifting restrictions and removing the legal disabilities of Aborigines were made.

Though the Board's report stated the aim of assimilation more clearly than it had been expressed before, the methods by which it was hoped to achieve this aim were essentially the methods of control and separation applied by the Protection Board since 1883. It was considered that, by providing better education and training than the old Board had been able to give on the stations and reserves, the inhabitants could be fitted for life in the general community. The apathy of residents of stations was noticed, but proposed changes such as the introduction of cash wages and the granting of farming leaseholds to individuals on the reserves, together with a general improvement in conditions and an increase in administrative effort and efficiency, were seen as sufficient to overcome this.

An amending Act was passed and the Protection Board was superseded by the Aborigines Welfare Board in 1940. The war delayed the developmental work recommended by the Public Service Board but, by creating a labour shortage, helped to reduce the numbers unemployed and on settlements. In 1940, 64 per cent of the able-bodied on reserves were in employment, but by 1944, 96·2 per cent were at work. This meant that there was little labour available for agricultural work on the stations.²¹ In the same period the number on stations and reserves decreased from 5,192 to 4,328. But after the war new houses were built at several stations and new stations were established. The ambiguities of a policy which aimed both to develop self-contained and self-supporting Aboriginal village communities on stations and to have all residents take their place in the general community remained largely unresolved.

Eventually the aim of creating largely self-supporting stations—and it had never been more than an aim—was abandoned. In its 1953 report the Board stated that it was not its function to carry out large-scale farming operations, but that dairy herds were maintained and fodder crops and vegetables were grown on some stations. Farming work on the stations diminished and few stations maintained even a dairy herd or a garden in 1965. But the difficulty of ensuring that a station provided both 'a home and refuge for those unable to fend for themselves effectively outside the care and protection of the Board' and a training for 'ultimate absorption into the white community' remained.²² Permissive definitions of the main purpose of the stations as being 'to provide refuge for aboriginal families who are unable to fend for themselves away from the care and protection of the Board and also for those who feel happier while living in association with their own people' or 'to provide a refuge for aboriginal families who are unable, or find it difficult, to fend for themselves', at least described the functions of the stations if they did not help reconcile these functions with a goal of assimilation.²³ The Board continued to express its wish 'to induce better class families to leave Stations' and its concern about the increasing number of 'light-caste aborigines on Stations' and about 'the reluctance of residents to leave and make their own way in the general community'.²⁴

As long as restrictions and disabilities applied to Aborigines under the Act, the exemption system, introduced by amendment to the Act in 1943, provided some incentive for leaving a station or reserve. But after 1963 all the benefits of unrestricted citizenship could be enjoyed on stations. Only the requirement to conform to regulations about conduct made station life possibly less attractive than life in the community. The power of expulsion might help to maintain good order but it would be difficult to reconcile its extensive use with the function of providing a refuge for the socially inadequate. And expulsion was scarcely the appropriate reward for those who had demonstrated their ability to look after themselves in a station community.

After 1947 when the first Area Welfare Officer was appointed at Casino the Board had slowly developed a system of area administration which had helped to reduce the importance of stations in the welfare program. The emphasis had been shifted from 'indoor' relief—services to Aborigines in institutional communities—to 'outdoor' relief—the provision of a range of services to Aborigines living less isolated from the general community. More money had been spent on the provision of housing on town lots and on reserves in or near towns, and less on the development of the stations.

In 1951-2, 103 houses were being built on stations and only 26 on reserves, but since 1952 no major housing works had been carried out on the stations, while more and more houses had been built in and near towns. The fact that in the Board's report for 1964 there was for the first time no separate section dealing with the stations was symptomatic of this shift in emphasis.

Along with this development of a welfare service there had been a steady erosion of the self-contained character of the stations. The most significant progress was probably in the educational field with the gradual integration of children from station schools into the public school system and the closure of the separate station schools. The first step was the separation of the functions of teacher and manager, finally achieved on all stations after the war. Progressively station schools were closed or reduced in size. In 1965 seven of the fourteen stations still had special primary schools but all except three of these took pupils only for the lower grades of primary school. Also, with the general extension of social service benefits and the granting of eligibility for these to all categories of Aborigines, the issue of rations on stations had become a less important means of support for residents.

As a logical development of this tendency to have station residents make use of the normal services instead of having station staff provide special services for them, the Board in 1965 decided to transform the station managers into welfare workers, less closely involved in station affairs and more involved in welfare work through a wider district. In the past a number of stations had become unsupervised reserves as their population declined or for other reasons the need for close supervision seemed to pass. The proposed changes in the functions of the managers would make the stations more like the unsupervised reserves. But some of the stations were relatively remote from the nearest towns and the question arises whether even the more handily situated communities, with or without resident supervision, should be maintained as separate residential areas for coloured people.

The fourteen stations in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory had a combined population of 2,484 at 30 June 1965, compared with 3,492 people on the twenty-one stations that had existed in 1939. In the twenty-five years since 1939, eleven stations had ceased to exist and four new stations had opened. Those that no longer existed as stations had either become reserves, when the resident staff was withdrawn, or had ceased to exist as communities at all. In 1965 over 4,000 people lived on reserves where there were no resident managers. The reduction in the

number of stations and in the total population of the stations was considerable but still a substantial proportion—possibly about 15 per cent—of the identified Aboriginal population of the State lived in these specially provided, supervised and separate communities.

These fourteen station communities were not radically different from the forty or more communities on other reserves in the State. All the main reserves were supervised more or less closely by some person, usually the local police but sometimes a school-teacher or interested local citizen.²⁵ La Perouse reserve in the Sydney metropolitan area actually had a full-time supervisor but the Welfare Board had never classified it as a station. The stations were, however, distinguished from these reserves by the presence of a *resident* manager, whose wife usually was station matron. During the period of the survey the managers were transferred from two stations (Cowra and Cabbage Tree Island) and a third, Brewarrina, was closed completely. A fourth station, Wreck Bay, became an 'open village' towards the end of 1965 and the land it was built on ceased to be reserved land. The administrative changes effected late in 1965 whereby managers of stations became welfare officers with district responsibilities further reduced the technical differences between the stations and the reserves.

Each station was different and the notes that follow are intended to indicate something of the individual characteristics of each and something of the variety of problems they present to governments committed to a policy of eliminating segregation and inequality. For this purpose I have grouped the stations by regions:

Far North Coast and Ranges: Woodenbong, Tabulam, Cabbage Tree Island.

Central North Coast: Burnt Bridge (Kempsey), Purfleet (Taree).

South Coast: Roseby Park, Wreck Bay, Wallaga Lake.

North West: Boggabilla, Moree, Walgett, Brewarrina.

Central West: Cowra, Murrin Bridge.

These regions have some geographical significance and generally most Aborigines within each region followed the same kinds of employment: sheep station work in the north west, for example, and small farm and timber work in the North Coast and ranges area.

It is possible, but on the whole it seems unlikely, that variations from one area to another in the customs of the Aboriginal ancestors of the present population may have contributed something to the differences between the station communities in one area and those in another. Few stations in 1965 had even a few full-blood Aborigines; on some near-Whites

predominated and on few was there a majority of more than half-Aboriginal ancestry. Researchers have found evidence of the persistence of vestiges of the Aboriginal culture in some of these communities, and the degree of such persistence may well, like the extent of ethnic mixing, correlate with the degree of social isolation the communities have experienced.²⁶ It is certain that the history of the Board's administration of the stations, their location in relation to nearby towns, and their population size, all contribute to their diversity. These and other factors affecting the situation at individual communities are considered in some detail in the notes that follow.

FAR NORTH COAST AND RANGES

WOODENBONG

The Woodenbong Reserve (now 126 acres) was created in 1908, in a period when small farms were taking over from the original pastoral holdings on the upper Clarence River and its tributaries near the Queensland border.²⁷ The district remains one of small farms and timber mills. The reserve is 3 miles from Woodenbong township (pop.: 469), on the road to the neighbouring small town of Urbenville 7 miles away.

A school was opened on the reserve in 1925. New houses were built in 1929-30 and then, or soon afterwards, a resident teacher-manager was appointed and the reserve became a station.²⁸ The provision of houses in 1930 and in 1936, combined with the effects of the Depression, evidently led to a sharp increase in the population of the reserve. A number of people moved there at this time from the Stony Gully reserve near Kyogle. By 1939 the station had a population of 236, living in twenty-four small cottages, each with two rooms and verandahs. As opportunities to work outside improved during the war the numbers declined and never again reached the 1939 level. Since 1944 the recorded population has fluctuated between 135 (1954) and 184 (1955) but has neither increased nor decreased significantly over the period, despite a relatively high birth rate and an annual excess of births over deaths in the station population. Births (60) between 1954 and 1963 exceeded deaths by thirty-two. The population of the station was apparently determined more by the number of houses available than by natural increase. Hausfeld calculated, on the basis of the average number of children born to women on the station, that the population could increase by 250 per cent between 1960 and 1980.²⁹ But there were in fact fewer people living on the station in 1965 than in 1959. This may be at least partly because there were in 1965 nineteen cottages

(twenty-one inhabited buildings altogether) compared with twenty-two in 1959 and perhaps partly also because of the steady deterioration in the condition of the cottages.

In November 1965 I recorded a total of 140 people resident on the station, more than half of whom were children under 15 (52.1 per cent).

Table 4: *Woodenbong: population by age groups, November 1965*

	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
0-4	16	12	28	20.0
5-9	8	15	23	16.4
10-14	12	10	22	15.7
15-19	11	6	17	12.1
20-29	7	6	13	9.3
30-39	7	8	15	10.7
40-49	4	4	8	5.7
50-59	4	3	7	5.0
Over 60	4	3	7	5.0
Total	73	67	140	99.9

Most of the residents were closely interrelated and had strong ties to the local district. Many of the older people had lived mostly on the reserve for thirty years and more, and most of the younger people had been there a great part of their lives. But there had been constant movement in and out of the station. Hausfeld noted that though the population was 173 in 1952, and 169 in 1959, only about half of the people (88) on the station in 1952 were there in 1959.³⁰

Living conditions. The cottages, built of weatherboard and iron, were laid out on a hillside overlooking the road and Tooloom Creek, a tributary of the Clarence River. The reserve included an area of river flats below the road, where there was another hut whose occupier cultivated a small area. Weatherbeaten and dilapidated as the houses were, there was little to distinguish them from many houses of similar construction on farms and at timber mills in the district.

There were twenty-one dwellings on the reserve, with an average of 6.6 people to each house. All the houses had been altered and added to since 1930 so that most had more than the basic two rooms, but six cottages each had ten to fifteen inhabitants and two had eight inhabitants and these could all be considered overcrowded or grossly overcrowded.

All the houses were officially acknowledged to be in poor condition and were due to be replaced. No rentals were charged. Electricity was connected to the staff house and administrative buildings but not to any of the cottages. New lavatories had recently been built and the local council

provided a sanitary service. Station workers, however, removed the garbage. Water was pumped from the creek and each cottage had a tap outside, but few had one inside. About half the cottages had makeshift bathroom-laundries, but others had no washing facilities.³¹

Community services. A matron provided treatment for minor complaints and general oversight of infant and child health and the Urbenville Hospital was only about 5 miles away.

As in other special Aboriginal schools in New South Wales the Woodenbong station school had provided only for education to Grade III standard until 1938 when approval was given to raise the level to Grade V. It was not until the mid-1940s that a qualified teacher was appointed. Until recently the majority of primary pupils attended the station school, although a few primary and all secondary pupils had attended the Woodenbong school. The station school closed in 1964 and all children in 1965 went to Woodenbong each day by bus.

There was no retail store on the reserve and most residents did their shopping in Woodenbong.

Employment and relief. Permanent work for men was available in several local sawmills and mainly casual work was available on farms. In November 1965, of eighteen men with families to support on the station (three of them were widowed or separated) only ten were employed, one of them outside the district. One of the employed men worked for the Shire Council and two for the Board, as handymen on the station, the remainder working at timber mills or on farms. Six others were receiving invalid or sickness benefits and one was serving a term in gaol.

In all but four households there was more than one income-earner or potential income-earner. Full details of employment were not obtained but most of those not working were between 15 and 20 years old and the proportion of men unemployed was higher in this age group than in any other.

At least two young women of station families had left the district and were employed, but none of the young single women living on the station were employed. The only women with regular, though only part-time, work were the treatment-room assistant employed by the Board (a widow), a woman working several days each week as a domestic at the Urbenville Hospital, and one who ran a private hire-car service for station residents.

Households and families. About half the houses were occupied by parents and their children only, and in half other relatives were staying. Five couples shared houses, three of them with a widowed or separated parent or relative and two with another couple.

Of the seventy-five children under 16 years on the station, forty-six were in the care of the fifteen married couples. Seven houses were tenanted by widowed, separated or single women and these cared for twenty-four children so that about one-third of the children on the station were in these 'fatherless families'. Another five children were in the care of three men living as bachelors and, since these men were all employed, other relatives presumably took care of them from time to time. At least five children were being cared for by people other than their natural parents.

One of the reasons why the Board had not built new houses on the station was its conviction that the residents would be better off if housed in nearby towns. Late in 1964 an officer of the Board interviewed twenty-two families on the station to discuss their feelings about leaving the station and only three then indicated any real interest in moving into towns. Most indicated that they would prefer to stay where they had spent most of their lives, with the people they knew and were related to.³² Six houses had been bought by the Board in Urbenville to be renovated ready for occupation by people from the station. Senior officers of the Board had hopes that discussion of the disadvantages of living on the reserve might reconcile at least some families to the idea of a move. It appeared that past efforts to interest the residents in moving off had, if anything, strengthened the conviction of the majority that new houses should be built for them on the station.

The Board planned to keep a welfare officer resident at the reserve but working in the surrounding district as well as at the Woodenbong reserve. At least for some time there was to be a matron on the station. The Board also hoped to have a committee of station residents take some responsibility for the community's affairs and to work with the Casino Advancement League committee.

In his study of this community Hausfeld indicated that Woodenbong people date a deterioration in relationships with the local White community from the establishment of the station and believe that the appointment of a manager was largely responsible for this. He suggested that there were other reasons: the increase of the reserve population, the effects of the Depression, and the increasing gulf in economic status between the groups as the standards of living of White people improved. But it seems likely that the residents' own diagnosis may be essentially correct since, with the building of the station, more people came to live on the reserve and their social contacts with White people became more limited.

Partly because more houses have not been built at the station, many who might otherwise have stayed there have not done so. If houses were available in the nearby towns and not on the station others might well move off the station or at least not return to it. Clearly there would be little advantage in moving into town for some residents, notably those who have made some use of the reserve's farming potential, and perhaps some of those whose working days are over. But the younger people would seem to have a better chance of improving their lot if they left the station and perhaps the district.

TABULAM

There was a reserve close by the small town of Tabulam, on the upper Clarence River, for many years, and there has been a school on the reserve since the 1930s, but the station was built after World War II. The old reserve was only about a mile and a half south of Tabulam but, when the Board decided in 1946 to establish a station at Tabulam, a new reserve (490 acres) was created for the purpose about 4 miles away and some distance off the main road. Building work was delayed and the station did not open until 1952.

The houses at the station were built on a grassy hillside overlooking the Rocky River, a tributary of the Clarence, and on the river flats below there were about 50 acres of arable land which for some years had been used by a neighbouring farmer to grow corn on a share basis. This arrangement, which provided an income of some hundreds of pounds for the station social club each year, was terminated in 1965 at the suggestion of the Casino Aboriginal Advancement League so that the station people could cultivate the land and keep all the benefits themselves but little effort had been made to crop the area by November 1965. The Board had kept a small dairy herd on the reserve in the early years but this was later sold. The reserve would have been too small to provide a living area for even one farmer.

Just after the war the old reserve had a recorded population of between 75 (1950) and 115 (1945-8) but with the opening of the station the population increased to 130 (1953) and recorded numbers have since been as high as 169 (1962). The station in fact had a rather larger population than the village of Tabulam, which mustered only 109 people at the 1961 census, when there were 124 at the station. Since there was an excess of births over deaths of forty-seven (births seventy-eight, deaths thirty-one) in the ten years to 1964, but no comparable increase in the total population, there had evidently been some drift away from the station. In November 1965,

I recorded a total of 135 people living on the station. About 17 per cent of the population was aged 40 years or older, and 46·7 per cent was under 15 years old.

Table 5: *Tabulam: population by age groups, November 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	11	11	22	16·3
5-9	11	11	22	16·3
10-14	7	12	19	14·1
15-19	9	4	13	9·6
20-29	12	8	20	14·8
30-39	8	8	16	11·8
40-49	4	8	12	8·9
50-59	4	—	4	2·9
Over 60	4	3	7	5·2
Total	70	65	135	99·9

Most of the people had apparently been born in the immediate area and had lived there most of their lives, though there were a few from New England and North Coast towns. Every family had close kinship ties with other families on the station and people who had a single surname in common, or did have before marriage, were found in twelve of the eighteen houses.

Living conditions. The eighteen houses on the reserve were all built in 1952-3 to a design similar to other post-war Board houses, with two or three bedrooms, laundries, and bathrooms. Rentals were charged for all houses but few tenants paid regularly. The outward appearance of the houses was not bad but most had been subjected to considerable wear and tear and they were officially described as being in only fair condition. All had water laid on. They had no electricity but power lines ran through the station and money had been provided to connect the houses. Each house had a pan lavatory and the Shire Council provided a sanitary service. The station handyman collected garbage but it was planned that the Shire Council would provide the service.

There was an average of 7·5 people to each dwelling. Four of the cottages, each with between ten and nineteen inhabitants, could be considered grossly overcrowded and another six with between seven and nine people living in them were overcrowded. The crowding in at least five houses was relieved slightly through the week when a number of men were away working.

Community services. The station school, opened in 1953, provided in 1965 for children up to Grade IV only and had an enrolment of twenty-six.

The other children travelled daily by school bus to Tabulam School which could take them up to the fourth year of High School. There were fourteen pupils from the station school going to Tabulam School but only two had reached second year and these were about to leave school.

The matron ran a small clinic and treated minor ailments. The nearest hospital was at Casino, about 38 miles away by a good road. An ambulance was summoned from Casino when needed.

A private contractor ran a small general store on the station, where people could buy most of their food needs. Orders for rations for those whom the Welfare Board fed were also supplied by this shop.

Employment and relief. All but three of the eighteen households were wholly or partly dependent on some form of relief. Only ten of the households included a man who was regularly working or usually had casual farm work. There were twelve couples with children under 15 years but only five of the husbands were working. Of the forty adult males recorded in November 1965 as living on the station, three were age pensioners and seven invalid pensioners. Of the thirty able-bodied males fourteen were normally working.

Table 6: *Tabulam: male employment*

	Age group				
	16-20	21-25	26-30	Over 30	Total
Employed	5	4	1	4	14
Unemployed					
with benefits	—	—	4	5	9
no relief	4	—	1	2	7
Total able-bodied	9	4	6	11	30
Percentage unemployed	44·4	—	83·3	63·6	53·3

Of the fourteen workers, one was the station handyman employed by the Board, five worked at the Baryulgil asbestos mine, two at a nearby lime quarry and two in sawmills. Four were farm workers. Seasonal work was available locally in corn and pea picking and some men went to the Tenterfield area for tobacco picking and into Queensland for potato picking. Clearing, poisoning, and fencing work was sometimes available on local farms.

No women were employed. Of the thirty adult females on the station six young women could be considered eligible for employment, the remainder being wives or mothers or both. Two of these received age pensions, four widows' pensions, one an invalid pension. Two received Board rations.

Households and families. Just half of the eighteen houses were tenanted by widows, deserted wives, or single women, though a number of these were shared with couples or other adults. Of the twenty families with children under 15 years of age, eight were 'fatherless families', with twenty children or close to one-third of the children under 15 in the station community. Three of these mothers received widows' pensions, and one an invalid pension, and the remainder depended on rations or the income of their relatives.

Tabulam being one of the stations relatively remote from ordinary community services, the Board planned to keep a resident welfare officer there, with responsibilities in neighbouring communities. It is difficult to see this change of name and function leading to any real lessening of the residents' considerable dependence on the staff.

It seems odd that as recently as 1952, when the Board had been for more than ten years committed to a goal of assimilation, it should have built a new station and built it so inconveniently far from the nearest community. Even could the residents be helped to organise the effective cultivation of the small area of arable land on the reserve (and this would evidently be a formidable task), this could provide only a marginal increase in the community's income. There is relatively little permanent work available in the district and many of the people may eventually migrate to places where regular and better-paid work is offering. Meanwhile there might be some point in providing houses at Baryulgil, 30 miles down the Clarence, where work is available, and perhaps in one or two of the small communities on the Casino road, and in Tabulam, which is at least more convenient for schooling and other services and central for those who can find work in the surrounding district. The expenditure would be worthwhile if it only reduced overcrowding at the station and, along with the withdrawal of resident staff, it could be a start to the evacuation of the reserve.

Certainly there does not seem to be any point at all in doing anything calculated to maintain the station community where it is. On most counts it is a socially most unhealthy 'hill-billy' community, poor, closed in on itself, and heavily dependent on relief. If people were to move off this reserve there would be at least some prospect that, without severing their ties with their relatives, they could gradually lessen their social isolation.

CABBAGE TREE ISLAND

The Cabbage Tree Island reserve (125 acres) was created in 1893 when a school for Aborigines was built on a small, low-lying island in the lower

Richmond River, south of Ballina. The school was closed for some years after 1895, but in 1911 the island reserve became a station when a resident teacher-manager was appointed. In 1965 the reserve occupied the southern part of the island and the Numbahging Co-operative, formed by the residents in 1960, leased 50 acres of cane land, which was once part of the reserve (the co-operative also leased land on the western side of the river but had not cultivated it in 1965). Until about 1962 access was by boat, but a small bridge had been built linking the island to a road on the west bank of the river. The station was about 4 miles from the Pacific Highway and the small township of Wardell (pop. 1961: 423), 15 miles from Ballina (pop. 1961: 4,129) and about 28 miles from Lismore (pop. 1961: 18,935).

The recorded population, never large, was about 100 after World War II but increased later when twelve new cottages were built in 1952, and fluctuated between about 128 (1957) and 172 (1963) in the fifteen years to 1965. In November 1965 I recorded a total of 131 people as resident at the station. Compared with most other stations the proportion of children in the population was small (43·5 per cent) and the proportion of adults over 40 was high (21·4 per cent).

Table 7: *Cabbage Tree Island: population by age groups, November 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	7	8	15	11·4
5-9	10	12	22	16·8
10-14	10	10	20	15·3
15-19	11	9	20	15·3
20-29	13	4	17	12·9
30-39	4	5	9	6·9
40-49	6	4	10	7·6
50-59	6	3	9	6·9
Over 60	6	3	9	6·9
Total	73	58	131	100·0

The families on the station were interrelated and most of the residents had spent most of their lives there. Many of their relatives, however, lived elsewhere in the Lismore district and other parts of the North Coast, and more people had moved to Sydney from this station than from the stations at Woodenbong and Tabulam.

Living conditions. In November 1965 there were eighteen dwellings on the reserve. Eleven had been built in about 1952 and these were in reasonable condition but the remainder were old and in disrepair. Most of the cottages had electricity laid on but all depended for water on rainwater tanks and when, as occasionally happened, these went dry, water had to be carted.

Garbage and sanitary services were carried out by the handymen but it was hoped to have the local council take over these services.

In November 1965 a total of 131 people were recorded as living in the eighteen cottages, or an average of 7·3 people to each house. Seven of the houses had between ten and sixteen inhabitants and were definitely overcrowded. Another five each had six or seven people living in them and would certainly be crowded. The standard rentals were charged for the eleven newer houses but few were paid regularly. Most of the households had, or had once had, television sets.

Community services. The station matron had provided a clinic service for treating minor ailments but when the resident staff was transferred early in November 1965 this service ceased, probably permanently.

A small one-teacher school on the station provided classes for the youngest pupils but since 1962 most of the primary school pupils had been going every day to Ballina, 15 miles away, as the high school pupils had been for some time before this.

The manager of the Numbahging Co-operative ran a small store, post office, and banking agency on the station, with a young girl assistant. The store could evidently pay its way but the Co-operative had used the store profits to finance cane-growing and other farming ventures and had run deeply into debt.

Employment and relief. The island is in a cane-growing district and in the season from July to December few men were out of work for long. In the slack time, however, many fell back on unemployment benefits. In November 1965, of the nine men on the station with young families, five were cane workers, two had permanent jobs with the Railways Department, one worked in a sawmill and one was station handyman. Though all these 'heads of families' were recorded as employed, this undoubtedly gives a misleading impression of the general employment situation of the men of the station.

In five of these nine families, the father was the only breadwinner but in the rest there was at least one other income earner, usually a son. Similarly each of the five households headed by widows and other single women included at least one male income earner. Information about men receiving social service benefits may be incomplete but at least six men were dependent on age or invalid pensions. Of the forty-one men aged 16 and over, possibly as many as thirty-five were therefore in the work force.

This abundance of employable males is reflected in population figures which show that of the total of seventy-two adults (15 years and over) on the station, forty-four were males and only twenty-seven females. Why

there should be this preponderance of males is not immediately obvious, but it may well be because females were interested in moving out of the community and have found it easier to do so than men.

Only one woman living on the station was recorded as employed—the assistant in the Co-operative store. Of the other twenty-six adult females, six could be regarded as unemployed, the rest having houses or children or both to look after. Six women received Commonwealth pensions.

Households and families. Five of the eighteen dwellings in November 1965 were occupied by widows (or other single women) and their families and four were bachelor establishments. There was no house in which two couples shared the accommodation. Of the nine couples on the station, eight had their own houses and one was living in the house of the wife's widowed father.

These nine couples cared for forty-one of the fifty-seven children. Seven women raising children in 'fatherless families' cared for fifteen children and one single man cared for one boy. Eight children were being cared for by a person or couple other than their parents, four of them by widows.

In November 1965, when the manager was transferred to another station, the island was left at least temporarily without resident supervision, and became the direct responsibility of the area welfare officer at Lismore, less than 30 miles away. The Welfare Board planned, however, to station an assistant welfare officer at Cabbage Tree Island with responsibilities in a small sub-district of the Lismore area. The position of matron there was, however, to be abolished.

Assuming that arrangements could be made to have the Shire Council collect the pans and garbage at the reserve, there seem to be no real obstacles to the complete withdrawal of staff. A welfare officer is no doubt needed in the area but if he were stationed in a town (possibly Ballina) it is likely that he could be more accessible to people in the area generally without perpetuating the reliance of the island's residents on his help in matters they could learn to cope with themselves.

In terms of convenience some of the families would no doubt be better off living closer to schools and shops. The Co-operative's farming activity was an interesting venture but perhaps a project which could provide gainful employment when work was not available on the cane farms, rather than another cane farm, would be more worthwhile. But it remains possible that the Co-operative's farm and the store might support a few people and provide a continuing basis for the existence of a small community on the island.

CENTRAL NORTH COAST

BURNT BRIDGE

This station, just out of Kempsey, was established in the Depression years of the 1930s apparently in order to concentrate at one station the residents of a number of small stations and reserves in the lower MacLeay Valley. Stations had been in existence for some twenty years at Urunga and Kinchela and small reserves like those at Pelican and Fattorini Islands since the 1880s. A school had been established at Burnt Bridge reserve—not the site of the present station—sometime between 1902 and 1907. The new station was relatively convenient to Kempsey, the largest town in the area, though it was still beyond and out of sight of the farthest town houses in 1965, but the site was still regarded by some who had moved from Urunga as less pleasant than their former home on the sea coast.

The census lists of the 1880s show that Kempsey had one of the largest concentrations of Aborigines in New South Wales. Burnt Bridge was for many years one of the largest stations in the State and there were several other reserves within 50 miles with substantial Aboriginal populations. When the station was built thirty-two cottages were erected and by 1939 the population was 296. In the twenty years 1944-63 the population fluctuated between a minimum of 262 (1960) and a maximum of 319 (1954).

Recorded births and deaths on the station in the ten years 1954-63 show a net natural increase of 74 (93 births and 19 deaths) but the population decreased by 49 in the same period from 319 to 270. Evidently there was a significant movement of people off the station in that period and the drift out accelerated after 1963. The movement was mainly to Sydney and the South Coast and had been actively encouraged by the manager. The recorded population was down to 239 in 1964 and in June 1965 I recorded a total of 161 residents. More than half the people were children under 15 years old (55.4 per cent) and there was a marked concentration of the adult population in the age group 30-39, suggesting that disproportionate numbers in the 15-29 age group had 'emigrated'.

The people on the station in 1965 had not such strong local ties as the residents of some other stations. A check of the origins of fifty-one of the seventy-three adults on the station showed that twenty-nine came from the lower MacLeay area, and another fourteen from other parts of the central North Coast, but there were as well three from the New England area and southern Queensland and three from the South Coast, one from the Goulburn area or thereabouts, and one man born and raised in north-west Queensland. Residents had correspondingly widely scattered

Table 8: *Burnt Bridge: population by age groups, June 1965**

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	14	13	27	17.6
5-9	14	12	26	16.9
10-14	16	16	32	20.9
15-19	6	9	15	9.8
20-29	4	5	9	5.9
30-39	13	12	25	16.4
40-49	1	3	4	2.6
50-59	2	4	6	3.9
Over 60	5	4	9	5.9
Total	75	78	153	99.9

* Eight people—four adults and four children—were temporarily absent when the count was made. There was no record of their dates of birth and since they were not seen no estimate was made of their ages. The ages of about half the adults and some children had to be estimated on the basis of appearance, ages of their children and other relatives, etc.

relatives. Many of the families had close relatives living in Sydney and Wollongong, as well as on the reserves and in the towns of the central North Coast.

Living conditions. The station, like Woodenbong, had been developed little since it was established. The thirty-two original two-room cottages with verandahs, later increased to thirty-four, had been reduced to twenty-three by 1965 by the destruction of sub-standard dwellings as they became vacant. Those that remained were all more or less decrepit and no rent was charged. They had no interior water, electricity, or lavatories. Most were equipped with stoves but a good deal of cooking was done at outside fireplaces. Only communal laundries and shower blocks had been provided.

There was an average of seven residents (about three adults and four children) to each house in June 1965. There was serious overcrowding in four houses each with ten to fifteen inhabitants and another six houses with eight or nine inhabitants were crowded. Another five houses with six or seven inhabitants were also crowded because the household included, as well as parents and children, adult children, other relatives or friends. In the remaining eight houses with two to five inhabitants crowding was not a problem.

Employment and relief. There was limited local permanent employment. In May 1965, ten men on the station were in employment and sixteen of the other able-bodied men were out of work, seven of them aged between 16 and 25. Of the workers, three were station handymen, three others were employed by local or State Government authorities, two were in timber mills, and two were doing temporary fencing work. (One man, whose

family lived on the station, worked in Sydney.) Two women were recorded as employed as domestics and six girls (all under 20), as unemployed. One might assume that those who wanted permanent work found it, but it was less readily found in this district than in the metropolitan area.

The station community was, as the numbers of unemployed suggest, largely dependent on relief of one kind or another. Of the twenty-three households there in May 1965, thirteen were primarily dependent on relief. Apart from the twenty-two men and women unemployed, not all of whom were receiving social service benefits, seven males and nine females were receiving pensions or other relief. Of the total adult (over 15 years) population of seventy-one, only twelve were income earners.

Community services. In 1965 the settlement matron still provided first-aid and clinic services at the station treatment-room. The Kempsey Hospital was only some 3 miles away and the Board planned to discontinue the matron's services.

A station school, across the road from the reserve, had formerly taken children to Grade VI but by 1965 it had only three grades. All the older pupils (about forty-six) were taken by bus each day to primary and secondary schools in Kempsey, and it was envisaged that eventually all the pupils would go to school in town.

There had also formerly been a cash store at the station but this had been closed and residents did their shopping in town. There were several cars on the station and there was a bus service.

Households and families. There were twenty-one couples on the station with children and ten women variously widowed, separated, or deserted who were raising children, two of them older women fostering children not their own. Twenty-six of the ninety children (28·8 per cent) were in these 'fatherless families'.

Ten of the twenty-three households comprised only parents and their children. In three households there were two married couples sharing the house. Seven families shared houses with adult friends and relatives other than their own children. Others were shared by two single women or with unmarried daughters with children.

The views of most of the resident families about leaving the station were canvassed in a survey made by the Board's senior welfare officer in November 1964. Of the twenty-four interviewed, twenty-three indicated they would be prepared to leave the reserve and fifteen that they would be prepared to live in the town. Indeed, nineteen considered they would be prepared to find their own accommodation. All said they would be

prepared to pay rent for houses. Taking into account these attitudes, the widespread distaste for the communal facilities on the station, and the general condition of the station, the officer recommended consideration of the closing of the station and the provision of houses for the residents as part of a general rehousing scheme in Kempsey and the district.

There can be little argument with the general terms of this recommendation. The station in 1965 provided little more than a place to live and was far enough from the services of the town to be inconvenient. If, during the time until new housing is available, the station becomes a reserve without a manager, the present residents would have a period to adjust to less supervised living. The Board planned, however, to keep a resident officer on the station at least for some time. Rehousing would not, of course, solve the problems of the families with inadequate incomes, but neither could these problems be solved on the station. Certainly they needed dwellings that served more of the basic purposes of houses than their existing homes did. There was at least some chance that with help they could find ways to meet the new needs that would be created if they were housed in an ordinary community.

Probably the long-term answer to the problems of many of the Burnt Bridge people and other part-Aborigines in the Kempsey area lies in the continued migration south to Sydney, Port Kembla, and Newcastle, where already many had established themselves by 1965.

TAREE (PURFLEET)

Of all the stations in New South Wales, Purfleet in 1965 looked least like an Aboriginal reserve. Instead of being tucked away out of sight somewhere beyond the end of the sealed road, it was built on either side of the Pacific Highway, near a group of service stations and motels about two miles from the centre of Taree (pop. 1961: 10,050). The Manning River and small farms on the low-lying river flats separated the station from the town. The newly-painted cottages, neatly fenced and bristling with television aerials, might have been taken for an ordinary part of the town but for large notices announcing that this was an Aboriginal station.

Until just after the turn of the century Aborigines had camped close to Taree, north of the river. A local landholder apparently made available a small area for a camp at Purfleet; this was acceptable both to the citizens who wanted the Aborigines moved well away from town and to those who did not want to be deprived of their workers. The area was made a reserve and an Aboriginal school was started there by 1907. In the Depression years Purfleet became a station when the Board had a few

houses built and appointed a resident teacher-manager. In 1939 it had a population of 145 and, after thirty new houses were built on an enlarged reserve in 1948-9, the population grew to over 200.

After 1951 the recorded population fluctuated only slightly between a maximum of 249 (1955) and a minimum of 209 (1964). In 1954-63 births recorded on the station exceeded deaths by 68 but the total population recorded in 1953 was 220 and in 1963 only 224. There had been constant movement in and out of the station and evidently a sufficient loss by emigration to keep the population more or less constant in spite of a natural increase of nearly 3 per cent per year.

In March 1966 a count of residents, excluding some temporary visitors, showed a total of 221 people on the station, of whom 122 were under 15 years old (55·2 per cent) and 31 were over 40 (14 per cent).

Table 9: *Purfleet: population by age groups, March 1966*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	26	22	48	21·7
5-9	23	17	40	18·1
10-14	15	19	34	15·3
15-19	12	8	20	9·1
20-29	13	9	22	9·9
30-39	13	13	26	11·8
40-49	7	5	12	5·4
50-59	7	4	11	4·9
Over 60	4	4	8	3·6
Total	120	101	221	99·8

Many of the residents were born at Taree and almost all derived from the area between Port Stephens in the south and Kempsey in the north. The station families were closely interrelated but they had many close relatives living on the reserves at Karuah and Forster and at Kempsey, and had other relatives scattered from Victoria to Queensland. There had evidently been considerable emigration to Sydney, Port Kembla, and Newcastle, particularly since 1962.

Living conditions. There were thirty-one houses on the station but two were empty in March 1966—an average of 7·1 people to each house, or 7·6 people to every occupied dwelling. Six houses had two bedrooms and twenty-five had three bedrooms. Since two three-bedroom houses were empty at the time there was an average of 2·7 people to each bedroom. Three houses, with fourteen to sixteen occupants, were grossly overcrowded and another five with ten to twelve occupants were overcrowded.

Five more houses had eight or nine occupants and only three had less than five occupants.

Most of the houses were about sixteen years old and in reasonably good repair and the three older houses had been reasonably well maintained. Rentals had been charged for all the houses since 1949 but few tenants were not in arrears. Tenants living on pensions were charged 10s a week and others 15s or 17s 6d (depending on whether they had two- or three-bedroom dwellings).

All the houses had been connected to the local electricity supply since 1964. At least fourteen of the thirty-nine occupied houses had television sets. But Purfleet had not been connected to the town water supply and each house had rainwater tanks. Makeshift showers had been installed in the laundries but these were primitive and inadequate. There was no hot water and few showers were still workable and probably none was used in 1966. Some residents had bought baths but most washed in the laundry tubs and basins.

The local council provided both a sanitary service (pan system) and garbage service.

Community services. The matron had provided treatment for minor complaints and injuries until 1965 but, after the position of matron at this station was abolished, this service was no longer provided. A first-aid kit was made available for the residents' use. The Taree District Hospital was little more than 2 miles away. An infant health sister visited the station every two weeks and held a clinic.

The process of integrating the station children in the town's schools began in 1953 when nineteen pupils were transferred from the station school to the Taree Public School and six pupils went to the High School. The lower grades continued to be taught at the station school for some time but by 1965 all went to school in Taree each day by bus. Of a total enrolment of some eighty-four children from the station in 1965, thirteen were at the High School. There were plans to provide a pre-school at Purfleet.

One of the residents managed a gift shop at the station for the Taree Chamber of Commerce but there was no general store. A few yards away there was a store but most shopping was done in Taree. Several residents owned cars. It was not often necessary for people to use taxis, walk or use the infrequent bus services in order to get into town.

Formerly the reserve and station had had its own sporting teams but for some years residents had played with Whites in local teams.

Employment and relief. The lack of regular employment available to

part-Aborigines in the district had been a problem for many years. There were fifty-six males over 15 years old living at the station in March 1966, of whom two were attending school and five were receiving pensions. Of the remaining forty-nine only seventeen were regularly employed (34·7 per cent), ten of these by the N.S.W. Government Railways and two by the Board as handymen on the station. Fourteen were receiving unemployment benefits and eighteen more were either not working at the time or had only short-term casual jobs. Half of those who were 'on the social' were less than 30 years old.

There were twenty-eight men on the station with one dependant or more and of these only eleven were in regular work. Ten received unemployment benefits and four others either did not work or took casual jobs from time to time.

Apart from the woman who managed the gift shop, only one woman resident had permanent work—a married woman who worked as a part-time cleaner in the station office and treatment-room. There were seven women residents, unmarried and without children, who could be regarded as eligible for work and none had permanent employment. Five of these were under 25 years old. At least one of them did some casual domestic work in Taree from time to time. Had work been available there were a number of other women without young children to care for who could have taken jobs and there were at least two girls staying with relations at the station who did not work but who were not included as residents in the count.

The inhabitants of nineteen of the twenty-nine occupied houses depended primarily or exclusively on relief—age, invalid, and widows' pensions, unemployment benefits, rations, or allowances paid under the Child Welfare Act. There were altogether five age pensioners and two invalid pensioners and five women received widows' pensions. Fourteen men received unemployment benefits in March 1966 and five women received relief other than widows' pensions.

Households and families. Six households consisted only of a couple and their children of school age or less. In the other twenty-three occupied dwellings there were other adults living with the tenants. There were three households where the tenant couple shared the accommodation with another couple.

Six women—widows or deserted wives—were tenants of houses on the station. There were eight women, widowed, deserted, or never married, who were caring for their own or fostered children under 15 years. These 'fatherless families' accounted for a total of 26 children or 21·3 per cent of

the 122 children on the station. Twenty-one couples cared for the other ninety-six children, at least six of whom were being fostered by people other than their natural parents.

The administrative changes made by the Board in 1965 meant that the manager of the Purfleet Station became a welfare officer with responsibilities in the area extending roughly from Port Macquarie to Port Stephens. The position of matron at the station was abolished. The area included, besides the Purfleet reserve, a reserve at Forster and a small one at Karuah. The welfare officer continued to live at Purfleet and worked under the area welfare officer at Kempsey.

The Purfleet community had become more closely integrated with the neighbouring town than most station communities. It was a part of the town of Taree for education and health services, the provision of electricity, and of sanitary and garbage services. Had it been connected to the town water supply it would have been different from other parts of town only in that the land was an Aboriginal reserve and most of the residents were of part-Aboriginal descent.

The community had one of the highest rates of unemployment of station communities in New South Wales. This unemployment problem seemed to call for government action either to encourage and help the movement of the residents to Newcastle and Sydney where more work was available or to provide suitable local employment opportunities, or both. Government-sponsored forestry development was perhaps the most obvious means of providing permanent work for the unemployed and casually employed men but this or other projects designed to provide employment locally would probably provide only a partial solution to the problem. Emigration had already had some effect on the situation and any long-term solution to the problems of unemployment and under-employment of part-Aborigines here, as elsewhere on the North Coast, would probably entail a continuing movement south towards the metropolitan area.

SOUTH COAST

ROSEBY PARK

The history of this station began in 1900 when Aborigines from a reserve at Coolangatta, north of the Shoalhaven River, were removed to Orient Point, south of the river. Some had certainly been living in this area earlier: in 1889 it was recorded that a fishing boat had been provided by

the Board for Aborigines at Greenwell Point. In 1900 old dwellings were removed from Coolangatta to Roseby Park and five new dwellings were built. A school was established there in 1903. In 1907, when a manager's residence was built, it became a station and had then a population of thirteen Aborigines and seventy-two half-castes. The population had remained fairly constant at around 100 ever since, but the Aborigines have long since died and the population in 1965 was entirely of mixed descent.

In 1952 the Board recorded its intention of discontinuing the station because of its isolation. It was some 15 miles from Nowra (pop. 1961: 6,221) and the local seaside hamlet, Orient Point, is small (pop. 1961: 82) and provided no employment. Though this intention had not been effected by 1965 there had been little development at the station for many years.

In June 1965, 109 people were living at the station, nearly half of whom were children. There were twenty residents over 40 years old (18·3 per cent) and children under 15 years accounted for 46·7 per cent of the population.

Table 10: *Roseby Park: population by age groups, June 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	10	6	16	14·7
5-9	10	14	24	22·0
10-14	5	6	11	10·0
15-19	7	6	13	11·9
20-29	10	8	18	16·5
30-39	3	4	7	6·4
40-49	7	5	12	11·0
50-59	1	1	2	1·8
Over 60	5	1	6	5·5
Total	58	51	109	99·8

Not surprisingly, since the station was one of the oldest in the State, the population had strong ties with the immediate district. All but one (who came from Ashford in northern New South Wales) of the fifty-four adults on the station in June 1965 were members of South Coast families. Four Nowra district families alone accounted for well over half the adult population and these and other local families made up five-sixths of the adult population. A number of those who did not originate in the district were from La Perouse families (of South Coast origin) and, through these and other relations who have moved out of the area, the residents had close links with families in the Sydney-Wollongong district. Though there were these close links among the station people, they had similarly close ties to people off the station in the Nowra district and beyond.

Living conditions. The station was largely rebuilt in the 1930s and no major building had been done since 1936. The sixteen small houses, built in lines behind the beach facing the water, were all fairly dilapidated, though some repairs and renovations were effected in 1965 after an adverse report by a health officer. No rent was charged. Electricity had been connected to all of them, and one indication of the relative prosperity of the community was the fact that at least half the households had television sets. All had interior water taps from the rainwater tanks at each house. Stoves had not been provided but some had their own and one family had an electric range. Others cooked in the fireplace. There was no provision for bathing—tubs and basins had to be used for washing—but there were coppers outside for washing clothes. The local council provided a weekly garbage and sanitary collection service.

In June 1965, fifteen of the houses were occupied and only five or six of these could be considered less than crowded. The fifteen houses and one small shed near one of them accommodated 109 people, or an average of 7.2 persons to each house. Four small houses (20' × 10') were occupied, one (with a skillion extension increasing its size to 20' × 20') by five adults and five children. Of the eleven larger houses (24' × 21') with two or three bedrooms and a living room/kitchen, seven were occupied by eight or more people. There was a relatively large proportion of adults in the community and in nine of the houses more than two adults were living.

Employment and relief. The attitudes of the White community in the Nowra district to the local part-Aborigines are generally acknowledged to be relatively favourable and employment was not a problem in the district. There were fifteen couples on the station and only three of the male breadwinners were out of work in June 1965; ten were employed (two by the Board as station handymen) and two were receiving age pensions. There were also sixteen single males of whom eleven were employed, only two unemployed and three receiving age or invalid pensions. In five households more than one person was gainfully employed.

On the other hand, the four young women who were not occupied with housekeeping and raising children were all unemployed. Four women, widowed, separated or unmarried, were raising children and were dependent on a pension, relief, or their parents and friends.

Community services. A matron had provided the usual treatment-room service at Roseby Park. Residents made use of the hospitals both at Nowra and at Berry (about 30 miles north).

The small station school was not on the reserve and had never been segregated, since other Orient Point children attended. It had been closed

at the beginning of the 1965 school year and all children travelled daily to school in Nowra by bus.

There was no retail store on the station but there was a small corner store only a few yards from the houses. There was a bus service and several residents owned cars and a good deal of shopping was done in Nowra.

Households and families. There were fifteen households on the station and five consisted of a couple and their children under 15 years old. One widower lived alone and another man lived with his young sons. In the other eight households the tenants shared with adult children or, in one instance, with a grandchild. In two households two couples shared and in one there were three couples and a widow with three children. In each case where couples shared it was with a married son or daughter.

There were four women, deserted, widowed, or never married, who cared for a total of nine children. These 'fatherless families' accounted for 17.6 per cent of the children on the station. Couples cared for forty-one children and two children were in the care of their father.

The Board planned to make the manager of the station an assistant welfare officer, still living in the house at the station but working in Nowra and the district. The station people appeared to be little dependent on the manager and such a change in his duties might well pass unnoticed. Probably rather more drastic changes could be made without any real ill-effects.

The community was inconveniently situated. All the children went to school in Nowra, most of the men worked there or beyond, and most shopping had to be done in Nowra. If the existing houses were handed over to the present tenants to maintain and improve themselves, and at the same time new houses were acquired or built and offered for rental or purchase in Nowra, the present overcrowding might be moderated, as those who wanted better and more conveniently sited housing moved out. The savings in fares alone for some families if they moved to Nowra from the station would be considerable. Suitable new houses might well be provided on the station for the three elderly couples and two pensioned widowers should they wish to remain.

WRECK BAY

There has long been a part-Aboriginal community in the Jervis Bay area but the station was one of those established in the 1930s. Five children were reported to be attending a school at Jervis Bay in 1882 and twenty-two in 1884, but it is not clear how long this school was open. In 1915 the

area became Federal Territory, but the Aborigines remained under the New South Wales Act until an ordinance was passed in 1955. The Welfare Board nevertheless regarded the Aborigines there as a Federal concern until, in the 1930s, by agreement with the Commonwealth Government, the Board established the station at Wreck Bay. A school was started in 1931 and for many years the manager was the school-teacher. The station was then run by the Welfare Board on the same lines as other stations but the Commonwealth Government met the costs of its maintenance.

The population of the station increased from 75 in 1939 to a maximum of 166 in 1954. The population numbers in the next ten years remained fairly static at about 140 to 150 residents. In August 1965 the resident population was 139. Just over 20 per cent were more than 40 years old and 48.9 per cent were under 15 years.

Table 11: *Wreck Bay: population by age groups, August 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	14	9	23	16.5
5-9	10	14	24	17.3
10-14	16	5	21	15.1
15-19	8	8	16	11.5
20-29	8	9	17	12.2
30-39	5	5	10	7.1
40-49	6	8	14	10.0
50-59	5	1	6	4.3
Over 60	6	2	8	5.7
Total	78	61	139	99.7

Since births recorded at the station from 1955 to 1964 outnumbered deaths by fifty, the real drift of population from the station was substantially greater than the difference between the 1954 population (166) and the 1964 population (139). Even from the under 15 age group there had been some slight 'emigration', since at least five children had been adopted out or sent to children's homes.

Many of the adults had lived in the Jervis Bay area for a long time and most families derived from the South Coast between Nowra and Batemans Bay. All the adults had close relatives (parents, siblings, and children) living in this area or farther north in the Wollongong-Sydney area. There had been movement to and from Sydney (La Perouse) for several generations and several adults were born in Sydney. Most of the resident families were closely interrelated.

Living conditions. In August 1965 there were twenty-two cottages on the

reserve, scattered in three groups on the slopes behind Summercloud Bay, an indentation at the eastern end of Wreck Bay. There was an average of 6.3 people per house. Four houses had two bedrooms, fourteen had three bedrooms, and three had been converted to four bedroom cottages by the enclosure of a verandah. One was unoccupied at the time but was to be allocated to the one married couple sharing a cottage with another family. Had this move been made there would have been three households with less than one person per bedroom, ten with an occupancy rate of between one and 2.5 per bedroom, five with 2.5 to 3 people per bedroom, and only three houses in which there were more than 3 people per bedroom. Overall, therefore, overcrowding was not acute and was a problem in not more than eight of the houses.

In addition to the bedrooms all houses had a living room-kitchen and a laundry-bathroom with an indoor septic lavatory. All had electricity (since March 1961) and water was piped from Lake Windermere. All were equipped with fuel stoves. Five houses were provided with chip bath-heaters, some of which were used. All the households were said to have washing machines; seventeen of the twenty-one houses had television sets; and many had some electrical cooking equipment. Most of the cottages were built in 1952 and rentals were charged for all of them (15s for two-bedroom cottages and 17s 6d for three-bedroom ones). Only three of the tenants were fully up to date with payments and several had paid little in the previous fifteen years.

Community services. Until late 1965 the station matron provided a treatment-room service. The nearest hospital was at Nowra. The station had its own school until the beginning of 1965 when the building was removed to Jervis Bay where all primary pupils were then taught. High School pupils went to Nowra each day. A pre-school was run at the station, as well as one at Jervis Bay.

The station was relatively isolated, being some 24 miles from Nowra. The nearer communities—the Royal Australian Naval College, Jervis Bay (pop. 1961: 357), and the seaside villages of Hyams Beach (pop. 1961: 47) and Huskisson (pop. 1961: 677)—could provide few services. A shop on the station was run by the storekeeper from Hyams Beach and was open for half a day, six days a week. Bread was delivered from Huskisson three times a week.

Employment and relief. In the police census of 1882 it was noted that 'the Jervis Bay people live by fishing and Government rations'.³³ This appears to have been the situation for many years, the reserve being some distance from potential employment. Some men found part-time work during the

summer tourist season and some worked in the timber industry, but fishing remained the most important source of income apart from government relief. Recently, however, and especially since the latter part of 1964, there was a marked increase in the amount of local permanent employment available and in the numbers employed. This was almost entirely because of the increased number of jobs made available by the Commonwealth Department of the Interior.

In August 1965 of thirty-four males 15 years and over twenty-five were in gainful employment. Of the twenty men with dependants only two received pensions and only one was unemployed. This man was the only person on the station receiving unemployment benefit. There were eight unemployed single men, of whom one was a visitor who had done some casual work and another an elderly man who occasionally made and sold boomerangs. The remainder were all less than 19 years old. Three of these young men had been employed, two as apprentices in the Port Kembla steelworks and one as a painter at Jervis Bay, but had left their jobs. There were eighteen households in which the householder was not a pensioner and in only one there was no one employed; in nine there was one breadwinner and in eight there were from two to five income earners.

Six of the employed males were self-employed fishermen. Three owned their own boats and fishing equipment and the others worked with two of these men, who also had trucks and utilities to take their catch to market. The fish were sold to the Nowra Co-operative of which the men were members. The other twenty-five employed men worked for government agencies. Thirteen were Commonwealth employees (Forestry 6; Parks and Gardens 5; R.A.N. (maintenance) 1; station handyman 1), and six worked for the Metropolitan Water Board.

Despite the isolation of the station and the limited range of employment available locally, the level of female unemployment was unusually low. Nineteen of the twenty-nine women over 15 years could be described as being employed on domestic duties and two were pensioners. All eight women eligible for employment were in full or part-time employment. The only unemployed females were two girls aged 15. Two of the young women who were employed had children who were left in the care of their mothers. Three had full-time work (one having two part-time jobs) and five had part-time work. All but one girl, who worked for the Shire Council in Nowra, worked either at Jervis Bay (telephonist, pre-school assistant, domestic) or at the station (shop, treatment-room, and pre-school assistants).

Families and households. The Wreck Bay station community was distinguished from most other stations by the absence of divorced, separated, deserted, or widowed women with children. This can be attributed mainly, perhaps, to the fact that for some years such women had not been sent there from other parts of New South Wales because it was not within the State. One such woman (from Coonabarabran) was at the station for some years but had left in 1964. There were two unmarried girls with children but these were the only 'fatherless families' in the community, and accounted for only three children (less than 5 per cent of the total).

The relatively high level of employment and the relative stability of the families in the community encourages one to be optimistic about the future of these people. But the isolation of the station, and the limited range of employment especially for the young, create problems which can only be solved if some people are prepared to leave it for more or less long-term residence in places where there are more employment opportunities. The integration of the primary school with that at Jervis Bay and attendance at High School in Nowra may well prove important in increasing such readiness.

Equally or more important may be the changing of the community from a closely supervised station into a village distinguished from others only by the Aboriginal descent of most of the residents. The Department of the Interior began consideration of moves in this direction in 1964 when the possibility of housing non-Aboriginal employees at the station was canvassed. The station community raised objections to this plan and it was abandoned. The next move towards reducing the isolation and special status of the community was the removal of the school to Jervis Bay in February 1965. Then, on 21 April 1965, two senior officers of the Department visited Wreck Bay and, at what is regarded as an unusually well-attended public meeting (thirty were present), they discussed the possibilities of withdrawing the staff and making it an 'open village', and invited the views of the residents. Some of the residents then formed a Progress Association and in June wrote to the Department setting out conditions they would like to see accepted in any arrangements for the future. They indicated they would have no objections to non-Aborigines being housed at Wreck Bay if there were prior consultation and none of the present residents was evicted to make way for them. They were interested in being allowed to buy their houses and asked that any arrears of rent should be added to the capital value of the houses and that no land

rental should be payable. Decisions as to the tenancy of houses that became vacant should be made, they considered, by the Department and not by the Progress Association.

Early in August social workers visited the station to gather information on the likely effects of a withdrawal of resident staff and the needs of the community after such withdrawal. It was planned that social workers would continue to visit the community at regular intervals from Canberra.

The management of the Wreck Bay station and the existence of the reserve were sanctioned by the A.C.T. Ordinance Relating to Aborigines, 1954. In November 1965 the Minister for the Interior announced the repeal of this Ordinance.³⁴ The reserve then ceased to exist and there was no longer any legally recognised category of people called 'Aborigines'. (In fact already something like half the residents of the reserve were not 'Aborigines' as defined in the Ordinance and had no legal entitlement to live on the reserve.) It was planned to withdraw the resident staff (manager and matron) but the Minister for the Interior stated that a welfare officer would remain 'in an advisory capacity'. The Department was about to appoint a general administrative officer at Jervis Bay to represent the department in this part of the Capital Territory, who could provide general oversight and any advice and help needed in the early stages of the change.

The details of rental and purchase arrangements were to be worked out with the residents. It was likely that the Housing Commission would take responsibility for the dwellings and for the collection of rent. Arrangements would certainly be made for those who did not owe rent to buy their dwellings, on the normal basis in the A.C.T. of 5 per cent interest and 45 years to pay. The rentals for those not buying their houses would probably be raised above the low rates paid in 1965 (unaltered since 1948) but economic rentals were not to be charged and rebates would be arranged in cases of need. It was contemplated that departmental employees might be charged a percentage of their wages. Land rent charges would not be waived as suggested but probably a peppercorn rent would be levied.

A small group of brick houses outside the Naval College is occupied by Departmental officers, and their families (police and forestry officers, works supervisor, school-teacher). There was, however, no immediate prospect that the housing of these people would be integrated with that of the Wreck Bay people. Possibly as the growth of Canberra increases the demand for holiday accommodation on the South Coast there may be some development of the Wreck Bay area and the community may in this way gradually become less isolated and more prosperous.

WALLAGA LAKE

This was the first station established by the Protection Board. The reserve was created in 1891 when it had a population of twenty-six Aborigines and sixty-five half-castes. In 1899 the Board appointed a resident manager who worked for some years under the supervision of a local board. Evidently some people moved to the reserve from Lake Tyers and, as it remained the nearest station to Gippsland, the links between the two stations were maintained over the years and even in 1965 one or two people there had lived at Lake Tyers.

The nearest towns of any size were Bermagui (pop. 1961: 613), 10 miles away, and Narooma (pop. 1961: 1,185) about 15 miles away, but the small dairying villages of Central Tilba (180) and Tilba Tilba (71) were closer. It was nearly 40 miles to Bega (pop. 1961: 4,094), the district centre.

The setting of the station, on a promontory jutting into a coastal 'lake', is reminiscent of Lake Tyers, but its population never grew as large as that of the Victorian station. In 1899 there were 121 residents and numbers increased when South Coast people who had moved to Sydney (La Perouse) were sent there. By 1921 the numbers had been reduced again to seventy-three but in the Depression years more people settled there and there was a population of 159 in 1939. There was another decline in the war years, and immediately after the war the population was only sixty-two (1946). Fifteen new houses were built in 1952 and the population had increased to 153 by 1953, since which time it has declined. Since 1961 fewer than 100 people have been living there.

In June 1965 I recorded seventy-six people as residents. Forty-two of these (55.2 per cent) were under 15 and only eleven (14.5 per cent) were over 40.

Table 12: *Wallaga Lake: population by age groups, June 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	6	7	13	17.1
5-9	7	8	15	19.7
10-14	10	4	14	18.4
15-19	3	1	4	5.3
20-29	5	5	10	13.2
30-39	2	7	9	11.8
40-49	1	4	5	6.6
50-59	4	1	5	6.6
Over 60	1	—	1	1.3
Total	39	37	76	100.0

Most of the families were South Coast people, but the station had been used to provide a home for several widows, deserted wives and other women from parts of the State as distant as Moree, Coonabarabran, and Taree.

Living conditions. There were eighteen dwellings on the station but only fourteen of these were actually occupied in June 1965. Some houses had already been moved in 1963-4 to neighbouring towns for men who had work there. With an average occupancy of only 4.2 persons per house (and only 5.4 persons per occupied house) and some empty houses available, there was little overcrowding, although one house, shared by two couples and a woman with children, had eleven occupants. Two houses had eight occupants, three had seven and one had six. Half of the occupied houses had five people or fewer in them.

All were built in 1952 and most were still in reasonably good condition. Most had two or three bedrooms. Rentals were charged. All were supplied with electricity and water, and had shower recesses. Hot showers could be taken at the recreation hall. The local council provided a sanitary (pan) service and garbage service. The station was outside the 'viewing area' and there were no television sets.

Community services. The matron provided treatment for minor ills and a sister visited regularly to hold infant clinics. The Bega District Hospital was nearly 40 miles away. A school had been run on the reserve since 1891 (it was closed from 1895 to 1898) but had been closed in 1964. The children were taken daily to the public school or the High School in Bermagui (15 miles) by school bus.

Employment and relief. There were ten families on the station with male heads, of whom six were employed. Two were receiving invalid pensions and two unemployment benefits. Of the other six adult males on the station two were working; one was receiving compensation for an injury received while working at a sawmill; one was an old age pensioner and two (aged 26 and 15) were unemployed.

Three men worked in sawmills, one as handyman on the station, and others on the railways, on a farm and in a cheese factory.

Seven women were heads of families and all received widows' pensions, unemployment benefit or other relief. Two supplemented such relief with earnings from part-time work as treatment-room assistant for the Board and as domestic for the manager. Only one girl eligible for work was unemployed but she helped at home. Others had left the station to work.

Altogether eleven of the seventeen families (64.7 per cent) and eight of the fourteen households (57.1 per cent) were primarily dependent on

various forms of relief, although there were only two invalid pensioners and one age pensioner living on the station.

Households and families. Eleven of the fourteen houses were occupied by single families—parents (or parent) and children. In one house a couple shared with their married daughter (with one child); in another the tenant couple (no young children) shared with two daughters (and the husband of one of them) and six grandchildren; in the third shared house the tenant couple had the wife's father and nephew staying.

Widows, deserted wives, and other single women headed seven of the twelve families with children (59·1 per cent). These women were caring for twenty-nine of the forty-two children on the station (69 per cent). This extraordinarily high percentage of 'fatherless families' was largely the result of the Board's having accommodated at this station a number of women from other parts of the State.

The Board planned to retain both a resident welfare officer and a matron at Wallaga Lake. The welfare officer was to be responsible, under the Nowra area welfare officer, for the far South Coast sub-district, including Bega.

If the practice of removing houses from the station to towns in the district closer to places where men are employed were continued, the population might conceivably be reduced until only the families of the unemployable pensioners remained. Some of the local pensioners might be interested in moving to nearby towns where their relatives live, as might the women who came to Wallaga Lake from other parts of the State, unless they were prepared to return to the towns where their relatives live. The Wallaga Lake station is, like Lake Tyers, in most pleasant surroundings but it is most inconveniently situated for the young. It would make a fine site for a coast resort or indeed for an old people's community, but it is unlikely that the old would care much for this kind of segregation.

NORTH WEST

BOGGABILLA

This station, on the southern bank of the MacIntyre River, 9 miles from the small town of Boggabilla (pop. 1961: 472), was completed only in 1940. But a reserve was created at Boggabilla in 1891 and there had been a station in this border district continuously since 1912, when a teacher-manager was appointed to the Euraba reserve, 7 miles from Boomi, west of Boggabilla. The station was moved to a new reserve, Toomelah, in 1925. In 1939

the people from Toomelah and some from other camps in the district, including Texas in Queensland, were resettled in new houses on the Boggabilla reserve, about half a mile north of the highway running east from Boggabilla.

There were only 100 residents on the Euraba reserve in 1921 but the new station had a population of just over 200 in 1939. Since the war the recorded population has fluctuated between about 200 (199 in 1947) and 288 (in 1963). In November 1965 I recorded a total of 216 (87 adults and 129 children) as actually resident on the reserve, though a number of the adult males were at home only at weekends and between jobs.

The station had a very young population, only 11.5 per cent being over 40 and 57.4 per cent under 15 years old.

Table 13: *Boggabilla: population by age groups, November 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	31	22	53	24.5
5-9	20	25	45	20.8
10-14	17	9	26	12.0
15-19	9	11	20	9.2
20-29	16	16	32	14.8
30-39	7	8	15	6.9
40-49	7	4	11	5.1
50-59	3	4	7	3.2
Over 60	4	3	7	3.2
Total	114	102	216	99.7

Most of the station people were closely interrelated. One woman was said to have come originally from Melbourne but the rest were apparently all of local families from the border region. The descendants of two brothers (still alive), with their families occupied ten of the twenty-six houses and accounted for 31 per cent of the population (sixty-five people). Another man (still living) and his descendants and their families accounted for another forty-four residents or 20.3 per cent of the population. These two families had not intermarried at all. The descendants of one woman (also still living on the station), with their families, numbered fifty-three or about 24 per cent of the population. There were two or three other families well represented on the station.

Living conditions. With an average of 8.3 residents to each of the twenty-six houses the accommodation was crowded. There was gross overcrowding in four houses with twelve, fourteen and fifteen occupants, each shared by two or three families. Another eleven houses with between eight and

eleven occupants were certainly overcrowded. Seven houses had six or seven occupants and only four had five or less. Twenty-six four-room houses were built in 1938-9 and twenty-three or twenty-four of these survived, the other dwellings having originally been built for other purposes. Since they were old and in fairly poor condition no rentals were charged.

Water, pumped from the river, was piped to all the houses but although the major work had been done for some time none of the houses had been connected to the local electricity supply by November 1965. All the houses had stoves. Bathroom-laundries had recently been added to the houses but these were not in use by November 1965. The houses had pit latrines and garbage disposal was carried out by the station handyman.

Community services. The matron provided treatment for minor complaints. The nearest hospital was at Goondiwindi, 15 miles away, in Queensland.

The station had had its own school since 1939 and a new school building was finished in 1965. It had an enrolment of about eighty pupils; none of the station children went to school either in Boggabilla (primary school) or in Goondiwindi, where there was a High School, using of course the Queensland syllabus. The nearest New South Wales High School was at Moree, nearly 90 miles away. The station school was staffed by three teachers. The principal lived on the station and the others in Boggabilla. There was a small building used for home-science training. The old school building was used for the infant classes, formerly held in the hall.

When the station was first built most of the people received rations (139 in a population of 240 in 1940) and there was a store on the station. For some years, however, only a small number of people (generally less than 10 per cent of the population) had been rationed. Rations were supplied in Boggabilla and shopping was done there or in Goondiwindi. The station truck visited town three times a week. Taxis were available from Goondiwindi and the charge was £2 a trip (30 miles). A private operator ran a bus to and from the station by arrangement and was sometimes hired for larger excursions. Some families had cars but the people were largely dependent on public transport.

Employment and relief. Finding work in the district apparently presented no problems, at least for men, though the almost total failure of the 1965 wheat crop restricted one field of employment. Of thirty-two male heads of families in November 1965, one was not working because he was disabled by injury, and four received pensions. The other twenty-seven men were all in more or less regular employment. Most of the families were young and in only eight houses was there more than one breadwinner.

Of the eleven able-bodied males not heads of families, only two (aged 15 and 22) were unemployed. None received unemployment benefit.

Most men (twenty-nine out of the thirty-three whose employment was recorded) were employed in clearing ('stick picking'), as shearers and shed hands, or as permanent hands on nearby stations. Two were employed by the Board as handymen, two by the railways and three were not recorded.

Apart from two women employed on the station, as the school cleaner and the treatment-room assistant, no women or girls lived on the station and worked. Three girls with parents on the station worked as domestics either in Boggabilla or on pastoral stations (one in Queensland and one near Moree) but these lived on the job and were not included in the settlement population. The five girls on the station who were eligible for work were all unemployed (four aged 17 years and one aged 18).

There were only four male pensioners (two age and two invalid) on the station. Four women received pensions (two age, one invalid and one widow) and one received Board rations and relief. These pensioners lived in eight of the twenty-six households but only four households were wholly or substantially dependent on pensions or relief.

Households and families. Fifteen of the twenty-six households consisted only of parents (or parent) and children. Two households included besides the nuclear family only a parent of either husband or wife, and two included only an unmarried daughter and her child. In five households parents were sharing with one or two married daughters or sons and their families. In one house three brothers, all married with children, lived together and in another a brother and sister, both married, shared the house.

Twenty-seven couples were caring for a total of 106 children or more than 85 per cent of the station children. There were seven 'fatherless families' with eighteen children. Three of these were in the care of their widowed grandmother, the remainder being with their mothers who were widowed, deserted or had never married.

The Board's plans to change the functions of station staff would have little effect on life at Boggabilla. Since the station was judged too remote to leave without any resident supervision, the manager was to become a welfare officer working under the Moree area welfare officer and the position of matron was to be retained.

There were no plans to build new houses on the station but there was a prospect of funds being available in 1966 for some repairs to the houses. One man, sharing a station house with two other couples, was about to

move into a Board house in Boggabilla and buy it with a Board loan. Two other families had moved to Boggabilla in 1963 and 1964 and another to Queensland, but there was no immediate prospect of any rapid movement of families from the station to less isolated places.

Some 300 acres of unimproved pasture on the reserve were leased by the Board for a few hundred pounds a year. This land could conceivably be exploited for the direct benefit of the residents, either by arranging for the Social Club or another association of residents to receive the payments by the lessee, or, with more risk, by encouraging the residents to organise to use it to fatten young cattle. In either case the returns when spread among all the families would be small, but useful nonetheless.

MOREE

The station at Moree was one of those the Board established after World War II but it was built on a reserve that had existed for some years, not far beyond the limits of East Moree (or South Moree as it is sometimes more accurately called), on the south bank of the Mehi River, east of the town.³⁵ The town has grown rapidly in the last decade or so and housing development had reached a point only half a mile from the reserve in 1965. The station was about two and a half miles from the main shopping centre of Moree but less than a mile and a half from the nearest shops on the highway running through East Moree. It was less than a mile from the end of the bitumen road.

Just outside the reserve there was a small Roman Catholic church (built about 1964) and a mission establishment with a pre-school (opened 1965) for Aboriginal children. Within the reserve were several school buildings, staff houses, and an oval, beyond which was a church and a hall and the main housing area. The houses were laid out in two rows running westwards from the church and the hall.

In 1936 some new houses were built on the Moree reserve and in 1940 a school was opened. In 1946 the Board decided to establish a station but the building took some years and was not completed until early in 1953. There were then thirty-nine houses of which twenty-four were new and fifteen had been on the reserve before. Houses were built for a manager, his assistant, and a school-teacher.

There were over 200 people on the reserve after the war³⁶ and the number steadily increased after the station was established. In 1953 a total of 283 residents was recorded and in 1965, 434, making this by far the largest station in the State. In November 1965 I listed a total of 370 residents but, although those who were reported to be working in other districts or

temporarily away from the station for other reasons were not counted, it is unlikely that all these 'residents' were present at the time. On the other hand, there were probably a number of temporary visitors, who were not recorded as residents.

The population of the station was young, more than half being children (54 per cent under 15 years of age) and only 14.6 per cent being over 40.

Table 14: *Moree: population by age groups, November 1965**

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	32	36	68	18.5
5-9	35	33	68	18.5
10-14	38	25	63	17.1
15-19	14	27	41	11.1
20-29	24	24	48	13.0
30-39	14	12	26	7.1
40-49	14	16	30	8.1
50-59	11	5	16	4.3
Over 60	5	3	8	2.2
Total	187	181	368	99.9

* Birth dates or reasonably accurate estimates of age were available for all but two of the 370 people listed as residents; it is possible that children under 4 years old may have been slightly under-enumerated because the records were not completely up to date.

The predominance of children in the population indicates how quickly the population was growing. Births recorded on the station 1951-64 totalled 166, and exceeded deaths by 107. One would predict a continuing growth of the station community if the accommodation on the station was not already so overtaxed that it is difficult to imagine that people will not look for other places to live unless more houses are provided there.

Moree (pop. 1961: 6,795) looks and is a very prosperous town and the development in the district which has made it the fastest growing town in the north-west is probably largely responsible for the growth of the part-Aboriginal population. In 1947 about 44 per cent of the town's part-Aborigines lived on the reserve (229 out of 514)³⁷ and probably the proportion on the station in 1965 was not much greater. Most of these people were immigrants and descendants of immigrants. At the 1882 census only eighty-eight Aborigines and four half-castes were recorded in the Moree district. About fifteen were employed as shepherds and stockmen and the rest were mainly supported by owners of the properties on which they lived.³⁸ A station opened in 1912 at Terry Hie Hie, some 30 miles to the south-east, was closed about 1928 and many of the people moved to Moree, but probably the majority of people on the station derive from Boggabilla and other districts to the north. Marie Reay noted

that the Terry Hie Hie people formed the core of an 'upper class' group that dissociated itself from the Boggabilla immigrants who tended to cluster on the reserve and a nearby camp, which has since disappeared.³⁹ *Living conditions.* Twenty-five of the thirty-five dwellings were 'new' (completed about 1952), one of them having been built as a hostel for people coming to Moree for medical treatment. Normal rentals were charged for these: 17s 6d a week for the seventeen three-bedroom houses, 15s for the five two-bedroom houses and 10s for the three houses occupied by pensioners. For the three better houses of pre-war vintage and the two 'flats' a rental of 12s 6d a week was charged and no rents were charged for five old houses in poor condition. A few tenants rarely paid rent, most were in arrears and only one tenant was ahead with rental payments.

There was an average of 10.5 residents to each of the houses on the station. Sixteen of the houses were recorded as having between eleven and seventeen occupants and one had twenty occupants. All these could be regarded as grossly overcrowded. Eleven houses had eight to ten occupants and seven had six or seven. Only in one house with three occupants and a caravan with two, were conditions less than crowded.

All houses had running water inside, supplied by the station's own pump from the river. All except two pensioners' houses had been connected to the electricity supply in 1965 and a few cottages had been connected for some years. (There were some fifteen television sets on the station.) All were equipped with wood stoves and with showers and laundries. The town council provided a twice-weekly sanitary and garbage service and work was in progress in December 1965 to replace the pan system with a sewerage system.

Conditions on the station would have been good if the population was about half its actual size. But with an average of more than ten people to each of the thirty-six dwellings gross overcrowding of most houses was inevitable.

Community services. The matron provided treatment for minor complaints and the Moree District Hospital was only about a mile from the station.

The Education Department ran a primary school on the station with an enrolment of about 150 children and five teachers, all of whom lived in the town. Some children from the 'Top Camp' on the Inverell road, east of the town, were brought to the station school daily by bus. Some twenty children attended the Roman Catholic primary school in town and thirty-seven went to the high school. The Roman Catholic pre-school just outside the station took thirty children from the station in the mornings and another thirty from the 'Top Camp' in the afternoon.

There was no shop on the station and residents did their shopping in the town, and found most of their recreation there. The station hall was seldom used. Station football and vigoro teams competed in town competitions and cricketers on the station joined town teams. A number of families, perhaps half, had cars but taxis were used extensively. (It was reported that the fare for the 3-mile trip to town was 8s or 9s until meters were introduced, when the fare was reduced to 4s 9d.) A private bus operator made several trips each day to the station (adult fare 1s).

Employment and relief. Even in the drought conditions prevailing in November 1965 there was no real shortage of work in the district and nearby. The local abattoirs had employed some thirty part-Aboriginals and most had been put off when it reduced staff to a skeleton, but work was readily available in the summer months in the Narrabri and Wee Waa cotton-growing districts. A number were employed in the wool industry, as station hands and as shearers and shed hands, and others worked at a variety of permanent and casual jobs in the town.

Fifty-three families were listed (every parent or parents with dependent children being counted as a family) and forty-four of these had male heads. Six of these forty-four men were pensioners (two age and four invalid) and just half (19) of the remainder were recorded as being in permanent employment. These included two handymen employed by the Board on the station, eleven employed by various government agencies and local authorities (railways, 3; Moree Council, 2; Pastures Protection Board, 1; police, 1; and hospital, 4) and a number with permanent jobs in the town, on stations, or with shearing contractors. The rest were noted either as casual labourers or labourers, without indication of the type of employment, and in fact most of these were apparently in fairly regular employment. Only one was recorded as rarely working and two as actually unemployed and only one of these was receiving unemployment benefit.

In fifteen of the families there were male breadwinners other than the head of the family. Altogether about eighty men were potential or actual workers and, if those known to have been working away from Moree (mainly in the Narrabri district) were included, there would be nearly 100 male wage earners in the station population. (The station report for the quarter ended 31 March 1964 recorded eighty-two able-bodied men and youths as in constant employment and ten as irregularly employed.)

Most females who worked were casual domestics and their employment was apparently irregular. Nineteen were noted as employed, twelve of them as domestics. The remainder included two employed on the station (treatment-room assistant and school cleaner), two nursing at the

hospital, two as telephonists, and one as a clerk-typist. Only six girls on the station who were employable, having no children to care for, were recorded as unemployed. (The report of 31 March 1965 recorded twelve girls constantly employed and thirteen irregularly employed.) Including the six families with female heads, twelve of the fifty families were substantially dependent on pensions or other relief (24 per cent).

There were six age pensioners (four men and two women) and five invalid pensioners (all men). Five women received widows' pensions and one was rationed by the Board.

Households and families. In sixteen of the dwellings there were either two or more couples or a woman with children sharing the space with the tenant family. In only eleven of the houses was there only one nuclear family (parents or parent and their own children). In one house (three bedrooms and a verandah) the tenant couple shared with their three married children, making a total of ten adults and ten children. In another, where the tenant couple had four married daughters with them, though two of the husbands were not residents, there were eight adults and nine children. These were exceptionally large households but in eight others there were two couples sharing and in all but one both couples had children.

There were thirty children on the station being cared for by widows, deserted wives, and mothers who had not married. There were 169 children in the forty-one families with two parents. The proportion of children in the twelve 'fatherless families' (15 per cent) was not as high as on many stations.

The Board planned to make the station a reserve by withdrawing the manager and matron. It was to be supervised by the area welfare officer stationed in Moree. It was, however, planned that one of the teachers should occupy the teacher's residence that was vacant in November 1965. The twenty-seven houses about to be built on the other side of East Moree were planned primarily for people living in the 'Top Camp', not for the station people. One household on the station had drawn a building block in Moree and was planning to build on it with a Board loan, but there was no immediate prospect of any substantial numbers being rehoused off the station, or of many of the residents of Moree's Aboriginal 'suburbs' being scattered among the ordinary town housing lots.

WALGETT

At the 1882 census the Walgett police sub-district reported 154 Aborigines and 34 half-castes—one of the larger concentrations of Aborigines in the

State. Most of the young men were employed on stations and it was reported that 'the station owners are very good to the aboriginals in this district'.⁴⁰ Eighty years later the Aboriginal population was almost entirely of mixed descent and lived not on the stations but around the town, but in 1965 Walgett (pop. 1961: 1,726) had one of the two largest Aboriginal communities in the State, with over 600 people. Probably they were there because, as in the 1880s, life was better there than elsewhere.

Fewer than 150 people lived on the station, nearly 7 miles out of town and across the Barwon River. The Board had decided by 1940 that it was necessary to establish a station at Walgett and it was completed by 1942, with a school and administration and staff buildings, and twenty houses, most of them several hundred yards from the other buildings.⁴¹ Since then the population has never been much below or above 150 and the station was never capable of accommodating even half the Aboriginal population of Walgett. The Namoi River Reserve, on the other side of the town and much closer to it, has had a much larger population, and there have been several other, smaller fringe camps around the town.

In November 1965, 142 people were recorded as living on the station—seventy-six males and sixty-six females. Well over half of these were children under 15 (55·6 per cent) and only 12·7 per cent of the population was over 40 years old.

Table 15: *Walgett: population by age groups, November 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	19	12	31	21·8
5-9	15	11	26	18·3
10-14	9	13	22	15·5
15-19	8	7	15	10·5
20-29	9	7	16	11·2
30-39	7	7	14	9·9
40-49	4	5	9	6·3
50-59	3	2	5	3·5
Over 60	2	2	4	2·8
Total	76	66	142	99·8

The disadvantages of the station's relative remoteness from town (it was cut off by floods at least once recently—for three months in 1953) had evidently served to induce a number of people to leave. Between 1951 and 1964 births exceeded deaths by over 100 but the population did not increase significantly over the period.

At least one family on the station had moved originally from the station at Pilliga to the east, which was closed down in 1953, and others were from Goodooga. Most, if not all, would have had relatives in the Walgett fringe camps, and many had ties of kinship with people living on the reserves to the north at Goodooga, Collarenebri, and Lightning Ridge. *Living conditions.* Seventeen houses remained of those originally built in about 1941; they were in fairly poor condition and no rents were charged. Most were three-room (two-bedroom) cottages. The station was crowded, with an average occupancy of 8.3 people to each house. Three houses, each with twelve people, and another four with ten or eleven occupants could be considered seriously overcrowded. Three houses each had nine occupants, two had seven, one six and only four had five or less.

Water was pumped from the Barwon River, on the north bank of which the station was built, and was reticulated to the houses. All the houses had been wired for electricity and were due to be connected early in 1966. Shower rooms with hand basins had recently been added. All houses had wood stoves and some had laundry coppers. All had pit latrines and the local council made a weekly garbage clearance.

Community services. There was a station school with an enrolment of forty-one pupils and two teachers who lived on the station. Seven children in Grade V and above were taken to and from the Walgett High School.

The matron provided the usual treatment-room service and people needing medical attention were taken to the Walgett District Hospital, about 7 miles away.

There was no shop on the station, although hawkers called. A private shopkeeper opened a store for a time in 1964 but it was poorly patronised. The station truck went to town for rations one day a week and took people in for general shopping on Fridays. Few residents had cars.

Employment and relief. There were sixteen male heads of families on the station, of whom two were pensioners. Six of the remainder were unemployed and one had been injured and was receiving compensation. Five were working on farms or stations as general hands, shearers, or fencers and two were handymen on the station, employed by the Board.

Fifteen other able-bodied males were living on the station and of these at least nine were out of work in November 1965 (employment of two of the men was not recorded). A number of other members of station families were employed away from Walgett and were not included in the count of station residents. The drought had probably affected employment, but even in better times most employment was casual. Figures for the March quarter of 1965 showed that, of fifty-three able-bodied men

and youths, eleven were in regular work and forty-two were doing casual work.

Only one woman was working—as school cleaner on the station—but only two girls (aged 15 and 20) living on the station had no family commitments and were actually unemployed.

Two men and two women received age pensions and one man and one woman received invalid pensions. Four able-bodied men were receiving unemployment benefit, and one was being provided with rations while awaiting benefits. Eight of the seventeen households (47 per cent) were primarily dependent on some form of relief.

Households and families. Only one house was being shared by two couples and ten houses were each occupied by a single nuclear family. Three households included adult relatives of the wives and three included the tenants' daughters who had children of their own.

Fourteen couples on the station cared for sixty-eight of the eighty-one children on the station. Four of these children were foster-children. The other thirteen children on the station (16 per cent) were in seven 'fatherless families', eight of them in one all-female household.

The Board's proposed administrative changes were likely to have little immediate effect on the life of residents at this station. The Board planned to keep a welfare officer resident on the station for some time, at least, and to retain the position of matron, because of the relative remoteness of the station.

Some houses (12) were built in 1965 in Walgett, and the Board was making plans to provide cheap, temporary housing to raise living standards in the reserve area. But, given the great number of families living in the fringe camps, there was no prospect of many of the station families being rehoused in the town for many years unless there were a sharp increase in the rate at which houses were built there.

BREWARRINA

This station was the oldest institutional-type community in the State that was still managed as such in 1965, but its population was by then greatly reduced and its final disappearance was imminent. The station was some 10 road miles east of the town of Brewarrina (pop. 1961: 1,225) and on the opposite (northern) bank of the Barwon River. The reserve was reduced from 4,638 acres to just 638 acres about 1953 but only a few acres of this were used in 1965 for the station buildings and a small cemetery. There remained in November 1965 eleven small cottages and a school, a garage,

a small treatment-room, a hall, and the manager's house and office. There were about 8 miles of dirt road and 2 of bitumen between the station and the town.

The problem of the large group of Aborigines camping around Brewarrina seemed to the first Protector of Aborigines and to the Protection Board to be one of the most pressing in the State. The 1882 census listed 151 Aborigines and 24 half-castes at Brewarrina; many were reported to be suffering from venereal disease and they were 'addicted to habits of intemperance', liquor being 'procured by women of the lower class of whites'.⁴² The Protection Board reported in 1885 that the removal of the Aborigines to a reserve 2 miles from town had reduced the drinking problems but urged the need for a 'home' for Aborigines in the area.⁴³ In 1886 the Aborigines Protection Association established a mission there, on a reserve of some 5,000 acres, 10 miles east of the town on the opposite bank of the Barwon.⁴⁴

Evidently the new mission did not attract all the Brewarrina people. In 1891 only forty-one, and in 1897 only forty-three, people were recorded as residents of the mission. There was criticism of the disproportionate amount of the Board's money that was being spent on maintaining this mission and finally it was decided that the Protection Association was making such a small contribution to the enterprise that the Board should take over, which it did in 1897. Under the management of the board the numbers increased as families moved in from surrounding districts but the proportion of full-blood Aborigines decreased. In 1907 there were 160 on the station of whom only 59 were Aborigines and in 1909 only 69 of a total of 191 were Aborigines. Thereafter the population again fell to an average of fifty-eight in 1915 although only thirty-four were recorded as resident at the end of 1915 (twelve were Aborigines and twenty-two half-castes). There was a girls' dormitory on the station for many years and this accounted for sixteen of the seventy-six residents in 1921.

The population increased again in the Depression years and particularly in 1936-7 after the station at Angledool was closed and many of the people from there and from Tibooburra moved to Brewarrina.⁴⁵ In 1939 the recorded population was 324 though the following year it had decreased again to 242. Between 1947 and 1961 the numbers fluctuated between 173 (1957) and 114 (1960), but after 1961 there was a fairly rapid decrease. In November 1965 only forty-two were recorded as actually living on the station and even including those temporarily absent the total was only fifty-six.

The station had in no sense become a refuge or home for the elderly

Table 16: *Brewarrina: population by age groups, November 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	4	10	14	25.0
5-9	9	3	12	21.4
10-14	3	5	8	14.3
15-19	2	2	4	7.1
20-29	4	4	8	14.3
30-39	1	4	5	8.9
40-49	3	2	5	8.9
50-59	—	—	—	—
Over 60	—	—	—	—
Total	26	30	56	99.9

as its population declined, since none of the residents was over 50 years old. Of the fifty-six people who could be regarded as residents, thirty-four were under 15 years old (60.7 per cent) and only 8.9 per cent were over 40 years old.

No examination was made of interrelationships among the residents but the fact that only two heads of households had the same surname was evidence that the people that remained were less closely related to one another than those on many of the more populous stations.

Living conditions. All the houses were old and apparently little or no new building work had been done since the mid-1930s. No rents were charged. Materials from houses demolished as they became vacant had been used to repair and add to the remaining huts, but most had only two or three rooms. There were eleven huts on the station with an average of five people to each. Of the ten houses that were tenanted (and two of these were actually vacant at the time), two had eight occupants, seven had four or five occupants and one three. None could be regarded as grossly overcrowded.

Water was pumped from the river and reticulated to the houses but only some of them had taps inside the dwellings. Most had outside coppers and tubs for washing and bathing and only two had bathrooms of any kind. All had stoves. None had electricity supplied. The station handyman provided a garbage and a sanitary service (pan system).

Community services. The matron provided a treatment-room service for minor complaints and patients were taken for treatment to the Brewarrina hospital when necessary.

There was a school on the station from its early days as a mission and the Education Department still maintained a one-teacher school in 1965 with an enrolment of twenty-two children.

There was no shop or store on the station and daily trips to town were made in the station utility truck for shopping and to collect rations. No residents owned cars.

The hall was used for Sunday School classes, for games one night a week and for occasional dances.

Employment and relief. There had been no real shortage of work for the part-Aboriginals in this district for some years. None of the eight able-bodied men who were counted as residents was unemployed. One man (handyman) and one woman (treatment-room assistant) were employed on the station. Four men normally worked for the railways, two worked on pastoral properties and one was employed in town as a builder's labourer. Most of these would normally be away from the station except for an occasional weekend. In November 1965 two of the men were in gaol and one was receiving compensation for injury at work. No women, other than the young girl employed on the station by the Board, were working.

No resident males were receiving any pensions, the one invalid pensioner being in hospital. One woman received a widow's pension and five were supplied with rations by the Board, four being ineligible for any pension and one having her husband temporarily in gaol.

Households and families. Only one house was shared by two families—a widow with three children and her married daughter and two children. The rest were occupied only by parents (or parent) and their children.

Eleven families were recorded as 'resident' but two of these, with a total of six children, were actually living at Byrock at the time. Of the remaining nine families, five were 'fatherless families' and in fact the fathers in all but one of the families were away most of the time. The five 'fatherless families' accounted for nineteen of the twenty-eight children actually on the station (67·8 per cent). Only one foster-child was recorded.

The Board had had thirty houses built on a reserve on the northern outskirts of Brewarrina and all the families on the station were to move into these early in 1966, along with some of the many families living in humpies along the banks of the Barwon near the town. No Board officer was to live on this reserve but it was proposed to station a welfare officer in the town, to work in a sub-district under the area welfare officer at Bourke. The move to this substantial new housing development will certainly improve the living conditions of the former station people and bring them conveniently close to town, even though it is a conspicuously segregated Aboriginal residential area.

CENTRAL WEST

COWRA

The original Erambie reserve at Cowra was declared in 1890 and by 1891 forty-three Aborigines were camped there. A special school for Aborigines opened in 1893. The Board's reports do not make it clear exactly when a resident teacher-manager and matron were appointed but it was certainly a station by 1927 and remained one until 1964. In May 1965 the manager of the station was transferred and it became a reserve under police supervision.

The reserve of about 31 acres was just under 2 miles out of Cowra (pop. 1961: 6,288), across the Lachlan River. It was isolated from other housing areas by a golf course, and by the paddocks of the reserve itself and of neighbouring small farms. The manager's house faced the road and behind it was an office building, a playground and recreation hall, a small church, and four rows of cottages.

In 1939 the station had a recorded population of 219 but in 1945 it was only 114. New houses were built in about 1951 when the population was 145. Between 1955 and 1964 births exceeded deaths by thirty-six but the numbers of residents recorded did not increase. In December 1965 I recorded a total of 133 residents (57 adults and 76 children), though there were a number of visitors who were not included in the count. Only 9.7 per cent of the residents were over 40 and 57.1 per cent were under 15 years old.

Table 17: *Cowra: population by age groups, December 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	8	13	21	15.7
5-9	11	14	25	18.8
10-14	5	25	30	22.5
15-19	11	5	16	12.0
20-29	3	8	11	8.3
30-39	7	10	17	12.8
40-49	2	3	5	3.7
50-59	1	4	5	3.7
Over 60	3	—	3	2.2
Total	51	82	133	99.7

The majority of the adults in the community were born within a hundred miles of Cowra. A check of the origins of the heads of families and their wives showed that twenty-five of the thirty-three came from

Cowra, Orange, or Yass. Of the other eight, five were from places farther to the west and north-west, two from the North Coast, and one from Victoria. Nine women (widows and deserted wives) were tenants of houses and six of these had moved to the Cowra station from other parts of the State.

Living conditions. The twenty-one cottages were all built about 1951. Rentals were charged for the nineteen of these that were occupied and for another house originally built as single quarters. One man lived in a small hut near the office building so that there were in all twenty-one occupied dwellings on the reserve.

The cottages were connected to the town water and electricity supplies and the council provided sanitary and garbage services. About half the houses had television sets, at least a similar proportion were equipped with refrigerators and several had washing machines. The houses had laundry-shower rooms but no baths or hot water systems, and sinks had not been installed in the kitchens. All had fuel stoves.

There was an average of just over six residents to each house (or 6.6 occupants to each of the twenty occupied cottages) and little overcrowding. One house, shared by a woman and two daughters, all of whom had young children, had thirteen occupants and three had ten occupants. Four cottages had eight and one seven occupants. The remaining eleven houses had between two and six occupants, excluding visitors.

Community services. The school on the station was closed some years ago and all the children attended the public school, the convent school, or the High School in Cowra. The children walked to school.

No special medical services were provided after the matron was transferred. There is a hospital in Cowra.

There was no bus service to the reserve and people either walked to town to do their shopping or hired taxis at 9s for the return trip. There was a public telephone on the reserve. The telephone was used by some residents to call the police on occasions when there were fights on the reserve after the manager left. The police also made routine patrols to the reserve.

Employment and relief. Few of the residents had permanent employment and a number of the able-bodied men depended on unemployment benefits during the winter months at least. Several went to the Young district each year for the spring and early summer cherry-picking season.

Fifteen of the twenty households were headed by people (six males and nine females) receiving relief of various kinds in December 1965. Six out of twelve male heads of families were working: two were self-

employed as drovers, one worked as reserve handyman for the Board and two for other public services (railways and dam construction) and the employment of one was not recorded. Three of the male household heads who were dependent on relief were able-bodied and three were invalid pensioners.

Apart from the heads of households, there were eight able-bodied males, none of whom had permanent employment and at least half of whom were not working in December 1965. Three young women were eligible for employment, having no children to care for, but only one was employed (as a domestic at the hospital).

Twenty of the fifty-six adults (35·6 per cent) were receiving social service benefits other than unemployment relief. Seven men were invalid pensioners and one was an age pensioner. Seven women received widows' pensions, two invalid pensions and three received relief cheques from the police.

Households and families. One house was shared by two couples. Thirteen households included only parents (or parent) and children. In the remaining households the tenants shared with daughters who had children of their own or with other adult relatives.

There were ten couples with a total of thirty-three children under 15 years old. Twelve women without husbands were caring for a total of forty-four children. These twelve 'fatherless families' accounted, therefore, for 57·1 per cent of the children on the reserve. Six of the women with 'fatherless families' (twenty-six children) were originally brought from other parts of the State by the Board.

The Board's plans to remove full-time resident staff from the stations had been effected at Cowra in 1965 by the transfer of the manager and matron. The fact that two houses remained untenanted is evidence of an official intention to limit the numbers on the reserve and, as the old die and some of the younger people leave, one might expect a slow decline in the population. This might well be offset for some time by the numbers of people, particularly young men, who visit for fairly long periods, unless determined efforts are made to keep such people off the reserve. There were several families which would probably have few problems in moving into better houses in the town but these had no wish to leave the reserve and two actually used the arable land on the reserve for their livelihood. The households which, because of their own behaviour or the behaviour of their visitors, gave cause for most complaint to the other residents were those least well-equipped to live in the town.

MURRIN BRIDGE

Murrin Bridge station was one of those the Board had established after World War II, but it replaced stations started many years before in the Western Division. The first station was opened at Carowra Tank, 54 miles from Ivanhoe, in 1927, when the extension of the railway line from Condobolin to Broken Hill had led to the subdivision of the large pastoral holdings on which small groups of Aborigines and part-Aborigines had been living.⁴⁶ The station was removed to a reserve near Menindee in 1934 because of a shortage of water at Carowra Tank, but the Menindee station in turn had a water problem and by 1940 the Board had decided it would be necessary to transfer the new station again. The present site was surveyed in 1945 and the new 'model' station was opened in 1949.

The station is nearly 10 miles from the small town of Lake Cargelligo (pop. 1961: 1,118), not far off the road to Euabalong. The reserve of 937 acres lies on the north bank of the Lachlan River and is lightly timbered. Only a small part of the reserve is actually used for the two staff houses, school, church and recreation hall, two or three administration buildings and three rows of cottages.

Most of the resident adults were born far to the west in places like Carowra Tank, Menindee, and Pooncarie but a few originally lived at Hillston, Euabalong, and Condobolin. At least one family had moved to the Menindee station from the old mission station at Warangesda on the Murrumbidgee (near Darlington Point).

The Menindee station had a population of about 200 after the war and Murrin Bridge had 182 residents in 1950. The recorded population increased from 218 in 1954 to 292 in 1964 and births exceeded deaths by ninety-six in the ten years 1955-64. Since 1962 when a population of 346 was recorded the official figures have shown a decline to 292 in 1964 and 259 in 1965. These official figures normally include a number of people who may spend some time away from the station and are generally higher than figures from actual counts of residents. Beckett in 1957 recorded 250 when the official figure was 283; and Shinhoff and Rogers in 1964 recorded 261 when the official figure was 293.⁴⁷ The male population of the western stations is mobile and most of the men who work are away from the station most of the time. In my count of population I have included male heads of families at the station who were away working but not the single males and females who were away. In December 1965 I recorded a total of 209 residents (87 adults and 122 children) on the station and another twenty men, mostly youths whose parents were residents, were away working. Children under 15 composed 58·3 per cent of the resident population and only 13·9 per cent of the people were over 40 years old.

Table 18: *Murrin Bridge: population by age groups, December 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	20	21	41	19.6
5-9	22	24	46	22.0
10-14	17	18	35	16.7
15-19	6	10	16	7.7
20-29	13	12	25	11.9
30-39	7	10	17	8.1
40-49	7	10	17	8.1
50-59	4	2	6	2.9
Over 60	3	3	6	2.9
Total	99	110	209	99.9

Living conditions. When the station was built there were thirty-seven dwellings, including a single men's quarters, and eight temporary iron huts. By 1965 these huts had been demolished, the single quarters had been converted to make two flats, and two former staff houses were occupied by Aboriginal families. Altogether there were thirty-two dwellings but two houses were unoccupied.

There was an average of 6.5 residents to each house (or nearly seven residents to each occupied dwelling) but few houses were seriously overcrowded. Two houses had twelve residents and one of these had three bedrooms, the other two. Five houses each had ten residents and all these had three bedrooms. (Three couples from these seven houses were about to move off the station.) Seven houses (three of which had three bedrooms) each had eight or nine residents; seven had six or seven residents; and the remaining nine dwellings housed between two and five people.

All the houses were completed in about 1949 and rents were charged for all except two tenanted by women on relief. Only three tenants were up to date with payments and most had substantial debts. All had fuel stoves and electricity had recently been laid on. (None had television sets.) Water was pumped from the river and each house had taps inside and outside. Each house had a laundry-shower room. The station handymen provided a sanitary service (pan system) and garbage clearance.

Community services. The station school had an enrolment of about eighty-five pupils and was staffed by a principal (who lived on the station) and three teachers (living in Lake Cargelligo). Fifteen pupils were taken to and from High School in Lake Cargelligo each day in the station truck.

The station matron provided the usual treatment-room services and a regular fortnightly infant welfare clinic was held by a visiting nursing sister. The nearest hospital was in Lake Cargelligo.

There was no store on the station and people did their shopping in Lake Cargelligo, mostly travelling in the truck with the school children. Few of the residents had cars. There was no public telephone on the station.

Employment and relief. Men who wanted work seemed to have no difficulty finding it, mostly on station properties. There were twenty-eight male heads of families on the station and all but three of them had some gainful employment. Ten worked on stations; five engaged in rabbiting on their own account; and four worked in a sawmill at Lake Cargelligo. Four of the remainder worked for various public authorities, including the Welfare Board (two station handymen). The occupations of two men (one of whom was working at Broken Hill) were not recorded.

Of the thirty households, nine were primarily dependent on various forms of relief. Twenty-four households had male heads and only three of these men were on relief (one invalid pensioner, one age pensioner, and one in hospital).

Only in the households where two married couples were living under one roof was there more than one male breadwinner. Youths who were members of the families living in eleven of the houses were away working but it is doubtful if any of these made any substantial contribution to the total income of the households.

The six households with female heads were all substantially dependent on relief. Two of the six received widows' pensions, one an age pension, two received rations and one had no known income other than child endowment. One woman supplemented her pension income by working as school cleaner.

The only able-bodied males recorded as definitely not working were both boys aged 15 and not long out of school. More females were unemployed. Of the eight women without children or other ties, five, all aged between 17 and 19 years, were unemployed. Two girls (aged 15 years) worked in cafés in Lake Cargelligo and one (aged 16) worked as treatment-room assistant on the station.

The actual number of pensioners living on the station was small. There were three male age pensioners and three invalid pensioners. There were five female pensioners—two age, one invalid, and two widows. No one was recorded as receiving unemployment benefit. The station report for 1964 recorded that applications for unemployment relief were few and that families tended to rely on child endowment payments to see them through periods between jobs.

Households and families. Four couples were sharing houses with other

couples and, as indicated, three of these were shortly to move from the station. Seventeen houses were occupied by a parent or parents and their children only. The remaining households included generally either grandchildren or a parent or other adult relative of the tenant couple.

There were nine 'fatherless families' on the station with, altogether, eighteen children under 15 years old. The remaining 104 children (85.2 per cent) on the station were being raised by two parents (natural or adoptive). But since about half of the fathers in these twenty-five families were in employment that kept them away from the station, there were other families that were in fact for long periods 'fatherless'.

The planned changes in the Board's organisation were likely to have relatively little effect on this station. The former manager was to be required, as a welfare officer, to spend some days each week away from the station, visiting families in the nearby towns of Lake Cargelligo and Euabalong and in towns as distant as Ivanhoe and Condobolin. The position of matron was to be retained.

There was no immediate prospect of any local council taking over responsibility for sanitary and garbage services and, with the nearest police in Euabalong, nearly 110 miles away, the resident welfare officer would necessarily remain substantially responsible for ensuring that order was maintained in the community.

THE STATION COMMUNITIES AND THE ABORIGINAL PROBLEM IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Before long all the stations in New South Wales will probably have ceased to be 'managed'. They will lose what remains of their institutional character and will be no different from the other reserve and fringe camp communities in the State. Even in 1965 most were probably not very different from such communities. Because the range of conditions on the stations was wide, it is at least possible that these communities gave a reasonably good sample of the 'problem' part-Aboriginal groups in the rural areas of the State. Certainly they were most numerous or most populous in those areas—notably the north-west and North Coast region—where part-Aborigines were most numerous.

One might perhaps expect that the more competent and enterprising people of Aboriginal descent would not be found on stations and that the residents of stations would tend to be people especially disadvantaged in

various ways and not at all typical of the total part-Aboriginal population. One might also suppose that station life would tend to perpetuate and increase symptoms of dependence and that these would be less apparent among people in other situations. Nevertheless my impression—and since this survey was restricted to stations it can only be an impression—was that the station population was in total fairly representative, perhaps not of the entire population of Aboriginal descent but certainly of those people who remain 'societal Aborigines', living in ghetto-type communities. The station communities that had relatively very high proportions of acutely disadvantaged and dependent people, Wallaga Lake and Brewarrina, were (like Lake Tyers in Victoria) those which had almost ceased to exist as communities.

The station communities were probably on the average larger than the reserve and fringe communities and certainly they were generally farther from towns. Clearly both size and distance from ordinary communities are critical factors if the responsible authority is concerned to decrease its responsibilities for providing special services for Aborigines. Four stations (Boggabilla, Brewarrina, Murrin Bridge, and Walgett) were more than 6 miles from a town. Six stations (Cabbage Tree Island, Tabulam, Woodenbong, Roseby Park, Wreck Bay, and Wallaga Lake) were within 4 miles of small townships, and four stations (Burnt Bridge, Cowra, Moree, and Purfleet) were adjacent to larger towns of more than 6,000 people. These last four stations were as close to towns as most fringe camps. They included some of the most populous stations and accounted for some 42 per cent of the total station population. But the Boggabilla and Murrin Bridge stations, being both relatively large and quite remote, are obviously likely to present much more intractable problems. Some of the smaller stations in more closely settled areas (Cabbage Tree Island, Tabulam, and Woodenbong particularly) were isolated enough to suggest that they, too, could remain 'problem communities' for some time.

Population. Although the total numbers of people living on stations had not increased significantly in the previous twenty years it was apparent that there was a relatively high rate of natural increase on all the stations. Similarly high rates of increase would probably be found in other Aboriginal communities and in the total population of Aboriginal descent in New South Wales. Large families were common and a high proportion of the station populations was less than 15 years old: 53·6 per cent, compared with 30·2 per cent in the Australian population as a whole (see Table 19). It may be that the proportion of dependent children in the station populations was higher than would be found elsewhere because

people with large and growing families choose to live on stations as a way of solving some of their problems. The large numbers of children that they had to support created very real problems for many families on the stations, but other part-Aboriginal communities have similar problems.

The age structure of at least some of the station populations does suggest that the residents, on leaving school and reaching adulthood, tend to leave these isolated communities. It is also likely that some people return when they marry and have children, primarily to solve housing problems. It is certainly evident that the stations have not tended to become resorts for the elderly.

The predominance of males in the station population may be typical of part-Aboriginal communities generally and may indicate that more women integrate themselves in the general community by marrying non-Aborigines. The predominance of females in the 30-49 age group can probably be explained by the use which deserted wives, and others similarly situated, make of the stations to solve their problems.

Table 19: *New South Wales Aboriginal stations: population by age groups, 1965-6*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage Stations	Australia (1961)
0-4	218	202	420	18.85	10.56
5-9	205	213	418	18.76	9.97
10-14	180	177	357	16.02	9.71
15-19	117	113	230	10.32	7.70
20-29	141	125	266	11.93	12.88
30-39	98	113	211	9.47	14.33
40-49	73	81	154	6.90	12.72
50-59	55	34	89	3.99	9.81
Over 60	52	31	83	3.72	12.32
Total	1,139	1,089	2,228	99.96	100.00

Housing. The standard of housing on the stations was certainly higher than in the fringe camps and was probably higher overall than on other reserves. But because on several stations no new houses had been built for many years the range in the quality of housing was wide. Overcrowding was a general problem and reflected both the general shortage of low-cost housing available for the very poor, especially in rural areas of the State, and the relatively large families in these communities. There was a total of 313 dwellings on the stations, giving an average of 7.2 people to each dwelling, with a range from 4.2 people per dwelling at Wallaga Lake

to 10·5 at Moree. It would be surprising if the average number of people to each of the dwellings on the stations was significantly different from the average in other Aboriginal communities throughout the State.

Employment. The information about employment on most stations was not completely reliable. Much employment was casual and it was not easy to establish during brief visits just how many people were actually working at one time. The figures for the employment of males with dependents (summarised in Table 20) show how much the level of unemployment varied from one area to another. At Wreck Bay, where a determined effort had been made to provide work for all who wanted it, there was only one man voluntarily unemployed and at some of the western and north-western stations where the demand for labour was high (e.g. Boggabilla and Murrin Bridge) few apparently were out of work for long periods. On the North Coast, on the other hand, there were stations where often only half the men were employed.

Table 20: *New South Wales Aboriginal stations: employment*

	Number of males with dependants	Employed Number	Percentage	Not employed Pensions Unemployed etc.	
Woodenbong	18	10	55·5	5	3
Tabulam	16	7	43·7	3	6
Cabbage Tree Island	9	9	100·0*	—	—
Burnt Bridge	21	10	47·6	4	7
Taree	28	13	46·4	3	12
Roseby Park	15	10	66·6	2	3
Wreck Bay	20	17	85·0	2	1
Wallaga Lake	10	6	60·0	2	2
Boggabilla	32	27	84·4	4	1
Moree	44	35	79·5	6	3
Walgett	16	7	43·7	2	7
Brewarrina	6	5	83·3	—	1†
Cowra	12	6	50·0	3	3
Murrin Bridge	28	25	89·3	2	1‡
Total	275	187	60·0	38	50

* The employment figures for this station are not reliable, and certainly for much of the time in the off-season for cane workers a high proportion were unemployed.

† One man normally employed was in gaol.

‡ One man, formerly in permanent employment, was in hospital.

This table, of course, tells only a part of the story. As in rural areas generally there was usually little employment for women. The number of women residents of stations available for and seeking work was not great but there were some who did not have children to care for and

few had jobs. More striking was the level of unemployment among the youths and young men. Though no doubt one of the reasons boys (and girls) generally left school as soon as they could was to earn money of their own, the fact that so many were unemployed for much of the time suggests that this was not the most important reason for leaving school.

Family cohesion. One of the conspicuous features of the 'culture of poverty' is the instability of family life and the high incidence of desertion of women with children. The problems of women widowed, separated, or deserted have always been with the Welfare Board and stations have provided a convenient means for the Board to meet their needs. The proportion of children on the stations who were being reared by mothers without husbands to keep them may possibly, therefore, be rather higher than in other communities of part-Aborigines. But the range from Wreck Bay, where there were no deserted wives or widows with children and only two children in 'fatherless families' to Wallaga Lake, Brewarrina, and Cowra, where over half of the children were being raised in 'fatherless families', was wide. Only at these three stations were there women from distant areas who had been accommodated there because of their problems as deserted wives.

Taking all the stations together, there were 105 'fatherless families' in a total of 340 families. The children in these 'fatherless families' accounted for 24·5 per cent of all the children on the stations—293 children out of a total of 1,195. If one leaves out of account the Wallaga Lake, Brewarrina, and Cowra Stations, there were 201 'fatherless' children in a total 1,043 children on eleven stations (19·27 per cent) and it seems likely that this figure might give a reasonable indication of the dimension of this social problem in Aboriginal communities in the State.

Certainly not all families on the stations had serious problems to face but even this relatively restricted survey of a selection of aspects of life on the stations indicates that many families would be described by social workers as 'multi-problem' families. The isolation of these communities; the high incidence of unemployment and of dependence on relief of various kinds; the pressure on housing and the generally poor health environment; the incidence of large families and of absent fathers—all these conditions indicate that families on the stations, like those in other marginal communities of part-Aborigines, were generally faced with a combination of problems sufficient to hold most of them firmly in a vicious circle of poverty.

The isolation of the station communities, which came about partly

because of prejudice in White communities, helps to perpetuate this prejudice and creates other problems which have been barely alluded to in this survey. The limited social experience and narrow horizons of people reared in such communities are clearly real handicaps to the development of their capacities. Within these relatively closed and dependent communities there were also antagonisms bred between groups and individuals who found themselves living cheek by jowl with others with very different backgrounds and aspirations. Even on brief visits one hears of these hostile feelings between families, which, if they are sometimes suppressed when it seems necessary to present an appearance of solidarity to threats from outside the group, may effectively limit any projected community activities. Isolation also meant that life and property might sometimes be at greater risk than in ordinary communities where police are better placed to maintain law and order.

The newest of the stations was established as recently as 1952, but the Welfare Board since then has worked consistently to reduce the isolation and separateness of the stations and to modify their institutional character. Gradually various services have been integrated with those of nearby communities and the dependence of the residents on special services has decreased. The means by which this process might be continued cannot be considered here in detail. Each community has its own problems and each can probably help to solve them in appropriate ways. This is not to suggest that the basic decisions about the future of these communities can be left to the residents themselves. It is not left to other categories of needy or handicapped people to decide what provision should be made for their care and welfare. The stations (and reserves) were created by administrative decisions of government, not because people of Aboriginal descent chose to live apart from others in New South Wales, and their future can only properly be decided by the authorities that established them, no matter how much consultation and counselling may precede such decisions.

It seems clear that, as long as these segregated communities exist, the future of the people living in them will be as relatively impoverished as their past has been. Because they have existed for a long time and because the attitudes that led to their creation still persist, the problem of their existence cannot be solved quickly or easily. But the difficulties in New South Wales are less imposing than they might be because the stations were designed to meet the needs of relatively small numbers in local areas and because they were never developed as fully institutional, closed communities. By contrast the Queensland settlements, discussed in the next chapter, present much more substantial problems.

And yet the very secrecy with which Queensland shrouded her dark deeds, showed that she could not absolve herself in her own conscience, and the effrontery with which her public men rejected inquiry was in itself condemnation.

G.W. Rusden, *History of Australia*, 1883

In Queensland in 1965 there were nine missions and five government settlements, with a total population of 8,467 Aborigines (3,522 on missions and 4,945 on settlements). All the missions and one of the government settlements were in the far northern part of the State on remote reserves around the Gulf of Carpentaria and Cape York. Compared with New South Wales a much greater proportion of Aborigines were on the settlements and the settlement population was much less dispersed. The four government settlements in the more closely settled parts of the State in 1961 had a combined population of 4,132,¹ representing about 30 per cent of the Aboriginal population of nearly 14,000 recorded in these areas, whereas the 2,885 people on stations in New South Wales were distributed among fourteen stations. Altogether the Aborigines and part-Aborigines on all missions and settlements in Queensland accounted for more than 40 per cent of all the people of Aboriginal descent recorded at the census of 1961; the missions and the one government settlement in the far north accounted for 4,069 of the 5,808 Aborigines in the area (70 per cent).

The work of the Queensland Department of Native Affairs was concentrated on the 'institutional communities' much more than was the work of the New South Wales Welfare Board. In 1965 rather more than two-thirds of the revenue funds allocated to the Department of Native Affairs was for direct expenditure on settlements and missions (£621,435 out of a gross £912,441) and another £333,395 was estimated to be spent from the Aboriginal Welfare Fund on these places. Apart from settlement staff the Department had no full-time field staff working in Aboriginal welfare. It played a relatively minor role in the lives of Aborigines not on

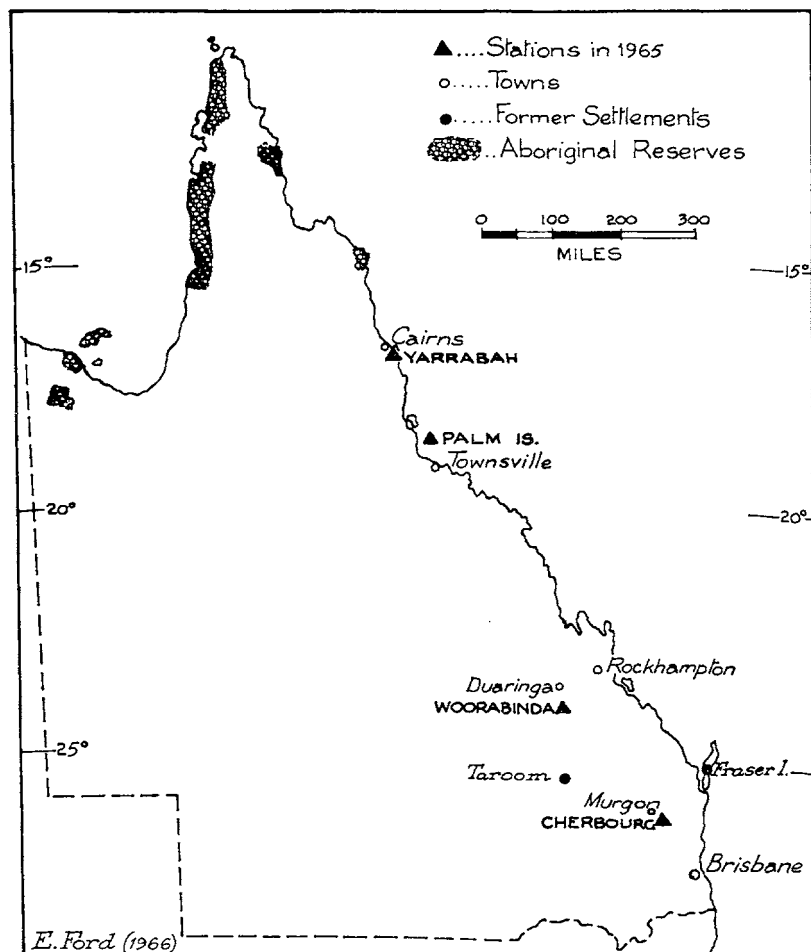
settlements, exercising indirect control and supervision of the employment and financial affairs of 'controlled' (or 'assisted') Aborigines and providing housing for some of them. The control was exercised not by departmental officers but generally by police Protectors of Aborigines (who were replaced when the 1965 Act came into force in 1966 by clerks of courts—some of them police officers—appointed as 'district officers'). The Department's activities were very largely concentrated on 'indoor' rather than 'outdoor' relief, as they had been since the basis of the present system of administration was first established in 1897.

Until 1897 there was no special department of government or board charged with responsibility for Aboriginal affairs in Queensland, and only isolated and desultory efforts had been made to better the condition of the Aborigines. The most notable contribution of government to the control of relations between White settlers and the Aborigines had been the maintenance of the 'native police'. The nineteenth-century historian, Rusden, described this corps as 'a mere machine for murder' and declared that 'if there be any pre-eminence in evil, Queensland must bear the stigma of deserving it'.² The police were employed to 'disperse' groups of Aborigines where stock or settlers had been attacked or where a potential threat was suspected. A Brisbane newspaper, the *Queenslander*, commented in 1880 that 'what "disperse" means is well enough known. The word has been adopted into bush slang as a convenient euphuism [sic] for wholesale massacre'.³ The most useful work for the protection of the Aborigines in the middle years of the century was probably effected by those landholders who were able to protect their employees and others on their properties from the 'native police'.

Efforts to gather Aborigines together rather than 'disperse' them were few and for the most part unsuccessful until mission organisations began in 1886 to establish communities in Cape York, beyond the limits of settlement. The earlier efforts included the attempt of some Methodists in 1873 to establish a reserve on Fraser Island; the establishment, before 1876, of a reserve at Mackay by a private citizen; and of another at Durundur near Caboolture in 1877. A commission had been appointed by the government in 1876 'to devise the best means for improving the condition of the Aborigines' and a number of suggestions had been made, including the establishment of large reserves in pastoral areas and the gathering of all the Aborigines on to an island reserve.⁴ After 1878 the experiments with reserves in the coastal areas received little or no support from Queensland governments. In 1880 the Colonial Secretary summarised the achievements in the field up to that time:

There is no aboriginal station in Queensland under government supervision. Two or three have been tried, but they have proved failures. We vote a sum annually for blankets, and a small amount for a gentleman at Mackay (on the Pioneer river) who has a good deal of influence among them and keeps them in pretty good order.⁵

The period after 1885 saw the beginning of missionary ventures in the far north. The first missions were established by the Lutherans in 1886 at Cape Bedford, just north of Cooktown, and at the Blomfield (or Bloomfield) River, south of Cooktown. (About the same time, a third mission



Map 4. Queensland: government settlements in the closely settled areas, 1965

was begun farther south at Marie Yamba near Proserpine.) The founding of these missions came soon after the Moravian minister, the Reverend F.A. Hagenauer, who had been for many years working with Aborigines on missions in Victoria, made a 'missionary journey' to north Queensland.⁶ Before he started his journey he had seen both the Governor and the Premier in Brisbane. Hagenauer, like other writers in this period, rejected the notion that, because the Aborigines seemed bound to 'pass away from the face of the earth', nothing should be done about their condition ('Do we not show the most tender care to our sick friends though it may be quite known to all that they cannot live?') and urged that the 'law and gospel should be joined together to put them right and to ameliorate their condition'. The Presbyterian Church made the next move, sending Moravian missionaries, as the experts in this field, to establish Mapoon mission (1891) near the tip of Cape York and well beyond the limits of settlement. Soon afterwards the Reverend John Gribble, who had evidently kept in touch with Hagenauer, started the Cape Grafton Anglican mission (Yarrabah) near Cairns (1892). In the south, near Ipswich, the Deebling Creek mission was established about 1893.⁷ But it was primarily growing public concern about the fate of Aborigines in the far north and about the role of the 'native police', by then active only in the Cape region, that finally led to government inquiries and to the establishment of a system of administration to tackle the Aboriginal problem in Queensland.

In 1896 Archibald Meston (who the year before had submitted to the government a 'Proposed System for the improvement of the Aborigines') was appointed as a Special Commissioner by the Queensland Government to examine the condition of the Aborigines and make recommendations about their administration.⁸ His ideas and suggestions were not by any means wholly original but they are worth examination because his inquiry marked the beginning of consistent government activity in this field and governments in Queensland have ever since followed administrative practices broadly in line with Meston's views of the needs of the situation.

In 1896 considerable numbers of Aborigines who had had little or no contact were still living in the Cape York Peninsula and some farther west along the Gulf of Carpentaria (where Meston did not visit). The best thing for these people was, he considered, to '*leave them alone*', and ensure that the pearl and bêche-de-mer fishers did so too. Where there was already some contact—as at Mapoon and along the Overland Telegraph line—rations should be issued periodically to supplement natural food supplies. Two or three missions in the area would be enough to provide necessary protection and some benefit to the Aborigines. It was obvious

that contact with Whites and others had been disastrous and the answer therefore was to control and minimise such contact. Though more missions were eventually established in the north than Meston would have considered necessary or desirable, there was little direct governmental activity in the area for many years and the government concerned itself primarily with the problems of Aborigines and part-Aborigines in the settled areas.

Meston's proposals for the 'scattered remnants of quiet tribes' in the settled areas were based on the same premise that contact was demoralising and had to be restricted. He argued that

the aboriginals scattered among the settled districts and wandering about the towns . . . require collection on suitable reserves, complete isolation from contact with the civilised race to save them from that small section of Whites more degraded than any savage; kept free from drink and opium and disease, the young people and the able-bodied taught industrious habits, and to raise their own food supplies; the people being decently cared for. . . .

The collection of Aborigines on to reserves and their total exclusion from towns (except in properly regulated employment) entailed legislation to end their 'unfettered liberty to roam about and mix with whites'. It would be necessary to appoint a Chief Protector and Assistant Protector, and to confer on them power to send Aborigines to reserves and keep them there.

These powers and others were provided by the Aborigines Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act of 1897 (commenced on 1 January 1898). With this enactment the era of control began. Earlier mission efforts near settled areas had been defeated by the unwillingness of Aborigines to remain on missions, which for want of funds could provide conditions of life little better than they could find elsewhere and would not provide the tobacco, liquor, and opium they could obtain elsewhere. Though it might not be practicable to gather *all* the Aborigines on to reserves, it was evident that the laws restricting intercourse with non-Aborigines would be much more readily enforced if those most susceptible to the destructive effect of contact could be isolated on reserves.

Until 1903 the Act was administered by Protectors in the north (Dr W.E. Roth) and the south (Archibald Meston), under the Commissioner of Police and with the help of inspectors and sub-inspectors of police. A start was made to gather Aborigines on to reserves in 1897, even before the Act commenced, with the removal of a group from Maryborough to Fraser Island and the gathering of Aborigines from the coast and from the west on the old reserve at Durundur near Caboolture. Though these reserve communities were short-lived the process gained impetus after the

appointment in 1904 of a Chief Protector to replace the Northern and Southern Protectors and the establishment of the Barambah settlement (later Cherbourg) in the same year. Critical comment made in the debate on the 1901 Bill amending the 1897 Act to provide greater control indicates that it was then already the practice to take Aborigines from inland areas on to coastal reserves. In the early years of the Act's administration many of the removals were of women and children who were being exploited in various ways in outback areas. New settlements were established at Taroom (1911) and Hull River (1914) to which Aborigines were 'drafted' from other districts. After Bleakley's appointment as Chief Protector in 1913 the Annual Reports record the substantial numbers being removed to various missions and settlements for their relief or protection or for disciplinary reasons. The practice continued until a large proportion of the population had been at one time or another removed.

Table 21: *Removals of Aborigines to settlements and missions, 1911-40*

Period	Numbers removed	Annual average numbers removed
1911-13	410*	136.6
1914-18	1,685	337.0
1919-23	1,157	231.4
1924-28	646	129.2
1929-33	813	162.6
1934-38	1,063†	212.6
1939-40	308	154.0
Total 1914-40	5,672	210

* This figure represents numbers removed to Barambah and Taroom; no doubt others were taken to missions; the figures generally are probably conservative since the dependents of men removed were apparently not always included.

† There was a marked increase in removals after the 1934 amendment to the Act giving powers over more half-caste Aborigines to the Chief Protector.

By 1914 the pattern of government administration had been fixed with the establishment of three large settlements to which most of the difficult and the severely disadvantaged Aborigines and part-Aborigines were removed from all parts of the State. The efforts of the government were concentrated on these three settlements, two of which were later removed to new sites. Some few Aborigines were removed to missions which received small subsidies from the government. The protection and control of Aborigines outside the settlements was left to the police protectors who exercised some supervision of their employment and control of their money and property and distributed rations and blankets to those living on 'country reserves'. Those who needed more help than the police

protectors could provide, or who became a nuisance for other reasons, could be removed to the settlements and cared for there.

From 1913 to 1942 J.W. Bleakley was responsible for the administration of Queensland's Aborigines and he remained convinced, as Meston had been in 1896, that it was essential for the well-being of Aborigines and most part-Aborigines that they be kept as far as possible from contact with Whites and that such contact as they had should be firmly controlled. Settlements run on institutional lines provided the best means of separating the races and on these places there was at least some prospect of gradually reforming their manner of living:

The aboriginal must for his own contentment and comfort be allowed to live more or less in his own native fashion, and the discipline and smartness possible in a reformatory or a benevolent asylum could not possibly be maintained where old myalls or bush blacks are concerned, for they absolutely refuse to use or avail themselves of better accommodation or conditions when offered to them . . . But with the means at our disposal we are endeavouring to raise the younger generation to a higher and better place of life, though at times the results are discouraging.⁹

It seems that his own inclination—and influential missionaries like Hey at Mapoon and Gribble at Yarrabah felt the same—would have been to secure *all* Aborigines and part-Aborigines in institutional communities and have none employed or living in the general community. He quoted with approval a statement by the Reverend J.N. Hey about the dangers of outside employment to the 'healthy development of the settlements' that 'it would be very desirable, if it could be carried out, that all dealings with other races should cease, at least for another generation'.¹⁰ When in 1919 the Aborigines Advisory Council of the Social Workers' League in Brisbane proposed a 'Betterment Scheme' entailing the segregation of all Aborigines in institutional homes and the development of these to 'self dependence', he endorsed the idea and had the government voted the necessary finance, a scheme of complete segregation might well have been attempted.¹¹ The policy of absorbing Aborigines into the labour market had had a trial for twenty years, Bleakley wrote, and had benefited only the able-bodied, mainly half-castes, while it had contributed to the continued physical and moral degeneration of most of his charges. 'It is only by complete separation of the two races', he wrote, 'that we can save him [the Aboriginal] from hopeless contamination and eventual extinction, as well as safeguard the purity of our own blood.'¹² In his reports he continually urged the need for a 'generous policy' which would permit the development of the rapidly growing settlement communities.

In his 1923 Report Bleakley for the first time devoted a special section

to the problems of the half-castes which became an increasingly important preoccupation. He referred to the discontent among them which was fomented by 'unscrupulous or misguided' people and to their social ostracism which resulted in the growth of camps on the outskirts of towns. In order to combat the 'half-caste evil', he 'rigidly tabooed' the marriage of full-blood women to Whites and aliens, encouraged 'half-castes of aboriginal nature' to 'marry back' and helped those of 'the superior type' to 'uplift themselves and mate with their own kind'.¹³ He deplored proposals made in the 1930s for the separation of half-castes from Aborigines and their absorption with the White race, arguing that less than 30 per cent of mixed-bloods in Queensland were of European extraction, and that the 'blood call' was 'too strong'.¹⁴ He proposed as an alternative the development of special self-contained communities for the half-castes who were not accepted by the community and who did not want to associate with Aborigines.¹⁵ He was not able to establish any such community of part-Aborigines and had either to place them on the established settlements along with the Aborigines or provide them with materials to build better huts for themselves on reserves established near the towns.

Nevertheless he did exempt some of his part-Aboriginal charges from control. In 1934 the Act was amended to make it possible to bring all half-castes under the control of the Chief Protector. The granting of exemptions ceased for a time and a number of part-Aborigines, previously unaffected by the legislation, were taken in hand. But at the end of Bleakley's administration, in response to agitation among the half-castes in north Queensland and because, Bleakley suggests, politicians saw some political advantage in enfranchising more part-Aborigines, a new Act was introduced which again reduced the scope of control.¹⁶ The 1939 Aborigines Preservation and Protection Act excluded from the definition of half-bloods people with less than 25 per cent Aboriginal blood.

During the Depression more people moved into the settlements and more had to depend on jobs provided on the settlements. The attention given to food production on these places helped to keep costs down. The relief vote was also supplemented by the Aboriginal Provident Fund and later by the Protection Property Account and the Native Industry Fund, which were devices for making Aborigines contribute to the costs of maintaining Aborigines on settlements.¹⁷ The substantial funds accumulated in these accounts and later in the Welfare Fund gave the administration for many years a measure of independence in its spending and permitted the settlements and missions to be developed more rapidly than would

have been possible if the Chief Protector had had to rely only on the sums voted annually for Aboriginal relief. Bleakley had always argued that it was not the policy 'to pauperize or spoonfeed the Aborigines' and was able to point to the substantial contribution made by the Aborigines through their own earnings, the accumulated monies in the several funds he administered and their production of food on the settlements as proof of his success.¹⁸

In 1942 Bleakley was succeeded as Director of Native Affairs by his former deputy, O'Leary, who remained responsible for the administration of the new Acts until 1963. Neither the new legislation nor the new director made any marked changes in the scheme of Aboriginal administration or the role of the settlements in that system. The war, however, did have a marked effect. To meet the urgent demand for pastoral and agricultural labour, unprecedented numbers of men went to work outside the missions and settlements. Mobile gangs were formed on the settlements and sent to help with the harvesting of cane, maize, arrowroot, cotton, peanuts, and other crops from Cairns south. There were also some enlistments from the settlements though apparently fewer than in 1914-18 (from Cherbourg, for example, only nineteen men served in 1939-45 compared with twenty-nine in 1914-18). Settlement development was curtailed and the available labour was used primarily for food production on the reserves. Although by the end of the war the birth rate on the settlements had probably overtaken the death rate, the population of the three settlements fell slightly from 3,174 in 1939 to 3,034 in 1946. But O'Leary was arguing, as early as 1944, that further development of the settlements would be necessary because those then employed might not be wanted when the war ended and the settlements would have to provide more work and produce more in order to reduce the cost of their maintenance. In 1945 he was able to report that it had already been possible to change the policy of sending every available worker to employment outside the settlements. In 1948 he reported that, 'recognizing that the Government Settlements are in effect townships of considerable size', efforts were being made to provide adequate water and electricity supplies and other services.¹⁹

For some years the emphasis in policy statements remained on 'protection and guidance' and on separate development by means of the settlements. In his first real statement of policy in 1950 O'Leary wrote that the government's 'policy is to provide protection and guidance to the Department's wards with the ultimate intention of giving to islanders and aboriginals that measure of self-control which their circumstances and ability demand'.²⁰ He noted that 'time and consistent application of

protection and direction will solve Queensland's coloured problem, but that ultimate aim is not yet in sight'. Exemption was only for the Aboriginal with 'education and industry' and the ability to take his place in the community '*entirely on his own initiative*'.²¹ This was a realistic statement of the situation created by the Department's concentration of effort on settlements and the total lack of welfare workers who might advise and help people moving off the settlements. Education he saw as 'one of the basic factors in the uplift of the race'. In 1953 the limit of education was raised from the standard of Grade IV to Grade VII in the Queensland primary school system.

Formal acknowledgment that the policy was assimilation was not made until, in 1956, O'Leary made for the first time a large but doubtfully accurate claim for success in this direction. The 1956 report recorded a total of 22,590 Aborigines and Islanders (9,804 full-bloods, 7,123 half-bloods, and 5,663 Islanders) of whom about 46 per cent were said to be residents of settlements and missions. But the Director went on to claim that 'more people in Queensland possessing aboriginal blood [are] assimilated into the general community than are controlled and protected under the Acts' and that 'at least 20,000' people lived thus outside 'the Acts'.²² The 1954 Census had actually enumerated 7,268 full-blood Aborigines and 8,881 half-castes, but the Bureau of Census also recorded the substantially higher departmental estimate of 9,579 full-bloods, which made a total of 18,460 people of Aboriginal descent in the State (not including Islanders). While the census enumeration would not have included as half-castes a number of people of mixed descent, it seems improbable that the total Aboriginal population was much greater than 20,000, and even more unlikely that it was over 35,000 (excluding Islanders) as the Director claimed. Yet the previously unreported 20,000 discovered in 1956 have been regularly referred to (and even increased) since.

That Queensland's administration might only with difficulty be reconciled with the assimilation aim accepted in 1951 was indirectly acknowledged in 1959 with the comment that 'the humanitarian provisions of [the] Act cannot be construed as implying any approach to segregation or apartheid'. And another unsubstantiated claim was made that 'over the last twelve years it is conservatively estimated that 1,000 trained artisans from the Torres Straits area, Government Settlements and Church Missions have been assimilated into the State's community'.²³ The details of numbers moving on to and off government settlements have not been made available by the Department of Native Affairs but

the recorded population figures for the settlements suggest that claims of this kind should not be taken too seriously. In 1958 the three settlements and Yarrabah mission had a total population of 3,933, which was more than 11 per cent greater than the population of these communities ten years before (1948: 3,471) and only one settlement (Woorabinda) had a smaller population in 1958 than it had in 1948. The nature of population movements on the individual settlements is discussed in more detail below.

The Director acknowledged that the settlements in the relatively closely settled parts of the State presented 'the immediate problem of assimilation'.²⁴ In these places there were many 'quite capable of taking their place in a white community as tradesmen and labourers' but 'the creation within them of a confidence to step out into a new world is essential'. It was essential too that the Department could assure such men of help in finding work and in caring for their families while they were settling down and that the 'education of the white' should have gone far enough to ensure that emigrants from settlements would be accepted in White communities. The policy did not, he emphasised, entail 'an impetuous forcing of people to change their environment while they are unwilling to accept the responsibility of full citizenship'.²⁵

The policy statements in the 1956 report acknowledged the aim of assimilation which had been formally adopted by the Commonwealth and State authorities concerned with Aborigines in 1951, but there were no moves to make the kind of legislative and administrative changes one might expect to follow such a shift in emphasis from a policy of protection and separate development until 1962. In June 1962 the Minister for Health and Home Affairs announced that a committee was to be appointed to review legislation affecting Aborigines and Islanders, and in August a Special Committee was appointed. In November 1964 it reported to the responsible minister, who was then the Minister for Education, recommending the relaxation of some of the controls provided by the 1939 legislation and some changes in the system of administration.²⁶ A new Act was passed by the Queensland Parliament in 1965 but the regulations were not published until April 1966.

The Act itself (titled *An Act to Promote the Well-being and Progressive Development of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the State and of the Torres Strait Islanders*) gave the Director wide powers and provided regulation-making powers wider if anything than those in the 1939 legislation.²⁷ There was provision for regulations for the 'discipline and good order of reserves' and, in particular, for establishing Aboriginal courts, police, and grols and Aboriginal councils on reserves. In his second reading speech

introducing the Bill the Minister for Education compared the settlements and missions to country towns but also referred to the problem of paternalism and spoke of settlements as 'transition refuges and training institutions'.²⁸ He stated that it was necessary to 'either formulate a programme of progressive development . . . to make them complete as normal settlements within the State, or determine to follow a progressive policy of total abandonment'. A special inter-departmental advisory committee was to advise on the future development of the reserves. The indications were that there would be more emphasis than in the past on helping Aborigines from the settlements to move into normal communities and that some pressure might be applied to induce people to make the move. It was also evident that some development of self governing institutions, similar to those long used under the system of indirect rule developed in the Torres Strait islands, was contemplated in the Aboriginal reserves.

In the short accounts that follow of the four settlements in relatively well-developed parts of Queensland, some indication is given of the kinds of problems they present for the future, whether in terms of their 'progressive development . . . as normal settlements' or of their 'total abandonment'. The nature and problems of a sample of the remote communities of the far north are considered in Chapter 5.

CHERBOURG

The first of the settlements to be established after the passing of the 1897 legislation was started by the government in 1904 on a reserve of 7,000 acres, formerly part of the extensive Barambah grazing property near Murgon siding, about 170 road miles north-west of Brisbane.²⁹ In 1925 the grazing rights over the neighbouring Cherbourg State Forest were granted to the Department to relieve a drought situation and since 1931 the settlement has been officially known as Cherbourg. The area of the reserve has been increased to 31,469 acres. As the large grazing properties in the district were subdivided into small mixed farming blocks, the railway siding of Murgon, 3 miles away, became a prosperous town with a population of 2,000.

To the Barambah reserve were transferred Aborigines who had been gathered at the Durundur reserve near Caboolture (which included some who had earlier been taken to the Fraser Island Reserve). In 1905 its recorded population was 250. For four years the numbers did not increase but after 1908 the figures show a steady increase as Aborigines from all parts of southern Queensland were removed there in accordance with the policy

proposed by Meston. In 1909 the permanent population was 370 and by 1933 it had grown to 663.

Figures in the annual reports of the Chief Protector after 1914 explain the increase. Between 1915 and 1923 a total of 623 people were removed to the settlement. Such figures as appear in the reports indicate that some 600 died there in the same period and that deaths exceeded births by about 380. In 1919, when the epidemic of pneumonic influenza struck Barambah, there were 120 deaths. The number of removals fell off a little after the early years but were high enough to offset any natural decrease of the population.

Table 22: *Removals to Cherbourg (Barambah), 1911-38*

Period	Removals	Annual average	Population at end of period
1911-13	169	56.3	499
1914-18	483	96.6	n.a.
1919-23	140	28.0	663
1924-28	129	25.8	729
1929-33	124	24.8	859
1934-38	167	33.4	995

The numbers of births and deaths on the settlement were only occasionally published in this period but the evidence suggests that the birth rate may have begun to approach the death rate in the late 1920s. There appear to have been some departures from the settlement and in 1931 the Chief Protector remarked on the number of young men who 'absconded' in order to earn wages or to escape quarrels on the settlement. The Depression may have led to some increase in the settlement population and it certainly meant that more residents had to find work on the settlement instead of working outside.

World War II had the reverse effect and evidently the increase in employment available outside and the restriction of settlement development provided the opportunity for a number to leave. In 1946 the recorded population was 876 compared with 995 in 1938, although there had evidently been some excess of births over deaths during these years.

Every year since the war there had been a substantial natural increase and the official population figures up to 1964 show an increase which, if not steady (there were down-turns, for example, in 1947, 1955, and 1963) had been considerable. In 1946 the population was given as 876 and in 1964 as 1,249. Numbers of people removed to and from the settlement recently were not made available but the natural increase rate had been high.

Table 23: *Cherbourg: births and deaths, 1908-64*

	Approx. mean population	Births	Annual average	Deaths	Annual average	Annual average natural increase
To 1919*	493	144	24	373	62.1	-38.1
1920-9	no figures available					
1930-4	826	n.a.	—	178	35.6	—
1935-9	936†	177	44.2	171	34.2	10.0
1940-4	n.a.	n.a.	—	184	36.8	—
1945-9	866‡	136	45.3	104	20.8	24.5
1950-4	1,030	291	58.2	103	20.6	37.6
1955-9	1,071	319	63.8	141	28.2	35.6
1960-4	1,235	278	55.6	106	21.2	34.4

* Figures available for six years only, 1908, 1912, 1913, 1915, 1918, and 1919.

† Figures available for four years (1935-8) only.

‡ Figures available for three years (1947-9) only.

Recently there had been an increasing drift away from the settlement and the numbers had fallen below 1,000. The official count at March 1965 gave a population of 993 (though the annual report for 1964-5 gives 1,088) and it seems likely that the 1964 figure of 1,249 included some who were then no longer permanent residents. A check made from the settlement's records of individual families in June 1965 indicated a population of 928 of whom 584, or nearly 63 per cent, were under 16 years old.

Settlement officers counted 159 people who had moved away in the five years to June 1965. This count did not include many 'absconders'. Figures were not available to indicate where those who had left the settlement went and how they left. A number of families had evidently been exempted from the Act and helped to settle in Brisbane and other towns. But it seems probable that more had found work for themselves and settled outside on their own initiative. Table 24 suggests that more people in the 16-29 year age group than in others had left the settlement.

The settlement population had been drawn from many parts of Queensland but mainly from the south and south-west of the State, and for many years it had been a predominantly part-Aboriginal population. In the early post-war years the official figures showed the full-blood population as just under a quarter of the total but in 1961, the last year in which separate figures were published, there were only 166 full-bloods in a population of 1,224 (13.5 per cent).

Living conditions. The standard of housing on the settlement, as on the other Queensland settlements, was relatively high and with the recent decrease

Table 24: *Cherbourg: population by age groups, June 1965*

	Total numbers	Percentage
0-5*	234	25.2
6-10*	228	24.5
11-15*	122	13.1
16-19*	46	4.9
20-24	42	4.5
25-29	44	4.7
30-34	44	4.7
35-39	36	3.9
40-44	20	2.1
45-49	28	3.0
50-54	31	3.3
55-59	17	1.8
60-64	18	1.9
Over 65	18	1.9
Total	928	99.5

* Figures not available in the usual 5-year age groups.

in numbers there could be little overcrowding. There were about 140 dwellings for Aborigines, and nearly all had been built before 1962. All houses were provided without charge. A number of old and sub-standard houses remained but the newer houses had mostly three, or sometimes four, bedrooms, with a kitchen, a dining-room-lounge, and a separate lavatory-shower-laundry unit. All were supplied with electricity and recently some families had acquired television sets. The whole settlement was sewered.

Community services. The Cherbourg State School on the settlement provided primary school education for an enrolment given as over 400 in 1965. A few children in the final grade of primary school attended the Murgon school. Since the Education Department took over the settlement school in July 1962 there had been a marked increase in numbers going on to the High School in Murgon. In 1962 and 1963 seven pupils were at secondary schools, in 1964 there were thirty-seven, and in 1965 fifty-one children went to the State High School and seven to the Convent School in Murgon.

A hospital on the reserve was staffed and managed by the South Burnett Hospital Board. A Child Welfare Centre was run by a nursing sister on the settlement staff.

Basic foods were supplied free of charge from a ration store to all but workers on award rates of pay, and a small retail cash store was maintained to sell extras.

A prosperous Social and Welfare Association arranged films and dances each week and other entertainments, and sold refreshments on these occasions.

Institutions. Three institutions, usually referred to as 'dormitories', were maintained on the settlement for women, girls, and boys.

In the Women's Home were some nine women, who were deserted wives or unmarried mothers taken in from the settlement itself or sent from outside the settlement. With them were their infant children, any children over school age being placed in the dormitories. The girls' and boys' dormitories housed some orphaned and neglected children and some children considered uncontrollable who were placed in the dormitory to be disciplined. In the Boys' Home there were something less than thirty boys and in the Girls' Home about forty girls, together with a few women considered of better character than those in the Women's Home. Apparently most of the inmates had been committed to these homes not by court orders but by administrative instructions.

All these homes were secured with wire-mesh and locked doors at night to keep the inmates in and others out. All were more or less self-contained, with their own kitchens and dining-rooms.

Employment and relief. A considerable number of people were employed outside the reserve but the majority worked on the settlement and were paid by the Department. Some apparently left the settlement each day to work in Murgon and nearby but information about the numbers who did so was not available. More of those who worked outside lived near the place of employment, returning only at weekends or when the job finished. Altogether, forty-six men and thirty-one women were said to be employed outside the settlement in June 1965. Most of the men were reported to be paid award rates and only two were employed at lower rates under agreement as prescribed in the regulations under the Aborigines Preservation and Protection Act. On the other hand, most of the women were employed as domestics under agreement, generally at the basic rate of £3 15s a week.

A total of 158 people was employed on the settlement in June 1965, of whom 118 were men and 40 women. Of these, fifty-five men were engaged in productive industrial or farm work and the balance was employed in a wide variety of service jobs concerned with the maintenance and running of the settlement community. In the 'productive' category were nine making curios for sale in a small workshop, twelve men working in the sawmill and six in the Trade Training Workshop, which produced a variety of furniture and building materials which was used on this and

other settlements and in departmental housing projects elsewhere. Ten were employed at the Training Farm, an area next to the reserve acquired in 1945 in order to train Aborigines in up-to-date farming methods. Five were engaged in stock work and three on fencing. (In March 1965, 469 cattle were held on the reserve, and in the preceding year 403 beasts were killed for local consumption and 313 were sold.)

Among those I have categorised as 'service' workers were sixteen men employed as carpenters, painters, and plumbers on house-building and other maintenance and construction work. Nine worked as drivers and general workers on settlement vehicles. Others were employed on wood-cutting, gardening, cleaning, hygiene, water supply, and sewerage work, and in the store and butcher shop, and as school monitor and mailman. The largest group in the category was the local settlement 'police' force of ten men, employed to help the superintendent maintain good order and discipline and enforce the regulations.

All the employed women were in 'service' work. Most were employed in the dormitories (19) and the hospital (12). (The wages of hospital workers were debited to the local Hospital Board.) Another nine women worked at the Home Training Centre, established in 1962-3, where girls leaving school were given twelve months' training in home management before going out to work as domestics.

Wages paid to settlement workers varied widely. A few were employed at award rates in the sawmill, the trade training workshop and as carpenters building a house in Murgon. Others were paid rates ranging from under £1 a week for trainees to £12 a fortnight for the senior 'policeman'.

Details were not obtained of the numbers of people receiving pensions of various kinds in 1965. In 1962, when about 300 more people were recorded as residents (1,240), there were thirty-three age, and fifteen invalid pensioners, and ten women receiving widows' pensions.³⁰ These represented 11.7 per cent of the adult population of 492. In 1965 the adult population was about 344 and the proportion of pensioners may well have been slightly higher than in 1962.

The Cherbourg community in 1965 was more like the New South Wales stations than any other Queensland settlement. The residents had spent all their lives in contact with White Australians and all but a few were part-Aborigines. The settlement was in a closely settled area, close to a town and only half a day's drive from the metropolitan area. At least some of the working people had jobs off the settlement and many residents had relatives living off the reserve.

The differences in past practice in the two States were reflected in the fact that Cherbourg was, despite a recent decline in its population, more than twice the size of the largest station community in New South Wales (Moree). It had been developed as an institution to house large numbers of Aborigines and part-Aborigines, drawn from the whole of southern Queensland. Its population was nearly half the size of the neighbouring town whereas the population of the station at Moree was less than 10 per cent of the town population. The situation clearly presents considerable problems to an administration now evidently concerned to reduce its commitments in maintaining segregated Aboriginal communities and to see Aborigines and part-Aborigines resettled in ordinary communities.

Even if there were no very active efforts to establish Cherbourg residents in outside employment and to rehouse them elsewhere, one might reasonably expect that the drift out of the settlement would continue. It has the important advantages of being relatively close to Brisbane and to growing towns. If the younger people are able to find work and places to live elsewhere few would probably want to return to Cherbourg. On the other hand there are, no doubt, many people with little or no inclination to abandon the familiar and secure world of the settlement. The reserve area is large in relation to the size of farms in the district but probably not so large or productive as to support a population even half the size of its present one. As emigration continues many of those most able and most skilled may leave. The community may tend to become more like the New South Wales stations, providing accommodation for people who work elsewhere. But the present indications are that Cherbourg may remain for many years a supervised, institutional community, producing another generation of dependent people.

WOORABINDA

A second government settlement was established in 1911 on a reserve near Taroom, only about 150 miles from the first at Murgon. Aborigines were collected from nearby camps and seventy were there when it was opened in April 1911 and about 200 by the end of the year. Deaths evidently outnumbered births in the early years, as at Cherbourg, but the population was maintained by the removal of substantial numbers of Aborigines, mainly from southern and central parts of the State. In 1914 the recorded population at Taroom was 246 and in 1926 it was 239: 132 full-bloods and 107 half-castes.

In 1926, because of the encroachment on the Taroom reserve of a proposed dam on the Dawson River, it was decided to move the settlement.

Land was acquired on Mimosa Creek, a tributary of the Dawson, about 120 miles farther north and the settlement was moved there in 1927. This reserve, Woorabinda, was about 35 miles south of the small town of Duaringa (pop. 1961: 297) and about 25 miles from Baralaba (pop. 1961: 503). Duaringa is on the railway running west from Rockhampton to Longreach and Winton and the settlement was about 104 road miles from Rockhampton (pop. 1961: 44,128). The reserve was formerly part of a large grazing property, Wofoonah, and the district has remained primarily a pastoral one, though grazing has become more intensive and crop growing has become important.

The population increased quite rapidly from 298 in 1927 to 692 in 1938. In these years deaths recorded at Woorabinda outnumbered births by 28 (births 229; deaths 257) and the removals recorded in the Chief Protector's reports in the same period totalled 217. If the population counts were reasonably accurate it is evident that either the numbers of Aborigines removed to the settlement were much greater than indicated (dependent children may not have been included) or substantial numbers moved to the settlement without formal removal orders.

Table 25: *Removals to Taroom and Woorabinda, 1912-65**

	Removals	Annual average	Population at end of period
1912-13	97	48.5	200
1914-18	206	41.2	about 230?
1919-23	144	28.8	323
1924-28	73	14.6	395
1929-33	96	19.2	497
1934-38	84	16.8	692
1939-43†	39	19.5	—
1944-48	63‡	12.6	839
1949-53	171	34.2	747
1954-58	144‡	28.8	781
1959-63	76	15.2	685
1964-65	30	15.0	484
Total	(1,223)		

* Figures for removals 1912-38 from *Annual Reports of the Chief Protector*; for 1942-65 from settlement records.

† Data incomplete and excludes C. Bedford immigrants.

‡ The numbers of children removed with some families were not recorded.

Population figures were not published during the war but in 1946 the population was 843; there had evidently been some movement out of the settlement or the 1946 population would have been over 950. In 1942 the Cape Bedford Lutheran mission near Cooktown had been evacuated and

nearly 290 Aborigines were removed from there to Woorabinda. Deaths (212) exceeded births (202) between 1939 and 1945, the chief sufferers being the Cape Bedford people who lost thirty-nine of their number between May 1942 and mid-January 1943, eighteen of these in the first three weeks of January 1943. In 1949 the Cape Bedford (Hope Vale) mission was re-established and the Woorabinda population fell from 839 in 1948 to 642 in 1951. Between 1949 and 1962 the recorded population was never greater than 800 or less than 600, but after 1962 the numbers fell from 685 in March 1963 to 484 in 1965.

This decrease occurred in a period when there was substantial excess of births over deaths each year. The steady natural decrease of the population in the pre-war years had been reversed after the war and in the period 1957-65 the population had a high rate of natural increase.

Table 26: *Woorabinda: births and deaths, 1927-65*

Period	Mean population	Births	Annual average	Deaths	Annual average	Annual average natural increase
1927-30	372	59	14.7	58	14.5	Nil
1931-35	495	104	20.8	118	23.6	-2.8
1936-40	674*	119	23.8	134	26.8	-3.0
1941-45	n.a.	149	29.8	159	31.8	-2.0
1946-50	832	185	37.0	51	10.2	26.8
1951-55	737	142	28.4	54	10.8	17.6
1956-60	730	143	28.6	71	14.2	14.4
1961-65	617	149	29.8	54	10.8	19.0

* Figures not available for each year in the period.

The sharp drop in the death rate and especially in the infant and child mortality rate is reflected in the age structure of the settlement population. At the end of 1965 just over half the population of 410 was less than 15 years old and 72.7 per cent was under 30.

At times in the past part-Aborigines made up more than half of the population but at least after 1955 people of predominantly Aboriginal descent outnumbered those with more non-Aboriginal than Aboriginal ancestors. Part-Aborigines (excluding only those of three-quarter Aboriginal descent or more) accounted for only 127, or 30.9 per cent, of the 410 people at Woorabinda at the end of 1965. (This figure includes a small number of people with no known Aboriginal ancestors, descendants of Asians and other non-Europeans who have married people of Aboriginal descent or for other reasons found themselves part of the settlement

Table 27: *Woorabinda: population by age groups, December 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	38	31	69	16.8
5-9	38	33	71	17.3
10-14	35	32	67	16.3
15-19	23	33	56	13.6
20-24	9	10	19	4.6
25-29	9	7	16	3.9
30-34	12	7	19	4.6
35-39	7	9	16	3.9
40-44	12	9	21	5.1
45-49	13	12	25	6.1
50-54	5	3	8	1.9
55-59	9	3	12	2.9
Over 60	9	2	11	2.7
Total	219	191	410	99.7

community.) Among those over 20 years old, Aborigines represented 75.5 per cent and among those under 20, 65.4 per cent of the population.

Probably the majority of adults were born within 200 miles of the settlement and certainly most had come from the southern half of the State. But the practice of removing Aborigines to the settlement had been carried out in such a way that people from all parts of the State were living at Woorabinda. People were removed to Woorabinda from as far afield as the Torres Strait Islands and Cape York, Doomadgee and Mount Isa in the north-west and Windorah and Thargomindah in the south-west. A high proportion of the removals, particularly in the last twenty years, were people removed from other settlements and missions, notably Cherbourg and Palm Island.

There had been a constant movement of people on and off the settlement and some left the settlement even in periods when immigration, both forced and voluntary, was most rapid. Since the middle of 1963 considerable numbers had left. In the two years ended 30 June 1965 a total of 442 people were recorded as leaving and only 141 as coming in to the settlement.³¹ Few, if any, had been removed from Woorabinda to other settlements since the war, and most of the emigrants were people who were exempted from the Act or who left without authority.³² It would take less than five years for the settlement population remaining in January 1966 to disperse if the rate of decrease between March 1963 and January 1966 were maintained, but unless special help and encouragement were given it seemed likely that the departure rate would slow down.

Living conditions. In January 1966 there were just over seventy houses of

all kinds for Aborigines in the settlement, or an average of less than six residents to each house. About sixty of these were family cottages. The balance included a number of small houses for pensioners and several other small units built for newly married couples without children. The houses built for families were designed generally with three bedrooms to provide a reasonable minimum of privacy, though some had only two bedrooms, and some were larger with up to six rooms altogether. The houses were built of local timber and, except for about six old shacks that still remained, they were built on piles in the Queensland manner, with laundries and bathrooms downstairs and pan-type lavatories. Water and electricity were laid on and the houses were equipped with stoves. (Electricity was generated locally but the settlement was expected to be connected shortly to the grid of the Capricornia Regional Electricity Board.) Water was pumped from the bed of the creek. There were, it was estimated, between thirty and forty houses with kerosene refrigerators. None had television sets (reception from Rockhampton was not good) but many had radios.

Community services. A hospital was maintained at the settlement by the Rockhampton Hospitals Board with a staff of a matron, one sister, and two nurses. A medical officer visited twice a week.

A sister on the settlement staff ran a Child Welfare Centre. This clinic had stoves, tables, and other equipment which were used to give practical instruction in cooking meals for children and in general home management. Apart from giving this instruction and doing normal infant welfare work at the clinic, the sister visited the houses to advise and help mothers.

A hygiene officer on the staff supervised the work of the sanitary and garbage workers and carried out health inspections of houses and of the settlement generally.

The Education Department took over the Woorabinda Settlement Native School in 1962 when the enrolment was 177. In 1963 the enrolment was 202 but in 1965 it had fallen to 151 and was expected to be less than 120 in 1966. In 1965 there was a staff of one head teacher and three assistants. In 1965 for the first time twenty-four pupils had started attending secondary school at Baralaba, where they were taken each day by bus. A few children had continued their education at Rockhampton schools but until 1965, few children had had any education beyond Grade VIII.

The department also provided a one-teacher 'provisional school' for about seventeen White children on the settlement. It was contemplated that some extra children from neighbouring properties might attend this school.

Rations of basic foods, including meat and other local produce, were issued free to all residents and there was a well-stocked retail store where other goods were sold. Settlement vehicles travelled to Duaringa or Baralaba four times a week. A number of residents owned cars, and relatives and former residents who lived in the district had cars and visited the settlement.

Regular weekly film screenings and dances were organised by the Social and Welfare Association, as well as occasional sports meetings, rodeos, and other functions. Settlement teams played in local cricket and football competitions and girls' basketball teams had played matches with local teams.

Institutions. There were dormitories for girls and boys, and women's quarters had been completed in 1965, but were not yet being used in January 1966. A boys' dormitory had also recently been built with accommodation for twenty, but was not yet in use. Eleven boys aged from 6 to 15 years were housed in the old dormitory building in January 1966. The girls' dormitory was a much larger building, though it too was more than thirty years old. Both boys and girls had their meals there. There was accommodation for thirty-six girls in the dormitory and there were twenty-three inmates in January 1966. The settlement was an institution ('industrial school') registered with the State Children's Department and girls and boys in the two homes were sent there variously as neglected, uncontrollable, or as State children, some by the Department of Native Affairs and others by the State Children's Department.

Employment and relief. Most of the population were dependent either on employment provided on the reserve or on social service benefits. The numbers in any kind of employment had declined since 1963, when there were 179 workers, including 30 working outside the reserve under agreements. In the September quarter of 1965 the total work force was 105, of whom 16 worked outside, and by January 1966 there were only 68 paid settlement workers. Fourteen men worked with the cattle herd or on the farm and dairy and five men were engaged in building work. Twenty-nine men and twenty women were employed in 'service' jobs. Usually about six men worked half a day only for rations and no pay, and normally about ten men from Woorabinda were employed at the Department's Foleyvale property nearby (see p. 114).

The cash wages paid to these settlement workers in January 1966 totalled about £537 a fortnight; at about the same period the total income of residents from pensions was about £557 a fortnight. There were then thirty-two age and invalid pensioners (twenty male and twelve female)

and seven widows' pensioners on the settlement. These thirty-nine pensioners composed 19·2 per cent of the adult population.

Foleyvale. A grazing property north of Daringa on the Mackenzie River was acquired by the Department in 1946 to provide training and employment for Aborigines and an income from the sale of stock to offset the running costs of the settlements and to finance their development. Woorabinda men had worked successfully during the war in sugar cane, and arrowroot and cotton farming areas and one aim was to develop and use the skills and experience they had gained. Two separate blocks in the district were later acquired and were managed as adjuncts to the original Foleyvale block. In 1965 over 30,000 acres were held, on which 2,223 beef cattle were run, compared with the 2,948 head run on Woorabinda's 54,800 acres. The enterprise had been run primarily as a cattle property but grain sorghum, cotton, peanuts, fruit, and vegetables had been cultivated as well as fodder crops and improved pastures. Cattle were bred at Woorabinda and fattened at Foleyvale for sale. The property was originally directed by the superintendent of Woorabinda 45 miles away, but about 1959 Foleyvale was made a separate administrative entity, with its own superintendent, who after 1961 supervised the cattle work at Woorabinda also.

Though described as a 'settlement' in the Department's annual reports, Foleyvale was simply a government cattle property, employing Aboriginal labour. Ten or a dozen stockmen and labourers from Woorabinda (whose families remained on the settlement) and some other workers recruited from Palm Island and Hope Vale mission worked there.³³ Cattle bred at Woorabinda and Foleyvale supplied the meat needs of the settlement but the main function of the property was to provide supplementary funds for the work of the Department.

Basically the situation of the Woorabinda community was similar to Cherbourg's. The settlement population was much more Aboriginal in its ancestry than Cherbourg's; the settlement was more isolated and the surrounding area was less closely settled. But the city of Rockhampton stood in roughly the same relationship to Woorabinda as Brisbane did to Cherbourg, and the prospects of development in the central coastal region were bright enough to encourage the hope that all the residents of settlements who wanted to find work outside could do so before long. The relatively rapid decline in the settlement's population since 1963 suggested that many of the residents not only wanted to get out into the world but were able to maintain themselves outside the settlement at least to their

satisfaction, in spite of the very limited help provided by the government to those who wanted to resettle off the settlement. One can only guess how far this process can go and what kind of community will remain at Woora-binda. One thing did seem clear: already the process had probably gone so far as to make the goal of a self-sufficient, agriculturally-based Aboriginal community unreal, because many of those with most to contribute had already left.

PALM ISLAND

The settlement on Great Palm Island was established in 1918 and has been the largest of the Queensland settlements since the early 1920s. The island, 40 miles from Townsville and 20 miles off the coast opposite Ingham, has an area of about 25 square miles. Steep hills cover the island, rising to a peak over 1,800 feet high, and many of the slopes are covered with dense rain forest. A few hundred acres of flat land on the island's north-west bay provided a site for the settlement and most of its farm area. The settlement's two boats made weekly trips to and from the city and a weekly air service was run by a private company with a light aircraft. Tourist launches running to Orpheus Island a few miles farther north also called. The settlement had telephone communication with Townsville. With its avenues of palms and mango trees, the sandy beach and clear water of the bay in front and the steep forested hills behind, it was probably the most beautifully situated settlement and seemed, as a former Chief Protector remarked, 'the ideal place for a delightful holiday'.³⁴

The first settlement at which the Aborigines of North Queensland were to be collected was established at Hull River near Tully in 1914, in 'the heart of the worst opium traffic district'.³⁵ When a superintendent was first stationed there, there were eight Aborigines permanently resident but the dispatch of 'drafts from other districts' rapidly increased the population.³⁶ The Chief Protector's reports record the removal of 434 Aborigines to Hull River from 1914 to 1917, 265 of these in 1915. In March 1918 the new settlement was destroyed by a cyclone and work was started to remove the people to Great Palm Island.³⁷

Evidently some Aborigines were living on the island at the time. In 1909 the Chief Protector had visited Palm Island apparently to check on the activities of Japanese pearling crews in the area, and reported the existence of a small camp of Aborigines. But the bulk of the settlement's population was made up of those taken from Hull River, increased by substantial numbers removed from the mainland later.

In 1927 a 'Lock Hospital' was completed at Fantome Island nearby and

Table 28: *Removals to Hull River and Palm Island, 1914-38*

Period	Removed	Annual average	Approx. population at end of period
1914-18	481	96.2	2450
1919-23	630	126.0	731
1924-28	341	68.2	827
1929-33	520	104.0	1,168
1934-38	450	90.0	1,248
Total	2,422	96.8	

the numbers shown as removed to Palm Island were increased after 1928 by those sent to this hospital, mainly for treatment of venereal diseases. In the period 1934-8, 119 were removed to Fantome as against 331 to Palm Island itself. In 1936 Fantome became a clearing station where all people sent to Palm Island were medically examined and treated if necessary. In 1939, in addition to the hospital at Fantome which had been accommodating more than 200 patients, a leprosarium was established there. After the war the hospital was closed and in 1965 only the leprosarium remained at Fantome Island, run by a Roman Catholic nursing order under the supervision of the Townsville Hospital.

Evidently a considerable proportion of those removed to Palm Island were in poor health if not actually dying and, though comprehensive figures for the whole period are not available in the annual reports, it is clear that the death rate was high and the birth rate much lower. In the three years 1918-20 deaths numbered 57 and births 24; in the four years 1935-8 deaths totalled 135 and births 120, the average recorded population in this period being 1,128. The majority of removals were men, and in 1933 Bleakley remarked on the prevalence of 'moral offences' due to the preponderance of males in the island's population.³⁸ In 1922, for example, there were 345 adult males in the population, as against 179 adult females and 172 children.³⁹ The increase in the recorded population from 567 in 1921, to 1,095 in 1931, and 1,116 in 1936, was evidently effected only by removals to the settlement which more than offset the excess of deaths over births and the return of some inmates to the mainland.

The death rate remained high during World War II and for some years afterwards, and only since 1951 has there been a regular and substantial excess of births over deaths.

The table suggests that the health and medical care of the community had improved very substantially in the past fifteen years and that the community had achieved a healthy rate of natural increase. Age specific

Table 29: *Palm Island: births and deaths, 1941-64*

Year	Births*		Deaths*		Natural increase
1941	n.a.		40		—
1942	n.a.		73		—
1943	37		107		-70
1944	27		57		-30
1945	42		41		1
1941-5	Average (3 yrs)	35.3	Average (5 yrs)	63.6	-28.3
1946	42		48		-6
1947	42		18		24
1948	57		33		24
1949	51		34		17
1950	44		41		3
1946-50	Average	47.2	Average	34.8	12.4
1951	46		24		22
1952	56		19		37
1953	63		31		32
1954	54		26		28
1955	82		34		48
1951-5	Average	60.1	Average	26.8	33.3
1956	51		28		23
1957	58		19		39
1958	62		17		45
1959	68		11		57
1960	55		15		40
1956-60	Average	58.8	Average	18.0	40.8
1961	54		13		41
1962	55		19		36
1963	60		19		41
1964	68		18		50
1961-4 (4 years)	Average	59.2	Average	17.2	42
1965 to September	42		18		24

* Stillbirths included as births and deaths.

mortality figures confirm this trend: in 1951-5 infant deaths (age 0-4) totalled 47; in 1960-4 they numbered 24. In the period 1951-5, 47 out of 132 deaths were of people over 50 (35.6 per cent); in the period 1961-5, 42 out of 81 deaths were of people over 50 years old (51.8 per cent).

Accurate information about the actual number of residents on the island at any time is difficult to obtain. The figures published in annual reports include the small group living at Fantome Island, people staying at the Aitkenvale Hostel in Townsville and a number of those employed

on the mainland who have lived at Palm Island. At the census of 30 June 1961, 1,346 Aborigines (816 full-bloods and 530 half-castes) were enumerated for Palm Island but the departmental total for the same year was 1,520.⁴⁰ In June 1964 the total population was given as 1,523 of whom 1,304 were said to be actually on Palm Island. There was substantial movement to and from the island in the settlement's two boats and the population on the island at any time included a number of visitors. In September 1965 a count made from cards maintained by settlement welfare officers showed a total population of 1,247; another 146 were noted as having left the settlement to live on the mainland within the previous few months. An official estimate in July 1965 gave a total of 1,172 (573 adults and 599 children), to which were added 44 visitors, but the population figure given in the annual report of the Department at the 30 June 1965 was 1,550. (But the count for the end of March 1965, which is normally used in annual reports, showed a total of 1,266 on the settlement and 154 working on the mainland, at Aitkenvale Hostel or Fantome Island, or 1,420 in all.) It seems safe to assume that in 1965 the actual Aboriginal population of the settlement was between 1,200 and 1,300.

Well over half of these were part-Aborigines. The official figures for 31 March 1965 showed 548 full-bloods and 718 half-bloods. The proportions were very similar in 1955 but in 1946 there were 806 Aborigines and 509 half-bloods and in 1926 605 Aborigines and 219 half-bloods.

The age structure of the population is shown in Table 30. Marked deficiencies in the age groups 20-34 are apparent. An examination of the ages of a group of recent emigrants from the settlements showed that something approaching half the leavers were aged between 16 and 35. It seems, as might be expected, that disproportionate numbers in these age groups went looking for work on the mainland.

Detailed information about the numbers of people who had moved from the settlement permanently over the last few years was not available and it is difficult to calculate the extent of such movement. The population figures in the annual reports are imprecise and include people not actually living on the settlement. Figures showing the numbers removed to Palm Island from the mainland have not been published since 1938 and were not made available by the Director of Native Affairs. Figures of arrivals and departures over the twelve months to 31 March 1965 showed an excess of departures of seventy-four, as a result of a substantial excess (of 212) of departures in the final quarter. But these figures are probably not completely reliable and one could not be sure that this was only a recent trend. The fluctuations in the reported population figures since the

Table 30: *Palm Island: population by age groups, 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	99*	104*	203*	16.4
5-9	95	102	197	15.7
10-14	90	107	197	15.7
15-19	64	83	147	11.7
20-24	23	36	59	4.7
25-29	23	30	53	4.2
30-34	35	40	75	6.0
35-39	44	43	87	6.9
40-44	33	22	55	4.4
45-49	24	19	43	3.4
50-54	19	9	28	2.2
55-59	20	13	33	2.6
60-64	8	7	15	1.2
Over 65	32	23	55	4.4
Total	609	638	1,247	99.5

* The total figure is derived from records of the Infant Welfare Clinic; the figures for males and females in this age group are estimates only, based on records of births from 1962 to 1965. The total may be an underestimate since twenty-two children living at the women's dormitory may possibly not be included. Another source gave a total of 254 in this age group.

war indicate that there may have been several periods when more people left the settlement than returned or were removed thither.

It is difficult also to assess the nature of movement off the settlement. A few instances were cited of families who had left to take up jobs in the cities and towns and live in houses found by the Department. But, as indicated, the Department's activity had been concentrated on the management of Aborigines on the settlements rather than on assistance to Aborigines moving into towns. It appears that many of those who had left Palm Island were not those best equipped to make a success of life off the settlement and some, defeated by the difficulties of life outside, had made their way back.

It seems likely that fewer Aborigines had been removed to Palm Island over the last decade or so than in pre-war years but the settlement still had a substantial annual intake of 'problem cases' from the mainland. Details were not made available but a list of some 200 names of removals over the past four years or so was quoted to me to illustrate one aspect of the problem of settlement administration. The reasons for the removal of these people varied considerably, the most common reason being 'uncontrollable'—referring presumably to children. But other reasons quoted included criminal offences of various kinds, some being the last in a long record of offences, and acts of indiscipline on other settlements.

(The extent to which removal to Palm Island was imposed as an additional penalty or as a substitute for a legal penalty is not clear.) To some extent, then, Palm Island retained its earlier character as, in part, a penal settlement, though the intended emphasis may have been on rehabilitation rather than punishment.

Most of the people had, however, lived for many years at Palm Island and it is impossible to regard it simply as a rehabilitation institution. As might be expected in view of the way the population has been built up by removals from the mainland, the inhabitants came from many different parts of Queensland. A brief and inexact check of the origins of only the adult male working population showed that roughly 40 per cent had been born at Palm Island or had lived there most of their lives. Of the 60 per cent who had come to Palm Island from other parts, the largest groups (nearly 40 per cent) derived from the coastal areas from Townsville to Cooktown and the ranges and tablelands immediately to the west; nearly 25 per cent from western areas from Boulia north to Burketown, and from Camooweal to Charters Towers; about 20 per cent from Cape York Peninsula (including a few Torres Strait Islanders) and about 15 per cent from places south of Rockhampton. Altogether some 35 per cent of the men came from other settlements or missions, most of the southern Queensland men coming from Cherbourg and Woorabinda and the largest mission group from Aurukun. Well over half the Aboriginal population of the State lives in the northern half of Queensland and Palm Island was for long the only settlement in north Queensland and it remained the one to which most problem cases were removed. Once removed there many, probably most, stayed. The nature of the rehabilitation was calculated to make them satisfactory settlement inmates rather than to prepare them to return whence they came.

Living conditions. Impressive progress in raising the standard of housing of the community had been made over the previous fifteen years or so. Virtually all the iron shanties erected by the inhabitants, in which most families had lived, had been replaced by 1965 with self-contained cottages, with water and electricity laid on. All but a few of the houses were located in two 'suburbs', north and south of the central settlement area.

The superintendent provided figures showing five houses of Stage 3 standard (four rooms, with a kitchen and inside laundry, shower, and lavatory), 58 Stage 2 houses (three rooms, kitchen, outside laundry and lavatory) and 149 Stage 1 houses (one or two rooms and outside facilities), or, in all, 212 houses. These figures, it appears, probably over-estimate both the sizes and the number of houses.⁴¹

Nearly all the houses seemed reasonably well cared for and most of the gardens were remarkably well tended. Even the few relatively neglected gardens compared favourably with those of Aboriginal families in most other communities.

The system of weekly visits by staff workers concerned with child and family welfare and hygiene was no doubt largely responsible for the remarkably high standard of care that was obviously maintained. (Regular garden competitions provided an effective incentive to maintain good gardens.) Help and guidance were provided for those who genuinely had difficulty in managing a house, and constant oversight encouraged high standards of housekeeping. But though the help and encouragement provided by the staff visiting the houses over the years may be largely responsible for the achievement in home maintenance, this work was backed up by the sanctions that could be imposed by the superintendent with his extraordinary powers under legislation. Any neglect or wanton damage would be reported by the inspecting officers, and this would lead in the first instance to a 'pep talk' by the superintendent and, if there was no response to this, to a warning and finally, in rare instances, to a local gaol sentence. The relatively high standards that were maintained with such constant supervision, backed by effective sanctions, had no doubt made an important contribution to the improvement of the community's health, but how much real and permanent influence on the residents' attitudes to their living standards was effected could be revealed only when this close supervision was not provided.

Community services. The Townsville General Hospital staffed and ran a hospital at Palm Island. Junior resident medical officers from Townsville spent six weeks in turn at Palm Island. The staff of the island hospital consisted of a matron, six sisters, a nurse, and an assistant, though the establishment provided for five sisters and four nurses. In addition in September 1965 fourteen Aboriginal men and twenty women were employed in and round the hospital. The buildings, taken over from the Department of Native Affairs when responsibility for medical services was transferred, were old and difficult to work in and a new hospital and staff quarters (for a matron and eleven sisters and nurses) were under construction. The existing building had beds for some eight men and ten women, and two children's wards were in use—one of which was built as the male ward in the new hospital. There was a labour ward but maternity cases were normally sent in to Townsville Hospital. Dentists visited frequently from Townsville Hospital.

A Baby Welfare Clinic, run by the Department of Native Affairs,

provided services to supplement those of the hospital. Staffed by two nursing sisters, the clinic provided a most comprehensive infant welfare service to all children under school age (between 250 and 280 at any time); this included not only regular weekly weighing, the giving of triple antigen injections, and the organising of the children to receive other immunisation at the hospital, but the issuing to their mothers each week of a generous supplementary food ration for these children. Some babies were temporarily kept as in-patients at the clinic and these, and any others not making proper progress, were fed there. Extra rations for mothers were also supplied from the clinic for several months before and after childbirth and cots and a full range of clothing and other equipment were provided to mothers. (Part of the cost of these services was met by the payment of child endowment to the settlement until children reached the age of 5 years and by the allocation of £8 of the maternity allowance towards the cost of the layette.) In addition the sisters carried out with the welfare officers a comprehensive home visiting service (see above), entailing visits to thirty or forty houses each week, such that an infant welfare sister visited every house in the community once a month. They were helped in the clinic by a staff of seven young women, including a seamstress, kitchen and laundry workers and nursing aides, and two men who worked in the store and in the grounds.

This baby welfare service must certainly be largely responsible for the great improvement in recent years in infant health and the relatively low rate of infant mortality. It is interesting that in 1965 there had been little gastro-enteritis among these children for some time and no deaths from this scourge of Aboriginal children for some two years.

There were three schools on the island: a small 'provisional school' for the children of Whites on the island, a State school, and a Roman Catholic school, some distance south of the main settlement area. The segregated provisional school existed primarily because it was feared that useful staff members would leave if there were no alternative to their children going to school with the Aboriginal children. Like the State school it was staffed and run by the Education Department and it had an enrolment of about twenty.

The State school, which had been taken over by the Education Department in 1962, had an enrolment in September 1965 of 263, having started the year with 279. The enrolment had been at about this level for four years though in 1964 numbers reached 300 for a time. It was a primary school and few children went on to secondary education on the mainland. Two pupils, however, had gone on to complete not only

secondary courses but teacher training courses and were teaching in schools at Cairns and Proserpine. Eight grades were taught, Grade VIII having become the first year of the secondary school course. There were twenty-four children in Grade VIII and twenty-four in Grade VII in 1965 compared with seven and thirteen respectively three years before.⁴² The school had a staff of nine teachers and a head teacher (four men and six women). There was no pre-school but the Department of Native Affairs planned to recruit a trained kindergarten teacher.

Numbers at the settlement school had reached the 1965 level in 1937 when the convent school was started and then took some 90 of 290 pupils. The convent school was also a primary school and in 1965 it had an enrolment of between 140 and 150 children.

Institutions. The bulk of the population lived in houses occupied by family groups but a significant number lived in various institutions on the settlement. Most of these institutions, like the settlement as a whole, served a variety of purposes. Three of them were directly supervised by the matron and her assistant (neither of whom had had any previous experience or training in this field).

The Boys' Home was, like the Girls' Home, an industrial school (since 1919) under the State's Child Welfare legislation, but was run by the Department of Native Affairs and was apparently not inspected by officers of the State Children's Department. Figures made available relating to late August 1965 showed that seven of the twenty-five inmates had been sent by the State Children's Department 'for care and protection or medical reasons'. Five others from the mainland were there for education because parents lived far from schools. Others had no father and their mothers were either working (7) or in the Women's Home at Palm Island (5), and one boy with both parents at the settlement was in for his temporary care and protection.

The home was pleasantly sited and was only completed in 1961-2. Most of the boys slept in small rooms with two beds, with the smaller boys in a small dormitory. All meals were provided at the home from a small kitchen and in a dining-room with seats for thirty-six boys. There was a recreation room and space for play in the well laid out grounds. This home, like the Girls' and Women's Homes, was provided with a television set. An Aboriginal couple lived in the grounds and supervised the home.

The existing Girls' Home, completed in 1927, was to be replaced by a new building begun in 1963 and still under construction in September 1965. The figures provided showed that of forty-six girls, three were sent

by the State Children's Department as neglected or destitute (but not delinquent) children, and thirteen were sent from the mainland for education. Others had no parents on the settlement (7), or had only a father whose home was judged unsuitable for the girl (4), or were orphans (6), or had mothers in the Women's Home (6), or had been placed in the home for temporary care and protection though their parents were on the island (7). Ages ranged from 5 to 21, but only the well-behaved remained after reaching 14 or 15 years of age.

The girls shared small rooms or dormitories and the services provided were similar to those in the Boys' Home. A married couple lived at the home.

The Women's Home provided accommodation for women over 15 years old and for their young children. In addition to the living accommodation there was a children's day nursery and kindergarten. The settlement gaol for women was in the grounds of the home. The reasons for being at the home were various, as a list supplied by the superintendent showed:

Women with no families on settlement	11
Temporarily housed as protection for themselves and children while husbands working off the settlement	5
For medical care and attention	3
From other areas with bad records	8
Girls unable to be controlled by their families	11
	38
Children of women in Home	22
	60

Inmates were said to include unmarried mothers from the settlement and mainland and prostitutes removed from the mainland, along with women being protected from the attentions of other men while their husbands were absent. Some slept in large dormitories and others in rooms with two beds. The inmates worked at the Home and around the settlement. The building was due to be replaced.

The gathering together behind the wire mesh and locked doors of these three institutions of the depraved and delinquent with the merely wayward and the more or less innocent was essentially unconstructive and purposeless. There were institutions on the mainland which might better have handled the criminal and delinquent.

Institutional accommodation was also provided in an Old Peoples'

Home, an Invalid Hostel, and a Single Men's Home, the first two of which were supervised by the female welfare officers.

The Old People's Home consisted of a kitchen and dining-room providing meals for some sixty-four old people and the workers at the home; a building of four bedrooms—two for men and two for women—each with six beds; and ten cottages for elderly couples. The home was equipped with a television set. Judged by the standards of homes of this kind in Australia it was cheap and nasty but it provided much better accommodation for age pensioners than is found in most other Aboriginal communities.

The Invalid Hostel, by contrast, served a variety of needs, providing within one building rather crowded accommodation for a married couple, fourteen men and two women, including former tuberculosis and leprosy patients, diabetics and two mentally ill people, as well as a caretaker couple. Meals were provided for twenty-three people in all. It provided conveniently for the oversight of the medical needs of the inmates.

The Single Men's Home was situated in the northern housing area and provided accommodation and meals for some half dozen men.

The female welfare officers also ran a Home Training Centre near the Old People's Home and Invalid Hostel. This existed to provide home management training for girls for a year after leaving school. Of the fourteen trainees in September 1965, five were from the institutions and nine were living in their parents' homes. The girls worked in rotation in the 'house section' of the centre, cleaning and making beds; in the laundry, washing and ironing; in the kitchen where midday meals were prepared for forty-eight first grade children from the school; in the centre's sewing room; and at the Baby Welfare Clinic. The sewing room, supervised by a staff seamstress, functioned as a small clothing factory, producing four dresses a year made to measure for each woman on the settlement and five annual issues of clothing for infants attending the Baby Welfare Clinic and for children in the Women's Home nursery, as well as uniforms for school girls.⁴³ Seven girls worked in the sewing room, including two or three at a time of the home management trainees.

At this centre the female welfare officers, one of whom was a trained nursing sister, also weighed every school age child on the settlement every three months, cut the hair of children, provided a general clinic service for children, treating minor injuries and sores, and inspected some 130 children who walked to the Roman Catholic convent school each day.

In addition the female welfare officers shared, with the sisters of the Baby Welfare Clinic and the male welfare officer and hygiene supervisor, the task of visiting all the houses in the settlement once a week.

Employment and relief. Most families were entirely dependent on relief—either Commonwealth benefits or rations and wages earned by working under the direction of the settlement staff. In September 1965, 238 male Aboriginal workers and 142 female workers were in the settlement work force. These figures probably did not include a number of unpaid workers—people who chose to work a seven-hour day, four days a week, in order to qualify for ration issues and who were paid no cash wage. Figures for 30 June 1965 showed 252 males and 132 females as paid workers (excluding twelve males and six females employed at Fantome Island and Aitkenvale hostel); thirty males and nineteen females were listed as unpaid workers. At the same date, twenty men and twenty-four women were recorded as employed under agreements on the mainland on pastoral properties and on the railways and as domestics.

Apart from the relatively small number of people employed on the mainland, the settlement's work force was engaged in work either to help supply the food and timber needs of the settlement community or to maintain and service it. Apart from the spare-time production of Aboriginal artifacts and other curios, virtually nothing was produced for export. Farm and stock work occupied some thirty-four workers in September 1965 and sixteen were engaged in timber-getting and saw-milling. A total of twenty-nine workers was employed as carpenters, painters, and plumbers or in the workshop, where furniture and other things were made for settlement use. A gang of thirty men did hygiene and sanitation work, some forty-two men worked as yardmen and general assistants at the hospital, the school, the various institutions and elsewhere and there was a gang of twenty-two general labourers. Four men worked in the boatshed and seventeen on the settlement's boats. The other large group was in the 'police force' of twenty-one men. (An interesting feature of this group is that, apart from the 'sergeant' in charge and one other, both of whom came to the settlement from Cherbourg, it was evidently entirely recruited from the full-bloods, presumably because the superintendent found them more amenable and loyal.) Other men were employed at the retail store, the garage, power house, and cool room.

The women were mainly employed as cooks, cleaners, and general domestic workers. Two typists worked in the office and two women in the retail store. Several worked as nursing aides in the hospital and clinic and ten in the sewing room.

Wages generally were, and have apparently been for some years, rather lower than at the other settlements.⁴⁴ The most highly paid group of employees was the 'police', the three senior men receiving £14 and £10 10s a fortnight and others £8 or £5 10s. The garage workers were also relatively well paid.

In September 1965 there were 101 age and invalid pensioners and eleven widows, whose accommodation and rations and cash allowances were provided from social services benefits.

The administrative and social structure of the Palm Island community revealed in an exaggerated form the most striking peculiarities of many Aboriginal settlement communities. The administrative system is perhaps better described as monarchical than as hierarchical. Effective power was concentrated in the person of the superintendent. There was evidently only minimal delegation of responsibility to other staff members, much less to the Aborigines. The superintendent exercised an extraordinary degree of control over the life of the residents, through the police and his court. Tatz has indicated how wide were the powers of superintendents to enforce 'good order and discipline' on Queensland settlements and how little civil liberty is enjoyed by residents.⁴⁵ Even on a short visit one could not but notice the ubiquitous and ever-present 'police'.⁴⁶ The behaviour of residents was closely circumscribed by regulation and administrative fiat and the area of personal freedom of action was very limited.

Equally striking was the segregated social system of the Palm Island community. There were in September 1965 some twenty-six people on the departmental staff, another twenty-two on hospital and schools staffs, and all told probably over seventy Whites living on the island. But the interaction of this small community with the Aboriginal population was limited almost exclusively to working hours and master-servant relationships. The Aborigines at Palm Island had in effect no place at all in any class system but were an untouchable caste. The economic and social barriers between the two groups were apparently rigid. No social visits of Aborigines to White homes or vice versa were normally permitted and Aborigines were not allowed to enter the White housing areas even during daylight hours unless they had work to do there. No Whites joined in the regular weekly dances held in the recreation hall and the two groups were segregated at the film screenings there. No Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal was employed as a member of the staff and certainly none would ever have been allowed to occupy a staff house. The children

of staff attended one school and the Aborigines the other. Though Aborigines living on the mainland could attain economic equality with some Whites and have some social interaction, however limited, with them, such experiences were not a part of life on the island.

None of the Aboriginal settlement communities were normal communities but of them all Palm Island was perhaps the most extraordinary. As an institution intended for 'the preservation and protection of Aborigines' it could be judged relatively successful at least since the war. The Aborigines and part-Aborigines gathered there had been 'preserved', and had indeed been increasing, and they had probably been as effectively protected from contact with Whites as possible. But it is difficult to see how the settlement could serve the purposes of the 'clear and purposeful' policy described by a former Director of Native Affairs in 1958 as aiming 'at the ultimate assimilation of all Aborigines and half bloods into the State's community life'.⁴⁷ Life there had been so completely unlike life in ordinary Queensland communities and so few of the freedoms and responsibilities of ordinary life were experienced that there had been no effective and useful preparation of the residents for normal living. It remained to be seen what steps would be taken under the new legislation to help Palm Islanders to move into the general community on the mainland or to live a less closely regulated life on the island.

YARRABAH

Yarrabah became a government settlement in July 1960 when, after sixty-eight years as an Anglican mission, its management was taken over by the Department of Native Affairs. The settlement was built on the shore of a shallow bay east of Cairns, some 12 miles by water from the city. The reserve, of some 62 square miles, was bounded on three sides by the sea and on the west by a high range of hills which had prevented any road being opened to the cane farming areas which were only about 5 miles away in a direct line. All supplies, therefore, had to be brought in by the settlement's launches and urgent medical evacuations were made in a speedboat. There was no airstrip. The settlement was connected to the Cairns telephone exchange. Ranges of hills effectively split the reserve into three parts and only one part, the valley immediately south of the settlement proper, was being used in 1965. There were about 10 square miles capable of intensive agricultural development in this area.

The Reverend J.B. Gribble, after leaving the mission he founded on the Murrumbidgee in New South Wales (1879), and making an abortive attempt to establish a mission in the north-west of Western Australia

(1884-7), persuaded the Queensland Government to grant an Aboriginal reserve at Cape Grafton and in June 1892 he landed with a few helpers at the site of the present settlement to establish a mission.⁴⁸

When Gribble had proposed the establishment of the mission to the Australian Board of Missions in Sydney he was authorised to start an Anglican mission but told that all the initial expenditure would have to come from his own funds.⁴⁹ Within a few months he became ill and had to leave the field, and his son took over the work. Soon afterwards a mission committee was formed in Townsville under the Diocese of North Queensland to support the new venture, but this committee limited its support to a monthly stipend of £4 for E.R.B. Gribble himself and £1 per month for the mission for a period of two years, and instructed that no Aborigines were to be rationed.⁵⁰ Later the Australian Board of Missions took over and maintained the mission until 1908, with a small government subsidy after 1896.⁵¹ Thereafter the mission became again the responsibility of the Diocese of North Queensland.

No Aborigines had been seen until, in December 1893, a group of some thirty local Aborigines came in to the mission and in 1899 Roth reported a marked increase in the population to 156. When Roth was appointed Protector of Aborigines an influx began, mainly of women and children, from other parts of north Queensland. (In 1897 the Home Secretary, Sir Horace Tozer, visited the mission and concluded that the reserve, then the largest in Australia, could well accommodate all the Aborigines of north Queensland!)⁵² In 1901, when the population had grown to nearly 200, the mission was proclaimed an 'industrial school' and more half-caste children were sent there.⁵³ Some Aborigines came from Bloomfield River when the mission there closed in 1901. In 1904 some buildings and some Aborigines were transferred to Yarrabah from a reserve that had been started at Fraser Island in 1897 and managed by Yarrabah mission staff for three years.⁵⁴

A cyclone laid Yarrabah waste in 1906 when the population had grown to over 300 and in 1908 Gribble left the field. From 1910 to 1914 the recorded population did not attain the 1909 level of 332, but by 1935 it had grown to nearly 500. Thereafter the figures show considerable fluctuations, but over the long term there was a steady increase to 557 in 1946, 719 in 1955, and 808 in 1965. (These later figures included a relatively small number of people attached to the mission but temporarily absent.)

Since there were evidently few Aborigines living in the Cape Grafton area in 1892 it is clear that most of the population was attracted to, or

sent to, the mission from other areas. In the early years at least this was entirely a one-way process. Gribble stated that, though the Yarrabah population included released prisoners and incorrigibles sent from other settlements, in the mission's first eighteen years no Aboriginal was sent out of Yarrabah and he strongly discouraged any emigration.⁵⁵ The records do not disclose the numbers removed to Yarrabah in its earliest years, but the Department's annual reports do give the numbers of removals from 1914 to 1938. The largest annual intakes appear to have been in the period up to 1922:

Table 31: *Removals to Yarrabah, 1914-38*

	Removals	Annual average	Population at end of period
1914-18	177	35.4 (maximum 57 in 1915)	c. 350?
1919-23	174	34.8 (maximum 80 in 1919)	c. 450?
1924-28	43	8.6 (maximum 11 in 1924)	c. 450?
1929-33	10	2.0 (maximum 6 in 1929)	c. 460?
1934-38	86	17.2 (maximum 31 in 1938)	563

No figures were published after 1938, but it does seem that the use of Yarrabah reserve to accommodate people removed from other parts has been very limited in recent years. Though it never had to take in as many as the government settlements, Yarrabah was used more than any of the missions farther north as a home for the 'remnants of the quiet tribes' in the settled parts of north Queensland.

An analysis of the recorded birthplaces of the 243 adults over 25 at Yarrabah in 1965 shows that well over half were born there (133 of the 223 whose birthplaces were recorded). Over two-thirds of the remainder were born in the Cairns district, near Cooktown or in inland places within 100 miles. Only a few individuals were born as far away as Winton, Cloncurry, Burketown, Mitchell River, and Coen. Most people under 45 were born at Yarrabah, and among those born in the years 1911-20 the local-born were about equal to the 'foreign-born'. Only among those over 55 did people born outside the mission heavily outnumber the Yarrabah-born.

The proportion of full-blood Aborigines in the community had declined quickly since the mission was founded. The published figures show the full-bloods in 1946 as 35.9 per cent of the mission's population and ten years later as 19.6 per cent. In 1961, the last year for which published figures are available, the Aborigines made up 18.5 per cent of

the population. (Between 1957 and 1959 when an exodus from the mission occurred, the full-blood population declined by 13 per cent but the part-Aboriginal numbers decreased by 24·4 per cent, so that the decrease in the proportion of full-bloods between 1956 and 1961 was less marked than it might have been.) In 1965 practically all of the children were of mixed descent and there were significant numbers of full-bloods only in the older adult population. A few elderly men were still able to perform some local dances for visiting tourists but even among the adults Aboriginal languages were apparently seldom used and most children and many adults spoke and understood only English.

Available mission records of births and deaths were not complete enough to allow one to draw any conclusions about rates of natural increase or decrease. Gribble claimed some increase for Yarrabah in his period but the records in the mission burial register suggest that, at least in the period 1902-5 (when a total of eighty-six burials was recorded), deaths at the mission probably exceeded births. Such figures as are available suggest that at least by the 1930s births were exceeding deaths though the death rate was still high. Sixty-one births and thirty-seven deaths were recorded in annual reports for 1936-8; in the ten years 1938-47 an average of 15·6 burials a year were recorded in the church burial register. Figures available for the post-war years show a marked excess of births over deaths, and in 1956 there were forty-two births and only six deaths. Births and deaths were not consistently reported in annual reports but in the years ending in March 1950, 1953, 1955, and 1956 the figures show an average of 34·5 births and 6·2 deaths a year.

The table showing numbers of people at Yarrabah by age groups suggests that there has been a natural increase of the population for some time and shows that the rate of increase has been improving latterly. The excess of males over females in the age groups from 15 to 39 may possibly be attributable to a higher rate of emigration by women into the Cairns community.

In the years immediately before the mission handed over control to the government there was something of an exodus from Yarrabah. The recorded population fell from 829 in 1957 to 746 in 1958 and 644 in 1959. A number of those who left were families with very good records who were able to find work and housing in Cairns and elsewhere; others, less favourably regarded by the mission, also applied for and were granted exemption or were sent off and many of these moved to Bessie Point, a place a few miles closer to Cairns and across the bay from the city, where

Table 32: *Yarrabah: population by age groups, 1965*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	79	81	160	20.0
5-9	68	70	138	17.3
10-14	58	58	116	14.5
15-19	41	34	75	9.4
20-24	31	27	58	7.3
25-29	25	22	47	5.9
30-34	22	19	41	5.1
35-39	20	10	30	3.8
40-44	12	14	26	3.2
45-49	12	12	24	3.0
50-54	14	14	28	3.5
55-59	10	10	20	2.5
60-64	7	4	11	1.4
Over 65	8	17	25	3.1
Total	407	392	799	100.0

they established a small settlement of their own.⁵⁶ But since the Department took over there could have been little emigration because the recorded population had increased steadily from 644 in 1959 to 808 in 1965. *Living conditions.* For many years the mission dispersed the population in several small communities at a distance from the mission centre, but in 1965 only five occupied houses were not at the settlement proper.⁵⁷ As recently as 1946 the mission was establishing, or re-establishing, outpost settlements in order both to extend the cultivated area and to divide the population in the interests of 'greater contentment and more healthy living'.⁵⁸ There were in 1965 just ninety-nine houses at the settlement, fifty of which had been built since 1960. Another ten had been built in the last few years of mission administration. Thirty-nine were older and, though some had been remodelled, most of these were in poor condition. Most of the new houses had three bedrooms, a combined kitchen-dining-living-room and either a verandah or an extra room. Each had an outside shower-laundry building and a lavatory. Water was laid on in the houses but the occupants had to buy their own sinks. The newer mission houses mostly had two bedrooms and a living-room, with a verandah all round, parts of which had sometimes been enclosed to provide a separate kitchen and additional rooms. They too had exterior lavatories and laundries. A total of sixty-six houses, either new or in good repair, had electricity laid on. (In 1965 the settlement was in the process of being linked to the Cairns Regional Electricity Board system.) No rents were charged for any of the houses.

In addition, two families were living in former staff houses and eight or nine elderly people were living in a former hospital building used as a temporary home for old people. Eight of the old mission houses nearest to the seafront were one-room cottages built for pensioners and it was planned to replace these with a new Old People's Home.

A total of 757 people was listed as residents of the 101 houses. The actual number of people living in the houses was probably slightly larger, but there would have been an average of something less than eight people per house. Thirty-seven houses were recorded with nine or more occupants.

Community services. The Cairns Hospital Board maintained a small hospital at Yarrabah run by a matron, who had a small staff of Aboriginal assistants and domestics. A speedboat had been bought to serve as an ambulance and patients could be taken to hospital in Cairns in about half an hour. The hospital was built in 1963 and there were beds for sixteen to eighteen patients. Doctors and dentists from the Cairns Hospital visited regularly.

A nursing sister on the settlement staff ran an infant welfare clinic, at which some 186 children under 5 years old were weighed each week and their mothers issued with special rations. Any infants with feeding problems were cared for all day at the clinic. The sister filled the position of female welfare officer and as well as her clinic duties she supervised a daily kindergarten (see below), ran evening sewing classes once a week, and each afternoon visited the homes of families with children.

The Education Department took over the Yarrabah school in 1962 and a fine new school building was completed in 1965. In 1962 no children had completed Grade VIII, which was then the final year of the primary school course;⁵⁹ in 1965 twenty-three pupils were attending Cairns High School in Grades VIII to X. An indication of the changes in this period can be given by comparing the enrolments in each grade in 1962 and 1965:

	1962	1965
Grade I	46	35
II	40	41
III	31	40
IV	33	37
V	25	35
VI	13	30
VII	7	30
	195	248
VIII and above	—	23

In 1962, 76.9 per cent of the pupils were in the first four grades and about 3 per cent in Grade VII or above;⁶⁰ in 1965, 56.4 per cent were in the first four grades and about 19 per cent in Grade VII or above.

The children going to school in Cairns were taken to and from each day by a charter launch. Should a road be put through to Yarrabah these children could go by road to Gordonvale School and have a much quicker and more certain trip each way. Even if few of the children go far with their high school education, at least most of them from 1965 on will have had the social experience of going to school with other Australians.

The makeshift kindergarten conducted at the infant welfare clinic in 1965 had twenty-six children who were 4 years old at the beginning of the year. The main functions of the kindergarten were to provide an experience of classroom activity and to impart some hygiene training. The children were provided with a light meal early and a nourishing lunch. They were taught by an Aboriginal woman. A pre-school was planned for the settlement.

A new, well-designed and well-equipped general store carried a good range of foods to supplement the basic issues made from the ration store. Settlement launches normally went to Cairns twice each day and residents could travel this way to shop in Cairns. A Social and Welfare Association arranged films two or three times a week and dances in the large recreation hall. This was also used for basketball matches once a week and, whenever the hall was used, the Association's canteen sold refreshments. Tourist parties visited once a week and the Association also organised the sale of curios and provided refreshments. A refreshment kiosk was being built near the recreation hall in 1965.

There were no institutional homes at Yarrabah of the kind established on the other three settlements farther south. There had been dormitories for children and for women when Yarrabah was a mission and the dormitory for girls was still functioning when the government took over. But this had been closed and all the residents, except the few old people cared for in the former hospital building, were living in houses.

Employment and relief. Eighty per cent of the Yarrabah work force was employed on the reserve in September 1965. Outside employment was relatively more important for female workers, ten of whom were engaged as domestics, mainly on pastoral properties in the west. These represented 28.5 per cent of the employed women, whereas the twenty-nine men, most of whom were working on cane farms, represented only 16.3 per cent of the working men of Yarrabah. Much larger numbers of men had gone out to work on cane farms in the past but the mechanisation

of the industry had apparently restricted the demand for seasonal workers from Yarrabah.

About half the working men on the settlement were directly engaged in primary production (39) and building (36); the rest of the men (74) and all the women (25) were in service-type occupations.

A number of the settlement employees were competent skilled and semi-skilled workers. Men had, for example, been trained to operate efficiently the heavy plant used for clearing and for timber-hauling, and the teams of carpenters submitted their own lists of material needed for each house and then built the house with little supervision from start to finish.

Social service pensions gave an income to forty-eight people or about 6 per cent of the total population. There were thirty-nine age and invalid pensioners (thirteen males and twenty-six females) and nine widows in September 1965. Child endowment payments provided an important addition to the income of 120 families, worth nearly £1,000 a month to the community.

Families and households. A rough count made from settlement records of the occupants of the houses indicated that there were some thirty-eight women variously widowed, separated, deserted or never married who were caring for a total of about seventy-five children (or about 18 per cent of the children at the settlement). Some of these children were cared for by a grandmother, and several children, one or both of whose parents lived outside the settlement, were cared for by foster parents.

Yarrabah, only 150 miles from Palm Island, and run by the same Department, under the same Act and Regulations, was nevertheless a very different community. It was obvious even on a short visit that the control was much less autocratic and less strict. In the generally much more permissive atmosphere at Yarrabah, relations between White staff members and Aboriginal residents were less constrained and there was none of the rigid segregation enforced at Palm Island. A number of the children of staff members attended the primary school; no curfew was imposed; staff and residents sat together at film shows and sporting activities; and some residents lived in former staff houses among the other staff houses. The 'police' were much less conspicuous at Yarrabah. Since Gribble in 1901 established a 'court' and 'government' or council, with a 'King' and 'Governor', there had been a tradition of Aboriginal involvement in management of the community's affairs, limited and sporadic though it was. There was no council at Yarrabah in 1965, but the executive of the Social and Welfare Association did not merely assent to decisions taken

by staff members but made decisions of its own about many activities and provided a convenient means of consulting local opinion about many matters of local interest.⁶¹ In these and no doubt other respects, life at Yarrabah was conspicuously different from life at Palm Island, and to the extent that the controls were less strict and that there was little institutional segregation the way of life there more closely resembled the way of life in the nearby communities outside the reserve.

Yarrabah remained nonetheless an institutional community, ultimate responsibility being in the hands of the superintendent and the residents being protected in important ways from the risks and responsibilities of normal life. Economically the community remained largely dependent on the government's continuing provision of special funds to maintain employment on the reserve. Socially the community was isolated because there was no road in, and because of the restrictions on entry to reserves. The special rules applying on reserves and the special powers and responsibilities of the superintendent set it apart from ordinary communities.

There can be no doubt that the reserve has real agricultural potential and that it could be subdivided into a number of farms and market gardens, sufficient, with the sawmill, sales to tourists, and possibly some fishing, to provide an economic basis for the continued existence of the Yarrabah township. Given a much increased investment in clearing and development, one might envisage a government farm expanding its area and production, and simultaneously passing developed areas over to Aboriginal farmers and market gardeners, while providing employment at award rates of pay for those not willing or able to exist as self-employed farmers. Both government and private farms might possibly sell produce to Yarrabah and to Cairns and beyond. There is no certainty that many would be interested in farming or gardening but the experiment of establishing individuals with their own areas had been begun and possibly some form of group farming organisation might be tried.

One would expect at the same time, with better education and better communication with the outside world, that there would be a continuing emigration to Cairns and other towns and cities in search of non-rural work. Along with such economic changes could go the gradual dismantling of the administrative organisation and controls peculiar to settlements and reserves, until the place was distinguished from other rural communities nearby in little more than that all the land was occupied only by people of Aboriginal descent and government agencies. Probably no other reserve of similar size has such economic potential and the human potential of this rapidly increasing community could justify the investment of money and imagination in its future.

THE REMOTE

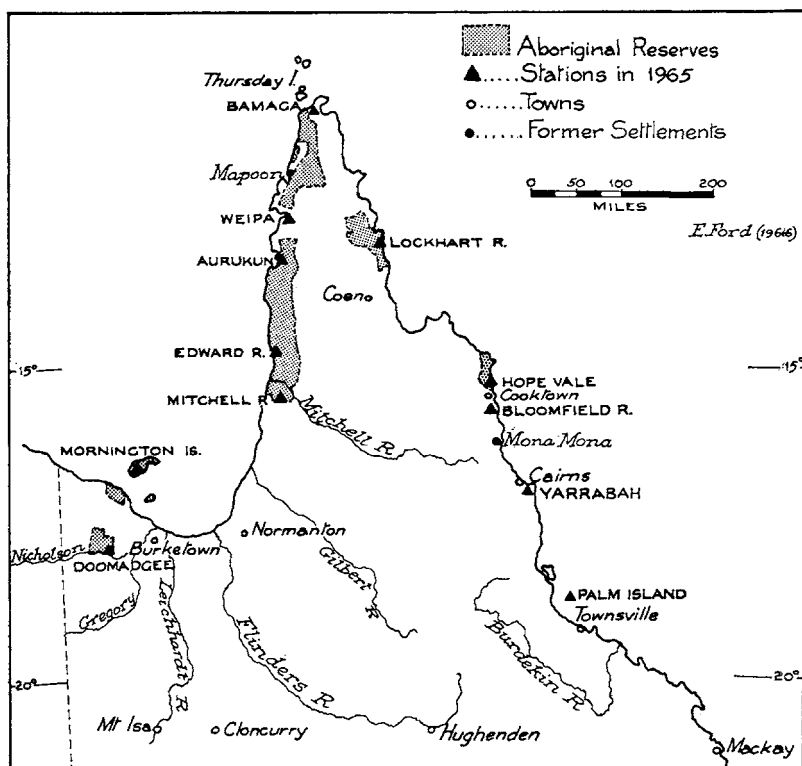
II

ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

MISSIONS AND GOVERNMENT IN NORTH QUEENSLAND

5

A degree of public anxiety in the late nineteenth century that something effective should be done about 'the Aboriginal problem' led both to the establishment of special agencies of government which fairly quickly assumed almost complete responsibility for the administration of Aborigines in the settled areas and also to the establishment of permanent and settled communities of Aborigines in the sparsely settled or unsettled north of the continent. Indeed, in Queensland the original impetus which led finally to the making of special legislation, and the establishment of a department of government to administer it, came from the interest of religious organisations in the condition of the Aborigines in the remote north. Similarly the revival of public interest in Aboriginal welfare in the 1920s and 1930s was largely nourished by accounts of conflict and the ill-treatment of Aborigines in the remote parts of the continent, especially the Northern Territory. The problems facing those who proposed to work for the betterment of Aborigines on and beyond the far northern frontiers in the last decades of the nineteenth century were more like those that had faced the colonial governments in the early part of the century than were the problems of Aborigines and part-Aborigines in the settled south. That the missions established in the north since the late nineteenth century survived, while earlier efforts in similar situations in the south failed, is at least partly a result of legislation providing some measure of protection for the Aborigines in the remote areas and the continuing subsidies paid by governments for the maintenance of missions. As the populations of the colonies had grown and become not only wealthier but more 'metropolitan' and more remote from everyday



Map 5. North Queensland: government settlements and mission stations, 1965

contact with Aborigines, it was possible to secure not only consent to legislation to protect Aborigines but also financial support for mission work.

The men who founded the missions in north Queensland between 1886 and 1936 had to deal with broadly two kinds of situation. Either they went out beyond the frontiers of settlement to places where Aborigines had had little or no contact with Europeans and Asians and there attempted to persuade the Aborigines to abandon or modify their nomadic habits, so that they might be converted to Christianity and secured from destructive contact with less altruistic intruders; or they went into areas where most Aborigines had had some contact and had become at least partly dependent on pastoral or mining communities, and tried to persuade the Aborigines to sever or limit their connections with other Europeans. The venture of the Reverend J.N. Hey and his

fellow Moravian missionaries at Mapoon in the Cape York Peninsula in 1891 was of the first kind; E.R.B. Gribble at Yarrabah in 1892 began to work in the second kind of situation. In both situations it was part of the tacit bargain that the Aborigines accepted the authority of the missionary over their lives in exchange for the guarantee his presence gave that they would have access to at least a limited range of the goods that they were keen to acquire.

The abandonment of independence and a nomadic way of life and the acceptance of mission authority in the new, sedentary communities was generally a fairly slow process. It was limited on the one hand by the conservatism of the Aborigines and their suspicion and even hostility, and on the other by the meagre financial resources of the missions and the difficulties of tropical agriculture, which made it impossible for the missions to provide complete sustenance for all the local Aborigines even had they all wanted to settle. It was, however, generally possible to provide enough protection to preserve the populations from the full effect of introduced diseases and of alcohol, which elsewhere had been so destructive of the physical health and social integration of Aboriginal groups.

The fact that, beyond the frontiers of settlement, the regulation of relations between the immigrant and the indigenous cultures was left almost exclusively to missionaries has, as Hiatt has pointed out, had important effects.¹ Generally Aborigines who became mission dwellers were required not only to accept new roles as employees of the mission but to abandon much of their traditional way of life. The list of requirements in most places included giving up murder, fighting and the whole system of private retributive justice; polygamy and child marriage and sometimes the 'promise system' of betrothal; sorcery; and a more or less comprehensive range of traditional rituals, depending on the views of particular churches and missionaries about what rites or parts of rites were evil.² Some mission organisations adopted permissive policies, avoiding, for example, interference in marriage customs and even encouraging the performance of some ceremonies; others required drastic changes even before people had been converted to Christianity. That even on such terms mission communities grew can be regarded as a measure mainly of the strength of the Aborigines' enthusiasm for acquiring 'western' goods, or perhaps rather of their incapacity to resist the attractions of these goods. Covetousness was not, of course, the only motive. A general curiosity about the intruders was important in initial contacts and medical care provided at the missions was generally appreciated. No doubt there

were many who considered the bargain a good one, though many evidently had reservations about its terms.

Most of the missions in north Australia were extremely isolated when first established and most were solely dependent on sea transport. The remoteness of the Aboriginal communities in the far north of Queensland has gradually been lessened, but the most dramatic improvements in communications have come only within the last fifteen years, and even today most would be considered extremely remote by most Australians. Each community has had a different history of contact and so have individuals within them. The total situation of a community like the Edward River Anglican mission, which was founded less than thirty years ago, and where the practice of paying any cash wage to workers was only instituted in 1958, is totally different from that of a community like the Lutheran mission at Hope Vale on the east coast, which was originally established about 1886 and where probably most of the adult males have had experience of working in outside employment.

Since it was not practicable to visit all the Aboriginal communities in the north in the time available, I have chosen to write about three missions which seem fairly to represent three broad kinds of situations in which Aboriginal settlement communities in Queensland and in north Australia generally find themselves.

Aurukun mission, though older than other relatively remote and relatively little acculturated communities, was chosen as an example of a largely self-contained community where contact with the world outside had been limited and slight. The Anglican missions at Edward River to the south and at Lockhart River on the east coast were comparably remote and difficult of access and their populations had had similarly limited contact with the outside world.

Doomadgee mission near the Northern Territory border was a relatively recent establishment, dating only from the 1930s, but the bulk of the population had had long contact with cattle stations and towns and most of the adult working population regularly went out to employment. The economies of the Mitchell River mission, of the Hope Vale and Bloomfield River missions (both on the east coast), and of the Presbyterian mission on Mornington Island were similarly based on the provision of labour for the pastoral and other rural industries. Of these Doomadgee and Hope Vale were perhaps the most successful and enterprising in the placement of their working population and men had gone as far as southern Queensland and northern New South Wales and even into the Riverina for work.

In northern Australia the entry of large industrial enterprises into remote reserve areas is a phenomenon only of the last decade and only Weipa mission in Queensland has so far found itself alongside a massive mining operation. But already the communities on Groote Eylandt across the Gulf in the Northern Territory have had to adjust to a similar situation and another, the Methodist mission at Yirrkala in north-east Arnhem Land, faces a similar future.

Finally I have discussed the unique, government-run community (or congeries of communities) on the northern tip of the Peninsula. Apart from the fact that its development has already affected other Aboriginal communities in the Peninsula, the fact that it is atypical makes the Cape York settlement of special interest. Its manner of development suggests at least the possibility of the growth of kinds of Aboriginal communities in the north more various in their structure than those that exist at present.

Table 33: *North Queensland missions*

	Denomination	Founded	Population 1965*
Aurukun	Presbyterian	1904	603
Edward River	Anglican	1939	250
Lockhart River	Anglican	1924	252
Doomadgee	Christian Brethren	1931	519
Mitchell River	Anglican	1904	524
Mornington Island	Presbyterian	1914	554
Hope Vale	Lutheran	1886-1942	338
		1949	
Bloomfield River†	Lutheran	1886-1901	139
		1957	
Weipa	Presbyterian	1898	293
	(D.N.A. from February 1966)		

* Figures from the *Annual Report of the Department of Native Affairs, 1965*.

† It is not clear whether this mission is properly grouped with the 'labour-exporting' missions. Certainly some residents go out to work as labourers and domestics but its economy may well be more like those of the 'remote' and self-contained missions. In fact some workers go out from all the missions and all have their farms and stock-raising projects so that my classification is based only on the relative importance of outside employment in the economy of each community.

AURUKUN—AN ISOLATED COMMUNITY

Aurukun mission was in 1966 one of the most remote communities in Australia, about 200 miles by sea from Thursday Island and 360 miles by air from the nearest large town, Cairns. A motor track to the mission ran from the main track up Cape York Peninsula, but this was impassable for several months each year and was seldom used; all supplies and equipment were brought in by sea from Thursday Island. A small mail aircraft called

once a fortnight. East of the reserve and for about 300 miles south, the Peninsula was occupied by a scatter of undeveloped pastoral holdings.

Aurukun was the third mission established on Cape York Peninsula by Moravian missionaries for the Presbyterian Church, and was started in August 1904, near the mouth of the Archer River, about 50 miles south of Weipa (1898) and 100 miles south of Mapoon (1891). The Aborigines in the area and in the country farther south had then had little or no contact with Europeans and for some years it was a mission to nomadic people. In December 1905 the permanent residents numbered three and casual visitors forty-three; nine years after its foundation there were still only thirty-eight permanent residents and twenty-three casual visitors recorded.³ The mission initially had a subsidy of only £150 a year and it was beyond the mission's resources to maintain more than a few essential workers, some of the sick and those children who were left to be educated.

By the late 1930s the mission evidently had a substantial sedentary population and was in touch with over 300 people. In 1949 the official estimate of the population was 660, but the actual resident population was only about 250. The figure of 350-400 nomads in the mission's reserve was clearly a very rough estimate. Since 1928 the mission had been in

Table 34: *Aurukun: births and deaths, 1904-65*

Period	Approximate mean population	Births	Annual average	Deaths	Annual average	Average annual natural increase
1904-05	—	9	4.5	12	6.0	1.5
1906-10	—	31	6.2	23	4.6	1.6
1911-15	—	22	4.4	30	6.0	-1.6
1916-20	—	12*	3.0	23	4.6	-1.6
1921-25	—	26†	8.6	25‡	6.2	2.4
1926-30	—	38	7.6	22	4.4	3.2
1931-35	—	53	10.6	30	6.0	4.6
1936-40	330	54	10.8	58	11.6	-0.8
1941-45	—	56	11.2	50	10.0	1.2
Total		301		273		
1946-50	650	93	18.6	56	11.2	7.4
1951-55	660	71	14.2	25	5.0	9.2
1956-60	590	68	13.6	25	5.0	8.6
1961-65	580	97	19.4	40	8.0	11.4
Total		329		146		

* No data for 1918.

† Data incomplete for 1921, 1922.

‡ No data for 1922.

touch with nomadic groups living around the Kendall and Holroyd Rivers to the south, and an Aboriginal evangelist from the mission lived in that area from 1931. Most of the people from this area who had not already settled at Aurukun or at Edward River, the Anglican mission to the south, did so in 1957. Only about ten people, most of them old, still lived away from the mission in 1965. There were then over 600 Aborigines and sixteen White staff members and dependants living at the mission.

The records of births and deaths in the early decades of the mission's existence are of limited value since it is not clear how many Aborigines were in close enough touch with the mission to ensure that all births and deaths could be recorded. They suggest that the population was probably decreasing or at best remaining more or less stationary until after World War II, when the mortality rate was significantly reduced.

Table 35, showing numbers of Aborigines by 5-year age groups, was compiled from a series of personal record cards at the mission. The figures may not be wholly reliable but they do indicate that the population was growing, though less rapidly than on missions in similarly remote areas in the Northern Territory. The population over 60 years old, in particular, seems likely to be over-enumerated. There were altogether only sixty-one pensioners—age, invalid, and widow—at the mission in January 1966. It is possible that a number of cards of old people who live mostly at Edward River or who have died, were included. On the other hand the total of 595 is slightly lower than the figure of 613 provided by the mission—392 adults and 221 children (36 per cent). Children under 15 made up just over 35 per cent of the population and just over 60 per cent were less than 30 years old.

Table 35: *Aurukun: population by age groups, 1966*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	48	41	89	14.9
5-9	33	29	62	10.4
10-14	33	26	59	9.9
15-19	36	32	68	11.4
20-24	22	23	45	7.5
25-29	18	18	36	6.0
30-34	17	19	36	6.0
35-39	16	15	31	5.2
40-44	13	16	29	4.8
45-49	15	14	29	4.8
50-54	15	13	28	4.7
55-59	13	7	20	3.3
Over 60	23	40	63	10.5
Total	302	293	595	99.4

The whole of the population derived from the western side of Cape York and most from the area of the Aurukun reserve itself. Most belonged to language groups which formerly occupied the country south of the Archer River, although the mission itself is north of the river. Non-local Aborigines had never been removed to Aurukun. There were practically no part-Aborigines. Although Aurukun men have been generally highly regarded in the Cape as workers, and a number regularly went out to employment, there had been no significant permanent emigration from the reserve.

Living conditions. There were eighty-three houses and huts in the mission village in January 1966 or one house to about seven residents. But seventy children lived in dormitories, partly to relieve the pressure of overcrowding in the village houses, so that the average number of occupants to each house was about 6.5. New houses had been built at the rate of about six a year for the previous four or five years and the newer houses had three rooms, but the majority had only one or two rooms and were in poor condition. Most were built on piles and all had timber frames. The older huts were built of iron, some of the new ones of timber and others of light metal sheeting. Cooking was generally on open fires outside and many houses were used as sleeping shelters and to store property, and for little else. Generally there was inadequate provision of lavatories, showers, and laundries.

Community services. A nursing sister ran a small dispensary and clinic. There was little accommodation for in-patients but this was an advantage rather than a difficulty. Serious cases were sent to Thursday Island or flown to Cairns by aerial ambulance. When possible, patients were treated at home and cared for by relatives. An unusual 'maternity house' had been built, some distance both from the dispensary and the village houses but reasonably handy to the sister's house. This was a small house similar to those built in the village but divided into two small 'flats' equipped with stoves and minimum furniture where women at childbirth could look after themselves with the help of relatives, in privacy but in a home-like environment. Meals were prepared for a number of the less competent pensioners at a special kitchen.

The Flying Doctor at Charters Towers visited the mission monthly and a health inspector from Cairns visited periodically for hookworm control and to give general advice on public health measures. (The hookworm infestation rate was said to have declined from about 76 per cent to 4.5 per cent in ten years.)

A new two-storey school building with open sides was completed in

1964, replacing the bush timber, earth-floored and bark-roofed building which had served for many years, but the staffing of the school remained inadequate. In 1961, 138 children were enrolled with two White teachers and eleven Aboriginal monitors; the enrolment in 1965 was similar (136) but at the beginning of 1966 there were only two young temporary teachers and ten female assistants. An additional teacher was expected later in the year. Few pupils had been educated beyond Grade V standard.

No cash was used on the mission and most food was supplied as rations. A small store was open one day a week where people bought extra food and other goods against wages credits. (The school children had three meals a day prepared for them.)

The annual report for 1965 recorded that hunting and fishing remained the favourite recreations. Games were organised for the children, some football was played and films were shown about once every two weeks.

Separate accommodation was provided in dormitories or hostels for 'senior' boys and girls (those who had left school and were aged about 15 to 17 years) and for 'junior' boys and girls aged mostly from about 12 to 15 years. Formerly a much higher proportion of the children of school age were kept in the dormitories. These institutions were maintained, not to care for children whose parents could not look after them, but to replace camp and family life with mission upbringing and mission discipline, for every child for at least a few years.

Employment and relief. Hunting and fishing remained not only a recreation but an important means of livelihood for Aurukun people. The number of jobs available at the mission was limited and not all could, or chose to, find work outside. Ration issues and earnings on and off the settlement were therefore supplemented by hunting and gathering and by fishing the estuaries and by selling or bartering fish and handiwork to the mission.

Early in 1966 fifty-five men and twenty-four women were employed by the mission at rates generally between 32s and 44s a week (a proportion of which was put away as a compulsory saving), none of which was paid in cash. Cattle work employed twenty-two men, including two head stockmen who were not local Aborigines. Five men and two women worked in the garden, coconut plantation, and dairy and ten men in the sawmill and on building jobs. Eighteen men and twenty-two women were engaged in service-type work.

In January 1966 ten, and later twelve, men were employed at Weipa and five were in the crew of the Presbyterian missions' supply boat. Another twenty-five had jobs at cattle stations. Assuming that normally

about sixty men would be employed by the mission and forty outside, the total of 100 males employed is much less than the 165 males recorded in the mission population aged between 15 and 59.

There were fifty-six age and invalid pensioners and five women receiving widows' pensions at Aurukun in January 1966.

The establishment of the bauxite-mining operation at Weipa brought the modern world a little closer to Aurukun and gave some of the men their first chance to earn a normal wage. But like other remote mission communities in the north Aurukun remained extraordinarily isolated from the life of the rest of the country. Its superintendent had wide powers and, though there was an appointed 'council' of Aborigines, he, and the Board of Missions, made the important decisions affecting the community. Cash was seldom if ever seen. The community had its own 'police' and rarely saw the Queensland police. A 'court' was constituted of selected Aboriginal residents who, subject to the superintendent's review, tried and decreed the punishment of those who offended against the local rules of conduct. Little was seen of other Australians except the missionaries and occasional visiting officials and pilots.

One might expect that some changes will come in the next few years: that cash will come into use, for example, and that wage levels will be raised a little; that a rather more determined attempt will be made to educate the children; and that housing standards will be improved. But any radical change in the situation of the community must probably wait for the general development of the Peninsula—the building of roads and bridges and the investment of capital in the cattle industry (and perhaps in fishing). The development at Weipa is a start and may possibly help to stimulate other development but in 1966 it seemed unlikely that the Aurukun community would be shaken by rapid change in the immediate future.

DOOMADGEE—A LABOUR POOL

Members of the Plymouth Brethren began missionary work among Aborigines in and around Burketown about 1931. They were allowed to establish a community on a reserve on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria north-west of Burketown and built a number of houses and a school there. The mission was first referred to in the report of the Chief Protector for 1936, when it had a population of eighty-seven. In 1937, a much larger reserve having been created on the Nicholson River, the coastal reserve was abandoned and Mr G. Read, the missionary who had established the

work in 1931, took the Aborigines to the site of the present mission, on the north bank of the Nicholson, some 60 miles south-west of Burketown.

This was then, and remains, an area of large cattle properties, though to the north towards the Gulf the country was, and is, largely unoccupied and undeveloped. In the 1930s the nearest town of any size was Cloncurry, 220 miles south, but Mount Isa, 200 miles south, later tended to become the main service town for this north-western corner of Queensland. The mission in 1966 had a twice-weekly air service, but most of its equipment and supplies were hauled laboriously by sea and road around the Peninsula to Burketown or, more recently, by sea, rail, and road by way of Cairns, Normanton, and Burketown. In the wet season the roads were often unusable for weeks at a time.

The first large group of Aborigines removed to the new mission was reported in 1938 when forty-eight destitute and old people from Burketown and the cattle station camps were taken there.⁴ These removals increased the mission population to 138 for that year but evidently the population remained less than 200 until 1947. After that the numbers increased rapidly from 152 in 1946, to 357 in 1956 and 519 in 1965.

All the people living at the mission originated in the area between Borroloola in the west and Normanton in the east and between Mornington Island in the north and Camooweal-Cloncurry in the south. Most were born within 60 or 70 miles of the mission. Mission records indicated that of the 240 residents over 20 years old at least 180 (or 75 per cent) were born within this area. Thirty adults, mostly men, came from places across the Northern Territory border (12·5 per cent). The population had always been predominantly full-blood Aboriginal. Part-Aborigines composed nearly 20 per cent of the population in 1946 but only 10·2 per cent in 1960. Probably one of the early concerns of the missionaries was to care for part-Aboriginal children but later some of the part-Aborigines moved out and greater numbers of Aborigines moved in.

Although immigration, most of it probably voluntary, accounts for part of the rapid population growth after 1950, more than half can be attributed to natural increase. The few available records of births and deaths before 1945 suggest that at Doomadgee, as at other such settlements, there was a fairly high mortality rate. (In the three years 1936-8 Doomadgee reported seven births and seventeen deaths.) But since the war births consistently outnumbered deaths in the mission population.

The rate of natural increase has, however, not been extraordinarily high compared with rates on other northern missions and the proportion of children in the community is lower than in many Aboriginal mission

Table 36: *Doomadgee: births and deaths, 1946-65*

Period	Approximate mean population	Births	Annual average	Deaths	Annual average	Average annual net increase
1946-50	225	38	7.6	12	2.4	5.2
1951-55	350	66	13.2	29	5.8	7.4
1956-60	370	80	16.0	27	5.4	10.6
1961-65	465	101	20.2	26	5.2	15.0
Total		285	14.2	94	4.7	9.5

Table 37: *Doomadgee: population by age groups, 1966*

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
0-4	36	58	94	17.8
5-9	34	45	79	14.9
10-14	33	26	59	11.1
15-19	31	22	53	10.0
20-24	27	19	46	8.7
25-29	17	23	40	7.4
30-34	20	19	39	7.3
35-39	13	10	23	4.3
40-44	10	10	20	3.7
45-49	9	4	13	2.4
50-54	5	6	11	2.0
55-59	11	10	21	3.9
Over 60	19	11	30	5.7
Total	265	263	528	99.2

communities. Children under 15 accounted for 43.9 per cent of the population at the end of 1965 and just over 70 per cent of the residents were under 30 years old.

One reason for the relatively unspectacular rate of natural increase of the population at Doomadgee is the unusually large number of unmarried women of marriageable age. A count of women aged between 20 and 35 showed that of a total of fifty-eight actually resident on the mission, twenty-one had no children. Sixteen of these had never been married and four had married only within the preceding twelve months. Six of these unmarried or recently married women were over 30 and three were under 30 but over 25. Possibly in no other Aboriginal community would one find anything like 27.5 per cent of women aged between 20 and 35 unmarried and childless.

There had been little permanent movement of people off the mission station. From time to time some men had been removed to settlements (Palm Island and Woorabinda) and had settled there, but very few families or individuals from Doomadgee had moved into towns like Camooweal, Cloncurry, and Mount Isa. On the other hand the actual number of people at the mission would always be smaller than the number recorded as Doomadgee residents, and in the middle of the year about one-third of the whole population had sometimes been away in employment (e.g. at 30 June 1964 when the total population was just over 500, there were 168 men and women away at work).

Living conditions. There were, in January 1966, sixty-two dwellings for Aborigines at the mission, or one unit to every 6.8 people in the 'camp'. A number of families were living in tents and huts beyond the housing area and others had tents in their yards to provide extra shelter, so that the number actually living in the houses was rather less than the 425 in the whole 'camp'. (Of the total population of 538 recorded at 31 December 1965, 58 lived in the dormitories and 55 were away from the mission.)

More than half the houses had been built since 1960. Most were of iron and local timber and were built on low piles. The standard type of house had two rooms and a verandah enclosed to make an extra room. Two buildings each had four 3-room 'flats'. Most houses were wired for electricity and each had a water tap in the yard; some had water drums as a reserve supply in case of a pumping failure. Most householders had done some gardening and a few gardens were very well kept. No rents were charged.

Community services. There was a small hospital where a nursing sister (helped by the wife of a staff member) provided treatment for out-patients and special feeding for six diabetic patients, and ran an infant welfare clinic. The hospital was also used for confinements but there were normally few in-patients. Some huts nearby were used for male patients. A new and larger hospital was planned.

There was radio communication with the Flying Doctor base in Mount Isa and a doctor visited the mission briefly about once a month. A dentist visited occasionally and usually stayed for a week or two. A health inspector from Cairns visited about once a year for hookworm control work.

Primary school classes were held in a building part of which was also used for religious services, and in a small hut nearby. A total of 133 children was enrolled in July 1965, with two qualified teachers, helped by two Aboriginal assistants and a monitor. Nearly three-quarters of the pupils were in the first three grades (74.4 per cent) and Grade VI was the highest.

Table 38: *Doomadgee School enrolments, July 1965**

Grade	Enrolment	Number repeating grade	Age range in years
I	42	21	5-10
II	22	15	7-12
III	35	19	8-13
IV	18	11	12-15
V	11	2	12-15
VI	5	—	13-15
Total	133	68	

* Figures from a return to the Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1.8.65.

The schooling provided at the mission has been gradually improving. In 1950 there were no qualified teachers, the school was open for less than half the year and, except for five pupils in Grades II and III, all the seventy-four pupils were in the first grade.

Almost all food and clothing was supplied for cash or on account from a well-stocked general store. Apart from the dormitory children and ten people who were indigent, the mission supplied free rations to none of the residents, except when men on holiday from station work offered their services to the mission in exchange for free rations. Some basic rations were sold on Mondays but most trading was done on Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings. As a Protector of Aborigines, the superintendent looked after the departmental savings bank accounts of residents and regulated their use of their earnings.

Some football and cricket was played and sport was organised for the children but otherwise there was little organised recreation. It appeared that no important ceremonial activity was carried on at the mission, but some of the more recent arrivals from the Northern Territory evidently sang the traditional chants occasionally.

Institutions. In December 1965 there was a girls' dormitory with thirty-five inmates and a boys' dormitory with twenty-three. Both served as means of imposing a relatively rigorous mission discipline on the children in substitution for upbringing by their parents. Formerly the girls remained in the dormitory until they were married and the main purpose of the girls' dormitory was to postpone the girls' marriage and sexual experience. Recently the older girls have left to return to their parents before marriages have been arranged.

Employment and relief. Numbers employed both on and off the reserve fluctuated widely but mission employment at no time occupied more

than a small proportion of the work force. In the summer when the mission population was swollen by the return of most workers from the stations, the cattle work also ceased at the mission and only six or seven men were employed. Two or three boys from the dormitory were usually being trained in cattle or building work. From time to time casual workers were engaged and extra hands were put on to drive cattle to market or work on the airstrip or the farm, but generally no more than about twenty Aborigines were employed by the mission.

The mission workers were paid at rates generally a little below those paid to workers on the stations under the regulations. Most able-bodied mission employees were paid £7 a week but the assistant in the store received £10 a week. Women workers were paid £2 or £3 and keep. When men were engaged as drovers for the mission they were paid the statutory rates.

Employment under agreement on cattle and sheep stations provided most of the income of most families. Between January and December 1965, 274 employment agreements for Doomadgee people were signed, for workers for seventy-four pastoral properties, for ten drovers and musterers and two other employers:

	Males	Females	Total
Pastoral properties	188	55	243
Drovers, etc.	26		26
Other employers (Burketown)	5		5
	219	55	274

Sometimes the term of employment was short or was terminated early and some workers would have several different engagements in a single year. The number at work at any one time varied from a minimum at Christmas time to a maximum about June, and the employment of men was subject to greater seasonal variation than that of women.

Generally most of the men worked on cattle stations north of the Mount Isa-Townsville railway where few stations had any resident labour force. A high proportion of the women worked as domestics on sheep properties farther south. Just half of the women were engaged by stations recruiting no male labour, and most of these were in the Longreach, Aramac, and Hughenden districts. But two couples each year were flown to a station near Thargomindah in south-west Queensland. Almost all the workers left and returned to Doomadgee by air, though many travelled from Cloncurry onwards to their employment by train, all fares being met by the employers.

Table 39: *Doomadgee: quarterly variations in outside employment, 1964-5*

Quarter ending	Number of workers employed		Total
	Males	Females	
31. 3.64	93	53	146
30. 6.64	114	54	168
30. 9.64	84	47	131
31.12.64	16	16	32
31. 3.65	83	42	125
30. 6.65	113	38	151
30. 9.65	89	30	119
31.12.65	16	18	34
Average (two years)	76.0	37.2	113.2

The employment of Aboriginal domestics from Doomadgee on sheep stations had created an interesting social problem. As noted above there were an unusual number of single women of marriageable age in the community. This can reasonably be regarded as an effect of their employment on these stations. It is probably not so much that the young women wanted to spend their lives as career domestics but rather that, as helpers of the wives of fairly prosperous graziers, they had seen enough of a style of life very different from life as it had been lived at Doomadgee to make them unwilling to resign themselves to being the wife of a seasonal cattle station worker and either working as a domestic on a cattle station or staying at the mission and raising children. Their prospects of finding husbands of a more sympathetic and congenial type in the areas where they worked, or indeed anywhere except perhaps in the cities, were not particularly bright. Thus a number of the most acculturated and accomplished women in the community may never raise families.

There were seventeen age and nine invalid pensioners (seventeen male and nine female) at Doomadgee in January 1966 and another seven women received wives' allowances. Three women were receiving widows' pensions. In all, thirty-six adults (or 12.1 per cent of the adult population) were dependent on these social service benefits. Another ten people (including six children) were supported by the mission as indigents, being for one reason or another without other means of support.

Doomadgee had developed, like the New South Wales Aboriginal stations, largely as a 'dormitory' settlement, where people lived who worked elsewhere. Situated in a very sparsely settled area and much more remote from towns than any station in New South Wales, the mission provided essential services for the residents but did not, like the settlements and

most of the missions in Queensland, provide their means of support as well. It served many of the functions of a rural township and was in fact very much larger than the only township within 150 miles, Burketown, which had a population of 120 in 1961. There were no signs that any drift out of the mission might develop and, given the high rate of natural increase (about 3 per cent per annum in 1961-5), there was no reason to suppose that the community would not continue its rapid growth.

If it were to become a township like other Australian towns in every essential respect, except that most of the inhabitants would be Aborigines, there would need to be a substantial reduction of the responsibilities of the superintendent. The relevant government and local authorities might well take over the work in the fields of education, medical and health services, housing, law and order, and perhaps water and electricity supply. The only remaining functions of the missionaries, apart from their evangelical work, would be the management of the pastoral and farm work and of the store, the provision of post office services, and, perhaps most important of all, the provision of the employment and banking services that were provided by the superintendent in his capacity as Protector of Aborigines. The negotiation of employment contracts and the arranging of workers' travel could be regarded as properly the work of a government official.⁵ The other activities one could envisage mission workers carrying on indefinitely, in association with the Aborigines. If changes along these lines were made, and responsibility and authority distributed among a number of functionaries as in ordinary communities, it would be reasonable enough to regard Doomadgee as a (mainly Aboriginal) township. Since there seems no reason to expect the community to disintegrate and scatter and no reason why it should not remain, it seems essential for its healthy development that it should become a town and not remain an institutional community, however benevolent and competent its administration may have been.

WEIPA—AN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN A REMOTE RESERVE

When Archibald Meston made his tour of Cape York in 1896 as Special Commissioner for the Queensland Government, the Moravian mission at Mapoon was less than five years old but already the Reverend J.N. Hey was looking for a site for a new station to the south.⁶ Meston went with him to Albatross Bay but was convinced that it would be a mistake to open a second mission. There was, he considered, no need for it—the whole of the relatively undisturbed population of the west coast of the Cape should be left alone and visited occasionally by government officers—and there

were no areas of soil suitable for agriculture. But within two years Hey's colleague, the Reverend E. Brown, had started the Weipa mission station, inland from Albatross Bay, on the Embley River, not far from the York Downs cattle station.

It has been suggested that one reason for choosing a site well inland was that the Mapoon mission on the coast had proved too accessible to the *bêche-de-mer* and pearl fishers. Hey did not supply any tobacco at Mapoon and Meston reported that the Aborigines sought it from the fishing boats. The fishers themselves, of course, looked for labour for their boats and women for their crews.

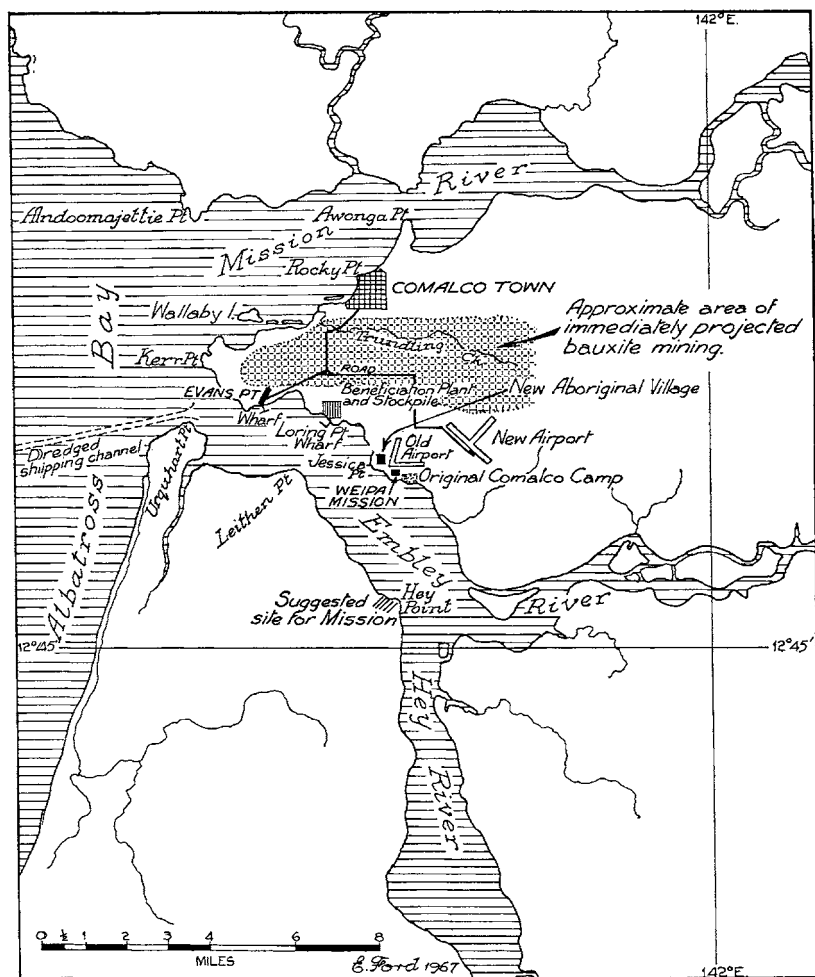
A school was started in 1899 but the population remained small for many years. In 1914 the mission reported only sixty-eight permanent residents and twenty casual visitors. In the same year Mapoon reported a permanent population of 110, with 100 casuals, but the difference in numbers at the two stations was probably an effect of the government's policy of removing to Mapoon half-caste children and others from areas to the south. There were few if any removals to Weipa.

In 1932, largely because of the prevalence of malarial mosquitoes at the site up the river, the station was moved to its present site at Jessica Point on the broad estuary of the Embley River. (Malaria remained a major health problem for some years: in 1932, ninety-four acute cases were reported and cases were still reported for Mapoon and Weipa in 1935 and 1937.) There were still fewer than 200 people at the mission and the population was not growing. In the first ten years after the war, the population remained fairly static and only in the last ten years had the birth rate been significantly higher than the death rate.

Although the natural increase of the population has made its contribution to the community's growth, the main reasons for growth since 1956

Table 40: *Weipa: births and deaths, 1931-65*

Period	Approximate mean population	Births	Annual average	Deaths	Annual average	Annual average natural increase
1931-35	—	14	2.8	23	4.6	—1.8
1936-40	174	17	3.4	26	5.2	—1.8
1941-45	—	20	4.0	30	6.0	—2.0
1946-50	154	20	4.0	30	6.0	—2.0
1951-55	155	21	4.2	18	3.6	0.6
1956-60	166	37	7.4	18	3.6	3.8
1961-65	280	51	10.2	31	6.2	4.0



Map 6. Weipa

were the closing of Mapoon and the discovery of economic deposits of bauxite near the mission. Between November 1962 and November 1964 the mission population had increased by 88 to 278, mainly as a result of the migration of people from Mapoon early in 1964, just before it was finally closed, and numbers later increased to over 300.⁷ In addition to this major migration from Mapoon, men from Hope Vale (near Cooktown), Mapoon, and Aurukun moved to Weipa because well-paid work was available.

Table 41 shows the extent of population growth between 1962 and early 1966. (It was not possible to obtain details of the ages of the residents in January 1966 but total numbers of adults and children were calculated from a list of resident families.)

Immigration between 1962 and 1964 shifted the balance of the population slightly but apparently did not alter the proportion of men in the work force significantly. In 1962, 66.7 per cent of the population were under 30 years old and children under 15 must have accounted for about 39 per cent of the population. In 1964, 71.2 per cent were under 30 and about 44 per cent under 15. But men in the 21-50 years age group made up 17.2 per cent of the population in 1962 (32 men) and 16.9 per cent in 1964 (47 men).

The majority of the Weipa population derived from local groups around Albatross Bay within 30 miles of the mission.⁸ There were, however, a scattering of adults who originated farther north and south along the coast and inland. Until 1956 the population was almost entirely full-blood Aboriginal, but since then, and particularly since the Mapoon migration, both the numbers of part-Aborgines (including people of part-Melanesian as well as part-European descent) and the proportion of people without strong traditional local ties had increased greatly.

English had become the language most used in the Weipa community, though knowledge of native languages was probably much more general than it was at Mapoon. Little remains, it appears, of the traditional culture after more than sixty years of mission influence.⁹

Living conditions. In November 1965 a new housing area was opened and almost the whole population moved into new houses, behind the old village area along the beach. The new houses were built of aluminium with timber frames, and masonite lining, and fifty-six were three-bedroom units, with a living-room, kitchen, and bathroom. Six pensioner units of two bedrooms had a similar basic design and separate laundry units were provided. Water was laid on in all the houses. Laundries had not been built for the fifty-six 'family units' and electricity had not been laid on. The sixty-two new houses were erected with a grant of £150,000 made by Comalco, supplemented by Commonwealth funds provided for the old people's houses.¹⁰ Without any doubt the Weipa community was the best-housed Aboriginal community in North Australia.

Three bedrooms were provided in the family units to provide separate rooms for parents, and male and female children. There was an average of rather fewer than five persons to each house and there should be no overcrowding, if new house building keeps pace with population growth.

Table 41: *Weipa: population by age groups, 1962, 1964, 1966*

Age group	November 1962*		Total	November 1964*		Total	January 1966†		Total
	Males	Females		Males	Females		Males	Females	
0-10	30	26	56	48	49	97			
11-20	19	16	35	28	22	50			
21-30	16	22	38	23	28	51			
31-40	11	8	19	17	10	27			
41-50	5	7	12	7	11	18			
51-60	9	5	14	11	7	18			
Over 61	9	7	16	11	6	17			
Total	99	91	190	145	133	278	180	150	330

* Figures supplied by Mr P.D. Hinton.

† Figures include seventeen adults (fifteen male and two female) and six children, regarded by the mission as visitors. Twelve of the men were workers from Aurukun, the remainder were from Mitchell River mission (three adults and two children), and Bamaga (two adults and four children). Figures also include two part-Aboriginal and 'exempt' families camping outside the mission reserve, beyond a Comalco camp.

Community services. The mission ran a school which in 1965 had an enrolment of sixty-nine and a staff of two qualified teachers, with one Aboriginal helper. For most of the life of the Weipa school there was only one European teacher, not always qualified, with a number of Aboriginal assistants. (In 1961 an inspector reported that there were thirty-four children enrolled, one European teacher and three Aboriginal assistants.) More than half the total enrolment in 1965 was in Grades I and II and only two pupils were enrolled in Grade VI. The first two grades had classes in a former dining-room and the upper grades in the building which also served as a church.

A nursing sister provided local medical services, from a small hospital (originally built as a dormitory). When serious illnesses occurred the sister consulted with doctors at Thursday Island and patients were generally evacuated to Thursday Island hospital.

The mission ran a well-stocked shop and an agency of the Commonwealth Bank. The shop and bank opened on two mornings each week and all day on Fridays.

Employment and relief. Until 1956 the mission was the main employer. Small numbers of men went away for short periods on luggers and other coastal craft and a few for longer periods on cattle stations. (Cattle station work was apparently not popular and numbers engaged under agreement to work on stations were small: e.g. 1947—nine men; 1950—three, and five on short-term engagements with drovers; 1953—two married couples; 1955—eight on stations and with drovers. One reason for the small numbers working on stations was given in the 1948 report where it was noted that some employers had failed to arrange for the return to the mission of men who had put in several years' work on stations.)¹¹ Some found jobs at Thursday Island. During the war several had been engaged in work for the armed services. The mission ran a sawmill to cut timber for houses and mission buildings and cultivated several acres of fruit and vegetables for local consumption. But the employment offered by the mission was limited by the funds available and incomes were low. Hunting and fishing remained important means of providing the food needs of many of the people.

From 1956 to 1958 between thirty and forty men were employed at times by the company (Enterprise Exploration) investigating the bauxite deposits. After 1958, when exploration work was virtually completed, the available jobs were fewer and in 1959 and 1960 only a dozen men were employed on an average. Then, as developmental work began, employment again increased. In 1963, when some fifty Whites were

working for the Comalco company, usually between twenty and twenty-five Aborigines were employed.¹² In December 1965, when the total work force of the company and the several contracting firms was over 300, more than eighty Aborigines were employed. The basic rate payable was over £18 a week but extended shifts were often worked and it was not unusual for Aborigines to bank wages cheques of over £60 a fortnight.

The mission had ceased to be an important employer, and employed mainly those too young or too old to work for Comalco or the contractors. In 1965 no more than twelve men and six women were employed full- or part-time by the mission. In January 1966, two able-bodied men were engaged in cattle work and three others were employed as drivers and in general work. All these were paid £10 per week. A few other men were employed in sanitary and garbage work, as firewood collectors, one as assistant in the store, and others on a casual basis, all at rates between £2 and £8 depending on their age and their duties. Five or six women were normally employed as domestics, office assistants, and hospital workers at £2 to £3 a week and two girls were employed as domestics at 30s a week. (Some women also worked for Comalco on laundry and other domestic work.) The total wages paid by the mission was only a small fraction of the total income of the Weipa Aboriginal community.

Mission wages amounted to well under half the income from pensions coming in to the community. At the end of 1965 there were eighteen age and invalid pensioners (ten male and eight female), seven women receiving widows' penions and four receiving repatriation pensions of varying amounts. A total of fourteen men and fifteen women received relief of some kind. Some supplemented their pension income by doing jobs for the mission. A small portion of child endowment was retained by the mission to pay for free issues, but most was paid to the mothers.

Mine and mission. Whatever ideas the Presbyterian mission authorities may have had before 1956 about the future of the Aboriginal communities on the Cape, the discovery of bauxite demanded a complete reappraisal of the situation. Initially the Board's hopes for benefits from the mining development were high. It was argued that 'mission policy has been set to a progressive tempo of spiritual and temporal progress aimed at assimilation within two or three generations'—though what 'assimilation' might have meant for Aborigines on this remote coast is not clear—and the isolation of the three missions had enabled them 'to follow this policy without outside pressures'.¹³ But when at the end of 1956 it was clear that a large-scale mining operation would begin almost at once and at the site of the Weipa mission, it was obvious that the pace and the

nature of change in this community at least was going to alter radically, and the Board hoped for substantial financial help from the mining company.

The view of both the mission and the government seems to have been that the Aborigines were unprepared to adjust themselves to living as part of a White mining community. The first plan, when it was assumed that the actual mission site would be wanted as the centre of the operation, was that some 'carefully selected' families, 'perhaps three in number', should move into the mining town but the rest should be evacuated to Aurukun. The mission hoped for substantial compensation in the form of a large initial grant and continuing payments sufficient to enable the church to raise Aboriginal living standards rapidly and to develop the reserve areas left to them on the Cape. Later it was proposed to evacuate Weipa not to Aurukun but to a site across the Embley River. Later still, when Comalco decided to site its township on the Mission River and the centre of ore-handling operations east of Jessica Point, it was decided not to move at all. But since the new Aboriginal village was built any prospect of even three families moving into the mining township became remote. It seemed unlikely that Aboriginal families would want to leave their community for the Comalco township, or that the company would be enthusiastic about such a move. (It was suggested that a part-Aboriginal, camped outside the reserve area and employed by Comalco, might apply for a company house.) One problem is that as long as the houses are company houses only employees could occupy them; a European employee who was dismissed or resigned would be flown out, while an Aboriginal would want to find another house in the area. For the foreseeable future it seemed that there would be a 'white' town of Weipa and, seven miles away, another smaller 'black' town, on an Aboriginal reserve.¹⁴

From the beginning of February 1966 the Weipa mission became a government settlement. The plan was that the mission staff—a superintendent, two teachers, and a nursing sister—should remain, on the Department's payroll. The Presbyterian Board of Missions was to keep a minister resident there. The Island Industries Board was to take over the mission store and run it as one of its many branch stores—probably its most prosperous one. The superintendent had and would have little to superintend. The mission station had already become very similar in its function to the Aboriginal stations in New South Wales. When the Education Department assumed responsibility for schooling at Weipa, the settlement staff would consist of the superintendent and a nursing

sister. The logical move would probably be to dispense with the office of superintendent and to appoint a welfare officer or social workers, who could help families with their problems and maintain liaison with the company's personnel officers.

Some services provided at the mining township would, it seemed, be shared by Aborigines. The Education Department would provide a school there which Aboriginal children could attend. But in 1965 the possibility was already being discussed of providing a 'remedial school' for Aboriginal children who proved unable to attain the standards of the White children. Such a school would be provided at the mission village, with the likelihood that it would remain a permanent Aboriginal school. It seemed likely that for some time at least a nursing sister would continue to provide medical services for the Aborigines while the company's first-aid officer continued to treat employees and the families of White employees at the company town. A policeman was stationed at the company's Evans Head quarters in 1965 and would remain responsible for law and order in both communities while living at the company town. The 'native police' at the mission had already been placed at least partly under his direction, but were paid a retainer of 10s a week by the mission. There were five of them in 1965 and all were employed by Comalco or contractors, carrying out any 'police' functions in their spare time.

The fact that the Aboriginal community is on a reserve is likely to limit interaction with the White community and accentuate the differences in the status of Whites and Aborigines. When the Comalco Act became law in January 1958, granting the company extensive mineral leases along the coast from Aurukuñ to Mapoon, the reserve on which Weipa mission had been built was revoked. Like all the Queensland missions, Weipa had no lease tenure of the reserve or any part of it and when the reserve was revoked the mission was simply occupying part of the mining lease. The Board of Missions then negotiated the creation of a reserve, originally of 75 acres and later of 308 acres immediately around the mission area and the new village.¹⁵ Since the Aboriginal township is on a reserve the entry of other people to it can be restricted and the taking of liquor into the Aboriginal village could be prohibited. It seemed probable that Aboriginal employees would be allowed to drink in the company's wet canteens. Since the operation started Aborigines had been drinking illegally and it might be expected that some will also want to take liquor home when they are able to buy it lawfully. In one town it will be possible to drink liquor in a canteen and in homes and in the other it may not be lawful to drink and there may be no canteen.

Economically, the Weipa Aboriginal community had already become a part of the Australian community. For the men at work, and possibly for the children in school, the process of integration may be taken further. But the situation had been so organised as to inhibit interaction and perpetuate differences in several important ways. Probably the only way in which a genuinely integrated community could be developed in this situation and similar ones elsewhere would be for the government to assume responsibility for the total community and to establish one town in which the company could build houses for its own employees while the government provided houses for rental by others. Since there is enough bauxite in the area to sustain operations probably for some hundreds of years, there would be little difficulty in justifying the commitment of substantial public funds in the area.

CAPE YORK SETTLEMENT (NORTHERN PENINSULA RESERVE)

The isolated settlement at the northern end of the Cape York Peninsula was in 1965 the only Aboriginal community beyond the closely settled areas of Queensland that was managed by the government. The nearest township was at Thursday Island, a small multi-racial community, with a predominantly Melanesian (Torres Strait Islander) population (pop. 1961: 2,218). From Thursday Island, some four or five hours away by boat, came all supplies for the settlement. The settlement had radio-telephone communication with Thursday Island and the rest of Queensland, but the wartime airstrip of Higgins Field had fallen into disrepair and the track south down the Peninsula could be used only by four-wheel-drive vehicles and was impassable even for these in the summer wet season. The settlement was made up of five scattered non-White communities and a staff village and headquarters. Both the process of its development and its present organisation were radically different from Aboriginal communities elsewhere in Queensland or, indeed, in Australia.

The 1918 report of the Chief Protector referred to the establishment by the 'remnants of the Seven Rivers and Red Island tribes' on Cape York of a settlement on the north coast of the Peninsula at Small River (later known as Cowal Creek) where they were supporting themselves by fishing and gardening. Bleakley records that the people had for some time hoped that a settlement would be established at the Cape but, about 1915, 'evidently tired of waiting, some camp families decided to build up a small village of their own in imitation of what had been seen at Mapoon'.¹⁶ Impressed by their efforts, Bleakley decided 'to encourage this effort at self-help' rather than establish 'a European controlled institution'. The

Thursday Island Protector provided advice and equipment, but left the management of the community to an elected council, as on the islands of Torres Strait.¹⁷ Brief notes recording the gradual growth of this 'voluntary settlement' (184 people in 1925 and 243 in 1930) and the dispatch of a native (Islander) teacher there in 1924 appeared in the Chief Protector's reports. The Anglican Diocese of Carpentaria took an interest in the settlement, sending priests to visit periodically and establishing there a trained native deacon (an Islander) to minister to the people.¹⁸ The Islanders apparently encouraged other Aborigines in the area to gather at Cowal Creek and took a leading part in the management of the community's affairs.

During World War II, there was a substantial military establishment in the area, and after the war the Department of Native Affairs began to encourage more actively the 'gradual infiltration' on to the Peninsula of Islanders from islands where living conditions were poor, 'primarily due to malaria and sea erosion'. In 1947 or earlier a small group of Islanders established themselves at Mutee Head a few miles west of Cowal Creek. Saibai Island, just off the Papuan coast, had been inundated by tidal waters in 1947, and some of the people had decided to evacuate and began moving to Mutee Head. Another community grew up at Red Island Point, a few miles to the north-east. The Department's scheme envisaged developing the area by training Islanders as farmers, timber-getters, and pastoral workers so that they could make a living there and, by occupying the area, create 'a defence unit for the far north'.¹⁹ (During World War II 700 Islanders had served in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion.)

In July 1948 a reserve of 44,500 acres (later increased to 97,620 acres) was created and in October an overseer arrived and began the work of establishing a new settlement, building mainly with materials from the wartime military establishment at Higgins Field (Jacky Jacky) a few miles to the south.²⁰ The settlement site, some miles inland from Cowal Creek, was later called Bamaga, after the leader of the Saibai Islanders who moved there from Mutee Head. Development followed the normal pattern of settlements: European staff were employed and housed, a sawmill and workshop were set up, land was cleared and fenced for gardening, agricultural and pastoral development. But though employment in these settlement enterprises became more important than the subsistence economy of the years before 1948, and the main Islander community moved to a new village alongside the settlement headquarters, the pattern of substantially autonomous village development was retained and self-directed gardening, fishing and other work remained

important. The kind of 'indirect rule' through councils, developed in the Torres Strait Islands and already transplanted to the mainland in the substantially Aboriginal community at Cowal Creek and the two Islander communities, was retained.

The three village communities developed and Islander families were encouraged to establish themselves in other parts of the Peninsula. An outpost was set up at Somerset, near the Cape, where there was an abandoned coconut plantation and in 1961 a scheme of settling families on individual 15- to 20-acre farm blocks was started and four families took up blocks.²¹ Two or three other families built or occupied houses some distance from the main villages.

The Islander population of the area increased rapidly from 150 in 1953 to over 300 in 1955 and just over 600 in 1965, but the major changes since the 1950s had resulted from the bringing to the area of groups of Aborigines from farther south in the Peninsula, increasing the Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal population from about 200 in the years 1953-8 to over 400 in 1965. A small group of Aborigines from Port Stewart on the east coast, who had never lived on a settlement or mission, were sent up from Coen in about 1960. Much larger groups were moved to the settlement from Mapoon Presbyterian mission on the west coast (1962-4) and from Lockhart River Anglican mission on the east coast of the Peninsula (1963-4). In 1965 the village of New Mapoon, between Bamaga and Red Island Point, had a population of 148 and the Umagico village, at a site known as Alau between Cowal Creek and Bamaga, had 98 former residents of Lockhart River. The population of the five communities is shown in Table 42.

It is at least probable that there had been some substantial natural increase in the population, as well as rapid growth by immigration. But figures of births and deaths occurring in the population were not available at the settlement and had not been included in the Department's annual reports since 1958 (and few were recorded before then). Likewise information about the ages of the people was not available. The high proportion of adults in most of the villages was unusual for Aboriginal communities of this size but without more information about the population one can only speculate about the possible reasons for this.

The main services available at each village in 1965 are summarised below (distance from Bamaga is shown in parentheses):

Bamaga, population 411: houses—about 44; State school; church; 'gaol'; cinema; retail store; water from dam.

Red Island Point (4 miles), population 85: houses—9; church; Medical

Table 42: *Cape York Settlement: Islander and Aboriginal population, April 1965*

	Islanders		Aborigines		Half-castes		Total
	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	Adults	Children	
Bamaga							
Male	121	94					215
Female	116	79				1	196
Total	237	173				1	411
Red Island Point							
Male	23	11				1	35
Female	27	21				2	50
Total	50	32				3	85
Cowal Creek							
Male	33	21	30	13	32	21	150
Female	38	18	21	17	31	15	140
Total	71	39	51	30	63	36	290
New Mapoon							
Male			35	22	5	11	73
Female			36	23	3	13	75
Total			71	45	8	24	148
Umagico							
Male			23	11	6	6	46
Female			12	10	5	8	35
Total			35	21	11	14	81
Totals	358	244	157	96	82	78	1,015
	602		253		160		

Aid Post with weekly Infant Welfare Clinic; retail store; water from well.

These two communities together elected a council of three members; the Red Island Point store was run by the Bamaga storeman as a branch store.

Cowal Creek (6 miles), population 290: houses—about 39; school; church; 'gaol'; Medical Aid Post with weekly Infant Welfare Clinic; retail store; feeding centre for indigent; water from wells.

The Cowal Creek school was staffed by Islanders, not fully trained teachers.

New Mapoon (2 miles), population 148: houses—19; hall used as church and for dances, etc.; Medical Aid Post; retail store; water from bore.

Umagico (2½ miles), population 81: houses—11; Medical Aid Post; cinema; retail store; water from bore.

Cowal Creek, New Mapoon, and Umagico each had two-man councils. Children from New Mapoon and Umagico attended the Bamaga State School.

The settlement proper was the administrative and industrial headquarters and residential area for White people. (The only White man in the area living elsewhere was the Presbyterian minister at New Mapoon.) There was a small hospital, staffed and administered by the Thursday Island Hospital. There were ten houses for Native Affairs Department staff, and two more were under construction in September 1965. In addition there was a guest house and two houses for staff of the Commonwealth Postmaster-General's Department. There was a small office building, a radio-telephone installation, and a sawmill, a garage and carpenter's workshop, and some farm buildings.

Until 1964 the two schools at Cowal Creek and Bamaga were run by the Department of Native Affairs and staffed by Islanders, whose own education was limited and none of whom were judged competent to teach Grade VI without direction.²² This was still the situation at Cowal Creek but the Bamaga School had been a State school since the beginning of 1964. There, the two trained teachers did almost all the teaching and the five or six assistants were employed essentially as monitors. Standards in 1964 in each grade were well below those of equivalent grades in other State schools and the pupils' ages were well above average. Even with the wholly inadequate staff of two teachers to instruct seven grades, with classes from twenty-two to thirty-seven pupils in the first six grades, rapid progress appeared to have been made and the grades in the school in 1965 were doing work close to the standards of ordinary schools.

Rations were not supplied to the inhabitants as a rule. The only exception was a group of indigent adults living at Cowal Creek who were provided with meals at a feeding centre there. For the rest paid work was available for the able-bodied and the people supported themselves on their wages, social service and repatriation benefits and the produce of their gardens and fishing.²³ The retail stores in the village operated as branches of the Island Industries Board established by the Department in Thursday Island and these, run by full-time Islander employees of the Board, supplied the needs of the population.

At 30 June 1965 there were 170 people on the settlement payroll—137 males and 33 females. The largest work gangs were employed in timber-getting and milling; in farm and cattle work, including fencing, butchering, and reforestation; in building work and in the garage. Other employees were engaged in road and bridge works, driving, sanitary work, teaching and in nursing and domestic work at the hospital and medical aid posts. The branch stores employed seven men and there were ten 'native police'. The basic rate of payment was about £5 per

week for adult males and only the more responsible and skilled jobs were rewarded with substantially more than this. Among the more highly paid workers were the 'police' (one sergeant received £9 15s and more junior police £8 or £7 10s) and the more skilled sawmill and carpentry workers. School teaching assistants received between £17 and £26 a month. The councillors were paid by the Department at £9 per week for a chairman and £7 10s for deputy chairmen.

A total of thirty-seven people (twenty-eight males and nine females) was recorded as employed outside the settlement at 30 June 1965. Some went out to work on cattle stations as stockmen and domestics and others to Thursday Island to find general and domestic work and to work on boats. In 1965 some workers from Bamaga were employed by the Department in building work at the Edward River Mission and at Normanton. Two men living at Bamaga were employed by the Postmaster-General's Department at award rates as linesmen.

A total of ninety-three people was receiving pensions: age and invalid (58), service (22) or widows' (13). Child endowment was another important source of income and 154 mothers were receiving it. All pensions and other benefits were paid in full to the beneficiaries.

The total of males employed by the settlement (137), recorded as employed outside (28), or receiving pensions (33), was 198, or substantially less than the total recorded adult male population of 308 in April 1965. It would appear that, unless the recorded population is grossly exaggerated, a substantial number were dependent on the cash earnings of those who did work or received benefits to supplement the cash they could earn and the food they could produce by craft work, fishing and crocodile shooting, and by gardening.

Clearly these were poor communities but the poverty of the people was by no means desperate. Houses were of quite a good standard and were rent free. Water and sanitary services were free, as were medical and, of course, educational services. Goods were available relatively cheaply from the stores. The sea and the land provided food to supplement what could be bought.

The staff of the settlement in September 1965 was considerably smaller than that of the Department's other settlements. Eight of the sixteen staff positions were filled. The superintendent had an office staff of two clerks and much of the administrative work elsewhere done in the settlement office was carried out in the office of the Deputy Director at Thursday Island. An overseer was responsible for the unloading of supply boats, road works, plumbing and other general work; a farm overseer, a

mechanic, a carpenter and a sawyer supervised work in their sections. The mechanic and the carpenter were both Islanders. Positions of assistant superintendent, assistants to the farm overseer and the mechanic, of stock overseer, hygiene officer, electrical overseer, and two welfare or liaison officers were vacant. There were four Europeans employed by other State departments—two male teachers and two nursing sisters—and one PMG employee. European staff at Bamaga with their families and the Presbyterian missionary at New Mapoon numbered in all twenty-one adults and eleven children.

The settlement was originally conceived as an area where Islanders and a few local Aborigines could develop the kind of largely self-regulating communities that exist in the Torres Strait Islands and, while marginally involved in the economy of the State, remain separate from the White population. The bringing into the area of communities of Aborigines from farther south does not necessarily entail any radical change in this view of the area's future, though it remains uncertain how far these groups will identify themselves with this scheme of separate development in this particular area (see notes on Mapoon and Lockhart River). It seems very likely that the staff of the settlement will be increased and at least probable that there will be more development of relatively large-scale pastoral, agricultural and timber-getting activities directed by Whites at the expense of 'peasant-type' subsistence gardening and fishing. Such development is likely to entail the continued presence of the Native Affairs Department as an employer in the area, to erode further the relative independence of the Islanders and Aborigines, and to reduce the incentives for them to emigrate to areas where employment opportunities exist that have not been specially created for them. Political changes in New Guinea will no doubt lead to greater interest and activity in this neglected corner of the Commonwealth (and in the Torres Strait Islands also) and conceivably the location of defence establishments at the Cape might before long greatly change the situation of these communities.

RESETTLEMENT: NOTES ON MAPOON AND LOCKHART RIVER

It would be surprising if all the places chosen for missions proved thoroughly, or even reasonably, satisfactory to meet the changing purposes of the mission authorities and governments and for the changing needs of the Aborigines attracted to them. The founding missionaries always sought a good water supply but what might have been an adequate supply for a handful of missionaries, a few visiting Aborigines and a small

garden has often been found to be wholly inadequate for a small township of several hundred people with changing standards of living. Sites chosen because they were remote from areas of White settlement may well prove unsuitable and expensive places to maintain communities of people who can earn wages at the level they want only in places where industries have been established by White people. On the other hand a mission authority which finds that it has established a community on a rich mineral deposit may regret that chance has exposed the community to intensive contact before the population seems ready to cope. If a mission and a government jointly have assumed complete responsibility for maintaining a community of Aborigines they may have to make decisions about whether the community can remain where it is or be removed elsewhere. If a more suitable place can be found near the original one and if the reasons for moving seem compelling enough, the removal of a community may be accepted by the Aboriginal population readily enough. The removals of Weipa down river in 1932 and of the Brethren mission inland in 1937 were, it seems, accepted as the removals of a number of other communities elsewhere in Australia have been. Recently, however, proposals to disband and resettle the Mapoon community in north Queensland were vigorously opposed and the handling of this situation and that of the Lockhart River mission has highlighted some of the problems of settlement communities as well as raising issues of civil liberties. (The problems of the future of settlements are discussed in general terms in Chapter 6.)

Mapoon. The Presbyterian mission at Mapoon at the mouth of the Batavia River on the west coast of the Cape York Peninsula, was founded by two Moravian missionaries in November 1891, and was the first mission established far beyond the limits of White settlement in Queensland. The coastal Aborigines of the Peninsula were being exploited by bêche-de-mer fishers and the missionaries hoped to restrict the traffic in labour and in women and to establish a self-sufficient and settled Christian community. When Archibald Meston visited the place in 1896 he condemned the site, on a sandy spit of land backed by swamp, and considered that the annual government grant of £250 which made the continued existence of the mission possible would be better spent to support a venture in some less hopeless site.²⁴

Support of the mission continued, however, and a school was started with government help in 1899. In 1907 the mission was proclaimed an industrial school and it was used as a place to send women and children, including many half-caste children from areas farther south where they

were being exploited. The population permanently at the mission remained for many years quite small and by 1914 there were still only 110 recorded as permanent inhabitants and 100 as casual visitors. One of the founding missionaries, the Reverend J.N. Hey, who spent twenty-seven years there, settled many of the people on small, decentralised farming lots, and plantations of coconuts were established, but after his departure the emphasis was placed on extensive cattle raising, organised and run by the mission staff.²⁵

By the 1930s the people of the area had become more dependent on the mission and the population had increased to over 300. The death rate remained high and in the three years 1936-8 there were twenty-seven deaths recorded and twenty-six births. In post-war years the population was always under 300 and well over half of the total were part-Aborigines. (The figures given in the Department's annual reports must be suspect; they remained unchanged in the years 1950 to 1953 and in 1956 and 1957.) In 1959 the Mapoon population was recorded as 260: 106 Aborigines and 154 part-Aborigines.

In 1953 the Department of Native Affairs informed the mission authorities that if Mapoon were to continue to receive subsidies there would either have to be some work done to repair and replace the old buildings and some development of industries to make the community more self-supporting or the old site should be evacuated.²⁶ The official view may also have been that the part-Aborigines were eligible for assimilation and should not remain in this remote area. At a further conference in 1954 the inadequacies of the water supply and soil and the difficulties in the way of developing any export industry in fish, timber, or cattle were examined and plans to resettle the people at Weipa and in towns in settled areas were outlined. The missionaries developed plans entailing a gradual merger of most of the Mapoon people with the Weipa mission community, 50 miles to the south. But in 1955 representatives of the Aborigines stated that they would not go to Weipa.

In 1956 mining companies were active in the Mapoon-Weipa areas exploring the bauxite deposits and for a time it seemed possible that Mapoon would gain a new lease of life with the development of the bauxite at Port Musgrave. Some thirty men from Mapoon were regularly employed in exploratory work in 1957. When the Comalco Company was granted mining leases in January 1958, a large part of the Mapoon reserve including the mission site ceased to be a reserve and the government had to negotiate for the return of a small 500-acre mission reserve from the mining lease. But by then it had become clear that all the

developmental work was likely to be concentrated at Weipa, though another company retained an interest in areas near Mapoon. The Comalco Company resisted any suggestion that the company should accept responsibility for rehousing Mapoon families at Weipa and the Queensland Government remained determined that the Mapoon site should be abandoned.

Early in 1960 the Department invited some Mapoon people to visit the Cape York settlement area to consider its merits as a place to resettle and had probably by then decided that, failing any satisfactory alternative site being selected, the Mapoon people should move there. But the people continued to reject the idea of moving at all, and some construction and repair work continued at Mapoon. At a public meeting in September 1960 with mission and departmental officials, the people were unanimous in rejecting resettlement, but there was apparently enough interest shown in private conversations about a plan for dissolution to encourage the view that this could be effected. Plans envisaged exemption and removal to settled parts of North Queensland for some, transfer to other missions—mainly Weipa—for others, and for the balance a move to the Cape York settlement where they would either work in industries designed to make the settlement self-supporting or on individual farms, and could expect exemption in due course. The mission also proposed that cattle-raising should be continued on the Mapoon reserve area with the prospect that some of the people might be granted grazing areas and helped to run their own herds there.

In 1961-2 the process of building houses at Cape York and transporting people thither from Mapoon began. By June 1962 some 100 people had moved. Other families had been exempted and had moved into towns. By the end of 1962 there were 120 people at 'New Mapoon' or 'Hidden Valley' as the new village was known, and a similar number remained at Mapoon. In July 1963 the Department took over the old mission. In November 1963 a police party took a small group of people, evidently identified as leaders of the resistance to resettlement, to Cape York and about seventy other people then moved to Weipa. Not long afterwards the mission site was abandoned. Most of the old buildings were destroyed but two cottages were built for the use of people taking holidays from Cape York at the mission site.²⁷ Men from Mapoon have since been employed from time to time in mustering cattle on the old reserve and some have made 'holiday trips' to the site.

In the ten years between the first negotiations about the future of Mapoon and its final abandonment the people had experience of organising

to express their wishes, and between 1961 and 1963 were able to publicise their objections to resettlement, mainly through the Aboriginal Advancement League. For some at least, New Mapoon was no real substitute for Mapoon, situated as it was among unfamiliar people and some 2 miles from the sea in dusty red earth country very different from the sandy and swampy country of their former home, even if the housing was better and wages higher. Certainly some looked forward to the introduction of the new legislation to provide them with freedom to return to Mapoon and, with help from some source, to demonstrate their ability to live there independently of mission and government. Whether their hopes and plans were realistic in the light either of the changes in the 1965 legislation or the practical difficulties of returning and living at Port Musgrave was at least doubtful but it may be that the 'Battle of Mapoon' was not quite over.

Lockhart River. As early as 1907 the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Queensland had selected a site for a settlement or mission at Lloyd Bay on the east coast of the Peninsula, to provide the kind of control and protection of the Aborigines, then 'numerous and healthy', which the missions on the western coast had been exercising.²⁸ The need for some centre on the east coast was again urged in 1922, and in July 1924 Anglican mission workers from the Torres Strait established a camp at Lockhart River to which the Aborigines were reported to be 'coming in in a very satisfactory manner'.²⁹ By the end of 1925 there were 180 Aborigines at the mission and ten years later the population was 262.

In the two years 1937-8, when the recorded population was more than 350, there were sixty deaths reported and only seventeen births. The death rate appears to have remained generally high until after the war, but after 1950 births always exceeded deaths. The population, however, appears to have remained at a level between 300 and 400 for many years.

The mission organised the growing of food crops and the raising of cattle. Some men went to work on cattle stations in the Peninsula but these generally ceased to be mission residents.³⁰ Others were engaged to work on trochus fishing boats and the mission organised some trochus fishing with its own vessels.³¹ The isolation of the mission and the 'rough and sometimes dangerous conditions' under which supplies had to be delivered were a severe handicap to development.³²

In 1954 changes were made in the organisation of the community, designed 'to instil initiative and responsibility' in the residents.³³ The Reverend Alfred Clint, the Board of Missions' Director of Co-operatives, addressed meetings in July and the Lockhart River Aboriginal Christian

Co-operative Society was formed. Wider responsibilities were delegated to Aborigines. Two 'administrative councillors' were elected to organise work and social activities and help the superintendent deal with 'court cases'. Four 'church councillors' were elected to manage church and Sunday School matters; and 'cattle councillors', two elected and one appointed, were delegated responsibilities for the cattle work. Other developments included adult education classes, the establishment of a Mothers' Union and a kindergarten.

For a time the co-operative flourished, engaging in trochus fishing and acquiring new boats. But in 1957 the loss of a boat and the collapse of the trochus market was reported.³⁴ Interest in the adult education classes declined. The co-operative was short of money to diversify its activity but planted cotton for some years. In the 1961 report no mention was made of the co-operative, and the following year the transfer of the trading store from the co-operative back to the mission was reported.³⁵

In 1963 the Director of Native Affairs reported an approach by the Bishop of Carpentaria for departmental help in providing for the future of the mission population, since the mission site could not longer be considered to provide adequate opportunities for the residents.³⁶ It was recorded that a committee including Aboriginal representatives had been appointed to consider the future and to decide on a new site to move to. To provide for their resettlement the Laradeenya pastoral property to the north was reserved. But by 1964 work was going ahead with the Umagico village near Bamaga and already sixty-four former residents of Lockhart River were living there. The population at the mission had by then been reduced to 263, and by 1965 it was 252. Work continued on the development of Umagico but the hope expressed in 1964 that within a year the Lockhart people would have moved there was not realised. The delays in effecting the transfer may indicate that, as at Mapoon, there are some who have not been persuaded of the advantages of the new site. In 1966 the transfer of control of the mission to the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs was being negotiated.

But Libbaty's a kind o' thing
That don't agree with niggers

J.R. Lowell, *The Bigelow Papers*

Suppose a mother keeps a baby from [learning to feed himself] at this age, and then at 21 months declares, 'You big lummo, it's time for you to feed yourself'. Then the child is apt to take the attitude, 'Oh no! It's my custom and my privilege to be fed'.

Dr Benjamin Spock, *Baby and Child Care*

If British settlement in Australia had been restricted to a few penal stations, the rest of the continent might have remained in effect a large Aboriginal reserve and a policy of conciliation and peaceful co-existence in the immediate area of the penal settlements could have been adequate. But the area of settlement expanded and attempts to segregate settlers and Aborigines by creating reserves as places where Aborigines should live in their traditional manner, largely out of touch with the settlers, had no success. Reserves in this sense could be and were effective only where they were not necessary—in places so remote from settled areas that Aborigines were not attracted from them to towns and homesteads to abandon their nomadic foraging life to live in association with the immigrant settlers. It was not long before people concluded that the settling of Aborigines in supervised and controlled communities would provide the only effective and practicable answer to many of the problems they presented, perhaps a complete answer. Others argued that institutions for Aborigines would make them not useful citizens but indolent beggars, and that it was better to leave them scattered in the employment of settlers. The early history of institutions for Aborigines was scarcely more encouraging than the history of the early reserves, but when special authorities were constituted in the colonies to deal with the Aboriginal problem they persevered with the effort to create institutional communities for them. Once established these settlements tended to monopolise the administrative effort of the special authorities in Aboriginal welfare.

The settlements were created originally as the main instruments of policies which were based on the principle that government should

accept total responsibility for the Aborigines. The corollary was that Aborigines were totally irresponsible and that their well-being and, indeed, survival could only be assured by subjecting them to control to a degree usually reserved for children, criminals, and insane people. Closely related to the successful establishment and development of such communities, legal and administrative systems were developed limiting the freedom of Aborigines and controlling relations between them and the immigrant population. All people of Aboriginal descent were not subject to intensive control under the special laws of the states. In practice it was generally only those who, by chance or by direction, came to live on settlements who were closely and effectively controlled and protected. Not all the least competent Aborigines, however, have lived on settlements and by no means all Aborigines on settlements have been conspicuously less competent to survive in the immigrant community than their fellows off the settlements.

The practice, first applied in Victoria and later in other colonies, of establishing a system of local and central boards to deal with the problems of Aborigines living in the settled areas suggests that the administrative system developed in England to deal with the problem of the poor may have provided the model. Attempts to have communities share responsibility for the care of Aborigines, in the way that the parishes in England were responsible for their poor, were generally unsuccessful and short-lived. But central boards remained responsible for the administration of Aboriginal matters in New South Wales and Victoria and until recently in South Australia (where the Board has now advisory functions only).

The problems of the poor and of the Aborigines were similar in many ways. Certainly the attitudes of governments and the governing classes to the two problem groups present parallels: Trevelyan's comment on early poor law administration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that 'the personal liberty of the poor was not a thing of which much account was taken'¹ might well be a comment on Aboriginal administration in Australia from its beginnings until quite recent times. Similarly, contrasting opinions about the poor have their parallels in opinions about Aborigines. The view of the poor as 'sturdy beggars', in whom can be found virtues and capacities missing among those who deal more successfully with commercial and industrial society, can be compared with the optimistic view of Aborigines which sees them as admirable but ill-treated people, capable with the right kind of help or protection of surviving and enriching society. Pessimistic views of Aborigines as unregenerate beings wholly incompetent to survive in contact with less

primitive peoples or at least needing permanent protection and control, have their parallel in opinions of the poor as a class of people permanently incapable of being anything but a burden on the industrious classes.

The development of the institution of the workhouse and the decreased importance of outdoor relief under the nineteenth-century English Poor Laws was paralleled later in Australia by the development of institutional settlements and the relative decrease in importance of the issue of rations and blankets to Aborigines living off the settlements. The New Poor Law of 1834 virtually abolished outdoor relief, which had been the mainstay of poor relief in the eighteenth century, and its administration was based on the 'need to make life in the workhouse less attractive than employment in field and factory'.² In the hope of limiting the burden that the 'idle poor' placed on rate-payers, the emphasis in the administration of the workhouse was placed on repression and punishment rather than on rehabilitation. The workhouse had to serve as a repository not only for the able-bodied unemployed but for the old and the invalid and insane, and for orphans and the children of the poor. The question whether it was just or expedient to make the workhouse unattractive and even a 'House of Terror' for all these categories tended to be overlooked.

The workhouses of nineteenth-century England were subject to the kinds of criticism that have been made of some Aboriginal settlements. The workhouse system of separating the sexes and so breaking up families was never generally applied on the settlements (though similar practices were followed for some years on certain settlements in Western Australia). But there has often been a similar preoccupation with making settlement life less attractive than life outside, particularly in the settled areas when it has seemed likely that part-Aborigines might remain on the settlements and become a permanent and increasing burden. Both types of institution have been attacked on the grounds that they were closed to public inspection; that living conditions were sub-standard and the staff of poor quality; and that people with quite different needs, including the incompetent, the criminal, and the insane, were gathered together in single institutions which could not adequately meet their various needs. The main function of both workhouses and settlements often seemed to be to serve as 'storage bins' for incompetent people.

Aboriginal settlements obviously had and have some features in common with workhouses but most institutions have something in common and similarities can be found between settlements and many other institutions in the theory of their function and purpose, in their

administration, and in the kind of attitudes—both of staff and of inmates—developed in them. Like prisons, reformatories, and mental institutions, settlements have generally been conceived as serving to keep out of society people unfit, for one reason or another, to live in the general community. Like boarding schools and residential training colleges, they have had some educative and training functions. But since they provide for whole families, and groups of families, rather than (or as well as) for handicapped or offending individuals, they are perhaps more like migrant camps or concentration camps.³ They differ, however, from migrant and concentration camps principally (if one leaves out of account the extreme types of concentration camps like those of Nazi Germany) in that both the managers and the inmates have often regarded the settlements not as short-term devices to meet temporary needs but rather as permanent places of residence for most if not all the inmates. A fairly close parallel might perhaps be drawn with the resettlement camps for the Palestinian Arab refugees from Israel. The inmates remain because the camps are there to provide for them and there is no compelling reason why they should leave or acknowledge any responsibility to do so.

Aboriginal settlements, both in settled areas and in remote areas, have always been conceived as having, at least in theory, some reformatory and rehabilitative functions; they were never designed solely to solve a problem of the immigrant White community by getting or keeping incompetent and disorderly people out of the way. It is true that many of the settlements within areas of White occupation were established when close settlement succeeded the large pastoral holdings on which Aborigines and landholders had been able to establish a relationship that was often relatively satisfactory to both parties. The institutional settlements were, however, always conceived, in theory at least, as providing the means to deal with the basic problems of the Aborigines and to make it possible for them to co-exist with, or to become economically integrated into the immigrant society.

These positive aims were perhaps more clearly evident in the communities established beyond the frontiers of White settlement. Aborigines in such areas were obviously unprepared to cope effectively with White people and past experience indicated that they would not long survive when White settlers entered their country or when the Aborigines moved out to places where Whites lived. The process of their preparation for contact could be leisurely within the remote reserves. The Aborigines were members of viable corporate groups; they were not subject to intensive economic and social disruption and the meagre resources of the

missions made the pace of change necessarily slow. The experiences of Aborigines in these communities did, and do, however, help to prepare them for more intensive contact with Whites. They could learn to use clothing; to live in houses and adjust to the public health practices of settled community life; to speak, and perhaps become literate in, the language of the immigrant society; to become familiar with the work routines of industrial society; and to modify or abandon their traditional systems of retributive justice. It is difficult to imagine any alternative to establishing settlements which would have both ensured the survival of Aborigines and been practicable (being relatively economical of human and financial resources).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the 'passing of the Aborigines' remained an observable fact of life in Australia. It was therefore not obviously necessary to resolve whether settlements should be so conducted as to become permanent communities or whether they should disappear as the inmates were equipped to live in society. By the 1930s it was not only clear that the part-Aboriginal population was rapidly increasing but it could be argued that in the sparsely settled areas the Aborigines themselves were not necessarily doomed to complete extinction. A slightly higher priority was then given to Aboriginal welfare work but it was still generally accepted by workers in this field that settlements provided the most appropriate and effective means of changing incompetent Aborigines into competent citizens and that special laws providing, among other things, for control of their movements were needed. There was in a sense a return to what had sometimes been the original conception of their function, to be 'forcing houses for changing persons'.⁴ But the history of the settlements in fact indicated that, though they had served well enough to keep Aborigines out of society, they might not readily lend themselves to the purpose of integrating their inmates in society without radical changes in the way they functioned, and in the total organisation of Aboriginal welfare services.

By their existence settlements have created additional problems and they are likely to hinder as well as help progress towards equality and integration. One problem is that, because settlements have provided for the basic needs of Aborigines, they have tended to immobilise them, often in areas where there are few jobs and little potential for development. The way in which settlements have provided for Aborigines, their institutional character, tends to lead to the kind of stagnation which exacerbates this problem. The symptoms of this 'disease' of social groups — 'institutionalisation' — have been described in mental hospital patients

and prison inmates, for example, and they are apparent in most settlement communities. People tend to become passive, 'unable either to think of, or to fight for, changes whose need they are content merely to grumble about' and unable and unwilling to leave the familiar environment, where they feel safe, and to make a successful adjustment to life 'outside'.⁵ Intra-group hostilities and resistance to offers of resettlement in outside communities are typical symptoms. In the long-established communities within the settled areas, whose members have experienced a degree of rejection and hostility from the surrounding White communities, some of the symptoms of 'institutionalisation' are more apparent than in many of the remote northern settlements whose members have not had such experience and where the traditional culture remains strong. But because Aborigines in all the settlement communities have so obviously lost their independence (and much more than their economic independence is lost) their attitude has tended, or is tending, to become one of 'hostile dependency'.⁶ As Rowley has pointed out, this institutional situation typically entails having 'two communities under stress—that which is controlled, and that which does the controlling'.⁷

One symptom of the failure of settlements to deal with the problems of their inmates has been the common tendency for those responsible for them to concentrate their interest and energy on the achievement of physical rather than human results. One can sympathise with those practical men who have found satisfaction in the material development of the settlements for which they have been made responsible when the human problems seemed intractable and the human aims so often seemed obscure, confused, or impracticable. But when the progress of a settlement is measured largely in terms of the construction of buildings and the produce of a garden it suggests that management may have lost interest in, or despaired of, any worthwhile achievement in human terms.

The communities established in remote areas by companies—usually mining companies—to provide for their employees provide interesting comparisons with the remote Aboriginal communities. In these communities, as in settlements, a paternalistic relationship between management and residents or workers is established, and a single authority assumes an extraordinary degree of responsibility for meeting the needs of the communities.

In the diversified and independent community, the individual turns to a number of different people with his various community problems. He may complain to his landlord regarding the maintenance of the house he rents, to a store manager regarding the service he receives, to a politician regarding the condition of the roads,

to a hospital official regarding health problems and so on. In the company camp, management is all of these individuals—and more too. Thus the company is likely to be the target for all of the frustrations felt by the worker and members of his family in all aspects of community life.⁸

In settlements, as in company camps, the residents soon learn to take for granted whatever good things are provided and spend their time complaining about what is not provided. The manager or superintendent, 'the Board', 'the Welfare', or 'the Native Affairs' are well-marked targets for all complaints.

In the settlements within the areas of White occupation, where off-settlement employment is generally important, the stresses might be less. But in such places the inmates have external standards by which to judge their own situation. Their relative deprivation is greater since the standards by which they judge their own amenities are those of neighbouring towns. In the isolated settlements there is usually a marked disparity between the housing and general living standards of the staff and the Aborigines but it seems probable that the standard of living of the staff tends to become the standard by which the inmates judge their own condition only when the staff becomes numerous and a generation of inmates grows up which has known only settlement life.

The restatement of Aboriginal policies in the late 1930s in terms of an assimilation aim (at least for part-Aborigines) was a much less radical change than the gradual shift since World War II towards a policy and practice of equality for all Aborigines. The policies and practices gradually adopted by the several responsible governments since about 1951 seem clearly to be based on assumptions that Aborigines are essentially like other Australians and that they should therefore join Australian society in equality and learn what we know, rather than remain apart, keeping and developing their own traditions and being confined to a special legal status.

The problems of combining in policy and practice a benevolent recognition of the value of cultural diversity and differences with benevolent efforts to establish equality cannot be discussed here, but it seems that such a blending of policies and practices, with all its contradictions and ambiguities, is likely to remain basic to Aboriginal welfare policies in Australia. The gradual dismantling of the legal and administrative apparatus for the control and protection of Aborigines implies assumptions that Aborigines are not totally irresponsible but can be expected to make their own way in a modern industrial society and look after themselves in a welfare state.

A policy of equality seems to entail not only the provision of similar

services to all Australians according to their needs, but eventually the provision of these services by the same authorities rather than by special Aboriginal welfare departments. Changes in this direction have been occurring in all parts of Australia for some years, as responsibilities for health, education, and other social services for Aborigines have been passed over to the authorities that provide these services to other citizens.

The slow transformation of practice and thinking in social work and related fields since the mid-nineteenth century which led to the disappearance of the workhouse and to increasing emphasis on outdoor relief, and on care within the community rather than in institutions, took a long time to influence thought and practice in the field of Aboriginal welfare. But in the past fifteen or twenty years there has been a gradual change in the structure of Aboriginal welfare administrations. In most States regional welfare officers have been appointed whose job is essentially to help people of Aboriginal descent to deal with the problems of living in the surrounding community. Increasingly the emphasis is being placed on helping Aborigines and part-Aborigines to live in the community rather than on removing them to be looked after in institutional settlements.

With the possible exceptions of Victoria (where only one settlement remains) and New South Wales, none of the Aboriginal administrations in Australia could in the immediate future dispense entirely with settlements, but probably all believe that their long-range task is to eliminate the institutional settlement from the scene. The statement of policy which successive conferences of Federal and State ministers responsible for Aboriginal welfare have endorsed since 1951, indicates that 'any special measures taken are regarded as temporary measures'.⁹

It is safe to assume that the provision and maintenance of settlements is one such 'special measure'. The policy statement includes a summary of agreed 'methods of advancing the policy'. There is reference in this list to the 'extension . . . of Government settlement work' at least among 'nomadic and semi-nomadic Aborigines' and to the improvement of health and education services, housing, nutrition, training and employment on settlements as elsewhere. There is mention also of 'the extension of welfare work to assist those people living in or near towns to adjust themselves to the life of the community'. But there is nothing about the problems of the future of settlement communities; or the functions of settlements where all or most of the residents have lived in contact with other Australians for a generation or more; or the methods by which the transition from settlement to normal community life might be effected. The methods by which settlements are transformed into communities and

the pace at which this occurs are clearly critical. Unless the administration of settlements is constantly directed towards making either the community as a whole, or all the individual inmates, independent of management, these 'temporary measures' are unlikely to be temporary.

There is no consensus of informed opinion in Australia, either among the interested onlookers or among workers in mission organisations and government departments, about the aims and functions of the kind of institutional communities examined here or about how their purposes can best be achieved. Two possibilities for their future are usually discussed: that the Aborigines and part-Aborigines now living on settlements should, when suitably prepared, leave them to obtain a fair share in the prosperity of the community at large and that these segregated communities should eventually disappear; that the communities should remain and be developed as predominantly Aboriginal enclaves but with more autonomy and less direction by non-Aborigines.

Both kinds of development can be reconciled with the broad aims of an assimilation policy but the permanent maintenance of settlements as supervised and segregated communities cannot be reconciled with the policy, any more than the restriction of the freedom of Aborigines to move away from these settlements could be. The development of settlements into communities has more appeal for the inmates of the settlements than their dissolution. When circumstances have confronted Aborigines and part-Aborigines living in some of these places with the possibility that their communities might cease to exist entirely, or in their familiar form, many of them have, not unnaturally, resisted the idea of such a drastic change. Those people of Aboriginal descent who do not live in such communities often share the view of many non-Aborigines that they are blots on the social landscape and that the inhabitants would be better off anywhere else.

The relevance of these two lines of development to the situation of particular Aboriginal communities, I think, varies broadly according to whether the communities are located in the undeveloped north or in the closely settled southern and eastern parts of the continent. There are, however, communities in the settled areas which, because of their size or isolation or both, present problems similar to those of some of the settlements in the north; and there are northern settlements in or close to towns which could as readily change their character and disappear as some of the southern settlements which are similarly situated. But generally there are reasonable prospects that most of the southern settlement communities could merge with and disperse into the community and a strong possibility

that in many parts of northern Australia there will for many years remain communities and whole regions with predominantly Aboriginal populations. Dogmatic insistence either that Aborigines everywhere should be integrated by dispersal in suburbs and towns, or that everywhere they should develop their own separate communities, is not likely to be helpful.

It would be wrong to conceive of 'disappearance by emigration' or a change from a 'managed community' to an 'open community' as necessarily alternative aims of policy for settlements or mutually exclusive processes. It seems probable that people will move from those areas that lack the resources to sustain them if there is economic advantage in doing so and that emigration will increase as settlements become more like ordinary communities, subject to similar economic pressures.

Any answer to the problems of the Aboriginal institutional communities seems to entail a 'withering away', not necessarily of the communities, but rather of their institutional characteristics. This in turn entails a shift and a spread of responsibility. The first step is obviously to do away with the special legal status of Aborigines as controlled and managed people and to accord them essentially the same status as ordinary responsible citizens. This change implies a shift of responsibility from government and its agents to the individual Aboriginal. Most of the responsible governments had by 1966 amended their legislation affecting Aborigines to give them basic legal equality. It would seem useful, though possibly not essential, to go further and to merge the special Aboriginal welfare departments into the departments concerned with child and social welfare generally and to distribute the other responsibilities of the special departments among the departments responsible for law and order, health, housing, education, employment and so on.

The danger in all shifts of responsibility of this kind is, of course, that the responsibility will be evaded or ignored. The creation of special government authorities to care for and control Aborigines at least ensured that something would be done and that there was some special recognition of the peculiar problems of Aborigines. In most fields of social administration, including housing, health, and education, the programs all too often benefit most those who least need help and fail to provide the wants of the most needy. If there are inadequacies in any of these fields Aborigines will certainly suffer along with others whose needs are especially great. But the history of the administration of Aboriginal affairs indicates clearly enough that special services are not necessarily either equal or adequate.

In all the settlements perhaps the most important problem for any program aimed at transforming these communities into normal commun-

ities is to ensure that there is adequate provision for the maintenance of law and order. Several of the relatively isolated stations in New South Wales were large enough and far enough from police stations to require that the managers should carry out some police functions as well as (and often in conflict with) their welfare responsibilities. In the more populous and generally more remote settlements and missions in Queensland it was apparent that police posts would be needed to replace the special institutional 'police' and the magisterial powers of the superintendents. Probably no other single change is as vital and, in many places, so urgent as the provision of adequate police services to the remote Aboriginal communities.

Far more is entailed in transforming settlements from institutions into open communities than the granting of equal citizenship status and a redistribution of administrative responsibility among departments of government. The criterion for choosing the communities examined in this study was the presence of a supervisor or manager, a single officer with general responsibility for the community. In many of the communities examined he was not fully responsible for all services provided in any community: in most of the settlements education was provided by a separate authority, for example, and, in many, health and law enforcement services were provided by other authorities. What services were provided within the particular community (and by what agencies) were discussed with the object of indicating the extent to which the community was developing towards being a normal community, or part of a normal community, and the extent to which its organisation was institutional in character. Settlements can only be regarded as normal communities when they cease to be supervised and managed and when responsibility is spread not only among different agencies but among the residents.

The problems of making settlements into 'open' communities were least in those stations in New South Wales that were close to existing towns, and the scheme of withdrawing the managers from these places provided an obvious, if only partial, answer to the problem. In the more isolated communities even in New South Wales and certainly in the settlements and missions in Queensland, such a simple solution is not possible and a whole complex of interrelated changes would have to be effected before there could be an abdication of managerial responsibility.

One certainly useful exercise to this end is the development of means for the effective consultation of the opinions of residents and for their participation in the carrying out of plans for the development of settlements. In few of the settlement communities in eastern Australia was there any significant provision for such consultation and participation in decision-

making. Various kinds of consultative and advisory committees existed on settlements in other parts of Australia. But there were few settlements where Aborigines took more than a token part in management. Given the poverty of the settlement communities and the general weakness of local government especially in rural areas in Australia, it is perhaps unreasonable to see the development of local councils and committees on settlements as a step towards properly constituted local government. It may serve mainly as a way of achieving better management of institutional communities. Participation in management can be a useful educational experience and if at least some decisions are left to the inmates to make there can be some significant modification of the institutional and paternal character of the management of the communities.

Perhaps more important are changes designed to shift responsibility from management back to individual residents and to families. The payment of cash wages in place of the issuing of rations is one obvious and important move towards self-dependence and away from dependence on management. The evidence of the instability of family life in many Aboriginal communities, and of the damaging long-term effects of this, suggests that every aspect of settlement organisation should be examined critically to see whether it is calculated to support or to damage the institution of the family. The economy of providing one-room huts and communal lavatories and bathrooms may be false and such practices as the placing of children in dormitories and communal feeding, whether of children or of entire settlement populations, may have damaging effects even if in some situations they may seem to have obvious advantages in the short term.

Changes of the kind discussed both in the organisation of services to Aborigines generally and in the organisation of settlements can change quite radically the life of settlement residents. But unless there is emigration on a relatively large scale (and rapid enough to overtake the rate of natural increase) the fundamental problems of the settlements as communities may not be any closer to solution.

There are communities in the north which are well situated to survive mainly as dormitory towns exporting their major resource, labour, to supply industries to the nearby rural areas and in neighbouring towns. Some of these might grow smaller if people could find houses in other places with better services and closer to their employment. There are already some remote communities which have been radically changed by the discovery of local mineral resources which residents can be employed in exploiting. For many communities in north Australia, however, there

will be problems in finding adequate resources that can be exploited and in organising their exploitation by the local inhabitants. The problems of developing the resources of the reserves in the north involve policies for reserved lands and the leasing of such land to Aborigines and others which cannot be discussed here. Another major problem in many situations is whether Aborigines should be encouraged or helped to engage in enterprises on their own account which are likely to yield returns inadequate to maintain them at the standard of living of ordinary Australian wage earners. The 'solution' of paying unemployment benefits to able-bodied Aborigines who live in areas where work is not available has to date been avoided by governments responsible for the Aborigines in the remote reserves in the north. Governments have preferred to provide work for Aborigines on the reserves. How far governments are justified in providing work in some communities in these remote areas, and so providing an incentive to remain there, is perhaps the most pressing and difficult issue in the whole field of Aboriginal affairs. It seems probable that, along with the development of the local resources in these areas, there must be an increasing immigration into areas where employment is available, if only because the rate of growth of the Aboriginal population is so rapid in areas where there is little development and may be relatively little potential.

There is probably general agreement among most White Australians and among Aborigines that the poverty of these isolated communities should be relieved and living standards raised. The achievement of economic equality must entail the education of residents to equip them for life in modern industrial society and, more fundamentally, must entail quite radical social change, at least in those remote northern communities where the Aboriginal culture remains more or less intact. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this does not imply that Aborigines must necessarily (even if they wanted to and could) abandon their languages, their traditions of social behaviour, their traditional skills, and their rituals, and become completely 'westernised'; much less does it imply that governments and missions should force the pace of change. Similarly the disappearance of segregated communities does not necessarily imply the eventual disappearance of Aborigines and their total absorption by intermarriage into the predominantly caucasoid Australian community. But the achievement of equality does entail the disappearance of isolated and protected communities maintained and managed solely or largely by distinct agencies of government responsible for the provision of special services to people of Aboriginal descent.

APPENDIX I

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The administration of Aboriginal affairs in Western Australia before the colony's own parliament became responsible for the welfare of Aborigines in 1897 included attempts to establish institutions for Aborigines as partial answers to the problems that developed as the colony expanded, but most of these were designed only to provide for the education of Aboriginal children. The conspicuous exceptions were Roman Catholic institutions: the Benedictine mission of New Norcia (1846) and the Pallotine mission at Beagle Bay, north of Broome (1891). At both places Aboriginal communities developed and survived. Few other attempts were made to establish supervised communities of Aborigines. One of the first officials with full-time responsibilities in the field of Aboriginal affairs, the officer appointed in 1834 as Native Interpreter, attempted at Mount Eliza Bay 'the experiment of civilising the natives in the neighbourhood of Perth'.¹ He was to gather a group of Aborigines on the bank of the Swan River, live with them and help them maintain themselves by fishing and building huts for themselves. But the Aborigines apparently did not settle and the institution failed.

Protectors were appointed in Western Australia in 1840, as recommended by the Select Committee of 1836-7, just as they were in the Port Phillip district and South Australia. In the period 1840-52 when officials, first two men but after 1841 only one, held full-time appointments as Protectors, some schools for Aboriginal children were started with government aid by churches. The numbers attending them were always small and two similar schools started in or after 1852, though they lasted longer, never had many pupils. But the tradition of church involvement in the care and education of the children of Aborigines persisted. In no other State have there been so many institutions managed by religious groups primarily for Aboriginal children.

The other 'native institution' founded in the early years of the colony was the Native Prison on Rottnest Island. This institution had some features in common with other Aboriginal settlements established elsewhere later: the original intention, when the prison was founded in 1839, was not simply to provide a secure prison for Aboriginal criminals, but to reform and train the inmates so as to make them useful and peaceable citizens and also, through their work, 'to make the establishment pay its own expenses'.² The prison did apparently have some deterrent effect and those discharged were inclined to be unaggressive, but many died as prisoners, and the prison had little success either in training Aborigines to be useful workers when

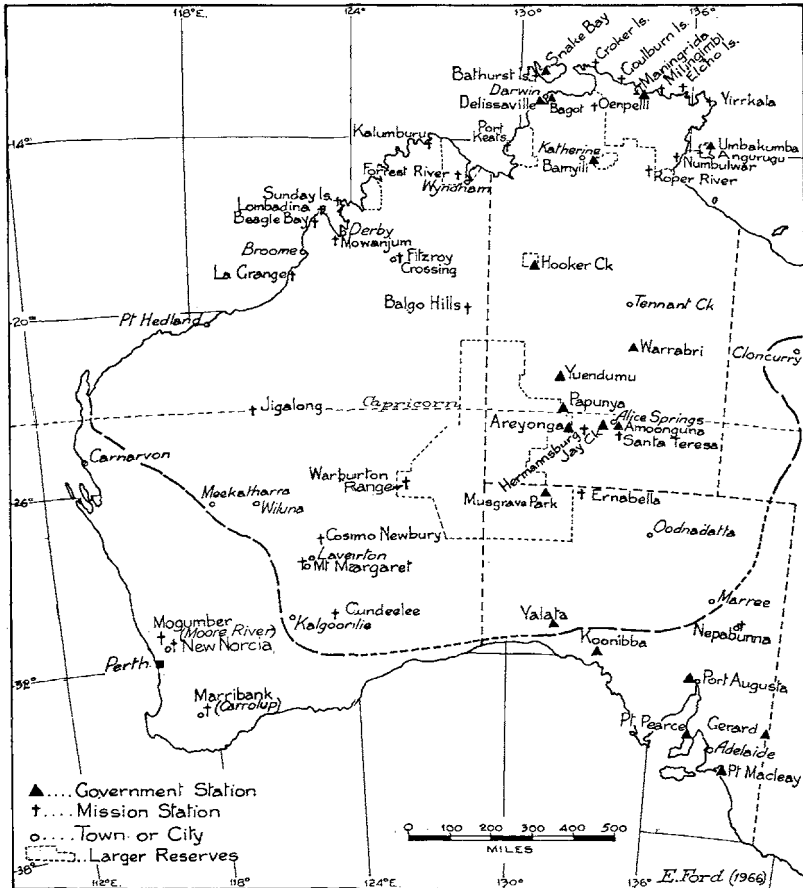
released or in paying for itself; and in fact the broader purposes of its original establishment were, after 1855, given no attention. It survived, however, until 1903 and established a precedent for institutions later founded and managed by the Aborigines Department in Western Australia.

In the thirty years after 1852, although Western Australia remained under Colonial Office administration, the appointment of protectors lapsed and activity in Aboriginal matters almost ceased, as in the self-governing colonies (except Victoria) in the same period. As settlement spread into the north-west and Kimberley areas in the 1870s some renewed efforts were made by the government to control the process of contact. In 1883 one of the many commissions appointed to investigate Aboriginal affairs in Western Australia inquired into matters mainly of employment and police treatment of Aborigines; in 1886 the first Aborigines Protection Act was introduced and in 1888 a Protection Board was appointed under the Act to provide for the relief of the needy, for protection from ill-treatment and fraud, for the care and education of children, and for the declaration of reserves. The concern of the British Government for the Aborigines was manifested in the reservation of power in this field to the Imperial Parliament when the colony was granted limited self-government in 1890. But this concern was not maintained and in 1897 responsibility passed to the colonial parliament which introduced a new Aborigines Act.

The 1897 Act replaced the Protection Board with an Aborigines Department which, with changes, remained the authority responsible for advancing the welfare and helping the preservation of Aborigines in Western Australia. At this time the mission at New Norcia was no longer on the frontiers of settlement, and in 1891 the second Roman Catholic community had been established at Beagle Bay. A number of reserves had been created in the north. In 1898 an interesting community was established by a man named Hadley at Sunday Island as a kind of 'secular mission'. (At his retirement in 1924 it was taken over by the Australian Aborigines Mission, later the United Aborigines Mission. Resident missionaries left the island about 1963.)

In 1904 another commission of inquiry (by W.E. Roth, the former Northern Protector in Queensland) reported and in 1905 another Act was introduced. Within the next ten years four new missions were founded on the north coasts of the Kimberley region: two more Roman Catholic missions at Drysdale River (1907), north-west of Wyndham (later moved to Kalumburu) and at Lombadina (1911), north of Broome; a Presbyterian mission, Kunmunya (1910-12), north of Derby; and an Anglican mission, Forrest River (1913), near Wyndham. All were established in areas where Aborigines had had little contact and the hostility of the natives, the unsuitability of the sites originally chosen and/or staffing difficulties led in some instances to their temporary abandonment and in others to moves to new locations. Yet each of these Kimberley missions survived, with the help of small government subsidies.

From 1915 to 1940 the permanent head of the department was A.O. Neville, first as Chief Protector and from 1936 as Commissioner for Native Affairs—an administration almost as long as that of J.W. Bleakley who occupied the corres-



Map 7. Western Australia, South Australia, and the Northern Territory showing missions and settlements, 1965

ponding position in Queensland in the same period. Neville began with the view that the government should not delegate its responsibilities to missions and considered establishing more government settlements and cattle stations to replace them.³ The missions, anxious about their security of tenure and the level of their subsidies, responded to criticism of their work with criticism of the government establishments. No more missions were established in the far north but, despite Neville's initial opposition, the first missions in and on the edges of the central desert region were founded during his administration by the United Aborigines Mission, at Mount Margaret (1921) near Leonora, and at the Warburton Range (1933); and by the Roman Catholic Pallotine Order at Balgo Hills (1939) south of Halls Creek.

Under Neville's successors the Department's relations with the missions improved and subsidies were increased. Several government ration depots in remote areas were taken over by missions: Jigalong (1946) on the western edge of the desert by the Apostolic Church (Aborigines Rescue Mission); Cundeelee (1950) near the 'Trans-line' east of Kalgoorlie by the Australian Aborigines Evangelical Mission; Fitzroy Crossing (1952) near the northern edge of the desert by the U.A.M. and La Grange (1955), south of Broome, by the Roman Catholic Pallotine Order. The Kunmunya Presbyterian mission, which had earlier been moved to a better site, Wotjulum (1950), was transferred to an area (Mowanjum) just out of Derby in 1957. In this period other government establishments were passed over to mission administration as training establishments or children's missions.

Neville was never able to develop fully his scheme for government establishments, but several institutional communities were set up in his time. These were broadly of two kinds: communities for the predominantly part-Aboriginal population of the south-west which served partly at least as places of detention for the disorderly and were widely regarded as prisons, in the Rottne tradition; and government cattle stations for Aborigines in the remote northern areas. The southern settlements, Carrolup (about 1913) and Moore River (1916-18), were established partly as an answer to the problem of deteriorating relations between (mainly) part-Aborigines living on reserves near towns in the south-west and the townspeople. They had persistent staffing difficulties and discipline was a constant problem. Poor soil and water shortages, among other factors, prevented them from becoming self-supporting and their administration was often criticised. Carrolup was closed by the government in 1922, but a few years later Neville was pressing for it to be reopened to accommodate people from these reserves and also for the establishment of a special 'House for Criminally inclined Natives'.⁴ Ultimately Carrolup was reopened in 1940 and Cosmo Newbery, near Laverton, was established as a Delinquent Centre for natives. In 1948 another government inquiry was made, which recommended the removal of more people from the town reserves of the south to settlements. In the same year a new Commissioner, S.G. Middleton, was appointed, who soon developed radically different policies in this and other fields of Aboriginal welfare administration. Within a few years all the government settlements and the cattle stations had been disposed of.

The government cattle stations had been established in hopes of providing a solution to the problems of cattle-killing by Aborigines and reprisals against them in the Kimberleys. The device of creating large reserves in the unoccupied areas was itself ineffective and the missions that were established in the north were generally too remote to affect the situation much. The first station was established at Moola Bulla near Halls Creek in 1910 with the intention not only of rationing Aborigines and so keeping them out of trouble on the cattle stations but of raising beef to feed them and of training men for work on stations. In Neville's time Munja (1926) and Violet Valley (1935) stations were acquired and later Udialla (1944). These stations had functions similar to settlements elsewhere and Moola Bulla, for example, was used as an institution to which children could be committed for care.

Three of these 'Native Stations' remained when Middleton took office in August 1948. Within a year two had been disposed of and the residents transferred either to mission care (Munja) or to a government depot (Udialla). Moola Bulla, a much more substantial enterprise, was not disposed of until 1955. Like the others, it presented administrative problems and in Middleton's view was not serving, and could not serve, the purposes for which it had been established. It was difficult to attract competent stockmen and managers and even more difficult to find people who could both manage a cattle station and act as welfare officers. The station was, Middleton wrote, 'no better fitted to train young natives to stock work than any other Kimberley station—in point of fact, because of the staff problem referred to, expert supervision by competent White stockmen was more readily available on other stations'.⁶ The station had long since ceased to be needed to prevent cattle-killing and, since Middleton considered that a welfare department should not be engaged in the cattle business, it was sold.

Middleton's approach to the problems of the government settlements was similar. In his report of 1950 he argued that there would remain a need in the remote areas for institutional communities for the support, education and general welfare of the less acculturated Aborigines, and during his administration subsidies to the missions were increased substantially. But his policy towards the part-Aborigines of the southern areas entailed 'a departure from any existing policy, and practice official or otherwise, that postulates isolation and segregation'.⁷ It followed that 'the system of maintaining Government controlled isolated Settlements within the general fabric of a large white community [was] incongruous to the accepted policy of assimilation'. He reviewed the problems that developed on the settlements and concluded that 'their value . . . is in inverse proportion to the enormous cost of their maintenance and upkeep'.⁸ Soon after he was appointed as Commissioner he had planned the framework of a decentralised system of district welfare administration and planned to hand over to other departments responsibility for hospitals and schools that had been administered by his department. It was consistent with the view of the functions and aims of his department expressed in these measures, that the government settlements should be closed and the inmates dispersed. In 1951 the Carrolup (Marribank) and Moore River (Mogumber) settlements were closed and the assets passed to mission bodies and in 1953 the Cosmo Newbery Delinquent Centre was closed and handed over to the U.A.M.

The problems of the future of the mission communities in the remote areas and of the integration of the small reserve communities throughout the State remained to be solved when Middleton retired, but to have disposed so briskly of problems that have presented such difficulties in other States was a substantial achievement.

In Western Australia, unlike the other States with substantial Aboriginal populations, the supervised settlement had become by 1965 relatively unimportant in the scheme of Aboriginal welfare. No government institutional communities remained and the missions that remained Aboriginal communities, and not merely children's hostels, were the homes of a relatively small proportion of the State's Aboriginal population. Compared with those in Queensland and the Northern

Territory they were small communities. These missions were all located in the far north of the State or on the fringes of the desert and less than 13 per cent of all the Aborigines and half-castes counted in Western Australia at the 1961 census lived on them. By contrast in Queensland and South Australia more than 40 per cent and in the Northern Territory more than 50 per cent of Aborigines lived on settlements and missions. To this extent the Aborigines of Western Australia are more integrated in the community than those in other States, though the numerous reserve communities on the outskirts of towns present their own problems of integration.

Table 43: *Mission settlements in Western Australia, 1965**

	Denomination	Establishment date	Population (1965)
Kimberley Region			
Forrest River	Anglican (A.B.M.)	1913-14	135
Kalumburu	Roman Catholic (Benedictine)	1907	206
Mowanjumb	Presbyterian	1911; 1950; 1957	160
Beagle Bay	Roman Catholic (Pallotine)	1890-1	221
Lombadina		1911	143
La Grange		1955	144
			1,009
Central Desert Region			
Balgo Hills	Roman Catholic (Pallotine)	1939	266
Fitzroy Crossing†	United Aborigines Mission	1952	135
Jigalong	Apostolic Church	1946	239
Warburton Range	United Aborigines Mission	1933	355
Cundeelee	Australian Aborigines Evangelical Mission	1950	173
			1,168

* Figures from *Annual Report of Commissioner of Native Welfare, 1965*.

† This mission was designed primarily to provide hostel-type accommodation for children from cattle stations attending primary school but it was included in this table because there was a significant number of adult residents (about one-third of the total residents). Other institutions primarily serving the needs of children which had significant numbers of adult inmates were: Mount Margaret (U.A.M.) with 39 children and 31 adults; New Norcia (Benedictine) with 114 children and 38 adults; Wiluna (Seventh Day Adventists) with 45 children and 41 adults.

APPENDIX II
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

In 1836, when the colony of South Australia was established, a Parliamentary Select Committee in England was considering the past record and future policies towards the Aborigines in the Australian and other colonies. Hopes were expressed that the new colony would bring real benefits, not destruction, to the Aborigines.⁹ Protectors were appointed (the first in April 1837), as in the Port Phillip district and in Western Australia, and official attention was given to the Aborigines' advancement, civilisation, and instruction in the Christian faith. The absence of convicts in the colony might have been expected to make a difference to relations with the Aborigines. But the Protectors in South Australia were not significantly more successful than those in the other colonies. In the period of administration by Protectors, however, other organisations were able to establish some Aboriginal communities.

The first 'Native Institution' (Poonindie) was established near Port Lincoln by Archdeacon Hale of the Church of England in 1850, primarily for young Aborigines who had attended school in Adelaide.¹⁰ Despite much criticism it was successful enough to encourage others to establish similar institutions elsewhere but failed to attract and hold many of the local Aborigines. But between 1850 and 1900 three communities were established which did survive to the present. Point McLeay (1959) was founded by George Taplin for the Aborigines' Friends' Association (an organisation similar to the Aborigines Protection Association formed later in New South Wales). Situated near the mouth of the Murray, in an area then relatively isolated from settlement, it was intended to train and educate the Aborigines to earn their living. Point Pearce (1868) began with an attempt to carry out mission and educational work among Aborigines as they moved about near the mining townships in the Wallaroo-Moonta area but soon became established as a mission community like Point McLeay. The Evangelical Lutheran Church established Koonibba (1897) on Eyre Peninsula when there were already many people of mixed descent among the Aboriginal population there and this soon became, as Point McLeay and Point Pearce had by then become, a community of part-Aborigines.

From the 1860s the Lutherans (and Moravians) ventured into the unsettled northern areas to establish missions among nomadic Aborigines. None of their missions in South Australia itself was long-lived but the Lutheran mission established at Hermannsburg (1877), west of the Alice Springs Telegraph Station, in what was then the Northern Territory of South Australia, was persevered with and it has survived to the present (see Appendix III).

Government gave some assistance to the missions but it was not until 1911 that a special Aborigines Act was introduced, providing powers to control Aborigines and restrictions on their relations with Whites. The law made it possible to remove a person of Aboriginal descent from towns to reserves, where, it was hoped, he could be equipped to 'become a useful member of the community, dependent not upon charity but upon his own efforts'.¹¹ Some were to work the land of the reserves and others sent to work outside. In 1914 the Chief Protector became the head of a small Aborigines Department which assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the stations at Point McLeay (in January 1916) and Point Pearce (in September 1915). The Royal Commission of 1913-15 had also recommended that the government take over Koonibba mission but it was not until 1963, at the invitation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, that this was finally effected. The Gerard reserve community, established by the United Aborigines Mission near Berri on the Murray in 1946, was taken over in 1961-2, so that by 1963 all the institutional communities in the closely settled parts of the State were administered by government, not by missions.

By contrast the government did not become directly involved in Aboriginal welfare work in the more remote parts of the State until quite recently. The United Aborigines Mission established small missions in the sparsely settled country north-east of Port Augusta, at Finnis Springs (1939), and Nepabunna (1930). There were few full-blood Aborigines in the area, and the missions never attracted large numbers as permanent residents. In 1965 Nepabunna survived as a community with a recorded population of eighty-one, including twenty-three children attending the mission school. In 1933 the United Aborigines Mission established a mission for the Aborigines who were drifting from the sandy desert to the north at Ooldea on the transcontinental line, where Mrs Daisy Bates had worked since 1919.¹² In 1951 the Department bought the Yalata station south of Ooldea and in 1954 the Evangelical Lutheran Church established a mission there to which the Ooldea people were transferred.¹³ Another mission, similarly intended to meet the needs of Aborigines abandoning their nomadic desert life, was established in the late 1930s by the Presbyterian Board of Missions at Ernabella on a property near the North-West Reserve, close to the Northern Territory border. Until 1960-1, when the Department started a cattle project in that reserve at Musgrave Park and appointed a welfare officer to supervise the Coober Pedy reserve and work in the district, these two missions remained the only supervised communities in the remote north and north-west.¹⁴ The Department became further involved in the management of institutional communities in 1965 when the Davenport Reserve just outside Port Augusta was provided with resident supervisory staff.

The figures for the distribution of Aborigines and half-castes at the census of June 1961 show the importance of institutional communities in South Australia. In only four of 121 local government areas outside Adelaide were there more than seventy-five such people enumerated and these four areas accounted for nearly half the total of 3,114 people of Aboriginal descent enumerated at the census. In each of these four districts there was a government reserve or mission community.¹⁵

Many people of Aboriginal descent not living on reserves were not included in the count of full-blood or half-caste Aborigines, but the figures nevertheless give a valid indication of the way the settlements had concentrated the 'problem population' in a few areas.

In the remainder of the State, where the great majority of the full-blood population lived, probably over half the Aborigines lived at the two missions—Ernabella in the far north and Yalata in the west—and at the then recently established government station, Musgrave Park, in the North-West Reserve.

Table 44: *Government and mission settlements in South Australia, 1965*

	Responsible authority	Date of establishment	Population*
Settled areas			
Point McLeay	Government	1859 Aborigines' Friends' Association 1916 Government	144
Point Pearce	Government	1868 1915 Government	331 (1964)
Gerard	Government	{ 1925 (Swan Reach) U.A.M. 1946 (Gerard) U.A.M. 1961-2 Government	
Davenport (Port Augusta)	Government	1937 Brethren (Umeewarra) 1965 Government	c. 250
Koonibba	Government	1897-1901 Evangelical Lutheran Church 1963 Government	c. 150
Northern areas†			
Yalata	Evangelical Lutheran Church	1954	320
Nepabunna	U.A.M.	1930	81
Ernabella	Presbyterian Board of Missions	1937	340
Musgrave Park (North-West Reserve)	Government	1960	150 (1964)

* Population figures from the *Annual Report of the Aboriginal Affairs Board, 1965*, except where otherwise indicated.

† The reserve community at Coober Pedy in the far north of the State might also be included in this table since a welfare officer has been stationed there for some years, but this is less an institutional community than the others. Not all the 300-odd Aborigines normally living in and around the Coober Pedy opal field live at the reserve.

APPENDIX III

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The first attempts at colonial settlement in north Australia, made by the British Government between 1824 and 1850, were all short-lived. 'Native administration' did not develop beyond efforts, only sometimes successful, to establish friendly relationships with local Aborigines. When South Australia undertook the administration of the Northern Territory the office of Protector of Aborigines for the Territory was created, and in the forty-seven years of South Australian administration (1863-1910) was generally filled by the senior medical officer. The Protectors had no special statutory powers to control relations between the Aborigines and the immigrant settlers, most of whom were Chinese at this time, and they did little.¹⁶ A number of small reserves were created.

Missionaries made the first efforts to establish special communities of Aborigines in this period. The Lutheran venture into Central Australia to establish the Hermannsburg mission (1877) has been mentioned (Appendix II) and its early history belongs essentially to the history of Aboriginal mission work in South Australia. In the north Roman Catholic missionaries made early but short-lived efforts to found communities near Darwin and at the Daly River. Just before the Territory was taken over by the Commonwealth Government a mission was established in the north at Roper River (1908) by Anglican missionaries and, a few months after the transfer of the Territory, a Roman Catholic mission was founded at Bathurst Island (1911).

The South Australian Government finally legislated for the protection and control of Aborigines in 1910, just before the Northern Territory was handed over to Commonwealth Government control. The South Australian Aboriginal Act 1910 remained in force as an ordinance of the Territory and was revised in 1918. The Commonwealth had Professor Baldwin Spencer make an expert survey of the Aboriginal situation in 1912-13 and he himself served briefly as Chief Protector in Darwin with a small department. But the administration of the ordinance soon became a part-time responsibility, first of administrative officers, then of the police, and from 1927 to 1939 of the Chief Medical Officer in the Territory. In practice its enforcement was left largely to protectors who were also policemen. The Administration supervised a 'compound' for Aborigines in Darwin and another government settlement was established in 1916 at Oenpelli but this was handed over to the Anglican Church Missionary Society in 1924. Several large reserves were created and a number of mission communities were established in this period, most

of them by the Methodist Overseas Missions along the northern coast of Arnhem Land, remote from any White settlement, and serving a population which remained partly nomadic and self-sufficient. The first full-time government field officer was appointed in 1936 and among other tasks supervised a small establishment for indigent and aged Aborigines at Jay Creek near Alice Springs. A start was made in 1938 on a new compound for Aborigines in Darwin.

In 1939 a full-time officer, Mr E.W.P. Chinnery, was appointed to administer the ordinance as Director of Native Affairs and a Native Affairs Branch was established. Work was begun on a scheme to establish special communities for part-Aborigines but this and other projects were interrupted by the war. The administration of Aboriginal affairs in the north of the Territory was taken over by the army in February 1942. The army established special camps in the northern part of the Territory to which Aborigines were evacuated from Darwin and elsewhere. In these camps they could be conveniently fed and clothed, and given medical care while their labour was used in a variety of ways.¹⁷ Smaller numbers were employed in camps farther south along the new highway north from Alice Springs. In Central Australia the Lutheran mission at Hermannsburg established depots at Haasts Bluff (1940) and Areyonga (1942) for the issue of government rations to some of the Aborigines who were moving east from the desert areas, while the able-bodied supported themselves by hunting and gathering.

Civil administration was restored in 1945 and the Native Affairs Branch began both to develop a patrol service to supervise the welfare of Aborigines in employment and to embark on the development of settlements on reserves. The possibility and desirability of the Administration settling Aborigines in communities on reserves had been canvassed a number of times since Baldwin Spencer reported in 1913 but until the war nearly all such work had been left to the missions. In 1938 the Chief Protector had referred to proposals for the development of the reserves by the creation of Aboriginal settlements but had reported that the reserves should remain for the time being essentially 'refuges or sanctuaries of a temporary nature' where 'the aboriginal may . . . continue his normal existence until the time is ripe for his further development'.¹⁸ The post-war development of settlements was planned to control the drift of Aborigines to the towns; to develop the potential of the reserves; to train the Aborigines in order that they might contribute to the development of the reserves in particular and of the country generally; and to provide health services to the Aborigines.¹⁹ The use of settlements as convenient places to provide for the education of the children was not considered initially. None of the wartime settlements was maintained for long but new settlements were provided for the Aborigines who had gathered at the army establishments. By 1950 all but one of the present government settlements had been started. They remained for some years primarily ration depots where Aborigines were fed and clothed, provided with medical care and given some work. There were no schools on the government settlements before 1949. Between 1950 and 1965 some of the settlements founded in the immediate post-war period were moved to new sites and all were developed (notably by the provision of primary schools at all the settlements)

and their staffs were greatly increased. The growth of the settlements accentuated their institutional character and the development of the missions, with increasingly large government grants and subsidies, followed broadly similar lines.

In fifteen years the population of the missions and settlements nearly doubled, increasing from 5,965 in 1950 (3,597 at missions and 2,368 at settlements) to 11,493 in 1965 (5,913 at missions and 5,580 at settlements). There has been a substantial

Table 45: *Government and mission settlements in the Northern Territory, 1965**

Settlement	Responsible authority	Population
Mission		
Hermannsburg	Finke River Mission (Lutheran)	494
Roper River	C.M.S. (Anglican)	198
Bathurst Island	Roman Catholic	905
Oenpelli	C.M.S. (Anglican)	343
Goulburn Island	Methodist	233
Milingimbi	Methodist	552
Elcho Island	Methodist	727
Yirrkala	Methodist	589
Port Keats	Roman Catholic	529
Umbakumba (Groote Eylandt)†	C.M.S. (Anglican)	214
Angurugu (Groote Eylandt)	C.M.S. (Anglican)	467
Santa Teresa	Roman Catholic	384
Numbulwar (Rose River)	C.M.S. (Anglican)	278
		5,913
Government		
Bagot		373
Jay Creek		124
Delissaville		151
Amoonguna		538
Papunya (and Haasts Bluff)‡		861
Areyonga		400
Snake Bay (Melville Island)		269
Bamyili (and Beswick Station)‡		469
Warrabri		534
Yuendumu		758
Hooker Creek		311
Maningrida		792
Total		5,580 11,493

* Figures from *Annual Report of the Welfare Branch, 1965*. The communities are listed roughly in order of their establishment. Because of breaks in the continuity of the existence of some and because of changes in their administration and of their sites, it is difficult to indicate concisely and precisely the dates when they were established. Two missions might be added to the list: Daly River (population 126) which was established in 1955 primarily to provide schooling for Aboriginal children in the district; and Croker Island (population 98) where a Methodist home for part-Aboriginal children also provided for some Aborigines. There were also some small posts staffed by the Welfare Branch which might have been included: Borroloola (95) and Wave Hill (45).

† Umbakumba was established like Sunday Island, Western Australia, as a private 'secular mission' (near a flying-boat base on the England-Australia route). Taken over by the C.M.S. in 1957, it became a government settlement early in 1966.

‡ Haasts Bluff and Beswick Station are government cattle projects, administered in association with settlements.

migration to the settlements and, since about 1951, a high rate of natural increase in their population. There were more Aborigines in the Northern Territory than in any of the States and well over half of them are residents of settlements or missions. The non-Aboriginal population is small (27,095 in 1961) and only overtook the Aboriginal population in about 1955. The 'immigrant population' (and the part-Aborigines) are mainly concentrated at Darwin and Alice Springs. The Aboriginal population is more evenly distributed but is concentrated mainly at the settlements and missions on the otherwise unsettled parts of the north coast and on the fringes of the desert in the south-west.

One can usefully distinguish three different situations in which settlement and mission communities existed in the Territory in 1965. There were, first, the two 'urban' settlements at Darwin and Alice Springs which provided accommodation for many (but not all) town-dwelling Aborigines, some of whom worked off the settlements. There were the settlements and missions established in areas of European settlement where there was similarly some outside employment. Finally there were the communities in the larger reserves where many of the Aborigines had had little contact with the immigrant society and retained much of their traditional culture. Since settlement everywhere outside the few towns was sparse, the differences between the communities in the large reserves and those within areas of pastoral occupation were not necessarily very significant. None of the Territory communities exported labour on the scale of some of the Queensland missions. All had a marked institutional character, especially the government settlements, where communal feeding was the rule. The development of industries in some of the reserves had already begun (e.g. manganese mining on Groote Eylandt; timber on Melville Island) but it seemed probable that most of the communities would for many years remain substantially dependent on government funds to provide employment and sustenance.

APPENDIX IV

HOSTELS IN NORTH QUEENSLAND TOWNS

In the 1950s the Queensland Department of Native Affairs established in three towns institutions very different from its settlements. These were the Aplin Hostel on Thursday Island (1956), Aitkenvale in Townsville (1958), and the Lyons Street Hostel in Cairns (1959). Unlike the 'multi-purpose' settlements these had the single and relatively simple function of providing board and lodging for 'protected' Aborigines and Islanders visiting the towns from settlements and other remote places for hospital treatment or other purposes. They filled a real need for these people who could not find or could not afford other accommodation. Aborigines from the settlements were taken to these hostels; others could choose to stay there if they wished.

Aitkenvale. It was not originally intended that the function of this hostel should be so limited. The Minister for Health and Home Affairs, Dr Noble, announced in 1958 that Aitkenvale would provide a place for visitors to stay, and also permanent accommodation for adults working in Townsville and for young people working or doing training courses there; that it would be a social centre and meeting place for visitors and residents; and that the 60-acre reserve around it would be worked as a dairy and small crop farm, providing training in farm work for selected boys.²⁰ Farming would reduce the cost of maintaining the young people in the hostel. Partly, no doubt, because of the resistance of the hostel's very capable manager, the farming plans, which would have converted the hostel into a small settlement, were not carried out and the efforts of the small staff were concentrated entirely on providing accommodation.

The hostel consisted of three iron-frame, iron-and-fibro buildings. The central one included a kitchen, dining-room, and recreation room. The manager bought food locally and could take advantage of seasonal low prices for vegetables. The dormitory buildings, subdivided into small rooms, with up to four beds or bunks, provided beds for men and women, and quarters for married couples. The two dormitory buildings together could comfortably accommodate 120 people and if necessary up to 160, but the average occupancy in the first six months of 1965 was 52. Few stayed long and the turnover was considerable. The hostel was most crowded at Christmas time and during the Townsville and Palm Island Shows in July and August.

Situated just beyond the limits of an expanding suburb, the hostel was connected to the town water and electricity supplies. There was a small corner shop a few

yards away and a half-hourly bus service into town. Visitors were free to come and go at will and those going to and from hospital, railway, and airport, were transported free of charge by the manager.

Apart from the manager all the staff were Aborigines and Islanders. There was a cook, a cleaner, and a laundress on the domestic staff; three men did maintenance work at the hostel and worked at the wharf loading and unloading the Palm Island boats twice a week; and a 'native policeman', on duty at night, helped to maintain order.

In the earlier years of its existence, intrusions by drunks and others were a problem, but the clearing of the surrounding scrub and firm treatment of intruders reduced such nuisances. Drunkenness was normally tolerated among residents if they went quietly to bed and the police were rarely called in. Those who did not behave did not stay. Only the staff, which included one married couple and a deserted wife, remained for any length of time. Those who did not choose to use the hostel, or who had to be sent away, resorted to 'Happy Valley' and other Townsville fringe camps. The hostel was not a place of last resort and could be run on a loose rein, without recourse to the wide powers the manager in fact had.

Cairns Hostel, similarly situated on the outskirts of a suburb, and not far from the city centre, was smaller but had the same functions. It was managed by an Islander, whose wife ran the kitchen with another woman to help. The manager and his wife occupied a small house and there were six separate two-bed huts with detached lavatories and stoves behind each. There were communal shower buildings. One larger building consisted of a kitchen, a dining-room, two small four-bed dormitories, a chapel, and a sitting-room.

The hostel was under the supervision of the Police Protector in Cairns and all visitors had to report to the police before going there. The manager had a direct line to the police station and a police tracker was a permanent resident. In the first year of its operation there was trouble with intruders but there had been very little trouble latterly. The manager ordered food and other things through the police. Taxis under contract provided transport to the hospital.

In September 1965 only four women and one man were staying at the hostel but it was crowded for the Show and at Christmas time. Since there was a daily launch service to Yarrabah, the hostel needed to provide only for non-exempt country visitors, not for settlement people.

Aplin Hostel was in the suburb of Tamwoy, the 'native quarter' of Thursday Island. It was run by a matron with a small staff of Islanders and provided similar services for people from the Islands and the Peninsula settlement and missions who came in mainly for hospital treatment.

The need for hostels of this type is most apparent in towns like these in north Australia where there are hospitals which serve large areas with substantial populations of unsophisticated Aborigines. The places where White visitors stay in these towns are beyond the means and the competence of such Aborigines, and the places where Aborigines live in the towns, whether settlements or fringe camps,

are very often unacceptable to country visitors who are strangers to the town Aborigines and their way of life. There are obvious advantages in having a single-purpose hostel, rather than bundling together into one compound permanent residents and visitors. When staff are kept busy finding and making work for residents and immigrants, and with the general management of a residential community, the needs of the often bewildered people from the bush are easily overlooked.

Not only Aborigines coming to town for medical treatment need accommodation in suitably supervised hostels. There is a need in many towns for places where children can board so that they can go to school. (The Western Australian Department of Native Welfare, for example, provides some hostels in country towns and supports a number of similar, mission-managed institutions for children.) In many towns hostels are needed for young men and women coming from rural areas for training or for work, and some kind of accommodation is needed for other Aborigines visiting or passing through towns. More and more Aborigines will be coming to the towns of north Australia and there will be a growing need to provide specially planned hostels to meet their needs when suitable unsegregated accommodation is not available.

APPENDIX V

THE DESIGN OF SETTLEMENTS

Examination of the physical arrangement of communities—of who lives where—can provide useful clues about social relationships, and has proved a fruitful task for the anthropologist and sociologist. Study of the changing shape of a settlement, as of any other community, can reveal a good deal about its history and the changes in the relationships between staff and 'inmates'.

One can distinguish two main styles of settlement layout: an early type, now probably nowhere seen in a 'pure' form, which might be called the 'Old Colonial' or 'Plantation' style; and a more modern type which I shall call 'Bureaucratic'.

Old Colonial style. When a missionary ventured into the unsettled north, one of his first concerns was to build himself a house, which had to serve not only as a shelter for himself and possibly his family and his assistants, but sometimes as a store and often as a 'blockhouse'—a secure refuge in the not unlikely event of active hostility on the part of the local inhabitants. As the Aborigines came to accept the presence of the missionary and to settle at the mission, more service buildings were erected and a permanent living area for Aborigines became established. Often the church building was made the formal focal point, with service and staff buildings grouped around it and the Aborigines encamped in suitable spots in the surrounding area. But in a number of communities the residence of the supervising missionary remained the central and dominant building. Evidence of this kind of history is found in the present layout of a number of missions in north Australia. Some government settlements began as 'one-man' ration depots and were similarly laid out, with perhaps one house and a food store, around which (at a distance) some hundreds of Aborigines might be camped.

Bureaucratic style. Where and when more elaborate services were provided and more staff enlisted to help provide them the residence of the superintendent ceased to be so obviously dominant and focal. In most existing settlement communities, especially those administered by a government, where a church is unlikely to occupy a central position, one finds a cluster of staff residences, among which the superintendent's house may be indistinguishable, a group of service buildings and beyond these the 'village' or 'camp' of the Aboriginal residents. The staff dwellings are likely to be much closer to the service buildings (stores, school, hospital, mess unit, etc.) than are the houses and shelters of the Aboriginal residents. Often the staff houses are separated from the 'village' area by the service buildings. Even if the church occupies a central position, as on some missions, the basic division

between staff and service buildings on the one hand and the 'native quarter' on the other normally remains quite clear cut. In settlements, as in many towns, the Aborigines tend to live on the margins of the community, forming in fact a second community. Such an arrangement can, of course, be accepted as desirable by both groups.

The differences between communities laid out on these lines and the country towns to which settlements have sometimes been likened are obvious enough. One may suppose that in time, if serious efforts are made to develop some of the settlement communities into 'normal' townships, there may be some integration of staff and Aboriginal housing and that some service buildings may be located closer to the dwellings of most of the people who use them. The location of a school, for example, might be chosen by considering the convenience of the pupils as much as that of the teachers. The focal point might be a group of buildings housing perhaps a general store, bank and post office, police station, community hall, clinic and medical centre; while the church, schools and pre-school and playing fields might be sited in the 'residential areas'. A move towards the development of what might be termed a 'modern democratic' style of settlement plan is evident in the published plan for the rebuilding of the Mitchell River Mission after its almost complete destruction by a cyclone early in 1964.²¹

NOTES

Chapter 1

¹ I use the term 'Aboriginal' as an adjective in reference to people with any Aboriginal ancestry. I use 'Aboriginal' or 'full-blood' as nouns to refer to people of wholly Aboriginal descent and the terms 'part-Aboriginal' or 'half-caste' as nouns to refer to people of mixed ancestry. The terms 'full-blood' and 'half-caste' are objectionable but appear in the literature so much that it is impossible to avoid using them.

² For a fuller account of the distribution of Aborigines and part-Aborigines see J.P.M. Long, 'The Numbers and Distribution of Aborigines in Australia' in Sharp and Tatz (eds.) *Aborigines in the Economy*.

³ E. Goffman, *Asylums*, pp. 4-6.

⁴ Goffman, p. 7.

Part One (Introductory Section)

¹ C. Turnbull, *Black War*, pp. 75-6.

² Dispatch from Arthur to Huskisson, April 1828, quoted by Turnbull, p. 86.

³ Government order, 25 Feb. 1830, quoted by Turnbull, p. 105.

⁴ James Bonwick, *The Lost Tasmanian Race*, pp. 121-2.

⁵ Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians: or, The Black War of Van Dieman's Land* (1870); and *The Lost Tasmanian Race* (1884).

⁶ Bonwick, *The Lost Tasmanian Race*, preface.

Chapter 2

¹ Instructions to Captain Lonsdale, 14 September 1836, quoted by N.M. Carlyon, 'The Protectorate', p. 28.

² Carlyon, p. 28.

³ Dispatch from Lord Glenelg to Gipps, 31 January 1838, quoted by Carlyon, p. 37. Robinson had had some experience of 'settling' Aborigines in 1835-9 when, after having taken a leading part in the removal of the remaining Tasmanian Aborigines to Flinders Island, he was commandant of the settlement on the island.

⁴ *Report of Select Committee*, 1859, quoted by D. Barwick, 'A Little More than Kin', p. 85.

⁵ Quoted in a revised and expanded version of chapter II (Policies and the Past) of Barwick, 'A Little More than Kin', p. 22; my italics.

⁶ *Report of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines*, 1872, quoted by P. Marcard, 'The Aborigines in Victoria 1858-1884', p. 36.

- ⁷ Marcard, p. 32; Barwick, p. 101.
⁸ Royal Commission 1877, quoted by Marcard, p. 55.
⁹ Marcard, pp. 54-6.
¹⁰ *Vic. P.D.*, 1886, quoted by Marcard, p. 63.
¹¹ *Report of the Aborigines Welfare Board*, 1957-8, p. 3 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1958-9, vol. II, p. 3).
¹² *Welfare Board Report*, 1957-8, p. 11 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1958-9, vol. II, p. 11).
¹³ See Barwick, pp. 122-34, for detailed accounts of controversies about Lake Tyers before and after 1957.
¹⁴ See Barwick, figure 6 facing p. 109.
¹⁵ *Welfare Board, Report*, 1957-8, p. 11 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1958-9, vol. II, p. 11).
¹⁶ *Welfare Board, Report*, 1961-2, p. 7 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1963-4, vol. II, p. 7).
¹⁷ *Welfare Board, Report*, 1962-3, pp. 15, 17 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1963-4, vol. II, pp. 25, 26).
¹⁸ *Report upon the Operation of the Aborigines Act 1928*, 1957, p. 15 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1956-8, vol. II, p. 15).
¹⁹ *Welfare Board, Report*, 1962-3, p. 18 (*Vic. P.P.*, 1963-4, vol. II, p. 26).

Chapter 3

- ¹ J.B. Gribble, *Black but Comely*; see also J.B. Gribble, *A Plea for the Aborigines of New South Wales*.
² *Report of the Aborigines Protection Association*, 1881, p. 6 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, p. 930).
³ *Aborigines (Report of Protector)*, 1882, p. 2 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1882, vol. IV, p. 1526).
⁴ *Aboriginal Mission Stations at Warangesda and Maloga (Report on Working of)*, p. 3 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, p. 939).
⁵ *Protector, Report*, 1882, p. 2 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1882, vol. IV, p. 1526).
⁶ *Protection of the Aborigines (Minute of the Colonial Secretary)*, 26 Feb. 1883 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, pp. 919-21).
⁷ *Report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines*, 1883, p. 3 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883-4, vol. XI, p. 941).
⁸ *Protection Board, Report*, 1911, p. 2 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1912, vol. I, p. 718).
⁹ *Protection Board, Report*, 1884, p. 3 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1885, vol. II, p. 607).
¹⁰ *Protection Board, Report*, 1920-1, p. 5 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1921, vol. I, p. 1015).
¹¹ *Protector, Report*, 1882, p. 1 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1882, vol. IV, p. 1525).
¹² *Protection Board, Report*, 1883, p. 2 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883-4, vol. XI, p. 941).
¹³ *Protection Board, Report*, 1919-20, p. 3 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1920, vol. II, p. 853).
¹⁴ *Protection Board, Report*, 1932-3, p. 3 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1934-5, vol. III, p. 779).
¹⁵ *Protection Board, Report*, 1931-2, p. 2 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1932, vol. I, p. 968).
¹⁶ *Protection Board, Report*, 1933-4, p. 3 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1935-6, vol. III, p. 761).
¹⁷ *Protection Board, Report*, 1934-5, p. 1 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1935-6, vol. III, p. 763).
¹⁸ *Protection Board, Report*, 1938-9, p. 4 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1941-2, vol. I, p. 1158).
¹⁹ *Select Committee on Administration of Aborigines Protection Board*, 1937-8, p. 54 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1938-40, vol. VII, p. 662).
²⁰ *Report and Recommendations of the Public Service Board*, p. 30 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1938-40, vol. VII, p. 768).

²¹ *Reports of the Aborigines Welfare Board, 1944-5*, p. 7 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1945-6, vol. II, p. 809); 1951-2, p. 7 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1953, vol. I, p. 7).

²² Welfare Board, *Report*, 1961-2, p. 9 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1962-4, vol. I, p. 9).

²³ Welfare Board, *Reports*, 1950-1, p. 6 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1952-3, vol. I, p. 6); 1962-3, p. 4 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1962-4, vol. I, p. 20).

²⁴ Welfare Board, *Report*, 1961-2, p. 10 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1962-4, vol. I, p. 10).

²⁵ Every parcel of land held in the name of the Aborigines Welfare Board and used for Aborigines was, under the terms of the Aborigines Welfare Act, a reserve, so that even individual town lots on which the Board had built houses were, technically, reserves though not recorded as such in the Board's reports.

²⁶ See especially R. Hausfeld, 'Some Aspects of Aboriginal Station Management', and 'Dissembled Culture: An Essay on Method', *Mankind*, vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 47-51.

²⁷ Hausfeld, 'Aboriginal Station Management', p. 12.

²⁸ Hausfeld, 'Aboriginal Station Management', pp. 30-2.

²⁹ Hausfeld, 'Aboriginal Station Management', p. 23.

³⁰ See Hausfeld, 'Aboriginal Station Management', pp. 41-4, for a detailed description of conditions in 1959, since which time few improvements have been made.

³¹ See Hausfeld, 'Aboriginal Station Management', pp. 109-16, for a discussion of the attitudes of the people towards living at Woodenbong and outside.

³² Protector, *Report*, 1883, Appendix B, p. 12 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, p. 902).

³³ *Canberra Times*, 10 Nov. 1965.

³⁴ In 1891 there was a reserve of 52 acres about a mile and a half out of Moree; in the Board's 1944 report the reserve was said to be of only 12 acres; the figure in 1953 was 200 acres; and since 1955 it has been shown as 55 acres. It is possible that not all these reserves were in the same locality.

³⁵ M. Reay and G. Sitlington, 'Class and Status in a Mixed-Blood Community (Moree, N.S.W.)', *Oceania*, vol. 18, 1948, p. 184.

³⁶ Reay and Sitlington, p. 180.

³⁷ Protector, *Report*, 1883, Appendix B, p. 20 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, p. 910).

³⁸ Reay and Sitlington, p. 183.

³⁹ Protector, *Report*, 1883, Appendix B, p. 20 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, p. 910).

⁴⁰ A reserve of 100 acres near the town was revoked in 1895 and a new and larger reserve was provided, presumably farther from town. This may have been the Gingie Gingie reserve on which the station was built in 1941.

⁴¹ Protector, *Report*, 1883, Appendix B, pp. 26-7 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1883, vol. III, pp. 916-17).

⁴² Protection Board, *Report*, 1884, p. 2 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1885, vol. II, p. 606).

⁴³ Protection Board, *Report*, 1886, p. 2 (*N.S.W. Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1887, vol. II, p. 854).

⁴⁴ Protection Board, *Report*, 1939, p. 2 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1941-2, vol. I, p. 1156).

⁴⁵ Protection Board, *Report*, 1927, p. 1 (*N.S.W. P.P.*, 1928, vol. I, p. 601).

⁴⁶ J. Beckett, 'A Study of a Mixed-Blood Minority in the Pastoral West of New South Wales, April 1958'; and P. Shinhoff and B. Rogers, 'Report of a Survey at Murrin Bridge Station, 1964'.

Chapter 4

¹ *Annual Report of the Director of Native Affairs*, 1960-1, p. 1 (*Qld P.P.*, 1961-2, p. 1345).

² G.W. Rusden, *History of Australia*, vol. III, p. 144.

³ Quoted by Rusden, p. 149.

⁴ Rusden, p. 156.

⁵ Quoted by Rusden, p. 156.

⁶ F.A. Hagenauer, 'Notes of a Missionary Journey to North Queensland 1885'.

⁷ J.W. Bleakley, *The Aborigines of Australia*, p. 115.

⁸ *Report on the Aborigines of Queensland* (by Archibald Meston), 1896 (*Qld Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1896, vol. IV, pp. 723-40).

⁹ *Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines*, 1913, p. 17 (*Qld P.P.*, 1914, vol. III, p. 1029).

¹⁰ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1917, p. 4 (*Qld P.P.*, 1918, vol. I, pp. 1673-4).

¹¹ Bleakley, pp. 175-6.

¹² Chief Protector, *Report*, 1919, p. 7 (*Qld P.P.*, 1920, vol. II, p. 233).

¹³ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1923, p. 7 (*Qld P.P.*, 1924, vol. I, p. 981).

¹⁴ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1932, pp. 9-10 (*Qld P.P.*, 1933, vol. I, p. 890).

¹⁵ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1934, p. 10 (*Qld P.P.*, 1935, vol. I, p. 982).

¹⁶ Bleakley, p. 183.

¹⁷ The Provident Fund was started in 1919 when Aboriginal wages were increased and it was built up from a percentage contributed by all Islanders and Aborigines earning wages. But for some years (certainly before 1915) Aborigines on the settlements had had a portion of their wages deducted and Islanders had contributed a smaller percentage to help meet the relief needs of non-workers. See Chief Protector, *Report*, 1921, p. 4 (*Qld P.P.*, 1922, vol. II, p. 472).

¹⁸ Bleakley, p. 178.

¹⁹ Director, *Reports*, 1944-5, p. 1 (*Qld P.P.*, 1945-6, p. 1075); 1947-8, p. 3 (*Qld P.P.*, 1948-9, vol. II, p. 839).

²⁰ Director, *Report*, 1949-50, p. 1 (*Qld P.P.*, 1950-1, vol. II, p. 1048).

²¹ Director, *Report*, 1952-3, p. 3 (*Qld P.P.*, 1953-4, vol. II, p. 961); my italics.

²² Director, *Report*, 1955-6, p. 2 (*Qld P.P.*, 1956-7, vol. II, p. 1224).

²³ Director, *Report*, 1958-9, pp. 3-4 (*Qld P.P.*, 1959-60, vol. II, pp. 1129-30).

²⁴ Director, *Report*, 1956-7, p. 2 (*Qld P.P.*, 1957-8, vol. II, p. 1116).

²⁵ Director, *Report*, 1957-8, p. 2 (*Qld P.P.*, 1958-9, vol. II, p. 1028).

²⁶ *Report of Special Committee*, 1964 (*Qld P.P.*, 1964-5, pp. 1561-70).

²⁷ See C.M. Tatz, 'Aborigines—Equality or Inequality', *Australian Quarterly*, vol. 38, No. 1, March 1966, pp. 84-5.

²⁸ *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 240, 1964-5: 11 March 1965.

²⁹ The Deebing Creek Mission Committee was apparently involved with work at this reserve earlier but from 1904 it was a government-managed reserve.

³⁰ C.M. Tatz, Notes on visits to Queensland settlements 1962.

³¹ Woorabinda Quarterly Reports, 30 September 1963 to 30 June 1965.

³² In the quarter ended 31 March 1964, for example, a total of eighty-four departures were recorded. Twenty-four people left under permit (a kind of trial 'exemption'), thirty were 'exempted', twenty-six 'absconded', and four left for other places with official approval. In a register of the names of 'absconders' (evidently

not a complete record) ninety people were recorded as leaving between January 1963 and December 1965: twenty-one in 1963; fifty in 1964; and nineteen in 1965.

³³ Director, *Report*, 1964-5, p. 13 (*Qld P.P.*, 1965, p. 1069).

³⁴ Bleakley, p. 202.

³⁵ Bleakley, p. 193.

³⁶ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1915, p. 8 (*Qld P.P.*, 1916-17, vol. III, p. 1734).

³⁷ The superintendent and his daughter and fifteen Aborigines were killed in this cyclone (Chief Protector, *Report*, 1918, p. 3 (*Qld P.P.*, 1919-20, vol. II, p. 537)).

³⁸ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1933, p. 14 (*Qld P.P.*, 1934, vol. I, p. 890).

³⁹ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1922, p. 7 (*Qld P.P.*, 1923, vol. I, p. 1071).

⁴⁰ Director, *Report*, 1961, p. 1 (*Qld P.P.*, 1961-2, p. 1345).

⁴¹ In October 1962 figures were given of 154 new houses with cement foundations and floors; six good wooden houses, eight old wooden houses due for demolition, five pensioner cottages in addition to the six 'institutional hostels' (Tatz, Notes 1962). According to annual reports, nine new houses were erected in 1962-3, twelve in 1963-4, and 'a number' in 1964-5. Assuming that the eight wooden houses had been demolished there would have been, in June 1964, 181 houses in addition to the five pensioner cottages. The housing plans kept by the welfare workers show 149 family houses in the main settlement area and ten homes for old people. A check of the family list maintained by the welfare officers showed 176 households. A few families live at the farm area, and one or two other places on the island, but it seems probable that the figures provided of 149 Stage One houses and a total of 212 houses in 1965 were somewhat inflated.

⁴² Tatz, Notes 1962.

⁴³ The lists for dresses in September 1965 show 209 'camp women' including those in the Old Peoples' Home, about sixty in the Women's Home and thirty-one school girls and sixteen working girls in the Girls' Home. These figures suggest that the numbers given in the list supplied by the superintendent for the Women's Home and quoted above were understated.

⁴⁴ The Director of Native Affairs refused a request for details of total wages allocations on the settlements and of the amounts paid in wages for a sample fortnight in 1965. Tatz (Notes 1962) gives details of fortnightly wages paid in sample periods in 1962:

	Sample fortnightly pay 1962	No. of workers	Approx. average weekly wage
Palm Island	£950.11.6	405	24s
Yarrabah	£511. 0.6.	189	27s
Cherbourg	£796.14.4	167	48s
Woorabinda	£749. 5.5	139	54s

Since 1962 settlement wage rates have increased somewhat and particularly at Yarrabah. Some information on 1965 wage rates was given on the settlements and this suggests that the average Palm Island wage had increased to about 70s a week, while the average wage at Yarrabah had increased to about 100s a week and at Woorabinda (for a much reduced work force) to about 80s a week.

⁴⁵ C.M. Tatz, 'Queensland's Aborigines: Natural Justice and the Rule of Law', *Australian Quarterly*, vol. 35, No. 3, September 1963.

⁴⁶ Palm Island had a higher ratio of 'police' to population than the other settlements in 1965-6 (figures for month shown):

	Number of 'police'	Approximate population	Approx. ratio of 'police' to population
Palm Island (September 1965)	21	1,300	1 : 62
Yarrabah (September 1965)	11	800	1 : 72
Woorabinda (January 1966)	5	410	1 : 82
Cherbourg (June 1965)	10	950	1 : 95

Because of differences in the situation and administration of the settlements these ratios are not strictly comparable and probably the relative importance of the Palm Island 'police force' is greater than the figures suggest. For comparison, the ratio of police to population in Queensland in 1964 was 1 : 564 and in Australia as a whole it was 1 : 649.

⁴⁷ Director, *Report*, 1957-8, p. 2 (*Qld P.P.*, 1958-9, vol. II, p. 1028).

⁴⁸ The suitability of the area had been brought to Gribble's attention by Baron von Mueller, the botanist. Gribble's helpers consisted of a European who left after a few months, a New Hebridean, and an Aboriginal boy from north Queensland (E.R.B. Gribble, *A Despised Race*, pp. 33-7).

⁴⁹ Gribble, p. 34.

⁵⁰ Gribble, pp. 39-43.

⁵¹ *Memorandum Respecting Measures Recently Adopted for the Amelioration of the Aborigines*, 25 Nov. 1897, p. 2 (*Qld Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1897, vol. II, p. 44).

⁵² *Memorandum*, p. 2 (*Qld Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1897, vol. II, p. 44).

⁵³ *Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines*, 1901, p. 8 (*Qld P.P.*, 1902, vol. I, p. 1138).

⁵⁴ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1904, p. 13 (*Qld P.P.*, 1905, vol. I, p. 761).

⁵⁵ E.R.B. Gribble, p. 45.

⁵⁶ See Director, *Reports*, 1957-8, p. 35 (*Qld P.P.*, 1958-9, vol. II, p. 1061) and 1958-9, p. 35 (*Qld P.P.*, 1959-60, vol. II, p. 1161), where details of the numbers exempted and leaving the mission were reported. Some indirect evidence of the direction of this movement out was found in the settlement register of births where, if the child had moved off the settlement, its new place of residence was noted. The destination of the greatest number was shown as Bessie Point. Others moved to Cairns, Babinda, Gordonvale, and other nearby towns and some were removed to other settlements—Woorabinda or Palm Island.

⁵⁷ The establishment of small decentralised settlements on the reserve was begun by E.R.B. Gribble before 1906 (Chief Protector, *Report*, 1906, p. 14 (*Qld P.P.*, 1907, vol. II, p. 1276)). He wrote that at one time there were seventeen such villages but after he left in 1908 several closed. His object was at once to establish a claim to all of the reserve, particularly against people who intended to cut timber, and to encourage the initiative and independence of the Aborigines (Gribble, pp. 43-4).

⁵⁸ Director, *Report*, 1945-6, p. 18 (*Qld P.P.*, 1946, vol. II, p. 1044).

⁵⁹ Tatz, Notes 1962.

⁶⁰ Tatz, Notes 1962.

⁶¹ The Association had, for example, had problems of youthful misbehaviour referred to it, and in September 1965 the executive called in other interested residents to discuss the possibility of organising local fishing for the Cairns market. The available information on the various councils established during the mission period is scrappy but it appears that Gribble's system of 1901 was abandoned later and that new councils were formed in 1923 and again after another lapse in 1946. In 1958-9, shortly before the government took over, a Welfare Association was formed on the lines of those on the government settlements.

Chapter 5

¹ L.R. Hiatt, 'Aborigines in the Australian Community' in Davies and Encel (eds.), *Australian Society*, p. 286.

² Wife-beating might perhaps be added to the list: see, for example, the report of the pioneer Methodist missionary in the Northern Territory, the Reverend James Watson, soon after he had established the Milingimbi mission ('The lubras appreciate the fact that murderous assaults are no longer tolerated, and in some very serious cases, after tending the lubras, we attended to the lords of creation with the double of a stockwhip'), in *Report of Administrator of the Northern Territory*, 1925, p. 16 (*C.P.P.*, 1926-8, vol. II, p. 2005).

³ Chief Protector, *Reports*, 1905, p. 19 (*Qld P.P.*, 1906, vol. II, p. 931); 1913, p. 18 (*Qld P.P.*, 1914, vol. III, p. 1030).

⁴ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1938, p. 6 (*Qld P.P.*, 1939, vol. II, p. 1331). The new site was less than 20 miles east of the Turn-Off Lagoon police station (now Corinda station; the police station closed some years ago). In explanation of the large number of removals effected in 1935 it was noted that many had to be moved from the Turn-Off Lagoon and Normanton districts, but apparently these were sent not to Doomadgee but to Mornington Island and other more distant settlements and missions (Chief Protector, *Report*, 1935, p. 7 (*Qld P.P.*, 1936, vol. I, p. 1027)).

⁵ The superintendent acted as Protector without payment. He spent probably over half his working time doing Protector's work, organising the employment of Aborigines.

⁶ *Report on the Aborigines of Queensland* (by Archibald Meston), p. 1 (*Qld Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1896, vol. IV, p. 723).

⁷ P.D. Hinton, notes on Weipa demography, personal communication, 1965.

⁸ Hinton, 'Outline of Study following Field-work at Weipa, December 1963', p. 2.

⁹ Hinton, 'Outline of Study', pp. 2-5.

¹⁰ Director, *Report*, 1964-5, p. 27 (*Qld P.P.*, 1965, p. 1083).

¹¹ Director, *Report*, 1947-8, p. 33 (*Qld P.P.*, 1948-9, vol. II, p. 869).

¹² Hinton, 'Aborigines and Social Change in North-Western Cape York Peninsula', p. 3.

¹³ Statement of 'Guiding principles on which our claim to compensation is based' included in 1957 report on Aboriginal missions, presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland.

¹⁴ Similar problems have arisen at Groote Eylandt where rich mineral deposits (of manganese) have been found near an Aboriginal mission. In the initial stages the mining company (Broken Hill Proprietary) established its base of operations farther from the mission than at Weipa and Aboriginal employees lived with White workers at the camp site, leaving their families at the mission. Both the company and the government have been keen that Aboriginal workers and their families should live in company houses at the township (which was being built in 1965). Some interest in this scheme was evident among the men but their wives were unenthusiastic about moving. Early in 1966 the first two families moved into the company town.

¹⁵ Director, *Report*, 1964-5, p. 3 (*Qld P.P.*, 1965, p. 1059) gives the area of the Weipa reserve as 876,800 acres but this, like the areas given for some of the other Cape York reserves, had apparently not been brought up to date. A part of what was probably once the Weipa reserve, north of the Mission River, remained reserved, but this, like the remaining areas of the Mapoon reserve, is apparently to be administered as part of the Cape York Reserve.

¹⁶ Bleakley, p. 157.

¹⁷ Bleakley, pp. 157-8.

¹⁸ Bleakley, p. 158.

¹⁹ Director, *Report*, 1947-8, pp. 2, 22 (*Qld P.P.*, 1948-9, vol. II, pp. 838, 858).

²⁰ Director, *Report*, 1949-50, pp. 29-30 (*Qld P.P.*, 1950-1, vol. II, pp. 1075-6).

²¹ Director, *Report*, 1961-2, p. 14 (*Qld P.P.*, 1962, p. 1382).

²² Report of District Inspector of Schools, 4 Sept. 1961, Department of Health and Home Affairs file NM 61/19472 (Tatz, Notes 1962).

²³ Since 1963 Islanders had been eligible under the provisions of a special Native Members of the Forces Benefits Act (not the Repatriation Act) for most benefits enjoyed by other Australian ex-servicemen. As a result repatriation benefits paid to Islanders increased about ten-fold from £4,000 a year to over £40,000 (Director, *Report*, 1963-4, p. 5 (*Qld P.P.*, 1964-5, p. 1061)).

²⁴ *Report on the Aborigines of Queensland* (by Archibald Meston), pp. 5-6 (*Qld Leg. Ass. V. & P.*, 1896, pp. 727-8).

²⁵ Bleakley, p. 51. Bleakley is critical of the change of policy but it appears that the Aborigines themselves lost interest in farming and certainly a farmer in this area would have been condemned to hard work and poverty. Probably at Mapoon, as elsewhere in north Australia, the prospects of an economic copra industry would be poor. With the generally poor soil in the area and the distance from markets, farming would have been a relatively unrewarding subsistence activity and cattle-raising promised to provide a means of earning some income and making more economical use of the available land and labour.

²⁶ The account here of Mapoon's last ten years is based primarily on Reports on Aboriginal Missions presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Queensland 1953-60 (typescript, in Tatz, Notes 1962).

²⁷ Director, *Report*, 1963-4, p. 15 (*Qld P.P.*, 1964-5, p. 1071).

²⁸ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1907, p. 4 (*Qld P.P.*, 1908, vol. III, p. 926).

²⁹ Chief Protector, *Report*, 1922, p. 5 (*Qld P.P.*, 1923, vol. I, p. 1069); 1924, p. 10 (*Qld P.P.*, 1925, vol. I, p. 1096).

³⁰ Director, *Report*, 1949-50, p. 44 (*Qld P.P.*, 1950-1, vol. II, p. 1090).

³¹ Director, *Report*, 1952-3, p. 51 (*Qld P.P.*, 1953-4, vol. II, p. 1009).

³² Director, *Report*, 1961-2, p. 19 (*Qld P.P.*, 1962, p. 1387).

³³ Director, *Report*, 1954-5, pp. 54-9 (*Qld P.P.*, 1955, vol. II, p. 1112-17).

³⁴ Director, *Report*, 1956-7, p. 54 (*Qld P.P.*, 1957-8, vol. II, p. 1166).

³⁵ Director, *Report*, 1961-2, p. 19 (*Qld P.P.*, 1962, p. 1387).

³⁶ Director, *Report*, 1962-3, pp. 18-20 (*Qld P.P.*, 1963-4, pp. 1076-8).

Chapter 6

¹ G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, p. 230.

² Trevelyan, p. 538.

³ It is interesting that one of the most useful text-books for trainee Aboriginal welfare officers has been Alexander Leighton's study of the administration of a wartime camp for interned Japanese in the United States, *The Governing of Men*, Princeton University Press, 1945.

⁴ E. Goffman, *Asylums*, p. 12.

⁵ R. and H. Hauser, *The Fraternal Society*, p. 35.

⁶ A phrase used by E.E. Hagen and L.C. Shaw in 'The Sioux on the Reservations', 1960, quoted by Gordon MacGregor, 'Community Development and Social Adaptation', *Human Organization*, vol. 20, no. 4, p. 240.

⁷ C.D. Rowley, 'Aborigines and other Australians', p. 260, referring to Leighton, *The Governing of Men*.

⁸ W.F. Whyte and A.R. Holmberg, 'Human Problems of U.S. Enterprise in Latin America—From Company Camps to Open Cities', *Human Organization*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1956, p. 23.

⁹ For the most recent version (1965) see, for example, statement of the Minister for Territories reprinted in *Australian Territories*, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1966, p. 34. The original statement of agreed policy in 1951 referred to 'any discrimination between the treatment of the white and the coloured person' as being a temporary measure based on a need for 'guardianship and tutelage'.

APPENDIXES

¹ Paul Hasluck, *Black Australians*, pp. 69-70.

² Instructions to the first Superintendent, August 1839, quoted by Hasluck, p. 81.

³ P. Biskup, 'Native Administration and Welfare in Western Australia 1897-1954', pp. 173-4.

⁴ Biskup, pp. 260-2.

⁵ Biskup, p. 384.

⁶ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Native Welfare*, 1954-5, p. 12 (*W.A.P.P.*, 1955, vol. III).

⁷ Commissioner, *Annual Report*, 1950, p. 6 (*W.A. P.P.*, 1951, vol. II).

⁸ Commissioner, *Annual Report*, 1950, p. 18 (*W.A. P.P.*, 1951, vol. II).

⁹ Kathleen Hassell, *The Relations between the Settlers and Aborigines in South Australia 1836-1860*, pp. 3-10.

¹⁰ Bishop Hale, *The Aborigines of Australia*.

¹¹ Royal Commission on Aborigines 1913, quoted in Fay Gale, *A Study of Assimilation*, p. 107.

¹² Daisy Bates, *The Passing of the Aborigines*, pp. 168-243; R. and C. Berndt, *From Black to White in South Australia*, pp. 108-42.

¹³ *Report of the Aborigines Protection Board, 1950-1*, p. 1 (S.A. P.P., 1951, PP. 20); 1953-4, p. 5 (S.A. P.P., 1954, vol. II, PP. 20).

¹⁴ Protection Board, *Report, 1961-2*, pp. 10-11 (S.A. P.P., 1962, vol. II, PP. 20A).

¹⁵ Yorke Peninsula District Council (Point Pearce reserve), 329; Meningie D.C. (Point McLeay reserve), 453; Port Augusta D.C. (Umeewara mission and Davenport Reserve), 278; Murat Bay D.C. (Koonibba mission), 441.

¹⁶ C.E. Cook, 'Medicine and the Australian Aboriginal', 1966, pp. 560-1.

¹⁷ See F.R. Morris, 'The War Effort of the Northern Territory Aborigines', *Australian Territories*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1966.

¹⁸ *Report on the Administration of the Northern Territory, 1937-8*, p. 22 (C.P.P., 1937-40, vol. III, p. 1026).

¹⁹ *Report on the Administration, 1947-8*, p. 18 (C.P.P., 1948-9, vol. IV, p. 1232).

²⁰ *Annual Report of the Director of Native Affairs, 1958*, p. 5 (Qld P.P., 1958-9, vol. II, p. 1031).

²¹ Director, *Report, 1964*, facing p. 4 (Qld P.P., 1964-5, p. 1060).

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J.P.M. Long, a graduate of the University of Sydney, is with the Office of Aboriginal Affairs in Canberra. From 1955 to 1968 he worked in the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration as patrol officer, Superintendent of the Aboriginal Settlement west of Alice Springs, and as a research and investigation officer. In 1966, jointly with a colleague, he gained the Mrs Patrick Ness Award of the Royal Geographical Society of London for investigations among Aborigines living in the remote desert areas of central Australia. He has travelled widely in Australia, visiting settlements in the Northern Territory, Western Australia, and South Australia. In the course of research for this book he studied twenty-five Aboriginal communities from Cape Barren Island in Bass Strait to Bamaga at the northern tip of Cape York Peninsula.



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