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Dawn



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A MAGAZINE FOR THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE OF N.S.W.

MAY, 1960





Our Cover . . .

This happy young Australian photographed at the recent Summer Camp personifies good health, intelligence and a happy anticipation of the years ahead of him.

To-day the modern generation of our aboriginal people can see ahead of them grand opportunities of successful endeavour, opportunities that are made easier by the ever-diminishing prejudice against their race.



"DAWN"

is a monthly magazine produced by the N.S.W. Aborigines' Welfare Board for the Aboriginal people of New South Wales.

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Do you support your Child?

Do you support your child in order to make the best of his opportunities and give in return, of his best to his community?

A town like Moree depends to a large extent upon educated men and women for its essential services. Consider for a moment, doctors, dentists, lawyers, solicitors, bankers, skilled tradesmen and a host of others on whom our town depends.

If we expect to utilise the services and skills of these people and what town can do without them, then we must accept the responsibility of supplying our share of these trained personnel.

It would be economically unsound for the citizens of any town to fail to take the opportunity of having some of their young people trained to refill these positions.

More and more is our town, and for that matter our country, becoming dependent upon educated and trained people. If we wish to maintain or improve our standards of living to safeguard our security we must continually improve our output of educated people.

In this we are in competition with the rest of the world, especially the U.S.S.R., and this challenge is just as important, if not more so, than the challenge of the hydrogen bomb. The leaders of Russia realise the importance of educated people and in this respect they are striving to lead the rest of the Western world.

Even if we have no children, if our children have completed their schooling or have not yet commenced, we are as vitally concerned as the parents of the children attending school.

How can the community accept its responsibility in this regard?

Firstly, wherever possible, allow our locally educated people to fill such positions. By this means we demonstrate to other children that education is worthwhile from a financial point of view and encourage them with their studies.

By creating the proper educational atmosphere where scholastic achievement is put on the same plane as sporting victories.

By working for improved standards in our schools—particularly in our own school. Many people regard the cost of education as a Government responsibility and are unwilling to stand many of the costs.

We know it is impossible for the Government to supply everything and much splendid work is being done by the various organisations that are working for the schools, but the story is always the same. The work is being left in the hands of a few people while the community as a whole shirks its responsibilities.

We hear much in the business world of the slogan: Support your town—Shop locally. Could this too be applied to education?

—With acknowledgment to the *North-West Champion*.

SHIRKING A RESPONSIBILITY

Rent's Due

Once again the Board finds it necessary to draw attention to the very unsatisfactory position regarding the payment of rent.

Over the past ten years the Board has spent well over half a million pounds in the provision of improved accommodation for aborigines.

It has also been active in securing benefits for aborigines in other directions, and an instance of this is the recent decision of the Commonwealth Government to discontinue its discrimination in the matter of pensions. This followed persistent action by the Aborigines' Welfare Board.

The Board is anxious to see aborigines enjoying all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

At the same time, however, it must impress upon the people that privileges carry responsibility. If a decent costly house is provided, it is the duty of the tenant to pay a reasonable rental for it, and in this connection all tenants must admit that rents charged by the Board are very low indeed.

Many of the Board's tenants are meeting their obligations well and are to be congratulated.

The Board is also aware that many who are not paying their rent are nevertheless spending their earnings on items which, even among white people, would be regarded as luxuries. When such items are purchased on time payment it is well known that if instalments are not paid regularly, the article is repossessed. It is disappointing to know that so many aborigines are quite happy to keep up payments on such things, but seem to feel no responsibility towards the question of rent.

The Board is sorry to have to refer to this matter again, but wishes it to be known that it cannot tolerate continued indifference on the part of all those who are well able to pay, and will continue to take all necessary steps to enforce payment in such cases.



OUR ROVING CAMERAMAN

THE aboriginal people in this State are scattered over a wide area, so far apart that many of them may never meet, but the magic camera can bring to us intimate glimpses of these people and enable us to become better acquainted with each other.

If you have photos at home, similar to those you see published in *Dawn*, send them along and thus add to, and maintain, the interest in your fellow men and women.



Ice blocks were the main attraction for these youngsters at the Tabulam party. They are Charlotte Robinson, Maureen Walker and Vivian Robinson



Woodenbong children had a wonderful time at the Lismore Education Department Play Centre. Gregory Logan bunts the ball while Stephane Gerard, Arthur and Ron Close and Julie Stuart look on



Two Champs. Dennis Ritchie and Harry Callaghan, of Kyogle



Somehow we missed this pretty girl's name. Who is she?



Myrtle Smith, of Green Hill, poses for the cameraman



These husky-looking fellows make up the Baryulgil Football Team and are almost unbeatable



Better late than never for this Tabulam Christmas Party photo. What a wonderful time everyone had!



Another picture from Tabulam. Just a few moments pause for the photograph



Fisherman Kenny Ardler, of Wreck Bay. But where are the fish?



Just look at those grins will you. They say the Tabulam youngsters have the happiest smiles in the State



Joyce Edmunds, of Armidale, had quite an armful with this husky young fellow when she posed for a photo

ABORIGINE'S COTTAGE

"Proud to have my name there"

"I am proud to have my name there," said Shire President, Cr. Harry Bailey, as he unveiled the foundation plaque at the Aborigine Welfare Board Cottage, at Coff's Harbour, one Sunday recently.

At a ceremony, well attended in spite of heavy rain, Rev. Donald Campbell, President of the local Aborigine Welfare Committee, opened proceedings by saying, "Aborigines, or as some of us prefer to call them, 'Original Australians', or 'Old Aussies'."

"They used to live in the Coff's Harbour town area, but the old tribe died out as we, the 'New Australians', came.

"Now we are glad to know that the Original Australians are increasing in number and have settled all around this town. But we think it is time they were welcomed into the town, hence this cottage," added Mr. Campbell.



Visitors gathered around the new house

"Gifts of materials and labour had been made by Coff's Harbour people and firms, and the Council of Christian Youth have given the labour of some 30 young people for two weeks. Coff's Harbour Jaycees will paint the house. We are still short of about £200."

Rev. Harry Brentnall, Methodist Minister, then welcomed the Work Camp young people, on behalf of the Coff's Harbour churches, "We are glad to welcome you here from the many different churches of which you are members.



From left to right: Mrs. Trustum, Member of Coff's Harbour Aborigines Welfare Committee; Mrs. King, Treasurer of Committee; Rev. Donald Campbell, President of Committee; Mr. King, Member of Committee; Mr. Rogers, Member of Committee; Mr. Scott, Member of Committee; Mr. Bristow, Leader of the Work Camp Group which built the cottage; Mr. Hugh Bailey, Secretary of the Committee; Mr. Harry Bailey, Shire President, Coff's Harbour, who unveiled the foundation plaque. Aborigines in the photograph are Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Davis and family, who now occupy the cottage

Unity of Churches

"We are glad that by coming here in this way you are showing the unity of the churches in positive action for needy people. This weather" he said, "is not much of a welcome, but we would not like you to go from Coff's Harbour without having a sample of our famous rain. We hope that before you go you will have plenty of sunshine."

Mr. Angus Bristow then spoke on behalf of the Work Camp. The object of the camp was not just to build the cottage, but to make a permanent contribution to the life of Coff's Harbour.

"Not that we are here to show you how, as though you don't know, but just to kindle a spark that may continue to burn long after we have gone."

Rev. Donald Campbell then introduced the family who are to be admitted to the house; Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Davis, of Bonville and their six children.

Mr. E. Hamey, representative of ABN Television, filmed them, and the proceedings.

Welfare

Mr. Hubert Bailey, Shire Engineer and hon. secretary of the local committee, then gave a narrative, telling of the progress in the welfare of aborigines in recent years.

"Thanks to the personal interest of the Chief Secretary, the Under Secretary of his Department, the Superintendent of Aborigines (Mr. Kingsmill), and the Member for Raleigh (Mr. J. Brown), a sum of £1,000 was made available for this cottage, although allocations for the current financial year had already been made.



Some of the many people who attended the opening of the new cottage

Some Opposition

Mr. Harry Bailey then spoke, commending the committee and the Work Camp on the project they were undertaking.

“I know that there was some opposition to this, and that some people thought and still think that we in the Council have made a mistake.

“But since meeting the family who are to live in this house, I am sure that the time will not be far distant when everyone will agree that it was not a mistake, I am sure we have done the right thing. I am proud to have my name on this plaque.”

The Welcome

The wording on the plaque then unveiled reads: “To welcome aborigines in to the Coff’s Harbour community, this house was commenced 27th December, 1959. W. H. Bailey, Shire President.”

Young people from all over the state have come, giving up their Christmas holidays, to do the job. One young man travelled over 700 miles on a motor bike on Boxing Day. They will all welcome any Coff’s Harbour residents or visitors who want to put in an hour or two, or a day or two on the job, in Bent Street.

—With acknowledgment to *Coff’s Harbour Advocate*.



PURCHASE OF COTTAGE AT FORSTER

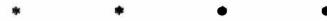
The Aborigines’ Welfare Board has recently purchased a weatherboard cottage in Macintosh Street, Forster, for £800, the amount having been paid from Loan funds.

The cottage is being rented to Joseph William Slater, a former resident on the Reserve at Forster. Mr. Slater is permanently employed and has a wife and family of four children of school age.

SORRY, MR SAXBY

It is very much regretted that the name of Mr. M. H. Saxby, Assistant Under-Secretary, a very important visitor to the Summer Camp, was omitted from the list of those present on the afternoon of the Governor’s visit.

He is a person so well known to us as past Superintendent of the Board, and one who has been associated with the camp since its inception at La Perouse, that a Summer Camp would be incomplete without his presence.



WEDDING

Morgan—Sullivan

The hall at the Walgett Aboriginal Station was most tastefully decorated by Olive Nean for the wedding of Topsy Sullivan and Cedric Morgan one Saturday recently, the Rev. Ewins from the Presbyterian Church at Walgett officiating.

Due to the illness of her father, Mr. Tom Sullivan, Topsy was escorted down the aisle by Mr. Bruce Ward.

She looked most attractive in her pink frock of embossed nylon, pink hat and accessories. Her two bridesmaids Beryl Morgan and Elaine Ward were dressed alike in blue nylon frocks and carried bouquets of natural flowers. The best man was Kevin Fernando.

After the dignified and impressive ceremony, Topsy and Cedric were showered with the traditional rice and wished every happiness by those present. All the Station joins in wishing them both everything that they could wish for themselves in the future.



NEWS FROM WALGETT

Congratulations go out to Mr. and Mrs. Sid Cubby on the birth of a son to be called Ricky.

Mr. and Mrs. Dupain who have been doing Missionary work amongst us have returned from a most enjoyable months’ holiday in South Australia.

Little Verna Ward is back again after being in Dubbo Hospital for some weeks. Pleasing also, to see Mary Ann Dennis back with us after her short period of hospitalisation.

Tom Sullivan is at present in the Walgett Hospital and was unable to be present at the wedding of his daughter Topsy.

The tennis court is beginning to look a reality and all the children are looking forward to their first game.

ABORIGINES AND CITIZENSHIP

by Professor A. P. ELKIN,

Emeritus Professor of Anthropology,
Vice Chairman, Aborigines' Welfare Board of N.S.W.

THE PAST

The Aborigines of Australia lived solely by food-gathering and hunting. They had neither gardens nor villages; but each tribe had its own recognized territory within which its economic, social and religious activity was organized. In particular, each generation inherited a slowly accumulated, systematic body of knowledge about the food resources in the tribal region. According to the signs and seasons the groups moved about to obtain this food here, or that food there, using acquired skills in searching and hunting and in preparing it for eating. Meetings of clans and tribes for social and ceremonial purposes had to be arranged at times and in places when and where sufficient food and water were available.

The Aboriginal population in 1788, as far as can be calculated, was about 300,000 or 350,000. It was comparatively dense only where water was plentiful and the soil fertile, for there plant foods and game abounded. Elsewhere, family and clan groups had to separate more and for longer periods in the food search, and could only meet after exceptionally good rains or after the flooding of rivers fed by far-distant rains.

Little thought is required to realize that European occupation of the land interfered drastically with Aboriginal life in all its aspects. Settlement with its consequent villages, townships, farms and pasturages took place rapidly in the coastal and hinterland fertile regions. In the regions around Port Jackson, Hunter's River, Moreton Bay, Port Phillip, the Torrens, the Swan River and other accessible ports of entry, the Aborigines were uprooted and vanishing within two or three decades after the coming of the white man. Their freedom of movement was gone and their best and accustomed hunting and food-gathering land taken by the newcomers for their sole use. The natives became trespassers in their own country. Clash was inevitable. Reduced in numbers, the remnants hung around the settlements and farms or moved about disconsolately from place to place, eating unaccustomed food, becoming infected by new diseases and suffering the ills of an increasingly sedentary life. They became paupers and within two or three generations few full-bloods remained in any of these regions.

As settlement spread into the less fertile and semi-arid regions of the interior and the difficult far northern areas, it became much slower and sparse. The white men were few in numbers and far between. There still seemed to be room both for them, their flocks and herds and also for the local tribes. Clashes and misunder-

standings occurred, and the Aborigines frequently suffered much. But in time, and there was time, they adjusted themselves to the settlers, and the latter, often without knowing it, adapted themselves to the natives. They depended on them for labour, such as stock-work, yard-building and many odd jobs. Also, lacking their own women folk, they associated with Aboriginal women and thereby became part of the tribal system. The Aborigines realized the settler's situation, and having come to desire some of the things which he could provide, such as tea, sugar, flour, meat and tobacco, and also realizing that they could not drive him out of their country, they, worldly wise, decided to work for him so that he could supply them with just those things. From their point of view this could be called "intelligent parasitism"; actually it was a phase of equilibrium. But little progress was possible either for them or for the settlers and pastoralists. Moreover, clashes still occurred from time to time and the tribes decreased. This, however, was at a slower rate than in the favoured coastal regions, and sometimes was not very noticeable, for as one group diminished, others came in from neighbouring unsettled regions to live around the stations.

We can sum up by saying that for the first seventy-five years of Australian history the Aborigines decreased rapidly towards extinction in the regions which were most desirable for settlement and in the second seventy-five years they decreased also and just as certainly, but at a much slower rate in the sparsely settled pastoral regions of the interior and north. Indeed, it was the accepted view, even thirty years ago, that the Aborigines would completely die out, that is, apart from mixed-bloods.

This sad depopulation of the native race had not been officially expected. The early Governors and Lieut.-Governors were instructed to treat the natives with "amity and conciliation" and as British subjects. But Governors' edicts had little efficacy on the frontiers of settlement where clashes occurred and where the settlers preferred to take matters into their own hands, rather than wait for the central authorities to receive reports, inquire into them and take action.

Further, by the second quarter of last century the policy also included provision for giving the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the King's (or Queen's) subjects. But the efforts made by sincere persons, missionary and Government, had few if any permanent results, and helped to confirm a growing opinion that the Aborigines could not be civilized.

Pessimistic Protection Policies

Around the middle of last century a considerable population was growing up in the main centres of each Colony, which had little, if any, knowledge of the Aborigines and no experience of the difficulties of contact with them on the frontier regions in the present or in the past. Public opinion, however, in such centres was now being disturbed by stories and reports of clashes and "atrocities" in the distant, pastoral regions, where the natives seemed to suffer through little fault of their own. Opinion was also disturbed by the sight of derelict remnants of the original race and of apparently unwanted half-castes, especially in rural areas. Missionary and humanitarian groups voiced the need to do something for those that remained.

As a result Protection Policies were drawn up and put into practice in the several Colonies (later States) at different times from 1860 onwards to 1911 when the Commonwealth did the same for the Northern Territory. There was, however, little idea that the Aborigines would be saved by such policies. They were disappearing before people's eyes. Contact seemed to be fatal for them. In

spite of efforts to civilize and christianize them, they seemed unable to adapt themselves to civilised conditions. Nothing could be done except to protect them from abuses as far as possible, to give them food when obviously necessary, to cover their nakedness, give them blankets, administer medicines, write about their strange customs, and perhaps hold their hand (in thought) as they passed on. As a writer as far back as 1843 had said in the *New South Wales Magazine*, "I wish to see our means applied to rendering the current of events by which the grave is closing on our sable brethren, smooth and regular".

"Smooth the Dying Pillow" became the comfortable rationalization, and "The Passing of the Aborigines" was a phrase which did much to fix in men's minds and in policies the idea that the Aborigines were doomed, never mind what we did for them.

As would be expected, policies of pessimism and doom did not prevent the constant decrease of the Aborigines, nor indeed protect them effectually from harsh treatment in many places. Some bad atrocities were committed against them in the 1920's and early 1930's. The only hopeful suggestion made throughout the long protection



Prefects of Cootamundra High School
Mavis Lang on the left in the front row is also Captain of her School House—McConaghy

period was that if the few remaining tribes which were little affected by contact, were kept on inviolable reserves, free to live in their traditional nomadic manner and shut off from all outside influences, their extinction would be averted. The fallacy in this was that the Aborigines themselves, especially the young men, have always been attracted to the white man's stations and settlements, and when the local group has declined in numbers or died out, the next group beyond has drifted in and taken its place. This fatal attraction towards the white man meant that negative segregation would be futile.

The Turning Point

Gradually, however, after World War I there was a stirring of conscience; Australia had sought and obtained a Mandate from the League of Nations to administer New Guinea, but the fate of the Aborigines raised doubts as to our fitness for the task. Moreover, it was just in the years 1926 to 1934 that a very unfortunate toll of clashes and atrocities in the centre and north was mounting



Lesley Whitton and Peter Daldy, Captains of Pinkstone House at Cootamundra High School have every reason to feel proud, for their House has just won the School swimming carnival

up. During those few years there had been two Commissions of Inquiry into atrocities perpetrated against the Aborigines; a Departmental inquiry into a serious allegation of the same kind; a general investigation by a special Commissioner into the conditions of the Aborigines in the Northern Territory; a Commission of Inquiry in West Australia arranged in response to dissatisfaction about the conditions and treatment of the Aborigines in that State; and a successful protest against an official suggestion to send a punitive expedition "to teach the natives of East Arnhem Land a lesson" following a series of "killings" of some Japanese, two prospectors and a police constable in 1932-33.

The sequel to this protest captured public imagination. The Commonwealth Government accepted the offer of two Church Missionary Society missionaries who were stationed in the neighbourhood, to conduct a peace expedition into the disturbed region. Friendly relations were established and the actual "killers" agreed to be taken to Darwin for trial. Unfortunately there were unsatisfactory features about the trial and the sentences, which led to much protest down south. Amongst the forms this took was a packed meeting in the old King's Hall, Sydney (August 6th, 1934), which was well reported in the English Press. This led to telephone conversations showing that England was concerned with the general position of the Aborigines. From then on, the Commonwealth Government showed a more positive attitude towards Aboriginal policy.

The Movement for a Positive Policy

In the meantime a movement had begun for the working out of a positive policy for Aborigines. There had been faint signs of this in the 1920's, but no more, not even at a Conference in 1929 of missionaries, humanitarian leaders and pastoralists, called by the minister in charge of the Northern Territory to advise him on Aboriginal matters, especially on employment. Protection was still the theme and the goal. But coming from field-work (1927-30) in the north and centre, I was able to convince a then influential group of humanitarians (The Association for the Protection of Native Races) in Sydney in 1931 that protection had failed to protect and that the only hope for the Aborigines lay in the implementation of a positive policy based on a conviction that the Aborigines need not die out. This meant adopting health, education and employment measures to prepare them for life in the general Australian community. Thus "A Positive Policy for the Aborigines" became the slogan and the chief immediate goal; but, of course, Government and public attention was drawn to every case of injustice and cruelty towards them.

In the change of opinion and attitudes which followed, tireless service was given by a dozen and more organizations, including the long-established Aborigines' Friends' Association (Adelaide), the Association for the Protection of Native Races, the National Missionary Council of Australia, the recently formed Australian Aborigines' League (Victoria) and the Aborigines' Amelioration Society (Perth), and others which came into being during the later 1930's. The main newspapers also played an important part as a liaison between those working for a positive policy and public opinion.

A great amount of constructive thought and energy was devoted to this cause. Thus, in 1933 the National Missionary Council organized a conference in Sydney of experienced persons from all parts of Australia, which drew up suggestions for "A National Policy . . . for the Better Government of the Aborigines". In the following year an exhibition of Aboriginal artifacts in Melbourne became a platform for advocating the positive policy; and in early 1935 a Science Congress, also meeting in Melbourne, emphasized the same need.

As a result of this constant and widespread, informed stirring of public opinion, the various Governments concerned with Aborigines began to examine and amend their policies and administrative methods. Further, as there was some agitation for a unified Aboriginal policy for all Australia, a Conference of Commonwealth and State Ministers in 1936 agreed that it would be advisable to have periodical conferences of the Government authorities controlling Aborigines in the various States and the Northern Territory, to discuss methods of control and welfare. One meeting took place in 1937. The next had to wait for eleven years.

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation is a word which is often misunderstood. It does *not* mean miscegenation, that is, inter-breeding, with the avowed objective of eventually breeding out and losing the Aboriginal physical features. It may be that this will happen in the case of many part-Aborigines, provided that they marry Europeans in each generation. Numbers do just this, but it is a matter of individual decision and of social circumstances, not of policy. And although there is some degree of this mating and marrying out (for example with new Australian males), the general trend is for the full-bloods to marry full-bloods and for the various castes to marry within their several castes, with some marriages between persons of different castes. As for the mixed-bloods, the signs are of stabilization around the quarter-caste degree. At any rate, for generations to come, indeed for many generations, Australia's population will include a group or groups definitely Aboriginal in features. This is leading to an interesting phase in Aboriginal outlook, to which reference will be made later.

What it means

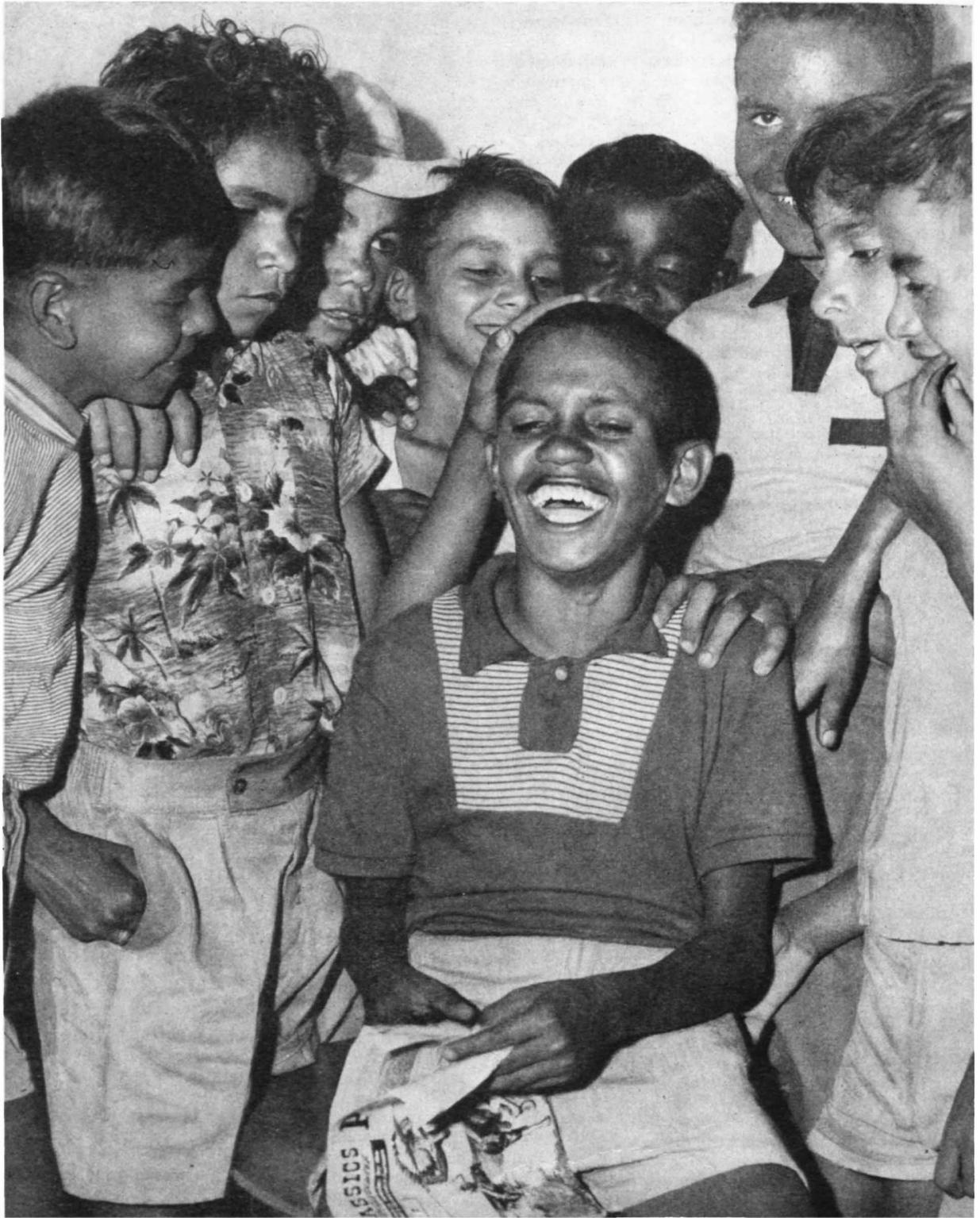
Assimilation means that the Aborigines will be similar to us, not necessarily in looks, but with regard to all the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. That is, in life's various situations—economic, political, religious, recreational and social, fitness alone is to count, without any reference to skin colour or to ancestry. As far back as 1944 I published a small book, *Citizenship for the Aborigines*, discussing the principles involved in assimilation, and showing that the aim was to help the Aborigines to "become an integral part of our own Australian life". The idea of such a book in 1930 would have seemed absurd. But in 1944 it was the appropriate and, indeed, necessary book to write: such had been the advance in thought, attitudes and policies.



Fifteen-year-old Lesley Whitton of Cootamundra

Moreover, there has been no turning back. Public interest has become practical, not merely vocal; and as money and personnel became available in the years following the end of World War II, administrative efforts have been increased manifoldly to make assimilation possible. As a result the Aborigines' conditions and opportunities are very different now from what they were in the 1930's. And this is true even though there are still a considerable number of people who have no time for them and regard them as a curious and inferior race. But those who think or speak in this way, now realize that even the full-bloods can no longer be treated as a kind of serf, and that citizenship is a birthright which can no longer be denied to the Aborigines.

Further, health, education and welfare services are bearing fruit. The most significant example of this is a vital one: the full-blood population had declined from an estimated 300,000 or 350,000 in 1788, the year of the first European settlement in Australia, to less than 50,000 in 1938, and its continued decrease seemed almost inevitable. Now, however, we can say definitely that the full-bloods will not die out, and in some areas are on the increase. The part-Aborigines officially number 32,000, but possibly nearly as many possessing some Aboriginal ancestry are counted in the general community census. They, too, are on the increase mainly through marriage and mating within their own groups, as stated above. Thus the positive policy has attained, or will certainly attain, one of its objectives, the continuation of the pure Aboriginal race, at least until such time as through inter-marriage with mixed-bloods or Europeans, it becomes merged in the part-Aboriginal group.



When we had a look round the recent Summer Camp we came across this group admiring Bill Hammond's hair . . . or rather lack of hair. He didn't mind because he said it made him look like film star Yul Brynner

ADMINISTRATION AND ABORIGINES TO-DAY

Each State is responsible for the administration and welfare of the Aborigines within its borders, and the Commonwealth for those in the Northern Territory. Political and public opinion abroad, however, is apt to hold Australia as such, that is, the Commonwealth Government, responsible for all Aboriginal affairs even though they are actually and solely within the province of a particular State. This is unavoidable; therefore all the Governments concerned with Aborigines, that is, all except Tasmania, should ensure that they are working along similar and the best lines towards the common goal. During the early 1940's there was a strong move towards unification of Aboriginal administration under Commonwealth control. It failed because of constitutional and State sovereignty obstacles, but the movement highlighted the need for common and co-operative action.

A very important step was taken in this direction by a Conference in 1948 of the heads of State Aboriginal Departments and the heads of several Commonwealth Departments which could contribute towards the welfare of the Aborigines, such as the Commonwealth Office of Education, the Social Services and Health Departments. The chief significance of this Conference was the assurance it gave of the Commonwealth Government's desire to assist the States in dealing with Aboriginal matters wherever its co-operation was sought. Another step was taken in 1951 by holding a conference of the State and Commonwealth Ministers responsible for Aboriginal affairs, which reaffirmed the goal of assimilation. A second Conference of this type held a few years later, which became in the absence of the State Ministers a meeting of heads of the Departments concerned, made useful contributions towards the common goal.

In view of the vast area of Australia and of the different geographical and historical backgrounds, probably the wisest policy is for each State and the Commonwealth to retain responsibility for Aboriginal administration in its own territory, but at the same time to converge on a common goal through consultation and Commonwealth-State co-operation.

Essentials of Administration

The obvious essentials of Aboriginal administration are money, staff, land, institutions, and the co-operation of the Missions.

Money

In 1944 the Australian Governments spent on Aboriginal welfare just under £250,000. By contrast direct expenditure has now risen by £3,000,000, and there is also much spent indirectly on Aborigines through Departments not themselves immediately concerned with them. The Governments' expenditures include about £600,000 in subsidies to Missions, which also spend several hundred thousand pounds provided by their private supporters. Further, Commonwealth Social Service benefits paid to Aborigines exceed £500,000.

Thus, as far as money is concerned, Australia is showing a tremendous increase in effort, and all in the interest of under 80,000 persons of Aboriginal descent.

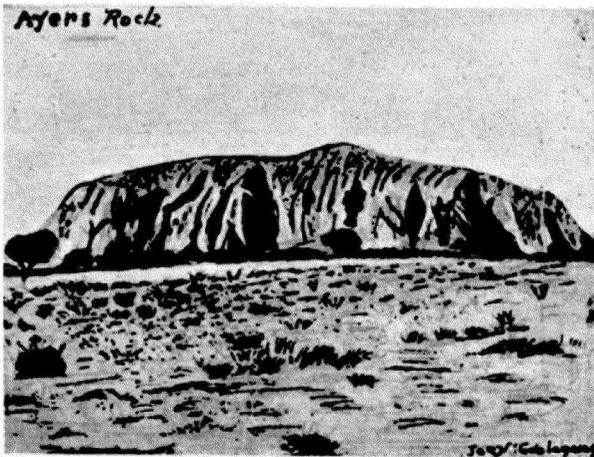
Staff

Welfare work amongst the Australian Aborigines is fundamentally individual work, whether it be on mission, Government or pastoral station or amongst mixed-bloods in the general community. If we consider this and also the wide scatter of the Aborigines in usually small groups throughout Australia, we see a large welfare staff is necessary. In 1944 full-time Government officers numbered 262 and to-day about 200 more. Nearly all are engaged in direct personal work with individual Aborigines or on behalf. Even head-office staffs devote much time to personal interviews. In addition to this 460, many more Government officers are indirectly engaged in Aboriginal work; for example, teachers in Aboriginal schools run by State Education Departments, and officers of Health and Social Services Departments.

Further, in 1944 there were about 317 missionaries working amongst Aborigines. To-day there are over 600, most of whom are concerned directly with welfare and educational work. Thus, over 1,000 white Australians are devoting all their work-time to the welfare of something over 70,000 Aborigines, including adults and children, full-bloods and mixed-bloods, bushfolk and townfolk. Add to this all the indirect work which is done for the same end, and we must recognize that a big effort in terms of human energy is being made to help the Aborigines.

Size of staff, of course, is not in itself enough. Ability, training, and either missionary zeal or conscientious fulfilment of duty are essential. General welfare workers as well as teachers and nurses need to understand Aboriginal values, psychology, and problems, and this is not easily nor quickly picked up. Further, apart from the missionary call, to obtain, train and hold able and well-equipped officers depends to a great extent on adequate allowances and salaries, and on reasonable conditions for their families. Unless sufficient funds be provided for the purpose, Aboriginal Departments will be handicapped by inefficiency.

The system and standard of staffing are now much better than even fifteen years ago. Northern Territory Patrol Officers, Settlement Superintendents, District Welfare Officers, and teachers for Aboriginal schools, receive special academic training as well as practical field experience. New South Wales has experimented with both Cadet-officer and Welfare Officer schemes, but with only limited success, because of the youth of cadets and the inadequate salary scale for trainees of maturer years. The provision of trained Managers for Aboriginal Stations is a great difficulty. Western Australia has contemplated similar training schemes for its Patrol and District Officers, but neither South Australia nor Queensland has so far suggested anything of the type, and Victoria's problem is very limited.



S. Goolagong, of Kinchela Boys' Home, at Kempsey, sent in this fine sketch of Ayers Rock. It wins him a special prize

Training for social welfare work is now an accepted principle; it is therefore to be hoped that all the States will recognize this in the difficult sphere of Aboriginal welfare and of Aboriginal-white relations.

Most Missionary organizations have realized during the past twenty years the need for, and value of, training for all aspects of their work amongst the Aborigines. They have, as a result, sent out many well qualified, as well as devoted, missionaries. More recently these organizations, like the Governments, have found increasing difficulty in obtaining sufficient persons of the right calibre. Ability as well as conscientiousness or devotion, is required.

Land and Institutions

Until all Aborigines become independent members of the community, land must be reserved for them in appropriate places and areas. But except in the case of tribal natives living nomadically, land alone is not enough. The Aborigines have always shown an almost irresistible urge to move into contact with white townships, settlements and pastoral stations. As the effects were normally unfortunate for them, it became obvious that activities would have to be organized on reserves to counter this attraction. Missions, of course, endeavoured to do this. Their success was the greater, the further they were from white settlement and the more their activities spread into social and economic spheres. To-day they bear the brunt of the work on the big reserves in Western and South Australia, Queensland and in the Northern Territory.

In the last, since World War II, the Government has developed ten Community Settlements for full-bloods, as a transition stage towards assimilation. These are similar to the three main Community Settlements for both mixed-bloods and full-bloods in Queensland and two in South Australia. The sixteen Aboriginal Stations in New South Wales are of the same general type, except that there is almost no economic activity on them and where possible the policy is for the children to go off daily

to a general school. Moreover, residents can come and go as they please, though newcomers must be accepted by the manager. Victoria's one station is similar.

The land, reserves and areas occupied by Aborigines may be classified as follows: (1) The great reserves, like those in Central Australia, Arnhem Land, the Northern Kimberley and Cape York Peninsula, where Missions are responsible for most of the welfare work. (2) Reserves, usually smaller in area and selected specially for tribal and contact reasons, on which Governments conduct organized Community Settlements, as they are called in Queensland and the Northern Territory, or Stations, the term used in New South Wales and South Australia. (3) Small areas dotted about the States, where Aborigines, including mixed-bloods, are free to come and go, and where the authorities provide or are planning to provide houses and essential amenities. These places, which are usually referred to simply as Reserves, are not under the control of a Manager or Superintendent; if there is a school on the reserve, the teacher may be asked or employed to keep a watchful and friendly eye on the inhabitants; otherwise the nearest police officer undertakes this duty in the role of a protector of Aborigines. There are 29 such reserves in New South Wales, over 60 in Western Australia, 18 in South Australia, several in Victoria, and sufficient in Queensland for 9,000 natives. For the purposes of these three types of land use, 80,000,000 acres have been set aside all over Australia. Much of it is poor land, but we must realize also that the position and quality of most of it has been dictated by the locations of the various Aboriginal groups, for they usually refuse to shift elsewhere, even to better land.

(4) There is a fourth type or class of area which is used by Aborigines, mostly mixed-bloods. This is not reserved. A group gravitates to the outskirts of a country town, often to the bank of the nearby river or creek, and "squats". Each family builds a hut out of any waste materials, gets together a few sticks of furniture, and cooks at an open fire. Water is carried from the stream or nearest source. Sanitation is almost non-existent, unless the township authorities provide services. And there the Aborigines while away their time, though both men and women may take jobs in the town or neighbourhood. Prostitution may occur, and also gambling and illicit obtaining of alcohol.

In New South Wales these camp-groups are termed Settlements. There are 32 of them with a population of 2,300. The term is unfortunate for elsewhere in Australia a Settlement is an officially organized Government community on a reserve, and is, as already stated, of the same general class as the New South Wales Aboriginal Station. These, however, are really unauthorized camps, or "squattages" as we might call them, on Crown or Municipal land, sometimes on a stock route.

From our point of view they are very unsatisfactory and often insanitary. We may think that these Aborigines would be better off on Government Reserves or Stations, but they think differently. They are quite free to come and go as the fancy takes them and have little impedimenta to harass them. Newcomers can join them at their discretion. They are within their own, that is,

their Aboriginal ancestral, tribal territory. And above all, they are not *under* the Board or other Aboriginal authority. This freedom is a fetish almost, and they usually refuse strongly to join a nearby Station. They tend to regard Station inhabitants as inferior and of another ancestry. Occasionally, a family drifts into the township, and occupies a somewhat derelict building, the only one obtainable.

Although these groups regard themselves as superior to Station Aborigines, it is the sight of them which causes much public criticism. "The Government should do something," is the cry. In some cases the Government could legally do so, by using compulsion, which is not desirable. In spite of this, children who are obviously neglected have to be committed to a welfare authority. It is important however, that this committal be always done by a court and through the normal legal processes. Some Aboriginal Administration authorities have the power to act directly in this matter, and no doubt do so *in loco parentis* and with full and kind consideration of the circumstances. But in a democracy the appearance of justice is as important as the fact of justice, especially as we are training these folk for democratic citizenship. Moreover, most of the children concerned are of mixed-blood parentage. Even with all such attention to forms, the welfare officers will be "branded" as child-snatchers. The mothers like their children, and frequently do not regard their treatment as neglect.

Neglected and orphan children are sent either to Government or Mission Homes for Aboriginal children, or as is becoming frequent, to foster parents, often themselves part-Aborigines. New South Wales has two such homes and Queensland cares for these children on its Settlements which have facilities and staff for the purpose. In Queensland and elsewhere, Homes are also run by Missions.

The primary task of Missions is a religious one, but they have always been concerned also with education, health and welfare generally. The burden of this practical work has become very heavy and expensive in recent decades, a time when voluntary subscriptions are failing to keep pace with rising costs. This has presented a challenge to both Governments and Missions. The former have admitted increasingly during the past twenty years that the welfare and progress of the Aborigines are ultimately their responsibility. Consequently, if the Missions were unable to continue their welfare, educational and health services, the Administrations would have to take them over. This would entail not only more cost, but also the difficulty, if not impossibility, of getting a vastly increased staff. The obvious solution, therefore, was for the Missions to provide staff, and, if this staff were adequately trained, for the Governments to provide funds for salaries and necessary equipment. This would enable the Missions to minister to the Aborigines in their usually isolated districts in the all round spiritual-material manner which they desire. During the past ten years subsidies by Governments to Missions have increased year by year until it now exceeds half a million annually.

In addition to work amongst full-bloods in the isolated regions, some Missions are running what we might call contact institutions on the fringes of settlement, especially in Western Australia and Queensland, and also Homes for children particularly in the Northern Territory, Western and South Australia and New South Wales.

A new venture which is very welcome is the opening of a hostel in Sydney by a Mission to receive Aboriginal young men and boys studying at technical schools and such places. The same Mission has conducted a similar hostel in South Australia for Northern Territory lads.

A perusal of the Annual Reports of Government Aboriginal Departments makes very clear the great contribution to Aboriginal welfare work which the various Missions are making.

ASPECTS OF CITIZENSHIP

The Franchise

Contrary to what many people think, all adult Aborigines in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, whether full-blood or mixed-blood, have the right to enrol for, and vote in, both State and Federal elections. Moreover, whether they live on or off Government Aboriginal Stations, and whether they are or are not exempted from Aboriginal Acts has no bearing on this right. As would be expected, much lenience has been shown to those who have not bothered to enrol.

In Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory, part-Aborigines who are living freely in the general community can vote, but if they are declared to be wards or "natives" and are subject to Departmental control, they cannot do so. Full-bloods can enrol if they



This husky young fellow is Walter Duncan, of Boggabilla

have been exempted from Aboriginal Acts or Ordinances, or have had citizenship rights conferred on them. The procedure varies in different parts.

The Aborigines are British subjects and Australians by birth. Citizenship is their right and the franchise should be theirs if they want it. Neither they nor any other Australian-born British subjects should be denied the vote unless they are excluded from the general community for some good reason. Of course, even though they had the franchise, thousands of full-bloods would not enrol and until a new generation grows up to adulthood, which has passed through our schools and come into association with our economic activities, they should not be compelled to enrol. But the right should be there all the time, and certainly should not be qualified by conditions which we do not demand from non-British immigrants seeking naturalization.

It may seem pointless to make the franchise available to nomadic tribesmen whose knowledge of English, let alone of politics, is negligible. The number of such Aborigines, however, should be, and is, decreasing yearly. In any case, their non-use of a legal right will not cause any confusion. It does not do so in South Australia. On the other hand, for the Governments concerned to take this positive step would be of significant value symbolically and in the eyes of the world.

The enfranchisement of a relatively large number (some hundreds) of mixed-blood and full-blood Aborigines concentrated on a few Government Settlements, especially in Queensland, could disturb the existing voting balance in the particular electorates. Moreover, the visits of contending speech-makers might cause much excitement. Such fears have been expressed. But the school education and community training on these Settlements should have prepared the members of the group for the experiences of election time, whether on, or away from, such Settlements. The prevailing view seems to be that Aborigines remaining on them are being protected, and therefore should not vote. As, however, they are educated, working and earning money on or off the Settlements, buying their provisions, and presumably liable to taxation, a change of view seems called for.

Alcohol

Citizenship for the Aborigines has become correlated not so much with the franchise as with freedom to buy and consume alcoholic liquor. There is no prohibition in Victoria, but in New South Wales and South Australia and until recently among the mixed-bloods in the Northern Territory, a strong, if not the strongest, motive in many cases of application for Exemption from the Aboriginal Act or Ordinance is (and was) freedom from the prohibition on entering hotels to buy and drink alcohol. Exemption allows a person, if asked, to drink with his white fellow-workers or sports associates. He is no longer inferior or different. Citizenship for the Aborigine includes, if it does not mean, the right to go where white citizens go, particularly into the hotel. Thus, alcohol has come to bear a symbolic value.

The unexempted Aborigine can and does get alcohol, often of bad quality and at exorbitant prices, from white "sly-grog" pedlars or from exempted mixed-bloods who

purchase it for their relations. This usually leads to quick drinking for fear of detection, and then to a desire to get drunk as quickly as possible. Moreover, this quick drinking, especially of "plonk", frequently results in combativeness and brawls, and in the necessity of police interference. Court charges and sentences follow, but seldom cause any sense of shame. Indeed, the indications are that the more charges, the greater is the sense of achievement. It is a kind of protest against inferior status, arising from sociological conditions and psychological motives.



We would like you to meet Mavis Andrews, Melva Bryant and Beryl Richards

Realizing this, some of us have urged for a decade and more that the prohibition in New South Wales should be removed and also in other parts of the continent where the Aborigines are of mainly mixed-blood, such as the south-west of Western Australia, the south-east of South Australia, and Queensland south of Cape York Peninsula. An alternative would be to remove the restriction from part-Aborigines as such. The Commonwealth has recently done this in the Northern Territory, for there all mixed-bloods, not living with Aborigines on reserves, became citizens with the passing of the Welfare Ordinance, 1953. Such release would probably result in some excessive drinking for a time and also in purveying alcohol to full-bloods if the latter were not exempted. It would cause domestic troubles and leave a trail of unpaid debts. But good welfare work, such as is now being done in Alice Springs, should gradually lessen these abuses and reduce alcohol to a drink without symbolic significance. Of course, the liquor law would also play its normal part in this change. So, too, would the social factor. The hotel keeper might, or might not, serve the part-Aborigines; or he or his white customers might arrange segregation in the hotel bar. Such attitudes would delay the solution of the alcohol problem.

The restrictive policy is still the kindest and wisest for full-bloods whether on reserves or pastoral stations, at least until they have so changed their way of life that they see and take "grog" in what we might call perspective. They had developed neither physiological, psychological nor social adaption to alcohol, and we do well not to hasten them towards the first without steady preparation in the second and third aspects of the total adaption. At present, drink and dereliction go together, and this we do not want to see.

Commonwealth Social Service Benefits

All Aborigines, full-blood or mixed-blood, are entitled to child endowment and to sickness and unemployment benefits whether they live in the general community or on Government Reserves and Settlements (Stations). Naturally, this has no meaning for those living in their traditional, tribal way; but if their children remain for periods at a Mission or other institution, child endowment is paid to such institution on the average number of children cared for by it. This money, which amounts to a considerable yearly sum, can be used in any way which will benefit the children, and also the expectant and nursing mothers. This action on the part of the Commonwealth Government has contributed to the decrease of infant and child mortality amongst the full-bloods.

All mixed-blood parents and also full-blood parents living in the general community or on what we might call advanced Settlements or Stations are expected to handle the endowment for their children; if, however, they are not using it for the benefit of the latter, the Aboriginal authority is expected to administer it on their behalf. Such cases should be kept to a minimum. Thus, in New South Wales the Welfare Board was acting on behalf of "only forty endowees" in June, 1958.

Maternity Allowance is paid to part-Aboriginal mothers, but only to full-bloods if these are exempted from the Aboriginal Act. The situation caused by this distinction is sometimes absurd, as when the full-blood mother is just as civilized as the half-caste mother in an adjoining bed in the same hospital ward, and both come from the same Settlement, Station or Mission. A similar problem is associated with the Commonwealth Pensions.

According to the letter of the law, Commonwealth Invalid, Old Age and Widow's Pensions are paid to exempted full-bloods (that is, to Aborigines who are not wards nor protected) and to all mixed-bloods who qualify, provided they are not living on Government Reserves and Settlements (Stations), where, presumably, they are receiving Government assistance. Normally, however, on such places Aborigines are not kept in food and clothing unless they are indigent. The men have either earned money *on* the Settlement (Station) or gone *out* to work for wages, and kept themselves and their families, who continue to occupy Station houses. They might even have paid income tax. On some Stations, in New South Wales for example, they are expected to pay rent, even though an uneconomic one, especially for better types of houses. In other words they have lived as members of a community, and when they become aged, invalided or widowed they still desire and need to remain in that community, especially as it has the advantage of a welfare officer to give them some attention. On the other hand, if they are to receive a pension, that is money, with which to keep themselves and to spend as they want, they are supposed to leave the Settlement or Reserve, getting an exemption certificate if necessary. And as they usually do desire to handle money and not just receive food and other necessities, they have tended to move off, perhaps

to live in a humpy outside the Settlement boundary in poor conditions just when they need better conditions. Such has been the picture in New South Wales. In some States the local authorities may have power to prevent an Aborigine moving off the Settlement, though no objection would be raised to such Aborigine receiving a Commonwealth pension while on the Settlement.

Clearly, the place of residence should not be a consideration, but rather the individual circumstances. Full representations on this matter have been made for a decade and more by State Aboriginal Departments and by individuals, with, recently, increasingly satisfactory results. Exempted Aborigines living on Aboriginal Reserves which are not under the supervision of a manager are now eligible for pensions, and pensions are also being granted to exempted persons continuing to live on Settlements. Regional Registrars of Social Services apparently have been given discretionary powers. Moreover, for some time past, numbers of Aborigines have given the local and nearest Post Office as their address, even though they were living on a Settlement, and as there was no personal reason why they should not receive a pension, they have received it. Thus, in New South Wales and also elsewhere, the Act is being interpreted more and more in the spirit, rather than with rigid adherence to the letter.

Education

The results of educational work amongst Aborigines were generally so disheartening in the days of Protection Policies that opinion was reached that Aboriginal children were incapable of reaching the same standard as European children. Consequently, provision was only made for teaching to little past half-way in the primary school curriculum. This applied to schools for mixed-blood children as well as for full-bloods. However, we gradually realized that the obstacle was not necessarily or wholly one of inborn racial ability. A conflict of interests was involved, and also a feeling or conviction, on the part of mixed-blood parents especially, that education did not lead to economic and social opportunity and so was not worth the effort.

This approach to Aboriginal education has been changing during the past two decades. The trend is for mixed-blood children, wherever possible, to attend the general schools, and where, because of the situation, special Aboriginal schools are necessary, the curriculum is the normal one used in the State concerned, and the teachers are members of the State Educational Department. For example, this goal has been reached in New South Wales, Victoria, much of Western Australia, the Northern Territory, and for mixed-bloods in the general community in Queensland and South Australia. In addition, Queensland has now raised the standard and objectives in its Settlement schools. Moreover, several hundred of these children are attending secondary schools, and a few have gone through, or are being trained at, Teachers' Colleges. An increasing number are at technical schools, and some girls have completed their training as nurses.

The education of full-blood children is mainly the responsibility of Missions, helped in most cases by Government subsidies. They endeavour to provide trained teachers. In the Northern Territory, the Government which gives very liberal assistance to Mission schools, expects the teachers to be properly trained. Further, in this same Territory, the Government has established well-equipped and well-staffed schools on eleven Aboriginal Settlements and on three cattle stations, with more to come. The aim in all these schools, Mission and Government, is to prepare the children for their contact and association with the new order which has overtaken them. But the conflict of interests is very marked. The world of their grandparents is still very real to them, and its values and aims are not those of the white man's world. This latter world is external to them and the school is an artificial tool belonging to it. Thus, the teachers have much difficulty in holding their pupils' attention. There is no doubt, however, that each generation of full-bloods who are in contact with us, appreciates in an increasing degree the implications of the changing situation, and the value of education and training.

Employment

Part-Aborigines obtain unskilled and semi-skilled work in the general community. An increasing number is employed in factories, and in Government and semi-Government avenues, such as the Railways, Forestry Commissions and Municipal Councils. Rural work appeals to them, particularly the pastoral industry. In most parts of the continent Aborigines can join the unions, and are paid award wages, except in the pastoral industry, where the Aboriginal Departments lay down conditions of living and wages. The old days are almost gone when the pastoral employer paid negligible wages but provided clothes for the workers and rations for them and their dependents. This was almost a state of "villeinage". Now that employers have to pay award or otherwise determined wages, they expect good service. This will put the employees on their mettle.

Much rural work is seasonal and involves itineracy. This is in line with nomadic traditions, but it interferes with children's schooling and with the setting up and improving of homes. This, which particularly affects mixed-bloods, is an obstacle to assimilation.

Housing

If the Aborigines are to be assimilated, they must live off the ground in houses with amenities to ensure sanitation, cleanliness and convenience. This is quite a step for them, even in many cases for mixed-bloods. Contrary to our expectation, plenty of the latter are satisfied with temporary shacks, and are apt to treat houses as though they were nothing better. The policy is to provide houses both on Reserves and Settlements (Stations) and in the general community for those who will take advantage of them. The general practice is to charge rent, usually an uneconomic one, as part of the training in citizenship responsibility, that is, when the occupier is

earning money. Rent-purchase schemes are also in operation. Much difficulty, however, is experienced with regard to rents. In New South Wales, half or more of the mixed-bloods in such houses feel that as the Governments provide the houses, they should be rent-free.

Both Missions and Governments are experimenting with what can be called "transition houses" for full-bloods who are just passing from tribal, nomadic life to a comparatively settled life. One-roomed houses are built of concrete bricks, mud-bricks, aluminium, or iron, with verandahs or awnings, and concrete or earth floors. Except in bad weather, the occupiers tend to camp outside their house, and only use it as a store for their possessions. The main emphasis is on hygiene and sanitation. In addition, the trend on the Northern Territory Government Settlements is for communal dining rooms, to ensure that all have good prepared food in clean conditions, and at tables. To start with, because of taboos, the men eat apart from the women and children; but the hope is that in time they will eat as family groups, and, of course, eventually prepare their own meals in their own homes.

Health

Both Commonwealth and State Medical Services care for the health of the Aborigines, and from time to time conduct special surveys and campaigns. In the centre and north the Flying Medical Services attend to calls for Aborigines as for white persons. Almost every Government Settlement and Mission in Australia has its trained nurse, or nurses, and hospital, unless proximity to towns with hospitals makes this unnecessary. Dietary requirements are laid down for pastoral employees.

Citizenship and Exemption Certificates

With the adoption of assimilation policies, the various administrative authorities decided to exempt from Aboriginal Acts and Ordinances those Aborigines who desired to live independent of Government guidance, assistance and control, and who, in the judgment of those authorities, had shown themselves capable of doing so. Between 400 and 500 are exempted each year. Western and South Australia issue two certificates, the second of which is for complete exemption and full citizenship and cannot be revoked. The certificate in New South Wales can be cancelled, but this is rarely and reluctantly done. In these cases cancellation amounts to prohibition on buying and drinking alcohol. Queensland, too, has machinery for withdrawing the certificate when an Aborigine fails to make good, perhaps through no fault of his own, or wants, or is directed, to return to the Government settlement.

Some Aborigines resent having to possess a special document to prove they are citizens of their own country, or that they are free to enter a hotel. In some cases, however, as shown above, certificates are as yet a necessary part of the machinery for receiving Social Services Benefits. One way of overcoming this has been tried by the Commonwealth Government for the Northern Territory. By the 1953 Welfare Ordinance all Aborigines in that Territory were, by implication, full citizens of

Australia, but full-bloods and those more Aboriginal than half-cestes, not possessing the franchise in the Territory, were liable to be declared wards by the Administrator; and when the necessary list of persons was prepared, all except a very few of these were so declared. To become free of the status of ward, they must prove to the Judge of the Northern Territory that they do not stand in need of the care provided by the Ordinance. The only evidence a successful applicant will have will be a copy of the Gazette in which the revocation of wardship is published. Thus, it is not easy to get away from paper evidence of "exemption", whatever be the words used. Moreover, application to a judge rather than to the head of the Department or an Administration seems unnecessarily ponderous and might be a deterrent. An appeal to a court, in case of the Director's refusal, should be sufficient. After all, the Director should know his wards.

But, whatever be the system, the trend is developing for Aborigines, full-blood or mixed-blood, who obtain exemption from the provisions of Aboriginal Acts, to remain on Aboriginal Reserves and Settlements (Stations) in their own kinship communities. Strictly speaking, those exempted from the Acts, or who are no longer wards or specially "protected natives", as a 1958 unsuccessful Western Australia Bill termed them, should not live in such places. Being full citizens, like the white members of the community, they may not enter Aboriginal Reserves and Settlements except for a visit and with special permission. The letter of the law, however, overlooks the fact that the exempted Aborigine, the full citizenship Aborigine, is still an Aborigine, and part of his own social and descent group.

In New South Wales, many exempted part-Aborigines are now living on such Reserves and Stations, because they want to do so, and the authorities take no action. Indeed, many who live in the Settlements are of such light caste that they really have no legal right to be there. But the Station is their community and they will leave it only when they decide freely to do so. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Social Services authorities are also looking beyond the letter of the law. This is morally and socially justifiable in the transition stage, even if some Aborigines seem to be "having it both ways".

In general, though not necessarily everywhere, the Aborigines will move up into a realization of citizenship as a series of groups or distinct communities. Administrations which so far have erected impassable legal fences around their Reserves and Settlements will in time let gaps appear in those fences. There is no reason, except in abstract logic, why Aborigines with full citizenship status should not find their community life in such places, even along with some of their fellows who need much official help. Administrations claim that their Settlements are training ground for citizenship, and imply that individuals and families, when deemed ready, should go out into the wider world, and there—with, if need be, welfare help—make a do of things in the general community. This dispersal of individual persons and families will happen to some extent; but it is not the only way in which assimilation will come. It will

also come through the development of Aboriginal citizen communities, both full-blood and mixed-blood. This, however, may itself be only a transition phase, particularly in the case of mixed-bloods.

ABORIGINES—A DISTINCT GROUP

During the past twenty years, and particularly in the last decade, a sense of solidarity has been growing amongst part-Aborigines, especially in the south-eastern region of the continent. At first this was confined to one limited region or another. But now, as a result of greater mobility of individuals for visits and meetings, even between States, of increased publicity and literacy, and of the policy of assimilation, this sense of solidarity is gradually becoming Australia-wide, and, in the minds of south-eastern part-Aborigines at least, includes the distant full-bloods.

Behind this attitude is a feeling that all Aborigines, irrespective of caste, have something racial in common and also a tradition of a common experience different from the white man's; and this is true. Moreover, most mixed-blood persons to-day have mixed-blood parents. The experience is partly the result of, and a reaction to, the white man's treatment of, and prejudice towards, Aborigines. Thus, a minority group is appearing, of which the part-Aborigines are the focus and mouthpiece, and the full-bloods the symbol.

One aspect of this movement has been an urge to recover and cherish traditional Aboriginal customs and values. This was evident in the 1930's in eastern New South Wales, and there the trend has developed further and more strongly. It was for the most part a way of retreat from a harsh and prejudiced social world. Now, however, this is being rationalized with the help of white sympathizers, as an effort to make a contribution to Australian culture and at the same time to justify the Aborigines' own distinctiveness as, eventually, a minority group. Indeed, a definite endeavour is being made to bring about the development of such a self-conscious group, for whom the policy should *not* be assimilation, but *integration*.

Words are symbols. Integration has a stronger racial and political connotation than assimilation. But it especially is made to suggest that the Aborigines shall remain a group apart, to be integrated with the white or European group of citizens in a plural social and political system. It is a protest against absorption. Some political influence has been suggested in this recent emphasis on integration, but the movement towards at least a quasi-solidarity of Aborigines is certainly twenty years old.

The full-bloods of the central and northern regions will be receiving and using educational and economic opportunities in an ever-increasing degree; in addition, they will be assimilated more and more into the general economic and political life of Australia and to some extent into its recreational and religious life. In spite of this, however, for some generations to come they will, for the

most part, remain a distinct group, especially with regard to the family, marriage, kinship and intimate social behaviour. Further, the Aboriginal clan, kinship and locality heritage of custom and values, somewhat modified, will continue to function also amongst the majority of mixed-bloods. And as the increase of both full-bloods and mixed-bloods is certain, physical features and skin-colour, the outward sign of the difference between them and ourselves, will not disappear for a long time. This means that neither dispersion nor absorption will occur in the immediate future.

The important thing is that the opportunity should be there for Aborigines to live in the general community if they so desire, undertaking its responsibilities and enjoying its privileges. That is the meaning of the policy of assimilation.

DIFFICULTIES OF ASSIMILATION

Official policy and administrative activity, however, do not make assimilation or citizenship a reality overnight. It is a two-sided process. The Aborigines must desire, understand and fit themselves for citizenship, whether they want to realize it dispersed in the general community or living in their own separate communities. And as for the rest of us, we must remove all obstacles, social as well as economic, to their doing so. This is not easy. The part-Aborigines have been conditioned through historical circumstances to regard themselves as a people apart, as Aborigines, and indeed, in some degree, as outcasts as well as half-castes. Moreover, the general community has, by and large, held this same view about them. To pass from such an out-group position to an in-group relationship is not easy. Therefore, those who advocate integration, meaning preservation of separateness, may be making the transition more difficult.

With regard to the full-bloods, the old adage that a "stone-age" people cannot make the jump to twentieth century civilization is not altogether wrong. As a *people* they cannot do so in *one* or *two* generations. An *individual* here and there might *seem* to make the transition successfully, but the challenge is to the race as a whole, not to an exceptional person, more or less cut off from *his people*,

Assimilation presents very great problems to full-blood Aborigines and problems of the same type to part-Aborigines. It requires them to adapt themselves to a social and economic order fundamentally different from their own. Our western life is based on individualism, on a money economy, on private property, and on the necessity to be exact and specific in our calculations and transactions and also with regard to dates and places. Further, the behaviour between ourselves and our kinsfolk, while of some importance to the individual, is insignificant when compared with the behaviour required by the State and backed by law.

All this is strange and unintelligible to Aborigines. For them, life is communal and open; possessions are not amassed, for they would be an encumbrance to a nomadic people with neither beasts of burden nor a banking system. On the other hand, life consists largely in

getting or making useful things to give to one's relations in fulfilment of kinship duties. For the very basis of tribal society is the behaviour pattern with its obligations and privileges, which is based on one's kinship-relationship to everyone else. The tribe is a large family and from the reciprocal duties within that "family" no one can escape. Therefore, if an Aborigine is made a citizen while he is still a member of a functioning tribe or even clan, he must try to live at the same time in two different and almost contradictory worlds.

Earning money and possessing a special skill or talent do not of themselves change the "essential Aborigine". For him money is just a new means with which to fulfil kinship duties and to gain prestige by being lavish. Saving and hoarding and preparing for a "rainy day" are selfish and unthinkable. On the other hand, giving food and other things, and being hospitable irrespective of cost, are a kinship duty. And, as this is reciprocal, it is in itself a form of insurance.

Likewise we regard housing and furniture as elements of civilization. But it is doubtful whether even any advanced full-bloods want to be tied to such impedimenta; and this is true also of thousands of part-Aborigines. They prefer to live close to the earth, and/or be free to move about as they feel inclined.

So too, an Aborigine who is a citizen is entitled to buy and drink alcohol, but not to give any to Aborigines who are still "wards" or not exempted. By kinship requirements, however, he cannot refuse a request to get alcohol for them, even though he thereby becomes liable to a penalty for breaking citizenship law.

Thus, in the transition period, citizenship, the inevitable goal, can complicate life. Citizenship is not freedom from restraint for any citizen, white or black. But for Aborigines it involves additional restraints. It may therefore be wiser to leave the advanced Aborigine as a leader and example on the same legal level as his own group, with the aim of bringing the whole group to an understanding of citizenship as quickly as possible. We need always to remember that an advanced and talented full-blood is still an Aborigine and a member of an Aboriginal complex of relationships.

Moreover, all this applies, though in a lesser degree, to the majority of part-Aborigines, including some of very light caste. They retain much of the old Aboriginal attitude, communal behaviour, and values, even in eastern Australia. They find fellowship and security amongst their own people, whether on official stations and reserves or in unauthorised camps. Work, saving, houses and nice furniture are not their goals, yet. Incentives to succeed in our way are blunted or totally suppressed by the almost inevitable, and therefore accepted, custom and duty of sharing what one has with one's many relations. Living for the day becomes the order of the day. Constant employment is not an ideal, nor is it a boon. Some work is inescapable, but is unbearable unless relieved by periods of idleness and leisure, when the earnings are spent and enjoyed. Payment of rent and other debts is often avoided as long as possible.

Such an approach to living is part of a vicious circle. Employers, shopkeepers and house-owners conclude that the part-Aborigines are fickle and unreliable, and so work becomes hard to get. On the other hand, the mixed-bloods' approach is in part a reaction to the prejudice and opinions of possible employers and others, as well as reflecting traditional Aboriginal values. Consequently, they find citizenship a somewhat incomprehensible task, and in numbers of districts are not interested in assimilation. Fortunately there are numbers who are making good as citizens, and the numbers will grow; but, as for the rest, patience, help and encouragement are necessary, not with condescension but in the normal course of social and economic relationships.

FELLOW CITIZENS

From time to time there is loud public criticism of the treatment meted out to the Aborigines and much is made of incidents, frequently discussed out of their context. But one of the most striking facts of our time in Australia is the remarkable change in the short space of twenty-five years in Aboriginal conditions, in policies, in attitudes towards Aborigines, and in public interest. To those of us who have been closely connected with the change, it is a veritable revolution—for the better. The Aborigines are increasing; they are "on the march"; citizenship is at hand. In 1933 it was hard even to conceive of such things; but now they are inevitable.

There are still many difficulties, but they are almost all in the sphere of personal and social relationships; and these cannot be solved by amendments of Acts or by public meetings. Informed and understanding service, unofficial and official, is the need. There is nothing more hopeful than the ready work being done to-day to help Aborigines by Apexians, Soroptimists, Lions, Rotarians, and by societies and groups formed for the purpose. Greatest of all is the way in which, when an obstacle is raised by prejudice in some locality, citizens in that same locality rise up and work to overcome that obstacle. Thus assimilation will come and Aborigines and ourselves will be truly fellow citizens.



A happy group from Boggabilla—Barbara Dennison, Jack Archer, Julie Dennison and Neal Lang

Aboriginal Boys go to Sea as Deckhands

Two Kempsey aboriginal boys have been appointed deckboys on the B.H.P. freighter *Iron Knight*.

The boys Gordon Edwards, 15, and Henry McGrady, 17, are having their first sea trip in the *Iron Knight*, which is on its way to Adelaide.

The Newcastle vigilance officer of the Seamen's Union, Mr. K. Lobley, said today that the boys were State wards and ex-pupils of Kempsey High School.

He said their employment was made possible by the co-operation between the company, the union, and Mr. A. Norton, of the Aborigines' Welfare Board.

Previously on Dairy Farm

Both boys previously worked on a dairy farm at Muswellbrook.

Gordon said before sailing, "Mr. Norton asked Henry first if he would like to join the crew, and after I took Henry's place on the farm, he asked me too."

The first mate of the *Iron Knight*, Mr. E. Hughes, said the boys were good workers and seemed willing to learn.

He said: "I know of only one other aboriginal to start as a deckhand and I believe he was splicing wire after 12 days with his vessel, a skill that some seamen have not acquired after years at sea."

All textbooks necessary for the boys to sit for their second-mate's ticket after their apprenticeships have been made available by the company.

—With acknowledgment to the "*Sydney Morning Herald*".

IT SHOULD BE NULLARBOR

(A reader writes to *Dawn*)

Dear Sir,

A copy of *Dawn*, October, 1959, was recently given to me. On page 18, bottom paragraph, first column, appears the wrongly-spelt "Nullarbor"—the first "r" being omitted. Is this a printing mistake, or is this going to be the adopted and *wrong* way of spelling the word? I have several times heard the word wrongly pronounced, sometimes on radio. The common, and incorrect pronunciation—"Nulla-bor" destroys the meaning of the word: "Null-arbor" at once conveys the meaning, "no trees".

It irritates me to hear this word so often mispronounced by people who should know better.

Yours Sincerely,

(Miss) J. Stead.

What is your Excuse ?

Most teachers have encountered the parent who, when asked to discuss his child's education, experiences great difficulty in finding reasons why he should take interest in this phase of his child's life.

To assist such parents, we are publishing the most popular excuses in the hope that they may receive earnest consideration and prove helpful.

"I didn't have much of an education, and I have done quite well for myself."

This is the excuse of the parent who judges the value of education by success. To him it is only the means to one end—money. Perhaps he has made a success of his own business, and no doubt to make a success of his business, he used the education of other men, which he pretends to scorn. More and more in modern life, we find that success depends upon education, and this parent is handicapping his child by depriving it of the advantages of a full education.

This excuse is also used by the dissatisfied parent ; he hasn't been a success, but hates to admit it, even to himself. He is the one who is always complaining about "easy, cushy jobs" that others have gained through education.

"My boy's going to be a ——— and a good education isn't needed for that."

Were education only considered with equipping a child for making a living, then perhaps the excuse would be a valid one. Certainly one of the aims of education is to prepare a child to earn his living, but a much more important one is to prepare him for life. The production of worthy citizens of the town, the country, and the world, adults who will take their place and accept responsibilities in the community, should be the aim.

"He's not very bright, and wouldn't benefit much by continuing his education."

Education cannot be judged solely on its academic results. In our present day, even the not-so-bright pupil has much to gain. People nowadays are gaining more and more leisure and education is one way to ensure that leisure time is occupied to the profit of the individual and the community. Much of the juvenile delinquency of today arises from the abuse of this leisure.

"I can't afford to educate my children."

This parent might also add, "By the time I've bought my cigarettes, my beer, and have had a few bets, it's all I can do to make ends meet. Education isn't as expensive as some people pretend, yet it may call for some sacrifices. However, the thoughtful parent may admit the benefits to be obtained are worth the sacrifice demanded.

"I'm too busy—I haven't the time to be interested."

It is a well known fact that if you wish a job to be well done you must enlist the aid of the busiest man you know. He is sure to get it done, the man who always claims he is too busy, never achieves anything. He is the citizen who fails to pull his weight in the community and leaves all the work to others, even the training of his children.

"Those teachers stuff kids' heads with a lot of queer ideas."

This is the story of the man who hates change and progress. He is happy to muddle along through life, he hates to be disturbed by the fact that his child's education may surpass his own, and the child may realise what a stick in the mud he has for a father. If he were to take the opportunity to discuss such matters with his child's teachers, he would discover that these queer ideas are really the results of progressive thought.

"Kids can earn good money as soon as they leave school."

Certainly children can still earn good money when they turn fifteen, but how long will this state of affairs last ? The skilled tradesman has a feeling of security and a sense of achievement which are not enjoyed by the unskilled worker. Many of us can still remember the depression years when many of us were unskilled workers and were the first to be dismissed and the last to be re-employed.

What feeling of achievement or pride of place in his work has this child, or later this adult, to gain from his work ? The lack of such feeling must lead to a boring and monotonous existence in which the worker becomes dissatisfied with his lot.

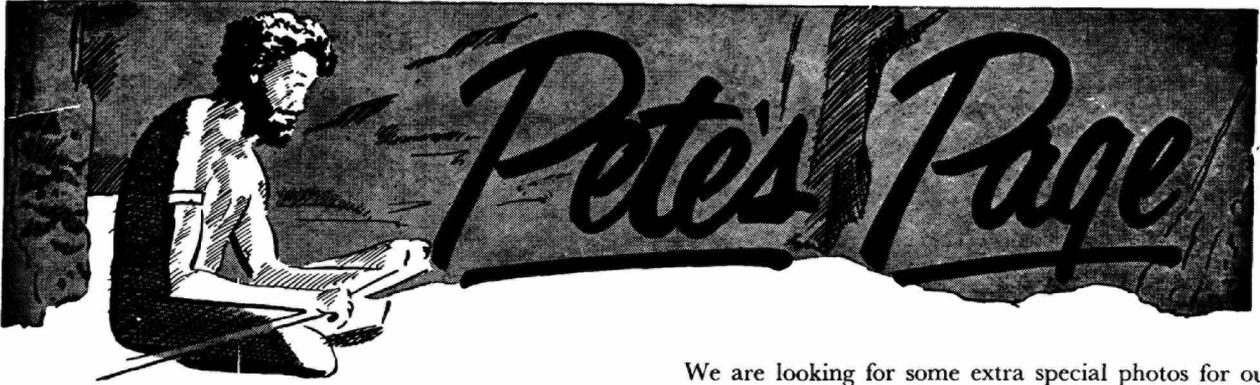
"The Government compels children to attend school until they are fifteen, so let them do the worrying."

This is the attitude of the parent who is willing to leave anything to someone else. He refuses to accept his responsibilities, but he certainly enjoys criticising someone else.

The Government compels us to do many things for our own, and for the community's good, and this compulsion does not relieve us of our responsibilities.

It is each parent's moral obligation to see that his child has the best possible education, at home or at school, of which the child is capable. The fact that education is compulsory, is no excuse for a parent's failure to accept his obligations to his child and to the community.

—With acknowledgment to the *North-West Champion*.



Pretty Grace Murray, of Bellbrook. Needless to say this photo was taken when the weather was a bit warmer

We are looking for some extra special photos for our cover and we are going to give a good prize. If you have a photo (and it must be one that has been taken recently) which you think would look good on the cover, send it along and see if you can win the prize. Be sure to mark it Cover Picture.

I'm still not getting all those letters and photographs, drawings, etc., that I have been asking you for. I'm afraid many of my young pals who used to send me such fine contributions are getting lazy (or is it they're getting old?)

Well Kids, I guess that's about all the news for this month, and I do hope my mail bag will be full when I come back from my holidays.

All the best for now,

Your sincere Pal,

Pete

Hello Kids,

Well, the cold weather is really catching up with us now isn't it? I know a lot of my young pals prefer the warmer weather, but we can't have summer all the time, can we?

You know, it makes me feel very proud of our aboriginal people when I see photos like those on pages 7 and 8.

What a wonderful thing it is when our young people make such progress at High school that they win the respect and admiration of their teachers and fellow students and are elected a House Captain. I think all of us should congratulate Mavis Lang and Lesley Whitton.

I have often told you how important education is, and this is just another splendid example of how it can break down those old prejudices and help you to achieve almost anything you wish.

By the time you read this month's *Dawn* I will have met a lot more of you, for I am leaving in a few days to pay a visit to Moree and Boggabilla (I hope the fish are still biting well at Boggabilla, for I remember catching some good ones there last time!)



Another pretty lass. This time Gloria Haines, of Boggabilla



CAPSICUM

A vegetable which grows readily in most districts and, as a guide, it can be said that it will grow anywhere that tomatoes will grow.

Requirements

Fairly rich soil and ample water during dry weather. Preparation of soil, fertilisers, etc., are similar to that required for tomatoes.

When to Sow

These plants are as equally susceptible to frosts as tomatoes and sowing cannot be commenced until all danger of frost is over. Early Spring sowings would have to be protected in glass frames.

How to Sow

Make seed beds of fine soil and sow in drills, spaced 2 inches apart. Cover seed with about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch fine soil, or dry, rotted manure; keep moist.

Cultivation

When plants are about 4 inches high, transplant to moderately rich soil, spacing them 2 feet apart. Water generously during dry weather and give liquid manure regularly from the time they are about a foot high.

CARROT

Carrots are perhaps the most health-giving of all vegetables. They are recognised as an aid to eyesight and for the improvement of the hair and skin. Although valuable when properly cooked, they have even greater goodness used raw.

Requirements

Carrots thrive in deeply dug loam which has been previously manured some three or four months earlier and usually follow a leaf crop. It is necessary they should be in a sunny, well-drained position. Suitable ready-mixed fertilisers with low nitrogen content are ideal but superphosphate worked in at the rate of 1 ounce per square yard will suffice for most soils. This should be worked in at a fairly low level and not contact the seeds.

When to Sow

As plants are susceptible to frost, sowings are not usually commenced until the ground has warmed in the early Spring, unless a sunny, frost-free position is available. They continue through the summer until the early autumn and the last sowing planned to allow three months of frost-free weather remaining. In warm climates where winters are mild, or even practically frost-free, sowings can be continued even later.

How to Sow

Seedlings are seldom transplanted but seeds are sown direct into rows spaced 9 inches apart. Draw a shallow furrow about 1 inch deep and sow the seed along this fairly sparsely. Fill in with about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch leaf mould or sifted soil and consolidate thoroughly with the back of the rake. This will leave a narrow depression along each row that will help to mark the rows and hold moisture. Sometimes radish seed is also sown with carrot. These germinate within a few days, helping to break the crust, thus assisting the young carrot seedlings to come through. It also permits cultivation of the carrot bed to eliminate those early weeds that appear before the carrots. Protect from slugs and snails by generous distribution of suitable bait.

Cultivation

Keep down weed growth right from the start by shallow cultivation. Do not "hill" carrots. To ensure that plants keep moving give a dressing of Sulphate of Ammonia, 1 tablespoon to each 5 feet of row, keeping it fairly close to the young carrots and distributing on both sides of the row.

As soon as the seeds have germinated, crowded seedlings should be thinned out to 1 or 2 inches apart. Allow them to grow for a few weeks and thin out again to 3 or 4 inches apart. Those pulled out can usually be used for cooking and the others allowed to mature as required. Carrots should not be allowed to get old, and successive sowings, say, every three weeks, will ensure regular pullings of fresh carrots.