

SPARS TO CROSS:
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS
OF MISSIONARIES IN NORTHERN AUSTRALIA.

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11TH May.....19.80.

It would be appreciated if such authorities would forward to me details of any quotations, major working of information or comments, etc, so that copies of these materials can be obtained.

I also hold negatives of all the photographs recorded in the thesis.

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Thank all of those who extended to me hospitality and friendship during my ten weeks of fieldwork, especially the staff of Daly and Santa Teresa Missions.

To Fr. Martin Wilson, M.S.C. I extend my deepest gratitude and take this opportunity to share with him the products of fieldwork made largely possible by his co-operation and friendship. I hope that this thesis in some way justifies his investment in me.

Finally, I offer to the people of Nguiu (both Tivik and European) my friendship and deepest thanks in response to the warmth and friendship I received. As this thesis largely concerns the Catholic mission present on Bathurst Island in 1978 it is to those directly involved that I

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Sue Crawford.

Canberra, 1978

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CHAPTER ONE: WHY MISSIONARIES?

...The missionary, whether he be disguised under a teacher's shirt or an official's sun-helmet, or honestly dons his clerical bib, tramples over the wonderful eccentricities of native cultures, believing in his crudeness that only what is like unto himself is good... (Malinowski, 1932). 1

Anthropological literature is interspersed with references to missionaries but nearly all are of a passing nature or made as an aside. Having made a comment or two the authors appear to regain composure and return to their original tack. The friendship, hospitality, co-operative-ness and eager interest demonstrated by mission staff towards anthropologists engaged in field work is sometimes highly and genuinely praised by anthropologists. However, friendship is not the only reason for this approach, as many have been deterred from working in areas by the very presence of missionaries. However, the recipients of these pleasurable and not so pleasurable social gestures consistently challenge and zealously attack the work of missionary organisations. This attack is mounted from the standpoint of their possessive protection of an indigenous population against what they see as outright, forceful, ill-conceived and ruthlessly planned cultural destruction.

It is with these agents of 'cultural destruction' - both as a product of, as well as an avowed producer and changer of culture² - that my thesis is concerned. This topic orientation required a reversal of the usual identification of the anthropologist "with an indigenous people against administrators, commercial interests and missionaries³" as missionaries are in this case the focus of anthropological attention.

The term *mission* will be used within this paper to denote any organised effort for the propagation of a religion and its field agents will be referred to as *missionaries*. Attention will focus on the social

-
1. Malinowski 1932: X
 2. Wolcott 1972: 243.
 3. Burridge 1973: 216.

and cultural systems of missionaries. Subsequent discussion will further formulate and clarify the aims and objectives of such an approach by analysing those missionaries associated with the work of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory of Australia as a discrete unit. My study will be primarily concerned with the integrations and inter-relations between the missionary personnel of a specific mission station. Through focusing on these interactions I will attempt to gain an understanding of the missionaries' point of view, their reactions to their surroundings and to realise their vision of their 'world'. In so doing the social relationships between the missionaries will be of primary concern while those with the Aborigines and other non-mission personnel present at the mission station must be of secondary importance.

Simply stated my approach is one of 'why people are doing what they are doing and how they themselves perceive the situation'. The nature and objectives of the Catholic Church's missionary work requires an examination of its administrative policies and statements. This examination will assist in the generation and construction of an outline of formal Catholic mission policy. This outline will be used as a basis to investigate the relationship between policy, its implementation on the missions and the personal motivations of the missionaries involved. Anthropological analysis of the social system of missionaries will reveal those features of this interaction which are vital for the continued survival of the social system of the mission.

The introductory quotation exemplifies the notion of missionaries as fiery preachers hell-bent on destroying all features of pagan cultures in their endeavours to convert and civilise the natives. The most obvious feature for many anthropologists is the conspicuous boundary markings of the mission compound. Missionaries establish "culture compounds" from which they emerge to their 'mission'. Integration of the missionaries and the pagan cultures is not achieved nor in most instances encouraged. This myth of missionary activity has been generated through the decades as the literature provides us with little else. The image presented may have originally been accurate but failure by anthropologists to challenge its continued appropriateness has resulted in anthropology being guilty of the crime with which it has often charged missionaries: that of failure to acknowledge and accept change. For anthropologists, until recently, missionaries and their activities have remained unchanged in an ever-changing social sphere.

Lack of sentiment expressed and volume of printed words exchanged between anthropologists and missionaries are an inappropriate and misleading guide to their actual experience of one another. The 'in-field' contact and knowledge of one another can be high but they both appear not to acknowledge the presence and influence of the other party. Such behaviour has been excused by stressing its inappropriateness in relation to the different overall purpose of their endeavours and resultant publications⁴. One thing is certain, both parties have innumerable stories to tell about each other but these seem destined to remain at the level of informal conversation among their respective in-groups. Many anthropologists, such as Malinowski, have planned such publications but have failed to produce them.

...Mentally I collect arguments against missionaries and ponder a really effective anti-mission campaign. The arguments: these people destroy the natives' joy in life; they destroy their psychological raison d'etre. And what they give in return is completely beyond the savages. They struggle consistently and ruthlessly against everything old and create new needs, both material and moral. No question but that they do harm... (Malinowski, 1967:41).

This thesis is an attempt to look at missionaries and mission activity from an anthropological point of view, including one tempered by sympathy. In so doing it is proposed to challenge and examine the myths which have for too long surrounded missionaries, their interactions and evangelical activities, within the anthropological literature. These factors will be investigated by looking at the Catholic Church in Northern Australia and specifically one mission, that on Bathurst Island.

4. For Australia refer to the works of Stanner (1966, 1973); Burrige (1973) and Tonkinson (1966, 1974). In a personal communication (April 1978) Dr. Stanner indicated that he was too personally involved with the mission personnel of Port Keats, N.T. to be objective or constructively critical of that mission.

CHAPTER TWO: MISSION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

...The purpose of missionary activity is evangelisation and the planting of the Church among those peoples and groups where she has not yet taken root... 1

Missionisation is a process of changing peoples' perspectives by the re-orientation of cultural and individual values. As stressed by Pope Paul VI, it will and must involve evangelising cultures in vital ways, in depth and at their very roots, affecting the evangelised's criteria of judgement and determination of values.

Catholic Mission Policy²

Warneck³ accused the Catholic Church of failing to produce a scientific missionary system, stressing that as a result "their methods could only be studied as seen in practice". A practice, which he hastened to add, "is guided chiefly by tradition". The subsequent reply from a Catholic missiologist echoed the nature of the formation of Catholic practice...

...Granted that mission theory has seldom been systematically treated, the cause of this phenomena must be attributed primarily to the fact that no need for such work was felt. On the one hand, the official decrees of the Popes and the Propaganda⁴, with the practical precepts of the mission superiors, seemed sufficient for the immediate needs. On the other hand, the practice of the different missionary fields diverged so widely that the elaboration of a uniform mission theory seemed impossible⁵.

The stand of the Church has changed very little in the past fifty years with 'policy' largely resulting wholly from interpretation of the material described by Schmidlin.⁵ However, a considerable number of papal decrees in recent years, have been directed to the missionary nature of the Church. At the level of what can be termed 'general or more accurately universal policy' are encountered the Vatican II document "Ad Gentes"⁷ and also Pope Paul's encyclical "Populorum Progressio"⁸. While the Apostolic Exhortation "Evangelii Nuntiandi"⁹ is the most up-to-date, general

1. Pope Paul VI, message for World Mission Sunday. *The Advocate*, 20 October 1977: 1.

2. It was jokingly remarked by various members of the Catholic Church and university academics upon hearing of my research project:...'that the Church didn't have a mission policy: "What policy?" - extending this comment further one priest added ...that I "had been allowed to conduct the research in the hope of discovering their policy".

3. Warneck, G., 1906: 408.

statement on what the Church thinks it might be doing, or at any rate on what it should be doing. Examination of these publications will provide a base line for the proposed assessment of actual mission practice in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Much of the modern mission theory, practice and experience is crystallised in the Vatican II Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church. It can be seen as a charter for the Church's present mission to the world. The result of a forceful attempt by the Church as a whole to seek renewal of faith: a vital section of such renewal has been a re-thinking and updating of ways of presenting the 'Good News' to all nations. Significantly the 1974 World Synod of Bishops had evangelisation as its sole topic for discussion. "Evangelii Nuntiandi" was the result of a drawing together, by Pope Paul, of the numerous threads of debates and discussion that arose from this Synod.

The decree on the Church's missionary activity was the third longest document produced by the Vatican II council. Nevertheless, length is no indicator of the applicability of the product to the aims set down for discussion. It has been greatly criticised by theologians and missionaries as failing to give adequate direction as regards the major problems of missionary activity. Translation of the scriptures is neglected, interest in the lay missionary is only marginal, and its instructions for the formation of clergy ignored the fact that such efforts had simply failed to work in many mission areas prior to the Council. This document can be readily divided into three parts: basic theology, the missionary task and the planning and organisation of missionary work. Discussion of each section will rely heavily on the works of theologians, missionaries and observers of the Council¹⁰.

The specific aim of the missionary is not to preach and convert, but to establish a living Christian community where it does not yet exist. This 'establishment' must be seen as an evangelical and not a juridical

4. Refers to the Roman Congregation 'De Propaganda Fide'.

5. Schmidlin, J., 1931: 5.

6. The Second Vatican Council was an assembly of the Catholic Episcopate which met for four sessions from October 1962 - December 1965. Its task was to 'renew' the Church according to the needs of the present day: not a denial of past tradition but rather a fusion of the old and the new was sought.

7. 'Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church' 1965.

act. But who decides when the Church is established or not, and what must missionaries do once their goal has clearly been achieved? The Missionary Decree attempts to clarify these issues. The whole of Catholic revelation is the story of the mission from God to the world, and undeniably for the Church its whole meaning lies in the possessing and fulfilling of this mission today. Simply - no mission, no Church.

It is the missionary task not just to convert certain individuals but to establish the visible 'People of God', living as genuine members of a local church among peoples where they do not at present exist. The mere baptizing and instructing of many people does not truly establish the Church - the missionary must bring into existence a full self-ministering Christian community with an active, communicating laity. Actual day-to-day activities of a missionary may not significantly differ from those of other pastoral clergy. Establishing a church involves more than direct evangelization of non-Christians, this includes the immediate pastoral care of the newly baptized and other extra works which are required so that a full new Church should come to exist and be able to stand alone.

...The specific missionary aim is not to convert all individual men but to establish the Church in the face of all men, truly present to all the peoples...¹¹

This presence is seen to be, and must of faith be, more than a merely nominal or juridical presence. The stress is on the formation of a new and active local church - a balanced, integrated, self-reliant Christian community. Missionary work must end, the Church must begin. But the mission does not end because all the Church's life is mission. Local Churches must not become well-supplied fortresses, established for their own sake, but rather they must be as something outward-bound, for mission and also service. The Decree stresses the over-due nature of missionary reorganisation. Specifically a reorganisation of missionary societies themselves as regards internal structure, recruitment and training. It indicates the desire and possible need for collaboration of various societies in maintaining efficient training and recruitment

8. 'On the Development of Peoples', 1967.

9. 'On Evangelization in the Modern World', 1975.

10. A series published by Scepter Books, Dublin under the general editorship of Austin Flannery, O.P.; in addition the following were consulted: Pawley, E. (ed) 1967 *The Second Vatican Council*. Oxford U.P; Bishop Butler 1967 *The Theology of Vatican II*, Danton, Longman & Todd. (D.L.T.); Moorman, J. 1967 *Vatican Observed*. D.L.T.

11. Hastings, A., 1968: 219.

programmes in the face of overall decreasing enrolments. Related to this is the fact that if an increasing number of people, both lay and religious missionaries, are to become involved in mission work for specified and limited periods of time, then the missionary societies must allow such persons to enter into their societies rather than forcing them to remain on the fringe of the missionary organisation. Such changes envisaged a real alteration in the structuring of various societies.

A major change was made to Canon Law (Church Law) by the removal of an imperialist statement and its replacement by a more relevant series of events:

...Ordinaries and pastors should regard the non-Catholics residing in their dioceses and parishes as their wards in the Lord. In other territories the entire case of the missions among non-Catholics is reserved exclusively to the Apostolic See..(Canon 1350).

was replaced by the decree that

...The responsibility to proclaim the gospel throughout the world falls primarily on the body of Bishops...¹²

Therefore as diocesan bishops are responsible for guiding the whole life of the Church in their own area, and further share in the world episcopate of the universal Church, they must have a definite missionary responsibility. The decree teaches the primary importance of unity and unified leadership of the local church as opposed to select identification with individual missionary societies.

Declining numbers of clerical professional missionaries and changes in world attitudes towards missionaries, such as their virtual exclusion from numerous countries, culminated in a need to recognise and nurture the importance of the laity in the future of all missionary work. The institutional Church must adapt its structures and law to make these desired changes possible - to enable an acceptance of responsibility by the laity. Both must accept these changes of responsibility, or as

12. Ad Gentes 1965 a.29.

'Ad Gentes' warned, the Catholic missionary endeavour may collapse within the next quarter of a century.

'Evangelii Nuntiandi' is addressed to the Episcopate, the clergy and all the faithful of the entire world as a statement of the Church's approach to evangelization. It ratifies and extends the conclusions of 'Ad Gentes', linking them with the discussions of the 1974 Bishops' Synod. Most importantly it expounds on the methods of and the workers for such a process. Methods of evangelization are said to vary according to "the different circumstances of time, place and culture"¹³, thereby establishing a challenge to the Church's capacity to adapt to any given set of circumstances. The whole Church is called to evangelize, but within the church tasks are diversified and specialised.

Re-emphasising a point made earlier by 'Ad Gentes' it is noted that the authority of the Bishops, who are the Apostles' successors, is subordinate only to the supreme authority of Christ's Vicar, the Pope. Associated with the Bishops in this ministry of evangelization are the priests, who are identified by the act of their ordination. The priests are the educators of the 'people of God' in the faith, and preachers, while also being ministers of several sacraments. Effective evangelization is achieved by the Religious' consecration of their lives in supportive roles to the priests and bishops of their particular mission area. Through this co-operation with the hierarchy, pastoral plans can be implemented to establish and develop a Catholic community serviced by clergy drawn from among its members. Apart from this specific role of the pastors of the Church there exists the task of representing Christian attitudes within the sphere of the everyday world - this is the primary and immediate duty of the laity.

This hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church emphasises its link with a continuous past and its ordered position within the world. These notions of 'continuity' and 'order' are reinforced by apostolic succession of the Episcopate from the Apostle Peter and the accepted

13. Evangelii Nuntiandi 1975: 41.

mediation of this 'grace', from God, through the priests to the people of the world.

To discuss these documents is not to suggest that they are widely read or well known to most Catholics - quite the contrary, most statements of the Church and the Pope are completely unknown to a large proportion of Catholics: both lay and religious. Recent media coverage of papal decrees has however greatly widened an at least minimal circulation of such knowledge.

Work by missionary theoreticians, such as Luzbetak¹⁴ was instrumental in bringing to a head this discussion centred on a re-analysis of missionary activity and also in the final drafting of the resultant 'renewal' of approach. He urged (1963: 341-357) the Vatican II Council to declare in unmistakable terms the proper relationship between the Church and the local cultures. The problem of 'accommodation',¹⁵ he sees as an actual acceptance and adaptation to elements of a living culture and not the encouragement of long forgotten practices. Missionaries, by their vocation, are "uncompromising agents of culture change", for in his view the only way to establish, consolidate and perpetuate the Church in a society is through its culture¹⁶.

Although the word mission retained its commonly understood meaning of pre-Vatican II times it acquired a new dimension. It is this new dimension or orientation that has gradually infiltrated the very basis of all missionary programmes engaged in by the Church. The effects of this re-orientation are evident in a breakdown of the previous 'package-deal' arrangement of European cultural features and Christianity. As claimed by Cosgrove¹⁷ this "ecclesiastical imperialism", as seen in the introduction of such features as notions of ownership, political structures, church architecture, hymns and the use of the Latin or European languages, is in the process of giving way to "partnership between sister churches that are equal, sharing spiritual gifts, insights and new developments". According to the precepts of the formal statements of the Church:-

14. Luzbetak, L.J., S.V.D. 1963 *The Church and Cultures*. Divine World Publications, Techny, Illinois - is an introductory course and handbook in anthropology for mission personnel.

15. Which Luzbetak (1963: 7) describes as the 'often talked about but little practiced policy of the Church': defined as .."the respectful, prudent, scientifically, and theologically sound adjustment of the Church to the native culture in attitude, outward behaviour, and practical apostolic approach". (1963: 341).

16. This change is thought to be necessary because "sound principles of morality and Revelation demand it". Luzbetak, L.J., 1963: 6.

...The concern of the modern missionary, is to stand near to where his people are at, without completely identifying with them. This necessitates a knowledge of his people, of the economic, social and cultural factors that condition their life. It is hard won knowledge, and on his table will be together the New Testament and Luzbetak's 'The Church and Cultures'....¹⁸

How are these features of the universal Catholic Church translated into a regional context? This is the concern of the following consideration of the 'structures' of the Church in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Catholic Church in the Northern Territory, Australia

The Diocese of Darwin is one of only two dioceses in Australia which are designated by the Catholic Church as being 'missionary'¹⁹. In the Northern Territory the Church caters for approximately 2,500 tribal Aborigines and an unknown number of part-Aborigines. The majority of these tribal Aborigines are contained within the administrative spheres of the Church's four mission stations: Bathurst Island; Port Keats; Daly River and Santa Teresa (refer to Figure 1 for the locations of these missions). All priests and, until recently, all lay brothers on these missions are members of the Society of Missionaries of the Sacred Heart²⁰. A regional superior of the M.S.C.'s is located in Darwin, at present handling the double task of being both Director of Catholic Education and Episcopal Vicar for the Missions (or alternatively referred to as the Director of Catholic Missions), as well as assistant to the Bishop of Darwin, Bishop J.P. O'Loughlin²¹. The Bishop of Darwin is also a member of the M.S.C. society but by his acceptance of a religious office he is said to be technically outside the Society and not subject to its superior's rulings or authority. However it is apparent that he shares a common 'spirit'²² with other members of the society. The Superior, Father Provincial, of the Australian M.S.C. province is resident in Sydney, N.S.W.

Members of a religious teaching order, the Christian Brothers, subject to the authority of a Provincial in Brisbane, Queensland, were introduced

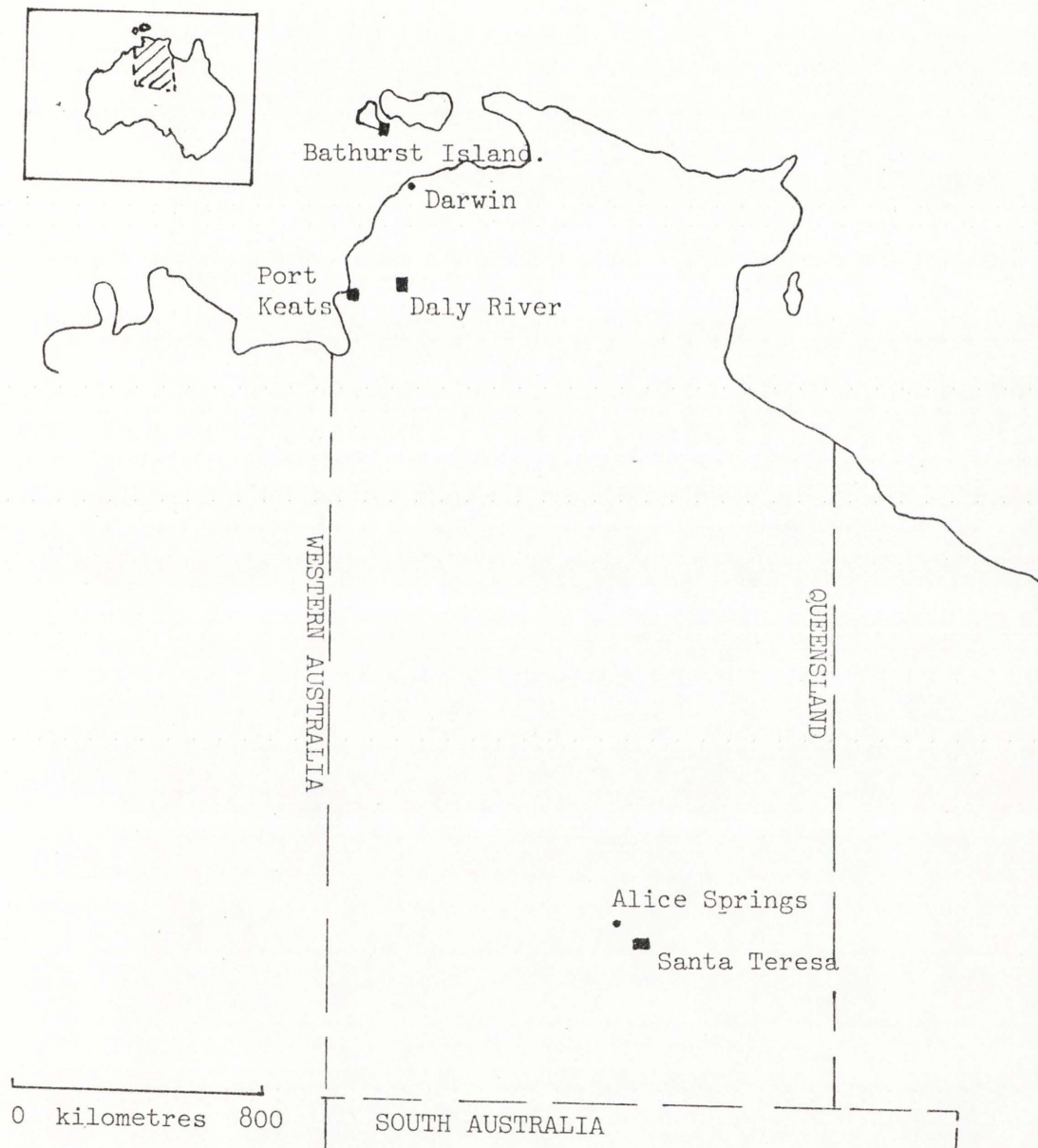
17. Fr. Brian Cosgrove 1977 the *Catholic Weekly*, October 13: 25.

18. Fr. Brian Maner 1978 *Catholic Missions* - a pamphlet issued on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Published by Marist Brothers, Drummoyne.

19. the other being the Diocese of Broome.

20. M.S.C. - the Latin initials for Ministry of the Sacred Heart will be used throughout this paper.

FIGURE 1: LOCATION OF THE M.S.C. MISSIONS IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY



Bathurst Island established 1911
 Port Keats established 1935
 Santa Teresa established 1953
 Daly River established 1955.

onto the missions in 1975 following a direct request for their assistance.

The religious sisters of the diocese are members of the Daughters and Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Society²³: their work includes nursing supervision at the East Arm Community, a leprosarium near Darwin. There are other orders of religious sisters within the Darwin Diocese, working in an apostolate to the Aborigines but none of these are resident on any of the four Catholic missions.

Added to this staff are a number of male and female lay-Catholic (and in some instances non-Catholic) workers, some of whom belong to lay-missionary organisations such as Palms²⁴, the remainder being contracted, through Catholic Missions organisations to the M.S.C. ventures for the period of their employment in the Northern Territory. Deakin (1975: 9-10) offers figures relating to the number of Church personnel working among the Aborigines: these are cited to indicate the size of this apostolate within the Northern Territory:

<u>Priests:</u>	on mission stations	10	
	in parishes	15	25
<u>Religious Brothers</u>			12
<u>Religious Sisters:</u>	O.L.S.H.	29	
	Others	23	52
- this does not include sisters on staff of parish and secondary schools.			
<u>Lay Missionaries</u>			25
	<u>TOTAL:</u>		<u>114</u>

Until 1969 it was correct and adequate to assert that the Bishop of Darwin was the initiator and final authority on all mission affairs within his diocese. But events since then require attention to be able to fully understand the present situation of mission administration by the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory. Have recent changes really altered the 'power structure' of administration or have they merely been clothed in new garments?

-
21. Bishop of Darwin since 1949.
 22. Refers to the particular orientation of each Society within the Church: reflection of outlook contained in slogan "May the Sacred Heart of Jesus be everywhere loved".
 23. O.L.S.H., have a common founder with the M.S.C's and hence a similar spirit.
 24. A lay missionary movement run by the Paulian association, founded in Sydney in 1961: in order to offer specialised assistance to the missions in the form of teachers, nurses and tradesmen.

Government assistance to missions has been readily available since 1953, with the introduction of capital subsidies for approved works. The only requirement of acceptance of such subsidies was the furnishing of financial statements on mission activities. It was this Treasury requirement which infuriated the Bishop of Darwin, who obstinately refused to accept any capital subsidies, stressing that mission finances were a private, not governmental affair²⁶. This stand persisted well into the late 1960s and was only eroded by mounting internal pressure from the missions, especially Bathurst Island and Santa Teresa, demanding the allocation and improvement of essential facilities such as water supplies; school buildings and housing. At one stage, in an attempt to alter the Bishop's attitude, it was proposed by the Welfare Branch that the staff subsidies to Catholic missions should be discontinued unless financial statements were forthcoming. It was further argued that such a decision was highly desirable as these subsidies were not in practice used as salaries for Catholic mission employees. However, this threat was not seriously intended, government officials were well aware that the mission was providing services which were the responsibility of government, if the mission ceased to perform them the government would have to. The government had no right to issue directives governing wage payment or any other mission activities apart from those conditional in the original subsidy agreement. Rising internal demands and lack of finance succeeded in remoulding the Bishop's outward attitude to the acceptance of government capital subsidies.

1969 is a turning point in the history of the Catholic missions in the Northern Territory. It marked the official acceptance of the conclusions of Vatican II. It saw the beginning of a combined effort on the part of missionaries to come to terms with the conditions in which they were working and for the first time these missionary endeavours were viewed in the context of an overall operation rather than as discrete independent units. This coming together of mission personnel is clearly seen in the inaugural meeting of what was to become the Northern Territory Catholic Missions Council (C.M.C.).

25. As did Tatz, 1964: 49, 285.

26. The only exception being some construction work at Daly River: Tatz, C.M. 1964: 50.

One of the first duties of this newly formed council was to recommend establishment of a 'Mission Headquarters'.

...comprising an Episcopal Vicar for the Missions and under him a Business Manager together with adequate clerical and other staff.
(C.M.C. 1969 resolution no. 5).

The major impetus for this decision was the Commonwealth government's refusal to deal with individual mission stations in relation to finance. Formal centralisation was thus in the interests of survival rather than a desire to formulate collective policy in the light of Church renewal.

The Council was to be more than just a forum for open expression of all views of missionary involvement, it was to determine by deliberative vote a general policy for the Missions, that was acceptable to all missionary societies concerned and to the Ecclesiastical Authority, it (the policy) to be binding on all mission personnel²⁷. Meetings were to be biennial with membership continuous for this two year period. This arrangement of members represented the hierarchical relationships within the Northern Territory Catholic Church. In the constitution drafted in 1969 and accepted by the Council in 1973 the members were divided into two categories: ex-officio and elected. Those, who by their position within this hierarchy were automatically members, were the Bishop of Darwin as president, the Episcopal Vicar for the missions, provincial and regional superiors of all religious societies involved in the missions, the business manager of head-quarters, mission superintendents and the sister-in-charge of each mission. Elected members were one representative of the M.S.C. brothers, lay missionaries and Aborigines from each of the four missions and two representatives of the sisters working on the missions. In 1976 membership was expanded, by constitutional amendment, to include as ex-officio members all Aboriginal clergy, and the lone term of mission superintendent was replaced by the terms: priest-in-charge, community advisers, mission superintendents and the administrative officer of each mission, in order to cater for the changes that had occurred in the

27. Formulated in Section 3 a, b and c of the C.M.C. Constitution. Refer to Appendix 1 for the constitution.

administrative sphere of these missions. While 'elected' status was granted to one representative of the Aboriginal sisters, a female and male representative of the Aboriginal people on each mission, as well as to two priests not directly engaged in the missions.

It was asserted that "the policy of the mission may be found within the constitution of the Northern Territory Catholic Missions Council"²⁸. To enable clarification of the issues that will be raised a copy of this constitution has been included as Appendix 1. Following such an assertion the years between conferences are seen as merely an interpretation of this policy. These statements make 'good theory' but how do they work out in practice?

A Standing Committee of five members, one of whom must be the director of missions, was to be set up at each Council meeting - it was to act as the "guardian" of the C.M.C.'s policy. Duties included interpreting the "mind of the Mission Council in areas of doubt; to be a court of appeal in cases of dispute; to give attention to the implementation of the resolutions of the Council; to advise the Director of Missions"²⁹, who is the executive officer mainly responsible for the administration of the general policy; and to be a preparatory and communicative centre for all meetings conducted on the missions. The Standing Committee was the product of a genuine fear of possible misinterpretation of the Council's aims. It was to act as a barrier to innovative administration and as a court of appeal in cases where missionaries felt certain actions were contrary to stated policy. With only two days allotted to the Council meetings for discussion and formation of resolutions, which were the directives of possible action, the Standing Committee by default was to become the legislative organ of the Council - a function in all ways contrary to its original intentions.

The C.M.C. constitution sets out the essentials of the Church's missionary involvement, regarding staffing structures and interactions with government and religious societies, but it is not in any way a plan

28. Fr. E. Collins, M.S.C. Opening Address at the fourth C.M.C. 19 July 1976.

29. C.M.C. Constitution sections 6 and 7.

of active missionary endeavour, that is in other words, it fails to be a written policy. Further neither the C.M.C. nor its Standing Committee succeeded in eroding the monarchical powers of the Bishop which were reaffirmed by Vatican II. The Bishop must by Vatican design remain the supreme authority within the diocese. They were merely advisory bodies on missionary affairs, whose advice was not binding and could be disregarded or modified accordingly by a single individual, the Bishop.

Since 1969 the following C.M.C. meetings have been conducted:

1969 @ St. John's College, Darwin, May 21 - 23.

1971 @ St. John's College, Darwin, May 10 - 13.

1973 @ O.L.S.H. College, Darwin, June 19 - 21.

1976 @ O.L.S.H. College, Darwin, July 19 - 22.

1978 postponed until 1979, was to be held at Daly River in August.

A meeting was not called in 1975 due to the devastating effects of Cyclone Tracy on Darwin in 1974. However, this was not the sole reason for the decision to postpone the biennial Council meeting. The 1974 World Synod of Bishops, as discussed previously, had called for a re-evaluation of all missionary activity and this had been a major item of discussion at the M.S.C. provincial Chapter in 1974. As a result a regional M.S.C. conference was held at Daly River on August 25 to 29, 1975, with the expressed aim of:

...translating into the Northern Territory context the drive towards renewal in life and work that has been a chief feature of the endeavour of the Australian MSC province, as of the Society and the Church as a whole, in the years following on Vatican II...³⁰

It was attended by all M.S.Cs working in the Northern Territory except one priest and one brother. The Bishop of Darwin was also unable to attend due to a previous commitment to attend a Bishops' meeting in Sydney. With the aim of renewal the conference resolutions were considered to be "statements of concern about issues; of appeal to policy-forming and executive authorities; of resolve amongst ourselves"³¹.

The meetings of the C.M.C. as well as the conference share a similar

30. Conference was officially titled 'M.S.C. in N.T.'. M.S.C. in N.T. 1975: 5.

31. Ibid., p.6.

emphasis reflected in their resolutions and statements of concern. The four major areas of concern arising from these discussions are:

- (a) greater involvement of Aborigines in all areas of mission life,
- (b) use of local languages in the Church's liturgy,
- (c) releasing of priests from the duties of community adviser - a concentration on pastoral rather than administrative matters, and
- (d) a plea for orientation schemes and improved selection procedures for intending lay workers. These comments clearly echo the concerns of 'Ad Gentes'. In discussion of its missionary apostolate the Northern Territory Catholic Church had arrived at the same theoretical and ideal conclusions as Vatican II but being more than a 'council of ideas' it has sought effective solutions to these "problems" of renewal.

In addition to the C.M.C. the society of the M.S.C.'s conducts regular Provincial Chapters and regional meetings to discuss the nature of its missionary work - as was done in 1975. It has been from these meetings, rather than the C.M.C. that "solutions" have been forthcoming. All ideas have then been later ratified by the C.M.C. and the Bishop. In many ways the religious societies associated with the M.S.C.'s missions are effectively excluded from all formal decision making processes, they are merely informed of the final decisions as a matter of courtesy. Dissatisfaction with the present arrangement has resulted in steadily growing feelings of isolation among such societies, they also feel unable to effectively guide or decide the exact nature of their involvement within the M.S.C.'s missionary ventures. The growth of this situation has led to an overall dissatisfaction with the procedures of the C.M.C. and its associated executive committees. However the re-thinking of this approach adopted by the Church in the Northern Territory will be considered after discussion of the various proposals of the Council.

Position, order and hierarchy are essential elements in the Church's organisation of any activity. A special Committee concerned with staffing presented a report to the 1971 C.M.C.³²: briefly, it divided staff into the following categories:

31. Ibid., p.6.

32. Entitled 'Staff Required on Missions'. May 13, 1971.

1. Priest in charge
2. Second priest and/or clerk-typist
3. Brothers, who depending on age and health should become more involved in technical supervision and overseeing.
4. Sisters who should be freed to move into the sphere of Christian social work.
5. Lay missionaries defined as those who have the "intention to share the burdens and sacrifices of the Religious on the missions and to work for the good of the Aboriginal people³³" are seen
 - a) each making an agreement for a limited remuneration depending on individual circumstances;
 - b) after three months a formal agreement of some kind should be made and a ceremony to install them as Official Lay Missionaries.
6. Voluntary helpers without complete missionary aims or without intention of being lay missionaries.
7. Fully paid qualified technicians as necessary part of mission labour force.

In addition it was noted that the status of staff should also apply to Aboriginal supervisors who were thought to have accepted sufficient responsibility. Each of these categories was seen as standing in a specific relationship to each of the other seven categories as regards areas of involvement, employment and administration. Division is based on visible distinctions of vocation, insignia of commitment, and monetary reimbursement. The simplicity of such a division and its associated problems for both the Church and this research will be discussed in the following chapter.

Returning to the four areas of concern of the Northern Territory Catholic Church's missionary work it is easily seen that these represent a re-phrasing of the vital question of evangelisation: how is the Catholic faith to be indigenised by the Aborigines? Catholicism is to become enculturated as a part of the ongoing traditional process of change and acceptance. This process of indigenisation can never be completed as it is an ideal, but it is seen as giving meaning to what the Church is trying to do. A missiological centre and Christian leadership training centre are

33. Resolution 3 of the 1969 C.M.C.

the 'core elements' in the M.S.C.'s reorientated approach to evangelisation.

In 1976 the Australian province of the M.S.C.'s proposed to establish a resource-research centre in the Northern Territory for the "advantage of the Church's missionary work amongst the Aboriginal people"³⁴. The decision was supported by the Bishop of Darwin and the Standing Committee of the C.M.C.

*...The Standing Committee welcomes the decision to establish a Resource Centre manned by Fr. Wilson and accepts that Fr. Wilson will be responsible in the Northern Territory to his Religious Superior....*³⁵

An important point of this acceptance was acknowledgement that the Centre's personnel were not to be subject to the authority of the Bishop but as an M.S.C. venture they were to be entirely free of diocesan control and allocation. This meant that staff could not be re-assigned within the Territory by the Bishop. The resultant sense of permanency was essential if the centre was to be established. Though located in the diocese of Darwin it was not tied to it. Its proposed scope is wide ranging and extends to anywhere within Australia, where the Church and Aboriginal people are interacting: but initially the scope and focus are much narrower and related directly to the M.S.C. missions within the Northern Territory. Located initially at Daly River³⁶, premises were occupied in late May 1978, the resource-research centre is called "Nelen Yubu"³⁷.

*...It consists in engaging in dialogue with Aboriginal people on basic religious issues. It is a dialogue where Aboriginal people will be speaking out of their own inherited religious mentality, speaking from and in terms of the categories of religious thought native to themselves...*³⁸

The Centre's major function is to foster, sponsor and promote missiological research among the staff resident on the missions with a view to publishing such research in its own journal. Related to this are suggestions of acting as a documentation service on relevant literature for mission personnel, to conduct orientation courses for new personnel,

34. Wilson, M.J., 1977: 1. A letter setting out the reasons behind the establishment of the centre. January 22 1977.

35. A letter from the Bishop of Darwin to the Provincial Superior, D.J. Murphy, M.S.C. - cited in Wilson, M.J., 1977: 2.

36. Initially financed by a \$13,000.00 grant from Australia Relief.

37. Translated from Ngan gikurunggur, the major dialect of the Daly-Moil region, as "Good Way".

and to be a contact point for academic researchers such as linguists and anthropologists. The results so far indicate that the potential of this Centre is yet to be tested but it is a step in the right direction in acknowledging the necessity for all staff dealing with Aborigines to be fully aware of the cultural context within which they are employed.

The Daly River Leadership Training Centre, staffed full-time by one M.S.C. priest and one O.L.S.H. nun, is based on the principle "that the ideas and impetus for Christian leadership must come from within the Aboriginal people, that is they must be their own and not directed by some "white" as the decisive alternative"³⁹. The main aim is to clarify the aims and intentions of the Aborigines by fostering the qualities of Christian leadership amongst them. Courses are conducted for a period of four to six weeks with groups of young and old, and male and female, from each of the missions. During this time the participants are accommodated in a large demountable structure containing ten rooms, each with adequate facilities, as well as an open-air discussion centre and kitchen/eating area. Each group is selected by the local Aboriginal community from potential Christian leaders. A cross section is chosen with regard to tribal affiliations to facilitate the main aim of group discussions. All discussion is conducted in the local languages and around issues felt to be of importance by the participants. The course is designed to give a greater appreciation of Catholicism by a concentration on the scriptures and how these can become more meaningful in the Aboriginal context. This approach is best summed up as:

*...It is up to them (the course participants) to sound out their views, not impose them, among their own people in the hope that eventually, after much interchange, a thinking and acting community will develop...*⁴⁰

Follow-up courses and discussion groups both at Daly River and at the 'home' missions are a vital part of this inter-play of ideas.

Although as stressed previously the C.M.C. has no written policy of missionary activity, the report on the Daly River Mission 1971, is the

Wilson, M.J., 1978 'Aboriginal Religion'. A paper presented at the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary Conference at Alice Springs, May 1978.

Leary, J., 1976 Rational Behind the Daly River Leadership Training Centre - a report to set out the Centre's aims, objectives and methods.

Leary, J., 1977 Report on the Daly River Leadership Training Course - conducted on September 19 to October 14 1977. p.1.

closest it has come to the actual formulation of a policy.

...They (the Aborigines) are being paid to take responsibility, so let us encourage it.... We have to consciously aim at doing ourselves out of a job, rather than becoming more involved. This itself means a more detached outlook on our work, perhaps the sacrifice of efficiency for a more important goal.⁴¹

This demonstrates a simple blending of both renewed Church aims and changing government policy. The C.M.C. brought together the very diverse elements involved in the missions, a diversity that was not really openly acknowledged or demonstrated before. A written policy has not been formulated because the people involved have not 'seen' how to go about it. Realisation of the complexity involved has made the task a daunting one. This difficulty has led to the rationalisation: that maybe a written policy should not be attempted if it is going to be that daunting. Part of the problem is that many individuals are not aware of the realities of the overall situation and when faced by them at the C.M.C. they begin to realise that their 'isolated' ideas are not applicable in the wider context. Many participants have approached the Conference very naively: thinking that the resolutions will automatically solve the problems without realising that all a resolution can do is to give an impetus towards solving the problem. At the last C.M.C. in 1976 the Bishop of Darwin presented a seven page paper which expounded and commented on the Apostolic Exhortation "Evangelii Nuntiandi". This marked the end of the formal attempt to infuse the universal Catholic missionary ideals into the realities of the Northern Territory. This has led in recent years to the questioning of the purpose and role of the C.M.C. and more specifically to a challenge to the right of the Church and its associated religious societies to construct developmental programmes for the Aborigines, without the impetus first arising from them.⁴²

The operating principles of missionary activity are not contained within any one document but are the result of numerous church decree, vocational training and an intuitive response to local conditions. All missionary work is guided by the ideal...

41. Report compiled by Fr. O'Corrigan 1971: 5.

42. The announcement that the 1978 C.M.C. had been postponed was met by many with thoughts: 'that hopefully it had died a quiet death'. In the letter announcing this decision, the Director of Missions states that Evangelii Nuntiandi provides a general policy "though we may not have read or meditated on it sufficiently".

*...to co-operate actively in the development of Aboriginal peoples at "their pace, their style, and their direction"...*⁴³

Catholic missionaries in the Northern Territory are now preparing and hoping to face the challenge proposed by this renewed orientation of the Church's missionary activity. The consequences of such a challenge for one particular M.S.C. mission, Bathurst Island Mission Station, are the concern of the following chapter.

43. Statement of Intent from M.S.C. in N.T. 1975: 89.

CHAPTER THREE: BATHURST ISLAND MISSION STATION 1911, 1969 - 1978

The objective of this chapter is to present an analysis of the social system, observed by me, of one M.S.C. mission in the Northern Territory. In the light of the preceeding discussion of the Catholic Church's missionary aims, methods and ideals and their interpretation by the Church in the Northern Territory, it is proposed to identify and describe the major social groupings among the residents of the mission and their relation to the implementation of the policy. As stated previously, this study is concerned only with the non-indigenes resident at the mission. The central focus of concern are the inter-relationships between the missionaries, in an attempt to gain an understanding of their vision of the world they have created and its consequences for the present arrangement, both socially and structurally of the mission.

The mission community must be placed briefly against its geographical and historical background. The analysis will concentrate largely on the period 1969 - 1978 and the changes that have taken place during that time. The question: what exactly does the Catholic Church organise and control within the community? will require reference to detailed reports presented to the C.M.C. for these years as well as a review of the resolutions coming from such councils. The Church's ideal perception of each role within the community will be contrasted with the actual social intercourse of this mission community at the time. The groupings within the non-Aboriginal population of the mission will be considered in terms of the selection and maintenance of their social and cultural boundaries. Such items as living quarters, occupations and employers, interaction especially the frequency and nature of contact with each other, and with other social groupings and the Aborigines, self-image and the apparent success or failure at assigned tasks, as well as a comparison of life on the mission with life in southern Australia are important in the study of boundaries.

Bathurst Island Mission Station - Nguiu, Bathurst Island.

Bathurst Island lies approximately 100km north-east of Darwin. It occupies an area of 2,070 square kilometres, of which only the south-eastern corner is presently under permanent occupation. This is the site of the township of Nguiu, which, prior to 1974 was known as Bathurst Island Mission

Station.¹ To put the recent changes in their context it is necessary to consider the history of the mission.

The mission was founded on June 8 1911 by Fr. Francis Xavier Gsell, a French member of the society of the missionaries of the Sacred Heart, accompanied by four Filipino men. These men were the crew of a sailing boat hired to transport Fr. Gsell and his belongings, which included a pre-fabricated cottage, to the Island. The decision to establish a mission to the Aborigines of the Islands north of Darwin as opposed to the mainland was based on the experiences of the Jesuit missionaries on the Daly River 1886 - 1889 and the Benedictines at New Norcia, W.A. 1850s. Their opinion was that if a mission was to be successful it had to be away from the centres of white settlement. Close proximity to whites, which only hastened the demoralisation of Aborigines and greatly encumbered the work of missionaries, was to be strictly avoided. There exists however a shadowy area of doubt regarding the final reason for the selection of Bathurst Island. During 1910 large areas of Bathurst Island were sold at auction but none of these leases had been taken up prior to Gsell's tour of the islands in 1911. Having selected a site on Bathurst Island he set about obtaining a lease and Federal Government assurance that the Island would be declared a native reserve, thus effectively excluding all white involvement of a non-missionary nature. However, even if the government had been unable to secure the titles to the land previously sold the mission would have made, from the Government's point of view, an excellent dumping ground for natives dispossessed of the rest of the island. The natives of Bathurst and Melville Islands are referred to as Tiwi.

Establishment of the mission was guided by the precept:

...It is a vital principle which must be appreciated by those who would found a mission on a rock that they should never attempt to run after nomadic peoples..... It is better to establish a settlement and to arm oneself with patience. Sooner or later they will find their way to one's door.²

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1. Alternative names are given by Pye (1977): 61. St. Francis Xavier mission (1911) and later referred to as 'Little Flower Mission' until the comment was made that 'Little Flour Mission' was more appropriate. Known officially within the Church as St. Therese's Mission. 'Nguiu', a Tiwi name, is pronounced as "New - You".
 2. Gsell, F.X., 1956: 40.

This is exactly what was done. Having selected what was considered to be neutral ground, a necessary precondition, it was felt, to avoid the mission becoming the property of any one group of Tiwi, Fr. Gsell set about establishing a physical settlement. Male Tiwi were encouraged by gifts of food and tobacco to assist in the building programme, which consisted initially of a presbytery and a well.

In 1912 the arrival of a fellow M.S.C. priest, two religious sisters of the order of Daughters of our Lady of the Sacred Heart accompanied by seven part-Aborigines from Darwin, who were to form the nucleus of the school, necessitated expansion of this building programme. A church, school, convent and numerous other buildings were added to the growing settlement. A division of labour was also established between the religious orders with the sisters responsible for all cooking, domestic duties and education while the priests attended to administration, planning and ministration. Darwin supplied the mission with essentials such as flour, rice, sugar and tea but it was dependent on the island for all perishable staple foods. Transport to and from the Island was limited and there was no radio or telephone - the mission was effectively isolated and insulated from outside interference and contact.

Having established the physical presence of the mission, attention was turned to the Tiwi: how could they be encouraged to adopt a Christian way of life? Gsell's attitude that "sincere paganism is better than false Christianity"³, meant that the process of conversion was to be lengthy. The first and fundamental task of the mission, in his view, was to encourage the development of a potentially Christian family by the introduction of monogamous marriage. This was no easy task given the vital role of polygamy in the authority structure of the Tiwi Society⁴ and it took Gsell ten years to find a 'weak link' in the Tiwi social structure. Gsell's guiding principle during this period was that everything had to be worked or paid for - absolutely no handouts were given. Attention was focused on the children, as the adults, once initiated, he believed, were totally bound to tribal traditions. Thus, manipulation of the social

3. Ibid. p. 61.

4. Refer to anthropological counts of the Tiwi: Hart and Pilling 1960: Brandl 1972; Goodale 1971.

system as he perceived it enabled Gsell to make the first tentative steps towards the establishment of monogamous families, and by implication the demise of the tribal practices of prostitution to Japanese pearlers, child-marriage and polygamy. Young Tiwi males were encouraged to refuse initiation by accepting baptism and remaining at the mission. Females, however, created a different problem. A Christian family required a mother, but how was this to be achieved when all Tiwi women were channeled into the traditional Tiwi system. The power of 'material goods' once again achieved the missionaries' ends. Simply, the solution was to purchase the young girls who wished to remain at the mission for £2 worth of trade goods. This purchase was to include all rights over any female offspring. Proposal of Gsell's plan met with acceptance from the Tiwi husbands to whom the girls were promised. The Tiwis agreed provided that the females were to be Gsell's "wives" and not given to any other male. Gsell did not agree to this condition, as it would have been contrary to his objective of 'Tiwi Christian families'. A bargain was struck, although the parties apparently differed on the conditions of agreement, and the mission set about buying available females. This difference of 'conditions of agreement' permitted the mission to encourage these women to select husbands from among suitable young mission males who agreed to monogamy.

Expansion of the 'buying of women' - a prime example of the mission exercising its greater material wealth to achieve its own ends at the expense of the less informed native - resulted in the mission possessing the majority of marriageable 'single' women. It must also have brought the men to the mission. From this position of monopoly power the missionaries were able to decree the abandonment of polygamy and its replacement with monogamous 'christian' marriages.⁵ Establishment of dormitories for the young "wives" brought them into intensive contact with the sisters. While the steady growth of the settlement around the mission buildings ensured increasing interaction between the Tiwi and missionaries. The missionaries depended on the Tiwi resident at the mission, especially the children for all their social activities - shortage of transport turned outings into whole community affairs. The objectives were neatly summed up as follows:

5. Marriages were monogamous but not all were christian - as 'christian' marriages were only performed for two christians and not a pagan and a christian.

...Children are the only hope of the mission. The whole of her power and energy must be brought now to bear on the education and settling of the children. The work is slow... The work is expensive, as children are more consumers than producers and every item of their life has to be supplied by the Mission until the children can look after themselves.⁶

The final objective was to create what has been described by Tatz (1964: 70) as a christian 'native peasantry' settled in a community that was to be entirely self-supporting. The idea was to settle each family on a small individual plot of land, the produce of which could then be sold to the mission.⁷

This was to be the focus of mission endeavour and set the pace for almost 60 years until the early 1970s. Apart from World War II and the associated R.A.A.F 'invasions' the mission suffered very few outside intrusions, remaining both isolated and insulated but still dependent on supplies from Darwin. Endless staffing changes accompanied by a rapid numerical expansion of resident staff; increasing government finance; revolutionary developments in communication networks and the virtual overnight construction of a township have all occurred in the past decade. By acquiescence in this massive development the mission has effectively destroyed the initial requirement for mission success: that of removal from white settlement. It is against this background of missionary involvement and settlement that my analysis will now proceed.

The pace of the involvement of outside influences within the Nguiu community has been very rapid. It is proposed within this section to identify and examine the social groupings existing at present within the community and to trace their development during the past decade.

Population figures (Table 1) illustrate clearly the dramatic changes that have occurred during recent years.

6. Gsell, F.X., undated: 16. Report about Bathurst Island Mission - a pamphlet manuscript, held by AIAS, Canberra.

7. However, this was never to be. Lack of water severely hampered such development. Other 'self-supporting' ventures included a dairy in 1932, which flourished until 1942 when all the cattle went 'bush' and have continued to stay there, though their numbers have increased to approximately 300 with the recent introduction of bulls; a hunting and fishing project; and extensive mission gardens, recently used for housing development. At present cattle and horses stray into the Nguiu township as ever-present reminders of these ill-conceived projects.

TABLE 1: White Population/Staffing Figures for Nguiu, 1936 - 1978.

	1936	1958	1962	1969	1978
Priests	2	2	2	2	2
Religious Brothers	2	5	5	4	5
Religious Sisters	3	4	3	6	9
Lay Missionaries	1	2	5	15	11
Other (excluding Tiwis)	-	-	-	-	52
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>99</u>

Why, in 1978, are there so many more non-Tiwis resident at Nguiu than there were before? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to consider trends in both C.M.C. resolutions and Commonwealth government legislation.

Until 1969 Bathurst Island Mission Station was truly a totally "managed" community with the mission authorities providing for all the needs of its residents. Both Tiwi and non-Tiwi; christian and non-christian; religious and lay mission staff alike were supplied with the necessary essentials of food and clothing from the mission's ration store and community kitchen. It was firm mission policy not to accept government funding.

Money was first introduced onto the mission in 1951 with weekly wages of 2/- plus keep. Canteens for the sale of tobacco and other luxury items were quickly established to enable the newly introduced money to be spent.⁸ Later on government child endowment and pensions were paid directly to the mission authorities who converted this money into material goods and rations at the mission store, which were then distributed to those entitled. In 1969 weekly wages were \$4.50 for Tiwis and \$10.00 per month for European staff. August 1969 saw a dramatic change in this income structure with the introduction of the Commonwealth government's Training Allowance Scheme. This scheme was designed to gradually encourage economic activity and monetary awareness by the payment of salaries to Aborigines,

8. Bishop J.P. O'Loughlin in C.M. Tatz (ed.), 1966: 175.

said to be "workers-in-training". Weekly salaries ranged from \$25.00 to \$36.00 for males and \$19.00 to \$27.00 for females and were graded into 7 categories based on skill, experience and the type of work performed. This scheme was replaced by the payment of award wages in October 1974. Mission acceptance of government funding necessitated compliance with the stated aims of corresponding government legislation. (Refer Appendix 1. Section 2d). All these manoeuvres were part of the Commonwealth government's policy which was formulated in late 1972 as 'self-determination':

... 'Self determination' is a process in which Aboriginal groups are given the opportunity to decide the pace and nature of their future development, but in doing so they are subject to the legal, social and economic restraints of Australian society.... the Aboriginal people have to be given the opportunity to make decisions for themselves about priorities, programmes and planning...

In response to changes in government policy and in a desire to implement the style of Church 'renewal', discussed in the previous chapter, the C.M.C. formulated four major resolutions:

... In view of the grave situation that exists at Bathurst Island owing to the recurrent total failure of the water supply and consequent disastrous effects on health and hygiene of the Aborigines living on that island; having in mind the Commonwealth Government's acceptance (January 1966) of responsibility for a permanent water supply to Bathurst Island, and while appreciating the serious efforts made by the Northern Territory Administration to carry out this responsibility; this Council is deeply concerned and asks the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs to give this matter their urgent and immediate attention. 1971 Resolution No. 1.

... That the Village Council at Bathurst Island become operative again under the Superintendent and be allotted tasks of responsibility on the mission... 1971 Resolution No. 7.

... This Council recommends that after consulting the Aboriginal people and staff of mission stations that Mission Headquarters consult with the appropriate Government Departments to see what areas of human development hitherto attended to by Mission authorities may be relinquished altogether by the ... 1973 Resolution No. 3.

... This Council recommends that Bishop O'Loughlin, together with his Vicar for Missions and the Business Manager, after consulting with the Aboriginal people and the Staff on the Mission, meet with appropriate Government Departments, and inform them that it is the intention of the Catholic Missions to relinquish certain areas of human development on Bathurst Island. Negotiations to

...this end be entered into, with the various Departments in order that this be done without harm to the people...

1973 Resolution No. 13.

The consequences of the quick implementation of these directive resolutions had a far-reaching effect on the pace of development at Nguiu.

At the Golden Jubilee of the mission's foundation in 1961 Bishop O'Loughlin had sought to encourage the formation of a 'Tribal Council'.⁹ However there was no effective council in 1971¹⁰, see 1971 C.M.C. Resolution No. 7. This resolution represented a striking change of attitude from that expressed by the C.M.C. in 1969, which was concerned with organising the internal affairs of each mission. Naturally enough such re-organisation was largely concerned with staffing arrangements: mission advisory boards were to be established on each mission. Acting like 'mini councils' they were to discuss all matters of local significance. In August 1971 a Village Council was formed, giving way to a Town Council in 1973 and a Shire Council in 1974. Today there exists a 16 member Shire Council elected by Aborigines although not yet possessing a written constitution. Legal enquiries are at present under way to secure a constitution, that will ensure considerable financial savings through sales tax exemptions on purchases made on behalf of the Council.

What is a Community Council? According to a pamphlet from D.A.A. entitled 'Guidelines for Council Operations' and 'the Councils and Associations Act' (1974) Aboriginal community councils are empowered to make decisions and undertake the provision of services relating to any of the following areas:

...housing; health; sewerage; water-supply; electricity supply; communications; education or training; relief work for unemployed persons; road and associated works; garbage collection and disposal; welfare; and community amenities....

It is felt to be a "representative" body of the community, although real

9. The Tiwi population at this date was 920; 360 of whom were under 16 years of age. Pye 1977: 55.

10. I was unable to discover the format of Councils and their elections before 1973.

power is often recognised as lying within other more traditional structures of the community. Therefore the role of the council is defined in terms of the parameters each community sets for it. It has been Commonwealth government policy since 1974 to progressively hand over the functions and responsibilities of local affairs to these councils. The councils are assisted in operations by the advice of a community advisor and a town clerk, who are usually Europeans.

At Nguuiu, the present shire Council and as far as I can discover, Councils since 1973 have been elected by secret ballot by the entire adult Tiwi population. The 16 member Council consists of 4 members from each of the 4 major local groupings. The Council selects from among their members an executive of President and vice-president. Terms of office are for twelve months and the executive positions are nominally rotated between the 4 groups - with no one group gaining effective long-term control. Having successfully established a Town Council the question arose as to what tasks it should be allotted. This was effectively answered at a community meeting held on Bathurst Island in 1973 in response to the C.M.C. Resolution No. 13. This meeting was attended by Bishop O'Loughlin, the Director of Catholic Missions, and the Business Manager from mission headquarters. Six very basic and decisive questions were asked of the community:

<u>Question</u>	<u>Response</u>	
	English	Tiwi
1. Do you want Catholic Missions to leave Bathurst Island?	No	Karlu
2. Do you mind if we hand over the running of water, power and sewerage to the government?	No	Karlu
3. Do you want us to still run the school?	Yes	Ku'wa
4. Do you want us to still look after the hospital?	Yes	Ku'wa
5. When land rights come through are you prepared to grant us land to live and work on?	Yes	Ku'wa
6. Do you want us to continue running the store?	No	Karlu

The outcome was as could have been anticipated, an overwhelming majority for the Church to remain at Bathurst Island and continue to control education, health, and the parish, while handing over to local council and government the responsibility for supply essential services to the community.

With the Catholic Church having formally stepped outside these areas of involvement what were the immediate consequences? This situation is accurately described by Valadian (1975):

...But one thing we do know is that our communities (referring to Aboriginal communities) have suddenly had to start making decisions for themselves, about sewerage, water reticulation, housing, electricity supply and so on - but without having any background for that kind of decision-making....

Council elections were not held in 1977 due to a decision late in 1977 by the Council executive, which proposed automatic extension of the existing council's term of office. Community dissatisfaction with this decision was loudly and consistently expressed as the 1978 election date drew near.¹¹

In this relinquishing of certain areas to government authorities the Church was quick to recognise the inherent evangelical potential of those areas it retained: namely the role of priest as pastor, the hospital and the school. Essential services ceased to be the responsibility of the institutionalised white Catholic Church when such responsibilities were handed over to the local residents through their elected council. But is this really what has happened? The increasing number of non-Tiwi now resident at Nguiu suggests that the issue is more complex. If, as has been suggested, the outright forceful, paternalistic, coercive control of the Church as exercised by Fr. Gsell and his successors no longer exists at Nguiu then what, if anything, has replaced it?

Returning to Table 1 the category of 'Other' can be further classified in Table 2. Related to this are Tables 3 and 4 which set out the areas of non-Tiwi involvement and employment at Nguiu. As a further comparative measure Table 5 demonstrates the major areas of employment for Tiwis in 1978.

11. Both executive officers and a number of council members were not returned to office in the August 1978 elections.

TABLE 2: Breakdown of 'Other' Statistic, from Table 1

Adult Males	32
Adult Females	20
Children: Males	12
:Females	8
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>72</u>

TABLE 3: Areas of Mission Personnel Employment

	1936	1958	1962	1969	1978
Administration	2	1	2	2	3
Health	-	1	2	5	3
Education	2	6	4	9	8
Independent Industry	-	-	-	1	3
Community Work	-	-	-	-	5
Town Services	4	5	7	10	5
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>

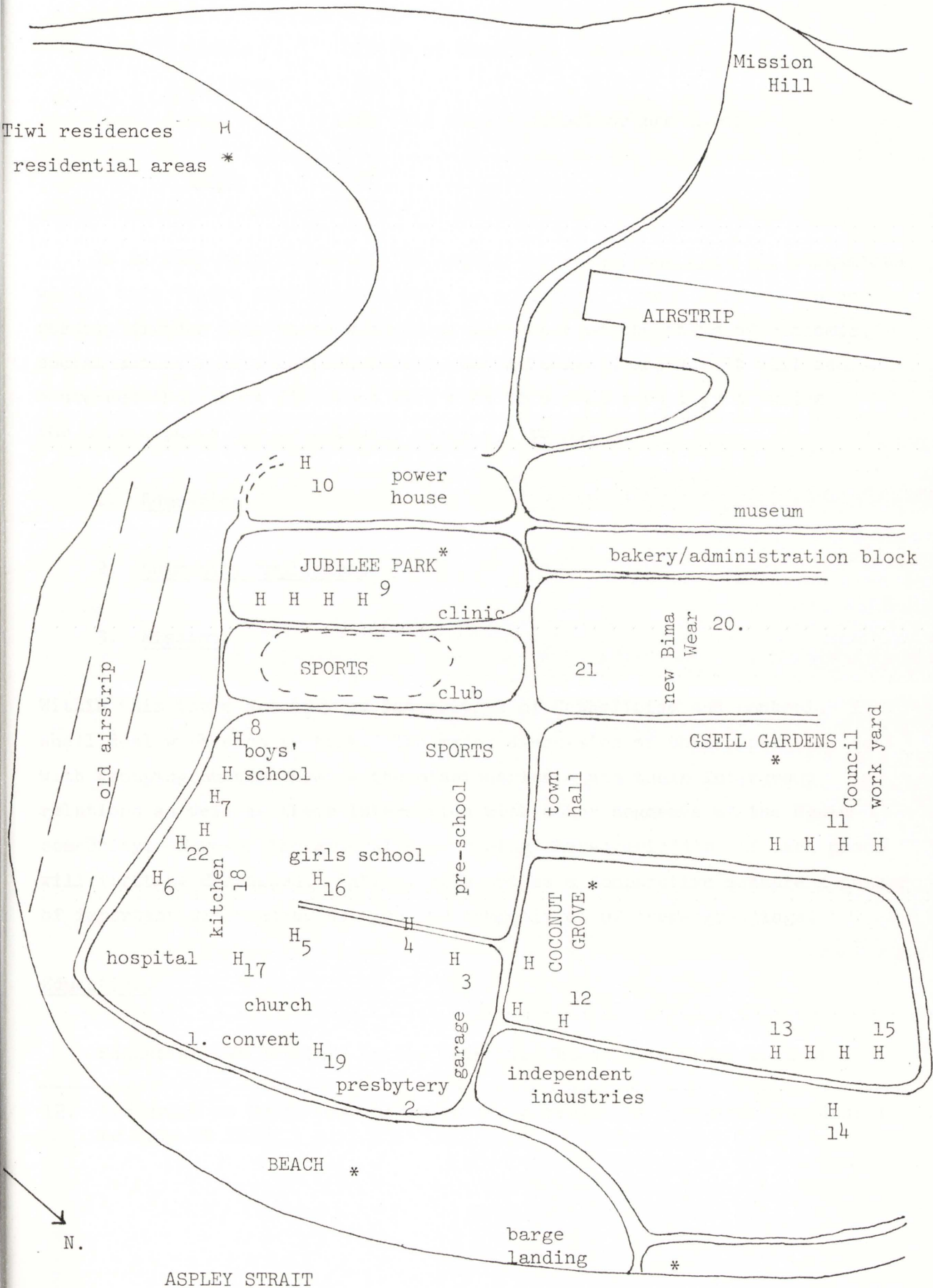
TABLE 4: Non-Tiwi Areas of Employment, as at 1-6-78

	Mission		Non-Mission		TOTAL 1978
	1969	1978	1969	1978	
Community Administration	1	1	-	1	2
Administration: Clerical/ Auxiliary	1	2	-	2	4
Health	5	3	-	1	4
Education	9	8	-	18	26
Independent Industries	1	3	-	3	6
Private Contractors	-	-	-	9	9
Community Services	2	9	-	4	13
Town Maintenance and Construction	8	1	-	8	9
Not employed	-	-	-	6	6
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>79</u>

TABLE 5: Tiwi Areas of Employment

	1969	1978
Community Administration (Council of 16 not included as only President is employed full-time).	-	1
Administration: clerical/auxiliary	-	1
Health	14	10
Education	15	31
Independent Industries	36	26
Community Work/Services	74	4
Town Services	-	37
Town Maintenance	107	128
Private Enterprise	-	3
	<u>246</u>	<u>241</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>		

FIGURE 2: NGUIU TOWNSHIP, BATHURST ISLAND



based on a diagram by Brennan and Stevenson 1977 - a pamphlet:
 Bathurst Island, an Introduction: back cover.

The Nguiu Community

At the time of fieldwork¹² the population of Nguiu was:

Adults	79 (9 of whom were contractors)
Children	20
Tiwi	1000 (412 attend school or preschool)
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1099</u>

It is with this figure of '79 Adults' or rather the specific alignments within this figure that this analysis is concerned. These persons can be readily divided into three spheres of influence on the basis of economic, social and religious considerations, using Tables 3 and 4. It will be contended that these divisions give rise to social groupings of which the participants are consciously aware and maintain.

1. Education
2. Community Employment
3. Mission

Within this there are varying intensities of Catholicism and control. I shall deal with each in turn. The major discussion of this paper will deal with grouping number three - the missionaries - and their intergroup relations as well as their interaction with other segments of the Nguiu community. However the general determining characteristics of each group will first be discussed. Table 6 sets out as a comparative measure a number of important differences between the composition of these groupings.

Education.

Education was retained by the Catholic Church as a major area of

12. Fieldwork at Nguiu was conducted for a period of 7 weeks: from June 1 to July 20 1978.

TABLE 6: ADULT WHITE POPULATION (1-6-78)

Average Figures	Religious (TOTAL)	Religious <10 years in North	Lay Staff	Teachers [*]	Community Employees	Non-employed
AGE	48.2	36.7	30.5	28.1	33.1	32.8
YEARS IN NORTH AUSTRALIA	18	3.3	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.4
YEARS AT NGUIU, B.I.	9.1	1.6	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.4
> 5 YEARS IN THE NORTH	56%	22%	-	-	-	-
< 1 YR IN THE NORTH	12.5%	44.4%	50%	63.9%	47.4%	50%
% WOMEN	56.2%	44%	70%	53%	21%	100%
% CATHOLICS	100%	100%	80%	88.2%	31.6%	50%
UNMARRIED OR SEPARATED	-	-	80%	52.9%	26.3%	nil
TOTAL NO. INVOLVED	16	9	11	17	19	6

* This figure does not include the S.I.L. linguist.

influence within the community.

Within this sphere we must distinguish between teachers and Christian brothers. Such a division classes the four sisters and lay staff member involved in education with the teachers. However any distortion involved will be rectified in the subsequent analysis of missionary personnel involvement within the community.

Teachers

Teachers constitute the most highly mobile and transient group within the settlement. They are education specialists and see their position solely in these terms. Their attitude is one of: 'I am here to teach in the school, teaching Aboriginal children. I hope I do it well and prepare them for the future, but I am not working in the community nor involved in any form of community development'.

At Nguiu there are two separate schools: St. Theresa's conducted by the sisters and catering for both boys and girls from pre-school to grade 5 and for girls only grades 6 - 10, and Xavier's Boys School organised by the Christian brothers caters for boys only from grades 6 - 10. There are noticeable differences in the staffing arrangements for each of these schools with have a major influence on the group here referred to collectively as 'teachers'.

Xavier's has an enrolment of 87 boys, employs 6 Tiwi teaching assistants and 8 non-Tiwi teachers. The 8 are 3 Christian brothers, 3 single males and a married couple, all of whom are Catholic. Practical teaching experience is in general high. Two teachers with less experience have participated in cross-cultural education programmes outside Australia. St. Theresa's has an enrolment of 325, employs 16 full and part-time teachers; 16 Tiwi teaching assistants; 2 Tiwi literacy workers; a "bi-lingual production director" and a "bi-lingual education co-ordinator". The production director and co-ordinator of the bi-lingual programme do not conduct classes as they are both engaged full-time in collecting, producing and creating relevant material for the courses. Included in this number are 4 religious sisters, 6 single females and 3 married couples. The age and teaching experience of St. Theresa's teachers is much lower than for those employed by the boys' school, but once again all full-time class teachers are Catholics, although a non-christian couple are employed by the school.

All teaching staff, of both schools, are employed by the Director of Catholic Education in Darwin in close consultation with the respective school principals. The Commonwealth government pays salary subsidies to all qualified teachers working in the schools as well as covering the total cost of all capital works in relation to education facilities. All the teachers share a background of Catholic education and a desire to work with Aboriginal children in a physical sense and they all fail to view their lack of teaching experience and their inexperience of north Australia as handicaps in conducting their work. None of the teachers involved in face-to-face contact with any of the classes can speak Tiwi, though the two males involved in the organisation of the bi-lingual programme can.¹³

Although classes in Tiwi have been given at various times to the school staff, most have failed to grasp more than a few commonly used words and phrases. At present the bi-lingual co-ordinator conducts classes on a Friday afternoon for the staff of St. Theresa's. As far as I am aware only one teacher out of the 18, apart from the bi-lingual co-ordinator, is actively engaged in attempting to learn the Tiwi language outside these organised classes. This ignorance of the language severely limits communication with very young Tiwi who are encouraged to speak only Tiwi.¹⁴ Comments on the subject range from 'I'm trying but have no real time to learn' to that of one individual who stated: "I am only here for twelve months and therefore have no intention of learning Tiwi".

The teachers experience intensive contact with the children during school hours but outside contact is minimal, apart from greeting one another in the street. Students are not encouraged to visit teachers' homes nor seek them out outside formal class hours. Two of the single males, independently, occasionally organise out-of-school activities for members of their classes, such as fishing trips or bush walking. More formally organised activities are said to meet with very poor responses from the Tiwi.¹⁵

13. A bi-lingual programme was introduced into St. Theresa's in 1975 involving oral and written Tiwi in kindergarten - grade 3, and oral English changing to written English in grade 4 and upwards while retaining Tiwi.

14. The pre-school teachers commented that their Tiwi assistants often remarked critically that certain children spoke 'too much English'.

15. Having expressed an interest in music, a class were offered piano lessons at the home of a teacher - three months later the offer was still open but not a single Tiwi had come for lessons.

Contact with pupils' parents is extremely infrequent and in the majority of instances teachers have never been introduced to the parents, whose identity is only known by consulting teaching assistants or some of the longer serving staff members.

Great respect is shown by the teachers to their Tiwi teaching assistants and it is readily acknowledged that the smooth running of the classrooms depends on them although the teacher occupies the role of disciplinarian. Class programmes are worked out in consultation with assistants with advice from the linguist. However, Tiwi teaching assistants are rarely if ever invited to the teachers' homes or involved in their school activities. In contrast Xavier's encourages staff interactions and unity between Tiwi and non-Tiwi staff by numerous meetings and daily newsletters. Also there are compulsory duties, such as night study groups. There are no equivalents in the organisation of St. Theresa's. The morning teas are usually taken in the company of other teachers, while lunches, once supervision of student meals is completed, are prepared and eaten in the privacy of one's home. Within the teaching community married teachers with or without children constitute independent living units within which can be found all the perceived necessities of social activity. However, with the exception of one couple they do not deliberately seek isolation, but enjoy the company of other married couples and single females for quiet dinners, fishing trips, barbeques and weekend activities. Apart from large parties most invitations are for coffee and relaxation. Social functions tend to be bring-your-own affairs with a pooling of food and alcohol and the host/hostess providing the music and venue. Single teachers are welcome at such functions but they rarely, as a group or individually, organise such occasions. Single males seem to be able to engage in and organise lone activities more readily than the single females. All but the three single male teachers have immediate access to motor transport which greatly increases the scope of their after-school and weekend activities. By virtue of their accommodation arrangements, 4 out of the 6 single female teachers form a social unit referred to as 'Single girls'. Sharing a common residence at 'Single Girls' (Figure 2. No. 14), which is a mission owned hostel with shared cooking and living area, these teachers organise activities which include a varying number of other single females. These outings require access to a motor cycle-overnight and day rides are organised to various beaches on the Island.¹⁶

16. Plans were being discussed for a visit to Garden Point and Snake Bay on Melville Island - staying overnight with the single teachers resident there.

'Single girls' is the most isolated from the Tiwi community of all the non-mission occupied dwellings. It is set in an area all on its own directly across the road from three houses occupied by married teachers. As a result they experience very little daily contact with the Tiwi family life of the township.

Teachers enjoy a lack of knowledge with regard to Tiwi culture and experience of Aboriginal cultures generally. Only one couple have previously taught at an Aboriginal settlement, while for the remainder this is their first experience with Aborigines. Various Tiwi practices, such as 'pukamani'¹⁷, with which they come into constant contact within the school, are observed and sympathetic avoidance is practiced, or at least attempted, with the constant guidance of students and assistants. As a group the teachers express a desire to learn about Tiwi culture but lack of time, literature and enthusiasm are the major barriers.¹⁸ The only exception is a teacher preparing a unit of study for the school curriculum; however his research is based entirely on written materials without attempting to talk to Tiwis.

Extensive correspondence is maintained with friends and families in southern Australia¹⁹, the only compelling reason for going into the commercial area of the town is to obtain mail and often even this is unnecessary as it is delivered to the schools. An individual's background and reasons for coming to Nguiu are not common knowledge nor considered a suitable subject for discussion with one another as they play no part in being a teacher within the community. The cohesive factor is that one is at present resident at Nguiu and involved in the education of Tiwi students. How this situation came about is of no consequence to the present conditions. Further, it enables intense interaction for the period of residence but permits, even necessitates, the breaking of these bonds on departure. Teachers will return to southern Australia to be teachers, having gained invaluable experience which should assist them in obtaining new appointments. Having escaped, in many cases, from previous situations of restricted opportunity, their opportunities will on return be considerably broadened.

17. This is related to a Tiwi practice of placing a taboo not only on the names of dead people, but also on all common nouns or other words which resemble these names phonologically (Osborne, C.R., 1974: 118). At any one time a certain number of christian names will be taboo - creating problems over-night for teachers who are suddenly confronted with students using new names; or new words for items - for example, bananas were being called 'moons' and umbrellas referred to as 'sticks'. As a result of a sudden death one teacher encountered 5 name changes, including the teacher's assistant's own name.

There exists within the Nguiu community another group of 'teachers' but teachers with a different set of social aims and values: these are the Christian Brothers.

The Christian Brothers

As a religious society the Christian brothers - of whom there are 3 resident at Nguiu - are dedicated to the christian education of catholic males. In this regard they are strikingly similar to the 'teachers' in that they are at Nguiu to perform the specific task of education but their conception of education is strikingly different. They are not missionaries in the sense in which the word has been used throughout this paper although by vocation they support the Church's missionary endeavours.

Xavier Boys' school is their domain and it is run entirely according to their directives. They are highly critical of the M.S.C's apparent neglect of the boys' education before their arrival two years ago. In this short space of time the school system for older boys has been entirely re-organised and an enormous amount of construction work has taken place, including new classrooms, amenities block, and a sporting complex consisting of two full-sized basketball courts, a handball court, trampolines, gym equipment and a large sand filled area for organised games. Addition to this complex are at present under construction and include a second handball court; volleyball court and kiosk/canteen facility. The entire complex has area lighting and becomes the centre of activity for the majority of Tiwi children between the hours of 7-9 every evening. The children are at liberty to organise their own games during this time under the watchful supervision of the brothers.

Living near the school premises (Figure 2, No. 8) the brothers' daily lives are organised around its activities. Apart from formal classes, staff and administrative matters this involved evening activities such as study groups, music, art, organised games and films. All students must

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18. It was argued that the falsity of Tiwi 'natural science' as given in myth and stories should be demonstrated to the students by practical demonstration of the empirical biological world, for example, the notion that 'male turtles lay larger eggs than female turtles, hence the variation in observable egg sizes'.
 19. Teachers are not isolated from their social spheres in the south - just by choice slightly removed; re-entry can be achieved at any time by simply flying south for the weekend.

attend the school in the evenings for an hour of organised activity followed by an equivalent period of relaxed sport. Education, for the brothers, is more than the daily lessons, it necessitates personal involvement in the overall development of each student; in short it is a whole culture.

The brothers are well aware that the school and the process of education should be in tune with the wishes of the entire community. The difficulty is finding out exactly what the community does want - it is extremely easy to be convinced that all actions 'done in the best interests of the community' are what the community as a whole desires. It was indicated to me that the school doesn't have a direct mandate from the people, but that it proceeds under the principle that what is being offered is genuinely what the people want as complaints or alternative schemes have not been suggested.²⁰

Responsibility is now said to rest with the community to offer more than lip-service to these principles since it has failed to oppose them. It must be prepared to support the boys by actively encouraging them to succeed in their studies. The development of a school spirit is desired and envisaged as a christian value to replace the rivalries inherent in the kinship system which have no place within the grounds of the school. On a different note the senior classes of girls at St. Theresa's are organised according to compatible kinship groupings to avoid unnecessary creation of tension in the classrooms - this division is decided, without outside directives, by the Tiwi teaching assistants and has succeeded in eliminating playground brawls among the girls. However, the brothers feel that while such a system may prove useful with 'jealous females vying for the affections of a single male', its recognition implies the outright encouragement of non-Christian behaviour within the schools and is to be strongly discouraged. The Christian brothers do not utilise kinship relationships within their school. Financial support must also be forthcoming for all activities organised by the school as these are an essential part in the overall process of education. Such activities involve

20. It was further suggested that if this was not what the community wanted, then the brothers would have to leave the Island as it is the only education system they are able to offer.



Plate 1. Declan Apuatimi
Tiwi craftsman



Plate 3. Boys' school outing using Council vehicles.



Plate 2. Traditional wood carving class at Xavier Boys' School.

school, as an independent body, deals directly with Council, Catholic education authorities and government departments. The Local Council is kept fully informed of all activities and developments at the Boys' school, although it has no direct voice in its day-to-day operations. Skilfully, the Christian brothers have been able to forge and foster links of good relations within the community to the extent that they are respected and given a virtual 'free-hand' in the running of the school.

Minimal relations exist between other religious²³ and the brothers apart from attendance at church services. They are essentially guests on a M.S.C. mission but as such have created their own, in many ways isolated, sphere of influence within which they are the sole decision makers. Next year they propose to open a canteen to replace the present arrangement for school lunches. At the moment each student receives daily: milk, fresh fruit (if available from Darwin) and a lunch consisting of either stew, chops or boiled eggs at the cost of \$3.00 per student per week. This amount is deducted, with community approval, from the government family allowances. The introduction of a school canteen and associated night kiosk are seen by the Christian brothers as essential steps in the advancement of the whole community. Although the final details have not been worked out the effects will be far reaching, depending on the nature of the food sold. This development gains greater significance as it is in opposition to an alternative. Construction is about to commence on a new mission/community staff kitchen, the present supplier of these lunches, in the new proposed commercial centre of town (Figure 2 No. 21).²⁴ This project could and most likely will hasten the withdrawal of supervised school lunches which are seen by many to be nutritionally essential for a large proportion of the students.

Most other teachers come and go on short contracts but the Christian brothers remain. Even though individual brothers must be replaced the continuity of their employment and control is ensured.

23. I am using RELIGIOUS as a noun to denote those who are members of religious orders.

24. One reason for this new location was that in future it could be converted to a restaurant, run by private Tiwi enterprise. Location of present kitchen in Figure 2, No. 18.

Contractors

There were, at the time of my study, nine contract workers, all adult males, engaged in two major building projects for the Catholic Church at Nguiu: the nurses' quarters, located near the hospital overlooking the entrance to Aspley Strait (Figure 2 No. 6), and the new Bima Wear²⁵ factory located in Gsell Gardens (Figure 2 No. 20). These men are not included in the mission census figures nor are they regarded by the teachers or the community employees to be part of their number. This attitude is one of historical circumstances, unknown to the present contractors and the majority of the non-Tiwi community.

As a general rule the male contractors are regarded by white population and mission authorities as at the very best 'necessary evils'. Performing what are considered to be vital and essential construction work, their presence is tolerated but involvement in any social activities is blatantly discouraged. Stereotyped as foul-mouthed, immoral drunkards, their company is rarely sought by members of the white community. Contact exists only between those who are involved in other building activities at Nguiu and the contractors. These visits, outside work hours, usually occur at the contractors' camp as opposed to the employees' house. In the mid 1970s, at the height of construction work, a separate contractors camp was established outside the main settlement. Curfews were imposed on their presence in town after dark unless specifically invited to the home of a white staff member. This stigma of separation is still alive in the minds of many who were subjected to it. Such moves were justified in the name of moral decency as contract workers were felt to be indiscrete about their relationships with Tiwi women. They were also seen as uncaring in their choice of drinking partners by openly encouraging Tiwis to drink with them. Married contractors accompanied by their wives were treated in the same way as the single contractors.

Although no longer physically separated from the township: as the contractors now live in the 'villa' (Figure 2 No. 22 near a grouping

25. A dress-making industry established in 1969.

of non-Tiwi residences No. 7), they continue to be socially distanced. Perforce relying solely on one another for company they have become independent and fully self-sufficient. Frequent visits are made to visit families in Darwin and occasionally wives visit the Island. However the creation of a family unit in no ways makes them socially acceptable. Contract workers remain within their 'camp' venturing out only to attend the regular open air community films and occasional basketball games.

Community Employment

This title covers four of the major employers on the Island: the Nguui Council, the Ullintjinni Association, the Housing Association and Independent Industries.

Independent Industries include Tiwi Design, a silk screening industry started in 1969, Tiwi Pottery established in 1973, Tiwi Pima Art in 1977 and Bima Wear, a dress-making industry founded in 1969.

TABLE 7: 'Independent Industries' Employees

	Tiwi	Non-Tiwi
Tiwi Design	8	1
Tiwi Pima Art	1	1
Tiwi Pottery	3	1
Bima Wear	14	3
	<u>26</u>	<u>6</u>
	—	—

All four industries were encouraged initially by mission personnel with the intention of handing them over to Tiwi partnerships, as is the case with Tiwi Design and Tiwi Pottery who employ technical advisers to assist with marketing and production. The Aboriginal Arts Board subsidises these advisers. Pima Art at present has negotiated a grant to construct a museum on the outskirts of Town²⁶ and employs a technical

26. The Museum was to have been established in the commercial area, at the centre of the town. However elder Tiwi males felt that this location would provide too many distractions with females continually walking past.

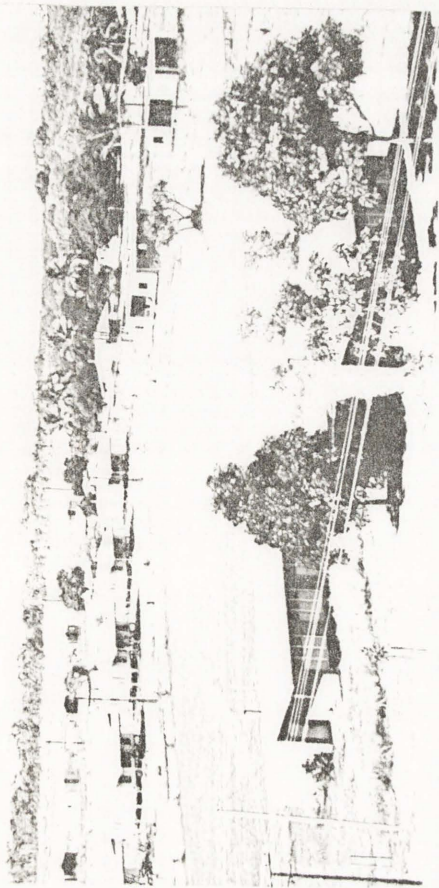


Plate 4.
TIWI HOUSES,



Plate 5.

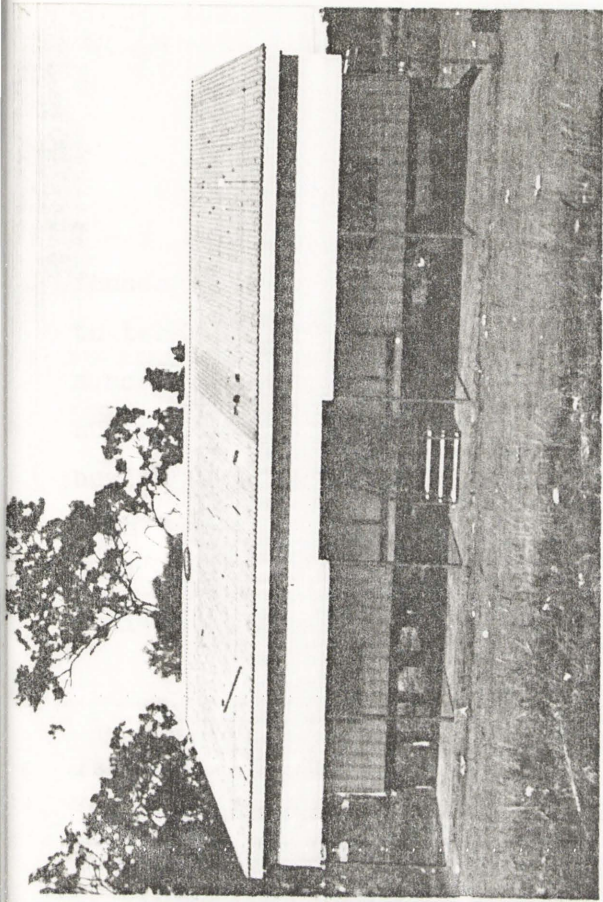


Plate 6. **JUBILEE PARK**

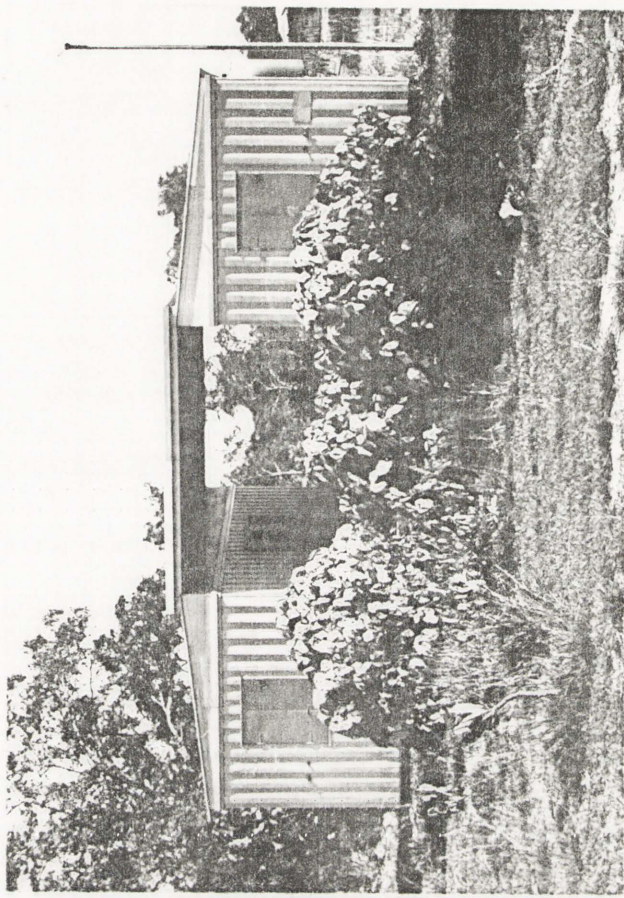


Plate 7. Sigal House

...cyclone proof and made of steel, well ventilated and easy to hose out....

During 1978-79 the Association proposes to complete between 7 - 9 houses as well as structural renovations to the hospital's foundations. At present a single 'log-cabin' home is being constructed to test its suitability for community needs. The Housing Association employs a non-Tiwi manager; one male non-Tiwi builder; 13 Tiwi workers; an O.L.S.H. nun and 4 - 6 Tiwi women who act as a home management team by preparing newly completed houses for occupation and by offering regular assistance with house cleaning. For such work all schedules are worked out by the Tiwi women involved, with the sister acting as their means of transport and indirectly providing a community 'taxi' service.

The Nguiu Ullintjinni²⁷ Association Inc. is the economic arm of the Island with an aim to creat profits. These profits are then ploughed back into the community to generate further employment opportunities for Tiwis. Early in 1978 the Council and mission gardens were jointly handed over to the Ullintjinni Association to run. At the time of my survey a supervisor had been appointed and subsequently commenced duties in July.

In February 1978 the D.A.A. transferred 18 positions of subsidised Tiwi employment from the mission to the Council, Ullintjinni and Housing Associations. There positions were for tradesmen and assistants. However it was discovered on transference that the persons who occupied these positions were in actual fact either untrained or female domestics.

27. translated as 'fun', 'people enjoying themselves', a Tiwi word. Pronounced as 'Ull-in-gini'.

TABLE 8: The Ullintjinni Association Employees

	Non-Tiwi	Tiwi
Store	1	9
Garage	1	6
Bakery	2	4
Garden	- (appointed after 1-6-78)	6
Fishing Project	1	4
	—	—
	5	29
	—	—
<u>TOTAL</u>		

The Association is a corporate body, of which all Tiwis are members, governed by a 12 member all-Tiwi executive. This executive is elected annually at a community meeting. To assist in its operations the association employs an accountant/manager in Darwin and numerous local enterprise managers - who collectively form a board of managers which is answerable to the Nguiu community.

As previously stated the council is responsible for the provision of essential town services. All non-Tiwi supervisors are engaged to train Tiwi assistants to be able to perform the work themselves - a 'shadow' technique is employed in this training. Under this system a supervisor is allotted either an individual Tiwi or a small group of Tiwi who it is then his responsibility to train. This 'individual-linking' relationship makes it relatively easy for the community to incorporate the supervisor in terms of their kinship, each simply becomes a member of the 'family' of their trainee. The major difficulty in implementing this system is that the supervisors employed are 'workers' not 'educators', all of whom have a strong sense of pride in doing their own work and would much rather get a job completed than explain the details of the task.

European values, work ethics, expectations and standards are imposed by these supervisors. When Tiwis fail to comply to these expectations, their behaviour is dismissed simply as 'they-are-not-capable'. My discussions of Tiwi self-motivation as an alternative means of achieving the same end met, without fail, with the response 'but you don't work with them'.

Lack of motivation and group cultural pressures are continually blamed for poor performances. Frustration is echoed by the following:-

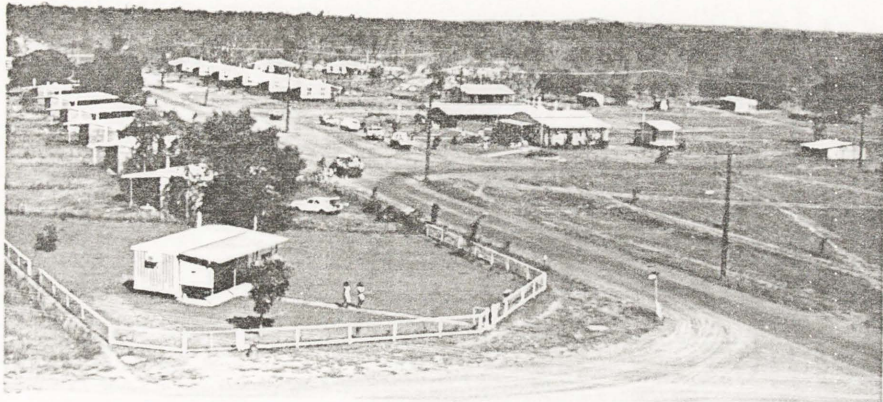


Plate 12. Main Street of Ngiuu looking west. Clinic in foreground and 'new' commercial area across road, near bakery and administration block.



Plate 14. Main Street of Ngiuu looking east towards Aspley Strait. Club in foreground and Town Hall opposite.



Plate 13. Ullintjinni Store

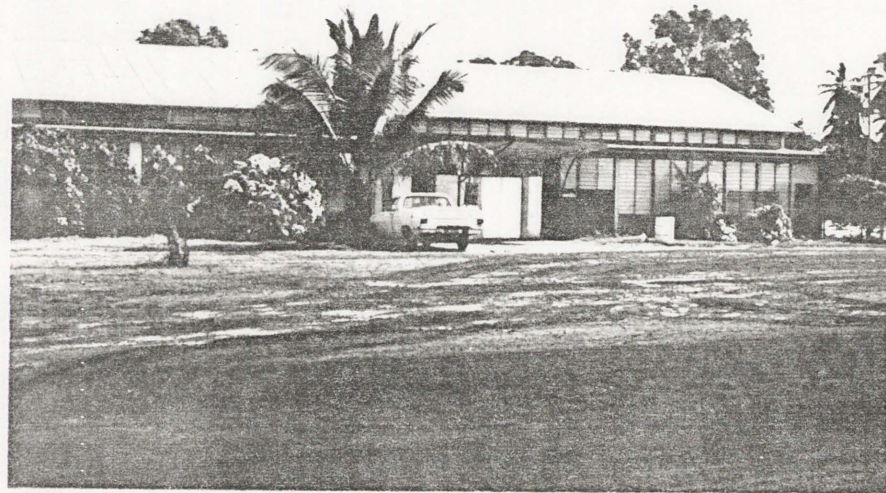


Plate 15. Town Hall.

The Children

16	belong to the community employees
4	belong to the teachers
—	
20	<u>TOTAL:</u>
—	

Four of the 16 and one of the 4 (giving a total of 5) daily attend the pre-school. According to the various reports they tend to form an independent association within a pre-school of 80 children with only 2 of their number regularly participating in most activities. The three remaining teachers' children all attend school on the Island: 2 in kindergarten and one in grade 6 at the Boys' school. All of the remaining school-aged children are engaged in school of the air classes. This effectively isolates them from regular interaction with Tiwi children. Education of these non-Tiwi children has become a real issue in past months within the community. Briefly it has been proposed to establish a composite class within one of the local schools with English as a first language, staffed by one tutor. Such a move would require council and community approval as well as Catholic education and local co-operation. Most community employees as parents regard the present teachers as inadequately trained to cope with the educational needs of their children, hence the withdrawal of a number of children earlier this year from St. Theresa's and their subsequent placement on the 'school of the air programmes'. Disruption to a child's education is seen as an inhibiting factor in residence at Nguui. Either children are sent to boarding schools in Southern Australia or the entire family must return to ensure adequate education.

Another factor is of concern: mothers wish to retain the present arrangement while fathers, on the whole, support the new proposal. Why? Living in an isolated situation, these women, who are not employed, have successfully diverted their energies into their childrens' education and removal of this outlet would require a re-assessment of their role within the community.

The following consideration provides the background necessary to be able to construct an adequate and accurate picture of the present white involvement in the Nguui community.

The 'White Community'

The teachers and the community employees combine to form a sub-community within the Nguiu community - the 'white community'. This community presents a wall of solidarity when challenged and is unshakeable in its united conviction that their presence is essential for the continued advancement of Tiwi society. Without them schools, essential services, construction work and electrical generators would cease to function. They are the technicians, educators and advisors who bring to the community as part of their resource-makeup a knowledge of the world beyond Nguiu - a knowledge that is held to be essential if the Tiwi are to be taught how to survive in today's economic climate. One reason why this knowledge is essential, and often overlooked by the actual participants is because the town that they will encounter is physically that of this "outside world" of greater Australia.

91.4% of the white community are employed on either a full or part-time basis within the township. Of the 8.6% (a total of 6) who are not engaged in such employment all are married females: 4 are involved in caring full time for their families, while the other 2 have opted, for reasons of study and of not wanting full-time employment to reject the work available to them. Ability to save money, prompted by this extremely high rate of employment, is a major drawcard in attracting prospective employees to work in northern Australia. On the average a member can expect to save between \$5,000.00 and \$8,000.00 a year, while not restricting purchases. It was suggested that a teacher, who really desired to maximise savings by reducing expenditure, could reasonably expect to accumulate a sum of \$10,000.00 in one teaching year. Even those teachers and single staff - who live extremely comfortably during their residency - in the course of their short stays tend to acquire personal belongings such as stereo equipment and motor bikes as well as a sizeable bank balance.

Major areas of expenditure are entertainment and food. Members of the white community on average visit Darwin about once every two months with costs averaging at least \$150.00 to \$200.00 per person for a weekend, excluding the purchase of any major items. Weekends commence late Friday afternoon and end with the return flight early on Monday morning, as there are no commercial flights from Darwin to Bathurst Island, only charter flights on Sunday. In an attempt to reduce the cost of living, a food

cooperative called 'Yinkiti' - the Tiwi word for food - was formed. This cooperative is organised by and for the sole benefit of the white community. It enables the purchase of food and alcohol at lower prices than are available from the community store. Resulting prices are slightly higher than in Darwin because of the additional freight costs incurred.

Most accommodation is owned by the Catholic Church which then allocates according to needs and demand. It is basically of three types - hostels for single men and women and one and three bedroom houses for families - all are fully furnished and self-contained. Singles' hostels are of two types: those with shared living and cooking facilities and similar units of a complete bed-sitter arrangement. All hostels possess cooling fans while houses have air-conditioning. As a result a number of houses are 'closed up' - that is windows and doors remain fastened to restrict dust entry and maintain internal temperatures. No member of this community pays local council service fees (\$5.00 per week), electricity, water rates or rent - all of which are seen as necessary bonuses for working under extreme tropical conditions.

Nguiu is by no means an isolated township. Being only 15 minutes by air from Darwin, serviced by three flights daily - except on Sunday - and numerous private charters, as well as two barge companies which arrive approximately once every three-four weeks for items that cannot be air-lifted. Full postal services operate each day of the week; newspapers are delivered daily; television reception from Darwin is good; and two-way radio contact is maintained with aero-medical services, Catholic mission headquarters; and Connair services. During the 7 weeks from June 1 - July 20, the settlement had no fewer than 105 white visitors in official and unofficial capacities. Approximately 85% required at least one night's accommodation while the average stay was between 3-8 days, varying from half hour stops by tourists from the barge to extended stays with families of 5 weeks. Official visitors were largely government departmental officers (especially health, education and Department of Aboriginal Affairs) as well as the local member of parliament, and the police from both Darwin and Garden Point.

In addition it is necessary to spell out two points. Firstly only two of the 43 adults discussed here as members of the white community are directly concerned with or engaged in the community development of Nguiu. Both are 'retired' businessmen who have at Nguiu found a niche for their

skills. In this way they have effectively built for themselves a role of moving out of direct control to that of acting as adviser in administrative matters. These 2 and their families prefer the company of selected Tiwis, who are often entertained at their houses, to that of other 'staff members'. Their behaviour elicits some comments of being 'black happy', they are often highly critical of the behaviour of others, a major annoyance being the apparent slowness of council supervisors in assisting in the completion of community projects: such as securing water supplies, and wiring of houses. Only one other employee appears to be "outside" the 'white community' but having established his family, they are now preparing to engage in social activities as they please. The wife commented, to me, that on the previous evening her husband's Tiwi assistant and his wife had arrived after tea for a social visit - bringing some beer and watching television with them. She was then unsure as to how to get about repaying the unexpected visit. To what extent is this 'white community' a product of the Catholic Church's mission activities within the Nguiu community? This question and the inter-actions between the missionaries and the 'white community' will be considered following a discussion of overall mission involvement.

The Mission

Missionaries are those persons concerned with the pastoral care and human development of the Aboriginal people at Nguiu. Apart from the priestly functions of conducting mass²⁸ and administering the sacraments the work engaged in is not essentially specialised. This is not to assert that missionaries do not, or are not qualified to, perform specialised work such as teaching, administration or health care. But on the contrary their 'Mission' for the Church does not require that they employ such skills, merely that they adapt to the conditions encountered and perform any seemingly necessary duties. For purposes of discussion this unit can be subdivided into religious and non-religious missionaries, each being examined to ascertain their essential and distinguishing features.

28. Masses are performed twice daily from Monday-Friday at 6.45am and 7.15pm; Saturday morning; and at 9am and 7pm on Sunday. Weekly novenas are conducted on Tuesday evenings. Masses are usually performed in the Church with the exception of one morning service which alternates weekly between the Convent and the Christian Brothers' residence, and special services such as funerals or confirmations when a large attendance is anticipated or encouraged are held at outdoor locations such as the parks, school or basketball courts.

Before arriving at Nguiu many might feel that it would be easy to distinguish the missionaries from the rest of the population. This attitude assumes that they are simply the ones in clerical garments. Apart from the habits of the sisters this criterion does not extend very far in achieving its intended aim. Possibly the wearing of religious insignia such as a ring or cross may distinguish them but this too falls short of our aim as it would succeed only in differentiating the Christian brothers from other male teachers. Accommodation is possibly the best criterion to invoke for all religious missionaries live in either the presbytery or the convent. Non-religious missionaries occupy the single self-contained units (Figure 2, Nos. 4, 16 and 5), although two single males share facilities with two single male teachers (Figure 2, Nos 13, Plate 21), one female sleeps at 'single girls' and a married couple occupy a small cottage. Privacy is a major consideration in the allocation of such accommodation to staff.

Mission workers²⁹ are seen as releasing the nuns, priests and brothers from some of their everyday burdens so that they might have a little more energy and freedom to go about their Christian work. They are not thought of as evangelisers, which is stressed as being a highly specialised task.³⁰ But their major contribution to the Church's efforts, apart from actual physical work, is that they might be able to achieve something by setting an example. Mission workers tend to be people who desire to live in a community as part of the Church. At Nguiu circumstances permit them to undertake their work without the restrictions of a 9am-5pm time schedule, rather their occupations subtly demand flexible working hours.

Officially, lay missionaries are workers employed by the mission who choose not to accept a salary but only their keep and some spending money. Recent adoption of a suitable wage level for lay missionaries has resulted in increased flexibility with salaries seen as a personal contract between the Director of Missions and the intending lay missionary.³¹ Contracts, three months trial period of service, lay

29. Titles are sometimes erroneous, or have too many connotations. For this reason I have adopted the term 'mission worker' as opposed to the Catholic Church's official term 'lay missionary'. Many of the mission employees dislike being referred to as a 'lay missionary', stressing that they are Church or mission employees.

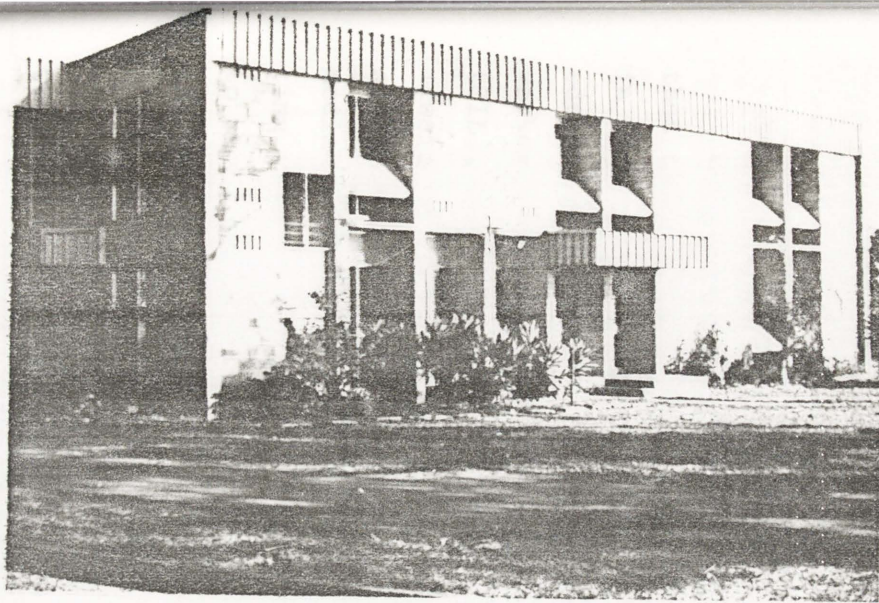


Plate 19. New convent (Figure 2, No. 1).



Plate 21. New single mens (Figure 2 No. 13).

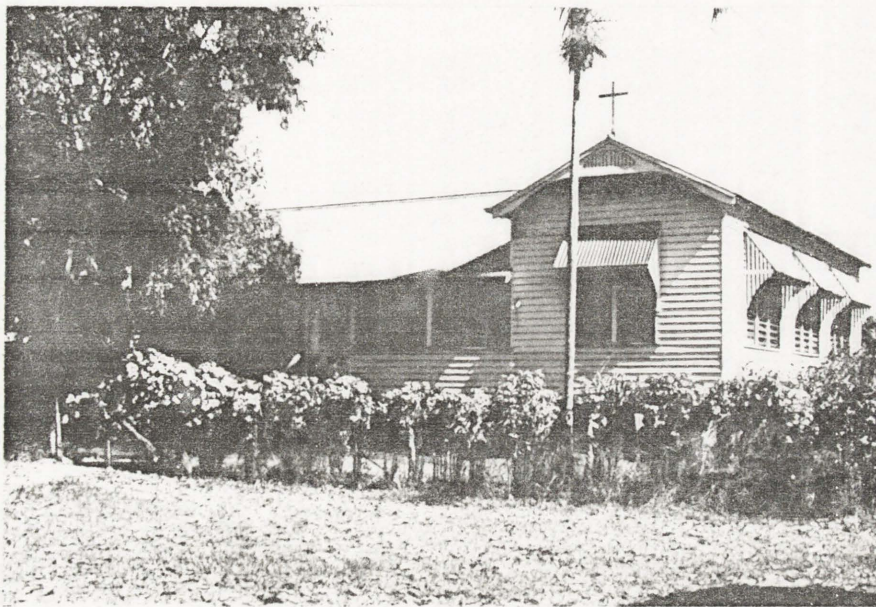


Plate 20. Old convent (Fig. 2 No. 17).



Plate 22. European house, Jubilee Park (Fig. 2 No. 9)

Lack of young, active M.S.C. brothers has forced the society to employ an increasing number of lay mission workers to adequately replace them. Referring back to Table 1 (page 27) it will be noted that in 1978

: there are 5 religious brothers: this statistic is composed of 3 Christians and 2 M.S.C. brothers, both of whom are retired from active work. One is engaged full-time as an amateur historian for the missions, while the other whose health is failing is completely free to determine his involvement within the Nguiu community. Both have extensive personal experience of missions and Bathurst Island in particular. This has resulted in the development of lasting relationships with the Tiwi and they are not involved in the social activities of the white community or of other mission personnel. Residing at the presbytery they are self-reliant, independent and mobile, since both have ready access to vehicles.

The sisters all reside at the convent, a two story building which was recently completed replacing the older much smaller convent built in the 1940s. They are employed in the following areas:

Education	4
Health	2
Bima Wear	1
Housing Association	1
D.R.L.T.C. follow-up	<u>1</u>
	9
	--

Comparing figures for 1969 and 1978 (Table 3, page 32) it can be noted that there has been a decrease in the number of mission personnel involved in both education and health. Overall there are 26 persons involved in education: of this 17 are teachers, 3 are Christian brothers, 1 mission worker, 4 nuns and a linguist from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), who assists with the bi-lingual programme. Thus, there are only 5 missionaries involved in the present education set-up. These are the administrative staff of St. Theresa's, the principal and secretary, the media-centre librarian, infants school teacher and one auxiliary part-time assistant. Missionaries have withdrawn from active class participation to those position of administrators and advisors. St. Theresa responds actively and enthusiastically to the community's wants.

Excellent relationships are maintained between the school and the Council, who are consulted before any activity is commenced. It is felt that the school must listen to the community and place itself at all times

in a learning situation.

Health care in the community is organised on the principle of 'not using whites for anything that the Tiwis can do'. Two qualified nursing religious sisters, a qualified nursing mission worker and a part-time nurse are all employed by the hospital and infant health clinic as resource personnel for the male and female Tiwi health workers. Interestingly, on Bathurst Island in the early 1960s lay missionary nursing sisters were required to be called 'nurse' and not 'sister', a title which was reserved for the religious sisters whether nurses or not. Confusion resulted among the Tiwi as the only 'nurses' they had had experience of were the nursing aides at the Darwin hospital thus equating the term with one who was totally untrained. This complicated patient care as many strongly insisted that the lay missionary could not help them, 'but you only nurse', and demanded to be attended to by the 'sister'. This title differentiation as a means of separating the lay mission workers from the religious sisters resulted in more confusion than order. It was an attempted denial of the specific qualifications which had hitherto solely belonged to the nuns. However, greater reliance on non-religious as nurses has seen a reversal of this trend.

The missionaries regret the loss of contact with patients by moving from this sphere but it is seen as essential in promoting Tiwi responsibility. This is not to suggest that the health workers are left alone to handle the health problems of the community. On the contrary the working-relationship is one of shared responsibility between all staff members with problems being approached co-operatively. Minimal involvement of white staff is encouraged but their need for work satisfaction and the practice of various medical skills is also acknowledged. In this light the health services maximise Tiwi involvement and it is the non-Tiwi staff who must conform to the routines of a Tiwi run health service and not vice versa.

Minor cuts, boils, burns, infected ears³² and chronic chest infections

32. The incidence of infected ears, perforated eardrums, and associated deafness is extremely high at Nguiu. In a personal communication I was informed that an E.N.T. specialist from the Darwin hospital was planning to conduct research into the causes of this recurrent health problem in 1979.

constitute the major problems encountered daily. The attached sheet 'Clinic and Hospital - Bathurst Island' clearly sets out the organisation of health services within the community.³³

This demonstrates the growing acceptance of community and individual responsibility in relation to health care. No longer is the hospital a 24 hour dispensary and human repair centre operating from the convent. Members of the white community and missionaries are not encouraged to avail themselves of these health services, in many instances they are blatantly discouraged from doing so. This stand is justified on the grounds that such persons can easily obtain adequate medical facilities in Darwin. Personnel who continually disregard accepted hospital procedures are viewed as potential disruptions to the Tiwi oriented and managed medical services.

Encouragement of Tiwi responsibility and initiatives extends to involvement in the Church. An Aboriginal nun, from Port Keats, is engaged full-time in the follow-up programme of the Daly River Leadership Training Centre (D.R.L.T.C.). This training centre is a corner-stone of the M.S.C's reoriented evangelical thrust within the missions.

It seeks to develop and encourage an Aboriginal interpretation, acceptance and evangelisation of Catholicism. Potential christian leaders are selected by the Tiwis to attend the courses conducted at Daly River. Two courses at the Centre and one three day visit by the staff to Nguiu have been conducted. The Centre functions to encourage...

*...Effective leadership should function at the local level...
...Trained leaders must have as their aim not only to liberate, to instruct and set people thinking and acting and reflecting, but to assist as many as possible to become leaders. These leaders in turn adopt the same attitude and so, in cell fashion, leadership multiplies (Leary, 1976: 7).*

This aim reflects Pope Paul VI's statement 'that every person who has been evangelised must become an evangeliser', if we equate the words 'leadership' and 'evangelised':

-
33. Bathurst Island Information Sheet No. 18/78, Tuesday 20 June 1978. This 1-2 page newsletter was commenced in early 1978 by the Community Adviser as a means of circulating items of local interest for both Tiwi and whites. The acting town clerk in 1977-78 attempted to prepare a more informative 'local newspaper' but problems with copy machines forced the project to be abandoned.

Clinic and Hospital - Bathurst Island

The Out Patient Clinic at Bathurst Island is staffed and organised by Tiwi Health Workers.

Sister Margaret: Clinical Resource Sister for Tiwi Health Workers,
Morning Clinic: MONDAY - FRIDAY

Sister Hellen: Sister-in-Charge of Tiwi Health Workers on going Education, and Resource Sister for T.H.W. pm Clinic.

Sister Moira: In Charge of Maternal and Child Health, Infant Health Centre, Kerinaia Highway.
This is a Healthy Baby Clinic. Routine immunizations are given from here. Routine ante-natal checks are also done at this Clinic.

Sister Hennie: Co-ordinator of Health Work.

Clinic House: 8.0 a.m. - 10.0 a.m.) Monday - Friday
4.0 p.m. - 5.0 p.m.)

Emergencies anytime.

Weekend - ONLY matters of an urgent nature.

Clinic times - as above - except Sunday, which is 9.30 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.

There are ALWAYS Tiwi Health Workers on duty at the Hospital. Please see HEALTH WORKERS FIRST. If necessary, they will refer you to the Trained Nurse on Duty.

If you particularly want to see a trained nurse, please ask the Health Worker.

At Evenings and Night Time, please ring bell at Hospital for attention.

Doctor's Day: Is every THIRD TUESDAY. If you wish to see the Doctor, please see Sister at least the week beforehand.

Anyone who has any allergies to drugs, who has had any serious illnesses or operations and/or who are on medication at present PLEASE have a referral letter.

Anyone who is referred on to a Doctor from the Health Centre, or who is evacuated PLEASE report back to the Health Centre on your return to the Island.

Some Rules of the Health Centre:

- 1) NO SMOKING.
- 2) Anyone who does not complete treatment can be refused treatment in the future.
- 3) Except in life-threatening circumstances, people under the influence of alcohol will not be treated.

Some Advice:THE STORE SELLS

Glycerin, Mangoplasm, Cough Mixture, Vicks Formula 44-C, Pain Tablets: Aspro, Panadol, Codral, Disprin, Panadol Mixture, Heat Rub, Cotton Wool, Bandages, Dressing Strip, Band Aids, Adhesive Plaster, Strepsils Throat Lozenges, Savlon Cream, Zinc Cream, Dexsal, Surarine Liquid Sweetener, Vicks Vaporub, Staminade, Vitamin C Tablets, Napisan, Milton Antibacterial Solution, Dettol, Vitamin C Drinks - Ribena Blackcurrant Juice and Delrosa Rose Hip Syrup.

School Survey: This is done three times a year - Weight, Height, Haemoglobin, etc. Subsequent treatment and Follow-up. If you have any objections to your child having this - please put it in writing and give it to us. THANKYOU,

HEALTH WORKERS.

...This is the proof, the test of the genuineness of his own conversion. It is inconceivable that a man who has received the Word and surrendered himself to the Kingdom should not himself become a witness and proclaimer of the truth. (Evangelii Nuntiandi, 1976: 24).

The Centre is evangelical in conception and Orientation. Its impetus is described as follows:

...We are facing the fact that Aborigines have to live in the world of today, that there are, have been and will be influences at work that demand adjustments and modifications they must be able to act from a position of security and confidence in their own resources and identity, a well founded pride in being what they are. At this basic level we believe the Faith must play a fundamental part. It must replace the spiritual soul they have lostWithout this soul - replacement they have no identity, no security, no dignity, no confidence. They become completely exposed and undefended before the high pressure materialism they now find on all sides. (Leary, 1976: 7B).

All group discussions at the Centre are conducted in Tiwi. Problems of concern to the Tiwi such as the importance of the extended family and the need for its involvement in education, the loss of language among the young and decline of rituals form the topics of discussion.³⁴

These 'Christian leaders' are involved in all facets of life in the Ngiuu community. Encouraged by the support of the nun they meet regularly to discuss ways in which they can translate what they have experienced into meaningful terms for other Tiwi. As a result of these courses and their concern for the loss of the traditional ways a married couple offered their services to the Girls' school as unpaid dance instructors. They have since been employed as part-time instructors by the school. Each class receives weekly instruction in Tiwi dancing blended with Christianity and Tiwi etiquette.

The major area of impact of the D.R.L.T.C. is through the 'Mother's Club'. This is an association of all the Tiwi women in the community, which meets weekly to discuss, in Tiwi, local issues, play bingo and

34. The first course, 19 September - 14 October 1977 had as its aim to discuss a) Tiwi traditional society "in order to see what they thought made them Tiwi people", and
b) to examine the new society in which they were now living. How were they coping with it? What was their participation in it? Report on Course by Fr. J. Leary, 1978.

raise money to maintain a jointly owned vehicle which is used for bush outings by the women. An inner circle of 13 women with an annually elected president form the executive of the Club. This executive is responsible for organising meetings, arranging outings and ensuring that the Council and Community Adviser are informed of all decisions made by the Club.³⁵ The Mother's Club functions as the moral conscience of the community, being vocal in its opposition to the disruptions caused to the community by the drinking activities of males. Non-Tiwis usually only attend the meetings when they wish to address it regarding matters which they feel must be drawn to the womens' attention. The Club is strongly Christian in outlook, which is largely the result of the intensive contact with the nuns the women experienced under the dormitory system before it ended in 1973. It provides a forum for female interaction and the discussion of community and Church activities. Encouraged initially by mission personnel this forum has developed into a major decision-making group within the community.

Secular as well as Christian leadership and responsibility has been encouraged by the Church. In 1975 the Community Advisor and Margaret Valadian³⁶ commissioned the International Board of Management (I.B.M.) to organise a seminar in basic management skills. As a result a seminar dealing with community planning, "project planning, evaluation and implementation, the importance of groups and group activities, and how to influence and arrange co-operative community effort"³⁷ was conducted at Nguiu for the Tiwi councillors. During June 1978 a course entitled 'Office Procedure and Administration' was conducted at Nguiu by a husband and wife team from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs under the Commonwealth government's N.E.A.T. scheme. This course offered an opportunity for selected Tiwis employed by the Council, Ullintjinni Association and Independent Industries to learn about effective organisation of wages, invoices, handling of cash and general business management³⁸. Responses were described as encouraging and future courses are being planned.

35. In July 1978 the Mother's Club ruled against a decision made by the Council and Beer Club executive. It had been decided to increase from 4 to 6 cans the amount of beer allowed to be bought from the Club, per man on a Saturday. The Mother's Club disapproved of this action and promptly informed the Council. At the next meetings of both the Council and the Club executive, who are responsible for the Club's organisation, it was decided to return to the original situation of 4 cans of beer.

36. Margaret Valadian is an Aboriginal social worker who holds Master's degrees in education communications and social welfare.

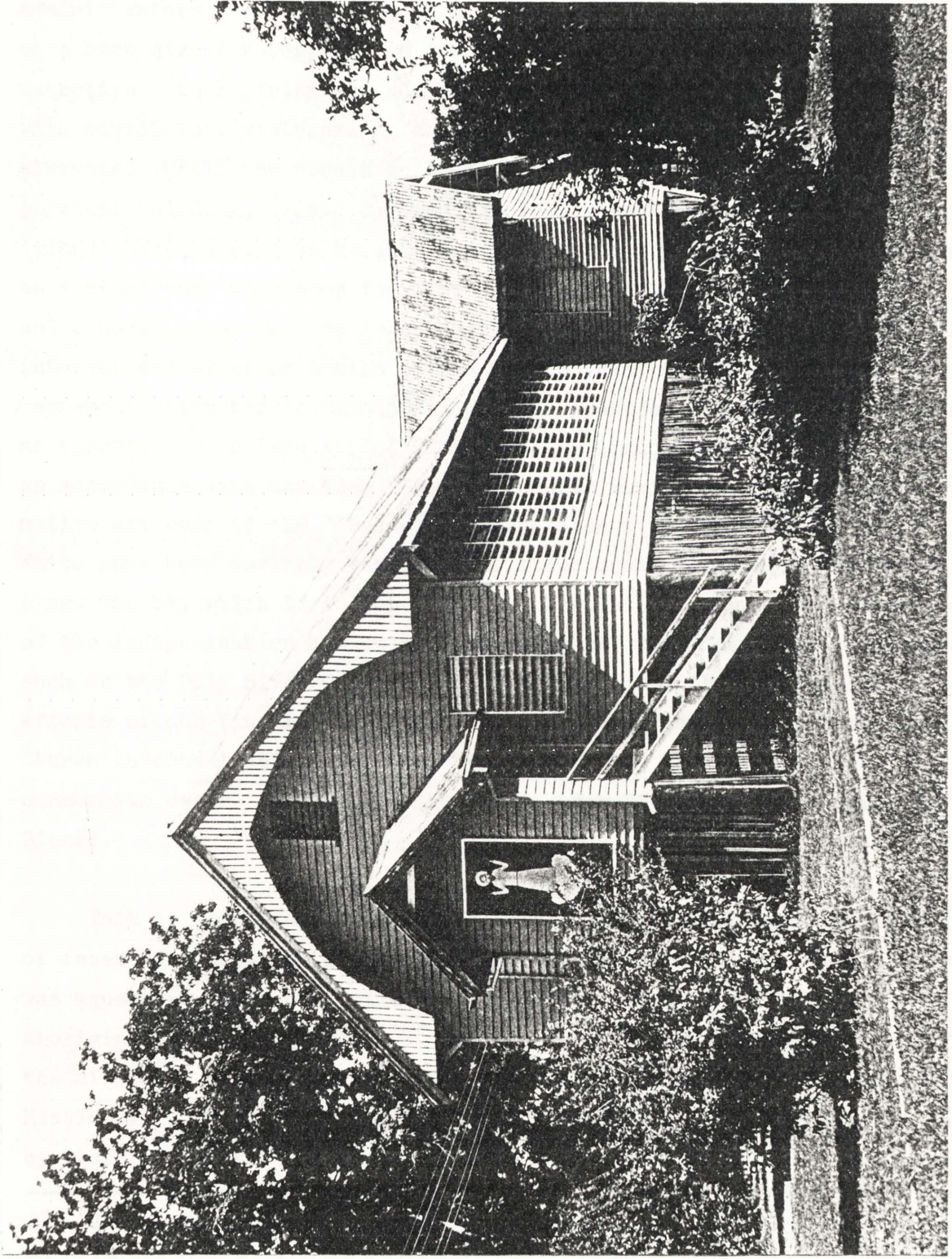


Plate 23. Catholic Church, Nguuiu. Completed 1941.

Although 98% of the Tiwi population are baptised Catholics, this is not to suggest that Catholicism has been indigenised by the Tiwi. Historical circumstance of Bathurst Island being a Catholic mission and the associated forceful, effective control exercised by the religious administrators over the indigenous population, especially the children, have been directly responsible for producing this high percentage of Catholics. Catholicism was administered as a 'package-deal' arrangement with civilising, westernising and modernising being essential and vital elements. Until the recent building programme the Church, as a physical building, (Plate 23) was the only community facility on the Island. The large area beneath the Church was utilised at various times as a classroom, work-shop for Tiwi Design, storage facility, seminar and council rooms for the local Council, among other activities. The interior and exterior design of the Church (Plates 24, 25, 27 and 29) represent attempted accommodation of Tiwi features while still retaining an essentially western styled Church. This inclusion of Tiwi art was in accordance with the idea "that the Church must encourage and adopt native art even if the "'Paganism' associated with the art must go".³⁹ White ants have severely weakened the structural supports of the Church. A new Church, which it is hoped by Church authorities will be representative of the indigenisation now being encouraged and facilitated by programmes such as the Daly River Centre, rather than reflect the accommodative efforts of non-Tiwi missionaries, is to be constructed by the Catholic Church in consultation with the Tiwis. It is to be located in the new commercial centre of the town (Figure 2, near Nos. 20, 21 and Administration Block).

Talk of Aboriginal land rights in the early 1970s generated feelings of insecurity among many missionaries. Crown land, on which the mission was squatting as it had failed to renew its lease, was to become Aboriginal land. Resolution No. 13 of the 1978 C.M.C. is indicative of the mission's desire to retain its physical presence within the community. Missionaries felt challenged and wanted assurance. This position is echoed by Bishop O'Loughlin:

37. I.B.M. Quarterly, December 1975, Volume 2, No. 4: 2.

38. At the completion of the course one non-Tiwi community employee remarked on the change that had occurred in the Tiwi trainee - indicated that 'it was pretty bad that the Tiwi was now more confident and talkative as a result of contact with these strangers, after all the efforts that they had made to encourage such interaction.'

39. Luzbetak, 1963: 341.

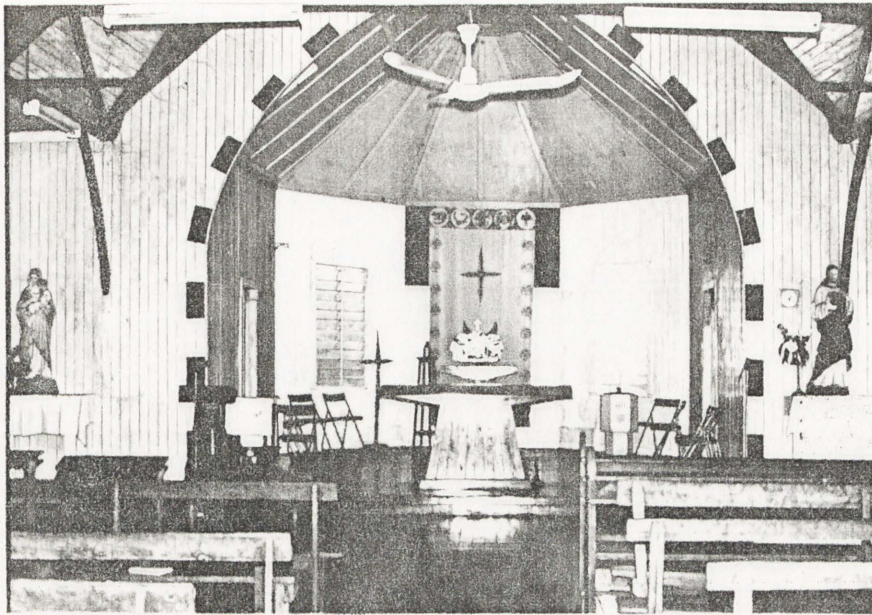


Plate 24. Interior of Church.

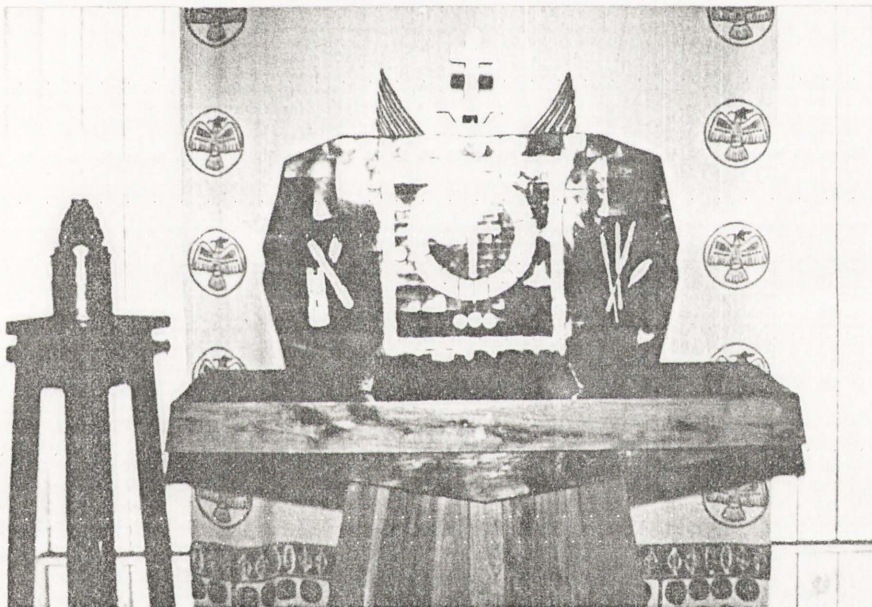


Plate 25. Tabernacle on altar. Note Tiwi figures. Centre design is the cross of Lorraine (representing Gsell) encircled by a Pamutini (a Tiwi arm band).



Plate 26. Daly River Leadership Training Centre.



Plate 27. Tiwi design screenprinted wall hanging at back of altar.



Plate 28. Bishop J.P. O'Loughlin, Bishop of Darwin, wearing Tiwi design vestments at a confirmation ceremony at Nguiu.

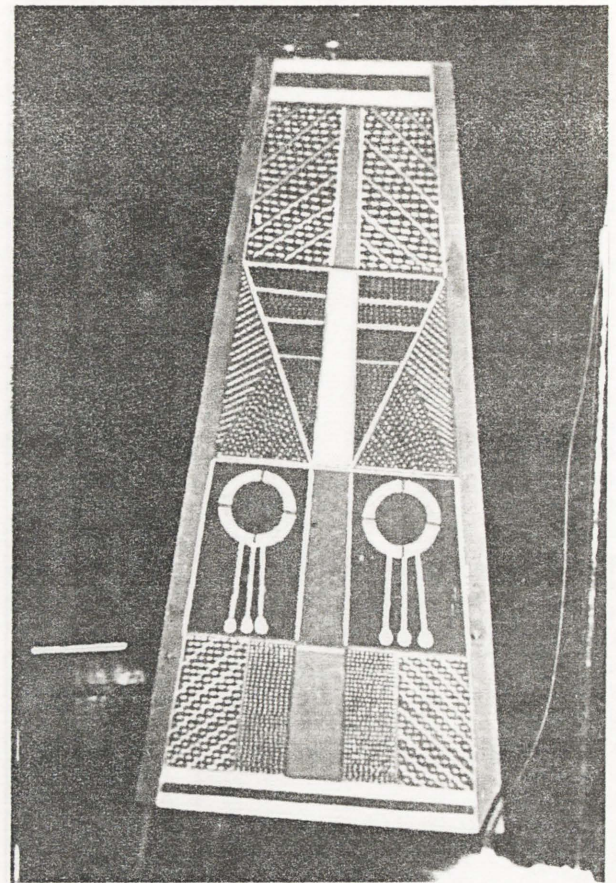


Plate 29. Lectern covered with traditional Tiwi symbols.

...In future we will have to ask the Aborigines for a sub-lease on some of the land... our tenure is rather insecure at the moment ...they have indicated they will grant this lease. (1978 Catholic Weekly, September 10: 9).

Government legislation heightened this insecurity with Clause 18 of the Aboriginal Land Rights (N.T.) Act 1976. Under this clause an Aboriginal community can remove a mission from its land simply by serving 12 months notice to mission authorities. In April 1978, with the approval of the Northern Land Council a regional association of traditional land owners from Bathurst and Melville Islands was formed. This association, the Tiwi Land Council, received government approval in August 1978. Land titles were handed to this Council in September 1978. In line with the Catholic Church's and the M.S.C.'s renewed missionary orientation, a lease has not been sought. It is felt that the Church requires community approval and not ownership of land. All land belongs to the Tiwi to be used as they decide is best. As long as the community requires and requests a Church and its associated personnel, then they will remain; not because they possess title to land.

There are two priests at Nguiu. One is an M.S.C. and the other is a member of the Australian Salesian Order.⁴⁰ In accordance with the hierarchical relationships of the Catholic Church, N.T. diocesan policy, C.M.C. resolutions and the fact that historically Bathurst Island is a M.S.C. venture their representative is priest-in-charge of the Catholic community. As well as being pastoral organiser he is also a Department of Aboriginal Affairs officer being Community Adviser (C.A.) for the Nguiu community. In administration the C.A. is assisted by a secretary and liaison officer, both of whom are mission workers. The liaison officer's main duties are those of 'mission manager' in that "he is involved in the supervision of mission personnel, white and Tiwi, buildings, machinery and projects"⁴¹. He also ensures the smooth day to day running of the community by attending to matters such as the allocation of accommodation, all air traffic operations, he assists local industries, he also ensures that the Council President

40. The Salesian Order is oriented toward Christian work with youths, especially the poor and the education of boys to the priesthood. In Australia, this order is largely located in Victoria. The order is contemplating establishing youth work among Aborigines and has released a member from duties to observe what is being done at present in this area.

41. Letter to D.A.A. from Nguiu's Community Adviser setting out the duties of a Liaison Officer. Dated 19 April 1978.

is aware of all visitors to the Community and that their needs are catered for. All administrative operations of the C.A. are conducted from the presbytery where two offices, for the secretary and the C.A., have been set up.

The assistant priest is free to determine his role within the community. He generally engages in pastoral work such as teaching religion classes in the schools, conducting class masses, visiting the aged and sick at home and in hospital, organising funerals, baptisms, confirmations and other Christian ceremonies in addition to collecting of overdue rents on mission houses. He has sought to encourage the involvement of members of the white community, especially the young single males and females, in social work within the Nguui community. Their presence, for him, is seen as an indicator of their willingness to participate in the furthering of Christian awareness and outlook among the Tiwi. This situation is thought to be achieved by simply tapping and channelling 'this vital energy' into such programmes as help for the aged, sporting activities and Christian youth groups. A misunderstanding of the real nature and purpose of the teachers, community employees and some mission employees has fostered this unsuccessful approach.

...The Community Adviser has a responsibility to communicate and liaise with all sections of the community, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, male and female, supervisors and supervised, employed and unemployed, educated and uneducated, Christian and non-Christian, drinkers and non-drinkers, and any other factions which may be present within the community. By doing so, he should achieve a position of knowing and understanding why the community ticks the way it does.⁴²

The C.A. works in close cooperation with the Town Clerk who is responsible to the Council for all financial and administrative matters within the community. The duties of a C.A. as outlined by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has been included as Appendix 2, and are summarised as follows:

42. Circular from T.C. Lovegrove, 10 December 1975 entitled 'The Community Adviser - What Does He Do?'

*...The Community Adviser is expected to provide assistance on a wide range of policy matters - economic, social, legal and cultural - not just to the Council, but to individuals and groups within the community.*⁴³

The C.A. "has more fingers in more pies than anybody" in the community. He is the most informed, simply by virtue of attendance at nearly all community affairs and meetings whether dealing with Tiwi or 'white' community, Council, mission, government, technical, health or education. The priests interact at all times with all sections of the Nguiu community. They attend social activities as individuals rather than as representatives of the Church or mission. While other mission personnel tend to be represented by the attendance of a few of their number. The Priests dine weekly at the convent and are invited to attend most functions organised by the teachers and unmarried community employees.

Close consultation and information networks exist between the C.A. and the liaison officer. All other mission personnel are outside this administrative decision-making process. They, along with the rest of the community will be aware of such decisions but have no direct influence on such actions. The Community Adviser is free of the daily concerns of the town to denote his attention to the consideration and evaluation of overall development along lines that are responsive to the demands of the entire Tiwi community.

Conclusions

The structuring of relationships is an all important element in the attempt by the Church to formally 'step-out' of the administrative and overall decision-making processes of the Nguiu community. There is no longer a superintendent/priest in charge figure who formally commands absolute power over all segments of the mission. The physical lay-out of the mission has been drastically altered by the influx of government finance. This finance has been further supplemented by Catholic Missions

43. Ibid.

Resulting in the construction of the physical set-up of an Australian town. Such a structure requires servicing and maintenance to ensure the efficient, adequate and continued running of all available facilities. Education, health care, water and sewerage reticulation, electricity supply, roads and maintenance programmes require trained personnel. Virtually overnight, Nguiu was transformed from a near isolated 'peasant mission community' into a modern township in close contact with the Australian mainland.

Enthusiasm and readily available finances facilitated the construction of this township but how was it to be maintained? Lacking the required educators, technicians and health workers from among their own number the Tiwi were forced, if the physical town structure was to be retained, to employ such personnel from outside. Such personnel were initially employed solely by Catholic missions but this has been transformed as the Tiwi have gradually been encouraged to accept responsibility for handling the local affairs of their community. Education and health have been delegated, by the Tiwi, to the appropriate Catholic authorities and associated government departments. Within these spheres the Church has continued to utilise as far as is possible the services of religious and lay missionary personnel, especially O.L.S.H. nuns, M.S.C., brothers and lay mission workers.

Shortages of staff necessitated the help of an education oriented religious society, the Christian brothers. These brothers, without any history of involvement with Aborigines or missions have created a new sphere of influence, through the establishment of an education programme which makes more intense demands on community involvement than other societies associated with the M.S.C's missions. Effectively restricted to the sphere of the Tiwi boys' education the Christian brothers' attitude at the moment is tolerated by the community in the expectation that it will give rise to technical expertise. A technical expertise that the Tiwi are aware they will require if they are to be able to replace the whites in running the township.

At the moment, the 'white community' provides the personnel to maintain the town structure. Whites can elect to remain within the confines and security offered by this 'community'. To do so reduces greatly the stresses that arise from involvement in cross-cultural situations outside the working context as it effectively prevents social meetings with Tiwi.

All work is performed by 'community' members without consideration of the challenge of its relevance to the Tiwis' wants and desires. Stereotyping facilitates this viewpoint with the Tiwi being seen as members of categories such as school children or trainee employees, rather than as individuals who live within a total, complex, active community. The 'white community' is a direct product of the Catholic Church's missionary involvement within Nguiu. Its members are purposefully severed from direct influence on the Tiwi population. This removal is so complete that most are unaware of the contrived isolation in which they work and live. However even awareness is not sufficient to be able to escape the confines that surround them. A re-education of outlook is the only action which will promote a removal of these boundaries which restrict their interaction with the Nguiu community.

However, not all community employees and missionary personnel choose the security and comfort of the 'white community'. Acknowledging that cross-cultural interaction should be the dominant element of Nguiu, they seek ways to facilitate more efficient communication between all residents. A core of missionary personnel are informed of the Church's aims, methods and objectives for its missionary activity. As well, they have been involved in education programmes to increase their awareness of cultural differences. This is achieved by their release from all mission duties and attendance at anthropological, social work and missiological courses offered at Sydney University and the Darwin Community College. Such programmes of study also supplement the community orientated training now received by nuns, brothers and priests in the course of their vocational preparation and training. This concentration on the education and informing of missionaries ensures that they are ~~able~~ able to articulate the situations that they encounter. 'Nelen Yubu', at Daly River, is to be an important link in the up-dating of this information network.

Decision-making authority now formally lies in the hands of the Tiwi, who consult their chosen advisers. Subtle retention of informal/defacto power by the Church is and must be secondary to that of the acknowledged formal power structures of the community. The Church has sought to encourage effective Tiwi responsibility by the maintenance of informed personnel in key advisory capacities. Such personnel are established with Tiwi consent in advisory positions from which they are able to encourage Tiwi self-determination and discourage or limit non-Tiwi

direction. In this way the Church has effectively contained the influence of outsiders and encouraged the separation of the 'white community'. Those community employees, teachers and missionaries who wish to participate in active interaction with the Tiwis have only to escape the confines of stereotyping by recognising the individuality of all the residents, both Tiwi and non-Tiwi, at Nguiu.

Tiwi assumption of responsibility for both their secular and religious affairs does not require that missionaries occupy the service and maintenance roles within Nguiu. In fact it demands that the community have access to the best possible expertise in order to be able to make all decisions from a more adequately informed position. The Church serves the twin objectives of helping the Tiwi to assume responsibility for their affairs and of presenting to the people the Catholic view of life in the hope that they will value it and take it up. The initial social pressure to be Catholics has been replaced by a more subtle form of conversion. Individual Tiwi now choose to become Catholics and attend Church, not because of the prospect of material gains. Conversion is a process of personal belief and appreciation of 'faith', a faith that the Tiwi are being encouraged to interpret in their own way. Importance is placed on establishing a Tiwi identity and meaning for life as opposed to being value orientated in terms of employment and job skill opportunities.

If a Catholic mission is an area of land given over to the Church to run, then Nguiu is no longer a mission in the formal sense of the term. A 'mission' has connotations of extensive social activity on the part of the Church, as well as involvement in employment creation. If health and education, two areas that are clearly under Catholic control are excluded from consideration, there is not a great deal of employment generated by the Church. The Church is not the major employer or creator of employment. But to say that Nguiu is no longer a Catholic mission is to deny the community's history and the simple fact that this has been a mission and that the Catholic Church does occupy a unique position here.

Nguiu is a Catholic mission in an informal sense in that there is a history of mission involvement and that the Tiwi people view religious and lay missionaries as different from all other non-Tiwis. Missionaries are today involved in a more pervasive and subtle mission, one which involves the gradual re-education, and awareness, of

themselves and the Tiwi, and an appreciation of the actual cultural diversity that exists at Nguiu, and the potential the Tiwi possess to freely determine their future.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION.

The Catholic Church, missionary societies and governments can idealise and theorise about development within Aboriginal communities. But such processes do not automatically ensure implementation of any renewed approach. A transition is occurring within Bathurst Island mission, although not readily recognised by all those concerned. The dichotomy hinted at in Chapter Two between Church ideas and actual mission practice, which came about through the reorientation of the Church's approach to evangelisation, is present at Nguiu. This 'renewal' however, could not automatically obliterate the past memories of missionaries and Tiwis.

...Policy reassessment can be an anguishing experience for the people involved, especially for those who feel that their own chosen line is being discarded and resent the implicit judgement on their past endeavours. It's not a matter of finding out where the crooks are: if that were all but one could be quite ruthless. But each range of opinion is held by good, well-meaning people... ¹

Having made a reassessment of its missionary programmes in 1965, which were then restated and consolidated in 1974 the Catholic Church has made a theoretical change. Actual implementation of such change was not, nor indeed could not be, immediate. Immediate implementation would have required complete replacement of all present personnel with newly informed persons. A step which would have been impractical, impossible and devastating for the Church, its personnel and most importantly the people of their 'mission'. The missionary statements of the Church require contemplation for their infusion and acceptance to be complete. Dissemination of such information requires time.

Traditionally missionaries sought the encouragement of plans for Aboriginal betterment based on non-Aboriginal assumptions, with little or no consultation with or consideration of Aboriginal needs. Such an approach was justified on the grounds that it was all for their own good, that is the overall welfare of the Aboriginal community. Efficiency

1. Fr. M.J. Wilson, 'Nelen Yubu's' Co-ordinator, personal communication October 1977.

and maximum return for all expenditure was a desired aim.

As was the creation of a Catholic community, a community which was free to express its Catholicism in any way it decided provided that this interpretation was contained within the package deal of westernisation (which included the English language, church buildings and decorations) that the Church offered. In this approach all endeavours by the non-Tiwi must be assessed as being for the development of the Tiwi, which was thought to be the primary reason for their presence at the mission. This 'traditional' approach to Aborigines initiated at Nguiu by Gsell is represented by the attitudes of the assistant priest, Bima Wear supervisors, Christian Brothers, retired M.S.C. brothers, several O.L.S.H. nuns and the majority of teachers and community employees. Several of these segments of the 'white' community encourage white involvement in Tiwi community activities. However, although such approaches may use the correct methods of walking, sitting and talking with Tiwi their pre-conceived objectives blinker observations and hinder any actual involvement. The Christian brothers have constructed a specialised set of intensive interactions which is limited to their students and indirectly these boys' parents. Apart from this, all interaction for these 'traditional' whites is with the Tiwi as members of categories and not as individuals. Individual white frustration with what is seen as the inadequacies of Tiwis greatly limits the possibility of their successfully training Tiwis to replace them.

An essential element of this approach is no longer present at Nguiu - namely that of isolation from the destructive effects of white settlement, as Nguiu has become the white settlement directly effecting the Tiwi. This 'traditional' approach is no longer encouraged by the Church. The problem as seen by the Church is echoed in the following:

*...Now how shall we sing
The Lord's song in a strange land...²*

2. A song entitled 'By The Rivers of Babylon' - from the Psalms, Psalm 137 'Ballad of the Exiles', 137:4.

This must be decided by the Tiwi themselves and not by the institutionalised white Church. Ideology of the Church demonstrates the approach avowed by the Church in its missionary involvement. This is not to suggest that this ideology is put into practice, but rather that it acts as a gauge of ideals and methods for actual practice. Those described as a 'core' of religious personnel - the Community Adviser, O.L.S.H. nuns involved in health-care, education and community work - are aware of the Church's aims and with patience, guidance and advice they subtly ensure that the Tiwi community is unhindered in making its decisions.

However, eagerness and hastiness to utilise readily available government finance in the 1970s resulted in a near abandonment of such policies for the old stand of 'it's for the Tiwis' own good'. Having now regained composure most informed religious, actively involved whites and several aware Tiwi are able to step aside and critically review the situation. A township modelled on white Australian lines which requires technicians, educators and health specialists to be maintained is the result of this intensive 'spending spree'. The 'white community' is a direct product of the Church's missionary involvement within Nguiu. Its members have successfully transformed a section of the Nguiu community to form a white southern Australian small town. The social activities, especially parties, are the clearest and most forceful affirmation of their continued practice of southern ways. Tiwis have no place at such functions, nor are the whites involved with the Tiwis outside the context of their work.

In order to avoid a possible recurrence of this surge of eagerness to develop the Tiwi along white Australian lines, the Church has effectively sought to reduce its immediate influence within the community. The Catholic Church has formally stepped outside the spheres of power at Nguiu. Formal power now lies in certain Tiwi organisations such as the Shire Council, the Ullintjinni and Housing Associations. It is fully recognised that real or actual power may not necessarily conform to this ideal but the barrier is attitudinal rather than a legal one. All involved, both white and Tiwi must be educated and made aware of this changed decision-making structure. This is not tokenism on the part of the Church, but in the space of less than ten years the Tiwi have emerged from a state of imposed total dependency to a position from which they as a community can select their

advisers and remain free to ignore, if they wish, such advice.

Informal control however is complete. De facto power lies in the hands of the Community Adviser. Isolation of the Tiwi population from white involvement is considered by the M.S.C's to be essential for the attainment of autonomy by the Aboriginal community. The Tiwi as a community have problems that they have to come to grips with, the least of which is the physical management of a township and its associated 'essential' services. The identity, involvement and direction of the Tiwi has to be decided in face of the larger Australian nation.

All Tiwi rituals and ceremonies were initially banned from the mission station.³ Their performance was not tolerated by the missionaries. Church renewal and indigenisation has called for a re-assessment, on the part of the Church and the Tiwi, of the importance of these ritual performances for the Tiwi and their relationship to their Catholicism. The Church is no longer in a position to prohibit any practices but it also does not seek to encourage. It may be that "Revival is Survival"⁴ but many feel "that mission acceptance has come too late"⁵. 'Kulama' and 'pukumani' ceremonies are today conducted openly within the township by Catholic and non-Catholic Tiwis.

In recent years the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the 'traditionally' oriented whites have been in agreement over the type of development that should occur at Nguiu. The model favoured is that of greater centralised control by the Tiwi Council over all spheres within the community. Such a model, I feel, is contrary to the objectives of 'self-determination' as the community would then be largely subject to the advice of one person, the community adviser. Tiwi responsibility will not be achieved by centralisation but rather by localisation of control. This can be achieved by active interaction and involvement of white supervisors/managers with the Tiwi, but this is not part of their duties as advisers and would be subject to individual choice to do so. This elective involvement would be greatly encouraged

3. Such rituals were regarded as "pagan" and therefore had no place in a Catholic settlement. Brandl (1972) and Hart and Pilling (1960) refer to these ceremonies being performed either outside the mission or on Melville Island.

4. Slogan for National Aborigines Week 1978.

5. "Mourning for Mangatopi" - a film by Curtis Levy, depicts a pukumani ceremony held at Snake Bay in 1973, - echoes these comments in its introduction.

by the Community Adviser. At present only one white manager of the Ullintjinni Association and Housing Association are actively attempting to achieve this localisation of Tiwi management and control. In this way the Tiwi will have access to the advice of several independent whites rather than the lone recommendations of one white adviser.

All missionaries are by their vocation...

...professional agents of culture change, for there is no other way of establishing, consolidating, and perpetuating 6 the Church in a society than through its culture...

However, as agents of culture change missionaries nowadays are not necessarily 'cultural destroyers'. They are rather persons well aware, articulate about and informed of the importance of cultural integrity and identity for the survival and development of any community. Acting as resource-personnel and advisers, today's missionaries are translators between their 'mission' and all outside involvement. Missionaries are missionaries but not all are of the type represented by the myth that has pervaded anthropological works. As this thesis has shown, the lone religious with a 'call' is now only a small, albeit important, part of a huge complex organisation that has massive impact on the entire community in which they are resident. A re-analysis of this 'mythological' creature and its social systems has proposed new models of interaction, involvement and mission orientation. If Levi Strauss was correct in claiming that societies have changed more than anthropologists since the 1960s, then this is even more true of missionaries. The Catholic Church's renewal of its missionary activity comes in the wake of the global decolonisation which began after the second World War.

6. Luzbetak, L.J., 1963: 6.

APPENDIX 1.CONSTITUTION - Northern Territory Catholic Missions Council - Approved 1973.

1. NAME: Northern Territory Catholic Missions Council.
2. AÍMS: The purpose of the Council is well expressed by the following resolutions:-
 - a) Our main aim as missionaries is to preach the word of God to the Aboriginal people; to help them to live a Christian life; and to prepare them to adapt to the world of today. We are concerned with the pastoral care and the human development of Aboriginal people wherever they may be and not only in the established mission centres.
 - b) We work amongst the Aboriginal people realising their personal dignity, and we wish to collaborate with them in their human and spiritual development.
 - c) At all levels of missionary work we are conscious of the need to involve the Aboriginal people in such a way that they gradually become responsible for their own way of life.
 - d) We are prepared to co-operate with the Government and other agencies which work for the development of the Aboriginal people, and we realise that we must accept any consequences of this co-operation.
 - e) We are aware of our limitations - both in the number of personnel and the means at our disposal - in carrying out effectively all that we should like to do. At the same time, we wish to organise our missionary effort so that we can plan according to what is feasible, and make the best use of what is available.
 - f) Conscious of the courage and endurance of the pioneer missionaries, we try to continue in a new and fast changing world, the work which they began so well.
 - g) While we realise that our missionary work in the Northern Territory is a difficult one, and that very serious problems confront us in the immediate future, we trust that, with the help of God and the co-operation of all, especially that of that the Aboriginal people, we can together achieve our missionary aims.
3. FUNCTION:
 - a) The function of the Mission Council is to serve as a forum for the expression of opinion, and to give an opportunity for a factual review of our missionary work. From this the Council will formulate a general policy for the missions.
 - b) General policy, once accepted by the ecclesiastical authority and the missionary societies concerned - according

to their individual contracts - will be binding on all parties. (Refer Resolution Number 6 of Council Meeting 1969: Viz - "The function of the Mission Council is to determine by deliberative vote, a general policy for the mission, acceptable to the missionary societies concerned, and to the ecclesiastical authority; and that such policy be binding on all mission personnel).

- c) The Council may also make recommendations on specific matters, provided that they are of sufficient importance.
- d) The Council may set up sub-committees. The President of the Council or the Episcopal Vicar is ipso facto a member of any such committees.

4. MEETINGS:

- a) The Council holds its ordinary meetings every two years.
- b) An extraordinary meeting may be held if two thirds of the members of the Council indicate to the Director of the Missions that they desire such a meeting.
- c) A quorum is two thirds of member eligible to attend.

5. MEMBERSHIP: The composition of the Mission Council shall be as follows:

A) EX OFFICIO MEMBERS

- a) The Bishop (or his representative) - as President.
- b) The Episcopal Vicar for the Missions.
- c) The Provincial Superiors (or their representatives), of those societies directly concerned with the missions.
- d) Regional Superiors of those societies directly concerned with the missions.
- e) The Director of Missions, who is the Executive Officer mainly responsible for the administration of the general policy.
- f) The Mission Superintendents.
- g) The Sisters-in-charge.
- h) The Business Manager of Headquarters.

B) ELECTED MEMBERS

- a) One representative of the Brothers working on each mission.
- b) Two representatives of the Sisters working on the missions. (Garden Point is included as a mission).
- c) One lay missionary from each of the missions.
- d) One representative of the Aboriginal people on each mission.

C) NOMINATED MEMBERS

The Standing Committee may nominate other members.

D) TERM OF MEMBERSHIP

- a) Membership continues until the convening of the next biennial meeting.
- b) When an elected member is no longer resident on a mission, a substitute may be elected by the same groups as he represents.

E) OBSERVERS AND EXPERTS

- a) As occasion demands, an expert in a particular field may be invited to address the Council.
- b) Observers may be admitted to one or all sessions of the Council.
- c) A member of the East Arm Community will be admitted as an observer. This observer will be elected by the East Arm Community.

F) ELECTION OF MEMBERS

- a) Members will be elected by secret ballot.
- b) The Sister delegates mentioned in 5 BO (b) will be elected by all of the Sisters on Mission stations.
- c) The Brother delegates will be elected by all of the Brothers on the Mission stations. (The Standing Committee will arrange for the Brothers at Headquarters to have active and passive voice). Where two receive an equal number of votes, the Brother who has been longest on the Northern Territory Missions will be declared elected.
- d) Lay Missionary delegates will be elected by the Lay Missionaries on each mission.
- e) Aboriginal delegates will be chosen according to a method acceptable to the Aboriginal people themselves.

6. STANDING COMMITTEE:

A Standing Committee will be set up at each biennial meeting of the Council, and will function until the next biennial meeting. One member of the Standing Committee will be the Director of Missions, and four others will be elected by the Council.

The Director of Missions and two others will constitute a quorum. The Director of Missions will be the convenor of meetings of the Standing Committee whenever necessary, but they will be held at least quarterly.

7. DUTIES OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE:

- a) To advise the Director of Missions.
- b) To interpret the mind of the Mission Council in areas of doubt.
- c) To be a court of appeal in cases of dispute.
- d) To communicate the minutes of meetings to all ex-officio members.
- e) To report in due course to the Council on major decisions taken.
- f) To draw up rules for the proper conduct of meetings.
- g) To prepare for all meetings of the Council.
- h) To examine minutes of staff meetings and missionary advisory boards.
- i) To give attention to the implementation of resolutions of the Council, and to report in this regard to the biennial Council meeting.

8. CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

Changes may be made to the Constitutions at meetings of the Council, provided that two thirds of the members are in favour of such changes.

RESOLUTIONS1. AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION OF NORTHERN TERRITORY CATHOLIC MISSIONS COUNCIL5. A. EX OFFICIO MEMBERS

(a) to (e) as in 1973 Constitution; followed by:-

- (f) the Priest-in-Charge of any mission area.
- (g) The Aboriginal Clergy.
- (h) The Mission Community Advisers (Superintendents).
- (i) The Administrative Officer of each mission.
- (j) The Sisters-in-Charge.
- (k) The Business Manager of Headquarters.

5. B. ELECTED MEMBERS

- (a) One representative of the Brothers working on each mission.
- (b) Two representatives of the Sisters working on the missions. (Melville Island is included as a mission).

- (c) One Aboriginal Sister selected by themselves from amongst their number.
- (d) One lay missionary from each of the missions.
- (e) Two representatives of the Aboriginal people on each mission (one man, one woman).
- (f) Two representatives from Priests not directly engaged in mission work in the Diocese (one from the northern region, one from the southern).

Appendix Two: Duties of the Community Advisor¹.

1. CONSULTATION...., should make himself familiar with the expectations and concerns of the various factions within his community through a process of consultation.
has a responsibility to consult with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups representing all factions and interests within the community.
2. RESOURCE AVAILABILITY
3. COMMUNICATION..., must be in a position to communicate information both to the community groups and from the community groups.
4. ADVICE... the fulfilment of Aboriginal expectations will be subject to the economic, legal and social constraints applicable to the wider Australian society.
 ...He should be able to explain to the Aboriginal Community and others current government policies in respect of certain issues concerning the community on the provisions of new legislation planned.
5. EVALUATION....., C.A. has a responsibility to assess at the local level the effect of government policies aimed at the Advancement of the Aboriginal Community and to keep the Department fully informed where change or revision is necessary.
6. PARTICIPATION..., has the responsibility to investigate and examine the ways by which the community or groups can participate in deciding these issues which bear upon their own lives.
 ...Effective participation of the community in deciding priorities and issues which are of concern to the community is crucial to the Department's policy in respect of Aboriginal development.
7. PROJECT CONTROL., must be prepared to carry out some measure of local project control.
8. LIAISON....., The C.A. should also be available to assist Council and Council staff in maintaining effective liaison with other government departments and agencies. The C.A. should be involved in the promotion of effective communication between the various interest groups within the community and between the community and "outside" agencies.

1. Lovegrove, T.C. 10-12-75. The Community Advisor - What Does He Do?

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