

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAMPAIGN FOR JUSTICE: EQUALITY AND LAND 1937 - 1939

THE COALITION: AAL AND UNITED APA

The Aboriginal political activity which took place between 1937 and 1939 achieved an unprecedented amount of publicity and had a significant role in forcing the Government to make at least a pretense of changing its administrative methods. This political activity resulted from a coalition of regional networks of organization between Aboriginal communities. The existence of the coalition reflected the growing similarity of interests and conditions of Aborigines across the State, despite varied regional histories and alliances and the fact that the regional movements were, in 1937, at different stages of structural development.

The coalition was organizationally fragile. Its constituency was small in numbers, scattered over wide distances and often living either in poverty or in repressive conditions or both. In this situation, the formal alliances between regional movements depended heavily on the personal relations of the few spokespeople. Not surprisingly, then, the alliances between the three regional organizations were fluid. In the period of greatest formal unity, however, a long range policy was formulated which can be seen as the major statement of aims of the movement and which continued to be reflected in the platform of each regional organization after the dissolution of the formal coalition.

While their overall aims remained consistent, the activities of the regional movements varied after the official coalition broke down in April 1938. Such varied activity was the result partly of the interests and strategies of the spokespeople themselves and partly of pressure from white allies. Finally, however, it reflected the situation of the communities on which the regional organizations were based. This chapter will examine the basis of the coalition of 1937, the policies it developed, its effect on Government and then the directions taken by the regional movements after the dissolution of the coalition.

The processes contributing to a convergence of the interests of NSW Aborigines by 1937 can be summarised here. In terms of land available either for access (for traditional economic, social or ceremonial use) or for residential or contemporary economic use, the situation across the State was tending towards that existing in the south west at the earliest stage of reserve creation. In all but the most far western pastoral areas, land was generally less accessible for Aboriginal use. The reserve land loss of the 1920s combined with the increased imposition of Board control meant that by mid-1937 no Aboriginal agriculture was possible without also a submission to managerial control.

Where earlier independence had involved the use of reserve land as a residential base from which Aborigines had participated in the capitalist economy, this independence had been eroded by loss of reserves and by the steady decline in rural labour needs through the 1920s. The exceptions had been the developing vegetable and fruit growing industries of the south coast and south west, but these industries required, again, only seasonal harvest labour.

The Depression had magnified this trend dramatically with disproportionately high Aboriginal unemployment. The subsequent widespread exclusion from Food Relief, loss of control over Family Endowment and then exclusion from Work Relief (in marked contrast to the situation in Victoria) had provided Aborigines with concrete examples of local and State government discrimination against them. Exclusion from Food Relief forced more Aborigines under Protection Board control and, with the Board financially unable to respond, reserve and station facilities deteriorated further.

As economic conditions began to improve slightly, bringing the possibility of relief from Board control, white town demands for the segregation of schools and other facilities were reactivated over wide areas of the State and as far west as Tibooburra. At the same time, significant extensions of Protection Board power occurred, geographically and legally, which were consistent with town demands for the restriction of Aboriginal access to town services. More clearly than ever before, the Board was seen to be acting in concert with white townspeople and contrary to the wishes and rights of Aborigines. Moreover the new Board powers of confinement had been gained at a time when more Aborigines than ever before had had direct experience of Board control and had seen reserve and station conditions at their worst.

The Board had neither the funds nor the inclination to confine all of the people over whom it now had legal power but Aborigines reasonably judged Board intentions from its actions. By mid-1937 significant numbers of communities over a wide area of the State had been threatened with confinement and some had been moved. The threats, then, looked real enough.

To the bases of Aboriginal protest established before the Depression there were therefore two, more recently generated, waves of State-wide protest to be expressed by the 1937 political movement. There was first the protest against the continued denial of the State to acknowledge Aborigines as workers by the provision of unemployment relief equal to that for whites. Secondly, there was the protest against the prospect of intensified State intervention in Aboriginal choice of residential area and of even more constriction of access to the services and facilities available to white citizens.

These were the factors unifying the Aboriginal political coalition, but there was also some disparity between the elements in the coalition. The AAL was the longest established organization and that with the most developed policy, having a set of immediate demands and a long term program by 1936. The AAL had clearly stated its position that Aborigines claimed dual rights: the equal rights of full citizenship and the separate rights to their own land. The major limitation for the AAL in NSW was its geographic base, which was essentially restricted to Cumeraguija.

For the rest of NSW, the western movement, led by Bill Ferguson and the Dubbo Aboriginal activists, was the first to form a named and structured body, the Aborigines' Progressive Association (APA). Branches were initially established at locations around Dubbo, in Gulargambone, Coonabarabran and Wellington, as well as at Menindee where Durcan Ferguson worked. Membership was open to Aborigines only.¹ The assertion of extended organization was not an entirely accurate reflection of the degree of western APA cohesion in mid-1937, however, as inter-community links were being established for the first time in most of these areas.

In terms of policy the Dubbo-based organization was in the position of the AAPA in 1925 and the AAL in 1934. It was just beginning the process of policy development from an initial focus on

1 Dubbo Dispatch, 28/6/1937.
Labor Daily, 13/10/1937.

immediate issues towards the later stage of coherent and longer term programs. Ferguson had been associated with the AAL for some time and so it was the AAL policy which formed a partial model for the first APA statement. The elements adopted were the call for full citizens rights, in which the Dubbo group made explicit the demand for total abolition of the Protection Board, and the call for Federal representation from a separate Aboriginal electorate.¹

The major AAL demand for land development was not, however, adopted and there are no records available of the reasons for the omission. An obvious explanation is that the small scale agriculture, proposed by Cumeragunja people as a means to achieve independence on land which was of significance to them, was simply not a feasible goal for the western movement with so many of its potential members being pastoral workers for whom the land of most significance was more suited to the European economic "development" of pastoralism. The whole issue of future policy was therefore much more difficult for the western movement to approach than it was for activists in agricultural areas and perhaps for this reason was left aside at this early stage.

As far as Bill Ferguson addressed the issue of future policy in his early statements, he suggested that the removal of legal disabilities, including the abolition of all white-dominated Boards of control, was the complete solution to the problems faced by Aborigines. In calling for equal rights for Aborigines with whites, his views were consistent with those of the white groups with which he and other Maris in the west were most closely associated, namely the centre and left of the union and labor movements and the CPA group in Dubbo. Overwhelmingly, however, Ferguson's early speeches focussed on the exposure of existing conditions, and this, in turn led to a focus on the Protection Board.²

The coastal movement appeared to be the least organized of any of the regions in mid-1937. It is probable that a specifically regional organization would have emerged on the coast at this time, even without political activity in other areas, as there had already been some mobilization of both Maris and white supporters around the Burnt Bridge issue. Unity with the already named western movement

1 Dubbo Dispatch, 28/6/1937.

2 Ibid, and all of October press to be cited below.

was, however, clearly the preferable alternative. Arrangements were apparently initiated in Sydney for Ferguson to launch a city press campaign at the same time as the Aboriginal political coalition was established.¹

It is not clear that Ferguson recognized that he was entering a coalition, however, when the La Perouse "branch" of the APA was formed in October 1937. While a new coastal organizational structure had not at that stage been formally created, the coast was heir to the AAPA legacy of inter-community political links. Political activity had continued in Sydney through the Depression and the north coast political networks had already been reactivated. The AAPA policy, too, had re-emerged with the Burnt Bridge dispute. Additions had been made to it to meet the changed circumstances of the 1930s but it had retained the same emphasis on the dual rights of Aborigines as citizens and as prior owners of the land. Nevertheless, for a younger generation of Sydney-based activists like Jack Patten, the 1920s program could form only a starting point, and they, like the western activists, were in the initial phase of developing a policy appropriate to contemporary conditions.

The October 1937 press campaign undertaken by Ferguson, Patten and Tom Foster, of La Perouse, therefore concentrated on the exposure of existing conditions and issues of immediate concern, rather than on issues of longer term policy. In this campaign not only was Ferguson himself dominant as spokesperson, but the white alliances of the western movement were also clearly crucial to the arrangement of meetings and press coverage.

Ferguson firmly announced the orientation of the campaign when he stated on the day of his arrival in Sydney that the APA was an organization of Aborigines "fighting for their economic survival".² Through all of his press statements the same themes appeared: the discrepancy between white Food Relief and the meagre Board rations; the poor physical conditions and the sickness raging on the western stations; the misery caused by the Board's enforced movement of Carowra Tank people to Menindee; and the exploitation of Aboriginal labour by the Protection Board through its "apprenticeship" and "work-for-rations" systems.³ Supported by the statements of Foster

and Patten, Ferguson described La Perouse as a "show window", totally unrepresentative of the conditions of country stations and reserves.¹ The remedy Ferguson demanded was "Full Citizens' Rights":

My people do not want the Protection Board. Give us the rights of free citizens and we will have all the protection of a white man. That is all that is necessary.²

Specifically, he argued, this required the immediate increase of the ration issue so that it equalled Food Relief, removal of restrictions on the receipt of State and Federal benefits such as child endowment and old age pensions and, as his most important plan for the future, an immediate end to the segregation of schools and the upgrading of all education for Aborigines to equal the standard of that for white children.³

The meetings at which Ferguson, Patten and Foster spoke were all organized by either unions or the CPA, culminating in an address by Ferguson to the NSW Labour Council.⁴ On the resolution of Tom Wright, a member of the CPA and secretary of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, the Labour Council then passed an abbreviated version of the 1931 CPA Draft Program on Aborigines. Significantly, this Labour Council version omitted those sections of the original which called for independent Aboriginal control of land and which stressed rights for Aborigines which were separate and distinct from those of whites. The sections retained were those which stressed equal and identical rights for all Australians regardless of race.⁵

The most interesting meeting, however, was the one which brought together the disparate allies of the western and coastal movement. It was held, on October 10, under the auspices of the International Labour Defence (ILD), a "united front" organization in which CPA members were heavily involved. Both Ferguson and Patten spoke to the public meeting, which passed a series of resolutions demanding an inquiry into the Protection Board administration, the abolition of

1 Ibid, 15/10/1937.

2 Ibid, 8/10/1937.

3 Sun, 7/10/1937.
PT, 8/10/1937; 11/10/1937; 15/10/1937.
Labor Daily, 13/10/1937; 15/10/1937.

4 Ibid.

5 Common Cause, 6/11/1937.

the Board and the emancipation of the Aboriginal people.¹ A white support group was then formed to agitate for the implementation of the resolutions and its membership proved to be a "united front" indeed. It included not only members of the ILD like J.B. Steel, but also Michael Sawtell, with his connections to both the right and the left, and, as its secretary, none other than P.R. Stephenson of the Australia First group.²

The Sydney press response to this campaign was sympathetic and Ferguson was given wide coverage. In the process, however, the press intensified the emphasis, already apparent in Ferguson's earlier statements, on the administration of the Protection Board. Ferguson's calls for the desegregation of public schools and for the real protection of Aboriginal workers, by inclusion in labour awards, were given only brief mentions. Instead, the press chose to report in greatest detail the accurate but more sensational accounts of brutality and starvation on Board stations and reserves. While this ensured wide public attention, it also limited the focus of that attention to one agency of Government rather than to the broader pressures which operated on that agency.

Aboriginal use of the metropolitan press, however, scored at least one immediate success in that it attracted the attention of the Premier, B.S. Stevens. The Premier's Department had by this time a substantial body of correspondence concerning Aborigines. Cooper's letters had been arriving since 1936; there had been the Burnt Bridge correspondence; and finally, the attention of D.H. Drummond, the Minister for Education, had been drawn by the resurgence of white demands for school segregations and Aboriginal demands for school access, and he, too, had written to the Premier.³ Stevens had failed to take any interest. During the October press campaign Stevens was Acting Chief Secretary and the Minister responsible for the Protection Board. When confronted with the Aboriginal accusations and asked to comment, he was caught off guard. He stated to the press that the NSW administration of Aboriginal affairs was "to be reviewed completely" and that special reports on the subject were being prepared for him.⁴

1 PT Thorne, Secretary, ILD to NSW Premier, 19/10/1937, PDCF, A37/193.

2 SMH, 11/10/1937.
Publicist, 1/12/1937.

3 DH Drummond to BS Stevens, 10/8/1937; 28/9/1937. PDCF, A27/193.

4 DT, 12/10/1937, reporting interview of the previous day.

It was only on the following day, however, that Stevens sent his first request to the Chief Secretary's Department for urgent advice on the structure and operation of the Board, admitting that he had "little knowledge at the moment of the methods employed by the Board and the requirements of the existing law".¹

The promise of a "review" of the Board's administration was no mean success for the new Aboriginal movement's first campaign. Stevens' interest, once caught, was sustained. The Premier passed a detailed summary of the press reports of the APA campaign to G.C. Gollan, Minister without Portfolio, requesting a recommendation for Cabinet on the Board, "as it would seem that a thorough investigation is now becoming necessary".² The publicity had also worried Drummond, who wrote again to Stevens, linking the Aboriginal political activity with the school segregation demands and suggesting anxiously that "there is more political dynamite in the whole business than immediately meets the eye".³ The October campaign probably contributed to Mark Davidson's success in moving for a Joint Parliamentary Select Committee into the administration of the Protection Board on November 9, 1937.⁴

Of equal, if not greater, significance to the Aboriginal movement, the white press coverage in October acted to convey information to Aborigines as well as whites. Some of the people drawn into the APA by this press exposure were individuals who had been struggling to organize resistance to the conditions Aborigines faced in their own areas and who had been suffering the frustrations of isolation. Notable examples were Harry Connelly and Pearl Gibbs. Connelly was the lay preacher who had gained Board permission to enter reserves in 1915 and had been travelling along the south coast ever since, watching conditions deteriorate for Guris on and off reserves. He had been venting his anger for years in letters to the press and to members of Parliament, without apparent result.⁵ Pearl Gibbs,

1 BS Stevens to Undersecretary, Chief Secretary's Department, 12/10/1937. PDCF, A. 193.

2 BS Stevens to GC Gollan, 22/10/1937, PDCF, A37/193.

3 DH Drummond to BS Stevens, 27/10/1937, PDCF, A37/193.

4 NPD, V.152, 9/11/1937, pp1496-1517.

5 APBM, 5/8/1915.

Kelly, "Study of a Small Native Community", p42.

Abo Call, April, p2.

working and organizing among Guri pea-pickers at Worragee, read the press reports of the first days of the campaign. She used the little money she had been able to save to travel to Sydney, introduced herself to Patten and Ferguson for the first time and was participating in the latter meetings of the ten-day campaign.¹ The value of access to the media as a vehicle for communication between Aboriginal communities was demonstrated again when Pearl took the press clippings from that same campaign to Brewarrina in December.²

The pace in these last months of 1937 was hectic for APA and AAL organizers. Cooper's petition for Federal representation was presented to Parliament and was expected to come before Cabinet in the new year. The AAL was organizing meetings in Melbourne to generate support for the concept and Ferguson attended one, discussing policy and strategy with the Melbourne group while he was there.³

In Sydney, the Select Committee hearings absorbed much Aboriginal energy but achieved few results, other than sustaining press attention on the merits or demerits of Protection Board administration. Certainly some of the true "horror stories" the press anticipated⁴ concerning conditions on Board reserves and stations were revealed⁵ but Ferguson, as APA spokesperson at the hearings, had no control over the order of business or the calling of witnesses. Eight of the total of eleven days on which evidence was taken were devoted to the technicalities of administration and the disputes between individual Board managers, its Inspector and the Board's Head Office staff.⁶ Ferguson's (and indeed Caroline Kelly's) attempts to raise broader issues, like that of Aborigines' exclusion from Food and Work Relief, were lost in the mass of details about Board methods of organization. Even these details were never analysed in a report as the Select

1 Interviews T54, T55.

2 Ibid.

3 Argus, 13/11/1937.

4 Truth, 21/11/1937.

5 The APB consistently accused Ferguson of making "reckless" and "groundless" charges. Most of the charges made by Ferguson at the Select Committee hearings and elsewhere, however, can be traced in the APBM and shown to be accurate. For confirmation, as an example, of the refusal of rations to all station residents at Bulgandramine after local sheep-owner's complaints of the theft of the sheep, compare APBM, 5/8/1937; 1/9/1937 with Ferguson's version, SC on APB, ME, p58.

6 SC on APB, ME.

CONTINUED

FROM

FICHE 3

Committee, already faltering, lapsed when Parliament was prorogued in February 1938.

The most revealing incident of the hearings was the clash between Ferguson and Caroline Kelly, representing both the University and the APNR. The APA statements had already made clear the Aboriginal opposition to the anthropologists' claims to a role in administration and Ferguson refused to answer Kelly's questions until directed to do so from the Chair.¹ Probably the only practical benefit to the APA from the Select Committee arose from Davidson's insistence that the Board grant Patten an entry permit for reserves and stations so that he could gather evidence.²

Despite the distraction of the Select Committee, preparations by all the Aboriginal activists went ahead for a Day of Mourning and Protest, to be held on January 26, 1938, "the 150th Anniversary of the whitemen's seizure of our country".³ These preparations, and in fact all of the Aboriginal activity in Sydney in late 1937 and early 1938, was carried out largely with the resources of the Australia First group, indicating a major shift in alliances with whites. Wider sources of white recognition were being sought and were found, to a great extent, in public support by liberal and left feminist groups, some mobilized by Pearl Gibbs and some, independently, by Caroline Kelly (to rather different ends).⁴ For the actual work of organization and production of propaganda, however, it was the Publicist office space and the finance of the Australia First group's affluent mentor, W.J. Miles, on which the APA drew. Over this period, Ferguson accepted Australia First support without public demur, while at the same time he publicly criticized the ILD and the CPA, accusing the latter of using the Aboriginal movement.⁵

1 Ibid, p62.

2 Abo Call, July, p2.

3 Ibid, April, p2. Resolution carried on January 26, 1938 and printed on posters advertizing the meeting.

4 Women's groups were mobilized around the issue of the collapse of the Select Committee, (see SMH, 18/2/1938; Truth, 20/2/1928) and the issue of the scale of Board rations (SMH, 12/2/1938; Housewives' Association [Progressive], NSW, to Premier, 30/9/1937, 20/2/1938, PDCF, A37/193). Joan Kingsley-Strack, however, had already become involved in Aboriginal affairs over the issue of "apprenticeships".
Interviews T54, T55.

5 DT, 20/1/1938.

It was in the context of the Day of Mourning and Protest preparations that Patten and Ferguson wrote the pamphlet "Aborigines Claim Citizen Rights!"¹ Published by the Publicist press, widely distributed and so preserved, its accessibility has led to its being regarded as a major statement of the movement's policy. It was intended, however, as an explanation of the Day of Mourning, for a white audience as much as an Aboriginal one, and so it was still an exposure of past and present conditions.

Aggressive and bitter, the pamphlet reflected the constituencies of its authors, who represented the west and the north coast, where the greatest exercise of Protection Board power had occurred in recent years. The pamphlet's major attack was therefore on the Protection Board's legal power in NSW and particularly on the powers acquired by the 1936 amendments to the Protection Act. Its stark and accurate summary of this Act was enough to demonstrate clearly that Aborigines in NSW faced a very different law than did whites. Even in this pamphlet, however, it was not only the Protection Board which was criticized. Anthropologists, missionaries, trade unions, the Labor Party, the press and white Australians in general were all savagely attacked for either actually oppressing Aborigines, for generating prejudice or negative stereotypes or for failing to protect Aborigines, in a real sense, from injustice.

What the pamphlet was not intended to be was a statement of long term policy. While it was an unequivocal demand for equal civil rights for Aborigines, the pamphlet was not the basis on which any section of the Aboriginal movement made approaches to Government.² The very success and impetus of the movement at this stage, however, made it imperative that a representative, long-term policy be formulated. After the NSW Premier had agreed to a "review" of current administration and with the petition for Federal representation about to be considered by Cabinet, joint approaches were being made by the

1 Distributed after 12/1/1938. Reprinted as Appendix 2 in Horner, Vote Ferguson, pp192-199.

2 The APA deputation to GC Gollan on February 1, 1938, left a copy of this pamphlet with Gollan, as it was the most impressive piece of literature yet produced by the movement, but as the transcript of the meeting shows, the deputation's arguments centred on the long term policy. (GC Gollan to BS Stevens, 15/2/1938, PDCF, A37/193).

AAL and the APA for interviews with the Premier and Prime Minister.¹ A policy appropriate to both tiers of Government was therefore drawn up, with participation by activists from each of the three regional movements, in mid-January 1938.²

This joint statement bore the clear imprint of the policy developed by the AAL over the preceding years and contained echoes of the earlier AAPA platform. It demanded the abolition of all State Protection Boards and the rescission of all existing legislation, and insisted on a unified national policy under the control of the Federal Government. It proposed the establishing of a Federal Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, the Minister to have full Cabinet status and the Permanent Head of the Department to be advised by six people, at least three of whom were to be Aborigines nominated by the AAL and APA. The national policy was to be directed towards two aims.

The first was to be the achievement of Full Citizens Status by all Aborigines of the Commonwealth in all spheres, namely in education, labour conditions, health, housing, rights to ownership of property, control of personal savings and receipt of State and Commonwealth welfare payments. There was the strong suggestion that for those Aborigines living "nomadic" lives, designated in this statement as "uncivilized" and "semi-civilized" Aborigines and in another section as "wild people", there would be some time delay before the allocation of Citizens Rights, but that the job of "raising" these people to "civilization" should be undertaken by patrol officers, nurses and teachers of Aboriginal "blood" only. All the elements of this first policy aim were therefore directed towards the attainment of equal and identical rights with white Australians.

The second aim of the policy was land. The statement called for a "Special Policy" of land settlement, based on the unique right of Aborigines as prior owners of the land but to be implemented along the lines of models recognizable to Europeans, the Soldier and Immigrant Settlement Schemes. The proposal was consistent not only

1 W Ferguson, for APA to BS Stevens, 10/1/1938, PDCF, A37/193. DT, 25/1/1938.

2 Abo Call, April, pl. The meeting with Lyons was private but this issue of the Abo Call explained that it was this policy which had been put to the Prime Minister as well as to the NSW Premier. The following description of the long term policy (and all direct quotes) have been taken from this issue of the Abo Call. The transcript of the meeting with Gollan, February 1, 1938, confirms that the same policy was put before him.

with the European settlement schemes but with earlier Aboriginal experience of utilizing reserves for economic return in that agriculture was proposed as the main form of land "development". The policy called for financial support for "expert tuition" and establishment expenses so that Aboriginal families could become self-supporting. This call for land settlement was, however, placed firmly alongside a call for the retention of existing Reserves, as "sanctuaries" for those Aborigines who were unable (because of past Government "neglect") or unwilling to take part in the European community and economy.

At the level of the NSW State Government it was proposed that the Premier be called on to raise and support the demands for Federal control of Aboriginal affairs and for a new national policy of full citizens rights and land settlement at the next Premiers' Conference. The Protection Board and all existing legislation should be abolished and as a strictly temporary measure, pending the assumption of Federal control, the Premier would be asked to establish an interim Board with a full time chairperson and six members, at least three of whom must be Aboriginal.

To both levels of Government, an urgent demand was to be made for immediate action to increase the amount of food available to Aborigines. The Commonwealth was to be asked to provide emergency grants to each of the States to increase the amount issued as rations and the NSW Government was to be asked to make Protection Board rations immediately equivalent to the Food Relief given to white unemployed.

The joint long term policy of 1938 restated the AAPA and AAL assertion of the dual nature of the rights to which Aborigines were justly entitled. There had been some retreat from the AAPA proposal for a NSW administration composed entirely of Aborigines with the exception of the chairperson, but there was also another important difference from earlier policy statements. The ambivalence in relation to citizens rights for Aborigines living a traditional lifestyle was in contradiction to the firm AAL call in 1936 for full citizens rights for all Aborigines without distinctions. It was in even more marked contrast to the AAPA assertion in 1927 that traditional lifestyles *were* civilization and that there was no such hierarchy of cultures as was implied in 1938 with the use of the word "raising".

The different and additional individuals involved in drafting the 1938 policy may have contributed a differing view to that held

earlier by the AAL. Two other factors, however, require consideration. In the campaign for equal unemployment relief, Aborigines were confronted, however indirectly, with the central assumption of the Board ration system: that Aborigines as "hunters and gatherers", were able to provide their own protein food resources. Any assertions of the maintenance of traditional subsistence activity or skills would have undercut the Aboriginal movement's argument that as workers whose labour was of equal value to that of whites, Aborigines were entitled to equal unemployment relief.

It was also no coincidence that the Aboriginal movement became reticent about publicly identifying with traditional cultures at the same time that anthropologists were making their bid for entry into administration. Elkin, in his popular and academic writing, had used evidence of the continued existence of traditional cultures in NSW to argue for continued white supervision, suggesting only the reform of this supervision by the inclusion of anthropologically-trained administrators.¹ Aboriginal activists, thinking primarily of their situation in NSW, were arguing not for the reform but the abolition of white-controlled boards of supervision. There seemed, then, to be a danger of falling into the anthropologists' trap if the political movement acknowledged the degree of traditional culture being practised across the State and of which the activists themselves were aware.² The development and practice of traditional culture in NSW was, however, combined with participation in both European pastoral and agricultural economic activities and with other outward appearances

1 SMH, 5/4/1935.

Man, February 1938, pp16-18, "People of the Past".

DT, 11/8/1938.

"Native Education, with Special Reference to the Australian Aborigines", Oceania, VII, 4, June 1937, pp459-501.

2 The area with which Patten was most familiar, for example, was the far north coast and in particular the Tabulum-Woodenbong area (Labor Daily, 13/10/1937; Abo Call, July, p2). In these communities, Bandjalang was being spoken as the first language of the children, even under the managerial supervision of Woodenbong and Stoney Gully, in 1936. (J Howard's response to Elkin's Questionnaire, p10-4). In the area with which Patten rapidly developed a closer association over 1938, the Macleay river valley, modified initiation ceremonies continued until well after WWII. (Calley M, "Aboriginal Pentecostalism", MA thesis, SU, 1955). Bill Ferguson made a number of references to his knowledge of the extent to which traditional custom and belief were involved in the Menindee station residents' dislike of the station's location (DT, 15/10/1937; SC on APB, ME, pp60-62).

of European lifestyles and so was not immediately obvious.¹ The Aboriginal political movement's tactical decision appears to have been to say as little as possible on the issue.

When it came to a national policy, however, this position led to the uncomfortable situation in which the activists who had argued that Aborigines did not need supervision in NSW because (it was implied) they did not practise traditional culture, were forced by their own argument to distance themselves from those Aborigines living undeniably traditional lifestyles in other parts of the continent. The number of contradictory statements made on this issue at different times by each of the Aboriginal activists of the late 1930s suggests that they felt uneasy with this position.² Having assessed the opposition they faced, however, they apparently saw no way out of the dilemma.

In the period leading up to the Day of Mourning and Protest, each of the regional movements had continued, as far as the metropolitan activities permitted, to work on expanding their Aboriginal membership.³ With the exception of the white president of the AAL, all participants in each of the movements were Aboriginal. The APA had defined itself from its inception at Dubbo as an organization of Aboriginal people only and this was consistent with the views of the coastal movement.⁴ The Day of Mourning and Protest was advertized

- 1 The Macleay River valley is a clear example: the families involved in the most recent ceremonial activities are the same families who were involved in agricultural development of reserve lands. Radcliffe-Brown's major informant on traditional social structure in NSW in the mid-1920s was John Mosely. See Morris B, "Change and Oppression", p24.
- 2 See, for example, conflict between Ferguson's statements, SC on APB, ME, p68 and Abo Call, April, p2; and between Patten's statements Abo Call, April, p2 and August, p2.
- 3 In December 1937, Pearl Gibbs had gone to Brewarrina and in January 1938, Jack Patten made another trip along the north coast. Both were collecting evidence as they went for the Select Committee but the major purpose and function of each trip was political organizing, Pearl taking with her the press accounts of the October campaign and Patten the poster advertizing the Day of Mourning and Protest.
Interviews T54, T55.
Horner, Vote Ferguson, p60.
- 4 Dubbo Dispatch, 28/6/1937.
Abo Call, April, p3.

explicitly as being open only to Aborigines. At the meeting itself, most speakers referred to the necessity for Aborigines to organize among themselves to formulate accurately their own demands and state their case.¹ White support was energetically being sought but this was to be in the form of white membership of the Aboriginal organizations.

This emphasis on the importance of Aboriginal membership and control of their own organizations earned the movement the criticism of the CPA, which accused the Aboriginal activists of being "separatist". The CPA had, of course, just emerged from its own "separatist" period and was now following a "united front" policy. The Party's criticism clearly involved legitimate fears about the incipient fascism of the Australia First movement. Insistence by Aborigines on an organizational structure which involved bodies with Aboriginal membership only was based on entirely different principles but it was nevertheless consistent with the vague scraps of a policy held by the Australia First group, which expressed support, on the basis of its racism, for separate organizations of Aborigines and whites.² Apart from anxiety about Australia First, however, the CPA was apparently convinced that it could offer the "correct line" to Aborigines and was irritated by rejection of its political advice. The Workers' Weekly made very clear the CPA view that the restriction on attendance at the Day of Mourning and Protest meeting was a major error, which Aborigines could redeem only by "beginning" the "real work" of uniting with the white working class and, among others, the "progressive social anthropologists".³

General white press coverage of the Aboriginal movement had also become somewhat ambivalent as the tone of Aboriginal demands became more aggressive. There had already been some criticism of both Ferguson and Patten as "agitators" who were "causing trouble" during the November sittings of the Select Committee⁴ and the "Citizen Rights" pamphlet had moved the Sydney Morning Herald to some hostility,

1 Ibid, p2.

2 Publicist, 1/11/1937; 1/8/1938.
Abo Call, June, p2, statement by "Publicist".

3 WW, 25/1/1938; 1/2/1938. This was a marked change from the Workers' Weekly hostility to anthropologists expressed 2/9/1932.

4 Sunday Sun, 28/11/1937.
Guardian, 28/11/1937.

while the Argus reacted with paternalism and an indirect reference to Social Darwinism.¹ The coverage of the Day of Mourning and Protest was sympathetic, but the sympathy was more like that accorded to mourners than to protesters.²

From the Aboriginal account of the Day of Mourning and Protest, however, the emphasis of all speakers at the meeting was on protest.³ The continuity of Aboriginal political organization was underscored by the presence of Jack Johnson, from Bateman's Bay, who had been a vice-president of the AAPA in 1927 and who spoke on the need for unity and sustained "full-hearted" work to force a change in white attitudes. William Cooper, who had been fighting for land, compensation and justice for most of his life, also referred to both the past and the future:

After struggling for so many years, we are going to continue struggling ... We must continue our struggle until we win our objectives.

The Protection Board remained the focus of resentment and anger for most of the 100 people present. Each time a speaker mentioned its abolition, the audience broke into applause. It is clear, however, that the phrase "full citizens' rights" was a slogan, with a very broad meaning, encompassing the demand for abolition of the Protection Board as a very first step, but including as well the wider issues like equal access to educational and employment opportunities and a more generalized demand for respect from the white population.

Most of the objectives of the long term policy of the movement were canvassed at this meeting and it was Bill Ferguson, from the regional movement which had had the least developed policy concerning the future and the role of land, who spent most time discussing the joint statement land proposals. He referred specifically to the existence already of practical skills in farming held by "most of our people" in NSW and demanded that they have secure ownership of adequate land for agricultural development in the "land that our fathers and mothers owned from time immemorial".

1 SMH, 17/1/1938.
Argus, 17/1/1938.

2 SMH, 24/1/1938.
DT, 24/1/1938; 27/1/1938.
Labor Daily, 27/1/1938; 2/2/1938.

3 Abo Call, April, p2. The following description of the meeting and all direct quotes are from this reference.

Immediately after this reference to land and its agricultural development, Ferguson raised the issue which was of greater concern to the western regional movement than to any other: the situation of Aboriginal pastoral workers. Ferguson argued that in many parts of Australia, and apparently he was including NSW, Aborigines were essential to the continuation of pastoral activities:

The Aboriginal is producing wealth but not for himself ... If the Aboriginal can help the white man to make money out back, why not give him a chance to make a living for himself.

The reference was oblique and went no further than to broach the issue. It was hardly surprising that Ferguson was unable to offer an explanation of how pastoral workers might "make a living" for themselves. There was even less chance in 1938 than in the 1880s that Aborigines would be able to secure enough land, in areas of significance to them, to develop viable pastoral concerns. Later in the meeting Ferguson briefly referred to the Homes for Unemployed scheme, suggesting that a similar scheme for Aborigines would afford them protection against being "turned out as at present". The western movement was eventually to develop this second idea, but no changes were made to the joint policy statement at the January 26 meeting.

It was therefore this long term joint policy, formulated in mid-January, along with the immediate demand for an increase in food ration issues, which was presented to the Prime Minister, J.A. Lyons, on January 31 and to NSW Minister without Portfolio, G.C. Gollan on February 1. The meeting with Lyons set a precedent in that it was the first time that an Australian Prime Minister had found it politically expedient to acknowledge an Aboriginal political movement. The result of the meeting was, however, only bitter disappointment for the AAL and for Cooper in particular concerning the campaign for Federal representation. The twenty AAL and APA delegates were told that the proposal would require constitutional reform and so a referendum and that Cabinet had quite simply decided against holding such a referendum.¹

Only APA delegates met with Gollan, but the deputation included representatives from the north coast, La Perouse, other Sydney

1 DT, 1/2/1938.
Labor Daily, 1/2/1938.
 Horner, Vote Ferguson, pp68-71.

communities and the west.¹ This meeting did not appear to be immediately productive. Gollan made no commitments other than to pass on the deputation's views to the Premier.²

Within a fortnight Parliament had been prorogued in NSW and an election announced. On February 14, the APA sent a brief circular to all candidates, seeking support for "full citizenship rights", a phrase which held many meanings for Aborigines but which was not necessarily clear to white politicians. The remaining elements of the circular were more specific and suggested that the hopes for rapid transfer to Federal control had been dampened and that the election situation was forcing a pragmatic concentration on likely, short term gains. The call for the abolition of the Protection Board was muted, therefore, to a call for a "restructured" Board, but one on which Aborigines must have "equal representation with the white man".³

A public meeting held on March 3, to sustain pressure on candidates, brought together a wide variety of white "support" groups and forced the Aboriginal movement into further compromise. The meeting was organized by Sawtell but was held under the auspices of the ILD. Although relations remained strained with the CPA, the Australia First group was not prominent while the reformist APNR and anthropologists were, and so the platform represented the "united front" the CPA was advocating. The resulting motions reflected, in fact, compromise from all sides. The demand for full citizens rights was retained and detailed and the call for immediate increases in ration issues was included but the focus of attention was on the form of a "restructured" Board.

The proposal that the chairman of such a Board should have "the welfare of the Aborigines at heart" was unobjectionable but major conflict arose over the issue of the other white members of the Board. Kelly proposed the inclusion of anthropologists, which Patten, Ferguson and Foster flatly rejected. The result was a vague formula referring to "well-known public spirited men and women". The meeting also, however, refused to endorse the Aboriginal call for equal

1 Transcript and list of delegates included in GC Gollan to BS Stevens, 15/2/1938, PDCF, A37/193.

2 Ibid.

3 W Ferguson, for APA to GC Gollan (and all electoral candidates), 14/2/1938, PDCF, A37/193.

representation on the Board and referred only to an unspecified number of Aboriginal members.¹

Further dilution occurred when the motions from this meeting were conveyed to the Premier's Department by some of the white interest groups present. In a letter drafted and signed by Caroline Kelly on behalf of some women's organizations, the "public-spirited men and women" had turned back into anthropologists and the Aboriginal representation, although retained, had been reduced to one person only.²

Despite the pressure from white "supporters" to moderate their demands, the Aboriginal political activists were the catalyst forcing the NSW Government into its major concession, the election promise of March 12, 1938, to "reorganize" the "administration of Aboriginal affairs".³ White groups had undoubtedly contributed to the climate in which the Government made its decision, with correspondence from the anthropologists, from groups protesting the failure of the Select Committee and from interested private citizens adding to the impression of a groundswell of interest. It had been the Aboriginal activists, however, who had been prepared to expose, with unflinching bluntness and clarity, the disastrous conditions current existing. White supporters were seldom prepared to attack the Government publicly in the uncompromising manner of the Aborigines. The publicity they had generated embarrassed the Government. The thick file of press articles and police reports flowing from the statements of Aboriginal activists was the file passed most often, accompanied by the most anxious comments and demands for explanations, between the Premier's, Chief Secretary's and Education Departments.⁴

1 A Thompson, ILD, to BS Stevens, 4/3/1938, PDCF, A37/193.
SMH, 4/3/1938.

2 C Kelly (on behalf of Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney; Housewives [Progressive] Association; Feminist Club of NSW and Australian Federation of Women Voters) to BS Stevens, 10/3/1938, PDCF, A37/193.

3 SMH, 14/3/1938.
APBR, 1937-1938, p3.

4 The press clippings and police reports from the October campaign in PDCF, A37/193. File sent from Premier's Department to both Chief Secretary's and Education Departments, 12/10/1937 and 22/10/1937, respectively. GC Gollan also received a copy, 22/10/1937 and collected reports from preceding two Departments for Premier's information. Minister for Education replied 27/10/1937; APB, through Chief Secretary's Department replied

Caroline Kelly, for example, had met with Gollan on November 18, 1937, to complain of the inadequate housing and education facilities on Burnt Bridge station, the poor employment opportunities for Aborigines in general and to state the case for the need for anthropological training of white administrators. Yet Gollan did not pass his brief summary of her comments on to the Premier until February 21, 1938.¹ After the APA deputation of February 1, 1938, however, Gollan wrote to Stevens on February 15 with a full transcript of the meeting, advising that:

... the time has arrived when the whole problem of the control of Aborigines in NSW should be carefully reviewed in the light of present day conditions.²

On March 1, Gollan wrote again to the Premier, enclosing more press articles covering the January-February activities of the APA as well as the movement's circular to election candidates. On the basis of "the trend of the evidence" at the Select Committee and "the representations made by the speakers at a deputation from the Aborigines' Progressive Association", Gollan now strongly advised a "complete reorganization of the controlling authority".³ It was on this advice that Stevens made the decision to give the election promise of a restructured Board, announced inauspiciously to the press as "a new deal for these remnants of the Stone Age".⁴

While the election promise was unquestionably a victory for the Aboriginal movement, it was to be the last one for a long time. The Aborigines had forced a commitment to change, but they had no access to power to control the direction of the change. Of the range of issues which the APA deputation had raised with Gollan on February 1, the only one to receive immediate investigative attention was the call for increased ration issues.⁵ The Protection Board was able, in

26/10/1937, after a further urgent request from the Premier for information.

1 Kelly's meeting with Gollan occurred after a series of letters from both Kelly and Elkin to the Premier (20/10/1937; 5/11/1937; 8/11/1937) and a visit by Kelly to the Premier's private secretary, 15/10/1937. PDCF, A37/193.

2 PDCF, A37/193.

3 Ibid

4 SMH, 14/3/1938.

5 GC Gollan to BS Stevens, 15/2/1938, PDCF, A37/193.

its own defence, to point to repeated requests for more funds but it advised the Premier that it was now able to authorize an "improved" ration, to take effect late in March 1938.¹ The "improvements" made the ration "approximately equal" to Food Relief and had been approved by the Department of Public Health.²

"Approximately equal" turned out to be some distance from actually equal and involved a reduction in the amount of meat issued to those who had previously received it from 7 lbs per week to 3 lbs per week, in order that the latter amount could be given to all ration recipients.³ When Food Relief scales were increased in 1940, Aboriginal rations remained at the 1938 level and so the discrepancy widened again.⁴ The Board's assurances of action in 1938 were, however, enough to satisfy the Premier and all subsequent protests from Aborigines and whites about the quantity or quality of rations were brushed off with the Board's information.⁵

Once re-elected the Stevens Government, with Gollan as the new Chief Secretary, demonstrated that it had taken no notice of any of the positive and longer term proposals raised by the APA. Instead, it focussed on the issue of administration and "control" and turned for advice to white "experts". These were the established "experts", the members of the Protection Board and, in particular, the influential Harkness brothers and the new, self-proclaimed and "progressive" "experts", the anthropologists, who had already formed a mutually

1 APBM, 6/10/1937.

Secretary, APB to Chief Secretary, 8/10/1937;
EB Harkness, Undersecretary, Chief Secretary's Department to
BS Stevens, 26/10/1937;
Secretary, APB to Chief Secretary, 3/3/1938;
Chief Secretary to BS Stevens, 7/3/1938.
All above in PDCF, A37/193.

2 Chief Secretary to BS Stevens, 7/3/1938, PDCF, A37/193.

3 APB Circulars 144, 145, to Police and Managers, 2/3/1938, PDCF
A37/193.

4 An indication of the discrepancy can be gained from the fact that the improvements to the APB ration scale for all Aboriginal recipients, living both on and off stations, was estimated by NSW Treasury to cost £1500 annually in February 1938. (PDCF, A37/193). Yet by August 1940, NSW Treasury estimated that it would cost £7,800 to make APB rations equivalent to unemployment Food Relief for *only* those Aboriginal ration recipients living off stations. (AWBM, 21/8/1940).

5 See, for example, Undersecretary, Premier's Department to Housewives' Progressive Association, 7/3/1938; 24/3/1938, PDCF, A37/193.

satisfactory alliance with the Harkness' faction on the Board.¹ Neither of these two groups, were motivated to include Aborigines either in the decision-making process or on any restructured Board. E.B. Harkness argued that APA criticism of existing conditions could be ignored because:

With an underprivileged and, to some extent, intellectually low-grade people, one must expect a good deal of unrest and dissatisfaction.²

The Board Secretary acknowledged that APA complaints about conditions on reserves and stations contained some justification, but stated that this was only the case because the Board had been underfunded. The joint AAL-APA long term policy was dismissed by Pettit on the same grounds of an alleged general Aboriginal incompetence which had been used in 1927 to dismiss the AAPA policy. The Secretary's response to the plan for land settlement, for example, would have been of interest to William Cooper and Percy Mosely among many others:

The greatest discrimination would have to be exercised in this matter, as in most instances tenacity is not an outstanding attribute of the aboriginal and some kind of constant supervision would be essential.³

The anthropologists, on the other hand, were seeking to establish themselves as necessary to administration by claiming a role as indispensable mediators and interpreters between Aborigines and those whites who held power. Elkin argued that Aborigines in NSW, as elsewhere, were not competent to administer themselves as they were in

- 1 EB Harkness, as Undersecretary to the Chief Secretary, made a confidential report to the Premier (26/10/1937), defending the Board in general but criticizing the role of the police and, in particular, of the Board Chairman Mackay. His report recommended the inclusion of personnel on the Board who had expertise in "sociological and psychological" fields. BC Harkness, as Chief Inspector in the Education Department, was clearly offering identical advice to his Minister and the same arguments appear in DH Drummond's correspondence with Stevens. (All in PDCF, A37/193). BC Harkness and his strong supporter, HJ Bate (see APBM, 4/3/1936; 2/12/1936), had, by late 1937, been involved on the Board's policy sub-committee for 12 months and had sustained close contact with Elkin. See Goodall, "An Intelligent Parasite", for further details.
- 2 EB Harkness to Chief Secretary, 26/10/1937, PDCF, A37/193.
- 3 AC Pettit to Chief Secretary, 3/3/1938, (giving detailed responses to APA long term policy presented to Gollan, 1/2/1938). PDCF, A37/193.

fact confused people who had not yet "adapted" to European conditions and who required an appropriate "education" before they could do so.¹

Gollan entrusted the detailed decisions about the form of the restructured Board to a Public Service Board Inquiry, which began its investigations in June and which functioned without any publicity or public hearings. One of the members of the Board of Inquiry was a friend of Elkin and so the anthropologists were reassured, while, by its own account, the Inquiry consulted only "members and staff" of the Protection Board, "police officers engaged in the supervision of aborigines", anthropologists, "missionaries and medical officers". While the members of the Inquiry visited a number of country reserves and stations, their work was carried out, in effect, in secret. They made no formal approach to any Aboriginal organization nor is there any evidence that any member of the Inquiry spoke to any Aborigines.²

THE COALITION DISSOLVES: REGIONAL MOVEMENTS 1938

In April 1938, Aborigines still believed that they would be able to exercise some influence over the direction of change and the movement appeared to be riding a wave of success. It must have already been clear to Bill Ferguson that the coastal movement was rapidly re-emerging as an organized body and that the APA was indeed a coalition rather than a single entity directed from a Dubbo base. Patten, having made another organizing trip to the north coast before the Day of Mourning and Protest, was elected president of the APA at that meeting on the basis of his support in Sydney and his role as a spokesperson for the coast.³ When Patten insisted that the APA adopt a constitution at its first general meeting in April, Ferguson interpreted this as a bid for control of the organization although in itself the constitution appears unobjectionable (if centralized)

- 1 Elkin, "Native Education".
Kelly to Pettit, 6/10/1936. PDCF, A37/193.
Kelly, "Burnt Bridge Anthropological Survey", August-September 1937. PLCF, A37/193.
Goodall, "Intelligent Parasite".
- 2 PSBR, p7. The members of the Inquiry did consult the Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee but otherwise there is no suggestion anywhere in the Report to indicate Aboriginal evidence was considered.
- 3 Abo Call, April, p2.

except in that it prescribed that the APA Head Office be in Sydney.¹

At the April meeting, the APA split in what appears to have been a power struggle between Ferguson and Patten.² Thereafter, two Associations existed, both using the same name but with one based in Sydney and the other in Dubbo.³ The AAL maintained relations with both groups. As the split had not occurred on grounds of policy, both NSW Associations continued with the same structure of membership for Aborigines only and made similar demands to Government.

The Coastal APA

The organization of which Patten remained president can be designated the coastal APA. Patten retained the support of Guris on the coast and in Sydney with a few exceptions, notable among whom was Pearl Gibbs.⁴ His connections with P.R. Stephenson and Australia First alienated the coastal APA from white centre and left support.⁵ In the process, the coastal movement was divested of major pressure from white interests.

While Ferguson argued that Patten was being used by Stephenson⁶, it appears that the Australia First group was simply too disorganized to exert effective control over the Aboriginal movement. What policy the white group did have would have tended to make it leave the

1 Ibid, p3.

2 Ibid, May, p1.
SMH, 18/4/1938; 19/4/1938.
WW, 26/4/1938.

3 Abo Call, May, p1.
Dubbo Liberal, 7/4/1938.
W Ferguson to BS Stevens, 26/3/1938. PDCF, A37/193.

4 SMH, 19/4/1938, for La Perouse and Sydney support.
Interviews T54, T55.
F Roberts (Snr) to Jack Patten, 1/8/1938, (in Collarenebri public school files, DEIL) indicates the degree to which community activists on the coast continued to look to Patten for support throughout 1938.

5 Patten probably retained access to the nationalist and right-wing sections of the ALP and was able to organize a deputation to Lang and occasionally gain coverage in the Labor Daily (eg, 27/6/1938). Sawtell possibly retained some personal loyalty, but otherwise, as the Abo Call itself and Horner's account in Vote Ferguson make clear, individual Sydney white supporters and left wing ALP or other activists associated themselves with Ferguson.

6 Ferguson to BS Stevens, 26/3/1938. PDCF, A37/193.

Aborigines severely alone, to prove or disprove their "biological" ability to organize.¹ Funding was made available by W.J. Miles for a strictly limited period.² Miles was prepared to indulge Stephenson's interest in Aborigines as nationalistic symbols, but he was not prepared to be out of pocket too long on their account.

This funding enabled³ the publication of the Australian Abo Call, the first Aboriginal newspaper in NSW. The Australia First influences were restricted to three brief anti-semitic references"; one letter, on the "biological degeneracy of the Whites"⁵; and extracts from Capricornia, the Xavier Herbert novel which Stephenson was promoting but which was not without interest for Aboriginal readers. In general, the Abo Call displayed neither the literary style nor the ideological concerns of the Australia First's Publicist and Patten was clearly able to retain editorial control in Aboriginal hands.⁶

The attention of the coastal APA remained largely focussed on the situation in NSW. This was, however, to be only the beginning and once reforms were won in NSW the movement's aim was to put pressure on other governments, "until Aborigines are liberated in every State of the Commonwealth".⁷ The coastal APA was the most direct lobby group on the NSW Government during 1938 and it developed the clearest policy and spoke for the widest, most rapidly expanding

- 1 See "Publicist statement", Abo Call, June, p2, as well as the Publicist in general.
- 2 "Publicist statement", Abo Call, June, p2.
- 3 The paper and printing costs for "Aborigines Claim Citizen Rights!" and the Day of Mourning and Protest publicity had all been carried by the Publicist press also, but specifically Patten was required by the Newspapers Act to furnish recognizances of £300 plus sureties for a similar amount, which Miles paid on the condition that the newspaper become self-supporting (Abo Call, June, p2).
- 4 Abo Call, July, p3; September, p1.
- 5 Ibid, August, p3. The signatory's initials are not one of Miles' usual pseudonyms, although the address and the style suggest him as the author. Shorn of the jargon which made it virtually incomprehensible, the point of the letter was that Aborigines should not trust whites, a sentiment with which many Aborigines would have agreed on the basis of their experiences, if not of the bizarre biological racism expressed in the letter.
- 6 For an example of a situation in which Patten *did* allow himself to be used, see article "Black and White Australia", under Patten's name, in Publicist, October 1938, p15, (which, nevertheless, made many valid points in relation to the situation of Aborigines).
- 7 Abo Call, June, p1.

range of communities.

As in the 1920s, the most active regional support came from the north coast. Patten and two La Perouse Guris undertook, in June, a major north coast organizing trip¹, stopping first at Newcastle, where they addressed a meeting of white railway workers. After Newcastle, the group met only with Guris in at least ten communities along the coast, and signed up as members of the APA those people who formed the politically active nucleus of each community. Among these Guris were some from families which had been active in the AAPA while others were involved in current struggles with either local white towns or the Protection Board. Percy Mosely joined, as did Herbert Davis of Rolland's Plains and so too did some of the Guris from Urunga and Bellbrook who had been "concentrated" on Burnt Bridge. The response from the far northern rivers areas where towns and the Board were exerting pressure was just as strong. By the end of July, the Abo Call could name 118 active members in 19 NSW communities, 12 of which were on the north coast, 3 on the south coast and the others including Moonahcullah and Cumeragunja in the south west.²

The coastal APA expanded further, however, in that the organizing party in June crossed the State border into Queensland, putting its national perspective into practice and gaining members in 5 Queensland communities. Just as significantly, the organizers met not only with Guris but with Islanders living at Tweed Heads. This was the first time an Aboriginal organization had formally recognized that Islanders faced similar, if not identical, pressures from white Australians. The organizers made a commitment to alter the constitution of the APA to include Islanders in its membership and "meanwhile, extend[ed] them a hand in greeting".³

By June, also, the coastal APA executive, all of whom were living in Sydney or La Perouse, had refined and clarified the January long term policy statement. This new policy confirmed the essential dual strands of the first but made two important points. Firstly, the Aboriginal demand for equal representation on any new Board was reasserted after the moderation forced on the movement by white supporters in March. There was to be no chairperson and of the

1 Ibid, July, p2.

2 Ibid, July, p1; August, p2.

3 Ibid, July, p2.

six member Board proposed, three members were to be Aborigines nominated by the APA. There was, therefore, to be voting parity. Secondly, the roles of the three white members of this Board were to be strictly defined. One was to be an expert in education, one in health and the other in land settlement. They were clearly intended to act as advisors to the Aboriginal members on the matters which the coastal APA regarded as the priorities and were in no sense to control or supervise Aborigines.¹

This policy was discussed with and endorsed by each of the Guri communities visited by the organizing party and then adopted by a general coastal APA meeting in Sydney on June 16.² With a substantial mandate from at least one region, the coastal executive then approached both Government and Opposition members, seeking deputations to explain APA views on the new Board structure.³ The nationalist alliances of the coastal APA did not preclude contact with the right wing of the ALP. J.T. Lang responded for the Opposition and met the executive deputation but while he asked two questions in the House concerning the conditions of particular communities, he did not raise the issue of the new Board.⁴ The Government refused to meet any deputations.⁵

The coastal APA newspaper was an extremely important vehicle for the movement, as it was distributed far more widely than the organizers could travel. Contact was established through the paper with Aborigines in the Northern Territory and in areas of Queensland not reached by the organizing trip.⁶ The Abo Call consistently reported news items from these areas which reflected not merely white press articles but information from Aboriginal correspondents. In most

1 Ibid, June, p1.

2 Ibid, July, pp1-2.

3 Ibid.

JT Patten to BS Stevens, 13/7/1938. PDCF, B38/1716.

4 Abo Call, August, p3.

NPD, V.155, p741, 3/8/1938; p849, 5/8/1938; p1173, 19/8/1938; p1281, 24/8/1938.

5 BS Stevens to JT Patten, 20/7/1938. PDCF, B38/1716.

6 This is obvious from the Abo Call itself but it is also interesting to note that the letter Horner has reproduced in Vote Ferguson (between p88 and p89) as being written to Bill Ferguson is certainly addressed to him but from its contents and its location (with PR Stephenson's papers in the WW Stone collection) is clearly a response to the first edition of the Abo Call.

letters, however, the focus on NSW was sustained, providing a reflection of issues of concern at community level. On these pages, the slogan "full citizens rights" was opened up to reveal the range of issues which it in fact represented. Direct conflict with whites over school segregations and over pressure on reserve land, the refusal of control over endowment and the galling denial of access to alcohol were all raised alongside personal accounts of conflict with the police and the Protection Board itself.¹ This diverse flow of information in turn stimulated the coastal APA executive to lobby on issues wider than that of the restructuring of the Board. The Education Department, in particular, became a focus of protest over its continued support for segregation of public schools.

Of significance in this process, the Abo Call was being distributed inside NSW beyond the boundaries of the regional movement's affiliations. News and letters appeared in the newspaper from areas more within the reach of the Dubbo-based APA and from some, like Peak Hill, which had already been formally incorporated into the western movement.² An Aboriginal newspaper was clearly too valuable a resource to be limited by a dispute between two individual spokespeople. The Abo Call enabled the coastal APA to communicate information and, therefore, to lay the foundations for links between communities in different regions, facing similar pressures but not normally in contact with each other. Finally, as the broadening of issues raised and geographical areas reached occurred over 6 months, the views expressed in the newspaper's editorial comments began to expand in response.

1 All six editions of Abo Call. The issue of access to alcohol was one which the organized movements avoided in public discussion or which they buried under the call for the removal of discriminatory legislation. The obvious reluctance to raise the issue may have sprung from a wish to avoid confrontation with negative white stereotypes or it may have reflected the fact that many of the movements' spokespeople, like the Fergusons, Doug Nicholls and Frank Roberts, were fundamentalist Christians who disapproved of drinking anyway. The issue was, however, seen as being of great importance at community level, partly because it was an infuriating, every-day symbol of discrimination and partly because it placed such a ready weapon in the hands of the police (and white towns).

See Interviews T5, T6, T18, T35, T39, T45.

Stan Leslie (of Coonabarabran) to BS Stevens, 10/1/1938, PDCF A37/193

Abo Call, August, p3.

2 Ibid, May, p2: June, pp2,4; August, pp2,3; September, p1.

This dynamic can be traced in the reporting of pressures on a series of communities over the period of the paper's existence. In the June edition, the situation at Bellbrook was described from information sent in letters from that community. The Board was exerting pressure on the families remaining at Bellbrook by limiting ration issues and insisting that conditions would only be improved if they moved down river to the "central" station at Burnt Bridge. The Abo Call protested "this moving of people, like pieces on a draughts board" and pointed out that Bellbrook Guris "do not want to be moved from the district where they were born". Bellbrook people already knew of the lack of employment and the poor water supply at Burnt Bridge and they demanded that:

Instead of being moved from our own place,
we want conditions to be improved here, on the
spot.¹

This was very similar to the arguments raised by Angledool Maris against their enforced move in 1936, but the coastal movement was not so conscious yet of western conditions.

The parallels with the Bellbrook situation which were more immediately obvious were the situations at Baryulgil and Tuncester and these were pointed out in the July edition of the Abo Call. The additional element in these two situations was the segregation of the local public schools and the paper's account drew very clearly the connection between the segregations and the Board's ability to exert pressure on Guris to move to its stations by threatening to remove children.² The positive proposal stressed by the Abo Call, other than desegregation of the schools, was that "the Government make good land available to Aboriginal settlers in the farming districts". Using the example of Guris currently farming cane at Cabbage Tree Island to "provide an answer to the lie that Aborigines do not become good farmers", the Abo Call asserted that "'Farms for Aborigines' is our cry".³ This demand reflected the history of north coast Guris and the south western experience of Patten's own family, but was not of immediate relevance to Maris in western, pastoral areas.

In the August and September editions, however, the Abo Call ran its leaders on the situation at Collarenebri and on the Government

1 Ibid, June, p2.

2 Ibid, July, p2.

3 Ibid.

response to the question concerning that town, asked by J.T. Lang after coastal APA representations.¹ The conditions at Collarenebri were clearly analagous to those at Tuncester and Baryulgil: a sustained school segregation made Mari families vulnerable to the threats of the police to remove either their children or the whole community to a Board station. As the Collarenebri Maris were well aware of the events at Angledool, the Abo Call reported², they, like Guris at Baryulgil and Tuncester did not want to be forced under Board control "to be bullied and half-starved".

The Collarenebri situation was also, however, like that at Bellbrook: in all four places, Aborigines were not only demanding the right to be free of Board control but the right to have secure residence in localities which were of significance to them. Just as Bellbrook was "our own place", Collarenebri was the "home-town" of Maris there, it was their "birthplace" and the location of their elaborate burial ground.³ In addition to the call for farming land in agricultural areas, these Abo Call final editions stressed the rights of Aborigines across the State to have secure residential land in the area of their choice.

In an attempt to support the communities under pressure, Patten wrote to the Minister for Education as well as the Premier, pointing out that the threats to Aboriginal parents at both Collarenebri and Tuncester in relation to their children and their place of residence were a direct consequence of the school segregations.⁴ The Abo Call, in August, offered encouragement to Aborigines facing such pressure:

Pending new legislation, we advise all
Aborigines to resist intimidation ... and to

1 Ibid, August, p1; September, p1. The Abo Call was possibly distributed at Collarenebri and in surrounding areas by PR Stephenson, who made "a trip to the north west" in July (Publicist, 1/8/1938, p4). There are no indications in either the Publicist or the Abo Call as to whether Stephenson was accompanied by coastal APA organizers on this trip or not, although had Guris gone with him the trip would presumably have been reported in the Abo Call as an organizing trip. Stephenson was probably "The Traveller" who signed the leader in the August Abo Call leader on Collarenebri.

2 Abo Call, September, p1.

3 Ibid.

4 JT Patten to DH Drummond, 2/8/1938, Collarenebri public school files, DEIL.
JT Patten to BS Stevens, 2/8/1938, PDCF, E38/1716.

refuse to be 'bluffed' into moving away from their present homes to Government Reserves.¹

The "new legislation" was still "pending" when the Abo Call went out of existence after its September edition. W.J. Miles had refused to give any further funding and Aboriginal community resources had not proved sufficient to support both the newspaper and organizing costs.² Functioning from April to September 1938, the Abo Call had provided not only a record of attempts to influence Government but, with each edition, had reflected the increasingly bitter disillusion of the Aboriginal movement as it was realized how profoundly the Government was intending to ignore any Aboriginal proposals. By August, Aborigines had become extremely anxious and the Abo Call condemned "the 'skilled lobbyists' like the anthropologists and missionaries" who were "pestering Members of Parliament"³ and whom the Government was indeed consulting at the same time as it was refusing to meet Aborigines.

By September, although there had been no Government statement of its decision, there had been enough hints given by Gollan to the press to indicate that there was to be no Aboriginal consultation about or representation on the new Board.⁴ It had also been made clear that the anthropologists had secured themselves a role in the NSW administration, and were to be represented by Elkin. The final issue of the Abo Call condemned what it anticipated would be another "Dog and Goat Act for Aborigines" and warned that:

... the 'cut-and-dried' scheme of anthropologists, missionaries and other interfering persons for a new Act to put us under the heel of the University and the Churches will now meet with severe opposition.⁵

Despite its pessimism concerning the new legislation, the Abo Call closed on a determined note, announcing that Patten and other members of the APA would continue organizing and recruiting Aborigines into the movement.⁶ Patten appears to have been re-establishing contact with his father's people at Cumeragunja at this

1 Abo Call, August, p2.

2 Ibid, September, p4.

3 Ibid, August, p2.

4 Sunday Sun, 1/5/1938.
Sun, 3/5/1938, 16/7/1938.
Truth, 3/7/1938.

5 Abo Call, September, p1.

6 Ibid, p4.

time and he was able to gain press coverage in December 1938, which focussed on the extremely bad physical conditions existing by then at Cumeragunja. He stressed also that the major portion of this potentially productive land was under lease to a white man, an issue raised in general terms in the final edition of the Abo Call.¹

It seems to be a reflection, however, of a concentration of either the skills or the contacts for the publicity of the coastal APA in Patten's hands, that no other spokesperson emerged in the immediately subsequent period in Sydney. There was, therefore, no specific response from the coastal APA to the final Government decision on the new Board, although the September Abo Call had made the regional movement's opinion clear. Of greater importance, there was no alternative spokesperson in Sydney to mobilize supportive press coverage for the events at Cumeragunja in 1939, in which Patten himself was involved.

The Western APA

The activities of the movement of which Bill Ferguson became president after April 1938, and which will be designated here as the western APA, were less adequately documented as it did not have its own newspaper. It seems, however, that this western movement was less active in organizing among Aborigines and in lobbying the NSW Government than was the coastal APA.

Ferguson had lost the support of most Sydney Guris in the April split, but he had retained the support of the centre and left white groups mobilized over the previous months and reconstituted in April as the Committee for Aboriginal Citizens Rights (CACR).² This group excluded the Australia First members involved in the white support committee formed in October 1937, and the main activists in the CACR were Michael Sawtell and Joan Kingsley-Strack, a middle-class feminist. The CACR also included, however, the influential Albert Thompson, a member of the left wing "provisional executive" of the ALP, president of the ILD and on the Board of the Labor Daily (later

1 SMH, 1/12/1938, enclosed in memo, Premier's Department to Chief Secretary's Department, 19/12/1938. PDCF, A37/931.

2 SMH, 20/4/1938; 22/4/1938.
Labor Daily, 19/4/1938; 20/4/1938.
Workers' Weekly, 22/4/1938.

called the Daily News).¹ Ferguson therefore retained the support of people with the potential to mobilize the widest range of white groups and the widest press coverage, but who also had their own established areas of interest concerning Aborigines.

The western APA became in a sense the captive of the focus of interest of these white supporters, whose attention was firmly fixed on the Northern Territory and other "remote" areas. Their methods, too, were already established as the type of civil rights campaigns against the racist administration of justice in the Northern Territory which the ILD had been organizing for a number of years and which echoed the American ILD defence of the "Scottsboro boys".² The ILD gained impressive and committed Aboriginal speakers for such campaigns in Ferguson (when he was in Sydney) and in Pearl Gibbs and their involvement reinforced the national perspective of this section of the Aboriginal movement.

While such activity over May and June of 1938³ may have provided important support for Aborigines in the Northern Territory and certainly provoked an angry response from Darwin whites⁴, it proved to be a diversion of energy from organizing in NSW. As the NSW Government had never had any intention of consulting Aborigines about changes in administration anyway, perhaps this altered focus of activity was irrelevant as far as lobbying government was concerned, although no-one in the Aboriginal movement believed this to be the case until later in the year. Of more importance, the orientation of white-directed campaigns distracted from organizing among Aborigines in NSW, which, after all, had been Ferguson's expressed intention in 1937.

It was not until the end of June 1938, that a general meeting of the western APA was held in Dubbo, and the only community represented

- 1 CACR Letterhead: Sawtell was president, Thompson, a vice-president and Kingsley-Strack, secretary. Horner, Vote Ferguson, p88; p108, et passim. Horner conducted interviews with all three.
- 2 The Workers' Weekly reported regularly on the ILD involvement in the Scottsboro case through the early 1930s (eg, 27/5/1932, 3/6/1932 through to eg, 5/7/1935). For an account of an Australian "ILD Victory" in Darwin, see 19/7/1935.
- 3 Focussing on the Packsaddle case: SMH, 7/3/1938; 22/4/1938; DT, 12/3/1938; 4/4/1938; 20/4/1938; 3/6/1938; Sun, 4/3/1938; 7/3/1938; 14/4/1938; Labor Daily, 20/4/1938; 4/6/1938; WW, 17/5/1938.
- 4 Labor Daily, 4/6/1938.

which was not from within the immediate vicinity of Dubbo was Brewarrina, where Ferguson's initial visit had been consolidated by Pearl Gibbs' work in December 1937.¹ The inter-community links existing in the west were only newly established and so were tenuous. There was, therefore, no concerted pressure from an Aboriginal community base to redirect at least some white attention to NSW. There was clearly a need for a broadening of the western APA community base and with the dislocating and disorienting effects of Board concentration activities in the west it was essential that movement organizers travel to build political links. Pearl Gibbs returned to Sydney in July 1938, with a western APA authorization for the CACR to raise money to buy a car for such organizing work.²

The CACR proved to be simply ineffective as a channel for financial support. The car fund had raised only £22 by February 1939, and the car was in fact never bought.³ The Government's early 1938 election promise of a reformed Board had undoubtedly undercut much general or casual white support for the Aboriginal movement, while the anthropologists had ceased to participate in any political lobbying once the secret Public Service Board Inquiry was established. Sources for financial support had, therefore, dried up and the CACR was unable to generate a new flow. Neither Ferguson nor his white supporters appear to have contemplated establishing a newspaper and many would have opposed the idea in principle anyway as "separatist". The western APA was therefore left without a vehicle in any sense of the word.

Ferguson did have access to the Dubbo press and both he and Pearl Gibbs in Sydney were able to gain some press coverage of NSW issues but their comments were again limited to criticism of existing conditions on Board controlled reserves and stations.⁴ Western APA lobbying of Government was also limited, consisting of a brief statement of policy arising from the June 30 general meeting and a request

1 Dubbo Despatch, 2/7/1938.
Daily Liberal, 2/7/1938.

2 Ibid.

3 Daily News, 13/2/1939.
Horner, Vote Ferguson, p84.

4 Woman Today, May 1938.
DT, 1/8/1938.
Dubbo Despatch, 9/9/1938; 27/1/1939.

for a deputation to the Premier, which was refused as the similar coastal requests had been refused.¹ This policy statement reasserted the Aboriginal demand for equal representation on any new Board, exactly as the coastal APA had done. The other demands were for full citizens rights, for the abolition of all discriminatory legislation and for a rapid transfer of power to the Federal Government.

Pearl Gibbs, now officially secretary of the western APA, took this policy statement back to Sydney in July also, but white supporters again proved reluctant to offer full support for Aboriginal demands. Organizing within the ALP produced 5 branch endorsements of the March 3 meeting resolutions, calling for an unspecified number of Aboriginal representatives, which were received by the Premier between July and August 1938.² Over the same period, the CACR obtained 20 white signatories for a brief and generalized demand for "full citizens rights".³ By mid-October, the CACR had organized another form letter campaign which went into details concerning the white members of any new Board, suggesting that trade unionists and feminists, among others, should be included but which reduced the Aboriginal representation proposed to *one* person only.⁴

Looking to white support groups for assistance in reactivating western community organizing provided few results in the short term and left the western APA doing little more than marking time during 1938. Only towards the end of the year, when it was clear that the Government was not going to proceed with anything remotely acceptable to Aborigines, did the western movement reactivate community level work. In a significant departure from their earlier focus of attention, and probably in an attempt to generate practical, concrete plans based on local needs and energy, western APA activists began to show more interest in the land proposals of the January long term

- 1 Pearl Gibbs, for APA, to BS Stevens, 4/7/1938; BS Stevens to APA (Dubbo), 20/7/1938. PDCF, B38/1716.
- 2 From Bathurst, Wollongong, Merrylands, Barrier and Katoomba ALP Branches, 8/6/1938, 1/7/1938, 7/7/1938, 12/7/1938 and 2/8/1938 respectively. PDCF, B38/1716.
- 3 All in PDCF, B38/1716. All were individual signatories to a CACR form letter and all were from established, middle class areas like Vaucluse, Double Bay and Potts Point.
- 4 All in PDCF, B38/1716. The first was dated 18/10/1938. Eight arrived before the announcement (1/11/1938) of the new Board structure, then a further 66 signatories to the form letter wrote by April 1939.

policy. In December 1938, a meeting of the organization at Talbragar called for agricultural development of the three suitable reserves near Dubbo: Talbragar itself, Nanima at Wellington and Burra Bee Dee at Coonabarabran.¹

Early in 1939, tired of waiting for white support which failed to materialize, Ferguson began organizing trips again. These trips, in which Brewarrina and Tibooburra people played significant roles, tapped the anger caused by town and Protection Board pressure along the inland river system and began the actual structural expansion of the western APA, from Weilmoringle in the west to Moree and then Boggabilla in the east. By this time, the western movement was able to build on the initial foundations laid not only by Ferguson's and Pearl Gibbs' earlier work, but also by the distribution of information through the Aho Call.

The expansion of structure and policy was obvious by April 1939, when the western APA held its second annual general meeting in Dubbo. Over sixty Maris attended, even though wet weather had stopped Collarenebri and Moree representatives arriving.² The executive was formally widened to include people who did not live in Dubbo and had not taken part in the 1937 mobilization.³ The policy arising from this meeting reflected more accurately and specifically the current needs of western communities, criticising not only Protection Board control and its "improved" ration but also white town actions in segregating schools and hospitals. The most substantial development was that the issue of land as it affected Maris in pastoral areas was finally addressed.

In terms of the immediate experience of north-western communities, the obvious need was for security of residence in the area of Mari choice and now the western APA made this demand as had the coastal APA in the previous year. The western organization, however, developed a more detailed proposal. Acquisition of additional land was implied but as a first step the western APA called for an end to all leasing of reserves and then the establishment of a housing scheme, similar to the Homes for Unemployed system, based on reserve lands. The reserves were to be handed over to their Mari residents, who were to

1 Dubbo Dispatch, 30/1/1939.

2 Ibid, 13/4/1939.

3 Bill Reid, Secretary, APA to BS Stevens, 12/4/1938, PDCF, B38/1716.

be assisted to build "proper" serviced houses, which were to be transferred on a low rental-purchase scheme, while the land of the reserves was to become the property of the Mari home occupants.¹

The western APA had therefore begun the process of consolidating inter-community links and of reflecting more accurately the needs of the communities on which it was based. This had occurred in spite of, rather than because of, white metropolitan support but the expansionary process had eventually been set in motion by Maris themselves.

The AAL

In contrast, the AAL, which had had the most clearly developed and the most wideranging policy from 1936, went through a rapid contraction of its focus of interest and its demands on the NSW Government during 1938. In mid-1937, the AAL and the station residents at Cumeragunja had had good reason to believe that the manager replacing the moderately well-respected Danvers would assist them with the building of new houses, with the installation of a pump to improve the water supply and with the fulfilment of their long-held hopes for renewed agricultural development.

Within months such beliefs had all been dispelled, the Government promises all found to be empty. The new manager, A.J. McQuiggan, had been the Superintendent of Kinchela who, by the account of the Board itself and two senior police officers, was an indebted drunkard who had regularly disciplined boys at the Home by tying them to the fence and beating them with hosepipes and stockwhips. He had brought to Cumeragunja only arrogance, threats and violence. The new "houses" rather than an improvement on the old four-roomed cottages, were found to be two-roomed "slums", built of "mill-rubbish", with tin rather than brick chimneys and wooden shutters instead of windows. There had been no improvements to either the water supply or the sanitation and not the slightest indication of a renewal of farming.² Despite the heavy AAL involvement in lobbying both Federal and State Governments and in planning the Day of Mourning and Protest, William Cooper felt it necessary early in January 1938 to pass on the Cumeragunja protests to the NSW Premier, pointing out that:

1 Ibid.

2 W Cooper to BS Stevens, 1/1/1938. PDCF, A38/931.

While all the papers are talking housing reform, the natives are getting hovels.¹

On January 16, a young Cumeragunja child was diagnosed as suffering from polio, then prevalent among the white population and receiving much publicity.² This diagnosis seemed to confirm all the fears of the Cumeragunja residents about the dangers to health posed by the station conditions and many began preparations to leave, both in protest and for safety.³ McQuiggan stopped this movement only with the aid of 7 police officers and the declaration of a state of quarantine. The incident, significantly, was portrayed in the white press as a result of irrational "panic", caused by interpretations of earlier press coverage of the disease. McQuiggan took the opportunity to assure the public that the station residents "live in their own homes contentedly" and "have similar educational, religious and social facilities as residents of an ordinary country town".⁴ No further cases of polio were diagnosed and by the time the quarantine was lifted, the Cumeragunja people had decided against a walk-off but appealed to the AAL to intensify the protests on their behalf.

Cooper had been informed by this time from the Premier's Department that the new "houses" were the Board's "standard design", which had been approved by the Government Architect and that the station's sanitation was considered satisfactory.⁵ The next letter Cooper wrote to the Premier was at the end of March, after the disappointment of the Federal Government rejection of the AAL petition and after further appeals from Cumeragunja. Cooper's bitterness was reflected in his strongly-worded letter, which scathingly pointed to the difference between the Board's "standard design" house and those at the "show window" at La Perouse. He went on to attack the whole attitude of the Government which he said was:

... usually one of domination and oppression, of take it or leave it, and the last ones to be considered are the natives themselves and their feelings are not considered at all.

1 Ibid.

2 Argus, 18/1/1938; 20/1/1938.

3 SMH, 9/2/1939.
Argus, 9/2/1939.

4 Ibid., 21/1/1938.

5 Chief Secretary to Premier, 9/2/1938; JL Rose, private secretary for Premier to W Cooper, 5/3/1938. PDCF, A38/931.

Finally, he invited the Premier to inspect Cumeragunja for himself but warned that he should not expect to be able to speak freely to the station residents as they had reason to fear retaliation from McQuiggan.¹

Cooper did not receive even an acknowledgement to this letter, and in May, in response to more pleas for help from Cumeragunja, he visited the station to find it in a disastrous condition, as he wrote to the Premier immediately on his return to Melbourne.² Cooper had heard innumerable complaints from the station's residents, but the one about which he was most angry was that the pumping plant, promised ten months before, had still not been installed. The problem of water supply for even domestic use had been acute in 1937, but in the drought conditions of 1938 the Cumeragunja water shortage had created a very real emergency. Drinking water was contaminated and there was no feed or water for the stock with the result that the few milking cows were no longer capable of supplying milk for the children on the station. The station's residents were in extreme physical distress, all of which, Cooper pointed out furiously, could have been avoided if the Government had kept its promise to install a pumping plant in mid-1937. He demanded the immediate installation of a pumping plant and urgent aid to relieve the state of emergency existing on the station.

Cooper did not, this time, write merely one letter. As he had received no reply to his last letter in which he addressed a number of issues, he suggested that it might "facilitate investigation" for the officials if he confined himself to one issue per letter. So on May 23, he wrote four letters altogether, each in uncharacteristic and sarcastically simple language. One addressed the problem of the water shortage, another the problems of sanitation, the third condemned the "building of slums" on the station and the fourth demanded an end to all discriminatory legislation. These May letters were acknowledged, but not until mid-July. The Premier's Department asked the Chief Secretary for information a week after this again, but had received no reply at all by mid-November.³

1 W Cooper to BS Stevens, 31/3/1938. PDCF, A38/931.

2 Ibid, 23/5/1938. Four letters in all. PDCF, A38/931.
(APA Burdeu also wrote, for Uplift Society, 26/5/1938)

3 JL Rose, for Premier, to W Cooper, 19/7/1938. Premier's Department to Chief Secretary's Department, 27/7/1938; 15/11/1938.
PDCF, A38/931.

By this time, however, conditions on Cumeragunja had become even worse. There had been no improvement in physical facilities and relations between the station residents and McQuiggan had reached irretrievable breakdown. The lack of response to Cooper's letters on their behalf had convinced Cumeragunja Guris that they must take matters into their own hands, although they maintained close contact with the AAL. The Cumeragunja residents therefore formulated a petition stating their grievances and, knowing the risk they faced of retaliation, a "very representative" number of Guris signed their names to it.

The major demands of the petition were for the immediate dismissal of the McQuiggans because of their arrogant, offensive and abusive behaviour and for an urgent inquiry into the conditions and management of the station. The rest of the petition was a ventilation of all the complaints which Cooper had relayed already to the Premier, including those of long standing like the continued paucity of ration issues and the denial of control over Family Endowment. Cooper sent a supporting letter to corroborate each of the charges made in the petition and added, in relation to McQuiggan:

The people are frightened of him at any time, for we have been cowed down so long, but the fact that he carries a rifle about with him makes matters worse. We have been decimated by the rifle among other things and fear the result of one being carried now.¹

The original copy of the petition is not available to give an exact number of signatories, because the Cumeragunja people still had some faith in the use of the proper administrative channels and so they sent their petition to the Protection Board in mid-November. They received no acknowledgement and no direct reply. The Protection Board did what it always had done in such circumstances and sent the petition immediately to the manager of the station from which it had come. The Cumeragunja people first learned that the Board had received their petition when McQuiggan pasted it up on the door of the station office and then "invited those who wished to remove their names to do so".²

Cooper's response to the actions of McQuiggan and the Board was intense anger. He wrote to the Premier, tersely describing the events

1 W Cooper to APB, 28/11/1938; to BS Stevens, 20/2/1939. PDCF, A38/931.

2 W Cooper to BS Stevens, 20/2/1939. PDCF, A38/931.

and saying:

I submit that this is not in accordance with British tradition and would not be done for a fully white community and in itself constitutes a further grievance ... We are not an enemy people and we are not in Nazi concentration camps. Why should we then be treated as though we are?¹

Cooper was a man who believed in working through the correct bureaucratic procedures and who had demonstrated, by the very number of the letters he had written to Governments, that he believed that reasoned argument and presentation of the facts would lead to equitable solutions. He probably believed personally in the ideals of "British Justice", in addition to his political judgement that exposure of the discrepancy between those ideals and the actual practice of British settlers in Australia could awaken the conscience of whites. Cooper's situation late in 1938 was symptomatic of the effects of the pressures facing the whole Aboriginal movement.

In 1937, both Ferguson and Patten had been calling for the immediate and total abolition of white Boards of control. During 1938, both had been forced, by Government intransigence or by the pressure of white supporters, to retreat to the position of discussing the precise number of Aboriginal representatives on the inevitable "new" Board. First the coastal movement and, somewhat later, the western movement were able to counter this pressure to reduce their demands and contract their focus of attention to the details of "reformed" administration by the expansion of their community base.

The AAL, however, had always been tied far more closely to a single community in NSW than had the other two movements. That one community suffered a classical example of the rejection of their "rising expectations". As Cooper himself had said:

We were being encouraged to expect something decent, but it appears that we are to be dehumanized.²

The conditions and, more importantly, the hopes at Cumeragunja deteriorated so rapidly that the AAL became entirely absorbed in the urgent and immediate needs of that community. Few of Cooper's letters during 1938 refer to any long term policy or even to the agricultural development of Cumeragunja itself. Instead, they refer increasingly to the day-to-day injustices occurring under McQuiggan's

1 Ibid.

2 W Cooper to BS Stevens, 1/1/1938. PDCF, A38/931.

rule. Cooper, who in 1936 had been proposing imaginative, constructive plans for the positive and independent development of all Aboriginal communities had been forced by late 1938 to limit his vision and focus all his energies on the attempt to have one manager on one station dismissed.

For many members of the Cumeragunja community, McQuiggan's use of the petition to intensify the victimization of those who had signed it marked the end of their confidence in Cooper's methods, although certainly not in Cooper himself. They began to consider other methods of forcing the Government to concede to their demands. Talk of a protest walk-off was revived and contact was made with Jack Patten, whose brother George and other family members were living on the station. Patten was asked to take the more radical step of generating publicity in the white press about Cumeragunja conditions. The coverage Patten achieved early in December¹ effectively exposed the alarmingly high death rate on the station, particularly among infants. Significantly, however, Patten's focus in his press statement on the issue of the leasing of the reserve demonstrated that for his Cumeragunja correspondents, even 30 years and McQuiggan's intolerable behaviour had not driven the basic land dispute at the station very far below the surface.

The three Aboriginal political movements were, then, in differing positions towards the end of 1938. The coastal APA had undertaken major community expansion and development of policy although the loss of the newspaper had left its organization in an uncertain condition. The western APA had yet to shake itself loose from its white supporters and was not to begin this expansionary process until the new year. Finally, the AAL had laid aside, for the time being at least, its long term aims, to concentrate on supporting the Cumeragunja community.

Administrative Sleight of Hand: "Protection" to "Welfare"

On October 31, 1938, Chief Secretary Gollan finally announced the outline of the Government's decision on a restructured Board. What was now to be called the "Welfare Board" was to operate on an entirely "new basis", Gollan explained, and would take "prompt and energetic action ... to enable the gradual assimilation of Aborigines into the

1 SMH, 1/12/1938.

economic and social life of the general community".¹ The announcement was reported in the press under headlines like "Drastic Changes", but while the Welfare Board was indeed to prove "energetic", it was in no sense "new" and involved no "drastic changes" either in policy, legislation or personnel, other than to include Professor Elkin as a member.² The full extent to which Protection Board policy and legislation, including all of the 1936 amendments, were to be perpetuated in the Welfare Board was not revealed until 1940, when the Public Service Board Inquiry Report was published and the bill for the "new" legislation was finally introduced into Parliament. Gollan's announcement in October 1938, however, gave general indications of Government thought, which was based on an acceptance of the Public Service Board's advice.³

This advice, submitted to the Government confidentially in August 1938, had strongly endorsed the policies taken up by the Protection Board during the early 1930s.⁴ The influence of the anthropologists could be seen in the language used, but otherwise little was changed: "mergence" simply became "assimilation"; "confinement" and "concentration" became "aggregation"; "disciplinary supervision" became "vigorous" but "gradual training". The Public Service Board Inquiry had criticized the Protection Board for its slipshod administration and documentation⁵, but its major criticism was directed towards the Government for its consistent underfunding of the Board.⁶ The Inquiry's Report recommended urgent increases in funds for housing construction and to bring the "improved" ration scale up to actual parity with the Food Relief scale. This, the

1 Ibid, 1/11/1938.
DT, 1/11/1938.

2 Ibid.
See PDCF, B38/1716 for the notes from Cabinet meeting, 5/10/1938, which worked on Gollan's press statement, making interesting changes like that from "... the problem will be dealt with on a firm basis" to "... will be dealt with on a new basis". The difference between Government intentions and the image it wished to present to the public are made very clear.

3 BS Stevens to GC Gollan, 15/10/1938, confirming Gollan's Cabinet Minute (5/10/1938) which had endorsed all of the Public Service Board Inquiry Report's recommendations. PDCF, B38/1716.

4 Public Service Board to Chief Secretary, 16/8/1938, enclosing Report. PDCF, A38/193. Report printed after tabling, 4/4/1940, in the NSW Joint Parliamentary Papers.

5 PSBR, pp12, 13, 19, 26, 28, 29.

6 Ibid, pp13-16.

Report insisted, must also involve the cessation of deductions of children's rations from Family Endowment.¹

Otherwise, the Report was supportive of the Board's policies. It strongly recommended that the "training" of Aborigines continue to include "apprenticeships" although it suggested that inspection of prospective employers should be tightened to avoid some of the more blatant abuses of the system.² The Report was emphatic, however, in stating:

... apprenticeship must continue to constitute a substantial part of the training of the children. This being so, it should be a regular part of the Board's functions to ensure the placement of as many children as possible.³

As part of the process of "training" Aborigines more "vigorously", the Report endorsed the decisions already taken by the Protection Board to separate the roles of manager and teacher⁴; to upgrade the syllabus for "special" Aboriginal schools (although still not to the standard of that in public schools)⁵; and to make the Education Department assume responsibility for the education of all Aboriginal children, with the initial step of allowing and indeed, encouraging, Aboriginal entry into the public school system.⁶

The Report's long term proposal⁷ was more systematic (and even less practical) than that developed by the Board but was nevertheless consistent with the intentions expressed by the Board over the previous 5 years. The Report recommended a "staging" scheme, in which the supervised stations were to house Aboriginal individuals or families judged by the Board to be least able to "cope" with white society (that is, those who were least acceptable to whites). Such people were to include those who were to be "aggregated" from town camps onto stations. The more lightly supervised reserves were the second "stage" and on these were to be placed those Aborigines who

1 Ibid, pp15-16.

2 Ibid, p34.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid, p31.
APBM, 7/7/1937.

5 PSBR, p34.
APBM, 7/7/1937.

6 PSBR, p30.
APBM, 1/9/1937.

7 PSBR, pp19,31-35.

had made some "progress". Finally, Aborigines whom the Board considered to be capable of independence (that is, those thought to be acceptable to whites) were to be "assisted" to separate themselves from their community and were to be established in houses in white towns.

As a first step in what would obviously be large scale and expensive movements of people, the Report recommended that stations with either unoccupied houses or space for more houses to be built, should be "filled up" with Aborigines who were to be moved from the more overcrowded stations.¹ At no point did the Report suggest that any concession might be made to Aboriginal opinion or preference in any of these planned moves into, out of or between stations and reserves. The Report was proposing that Aborigines be moved around the State, in individual or family units, "like pieces on a draughts board", to be fitted in to the spatial facilities and the social and psychological categories of the white administration.

The contribution of the anthropologists to this Report was presumably the emphasis on the "training" which, it was recommended, should take place "vigorously" on the stations. This "training" scheme² can only be described as a crude attempt at behaviour modification by positive and negative reinforcement. Standards of behaviour and lifestyle were to be defined by the Board and if Aborigines "progressed" in the assessment of the Board manager they were to be rewarded with, for example, conditional "leaseholds" over small patches of land (on the Kelly model) or with cash payment of Family Endowment. Those Aborigines who refused to live by the standards or to exhibit the attitudes judged acceptable by the manager would be refused such privileges. Aborigines who had achieved their "rewards" but then "regressed" would have their "leaseholds" terminated or their Endowment payments reconverted to payments in kind at the discretion of the manager.

The Report in fact made the important observation that "one of the principal difficulties" lay in "the antipathy of the general community to the Aborigines". Yet, other than one brief recommendation for the re-establishing of "local committees" to generate interest among local whites by enlisting their assistance for employ-

1 Ibid, p31.

2 Ibid, pp19,31-35.

ment, social work and recreation¹, the Report made no suggestions on how to change white attitudes. All of the rest of its many recommendations dealt with proposed mechanisms to change Aborigines into something acceptable to whites. It was simply easier to consider changing the behaviour of a numerically small, subject population, however difficult that might be in practice, than to consider confronting the prevailing attitudes of the dominant settler population.

With such a strong endorsement of Protection Board policies and attitudes, it is hardly surprising that the Public Service Board Inquiry Report recommended that there should be no Aboriginal representation on the Welfare Board.² Gollan's announcement of October 31 did no more than imply the Government's decision to continue the central elements of Protection Board policy, but it did confirm Aboriginal fears that although anthropologists were to sit on the "new" Board, there was to be no Aboriginal representation at all.

The first of the regional movements to protest was the AAL, whose letter arrived less than a week after Gollan's announcement and stated:

From the [press] reports, there is one factor, which we regard as of supreme importance and that is representation of Aboriginal interests, to which there is no reference.

We ask that we have representation on the Board, for representation only by an anthropologist is not satisfactory to us.³

Only an Aboriginal person, the AAL argued, could accurately advise the Government of "Aboriginal aspirations" and only an Aborigine could carry out effective liaison between the Board and Aboriginal communities. The letter also reiterated the AAL demand for stations to be run by committees of Aboriginal residents, with the manager present in a representative and advisory capacity only, with no power of veto over Aboriginal decisions.

As the Abo Call had ceased publication the coastal APA had no direct channel of expression, nor did it send any correspondence to the Premier. In Jack Patten's press statement on Cumeragunja early in December, however, he restated the community endorsed policy which

1 Ibid, pp12,21,30.

2 Ibid, pp27-28.

3 W Cooper to BS Stevens, 5/11/1938. PDCF, B38/1716.

called for equal Aboriginal representation on any new Board and for remaining white members to be advisors only, with expertise in the practical matters of health, education and land settlement.

The western APA made its statement on February 1, 1939, conveying the resolutions of a recent meeting which called for the eventual abolition of all Boards of control. As a "first step", however, the organization was prepared to accept a restructured Board but one which must have Aboriginal representation. The western APA letter repudiated its own white support group's call for only a single Aboriginal representative, but a recognition of the weight of opposition had forced even the Aboriginal body to retreat from the demand for equal representation and no exact number of representatives was cited. The final resolution was the one which worried the Government most and was annotated by department officials for the Premier's special attention. It read:

Our Association will continue to oppose the appointment of an Anthropologist, as we resent any further treatment as scientific specimens.¹

The Government, however, had already made its decisions and amending legislation was being drafted on the basis of the Public Service Board's advice.² All of the Aboriginal protests were ignored.

THE CUMERAGUNJA STRIKE

It was clear by early 1939 that the possibility of easy and rapid success for Aboriginal demands, which seemed so near only 12 months before, had been an illusion. The western APA was able, during 1939, to undertake important expansion and consolidation of inter-community links. The most dramatic Aboriginal action of 1939, however, was the Cumeragunja Strike and it was a bitter reflection not only of one community's desperation but of the general frustration caused by the NSW Government's total indifference to Aboriginal demands.

The Strike began on Friday, February 3, 1939, when 200 of the 300 Cumeragunja residents walked off the station, crossed the river into Victoria, set up camp at Barmah and vowed they would not return until McQuiggan had been dismissed and the inquiry they had asked for

1 W Ferguson to BS Stevens, 1/2/1939. PDCF, B38/1716.

2 BS Stevens to GC Gollan, 15/10/1938. PDCF, B38/1716.

in November was begun.¹ This was the form of protest attempted a year before and its enormous symbolic significance cannot be overstated. In walking away from Cumeragunja, the people were walking away from land they had been fighting to regain for 30 years.

Talk of a walk-off had intensified after McQuiggan's victimization of the petition signatories and as conditions worsened with an increased population over the holiday period. Jack Patten had arrived at the station late in January, using his still-valid entry permit, and had stayed with relations there. By all accounts, including that of McQuiggan, Patten had spent his time explaining the events of the political campaign of the last year and its by-then obvious failure. He had also described the powers gained by the Board under the 1936 amendments, which included the power to confine Aborigines against their will on reserves.² This was a power which had not yet been exercised in the south west as had been done in the west and north of the State and there can be no doubt that a simple description of events at Angledool or Burnt Bridge would have been alarming. Patten himself could only have been pessimistic by this stage about any chance of Government response to formal Aboriginal proposals and his analysis of the situation may well have proved the final argument for Cumeragunja people that they must take direct action to force even a hearing of their demands.

The decision to make the walk-off was taken on the morning of Friday 3 and as Cumeragunja people prepared to leave, Patten went to Barmah to telegraph an urgent message to the NSW Premier demanding an immediate inquiry into McQuiggan's "intimidation, starvation [and]

1 JT Patten to BS Stevens, Urgent Telegram, 3/2/1939.

W Cooper to BS Stevens, 20/2/1939.

H Hargreaves to W Gale, 5/2/1939.

All in PDCF, A38/931.

2 Early press accounts included McQuiggan and NSW APB versions: SMH, 6/2/1939, 9/2/1939; DT, 7/2/1939, 10/2/1939; Age, 7/2/1939; Argus, 6/2/1939, 7/2/1939.

McQuiggan's account in SMH, 6/2/1939 is particularly interesting: his description of what Patten said is an accurate summary of the major powers held by the APB under the Protection Act as amended in 1936. McQuiggan then said "There is absolutely no truth in the allegations".

For the versions of Patten's statements given by Cumeragunja strikers, Moama police and Patten himself, see later press and accounts of Jack and George Patten's court cases arising from the strike and held 10/3/1939. SMH, 9/2/1939, 11/3/1939; Argus, 8/2/1939, 27/2/1939, 1/3/1939, 11/3/1939; WW, 28/2/1939; Melbourne Herald, 16/2/1939.

victimization" which, he stated, was the cause of the protest.¹ McQuiggan, as he had done a year before, called the Moama police and when Patten returned, he and his brother George were arrested for "inciting" Aborigines to leave the station, an activity which had, of course, only been made an offence by the enactment of the 1936 amendments.

The walk-off continued. Many of the Cumeragunja strikers believed that this action in itself would win them a hearing. The Protection Board, however chose to treat the matter with total public dishonesty and, interestingly, in precisely the same way that the entirely different personnel on the Board in the 1910s had treated the major community disturbances at Cumeragunja in that decade. Rather than viewing the issue as one of widespread protest among the whole station population, requiring serious investigation, both sets of Board members looked for individuals to be made scapegoats with the label "trouble maker".

On Saturday, February 4, the Board issued a statement to the effect that the "incident" had been caused by "an agitator" and that there had been no previous complaints from Cumeragunja residents. This statement was broadcast on radio and while the 200 strikers had few possessions with them and little food, they had access to a wireless. They heard the broadcast and it proved to them that their actions had not even gained an honest response from the Board, let alone acknowledgement of their demands. It was this broadcast which convinced the strike camp that a brief, token demonstration was not enough. They spent the following day making arrangements for a more permanent camp and a school for their children, while dispatching a delegation to Cooper in Melbourne to mobilize political support.

So began a strike which lasted 9 months. The initial demands of the strikers were those of their petition of November 1938, but by August the focus on McQuiggan had broadened to a reassertion of the longest standing Cumeragunja and AAL demands. The Strike call became one for a Royal Commission, not just to have McQuiggan removed, but to gain the return of the farm blocks to the Cumeragunja owners, for support in agricultural development plans for the whole reserve, for

1 Patten to Stevens, 3/2/1939. PDCF, A38/931. The following description of the Strike has been written from press cited in note 2, p401 and from correspondence with NSW Premier cited in note 1, p401.

the abolition of all Boards of control and for full citizens rights.¹ The Strike had reversed the process of 1938 in which attention had been constricted to immediate concerns and mobilization around the long term, dual stranded policy had begun again.

The closest political working alliance, in terms of spokespeople, during 1939 was between Jack Patten and William Cooper, although, perhaps for tactical reasons, Jack Patten played a low-keyed role for the duration of the Strike. His brother George became the strikers' major spokesperson.² As far as Jack Patten remained in contact with the coastal APA network (and the extent of such contact is not clear) the de facto coalition of regional movements had shifted.

The white press, encouraged by McQuiggan, the Protection Board, and local white landholders, tended to portray the Strike as it had done the polo incident a year before: as irrational "panic", the product of an "agitator's" "lies" on "superstitious", "primitive" and "simple minds".³ The notable exceptions were the articles written by journalists who visited the strike camp and who could not fail to be impressed with the sincerity and determination of the strikers.

The most politically inflammatory coverage of the Strike, however, was in the Sydney Daily News, of which Bill Ferguson's supporter Albert Thompson was a Board member. On the obvious basis of Jack Patten's association with Australia First, the Daily News article implied that Patten was working for the Nazi Party and had caused the Strike to assist German claims for a return of the mandated territory of New Guinea. Thompson was interviewed in the same article, and repudiated Patten, accusing him of "fomenting trouble on aboriginal reserves".⁴

- 1 National Secretary, ARU, to BS Stevens, 21/9/1939 and considerable correspondence from various support groups, including the newly-formed Aborigines Assistance Committee (19/8/1939) which had a white membership but Aboriginal organizers from the AAL. PDCF, A38/931.
- 2 Age, 12/4/1939, 1/6/1939, 12/10/1939. Melbourne Herald, 18/5/1939, 24/7/1939, 12/10/1939.
- 3 See press cited in note 2, p401. D1, 10/2/1939 was particularly inflammatory and had been written after interviews with local, neighbouring land owners. The article not only stressed the "primitive" and "superstitious" explanation of the Strike but argued that the Aboriginal station residents had been innately incapable of working the land productively.
- 4 Daily News, 7/2/1939. Patten took a libel action and called Thompson as a witness. Thompson refused to appear. The action failed.

Either Ferguson's continuing antipathy towards Patten or his cultivation of Labor Party support led him to make a statement to the Dubbo press 3 days later which was similar to that of Thompson.¹ When Ferguson made this statement, there had been enough coverage of the Strike in the NSW press for him to have been aware that there were 200 Cumeragunja residents involved and that the Strike had the full support not only of Patten but of Ferguson's oldest allies, William Cooper and the AAL. Ferguson, however, refused to make any supportive public statement for the whole 9-month duration of the Strike.

The coastal APA group in Sydney was apparently unable to mobilize NSW press support and Ferguson and his white allies were not prepared to do so. The NSW press was dominated by the stream of false public statements issued by the Protection Board, describing Cumeragunja in idyllic terms and McQuiggan as an "able and humane" manager.²

In contrast, the campaign mounted in Melbourne was by far the largest and most organized of any yet undertaken by an Aboriginal organization. It began as a collection of food and blankets for the strikers, who were of course being refused Board ration issues and Endowment. The campaign broadened to include, at its height, groups as diverse as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Young Communist League.³ The major vehicles for white support were, however, the Australian League for Democracy and Peace and (despite the refusal of the Melbourne Trades Hall to endorse the campaign) the left wing unions, notably the national Australian Railways Union.⁴ Melbourne press coverage was consistently more sympathetic than that in Sydney and probably assisted the AAL in convincing the Victorian Government to provide Unemployment Food Relief for the strikers through the harsh winter months.⁵

1 Dubbo Dispatch, 10/2/1939.

2 DT, 10/2/1939 and rest of NSW press. The article in the WW, 28/2/1939, appears to have been written in Melbourne.

3 Correspondence dated 18/5/1939 and 27/3/1939 to Premier, NSW, from these groups, respectively. PDCF, A38/931.

4 The League for Democracy and Peace gained over 800 signatures (from Victorians) in one month to a petition endorsing the Strike demand for a Royal Commission. The National Secretary of the ARU was the vice-president of the Aborigines Assistance Committee, the inaugural meeting of which was attended by over 1,200 people. See correspondence to NSW Premier through July and August, PDCF, A38/931 and the AAL newsletter The Native Voice, I, April 1940.

5 Melbourne Herald, 24/7/1939, 11/10/1939.

Yet, in spite of the magnitude of the campaign, it had absolutely no effect on the NSW Government. The lack of press mobilization in NSW undoubtedly made it easier for the Government to avoid the issue, but in fact it had in hand a perfect set of answers to the demands made by the strikers and their supporters. It deflected the pressure it received over the Strike by pointing out that it had *already* held an inquiry and it was *already* committed to "new" and reformed legislation and administration (although the details had not yet been made public). Moreover, its plans for reform had been approved by that most "progressive" group of experts, the anthropologists.¹ As Premier Stevens noted in June on yet another petition supporting the strikers and containing hundreds of Victorian signatures:

The real 'cure' is to introduce the new legislation.²

The Government found, however, that it had more pressing business and so the "'cure'" was delayed still further.³

With the Government feeling under little real pressure, the Protection Board was left with a free hand to deal with the Strike, which actually occurred in 3 phases over the 9 months. When virtually all of the 200 original strikers had held firm for 6 weeks against McQuiggan's withholding of aid and his threats to move other families into their station houses, the strike camp was eventually visited by the newly-appointed full time Superintendent of the Board, A.W.G. Lipscombe and its Vice-Chairman, S.L. Anderson. These two highest-ranking officials of the Board promised an inquiry (although its exact nature was left unspecified) and assured the strikers that no retaliations would occur if they returned to Cumeragunja.⁴

Having received some Board attention and with food short and autumn weather setting in, the strikers returned to the station on the seventh weekly ration day since the walk-off. They were met with immediate reprisals from McQuiggan, who had indeed reallocated houses and who began to manipulate the ration issues of the strikers. After 5 weeks of such action and with no signs of the promised inquiry, a

1 See all replies to correspondence, PDCF, A38/931.

2 Annotation by Stevens, 26/6/1939. PDCF, A38/931.

3 Undersecretary to Premier, and Steven's reply, 1/7/1939, PDCF, A38/931.

4 Secretary, APB to Chief Secretary, 6/4/1939. PDCF, A38/931. APBM, 8/2/1939, 8/3/1939.

second walk-off occurred.¹ This time only around 80 people were involved, but they were absolutely determined that they would not return from the Barmah strike camp until their demands were met.²

For weeks, the Board made public statements to the effect that no second walk-off had occurred at all, quoting McQuiggan's report that "the inhabitants are now happier than they have been for a long time".³ When it did finally admit that the Strike was continuing, the Board insisted that no more than a couple of families were involved and in all its public statements sought to minimize the effects and ridicule the demands of the Strike.⁴

The Board's public dismissal of the Strike as a minor incident did not, however, reflect its actual opinion. The Strike dominated the Board's meetings for months and shook the Board to such an extent that it seriously decided to take the impossibly expensive and impractical action of moving the station. The Cumeragunja population was to be "concentrated" with that of Moonahcullah and both were to be resited at a new location, well away from the Murray river. In this way the Board hoped to solve the recurrent problems it had faced with Aborigines "absconding" into Victoria and to end the land dispute at Cumeragunja forever by revocation of the reserve and the permanent alienation of the land.⁵ This action was never taken because the Board simply could not afford it, but the fact that such

- 1 W Cooper to BS Stevens, 25/4/1939. PDCF, A38/931.
Melbourne Herald, 18/5/1939.
Argus, 29/4/1939.
- 2 The second walk-off occurred on April 28 and by May 3, 77 people had left the station to join the strike camp. This number remained stable through July when 64 people were at the strike camp and a further 25 were temporarily at Darlington Point where the police had been prepared to give them rations.
NPD, V.158, 2/5/1939, p4332.
Sun, 3/5/1939, 18/5/1939.
Herald, 18/5/1939, 24/7/1939.
Annual Census of Aborigines, Darlington Point police patrol form 1939.
- 3 NPD, V.158, 2/5/1939, p4332.
Sun, 12/5/1939.
Herald, 27/6/1939.
- 4 Age, 28/7/1939.
- 5 The "absconding" station residents and attempts to deal with the Strike were discussed at each monthly Board meeting from February to August (with the exception of June) after which the Board's attention began to focus on McQuiggan himself. The decision to move the station was taken 5/4/1939, APBM.

a move was considered at all indicates the anxiety which the Strike had generated.

The Strike was finally broken in October 1939, when the NSW Protection Board convinced the Victorian Government to withhold Food Relief to strikers and to deny the children access to the Barmah public school.¹ Even this, however, did not force the strikers to return to the station where McQuiggan still held control. Instead, they moved to surrounding areas in NSW or Victoria, very bitter and highly politicized people. They had indeed been "dispersed" but they had by no means disappeared (or "merged" or "assimilated") as the Board undoubtedly wished they would do. They were a new generation of Cumeragunja exiles, who retained their sense of community association and who have continued to play prominent roles in Aboriginal political activity both in NSW and Victoria and on the national level.

Although in October 1939, the Strike appeared to have been a total failure, resulting only in the loss to the station community of its most politicized activists, one of the Strike objectives was achieved. A.J. McQuiggan and his wife were sacked in February 1940, as a direct result of the Strike but too late for the strikers to claim victory. The Board's grounds for dismissing the couple were not, however, their treatment of the station residents. The McQuiggans were sacked for their political ineptitude, in failing to squash rapidly a dispute which had embarrassed the Board and 2 State Governments.²

Superintendent A.W.G. Lipscombe, whose appointment had been announced in February 1939 as the first step in the "new" "assimilation" policy, had been at work for long enough by this time for the directions he was taking to be obvious. Aborigines did not have to wait until the amendments to the Protection Act came before Parliament in mid-1940 to learn that the old Board's "concentration" policy was

1 Herald, 11/10/1939.
Age, 12/10/1939.

2 APBM, 8/11/1939, 10/12/1939, 17/1/1940, 12/2/1940, 13/3/1940.

going to be pursued even more vigorously.¹ In the event, every one of the 1936 amendments was included in the "new" legislation.² As the Board's intention to dismiss the McQuiggans was not public by the end of 1939, none of the organized political movements could have felt themselves to be in a position of strength. They had suffered defeat at the level of lobbying Government and, in relation to Cumeragunja, defeat at the level of support for a single community.

Jack Patten's attention had been focussed on Cumeragunja during 1939 and he sustained these south western links until his enlistment early in 1940. The coastal APA had been left with few resources after the collapse of support from the far right Australia First. It was the western APA which had been undergoing major community level expansion during 1939 and was the regional movement with greatest impetus. In a situation of weakness, unity between regional movements was the preferable situation and was advocated by William Cooper.³ The western APA appeared to be the most viable base for a single NSW organization and the formal coalition was re-established early in 1940 with Dubbo as the structural focus.⁴ Activists on the coast like lay preachers Frank Roberts, Bert Marr and Harry Connelly, who had all previously used Patten as a spokesperson, found they had much in common with Ferguson on a personal level. More direct alliances between at least the activists of the coast and west were formed. The public political struggle, however, essentially had to begin all over again. Ferguson launched the January 1940 meeting of the APA with a call:

... to oppose the policy of Mr Lipscombe regarding the segregation of all those of Aboriginal blood.⁵

The political organizations had been able to do little more than generate publicity in support of Aboriginal communities, as the

- 1 Had Aborigines seen Lipscombe's reports they would have been even more alarmed. In his statement to the Undersecretary of the Chief Secretary's Department, 19/12/1939, Lipscombe stressed that "assimilation" could not be attempted before "families now living on camps on the outskirts of country towns" were "urged, even forced, to reside on stations". PDCF, A40/200.
- 2 AP (Am) Act, No.12, 1940. The 1936 amendments were further perpetuated, intact, by the AP (Am) Act, No.13, 1943.
- 3 The Native Voice, V.1, No.1, April 1940, p8. Journal edited by Cooper for AAL.
- 4 Northwestern Watchman, 11/1/1940
- 5 Dubbo Liberal, 2/1/1940.

Cumeragunja campaign had demonstrated. Aboriginal communities still had to defend themselves against the pressures they faced. This is what the Wangkumara did in 1940 when, 80 strong, they walked off Brewarrina station.¹ The Cumeragunja people had been forced to walk away from their land but the Wangkumara walked home. They did not reach the Europeans' town of Tibooburra but stopped instead, after walking 150 miles, at Wanaaring on the Paroo river where they were able to find pastoral work.² Employment was not their only reason for stopping at the Paroo. The Wangkumara were more closely associated with land to the north west but by traditional protocol could move freely on the Paruntji speakers' land on the west of the Paroo. Only if the Wangkumara wished to travel east of the river was formal permission required. The Wangkumara had defied the Board and the police to reach country of significance to them at Wanaaring.³ The long trek of the Wangkumara was a sign that Aboriginal resistance was to continue.

- 1 AWBM, 19/11/1940.
Annual Census of Aborigines, Bourke Police Patrol return, 1941
(including Wanaaring).
Interview T28.
Lorna Dixon Interviews, F.T.914, F.T.198.
- 2 Ibid.
Interview T28.
Annual Census of Aborigines, Bourke Police Patrol return, 1941.
- 3 Interviews T27, T30.

CONCLUSION

Aboriginal demands and political activity did not arise in a vacuum. The intensity of political activity was closely related to the pressures acting on Aboriginal communities. State-wide and regional economic factors were of major importance in generating such pressures as well as in limiting the possible strategies open to Aborigines in their resistance. Economic forces did not only act on Aborigines directly but were also mediated through the State. This created a situation where Aborigines were being affected by the economic conditions of both the past and the present.

The State agency directly concerned was the Aborigines Protection Board, which generally responded to the demands of its true clients, the white population. Economic conditions stimulated white demands which the Board interpreted and translated into policy and legislation. Change continued to take place in the economy, however, and legislation and policy became outdated and inappropriate, on a regional or State-wide basis. This led to conflicts between the Board and the white population, who had new demands and economic needs. The conflicts applied cumulative pressure to the Board until it was forced to update its policy and legislation, to catch up with the contemporary situation.

The Board's "dispersal" policy, incorporated in the Protection Act of 1909, had arisen largely because of changing land use in the later nineteenth century and a sequence of droughts and Depression. The Board had not seen itself as responding to economic pressures but had assumed that its own action had initiated the economic situation of Aborigines. It also assumed, therefore, that a change of policy would alter Aboriginal conditions. After 1909 (with general employment prospects improved) the Board carried out its "dispersal" policy by expulsions from reserves and removal of children. At the same time, large scale revocation of reserves occurred. While not inconsistent with Board "dispersal" policy, revocations were in fact stimulated by intensified white demand for land. This demand varied from region to region, arising from closer settlement, changing land use and increases in white population.

One form of Aboriginal resistance to the threats to their children was to escape from areas under Board control. Revocation of

reserves meant the loss of secure areas of residence. Closer settlement and, more gradually, mechanization closed off Aboriginal access to land and employment. All of these factors led to an increase in the numbers of Aborigines in town camps. This rising town Aboriginal population therefore resulted from the past economic conditions which had prompted the Board to formulate its "dispersal" policy as well as from the Board's piecemeal concessions to subsequent economic changes by reserve revocation. Rising town camp numbers must also be attributed, however, to the direct effects of economic change on Aborigines and to Aboriginal resistance to Board policy.

Once a town camp population had risen above the numbers required for the limited needs of town whites for Aboriginal labour, town authorities intensified measures for the control and, in some cases, the removal of the Aboriginal community. Within the precincts of the town, local authorities effectively seconded a State instrumentality, the police, to exert social control. In attempts to distance and restrict Aboriginal residential area, however, town authorities required further State assistance. At times the Board was unwilling, because of its "dispersal" policy, or unable, because of Aboriginal resistance, to cooperate. When this occurred, local authorities played one agency of the State off against another, appealing to the Departments of Education, Public Health, Crown Lands and Child Welfare to effect the closure of the town precincts and services to Aborigines.

Aboriginal resistance at a community level occurred at either or both the locations of reserve and town. During the 1910s, community resistance was directed largely towards the policies of the Protection Board and the tactics chosen were most confrontationalist in regions where alternative residential sites and alternative social facilities such as schools were most limited. These criteria applied in the south west and on the coast but in both regions the major additional factor was the active role taken by Guris in the acquisition of the reserves during the 1870s and 1880s. Resistance was most confrontationalist in the south west where alternatives were most limited but in both regions Guris were defending what they believed had been secure tenure over land of significance to them.

During the 1920s, the two geographical foci of Board removal of children and of reserve land loss were the northern tablelands and slopes and the north coast. In the latter area, an intercommunity

political organization had been formed by the early 1920s, linking the far northern rivers with Burragorang, Sydney and the south coast, although its greatest energy arose from the Macleay and surrounding areas. On the northern slopes and tablelands, however, no inter-community links were formed between communities in towns like Walgett and Moree where conflict through the decade was intense. Maris in these towns were tenacious in defending their rights to residence in the area of their choice, their rejection of Protection Board control and their rights of access to the precincts and services of the town. Each community, however, fought out its battle alone.

There were differences in the economies of the two regions during the 1920s. Closer settlement changed land use and mechanization eroded Aboriginal employment on the tablelands and slopes while on the north coast closer settlement caused increased white demand for land rather than a change in the nature of land use. Guris of the coast were in a more secure economic situation. This does not fully explain the lack of intercommunity political organization in the tablelands and slopes area nor its presence on the coast.

The Guri role in gaining the reserves of the coast and the independent economic usage which the reserve residents had had were critical factors. At Walcha, the one reserve of the tablelands where Guris had not only participated in gaining the land but had also had independent control over it, they expressed similar sentiments to those of Guris on the coast when faced with loss by leasing. The issue must be recognized, however, as being one in which a dual value was placed on the land. These reserves were seen by Aborigines as "but a small portion" of the country to which they belonged in a traditional sense *and* as land in which Aborigines had created value in the European sense, only to be relentlessly turned out in favour of whites once the pressure of closer settlement became intense.

During the 1930s, the Depression and then the segregation legislation of 1936 emphasized for Aborigines the increasing similarity of their positions across the State. The denial of equal unemployment relief, in particular, demonstrated the systematic exploitation of Aboriginal labour by reduction of the cost of supporting Aboriginal workers when unemployed. The scale of Protection Board rations was still based on the assumption that Aboriginal "hunters and gatherers" could supply their own protein resources. This had become virtually impossible in many areas of the State because of changing capitalist

land use. The public regulation of unemployment relief under Government control exposed the discrepancy between relief for whites and that for Aborigines. Denial of equal unemployment relief was seen by Aborigines as a denial of the equal value of their labour when compared to that of whites.

The amendments to the Protection Act in 1936 were the result of earlier decades of white town demand, the effects of the Depression and longer term economic shifts. The legislation was implemented unevenly and "concentration" activity occurred in areas where the regional capitalist economy was undergoing change towards more intensive land use and/or lower labour needs. As with the 1910s and 1920s "dispersal" activity, the 1930s "concentration" may have reduced conflict in some areas but greatly heightened tensions in white communities closest to the "concentration" sites and generated further demands for segregation.

This legislation posed not only a threat to the previously existing civil rights of all Aborigines but further threatened security of residence for Aborigines in locations of significance in terms of their own values. This was compounded on the north coast by pressure on the few remaining pieces of independently controlled reserve land and so resistance to "concentration" there was also a continuation of the defence of such land.

In this context, intercommunity political links were established in the north west and were intensified on the coast. In the south west, political activity had begun earlier although with a far more narrow geographic base within NSW. These regional networks of communities had differing histories, somewhat different contemporary situations and differing sets of white allies. For these reasons, regional networks remained the bases of political organization in the 1930s. Nevertheless, the similarities in the conditions of Aboriginal communities were at this time more pronounced than the differences. This allowed coalitions of regional movements to be created and to formulate a set of demands which were sustained by each regional movement even when formal coalitions broke down. These demands repeated those of the 1920s' political organization, with changes in emphasis rather than in essential elements.

The political movement of the 1930s was the most successful in mobilizing white sympathy and active support. Public Aboriginal exposure of their conditions effectively embarrassed the Government,

forcing it to pledge reform of administration. Aborigines, however, were denied any role in decisions concerning the proposed reforms. The Government did no more than confirm the change of policy taken by the Protection Board in the mid-1930s, yet it claimed to be making "drastic changes" by replacing the Protection Board with the Welfare Board. This Government claim was endorsed by professional anthropologists, who provided an attractively "progressive" terminology for the old policies. Public concern about the conditions faced by Aborigines was allayed by this appearance of "progressive" Government action. White support for the Aboriginal political movement had been undercut by a new coalition of politicians, administrators and academics.

The intensity, tactics and organizational structure of Aboriginal political activity had varied with the nature and degree of pressure and the acceptability of available alternatives. The demands made by Aborigines at a community level and at the level of formal political organizations had, however, been consistent throughout the 1909 to 1939 period. These demands were of a dual nature: for equal legal, social and economic rights with whites, made on the basis that Aborigines already contributed to the economy and fulfilled the obligations of "citizenship"; and for rights to land, separate to those of whites, made on the basis of prior ownership and unjust dispossession. These demands can be seen to bear a close relationship with the demands Aborigines were making in the 1870s and 1880s and with the demands they are making today.

The platform of the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association in 1927 can be read in virtually all current NSW Aboriginal demands. There would be few Aborigines in the State today who would disagree with the words of Mrs A. Morgan in 1934:

We want a home. You have taken our beautiful
country from us — We have not the same liberty
as the white man nor do we expect the same
justice.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS

"T" indicates taperecorded interview.

"C" indicates conversation during which notes were taken or were written shortly after.

T 1 Bert Marr (Jnr)

Born c.1921. Lived on Purfleet reserve, Taree, or in district most of his life.

C 2 Ella Simon

Born 1902, cousin of Bert Marr (Jnr). Lived in Sydney during 1920s but otherwise lived at or near Purfleet. Her uncle by marriage was Percy Mosely.

For details of her life see her autobiography, Through My Eyes.

T 3 Val Mingo

Born 23/2/1890 on a pastoral station in mid-western Queensland. Arrived in Brewarrina in 1927 and settled there, living at the river bank town camp except when travelling for shearing and other work. Active member APA, ALP and AWU. Died 1979.

T 4 Evelyn Hardy, nee Whitton

Born c.1902, Bangate property. Lived on Angledool station before "apprenticeship", 1917-1923. Married Henry Hardy, 1923, lived on properties on which he worked until threats to their children from Angledool manager forced family back onto station for schooling. Died 1977.

Dora Sullivan, nee Hill

Born c.1913 at Angledool station. Sent to Cootamundra at age 5, "apprenticed" age 13, worked at various locations until sent to Brewarrina Dormitory, c.1926. Married into Brewarrina family 1930, lived on station when not travelling with her husband and children as they looked for work during 1930s.

Margaret Parker, nee McHughes

Born 1909 at Brewarrina station. Family expelled because of fair skin colour c.1920, thereafter lived in Brewarrina town camp or at Yarrawin pastoral camp. "Apprenticed" aged 12, 1921-1927. Lived in Brewarrina after marriage, involved in Mari parents' resistance to school segregation attempt.

T 5 Henry Hardy

Born 26/10/1897 at Walgett. Grew up on Dungalear and other Walgett North properties. Attended Collarenebri public school

briefly 1910s then worked with father, Bob Hardy, a contract horsebreaker, born Dunglear. Married Evelyn Whitton, 1923 (see T4). Lived on Angledool station when not working on surrounding properties as shearer and pastoral worker. Forced to go to Brewarrina station in 1936 move. Active in community resistance to managerial control on both stations, in APA and AWU.

T 6 Henry Hardy (see T5)

T 7 Margaret Parker (see T4)

C 8 Marnie Kelly, nee Wighton

Born c.1905, Wellington or district. Lived on Yarrawin property 1920s and 1930s.

T 9 Henry Hardy (see T5)

C10 Henry Hardy (see T5)

T11 Dora Sullivan (see T4)

C12 Mick Collis

Born c.1910, Brewarrina. "Apprenticed" on Glenora property, 1924-1929, continued to work there and on other stations in district as shearer and station hand. Married ex-"apprenticed" Angledool woman sent to Brewarrina Dormitory. Family separated because need for education forced wife and children to settle permanently at Brewarrina station.

C13 Robin Campbell

Born 1901, Weilmoringle property. Always worked on this property or others in immediate district as station hand. Died 1981.

T14 Greta Coleman, nee Whye

Born 1907, Brewarrina station. Family moved into Brewarrina town camp when she was young, and remained there except for short period in Dubbo. Worked as a domestic worker in Brewarrina town before her marriage in 1922 and in late 1930s, after her children were older. Worked in private homes, stores and hospital, as her mother had done. Worked also on Milroy property in early 1930s.

T15 May Cubby, nee Richardson

Born c.1903 at Dennawan, near Goodooga. Worked most of her life as domestic worker on pastoral properties in district, on both sides of Queensland border. In Brewarrina mid-1920s, married 1927, lived in riverbank town camp while her husband travelled as far as Wilcannia searching for work early 1930s. Returned to Weilmoringle area mid-1930s.

T16 Jack Orcher

Born 1897 in Dirranbandi, Queensland. Worked as a station hand in this area and along Barwon river until forced further

west in Depression searching for work. Settled at Weilmoringle mid-1930s. Active member of AWU and one leader of community resistance to attempted breakup of Weilmoringle pastoral camp, 1941. Working mustering cattle when interviewed 1977.

T17 Billy Moore

Born c.1904 at Bomaderry. "Apprenticed" 1920, absconded 1922 because of poor conditions and non-payment of pocket money, transferred to Brewarrina, 1924. Moved between south coast and west until he married into the Brewarrina community, lived on station there during 1930s. Actively involved in community resistance to managerial control, worked for wages on station at times but refused to participate in enforced movement of people from Tibooburra.

T18 Jack Barker

Born 1924, Brewarrina station. Lived there, attended station school, joined army and then Merchant Navy early 1940s. Involved in rouseabouts' strike, Yarrawin, 1940s.

Donis Barker, nee Handy

Born c.1924, Angledool district. Was on Angledool station 1936, father Ike Handy, involved in resistance to movement of station. "Apprenticed" from Brewarrina station.

T19 Margaret Parker (see T4)

T20 Freida Hardy

Born 1926 at Cumborah, daughter of Henry and Evelyn Hardy. Attended Angledool station school, involved in move to Brewarrina station, 1936.

T21 Roy Barker

Born 1928, Brewarrina station. Like his brother, Jack, grew up on station and attended school there.

T22 Dora Sullivan (see T4)

Ray McHughes

Born 1914, Brewarrina town hospital. Brother of Margaret Parker. Worked on Yarrawin property, when his family was there and returned with them to Brewarrina town camp.

C23 Bert Gordon

Born 1920, Brewarrina town, after his family was expelled from the Board station because his father was of fair skin colour. Family spent some time at Nyngan where Bert went to school, for some years at public school then convent school. Returned to Brewarrina station c.1933.

Eddie Gordon, nee Morris

Born 1926, Tibooburra. Eddie's father was white and her family was one of the three not removed to Brewarrina in 1938.

She is the only person from Tibooburra living in Brewarrina today.

- T24 Val Mingo (see T3)
- T25 Hazel Clark, nee Howell
 Born 1919 at Brewarrina station, grew up there except for period in late 1920s when family left after conflict with manager, went to Goodooga and Angledool, then returned to Brewarrina station after a change of managers. "Apprenticed" early 1930s, was temporarily at Angledool station when meetings were being held to organize resistance to 1936 move. Experiences when apprenticed described Chapter III.
- T26 Violet Wilson, nee Devine
 Born 1915, Wilcannia. Removed by police to Brewarrina Dormitory, c.1930, after mother's death. Married into Brewarrina community, lived on station while her children required schooling.
- T27 Wilpi (George Harrison or Mungindi George)
 Born c.1900, Yancannia. Spent childhood partly in Tibooburra and Bourke, partly on cattle properties of Corner Country, NSW, South Australia and Queensland. Early life very similar to George Dutton (see Beckett, 1978). Was with family and others in Queensland, c.1918, when Queensland police "trapped us", took 8 young men to be trackers. Wilpi worked as tracker in Queensland then at Mungindi. During later 1920s moved south to Pilliga and Coonamble area, where he married. Worked through 1930s in travelling rodeos and horsemanship shows. After WWII he moved to and settled in Bourke. Some of his Wangkumara relations who had walked off Brewarrina, 1940, and gone to Wanaaring, had been forced back south to Bourke (and Wilcannia) by further contraction in western pastoral industrial needs. Wilpi had moved almost full circle, if not back to country, then back to kin. Died 1982.
- T28 Eadie Edwards, nee Ebsworth
 Born c.1922-24, between Naryilco and Tibooburra. Spent childhood either on pastoral properties of Corner Country or in Tibooburra, where she attended the public school during the mid-1930s. Was moved with her family and relations from Tibooburra to Brewarrina, 1938; walked back to Wanaaring with them 1940.
- C29 Isadore Phillips, nee Solomon
 Born 1906, Cumeragunja. Sent to Cootamundra 1917, "apprenticed" 1919, transferred to Brewarrina Dormitory, living in Bourke 1977.
- T30 Wilpi (see T27)
- C31 Evelyn Crawford
 Born 1926, Wanaaring. Family drovers, spent short while at Brewarrina station early 1930s because parents knew children

would not be admitted to town public school. Left station after a year because anxious that Evelyn would be "apprenticed", returned to Wanaaring.

C32 Agnes Murray, nee Dixon

Born 1925, Angledool station. Involved in move to Brewarrina 1936, "apprenticed" from there soon after.

C33 Duncan Ferguson

Born 1910, William Ferguson's son, nephew to lay preacher Duncan Ferguson. Working as lay preacher himself around Enngonia, Goodooga, Denawan and Weilmoringle, 1930s.

C34 George Rose

Born c.1924-26. Son of Linda Fernando. Grew up on or around Angledool station, sent to Kinchela c.1935, experienced McQuiggan's rule there before being "apprenticed". Involved in rouseabouts' strike, Yarrawin, 1940s.

T35 Arthur Dodd

Born 1890 at Dunumbral. Grew up on various Walgett North properties. Was shearing by mid-1900s, travelling long distances to east for work. Involved in enforced move of Walgett Maris to Angledool, 1923. Worked on properties to west of Angledool, had returned to Walgett by early 1930s. Died in 1980.

T36 Essena Sullivan, nee Whitford

Born c.1914 at Dungalear. Grew up on Dungalear, then in Walgett early 1920s, involved in enforced move to Angledool station 1923 and then returned to Walgett within a year. Involved in next enforced move out to Gingie reserve, 1925. Died 1982.

T37 Ivy Green, nee Kennedy

Born 1905 at Dungalear. Remained there with family until mid-1920s when, after mother's death, father was forced, by Board threats to remove children, to move into Walgett where missionary school functioning. Involved in enforced move to Gingie reserve, 1925.

C38 Jim Fernando

Born 1905 in Angledool district. One of the youngest of the large Fernando family: the elder children were all "apprenticed" during 1910s but Jim and sister Mona were able to stay with their mother at Angledool a little longer. Was "apprenticed" on a property close to Angledool early 1920s, had more pleasant "apprenticeship" than most of the other members of his family. Was butchering at Bangate c.1926, worked other Walgett North properties then went into Queensland looking for work in Depression. Died 1981.

T39 Arthur Dodd (see T35)

T40 Kathleen Dodd nee Rook

Born 1910, Collarenebri. Father died when Kathleen very young, mother worked as a domestic in Collarenebri town and sometimes on surrounding properties. Unable to gain admission to Collarenebri public school, family moved to Walgett to enter children in missionary school, after threats from Board. Kathleen worked on surrounding pastoral properties as a domestic until marriage, 1927. Lived on Gingie reserve.

T41 Don Nicholls

Born 1908 in the Namoi Bend, Walgett. Witnessed enforced removal of Walgett Maris 1923 but his family able to resist both this and 1925 move. Has spent most of his life in Walgett or working on surrounding properties.

Melva Nicholls, nee Rook

Born 1921, Pilliga station. Grew up there until "apprenticed", c.1933. Experiences described Chapter III. Came to Walgett c.1938, attended Bill Ferguson's meeting there 1939.

T42 Susan Dennis, nee Cruise

Born 1911 at Narooma. Grew up around Bateman's Bay where father worked in sawmills. Attended Bateman's Bay public school until, after father's death, Board Inspector Donaldson forced family to move to Brewarrina, c.1925. Most of family returned to south coast but Susan married Dudley Dennis, 1927, and remained with him on the pastoral properties where he worked until early 1930s. Depression and need for children's schooling forced the Dennis family onto Angledool station c.1934. Dudley Dennis worked as handyman on Brewarrina station then as sawyer at Pilliga station. Late 1930s set up small sawmill Dungalear, milled timber for 6 houses built for Mari workers and their families late 1930s or early 1940s, the only known "proper" houses built for Mari workers on the district's properties.

C34 Isabel Flick

Born 1927, Mungindi. Her mother, Celia, from Welltown property, near St George, Queensland. Her father, Mick Flick, from Mogil Mogil station, served WWI, Gallipoli, France. Isabel and her brothers and sisters grew up on properties where Mick worked in Collarenebri district as contract fencer and later as shearing contractor. Family had settled in Collarenebri mid-1930s in attempt to gain schooling for children (see Abn Call, VI, September 1938). Refused entry to public school, and despairing of quality of the only education available, from a local minister's wife, Mick and Celia Flick sent Isabel and her brother Joe to stay with grandmother at Toomelah station for schooling, immediately after that station relocated late 1938. Isabel witnessed arrival of Tingha people, forced to Toomelah and their departure to return to Tingha. Isabel and Joe also witnessed the APA organizing meetings, 1939, at Toomelah. They had returned to their family at Collarenebri by the time of attempted desegregation of

public school, in which younger Flick children involved (see Chapter IV).

C44 Jack Campbell

Born 1919, Burnt Bridge or district. Mother was Percy Mosely's sister, father Guri fisherman from south coast. Jack grew up on or around Burnt Bridge, family left after confrontation with Board Inspector Donaldson over removal of children (see Chapter V). Sailed down coast in father's fishing boat, arrived Sydney c.1926, lived Padstow and Salt Pan Creek camp 1926 to 1932. Jack's mother died 1932, and he went to the south coast with relations while his father and the other children returned to north coast. Jack trapped by police, south coast, and briefly "apprenticed" but had returned to Burnt Bridge by mid-1937.

T45 Reg Murray (or Murrey)

Born 1915 in Namoi Bend. Grew up at Walgett, on Dunglear and other properties, involved in enforced movements to Angledool, 1923, then out to Gingie, 1925. Two of his sisters "apprenticed" c.1923, family never heard from them again. Reg worked as station hand on various properties Walgett North area and south around Pilliga during 1930s.

C46 Henry Hardy (see T5)

C47 Duncan Ferguson (see C33)

T48 Isabel Flick (see C43)

C49 Hannah Duncan, nee McGrady

Born c.1914, Terry Hie Hie area. Family had moved to Euraba station (old Toomelah) after Terry Hie Hie station collapse. When children removed from Euraba station c.1927, Hannah's family became alarmed and took her over the border into Queensland to protect her from "apprenticeship".

T50 Henry Hardy (see T5)

T51 Jack Campbell (see C44)

Ted Thomas

Born 1909, Braidwood area. Living with family and close relations Wallaga Lake station mid-1910s. Witnessed confrontation between uncle and Board Inspector Donaldson over removal of children. Uncle resolved issue by firing shot over Donaldson's head. Ted travelling along coast looking for work mid-1920s. At Salt Pan Creek camp c.1926. Was member of Wallaga Lake gum leaf band which travelled to Sydney, in south western NSW, staying at Cumeragunja, and in Victoria during Depression.

C52 Mona Moore, nee Fernando

Born c.1909. One of youngest of Fernando family, sister of Jim and Linda, aunt of George Rose. Recalls, as did Jim, family's reason for coming to Angledool c.1914: education for children. Turned away from Angledool

public school because "dark", turned away initially from Board station school because father, George, was Singalese. When admitted to Angledool station, older children almost immediately "apprenticed". Mona "apprenticed" 1921 to same property as brother Jim where conditions relatively pleasant but described conditions suffered by older sisters and other friends.

T53 Kylie Tennant

Author, The Battlers, Tiburon.

Working as teacher Coonabarabram, Canowindra, 1920s, 1930s. Travelled "the track" for material for Battlers.

T54 Pearl Gibbs, nee Brown

Born 1901, Botany Bay. Mother, Maggie Brown and stepfather, Dick Murray, from Brewarrina, where family lived when Pearl young, during which time she met Polly Marshall, one of Hospital Creek massacre survivors. Family travelled in search of work, Pearl attended either public or convent schools Bourke, Byrock, Cowra, Yass. Worked in Sydney as domestic 1920, living at La Perouse and Happy Valley camp early 1930s. Living with mother and stepfather at Nowra mid-1930s, working pea and bean picking, organizing Guri workers for better conditions. Travelled to Wallaga Lake and other communities during this period. Supported by her mother and stepfather, Pearl was a major activist in APA 1937 and after.

T55 Pearl Gibbs (see T54)

C56 Violet Shay, nee Grey

Born 1910, Macleay river area. Grew up Ulgundahi Island station from which she was "apprenticed", 1924. Living in Redfern, 1933 onwards, husband was friend of Jack Patten (Jnr) and travelled with him APA (coastal) organizing trip to north coast, 1938.

Florence Caldwell, nee James

Born c.1905-1906, Maclean. Grew up Ulgundahi Island station, hid in canefields to escape Donaldson, "apprenticed" 1919. Returned Ulgundahi Island 1925, married there 1925. Attended coastal APA organizing meeting 1938, punished by manager for doing so. Hid her own children from Board Inspector Smithers 1930s.

T57 Jack Booth

Born 1907, London, arrived Western Australia 1922.

Author of Only the Tracks Remain, Sydney, 1972 and unpublished manuscript "A History of Dubbo from the Grass Roots Level".

White unemployed workers' organizer in Dubbo, 1932-1936. Supporter of Aboriginal activists there from 1932 and actively involved with western APA. A founding member of Dubbo Trades and Labour Council, c.1934; founding member Dubbo branch of CPA, 1935.

Died 1981.

T58 Jack Booth (see T57)

C59 Will Webster

Born early 1920s, Netley property, on Darling River between Pooncarie and Menindee. Grew up on Netley and other Darling properties, had some schooling at missionary schools Pooncarie and Wilcannia before family forcibly removed to Menindee station, 1934. Attended station school there. Later worked as shearer along Darling properties north and south of Wilcannia and Menindee.

T60 Billy Moore (see T17)C61 Jack Campbell (see C44)

Conversations about "apprenticeship" experiences also held with Les McGrady, from Terry Hie Hie and Toomelah; Vicki Archibald, nee Walker, from Bateman's Bay; Kathleen Drew, from the Macleay river; Ida Williams, nee Drew, Kathleen's older sister.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The list of sources used has been arranged as follows:

- I PRINTED CONTEMPORARY OFFICIAL SOURCES
 - A Commonwealth of Australia
 - B State of New South Wales

- II MANUSCRIPT CONTEMPORARY OFFICIAL SOURCES
 - A Commonwealth of Australia
 - B State of New South Wales

- III OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES
 - A Aboriginal: Printed and other media
 - B Local Government
 - C Pastoral: Printed and manuscript
 - D Newspapers, journals and other media
 - E Books, articles, pamphlets
 - F Manuscripts

- IV SECONDARY WORKS
 - A Interviews (tapes and/or transcripts) made by Aboriginal people with white interviewers other than myself
 - B Published Aboriginal and Islander authors: Books and articles
 - C Other authors: Books and articles
 - D Non-literary media
 - E Theses and unpublished works

I PRINTED CONTEMPORARY OFFICIAL SOURCES

A Commonwealth of Australiai) Statutes

•The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Acts, Nos 63 and 64, 1900.

•Invalid and Old Age Pensioners Act, No 17, 1908.

ii) Commonwealth Arbitration Report, V.31, 1932.

iii) Aboriginal Welfare: Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities, 21st to 23rd April 1937. Held National Library, Canberra.

B State of New South Walesi) Statutes

•Old Age Pensions Act, 1900.

•Vagrancy Act, 1902.

•Aborigines Protection Act, 1909.

•Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Acts, 1915; 1918; 1936; 1940; 1943.

•Returned Soldiers Settlement Act, 1916.

•Returned Soldiers Settlement (Amendment) Acts, 1917; 1919; 1922; 1925.

•Crown Lands and Closer Settlement (Amending) Act, 1924.

•Closer Settlement and Returned Soldiers Settlement (Amendment) Act, 1927.

•Workers' Compensation Act, 1926.

•Family Endowment Act, 1927.

•Crown Lands (Amendment) Acts, 1931; 1932.

•Western Lands (Amendment) Acts, 1931; 1932; 1934.

•Crown Lands (Homestead Selection) Validation Act, 1934.

ii) New South Wales Parliamentary Debates, 1905 to 1943.

iii) New South Wales Government Gazettes, 1900 to 1940.

iv) New South Wales Year Books, 1904-5 to 1942-3.

v) New South Wales Statistical Registers, 1900 to 1920.

vi) Report of the Protector of Aborigines, 1882.

vii) Aborigines Protection Board Reports, 1884 to 1938-39.

- viii) Aborigines Welfare Board Reports, 1939-40 to 1944-45.
- ix) Crown Lands Department Reports, 1905-06 to 1944-45.
- x) Western Land Commission Reports, 1905-06 to 1944-45.
- xi) Department of Public Instruction/Education,
 - Course of Instruction for Aborigines' Schools, 1916.
 - Course of Instruction for Aborigines' Schools, (Revised) 1938.
- xii) Select Committee on Administration of Aborigines' Protection Board, Minutes of Evidence, 1937-38, printed, 1940, Joint Parliamentary Papers.
- xiii) Aborigines Protection: Report and Recommendations of the Public Service Board of New South Wales, 1938, printed 1940, Joint Parliamentary Papers.
- xiv) New South Wales Arbitration Report, V.XXVI, 1927.

II MANUSCRIPT CONTEMPORARY OFFICIAL SOURCES

A Commonwealth of Australia

- i) Annual Aboriginal Census, 1927-1941.
Papers held at Bureau of Statistics, Canberra:
 - a) Individual Police Patrol Returns, 1931, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941.
 - b) Police District Return figures 1929.
 - c) Tabulation Sheets, Police Patrol Return figures, 1927, 1928, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941.
 - d) Miscellaneous papers, file no.71/3145, 1927-1945.
- ii) Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration: Transcript of Matter before Chief Judge Dethridge, hearings beginning 14/6/1932:
Graziers' Association of NSW and others vs Australian Workers' Union.
Australian Workers' Union vs Graziers' Association of New South Wales and others.
Held AWU Head Office, Sydney.

B State of New South Wales

- i) Aborigines Protection and Welfare Boards. All papers held in State Archives and catalogued under "Aborigines Welfare Board". State Archives location numbers given.

- a) Aborigines Protection Board Minutes, 1911 to 1938.
4/7119 - 4/7127.
- b) Aborigines Protection Board/Welfare Board Minutes,
1938 to 1945. 4/8544.
- c) Aborigines Protection Board Index to Ward Registers,
1912 to c.1936. 4/8555-6.
- d) Aborigines Protection Board Ledgers, c.1897 to 1922.
4/8558-9.
- e) Aborigines Protection Board Out-Letters, 1914 to 1927.
4/7128.
- f) Aborigines Protection Board Register of Expenditure,
1922 to 1924. 7/3642-3.
- g) Aborigines Protection Board Register of Reserves,
1861 to 1904. 2/8349.
- h) Aborigines Protection Board Register of Wards, c.1912
to 1928. 4/8553-4.
- i) Aborigines Protection Board Salary Register, 1917 to
1923. 2/8350.
- j) Aborigines Protection Board/Welfare Board Photographs,
c.1924 to 1961. 4/8566-78.
- ii) Colonial/Chief Secretary's Department. Incoming letters to the Protection Board, a body under the Colonial/Chief Secretary's Department, can be traced only until 1921 when the indexing system changed. Letters from later periods have not yet been located. All papers in State Archives. Correspondence relating to Aborigines was found in CSIL, Main Series, at the following locations:
- | | | | | | |
|------|----------|------|----------|------|----------|
| 1887 | Box 2667 | | | | |
| 1910 | Box 7073 | 1914 | Box 7260 | 1918 | Box 7956 |
| 1911 | Box 7121 | 1915 | Box 7324 | 1919 | Box 8018 |
| 1912 | Box 7165 | 1916 | Box 7392 | 1920 | Box 8099 |
| 1913 | Box 7204 | 1917 | Box 7483 | 1921 | Box 8205 |
- iii) Department of Public Instruction/Education
- a) Teachers' Employment Record Cards, held at Department Head Office, Sydney.
- b) Department of Education In-Letters, public school files. All held at State Archives. These files are now arranged according to school name, in alphabetical not chronological order. Correspondence relating to all years for any one school has been collected under the school name. School files examined:
- | | | |
|---------------|------------------|-------------|
| Balranald | Darlington Point | |
| Bateman's Bay | Gulargambone | Singleton |
| Bomaderry | Huskisson | Tibooburra |
| Boomi | Kempsey | Tweed Heads |
| Brewarrina | Lismore South | Walgett |
| Caroona | Moree | Woolbrook |
| Collarenebri | Pilliga | Yass |

- iv) State Children's Relief/Child Welfare Department, Miscellaneous Papers, held at State Archives:
 - a) "Apprenticeship of State Children", c.1911 to c.1919. 9/6152.
 - b) "Reports of Honorary Probation Officers", c.1914 to c.1923. 9/6156.

- v) Premier's Department: Correspondence files. Held at State Archives except (a).
 - a) A37/2380, relating to Tuncurry, file destroyed 1960, contents described PDCF Card Index.
 - b) A27/915: relating to AAPA.
 - c) 62/1515: All files relating to Aborigines from 1936 to 1962 have been "aggregated" in this file. Relevant files, accessible with Departmental permission, are:
 - A36/404 : William Cooper's correspondence.
 - A36/1028: William Cooper's correspondence.
 - A37/193 : Burnt Bridge correspondence. October 1937, APA campaign. Anthropologists' and other white correspondence. Interdepartmental correspondence 1937 to mid-1938.
 - A38/931 : William Cooper's correspondence then all papers relating to Cumeragunja Strike until October 1939.
 - B38/1716: Correspondence from whites relating to Cumeragunja.
 - B38/956 : Correspondence from whites relating to general Aboriginal issues.
 - A40/200 : Aboriginal and white correspondence.

III OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

A Aboriginal: Printed and other media

- i) Anderson, J, "King Burraga", Cinesound News Review film, No 100, 1933. Held National Film Archives, Canberra.
- ii) Cooper, W (ed), The Native Voice, V.I, No 1, April 1940. Held Mitchell Library.
- iii) Patten, J T, The Australian Abo Call, Volumes I to VI, April to September 1938, Sydney. Held Mitchell Library.
- iv) Patten, J T and Ferguson, W, Aborigines Claim Citizen Rights! Sydney 1938.

B Local Government

All records held by respective local government bodies.

- i) Brewarrina Municipal Council Minutes, 1924 to 1945.
- ii) Dubbo Municipal Council Minutes, 1931 to 1941.
- iii) Moree Municipal Council Minutes, 1919 to 1934.
- iv) Talbragar Shire Council Minutes, 1926 to 1942.
- v) Walgett Shire Council Minutes, 1914 to 1941.

C Pastoral: Printed and manuscript

- i) Australian Pastoral Directory, published biennially, Sydney, 1893 to 1939.
- ii) The Sheepman's Post Town Gazetteer and Stock Directory of NSW, Sydney, 1912.
- iii) Bangate Pastoral Station Records, held NEU Archives, A316.
Cash Books, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1917-1940.
Day Books, same dates.
- iv) Dunglear Pastoral Station Records, held NEU Archives, A272
Ledgers, 1910, 1911, 1914-1938.
Journals, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1924-6
1926-1932.
Wages Books, 1914, 1915, 1917, 1923-1926, 1932-1934.
- v) Gingie Pastoral Station Records, held at Gingie Station, via Walgett.
Diaries, Ledgers, Journals, Wage Books, 1910 to 1939.

D Newspapers, Journals and other media

- i) Newspapers and Journals
 - Age
 - Argus
 - Australian Aborigines Advocate, 1900-1929, became United Aborigines Messenger 1929 onwards. Organ of Australian Aborigines Mission.
 - The Bulletin
 - Daily Telegraph
 - Dubbo Dispatch
 - Dubbo Liberal

- Evening News
- Herald (Melbourne)
- Labor Daily (later Daily News)
- Macleay Chronicle
- Man
- Moree Gwydir Examiner and General Advertizer
- Northwestern Watchman
- Nowra Leader
- Cur Aim: 1923 to 1939. Organ of the Aborigines Inland Mission.
- The Protector: Organ of the Association for the Protection of Native Races.
- Publicist
- Smith's Weekly
- Sun
- Sydney Morning Herald
- Truth
- Voice of the North
- Workers' Weekly

ii) Other Media

- Birth of White Australia, Silent film, Premiere in Young, 1928. Held National Film Archives.
- Buddah: "Home Movie" made by owners of Buddah property, via Narrowmine, c.1939, showing Aborigines as pastoral workers, orange harvesters and packers and house servants. Held National Film Archives.
- "Eucalyptus Baby" — Song by Stiffy and Mo recorded c.1928, reference to J.T. Lang encouraging increased Aboriginal birthrate by inclusion of Aborigines in Family Endowment scheme. Replayed ABC Radio "Memories of Mo", 20/4/1981 (copy in my possession).
- Government of NSW: Official Film record of Sesqui Centenary Celebrations, 1938. Held National Film Archives.

D Books, articles, pamphlets

- Aborigines' Friends' Association, The Aborigines: A Commonwealth Problem and Responsibility, Adelaide, 1934.
- Anderson, M, "The Women's Movement" in Atkinson, M (ed), Australian Economic and Political Studies, Melbourne, 1928.
- Andrews, J, "Pioneer Farming in the Hillston District" in Australian Geographer, V.II, No.1, 1933.

- Andrews, J, "Agricultural Regions of Eastern and Central NSW" in Australian Geographer, V.I, No.3, 1934.
- Andrews, J, "The Settlement Net and the Regional Factor" in Australian Geographer, V.II, No.3, 1934.
- Andrews, J, "Address at the Annual General Meeting" in Australian Geographer, V.III, No.7, March 1940.
- Australian Subdivision. Effect on Development. The Case For Northern NSW, Glen Innes, 1920. Pamphlet (ML).
- Basedow, H, "Diseases of the Australian Aborigines" in Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, XXXV, 12, 15/6/1932.
- Bean, C E W, On The Wool Track, Sydney, 1911.
- Cleland, J B, "Disease Amongst the Australian Aborigines" in Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, V.XXXI, No.5, 1/3/1928; No.6, 15/3/1928; No.11, 1/6/1928; No.12, 15/6/1928; No.13, 2/7/1928; No.14, 16/7/1928; No.17, 1/9/1928; No.18, 15/9/1928.
- Doyle, C, "Localization of Industry in Coastal Regions of New South Wales" in Australian Geographer, VI, pt.2, November 1929.
- Eggleston, F W *et al* (eds), The Peopling of Australia, Melbourne, 1933.
- Elkin, A P, "Native Education, With Special Reference to the Australian Aborigines" in Oceania, VII, 4, June 1937.
- Elkin, A P, "People of the Past" in Man, February, 1938.
- Elkin, A P, "Anthropology in Australia 1939". Reprint from Oceania, X, 1, September 1939.
- Elkin, A P, "Notes on the Aborigines of the Walgett District" in Mankind, V.3, No.7, April 1945.
- Elkin, A P, "Aborigines and the Franchise" in The Aborigines Protector, V.II, No.1, June 1946.
- Ellis, U, New Australian States, Sydney 1933.
- Enright, W J, "Notes on the Aborigines of the North Coast of NSW" in Mankind, V.2, No.4, 1937; No.7, 1932; No.9, 1940; V.3, No.9, 1946.
- Giblin, L F, "Farm Production and the Depression" in Economic Record, XI (Supplement), March 1935.
- Greenway, C E, "Kamilari Tribe" in Science of Man, 1910, XI, 9; XII, 9.
- Hancock, W K, Australia, London, 1930 (1st Ed). (First Australian Ed: 1945).
- Holmes, J M, The 'New States' Idea and Its Geographical Background, Sydney, 1933. Pamphlet (ML).
- Kelly, C, "Some Aspects of Culture Contact in Eastern Australia" in Oceania, XV, 2, December 1944.
- Lawrence, E, "A Climactic Analysis of NSW" (1900-1935) in Australian Geographer, V.III, No.3, November 1937.

- Lorimer, J A, "The Riverina Movement" in Australia Quarterly, June 1931.
- Mathews, R H, "The Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes" in Journal of the Royal Society of NSW, V.XXXI, 1897.
- Mathews, R H, "Group Divisions and Initiation Ceremonies of the Barkunjee Tribes" in Journal of the Royal Society of NSW, V.XXXII, 1898.
- Mathews, R H, "Sociology of Some Australian Tribes" in Journal of the Royal Society of NSW, V.XXXIX, 1905.
- Merker, K L, The Euahlay Tribe, London, 1905.
- Radcliffe-Brown *et al* (notes on) "Some Aspects of the Aboriginal Problem in Australia" in Australian Geographer, V.I, pt.1, August 1928.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A R, "Former Numbers and Distribution of the Australian Aborigines" in Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, No.23, Melbourne, 1930.
- Taylor, T G and Jardine F, "Kamilaroi and White: A Study in Racial Mixture" in Journal of the Royal Society of NSW, V.58, 1924.
- Tennant, K, Tiburon. First published 1935.
- Tennant, K, The Battlers. First published 1941.
- Tindale, N B, Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes. Results of Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, 1938-1939. Held Mitchell Library.
- Whalen, G, "The Mid-North Coast of NSW" in Australian Geographer, V.I, pt.3, May 1931.
- Willard, M, The History of the White Australia Policy, Melbourne, 1923.
- Wright, T, New Deal for the Aborigines (Endorsed by Labour Council of NSW), Sydney, 1939.

F Manuscripts

- Association for the Protection of Native Races, Miscellaneous Papers, 1934 to 1941. Elkin Papers, SU.
- Elkin, A P, "Inquiry into Conditions and Possibilities of Aborigines: Questionnaire", 1935-1936, Elkin Papers, SU.
- Howitt Correspondence, held AIAS.
- H E Hockey, manager, Brewarrina station, to A W Howitt, 8/10/1907, 7/11/1907, 15/1/1908. Box 6, Folder 2.
 - Miscellaneous papers relating to station populations, Box 6, Folders 3 and 4.
- Kelly, C, "Study of a Small Native Community Living Near a Country Town" (Observations on field work conducted June 1936, and covering Nowra, Bomaderry, Jervis Bay, Roseby Park and Wallaga Lake. Includes notes on interview with Secretary, APB). Elkin Papers, SU.
- Kelly, C, "Burnt Bridge Anthropological Survey", August-September 1937, PDCF, A37/193.

IV SECONDARY WORKS

- A Interviews (tapes and/or transcripts)
made by Aboriginal people with white interviewers other than myself.
- i) Jimmie Barker Transcripts, held AIAS. Some tapes made by Barker alone, others with Janet Matthews interviewing.
 - ii) Lorna Dixon Tapes, held by Janet Matthews, interviewer.
 - iii) Margaret Tucker, transcript of interview with A Morgan, photostat.
- B Published Aboriginal and Islander authors: Books and articles
- Clare, M, Karobran. The story of an Aboriginal girl. Sydney, 1978.
- Edwards, C, "Is the Ward Clean?" in Gammage, B and Markus, A (eds), All That Dirt: Aborigines 1938, Canberra, 1982.
- Gilbert, K, "Camp'n on a White Fella's Reserve" in Black Australian News, V.I, No.3, 1972.
- Gilbert, K, ... Because a White Man'll Never Do It, Sydney, 1973.
- Gilbert, K, "The Aboriginal Question" in Social Alternatives, V.2, No.2, August 1981. Black Alternatives in Australia.
- Groves, H, "Case for the Aborigines" in Churinga, V.1, No.11, 1969.
- Langton, M, "Urbanizing Aborigines: The Social Scientists' Great Deception" in Social Alternatives, V.2, No.2, August 1981.
- Lever, N, "The Struggle for Land At Fingal" in Origin, V.2, No.8, 1970.
- Mathews, J (ed), The Two Worlds of Jimmie Barker. The Life of an Australian Aboriginal 1900-1972. Canberra, 1977.
- Morgan, R, Cumeragunga, Melbourne, 1952.
- New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council, Land Claims in New Wales, Sydney, 1980.
- Pepper, P, You Are What You Make Yourself To Be: The Story of a Victorian Aboriginal Family. 1842-1980, Melbourne, 1980.
- Simon, E, Through My Eyes, Adelaide, 1978.
- Tucker, M, If Everyone Cared, Sydney, 1977.
- Widders, T, "Black Alternatives: Aborigines in the Seventies and Beyond" in Smith, M and Crossby, D (eds), The Way Out, Radical Alternatives in Australia, Melbourne, 1975.

C Other authors: Books and articles

- Aboriginal History, Department of Pacific And Southeast Asian History, ANU.
- Acuña, R, Occupied America The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation, San Francisco, 1972.
- Agee, J and Evans, W, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, London, 1965.
- Arrighi, G and Saul, J S, Essays on the Political Economy of Africa, New York, 1973.
- Austin, H B, The Merino Past, Present and Probable, Sydney, 1943 (Photograph Aboriginal station hand, p71).
- Barnard, A (ed), The Simple Fleece. Studies in the Australian Wool Industry, Melbourne, 1962.
- Barwick, D, "Coranderrk and Cumeroounga: Pioneers and Policy" in Epstein, S and Penny, D, Opportunity and Response, London, 1972.
- Barwick, D, "Writing Aboriginal History: comments on a book and its reviewers" in Canberra Anthropology, V.4, No.2, October 1981.
- Barzun, J, Race. A Study in Superstition, New York, 1965.
- Bayley, W A, history of the Farmers' and Settlers' Association of NSW, Sydney, 1957.
- Bean, C E W, Dreadnoughts of the Darling, Sydney, 1956.
- Beckett, J, "Further Notes on the Social Organization of the Wongaibon of Western NSW", Oceania, V.XXIX, No.3, March 1959.
- Beckett, J, "Kinship, Mobility and Community Among Part-Aborigines in Rural Australia" in International Journal of Comparative Sociology, V.VI, No.1, March 1965.
- Beckett, J, "The Land Where the Crow Flies Backwards" in Quadrant, V.IX, No.36; No.4, July - September 1965.
- Beckett, J, "Marriage, Circumcision and Avoidance Among the Maljangaba of North West New South Wales" in Mankind, V.VI, No.10, December 1967.
- Beckett, J, "The Torres Strait Islanders and the Pearlring Industry: A Case of Internal Colonialism" in Aboriginal History, 1977, 1:1.
- Beckett, J, "George Dutton's Country: Portrait of an Aboriginal Drover" in Aboriginal History, 1978, 2:1.
- Bell, J H, "Economic Life of Mixed-Blood Aborigines on the South Coast of NSW", Oceania, V.XXVI, 3, March 1956.
- Bell, J H, "Some Demographic and Cultural Characteristics of the La Perouse Aborigines" in Mankind, V.5, No.10, June 1961.
- Berndt, R M and Berndt, C H, "Some Aspects of Native Labour on Northern Cattle Stations" in The Aborigines Protector, V.II, No.1, June 1946.

- Berndt, R M and C H, "An Oenpelli Monologue: Culture Contact" in Oceania, V.XXII, No.1, September 1951.
- Berndt, R M and C H, The World of the First Australians, Sydney, 1964.
- Berndt, R M, "The Effect of Area Development on Aboriginal Australians", Paper delivered to Seminar, "The Problems of Aboriginal Employment, Wages and Training", May 1966, Centre for Research into Aboriginal Affairs, Monash University.
- Berndt, R M, "Social Anthropology and Australian Aborigines" in Oceania, V.XXXVII, No.4, June 1967.
- Berkhofer, R F (Jr), The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present, New York, 1979.
- Biskup, P, "White-Aboriginal Relations in Western Australia: An Overview" in Comparative Studies in Society and History, V.X, 1968.
- Biskup, P, Not Slaves, Not Citizens, St Lucia, 1973.
- Blackburn, R, Ideology in Social Science. Readings in Critical Social Theory, London, 1972.
- Blake, J, "The Early Thirties" in Arena 25, 1971.
- Boehm, E A, Twentieth Century Economic Development in Australia, Melbourne, 1971.
- Booth, J, Only The Tracks Remain, Sydney, 1972.
- Brenner, R, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism" in New Left Review, 104, July - August 1977.
- Brewarrina Central School: 1875-1975 100th Anniversary, Forbes, 1975.
- Broome, R, Aboriginal Australians, Black Response to White Dominance, 1788-1980, Sydney, 1982.
- Butlin, N G, "The Distribution of the Australian Sheep Population, 1860-1951" in Barnard, A (ed), The Simple Fleece, Melbourne, 1962.
- Calley, M J, "Economic Life of Mixed-Blood Communities in Northern NSW", Oceania, V.XXVI, 3.
- Calley, M J, "Race Relations on the North Coast of NSW" in Oceania, V.XXVII, 3.
- Campbell, I C, "Social Backgrounds and Relations with the Aborigines in New England" in Armidale and District Historical Society Journal, No.14, 1971.
- Castle, R and Hagan, J, "Dependence and Independence: Aboriginal Workers on the Far South Coast of NSW 1920-75" in Curthoys, A and Markus, A (eds), Who Are Our Enemies?, Sydney, 1978.
- A Century of Education: Walgett Public Schools. 1876-1976, Tamworth, 1976.
- Clark, M T, Pastor Doug. The Story of Sir Douglas Nicholls — Aboriginal Leader, Revised edition, Melbourne, 1972.

- Cooksey, R, Lang and Socialism. A Study in the Great Depression, Canberra, 1971.
- Cooksey, R (ed), "The Great Depression in Australia", Canberra, 1970, being No.17 of Labour History.
- Corris, P, "Racialism: The Australian Experience" in Historical Studies, V.15, No.61, October 1973.
- Cross, M, "On Conflict, Race Relations, and the Theory of the Plural Society" in Race, V.XII, 4, 1971.
- Crowley, F (ed), A New History of Australia, Melbourne, 1974.
- Curthoys, A and Markus, A (eds), Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the Working Class in Australia, Sydney, 1978.
- Daley, L T, Men and a River. A History of the Richmond River District 1828-1895, Melbourne, 1966.
- Davidson, A, The Communist Party of Australia. A Short History, Stanford, 1969.
- Davidson, B R, Australia: Wet or Dry? The Physical and Economic Limits to the Expansion of Irrigation, Melbourne, 1969.
- Degler, C N, Neither Black Nor White. Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States, New York, 1971.
- Dickey, B, "Charity in NSW, 1850-1914" in JRAHS, V.52, pt.1, March 1966.
- Drane, N T and Edwards, H R, The Australian Dairy Industry. An Economic Study, Melbourne, 1961.
- Drohan, N T and Day, J H (eds), Readings in Australian Economics, Melbourne, 1965.
- Drummond, D H, "The New States, Its Basis and Objectives", Australian Quarterly, June 1931.
- Dunbar, G K, "Notes on the .igemba Tribe" in Mankind, V.3, No.5, December 1943; No.6, July 1944.
- Dunsdorfs, E, The Australian Wheat Growing Industry 1788-1948, Melbourne, 1956.
- Elkin, A P, "Reaction and Interaction: A Food-Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia" in American Anthropologist, V.53, No.2, April-June 1951.
- Ellis, U, The Country Party. A Political and Social History of the Party in NSW, Melbourne 1958.
- Elphick, R, Kraal and Castle, Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa, New Haven and London, 1977.
- Epstein, S and Penny, D, Opportunity and Response. Case Studies in Economic Development, London, 1972.
- Evans, R, Saunders, K and Cronin, K, Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination. Race Relations in Colonial Queensland, Sydney, 1975.
- Fanon, F, Black Skin White Masks, (First published 1952), Frogmore, 1973.
- Fanon, F, The Wretched of the Earth, (First published 1961), Suffolk, 1970.

- Farrell, F, International Socialism and Australian Labour. The Left in Australia, Sydney, 1981.
- Fennell, M and Grey, A, Nuoorilma, Sydney, 1974.
- Fink, R, "The Caste-Barrier — An Obstacle to Assimilation of Part-Aborigines in North-West New South Wales" in Oceania, V.XXVIII, No.2, December 1957.
- Fitzpatrick, B, A Short History of the Australian Labour Movement, Melbourne, 1940, 1944, 1968.
- Fitzpatrick, B, The Australian People 1788-1945, Melbourne, 1946.
- Fitzpatrick, B, The British Empire in Australia. An Economic History 1834-1939, 2nd Edition, Melbourne, 1949.
- Fitzpatrick, B, The Australian Commonwealth: A Picture of the Community 1901-1955, Melbourne, 1956.
- Fletcher, J J, "Collarenebri: an Attempt to Integrate Aboriginal Children", Leader, V.6, No.1, 1975.
- Forster, C, Industrial Development in Australia 1920-1930, Canberra, 1964.
- Forster, H W, "Australian Unemployment: 1900-1940" in Economic Record, V.41, 95, September 1965.
- Fox, L (ed), Depression Down Under, Sydney, 1977.
- Frank, A G, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Revised edition, New York, 1969.
- Franklin, M C, "Drought" in Barnard, A (ed), The Simple Fleece, Melbourne, 1962.
- Gale, F, Urban Aborigines, Canberra, 1972.
- Gale, G F and Brookman, A, Race Relations in Australia — The Aborigines, Sydney, 1975.
- Gale, F and Lawton, G H (ed), Settlement and Encounter, Melbourne, 1969.
- Gammage, B and Markus, A (eds), All That Dirt: Aborigines 1938, Canberra, 1982.
- Genovese, E, The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South, New York, 1961.
- Genovese, E, The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation, London, 1970.
- Glynn, S, Urbanization in Australian History, Melbourne, 1970.
- Goffman, E, Asylums. Essay on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Chicago, 1961.
- Gollan, R, Revolutionaries and Reformists. Communism and the Australian Labour Movement 1920-1955, Canberra, 1975.
- Graham, B D, "Graziers in Politics, 1917-1929" in Historical Studies, V.32, May, 1959.
- Greenberger, A J, The British Image of India. A study in the literature of Imperialism 1880-1960, London, 1969.
- Hamilton, A, "Aboriginal Man's Best Friend?" in Mankind, VIII, 4, December 1972.

- Hamilton, A, "Aboriginal Women: The Means of Production" in Mercer, J (ed), The Other Half. Women in Australian Society, Ringwood, 1975.
- Hardy, B, West of the Darling, Milton, 1969.
- Hardy, B, Lament for the Barkindji, Adelaide, 1976.
- Harper, N, "The Rural and Urban Frontiers" in Historical Studies, V.10, No.40, May 1963.
- Harris, M, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, New York, 1968.
- Hartwig, M, "Capitalism and Aborigines: The Theory of Internal Colonialism and Its Rivals" in Wheelwright, E L and Buckley, K (eds), Essays in The Political Economy Australian Capitalism, V.III, Sydney, 1978.
- Hartz, L B, The Founding of New Societies, New York, 1964.
- Heathcote, R L, Back of Bourke, Melbourne, 1965.
- The History of Bourke, Papers presented by members of the Bourke and District Historical Society, Volumes I to VIII, 1964 to 1981.
- Holloway, J and Picciotto, S, "Capital, Crisis and the State" in Capital and Class, 1:2, 1977.
- Horner, J, Vote Ferguson For Aboriginal Freedom, Sydney, 1974.
- Howard, M C, Aboriginal Politics in Southwestern Australia, Perth, 1981.
- Huelin, F, Keep Moving, Sydney, 1973.
- Hutchins, F G, The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India, Princeton, 1967.
- Inglis, A, Not a White Woman Safe: Sexual Anxiety and Politics in Port Moresby, 1920-1934, Canberra, 1974.
- Jagara (pseud), Frederick Engels, Lewis Morgan and the Australian Aborigine, Sydney, 1944.
- Jeans, D N, An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901, Sydney, 1972.
- Jeans, D N and Spearritt, P, The Open Air Museum. The Cultural Landscape of New South Wales, Sydney, 1980.
- Jelly, F, "Child Endowment", Radi, H and Spearritt, P (eds), Jack Lang, Sydney, 1977.
- Jenkin, G, Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri. The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes, Adelaide, 1979.
- Johnstone, F A, Class, Race and Gold. A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa, London, 1976.
- Kantor, B S and Kenny, H F, "The Poverty of neo-Marxism: the South African Case" in Journal of South African Studies, 3:1, October, 1976.
- Kelly, C, "The Reaction of White Groups in Country Towns to Aborigines" in Social Horizons, July 1943.
- Kewley, T H, Social Security in Australia. The Development of Social Security and Health Benefits from 1900 to the Present, Sydney, 1965.

- Kiernan, V G, The Lords of Mankind. European Attitudes Towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age, London, 1969.
- King, C J, "An Outline of Closer Settlement in NSW. Part I: The Sequence of the Land Laws 1788-1956" in Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, XXV, 3-4, September-December, 1957.
- Kingston, B, My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann. Melbourne, 1975.
- Koebner, R and Schmidt, H D, Imperialism. The Story and Significance of a Political Word 1840-1960, Cambridge, 1964.
- Krupskini, J and Stoller, A, The Family in Australia. Social, Demographic and Psychological Aspects, Sydney, 1974.
- Kuper, A, Anthropologists and Anthropology. The British School 1922-1972, Harmondsworth, 1973.
- Kuper, L, Race, Class and Power. Ideology and Revolutionary Change in Plural Societies, London, 1974.
- Lacau, E, "The Specificity of the Political: the Poulantzas-Milibrand Debate" in Economy and Society, 4, 1975.
- Lang, J T, I Remember, Sydney, 1956.
- Lang, J T, The Turbulent Years, Sydney, 1970.
- Leacock, E B (ed), The Culture of Poverty: A Critique, New York, 1971.
- Lewis, O, "The Culture of Poverty" in Scientific American, V.215, No.4, October 1966.
- Louis, L J and Turner, I (eds), The Depression of the 1930s, Melbourne, 1968.
- Long, J P M, Aboriginal Settlements. A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia, Canberra, 1970.
- Lowenstein, W, Weevils in the Flour. An Oral Record of the 1930s Depression in Australia, Melbourne, 1978.
- Mamak, A and Ali, A (eds), Race, Class and Rebellion in the South Pacific, Brisbane, 1979.
- Massola, A, Coranderrk. The History of the Aboriginal Station, Kilmore, 1975.
- Mackinolty, J (ed), The Wasted Years? Australia's Great Depression, Sydney, 1981.
- Markus, A, "Talka Longa Mouth: Aborigines and the Labour Movement 1890-1970" in Curthoys, A and Markus, A (eds), Who Are Our Enemies, Sydney, 1978.
- Markus, A, Fear and Hatred. Purifying Australia and California, 1850-1901, Sydney, 1979.
- Meillasoux, C, "From Reproduction to Production. A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology" in Economy and Society, V.1, No.1, February 1972.
- Middleton, H, But Now We Want the Land Back. A History of the Australian Aboriginal People, Sydney, 1977.

- Milibrand, R, "Reply to Nicos Poulantzas" in New Left Review, 59, 1970.
- Milibrand, R, "Poulantzas and the Capitalist State" in New Left Review, 82, 1973.
- Muirden, B, The Puzzled Patriots. The Story of the Australia First Movement, Melbourne, 1968.
- Mulvaney, D J and Golson, J (ed), Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia, Canberra, 1971.
- McBryde, I (ed), Records of Times Past. Ethnohistorical Essays on the culture and ecology of the New England Tribes, Canberra, 1978.
- McConnochie, K R, Realities of Race. An analysis of the concepts of Race and Racism and their Relevance to Australian Society, Sydney, 1973.
- Nelson, H, "Legislative Record, 1925-1927. How Radical?" in Radi, H and Spearritt, P (eds), Jack Lang, Sydney, 1977.
- NSW Anti-Discrimination Board, A Study of Street Offences by Aborigines, Sydney, 1982.
- Oeser, O A and Emery, F E, Social Structure and Personality in a Rural Community, London, 1954.
- O'Farrell, P, "Oral History: Facts or Fiction", Quadrant, No.148, V.XXIII, No.11, November 1979.
- Oral History, edited Kolia, J. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.
- Poulantzas, N, "The Problem of the Capitalist State", New Left Review, 58, 1969.
- Poulantzas, N, "The Capitalist State" in New Left Review, 95, 1976.
- Radi, H and Spearritt, P (eds), Jack Lang, Sydney, 1977.
- Read, P, "Fathers and Sons: A Study of Five Men of 1900" in Aboriginal History, 1980, 4:1.
- Read, P, "A Double-Headed Coin: Protection and Assimilation in Yass 1900-1960" in Cammage, B and Markus, A (eds), All That Dirt: Aborigines 1938, Canberra, 1982.
- Read, P, The Stolen Generations, Sydney, 1982.
- Reay, M, "A Half-Caste Aboriginal Community in North-Western New South Wales" in Oceania, V.XV, 4, June 1945.
- Reay, M, "Housing of Half-Castes in North-Western NSW" in The Aborigines' Protector, V.II, No.1, June 1947.
- Reay, M, "Colour Prejudice at Collarenebri" in The Aborigines' Protector, V.II, No.3, May 1947.
- Reay, M and Sitlington, G, "Class Status in a Mixed-Blood Community" in Oceania, V.XVIII, 3, March 1948.
- Reay, M, "Native Thought in Rural New South Wales" in Oceania, V.XX, 2, December 1949.
- Reynolds, H, "The Other Side of the Frontier: Early Aboriginal Reactions to Pastoral Settlement in Queensland and Northern New South Wales" in Historical Studies, V.17, 66, April 1976.

- Reynolds, H, The Other Side of the Frontier. An interpretation of the Aboriginal response to the invasion and settlement of Australia, Townsville, 1981.
- Riddeford, W F, "The Life of a Station Hand in 1910" in Newsletter, Royal Australian Historical Society, 1977, 169:2-4.
- Roe, J (ed), Social Policy in Australia, Some Perspectives 1901-1975, Sydney, 1976.
- Rolls, E, A Million Wild Acres, 200 Years of Man and an Australian Forest, Melbourne, 1981.
- Rowe, J B, "The Form and Function of the Rural Township" in Australian Geographer, V.IV, No.8, May 1945.
- Rowley, C D, The Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Canberra, 1970.
- Rowley, C D, The Remote Aborigines, Canberra, 1971.
- Rowley, C D, Outcasts in White Australia, Canberra, 1971.
- Rowley, C D, A Matter of Justice, Canberra, 1978.
- Runciman, W G, "Race and Social Stratification" in Race, 13:4, 1972.
- Rutherford, R S G, "Fluctuations in the Sheep Population of NSW, 1860-1940" in Economic Record, XXIV, 1948.
- Ryan, L, "Outcasts in White Tasmania" in Mankind, VIII, 4, December 1972.
- Ryan, L, The Aboriginal Tasmanians, St Lucia, 1981.
- Said, E W, The Question of Palestine, London, 1980.
- Samy, A T, "The Life of an Indentured Woman. Jamuni Triveni: An Indian in Fiji" in Oral History, IV, 9, October 1976.
- Schedvin, C B, Australia and the Great Depression. A Study of Economic Development and Policy in the 1920s and 1930s, Sydney, 1970.
- Shannon, I, Rural Industries in the Australian Economy, Melbourne, 1955.
- Sharp, I G and Tatz, C M (eds), Aborigines in the Economy. Employment, Wages and Training, Melbourne, 1966.
- Sitlington, G, "The Diet of Half-Castes in North Western NSW" in The Aborigines' Protector, V.II, No.1, June 1946.
- Smith, R H T, "Interstate Beef Cattle Movements in Eastern Australia" in Australian Geographer, V.VII, No.2, November 1957.
- Stanner, W E H, "Aboriginal Territorial Organization: Estate, Range, Domain and Regime" in Oceania, V.XXXVI, No.1, September 1965.
- Stanner, W E H, "Australia and Racialism" in St Mark's Review, No.43, February 1966.
- Stanner, W E H, After the Dreaming, Black and White Australians — An Anthropologist's View, Sydney, 1968.

- Stevens, F (ed), Racism the Australian Experience, V.1: Prejudice and Xenophobia; V.2: Black vs White; V.3: Colonialism, Sydney 1972.
- Stevens, F, The Politics of Prejudice, Sydney, 1980.
- Stevens, F, Black Australia, Sydney, 1981.
- Summers, A, Damned Whores and God's Police, The Colonization of Women in Australia, Ringwood, 1975.
- Thompson, P, The Voice of the Past. Oral History, Oxford, 1978.
- Tobin, P, Aboriginal Land Rights in NSW, Demands, Law and Policy, Sydney, 1972.
- Van Den Berghe, Pierre L, Race and Racism. A Comparative Perspective, New York, 1967.
- Van Den Berghe, Pierre L, Race and Ethnicity. Essays in Comparative Sociology, New York, 1970.
- Vansina, J, Oral Tradition. First published 1961. Translated, London, 1965.
- Wadham, S M, Australian Farming 1788-1965, Melbourne, 1967.
- Walker, R B, Old New England. A History of the Northern Tablelands of NSW 1818-1900, Sydney, 1966.
- Waterson, D B, Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper, Sydney, 1968.
- Westergaard, J H, "Sociology: the myth of classlessness" in Blackburn, R (ed), Ideology in the Social Sciences, London, 1972.
- Westley, W A, Violence and the Police. A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality, Massachusetts, 1970.
- Wheatley, N, "NSW Relief Workers' Struggles, 1933-1936" in Roe, J (ed), Social Policy in Australia, Sydney, 1976.
- Wild, R A , "Social Stratification and Race Relations" in Mankind, XI, No.2, 1977.
- Wilson, P, Black Death White Hands, Sydney, 1982.
- Wilson, W J, Power, Racism and Privilege. Race Relations in Theoretical and Sociohistorical Perspectives, London, 1973.
- Wolfers, E P, Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, Sydney, 1975.
- Wolpe, H, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power" in Economy and Society, V.1, 4, 1972.
- Wolpe, H, "The Theory of Internal Colonialism: The South African Case" in Oxaal, I, Barnett, T and Booth, D (eds), Beyond the Sociology of Development, London, 1975.
- Yarwood, A T, Attitudes to Non-European Immigration, Melbourne, 1968.
- Yengoyan, A A, "Biological and Demographic Components in Aboriginal Australian Socio-Economic Organization" in Oceania, V.XLIII, No.2, December 1972.
- Zurayk, E T, The Palestinians in Israel: A Study in Internal Colonialism, London, 1979.

D Non-literary media

Aboriginal Question: Tapes recorded during Freedom Rides, 1965, Walgett and other locations. Held Department of Technical and Further Education. Extracts on ABC Radio "Broadband", 20/2/1978.

Booraloola Aboriginal Community in association with Caroline Strachan and Alessandro Cavadini: Two Laws, 1982. film.

E Theses and unpublished works

- Barwick, D, "A Little More than Kin", Regional Affiliation and Group Identity among Aboriginal Migrants to Melbourne, PhD, August 1963.
- Beckett, J, "A Study of a Mixed-Blood Aboriginal Minority in the Pastoral West of New South Wales", MA, ANU, 1958.
- Bell, J A, "The La Perouse Aborigines", PhD, SU, 1959.
- Booth, J, "Short History of Dubbo and District at the Grass Roots Level", unpublished Manuscript, 1981.
- Burgmann, V, "Revolutionaries and Racists: Australian Socialism and the Problem of Racism, 1887-1917", PhD, ANU, 1980.
- Calley, M J, "Aboriginal Pentecostalism", MA, SU, 1955.
- Castle, R and Hagan, J, "Seasonal Work and Aboriginal Employment in two rural areas of New South Wales, 1921-1978", unpublished Paper delivered to Commonwealth Labour History Conference, University of Warwick, September, 1981.
- Curthoys, A, "Race and Ethnicity: A Study of the Response of British Colonists to Aborigines, Chinese and Non-British Europeans in New South Wales, 1856-1881", PhD, MU, 1973.
- Dwyer, D, "The NSW Aborigines Protection Board — 1909-1923", BA(Hons), SU, 1973.
- Fink, R, "Social Stratification — A Sequel to the Assimilation Process in a Part-Aboriginal Community", MA, SU, 1955.
- Goodall, H, "An Intelligent Parasite: A P Elkin and White Perceptions of Aboriginal History", Paper delivered to Australian Historical Association Conference, August, 1982.
- Gresser, P J, Manuscripts held AIAS:
 •22/25: "Aborigines in the Shearing Sheds";
 •21/23: "Weilmoringle. Memories of the mid and late 1930s".
- Fletcher, J J, "A History of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales 1788-1947", MEd, NEU, 1977.
- Hausfield, R G, "Some Aspects of Aboriginal Station Management", MA, SU, 1960.
- Johnston, S, "The New South Wales Government Policy Towards Aborigines, 1880-1909", MA, SU, 1970.
- Lippman, L, "A Survey of Race Relations in Selected Country Towns", Centre for Research into Aboriginal Affairs,

- Monash University, 1970. Held AIAS. Restricted use.
- Morris, B, "Change and Oppression: Aboriginal Farming on the Macleay River". Paper presented at Australian Anthropological Society Conference, NSWU, August, 1982.
- Nixon, P, "The Integration of a Half-Caste Community at La Perouse", MA, SU, 1947.
- Reece, R, "The Aborigines and Colonial Society in NSW Before 1850, With Special Reference to the Period of the Gipps Administration, 1838-1846", MA, QU, 1969.
- Reece, R, "Aboriginal Community History: A Cautionary Tale", Paper delivered to Australian Historical Association Conference, August, 1982.
- Smith, L R, "The Aboriginal Population of Australia", PhD, NSWU, 1975.
- Thomson, D F, "Justice for Aborigines", 1946. Held ANU Archives.
- Tobin, P, "A Meeting of Nations — Aborigines and the Police. Australia 1976". Unpublished paper circulated 1976.
- Wait, E, "Migration of People of Aboriginal Ancestry to the Metropolitan Area", BA, SU, 1950.
- Wheatley, N, "The Unemployed Who Kicked. A Study of the Political Struggles and Organizations of the NSW Unemployed in the Great Depression", MA(Hons), MU, 1976.

END