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THIS THESIS MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM THE LIBRARY
NATIVE EDUCATION

IN THE

NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA

A Critical Account
of its Aims, Development
and Present Position


A thesis submitted to
The University of Sydney
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the honours degree of
Master of Education,

1962
Culture Contact: School Children Watching
A Pukamuni Ceremony

Snake Bay, 1954.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this thesis would not have been possible except for the action of the Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education, Mr. W.J. Weeden, in appointing the writer to the position of Senior Education Officer in the Northern Territory, in charge of the Native Education Programme in 1954.

Thanks are also due to the Department of Territories and to the Northern Territory Administration, especially Mr. H.C. Giese, the Director of Welfare, for permission to revisit native settlements and schools in 1960.

Appreciation is due also to my colleagues in the Office of Education and the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration for many helpful discussions on the background of Northern Territory Native Education, including the aims of native policy. It was thought appropriate to include in this section four aspects of that background - brief descriptions of relevant features of the Northern Territory itself and of the native settlements since the native education programme is designed to survey of the
This thesis attempts to do three things - to assemble certain material which will give an account of the aims and development of the native education programme in the Northern Territory; to provide a descriptive account of the programmes which may be of value to those who would like to know just what is being done and why; and finally, and perhaps presumptuously, to comment critically on the aims and present position of the programme, and to suggest ways in which future development may proceed.

To cover and to provide a frame of reference for these three aspects the thesis is divided into five sections.

Section 1 is intended to orientate the reader to the main subject by means of a discussion of the background of Northern Territory Native education, including the aims of native policy. It was thought appropriate to include in this section four aspects of that background - brief descriptions of relevant features of the Northern Territory itself and of the native inhabitants whom the native education programme is designed to serve; of the
general Commonwealth policy of assimilation of which native education is a part, and thus of the broad aims of native education; and also of the programme of education of the European and part-aboriginal children into which the special native education programme will eventually be absorbed.

Section 2 is the historical section. In this section, the story of the missionary approach to native education, and of the plans for and several starts made with governmental educational provision for the native is recounted, covering events up to 1960.

Section 3 is intended to provide a factual description of the programme as it exists at present, in terms of such things as the schools and their locations, the curriculum and methods of teaching. It also discusses the ability and achievement of native children.

Section 4 consists of discussion, critical comment, evaluation and suggestions, covering such fields as the question of control; the aims of the programme and the implications of the aims; factors influencing achievement; and the future of the programme.

Section 5 is very short, consisting of one chapter only, devoted to a brief summary of the thesis and the conclusions which the writer draws from it.
Finally, a number of appendices are provided, in which some detailed factual information is given on such matters as the Commonwealth Office of Education, which figures largely in the story; the Agreement under which the programme was inaugurated; samples of the Course of Study and of the special reading books (the "Bush Books"); and some detailed statistical tables.

It is quite clear that at the time of writing the whole story has not been told. There is currently under consideration by the Minister for Territories a Report on Education in the Northern Territory, which is as yet confidential, which may have a considerable influence on the next decade of the programme. In any case, even if there were, as a result of this Report, no change in control, it is still obvious that a great many changes in the scope and effectiveness of the programme will take place during the 1960's. It will remain for a later writer to provide an account of these in due course.

The views expressed in this thesis are not to be taken as the views of the Commonwealth Office of Education. The writer himself is entirely responsible.

Sydney
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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTORY
CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
OF NATIVE EDUCATION

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The purpose of this chapter and of the next is to give relevant background information. Readers who are familiar with Australian geography and history, especially of the Northern Territory, and those whose anthropological reading has acquainted them with the nature and social organisation of the Australian Aborigines, may find these opening pages largely redundant. They should not forget, however, that the geographical, historical and political background have influenced and continue to influence the programme of native education; and even more obviously that the characteristics of the native inhabitants themselves have to be taken into account in explaining what has happened or in proposing future programmes in the fields of culture contact and social change. For it is in this broad sense of contact and change, and not merely of teaching to read and write, that native education is viewed in the following pages.
The Northern Territory: Location, Physical Characteristics, Climate

The Northern Territory is the central portion of the northern half of Australia. It is bounded on the west by Western Australia, at the 129th meridian, and on the east by Queensland, at the 138th meridian. With Western Queensland and with north western Australia, it shares many characteristics, and a strong body of opinion in Australia sees the future of these areas as requiring common solutions to common problems. These problems include the integration of the native population with the rest of the community.

On the south, the border of the Territory is with South Australia, at the 26th parallel of latitude. On the north, a coastline of over a thousand miles varies between the 17th and the 11th parallel. Thus with the exception of a small strip 175 miles wide in the south, the whole of the Territory lies within the tropics. To the north, the Timor Sea and the Arafura Sea separate the Territory coastline from Indonesia and New Guinea.

The total area of the Territory is 523,620 square miles; its greatest length from north to south is about 1,000 miles, and from east to west about 600 miles. With a total population of about 37,000, it is seen as a vast and sparsely populated country, a characteristic which it shares with the adjoining parts of the continent.
The coastline is low-lying, with sandy beaches, thick mangrove swamps, low headlands and a number of large sheltered bays. Wide rivers, lined with mangrove, are navigable for considerable distances. From the coast there is a gradual rise in the land to a height of about 1,000 feet near the 17th parallel, with a flat featureless interior tableland. However, near the centre of the continent there is a series of mountain ranges running east-west. Here the rivers flow only after heavy rain, and disappear in desert or dry salt lakes. Large areas of the interior are desert, especially in the west, but there are also large areas of pasture land, depending upon good seasons or artesian water.

The traveller from the south who approaches the Territory by car or train travels through a country largely destitute of landmarks until he reaches these mountain ranges. Here the general level of land is over 2,000 feet with the spectacular ridges of the MacDonnell Ranges rising to nearly 5,000 feet in some places. The land surface is covered by rocks or sand of distinctively red colouration, with sparse vegetation consisting of mulga, spinifex and salt bush. As he proceeds north towards the coast, he will notice a change in the country after five or six hundred miles, with taller trees lining the road. A hundred miles further on he is descending to the coastal belt, with vegetation more tropical and lush, usually green even during the dry season.
The climate of the Territory is subject to contrasts. The centre to a certain extent is influenced by the fringe of the north-west monsoon with the result that during November to April there is usually some rain, perhaps as much as 8 inches. There are also years of drought, as for example, the years 1959 to 1961. Days are hot and dry, with an average maximum temperature of over 80 degrees; but nights are cold, often in the 30's. In the north the climate responds to the monsoon with nearly 60 inches of rain, almost entirely during the "wet" season from November to April, but with warm tropical days and nights during the "dry".

**Industries**

The chief industry of the Northern Territory is undoubtedly the pastoral industry, which in this case is mainly the raising of beef cattle on the open-range system. Cattle were introduced to the Territory in the late 1860's when leases were granted in the south, and in 1879 the first cattle stations in the north were established, soon to be followed by others in the country around the Gulf of Carpentaria and on the tableland to its south and west, known as the Barkly Tableland. By 1888 there were over 100,000 sheep and a similar number of horses. Now there are over 1,250,000 head of cattle but relatively few horses or sheep. The value of exports in 1959/60 was over £5,000,000. Consolidation and expansion of this industry is proceeding under the guidance of the Animal Industry Branch of the Northern Territory Administration,
with improvements in the quality of the stock and the building and maintenance of stock routes and watering places. Road and rail transport is improving, but needs to be developed further. The chief markets for the Territory cattle industry are at present the three adjoining States, but a significant recent development is the export of live cattle to South-East Asia, chiefly from the northern part of the Territory. Further development is likely to occur in this industry, and in a curious by-product of the earlier years of the Territory - the economic use of the thousands of water buffalo who are the descendants of those brought to an early military settlement on the north coast and which now roam the swampy northern plains. So far little has been done with these except to treat them as a source of hide.

Of second rank in importance is the mining industry. There are considerable mineral resources in the Territory, combined with difficulties in their extraction and treatment. The principal minerals mined at present are gold, mica, copper, wolfram, tin and uranium, the last having been discovered in 1949. In 1959/60, mineral production was valued at over £6,000,000. Apart from problems of treatment, the isolation of the profitable deposits and the high cost of obtaining labour are the chief difficulties of the industry.

The agricultural industry is of comparatively recent development but of increasing importance. Systematic experiment
and research is the key to its immediate stabilisation. There appear to be good prospects for the cultivation of rice, cotton and grain sorghum in addition to the growing of peanuts and the production of fruit and vegetables for local markets. There are also indications that tobacco may be a suitable crop in some areas.

Pearl fleets used to fish the Timor and Arafura Seas for pearl shell, but in this industry Territorians have almost surrendered the field to the Japanese. There are few secondary industries as yet established because the local market is small, and secondary industry export trade is very much a matter for the future. Apart from the three major industries, however, there is a good employment field in the provision of municipal services, public utilities, public works, housing, transport and communications, forestry, social services, health and education. The extent to which the three major industries and these others are providing employment for natives is a matter of some interest in connection with native education.

Population

Looking first at the population figures excluding full-blood aborigines, the most extraordinary feature is the slight change from the 1880's until the second world war. In 1881, the number
of settlers was given as 3451, of whom only 670 were European, the remainder being mainly Chinese or half-castes. In 1891 the total was 4898, with a decline until 1921, when the number was 3867. This rose to 4850 in 1933. However, after the war the picture began to change. In 1947 the figure was 10,868, and in 1954, 16,469. This was the year of the census, which showed that of these, 14,026 were European and 1,955 "part-aboriginal", which is extraordinarily defined as "a person one of whose parents is of European race and the other of non-European". Estimates show a steady increase, with that for 30th June, 1960 given as 21,800. (1)

Most of this population is concentrated in five main towns. Darwin, the seat of the Legislative Council and the Administration, accounts for about 11,000; Alice Springs, about 950 miles by road to the south, the main town of the "Centre", for another 3,000; Tennant Creek, about two thirds of the way from Darwin to Alice Springs, the main centre of the mining industry, for about 1,500. Katherine, about 220 miles south of Darwin, has a population of about 1,200; and Batchelor, 67 miles from Darwin, built to house workers from Fum Jungle, a centre for mining uranium oxide, about 600. The remaining people are scattered over the Territory's

half-a-million square miles. They are to be found on a few smaller settlements along the road from Alice Springs to Darwin, or in a few mining settlements, on pastoral stations or on government settlements or missions. The largest employment groups are government service and professional, followed by building and construction, then primary production, mining and transport.

It has been estimated that when white settlement began, the aboriginal population was in the vicinity of 35,000. The present estimate is given as 17,226 (1960). However, recent years have shown an increase instead of the expected continuation of the decline which had led to the belief that the aborigines were a dying race. The 1954 estimate was 13,500. Whereas the all-Australian birth-rate in 1956 was 22.5 per thousand, that recorded for the aboriginal population in the Territory was 25.49 per thousand, and there is reason to believe that the true figure is approximately 29 per thousand. There is a yearly excess of births over deaths of somewhere between 150 and 200. (2)

The following figures give some idea of the distribution of this population. Children under 14 years comprise some 33% and persons in the normal working group, that is up to about 60 years

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for women and 65 for men, comprise about 60%, or about 9,700. However, as at 30th June 1957, there were some 3,840 engaged in employment, including over 1,000 females. This was a slight increase on the previous year. Of these, 2,200 were engaged in the pastoral industry, but less than 200 each in mining and agriculture. (1)

Up to the present time, the occupation in which these aborigines who have adjusted themselves to the economic life of the Territory have been most useful and where they have found most satisfaction is as stockmen and labourers on the cattle stations, few of which could otherwise be worked because of the scarcity of white labour available. Aboriginal women also play a part on these stations, assisting with domestic duties. The distribution of the population in terms of its contact is interesting in this connection. In the last three years for which figures are available, 1958, 1959 and 1960, the number in contact in pastoral, mining and agricultural areas has increased from 4,610 to 5,635. The number of nomadic aborigines is slowly declining, with the number in contact with government settlements and depots increasing from 4,039 in 1958 to 4,737 in 1960. The number in contact with missions has shown a decrease from 6,117 to 5,820. (2)

(1) Ibid, p.89. See also the full table in Appendix E. More recent figures have not been published.

(2) Welfare Branch Annual Report 1960-61, page 95. The full table is quoted in Appendix E.
The nomadic aborigines, those in contact with missions, and most of those in contact with government settlements, are mainly located in special reserves. These in 1961 covered an area of over 94,000 square miles, the largest being in the Haasts Bluff area in the south west and Arnhem Land in the north east of the Territory. These areas can be varied according to need, and cannot be taken as permanently reserved. It is largely in these areas that the government settlements and the missions have been set up to care for those not yet ready to take full responsibility as part of the economic and social life of the community.

Exploration and Early Settlement

Dutch nomenclature along the Northern Territory coast reminds the traveller that the earliest European contact with the coast which is known to have occurred was with Dutch ships. In 1623 the ship Arnhem gave its name to Arnhem Land; and in 1644 Abel Tasman surveyed part of the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria and named Groote Eylandt.

It was not until 1803 that the coast was methodically charted and then only in part, by Matthew Flinders. This task was completed by P.P. King during 1818 - 1822, and on his urging the British Government in 1824 sent Captain J.J.G. Bremer to take possession of the coast between the western shore of Bathurst Island and the eastern side of the Coburg Peninsula. After landing first
at Fort Essington, the settlement was established at Fort Dundas on Melville Island. Difficulties with hostile aborigines and tropical diseases led to the establishment of an alternative settlement at Raffles Bay in 1826. Both settlements were abandoned in 1829.

Representations to the British Government and rumours of possible French settlement led to another expedition in 1838 under Bremer to Port Essington. With the choice of a better site than had been found before, a settlement named Victoria was established under Captain McArthur as commandant. In 1839 Commander Wickham in H.M.S. Beagle with Lieutenant Stokes discovered the Adelaide and Victoria Rivers, and Port Darwin. The settlement remained at Port Essington until 1849, when it was abandoned as of no use to traders or passing ships. This was not before it had been reached overland, however, by Leichhardt travelling from Moreton Bay in 1845.

It is interesting to speculate what might have resulted from the point of view of aboriginal contact had the Port Essington settlement remained for a longer period. Leichhardt's Journal provides the contrast between the June 28th attack by aborigines near the Mitchell River, which resulted in the death of the naturalist member of the expedition, Mr. Gilbert, and the encounter near Port Essington on December 2nd, when an unarmed native approached, and
"...upon being joined by another good-looking man, we heard him utter distinctly the words, 'Commandant!' 'come here!!' 'very ...!!!!!' 'what's your name?!!!!!!'... our joy knew no limits, and I was ready to embrace the fellows, who, seeing the happiness with which they inspired us, joined, with a most merry grin, in the loud expression of our feelings."(1)

From such good beginnings, there was scarcely any advance for the next one hundred years.

The next attempt at exploration under A.C. Gregory traced the Victoria River from the coast to its source and then went further inland for some 300 miles. The following year, 1858, he travelled from his base camp 100 miles up the Victoria River eastward to the Elsey, then to the Roper, across the northern edges of the Barkly Tableland and eventually south to Brisbane. These explorations disclosed valuable areas of pastoral land, and in 1860 Gregory proposed that a large area south of the Gulf of Carpentaria should be incorporated into Queensland, and that a new colony called Albert be established in the north west. This suggestion of a new colony had been made in 1853 by a geographer named Saunders, and had been acceptable to the Colonial Office on condition that Queensland took temporary charge. This was unacceptable to Queensland and the proposal came to nothing.

After expeditions some way into the interior of the continent in 1858 and 1859, John McDouall Stuart in 1860 attempted to cross the continent from south to north, naming the Finke River, the McDonnell Ranges, and Mount Stuart (the name of which was subsequently changed to Central Mount Stuart), and reaching a place about 60 miles north of the present township of Tennant Creek. Here at what was subsequently called Attack Creek his party was attacked by natives, and a reluctant decision was made to turn back, Stuart being unprepared to risk his small party with "such wily, determined natives". In 1861 with financial support from the South Australian Government he set out again, going beyond Attack Creek and naming Newcastle Waters; but hampered by drought he again turned back. In 1862 a further attempt pushed on from Newcastle Waters and reached the Roper River. He named the Katherine River and reached the ocean at a point about 20 miles east of the mouth of the Adelaide River. The party successfully completed the return journey of 2000 miles to Adelaide.

Stuart's journeys proved that a route existed for the overland telegraph line, and led to the increased interest of the South Australian Government in the northern parts of the continent. On 6th July 1863, by Royal Letters Patent, the Northern Territory became the responsibility of South Australia,
and in 1864 the first sales of Territory land were made in Adelaide. The first Government Resident, Colonel Finniss, was appointed in April 1864, and was sent by sea to establish a permanent settlement. After rejecting sites at Port Darwin and Port Patterson, he chose a site on the eastern shore of Adam Bay near the mouth of the Adelaide River. He proposed to establish a town, Palmerston, and on the other side of the Adelaide an anchorage, Port Daly. The settlement was abandoned in 1866; the site being surrounded by swamps and infested with mosquitoes, disease and dissension having arisen, aggravated by the overbearing behaviour of the Government Resident.

Under a five year condition of land sales, the South Australian Government was obliged to send another expedition to the north. This was under the command of George Goyder, the Surveyor-General, who was instructed to establish a settlement and undertake immediate land surveys. In 1869 Goyder established the new Palmerston on the present site of Darwin on Port Darwin. The policy of local control under a Government Resident subject to Cabinet direction was established. From then on, South Australia devoted men and resources to the development of the Territory, including the construction of the overland telegraph line, the railway from Darwin to Pine Creek, and the establishment of the pastoral and mining industries. The overland telegraph
was begun in 1870 under the direction of the South Australian Postmaster-General, Charles Todd. The work proceeded simultaneously in three sections, and the numerous surveyors working along the route added to knowledge of the area. In 1872 the wires were joined at Frew's Ponds, and the single iron wire carried the entire overseas telegraph business of Australia until 1899, when a second wire of copper was erected on the same poles. From whatever point of view this is regarded, it was an extraordinary accomplishment. Many of the present Northern Territory townships were originally repeater stations. Alice Springs was a depot during the construction of the line, and then became a main station.

Political History

In 1883 South Australia began to negotiate with the Colonial Office for a permanent annexation of the Northern Territory. A great deal of money had been spent and more was proposed. The decision given was that the present arrangements should continue, but that the Territory would not be given its independence until it was in a position to accept responsibility for the full amount spent on it.

In 1890 South Australia agreed to parliamentary representation of the Northern Territory with two members to the House of Assembly
Inclusion in the electorate of Grey for representation in
the Legislative Council. On the establishment of the Commonwealth
in 1901, the people of the Territory were included in the electorate
of Grey for the House of Representatives and were enabled to
vote in the South Australian Senate elections. South Australia
continued during the last two decades of the last century to
develop the Territory, by the building of the railway from
Port Augusta to Oodnadatta and from Palmerston to Pine Creek.

After Federation opinion favoured transferring the Territory
to the Commonwealth, and negotiations opened in 1906 and reached
agreement in 1907. A Northern Territory Surrender Act was passed
by South Australia and a Northern Territory Acceptance Act by
the Commonwealth, which resulted in a formal transfer on
1st January 1911. The Commonwealth assumed responsibility for
all loans, repaid to South Australia the interest paid on them,
purchased the existing railway line from Port Augusta and agreed
to complete the line between Oodnadatta and Pine Creek. By 1929
the railway had been extended from Pine Creek to Larrimah and
from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs. The failure to complete the
remainder of this line is a standing disgrace to the Commonwealth.

Transfer to the Commonwealth saw a change in the system of
administration; an administrator and a staff of senior officials
was appointed, all parliamentary franchise was taken away, and
the name of Palmerston was changed to Darwin. Industrial unrest
in Darwin contributed to the failure of a number of enterprises,
especially the Vestey's meatworks project which cost nearly a
million pounds. The year 1918 saw mob demonstrations and the
following year a Royal Commission which criticised the
administration and pointed to the need for parliamentary
representation. In 1923 a Commonwealth Act provided for a
member of the House of Representatives but without a vote except
on Territory ordinances.

In 1926 a new method of administration divided the Territory
into two parts, North Australia and Central Australia, the division
being at the 20th parallel. There was a Government Resident at
each main town - Darwin and Alice Springs. The same act set up
an Advisory Council and a North Australian Commission to advise
on development. In 1931 the act was repealed.

Dissatisfaction with slow progress led to the setting up in
1937 of a committee, known from the names of two of its members
as the Payne-Fletcher Committee. Its report recommended the
completion of a rail link with the Queensland system in the east
and Wyndham in the west, and 50 year leases of land for develop-
mental purposes. The committee considered that the Territory
could double the number of its cattle and carry more than two and
a half million sheep within ten years. It also recommended wider powers to the Administrator to handle matters on the spot. Its recommendations were not acted upon. In the meantime defence installations, military, naval and air force, had occupied a large work force in Darwin.

The impact of the war was to increase the service installations and to provoke the completion of the north-south road. Defence personnel by the end of 1942 totalled almost 100,000 in number and were provisioned largely from within the Territory. After the 1942 air raids on Darwin the civil administration was transferred to Alice Springs until 1945. Destruction of more than 50% of Darwin's buildings facilitated extensive replanning.

The post war period has seen considerable but as some think still inadequate development of the Territory's industries. In 1947 the Northern Territory Legislative Council was established, consisting of the Administrator, seven official members, and six elected members. In 1959 this was altered to six official members, eight elected members, and three non-official nominated members.

The Administrator is responsible to the appropriate Commonwealth minister, who since 1951 has been the Minister for Territories, the Honorable Paul Hasluck; prior to that date it had been first the Minister for External Affairs, then the Minister for the Interior. The present minister has the Department of
Territories in Canberra to assist him in his administration of
the Northern Territory and most of Australia's external
territories, including Papua-New Guinea.

Ordinances of the Legislative Council can still be disallowed
by the Minister, who in these circumstances has to report the
matter with reasons for his decision to the House of Representatives.

The present administrative organization for the Northern
Territory provides for eleven branches, the heads of which advise
and assist the Administrator. These branches are:

- The Administrative Branch
- Lands and Survey Branch
- Animal Industry Branch
- Mines Branch
- Welfare Branch
- General Services Branch
- Agricultural Branch
- Education Branch
- Water Use Branch
- Police Branch
- Prisons Branch

Health affairs are controlled by the Commonwealth Department
of Health, which has Medical Officers under the control of a Chief
Medical Officer at Darwin.
The seat of administration is Darwin, for all branches except the Animal Industry Branch, whose headquarters are at Alice Springs. Several branches have representatives at Alice Springs and other towns, including the Welfare Branch, which has District Welfare Officers stationed at Alice Springs, Tennant Creek and Katherine. The public finances of the Territory are not covered in a separate Territory budget, but are included in the Budget of the Commonwealth Government. Revenue of the Territory is paid to the Commonwealth Consolidated Revenue Fund, from which the expenditure for carrying on the administration, including public works and services, is met. The Supreme Court of the Northern Territory consists of a single Judge, appointed by the Governor-General. Police courts, presided over by magistrates or Justices of the Peace have jurisdiction to hear minor offences.

It is important for our purposes to realise that the administrative branch which controls native education is the Welfare Branch. The function of the Education Branch will be discussed later, as will the part played in the inauguration of the education programme by the Commonwealth Office of Education.
CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE NATIVE INHABITANTS (1)

The 17,000 full blood aborigines in the Northern Territory are the descendants of some 35,000 who were living in that part of Australia at the time of the first white settlement. Contrary to general belief, they were not "stone-age" people surviving into the contemporary world (except for some resemblances between their weapons and artifacts and those found on pre-historic sites); theirs was a complex and highly developed culture which deserves our respect and in some ways can stand in judgement upon our own. A number of aspects of this culture create difficulties in culture contact and are relevant to a study of the native education programme.

The Australoids may have been one ethnic group or several; at least they seem to constitute a different division from the rest of mankind. Their origin seems to have been to the north or

(1) The information in this chapter is culled from discursive reading of a large number of sources. Especially useful are:

   Articles in Australian Encyclopaedia
   R. & C. Berndt, From Black to White in South Australia;
   A.P. Elkin, The Australian Aborigines and How to
   Understand Them; Sydney: Angus & Robertson,
north west of Australia, perhaps in Southern India, perhaps among the Indonesian Islands: if the former, they appear to have passed through Ceylon, Malaya and Indonesia before entering Australia through the northern coastal regions. It is quite possible that the ancestors of the present Northern Territory aborigines sailed in bark canoes from Indonesian Islands to land along the Arnhem Land coast, or possibly further west. There are some differences in the culture and even in the physique of aborigines in the north and in the centre of the Territory, but there does not seem to be any need to postulate other than a common origin as far as Northern Territory natives are concerned.

The aborigines could not be said to constitute one nation in the sense of any political unity. The nearest approach to this were loose regional groupings of tribes with broadly similar cultural patterns and sometimes a common language with local dialects. Examples of this in the Northern Territory are the Pidjandjara and associated tribes in the area west of Hermannsburg and to the north and south of that region; and the tribes of Western Arnhem Land, in the Gennpelli and Liverpool River areas. On the other hand, tribes occupying relatively small areas often show distinctive patterns. Thus in the Territory the Bathurst and Melville Islanders are different in many respects
from tribes on the mainland. Even here it is interesting to note that some Melville Islanders regard themselves as different people from the Bathurst Islanders, although the extent to which this is determined by the predominant Roman Catholic mission influence on Bathurst Island is not clear to the writer. For practical purposes it seems sufficient for administrators and educationists to concentrate their attention on the broad groupings of tribes. Some of these are referred to in the section of the thesis which describes the present native settlements and missions. (1)

**Physical Characteristics**

The aboriginal Australian, by comparison with the European, tends to be of spare build, of medium height and long limbed, with an absence of surplus fat, but with arm, chest and thigh muscles well developed. The brow tends to be low and broad; eyes deep-set, brown in colour, with projecting and long eyelashes. The nose is usually broad and flat, jaws strong and prominent, teeth strong and even. The lips are generally full, the growth of hair on the face and body usually rather scanty. The hair is usually black and either curly or wavy, although fair straight hair may be seen in the desert areas of the Centre. The pigmentation

(1) Chapter XI
of the skin varies from chocolate brown to a closer approximation to black, and is of a smooth, soft quality.

Of more interest to the educationist are two special aspects of the aboriginal physical characteristics. One of these is that of cranial development, the other of rate of maturing, both of which may have some relevance to the question of intellectual development and educability. This matter is discussed more fully in a later chapter. (1) Sufficient in this general description to remark that the head tends to be long and narrow, with retreating forehead, with the cranium rather smaller than the average Europeans, and with abnormally strong walls.

Language

There are as many different languages or dialects as tribes, although, as for the whole of Australia, there are many words and sounds which are common. On the other hand, the same word may have different meanings in different places. The general principles of the languages are also common. These are precision, brevity and concreteness. There is also similarity in the language structure - in word order; in little use of conjunctions, none of relative pronouns; in the use of phrase-order for expressing comparison and similarity; in the use of the dual; and in a

(1) Chapter XIV.
richness of the forms of the verb and in the use of suffixes, 
infixedes and inflexions. As far as the Northern Territory is 
concerned, there are two broad groups of languages – those of 
Central Australia and those of the North.

Professor Elkin refers to the richness of vocabulary, the 
variety of grammatical forms and the power of expression of 
aboriginal languages. He also points out that though the 
languages tend towards the concrete and particular, they do 
possess and use general terms. He refers to this richness and 
complexity, and to the adaptability of the languages by the use 
of prefixes, suffixes, infixes and phonetic changes and suggests 
that they constitute an adequate means of expressing thought in 
aboriginal life. He points out, however, that "this does not 
mean that thought processes are expressed by them in the same way 
as in English, or that a literal translation of their texts is 
satisfactory. Their languages belong to their own cultural world 
and the words, phrases and methods of expression derive their 
meaning from it". (1)

Family Life and Social Organisation

The basic social unit in native society is the biological 
family, extended by the practice of polygamy and by a system of 

(1) Elkin, op. cit., page 14.
extended relationship under which other members of the tribe, and for that matter, visitors also, are classified in an appropriate way. This system may be illustrated in its simplest form by the identification of one's father's brothers and one's father, and the designation of these men as "father", similarly by one's mother's sister becoming also one's "mother". Relationship of this kind may be regarded as close or distant, but they are none-the-less relationships which identify the obligations and prohibitions of conduct. Conduct is also determined by other divisions within the tribe. Usually a group is divided into two moieties; sometimes there are further divisions into four sections or eight subsections. These divisions have particular reference to marriage arrangements and also to ceremonial activities. Marriage must be outside one's society, and to marry or have sexual relations with the wrong person infringes the tribal laws. So that a tribal native will know how to act in relation to a stranger, that person must first be identified in these relationships. It is not uncommon for white men to be so identified. The writer after a few days stay at Milingimbi discovered the existence of a number of fathers he had not known about before, and was introduced to two eligible marriage partners.

One of the functions of polygamy in aboriginal society is to provide for the welfare of all members of a family group. By
"Eve": A Native Girl Offering
A Wild Apple

Oenpelli, 1954.
this means old men and old women are assured of someone to
look after them when they are too old to contribute much to the
family's food gathering. With increasing disregard for
established ways, discontent with polygamy is arising amongst
young men and young women. For example, on Melville Island,
even in 1954, the older men had acquired most of the old able
women, forcing the younger men to remain single. This practice
led of course to the seeking of physical satisfaction outside
tribal marriage. Unless these were managed with discretion,
they sometimes led to serious fighting. This is one of the
problems which has faced missionaries, some of whom have
recognized that it is better not to force issues, and that
tolerance of polygamy is the lesser of two evils. However, it
is likely to break down as a result of the change in economic
conditions and in the attitudes of young people who come up
through the native schools. Less tolerable either to
missionaries or to young people will be the custom of child
marriage or betrothal, under which young girls are looked after
and "brought up" by their husbands to be. This practice gives
economic and social support to the girls outside their own
families and is often compensated for by gifts of food to a wife's
family which has thereby lost a food-gatherer.
It is wrong to believe, however, that women are accorded a low status in aboriginal society. It is true that men occupy a more obvious place in determining the practice of a tribe or family, and in ceremonial life. The influence of the women is more difficult to identify but is nevertheless considerable in their own spheres, including a ceremonial life of their own. What differs more from our society is the status given to age, both of men and women. Young people take an inferior place in native society. Changes in the relative functions of women in relation to men, and of young people in relation to old, may be expected to occur as a consequence of contact and education.

An important aspect of social life where adjustment is required of the aborigine is in the matter of offences against society. With the aborigines law is comparatively localized, within the tribe, and is administered by the older men. Little established practice exists for dealing with offences as between different tribes. The conception of a uniform system of law binding upon all members of the whole community is one which requires adjustment of outlook. Native law is sanctioned by tradition and mythology; in many cases it differs from the law of our society and conflicts on this point have often occurred.
Economic Life

A fundamental aspect of the aborigines' way of life is the association of the group with its own "country". The concept is not one of owning the land, but rather of looking after it as belonging to and almost part of the past, present and future members of the group. The importance of this personal "country" is chiefly spiritual and mythological, but is also economic.

The aborigines in their natural condition are a semi-nomadic hunting people. They did not practice agriculture but accepted the animal and vegetable foods on which they depended as part of the order of nature to which they and the food supply belonged. Their responsibility was to look after their heritage by showing proper respect and by observing the due ceremonies. Their entitlement was to make use of this natural order for their food supply, which had to be collected with varying degrees of effort, according to the location and the season.

In the Arnhem Land area and in some others, food is plentiful. Along the coast fish are speared and kangaroos and wallabies are hunted by the men; shellfish, lily roots, stems and seeds, wild fruits, nuts and yams are gathered by the women. In the dry scrub or semi-desert country the search for food is more difficult and is restricted by the need to stay within
striked distance of fairly reliable water holes. During the dry months the natives settle near such water holes, but after rain they scatter through their tribal lands. In addition to kangaroos, wallabies, emus, lizards and snakes, which are hunted by the men, the women dig for root foods and small animals.

Material possessions matter very little to the aborigines, especially to the inland people, who would find them an encumbrance when travelling over long distances in search of food. Weapons for hunting are essential. The women use digging-sticks and carry the food they gather in curved wooden dishes called Coolamon or in woven fibre bags. The men depend mainly on their spears supplemented by throwing sticks, spear throwers, fighting sticks and sometimes wooden shields. Among the important material possessions are certain sacred objects, discussed below in the section dealing with religion.

Clothing was not regarded as important, often consisting of little more than an ornament.

Contact previous to European times was made with Arnhem Land natives by Malay and Macassan traders who had some influence on the economic life of the coastal regions, as well as on the ceremonial life. They introduced steel knives and cotton cloth which were bartered for trepang, pearl-shell and timber. Within the continent there were "trade routes", along which articles were passed from one group to another.
European contact has widened the range of goods of interest to the aborigines: tea, sugar, flour, tobacco, knives and cloth are items of general interest. However, as education and assimilation proceed the wants will obviously be greater. A young full blood unmarried man who was the writer's patrol assistant in 1934 possessed a supply of clothing and a suitcase for camping that was not being worn equal to that of most officials in the Territory, and was planning the purchase of a portable radio.

The other effect of European contact is to rob the native of the knowledge of how to gain a living from direct contact with nature. As this happens, he becomes dependent on the white man and must find employment or seek charity. A problem of education and assimilation is to cultivate a new attitude towards material possessions and towards the means of becoming entitled to them.

Religion

The essential feature of aboriginal religion is totemism, which is an expression of the belief in the unity of all life, human, animal and nature, in all of which the same life force is imminent. Professor Elkin refers to it as a "philosophy which regards man and nature as one corporate whole for social,
ceremonial and religious purposes". (1) The association of individual aborigines with the religious and social life of the Tribe is part of an eternal process, whereby the spirit is identified with the sources of all life.

Social and Religious Maturity

The aborigines have a more meaningful and clearly defined system for identifying the point where boys become men and girls become women than we have. What with us is catered for variously, according partly to social status, by confirmation, school leaving age, school examinations, being a debutante, getting a driver's licence, getting a job or turning 17, 18 or 21 is with them an event or series of events of very great significance to the person and to the tribe.

The forms of initiation vary from tribe to tribe and in complexity. For the boy, they are commonly accompanied by such rites as circumcision, tooth-avulsion, food taboos, restriction of speech and isolation, designed to strengthen his endurance. Since the adult men of the group take chief responsibility in sacred ceremonies, boys' initiations tend to be more prolonged. The usual form of initiation for a girl consists of simple puberty rituals, sometimes accompanied by ritual defloration. The boys'

(1) A.P. Elkin, Studies in Australian Totemism, Oceania Monograph, No. 2, p. 147.
initiation may comprise as much as three main stages. After
the circumcision ceremony, with which may be associated
tooth-evisceration and blood-drinking (symbolic of life and spiritual
unity, as in Christia rite) he takes up a new life in the tribe.
The sacred ceremonies of the tribe are shown to him gradually.
After a period of seclusion he then goes on a pilgrimage to visit
sacred sites in his totemic country and the myths and songs
describing the activities of the ancestral beings are revealed
to him. After a year or two a second stage of initiation,
involving subincision, is carried out, followed six months to a
year afterwards by a third stage involving the cutting of a pattern
of scars on his body. He is now fully initiated, and may attend
all of the sacred ceremonies, but throughout his life he will go
on learning more of the religious teachings, songs and mythology.

Breaking down of rites of initiation under the impact of
culture contact is not only dispensing with the physical attributes
of those rites; it is also destroying the status and respect given
to the more senior members of the group by those not yet fully
initiated; and it is attacking the sense of continuity and of
belonging to a tradition and possessing a mythology which has been
the heritage of earlier generations. Incidentally it is also in
some cases causing the entire loss of the sacred lore, since the
old and well-informed men will not pass on their knowledge to the
uninitiated.
Art and Music and Dancing

As indicated above, a good deal of aboriginal art and music is of religious significance. Songs, dances and ritual are associated with fertility cults and with burial ceremonies.

The songs of the inland regions are usually brief, and consist of a number of key words. Each short song belongs usually to a lengthy cycle of songs relating to a particular mythology; usually they are sung by a group of men or of women. On the northern coast it is usual for one songman to take a leading solo part, accompanied by a long bamboo "trumpet" called a didgeridoo. Here the songs tend to be longer. These songs are also sung by the women at such occasions as birth, puberty, illness and death.

The Great Mother and the Great Snake are often represented in aboriginal art, while in areas along the northern coast where there was Malayan and Macassan contact, carved wooden figures are made to represent spirit beings, for use in certain ceremonies.
CHAPTER III

COMMONWEALTH NATIVE POLICY

The present policy of both Commonwealth and State Governments in Australia is one of assimilation of the aboriginal population to the predominant European pattern. This policy received its formulation in 1951 at a conference of Commonwealth and State authorities concerned with aboriginal welfare, which met in Canberra at the instigation of the Minister for Territories, the Hon. Paul Hasluck. It is fair to say that the policy was the result of a gradual movement of opinion during preceding years, and that no doubt the policy would have been the same had there been no change of government at the Commonwealth level a short time before. On this policy all political parties are agreed. Nevertheless much is owed personally to Mr. Hasluck.

The account of white contact with the aborigines and of the gradual development of a policy towards them does not concern us here, except to the extent to which it has influenced the development of policy in the Northern Territory. Accounts of it are given elsewhere, for those who are interested. (1)

(1) See Edmund J.B. Foxcroft, Australian Native Policy; Melbourne University Press, 1941.
Soon after taking over the Northern Territory in 1910, the Commonwealth sent a small scientific commission to undertake a survey, which led to suggestions on lines of research, and to the setting up of a new Department of Aborigines, which in 1912 was supervised by Professor Baldwin Spencer. After his departure the Chief Medical Officer was also appointed as Chief Protector of Aborigines, a situation which continued until 1939 when a new Department of Native Affairs was established.

The earlier approach had been primarily one of protection and segregation. In the first sixty or seventy years of white settlement in the Northern Territory contact with the aborigines was largely uncontrolled. The development of the pastoral, mining and other industries led to armed clashes and punitive expeditions, the exploitation of native labour and of native women, the spread of introduced diseases and the decline of the native population. In 1892 aboriginal reserves amounting to 3,000 square miles were set aside. With Commonwealth control in 1911 the area was increased and the policy of segregation was expressed in the Aboriginals' Ordinance of 1918. This policy was also supported by the activities of the Christian missions, which are recounted elsewhere. (1) These missions tended to segregate the aborigines by holding them together at certain locations free from open contact with Europeans.

(1) See Chapter V.
Under the Aborigines' Ordinance and its amendments, all people of aboriginal race came under restrictive legislation. The definition of "aboriginal" included not only full bloods but also most people of mixed blood. Only when individual aborigines could prove that they had advanced beyond the need for protection were they granted "exemption".

This period, however, saw the undertaking of two major investigations which greatly influenced future policy. These were carried out by J.W. Bleanley, Chief Protector of Aborigines in Queensland, during 1928, and by Dr. Donald Thompson, a noted anthropologist, between 1935 and 1937.

The Bleanley report, published in 1929, dealt with (i) natives in employment; (ii) natives in the aboriginal institutions in Darwin and Alice Springs; (iii) the missions; (iv) the half-castes; (v) nomadic natives; and (vi) the existing administration. In other words he was mainly concerned with detribalised natives. He estimated the population at 21,000, of whom 14,000 were nomads.

About 2,500 were in employment, with wages ranging from food and clothing of sorts and no money, despite the requirement of 5/- a week, up to as much as £1. Living conditions of any quality

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were rarely to be found. Although settlers recognised their
dependence on the natives, no attempt had been made to educate
them, since it was commonly held that they were beyond redemption
and that education spoiled them. Many came to have a hopeless
outlook. Camp dependents of employees were in a bad condition,
and virtually in a state of bondage. Sickness and prostitution
was much in evidence at camps away from stations. Natives on
the government settlements and on missions numbered 1,350. Many
of the latter were reported as satisfactory, especially Bathurst
Island and Oenpelli, but the government institutions were badly
situated, inadequately financed and insufficiently supervised.
Dealing with nomadic natives, Bleakley drew attention to
interference with them and the reduction of native food supplies
leading to a tendency to drift to outstations and the fringes of
civilization and become derelicts. Bleakley described the
existing administration as inadequate, the officers having too
many other commitments.

Recommendations for future policy included the payment of
the minimum 5/- a week to natives in employment, the concentration
of institutional work in the hands of the missions rather than of
the government, and the education of half-castes to fill a useful
place in the economic life of the Territory. He rejected proposals
for complete segregation of all natives in reserves which might
be in strange country. He recommended however that two reserves be set up in good country for nomadic natives with missions established not to draw the people away from tribal life but to relieve illnesses and protect them from abuse. For example, he proposed a chain of missions around the Amhem Land reserve. Education should however be provided to prepare young natives for inevitable changes.

On the matter of administration, Bleakley recommended the formation of an aboriginal advisory board and the employment of a trained anthropologist. He also recommended that a deputy chief protector and a travelling protector of aborigines should be appointed in Darwin, and a full time protector in Alice Springs. On the matter of courts, he proposed the establishment of a special court with trained anthropologists as judges, sentences to be taken not in gaols but at missions.

Bleakley's recommendations were supplemented by the findings of a Board of Enquiry which was set up in 1935 to investigate stories of ill-treatment of natives in Central Australia, (1) which supported the appointment of a full-time patrol officer at Alice Springs, and also recommended that no charge should be laid against aborigines by the police where tribal laws only were involved.

(1) Report on the Administration of the Northern Territory for the year ended 30th June 1936, page 15.
Except in regard to policy for Arnhem Land, Dr. Thompson's reports (1) (2) rarely conflict with that of Mr. Bleakley. His survey was, of course, specifically directed to Arnhem Land. Despite good conditions and no shortage of food, Dr. Thompson had to report "the undeniable fact that the native population was not only dying out rapidly, but that it was already on the road to extinction". (3)

"An unbiased review of the history of white contact and influence upon the aboriginals over the past 150 years leaves no room for doubt that it is unfavourable to the natives. The conclusion is inevitable that they have suffered everywhere at first disorganisation of their social order, degradation and ultimate decay." (4) He recommended, that the remnant of the native tribes not yet detribalised be absolutely segregated and that it be policy to preserve intact their social organisation, their social and political institutions and their culture in its entirety. Arnhem Land and other undetribalised areas were to be created inviolable reserves; watering depots for pearling crews were to

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(2) Recommendations of Policy in Native Affairs in the Northern Territory of Australia.

(3) Report, op. cit., page 42.

(4) Recommendations, op. cit., page 4 to 7.
be abolished. However, Dr. Thompson insisted that he did not mean a permanent segregation for all time: "it should be the policy to retain these reserves......until and unless a sound working policy and one in the best interests of the aboriginals is established, tested and proved by experience over a long period among the natives who are already detribalised."

He saw the function of the missions not with the nomadic natives but with the semi-tribalised on the outskirts of the reserves.

Despite a complete change in policy from segregation to assimilation, there is still limited segregation in the aboriginal reserves. On the other hand, the situation is very different from what Dr. Thompson sought. Were he to visit and again report on Arnhem Land, he would find it necessary to retract some of what he said in 1937. His approach to the reserves was not accepted by the government of the day, but many of Skeatley's and Thompson's other recommendations were put into effect. In 1936 T.G.H. Strehlow, an anthropologist, was appointed patrol officer at Alice Springs; modifications to the Aboriginal Ordinance permitted the exemption of half-castes from its provisions; additional reserves were set aside; and conditions on government settlements were improved. In 1938, however, the Chief Protector of Aborigines stated that "the conviction of the ultimate possibility of adapting the aboriginal to the conditions of
western civilization is held by the Northern Territory Administration". (1) In 1939, E.W.P. Chinnery, previously Director of the New Guinea Department of Native Affairs, was appointed Commonwealth Government Adviser on Native Affairs and Director of Native Affairs in the Northern Territory. He very soon developed a plan for native welfare, which unfortunately could not be put into full operation because of the war. However, additional patrol officers were appointed, and training at the University of Sydney in anthropology was arranged for field staff.

After the war, criticism and agitation from anthropologists, especially Professor Elkin, and the experiences of the war years, led to a review by the Commonwealth of its achievements with the aboriginal population of the Northern Territory. With the establishment of a separate Department of Territories in 1951 the first portfolio was given to the Honorable Paul Hasluck, who had been a forthright writer on aboriginal problems for many years. One of the Minister's first acts was to convene the 1951 conference. This conference produced a statement of principles covering such fields as citizenship, social service benefits, health and employment, as well as education. The educational recommendations are considered elsewhere.

(1) Report of Administration of the Northern Territory for the year 1937-38, page 22.
The fundamental concept was assimilation as the object of all native welfare measures. The Minister later defined this as “assimilation means, in practical terms, that, in the course of time, it is expected that all persons of aboriginal blood or mixed blood in Australia will live like white Australians do”. (1)

This formulation of policy led to the Welfare Ordinance and the Aborigines’ Employment Ordinance which were passed by the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1953.

A more comprehensive definition of “assimilation” was given by the Native Welfare Conference held in Canberra on January 20th and 27th, 1961. This conference included Federal and State ministers responsible for native welfare. Decisions of the conference were reported to the House of Representatives on 21st April, 1961, by the Minister, and were published in a paper called “The Policy of Assimilation”. (2) The conference defined “assimilation” in these terms:

The policy of assimilation means in the view of all Australian governments that all aborigines and part-aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians. Thus, any special measures taken for aborigines and part-aborigines are regarded as

(1) Quoted in an official Department of Territories pamphlet, Progress Towards Assimilation: Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, page 9.

temporary measures not based on colour but intended to meet their need for special care and assistance to protect them from any ill effects of sudden change and to assist them to make the transition from one stage to another in such a way as will be favourable to their future social, economic and political advancement.

In making this statement attention should be drawn to the rather loose use of the term "citizenship" when aborigines are said to have achieved "citizenship", by being exempted from the provisions of special State and Territory statutes which apply only to aborigines.

In some respects, the position is somewhat like that of a minor who is basically a citizen but who, because he is under the age of 21 years, may not be able to do everything that other inhabitants of Australia may be able to do, and may be protected and assisted in ways in which the adult is not protected and assisted.

In our view, Australian aborigines are Australian citizens by virtue of the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948–1960. The special rights and disabilities which they have under State and Territory statutes can in no sense derogate from citizenship in the sense of status as Australian citizens.

In effect then, a person placed under the provision of State and Territorial Native Welfare Acts has certain restrictions placed on him in some States but that does not in any way take his Australian citizenship away from him, although it may limit for the time being his exercise of some of the rights enjoyed by other citizens and may afford him assistance not given to other citizens. (1)

Some comment is called for on this general definition. The emphasis in the definition is rightly on "the same manner of living", "the same rights and privileges", "the same responsibilities".

(1) ibid, pages 1 and 2.
"the same customs", "the same beliefs". A good many people have argued that this can be achieved and at the same time that personal identity as aborigines can be retained, together with aboriginal language, myths and legends, and art forms. In discussing the question of assimilation, a Methodist clergyman with considerable experience in mission work in the Northern Territory questioned the possibility of cultural assimilation and indeed of full social assimilation in the sense of assimilation through intermarriage. He cites the examples of European migrants in the matter of cultural assimilation, and of the Chinese people in Darwin in regard to both cultural and racial identity. Surely these are matters which must be left to find their own level. Any suggestion that it is "desirable" that aborigines retain their own racial identity implies a recognition of "difference", rather than "sameness" and easily slips over into an implication of inferiority. The preservation of aboriginal culture is clearly desirable from both an aesthetic and an anthropological point of view. There are responsibilities on anthropologists, universities and museums in the latter respect; in regard to the former, perhaps there can be an assimilation of the more European Australian culture to that of the original inhabitants of this land, by the use of aboriginal

(1) Arthur F. Ellemor, Can the Aboriginal be Assimilated?, Sydney: Methodist Overseas Missions, (no date).
motifs in our art, literature, music, dancing and perhaps religion. There should be no barrier, however, to the complete biological as well as cultural and social assimilation of the aborigines, if this should be what they wish when all other aspects of discrimination against them are removed.

The conference then gave its attention to methods of advancing the policy, and set out eleven points:

(1) Extension, where applicable, of government settlement work to encourage nomadic and semi-nomadic natives to adopt a more settled way of life and to make health services, better standards of housing and nutrition, schooling, vocational training and occupation available to them and their children, as a first stage towards their assimilation.

(ii) Provision of health services including particularly child welfare services.

(iii) Provision of education in normal schools and pre-schools to the extent possible — otherwise in special schools and pre-schools for all aboriginal and part-aboriginal children.

(iv) Continual improvement in housing and hygiene standards on government settlements, missions, rural properties, in towns and assistance towards provision of and training in the use of improved housing facilities particularly in town areas.

(v) Vocational training (including apprenticeship) and employment, particularly in ways which will assist aborigines and part-aboriginals to make a contribution to the advancement of their own people by employment — teaching assistants, nursing and medical assistants, patrol officers, welfare officers and so on.

(vi) Encouragement of social and sporting activity both among aborigines and part-aboriginals and participation by them in general community activity.
(vii) Extension of welfare work, particularly to assist those people living in or near towns to adjust themselves to the life of the community.

(viii) Welfare services provided for other members of the community to be available to aborigines and part-aborigines, for example, child, family and social welfare services.

(ix) A liberal approach to the removal of restrictive or protective legislation as soon as the capacity and advancement of the individual makes this possible.

(x) Positive steps to ensure awareness in the general Australian community that implementation of the policy of assimilation is not possible unless advanced aborigines and part-aborigines are received into the community and accepted without prejudice, and to ensure, as far as possible, that the Australian community plays its full part in this programme.

(xi) Further research into special problems associated with the native welfare programme. (1)

Comments relevant to a number of these are given elsewhere in this thesis - the function of settlements and assistance towards housing in towns; the provision of educational facilities in normal schools; and the need for further research will all be dealt with. Two other matters, however, must be discussed. These, which are associated in fact if not in the setting out of the conference findings, are the references to the removal of restrictive or protective legislation and the acceptance into the community without prejudice. They also are treated later. (2)

(1) The Policy of Assimilation, (op. cit), pages 2 and 3.

(2) See Section IV.
A final indication of what the policy is in practice is given by examining the Welfare Ordinance which as mentioned above was passed in the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1953, and which was introduced in 1954.

Under the new ordinance the basis for discrimination and legal restriction no longer has anything to do with a definition of "aboriginal". The words "aborigine" and "native" nowhere appear in the Act. There are instead certain classes of people who are in need of special care and attention. (It may be noted that this thesis is entitled "Native Education in the Northern Territory". The term is used without apology. The education referred to is that special education provided for native wards. In any case, the term "native" is not one of disparagement. It was used with pride by the well educated and efficient native patrol assistant who accompanied the writer on many of his Northern Territory travels in 1954.)

The new Ordinance was explained by the Minister in the House of Representatives in August 1952 in a statement. He said:

The ground on which a person will be brought under the legislation will not be colour, or a fraction of colour, or any other racial or genealogical reason, but the test whether he or she stands in need of special care or assistance. Provision will also be made so that a person who objects to being brought
under the special legislation or a person who considers that he has outgrown the need for special care and assistance can apply to a Magistrate sitting in Chambers and have the opportunity of proving to an independent authority that by his mode of living and his capacity to manage his own affairs he can assume his place as a member of the general community. The new system will be closely analogous to that customarily followed with regard to those of European race who need special care—e.g. neglected children who are committed to the Child Welfare Departments of the State Governments.

It is anticipated that those originally named will be the natives who are in fact under the State's protection at the present time, for example on reserves or settlements or in employment under permit. Those who are exempted from the present Ordinance and those who, even if not formally exempted, have customarily lived in the manner of the European community will be left outside the Ordinance. It will be made possible from time to time to bring other persons under the special legislation (subject to appeal to a Magistrate) if it is shown that they need guardianship and it will be made possible for the Courts to commit a person to the care of the Director of Welfare. These decisions will depend on the conduct and mode of living of the persons concerned and not on their colour and thus it is believed that in the course of a very short period, the native people will help to sort themselves out into those who need care and assistance and those who can stand on their own feet. From time to time, with the social advancement of natives, the Administrator will be able to declare that a person or group of persons has ceased to need special care and assistance, and, without application on their part, free them from the special legislation. Unless a person is brought under the special legislation he or she will take a place in the ordinary life of the community as a citizen. (1)

(1) Hansard, House of Representatives, August 1952.
As soon as this Ordinance was passed, the Director of Welfare declared all persons who had been controlled by the previous ordinance to be State wards, so that there was no immediate improvement as far as individual aborigines were concerned. Nevertheless, the framing of such an Ordinance and perhaps more particularly its passing by the Northern Territory Legislative Council at least point the way of government policy.
CHAPTER IV

EUROPEAN EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

A brief outline of European education in the Territory deserves a place in this account of native education for three reasons. Firstly, it already caters for mixed blood and some full blood children; secondly, special schools will ultimately disappear as such and will be integrated with the normal schools; thirdly, there is a more immediate problem of the integration of administrative control, to be discussed in a later chapter.

There is little information about education in the Northern Territory prior to Commonwealth control, except for a reference to a school being opened at Darwin, or Palmerston as it was then called, in 1877.

In the early years of Commonwealth control, education was the function of a Northern Territory Education Department, one of the branches of the Administration. The Head Teacher of the Darwin school carried out the supervision and inspection of a small staff of permanent teachers in the northern part of the Territory. A school at which European and coloured children were educated in the mornings and afternoons respectively,
was opened at Alice Springs in 1914 by Mrs. Standley, who continued in charge until 1929, but Alice Springs was at that time so isolated that apart from the sending of samples of work to Darwin, no inspection was carried out. It was not until 1929, with the completion of the Adelaide to Alice Springs railway, that communications became easier and educational links were established with South Australia.

In 1923 an inspector from the Queensland Department of Public Instruction inspected the schools in the northern area, for which teachers were being seconded from Queensland. On his recommendation the Queensland primary syllabus was adopted in these schools. This was a nine year curriculum.

By 1937-38 there were schools at Darwin, Parap, Pine Creek, Katherine, Tennant Creek, and Alice Springs, together with a special school for mixed-blood children at Darwin and another at Alice Springs. South Australian teachers were staffing the schools at Alice Springs and Tennant Creek, with the result that the seven year primary curriculum of that State was in use.

The total average attendance in 1937-38 was 460, including about 130 mixed-blood children. In addition, 84 children were taking correspondence lessons from Darwin, Brisbane or Adelaide. A number of children had secondary scholarships to Queensland or South Australian schools.
At this stage the administration of the system was under the control of a Supervisor of Education, Mr. V.L. Lampo, who had been an Inspector of Schools in Queensland. He was an officer of the Commonwealth Public Service. In addition to himself there were 9 administrative officers and 9 seconded teachers, 3 from Queensland and 6 from South Australia, the total number of teachers being about 15.

In 1939, a new position of teacher for aborigines was created and a school for aborigines was opened at Darwin, with an attendance of 39.

With the evacuation of most of the population during the war years all schools in the north were closed from 1942 to 1945.

During the war years, the inconvenience of the old system together with certain specific difficulties regarding staffing led to a review of the arrangement. Three alternatives were proposed for the future: supervision of the whole system by either Queensland or South Australia; the continuation of the Northern Territory Education Department with its own staff of permanent teachers; or a smaller establishment of Supervisor and Head Teacher for Darwin and Alice Springs plus secondment from South Australia. During 1944 the Superintendent of Primary Education of the South Australian Department of Education visited the Territory and finally an agreement was reached to operate
from 1st January 1945, under which South Australia took responsibility for European education in the Territory. It was not prepared to be responsible for the education of full-blood aborigines.

The post-war approach then, was for a unified system throughout the Territory following the South Australian curriculum, with the Administration and staffing carried out by South Australia under an agreement with the Commonwealth Government, along similar lines to that which applies between the Commonwealth and New South Wales in the case of the A.C.T. In addition to schools at Darwin, Katherine, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs, new locations developed fairly rapidly:

- Pine Creek: September 1946
- Elliot: 1952-1954; re-opened 1958
- Adelaide River: 1953
- Natches Creek: 1953-1954
- Croker Island: 1953
- Batchelor: 1953
- Northern Hercules: 1956
- Papu: 1958
- Finke: 1958

In addition to the primary schools listed above, secondary education was provided at Alice Springs in 1945, Darwin 1948 and
Tennant Creek 1960, these being constituted under the South Australian terminology, "Higher Primary Schools". In 1956 the Darwin High School was separately established. An outstanding feature of this education system is the Alice Springs School of the Air which commenced in 1950.

Perhaps from the point of view of the native education programme the most interesting of these schools is the one at Groker Island. This is a mixed-blood mission conducted by the Methodist Church which, after some misgivings, agreed to the establishment of a Government staffed and administered school on its mission station. The satisfactory arrangements which exist in this case point to the possibility of similar developments in relation to native schools on other mission stations.

Another way to review the growth of the education system is to look at the number of pupils at various levels and the number of teachers employed over the last 15 years. These are set out in the table below:
### Numbers of Schools, Teachers and Pupils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Infants</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>2112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1063</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>2762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1126</td>
<td>1483</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>2987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1208</td>
<td>1659</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>3380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The estimated staffing in Government schools and enrolments for 1961 suggest that the former will be increased to 127 and the latter to 3,720.

In addition to the Government schools there were in 1960 three non-government schools: St. Mary’s Convent School, in Darwin, with an enrolment of 480 primary and 40 secondary.

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(1) Annual Reports of Education Branch, Northern Territory Administration.

(2) There were in addition 148 pupils taking South Australian correspondence lessons. An unspecified number of other children take correspondence lessons from other States.
children; St. John's Boys' School, also in Darwin, with an enrolment of 27; and Alice Springs Convent school with an enrolment of 156.

Of the 3,380 children in government schools in 1960, 3.6 per cent were of Asiatic origin, 19.6 per cent were part-aboriginal (including 44 children in secondary grades) and .8 per cent were full blood aboriginals. In Convent schools 6.1 per cent were of Asiatic origin and 22.7 per cent were part-aboriginal.

It is informative to compare the ages of part-aboriginal and aboriginal children in the Government schools with those of all children. At age 12-13, of 248 primary children 53 were part-aboriginal and 2 were full aboriginals. On the other hand of 40 children at secondary level only 1 of this age was part-aboriginal. In the next age band, 13-14, there were 126 primary children of whom 36 were part-aboriginal and 2 aboriginal; of 161 in the secondary school only 2 were part-aboriginal.

On the other hand, at age 14-15, of 116 secondary pupils 14 were part-aboriginal (there were at this age 3 aborigines at primary school), and at 15-16, of 104 secondary pupils, 19 were part-aboriginal. The figures suggest a possible retardation in the vicinity of two years for the part-aboriginal children.
One other interesting aspect of European education in the Territory when it is compared with the provision for native education is that of expenditure. The following table gives details for the past 11 years:

**Northern Territory**

**Government Expenditure on Education - White Schools**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Operational</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949/50</td>
<td>£31,700</td>
<td>£4,181</td>
<td>£36,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950/51</td>
<td>53,718</td>
<td>27,308</td>
<td>81,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951/52</td>
<td>75,838</td>
<td>96,777</td>
<td>172,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952/53</td>
<td>94,476</td>
<td>114,490</td>
<td>208,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953/54</td>
<td>93,578</td>
<td>70,609</td>
<td>164,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954/55</td>
<td>127,101</td>
<td>22,357</td>
<td>149,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955/56</td>
<td>124,423</td>
<td>60,426</td>
<td>184,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956/57</td>
<td>143,927</td>
<td>116,602</td>
<td>260,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957/58</td>
<td>185,068</td>
<td>96,068</td>
<td>281,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958/59</td>
<td>199,783</td>
<td>83,327</td>
<td>283,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959/60</td>
<td>254,984</td>
<td>186,064</td>
<td>441,048</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present method of administration of the European schools is through an "Assistant Supervisor of Education", with headquarters at Darwin, and a small office staff. This officer is an inspector of the South Australian Department of Education, and is responsible for administering, supervising and inspecting the schools. He is sometimes assisted by another South Australian inspector in the last of these functions. He carries out liaison with the Northern Territory Administration which provides the buildings and other facilities as well as the running costs of the

(1) Annual Reports of Education Branch, Northern Territory Administration.
schools. Within the schools themselves, the headmasters and staff, and the curriculum, are just as in similar schools in South Australia.

Some evidence has already been provided relating to the development of the Northern Territory, in terms of population and resources. In the last thirteen years, the white population of this area has doubled, increasing from 10,868 in 1947 to 21,800 in 1960. The assimilation programme will steadily bring more and more full blood aborigines into the general community. The demand for the more adequate development of the very great resources of the Territory is growing daily, not only in the Territory itself. Both government and opposition parties in the Federal Parliament recognise the need for this development, in the interests of both strategy and economy. There is also a moral obligation on this country to make use of the largely untapped resources of the North. We may therefore look forward confidently to extensive future development in the Northern Territory; including considerable population growth and expanding educational needs.

It will be obvious, then, that thought will have to be given to the administrative arrangements for education. The most obvious approach to this, which no doubt the Department
of Territories and the Northern Territory Administration have considered, would be for the existing agencies, that is the South Australian Department of Education and the Welfare Branch, to surrender their functions to a Northern Territory Education Branch, which might, in addition to the normal and special schools, take over pre-school education, correspondence education, vocational education, and adult education, and make provision for teacher training.

In fact a general survey was carried out during 1960 and reported in 1961. The Minister for Territories early in 1960 appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. R. Marsh, Assistant Administrator of the Northern Territory, Mr. C.M. Griggs, Deputy Director of Education in South Australia, and Mr. J.J. Pratt, Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education. The terms of reference of the Committee were as follows:

To enquire into and report to the Minister on:

(a) The educational needs of the population of the Northern Territory, including the aboriginal people, and to advise as to what further measures are necessary to ensure adequate buildings and equipment, organisational arrangements and staff to effectively meet these needs.

(b) Whether, having regard to the growing demands for education in the Northern Territory, any changes should be made to the present Commonwealth/State arrangements for providing an education service to the Territory; and what action is deemed necessary to implement any changes recommended.

(c) In particular, and without limiting the generality of the foregoing -
(i) the present methods of, and difficulties associated with, staffing schools with suitably qualified teachers, and the means of improving the supply of teachers; and

(ii) the forward planning of schools i.e. sites, buildings required and programmes of construction.

(d) The part taken by non-governmental schools in meeting the educational needs of the Territory insofar as this is related to the foregoing terms of reference.

The Committee undertook its enquiry by seeking evidence in the Northern Territory itself. Its Report was presented to the Minister in 1961, but its contents, at the time of writing, remain confidential.

Later in this thesis reasons for the integration of the European and native schools and school systems will be discussed in more detail. Here it is appropriate to consider a number of characteristics of the white schools in the Territory which are relevant to the kinds of problems foreseen in admitting native children.

European education in the Northern Territory confronts a number of problems in an accentuated form compared with that in other places of the Commonwealth. One of the major problems is the varied background of the students who come not only from the Northern Territory but in many cases are transferred from other
States and overseas. As an example of this, in one first year class at Darwin High School in 1960, out of 45 children, 8 came from New South Wales, 8 from Victoria, 12 from Queensland, 10 from South Australia, 1 from Western Australia, 1 from overseas, and only 2 had lived all their lives in the Northern Territory. Of the total enrolment in this school of 330 children, 18% had been in the Northern Territory less than one year, 35% less than 2 years and 53% less than 3 years.

There is thus a constant influx of students and also a fairly steady stream of students who leave the Northern Territory to go to schools in other States. European schools in the Northern Territory thus need to offer a wide curriculum and to provide rather more individual attention to pupils to assist them in their adjustment to changing academic requirements. The stage might therefore be thought to be set for the extension of this kind of attention to any native children admitted to the schools.

A further difficulty is that of climate. This has an effect not only on the type of school accommodation which it is necessary to provide (and here there are some obvious deficiencies in the European schools) but also on the level of mental efficiency of the children and upon the demands made upon teachers. In the absence of an adequate survey of achievement in
European schools in the Northern Territory, it may reasonably be stated that it would probably be lower than that of similar age groups in the Southern States. Indeed it would be very surprising if this were not the case. One figure has been put forward that mental efficiency in conditions of high temperatures and high humidity as in the northern part of the Territory drops to 80% of the previous standard. Into such a school environment it should be possible to introduce native children whose retardation is the product of other causes, rather more easily than might be the case in a school in the Southern States.

European children in the Northern Territory are likely to miss rather more school time than is the case with their Southern counterparts. This is partly the product of parents going on leave during school term. Again it creates a teaching difficulty not unlike that which is said to exist in some cases where native children are taken away from school by their parents to go on-walkabout or for some other reason. In fact there is rather less of this now than was the case in the earlier years of the native education programme.

The claim has been made that there are already some behaviour problems in Northern Territory schools created by the presence of
mixed-blood children coming from under-privileged homes or in some cases from institutions caring for such children. Behaviour problems of this kind, if they do exist (and the claim is made by teachers that there is a higher proportion of "problem children" than in South Australia) may be the product not of under-privileged homes but of lack of motivation combined with lack of parental encouragement or of facilities for home study.

The line of this argument is to suggest that quite apart from the presence of full-blood children in the schools, there is already a rather more difficult teaching situation in existence which should lead to the appointment of capable and strong teachers in such numbers and consequently with such low pupil-teacher ratios that they can adequately cope with the additional problem of full-blood children with a different social and cultural background and with a less adequate level of achievement.

On the issue of curriculum, it seems clear that attention needs to be given to the development of a curriculum suited to the needs of the Northern Territory and therefore of the kind which would also be suitable for the needs of those full-blood children who enter the European schools. Among the characteristics of this curriculum would need to be its diversity so that among other things children from any State or moving to any other State in an academic stream would not suffer a disadvantage; and at the same time to include a type of course perhaps similar to a General
Activities Course or the Area School course in South Australia, so that less able children would be provided with a worth-while education. Already the statement has been made that a high proportion of children do not appear to be capable of coping with grade 6 and grade 7 work as now prescribed and that they would have no hope of undertaking any academic secondary school course, even to the Intermediate Certificate. This does not appear to be a very different situation from that which might apply with a large proportion of native children.
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CHAPTER V

NATIVE EDUCATION BEFORE 1950

THE ERA OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Missionary effort constitutes virtually the only serious attempt to provide education for full-blood natives in the Northern Territory prior to 1950. It is true that an aboriginal school was established at the Alligator River under the superintendence of a Mr. Cahill and his wife, round about the time the Commonwealth took control of the Territory. The government school for aborigines which was opened in Darwin in 1939 may have catered for some full-blood children; in 1943 a number of full-blood aboriginal children presented themselves for schooling in Darwin, and after being accepted by the Headmaster were subsequently transferred to a special school which was opened for them at Bagot. The Administration at this time contemplated additional schools at Delissaville and Alice Springs. Later in the same year moves were made to interest the Commonwealth Office of Education in a project to provide an education service for full-blood aborigines. An account of this is given in a subsequent chapter. (1)

The Northern Territory Administration and the Commonwealth Government are heavily indebted to the Lutheran, Anglican,

(1) See Chapter VII.
Roman Catholic and Methodist missions not only for showing the way in regard to education of the natives. It may fairly be said that they led the way in general welfare work as well.

The extent of government welfare work before 1950 is indicated by glancing through the Northern Territory Annual Reports. The 1948-49 Report, for example, devotes just over 2 pages out of 24 to Native Affairs, and records the discomfort of the Administrator:

The Native Affairs Branch does not seem to be progressing in the manner which I would like. I can see no great improvement in the welfare of the natives or in the Mission Stations, whilst the Government's policy of training stations is not being fully implemented; indeed, it has scarcely been started. (1)

Not that the missions have been without fault: mission policy has developed over the past half century, and within the last ten years both in education and in other matters has received helpful criticism, advice and prompting from the educational and welfare authorities. It is nevertheless true that in days when the approach of the Administration was largely to provide ration depots and control centres, that of the missions was to attempt a broad welfare programme, despite the understandable emphasis upon the Christianising of as many natives as possible.

The story of native education in the Northern Territory in the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century is therefore incidental to the story of the establishment of the missions. Some account of this, and of the aims which the missions sought, is given here. A more detailed account of the present mission schools is given in a subsequent chapter. (1) Information about the educational aims and practices of the missions, and of enrolment, and extent of educational provision, as in the period before 1950, has been obtained from the survey carried out by P.W. Beckenham in 1946 as well as from several other sources. (2)

This story begins with the sixteen Lutherans who set out in 1875 from Bethany in South Australia to travel with sheep, cattle and horses to Central Australia to establish a mission. As it happens they had chosen a time of worsening drought, but after eighteen months of privations they reached a place near the dry bed of the Finke River which they selected as a mission site and named Hermannsburg. This site is in arid country about 80 miles west of Alice Springs. At the time of its establishment it was 700 miles from the nearest railhead at Port Augusta.

(1) Chapter XI.
This mission became the spiritual centre for the Aranda people, the focus for their material development and the road to their assimilation.

As with almost all missions in the early years of their establishment, educational aims were limited to bare necessities - sufficient reading and writing for possible use around the mission and a little arithmetic, together with religious training commensurate with the chief object of conversion to Christianity. At Hermannsburg, however, these had broadened to the extent that instruction was given in both English and Aranda, with usual school subjects supplemented by Bible History, catechism and hymns and physical education. Objection was taken by the mission to old beliefs and practices, but not to "recreational customs provided they have no religious significance". (1) In 1946 there were 29 full-blood and 40 mixed-blood children, under one teacher. The school-room was large and airy but lacked special equipment.

In 1946 the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England was carrying on four missions to aborigines in the Northern Territory. Of these the first established was at Roper River in the south-eastern corner of the Arnhem Land Reserve.

The mission was established in 1908 at a site about 60 miles upstream from the mouth of the Roper River. This is not the present site: in 1940 floods wiped out the original mission (it was not the first time this had happened) and its location was moved 6 miles further upstream. Following visits to the Northern Territory in 1905 by the Governor of South Australia and in 1907 by the Governor-General, there was much talk of the need to establish missions. As the result of an appeal by the Bishop of North Queensland in 1906, the Church Missionary Association, as it was then known, undertook to establish a mission on the west side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, corresponding to Mitchell River on the east. In 1907 the Bishop of Carpentaria selected the site, and the South Australian Government granted a reserve of 200 square miles. This was in Wadarrang country.

In 1908 the first missionaries, the Rev. J.F.G. Huthnance, and R.D. Joynt and G. Sharp left Melbourne for the Roper River. On the way they called at Yarrabar, a mission on the Queensland coast, and recruited three aborigines to assist in their work. One of these, accompanied by his wife, was James Noble, who later became the first aborigine to be ordained to the priesthood.

On 31st December 1908, Mr. Huthnance was able to write "the native village, containing about eight houses, will be
completed in a few days. The services are well attended... The youngsters are bright little folks and we are much drawn to them. I look forward to the time when our school will be in full swing." (1) The school was put into operation, and is referred to in an article on the mission written by a journalist some eight years later: "Then at school hours, for big children as well as small, there is always much doing, the reading and the writing, the sewing and the singing being of quite a high standard." (2)

Roper River was not only the first C.M.S. mission in the Territory: it was the first of a large number of missions along the Arnhem Land coast, and it served a function as a trading post. Also it confronted difficulties left by previous culture contact in the area, including the Indonesian trading of the nineteenth century. Until late in the 1930's there were massacres, murders and punitive expeditions in the area. In 1932 Caledon Bay natives killed five Japanese and two white Australians, and the year after a policeman. "The Northern Territory Administration then proposed sending a strong police party against them. It yielded, however, to a plan from the Church Missionary Society that two of their missionaries should be allowed to conduct a peace expedition among


(2) The Queenslander, March 17th 1917, page 8.
the disturbed natives. These established friendly relations with the Caledon Bay people, and prevailed on the actual killers to go to Darwin for trial". (1)

The policy of the Church Missionary Society in these years was extreme segregation. "These child-like people can never meet on even terms with the strong Aryan race, and stand. Their only hope is to enclose them in inviolable reserves, where they will be kept to themselves..." (2) This segregation was not, of course, to preserve their culture intact, as was the policy advocated by some later anthropologists, but to introduce them to a new Christian culture, to create a self-supporting Christian community, away from the corrupting influence of sub-Christian white men. These missionaries had a high opinion of the natives intelligence but a low one of their culture, summed up by the phrase "Their civilization low; their intelligence high." (3)

In later years the policy of the Society became more liberal. Remembering that the children of four of these missions are boys whose manner of living for years to come will be along the

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(1) Our Aborigines; Canberra: Department of Territories, 1957, page 10.

(2) The Church Missionary Association, op. cit., page 35.

(3) ibid, page 22.
simplest lines, the Society aims at an all-round development of the physical, spiritual and intellectual conditions of the respective tribes, retaining what is best in their customs, and fitting the individuals for a worthy part in the communal life of the tribe as a step towards the ultimate opportunity of entering the larger national life." (1) "It should be noted that generally the Anglican missionaries do not believe in suppressing Aboriginal beliefs and customs but in adapting them and modifying them." (2)

The Society in its educational work made use of some modern primers and educational aids prepared by Dr. Capell, Reader in Linguistics, Anthropology Department, University of Sydney. Among these is the Gungwigggu Primer, used at Oenpelli, following modern teaching methods, but teaching the child to read his own language and using illustrations from the native's own environment.

Discussing the educational practice of Roper River and other Church of England missions in the Northern Territory in 1946. (Oenpelli and Groote Eylandt) Beekenham mentions the attitude of the Society that training as a teacher was not essential. "Skill acquired incidentally is regarded as sufficient training for missionary teaching." (3)

(1) Beekenham, op.cit., page 19.
(2) ibid, page 21.
(3) Beekenham, op.cit., page 19.
The Cenpelli mission was established in 1925 on the site of a former government experimental cattle station and dairy farm in Western Arnhem Land, on the East Alligator River about 40 miles from the sea. Prior to this, in 1921, the Society had established the Groote Eylandt Mission for mixed-blood people. It ceased to care for these in 1936, but, in the meantime, it had turned its attention to the aborigines of the island.

The third Christian mission to work directly with the aborigines in the Northern Territory was the Roman Catholic Missionary Order of the Sacred Heart, which began work on Bathurst Island in 1911, under the celebrated and colourful Father Goeli, who later became Bishop of Darwin.

In fact there had been earlier attempts at missions by members of the Jesuit Order, one at Rapid Creek near Darwin in 1882; another on the Daly River between 1886 and 1901. Within the Daly River Reserve, however, another Roman Catholic mission was established in 1935 at Port Keats between the estuaries of the Victoria and Daly Rivers. In 1942 a mission which had been conducted in Alice Springs since 1937 was moved to a new site at Arltunga, about 70 miles to the east. In 1954 this mission acquired its present lease and was re-established as Santa Teresa Mission, about 56 miles south-east of Alice Springs.
The first Roman Catholic mission station at Bathurst Island not only set the pattern for others, but also provides one of the most fascinating stories of patience, enterprise and judiciously handled culture-contact in the history of the Northern Territory.

Bishop Geoll, in his account (1) of the establishment of the mission, of which he was the superintendent from 1911 until he was created Bishop of Darwin in 1938, sees the hand of providence at work in many of the circumstances surrounding the choice of the site, the approach adopted towards the natives and the events of his 27 years. His was an informed mind and spirit, which began with a characteristic essential to all concerned with the assimilation process, as well as to missionaries in particular:

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

Bathurst Island was selected because it was an island and therefore less in the proximity of white men - more so even than Melville Island, where buffalo hunters were located. Both islands were and are populated by the Tiwi, which meant in any case a certain amount of contact with the Melville Islanders


(2) ibid, page 40.
with whom intermarriage was common.

The site of the settlement was at the south-east corner, at a point where the Apsley Strait is some 1500 yards wide; the first landing spot turned out to be the most suitable on the island, and the mission is still there.

The first approach of the mission was to show by example that white man's civilization was like. Buildings were erected, a well was dug, gardens were planted. "As the instinct of imitation is innate in man, especially in primitive man, our example was followed....this, I should say, is the secret of true colonization"(1) "In the long run, the black man will come to realize that the white man is wiser and cleverer than himself, and he will eventually fall in with the latter's ideas"(2)."..... if a missionary is to guide these people.....he cannot be too careful about his personal behaviour, and he should never underestimate their quick intelligence."(3) "Faced with a psychic pattern so complex, the successful introduction of Christianity had to rely on demonstrating with untiring patience to those we sought to convert a set of rules which, practised before their eyes, could end by impressing them. Nothing could be enforced with anything approaching compulsion."(4)

(1) ibid, page 53.
(2) ibid, page 55.
(3) ibid, page 61.
(4) ibid, page 69.
On the practical side, with the arrival of a group of sisters, a school was established with the younger ones taken by the sisters, Father Geill teaching the older children. The approach gradually developed on the part of the natives of allowing the children to remain at the mission until the boys were required for initiation and the girls for marriage. This was the beginning of the provision of boarding facilities. Eventually, after many years, an arrangement was accepted by the native elders that the boys might choose whether to be initiated or to become Christians — those who chose the latter were given further religious instruction and were baptised. The way to obtain the freedom of the girls was a matter of an inspiration which occurred to him while handling an extreme case of a young girl who did not want to go to her promised husband; he offered to buy the girl-wife, and the offer was accepted. During 27 years, 150 girls were bought by Father Geill in this way, and subsequently permitted to marry whom they chose. Thus a nucleus of Christian families was established on the basis of monogamy and the baptism of future children. Bishop Geill divides the history of the mission into two parts: the period of preparation before the first Christian marriage and the period of development after it. (1)

(1) ibid, page 107.
The spiritual welfare and educational policy of the mission was based on the premise that "they, these Australian aborigines, possess a conscience; they are capable of mental, even intellectual and spiritual, processes, and, given the opportunity, they can reach as high a standard as the best."(1) Speaking of the policy of segregation, Bishop Gsell sees difficulties, since for some natives the establishment of a limited number of reserves would mean an exodus from tribal lands. His approach is to allow the natives to be slowly integrated with the whites. "....rather than abandon them to their own devices, to an anachronistic social system which denies all progress, let them be joined, little by little, in carefully supervised stages, by white men......"(2) Christian missions have a part to play. "The natives have largely lost their religious heritage with its beliefs and customs, and this heritage must be replaced."(3) "Everything that raises primitive man is useful and good; all that keeps him in a state of inferiority is harmful."(4)

The educational practice was to teach English; This was a

(1) ibid, page 22.
(2) ibid, page 38.
(3) ibid, page 39.
(4) ibid, page 130.
means by which the mission staff was able to learn the tribal language from the children. The children responded readily to English and to Religious Instruction. Arithmetic was first properly taught in the saw-mill, where, being forced to measure planks and calculate hours of work, "they learnt simple arithmetic more quickly at the mill than they ever did at school." (1)

A summary of the policy and practice of the Roman Catholic missions prior to 1950 is given by Beckenham:

The aim of these missionaries is not to 'convert' the adult Aborigine to Christianity so much as to raise him from infancy as a Christian. It is not so much the imposition of a foreign culture upon him as the purification of his own culture by the removal of what the missionary deems objectionable and its replacement by Christian principles as the missionary understands them. Certain secular subjects are taught to the children, and training in trades and crafts is featured, so that the next generation may approximate more closely to self-support, and with it to self-respect. Such aims could not be achieved in one generation.... Much of this education is institutional in that every mission has its boarding school for boys and girls. This is regarded as very important since it removes children from their 'pagan' atmosphere, and gives them constancy in Christian training and all-round education in cultural ways beside stabilising their characters. (2)

(1) Ibid, page 125.
(2) Beckenham, op.cit., page 14.
The missionary organization of the Methodist Church known as the Methodist Overseas Mission first undertook mission work in the Northern Territory in 1916, when it established an aboriginal and mixed-blood institution at Goulburn Island, an island off the Arnhem Land coast about 200 air miles north-east of Darwin. This was followed by Eloho Island mission in 1921, on another island off the Arnhem Land coast, about 330 miles from Darwin. This venture was short-lived, however, because the Naptha Petroleum Company began boring operations on the island. The mission was not re-established until 1942. The staff was moved to another site, Milingimbi, on the Crocodile Islands, about 270 miles from Darwin, where the mission commenced in 1922. In 1935 another Methodist mission was established, this time at the far north-eastern end of Arnhem Land, between Melville Bay and Port Bradshaw, at Yirrkala. Its immediate purpose was to provide a buffer between the aborigines and occasional intruders. Then in 1942, as mentioned above, the Eloho Island mission was re-established under the notable leadership of Mr. (later the Rev.) H.V. Shepherdson. Thus the sphere of influence of the Methodist Missions extended along the entire north coast of Arnhem Land, bounded on the west by a mixed-blood mission at Groker Island, established in 1940. With its work at Yirrkala, the Methodist Mission shares with the
Church Missionary Society, and perhaps carries the greater
carden of contact with, the rather notorious Caledon Bay
tribe.

Often handicapped by what some of them regard as insufficient
support in personnel from the missionary organization of the
Church, by conditions of privation and (in these earlier years)
difficulties of transport and communication, a small band of
devoted people persisted in the face of many frustrations. Some
extracts from Annual Reports of the Methodist Department of.
Overseas Missions give an impression of the kinds of problems
faced in Arnhem Land:

Now we come to the last and most difficult of our
mission fields. Here the call upon the faith,
patience and endurance of our men and women, is
greater, we believe, than in any other field. (1)

At Goulburn Island the continued proximity of the
Darwin-owned pearling lugger has had a most
detrimental effect upon our work. Most of the
aboriginals deserted the station and congregated at
the King River Base, where a condition which can only
be described as deplorable and disgraceful, obtained
for the greater part of the year. As no pearling
vessels are now working in this locality, the King
River Base has been closed, and numbers of aboriginals
have returned to the station. Very serious
consideration of the future of our work here is,
however, imperative. (2)

(1) Methodist Church of Australasia, The Report for 1939 of
the Department of Overseas Missions, page 53.

(2) ibid, page 55.
The situation at Yirrkala has been a difficult one, and has occasioned considerable anxiety. An outbreak of tribal hostilities early in the year very seriously disrupted the mission community. (1)

Since the establishment of the Goulburn Island mission in 1916, the policy of the Methodist Mission has undergone a steady evolution. Writing not long before, and advocating the extension of work among the aborigines, the Rev. J.W. Burton stated its purpose in these terms: "It seems certain enough that the Blacks as a race will eventually disappear, but that does not absolve us from doing our utmost to make their lives as happy as possible and to give them the hope of salvation that comes through faith in Christ," (2) and he quoted with approval Professor Baldwin Spencer's comment on white contact: "... all that can be done is to gather a few remnants of the tribe into some mission station, where the path to final extinction may be made as pleasant as possible." (3) Again he goes on to say, referring to work with the aborigines, "It is not particularly interesting; there is no glamour around it. It is not inspiring to toil amongst dying peoples and decadent races; but we have the duty of the Good Samaritan to perform, and it must be performed in His spirit." (4)

(1) Ibid.


(3) Ibid, page 279.

I understand that Dr. Burton's first hand missionary experience was in Fiji. It is certain that the Methodist missionaries who subsequently worked in the Amhem Land area would have disagreed with him on most points.

By the mid 1930's, with two missions and a third about to be established, the Superintendent of the Goulburn Island mission wrote: 'There is a very real danger that the purely spiritual aspect of our work may become overshadowed by the incessant demands of industrial and temporal needs of the people.' (1) Despite this fear plans for expansion were proceeded with.

After the establishment in 1935 of the Yirrkala mission, we find in the 1937 Report: "The Rev. W.S. Chaseling is the pioneer missionary of this station, and points out that it is impossible for one man to undertake all that is required, involving as it does daily care of livestock, clearing, cultivating, teaching, language study, and general administration of a new station among primitive people." (2) An extract from Mr. Chaseling's report gives an indication of the approach to missionary work:


Yirrkala is very suitable for the raising of cattle, horses, goats and pigs; there is an abundant water supply in swamp, billabongs, and creeks, which occur in every few miles of country, and the stock we now have is doing well. Native grasses on dry land, as well as on several large areas around swamp and creeks, are good for rough feeding and grazing. During the year we have introduced seven new fodder grasses, as well as several varieties of sorghum and lucerne; four of the grasses have given very encouraging results.

Under present conditions the effective presentation of the Gospel is difficult, though the spiritual, moral and physical needs of the people are very evident. A short service, including hymns, prayer and Bible talk, is held every morning, and on Sundays the two services are well attended.

In the 1939 Report the aim of the missions is stated to be "to lead so primitive a people away from the rigid traditions of an age-old past, to create within them some desire for better things, and to implant within their minds new and loftier ideals..." The practice of the missions in all fields of general welfare indicates how broadly this aim was interpreted.

Specific mention is made in this Report of school activities. Milingimbi was asking for the appointment of a sister to devote herself to the teaching and training of the hundred children of school age.

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(1) ibid., page 47.
(2) op. cit., page 56.
(3) ibid., page 55.
The school was being carried on, amongst many other duties, by Mrs. Webb, the wife of the Superintendent. There were 87 on the roll, including only children of six years and above. (1) at Goulburn Island. "The school is one of the most important parts of our work, and it is greatly to be regretted that owing to shortage of staff and pressure of other duties, the school has had to suffer so much broken time....The opening of the school at a critical time this year held many of the parents and close relatives of the children on the station....The parents are keen about their children attending school and are interested in their progress". (2) Yirrkala reported this year that a regular day school had been commenced for the children. (3)

One of the interesting features of the work of these Methodist missions was the use of Fijian Ministers and Catechists to assist the white missionaries. As examples of this, the 1934 Report referred to Rev. Paula Seru and a Catechist named Kolinoi Naulage at Milingimbi; in 1937 the latter had moved to Goulburn Island, and in 1939 there were in addition two other Fijian catechists, one at Milingimbi and another at Yirrkala.

(1) ibid, page 58.
(2) ibid, page 57.
(3) ibid, page 60.
In the late 1940s the Rev. Puna Taito was at Goulburn Island. From reports received from those who have worked in the area, this experiment has been particularly successful.

A notable development in Methodist policy occurred in 1954, with the publication of a "Revised Statement of District Policy", the basis of which was a belief that the aborigine is capable of "very considerable social and economic development". The policy of Christianising and civilising was to be carried out by stated means, which are summarised by Beckenham:

1. By the establishment of mission stations with supporting activities such as outstations and patrols at strategic points in Arnhem Land.

2. By engaging on such stations in the following activities:

   (a) Christian evangelism and instruction.
   (b) Education - primary, technical and domestic, adapted to local requirements, both in the vernacular and in Basic English.
   (c) Medical work with emphasis on prevention of disease through preventive hygiene, sanitation, improved diet and health education.
   (d) Agricultural and industrial work, both in the development of indigenous arts and crafts and in training the Aboriginals for a more settled way of life.

(b), (c) and (d) are to be given a Christian basis and regarded as the practical application of the teaching of Jesus Christ.
3. By endeavouring in everything to develop the character of the Aboriginals:

(a) By not allowing them to become debased by dependence upon the mission, but rather encouraging their acceptance of responsibility for their own life and development.

(b) By elevating the status of women in the community.

(c) By encouraging them and fitting them to engage in social and religious service amongst their own people.

4. By recognising the great gulf between Aboriginal and European culture and only striving to make the necessary transition slowly and carefully, avoiding a rude disruption of existing safeguards and sanctions and allowing changes to come, not by the imposition of external authority but by the inner conviction on the part of the Aborigines themselves. (1)

It is reasonable to say that these aims had been put into operation by the Methodist Missions, subject to difficulties in obtaining sufficient numbers of appropriate staff, prior to 1950, and, of course, have been carried on and extended in the years since then.

CHAPTER VI

WAR TIME AND POST-WAR POLICY AND PLANNING

1940 - 1948

The historical account of government-provided native education in the Northern Territory as it exists today begins with the appointment of Mr. E.W.P. Chinnery as Director of Native Affairs in 1939.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Mr. E.W.P. Chinnery was appointed Commonwealth Advisor on Native Affairs and Director of Native Affairs in the Northern Territory Administration. Mr. Chinnery in 1940 drew up a plan for native development, which included as the main line of development the organisation under Government control of special native community settlements, each of which would act as a regional centre in the fields of education, health, industry and general social welfare. The plan was not put into operation because of the intervening circumstances of the second world war.

However, to meet its own needs, the Northern Territory Force of the Australian Army employed and maintained some hundreds of adult male natives, and maintained certain of their dependants, largely in residential "compounds".
Discussions were held in 1943 between Mr. Chinnery and Army representatives, with the result that Major W. G. Groves of Army Education, an anthropologist and educator, who later became Director of Education in Papua/New Guinea, was made available to make recommendations for the educational development and welfare of these natives. Although these recommendations were not put into force, as a consequence of the cessation of hostilities, the existence of Major Grove's plan, and some of its details are relevant to a consideration of native education in the Northern Territory. In many respects this plan foreshadowed future developments, and its insights are still relevant.

Major Groves visited the Northern Territory for this purpose during February and March 1944, attending a special conference while there, and he presented a "Preliminary Outline of Proposals for Education and Welfare of Natives of Northern Territory Force" in March 1944, and his "Report on Education and Welfare of Natives of Northern Territory Force" shortly afterwards. Basically Major Groves envisaged the adaptation of the Army's native "compounds" into "community centres" along the lines of the Chinnery plan, with work of a broadly educational nature alongside general welfare work.
In the era of plans for post-war development there was some further agitation for Commonwealth control of all aboriginal affairs. In 1946, for example, the Aboriginal Progressive Association in Queensland proposed as immediate needs the Federal control of all aborigines; citizen rights such as maternity allowances, child endowment, pension and franchise and better primary and secondary education. In February 1947 the matter was pushed further by a resolution passed by a meeting of Directors of Native Affairs of Queensland, South Australia and the Northern Territory held in Melbourne.

This resolution read as follows:

In addition to education provided by Government institutions and missions it is recommended that provision be made at suitable centres for the education of children of working natives and that the teachers should be fully qualified teachers of the education department with preference given to those having a knowledge of anthropology and native education.

The aim of educational policy should be to give natives of full and mixed blood a training to fit them for the ordinary vocations of life, e.g. artisans, mechanics, farm or station workers, etc. with a view to their absorption into the general social and economic structure and to qualify them to hold positions of responsibility in government institutions.

As a practical encouragement the Commonwealth Government could provide a number of bursaries for post-primary education.

The Victorian section of the New Education Fellowship during 1947 directed its attention to the position of aborigines
and part-aboriginal people, and discovered from enquiries in all States that:

1. Possibly one or two hundred are getting some kind of secondary education.

2. Possibly a few hundred are getting a full elementary education.

3. A considerable number get an education up to a 4th grade standard.

4. Pre-school education may possibly be carried on in one or two places.

5. Very much of the work is left to missionaries, sometimes with and sometimes without government aid.

6. Very many children get no schooling whatever.

Subsequently a meeting of the Fellowship passed two resolutions:

1. That there is urgent need for the Federal Government to provide by legislation, supplemented probably by financial aid, that all tribalised aborigines and their descendants shall have opportunities, equal to those given to children of European descent, for suitable elementary and continued education, and also equal opportunities for happy, social and economic life, without which education is largely purposeless and meaningless.

2. That the Federal Government be urged to support the extension of such a programme as is now being carried out at Ernabella, Central Australia: a programme of education (including training for work) of tribal aborigines, in such a way as to bring them gradually, with safety and freedom, to share in the best of our civilization.
These and other requests were in fact already being met in part by the action of the Government in preparing for a conference of Commonwealth and State authorities concerned with the welfare of aborigines. The question of responsibility for aboriginal affairs had already been the subject of discussion with the States. In 1936 the States had taken the view that it was undesirable and impracticable to have centralised control, while the 1944 Referendum defeated the proposal to give the Commonwealth Parliament power to make laws with respect to "the people of the aboriginal race". Then in January 1946, the Minister for the Interior sought at a conference of Premiers the vesting of control of all aboriginals in the Commonwealth Government. This proposal had been given a mixed reception, and the idea of holding a conference was put forward. At the August 1947 Premiers' Conference a resolution was passed that a conference on native affairs be held as soon as possible and that in addition to considering the transfer of native affairs to the Commonwealth it also consider the alternative of Commonwealth assistance to the States with native populations.

The Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Welfare Authorities, held at Parliament House, Canberra, on 3rd and 4th February, 1948, was the first of its kind since 1937, but led the way to a number of further conferences during the succeeding thirteen years. These Welfare Conferences have in fact
become part of the pattern of aboriginal administration for the Commonwealth and the States. This 1948 conference was important also in being instrumental in stimulating many new approaches to aboriginal problems. For these reasons it deserves rather more attention than might otherwise be given it in a thesis dealing with native education.

The membership of this Conference was as follows:

The Honourable H.V. Johnson, M.P.,
Minister for the Interior.

Mr. J.A. Carrodus,
Secretary, Department of the Interior. (Chairman)

Mr. P.H. Rowe,
Director-General, Department of Social Services.

Dr. T.L. Robertson,
Assistant Director, Commonwealth Office of Education.

Dr. D.A. Dowling,
Senior Medical Officer, Commonwealth Department of Health.

Dr. J.G. McGlashan,
Chief Medical Officer, Darwin, Department of Health.

Professor A.P. Elkin,
Vice Chairman, Aborigines Welfare Board, NSW.

Mr. A.W.G. Lipscomb,
Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare, NSW.

Mr. C. O'Leary,
Director of Native Affairs, Queensland.

Mr. W.R. Penhall,
Secretary, Aborigines Protection Board, South Australia.
Mr. C.L. McDeath,
Acting Commissioner of Native Affairs,
Western Australia.

Mr. F.H. Moy,
Director of Native Affairs, Northern Territory.

Secretary to Committee: Mr. H.A. Barrenger,
Department of the Interior.

On the question of Commonwealth control, the Chairman pointed out that originally this was not the Commonwealth's idea, but had been brought up at the Premiers' Conference in 1936. He invited the State representatives to express their views. Queensland, New South Wales and Western Australia did not support the proposal; South Australia was not averse to it, but suggested as an alternative Commonwealth financial responsibility. Professor Elkin indicated that he favoured Commonwealth control, but that if the Commonwealth handed out fairly large sums of money to the States, it should have a say in how the money should be spent. Eventually the following resolution was passed:

This Conference after full discussion is satisfied that, having regard to the views of the Governments of New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia, as expressed by their respective representatives, it is not possible, at this stage, to institute any system for the full control of all aboriginals by the Commonwealth Government.

The Conference feels that in view of the national importance of this matter, it should be further considered at a future conference after each representative has had an opportunity of discussing all aspects of the case with his Ministerial head.

Discussion took place on uniform administration of native affairs, definition of aboriginal, social service benefits, health, wages and conditions of employment, mission activities, native courts, the development of reserves and cadet systems for welfare officers, as well as on education. Several of the recommendations are relevant to this thesis and deserve to be quoted:

Social service benefits

This Conference is of the opinion that full benefits under the Social Services Consolidation Act of the Commonwealth should be available to all aboriginals except full-blood aboriginals living under primitive or nomadic conditions, and that Commonwealth legislation should be amended accordingly.

Development of reserves

It is the opinion of the Conference that reserves should be developed along the following lines:

(a) settlements and stations to be the haven for aged and infirm natives;

(b) settlements to be provided with schools and hospitals.

(c) Training programmes to be carried out to fit the aboriginal for local employment.

(d) Development of natural resources of reserves for benefit of aboriginals. (1)

(1) ibid, page 3-4.
It is, however, in the field of education that the Conference's discussions and decisions are most relevant to us. The Conference initially addressed itself to three points:

(a) Should education become a governmental responsibility?

(b) A standard curriculum to be prepared by educationists and anthropologists directed along lines to fit the aboriginal into the State economy.

(c) Emphasis on technical training.

Professor Elkin remarked that the missions in the Northern Territory were doing good work, but the question was to what extent the Government should take over and supply staff and prepare a curriculum. He thought that the missions would want to control their own work, but that the Conference should urge for the work to be done in accordance with a definite approved curriculum. Mr. Moy added that the missions had reached the limit of their resources in money and personnel, and they would need Government assistance, either by means of a grant or staff. Also, discussing the missions, Dr. Robertson thought that they should be encouraged if only because it was quite impossible for the Government to take over education at the present time.

"Therefore an expedient would have to be adopted by using the existing mission schools, encouraging them, if necessary assisting financially and also standardizing their basic syllabus, allowing them at the same time to teach their denominational
creeds. Government officials could inspect their schools and try to encourage them to come up to the minimum standard laid down by the Administration."(1) As things turned out, with the gradual provision of Government schools, this was the attitude adopted during the next decade towards the mission schools.

Discussing the preparation of a standard curriculum, Dr. Robertson announced that "the Commonwealth Office of Education had had in mind for some time undertaking a survey in this field with a view to indicating what is the basic minimum so far as the curriculum is concerned."(2) He referred to the difficulty of obtaining a suitably qualified person, a trained educationist with practical experience in schools who was also an anthropologist of some standard, to carry out the survey, and mentioned the possibility of secondment from the States or the universities.

After further discussion, a resolution dealing with education was moved by Professor Elklin and seconded by Mr. Moy:

This Conference —

(a) considers that increased provision for the education of natives should be made by the Governments concerned,

(b) re-affirms the recommendations made by the meeting of Directors of Native Affairs . . . .

(1) ibid., Conference Report, pages 15 and 16.

(2) ibid., page 16.
(c) is of the opinion that standard regional curricula should be prepared conjointly by Commonwealth and State authorities directed along lines to fit the aboriginal into the State economy, and

(d) considers that where education is imparted by missions, teachers should be trained in methods of native education and that the mission schools' curricula should conform to the standard regional curricula referred to in (c).(1)

This resolution was agreed to unanimously.

It may be observed that by re-affirming the previous recommendations, the conference committed itself to government schools at suitable centres: fully qualified teachers (with preference for those having a knowledge of anthropology and native education), provision for post-primary education, and an educational aim directed at assimilation to the social and economic structure of the community.

By February 1948, then, we may say that the Commonwealth was morally committed in a number of ways:

1. To a survey to be carried out by the Office of Education;

2. To the preparation of standard curricula;

3. To the creation of properly staffed government schools;

4. To place pressure on the missions to bring their curricula into line, and to staff their schools with trained teachers.

All of these commitments were in fact carried out by the Commonwealth in the Northern Territory during the following decade.

(1) ibid, page 16.
CHAPTER VII

NEGOTIATIONS AND PLANNING
AND
THE INCEPTION OF THE PROGRAMME
1948 - 1952

The first official result of the 1948 Conference was the action of the Office of Education in establishing a position of Consultant in Native Education. This position was duly advertised throughout Australia, the United Kingdom and New Zealand, about the middle of the year, seeking a person qualified in Education and also in Anthropology and/or Psychology.

In the meantime a conference of Administration and Mission representatives was held in the Northern Territory, presided over by Professor Elkin, as a result of which the matter of curricula was being worked out tentatively by the Superintendent of Education (Mr. Dodds) and some of the Missions.

Attempts were still being made by the Office of Education to recruit its Consultant, when an incident occurred in Darwin which highlighted the urgency of further action. The following report is taken from the Sydney Morning Herald account of the matter:

Aborigines Banned From School

Darwin, Thursday - Seven aboriginal children, aged between five and nine, who attended Darwin school most of last year, were not accepted as pupils when the new school year began this week.
A former teacher will temporarily instruct the children at Bagot aboriginal compound, near Darwin, from Monday.

The Administrator, Mr. A.R. Driver, said today it was Government policy that full-blooded aborigines should not attend main State schools, but should be educated in their own establishments.

The children had been enrolled last year through a mistake of the headmaster.

Arrangements were in hand for the appointment of a teacher for the children by the Commonwealth Office of Education in Sydney.

In this particular case, Mr. Driver said, he would have conducted an opportunity class at the school if space had been available.

'If only we could get teachers from South Australia there would be no trouble,' he added.

Mr. Driver said the children seemed 'quite nice' and their results had been average.

One School

There are about 500 children at the Darwin School, including half-castes.

There is no other school for natives at Darwin.

Attempts by two women of the Aboriginal Inland Mission to conduct a school at Berrimah native compound had the sanction of the Native Affairs Branch, but were short lived, because they had insufficient equipment, control, or authority.

A school at the Roman Catholic native mission at Bathurst Island is excellently conducted. (1)

The Administrator's statement, if correctly reported, was of course in error. The position was still that the Office

of Education was trying to recruit a Consultant who would carry out a survey, who might then make recommendations which, if acceptable to the Department of the Interior as well as the Office of Education, might lead to the appointment of teachers.

Following the 1948 Conference the South Australian Minister for Education had visited the Northern Territory and discussions had taken place regarding native schools, provision for which had already been made in the Northern Territory financial estimates. It became evident however that the present policy of the South Australian Education Department was not to supply teachers for aboriginal schools. In the meantime, arrangements had been made for the 1948/49 financial year for a subsidy to be paid to each mission school staffed by a trained teacher.

Following the exclusion of full-blood aboriginal children from Darwin School, schooling commenced in the Bagot Aboriginal Reserve on 4th February 1949, with an enrolment of sixteen children. A former Queensland school teacher, who was a member of staff of the Native Affairs Branch, taught for three weeks until Mr. E.A. Tambling, a former school teacher with over twenty years' experience with the Northern Territory Education Branch, was temporarily transferred from clerical duties to act as Head Teacher.
During 1949, discussions were held between the Department of the Interior and the Office of Education, leading to the acceptance of the offer of a rapid survey by Mr. H.W.S. Philp, and the setting up of a Curriculum Committee, with a view to the Office taking responsibility for the proposed native education programmes.

The Philp Survey

The general aim of the Philp survey was to establish facts on which recommendations for the organisation of and curriculum for an interim scheme of education for aboriginal children might be established. With reference to the organisational side, he wished to look at the number of children immediately, within the next few years and in the long term; the question of buildings and the recruitment of teachers. On the question of curriculum, he wished to look at the needs and abilities of the children and the needs of the community. The long range policy of assimilation, rather than one of independent development, was assumed.

Mr. Philp arrived in Darwin on 27th August, 1949. He lost no time in getting to grips with the situation and in discussing matters fully with the Assistant Supervisor of Education, Mr. L. Dodds, the Director of Native Affairs, Mr. Moy, Professor Elkin and Dr. Capell. There followed an extensive
if hurried tour of the most relevant areas of the Northern Territory.

Mr. Philp's report covered a wide range of aspects of the proposed programme, and included such points as the following:

1. The proposed curriculum conference should be held and should include mission representation.

2. Schools and teachers should be provided in ten locations, three of them immediately: Darwin (Bagot), Delissaville, Alice Springs (The Bungalow). If enough teachers are available, they should go to Darwic Station and Wave Hill. (School buildings would be required at these two locations.) In the next five years schools should be built at Haast Bluff, Areyonga, Snake Bay, Jay Creek and Yuendumu.

3. The present provision of native education, apart from the teacher at Bagot, consisted of mission schools and teachers (Bathurst Island, Arlunja, Port Keats, Groote Eylandt, Hermannsburg; others at Phillip Creek and Yuendumu, both government settlements. In addition some untrained persons were teaching on other missions.)

4. The language of instruction should be English because of the diversity of native languages, the lack of literature and the difficulty of training teachers.

5. Primers would need to be written, with a strong "look-and-say" bias.

6. Buildings must be built suitable to the climate, outdoor teaching being out of the question.

7. Some existing equipment would need to be supplemented by play material, kindergarten equipment, projectors, radiograms, etc.
8. Teachers must be prepared to instruct and help adult natives, particularly in the 16-25 age groups.

On the question of the language of instruction, there was some difference of opinion with Professor Elkin and Dr. Capell. The latter felt strongly that the vernacular should be used. Professor Elkin was not so definite, but he did think that teachers should learn the native tongue of their area when they got there, not before. The practice in many of the missions was to teach at least partly in the vernacular.

On 2nd September an A.B.C. News Item was as follows:

A Commonwealth Officer visiting Darwin says that full-blooded aboriginal children are to be educated under a curriculum which assumes English as a language foreign to them. The official, Mr. H.W. Philp, of the Commonwealth Office of Education, says it's intended to open three schools in the Northern Territory next year. Mission schools will also help.

The extent to which in broad outline the initial programme reflects the views of Mr. Philp will be obvious from the later chapters. Nevertheless a great deal of filling in of detail was required. This was begun with the Curriculum Committee.

The Curriculum Committee

In accordance with Mr. Philp's recommendation, a Conference on the Education of Aboriginal Children was held at the Commonwealth Office of Education in Sydney on 28th, 29th and 30th September, 1949. The membership of the Conference was as follows:
Mr. F. Moy — Director of Native Affairs, Northern Territory.

Mr. L. Dodd — Assistant Supervisor of Education, Northern Territory.

Mr. D.J.A. Verco — Principal Research Guidance Officer, NSW Department of Education, representing the State Directors of Education.

Professor A.P. Elkin — University of Sydney.

together with —

Professor R.C. Mills, Dr. T.L. Robertson, Mr. H.W. Philip and Mr. D. McCarthy — Commonwealth Office of Education.

In addition, the following mission representatives attended on 29th September only, as observers:

Rev. J.B. Montgomery, Church Missionary Society.

Rev. Father Doyle, representing the Roman Catholic Bishop of Darwin.

Rev. C.F. Gribble, Methodist Overseas Missions.

Rev. V.W. Coombes, Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions.

Pastor Albrecht, Finke River Lutheran Mission.

The Draft Curriculum which resulted from this Conference is an interesting document, revealing that a great deal of work had been done before and at the meeting. Many of its provisions, modified and amplified in the course of the next four years' experience, were embodied in the Curriculum for Native Schools
which is discussed in a later section of this thesis. It is chiefly worthy of comment here for the aims expressed and the broad approach taken to the teaching of a number of subjects which might have been thought unimportant in earlier years. There follows some brief extracts from this Draft, subject by subject, which indicate the kind of approach taken:

**General**

The aims of the curriculum are stated as:

(i) To provide a course of instruction appropriate to the particular needs of the Australian native.

(ii) To assist the native to develop his abilities to the full.

(iii) To help the native to adjust himself to living in a culture controlled predominantly by white people so that he may eventually be able to accept the full responsibilities of citizenship.

(iv) To make the school an integral part of each native settlement so that the adult as well as the child can participate in its activities.

**English**

The approach to it should follow the best methods of teaching English as a foreign language rather than methods of teaching it to white children whose native tongue it is. Every effort should be made to collect a series of folk tales of aborigine people.....

**Native Language**

The native languages will form part of the curriculum in areas in which the native culture is still

---

(1) See Chapter XIII and Appendix C.
relatively unaffected by white influences. Since most native languages have no written literature, other than The Bible, the main lines of approach will be through oral expression. The children should be encouraged, however, in writing their own language, as a means of expressing their ideas and also as a means of communication between themselves.

Arithmetic

throughout the elementary school curriculum in arithmetic the ideas and examples must be as concrete as possible...the power of abstraction will develop with increasing familiarity with number facts.

Social Studies

The aim of the Social Studies curriculum should be to widen the limited horizons of the aboriginal child...so that he may, as an adult, have the necessary background and knowledge to be a good citizen of the Commonwealth. The aborigine must not, however, be allowed to feel that his own rich tradition and heritage have been forgotten. Through a discussion of the structure of native society, beginning with the family and its organization, older children should be introduced to the nature of white society and its organization.

Health Education

The first object is to get the children to keep themselves physically clean......the second object is to encourage the child to accept responsibility for the cleanliness of the school and its surroundings......

Nature Study

Native children possess a wide knowledge of plant and animal life in their environment and the task of the teacher will be largely to elicit this knowledge from the children and to systematise it. In doing this the co-operation and help of adult natives should be sought if possible. An important extension of nature study work should be put into animal husbandry and elementary agriculture.
Craft Work

The native handicrafts in the various areas should be encouraged and developed, but in addition some of the white skills such as carpentry, metal work, etc. for boys and needle work and cooking for the girls must be developed.

Native arts should be encouraged and developed wherever possible so that in addition to acquiring new skills and modes of expression the traditional ones may not be lost, but rather improved, spontaneously by the use of more efficient tools.

One important feature of the recommendations is the implication throughout that the adults are to be taken into confidence, used to assist the work of the school, and to share in its educational programme by being learners themselves.

Some of the comments made by the missionary observers are illuminating as revealing the difficulties foreseen by missionaries with experience in the field, and as showing the partly different approach taken on some matters. Nevertheless, the Churches gave their general approval to the proposals, even if their comments indicated a desire to "hasten slowly".

The Commonwealth Office of Education continued to act swiftly. Arising out of the Philip Report and the Conference, it prepared a set of recommendations which were submitted to the Department of the Interior. These are as follows:

Recommendation 1. Commonwealth Responsibility

That the Commonwealth Government should accept direct responsibility for the provision of education for natives in the Northern Territory.
Recommendation 2. Administration

That the Commonwealth Office of Education be given the responsibility of providing Native Education in the Northern Territory.

Recommendation 3. Mission Schools

(1) That in carrying out its responsibilities the Commonwealth should seek the co-operation and assistance of Missions which have already established schools. Where Mission Schools are established, financial assistance, in the form of a subsidy, should be provided by the Government to assist Mission Schools to attain standards in staffing, buildings and equipment satisfactory to the Commonwealth.

(2) That Missions should make representations on the amount of money required to enable them to reach satisfactory standards and that each application should be considered on its merits.

Recommendation 4. Establishment of Schools

That Government schools should first be established in areas where natives are in contact with white culture and, as the demand and needs grow, should later be established in other areas.

Recommendation 5. Building Standards

That special building standards should be devised for native schools.

Recommendation 6. Conditions

That all schools should be conducted by trained and qualified teachers and should conform to standards in buildings, equipment, curriculum and records, as determined by the Commonwealth.

Recommendation 7. Language of Instruction

That the language of instruction in Native schools should be English, except where local conditions (e.g. where natives are still in a tribal or semi-tribal state) render bi-lingual instruction desirable.
Recommendation 8. Curriculum

(1) That a special curriculum both in terms of the subjects to be taught and the content of those subjects should be devised for native children.

(ii) That the subjects of the curriculum should include English Language, Native Language (where appropriate), Arithmetic, Social Studies, Health Education, Nature Study, Art and Craft Work (including pre-vocational training) and Religious Instruction.

Recommendation 9. School Equipment

(1) That native schools should be adequately equipped with educational aids, including libraries of books and film strip.

(ii) That schools should be equipped in such a way that they can be readily used for adult education work among the natives.

Recommendation 10. Teaching Material

That teaching material such as Primers and a School Magazine should be prepared suitable in language and content for the instruction of Native children.

Recommendation 11. Recruitment of Teachers

(1) That an attempt should be made to recruit on a temporary basis five trained teachers for Government schools in 1950 and 3 for 1951.

(ii) That ten student teachers should be recruited to be trained in 1950-52 for appointment on a permanent basis in 1953.

Recommendation 12. Training of Teachers

(1) That training of a special kind in addition to that normally provided in Teachers' Colleges should be undertaken by all teachers proceeding to Native Schools, whether Government or Mission.

(ii) That a short intensive course should be conducted in Jan.-Feb. 1950 for prospective teachers of natives and also for the present qualified teachers in Mission schools.
(iii) That the course of training for student teachers consist of two years' Teacher Training at a suitable institution (e.g., Sydney Teachers' College) and one additional year of training in Native Education.

Recommendation 13: Records

That a comprehensive system of school records should be developed.

After discussions with the Department of the Interior, these recommendations were accepted and an Agreement was drawn up under which the Office of Education was to control the programme on an Agency basis. This was approved by the Minister for Post-War Reconstruction and the Minister for the Interior in December, 1949. Following the change of government in the same month, the Prime Minister, who had taken over control of the Office of Education, also gave his approval, and the signing of the Agreement by all parties was completed on 14th March, 1950. (1)

The signing of the Agreement between the Administrator and the Director was far from the end of the story of inter-departmental negotiations. The original plan had been to recruit teachers in time for a special teacher training course in January and February of 1950. The delays in achieving agreement, the need to obtain funds from Treasury and the need for approval from the Public Service Board for the creation of the necessary positions all contributed to delay.

(1) A copy of this Agreement appears in Appendix B.
The proposed Teacher Training Courses were of three kinds:

(1) A short course of six weeks' duration for the teachers recruited for 1950, to be undertaken largely by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney.

(ii) A one year course at the Sydney Teachers' College with assistance from the Anthropology Department, for teachers recruited for duty in 1951 and 1952.

(iii) A three year course, with the first year at the Teachers' College, and the second and third years heavily laden with Anthropology and other specialised studies, for teacher trainees recruited for service in 1953.

Eventually the courses held were similar to the short course: these were provided for each incoming group of teachers for each year, all teachers recruited being already trained for normal teaching duties. It was not until the late 1950's that teacher trainees were recruited for longer courses. The first course was held from 22nd May to 30th June, 1950, and was attended by five teachers recruited for the new programme, and seven teachers who had been working with Missions operating in the Territory.

Approval was sought from the Public Service Board for the employment of temporary teachers. By the middle of March five positions were advertised - two at Yuendumu, one each at Bagot, Delissaville and Alice Springs.
A further problem was that of school buildings. The Office of Education was advised that buildings were ready at Delissaville, Bagot and Alice Springs, but that at Yuendumu the position was the "same as sighted by Philp" and that Office of Education Plans for suitable school buildings were required before erection could be considered. The Office asked for the use of an existing building at Yuendumu for approximately half of the enrolment and the removal to Yuendumu, erection and adaptation of a Sidney Williams Hut. Mid-July was indicated as the date on which school furniture would arrive. The question of accommodation for teachers was raised but left in abeyance until it became clear what the needs were.

The position regarding accommodation for teachers was as follows:

(i) For Bagot, an official residence, occupied by the present teacher, Mr. A.E. Tambling (who was subsequently appointed);

(ii) At The Bungalow (Alice Springs), a small stone building of two rooms, 13' x 13', together with a kitchen, bathroom and fly-proofed verandah;

(iii) At Delissaville, accommodation suitable for a married couple;

(iv) At Yuendumu, the position was much more primitive. A 60 x 20 Sidney Williams Hut was available as a school. The teacher had the alternative of boarding or using a building which was being occupied by the Superintendent at the time of Mr. Philp's visit. This building was a converted army hut.
This Yuendumu accommodation figured in future controversy. Mr. and Mrs. A. Stafford were selected as the teachers to go to Yuendumu, and the accommodation position at Yuendumu was described to them. The accommodation turned out to be worse than anticipated, as is recounted later. (1)

Decisions on appointments to Bagot and Yuendumu were thus determined: in the case of Delissaville, a single teacher, Mr. G.P. Moore, was appointed; another single teacher, Miss J.R. Boxall, was appointed to The Bungalow at Alice Springs, and she decided to live in the accommodation offered at the settlement. Together with Mr. Tambling, these four were the vanguard of some thirty teachers who were given special training and were appointed by the Commonwealth Office of Education during its six years of control of the programme. These five teachers, having completed the training course, proceeded to the Northern Territory in July 1950.

At the end of June, and just prior to the arrival of the teachers, the newly appointed Consultant on Native Education, Mr. Dudley McCarthy, visited the Territory to review the precise position, to see to the installation of the teachers and to consider the establishment of schools in 1951.

(1) Chapter VIII.
The Office of Education was very conscious of the experimental nature of these early stages of the programme. To assist the teachers in settling into their new responsibilities, and to obtain first hand information, the Assistant Director of the Office, Dr. T.L. Robertson, accompanied by Mr. McCarthy, himself made a tour of the Territory during September, and visited the four schools that had been established, as well as Hermannsburg, Bathurst Island and Melville Island.
CHAPTER VIII

OFFICE OF EDUCATION CONTROL 1950-55

Having been inaugurated in July 1950 with the establishment of four schools with five teachers, with a provisional syllabus, a fairly idealistic list of equipment needs, and an ambitious plan for teacher recruitment and training, the native education programme moved into a period of experiment, achievement, and consolidation; a period marked, however, by frequent frustration; culminating in the passing of control from the organization which had planned and nurtured the scheme.

The achievement of the six years of Commonwealth Office of Education control may be indicated by the statistics of schools, teachers and pupils over this period. The following tables are consolidated from those provided in the Annual Reports of the Office of Education for the years 1950 to 1955.
Table 1.

Commonwealth Native Schools

Schools, Enrolments and Teachers
1950 – 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagot</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungalow</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delissaville</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areystonga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benwick</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip Creek</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Creek</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Bay</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatches Creek</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray Downs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total

| Enrolments | 169 | 249 | 250 | 305 | 394 | 544 |
| Teachers   | 5   | 11  | 8   | 11  | 15  | 21  |

Another indication of the growth of the programme during this period is given by the expenditure involved.

The following figures do not include several major items: costs of administration at the Central Office of the Commonwealth Office of Education; capital expenditure on school buildings and residences; subsidies to mission schools. Also they are deficient in that the first twelve months and the last six months are omitted. However, they
do give an indication of what money was spent and how it was spent within the Northern Territory on the government native education programme.

Table 2
Expenditure on Native Education (1)
in the Northern Territory
(Excluding Buildings)

July 1952 to June 1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1951/52</th>
<th>1952/53</th>
<th>1953/54</th>
<th>1954/55</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Costs of administration</td>
<td>2,184</td>
<td>3,915</td>
<td>3,263</td>
<td>4,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs of instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- salaries</td>
<td>10,946</td>
<td>10,774</td>
<td>15,312</td>
<td>21,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- equipment</td>
<td>2,303</td>
<td>1,421</td>
<td>3,550</td>
<td>3,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- miscellaneous</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>1,133</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- furniture</td>
<td>4,120</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>3,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- freight, transfer &amp; removal of teachers etc.</td>
<td>1,131</td>
<td>2,681</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td>3,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure :</td>
<td>20,794</td>
<td>19,141</td>
<td>25,630</td>
<td>37,147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As well as growth from 4 schools to 11, from 5 teachers to 21, from 169 pupils to 544, and from £20,000 to nearly £40,000 annual expenditure, the statistics disclose some other interesting features of this period. The most obvious is the closure of

the school at Beswick, which partly accounts for the
reduction in the number of teachers in 1952. An account of
this is given below. Another is the fluctuation in enrolments,
which depended not only on the native children or their
families, but rather more on the policy of the Native Affairs
Branch in the transfer of natives from one location to
another. The rate of growth was influenced by one other
non-educational factor: the ability or inability of the
Department of Works to have school buildings and teachers' accommodation erected as required. Two or three years' delay
came to be expected.

During the September 1950 visit of Dr. Robertson to
the Territory, discussions took place on new schools for 1951.
The Office of Education was anxious to proceed with Snake Bay,
Beswick, Areyonga and Jay Creek, and wished to approach the
Public Service Board for approval to recruit teachers. The
main problem which was to confront the development of the
programme during the next few years arose immediately — that
of the erection of buildings. In November 1950 the
Administrator was able to advise the Director that three
prefabricated Haukeshly schools and three Triton prefabricated
houses for teachers' accommodation would be secured. One
school of two classarooms and one residence were to go to
Yuendumu, where the existing Sidney Williams but would be converted into classrooms; the others were to go to Areyonga and Jay Creek respectively. In addition, a school building and suitable accommodation for two teachers were promised for Beswick Station. Snake Bay was to be deferred until 1952, but teaching aids were requested for Phillip Creek where a missionary teacher had agreed to carry on until a Commonwealth teacher could be appointed – this latter depended upon the provision of proper accommodation and living conditions.

On the basis of this advice, the Office of Education recruited seven additional teachers and provided them with a six weeks' course of training at the beginning of 1951. Three of them were used to open new schools at Beswick and Areyonga; the others became assistants at existing schools. The appointees to Beswick were Mr. C.C. Allom and Miss M. Lundie; Mr. J.D. Gallacher, on 12 months' leave from the Victorian Education Department, was appointed to Areyonga.

In the meantime, a decision had been made to establish an office of the Commonwealth Office of Education in Darwin, and appoint a Senior Education Officer to carry out the necessary liaison with the Administrator and his staff, with responsibility for administering and inspecting the native schools, and inspecting
the native schools. After attending the six weeks' course in company with the new teachers, this officer, Mr. Lisle Newby, took up duty in Darwin in March 1951, and was able to assist with the opening of the new schools. Responsibility for control of the programme at the Sydney and also changed hands, with the appointment of Dr. T.L. Robertson as Director of Education in Western Australia and of Mr. Dudley McCarthy to the Department of Defence and later to the Department of Territories. Throughout the remaining five years of Commonwealth Office of Education responsibility, Mr. D.W. Hood was the operative Senior Education Officer at Central Office.

An important function of the Senior Education Officer at Darwin was the supervision of the work being done in the native schools, and to do this he was expected to visit the schools at least twice each year. This supervisory work was seriously interfered with in the early stages through lack of ready transport. Arrangements were made for a utility truck to be provided - in fact during the period of Office of Education control two vehicles were obtained, the first being rather too light in construction for the work and roads (or tracks) involved. One spot on the Hermannsburg to Annyonga road, where a deep rut is hidden by sand, is known as "Newby's Folly" from the fact that the Senior Education Officer's vehicle spent a
Jay Creek School and Pupils, 1954.

The Director of the Office of Education is the left of the two Europeans in the centre foreground; the other is the Teacher-in-charge, Mr. Rowe.
fortnight here awaiting a new axle. Although serious accidents
did not occur there were many hazards in the travelling involved
for the officers appointed to supervise these schools. When it
became more necessary to travel around the mission stations as
well, the burden of travel by car and air became so heavy that
to cope with it and the office work at Darwin an assistant to
the Senior Education Officer was essential. An appointment had
to wait, however, until the administrative arrangements were
reorganised in 1956. Some assistance was given, however, by the
appointment of an advisory teacher of vocational subjects in
June 1953 and of a relieving teacher early in 1955, both with
their headquarters at Darwin.

The next few pages tell the story of this six year period
with little attempt to be comprehensive or even to retain a
chronological order. The aim here is to illustrate some of the
difficulties and to mention some of the developments and achieve-
ments of this period.

As already mentioned, the establishment of schools at Snake
Bay and Jay Creek was deferred until schools and residences were
built. This did not occur until 1953 in the case of Jay Creek,
and 1954 for Snake Bay. However, teachers had been sent to
Yuendumu, Beswick and Arreyonga despite inadequate buildings. The
Office of Education regarded only Bagot and The Bungalow at
Alice Springs as satisfactory; even the latter was not especially so, consisting of old converted buildings. At Aravonga there was inadequate water, and no lavatories within reasonable distance of the proposed building—a additional bore was promised. The 1951 Annual Report of the Office of Education comments as follows:

The most unsatisfactory aspect of the Educational Programme during 1951 was the lack of suitable buildings for schools and teachers' residences. It was expected that the situation would be remedied through the purchase of three prefabricated Hawkesley school buildings and three prefabricated Aaa type houses for residences, but although those units arrived in the Territory during the year they have not yet been erected. In the meantime, temporary expedients have been used in several schools while the school at Beswick had to be closed in October because of the unsatisfactory teaching and living conditions. As a result of the closure of the Beswick School, the services of one teacher had to be terminated. (1)

The story of the closing of the Beswick School would provide a chapter of educational history and frustration in itself. One of the seven newly appointed teachers, as mentioned earlier was Mr. C.C. Allom, who in addition to his Teacher's Certificate possessed an Agricultural Diploma. His training and experience had been in Queensland. Mr. Allom was instructed to open a new school at Beswick Station. The description of this given to the Office of Education during the Philp survey was "accommodation: good and station people are keen to help and will provide a building for a school. One to two teachers could be used". The

Beswick School, 1954.

Subsequently an additional classroom was built underneath.
difficulty, on arrival, was that there were no native
children to teach, quite apart from the fact that accommodation
was not up to standard. Actually the question was primarily
that of the site of the settlement. The station had been
bought by the Native Affairs Branch in 1947. In 1948 a
settlement on the King River was closed and the population was
moved to a new site, Tandangal, eight miles from Beswick
Station. The plan was the integration of this with Beswick
Station. However the site was unpopular with the natives and
of 200 living at King River, only 60 moved to Tandangal.
During the wet season of 1950/51, the native camping area
became waterlogged and influenza broke out. After an inspection
by the Director of Health the site was abandoned. A site near
the Station homestead was next considered, but early in 1951
a more suitable site was discovered on high well drained land
on the east bank of Beswick Creek, some 22 miles from
Beswick Station.

It was into the midst of this uncertainty and
re-establishment of the settlement that Mr. Allom arrived in
March 1951. There were few if any native children at Beswick
Station. Those at Tandangal were shortly to be moved to
Beswick Creek. There was no accommodation for school or teacher
at the latter site. Miss Lundie went to the homestead and
taught a few children located there.

Mr. Allom began his duties at Tandangal, but was interrupted by a shift in settlement site to the Beswick River. On arrival at the Beswick River the marquee provided by Native Affairs Branch was erected but proved too deteriorated and had to be dismantled. Settlement employees then erected a temporary school of black iron and bush timber.

In the face of these difficulties the school was temporarily closed after the September vacation. Miss Lundie returned to the homestead at Beswick Station. In October, the services of Miss Lundie were terminated, and Mr. Allom went to Beswick to arrange for school equipment to be stored at Katherine.

The following report appeared in the Melbourne Age:

Aid to Aborigines a Political Hoax.
Darwin, Sunday — a government woman school teacher returned to Sydney this week disillusioned after spending the last six months teaching only four native school children. 'Government claims that it is doing everything to assist the aborigines are a political hoax' she said.(1)

The report goes on to say that Miss Lundie was teaching only four children at the back of the men's quarters at Beswick Station.

Mr. Douglas Allom was teaching about seventy children at a new native settlement 24 miles away. She could not be moved to the new settlement because there was no accommodation. At the Station she lived in makeshift quarters, converted from a half-caste's dining room. Mr. Allom lived in a tent, while his "school" was a rusty iron structure.

(1) Melbourne Age, 29th October 1951
Teacher's Residence, Beswick, 1954.

An example of the new buildings being provided at that time.
The advice of the closure of Beswick School was accompanied by a promise that it would re-open when minimum facilities were provided by the Native Affairs Branch. This finally occurred in 1954, when after a short period with the school under the control of a newly appointed teacher, Mr. Allom was again transferred to take charge, some three years after he had supervised the storing of the equipment from his original bark shelter and rusty iron shed. The new school and residence were among the show places of the Territory.

The other example which may be quoted of difficulties in regard to buildings is that of Yuendumu. Mr. and Mrs. C.J. Stafford had been members of the first group of teachers who took up duty in 1950, and they persisted through some extraordinary difficulties until they resigned late in 1954, leaving an attractive and effective school and pleasant teacher's residence.

The early reports about Yuendumu had indicated that a 60' x 20' Sidney Williams hut was available as a school, with a converted army hut, previously occupied by the Superintendent, as a residence. These were put to their first use as school and residence in July, 1950. The residence was in a deplorable
condition, so much so that the Staffords threatened 
resignation in April, 1951. A promise was made of a new 
temporary residence - it was in process of building in June 
and July. However, the greater part of the old residence 
blew down at the end of May. Writing on 26th June, 
Mr. Stafford describes the situation:

All that is left of the old residence is the 
lean-to portion at the back, with the kitchen, 
bathroom, and laundry. It subsides a little 
more each day. We sleep in the school, moving 
the beds as fresh drops from the roof develop 
in wet weather.......Sometimes we just sit, 
huddled in coats and rugs, eating tucker around 
the kitchen stove, with the winds blowing straight 
through, uninterrupted from the east to the 
west.(1)

In mid-July a move into the partly completed new 
temporary residence was forced by the rest of the old building 
falling down:

Where the three of us dined in state collapsed 
without warning in the south wind, which is the 
first of its kind I have noted here. I was 
standing a moment before just under the drooping 
ridge beam. Only had time to grab our lubra 
and throw her out the door and get out myself 
before the ridge hit the floor.......the roof stood 
up like a huge sail....A few minutes after... 
the whole flattened gracefully.....(2)

(1) Personal letter.
(2) ibid.
Teacher's Residence, Phillip Creek, 1954.

An example of better conditions of the primitive kind.
It was not until February 1953 that the school moved into its new building: "Shower (one for each sex) and lavatory blocks completed hastily"; not until May that the teacher was able to take possession of his residence, although not quite finished.

Difficulties about building were the main frustrating and disorganising feature of the programme not only at Deswick and Yuendumu, but throughout the Territory. The seriousness of this matter will be more fully realised when its implications for estimating expenditure and staffing needs are considered. Already the services of one teacher had had to be dispensed with. The Office of Education was not inclined to make further appointments unless firm arrangements could be made about buildings. Writing in the Australian Quarterly late in 1951, Professor Elkin had commented: "This instrument is in danger of partial collapse for the main reason that the Education Department is unable to provide school buildings and houses for the staff". The blame for this state of affairs must be shared by all of those responsible for Northern Territory matters. The provision of sufficient funds by the Commonwealth was probably the basic problem.

It should not be thought, however, that building problems were the only ones faced by these pioneer teachers. There were problems with dilapidated household furniture; difficulties in
obtaining supplies; problems of transport and storage of equipment; in the absence of other officers coping with the general management of the settlement or assisting with medical work; failure of the water supply; movement of natives including school children from one location to another, often at the instigation of the Native Affairs Branch (no doubt usually with good reason); and so on.

This movement of natives was partly the cause of irregular attendance at several of the schools. Educational statisticians nowadays have little interest in statistics of average weekly enrolment, average daily attendance, and the percentage the latter bears to the former, as far as Australian schools are concerned. But for a newly inaugurated educational programme such as the one under discussion, these statistics are very illuminating. Given below is a table, similar to that of enrolments on an earlier page, but this time in terms of the percentage the average daily attendance bore to the average weekly enrolment. A typical figure for Australian schools would be in the high nineties - say 98.
Table 3

Commonwealth Native Schools (1)

Percentage Average Daily Attendance
of Average Weekly Enrolment
1950-1955

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagot</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungalow</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delissaville</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areyonga</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beswick</td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Bay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatches Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray Downs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
<td><strong>82</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
<td><strong>87.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the interesting features of this table are the consistently high figures for "self-contained" settlements like Delissaville and Phillip Creek; the steady improvement of the town settlements - Bagot and The Bungalow; and the very low figures for Yuendumu and Hatches Creek (the latter was a school taken over from the South Australian Education Department after the small enrolment became predominantly native).

(1) Source: Commonwealth Office of Education, Annual Reports 1950 - 1954
There were early difficulties at Yuendumu with persuading the tribal elders that the children should come to school at all; then the problem became one of the mixing of the sexes, since various relationships which forbade looking upon the relative of the opposite sex were involved. At first this had to be solved by the use of a curtain down the middle of the classroom. As time went on, this fell into disuse. Soon after the school opened in 1950 a tribal killing occurred and many families moved their location. The school programme then suffered various interruptions as a result of the inadequate building provision, inadequate water supply, the "dogging" season,(1) an influenza epidemic, and so on. In 1953 only one child had been in regular attendance since the Office took the school over in 1950. These details give some indication of the difficulties faced at Yuendumu.

Even at Bagot, the most firmly established settlement, on the outskirts of Darwin, the irregularity of attendance seriously interfered with regular and consistent schooling.

Turning now to some of the achievements of this period, reference may be made to equipment, curriculum and the series of readers known as the Bush Books.

(1) i.e. natives "going bush" to hunt for dingo scalps.
Equipment for schools was supplied at a steady rate, despite difficulties of transportation. Initial supplies were made available to all schools and their later requirements were met by a system of six-monthly requisitions. School furniture of a modern design, based on that in use in New South Wales, was provided to the schools. It is fair to say that the native schools were furnished and equipped to the point where the Office of Education received nothing but praise from the teachers; indeed the native schools were in some respects the envy of the teachers in the European schools in the Territory. By 1952 attention was being given to specialised equipment such as filmstrip, benches for handwork requirements and records for the teaching of music.

This six year period also saw the revision of the experimental curriculum in the light of experience and thorough research. During 1951 and 1952 the schools continued to use the provisional syllabus with English as the language of instruction. It was considered that effective teaching of reading and writing in English could only be based on a reasonable fluency in oral English. Drawing upon the experience gained in the field of Migrant education, the Office of Education in 1952 drew up an introductory course of possibly a full year, during which new pupils were to take no formal lessons in reading or writing. This was introduced at the beginning of 1953, when schools were provided with teaching notes setting out the units of language
work which could be presented prior to the formal introduction of school subjects. (1) In the meantime the Research Section of the Office of Education was giving much thought to the revision of the syllabus. In September of 1953 a special conference of teachers in both government and mission schools was held in Darwin to advise on the content of the important subjects of Language, Numbers and Social Studies. As a result of this and of work done in Sydney, a new curriculum covering the fields of Language, Numbers, Social Studies and Natural Science was brought into operation in 1954, and a revision of the notes for teachers on the teaching of English, pro-reading, writing and number work were provided in 1955. The Office of Education intended to produce experimental courses in Music, Arts and Crafts and Physical Education, and indeed to continue the revision and improvement of the whole curriculum.

A major feature of the teaching of English to the children in the native schools was the series of "Bush Books" and their associated Readers. The first three Bush Books were in use in the schools in 1951, on an experimental basis. The vocabulary and context of these primers was derived mainly from the environment of the native children. Research studies on these primers were immediately undertaken, based on careful testing of the children who were using them, and their revision was under (1) A further discussion of teaching method appears in Chapter XIII.
way in 1952, during which year Bush Book 4 was issued. In April 1953, the first of the revised Bush Books was completed; Book 2 in June and Book 3 together with the first Supplementary Reader, early in 1954. With this revision of the first three books, it was possible to assure both government and mission schools of a continuity of reading material. During 1954, Book 5 was issued, together with a second Supplementary Reader, covering Books 4 and 5; and a revision of Book 4, together with Book 6 and a third Supplementary Reader, were completed during 1955. These were issued to the schools during 1956, soon after the Welfare Branch assumed control of the schools. (1)

Mention has already been made of the appointment in 1953 of a Teacher of Vocational Subjects. One of the main concerns of the Native Welfare Council, the Native Affairs Branch and the Commonwealth Office of Education was that natives should be fitted for vocations in the Northern Territory. As a preliminary move, a teacher, Mr. E. Auckett, was appointed to advise teachers and the Office on this matter. His first duty was to undertake a survey of the kind of training required by

(1) A further discussion of the Bush Books appears in Chapter XII; some extracts appear in Appendix D.
children in the schools, and also, in consultation with
the Welfare Branch and Mission authorities, to recommend
on the needs of the adults on native settlements and
missions. As examples of his work, mention may be made
of notes prepared on the leather industry at Hermannsburg
and the building of adobe houses at Yuendumu. As a
consequence of this appointment, there was considerable
advance in craft work in the schools and vocational work
with adults.

The field of adult education was one into which the
native school teachers entered, with encouragement from the
Office, as soon as they felt they had a sufficiently firm
grasp of the children and had made sufficient personal
contact with and developed enough confidence in the adults.
Emphasis was placed on the teaching of oral English and
reading, but instruction in number, writing and in social
studies was gradually included, as well as craft work, as
mentioned above. This work appears to have been commenced
in July 1952 by Mr. S. McKay at Delissaville, with a class
of 11 men. By the end of 1954, these adult classes were
operating in six centres; two new classes were commenced
in 1955, although two of the existing classes were
discontinued in that year. It was not unusual to see adult
natives, during "amokoes", taking out of their pockets
copies of the Bush Books and reading them to each other.
Perhaps of greater importance than the fact of these classes existing was the indication of positive attitude on the part of the adults towards education, the school and the teacher. As can be imagined, these adult classes placed a considerable additional strain upon the already heavily taxed teachers.

At the other end of the educational scale, this six years of careful experiment and consolidation saw the introduction of pre-school education on the native settlements, in association with the school programme. There had been instances of children rather younger than the normal age coming into the classrooms and taking some part in the hygiene, oral English and games, but it was not until 1954 that anything was done in a regular and consistent way. Under a teacher with special training and enthusiasm for this kind of work, a class was begun at the Bungalow school in 1954, and results achieved were regarded as excellent. Attention was concentrated on the early introduction of hygiene and the English language to the child in the context of the school situation. This was achieved at the Bungalow without additional staff, by the use of senior native girls to assist the teacher, who divided her time between these children and her normal class.

This reference to the use of senior girls to assist the
Class-in Progress at Snake Bay, 1954.

The teacher is Mr. St. C. McKay. His native assistant is seated at the table facing the class. The building was one of the better examples of the more primitive kind.
teacher raises the matter of native assistants. These were appointed to assist the teachers wherever suitable appointees were available. At this stage, they depended for their training on the teacher whom they were assisting. It was common practice for them to attend some classes, especially the adult classes, but at other times to help with routine matters in the running of the school, or even to supervise younger children while the teacher was engaged elsewhere. In putting this plan into operation, the hope was that employment as assistants to the teachers would encourage some of them or others ultimately to take a greater share in the education of their own people. The Commonwealth in this respect was following the lead given by some of the missions. The plan began to bear fruit during the period of Welfare Branch control, discussed in a later chapter. (1)

A practice was begun in 1952 and gradually extended of arranging holiday camps for school children during the May or September vacations. These were typically held at Casuarina Beach near Darwin. Children from Bagot and Delissaville were the first to attend these camps. In 1953, however, to coincide with the Coronation ceremonies, arrangements were made to bring the children from Phillip Creek to Darwin. The programme of this visit is of some interest:

(1) Chapter I.
A day at Bagot school
Tour of Darwin
Visit to a private zoo
Visit to a coconut plantation
Harbour cruise and landing by dinghy for barbecue lunch
Participation in evening coronation ceremonies
Witness fireworks display
Corroboree, Service ceremonial, procession of floats
Participation in march of school children and in Tableau
Fishing and crabbing
Two visits to a picture show
Inspection of visiting warship HMAS "Tobruk"
Campfire concerts
A thorough general medical inspection, with follow up where necessary.

These holiday camps and visits were designed to serve several purposes. Clearly they were intended to give the children an enjoyable time. Also, of course, by widening horizons they did more for the children's education in a short time than teaching in school might have done. Further, they were intended to link the children closer to the community. Finally, it may be said that they were intended to create favourable impressions amongst the general community. In all of these aspects they were eminently successful. Apart from taking part in Coronation Celebrations, the children of various schools met the Governor-General during his visit to the Territory in 1954, and the first of a regular series of combined sports carnivals was held at Alice Springs. In this carnival some 300 children from five government and two mission schools
participated, and their conduct, dress and general bearing were favourably commented on. This carnival and its successors in future years was organized jointly by the teachers, missionaries and superintendents of the settlements from which the children were drawn. One interesting feature of these carnivals was to prove to the children the value of English, since this was the only language common to all.

One interesting problem which faced several teachers during this period was that of the admission of white children to the native schools. This problem arose on isolated settlements and concerned the children of the European staff.

In 1951 an Administrative Instruction was issued as follows:

Teachers will admit children (who are not less than five years of age) of members of the Native Affairs Branch Station Staff, or of the Missionaries, who desire their children to attend the Commonwealth School at their home station, if no white schools are available, and should make such special provision as seems educationally desirable for the schooling of such children. (1)

The obvious approach to this problem was for the children who were ahead of the school work to undertake correspondence lessons, if possible with some supervision from the teacher, joining in art and craft work, singing, games etc. as deemed desirable. However, apart from the problem of the teacher's

(1) Administrative Instruction No.1, Section 3.
time and attention, other difficulties arose. For instance, the importance of good example on the part of the white children will be obvious, but was not always forthcoming. Again, difficulties arose in regard to the wearing of hats and shoes by white children when this was not required of the native youngsters.

In general, each case was treated on its merits, but the writer, for one, was never displeased to see white and native children working and playing together. Any other approach would have been contrary to the ultimate aims of the programme.

Another development of this period was the inauguration of a policy of assistance to schools on pastoral bases. This matter was first raised in September 1950 by Mr. B.D. Brown of Murray Downs, who had already established a school on his station, and was employing a teacher. He requested assistance in the form of equipment. The Senior Education Officer in 1951 visited this school and reported favourably on what he saw - a school with an enrolment of 15, but with the probability of losing the teacher. Thus arose the question of government provision of schools on pastoral stations, a matter which was the subject of a great deal of subsequent negotiation and policy formulation.
Clearly there would ultimately be a case for educational provision for all native children, with schools provided wherever a minimum number of these children were located. The immediate danger was regarded as two-fold—firstly that the task would be so great that it couldn't be encompassed; secondly that with schools established on some properties and not on others, the labour supply would be disrupted by the migration of natives to properties where schools were available. Among the difficulties were those of acquiring land if Commonwealth buildings were erected and what would happen to Government buildings when the need for a school disappeared.

The Office of Education drew up a set of recommendations which may be summarised as follows:

1. The Commonwealth to provide a school teacher and equip a school where the enrolment was not less than 15 and the average attendance not less than 12 for a period of two years.

2. A suitable building, at least 11 sq. ft. per child, with floor, lighting, ventilation, sanitary arrangements and drinking water, to be provided by the station owner, the Commonwealth to pay rental.

3. Accommodation for the teacher to be provided at an approved charge.

The Administrator agreed to these proposals and suggested that they be advised to pastoral lessees through the Northern Territory Pastoral Lessees' Association and the Central Australian
Pastoral Lessees' Association. In addition, a system of subsidised schools was agreed to. By 1954 a subsidised school, with the Commonwealth providing equipment and paying part of the teacher’s salary, was in operation at Lake Nash. During 1954 an extensive tour was undertaken of the pastoral stations on the Barkly Tablelands by the Director of Native Affairs and the Senior Education Officer, and a conference was held at Alice Springs at which the Minister and the Administrator met members of the Central Australian Pastoral Lessees' Association, to try to further this programme. In 1955 the Commonwealth staffed the school at Murray Downs. So was commenced a programme of subsidised and government schools on pastoral properties, which was more fully developed in subsequent years, but which still holds a key to the more complete provision of native education in the Northern Territory.

It is not unfair to say, that, despite the great development which took place between 1956 and 1960, the writer, on revisiting the Territory during the latter year, found little in the native education programme which did not derive directly from the beginnings made by officers and teachers of the Commonwealth Office of Education.
CHAPTER IX

TRANSFER OF CONTROL

Readers will recall that the Commonwealth Office of Education's interest in native education began as part of its advisory functions. (1) It was not until February 1949 that the question of the Office undertaking instruction was raised. However, after Mr. Philip's visit to the Territory and the Curriculum Conference, and by an Agency Agreement with the Administrator, the Office of Education sponsored and controlled the native education programme as from the middle of 1950. (2)

Although there is no evidence that it interfered with the efficiency or whole heartedness of the approach of the Office or of the staff, it is true that an element of insecurity overshadowed the six years of Office of Education control. (Perhaps the same may be said about the present Welfare Branch control - a matter which is discussed in a later chapter.) (3) During 1952, there were reports in the Northern Territory that a change in control would take place. It is not surprising that some surmise was taking place. In 1951 a decision had been made by the Prime Minister to reduce the size of the Commonwealth Public Service by 10,000. One of the Commonwealth instrumentalities affected by

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(1) For an outline of the functions of the Office, see Appendix A.

(2) These early events are outlined in Chapter VII.

(3) See Chapter XIV.
this was the Office of Education. One method of achieving a reduction in staff was to negotiate with the States for them to take over certain functions previously performed by the Office. Thus the day-to-day administration of the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme was, by agreement, handed over to the several State Departments of Education, each to exercise control within its own State, the Commonwealth control to be of an overall nature. In the field of native education in the Northern Territory, it was an obvious conclusion that a similar procedure would mean inviting South Australia to take over the programme. The fact is that no such proposal was proceeded with.

Reports of a different sort were being canvassed in the Territory in 1954. During the present writer's first tour of the Territory in August he was asked several times by South Australian teachers whether the Office of Education would be taking over the South Australian schools.

In the meantime a development of the greatest importance had taken place in regard to the Native Affairs Branch and the welfare of the aborigines. The Welfare Ordinance had been passed by the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1953, and was introduced in 1954. (1) As the first step in

(1) For details of this, see Chapter III.
reorganising native affairs in the Territory to give effect
to the progressive policy of the new ordinance, a Director of
Welfare was appointed. The chosen person was Mr. H.C. Giese, an
officer of the Commonwealth Public Service Board, who had previous
training and experience in the field, amongst others, of
education. Mr. Giese arrived in the Northern Territory in
October 1954. One of the first actions of Mr. Giese was to have
a general discussion with the Senior Education Officer about
the educational programme. His plan was that, after he had
achieved the kind of organization he wanted in the Welfare
Branch, the educational functions would be taken over.

This matter was raised soon after by Mr. Giese in the
Legislative Council of which, as Director of Welfare, he was a
member. In a speech to the Council on 3rd November 1954, he
said:

Mr. President, in conclusion, might I briefly outline
the organisation which will be developed to administer
these two important Ordinances. As I mentioned
earlier, the present Native Affairs Branch will form
the nucleus of the new Welfare establishment. Staff
over the next five years will be recruited to bring
the numbers engaged in the work of the Welfare Branch
to around 140. Not all of these will be new staff;
there will be some consolidation of staff now employed
in welfare activities conducted by other agencies.
For example, the work now conducted by the Office of
Education for the education of the Aborigines, may be
transferred in the near future to the Welfare Branch.
While some preliminary discussions have taken place
with the Office of Education on this matter, details have
yet to be worked out. I think members will see the
force of the transfer of responsibility for native
education to the Welfare Branch.
In speaking of education matters, perhaps I could digress to make brief comment on the success of the educational programme for Aborigines. To assimilate the people, it is obvious we must start with the children; to do that however, we must first win the confidence of the parents. Education at first was suspect by the semi-nomadic groups, but the majority have now accepted it. To gather the children together on Settlements and Missions for education, health services and general welfare activities, is the role such centres were planned for, and if it has been necessary to ration some of the adults over the period when schools were introduced, I consider the results in the end will have justified the means. We have won their confidence and their full co-operation, and the education programme progresses.

The new Welfare Branch, in addition to the section on education, will have sections dealing respectively with wards, welfare, employment, works and services, general welfare and administration.

During the early months of 1955, the Director of Welfare pressed his desire to take over the educational programme, and a formal step to this end was taken in August of that year, leading to an arrangement that the transfer should take place as at the beginning of 1956. The transfer itself took place very smoothly, so that the educational programme was able to continue uninterrupted.
CHAPTER X

WELLFARE BRANCH CONTROL 1956–1960

This chapter, like the earlier chapter covering Office of Education control, (1) is intended to give an historical account of the developments of the period concerned. The position of the programme in 1961 will be described later. (2)

After the transfer of control from the Office of Education to the Welfare Branch at the beginning of 1956, the Office of Education continued for a short period with the production of the readers and syllabuses, and in the training of teachers. This was not its only influence, however. Curriculum and general approach remained very much the same as had already been established. Most of the developments of the period were extensions of what had already been begun during Office of Education control. The statement made in 1958 remained broadly true throughout the period under review: "Since the transfer of aboriginal education from the Commonwealth Office of Education to the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration in January 1956 progress has continued generally along the lines established by the Commonwealth

(1) Chapter VIII.

(2) Chapter XI.
Office of Education. (1)

There was, of course, general growth in the number of schools, pupils and teachers, and the extension of the programme in the pastoral areas, by means of the establishment of government schools on some properties and subsidized schools on others. The following table gives an indication of the growth during this five year period:

### Table 4

**Northern Territory**

_Government Native Schools_  
_Schools, Enrolments and Teachers_  
_1956 - 1960_  
_(Enrolment as at 30th June)_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1956</th>
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<th>1958</th>
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<th>1960</th>
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<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>Dungalow-Amoonguna(1)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>70</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Delissenville</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Yuendumu</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>131</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Creek</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrabri(2)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker Creek</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maningrida</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Industrial Centres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatches Creek</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) Pastoral Properties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elkedra (3)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray Downs (4)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Nash</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle Waters</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Enrolments</strong></td>
<td>581</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>.683</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pupils per Teacher</strong></td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(1) Settlement transferred to Aboomuna 1960.*

*(2) Settlement transferred from Phillip Creek 1956.*

*(3) Became a subsidised school in 1957.*

*(4) Previously a subsidised school.*
It will be seen from this table that two existing government schools were replaced as a result of the removal of native settlements to different sites - Phillip Creek to Warrabri, that is from the north east of Tennant Creek to the south east, into much better country with a far more adequate water supply; and Bungalow to Amoonguna, that is from about two miles to the north west of Alice Springs to about seven miles to the south east. Two other government schools dropped out - one at the Industrial (mining) Centre of Hatches Creek, the other at Jay Creek. The former of these had been taken over from the South Australian Education Department when the enrolment became predominantly native, and it was discontinued when it became clear that the enrolment did not justify a school; the other ceased to exist because following very bad seasonal conditions at Jay Creek the population of the settlement was moved to Amoonguna. Its future is still uncertain. Also two government schools on pastoral properties ceased to exist as such - Elkeda, which became a subsidised school in 1957, and Murray Downs, which closed in 1958.

On the other hand, this period saw the opening of new schools at Hooker Creek, in 1957, and at Papunya in 1959. A school at Maningrida was opened on a small scale in 1958, but was closed down shortly afterwards owing to lack of staff.
A further problem at Maningrida was the need to erect a new school building. In addition, Lake Nash, which had previously functioned in Office of Education times as a subsidized school, but had been closed down as the result of the death of the teacher, re-opened in 1957 as a Commonwealth School and in 1958 a school was opened at Newcastle Waters. Additional school buildings were erected also on government settlements where schools already existed, for example at Yuendumu.

Where there were insufficient children likely to be in regular attendance or where arrangements satisfactory to the pastoralists and the Commonwealth had not been made for a full Commonwealth School to be established on a pastoral property, arrangements were made for the payment of a subsidy. These subsidized schools tended to be somewhat irregular in operation due primarily to the difficulty of recruiting teachers for them. (This was the responsibility of the pastoralist concerned). The following table gives an indication of the number of subsidized schools in operation during the period concerned.
### Table 5

**Northern Territory**  
Subsidized Native Schools on Pastoral Properties  
Schools, Enrolments and Teachers  
1956 - 1960  
(Enrolment as at 30th June)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>1959</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Riddock</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narwietooma</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elkedra(1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainoru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morook</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kildurk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urapunga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Enrolments: 21, 58, 40, 75, 101

Teachers: 2, 3, 2, 4, 5

It is interesting to note, that the one subsidized school with regular operation since its opening in 1958, Mainoru, became a government school in 1961.

In the earlier historical chapter statistics were not provided for mission schools. However, as from 1956 they were given in the Northern Territory Annual Reports; in fact they have been included in a common table (but separately classified) with the government provision of native education. It became common practice to quote the enrolment figures and numbers of schools and teachers in all native schools, whether government or mission, when referring to the scope of native

(1) Previously a government school (1956).
education in the Northern Territory. This is justified by
the fact that the whole welfare programme including education
is integrated, and by the extent of government assistance to
missions to enable them to carry out their welfare work. For
our purposes in this historical chapter, however, it is
convenient to consider them separately.

The period concerned showed substantial growth in the
mission provision for native education, as the following
table indicates:
Table 6

Northern Territory
Mission Schools
Schools, Enrolments and Teachers
1956 - 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst Is.</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daly River</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elcho Is.</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Is.</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groote</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eylandt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermannsburg</td>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millingimbi</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoonPELLi</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Keats</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roper River</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose River</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Teresa</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbakumba</td>
<td>Church of England (1)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirrkala</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total           | 1033        | 1181  | 1214  | 1237  | 1292 |
| Teachers        | 26          | 24    | 26    | 34    | 31   |
| Pupils per Teacher | 39.7      | 49.3  | 46.7  | 36.3  | 41.7 |

An interesting feature of the period was the opening in 1956 of the Daly River Mission and its associated school. Work had commenced at this site in May 1955, with the assistance of government grants towards the capital expenditure involved. The

(1) Prior to 1958 an undenominational mission, controlled by Mr. F.H. Gray.
intention and practice of this mission are different from others operating in the Territory, but may provide a pattern for future development, both mission and government. "This mission will be unique in that it is not proposed to congregate adult aborigines on the mission, but to draw into the mission the children of the area whose parents are gainfully employed on the farms in the district". (1) For this reason, the educational buildings erected consisted of a school and boys' and girls' dormitories. The school was opened on 26th October 1956.

In 1958 the subsidy paid by the government to the missions for each qualified teacher (as for other similar specialists) rose from £750 to £850 per annum. In addition, as indicated above in the case of Daly River, assistance was given in certain circumstances towards capital expenditure on buildings. In 1959/60 the grants to missions exceeded a quarter of a million pounds, quite apart from the 10/- per week child endowment paid by the Department of Social Services for each child maintained by the missions. This compared with a figure of about half a million, apart from capital works, spent on government welfare activities.

One of the most serious aspects of the programme during the period of review was the continuing inability to recruit sufficient teachers, either on the part of the government, or, more particularly, on the part of the missions. The numbers of pupils per teacher, given at the foot of the tables of enrolments, provide some indication of this. The government school ratios of pupils to each teacher fluctuated between 23.2 and 27.9 with 25.2 in 1960; the mission school ratios from 36.3 to 49.3, with 41.7 in 1960. It must be remembered that these are special schools, even if they are at the primary level, and that pupil/teacher ratios are always underestimates of the sizes of a proportion of the classes. Yet it may be doubted whether any educationist would support classes larger than 20 for this type of education; this might require a pupil/teacher ratio of something like 15. For comparison with the figures given above, it may be of interest that the Australia-wide government primary school pupil/teacher ratio in 1959 was 32.1.

This problem of the recruitment of teachers and the associated problem of teacher training was one of the matters which most concerned the Welfare Branch during the years 1956-1960. Already steps had been taken to use special training courses at the Australian School of Pacific Administration at
Mosman, New South Wales, for the general welfare field staff "to give them an insight into the nature and basis of aboriginal traditions and tribal structure". It will be remembered also that the Commonwealth Office of Education had used with each new intake of teachers an Induction Course of six weeks' duration conducted by Anthropology staff and other educationists. The Welfare Branch continued this programme of Induction Courses but changed their locales firstly to the Australian School of Pacific Administration and then, in 1958, to Darwin, where it was held from 6th to 23rd May. The principal lecturers at this school were Professor Elkin and Mr. H. Coppock, a Senior Education Officer of the Commonwealth Office of Education in Sydney, a specialist in the teaching of English as a foreign language. By holding this and future schools in Darwin, use could be made of the services of senior officers to lecture on their own activities in the Territory.

This sort of special training for trained teachers recruited by secondment or appointment was in the tradition of the first approach of the Office of Education, but it was not adequate to meet the need. It may be recalled that the Office had originally devised an elaborate programme for teacher recruitment and training, and that the short course for already trained teachers was intended as a stop gap.\(^{(1)}\)

\(^{(1)}\) See Chapter VII.
The position in 1958 was that there existed 37 established positions for teachers with the Welfare Branch, but of these only 23 were occupied. By 1959 recruitment had become even more difficult, with rises in State teachers' salaries, and better promotional opportunities. The teachers who had been recruited held a variety of teaching qualifications - English, New Zealand, and most Australian States. The wastage of teachers became excessive, so that in 1960, of the 31 government teachers in the Northern Territory, 7 had taken up duty during that year, 15 in the year before, and 9 had been there for a longer period. Only 3 had been in the Northern Territory for more than five years.

To meet some of these problems of recruitment and training, a special two year course was arranged in 1960 at the Australian School of Pacific Administration, in association with teacher training facilities of the New South Wales Department of Education. The course was specially directed towards the techniques of teaching in schools for aboriginal children. Seven trainee teachers were enrolled in this course in 1960, but the Welfare Branch believed that "if the current wastage rate among teachers continues it will be necessary to recruit fifteen trainees annually for several years to provide for future needs". (1)

As part of a programme of in-service training, and in order to evaluate the programme and plan future developments, the practice of holding conferences of teachers, begun in Office of Education times, was continued. In May 1957 a conference was held in Darwin and was attended by 48 teachers from government and mission schools, and a tentative syllabus in craft work was drawn up; some consideration was also given to physical education. Again in 1960 a conference of 32 government and 27 mission teachers was held. Discussions related to the techniques of teaching the basic subjects and to the bearing of the native culture on education.

A great deal of further development took place in the training and use of native assistants. Partly this was associated with the development of pre-school work. The missions were already making a good deal of use of untrained native assistants, under the supervision of infants' teachers, to look after such pre-school work as training in hygiene habits, English, and group experiences. In 1956 a survey of this was carried out by a pre-school officer attached to the Welfare Branch (which controls all pre-school classes in the Northern Territory) with the result that plans were made to train selected aboriginal girls as pre-school teaching assistants. Not only were girls selected for training; this became so much a part of the programme
that in 1960 an eight weeks' course for teachers' assistants was held in Darwin, twelve boys and eight girls taking part. These assistant teachers by the end of the period under review were contributing a good deal to the schools in which they worked, not only in pre-school activities, and of course were advancing their own education and significance in the community. The place of native assistants was highlighted when at the Darwin Show in July 1959 a small class from Snake Bay was set up with an aboriginal teaching assistant demonstrating methods of teaching oral English. The writer was present at an adult class at Snake Bay in 1960 when one of the native assistants, a girl of about eighteen, was drilling a group of men in oral English and in reading while the teacher concentrated his attention on the more advanced group.

The pilot pre-school project at the Bungalow, referred to in the chapter relating to Office of Education control, having been successful, classes were opened at Warrabri and Yuendumu at the beginning of 1959. In the latter case the children were taken in two groups, the older ones from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m., the three year olds from 2 p.m. until 3.30 p.m.. At the other schools the class continued with the same children throughout the school day from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m.. The effectiveness of this work was becoming clear. "Results of earlier pre-school training at
Bungalow are now becoming evident. Children of eight years who passed through the pre-school group are now doing work of a standard being done by children of twelve-fourteen years who did not have this pre-school experience.¹(1)

The adult classes, begun in earlier years, were continued in a proportion of settlements, of which Snake Bay, as mentioned above, was one. In 1956 they continued operating at Bajot, The Bungalow, and Snake Bay. In that year Delissaville, Jay Creek and Murray Downs also commenced. Apart from oral English, reading and elementary arithmetic, craft work and practical skills were undertaken as it became possible to do so. In 1958 classes were commenced at Katherine and Warrabri.

This question of practical skills and vocational work generally was one which had given some concern during Office of Education control; it will be recalled that an advisory teacher of vocational subjects had been appointed. The Welfare Branch was very anxious to bring about a change in the attitude of aborigines to vocational activities. "The manner of life of the aborigines has not in general included the concept of work as we know it. They therefore have to be trained in the first place to work, secondly to recognize traditional European incentives for doing so, and thirdly to acquire occupational skills which will ultimately fit them to take their place side by side with

other Australian workers and enjoy the same working conditions\(^1\). This problem was approached in several ways.

Firstly, following the Office of Education practice, teaching at native schools included some vocational skills. It was standard practice for the girls to be taught sewing. Woodwork as well as other craft work (e.g. saddlery) was taught to the boys where equipment and teaching in the subject were available. This partly depended on the abilities and enthusiasms of the teachers. In 1956 a move was made at Delissaville by enlisting the services of the Assistant Manager, who happened to be a skilled carpenter, to teach the senior boys. This sort of approach was taken wherever possible. A manual training centre was established at Warrabri, and similar plans were made for Papunya and Amoonguna.

A second method of training was to develop the practice of using native labour as part of the work force on the settlement, and to include on-the-job training. On each settlement an extensive building programme was essential, and arrangements were made with the Department of Works under which a Welfare Branch work force was established. At Warrabri, for example, in connection with the building of the settlement, which it will be recalled was the old Phillip Creek settlement moved to a new site, much of the

construction work was done by the natives. "An interesting and encouraging feature of the building programme was the manner in which the aborigines attached to the construction unit adapted themselves to the various duties which were allotted to them. They showed excellent aptitude for various types of work such as carpentering, plumbing and painting, and in a very short time they could be safely left to many tasks without supervision". (1) Not only was this done at Warrabri; at the new settlements of Papunya and Amoonguna all the building work was carried out by the Welfare Branch work force, consisting of natives supervised by skilled Europeans. This provided both training and interest in their future homes for the natives concerned.

Apart from the building programmes on the settlements, various industries were developed, and similar on-the-job training was given to adult natives. Thus at Papunya, Yuendumu and Hooker Creek, for example, extensive training in the work of the pastoral industry was provided; at Bagot, Delissaville, Beswick and Snake Bay, agriculture was predominant, although on the latter settlement the timber industry was becoming firmly established during the period under review, and a great deal of training of adult natives and senior boys was related to it.

This relationship between the work of the settlement and adult and school education highlights the point which the newly appointed Director of Welfare had emphasised in 1954, and which was the chief reason advanced for the transfer of control to the Welfare Branch - the necessity to relate education to the general welfare work of the settlement. Improved staffing on the settlements assisted this integration of all welfare activities, including education, into a concerted programme of social change. It is related also to the assimilation of the natives into the economic life of the community. The Welfare Ordinance officially commenced operation in 1957; the Wards Employment Ordinance in 1959. This had the effect of setting up an Employment Advisory Board, providing for the licensing of employers and the training of wards, the payment of prescribed wages, improved ration scales and accommodation, compensation for death or injury, recreation and sick leave and financial assistance for business purposes.

Reverting now to more specifically school aspects of the education programme, the practice of encouraging the meeting together of native children from different parts of the Territory and their greater contact with the white community was continued with regular sports meetings. Thus in 1957, 374 children from surrounding government schools and from the mission schools at
Hermannsburg and Santa Teresa met in Alice Springs. One effect of this was indirect. "All teachers reported a keener sense of competition within schools as children strive to be chosen as school representatives. The acceptance of the idea of competition is welcomed as helping to counter the tribal attitude which discourages all signs of initiative in children". (1) Apart from sports meetings, there were other methods of promoting this social assimilation. "Participation by Bungalow school children in the activities of the Alice Springs Youth Centre and of the Warrabri and Beswick school children in activities at Tennant Creek and Katherine demonstrated the ease with which they now mix with European children". (2) In 1960 an interesting event took place, with the children of the European school at Katherine visiting the settlement and school at Beswick to see the children's work and compete against them in sports.

Fundamental to the programme, and constantly reiterated in official statements and Annual Reports, is the fact that the special native schools are regarded as interim measures only and


will ultimately disappear. In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1960 there were about 50 European and part-aboriginal children attending native schools. These were of course children of settlement employees and mission workers. The Assistant Supervisor of Education of the South Australian Department of Education visited schools with Grade VII pupils to award Progress Certificates. On the other hand, the European schools included a similar number of full-blood aboriginal children. An interesting development in 1959 was the use with four boys at Snakes Bay of the South Australian correspondence lessons, under the guidance of the teacher, as an experiment to determine whether these children were capable of following the normal South Australian curriculum. Progress was reported as satisfactory, one boy transferring to Darwin to undertake the final primary year at Darwin Primary School. Obviously a great deal of progress had been made since the occasion ten years before when a number of aboriginal boys were excluded from the same school.

Lastly, but by no means least in importance, development took place in the inspection and supervision of the schools. The Senior Education Officer was still primarily responsible and continued to be located in Darwin, where he was now an officer of the Welfare Branch. A former Education Officer of the Commonwealth Office of Education, Mr. Kevin Flynn, was
appointed to this position, and was given the support of two District Education Officers, one at Darwin and the other at Alice Springs. Both of these officers, Mr. J.D. Gallacher at Darwin and Mr. Max Althaus at Alice Springs, had previously been Head Teachers in Commonwealth Office of Education schools and had contributed a great deal to the early stages of the development of the programme. Mr. Gallacher had been one of the second batch of recruited teachers, in 1951, and had thus by 1960 served almost ten years in the development of the programme. These officers were confronted with expanding demands upon their services, both in the development of the more strictly educational programme, and also in the need to pay attention during their visits to schools to more general welfare matters, such as housing, diet, hygiene and health. They, and the Reports, frequently refer to the need for more and longer visits to the schools.

Thus we find by the end of 1960 an expanding programme with much achieved in the five years of Welfare Control, but with a great deal remaining to be done.
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SECTION 3

DESCRIPTIVE
CHAPTER XI

THE PRESENT POSITION OF ABORIGINAL EDUCATION
1960/61 (1)

Schools for aboriginal children, as they are referred to in the official statements of the Welfare Branch, must be looked upon, in their Northern Territory setting, as a part only of a broader educational programme, which in turn is an integral part of the general welfare programme.

As has already been pointed out in the historical section of this thesis, since 1956 the schools have been controlled by the Welfare Branch, the chief reason for this being the need to integrate school education with general training and social advancement. The relevant parts of the responsibility of the Welfare Branch are:

Planning, provision, and administration of native welfare services, involving -

(1) the management of native settlements;
(2) the provision of educational services;
(3) the provision and conduct of infant welfare and nursing services;
(4) the provision of food and catering services;
(5) the development of training programmes and courses and the supervision of employment conditions throughout the Northern Territory;
(6) the co-ordination and, in certain fields, the supervision of the work of missions. (2)

(1) The information in this chapter is based chiefly on direct observation and on various Welfare Branch publications including Welfare Branch Annual Report, 1960/61; Darwin; Welfare Branch, 1961.
(2) Ibid, page 2.
The programme of social advancement of natives towards assimilation which lies behind these responsibilities is perhaps best seen in the specific functions of the government settlements controlled by the Welfare Branch. The main purposes of these establishments are stated to be:

(i) to aggregate the aborigines into a community and to teach them the habits and skills of living in such a community;

(ii) to provide welfare services fitted to their needs and to their stage of social development;

(iii) to provide the means whereby training may be given, particularly to children and adolescents;

(iv) to introduce the general concept of "work" as a worthwhile aim in life;

(v) to develop in the younger and middle-age groups an attitude that the settlements (and mission stations) are there to provide health and educational services for the children, so that these latter may be prepared for a future life as adults living in a wider community than the tribe;

(vi) to provide a temporary home for aborigines in transit for reasons other than "Walkabout". (1)

The emphasis in these functions on training the aborigines in a range of skills - community living, social development, vocational skills, attitude to work, literacy and general educational skills - points to training as the main purpose of the settlements.

To carry out these functions the settlements are staffed by a wide range of officers. The practice is to appoint a Superintendent to each settlement, who is responsible to a District Welfare Officer. A Settlement Superintendent's main function is stated to be:

To develop and carry out a programme of social change amongst aborigines living as individuals and/or family groups on the settlement. (1)

In doing this, he supervises and directs the work of the settlement staff. He is expected to hold the following qualifications:

(1) Proved administrative ability.
(2) Knowledge of and experience in handling Australian aborigines.
(3) Ability to train others and to supervise the work of others.

(5) Training in anthropology, social or vocational psychology, sociology, personnel administration, industrial training or vocational or adult education is desirable. (2)

This officer is a permanent officer of the Third Division of the Commonwealth Public Service with a salary above that of a teacher but the same as or below that of a head teacher. He does not direct the work of the Teacher-in-charge or the Head teacher, who are responsible to the Inspector of Special Schools.

(1) Ibid, page 16.
(2) Ibid, page 17.
He does, however, direct the work of other officers on the settlement who are responsible for training. Included amongst these, with extracts from their relevant duties, are:

1. Home Management Instructress: "Train and supervise native women, adolescent girls and senior school girls in home management..."

2. Assistant Farm Manager: "To plan and develop the settlement market garden, orchard and livestock projects. To train aborigines in these activities..."

3. Senior Carpenter: "To train aborigines in simple theory of carpentry and in the care and use of tools. To instruct and supervise adolescent boys and men in on-the-job training in building.... To conduct formal manual training classes for both school children and adults".

4. Senior Motor Mechanic: "To instruct aborigines..."

5. Kitchen Supervisor: "To train aborigines in kitchen hygiene, food preparation and large-scale cooking and baking. To train aboriginal women, when appropriate, in home cooking. To give cooking lessons to school children as part of the primary school domestic science course".

6. Ganger: "To assist in on-the-job training of aborigines in agriculture, horticulture and other forms of primary production (such training to be given also to children of school age)."

7. Head Stockman: "To train aborigines...."

8. Senior Nursing Sister: "To train mothers in home nursing.....to instruct school children on health and hygiene. To train adult aborigines in First Aid". (1)

---

(1) ibid, pages 16 to 26.
The position of the school in relation to other forms of training, and of the teacher in relation to other officers of the settlement, is made clear by these extracts, and is reinforced by referring to the duties of teachers. In addition to the normal references to the head teacher's responsibility to organize the work of the school and supervise the work of assistant teachers, he is required "to co-operate in activities aimed at furthering fundamental education amongst natives in the local community".\(^1\) In other words, the school exists in the settlement (or elsewhere, for that matter - the same general principles apply as far as possible on missions or pastoral properties) as part of a fundamental education project.

**Staffing, Conditions of Service and Lines of Responsibility**

Schools vary in size from one to six teachers. For each school there is either a Head Teacher or a Teacher-in-Charge. The former are appointed on a salary range of £1520-£1736 (male rate) to which are added the cost-of-living adjustment and district allowances. At the time of writing these amounted to £133 as cost-of-living, and varied from £120 in the south to £275 in the north as district allowances for a married man.

The effect of these would be to create a maximum in the north

---

\(^1\) ibid, page 39.
end of the Territory of £2146 per annum. A teacher-in-charge of a one teacher school is paid the normal teacher's salary, with a maximum of £1518 (male rate), together with the allowances mentioned above, and an additional allowance of £45. Women teachers are paid £154 per annum less than men in basic salary, and also receive smaller allowances. A single woman (assistant) teacher at the north end of the Territory, on the maximum of her range, would receive £1638 per annum. The exception to this is that teachers on secondment from State Departments of Education are paid their existing salary if it is higher than the scale for the position taken up in the Northern Territory. Arrangements for secondment, usually for two years, exist with some but not all Education Departments.

The qualifications for teachers are the possession of a trained Teacher's Certificate from a recognised Teacher Training College or University and some practical experience in teaching, preferably at infant or primary level, with experience in a multi-grade school an advantage. Teachers are appointed to the general teaching service and may be transferred from place to place as required. A relieving teacher is normally located at Darwin, to assist as needed throughout the Territory. Those teachers who become permanent officers are entitled to promotion to other positions in the Welfare Branch, or, for that matter, elsewhere in the Northern Territory Administration.
required. Since the responsibility for supervision and report covers mission and subsidized schools as well as government schools, however, the task is impossible for the number of officers involved. It may fairly be said that in situations which involve a good deal of professional and perhaps personal loneliness for teachers, part of the responsibility of the inspector is of a paternal or pastoral kind.

Numbers of Schools, Pupils and Teachers

As at 30th June 1961, there were 2,305 aboriginal children attending 35 special schools on government settlements, pastoral properties and missions, under the care of 63 teachers. There were, in addition, 51 white or part aboriginal children attending these schools, giving a total enrolment of 2,356. The schools, pupils and teachers may be classified as follows:

Table 7

Northern Territory Aboriginal Schools
Enrolments, Pupils and Teachers
30th June 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Enrolments</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Settlements</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-Pastoral</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidized-Pastoral</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1440</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>2356</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures showed an increase during the year of 181 pupils and 4 schools, and a decrease of 4 teachers. Most of the increase in pupils occurred in the mission schools, with an additional 148. At the same time, there was a decrease of 3 teachers in the mission schools. Three new subsidized schools commenced operation, but two were closed. The other three new schools were accounted for by the opening of a government school at Wave Hill, a pastoral property, and the division of the Bathurst Island and Port Keats mission schools into separate boys' and girls' schools. A school at Maitiru, previously subsidized, became a government school. The real advance in educational provision during the year was thus the opening of the Wave Hill school.

These 35 schools with their enrolments and percentage average attendances are now considered in the four categories of government settlement schools, government pastoral property schools, subsidized schools and mission schools, with a brief description of the location and other background information for most of them.

**Government Schools on Settlements**

There are 10 schools on government settlements, with an enrolment of 719, and 23 teachers, as follows:
Table 6

Government Aboriginal Schools on Settlements
Enrolments and Percentage Average Attendance
1960-1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Enrolment 30.6.1961</th>
<th>Percentage Average Monthly Attendance of Average Monthly Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoonguna</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areyonga</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagot</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begwick</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delissaville</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker Creek</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Bay</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrabri</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these government schools on settlements, there are three pre-school centres in operation, associated with the schools. These are shown in the following table:

Table 9

Northern Territory
Aboriginal Pre-School Centres on Settlements
Enrolments 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amoonguna</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrabri</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Background information on these schools and of the settlements on which they are located is as follows:

**Amoonguna**

This settlement is located seven miles south-east of Alice Springs on open parkland suitable for agricultural and horticultural development. It is a new settlement, opened by the Minister for Territories on 2nd October 1960, replacing the old Bungalow settlement. Its purpose is partly to provide for Aborigines who work in Alice Springs, and for transients and convalescents. The population as at 30th June 1961 was 340, consisting of 214 adults and 126 children, about 58 being of school age. About 80 of the adults are employed within the settlement, and about 40 outside. A variety of tribes is represented in the population, the majority being Central Australian. The school is a modern four-classroom building, and another building serves the pre-school class. The Bungalow school was opened in 1950.

**Arayonga**

A settlement located on the fringe of the newly proclaimed south-west reserve but which has been a traditional centre since before the days of white contact. It is approximately 145 miles south-west from Alice Springs, accessible by road at most times of the year around the spectacular Gossa Range. The settlement itself is set in a deep valley. The pattern of
life in this region is not very different from that of earlier years: the local aborigines are still nomads, moving constantly over their old hunting grounds. Before becoming a government settlement in 1954, Areyonga was mentioned as a government ration depot, an education centre, and an outpost of Hermannsburg mission. The population fluctuates considerably, but at 30th June 1961 it consisted of 357, of whom 208 were adults and 149 children, including about 80 of school age. Most of the Areyonga people are of the Pitjantjatjara group of tribes. Those who work at the settlement are mostly engaged in agriculture and horticulture of a subsistence type. The school building includes two classrooms, but at present there is only one teacher with about half the school age children enrolled. The school at Areyonga was opened in 1951. A Lutheran missionary is resident at the settlement.

Bagot

The settlement at Bagot, located on the outskirts of Darwin, about 4 miles from the centre of the city, serves a rather different purpose from most other settlements, although in some respects it resembles Amoonguna. It serves aborigines working in or around Darwin, or in transit from Darwin to their normal place of residence, or visiting Darwin for personal reasons, on vacation, or for week-ends. Consequently it attracts both
a resident and a transient population of many tribal affiliations. A wide range of recreational facilities is provided on the settlement, and teams from Bagot play regularly with considerable success in Darwin sporting competitions. The population fluctuates quite a lot, but at 30th June 1961 was recorded as 386, consisting of 284 adults and 102 children, 53 of these being of school age. By far the greater proportion of adults were employed outside the settlement. The school building at Bagot is a satisfactory cement building, converted from other uses, consisting of a large centre room and enclosed verandah areas suitable for use as classrooms. The teachers live in Darwin and travel to Bagot each day and for adult classes at night. Bagot may be regarded as the first and oldest of the special schools for aborigines, having been opened in 1949. The Aborigines Inland Mission visits the settlement regularly, as do the Methodist Overseas Mission representatives who cater mainly for natives from the Methodist Missions in Arnhem Land who may be working in or visiting Darwin.

Beswick

Beswick settlement is on Beswick Creek, about 250 miles south-east of Darwin and about 40 miles south-east of Katherine. The reserve on which it stands is known as Beswick Reserve, and was formerly a pastoral property purchased by the Commonwealth
for the use of aborigines. Its area is 1,315 square miles. The centre of the old pastoral property is Beswick Station, about 20 miles east of the settlement. During the war, a large number of aborigines in the area became attached to the army camp at Mataranka. They later moved to the King River, then to Tandangal. This site was abandoned in 1951 in favour of Beswick Creek. The main activities on the settlement are pastoral with a gradual development of agriculture and horticulture. The population numbered 365 as at 30th June 1961, consisting of 230 adults and 135 children, about 80 being of school age. The dominant tribe is the Jaman, but other groups such as Maiili, Nalkpun and Remarugu have intermingled, and over years of close association the people have come to consider themselves a community of "Beswick people". The school is a pleasant three classroom structure, a third room at ground level having been added in recent years. After a false start in 1951, recorded in an earlier chapter, the present school was opened in 1954. Religious instruction is given on the settlement by visiting missionaries of the Aborigines Inland Mission, the Salvation Army and the Church of England.

(1) Chapter VIII.
Dalissavilla

This settlement is located on the western side of Darwin Harbour, about 10 miles by air from Darwin, a little over an hour’s travel by boat but 84 miles by road. Before the war it tended to become a rehabilitation centre. The natives now served by this settlement are relatively sophisticated, largely engaged on settlement maintenance, agricultural work, livestock and seafood production. As at 30th June 1961 the resident population numbered 152, consisting of 105 adults and 47 children, only 18 of these being of normal school age. The school enrolment of 38 thus included a number of children outside the normal 5 to 14 span. Mostly the natives at Dalissavilla belong to the Waugite tribe, but proximity to Darwin has resulted in others becoming residents. The school was opened at Dalissavilla in a temporary building in 1950. A permanent missionary of the Aborigines Inland Mission is in residence at Dalissavilla.

Hooker Creek

Hooker Creek Reserve lies on the southern extremity of the Victoria River District, about 400 miles south-west of Darwin. During the wet season the settlement may be isolated from overland contact. The area was originally a pastoral lease, but was proclaimed a reserve in 1947 to provide a home
for people of the northern Wailbri group who had earlier been transferred from the Tanami-Granites area to Yuendumu, the population at the latter settlement being too large, and to serve other semi-nomadic people in the East Kimberley area. Some further natives were transferred from Warrabri and Yuendumu in 1959. All adult males are employed on the settlement or on neighbouring pastoral properties. Training is given in pastoral work. A garden area has also been established. The population is mainly Northern Wailbri, and numbered 279 at the settlement on 30th June 1961. Of these, 168 were adults and 111 children, of whom 55 were of school age. Thus, as with Delissaville, some children outside the normal age were enrolled at school. An additional 76 adults were working on the pastoral properties in the vicinity of the reserve. The school was opened in 1956. There is very little contact in this area with missionaries.

**Papunya**

This new settlement was opened by the Minister for Territories on 1st October 1960 although it had been occupied in 1959. Originally there was a settlement at Haasts Bluff, some 35 miles further south, but this was abandoned as a settlement on account of the high sulphate content of the water supply. Haasts Bluff is now used as an associated cattle project. Papunya is about 180 miles west of Alice Springs, midway between
Papunya School, 1960.
Areyonga and Yuendumu. The Haasts Bluff Range is about 10 miles to the south, but nevertheless dominates the Papunya landscape. The purpose of the settlement is to form into a community the nomadic and semi-nomadic people of the Pitjantjawa, Ngala and Pintubi tribes who inhabit this area and regard it as part of their ancestral tribal lands. The population as at 30th June 1961 numbered 565 at Papunya and 38 at Haasts Bluff, consisting of 340 adults and 263 children, about 116 of whom were of school age. Employment is related to the work of the settlement and to the pastoral industry, in which field training is provided in a wide range of activities. The school is an attractive modern building with four classrooms. A pre-school class is also in operation at Papunya. A Lutheran missionary is resident on the settlement.

Snake Bay

On the north coast of Melville Island, Snake Bay is approximately 70 miles by air from Darwin. The settlement is located on the western shore of the bay. The greater part of Melville Island is aboriginal reserve. On its western boundary it adjoins Bathurst Island, the two being separated by the Apaley Strait. At the northern end of this Strait there is a Roman Catholic mission at Garden Point, catering for mixed blood people. This area has a number of historical associations, being the site of Fort Dundas, the first settlement in the Northern
Territory, established by Captain Bremer in 1824. Difficulties with hostile ancestors of the present inhabitants led to its being abandoned. During the second world war, the Snake Bay area was used by service units. In 1945 a settlement was established on the present site. There is a good deal of population movement between Snake Bay and Darwin for purposes of employment and also between Melville and Bathurst Islands. The settlement provides training and employment in agriculture, milling, forestry and fishing. Some natives also engage in crocodile shooting. The people, although some distinguish themselves as Melville Islanders, constitute with the Bathurst Islanders the Tivi Tribe. As at 30th June 1961 there were 189 resident at Snake Bay, comprising 149 adults and 40 children, only 13 of these being between 5 and 14 years of age. The school is a rather inadequate converted building, with accommodation for two classes, one of which is taken by a native assistant teacher. Classes began in 1954. Adult education classes are conducted twice weekly and a carpentry course on two other evenings. An interesting recent development at Snake Bay is the setting up of the Snake Bay Native Council, which met for the first time in March 1961. This body comprises thirteen men each of whom represents a small number of householders in the native
village. Some residents of Snake Bay are influenced by the Roman Catholic mission at Bathurst Island.

**Warrabri**

This settlement is located about 100 miles south of Tennant Creek, near Waughope, and 14 miles east of the Stuart Highway. It is in pastoral country, lightly timbered and in parts covered with spinifex grass. The reserve is a small one of about 70 square miles. This site was chosen in 1954 to replace the old Phillip Creek settlement, which was located north of Tennant Creek, and where the water supply and productivity of the country had proved inadequate. The purpose of the settlement was to provide a pastoral and agricultural centre for Warramunga, Wailbri and Kaiditj tribesmen who inhabited the surrounding area. These numbered, at 30th June 1961, 514 in all, including 266 adults and 248 children, of these 131 being of normal school age. Training facilities in a wide range of occupations are provided, and men are sometimes sent to other settlements on special jobs. The school is a modern building of four classrooms. Adult classes and a pre-school class are a regular feature of the settlement, and during 1960 there were sufficient white children to justify a special class, which was also attended at times by some of the better achieving native children.
The Baptist Church carries out missionary activities on this settlement.

**Yuendumu**

Yuendumu is located 187 miles north-west of Alice Springs. The settlement originated as a partial answer to the rehabilitation of aborigines who were formerly attached to army camps in the area. Ration depots were replaced in 1946 by the settlement. The population consists of Wailbris, many of whom are in the early stages of contact. The main activities are agriculture and pastoral activities. The population as at 30th June 1961 numbered 466, of whom 246 were adults and 220 children, 74 being of school age. A pre-school class is in existence at Yuendumu. The school consists of two buildings each of two classrooms. Classes were begun in 1950, but owing to continual movement of aborigines between the settlement and neighbouring cattle stations, and for other reasons, attendance in the early years was very irregular. A Baptist missionary is in residence at Yuendumu.

**Government Schools on Pastoral Properties**

There were in 1961 four government schools on pastoral properties, apart from the subsidised schools, with an enrolment of 113, as follows:
Table 10

Northern Territory
Government Schools on Pastoral Properties
Enrolments and Percentage Average Attendance 1960-1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>Percentage Average Monthly Attendance of Average Monthly Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.6.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Nash</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainoru</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle Waters</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave Hill</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Background information on these schools is as follows:

**Lake Nash**

This pastoral property is located near the eastern border of the Northern Territory on the Georgina River, about 80 miles south of the Barkly Highway. A subsidized school was established here in 1954, but was interrupted owing to the death of the teacher. It became a government school in 1957.

**Mainoru**

This property is adjacent to the Arnhem Land reserve on its southern border, and is approached by road through the Beswick settlement from Katherine. Previously a subsidized school from 1957, it became a government school in 1961.
Newcastle Waters

Located just west of the Stuart Highway about 30 miles north of Elliott, this school was established in 1958.

Wave Hill

This pastoral property is in the west of the Territory, about 120 miles from the Western Australian border, and about 70 miles north of Hooker Creek. The school was opened in 1961.

Subsidized Schools on Pastoral Properties

In 1961 there were also five subsidized schools on pastoral properties with an enrolment of 84, as listed in the table below. In addition, subsidized schools operated during the financial year at two other pastoral stations, Elsey and Kildurk, with about 26 and 16 children respectively, but were temporarily closed as at 30th June 1961 through lack of teachers.
Table 11

Northern Territory
Subsidized Schools on Pastoral Properties
Enrolments and Percentage Average Attendance
1960-1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage Average Monthly Attendance</th>
<th>Average Monthly Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auvergne</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norkook</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrietooma</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roper Valley</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urapunga</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>84</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mission Schools

The greater proportion of aboriginal school children in the Northern Territory are being educated in Mission Schools, of which there were 16, with an enrolment of 1440, as at 30th June. Of these 1440 children, 23 were white or part aboriginal. These missions are controlled by four religious denominations, as shown in the table below:
Table 12

**Northern Territory Mission Schools**

**Enrolments and Percentage Average Attendance**

1960 - 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Enrolments 30.6.61</th>
<th>Percentage Average Monthly Attendance of Average Monthly Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Roman Catholic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst Is. Boys</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst Is. Girls</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daly River</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Keats Boys</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Keats Girls</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Teresa</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Sub-Total)</strong></td>
<td>(213)</td>
<td>(260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Methodist</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elobo Island</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Island</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milingimbi</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirrkala</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Sub-Total)</strong></td>
<td>(190)</td>
<td>(184)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church of England</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groote Eylandt</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roper River</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose River</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbakumba</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Sub-Total)</strong></td>
<td>(224)</td>
<td>(217)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lutheran</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermannsburg</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>689</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The organizations responsible for these denominational missions are the Church Missionary Society for the Church of England missions, the Mission of the Sacred Heart for the Roman Catholic missions, and the Special Mission Board for the Methodist missions.
Catholic missions, the Methodist Overseas Mission for the Methodist missions, and the Finke River Mission for the Lutheran Mission at Hermannsburg.

Background information about these schools and missions is as follows:

**Bathurst Island**

This Roman Catholic mission was established in 1911 on the south-eastern corner of Bathurst Island adjacent across the Apasley Strait to Melville Island and about 45 sea miles from Darwin. The total area of the island is 600 square miles, all of it aboriginal reserve and under mission influence. Employment on the mission is in the saw mill, the stock camp and the garden. A good many of the adult men find work in Darwin, being employed chiefly by the armed services. The population as at 30th June 1961 totalled 948, of whom 577 were adults and 371 children. The people are of the Tivi tribe, but tribal customs have been considerably broken down, not least by the system operated by Father Gesell, the founder of the mission, by buying the right to arrange the marriages of native girls, which has done away with polygamy. A Mission Council consisting of six representatives of each of the four local groups meets under the leadership of a member of the staff. Two separate schools are in operation, St. Teresa Girls' School (including boys up to 9 years of age) and
St. Francis Xavier Boys' School. From the age of five years until their marriage girls sleep in the dormitory and remain under the care and guidance of the nuns. The boys live with their families. School leaving age for boys is generally 17 years, but during their final year students are trained in a craft. Adult education classes are provided in English, Social Studies, Numbers and Religion. There are six native assistants working in the schools.

Daly River

This Roman Catholic mission is located 50 miles upstream on the Daly River, which flows into the Timor Sea about 100 miles south of Darwin. It is about 150 miles from Darwin by road. This was the location of a mission established in 1886 but abandoned in 1901 following destruction by severe floods. The present mission was established in 1955. The purpose of the mission is to provide for the educational, spiritual and health needs of the people of the area, without disturbing the existing economic pattern under which natives are employed on the neighbouring properties. The adults are encouraged to leave their children at the mission, and for this reason the school is run along the lines of a boarding school. The population consists of 65 adults and 104 children, a total of 169, mainly members of the Malak-Malak, Brinken,
Wagaman, Nangomeri and Moil tribes. In addition to the usual school subjects, handicrafts and vocational subjects are taught.

**Elcho Island**

Elcho Island mission is a Methodist mission located on the south-west side of Elcho Island, which is part of the Arnhem Land reserve, to the north of Buckingham Bay and about 330 miles by air from Darwin. The present mission was established in 1942, but an earlier attempt had been made in 1921. A saw milling plant is an important aspect of the mission, and in addition aborigines are encouraged to gather crocodile skins, turtle shells and pearl shells. The native people directly influenced by this mission are those of various tribes for whom Gobaboingo is the lingua franca. The average number of people in contact with this mission and its outstations numbers over 600, including nearly 300 children, not all of whom, of course, live at the mission. The school has three qualified teachers on the staff but adequate buildings are still a problem. Adult classes are conducted on week nights.

**Goulburn Island**

This Methodist mission is situated on the South Goulburn Island in Arnhem Land further to the west of Elcho Island, and about 200 miles north-east of Darwin. The first Methodist mission
in the Northern Territory was established here in 1916. Emphasis has been on agriculture. Other activities include buffalo shooting and crocodile hunting, and indigenous arts and crafts are encouraged. The population consists of 224 people of the Maung tribe, of whom 134 are adults and 90 children. The school has had an unfortunate recent history, with lack of trained staff, and at present pupils receive only half a day's tuition. Adult education, craft work and vocational tuition are provided by non-teaching members of the mission staff.

Groote Eylandt

This Anglican mission on the western coast of Groote Eylandt is also known as Angruga. Groote Eylandt is a large island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. The mission centre is four miles inland on the banks of the Angruga River. It was originally established in 1921 to care for people of mixed blood, but by 1936 it turned its attention entirely to the aborigines of the island. The population is still subject to tribal influences. It numbers 383, of whom 219 are children. Activities include sawmilling, agriculture and fishing. A Native Council of twelve elected members has been formed. A new school building was erected in 1961. Three missionary teachers and four native assistants staff the school, in which training is given in vocational subjects as well as the normal curriculum.
Hermannsburg

This was the first mission in the Northern Territory, established in 1877 by Lutheran missionaries who travelled and settled in conditions of great hardship. It is located on the Finke River about 80 miles west of Alice Springs, on a pastoral lease granted to the Mission. The population of 515, in June 1961, consisted of 272 adults and 243 children, mostly of the Western Aranda people, although the influence of the mission extends to the west and south amongst the nomadic Pitjantjara and Pintubia in contact with the government settlements at Arwyonga and Papunya. The Western Aranda are now almost wholly detribalised. The mission itself operates a pastoral property, but a number of aborigines have established themselves as independent pastoralists and run their own cattle. A tannery has been recently enlarged, but part of the contribution of Hermannsburg must be regarded as the "school" of aboriginal artists, including the late Albert Namatjira, which had its origin here but now mainly operates from Alice Springs. The school building at Hermannsburg consists of six classrooms.

Milingimbi

A Methodist mission which, like Goulburn Island and Elcho Island, is located on an island off the coast of Arnhem Land. It is on one of the Crocodile Islands and is about 350 sea
miles from Darwin and about 270 miles by air. The aboriginal population, of Goboboingo tribal affinity, speak a variation of the same language as that spoken at Elcho Island. During 1960/61 the average number in contact with the mission and its outstations numbered 534, of whom 270 were adults and 264 children, 127 being of school age. Main activities are agriculture, fishing and livestock. The teaching staff at the school comprises three Europeans and three native assistants, grades II, III, IV and V receiving a full day's instruction, but lower grades only half a day each. Training classes are held in vocational subjects.

Gerpelli

This is an Anglican mission situated near the East Alligator River about 40 miles from the sea in western Arnhem Land, about 150 miles by air due east of Darwin. It was established in 1925 on a former government experimental cattle station and dairy farm. In more recent years agriculture has become firmly established, and native craft work is an additional source of income. The population consists mainly of members of the Gunwinggu tribe for whom the area is the natural centre. At 30th June 1961 it numbered 277, of whom 160 were adults and 117 children. A Native Council has been formed at the mission, and an interesting
development has been that of inviting women to become councillors. The school, in addition to the normal curriculum, provides instruction in vocational subjects.

**Port Keats**

This Roman Catholic mission was founded in 1935 between the estuaries of the Victoria and Daly Rivers, about 150 miles south-west of Darwin on the Daly River Aboriginal Reserve. The population of the Nanagu and Murambata tribes has become fairly stabilized, with a little movement to the pastoral stations to the south and south-west. The population at 30th June 1961 numbered 447 persons, including 250 adults and 197 children. Pastoral and agricultural activities are carried on at the mission, and training in these and other vocational subjects is given regularly. Fine work is done here in the traditional native arts. The school was staffed in 1957 by three general teachers and a domestic science teacher; probably the same staffing applied in 1960.

**Roper River**

This mission was established in 1908 by the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society, on the Roper River in the south-eastern corner of Arnhem Land some 60 miles upstream from the mouth. This mission was destroyed by floods in 1940, and a new site was chosen 6 miles further upstream. The aboriginal population drawn
from the Alawa, Mara, Nandi, Nunumbuya, Riddrugu and Wandarang tribes, is now largely tribalised, and consisted at 30th June 1961 of 238, including 99 adults and 145 children, 77 being of normal school age. As a result of popular demand a Native Council was recently set up. Main economic activities are sawmilling, agriculture and fishing, but pastoral training is an important feature. Several pupils at the school reached grade VII, South Australian Correspondence School standard, during the year, and a pre-school class was formed.

Rosa River

Like Roper River, Rosa River is an Anglican mission in south-eastern Arnhem Land. It is located almost opposite the Groote Eylandt mission between the Roper Estuary and Caledon Bay. It is of recent establishment, dating from 1952. The majority of the people in contact with the mission are of the Nunggubuyu tribe, but some natives from the Blue Mud Bay area have recently made contact. The population at 30th June 1961 consisted of 134 adults and 102 children, a total of 236. Logging and milling of cypress pine, agriculture and fishing are important activities. Training in literacy both of English and Nunggubuyu is part of the educational work with adults, supplementing the work of the school.
Santa Teresa

Santa Teresa is a Roman Catholic mission located about 56 miles south-east of Alice Springs. From 1937 until 1942 a mission for aborigines was conducted by the Church at Alice Springs, but to discourage the influx of natives to the town area during the war years the mission was moved first to Aritunga, about 70 miles east of Alice Springs. In 1954 the present lease was acquired and the mission moved to its present site. It provides support for the East Aranda people, many of whom work on adjoining pastoral properties. The population of the mission itself is about 240, but many other natives are in contact with it. In addition to the work of the school, training is provided in a wide variety of European skills.

Umbakumba

Originally established in 1938 as a co-operative trading venture by a trepanger who was concerned for the welfare of the natives, Mr. F.H. Gray, this mission was taken over by the Church Missionary Society in 1958. This led to a unification of the work on Groote Eylandt, which previously had tended to form itself into two rival groups. The policy adopted by Mr. Gray of the creation of a self-supporting community has been carried on by the Society, with activity in the fields of sawmilling, agriculture and fishing. The population as at 30th June 1961 was 205, of whom 92 were adults and 113 children. Despite difficulties in staffing, the
work of the school was carried on, and training was given in
sowing and carpentry. An adult class was also begun, but little
interest has yet been shown by persons above school age.

Yirrkala

This Methodist mission occupies the north-eastern corner
of Arnhem Land between Melville Bay and Port Bradshaw, the station
itself being picturesquely situated on a small headland overlooking
the sea. It is 400 air miles from Darwin. It was established
in 1935 to provide a buffer between aborigines in the area and
occasional intruders. The population of the area has social and
linguial affinities with that of Milangimbi and Elcho Island,
forming the larger tribal group of the Goboboingo people. As at
30th June 1961 the population of the mission numbered 479, of whom
226 were adults, and 251 children. The main industries of the area
are agriculture, hunting and fishing. The school has been faced
with the difficulty of inadequate accommodation for increasing
numbers of pupils. The European staff of two has been helped by
native assistants. Training is given in vocational subjects. It
is proposed to establish a pre-school class as soon as accommodation
is available.

Pupil-Teacher Ration

The statistics and brief descriptions given above are intended
to convey the broad scope and pattern of educational provision. One
matter which arises from these statistics, and which was referred to in the historical section of this thesis(1) is that of pupil-teacher ratios. It was pointed out there that in 1960 the pupil-teacher ratio for the government and subsidized schools was 25.2, and for mission schools 41.7. Both of these ratios declined in 1961, so that there was a government school ratio of 30.8, and a mission school ratio of 45.0. In some cases this is coped with in the mission schools by having two sessions, with groups of children being taught for a half day only. This is clearly unsatisfactory both to pupils and to teachers.

Buildings and Equipment

Generally speaking, the government and most of the mission school buildings are satisfactory; in fact some very attractive and practical buildings have been erected along the lines established initially by the Office of Education, so that now the typical school building is modern, often constructed of aluminium and built to suit the climate, which means being on the ground in the Centre and off the ground on stilts in the north. Ventilation in the tropical areas is achieved by extensive

(1) Chapter I.
use of louvres for the walls from floor to window level. Wide sashes are usual. Provision is commonly made for a head teacher's office and for store rooms, and a verandah usually extends for the full length of one side. For those schools built above the ground, there is usually provision of more storage space at ground-floor level. In addition to the usual toilet facilities provided for white schools, these schools have shower rooms for the use of the children.

Equipment is usually all that a teacher could desire, although delays are sometimes experienced in deliveries. Desks are constructed to modern design in various sizes, one table and one chair to each child to suit his stage of physical growth. The legs of the desks and chairs are of tubular steel of light-weight construction.

Information is given in later chapters on the curriculum and on the teaching aids provided in connection with the teaching of English.

A Typical School Day

Initial emphasis in the educational programme was on health and hygiene, social conduct and oral English. As the provision extends into the pre-school years, these features have been more typical of the junior classes, but still persist in schools of more recent establishment as the main features of the programme even for older children.
The school day typically begins with the children coming
to school in camp clothes, showering, cleaning teeth and
combing hair, and changing into school clothes. These are
laundred by native women employed for this purpose. Each child
has a towel and toothbrush marked by his personal name. At the
end of the day the camp clothes are resumed. The importance
of personal cleanliness in relation to the programme of
assimilation is obvious.

Health is attended to in two other ways. There are regular
medical inspections of the school children by the local
Sisters, and by visiting Doctors. In addition the children
are commonly provided with morning and afternoon refreshment,
such as orange juice or milk, at their play breaks, and are
given a supervised hot meal in the middle of the day. Attention
is given here to table manners.

The play periods and sports afternoons are not very different
from those of white schools, but great enthusiasm is displayed
in most schools for swimming, football and basketball. The
native children adapt well to team games.

The academic work of the school displays a heavy concentration
on oral English, then reading and writing. A separate chapter is
devoted to this topic. (1) The remainder of the school time is
devoted to a normal primary range of subjects, including art, craft
work and singing.

(1) Chapter XIII.
Achievement

With a few exceptions, the level of achievement is not up to the standard of white schools, and may be assessed as on the average something like two years retarded. This also is discussed more fully in later chapters. (2)

(1) Chapters XIV and XVII.
CHAPTER XII

THE CURRICULUM AND THE BUSH BOOKS

The curriculum used in native schools in the Northern Territory may be thought of as existing in three parts. There is first of all a formal curriculum known as "Course of Study for use in Schools for Aborigines in the Northern Territory", which was produced by the Commonwealth Office of Education. Secondly, a wide range of other school and vocational subjects are taught, although they have not been reduced to a printed form. Thirdly, much more in these schools than in normal white schools, the informal aspect of daily contact between the teacher and the children carry with them an educational content which is a fundamental part of the programme of assimilation.

The general approach towards the curriculum was first determined by the Curriculum Conference held in 1949(1) which produced a draft curriculum and enunciated four objectives on which the syllabus should be based:

1. To equip aboriginal children ultimately to support themselves and their families in the economic structure of the Northern Territory.

2. To encourage the improvement of aboriginal environmental conditions, both domestic and communal.

3. To discover and provide for the development of the talents and creative abilities of aboriginal children.

(1) See Chapter VII.
4. To bridge the gulf between the aboriginal heritage and the economy in which these people must ultimately assume places as independent units.

It followed, therefore, that at the very least the curriculum should include literacy in English, an adequate knowledge of number, vocational training, personal and social hygiene, and art and craft work; and that in addition it should be related not only to the life they were going to lead but also to their own culture. Beyond this, there was the ultimate objective, not stated here, that the need for special schools would eventually disappear.

Basic work on writing the curriculum in formal subjects into a detailed form was carried out by research officers of the Office of Education. The approach might have been taken that all that was necessary was the South Australian primary curriculum spread out more thinly. Instead, a comparison was made of existing primary syllabuses, both those in use in native schools and those for the normal white schools, of all Australian States and some overseas countries, and a distillation of these in terms of content was worked out. The special needs and difficulties of native children with little white contact were taken into account, and a draft course of study in Language and Number was given to the teachers to try out. Subsequently to this was added a Social Studies and a Natural Science course.
The experimental curricula, after trial by teachers, was amended in the light of their comments and further thought by research officers, until the present "Course of Study" was produced.

Some of the problems in the fields of Language and Number are worth recalling. For reasons indicated in the historical chapters, the language of instruction is English. Quite apart, however, from the problems associated with teaching in the veinacular, mentioned in the historical chapters, one essential of the programme is literacy in English, and there are good reasons for using this language for as many practical purposes as possible. The children entering the schools when first established had varying degrees of acquaintance with English, and the same may now be said for any children first entering schools, even where the schools have been established for a number of years. There are both structural problems and difficulties of pronunciation. On the syntax side the problems are associated with word order and the use of articles which do not occur in native languages. On the pronunciation side the most frequently noted problems are associated with final "s", "th" and the difference between "p" and "f", although there is apparently less difficulty with the voiced consonants "b" and "v". A further problem in the earlier years, but lessening now, was the existence of a form of pidgin English. Since 1950, however, there has been
a determined effort to stamp this out, and there is little problem with this at school level at the present time.

In the field of number a problem is the absence in native languages of number names beyond three or four, and the absence of any need to manipulate numbers, since there are no native systems of currency, weight or measure. Thus the whole concept of number, as well as the names and manipulations, has to be conveyed to the children. With greater sophistication in white man's ways, this problem is lessening.

It is obvious, in the light of difficulties of this sort, which extended into other fields also, that the provision of a satisfactory course of study was not merely a matter of spreading the existing white syllabuses a little more thinly to compensate for lack of previous home experience.

Extracts from the Course of Study, designed to illustrate the kind of approach taken and the degree of assistance given to teachers, appear in the appendix (1). Additional assistance is given to teachers by special notes on the teaching of English (2), by a series of 'Notes for Teachers of Native Schools', and, of course, by Induction Course training and by visits from the Inspectors of Special Schools. Some notes are given below on each of the

(1) Appendix C.

(2) See Chapter XIII.
divisions of the formal Course of Study, namely Language, 
Number, Social Studies and Natural Science. These will 
illustrate the development envisaged, and will enable readers 
to make broad comparisons with primary syllabuses with which 
they may be familiar.

Language

This course is planned to cover seven years of schooling, 
and consists of a Preparatory Stage and Stages One to Six. 
It begins with a heavy emphasis on Oral English, carefully 
developed in structure and vocabulary. It also contains 
pre-reading and pre-writing activities, more or less along 
conventional lines. Stage One continues the Oral English 
including free oral expression. It also begins oral reading 
with the use of Bush Books 1 to 3 (see a discussion of these 
later in the chapter). The beginnings of script writing 
including copying from the blackboard now occur. Stage Two 
introduces silent reading, using Bush Books 4 and 5, and free 
written composition. Word knowledge of 800 to 1000 words is 
expected with spelling of 200 words. In Stage Three, Book 6 
and supplementary reading material of similar difficulty are 
used for reading, writing is changed from script to cursive, 
word recognition extends towards 2,000 printed words and 
spelling to a further 400 words. Stage Four involves such
activities as writing letters, up to 4000 printed words and 600 additional spelling words. The use of a dictionary is included at this stage. Stages Five and Six carry the programme to about the average end of primary level including dramatization, debates, lecture-ttes, a wide knowledge of books, play reading and so on. Throughout the six stages there is heavy emphasis on Oral English.

Number

Like the Language course, this is designed to cover seven years of schooling, although it is recognised that in some cases more than seven years will be needed. It aims at the end-of-primary level at the completion of the course. Again there is a Preparatory Stage and Stages One to Six. The Preparatory Stage is based mainly on counting (up to 10) and recognition of the relevant symbols. Stage One carries rote counting to 50, counting by 2's to 12, reading and writing of numbers to 20, use of ordinals to 7th, addition of two numbers to 12, concepts of length, weight, capacity and time, money to 1/-, and subtraction up to 9. Elementary problems are introduced at this stage. Stage Two carries counting to 100, money values to £1; Stage Three to 1000, and introduces addition and subtraction of money, multiplication and fractions. Division is introduced in Stage Four, and,
as already indicated, by the end of Stage Six a normal primary course has been covered.

Social Studies

This course is set out in two stages, but each is divided into broad headings. The intention is that all the topics under each heading in Stage One will be covered during the first three years of a child's schooling, but not necessarily in the order set out in the course. Similarly, all the topics in Stage Two are to be covered in the fourth to the seventh year of schooling. This arrangement lends itself to teaching the subject in larger groups than would be possible with Language or Number. Heavy emphasis is placed on training in habits of cleanliness, tidiness and acceptable social conduct. Thus Stage One covers seven main headings:

- Training for Daily Activities
- Character Training
- Relationship between the School and Native Life
- Developing Team Work
- The Immediate Environment
- Widening the Horizons
- Christianity

and Stage Two adds:

- Laws
- Government
- Current Events
- Stories About Individual Places and Objects of Interest.

The course shows a reasonable content of primary level history, geography and civics, and quite an important section devoted to
Christianity. Again the purpose of these is assimilation—a
attempt to explain the white Australian's ways, including
his religion. "The emphasis in the teaching about Christianity
should be on acquiring some broad understanding of the
religious beliefs that are widely accepted in the Australian
community".

Natural Sciences

Like the Social Studies course, this is set out under
headings, with the topics not necessarily to be taken in
sequence. It is in three stages, Stage One to cover the second,
third and fourth years of schooling, Stage Two the fifth and
sixth years, and Stage Three the seventh year. Teachers are
requested to relate the topics taken to their own locality. In
each stage the following topics are suggested:

Animal Life
Plant Life
Gardening
Weather
Living Things
Everyday Things.

Using this classification, the course covers elementary science
of the kind usually referred to in primary schools as "Nature
Study".

The Bush Books

Apart from the method of teaching English(1), one other
feature of the Language programme in native schools deserves

(1) See Chapter XIII.
special mention. This is the series of primers known as the "Bush Books", and their Supplementary Readers.

When the native education programme began, with a decision having been made to teach in English, it became necessary to locate suitable reading material which might be used as part of the teaching of English as a foreign language. A survey of available reading primers showed that those existing at the time were notable for various inadequacies. For example, some were based on an exclusive reliance on phonic methods, which was an unacceptable approach; most lacked control in the development and use of language structures and vocabulary; and the subject matter and pictures were related to the everyday domestic life of a European-type home, which at this stage would have been confusing to the aboriginal children. Since part of the function of the school was to make the process of culture contact and social change a gradual one, it was thought appropriate to relate the school work to the children's own community, and as part of this it was thought appropriate for the first primers to be used in reading to draw upon the environment to which the children were accustomed. A decision was therefore made to prepare special primers for the use of the native schools.
The guiding principles governing the writing of the series were:

(a) that it should begin with facets of native life in the camp and in the bush and should progress gradually through life at school to the town and wider life of the Northern Territory;

(b) that the English structures and vocabulary used should not go beyond those which would be familiar through earlier oral work;

(c) that the words used should be those most frequently found in children's reading material but words not commonly heard in the Territory should be excluded;

(d) that the introduction of new words and the repetition of these words should be controlled to ensure regular grading and as much repetition as possible;

(e) that the reading difficulty of the books should be graded so that such matters as the length of line, length of sentence, number of words per page, number of new words per page, number of new words per book, total number of words per book, punctuation, etc., could be developed in an orderly way;

(f) that the teaching method used should be a composite one but with emphasis on the "look and say" method of reading;

(g) that the illustrations should be true to life in the Territory and should show mainly aboriginal people;

(h) that the type size should be graded to suit the reading skills at different levels;

(i) that native culture should be respected and the books should not contain anything which might offend either children or adults;
that within all these limitations the stories told should be interesting in themselves and the expressions used should avoid the artificialities sometimes to be found in elementary readers. (1)

Three experimental books were first produced, using the resources of the research and migrant education sections of the Office of Education, the first draft being written by an ex-teacher of infants with experience in preparing children's books. After these three experimental books had been in operation for some time, a revised set was prepared, using as a basis the results of word recognition and comprehension tests which were administered to the children on completion of each book, and in addition, the comments of teachers given in answer to a questionnaire. The illustrations previously in black and white were redrawn by the artist and about half of them were printed in colour in the revised books. This practice was followed also with Books 4, 5 and 6, the preparation of which was then proceeded with.

To meet the need for further reading material, supplementary readers were also prepared. The first of these is "Bush Tracks" and is intended for use after Bush Books 1, 2 and 3. It uses the same vocabulary and language structures. Similarly "Bush Children" uses the vocabulary and structures of Books 1 to 5 and is at about the same level of difficulty as Book 5. Both of these readers tell stories about incidents in the lives of

aboriginal children. The third of this series "Bush Stories", contains four stories written by W.E. Harney about aboriginal habits of food gathering. These were subject to detailed analysis and editing to bring them to the level of Book 6. Before being printed, these were tried out experimentally and modified as necessary. The series of six Bush Books, together with "Bush Tracks", "Bush Children" and "Bush Stories", thus provide a core of reading activities covering about three years' work.

As required by the principles of construction outlined above, these books are graded in terms of the number of words used. The following table, covering the six Bush Books, gives a clear indication of this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Words</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of different words</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of words per page</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of words</td>
<td>79, 305, 581, 1046, 1997, 3330</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of different words used in the six books, excluding variations not involving change in spelling the stem of the word, is 650. A great deal of repetition of new words is involved, especially in the first three books.

The books are also graded for length of sentence, length of line, punctuation, number of lines of print per page and size
of type. Book 3 uses sentences ranging up to eight words in length, and direct speech is introduced. Care is taken in the set of the printing to achieve meaningful groups of words. Proper paragraphing is not introduced until Book 6.

The first three books contain notes for teachers which suggest the type of work which might accompany each page of the book. Book One has with it two sets of flash cards, one for individual work, the other for group work. Books Four to Six contain word lists.

Naturally these reading books are supplemented by other reading material, such as the "First Australian's" series and the Papua-New Guinea series of English Readers. The intention of the Office of Education was to produce more readers, but so far this work has not been proceeded with.

Provided in the appendix to this thesis are extracts from Books Four and Five, and a story from the Harney material in "Bush Stories". (1)

(1) Appendix D.
CHAPTER XIII

THE METHOD OF TEACHING ENGLISH

The most obvious method of teaching a foreign language, at least to an unsophisticated teacher, is by the use of translation. This method is not practicable for the majority of teachers in native schools, who are relatively unfamiliar with the language of the children they teach — if there is one language, which is not always the case. It should not be thought, however, that teachers ignore the native languages. A proportion of them, especially those who stay more than a year or two at one school, and more especially those on the missions, do become familiar with the native language concerned. In some cases teachers have contributed to the reduction of these languages to written forms. The writer has even seen copies of the Bush Books used for teaching the reading of the written form of a native language.

However, the translation method is not now accepted by language teaching authorities. It was first supplanted by the Direct Method, which prohibited the use of translation. This method has been criticised as not being very efficient in the task of conveying the meaning to words, a point at which translation has been regarded by teachers as justified. The
argument for this is based on the difficulty of using methods of direct association, demonstration in a context, or definition. The student, it may be claimed, will still think in his own language, and will need to translate subconsciously. However, the argument against the continued use of translation is that it may deter the student from learning to think in the new language being taught. This process should begin as soon as the word or phrase has acquired meaning.

An advance on the Direct Method is the method known as the Situational Method. Like the Direct Method, this avoids the use of the learner's native language. It differs from Direct Method, however, in the way in which it makes use of any one situation. Thus in Direct Method, a situation devised in the classroom is treated in great detail for vocabulary and language relevant to that situation, the teacher making use of a large number of structures, the students being assumed to acquire a command of the language by assimilating what they hear. Thus structures of very different levels of difficulty are introduced in the one lesson. In the Situational Method, on the other hand, the progression of structures to be taught next in logical sequence is decided in advance, and a situation is created to suit these structures. All other structures which might be drawn from the situation are disregarded. Furthermore, heavy emphasis is placed on speech practice on the
part of the students. In an average lesson by this method the students talk for about three quarters of the time, usually in chorus. They are given as much practice as possible in using different vocabulary in the one sentence pattern they are practising at the time. This practice in sentence patterns includes question forms, which are often given very little treatment in Direct Method except for their use by the teacher.

It is interesting to note that the thirty words used most frequently in Australian speech are all structural words. However, it would be absurd to teach in phrases, since this would be a distortion of the language. To give the structural words and the verb their true places it is necessary to teach in sentences, with new vocabulary treated in the framework of a known structure.

It is common practice in using the Situational Method to create situations in the classroom by having a kit of suitable objects, and of course by the imaginative use of the furniture and other features of the environment. Reading practice is preferably given in material which is limited in both vocabulary and structure to what has been learnt orally, just as is the case with a child learning to read his own language.
This Situational Method has been developed in Australia by the Commonwealth Office of Education in connection with its work with migrants. In this context, as in the Northern Territory, people of many different languages have been taught English as a foreign language. In the case of Migrant Education, a detailed study has been possible of the European languages concerned, and the special difficulties of people using these languages in learning English have been taken into account. Up to a point this has been done in adapting the Situational Method for use in Native schools, but obviously it has not been possible to do so as exhaustively as would have been desired.

To assist teachers to use this method in the teaching of English to native children, a set of notes known as "Teaching Language in Schools for Aborigines in the Northern Territory - Preparatory Stage" was produced by the Office of Education. In addition, as mentioned earlier, lectures and demonstrations in this method have been a feature of Induction Courses for Teachers, both during the period of Office of Education control and since then.

This set of notes, after introductory explanatory material, contains a series of 54 units\(^{(1)}\), which are expected to take

\(\text{(1) Examples (Units 1 and 36) are given in Appendix D.}\)
a beginners' class about a year. A further section of the book contains suggestions for pre-reading, pre-number and pre-writing activities to accompany the language work. Some of the units contain only one teaching point, others a large number, but only where this is required by the structure being taught having a large number of variations. Each teaching point is presented and drilled in isolation before being combined into groups or patterns. The rhythm and intonation of each pattern are marked for the guidance of the teacher. In the introductory section of the notes an outline is given of types of drill and a list of drill technique is provided. Suggestions are made for the use of group leaders in cases where there are three or four different groups involved in one class. Reference is also made to the availability of additional material in "English for Newcomers to Australia" and in other Migrant Education publications.

So much for a brief description of the method and of the material available to assist teachers. It remains to comment that this is a fundamental and perhaps the most academically successful part of the native education programme. No school day passes without several periods of practice in oral English for beginners, and indeed it is continued in more sophisticated forms throughout the school. Furthermore, it is used in adult classes, and of course in the pre-school classes, and by the native assistant teachers as part of their regular teaching duties.
CHAPTER XIV

THE ABILITY AND ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIVE CHILDREN

During the 1930's there was a good deal of controversy in Australia about the mental ability of Australian Aborigines. This sprang partly out of S.D. Porteus's investigations in Central Australia, reported in a book entitled "The Psychology of a Primitive People". Before discussing present day evidence, it may be useful to recount some of the points of view expressed in these earlier years, and also to consider the general question of the intelligence of primitive people, and the problem of testing that intelligence.

It is interesting to note that the early explorers and colonists expressed various opinions. Dampier referred to his opinion that "The Inhabitants of this Country are the miserablest People in the World...and setting aside their human Shape, they differ but little from the Brutes"(1). Tench, on the other hand, in discussing the kind of life which was familiar to them, said "I do not hesitate to declare that the natives of New Holland possess a considerable portion of that acumen, or sharpness of intellect, which bespeaks genius..."(2) Perhaps we here have an

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explanation of apparent differences in mentality between people of different races — that account needs to be taken of the cultural background.

Porteus tested aborigines in Central Australia, the Kimberley and Beardie Bay districts. He administered a comprehensive battery of non-verbal and performance tests, as follows:

(a) Porteus Maze — a measure of planning capacity and prudence;
(b) Porteus Form and Assembling — a speed test based on the jig-saw puzzles;
(c) Goddard Form Board — a speed test;
(d) Auditory Rote Memory — repeating digits;
(e) Visual-Auditory Xylophone Span — imitating a series of notes played on a xylophone;
(f) Thurstone Hand Test — sorting pictures of hands into left and right;
(g) Footprints Recognition — matching pictures of footprints;
(h) Dot Estimation.

Children were given the Maze, the Form and Assembling, the Form Board, the Auditory Rote Memory and in addition the Goodenough "Draw a Man" Test, which aims to measure a child's mental development in terms of his keenness of observation and his ability to select certain significant items.
Porteus made certain general observations about his testing experience, which may be useful to others working in this field. He said that group testing of aborigines is too formal and impersonal, and is thus ineffective. Speed tests are also unsuitable, because the aborigine does not consider the time factor. Each test was deliberately studied despite continual urging to get on with it. Finally, he said that unless the test captured the aborigine's interest, little attempt was made to complete it.

Porteus's conclusions were that the mean I.Q. of the adults was about 80, with a mental age of 11. Auditory Rote memory was so poor as to indicate a real disability; Visual-Auditory was better, but still behind other racial groups. The Footprints Recognition almost equaled whites, despite the lack of experience of photographic material. The children showed most fairly, according to Porteus, in the Goodenough Test, with a mean of 75, although they scored higher on the Form and Assembling Test, with a mean of 94. Some superior individuals achieved perfect scores with the Porteus Maze Test.

Porteus felt that the Australian environment limited the responses of the aborigines. Perhaps because they had no herds to keep, they had developed no number words beyond 3 or 4; since their weapons were confined to spears, clubs and boomerangs, they
had no need to develop mechanical aptitude. He noted that they showed persistence, self-control, leadership, an excellently integrated social structure and special skills, which displayed social and practical intelligence.

Professor Elkin in 1932 wrote an important review of Porteus's book (1), criticising the evidence brought forward and the methods of enquiry used by Porteus. He commented particularly on Porteus's own evidence that the Central Australians were superior on the tests to the Kimberley and Beagle Bay natives, and suggested as the obvious explanation that the Central Australians were better able to understand what the psychologist was about, because of their previous forty years' contact with Hermannsburg and the constant explanation in Aranda of white man's ways. Similar evidence for other groups suggested that while there was some support for Porteus's claim that the aborigines were unsuitable to our civilization, the test results provided another reason "in addition to those provided by sociological study and humanitarianism, for making a carefully thought-out endeavour to help the aborigines in the direction of civilization". (2)

(1) A.P. Elkin, "The Social Life and Intelligence of the Australian Aborigines", Oceania, Volume III, Number 1, September 1932, pages 101 to 113.

(2) Ibid, page 113.
Other investigators, Mr. Ralph Piddington, Dr. H.K. Fry and Dr. R.H. Pulleine, continued to experiment with the Porteus Maze Test as well as with other tests. In the light of their results, Porteus reiterated his findings that while the performance on the maze test was little inferior to that of whites, and while the aborigines show superior ability in social organisation, their performance on auditory rote memory "can only be matched by the abilities of the feeble-minded of our own race....rote memory for unrelated material is essential to school progress, and if memory is defective in this regard the school progress must needs be limited". (1)

He concludes by saying: "The available evidence with regard to aboriginal mentality seems to point indubitably towards a somewhat general inferior ability as regards abstract intelligence or the capacity to deal with abstract symbols of thought. This incapacity is probably directly related to an inferior auditory rote memory". (2)

Fry, writing subsequently in the Medical Journal of Australia (3), is generally in agreement, except on the point

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(1) S.D. Porteus, "Mentality of Australian Aborigines", Oceania, Volume IV, Number 1, September 1933, page 34.

(2) ibid, page 36.

(3) op. cit.
that defective rote memory is the basis of the alleged inferior ability. Instead, he suggests the tendency of the aborigine's interests to conform to an "all or none" principle; in other words, he is referring to an interest factor in perception. He illustrates his point by referring to various tests where this could be taken advantage of; for example, a boy who could repeat only four syllables in English but twenty-one in Aranda. He also refers to the remarkable power of associative memory possessed by aborigines, as, for example, in place names. This, he argues, is more important than rote memory.

Nevertheless, in the administration of intelligence tests, the interest factor is important. Fry goes on to quote a number of psychologists, including Cyril Burt; "so-called voluntary attention is of all recognised psychological processes the essential factor in general intelligence"; and Ernest Jones (writing about the Fijians); "Much of the supposed deficiency of primitive peoples in such functions as concentration, reason, powers of discrimination and logic, and so on, is not due to lack of these qualities so much as to a different orientation of emotional interest from our own".

Fry in this article points to the unsolved problem of whether the aboriginal can attain a degree of abstract
thinking required to meet the needs of modern civilization. He suggests the theoretical possibility that with the richer vocabulary of English the aborigines will master the technique of thinking in words rather than images. In another article he refers to later testing carried out with the Porteus Maze Test: "At Yuendumu last year eleven boys scored results which represented an average I.Q. of 130, and four girls an average of 90. One boy about seven years of age achieved an I.Q. of 200 with this test". (1)

An interesting sidelight on this discussion of aboriginal intelligence is the attention given during this period to the question of whether there was any physical basis in the aboriginal brain or its size for an inferior intelligence. A smaller brain capacity is suggested early in the literature as a possible handicap. In the article written in 1933 Porteus refers to this:

"....the Australian Aborigines have an average brain capacity between the normal median for 12 and 13 years.... This low average brain capacity may come about either through a slower rate of development throughout the whole growing period, or what is more likely, an earlier cessation of brain growth than is observable with Europeans. This shorter period of brain growth would be consistent with the evidence already available pointing to a slowing-down, in early adolescence, of mental development". (2)


(2) S.D. Porteus, "Mentality of Australian Aborigines", op.cit. page 32.
On the other hand, Fry, writing in 1953, says with reference to the question of whether the aboriginal brain exhibits any fundamental difference from that of a civilized race, "the answer appears to be in the negative". This was subsequent to the findings of Shellshear and Abbie. In 1937, J.L. Shellshear reported on a comparison of forty-four aboriginal hemispheres with one hundred Chinese. He found that both show certain foldings of the occipital cortex which are often considered to be primitive, and that there was no clearly defined difference in regard to either folding or cortical development. He insisted that the retention of a primitive trait did not necessarily imply lowliness. (1) In 1951, A.A. Abbie, writing in Oceania, said:

The judgment which sets the aboriginal skull with that of Neanderthal man is based upon a quasi-statistical assemblage of extreme physical developments. It is certainly true that the aborigine may have a receding forehead with large supraorbital and occipital ridges, small mastoid processes, protuberant jaws and a broad flattened nose...but it is equally true that he may have a broad high forehead with small supraorbital and occipital ridges, large mastoid processes, a relatively high narrow nose and jaws which approach the orthognathous standard of some Europeans...Actually, the aboriginal skull presents all intervening grades between these two extremes and betrays a wide variety of combinations and permutations of individual features within the

total cranial mosaic. In the case of measurements, when the aboriginal skull differs from the European it is in terms of millimetres only. Further, the known range of cranial capacity in the aborigine—from about 850 cc to over 1,500 cc—falls well within the European range, of from 738 cc to about 2,300 cc. In brain size the aborigine lies well within normal limits. Within that range it cannot be asserted on size, shape or configuration that any given brain is necessarily superior or inferior to any other. (1)

Professor Abbis concludes: "the fact is that the Australian aborigine is extraordinarily well adapted to his very exacting environment, and that is the major index of his mental ability." (2)

The evidence so far recounted, from psychological tests, anatomical tests and from the theories of the scientists quoted, adds up to what might have been expected anyway—that there is no evidence of inferior mental capacity in the aborigine, but that his intellectual ability is orientated to his own cultural background and requires a reorientation to the European cultural background before he can be expected to perform as well on European-orientated intelligence tests and in a European-orientated educational system.

It is interesting very briefly to compare the findings of educationists working with other groups of non-European cultural background who are being orientated to modern

(1) A.A. Abbis, "The Australian Aborigines", Oceania, Volume XXII, Number 2, December 1951.

(2) Ibid.
technological development and a strange culture. Only a few examples are possible here.

Dr. Fick carried out a study, reported in 1939, of the educability of the South African native. This investigator used some of the tests used by Porteus in his Australian studies (Form and Assembling Test, the Porteus Maze Test) as well as others. His conclusions included the following:

2. ....Around the ages of 13 and 14 Native children are from 4 to 5 years inferior to European children in educability as gauged by the results of intelligence tests.

7. Urban Native pupils are not markedly superior in achievement on the Individual Intelligence Test to rural Natives. On the Group Test the urban Natives are superior.

11. Negroes of America are not comparable in educability with Natives of this country. The former owing to an admixture of European blood resemble the Coloureds of this country whose intelligence is shown in another study...to be like that of the Negroes, far superior to that of the Natives of South Africa.

14. ....the available objective data point to a marked inferiority on the part of the Native in comparison with Europeans....

On the other hand, G.R. Dent, reporting in 1949 on a further investigation of Bantu intelligence, using a specially devised South African Group Intelligence Test which had been translated into the Zulu language and adapted where necessary, was rather less derogatory in his conclusions:

5. The test is not independent of environment. Urban pupils on the whole obtain better results than rural pupils.

8. The results from the Bantu pupils follow the same pattern as the results from European pupils.

9. In each standard there are significant differences in favour of the European group.

13. At age 10 years, 35 per cent of the Native pupils score above the European median for that age.(1)

Since the test itself is a verbal test, and makes demands upon school achievement for its successful completion, it is not very surprising that the Bantu are not up to European standard. This does not necessarily support the views of Fick that they are of inferior mental ability.

One other example may be cited. For many years United States Indian children were tested with verbal intelligence tests prepared for English-speaking urban children. Their scores indicated a considerably lower intelligence rating than that of whites. An American psychologist, Dr. Thomas Garth, after many years of study, reached the conclusion that Indian intelligence was directly correlated with degree of white blood - the more white blood, the higher the intelligence. However, before he died he realized that the determining factor was not white

blood but familiarity with English language and white customs. His final conclusion was that a full blood Indian child, raised in a white home and using only English, would respond to verbal intelligence tests just as a white child would. Subsequent work with a specially devised performance test - the Arthur Point Performance Scale - gave very interesting results. The Indian children of three tribes, one group of each having considerable exposure to white culture, the other having resisted assimilation, were given the test. The mean score of the test for white children was 100. The following mean I.Q.'s were obtained for the Indian children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hopi</th>
<th>115.0</th>
<th>110.7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>102.6</td>
<td>101.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>with schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>102.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conclusion drawn from these and other testings was "This data certainly indicates that the raw material in our Indian schools is equal to that in white schools - once the language handicap is overcome". (1)

The present writer has not much factual information to contribute to answering this question, as far as Australian native children are concerned, but has some suggestions to offer

in regard to obtaining it. (1) However, during a brief visit to the Northern Territory in 1960 he did try out the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children with ten full blood native school children, using both the verbal and the performance scale with five of them, and only the performance scale with the other five. Obviously conclusions as to the mean I.Q. of native children cannot be drawn from such a sample. The purpose of the testing was rather to get the feel of the test with native children, so that comments might be passed on its utility in any future research programmes.

Obviously the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children depends for its successful administration on a reasonable command of English and understanding of white culture, not only for the Verbal Scale. In the Performance Scale there are references to characteristic features of the European way of life, even if the experimenter can achieve rapport with very shy subjects and can adequately convey the test instructions. With children who have had several years experience in native schools in the Northern Territory this is possible. The results still need to be treated with caution as almost certainly underestimates of the I.Q.'s of the children concerned. It is highly improbable, however, that the error in measurement will operate in the other direction.

(1) See Chapter XVII.
This point of view is supported by the literature. In 1951 Young and Pitts tested 40 southern Negro children who were selected as a control group representative of their culture. They were not retarded by socioeconomic criteria or by the judgement of observers. The mean WISC Full Scale I.Q. score of this group was 69.8. The same experimenters with a larger group of southern Negro rural children obtained a score of 67.74. These experimenters questioned whether the test was a suitable test for the southern Negro child. Other examples point the same way.\(^1\)

The writer, therefore, was not discouraged in obtaining the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Verbal Scale</th>
<th>Performance Scale</th>
<th>Full Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean I.Q. on Performance Scale: 89.7

The accuracy of the measurement is of course considerably influenced by the accuracy of the ages. It will be observed that these are taken to three months intervals. In some cases these may be too high, in others too low, so that the results for individual students need to be viewed in this light. Thus the youngest subject "I", if she were only 6 years 11 months, which is possible, would have scored 104 on the Performance Scale. However, the mean Performance Scale I.Q. of 59.7 may be taken as reasonably accurate from this point of view. The child with the assessment of 107 ("A") was one of six children leaving the school concerned in 1960, and the Head Teacher's subjective rating of these six children on I.Q. would have placed him second or third.

Summing up this evidence and the preceding argument, we may say that there is no evidence at present that native children are of inferior intelligence to white children. Their disability lies in the fact that to the extent to which they are related to native culture rather than white culture, they are handicapped in educability in relation to white children of a similar age.

What may be said then about their achievement? We would expect that all except the most brilliant of them would be retarded by comparison with white children, and that this state of affairs will continue until their families have been fully assimilated. If and when this does occur, future children
entering normal schools may expect to compete with white children on a more equal footing. Until assimilation is complete, and accepted psychologically as well as in practical socio-economic terms, we cannot expect this to be the case.

Evidence has already been given in an earlier chapter(1) of some children reaching the final primary years of white schools and indeed going beyond them, although at a later age than their white counterparts. It may be said in general terms, and indeed may at this stage be a reasonable rule of thumb, that a retardation of about two years is to be expected, and may be taken as the goal towards which teachers should strive to bring the children. In the next generation of children (which will already be reaching the schools in about another five years' time) this may be overcome.

The writer assembled a little evidence on achievement at three schools - Amoonguna, Warrabri and Snake Bay, during 1960. Again, as with the intelligence test, the object was to get a general impression of the usefulness of tests rather than of school achievement as such. For this purpose the A.G.E.R. Work Knowledge Test was used with one child selected by the teacher at Amoonguna, and with the six members of the top group

(1) Chapter XI.
at Warrabri. To test the number work the Seville Diagnostic Arithmetic Test in the four operations of Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division was used with seventeen children in the top class, consisting of several groups, at Warrabri, and with the six members of the top group at Snake Bay.

Results on the Word Knowledge Test gave the selected girl at Amoonguna a level corresponding with the beginning of a South Australian fifth grade, and the six pupils at Warrabri various levels within the South Australian fourth grade. No norms being available for the Diagnostic Arithmetic Test, since it primarily serves the different and highly useful purpose of diagnosis of errors, it was possible to compare only within the two native schools concerned. Out of a possible score of 262, the two best at Warrabri were 137 and 126, whereas at Snake Bay the scores were 256, 255, 253, 249, then 167 and 116. It was difficult to avoid the conclusion that the teaching in number work was more effective in the latter school, especially since it was obvious from the diagnostic test that the operations concerned were fully understood by the four top children. These four children, incidently, were the same ones as score between 76 and 85 on the intelligence test.

Further comments on reasons for low achievement are given in a later chapter. (1)

(1) Chapter XVII.
In conclusion, and in addition to the points made above on the subject of expected retardation, the following statement from a report of the Welfare Branch seems to the writer to be fair and reasonable.

Commendable progress in academic education has been made in most schools but this progress must not be judged in comparison with that of white children in normal schools when the education is much more strictly limited to formal subjects than is the education of the native children. In all native schools the morning shower, clothing change and medical parade is normal routine but this can only be done at the expense of some academic progress. Besides these day to day activities opportunity is always taken to give them extra-curricular experience which will assist them to make the social change which is proposed. In some schools it has been amply demonstrated that they can, age for age, progress in academic subjects at a rate comparable with white children but only in a few instances have full-blood aboriginal children progressed so far that they can be said to be at the same level as white children of the same age. (1)

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CHAPTER XV

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL

Readers will recall that the control of native education in its first six years, 1950 to 1955, was vested in the Commonwealth Office of Education as agent for the Administrator of the Northern Territory, by an Agreement between the Director of the Office and the Administrator (1), then from 1956 until the present time, the Welfare Branch took full control for the programme. The responsibility of the Welfare Branch is outlined in the Welfare Ordinance, Section 8 (a) (ii) of which indicates that it is the duty of the Director of Welfare —

to arrange as far as is practicable for the education of wards, including their vocational training, by collaboration with, and assistance to, the education authority and educational institutions and in other appropriate ways.

As recounted elsewhere (2), the Director of Welfare decided to exercise his responsibility by actually conducting the native education programme, and this occurred as from the beginning of 1956.

It might be questioned who the "education authority" referred to in the Ordinance is. Here it is necessary to recall the position of education in the Northern Territory. By Agreement,

(1) See Appendix E.

(2) Chapter IX.
the South Australian Department of Education provides the teachers and the administration of the European schools, the buildings and costs being found by the Commonwealth. The Assistant Supervisor of Education, an Inspector of the South Australian Education Department, is located in Darwin, and carries out administrative, inspectional and liaison duties. There is thus no Commonwealth education authority in the Northern Territory. There is at present no Northern Territory Department of Education.

Should the Commonwealth Office of Education be the education authority? This possibility was canvassed by some at the time of discussions relating to native education in the late 1940's. However, this does not seem to be within the provisions of the Act setting up the Office of Education (1), and it could only come about if it were a matter referred to it by the Minister responsible for the Act, and presumably by ordinance of the Northern Territory Legislative Council as well. This would raise the question also of the responsibility of the Office of Education in other Commonwealth Territories. Here the present position is that the Territory of Papua-New Guinea has its own independent Department of Education; the Australian Capital Territory is provided for by Agreement with the New South Wales Department of Education;

(1) See Appendix A.
Nauru has its own Department of Education, and Territories in the Indian Ocean are catered for by Agreement with the Western Australian Department of Education. Except to provide educational advice when asked to do so, the Commonwealth Office of Education has at present no educational responsibility in Commonwealth Territories.

It may have been thought, in 1948, that the obvious procedure was to ask the South Australian Department of Education to carry out the programme. The answer to this is probably that South Australia was not geared to do so. Staffing would have been one problem; the lack of a programme of special education for its own aborigines another.

With South Australia unprepared to arrange the programme, and the Native Affairs Branch of the Northern Territory Administration unable to do so, the Commonwealth Office of Education was brought into the picture, and as it is hoped this thesis has shown, created from almost nothing in the course of six years an effective system of native education which has continued to be the basis of future development by the Welfare Branch.

The purpose of the transfer of control to the Welfare Branch in 1956 was to unify the welfare programme, to keep the schools in step with other welfare provisions, and to establish a firmer team spirit amongst all persons working
in the welfare field. From this point of view, the transfer was probably successful. In any case, the purpose of this chapter is not to evaluate the two systems of control as they have so far operated, nor to assess the rights and wrongs of the transfer of control in 1956, but to look to the future.

One lesson must, however, be learnt from what happened in the past, which is relevant to the present position. It is true that during most of the six years of Office of Education control, and in recent years of Welfare Branch control, there has been an element of insecurity in the minds of teachers and administrators. This is not in the best interests of the programme. Whatever has been recommended by the Committee which was appointed in 1960 to consider this and other aspects of the educational programme in the Territory (and these recommendations are not known to the writer), it is very desirable that firm decisions should be made and advised to the authorities concerned – the South Australian Department of Education and the Welfare Branch – so that planning can be made on the basis of knowledge of what is going to happen in the matter of control, and when.

It does not seem possible to escape the view, however, that ultimately there should be one system of government education throughout the Northern Territory, and one educational authority with power given to it to control normal schools and special schools. Suppose the view is taken that special schools will
ultimately cease to exist. This, presumably, is what is intended by the policy of assimilation, even if there were to remain in out-of-the-way parts of the Territory some schools with a preponderance of native enrolments. The plan is that these will eventually resemble other schools in the Northern Territory, with the same curriculum. In line with this would be the disappearance or transformation of missions and settlements, a matter discussed more fully later. (1) This, then, being the long-range objective, the question becomes, merely, at what stage would it be best to unify the control of the existing normal schools and special schools.

Granted, then, that there is to be one system of education in the Territory, and having in mind the probable reluctance of the South Australian Department to continue to take this responsibility, in view of its own increasing commitments, the question becomes, when should a separate Department of Education, or Education Branch, be established in the Territory.

The writer has no intention of examining this question, which is clearly related to matters of costs, probable future developments in need for educational provision, and the attitude of the South Australian Department. What he does wish to suggest, however, is that the logical time to transfer control of the native education programme away from the Welfare Branch is the same time as is selected for the establishment of an

(1) Chapters XVI and XVII
Education Branch.

To justify this point of view, that is, on the question of timing, reference may be made to costs, to teacher recruitment, training and promotion, to facilities for research and planning, and to the matter of attracting sufficiently high level personnel for the top administrative positions. Clearly in its early stages an Education Branch for a population the size of that of the Northern Territory will be costly, but it will become less so in proportion to the educational provision it is responsible for as the demands upon it increase. The inclusion of the special schools and their administration will help to reduce this cost in proportion to what is provided, and also incidently the separate cost of the administration of the special schools. Teacher training, recruitment and promotion will be more satisfactory, with the larger system. Even more does this apply in regard to the other two points. Research is essential for the satisfactory continuance of the native education programme, as will be argued in a later chapter\(^{(1)}\). A Research and Planning section will require a high level officer, experienced in education, psychology and preferably anthropology, and this becomes more possible in the context of an Education Branch. Finally, with unification, the otherwise smaller promotion possibilities for administrators, and the attractiveness of the top positions, will be enhanced.

\(^{(1)}\) Chapter XVIII.
What might be the effect of such a transfer of control of native education to an Education Branch on the welfare programme in general, and on native education in particular?

Is there any real danger that co-operation between welfare and education will be inadequate, either at the settlement level or at that of planning and administration? The writer thinks not. Any suggestion of lack of co-operation in the years of Office of Education control depended upon personalities. There were clashes at the settlement level, it is true, but these partly arose because teachers in those days were at a considerably higher official classification than settlement superintendents, and because the latter, by and large, insufficiently appreciated what the educational programme was trying to do. Perhaps in some respects the educational programme forged ahead of general welfare provision, but may this not have been a good thing, with a salutary effect on the welfare programme? There is something to be said for a state of healthy tension and competition. This is also true at the planning and administering level. A different point of view may add to the clarity of insights achieved through discussion and adaptation, provided the lines of communication are kept open.

The danger appears to the writer to be of a different kind, and to be something which in the event of such a transfer taking place will have to be guarded against. Just as under the present arrangements, there is danger that the native
will be subservient to the welfare programme education programme (and some think rightly so), so under the arrangements envisaged here for the future there is danger that it will become subservient to the general educational programme. Supporters of this point of view do not need to go very far to discover Australian States where just this has happened.

Although there has been increasing recognition of the need for education systems to take account of individual differences in children, there has been little attempt to make special provision for native children who require a very different approach from their white contemporaries. In fact, in most Australian States, native education has been given no special priority, the needs of native children have not been critically examined, and suitable teachers have not always been employed.

To ensure that the native education programme is properly treated in any new arrangement for Northern Territory education, it will be necessary for administrators to have this part of their responsibility close to their hearts. It may often be necessary to run counter to the demands of the white population when it comes to questions of spending money and resources on native schools at the expense of white schools. One way to protect this may be to ensure that the staffing establishment of any future Education Branch includes as one of its three top administrators an educationist with specific responsibility for the special education of native children, even if this in the long run will be a disappearing function.
CHAPTER XVI

THE AIMS OF THE PROGRAMME

It is in this part of the discussion that one becomes most conscious of the contribution which anthropologists can make to our understanding of the problems involved. The present writer, as an educationist with some background in psychology, is painfully aware of his own inadequacy, and of his presumption in writing on this subject at all. His temptation has been to reproduce some of the highly relevant writings of those who are better equipped to speak. (1) Instead, this is written as one who has observed some of these things at first hand, who began his work in this field on the assumption that the official government policy of assimilation was right, and the only right policy, and who still thinks that the educational programme must proceed on this basis. However, as indicated below, he has certain reservations, and the implications of these for the educational programme are considered.

(1) See, for example:
Catherine H. Berndt, "The Quest for Identity: The Case of the Australian Aborigines", Geografia, Volume XXXII, Number 1, September, 1961, pages 16 to 33.
The present policy of assimilation is fully set out and partly discussed in an earlier chapter.\(^1\) Space may perhaps be given, however, to a repetition of part of the definition of assimilation given by the 1951 Native Welfare Conferences:

The policy of assimilation means in the view of all Australian governments that all aborigines and part-aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians.\(^2\)

To this end the welfare programme in the Northern Territory is organized, operating through the settlements and missions. The functions of these agencies are also set out earlier in this thesis.\(^3\) They are to exist as a means of transition from the original culture of the aborigines to that of the white community to which they are being assimilated. They do this by establishing themselves as communities in which new habits, skills and attitudes will be inculcated. Within these new settlement and mission communities fundamental education projects are in progress. The place of the school in relation to this is to co-operate by providing the academic and some of the practical and vocational training involved.

\(^1\) Chapter III.


\(^3\) Chapter II.
To the writer this stated function of the school is not entirely consistent with, although it can be reconciled with, the decisions of the Curriculum Conference in 1949. (1) Amongst the findings of this body with reference to the curriculum for native schools were:

**Native Language**

The native languages will form part of the curriculum in areas in which the native culture is still relatively unaffected by white influences... the children should be encouraged... in writing their own language, as a means of expressing their ideas and also as a means of communication between themselves.

**Social Studies**

......The aborigine must not...be allowed to feel that his own rich tradition and heritage have been forgotten....

**Craft Work**

......Native arts should be encouraged and developed wherever possible......

There are now six points which the writer would like to take up, in discussing these aims and their implications. These are (1) implications of the policy for the Australian community, and especially the problem of prejudice; (2) the dangers of the present method of applying the policy from the point of view of the function of the settlements; the psychological problems arising from the policy; (4) the possibility of resistance (3)

(1) See Chapter VII.
to the policy; (5) the missions and religious teaching and
(6) the implications of these points for the schools.

Implications of the Assimilation Policy - The Problem of Prejudice

The Commonwealth Government is fully aware of the implications
of its policy for the Australian community:

Since the European population of the Territory now
slightly outnumber the aboriginal, and since a
continued influx of Europeans may reasonably be expected,
there will be a challenge in educating the changing
European population to receive as full members of the
community those aborigines who advance in their manner
of life and in their ability to handle their own
affairs. (1)

In many other places similar comments are passed in official
reports and statements. The Native Welfare Conference in Canberra
in 1961 thus emphasised the acceptance of advanced aborigines
"without prejudice". In doing so, it highlighted one of the most
serious problems of the assimilation policy, and a matter on which
official government action must be called upon to make a
contribution.

An important study of this problem as it has occurred in
the past and as it at present applies in Australia is that carried
out by Dr. H.W.S. Philp. (2) Dr. Philp's study examines some aspects

(1) The Northern Territory Annual Report 1955-1956; Canberra:

(2) H.W.S. Philp, "Prejudice Towards the Australian Aborigine",
Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Social Relations,
of G.W. Allport's theory of prejudice; (1)(2) provides an historical account of contact with and discrimination against the aborigines; and also reports two empirical studies amongst adults and children of the extent of support for discrimination in relation to degree of contact and status. The adult study was undertaken in all States but excluding the Northern Territory; the children's study was confined to New South Wales and Western Australia. The latter study was undertaken through the schools, which required the support of the educational authorities. The Directors of Education in Queensland, Victoria and South Australia were not prepared to assist, and "the Administrator of the Northern Territory expressed the fear that to ask questions about black-white relations 'would only stir up trouble'." (3) One can understand this decision (which may in any case have been influenced by the South Australian educational authorities) since the post-war tendency in the Northern Territory seems to have been towards a decline in prejudice and a more ready acceptance of children of aboriginal descent in the schools as a normal situation;


(3) Philip, op.cit., chapter 5, page 2.
to have asked questions which would make this attitude more self-conscious may have been risky. At the same time it is a pity that there is no objective evidence of the extent of prejudice in Northern Territory schools, against which the situation in later years might be judged.

Dr. Philp, following Allport, takes the view that multiple causes are necessary to explain the existence and extent of prejudice. Six aspects of situations are considered:

- the historical background of the relationship of the groups or persons
- the sociocultural milieu
- the peculiarities of the immediate situation
- the psychodynamics of the behaviour of the persons
- the phenomenology implicit in the immediate acts
- the objectively observable characteristics of the persons against whom prejudice is directed. (1)

In the study which follows, Dr. Philp directs his attention to four of these, since he did not have the facilities for obtaining information on psychodynamics or on phenomenology. His findings demonstrated, however, that knowledge of the individual psychology of prejudiced and unprejudiced persons and of their phenomenal picture of the aborigine are necessary to understand the dynamics of prejudice. Since the relationship between black and white in Australia has been conceived in terms of contact and of status, these are the aspects which he treats in detail.

(1) ibid, chapter ——, pages 1-2.
Again from Allport: "Only in situations where different groups meet on an equal footing, enjoying equal status, does prejudice diminish. The effect is greatly enhanced if the groups holding such equal status engage in joint participation in a common task." (1) Dr. Philp goes on to argue that where there is culture contact without equal status, prejudice may be expected to exist. In these circumstances the extent of prejudice would be related, among other things, to the extent of contact and the relative disparity of status. Where legal discrimination exists, equal status is impossible, because discrimination emphasises inequality. What is more, it acts most decisively in areas where assimilation is most relevant, namely in contact areas. (2)

Dr. Philp provides an interesting survey of the living conditions of aborigines in several States, covering mixed bloods as well as full bloods, and referring to other sources of information, such as government reports and the writings of anthropologists. Those for New South Wales and Victoria relate largely to mixed blood aborigines who are partly assimilated. Those for Western Australia and South Australia are more relevant to our subject matter. (3) There is little evidence


(2) Philp, op.cit., chapter 1, page 5.

(3) For example, R. & C. Berndt, From Black to White in South Australia; Melbourne: Cheshire, 1951.
given from the Northern Territory. Surveys are of course constantly being carried out by patrol officers of the Welfare Branch, but their reports are of a confidential nature. If at some later stage they could be released, they will provide a fascinating and informative account of the deliberate attempt on the part of the government to improve living conditions and status. The subjective impression of the present writer, from visits to the Territory in 1954 and 1960, is of steady and in some cases spectacular improvement, but still with remnants of conditions which prevent recognition of equal status.

Some of Dr. Philp's conclusions deserve to be quoted here fairly fully, because they are vitally important to this question of prejudice and to the programme of assimilation in the Northern Territory.

Having demonstrated the existence of discriminatory legislation and inferior status, a position which has developed steadily over the 170 years of culture contact, and also the existence in Australia of most of the socio-cultural conditions which sustain prejudice (little ethnical heterogeneity; considerable vertical mobility and rapid social change; real barriers to native communication with the whites; exploitation in some contact areas) Dr. Philp shows from his experimental data that there is not, however, widespread support for discriminatory
legislation. "The majority of Australian adults in the sample considered that the Aboriginal should have the franchise; should not be compelled to live in segregated areas; would be capable, given the opportunity, of learning any job; and that half-castes should be treated as white." (1) The exceptions tended to belong to middle and low status groups in high contact areas. Among children, contact alone was the most important variable, but the evidence related to relative rather than absolute choice, in that the children were asked to identify children of particular nationalities, including the aboriginal, in certain situations. Here again, however, "the evidence suggests that expression of negative feelings increases with contact". (2) When considered in relation to the other choices required of the children in the attitude test, especially New Australians, it became clear that conditions are such that prejudiced feelings exist, their object being largely determined by contact. Again with the adults a similar explanation is advanced to account for the lack of support for discrimination. "In contact areas.....the black is the dominant minority and since this is enhanced by his low status and high visibility, prejudice against him is greatest there". (3) Similar arguments apply in the matter of status and prejudice.

(1) Philp, op.cit., chapter 6, page 3.

(2) ibid., page 4.

(3) ibid., page 5.
Partly this is explained by favourable and unfavourable stereotypes, the whites who are not in contact thinking of the detribalised native as degenerated from the tribal native as a result of misguided white influence, those who are in contact regarding the degenerated native as the inevitable effect of civilization on inferior beings. Unfavourable stereotypes have been built up as a result of the segregation of natives in settlements, which in recent times has been partly brought about by financial inability to buy or rent homes in towns, and by inadequate educational opportunities. Native psychology has thus developed in ways unacceptable to the white, and the self-fulfilling prophecy has operated.

This evidence, of course, is drawn from settlements in various States, and does not necessarily apply to the Northern Territory. Nevertheless, administrators might well bear in mind that "There is abundant evidence that segregation increases prejudice, where the segregation is visible......this effect is likely to be greatest". (1)

Partly in the case of the children the closer contact leading to unfavourable statements may be the result of "well-earned reputation". Aboriginal children in the same classroom may be those who are "most likely to get into trouble",

(1) ibid., page 8.
and they almost certainly do not have comparable clothing or other material possessions. These aboriginal children will usually suffer from lack of a home environment which would assist school work or which will permit them to take white children home after school. Evidence from a study by Professor D.W. McElwain which was personally communicated to Dr. Philp showed that the aboriginal child's level of aspiration fell at the 10-12 year level compared even with the lower class white child’s. The aboriginal child at school thus has unequal status and different objectives; the white children in the school are reluctant to extend the degree of contact. It should be noted that this evidence relates to New South Wales and Western Australia. Comparable information was not obtained in the Northern Territory. It also applies generally to mixed blood children. Nevertheless it points to the kinds of factors to be carefully considered and avoided in bringing the full blood children from the native schools in the Northern Territory into the white schools.

Dr. Philp suggests that to prevent or lessen prejudice it is important for members of the majority group to appreciate that differing value systems are equally acceptable and present no threat to other systems. "On a different plane, if the aim of any culture-contact programme is assimilation, then opportunities

(1) ibid., chapter 1, page 45.
(a) to learn the value system of the majority, and (b) to behave in ways conforming to that value system, must be given to members of the minority. If either or both conditions are denied, then assimilation is impossible and prejudice will flourish."(1)

Dr. Philp goes on to discuss legal discrimination, claiming that its removal has the support of the vast majority of Australians. "If he is to become a citizen, in the full sense of the word, the Aboriginal must first be given the legal status and then be given equal opportunity to learn the values which go with this. To reverse the process, as some would claim, is to require of the Native accomplishments not demanded of migrants nor, for that matter, of many whites". (2)

It is to this field of legal discrimination that the attention of the Welfare Branch and the Commonwealth Government might appropriately be directed. Despite the decision of the Native Welfare Conference that one of the methods of advancing the assimilation policy was "A liberal approach to the removal of restrictive or protective legislation as soon as the capacity and advancement of the individual makes this possible"(3), one

(1) ibid., chapter 6, page 19.
(2) ibid., page 21.
feels that the administration of the welfare legislation in the
Northern Territory has erred on the side of excessive caution.
The present writer could cite cases known to him personally
which occurred in 1954: cases in which quite responsible young
aborigines were treated in an unduly restrictive way despite the
fact that they were close to what one would consider an appropriate
stage for full citizenship. Admittedly this was in the early
stages of the welfare programme. Perhaps the position has changed
now. The more important point is that legal discrimination
implies inferior status, and that inferior status in a situation
of contact will provoke prejudice and hinder assimilation, no
matter how good a job is done in improving living conditions.

Where there is legal discrimination, it seems pointless to
argue that:

In our view, Australian aborigines are Australian
citizens by virtue of the Nationality and Citizenship
Act 1948–1960. The special rights and disabilities
which they have under State and Territory statutes can
in no sense derogate from citizenship in the sense of
status as Australian citizens. (1)

So long as these people are wards, they are subject to legal
discrimination, including in the Northern Territory the prohibition
of alcohol, the forbidding of sexual intercourse of white men and
black women except where marriage has been contracted with the
consent of the Director of Welfare, restriction on the right of
entry and leaving native reserves, regulation of employment, and
the right to vote.

To hasten the programme of assimilation, as many as possible must as soon as possible cease to be wards. The impression gained from visiting new settlements like Warrabri is that there are a good many natives who are ready for this, who might be provided with assistance towards housing and employment away from the settlements. Perhaps there is a fear that mistakes would be costly to the programme as a whole; that prejudice would be provoked in the white community by "objectively observable characteristics" of some who were not really ready for the full responsibilities of freedom from wardship. This seems to the writer to be the wrong approach. It takes away from the educational programme a goal to which the great majority of children might direct themselves. Every effort is made in the teaching they receive for six or more years to introduce them to our way of life; but it has little reality because only one or two aborigines known to them have attained it. Others remain on the settlements or missions as wards of the State. One might reasonably put forward the proposition that any child who remains at school until the school leaving age which is required in the white community and having completed the educational programme of the special school, and can obtain employment away from a settlement, should, at least on turning twenty-one, cease to be a ward and should lose the restrictions and of course the privileges which are associated with that status.
To moderate prejudice and to assist assimilation it must be recognised that aborigines are entitled to equal status in the community, and as many as possible should be encouraged to exercise it. Education of aborigines at first in special schools and later in normal schools should be directed towards this end. At present, can a teacher in an aboriginal school promise such equal status to the children he teaches? If not, there is little point in wasting the children's time with the kind of programme we provide — they will have little interest in it because they cannot see its relevance. In any case, the stage for movement towards assimilation of many of these children is before they become adults, or before they leave school and enter employment — it must surely be during the school years when they should be transferred from the special school to a normal school. Here again caution has, I believe, been too great. More risks must be taken. The danger of prejudice arising because of "objectively observable characteristics" or from some other cause is surely less than the probable gain from "joint participation in a common task".

Danger of the Settlements

The suggestion has been made that natives should be encouraged as soon as possible to live in the white community and should cease to be wards. This is of course in line with
official policy, even if practice is working slowly. There
is a danger, however, that the government settlements will come
to regard themselves as an end in themselves. They, like the
missions, need to heed the statement to the 1961 Northern
Territory Missions Conference in Darwin:

Speaking in very broad terms, I would say that in
the final outcome missions, in the form in which
they are now known, and Government settlements
will disappear. Our eventual success will be to
work ourselves out of a job. (1)

The present writer, during a visit to four government
settlements, Amoonguna, Papunya, Warrabri and Snake Bay, in
1960, was very impressed by the effectiveness of these settlements.
Natives were well fed and clothed and appeared to be contented,
new and attractive native houses were being built, and
generally there was an atmosphere of industry and achievement
on each settlement. There is a danger that settlements of as
good a quality as these will operate so efficiently as self-
contained and self-supporting units that they will forget their
true function as a means of transition from one culture to
another.

As recently as January 1962 the Roman Catholic Bishop of
Darwin said something very similar, as reported by the Australian
Broadcasting Commission:

(1) P. Haaluck, "The Future of Missions", Australian
Territories, Volume 1, Number 5 - August 1961, page 7.
The Roman Catholic Bishop of Darwin - Doctor J.F. O'Loughlin says that the Federal Government's assimilation policy for aborigines will work in reverse unless the natives are given work and housing in Darwin and other towns of the Territory.

Bishop O'Loughlin said that there was already evidence of the assimilation programme working in reverse; instead of being absorbed into the white community, aborigines were settling on crowded missions and settlements in ever increasing numbers.

He said, "Segregation is taking place before our eyes, and it's happening throughout the Territory."

Bishop O'Loughlin quoted the example of the Roman Catholic Mission at Bathurst Island, 60 miles north of Darwin. He said a population explosion had left the Island seriously overcrowded. Natural food nearby was dwindling, and native children could not be educated if family groups were allowed to go wandering farther afield in search of food.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Darwin, said, in his view, the only solution was to adopt a policy of migration and help selected aboriginal families live and work in Darwin, and other towns. (1)

There was a recent case of an aboriginal who moved from Beswick settlement to Katherine where he obtained employment at a full wage and received the other benefits of citizenship but was unable to settle in Katherine because he could not obtain a house to enable him to bring his wife and children from Beswick. This sort of situation is not good enough from the point of view of the assimilation programme. The point is that there should be not one but dozens of natives moving away

(1) A.B.C. News Item, 7 p.m., 9.1.62.
from the settlements and there should be houses for them to live in so that they can be properly regarded as part of the white community. Only in these circumstances will the schools on settlements be able to orientate their programmes to eventual assimilation. If the ultimate end of schooling on settlements is merely to live on the settlement, the curriculum might as well be reconstructed and considerably simplified.

The Psychological Problems

The task of orientating aborigines to the European way of life must never be thought to be a simple one. Nothing less is involved than the upsetting of their entire social system. This has even greater psychological effects in the case of the aborigines than might be the case with some other primitive peoples, since this means a change from a closely knit communal system to one which encourages individualism. Furthermore, even within this individualism of white society, and sustaining it, there are social groupings of all kinds which the native will find it almost impossible to enter — family groupings, trade unions and professional societies, clubs, churches and so on.

The aboriginal social organization, economic system and religion gave to individual natives a sense of security or
belongingness which, with the decline of these features of their culture, is steadily being undermined. Purely materialistic progress, even health and education, are not in themselves sufficient to replace the old native culture. Those natives who were brought up in the old ways, who were initiated as full members of their tribe and introduced to its secret lore, will probably never break free from it. Perhaps theirs is the happier condition. Those aborigines who have been excluded from their own communities, without an adequate substitution, find themselves lost. The tragedy of Albert Namatjira was his attempt to belong to both worlds. White society was prepared to accept Albert himself, but not his tribal relatives. He could not and would not break himself free from his own people. This was despite the Christian upbringing of Hermannsburg mission, which must have led him to regard the old Aranda beliefs in a different light. As T.G.H. Strehlow points out, "no man can stand successfully on his very own, as an individual divorced from the group to which he belongs by race, culture and inclination". (1) There are and will be many more other cases than Namatjira's before the present assimilation programme comes to fruition.

How is this process to be made easier? Strehlow believes that the way to do it is to strengthen rather than to destroy what remains of aboriginal authority and aboriginal pride, especially

(1) op.cit., page 15.
on the more isolated settlements. "My own feeling is that the responsible authorities should ease off their attacks on these rites and cease undermining the last traces of aboriginal authority." (1) His other suggestion is the encouragement of co-operative enterprises, founded on group ownership, thus preserving effective aboriginal group units as well as providing an economic basis for the new order. A further point comes out of Catherine Berndt's analysis of the basis of "identity" for the aborigines. She is discussing matters associated with social and personal identification, and one matter she emphasises is the function of the vernacular and of aboriginal names. She makes out a strong case for the retention of these as means of self-identification. (2)

These questions are more properly anthropological than educational, and, as mentioned above, on these the writer is not qualified to judge. He does hold the opinion, however, that from a psychological point of view there is a great deal to be said for preserving for individual natives as much respect for their old tribal culture as possible, commensurate with the ultimate goal of assimilation, and that one way to do this is through the school and its curriculum.

(1) Ibid., page 31.
Possible Resistance to the Assimilation Policy

One possibility that cannot be ignored is that of the eventual growth of a hard core of resistance on the part of the aborigines themselves to the assimilation programme. I do not refer here to the resistance of the old men, which appears to have steadily broken down, whatever their regrets. Whereas there was early resistance to the very notion of a school, as at Yuendumu, they eventually recognised that it would be to the advantage of their children to have a little of white man's know how. Even where the advent of the Christian religion or of the educational programme meant that the source of supply of young wives was threatened, they gradually became resigned to the position. What would be far more significant would be a situation where a group of sophisticated natives preferred to live in something approaching their old ways, accepting perhaps some of the benefits of white man's civilization, but retaining their tribal organization laws and culture generally.

This sort of thing has happened elsewhere. It is salutary to remember that the Maoris have resisted a general assimilation:

The Maoris will not be rapidly absorbed or assimilated as is often stated. Much evidence could be brought to show that the Maori people is likely to be an integral and distinct if minor factor in the life of New Zealand for many generations to come. Further, there has been in
recent years a considerable regeneration and renewal of many features of Maori life. There is observable among the Maori people today a marked growth of racial consciousness, of racial pride, and of interest in themselves as Maoris. (1)

It might also be remembered that the official policy of the United States towards the Indians used to be assimilation, the result of which was to build up a determination on the part of many not to be like the tyrannous white man. In 1934, arising out of the Merriam Report, a change occurred in policy. The view was taken that there might be many kinds of Americans, different racially or culturally but equal before the law. The right of Indian tribes to form local governments of their own choosing and to exercise the powers inherent in Indian tribes was recognised. What is being sought by the American Bureau of Indian Affairs is the ultimate objective of the full independence of the Indian people, not with one programme but with a whole series of such programmes developed in consultation with the Indians themselves, tribe by tribe and group by group. No element of compulsion is contemplated in connection with this approach. (2)

It may be said that they are to become, if they wish, a separate nation within a nation.


As Strehlow points out, an approach which entitled aborigines to what he calls "aboriginal citizenship", with the educational and economic benefits of the white community, but preserving the right to retain "their own customs and institutions where these are not incompatible with the national legal system or the objectives of integration programmes", would be in line with Convention 107 of the International Labour Conference, 1957, from which the quotation is taken. (1)

One gains the impression at present that the native population of the missions and settlements in the Northern Territory is prepared to acquiesce in the assimilation programme. What will happen when recently formed Native Councils on some settlements and missions become more sophisticated must be awaited with interest. In this connection the comments of Professor Elkin (referring I think to New South Wales) at the A.N.Z.A.A.S. Conference in 1959 are apposite:

As assimilation is going on but it's just a trickle. The main bulk is adopting voluntary segregation or withdrawal. They do not want assimilation in the form of dispersal among the white community - this I judge is the policy in Western Australia. They want to keep their own identity. This trend is not new but it has lately become vocal. (2)

(1) op. cit., page 36.
(2) Sydney Morning Herald, 29.8.59.
Something like this may happen in the Northern Territory.

The Missions and Religious Teaching

The Minister for Territories made it clear at the Missions Conference referred to above, that he regarded the missions as falling into the same category as the settlements, from the point of view that their ultimate success would be to work themselves out of a job. Clearly the Minister's words on the subject of the ultimate disappearance of the missions is to the point, as it is for settlements, unless they become native co-operatives and continue their existence at the wish of the natives themselves.

A more important point at present is the question of the distinctive function of the missions as agencies for teaching religion and providing Christian communities. A second point concerning us here is the question of their efficiency as educational instrumentalities. This will be dealt with in the next section of the chapter.

Some missionary organizations in the Northern Territory have been more efficient in their educational activities than others; some have been more enlightened in their approach to aboriginal culture than have others; some have been more reasonable in their attempts to introduce aborigines to the Christian religion than have others.
If some version of Christianity is to replace the old tribal myths, symbolisms and ceremonial, it needs to be sufficiently real and vital to appeal to the aborigines for its own sake. Also, it needs to be reasonably well represented in the white population of the Northern Territory.

A detailed discussion of this matter is obviously outside the scope of this thesis. One might hazard a guess, however, that religious worship without ceremonial is unlikely to be effective. A possible compensation would be a heavy emphasis upon hymn singing, as a substitute for the native songs. Religious missions might well consider the adaptation of their own particular traditions to suit the needs of the native, and also to serve the kind of religious tradition which is most effective amongst Europeans in the Territory. The constant references to Sunday Schools and Bible Classes in the statements about religious activities on the missions, and the recitation of Matins from the Prayer Book with the lessons from the Authorized Version, which the writer witnessed at Cenpelli, are hardly the kinds of things an educationist would consider suitable.

**Implications for the Schools**

It seems to the writer that there are quite serious implications for both the white schools in the Northern Territory,
and for the native schools, in what has been discussed in this chapter. As part of the preparation for assimilation, the white schools need to include in their curriculum a treatment of the aborigines and their culture which will lead to an understanding of them and acceptance of them as fellow human beings, and, even beyond that, a respect for the separate identity of the aborigines and for the pride which they should feel in their own heritage. As far as the native schools are concerned, it appears to the writer that to help overcome the psychological problems of change, and to preserve the possibility of retreat should native groups eventually decide that they want to continue their separate identity, they must look both ways. To do this they would only need to follow out the recommendations of the Curriculum Conference of 1949. This would mean, in practical terms, that on the more isolated missions and settlements the native language would be taught, being reduced to written form if this had not already been done, native traditions and arts would be encouraged, and, rather more than at present occurs, every effort would be made to achieve respect for the tribal inheritance.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, the development of United States Indian education, which "has progressed far towards its goals which combine an understanding of and respect for the Indian's tribal lore and art with the full educational
opportunities of the non-Indian.\(^{(1)}\)

On the matter of religious teaching, obviously each mission must be free to take its own line, subject to the suggestion that they should try some adaptation to make use of native motifs, to meet the needs of the native in terms of the sort of religious practice which they wish to encourage, and to keep in mind the sorts of Churches which exist in Darwin, Alice Springs, Katherine and elsewhere. One other thing is clear: to be educationally efficient most missions will need to provide additional school buildings and teachers. Pupil/teacher ratios at present existing are entirely unsatisfactory. In both respects they can call upon Government assistance.

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\(^{(1)}\) Peterson, op. cit., page 19.
CHAPTER XVII

THE PROBLEM OF LOW ACHIEVEMENT

As with white children, low achievement amongst native children may be taken as a symptom of something else. The main purpose of this chapter will be to advance some hypotheses as to the causes of low achievement, and, perhaps by implication, to suggest some remedies. Where the facts or remedies are not obvious, suggestions will be made as to needed research.

A very interesting study has recently been undertaken by the Faculty of Education at the University of Queensland of the school attainments and home backgrounds of aboriginal children. (1) This study relates to part aborigines, some living in the white community and attending normal primary schools, others living on settlements or missions. All were taught according to the normal primary curricula. The battery of attainment tests, standardised on approximately 10,000 Queensland primary school children, included:

- Schonell Silent Reading Test R3
- Schonell Silent Reading Test R4
- Schonell Essential Spelling Test
- Schonell Essential Mechanical Arithmetic Test
- Schonell Essential Problem Arithmetic Test

The test results revealed that, without exception, the aboriginal children gained lower scores than white children. The attainments of aboriginal children living in white communities and attending normal primary schools were, in some cases, somewhat superior to those living on settlements and missions, but the evidence was not conclusive. It was found that 79% of aboriginal children in normal schools and 51% of those attending settlement or mission schools were more than two years retarded in reading. The average retardation was three to four years. The situation was almost as bad in spelling and arithmetic. The head teachers of the normal schools in rural areas which were being attended by part-aboriginal children were asked to state their opinions on the causes of retardation. These were grouped as follows -

Late start at schooling,
frequent changes of school,
lack of ability,
lack of motivation, and
very poor attendance.

The research report indicates the need for further research to discover the relative frequency and importance of these, especially the factor of motivation, to which an entire study should be directed. The investigators themselves drew attention to the following as possible causes of the low attainment disclosed:
(1) Poor family background. In many cases parents are uninterested in education and ignorant of the benefits it confers. They do little to stimulate the children and fail to encourage regular attendance.

(2) Lack of motivation. Young adolescents can see no relationship between the school of the upper grades and the limited range of occupations open to them.

(3) Unsuitable curriculum. The syllabus, established on the criterion of the needs of white children, is divorced to some extent from the needs and background of aboriginal pupils.

(4) Not sufficiently attractive or efficient teaching methods for this type of child. The majority of these pupils need the assistance of teachers trained in special teaching methods in order that they may overcome the aboriginal child's rather limited experiential and cultural background. (1)

Evidence is available which discloses a similar degree of retardation in part aboriginal children in New South Wales. Causes suggested are impoverished home background, the nature of the school experience which is unrelated to the cultural backgrounds of the children, and the lack of special training for teachers. (2)

This sort of evidence is not confined, of course, to Australian aborigines, but applies equally to many other minority groups in other countries. For example, a survey to examine the progress and achievement of Indian students in the United States

(1) ibid, page 33.

showed that although progress had been made between 1926 and 1946, when two comparable surveys had been undertaken, there was still evidence of retardation, to the extent of 62% of children, 33% of them two years or more. Indian children attending public schools with white children did better than those in special schools. The factors regarded as affecting the academic achievement of these Indian children were:

- Cultural background,
- Education of parents,
- Language spoken in the home,
- Home stability,
- Variety of schools attended,
- Regularity of attendance. (1)

An earlier chapter (2) gave an account of what is known to the writer about the ability and achievement of native children in the Northern Territory. In this chapter the suggestion was made that it would not be unreasonable to expect a retardation of two years in native children in special schools, arising out of the circumstances of a different cultural background.

Although some children are working to something like this level, too many are at present well below it. But here the discussion must become rather vague, because in fact we do not know with any precision what the standard of achievement really is.

Administrators and teachers alike will admit, however, that in many cases this achievement is not up to the standard which it should be.

(1) Peterson, op. cit., pages 15 to 17.

(2) Chapter XIV.
One of the most obvious research needs in the Northern Territory at present is to obtain reliable assessments of pupil achievement throughout the schools, and for checks to be made at regular intervals. Testing programme using the Schonell Tests used in the Queensland survey would, in the writer's view, be most appropriate; alternatively A.C.E.R. Tests might be used at the upper levels; other tests could be devised.

Let us now consider several possible factors influencing the level of achievement of native children in special schools in the Northern Territory.

1. The Ability of the Children

The suggestion has already been made in the earlier chapter(1) that we should assume no difference in average ability between aboriginal children and white children. This does not mean, however, that all children, native or white, are of equal ability. Clearly some children have more possibility of achieving well at school than have others. It is important that facts be obtained on this matter, by regular surveys of the abilities of native children. This might be done by specially devised tests, making use of elements of other existing tests, selecting those with the least cultural

(1) Chapter XIV.
bias. Such tests would not necessarily give a comparison with white children, but may reliably and validly give a relative measure of ability. Another possible approach to this is to experiment with the Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices, which is designed for use with children. A Canadian study suggests that this test is much less culturally loaded than the Performance Scale of the Wechsler-Bellevue. (1) The writer tried it out with thirteen native school children in the Northern Territory in 1960. He came to the conclusion that provided great care was taken with the explanations and directions, the test would work and would discriminate. No Australian norms are available but again it is a measure of relative ability that is needed. Special test directions could be devised to simplify administration.

2. The Rate of Growth of the Children

It is possible that the rate of psychological and intellectual maturing is different for native children from what it is for whites, just as there are appearances of different rates of physiological maturing. A comprehensive testing programme over a number of years would provide evidence on this point, which may have relevance for the grading of the curriculum, and for what is to be expected at various stages of maturing.

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3. The Cultural Discontinuity

This has already been mentioned as explaining lower scores on intelligence tests and as possibly justifying, for the present generation at least, a retardation in school achievement. It is highly probable that this discontinuity provokes a sense of insecurity in adults, and it may have its influence on children of school age. Work in the United States dealing with migrants has shown that even with the minor cultural discontinuity of migrant children living amongst other migrants in segments of large American cities there tends to be educational retardation especially in backwardness in arithmetic and in declining interest in school.

4. The Dichotomy of School and Camp

For the great majority of native school children the day is divided into home life in the camp, often with very primitive and unhygienic living conditions, with poor clothes, and with the native language being spoken, and on the other hand school life, washed, with clean clothes, using the English language, in contact with a European teacher. There is thus a discontinuity between school and teacher on the one hand and camp and family on the other. This point is emphasised by Professor Elkin in a recent review of the work of the schools. (1)

(1) A.F. Elkin, "Schools for Aborigines in the Northern Territory", South Pacific, Volume 9, Number 13, July-August, 1958, pages 606 to 611.
Only where the children feel that the school and the teacher are genuinely part of their own lives, where there is empathy between the children and the teacher, is this dichotomy likely to be bridged. The inclusion of native culture in the curriculum might be expected to assist this.

5. The Quality and Training of the Teachers

All government teachers and subsidized mission teachers in the Northern Territory native schools are fully trained and certificated, and most are experienced. They no doubt represent a fair cross-section of the teaching force of Australian schools. Those proceeding through the two-year course at the Australian School of Pacific Administration are given special training.

This, however, may be part of the explanation. Certainly quite distinctive qualities of sympathy, patience, imagination, resourcefulness, tact, and teaching capacity are required for this work. Means should be found to attract more such unusual teachers. Those who have already been attracted to native education have usually been ones with missionary zeal, since class size, living conditions and promotion possibilities are not at present likely to attract many.
6. The Expectations of the Teachers

It is true that some teachers have been able to extract more from these children, and successfully to drive them harder, than have others. If teachers expect or accept a low level of achievement and let the children get away with it, one can scarcely blame the children. Here again a comprehensive achievement testing programme over a period would determine levels of achievement which might be expected.

7. The Level of Aspiration of the Children

The reverse side of the teacher's expectation is the level which the child sets for himself. If this is too low, only a great deal of encouragement from the teacher will persuade the child, by the experience of success, to set his sights higher.

8. The Motivation of the Children

As with the Queensland investigators, the writer considers this fundamental and deserving of a special study. The children are not likely to achieve beyond the level at which they can see achievement in school subjects as meaningful and related to their expectation of role in the vocational world which they are entering. One can understand the children wondering what is the relevance of arithmetic, for example, to the jobs they will be likely to obtain when they leave school.
9. The Nature of the Curriculum

This factor has three facets to it. In the first place, the need for so much attention to hygiene, social conduct and English in the early years, and the interruptions for showers, health inspections and so on directly interfere with the amount of time given to academic subjects. Secondly, the suggestion has already been made that there is need for further incursions into the curriculum by the teaching of subjects related to native culture. Thirdly, however, the curriculum devised by the Commonwealth Office of Education was always considered to be subject to revision in the light of experience and changing needs, and it may be that the time has arrived for this to be done.

10. The Methods of Teaching

The writer is reasonably confident that the right methods of teaching English as a foreign language have been recommended to the teachers and incorporated in the way in which the Course of Study is set out. They are being used in most schools, but with varying degrees of efficiency.

The same cannot be said, however, for the methods of teaching arithmetic, which aims at building a bridge from the active concrete experience of manipulating rods to the abstract
thinking involved in the study of numbers. It is interesting to note that Professor Elkin complains about the reliance upon rote learning both in reading and in number work. (1)

The writer thinks the point well taken in regard to arithmetic, although it would not be true, for example, with reference to the better children tested by the writer at Snake Bay. (2) A change of method may have some effect on this tendency to rote learning.

Any or all of these factors may be operating to depreciate the quality of achievement of children in native schools. What is needed is not to be surprised or depressed that achievement is not to standard; if one is a teacher, not to be frustrated in the face of apparently insurmountable barriers, but to continue on with patient experiment until something better is achieved. The greatest need of all is the need for an adequate research programme, firstly to try to determine the facts, secondly to arrange for follow up through modification and further experiment. The native education programme is in danger of settling down into relative stagnation if this is not done.

(1) ibid, page 603.
(2) See Chapter XIV.
CHAPTER XVIII

THE FUTURE OF THE PROGRAMME

Even if we assume that the special schools for native children in the Northern Territory exist only to contribute to the assimilation programme, and will not be called upon to sustain groups of natives who contract out of that programme, there seems no likelihood that they will become redundant within the next two generations. The Minister for Territories is no more hopeful than this:

The completing of assimilation will take not less than two generations — say, another sixty years. During that time the need for some missions and settlements will cease and the nature of the work to be done on others will change....We face two generations of perpetual change and we have to be flexible enough to meet it. (1)

For the purpose of government planning, the Minister sees all but two or three of the existing settlements and missions as being needed as welfare centres, with education one of their major activities, for at least another twenty years. Eventually, he hopes to see out-lying missions and settlements replaced by communities as free as all other communities in Australia. Should this come about, the native schools in these areas will of course be replaced by normal schools. Until this does occur, the need for special schools will continue.

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This should not mean that these special schools will need to exist in much their present style. On the contrary, as the cultural discontinuity becomes less, and as the programme develops in depth as well as extent, it may be expected that these schools will come closer to the normal schools in curriculum, teaching methods and achievement. Obviously, continuous assessment of the effectiveness of the schools in contributing to the programme of assimilation will need to be carried out, and modification will need to be made as required. Clearly also, this modification will need to be different in different places. The future character of the schools is thus likely to be more diverse than it is at present.

The most immediate need, in the opinion of the writer, is for careful programme of research to determine what the schools are at present achieving and in what way they should proceed. This research should not be only as suggested in the last chapter in the fields of ability and achievement; also investigation is required into adjustment and assimilation, by means of attitude, interest and sociometric surveys, both of the native children and young adults and of the European community.
The other obvious need is the extension of the present educational provision to improve its quality where it already exists and to include a greater number of native children. For the former aspect, more and better buildings and more teachers are required for the existing schools. For the latter, a very considerable effort is required if the programme is to be brought within the reach of all native children of school age. The writer's opinion is that this might be done within the next ten years.

Already on some, perhaps most, missions and settlements the number of teachers and classrooms is insufficient for the purpose of teaching all children of school age resident on those missions and settlements. There are in addition a great many children of pre-school age who should be catered for if the programme is to work effectively.

As far as existing government settlements are concerned, a school is required at Maningrida. In addition there appears to be some call for special educational provision at some of the smaller centres in the Northern Territory, such as Tennant Creek, Mataranka and Katherine. The writer would prefer to see this provided by means of special classes in the existing white schools. A much larger problem is that of providing for the aboriginal children on the pastoral properties. There are almost
four hundred separate pastoral properties or leases in the Northern Territory. Many of these would have only a handful of children, but there might be nearly one hundred with school age children in sufficient numbers to justify the existence of a school. The present number of government and subsidized schools on pastoral properties leaves this problem largely untouched. There are in addition remote areas where children are at present out of touch with settlements and missions.

This must seem an almost insuperable problem to the administrators. The approach to it would seem to be the establishment of further settlements or missions in a few remaining areas, and heavy pressure on the pastoralists for educational provision wherever the number of children justifies it. Thus, government schools should be obligatory where there are more than twenty children, and subsidized schools should be strongly encouraged in other cases. Gradually this enrolment number might be reduced to something nearer to twelve. In all other cases there should be an obligation on the pastoralist to contribute to some alternative educational provision for the children of all employees except those on full award wages.

This "alternative educational provision" is likely to be the most difficult to encompass. A possible approach to it is something along the lines of the present Daly River mission - the use of boarding facilities, to which scattered children who could not
otherwise attend school might come. Educational experiment might well proceed in this direction, with the establishment of at least one government controlled educational and welfare centre designed for children from pastoral properties. This might be established at some location where selected children might in due course attend the normal white school.

It is quite clear that the next ten years hold a great deal of challenge to the development of the native education programme, both in intensity and in extent.
SECTION 5

IN CONCLUSION
CHAPTER XIX

GENERAL EVALUATION AND SUGGESTIONS

The objective of this thesis has been in the first place to provide an historical and descriptive account of the native education programme in the Northern Territory. To furnish a framework for this, the special demands made upon that programme by the characteristics of the Northern Territory itself and of the native people to whom it is directed have been briefly reviewed, and the setting of the programme in the context of the government policy of assimilation and in relation to the general educational system of the Territory has been indicated.

We have seen that historically the attempts to educate the aborigines of the Territory began with the Christian missions, perhaps initially with very different aims, but gradually being brought round to an acceptance of the assimilation objective. The story of war-time and post-war policy development and planning on the part of the government, and of the request to the Commonwealth Office of Education to commence government native schools has been told. The survey of the situation, the inauguration of the programme and the six years of Office of Education control, in which a growing educational system was
established, has been recounted, as has also the transfer of control to the Welfare Branch, and its subsequent management of native education as an integral part of its welfare programme. We have further examined the present position of native education, looking at the numbers, locations and staffing of schools, school buildings, curriculum, teaching aids and methods. We have considered the question of the ability and present achievement of native children.

This brought us to the second objective, a critical consideration of some of these things. The eventual need for one educational system in the Northern Territory and the integration of the control of native education with this was proposed; the aims of the programme were examined and the suggestion made that some modification of emphasis might be called for; the problem of low achievement was looked at from the point of view of possible contributing factors; and the future development of the programme was envisaged.

This has brought us to the point where, in conclusion, a general evaluation and some suggestions may be considered appropriate.

**General Evaluation**

The broad aims of the assimilation policy must undoubtedly be accepted as a basis for evaluating the present programme.
From this point of view, there is evidence that the schools are performing their part. As at present operating, they are an integral part of general welfare activities, and seem to be fulfilling their function. Teachers and pupils are working in full co-operation with other means of training and social reorientation. The pupils are well behaved, clean, articulate in English, and appear to be gaining confidence in social relationship with white and other native children. However, there is insufficient evidence of a level of achievement which might have been hoped for, and on the contrary some evidence of frustration on the part of teachers. It follows that more has to be done in the matter of the intensity and efficiency of the programme in those areas where it has been established. To this end, a large-scale research programme is essential.

The subsidiary aim of the curriculum, as enunciated in Office of Education days, of encouraging native culture is insufficiently in evidence, possibly deliberately. It may be questioned whether, from the point of view of bridging the gap between two cultures, this is a wise approach.

There is some evidence of a lack of adequate motivation on the part of pupils. Partly this may be due to the discontinuity between the two cultures, to a dichotomy between the camp and the school, but more particularly there appears
to be a need for pupils to see the relevance of academic work to their future employment possibilities. The use of more native assistant teachers, and more skilled work generally for natives who proceed through the schools, may assist at this point, but there seems to be a further need to hold out the bait of freedom from wardship to those who successfully complete the educational programme.

More experiment is needed in teaching methods, and more and better trained teachers are an urgent necessity, both on missions and on government settlements. Pre-school and adult education work need to be taken more seriously in those places where they do not at present exist.

Expansion of the programme is called for, especially by finding ways to cater for the children who are not in touch with missions or settlements, especially those on pastoral stations.

Specific Suggestions

1. As soon as an Education Branch is established in the Northern Territory, the control of native education should be passed over to that Branch, special provision being made in the structure of that Branch to ensure that native education is not relegated to a second place.

2. Until that time comes, the present administrative structure of the education component of the Welfare Branch should be strengthened by the appointment of a research officer at a status at least equivalent to that of an Inspector of Special Schools.
3. The resources of the Commonwealth Office of Education should be called upon to advise and assist this office in regard to research and curriculum matters.

4. A large scale research project should be undertaken to determine (i) the abilities of native school children (ii) the level of achievement (iii) the extent of adjustment of native children and young adults to the assimilation policy (iv) the degree of acceptance of the assimilation policy in the white community.

5. The content of the curriculum and the methods of teaching, especially of number work, should be subject to experiment and review.

6. In more isolated missions and settlements, an attempt should be made by teachers to learn the native language, where a suitable written lingua franca exists, and to incorporate literacy in that language in the school curriculum.

7. In all native schools and white schools in the Northern Territory, native culture should be given a significant place.

8. An experiment should be undertaken in the near future by setting up a government boarding school (perhaps at Katherine) where children from pastoral properties may attend a special school, with provision for those whose achievement is adequate to transfer to the normal white school but continue to live in the boarding establishment during term. In the first instance, there should be no compulsion on parents to send their children to this school.

9. The provision of funds for and the attention given to teacher recruitment and training and to the building and equipping of additional classrooms and schools should be greater during the next few years than it has been in the past. Better teachers must be attracted to the programme and pupil-teacher ratios must be reduced.

10. Consideration should be given to the removal of the remaining shreds of discriminatory legislation against the aborigines. School children completing the educational programme and finding regular employment should, on attaining the age of twenty-one years, cease to be wards.
In conclusion

In general, it has to be admitted that a great deal has been achieved in twelve years, both by the Commonwealth Office of Education in creating a native education programme almost from nothing, and by the Welfare Branch in carrying it on and integrating it with general welfare work. Much credit for this must go to the unselfish efforts of a number of devoted educationists, as well as to their advisors including the anthropologists who have interested themselves in Northern Territory aboriginal affairs. Much remains to be done if the work envisaged is to be brought to fruition.
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APPENDIX A

THE COMMONWEALTH OFFICE OF EDUCATION

The Commonwealth Office of Education was established in November 1945, with the proclamation of the Education Act passed earlier that year by the Commonwealth Parliament. The functions of the Office, as set out in that Act, are:

"(a) To advise the Minister on matters relating to education;
(b) to establish and maintain a liaison, on matters relating to education, with other countries and the States;
(c) to arrange consultation between Commonwealth authorities concerned with matters relating to education;
(d) to undertake research relating to education;
(e) to provide statistics and information relating to education required by any Commonwealth authority;
(f) to advise the Minister concerning the grant of financial assistance to the States and to other authorities for education purposes;
and shall include such other functions in relation to education as are assigned to it by the Minister."

Associated with the Office of Education is the Commonwealth Scholarships Board, of which the Director of the Office is Chairman. This is the body responsible for the overall administration of the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme. It was previously known as the Universities Commission, until the setting up in 1959 under the Australian Universities Commission Act of the Australian Universities Commission. The functions of the Commonwealth Scholarships Board are also set out in the Education Act, as follows:

"(i) To arrange, as prescribed, for the training in universities or similar institutions for the purpose of facilitating their re-establishment of all persons who were discharged members of the Forces within the meaning of the Re-establishment and Employment Act 1945;
(ii) in prescribed cases, or classes of cases, to assist other persons to obtain training in universities or similar institutions;"
(iii) to provide, as prescribed, financial assistance to students at universities and approved institutions;
(iv) to advise the Minister with respect to such matters relating to university training and associated matters as are referred by the Minister to the Board for advice."

The Board itself consists of a Chairman, who, as mentioned above, is the Director of the Office of Education, and three members. The associated secretarial work is carried out by the staff of the Commonwealth Office of Education.

The Australian Universities Commission is an entirely different body, established under its own Act. Its functions are to furnish information and advise the Minister on matters in connection with the grant by the Commonwealth of financial assistance to universities established by the Commonwealth and of financial assistance to the States in relation to universities. It is expressly stated in the Australian Universities Commission Act that "the functions of the Commission do not include the furnishing of advice on matters on which the Commonwealth Office of Education is empowered to advise the Minister administering the Education Act 1945-1959".

Both the Office of Education and the Australian Universities Commission are part of the Prime Minister's Department, and the Minister administering both Acts is the Prime Minister. In the case of the Office of Education, this has not always been so. For the first five years of its history, the administering Minister was the Minister for Post-War Reconstruction.

There was no intention in establishing the Office of Education to weaken the responsibilities of the States in educational matters or to duplicate State activities. Its main function has always been to provide advice on educational matters to the Commonwealth Government and Commonwealth instrumentalities. In carrying out this function, a very wide range of matters comes within the scope of Office activity, and it is essential that the Office be very well informed on all matters relating to education, and to Australian education particularly. At the international level, the Office is looked upon as the Australian authority in this field, and is constantly required to provide information for overseas consumption. In addition, certain executive responsibilities have devolved upon the Office. As far as possible, these are delegated by agreement to the State Education Departments - for example, the day-to-day administration of the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme is carried out by each of the State Departments of Education within its own State.
The first Director of the Office of Education was Professor R.C. Mills. The present Director, Mr. W.J. Weeden, was appointed in December 1952. The staff of the Office is somewhat under two hundred, with about sixty of these professional officers who are graduates with teacher training qualifications and usually teaching experience. By this means the advice which is given by the Office is firmly grounded on a realistic understanding of educational problems.

The central office of the Office of Education is located at North Sydney, with branch offices in Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Perth. The central office is divided into a number of sections each dealing with some major activity. Thus there are the International Relations Section, handling amongst other things Unesco activities in Australia; Educational Services, dealing with the provision of information and publications; Research and Surveys; Language Teaching; and two Training Sections, one being responsible for Commonwealth Scholarships Board work, the other the training of sponsored students such as Colombo Plan students in Australian universities and in the field of education.

Native Education matters were dealt with in central office by the Services Section, as far as administration was concerned; by the Research Section; and by the Language Teaching Section.
APPENDIX B


"WHEREAS pursuant to the Aboriginals Ordinance 1918-1943 of the Northern Territory of Australia, it is the duty of the Director of Native Affairs under the Administrator 'to provide .. for the education of the children of aboriginals', and the Administrator is of the opinion that such duty can best be carried out by an arrangement with the Commonwealth Office of Education, it is accordingly agreed between the Administrator and the Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education with the consent of the Minister in charge of the Northern Territory Administration Act and the Minister in charge of the Commonwealth Education Act as follows:—

1. The Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education will accept responsibility for the administration of education of children of aboriginals in the Northern Territory in respect of—

(a) Staffing of schools.
(b) Inspection of schools.
(c) Curricula for schools.
(d) Classification of schools.
(e) Recommendations for the establishment of new schools.
(f) The training, appointment and control of teachers.
(g) The classification of teachers.
(h) The transfer and promotion of teachers.
(i) The inspection and supervision of Mission Schools, and the encouragement of those schools in attaining satisfactory standards in staffing and teaching, including provision for the training of teachers.
(j) Recommendations for the assistance of Mission Schools in attaining satisfactory standards of staffing, buildings and equipment.

2. Schools are to be established at such places as the Administrator approves, and the Administrator will provide all buildings and fixed equipment for the establishment of such schools.

3. The Director will provide all other facilities, including
staff, furniture and equipment for the conduct of the schools.

4. Suitable building standards to be fixed in consultation with the Director and approved by the Administrator, with the consent of the Minister in charge of the Northern Territory Administration Act.

5. School curricula to be approved by the Administrator with the consent of the Minister.

6. The Director to maintain such registers and other records as are agreed with the Administrator and the Minister, and to permit the Administrator or the Minister or their nominees to inspect such registers and other records at reasonable times.

7. The Director to furnish to the Administrator an annual report of his operations and proceedings under the arrangement.

8. The Administrator to append a copy of such report to his Annual Report to the Minister on the Administration of the Northern Territory.

9. Any matters in dispute between the Administrator and the Director arising under this agreement to be referred for consideration of the Minister responsible for the Northern Territory Administration Act."
APPENDIX C

I. EXTRACTS FROM LANGUAGE CURRICULUM

The Course of Study in Language for use in Schools for Aborigines in the Northern Territory is planned to cover seven years of schooling, and is divided into seven stages, a "Preparatory Stage" and Stages One to Six. Detailed suggestions relating to language teaching in the preparatory stage are set out in "Teachers' Notes for the Preparatory Stage" prepared by the Commonwealth Office of Education for use with Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory. This book also contains notes on pre-reading and pre-writing activities.

Two of these stages are given in detail below:

PREPARATORY STAGE

Table: Content | Notes and suggestions
---|---
1. Oral English | 

**Note:** Some grammatical terms are used in this course. They are included for the guidance of teachers, but they should not be taught to students. The function of each part of speech should be made obvious in a visual situation.

(a) Practice in using simple expressions involving the following:

- Personal pronouns: He, she, I, you, it, they, we.
- Statements using pronouns: e.g. He is Tom. She is Mary. I am Mr. Brown.
- Simple commands: e.g. Stand up. Sit down. Show me Tom.
"This" and "that"; "here" and "there".  Related to members of the class
e.g.  This is Tom.  That is Mary.
     Tom is here.  Mary is there.

Possessive adjectives.  e.g.
My, your, his, her.
That is your arm.
He is Tom.  His name is Tom.

Present continuous tense.  e.g.
Come here.  I'm coming.
Go there.  I'm going.
Stand up.  I'm standing up.

Use of "yes", "no" and "but".  e.g.
Is it long? Yes, it's long.
Is it short? No, it's long.
That box is heavy but this box is light.

Negative Statements.  e.g.
That box isn't heavy, it's light.

Greetings and replies.  e.g.
Good morning, Tom.
Good morning, Mr. Brown.
How are you today?
Very well, thank you. How are you?
Very well, thank you.

Simple present tense of "to be".  e.g.
Put your hand up. My hand is up.

Use of "a" and "an".  e.g.
This is a box. That is an egg.

Position of adjectives used with nouns.  e.g.
That's a big kangaroo.
This is a little goanna.

Days of the week.  e.g.
Daily practice should be given.
Today is Monday.

Compound subjects.  e.g.
Tom is young and Mary is young.
Tom and Mary are young.

Colours.  e.g.
This car is red. That car is green.
Opposites.

E.g. It isn't rough. It's smooth.
    round    square
    full     empty

Use of prepositions "on", "under" and "in".

E.g. Where's my cup? It's on the table.
    Now, where are my cup and saucer? They are under the table.

Nouns in plural form.

E.g. Give me three boxes, please.
    oranges
    cups
    Show me two women.
    men
    children

The definite article.

E.g. Here is a box.
    This is the top/bottom/front/back.

Use of the preposition "of" in expressions of quantity.

E.g. I want a glass of water, please.
    Give me a cup of milk, please.
    Get me a jug of water, please.

Numerals, one to ten.

E.g. This is a boy, and this is a boy, and this is a boy.
    A boy, two boys, three boys.
    Here are some boys. Take five, please.

The present tense of "to have".

E.g. He has a box. It is his box.
    They have a spear. It is their spear.
    Have you an egg? Yes, I have an egg.
    Yes, I have.
    No, I haven't.

Compound sentences with "and" and the pronoun "one".

E.g. This box is white and that box is black.
    This box is white and that one is black.
    I have a green shirt and you have a brown one.
    Take a box. I want that one.
    Give me the green one, please.
Common adjectives.

Use of "where?" and "over there".

Plural of "this is a....." and "that is a....."

Distinction between things, birds, animals and people.

Possessive "a" for persons, animals and birds contrasted with possessive "of the" for things.

Use of "have" with ailments.

Use of "there is" and "there are".

Use of prepositions "in front of", "behind", "between".

e.g. I'm happy/tired/sleepy/sick/hungry.

e.g. Where's Tom? He's over there. Where are his yums? They're over there.

e.g. This is a cup and this is a cup.

These are cups.

That is a wall and that is a wall.

Those are walls.

At this stage, this is a deliberately simplified manner of ensuring consistency when pronouns refer back to previously mentioned nouns.

e.g. This is a man. He is old.

That is a goat. It's a big one.

That is a box. It is on the table.

Tom's arm. The arm of the chair.

The teacher's teeth. The teeth of the comb.

The horse/a/dingo/a/emu's eyes.

e.g. I have a cold/cough/headache/stomachache/pain (in my arm etc.)

He has an earache.

Presented as alternatives to "(A peg) is...." and "(Two pegs) are....".

e.g. A peg is Two pegs are on the table.

There are two pegs on the table.

e.g. The box is in front of Tom.

Now the box is behind Tom.

The plate is between the knife and the fork.
Use of "ones".
  e.g. Show me the big nails.
       Show me the big ones.

Use of "can't" and "can", e.g.
  Touch the ceiling, please.
  I can't.
  Can you touch the window?
  Yes, I can touch the window.

Use of "must", "mustn't", e.g.
  You must walk in the classroom.
  You mustn't run in the classroom.
  May I come in? Certainly.
  May I clean the blackboard?

Use of "many" (a few) or "much" (a little) depending on whether the noun to which reference is made can or cannot be counted.
  How many pages are there in this tin?
  There are only a few.
  How much sand is on my hand?
  There's only a little.

Use of "some" and "no".
  I have some tea but I have no sugar.
  I have some cups but I have no spoons.

The simple present tense, e.g.
  I'm putting some nails into the box.
  They are in the box.
  I am putting the pencil on the table.
  Now it is on the table.

Special use of "have".
  Let's have a cup of tea.
  Come and have a glass of milk.
  Will you have some more bread?
  Yes, please. No thank you.

Use of pronouns as objects of verbs.
  Limited at this stage to "him", "her", "it", "them".
  e.g. I can see the box. I can see it.
        I can see Tom. I can see him.
        I can see Mary. I can see her.
        I can see the boxes. I can see them.
Position of the adverbial particle e.g. "up" in "pick up".

There are two possible positions for the adverbial particle in relation to noun objects:
(1) Pick up the box.
(2) Pick the box up.
There is only one position with a pronoun object.
Pick it up.
To avoid confusion at this stage, only the position following the noun object or the pronoun object is taught.
e.g. Put the box down. I'm putting it down.
Take your coat off. I'm taking it off.

Use of "who?" and "who's?"
e.g. Who is there? Who's there?
Who's coming into the room?

Comparison of adjectives.
First stage, by addition of "-er" and "the .....-est".
e.g. light, lighter, the lightest.
heavy, heavier, the heaviest.

Use of pronouns as indirect object of a verb.
Limited at this stage to "him","her", "them".
e.g. Tom is giving the key to Mary.
He is giving it to her.
Tom is giving the key to Frank and Jack.
He is giving it to them.

The simple present tense of the verbs, "like", "want", "know", "understand".
e.g. I like this colour. I don't like that.
Do you want a book?
Yes, I want that one.
I don't want this one. I understand English.
I know this boy's name.

Simple future tense, including negative and interrogative forms.
e.g. At lunch time, the sun will be there.
Tomorrow will be Tuesday.
Tomorrow won't be Thursday.
Will tomorrow be Wednesday?
Past tense of "to be", "to have", "to come", "to go".
e.g. Today is Monday.
     Tomorrow will be Tuesday.
     Yesterday was Sunday.
     It wasn't Saturday.
     I had a bottle in my hand a little while ago.
     He came to school yesterday.
     You went to the door a little while ago.

Negative of "some", "not any"; interrogative "any".

Negative and interrogative of "a lot of"; "many" with countable nouns, "much" with uncountable nouns.

Use of prepositions in expressions of time: "on", "in", "at".

e.g. Are there many pins on the floor?
     No, not many.
     Is there much water in the glass?
     No, there isn't much.

On Monday,
     in December, in 1954,
     in the morning,
     at six o'clock,
     at night.

e.g. She's never late.
     You are always late.
     We are often late.
     They are sometimes late.

Word order.
Mid-position adverbs with the verb "to be": "never", "always", "often", "sometimes".

Pronunciation practice - special drills on difficult sounds.

Aboriginal languages seem to make no distinction between breathed and voiced consonants, i.e. this feature is not used to distinguish meaning in words. Special drills should be given to distinguish between breathed and voiced consonants. They are set out below in related pairs of sounds.
(b) Free oral expressions.

Activities which encourage the children to use English, e.g., excursions into the bush, discussions about objects of native culture, short rhymes and stories.

2. Pre-reading activities

(a) Promoting visual discrimination.

(i) Looking at pictures.

(ii) Naming animals and objects seen in pictures.

(iii) Perceiving similarities and differences, e.g., matching picture cards of animals, objects, words and shapes. Selecting the one that is different in a set of pictures. Sorting picture cards into groups.

(iv) Making and using simple Jig Saw puzzles.

(v) Recognition and naming colours, e.g., stringing beads by colour, matching cards by colour.
3. **Pre-writing activities**

Muscular and Manipulation skill.

Activities aimed at developing muscular and manipulation skill:

(i) Stringing beads, teasing cloth, sorting and matching games, Jig Saw puzzles, handwork such as tearing and cutting paper.

(ii) Drawing and painting activities, modelling with clay or plasticine, tracing the outline of familiar animals and objects.

(iii) Lacing, typing and buttoning exercises.

(iv) Shading in geometrical shapes with diagonal, horizontal or vertical lines. Solving simple rhythmic mazes, repetition of simple rhythmic patterns, tracing with a finger the shape of sandpaper letters.

**STAGE SIX**

**Content**

1. **Oral English**

Notes and suggestions

Further practice in using fluent natural correct language; any persisting individual faults should receive attention. Activities such as dramatization, lectureettes, debates, speeches of welcome, making announcements, giving instructions, recitations etc.
2. Reading

(a) Silent reading and the use of books to obtain further knowledge.
Reading material of the standard suggested in the Supplementary Notes published by the Commonwealth Office of Education. Widens the knowledge of books and stimulates interest in them by encouraging the use of a variety of suitable books in all subjects. Care in handling books and the formalities of using a library. Training in methods of obtaining information from books, e.g.

(i) The use of the table of contents.
(ii) Use of the index.
(iii) Date of publication and country of origin.

(b) Fluency and comprehension.
Continued attention to variations in the meaning of common words. The effect on meaning of different inflections.

(c) Oral reading.
Continued practice in reading that sounds like natural speech and expresses the intended mood and meaning. This may be extended to play reading involving a number of parts, each child reading one part.

3. Writing

(a) Practice with pen and ink.
Continued practice to develop fluency and regularity. Attention to faults where necessary. Increased speed should be encouraged and some reduction of size allowed.
4. **Written expression**

(a) Extension of written vocabulary.
Further practice in writing about a variety of topics. Encourage the use of dictionaries and text books to find the meaning of words. Exercises designed to extend vocabulary.

(b) Building more complex sentences.
The use of such words as "as", "or", "though", "then", "until", "for", "although", and "so" in linking ideas in sentences.

(c) Written composition.
Variety in sentence openings. Further practice, including the reporting of happenings, descriptive passages and the preparation of speeches.

(d) Writing letters.
Exercises involving the types of letters suggested in the previous stages. Extend to include invitations, greetings and letters of sympathy.

(e) Punctuation.
Extension of earlier work to include other markings seen in reading texts, e.g., exclamation mark, hyphen, semi-colon and brackets. The teaching of these should be incidental.

(f) Filling in forms.
Practice may be given in filling in the types of forms likely to be met, e.g., telegraph forms, applications for licences (driver's, radio, and dog), income tax returns, etc.

5. **Word knowledge**

(a) Extend the number of recognised printed words by the use of factual reading material on subjects of interest.
Use and understanding of the more common abstract words and some technical words.
(b) Spelling.
Approximately 600 words additional to those of the previous year.

Select words of immediate value and known meaning from reading materials and Schonell's "Essential Spelling List".

(c) Practice in using a dictionary.

Children may be shown how to find the pronunciation of new words. Where possible each child should have his own dictionary and be encouraged to use it frequently.


**APPENDIX C**

II. THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

This Course of Study is divided into two stages, Stage One to cover the first three years of schooling, and Stage Two to cover the fourth to the seventh years of schooling. It will be observed that this Course of Study includes general religious instruction.

**STAGE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Notes and suggestions</th>
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<td>(1) Morning shower and dressing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Health and cleanliness</td>
<td>(ii) Inspection for personal cleanliness.</td>
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<td>(b) Care of and respect for property</td>
<td>(iii) Practice of regular habits in toilet and washing.</td>
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<td>(iv) Keeping classroom tidy and disposal of rubbish.</td>
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<td>(v) Avoiding wet clothes and blankets.</td>
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<td>(vi) Use of such items as a tooth brush and a handkerchief.</td>
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<td>(vii) Sleeping places. How people sleep and reasons for any</td>
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<td>particular way, e.g. a clean dry place, use of bush</td>
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<td>stretchers.</td>
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<td>(viii) Physical exercises and erect carriage.</td>
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<td>(ix) Avoiding contaminated water.</td>
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<td>(x) Spitting as unhygienic and unacceptable socially.</td>
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<td>(1) Care of clothes.</td>
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<td>(ii) Care of school books, papers,</td>
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<td>pencils and other materials.</td>
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<td>(iii) Care of public property, e.g.</td>
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<td>the buildings, gates, fences, gardens</td>
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<td>etc. on and about the settlement,</td>
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<td>and school equipment and materials.</td>
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(iv) Preparation and care of a garden.
(v) Preservation of equipment by painting etc.
(vi) Careful washing, wiping and storing of food utensils.
(vii) Careful and tidy hanging up of school clothes etc.

(c) Safety First.

(i) What to do in case of accident or illness - get immediate attention.
(ii) Danger of running about on the back of a moving truck.
(iii) Prevention of fire.
(iv) Care in the use of knives.

(d) Social conduct.

(i) Daily greetings and farewells.
(ii) Courtesy extended to each other, to visitors and to newly enrolled children.
(iii) Kindness and consideration for animals and people (especially old people and women).
(iv) Awaiting one's turn.
(v) Accepted social conduct when entering a room, interrupting a conversation, delivering a message, answering questions, etc.
(vi) How to listen during a conversation.
(vii) Respect for flag and national anthem.
(viii) Accepted habits in eating and drinking. e.g. Use a knife, fork, spoon, plate, cup, glass and beaker. Masticating with the mouth closed and with a minimum of noise.
(ix) Pride in personal appearance, e.g. cleanliness and tidiness.
2. Character Training

(1) Stories about and training
for truthfulness, honesty,
obedience, punctuality,
self-restraint. These can be
related to social living.

(ii) Helping others – stories of
success through co-operation
and teamwork, e.g. Flying
Doctor.

(iii) Sharing possessions and giving
presents. This can be
related to native customs of
sharing food.

(iv) Economical habits – careful
use of money.

3. Relationship between
the School and
Native Life.

(1) The names and uses of the
various parts of the school
building and its furniture.

(ii) Playing at school suitable
games played in the camp.

(iii) Using objects which are part
of local culture to encourage
talk and mime of native
activities, e.g. toy spears,
boomerangs, digging sticks,
and dilly bags.

(iv) Simple talks about familiar
animals and birds.

(v) Talks about how the native
men hunt and the work which
they do.

(vi) Talks about how the native
women gather food and the
work which they do.

4. Developing Team Work

Group activities such as:

(i) Organised classroom games.

(ii) Organised sport.

(iii) Dramatisation and miming.

(iv) Singing and singing games.
5. The Immediate Environment

(a) The settlement.

(i) Simple talks about the other buildings on the settlement.

(ii) Simple talks about what the other people do and how they help, e.g. the superintendent, the nurse, the dentist, the doctor, the missionary etc.

(b) Food and clothing.

(i) Demonstrations on how food provided for the school meals is prepared and cooked.

(ii) Talks and discussions on the ways natives prepare and cook their food.

(iii) Talks on the use and care of clothes, e.g. for decoration, warmth, and social custom. Washing, ironing, mending, etc.

(iv) Talks on native customs regarding clothing, ornaments and decoration of the person.

(c) Seasonal changes according to local conditions.

(i) Daily activities which are affected by -
   (a) wet season and dry season.
   (b) hot weather and cold weather.
   (c) windy weather.
   (d) dust storms.
   (e) whirlwinds.
   (f) storms and cyclones.
   (g) droughts and floods.

(ii) The desirability of strong weatherproof shelters to protect man from these conditions.

(iii) The effect of the above weather conditions on birds, animals and plants. Erosion.

(iv) The need for water conservation.

(v) Dangers of floods, especially killing of wild and domestic animals.
Elementary animal husbandry, particularly as determined by weather conditions.

Elementary principles of gardening, e.g., times for planting, staking plants against winds, irrigation and other methods of watering, preparing and fertilising soil, and monthly calendar of native foods. Mention should be made of the advantages of communal gardens over individual plots.

(d) Stories about things we see and do.

(i) Connection between work and its product i.e. the things we use.

(ii) How a house is built.

(iii) How furniture is made.

(iv) How we travel, e.g., in cars, trucks, planes, trains and boats, etc.

(v) Talks about the station wireless, school gramophone, typewriter, etc.

(vi) Reading and writing as necessary for our way of life.

6. Widening the Horizons.

(a) Other places.

(i) Talks about the different types of country and vegetation in the Territory.

(ii) Talks about the food-gathering and living habits of other aborigines, i.e. coastal people or inland people.

(iii) Talks about the nearest town.

(iv) Talks about the work people do in towns and on stations.

(v) Money, as a payment for work, and its use to buy food, clothes, etc.
(b) History stories – Stories about early sea voyages to Australia, including the early voyages of Asians to the Northern Territory.

(c) Laws.

(i) General approach through rules of games, settlement regulations, police officer, patrol officer, etc. Same rules for all.

(ii) The Queen and the Flag.

7. Christianity

The emphasis in the teaching about Christianity should be on acquiring some broad understanding of the religious beliefs that are widely accepted in the Australian community. Similarities between native myths and songs and many of the stories associated with Christian teaching as two versions of the same kind of happenings in the past, will be evident.

This section should be treated through simple stories taken from the Bible. The following should be taught incidentally through the stories:

- Men as brothers and sisters in God’s family.

- Churches as special places where men may meet together to worship God.

- The Bible as an inspired expression of God’s wishes, which speaks to generation after generation.

- Ministers of religion and missionaries as those who pass on traditional interpretations of God’s wishes.

(a) Stories from the Bible, teaching One God as maker of all creatures.

(b) Stories from the Bible, telling about Jesus as a teacher and leader.

(i) His birth and life.

(ii) Stories of how, with God’s power in him, he was able to help those in difficulties, even the outcast. (The cripple at the pool.)
(iii) His teaching, e.g. Helpfulness to an enemy (The Good Samaritan), God's care for all his people (The lost sheep, etc.), How to pray (The Lord's Prayer).

(e) Results of his teachings in men.

(1) Stories of courage, enterprise, human kindness, unselfish help for others, resistance to oppression or injustices, loyalty to friends and beliefs, e.g., St. Francis, Father Damien, Elizabeth Fry, Flying Doctor.

(ii) Stories showing similar qualities among aboriginal people although they may not have had Christian teaching, e.g. Jacky Jacky.

STAGE TWO

1. Training for Daily Activities

(a) Health and cleanliness

(1) Regular daily habits in toilet and washing all parts of the body.

(ii) Keeping nails and teeth clean.

(iii) Necessity for regular toilet habits. Body odours distasteful.

(iv) Keeping nose, ears and eyes clean from dust and dirt. Dangers of pushing anything hard or sharp into the ear.

(v) Breathing through the nose and deep breathing exercises.

(vi) Need for the control of lice, bed bugs, etc. Cleansing treatments.
(2) In the school and in the home.

(1) Regular dusting, sweeping and washing of floors, particularly places of cooking and toilet.

(ii) Use of disinfectant to kill germs and overcome unpleasant odours.

(iii) Keeping food utensils clean.

(iv) Keeping blankets and other household materials clean.

(v) Correct way of washing various articles.

(vi) Burning or burial of rubbish.

(vii) Avoiding the contamination of water supply. Boiling of water if contamination is suspected.

(viii) Use of nets while sleeping to keep mosquitoes out. Wearing long clothing to protect against sand fly bites.

(3) Prevention of disease

(i) Use of own towel, toothbrush, comb, etc.

(ii) Value of sunshine and fresh air for healthy growing and living.

(iii) Need for fresh air when sleeping, particularly when more than one are sleeping in the same enclosed space.

(iv) Need for a balanced diet. The value of different foods.

(v) Keeping flies off food - the fly, a carrier of disease.

(vi) Disposal of refuse, particularly human. Various methods used and way of keeping it free from flies and eliminating unpleasant odours.
(vii) Persistent cough or sneeze as danger sign. Turning the head, covering the mouth and nose.

(viii) Keeping cuts and abrasions clean, disinfectant.

(ix) Germs as the cause of disease. Explain what an infectious disease is and why the sick person should be isolated.

(x) Explain the nature of the following diseases, their cause and prevention: Leprosy, Yaws, Hookworm, Malaria, T.B., Ringworm, Scabies, Impetigo, "Tropical Ear" and eye conditions in Central Australia.

(xi) Control of rats, mice, lice, cockroaches and flies.

(b) Care of and respect for property.

(1) Keeping the building and furnishings clean and in good repair to reduce deterioration.

(11) Washing, repairing and ironing of clothing and other articles such as tea-towels, etc.

(111) Care in spending money. Avoiding waste by buying good food and good quality clothing.

(iv) Care with and respect for other people's property.

(c) Safety first.

Things which arise or are likely to arise. In some cases it may be wiser not to draw attention to them.

(1) Dangers of playing with utensils full of hot water.

(11) What to do in case of a fire in a building or if one's clothes are alight.

(111) Dangers of fire with inflammable fluids such as petrol, kerosene, etc.
(iv) Dangers of drinking or eating unusual things.
(v) Avoiding jokes that may lead to bodily injury.
(vi) Putting things away after use so that they will not be the cause of accidents.
(vii) Teach rules of the road so far as they are relevant to the district. e.g. Where there is no footpath, walk on the right hand side of the road. Need for tail light on bicycles.
(viii) Dangers of the moving parts of engines, e.g. fans, belts, gears, etc.
(ix) Dangers of electricity and of fallen power lines.

(d) Social conduct.

(i) Training in the regular use of courteous expressions such as "Excuse me", "I beg your pardon", "Thank you", etc.
(ii) Taking hat off indoors and raising it when greeting a woman.
(iii) Use of respectful terms especially to older people and those in authority.
(iv) Always using a person's name when speaking to him or about him.
(v) Passing others by going behind and not in front of them.
(vi) Table manners. Waiting to start eating, using utensils correctly, passing things to others, leaving a knife and fork correctly when a course of a meal is finished, reaching across the table, speaking with mouth full.
2. Character Training

The principles set out below should be taught by the use of stories or incidents which are sufficiently real for the children to identify themselves with what is happening.

(i) Encourage the children to develop a real pride in themselves, their appearance, their school, their home and the things they can make and do. The children should be proud of their culture which has given and will continue to give to European culture. Mention should be made of native persons who have been outstandingly successful, e.g. Namatjira, Harold Blair. The fact that native designs have been widely used on Christmas cards, dress and curtain materials, and pottery, etc. is one concrete example of things Europeans have learnt from aborigines. Another is our adaptation and use of native music and dances.
(ii) Teach the principle that two wrongs do not make a right. Reprisal or vindictive action is only another wrong and does not help to improve the situation. There is a system of social laws to deal with wrong-doers.

(iii) The principle that things are done in moderation and not in excess, that over-indulgence and lack of self-control lead to trouble and unhappiness. Relate this principle to such things as smoking, drinking, eating, gambling, etc.

(iv) The principle of tolerance and co-operation with others.

(v) The material comforts enjoyed by people have come only as a result of hard and regular work.

(vi) If sometimes natives are not liked by white people, this is often due, not to skin colour, but to uncleanness, untidiness, idleness, lack of manners, etc.

3. **Relationship between the School and Native Life.**

Suggestions set out for the first three years should be continued and treated in greater detail, particularly the adaptation and using of native songs and dances.

4. **The Immediate Environment.**

(a) The nearest settlement or town.

(1) Where possible children should be taken on excursions to places of interest. Use should be made of this opportunity to get the children to express themselves freely and to be told stories about what they see.
(b) Food and clothing.

(1) Further information as to how Europeans prepare and cook food.

(ii) The nutritive value of different foods. Inadequacy of a diet of bread and water.

(iii) Instructions about cutting out and making clothes.

(iv) Where appropriate the need for wearing correctly fitting boots and shoes. The reason for wearing socks with footwear.

(v) The reason for wearing underwear.

(e) Seasonal changes.

(1) Observation and recording of daily weather conditions. (See Stage One - Natural Science.)

Temperature: The use and reading of a thermometer.

Rainfall: The use and reading of a rain gauge.

Wind: Recording the direction of wind from a weather cock.

Clear or Cloudy: Observing and recording what is seen in the sky.

(d) Stories about things we see and do.

(1) Subjects suggested for Stage One should be treated in greater detail.

(ii) How various fabrics are made, e.g. cotton, silk, wool, etc.
(iii) How various foods and drinks are produced, e.g. flour, bread, cheese, tea, lolly water, etc.

(iv) The telephone and/or wireless. Discovery and value as a means of communication. How used.

(v) How books are printed and toys are made.

(vi) The invention and use of gunpowder and guns.

(vii) The making of leather goods such as boots and saddles.

(viii) How cigarettes, tobacco and sweets are made.

(ix) Encourage the children to develop a hobby.

(e) Choosing a vocation.

Stories about how people earn a living and where they learn how to do their jobs. Particular attention should be given to jobs which require training, e.g. mechanic, carpenter, nurse, dressmaker.

5. Widening the Horizons.

(a) Other places.

(1) Talks and stories about children in other parts of Australia, the games they play, the things they do, the things they make.

(ii) Talks and stories about children in other lands, how they dress, how they live, what they eat, the climate of their country and what their people grow and produce.

(iii) Talks about the main physical and climatic features and their influence on the activities of people in Australia and other countries.

(iv) Talks about people who supply food.
(v) Talks about people who supply clothing and other needs.
(vi) Talks about Australian primary products, e.g. beef, and other meats, fish, pearls, sugar cane, tobacco, rice, wool, cotton, wheat, fruits, etc.
(vii) Talks about the extraction of minerals from the earth and some of their uses, e.g. iron, gold, silver, uranium, copper, tin and lead.
(viii) Talks about the mining of coal and the harnessing of water for the generation of heat and power.
(ix) Talks about Australia's main secondary industries, e.g. steel, textile, food processing, electrical, ship building, etc.
(x) Talks about trade within Australia and with other countries.

(b) Mapping.

(i) Plan of classroom built up step by step. Placement of furniture to be shown.
(ii) Building up a map of the settlement and the surrounding country.
(iii) Building up a larger map. Start from the station and mark a route to another settlement or mission. Show cattle stations, mines, townships, roads, etc. and prominent landmarks.
(iv) Relate the drawing and use of maps to the stories of other places, e.g. Story about the train going from Alice Springs to Adelaide. Finding these places on a map.
(c) Social facilities and benefits.

(1) Talks about civic organisations and systems such as: hospitals, ambulance services, water storage and supply, sewage systems, postal services, medical and dental services, libraries, newspapers, banks, electric power and gas supply, fire brigades, markets, roads, schools, churches and police.

(ii) Talks about the forms used in these organisations, e.g. cheques, savings bank accounts, postal notes, money orders, receipts and duty stamps, applications for social benefits and telegrams. Where possible the actual forms should be used.

(iii) Talks about social benefits, e.g. child endowment, free medical and dental treatment, etc. Talks and discussions aimed at creating the right attitude towards social amenities and services.

(d) History Stories.

(1) About Australia.

(1) Stories about how the coastline and continent of Australia were explored.

(ii) Stories about the first settlements in the various parts of Australia including the Northern Territory, and the struggles of the pioneers.

NOTE: A frank but tactful approach is necessary in relating the effect this had on the native people.
2. About lands
   of the
   Commonwealth.

(i) Stories about the opening up of the country for European settlers. The growth of primary industries.
(ii) The effect of the discoveries of gold, e.g. the rapid increases in the population.
(iii) Talks telling briefly of the history of several States including the Northern Territory.
(iv) Stories telling briefly of the history of Federation and what it has meant for Australia.
(v) Talks about the growth and development of transport and communication systems in Australia.
(vi) Stories about the two world wars in which Australia was involved and how the native peoples served and helped.
(vii) Talks about the defence of Australia.
(viii) Talks about New Guinea.
(ix) Stories about important Australians.

3. Other countries.

(i) The British Isles. Stories about important events in their history and the growth of the Empire.
(ii) Stories about the history of our neighbours, e.g. New Zealand, Malaya, Ceylon, India and Pakistan.
(iii) Stories about other parts of the Commonwealth, e.g. Canada, South Africa, African Territories and the Colonies.
(iv) Migration of European peoples.

(i) Brief stories about the early history of European and Asian countries, e.g. The Middle East before the birth of Christ, Greece, Rome, Egypt and Palestine.
The important events in European history since the birth of Christ. The exploration and opening up of the world to European culture. These can also be related to the history of the Commonwealth. Important events in the history of Asian countries.

(b) European and native.

(1) Details of local rules etc. and the necessity for obeying them.

(1) Talks about some European and native laws which agree. Discuss who made these laws and why.

(11) A brief account of our legal system and the rights of people, e.g. the magistrate, the judge and jury.

(111) Respecting native laws as handed down by the elders but realising that some will have to be modified if natives wish to adopt European ways.

(iv) Major differences which exist between European and native laws, e.g. towards killing, marriage, etc.

(v) Laws providing for the welfare of natives, citizenship rights, etc. A brief account of the important facts.

(vi) The regulations relating to native reserves and entrance into towns.

(e) Native welfare.

(1) Attention may be given to the Welfare Ordinance, especially in relation to wards and the organisation and services rendered by the Welfare Branch.

(11) Explain that the relationship between the Missions and the Government in regard to the welfare of natives functions as a partnership. This should be covered incidentally in the early stages and more directly later.
7. **Government**  
   (a) Broad framework and functions.  
   (i) Federal — the Prime Minister and members of Parliament representing all parts of Australia. Functions to control trade and finance, defence, social services, etc.  
   (ii) The Territory — The Administrator, Legislative Council and ordinances. Local government.  
   (iii) State — the Premier and members of parliament representing all parts of the State.  

(b) A simple explanation of elections.  
Applied to each of the above branches of government.  

(c) Community accounts, rates and taxes.  
Explain the systems of paying rates and taxes to the various government authorities.  

8. **Current Events.**  
Stories about important developments and events in the Territory, in Australia and other parts of the world.  

9. **Stories about Individual Places and Objects of Interest.**  
(a) In Australia.  
    e.g. Darwin Harbour, Devils Marbles, Ayers Rock, Gibber Desert, Canberra and other capitals, the Great Barrier Reef, Barron Falls, Sydney Harbour, Murray River, the Irrigation System, Burrenjuck Dam.  

(b) In other lands.  
    e.g. the Pyramids, the Sphinx, Ruins of Athens, Ruins of Rome, Venice, the Temples of Durum, the Great Wall of China, Skyscrapers, Niagara Falls, the Amazon, the Great Lakes, the Hot Springs at Rotorua, the Geysers and Pools at Wairakai.
10. Christianity
(a) The life, death and resurrection of Jesus.

(i) The boyhood of Jesus: his home, the carpenter’s shop, the synagogue school.

(II) The young man, his friends and his message: John the Baptist, the fishermen of Galilee, preaching and teaching, healing and helping.

(III) The opposition of the religious leaders: breaking some rules, objection to his teaching.

(iv) His arrest and crucifixion. (Good Friday).

(v) The belief of his friends that he was still living. (Easter).


(b) What Christians believe about Jesus.

(i) The old belief that Messiah (Christ) would come as God’s Messenger, to save his people and lead them into a better and happier way of life.

(ii) The belief of Christians that Jesus was this person, with the result that they called him “Christ”, “Lord”, and “Saviour”.

(iii) The idea of all men as God’s sons, but of Jesus in a special way, hence “The Son of God”.

(c) Some stories about the friends of Jesus.


(11) Some stories of St. Paul (from the Acts of the Apostles) e.g., the stoning of Stephen (VII, 54–VIII, 1). Damascus (IX, 10–27). Jupiter and Mercury (XIV, 6–20). At Philippi (XVI, 11–40). Danger and arrest (XXI, 1–39). Paul’s defence (XXXII, 1–30). The appeal to Caesar (XXV, 1–12). The shipwreck (XXVII). Malta (XXXVIII, 1–10). Rome (XXXVIII, 11–16). (It is now generally regarded as better not to try to go right through the several voyages and missionary tours of Paul as children tend to lose interest once an attempt is made to trace these on maps.)

(d) Outstanding Old Testament stories which Jesus would have heard from his parents or at school:

A selection may be made out of the following examples:

(i) God’s garden (Genesis II).
(ii) The forbidden fruit (Genesis III).
(iii) Noah’s ark (Genesis VI, 9–IX, 17).
(iv) Abraham (Genesis XII–XIII).
(v) Isaac and Rebekah (Genesis XIV).
(vi) Jacob and Esau (Genesis XV–XXXIII).
(vii) Joseph and his brethren (Genesis XXXVII–XLV).
(viii) Moses as hero and leader of his people.

Childhood (Exodus I–II).
Oppression (Exodus VII, 1–13).
Escape (Exodus XII, 1–11; XIII, 17–22; XIV, XV, 20–27).
In the wilderness (Exodus XVI; XVIII).
Mt. Sinai (Exodus XXIV, 12–16).
The promised land (Deuteronomy VIII, 1–14).
Death of Moses (Deuteronomy XXXIV).
(ix) Joshua, crossing Jordan, fall of Jericho (Joshua II, III, VI).

(x) Samson (Judges XIV, 5-20; XVI, 2-31).

(xi) David and Goliath (1 Samuel XVII).

(xii) Ruth and Naomi (Ruth I, II, IV; 13-17)

and possibly other stories from the Books of Samuel and Kings, especially those relating to David and Saul, Solomon, Elijah; also the stories of Daniel, as in the Book of Daniel.

(e) The Church as the society of Jesus' friends.

The Church was originally one, but has become divided by different ideas and ways of worship and control.

(f) The teachings of Christianity.

(i) Personal faith in and reliance on God. Faith moving mountains (Mark XI, 22-24). The seed growing secretly (Mark IV, 26-29).

(ii) The great commandment (Matthew XXII, 35-40).


The outcast "inasmuch as you have done it to one of the least of these..." (Matthew XV, 31-40). Healing the sick (Matthew VIII, 1-17 etc.

Father Damien, Albert Schweitzer etc.

Children (Mark I, 13-16). Shaftesbury, Dr. Bernardo.

Sacrifice for others (John XV, 12-13). Edward Wilson, Captain Oates.

(iii) Special warnings.

(a) Against vindictiveness (Matthew V, 43-48).

The unforgiving servant (Matthew XVIII, 23-35).

(b) Against acquisitiveness
(Matthew VI, 19-24).
Rich young ruler (Matthew XIX,
16-26).
Foolish rich man (Luke XII, 13-31).

A DOG IN SCHOOL

"Oh!" says the teacher
"There is a dog in the school.
Is he your dog, Nari?"
"No, he is not my dog," says Nari.
"Is he your dog, Minala?" says the teacher.
"No, he is not my dog," says Minala.
The dog runs to Tom.
"Is he your dog, Tom?" says the teacher.
"Yes, he is my dog," says Tom.
"Put him out, Tom," says the teacher.
"He has no book and no pencil.
He cannot write."

Extract 2. From Bush Book 5.

THE BEACH

They went to the beach and made a fire.
They cooked ten fish.
Mr. Dunn said, "We will give
five fish to the girls.
Eat your fish and then you can go swimming."
"Good!" said the boys. "Then can we play
on the sand?"
"Yes!" said Mr. Dunn.
The boys had fun swimming
in the warm water and playing on the sand.
Mr. Dunn saw Nari sitting on the sand.
"Are you sick?" he asked.
"No!" said Nari. "I'm tired."
"Come on, boys. We will go
before you get very tired."
Extract 3. From "Bush Stories"

THE WATER TREES

The camp was near a ridge of brown rock. Tall water trees grew upon the ridge. In their shade little Jim played with the other children of the tribe.

There were no springs or wells in this part of their tribal land. The only water came from the tall water trees. Little Jim had often watched his mother pull out a little wooden plug from a hole near the base of a tree. The water used to run out into her wooden dish. She always used to put the plug back carefully so that no water would be lost on the ground.

One day Jim's uncle was looking for new trees with water in them. He put his ear on one side of the trunk and tapped the other side.

"Water trees growing on ridges of brown rock are always hollow," he told Jim, "they fill with water during the rain-time, just as holes in the rocks fill with water. Our people learned these things long ago; they are part of our way of living and we must never forget them."

After Jim's uncle had tapped a few more trunks, he told Jim a story about the water trees.

"I was working on a cattle station," he began, "one day a message came. It said that a man was lost in the thick scrub of our tribal land. The manager of the cattle station asked the head stockman to get horses and men on his tracks.

"Soon we were on our way, with food and water in our packs. A policeman came with us to help. We moved fast and soon found the man's tracks. They were going into the dry land where the water trees grow. I could tell he was lost because his track wandered over the ground first this way and then that way.

"After we had ridden for a few miles, we found his shirt where he had rested in the shade of a bush. I knew then that he was dying of thirst. Then the sun went down and we had to
camp for the night. I saw the policeman's look of surprise when I tapped a tree near our camp and got water from it. The water ran into a bag and we gave the horses a drink.

"Next morning we were off once more. As I followed the dying man's tracks I was sad to see that he had passed by many more water trees. We found him at last where he had fallen against a big tree that had a wooden plug in its base. When he fell his arm must have just missed the plug. He had died of thirst close to the water.

"If that man had known the things that our people know about this dry land, he could have lived. He died because he looked for water in springs, wells and waterholes. He didn't know that the trees which grew all around him had water in their trunks."

When the story was finished Jim thought his uncle and the other men of the tribe were very wise to know these things. He knew he would never forget them.

Extract 4. From "Teaching Language in Schools for Aborigines in the Northern Territory - Preparatory Stage."

UNIT 1 (1)

Teaching points: I, you, he, she, it.

Teaching kit: Up to 9 or 10 different objects which can be held up by hand.

Presentation and drilling:

"I. Bring a boy to the front of the class so that he is facing you, side-on to the class. Point to yourself and say "I". Repeat slowly and deliberately 3 or 4 times and then encourage the boy to do the same. If necessary, guide his hand so that he is pointing to himself and, by pointing to your lips and to his, get him to say "I".

Bring out a girl and repeat the procedure."
Turn both the boy and the girl and yourself to face the class. Point to yourself and say "I" and nudge the boy and girl to follow suit. Encourage the other children in the class to point to themselves and say "I". If necessary stand amongst them to guide their hands and point to their lips, until each child is pointing to himself, saying "I".

"You" Bring a boy to the front of the class. Stand so that he is facing you, side-on to the class. Look at the boy, point at him and say "you". Do not look at the class. Repeat three or four times. Get him to point at you and say "you".

Bring out a girl and repeat the procedure.

Turn to face the class and indicate by gesture that the class should point at you and say "you". The most suitable gesture is that in which you stretch both arms towards the class and then point to yourself with both hands.

Bring out two or more boys and two or more girls. Repeat the presentation of pointing at them and saying "you". Then stand to one side and get the class to point at them and say "you" and they, in turn, to point at the class and say "you".

Revised: "I" and "you". Stand with class, point to yourself and say "I". Then point at the child next to you and say "you". Get that child to point to himself saying "I" and then at the child next to him on the other side, saying "you". Continue this until each child has had a turn.

"He" Bring a boy to the front of the class and stand him at one side. Face the class, point at the boy and say "he". Do not look at the boy. Repeat this 3 or 4 times. Bring out another boy and repeat the procedure. Then get the class to respond each time you point. Let each boy have a turn at standing at the side of the class. The other children can then point at him, look at you, and say "he".

Revised: "I", "you" and "he".
"She". As for "he", using a girl each time.

Revise: "I", "you", "he", and "she".

"It". Hold up one object after another, point to it and say "it". Do not look at the object whilst pointing and saying "it". Drill extensively by holding up or pointing to numerous objects in quick succession and getting class to say "it" each time. Get each child to point at an object in the classroom and say "it".

Revise: "I", "you", "he", "she" and "it".

UNIT 36

Teaching points: I want to cut this string.

Unit for revision: Unit 18.

Teaching kit: cleaning equipment: broom, mop, duster, scrubbing brush, etc., toothbrush, soap, towel, comb, hairbrush; sporting equipment: balls, cricket bats, gloves, etc.; classroom equipment: pencil, piece of paper, chalk; miscellaneous: knife, pair of scissors, a needle and cotton, etc.

General Note: Care will be necessary when the third person singular is introduced that the children add the S-ending to the verb, e.g. "he/she wants to clean the room." Once all forms have been learned, drills should be employed to fix the verb endings applicable to different subject pronouns. Introduce other persons as soon as possible during drills.

Pattern 1: I want to cut this string.
Presentation: Say: "Get me that knife, please." "I want to cut this string/paper/sharpen my pencil." Repeat with other instruments which will give a series. This will help the class to comprehend readily what is being taught, e.g. "Get me a pair of scissors, please. I want to cut this cotton/piece of cloth."

Repeat the presentation and have the children repeat the structure with you.

Drill situations: (a) Set the pattern. Then hold up various items of kit, the class to chorus appropriately, e.g.

- Hold up broom: "I want to sweep the room."
- mop: mop the room.
- duster: dust the table.
- cricket bat/ball: play cricket.
- Nari's desk: Nari's desk.

It might be necessary to give call words as well, e.g. hold up broom and call, "Sweep the room."

(b) Introduce and present "Where ... ?" and then proceed to drill, by holding up instrument or by giving call words, e.g. "Where's my comb? I want to comb my hair."

Substitute: soap (wash my hands/clothes/etc.)/toothbrush/handkerchief/towel/cup (have a drink)/football/softball/etc.

Drill on other persons could be obtained as follows: "Where's his comb? He wants to comb his hair."

(c) Introduce "Have you ... ?" and proceed as above, e.g. "Have you a pencil? I want to draw a kangaroo."

Substitute: a needle and cotton/a pair of scissors/a broom/a spear.

(d) Introduce adjectives and drill as above, e.g. "I'm tired. I want to sit down."

Substitute: sick/thirsty/hungry/happy (sing)/sleepy/etc.

Similarly: Point to a child and give adjective as call word. Class to chorus: "Nari's happy. He wants to sing/dance."
## APPENDIX E

### Table I

**Population of the Northern Territory, 1933 - 1960**

(Exclusive of Full-Blood Aborigines)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (a)</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933(b)</td>
<td>4,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>6,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947(b)</td>
<td>10,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>12,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>13,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>14,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>15,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>15,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>15,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>16,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>17,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>18,297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>19,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>19,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>20,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>21,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

(a) At 30th June.

(b) Census figures. All other figures estimates.

**Note:** Figures prior to 1954 are classified as "final estimates"; figures after 1954 will be amended after 1961 census.

**Source:** Northern Territory Annual Reports.
### Table II

**NORTHERN TERRITORY**

**NUMBER OF MALES EMPLOYED**

**1957**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>2,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting, Scalping etc., excluding</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocodile shooting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting, Scalping etc., including</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocodile shooting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine, including Crocodile shooting</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine, excluding Crocodile shooting</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists and Contractors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Trackers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns and Environ., Government Departments etc.</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns and Environ.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Departments etc.</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Settlements</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,812</td>
<td>1,028</td>
<td>3,840</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Northern Territory Annual Report 1956/1957
Table III

ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORY IN "CONTACT" GROUPS

FOR YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Census Figures Published as at 31st December</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In contact with Government Settlements &amp; Depots</td>
<td>4,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In contact with Missions</td>
<td>6,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Pastoral, Mining and Agricultural Areas</td>
<td>4,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In towns or environs (Not resident at Government Settlements)</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At East Arm Leprosarium and Institutions in other States</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomadic, not in contact with Missions or Settlements</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population Recorded</strong></td>
<td>15,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(16,498)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estimated number not yet included in Census of Aborigines</strong></td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(300)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>16,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(16,798)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Because of problems experienced in adjusting the population for the half year beyond December 31st each year, total figures quoted are those at that date instead of those at 30th June following.

* Totals in brackets represent revised figures taking account of information received subsequent to December 31st, 1958 and 1959 respectively.

$ It is considered that allowance need no longer be made for this category as their number is considered to be insignificant.

Table IV

ABORIGINAL POPULATION ON NORTHERN TERRITORY
GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENTS
20/6/1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoonguna</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areyonga</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagot</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beswick</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borroloola</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delissaville</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooker Creek</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Creek</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maningrida</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Bay</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrabri</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>1270</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>2657</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The population at Bungalow transferred to Amoonguna in June 1960.

† Figures for both Beswick and Papunya include persons resident at the pastoral projects of Beswick Station and Haasts Bluff respectively.

§ The population at Borroloola is in course of transfer.

### Table V

**ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF NORTHERN TERRITORY MISSION**

**ST. JOHN**

30/6/1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANGLICAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angurugu</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oompelli</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roper River</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose River</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbakumba</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>(319)</td>
<td>(324)</td>
<td>(643)</td>
<td>(365)</td>
<td>(331)</td>
<td>(696)</td>
<td>(1339)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CATHOLIC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathurst Is.</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daly River</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Keats</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Teresa</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>(482)</td>
<td>(525)</td>
<td>(1007)</td>
<td>(398)</td>
<td>(447)</td>
<td>(845)</td>
<td>(1352)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LUTHERAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermannsburg</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>METHODIST</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elcho Is.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn Is.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milangimbi</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirrkala</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td>(375)</td>
<td>(451)</td>
<td>(826)</td>
<td>(391)</td>
<td>(382)</td>
<td>(773)</td>
<td>(1599)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>2642</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>2428</td>
<td>5070</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

φ Includes persons temporarily absent but normally resident at the Mission.

♦ In the absence of census figures from the Mission itself, figures for 30th June 1960 have been repeated as a reasonable approximation.

∎ Figure for 1960 is for total population of both full-bloods and part-aborigines resident at the Mission; comparative figure for 1961 is 515.

Table VI
NORTHERN TERRITORY EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE

(1) Schools run by the South Australian Education Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1955/56</th>
<th>1956/57</th>
<th>1957/58</th>
<th>1958/59</th>
<th>1959/60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operational (a)</td>
<td>124,423</td>
<td>143,927</td>
<td>185,068</td>
<td>199,783</td>
<td>234,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital (b)</td>
<td>60,426</td>
<td>116,602</td>
<td>96,068</td>
<td>83,327</td>
<td>186,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>184,849</td>
<td>260,529</td>
<td>281,136</td>
<td>283,110</td>
<td>421,018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Operational includes:
- Salaries (including Office Staff)
- Transport of School Children
- Cleaning, Sanitary, Electricity
- Telephone and Wireless
- Fares, Travelling, Removal etc.
- Intermediate Exhibitions
- Freight
- Correspondence Tuition
- School Boarding
- Travelling & Book Allowance
- Subsidies School Committee
- Science Supplies Committee
- Apprentices
- Other Expenses

(b) Capital includes:
- New Buildings and Works
- Repairs and Maintenance
- Furniture and Fittings
- Plant and Equipment

(II) Schools for Aboriginal Children (Operational expenses only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1955/56</th>
<th>1956/57</th>
<th>1957/58</th>
<th>1958/59</th>
<th>1959/60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33,578</td>
<td>42,643</td>
<td>87,303</td>
<td>96,170</td>
<td>110,134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Northern Territory Annual Reports.
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