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EDITORIAL

The Pilot Edition of **Nelen Yubu** appeared in 1978 at Daly River. After a bit of a tour around **Nelen Yubu** is once more being edited from Daly River. Correspondence regarding articles, papers contributed and other editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor at: PMB 28, DALY RIVER, NT 0822.

Keren will continue to do the typesetting and paste up and to care for the subscriptions at her home in Leura. So correspondence regarding these matters should go directly to her: Secretary **Nelen Yubu**, 4/17 Jersey Ave, LEURA NSW 2780.

During my recent stint of teaching at the Yarra Theological Union I was impressed by the very high standard of assignments the students handed in. There were two courses: one anthropological-sociological on Australian Aboriginal society; the other in pastoral theology on ministry among Aboriginal people. Only one of the some 22 students was actually a seminarian. Most were teachers, mature people, some already with a background of teaching or social work among Aboriginal people. I think all the the papers were worth publishing. I have asked the authors of a few that I thought to be of particularly high quality or of interest, if they would allow us to publish their papers in **Nelen Yubu**. The first is in this issue. — The other papers are self-explanatory. Fr David Ryan sj, who spent half of last year at Nungalinga College (and is about to take up a year's commitment to Bathurst Is) wrote a reflection on his experience for his own confreres: and he has agreed to share it with us.

The idea of the Bulletin Board is that it is a page where you can post up items of interest: coming seminars, appointments, requests, information about personnel etc. Please send them in to Keren. Her Sec. Desk has covered this function so far. I am trying to persuade her to continue to produce her Sec. Desk in the chatty personal style that many readers have said they appreciate so much: they read it first before getting into the heavy stuff!

MARTIN WILSON
Editor

AICC 1989

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

M J Wilson msc

THE SIXTEENTH meeting of the Queensland AICC (Aboriginal and Islander Catholic Council) at St Augustine's College, Cairns, during the second week of January this year was important for several reasons. Firstly, the AICC has become a significant institution in its own right. Secondly, it was billed as the first **National Conference**.

I take it that the conference has been covered adequately in the Catholic press. Personally I have seen only **The Catholic Leader** (22 January 1989) and **The Catholic Weekly** (18 January 1989). I offer here merely some personal reflections, plus some observations on and culled from Br Bon (G B) Sherriff's recently published book on the first ten years of the Queensland AICC, **The End of a Decade to a New Beginning: The Queensland Aboriginal and Islander Catholic Council 1974-1983**.

Bon Sherriff's Book

Br Sherriff's book was composed at the request of members. Like his congregation, he has been associated with the Queensland AICC since its beginning. The first annual conference was held at the Christian Brothers' college, St Brendan's, at Yeppoon near Rockhampton in January 1974, as were also the second, third, seventh and twelfth conferences. The reason for the close association with Rockhampton diocese is tied up with the history of the AICC.

In the first section of his book Br Sherriff summarises the pre-history of the Queensland AICC. When I was preparing that part of my own PICT booklet (**Ministry Among Aboriginal People**, pp.17-19), Br Sherriff graciously allowed me to use his pre-publication draft. It is ironic that the sixteenth Queensland State Conference should have been proclaimed as the first National AICC Conference, since historically the Queensland institution was really only a local implementation of a National AICC that was proclaimed by the Catholic bishops in 1973. The National Conference was formally established with an Interim Committee at a meeting in Adelaide in

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September that year. The endeavour was a partial but direct result of experiences before and at the Eucharistic Congress in Melbourne during February 1973. In view of the fact that the national conference declined so rapidly into oblivion it is also ironic to read Br Sherriff's report (p.13) of **The Southern Cross** covering article where

Speakers emphasised that the national council would not be a council in the way Europeans understood the word. It would simply be a loosely federated body which may never hold a meeting.

I would not think a 'council' is a specifically "European" thing. There are some basic operations that have to be performed if a council is going to be a reality, whether its members and style are European or not, and one of them, one would think, would be an occasional meeting! At any rate, one of the obvious things that made the Queensland branch of the AICC a viable reality was the fact that it did meet, and it worked hard at its organisation. Of necessity many persons were involved in this. I must eschew any attempt at a list even with the cautionary qualifier of "partial". However, no one who knows would question that it is right to name one person without whose sweat and tears the Queensland branch may have followed its parent as swiftly into an untimely grave. I mean, of course, Fr Mick Hayes. Br Sherriff ends his booklet with a moving encomium to Mick:

Thus the dream of Fr Michael Hayes...had become a reality... That dream had its beginning during the boyhood of Fr Hayes when he first befriended Aborigines in Western Queensland. Enriched both by praying the Scriptures and the priesthood, that dream became a burning flame of compassion and love as his heart grieved for understanding and justice for the original inhabitants of Australia.

Sadly, Mick was not present at this year's Cairns meeting when the Queensland AICC which he had nurtured so devotedly in its early tender years showed it had become a stock strong enough to have the branches of a new national AICC grafted on to it. His health had broken and he was recuperating elsewhere.

As I know from personal experience, Mick has been actively promoting the national dimension for some time. As he was a founding member of the first Interim Committee back in 1973 (cf. Sherriff p.14), that was probably a hidden dimension to his work as he worked hard at his local patch. I remember being highjacked on to the phone when I was passing through Rockhampton not long before the 1987 Conference. He had me ringing up Broome and Darwin to try and get some Aboriginal representation from those two places. Already a group was coming from Perth: they were looking to Queensland for help in forming their own Catholic Aboriginal organisation. Also a group from Adelaide had begun regularly to attend the Queensland annual conferences. Mick's instincts told him that a national body was so close: it just needed somebody to push things a bit.

Horizons

The Queensland AICC always had broad horizons, like their state. Of recent years especially one could expect to see a small rather informal delegation from PNG. An interchange with Maoris was highly prized by all (cf. Sherriff pp.94-97, Ninth State Conference, Banyo 1982). Of particular importance for all concerned has been the irregular attendance of tribal people, particularly from Port Keats and Bathurst Island in the Territory and from parts of North Queensland. Through interaction with their Aboriginal brothers and sisters who have lost so much of their cultural details - so that they cry openly at times when faced with the fully living culture when they visit a tribal area - the tribal people can learn compassion and find an apostolic outreach precisely as Aborigines. And living contact with people who take for granted that they talk to one another in language feeds into that hunger for substance that is at the heart of Aborigines who are fighting back against the ultimate deprivation that can be afflicted on a people, the deprivation of identity.

Features:

Over the years the AICC has changed in character. Although it was a church-oriented group from its very inception, in the early days people fought shy of the religious dimension, apart from formal celebrations of Eucharist (and at times Baptism). The tone was strongly social and political: it was the time of protest against the "Queensland Act" and the struggle for land rights. The infamous

Queensland Act that treated people like irresponsible children has now been repealed. Most places now possess Deeds of Grant of Land in Trust - due in no small measure to pressure from the churches and the AICC itself. Maybe the ensuing breathing space has allowed the people to turn more confidently and in a relaxed manner to spiritual issues. But even more likely is it the case that the AICC has so grown in maturity that it feels it can turn confidently to root issues. The theme of this 1989 conference was: **On With the Dreaming: In One Spirit.** Some of the AICC leaders had taken part in our Lumko workshops in Darwin last June. Apart from the last day, the first session each morning was Gospel Sharing, Lumko-style - though I must admit that the session I was able to attend had moved a long way from the recognisably Lumko format! In the conference whole sessions were given to Aboriginal spirituality, where people got up in front and spoke about what it meant for them personally. Some people marked the "Listen to the Voices" retreat at Kensington in 1985 (cf. Sherriff p.116) as the time when Catholic Aborigines found both that they had a lot to contribute on this matter and that white people were willing and anxious to listen and learn.

Due to various circumstances Bishop Ted Collins and myself arrived a day late at the Cairns Conference. (A sizeable NT group along with Fr Pat Mullins sj had already arrived in good time by cars and bus.) So we missed an interesting and important dynamic that took place on the opening day of the conference. Apparently the planning committee had arranged that for the Gospel-Sharing sessions the groups would be monochrome, all white or all black. Aboriginal people objected from the floor, so that one of the constant AICC themes, unity, was emphatically re-emphasised.

Another feature of the conference that struck me in a particular way was the manner in which the facilitators handled dissent. Many of us, having canvassed opinions widely and having drawn up a program that responds to the expressed wishes (as we perceived them) of the majority, tend to deal summarily with individual objections to procedure from the floor, especially if we perceive that the group actually wants to get on with the program as planned. There is always at least one possible alternative to any course of action. Having weighed the pros and cons and made a prudent choice, we do not like having it all halted in mid-stream while someone who seems to think that wisdom was born with him asks us why we don't do it all a different way. This happened several times at the conference.

The (Aboriginal) facilitators each time invited the person to come to the microphone and explain his/her opinion. They weren't even told "Look, we'll give you two minutes and after that we take a summary vote." The objectors were allowed to talk themselves out. In that way they got it off their chest and did not need to interrupt again later. When the feeling of the meeting was against their proposal, they very soon realised and thanked the meeting for their indulgence and sat down. - What happened was that people were treated with respect. And actually, from the purely technical point of view I suspect that it was in fact a more expeditious method of getting the program going than the one that smothers dissent on the pretext that we must get on with the agreed program.

The mood of the conferences has lost the angry quality it used to have. In the earlier days the whites, who were there only because of their dedication to the Aboriginal cause, had to be prepared to accept the role of vicarious objects of obloquy. It is a very Christian sort of role, but only the very brave or the foolish would look for it!

Unity

The unity aimed at by the Queensland AICC is not only one that crosses the colour boundary. It also aims at levelling personally assumed dimensions of status that might accrue from office. The presence of bishops at the annual conferences has always been appreciated. But what the people especially appreciate is the easy way the bishops mingle and take part. One of the particular aspects Fr Leo Wright noted about the Charters Towers conference (1977) was that:

The attitude of the bishops to their black brothers was demonstrated very clearly and tangibly by the fact that during the Conference they slept in the men's dormitory. (Sherriff p.39).

At this 1989 Cairns Conference there were four bishops attending for at least part of the time: Bathersby (Cairns), Collins (Darwin), Jobst (Broome), De Campo (Port Pirie). The only time the priests appeared as a single recognisable bunch was when they were asked to come to the front of the church to lay empowering hands upon the members of the Working Party commissioned to prepare for the

formation of the national body. I was surprised at our number. If sacerdotal power means anything, the members of the Working Party were almost ordained!

The AICC has always kept on crossing other boundaries too. At the very first conference (Yeppoon 1974, cf. Sherriff pp.17ff) their resolutions regarding the police "drew favourable comment from the then Police Commissioner, Mr Whitrod". Guest speakers have come from a variety of grades: political (a few Senators, Bonner of course a number of times, and an ex-Prime Minister), administrative (e.g. Charlie Perkins), professional (including several Aboriginal actresses, a Jesuit priest, a doctor, a future High Court judge - the Jesuit's father). Apart from the Jesuit priest (Frank Brennan), who spoke rather in his role as barrister than as priest, and opening addresses from the local Ordinary, the clergy have played a pretty muted role in the AICC. The function of a number of them has in fact been crucial but they have steadfastly pursued the role of empowering the Aboriginal people. It is extraordinarily to their credit that they have not been up-front. Exactly the same remark can be made about the many Sisters and a few Brothers have worked in the Aboriginal cause. They really are a credit to the Australian church - which is good, as the church must in fact share the blame for the historic destruction of Aboriginal society. Our hope is that we can repair the damage. The AICC is an important part of that repair job.

The AICC has never paid much attention to denominational boundaries. Aboriginal people feel they have enough divisions already: they would like to see Christianity as a bond of unity rather than a basis of further division. Of course, we have to live with realities. All the same, at our final formal liturgy we had four Aboriginal clergymen up front, the Anglican Aboriginal bishop, Arthur Malcolm; from the Lutheran church, Pastor Rosenthal; Monty Pryor, deacon in the Townsville church; and Bill Toby, the acolyte from Rockhampton. As I proposed in my [PICT book, Aboriginal ministry is the big issue facing us Catholics.

National Body

The National AICC is being planned boldly yet carefully. Two people from each state or Territory (not just the NT, but also the ACT!) were chosen by their peers to form a working party. After three months back home they plan to reassemble at Alice Springs.

Without the gift of prophecy one cannot predict what is going to happen. However, this attempt at a National Catholic Aboriginal body does not suffer from the obvious defect of the first one, which was like a roof without walls. This time a co-ordinating body makes sense, because it will have something to co-ordinate: the local and diocesan AICC or similar groups that have been formed and are being extended in each state.

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- 27. Baglin/Mullins, op. cit., p.4 : source material for this section.
- 28. Stanbury, op. cit., p.101
- 29. Hill & McLeod, op. cit., p.33
- 30. Isaac, op. cit., p.12
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ABORIGINAL ART IN AUSTRALIA

A Michele Carr

Art in one form or another permeates the thought and behaviour of all aboriginal activity. It is the means by which they keep alive their beliefs, teach the young people their laws and tell the stories of their creation.

Charles P Mountford¹

FOR AT LEAST 40 000 years the Aboriginal cultures of Australia evolved in isolation and independence from the rest of the world. Life developed on two inter-related planes : the one consisting of the activities necessary for physical existence, the other of ritual, symbolism and faith.² According to their myth, without the latter life would cease; without the former the ground for ritual would not exist.³

By standards established elsewhere the Aboriginals' technological and material achievements appear minimal. Yet, despite a tenuous and parasitic relationship to the geographical environment, adaptation made it possible for them to live successful lives throughout the continent.

Correspondingly, there developed a "richly elaborated religious and ceremonial life."⁴ The visual record and expression of that religious and ceremonial life is their art. Its meaning, largely esoteric, is fully accessible only to those with "inside" knowledge. Apart from their cultural heritage it cannot be grasped.

According to Aboriginal myth, the beginnings of all art forms are found in antiquity, in the "Dreaming" or creation time. Serious practitioners of the arts in successive generations have maintained these art forms - be they bark or rock painting, engraving, ground design, carving or ornamentation - virtually unchanged to the present time. They form perhaps the oldest continuous art tradition in the world.

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The upheaval consequent to the European settlement begun in 1788, however, led to the loss of much of the traditional Aboriginal culture. The process of cultural change and loss has continued to the present day.⁵ In recent decades of this century, however, some of the guardians of Aboriginal culture have appeared as cultural innovators who seek to express their ancient and continuous philosophy and beliefs in excitingly new ways.

Their endeavours surely require urgent support. For it has become increasingly clear that unless Aboriginal religion and its related knowledge continues to be practised and passed on, then the traditional Aboriginal art forms will surely perish.

Art, Landscape and Culture

The visual and performing arts of Aboriginal society express the Aboriginals' understanding of the landscape and of life, stretching back to the infinite past, the "Dreaming". The Dreaming is a complex metaphysical concept which subsumes not only the past but also the present and the future. Dreamtime beliefs explain the universe as it appears to the Aboriginals...

In the beginning of time when the landscape was featureless, creating ancestors in a series of founding dramas emerged from their slumbering, subterranean world to fashion and fill the whole world. Depending on the locality these ancestors or cult heroes had varied names and forms - Fertility Mother in Arnhem Land, Sky Hero in the east, Rainbow Serpent in the western desert,⁶ and so on. These ancestors created all laws of existence, all knowledge and all beliefs. They fashioned the first humans, distinguishing people of different areas from each other. They gave each area its own distinctive language. They created all plants and animals. They held the first ceremonies, created the first designs⁷ and taught the skills necessary for their production. They caused sacred power to be concentrated at certain localities. In short, they decreed all the activity of the world creating a fixed and unchanging way of life.⁸

Wearied from their creative work, their epic journeys and their clashes, often violent, they sank back into their creation, there to remain as vital but hidden forces. They lodged in rocks, trees, waterholes or other repositories, the "unborn spirits of all future animals and Aboriginals."⁹ Some remained as self-painted images on rock walls, (the Wandjina for example).¹⁰ Others took on plant or

animal forms. Thereafter, each Aboriginal person at his birth was brought into a special relationship with his particular life-source species - his totem - which also provided the avenue of his communication with the Dreamtime hero.

The ancestral heroes retained their powers of communication and of intervention in the lives of men and women. They allowed a "siphoning off" of their powers - to ensure fertility, to increase supply of a food species, to assist the young in their passage to adulthood, to assist the spirits of the dead to their resting places, and so on. In return they demanded reciprocal care : the secrecy, protection and care of their dwelling places (sacred sites), or perhaps the renovation of their painted self-images; they demanded lifestyles followed in accord with the precepts they had laid down in the creation time, and they required the performance of set and sacred rituals in which painting along with dancing, singing and music played a vital role.

And so art was a religious duty. The Aboriginal painted to fulfil his obligations as well as to meet his spiritual and temporal wants.¹¹

Forms and Styles of Aboriginal Art

There is great variety of form and style in Aboriginal art, and styles tend to relate to different regions.

Forms of art include rock paintings and engravings, sculpture and wood carvings traditions, sand sculptures, body painting, ground paintings, paintings on bark and on carvings, designs incised on ironwood, utilitarian objects, musical instruments and objects. Apart from paintings and sculptures or three-dimensional forms that comprise an "art" tradition in a formal sense, there is a wide ranging array of objects, either utilitarian or ceremonial, which constitute more a "craft" tradition. Such items include dilly bags, baskets, hats, belts, arm bands, other ornaments and ritual paraphernalia. These items are made from feathers, plumes, furs, string, plant fibres, ochres, clay and anything else that can be gathered from the natural environment.

All of these individual forms traditionally would be found in some kind of ceremonial context - and would be integrated into the ritual performance.

Some Characteristics of Aboriginal Art

• Aboriginal Art is Religious Art

Most Aboriginal art is not the work of a fancy-free self expressionist¹² but is a manifestation of the Ancestral Past, of the Dreamtime. The subject matter is the heroes and their activities, the animals and the landscape, but the art work is not simply a representation of these. Rather it is a recreation of the Ancestral Beings and of the events they took part in. Every line, dot and colour section is a significant manifestation of events and situations in the career of the ancestor:

- The sacred rock art site, whether packed, engraved stencilled or painted, is a permanent monument, created in the Dreamtime, and decorated following the example and the instruction of the Creation Hero;¹³
- almost as sacred are body decorations, painting and mutilations, and the carrying or weaving of paraphernalia in ceremony and ritual whereby the human actors are the medium of the art - **they** become the Dreamtime characters, their human bodies being modified to more closely represent that of the hero or some other character;¹⁴
- earth works and structures following patterns laid down in the Dreamtime are constructed from soil at a sacred locality;¹⁵
- carved trees sprung from sacred soil are emblazoned with motifs originating in the Dreamtime and given by the hero to man to be used as insignia;¹⁶
- more portable sacred art or ceremonial objects (tjurunga) are decorated with ancestor-deposited materials of the country - animal, vegetable and mineral - often obtained from sacred sites and traded in highly regulated ways over considerable distances following Dreamtime routes.¹⁷

The act of creation of the art object both puts the creator in touch with the Dreamtime beings and enables him to tap this ancestral power. And so the production of the object always assumes far greater importance than the end result. For it is in the making

of the object that the artist replicates the ancestor's initial production and presentation of that object to his people. In some mystical way, the artist comes into direct relationship with his Ancestor and simultaneously with all his antecedent brother-artists and all those to follow.

While making the object, the artist becomes the creator. His participation in the Creation changes him spiritually, making him in a sense, to a degree sacred himself.¹⁸ The activity embodies his spiritual presence. In reproducing the design, in tracing and retracing the marks, in singing or chanting as he works, his activity becomes a religious activity, a re-affirmation of his beliefs. For him "to paint is to pray."¹⁹

Of course this could only be effected if the artist painted or carved those designs spiritually or totemically relevant to him. For only when the special totemic connection exists between artist, Dreamtime Being and object being made does he truly become "a living representative of that being, a custodian of the rites, myths and songs associated with it."²⁰

• **Aboriginal Art is Usually Made in the Context of**
Religious Ritual

In traditional Aboriginal society, age-old ceremonies, in which music, song, dance and painting combined into a unified whole, formed a complete artistic network that articulated the Dreamtime and the landscape.²¹

This ceremonial life expressed religious beliefs and spiritual values through the tradition of the mythological past. Art work was at the core of this ceremony. Hence in certain regions (e.g. central Australia) sacred objects engraved with stylised designs might be employed to provide a cue for legendary story told during ceremonial ritual. Elsewhere, bullroarers incised with designs and whirled overhead might warn the uninitiated of secret ritual. In many areas, elaborate ground drawings might be an integral part of the ceremonial ritual. The bora (initiation grounds) of New South Wales were well known for their large and elaborate designs including recumbent figures mounded in earth or clay. Massive geometric motifs

Aboriginal Art

carved on gum tree trunks were usually associated with these sites.

Ceremonial life was believed to have an economic function too.²² By this means the supply or increase of a food species or even the survival of the tribal group might be ensured. Times of plentiful supply resulted in gatherings of people and a flowering of ritualistic celebration. Song, dance and ceremony spread and changed as aspects of ritual were shared and traded.

Rituals such as burial rites and modes of disposing of the dead were complex and varied. Their main purpose was to ensure the safe return of the spirits of the dead to their spirit home or totemic centre.

For the Pukamani burial ritual on Melville and Bathurst Islands, for example, large groups gathered, the dancers wearing elaborate body decorations as they mimed events in the life of the deceased and performed other traditional rituals. Large carved and decorated poles, made in the preceding months, were erected around the grave during the rite.²³

Other rites were carried out for intentions such as the bringing of rain, the revealing of the tracks of game, the hiding of tracks of a criminal, the augmentation of water supply, the ensuring of success in love, the stupefaction of animals being hunted and so on.²⁴ As every mishap was attributed to supernatural forces, the corrective measure sought was in magic and ritual.²⁵ And for such ritual, charms and decorated ornaments often served as the media of the magic.

Aboriginal Art is Owned

Designs and images on art objects, stories, songs, dances - all of these kinds of artistic expression are owned in Aboriginal society. Usually the people belonging to or owning a certain stretch of territory are the only ones allowed to tell the stories associated with their "country" or to depict these stories in any artistic medium or ritual. Generally speaking, other groups of people belonging elsewhere could not perform these rituals or tell the stories unless permission or collaboration had been sought from the owners. The system of ownership or the distribution of rights in such things varies throughout Australia.

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Howard Morphy who has written extensively about art in northeast Arnhem Land says that rights in art in northern Australia are vested in patrilineal clans or sections of those clans.²⁶ But a person may have rights in the designs of his mother's clan and mother's mother's clan as well. This does not mean that just anyone from a clan can make a clan design; only those members with authority can do so - this is usually vested in the hands of senior male members. The senior male members of a clan decide when to teach younger members to make a design and when to explain the deep meanings of it. Only they have the authority to pass on information about their art's meaning to outsiders.

Aboriginal Art is Functional and Expendable

Aboriginal art, reflecting the people's nomadic life, is often functional and expendable, created for a specific purpose of occasion and then quickly discarded. And so

- totemic ground paintings wrought intricately in the red earth of the Centre and hardened with human blood have their labour of hours obliterated at the ritual's end;
- the legends of creation unfolded intimately in story and bark painting have their scripts quickly discarded;
- elaborate body decoration, taking days for its application, has a ritual-life measured in mere minutes;
- carvings intricately executed are, post-ceremonially, broken up, burnt or sunk to the depths of a sacred water-hole;
- a story traced at length in sand is wiped clean by wind and tide;
- a man's hopes and triumphs painted aloft in his wet-season bark shelter are quickly abandoned with the return of the Dry and the resumption of a nomadic existence.²⁷

Aboriginal Art is Conservative

Aboriginal sacred art is limited to traditional styles which contain sacred knowledge. Legends recount that only a limited set of motifs and design elements were given specifically to a country at

its origins and these only could be legitimately incorporated into art works. Collectively, these tribal-identifying elements represent all this is essential to the spiritual existence of the land and its inhabitants.²⁸

The art is thus territorially specific, each country having its own definitive and characteristic form. Utilisation of design elements and motifs from other areas is considered a serious breach of tribal law, not uncommonly resulting in the death of the artist and other members of his immediate family.

By western standards, such stereotyped design might be seen as indicative of artistic sterility or creative exhaustion. Aboriginal art, however, is not considered to be an expression of self but rather to be a manifestation of a collective vision of experience, a creation-time bequest to be handed down to successive generations. The form, function and meaning of the designs are thus culturally standardised and expected to remain unchanged and unchangeable. While variations due to artistic individuality or to the regional availability of materials often lead to the incorporation of new patterns, ideas or materials, the themes and preoccupations of the artist remain essentially fixed.

Aboriginal Art Has Meaning

Accurate interpretation of the meanings of sacred art depend on prior knowledge of the symbol system. Knowledge of this kind is esoteric and usually secret so, at best, only a limited number of persons has access to such knowledge for their own and for related areas.

Full understanding of the sacred themes and preoccupations of the producers is for those who "have reached the stage where they have been introduced to the inner realms of secret knowledge."²⁹ The neophyte can but believe that important meanings exist and that one day these will be imparted to him. The newly initiated will come to a fuller understanding of the deeper layers of meaning only as he proves worthy. The tribal women and children and "outsiders" remain excluded from both production and viewing rights. Only the commonly made decorated objects whose purposes have not been ancestrally prescribed (and which therefore are non-sacred) may be freely and creatively viewed by all.

Aboriginal Art is Always Symbolic

Whether it be features in body design, ground drawings, rock engravings or paintings, bark paintings or designs on message sticks or sacred "tjurunga", Aboriginal art is always symbolic.³⁰

The symbolic visual language employed is area-specific, each group owning a distinct range of patterns and designs which "map the landscape" and tell of local creation events.

The predominant symbols used are geometric (arcs, concentric circles, bars, dots, wavy lines etc.) alongside which exist representational forms of animals or plants. The interpretation of these symbols proves difficult for "outsiders", for the meanings attached to them vary from painting to painting depending on the site shown, the religious inference, the degree of information the artist has been allowed to convey according to his ritual status, and the status of the intended audience.³¹ And so a turtle design painted by a young man in eastern Arnhem Land for example, might show a swimming turtle, with little decoration on its back and some lines flowing from its legs to indicate running water or movement. A more senior artist might include a pattern on the turtle's back specifically denoting reeds from a special site. Another artist might show other areas of pattern around the figures denoting the place from which the turtle has travelled and suggesting events of the creation era. Only the "senior" artist is permitted to paint the full story with the image of a great creation hero, Barama, in the centre and body design denoting this dreaming painted on the figure.³²

Information is contained also in the shapes of animate and inanimate objects, in the patterns painted on these, in the colours used, and in the superimposition of different colours in the cross-hatching.³³ Additional information may be conveyed through the layout of the design as it relates to actual features of the local landscape. Without information of the related mythology, interpretation proves elusive.

Symbol markings occur in art work all over Australia: body decorations follow ancient prescribed patterns symbolising the totemic ancestors. Weapons are carved with geometric patterns that symbolise the ownership of specific land tracts. Grave markers or coffins are painted or carved with designs that have specific meanings to the deceased. Dendroglyphs (carved trees) mark

initiation grounds and burial sites, their patterns of spirals, lozenges and zig-zags denoting territorial ownership.

All art objects then, are produced in the service of ritual. The symbols employed are symbols of a common heritage of belief, symbols of descent, symbols of the Dreaming and of the creative heroes made present.

Decline - And Rise?

Following the establishment of a permanent settlement in Botany Bay in 1788 contact between native and "alien" became more intensive and intrusive. The foreign settlers required ever increasing amounts of land for their subsistence. Soon conflicts of interest arose between the Aborigines and the newcomers. The Aborigines 'lost' much of their land. Since the land had been the focal point of their cultural and personal identity, their traditional ways of existence and belief became adulterated, lost, even meaningless or largely forgotten wherever displacement occurred.

Primary causes for the breakdown of Aboriginal culture were twofold:³⁴

Firstly, Aboriginal numbers in the areas of contact declined rapidly to the point of virtual extinction in Tasmania and Victoria. Causes included introduced diseases, diseases associated with inadequate diet and living conditions, decrease in fertility and high pre-natal and infant mortality and the killing of Aborigines by Europeans. Only rarely did a sizeable group of "full-blooded" Aborigines survive more than a generation of contact in those areas chosen by Europeans for permanent settlement. Secondly, where concentrations of Aborigines did continue to exist they did not reflect the traditional organisation and groupings. Rather they were removed from their country of origin and brought together artificially, often on reserves, located so as to interfere but minimally with European land usage requirements.

The loss of culture was not so marked in those parts of Australia which remained "wild" and unsettled. But even there the Aboriginal death rate increased as the result of disease and fighting following movement and cultural breakdown. This led eventually to the establishment of reserves even in remote areas and to the subsequent concentration on a permanent or semi-permanent basis of Aborigines from many different areas.

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The traditional sacred arts were particularly sensitive to the pressures of contact. As with much of Aboriginal culture these arts had limited flexibility. The survival of art was dependent upon the survival of the sacred and secret body of knowledge. When this was lost the art became meaningless and sterile. Even when people with the mechanical skills remained to produce and decorate the objects, they no longer served any useful function, religious or otherwise, and in many areas their manufacture soon ceased.

As long as knowledgeable artists lived, the potential for revival of the arts was present. But within one or two generations following the movement of peoples from their own areas to the alien existence of life on a mission or a station in a reserve area, the knowledge, and then the skills, were usually lost. Except where recorded by European documentation, the knowledge was lost forever. The skills however might be renewable with a revival of interest.

In East Arnhem Land the course of this distintegration can be traced without much difficulty. In some areas the arts still flourish, mostly in secret. In other areas inter-tribal conflict developed and persisted.

Traditionally the secrets of the sacred arts remained in the guardianship of the wise and the few, but all in the community were reassured by the firm belief in the existence and the knowledge, and of the reliability and righteousness of those who held it. However, with European contact it became increasingly evident, particularly to the young, that the elders did not necessarily hold all the answers to life's alternatives. There were other ways. Doubts arose - which way was better, the old or the new? The power appeared to rest with the new. Few appeared able to resist the European for long and survive. Many of the young became disillusioned with the traditions and knowledge of their ancestors. The elders were unable to pass on the knowledge. The chain of cultural transmission was broken.

The ceremonies continued often in secret but, with growing rejection of their culture by the young (frequently with the encouragement of the Europeans), there were few new initiates. Viewed from a traditional standpoint, many elders in turn saw the young as unfit to receive their sacred inheritance. By traditional law, that inheritance ought die with the holders rather than come into the hands of those unprepared and unappreciative of its value and significance. As religion and knowledge were rapidly lost, so

too were the arts. The skills without the support of knowledge were irrational and useless.

The pressure of European disapproval of primitive "pagan" ways combined with the ambivalence of the young to form a strong reaction against the rigidity of the rules of secrecy and knowledge. Their collapse and destruction was inevitable even when the descendants survived physically.³⁵

In remote parts of Australia where the destruction of Aboriginal cultures has been delayed, the arts continue to exist as an expression of a viable traditional way of life. In these regions the religion of the past continues alongside that introduced. Often the arts remain as exclusive as they were in the past.

Recently however, the guardians of Aboriginal culture - those with knowledge - have started to become cultural innovators. Stimulated by the interest shown by travellers, scholars, tourists as well as by the commercial potential of their art, large-scale production has developed in much of contemporary Aboriginal Australia. To preserve secrecy and sanctity, the manufactured works resemble but do not duplicate sacred art. Visually, only minor alterations are necessary to satisfy this requirement.

As an appreciation of, and a need for, the material benefits and comforts of European culture develop, so too develops a strong desire to procure these benefits. In many Aboriginal communities the sale of traditional artefacts is one of the few monetary sources which enables such procurements. Therefore the older skilled men teach the younger men and women, even at times the children, the motifs and designs they can legitimately produce. Whole families may engage in the making of "authentic Aboriginal art objects."³⁶ The artists or artisans normally utilise only designs to which they retain traditional rights. Occasional "theft" of designs causes conflict.

In places like Mornington Island, new styles having only minimal roots in traditional practice, have developed.³⁷ The artists produce prolifically and rapidly for the European market. Having little or no meaning for them the traditional skill, care and concern with production are dispensed with. Nevertheless, alongside the trivial, secret art continues to be produced. Its manufacture follows the dictates of traditional laws and is subject to the direction and control of those who remain knowledgeable and responsible, the elders. They pass on this tradition to a select few

younger initiated men and thus far, this has assured the survival of these arts in a few areas.

And so, of the many Aboriginal cultures which were to be found in Australia, only a few continue to produce their sacred art, secure for another generation.

But it is increasingly evident that without the practice of religion and the transmission of knowledge, this art must surely die. It can be said that this art has no existence apart from the traditional meanings and knowledge of Aboriginal Australia. As these cultures die, the art must likewise. Then whatever remains, at best, will be a mere "empty shell", an art form in a cultural void and with no internal context, without identity, and reflecting the ignorance of both producer and consumer, who deem it art without meaning or function.

* * * * *

Endnotes:

1. Charles Mountford, **Aboriginal Art** (London 1961), p.3
2. A P Elkin, **The Australian Aborigines**, (Sydney 1970), p.3
3. *ibid.*, p.4
4. Douglas Fraser, **Primitive Art** (London 1962), p.124
5. Peter Stanbury ed. **The Moving Frontier** (Sydney), p.100
6. "To Paint was to Pray" **Australia's Heritage Part 2**. (New South Wales), p.37
7. Jennifer Isaacs, **Australia's Living Heritage** (Sydney 1984), p.10.
8. Geoff Bardon, **Aboriginal Art of the Western Desert** (Australia 1979),p.9
9. **To Paint was to Pray**, art. cit., p.37
10. D G Baglin & B Mullins, **Aboriginal Art of Australia** (Sydney 1976), p.5
11. "To Paint was to Pray", art. cit., 38
12. Colin Simpson, **Adam in Ochre** (1951), p.207
13. Stanbury, *op. cit.*, p.103
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid.*
16. *ibid.*, p.104
17. *ibid.*
18. *ibid.*, p.102
19. "To Paint was to Pray", art. cit., p.37
20. R M & C H Berndt with Stanton cited in Marji Hill - Neil McLeod, **Aboriginal Art Today' : from the Ochres of Mungo**, p.43
21. Isaacs, *op. cit.*, p.10
22. Australian National Commission for UNESCO, **Australian Aboriginal Culture** (Canberra 1973), p.16
23. *ibid.*, p.44
24. *ibid.*, p.18
25. *ibid.*

(continued on p.9)

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A NEWCOMER TO THE NORTH

Dave Ryan sj

Introduction: I returned in July to Melbourne from six months study attached to Nungalinya College, Darwin. It is a Combined Church (Anglican and Uniting) Training and Research Centre. Aboriginal and Islander students live-in with their families for year-long Certificate of Theology and Women's Studies, or come singly for three-week courses. Large numbers of Catholics come for Community Development, made up of short courses and fieldwork over two years. I was engaged as a tutor, using my English as a Second Language Dip. Ed. I went with three questions. Another newcomer gave me seven. And the Women's Studies gave me one.

My Questions: (quoting Pope John Paul II's speech to Aboriginal and Islander Australians, November 1986, Alice Springs.)

1. (On spirituality) How does the Holy Father see your "spiritual closeness to the Lord" related to "that Gospel [which] now invites you to become, through and through, Aboriginal Christians"?
2. (On Ceremony and Leadership) Does following others who "colour the great signs and symbols of religion with touches of their own traditions" mean that some ceremonies could be the basis of a new Aboriginal Rite, and some forms of leadership the basis of a new Aboriginal Ministry?
3. (On the Australian Church) What is meant by, "The Church herself in Australia will not be fully the Church Jesus wants her to be until you have made your contribution to her life, and until that contribution has been joyfully received"?

Another Newcomer's Questions:

1. If you were to work with an Aboriginal community, what would be your three main goals or priorities in such a situation?
2. Aboriginal culture - Christian Gospel. What are the various ways these two can be related? Which type of relationship seems best to you?
3. Legitimate roles for whites in the Aboriginal scene? Name some. Which would be practical for you? for another Religious?
4. Lifestyle for white people working among Aborigines.

5. Christian Gospel - political issues (e.g. landrights). Relationship between these in practice.
6. Aboriginal Christians - the white Church. What are the possible forms of relationship? Which ones hold hope for the future?
7. Aboriginal - Coloured - Mixed race - white European - immigrant etc. Race relations from what you have seen.

The Women's Question: - Are you alright?

The North: - To my three questions were added:

4. (On the Holy Spirit). What is the best place (the building in Kensington, NSW, where the Bishops' Committee on Aboriginal Affairs meets; under a tree at Balgo, WA; or in a discussion at Nungalinga) for Aboriginal and Islander church leaders to discover the way God is leading them?

My answers to the other newcomer's questions revealed in me a willingness to listen and do as Aboriginal and Islander people asked me - as long as it fitted my vision. The women's question came after many months of silence. I had helped the kids with homework. I had laughed with the men. But I was observed by the women - not to see what I'd do wrong, but to see what sort of person I was. I was sitting under a bush, avoiding the midday sun and waiting for someone to pick me up for an appointment. The bush didn't have much shade, so I squatted down with my head between my legs (easier to demonstrate!). The Women's Studies students had been on an excursion and as they drove in, saw me. Well, that afternoon when I returned and the next day they all, singly, came up to me and asked, "Are you alright?" With my head down and sitting all alone as I had been, they thought I was sad. I was surprised when Hilda Fejo, the first, asked. I did not expect to create such a situation of concern. I did not expect such a response. As the hours went by, and I was asked again and again, I was mystified. - They were not really after information: they were after giving me love.

Conclusion:

I'm grateful for the transfer from the Melbourne ecumenical theology college to the one in Darwin. I'm grateful for the questions of the head (mine), of the will (the other newcomer's), and the heart (the women's).

* * * * *

VISITING SMALL CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Sr Delores O'Sullivan SSpS

BEFORE ATTENDING the International Course conducted by the Lumko Missiological Institute held in Mazenod, Lesotho, Southern Africa last November, I was able to be present at the weekly meetings of some Small Christian Communities (SCC) in the parish of Gokwi, Zimbabwe.

Gokwi is about three hours drive from Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe and is the centre of a rapidly developing area. The jungle has been cleared - lions no longer roam about - and for some years now people have been resettled there as part of the policy to give land back to the people. Previously many had lost their farms as they were taken over by larger land owners. There is also a newly operating asbestos mine. Buildings are springing up like mushrooms in the town area and it is estimated that the population of the parish is about 1,000,000. This includes the town and the surrounding small villages.

Each of these small farming villages forms a compact community and it was to the meetings of the SCCs in some of these that I was taken by Sr Marcellina, a member of the first local Zimbabwean Religious congregation of women - The Little Children of Our Lady.

In this particular area, according to an old tradition, no work is done in the fields on Thursday to allow the Spirits of the Land to rest. Other tasks may be done, but no one goes out into the fields so Thursday is the meeting day of the SCCs. However, Sr Marcellina had asked the groups if they could come together this particular Saturday so that the visitors from Australia could meet them. (Two Australian MSCs who work in PNG, also on their way to the Lumko course, were in Gokwi as well - Frs Joe Ensing and Russell Andersen.)

Sr Delores O'Sullivan SSpS, who wrote in **Nelen Yubu** nos. 24 & 27 about Cherbourg (Qld) where she had lived for close on ten years, is presently stationed at Daly River where she is engaged in the Lumko program in the NT.

So on Saturday morning we set out, bringing the Blessed Sacrament with us to be left in the church in Village No. 1 for the communion service the following day, conducted by the local people. The stone church had been built by the people themselves and a painting by a local artist of the Last Supper - with African apostles - occupied the entire back wall. We were to attend the SCC meeting here after lunch so we continued on for about half an hour to Village No. 2, where after the greetings and hand shaking and being shown around the huts that comprise a family home, we were ushered into a large round kitchen hut where the meeting was to be held.

The group of about twenty women and six men was well organised. The leader of the Bible Sharing that day was a woman. Although the whole meeting was conducted in Shona, the local language, it was easy to distinguish each of the Seven Steps as the leader gave the instructions in the simple suggested formula which could be recognised as such. The change in the tone of voice of those who spoke, and their slower hesitant speech created the same atmosphere that is felt whenever deep thoughts are shared - whatever the language.

At the Sixth Step - the task arising from the gospel reflections - there was a lively discussion, also in the reporting back about the task for the previous week. (Later on I found out that one of the women was explaining why she had not been with the others when they went to help an elderly neighbour: she had come late to the agreed meeting place, found the women had gone and was too ashamed to follow. Now she sees it would have been better to have joined them, even though embarrassed, than not to have gone at all and then having to admit it - an even greater embarrassment. Besides, she had not helped anyone!)

Almost all participated in the spontaneous prayers of the Seventh Step - lengthy heartfelt prayers - and finally the local teacher prayed in English for the visitors, and about the blessing our coming was: for it reminded us all that though we came from different countries and are of different races, being united in the same faith had brought us together; being Christians had made us one. We should thank God for this reminder our presence gave, and pray that all people in the world will come one day to live together in peace and love, knowing God as Father of us all.

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After gifts of peanuts, eggs and lemons and many farewells, we left for Village No. 3. The villages are officially known by numbers, not names. I have numbered them in the order of our visiting, not by the Government Register. The SCC of Village No. 3 had the reputation of being the best in the district since it usually had the largest male attendance and all were actively involved in community tasks. Alas for the attendance that day! There had been rain the previous days and this was Saturday, not Thursday, so most of the men taking advantage of the rainfall were ploughing in the fields. I think God who sent the rain agreed with them. However, there were three men present as well as five women, so the meeting began. By the time it was finished the numbers had increased as others kept coming across the fields as they saw the truck and knew Sister had arrived and the meeting would begin.

This time one of the men was the leader. The community task agreed on last week - to thatch the roof of the hut of an old woman who lived alone - had not been carried out. In the discussion that followed it was seen that no definite time to come together had been agreed upon, and also that before the roof could be thatched, the grass would have to be collected from the fields, really two tasks. Organising skills are learned while carrying out a gospel message! This was a much poorer village than the previous one, but they too gave generously of peanuts, eggs and two live pigeons.

Now back to Village No. 1 where we were served lunch before the meeting. Although some men were around to welcome us, the meeting was for women only, about thirty, including some teenage girls and young mothers with their babies strapped on their backs. The same Seven Steps were followed again with everyone participating.

I was interested to observe that only a few in each of the three groups had their own bible and that most were not literate. However, when the leader asked someone to read, there were always enough volunteers. At each of the meetings the selected passage, the Sunday Gospel, was read three times by different readers. Very many joined in the repeating of the words or phrases that had struck them, so obviously all had heard and understood and could recall and repeat the words that impressed them. Literacy is not essential to hear the Word of God!

Sister Marcellina who had been training leaders and attending and assisting at their weekly meetings for over a year, considered that these three groups were now ready to function alone without a

regular weekly visit from herself or the parish priest. A number of leaders had been trained for each group and a sense of responsibility for their community had grown. Sister's only intervention at any of the meetings had been to ask the woman whose roof was to be thatched if she had grass or anyone to collect it. The group then realised they had another task to perform before they could start on the roof.

The Pastoral Team will continue to call in occasionally at the meetings to encourage and assist if necessary and also to keep the groups in contact with the wider parish community. There is not yet a Parish Council with representatives from all the SCCs. That is a vision of the future.

Another interesting group that I was able to visit - a SCC in embryonic stage - was the gathering at Tabane, a small village in Botswana, an hour's drive along a terrible road from Selebi Phikwe, another growing mining town, this time for nickel. The village however is not yet affected by the mine.

Each Sunday Sr Martha Mary, a young German Holy Spirit Sister, conducts a communion service with a bible sharing instruction session. The meeting is held in a different home each week. In the group were three well-informed and zealous Catholics, two baptised but poorly instructed Catholics, four catechumens, three women and one man, all full of fervour since they had just returned from the Centre in Selebi Phikwe after four days of prayer and instruction as final preparation for their baptism at Christmas. A second young man was disappointed that he would have to wait for baptism as he had not come for the special preparation. A number of children were also present and watched with interest what was happening (most of the time). The singing was in Tswana, the local language. All had bibles in English which all could read and the discussion and prayers alternated between English and Tswana as all seemed to be at home in both languages. One of the young men had a bible in Tswana as well.

I was glad of the English as I could then follow what was being said. I was reminded of the early Church when the few Christians welcomed the new converts into the faith community. Here, the faith of all was being strengthened in the welcoming of new members. May this little group retain its fervour and flourish.

* * * * *

FROM THE SECRETARY'S DESK. . .

Our thanks to the many friends and well-wishers who sent Christmas cards and greetings (and encouraging support!), including Sister Monica, fdnsc, Daly River, NT, that ever-cheerful friend; Fr Dirk Tolboom mhm, who sent me a delightful and unusual card, and has moved to a new place with the intriguing name of Three Springs, WA; Sr Elsie Flicker, fdnsc, Santa Teresa, spent holidays in NSW; Miss Mary Wilson, Qld, who is Fr Wilson's cousin; Sr Céline Auton, Garden Point, Melville Island who, in company with Sr Therese, had a grand tour down the east coast and back via Ayers Rock and the Olgas; Fr Fred Mordaunt msc, Kokopo, PNG; to Br Pye msc of Bathurst Is., and Br Groves msc of Daly River; Dr and Mrs D R Morgan, Rosedale; Sr Jocelyn Gardner of the Community of St Clare, Stroud, NSW; Sr Barbara Linge fmm, Alice Springs; and Sister Agatha, Kalgoorlie, WA, for her kind sentiments. Also, our congratulations to Mr and Mrs le Gras of Jabiru, NT, on the birth of their first child, a daughter. - And to others who added words of greeting when forwarding their subs, we are very grateful.

Sr Chris Giller osu, writes: "Thanks for Nelen Yubu - have been subscribing for years and always enjoy reading it. I have been working in the Aboriginal scene in Armidale for about ten years and this year I did the AAP course in Darwin and Daly River and travelled around the Kimberleys and Alice - a great experience!"

And from Fr Rod Cameron osa, Mareeba, Qld: "God's blessings on your work for the coming year! Recently I was invited by the Hope Vale community to come to spend a few days with them discussing the Dreamtime. To be so invited by the Aborigines themselves was to me a great honour." I hope you will send us the story, Father Rod - and thanks for reminding me of our wild orchid hunt on Melville Island!

During the holidays I decided to retypeset **Australian Aboriginal Religions** by Fr E A Worms, translated by Fr Martin Wilson, Fr Dan O'Donovan and Prof. Max Charlesworth. The first edition has sold out, and as it was my first effort at typesetting an entire book, which left a lot to be desired, I tackled the job again. We hope it may be out about the middle of 1989.

I was surprised at the number of comments on the story of turtle-catching at Daly River; I'd no idea it would appeal to so many readers. Often I've marvelled at the strangeness of my situation, a lay missionary in the Northern Territory emerging from a city life of total "organisation" - a foot in both camps, one might say.

The things I have learned from eleven years in the missions is quite staggering. It's amazing that I ever survived being smashed into raging seas at the height of the Wet in Apsley Strait in our little boat; or escaping at top speed from a pursuing croc whose territory we had invaded; or driving through a bushfire on the way to Port Keats with the fires closing in behind us to cut off retreat. But what impressed me most was the education I received from the Aborigines and mixed race people themselves.

Sitting on the river bank with a woman who had lost a child, we didn't talk much, but now and then she'd reach out her hand, sob a little, and say something quite striking like: "He come from God, he gone back there". "There" was somewhere that she knew her baby was safe, sitting with God, talking about hunting. That dear woman taught me about acceptance and generosity as never before.

The occasions that I went out bush with the women were best of all. Laughing as we ambled along, they were quick to spot a lizard, a bandicoot, or even a snake - indicating its presence with a silent wriggling movement of the hand. They taught me how to draw in the sand the different footprints of animals, by the flick of an extended finger or a cleverly clenched fist; they invited me to share a campfire meal in the dry bed of a creek out from Santa Teresa, or on a beach at Bathurst Island; and once when strolling along a distant beach on Melville Island one of my friends suddenly appeared at my side, smiling, to join me, I asked her how she knew I was out there; she said: "We can always find you, Keren. Your big toe goes sideways - look!" and there in the sand was the peculiar imprint with a funny twist where my big toe had rested! Oh yes, I am the one who benefited most by being in the missions - much more than the people I had gone there to serve.

A Happy Easter 1989 to all our friends!

Secretary Keren.

BULLETIN BOARD

We apologise to St Andrew's Church Missionary Society Federal Training College, 190 The Avenue, Parkville, Vic. 3052, (The Revd Tony Nichols), whose name was inadvertently omitted from our list of subscribers in issue 35. We regret this omission, and hope it has not happened to anyone else. If so, would you please advise us.

Fr Dan O'Donovan is still recovering from his injuries received in a car accident late last year. His present address is c/- PO Box 14, Subiaco, WA, 6008.

The correct postal address for Port Keats is: **Wadeye, NT 0822.**

CHANGES OF ADDRESS:

The Revd Philip Freier, from Kowanyama to Banyo, Qld.
Sr Bernadine Daly rsm, from North Perth to Bindoon, WA.
Sr Kay McPadden rsj from Banyo, Qld., to Lake Cargelligo, NSW.
Fr Dirk Tolboom mhm, from Mt Magnet to Three Springs, WA.
Fr Eugene Stockton from Mt Druitt to Kingswood, NSW.
Sr K M Clancy rec, in Nundah, Qld.

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