

# CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA: AN EVALUATION OF THEIR OVERALL EFFECT

James Franklin\*

## Abstract

The paper gives an overview of the Catholic Church's missionary efforts to the Aborigines of northern and western Australia up to 1970. It aims to understand the interaction of missions with native culture and the resulting hybrid culture created on the missions. It describes the differing points of view of missionaries and the generations who grew up on the missions.

It is argued that the culture created on the missions by the joint efforts of missionaries and local peoples was by and large a positive phase in Australian black history, between the violence of pre-contact times and the dysfunctionality of recent decades. Criticisms of the missions are addressed, such as those arising from their opposition to aspects of native culture and from their involvement in child removals.

## Introduction

There is no overview available of the Catholic mission effort to Aboriginal Australia (or of the Christian missions overall). A short article cannot fill that gap, but can make a start by indicating the topics that need to be covered, the questions to be answered and the sources available.

Here, "missions" is taken in the traditional sense, where a group of white clergy and helpers establish themselves in a remote location and preach and provide other services to local black people who have had little contact with whites. Such initiatives as apostolates to urban black communities are excluded.

The topic is important because the history of Aboriginal interaction with missions is quite different from the history of other white-black interactions in Australia, and because many present-day remote communities are former missions which still have strong connections with their mission past.

While Catholic church authorities in earlier times were mostly fully occupied with establishing the Church in white society, the needs of the Aboriginal people were not entirely forgotten.

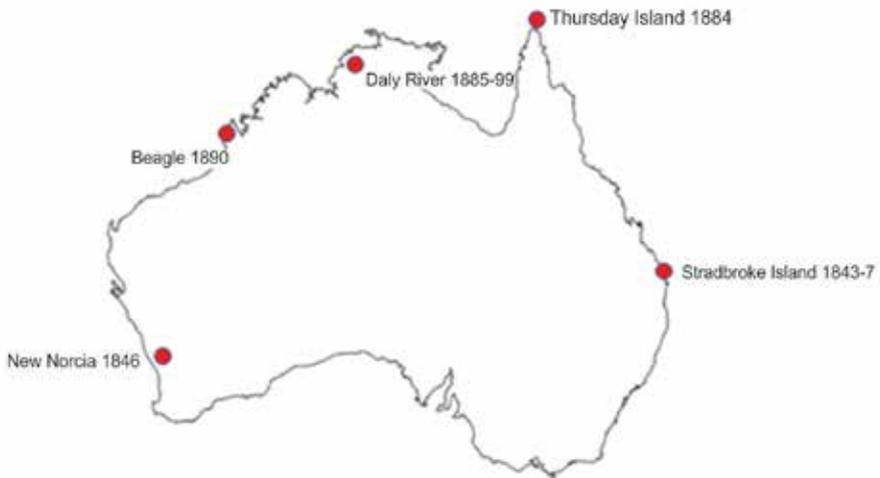
---

\* James Franklin is editor of the *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society*. His books include *Corrupting the Youth: A History of Australian Philosophy, Catholic Values and Australian Realities* and *The Real Archbishop Mannix*.

The first Catholic bishop and archbishop in Australia, John Bede Polding, wrote:

White men have too often been apostles of Satan, have riveted his chains and confirmed his kingdom. It seems now almost a necessity that Christian missionaries should isolate themselves from all intercourse with white men. We want missionaries equal to the glorious exiles of those members of the Society of Jesus, who preached and taught the Gospel of old in the reduction of Paraguay, and, perhaps, this country will never be fully purified and absolved until such men have arisen within it. (Polding 1869, authorship discussed in Girola 2010)

Polding sent a small number of Italian missionaries to Stradbroke Island in the 1840s, but the mission failed through lack of resources and difficulties with the local population. (Thorpe 1950; Ganter: Stradbroke Island). The missions founded in the nineteenth century (survey in Girola 2013) are indicated in Fig 1.

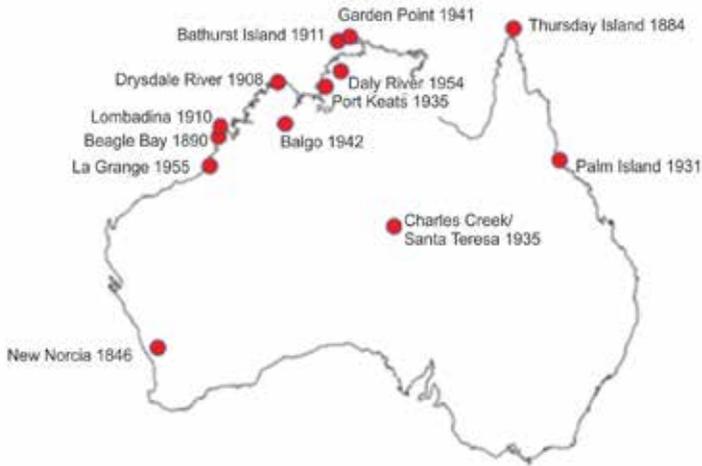


*Fig 1 Catholic missions in Australia in the nineteenth century*

New Norcia was a Benedictine Abbey with an Aboriginal ministry that was successful in the long term, and much has been written about it. (Russo 1980; Flood 1908; Haebich 2001; Williams 2001; Ride 2007; Shellam 2012; Bérengier 2014; Reece 2014; Massam 2015) (and much was written by

the founders themselves: Salvado 1977; Salvado 1883/2015; Torres 1987). Following an unsuccessful Jesuit mission at Rapid Creek near Darwin (Ganter: Rapid Creek), the Jesuit mission on the Daly River (at one time led by Mary MacKillop's brother Donald MacKillop), had some initial success but failed because of financial difficulties and a disastrous flood. (O'Kelly 1967; Pye 1976; Feehan 1981; Gray 1983; Rose 2000; Berndt 1952; Ganter: Daly River) Beagle Bay was founded by French Trappists and later run by German Pallottines. (Walter 1982; Balagai 2001; Choo 1997; Lockyer 2009; Jacobs 2014; Ganter: Beagle Bay) Its pearl shell altar is still a noted tourist attraction. Thursday Island was not a mission in exactly the traditional sense, as Thursday Island was a European port settlement, but it conducted missionary activities with the Torres Strait Islander people. (Deere 1994; Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Church)

The missions in the twentieth century are indicated in Fig 2:



*Fig 2 Catholic missions in Australia in the twentieth century*

Drysdale River (Kalumburu) was an offshoot of New Norcia. (Catalan 1935; Perez 1958; Perez 1977; Deakin 1978; Perez 2001; Pandilow 1987; Choo 1994; Chalarimeri 2001; Sanz de Galdeano 2006) Lombadina was associated with the Trappist/Pallottine mission but largely founded by the Filipino Thomas Puertollano. (Ganter: Lombadina) Balgo was established in cattle country in the Kimberley and operated as a cattle station, (Choules Edinger and Marsh

2004; Ganter: Balgo) and there were some other shorter-term missions in the Kimberley. Bathurst Island (Nguiu, now Wurrumiyanga) was founded in 1911 by Father (later Bishop) Francis Xavier Gsell of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. (Ritchie 1934; Barclay 1939; Gsell 1955; Jones 1963; Stanley 1984; Bell 1988; Macleod 1997, pp. 115-22; Morris 2001; Morris 2010; Franklin 2012; Ganter: Bathurst Island Mission) A mission in the Alice Springs area existed in several locations, eventually settling at Santa Teresa. (O'Grady 1977; Pye 1989; Harmsen 1993) The Palm Island mission ministered to those dumped there from other Queensland locations. (Carey 1998) Garden Point on Melville Island was not a traditional mission but was established by Gsell to care for children of mostly mixed race removed from their families under government policy. (Brogan 1990; Leary 1998; Pye 1977, pp. 77-92; Pye 1998; Leary 1998; Ganter: Garden Point) Port Keats (Wadeye) was established in 1935. (Pye 1973; Ward and Crocombe 2009; Stanner 1954; Wilson 1979; Wilson 2010) A mission was re-established on the Daly River. La Grange (Bidyadanga) was established near Broome in 1955. (McKelson 1995)

In addition to the missions, religious sisters staffed three leprosariums, which contained mainly Aboriginal patients. At Derby WA, Channel Island NT, and Fantome Island near Palm Island, they were originally established as government facilities and handed over to orders of nuns. (Robson 2012)

Something of the tone and point of the missions is encapsulated in the most celebrated story from them, Francis Xavier Gsell's dramatic account of Martina. Gsell founded a mission on Bathurst Island, north of Darwin, in 1911. A decade later the mission was well-established. Martina was one of the young girls about the mission. A "hairy anonymous man" comes to fetch her, his promised wife according to tribal custom. Martina refuses to go but Gsell accepts that tribal law is final and nothing can be done; "trying to stifle her sobs, she goes with that man to begin a life which, I know, has less joy than that of the lowest beasts of the forest". Five days later she is back, speared in the leg but determined to stay at the mission. In the evening an angry mob of tribesmen arrive and demand her back. Not forgetting to call on God's help, Gsell welcomes them with flour and tobacco and suggests a good sleep before talking in the morning. Overnight he lays out calico, tobacco, a mirror, pots of meat and tins of treacle. When the tribesmen have woken up and had a good look, he names the price: Martina is to stay. After an interminable council, they agree. Martina is brought up by the nuns and contracts a free Christian marriage with a mission youth. Over the following decades, Gsell "bought" in similar fashion a hundred and fifty

promised girls, all of them, according to tribal law, his wives. He became known as the “bishop with 150 wives”. (Gsell 1955, p. 43; also recounted in Ritchie 1934, Pye 1977, pp. 41-2; a hostile view in Scanlon 1986)



*Bathurst Island mission sawmill, 1958*  
Australian Archives, image no. A1200, L25645

Those who grew up as children on the missions learned a monastically-ordered lifestyle that contrasts with Aboriginal life before and since. Betty Lockyer, of mixed Aboriginal and Malay parentage, believes that her removal by government action was unjustified, but is positive about her life at Beagle Bay Mission in the 1940s:

The men had their jobs to do, each going to their own workplace, whether it was the bakery, gardens or checking the windmills. The women stayed at home to look after the babies and little ones, or worked elsewhere for a few hours. Some helped out at the church,

convent, presbytery or the Brothers' houses. There was no such thing as idle hands. They all knew their jobs and did them well ... Our people were shown how to live an orderly lifestyle and in that short time they learned to conform. (Lockyer, 2009, p. 51; similar recollections briefly in Choo 2001, pp. 153-5; Zucker 2008)

(She does however think the life was rather too ordered for everyone's good.)

In a rare letter from a young person on a mission, Hilda, a girl from Drysdale River wrote to the Abbot at New Norcia about the return of the nuns after World War II:

Since the Sister are here everything very nice. We are having the meals on the table we ate doing in turns to wash the plates and set the table also we the three big girls we help the sisters to set the table for the Fathers do the cleaning and feed the fowls and some other little things; the young married women are helping in the kitchen washing iron and mending. I sometimes help the sister to make the bread fry de eggs in the morning and to take the diner to the Fathers. I'm still going to the school which I like very much because the most I learned the most useful I will be to the Sisters. (Hilda of Drysdale River Mission, 18/8/1946, quoted in Choo 2001, p. 77)

As a single illustration of what it was like for the missionaries "on the ground", Sister Antoninus recalls the early days at Garden Point:

In those wonderful tea chests that Sister Annunciata had packed in Sydney there was a pile of discarded Sacred Heart sodality banners that had really seen better days but the linings, albeit faded and streaked were made of strong sateen. These, Mother ripped up and made into pants for the small children and believe me they needed a supply for they certainly were not toilet trained. Marie and John had the habit of dirtying their trousers and discarding them anywhere, the little imps would never say where. Many a night, Sister Eucharua and I would sally forth with a hurricane lamp searching the yard for the offending articles, wash them so that the scamps would have something to put on in the morning. (Brogan 1990, pp. 61-2)

And of course the heat was appalling.



*Dressmaking class at Roman Catholic mission, Garden Point, Melville Island  
1958*

John A. Tanner, National Library of Australia nla.obj-137819334.

## **Generalities**

Some general points, mostly obvious, help to put the story in perspective.

The story of the missions (both Catholic and Protestant) is quite different from the story of other interactions between black and white Australians. Earlier settlers, pastoralists and miners forcibly occupied the country and did as they wished, while the Aboriginal population had to accommodate themselves to the situation as best they could. Missions did not operate on those principles. The missionaries invited themselves to a remote location, but after that their success depended on local cooperation. They were usually unarmed, they were unable to impose their will on the locals (at least, until much later times), and they occupied only the area of the mission. If the local people did not like it, they needed only to avoid contact – indeed, that is largely what happened at the first mission on Stradbroke Island (and initially at Drysdale River, where there was briefly armed

conflict). On the missionaries' side too, a cooperative spirit was needed, in ways not necessary for the rest of white Australia. Their aim was to persuade the objects of missionary endeavour of the benefits of Christianity and civilization, so basic research into the Aboriginal way of seeing things was necessary (e.g. Williams 2001), and there was no reason to oppose those aspects of native culture that were considered compatible with Christianity.

Understanding the initial interaction is difficult because we lack the perspective of one of the actors. The story involves three groups of actors – the missionaries, the first generation of the local population who dealt with them, and later generations who grew up as children on the missions. There is plenty of information coming from the first and third of these, but in the nature of the case very little from the second.

We can nevertheless make certain inferences about the cooperation that the first generation afforded to the missionaries. The first necessary cooperation was linguistic. Local populations did communicate with the missionaries, often in a combination of sign language and pidgin; those missionaries who learned the local language relied on the patience of locals to teach them. Locals were aware of the advantages of white technology such as fishhooks and knives, and knew that the missions could provide food security in bad times, and for people facing threats of violence, physical security. Tobacco (that is, chewing tobacco) and sugar products proved attractive, (Crawford 1978) but alcohol was avoided.

The local populations did not, by and large, cooperate in the way the missionaries most desired, by becoming converted to Christianity. Gsell, one of the most successful missionaries, had not a single adult convert in his first thirty years. But time was on the side of the missionary endeavour, because of the most momentous decision in favour of cooperation that the local communities made. It was to allow the missionaries to bring up later generations of children. The reasons for that decision are not entirely clear.

As a result the missions have had a great impact on Aboriginal history. The biggest remote communities today are former missions. The largest is Wadeye, the former Catholic mission of Port Keats.

The missionaries operated under a model that was more monastic than assimilationist. New Norcia was literally a monastery, but in other cases too it was considered best to, as Polding said, go as far away as possible from white society with its temptations and risks (“where the evils of our European civilization had not yet penetrated”, as Salvado put it, Salvado 1883; Gsell said “Bathurst had no white settlers and was completely free

of interference”, Ganter: Bathurst Island). The communities were to be isolated and self-sufficient.

Not many missionaries undertook anthropological or linguistic work on Aboriginal cultures. There is no Catholic counterpart to the Strehlows’ work at the Lutheran mission in Hermannsburg. But Fr Ernest Worms made extensive studies of Kimberley and other Aboriginal languages and religions. (Worms 1998; Bindon 2001) Donald MacKillop’s work on local languages has not been much investigated. (See MacKillop 1892-3)

The history of the missions is an Australian Catholic story largely without Irish. Whereas much of Australian Catholic history before recent times was dominated by the Irish, the mission field saw very few. Spanish, Germans, French, Italians, Filipinos and native Australians provided the mission personnel. (Discussion in Girola 2010) A rare exception is the unusual figure of Fr John Creagh, who enjoyed a successful ecclesiastical career in the Kimberley after inciting an antisemitic riot in Limerick in 1904. (Dolan 2010) Some Irish nuns worked at Beagle Bay. (Durack 1971, chs 17 and 18; McHugh 2000; Jacobs 2014).

The Catholic story ought to be compared to the story of Protestant missions. That is beyond the scope of the present article, but the careful multi-decadal study of Mornington Island in the anthropologist David McKnight’s books such as *From Hunting to Drinking* shows similar patterns. A period of relative calm in mission times separates a violent traditional past from an equally violent and alcohol-fuelled period since the 1970s.

## **Evaluations**

Evaluations of the missions have ranged widely. An extreme view is that deriving from Comintern policy which declared tribal peoples an oppressed class in the Marxist sense and hence identified the missionaries as agents of colonial oppression. That theory was sent to Australia and appeared with local embellishments in the *Workers’ Weekly* of 24 Sept 1931:

The Aboriginal race, the original inhabitants of Australia, are among the most exploited subject peoples in the world. Not only are inhuman exploitation, forced Labor and actual slavery forced upon the Aborigines, but a campaign of mass physical extermination is being and has been carried on against them, until to-day less than 60,000 full bloods have survived the murder drive ... setting up organisations of crawlers and kidnapers, known as “Aborigine Protection Boards” to enslave the remaining members of the tribes, and “Mission Stations,”

under dope-peddlers to muster the youth so that they can be sold into slavery – such truly British methods were used, and are still being used to enslave the Australian Aborigine and to totally exterminate the race ...

The *Workers' Weekly* includes in its demands:

(11) Liquidation of all missions and so-called homes for Aborigines, as these are part of the weapons being used to exterminate the Aboriginal race by segregating the sexes and sending the young girls into slavery.

No evidence for such allegations of slavery was provided then or since, making it difficult to understand why Comintern propaganda of 1931 resembles so closely contemporary views in some parts of the political spectrum of the past interaction of whites and blacks in Australia.

Views based on closer observation have generally been more positive. An example comes from Mark Nevill, a teacher and geologist who was familiar with the Balgo mission in the East Kimberley over a number of decades, both during and after the mission era.

In Mark [Nevill]'s view the work of the Pallottines and the St John of God sisters in the Kimberley is an heroic chapter in our State and national history. Mark sees the strength of Balgo then, compared with now, as being:

- Better policing, no alcohol,
- Better education, no truancy,
- Better health,
- Better diet, supplemented with much bush tucker,
- Organized work and the learning of skills. The policy was no work, no tucker!
- Industry developed, horses, cattle, etc.,
- There was a role for men,
- The Aborigines were free to move around, and,
- Minimal impact on Aboriginal culture—they were free to practice their customs outside the immediate Mission area.

Negative change in Aboriginal communities in the Kimberley is often attributed to the introduction of the equal wage. Yet, while

pastoralists were concerned about the possibility of higher wages, little displacement occurred as a result. The other factors that Mark identified as causing an exodus from the stations were:

- Access to child endowment and unemployment benefits, or ‘sit-down money’ as it was called,
- Rising costs due to the first oil price hike, and,
- Changes in the pastoral industry, which displaced the need for labour. Changes such as mechanisation - mustering planes, motorbikes, portable pumps, better fencing, steel cattle yards, etc

The result is that many Aboriginal people lost the structure they had in their everyday lives, a structure that was there in the traditional lifestyle in the desert, on the missions and on the stations. The increased disposable income gave them increased access to alcohol and nutritionally poor food (Choules Edinger and Marsh 2004).

Negative views of the effect of the missions have come from two directions – one suggesting they were contemptuous of and destructive of native culture, and the other criticising their involvement in government child removal policies.

An example of the former is an article, ‘The Catholic Church’s toll on Aboriginal Australia’. (Bowden 2013). It criticises elements of Frank O’Grady’s *Francis of Central Australia*, a biography of lay missionary Francis McGarry who worked at the Alice Springs/Arltunga mission (later moved to Santa Teresa). “O’Grady quotes McGarry ordering the children that they ‘were not to speak Arunta [sic] in church or in school otherwise they would be sent home without tucker’. McGarry also sought to ‘work quietly towards the elimination’ of adherence to Arrernte cultural practices.”

That is not convincing as it stands as criticism. The context involves children who have recently begun to attend the presbytery and go home every day, so they are not isolated from their own language. To learn any new language, one needs have a space in which that language must be spoken. Speaking in a form of English also allows McGarry to know what is going on. (O’Grady 1977, p. 28) The reference to “cultural practices” mainly concerns corroborees. McGarry regarded some as unobjectionable but did campaign against initiation corroborees that involved high levels of mutilation. (O’Grady 1977, pp. 41-2, 45, 58, 65-6)

One aspect of traditional culture the missionaries certainly did work to eliminate, namely the high levels of violence. McGarry intervened to reduce

levels of traditional “payback” violence (O’Grady 1977, pp. 43, 46, 114). Brother John Pye tells similar stories on the Daly River, and as evidence of success tells of only one murder or manslaughter being committed in mission times, 1938-1972. (Pye 1973, pp. 23, 30, 44) Gsell took little interest in cultural practices in general and for their own sake, but worked to eliminate those of the kind now called abuses of human rights, such as enforced child marriages and the burying alive of decrepit old people.

In general, present-day attitudes take it, without further argument, that the breaking down of native culture is a bad thing in itself (e.g. Scanlon 1986). That is a thoughtless methodological stance. Aboriginal society, like Western society or any other, can contain features that are dysfunctional and anti-human. Claims of the missionaries that certain practices were evil and needed to end are neither self-justifying nor self-refuting. They need to be taken seriously and evaluated in the light of universal principles of human rights. It is still true that putting stress on a culture can have evil effects such as chaos from the breakdown of authority. There is no problem with debating that in any particular case. The problem arises from the unargued assumption that criticism of aspects of another culture and efforts to change it are inherently wrong. Gsell writes of those who criticise in principle the missionaries’ attempts to change culture:

...these fine talkers, few of whom have given the subject any deep thought, themselves enjoy the benefits of Christian civilization: and they enjoy this security because, in day[s] of old, missionaries brought these benefits to their forebears. The heathens are men as we are men and, as such, they have the same right that we have to the benefits of Christianity. (Gsell 1955, pp. 38-39)

It is true however that some missionaries did behave arrogantly towards cultural practices to which there could be no reasonable objection. The Tiwi on Bathurst Island remember Fr John Fallon destroying Pukamani, the sacred burial poles. Fallon later described himself as fired by zeal to convert souls and destroy idolatrous practices, and expressed regret. (Fallon 1991)

The second source of criticisms of the missionaries comes from their involvement in child removals and the “Stolen Generations”. Government child removal policies, especially in the Northern Territory and the Kimberley, relied on cooperation from the missions to bring up the removed children. The policy of large-scale removal of children of mixed blood was pioneered in the Kimberley after the Aborigines Act of 1905, as a

partnership between state officials and the Beagle Bay mission. (Choo 1997; Choo 2001, ch. 5; Zucker 2008) It was driven initially by concerns about tribes prostituting women to lugger crews and the resulting needs of the “unfortunate half-caste and black children who are to be seen in Broome streets, acquiring all the worst vices of Asiatics and blacks” (Letter of Fr Emo of 1904, quoted in Choo 1997, p. 19) and the church was allowed to take and educate them. From 1909, government policy was to remove all part-Aboriginal children in the Kimberley, described as “rescuing of waifs and strays from the bad contaminating influence of natives’ camps”. (Choo 1997, p. 24) Beagle Bay looked after and educated them at little cost to the government.

Many of the mothers came too and lived in the mission compound, separately from their children in the dormitory. Some contact was allowed and it was not the purpose of the mission to separate the children entirely from their mothers or culture. Father Walter’s 1928 account says

It is not the duty of a Missionary to repress a child’s Aboriginal nature and for this reason the children are given as much freedom as possible to follow their customs and practices. From time to time all children are allowed to attend ordinary corrobories (under supervision) and to hold their own corrobories. Outings are utilised to make them sufficiently familiar with bush craft to survive, and one competes with another to catch snakes, lizards, kangaroos and other game, and to study animal trails. (Walter 1982, p. 24, quoted in Choo 1997, p. 18)

Nevertheless the education was almost entirely Western and children were locked in the dormitory at night.

Debate on past child-removal policies has been vitiated by a high level of moral indignation combined with a low level of attention to the evidence from those involved such as patrol officers on the reasons for what they did. Bishop Gsell, who as Bishop of Darwin was in charge of Catholic involvement in child removal in the Northern Territory in the 1940s, writes:

But, I may be asked, is it not cruel to tear these children away from the affectionate environment of their homes? The question is naive. What homes and what natural affection have these little ones? Yes, if they had families, and if they were surrounded by that love and affection family life offers to the young even amongst primitive peoples, it might be cruel. But these creatures roam miserably around the camps and their behaviour is often worse than that of native children. It is an act of mercy to remove them as soon as possible from surroundings so insecure. (Gsell 1955, pp. 154-5)

Gsell's phrase "worse than that of native children" refers to the fact that removal policies were aimed mainly at children of mixed blood, who were considered to be especially at risk. As the Northern Territory patrol officer Colin Macleod explained it, speaking of the late 1950s,

A person brought up without the protection of the tribal life, without any supporting family other than a very young mother, who almost certainly had been abused at its birth, was going to be kicked from arsehole to breakfast time.

These children were often the butt of cruelty not only from whites but also from the full-blood Aboriginals. Brother Pye of the Catholic mission at Garden Point once saw a six-year-old part-coloured boy speared by a full-blooded Aboriginal, almost as a joke, just because the boy was a "yella fella". Brother Pye took this boy under his wing, probably saving his life.

Half-caste kids would now and again turn up at missions with spear marks and signs of horrific beltings. Babies were occasionally abandoned and young children left to fend for themselves. "Yella fellas" could find themselves in a no-man's land and a no-win situation. No-one will ever know how many were left to die, killed or simply pined away ... Many of the children taken away were being given a chance to live and not die, to have a life beyond childhood without being permanently maimed. Garden Point ... was a preferred destination ... [Brother Pye] felt that in many cases these children were saved from real danger and abject misery by being sent to Garden Point. (Macleod 1997, pp. 175-6, 229; generally confirmed in Mellor & Haebich 2002, ch. 8 and Cubillo v. Commonwealth [2000] FCA 1084)

(Macleod does believe that before his time, in the 1940s, removals were sometimes undertaken for more ideological reasons.) (A first-hand account of a 1965 baby removal to Beagle Bay in Thomas 2013)

Debate on the intentions and results of child removal policies ought to proceed, and it is certainly arguable that the policy of removing virtually all mixed-blood children did not allow for individual cases to be properly considered. But debate can only proceed on the basis of considering the relevant evidence from all the interested parties.

Other criticisms of the missionaries could arise from negative memories of some who grew up on the missions. (E.g. McKee) The Bringing Them Home report contains an allegation of sexual abuse at Garden Point. (Bringing Them Home Report, 1997, ch. 9)

### **Aftermath**

Around 1970, control of the missions was handed over to governments and many changes occurred through new government policies such as welfare payments, self-determination and land rights, and the general encroachments of modernity. Despite the changes being individually reasonable, the generally disastrous effects of the whole are now well-known. As detailed in books like Stephanie Jarrett's *Liberating Aboriginal People from Violence*, Peter Sutton's *The Politics of Suffering*, Geoffrey Partington's *Hasluck Versus Coombs*, Rosemary Neill's *White Out* and David McKnight's *From Hunting to Drinking*, remote Aboriginal communities were swept by a wave of violence, alcoholism and cultural disintegration. Optimistic present-day talk of "closing the gap" covers up extreme and continuing levels of domestic violence, alcohol and drug consumption, chronic health problems and low school attendance. If the missions are to be evaluated by comparison to what happened later, the bar is low. As Sutton, the leading expert in indigenous violence, writes, "Public recognition of mission time as far happier and safer than the post-liberation era, in the segregated communities, came not just from Indigenous people but was increasingly being recognised by others, even academics ... There is, in fact, much complaint that life was substantially better under the old pre-1970 mission regimes. Even if we discount the distorting factor of Golden Age nostalgia here, for many settlements this is the uncomfortable truth." (pp. 16, 48-9).

Catholic involvement with the former missions did not cease with the changes of around 1970, although it was in a lower key. A visitor to a former mission today will find an active Catholic community with mass being said regularly. According to census data (2011), they are the most Catholic places in the country:

Parish	Diocese	Total Catholics	Percent Catholic
Santa Teresa	Darwin	490	88.8
Wadeye	Darwin	2322	86.6
Bathurst Island	Darwin	1400	86.5
Melville Island	Darwin	799	83.1
Balgo - Kutjungka	Broome	939	66.3
Daly River	Darwin	765	63.6
Kalumburu	Broome	461	62.7
Dampier Peninsula	Broome	629	60.9
Horsley Park	Sydney	2669	57.2

Table 1. Parishes with the highest percent Catholic, 2011 Australian Census (National Catholic Census Project, <http://pro.catholic.org.au/pdf/ACBC%20PRO%20E-News%20Bulletin%2021.pdf>)

Although there were no ordinations to the priesthood of former mission residents, there were a number of Aboriginal nuns (e.g. Hanlen 1999; Bishop Raible's attempt to set up an order of Aboriginal nuns in Choo 2001, ch. 6), and Boniface Perdjert of Port Keats was Australia's first permanent deacon (Anon, *Catholic Leader*).

A very colourful tribute to mission days was the 1990 comedy-drama musical and 2009 movie *Bran Nue Dae* (Chi 1991). As in *Star Wars*, the man in black is revealed to be father of one of the younger characters.

A celebrated Aboriginal Catholic image was that used on vestments at World Youth Day in 2008. It was given by Marjorie Liddy, a former resident of Garden Point, who saw it in a vision while driving at night. (Basile 2011) Liddy commented on the "Stolen Generations" in an ABC News item on the centenary of the Bathurst Island Mission:

MARJORIE LIDDY, STOLEN GENERATIONS: I had to grow up at – we were taken to Garden Point. They was collecting part-coloured children, to look after us there.

FATHER JOHN MULRONEY: I wanted to say to you today that if any MSC has hurt you in any way, or has in anyway done you any harm, in anyway has misunderstood your culture and in any way harmed your culture I say to you sorry unreservedly.

MARJORIE LIDDY, *STOLEN GENERATIONS*: Probably they feel from us being taken away, they might feel a little bit responsible about it. I don't know what they feel, but we had a beautiful upbringing. But no they did, gave us everything in life, taught us everything.

PAULINE COMPTON, *PROVINCIAL OLSH SISTERS*: Again I would also like to say we are sorry if we have hurt you, or misunderstood your culture. (Lemke 2011)

In the Northern Territory election of 2012, the Country Liberals were elected with a landslide result in the bush, where they had preselected credible black candidates. The winning candidate in the seat of Arafura was Francis Xavier Kurrupuwu. His very Catholic forenames resulted from being named after Francis Xavier Gsell. He was called after Gsell because he is Martina's great-grandson. (Northern Territory Legislative Assembly Hansard, 23/12/2012)

## **Bibliography**

- Alroe, M.J., A Pygmalion complex among missionaries: the Catholic case in the Kimberley, in *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions*, ed. Tony Swain and Deborah Bird Rose (Australian Association for the Study of Religions, Bedford Park SA, 1988), pp. 30-44.
- Anon, Chronology of church's mission to Aboriginal people, *Nelen Yubu* 36 (1988), 25-29, 14, <https://www.misacor.org.au/images/Documents/NelenYubu/NY36.PDF>.
- Anon, Aboriginal elder who became Australia's first permanent deacon turns 80, *Catholic Leader* 7/6/2016, <http://catholicleader.com.au/slideshow/Aboriginal-elder-who-became-australias-first-permanent-deacon-turns-80>
- Balagai, Remi et al, *This Is Your Place: Beagle Bay Mission, 1890-1990: Birthplace and cradle of Catholic presence in the Kimberley* (Pallottine Centre, Rossmoyne WA, 2001).
- Barclay, A., Life at Bathurst Island Mission, *Walkabout* 5 (8) (1939), 13-19.
- Basile, Fiona, Holy Spirit inspires Indigenous painting and storytelling, Parish and School News, Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, 5/8/2011, <http://www.cam.org.au/News-and-Events/News-and-Events/Parish-and-School-News/Article/3629/holy-spirit-inspires-indigenous-painting-and-storytelling-view-gallery#.WB6EzciEvpq>
- Bell, Diane, Choose your mission wisely: Christian colonials and Aboriginal marital arrangements on the northern frontier, in *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions*, ed. Tony Swain and Deborah Bird Rose (Australian Association for the Study of Religions, Bedford Park SA, 1988), pp. 338-352.
- Bérenghier, Théophile, *New Norcia: History of a Benedictine Colony in Western*

- Australia, 1846-1878*, trans. P. Gilet (Abbey Press, Northcote, Vic, 2014).
- Berndt, R.M. Surviving influence of Mission contact on the Daly River, Northern Territory of Australia, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 8 (2/3) (1952), 1-20.
- Bindon, Peter, A century of effort: contributions to the study of Aboriginal ethnology and linguistics by Pallottine missionaries in North West Western Australia, *Nelen Yubu* 78 (2001), 25-36.
- Boland, T., Australian missions, *Nelen Yubu* 5 (1980), 3-21.
- Bowden, Mike, The Catholic Church's toll on Aboriginal Australia, *Eureka Street* 24/6/2013, <http://www.misacor.org.au/emagazine/current-news/201-reappraising-aspects-of-mission-activity>
- Bringing Them Home report (Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families), 1997, [https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social\\_justice/bringing\\_them\\_home\\_report.pdf](https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.pdf)
- Brogan, Thecla, compiler, *The Garden Point Mob: Stories about the early days of the Catholic mission and the people who lived there, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the mission* (Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin, 1990).
- Bryce, Frank, Record of missionary work: Brother John Pye MSC, *Nelen Yubu* 32 (1987), 21-26, <https://www.misacor.org.au/images/Documents/NelenYubu/NY32.PDF>
- Byrne, Geraldine, *Valiant Women: Letters from the Foundation Sisters of Mercy in Western Australia, 1845-1849* (Polding Press, Melbourne, 1981).
- Byrne, Francis, *A Hard Road: Brother Frank Nissl, 1888–1980: A life of service to the Aborigines of the Kimberleys* (Tara Publishing House, Nedlands, 1989).
- Carey, Hilary, Subordination, invisibility and chosen work: Missionary nuns and Australian Aborigines, c.1900–1949, *Australian Feminist Studies* 13 (28) (1998), 251-67.
- Catalan, Anselm M., Lecture on the origin and development of the Drysdale River Mission, Western Australia, from 1908 to 1934 (Co-operative Printing Works, Perth, 1935?)
- Chalarimeri, Ambrose Mungala, *The Man From the Sunrise Side* (Magabala Books, Broome, 2001).
- Chi, Jimmy and Kuckles, *Bran Nue Dae: A musical journey* (Currency Press, Sydney, 1991).
- Choo, Christine, *Mission Girls: Aboriginal Women on Catholic Missions in the Kimberley, Western Australia, 1900-1950* (University of Western Australia Press, Crawley, 2001).
- Choo, Christine, Conflict between value systems: marriage laws and the Drysdale River Mission, *New Norcia Studies* 2 (1994), 59-65.

- Choo, Christine, The role of the Catholic missionaries at Beagle Bay in the removal of Aboriginal children from their families in the Kimberley region from the 1890s, *Aboriginal History* 21 (1997), 14-29.
- Choules Edinger D. and G. Marsh, Reassessing the missions: Balgo – its history and contributions, Kimberley Society, <http://www.kimberleysociety.org/oldfiles/2004/REASSESSING%20THE%20MISSIONS%20Nov%2004.pdf>
- Cooper, Ted, *Unless the Grain Falls: A history of the early Salesian years in Australia: The Kimberly-Diamond Creek Period (1923-1928)* (Provincial Office, Oakleigh, Vic, 1996).
- Crawford, I.M. The Benedictine Mission at Kalumburu, *Studies in Western Australian History*, 3 (1978), 43-47.
- Cresp, Mary, *God's 'Good Time': The journey of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart in ministry with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples* (ATF Press, Hindmarsh SA, 2013).
- Deakin, Hilton, The Unan cycle: a study of social change in an Aboriginal community, PhD, Monash University, 1978.
- Deere, Tyrone, *Stone on Stone: Story of the Hammond Island Mission* (Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Church, Thursday Island, 1994).
- Dolan, Anne, Irish Lives: John Creagh 1870-1947, *Irish Times* 17 Apr 2010, <http://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/irish-lives-1.653625>
- Durack, Mary, *The Rock and the Sand* (Corgi Books, London, 1971).
- Fallon, John, The good old days, *Nelen Yubu* 48 (1991), 12-16, <https://www.misacor.org.au/images/Documents/NelenYubu/NY48.PDF> .
- Feehan, H.V., Donald MacKillop SJ - advocate and apostle of Aboriginals, *Footprints* Nov 1981, 35-38.
- Flood, James, *New Norcia* (Burns & Oates, London, 1908).
- Franklin, James, The missionary with 150 wives, *Quadrant* 56 (7/8), (July/Aug 2012), 31-32 <https://quadrant.org.au/magazine/2012/07-08/the-missionary-with-150-wives/>
- Ganter, Regina, Balgo (1940-1965) <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/balgo>
- Ganter, Regina, Bathurst Island Mission 1911-1938-1978, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/bathurst-island-mission-1911-1938-1978>
- Ganter, Regina, Beagle Bay (1890-2000), <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/beagle-bay-1890-2000>
- Ganter, Regina, Daly River (1886-1899), <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/daly-river-1886-1899>
- Ganter, Regina, Garden Point, Melville Island 1940-1962, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/garden-point-melville-island-1940-1962>
- Ganter, Regina, Lombadina, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/>

- lombadina-1911-1975 and Thomas Puertollano, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/biography/puertollano-thomas-1869-1942>
- Ganter, Regina, Rapid Creek, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/mission/rapid-creek-1882-1891>
- Ganter, Regina, The Stradbroke Island Mission, [http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/qld-mission/test-stradbroke-island-mission-1843-1847#The\\_Catholics\\_in\\_Australia](http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/qld-mission/test-stradbroke-island-mission-1843-1847#The_Catholics_in_Australia)
- Gardiner, Anne, *The Flame in the North: Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, 1908-2008* (Anne Gardiner, Darwin, 2008).
- Girola, Stefano, Motivations of Catholic missionaries working with Australian Aborigines, *Australasian Psychiatry* 11 (2003), S24-S28.
- Girola, Stefano, The Italian connection: new historical sources on European-Aboriginal relationships, *Australasian Catholic Record* 87 (2010), 92-106.
- Girola, S. & R. Pizzini, eds, *Nagoyo: The Life of Don Angelo Confalonieri among the Aborigines of Australia, 1846-1848* (Trentino Historical Museum Foundation, Trento, 2013).
- Girola, Stefano, Catholic missions among indigenous Australians in the 19th century, in Girola and Pizzini, Nagoyo, pp. 85-104.
- Gordon, Christine, Punderdelime: Brother John Pye, – a Northern Territory legend (Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Casuarina, 2002).
- Gonzalez, Juan, Breve resena historica de las misiones catolicas de Nueva-Holanda: con importantes y curiosos pormenores ... (Imprenta de la Esperanza, Madrid, 1849).
- Gray, Alan, Aboriginal fertility at the time of European contact: the Daly River baptismal register, *Aboriginal History* 7 (1/2) (1983), 80-89.
- Gsell, Francis Xavier, *The Bishop with 150 Wives: Fifty years as a missionary* (Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1955).
- Haebich, Anna, No man is an island – Bishop Salvado's vision for mission work with the Aboriginal people of Western Australia, *New Norcia Studies* 9 (Sept. 2001), 20-28.
- Hanlen, Moya, Sr Beatrice FDNCS (Demkardath Kilingkiling Thardim) 10.05.40-12.04.99, *Nelen Yubu* 72 (1999), 14-19.
- Harmsen, Jolien, *You Gave Us the Dreaming: Aboriginal law and Catholic law: changing religious identities of Arrernte people at Charles Creek, Arlthunga and Santa Teresa in Central Australia, 1936-1991* (Centre for Pacific Studies, Nijmegen, 1993).
- Harris, John, *One Blood: Two hundred years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity* (Albatross Press, Sydney, 1990).
- Hearn, Peter, *A Theology of Mission: An analysis of the theology of mission of the Catholic Diocese of Darwin in its ministry to Aboriginal people during the*

- episcopacy of John O'Loughlin MSC (1949-85)* (Nelen Yubu Missiological Unit, Kensington NSW, 2003).
- Jacobs, Pat, *Living on the Kimberley Pearling Coast: Sisters of St John of God in the Early Twentieth Century* (Sisters of St John of God Heritage Centre, Broome, 2014).
- John Paul II, Pope, Address to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, Alice Springs, 29/11/1986, in *The Pope in Australia – Collected Homilies and Talks* (St Paul Publications, Homebush, 1986), pp. 166-72.
- Jones, F. Lancaster, *A Demographic Survey of the Aboriginal Population of the Northern Territory, with Special Reference to Bathurst Island Mission* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1963).
- Lamb, Judith, Memories of mission: stories from the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, *Australasian Catholic Record* 90 (2013), 344-358.
- Leary, John, Out bush in the NT: further reminiscences in the life of an outback priest: the Garden Point people, *Nelen Yubu* 69 (1998), 17-27.
- Leary, John, Out bush in the NT: Baptism, Easter ceremonies, last rites, *Nelen Yubu*, 71 (1999), 18-22.
- Lemke, Laetitia, 100 years of Catholicism, ABC News, 27/7/2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-06-10/100-years-of-catholicism/2754734>
- Lockyer, Betty, *Last Truck Out* (Magabala Books, Broome, 2009).
- MacKillop, Donald, Anthropological notes on the Aboriginal tribes of the Daly River, *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 17 (1892-3), 254-64.
- Macleod, Colin, *Patrol in the Dreamtime* (Victoria Mandarin, Kew, 1997).
- Maguire, John, Catholic missions to the Aborigines in North Queensland, [https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:241819/Lectures\\_on\\_NQ\\_History\\_S4\\_CH3.pdf](https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:241819/Lectures_on_NQ_History_S4_CH3.pdf)
- Massam, Katharine, Missionary women and work: Benedictine women at New Norcia claiming a religious vocation, *Journal of Australian Studies* 39 (2015), 44-53.
- McHugh, Siobhan, Beagle Bay: Irish nuns and stolen children, ABC Radio documentary, 2000; transcript at <https://siobhanmchughwollongong.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/transcript-beagle-bay-documentary1.pdf> .
- McKee, Mohammad Ali, Garden Point testimony, <http://stolengenerationstestimonies.com/index.php/testimonies/1016.html>
- McKelson, Kevin, Japulu Kankarra (The Father in Heaven): Part 2: Early years at La Grange, *Nelen Yubu* 60 (1995), 1-8.
- McMaster, Noel, *The Catholic Church in Jaru and Gija Country: Reworking a context of evangelisation in the Kimberley* (David Lovell Publishing, Melbourne, 2008).
- Mellor, Doreen & Anna Haebich, eds, *Many Voices: Reflections on experiences of indigenous child separation* (National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002).

- Morris, John, The Japanese and the Aborigines: an overview of the efforts to stop the prostitution of coastal and island women, *Journal of Northern Territory History* 21 (2010), 15-36.
- Morris, John, *The Tiwi: From isolation to cultural change* (NTUP, Darwin, 2001), ch. 6.
- Murtagh, J.G., *Australian Missions* (ACTS, Melbourne, 1941).
- Nailon, Brigida, *Nothing is Wasted in the Household of God: Vincent Pallotti's vision in Australia* (Spectrum Books, Richmond, Vic, 2001).
- Nailon, Brigida, *Emo and San Salvador: Based on a true story* (Brigidine Sisters, Echuca, 2005).
- The National Eucharistic Congress, Melbourne, Australia December 2nd-9th, 1934*, ed. J.M. Murphy and F. Moynihan (Advocate Press, Melbourne, 1936) ('Australian Catholics and the Aborigines', pp. 176-8, 'Bathurst Island and Palm Island missions', pp. 190-200).
- O'Grady, Frank, *Francis of Central Australia* (Wentworth Books, Sydney, 1977).
- O'Kelly, G.J., The Jesuit mission stations in the Northern Territory 1882-1889, BA Hons thesis, Monash University, 1967.
- Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Church [Thursday Island], <http://eheritage.metadata.net/record/QLD-601287>
- Pandilow, Mary, The coming of the missionaries to Kalumburu: an Aboriginal view of a West Australian Catholic Mission, *Nungalinga News* 46 (1987), 4-5.
- Papandrea, Vincenzo, *Gnawi Mulanga: Dio è qui. Dal diario di Suor Giovanna Sambusida missionaria Canossiana nella comunità aborigena del Kimberley* (Vincenzo Papandrea, Adelaide, 2003).
- Perez, Eugene, *Kalumburu formerly Drysdale River Benedictine Mission, North Western Australia: a golden jubilee publication (1908-1958)* (Abbey Press, Perth, 1958).
- Perez, Eugene, *Kalumburu War Diary*, ed. R. Pratt and J. Millington (Artlook Books, Perth, 2001).
- Perez, Eugene, *Kalumburu: The Benedictine Mission and the Aborigines 1908-1975* (Kalumburu Benedictine Mission, Wyndham WA, 1977).
- Polding, John Bede, Pastoral letter of the Second Provincial Council of Australia, 1869, in P. O'Farrell, ed, *Documents in Australian Catholic History* (G. Chapman, London, 1969), vol I pp. 413-6.
- Pye, John, *The Port Keats Story* (John Pye, Kensington NSW, 1973).
- Pye, John, *The Daly River Story: A river unconquered* (John Pye, Darwin, 1976).
- Pye, John, *The Tiwi Islands* (J.R. Coleman Printers, Darwin, 1977).
- Pye, John, *Santa Teresa and East Aranda History* (Colemans Printing, Darwin, 1989).
- Pye, John, Garden Point people: 1941-1968, *Nelen Yubu* 70 (1998), 16-18.

- Raible, O., The Aborigines, in *The Story of the Regional Missionary and Eucharistic Congress: Newcastle, NSW Australia: 16th–20th February 1938*, ed. M.E. Dasey (Specialty Publications & Sales, Newcastle, 1974), pp. 272–277.
- Reece, Bob, *The Invincibles: New Norcia's Aboriginal cricketers, 1879-1906* (Histrionics, Perth, 2014).
- Ride, Anouk, *The Grand Experiment: Two boys, two cultures* (Hachette, Sydney, 2007)
- Ritchie, P.H. *North of the Never Never* (Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1934).
- Roberts, C., Theology and the missions, *Australasian Catholic Record* 23 (1946), 254-260.
- Robson, Charmaine, Care and control: the Catholic religious and Australia's twentieth-century 'indigenous' leprosaria 1937-1986, PhD, UNSW, 2012.
- Rose, Deborah Bird, Signs of life on a barbarous frontier: intercultural encounters in north Australia, in *The Archaeology of Difference: negotiating cross-cultural engagements in Oceania*, ed. R. Torrence and A. Clark (Routledge, London, 2000), pp. 215-37.
- Russo, G.H., *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness: The life and times of Bishop Salvado* (Polding Press, Melbourne, 1980)
- Salvado, Rosendo, *The Salvado Memoirs* (University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1977).
- Report of Rosendo Salvado to Propaganda Fide in 1883*, trans. and ed. Stefano Girola (Abbey Press, Northcote Vic, 2015).
- Sanz de Galdeano, Seraphim and Dolores Djinmora, *Metamorphosis of a Race: Kuini and Kulári tribes of Kalumburu Mission* (Hesperian Press, Carlisle WA, 2006).
- Scanlon, Tony, "Pure and clean and true to Christ": black women and white missionaries in the North, *Hecate* 12 (1/2) (1986), 82-105.
- Shellam, Tiffany, 'A mystery to the medical world': Florence Nightingale, Rosendo Salvado and the risk of civilisation, *History Australia* 9 (1) (2012), 110-135.
- Stanley, Owen, *An Aboriginal Economy: Nguui, Northern Territory*, Australian National University, North Australia Research Unit, Casuarina, NT, 1984.
- Stanner, W.E.H., The Murinbata – 1935-1953, paper delivered in section F (Social Anthropology) at ANZAAS 1954.
- Stockton, Eugene, Maverick missionaries, in *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions*, ed. Tony Swain and Deborah Bird Rose (Australian Association for the Study of Religions, Bedford Park SA, 1988), pp. 201-210.
- Stuart, E.J., *A Land of Opportunities: Being an account of the author's recent expedition to explore the northern territories of Australia* (Bodley Head, London, 1923).

- Thomas, Tony, Genuinely stolen? *Quadrant Online* 15/12/2013, <http://quadrant.org.au/opinion/tony-thomas/2013/12/genuinely-stolen/>
- Thorpe, Osmund, *First Catholic Mission to the Australian Aborigines* (Pellegrini, Sydney, 1950).
- The Torres Diaries 1901-1914: diaries of Dom Fulgentius (Anthony) Torres y Mayans, O.S.B. Abbot Nullius of New Norcia, Bishop Titular of Dorylaeum, Administrator Apostolic of the Kimberley Vicariate in North Western Australia*, ed. R. Pratt and J. Millington (Artlook Books, Perth, 1987).
- Walderssee, James, *A Grain of Mustard Seed: The Society for the Propagation of the Faith and Australia, 1837-1977* (Chevalier, Sydney, 2000).
- Walter, George, *Australia: Land, People, Mission*, trans. I. Danaher (Bishop of Broome, Broome, 1982).
- Ward, Graeme K. and Mark Crocombe, Brother Rexford John Pye OAM MSC 1906-2009, *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2 (2009), 157-9.
- Williams, Kenneth B., To what extent did Bishop Rosendo Salvado seek to preserve Aboriginal culture in the conduct of his mission at New Norcia? *New Norcia Studies* 9 (Sept. 2001), 29-35.
- Wilson, Martin J., Father Richard Docherty MSC, *Tracks* 2 (1979), 4-8, <http://chevaliercentre.org/documents/NY02.pdf>.
- Wilson, Martin J., *Ministry among Aboriginal People: Missiological overview of Catholic Church in Australia* (Collins Dove, Melbourne, 1988).
- Wilson, Martin J., *Remembering Founding of Port Keats Mission: 75 years ago 1935-2010* (Nelen Yubu, Kensington NSW 2010).
- Workers Weekly* 24/9/1931, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000219.pdf>
- Worms, E.A., Missions among Aborigines in Kimberley, in *The Story of the Regional Missionary and Eucharistic Congress: Newcastle, NSW Australia: 16th-20th February 1938*, ed. M.E. Dasey (Specialty Publications & Sales, Newcastle, 1974),
- Worms, E.A., Observations on the mission field of the Pallottine Fathers in north-west Australia, in A.R. Pilling and R.A. Waterman, eds, *Diprotodon to Deterioration: Studies of change among Australian Aborigines* (Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 1970), pp. 367-379.
- Worms, E. A., *Australian Aboriginal Religions* (Spectrum Publications, Richmond Vic, 1998).
- Zucker, Margaret, *From Patrons to Partners and the Separated Children of the Kimberley: A history of the Catholic Church in the Kimberley, WA* (University of Notre Dame Press, Fremantle, 2005).
- Zucker, Margaret, Open hearts: The Catholic Church and the stolen generation in the Kimberley, *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* 29 (2008), 23-37.