

Uniting Church History and Heritage

Uniting Church National History Society: Vol. 4 No. 3 September 2022

“History teaches everything, including the future”

Richard La'Brooy, School Chaplain and UC Pastor

This quote from 18th Century French poet Lamartine is one that I often use when teaching History to my Year 7 students. It captures the nature of History. History gives us a window to the past but also allows us to glimpse the future.

I'm fascinated to think about the role of history in shaping our Uniting Church and guiding us in our future. I'm a member of the Uniting Church National Historical Society's Board.

Our history contains many markers of our Uniting Church identity. Our history shows us that we are courageous and risk-takers, it shows us that we are pioneering and missional and it shows us that we are people-focused and inclusive. These are key markers of our Uniting Church DNA and are writ large in the fabric of our history.

Part of our identity as a Uniting Church is being courageous and being willing to take risks as we step into a new future. The notion of 'pilgrim people', which is central to our identity, is inherently risky. We step into an unknown future, trusting in God's presence on the journey. The mere act of union was a courageous and bold decision, three Christian denominations joining to form the Uniting Church in Australia. The Inauguration Service in the Town Hall on 22 June 1977 is a testament to that courage.

Another key tenant of our Uniting Church identity is that we are pioneering and missional. We genuinely seek to live out that notion of pilgrim people in being willing to try new things and innovate. This also guides the way we interact in the world and how we strive for justice of all of humanity and all of creation.

Again, this identity is deeply seen in our history. The 1977 Statement to the Nation expresses this justice-focused mission of the Church. In that statement we named concerns around poverty, racism and even the environment at a time when many were not even considering it. We named our willingness to engage in national affairs and the issues of our region. These were pioneering statements, expressed in a national context that was still quite Anglo-centric. Over our history, these principals have become fundamental to who we are and, once again, we see them entrenched in our historical documents.

A third feature of our identity is that we are people focused and inclusive. Our Basis of Union clearly affirms an all-person ministry and holds fundamentally the equality between lay and ordained, male and female. Our inclusivity has been expressed in our support of First Peoples justice, our celebration of culturally and linguistically diversity and our support of people with diverse sexualities. Over time, this inclusivity has been lived out in many ways and continues to be expressed in our national conversations, but also in our day-to-day living.

Our history should not be consigned to the past, but rather should continue to inspire and challenge us as we strive to be the Church of now and the future. It is through our history that our identity as the Uniting Church was formed. And it is through that history that our identity will be re-shaped for the future.

An edited reprint from the National Assembly's mailing of 14 September 2022.



CHAIR'S REPORT TO THE UNITING CHURCH NATIONAL HISTORY SOCIETY ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING JUNE 2022

Rev. Associate Professor Glen O'Brien

Grace and peace to you in the name of Jesus Christ, Word and Wisdom of God, through whom and by whom all things were made and in whom all things will find their fulfilment. We are situated today on many lands and waters that have never been ceded and whose inhabitants encountered Christ through law and ceremony in ancient times. We pay our respect to the custodians of those lands, to their elders past and present, and to any First Nations people who may be participating in this AGM. We celebrate the recent renewing of the Covenant between the Uniting Church and the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress and renew our commitment to reconciliation and justice.

It has been a privilege to serve for another year alongside the dedicated members of the UCNHS Board - Bob Coote (NSW), Richard La'Brooy (NSW), Alison Longworth (WA), Steve Orme (NT), Lauren Merritt (NT), Julia Pitman (QLD), Judith Raftery (SA), and Robert Renton (VIC) - each of whom has volunteered on top of their already busy lives. I am particularly grateful for the newer members of the Board - Richard and Lauren and all that they have brought to our deliberations and activities. The Board has continued to meet about every six weeks via Zoom. Thank you to all of our members who have supported us with their membership dues, their interest in our activities and their attendance at our events. I am grateful for the support of our Patron, the Rev Sharon Hollis, President of the UCA Assembly, who has encouraged me personally and warmly supported the work of the Society on social media and elsewhere. We are honoured by her presence with us and her greeting to us today.

The Society has remained stable in both membership numbers and finance since last year's AGM, as Bob Coote's report shows. The failure to grow our membership base beyond 90 people is disappointing, however. There is an ongoing need for us to think creatively about how to increase membership, especially the membership of younger people. Over the previous year, our Facebook page has attracted 120 additional 'likes' for a total of 477, with an almost equal balance of men and women, most in the 45-65+ age group. Our Twitter feed has grown from 49 to 68 followers. Our website, hosted on the Assembly webpage, continues to carry basic information on the Society, news items, Conference Proceedings and our regular newsletter in PDF format. The rebuilding and relocating of the Assembly website led to some confusion as links to our pages were sometimes going to the older site with outdated information, including a lower membership fee. A google search of the UCNHS still links to this older site, and even the correct site still carries outdated information, which are problems we need to resolve with the Comms team.

The Society has the responsibility of reporting and being accountable to Assembly which I have done in my Report to the 16th Assembly in July 2021. Though not a Member of the Assembly, I was invited to engage with any interested Members via Zoom on Sunday 11 July 2021, the weekend before Assembly was held. Only one person attended my session, and that was only in error as he was wanting to attend a different session but couldn't find the link. It was a very disappointing result, especially if read as a sign of the wider church's lack of interest in the work of the Society. This meant a lost opportunity to further engage the Assembly with the two matters highlighted in my report:

- 1) The need to continue to ensure that our theological colleges are sufficiently resourced to offer candidates and other students adequate training in history and that they are well acquainted with the history of the Uniting Church and its precedent churches.
- 2) The possibility of the Assembly assisting Synods to preserve their archival collections, for example, through digitization. [Continued on page 7]

Ned Kelly

The article in the last (June) edition by the chairperson of the Society's board, Associate Professor Glen O'Brien, sparked the following response from one of our members, the Rev. Ian Higgins. (Ed.)



As far back as I can remember, the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth and the spirit of Ned Kelly, have been with me all of my life.

This began at the time of the Pacific War when we lived as refugees in Yeerongpilly, a suburb of Brisbane. At the end of the war, Dad was dead, everything in our home in Rabaul, including the house, all destroyed, the four servants disappeared, along with some 2,000 ex-pat Australians, plantation owners, public servants, missionaries, members of Lark Force and many N.G.V.Rs (New Guinea Volunteer Rifles) and working in the Administration and the missionaries. When invasion was imminent, The Australian Government had taken away the women and children, leaving the men to be go-betweens to negotiate between the Japanese and Australian interests. The ships which could have been used to evacuate the men had been used for copra cargo, needed in England for soap manufacture, as the German soap supplies were no longer available. The whole sorry episode now conveniently consigned to oblivion in the rubbish bin of discarded history.

The personal consequence for me was I grew up in a two women household while I was a child and teenager. Various male members of the family were buried in war graves in many places of war. The body of one was never discovered. Mum was a widow; Gran was a widow. Mum introduced me to Jesus: Gran to Ned. And in a way they both came to live in my imagination in mythic ways and have never left.

As the essay in the newsletter has its focus on Ned, I will put aside the Jesus part as it were. Gran came from Kelly Country. As a girl she had seen Kate Kelly resting on a sofa in their home, having had teeth pulled without anaesthetic. Gran remembered Kate's auburn hair hanging down towards the floor. She always declared the Kellys were good people: even though in the language of the day Kellys were R.C. and her family C.of E.

Gran's family had a bakery in Beechworth, and I recall her saying, "The Kellys were good people. Otherwise we would not have given them bread." She maintained the police began the trouble after one copper molested one of Ned's sisters. Naturally in Gran's era, the phrase, "sexually molested" was not used to children. Yet as a good eavesdropper, I got the unmentionable subtext, or as it was called, "reading between the lines".

Over decades reinforced by my studying Australian history at Monash University, I have collected a mini-library concerning Australian bushrangers and Ned in particular. In this eclectic collection, Ned is historical, legendary, and mythical.

One thing that fascinates me is, how he lives on as an Australian icon. What are the historical processes which facilitate that? Also I wonder why Ned continues to fascinate me in ambivalent ways.

Last Sunday I was having a dinner at a property some 20kms outside Rockhampton and the owner produced a very heavy metal replica of Ned's helmet and all his body armour, which naturally I tried on. But why the continuing interest? Police friends of mine, and one historian, say dismissively, "He was a common criminal!" And that is the end of the conversation. For me utterly frustrating. He seems to have been at least an uncommon criminal.

Are there terrible echoes of a penal colony with violence between the law upholders and the common criminals? And is that recurring theme of the struggles between authorities and those who determine to fight against reified laws which are mere constructs of the powerful, often violently implemented to keep their privileged domination? There certainly was that in Kelly Country

In Ireland during the Protestant Ascendancy, the Irish whose lands they had held from generation to generation, were confiscated by the English. Many go to Australia, some in chains: only to discover the English have done likewise in Victoria. Poverty and marginalisation again.

My impression is that Ned kept his deeply ingrained Catholic faith all his days. The

Catholic chaplain said prayers with him before he was hung. And there is that wonderful time when, while the police search the Wombat Rangers, many, many kilometres north, the gang has control of the town of Jerilderie and on Sunday take all the coppers there to Mass. More recently, headless Ned has been buried in an unmarked grave in Greta cemetery with full Catholic rites.

To return to his lifetime some of the Irish immigrants decide to be on the winning side, join the dominant group to constitute a fair proportion of the police force of the day, the troopers. Others resist as best they can. Once again resort to Australian forms of poaching in the antipodes. The Irish who resist are seen as troublemakers, which was still indicated in my childhood by the word, "Paddy Wagon".

The Kellys live in that world, often a time of great disillusionment, which can be seen in the experiences of some of my ancestors: one filling her coat pockets with rocks and walking out into a drowning death in Port Phillip Bay, another dying as an alcoholic on the Back Creek (the location for derelicts) at Bendigo, and another in the Beechworth Mental Asylum.

Ned Kelly as resister becomes an icon, which can be seen in the Nolan paintings. These somehow attract and repel me, as in Otto's perception of the numinous. I find that painting mentioned in the essay to be an unforgettable, wonderful painting, with multiple echoes, including the painting on the cover of Hobbes's *Leviathan*. It also evokes imagined images of Jesus rising over our landscape as the Son/Sun of Righteousness, except this is a black sun. Often in Nolan's paintings, Kelly dwarfs the little policemen like a pharaoh of ancient Egypt and his subjects. Then there is that painting in which Ned has no eyes, rather the Australian sky and landscape. What does that mean, an empty head or a view of a wide sky and landscape. As in any lasting literature there are multiple interpretations possible. So too Ned's words and actions.

In what whitefellars call Arnhem Land, Ned has become a Saviour Liberator figure as in Liberation theology. He stands as it were, beside Jesus as one who also resists the occupying forces of law and order and is executed by them. Above all else he stands against those who massacred so many First Nations people, and the police who still shoot dead Aboriginal teenagers.

This may seem fanciful but has been subject to academic study. Unfortunately my material on this is nearly two thousands kilometres south at Mornington.

Historians will continue to seek to uncover what is authentic history, which may remain as the pop word goes, "contested". They may seek to discard legends. But legends and myths have incredible staying power and like Covid can continue to evolve.

Consequently analysing legends and myths can be much more complex academic undertaking.: particularly as certain iconic figures are given events and achievements, which they never had. One good example is David's alleged killing of Goliath. How come somewhere in Chronicles, someone of later less importance is credited with the giant's slaying? As to Ned Kelly, in the legend he says before he dies, "Such is Life", which is doubtful to say the least. Still I hope that in my imagination I too will say that before life's mysteries, which are the soil of spirituality. Also I hope will always imagine I can be, "As game as Ned Kelly." Such is my delusion. #

Uniting Church National History Society Newsletter

Contributions to this newsletter are welcome,
but please send them via email and in MS
Word or Apple Pages format only.

Editor: Robert Renton
(robert.renton@bigpond.com)

Subscriptions

You can pay your \$25 annual subscription to the Uniting Church National History Society by direct deposit. The account details are:

Westpac BSB 032-828 Account 301985

Direct deposit is very much preferred - but please remember to include your name if you are making the deposit online. At a bank you will need to inform the teller of your name to be included with the deposit or email your name and address and the date and place of the deposit to robert.renton@bigpond.com.

Cheques can be sent to the Treasurer, C/- 28 Bindaree Court, Mernda, Vic. 3754.

Next UCNHS National Conference: Darwin 24 to 27 August 2023

Truth Telling: From Colonising to Covenanting

Arrangements are proceeding for the next National History Conference to be held in Darwin 24 to 27 August 2023, less than a year away now.

The keynote speaker for the opening evening on 24th August will be Yingiya Mark Guyula, MLA.

Yingiya is currently the independent member of the Northern Territory electorate of Mulka, which includes the community of Milingimbi where Yingiya lives.

Yingiya is a Yolŋu man of the Djambarrpuyŋu clan and the Liya-Dhalinyimirr people. He has been a Senior Lecturer in Yolngu studies at Charles Darwin University and served for a time as Support Worker for East Arnhem area with the Northern Regional Council of the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress.

Yingiya has the title of Djirrikaymirr (a senior leader) amongst his people. This makes him an authority within the Yolŋu traditional system of law, called Maḏayin. His clan is also one of a number of groups responsible for oversight of the Yolŋu central governance institution of Nḁarra' (a foundational institution of law). This is where Yingiya's passion lies. Maḏayin law and the Nḁarra' institution has maintained peace, justice, and harmony in Arnhem Land for millennia, yet today is being over-ridden and destabilised by dominant outside influences. There are moments of success but every day the gap for Yolŋu in gaining good health, economic independence, and strong, self-governing communities grows. There is no recognition of Yolŋu governance and authority by outside institutions and this is what Yingiya is striving for – a partnership and treaty that respects the authority of Aboriginal nations on their country.

A call for papers to be presented at the conference has been sent out. A precis of the

proposed topic is requested by the end of February 2023.

Registrations for the Conference will be opening soon. Please plan to be involved. As well as in person attendance, there will be opportunity for online participation.

Call for Papers

Conference Theme:

Truth telling:

From colonising to covenanting

This conference will have a focus on the history of the Uniting Church and its predecessors in Northern Australia. It coincides with the 100th anniversary of the commencement of the Methodist Mission at Milingimbi in Arnhem Land and the 150th anniversary of the commencement of the Darwin congregation of the now Uniting Church.

Papers to be presented at the conference can address the history of these two communities in the light of the theme or can address the theme more generally.

Presenters at the conference will have 20 minutes to speak on their topic with ten minutes for discussion to follow. Presentations can be in person or online. The papers will be published as a record of proceedings after the conference.

Please send paper proposals of no more than 300 words by 28 February 2023 to:

Rev Steve Orme,
Convenor of Organising Committee
Phone 0447 148 744
ucnhs2023conference@gmail.com

Working from home

Rev. Dr Dean Eland

Readers of this newsletter will be aware that many UCA documents and records are now accessible online. With the support of United Theological College NSW ACT Synod, the Camden Theological Library, *illuminate* resource provides access to an extensive collection including many items about the former denominations. The work is continuing with more to come and records from South Australia are now being scanned in a trial basis and will also be added. Here is the link... <https://illuminate.recollect.net.au/>

Known as *illuminate* the repository preserves our heritage and has been developed jointly by Camden Theological Library and datacomIT.

This searchable database is a gateway to the history of our churches, treasured memories of local faith communities, reflective output of our faith people, and decision-making of Assemblies and Synods. Recording inspiring lives led, communities enlivened and projects undertaken. Keeping the memory, recognising values and letting go. Uncovering difficult truths—allowing the light to enter. Holding in trust the treasures of faith and of the Church—a gift for future generations.

This resource included photos, local histories, minutes, theses and much more. It would not have been possible to find these documents as I was working from home in Adelaide when working on a paper, *Growing up Into Union* for the Third Uniting Church National History Society Conference in June 2021.

Now with the support of *illuminate* the UCA Assembly is providing access to its unfolding story and again records include policy statement, minutes and discussion papers. A very helpful and well documented record about the changes and directions of being a people on the way. If you have been on a committee, produced a paper or theses add you name in the search line and you will be surprised!

<https://ucaassembly.recollect.net.au/>

VALE: Rev. Deacon Betty Matthews



The Uniting Church lost one of the great pioneers of diaconal ministry when the Rev. Deacon Betty Matthews died on 19 July 2022, aged 93. Betty was the first Deacon to be accredited in the Uniting Church in Australia on 15 December 1992.

Betty faithfully served for more than 68 years since she was 'set apart' as a Deaconess at Fremantle Scots' Presbyterian Church on 3 February 1954.

Betty arrived in Perth with her family in 1944 and joined Subiaco Presbyterian Church where she was active in the Presbyterian Fellowship of Australia (PFA), ran Easter camps and supported Australian Inland Mission (AIM) Patrol Padres. Betty worked as a typist at the "West Australian" newspaper, but heard the call to diaconal ministry when she met a Deaconess from Victoria who told of a new area where John Flynn was planning to send a Deaconess with a nursing sister to hospitals in the outback.

In 1951, Betty moved to Melbourne, where she lived in a community of diverse woman at Rolland House, the Presbyterian Deaconess Training College, while studying theology at Ormond College. It was while she was there that she became engaged to Alan Matthews, a candidate for ordination as a Minister of the Word.

Betty returned to Western Australia in 1954 where her ministry was to establish a church in the newly developing suburb of Kwinana. She visited migrant families as they moved into their new homes, travelling to Kwinana on a Lambretta scooter dressed in her blue Deaconess uniform.

In 1956, Betty and Alan married and moved to Birmingham in England where they worked in an inner city church. They returned to Victoria in 1957 where they served in Morwell and Ringwood East in the Presbyterian Church. Betty was very involved in children's and youth ministry in church and community, establishing an Infant Welfare Centre in Morwell and a Referral Centre in Ringwood.

In 1970, the Matthews moved to the Northern Territory where the new town of Nhulunbuy, a remote (Continued on p. 9)

[Continued from p. 2] One contribution we are hoping to make to the first aim is the promotion and enlarging of the Geoff Barnes Memorial Prize in History. The former 'Congregational History Fund', administered by the (now defunct) National Assembly Historical Reference Committee was renamed the Geoff Barnes Memorial Fund in 2012, with the original intention that it be used to fund a first year United Theological College prize in Church History. At UTC's 2013 Opening Service, two students shared the award, each receiving books to the value of \$100. The current UCNHS Board has entered into discussions with UTC to extend the Prize beyond UTC to include students from other UCA theological colleges where church history is taught. The Assembly currently holds \$2,884.63 in this fund and we have offered to expand that balance to \$10,000 if we can ensure that the prize is offered on a national basis.

Our Third Biennial Conference on the theme *Growing Up Uniting* was held on 11-13 June at UTC and via Zoom. It was a great success with over 60 participants. A very big thanks is due to William Emilsen, Patricia Curthoys and all members of the Planning Committee for the staging of such a wonderful Conference. Thanks also to our keynote speakers, Dr Deidre Palmer, Associate Professor Ruth Powell, Dr William Emilsen, and Dr Elizabeth Watson, and to our hosts at United Theological College. In the next section, I borrow from my Preface to the Conference Proceedings volume. People who enter their 40s often ponder over whether their lives are what they had hoped they would be and it's not unusual for there to be disappointments and dashed expectations. Those who entered into church union in 1977 were engaged in a bold and radical experiment, carried aloft by ecumenical ideals that were seen as a witness to the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace as hundreds of years of division were placed in the rear view mirror. Undoubtedly, not all of that idealism has borne fruit, but the wind blows where it wills, and new and unexpected moves of the Spirit have shaped the UCA into what it is today.

We were eager at the 2021 Conference to hear the voices of the young people of the church, those who had not known the precedent churches but grew up as Uniting Church people. I was delighted to

participate in the conference (via Zoom in the comfort of my home office in Melbourne) and to hear these articulate voices speak with passion, conviction, hope, and yes, a little 'holy anger' at times, which was appropriate and necessary. The UCA often laments the absence of young people in our congregations, but it is clear that so many of those who are among us, in every Presbytery and Synod, are outstanding disciples of Christ. They love God and people, and they love the Uniting Church. It was very significant, and perhaps a signpost of the timeliness of our Conference theme, that, soon after the Conference, the Rev Charissa Suli was chosen as President-Elect of the Uniting Church, the youngest person ever to fill that role.

Of course, those who did grow up in Congregationalism, Methodism, or Presbyterianism brought into the new church the wisdom and experience of the larger church's preceding centuries. Their voices have significantly shaped what it has meant for younger people to have grown up Uniting. As community elders they carry the wisdom of a longer pilgrimage, marked by the overcoming of challenges and a depth of insight that only comes from experience. The word 'radical' is often applied only to young people, but its word origin means, 'back to the roots.' Sometimes the most radical thing a young person can do is have a conversation with their grandmother, whose insights can be, not just nostalgic remembering, but an act of prophetic imagining.

The Conference was also the occasion of the launch of the book, *Growing Up Uniting* (Adelaide: MediaCom, 2021), edited by William W. Emilsen and Elizabeth A. Watson, which gathers extremely valuable qualitative research on the Uniting Church in Australia. Taken together with the Proceedings volume published by the Society (edited by William Emilsen and Patricia Curthoys, somewhat confusingly under the same title) we are given a hugely valuable snapshot of the UCA at this stage in its life cycle. The voices of the young and the not-so-young are brought into conversation, together discerning a way forward for a vibrant future. [Continued from p. 8] This will not be a future we determine by our own strategy

and cleverness, but something we may together discern of the promises of God. I commend both these books with gratitude and joy.

Robert Renton has continued in his role as editor of our newsletter, *Uniting History and Heritage*, with the latest volume published in June 2022. Robert has faced some significant health challenges and a change of address since our last AGM but continues faithfully to bring out the newsletter in due time and with an array of interesting articles. Thank you, Robert. We are today releasing Bob Coote from his responsibilities as Treasurer but have found it difficult to find a replacement. For the time being we have instituted a stop gap measure with Robert taking over as Interim Treasurer until Bob's replacement is found. Let me take this opportunity to thank you, Bob, for your faithful service and to release you from your responsibilities. We are very grateful for all that you've done for the Society and for the quality of your work. By the time of the 2023 AGM, most of our Board members will have reached their term limits as per our Constitution. Special permission can be granted by the Assembly to extend the term of a member, but it is an opportunity for us to think about succession planning and the injection of new (and hopefully younger) leadership. Appointing a new treasurer is our highest priority. I will have had two terms as Chair of the Society and, partly due to an increasingly difficult workload, I will not seek a further term in the role. I do believe we have members of our Board who could take on the Chair's role and will be having some conversations to see if there is any sense of availability among our existing members. Of course, nominations will be duly called for and votes taken to elect all office bearers at the 2023 AGM.

As of the delivery of this report we had 163 registrations for our webinar on *History, Truth Telling and the Uluru Statement from the Heart*, a very encouraging figure. In this online webinar, the Society, in association with the University of Divinity and its School of Indigenous Studies, brought together Indigenous leaders and historians to engage in a respectful and robust

Future date claimer

4th Uniting Church National History Conference

Thursday 24th August to Sunday 27th August 2023

The conference will begin on Thursday evening and conclude on Sunday afternoon.

It will be held in Darwin, Northern Territory.

The theme for the conference is:

Truth Telling: from Colonising to Covenanting

**Plan to come and participate,
then stay to explore the Top End in the dry season.**

Current UCNHS Board members

Rev. Associate Professor Glen O'Brien (Chair) (Victoria)

Rev. Dr Alison Longworth (Western Australia)

Dr Judith Raftery (Secretary) (South Australia)

Rev. Steve Orme (Northern Territory)

Pastor Richard La'Brooy (New South Wales)

Pastor Lauren Merritt (Northern Territory)

Rev. Robert Renton (Editor) (Victoria)

Rev. Dr Julia Pitman

Dr Pitman has recently had to resign through the pressure of other commitments in her placement in northern Queensland, and we want to say thank you to her for her contributions since the inauguration of the Society. We are hoping that another person from Queensland may be interested in joining the Board!

Mr Bob Coote: Bob has retired after being co-opted to the Board as its treasurer from the beginning of the Society. He has been a stalwart member of the team and an excellent treasurer. We wish him very well in his retirement!

discussion around the Statement and explored the place of history and truth telling in working toward that Makarrata which is the 'coming together after a [Continued from p. 9] struggle' for the sake of a more just and self-determined future for First Nations people. Our expert panel included the Rev Tim Matton-Johnson, a Panninher man, currently living on Mumirimina country (Kutalayna, Tasmania) and a retired UAICC minister, Nathan Tyson, Anaiwon/Gomeroi man and Manager, First Peoples Strategy and Engagement in the NSW/ACT Synod, the Rev Emily Hayes, UCA minister at John Flynn Memorial Church, Alice Springs, NT and Dr Laura Rademaker, Historian at Australian National University, whose book *Found in Translation: Many Meanings on a North Australian Mission* was awarded the 2020 Hancock Prize. The theme of the webinar was an appropriate extension of the Uniting Church 16th Assembly's renewing, in May 2022, of the Covenant between the Uniting Church in Australia and the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress.

The Fourth Biennial UCNHS Conference will be on *Truth Telling: From Colonising to Covenanting* and will be held on Larrakia country in Darwin from 24-27 August 2023. It will include 150th anniversary celebrations at Darwin Memorial Church as well as commemorating the Centenary of Milngimbi Methodist Mission. Thanks are due to the Rev Steve Orme and the Conference Planning Committee for the excellent work they have done in preparation for the event. I refer you to Steve's report for the detail but wish particularly to highlight here our deep gratitude for the extremely generous gift of The Arnhem Land Progress Aboriginal Corporation in financially supporting the Conference.

In October this year I will travel to Rome as one of the newly appointed members of the Methodist-Roman Catholic International Commission (MERCIC). I will be one of eight scholars from member churches of the World Methodist Council who will join eight Catholic scholars in a five year exploration of the (provisional) theme *That the World May Believe: Models of Unity in Belief and Mission*. I enter gratefully into this work, nurtured by the Uniting Church's deep ecumenical commitment to unity as a sign of the reconciling love of God. The UCNHS remains committed to bearing witness to that love through its invaluable

historical work, not merely out of antiquarian interest, but because it understands that the Church's present mission both flows out of history and makes history.

Yours with gratitude,

Glen O'Brien

Chair, Uniting Church National History Society

(**Betty Matthews** - Continued from p. 6) mining town and Aboriginal community on the Gove Peninsula, was being built. They established a congregation there, with services held at first in a marquee, then the recreation hall, before the church was built. Initially the family lived in the nearby Aboriginal community of Yirrkala, where they learned a lot about Aboriginal culture and formed strong friendships with Aboriginal leaders. Betty worked to establish a community kindergarten, co-ordinated cyclone emergency relief and established the Good Neighbour Council.

During Alan's long service leave in 1976, Betty and Alan visited many grass roots churches in South Asia. They returned to Perth in 1977 where Alan served in ministry at Swan View and at Cockburn Hilton. Betty worked for the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) for 13 years, 10 years as their Executive Officer.

Through this time Betty was also active in the Uniting Church and was also a strong social justice advocate, especially on the rights of refugees and First Peoples.

Betty and Alan have always been passionate about ministry with refugees, so when in retirement they moved to Thornlie they bought a house with a self-contained flat so they could house refugees. Many of the refugees they hosted consider Betty and Alan to be their family.

Betty's call to ministry was "one of service to the community – the needy, the lonely, the newcomer. All through her ministry, Betty endeavoured to encourage others and often asked, "And what do you need me to do now?"

Betty is remembered with great affection and will be deeply missed. Deacons around Australia honour her as one of our saints.#

‘She lived and loved to serve the Kingdom, until death came swiftly from the air’: the story of Edna Lenna Button (1901–1940)

Dr Cheryl Griffin FRHSV, July 2022



Deaconess Edna Lenna Button, New Zealand Herald, 17 September 1940, page 9.

Edna Lenna Button, the daughter of Edmund and Bertha Button, was born at Scottsdale, Tasmania on 17 July 1901. The Button family attended the local Methodist church and Edna's name appeared regularly in prize lists for the local Floral, Art and Industrial Society, the Methodist Sunday School and the local state school. At the end of 1914, aged thirteen, she qualified for admission to a state high school. Her parents chose

to send her to Methodist Ladies College (now Scotch Oakburn) in Launceston and in 1917 she successfully completed the Junior Public Examination.

Schooling over, Edna returned to Scottsdale to her parents' home and worked as assistant to her father, the Council clerk, for several years. But we are told that she had a 'passion for missionary work', so on 1 July 1923 she began work in the Methodist Young People's Department's North Melbourne Methodist Mission as Sister Lenna. The position was organised by the recently appointed minister in charge, Reverend David Lewis, who had been the minister at Scottsdale in 1915.

It was in Melbourne that Edna (now Sister Lenna) had a near-death experience that led to her (and her rescuer) being awarded the Royal Humane Society's Bronze Medal. As the Captain of the North Melbourne Mission Girl Guides, one October day in 1925 she took her company of fifteen to the Yarra River at Studley Park for training. After three tiring hours they stopped for tea and two of the girls went down to the river to wash their hands. One, an eleven year old,



1924 photo taken outside the Methodist Girls Hostel attached to the Howard Street Church, North Melbourne. Edna Button (Sister Lenna), aged twenty-three, is on the left. Daisy McKinnon, one of the Hostel girls, is on the right. The last service at the Howard Street church was held in July 1936 and soon after the building was demolished to make way for factories. Image G3-5, courtesy Uniting Church Archives, Synod of Victoria collection.

overbalanced, fell in and sank. Sister Lenna, alerted to the situation, jumped in after her, got the girl to the bank, but was exhausted and she, too, sank, and was rescued by a Trinity College student.

In 1927 Sister Lenna left North Melbourne, bound for Christchurch, New Zealand to train as a Deaconess, such training not being available in Australia. In the 1930s, and now a certificated Deaconess, she served in a number of places, including the Dunedin and Auckland Central Missions. As well, she worked for three years as a pioneering member of the New Zealand Council of

the Federation of Health Camps based at the Methodist Central Mission's Campbell's Bay Camp and continued her commitment to the Girl Guide movement.

In June 1939 Sister Lenna left New Zealand for England to widen her experience. For a brief time she served on the staff of the Methodist West London Mission at Kingsway Hall in Holborn under left-wing pacifist Methodist minister Dr Donald Soper (later Lord Soper) and had begun a course at a college in Birmingham when war broke out and she joined up.

Edna Button once more, she was listed as a RAAF student living at the Regent Square Hotel in London on 29 September 1939, the day the UK's register of civilians was taken. She became a medical orderly in the 8th Brigade of Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) stationed at Biggin Hill Airfield in Kent. In a letter to Rev M.A. Rugby Pratt in New Zealand she wrote, 'This life is of far

greater value to me than would have been that of a book student in a "safe area".'

Just 39 years old, she was killed in a Luftwaffe attack by Ju88s on Biggin Hill Airfield in Kent on 30 August 1940, during the Battle of Britain. During this action, Biggin Hill was attacked twice, causing major damage and killing forty people. Edna was helping move patients from Station Sick Quarters into an air raid shelter when she was killed by a bomb blast.

Aircraft Woman 1st Class Edna L. Button is buried in the war graves section of St Mary Cray Cemetery, Orpington, Kent with fifty-eight other war fatalities, most of them airmen. At the base of her headstone are the words 'Deaconess of Methodist Church New Zealand.'

Back in Tasmania, her father Edmund was left to administer her estate and her 'passion for missionary work' was not forgotten: a bequest of £56 was made to the Methodist Overseas Missions. And just over a year after her death, in early September 1941, her old mentor, Reverend David Lewis, now President of the Methodist Conference, dedicated a communion table at the Errol Street church donated by her parents in her memory



Communion furnishings at the Errol Street Chapel dedicated to the memory of Edna Button, the 'first sister of the Young People's Mission who was a member of the WAAF'. (After the closure of Howard Street, the North Melbourne Methodist Mission opened in Errol Street.) Memorial plaque, ID PQ024, courtesy Uniting Church Archives, Synod of Victoria collection.

Edna Button's story does not quite end there, however. Six years after her death, fellow New

Zealand deaconess Rita Snowden, a prolific author of devotional books, dedicated her eighth book, *The Lark is in the Sky*, to ELB [Edna Lenna Button] for whom 'life had been a swift adventure'. A reviewer, writing in the *Methodist Spectator*, wrote in admiration of this 'Tasmanian lass who laboured for Christ in one of our Melbourne missions, who lived and loved to serve the Kingdom, until death came swiftly from the air.'

The reviewer added 'Many who knew ELB will treasure the book for her sake. Especially chapter 34.' A tantalising reference, especially for one who has yet to read a copy of the book!

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Scottish Presbyterian missions in Australia and the Pacific

Ben Wilkie

Introduction

In 1945, a Kalgoorlie newspaper reported that “All the aboriginal children at the Finnis Springs Mission Station in South Australia speak with a Scottish accent, especially the elder ones who have been on the station all their lives.” The accent, reported a doctor at the mission, “is picked up from Mr. Warren [a Scot], on whose property the mission is located. It is rather comical to hear a jet-black lassie putting over something which sounds like Harry Lauder’s patter. One expects her to break into a song and dance at any tick of the clock.”^[1]

Cross-cultural interaction between Scots and Aboriginal Australians was not uncommon.^[2] These encounters were frequently borne of missionary activity. In an earlier time, Joseph Panton, from Aberdeenshire, recalled a Dja Dja Wurrung corroboree in Victoria during the 1850s thus: “the leader had a book in his hand, which he pretended to refer to, as he led the song. During the interval I approached him and asked what book he had. *le Yabberea* [he said] ‘Belong to that one’ pointing to the heavens thereby indicating the Deity. I looked at the volume and found that it was a Testament in Gaelic.”^[3]

Although there were myriad interactions and encounters between Aboriginal Australians and settlers of many backgrounds, this article explores the Scottish Presbyterian missionary experience in colonial Australia. It focuses on Presbyterian involvement in colonial-era Aboriginal missions, but also investigates how Australia became a springboard for missionary work in south-east Asia and the Pacific, and the role of missionaries in regulating the Indigenous labour force.

Scotland, Presbyterianism, and missionary activity

The most important institutional manifestation of Scottish nationhood in Scotland during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Presbyterianism. Scottish migrants were often equated with the Church of Scotland and its

Australian relations, and were more denominationally consistent than any other of the British or Irish national groups. Presbyterianism was, especially in the nineteenth century, a “vehicle for Scottish culture and identity”, as Malcolm Prentis observes.^[4] National and religious identities had long been integrated in Scotland when immigration to Australia began. In Scotland, religious values underpinned much of civic and public life; the clergy were dominant voices in debates around poverty, education, law, and social policy, and provided Scotland with much of its intellectual and social leadership. Migrants exported Scotland’s religious traditions, and by extension its civic and social values, to the colonies of the British Empire.

Evidence for Scottish Presbyterian missionaries and missions in the early decades of settlement in Australia is scarce; missionary activity at this time was itself a rarity for the Church of Scotland. The concept of converting the indigenous peoples of Britain’s territories to Christianity was for a long time at odds with the Church of Scotland’s theology: in 1796, the General Assembly in Scotland declared that the preaching of Christianity “among barbarians and even natives to be highly preposterous in so far as it anticipates, nay even reverses, the order of Nature.”^[5] Enlightenment thinkers and Scottish Orientalists, too, advanced the view of tolerance and non-interference with traditional cultures throughout the Empire.^[6]

The decline of the idea of the Elect and of Predestination in the nineteenth century, however, enabled a flourishing of Scottish missionary activity at home and abroad. In 1824, an Act of the Church of Scotland recognised the doctrine of universal salvation, noting that Christ’s death “was also a relation to mankind sinners, being suitable to all.”^[7] The Disruption of the Established Church in 1843 was also a key event for the growth of Scottish missionary work, when newly invigorated evangelicals, who liberated themselves from moderates to form the Free Church, set immediately to extending Scotland’s missions abroad. Great energies were expended on missions and by missionaries.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Scottish evangelists had spread widely through the Empire and particularly in India and South Africa, where their work was perhaps most concentrated. Their

efforts to convert inhabitants of their adopted countries were, however, relatively unfruitful; very few indigenous people converted to Christianity.^[8] Nevertheless, their Presbyterian associates in Australia—including early congregations of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and John Dunmore Lang's United Presbyterians—were a persistent presence among Christian missionaries in Australia.

Presbyterian missions in colonial Australia

In 1814, during the earliest years of Australian settlement, Scottish governor Lachlan Macquarie ordered the establishment of one of the earliest Aboriginal missions in Australia. It failed, and Macquarie had it discontinued within ten years.^[9] Some other examples of Scottish involvement in missionary activity include the merchant Robert Campbell, who had ties with the London Missionary Society, and who became involved in another unsuccessful mission at Lake Macquarie in 1825. The Rev. John Dunmore Lang advocated for Scottish missionary activities in the colonies as part of his drive for increased Scottish migration to Australia. He, too, was involved in a failed mission in Moreton Bay from 1837.^[10]

The formation of Presbyterian Aboriginal missions in colonial Australia was sporadic. Two Moravian–Presbyterian missions were established in Victoria; one at Lake Hindmarsh (Ebenezer) in 1853 which operated until 1903, and another at Lake Wellington (Ramahyuck) that existed between 1862 and 1908.^[11] In Queensland, Lang's Lutheran–Presbyterian mission operated at Moreton Bay until 1845. A combined Presbyterian and Moravian mission was established at Mapoon in 1891 and existed until 1987, with a branch mission in nearby Weipa (1898), and another at Aurukun that existed from 1904 until 1978. At Mornington Island, a Presbyterian mission operated between 1914 and 1978. In the far north-west of South Australia, a mission opened at Ernabella in 1937, which operates to this day under the auspices of the Uniting Church.^[12]

In 1896, the Presbyterian Federal Assembly of Australia, considering its Queensland missions in particular a success, suggested that '[i]t was necessary that something should be done for the aborigines in Western Australia.' It noted that 'as soon as the way was open steps would be taken in that direction.'^[13] To this end, in the first half of

twentieth century the church established at least two Presbyterian missions in Kunmunyah (Kimberley, 1913–1953, and 1910–1913), one at Mowanjum (1956–81), another at Wotjalum (1953–1956), and also the Range View Students Home.^[14]

Overall, the Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions directly operated very few of the Aboriginal missions in Australia. Scottish Presbyterians were, of course, involved in other missions and reserves across the country. One famous example is the lay preacher John Green and his wife Mary, who were instrumental in the early years of the Coranderrk Aboriginal station near Melbourne in the 1860s.^[15] We might also look to the Rev. Dr James S. White, a Presbyterian minister in Singleton, New South Wales, and a critic of the Aborigines Protection Board; from 1847, parts of his 'Gowrie' property were provided for use as a de-facto reserve.^[16]

Overall, however, Presbyterian involvement in Australian Aboriginal missions seems less significant than similar efforts in other parts of the Empire. It may have been that other Empire destinations were more attractive to missionaries, or that other occupations and pursuits were simply more appealing to Scottish Presbyterians in Australia. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the presence of the Scottish church in South Africa was considerable, for example, with mission schools numbering in their hundreds and pupils in their tens of thousands. As the imperial historian John MacKenzie found, the impact of the Scottish church in South Africa was substantial:

In Kaffuaria there were thirteen missions and eighty-one Scots missionaries, twenty-eight native staff' and seventy-three day schools with 4,000 pupils (a Christian community of 9,500). In the Transkei, fourteen missions, forty-five Scots missionaries, seventy-one African staff, 202 schools with 10,650 pupils (a community of 17,715). And in Natal, five missions, eighteen Scots missionaries, eighteen African staff, 202 schools and 1,845 pupils (and a community of 10,985).^[17]

The spread of Presbyterian missionaries in India was likewise significant, and even extended to the establishment of Presbyterian higher education institutions. The difficulties of mission work in Australia were highlighted in *The Free Churchman*—a periodical of the Free Church in Australia—in 1883. The editor of the journal noted that

During the last few years, public attention has frequently been drawn to the social, political, moral and religious condition of the few thousand still remaining of the people who originally inhabited the Australian Continent ... The comparative ill-success which has attended past efforts for the amelioration of their condition by bringing them under Christianising and civilising influences has no doubt tended to discourage many whose sympathies have from time to time been enlisted on their behalf^[18]

Nevertheless, the presence of Scottish Presbyterian missions in the Australian colonies would have a notable impact in the later nineteenth century, and the Queensland missions were particularly illustrative of this.

Presbyterian missions and Indigenous labour

In 1886, the Presbyterian Federal Assembly committed to establishing a mission in the north of Queensland, and Presbyterian community committees were set up in Victoria to collect funds for the mission. In 1885, the Protector of Aborigines in Victoria, Moravian missionary Friedrich August Hagenauer, toured Queensland and observed the necessity of establishing missions in the far north, where the immigration of South Pacific Islanders had raised humanitarian concerns. Hagenauer believed missions could train Indigenous people as a substitute labour force for plantations.^[19]

John Douglas, a prominent Queensland official, was supportive of a mission; he had been concerned with abuses of Aboriginal and Pacific Islander labour by recruiters in the fishing industry and saw missions along the coast of Cape York as a way to regulate and monitor this industry. With the support of Douglas, along with the backing of prominent Presbyterians in Victoria, a site for the Mapoon mission was established in 1890 and the mission itself was founded in 1891.^[20]

By 1896, the Mapoon mission catered for around 300 Aboriginal people, and reported an average daily attendance of 150 people; around 60 pupils attended the mission school.^[21] The church and its missionaries sought to expand the Mapoon mission towards the end of the 1890s. Avoiding government funding and thus regulation and overbearing bureaucrats, the Presbyterian

Women's Mission Union of Victoria, the Queensland Women's Society, and Ormond College (a Presbyterian residential and theological college affiliated with the University of Melbourne) provided financial support for a branch mission to be established at nearby Weipa in 1898.^[22] Another mission, similarly operated by Moravians and backed by Presbyterians, was opened near Weipa at Aurukun in 1904.

The group of Moravian–Presbyterian missions established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries effectively regulated the workforce of the fishing industry in far north Queensland by training and recruiting Aboriginal labourers. Under the guidance of Nikolaus Hey, Mapoon and its branch missions administered recruitment to the fisheries and ensured that the maximum employment period was six months, the minimum age for recruitment was set at fourteen, and that women could not be signed on. The wages earned had to be handed to the mission:

Having put his wages into the common fund, each boy, as a matter of right, can also draw from the store anything he wants in reason—e.g. fishhooks, lines, turtle-rope, knives, tools, nails, buckets, further supply of clothing and tobacco, and, when he marries, the galvanised iron to roof his house. At Christmas time the store supplies every visitor (including, of course, those from Albatross Bay), with a suit of clothes. Each boy thus learns that he is labouring not only for himself, but for the common good.^[23]

In the oversight of employment conditions, and its control of wages and goods, the missions effectively constructed a highly regulated commercial microcosm protected by a governing body 'guided by Christian principles'. Indeed, such was the nature of the mission's control over conditions that one observer called Nikolaus Hey's style of governance a 'limited monarchy'.^[24] Hey believed, however, that, while the introduction of rudimentary Western commerce was integral to the 'common good', Christianity had to remain central to the mission's purpose. Writing of the north Queensland mission – the group of missions at Mapoon, Weipa, and Aurukun – Hey said:

On all our stations the church is in the centre, and the preaching of the Gospel is never side-tracked or made of secondary importance. Everywhere each day begins with a religious service, in fact, religion permeates the whole. Two services are conducted every Sunday, as well as Sunday school and mid-week prayer meetings.^[25]

Unsurprisingly, the mission was following Livingstone's ideal of the self-propagating Christian enterprise. According to this missionary strategy, a self-sustaining and prosperous mission was the basis for the spread of genuine Christian civilisation. There were at least three early converts at Mapoon who went on to become assistants and one left to establish another mission at Embley River in 1898.^[26] Of one Torres Strait Islander convert, Hey wrote:

...the native assistant Mamoos [sic] has again proved himself in the past year and is a great help to us in every respect. At times I give him special instruction in order to deepen his understanding of the Holy Scriptures. He has also made a start on developing very simple sermons. Lately it has been his task to translate hymns into the native language and to practise them with the young men.^[27]

The missions also became involved with the affairs of Pacific Islander labourers. In 1896, the Queensland Presbyterian minister Rev. P. Robertson informed the Presbyterian Federal Assembly of the work being done by missionaries in the far north of Queensland. He said, 'The keepers of opium dens and grog shops were in the habit of getting hold of the wages earned by the kanakas, and the foreign mission committee had succeeded in getting 160 kanakas to sign the pledge, and so get out of the power of the unscrupulous white population.' Robertson continued:

No fewer than 82 kanakas had received the sacrament, and 26 had been baptised. It was a common thing for unscrupulous white traders to hold from 80 to 100 of the kanakas' money, giving them in return a simply acknowledgement in pencil for the receipt. One of these receipts was taken down to Brisbane, and the police were now endeavouring to put a stop to the practice, which resulted in extortions being committed on the kanakas.^[28]

These missions therefore had a marked impact on the lives of Indigenous Australians and Pacific Islanders. Indeed, in addition to missions within Australia, the involvement of Presbyterians in regional missions outside Australian borders probably equalled their operation of domestic Aboriginal settlements and missions.

Presbyterian missions in Asia and the South Pacific

Presbyterians in Australia sent missionaries to Korea between 1889 and 1941.^[29] As it was for the traders and merchants, Australia provided a useful springboard for extending the Scottish influence further abroad into the frontiers of the Empire. In metropolitan areas, Presbyterians also undertook missionary work with Chinese communities in Australia. At the end of the nineteenth century the Federal Assembly observed that "[a]mong the Chinese steady efforts were being made, and experience showed that the most economical method of Christianising the Chinese in China was to Christianise the Chinese in Australia, for the converts would then return and spread the Gospel among their own people."^[30] It noted, "the mission work among the Chinese in Sydney had been phenomenally successful, and the converts ... worked with energy and fervour in the cause of Christ."^[31] Missionary work among migrants in Australia was thus another way of facilitating the spread of Christianity throughout, and beyond, the British Empire.

The United Presbyterian Church in Scotland sent missionaries to Australia, New Zealand, and the New Hebrides [Vanuatu] from 1847 onwards and much activity was focused on missionary work in the New Hebrides, where the Free Church of Scotland also sent missionaries. The Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee recruited Presbyterian missionaries in Australia to preach in the New Hebrides during the middle of the nineteenth century also, and recruited for the establishment and operations of missions in India.^[32]

The New Hebrides represents an interesting case study. In 1896, the Presbyterian Federal Assembly in Australia noted that there were eighteen missionaries and 271 native teachers engaged in missionary work in the New Hebrides, with a total of 9587 pupils attending Presbyterian mission schools.^[33] Scottish Presbyterian activity in the

New Hebrides occurred alongside significant Scottish commercial investment in the South Pacific. In 1883, a group of business persons and Presbyterian leaders in Victoria agitated for the advancement of British commerce and colonisation in the New Hebrides, with the explicit aim of pre-empting a new French trading company – the *Compagnie Calédonienne des Nouvelle Hébrides* – from taking commercial control of the islands. By 1891, the Australian New Hebrides Company held significant amounts of land and had substantial capital, invested by members who represented some of the most prominent Scots in colonial commerce and politics.^[34]

The ANHC used its steamer to sell products to planters, traders, and missionaries on various islands between Sydney and the New Hebrides, and from whom they also purchased produce to sell. By 1891 its trade was worth £15,000.^[35] The company purchased 10,000 acres of land in the New Hebrides, subdivisions of which were subsequently leased to numerous settlers from Australia who then ‘undertook to employ indigenous New Hebrideans.’^[36] The ANHC’s ultimate goal of preventing the French from annexing the New Hebrides was realised by undermining the CCNH’s economic position, and consequently subverted France’s attempts to use commercial dominance in order to gain political control in the region. This was largely achieved by the co-operation of Scottish Presbyterian business people and missionaries in both Australia and the New Hebrides.

Conclusion

While Presbyterian missions were relatively few in the Australian colonies during the nineteenth century, Australia itself provided a useful recruiting ground and operations base for extending Presbyterian missionary work in the region. Australia was important for Scots and Presbyterians not only as a destination of missionaries and a site of Presbyterian missions, but also as a vital gateway to opportunities in the Indian sub-continent, the Pacific, and in East Asia.

Scottish Presbyterian missionary activity among Indigenous people thus had an influential role in at least some areas of Australia, and its region, during the late nineteenth century. In particular, Scottish Presbyterians had a significant presence in the labour markets of far north Queensland, and used

Australia a regional base from which further missionary and business activities could be undertaken in Asia and the Pacific. Although they were not as prominent as in other British settler colonies, Scottish Presbyterians were, nevertheless, part of the wider history of missionaries and the spread of the British Empire.

^[1] Kalgoorlie Miner, 1 Jan 1946.

^[2] For a general overview, see the relevant chapters in Benjamin Wilkie, *The Scots in Australia, 1788-1938* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017).

^[3] Panton quoted in Fred Cahir, “We had a good many visits from them: Aboriginal/Scottish cultural performance interaction on the Victorian frontier”, in Fred Cahir, Anne Beggs Sunter, and Alison Inglis (eds), *Scots under the Southern Cross* (Ballarat: Ballarat Heritage Services, 2014), 38–9.

^[4] Malcolm Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2008), 184.

^[5] T. M. Devine, *To the ends of the earth: Scotland’s global diaspora, 1750-2010* (London: Penguin, 2012), 194.

^[6] Devine, *To the ends of the earth*, 194.

^[7] Devine, *To the ends of the earth*, 195.

^[8] Devine, *To the ends of the earth*, 19–99.

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^[13] *Argus*, 16 Sep 1896.

^[14] Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), “Mission and

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[18] *The Free Churchman*, Oct 188, 116.

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[21] *Argus*, 16 Sep 1896.

[22] Letters to Mapoon from the Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union, and Federated Presbyterian Church of Australia and Tasmania, AIATSIS, MF186-187/5; Hey to Benjamin La Trobe, 28 March 1898, AIATSIS, MF186-187/3; Hey to Benjamin La Trobe, 28 October 1899, AIATSIS, MF186-187/3.

[23] W. Roth, "Annual Report of the Northern Protector of Aborigines", *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, Vol. 2, 1902, 555.

[24] Quoted in John Harris, *One Blood - 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope* (Sutherland: Albatross Books, 1990), 491.

[25] Hey, *The Presbyterian Church's mission*, 26.

[26] Hey, 3 April 1896; 30 October 1896; July 1898, AIATSIS, MF186-187/3.

[27] Mapoon mission reports and statistics, AIATSIS, MF171/7.

[28] *Argus*, 16 Sep 1896.

[29] See Edith Kerr and Rev. George Anderson, *The Australian Presbyterian mission in Korea 1889-1941* (Sydney: Australian Presbyterian Board of Mission, 1970); Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with love: Australian Presbyterian mission work in Korea 1889–1941* (Melbourne: Presbyterian Church of Victoria, 2009).

[30] *Argus*, 16 Sep 1896.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee, *Letter books and minutes 1836–1929*; United Presbyterian Church, Foreign Mission Committee, *Letter books 1847-1936*; Free Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee, *Letter books and correspondence 1856–1934*, National Library of Australia (NLA), Canberra, M1551–1556, 1848–1931.

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[34] Roger C. Thompson, "Commerce, Christianity, and colonialism: the Australasian New Hebrides Company, 1883–1897", *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1971, 25.

[35] *Ibid.*, 27–9.

[36] *Ibid.*, 32.

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A vet's prayer

We are thankful for:

The croc with a crook tooth,

the bee with a blister,

the budgie with a broken wing,

the echidna with a bad kidney,

the lizard with something in his gizzard,

the chook that is crook,

the wombat gone wobbly,

the kangaroo with a cold,

and the cat with catarrh..

We care for them all.

—Ian Jiggins

