

'Pearls from the Deep'

Re-evaluating the Early History of Colebrook Home for Aboriginal Children¹

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Many writers, both Aboriginal and white, have documented the process by which Aboriginal children were removed from their families and cultural homes and placed in institutions. For example, Peter Read, in his paper entitled 'The Stolen Generation', reports this process as it occurred in New South Wales, describing it as cultural 'genocide' (1984:2). It is now understood that the removal of Aboriginal children was one more example of the way in which the hegemonic order in Australia sought to render the Aboriginal population culturally ineffective and, in its most extreme forms, to 'breed out' Aboriginal people altogether. In New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia, in particular, the removal of children from their families was undertaken on a large and relatively systematic scale. Aboriginal children in other states were also subject to forced and in fewer cases, voluntary, separation from their families. In the state of South Australia, both the Government and mission societies were involved in this process. Indeed, as this case study will illustrate, in South Australia the mission societies were instrumental in introducing the practice of placing Aboriginal children, particularly 'half-caste' children, in institutions.

This article focuses on one such mission society, the United Aborigines' Mission (U.A.M.) and, specifically, the Colebrook Home for Aboriginal children which it ran in South Australia. The starting point for this research was a collection of glass lantern slides of the early operations of the U.A.M. in South Australia, including its operations at Colebrook Home.² Although Colebrook Home operated, in one form or another, from the 1920s to the 1970s, this analysis is confined to the period between 1927 and 1944. Not only is this the period depicted in the photographic record, but it covers the beginnings of the Home and an important period preceding

its movement to Eden Hills, a site on the outskirts of the city of Adelaide.³ It was during this early stage, and by way of the example set by Colebrook Home, that the philosophies and goals of the U.A.M. with regard to Aboriginal children become apparent to the Government and the general public.

By investigating the history of Colebrook Home during this period, as well as Government policy of the time, a case study has emerged of Government and mission policy in action and interaction in South Australia during the 1930s. Rather than there being clear commitment on the part of the Government and the U.A.M. to the institutionalisation of children, it was a period of controversy and confusion. While the U.A.M. was unfailingly committed to its policy and operations at Colebrook Home, the Government of South Australia was reluctant to agree with or accept responsibility for the consequences of the U.A.M.'s activities. Indeed, Government uncertainty consolidated into outright disapproval when Colebrook Home was faced with local opposition to its operations. Set within the context of Government policy and local opinion of the day, the philosophy and goals behind the establishment of Colebrook Home were seen as experimental, if not radical. The U.A.M.'s activities at Colebrook Home heralded broader notions of assimilation which the South Australia Government was not to adopt until a decade after Colebrook Home was established. The analysis of Colebrook Home, as exposed by way of photographic and archival records, provides an important insight into a period of change in official policy towards Aborigines.

The Legislative Background

Since settlement, the Government of South Australia had initiated a variety of policies concerning the Aboriginal population. Each policy included different degrees of Government support and involvement. Although policies and Government attitudes changed over time, there was always concern for the 'fate' of Aboriginal children (Rowley 1971:24). Gale (1964) defined four phases of Government policy towards the Aborigines since 1836: humanitarian optimism, protectionism, segregation and assimilation.

In the early phases (1836-1857) the Government was infused with the humanitarian optimism that existed in England at the time of South Australia's colonisation. Government involvement with the Aborigines was contingent on the belief that, once 'civilised and Christianised', the Aborigines could be absorbed into, and become useful members of, European society. The office of the Protectorate for the Aborigines was established, although it continually lacked finance and guidelines on which to work. As time went on and settlement expanded, the Government realised that the simple belief that the Aborigines could be easily and relatively cheaply assimilated was false.

The official Government zeal for Aboriginal welfare began to fade in the second phase 1857 to 1911. The Protectorate Office closed down and it was apparent that the attempts to 'civilise and Christianise' the Aborigines had met strong resistance among Aborigines. The schools established during the earlier period to educate Aboriginal children closed, and by 1860 the Government funding directed towards the Aborigines was largely through the supply of rations. In many areas, especially in the north of the state, the ration depots represented the only Government involvement with Aborigines. In 1860 a Select Committee on the Aborigines

attempted to deal with and understand the problems concerning the Aboriginal population. The Select Committee concluded that the Aborigines were a dying race, and for the rest of the century this view was reflected in the reduction of Government commitment to the Aboriginal population (Select Committee on the Aborigines, 1860).

With continuing lack of Government involvement, the Missionary organisations flourished. They took over the Government's role of dealing with the Aborigines, and for the Government it was an inexpensive solution. The missionaries were concerned with 'salvaging' the 'dying race' and ensuring that they at least died 'Christians' and not 'heathens' (cf. Gale 1964:93). Their policies involved segregating the Aborigines from white communities, and missions were established in isolated areas such as Poonindie (1852), Killalpaninna (1866) and Kopperamanna (1866). This period was marked by little Government interest and support apart from the granting of land to the missions.

Between 1911 and 1937 a third phase has been identified by Gale (1964). The beginning of this period was marked by the 1911 Aborigines Act. The passing of a new Act was spurred by the considerable growth in the 'part-Aboriginal' population and most of the Act was concerned with 'solving' this 'problem'. The Act paid particular attention to stopping relations between white men and Aboriginal women. The main aim was segregation so that, if nothing else, the mixed descent Aboriginal population would not grow. The practical expression of this official policy was that Aborigines were kept on isolated reserves, and the Protector was vested with powers to ensure that this was exactly where the Aboriginal 'problem' remained.

While the official policy expressed in the 1911 Act was segregation, this period also saw the emergence of an alternative 'solution' to the mixed descent Aboriginal 'problem'. In 1909 the Protector of Aborigines annual report stated:

The white blood being stronger must in the end prevail. From this, it is evident that the ultimate end of the Australian Aborigines is to be merged in the general population, consequently, the sooner they are physically and morally improved the better for the white race. I think that all 'half-caste' children at least should be gathered in, instead of being left in the camp, where they are often subjected to the brutalising customs...still prevailing in the outlying districts. (Protector of Aborigines Annual Report, 1908-1909:107)

The 1913 Royal Commission on the South Australian Aborigines reiterated this idea, stressing that 'the problem is now one of assisting and training the native so that he may become a useful member of the community' (Royal Commission on Aborigines, 1913 Progress Report:7).

Both in the legislation and in practice on the isolated reserves, there were hints of this alternative view. The 1911 legislation, although overridingly directed towards segregation, did make the Protector legal guardian of all Aborigines and 'half-castes' under the age of twenty-one years. There was a limited removal of children into the care of Child Welfare Department institutions and fostering homes (significantly located in the country) but this was not undertaken with any fervour. On the isolated reserves and missions, it was common for separate children's

dormitories to be established so that the children were physically isolated from the influence of their families, and trained in European ways. However at this time, there was no large-scale removal of Aboriginal children as in other parts of Australia.

It is during this latter phase that the idea of training and assimilating Aborigines of mixed descent gained more impetus. The 1928 Bleakley Report placed considerable emphasis on the 'half-caste' problem and in particular on the children. Bleakley concluded that the children were best served by their removal from the Aborigines 'with a view to their absorption by the white race' (Bleakley 1928:28). In 1937 a conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities concluded that 'absorption' of the 'part-Aborigines' into white society was the appropriate policy and that all efforts should be directed towards this. To this end, in South Australia the anthropologist Norman Tindale was asked to report to the Government on the 'half-caste' situation. In 1939 changes were made to the Aborigines Act which were designed to establish the legal and administrative mechanisms to ensure that assimilation could proceed.

A Brief History of Colebrook Home

It is in this context of shifting official policy that Colebrook Home was established. When the U.A.M. began its operation in South Australia in 1924, the Government was concentrating most of its limited finances and administrative efforts towards the two Government reserves in the south of the state, Point Pearce and Point McLeay. Aborigines in the north were provided with rations (by missions, the police or pastoralists), and with limited health care, but that was the extent of Government involvement. The north of the state was still the domain of the missions and the Government was more than happy to let the missions retain this responsibility as long as they complied with general Government policy, which was at that time segregationist.

The U.A.M. began in New South Wales but soon spread to other states. It was a 'faith' mission which drew its membership from a range of non-conformist denominations. The Mission saw the Aboriginal population of Australia as an enormous challenge, as is illustrated by this U.A.M. map of the distribution of 'souls to be saved' (Plate 1). The missionaries with the U.A.M. embraced this 'challenge' with untiring conviction and fortitude, determined to ensure Aborigines were exposed to all aspects of 'civilised' and Christian culture (Plate 2).

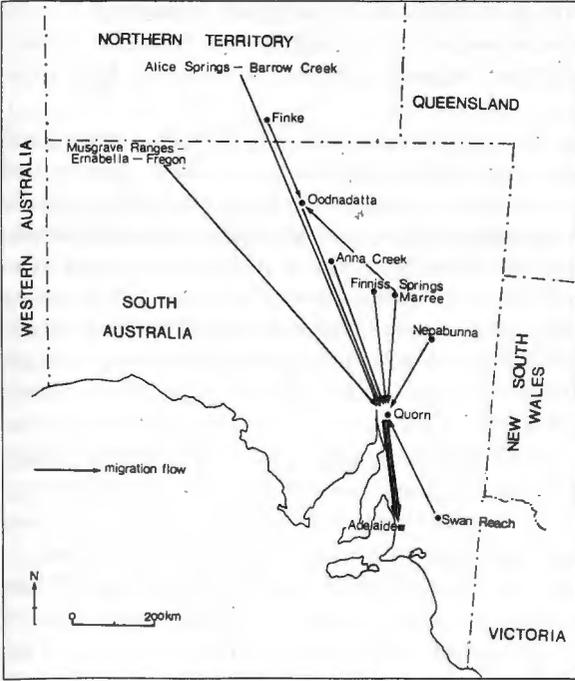
The first U.A.M. operation in South Australia was established at Oodnadatta in 1924 (Plate 3). Initially it operated as a general mission and a base from which 'itinerant' mission journeys were made into the country west and north of Oodnadatta (*The United Aborigines' Advocate*, 1924:4). Although the general concern was assisting and, above all, 'Christianising' the Aborigines, from the outset the Oodnadatta operation focused its efforts on children. The first missionaries in Oodnadatta worked from make-shift premises in the back room of the local boarding house. In 1926, through a donation, the Mission was able to purchase a building to house its first official home in the area. This was the precursor to Colebrook Home. During these early operations, efforts were concentrated on running a school for local Aboriginal children and saving those children seen to be 'neglected'. According to one official report by the Oodnadatta police officer, the Mission considered 'any



1. The U.A.M. saw Australia as an enormous challenge with some 76,643 "souls to save"



2. A portable harmonium emphasises the efforts of the missionaries to bring Christian worship to the bush



3. Location of Quorn and Oodnadatta, also showing major source areas of children brought to the Home.



4. Second Colebrook Home, Quorn, 1933

half-caste child outside the mission (as) neglected' (Aborigines Department, GRG 52/1/1931/5:29/12/1930). The missionaries felt that children, but more particularly children with white ancestry, should be 'rescued' from surroundings judged to be 'uncivilised'.

Those running the Home were strongly committed to the idea that Aboriginal children, once removed from the 'undesirable' influences of their family and community, could be turned into 'civilised Christians' who would ultimately be assimilated into white society. It was basic to the success of this concept that the children be taken as far as possible away from their original homes and placed in an environment conducive to the 'civilising and Christianising' process. Considering this philosophy, it is not surprising that soon after the establishment of the Oodnadatta Home for children, the missionaries in charge began requesting permission from the U.A.M. authorities and the government to move the Home to a more southerly location. A site closer to the settled areas of the state would not only ensure that children were removed from the influence of the 'wrong type of Aborigines' (which included their family), but also ensure that they were exposed to the 'civilising' examples to be found among white communities. This philosophy was in clear contrast to the segregationist policy favoured by the Government at that time.

Only months after the Oodnadatta Children's Home was established, another house was bought in 1927 by the Mission on the outskirts of the Flinders Ranges town of Quorn. This Home was officially named Colebrook Home after one of the U.A.M. officials who donated funds for the purchase of the house. The children were moved to Quorn while the Oodnadatta branch of the U.A.M. continued to function as a 'receiving base' for children in the area. After a short period in the Oodnadatta Home, the children would be sent south to the Quorn Home. The first Home at Quorn soon proved inadequate and a larger house was purchased by the Mission in the area in 1933 (Plate 4). The Home stayed in Quorn until 1944, when permission was finally given by the Government for the Home to move to a site near Adelaide. The Mission continued to run the Home, renamed the Colebrook Training Home, at Eden Hills until 1973, when responsibility for the Home was transferred to the Department for Community Welfare.

A significant feature of Colebrook Home is that it was run by the same two female missionaries, Sisters Hyde and Rutter, for almost 26 years, from 1926 to 1952. After they officially left Colebrook Home, they established a cottage home which became a 'drop in' centre and temporary home for many of those who had been raised in Colebrook Home. Unlike other missions and institutions where Superintendents changed regularly, the early Colebrook Home was characterised by consistency in staffing. This has no doubt shaped the way those raised there during this early period see their time in the Home.

The Photographic Record

As stated, the starting point for this investigation into the early history of Colebrook Home was a large collection of glass lantern slides (The Faith Thomas Collection of U.A.M. Glass Lantern Slides). Integrating these photographic images into the history has provided a unique insight into what life was like at Colebrook Home Quorn and, just as significantly, an insight into the aims and intentions of the mission at Colebrook Home.

Today the photographic images are of great value to those raised in the Home and depicted in the slides. There were, however, specific reasons behind the extensive photographic documentation of the activities of the Home during this period. In part the slides would have been a personal record for the two missionaries, Sisters Hyde and Rutter. But, above all, the slides were a record of the 'progress' being made with the 'civilising and Christianising' programme undertaken at the Home. Indeed, in terms of the political context and the local reception to the Home, the visual 'proof' provided by the slides was essential to its survival.

The U.A.M., being a 'faith' mission, 'looked to the Lord for the supply of all needs' (*United Aborigines' Messenger*, 1940:4). In practice this meant that they relied on funds, but being zealous missionaries they did not simply wait for donations. Rather, they actively sought donations (both in cash and kind) from within mission ranks and from sympathetic outsiders. The instrument used to solicit this support was the deputation, which in part entailed missionaries describing their work at public gatherings. According to the U.A.M. Missionaries Manual (1940), each missionary was under obligation to spend half of their annual furlough (two weeks per year) in deputation. The slides taken of the children at Colebrook Home were some of many used by those under annual deputation to assist in raising support for the Mission's work (Plates 5 and 6).

Apart from the obligation to conduct deputations, there were other pressures on the mission, and particularly Colebrook Home, to 'prove' that it was 'successful'. These pressures arose from unsympathetic outsiders, local Quorn residents and the Government. The analysis of these external pressures on the Home has assisted in understanding more fully the context in which these photographs were taken and the glass lantern slides publicly shown.

The External Pressures

As has been shown, at the time the U.A.M. began its operations in South Australia the state legislation and policy was somewhat ambiguous in terms of the treatment of 'half-caste' Aboriginal children. Furthermore, the direction policy would take in practice largely depended upon the inclination of the Protector of the time. His (there were no female Protectors) opinion was often swayed more by financial considerations than by a clear-cut commitment to a particular policy.

From the outset the Government was cautious about Colebrook Home. When the Home was first established at Oodnadatta, the Protector, Mr. Garnett, was far from enthusiastic. His discomfort with the activities of Colebrook Home became even more apparent when the Mission made its first appeal to move the Home further south. When informed of this intended move, the Protector told the Mission that the children were only to be brought south if the parents' permission had been given (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1931/5:1927). Unconvinced that the Mission had sought the required permission, the Protector refused to let the Home be brought any closer to Adelaide than Quorn (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1931/5: 1927).

The Government was uncertain about the activities and intentions of Colebrook Home. While the Government clung to its policy of segregation, the Mission was actively involved in a programme which had an ultimate aim of assimilating the children into European society. The Government finally tolerated the Home as 'an

The UNITED ABORIGINES MISSION

MOTTO JESUS CHRIST & HIM CRUCIFIED FOR THE ABORIGINES

OBJECT TO REACH WITH THE GOSPEL, THE DARK PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT HEARD OF THE SAVIOUR'S LOVE.

BASIS THE DIVINE INSPIRATION AND FINAL AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

**A GREAT OPPORTUNITY!
A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY!**

5. Deputation involved not only soliciting funds but recruiting mission personnel

6. Fund-raising emphasised white social values with Christianity



inexpensive way of testing' the idea that 'half-caste children removed completely from the environment of aboriginals camps would lose their aboriginal longings and habitats and become more Europeanised' (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1931/5: 27/8/1932). Another official group at the time, the Advisory Council of Aborigines, when informed of the activities of Colebrook Home, agreed to 'watch with sympathetic interest the new movement' (Advisory Council of Aborigines, Minutes, GRG 52/12/1: August 1927).

In 1927, soon after Colebrook Home Quorn had been established, the Protector inspected the operations of the Home. Despite his initial scepticism about the nature of their activities, he expressed satisfaction with the way the Home was run. On his inspection visit to Quorn, the Protector made a special effort to interview a number of local townspeople to test their reaction to the Home and was pleased to report they 'spoke approvingly' (Advisory Council of Aborigines, Minutes, GRG 52/12/1: August 1927). The Government, it seems, was concerned that the Home, being located close to a European settlement, might cause some trouble for them. Racial tension was one problem the Government largely avoided by encouraging segregation.

Local antagonism towards the Home was to become the cause of one of the major conflicts between the Home and the Government. The initial approval of local Quorn residents soon shifted to disapproval as it became apparent that the missionaries were determined to involve the children in all aspects of Quorn life. The children were sent to the local Quorn school and encouraged to participate in all local activities as part of their training for absorption into European life (Plate 7). In October 1930, the first unofficial complaint about the children attending Quorn school was lodged with the local school board. At this stage the Government responded favourably towards the Home by stating that the Colebrook children had as much right as any other child to be at the school (U.A.M. Council Minutes: 28/10/1930 and 31/3/1931). While this may be interpreted as endorsement of U.A.M. activities it was, in fact, the cheapest solution for the Government. To acknowledge that a problem existed meant the Government might have to provide separate school facilities.

Soon after this first unofficial complaint, the U.A.M. reapplied to the Government for permission and assistance in moving the Home closer to Adelaide. By this stage the small hill-top home had reached maximum capacity, having almost thirty children. A move was necessary and, in terms of local opinion, probably also desirable. Once again the Government refused to agree to a move which would bring the Home closer to Adelaide.

The U.A.M. requests to move Colebrook Home closer to Adelaide exposed the very cornerstone of the Government's opposition to the Home. In a letter dealing with such a request, the Government made clear its concerns about the activities of the U.A.M. at Colebrook Home. At one level the Government claimed to be concerned about the morals of the Aboriginal children, especially once they left the care of the Home. This appears to be a poorly disguised concern that having a mission home near Adelaide might just add to the 'half-caste' problem by increasing miscegenation. At another level the Government was concerned with the expenses they might have to incur as a result of the move. They were not only reluctant to cover the costs of the actual move, but they wished also to avoid the long-term financial burden of dealing with the Colebrook wards once they left the Home. The Government was not convinced that being raised in the Home would ensure the



*7. Holbrook Home children attended Quorn High School c. 1940
L-R: Nellie Lester, Mona Paul, Nancy Brumbie and Ray Lester*



*8. The Home fostered and maintained high standards
of health and hygiene: names unknown*

Government was not convinced that being raised in the Home would ensure the wards could be self-sufficient as adults living outside of the Home, and feared they would become dependent on Government handouts and a problem in the city. The Protector stated in his response to the request to move Colebrook Home near to Adelaide that '...before launching on any extensive scheme of taking children there should be some practical suggestion for their ultimate absorption as self-supporting citizens' (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1931/5: 15/1/1931). Clearly the Government was not prepared to undertake the financial commitment necessary for assimilation. It clung to the separationist policy not simply because it was seen to be the appropriate solution to the Aboriginal 'problem' but because it drew less on their resources.

The already strained relations between Colebrook Home and the Government came to a head in 1932, when the Government received its first official complaint through the Quorn Board of Health about the Colebrook Home children attending the local school. The residents saw the Colebrook children as a health risk but, more importantly, as a moral risk. There was concern that the children were diseased, had a reduced 'mental capacity' and above all would be a 'moral menace' to the white children in the school. As a result, the operation of the Home was placed under Government investigation. However, the findings of the investigator were most favourable to the Home. He stated that the children of Colebrook were well cared for and better Christians than many of the local white children, and concluded that the allegations were entirely unfounded and the result of 'colour prejudice' (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1930/5: 19/9/1932) (Plate 8).

Despite the findings of the investigation into Colebrook children, the response was not favourable to the Home. The Protector recommended that either the children be under the care of the Child Welfare Department and housed in their institutions or the Home be returned to Oodnadatta and, where possible, the children be returned to their parents. He added that in future children should be taken from camps only in exceptional circumstances. He concluded by stating, 'I am becoming more and more convinced you cannot make a black, white...' (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1931/5: 27/8/1932). Moreover, the Government may have been becoming more and more convinced that assimilation was expensive and problematic. In another letter, the protector stated his doubts as to the practicalities of absorbing 'half-caste' Aborigines into European society (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1//1931/5: 15/1/1931). The apparently sensitive response of returning the children to the parents and curtailing the removal of children was simply a move which reduced Government involvement.

In practice, neither of the official recommendations about Colebrook Home were enacted. The Home remained in Quorn, and no children were returned to their families. There was some discussion about a separate school for the children but no Government department was prepared to foot the bill. To appease the angry Quorn residents, the Government promised to halt the admission of children into the Home, with the proviso the children could continue to attend the local school (Aborigines Department Correspondence, GRG 52/1/1931/5: 20/9/1932).

In keeping with this promise, Colebrook Home was directed to halt admissions. For a brief period the intake of children did cease and any applications by the U.A.M. to the Protector for rail passes to bring more children south to the Home were

refused. Despite this, there is evidence to suggest that the Home continued to admit children without Government approval or assistance. Between 1932 (when the embargo was first placed on admissions to the Home) and 1936 (when the first formal request was made to the Government to admit more children) the number of children in the Home rose by six (U.A.M. Council Minutes, 1933-1936). In this time, a new house was found at Quorn which was well removed from the town, although the children continued to go to the local school and participate in local activities. The move to a house located further from the town may have been designed to provide a safe refuge for the children. The fact that few of those raised in the Home were aware of the 'health scandal' suggests that Sisters Hyde and Rutter were careful to keep such business away from the ears of even the older children.

It was not until 1937 that the Government lifted its official ban on admissions to Colebrook Home. Significantly, this change of attitude corresponded with a growing commitment to the concept of assimilation, as symbolised by the recommendations of the Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Authorities dealing with Aborigines (1937). The once persecuted Home was suddenly seen in a favourable light. By 1944 it was granted permission to move south to Eden Hills near Adelaide. In this location, and with its activities endorsed by Government policy of assimilation, the Home expanded and was finally taken over by the Government.

It is clear from the early history of Colebrook Home that it operated in an antagonistic environment and often in defiance of Government policy. Faced with Government scepticism and local racism, the Home was under immense pressure to 'prove' that it was successful in fulfilling its objectives of 'civilising and Christianising' Aboriginal children with a view to assimilating them into the broader community. In keeping with its own philosophy of assimilation, but spurred by external threats, Colebrook Home operated a comprehensive training programme. Furthermore, the U.A.M. and those sympathetic with the aims of Colebrook, ensured that the efforts to 'civilise and Christianise' the children were well documented in photographs. These were then used in U.A.M. meetings and deputations to heighten awareness of the Home's 'success' and to solicit financial support for its activities, so necessary in view of the lack of Government endorsement of its activities.

The photographs taken of Colebrook Home show children who are clean, industrious and disciplined. Girls are depicted learning the skills necessary for domestic duty (Plate 9). Initially it was hoped the girls would not have to go into service but simply be married off. In reality, the vast majority of girls did go into service or other employment. Strict guidelines were drawn up by the U.A.M. about the conditions under which the girls should be 'employed'. These guidelines gave the girls little freedom and were clearly designed to ensure that a good moral code was obeyed. Not only was this a logical stance to be taken by a mission, but it countered the reservations expressed by the Government about how Colebrook wards would behave once away from the Home.

The training of the boys was more of a problem. Colebrook Home was not a farm and there were few opportunities for learning the skills necessary for farm work. Due to the involvement of R.M. Williams with the U.A.M. at this time, some of the boys went either north to Nepabunna Mission or south to Adelaide to learn boot and saddle making. Generally they were trained as best they could be in the Home and then as soon as possible sent off to work on a farm or pastoral lease.



9. *The mission considered the teaching of domestic skills a necessary part of its function: Martha Ester (L) and Eileen O'Donoghue, 1940*

10. *Alec Taylor joined the Airforce in 1943*



Despite these problems, the boys, just like the girls, were depicted in industrious poses which proved they were being prepared for a useful role in white society.

Probably one of the most convincing endorsements of the operations of Colebrook Home were those wards who, once leaving the Home, did take up respectable positions within white society. Logically then, photographs of the early 'success-stories' of the Home were included in the lantern slide collection to be shown in U.A.M. meetings and public deputations (Plate 10).

The lantern slides made of the U.A.M. activities and especially of Colebrook Home were not simply historical records. In a context of scepticism and a lack of financial support, the slides depicting the activities and 'products' of the Home were vital to its survival. They counteracted political and local opposition and played a crucial role in raising funds from public deputation meetings. Today the slides are a valuable record of their childhood for those raised in the Home. What once was photographic evidence of a then radical movement which heralded the adoption of assimilation in South Australia, has become both a memento of childhood and evidence of an historical process which has shaped contemporary Aboriginal identity.

Notes

- 1 The first part of this title borrows directly from the title of an official United Aborigines' Mission publication about Colebrook Home. Since the original *Pearls from the Deep* was published in 1936 it has stood as one of the few accounts of the operations and intentions of the Home.
- 2 The Faith Thomas Collection of United Aborigines' Mission Glass Lantern Slides. Faith Thomas was raised in the Home and was left the slides by the two U.A.M. Sisters who ran the Home for many years. The fragile glass slides have now been reproduced, with the financial assistance of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and all images documented, with the assistance of a number of 'Colebrookites'. The slides have been deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and a copy set of prints deposited with the Mortlock Library of South Australiana.
- 3 The history of Colebrook Home and the experiences of the children in the Home during this period of its location at Quorn are quite different to those which would apply to the period when the Home was located at Eden Hills. During this later period the Home expanded and eventually the Government assumed responsibility. For an account of the Home in this period see, C. Mattingley *Survival in their Own Land* (in press), Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

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