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Among the many careful and beautiful records created by photographers at the Benedictine Mission of New Norcia, one image of the women and girls of St Joseph’s Native School and Orphanage is especially intriguing (Figure 1: 74293P). Not posed, or at least not rigidly enough to prevent figures and faces blurring with movement, it is more a snapshot capturing a moment than a portrait to document an occasion. There is competing information about its date; one catalogue entry suggests 1865 and we know photographs were taken at St Joseph’s in August 1867.¹ But the aged monastic figure of Br Froilán Miró, born 1831, and the faces of the women and girls who also appear in 20th century photographs, suggest this was taken close to 1904.² The subject of the image is just as enigmatic. What is it that is faintly and fleetingly recorded here? The wooden structure on the right is partly obscured. It takes another photograph of the same occasion from a different angle (Figure 2:73712P)³ to show the device is a pulley for lifting a water bag from the river into a trough, like the one the lay brothers used to do the laundry ‘in the river’.⁴ But whether or not the pulley is related to the plank the young woman is carrying from the bank on the left of the first image remains unclear. Why has the camera recorded this scene, not once but twice? What are the young women and the girls of St Joseph’s doing here? Is it a picnic, or maybe a walk? Is it dated too late to be a rainmaking excursion?⁵ Is it related to Br Miró’s retirement in 1904 from the role he had held since the Mission’s founder, Rosendo Salvado, appointed him superintendent in the 1860s?⁶ Or does the occasion not relate so much to retirement as to the women working?

The question of whether or not this is an image of work, or more particularly of how work was understood in Salvado’s New Norcia, opens up discussion of relatively neglected themes of the place of Aboriginal women in the mission town, and also of
the significance of the Rule of Benedict for understanding New Norcia’s enterprise. To explore these issues and the relationship between them this article has three sections: firstly, I consider Salvado’s reluctant foundation of St Joseph’s in the 1860s as an institution providing care for girls and unmarried women, and suggest a commitment to ‘work’ rather than ‘education’ framed his decisions. Then I turn to New Norcia’s reputation as a self-sufficient settlement, and especially to the Aboriginal women who worked as telegraphists in the 19th century. The responsibility they and other women of their generation exercised contrasts with the domestic work of women at New Norcia in the next phase of the Mission. This shift from the late 19th century into the mid-20th century in the work of women in particular points towards the complex intersection of both race and gender with assumptions about the spiritual value of work. The Benedictine concept of labour as a dimension of prayer is the focus of the final section of the paper. It investigates the Benedictine tradition that insists work is not essentially focused on productivity or prestige, but should be understood as a dimension of living a good and holy life. To be a Benedictine is not to hold a set of precepts but to live a way of life. Indebted to Pierre Hadot, I argue that in this ‘worldview work becomes something we might call a “technology of the self”’;7 and in the mission context at New Norcia it opened up pathways that defied stereotypes, acting paradoxically sometimes against racist assumptions and sometimes against conventional progress.

**Salvado’s Decision to Establish ‘The Girls’ House’**

Firstly then, let me sketch in the foundation of St Joseph’s Native School and Orphanage, or what became known to the Aboriginal people as simply the ‘Girls House’ on the southern edge of the mission-town. In the first years of the Mission in the 1840s, Salvado hoped New Norcia would attract families. As the monastic settlement grew he resisted any dormitory-style institution for the children, arguing that New Norcia was not an orphanage.8 It was not long before boys were incorporated into the farm work and training in trades, but girls were sent to Perth in an arrangement Salvado made with the Sisters of Mercy at Victoria Square. The well-known story of the founder piggybacking the first orphan girl to the convent on a three-day trip through the bush is a vignette of other accounts.9 However, in August 1861, Salvado was challenged by the local Aboriginal man Tacancut who insisted that
he should accept his daughters Scholastica Nanguglian and Clare Cayaran as residents in the Mission.

Tacancut had been associated with Salvado for more than twelve years. Before 1850, two of his sons, Benedict Upumera and Placid Cantagoro, had been among four boys from New Norcia taken to monasteries in Europe to study for the priesthood. These two brothers, and the better-known John Dirimera and Francis Xavier Conaci, all died before completing their studies. By 1861, Tacancut’s wife, Tarkiena, had also died. When the widowed Tacancut approached Salvado on behalf of his daughters, he put his claim first in terms of the disruption to Aboriginal life and then also on the grounds of affiliation to country.

You take in the children [ie boys] of the men, strangers to this country, my enemies, who killed my parents, and you refuse my daughters who were born in this country and send them away to be killed by the men of other country. Missing the point at first, Salvado protested that he made no distinction between those whose traditional land was near New Norcia and those born elsewhere; his problem was he had no separate facilities for the girls. But Tacancut ‘passed from words to deeds’ and left New Norcia without his daughters. The missionary remembered the challenge as the prompt for a new policy he wrote in his reports to Rome in both 1883 and 1900.

In making the change, Salvado acknowledged the claim of the relationship forged in his own long association with Tacancut, as well as his sense that the girls were in need. There is no record of what Clara thought but certainly Scholastica preferred to stay. She had refused to conform to Salvado’s normal practice of sending girls to the convent, and on the journey to Perth had simply ‘left carts and Brother’ in the bush. Coming and going from the Mission, Tacancut remained adamant on his daughters’ need for a place at New Norcia and three days later Salvado conceded. From this beginning, the institution known as ‘St Joseph’s Native School and Orphanage’ grew. Whether Salvado intended to establish a school or an orphanage or a community of workers is harder to trace, and probably he knew the institution would be a blend of all three. Given that Scholastica and Clara were pledged by their father to work for the Mission for £3 a year, clearly some kind of exchange of labour was part of the understanding from the outset.

Three months later in November 1861 Salvado was actively supporting the provision of local care and three girls returned from the Convent of Mercy to live in
the cottage allocated to Ingaran and her husband, Coer, who had been imprisoned on Rottnest Island. As Ingaran remained at New Norcia, it is possible that she remained in the cottage, so becoming the first matron at St Joseph’s and providing care along with other local women. The institution of St Joseph’s expanded into new buildings on 13 January 1865. Provision for schooling drew on support from local women among the settlers as well as the monastery. In the 1860s, Judith Butler (married to Tobias and daughter of the neighbouring Clunes) taught sewing at St Joseph’s in the mornings, while one of the monastery’s priests was in charge of ‘teaching them their letters’ in the afternoons.

These arrangements were more haphazard than the effort directed towards involving the Aboriginal men and boys in the work of the farm and in trades. A monastery with a workforce of lay brothers was not so well-suited to providing training for the women and it seems this difficulty around training in women’s work was the core of Salvado’s reluctance.

Salvado insisted that training for meaningful work, not education for its own sake or literacy in or of itself, would secure the future for the Aboriginal Yued people. In the minds of some commentators, Salvado’s commitment to work was pragmatic, and an alternative to the hopeless task of preaching. For example, JJ Williams told readers of Broken Hill’s Barrier Miner in 1891 that the famous missionary ‘thought from the first it was no use preaching the gospel to the blacks, but rather than by establishing a colony or mission he would gradually be enabled to instruct the aborigines in different classes of work that would not only be useful to themselves, but benefit the colony generally’. As the next section shows, Salvado’s position was much more subtle. He saw himself first and foremost as a missionary and a monk, not a pastoralist, farmer or fundraiser, but he accepted nevertheless that he was all of those and more for the sake of the Mission. Equally, the success of the farm and the town was not an end in itself, as the work of the people was not an end in itself.

Instead, the Benedictine way of life promoted at New Norcia attributed a profound relationship between work and holy living for women and for men in the mission town. The focus on work, including manual work, as a dimension of a good life provided impetus for Aboriginal women in 19th century New Norcia to exercise leadership and responsibility that subverted prevailing gender stereotypes. However, there was a shift in the 20th century that saw the leadership of Aboriginal women and the variety of their work contract sharply. This change deserves investigation. If we
can begin to understand why and how this shift occurred, we begin to see the people of New Norcia, both monks and the Yued-Noongar people, more clearly.

**Work at New Norcia: for Social Change and Christian Formation**

Nineteenth century New Norcia was lauded consistently for showing it was ‘both possible and practical for able and earnest guides to impart to Natives every species of sound and useful knowledge’.\(^{21}\) Supporters pointed to the industry, aptitude and health of those at New Norcia to refute the widespread assumption that Aboriginal degradation was inevitable. In the 1860s, Florence Nightingale promoted Salvado’s emphasis on physical work and religious instruction rather than ‘mere head-knowledge’\(^{22}\) and noted what some other commentators ignored: that ‘it presupposed the possession of considerable capabilities on the part of the native population’.\(^{23}\) A visitor in 1871 compared the town to ‘a hive of bees’ where between the farm, the garden, the mill, the carpenter’s bench, the blacksmith’s shop, the laundry and the kitchen, ‘all work and thus contribute to the general good’.\(^{24}\) The former governor Napier Broome summed up for a London audience in 1885 that, ‘The first principle of work at New Norcia is that it shall go beyond schooling and religious teaching’.\(^{25}\) Salvado himself resisted the idea that the ‘flourishing industrial Colony’ was an end in itself or that there was a need to increase productive capacity.\(^{26}\)

But for Salvado the work had two more complex and interlocking aims: ‘instructing the Aborigines in religious matters so that they can become good Christians and save their souls, and at the same time instructing them in manual work and mainly in agricultural jobs, so they have the means to live as good Christians wherever they are’.\(^{27}\) It clearly irked Salvado that the purpose of the work was often overlooked, so that colonists only praised the productivity of the farm or resented the large holdings\(^ {28}\) while the pious apparently sniffed at the manual work that dominated life for the monks and the people. As his final report to the Roman authorities at *Propaganda Fide* recorded, he felt he had been ‘harshly criticised as if I was doing nothing else at New Norcia but increasing the fields and the number of sheep and other animals’.\(^ {29}\) He countered this claim with rhetorical repetition that while it was ‘true, very true’ that he had been a water-carter and a sheep-herder, and ‘true, very true’ that he had cleared land, ploughed and sowed the fields, he had ‘never thought I
was doing something unbecoming or inappropriate for a missionary in my extraordinary circumstances’.

Would the Mission have survived if he had failed to take on the ‘vocation God had deigned to give me’? His conviction, ‘I don’t think so’, becomes a refrain against a list of achievements. He called upon the authorities to notice that ‘God knows I am not lying’ in claiming the motivation for his work was to provide a financial base for the Mission, to equip the Aboriginal people with skills that were both ‘civilised and Christianised’. The timetable Salvado established for the Community and its workers did not compel adherence to the Rule of Benedict, but it did enable the residents of the mission town to follow the Rule’s pattern of prayer and work. In reporting on his approach, Salvado foregrounds his own monastic commitment and argues the work he undertook was essential to that commitment. He laboured as he was able and called to do.

Similarly, under his influence others in town emerged in roles that both suited their capacities and fitted the purpose of the Mission. The skill and aptitude of Aboriginal workers was an unspoken assumption within the boundaries of New Norcia even as wider prejudice deepened. For example, in the 1870s and 1880s, arguably at the high point of the Mission’s enterprise, the skilled work of Aboriginal women as telegraphists astonished colonial authorities. Mary Ellen Pangerian Cuper, Sarah Caruingo Ninak and Carmine Gnarbak all managed the complex task of postmistress and telegraph operator well. The role opened up when the government approached Salvado in late August 1873 to propose ‘someone [he] deemed suitable to cope with the post’, and he nominated Mrs Cuper. It expanded into telegraphy later that year when, tutored by Salvado, Mary Ellen outshone any apprentice the superintendent of telegraphs had ever seen. Her fluency astonished the visiting superintendent, but Salvado was not surprised ‘since I well knew that those Aborigines are unbeatable in these and similar operations’. As Salvado attested again and again, all three women learnt the musicality of the Morse code quickly, operated the key efficiently, made management decisions sensibly and triumphed over regular attempts by the colonial authorities to outsmart their abilities. We know their names (and in the case of Mary Ellen and Sarah we have their photographs) because the postal authorities, and the government and other missionaries, thought they were exceptional and requested their images. When Governor Robinson’s attempt to
flummox Sarah failed entirely he reported instead to the British Colonial Secretary of her achievement:

I found ‘Sarah’ in sole charge of the office, the duties of which she had proved herself fully capable of discharging. …I believe I was justified in congratulating her on being the first pure-bred Aboriginal to attain to a position of such trust in the service of the Government.37

The telegrams Mary Ellen, Sarah and Carmen transcribed and despatched were discussed in the British colonial office as examples of their capacity for judgement and discretion, and the newspapers reported their achievements.38 But Salvado resisted any celebration of these women as remarkable. He was proud of their achievements but noted that Aboriginal Australians were often gifted; their capacity for intellectual work was, he said, simply like the capacity of fire to heat and to burn.39

Fifty years later, in a new century, under a different Benedictine leader, Aboriginal achievement at New Norcia continued to surprise the wider culture but in a much more conventional sphere. As New Norcia’s women and girls won local prizes for their embroidery and saw the work featured in national and international exhibitions, newspapers again reported their ‘almost unbelievable aptitude’ for needlework, producing clothing and domestic articles that would be ‘the envy of cultured ladies’.40 The tone was as astonished as in the reports to the colonial secretary of amazing feats with Morse code, but expectations had narrowed considerably; the field of work was domestic and (although an annual embroidery sale raised funds for the community) individual workers were not paid.

This is not a story of the progress, however much the change might reflect a rise in modern assumptions. The diminished scope of Aboriginal women’s role in the 20th century is also underlined by direct comparison with another of the town’s 19th century leaders who was primarily a domestic worker. Eliza Tainan Willaway was celebrated as an excellent needleworker and expert baker.41 In 1887, in her twenties, she addressed Cardinal Patrick Moran on behalf of the Mission; later, in her forties, as a widow she was one of three Aboriginal matrons at St Joseph’s Native School for girls.42 Visitors remarked on her confidence and competence, and contrasted that with Aboriginal people outside New Norcia.

The contrast between the Mission itself in this era and the world ‘beyond’ is significant in itself. Salvado saw no limit to what Aboriginal people could do. His
championing of the post office workers shows something of his own capacity to assess the gifts and talents of individuals. But he was convinced that outside New Norcia there would be no work for men or women trained in white-collar jobs. He kept the focus on trades and he argued strongly against education that would not lead to meaningful employment. A visitor in 1887 recorded Salvado’s hard-headed assessment of the racist context outside the Mission:

If I teach a black man to read and write fluently and make a good accountant of him, then turn him out into the world to gain his livelihood, what will happen? He will probably go to a merchant and when asked: Well, what can you do? will reply: I can write a good hand and can keep your books. The merchant would shake his head and say: I have no employment for you in my office. But should the black man be a ploughman, shearer, horsebreaker or teamster he will find employment as readily as his white brethren, and get good wages.43

Work was a key lever for social change, but most effective within the boundaries of the monastic township.

However, even with the strict limits imposed by Salvado’s reading of the wider context, work was even more significantly a means of Christian formation. The daily routine for the whole settlement described in 1880 had all the hallmarks of the monastic timetable in which family groups worked within the larger community of the town.44 The ideal presented was not so much a description of a school or even a mission but a formative lifestyle governed by monastic principles of work.

Salvado’s conviction that work was a Christian discipline reflected the values of the Rule of St Benedict that governed his own life. Benedict’s 6th century account of how to live a Christian life was noted for its practical and realistic approach; it balanced work, prayer, rest and leisure to sustain the members of a self-sufficient community focused on God not worldly achievement for its own sake.45 Manual work was especially valued in the tradition as a cure for depression and distraction and for the foundation it offered to contemplation. There was no hierarchy of labour except a reminder that monks who took in their own harvest and who worked with their own hands were then most truly monastics; the Rule was explicit that the cooking pots and farm machinery were
just as precious as the vessels of the altar because all were equally tools of God’s service.

Significantly then, the technology of the telegraph and the sewing room were also equal as tools of God’s service at New Norcia. In considering the shift from public emphasis on one to the other, I’m suggesting that the Rule offered a clarifying, but far from straightforward, framework for considering women’s work within the Aboriginal Mission. It directed attention away from external outcomes and towards the inner purpose of the work. So, in the 19th century Eliza Willaway’s domestic leadership was as significant as the paid work of Mary Ellen Cuper at the post office; and the unnamed embroiderers of the 20th century were on an equal footing with any other worker. What is impossible to believe is that all the women at New Norcia in the 20th century were best suited to embroidery rather than to roles with cutting edge technology, such as the telegraph had been.

If we ask again what changed from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century, there are several things to notice. Aboriginal agency is crucial: the women working at the post office withdrew their labour. Mary Ellen fell sick and moved away for her health but died after recurrent bouts of phthisis, a strange wasting illness. When Sarah also fell ill, local Aboriginal opinion firmed against telegraphy and in keeping with the Aboriginal custom of avoiding a place associated with death, she and Carmine resigned. Salvado recorded they were ‘both scared and afraid of dying’ fearing both telegraphy itself and the post office following death.46

Secondly, the Aboriginal community was under greater pressure as the European population increased dramatically with the gold-rush of the 1890s and pastoralism and agriculture stretched north and east from the colonial capital to encompass the Mission itself. A measles epidemic in the 1880s decimated New Norcia in particular and, after legislation in 1905, the proportion of children living in the town and being sent to the Mission from elsewhere made institutional care a stronger focus. The separate world of New Norcia was much harder to maintain.

Thirdly, and probably most decisively, Salvado’s successors brought a more clerical mindset, perhaps a racialised one, to the Mission. They simply failed to see the existing work and the potential capacity of the Aboriginal lay people at New Norcia. The matrons at St Joseph’s were replaced by the Teresian Sisters from Barcelona; the musician and liturgical director Paul Piramino was replaced by a monk.
trained at Monserrat. So this shift in priority fostered a very different style of missionary work—less collaborative and reflecting clerical and probably racial hierarchies. We can trace that change spatially: in the development of the cloister and in the definition of zones within the town, both were divided by neat new walls.⁴⁷

All of these are important for the change of focus from the post office to the sewing room. The sources leave us to speculate about the views of the women themselves in the 19th century, while enduring skill and pride in needlework among contemporary members of the Aboriginal Corporation combine with the sharp critique of schooling that made these skills a priority in the 20th century. Acknowledging that Aboriginal perspectives on the Mission’s priorities need further work, I want to consider here whether the monastic context held the contrasting technologies together and shaped the experience of work decisively, outside assumptions of progress and modernity.

*The Rule of Benedict and ‘Technologies of the Self’*

In the mid-1980s, Michel Foucault directed attention to the ways in which particular philosophical schools of thought promoted disciplines of the body.⁴⁸ His work raised awareness of the bodily dimensions of the history of ideas and of monastic history. Essentially, the *Rule of St Benedict* is not a set of beliefs that are assented to but a set of practices that are embodied; monasticism is enacted—it is a way of life that is followed (or not). So the day-to-day realities of ploughing and shoemaking, telegraphy and sewing are validly what Foucault might call ‘technologies of the self’, at the core of the creation of a monastic person. In response to Foucault, Pierre Hadot offered important and exciting clarifications and subsequently argued that the endpoint of these technologies of belief is not the self, but beyond the self.⁴⁹ The goal of the disciplined physical life is not discipline for its own sake. Spiritual disciplines, such as work, fasting and practices of prayer, are tools to reach beyond and engage the mystery of the universal. For Christian monastics the goal is holiness, salvation, God. So the physical practices of the *Rule* are not then technologies of the self, but strategies for going-beyond-the-self, tools of holiness, for living a godly life.

At this point then the work of the telegraph office and the work of the sewing room are exactly equivalent. The telegraph key and the sewing needle were contrasting technologies in the reputation they had and in the remuneration they
attracted, but to the monastic mind each was an equivalent. Their purpose was not production but that they enabled people to take their place in a community of commitment.

The monastery was a community not a factory or a work-camp. Here is a vital nuance in the Benedictine understanding of labour. Alongside the affirmation of work without any hierarchy of tasks Benedict also insists the members of the community need to be seen clearly as individuals, not as cogs in a machine. He pithily insists that talent has a role to play in determining tasks, that ‘brothers should read and sing, not according to rank, but according to their ability to benefit their hearers’ (RB 38:12). 50 Artisans with particular skills were to ‘practise their craft with all humility’ for its own sake and the sake of their souls, not with the conceited sense of ‘conferring something on the monastery’ (RB 57:2). Members were given particular roles as prior, as cellarer, in counselling the wayward, in answering the door to visitors, and as abbot overall, according to the qualities they possessed. 51 Throughout Benedict insists the monastic leaders should pay attention to specific needs of individuals in making sure they have clothes that fit, sufficient food, appropriate tools, and also the opportunity to negotiate ‘impossible tasks’. 52 The watchword of the entire document is ‘listen’ so that authority is exercised in light of the experience of the whole.53 A Benedictine eye would see the people involved in the work and their particular talents and needs as well as the tasks that require attention. The Rule was a manifesto for clear-eyed discernment of talent and ability as well as guidelines aimed not at the production of goods, but solely at bringing the community closer to God.

In the context of Benedictine life then the work itself is not the point, the achievement of the person is not the point, but the refinement of the soul is the point. We might wish for a stronger commitment to achievement and advancement, fitted to the gifts that Salvado clearly recognised. We might argue that Salvado’s clear-eyed assessment of Aboriginal talent was clouded in New Norcia’s second century. But there is more work to be done before we disregard the work of 20th century women however limited it seems in its in scope. In the eyes of the missionaries and for the women within the sphere of their values, Salvado included their material work as a spiritual practice. Education was not for the modern world, but to enable the living of a godly life. The overarching focus in the Benedictine framework was ‘elsewhere’, and the stock in trade of the lifestyle of the monks and so also for the people in their orbit was a commitment to technologies of holy living.
The photograph 74293P is dated as both c. 1900 and 1905 in separate indexes in the New Norcia Archive (NNA). See also 73712P, dated as 1865, but by internal evidence the same occasion as 74293P. For photographs at St Joseph’s in 1867 see the Day Book of Brother Miró, NNA, Shelf S15.

2 See Figure 3 (NNA, 74904P) taken with St Gertrude’s towers in the background, therefore after 1908.

3 NNA, 73712P, dated 1865 but by internal evidence the same occasion as 74293P, and likely to be c. 1900, given the elderly figure of Br Miró, who was born in 1831.

4 D Barry (ed), The monastery chronicle of the Benedictine Community of New Norcia, trans. A Van Klooster, 13 March 1905, NNA.

5 Mary Eagle noted several raimaking excursions from St Joseph’s in the 1860s in M Eagle, ‘Multiple contexts in the first decades of the twentieth century’, Journal of Art Historiography, no. 4, 2011, p. 10. See also her article ‘Monop of New Norcia and the Victoria Plains’, New Norcia Studies, vol. 10, 2002.


7 P Hadot, Philosophy as a way of life: spiritual exercises from Socrates to Foucault, Blackwell, Malden, MA, 1995. I am grateful to Columba Stewart OSB who introduced me to Hadot’s work.

8 Rosendo Salvado to the Aborigines Protection Board, 4 August 1896, cited in K Massam, ‘”That there was love in this home”’, the Benedictine missionary sisters at New Norcia’, in A Barry, J Cruickshank, A Brown-May & P Grimshaw (eds), Evangelists of empire? Missionaries in colonial history, University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, Melbourne, 2008, pp. 201–14.


10 Baptism Register, NNA, 2953/27, entries 1, 8, 28 and 125 for the two sons and two daughters of Tacanuc and Tarkiena.


14 Salvado, 1883, loc. cit.


17 ibid.

18 ibid.

19 V Garrido, personal correspondence to R Salvado, 23 April 1867, NNA, 2234A/22.089.


22 For the report of the paper contributed by Florence Nightingale to the Scottish National Association for the Promotion of Social Science see, ‘National Association for the Promotion of Social Science’, South Australian Register, 23 December 1864, p. 3.

23 ibid.

24 A visit to the native mission at New Norcia’, Perth Gazette and West Australian Times, 10 March 1871, p. 3.

25 ‘Correspondence: Western Australia’, The West Australian, 29 April 1885, p. 3.

26 ‘General News’, reporting Miss Clerke lecturing on Aboriginal Australians to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Daily News, 28 September 1891, p. 3.

27 Salvado, 1900, np.
29 Salvado, 1900, np.
30 Salvado, 1900, np.
31 Salvado, 1900, np.
32 Salvado, 1900, np.
33 Salvado, 1900, np.
34 Salvado, 1883, np.
35 Salvado, 1883, np.
36 See for example, Salvado, 1883, np.
37 Salvado, 1883, np.
38 See for example, The West Australian, 29 April 1885, p. 3; Freeman’s Journal, 7 November 1891, p. 15; The Daily News, 28 September 1891, p. 3.
39 Salvado, 1883, np.
43 Some Account of the Spanish Mission to the Aborigines of Western Australia’ by a visitor with Cardinal Moran cited in, JT Reilly, Reminiscences of fifty years’ residence in Western Australia, Sands and McDougall, Perth, 1903, p. 11.
51 On the cellarer prior: RB 65 & 31; counsellors for the wayward: RB 27; doorkeeper: RB 66; abbot: RB 2 & 64.
52 On individuals having what they ‘need’: RB 33 & 34; provision of adequate food and drink: RB 39 & 40; clothes and shoes: RB 55; impossible tasks: RB 68.
53 The entry for ‘listening’ in the thematic index to RB 1980 makes the network of mutual listening clear, with the primary need for the whole community to listen for the divine voice.