

Planes

Bäpa Sheppy, MAF, and what an airfare means on a homeland income

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This is a draft paper that will be continually updated with new information as it comes to hand.

Summary. When a homeland has no working vehicle, planes become the fallback — at far greater cost. This paper, a companion to Planes, Roads, Automobiles, opens with David Gurruwiwi's account of what a funeral trip from Galiwin'ku to Mata Mata cost him, and covers the flying nurse to Mata Mata; Rev. Harold Shepherdson (Bäpa Sheppy), who cut airstrips so people could stay on country; Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF), which took over his Elcho operation in 1973; who actually pays for MAF; Marthakal Air, the Galiwin'ku charter airline owned by the Marthakal homelands organisation; and what a fare means on a homeland income, including funeral travel. The main paper treats the vehicle gap; Roads treats the Central Arnhem Highway; Royalties treats what Gove mining money reached Aboriginal people. It closes with the bush pilot in Australian history, from Qantas and the Flying Doctor onward, and with the case for greater public accountability and understanding of Marthakal, including published annual reports by service and by funder. It also traces the bush pilot in Australian history and asks whether remote air services can be financially viable.

This paper is a companion to Planes, Roads, Automobiles: The Realities of Life on NE Arnhem Homelands (Botsman 2026), the main paper of the set. It links to the Mata Mata Transport feature on isx.org.au (<https://www.isx.org.au/features/planes-roads-automobiles-bush-taxis>).

1. David's groceries

On the morning of 7 October 2026 the author interviewed David at Mata Mata. David had come from Galiwin'ku, on Elcho Island, with his family. "We here for the funeral," he said. He paid about \$850 for the charter flight. Before leaving he bought about \$600 of groceries at the ALPA store in Galiwin'ku, but they did not travel with him: in his words, "my food stuck at Galiwin'ku". To have them delivered he must pay a further \$200 to put them on a plane coming to Mata Mata to collect passengers for Elcho. "Now I'll pay for 200 for bring my *ɲatha* from Elcho to here," he said, *ɲatha* being food. Asked whether this was the usual situation, he answered yes.¹

The sums are simple. The flight, the food and the freight come to $\$850 + \$600 + \$200 = \$1,650$. The freight alone adds a third to the cost of the groceries. At the 2021 Census median personal income for Aboriginal people across East Arnhem, \$274 a week, the trip cost about six weeks' income ($\$1,650 \div \$274 = 6.0$, worked out here).² As the author put it to David, this is what people need to understand: how much it costs.

David's trip was for a funeral, the kind of travel that families cannot put off. The costs of funeral travel are taken up in section 8, and the case for publishing how such travel is budgeted and funded in section 11. The rest of this paper explains why homelands depend on planes, more so when there is no working vehicle, who flies them, and who pays.

2. Planes as the fallback

The flying nurse currently comes to Mata Mata via Marthakal Air about once every three weeks. MAF flies Laynhapuy Health nurses to homeland clinics and carries medevacs. As Mata Mata is a Marthakal homeland, the visiting team comes via Marthakal Homelands Health Service, which travels to homeland clinics "in small planes and four wheel drive vehicles".³ Planes are the fallback when there is no car, at far greater cost.

Mata Mata was founded by Gattirri Burarrwaja and family around 1948 and is supported by Marthakal Homelands & Resource Centre Aboriginal Corporation (NT Place Names Register).⁴ This paper does not describe how the homeland works; that is the work of its families and Marthakal. It concerns the air side of the transport gap that homeland programs do not fully fund.

3. The bush pilot in Australian history

Qantas, Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services Ltd, was founded at Winton, Queensland, on 16 November 1920 by Hudson Fysh, Paul McGinness and Fergus McMaster. It moved its headquarters to Longreach in 1921 and began scheduled services on 2 November 1922. McMaster described the founders' plan as "an aerial mail service from Longreach to Port Darwin", by way of Winton, Cloncurry, Avon Downs, Anthony Lagoon, Newcastle Waters and Katherine.⁵ In the west, Norman Brearley's Western Australian Airways won a federal tender for a subsidised weekly mail and passenger service between Geraldton and Derby in 1921; after a fatal crash on its first flight on 5 December 1921, regular services began in February 1922.⁶ MacRobertson-Miller Aviation, formed in May 1928 by Horrie Miller with the backing of the confectioner Macpherson Robertson, later carried the north-west services.⁷

The air service soon carried medicine as well as mail. John Flynn's Australian Inland Mission set up its Aerial Medical Service at Cloncurry on 15 May 1928, using a de Havilland DH.50, VH-UER, supplied by Qantas and named Victory. Its first official flight, flown by Arthur Affleck on 17 May 1928, went from Cloncurry to Julia Creek. The service became the Royal Flying Doctor Service.⁸ The radio network built around it gave rise to the School of the Air, whose first lessons were broadcast from the Flying Doctor base in Alice Springs on 8 June 1951.⁹ Ion Idriess's Flynn of the Inland (1932) carried the story of Flynn and the flying doctor to a wide readership.¹⁰

Small airlines and the bush

In the Northern Territory, Edward Connellan made two aerial surveys in 1938 and, with federal support, began a subsidised fortnightly air mail run between Alice Springs and Wyndham on 11 July 1939. He also

contracted to fly for the Flying Doctor. Connellan Airways was registered in 1943; in 1951 it became a limited company with many shares held by station people and staff. The Royal Flying Doctor Service chartered its aircraft until 1965 and used Connellan pilots until 1973. Renamed Connair in 1970, the airline was sold to East-West Airlines in 1980.¹¹ Airnorth, now the Territory's main regional carrier, was established in Darwin in 1978.¹² In Queensland, Bob Norman founded Bush Pilots Airways at Cairns in 1951 with a single de Havilland Dragonfly; it later became Air Queensland and operated until 1988.¹³

On cattle stations the aircraft changed work as well as travel. Cooper and McLaren's history of the Northern Territory pastoral industry dates the end of the packhorse era to the 1960s and 1970s, with aerial mustering, two-way radio and road trains.¹⁴ Helicopter mustering spread after the Vietnam War, when suitable Bell helicopters, ex-military pilots, the beef price crash of the 1970s and the Brucellosis and Tuberculosis Eradication Campaign together made it economic. Heli-Muster began at Victoria River Downs in 1976 with two Bell 47s and by the mid 1980s had more than 26 mustering helicopters across the Top End.¹⁵

The subsidised mail plane survives as the Remote Air Services Subsidy (RASS) Scheme. It pays for a regular, typically weekly, air service carrying passengers, educational materials, medicines, fresh food and other urgent supplies to up to 276 remote communities, because roads to many are cut for months in the wet season; Australia Post contracts separately for the mail. A 1991 review by Rolf Gerritsen records RASS payments from 1983–84.¹⁶ As section 7 notes, no North East Arnhem community is on the current list.

Arnhem Land followed a different line: mission aviation, from Shepherdson's aircraft at Milingimbi and Elcho Island to MAF from 1973 (sections 4 and 5), and then homelands-owned airlines. Laynhapuy Homelands set up Laynhapuy Aviation in 1987, first with a helicopter and from 1989 with fixed-wing aircraft, to serve homelands whose airstrips Yolŋu had cleared mainly by hand.¹⁷ MAF supplied its pilots, maintenance and leased aircraft from 2003, and when Laynha Air ceased operations in 2018, MAF took over its services under a service level agreement.¹⁸ Marthakal Yolngu Airline, registered in 1995, is the Galiwin'ku counterpart (section 6).

Remote charter flying is also where many pilots begin. Training providers describe charter work on remote and regional routes as the usual first professional step, used to build the hours airlines require, and published career histories show pilots moving from Northern Territory charter operators to Airnorth and Qantas.¹⁹

The bush pilot also became a figure of Australian writing. Ion Idriess wrote memorable accounts of the aeroplane in the outback, and Xavier Herbert's story "The Flying Fat Boy" is another. Its narrator, a bush pilot, tells of an overweight young pilot with a small charter firm in Cape York Peninsula and the Gulf Country, flying an old Dragon biplane freighter. Flying south from the tip of the Peninsula in the wet season, he leaves the controls to fetch his sandwiches from the rear locker; the aircraft climbs, rolls and spins, and he recovers only just above a swamp. He loses his appetite and much of his weight, and gains the confidence of a true bush pilot. Herbert's narrator observes of the bush pilot: "The people he serves, the bush-people, are probably the most hospitable one could meet and would stuff him to death; but rarely does he get nearer to their settlements and homesteads than the airfield serving each."²⁰



XAVIER HERBERT

Louis Kahan

Figure 1. Illustration from Xavier Herbert, *"The Flying Fat Boy"*, *Meanjin*, March 1960: portrait by Louis Kahan, 1960.

4. Bäpa Sheppy

Rev. Harold Shepherdson, Bäpa Sheppy to Yolŋu, was a Methodist missionary at Milingimbi from 1928 and at Elcho Island (Galiwin'ku) from 1942. Around 1932–33 at Milingimbi he built a Heath Parasol from American plans, said to be the first aeroplane built in the Northern Territory, though accounts of it differ. From a Miles Hawk in 1936 he spotted and named Lake Evella, now Gapuwiyak; a Tiger Moth, an Auster and Cessnas followed.²¹

From 1943 he cut airstrips and encouraged communities to cut their own, flying food and supplies to new outstations such as Mirrngadja, whose strip he had helped build in 1959. He believed people should be helped to stay on their country, and that taking the mission's work to them there, rather than drawing them into the mission, would reduce conflict in the large centres.²² Clan groups at a distance from one another on their own country have less of the conflict of crowded towns; the airstrip made that distance liveable.

In community memory, Sheppy flew over Mata Mata before it had a runway and dropped Christmas presents to the children. He encouraged Gatiŋri Burarrwaŋa, who founded Mata Mata around 1948, to build one, and the bush strip was cut by hand from the mangroves. It is now about 950 metres long and takes single-engine aircraft.²³

5. MAF

MAF Australia was founded on 30 June 1947 at the Melbourne Bible Institute by former RAAF pilots Bruce Morton (New Guinea) and Harry Hartwig (Coastal Command, Britain). Its Papua New Guinea flying began from Madang in May 1951; Hartwig was killed there that August. The African work grew from MAF UK, founded in 1945, which surveyed Africa in 1948 and began flying in Sudan in 1950.²⁴

Sheppy retired in November 1973 and handed his Elcho-based operation and aircraft to MAF, which moved to Gove in 1975. In 1995 MAF and the Yolŋu brought five community airlines under one operating licence, and MAF took over when Laynha Air stopped flying in 2018. It now flies six GA8 Airvans and two Cessna Caravans to more than fifty strips; about half the aircraft are owned by Yolŋu.²⁴

6. Marthakal Air

Marthakal Air is the trading name of Marthakal Yolngu Airline Pty Ltd (MYA), a proprietary company limited by shares, first registered on 9 May 1995 (ACN 069 343 166; ABN 21 069 343 166) and regulated by ASIC. Its shares are wholly owned by Marthakal Homelands & Resource Centre Aboriginal Corporation (ICN 8274), the parent of the Marthakal Group, which is regulated by ORIC, is a public benevolent institution with deductible gift recipient status, and supports the Yolngu-made homelands around Galiwin'ku, Mata Mata among them. A sister subsidiary, Marthakal Business Enterprise Pty Ltd, was registered in 2008.²⁵ The airline is thus a homelands-owned enterprise rather than a mission or government service.

Based at Elcho Island airport, it flies single- and twin-engine charters for Yolngu and East Arnhem communities. In 2012 it also ran Galiwin'ku airport itself: bookings and check-in for Air North and MAF, fuel sales (Avgas and Jet A1), freight, aircraft turnaround, runway maintenance and airport security, staffed by Yolngu. In 2013 it was recruiting pilots for charters "primarily servicing local homeland communities" in Cessna 206, 207 and 210 and GA8 Airvan aircraft; in 2025 it operated at least one twin, a Cessna 310R (VH-NXA), which ran off the runway at Lake Evella on 29 May 2025.²⁶

How it is funded is only partly visible. No annual report or financial statements of MYA were found online, and the parent's ORIC general reports were not retrieved. What is public is contract and grant income around it: in 2025 the NT Department of Logistics and Infrastructure awarded MYA \$1.29 million over 36 months to inspect and maintain the Elcho Island aerodrome to CASA standards, and the Commonwealth funded the parent for programs such as the Marthakal IPA Project (\$1.58 million, 2018–2023), which is not aviation funding.²⁷ Charter revenue presumably makes up the rest.

Operating an airline at Galiwin'ku carries security costs. From March 2016 young people broke into the airport almost nightly, climbing onto parked aircraft to siphon Avgas for sniffing. Marthakal, which runs the airport, added lighting and CCTV, and for a fortnight flew three charter aircraft to Nhulunbuy each night at a cost of \$32,000, which it called unsustainable; in 2017 the NT Department of the Chief Minister gave \$70,000 for a night guard and dog, after which there were no incursions, and Marthakal sought about \$400,000 for a secure hangar. Similar damage to an aircraft at Gapuwiyak led to a charge in 2013, and in 2020 both Galiwin'ku stores closed briefly after a fortnight of nightly break-ins.²⁸

Marthakal Air publishes no fares. Its listings, seen on 7 October 2026, give only a phone number and email for charter bookings; no fare table was found on its website or in archived copies.²⁹ Other operators in the region include MAF, Airnorth (scheduled services from Gove and Galiwin'ku) and charter firms at Gove such as Air Frontier; Laynha Air, the Laynhapuy homelands airline, stopped flying in 2018 when MAF took over its work.²⁴

7. Who pays for the planes

It is often assumed that the churches pay for MAF; the accounts say otherwise. In 2023 MAF International (Australia), which runs the Arnhem Land service, received about US\$11.3 million in donations and US\$3.35 million in operating revenue, US\$2.53 million of it from flights, against expenses of US\$10.77 million. Fares and charters thus covered about a quarter of its costs (worked out here). The accounts also cover support bases in Cairns and Mareeba.³⁰

About 99.8 per cent of those donations came from other MAF bodies (worked out here): US\$9.59 million from MAF International, the UK-registered parent, US\$1.27 million from MAF Australia and US\$0.39 million from MAF Netherlands. The parent is funded mainly by national MAF groups, the largest being MAF UK, whose 2023 donations came 51 per cent from individuals, 27 per cent from gifts in wills, 9.5 per cent from trusts, 7 per cent from companies and 5.1 per cent from churches, with nothing from government.³⁰ Churches as organisations thus give about one dollar in twenty. Nor does government fill the gap: no North East Arnhem community is on the federal Remote Air Services Subsidy list.³¹

8. What a fare means

MAF's one-way fares, seen on 6 October 2026, were \$385 between Galiwin'ku and Gove, \$330 between Gapuwiyak and Gove, and \$275 between Gapuwiyak and Galiwin'ku. In the 2021 Census the median personal income of Aboriginal people was \$338 a week in Galiwin'ku and \$274 a week across East Arnhem, about \$14,250 a year.² On the East Arnhem median, each fare is more than a week's income (about 1.4 weeks, 1.2 weeks and just over one week); on the Galiwin'ku median, a seat to Gove is about 1.1 weeks (worked out here).

The author's figure for a one-way fare from Galiwin'ku to Maningrida, an Airnorth route rather than MAF, is about \$850: about 2.5 weeks of the Galiwin'ku median income and 3 weeks of the East Arnhem median (worked out here). David paid about the same, \$850, for his family's charter from Galiwin'ku to Mata Mata in October 2026 (section 1). In 2019 a Galiwin'ku resident told the ABC that a charter to take a body to Nhulunbuy cost at least \$3,600 return, about 13 weeks of East Arnhem median income (worked out here).² Although the ratios set 2021 incomes against later prices, they show why Mrs Burarrwanga pooled Centrelink accounts to charter flights.³²

Ceremony concentrates these costs. Bunguldjama (Botsman 2022) describes a Yolŋu funeral at Yirrkala in 2022. A bungul runs for weeks and draws families from homelands across the region; its organisers coordinate "planes, taxis, cars, buses", and it "now costs thousands to come to this part of the world via plane". The funerals are financed by a collective whose average income is about \$15,000 a year, mostly JobSeeker payments.³³

9. Are remote air services viable?

The history above suggests an answer that has changed little in a century: remote air services have rarely paid for themselves. Brearley's first services in 1921 and Connellan's mail run in 1939 both began on federal subsidy, and the Remote Air Services Subsidy Scheme continues that line. Its guidelines state that the program supports remote aviation services that are not commercially viable but are essential for the social and economic wellbeing of the communities they serve; it operates to a fixed annual budget, which limits the number of communities it can admit.³⁴ The 2024 Aviation White Paper kept the scheme and added \$50 million over three years from 2024–25 for remote airstrip upgrades, \$40 million for regional airports and \$0.5 million a year for remote aerodrome inspections, but announced no new figure for the subsidy itself.³⁵

The larger regional carriers show the same pressures. A Senate committee that reported in June 2019 on air services to rural, regional and remote communities found no evidence of price gouging, and put high regional fares down to remoteness, a deregulated market with fewer airlines, the rising costs of regional

airports, and a lack of economic viability for airlines in remote areas because of economies of scale.³⁶ At its Darwin hearing, QantasLink told the committee that domestic fares overall had fallen by about 40 per cent in fifteen years while regional fares had stayed the same, citing low demand and higher regional costs for fuel, security and airport charges.³⁷ In 2024 the low-cost carrier Bonza collapsed, and on 30 July Regional Express entered voluntary administration after expanding onto capital-city routes; its regional services kept flying, and the federal government guaranteed regional bookings and later provided up to \$80 million to keep them running.³⁸ Rex had already received \$120 million in federal grants in 2020–21.³⁹

Fuel is a large and volatile cost, and it is dearer in remote places. In March 2022 diesel sold for \$3.29 a litre at Ramingining, against a Territory average of \$2.16, and the East Arnhem Regional Council described the rise as record breaking.⁴⁰ A consistent public price series for aviation gasoline and jet fuel at remote Arnhem Land airstrips was not found, so the effect of fuel prices on small operators there cannot be measured from public sources. Nor are the accounts of the small operators public. The one set of accounts available, MAF's, shows fares and charters covering about a quarter of its costs, with donations meeting the rest (section 7); Laynha Air ceased flying in 2018 when its owners saw no further business case (section 3); and Marthakal Air's only visible public revenue is an aerodrome maintenance contract (section 6). On this evidence, small remote air services survive through subsidy, donations, government contracts and the support of homelands organisations, rather than fares alone.

10. Accountability and understanding of Marthakal

The homelands are Yolngu-made, and Marthakal does essential work for them: health, housing repairs, rangers, art, the motel and the airline. Because it carries so much of the homeland system, its governance and finances deserve wider public understanding.

Marthakal Homelands & Resource Centre Aboriginal Corporation (ICN 8274) is registered under the Corporations (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) Act 2006 and regulated by the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations (ORIC). It is also registered with the Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission as a large charity, with a 30 June financial year and 29 responsible persons listed.⁴¹ Under ORIC's framework, examinations, compliance notices, show cause notices and special administrations are recorded on the public register.⁴² Searches made for this paper of ORIC's published material, news reports and court records found no reported special administration, compliance notice, financial scandal or court case involving the corporation or its subsidiaries. That is a statement about what was found, not a finding about the corporation.

What is not readily available is a public account of how the airline and other subsidiaries are funded: Marthakal Yolngu Airline Pty Ltd, as a private company, files no public accounts, and the parent's audited reports are held on regulators' registers rather than published with commentary. Greater transparency would serve Marthakal as well as the public: a plain annual account of what each service costs, who pays, and where the gaps lie would show governments and supporters where the homeland transport system needs funding.

11. Transparency and sustainability

The sustainability of small homelands entities, the airline and the resource centre among them, depends on transparency. At a minimum, each should publish an annual report on the web showing its incoming

funding and its outgoings, set out by service and by funder. Such a report would let members, governments and supporters see what each service costs, who pays for it, and where the gaps lie.

Funeral travel shows why. Marthakal reserves thousands of dollars to fly bodies from mortuaries to the homelands.⁴³ Section 8 notes that a charter to take a body to Nhulunbuy cost at least \$3,600 return in 2019, and that a bungul draws families from homelands across the region by plane. It would be useful to publish these budgets, together with how and from where they are funded, so that the true cost of returning the dead to country is visible to the governments that fund homeland services.

The research literature has long described this problem. Writing from Arnhem Land, Richard Trudgen's *Why Warriors Lie Down and Die* (2000) traces how, in the self-determination era, new decision-makers and resource staff, mostly balanda, came to run the structures of communities such as Galiwin'ku, and how Yolŋu elders lost control of them.⁴⁴ Tim Rowse's *Remote Possibilities* (1992) warned that an administrative ideology could override the value placed on local autonomy in the Aboriginal domain, treating centralised control as the only basis for efficient service delivery and financial accounting.⁴⁵ Martin and Finlayson (1996) argued that the growing emphasis on financial accountability to governments need not come at the cost of self-determination, provided organisations build internal accountability to their own members: participation in setting goals, and ongoing monitoring of performance by their constituencies.⁴⁶

The Indigenous Community Governance Project at the Australian National University reached a similar view a decade later. Hunt and Smith (2006, 2007) found that governments stress "upwards" accountability, compliance reporting and financial micro-management, while Aboriginal people want their organisations to communicate clearly and regularly with the members they serve, to consult them, and to show what is being decided and why. They observed that multiple reports to funders can consume the time that leaders and staff need for accountability to their own communities.⁴⁷ Patrick Sullivan's *Belonging Together* (2011) likewise criticises the remote control of Aboriginal lives through long lines of bureaucratic oversight and argues for regional measures of implementation and accountability.⁴⁸ The outstation resource agencies that serve homelands grew up within this funding system, dependent on government programs channelled through them (Peterson and Myers 2016).⁴⁹ Read together, this literature supports two kinds of reporting: to the Aboriginal members and boards who own the organisation, and to the public whose governments fund it.

Planes are not only a substitute for missing cars. Even where roads are open and vehicles work, the plane remains necessary to carry the deceased to remote outstations. The policy question is therefore not planes or cars, but what mix of air, road and sea transport is most efficient, and how its costs can be made affordable for homeland families. Part of the answer lies in improving the airlines themselves, through their service, scheduling and published fares. Freight is a separate problem: an airline cannot easily anticipate a family's grocery order, and David's groceries show how costly a separate freight flight can be. Boats are another way of taking freight into coastal homelands, and should be considered alongside planes and vehicles.

Accountability runs inward as well as outward. Mrs Batumbil Burarrwanga, one of the founders of Marthakal and chair of its board, told the author near the end of her life that she was not satisfied with the accountability of managers to the Yolŋu owners and board members.⁵⁰ Her concern was for the principle that a Yolŋu-owned organisation answers first to its Yolŋu owners. Clear reporting to members and boards, and public reporting beyond them, would strengthen Marthakal and the case for funding the work it does.

12. Place in the set

Air is one leg of homeland transport. The main paper, Planes, Roads, Automobiles, treats the vehicle gap and the Djotarra 2 campaign; the Roads paper treats the Central Arnhem Highway and homeland access roads; the Royalties paper asks how little of Gove mining money reached the people whose country it is. Support for a homeland vehicle is at:

<https://www.isx.org.au/civicrm/contribute/transact?reset=1&id=18>

13. Conclusion

From the formation of Australia's first airlines, the bush pilot has had a special place in Australian folklore. There is always great affection for the pilots, nurses, doctors and other remote community infrastructure workers. Today many pilots start in these remote communities and go on to commercial airlines. When Mrs Burarrwanga passed away, the CEO of Marthakal paid special tribute to her.⁵¹ There is no doubt that these institutions play a huge role in the sustainability and promise of the north. Planes will always be needed on the homelands, not least to bring the dead home to country; the task is to make them efficient, affordable and better run, as part of a homeland transport system that uses air, road and sea together.

Notes

1. Peter Botsman, interview with David, Mata Mata, 7 October 2026 (video).
<https://www.facebook.com/reel/3342464405926083>
2. MAF International (Arnhem Land), online booking site, fares seen 6 October 2026 for flights 12–16 October 2026. ABS, Census 2021 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander QuickStats, Galiwin'ku (ILO70600401) and East Arnhem LGA (IQLGA71300); $\$274 \times 52 = \$14,248$. Peter Botsman, Galiwin'ku–Maningrida fare, October 2026 (Airnorth sector; not confirmed). Hanifie (2019), ABC News. Weeks of income worked out here: $\$385 \div \$274 = 1.4$; $\$330 \div \$274 = 1.2$; $\$275 \div \$274 = 1.0$; $\$385 \div \$338 = 1.1$; $\$850 \div \$338 = 2.5$; $\$850 \div \$274 = 3.1$; $\$3,600 \div \$274 = 13.1$.
3. Peter Botsman, account of the nurse visits to Mata Mata, October 2026: the nurse comes via Marthakal Air about once every three weeks (not confirmed in any public source). MAF International (Arnhem Land), "Homeland clinics exemplify help, hope and healing in Arnhem Land," 3 September 2026, on Laynhapuy Health nurses. MAF Australia, Arnhem Land location page, on patient transport and medevacs. Marthakal Homelands Health Service, homelands health service page (archived 2012).
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<https://www.ntlis.nt.gov.au/placenames/view.jsp?id=529> (seen 7 October 2026).
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22. White (2016), "A history of Donydji outstation," in Peterson and Myers (eds), *Experiments in Self-Determination*, ch. 16, citing Shepherdson 1981 for the Mirrngadja strip (1959).
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