

SAHUL-LAND is a term introduced recently by biogeographers for the land mass which once encompassed New Guinea, Australia and Tasmania and which was formed about 50 000 years ago during an ice age when the sea level was low. During this period the Aborigines arrived in Sahul in waves of migration from southeast Asia. The melting of the ice during the past 20 000 years has resulted in a rise in the sea level, flooding the low-lying areas and separating Tasmania and New Guinea from mainland Australia.

ST JOHN AMBULANCE developed from the British Order of St John (founded 1831), which took its name and Maltese cross symbol from the mediaeval order of Hospitallers or Knights of St John. The order sponsors an educational foundation, the St John Ambulance Association (1877), and a uniformed field service of trained volunteers, the St John Ambulance Brigade (1887). Its first Australian branch opened in Melbourne in 1883, with others following in Adelaide (1884), Launceston and Brisbane (1887), Sydney (1890) and Perth (1892). The association taught many people first aid during both world wars, as a result of which they became pre-eminent in training the public in patient care. The brigade served as a medical reserve for the armed forces, in addition to its peacetime roles of providing medical facilities at public gatherings and backing up state emergency services during natural disasters. St John Ambulance was also much involved in helping develop Australia's

ambulance systems. The state branches federated in 1946 under an autonomous central council, the head (prior) of which is the governor-general. By 1985 St John Ambulance was training 80 000 people and providing 1 150 000 person-hours of voluntary field service annually.

IAN HOWIE-WILLIS

Further reading I. Howie-Willis, *A century for Australia: St John Ambulance in Australia 1883-1983*, Canberra 1983; *South Australians and St John Ambulance 1885-1985*, Adelaide 1985.

SALVADO, Rosendo (1814-1900), monk and missionary, was born in Spain, took vows as a Benedictine monk in 1829 and arrived in WA in 1846. In the same year he established New Norcia in the Victoria Plains, WA, as an Aboriginal mission. Here he farmed, began to build an abbey and taught the Aboriginal population European ideas about work and property and Christianity. In 1849 he was consecrated bishop of Port Victoria and in 1867 he became Lord Abbot of New Norcia. Salvado worked for the legal equality of Aborigines and was elected protector of Aborigines in June 1887.

SALVATION ARMY was founded in 1865 in England by William and Catherine Booth, its primary aim being the conversion of the working classes. It is organised on military lines, with a 'general' at its head. While its religious teaching conforms with evangelical Christianity, the sacraments are not practised and there is a stronger emphasis on the moral and social consequences of faith.

In Australia the first army corps was founded in Adelaide in 1880 by two immigrant salvationists, John Gore and Edward Sounders. A number of officers arrived in 1881, and in 1882 Major James Barker was appointed to take command of the Salvation Army in the colonies. The Australasian headquarters was established in Melbourne in 1883 and in the same year the Prison Gate Brigade Home for released prisoners was opened, beginning the army's involvement in social work. Army corps were established in NSW in 1882, Tas in 1883, Qld in 1885 and WA in 1891.



The Salvation Army Crest, left, and the Red Shield badge.
THE SALVATION ARMY

During the 1890s depression the army was active in providing relief for the unemployed. With the assistance of the Victorian government it established a Free Labour Bureau for Melbourne's unemployed.

The Salvation Army has continued to play a role in welfare work that far outweighs its numerical importance. The Red Shield War Services Department provided support for service personnel during both world wars, and the army was active during the Great Depression in providing food and shelter.

At the 1901 census the Salvation Army had 31 000 members, 0.82 per cent of the population. In 1981 its members represented 0.5 per cent of the population.

SANDALWOOD TRADE In the nineteenth century sandalwood was highly prized by the Chinese, who not only burnt it on religious and ceremonial occasions but also used it and its oil in the manufacture of ornaments, cosmetics, perfumes and medicines. Australia's involvement in the sandalwood trade was stimulated by the colonies' need to find a commodity to sell to China to offset the imports of Chinese tea. While some merchants did export sandalwood to the Chinese in the early years of the nineteenth century, it was not until the East India Company's monopoly on trade with China was broken in 1834 that the trade flourished. By this stage the earlier sources of supplies were exhausted, and new supplies from the South Pacific were exploited. These sources were used up by 1865, but from 1846 small amounts of sandalwood from WA were being exported. The trade with China ended when tea began to be imported from Ceylon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Since then only small amounts of sandalwood have been sent abroad, chiefly to Britain.

Further reading D. Shineberg, *They came for sandalwood*, Melbourne 1967.

SANTAMARIA, Bartholomew Augustine (1915–), Catholic activist, was born in Melbourne and educated at Christian Brothers' schools and at the University of Melbourne. He was the driving force within such organisations as the Catholic Rural Movement, the National Secretariat of Catholic Action and the Catholic Social Studies Movement. A powerful debater, a vigorous speaker and an indefatigable worker, Santamaria exercised influence outside mainstream political processes out of proportion with his rather clerical nature and position. Regarded by many as the ideological force behind the militant anti-communism of Australian Catholicism during the 1950s and 1960s, his unrivalled power in Melbourne was gradually eroded by Catholic bishops in other dioceses and, most significantly, by the death of his patron, Archbishop Daniel Mannix in 1963. The National Civic Council, Santamaria's power base, survived; but with the collapse of the Democratic Labor Party in the 1970s he ceased to exert significant political influence. A weekly television address and a column in a national newspaper enabled him to express his views, invariably conservative, on social and political matters and with a tinge of radicalism derived, in part, from the writings of Hilaire Belloc.

SCHEPISI, Frederick Alan (1939–), film director, established his reputation as a director with two important Australian films of the 1970s, *The Devil's playground* (1976) and *The chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* (1978). He has since moved to the United States and in 1985 directed *Plenty*.

SCHERGER, Sir Frederick Rudolph William (1904–84), airman, was born at Ararat, Vic, and educated at Ararat High School. He entered the Royal Military College at Duntroon in 1921, graduating in 1924 first of his class, with the King's Medal for scholastic studies. He immediately transferred to the air force, where he quickly won prominence as a dashing pilot. He held command of joint American and Australian squadrons during operations in the New Guinea campaign, and later during the Malayan emergency, as Air Officer Commanding, RAF, Malaya (1953–54), headed British, Australian and New Zealand forces on operations.

The first Royal Australian Air Force officer to reach four-star rank, Scherger, as chief of air staff (1957–61), set in motion the transformation of that service into a modern, balanced force. He was responsible for the introduction of heavy lift transports, helicopters, Mirage fighters and F111 strike aircraft, along with the RAAF's initiation into the use of both surface-to-air and air-to-air missiles. As chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee (1961–66) he was the top service adviser to the government on Australia's entry into the Vietnam conflict, and on the consequential introduction of a form of conscription known as national service training. Following his retirement and appointment as chairman of the Australian National Airlines Commission, he oversaw between 1966 and 1975 the expansion of TAA's air routes and the



'School of the Air. These children at Hamilton Downs Station, Northern Territory, are "in school" with their governess.' Frank H. Johnston, *A Glimpse of Australia*, Sydney, undated.

SPEARRITT COLLECTION



Caricature of James Scullin by cartoonist George Finney.
Art in Australia, June 1931.

rationalisation of its passenger aircraft types. Always a strong advocate of an Australian aircraft industry, he was also chairman of directors of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation.

On occasion Scherger was seen as a strict disciplinarian, but essentially he was a gregarious and social individual, popular among both servicemen and civilians. He effectively used that personality, along with his talents, on behalf of the defence forces in his dealings with politicians and bureaucrats, and he also proved an able negotiator for Australia at the international level. The legacy of Air Chief Marshal Scherger's command, and of his personality, remains veined through today's Australian defence structure, and especially within the Royal Australian Air Force.

HARRY RAYNER

Further reading H. Rayner, *Scherger: a biography*, Canberra 1984.

SCHOOL OF THE AIR, a means of bringing school lessons to children in isolated outback areas, began in 1951, when the SA department of education began using the two-way radio network of the flying doctor service to broadcast to children in remote, sparsely populated regions of SA and the NT. The

aim was to supplement correspondence tuition and reduce the children's feeling of isolation by bringing them into contact with teachers and fellow pupils. The idea spread to other states, and by the 1980s there were twelve radio schools teaching students over an area of some 1.5 million square kilometres. The upgrading of these services was one of the purposes of the launching of the Aussat communications satellite in 1985.

SCOTT, Sir Ernest (1867–1939), historian, was professor of history at the University of Melbourne from 1913 and with little assistance taught hundreds of students each year. His empirical approach to history influenced a generation of Australian historians. He was knighted in 1939.

SCOTT, Rose (1847–1925), social reformer, was born at Glendon, NSW. The family later moved to Newcastle, and in 1879, on the death of her father, Rose moved to Sydney with her mother. In 1889 she was a founder member of the Women's Literary Society in Sydney, and two years later she became the first secretary of the Womanhood Suffrage League. Rose Scott was an active campaigner for the cause of votes for women, addressing public meetings throughout Australia and lobbying politicians and newspaper editors. The Woman's Suffrage Act was passed by the NSW parliament in 1902 under the See government and the Womanhood Suffrage League was disbanded. From 1902 to 1910 Rose Scott was president of the Women's Political Education League which campaigned for the improvement of the legal rights of women and children and succeeded in establishing important new legislation. Rose Scott opposed federation and later conscription, campaigning as a pacifist throughout the Boer War and World War I.

SCOTTISH MARTYRS Five political reformers, Thomas Muir, William Skirving, Joseph Gerrald, Maurice Margarot and Thomas Fyshe Palmer, were sentenced to transportation for sedition—four for attending conventions of the Scottish Societies of the Friends of the People in 1792–93 and one, Palmer, for publishing a pamphlet deemed seditious. In October 1794 all but Gerrald reached NSW, where they were permitted to farm and engage in business. Gerrald arrived in broken health in 1795 and died in March 1796. Three days later, Skirving also died. Muir escaped in February 1796 and died in Paris in 1799. Palmer served his sentence but died in Guam on his way home in 1802. Margarot returned to England in 1810 where he died in poverty in 1815. Although only two men, Muir and Skirving, were Scots, they were known as the Scottish martyrs because they were tried and sentenced in Scotland. On 21 August 1844, at Edinburgh, a monument was built in recognition of their sufferings for reformist principles.

SCULLIN, James Henry (1876–1953), politician, was born at Trawalla, Vic, and went to state schools until he was about twelve, later educating himself by reading and debating, at which he was accomplished. He joined the Labor party in 1903 and was member

for the House of Representatives for Corangamite from 1910 to 1913. He then became editor of the *Bellarat Evening Echo*, and was a leading anti-conscriptionist in 1916–17. In 1922 he won the seat of Yarra. He became party leader in 1928 and led Labor to victory at the 1929 elections.

Scullin was Labor's first Australian-born prime minister, and Australia's first Catholic prime minister. His term in office coincided with the worst of the Great Depression. He tried various measures to combat unemployment, but was hampered by a hostile Senate, an unco-operative Commonwealth Bank Board, a paucity of talent among his cabinet, and disagreement within his party over financial and economic policy. His party split in 1931, and as leader of a minority government he implemented the 'premiers' plan' which, on the principle of 'equality of sacrifice', cut pensions, public service salaries and interest rates. Improvement in the economy awaited a rise in export prices for wool and wheat. Scullin and his party suffered heavy defeat at the elections of December 1931. He resigned as Labor leader in 1935 and left parliament in 1949.

JOHN ROBERTSON

Further reading J. Robertson, *J.H. Scullin: a political biography*, Nedlands 1974.

SCULTHORPE, Peter Joshua (1929–), composer, was educated in Australia and at Oxford, and has won many Australian and overseas awards and grants for his work. Much of his output has been short pieces but his best-known work includes the *Sun music* series and an opera, *Rites of passage*. His work aims at an Australian music unconstrained by European influences and concerns. He has taught at English and Australian universities.

SEALS AND SEALING Sealing in Australia began in 1798 when Capt Bishop of the *Nautilus* was reputed to have collected 9000 seal skins off the coast of Van Diemen's Land. At that time seals were numerous on the islands in Bass Strait, around the coast of Van Diemen's Land, and along the shores of the mainland. Two types of seal were hunted by the colonists: the elephant seal (or southern walrus) and the fur seal. These were clubbed and stabbed when they came ashore, and their skins and much of their oil were exported to China, via India, and later to England.

Sealing was a seasonal occupation, and usually gangs of sealers were left on islands for some time. In 1802, a peak period in sealing, there were 200 sealers in gangs on the islands in Bass Strait. Many of these men were assisted by Aboriginal women who were bought or abducted from the mainland or Van Diemen's Land.

Because sealing was not regulated, by 1806 the numbers of seals in Bass Strait had been greatly reduced. While it had been an important industry for the Australian colonies in the early years, by 1832 it had come to an end.

SEAMEN'S UNION OF AUSTRALIA Seamen's unions were established in Sydney and Melbourne in 1874. They federated in 1876 and by 1890 covered all

of Australia. The history of the union is closely linked with that of the Waterside Workers' Federation— from 1885 a Maritime Council linked the two, and other maritime unions, and they acted together in such situations as the banning of Indonesian shipping over the invasion of East Timor in 1975.

SEATO The South-East Asia Treaty Organization was established under the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty which was signed in Manila in September 1954 by the United States, Britain, France, Thailand, the Philippines, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand. The basic precepts of the treaty were mutual resistance to aggression against any or all of the participants and consultation between the participants in times of threat. The US amended the treaty so that it was obliged to render assistance only in the case of communist aggression. The treaty strengthened Australia's military ties with the US. Its standing was damaged by the American-Australian intervention in the Vietnam war. The Whitlam government reduced Australia's participation in the treaty, which began to collapse and was disbanded in June 1977.

SECOND FLEET On 3 June 1790 the *Lady Juliana*, transporting 225 female convicts, arrived in New South Wales, to be followed before the end of June by the rest of the second fleet, after a voyage of eleven months. Unlike the convicts of the first fleet, those of the second fleet suffered from malnutrition, overcrowding and close confinement; 370 of the 930 male convicts died on the voyage. The provisions carried by the fleet brought some relief to the hungry colony, although this was offset by the arrival of the weak and emaciated additional convicts.

SECONDARY TRANSPORTATION, under the terms of an imperial act of 1825, refers to sentences of transportation imposed on previously convicted prisoners, found guilty of serious offences committed in the colony. Those concerned were sent to one of the penal settlements. As in the United Kingdom, some death sentences were commuted to such transportation.

SEIDLER, Harry (1923–), architect, was born in Austria, coming to Australia in 1948 after studying under Walter Gropius at Harvard. A multiple winner of all the major Australian architectural awards, Seidler has been at the centre of public controversy several times and his buildings have changed the face of Sydney. He has taught in Australia and the United States, and published works on architecture, but remains primarily a practising architect with many important commissions.

SELECTION was the colloquial name given to the 1860s and 1870s land acts allowing people to choose crown land. It was first introduced in Tas (1859), followed by Vic and Qld (1860), NSW (1861), SA (1869) and WA (1872). Although conditions differed between colonies, all men and single women over the age of eighteen could select land; the land was paid for using a credit time payment system, and selectors had

to live on and cultivate the land. Selection was not the success its promoters had hoped it would be. Farms were too small; environmental conditions were often unsuitable; many selectors knew nothing of farming; in eastern colonies the squatters evaded the law and built up large estates; and many selectors left the land. Selection worked best in SA where 21 amending acts corrected failings in the system. It was somewhat less successful in Vic, where government supervision was relatively strict. It was least successful in NSW and Qld and had little impact in Tas and WA. Its relative failure encouraged colonial governments to reassess their land policies and devote greater attention to future land legislation. JOHN McQUILTON

SEPARATISM Of all the Australian states, only Vic and Qld attained political independence as a result of a campaign for separation. The others were either established as independent colonies (SA and WA) or separated from NSW for administrative convenience (Tas).

In the case of Vic and Qld the movement for separation reflected economic aspirations rather than political independence. In the Port Phillip district, as pre-separation Vic was known, the movement developed from the belief that Sydney received from the district more than it gave. Although champions of tradesmen and small businessmen, such as J.D. Lang, were active in the separation movement, it was the interests of the pastoral community which dominated

it. By the late 1840s the movement had gained considerable momentum. On 1 July 1851, on the eve of the gold rush, the separate colony of Vic was established, with a population of about 80 000.

In Qld, known as the Moreton Bay district before separation, independence was initially seized on by the pastoralists as a means of introducing convict labour at a time when the Sydney legislature was opposed to transportation. This failed, but by 1850 both the pastoralists and merchants of Moreton Bay (the latter also championed by J.D. Lang) saw separation, even without transportation, as being in their economic interest. Despite consistent opposition from the NSW legislature, the Colonial Office agreed to separation. Following protracted debate concerning the borders of the new colony, the separate colony of Qld was proclaimed on 10 December 1859, with a population of less than 25 000.

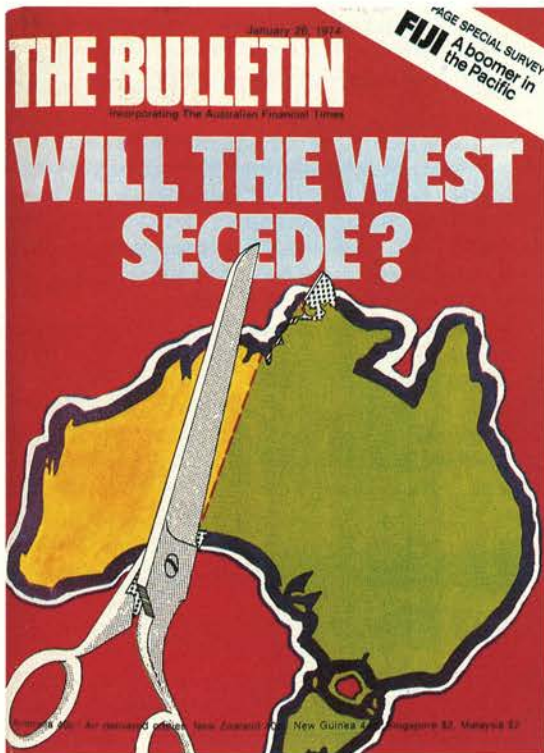
The possibility of northern NSW separating from the rest of the state was discussed for many years, but a referendum on the issue in April 1967 returned a 'No' vote of 54 per cent, effectively ending the discussion. P.J.N. VARGHESE

Further reading B.A. Knox, 'Care is more important than haste: imperial policy and the creation of Qld, 1856-59', *Hist Stud* 17/66, 1976; A.G.L. Shaw, 'Agitation for the separation of the Port Phillip District from the colony of NSW, 1838-1850', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 68/1, 1982.

SERVICE, James (1823-99), politician, migrated from Scotland to Melbourne in 1853 and four years later was elected to the Vic legislative assembly for the seat of Melbourne. He resigned in 1860 over the failure of his land bill and did not return to parliament until 1874. Service was premier of Vic on two occasions, for six months only in 1880, and then from 1883 to 1886 when his ministry achieved major legislative advances.

SEWERAGE The first large-scale system of waterborne sewerage was completed in Adelaide in 1881. Sydney followed suit later in the decade, Melbourne in the 1890s and Perth and Brisbane in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Even in 1976 only 53 per cent of dwellings in Perth were connected to sewers, its sandy soils being especially suitable for disposal through septic tanks. The establishment of sewerage in smaller towns generally occurred later and 71 per cent of all dwellings in Australia were connected in 1976 compared with over 90 per cent in most large cities. Sewerage is provided by local councils (often with state subsidies) in smaller centres in some states but by state or metropolitan authorities in all the large cities. MAX NEUTZE

SHEARERS' STRIKE The 1891 shearers' strike began after a meeting of bush workers at Logan Downs, Qld, on 6 January 1891 rejected a shearing agreement drawn up by pastoralists after the defeat of the unions, including the shearers, in the maritime strike of 1890. By March the strike had spread throughout Qld and shearers' camps were set up at



Cover of the Bulletin, 26 Jan 1974. Major mineral finds in the west renewed pressure from some groups for separation from the commonwealth.

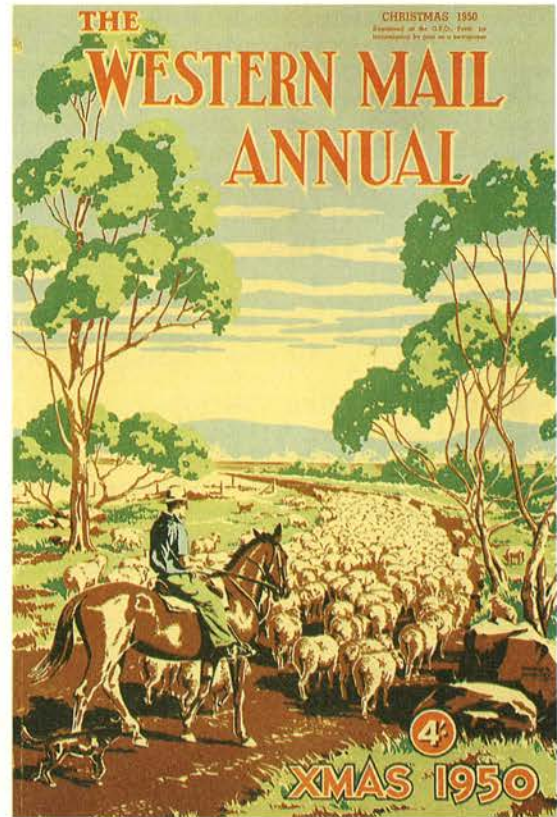
Clermont and Barcaldine. The strike of 8000 workers lasted until June and was notable for the radicalism of the shearers and the direct intervention of the Qld government on the side of the pastoralists. The camps, which for the shearers had become symbols of unity, were raided by soldiers and police amid fears of rebellion and lawlessness. Twelve strike leaders were convicted of conspiracy at a trial at Rockhampton in April, with the judge's open hostility towards the prisoners and badgering of the jury being taken by the unionists as evidence of the partiality of the legal system. A shorter strike of shearers in July–September 1894 was met by similar government repression and was marked by the burning of the steamer *Rodney* by unionists on the Darling River.

SHEEP INDUSTRY In the five years to 1981 there were an average of 135 million sheep in Australia, less than one-fifth the world's total but producing one-third of its wool and about one-half of that traded between nations. Sheep farming is a major activity on about 55 000 farms, mostly in conjunction with grain or meat cattle production. Over three-quarters are merinos used for wool, the remainder (predominant in Vic and Tas) are pure breeds or crossbreds for producing wool and fat lambs.

Today wool accounts for one-tenth of Australia's exports. It has been an important export since the 1820s, once (in 1951) providing two-thirds of the total and, since about 1840, being eclipsed as the main earner only by mining in the 1850s, the 1860s, the late 1890s and, overwhelmingly, since the mid-1960s. At first all wool was sold to the United Kingdom textile industry, but purchases by European countries, especially France, reduced that share to one-third by early this century. Japan, an important buyer since the 1920s, is now the chief market, with the USSR taking a greatly increased share in recent years. The UK now takes only 2 per cent and other EEC countries about one-quarter.

Most Australian wool has generally been sold at auction, at first in London, now in Australia. In both world wars, however, it was compulsorily acquired at fixed prices for military and strategic purposes. Growers seldom withhold wool from sale; its price can therefore fluctuate considerably. A reserve price scheme introduced in 1970 gives some protection against short-term market movements.

There have been three periods of great growth in sheep numbers: 1820–50, (17 million); 1860–91, (a peak of 106 million); and 1950–70, (a record of 180 million). The first phase was based on the extension of European settlement to new areas, often first explored by pastoralists. In the second, fenced paddocks, dams to catch surface runoff and later artesian bores permitted occupation of areas away from river frontages, and in semiarid regions. There were many very large properties and, in NSW alone, 259 flocks of more than 50 000. (Very few flocks of this size exist in Australia today.) New techniques, especially the use of myxomatosis and 1080 poison to eradicate rabbits and the improvement of pastures by fertilisers and exotic grasses (often aerially applied or sown), were crucial



The stockman droving his sheep along a country road remains an evocative image for many Australians.
Western Mail Annual, Christmas 1946.

in achieving the higher stocking rates of the last phase. A major hazard facing the industry is prolonged drought. This almost halved sheep numbers between 1895 and 1903 and reduced them by one-quarter in the periods 1911–16 and 1942–46. Improvements in transport, fodder conservation and water supplies have reduced sheep losses in short droughts.

Wool production increased more rapidly than sheep numbers: average fleece weights rose from about one kilo in the 1820s to just on five kilos in the 1980s. Paddocking sheep, improved control of diseases, parasites and pests, and better nutrition all contributed to this. So did controlled breeding. The present Australian merino has a large frame fully and densely covered with fine to medium wool of good length and adapted to widely differing natural conditions. It is a far cry from the small, sparsely woolled sheep typical of the 1820s, which were an indeterminate mixture of Spanish merinos from South Africa and England, South African and Indian fat-tail sheep and other breeds. Improvement was effected by the gradual diffusion of preferred genetic traits, developed by studmasters into Australian strains from other merino families descended from the original Spanish breed. Saxon and Silesian merinos, from the 1820s, provided denser, very fine wool; in the 1860s Rambouillet merinos from France and the United States

were used to create Australia's Wanganella strain with longer medium-fine wool well suited to the expanding worsted textile industry and larger rugged frames suited to hot plains country. Vermont merinos, with very wrinkled skins, increased fleece weights but proved undesirable twenty years after their use became widespread in the 1880s, and their influence was largely eliminated. In drier, hotter areas of NSW, Qld and Vic, the Wanganella strain is now dominant. In SA an even harder merino, larger in frame and coarser in wool, was developed and it is widely used in WA. Only in the colder tableland regions of NSW and Tas is very fine wool still produced, essentially from improvements to the original Saxon stock. The other recognised breeds, including Corriedales and Polwarths, and crossbred sheep cutting heavier and coarser wool than merinos have been used or developed as dual-purpose (wool and meat) sheep or as fat-lamb producers.

Over the five years to 1981, more than 20 per cent of the sheep existing at the beginning of each season were used for meat, producing about one-third as much revenue as did wool. Just over half of the meat was exported, either frozen or as live sheep (a recent development). The technical feasibility of refrigerated ocean transport from Australia was proved in 1880 but it was not until the 1890s that frozen mutton was exported and not until 1905–09 that export slaughtering amounted to even 2 per cent of flocks. Mutton predominated until the 1920s, as it does now, lamb from then until the late 1950s. Britain has been supplanted as the major customer by Japan and, less frequently, the US and USSR. ALAN BARNARD

Further reading G. Alexander and O.B. Williams (eds), *The pastoral industries of Australia*, Sydney 1975; A. Barnard (ed), *The simple fleece*, Melbourne 1962; E.W. Cox, *The evolution of the Australian Merino*, Sydney 1936; A. Garran, *Merinos, myths and Macarthurs: Australian graziers and their sheep 1788–1900*, Sydney 1985.

SHEFFIELD SHIELD When Lord Sheffield sponsored an English cricket tour to Australia in 1891–92 he also donated £150 for the development of Australian cricket. The money paid for a silver trophy, the Sheffield Shield, which has been competed for annually by the colonies/states since 1892–93. At first only NSW, Vic and SA competed but Qld joined the competition in 1926–27, WA in 1947–48 and Tas in 1977–78. NSW is the most successful team, having won the shield 39 times by 1985–86.

SHENANDOAH INCIDENT On 25 January 1865 the *Shenandoah*, flying the flag of the Confederate States of America, arrived in Port Phillip Bay. While the United States' consul in Melbourne regarded the *Shenandoah* as a pirate ship to be seized, the Vic government treated it as a warship of a belligerent power. Permission was granted to the ship's commander, J.J. Waddell, to carry out repair work and to purchase provisions and coal. However, the Vic government's reluctance to act on advice that Waddell was illegally recruiting sailors from Melbourne was seen as violat-

ing British neutrality. Britain, considered responsible for the negligence of her colonies, was required by the Tribunal of Arbitration in Geneva in 1872 to pay compensation to the US government for the acts committed against US shipping by the *Shenandoah* after it left Melbourne on 18 February 1865.

SHIPWRECKS The Australian coastline has not always provided a haven for European mariners. The recorded sightings of seventeenth-century visitors or their remaining vessels and the much debated mahogany ship in the Warrnambool sandhills indicate that not all the early navigators had ships in which to return home. There are a number of known wrecks along both the western and eastern littorals and the southeastern shore of Vic (to Ninety Mile Beach). Some of these can be explained in terms of poor cartography, as most mariners had to rely on Admiralty maps, some of which were not revised until World War II. (It was not until the 1950s that echo-sounding equipment provided a continuous profile of the sea bed.) Others were the result of the natural environment, in particular the area of potential turbulence, and only partly understood currents on the southeast coast running down into Bass Strait. Navigation lights of various kinds were installed during the nineteenth century and the coast south of Sydney was probably one of the best lighted in the world. However, mishaps resulting from natural causes and human error still occurred.

Research is carried out in all states by various marine archaeology survey groups and their reports are the most recent and detailed sources of information about wrecks. Each state, and the commonwealth, has enacted legislation which protects the heritage and environmental aspects of these sites.

G.R. HENNING

Further reading C. Bateson, *Australian shipwrecks*, 3 vols, Sydney 1972; G. Henderson, *Unfinished voyages: Western Australian shipwrecks, 1622–1850*, Nedlands 1980; J. K. Loney, *Victorian shipwrecks*, Melbourne 1971; J. Noble, *Hazards of the sea*, Sydney 1970.

SHOP, DISTRIBUTIVE AND ALLIED EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION With a 1985 membership of 144 000, this relatively new federation is one of the largest affiliates of the ACTU. Its clearest predecessor was the Shop Assistants and Wholesale Employees Association, which won a closed shop agreement from the Retail Traders' Association in 1971.

SHOPPING For the first thirty years of its existence the penal colony of NSW had few facilities for shopping. There were a small number of merchants who traded in imported goods, but shortages of foodstuffs meant that the supply of necessities had to be strictly controlled by the government store. A further impediment to retailing was the acute shortage of coin in the colony, which resulted in most financial transactions being conducted by means of barter or through the use of promissory notes. (Such methods of payment

were to remain commonplace in Australia until the 1840s.) Nevertheless these restrictions did not stop convicts from establishing their own black market where rations, stolen property and liquor were bartered. And it did not stop the officer-controlled 'rum trade' from flourishing, despite the opposition of successive governors. Once self-sufficiency in foodstuffs had been achieved however, an internal free-market economy developed. In 1806 the government recognised the trade which already existed between local farmers and the inhabitants of Sydney by establishing the colony's first public market.

The first immigrant shopkeepers arrived in the Australian colonies in the 1820s. The businesses they opened tended to follow the pattern of retailing in Britain, making and selling a limited range of specialised goods. There were a few shops selling a wider range of commodities which were not produced on the premises—grocery shops, general stores and haberdasheries—but for the most specialisation characterised the retail shop trade in Australia (and worldwide) before 1850. One went to a tailor for clothes, a cabinetmaker or joiner for furniture, an ironmonger for a saucepan or kettle, a milliner for a hat and a confectioner for sweets. The price of goods in these early shops was not fixed, and it was common

practice for the customer and shopkeeper to haggle before agreeing on the price.

The gold rushes of the 1850s helped accelerate change in the retail industry in Australia. Gold stimulated demand and brought a new generation of entrepreneurs to the gold colonies, especially Vic. Mars Buckley was one of the first retailers to employ female shop assistants in his drapery store in Melbourne, and Mark Foy went on to found an important retailing dynasty. In the boom years which followed the discoveries of gold, drapers proved to be the most innovative retailers. With the retail markets of the world being flooded with cheap cloth, they quickly adopted new techniques for selling, such as newspaper advertisements, regular sales and longer opening hours. (Long hours of work remained the norm for shop employees for most of the nineteenth century.) The larger drapery stores—Anthony Hordern & Sons, David Jones, Farmer & Co—even began to expand the range of goods they sold to include ready-to-wear clothing and the new factory-produced consumer items which were coming on to the market. The logical result of such developments was, of course, the department store.

The first shop in Australia to organise itself along department store lines was Ardern and Edmondson in



General store at Halls Creek in the Kimberleys, Western Australia, July 1952.

MAGAZINE PROMOTIONS

Sydney. In 1863 its proprietors renamed their store 'The Ladies Establishment', and divided the selling of goods into 22 different departments. They also introduced what they called 'the new London first-class usage of marking everything in plain figures': the fixed price. All goods were to be clearly marked with their price and that price was to be the same for all customers. There was to be no haggling and the tacit understanding was that the store's markup was the lowest possible. This was an important innovation: the retailer's profit was to be obtained from a low markup on a large turnover, rather than a high markup on a low turnover as had been the case previously.

As the new name suggested, Ardern and Edmondson aimed to appeal to women. This was one of the most characteristic features of the new department stores: they catered for women, employed women and encouraged women to find their life's meaning in conspicuous consumption. A significant part of such appeal was the way in which goods were presented for sale. Dark and cluttered corners gave way to large spacious galleries in which goods could be displayed with ease, and plate glass display windows replaced smaller quarter-pane windows. The new style female shop assistant was a part of this presentation. Her smile and charming manner were meant to create an atmosphere that contributed to the seductiveness of the merchandise. Shopping in a department store was to be an event—something to be enjoyed and looked forward to—never a chore.

The closing decades of the nineteenth century were a period of dramatic change for Australian retailers. In 1869 Australia's first shopping arcade, the Royal Arcade, opened in Melbourne. The Sydney firm of Farmer & Co opened the first purpose-built emporium in Australia in 1873, with the first plate glass windows and ladies' restroom. Edward Lloyd Jones, the then head of David Jones, visited Europe in 1876 and was so impressed with the wide range of merchandise being offered for sale in department stores there that he lost no time in applying the multiple trading principles of the 'Universal Provider' to his Sydney store. The young Anthony Hordern III visited America and Europe in 1878, and on his return immediately set about reorganising his collection of shops in the Haymarket to create the Palace Emporium. The firm also opened a mail order department and moved into manufacturing, supplying its own stores with exclusive lines in ready-made furniture and clothing. This allowed it to grow from a small enterprise employing 30 people in 1870 into a retail giant employing nearly 4000 by the outbreak of World War I.

The interwar years saw increased competition among Australian retailers. In Melbourne the relative newcomer Sidney Myer (who had moved his store from Bendigo to Melbourne in 1911) used aggressive sales techniques and innovative advertising to draw cash-conscious buyers to his Bourke Street store; previously the city retailers had concentrated on the carriage trade, leaving the inner suburban emporiums at Collingwood, Richmond and Prahran to cater to the mass consumer market. By the end of the 1920s the

Myer Emporium had become the pre-eminent department store in Melbourne. In Sydney the older department stores were also being challenged by newcomers. Mark Foy's established itself as one of the foremost fashion stores in the city, and the Grace Bros store at Broadway provided stiff competition for the older department stores and emporiums at the Haymarket. The larger Sydney retailers also began to diversify: Farmer & Co into radio broadcasting, Grace Bros into removals and shipping. In the late 1930s Grace Bros took advantage of Sydney's suburban growth to begin establishing a chain of suburban department stores. The most important retail innovation of the interwar years, however, was the variety store. In 1913 G.J. Coles had opened his first shop in Collingwood, but it was his decision in the 1920s to concentrate on the bottom end of the retail market (nothing in his store was to cost more than 2s 6d) which proved the formula for his later success. Percy Christmas used a similar approach (and a name borrowed from the United States) when he opened his Woolworths store in Sydney in 1924. While most of the large retailers suffered a decline in sales during the Depression, Coles and Woolworths actually expanded. By the outbreak of World War II both companies had opened a chain of stores around the country.

Although the character of retail outlets had been changing radically since the 1850s, the shopping habits of ordinary Australians had altered little during that time. At the end of World War II the majority of shoppers were still women. Food and groceries were still bought several times a week, usually at convenient local shops, while the more expensive commodities such as clothing and consumer durables were purchased on the weekly shopping expedition to the city. The growing use of home refrigerators, increased participation by women in the workforce and the advent of the motor car changed all that. Not only was it no longer necessary to shop for food more than once a week; it was no longer convenient. A working wife or domesticated husband needed to be able to do the household shopping in as short a time as possible. Self-service food stores (the first of which had been opened by BCC Stores, Brisbane, in the 1920s) reduced the number of retail outlets a shopper needed to visit, but it was not until the 1960s that the self-service concept found its fullest expression in the supermarket. By combining a large self-service store with special car parking facilities, the supermarket provided the closest thing yet to 'one-stop' shopping; it also meant the demise of most corner stores.

The city department store's dominance of retailing in Australia has not been immune from challenge either. Limited car parking facilities in the city, consumer resistance to the use of public transport and the changing role of women in society have all contributed to the postwar decline of the traditional 'outing' to the city shops. If shoppers were reluctant to visit the city, the solution was to build regional shopping centres incorporating department stores. The shopping centres at Chermside, Brisbane, and Top Ryde, Sydney, (both of which opened in 1957) set the pattern for

suburban shopping development. Combining extensive car parking with a wide range of specialty shops, supermarkets and department stores, the regional shopping centre has proved extremely popular with shoppers.

JOHN KNOTT

Further reading M. Cannon, *Life in the cities*, Melbourne 1976; C. Lloyd Jones, 'The history of David Jones Limited', *J R Aust Hist Soc*, 41, 1955; A. Marshall, *The gay provider: the Myer story*, Melbourne 1961.

SHUTE, Nevil (Nevil Shute Norway) (1899–1960), writer, studied engineering at Oxford and ran a successful aircraft construction company before becoming a full-time writer in 1938. He visited Australia in 1949, basing his novel *A town like Alice* on the trip, and returned to live in Vic in 1950. Of his books set in Australia the most famous is *On the beach*, which describes the aftermath of a nuclear war.

SINGLE TAX was the term the American economist Henry George (1839–97) used in relation to his proposal for a tax levied on land grants as the only form of taxation. George argued that the social problems of modern society arose from private ownership of land and the rents resulting from this; the remedy was for the state to assume control of land through a tax on its unimproved value scaled to make private ownership unattractive unless land was used to its full capacity. These doctrines, published in 1879, gained wide support in Australia by the mid-1880s. They appealed to various disparate groups—workers, employers, professionals—because they were simple and offered a ready solution to social ills without challenging the basic interests of anyone but large landholders. Land nationalisation leagues, in which single tax advocates were prominent, formed in Qld and NSW in 1887 and later in Melbourne and Adelaide to propagate George's ideas. A Single Tax League developed from these, and during the late 1880s and early 1890s its members were influential in the trade union movement and the emergent Labor Party, which, in developing their socialist ideologies, drew on the collectivist notions that seemed implicit in George's writings. In 1890 the league brought George to Australia on a three-month lecture tour, but after this the league's influence in the labour movement declined because George had been seen to oppose bitterly both trade unions and socialism.

Further reading R. Gollan, *Radical and working class politics: a study of eastern Australia 1850–1910*, Melbourne 1967; N.B. Nairn, *Civilising capitalism: the labour movement in New South Wales 1870–1910*, Canberra 1973.

SIX-HOUR DAY By the end of World War I, the eight-hour day had become generally adopted throughout the Australian economy, and pressure for a further reduction in working hours increased. Initially this took the form of a 44-hour week campaign, but the onset of the Great Depression precipitated a campaign for a six-hour day, and a commensurate redistribution of work and employment. In Sydney



Literature and art in the service of history. Woodcut by James B. Flett illustrating Kenneth Slessor's poem 'Five visions of Captain Cook', first published in Trio: a book of poems, Sydney 1931 and reproduced here from Art in Australia, 15 Feb 1932.

CORNSTALK BOOKSHOP

the traditional Eight-Hour Day march took up this new claim and the banner that headed the procession demanded the six-hour concession.

The claim for a six-hour working day never won universal union support, and its appeal diminished as employment recovered. By 1938 the six-hour claim had given way to a more general campaign for a forty-hour working week.

SLESSOR, Kenneth (1901–71), journalist and poet, worked as a reporter and columnist on various newspapers including the *Sun* (Sydney), the *Herald* (Melbourne) and *Smith's Weekly* before he returned to journalism as literary editor and editorial writer for the *Sun* and later the *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney). He wrote several books of verse including *Earth-visitors* (1926), *Cuckooz contrey* (1932), *Five bells: XX poems* (1939), *One hundred poems: 1919–1939* (1944) and *Poems* (1957).

SMITH, Bernard (1916–), art historian, made in *Place, taste and tradition* (1945) one of the first serious studies of Australian art. He taught in country schools before joining the Art Gallery of NSW in 1945. From 1955 Smith lectured in fine arts at Melbourne Univer-



Sydney Ure Smith, oil by W. B. McInnes, 1929. In 1950 the Mitchell Library, Sydney, held a memorial exhibition of Smith's work and correspondence and published a catalogue of the books illustrated and the many works edited, written or published by him.

ART GALLERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

sity and in 1967 was appointed Power professor of contemporary art at Sydney University, a position he held until 1977. In 1960 he published *European vision and the South Pacific*, and in 1984 he published his autobiography *The boy Adeodatus*, which won both the National Book Council award and the Victorian Premier's Literary Award for non-fiction in 1985.

SMITH, John McGarvie (1844–1918), bacteriologist and metallurgist, developed methods of handling refractory ores at Sunny Corner and Broken Hill; he also enhanced the chlorine method of extracting gold at Mount Morgan. His greatest achievement was the standardisation of Pasteur's anti-anthrax vaccine, he bequeathed the formula to the NSW government.

SMITH, Sir Keith Macpherson (1890–1955), aviator, was born in Adelaide. Employed as a salesman in Adelaide, he was rejected for the Australian Imperial Force for health reasons in 1914, and went to England where he was accepted for the Royal Flying Corps. Employed as a pilot, aerial gunnery officer, and flying instructor, he was mentioned in despatches.

His brother Ross Macpherson Smith (1892–1922), also an aviator, was born in Semaphore, SA. On 10

August 1914 he enlisted in the AIF, joining the 3rd Light Horse. He served at Gallipoli, was commissioned in the field, and in 1916 transferred to the machine gun section. He became an observer in No 1 Squadron, Australian Flying Corps (AFC) in October 1916, and a pilot in July 1917. Smith became the most highly decorated pilot in the AFC with the MC and Bar, DFC and two Bars, AFC and Order of Nahda (Hejaz). After the war he piloted a Handley Page bomber from Cairo to Calcutta.

In 1919, the Smiths, with Sergeants Bennett and Shiers, competing for a Commonwealth Prize of £10 000, flew a Vickers Vimy from Britain to Australia, leaving England on 12 November, and arriving at Darwin on 10 December. The Smiths were knighted and the sergeants commissioned.

On 13 April 1922, Ross Smith died in a crash during a trial flight of a Vickers Viking in England. Keith Smith became a director of several important engineering and aviation companies, and chairman of Vickers Armstrong (Aust) Pty Ltd and Cockatoo Docks and Engineering Co Pty Ltd. J.D. WALKER

SMITH, Maria Ann (c1801–70), apple cultivator, lived on an orchard in Eastwood, Sydney. In 1868 she grew seedlings of a French crab apple from Tas, which bore excellent fruit. Her sons-in-law and another local orchardist continued after her death to cultivate the 'Granny Smith' apple, which became one of Australia's most popular varieties, and in the 1890s it was also planted in the Parramatta and Bathurst districts. Granny Smith Memorial Park was established in Eastwood in 1950.

SMITH, Sydney Ure (1887–1949), publisher and artist, studied at the Julian Ashton School and became co-proprietor of a commercial art studio. In 1916 he and Bertram Stevens began *Art in Australia*, a quarterly publication with lavish colour illustrations. In 1939 Smith established Ure Smith Pty Ltd which published the periodical, *Australia, national journal* and books on art and related subjects. He was also a noted watercolour painter and etcher, with most of his work depicting Sydney. He published various books which carried his illustrations. Smith was president of the Society of Artists in 1921–40.

SMITH, William Forgan (1887–1953), politician, migrated to Qld from Scotland in 1912. In the legislative assembly he held the seat for Mackay from 1915 to 1942. He was secretary for public works from 1922 to 1925 and secretary for agriculture and stock from 1925 to 1927. With the defeat of the McCormack Labor ministry in 1920 he became leader of the opposition. As premier from 1932 until his retirement in 1942 he inaugurated a series of public works which included the building of the Somerset Dam and the Story Bridge.

SMITH'S WEEKLY, was an illustrated journal founded in March 1919 by Sir Joynton Smith, Claude McKay and R.C. Packer in Sydney. Originally intended to be a forum for returned soldiers, it became a very successful general publication, reaching a peak

of the Metropolitan Water Sewerage and Drainage Board, Sydney, suggested diversion of Snowy River water by a series of tunnels and aqueducts to Sydney, supplying other towns en route. The scheme as implemented stems from reports by H.P. Moss, NSW controller of electricity supply (1944), and O.T. Olsen of the State Electricity Commission of Vic (1946). By then the engineering expertise for such a large scheme was available and the need for additional electric power and irrigation water existed. Discussions between the federal, Victorian and NSW governments followed.

In 1949 the Chifley federal government established the Snowy Mountains Authority (SMA) with headquarters at Cooma, to plan and construct the Snowy Mountains scheme. Principal aims of the scheme were to use the water resources of the Snowy Mountains area for power generation and to divert water flowing to the ocean to the inland rivers where it could be used for irrigation. The first power from the scheme was generated at Guthega in February 1955. In all, sixteen storage dams, seven power stations, 80 kilometres of aqueducts and 145 kilometres of tunnels were built. The scheme was completed in 1972 with the opening of Tumut 3 power station; planned generating capacity was reached in 1974. Although perhaps surpassed in magnitude since, this was easily the largest engineering undertaking in Australia when begun in the 1950s. It brought a new scale to Australian thinking on resource development issues. The project was also notable for the considerable contribution made by postwar European migrants working on the scheme. Direction, operation and maintenance of completed sections of the scheme came under the Snowy Mountains Council formed in 1959. After construction was completed, the SMA was kept together as an engineering consulting team for projects in Australia and overseas.

SOCIAL JUSTICE The arrival of European settlers at the end of the eighteenth century came about through the workings of a conception of justice which was concerned above all with the maintenance of order and protection of property, a justice imposed from above by the magistracy and the gallows. The convicts brought with them their own notions of entitlement, communal norms and customs protecting the subsistence rights and liberties of the common people. But the official view was that those who fell foul of the law and were transported thereby forfeited their constitutional liberties. So from 1788 to the final abolition of convict transportation to the eastern colonies in 1850, popular energies were directed to the establishment of legal and constitutional rights.

With the achievement of self-government in the 1850s in all colonies except WA, and the rapid democratisation of the colonial constitutions, the demand for social justice could find institutional expression. A just society was understood to be one which would offer the citizen independence and self-sufficiency. The role of the state was to nurture those processes and forms of association which would sustain the material progress and civic culture of its citizens:

hence the family was to be encouraged as the primary social unit, and 'free, secular and compulsory' education was to train its members for the responsibilities of citizenship. The chief aspiration of those who promoted social justice was to 'unlock the land', hitherto controlled by the squatters, and plant a contented agricultural yeomanry. To this end, land selection acts were passed in all the colonies from 1859. But the expectations of the reformers were not realised. Successful farming required capital, and the land reformers merely extended and intensified the operation of capitalist economic relations. Far from offering a haven for the family, the family farm subjected all its members to a burden of hardship and toil.

By the turn of the century it was apparent that the majority of the Australian people depended for their livelihood on the sale of their labour. Under these circumstances and in the aftermath of the major confrontation of capital and labour during the 1890s, an attempt was made to regulate the wage relationship. The state established tribunals to lay down conditions of employment which, after Mr Justice Higgins *Harvester* judgement of 1907, interpreted the notion of a fair wage to mean one that would enable a man to keep his wife and children in frugal comfort. But the wages of women, with or without dependants, were not subject to these conditions. Protective tariffs were meant to provide sufficient insulation of the Australian economy from overseas competition to ensure that employment at fair wages was generally available. Direct assistance, in the form of old-age and invalid pensions, maternity benefits and the like, was limited to those outside the workforce. This notion of wage justice therefore enshrined the independence of male workers and the dependence of women. Its inadequacies became fully apparent in the depression of the 1930s.

From World War II the idea of justice through wages gave way to the objective of the welfare state. The state was expected to create a more general framework of provision—employment, education, housing, health care. It was expected to provide those measures that were necessary to remedy or at least abate the disadvantages of class, gender and race. And these expectations, in turn, produced new social divisions—the welfare policy-makers and administrators on the one hand, the welfare recipients on the other—which cut across existing class divisions formed by the operation of the market. During the period of conservative administration from 1949 to 1972, the preference was for the more restricted, residual interpretation of welfare responsibilities. Under E.G. Whitlam's Labor administration from 1972 to 1975, an enlarged endeavour was evident. And despite economic difficulties since the mid-1970s, difficulties closely related to the fiscal crisis of the welfare state, the proportion of national resources applied to welfare expenditure has continued to increase. The allocation of these resources, however, remains fiercely contested.

The history of social justice in Australia reveals a continuous attempt to invoke the authority of the state to make good the shortcomings of the social

order. Its territory is that area where the ambit of authority overlaps with popular expectations of entitlement. And yet the growth of the state is an expression of the same historical forces that have generated inequality, oppression and injustice. It remains to be seen whether the advocates of social justice will be able to resolve that perennial contradiction.

STUART MACINTYRE

Further reading S. Macintyre, *Winners and losers: the pursuit of social justice in Australian history*, Sydney 1985; T. Rowse, *Australian liberalism and national character*, Malmesbury (Vic) 1978; P.N. Troy (ed), *A just society? essays on equity in Australia*, Sydney 1981.

SOCIAL WELFARE is assistance provided by friends and family, or by organised societies, or by governments, to people who are not able to achieve full participation in society or who are in danger of becoming socially dependent. In Australia, the regulation of assistance for Aborigines has generally been kept separate, as has assistance to ex-servicemen. 'Charity' was the nineteenth-century term, which concentrated on the residue of 'deserving poor', and expected the able-bodied to find work in the market place. Some early social services in Australia were established in response to the realities of a harsh and under-resourced environment, for example the general hospital, established the day after the arrival of the first fleet in Port Jackson. There is now a variety of hospital and health services, largely paid for by the federal government. Some contributions to health care have come from agencies which bring religious or other ideals to the services.

Orphan children were early recognised as needing aid, and asylums were erected for them by governments (such as the orphan schools in NSW, 1800 and 1818) or private charities (St Joseph's Orphanage, Adelaide, 1868). These large institutions attracted criticism as being oppressive and likely to reproduce social dependence. They were replaced between 1865 and 1886 by a system of 'boarding out', or foster care, for most children in state care. The foster families were working-class, preferably country residents. They received weekly payments and were inspected by middle-class women. The children rarely regained contact with their natural families. Only in the 1970s did the focus shift to maintaining the natural family.

Women with families and men with various disabilities were helped, after careful enquiry into each case, with outdoor aid in rations—rarely cash. There was no poor law in Australia, no obligation by government to help, no local rate, no workhouse, and hence no degraded 'paupers'. All aid was at the discretion of the donors.

The selective charitable approach changed first with regard to old people. It was argued in the 1890s that they had contributed to the development of the colonies and were entitled, not to selective charity, but to a state pension as a right. While more conservative politicians still spoke of the danger of 'pauperising' the aged (making them reliant on handouts), and

while public servants feared for the public purse, old age pensions were introduced (NSW and Vic 1900, Qld 1907, commonwealth 1908) for women over 60 and men over 65 who met means and assets tests and complied with other regulations. Aborigines, aliens and Asiatics were excluded. (This is no longer the case.) The pension has remained at between one-fifth and one-quarter of the minimum wage. Debate has continued about the need for means or assets tests, and about the long-term capacity of the community to afford the transfer of resources from the taxpayers to the dependent aged.

Many small voluntary agencies grew in the nineteenth century, often based on Christian ideals, focusing on the needs of women and children, and conducted by middle-class women and men. There were orphanages, female refuges, homes of hope, prison gate homes, cottage homes, homes for incurables, and many more. More recently, cost and complexity have led to the disappearance of some non-government voluntary welfare organisations (NGWOs), or to their continued activity under strict government funding and some supervision. Institutional or asylum solutions to needs (often preferred in the nineteenth century) have generally been replaced by community-located arrangements, especially for children, women and families, often involving a new generation of NGWOs.

Services have increasingly been provided by governments for specific categories of people through direct cash grants or through subsidies to these NGWOs. A maternity allowance or 'baby bonus' has been paid by the federal government since 1912. Means-tested family allowances were introduced in the 1920s by some states and, during World War II, by the federal government. Child endowment was introduced for each child (including the first after 1951), without means test after 1942, but at an unchanged rate which depreciated steadily against inflation until revised in 1976. A means-tested widow's pension has been paid since 1942. A supporting-parent benefit was established in the 1970s.

Other direct and indirect payments are made by the federal government for diverse social conditions including unemployment, single parenthood, disability, chronic illness and large family size, as well as for housing and health care for the aged. Many of these are justified as aid to those who cannot conform to the powerful community expectation that all should work. State government welfare services have tended to be left with a residue of cases unattractive to NGWOs and too complex for federal government categories. Over the past decade efforts have been made to offer more extensive and more creative support to a widening range of people in the community by the state welfare departments. This aid now includes counselling, subsidy for experimental programs, assistance for research into present needs, and an increasing emphasis on some participation by the recipients in the control of the help provided. While commonwealth social security payments, and the Medicare system for funding health care costs, are

largely impersonal, based on regulations and forms, state government services are increasingly being personalised and localised.

Social welfare can also mean the large-scale transfers of government resources outside the marketplace to pay for health services, education, housing, employment aid, unemployment and other social security payments. Federal expenditure on this broad category has grown steadily from about 10 per cent in 1940–41 to 15 per cent in 1969–70, to about 28 per cent in 1981–82 for social security alone, with health and education together nearly doubling this proportion.

The community is confronted with a variety of choices. Broadly, social welfare is seen by most people as a necessary part of community activity, largely paid for by taxes and provided mostly by governments, but with some NGWO participation. Clear preference exists for payment or aid to prescribed categories of people. Assistance by discretionary selection, often with unspoken moral standards which could coerce or even punish the poor, is not now popular. But governments and NGWOs must still exclude some in order to spread limited resources to the more needy, however need is defined at any time. Those at the margins of the existing definition of need will often be aggrieved. Some argue that the whole welfare system should be linked with tax and benefits such as superannuation to guarantee a minimum income to all Australians. Moreover, there is a fear that a final limit to the resources available will be reached.

The community has produced socially dependent people from the first day of European settlement in 1788, largely because of differences in income during working life. Differential reward is the assumption on which the free enterprise capitalist system is based. Such rewards produce inequality and thus social dependence. Successive governments have recognised that process by creating the growing list of social welfare categories. Others with more resources, whether individuals or businesses, accept this growth in preference to any massive change in which social welfare would be replaced by socialism. In the meantime many in our society will struggle against the odds to achieve a 'fair go'.

BRIAN DICKEY

Further reading B. Cass and C. Baldock (eds), *Women, social welfare and the state in Australia*, Sydney 1983; B. Dickey, *No charity there: a short history of social welfare in Australia*, Melbourne 1980; M. Jones, *The Australian welfare state: growth, crisis and change*, Sydney 1983.

SORELL, William (1775–1848), colonial governor, arrived in Hobart from England in 1817 and for the next seven years administered the colony and initiated proper governmental procedures. He ended the bush-ranging activities of Michael Howe and others and established law and order in the colony. Complaints made against his private life were upheld and he was recalled to London. In 1824 Sorell was replaced by Lieut-Gov Arthur.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA South Australia's origins as a colony lay in the disturbed circumstances of British society in the 1820s. The colony arose from the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who first propounded the notion of 'systematic colonisation' in 1829. Wakefield believed that a contrived balance between capital invested and labour available to exploit the 'waste lands' of the empire, combined with dense agricultural settlement and maximum freedom for the settlers to manage their affairs without government interference, would maximise returns for investors and create new opportunities for English labourers. Neither convicts nor an established church would be allowed.

Robert Gouger, a close associate of Wakefield, and others applied these ideas to the exploitation of the coastlands of southern Australia explored by Matthew Flinders and Charles Sturt. Negotiations to open a colony there took place between the Colonial Office and various interested promoters (the National Colonisation Society, the South Australian Land Company), but these foundered in 1832 on the promoters' demand that they have complete powers over the colony through a Royal Charter. A compromise was achieved in 1834 with the South Australian Act, which permitted the crown to establish a colony or colonies in SA. The crown would control the colony, but ten colonisation commissioners would manage the survey and sale of land, and fund the selection and transport of a migrant labour force. The commissioners had first to raise £35 000 in advance land sales, a requirement met by December 1855.

The Province of South Australia was established by letters patent on 19 February 1836. The official party, headed by Captain John Hindmarsh RN, governor, and J.H. Fisher, resident commissioner, travelled in HMS *Buffalo* and took their oaths of office on 28 December 1836 at Holdfast Bay (modern Glenelg).

The local Kurna Aborigines had little reason to rejoice. They soon lost their land and identity. Other tribes struck back—against the overlanders on the Murray in 1838–39 and against settlers around Port Lincoln in 1841–42. Despite statements by the colonisation commissioners about treating Aborigines equally and negotiating their retention of land, local officials and settlers had little intention of doing either and relations between the two races quickly deteriorated. Incidents such as that following the wreck of the *Maria* in 1840 were not isolated. The 27 survivors were killed by Aborigines; two Aboriginal men accused of taking part in the murders were tried by court-martial and hanged in the presence of their tribe. Punitive expeditions led by the police chief Major T.S. O'Halloran avenged other attacks and eventually brought overlanders protection, but killed hundreds of Aborigines. The protector of Aborigines, Matthew Moorhouse, found it difficult to explain his weakness in failing to prevent such atrocities.

The new colony experienced other unforeseen difficulties. The distribution of power between the governor, John Hindmarsh, and the resident commissioner, J.H. Fisher, produced many controversies.

George Gawler replaced both as governor under amended legislation in 1838, but his expanded powers were insufficient to create real economic growth. Settlers preferred to speculate in land, especially in Adelaide, which had been carefully designed by William Light, the surveyor-general.

The development of essential community services diverted more money from migration than the frugal London commissioners had envisaged. They lost their nerve, and in 1841 refused further credit, repudiating Gawler's reflationary public works policy. He was recalled and replaced by George Grey (1841–45), under whom SA was made an ordinary crown colony. Grey saw out the crisis with vigorous deflationary measures. Many early speculators went bankrupt but, with immigration stopped and farmers bringing more land into cultivation, the colony began paying its own way by 1844. The economy was further stimulated by the discovery of rich copper ores, notably at Kapunda (1842) and Burra (1842–45). Migration resumed, agricultural development continued and surviving landowning pastoralists (many non-resident) leased further vast tracts, thus strengthening their grip on the economy.

Relations between capital and labour were shaped by assumptions brought from England. Investors, wanting a docile workforce, had to concede aid for workers' passage and guarantee work on arrival; the propaganda they used to attract labourers in Britain painted an unrealistically rosy picture, giving the impression that a humble village labourer might become a modestly prosperous landowner within a few years of emigrating to SA. The colony's own masters and servants acts sought to maintain labour discipline through state power, but the workers quickly responded by forming a variety of labour societies for their mutual protection. Only returning prosperity after 1846 eased the tensions that had developed between workers and their employers. Prosperity also enabled some of the promises about great individual opportunity to be realised at last.

Two-thirds of the first generation of assisted migrants came from the agrarian counties of southern England, the region that provided the model for the society the planners wished to create, with landowners, tenant farmers and labourers bringing the land into productivity. Pre-eminent among the investors was the merchant, banker and Baptist, George Fife Angas, who had heard that some Prussian farmers were seeking refuge from the religious demands of their king and his state church. The first group, led by Pastor Augustus Kavel, arrived in 1838 and settled as tenants and labourers in the Adelaide hills. Others followed from 1840 to 1860, for both religious and political reasons, all seeking economic security. They created a separate community in the Barossa valley.

Social services were difficult to create in SA's first twenty years, in the face of British hostility to colonial expenditure. Rudimentary welfare services were available through the emigration agents, who provided aid to the unemployed, sick, orphaned, aged, widowed and deserted. More formalised institutional

means of granting such aid came with the establishment of the Destitute Board (1849–1927) and Children's Council (1886–1927) which evolved into the Department for Community Welfare and provided the base for what became the most government-dominated welfare system in Australia. At times this system has engaged in such radical experiments as the boarding out of children (1866–); at others (particularly in the 1940s and 1950s) it has relied on institutions for administering aid to the disadvantaged. A government hospital was established under the colonial surgeon in 1840, and this became the basis of a government-dominated hospital system.

Religion, though viewed as the basis of the moral order, was expected by most planners in SA to flourish without state aid. Despite the provision for colonial chaplains from the established churches in the South Australia Act, only an Anglican chaplain, C. B. Howard, was appointed (1836), followed by J. Farrell on Howard's death in 1843. Congregation-building faltered in the economic and governmental crisis of 1841–43, then received a boost with government subsidies for church and school buildings and stipends from 1846 under Lieutenant-Governor Frederick Robe. Supporters of the 'voluntary principle' were outraged because they believed support for 'established' churches breached the principle of religious equality, and thus the founding compact. Supporters of 'established' churches could not imagine a secure social fabric in a pioneer society without state aid.

The colony's first elections for the legislative council (1851) were fought over this issue. The voluntarists and the opponents of 'Romanism' in the Church of England were successful. State aid for churches and their schools was abolished—an Australian first. Congregations set about funding their own activities. The early census majority of Anglicans (55 per cent in 1844) fell away, owing partly to the increasing proportion of Methodists. Many of the Methodists were Cornish copper miners, who came in such numbers that by 1900 Methodists had the largest congregations in most country towns and many Adelaide suburbs. Along with Congregationalists and Baptists they provided many commercial and political leaders in the nineteenth century and set the tone of a virtuous colony, with its capital a city of churches.

Anglicans became increasingly 'high church' under the episcopate of Bishop Augustus Short (1846–79), their church gaining strong support from the colonial elite. Roman Catholics remained a smaller proportion than elsewhere—at about 14 per cent of the population, only half the percentage of other colonies. Typically they were Irish, until southern European immigrants reinforced their ranks in the 1950s.

The argument about the role of religion in the 1850s reaffirmed the colonists' convictions that South Australians were entitled to the full civil liberties of England, but without its ancient limitations. These beliefs found expression in the constitution for the self-governing colony, which was inaugurated in 1857. The constitution bill reflected the radical demands of English chartism: it provided manhood

suffrage for the triennially elected house of assembly; it required no property qualification for election; and it instituted the secret ballot. The wealthier classes retained control of the elected legislative council, which was safeguarded by a property franchise and given powers equal to those of the lower house.

Politics in the self-governing colony from 1857 to 1901 were largely based on the shared values of individual and community improvement in an open society under the rule of law. The expansion of copper mining and cereal farming enabled the social distance between the capitalist leadership, the migrant workforce and the upwardly mobile independent traders and farmers to remain narrower than elsewhere. Organised parties did not emerge; unpaid politicians manoeuvred for followings in the assembly; and there were frequent changes of government.

The Victorian gold rushes stripped SA of men and coinage, but soon became a bonanza for grain growers as wheat joined copper as a major income earner. Many more acres were sown and a rising generation of sons were soon looking for their own land. Aid to farmers was extended by a series of laws begun by Strangways' Act (1869) which made it easier for selectors to occupy and purchase unsold crown lands. The economy was the subject of constantly booming promotion, qualified only by the realities of a harsh environment delineated by such heroic explorers as Edward John Eyre, John Horrocks, Charles Sturt,

John McDouall Stuart and others. In 1865 the surveyor-general, George W. Goyder, argued that the environment permitted little room for optimism beyond the margins of the good land. Colonists finally heeded his advice after disastrous drought in 1880–82 left homesteads ruined and land desert.

In the optimistic 1870s some turned to NT as a land full of possibilities. Communications proved difficult, the environment unfamiliar, available capital inadequate and judgments faulty. The northward extension of SA failed to produce commensurate economic expansion and in 1911 the state withdrew thankfully from the territory in favour of the commonwealth.

From the 1860s to the 1930s SA was run by a tightly knit group of men: in parliament, in the banks, in the business houses. They came from families that included the Hawkers, Duttons, Elders and Barr Smiths. Interlocking directorships, marriages and club memberships apparently created and sustained an 'establishment', a dominant elite exercising both formal and informal power. The reality was less clear-cut. Interlocking families have certainly existed in the small South Australian community, with wealth created in the nineteenth century still capable of creating further opportunities in the late twentieth. The legislative council tended to attract older men, often retirees from the assembly, and rarely saw the election of radicals, let alone working-class men who were in



Between Adelaide GPO and the Town Hall runs King William Street, 'said to be the handsomest street in the southern hemisphere'. A Garran (ed), Picturesque Atlas of Australasia, 1886–88.

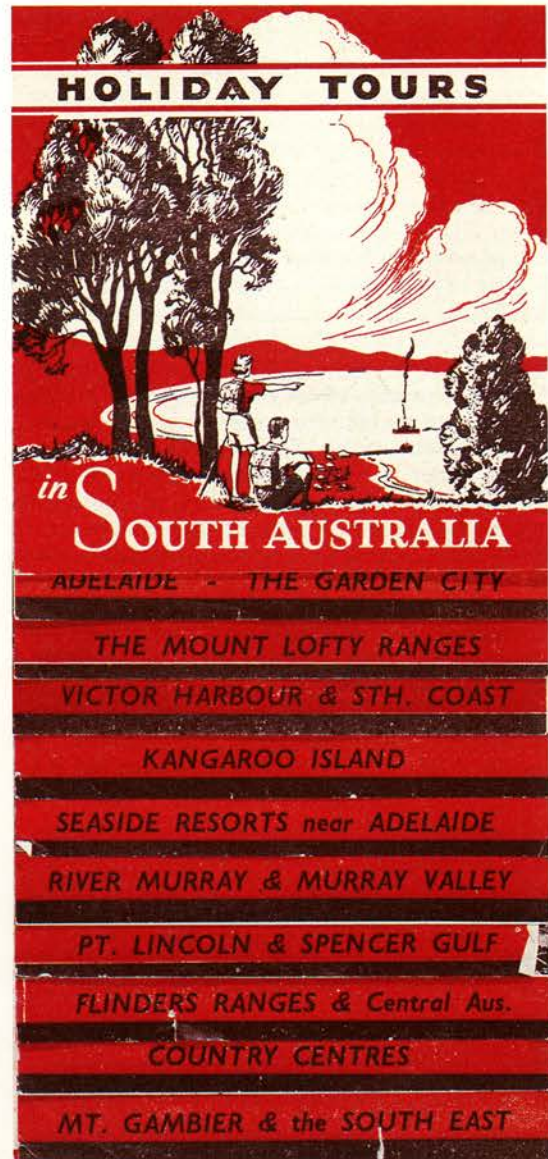
any case effectively excluded by the property franchise. It rejected all proposals to limit its constitutional power other than to widen its franchise. The Adelaide Club continues to be a convivial place for male members of the 'establishment' to rub shoulders with the upwardly mobile aspiring to join the elite. The 'establishment' has never been sinister or closed, although such renegades as C.C. Kingston and D.A. Dunstan, who turned away from their upper class backgrounds in favour of reformist politics on the side of Labor, may have raised some establishment eyebrows.

Women came to SA in approximately equal numbers to men by the founders' deliberate design. For nearly a hundred years, however, women enjoyed few other forms of equality. Changes to their status largely followed developments elsewhere: secular divorce for them came in 1858 but not on equal terms with men until 1919; their rights to property were conferred by the Married Women's Property Act 1883–84; and the age of consent was raised to sixteen in 1885. The principal exception to these dawdling concessions to women's rights was the earliest Australian extension of the vote to women (granted 1894, first exercised 1896), after a decade of agitation by middle-class groups led by the Women's Suffrage League (composed of men and women), supported by the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Most women fulfilled contemporary expectations about their role in family life and childbearing, whether in the homes of the privileged classes, where they were usually helped by servants (themselves women), or in working-class homes. Despite this, the colony had the highest Australian proportion of unmarried women in the years before and after the turn of the century. Married or single, most lived their lives in towns or on family farms. Nomadic life was less a part of South Australian social experience than elsewhere in Australia.

Aborigines became the subject of special concern in the later nineteenth century, not withstanding the atrocities still committed against them by police and settlers. Reformers sought to shield them from attack by herding them on to missions and reserves such as Poonindie on Eyre Peninsula (established 1850), Point Macleay on the lower Murray River (1859), Point Pearce near Wallaroo (1869) or Hermannsburg in the remote northwest (1877). Religious bodies strove to mitigate the impact of white expansion, albeit with pessimism about the survival of the Aborigines and with authoritarian views of Aboriginal needs. These efforts helped the survival of Aboriginal society, both in remote areas and on the fringes of white settlement.

By the 1880s the labour movement had developed permanent institutions and identity. Unions such as the Progressive Society of Carpenters and Joiners (founded 1845), and co-ordinating bodies such as the Trades and Labor Council (1884), gave workers a public voice and industrial strength. The efforts of organised labour focused on specific frustrations in labour relations rather than a total assault on society, but included frequent strikes in city and country.



This tour guide c1940 indicates the diversity of landscapes South Australia has to offer.

BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

Critics of the existing order convinced the leaders of the labour movement to undertake political action in 1890. These efforts were boosted by the maritime strike. After the 1893 elections the United Labor party had significant representation in both houses of parliament and consequently was able to stimulate reform of industrial and economic practices.

During the 1890s reform was prompted by a combination of declining economic fortune, evolving political ideas and working-class pressure. Legislative change included compulsory arbitration for industrial disputes (establishing the model for Australia), female suffrage, payment of parliamentarians, factory legislation, a state bank, free education (elementary

schooling already having come under government control in 1875), village settlements on the Murray, higher tariffs and progressive direct taxation. Unsuccessful efforts were made to introduce an old age pension and to reform the legislative council.

Federation was supported, largely for its potential for increased export trade, perhaps also as a way of increasing recognition of the colony and as part of the radical vision of the 1890s. In practice, federation brought few changes before 1914 except the departure of most of the abler politicians to the larger stage of federal politics. State politics went through a confused period of realignment from 1900 to 1911, mirroring interstate processes, until permanent class-based parties and a party system emerged. In 1910 a Labor party ministry under John Verran governed with a clear house of assembly majority, though Labor failed to gain control of the legislative council, a goal that remained beyond the party's reach in the 1980s. The election of a Labor government able to govern in its own right prompted the formation of the Liberal party, thus leading to the two-party system.

The economy retained its predominantly agrarian character, supported by some pastoralism. New lands were opened up in the Murray and Mallee and on Eyre Peninsula, helped by extensions to the rail system and new grain-growing technology. The years 1900–14 also saw a massive influx of migrants, mainly from Britain.

South Australians greeted war in 1914 with enthusiasm, lost soldiers and suffered severe inflation, as did the other Australian states. The conscription dispute, in which the state twice voted 'No', provided an opportunity for growing divisions between political and industrial labour to be worked out. The ALP in SA split, pro-conscriptionists being vigorously chased from the party. Crawford Vaughan lost both ALP membership and the premiership as a result.

The momentum of reform and the optimism of Edwardian days were spent by the war's end. The 1920s were years of cautious political compromise and conservatism to match an economy still dominated by agriculture, still managed by a coterie of family firms led by Elder, Smith. Only in the rapid suburbanisation of Adelaide were there new social and economic forces at work: a new class of commuters and consumers was created as 56 per cent of the state's population came to be concentrated in the capital. Roads and drains, electricity and gas were all required. Holden's, the coachbuilders, began producing cars under licence from General Motors. Pottery companies turned to making electrical insulators and electric jugs—the foundation of the white goods industry later to become an important part of the state economy. Public works and the new industries both provided employment and stimulated consumer demand.

Depression struck early in 1927 and bit deeply as wheat prices slumped. Neither Liberal Union nor ALP governments could manage such a catastrophe. The founding ethos of open competition and respectability brought misery to SA's unemployed which

even the state's vaunted social welfare system could do little to alleviate. At a 1932 peak of about 34 per cent, the unemployment rate was the highest in Australia. As elsewhere, part-time makework and ration tickets replaced public capital works. The ALP, suffering internal divisions, in 1933 was replaced in government by the Liberal and Country League, an amalgamation of conservative interest groups which had formed after the war from the Farmers' and Settlers' League, the Progressive Country party, the Nationalists and the Liberal Union. It retained power from 1933 to 1965, during which time the state that had once enjoyed a reputation for being at the forefront of enlightened change became a byword for staidness and restraint.

Thomas Playford, the Liberal and Country League premier from 1938 to 1965, set a record for length of office which in 1986 was still unsurpassed in the Commonwealth of Nations. The stodginess of his party's reputation notwithstanding, Playford presided over a period of economic development managed by able bureaucrats such as E.L. Wainwright and L.C. Hunkin in which government structures sustained private enterprise. The agrarian base was consciously joined by consumer-goods industries. The metals, chemicals, cement and timber industries were built up. Home building was pushed ahead under the Housing Trust; roads, water supply and sewerage works were expanded; and the Electricity Trust set up in 1946 gave consumers the cheapest power in Australia. Munitions and other war supplies had been produced in Adelaide during World War II and this had added to the industrial base. Workforce statistics reflected economic change: in 1933, 24 per cent of the workforce was employed in primary industry and 17 per cent in manufacturing; by 1961 the proportions were 12 per cent and 27 per cent.

By the 1950s Adelaide had clearly become the dominant component in the state's society and economy; by 1961 about 60 per cent of the population lived in the capital. The Housing Trust did much to confirm Adelaide's dominance. It launched energetically into postwar home building, erecting 3000 of the 6800 homes built in 1950–51. New suburbs and, from 1954, a whole satellite city, Elizabeth, appeared on former wheat or grape-growing lands on Adelaide's fringes. The larger developments came complete with shopping centres and, at Elizabeth, a government-built factory for General Motors-Holden's Proprietary Limited, the American corporation that had displaced the local firm in a way often to be repeated in the next 30 years. Washing machines and refrigerators (Simpson-Pope, Kelvinator) and metal clothes lines (Hills Hoists) were produced for an expanding Australian market alongside 'Australia's own car', the Holden. Such industries provided South Australians with job opportunities that drew more of them into their state capital.

So large was the workforce required that migrants were once more encouraged. About 40 000 came between 1948 and 1960, providing not only workers but also consumers for South Australian products.

They helped produce the children of the postwar 'baby boom' who filled the inadequate, under-funded schools to crisis point. Other suburban facilities reached precarious limits as Playford strained to hold costs down to retain the competitive edge in gaining new investments. The penalty of that parsimony was minimal government concern in the early 1960s about accumulating social ills. These included the plights of Aborigines, large, poor and inadequately housed migrant families, and poorly paid female workers. As well as castigating the government for neglect in these areas, social critics claimed that the residue of nineteenth century Protestant attitudes continued in numerous unnecessary restraints on liquor consumption, gambling, private sexual behaviour, and weekend business and leisure activities.

Within the ALP Don Dunstan enunciated a critique of Playford's social and welfare policies which drew on an increasingly strong undercurrent of popular dissatisfaction. In 1967 he succeeded to the premiership, taking over from Frank Walsh, who had finally wrested power for the ALP from Playford in 1965. The Dunstan government set about implementing its vision of reform, which encompassed the whole of society, including Aborigines and migrants. Social restraints were removed: hotels could remain open later, state lotteries were conducted. Efforts to change the separate and degraded status of Aborigines were launched with legislation in 1968 that outlawed discrimination on racial grounds and established an Aboriginal Land Trust. Resources were deployed to expand health, education and welfare services, often with some commonwealth funds. Dunstan justified his reforms with a liberal rhetoric that was consistent with the ideals of SA's founders. Conservative critics, however, claimed that the colony of virtue had become the state of sin and pointed to legislation that made homosexuality legal as evidence of the officially sanctioned slide into immorality Dunstan had brought about.

Just as the Wakefieldians had found in 1841–43, economic contraction in the mid-1970s rapidly halted the ALP's thrust towards a more equal, sharing and caring community. Dunstan's charisma might have succeeded in retaining office for the ALP beyond the economic downturn of the mid-1970s; but when he departed, ill, in 1979, the public, accepting contemporary rhetoric about 'sound economic management', turned its back on the decade of reform by electing another conservative government. That pragmatism had replaced reform became obvious in the policies pursued by the next Labor government, elected in 1982.

With the establishment of the Adelaide Festival of Arts in 1960 the state's reputation as being staid and preoccupied with small-scale provincial culture was changed. The festival became the nation's major celebration of cultural activity. Its development attracted the energies both of Adelaide's elite, who saw its support as part of their community duty, and of their critics, who saw it as a vehicle for social change. It has probably met the goals of both and has

certainly set the scene around Australia for government subsidisation of many cultural activities.

South Australians in the 1980s still watch the weather warily each year for season's break and winter rains, because the grain crops, more diverse now, represent a crucial annual measure of prosperity. But cereals support a declining proportion of the state's population. Nor have other rural pursuits taken up the slack: dairying, wine-making and fruit growing are under threat from expanding suburbia, international price trends and foreign competition.

The social engineering of the Dunstan decade may have seemed brash but its legacy was a commitment to moderately managed economic activity by both political parties. Legislation exploring current meanings of the rule of law to measure and sustain individual liberty continue. The 1981 Pitjantjatjara land rights legislation set a standard for the other states (and also for other nations with dispossessed indigenous communities) by returning comprehensive control of a vast area of the state to its pre-European owners. The equal opportunity legislation of 1984 extended the notion of equality between all South Australians, again setting a standard for the rest of the nation.

BRIAN DICKEY

Further reading T.L.C. Griffin and M. McCaskill (eds), *Atlas of South Australia*, Netley 1986; E. Kwan (ed), *Life in South Australia till 1986*, Netley 1986; E.S. Richards (gen ed), *The Flinders history of South Australia* (3 vols), Netley 1986–87.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMPANY George Fife Angas, a member of the board of colonisation commissioners given responsibility for establishing a colony in SA, instigated the formation of a joint stock company, the South Australian Company, in London on 9 October 1835. The company was a mask for Angas: when the commissioner had trouble selling land in SA at the rate of 20s an acre as stipulated in the South Australian Act (1834), the company, at Angas's suggestion, offered 12s an acre. Sales to the company at that rate enabled the commissioners to meet a further requirement of the act—the sale of £35 000 worth of land before the start of colonisation. Being the largest landholder, with some of the biggest herds and flocks, the company was a keen promoter of the colonisation experiment. It sent its own ships and labour force to Kingscote on Kangaroo Island, the site of its first settlement, in 1836.

When its operations on Kangaroo Island proved unsatisfactory, the company moved to the mainland. For many years the company's activities paralleled those of the colony, being concerned with roads, wharves, mills, farming, industry and whaling. The company had even formed its own bank, which for a time enjoyed a monopoly, and during economic downturns was a major means of support for the colony.

The early commercial dominance declined after the gold rushes, and led to less diversity in the company's activities. Large agricultural pursuits were maintained until its landholdings dwindled under pressure from

progressive land tax reforms in the 1890s. Its operations effectively ceased in the mid-1930s, but were not formally concluded until 17 March 1949.

SOUTHALL, Ivan Francis (1921–), writer, served with the Royal Australian Air Force in World War II, becoming a professional writer in 1947. He has written war books, biographies and factual studies but is best known for his many children's books. Four times winner of the Australian Children's Book of the Year Award, Southall has been honoured by the Netherlands, Japan and the United States, and has lectured on children's literature.

SOUTHERN CROSS A Fokker monoplane previously used in the Arctic by Sir Hubert Wilkins, was purchased and named *Southern Cross* in 1927 by Charles Kingsford Smith and Charles Ulm for their crossing of the Pacific in 1928. Kingsford Smith made several other notable flights in 1928: the first non-stop flight across Australia (from Point Cook, Vic, to Perth); the first trans-Tasman flight (from Richmond, NSW, to Christchurch, NZ), and the first east-west crossing of the Tasman. The aircraft was lost in 1929 in the north of WA while Smith and Ulm were attempting to fly from Australia to Britain.

SP BETTING Off-course betting on a race, according to the odds offered immediately before the start of the event, has almost always been illegal. Nevertheless it was widespread by the 1920s. A starting price (SP) bookmaker in every hotel bar and in many barber shops was a feature of Australian life until the 1960s. Since then, competition from the government-run Totalisator Agency Boards (TABs) and the takeover of illegal bookmaking by organised crime has relegated the SP 'bookie' to folklore.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR Perhaps 60 Australians joined the 42 000 men and women who volunteered to serve in Spain during the war of 1936–39. One fought for General Franco, the final leader of the right-wing rebellion against the five-month-old elected government; the remainder supported the government. Ten of the volunteers were women: they served as nurses, clerks, and child-care workers; the men were fighters, drivers and reporters. About fourteen died, but the exact number is not known. At home passions boiled, as rebel supporters fervently believed the issue was the defence of the Catholic religion, and government supporters as fervently believed it was the defeat of fascism. The Australian labour movement was deeply divided by the Spanish war.

AMIRAH INGLIS

SPENCE, Catherine Helen (1825–1910), writer and reformer, migrated to Adelaide from Scotland with her parents in 1839. She became a governess and anonymously published several novels, including *Clare Morison: a tale of South Australia during the gold fever* (1854), the first novel about Australia written by a woman. Her later writings were concerned with social and electoral reform. In *A plea for pure democracy* (1861) Spence proposed Thomas Hare's system of

proportional representation for SA. In 1897 she ran for the federal convention, becoming Australia's first female political candidate. Her book *The laws we live under* (1880) was the first social studies textbook used in Australian schools.

Further reading S. Magarey, *Unbridling the tongues of women: a biography of Catherine Helen Spence*, Sydney 1985.

SPENCE, William Guthrie (1846–1926), union leader and politician, was born in Scotland and arrived in Australia in 1852, when his family immigrated during the gold rush. He did not attend school but learnt to study the Bible. He later read widely in idealist socialist literature. Working as a goldminer he rose to become secretary of the Creswick Miners' Union. The union then joined the Amalgamated Miners' Association, of which he became general secretary. Spence also became president of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union when it was founded in Ballarat in January 1886. As these unions expanded he developed a belief that they could become part of an all-embracing union of Australian employees. He supported the idea of an Australian Labour Federation, which attempted to combine an industrial and political role. But his over-commitment to the cause of unionism led him to make some major errors. Historians have judged his participation in the Maritime Strike of 1890 as inept and disastrous.

He founded the Australian Workers' Union in 1894 by amalgamating the shearers' and rural workers' unions. He was its first secretary and later its president. After a brief career in colonial politics he stood as candidate for the federal seat of Darling, which he held for Labor from 1901–17. He was a key figure in the development of the federal Labor party and was postmaster-general in the Fisher Labor ministry



Catherine Helen Spence.
NATIONAL LIBRARY

during World War I. Following the split over conscription he held a Tas electorate for the Nationalist coalition from 1917 to 1919 and was the vice-president of the Executive Council in the Hughes National Labor ministry of 1916–17.

Spence's best-known published work was *Australia's awakening*, which appeared in 1909. In it he argued that the early unions he had organised were models of industrial unionism, a principle at that time gaining popularity in the labour movement. During World War I he was given the option of resignation rather than expulsion from the AWU over his support of conscription.

FRANK FARRELL

SPENCER, Sir (Walter) Baldwin (1860–1929), biologist and anthropologist, migrated from England to Australia in 1887 to take up the newly founded Chair of Biology at the University of Melbourne. In 1894 Spence was a member of W.A. Horn's expedition to central Australia which led to his work with F.J. Gillen on the Aborigines of the area. He was appointed chief protector of Aborigines in 1912 and made first contact with previously isolated northern tribes. Baldwin Spence presented his extensive collection of Aboriginal artefacts to the National Museum, Melbourne.

SPENDER, Sir Percy (1897–1984), politician, entered federal parliament in 1937 and held various ministerial portfolios from 1939 to 1941 and from 1949 to 1951. After the war Spender became increasingly prominent in international affairs. As minister for external affairs (1950–51) he was Australia's representative at ANZUS meetings and helped establish the Colombo Plan. While ambassador to the United States (1951–58) he also served on the United Nations General Assembly (1952–56). In 1958 he was appointed justice of the International Court of Justice, and he was its president from 1964 to 1967. Spender was knighted in 1952.

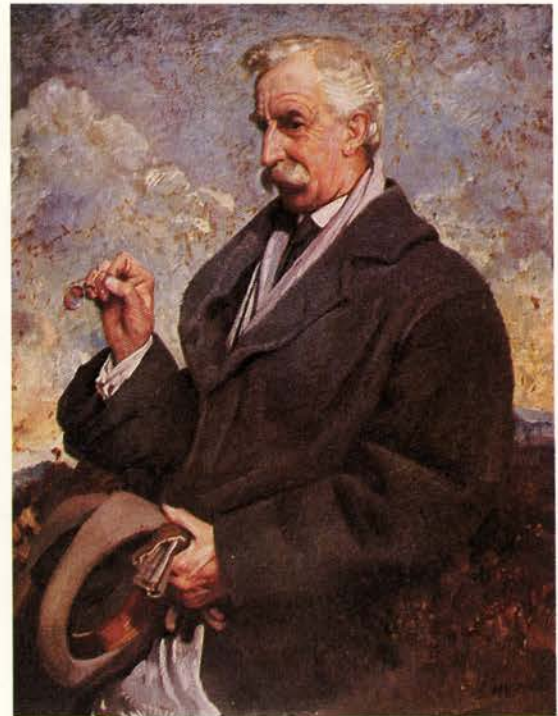
SPOFFORTH, Frederick Robert (1853–1926), cricketer, learned variations in style and speed of bowling as a boy. He played for NSW between 1874 and 1885. He toured England with the Australian teams of 1878, 1880, 1882, 1884, and 1886, and achieved fame when he took ten wickets for twenty runs at Lords in 1878. In his eighteen test matches Spofforth took 94 wickets at an average of 18.41 each, and in all first-class matches 1146 wickets for 13.55. In 1888 he settled in England and became managing director of the Star Tea Company.

SQUATTING Pastoral squatting in eastern Australia began in 1822 when Dr Robert Townson, having exhausted his entitlements to free land grants, reserves and tickets of occupation, sent his servants and stock to establish 'stations' on crown land. His struggle in 1826–27 with Governor Darling to preserve his squatted empire of 400 square miles helped shape Darling's land policy with its 'limits' or 'boundaries' of location. Other pastoralists and stockmen followed Townson's example. The effect of Darling's policy was to push most of their stations outside the

'limits'. Much romantic nonsense was to surround this movement of 'sturdy pioneers' defying 'government': most of the sturdy pioneers stayed on their estates and farms, and sent their servants and stock across the governor's 'limits'.

'Squatting' became known as such in 1836 when Van Diemen's Land sheepmasters crossed Bass Strait to occupy the Port Phillip district, and encountered the predominantly cattle-based stockmasters advancing southwards. The difficulties of crossing Bass Strait forced the newcomers to introduce into squatting the new element of residential occupation. In the strict sense of the word, squatting lasted only until 1846, by which time it had been regularised and validated with lease tenures and other controls. Thus squatting proper is a chapter of eastern mainland history only. But by 1850 the word had also become synonymous with pastoralism. Pastoralists kept the word alive themselves: opponents gave the word pejorative force in their long 'battle to unlock' the squatted lands for small farming. To a substantial degree the pastoralists won this 'battle', their superior financial resources giving them the edge in legal and dubious land transactions, and in withstanding drought, fire, flood, disease and unstable markets. For many the victory was pyrrhic. In the deathless words of one of them they had become 'men of yesterday'. It remained for twentieth-century governments to resume many of these pastures in a second attempt to farm the land closely.

DAVID DENHOLM



The late Sir Baldwin Spencer, oil painting by George Lambert. In possession of the National Museum, Melbourne. Reproduced here from Art in Australia, Aug–Sept 1930.



Christina Stead grew up in Sydney, a city which forms the backdrop in a number of her novels. She left Australia at the age of twenty-six, travelled extensively and lived for some time in England and America. She returned to Australia after the death of her husband in 1968.

NATIONAL LIBRARY

STAPLE APPROACH proposes that the basic industries founded on natural resources determine the nature of economic development and the progress of wealth in an economy and particularly in the economies of 'areas of recent settlement'. First used in relation to Canada, the concept has also been applied to Australia, where wool and gold are seen as the staple commodities.

STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER This statute was enacted in 1931 to define the relationship between Britain and the self-governing dominions that formed the Commonwealth of Nations. During the early part of the twentieth century the movement toward the formation of the commonwealth had gained pace. At the 1926 Imperial Conference the Balfour declaration was made, which asserted the autonomy and equality of the dominions, while stressing their allegiance to the crown. In 1931 the Statute of Westminster was enacted to give legal power to that declaration. The statute's best known clause stated that the British parliament would not legislate for the dominions unless requested and with their consent.

STEAD, Christina Ellen (1902–83), writer, was born at Rockdale, NSW. After graduating from Sydney University, Stead worked variously as a school teacher, office worker and psychologist's assistant. In 1928 she left Australia to pursue a literary career in London. Success came in 1934 with the publication of a novel, *Seven poor men of Sydney*, and a volume of short stories, *The Salzburg tales*. In 1935 she left London and visited Paris and Spain. In 1937 she moved to

America with her writer husband, William James Blake, only returning to Australia after his death in 1968. When Stead died in 1983 fifteen works of her fiction had been published. The best of these included *The man who loved children* (1940), based on the writer's relationship with her father (David George Stead), and *For love alone* (1944), based on her life as a young woman in Sydney. RICHARD A. NILE

STEPHEN, Sir Alfred (1802–94), chief justice and legislator, was the principal draftsman of many statutes of civil and criminal law during his appointment from 1844 to 1873 as chief justice of NSW. In 1875 he was nominated to the legislative council and appointed lieutenant-governor.

STEPHENS, Alfred George (1865–1933), literary critic, editor and publisher, trained as a journalist in Qld before travelling south to Sydney. From 1894 to 1906 Stephens edited the books section of the *Sydney Bulletin* and became known for his 'Red page', publishing provocative new literature. He was in charge of the *Bulletin's* publishing division for nine years and produced 25 volumes, which included the works of almost every major Australian author of the 1890s.

STEPHENSEN, Percy Reginald (1901–65), writer and publisher, was educated in Qld and at Oxford. After managing English publishing houses he returned to Australia and established his own in 1934. In the 1930s he was involved with a journal *The publicist* from which came the Australia First Movement. For his involvement with this group Stephensen was interned during World War II. His major work was *The foundations of culture in Australia* (1936).

STEWART, Douglas Alexander (1913–85), writer, was born in New Zealand and came to Australia in 1938 as literary editor of the *Bulletin*. He subsequently published five volumes of poetry as well as plays for stage and radio, biographies of Norman Lindsay and Kenneth Slessor, and several volumes of literary criticism. He is recognised as one of Australia's foremost poets, playwrights and critics and was appointed AO in 1979.

STIRLING, Sir James (1791–1865), colonial governor, was born in Scotland and served from 1803 to 1818 in the Royal Navy, reaching the rank of captain. His marriage in 1823 to Ellen Mangles gave him powerful connections with families trading to the East Indies. He afterwards returned to active service and, while in Australia in 1827, he persuaded Governor Darling to allow him to explore the west coast with a view to making a settlement there. Returning to London, he then succeeded in having WA proclaimed a British colony. He arrived in Swan River and assumed the government in June 1829. He was absent in England from 1832 to 1834, when he was knighted, and he resigned in December 1838. As governor, his main achievement was the survival of the settlement, in spite of infertile soil and the failure of his efforts to promote trade with the East Indies. His treatment of the Aborigines was generally humane, though he was

responsible for the massacre in 1834 known as the 'Battle of Pinjarra'.

ALAN ATKINSON

STONE, Emma Constance (1856–1902), Australia's first female registered medical practitioner, studied in America because Australian medical schools barred women. After her return she was a founder of the Queen Victoria Hospital for Women and Children in Melbourne.

STONEMASONS have been called the parents of Australian trade unionism. The Victorian Operative Masons Society was founded in 1850; a Sydney organisation followed in 1853. In both cities they initiated and led the eight-hour day movement, winning their claims during the 1850s.

STOW, (Julian) Randolph (1935–), writer, was born and educated in WA where he wrote his first novels and poetry. He was a missionary, tutor in English and assistant anthropologist before becoming a sought-after lecturer in many parts of the world. He has written several novels, including one for children, books of poetry and libretti, and has won many prizes, most recently the Patrick White award in 1979.

STRATA TITLE A system of registering a title to a strata of air space in a building, usually a block of flats, though strata title offices are becoming increasingly common. The land must be freehold. NSW pioneered strata legislation with the introduction of the Conveyancing (Strata Titles) Act 1961 which gave flat owners similar rights of sale, lease and mortgage to those of house owners. Other states followed: Tas (1962), Qld (1965), WA (1966), Vic (1967), SA (1967), ACT (1970) and NT (1975). The acts gave exclusive ownership of parts of the property, created a shared responsibility for the management and maintenance of the common property and provided rules to settle disputes between neighbours. Prior to strata title, an individual flat was purchased by buying shares in the company which owned the block. Financial institutions considered company title 'insecure' because the sale or lease of a flat required the approval of shareholders.

RUTH THOMPSON

STREET, Jessie Mary Grey, Lady Street (1889–1970), feminist, humanist and peace worker, was born in India but educated in England and at the University of Sydney (BA, 1910). She was involved in the suffragette movement in England, and later helped found the Family Planning Association of Australia. As president of the United Associations of Women in 1937, she became an activist in the movement for equal pay. In 1938 she visited the Soviet Union, and she took a leading role in organisations devoted to friendship with Russia. She joined the Labor party in 1939, unsuccessfully contesting the federal seat of Wentworth in the 1943 and 1946 federal elections. She was Australia's only female delegate to the San Francisco conference in 1945 at which the United Nations was established. In August 1944 she launched the *Australian women's digest*, a monthly middle-class feminist magazine. Her activities were often at odds with her family's political outlook and social position:



Arthur Streeton, one of Australia's best-known landscape artists, was a master at capturing the light and atmosphere of rural scenes in southeastern Australia. Although he spent most of his time in Victoria, he did make several trips to Sydney and the Hawkesbury district. It was on one of these trips that he painted The old inn - Richmond, Hawkesbury River, oil on canvas, 1896.

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL ART MUSEUM

in 1916 she had married K. W. Street, son of a NSW judge, who became chief justice of NSW in 1928, and Street himself became chief justice in 1950. Jessie Street left the Labor party in 1949, shortly after helping form the Australian Peace Council. She travelled throughout Europe and the Soviet bloc, and attended Stalin's funeral as an official guest in 1953. From 1956 she campaigned for Aborigines' rights and helped lead the movement that resulted in the 1967 referendum to eliminate constitutional discrimination against Aborigines.

PATRICIA HOLT

Further reading P. Sekules, *Jessie Street*, St Lucia 1978; J. Street, *Truth or repose*, Sydney 1966.

STREETON, Sir Arthur Ernest (1867–1943), landscape painter, was born at Mount Duneed, Vic. The family moved to Melbourne in 1874 and Arthur attended night classes at the National Gallery School from 1882 to 1888 while apprenticed to a lithographer. McCubbin and Roberts invited him to join their Box Hill camp in 1886, and two years later with Conder and Roberts, Streeton established the camp at Eaglemont near Heidelberg, Vic. The critic Sidney Dickinson, writing on Streeton's work in 1891, coined the term 'Heidelberg school' for the works of this group of artists. Streeton contributed forty paint-

ings to the '9 x 5 Impression Exhibition' held in Melbourne in 1889, the first impressionist exhibition held in Australia. The Art Gallery of NSW bought Streeton's 'Still glides the stream' in 1890 and the National Gallery of Vic purchased 'The purple noon's transparent night' in 1896; together these paintings established Streeton's national reputation. In 1898 Streeton left for England and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1900. His later European paintings were influenced by Turner and Sargent but were never as successful as his Australian landscapes. Streeton was an official war artist during World War I and returned to settle in Vic in 1924. From 1929 he was art critic for the *Argus*, and he was knighted in 1937. His work is represented in all the major Australian galleries. ADRIENNE SHORT

STRIKES Until the repeal of the English Combination Acts (1799–1800), in 1825, strikes were illegal. Australia's first strikes were organised by skilled tradesmen in the 1820s and 1830s. They were localised stoppages, limited to a single trade, involving fewer than 100 workers and commonly held in response to wage cuts. In the 1860s, as industry grew, strikes became larger, were more common and were linked with the campaign for an eight-hour day. The first major strike wave occurred in the 1880s and was the product of 'new unionism', a more assertive form of organisation primarily associated with the unionisation of the unskilled. New unionists sought the 'closed shop' and refused to work alongside non-unionists. Employers resisted these claims and a series of bitter and bloody strikes involving thousands of workers followed. The most significant was the Maritime Strike (August–October 1890) which involved more than 50 000 workers and might more aptly be regarded as a general strike. As in the case of the Qld shearers' strikes (1891, 1894) and that at Broken Hill (1892) which followed, the result was defeat for the unionists.

The strikes of the 1890s led to state-sponsored systems of arbitration designed to minimise, if not prevent, strikes. In the first two decades of the twentieth century arbitration became the target of unionists, who saw it as propping up capitalism. At Broken Hill (1909) and among NSW coalminers (1910), these attitudes mingled with specific complaints to produce strikes which provoked government intervention and the arrest of strike leaders. Similar attitudes and circumstances underlay general strikes in Brisbane (1912), NSW (1917) and an unprecedented wave of strikes in 1919–1920. The onset of depression produced a brief but sharp upsurge in the number of strikes in 1928–29 as workers in the coalmining, waterfront and timber industries reacted to wage-cuts. At Rothbury, on the northern NSW coalfields, a picketer was killed when police opened fire. The depressed conditions of the early 1930s reduced strikes to their twentieth-century low point.

Since then the prominence of strikes involving a few traditionally militant unskilled manual workers has been gradually eroded. Whereas before the 1960s coalminers accounted for nearly half of all work days

lost in strikes, by 1970 they accounted for just 8 per cent. Conversely, strikes by assembly line workers in 'clean' jobs (for example, mail sorters) have become more typical, and also strikes by white-collar workers who previously regarded striking as unprofessional (such as nurses and teachers). Strike action by privileged professional groups—airline pilots and surgeons, for instance—and by workers in key industries such as power and transport have also become more common in the 1970s and 1980s. There has also been a revival of the strike as a means of political protest; the attempted general strike in 1976 aimed at dissuading the Fraser government from dismantling Labor's health scheme, Medibank. The greater willingness of a wider range of workers, both white- and blue-collar, to mount strike action, and frequent demarcation disputes between rival unions confirmed overseas opinion that Australian industries and workers were strike prone. LEN RICHARDSON

Further reading J. Iremonger *et al* (eds), *Strikes*, Melbourne 1973; J.E. Isaac and G.W. Ford (eds), *Australian labour relations*, Melbourne 1971; M. Waters, *Strikes in Australia: a sociological analysis of industrial conflict*, Sydney 1982.



General strike, Brisbane, 31 January 1912. Unionists declared a general strike over the refusal by J. S. Badger, an American citizen and manager of the privately-owned Brisbane Tramway Company, to allow employees to join the union. The strike, which brought the capital to a standstill, lasted until 5 March and resulted in the passing of the Industrial Peace Act which virtually prohibited strikes and lockouts in public utilities. The strike attracted criticism from some Labor parliamentarians in Queensland and other states and from sections of the left wing press who favoured conciliation rather than direct action. In 1913, when the Amalgamated Workers' Association and the Australian Workers' Union combined, the new union took a non-militant path.

OXLEY LIBRARY

STRINE During 1965 'Professor Afferbeck Lauder' published several papers in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on the language, Strine. Lauder, the 'Professor of Strine Studies' at the 'University of Sinny', was the invention of A.A. (Alistair Ardoch) Morrison, an artist and graphic designer. Lauder produced two books on Strine—*Let stalk strine* (1965) and *Nose tone unturned* (1966)—before turning to English English with *Fraffly well spoken* (1968) and *Fraffly suite* (1969).

STRZELECKI, Sir Paul Edmund de (1797–1873), explorer and scientist, arrived in Sydney in 1839. He explored parts of NSW, including the Australian Alps (where he ascended and named Mount Kosciusko) and Gippsland. He then travelled to Van Diemen's Land where he continued his exploration and geological surveys. Returning to England in 1843 he published a book, *Physical description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (1845), which laid the basis of Australian palaeontology.

STUART, John McDouall (1815–66), the first explorer to cross the continent from south to north and survive, was born in Fife, Scotland. Stuart arrived in Adelaide in 1839 where his army training enabled him to find work as a surveyor. In 1844 he joined Charles Sturt's expedition into the interior. Although the expedition found mainly barren country, it gave Stuart the skills and experience he used so effectively over the next nineteen years.

During the late 1850s, Stuart led several small expeditions in search of new pastoral lands in the Lake

Torrens and Lake Gairdner regions. From 1860 he began to probe further north in an attempt to become the first explorer to cross the continent from coast to coast. In 1860 Stuart reached the Finke River, the Macdonnell Ranges and Attack Creek in the NT before inadequate supplies forced the party to return. On this expedition Stuart named Central Mount Sturt; the name was later changed to honour Stuart. At the end of 1860, the SA government funded Stuart's next attempt to complete a south–north crossing. The expedition was lent an air of urgency because a rival expedition, under the leadership of Robert O'Hara Burke, was already under way from Melbourne. Stuart pushed beyond Attack Creek to Sturt's Plains where once again harsh conditions and inadequate supplies forced the party to retreat. Stuart was convinced that the crossing could be made and in 1861, with the aid of shopkeepers and private benefactors, he mounted a third expedition. This time he succeeded, reaching the north coast in July 1862.

The third expedition seriously affected Stuart's health. The attitude of the SA authorities, who awarded Stuart £2000 for crossing the continent and then ordered that only the interest from the reward would be paid to the explorer, made matters worse. He left Australia in 1864.

The route of the overland telegraph from Darwin to Adelaide, which linked Australia with the rest of the world, followed Stuart's route for much of its course.

JOHN MCQUILTON

STUART CASE Rupert Max Stuart, an Aborigine, was convicted in Adelaide in 1958, aged 27, of having murdered a child at Ceduna in the previous year. He was sentenced to death. After much public agitation, the Playford government established a royal commission to investigate new evidence gathered by a Catholic priest, Rev Thomas Dixon. After the commission had convened, the *Adelaide News'* reporting of a protest by Stuart's counsel at the way the inquiry was being conducted became the subject of charges of seditious libel against Rohan Rivett, the editor, and News Ltd, controlled by Rupert Murdoch. A jury found editor and publisher not guilty on eight of nine charges, and the last was dropped. In the meantime, Stuart's death sentence was commuted. The commissioners concluded that a jury considering the new evidence would still have found Stuart guilty, but Rev Dixon remained convinced he was innocent.

K.S. INGLIS

STUMP-JUMP PLOUGH This ingenious plough has shares that work independently of one another, and are designed to rise automatically when they strike a large stone or root, then re-enter the soil. The tedious and expensive operation of clearing all such obstacles from the soil before ploughing is thus obviated. A farmer called Mullins is credited with conceiving the idea, but his theory was put into practice by R.B. and C.H. Smith of Ardrossan, SA, in 1876. Their design was registered in 1877 and patented in Vic in 1881. This type of plough is still extensively used, and has been particularly important



John McDouall Stuart planting the Union Jack on Central Mount Stuart, April 1860. Photo-engraving of a painting by J. Macfarlane, undated.

NATIONAL LIBRARY

INTERNATIONAL

Rigid Tyne Stump Jump

MADE IN AUSTRALIA
GASTON PATENTS

SCARIFIERS

**20% to 33 1/3%
BELOW
COMPETITOR'S
PRICES**

Note the sturdy, well-built main frame, the convenient controls, and the wide, large-diameter rear wheels. Note also the wide spacing between the tyne and the high clearance of the main frame.

The fore-carriage is so designed that very short turns can be made without interfering with the swings or bridle. Special tractor hitch can be supplied on special order.



The International Scarifier is an ideal implement for the scientific preparation of fallow land and will give satisfaction wherever used.

Advertisement for an International Stump Jump Scarifier, the 'ideal implement for the scientific preparation of fallow land', which, it was promised, would 'give satisfaction wherever used'. Sydney Mail, 24 June 1931.

in opening the mallee lands of SA, Vic and NSW for cultivation.

STURT, Charles (1795–1869), explorer, was one of thirteen children of an English judge in Bengal. Sturt joined the army, serving in the Peninsular War, in Canada, in France and in Ireland. In 1827, as a captain, he arrived in Sydney with a detachment of his regiment on the convict ship *Mariner*.

Like many people in the colony during the 1820s, Sturt was fascinated by the unknown interior of the continent and was particularly interested in the notion of an inland sea, then seen as a real possibility following Oxley's discoveries of northwesterly flowing streams. Sturt convinced Gov Darling to allow him to mount an expedition in search of this inland sea. He also, unwisely, discussed the expedition with the newly appointed surveyor-general of NSW, Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, who believed he should lead such an expedition. Mitchell became a lifelong, frequently vindictive enemy of Sturt's.

Sturt's expedition set out in 1827. It examined the Bogan, Macquarie and Castlereagh rivers and discovered the Darling River (flowing westwards) which further reinforced Sturt's belief in an inland sea. Sturt wanted to follow the Darling on a follow-up expedition in 1829 but instead was ordered to investigate the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee rivers. Sturt followed the

Murrumbidgee to its junction with the Lachlan. Then, with two boats, he set off down the Murrumbidgee on 7 January 1830. On 14 January the party entered a 'broad and noble river', the Murray. Continuing downstream, he passed the point where the Darling entered the Murray, correctly identifying the watercourse as the Darling, and on 9 February reached the mouth of the Murray at Lake Alexandrina. To return to the base camp on the Murrumbidgee, Sturt's party rowed the 1200 kilometres upstream, and they reached Sydney on 25 May 1830.

Between 1830 and 1838, Sturt went back to England and then returned to NSW, having received a grant of land. He also bought land. However, he soon faced financial problems and in 1838 accepted an appointment as surveyor-general in SA, only to find that someone else had been appointed in his place. Demoted to registrar-general, he remained in the colony.

In 1844 the authorities in London authorised Sturt to lead a new expedition into the interior. Sturt was still convinced that an inland sea existed and the main purpose of his journey was to find the mountain range in the centre of the continent that would have acted as a watershed, turning the Murray–Darling system southwards and turning an as yet undiscovered river system inland. Travelling east from Adelaide to the Murray and Darling to avoid Eyre's horseshoe lake,

the expedition probed north through the Barrier Range (the remnants of the very watershed Sturt sought), towards Lake Frome, along Cooper Creek and into the Simpson Desert. Sturt's expedition finally dispelled the belief in an inland sea. He arrived back in Adelaide in January 1846.

Sturt was appointed colonial treasurer, but retired from the position in 1851. He returned to England in 1853. Although a competent explorer and a man of indomitable courage, Sturt often undertook expeditions in marginal country. And, unlike Mitchell, who was adept at ensuring that his discoveries received the widest possible publicity, Sturt's reticence, and a capacity to offend important officials, meant that his work was often overlooked. Yet it was Sturt who mapped out the broad outline of Australia's eastern inland river system. Those who followed, such as Mitchell, proved Sturt's assessments correct.

JOHN McQUILTON

SUDAN CAMPAIGN On 3 March 1885 about 770 soldiers sailed from Sydney for Suakin, on the Red Sea, to join an imperial force waging war against followers of a Sudanese leader known as the Mahdi, or messiah. On 26 January the Mahdi's men had taken Khartoum, on the Nile, and killed the revered British general, Charles Gordon. On 12 February the acting premier of NSW, William Bede Dalley, offered a contingent to help avenge Gordon's death. The British government accepted, declining later offers from other colonies. The men were the first volunteers sent by a self-governing colony to an imperial war. They saw little action: three soldiers and a war correspondent were wounded slightly; eight men died of illness. Dalley's gesture aroused much enthusiasm, and some opposition, led by Sir Henry Parkes.

A cartoon character created by the *Bulletin* to deride Dalley's gesture, the Little Boy from (or at) Manly, lived on and was transformed into a symbol of NSW and Australia in peace and war. A Sudan veteran's bequest paid for a plaque installed in a rock face east of Circular Quay in 1952.

Further reading K. S. Inglis, *The rehearsal: Australians at war in the Sudan, 1885*, Sydney 1985.

SUDDS THOMPSON CASE Joseph Sudds and Patrick Thompson, privates in the 57th regiment, NSW, deliberately committed theft to obtain a discharge and were duly sentenced to transportation to a penal settlement. Governor Darling, determined to make an example of them, commuted the sentence to seven years in chain gangs and had them drummed out of the regiment. Sudds died five days later; Thompson was released on order of the British government, which declared Darling's interference with the sentence illegal. The incident was widely used to discredit Darling's administration.

SUEZ CRISIS The Suez crisis of 1956 erupted when Egypt's President Nasser unilaterally announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, following a US decision not to provide finance for his Aswan Dam project. Nasser refused to join a London conference of

maritime powers to discuss the canal's status. At the conference's request the Australian prime minister, R.G. Menzies, tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a settlement in Cairo. Subsequently, against the advice of his external affairs minister (R.G. Casey), Menzies secured cabinet support for endorsement of a British and French invasion of Egypt, in defiance of a United Nations resolution, moved by the US, calling on them to desist. During the hostilities the canal was blocked with sunken ships, and British, French and Australian relations with the US were severely strained.

A.W. MARTIN

SULMAN PRIZE dates from 1936 under the terms of a gift from the family of Sir John Sulman (1849–1934), architect and foundation president of the Town Planning Association of NSW. The prize is for a subject or genre painting or mural design in oil or watercolour. In 1986 the prize was \$5000.

SUMMERS, Anne Fairhurst (1945–), writer, journalist and public servant, was born in NSW but grew up in Adelaide. She was in the vanguard of the feminist movement in Australia, helping to start a women's liberation group in Adelaide in 1970, the women's studies journal *Refractory girl* in 1972, and the Elsie Women's Refuge in Sydney in 1974. Her book *Damned whores and God's police* (1975) was heralded as the first serious study of women's role in Australian history. Summers worked as a journalist before being appointed to head the federal government's Office of the Status of Women in 1983. She returned to journalism in 1986.

SURFING AND SURF-LIFESAVING Surfing with heavy boards or planks began about 1905. The Hawaiian Duke Kahanamoku introduced the lighter, more manoeuvrable board to Sydney in 1915. Fibreglass and foam Malibu boards were introduced in 1956. In 1906 the Bondi Surf Bathers Lifesaving Club



Surfers at Bondi Beach, Sydney, c1940. Their wooden plank surfboards were much heavier than today's fibreglass boards.

ANDERSON COLLECTION

was formed, the first of its type in the country. In the following year the mayors of Manly, Randwick and Waverley in Sydney, together with members of seven clubs, formed the NSW Surf Bathers Association. The lifesaving reel was devised in 1907 and the first march-past took place in 1908. By 1910 the basic drill and lifesaving equipment had been developed and an examination of competency devised. The movement spread to other states at this time. Competitions within and between clubs soon developed: the surfing championship first took place in 1914, those for the belt-race and for boat races in 1919. The iron man contest was first held in 1966–67. The first fully organised world surfing championships took place at Manly in 1964. Successful Australians at those and more recent championships have included 'Midget' Farrelly in 1963–64, Phyllis O'Donnell in 1964, 'Nat' Young in 1968 and Mark Richards in 1975 and 1979–81. In the 1950s particularly, lifesavers became synonymous with the popular image of virile, sun-bronzed Australian males. Since the 1970s, however, the more independent, individualistic surfer has replaced the regimented lifesaver as the dominant image.

SUTHERLAND, Dame Joan (1926–), opera singer, was born at Point Piper, Sydney. Her absorbing interest in singing, nurtured by her mother, was developed formally from 1945 by teachers Aida and John Dickinson. Concert engagements and broadcasts followed; she made her opera debut in a concert performance of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* in August 1947. She won the prestigious Sydney Sun Aria competition in 1949, then the lucrative Mobil Quest in 1950, which allowed her to study in England. She arrived in London in August 1951 and began vocal training with the Sydney pianist Richard Bonyngé, raising her voice from mezzo range to coloratura soprano. She auditioned for Covent Garden and was accepted as resident soprano in 1952. She remained with the company for seven years. She married Bonyngé in 1954.

Sutherland achieved international fame in Zeffirelli's production of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* in 1959, and her career blossomed; she virtually took over the musical mantle of Maria Callas, and was called 'La Stupenda' for her brilliant vocal technique. The 1960s and 1970s saw a consolidation of her career, largely based on the Italian bel canto repertoire, with occasional operetta. Richard Bonyngé became her musical director, and they formed the most prolific recording partnership in operatic history.

The Bonyngés first returned to Australia in 1965 for a season with the theatrical entrepreneurs J.C. Williamson, and from 1974 Joan Sutherland appeared as a regular guest artist with the Australian Opera, while her husband became the company's musical director. Sutherland's services to music were recognised with the awards of CBE in 1961, AC in 1975 and DBE in 1979.

In the crowded history of opera, few singers can claim such a long and distinguished career as Dame

Joan Sutherland. In Australia she became a well-loved celebrity with acclaim unmatched since Melba. Through the 1980s Sutherland was as busy as ever, recreating roles she had made famous more than two decades previously, and embarking on new ventures at an age when most sopranos would have retired.

BRIAN ADAMS

Further reading B. Adams, *La Stupenda*, Melbourne 1980.



'*La Stupenda*', Dame Joan Sutherland, as Marie in the Australian Opera's 1986 production of *La Fille du regiment*. Photograph by Branco Gaica.

THE AUSTRALIAN OPERA

SUTHERLAND, Margaret (1897–), composer, studied piano and composition and has been prominent in the encouragement and administration of music in Melbourne since the 1920s. Her work is prolific and varied, ranging from opera and ballet music to orchestral and chamber works.

SWAN RIVER COLONISATION ASSOCIATION A partnership between Thomas Peel (1793–1865) and Solomon Levey (1794–1833) negotiated in 1828–29 with the British government for extensive landholdings in the proposed colony of Western Australia. Peel, a relative of the statesman Sir Robert Peel, appeared as the sole promoter and investor, but Levey, a wealthy former convict, provided the financial backing. The basis of the private emigration and settlement scheme Peel proposed to the government was an initial grant of 250 000 acres, followed by a

further 250 000 acres when 400 colonists were settled on the land, and an additional 500 000 acres after 21 years if this land had been improved. The government stipulated that the first shipload of settlers had to be landed by 1 November 1829 if Peel wished to retain priority choice of land. The ship bringing them was delayed by six weeks, so Peel's first choice of 250 000 acres was taken up by others.

Peel himself emigrated and found he had been allocated inferior land. His settlers were suffering from disease, and lacked food, stock, stores and funds. Supplies ordered through Levey's firm in Sydney failed to arrive, and one of the partnership's ships was wrecked while anchoring in Cockburn Sound. The dissatisfied settlers blamed Peel; many quit his scheme and some began legal actions against him. Attacks by Aborigines further hampered the scheme. Levey died in 1833, by which time the scheme had failed. The second land grant was nevertheless made in 1834, but a later claim for the 500 000 acres was overlooked. After the failure of the scheme, Peel pursued agricultural and whaling interests until his death.

SWEATING was a term introduced from England to describe the intensive exploitation of women and children, mainly in the clothing trades from the 1870s onwards, particularly in Vic. Women were usually paid subsistence wages or lower for piecework carried out in poorly lit and ventilated workshops, nicknamed 'sweatshops', or at home. Campaigns publicising the plight of these workers led to the introduction of factory acts as well as demands for a minimum wage. An Anti-Sweating League was formed in Melbourne in 1895.

SWIMMING Few Australians were proficient in swimming in the nineteenth century, when death by drowning was a common natural hazard. It was not until the 1840s and 1850s that swimming first became a spectator sport. The first swimming championships in Australia were held in Woolloomooloo Bay, Sydney, on 14 February 1846 and an Australian 'world championship' was held at Captain William Kenny's baths at St Kilda, Melbourne, on 9 January 1858. A landmark in the history of swimming was the publication in Melbourne of Charles Steedman's *Manual of swimming* in 1867. The book is noteworthy in that its illustrations mark a distinct advance in the method of delineating the movement of arms and legs in swimming before the use of photography. Charles Steedman (1830-1901) and another Englishman, Frederick Cavill (1839-1927) and his sons did much to popularise swimming and develop new techniques in the second half of the nineteenth century, resulting in the evolution of the 'Australian crawl' in the early years of the twentieth century.

Swimming matches and 'championships' became more common from the 1870s and in 1892 the NSW Amateur Swimming Association was formed, which organised the first Australasian Championships (between NSW and New Zealand) in Sydney in 1896. Other state associations followed and the representatives of NSW, Vic and SA formed the Amateur

Never Loses Its Charm—

MANLY

A BEAUTY SPOT *that* EVERYONE SHOULD VISIT

ENJOYMENT UNLIMITED!

Fishing, Boating, Hiking, Golf, Tennis, Bowls, Swimming, Surfing — 14 glorious beaches adorn Manly's coastline — and then Manly has the largest enclosed FREE Bathing Pool in Australia.

The "Pool," a wonderful lake of crystal-clear water over 1056 feet in length, is equipped with all the latest aquatic novelties. At night it is floodlit BOTH OVER AND UNDER THE WATER WITH 3,000,000 CANDLE POWER LAMPS.

For a Really Good Holiday, Come to Manly

Fast saloon steamer service day and night to and from the city. Cheapest, safest, and most enjoyable travelling in the Commonwealth.

For full particulars as to booking accommodation, etc., communicate with the Manly Publicity and Tourist Bureau, Passenger-Wharf, Manly — Free Service — Telephone, YU3770.

THE PORT JACKSON AND MANLY STEAMSHIP COMPANY LIMITED,
No. 2 JETTY, CIRCULAR QUAY. Telephone: B3321—B3783.



Just a little corner, any Summer's day, in Manly's Free Wonder Pool.

In the 1930s Manly boasted of having the largest enclosed bathing pool in Australia. It was one of Sydney's most popular swimming spots until wrecked by a storm in the mid-1970s. From an advertisement for the Port Jackson and Manly Steamship Company Limited, Sydney Mail Annual, 2 Oct 1937.

Swimming Union of Australia in 1909; Qld, WA and Tas joined in 1913.

Swimmers, along with cricketers and scullers, were important sporting heroes before World War I and did much to enhance Australia's international image. From 1897 Australians won numerous English (world) championship events: Barney Kieran's wins and times in 1904-05 made him one of the greatest swimmers of all time; Freddy Lane won Australia's first Olympic gold medal in 1900 and Fanny Durack did likewise in women's swimming in 1912, while Annette Kellermann's achievement in emancipating women from the neck-to-knee costume did much to make women's swimming popular and socially acceptable. Australia's prominence in world swimming continued between the wars and reached a high point between 1956 and 1975 with such champions as John Marshall, John and Ilsa Konrads, Murray Rose, Lorraine Crapp, Dawn Fraser, Michael Wenden, Shane Gould and Karen Morass. G.P. WALSH

SYDNEY GAZETTE, Australia's first newspaper, issued from 1803 to 1842, is now an important source of historical material. The paper appeared weekly (to

1825), bi-weekly (1826), daily (Jan–Feb 1827), then tri-weekly until it ceased publication in 1842. The *Gazette* was the official organ of the government and although George Howe was the proprietor (and editor to 1821), the paper's contents required government sanction.

SYDNEY HARBOUR BRIDGE The Sydney Harbour Bridge, one of Australia's best-known landmarks, spans the harbour between Dawes Point on the south side and Milsons Point on the north. Designed by Dorman Long & Co Ltd of England to specifications prepared by Chief Engineer J.C.C. Bradfield, the main silicon steel arch is 503 metres long and its highest point is 134 metres above mean sea-level. The bridge remains the widest and heaviest arch bridge in the world. Work on the bridge began on 28 July 1923, with each half of the arch being built out from the shore as a cantilever. The cantilevers met at the centre of the span in August 1930. Sixteen men died in the course of construction. The opening ceremony by Labor premier Jack Lang on 19 March 1932 was disrupted by a member of the New Guard, Francis Edward de Groot, who, disguised as a military horseman, slashed the ribbon in advance of the premier. By the 1980s, eight vehicle lanes and two railway tracks allowed almost 40 million rail and bus passengers to cross the bridge annually and more than twice that number of people in private vehicles.

PETER SPEARRITT

Further reading P. Spearritt, *The Sydney Harbour Bridge: a life*, Sydney 1982.

SYDNEY–HOBART YACHT RACE This is Australia's foremost ocean yachting race. Held annually since it was instituted in 1945 by John Illingworth, an English naval captain, it begins on Boxing Day. Nine yachts contested the first race, in which Illingworth won both line honours and on handicap in the *Rani*. By the 1980s well over a hundred yachts, many of them international entrants, were contesting the race, which had become recognised as a very arduous test of both yachts and crews.

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD Australia's oldest surviving newspaper commenced publication in 1831 as the *Sydney Herald*. First published as a weekly, in 1840 it became a daily and in 1841 it was bought by John Fairfax and Charles Kemp. It became the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1842. Conservative in tone, it earnestly defended Christian and family values, property and profits. The *Sydney Morning Herald* remains the centrepiece of the extensive media empire of John Fairfax and Sons Ltd. At September 1986 its circulation was 255 138.

SYME, David (1827–1908), newspaper proprietor, emigrated from Scotland to Australia via California in 1852. He was admitted to partnership in the *Age* newspaper by his brother, Ebenezer, in 1856 and took control when his brother's health failed in 1859. He demanded that land be made available for selection, with no compensation for former squatter occupiers, denounced the 1862 Land Act, which enabled a small minority group to acquire most of the land opened up for selection, and by 1860 was a vehement spokesman for tariff protection, which gained him a reputation as 'father of protection'. Syme was a forthright supporter of free, compulsory and secular education, of factory legislation, and of the early-closing movement. The rapid rise in the *Age's* circulation, the successful outcome for Syme of a libel suit against the paper brought by the railways commissioner in 1892, and the successful election to the Federal Convention of the ten men named by him, are examples of his great influence on Vic affairs. Syme published several works, and was an influential writer on economic affairs in the late nineteenth century.



Charter boats and small craft crowd the waters of Sydney Harbour at the start of the 1986 Sydney to Hobart yacht race. Photograph by Kevin Diletti.